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HISTORY ALIVE 10

VICTORIAN CURRICULUM | SECOND EDITION



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This textbook contains images and names of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who are, or may be, deceased. The publisher appreciates that this inclusion may distress some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. These images and names have been included so that the young multicultural audience for this book can better appreciate specific aspects of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history and experience. It is recommended that teachers should first preview resources on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander topics in relation to their suitability for the class level or situation. It is also suggested that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander parents or community members be invited to help assess the resources to be shown to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. At all times the guidelines prescribed by the relevant educational jurisdictions and curriculum bodies should be followed.

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HOW TO USE

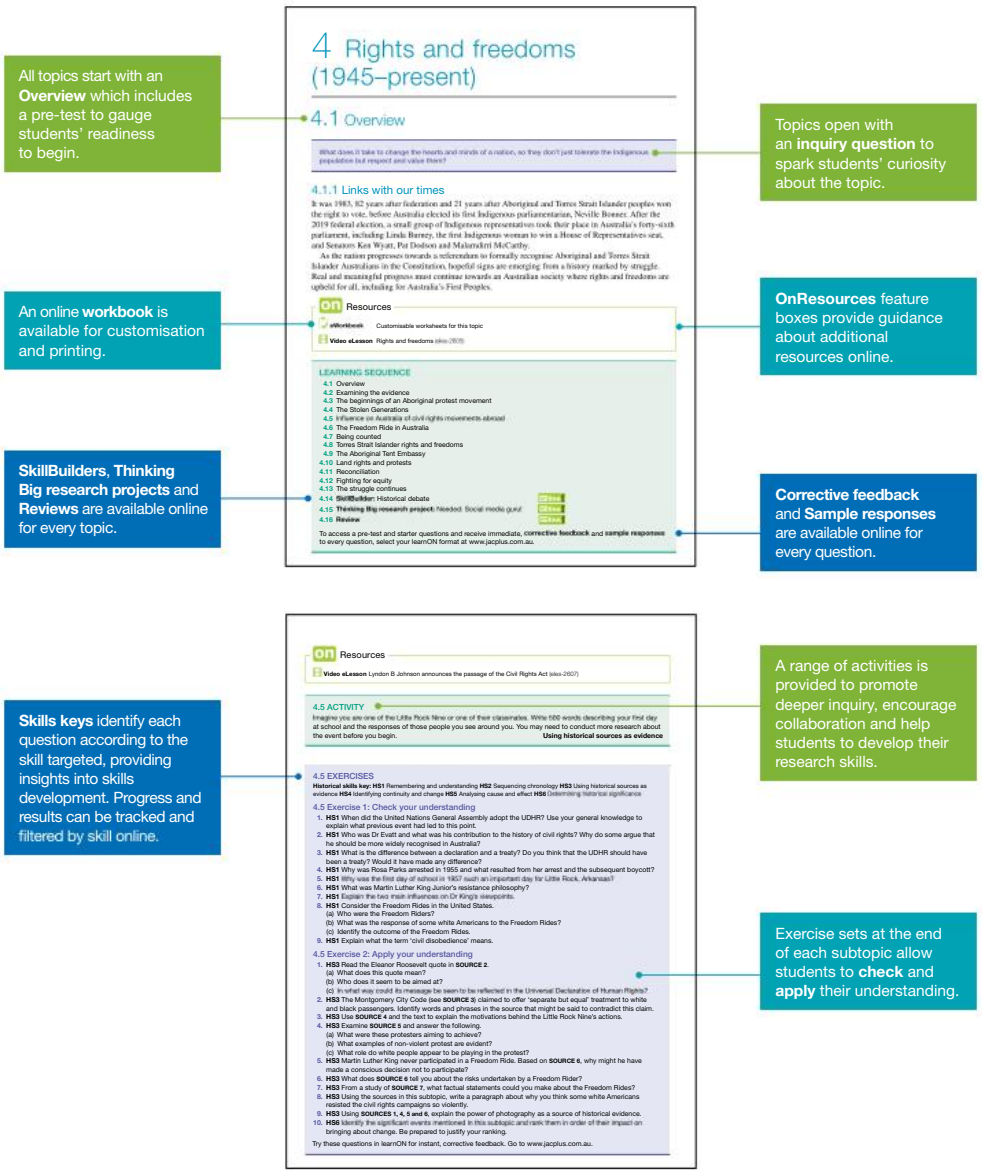
the *Jacaranda History Alive* resource suite

The ever-popular *Jacaranda History Alive for the Victorian Curriculum* is available as a standalone History series or as part of the *Jacaranda Humanities Alive* series, which incorporates History, Geography, Civics and Citizenship, and Economics and Business in a 4-in-1 title. The series is available across a number of digital formats: learnON, eBookPLUS, eGuidePLUS, PDF and iPad app.

Skills development is integrated throughout, and explicitly targeted through SkillBuilders and a dedicated History skills topic for each year level.

This suite of resources is designed to allow for differentiation, flexible teaching and multiple entry and exit points so teachers can *teach their class their way*.

Features



Content is presented using age-appropriate language, and a wide range of engaging sources, diagrams and images support concept learning.

Skillbuilders model and develop key skills in context.



4.14 SkillBuilder: Historical debate

online only

What is a historical debate?

A historical debate is an argument that reflects opposing or contesting views on an event or a period in time, the historical evidence for which may be interpreted in different ways.

Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

4.15 Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru!

online only

SCENARIO

You have been given a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, and all the technology you require, to change history. Selecting a protest movement of the past and using what you know about grassroots activism today, you will develop the first protest movement ever to go online.

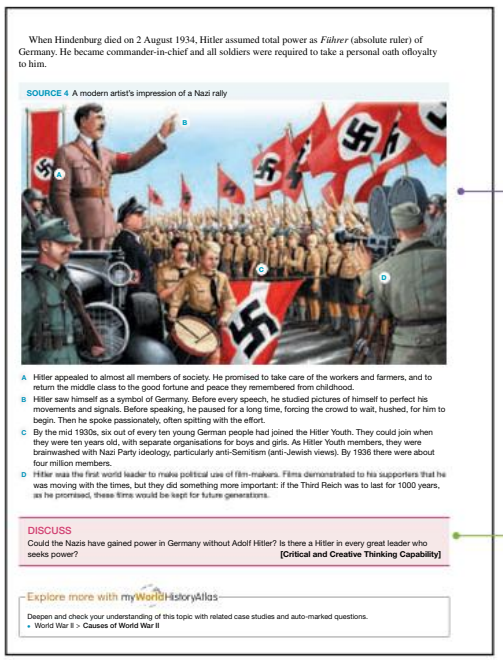
Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru (pro-0206)

In each topic, a **Thinking Big research project** provides opportunities for students to delve deeper, think creatively and work collaboratively.



When Hindenburg died on 2 August 1934, Hitler assumed total power as *Führer* (absolute ruler) of Germany. He became commander-in-chief and all soldiers were required to take a personal oath ofloyalty to him.

SOURCE 4 A modern artist's impression of a Nazi rally

A Hitler appealed to almost all members of society. He promised to take care of the workers and farmers, and to return the middle class to the good fortune and peace they remembered from childhood.

B Hitler saw himself as a symbol of Germany. Before every speech, he studied pictures of himself to perfect his movements and signals. Before speaking, he paused for a long time, forcing the crowd to wait, hushed, for him to begin. Then he spoke passionately, often spitting with the effort.

C By the mid 1930s, six out of every ten young German people had joined the Hitler Youth. They could join when they were ten years old, with separate organisations for boys and girls. As Hitler Youth members, they were brainwashed with Nazi Party ideology, particularly anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish views). By 1936 there were about four million members.

D Hitler was the first world leader to make political use of film-makers. Films demonstrated to his supporters that he was moving with the times, but they did something more important: if the Third Reich was to last for 1000 years, as he promised, these films would be kept for future generations.

DISCUSS

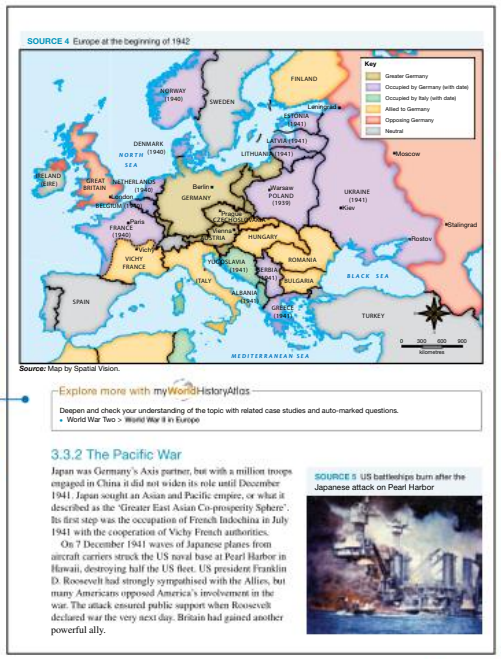
Could the Nazis have gained power in Germany without Adolf Hitler? Is there a Hitler in every great leader who seeks power? **[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]**

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of this topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.

- World War II > **Causes of World War II**

Discuss features explicitly address Curriculum Capabilities.



SOURCE 4 Europe at the beginning of 1942

Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.

- World War Two > World War II in Europe

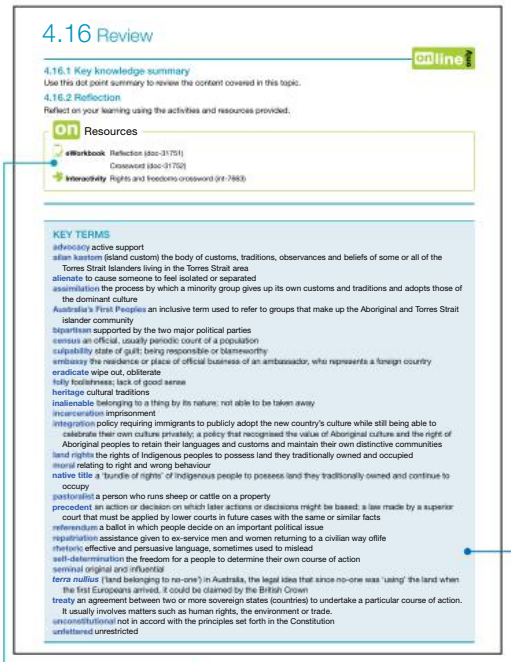
Links to the **myWorldHistory Atlas** are provided throughout.

3.3.2 The Pacific War

Japan was Germany's Axis partner, but with a million troops engaged in China it did not widen its role until December 1941. Japan sought an Asian and Pacific empire, or what it described as the 'Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere'. Its first step was the occupation of French Indochina in July 1941 with the cooperation of Vichy French authorities.

On 7 December 1941 waves of Japanese planes from aircraft carriers struck the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, destroying half the US fleet. US president Franklin D. Roosevelt had strongly sympathised with the Allies, but many Americans opposed America's involvement in the war. The attack ensured public support when Roosevelt declared war the very next day. Britain had gained another powerful ally.

SOURCE 5 US battleships burn after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor



4.16 Review

online only

4.16.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

4.16.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31751)
Crossword (doc-31752)
Interactivity Rights and freedoms crossword (int-7663)

A range of questions and a post-test are available online to test students' understanding of the topic.

KEY TERMS

advocacy active support
adat kastom (island custom) the body of customs, traditions, observances and beliefs of some or all of the Torres Strait Islanders living in the Torres Strait area
alienate to cause someone to feel isolated or separated
assimilation the process by which a minority group gives up its own customs and traditions and adopts those of the dominant culture
Australia's First Peoples an inclusive term used to refer to groups that make up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community
bipartisan supported by the two major political parties
census an official, usually periodic count of a population
culpability state of guilt; being responsible or blameworthy
embassy the residence or place of official business of an ambassador, who represents a foreign country
eradicate wipe out, obliterate
folly foolishness; lack of good sense
heritage cultural traditions
inalienable belonging to a thing by its nature; not able to be taken away
incarceration imprisonment
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
land rights the rights of Indigenous peoples to possess land they traditionally owned and occupied
moral relating to right and wrong behaviour
native title a 'bundle of rights' of Indigenous people to possess land they traditionally owned and continue to occupy
pastoralist a person who runs sheep or cattle on a property
precedent an action or decision on which later actions or decisions might be based; a law made by a superior court that must be applied by lower courts in future cases with the same or similar facts
referendum a ballot in which people decide on an important political issue
repatriation assistance given to ex-service men and women returning to a civilian way ofife
rhetoric effective and persuasive language, sometimes used to mislead
self-determination the freedom for a people to determine their own course of action
seminal original and influential
terra nullius ('land belonging to no-one') in Australia, the legal idea that since no-one was 'using' the land when the first Europeans arrived, it could be claimed by the British Crown
treaty an agreement between two or more sovereign states (countries) to undertake a particular course of action. It usually involves matters such as human rights, the environment or trade.
unconstitutional not in accord with the principles set forth in the Constitution
unfettered unrestricted

Key terms are available in every topic review.

learnON

Jacaranda History Alive learnON is an immersive digital learning platform that enables student and teacher connections, and tracks, monitors and reports progress for immediate insights into student learning and understanding.

It includes:

- a wide variety of embedded videos and interactivities
- questions that can be answered online, with sample responses and immediate, corrective feedback
- additional resources such as activities, an eWorkbook, worksheets, and more
- Thinking Big research projects
- SkillBuilders
- teachON, providing teachers with practical teaching advice, teacher-led videos and lesson plans.



teachON

Conveniently situated within the learnON format, teachON includes practical teaching advice, teacher-led videos and lesson plans, designed to support, save time and provide inspiration for teachers.



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• ABC: **83**/D. Connell, *The War at Home*, ABC, Crows Nest, NSW, 1988, p.69; **216–17**/Justin Huntsdale/ABC Illawarra • Amy Choi: **276** Australian War Memorial: **89**/S. J. Butlin and C. B. Schedvin, *War Economy* 1941–45, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1977, p. 561 • Creative Commons: **137**, **139**, **157**, **280**, **341**, **166** (Source 6), **336** (Source 3)/It's Time lyrics © Universal Music Publishing Group • Fremantle Arts Centre Press: **122** (Source 2) • Glenda Strachan: **204** • Mariam Veiszadeh: **258** • National Archives of Australia: **312**/© National Archives of Australia • Nicole Watson: **161** • Out of Copyright: **109**, **110**, **122** (Source 3), **141**, **264**, **315** • Professor Ann Curthoys: **130** • Public Domain: **243**, **337** (Source 4)/Quoted by G. Freudenberg [Whitlam's speechwriter] in A Certain Grandeur, Sun Books, 1978, pp. 229–38; • Ted Egan: **144**

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1 Historical skills and concepts

1.1 Overview

1.1.1 Links with our times



The people pictured here are participating in a 1940s weekend at Pickering in North Yorkshire, England. Many people attended the event dressed in military or civilian clothing and styling to contribute to the realism. These men are dressed as United States soldiers during World War II.

The Second World War was fought between the Allied powers (Britain, the USA, the USSR, France, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia) and the Axis powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). It took more lives and destroyed more property across the world than any other war in human history. World War II started in 1939 when Germany's invasion of Poland led France and Great Britain to declare war on Germany. Nazi Germany quickly overwhelmed Western Europe in 1940. In 1944, Allied forces invaded France and pushed back the Germans. The war in Europe ended with Germany's surrender on 7 May 1945. The war ended in the Pacific when Japan surrendered on 2 September 1945.

We know these things because historians use clues like archives, letters and weapons as well as many other historical sources to bring the past to life. History uses evidence that includes all kinds of traces, from skeletons to newspapers, photographs and film. History involves using such evidence in an attempt to find the truth about what happened in former times.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson Investigating the past (eles-1057)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

1.1 Overview
1.2 Why we study history
1.3 Historical skills
1.4 Perspectives and empathy
1.5 **SkillBuilder:** Sequencing events in chronological order online only
1.6 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

1.2 Why we study history

1.2.1 How and why do we study history?

History is a journey of discovery through time. Often it will excite you, and sometimes it will shock and amaze you. Sometimes it will seem as though the people of past societies were from another planet. At other times their actions and ideas will be as familiar to you as those of your friends and neighbours.

What is a historian?

A historian is a person who researches, interprets and writes about the past, including the history of countries, people, periods of time, and particular events and issues. Historians research into past civilisations, cultures and societies. They try to build up a picture of how people in other times lived and acted. Historians try to make sense of past ideas, customs and beliefs, the ways people were ruled and how they made their living. Historians inquire into the past by examining sources, including archives, diaries, books and artefacts. Historians also try to understand and explain how people's lives were shaped by other people and events, what they thought about their times and how they brought about changes in their own world.

1.2.2 The value of history

History involves the study of the past and why events occurred. The term comes from the ancient Greek word *historia*, which originally referred to inquiry, or the act of acquiring knowledge through inquiry. Some people question the need to understand the past, but there are many very good reasons for studying history. Knowledge of history helps us to understand our heritage. We start to understand where our ideas, languages, laws and many other aspects of our lives came from. We can also develop more open minds and learn to appreciate cultures that are different from our own.

SOURCE 1 A drawing of the philosopher George Santayana (1863–1952) from the cover of *Time* magazine in February 1936. He is popularly known for the aphorism 'Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'



History, the present and the future

Perhaps you already know that we can never understand the time we live in or what the future may hold if we do not understand the journey that brought us to this point. Human societies did not appear in the present as if from nowhere. They developed over many thousands of years. By understanding the past, we might just be able to avoid repeating past mistakes and make our world a better place in the future.

History, work and leisure

The kinds of skills you will learn while studying history are also important in many careers. These skills will help you to:

- carry out research
- organise information and check it to determine its accuracy
- draw conclusions and make decisions based on **evidence**
- recognise the difference between fact and opinion
- understand that there is usually more than one way of thinking about any problem
- think critically
- communicate effectively
- present findings and conclusions through reports, the media, books, lectures and exhibitions.

A person trained in history may conduct research and analysis for governments, businesses, individuals, historical associations and other organisations. They may work in administrative or policy roles where they can make use of their research and analysis skills. A person trained in history may be involved in preserving artefacts or historic records. Conservation work similar to that shown in **SOURCE 2** is one of the key responsibilities of historians and archaeologists.

There are a number of other careers related to historians. These include:

- anthropologists and archaeologists
- archivists, curators and museum workers
- curators
- documentary and film makers
- economists
- history teachers
- lawyers
- lecturers, tutors and researchers
- police and armed forces
- political scientists
- sociologists
- writers and authors.

SOURCE 2 Visitors in front of room 306 at the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, Tennessee (in the United States). The museum is built around the former Lorraine Motel, which was one of only a few hotels for black people. The motel was where civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated. While staying in room 306 in April 1968, King was fatally shot on the balcony outside the room. A local not-for-profit group saved the site for use as a civil rights museum.



A knowledge of history is also important in our everyday lives, and history gives many people great personal pleasure. How much more enjoyment do people experience from travel, books and movies when they know about the history that shaped the places they visit or the stories they read or watch on a screen?

History and democracy

In Australia we live in a democratic society. This means we have the right to choose our political representatives and leaders through voting. However, we cannot vote responsibly unless we can make our own judgements about the ideas these leaders put forward. To do that, we need to know something about the past.

DISCUSS

How may understanding our past help us avoid repeating mistakes in the future? **[Ethical Capability]**

1.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

1.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What is history?
2. **HS1** Complete the following paragraph by choosing words from the box below.

civilisations	beliefs	cultures	events	research	sources	people

Historians conduct _____ into past _____, _____ and societies. Historians try to build up a picture of the ideas and _____ of people in the past, how they lived and acted and how their lives were shaped by other _____ and _____. They inquire into the past by examining _____, including archives, diaries, books and artefacts.

3. **HS1** Why is it important to learn historical skills?
4. **HS1** Who might a person trained in history work for?
5. **HS4** Identify five careers related to learning about history.

1.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Looking at **SOURCE 1**, read George Santayana's quote.
   (a) Rewrite this quote in your own words.
   (b) How does this quote show that the study of history is important?
2. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 2**. The National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis was the first civil rights museum in the USA. Room 306 has been kept just as it was when Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968. Why do you think so much effort goes into conserving such traces of the past?
3. **HS5** Think of at least one event from the past where the people involved have *not* learned from earlier experiences and events. Explain what happened.
4. **HS5** Today we live in a world where people are sometimes killed over differences in religion. How might a knowledge of history help bring understanding between different religions?
5. **HS1** What can we gain from understanding our heritage?
6. **HS6** Suggest why any one of the following possible events might have historical significance in the future for a historian researching and writing about the age we are living in.
   (a) There was an increase in the number of Australians who did not practise religion.
   (b) Inequality (the gap between rich and poor) increased in Australia.
   (c) The Australian government took in more refugees.

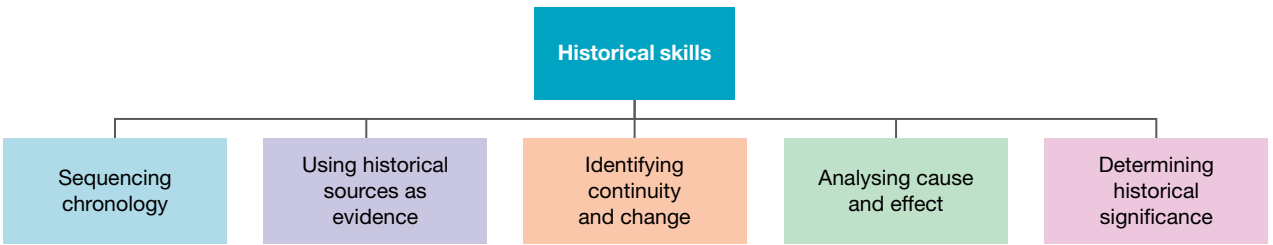
Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

1.3 Historical skills

1.3.1 What are historical skills?

There are a number of historical skills, shown in **SOURCE 1**, that you will develop throughout your study of history. These skills are integral to studying history and are vital for engaging in an historical inquiry. You should recognise most of these skills from your previous studies in history, and you will become more proficient in them as you explore the topics throughout this course. Each historical skill is explained in more detail below.

SOURCE 1 A diagram showing the five historical skills

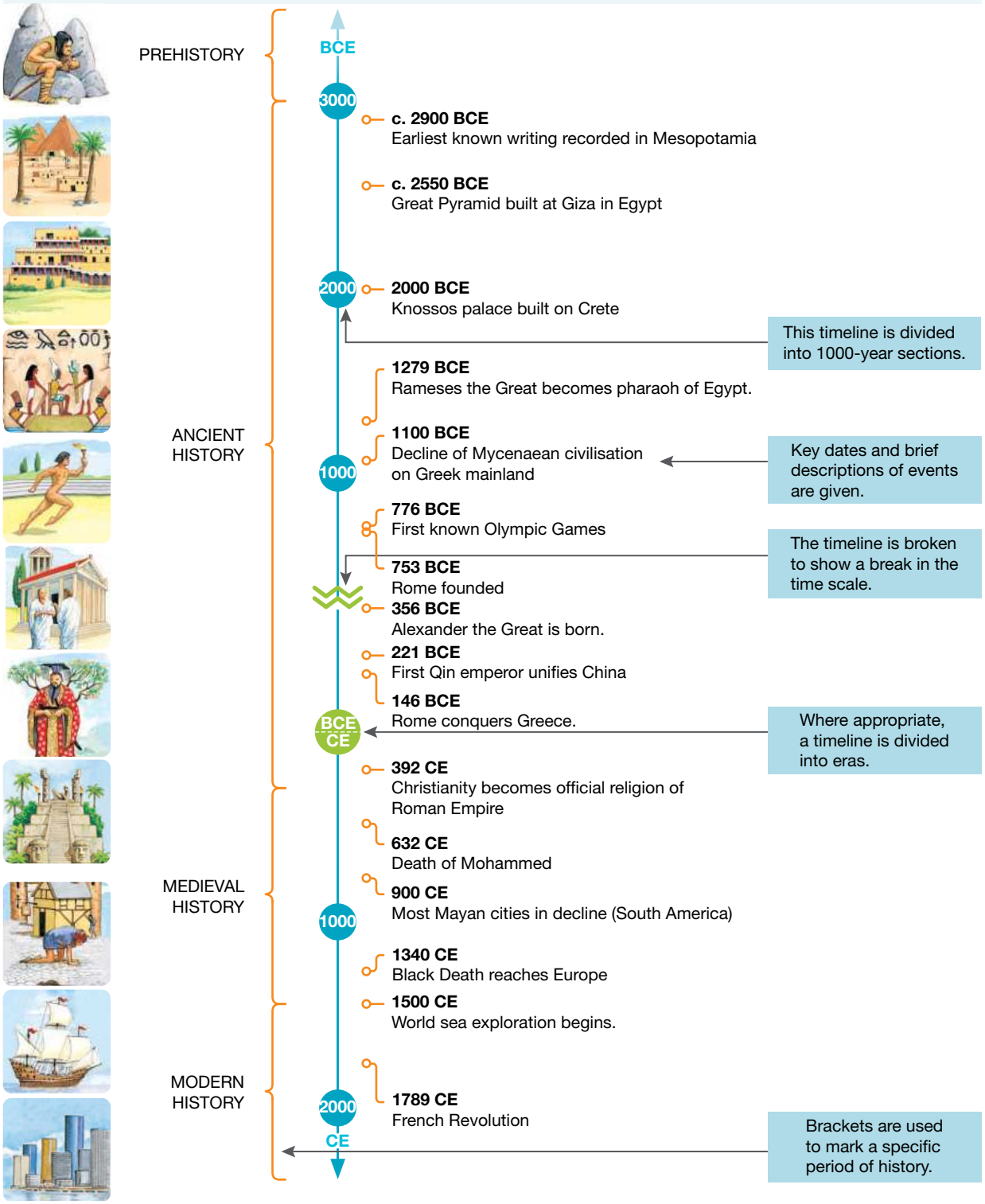


1.3.2 Sequencing chronology

Chronology involves recording events in order of time. It is an important skill in history because historians need to know the sequence of how things occurred in order to make sense of what happened. A story will make more sense if we start at the beginning and work towards the end. For example, your morning routine is likely to consist of waking up in the morning, getting dressed, eating breakfast, then brushing your teeth. After this you might travel to school, then attend your first class for the day. This is an example of chronology; it is your sequence of events in order of time for your morning.

A historian will use a **timeline** to see how one event might have contributed to another. A timeline representing some events from 3000 BCE to modern times can be seen in **SOURCE 2**. You should be familiar with the creation of timelines from your previous studies in history. Timelines can cover very short or very long periods of time, and can look very different; for example, they can be horizontal (across the page) or vertical (down the page). However, they always place events in chronological order.

SOURCE 2 A timeline showing some events from 3000 BCE to modern times



Dividing the past

To make sense of the past we divide it into ages or periods that have something in common. Prehistory is the prehistoric period (the time before people invented writing as a means of recording activities and events). It ended at different times in different parts of the world. For example, in China it ended thousands of years ago, while in Australia it ended a little over 200 years ago. We also use the terms Stone Age, Bronze Age and Iron Age. These refer to materials that people had learned to shape into tools and weapons in prehistoric and ancient times. Ancient history covers the time from the earliest civilisations around 3000 BCE to around 650 CE. The Middle Ages, or medieval history, covers the time from around 590 CE to around 1500 CE. In Year 10 we will be investigating the modern world and Australia, including World War II (1939–1945), rights and freedoms (1945 – the present), and the globalising world.

Counting time

In Australia, the system we have traditionally used to count years is one that was first used in Christian countries in AD 525. In this system, AD stands for *anno Domini* (Latin for 'in the year of our Lord'). The year AD 2012 means 2012 years since the birth of Christ. However, although this system is still commonly used throughout the world, many historians now use the term CE (Common Era) instead of AD. The dates are the same: 2012 CE is the same year as AD 2012. We count forward, so 50 years later the year would be AD 2062 (or 2062 CE). BC means 'before Christ', and for these years we count backwards. Therefore, 500 BC would be 300 years earlier than 200 BC. Historians now commonly use the term BCE (Before Common Era) in place of BC.

When dates are uncertain we put 'c.' before them because it stands for *circa* (Latin for 'around').

DID YOU KNOW?

There is an easy way of getting it right with centuries. The first 100 years after the birth of Christ is called the first century CE. The first 100 years before the birth of Christ is called the first century BCE. To work out what century a date is in, you simply add one (1) to the number of hundreds in a date. So the year 2011 is in the twenty-first century CE. The year 705 BCE is in the eighth century BCE.

Other ways of counting time

There are other ways to count time. For example, Islamic countries start counting from the time of the flight of the prophet Mohammed from Mecca. This occurred in the year Christian countries call 622 CE.

Creating timelines

Creating a timeline from the sources that a historian locates can be a difficult task. Historical sources do not always come with the time and date provided, so they may need to be researched further to identify their historical relevance, as well as who produced the source and where it came from. However, there is much more to history than putting events in order and understanding the sequence and flow of events. As a history student, you will also need to be aware of continuity and change, cause and effect, and long-term causes and short-term triggers.

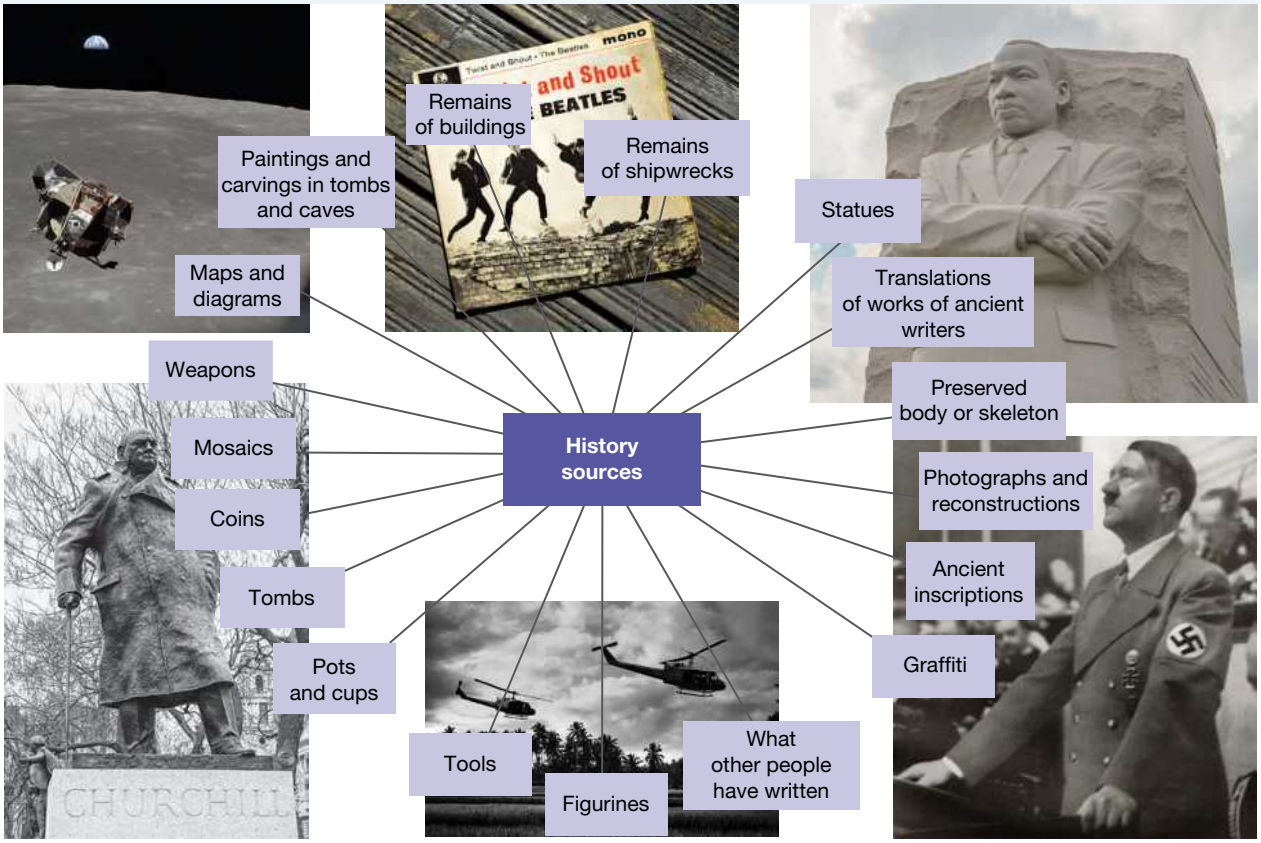
1.3.3 Using historical sources as evidence

It is important to analyse sources from the time we are studying to judge how reliable they are and explore the different points of view, or perspectives, of people from the past. This also involves questioning later sources that are interpretations of that time.

Primary and secondary sources

Evidence refers to the available facts or information that indicate whether something is true or really happened. Evidence can come from two types of sources: **primary sources** and **secondary sources**. Primary sources were created or written in the period of time that the historian is investigating. Secondary sources are reconstructions of the past written or created by people living at a time after the period that the historian is studying.

SOURCE 3 Some types of primary sources



Depending on the event and place, primary sources might include weapons, letters, newspapers, art, photographs or many other traces. For most periods of history we can divide primary sources into written and archaeological sources. Written primary sources can include such things as poems, songs, letters, myths and legends. Archaeological sources are objects that were made in the past. They include many kinds of artefacts such as tools, weapons, pottery, coins, games, toys and jewellery. Some **artefacts** have written sources inscribed on them. Archaeological sources also include works of art such as sculptures and paintings, and constructions such as tombs, temples and sometimes entire cities.

Secondary sources include books and articles. They can also include websites, models, timelines, computer software and documentary films. To create secondary sources, historians often:

- locate information in primary sources
- interpret that information
- use it to explain what happened.

Analysing and evaluating sources

Historical sources are valuable but they do not explain themselves. When using historical sources as evidence, historians will need to ask questions of each source, such as where did the source come from (origin) and why was it created (purpose). A source may be fact or someone's opinion — that is, it could be **biased**. One way to test sources for reliability is to compare them with other sources. If this evidence leads to the same conclusion, we call it supporting evidence. If it leads to different conclusions, we have contradictory evidence. When we use sources to try to find out about the past, we have to ask some questions. For example:

- What type of source is this?
- Who wrote or created this source and when was it written or created?
- Why was this source written or created?

- What evidence does the source provide?
- What was happening at the time the source was written or created?
- Can I trust the source?

Using evidence from sources, historians form a **hypothesis** (a possible theory to explain what happened). To test the hypothesis we look for evidence that supports it. We also look for other evidence that contradicts it. We need to be careful. We have to ask: what other information do I need to support my theory?

Just as in the investigation of a modern crime, we look at what contributed to an event and how those things fit together. We ask questions that begin with who, what, where, when, how and why. In this way, history is like any other kind of investigation, but it is more difficult because there are often gaps in our evidence. We usually cannot find all the clues we need. It can be like trying to solve a jigsaw puzzle when many pieces have been lost.

Wherever historians find sources and whatever methods they use to test their hypotheses and interpret the past, there will always be differing interpretations that are debated and contested. The issue of **contestability** is a very important concept in the study of history. Historical debates are ongoing. They occur when, for example, there is a lack of evidence or when different perspectives (points of view) lead to different conclusions. There are ongoing debates on many things, including the causes of particular wars and the roles of particular individuals, groups and ideas in bringing about significant changes.

1.3.4 Identifying continuity and change

Historians study the changes that have occurred over time. However, some things remain constant over periods of time. It is important to be able to identify when a change has occurred and when things have continued unchanged. This ability is known as identifying **continuity and change**.

Change refers to something that is different from what has occurred in the past. This may occur over a long period of time, and it may be difficult to detect the precise moment of change. Change can also occur dramatically or suddenly. Such changes are often associated with single events and are referred to as turning points in history. Continuity refers to the things that endure, relatively unchanged, over time. You will find that many things remain the same across long periods of time in history. Sometimes these continuities last into the modern world.

We can make comparisons between and among historical events occurring at the same time, between and among historical periods, and between present time and the past. The use of timelines can help to understand the sequence of historical events, which should therefore assist in identifying turning points that produced change.

SOURCE 4 An aerial view of the ceremony dedicating the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne, 1934. The shrine was built in remembrance of the men and women of Victoria who served, and those who died, in World War I.



SOURCE 5 An aerial view of the Shrine of Remembrance, Melbourne, present day



1.3.5 Analysing cause and effect

In history, events do not simply occur without reason. Every event will have a cause and is likely to be the cause of subsequent effects or consequences. Being able to identify patterns of **cause and effect** is an essential skill for historians that allows them to explain how and why things happened in the past. This skill can also make it possible to predict what may take place in the future.

Causes may include people, societies, politics, beliefs, economics or any other historical factor. Likewise, effects can include impacts on people, societies, politics, beliefs, economics or any other historical factor. It is important to understand that not all causes leading to a specific event are as equally significant as each other — some causes may have more influence than others.

The ability to analyse cause and effect requires a good understanding of sequencing chronology. We can identify series of historical events and developments over time, both in the short term and in the long term. Some causes occur immediately before an event began, while others may have existed for several years, decades or centuries before they caused the event. Some effects occur immediately after an event or action, while other may occur years, decades or centuries following the event or action. Causes and effects may be organised using chronology. For example, a timeline may be used to put events, ideas, movements and turning points in order to identify possible links between the causes and effects and to distinguish between what are long-term and short-term causes and effects.

An example of a series of historical events that has a number of causes and effects, both short term and long term, is the Cold War. This was a period of conflict and ideological competition between the blocs of countries led by the United States and the USSR (or the Soviet Union), which took place from the end of World War II until the early 1990s. During this time, global politics was dominated by the rivalry between these two world powers. The war was described as 'cold' because the two main antagonists did not engage in direct military campaigns against each other. Rather, the war was waged on political and economic grounds, using weapons such as propaganda and espionage.

SOURCE 6 The remains of the Berlin Wall in Berlin, Germany. The Berlin Wall separated West Berlin from the communist-controlled surrounding East Germany. Construction of the wall began in 1961 and its demolition commenced in 1990. Officially, the wall was built to protect East Germany from western 'fascists'. However, its main purpose was to stem the mass defections of East Germans to West Germany. The wall came to symbolise the Cold War's division of eastern Europe from the west.



The Cold War that began after World War II had a number of causes. One major cause was the feeling of suspicion existing between the two superpowers, the United States and the USSR, which led to mutual distrust. Western democracies, including the USA, were hostile to the idea of communism and feared a

communist attack. The USSR believed in communism and aimed to promote it across the world. The USSR feared an American attack. As well as conflicting ideologies, there were economic differences between the two countries. For example, the USA wanted to promote free trade across the world, whereas the USSR wanted to shut themselves off from international trade. Other causes of the Cold War included:

- the USSR's fear of the USA's nuclear weapons and refusal to share their nuclear secrets
- the USSR's actions in the Soviet zone in East Germany
- the USSR's expansion into eastern European countries such as Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and its failure to keep its promises to hold free elections
- the USSR's need to secure its western border by using eastern Europe as a buffer zone
- differences between US President Harry S. Truman and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin
- the USA's refusal to help in the USSR's post-war economic reconstruction.

The Cold War also resulted in a number of effects on society, both in the short term and long term. Although the war was not a 'hot war', there were still a number of conflicts that resulted in people dying. Huge amounts of money were invested in building up military inventories, including nuclear weapons. In the longer term, the communist governments in the USSR and the Eastern Bloc collapsed in the late 1980s and 1990s. Germany was reunified and the Soviet Union was dissolved to form a number of new countries. The largest part of the Soviet Union became the Russian Federation. Many other countries around the world also abandoned communism. However, there continues to be an element of distrust between the USA and the Russian Federation today. Other effects of the Cold War include:

- the expectation that countries would support either the USA or the USSR — in many cases this involved both sides paying money to governments to ensure that they did not support the other side. Although many countries tried to remain neutral, the world was polarised into east and west.
- indirect conflicts, including the Korean War and the Vietnam War
- the space race
- a 'red scare' in many countries — a widespread fear of communists infiltrating the country or government. This resulted in, for example, the requirement for loyalty oaths and the blacklisting of many people in the television and film industries for their assumed leftist views.

SOURCE 7 American children practise taking shelter under their desks during an air raid drill at a middle school in Brooklyn, New York. The 'duck and cover' drills were a reminder of the threat of nuclear war during the period of the Cold War.



1.3.6 Determining historical significance

Historical **significance** relates to the importance that is assigned to particular aspects of the past. These aspects may include events, individuals or groups, developments in the past, ideas or movements, and historical sites. There is far too much history for us to study or learn all of it. We need to make judgements about what is important and what is less important. For this reason, this is an essential, yet challenging historical skill.

When we try to establish the significance of an aspect of the past, we have to consider a number of questions. For example:

- How relevant was it to people living at that time?
- How many people were affected?
- How did it change people's lives?
- How long were people's lives affected?
- How important and long lasting were the consequences?
- How relevant is it to the contemporary world?

It is worth noting that historical significance needs to be established. That is, the importance or meaning of the aspect of the past must be explained. The historian must be able to justify why the aspect has significance. Furthermore, significance can change over time and can vary between groups of people. For example, although the Korean War is historically significant, it has greater significance for people living in Korea than it does for people living in a western country such as Australia (see **SOURCE 8**).

SOURCE 8 The Korean War, a war between North Korea (supported by China and the USSR) and South Korea (supported by the United Nations, including the USA) lasted from 1950 to 1953. Here, South Korean military forces are evacuating Suwon Air Base as a result of the rapid advance of communist North Korean troops in 1950. The fighting received little public attention in western countries, such as the USA and Australia, particularly in comparison to the war that preceded it (World War II) and the war that came after it (the Vietnam War). For this reason, the Korean War is often referred to as 'The Forgotten War'. However, millions of people lost their lives during the conflict, including soldiers and civilians, and the war had a long-term detrimental effect on all of Korea. North Korea and South Korea remain divided.



1.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

1.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Identify the five historical skills.
2. **HS1** Explain what is involved in sequencing chronology.
3. **HS2** Write the meaning of the following terms: ages, BC, AD, BCE and CE.
4. **HS1** Describe the difference between primary sources and secondary sources.
5. **HS1** Provide two examples of written sources and two examples of archaeological sources.
6. **HS1** How do historians create secondary sources?
7. **HS1** Explain what the term 'bias' means and why we might not be able to trust a primary source.
8. **HS1** Describe a way to test primary sources for reliability.
9. **HS1** Complete the following sentences by choosing words from the box below.

contestability	theory	debate	contradict	evidence

   (a) A hypothesis is a _____ or possible explanation that has to be tested by looking for _____ that might support it and other evidence that might _____ it.
   (b) _____ is the situation when particular interpretations of the past are open to _____ .
10. **HS1** Explain what a historian is doing when identifying continuity and change.
11. **HS1** Outline the difference between short-term causes and effects and long-term causes and effects.
12. **HS1** Describe a way to establish the significance of an aspect of the past.

1.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS2** Using **SOURCE 2** as a model, make a timeline of your life up to the present. On it, write the important events of your life. Use the terms AD or CE, century and decade. Then explain how your timeline helps you to present an overall picture of your life so far.
2. **HS3** Look at the mind map in **SOURCE 3** and describe each of the sources pictured around the mind map.
3. **HS3** Suggest what we might learn about the past from graffiti or one of the other types of primary sources listed in the mind map in **SOURCE 3**.
4. **HS3** Why would it be wrong to think that primary sources are more reliable than secondary sources?
5. **HS3** Make a list of types of primary sources that could be used to create a history of your school (a secondary source). Beside each source in your list, write what you think you could find out by using it as evidence.
6. **HS4** Examine **SOURCES 4** and **5** closely. Identify (a) the changes and (b) the similarities (or continuities) that you can see that have occurred between Melbourne in 1934 and the present.
7. **HS5** After looking at the image of the remains of the Berlin Wall seen in **SOURCE 6** and the image of the school children seen in **SOURCE 7**, imagine that you have travelled back in time to meet the children. Explain to them the causes of the Cold War and the effects of this historical period.
8. **HS6** After examining **SOURCE 8**, consider the Korean War and then answer the following questions. Explain your answer for each question.
   (a) How significant was this war to you?
   (b) How significant do you think this war would be to a person your age living in Korea?
   (c) How significant do you think this war would be to an older person living in Korea?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

1.4 Perspectives and empathy

1.4.1 Understanding how they thought and felt

It is very important for historians to empathise with those they study. This means trying to understand how people thought and felt at different times in the past. In other words, **empathy** can be defined as imagining what someone else might be thinking or feeling. At different points throughout your study of history you will be asked to put yourself in the situation of someone in the past. This is not a creative writing task, in which you can let your imagination run wild. Rather, you will be using *historical* imagination. This requires using your imagination, but basing your ideas on evidence.

We try to understand the **perspective** of people in the past through exploring their points of view, attitudes and values. Often we can get a sense of the way people thought and felt through primary sources such as diaries or through visiting museums and historical sites. Using empathy, we work with all the evidence we have in order to imagine what the past was like for people who were there at the time. We need to consider questions such as:

- Who were these people?
- Where did they live?
- How did they live?
- What mattered to them?
- What did they believe in?
- What did they see, hear, taste, smell and feel?
- What did they fear and what did they hope for?
- Did they have feelings similar to or different from ours?
- Did they all think and feel the same as one another, or did they have differing perspectives?

How should we judge people in the past?

When we learn about some of the things people did in the past, it is natural that we make moral judgements. For example, we naturally see slavery as wrong. What we should try to avoid is judging people in the past by beliefs or standards that did not exist in their time. It would be wrong, for example, to judge the Australian government or the community in the 1940s and 1950s for seeking to increase migration to Australia, but being reluctant to open the borders to people who were not white or European. This had been government policy for some time. World War II had also only recently concluded and there were examples of racial tensions in other countries, such as the United States, South Africa and England, resulting in escalating conflict. Furthermore, many Australians were afraid that migrants would take their jobs and would be unable to accept the Australian way of life. Sometimes recognising a worldview, even a racist one, can help us to comprehend (but not condone) the actions of people in the past. We should also remember that in the future, people may think that many kinds of behaviour we consider normal are, by their standards, wrong. For example, imagine that Australian people living 100 years in the future are all vegetarian or vegan. Would it be reasonable for them to judge people living in our present who enjoy eating hamburgers, fried chicken or hot dogs? We need to be very cautious about judging the past using the beliefs or standards of today.

SOURCE 1 A British family of 15 at Southampton docks at the start of their journey to Australia in 1968



SOURCE 2 Refugees in a boat from Vietnam that sailed into Darwin in 1977



DISCUSS

Working in small groups, think of something that happens in our own time that some people believe is wrong. An example could be the way some countries are wealthy while in others children die of starvation and preventable diseases. Do you think that at some time in the future people might consider ours to have been an unjust age?

[Ethical Capability]

1.4 ACTIVITY

Using the internet and/or other information sources, find the meaning of the word 'sympathy'. Explain how empathy is different from sympathy.

Remembering and understanding

1.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

1.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What does it mean to empathise with people you study?
2. **HS1** How is historical imagination different to just letting your imagination run wild?
3. **HS1** What is historical perspective?
4. **HS1** Identify the questions that might be asked when using empathy in order to imagine what the past was like for people who were there at the time.
5. **HS1** Why could it be wrong to judge people from past times by the standards of our times?

1.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Compare **SOURCES 1** and **2**. What are the similarities and differences between these sources?
2. **HS3** Imagine you are one of the adults shown in **SOURCE 1** and describe:
   (a) what you can see, hear, taste and smell
   (b) how you feel about what is happening and your future
   (c) how you feel about the impending trip to Australia.
3. **HS3** Imagine you are one of the children shown in **SOURCE 1**. Would you be likely to consider what is happening as fun, exciting or scary, or would you have some other emotion? Explain.
4. **HS3** Imagine you are one of the people shown in **SOURCE 2** and describe:
   (a) what you can see, hear, taste and smell
   (b) how you feel about arriving in Darwin.
5. **HS6** Why do you think that it is important for historians to empathise with the people that they study?

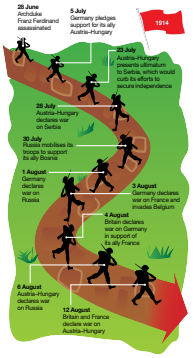
Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

1.5 SkillBuilder: Sequencing events in chronological order

online only

What is a timeline?

A timeline is a diagrammatic tool for placing events in *chronological order* (the order in which they happened). A simple chronology would be one, for example, that showed in sequence, or time order, key events of a day in your life. Generally, timelines are constructed using a sequence of dates with the addition of descriptive labels. A timeline may cover a short period or many centuries. Timelines may be as simple as a horizontal or vertical line, or highly visual with use of colour and images.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

1.6 Review

online only

1.6.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.
Select your learnON format to complete review questions for this topic.

on Resources

eWorkbook Crossword (doc-31746)

Interactivities Time out: Sources (int-0782)

Historical skills and concepts crossword (int-7660)

KEY TERMS

artefact an object made or changed by humans
biased one-sided or prejudiced, seeing something from just one point of view
cause and effect the concept that every historical event will have a cause, and every event or action is likely to be the cause of subsequent effects or consequences
chronology a record of past events in order of time, from Greek *chronos*, meaning time, and *logos*, meaning logic or reasoning
contestability when particular interpretations of the past are open to debate
continuity and change the concept that while many changes occur over time, some things remain constant
empathy the ability to understand and share another person's thoughts and feelings
evidence information that indicates whether something is true or really happened
hypothesis (plural: hypotheses) a theory or possible explanation
perspective point of view or attitude
primary sources objects and documents that were created or written in the period that the historian is investigating
secondary sources reconstructions of the past written or created by people living at a time after the period that the historian is studying
significance the importance assigned to particular aspects of the past; for example, events, developments, movements and historical sites
timeline a diagrammatic tool representing a period of time, on which events are placed in chronological order

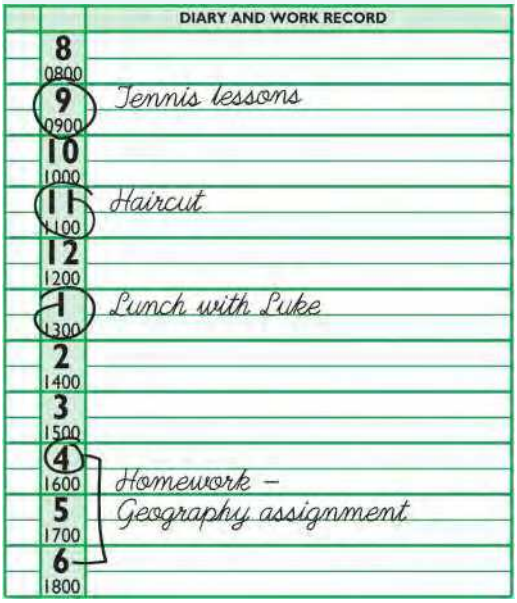
1.5 SkillBuilder: Sequencing events in chronological order

1.5.1 Tell me

What is a timeline?

A timeline is a diagrammatic tool for placing events in *chronological order* (the order in which they happened). A simple chronology would be, for example, one that showed in sequence, or time order, key events of a day in your life.

SOURCE 1 A simple chronology



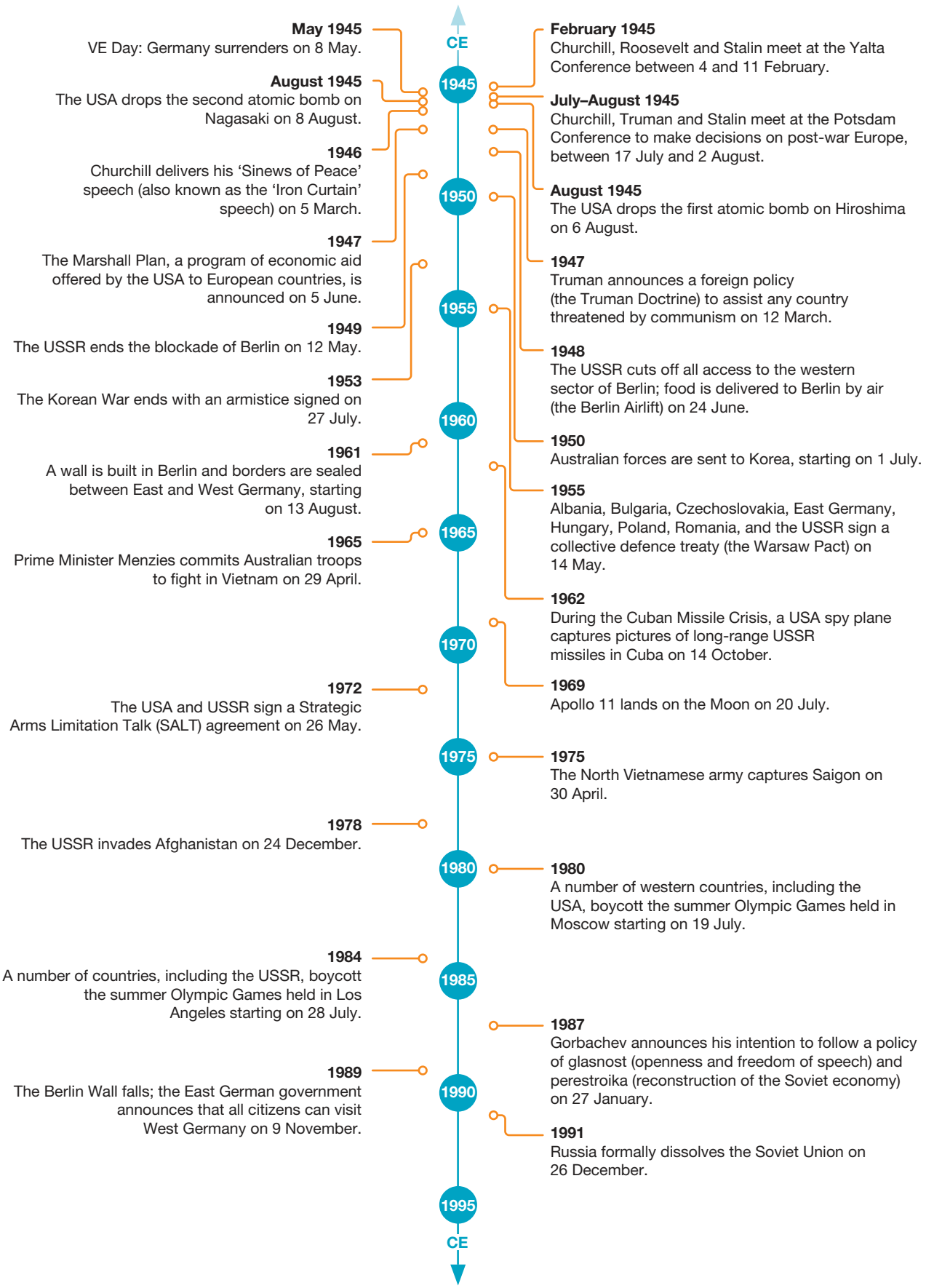
Why are timelines useful?

Timelines are useful because they can help us make sense of events in the past. Timelines are particularly useful in the study of history. Creating a history timeline will help us to:

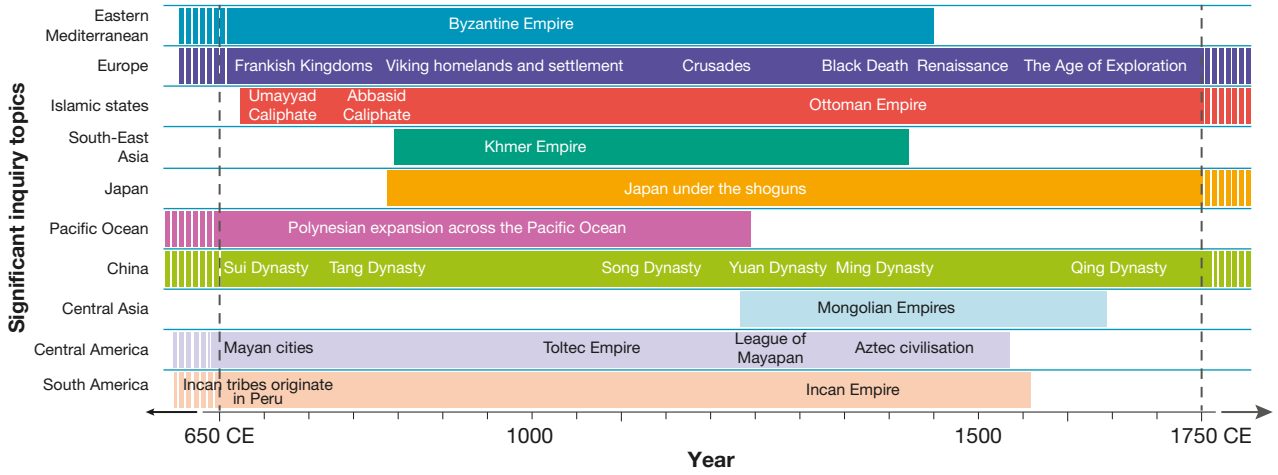
- understand the order in which events occurred
- describe the time distances between events
- identify what has changed over time
- identify what has stayed the same over time
- analyse how one event might relate to other events
- compare what might have been happening in different places at the same time
- assess if one event might have led to another event (cause and effect).

Generally, timelines are constructed using a sequence of dates with the addition of descriptive labels. The timeline may cover a short period (see **SOURCE 2**) or many centuries (see **SOURCE 3**). In print, timelines may be as simple as a horizontal or vertical line, or highly visual with use of colour and images. Using digital technology, online timelines can be interactive, where users can click on a date and see a descriptive label or an image, or even hear an audio narrative or sound effects.

SOURCE 2 Timeline of the Cold War between 1945 and 1991



SOURCE 3 An example of a horizontal timeline that uses coloured bars to compare significant events in different places at the same point in time



1.5.2 Show me

How to create a timeline

Timelines can cover very short or very long periods of time.

- They can focus on just a few months or years.
- They can focus on big, sweeping changes over thousands of years.
- In most cases, they are divided up into equal blocks of time, such as decades or centuries. This is not essential but it helps us to see not only the order of events but how close or how far apart they were.
- A break in the timeline (using a zigzag line, for instance) can show a long span of time between one date and the next.
- To make equal blocks of time you need to use a scale — for example, 1 centimetre = 10 years.
- Timelines can be horizontal (across the page) with the earliest dates on the left and later dates to the right.
- Alternatively, they can be vertical (down the page), in which case the dates usually run from the earliest at the top to the latest at the bottom.
- Often we have only approximate dates for events in ancient history. In those cases, we put 'c.' in front of the date. This stands for the Latin word *circa*, which is Latin for 'around' or 'about'.

Step 1

Study the source timelines in this subtopic. Look at the way they have been constructed. When creating a timeline you need to consider:

- will it be vertical or horizontal?
- will you use images and a diagrammatic approach or a simple ruler structure?
- what will the time division be?
- what scale will you use to represent time periods?

Step 2

Mark events alongside the appropriate time period of the timeline. Use pointers to indicate the exact location on the timeline where the event belongs.

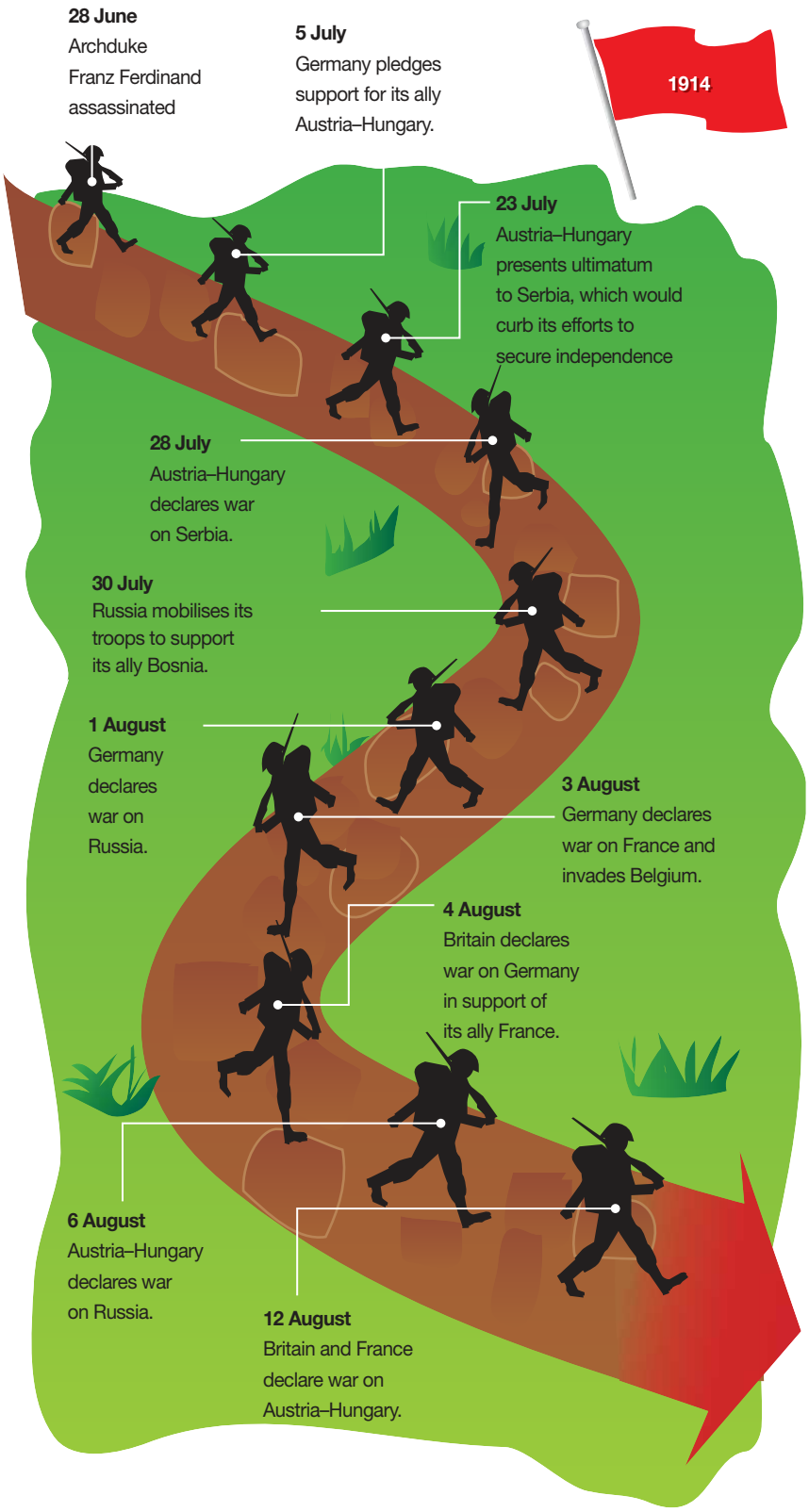
Step 3

Make sure your completed timeline has a clear title. The title should state:

- the time period covered
- the subject or theme
- the beginning and end dates.

Model

SOURCE 4 The steps by which countries were drawn into World War I



1.5.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

1.5 ACTIVITIES

1. Construct a timeline of key events relating to the modern world and Australia during the period 1939–2016.

- Use a vertical or horizontal timeline.
- Decide on the scale you will use.

Key events for your timeline:

1939 Britain declares war on Germany.

1940 The Battle of Britain prevents a German invasion of Britain.

1941 Australians hold out for months against German forces in the Tobruk siege.

1942 Australians turn back the Japanese advance in Papua.

1944 The 'D Day' landings take place in France.

1945 Germany surrenders on 7 May.

1945 Japan formally surrenders on 2 September.

1948 The UN adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1949 Immigrants from many European nations are employed in the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme.

1950 North Korea invades South Korea on 25 June.

1953 The Korean armistice is signed.

1954 Pro-French forces defeated in Vietnam; the Geneva Conference divides Vietnam into North and South.

1956 Australia airs its first television broadcast on 16 September.

1956 Melbourne hosts the Summer Olympics, starting on 22 November.

1962 Australia sends military advisers to South Vietnam.

1967 In a referendum, more than 90 per cent of Australians vote for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to be included in determinations of population.

1973 Australia's voting age is lowered from 21 to 18.

1975 The North Vietnamese army captures Saigon on 30 April.

1975 The Whitlam government is dismissed on 11 November.

1983 A High Court ruling blocks the damming of Tasmania's Franklin River.

1992 In the Mabo case, the High Court recognises Indigenous ownership of the land for the first time.

2000 Sydney hosts the Summer Olympics.

2008 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivers a formal apology to the members of the Stolen Generations.

2015 In Paris, 150 countries sign a draft Agreement at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to work towards capping global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

2016 The High Court dismisses a challenge to the legality of the Immigration Detention centre on Nauru.

Your timeline will help you to analyse and compare events. For example, you could use it to answer questions such as the following:

- When did World War II begin and end?
- Which city first hosted the Summer Olympic Games in Australia?

2. Apply your skills to answer the following questions.

(a) What time span does your timeline cover (i.e. how many years in total are covered by your timeline)?

(b) How many years elapsed between the end of World War II and the start of the Korean War?

(c) Which came first — the High Court's recognition of Indigenous ownership of the land or Kevin Rudd's formal apology to the members of the Stolen Generations?

(d) Identify five events that were significant for Australia during the period of time illustrated on the timeline.

(e) What events of significance for Australia occurred during the period of the Vietnam War?

(f) What was the consequence of the defeat of the French Union forces in 1954 and the decision to divide Vietnam into North and South? (*Hint*: Look for the events that happened after these events.)

1.6 Review

1.6.1 Key knowledge summary

1.2 Why we study history

- Historians investigate and interpret the past.
- History helps us to understand our heritage and appreciate other cultures.
- History helps us to understand the present and what the future may hold.
- History provides us with essential skills.

1.3 Historical skills

- Sequencing chronology refers to recording past events in order of time.
- Using historical sources as evidence relates to analysing sources to judge how reliable they are and explore the different points of view, or perspectives, of people from the past.
- Identifying continuity and change is the ability to recognise that while many changes occur over time, some things remain constant.
- Analysing cause and effect relates to understanding that every historical event will have a cause, and every event or action is likely to be the cause of subsequent effects or consequences.
- Determining historical significance is the ability to make judgements about the importance assigned to particular aspects of the past, for example, events, developments, movements and historical sites.

1.4 Perspectives and empathy

- Historians try to discover how people thought and felt at different times in the past.
- Using historical imagination requires using your imagination but basing your ideas on evidence.
- We should avoid judging people from the past by the standards of our own age.

on Resources

eWorkbook Crossword (doc-31746)

Interactivity Historical skills and concepts crossword (int-7660)

KEY TERMS

artefact an object made or changed by humans
biased one-sided or prejudiced, seeing something from just one point of view
cause and effect the concept that every historical event will have a cause, and every event or action is likely to be the cause of subsequent effects or consequences
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evidence information that indicates whether something is true or really happened
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perspective point of view or attitude
primary sources objects and documents that were created or written in the period that the historian is investigating
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significance the importance assigned to particular aspects of the past, for example, events, developments, movements and historical sites.
timeline a diagrammatic tool representing a period of time, on which events are placed in chronological order

2 Causes of World War II

2.1 Overview

After the horrors of World War I, what could possibly have happened to spark another global war?

2.1.1 Links with our times

On 9 August 2015, bells tolled in Nagasaki Peace Park in the Japanese city of Nagasaki as Japan and the world marked the 70th anniversary of the dropping of a US atomic bomb on the city in 1945. The exact time of the bomb's detonation is shown on the base of the statue *Hymn to life*, which depicts a mother holding her baby, a universal symbol of love and peace.

Approximately 74 000 people died in the Nagasaki bomb blast or from radiation sickness and other after-effects. That bomb followed just three days after the first atomic bomb was dropped on another Japanese city, Hiroshima. On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered and World War II was finally over. As horrific as the death toll from these two atomic bombs was, this was but one of many terrible events in a war that claimed far more lives than any other conflict in human history.

The origins and causes of World War II go back to the months following World War I and, as you will discover in this topic, they are to be found in changes that shaped the world during the inter-war years.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson The inter-war years (eles-2598)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

2.1 Overview
2.2 Examining the evidence
2.3 The peace treaties and the League of Nations
2.4 The 'Roaring Twenties'
2.5 The Great Depression
2.6 Communism — dream or nightmare?
2.7 The rise of facism
2.8 The Nazis take power in Germany
2.9 Japanese militarism
2.10 The road to war in Europe
2.11 **SkillBuilder:** Analysing cause and effect with graphic organisers online only
2.12 **Thinking Big research project:** TV Quizmaster online only
2.13 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions, and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of the causes of World War II

CE



1918

1919
The Treaty of Versailles is signed.
Revolutionary outbreaks occur across Europe.

1920

1921
The Bolsheviks win the Russian Civil War.

1922

1922
Mussolini and his fascists take power in Italy. The former Russian Tsarist Empire becomes the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

1923
Hitler attempts to seize power in Germany in the unsuccessful Munich Putsch.

1924

1924
The Nazis win only 3 per cent of votes in German elections.





1926

1928

1929
The Great Depression begins.

1930

1931
Japan invades Manchuria.



1932

1932
Unemployment reaches its peak in the worst year of the Great Depression.



1933
Hitler and the Nazis gain power in Germany. Germany and Japan withdraw from the League of Nations.

1934

1935
Germany announces rearmament and conscription. Fascist Italy invades Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

1936
German troops re-enter the Rhineland. Germany and Italy support Franco in the Spanish Civil War and become allies. Germany and Japan become allies. Stalin purges his opponents in the Communist Party and the military in the USSR.

1936

1937
Japan invades China.

1938

1938
Germany annexes Austria. At the Munich Conference, Germany gains the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia.



1939
Germany invades and takes the remainder of Czechoslovakia. Germany invades Poland and World War II begins.

1940

CE

2.2 Examining the evidence

2.2.1 How do we know about the causes of World War II?

In this topic we will survey some of the big political, economic and social changes that shaped the world and Australia between the end of World War I in 1918 and the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The most significant changes include the growing influence of communism, the unprecedented economic crisis of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism.

We have an enormous number and variety of primary sources for the period often described as the inter-war years, that is, the period of history between World War I and World War II. These sources include those created by governments, the mass media and individuals. When considered together, these sources give historians a comprehensive picture of what it was like to live in the inter-war years and experience the changes that characterised the period.

Official sources

By this period, governments and parliaments were keeping thorough records of their decisions, policies and debates. Public servants were also required to keep records. So, for most countries, we have official records of matters to do with trade, health, employment, housing, foreign policy, education and every aspect of society for which governments had responsibility. In fact, it is often possible to know more about how political parties and governments made decisions then than about political decision making today. In Australia, for example, the records of Cabinet meetings (top-level meetings of governments) are kept secret for 30 years, and many other countries have similar rules.

Mass media

In most countries there were far more daily newspapers published during this period than there are today. Political parties of all kinds also published their own newspapers to spread their views. Back issues of newspapers provide day-to-day reports and images of events from those times, but they are not always reliable sources. Photography had also become more widely used.

SOURCE 1 A group of Americans eat lunch on the running board of a Model T Ford during the 1920s. By then mass production had enabled the price of a Model T to drop to about a third of what it had been in 1909.



SOURCE 2 Japanese tanks terrorising the people of Nanjing, China. The Japanese Imperial Army slaughtered over 200 000 people between December 1937 and January 1938.



Two new forms of mass media also gained huge influence during this period. They were radio, which Australians called the 'wireless', and film, which many called the 'flicks'. Film had an enormous influence. By the end of the 1920s, when Australia's population was just 6.5 million, 2.75 million movie tickets were being sold every week. Around 95 per cent of these movies were American, and they contributed to the

spread of American influences. Film also became an important medium for recording world events and social changes. And political parties were quick to recognise that film provided new opportunities for propaganda in an age when many people believed that the camera did not lie.

Personal records

Many people who lived through the Great Depression and other events of the inter-war years kept diaries or wrote letters about their experiences. Some wrote and published memoirs, providing first-hand accounts of those times.

SOURCE 3 Three young children with their dolls sharing one bed in a Melbourne slum around 1935



SOURCE 4 A charity worker's account of poverty in the 1930s, from Greig Smith, Secretary, Charity Organisation Society, in the Melbourne *Argus*, 7 March 1931.

The other day a social worker ... visited a home in an outer suburb ... The door was opened by a neatly dressed woman who had clearly been weeping ... she broke down in a distressing manner when she told of her husband's daily heart-breaking search for work. Two years ago he had lost a steady job ... Never since has he been able to get anything better than intermittent work — casual jobs which have become fewer as the Depression has deepened. In recent months he has walked the streets ... from early morn till setting sun in a fruitless search for a job of any kind or any duration. His clothing has become shabby, his boots are worn nearly off his feet, and his wife is well-nigh distracted as daily she sees his spirit slowly breaking. The children are hungry, their clothing is threadbare, and the loss of the home is an imminent probability.

2.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why can we often learn more about government decisions in the inter-war years than those of today?
2. **HS1** Why do we have more newspaper sources for this period than for the present?
3. **HS1** What were three of the most significant changes that took place between 1918 and 1939?
4. **HS1** List four areas of government responsibility during the inter-war years for which we have evidence from official records.
5. **HS1** What two new forms of mass media gained much influence during the inter-war years?

2.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** If the people in **SOURCE 1** were first-time car owners, as almost 20 per cent of Americans were at this time, how do you think they would feel about the age they were living in and about their future prospects?
2. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 2**. What evidence does it provide of Japanese aggression in China?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Describe what you see in the image.
   (b) How useful is the source as evidence of poverty in the 1930s?
4. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) What has happened to the family?
   (b) How do you think the family members would feel about their situation?
5. **HS4** Using the four sources in this subtopic, write a short paragraph describing some general features of the changes that took place in the 1920s and 1930s.

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2.3 The peace treaties and the League of Nations

2.3.1 The peace treaties

On 11 November 1918, the German government accepted an **armistice**, which ended all fighting in World War I. German troops were exhausted and their morale was broken. The army had run out of reserves, many German people were starving and food supplies were low. The Allies had won the war but they now had the task of creating peace. Would they make treaties that took revenge for Allied losses and suffering or would they seek a peace that would last?

Five million Allied troops had died to achieve victory in World War I. Another 13 million had been wounded, many of them permanently disabled. The financial cost was also enormous, and France had suffered the destruction of farmland as well as entire towns and villages. Germany and the other Central Powers had also suffered terribly. They had lost 3.5 million troops and another 8 million were wounded. However, as many people on the Allied side saw it, the Central Powers, especially Germany, had caused the war and should be made to pay.

SOURCE 1 The ruins of the Cloth Hall in Ypres, Belgium, in 1917. This structure was devastated by artillery fire during World War I.



Source: AWM E00720

The Treaty of Versailles

On 28 June 1919, after five months of negotiations, delegates from the Allied countries and Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles. Germany's National Assembly regarded many of the terms set out in the treaty's 440 articles as so harsh that at first they had refused to sign. Penalties imposed on Germany included restrictions on the size of its military forces as well as **reparations** payments to the **Allies** and loss of territory.

Territorial losses

All German overseas colonies were seized. The provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France. German territory in the east was given to Poland, and **plebiscites** were to be held in German East Prussia and Silesia to enable their people to choose between remaining part of Germany or being absorbed into Poland. The German Rhineland was to be occupied for 15 years.

SOURCE 2 A map showing how Europe was changed by the peace treaties



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Military and economic terms

Military terms: Germany was permitted to maintain a volunteer army of no more than 100 000, but it was not allowed to use conscription or to possess an air force or submarines. Its navy was to be reduced in size and it was barred from manufacturing or trading in war materials.

Economic terms: Germany's rich Saar coalfields were to be controlled by France for 15 years. German railway stock and large ships were to be handed over and Germany was to build a further million tonnes of ships for the Allies. Huge quantities of coal, steel and other raw materials were also to be given to the Allies. In addition, Germany was required to pay for all civilian damage suffered by the Allies. Under Clause 231, Germany had to accept blame for causing the war.

The other peace treaties

Each of the other defeated Central Powers was also made to sign a treaty.

- *The Treaty of Saint-Germain* dismantled the Austro-Hungarian Empire and required Austria to pay reparations. The south-western parts of the empire were united with Serbia and Montenegro to form the new nation-state of Yugoslavia.
- *The Treaty of Trianon* took more than 70 per cent of Hungary's territory to create the new nation-state of Czechoslovakia.

- *The Treaty of Neuilly* transferred parts of Bulgaria's territory to Greece, Romania and Yugoslavia.
- *The Treaty of Sevres* took away Turkey's Middle East territories. These states were divided between Britain and France to administer as League of Nations **mandates**.

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- Overview > **The interwar period**

2.3.2 The League of Nations

Germany's Kaiser had been overthrown in a revolution in November 1918. US president Woodrow Wilson had wanted a more lenient treaty that would have strengthened democracy in Germany and created conditions more likely to preserve peace. France and Britain, however, wanted to weaken Germany and make it pay for their losses. The Treaty of Versailles created intense bitterness in Germany, but one hope for lasting peace was the formation of the League of Nations. It was Wilson's idea and when it was formed it held promise as a guardian of world peace. Had it worked, it might have made up for the weaknesses of the rest of the peace settlement.

SOURCE 3 Some Articles from the Covenant of the League of Nations

Article 8
The Members recognise the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety.
Article 10
The Members of the League undertake to respect, and preserve against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League ...
Article 11
Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the Whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

The League's main task was to prevent wars. The Covenant of the League was approved at the Versailles Conference in 1919. At first the League had 42 member states, including Australia. It was made up of a General Assembly (of all member states) and a Council. The Assembly met once a year but the Council met more frequently to deal with urgent problems. It consisted of Permanent Members and Non-Permanent Members. The major powers (Britain, France, Italy and Japan) were the Permanent Members. The Non-Permanent Members were elected from the other member states.

The League also had several special organisations. For example, the Permanent Court of Justice was set up to resolve international legal disputes, the Health Organization was formed to combat epidemics and the International Labour Organization was concerned with industrial and economic problems. The peace treaties had given Allied countries, mainly Britain and France, mandates to administer Turkey's Middle Eastern territories and Germany's overseas colonies. As these territories were not considered to be colonies that belonged to those countries, the League's Mandates Commission was set up to ensure that the administering powers carried out their responsibilities.

Weaknesses of the League

The League never had the power to achieve its aim of preventing major wars. It could order parties in a conflict to negotiate in the Assembly, where aggressors could be warned. If that failed, the League could take steps such as ordering a trade embargo to hurt the aggressor nation's economy. The League

could threaten military action against an aggressor. But it had no military force of its own and could not compel its members to provide forces. In any case, under the League's rules, any decision of the Council or Assembly had to be unanimous, so any country could prevent the League taking action to solve a crisis.

A further major weakness was that some important nations were not League members. The US Congress refused to endorse the Treaty of Versailles, so the United States did not join the League. Germany was not allowed to join until 1926 and Russia did not join until 1934. Germany and Japan both left in 1933 and Italy quit in 1937. Despite its failure, the League was an important first attempt to design a world organisation to prevent war.

Faith in the League of Nations

After the great suffering caused by World War I, there was worldwide public support for the idealistic aims of the League. A League of Nations Union was formed to encourage people to support those aims and to counter the previously held belief that war was glorious. The League of Nations Union had branches in many countries, including Australia, where its members included politicians from the major political parties. With such support, the organisation was able to introduce League of Nations ceremonies and ideas into public schools ,and junior branches formed in those schools. A special League of Nations Day was first observed in Australian schools in 1930. Such activities encouraged great hope that there would never be another world war.

SOURCE 4 A political cartoon about The League of Nations from *Literary Digest* at the time, titled 'Can it survive?'



SOURCE 5 A League of Nations Union Junior Branch certificate, published in *Education*, the journal of the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Federation, 15 November 1934



2.3 ACTIVITY

Imagine that you are a school student in 1934. Your school has been awarded the certificate for forming a junior branch of the League of Nations Union (see **SOURCE 5**). You have been asked to give a short speech explaining why you and your fellow students are proud to be members and why your generation supports the work of the League of Nations for world peace.

Write the speech you would give. Be sure that your speech explains the significance of the formation of the League as an attempt to maintain world peace. **Determining historical significance**

2.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain what you understand each of the following terms to mean: reparations; plebiscites; mandates.
2. **HS1** Name the four treaties between the Allies and the defeated Central Powers.
3. **HS1** Explain why Germany's National Assembly at first refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles.
4. **HS1** Write a short summary or create a graphic organiser to show the military and economic terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
5. **HS1** What became of Turkey's Middle Eastern territories under the Treaty of Sevres?
6. **HS1** Whose idea was the League of Nations?
7. **HS1** Which major nations were not League members and how would this have weakened the League?
8. **HS1** Which countries were Permanent Members of the Council of the League of Nations?

2.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Describe what you see in **SOURCE 1** and explain how it helps you to understand why there was strong support for a very harsh treaty with Germany.
2. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 2** as your evidence, describe the territorial losses suffered in Europe by:
   (a) Germany
   (b) Austria–Hungary

(c) Bulgaria
(d) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, the former Russian Empire).

3. **HS3** As the USSR was not one of the defeated powers, why do you think its territorial losses (shown in **SOURCE 2**) were endorsed by the Peace Treaties?
4. **HS3** Using the information in this subtopic and **SOURCE 3**:
   (a) describe the main aim of the League of Nations
   (b) outline three reasons why the League of Nations had little real power to prevent wars.
5. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) Describe the way the League of Nations is depicted in this cartoon.
   (b) Explain the message of the cartoon.
   (c) Given that the League of Nations was a peacekeeping organisation, why is this cartoon ironic?
6. **HS3** Which of the sources in this subtopic give you the clearest evidence of why the harsh terms of the peace treaties after World War I were likely to cause further trouble in Europe? Explain your choice.
7. **HS6** Supporters of the Treaty of Versailles have argued that it was less harsh than the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which Germany imposed on the Russians when they withdrew from the war. Do you think this fact justified a harsh treaty? How fair and realistic do you think it was to expect Germany to pay huge compensation?

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2.4 The 'Roaring Twenties'

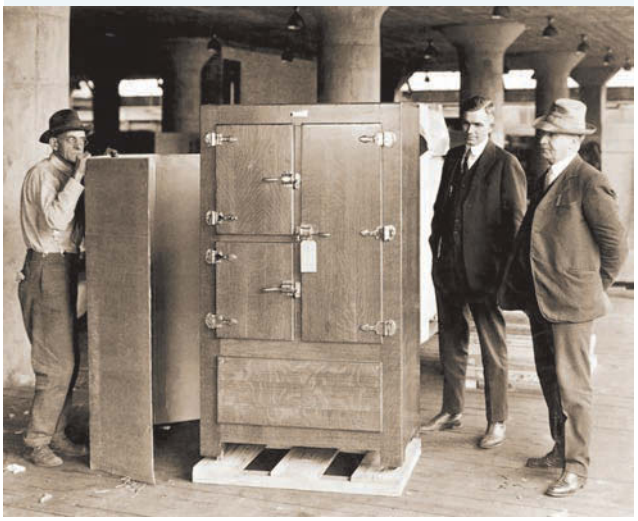
2.4.1 New technologies and changing values

During the 1920s, few people realised that forces that would bring another war were already taking shape. The decade of the 1920s has often been described as a carefree time when people put the gloom of the war years behind them. The wealth that some people had and the influence of jazz music, new dance crazes, motion pictures (movies), motorcars, new technologies and mass production all contributed to the decade being called the 'Roaring Twenties'. However, while for some it was an age of prosperity, confidence and fun, for most people around the world, the 1920s was anything but 'roaring'.

New technologies created new consumer goods. In the 1920s manufacturing was stimulated by the post-war demand for goods such as telephones, household appliances and cars (see **SOURCES 1** and **2**). The greatest growth occurred in the United States, where industrial output doubled between 1921 and 1929. How did this happen? In 1913, Henry Ford had introduced the **assembly line** to manufacture his Model T automobile. Assembly lines made manufacturing much cheaper and led to big increases in production and sales. Other manufacturers soon followed Ford's example.

Mass-produced goods had to find mass markets, so advertising was used to encourage mass consumption. The introduction of **hire purchase** encouraged people to buy new goods because they no longer had to save up their full cost before buying. As more people bought goods, more jobs were created so even more people had money to spend. By 1929 there was one car for every five Americans; in comparison, there was only one car for every 43 people in Britain and fewer still in most of Europe.

SOURCE 1 One of the first self-contained refrigerators, made by the US company Frigidaire. The photograph was taken around 1921.



Manufacturing also grew in Australia as British and American companies set up Australian branches. General Electric made toasters, irons and heaters and General Motors and Ford opened motor vehicle assembly plants in Australia in the mid 1920s. For those who could afford it, the consumer age had arrived. However, real wages barely improved in Australia through the 1920s.

Changing values

The mood of the 1920s was expressed in music, fashions and entertainment. Jazz had been created by African Americans. It became widely popular in the US and around the world, especially through musicians such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington. New dances such as the Charleston were performed at music halls and dance clubs. The United States had introduced **prohibition** in 1920 and it remained illegal to sell alcohol until 1933. But millions of Americans defied the law by drinking in illegal bars called 'speakeasies' that were often operated by gangsters.

People also became obsessed by aviation, which combined speed, thrills and novelty. When Bert Hinkler made his record-breaking England to Australia flight, 80 000 people turned out to cheer him as he landed in Melbourne.

SOURCE 2 Advertisement for electrical appliances, published in *Aussie* magazine, 15 December 1920



Reacting to change

Women were gaining more freedom and independence in this age. Some, called 'flappers', shocked conservatives by wearing short dresses, smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol in public. But many people were horrified by such changes in values and behaviour. Mixed bathing on beaches, even in neck-to-knee costumes, was seen as another sign of declining morals. Women received most blame for a suspected increase in sexual relations outside marriage. In Australia, churches warned of the evils of alcohol and called for a return to traditional values (see **SOURCE 4**).

SOURCE 3 A typical 'flapper' of the 1920s



SOURCE 4 From the Catholic newspaper the *Freeman's Journal*, 25 March 1925

There is the sensual and barbaric music, the modern sexual dances, and alcoholic refreshments, and a general acceptance of the standards and conversation that obtain among an irresponsible and jazzing generation.

on Resources

Weblink The Roaring Twenties experience

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- Overview > **Post-world war peace**

2.4.2 The other side of the 1920s

The image of the 1920s as an age of prosperity and excitement ignores the experiences of most people. In the United States, rural workers gained little and African Americans especially suffered poverty and discrimination. Although the US had suffered much less in the war than other Allied nations, there were problems readjusting to peace. Many demobilised soldiers were unemployed while the cost of living doubled in two years. When workers went on strike for better pay they were violently suppressed.

Intolerance in the United States

African Americans, migrants and political **radicals** experienced the hatred of many white Americans. The Ku Klux Klan grew rapidly in the 1920s. By 1925 this violent racist movement had five million members (see **SOURCE 5**). It incited **lynchings** and other atrocities against black Americans and preached hatred of blacks, Catholics, Jews, non-English migrants and socialists. There were race riots in many cities.

SOURCE 5 A Ku Klux Klan initiation ceremony during the 1920s



Conservative politicians and the press convinced many Americans that there was a 'Red' conspiracy to overthrow the US. In 1919 and 1920 more than 10 000 suspected communists and **anarchists** were arrested. On 15 April 1920, two men were shot dead in a payroll robbery. Two Italian Americans, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, were charged with these murders even though they had sound alibis and there was

no evidence against them. Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty and sentenced to death because they were anarchists. In 1925, another man confessed to being a member of the gang that carried out the killings. Despite this, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed on 23 August 1927. On that day more than 250 000 people protested in Boston.

Division in Europe

After the war there were bitter social divisions in Europe. Many French socialists believed that revolution was near. British society was also deeply divided. No longer the 'workshop of the world', Britain experienced widespread poverty and unemployment. In the early 1920s, working-class unrest was violently suppressed. Mounted police attacked hunger marches led by demobilised soldiers. In Ireland, British forces conducted a savage campaign against Irish rebels.

Italy came close to a socialist revolution after the war. Demobilised peasant soldiers seized land from wealthy landowners, while in towns and cities workers took over the factories. The rich and the middle classes, who feared that Italy would follow the path of Russia, turned to the fascists to save them. Similar conflicts erupted in Germany and parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Unrest in the colonies

Independence movements grew in many colonies of the European powers immediately after the war. Many revolutionaries were inspired by the example of the Russian Revolution. In 1919 in the Dutch East Indies (modern Indonesia) the Islamic Union called for independence. In 1920 the Indies Communist Party was formed. It attempted an uprising against the Dutch in 1926–27, but its leaders were hanged and thousands of others were imprisoned. In French Indochina, the French Foreign Legion terrorised the people to crush dissent against French rule. But the Legion's brutality drove many Vietnamese to support movements such as the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang, which was formed in 1927 to fight for Vietnam's independence (see **SOURCE 6**).

SOURCE 6 An eyewitness description of the behaviour of troops of the French Foreign Legion in Indochina during the 1920s, from Walter G. Langlois, *Andre Malraux: The Indochina Adventure*, London, 1966

An unleashed soldiery ... now terrorises the entire country. They steal, rape, condemn to death, and execute ... Legionnaires enter homes, take what catches their fancy, indulge in outrages against women and young girls. For trifles, without proof, men and youths are arrested and shot in cold blood without trial ... and the region lives under a real reign of military terror ... If it is with such methods that we intend to pacify the country, we are gravely mistaken.

DID YOU KNOW?

In British India in 1919, an unarmed Indian crowd was fired upon by troops commanded by General Reginald Dyer in the town of Amritsar. In this massacre, 372 people were killed and at least 1000 were wounded. In the following years the Indian National Congress became a mass movement dedicated to ending British rule.

DISCUSS

In groups, discuss the following topic: 'The 1920s — why we owe it a debt today'.

Determining historical significance

2.4 ACTIVITY

Study **SOURCE 5**. Use the internet to prepare a report on the racist activities of the Ku Klux Klan during the 1920s. Explain how its extreme ideology was similar to that of European fascist movements.

Using historical sources as evidence

2.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What is an assembly line?
2. **HS5** Describe the impact in the United States of mass production and hire purchase.
3. **HS4** Describe the social changes that led to the 1920s being called the 'Roaring Twenties'.
4. **HS1** Identify the groups in the United States who suffered poverty, intolerance and discrimination during the 1920s.
5. **HS1** Explain why there was deep division and conflict in Europe and the US during the 1920s.
6. **HS1** Describe the responses of Dutch, British and French colonial powers to independence movements in their colonies.
7. **HS1** Why might oppressed groups generally have considered this period to be anything but the 'Roaring Twenties'?

2.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Look at the appearance of the refrigerator in **SOURCE 1**. Describe ways in which it differs from a modern refrigerator and explain what differences such an appliance would have made to people's lives.
2. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Describe the aim of this advertisement.
   (b) To what aspirations is it appealing?
   (c) Explain what this source tells us about new technologies, marketing and consumers in the 1920s.
3. **HS3** Explain how **SOURCES 3** and **4** can be used as evidence of conflicting values in the 1920s.
4. **HS3** Explain how **SOURCE 6** provides evidence of reasons why colonised peoples resisted European rule after World War I.
5. **HS4** Referring to the sources in this subtopic, identify ways in which the 1920s was a decade of change and ways in which it was a period of reaction to change.
6. **HS4** Write a brief paragraph in which you consider how accurately the term 'Roaring Twenties' describes the decade of the 1920s.

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2.5 The Great Depression

2.5.1 The coming of the Great Depression

There are reasons to believe that World War II might not have occurred but for the Great Depression. Problems had been developing in the world economy since at least the mid 1920s, and in October 1929 the New York **stock exchange** collapsed (see **SOURCE 1**). Panicking investors sold shares as prices continued to fall. By the end of December 1929, $40 billion had been wiped off the value of US shares. Many shareholders, **stockbrokers** and business owners lost everything. The effects of the crash spread rapidly. Millions of people lost their jobs and the world was plunged into its worst crisis since World War I. This was the Great Depression and for many people it was worse than the war.

SOURCE 1 Traders gather in growing panic outside the New York Stock Exchange on 24 October 1929.



Two problems arose from the enormous growth in production of goods and prices of shares in the United States during the 1920s. First, companies produced more goods than they could sell, while most Americans were too poor to buy them, and many products could not find foreign markets. The second problem was speculation: investors used borrowed money to buy shares, expecting to sell them for quick profits when share prices rose. By the late 1920s this had caused share prices to reach unrealistic levels. When investors lost confidence and rushed to sell shares, their prices collapsed.

The result was a huge fall in demand for goods and services, so production was cut and employees were sacked. As unemployment spread, people spent less and more jobs were lost. Banks closed and poverty spread (see **SOURCE 2**). Millions of desperate Americans wandered the country seeking any work they could find. Because the US was the most important centre of the world economy, the Depression quickly spread to other countries.

Germany was hit particularly hard. Its industry depended on foreign loans as did the German government to meet reparations payments. By 1929 the German economy had only just reached its pre-war levels. Foreign loans dried up and German exports collapsed. By 1932, six million Germans were unemployed.

SOURCE 2 An extract from the *New Republic* by Edmund Wilson, 1933, showing poverty during the Depression

There is not a garbage-dump in Chicago which is not diligently haunted by the hungry. Last summer [in] the hot weather, when the smell was sickening and the flies were thick, there were a hundred people a day coming to one of the dumps. A widow who used to do housework and laundry, but now had no work at all, fed herself and her fourteen-year-old son on garbage. Before she picked up the meat, she would always take off her glasses so that she couldn't see the maggots.

DID YOU KNOW?

Extremes of wealth and poverty helped to trigger the Great Depression. During the 1920s, the 36 000 wealthiest families in the US received as much income as all of the 12 million people in the nation's poorest families. Low-paid workers could not afford to buy the goods produced in US factories. Today, the top 20 per cent of US households has more than 90 per cent of the country's financial wealth; economic inequality remains an enormous problem.

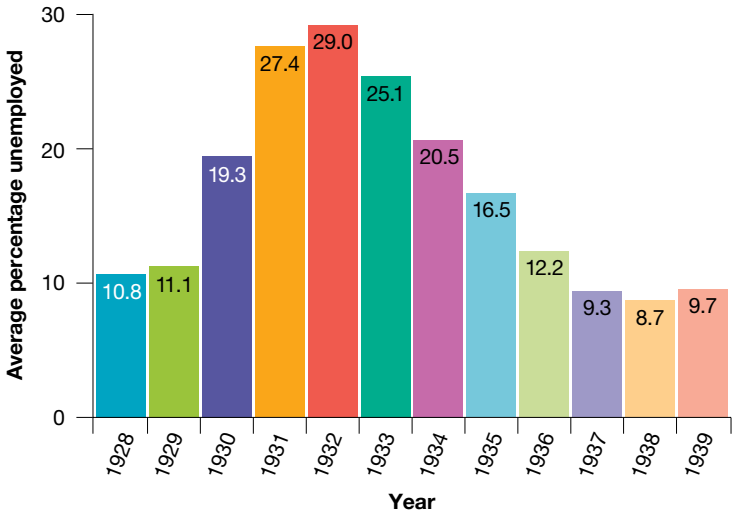
The Great Depression in Australia

Australians had experienced some of the changes associated with the 'Roaring Twenties', such as Hollywood movies, new fashions, and jazz and dance music, but unemployment reached 11 per cent during the decade and there was much industrial conflict, including a police strike in Melbourne in 1923. Australia had not had a booming economy during the 1920s, but it was among the nations that were hardest hit by the Depression.

To understand why Australia was badly affected, we need to look at how the economy was structured. Australia's prosperity was based on high prices for increasing exports of primary products and the inflow of foreign investment. But Australia owed a large and increasing amount of interest to overseas lenders. Any big fall in exports or export prices and any reduction of overseas loan funds would cause problems.

When the Great Depression struck, world prices of primary products collapsed and loan funds dried up. With loans no longer available to pay for public works and construction projects, many workers lost their jobs. This reduced demand for goods produced in other industries. By 1930 nearly 20 per cent of Australian workers were unemployed and many others had only part-time work. In 1932, unemployment reached almost 30 per cent.

SOURCE 3 Australian unemployment rates from 1928 to 1939



Source: Based on Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Labour Reports*, 1920–40.

As Australia could no longer borrow to pay for imports and to keep up interest payments on debts, the Australian government raised tariffs to make imports dearer. Australia's imports fell and exports increased, but prices for them fell so steeply that they barely increased Australia's earnings.

Dealing with the Depression

Because the Depression was a world problem, Australian governments felt powerless to end it. They thought they should treat their budgets in the same way a family would: when times were hard they should spend less. But as governments cut spending, more workers lost their jobs, people had less to spend and the situation worsened. At first the United States followed a similar course, but under President Roosevelt's New Deal the US expanded **welfare** and funded public works programs that helped the country to recover.

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Deepen and check your understanding of this topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- Overview > **The Great Depression**

2.5.2 Living through the Great Depression

Few rich Australians were affected by the Depression, and some of them profited from it. Life went on for Australia's high society. The social pages of newspapers reported on rounds of balls, garden parties, shopping sprees and overseas trips proceeding much as they had before the Depression. In contrast, many small farmers were already in debt by 1929 as a result of droughts and falling prices. At first, banks evicted farmers who could not meet loan repayments, but most farmers were saved by government relief and by legislation that froze their debts until conditions improved.

Workers suffered the most. At first governments relied on charities to provide for the unemployed. But charities could not deal with poverty on such a vast scale, and accepting charity was a bitter blow to people's pride. State governments provided some relief work for the unemployed but it was paid at less than the basic wage (see **SOURCE 4**). Unemployed workers were further humiliated by having to queue for the **dole** or sustenance payments, which became known as the 'susso'. Men tramped the streets in search of work. Many people went hungry, and malnourished children sometimes collapsed at school. Some people scavenged scraps from garbage bins. A survey in Melbourne found that almost 10 per cent of children suffered malnutrition and/or preventable diseases by the age of six.

In most cases no government support was provided for rent or clothing, so many faced eviction and homelessness when they could not pay their rent. Families were forced to live in shantytowns built on wasteland (see **SOURCES 5** and **7**). In these desperate times people banded together to help each other and joined demonstrations to protest against unemployment and evictions. But many felt a terrible sense of helplessness.

SOURCE 4 Unemployed workers constructing the Yarra Boulevard, known as 'Susso Drive', in order to receive sustenance payments during the 1930s Depression



SOURCE 5 A shantytown home during the Great Depression



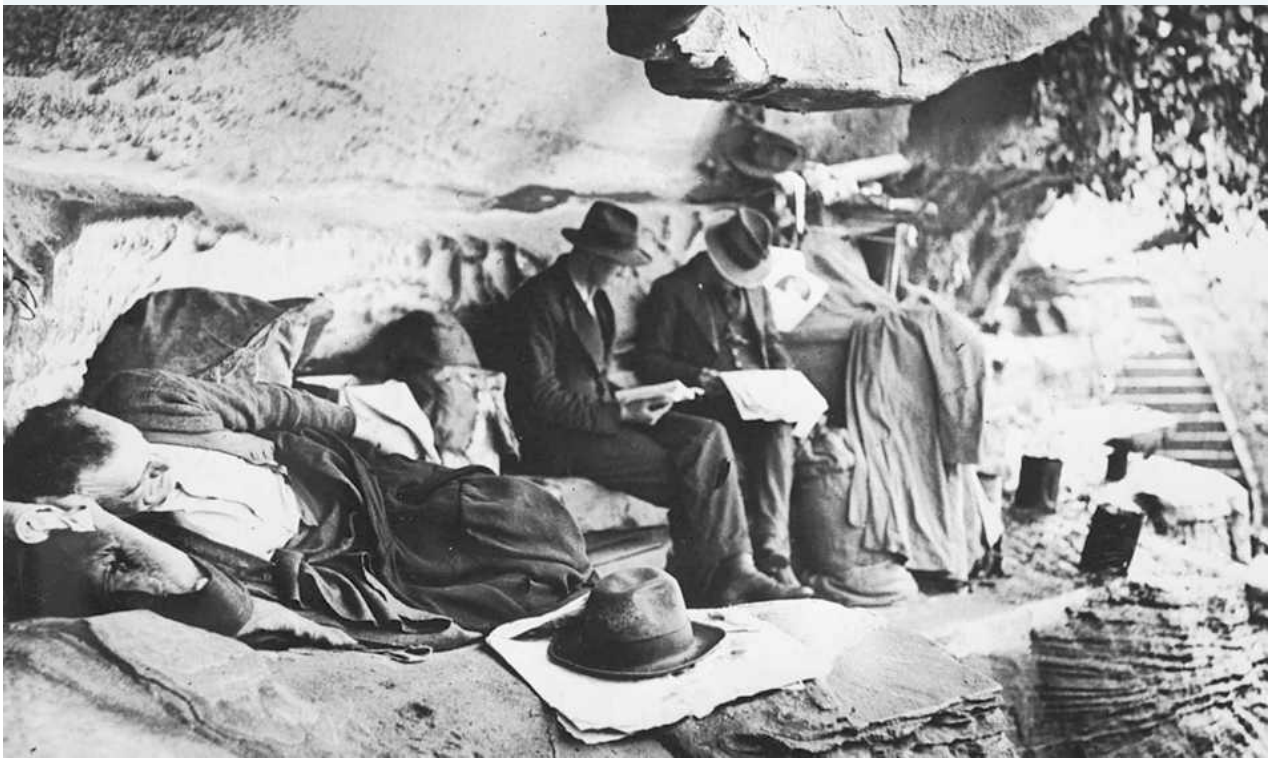
DID YOU KNOW?

According to the 1933 census, 40 000 Australians were living in shantytowns in makeshift shelters of old iron, canvas and other scrap materials.

SOURCE 6 A newspaper article describing fierce job competition in 1930 from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February 1930

In answer to a three-line advertisement offering employment to two girls experienced in bottling and labeling, 200 girls stormed the offices of Mr Knight, toilet preparations agent ... yesterday morning. Many were well educated and carried references from leading city firms ... Some told pitiful tales of privations their families have been through owing to unemployment, and almost begged for the position.

SOURCE 7 Unemployed workers sheltering in a cave in the Sydney Domain, 25 June 1930



Plans to help Australia through the crisis

The most radical plan was proposed by Jack Lang, the Labor premier of New South Wales. Lang wanted a temporary halt to interest payments to British lenders so more help could be given to the unemployed. All other Australian governments rejected this proposal, seeing it as an act of disloyalty to Britain.

Another plan was proposed by Labor federal treasurer E.G. Theodore. He believed that instead of cutting spending, the government should print more money to encourage spending and stimulate industry. This plan was abandoned because the banks were against it.

Instead, through the Melbourne Agreement, the Commonwealth and states agreed with the advice of Sir Otto Niemeyer of the Bank of England that Australian governments had to cut costs and begin to pay back their loans. In June 1931, the Commonwealth and states agreed to cut government spending, including government wages, salaries and pensions. The basic wage was reduced by 10 per cent and

rates of interest on government debts were reduced. Taxes were raised to increase revenue. At the same time, the Commonwealth Bank was to provide credit to finance public works and create paid work for the unemployed.

In Australia, improvement came slowly after August 1932, but it had more to do with the recovery of the world economy than with government policies. Even in 1939 nearly 10 per cent of Australian workers were unemployed.

2.5 ACTIVITY

Working in small groups, use all the sources in this subtopic to write and perform a short play that conveys what people experienced during the Great Depression. Your script could focus on one aspect, such as unemployment and poverty. Create characters based on information gleaned from the sources. Use your imagination to add more detail about their lives before and during the Depression years. **Using historical sources as evidence**

2.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the problems that were caused in the United States by overproduction of goods and by inequality.
2. **HS1** Draw a flow chart showing how each problem associated with the economic crash caused further problems.
3. **HS1** Explain why Germany and Australia were particularly badly affected by the Great Depression.
4. **HS1** Outline the main ideas of the three plans that were suggested to deal with Australia's economic problems.
5. **HS1** Explain why some sections of society suffered greatly during the Great Depression while others hardly suffered at all.

2.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Explain what you can tell about the economic crash of October 1929 from **SOURCE 1**.
2. **HS3** Describe what **SOURCE 2** reveals about the desperation of unemployed Americans in 1932.
3. **HS3** Referring to **SOURCE 3**, describe the trends in Australian unemployment between 1928 and 1939.
4. **HS3** Imagine you are a newspaper reporter in the 1930s. Use **SOURCES 4, 5, 6** and **7** as your evidence to write a report on problems facing unemployed workers during the Great Depression.
5. **HS5** Use the words provided in the box below to complete the following paragraph about the impact of the Great Depression on Australia.

export	1950s	dropped	import	employment
unemployment	rose	government	tariffs	1930s

By the mid _____, the world economy began to improve and _____ prices for Australia's wool and wheat _____. The improvement in business confidence gradually led to increased _____ and Australians were able to leave the worst of the Depression behind them. Thousands of families had battled their way through the Great Depression. At the end of it, Australians had been forced to examine their beliefs and to look more critically at their _____ and society.

6. **HS5** Create a flow diagram to show how overproduction and inequality in the United States contributed to a stockmarket crash there and how the effects spread to other countries causing further consequences.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

2.6 Communism — dream or nightmare?

2.6.1 The drift to dictatorship in Russia

With the 1917 Revolution in Russia, there was an expectation among the Bolsheviks that revolutions of workers and peasants in other countries would also be triggered. In the chaos that followed the war there were several attempted revolutions in Europe. These uprisings failed but the Bolshevik Revolution continued to inspire many workers and other disadvantaged groups, especially during the hardships of the Great Depression. However, the system that developed in the USSR was not the workers' paradise that many revolutionaries had dreamed of.

The Bolshevik Revolution was based on the idea of creating a communist society in which everyone would be equal. At first the Bolshevik government, headed by Lenin, handed control of factories and other businesses to committees of workers and land was given to peasant **soviets** to redistribute. But when production slumped, the Bolsheviks appointed managers to run enterprises. To hold on to power, the Bolsheviks abolished all other political parties, including other **socialist** parties. The Bolsheviks had to be ruthless to survive, especially during the Civil War from 1918, in which they fought against armies of **White Russians**, who were aided by the armed intervention of Britain, France, the United States and Japan.

SOURCE 1 A Bolshevik propaganda poster from 1920, titled 'Comrade Lenin cleans the Earth of scum'



When the Civil War ended in 1921, the Bolsheviks controlled most of the former Russian Empire. In that year they crushed a revolt by sailors of the Kronstadt Naval Base who demanded an end to one-party rule. These sailors had once been among the Bolsheviks' strongest supporters. Faced with such discontent, the Bolsheviks took a temporary step backwards, relaxing economic controls. But there was no relaxation of Bolshevik political control.

2.6.2 Stalin's dictatorship

In 1924, Lenin died of a stroke. Joseph Stalin was the General Secretary of the Communist Party, as the Bolshevik Party was now called. Stalin used this position to outmanoeuvre his rivals, including Leon Trotsky, who had been the main organiser of the 1917 Revolution. Trotsky was exiled in 1928 and by the end of 1929 Stalin was the **USSR**'s undisputed dictator.

Under Stalin's collectivisation policy, peasant farms were combined into huge collective farms between 1929 and 1935. Peasants who resisted were executed or sent to slave labour camps. Thirteen million peasants starved to death as their grain was confiscated and distributed to the cities or exported to fund the growth of manufacturing in 1932–33. In 1928, Stalin launched the first of a series of Five-Year Plans to develop industries. The successes of these plans were achieved by harsh workplace discipline and forced labour by political prisoners. Stalin's labour camps were soon full of such prisoners as his secret police arrested suspected **dissidents**.

In the Great Purge from 1936 to 1938, Stalin unleashed a wave of terror in which all of his critics in the Communist Party and several Red Army generals were killed. In a series of show trials, former leading Bolsheviks were forced to confess to crimes such as treason and sabotage. Russia was now a state in which people's lives were controlled by terror, strict censorship and propaganda that portrayed Stalin almost as a god.

SOURCE 2 Starving children at Samara Camp during the famine in Russia. During the Civil War, under the policy called War Communism, the Bolsheviks seized grain from peasants to feed soldiers and workers. There were terrible famines and many peasant uprisings against the Bolsheviks.



SOURCE 3 From a poem in the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* in 1931

Great Stalin, O Leader of the Peoples,
Thou who didst give birth to man,
Thou who didst make fertile the earth,
Thou who didst rejuvenate the centuries,
Thou who givest blossom to the spring,
Thou who movest the chords of harmony,
Thou splendour of my spring,
O Thou
Sun reflected in a million hearts.

Communism and anti-communism

Despite the horrors of Stalin's rule, the idea of communist revolution continued to find supporters in **capitalist** countries where workers were exploited and oppressed. It also inspired fear and hatred among people who dreaded any kind of working-class revolt. The ideas of communism and anti-communism would influence almost every political conflict for decades.

2.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the original measures undertaken by the Bolsheviks to give control of production to workers and peasants.
2. **HS1** Explain why they soon abandoned those measures.
3. **HS1** Describe how the Bolsheviks treated other political parties.
4. **HS1** What event prompted the Bolsheviks to relax economic controls?
5. **HS1** How did Stalin rise to power?
6. **HS1** Explain the main features of the collectivisation of agriculture.
7. **HS1** Describe the methods used by Stalin to eliminate his rivals, both real and potential.
8. **HS2** Create a timeline of developments in post-revolution Russia to show the drift to dictatorship and the consolidation of Stalin's rule.

2.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 1**. Identify the sections of Russian society represented by each of the figures Lenin is sweeping away.
2. **HS3** Explain the policy of War Communism. To what extent does the **SOURCE 2** photograph provide evidence of the harsh consequences of that policy?
3. **HS3** Describe the way that Stalin is portrayed in **SOURCE 3** and discuss how Soviet citizens who had pinned their hopes on the revolution might have felt about such propaganda.
4. **HS3 SOURCES 1** and **2** conjure up very different images of life under Lenin.
   (a) Which source makes its point most effectively and why?
   (b) What other types of sources would help a historian arrive at a more balanced assessment of life under Lenin?
5. **HS4** Some historians have observed that, while the Bolsheviks had claimed to be establishing a society that would be based on equality and democracy, under Stalin's rule Soviet society became as unequal as it had been under the Tsars, and power had become even more concentrated. How much had really changed in the former Russian Empire? Explain your response.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

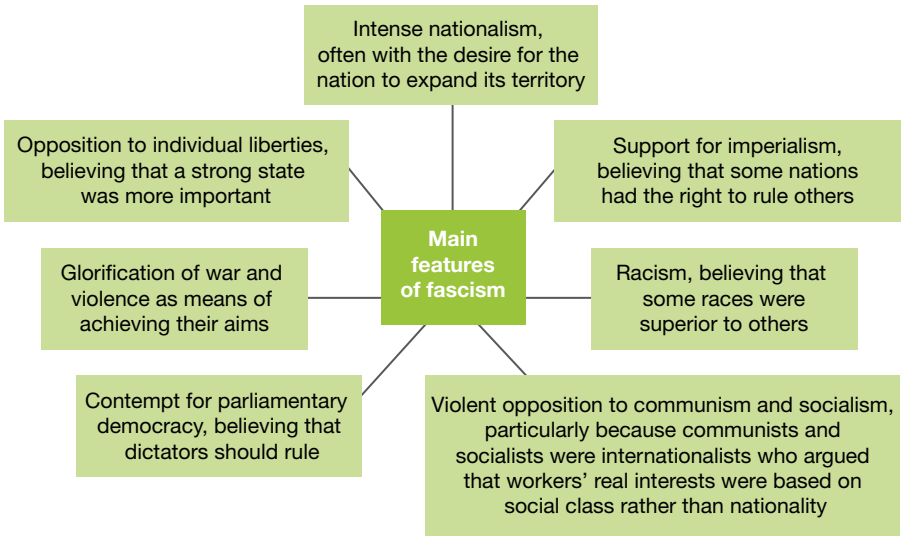
2.7 The rise of fascism

2.7.1 The nature of fascism

The Great Depression caused mass unemployment, poverty and misery around the world. But in the longer term it had even worse consequences. It led to the rise of fascism, which would present the greatest threat to human rights and world peace in the inter-war years. This extremist movement arose from the deep social divisions that followed World War I, but it gained most backing during the Depression years of the early 1930s. Support came not from those who suffered most in the Depression but from those who feared that communist or socialist workers might seize power.

Fascist movements developed in many countries in the 1920s and 1930s. While they aimed to appeal to all social classes, fascists found most support among middle-class people who feared the influence of socialism and communism. Although there were significant local differences, fascist movements shared many common characteristics (see **SOURCE 1**).

SOURCE 1 Main features of fascism



Significant fascist movements arose in the inter-war years in many European countries, including Italy, Austria, Hungary, Finland, France, Belgium, Spain, Romania and Britain. There were also fascist or extreme right movements in the United States and in Australia.

2.7.2 Fascism in Italy

Italy was the first country in which fascists gained power. During World War I there had been heavy fighting in Italy's own territory. The war's end brought rising prices, high unemployment and nationalist resentment that Italy had not gained more from the peace treaties. Italy experienced great social conflict after the war. Its strong communist movement was inspired to follow the example of the Bolsheviks in Russia and **foment** a revolution.

However, by 1919 fascism was also a powerful movement in Italy. Italian fascist thugs, called 'blackshirts', fought trade unionists, socialists and communists in street battles. Fascists bashed their political opponents and burned the offices of newspapers that dared to criticise them. They gained support from the middle classes and the rich by violently breaking up strikes. In 1922, their leader, Benito Mussolini (see **SOURCE 6**), organised a fascist march on the capital, Rome. The Italian king regarded Mussolini as an ally against the communists and socialists and invited him to become prime minister.

Once Mussolini was in power, he suspended elections and banned other political parties. Mussolini was now a dictator. As Il Duce (the leader) he turned Italy into the world's first fascist state. Workers' rights were destroyed while employers were protected. Mussolini dreamed of recreating the might of ancient Rome. Fascists controlled the mass media and the education system and they used them to **indoctrinate** a generation.

SOURCE 3 Education was used as a powerful tool of indoctrination in fascist Italy. This extract from a compulsory textbook issued to eight-year-olds argues the need for blind obedience and loyalty to the leader.

The eyes of the Duce are on every one of you. No-one can say what is the meaning of that look on his face. It is an eagle opening its wings and rising into space. It is a flame that searches out your heart to light there a fire. Who can resist that burning eye, darting out its arrows? But do not be afraid; for you those arrows will change into rays of joy. A child, who, even while not refusing to obey, asks 'Why?', is like a bayonet made of milk ... 'You must obey because you must,' said Mussolini, when explaining the reasons for obedience.

DID YOU KNOW?

Although all fascist movements were racist, Italian fascism was not anti-Semitic (anti-Jewish) until it came under the influence of German Nazism. When Mussolini first seized power, his Fascist Party had wealthy Jewish Italians among its supporters and members.

SOURCE 2 In ancient Rome, the annually elected leader carried a bundle of sticks wrapped around an axe. It was called the *fasces* and it symbolised strength and power. Mussolini revived it in 1919 as the symbol of Italian fascism.



2.7.3 Fascism in Australia

Extreme right-wing movements in Australia included the King and Empire Alliance, which was launched in Melbourne in 1920 by conservative politicians, businessmen and ex-servicemen. Its intention appears to have been to seize power if a Labor government tried to introduce socialism. Similar groups in the 1920s included the Melbourne-based White Guard and the Sane Democracy League. During the Depression era, more organisations of this nature emerged in Australia and several of them formed secret armies to fight any threat of socialism.

The New Guard movement

The best known and largest of these Australian groups was the New Guard. It was formed in 1931 and at its height had 36 000 members. It was strongly influenced by fascist movements in Europe, and it attracted many middle-class supporters. Its leader, Eric Campbell, was an admirer of Mussolini. The New Guard fought street battles with Labor and Communist supporters. At the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932, a mounted New Guard member, Frances De Groot, succeeded in cutting the ribbon ahead of Labor premier Jack Lang. Slashing the ribbon with his sword, he declared the bridge open 'in the name of the decent and respectable people of New South Wales'. De Groot had fought with the 15th Hussars on the Western Front in World War I, when he earned his sword. De Groot's upstaging of Lang at the ceremony was not only a security blunder, but it also gave the New Guard strong publicity.

The New Guard even planned to overthrow the Lang government in New South Wales. An armed revolt was avoided when the New South Wales governor dismissed Lang from office in May 1932. However, support for such extremist movements declined quickly as Australia recovered from the Depression.

SOURCE 4 Frances De Groot, on horseback and in military uniform, uses his sword to cut the ribbon at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932.



2.7.4 Fascism in Germany and Spain

The most significant result of the rise of fascism was felt in Germany. At the end of World War I the country was bitterly divided. Following the abdication of the Kaiser, Germany became a democratic republic. However, the German Spartacists (communists) wanted to follow the Bolsheviks' example and establish a socialist republic based on workers' soviets. The moderate socialists wanted to reform Germany through parliamentary democracy.

The republic was first threatened when the left attempted a Bolshevik-style revolution in 1919. But a much greater danger came from the extreme right. Fascist groups, composed mostly of ex-soldiers, blamed Germany's defeat and humiliation on socialists, communists and Jews. The government used groups of fascist ex-soldiers, called *Freikorps*, armed with artillery, machine guns, grenades and flame-throwers, to crush the Spartacist uprisings of 1919.

In March 1920, these fascist ex-soldiers tried to seize power in the Kapp **Putsch**, but they were thwarted by resistance from the German socialist trade unions. The next fascist attempt to seize power was made by Adolf Hitler, who had become the leader of the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) Party in 1921. Hitler first attempted to seize power in the Munich Putsch of 1923. The putsch was defeated. Hitler's rise was then delayed by growing German prosperity during the late 1920s. Hitler consolidated his position in the party, building up his private armies and refining terror tactics and propaganda. Eventually, the Nazi rise to power was made possible by the Great Depression. In just ten turbulent years following the Munich Putsch, Hitler's Nazis were to gain control of Germany and lead the country towards another world war.

SOURCE 5 Mussolini (left), giving the fascist salute, with Adolf Hitler on a visit to Germany in 1937. The swastika (on Hitler's sleeve) was adopted as the symbol of Nazism.



Fascism in Spain

Fascists also gained power in Spain. In 1936, General Francisco Franco and other Spanish military leaders started a rebellion against Spain's democratically elected republican government. In the three-year Spanish Civil War, Franco was supported by the Spanish fascists (Falange), the wealthy Spanish landowners, the leaders of the Catholic Church, Spanish monarchists and, most importantly, by forces from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The German Luftwaffe (air force) used Spain to test the tactics they would later use in World War II.

The Spanish Republic received some aid from the Soviet Union and Mexico and from idealistic international volunteers (see **SOURCE 6**), including about 60 Australians. However, Franco triumphed. This was partly because of the assistance provided by Hitler and Mussolini and partly because the Western democracies turned a blind eye to fascist aggression while preventing much aid from reaching the Spanish Republic. With Franco's victory in 1939, Spain became another fascist dictatorship.

SOURCE 6 A group of British anti-fascist volunteers who fought in Spain in 1936



Source: Tom Mann Centuria Inglesa Antifascista. From the collection of the Noel Butlin Archive Centre.

2.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Among which social class did fascism find the most support?
2. **HS1** What fears drove many members of that class to support fascism?
3. **HS1** What factors in Italy after World War I created conditions for change?
4. **HS1** Who were 'blackshirts' and how did they behave?
5. **HS1** What means did fascists in Italy use to influence Italian society?
6. **HS1** Describe the tactics used by Mussolini to gain power in Italy.
7. **HS1** Name some right-wing movements active in Australia in the 1920s.
8. **HS1** Which social classes in Australia were attracted to these right-wing movements?
9. **HS1** Why did support decline after the Depression?
10. **HS1** In what way did the New Guard gain attention?
11. **HS1** Describe two unsuccessful attempts by German fascists to seize power in the 1920s.
12. **HS1** With whose assistance did fascism triumph in Spain by 1939?

2.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** How would you classify **SOURCE 1**? Is it a historical source? Explain.
2. **HS3** Referring to **SOURCE 1**, write a brief description of the main features of fascism.
3. **HS3** Describe the Italian fascist symbol in **SOURCE 2** and identify reasons why Italian fascists would have chosen a symbol from ancient Rome.
4. **HS3** Analyse **SOURCE 3** using the following questions:
   (a) Who would have produced the textbook from which this extract is taken?
   (b) For what readers was it intended?
   (c) Why was such material produced?
   (d) What beliefs and values was it attempting to instil?
   (e) How effective might it have been as propaganda in a situation where fascists also controlled the mass media?

5. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) Why do you think De Groot took this action? Consider his own words to help you with your answer.
   (b) What aspects of this image might be considered frightening or alarming to a member of the Australian public at that time if they saw it in a newspaper?
6. **HS3** Describe the dress of both fascist leaders in **SOURCE 5** and explain what aspect of their ideology would have led them to wear military-style outfits.
7. **HS3 SOURCE 6** provides a clue as to why some British volunteers went to Spain to fight fascism in the 1930s. Support for what political ideal is represented in the source?
8. **HS5** Why did fascism appeal to people during the 1920s and 1930s? If similar economic conditions existed today, do you believe that fascist movements could gain popularity? Explain.
9. **HS6** Using the sources and other information in this subtopic, evaluate the historical significance of the rise of fascism. In your answer you should consider its influence at the time, how many people and countries were affected, and its consequences.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

2.8 The Nazis take power in Germany

2.8.1 The *Dolchstosslegende* and economic woes

The main cause of World War II was aggression by the Nazi regime that controlled Germany from 1933 to 1945. This fascist party, headed by Adolf Hitler, led Germany into war in 1939. But how did it gain power? Three factors in particular helped the rise of the Nazis: resentment of the Treaty of Versailles; the myth that Germany had been betrayed; and the Great Depression.

Many Germans bitterly resented the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles and its humiliating clause blaming Germany for the war. German **right-wingers** reacted with the *Dolchstosslegende*, the 'stab in the back' myth. It held that Germany had not been defeated but was betrayed by the 'November criminals', the democratic socialists who created the republic, signed the armistice and accepted the hated treaty. This myth undermined the **Weimar Republic** from the beginning.

SOURCE 1 During the hyperinflation of the early 1920s, German Deutschmarks lost so much of their value that, as shown here, they were used as waste paper, insulation and fuel for heating. Middle-class people saw their savings wiped out.



The impact of the 1930s Depression

In the early 1920s, Germany suffered **hyperinflation**, which wiped out the value of its currency (see **SOURCE 1**). However, from 1924 to 1929 the government managed to improve Germany's finances and international relations. Under the 1924 Dawes Plan, reparations payments were spread over a longer period and Germany was given loans to help rebuild its economy. Under the Locarno Treaty of 1925, Germany accepted its western borders set by the Treaty of Versailles, and in 1926 Germany was admitted to the League of Nations. However, as the Great Depression spread through industrialised countries from 1929, Germany was most severely affected. As foreign loans dried up, investment fell and by 1932 six million Germans were unemployed.

DID YOU KNOW?

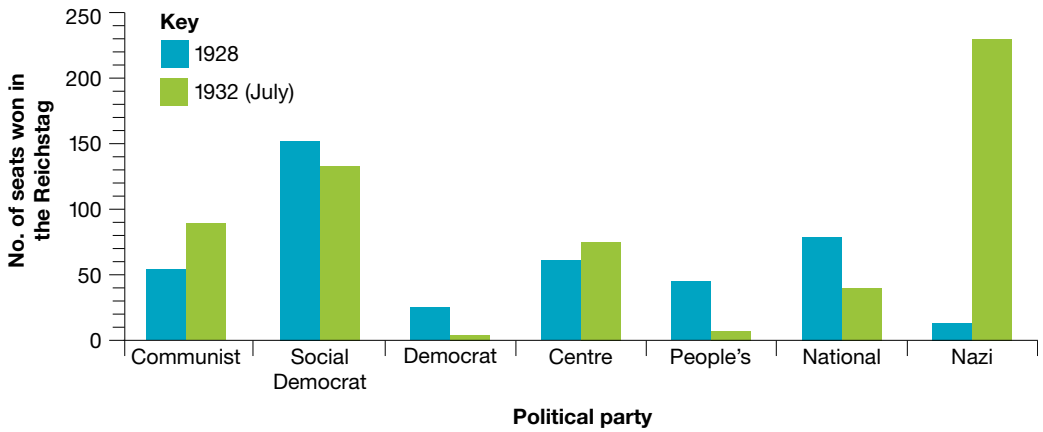
In September 1918, General Ludendorff, who had almost dictatorial powers in Germany, persuaded the Kaiser to transfer power to a civilian government and demand that it seek an armistice. Germany's military leaders then shifted the blame for the nation's defeat and humiliation from the military and the old order to the new democratic government.

2.8.2 The fall of democratic government

When the Depression hit, Germany had a coalition government headed by the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The SPD wanted to raise taxes on the rich to maintain payments to the unemployed. The non-socialist parties opposed this, so the coalition split and the government collapsed. President Hindenburg used the crisis to appoint an authoritarian Centre Party government that lacked support in the **Reichstag**. When elections were held in September 1930, moderate parties lost ground. The Communist Party increased its percentage of votes from 10.6 to 13.1, but the Nazi Party climbed from just 2.6 to 18.3 per cent.

Hindenburg still refused to appoint a government that had majority support, so new elections were scheduled for 27 July 1932. Before the elections, the Nazis' **paramilitary** wing, the *Sturmabteiling* (known as the SA), launched a wave of street violence against the **left-wing** parties. In the elections the Nazis gained 37.3 per cent of the vote to become the largest party in the Reichstag. Following a Reichstag vote of no confidence in the government, further elections were held in November. Although the Nazi vote fell by 4 per cent, on 30 January 1933 Hindenburg invited Hitler to become Chancellor (prime minister) of a right-wing coalition government. In less than two months Germany would be transformed into a Nazi dictatorship.

SOURCE 2 Numbers of seats won by parties in the Reichstag in 1928 and 1932



Nazi ideology and tactics

How did the Nazis get so far? In 1921 Hitler had become their first president, and the SA was created to terrorise socialists and communists. By 1923 the party had support from several army officers.

The basic ideas of Nazi ideology were:

- only the strong survive
- communism is a Jewish ideology
- the Germanic master race must defeat its racial enemies, especially the Jews
- Germany must gain *Lebensraum* (living room) for its expanding population by taking land from non-**Aryan** races
- the *Führerprinzip* (leader principle) dictates that all opposition must be crushed and there must be total obedience to the leader.

After a failed attempt to seize power in 1923, Hitler focused on building support. The Hitler Youth was founded in 1926 to indoctrinate young Germans. The Nazis gained supporters through public spectacles such as the Nuremberg rallies, through the support of influential individuals, such as Alfred Hugenberg, who controlled 700 newspapers, and through propaganda blaming Germany's problems on communists and Jews. Joseph Goebbels was appointed to head the Nazi propaganda unit in 1929. He organised the party's election campaigns and won over many middle-class voters, who turned from other conservative parties to the Nazis out of fear of communism.

SOURCE 3 The text on this Nazi poster translates as 'In the deepest need Hindenburg chose Adolf Hitler for Reich Chancellor. You too should vote for List 1'.



2.8.3 Consolidating power

A month after Hitler became Chancellor, the Reichstag was severely damaged by fire and the Nazis stirred up fears of a communist uprising. Hitler persuaded Hindenburg to issue a Decree for the Protection of People and State. This allowed for imprisonment without trial and the abolition of freedom of the press, speech and assembly. During the weeks preceding the March 1933 elections, the Nazis used the decree to restrict campaigning by other parties. Despite their intimidation of voters, the Nazis won only 43.9 per cent of the vote, so they formed a coalition with the small Nationalist Party and barred the Communists from taking the seats they had won.

The Enabling Act of 23 March 1933 gave Hitler dictatorial powers and gave his government the power to make laws and change the Constitution as it wished. In the Reichstag, only the SPD had the courage to vote against the Act.

Nazification of Germany

By 1934 the Nazis controlled German social, political, economic and cultural life.

- Nazi courts were established to try 'political criminals'.
- Anti-Nazis and Jews were forced out of jobs in the civil service.
- Trade unions were abolished and the German Labour Front was established to control workers.
- 'Un-German' books were publicly burned.
- Like the Communist Party, the SPD was banned. Other parties dissolved themselves.
- German communists, socialists and other anti-Nazis were sent to **concentration camps**.
- Education was made a tool of Nazi propaganda.
- The Nazis organised attacks against Jews and Jewish property and a boycott of Jewish businesses; they also banned Jews from the civil service and professions.
- Under the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, Jews lost their German citizenship and political rights. Marriage and sexual relations between Jews and Aryans were banned.

To prepare for war, Hitler needed the support of the army leaders so he eliminated Ernst Röhm and other SA leaders, who wanted the regular army to be amalgamated with the SA under SA leadership. On the 'Night of the Long Knives', 30 June 1934, Hitler used the other Nazi paramilitary force, the *Schutzstaffel* (or SS), to murder around 180 leading SA members and more than 200 other political opponents. To justify this, Hitler claimed that the SA was planning an uprising. The murders created a close relationship between the Nazi regime and the army, and led to the dominance of the SS in the Nazi state.

When Hindenburg died on 2 August 1934, Hitler assumed total power as *Führer* (absolute ruler) of Germany. He became commander-in-chief and all soldiers were required to take a personal oath of loyalty to him.

SOURCE 4 A modern artist's impression of a Nazi rally



A Hitler appealed to almost all members of society. He promised to take care of the workers and farmers, and to return the middle class to the good fortune and peace they remembered from childhood.

B Hitler saw himself as a symbol of Germany. Before every speech, he studied pictures of himself to perfect his movements and signals. Before speaking, he paused for a long time, forcing the crowd to wait, hushed, for him to begin. Then he spoke passionately, often spitting with the effort.

C By the mid 1930s, six out of every ten young German people had joined the Hitler Youth. They could join when they were ten years old, with separate organisations for boys and girls. As Hitler Youth members, they were brainwashed with Nazi Party ideology, particularly anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish views). By 1936 there were about four million members.

D Hitler was the first world leader to make political use of film-makers. Films demonstrated to his supporters that he was moving with the times, but they did something more important: if the Third Reich was to last for 1000 years, as he promised, these films would be kept for future generations.

DISCUSS

Could the Nazis have gained power in Germany without Adolf Hitler? Is there a Hitler in every great leader who seeks power? **[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]**

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- World War II > **Causes of World War II**

2.8 ACTIVITY

Use the internet and other resources to find out what happened on *Kristallnacht* (the 'Night of the Broken Glass'), 7 November 1938. **Using historical sources as evidence**

2.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain the meaning of the German term *Dolchstosslegende*.
2. **HS1** Why was the *Dolchstosslegende* myth so damaging to democratic government in Germany?
3. **HS1** Describe how Germany's economy had improved before the Great Depression.
4. **HS1** Identify the main ideas of Nazi ideology.
5. **HS1** Describe the tactics the Nazis used to gain power.
6. **HS1** Describe methods the Nazis used to eliminate their opponents between 1933 and 1934.
7. **HS1** Explain why Hitler was willing to murder members of his own party.
8. **HS1** What anti-Jewish measures did the Nazis adopt in 1934 and 1935?
9. **HS2** Create a timeline of events from 1919 to 1934 that contributed to Germany becoming a Nazi dictatorship.

2.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Explain how the situation shown in **SOURCE 1** could have driven many middle-class Germans into supporting extreme right-wing parties.
2. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 2** to work out which parties gained votes and which lost votes between 1928 and 1932. Explain the reasons for these changes.
3. **HS3** Analyse **SOURCE 3** as an example of Nazi propaganda.
   (a) Consider its use of persuasive techniques.
   (b) Evaluate why or why not the poster would appeal to middle-class voters.
4. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 4** and explain how the Nazis used slogans, film and public rallies as part of their tactics to take over Germany.
5. **HS5** Create a concept map to graphically show how a number of different causes contributed to the fall of German democracy and the rise of the Nazi dictatorship.
6. **HS6** Consider the historical significance of Adolf Hitler for the Nazis' success in gaining power in Germany and transforming that country. Do you think the Nazi victory could have been achieved without Hitler? Did it depend on him as an individual? Outline your views.

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2.9 Japanese militarism

2.9.1 Japanese imperialism

Fascist regimes in Germany and Italy would soon threaten world peace. However, peace was already threatened by **militarism** and extreme nationalism in Japan. World War II began in 1939, but for the Chinese people the war began with a Japanese invasion in 1931 and expanded with a further invasion in 1937. This was the beginning of Japan's attempt to create an Asia–Pacific empire.

Since the late nineteenth century, Japan had wanted to follow the European powers' example by creating an empire. In the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) Japan invaded Korea and took Formosa (modern Taiwan) and the Ryuku Islands from China. In the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) Japan gained control of much of Manchuria. Then, in 1910, Japan annexed Korea. During World War I Japan sided with the Allies to gain Germany's territorial rights in China and German colonies in the north Pacific.

Aggression in Manchuria

The Great Depression contributed to the rise of Japanese militarism, as economic hardship led to growing support for the military and nationalists who wanted Japan to gain colonies for raw materials and export markets. Japan's military soon had more power than its civilian government. When the Japanese prime minister opposed an aggressive foreign policy in 1930 he was shot by an extreme nationalist.

In the following year an explosion on the Japanese-owned South Manchurian railway line was used as a pretext for an invasion of Manchuria. By early 1932 the Japanese military, acting against instructions from Japan's government, had occupied all of Manchuria, changed its name to Manchukuo and claimed it was not part of China. In the same year, the Japanese bombed Shanghai and occupied parts of northern China. China protested to the League of Nations but, when it censured Japan in 1933, the Japanese withdrew from the League. Because they were more concerned with threats to peace in Europe, the Western powers and the League took no effective action.

SOURCE 1 Location of Japanese aggression in north-east Asia, 1894–1938



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

DID YOU KNOW?

On 12 December 1937 Japanese aircraft deliberately sank a US gunboat that was escorting oil tankers in China. Japan apologised for this 'accident' and paid compensation. The US did not retaliate.

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- World War II > **Causes of World War II**

2.9.2 Fascist alliances and the second Sino-Japanese War

Japanese ultra-nationalist societies had much in common with European fascists. They encouraged fanatical devotion to military values and to the emperor, who was considered to be divine. These societies were violently nationalist, racist, anti-communist and anti-democratic. They assassinated their political opponents or frightened them into silence. In 1932 a new Japanese prime minister was assassinated for speaking out against the military. By 1937, Japanese schoolchildren were being indoctrinated in extreme nationalist values and forced to take part in military training.

The Axis and the invasion of China

Japan and Germany became allies through the Anti-Comintern Pact in November 1936. When Italy joined the pact in 1937, these three powers were united in the Rome–Berlin–Tokyo Axis.

In July 1937 Japan launched a full-scale attack against China, quickly taking the cities of Beijing, Guangzhou and Nanjing. The Chinese Communists and Nationalists had been fighting a civil war since 1927, but in 1937 they agreed to an armistice to enable them to form a united front. For the next eight years they fought back against the Japanese from their country's vast interior.

The Rape of Nanjing

The most appalling Japanese atrocities took place in the Chinese city of Nanjing (formerly called Nanking). There, between December 1937 and January 1938, the Japanese slaughtered between 200 000 and 300 000 Chinese civilians and prisoners of war. There were mass rapes of Chinese women and other atrocities including burying or burning people alive and using prisoners for bayonet practice.

SOURCE 2 A Japanese soldier about to behead a Chinese prisoner during the massacre known as the 'Rape of Nanjing'. This photograph is one of several that were preserved by a Chinese employee of a photo studio.



SOURCE 3 This photo, taken in Nanjing in 1937, shows Japanese soldiers watching as Chinese civilian prisoners are placed in a pit to be buried alive.



SOURCE 4 From American journalist Edgar Snow's eyewitness description of Japanese atrocities in Nanjing in 1937

Mothers had to watch their babies beheaded then submit to raping ... Thousands of men were lined up and machine gunned. Sometimes groups were used for bayonet exercises. When the [Japanese] victors grew bored ... they tied their victims, poured kerosene on their heads and cremated them alive.

DISCUSS

Even wars are supposed to have rules. So why did soldiers like those described in section 2.9.2 and **SOURCE 4** commit atrocities? Are soldiers more ethical in today's wars? **[Ethical Capability: Understanding Concepts]**

2.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain how the Great Depression led to the rise of militarism in Japan.
2. **HS1** Describe the relationship between the Japanese military and the Japanese civilian government in the early 1930s.
3. **HS2** Create a timeline matching each of the following events with the year in which it occurred.
   Event:
   - Japan invades Manchuria.
   - Japan withdraws from the League of Nations.
   - Japan bombs Shanghai and occupies parts of northern China.
   - The Japanese prime minister is shot for opposing an aggressive foreign policy.

   Year:
   1930 1931 1932 1933
4. **HS1** Identify and describe the similarities between Japanese extreme militarism and European fascism.
5. **HS1** World War II is usually described as taking place between 1939 and 1945, but when did it begin for China?

2.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 1** to identify the sites of Japanese aggressive imperialism from 1894 to 1933. Why might Japan have chosen these areas as targets for imperialist expansion?
2. **HS3** **SOURCE 4** is described as an 'eyewitness description'. Does this make it more reliable as a historical source? Explain.
3. **HS3** How might the validity of **SOURCE 4** be questioned by a historian?
4. **HS3** For many decades after World War II, Japanese nationalists continued to deny that the Rape of Nanjing took place. Explain how the evidence in **SOURCES 2**, **3** and **4** provides proof of Japanese atrocities.
5. **HS6** The Western powers condemned Japanese aggression but took no effective action against it. Imagine you are a Western newspaper journalist in 1937. Write an article supported by the sources in this subtopic to convince your readers that action should be taken.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

2.10 The road to war in Europe

2.10.1 Aggression and appeasement

Germany, Italy and Japan all threatened world peace, and in 1936–37 the danger increased when they became allies. The world's best hope for preserving peace was the League of Nations, but it proved to be ineffective. By 1939, the world was once more on the brink of war.

Hitler wanted alliances with Britain (as a fellow Aryan nation) and Italy (as a fellow fascist nation). The main foreign policy aims of Nazi Germany were to:

- overturn the Treaty of Versailles and reclaim territory lost under the treaty
- take territory from the Slavic 'racial inferiors' of the Soviet Union
- destroy world communism
- control sources of raw materials for Germany's economy and for rearmament
- unite all German people in the **Third Reich**.

Mussolini also wanted to gain territory. In the 1920s Italy had established control over Albania and waged military campaigns to assert control over two of its North African colonies — Somalia and Libya. Until 1936, however, Italy and Germany were potential enemies. Mussolini saw Germany as a danger to Austria's independence and therefore to the stability of Italy's northern frontier. In April 1935 Italy joined Britain and France in protesting against German rearmament in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.

Italy invades Abyssinia

Mussolini ordered Italian military attacks on **Abyssinia** in October 1935. Italy used poison gas and extremely brutal tactics to overcome the poorly armed Abyssinians. Italian forces captured the capital, Addis Ababa, in May 1936, but the Abyssinians continued to wage a guerrilla war.

As a League member, Abyssinia demanded action against Italy. In November 1935 the League voted for economic sanctions (no arms sales to Italy and a ban on importing Italian goods) to force an Italian withdrawal. But in December, Britain and France made a secret agreement to hand part of Abyssinia to Italy. Public outrage forced them to abandon this agreement. However, the League's sanctions were ineffective because Germany, Japan and the United States did not support them and because oil was not embargoed. With Britain and France supporting League sanctions, Mussolini moved closer to Hitler.

Appeasement

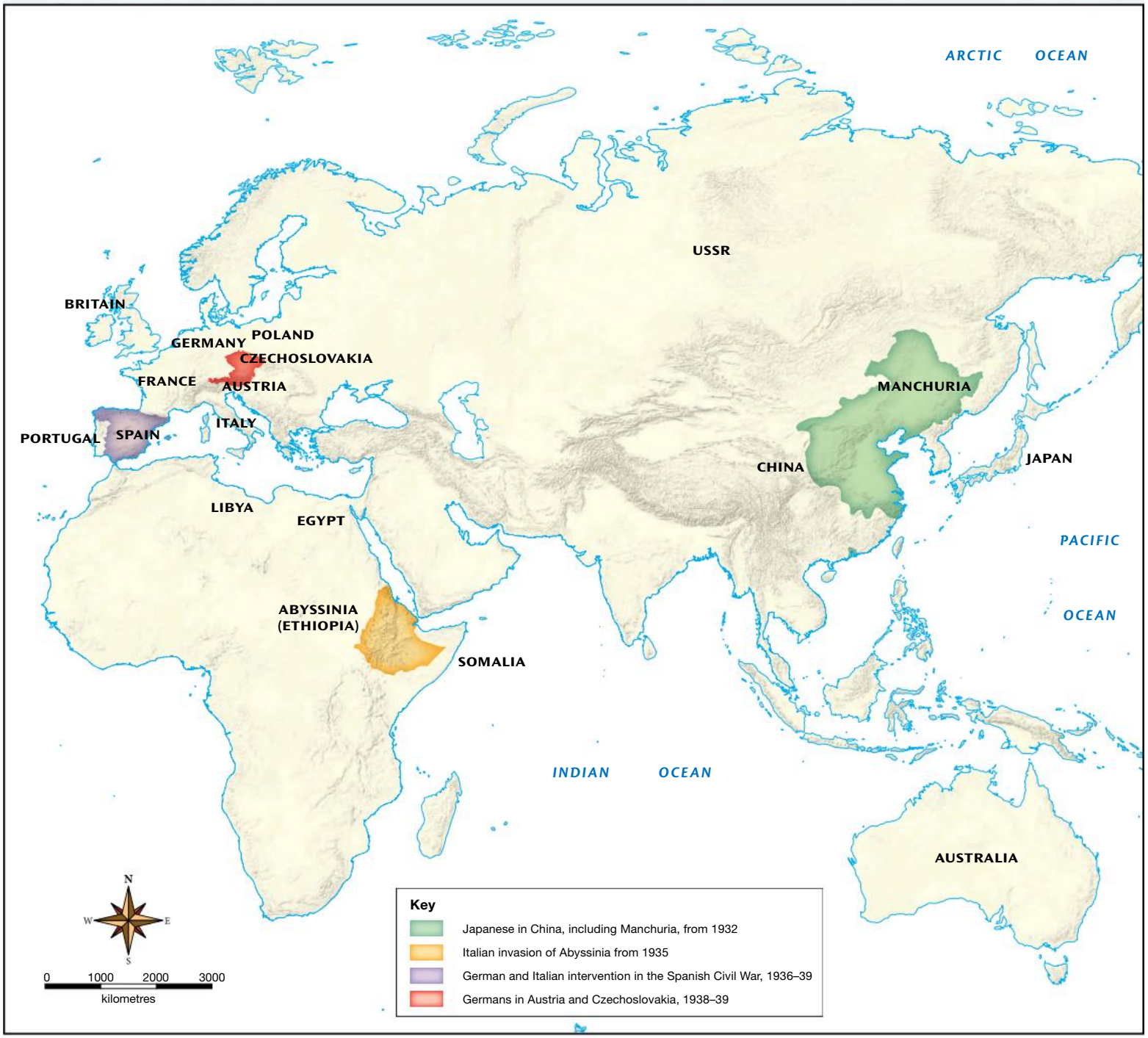
After the terrible human cost of World War I, there was very little support in the Western democracies for risking another war by standing up to fascist aggression. The United States could not be counted on for support because it had adopted an **isolationist** foreign policy to avoid being drawn into Europe's conflicts. Also, there was much sympathy for fascism among many British conservatives, who saw Hitler as a bulwark against communism. France feared to take a stand without British support so the Western democracies followed a policy of appeasement. This meant giving in to Japan, Germany and Italy, hoping they would be satisfied and war would be avoided.

Steps in appeasement

The Western democracies took no effective action against several German breaches of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles:

- In March 1935 Hitler announced that Germany had an air force and was reintroducing conscription. Britain and France protested but did nothing more.
- In June 1935 the Anglo-German Naval Agreement allowed Germany a navy 35 per cent the size of Britain's Royal Navy.
- In March 1936 Britain and France failed to act when Hitler marched 20 000 troops into the demilitarised Rhineland.

SOURCE 1 Aggression by fascist powers in the 1930s



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Uniting the fascists

The Spanish Civil War (see subtopic 2.7) brought Germany and Italy together as allies. Many British conservatives also sympathised with General Franco's fascists in Spain. Britain and France failed to aid the elected Spanish Republic and even denied it the right to buy arms to defend itself.

From 1934 the Soviet Union had adopted a policy of building **United Fronts** with the Western democracies against fascist aggression. After Germany and Italy sent military aid to Franco, the Soviets sent aid to the Spanish Republic. But by the end of 1938, when it was clear that Britain was willing to accept

a pro-fascist victory in Spain, the Soviet Union abandoned Spain and the aim of building an alliance with the democracies. The defeat of the Spanish Republic meant the end of any hope of a united front against fascism, the strengthening of the fascist alliance and encouragement of further aggression.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of this topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- World War II > **Causes of World War II**

2.10.2 The final steps to war

At the Hossbach Conference of November 1937, Hitler told his generals to prepare for a major war in the mid 1940s. Between 1938 and 1939 Germany and Italy committed more acts of aggression. The Treaty of Versailles banned any *Anschluss* (union) of Germany and Austria, but on 12 March 1938 the German army invaded Austria and received a warm welcome. Germany then annexed Austria. In April Britain recognised the enlarged Germany.

Hitler used false claims that Germans were being persecuted in Czechoslovakia to destroy that country in 1938–39. When Czechoslovakia was created in 1919, it included the mainly German population of the Sudetenland. From March 1938 Hitler encouraged Sudeten Germans to cause unrest. In October 1938 at the Munich Conference, after Hitler had prepared for war, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain agreed to Hitler's demand for immediate control of the Sudetenland. In March 1939, in breach of the Munich Agreement, Hitler invaded and dismembered what remained of Czechoslovakia.

Britain and France now saw that appeasement had failed and resolved to resist any further Nazi aggression. When Hitler demanded territory from Lithuania and Poland at the end of March 1939, Britain and France gave guarantees to Poland of aid against aggression. In April Italy annexed Albania and in May Germany and Italy signed the Pact of Steel, promising military support if either of them was at war.

SOURCE 2 This composite photograph was made soon after the 1938 Munich Conference. It shows the four leaders who signed the Munich Agreement playing cards. They are from left to right: Hitler; Edouard Daladier, the French president; Neville Chamberlain, the British prime minister; and Mussolini.



Source: AWM P02436.001

SOURCE 3 A Sudeten woman tearfully salutes Hitler as he rides through territory taken from Czechoslovakia under the Munich Agreement



SOURCE 4 From a speech by Australian prime minister Robert Menzies, in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 1939

It may well be that Germany still has some grievances which would be all the better for ... discussion. But if, instead of entering into discussion, instead of going into friendly conference, instead of recognising that there are, after all, two sides to most questions, the attitude of Germany is to be, 'We will take whatever our military strength will permit us to take, and we will not negotiate with our military inferiors', there is obviously an end to all law and order among the nations, and the absorption of Poland would lead to attacks upon other smaller European countries, upon one ground or another, until a vast dominion of force has been established ... the British and French Governments have given their pledge to Poland and to several other European countries ... those pledges will be honoured.

We in Australia are involved, because the destruction or defeat of Great Britain would be the destruction or defeat of the British Empire, and leave us with a precarious tenure on our own independence.

DID YOU KNOW?

From 1923 the **dominions** of the British Empire had the right to decide their own foreign policies. This was recognised in British law under the Statute of Westminster in 1931. But while Canada, Ireland and South Africa took up this independence, Australia continued to defer to Britain on matters of foreign policy. Australia supported appeasement because it feared that Britain would be unable to defend Australia if war broke out in both Europe and the Pacific.

World War II begins

On 23 August 1939, after failing to make progress towards a military alliance with Britain and France, the Soviet Union did a complete about-face, signing a non-aggression pact with Hitler. The pact provided for a secret carve-up of Poland and the Baltic states. The Soviet dictator, Joseph Stalin, thought this pact removed the danger of being isolated in a war against Germany.

Germany could now invade western Poland without risking Soviet opposition. On 1 September 1939 the German invasion of Poland began. Britain responded by declaring war on Germany on 3 September. Hitler was surprised that this invasion provoked Britain and France into declaring war. He had wanted a war of conquest in eastern Europe. Instead he had provoked a war with the western European powers.

SOURCE 5 Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin in 1938



Resources

Video eLesson Hitler at the Nuremburg rally (eles-2599)

2.10 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

2.10 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the aims of German and Italian foreign policies.
2. **HS1** Identify and list the reasons Italy changed from opposing German rearmament to becoming Germany's ally.
3. **HS1** Explain the motives for appeasement in:
   (a) Britain
   (b) France.
4. **HS1** Explain why the annexation of Austria was an act of aggression even though most Austrians welcomed it.
5. **HS1** How did Britain and France betray Czechoslovakia at the Munich Conference?
6. **HS2** Make a timeline of steps towards war in Europe from 1935 to 1939.

2.10 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 1** to locate and list the sites of fascist aggression in the 1930s.
2. **HS3** A composite photograph is an image made up of several photographs. What do you think the creator of the composite photograph in **SOURCE 2** was saying about the role of these four leaders in the 1938 agreement that destroyed Czechoslovakia? Consider the following questions in your response:
   (a) Why are the leaders depicted as card players?
   (b) Which leaders have laid their cards on the table?
   (c) Which leaders are still holding their cards?
   (d) What do each of the actions listed above symbolise?
3. **HS3** Suggest two possible reasons for the tears of the woman in **SOURCE 3**.
4. **HS3** Explain why Stalin (pictured in **SOURCE 5**) wanted a united front with the Western democracies. Why did he finally settle on a pact with Hitler?
5. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 4** and other information in this subtopic, explain why appeasement failed to prevent war.
6. **HS5** Make a list of sources and other information from this subtopic that would support an argument that appeasement should be regarded as a significant cause of World War II.

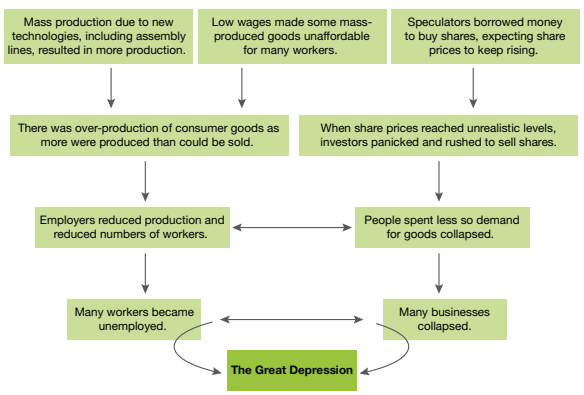
Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

2.11 SkillBuilder: Analysing cause and effect with graphic organisers

online only

What are graphic organisers and how can they be used to analyse cause and effect?

A graphic organiser is a visual or diagrammatic way of representing facts and concepts, for example, an analysis of historical causes and effects.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

2.12 Thinking Big research project: TV Quizmaster

online only

SCENARIO

As a historian specialising in the World War II period, the producers of a television quiz show have commissioned you to prepare multiple-choice questions for a contestant whose special subject is Japan from 1894 to 1941.



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: TV Quizmaster (pro-0204)

2.13 Review

online only

2.13.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

2.13.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31747)
Crossword (doc-31748)

Interactivity Causes of World War II crossword (int-7661)

KEY TERMS

Abyssinia the only independent African state in 1935, now called Ethiopia
Allies Britain, France and the other states on the winning side in World War I
anarchists revolutionaries who want an equal society based on cooperation rather than government or coercive laws
armistice a ceasefire or truce that ends fighting in a conflict, so terms for permanent peace can be discussed
Aryan term used by the Nazis to describe 'pure-blooded' Germanic peoples
assembly line mass production method in which each worker completes the same operation over and over
capitalist economic system based on private ownership of capital, free markets and competition
concentration camps prison camps where people were beaten, tortured, starved and used as slave labour

dissidents people who publicly disagree with government policy or actions
dole payments to the unemployed, usually in the form of coupons to exchange for food
dominions the British Empire's self-governing settler colonies
foment encourage or foster (rebellion)
hire purchase buying and using a product while paying for it in instalments
hyperinflation such an extreme rise in prices that a currency loses any real value
indoctrinate to teach or instruct in a way that is almost brainwashing
isolationist foreign policy based on avoiding involvement in the affairs of other countries
left-wing support for progressive beliefs, such as the intervention of government in society to create greater equality
lynching the execution of a person without authority or process of law
mandate commission to act on behalf of the League of Nations to govern a people considered not ready to govern themselves
militarism excessive influence of military values and pro-war ideas
paramilitary armed forces outside the official military
plebiscite direct vote in which electors give their opinion on an issue
prohibition 1920s nationwide ban in the US on the making, transporting or selling of alcoholic drinks
putsch an attempt to seize political power by force
radical a person who advocates fundamental or revolutionary changes in current practices, conditions or institutions
Reichstag the German Parliament
reparations payment of money or materials by a nation defeated in war, as compensation for damage caused
right-wingers supporters of conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise, and the belief that government should not intervene in the economy
socialist supporting an economic system based on public ownership of industry to create greater equality
soviets councils, originally elected by workers or peasants
stockbroker someone whose job is to buy and sell shares on behalf of others
stock exchange a place where stocks (shares in companies) are bought and sold
Third Reich the Nazi name for their regime in Germany. Reich means empire.
United Fronts policy of communist parties forming alliances with other parties to combat fascism
USSR the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, the name of the former Russian Empire from 1922
Weimar Republic the democratic system of government in Germany from 1919 to early 1933, so called because its constitution was written in the city of Weimar
welfare government system to provide help to members of society who need support
White Russians those who wanted to crush the revolution and restore the old Russian order

2.11 SkillBuilder: Analysing cause and effect with graphic organisers

2.11.1 Tell me

What are graphic organisers and how can they be used to analyse cause and effect?

Graphic organisers are visual ways of representing many things including cause and effect. They can be used to show:

- who or what made something happen or change
- who supported the change and who opposed it
- which effects were intended and which were unintended
- how an event affected individuals and the wider world.

Graphic organisers are particularly useful where:

- there are multiple causes that could have led to the one event
- there is a chain of causes in which some factors lead to events that then contribute to causing a further event
- there are multiple effects flowing from an event.

Different types of graphic organisers are suitable for showing causes and effects. These include cause and effect chains, T-charts and fishbone diagrams. Some types are suitable only when there are a small number of causes of an event or when there are only a few effects. Some types can be modified where the causes or effects are more complex.

Why is it important to analyse causes and effects?

Historians analyse cause and effect to understand why events happened as they did and the consequences of the events. If we understand the causes of devastating events, such as the Great Depression and World War I, we have a better chance of avoiding them in future. However, it is important to recognise that identifying sequences of events does not in itself prove cause and effect and that sometimes a range of factors might have contributed to an event.

The following example can be used to illustrate this point. An intoxicated driver crashes his or her car into a tree. In such an event it might at first seem that cause and effect are very easy to explain. The driver was drunk and therefore the driver caused the crash. However, what if there were other possible causes? Suppose the road was slippery because of heavy rain? Suppose also that the car's steering or brakes were found to be faulty? Suppose the driver had to swerve towards the tree to avoid an oncoming vehicle that was on the wrong side of the road. In such circumstances, the driver's state of intoxication may not have been the cause of the crash. However, it might still have contributed to the event if a sober driver could have controlled the car and avoided the crash. Using graphic organisers will not necessarily prove one explanation to be better than another, but it will help us to see the different factors at play and to weigh up the evidence.

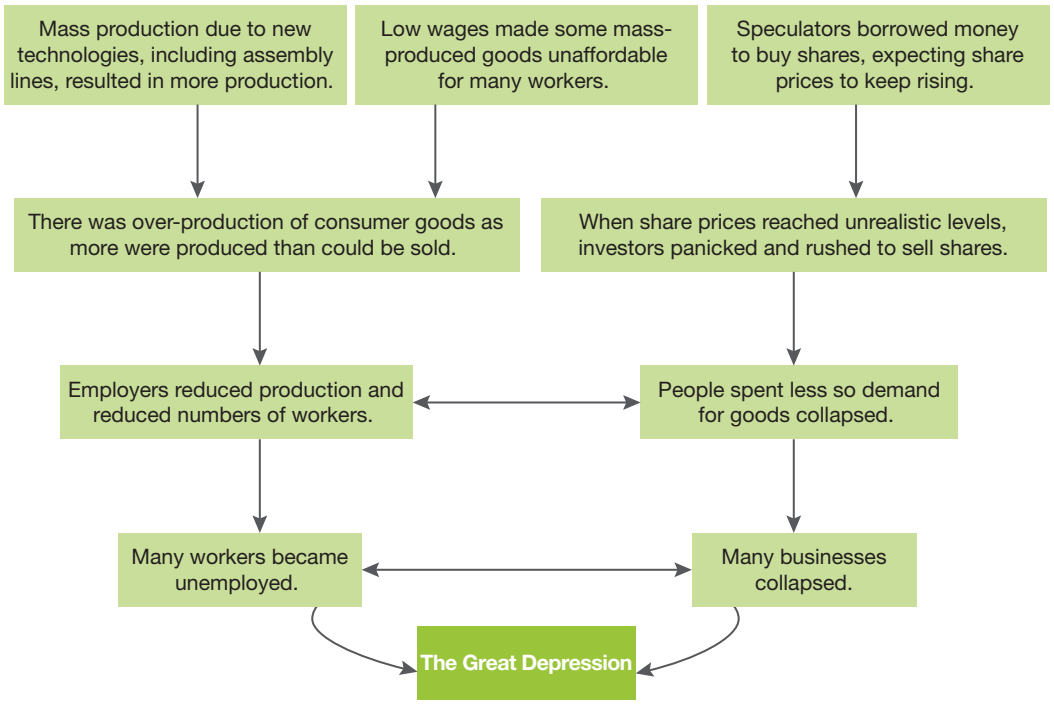
2.11.2 Show me

In this topic, we have examined many developments that contributed to the outbreak of World War II. These include the peace treaties that followed World War I, the weaknesses of the League of Nations, the Great Depression and the rise of European fascism and Japanese militarism. These events can be considered to be causes of World War II, but they were also effects of other causes. We can use graphic organisers to show what caused each of these events.

Example 1: Causes of the Great Depression

Using the following graphic organiser we can see how a chain of causes led to the Great Depression.

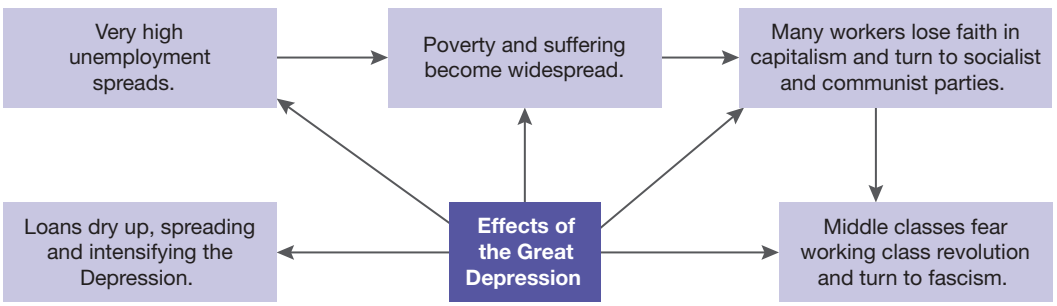
SOURCE 1 Causes of the Great Depression



Example 2: Effects of the Great Depression

When an event has multiple effects a different type of graphic organiser can be useful. The following example could be used to show the effects of the Great Depression.

SOURCE 2 Effects of the Great Depression



2.11.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

2.11 ACTIVITIES

1. Design and complete an appropriate graphic organiser to analyse the causes of World War II. You should aim to demonstrate the relationships between the following factors in your graphic organiser:
   - the peace treaties that followed World War I
   - the effects of the weaknesses of the League of Nations
   - the Great Depression
   - the rise of European fascism
   - the rise of Japanese militarism
   - Japanese aggression in China
   - Nazi Germany's defiance of the Treaty of Versailles
   - aggression by Nazi Germany and fascist Italy
   - appeasement.
2. Use your graphic organiser for the causes of World War II to answer the following questions analysing cause and effect.
   (a) Explain how the terms of the World War I peace treaties contributed to the rise of European fascism.
   (b) Explain how the Great Depression contributed to the rise of European fascism.
   (c) How did the weakness of the League of Nations encourage aggression by the fascist powers?
   (d) How did the Western policy of appeasement encourage aggression by the fascist powers?
   (e) How did the rise of militarism lead to Japanese aggression?
   (f) Identify the consequences of unchecked Japanese aggression in China.

2.12 Thinking Big research project: TV Quizmaster

Scenario

You are a historian specialising in the World War II period, and have been commissioned by the producers of a television quiz show to prepare multiple-choice questions for a contestant. The contestant's special subject is Japan from 1894 to 1941, particularly the rise of extreme nationalism and militarism in Japan from the late nineteenth century, the similarities between Japanese ultra-nationalism and European fascist movements, and Japanese aggression that contributed to Japan joining the fascist powers in World War II.

Task

You are to research and write 12 multiple-choice questions that will be used in the quiz show, covering the following aspects of Japanese history in the period from 1894 to 1941. Ensure that you write at least one multiple-choice question on each topic.

- The Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95
- Japan's motives for siding with the Allies in World War I
- How the Great Depression contributed to the rise of extreme nationalism and militarism in Japan
- Japanese military aggression in Manchuria and northern China from 1932
- The similarities between Japanese ultra-nationalism and European fascism
- The Rome–Berlin–Tokyo Axis
- The Rape of Nanjing
- Why Japan confined its aggression to China until 1941
- Where Japanese aggression occurred in 1941
- Why Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941

SOURCE 1 Japanese solders celebrate the capture of Nanjing, China



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in groups of two will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find starter topics (the dot points in the task section) loaded to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Start by revisiting the content in subtopics 2.7 and 2.9. (You could also look ahead to subtopic 3.3.)
- Supplement your knowledge by conducting further research using the library or the internet. The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point. Remember to record details of your sources so you can create a bibliography to submit with your quiz questions.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your partner. When you have completed your research, you can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.
- When you are satisfied with your research, write your 12 multiple-choice questions. You should provide four possible responses, and identify the correct answer, for each question. Ensure that your questions are difficult enough to challenge the quiz contestant!
- Submit your multiple-choice questions and your bibliography to your teacher for assessment and feedback.

SOURCE 2 Stricken US battleships during the attack on Pearl Harbor



Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: TV Quizmaster (pro-0204)

2.13 Review

2.13.1 Key knowledge summary

2.2 Examining the evidence

- We have vast amounts of sources for this period.
- They include official records, mass media reports and personal records such as diaries, letters and memoirs.

2.3 The peace treaties and the League of Nations

- At the peace conferences after World War I, harsh terms were imposed by the victors on the defeated powers; this caused great bitterness.
- The League of Nations offered the only hope of preventing further wars but it lacked any effective powers to stop aggression.

2.4 The 'Roaring Twenties'

- The 1920s was an age of mass production, mass consumption and changing values.
- It was also an age of intolerance, discrimination, poverty, deep social divisions and political unrest.

2.5 The Great Depression

- The 1930s depression was caused by overproduction, speculation and extreme inequality.
- It quickly spread around much of the world.
- Some countries, including Australia and Germany, were particularly badly affected.

2.6 Communism — dream or nightmare?

- The Bolshevik (communist) Revolution soon became a one-party dictatorship.
- The one-party dictatorship was turned into a one-man dictatorship under Joseph Stalin.
- Although it had turned into a nightmare in the USSR, the communist dream continued to find followers in the capitalist world.

2.7 The rise of fascism

- Fascism first came to power in Italy.
- This ideology was violently nationalist, racist, anti-communist, anti-socialist and anti-democratic.
- Fascist movements formed in many countries, including Australia, Germany and Spain.

2.8 The Nazis take power in Germany

- The rise to power of the German fascists, the Nazis, was aided by the Great Depression and middle-class fears of communism.
- Hitler consolidated Nazi power through violence and propaganda.
- From 1934, the Nazi regime controlled all aspects of German political, economic, social and cultural life.

2.9 Japanese militarism

- Extreme nationalists in Japan shared most traits with European fascists.
- The Japanese military used terror against their opponents at home and committed aggression in Manchuria from 1932.
- From 1937, Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China and committed terrible atrocities.

2.10 The road to war in Europe

- During the 1930s, Italy and Germany committed acts of aggression in Europe and Africa.
- The Western powers adopted policies of appeasement, which only encouraged further fascist aggression.
- The West finally took a stand over threats to Poland.
- After Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany.

A timeline of the causes of World War II

CE



1918

1919
The Treaty of Versailles is signed.
Revolutionary outbreaks occur across Europe.

1920

1921
The Bolsheviks win the Russian Civil War.

1922

1922
Mussolini and his fascists take power in Italy. The former Russian Tsarist Empire becomes the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

1923
Hitler attempts to seize power in Germany in the unsuccessful Munich Putsch.

1924

1924
The Nazis win only 3 per cent of votes in German elections.





1926

1928

1929
The Great Depression begins.

1930

1931
Japan invades Manchuria.



1932

1932
Unemployment reaches its peak in the worst year of the Great Depression.



1933
Hitler and the Nazis gain power in Germany. Germany and Japan withdraw from the League of Nations.

1934

1935
Germany announces rearmament and conscription. Fascist Italy invades Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

1936

1936
German troops re-enter the Rhineland. Germany and Italy support Franco in the Spanish Civil War and become allies. Germany and Japan become allies. Stalin purges his opponents in the Communist Party and the military in the USSR.

1937
Japan invades China.

1938

1938
Germany annexes Austria. At the Munich Conference, Germany gains the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia.



1939
Germany invades and takes the remainder of Czechoslovakia. Germany invades Poland and World War II begins.

1940

CE

2.13.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

2.13 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

After the horrors of World War I, what could possibly have happened to spark another global war?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31747)
Crossword (doc-31748)

Interactivity Causes of World War II crossword (int-7661)

KEY TERMS

Abyssinia the only independent African state in 1935, now called Ethiopia
Allies Britain, France and the other states on the winning side in World War I
anarchists revolutionaries who want an equal society based on cooperation rather than government or coercive laws
armistice a ceasefire or truce that ends fighting in a conflict, so terms for permanent peace can be discussed
Aryan term used by the Nazis to describe 'pure-blooded' Germanic peoples
assembly line mass production method in which each worker completes the same operation over and over
capitalist economic system based on private ownership of capital, free markets and competition
concentration camps prison camps where people were beaten, tortured, starved and used as slave labour
dissidents people who publicly disagree with government policy or actions
dole payments to the unemployed, usually in the form of coupons to exchange for food
dominions the British Empire's self-governing settler colonies
foment encourage or foster (rebellion)
hire purchase buying and using a product while paying for it in instalments
hyperinflation such an extreme rise in prices that a currency loses any real value
indoctrinate to teach or instruct in a way that is almost brainwashing
isolationist foreign policy based on avoiding involvement in the affairs of other countries
left-wing support for progressive beliefs, such as the intervention of government in society to create greater equality
lynching the execution of a person without authority or process of law
mandate commission to act on behalf of the League of Nations to govern a people considered not ready to govern themselves
militarism excessive influence of military values and pro-war ideas
paramilitary armed forces outside the official military
plebiscite direct vote in which electors give their opinion on an issue
prohibition 1920s nationwide ban in the US on the making, transporting or selling of alcoholic drinks
putsch an attempt to seize political power by force
radical a person who advocates fundamental or revolutionary changes in current practices, conditions or institutions
Reichstag the German Parliament
reparations payment of money or materials by a nation defeated in war, as compensation for damage caused
right-wingers supporters of conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise and the belief that government should not intervene in the economy
socialist supporting an economic system based on public ownership of industry to create greater equality
soviets councils, originally elected by workers or peasants

stockbroker someone whose job is to buy and sell shares on behalf of others
stock exchange a place where stocks (shares in companies) are bought and sold
Third Reich the Nazi name for their regime in Germany. Reich means empire.
United Fronts policy of communist parties forming alliances with other parties to combat fascism
USSR the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, the name of the former Russian Empire from 1922
Weimar Republic the democratic system of government in Germany from 1919 to early 1933, so called because its constitution was written in the city of Weimar
welfare government system to provide help to members of society who need support
White Russians those who wanted to crush the revolution and restore the old Russian order

3 The course and consequences of World War II

3.1 Overview

What was Australia's role in the deadliest conflict in human history? Why did we join the fight?

3.1.1 Links with our times

During the twentieth century more than 230 million people died in wars, and many others have been killed since the beginning of this century. After World War I, people were horrified to learn that almost nine million troops had died on both sides in that terrible conflict. Yet World War II cost the lives of many times more. Historians' estimates of the numbers of dead vary from over 50 million to over 70 million. Whatever the correct figure, World War II was by far the deadliest conflict in human history. In this war the number of civilian deaths was approximately double the number of military deaths, and more than a third of the civilian deaths were deliberate killings in Japanese, Nazi and other fascist war crimes.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson World War II (eles-2600)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

3.1 Overview
3.2 Examining the evidence
3.3 Overview of World War II to 1944
3.4 Australians at war: enlistment and the Mediterranean battles
3.5 Australia under threat
3.6 Australians in the Pacific War: Kokoda
3.7 Australians in the Pacific War: beyond Kokoda
3.8 Australian prisoners of war
3.9 The Australian home front
3.10 Australian women at war
3.11 Australia's relations with the US
3.12 The end of the war
3.13 War crimes and retribution
3.14 Changing international relations
3.15 Commemoration and contested debates
3.16 **SkillBuilder:** Analysing political cartoons and propaganda posters online only
3.17 **Thinking Big research project:** Honouring Indigenous Australians' service online only
3.18 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions, and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of the course and consequences of World War II



1938
German troops occupy Austria. Czechoslovakia is weakened as the Sudetenland is ceded to Germany at the Munich Conference.



1939
Britain declares war on Germany. Australia forms the 2nd AIF.



1940
Germany overruns Western Europe. The Battle of Britain prevents a German invasion of Britain. British and Australian forces inflict defeats on Italian troops in North Africa.



1941
The AIF achieves victories over Italian forces in Libya and over the Vichy French in Syria. Germany invades Yugoslavia, Greece and the USSR. Australians hold out for months against German forces in the Tobruk siege. Japan enters the war on the side of the fascist powers with attacks on the US naval base at Pearl Harbour and on British Malaya. The USA enters the war.

1942
Japanese conquer most of South-East Asia. Singapore falls. Darwin is bombed. The Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway are setbacks for Japan. Japanese submarines raid Sydney Harbour. Australians turn back the Japanese advance in Papua. German forces are defeated in El Alamein.



1943
Australians defeat Japanese forces in New Guinea. The Russian Red Army defeats Germans at Stalingrad and in the Battle of Kursk. Mussolini is overthrown in Italy.

1944
The 'D Day' landings take place in France. British and Indian forces drive the Japanese back in Burma. The US defeats Japanese forces on Pacific islands.

1945
Germany surrenders in May. Atomic bombs are dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August. Japan formally surrenders in September. The United Nations is formed.





BCE

1938

1940

1942

1944

1946

CE

3.2 Examining the evidence

3.2.1 How do we know about World War II?

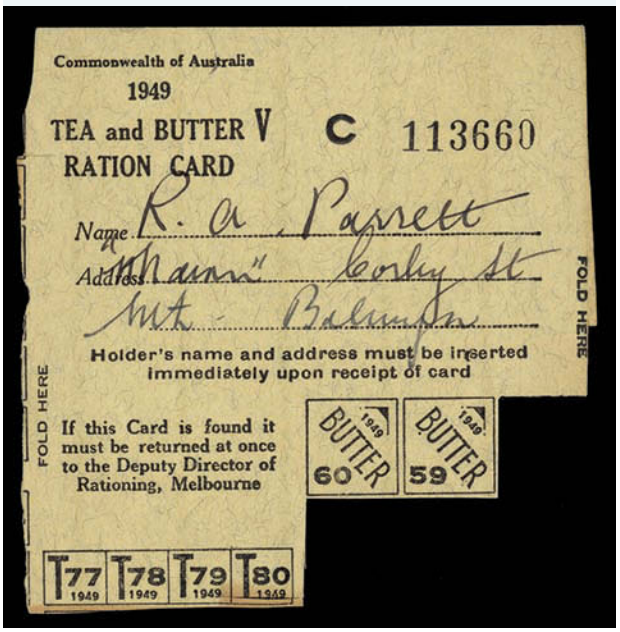
In this topic we will be investigating World War II, especially Australia's involvement in this terrible conflict. Nearly 40 000 Australians died on active service, including almost 8000 Australian prisoners of war who died mostly from malnutrition, diseases and mistreatment. The human cost of World War II was even more horrific for many other nations.

Because of its global scale and its impact, the range of sources of evidence for World War II is truly enormous. These sources include artefacts as well as written and visual sources.

Written sources and artefacts

Many thousands of books and articles have been written about World War II. Vast quantities of written primary sources and material remains are held in museums, archives and libraries. They include military records, campaign maps, soldiers' letters, diaries and memoirs, propaganda and weapons, as well as other kinds of evidence. Australia has extensive collections of such sources, including military equipment and dioramas depicting specific battles. Many can be viewed online through the Australian War Memorial website.

SOURCE 1 A 1949 ration card for tea and butter



SOURCE 2 Tom Uren was a former minister in the Whitlam Labor Government (1972–75). In this extract from his memoirs he describes events before his unit became prisoners of war on 23 February 1942.

All the blokes in our unit were excited and couldn't wait to go ... A brigadier gave a talk about what the Japanese were doing in the countries they had overrun, such as China; we were told they were raping women and bayoneting children ... We disembarked at Koepang on the western side of Timor on 12 December 1941 ... From 19 January 1942 we endured almost daily bombing raids by the Japanese ... On 20 February 1942 we heard a rumour that the Japanese had landed on the other side of the island and most of our troops were sent around to engage them ... Our first engagement was with Japanese paratroops who had landed on the outskirts of a village called Babaoe ... We got on the last truck pulling out of the village just as the Japanese paratroops came up the main street firing at us. It was a pretty narrow escape ... The Japanese were not taking prisoners.

About 500 paratroopers had landed and in the four days of intense fighting that ensued, we killed almost all of them. During those four days of the battle, brutal things were done on both sides. Some of our stretcher-bearers had their throats cut [by the Japanese] and were hung up by their feet ... In the heat of war, man is capable of the most barbaric and inhumane actions.

Visual sources

World War II was the first major conflict in which movie cameras were used extensively to document events and to make propaganda films. The best-known Nazi propaganda films were made by Leni Riefenstahl. In her first documentary *Der Sieg des Glaubens* (Victory of Faith), Riefenstahl recorded the 1933 Nuremberg Nazi Party rally to portray Adolf Hitler as a great German statesman rather than the cruel dictator he was. Film was also used by the Allies both for propaganda and to record events. American director John Ford filmed battles in which US Marines overcame fierce Japanese resistance in the Pacific in 1944 and 1945. Art and still photography were also widely used to record wartime events, as they had been during World War I. Art and photographs provide some of the starkest evidence of this conflict.

SOURCE 3 Nurses searching through rubble after German bombers struck a children's hospital in London in 1940



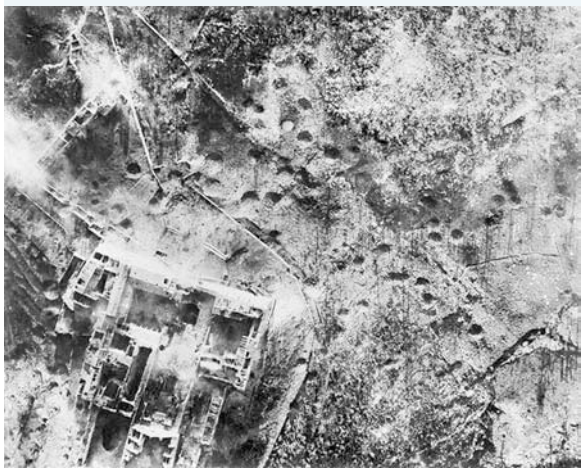
Source: AWM 003288

SOURCE 4 During the German siege of Stalingrad in the USSR in 1942, Russian women risked their lives carrying supplies to the city's defenders.



Source: AWM P02018.133

SOURCE 5 This aerial view shows the results of the Allied bombing of the ancient monastery of Montecassino in Italy on 29 February 1944. The Germans had used the monastery as a position for firing down upon advancing Allied soldiers.



Source: AWM MED1826

SOURCE 6 The central figure in this painting is a blind prisoner struggling through a concentration camp just after it was liberated by the Allies.



Source: Moore, Alan
Blind man in Belsen (1947)
Oil on canvas, 51.2 × 61.4 cm
Australian War Memorial ART27620

Resources

Video eLesson The Blitz in Britain (eles-2601)

3.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Where would you find written primary sources from World War II?
2. **HS1** Explain how the use of movie cameras expanded the kinds of evidence that we have for World War II.
3. **HS1** Make a list of the visual primary sources that can provide evidence for World War II.
4. **HS1** Who made the best known Nazi propaganda films?
5. **HS1** In what theatre of World War II did John Ford direct films?

3.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Why do you think the card shown in **SOURCE 1** would have been issued to Australians at home during World War II?
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Why were the men in Tom Uren's unit eager to fight the Japanese?
   (b) When and where did they fight?
   (c) What was Tom Uren's view of the way this part of the war was fought?
3. **HS3** What do **SOURCES 3** and **4** reveal about some reasons why civilians made up so many of the casualties of World War II?
4. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 5**.
   (a) Why was it thought necessary for the Allies to destroy this historic monastery?
   (b) What are the advantages of aerial photographs as sources?
5. **HS3** Describe the details in **SOURCE 6** and explain how this artwork conveys the horror of the Nazis' persecution of their victims.
6. **HS5** Using all of the sources in this subtopic as your evidence, write a short account of the ways in which large numbers of people suffered and died in World War II.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.3 Overview of World War II to 1944

3.3.1 The war in Europe and North Africa

World War II began in Europe but soon spread to North Africa and then to Asia and the Pacific. Its battles were fought on land, in the air and at sea, and its combatants included **partisans** as well as regular forces. Unlike World War I, it really was a war of **ideologies**, a war the Allies fought to stop the expansion of fascist rule.

Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939 using a new tactic — *blitzkrieg*. This method of high-speed attack used tanks supported by fighter planes and dive-bombers. Britain, Australia, New Zealand and France declared war on 3 September. However, British and French troops were too far away to provide any help to the Poles. Despite heroic resistance, western Poland fell to the Nazis and eastern Poland was occupied by the Soviet Union. In April 1940 Germany overran Norway and Denmark to secure iron-ore supplies. In May it again used *blitzkrieg* tactics to invade the Netherlands, Belgium and France. In late May Belgium surrendered. France was defeated by 17 June.

DID YOU KNOW?

'Blitzkrieg' means 'lightning war'. The term was invented by *Time* magazine reporters rather than German commanders.

As the Germans advanced, 340 000 Allied soldiers were pushed back to the beaches of Dunkirk in northern France. Had it not been for the crews of more than 800 hastily assembled British boats that rescued troops, Britain would have suffered terrible losses. Instead, Britain was able to evacuate most of its troops, as well as many French, Dutch and Belgian soldiers.

SOURCE 1 A modern artist's impression of the Dunkirk evacuation



The British Empire stands alone

While Germany occupied most of France, a right-wing, pro-German French government was set up under Marshal Pétain in the south. Vichy France, as this regime was known, was now Germany's ally. The British Empire stood alone, facing German-occupied Europe. With the US and USSR remaining neutral, Britain's only allies were the defeated European nations' governments-in-exile.

The Battle of Britain

When the new British prime minister, Winston Churchill, made it clear that his country would not negotiate for peace, Hitler planned Operation Sea Lion, the invasion of Britain, in which devastating air attacks were to be followed by landings of German troops.

For a seaborne invasion to succeed, Germany first had to win control of the air. On 10 July 1940 the **Luftwaffe** struck convoys of ships in the English Channel. It then targeted airfields, military installations, ports and cities, killing 15 000 British civilians. But the **Royal Air Force (RAF)** fighter aircraft fought the Luftwaffe tenaciously during the Battle of Britain. Over 500 airmen lost their lives, but they denied the Nazis control of the air and the invasion was prevented.

SOURCE 2 From speeches by Prime Minister Winston Churchill in 1940

We ... shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender ...

I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilisation ... Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we stand up to him all Europe may be free ...

New battlefields after 1940

By the end of 1940 the war had reached a stalemate. Germany had failed to crush Britain, but Britain lacked the capacity to invade Europe. Direct battles could and did take place in North Africa and the Balkans, however. Italy had entered the war as Germany's ally in June 1940, and within a month Italian forces had captured British Somaliland and parts of Egypt. In November 1940 the British struck back with a devastating air attack on the Italian fleet and a land attack that forced an Italian retreat. German forces came to Italy's aid and the British were pushed back into Egypt in February 1941. Germany then attacked Yugoslavia and Greece, conquering those countries in April and May 1941. With their nations overrun, Yugoslav and Greek partisans continued to fight behind German lines.

Germany invades Russia

In June 1941 Hitler betrayed Stalin by launching Operation Barbarossa to achieve his original aim, the conquest of the Soviet Union. The invasion force included three-quarters of Germany's armed forces, as well as Hungarian, Romanian, Finnish and Italian troops and 'volunteers' from 'neutral' Spain. Partly because Stalin failed to respond quickly, many Soviet planes were destroyed on the ground and the Axis forces were at first able to advance quickly. But *blitzkrieg* tactics were ineffective on Russia's vast plains. As rain turned the roads to mud the German advance slowed. By December it was halted by the harsh Russian winter and by fresh Soviet divisions from Siberia who drove the invaders back from Moscow. The attack on the USSR gave the British Empire a powerful ally.

SOURCE 3 From a letter from Hitler to Mussolini explaining the reasons for the German invasion of the USSR

The martial spirit to make war, after all, lives only on hopes. These hopes [of the British] are based solely on two assumptions: Russia and America. We have no chance of eliminating America. But it does lie in our power to exclude Russia. The elimination of Russia means, at the same time, a tremendous relief for Japan in East Asia, and thereby the possibility of a much stronger threat to American activities through Japanese intervention.

SOURCE 4 Europe at the beginning of 1942



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.

- World War Two > **World War II in Europe**

3.3.2 The Pacific War

Japan was Germany's Axis partner, but with a million troops engaged in China it did not widen its role until December 1941. Japan sought an Asian and Pacific empire, or what it described as the 'Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere'. Its first step was the occupation of French Indochina in July 1941 with the cooperation of Vichy French authorities.

On 7 December 1941 waves of Japanese planes from aircraft carriers struck the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, destroying half the US fleet. US president Franklin D. Roosevelt had strongly sympathised with the Allies, but many Americans opposed America's involvement in the war. The attack ensured public support when Roosevelt declared war the very next day. Britain had gained another powerful ally.

SOURCE 5 US battleships burn after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor



On 8 December the Japanese invaded Malaya and attacked other British, Dutch and US colonies in Asia. By April 1942 the Japanese had taken Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaya, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and much of Burma. However, in May 1942, in the Battle of the Coral Sea, a US aircraft carrier force engaged Japanese warships and troopships heading for Port Moresby in Papua. Although both sides suffered heavy damage, the Japanese were prevented from taking Port Moresby by sea.

SOURCE 6 The extent of the Asia–Pacific region controlled by Japan by July 1942



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 marked the first time US and Australian forces halted the Japanese advance in the Pacific.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.

- World War Two > **World War II in the Pacific**

3.3.3 Turning points and counter-offensives

Crucial land, air and sea battles in 1942 and 1943 represented turning points in the European and Pacific wars. Counter-offensives against the Axis powers and Japan began to inflict serious defeats on both these enemies.

- In the Battle of Midway in June 1942 Japan lost its aircraft carriers, inflicting serious damage to its naval strength.
- In October 1942 British Empire forces defeated German forces at El Alamein in Egypt. By November the Germans were retreating in North Africa, and in May 1943 they were forced to surrender.
- From November 1942 Soviet Red Army troops fought back ferociously at Stalingrad. On 2 February 1943 the German 6th Army surrendered. In July 1943, in the Battle of Kursk, the biggest tank battle of World War II, Germany's tank force was almost completely destroyed.

SOURCE 7 Soviet troops advancing on German positions during winter fighting on the Eastern front



The Allied counter-offensives

- By 1943 the Axis powers were clearly losing the war. Bombing raids by US and British Empire aircraft were destroying German cities and industry.
- After British and US troops invaded Italy in July 1943, Mussolini was killed by Italian anti-fascists and the Allies fought a bloody campaign against German forces in Italy's north.
- On 'D-Day', 6 June 1944, British, US and Canadian troops landed on the beaches of Normandy in France and began driving the Germans out of western Europe.
- By the end of 1943 the Germans were retreating before the Red Army all along the Eastern Front.
- In the Pacific War, Australian troops defeated the Japanese in Papua between July 1942 and January 1943, and then fought them in New Guinea. In November 1942 the US inflicted another big naval defeat on the Japanese, and by March 1944 British and Indian troops were turning the Japanese back in Burma while US forces were destroying Japanese bases in the islands of the Pacific.

3.3 ACTIVITIES

1. Conduct research into the battles of Stalingrad and Kursk and prepare a report on whether or not they should be regarded as the major turning points in the war in 1943. **Determining historical significance**
2. Make a timeline of all the dates and events referred to in this subtopic. Which of these events led to other events, in your opinion? Create a consequences diagram to show this. **Sequencing chronology**

3.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Where were *blitzkrieg* tactics used by Germany in 1939 and 1940 and how effective were they?
2. **HS1** Describe the situation facing the British Empire after 17 June 1940.
3. **HS1** Explain why the war had reached a stalemate by the end of 1940.
4. **HS1** Explain how the war expanded to North Africa, the Balkans and the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1940–41.

5. **HS1** Explain Japan's motives for widening its role in the war from China to the wider Asia–Pacific region from December 1941.
6. **HS1** Explain how Japanese aggression enabled US President Roosevelt to overcome American opposition to involvement in the war.
7. **HS1** What events can be regarded as the main turning points in:
   (a) the war in Europe and North Africa between October 1942 and June 1944
   (b) the war in Asia and the Pacific between June 1942 and March 1944?

3.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Referring to **SOURCE 1**, explain why the Dunkirk evacuation was vital for Britain's ability to keep fighting.
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) According to Churchill, what was at stake in the Battle of Britain?
   (b) Explain how such speeches would have helped to strengthen the will of the British people to fight.
3. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Identify two reasons Hitler gave for attacking Russia (the USSR) and state them in your own words.
   (b) Explain why this might be regarded as a poor decision on Hitler's part.
4. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 4**. Identify and list:
   (a) Nazi Germany's allies in Europe by 1942
   (b) countries occupied by Germany by 1942
   (c) countries occupied by Italy by 1942
   (d) countries that were neutral.
5. **HS3** Describe what is shown in **SOURCE 5** and explain how such images would have convinced US citizens to support Roosevelt's declaration of war.
6. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 6**, identify and list the countries attacked and occupied by Japan by 1942. Why might Australia have cause to be concerned by Japan's occupation of these countries?
7. **HS3** Soviet Red Army troops, like those shown in **SOURCE 7**, played a vital role in turning the tide of war in favour of the Allies. What advantages might they have had over their Axis enemies?
8. **HS4** Why were there two main theatres of war from December 1941?
9. **HS4** Outline the events of the Battles of Stalingrad and Kursk.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.4 Australians at war: enlistment and the Mediterranean battles

3.4.1 Enlisting for the war

On 3 September 1939 Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced in a radio broadcast that, because Britain had declared war on Germany, 'Australia is also at war'. While most Australians agreed it was their duty to support Britain, they no longer imagined that war was a glorious adventure.

Menzies' statement was a continuation of Australia's adherence to a common British Empire foreign policy and it was immediately supported by the Labor Party. Yet, Australia was ill-prepared for another world war. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) had been equipped to assist the Royal Navy, so it was better prepared than the other services. But the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) had only 3500 personnel in 1939 and no modern warplanes, while the army had only a small core of professional soldiers and a militia of part-time reserves, who met once a week for training.

DID YOU KNOW?

Approximately 39 800 Australian soldiers, sailors and airmen and 700 civilians were killed in World War II from a population of almost seven million, compared with around 60 000 out of fewer than five million in World War I.

Much larger land forces had to be recruited but the Australian government was at first reluctant to send troops to Europe, as it feared that Japan might suddenly enter the war and threaten Australia. However, many Australians believed that their government had a duty to help Britain as quickly as possible. The result was that Australia formed two separate land forces. The militia, or Citizen Military Forces, was expanded by voluntary and compulsory service for the defence of Australia. A second Australian Imperial Force (2nd AIF) was raised by voluntary enlistment for service overseas.

Recruiting the Second AIF

Recruiting for the 2nd AIF began in October, but there was no great rush to enlist. This was partly because there was little action at this stage of the war, which came to be called the 'phoney war'. Hitler had completed the invasion of Poland, but the Allies took no effective steps against him. It was not until the lightning fast German advances of April–June 1940 that most Australians realised how serious the war situation was.

At least two other factors impeded recruiting. One was that Australia still discriminated against Indigenous volunteers through the requirement that recruits must be 'substantially of European origin', although Indigenous Australians were soon to be fighting in the overseas campaigns of 1940–41. Another reason was that the Great War had shattered the myth of war as a glorious adventure. People now understood that victory, if it could be won at all, would come at a high cost in lives.

There was, however, a rush to enlist in the RAAF, as many young men realised that this would be an aerial war. But the RAAF was initially prepared to accept only a tiny fraction of the almost 70 000 who had applied to join by March 1940.

SOURCE 1 Extract from Michael McKernan, *All In! Australia During the Second World War*, Thomas Nelson, Melbourne, 1983. Michael McKernan was a senior lecturer in history and an assistant director of the Australian War Memorial.

Unfortunately for the patriots, recruiting proved to be a great disappointment. Instead of a flood there was a trickle in all centres ...

Uncertainty over the use of the special force and rates of pay influenced some 'eligibles' not to enlist ...

Many of the early recruits testified that their army pay was the first wage they had ever received, moving from school to the dole to the army.

Recruiting in 1939 was, therefore, utterly different from the wild, excited scenes enacted outside army depots in 1914 ...

The failure of recruiting ... alarmed the government ...

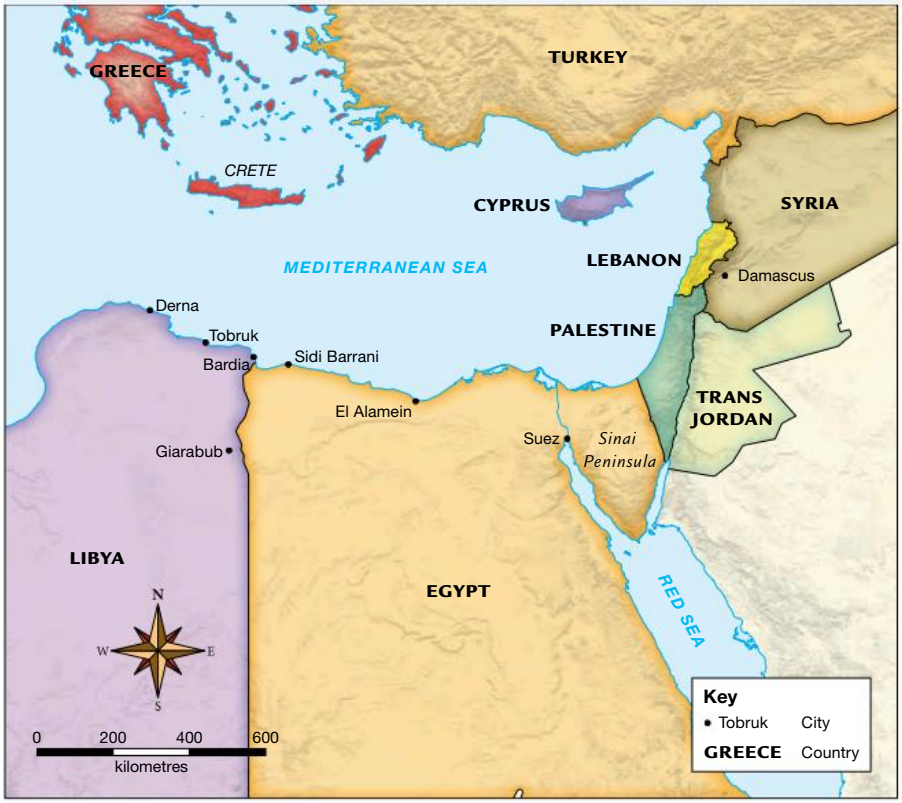
3.4.2 The Second AIF goes to war

Four divisions were raised for the Second AIF. As there had been five divisions in the First AIF, these new divisions were called the 6th to the 9th divisions. The 6th, 7th and 9th Divisions were sent to the Middle East. The 8th was sent to Malaya. Early in 1940 the 6th Division was trained in Palestine. In battles in Libya, between January and March 1941, the 6th Division achieved spectacular victories over the Italians. By March, 10 Italian divisions had been destroyed, tens of thousands of Italian troops had surrendered and British Empire forces had gained their first victory of the war.

Greece and Crete, March–May 1941

The next campaign, in Greece, saw a tragic defeat. The Australian 6th Division fought alongside Greek, British and New Zealand troops to halt the German invasion. But the Germans used tanks supported by dive-bombers, and the under-equipped Allied defenders were forced to retreat to Crete, where they fought a **rearguard action**. While the main army was evacuated, the Australian 2/7th Battalion held the Germans back. More than 3000 Australians were taken prisoner.

SOURCE 2 Theatres of war involving Australian forces in North Africa, the Middle East and Greece, 1941–42



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

SOURCE 3 From the diary of Major Henry G. Quinn of the Australian 2/7th Battalion, written during the fighting in Crete

30 May 41
FOOD SHORTAGE ACUTE and plane not yet arrived, as arranged ...
High ridge on right fwd flank occupied by enemy — from here he directed fire onto our posns [positions]. Our fire unable to reach them ...
Heat terrific and nerves straining under the terrific hammering. All troops anxious to be allowed to attack ...
31 May 41
ORDERS TO HOLD ON for another 24 hrs ... position hopeless, and the fact that no further ammn [ammunition] is arriving, makes it necessary to safeguard every round.
NO AIR SUPPORT is rendering our position untenable ... orders to withdraw received ... a nightmare trip down the cliffs to the beach.
BN [BATTALION] PERSONNEL EMBARK BUT MAJORITY LEFT 12 Bn personnel got aboard a barge, but nothing seen of the rest ... there were no more barges left.
4 Jun 41

	OFFICERS	ORs [other ranks]
Unit strength, as at 10 Apr 41, when Bn sailed for GREECE	33	726
Lost in Greece	2	150
Bn strength on landing on CRETE	31	576
Lost on CRETE	24	511
Total of the remaining members of the Bn.....	7	65

Tobruk and El Alamein

In June 1941 two brigades of the Australian 7th Division took part in a campaign to defeat Vichy French forces in Syria. The Australians captured several forts and defeated the experienced French Foreign Legion.

Meanwhile, the defeat of the Italians in Libya had forced Hitler to send in German forces in February 1941. The Allies were pushed back to Tobruk, on Libya's coast, where an epic siege began. The Allied troops were ordered to hold Tobruk to delay the German advance on the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf oilfields. The garrison of 24 000 included 14 000 Australians, mostly of the 9th Division. The siege of Tobruk lasted from April to December 1941. The defenders suffered from disease, flies, fleas, intense heat and insufficient water. They sustained 3000 casualties during daily German air raids and ground attacks led by tanks. The defenders were caught in a trap so the Germans called them the 'Rats of Tobruk'. The Australians adopted that name with pride.

SOURCE 4 Australian defenders using a captured Italian anti-aircraft gun to ward off German planes during the siege of Tobruk



Source: AWM 040609

DID YOU KNOW?

The English-language German radio program called 'Germany calling' that described the Allied troops as 'poor desert rats in a trap' was not a propaganda success in this case. Thumbing their nose at the suggestion, the Australian soldiers even cast an unofficial medal for themselves depicting a rat. The metal used to make the medals came from a German bomber the Australians had shot down with captured German guns.

When Japan entered the war in December 1941, the AIF divisions, except for the 9th, were shipped home to face the new danger. The 9th Division **spearheaded** the British infantry attack in the first major Allied victory over the Germans. This was the 12-day-long Battle of El Alamein in October 1942.

3.4 ACTIVITIES

1. Write a script of a dialogue between two potential recruits, one whose father suffered terrible injuries in the Great War and the other who has been unemployed since leaving school. Their dialogue should be discussing whether or not to enlist. **Using historical sources as evidence**
2. Evaluate the significance of the feats of the 'Rats of Tobruk' in giving Australia a World War II legend to rival the original Anzac legend. You will need to conduct further research for this task. **Determining historical significance**

3.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the state of Australia's readiness for war in September 1939.
2. **HS1** Explain how attitudes to enlistment were affected by:
   (a) the experience of World War I
   (b) discrimination against Indigenous volunteers
   (c) the 'phoney war'.
3. **HS1** Explain why the new AIF divisions were called the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th.
4. **HS1** Why did the Australian government send only three of the four AIF divisions to the Middle East?
5. **HS1** Describe the strength of the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) in 1939.

3.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Explain why this source can be regarded as reliable and thoroughly researched.
   (b) Why was recruiting a 'great disappointment'?
   (c) Describe how economic considerations influenced some to enlist and others not to enlist.
2. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 2** and other information in this subtopic, briefly outline the campaigns in which Australians fought around the Mediterranean in 1941–42.
3. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Explain why this diary should be considered a reliable source.
   (b) Using the diary extract as your evidence, describe the problems endured by 2/7th Battalion and explain why its losses were so great.
4. **HS3** Suggest why the Australians in **SOURCE 4** were using Italian weapons and how they had acquired them.
5. **HS3** Imagine you are a war correspondent reporting on the AIF in the Middle East. Use the sources in this subtopic to write a short paragraph about Australians in that theatre of war.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.5 Australia under threat

3.5.1 A major turning point in the war for Australia

Australia's deepest fear became reality when Japan entered the war in December 1941. Australia's most experienced troops, three of the four AIF divisions, were far away, fighting alongside British forces. Australians had hoped that, if Japan entered the war, the British would defend Australia. But Britain was fighting for its own survival and lacked the resources to protect Australia and the Asia–Pacific region.

On 27 December 1941 Japanese troops were advancing quickly down the Malay peninsula towards Singapore. On that day John Curtin, Australia's recently elected Labor prime minister, declared that Australia would look beyond Britain to shape its own foreign policy.

SOURCE 1 Curtin's call for American help against Japan

The Australian government ... regards the Pacific struggle as one in which the United States and Australia must have the fullest say in the direction of the Democracies' fighting plan ... Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional kinship with the United Kingdom.

We know the problems that the United Kingdom faces. We know the constant threat of invasion ... But we know too that Australia can go, and Britain can still hold on.

We are therefore determined that Australia shall not go, and we shall exert all our energies towards shaping a plan, with the United States as its keystone, which will give to our country some confidence of being able to hold out until the tide of battle swings against the enemy.

'Fortress Singapore' falls

To Australia's near north, Malaya and Singapore were defended by more than 130 000 British Empire troops, consisting of Indian and British forces and the Australian 8th Division. It was said that Singapore, with its British naval base, could not be taken, but by the end of January 1942 Malaya had fallen and Singapore was directly threatened. Japanese bombers had sunk two British battleships sent to Singapore within a few days of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

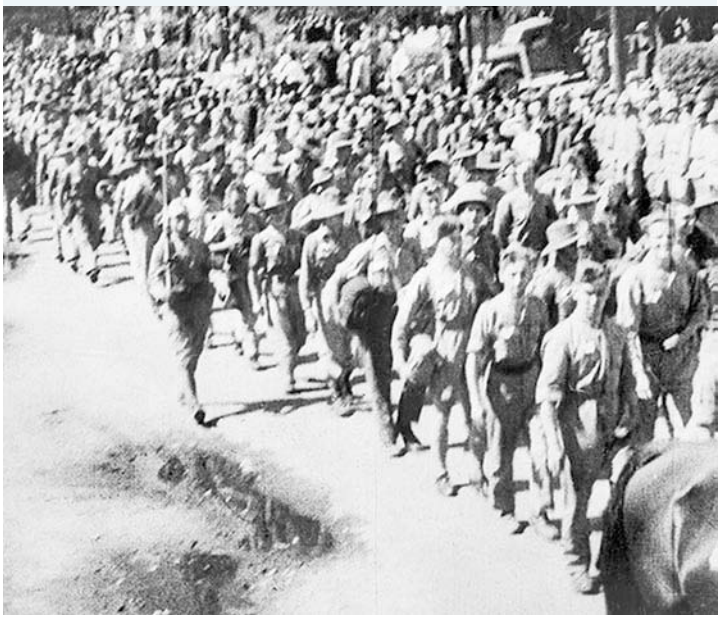
Singapore's defence was poorly organised and, on 15 February 1942, the British commander surrendered his army to a Japanese force that was less than half its size and would soon have run out of ammunition. Singapore's defenders, including 15 000 Australians, became prisoners of war (POWs).

SOURCE 2 Japanese troops advancing during the invasion of Malaya on 14 January 1942



Source: AWM 127894

SOURCE 3 British and Australian POWs in Korea on 24 October 1942. These soldiers were transported to Korea after being captured at the fall of Singapore.



Source: AWM 041103

Australia exposed

When Singapore fell, Australians felt even more exposed. Their fears were justified when, on 19 February, Darwin was hit in two Japanese air raids by about 90 bombers with fighter escorts. At least 243 people were killed and there was widespread panic. Many more air raids followed throughout 1942 and 1943. The Japanese had overrun Rabaul, in New Britain, on 23 January, and captured the small Australian forces on Java, Ambon and Timor in February. However, 'Sparrow Force', an independent Australian company, waged guerrilla warfare on Timor with the help of Timorese people until 1943.

DID YOU KNOW?

On 1 June 1942 the war came even closer when two Japanese midget submarines were sunk in Sydney Harbour. Although it is now clear that Japan did not have the resources to invade Australia in 1942, the threat was frighteningly real at the time.

Despite Australia's concerns, both Winston Churchill and the US government wanted the Australian 7th Division, returning from the Middle East, to be sent to Burma. Curtin, however, angrily insisted that these men return to Australia. They were later to fight in the New Guinea campaigns.

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Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- World War Two > **World War II in the Pacific**
- World War Two > **World War II at home**

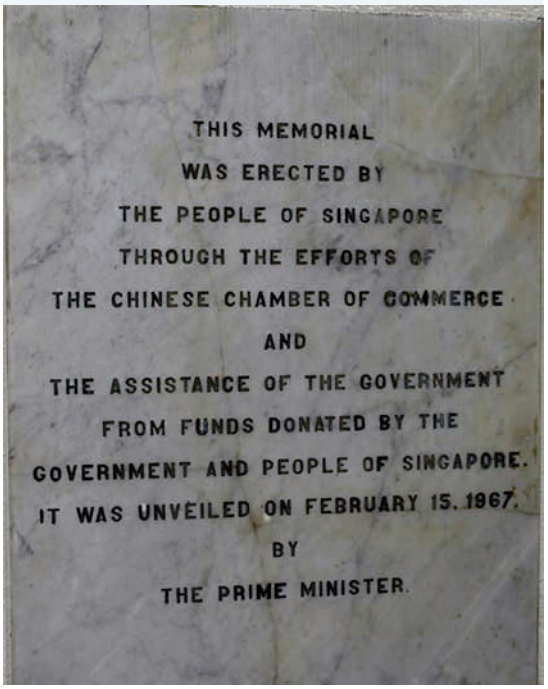
3.5.2 The cruel fate of the people of Singapore

Australian historians have tended to focus their research on the consequences of the fall of Singapore for Australia and particularly for the POWs. However, vast numbers of Singaporeans were also to die as a result of the Japanese occupation that followed the British surrender. As it had done in China from 1937, the Japanese Imperial Army unleashed a reign of terror against the ethnic Chinese in Singapore. The main aim appears to have been to destroy ethnic Chinese resistance before it could begin. Under a system called *Sook Ching*, the *Kempeitai*, the Japanese military police, rounded up ethnic Chinese civilians, took them to isolated spots and slaughtered them. Estimates of the numbers killed this way range between 25 000 and 50 000. In 1962, the unidentified remains of many of the victims were unearthed and in the following year they were buried beneath the site where a memorial was to be erected (see **SOURCES 4** and **5)**.

SOURCE 4 The Memorial to the Civilian Victims of the Japanese Occupation, in Singapore



SOURCE 5 The inscription on the Memorial to the Civilian Victims of the Japanese Occupation



During the remaining years of the occupation, the *Kempeitai* maintained control through a network of informers who reported on any signs of resistance among the ethnic Chinese population. Singaporean schoolchildren were forced to learn Japanese and to sing the Japanese national anthem, and the people lived in constant fear of further Japanese atrocities.

3.5 ACTIVITY

Conduct a roleplay of an argument between Labor and anti-Labor politicians on this issue at the time. Try to convey their different perspectives and, especially, reasons for their opposing positions.

Determining historical significance

3.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What events in December 1941 aroused great fears in Australia?
2. **HS1** Identify reasons Australia lacked troops for its defence in December 1941 and reasons for Britain's inability to assist Australia.
3. **HS1** Explain why the Australian government clashed with Britain over the redeployment of the Australian 7th Division.
4. **HS1** Who were the *Kempeitai*?
5. **HS1** Describe the methods used by the Japanese to control the ethnic Chinese population of Singapore.
6. **HS1** Explain the Japanese motives for such acts.
7. **HS1** Why might estimates of the number of Chinese killed vary so widely?
8. **HS1** What groups comprised the British Empire troops defending Malaya and Singapore?

3.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) What did John Curtin say about the danger to Australia and the need to seek support other than what could be provided by Britain?
   (b) Explain what Curtin meant when he said, 'But we know too that Australia can go, and Britain can still hold on. We are therefore determined that Australia shall not go.'
2. **HS3** **SOURCES 2** and **3** depict Japanese troops advancing through Malaya and British and Australian prisoners of war. What effects do you think such scenes would have had on the morale of both sides and on their attitudes to each other?
3. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCES 4** and **5** and suggest what the memorial reveals about Japanese treatment of Chinese civilians in Singapore and about Singaporean feelings about those experiences.
4. **HS3** Referring to all sources in subtopic 3.5, identify why the fall of Singapore, the bombings on the Australian mainland and the Japanese capture of islands to Australia's north should be regarded as a turning point in the war.
5. **HS6** During the two decades following the Paris Peace Conferences of 1919, Australia had shown almost no independence from Britain. Curtin's speech of 27 December 1941 is regarded by many historians as a turning point in Australian foreign policy. Curtin was criticised by former Prime Minister Robert Menzies, who was intensely pro-British, and by other conservative politicians, who called the speech 'deplorable'. How significant was Curtin's 'Australia looks to America' speech given Australia's history up to that point?

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3.6 Australians in the Pacific War: Kokoda

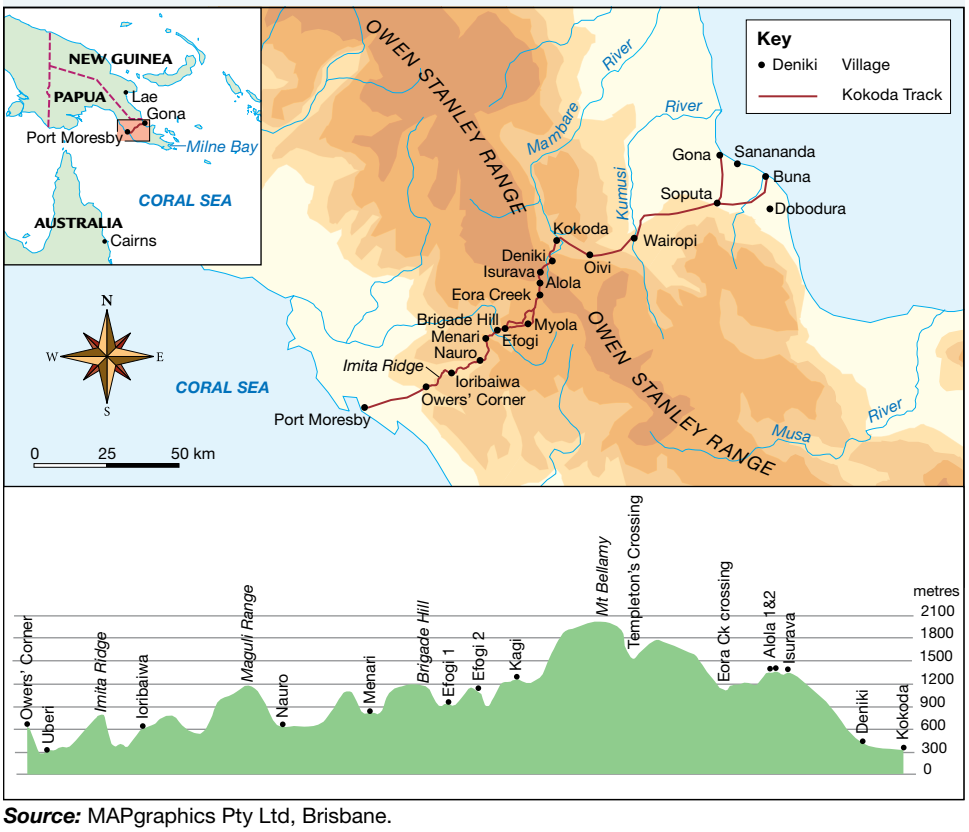
3.6.1 The Kokoda Track

In early 1942 Japan's advances in the Pacific seemed unstoppable. Australia lacked the ships and planes to prevent a Japanese landing on the north or west of the Australian mainland. If that happened, a '**scorched earth**' policy was to be adopted. In fact, by March the Japanese had insufficient ships and troops to invade Australia. However, their fortress at Rabaul was crucial for their Pacific operations and they wanted to occupy Papua and New Guinea to strengthen their hold on it. A Japanese invasion force was sent to take Port Moresby, in Papua. But between July and November 1942 Australian troops repelled them on the Kokoda Track.

With the AIF 6th and 7th Divisions not yet available, the 8th Division in captivity and the 9th Division in the Middle East, the only Australian troops standing in the way of a Japanese invasion of Papua were three **militia** battalions stationed in Port Moresby. The Kokoda Track was a steep and muddy trail that wound from Port Moresby through the dense jungle, across the rivers and over the mountains of the rugged Owen Stanley Range (see **SOURCE 1**). In June 1942 militiamen of the 39th Battalion were ordered to advance with troops of the Papuan Infantry Brigade (PBI) along this track to stop any Japanese advance towards Port Moresby from Papua's north coast.

Japan's attempt to take Port Moresby by sea had already been prevented by the Battle of the Coral Sea in May. So the Japanese planned to capture it by two land attacks. The first was to be across the Kokoda Track; the second was to follow a landing at Milne Bay. For their Kokoda advance, almost 6000 Japanese troops were landed near Gona on Papua's north coast on 19 July.

SOURCE 1 Map and cross-section of the Kokoda Track



Source: MAPgraphics Pty Ltd, Brisbane.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Kokoda campaign is sometimes called the 'Battle for Australia'. Had the Japanese captured Port Moresby, they would have been able to dominate the Coral Sea and bomb Queensland, almost at will.

3.6.2 The Kokoda battles

The men of the 39th Battalion were mostly 18- and 19-year-old Victorian conscripts. They were barely trained, under-equipped, poorly supplied and at times outnumbered. They reached Kokoda village on 15 July and on 23 July they first clashed with the Japanese at Awala. The Australians and Papuans were forced back to Kokoda village and then further back to Deniki. After more than two weeks of attacks and counterattacks, the defenders were carrying out a fighting retreat. On 14 August they fell back to Isurava.

It was not until late August that reinforcements from the 53rd Battalion of militia and the 7th Division AIF began to reach them. But even with these reinforcements, the Australians were forced back to Imita Ridge, just 50 kilometres from Port Moresby, on 17 September. They were ordered to hold that position at any cost. On 24 September lack of supplies forced the Japanese to withdraw in a fighting retreat. The tide of the battle had turned. On 2 November the Australians regained Kokoda. During the campaign, 607 Australian troops lost their lives and 1015 were wounded. There is no accurate record of the numbers of Papuans who gave their lives in this crucial campaign.

SOURCE 2 An account of Japanese tactics in the Kokoda campaign

[Japanese] tactics appeared to follow a definite pattern. A mobile spearhead advanced rapidly ... While the spearhead deployed and engaged the opposition, support troops would site a machine-gun ... Feint or deliberate attacks disclosed the width and strength of the defensive positions by drawing the enemy's fire ... The stronger support elements, coming forward, cut their way round their opponents' flanks, either to force a withdrawal or to annihilate the defenders in a surprise attack from the rear.

SOURCE 3 From the war diary of the 39th Battalion for 29 July 1942

ENEMY were reported to be advancing on our posns [positions] from the NORTH. Lt. Col. OWEN ... was hit just above the right eye by a sniper ... By this time (0320 hrs) the ENEMY were firing from our rear and closing in on the flanks ... Our line then broke completely and orders were given for a hasty withdrawal ... Our tps [troops] retired to DENEKI where they again took up defensive posns. They were very tired and morale was low.

DISCUSS

Hold a class discussion on whether the Kokoda campaign should be regarded as of such significance that it should rank alongside Gallipoli in Australian military history. In your discussion, you could consider such factors as the youth and inexperience of the 39th Battalion and the importance of the Kokoda battles in the overall outcomes of the Pacific War. **[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]**

on Resources

Weblink The Kokoda Track

SOURCE 4 Members of 39th Battalion after fighting at Isurava, September 1942



Source: AWM 013288

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- World War Two > **World War II in the Pacific**

3.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain why and how the Japanese aimed to capture Port Moresby.
2. **HS1** Identify reasons the Australian government would have considered it vital to hold Port Moresby.
3. **HS1** Why were the Australian 39th Battalion and Papuan Infantry Brigade disadvantaged in the Kokoda battles?
4. **HS1** Describe the assistance they received from late August 1942.
5. **HS1** How many Australian troops were killed or wounded during the Kokoda campaign?

3.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Using the scale and other information from **SOURCE 1**, explain what difficulties soldiers would have experienced fighting along the Kokoda Track.
2. **HS3** Draw a diagram to illustrate the Japanese tactics described in **SOURCE 2**.
3. **HS3** Explain how **SOURCE 3** provides supporting evidence for the description in **SOURCE 2**.
4. **HS3** Describe the conditions shown in the photograph in **SOURCE 4** and explain how such conditions would have added to the hardships of the Kokoda campaign.
5. **HS5** Make a timeline of the events of the Kokoda battles from July to November 1942. What do you consider to be short-term effects and long-term effects of the outcome of the battles?
6. **HS4** Before Kokoda, the militia was popularly regarded as inferior to the AIF. Explain how its achievements on the Kokoda Track would have changed that view.
7. **HS6** How different might the outcomes for Australia in the Pacific War have been if the Japanese had captured Port Moresby?

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3.7 Australians in the Pacific War: beyond Kokoda

3.7.1 Papua and New Guinea and the 'unnecessary campaigns'

During the remainder of the war Australian soldiers fought the Japanese in several parts of the southwest Pacific. The Royal Australian Navy (RAN) and RAAF played a wider role, being involved in both theatres of the war.

While the Kokoda campaign was being fought, 9000 Australian and US troops stopped the Japanese force that landed at Milne Bay on the night of 25–26 August 1942. RAAF Kittyhawk fighter planes destroyed many Japanese landing barges, and by 6 September the outnumbered survivors were defeated. During December and January, Australian and US troops defeated the Japanese in their well-prepared positions at Gona, Buna and Sanananda. The fighting and tropical diseases took a heavy toll on both armies. The Papuan campaign ended on 22 January 1943 with the surrender of those Japanese who had not fought to the death.

Australia's next and biggest campaigns were in the soaking jungles of New Guinea. In March 1943, in the Battle of the Bismarck Sea, the Japanese lost eight troop transports and four destroyers, so only 850 Japanese reinforcements were able to land at Lae. From then on they received few supplies. By September 1943 the Australians had captured Lae and Salamaua, and by April 1944 they had defeated most of the Japanese in New Guinea.

SOURCE 1 This painting shows Australian infantry, supported by tanks, breaking through Japanese **bunkers** and **foxholes** at Buna.



Source: Mainwaring, Geoffrey, *Australian Action at Buna* (1962)
Oil on canvas, 274 × 137 cm,
Australian War Memorial ART27547

DID YOU KNOW?

The casualty rate in the RAAF was higher than in the Army or Navy. Of more than 10 500 Australian airmen who lost their lives, three-quarters were killed in Europe fighting against Germany and Italy.

‘Unnecessary campaigns’

After 1944 Australia expected that its troops would join with US forces in recapturing the Philippines. Instead they were used in wasteful campaigns against isolated Japanese garrisons in New Guinea, New Britain, Bougainville and Borneo. The 6th Division fought to clear the remaining Japanese from New Guinea. On New Britain, where the Japanese had 90 000 troops around their base at Rabaul, militia divisions recaptured three-quarters of the island. On Bougainville the militia fought a Japanese garrison of 40 000 troops. Three campaigns in Borneo were fought by the AIF 7th and 9th Divisions. These six campaigns cost more than 1000 Australian lives but had no influence on the outcome of the war.

3.7.2 The RAAF and RAN

The RAAF

During the war the RAAF grew from 3500 personnel to a peak of 184 000, including 18 000 women. In the war’s early stages, the RAAF trained Australians to serve in Britain’s RAF. About 100 Australian airmen fought with the RAF in the Battle of Britain. Australian airmen fought in the Middle East, India, Burma and Italy and in the strategic bombing offensive over German-occupied Europe. Throughout 1943 and 1944, RAAF squadrons raided Japanese positions and helped to destroy Japanese air and sea power at Rabaul. They also helped to protect the US Army during its drive into the Philippines.

DID YOU KNOW?

Despite official discrimination against them at the point of enlistment, Indigenous Australians served in both theatres of the war and some rose through the military ranks. The best known is Sergeant Reg Saunders, who was commissioned lieutenant after serving in North Africa and Greece. There were several Indigenous airmen in the RAAF, including Flight Sergeant Arnold Lockyer, who was shot down over the Celebes (in what is now Indonesia) and killed by his Japanese captors just days after the Japanese surrender.

SOURCE 2 An RAAF recruiting poster, from 1940



Source: RAAF (publisher)
Coming? Then hurry! (1940)
Photolithograph, 100.5 × 73.2 cm
Australian War Memorial ARTV04297

SOURCE 3 HMAS *Sydney* is shown steaming past the crippled Italian cruiser *Bartolomeo Colleoni*, which sank in the Mediterranean on 19 July 1940. The *Sydney* sank with no survivors during an encounter with the German raider *Kormoran* off Western Australia on 19 November 1941.



Source: Norton, Frank
HMAS Sydney in action against Italian cruisers (1941)
Oil on artist’s board, 30.5 × 37.4 cm
Australian War Memorial ART30095

The RAN

When Japan entered the war the Royal Australian Navy was fighting in the Mediterranean. Its ships were ordered back home to face the threat, and several were sunk fighting the Japanese. By 1942 the RAN had 68 ships and nearly 20 000 men. It supported US landings in the Solomon Islands and helped the Royal Navy against the Germans and Italians, and against the Japanese in Burma and Japan's home islands in the final months of the war.

3.7 ACTIVITY

Use the internet to locate at least two other photographs depicting Australian experiences during campaigns in 1944–45. Frame a series of questions to investigate what these photographs reveal about the nature of these campaigns. **Using historical sources as evidence**

3.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** List the places where Australians fought the Japanese between late August 1942 and April 1944.
2. **HS1** Describe the outcomes of those battles and the reasons for those outcomes.
3. **HS1** Why have the campaigns against isolated Japanese garrisons in the closing stage of the war been called the 'unnecessary campaigns'?
4. **HS1** Describe some of the work of the RAN in World War II.
5. **HS1** Recount some achievements of the RAAF in World War II.
6. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**. What does it reveal about the specific types of dangers faced by sailors?

3.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Describe the details you can see in this painting.
   (b) Explain what the painting reveals about tactics on both sides.
   (c) Why would it be almost impossible for a war photographer to have taken a photograph of this event?
   (d) List the types of primary sources that the artist would have had to use to ensure the painting's accuracy.
   (e) Identify types of sources that could be used to corroborate the accuracy of the painting.
2. **HS3** Do you think **SOURCE 2** would have been effective in recruiting for the RAAF? In your answer, consider whether this poster conveys a sense of glamour and excitement.
3. **HS4** Identify the ways in which Australia's armed services changed due to the demands of the war.
4. **HS6** Evaluate the contribution of Australia's three armed services to the war effort in both theatres of the war.
5. **HS3** Geoffrey Mainwaring, the artist who created the **SOURCE 1** painting, was an Australian army artist who was sent to New Guinea as part of the Australian war art program. This painting was created in 1962, some 20 years after the events depicted. What do you think the purpose of the war art program would have been, and how and why would an artist continue to paint such events so long after they occurred?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.8 Australian prisoners of war

3.8.1 Contrasting motives for treatment of POWs

Among the most appalling atrocities of the war was the brutal treatment inflicted upon many prisoners. Over 30 000 Australians became POWs. Of the 8591 Australians captured by the Germans, 97 per cent survived the war, despite inadequate food and illness. A total of 21 467 Australians, over two-thirds of all Australian POWs, were taken prisoner by the Japanese, mostly in Singapore and the Dutch East Indies at the beginning of 1942. Almost 8000 of those prisoners died in captivity due to disease, malnutrition and

mistreatment. Historians view the fact that the remaining Australian POWs survived as an achievement that owed much to their tradition of mateship and the sharing of what little they had.

Why were Australian POWs generally treated so much worse by Japanese captors compared with German captors? Much can be explained by differing ideas about race, about conquered peoples and about soldiers who surrendered. Small numbers of Australian POWs were placed in Nazi slave labour camps and those prisoners suffered terrible conditions. However, because of Nazi racial ideas, the vast majority of Australian POWs, like British, American and Western European POWs, rarely suffered the kinds of brutalities, including genocide, that the Germans inflicted on Jews and Slavs (see subtopic 3.13).

The main victims of Japanese racism were the Chinese, who were slaughtered in their millions. But the Imperial Japanese Army had little respect for the rights of conquered peoples generally. Some South-East Asian nationalists at first looked upon the Japanese as liberators from colonial rule, but they soon found that the Japanese treated them with brutality as conquered subjects. Soldiers of the Japanese army were told to fight to the death and had contempt for soldiers who surrendered. Most POWs suffered years of starvation, disease, brutal treatment and forced labour.

SOURCE 1 From John Robertson, *Australia Goes to War 1939–1945*, Doubleday Australia, Lane Cove, 1984, p. 206

Hundreds of Australians, including some women, were massacred by the Japanese upon capture. Thousands more endured forced labour, brutality and near starvation. They had grossly inadequate medical facilities to treat their diseases. They were virtually denied mailing rights and the Japanese also refused to distribute supplies from Allied Red Cross societies ...

Germany and Italy informed the Allies of the names of their prisoners of war, who were allowed some meagre correspondence with their relatives. Photographs were published in Australia of groups of Australians in German prison camps ...

Prisoners of the Japanese just disappeared ... For long periods, families in Australia had no knowledge of [their] fate or whereabouts.

3.8.2 Experiences of Australian prisoners of the Japanese

Nearly all Australian prisoners of the Japanese spent the remainder of the war as slave labourers in camps in Singapore, Malaya, Borneo, Timor, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, Thailand, the Philippines, China, Korea and Japan. All suffered but not all in the same ways.

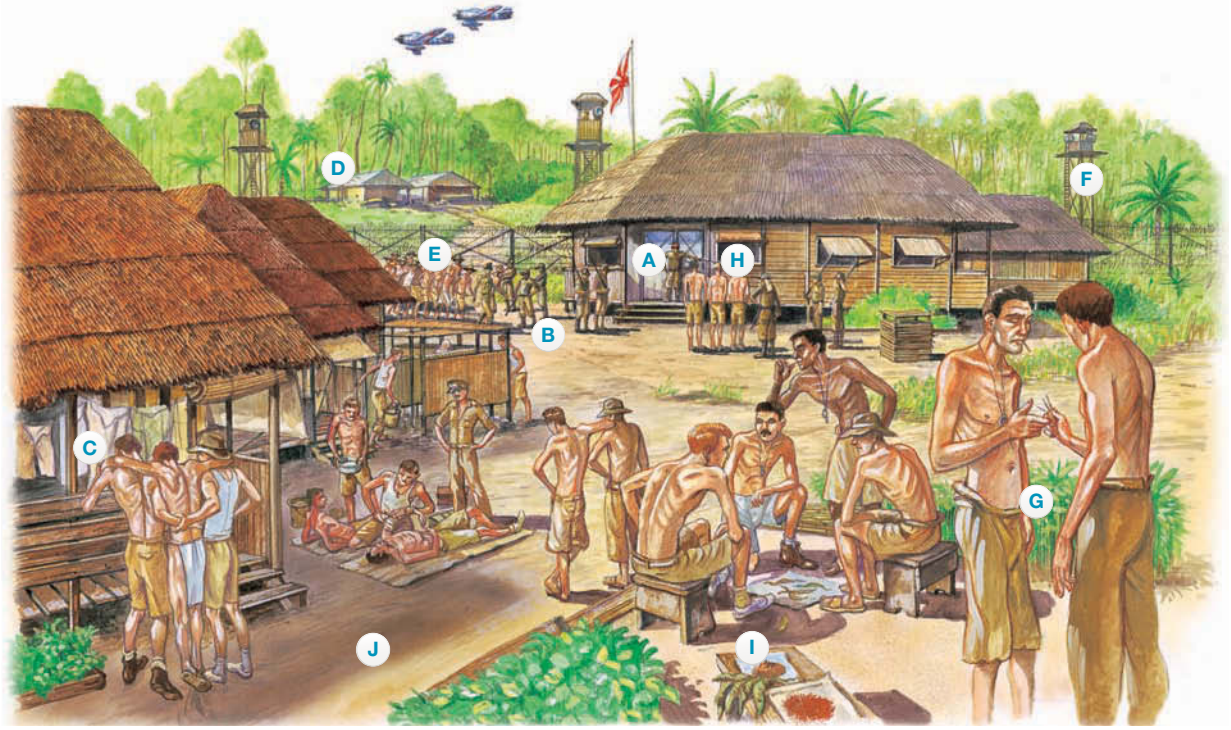
During the war, the Japanese executed some 600 Australian POWs. About another 1500 died when the US Navy sank ships transporting them to Japan. Many thousands of POWs were used along with many more conscripted Asians to build the Burma–Thailand railway. Here, men who looked like living skeletons were forced to work in the jungles for 12 hours a day and sometimes longer. Many suffered severely from tropical diseases, such as dysentery, malaria and cholera, as well as tropical ulcers and malnutrition. Often, terribly sick men went out to do hard labour in the place of others who were even sicker. For POWS who tried to escape, there was the Japanese prison at Outram Road in Singapore that was run by the dreaded *Kempeitai*. POWs held there were not even allowed to move about or talk in their tiny cells and were sometimes brutally beaten.

The Sandakan Death Marches

The worst single atrocity against Australian POWs took place in North Borneo. In 1942 and 1943, the Japanese shipped almost 3000 POWs, of whom almost two-thirds were Australians, to North Borneo to construct an airfield at Sandakan. There they were beaten, starved and overworked. Ten men died under torture when they were caught stealing food. On 2 March 1944, Captain Lionel Matthews and eight other men, including six Chinese, were executed following the discovery of two secret radios.

During the Allied offensive in January 1945, a group of 470 of the Sandakan POWs were marched 260 kilometres west to Ranau but only 350 survived the ordeal. At the end of May, a second death march was ordered for the remainder of the surviving POWs at Sandakan. These POWs had almost no food and those who collapsed with exhaustion were shot. On 26 June, the survivors arrived at their destination. From the 500 who began the second march, only 142 Australian and 61 British POWs reached Ranau. There they met five Australians and one British POW, the only men remaining alive from the 350 survivors of the first death march. At the end of July, only 30 POWs survived at Ranau. Those who remained were shot on 1 August.

SOURCE 2 A modern artist's impression of life in a Japanese POW camp in South-East Asia



- **A** Japanese officers believed in the bushido code of the Japanese warrior, which states that prisoners are disgraced persons. Hence, there was seldom any compassion shown for the lot of the prisoners.
- **B** Food was scarce. Each prisoner was allowed some water and a small portion of corn, soy meal or rice each day. There was no meat, fruit or vegetables. Towards the end of the war, rations were halved.
- **C** The Japanese denied nurses rights, such as Red Cross packages and the supplies needed to write home. Some women were treated very brutally.
- **D** Camps were rife with diseases caused by malnutrition, mosquitoes, poor sanitation and overwork. Many soldiers arrived at the camp suffering combat injuries. Those POWs with medical training cared for the sick and injured as best they could. There were few medical supplies.
- **E** At least 12 Indigenous Australian servicemen were among the Australian POWs captured by the Japanese.
- **F** Escape was difficult, but not impossible. Any escapee who was recaptured was usually executed.
- **G** Forced labour tasks ranged from clearing land to building railroads and bridges.
- **H** Punishment — in the form of withdrawing food, forcing the sick or injured to work, being locked in a bamboo box placed in the sun, being beaten, or even killed — was meant to deter further disobedience.
- **I** Mateship was maintained by Australian soldiers, even under the most difficult circumstances. Soldiers shared the workload, as well as the food and money.
- **J** POWs were sometimes paid in cigarettes for the work they did. This system helped to establish a black market within the camps.

Only six of the original Sandakan POWs survived. Two had escaped into the jungle during the second march and been cared for by villagers. Five others had escaped from Ranau and had hidden in the jungle, but one died before they were rescued by Australian guerrilla units. The survivors included Warrant Officer William Sticpewich, who was warned by a sympathetic Japanese guard to get away or be shot.

SOURCE 3 From the memoirs of former POW and Labor Member of Parliament, Tom Uren, in *Straight Left*, Random House, Sydney, 1994, p. 40

Japanese military discipline was sadistic ... This was also carried out on their own troops, but when it was administered to prisoners it was particularly vicious and brutal ... Whilst I was in Fukuoka camp I met a young Aboriginal who had no legs. He had been punished [by the Japanese] by being made to kneel on a piece of bamboo for several days. The bamboo cut into his knees and gangrene set in. In the end they had to amputate both his legs.

SOURCE 4 From an interview with Sylvia McGregor, a former member of the Australian Army Nursing Service who became a POW when Singapore fell to the Japanese

You cannot explain to anybody what it is to be hungry and there is nothing to eat and no way of getting any ... some of the Indonesian women showed us what plants you could eat ... In some camps they would bring you in food and put it outside the barbed wire. Now, if you went out, there were guards there all the time and you were shot ...

DID YOU KNOW?

Thousands of civilians — men, women and children — also became prisoners of the Japanese. By the war's end, some young children had spent almost their entire lives in prison camps.

3.8 ACTIVITY

Research at least two accounts about their experiences by Australia prisoners of war in Japanese POW camps during the Pacific War. To what extent do they support the sources in this subtopic?

Using historical sources as evidence

3.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Approximately how many Australians were POWs during World War II?
2. **HS1** Explain how German treatment of different groups of prisoners was influenced by Nazi racial ideas.
3. **HS1** Explain how Japanese treatment of prisoners was influenced by racial ideas and beliefs about the rights of those who surrendered.
4. **HS1** How do historians believe POWs managed to survive imprisonment?
5. **HS1** Describe conditions for prisoners working on the Burma–Thailand railway and in the Outram Road prison in Singapore.
6. **HS1** Explain why the Sandakan Death March is considered the worst single atrocity committed by the Japanese Imperial Army against Australian POWs.

3.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) John Robertson was an Associate Professor of History in the Faculty of Military Studies at the Royal Military College, Duntroon. In your view, should this make his account a reliable source? Why?

(b) Describe the examples that Robertson gives of contrasting German and Japanese treatment of Australian POWs.
(c) Explain what difference it might have made to POWs and their families to have at least some contact by mail.

2. **HS3** Study **SOURCES 2**, **3** and **4**.
   (a) How reliable would you judge each of these sources to be? Justify your opinions.
   (b) Explain what you can learn about the experiences of Australian POWs from each of these sources.
   (c) Identify evidence in each of these sources to explain why so many Australian prisoners of the Japanese died.
3. **HS5** Explain how the experiences of Australian POWs would have affected attitudes of many Australians to Japan after the war.
4. **HS3** Find evidence in **SOURCES 1** and **2** to support the accepted belief that Australian prisoners of the Japanese were often starving.
5. **HS5** Several Australian historians have attributed the survival of almost two thirds of Australian POWs under such terrible conditions to Australian traditions of mateship and sharing. Explain why you would agree or disagree with this view and the reasons for your opinion.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.9 The Australian home front

3.9.1 Homeland defence

Thanks to the efforts of Australia and the United States in the Pacific, the Japanese launched very few attacks against the Australian mainland. However, the war caused changes politically, financially and socially, the effects of which we still feel today.

While Australian forces were fighting in Pacific battles, thoughts of those at home turned to defending Australia itself, including its thousands of kilometres of vulnerable coastline. Protecting vital infrastructure such as public utilities also became a priority for citizen volunteers.

Coastwatchers

When an invasion of Australia by the Japanese seemed likely, it was decided to station small groups of highly trained soldiers, called coastwatchers, at key points along the coast. If the Japanese invaded, their task was to travel alongside the enemy, undetected, and monitor their movements. They would then report back to the army, who would arrive and, it was hoped, repel the invasion.

Most coastwatchers never saw the Japanese. Their enemy, instead, was loneliness. One of Morrie Vane's fellow 'knackeroos' (as they were known) cracked under the strain of having to remain constantly alert in case of invasion. He kept a rifle under his bed just in case, and started firing it one night, shouting, 'They're here!'

SOURCE 1 Morrie Vane was a signaller in north-west Western Australia. His group of coastwatchers was taught to live off the land with the help of local Aboriginal people. From D. Connell, *The War at Home*, ABC, Crows Nest, NSW, 1988, p. 69.

If the Japanese had been there, we wouldn't have been able to light a fire and cook the food. That meant we had to be able to eat the food raw ... to eat a bird raw is quite an experience. I think you've got to be very hungry, and you need to be physically tired. When it comes to eating the whole lot — I mean the gizzards and things like that — you've got to be out in the bush with ants, snakes and mosquitoes and nothing else in your pack except salt. We used salt a lot ... when we looked like cracking up, after two or three days on raw animals, the Aborigines produced these tins [of canned meat]. We opened them and ate the meat and that gave us enough energy to ride back.

The Volunteer Defence Corps

As the war continued, many citizens, including World War I veterans, became increasingly anxious about the idea of sabotage from within Australia. They wanted to do something to protect public utilities such as water, energy and public transport systems. These citizens met publicly, giving speeches, running drills and taking oaths of allegiance. The government quickly realised that it was not good for public law and order to have citizens taking things into their own hands, and so the Volunteer Defence Corps was established. Its responsibilities were to 'preserve law and order, protect public utilities and prevent subversive activities by **aliens** or disaffected persons'. This charter effectively restricted what the volunteers could do, while still encouraging their contributions. Many became air-raid wardens, teaching others what to do in case Australian cities were bombed.

SOURCE 2 Australian air-raid wardens practise bomb removal in 1940. Other precautionary measures taken included installing air-raid sirens and distributing tin helmets and respirators.



Source: AWM 027451

Before the Japanese threat to Australia, during the period of 'business as usual', many Australians felt the war, although serious, had no direct impact on them. For many this was entirely the case. But the situation changed with the attack on Pearl Harbor and, particularly, with the fall of Singapore. People started digging air-raid trenches and building shelters. They filled sandbags to help brace buildings in an air attack, blackened or bricked up windows to dim lights, and removed any public signs or street names that might help an enemy.

3.9.2 Government powers for the war effort

As the war effort increased after the Pacific War began, supplying both troops abroad and citizens at home placed an ever-increasing burden on the government. At a security level, peacetime laws would not suffice in a time of war. The government of Australia needed increased powers.

Rationing

In order to maintain supplies for the people at home and for the troops, **rationing** was introduced in 1942. Ration tickets were issued to every household, but they were useless without money; just as money was useless without the tickets. Because supply of so many items was restricted, people had to put their name down on a list if they wanted common household goods such as lamps, irons and radios. Petrol was also rationed. People learned to go without, or to use their imaginations. Garments were cut down to make other clothes, women drew lines up the backs of their calves to look like stocking seams, and plants such as the maidenhair fern were used to make tea.

Internment

The slogans 'loose lips sink ships' and 'even the walls have ears' were devised to make ordinary people careful about what they said and what they wrote in letters. However, this campaign also made many Australians suspicious of their neighbours.

For the second time in 25 years, recent immigrants to Australia (and even some Australian citizens of foreign origin) were locked up in **internment** camps. These people, often respected members of the community, were targeted because they were of German, Italian or Japanese descent. People with particular

political or religious beliefs were also interned. The Australian Communist Party was banned, and many of its members were locked up. The Jehovah's Witnesses were targeted because their refusal to bear arms was seen as a show of support for the Nazis.

Widening powers

The dangers and hardships of World War II generally helped to unite Australians. The Curtin government convinced the people to accept a war effort that affected the lives of almost everyone. During World War I the burdens had been borne mainly by the workers, so Curtin wanted to ensure that this time there would be equality of sacrifice. To achieve that aim, the government introduced controls over wages, profits, rents and prices. Besides rationing essentials, interning 'enemy aliens' and banning organisations that might hinder the war effort, the Commonwealth Government assumed wide powers to:

- declare any goods to be essential for the war effort
- require factories to manufacture war materials
- compel people to work in jobs necessary for the war effort
- control banks and shipping
- increase taxation on high incomes
- censor newspapers
- ban public meetings and acts that might hinder the war effort
- restrict sporting events and non-essential travel
- extend conscription to include overseas service.

SOURCE 3 Every effort was made to conserve resources, recycling wherever possible. This photograph shows scouts collecting tyres and hoses for recycling.



Source: AWM 027451

SOURCE 4 Australians at home were encouraged to support the war effort.



DID YOU KNOW?

John Curtin led Australia through its time of greatest danger, but from mid-1944 his health was failing under the strain of work. He died on 5 July 1945, two months before the final Allied victory, and his death was mourned by the nation.

Conscription

Introducing limited conscription for overseas service was one of the government's most difficult decisions. Curtin himself had been imprisoned for opposing conscription during World War I, but he recognised that defending Australia against Japan meant fighting outside Australian territory (then defined as Australia and Papua). The conscription issue had torn Labor apart during World War I, and Curtin had a hard task convincing many Labor Party members that it was now necessary. The Militia Bill that was passed on 3 February 1943 enabled the government to send conscripts to any area within the **South-West Pacific Zone**.

3.9.3 The effects of the war on children

The war was a tough time for all family members, but it was particularly tough for children. It was confusing for them to deal with the fact that their father (and possibly one or more of their brothers) was, perhaps, many thousands of kilometres away fighting a war, and it would have been hard for them to see family members being constantly unhappy and worried. Some children had to cope with their pets being put down, rather than allowing them to starve to death because of the severe rationing. For Christmas 1942, wording such as 'Christmas', 'yuletide' and 'festive season' was forbidden in advertising, to discourage people from purchasing non-essential items such as toys, dolls, sporting goods and musical instruments.

SOURCE 5 John Spencer recalls his schooldays during the war. From D. Connell, *The War at Home*, ABC, Crows Nest, NSW, 1988, p. 35.

Every child had to carry across his or her shoulder a small calico bag, usually made by the mother, in which had to be a set of ear-plugs, a clothes peg, a number of bandages and some dehydrated food, usually in Aspro-sized pellets. These bags were not to be opened except during the regular drills, which we had every day. A particular type of bell ring meant that everyone should evacuate the building. Each class would evacuate in order [to the air-raid trenches] ... We used to practise this and it was considered deadly serious. What they didn't do, of course, was put in a drainage system, so when we had the normal Sydney rain the trenches were about three feet deep in water. We just had to wait till it drained away before we could have air-raid drill again.

SOURCE 6 Children during these times had to do more than just schoolwork. They had to know how to move into the trenches dug on school grounds (in the event of an air raid). Some even dug trenches at home. Wastage of almost anything was severely frowned on. Children also helped the war effort by collecting small metal items (such as tins and saucepans) as scrap.



Source: AWM 045120

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- World War Two > **World War II at home**

3.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the purpose and role of coastwatchers.
2. **HS1** Explain what motivated members of the Volunteer Defence Corps.
3. **HS1** Give three examples of ways in which people learned to go without items that were restricted by rationing.
4. **HS1** List the groups who fell victim to the policy of internment.
5. **HS1** Explain why the Australian government assumed wider powers, including limited conscription for overseas service.
6. **HS1** Make a list of examples of ways in which the war was a tough time for children.
7. **HS1** Which of these examples do you think would have been toughest to deal with as a child?

3.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 1**, describe the hardships faced by coastwatchers in remote areas.
2. **HS3** Look at the details in **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Describe what is being done.
   (b) Explain why this practice would have been undertaken even though no bombs had fallen on Australia by 1940.
3. **HS3** Using **SOURCES 3** and **4** as evidence, describe ways in which civilians helped the war effort while helping themselves to cope with wartime shortages.
4. **HS3** Compare **SOURCES 5** and **6**. Describe the activities in these sources and explain why children might have seen such activities as adventures as well as hardships.
5. **HS3** Evaluate the extent to which the activities shown or described in **SOURCES 2**, **3**, **4**, **5** and **6** might have helped in maintaining morale on the home front.
6. **HS4** The policy of interning 'enemy aliens' was a continuation of the policy that had been adopted in Australia during World War I. However, during World War II, the 'enemy aliens' who were interned included anti-fascists, including several who had struggled against fascism in Europe and who had come to Australia to escape fascist rule. Discuss whether the government could have recognised such changes and distinguished between supporters and opponents of fascism.
7. **HS5** Does the evidence presented in this subtopic support the statement 'The dangers and hardships of World War II generally helped to unite Australians'? Explain your view.

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3.10 Australian women at war

3.10.1 The role of women at home

Most Australian women wanted to do whatever they could to help the war effort. When war was declared in September 1939, few people could have predicted its effects on the roles of women. During World War I traditional roles hardly changed at all in Australia. Some women had entered the paid workforce for the first time during World War I, but the activities of most women were confined to charity work and fund raising. During World War II many women demanded to be much more directly involved.

Women eagerly joined voluntary organisations in which they learned new skills that would be valuable if the war reached Australia. Some voluntary war work followed traditional patterns, but new organisations also trained women in air-raid precautions, first aid, military drill and skills such as shooting, signalling, driving and mechanical work.

Women in industry

A significant social change brought by World War II was the huge increase in the paid employment of women. In munitions and other war materials production, the number of men employed rose from 11 000 in 1939 to 459 000 in 1943. During the same period the number of women employed in such work jumped from 1000 to 145 000.

Increasingly women were needed in traditionally male jobs because of increased wartime production and the need to replace men who had enlisted. Women worked in jobs as varied as aircraft maintenance, truck and bus driving and bread and postal deliveries. Yet, for doing the same work as men, women were paid much less. Despite this, women in cities were soon found in factories and steel mills. In rural areas they took on shearing, dairying, crop planting and harvesting.

SOURCE 1 Women loading bullets at the Government Munitions Factory in Footscray, Victoria, in 1940



Opposition

The federal government began an intensive campaign from 1942 to encourage more women to join the workforce, but this change encountered hostility from some sections of society. At first, several newspapers ridiculed women who took on factory work. Sections of the Catholic Church warned against the consequences of such social change. Some trade unions feared that the employment of women would lead to a reduction in men's wages as women took on jobs that had traditionally been for men only.

SOURCE 2 Despite the crucial role women played during the war, they were sometimes ridiculed by newspaper cartoonists.



SOURCE 3 Australian average weekly wages in shillings (s) and pence (d)

Year	Wages	
	Males	Females
1939	95s 3d	52s 8d
1940	98s 1d	54s 3d
1941	104s 3d	58s 2d
1942	115s 8d	64s 4d
1943	119s 5d	68s 4d
1944	119s 6d	71s 11d
1945	120s 4d	72s 0d

Source: S. J. Butlin and C. B. Schedvin, *War Economy 1941–45*, Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1977, p. 561.

The Women's Land Army

An important part of the war effort was the creation of the Australian Women's Land Army (AWLA). Early in the war, land armies operated in some Australian states. In 1942 the official Women's Land Army was formed under Australian government control. By December 1943 it had almost 3000 members doing the jobs of country men who had joined the services. Frequently these women were sent to work and live in bush camps in remote areas and many farmers developed a strong respect for their achievements. Yet when the war was over the government neglected to provide Land Army members with any ex-service benefits.

SOURCE 4 An artist's depiction of women in the Australian Women's Land Army taking a break from farm work.



Source: Taylor, Grace
Smoko time with the AWLA (1945)
Oil on hardboard, 45.7 × 55.8 cm
Australian War Memorial ART29758

3.10.2 Women's war services

During World War I, nurses were the only women permitted to serve with the Australian armed forces. During World War II, prejudice in Australia against women joining the armed services was still strong. However, it was overcome by pressure from the voluntary organisations, the scale of Australia's involvement in the war and the perceived threat of invasion, which forced both government and service chiefs to follow the example of Britain. Around 78 000 Australian women enlisted in the various services, including the AWLA. Almost 4000 of those women served overseas. Yet women were often admitted grudgingly, denied interesting jobs and rewarded with only half to two-thirds the pay of servicemen doing the same jobs.

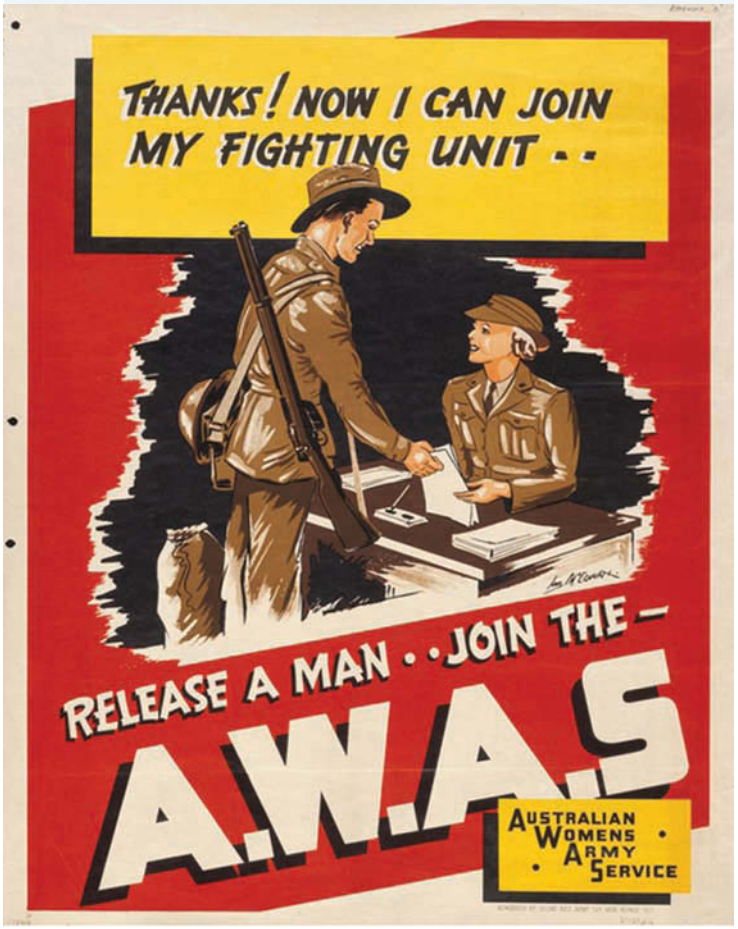
The AWAS, WAAAF and WRANS

The largest of the women's services was the Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS). It was not an auxiliary but was fully incorporated into the Army. It trained women to take over in transport, communications, maintenance and other areas. It also trained them for combat, in case Australia was invaded. The AWAS had a total enlistment during the war of 31 000.

Perhaps because it was the newest of the services and therefore less tied to tradition, the RAAF was the first of the Australian services to enlist women. By 1944 there were over 18 000 women in the Women's Auxiliary Australian Air Force (WAAAF).

The Naval Board fought against accepting women and, although as many as 3000 women enlisted in the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service (WRANS), none was allowed to go to sea. WRANS carried out essential work in dozens of areas including education, interpreting, signalling and code work. One of the most outstanding women to wear the WRANS uniform was an honorary WRAN, Ruby Boye, the only woman among the silent army of coastwatchers scattered behind Japanese lines through the islands of the Pacific. She lived in constant danger of capture, reporting enemy movements with her short-wave radio from the Solomon Islands.

SOURCE 5 *Release a Man. Join the A.W.A.S.*, a recruiting poster for the Australian Women's Army Service



Source: AWM ARTV01049

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1943, Ruby Boye was air-dropped a WRANS uniform by parachute and appointed an honorary third officer. This was so that she would not be executed as a spy if captured. However, she was also given a revolver to take her own life rather than be interrogated by the Japanese. She received several decorations but no payment for her lonely and heroic work.

3.10.3 Women in medical and nursing services

Some 10 000 women served in the Australian Army Medical Women's Service (AAMWS) after it was formed in December 1942. Many of its members had already served as members of the Voluntary Aid Detachments of the Red Cross (VADs). They carried out a vast range of jobs in Army hospitals. Another 3500 women served in the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS). Nurses served in every theatre of war in which the Australian Army was involved. The Navy and Air Force also formed nursing services, but these were much smaller organisations.

SOURCE 6 Extract from an account by Matron Kathleen Best of the 5th Army General Hospital, staffed by members of the AANS during the ill-fated campaigns in Greece and Crete in 1941. Her account describes the response of her nurses when the hospital had to be evacuated but 39 of the nurses were needed to stay with those of the wounded who could not be moved.

I told the Sisters ... that those who volunteered would stay behind with the Hospital and that they would in all probability be captured [by the Germans]. I asked them to write, on a slip of paper, their names and either 'stay' or 'go' and hand them in to me ... not one sister wrote 'go' on her paper. I then selected thirty-nine Sisters to remain. The task was an extremely difficult one ... I suggested that if anyone wished to change her mind that both myself and everybody else would understand and that I would be in my room for about ten minutes if anyone wished to come and discuss the situation with me. No one came.

As the account by Matron Kathleen Best of the 5th Army General Hospital (**SOURCE 6**) shows, for nurses serving overseas, conditions could be as dangerous as for many servicemen. When the tiny ship *Vyner Brooke* fled Singapore early in February 1942, its passengers included 65 members of the AANS. Fifty-three managed to swim ashore when Japanese bombers sank the ship. Twenty-two were machine-gunned on the beach after surrendering to the Japanese. The remainder became POWs but only 24 survived the war.

SOURCE 7 Memorial plaque in St Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore, for Australian nurses killed in and following the sinking of the *Vyner Brooke*



on Resources

Weblink Australia's war

3.10 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.10 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the new types of voluntary work and paid work undertaken by Australian women during World War II.
2. **HS1** Explain the reasons for the formation of the AWLA.
3. **HS1** What were the AWAS, WAAAF and WRANS?
4. **HS1** Explain the probable reasons for the willingness of the RAAF to enlist women and the reluctance of the RAN to do the same.
5. **HS1** Explain what was outstanding about the wartime service of Ruby Boye.

6. **HS1** Describe the roles undertaken by the Australian Army Medical Women's Service (AAMWS), the Voluntary Aid Detachments of the Red Cross (VADs) and the Australian Army Nursing Service (AANS).
7. **HS1** Explain what the fate of the nurses on the *Vyner Brooke* shows about the dangers for nurses who served overseas.

3.10 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Explain what evidence **SOURCES 1** and **4** provide for a study of women's contributions to the war effort.
2. **HS3** Analyse **SOURCE 2** using the following questions:
   (a) When was this cartoon created?
   (b) What was happening at the time?
   (c) Who would most likely be its intended audience?
   (d) What situation is depicted in the cartoon?
   (e) What is its intended message?
   (f) Why might some Australians have agreed with that message at the time?
   (g) Why might other Australians have been appalled by that message?
3. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 3** as your evidence, calculate what percentage of average male pay was paid to women in 1939 and 1945.
4. **HS3** Describe the scene in **SOURCE 5** and explain:
   (a) the aim of the poster
   (b) what the poster reveals about some types of work given to AWAS recruits and the likely effects on the types of work that could be undertaken by male soldiers.
5. **HS3** Study **SOURCES 6** and **7**.
   (a) What is 'the cause of humanity' referred to in **SOURCE 7**?
   (b) Explain what **SOURCES 6** and **7** reveal about the sacrifice and dedication of the nurses.
   (c) Write a letter from one of the nurses in **SOURCE 6** to her parents explaining why she chose to stay behind.
6. **HS3** Using all of the sources in this subtopic, explain why it was necessary to involve Australian women in World War II and in what ways the war changed women's traditional roles.
7. **HS4** There were no plans to maintain women's services permanently, and the Australian government intended to replace women workers with men as soon as they were available. Towards the end of the war, women were more frequently reminded of their traditional roles by churches and the press. How would women, who had proved what they could do, have felt about being expected to return to those roles, whether they wished to or not?
8. **HS5** What do you consider were the short-term and long-term effects for Australian society of the involvement of women in World War II?

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3.11 Australia's relations with the US

3.11.1 The US alliance

Prime Minister Curtin's 'call to America' on 27 December 1941 is often seen as a turning point in Australia's foreign relations. This was partly because Australia did not have an independent foreign policy until the Curtin Labor government asserted that right. It is also because Australia worked closely with the United States through most of the remainder of the war and because the US, rather than Britain, became Australia's closest ally after the war. Many Australians believed the US had saved Australia from a Japanese invasion. However, Australia's wartime relationship with the US was more complicated than that and it did not always run smoothly.

US forces needed a base from which to direct operations against the Japanese in the south-west Pacific. The Curtin government was grateful that Australia was to become that base because it assured Australia's security at a time when Britain could not do so. When Britain agreed, in March 1942, that Allied operations against Japan should be under US direction, Curtin accepted US General Douglas McArthur as commander of all Allied troops in the south-west Pacific. However, the Australian government retained the right to decide where Australian troops could serve and the right to refuse to have them used in operations it regarded as unwise.

Image and reality

MacArthur and Curtin respected each other. Unlike his own government and the British government, MacArthur shared Curtin's view of the importance of defeating Japan before Germany. Publicly, the US–Australia relationship was warm. But there were underlying tensions: racism was strong in the US and its segregated army meant African Americans could not serve alongside white Americans. While this appalled some Australians, others were grateful for the US policy of stationing black soldiers away from cities. Tensions between Australian and US troops led to several riots because American soldiers were boastful, had more money and attracted Australian girls.

DID YOU KNOW?

In Brisbane on the night of 26 November 1942, in the most violent of many clashes, one Australian was killed and eight were wounded when an American opened fire during a brawl between Australian and US troops. On the following night, bands of Australians hit Brisbane's streets seeking revenge.

SOURCE 1 Prime Minister Curtin (far right) introducing US General Douglas MacArthur to Robert Menzies, the leader of the Opposition in federal parliament, at a dinner given in MacArthur's honour on 18 March 1943



Source: AWM 140631

3.11.2 Growing tensions in the alliance

Australian and American priorities were not always the same, and the Australian government soon found it had very little influence on MacArthur's decisions. Although Australian troops did most of the fighting in the Papua and New Guinea campaigns, MacArthur used his censorship powers to glorify his own achievements and to deny credit to Australian soldiers. MacArthur also excluded Australian troops from his campaign to free the Philippines. That was why the AIF and militia spent the war's closing stages fighting unnecessary battles in Borneo, New Guinea, New Britain and Bougainville. Curtin knew the US wanted to dominate the Pacific after the war, and from 1944 he was calling for closer relations between the countries of the British Commonwealth.

SOURCE 2 A military historian's view of what Curtin thought of the US alliance. From Michael McKernan, *All In! Australia During the Second World War*, 1983.

Curtin acted because Australia was at risk ... Curtin turned increasingly to America to convince Australia's newest ally [the US] that Australia must be preserved if the Japanese were to be driven back from territory already won ... Australian priorities centred on Australia ... therefore Australian and British priorities were in conflict.

SOURCE 3 A different view of what Curtin thought of the US alliance. From Clem Lloyd and Richard Hall, *Background Briefings, John Curtin's War*, National Library of Australia, 1997, pp. 32, 35.

Curtin may have looked to America without inhibition, but there is no evidence that he did so with any enthusiasm ... Twice in his final briefings, Curtin went out of his way to insist that Australia would not be pushed around by America in negotiations over a post-war civil aviation scheme ... Clearly, Curtin resented the manner in which he had been made to sweat it out at the height of the war.

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3.11 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.11 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain the reasons Australia and the US agreed that US troops should be based in Australia.
2. **HS1** While agreeing to place Australian troops under US direction, what rights did Australia retain regarding troop deployment?
3. **HS1** Identify the priority that was shared by Curtin and MacArthur.
4. **HS1** Describe the reasons for tensions between US troops and Australians.
5. **HS1** Explain why Australia would have had very little power to influence MacArthur's decisions.
6. **HS1** Identify three reasons for growing tensions between MacArthur and the Australian government.

3.11 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Describe what this photograph indicates about the relationship between Curtin and MacArthur.
   (b) Explain why the value of such photographs might be limited as historical evidence.
2. **HS3** Analyse **SOURCES 2** and **3**, identifying:
   (a) the main point of the historian's argument
   (b) the details used to support the argument.
3. **HS3** Explain how these two arguments differ on Australia's wartime relationship with the US.
4. **HS3** Using all three sources in this subtopic, explain what factors strengthened the Australia–US alliance from 1942 to 1945 and what factors weakened it.
5. **HS5** Discuss whether or not the Australia–US alliance would have been formed had it not been for Britain's inability to help Australia when it was most at risk.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.12 The end of the war

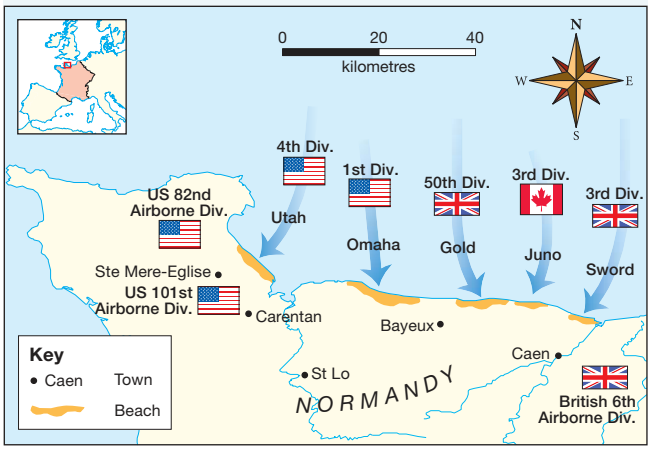
3.12.1 Victory in Europe

The last year of the war, in both Europe and the Pacific, saw some of the most desperate and vicious fighting of the entire conflict. For the first time both Germany and Japan were now fighting in the defence of their very homelands. Neither would capitulate easily.

Since mid 1943 the Axis powers had been steadily in retreat. Italy had surrendered, and the German army had been turned back at Stalingrad, in Russia.

The Allies realised that the key to success was to open a second front in western Europe, but invading Hitler's '**Fortress Europa**' would be no easy task. On 6 June 1944 the largest invasion fleet of all time set sail from the southern coast of England to land an invasion force on the coast of **Normandy**. Codenamed Operation Overlord, the 'D-Day' landings took place on five key beaches along the French coast — codenamed Gold, Juno, Sword, Omaha and Utah. Despite American losses at Omaha being heavy, the majority of troops from Britain, Canada and the United States managed to establish a foothold in Europe and began to drive the Germans back. Paris was liberated on 25 August and the Allied commanders were eager to maintain the momentum.

SOURCE 1 The D-Day beaches on the coast of Normandy, in France



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Hoping to capitalise on the success of the D-Day landings, another massive operation was launched over the Netherlands, named Operation Market Garden. Unfortunately it did not meet with the same success as Operation Overlord, as there was fierce German resistance, particularly in the Dutch town of Arnhem. In December 1944 the Germans launched their last major offensive of the war through the Ardennes Forest in Belgium. The American soldiers were caught by such surprise that maps of the front line positions showed a massive bulge where the Germans had broken through. The ensuing battle became known as the Battle of the Bulge.

SOURCE 2 US soldiers wading ashore on Omaha Beach



The year 1945 saw the Allies regain the initiative; they crossed the border into Germany and began the advance on Berlin. With the Soviets advancing from the east it was only a matter of time before the capital would fall, and fall it did, with Soviet troops capturing the Reichstag on 30 April 1945, the same day that Hitler committed suicide in his underground bunker. One week later, on 7 May, Germany signed an unconditional surrender. After six years of bloody conflict, the war in Europe was over.

SOURCE 3 Soviet soldiers raising the flag over the Reichstag in Berlin



3.12.2 Victory in the Pacific

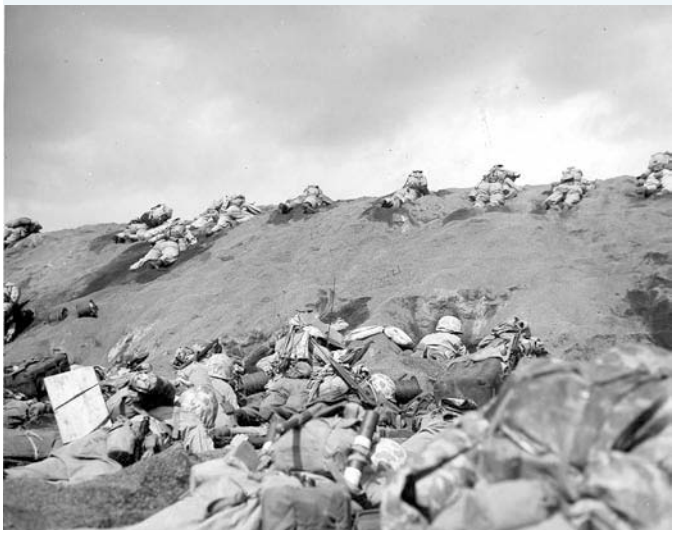
From late 1943 the US adopted a two-pronged strategy in the Pacific. While MacArthur's forces advanced to the Philippines, Admiral Nimitz's forces fought their way towards Japan in an 'island-hopping' campaign. Isolated Japanese garrisons that were unable to contribute to resisting the Allied advance were bypassed.

However, on islands that had to be captured, such as Saipan, Iwo Jima and Okinawa, most Japanese troops fought to the death and US Marines paid a high price for each victory.

The island-hopping campaigns gave the US island bases from which it could bomb Japan. From October 1944 the Japanese adopted a last desperate tactic as kamikaze pilots sacrificed their own lives to crash their planes into US warships.

Between November 1944 and August 1945 the Allies flew over 30 000 bombing raids on Japan, causing more than 660 000 civilian deaths. Japan's government opposed acceptance of the Allies' demand for Japan's unconditional surrender. US forces suffered very heavy losses capturing Okinawa and it was clear that enormous casualties would be suffered in any invasion of Japan. However, there was another option to force the Japanese to surrender.

SOURCE 4 US Marines inch their way up the beach at Iwo Jima.



Nuclear bombs

In the top secret 'Manhattan Project', scientists in the US had been racing to develop a nuclear weapon, fearing that Nazi Germany might beat them to it. The first US test of a nuclear weapon on 16 July 1945 marked the beginning of the nuclear age. Several US scientists and political and military leaders recommended that the power of nuclear bombs be demonstrated to Japan rather than used on people without warning. However, the US government decided that its two remaining nuclear bombs would be used. On 6 August the first atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima and the US warned Japan of 'ruin from the air' if it did not surrender. On 9 August the second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Japan accepted unconditional surrender on 14 August and signed the formal surrender on 2 September. Close to 115 000 Japanese were killed by the initial blasts of the two bombs, and years later many more were still dying from radiation sickness. Other victims included children who were born with terrible deformities because their parents had been exposed to radiation.

SOURCE 5 The remains of Hiroshima after the bombing in 1945



There is little doubt that the Allies would have suffered enormous casualties in an invasion of Japan or that in such an invasion Japan's losses would have been greater than those in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, many historians argue that the use of nuclear bombs was unnecessary because the Japanese were already seeking ways to negotiate for peace, and a demonstration of the power of nuclear bombs would have convinced them to surrender. In any case, the Japanese were given little time to reach a decision before the second bomb was dropped on the city of Nagasaki.

SOURCE 6 The Japanese surrender on board the USS *Missouri*



But using the bomb also served another purpose. World War II changed the old balance of world power. Just two great powers emerged from the conflict: the United States and the Soviet Union. World War II had made them temporary allies, but even before its end tensions were rising over which power would be the dominant influence. Bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki was one way of demonstrating US power to the Soviets, at least until they too acquired nuclear weapons.

DISCUSS

Hold a class discussion on the significance of the use of atomic bombs in 1945 in ending World War II and ushering in the nuclear age. **[Ethical Capability]**

3.12 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.12 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the role played by the D-Day landings in ending the war in Europe.
2. **HS1** Describe the role played by the Soviet advance on the eastern front in ending the war in Europe.
3. **HS1** Describe the two-pronged strategy used by the US in the Pacific.
4. **HS1** Explain possible reasons for the US decision to use atomic bombs in Japan.
5. **HS1** How many Japanese died in the initial blasts of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Why did many more die later?

3.12 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Study **SOURCES 1** and **2**.
   (a) Describe the scene in **SOURCE 2** and explain why soldiers in such a landing would suffer very high casualties.
   (b) Explain why the D-Day landings had to involve several beach landings as well as airborne divisions landing behind German lines.
2. **HS3** The Soviet forces had turned retreat into attack from the Battle of Stalingrad in 1942–43. Evaluate the importance of the scene in **SOURCE 3** in ending Germany's will to continue fighting.
3. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 4**. Explain why US forces paid a high price for their victories in the islands of the Pacific.
4. **HS5** Study **SOURCES 5** and **6** and explain how the destruction shown in **SOURCE 5** contributed to the Japanese surrender in **SOURCE 6**.
5. **HS3** Imagine that you are a newspaper reporter writing an article in 1945. Choose two of the photographs in this subtopic and write captions and a short news article to accompany your chosen images.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.13 War crimes and retribution

3.13.1 Japanese war crimes

In almost every armed conflict throughout history, terrible things have been done. There have been times in most wars when soldiers on both sides killed enemy troops when they could have taken prisoners. Civilians have always been among war's victims. But from the late nineteenth century, attempts were made to reduce suffering by putting legal limits on what could be done during wars. The Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906 and 1929 attempted to frame rules to protect civilians and prisoners of war. Despite this, during World War II many atrocities were committed. The overwhelming majority and the most cruel and horrific of these were the deliberate work of the Japanese military and the German Nazis. The Geneva Conventions made it possible for at least some of the perpetrators to be tried and punished for war crimes.

SOURCE 1 At Rabaul, New Britain, on 15 November 1945, Japanese POWs were paraded to enable victims to identify suspected war criminals.



Source: AWM 098776

In earlier subtopics you learned about horrific Japanese atrocities in China and the brutal Japanese treatment of POWs, including many Australians. Throughout occupied China and in South-East Asia, the Japanese military killed millions of civilians. Millions more died as a result of exhausting slave labour or starvation as their food was confiscated to supply the Japanese. Most victims were Chinese. Among the vast numbers of Chinese whom the Japanese killed, many were executed, tortured to death or deliberately infected with diseases.

The Allies determined that those responsible for Japanese war crimes would be punished. The trials were overseen by the newly formed International Military Tribunal for the Far East. They were conducted in Japan and throughout South-East Asia and the Pacific. Of 25 Japanese wartime leaders who were tried and found guilty, seven were condemned to death and executed. Approximately 5700 Japanese, including many military officers, were tried for committing atrocities against civilians and POWs. Nine hundred were convicted. Many were executed and the others received prison sentences.

3.13.2 Nazi and other fascist war crimes

During the war's closing stages, the Allied leaders agreed to replace the failed League of Nations with a new world body, the United Nations (UN), to settle disputes between countries and to work towards the kind of freedom and prosperity that might prevent future wars. In 1945 the UN Charter asserted its determination 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war'. The UN supported the Allies' decision in August 1945 to put leading Nazis and others on trial for war crimes, crimes against humanity, crimes against peace, and conspiracy to commit these crimes.

How the Germans and their European fascist allies treated conquered peoples and POWs was largely determined by Nazi ideas about race. In most cases, western European, British and American POWs were treated reasonably well, unless they tried to escape. However, racism always played a role. When France surrendered, the Germans shot North African troops serving in the French military. In western Europe, acts of resistance also brought savage reprisals. For example, if even one German soldier was killed by partisans, ten or more civilians would be executed.

German forces were completely ruthless towards the peoples of eastern Europe, who were described in Nazi ideology as 'racial inferiors'. When the Axis invaded the Soviet Union, Hitler demanded total brutality towards the Slavic 'sub-humans' and their 'Jewish-Bolshevik' leaders. Special SS task forces called *Einsatzgruppen* were ordered to kill all Jews, communists and partisans. Around nine million Soviet soldiers and twice as many Soviet civilians died during the war, and many of these were killed deliberately. Of the 5.7 million Soviet POWs in Nazi hands, almost two-thirds were murdered, starved or worked to death in concentration camps. Where Soviet or other Slavic civilians resisted, the populations of entire towns and villages were massacred.

The Holocaust

The Holocaust was the most systematic of all Nazi war crimes. It was an act of genocide intended to wipe out European Jews. Nazi persecution of Jews intensified after the outbreak of the war and the mass murder of Jews began in 1941. When the Nazis invaded Poland and the Soviet Union they killed anyone who might resist, but all Jews were singled out for destruction. Poland's Jews were forced into enclosed ghettoes where survival was a struggle. During the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Germans carried out mass shootings of communists and Jews. In Latvia in 1941, 327 000 Jewish men, women and children were murdered in two mass shootings. The SS also conducted experimental gassings of Jews and Soviet POWs in specially converted vans.

In 1941 Hitler decided that the 'final solution to the Jewish problem' would be mass extermination in SS-run concentration camps. Auschwitz concentration camp was ordered to prepare for mass gassings. On 20 January 1942 an SS document called *Final Solution to the European Jewish Question* stated that healthy Jews would be exterminated through slave labour. Throughout the remainder of the war, Jews from all over Nazi-controlled Europe were transported to death camps. The sick, young children and elderly people were immediately forced into gas chambers disguised as showers. There they were gassed to death and their

bodies were then incinerated in gas ovens. Others who were fit were selected for slave labour and killed later when they became too weak to work. In the largest camps thousands of prisoners could be gassed in a day. Altogether, around six million Jews were murdered.

SOURCE 2 Members of a British Parliamentary delegation view piles of bodies at Buchenwald concentration camp, near Weimar, in Germany, in July 1945.



Source: AWM P02018.390

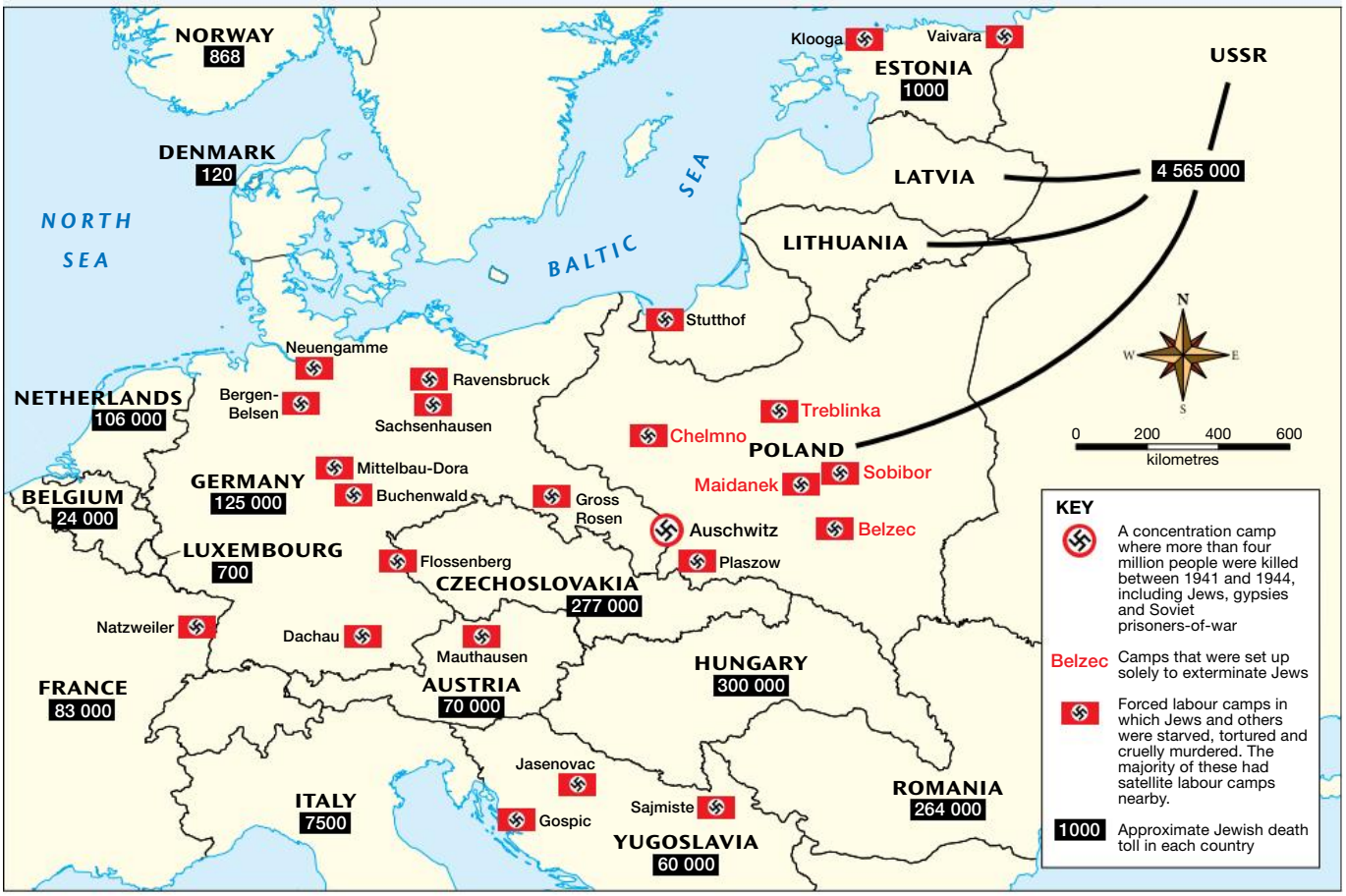
SOURCE 3 This carriage is a replica of one used by prisoners to haul stone at Buchenwald concentration camp. The surrounding ground marks the site of demolished prisoners' barracks. Buchenwald was established in 1937. Over the next eight years it held over 250 000 inmates, including communists and socialists, Jews, Jehovah's Witnesses, mentally ill people, homosexuals, gypsies, and Polish and Soviet POWs. From 1958 much of the site was preserved as a memorial to remind people of the horrors of Nazism.



SOURCE 4 These gas ovens at Buchenwald were used to burn bodies. Buchenwald was not a planned extermination camp like Auschwitz. Its prisoners were used as slave labour in the camp and surrounding armaments factories. Nevertheless, there were mass killings of prisoners, especially Soviet and Polish POWs. Many inmates died during Nazi medical experiments and others were sent on from Buchenwald to be killed at Auschwitz.



SOURCE 5 Concentration camps and Jewish deaths in Europe during World War II



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

The Nuremberg war crimes trials

At the war's end, the Allies put the leading Nazis and concentration camp commandants on trial. To conduct trials of the surviving Nazi leaders, the International Military Tribunal was formed with judges from Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union. Hitler and several other Nazi leaders had already committed suicide. Among leading Nazis who received death sentences were Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister; Alfred Rosenberg, Minister for Occupied Territories; and Hermann Goering, Luftwaffe Commander-in-Chief from 1936 and Economics Minister from 1937. Goering committed suicide the day before he was to be hanged.

A significant number of Nazi war criminals, along with many Nazi collaborators who committed war crimes in occupied countries and in Axis satellite states such as Croatia, managed to avoid arrest. Some adopted new identities and escaped from Europe. Martin Bormann, Hitler's secretary and the second most powerful person in Nazi Germany, vanished; he was **tried in absentia** and sentenced to death. Adolf Eichmann, who played a leading role in the Holocaust, was captured by Israeli agents in Argentina in 1960, tried in Israel and hanged in 1962.

SOURCE 6 A twisted pile of corpses lies in a burial pit at Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. When British troops liberated the camp on 15 April 1945 they found 10 000 dead inmates, mainly Jews, who needed to be buried quickly to stop the spread of typhus and other deadly diseases. The camp's former SS guards were forced to bury them. This photograph was taken by Alan Moore, an official Australian war artist.



Source: AWM P03007.015

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- World War Two > **World War II in Europe**

SOURCE 7 *SS guards burying dead, Belsen*, painted in 1947 by Australian official war artist Alan Moore, who witnessed the liberation of Belsen



Source: Moore, Alan, *SS guards burying dead, Belsen* (1947)
Oil on canvas, 46.2 × 61.4 cm, Australian War Memorial ART27621

on Resources

Weblink Interactive map of Auschwitz

3.13 ACTIVITIES

1. Conduct a 'four corners' activity on the following statement: 'Those who committed war crimes during World War II were only following orders.'
   First of all divide into four groups according to whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In your group, discuss your perspectives on the issue to discover why you hold this view. Now swap with someone in an opposing corner (e.g. strongly agree with strongly disagree) and discuss your differing perspectives. Try to discover why you hold opposing views.
   Then answer these questions:
   (a) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the same view as you?
   (b) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the opposing view?
   (c) How well were you able to understand and appreciate the opposing view?
   [Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]
2. Many people regard the war crimes trials at the end of World War II as inadequate because many fascist war criminals escaped justice and only totally defeated powers could be held to account for war crimes.
   Conduct research to find out what steps have been taken since World War II to punish war crimes and how successful such measures have been. **Identifying continuity and change**

3.13 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.13 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the nature of Japanese war crimes.
2. **HS1** What was the role of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East?
3. **HS1** Explain how Nazi racism influenced the way that the German military and SS treated different groups of POWs and civilians.
4. **HS1** Describe the consequences of Nazi policies for Soviet POWs and Soviet and other Slavic civilians.
5. **HS1** Describe Nazi policies towards Jews and explain the consequences of the Holocaust.

3.13 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Imagine you are one of the POWs called on to identify the suspected Japanese war criminal in **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Describe how you would feel if you recognised the suspect.
   (b) Describe how the suspect would be feeling.
2. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 5**.
   (a) List, in descending order, the countries in which there were the most concentration camps.
   (b) Explain why Auschwitz was the most notorious of all concentration camps.
3. **HS3** Frame at least three questions you would ask about each of **SOURCES 2**, **3**, **4**, **6** and **7** in an investigation of Nazi atrocities.
4. **HS6** Evaluate the significance of the war crimes trials following World War II as a turning point in attitudes to wartime atrocities.
5. **HS5** Explain why it can be soundly argued that the extent of the Holocaust, for which evidence is provided in **SOURCES 2**, **3**, **4**, **5**, **6** and **7**, was directly caused by the policies of Hitler and the leading Nazis.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.14 Changing international relations

3.14.1 Australia and the United Nations

The end of World War II was not to bring lasting peace. Instead it ushered in the era of the Cold War, which was to last until the late 1980s. This was an age of tension and sometimes of confrontation between blocs of countries led by the Soviet Union (USSR) and the USA, the two world powers that had contributed most to winning World War II. It was also an age of wars in developing countries in which opposing sides were backed by the communist and anti-communist blocs. How would Australia shape its international relationships in this new and hazardous world?

Because of the horrors of World War II, the United Nations Organization (UN) was formed in 1945 to replace the failed League of Nations in the quest for world peace, freedom and prosperity. Australia's Labor government strongly supported the UN. As leader of Australia's delegation to the San Francisco Conference in April–June 1945, Dr H.V. Evatt, known to his friends as 'Doc Evatt', gave Australia its first progressive voice in world affairs (see **SOURCE 1**). Evatt clashed with the big powers when he spoke on behalf of the world's small nations, the poor and the oppressed. He played

SOURCE 1 Dr H.V. Evatt (second from left) was Minister for External Affairs and Attorney-General in the Curtin Labor government. Here Evatt is receiving a vote of thanks as 'the champion of small nations' at the 1945 conference which established the United Nations and framed its charter.



a leading role in shaping the Charter of the United Nations. The charter was endorsed by the UN's original 51 member states in October.

The UN had (and still has) three main organisations: the Secretariat, which handles its administration; the Security Council, which acts to preserve international peace and security; and the General Assembly, in which all member states vote. Evatt was elected President of the General Assembly in 1948 and in that year he presided over the UN's adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Evatt's influence is evident in the opening statement of the Declaration, which states that recognition of equal and inalienable human rights is 'the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'.

3.14.2 Australia and Asia

Australia's relations with Asian countries were influenced by the emergence of Asian movements for independence from colonial rule. When World War II ended, European colonial powers tried to resume ruling their Asian colonies as if nothing had been changed by the war. Such attempts conflicted with the hopes of Asian independence movements. In Singapore, where Britain's Asian subjects had witnessed the humiliating spectacle of a huge British army surrendering to a smaller force of Japanese, the British assumed that they could return and rule as before the war. While some Asian leaders had collaborated with the Japanese, others, particularly those led by communists, had helped the Allies by waging guerrilla warfare behind Japanese lines. In Vietnam, for example, communist guerrillas had fought the Japanese. But, when the war ended, the French returned, and Britain supported their return. This caused the Indochina War, which ended with French defeat in 1954.

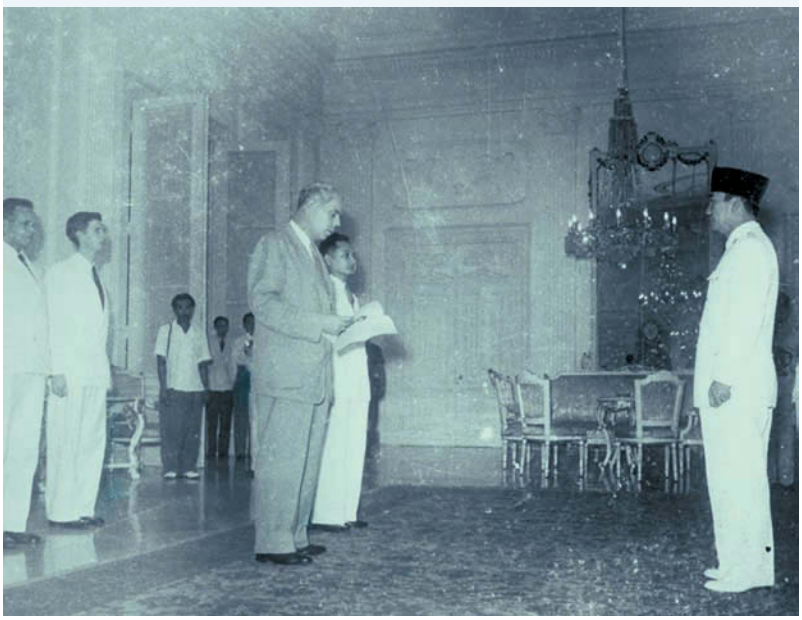
Australia and Indonesia

In the Australian labour movement there was strong support for Asian independence and for the Australian Labor government's independent foreign policy. On 17 August 1945, in the Japanese-occupied Dutch East Indies, Indonesian nationalists clashed with the Japanese and declared their country's independence. From late 1945, after Japan's surrender, Indonesians resisted Dutch attempts to regain their former colony. The Australian government supported Indonesian independence and recognised the newly proclaimed Republic of Indonesia on 9 July 1947. But on 20 July the Dutch launched a major offensive so Australia called on the UN Security Council, which ordered a cease-fire. Australia served on the UN committee that worked for a negotiated peace. Despite further clashes, Indonesian independence was granted in August 1949. Australia appointed its first ambassador to Indonesia and sponsored Indonesian membership of the UN in 1950.

SOURCE 2 An Indonesian family crowds into the one remaining room of their bullet-riddled home in 1945



SOURCE 3 Australia's Ambassador J. Hood handing his credentials to Indonesian President Sukarno on 19 February 1950



3.14.3 Relations with Britain and the United States

Australians had fought in Britain's colonial wars and in World War I out of loyalty and because they believed that if they defended the Empire, then Britain would always protect Australia from any invasion from Asia. However, when the Japanese swept south in 1942, Britain was struggling for its own survival. As you learned in earlier subtopics, Australia turned to the US, and this has often been seen as a turning point in Australia's foreign relations.

Although Japan did not have plans to invade Australia and, after May 1942, it lacked the capacity to invade, a majority of Australians believed that the US had saved Australia from invasion, and so they came to believe that Australia must give the same loyalty to its new powerful friend as it had previously given to Britain. Thus, along with a short-term legacy of hatred towards Japan, the war left a longer legacy of trust in the United States.

Cold War tensions increased after China's communists won power in 1949. Under the conservative governments that ruled Australia from December 1949, Australia recognised that Britain's power was declining. Despite this, Australia retained ties, sending troops to Malaya from 1955 to 1958 to help the British suppress a communist uprising. Increasingly, however, Australia looked to the US as its new protector.

SOURCE 4 From the late 1950s, Australian–Indonesian relations deteriorated, and from 1963 to 1965 Australia sent troops to Borneo to help stop a small-scale Indonesian invasion of Malayan territory. In this 1964 photograph, Australian troops are holding weapons captured from Indonesians.



Fears and treaties

Although it had made some moves towards close relations with Asia under the Labor government, Australia retained the White Australia policy, which excluded Asians from migrating to Australia. If anything the wartime experience had increased fears of Asia in the minds of many Australians. During the 1950s, fear of the 'Yellow peril' would merge with fear of communism, the 'Red peril'. Such thinking would lead Australia into the ANZUS pact in 1951 (a military alliance of Australia, New Zealand and the United States) and into the South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954. Despite its title, SEATO's only Asian members were dictatorial governments in Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines. Both treaties were anti-communist, not pro-democratic. Tragically, such fear also led Australia into the Vietnam War in the 1960s. Until the 1970s, only a small minority warned that fighting America's wars in return for protection could be just as misguided as the much older faith in the British Empire.

3.14 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.14 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain why the United Nations was formed.
2. **HS1** Describe Australia's role in the formation of the United Nations.
3. **HS1** Compare and contrast the differing attitudes of the Australian post-war Labor government and the colonial powers (Britain, France and the Netherlands) to Asian independence movements.
4. **HS1** Identify crucial steps in Australia's support for Indonesian independence.
5. **HS1** Identify reasons why trust in the United States was a legacy of World War II for many Australians.
6. **HS1** Explain why Cold War tensions increased from 1949.

3.14 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Explain what evidence **SOURCE 1** provides for Dr H.V. Evatt's leading role and influence in shaping the United Nations.
2. **HS3** Explain what evidence **SOURCE 2** provides for hardships experienced by ordinary Indonesians in their struggle for independence.
3. **HS3** Describe **SOURCE 3** and explain what it reveals about Australian–Indonesian relations in 1950.
4. **HS3** Explain what evidence **SOURCE 4** provides for the roles of Australian troops in Malaya/Borneo.
5. **HS3** Using **SOURCES 2**, **3** and **4** as supporting evidence, explain how events changed Australia's relationship with Indonesia between 1945 and 1964.
6. **HS4** Explain Australia's changing relationships with Britain and the USA during and after World War II.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.15 Commemoration and contested debates

3.15.1 Commemorating World War II

On 14 August 1945, Japan accepted US terms for unconditional surrender. The following day was called VP Day (Victory in the Pacific). On that day, 15 August, Australians celebrated wildly. The fear of a future under tyranny was now just a memory and so, they hoped, were the long years of hardship. But almost 40 000 Australians had given their lives in this brutal conflict and, as in World War I, Australians were determined that their sacrifice would not be forgotten. Historians were also determined to understand what had happened. How have Australians commemorated World War II and what aspects of the war have been the subject of contested debates?

During World War I, Anzac Day had quickly been adopted as the national day for remembrance of those who served and, particularly, those who died in the Great War. Rather than have a separate day of remembrance, Anzac Day also became the day for remembering those who fought and died in World War II. Veterans marched with their World War II units each Anzac Day in Australian cities and towns, and Anzac Day speeches paid tribute to them along with Great War veterans. As the numbers of surviving World War I veterans dwindled over the later decades of the twentieth century, Anzac Day marchers were then mostly from World War II until their ranks too were thinned by age and death.

After World War II, new memorials were not constructed in Australian cities and towns as they had been after World War I. Rather, new sections were added to existing memorials with the names of local people who had lost their lives in World War II. The Australian War Memorial in Canberra developed a new section dedicated to World War II. It commemorates the sacrifices of all branches of World War II services. As the casualty rate in the RAAF was the highest of the three services, it is fitting that the Australian War Memorial has paid a special tribute to the RAAF in its displays (see **SOURCE 1**).

Battle for Australia Day

It was not until the 1990s that any significant movement began for a specific day to commemorate Australia's role in World War II. In 2008 the RSL finally achieved success in a decade-long campaign to commemorate the 'Battle for Australia', a series of separate battles in 1942 that included the Battle of the Coral Sea, the Battle of Milne Bay and the Kokoda Track. The Australian government proclaimed in 2008 that 'Battle for Australia Day' would be observed each year on the first Wednesday in September. However, several historians were critical of the idea that there ever was a battle for Australia. They argued that these were separate battles and there was no co-ordinated Japanese campaign to invade Australia.

DISCUSS

Hold a class discussion on the question of why 'Battle for Australia Day' has failed to capture the public imagination in anything like the way that Anzac Day has done. **[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]**

SOURCE 1 Avro Lancaster Mk I bomber 'G for George', 460 Squadron, RAAF on display at the Australian War Memorial. This plane flew 90 operations over occupied Europe with 27 crews, mostly Australians, between December 1940 and April 1944. During these operations, the aircraft was damaged by enemy fire more than 20 times.



3.15.2 Contested debates about World War II

Many aspects of World War II have been the subject of ongoing debates between historians. As you have seen, historians have given conflicting interpretations of the meaning and significance of Prime Minister John Curtin's 'call to America', and the concept of a 'Battle for Australia' has also been contested.

Historical debate over the European theatre of the war

Controversy has surrounded several aspects of the war in Europe, including the reasons for early Axis successes, the collapse of the French Republic in 1940, the significance of various battles and the decision making that shaped the course of the war. Some historians have argued that the conflict did not become a world war until Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941 and Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941. There has also been debate about the responsibility of different factors in the European war — the Treaty of Versailles; fascism; appeasement; and the extent to which the war was caused by Nazi plans for conquest or by miscalculation.

Controversy over the Holocaust

There is probably no modern historical issue that has created more controversy than the Holocaust. Issues include how far most of the German people supported Nazi policies and to what extent ordinary Germans knew what went on in the concentration camps and death camps. Most historians distinguish between Nazis who supported the crimes committed during the Holocaust, including those who actually took part in them, and the great majority of Germans who took no part in such atrocities or were not aware that they were taking place. Historians have pointed out that major death camps like Auschwitz were outside Germany, while others have stressed that, due to the involvement of police, soldiers, guards, railway staff and bureaucrats, there had to be widespread knowledge of atrocities.

Debates about the Pacific theatre of the war

There has been ongoing historical debate about many aspects of the Pacific War. Controversial topics include the quality of military leaders, especially MacArthur; the decisions of political leaders, including Churchill, Curtin, Roosevelt and his successor Truman; the conduct of specific campaigns and battles, and many other aspects of the war. Here we will look at two debates that are ongoing or current.

The debate on whether Australian troops were outnumbered on the Kokoda Track

Until very recently, Australian historians and Australians generally believed that the men of the 39th Battalion and the Papuan infantry were vastly outnumbered by Japanese troops along the Kokoda Track from July to September 1942. However, in 2012 that assumption was challenged when the book *The Kokoda Campaign 1942: Myth and Reality*, by Peter Williams, was published following extensive research using Japanese sources. Williams conducted extensive research in the records of the Japanese units of the *Nankai Shitai* (South Seas Detachment). What he found was that the Australian forces were never outnumbered by as much as they believed and from mid-September the Australians outnumbered the Japanese.

SOURCE 2 From *Inside History Magazine* blog: Author Q&A: The Kokoda Campaign 1942 by Peter Williams

IHM: What resources did you come across when researching your book that have not been widely used by others?
Peter: I went to Tokyo and spent a month in their military archives looking at Imperial Japanese Army documents from 1942. I don't know of any other Kokoda author who has done that, which is possibly why other books on Kokoda have got much of the story wrong.

Debates over the use of atomic bombs to force Japan's surrender

Probably no issue has been more controversial than the use of atomic bombs to force Japan's surrender. Here are three examples of historians arguing that it was not necessary to use those horrific weapons to end the war.

In *Japan's Decision to Surrender* (1954), the US historian Robert J. Butow argued that the US made it impossible for Japan to surrender without losing face. He argued that the Japanese would have been much more willing to surrender if the Allied terms had been transmitted to them without publicity.

In *Brighter than a Thousand Suns* (1965), Robert Jungk pointed out that the Japanese were attempting to have the Soviet Union help them in negotiating peace. Jungk argued that, as it had captured all vital islands near the Japanese home islands, the US could have maintained the blockade of Japan and used diplomatic pressure to end the war without the need for more casualties.

SOURCE 3 A sculpture depicting the horrors of the atomic bomb in Nagasaki Peace Park



In *A History of Modern Japan* (1976), the British historian Richard Storry argued that the Japanese leaders could have been persuaded to surrender had the US demonstrated its power by dropping the bomb on open country. Storry argues that the US knew that the Japanese were trying to seek peace and that the entry of the Soviet Union into the Asia–Pacific War with an attack on Japan on 8 August was just as important a factor in leading to the Japanese surrender as was the atomic bomb.

Other historians have argued that any alternative to the atomic bombs would have caused even more suffering (see **SOURCE 4**).

SOURCE 4 From 'Nightmares beyond Atomic Bombs', in *Wartime*, the official magazine of the Australian War Memorial, Winter 2015, by Richard Frank

The advent of the reality of nuclear weapons will continue to focus the attention of later generations on the end of the Asia–Pacific War. Yet ... With the evidence now available, the nightmare recognised at the time — that an invasion of the Japanese home islands would produce stupendous casualties on both sides — is more than validated.

3.15 ACTIVITY

Research the Battle of Isurava, its course and its outcome. Consider why it has been described by some commentators as 'Australia's Thermopylae' as well as the statement by some veterans of the battle that its importance was second only to Gallipoli in 1915 in Australian military history. Evaluate the validity of such claims.

Determining historical significance

3.15 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

3.15 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Identify the main day of the year on which Australians who served in World War II are remembered.
2. **HS1** Describe other ways in which Australians commemorate World War II.
3. **HS1** Explain why the idea of 'Battle for Australia Day' has been controversial.
4. **HS3** Explain why 'G for George' is considered a fitting memorial for Australian participation in World War II.
5. **HS1** Identify two aspects of the war in Europe that have been the subject of historical debates.
6. **HS1** Describe two opposing arguments in debates on the war in Europe.

3.15 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Explain how *The Kokoda Campaign 1942: Myth and Reality* by Peter Williams has challenged long-accepted interpretations of the Kokoda campaign.
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2** and explain what new evidence Peter Williams used in his analysis of the Kokoda campaign.
3. **HS3** Look closely at **SOURCE 3** and identify features of this sculpture that express the horrors inflicted by the atomic bombs.
4. **HS3** Explain the main arguments used by Butow, Jungk and Storry against the idea that the use of atomic bombs was necessary to force Japan to surrender.
5. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 4** and identify the main point of Richard Frank's argument.
6. **HS3** Using sources in this subtopic identify one example where a contested debate has sprung from research that has produced new evidence and another example where a contested debate is based on conflicting interpretations of the same evidence.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

3.16 SkillBuilder: Analysing political cartoons and propaganda posters

online only

What are political cartoons and propaganda posters?

Political cartoons are drawings cartoonists make to comment on the political issues of the time. They use a range of techniques including humour to make serious points about these issues.

Propaganda posters use images and text with the aim of influencing people's attitudes or behaviour. What is presented may be true or false, according to the poster's target audience and its purpose.



Select your learnON title to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

3.17 Thinking Big research project: Honouring Indigenous Australians' service

online only

SCENARIO

You have been asked to give a speech during your school's Anzac Day commemoration. You are to research, write and deliver a speech describing and honouring the contributions of Indigenous Australians to Australia's war effort during World War II.



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Honouring Indigenous Australians' service (pro-0205)

3.18 Review

online only

3.18.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

3.18.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31749)
Crossword (doc-31750)

Interactivity The course and consequences of World War II crossword (int-7662)

KEY TERMS

alien a person born in another country who is not yet a citizen of the country in which they live
bunker a fortified underground shelter, usually with openings from which to fire at enemies
Fortress Europa the term used by Hitler to describe the defences along the coastline of Europe from Denmark to southern France
foxhole a concealed dugout or pit used by one person to shelter from and shoot at the enemy
ideologies sets of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation and provide the basis of political systems
internment to be put in prison for political or military reasons, either real or perceived
Luftwaffe the German air force during World War II
militia a body of men called up for military service only in emergencies
Normandy a region of France on the Atlantic coast
partisans irregular fighters using guerrilla tactics behind enemy lines
rationing controlling the distribution of something when supplies are low
rearguard action direct engagement with the enemy by troops protecting a retreating force
Royal Air Force (RAF) Britain's Royal Air Force
'scorched earth' military strategy of destroying or removing everything that could be used by an advancing enemy
South-West Pacific Zone area, including New Guinea and what is now Indonesia, within which Australian conscripts could be sent to fight after February 1943
spearhead to lead an attack
tried in absentia tried even though the accused is not present in court

3.16 SkillBuilder: Analysing political cartoons and propaganda posters

3.16.1 Tell me

What are political cartoons and propaganda posters?

Political cartoons are drawings made by cartoonists to comment on the political issues of the time. They often use humour to make serious points about these issues. They are usually published in newspapers or magazines, in print or, more recently, online.

Propaganda posters also use images. They aim to influence people's attitudes or behaviour. Some propaganda aims to spread false information. Propaganda can also present the truth, but it presents facts selectively, which makes it biased.

Why is it important to analyse political cartoons and propaganda posters?

Both propaganda posters and political cartoons can be very useful primary sources. Analysing them is therefore an important skill when studying the history of periods in which they were created. During World War II, propaganda posters and cartoons used several techniques, including playing on people's fears or prejudices. Their aims were varied, from urging people to grow their own food to encouraging them to enlist. These posters and cartoons can tell us a great deal about the time and give us insights into people's perspectives, as well as helping us to evaluate how their perspectives were influenced by events, ideas and beliefs.

3.16.2 Show me

When you study a propaganda poster or political cartoon you need to think carefully about its subject matter, aims and techniques. You need to ask questions such as:

a. Who created the poster or cartoon (if known)? Where and when and for what organisation was it created? What was happening at the time the poster or cartoon was produced?
b. What is the main subject of the image? What background and minor details are shown?
c. What techniques are used? For example, does it use symbols or specific colours and, if so, then what is their effect? Does it use caricature (exaggerating features) of figures to ridicule them?
d. If there is text in the cartoon or poster, what does it suggest?
e. Why would the cartoon or poster have been created and who is its intended audience? What are its perspective and message?
f. For what aspect of the topic does the poster or cartoon provide useful evidence and to what extent is it accurate and reliable?

These questions have been applied to **SOURCES 1** and **2**, which are examples of World War II posters and cartoons.

SOURCE 1 This is the Enemy, a poster produced in the USA by artists Karl Koehler and Victor Ancona in 1942 for the Artists for Victory Campaign



SOURCE 2 *What's Cookin'?*, a cartoon produced in Australia by artist Noel Counihan in 1944



Source: Australian War Memorial ART90007

Questions about SOURCE 1	Answers
a. Who created the poster or cartoon (if known) and where, when and for what organisation was it created? What was happening at the time the poster was produced?	It was created by Karl Koehler and Victor Ancona in the United States in 1942 for the Artist for Victory Campaign. The United States had entered World War II the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.
b. What is the main subject of the image? What background and minor details are shown?	The main subject of the image is the face of a Nazi officer. There are no background details but reflected in the officer's monocle (eye glass) is a victim of Nazism hanging from a gallows.
c. What techniques are used? For example, does it use symbols or specific colours and, if so, then what is their effect? Does it use caricature (exaggerating features) of figures to ridicule them?	The gallows is used as a symbol of Nazi atrocities. Its stark use of black and white rather than colour symbolises death. The way the officer's face is drawn is a caricature, with downturned lips and a sharp nose suggesting extreme harshness and cruelty.
d. If there is text in the cartoon or poster, what does it suggest?	The only text is 'This is the enemy', which reinforces the idea that everything this man represents is a threat to humanity.

Questions about SOURCE 1	Answers
e. Why would the cartoon or poster have been created and who is its intended audience? What are its perspective and message?	The USA entered the war in late 1941 after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor so the cartoon would have been created to help rally support for the US war effort against Nazi Germany as well as Japan. Its intended audience is the US public, particularly those who may have had doubts about the reasons for US involvement in the war against Nazi Germany. Its perspective is strongly anti-Nazi and its message is that Nazi Germany is an evil, cruel enemy.
f. For what aspect of the topic does the poster or cartoon provide useful evidence and to what extent is it accurate and reliable?	The poster provides useful evidence for US commitment to the war in 1942 and the US government's efforts to influence public opinion in favour of the war effort by portraying Nazis as evil murderers. The accuracy and reliability of that message are overwhelmingly supported by other evidence.

Questions about SOURCE 2	Answers
a. Who created the poster or cartoon (if known) and where, when and for what organisation was it created? What was happening at the time the cartoon was produced?	It was created by Noel Counihan in Australia in 1944. We do not know what organisation it was created for. By 1944 the tide of war had turned firmly against Nazi Germany.
b. What is the main subject of the image? What background and minor details are shown?	The main subject of the image is Adolf Hitler. He is depicted sitting on a huge bomb with a burning fuse that does not have long to go before it explodes.
c. What techniques are used? For example, does it use symbols or specific colours and if so then what is their effect? Does it use caricature (exaggerating features) of figures to ridicule them?	The bomb is a symbol of the destructive power unleashed by the war. The cartoon caricatures Hitler by depicting him looking ridiculous as he sits forlornly wringing his hands, unable to avoid Nazism's coming fate.
d. If there is text in the cartoon or poster, what does it suggest?	The only text is 'What's cookin'?', which means 'What is happening?' Clearly Hitler is about to be 'cooked'. This reinforces the idea that the days of Nazism are numbered.
e. Why would the cartoon or poster have been created and who is its intended audience? What are its perspective and message?	By 1944 the tide of war had turned firmly against Nazi Germany so the cartoon was probably created to give people hope and some pleasure after years of hardship and sacrifice. Its intended audience is the Australian public. Its perspective is strongly anti-Nazi and its message is that Hitler will soon suffer the fate he deserves.
f. For what aspect of the topic does the poster or cartoon provide useful evidence and to what extent is it accurate and reliable?	The poster provides very useful evidence for attitudes in Australia in 1944, at the time when it was clear that the Axis was losing the war. It is probably accurate and reliable in representing Australian attitudes at the time. However, as we know that Germany was not defeated until May 1945, we can say that the cartoon was not necessarily accurate or reliable in its representation of the actual war situation.

3.16.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

3.16 ACTIVITIES

1. Now that you have seen two examples, use the questions in the Show me section to analyse **SOURCES 3** and **4**.

SOURCE 3 *This is the Most Important Job you Ever did: Australian Textile Industry, and that Means You*, a poster issued by the Department of War Organisation and Industry in Australia in 1942



Source: Australian War Memorial ARTV02161

SOURCE 4 *Which Way?*, a poster created by Daryl Lindsay and issued by the Australian Commonwealth Military Forces Southern Command in Australia between 1939 and 1943



Source: Australian War Memorial ARTV06721

2. Based on your analysis of **SOURCES 3** and **4**, answer the following questions.
   (a) How are Australian women depicted in **SOURCE 3** and why?
   (b) In what two ways are Australian men depicted in **SOURCE 4** and why?
   (c) Describe the different aims of these two propaganda posters.
   (d) What aims do the two posters share?
   (e) Why might these posters have been effective or ineffective in achieving their aims?
   (f) Write a general statement summarising reasons why propaganda posters can be very useful evidence for historians investigating World War II.

3.17 Thinking Big research project: Honouring Indigenous Australians' service

Scenario

You have been asked to deliver a speech at your school's Anzac Day commemoration. As Anzac Day commemorates not only World War I but all wars in which Australians have served, you have been asked to focus on World War II, and particularly on a service contribution that has only recently been given the attention it deserves – that of Indigenous Australians.

Task

You are to research, write and deliver a speech describing and honouring the contributions of Indigenous Australians to Australia's war effort during World War II. Your speech should take approximately ten minutes to deliver. You may present images, diagrams and maps as part of your speech if you wish.



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in groups of two will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find starter topics loaded to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Conduct research to find information and make notes about the contributions of Indigenous people to Australia's war effort during World War II. The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point. Remember to record details of your sources so you can create a bibliography to submit with your printed speech.

- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your partner. When you have completed your research, you can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.
- Organise your notes by dividing the speech into headings for general information and subheadings for examples of individual experiences.
- Write your speech and, with your partner, decide how you will share the presentation. Practise and then deliver your speech in class for assessment. Print out your completed speech and submit to your teacher, along with your bibliography.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Honouring Indigenous Australians' service (pro-0205)

3.18 Review

3.18.1 Key knowledge summary

3.2 Examining the evidence

- We have enormous amounts of written primary sources and artefacts from World War II in museums and archives.
- World War II was the first major conflict in which movie cameras were used extensively and there are many visual sources that were created for propaganda or to document events.

3.3 Overview of World War II to 1944

- Nazi Germany quickly overran Western Europe in 1940, leaving the British Empire standing alone.
- The Axis invasion of the USSR gave Britain a powerful new ally.
- The beginning of the Pacific War brought the war close to Australia, but it also brought the USA into the conflict.
- There were several turning points in the war in Europe and the Pacific in 1942.
- From 1943, the Axis powers were losing the war.

3.4 Australians at war: enlistment and the Mediterranean battles

- Australia was unprepared for war and, unlike in World War I, there was no enthusiastic rush to enlist.
- Australians achieved victories in the Middle East and suffered defeat in Greece and Crete in 1941.
- After Japan entered the war in December 1941, only the 9th Division of the AIF was kept in the Middle East.

3.5 Australia under threat

- In December 1941, Curtin issued his 'call to America'.
- 'Fortress Singapore' fell to the Japanese in February 1942 and soldiers of the 8th Division AIF became POWs.
- Japanese bombing raids took place over northern Australia.
- Curtin clashed with the British over deployment of the Australian 7th Division.

3.6 Australians in the Pacific War: Kokoda

- Australians feared invasion in 1942, although it later became known that Japan had no plans nor the capability to invade Australia.
- Australian militia and Papuan infantry struggled to hold the Japanese on the Kokoda Track until they were reinforced.
- Lack of supplies forced a Japanese retreat from late September.

3.7 Australians in the Pacific War: beyond Kokoda

- Australians fought the Japanese in Papua and New Guinea from 1942 to 1944.
- In the closing stages of the war, Australians were deployed in 'unnecessary campaigns' in New Guinea, New Britain, Bougainville and Borneo.
- The RAAF and RAN both played wider roles in the war in Europe, Asia and the Pacific.

3.8 Australian prisoners of war

- Australians experienced different kinds of treatment in the hands of the Germans and Japanese.
- More than two-thirds of Australian POWs were prisoners of the Japanese and more than one-third of those prisoners died due to brutal treatment, overwork, starvation and diseases.
- Conquered Asians, especially Chinese, suffered terribly at the hands of the Japanese.

3.9 The Australian home front

- The Australian government assumed sweeping powers in order to direct the war effort, including limited conscription.
- Civilians were heavily involved in the war effort through war work and volunteer activities.

3.10 Australian women at war

- Australian women helped the war effort through voluntary work, taking jobs in munitions and replacing men who had enlisted in the services.
- The Women's Land Army had around 3000 members who carried out rural jobs in place of men who had enlisted.
- Tens of thousands of women served in the AWAS, WAAAF and WRANS and the medical and nursing services.

3.11 Australia's relations with the US

- The alliance between Australia and the US has been seen as a turning point in Australia's foreign relations.
- It was convenient in 1942 for both countries.
- There were underlying tensions and conflicting priorities.

3.12 The end of the war

- In 1944 the Allies opened a new front with the D-Day landings in France while the Red Army advanced against Germany along the eastern front.
- Soviet troops captured Berlin in 1945.
- Hitler committed suicide and one week later, on 7 May 1945, Germany surrendered, ending the war in Europe.
- The Pacific War was ended in August 1945 following the dropping of two US atomic bombs on Japanese cities.

3.13 War crimes and retribution

- The decision of the Allies to put Nazi and Japanese war criminals on trial was supported by the newly formed United Nations Organization (UN).
- Japanese war criminals were prosecuted though the International Military Tribunal for the Far East.
- Nazi war criminals were prosecuted through the International Military Tribunal at the Nuremburg War Crimes trials.

3.14 Changing international relations

- Australia's Labor government was a strong supporter of the UN.
- Dr H.V. Evatt played a leading role in shaping the UN Charter.
- Under Labor, Australia supported Indonesia's quest for independence.
- Australia realised that it could not depend on British protection and it moved closer to the US, expecting it to take the place of Britain as Australia's new protector.

3.15 Commemoration and contested debates

- Anzac Day became a day for the remembrance of sacrifice in World War II as well as World War I.
- The concept of a 'Battle for Australia Day' was advanced in the 1990s and adopted in 2008, but it was and is still controversial.
- There have been many contested debates about crucial aspects of World War II and they are ongoing.

A timeline of the course and consequences of World War II



BCE

1938

1938
German troops occupy Austria. Czechoslovakia is weakened as the Sudetenland is ceded to Germany at the Munich Conference.



1939
Britain declares war on Germany. Australia forms the 2nd AIF.

1940

1940
Germany overruns Western Europe. The Battle of Britain prevents a German invasion of Britain. British and Australian forces inflict defeats on Italian troops in North Africa.



1941
The AIF achieves victories over Italian forces in Libya and over the Vichy French in Syria. Germany invades Yugoslavia, Greece and the USSR. Australians hold out for months against German forces in the Tobruk siege. Japan enters the war on the side of the fascist powers with attacks on the US naval base at Pearl Harbour and on British Malaya. The USA enters the war.



1942

1942
Japanese conquer most of South-East Asia. Singapore falls. Darwin is bombed. The Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway are setbacks for Japan. Japanese submarines raid Sydney Harbour. Australians turn back the Japanese advance in Papua. German forces are defeated in El Alamein.

1943
Australians defeat Japanese forces in New Guinea. The Russian Red Army defeats Germans at Stalingrad and in the Battle of Kursk. Mussolini is overthrown in Italy.



1944
The 'D Day' landings take place in France. British and Indian forces drive the Japanese back in Burma. The US defeats Japanese forces on Pacific islands.

1944

1945
Germany surrenders in May. Atomic bombs are dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August. Japan formally surrenders in September. The United Nations is formed.





1946

CE

3.18.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

3.18 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

What was Australia's role in the deadliest conflict in human history? Why did we join the fight?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question, outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31749)
Crossword (doc-31750)

Interactivity The course and consequences of World War II crossword (int-7662)

KEY TERMS

alien a person born in another country who is not yet a citizen of the country in which they live
Fortress Europa the term used by Hitler to describe the defences along the coastline of Europe from Denmark to southern France
internment to be put in prison for political or military reasons, either real or perceived
ideologies sets of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation and provide the basis of political systems
Luftwaffe the German air force during World War II
militia a body of men called up for military service only in emergencies
Normandy a region of France on the Atlantic coast
partisans irregular fighters using guerrilla tactics behind enemy lines
rationing controlling the distribution of something when supplies are low
rearguard action direct engagement with the enemy by troops protecting a retreating force
Royal Air Force (RAF) Britain's Royal Air Force
'scorched earth' military strategy of destroying or removing everything that could be used by an advancing enemy
spearhead to lead an attack
South-West Pacific Zone area, including New Guinea and what is now Indonesia, within which Australian conscripts could be sent to fight after February 1943
tried in absentia tried even though the accused is not present in court

4 Rights and freedoms (1945–present)

4.1 Overview

What does it take to change the hearts and minds of a nation, so they don't just tolerate the Indigenous population but respect and value them?

4.1.1 Links with our times

It was 1983, 82 years after federation and 21 years after Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples won the right to vote, before Australia elected its first Indigenous parliamentarian, Neville Bonner. After the 2019 federal election, a small group of Indigenous representatives took their place in Australia's forty-sixth parliament, including Linda Burney, the first Indigenous woman to win a House of Representatives seat, and Senators Ken Wyatt, Pat Dodson and Malarndirri McCarthy.

As the nation progresses towards a referendum to formally recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians in the Constitution, hopeful signs are emerging from a history marked by struggle. Real and meaningful progress must continue towards an Australian society where rights and freedoms are upheld for all, including for Australia's First Peoples.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson Rights and freedoms (eles-2605)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

4.1 Overview
4.2 Examining the evidence
4.3 The beginnings of an Aboriginal protest movement
4.4 The Stolen Generations
4.5 Influence on Australia of civil rights movements abroad
4.6 The Freedom Ride in Australia
4.7 Being counted
4.8 Torres Strait Islander rights and freedoms
4.9 The Aboriginal Tent Embassy
4.10 Land rights and protests
4.11 Reconciliation
4.12 Fighting for equity
4.13 The struggle continues
4.14 **SkillBuilder:** Historical debate online only
4.15 **Thinking Big research project:** Needed: Social media guru! online only
4.16 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of the struggle for rights and freedoms (1945–present)

CE

1925

1924
Fred Maynard founds the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA).



1930

1935

1938
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples proclaim the 150th anniversary of settlement a 'Day of Mourning'.



1939
Indigenous men enlist for World War II.

1940

1939
The *Torres Strait Islander Act* recognises Torres Strait Islanders as a separate people.

1945

1950

1948
The UN adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



1955

1960



1965

1966
Indigenous workers walk off Vestey's cattle station at Wave Hill, demanding better pay and conditions.

1967
In a national referendum, 90 per cent of voters vote for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to be included in the national census.

1970

1975



1980

1992
In the Mabo case, the High Court of Australia recognises Indigenous ownership of the land for the first time.

1985

1990

1998
Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, which believes that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are favoured over non-Indigenous Australians, picks up 22 per cent of the vote in the Queensland election.

1997
The *Bringing Them Home* report, tabled in Parliament, outlines the damage done to the Stolen Generations.

1995

2000

2007
The Howard government approves an emergency 'Intervention' to protect the children of remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory.

2002
Historian Keith Windschuttle causes controversy by challenging other historians' accounts of the mass slaughter of Aborigines by white settlers.

2005

2008
Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivers a formal apology to the members of the Stolen Generations.



2010
The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples expresses grave concerns over the continuing Intervention in the Northern Territory.

2010

2015

CE

2016
Discussions continue around a referendum to change Australia's Constitution to formally recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

4.2 Examining the evidence

4.2.1 How do we know about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' struggle for rights and freedoms?

Until the latter half of the twentieth century the voices of **Australia's First Peoples** were noticeably absent from discussions about Australian history. Today it is possible to access reports, commentary and stories that encompass a wide range of Indigenous experiences. Many of these focus on the struggle for rights and freedoms.

The views of non-Indigenous people, such as academics and journalists, about the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander experience can only ever be second-hand. To find primary evidence about what it is like to be an Indigenous Australian person, we must consult Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This may mean listening to oral histories; or we may have access to written accounts. Not all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander perspectives on the fight for rights and freedoms relate to times past; some fights, such as land rights and the fight for equality, continue to this day. Stories of lived experiences may add to our understanding of such a complex issue.

SOURCE 1 In 1999, at the 50th Anniversary of Australian Citizenship Conference, ATSIC Commissioner Colin Dillon talked about his experience as an Aboriginal Australian and police officer during the mid 1960s.

On entering police training in 1965, two years before the referendum, I found it frightening to realise that I was the only Aboriginal person on the police force. The only others were the Black Trackers, universally regarded as inferior with no police powers.

It was conveyed to me — informally but very bluntly — that I had entered the wrong profession, that there was no place for a black man as a sworn officer in an all-white police force. I persevered and endured the **unfettered** racism and hard training and was eventually formally sworn in as a Constable.

Yet even as I stood in the parade that day for the ceremonial swearing in of constables — a moment that should have been the proudest in my life — I remember the Commissioner as he made his inspection. On coming to me he commented to the parade Sergeant 'He's a bit on the dark side.'

My troubles continued — not only was I not wanted within the Police Force but my chosen profession and its associated tasks **alienated** me from my own people. Even the enactment of the Racial Discrimination Act in 1975 offered no respite, as it would have been sheer **folly** to formally complain in a work environment that quite openly tolerated racial and discriminatory practices.

Popular films

Although Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians have been depicted in films since the 1920s, many early portrayals were stereotypical, portraying them as 'savages'. By the mid 1950s a more balanced portrayal emerged in *Jedda*, in which an Aboriginal girl raised by Europeans sought to rediscover her roots. In the 1970s, films such as *Walkabout* and *Stormboy* depicted Aboriginal people as helpful and knowledgeable about the land. In 1978 Indigenous filmmaker Essie Coffey released *My Life as an Aboriginal*, in which she demonstrated the differences between Aboriginal knowledge and the kind of knowledge that Aboriginal children were getting in school. Coffey's film raised awareness about the number of Aboriginal children losing touch with their **heritage**. Since the 1980s, depictions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people on screen have been more well rounded, while films such as *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002) and documentaries such as *First Australians*

SOURCE 2 Many Aboriginal children, particularly those with one European parent, were forcibly removed from their families, and raised in institutions or by white families. The film *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002) tells the story of three such children, Mollie, Gracie and Daisy, in Western Australia.



(2008) have explored the difficult and often violent struggle for survival that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have endured. The 2006 movie *Ten Canoes* used only Aboriginal languages to tell its story. It is a valuable, if imaginative, reference point for what life may have been like for Aboriginal peoples before European settlement irrevocably changed Aboriginal culture.

Political and other commentary

Since Australia was settled, politicians have been involved in designing policies concerning Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. They have justified these policies in parliament and in the press. This has led to commentary by political insiders, journalists and cartoonists. It is a commentator's job to cut through the **rhetoric**, highlighting important or controversial aspects of the politician's position in a way that will be accessible to the public.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leaders such as Noel Pearson and Pat Dodson, along with educators such as Marcia Langton and Chris Sara, have been influential in contributing to the commentary. Other individuals such as actor Leah Purcell, filmmaker Rachel Perkins and visual artist Vernon Ah Kee present artistic perspectives that are equally valid.

SOURCE 3 Throughout his prime ministership, John Howard adhered to a positive view of Australian history and refused to acknowledge the pain caused to Indigenous peoples by previous governments, particularly in relation to the Stolen Generations.



Official documentation

The international fight for rights and freedoms was formalised in 1948 with the signing by many countries, Australia included, of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Today the UN reports on the degree to which countries are adhering to the Declaration. A negative assessment from the United Nations carries great weight within the international community.

SOURCE 4 In 2010 the UN's Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, James Anaya, finished an 11-day tour of Australia. While he praised certain aspects of the way Australia had dealt with its Indigenous population, he was highly critical of the ongoing intervention (see section 4.12).

During my time in Australia, I have been impressed with demonstrations of strong and vibrant Indigenous cultures and have been inspired by the strength, resilience and vision of Indigenous communities determined to move toward a better future despite having endured tremendous suffering at the hands of historical forces and entrenched racism. It is clear that these historical forces continue to make their presence known today, manifesting themselves in serious disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous parts of society, including in terms of life expectancy, basic health, education, unemployment, **incarceration**, children placed under care and protection orders, and access to basic services.

Given these disparities, the Government has developed and implemented a number of important initiatives in order to 'close the gap' of Indigenous disadvantage within a wide range of social and economic areas, with a stated emphasis on women and children, and these programmes must continue to be improved and strengthened... Aspects of the Government's initiatives to remedy situations of Indigenous disadvantage, however, raise concerns. Of particular concern is the Northern Territory Emergency Response...

4.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS3** These days, we have access to a range of primary and secondary sources to better understand Indigenous experiences. Identify whether the following are primary or secondary sources.
   (a) Official reports
   (b) Media commentary
   (c) Indigenous stories
2. **HS6** What are the strengths and limitations of the views of non-Indigenous Australians, such as journalists and academics, about the experience of Australia's First Peoples?
3. **HS6** In what way could the film *Jedda* be seen as a 'turning point' in the depiction of Indigenous Australians on screen?
4. **HS1** Explain the role of a political commentator in your own words.
5. **HS1** What role does the United Nations play in monitoring the treatment of Indigenous peoples?

4.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** **SOURCE 1** presents an Aboriginal perspective on a particular event — the swearing-in ceremony for police constables. Why would you regard **SOURCE 1** as a primary source? What might be its strengths and weaknesses as a historical source?
2. **HS3** What primary sources do you think the producers of *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (see **SOURCE 2**) would have consulted when making the film? What different biases do you think such filmmakers would need to guard against to ensure their depiction of events was factual?
3. **HS3** What statement is the cartoonist trying to make in **SOURCE 3**? What images support this message? Is it an effective statement? Why or why not?
4. **HS3** In **SOURCE 4**, UN representative James Anaya praises certain aspects of Australia's treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and criticises others. What are they?
5. **HS3** What primary and secondary sources do you imagine that James Anaya, the author of **SOURCE 4**, would have taken into account before making his determination and recommendations to the United Nations?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.3 The beginnings of an Aboriginal protest movement

4.3.1 Protests during the 1920s

When Captain James Cook claimed Australia's east coast on behalf of Britain in 1770, the principle of ***terra nullius*** that was applied meant that no treaty was ever made with Australia's First Peoples. The arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788 marked the beginning of European settlement or, from an Aboriginal perspective, the European invasion of a land they had lived in continuously for thousands of years. Early protests in the first century and a half of European control were overwhelmed by a system that recognised neither Aboriginal law and customs nor their custodianship of the land. But as the twentieth century progressed, a more organised and formal protest movement began to take shape.

The first Aboriginal political organisations were formed in the 1920s. Foremost among these was the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA) formed by Fred Maynard in New South Wales in 1924. Maynard had been inspired by black activists in the United States. At the forefront of the Association's goals was the right for Aboriginal self-determination, including a right to land and an end to children being forcibly removed from their families. Street rallies, well publicised meetings, letter writing campaigns and petitions gained public attention. Jane Duren, a member of the Association, wrote a letter to King George V about conditions for Aboriginal people. In 1927, Fred Maynard wrote a letter of protest to

the Premier of New South Wales, Jack Lang, calling for the restitution of Aboriginal land (see **SOURCE 1**) By late 1927, the Association had disbanded after a concerted campaign against Maynard and the Association by the Aboriginal Protection Board which administered the *Aborigines Protection Act*.

SOURCE 1 Fred Maynard's letter of protest to the New South Wales Premier in 1927

I wish to make it perfectly clear on behalf of our people, that we accept no condition of inferiority as compared with European people. Two distinct civilisations are represented by the respective races... That the European people by the arts of war destroyed our more ancient civilisation is freely admitted, and that by their vices and diseases our people have been decimated is also patent. But neither of these facts are evidence of superiority. Quite the contrary is the case. Furthermore, I may refer in passing, to the fact that your present scheme of old age pensions was obtained from our more ancient code, as likewise your child endowment scheme and widows pensions. Our divorce laws may yet find a place on the Statute Book. The members of the Board [the AAPA] have also noticed the strenuous efforts of the trade union leaders to attain the conditions which existed in our country at the time of the invasion by Europeans — the men only worked when necessary, we called no man 'master' and we had no king. We are therefore, striving to obtain full recognition of our citizen rights on terms of absolute equality with all other people in our land. The request made by this Association for sufficient land for each eligible family is justly based. The Australian people are the original owners of this land and have a prior right over all other people in this respect. Our request to supervise our own affairs is no innovation. The Catholic people in our country possess the right to control their own schools and homes, and take pride in the fact that they possess this privilege. The Chinese, Greeks, Jews and Lutherans are similarly favoured and our people are entitled to precisely the same conditions.

4.3.2 A day of mourning

In an echo of the earlier AAPA, in 1937 the Aborigines Progressive Association was formed in New South Wales with three main aims: full citizenship rights for Aboriginal Australians, Aboriginal representation in parliament and abolition of the New South Wales Aborigines' Protection Board. For the newly formed Association, Australia Day 1938 became a focus for action. 26 January 1938 was the 150th anniversary of the day Captain Arthur Phillip planted the British flag at Port Jackson. All six state premiers had arrived in Sydney; the finishing touches were being put on 120 street floats, and the crowds were gathering as the city prepared for a spectacular show. Having been denied access to Sydney Town Hall, Indigenous activists and community members, led by William Cooper and Jack Patten, walked in silent protest to Australia Hall, which they had to enter via the back door. So began Australia Day 1938: for the country's mostly white population, this was a day to celebrate; for Australia's First Peoples, it was a day of mourning.

SOURCE 2 As dignitaries watched on, Indigenous people, brought to Sydney especially for the event, re-enacted the landing of the First Fleet at Farm Cove 150 years earlier.



SOURCE 3 The Day of Mourning was the first organised civil rights protest by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Two of the day's organisers, William Ferguson and Jack Patten, are pictured at far left and right respectively.



Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW. Call no. Home & Away – 17963.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Aboriginal persons brought by the federal government from country New South Wales as forced participants in a re-enactment ceremony were kept locked in the stables at the Redfern police station until the ceremony.

Building a movement

In the months leading up to January 1938, Jack Patten, the first president of the Aborigines' Progressive Association (APA), and William Cooper, secretary for the Australian Aborigines League, had visited missions and reserves to gain support for the Day of Mourning protest. Patten had also worked with William Ferguson, founder of the APA, to put together a 12-page document entitled 'Aborigines Claim Citizenship Rights', which ran in many national newspapers. Despite widespread support for the event within the Aboriginal community, only about 100 people would attend, because Australian law forbade Aboriginal people from gathering to protest. Despite the printed warning that 'Aborigines and persons of Aboriginal blood only are invited to attend', four non-Aboriginal people attended the gathering. Two were police officers; the others were representatives from *Man Magazine*, who would document the day's events for a story entitled 'Aborigines Meet, Mourn while White-Man Nation Celebrates'.

4.3.3 Results of the Day of Mourning

As the Day of Mourning protest began, telegrams of support from around Australia were read out. Then Jack Patten read the following resolution (see **SOURCE 4**):

> We, representing the Aborigines of Australia... on the... 150th anniversary of the whitemen's seizure of our country, hereby make protest against the callous treatment of our people... and we appeal to the Australia nation of today... for... full citizen status and equality within the community.

SOURCE 4 APA President Jack Patten (right) reads the resolution.



Source: Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW. Call no. MLQ 059/9.

During the protest, the group discussed the brutal treatment of Aboriginal people by the Aboriginal Protection Board and the unfair removal of children from the reserves, as well as the need for equal rights. The protest culminated in the formation and approval of a 10-point plan for equality. The plan outlined the importance of giving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples full citizenship status, as well as access to education, health services and employment. The plan also demanded that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples be allowed to own property, possess a bank account and receive a pension — rights automatically granted to Australia's white population. The day ended with members of the protest walking to La Perouse, one of the original landing spots for the First Fleet, where they released funeral wreaths into the sea.

Following the success of the Day of Mourning protest, a delegation of 20 Indigenous persons led by Jack Patten and William Ferguson presented the Australian Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons, with the 10-point plan for equality. Despite the prime minister's willingness to listen to the delegation, it would take another 30 years and another generation of activists before Indigenous peoples would even be counted in the national census.

SOURCE 5 Following the Day of Mourning, Australia's Indigenous community began publishing its first newspaper, *Abo Call*, edited by Jack Patten.

To all Aborigines!

'The Abo Call' is our own paper.

It has been established to present the case for Aborigines, from the point of view of the Aborigines themselves.

This paper has nothing to do with missionaries, or anthropologists, or with anybody who looks down on Aborigines as an 'inferior' race.

We are NOT an inferior race, we have merely been refused the chance of education that whites receive. 'The Abo Call' will show that we do not want to go back to the Stone Age.

Representing 60 000 Full Bloods and 20 000 Halfcastes in Australia, we raise our voice to ask for Education, Equal Opportunity, and Full Citizen Rights.

'The Abo Call' will be published once a month. Price 3d [3 pence].

The Editor asks all Aborigines and Halfcastes to support the paper, by buying it and also by acting as agents for sale to white friends and supporters.

4.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** When was the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association formed and by whom?
2. **HS1** List the goals of the Association.
3. **HS1** How did the Association attempt to achieve these goals?
4. **HS1** How did the leaders of the Day of Mourning Protest build up support in the months leading up to January 1938?
5. **HS1** How many people attended and why were the numbers low?
6. **HS1** What examples of inequality between white Australians and Aboriginal Australians could be seen on Australia Day 1938?
7. **HS1** Name three things that Aboriginal activists wanted the government to change in 1938.
8. **HS1** What was the 10-point plan?
9. **HS1** Why did Aboriginal activists release funeral wreaths into the sea following their protest?

4.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 1** and answer the following questions.
   (a) What does Fred Maynard suggest is contrary evidence to the superiority of European people?
   (b) Who are the 'Australian people' referred to in this letter? How do you know this?
   (c) What arguments are presented for the rights of Aborigines to supervise their own affairs?
   (d) What assumptions might you make about the writer of this letter? Justify these.
2. **HS3** Based on **SOURCES 2** and **3**, how did white Australia view Aboriginal people in 1938? How did Aboriginal people view themselves?
3. **HS3** Examine the introduction to the *Abo Call* (see **SOURCE 5**) and answer the following questions.
   (a) What was the purpose of the paper? How can you tell?
   (b) In what ways did the *Abo Call* seek to challenge white preconceptions about Indigenous people?
   (c) In what ways did it encourage Indigenous people to think for themselves?
4. **HS3** **SOURCES 2** and **4** show contrasting depictions of Aboriginal people. Comment on this contrast.
5. **HS3** Examine **SOURCES 4** and **5**. Analyse what the main grievances are that were felt by Jack Patten and his supporters and list them in dot points.
6. **HS4** Describe why you think Aboriginal activists such as William Ferguson, William Cooper and Jack Patten decided to use the theme of 'mourning' for 26 January 1938. How else could they have presented their protest to create a different effect? Do you think this would have been more or less effective than the protest they made?
7. **HS4** Identify what changes in politics and society you think would need to have taken place before Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples would be given citizenship. Are you surprised that gaining citizenship took almost 30 years after the Day of Mourning?

8. **HS6** Based on what you have read in this subtopic, explore whether you consider the Day of Mourning a turning point for Aboriginal Australia. Write 150 words explaining your position.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.4 The Stolen Generations

4.4.1 Government policy: from 'protection' to assimilation

During the 1800s the colonial authorities believed that a protection system was the best way to look after Aboriginal peoples. This meant setting up special communities for them where they could farm the land and live off the produce. However, Aboriginal peoples moved across their country on a seasonal basis and many could not get used to this new way of life. The *Aborigines Protection Act 1909* gave the authorities licence to 'provide for the custody, maintenance and education of the children of aborigines'. By 1911 the Northern Territory, along with all states except Tasmania, had given the Board of Protection control over Indigenous people. The Board was also made the legal guardian of all Indigenous children. Enforcing this legislation was left to 'protectors', who were usually police officers. Those children who were taken from their families would become known as the 'Stolen Generations'.

SOURCE 1 Extract from *Aborigines Protection Act, Act No 25, 1909*

144 Act No. 25, 1909.

Aborigines Protection.

Act No. 25, 1909.

Aborigines Protection.

An Act to provide for the protection and care of aborigines; to repeal the Supply of Liquors to Aborigines Prevention Act; to amend the Vagrancy Act, 1902, and the Police Offences (Amendment) Act, 1908; and for purposes consequent thereon or incidental thereto. [*20th December*, 1909.]

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Short title. **1.** This Act may be cited as the "Aborigines Protection Act, 1909," and shall come into force on a date to be fixed by proclamation of the Governor in the Gazette.

Repeal. **2.** The Acts specified in the Schedule hereto are, to the extent indicated, repealed.

Interpretation. **3.** In this Act, unless the context or subject matter otherwise indicates or requires:—

"Aborigine" means any full-blooded aboriginal native of Australia, and any person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood who applies for or is in receipt of rations or aid from the board or is residing on a reserve.

"Board" means board for protection of aborigines constituted under this Act.

"Liquor" means and includes wine, spirits, beer, porter, stout, ale, cider, perry, or any spirituous or fermented fluid whatever capable of producing intoxication.

"Local Committee" means committee appointed by the board to act in conjunction with the board under this Act.

"Prescribed" means prescribed by this Act or the regulations.

"Reserve" means area of land heretofore or hereafter reserved from sale or lease by the Governor, or given by or acquired from any private person, for the use of aborigines.

"Regulations" means regulations in force under this Act.

"Stations" means stations on reserves.

Constitution of board. **4.** (1) There shall be a board, to be styled "The Board for Protection of Aborigines," to consist of the Inspector-General of Police,

Governments believed the best way to ensure that Indigenous children (especially those of mixed descent) were **assimilated** into European society was to remove them — forcibly, if necessary — from their families and raise them in institutions or foster homes. Paul Hasluck, who was appointed Federal Minister for Territories in 1951, articulated the thinking behind this strategy: 'Assimilation means, in practical terms, that, in the course of time, it is expected that all persons of aboriginal blood or mixed blood in Australia will live like other white Australians do.'

The *Child Welfare Act 1939* had provided parents with the right to contest the removal of their children. However, with many Children's Courts located far from the Indigenous communities from which the children had been taken, and with no legal assistance provided for parents, it was extremely difficult for

parents to get their children back. Once they had been removed, many Indigenous children were sexually exploited or physically abused, and were denied any contact with their families. Between 1910 and 1970 it is estimated that 10–30 per cent of Indigenous children were forcibly removed from their families in the name of assimilation. This means that many Indigenous families, from every state and territory, were directly affected by the forced removal of one or more children.

SOURCE 2 An extract from the 1989 book *Wanamurraganya: The Story of Jack McPhee*. The narrator is being shown around a compound for Aboriginal children.

'This part is called the compound,' he told me, 'there's the church, sewing room, dormitories where they keep all the kids, store, you've seen the office and the hospital.'

'Whose kids are they?'

'Anybody's. Some got their names changed. You know whitefellas, if they can't get their tongue around your name they call you something else. No one be able to find these kids now.'

I was thinking to myself, to take a child from its mother is a cruel thing. The mother has given the life, suffered for it, it's not right that life is taken from her.

'When a family comes in,' said Jack, 'the kids live in dormitories, others down in the camp.'...

'Jeez, Jack, is this a prison?'

He laughed. 'Trackers here too. Bring you back if you run away.'

'Can't you do something?'

'Who will listen, brother? Boss reads all the mail that goes out and comes in.'

4.4.2 Life in the Homes

At Kinchela Boys Home on the mid-north coast of New South Wales, Aboriginal boys were taught to farm the land and operate heavy machinery such as tractors. Between 1924 and 1970, 600 boys were taken to Kinchela, where they were stripped of their names and given numbers instead, were forbidden from speaking their own language and were severely punished by the staff for disobedience. According to Cecil Bowden, a former resident, the most brutal punishment was being sent 'down the line': 'They'd have to walk the line and 60 or 70 boys would have to punch them, punch that person as hard as they could, just to satisfy those people who were running the home.'

SOURCE 3 An extract from the *Bringing Them Home* report. Rose lost contact with her brothers and sisters in 1958, when she was 9 years old.

The kids was glad to see Mum and Dad at court. They were jumping all over them. Glad to see them. When the Welfare took the kids off Mum and Dad they were holding out their arms trying to stay with Mum and Dad. Everyone was crying sad. Sad. Sad. After the kids had gone to the home Mum and Dad hit the grog hard as they had done everything in their power and in their hearts to keep us away from the (predators) the Welfare. But they sniffed us out of the bush like dogs.

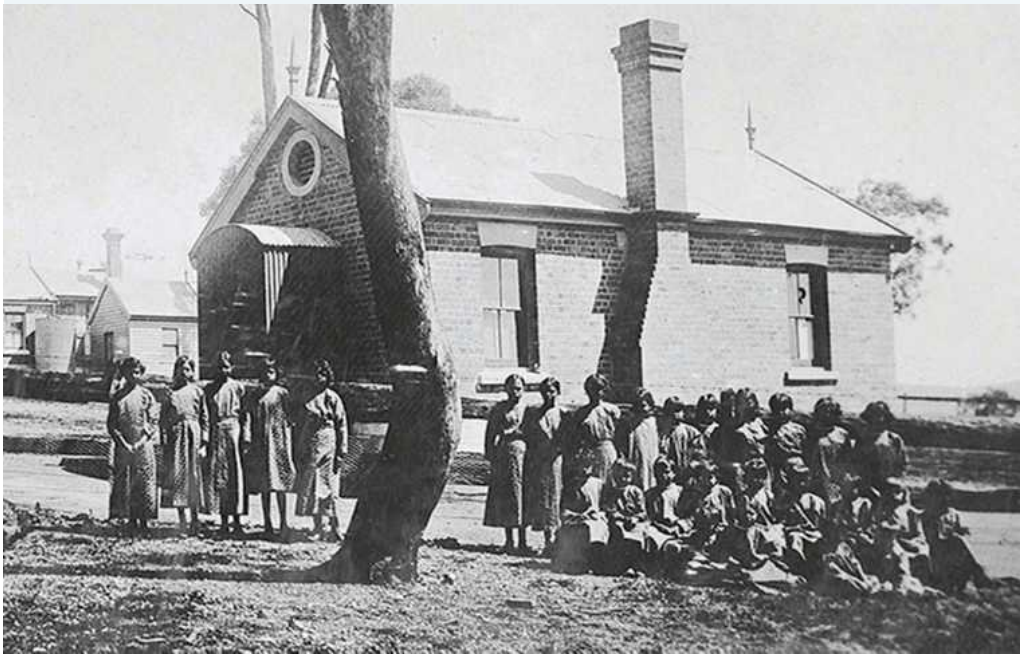
My parents couldn't handle the trauma of not having the closest warmth loving caring family we were. They separated. My Mum went one way; my Dad went his way.

And I was 9 years of age left to go my way. I didn't know anyone. So I lived with Koori families who took me in. And in return I would look after their kids while they went picking just so I had some sort of family caring. I done this for years. Still not knowing where my brothers and sisters were. I tried hard to find them but couldn't.

The families that took me in I have a lot of respect for them because they tried to mend a 9 year old's broken heart...

The Cootamundra Domestic Training Home for Aboriginal Girls was the destination for generations of Aboriginal girls removed from their families between 1911 and 1969. The girls would stay at Cootamundra in the South West Slopes region of New South Wales until the age of 14, when they would be sent to work as domestic servants in the homes and farms of New South Wales' middle class. Once in domestic service, many girls became pregnant, only to have their own children removed and placed with white families.

SOURCE 4 Residents of the Cootamundra Domestic Training Home for Aboriginal Girls



4.4 ACTIVITY

You have been asked to design a museum exhibit about the Stolen Generations. What objects will you include? Using your library and the internet for reference, either draw or collect pictures of your selected objects, together with a descriptive label explaining why each is significant. **Using historical sources as evidence**

4.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What power did the Board of Protection have over Aboriginal people?
2. **HS1** Explain the concept of assimilation, in your own words.
3. **HS1** What was the purpose of the assimilation strategy?
4. **HS1** Why were Aboriginal children taken from their families? Give as many reasons as you can.
5. **HS1** Why was it so difficult for Aboriginal parents to contest the removal of their children?
6. **HS1** Using the information in this section, describe how boys and girls were treated once they were removed from their families.
7. **HS1** Why do you think the estimated numbers of children removed from their families varies so markedly between one in three and one in ten?

4.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** **SOURCE 1** is the beginning of *The Aborigines Protection Act 1909*. After reading it carefully, what do you think the purpose of the Act was? What beliefs about Aboriginal people do you think the people who wrote the Act held?
2. **HS3** It is the morning after four Aboriginal children have escaped from the compound described in **SOURCE 2**. What do you think might happen to the children still in the compound?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3** and answer the following questions.
   (a) From the clues provided in Rose's story, why do you believe her brothers and sisters were removed?
   (b) Why do you think Rose may have been left behind?
   (c) Which people were directly or indirectly affected in a negative way by the welfare workers' decision to remove Rose's brothers and sisters from the family?

4. **HS3** The girls pictured in **SOURCE 4** were being prepared specifically for domestic work. What does this suggest about the sorts of jobs that the Aboriginal Protection Board believed Aboriginal children were best suited for?
5. **HS3** Evaluate the usefulness of using individual stories such as **SOURCE 2** and **SOURCE 3** as evidence to assist our understanding of the impact of the government policy of child removal on Indigenous people.
6. **HS3** Do **SOURCES 2, 3** and **4** offer support for each other? Explain your answer fully.
7. **HS5** Use a fishbone diagram to identify the causes of why children were 'stolen' and the consequent effects.
8. **HS5** Identify who you think were more fortunate, the girls in Cootamundra or the girls left behind, such as Rose **(SOURCE 3)**? Explain your view, using information and quotes from this subtopic.
9. **HS5** Imagine you are a 9-year-old Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander girl or boy and have just been taken into the custody of the state. Which would be hardest to leave behind: your family, your language or your culture? Explain your choice.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.5 Influence on Australia of civil rights movements abroad

4.5.1 International call for civil rights

In the 1940s, many of the rights and freedoms enjoyed by white people in settler nations such as America and Australia were not shared by the nations' minorities. To many people this seemed wrong, but it would be the mid 1950s before leaders would emerge to challenge this widespread inequity and mistreatment. They were part of the civil rights movement. This movement would build during the 1960s, generating a worldwide demand for change.

On 10 December 1948 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), an international agreement that outlined the rights and freedoms that should be accorded to all people. As a founding member of the UN, Australia played a prominent role in establishing the Declaration under the guidance of Dr Herbert Vere Evatt, who became the president of the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Dr Evatt, a former High Court judge, Attorney General and Minister for External Affairs, was known for defending civil liberties. The Declaration began by recognising that 'the inherent dignity and the equal and **inalienable** rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world'. Although it was not a **treaty**, the Declaration was seen as an international call for civil rights.

SOURCE 1 A photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt holding the Declaration of Human Rights



SOURCE 2 Eleanor Roosevelt became the First Lady of the United States when her husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was elected president in 1933. An author and activist in her own right, Eleanor Roosevelt was a US delegate to the United Nations General Assembly from 1945 to 1952. One of the UN's most highly regarded statespeople, she played a crucial role in developing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Where, after all, do human rights begin? In small places — close to home — so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, and equal dignity, without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

4.5.2 Civil rights in America — desegregation

On 1 December 1955 an African-American seamstress named Rosa Parks sat halfway down a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, just behind the section reserved for white passengers (see **SOURCE 3**). When a white man got on the bus, the driver asked her to stand to make room for him, but Rosa Parks politely refused. 'When I made that decision,' she said later, 'I knew that I had the strength of my ancestors with me.'

For her refusal to give up her seat, Rosa Parks was arrested and charged with breaking the segregation laws. At the time, the African-American community made up the majority of Montgomery's bus passengers. Sparked by Rosa Parks's defiance, they began to refuse to take the bus. The boycott lasted 381 days until the politicians caved in and abolished the bus segregation laws.

SOURCE 3 This excerpt from the Montgomery City Code refers to segregation of black and white people on the buses, which was the basis of Rosa Parks's protest.

Sec. 10. Separation of races — Required.
Every person operating a bus line in the city shall provide equal but separate accommodations for white people and negroes on his buses, by requiring the employees in charge thereof to assign passengers seats on the vehicle under their charge in such manner as to separate the white people from the negroes, where there are both white and negroes on the same car; provided, however, that negro nurses having in charge white children or sick or infirm white persons, may be assigned seats among white people.

Nothing in this section shall be construed as prohibiting the operators of such bus lines from separating the races by means of separate vehicles if they see fit.

DID YOU KNOW?

Racism is based on the belief that a person's race determines their ability and attributes, and that some people are inherently inferior to others. In the 1930s Hitler invoked racist theories to justify his persecution of the Jewish people. The same theories were used to justify racial segregation in the United States, South Africa and Australia.

Little Rock, Arkansas

On 17 May 1954 the US Supreme Court had ruled that segregation of public schools was **unconstitutional**. Later that year the Little Rock, Arkansas, school board had agreed to gradually desegregate its schools. Desegregation began on the first day of the school year, 1957. That morning, the nine African-American students enrolled at Little Rock Central High, thereafter known as the 'Little Rock Nine', were met by an angry mob, 1200 soldiers sent to the school for their protection and the world's media.

SOURCE 4 On 4 September 1957 the Little Rock Nine attended their first day of school. This simple act would change America forever.



During the year she attended Little Rock Central High, Minnijean Brown-Trickey was verbally abused, pushed down the stairs and spat on. Not all the white students were hostile towards the new arrivals, but those who showed them kindness were liable to be beaten up themselves. Later she would recall, 'There were 100 bad kids and 1900 silent witnesses'. Her story, and those of the other eight students, would go on to inspire a generation of black Americans.

Looking back on her year at Little Rock Central High, Minnijean Brown Trickey said, 'History holds up a mirror showing the good things about us and the bad things about us. We have to choose. Do we want to be part of the mob attacking children or the children walking with dignity?'

4.5.3 Protests in the United States gain momentum

As the civil rights movement in America grew, particularly in the southern states where segregation was worse, there was great potential for violence. Although violence did erupt in states like Alabama, there were other voices preaching another way.

Martin Luther King

The Montgomery bus boycott had been organised by the Montgomery Improvement Association. Made up of ministers and activists, the group was led by a charismatic young civil rights campaigner named Martin Luther King Jr. His philosophy was simple: anything could be achieved by using non-violent resistance, so long as you could convince enough people to join the cause.

This philosophy was based on both his training as a minister and his interest in the work of Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, whose non-violent protests had successfully challenged the British and won independence in India. Dr King summed up his philosophy by suggesting that 'the Christian doctrine of love operating through the Gandhian method of non-violence was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom'. One of Dr King's most well known actions was the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963), where he delivered his most famous speech, remembered by the words, 'I have a dream...'

SOURCE 5 Dr Martin Luther King Jr (centre) in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 1963



on Resources

Video eLesson Martin Luther King at the Washington civil rights rally (eles-2606)

4.5.4 Freedom Rides in the United States

The Freedom Rides in America began in May 1961. The riders were volunteers — 13 activists from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The activists set out from Washington DC to journey through the southern states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Missouri to a planned rally in Louisiana. The white response in the states through which the two buses journeyed was often violent and full of hate. White mobs wielded baseball bats, bicycle chains and iron bars. Near Anniston, Alabama, on 14 May 1961, a white mob smashed the bus windows, slashed the tyres and later firebombed the bus. Several Freedom Riders were badly injured. Violence continued over subsequent rides with state authorities doing little to intervene.

SOURCE 6 Freedom Riders sit beside their burned out bus near Anniston, Alabama, 14 May 1961



Although Martin Luther King never joined the Freedom Riders' campaign, he became one of their major spokespeople. When a 3000-strong mob blockaded the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, where King was rallying support for the campaign, authorities responded only when US Attorney-General Robert Kennedy mobilised the National Guard who dispersed the mob with tear gas.

SOURCE 7 Map showing the routes taken by the Freedom Riders



Source: Spatial Vision.

Results of the Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides and the violent responses to them resulted in international media attention, embarrassing the US government. Although federal laws existed that ruled segregation illegal, state administrations, particularly in the south, ignored them. The Freedom Rides continued until the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) forced bus companies to introduce desegregation. The goals of the campaign — to create headline news internationally and to gain publicity for the civil rights movement — were in large part achieved. Civil disobedience had proved a powerful way to protest against racist policies and effect change.

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- Rights and freedoms > **Civil rights movements**

Resources

Video eLesson Lyndon B Johnson announces the passage of the Civil Rights Act (eles-2607)

4.5 ACTIVITY

Imagine you are one of the Little Rock Nine or one of their classmates. Write 500 words describing your first day at school and the responses of those people you see around you. You may need to conduct more research about the event before you begin. **Using historical sources as evidence**

4.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** When did the United Nations General Assembly adopt the UDHR? Use your general knowledge to explain what previous event had led to this point.
2. **HS1** Who was Dr Evatt and what was his contribution to the history of civil rights? Why do some argue that he should be more widely recognised in Australia?
3. **HS1** What is the difference between a declaration and a treaty? Do you think that the UDHR should have been a treaty? Would it have made any difference?
4. **HS1** Why was Rosa Parks arrested in 1955 and what resulted from her arrest and the subsequent boycott?
5. **HS1** Why was the first day of school in 1957 such an important day for Little Rock, Arkansas?
6. **HS1** What was Martin Luther King Junior's resistance philosophy?
7. **HS1** Explain the two main influences on Dr King's viewpoints.
8. **HS1** Consider the Freedom Rides in the United States.
   (a) Who were the Freedom Riders?
   (b) What was the response of some white Americans to the Freedom Rides?
   (c) Identify the outcome of the Freedom Rides.
9. **HS1** Explain what the term 'civil disobedience' means.

4.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Read the Eleanor Roosevelt quote in **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) What does this quote mean?
   (b) Who does it seem to be aimed at?
   (c) In what way could its message be seen to be reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?
2. **HS3** The Montgomery City Code (see **SOURCE 3**) claimed to offer 'separate but equal' treatment to white and black passengers. Identify words and phrases in the source that might be said to contradict this claim.
3. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 4** and the text to explain the motivations behind the Little Rock Nine's actions.
4. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 5** and answer the following.
   (a) What were these protesters aiming to achieve?
   (b) What examples of non-violent protest are evident?
   (c) What role do white people appear to be playing in the protest?
5. **HS3** Martin Luther King never participated in a Freedom Ride. Based on **SOURCE 6**, why might he have made a conscious decision not to participate?
6. **HS3** What does **SOURCE 6** tell you about the risks undertaken by a Freedom Rider?
7. **HS3** From a study of **SOURCE 7**, what factual statements could you make about the Freedom Rides?
8. **HS3** Using the sources in this subtopic, write a paragraph about why you think some white Americans resisted the civil rights campaigns so violently.
9. **HS3** Using **SOURCES 1, 4, 5 and 6**, explain the power of photography as a source of historical evidence.
10. **HS6** Identify the significant events mentioned in this subtopic and rank them in order of their impact on bringing about change. Be prepared to justify your ranking.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.6 The Freedom Ride in Australia

4.6.1 Charles Perkins — activist

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples won the right to vote in federal elections in 1962; but even then they were not counted in the census and their affairs were still managed by the state governments. But growing awareness of human rights issues, specifically relating to racial discrimination, was beginning to turn the tide for Indigenous people in Australia. All the issue needed, it seemed, was a voice.

Charles Perkins was born in 1936 in the Alice Springs Telegraph Station Aboriginal Reserve. When he was 10, his mother arranged for him to be taken to an Anglican Boys' Hostel in Adelaide to have, in his words, 'the colour washed out of him'. His sporting talent as a soccer player opened doors of opportunity for him: in 1965 he became the first Aboriginal person to graduate from university. By then he was already a strong campaigner for Indigenous rights.

Inspired by a similar civil rights action in America, Perkins organised the Freedom Ride of 1965, in which a group of 30 white university students from Student Action for Aborigines (SAFA) would take a bus tour of outback New South Wales. The journey was intended to be a 'study tour' of race relations in Australia.

As the bus readied to leave on 12 February 1965, the Reverend Ted Noffs said a prayer: 'Almighty God... we ask now that Thy blessing will rest upon these Australians as they journey out and endeavour to bring reconciliation and healing among people who have been divided because of the colour of their skin.' Over the following two weeks, the group saw the desperate poverty and often unsanitary living conditions experienced by Indigenous people and witnessed the racial discrimination directed against them. In the town of Moree Indigenous children were banned from using the public swimming pool. In Bowraville the cinema was partitioned. And in Walgett Indigenous veterans were allowed into the Returned Soldiers' League only on Anzac Day.

SOURCE 1 As a young man, Charles Perkins regularly took the bus from Sydney University to his home in Bondi. Photojournalist Robert McFarlane captured this image in 1961, when Perkins was just beginning to gain attention for his activism.



SOURCE 2 The Freedom Riders prepare to set out in 1965, unsure of what awaits them.



DISCUSS

The image of Charles Perkins in **SOURCE 1** has been described as '**iconic**'. In what ways is it iconic? Discuss.

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

A hostile reception

As they drove 2300 kilometres around New South Wales, the Freedom Riders were subjected to a number of attacks. In Moree white women jeered and spat at the female students, while Jim Spiegelman was hit by a local. Perkins was threatened, punched in the back of the head and had an egg thrown down the back of his shirt. On a lonely country road, late at night, the students' bus was rammed by a farmer. Despite the physical toll taken on many Freedom Riders, the trip was an enormous success, attracting national and international media attention, and forcing Australians to confront the racial tensions and inequity that were still rife in many parts of the country. Perkins would later write, 'What we gave Aboriginal people in the towns we visited was hope. We stirred their imagination, their desire for human rights'.

SOURCE 3 The route the Freedom Riders followed



Source: Spatial Vision.

SOURCE 4 Diary entry from the Freedom Ride, Wellington

Went to settlement outside reserve. Police warned us not to go into reserve. Interviewed about ten tin shacks of people. Most of us found the questionnaires unsuitable. Houses of tin, mud floors, very overcrowded, kids had eye diseases, had to cart water (very unhealthy) from river. People fairly easy to talk to, kids quite friendly. General picture of extreme poverty but not a great deal of social discrimination. Got seven interviews on the settlement just outside the reserve, and two in the town. General picture of scarcity of jobs. Mainly garden work, which is very seasonal. Average of three months for year out of work. Some working on a dam nearby. Some did shearing jobs. Did not encounter or hear of any women with jobs at all. Did not seem to know much about social services etc.

Lunch 1.30. Apparently Jim S and a few others came across some discrimination in a pub. An aboriginal was allowed in only because he was with us. The publican said he only prevented aborigines from coming in 'if they were disorderly'. Charlie went in and there was some discussion between the barmaid and the publican before they served him. Some aborigines told us they had been kicked out of this pub, the 'Courthouse'. Left Wellington and arrived in Dubbo about 6.30 pm. Had tea, went for a swim, then to the Dubbo hotel. We noticed a sign above the doorway of the halfway hotel — 'Aborigines not allowed in the Lounge without the Licensee's permission'. We didn't do anything. Slept in the Methodist Church...

4.6.2 The legacy of the Freedom Ride

Newspaper and television coverage of the Freedom Ride created awareness and discussion in Australia about the racist injustices faced by Australia's First Peoples. This media attention and debate aided the campaign for removal of discrimination in the Australian Constitution, with the referendum in 1967 being carried. Charles Perkins had emerged as a national leader for Aboriginal Australians, and a role model for prosecuting a cause using non-violent means.

Charles Perkins's commitment to the Australian community was recognised at various points in his life. He became the Jaycees Young Man of the Year in 1966 and Aborigine of the Year in 1993; he was awarded the Order of Australia in 1987. He was elected to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), serving as its deputy chairman in 1994 and 1995, and remained committed to Indigenous activism until his death in October 2000.

Perkins was not the only Freedom Rider whose life would be dedicated to social justice. Jim Spiegelman would later become Chief Justice of the NSW Supreme Court. For his contribution to bringing about a fairer and more equitable society he would be appointed a Companion of the Order of Australia. Former medical student Andrew Refshauge would become the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. The Freedom Ride itself was an important event in the fight for Indigenous rights and freedoms and inspired a number of further 'freedom rides'.

SOURCE 5 In 2005, on the fortieth anniversary of Perkins's Freedom Ride, the bus set out again, filled with around 30 students and supported by the group reconciliACTION, who hoped to investigate how far country Australia had come in improving race relations since 1965.



4.6 ACTIVITIES

1. Using your local library or the internet, find out as much as you can about one of the towns visited by the Freedom Riders, including information about the Aboriginal population at the time of their visit.
   (a) Why do you think the group might have chosen to visit this town, based on what you have learned?
   (b) What do you think their impressions of the town would have been?
   (c) How might the locals have responded to them?
   Justify your claims using evidence such as facts, figures and photographs.

   Using historical sources as evidence
2. One of the significant elements of the Freedom Ride was that much of it was captured on film. What role do you think this played in the campaign? Research the incident in Walgett, NSW, where the vice-president of the Walgett Returned Service League Club was captured making racist comments on film.

   Using historical sources as evidence

4.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was Charles Perkins's background?
2. **HS1** What inspired Perkins to organise the bus ride in 1965?
3. **HS1** In what ways was the Freedom Ride about 'freedom'?
4. **HS1** What else was the trip about? How can you tell?
5. **HS1** What forms of resistance did the Freedom Riders encounter, and how did they combat them?
6. **HS1** Use evidence from this section to support the statement that Charles Perkins devoted his life to social justice for Indigenous people.

4.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What aspects of **SOURCE 1** might have led to its becoming an iconic image of Charles Perkins?
2. **HS3** Based on the body language and clothing worn by the students in **SOURCE 2**, what words would you use to describe them? Do you think they were prepared for what they would find on their Freedom Ride? Explain your answer.
3. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 3** to work out on average, the amount of time the Freedom Riders spent in each location.
4. **HS3** Using the same diary format as **SOURCE 4**, write a short entry from the perspective of a Freedom Rider after visiting the town of Moree. Your diary entry should include events, thoughts and feelings.
5. **HS3** How do the people shown in **SOURCE 5** appear to be paying respect to Charles Perkins and his role in the Freedom Rides of the 1960s?
6. **HS3** What improvements to race relations do you think that the 2005 Freedom Ride from **SOURCE 5** would have discovered?
7. **HS5** Identify both the short-term and long-term effects of the Freedom Ride of 1965. Display these in diagrammatic form.
8. **HS5** Do you think controversy and civil disturbance are good ways to attract media publicity to a cause? Why or why not?
9. **HS5** Can you think of any other ways in which the plight of Aboriginal people could have been publicised in 1965? Think creatively and take risks in offering possible solutions.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.7 Being counted

4.7.1 The right to vote

In the early 1960s, following challenges to racial segregation overseas, many Australians were becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the unfair treatment of Australia's Indigenous peoples. The government was also under international pressure to make their policies more inclusive.

In 1961 a parliamentary panel recommended that Indigenous people be allowed to vote in federal elections. In March 1962 the *Commonwealth Electoral Act* was amended to provide that Indigenous people could enrol to vote in federal elections. While it was compulsory for other Australians to enrol, this was not the case for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It was an offence for anyone to use undue influence or pressure to induce them to enrol. Once enrolled, however, voting was compulsory. It was not until 1971 that voting in state elections was made compulsory for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

In 1962 the right to vote in state/territory elections was also extended to Indigenous people in the Northern Territory and Western Australia. It would take another three years before Queensland would join other states in permitting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to vote in state elections.

SOURCE 1 Aboriginal people exercise their democratic right to vote at a polling booth in Bagot Settlement, Northern Territory, in 1962. Prior to this, all Territory Aborigines had been deemed wards of the state and therefore denied the right to vote.



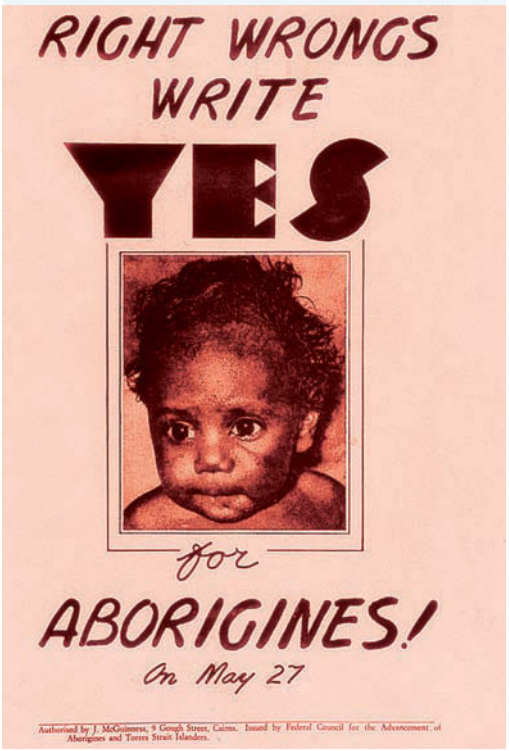
4.7.2 The 1967 Referendum

In 1967 there remained one area in which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were treated very differently from every other member of the Australian population: they were not counted in the national **census**. The census is a tool used by the government to count its citizens and extract important demographic information, such as their age and gender and where they live. This information can then be used to make appropriate plans for providing community services such as schooling, healthcare and housing.

The Australian Constitution stated, 'In reckoning the numbers of the people of the Commonwealth, or of a State or other part of the Commonwealth, aboriginal natives shall not be counted.' To Aboriginal activist Chicka Dixon, the message the Constitution conveyed was quite clear: 'It said the Australian Commonwealth Government would recognise all races of people other than Aboriginal — in other words, we didn't exist ... '

The only way to change the Constitution is to hold a **referendum**. Before 1967 there had been 26 referenda in Australia, only four of which had been carried (approved). For a proposal to succeed, a majority of voters must say 'yes'; also, the majority 'yes' vote must occur in a majority of states (that is, at least four).

SOURCE 2 A poster for the 'yes' vote



The referendum planned for 27 May 1967 would put two proposals to the Australian people:

- that Aboriginal people should be counted in the census
- that Aboriginal people should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth, not state governments, so that laws affecting them could be implemented consistently and fairly across Australia.

Before the vote a publicity campaign was organised and all eligible voters were sent a booklet spelling out the 'yes' and 'no' cases. Both proposals received overwhelming **bipartisan** support, with a staggering 90.7 per cent of votes in favour, the highest 'yes' vote ever recorded in a referendum in Australia.

SOURCE 3 This table was featured in an informative pamphlet provided to voters by the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines (FCAA) prior to the referendum. It summarises the rights that Indigenous people had in different states at the time.

Right	NSW	VIC	SA	WA	NT	QLD
Voting rights (state)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Marry freely	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Control own children	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Move freely	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Own property freely	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Receive award wages	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Alcohol allowed	No	No	No	No	No	No

4.7.3 From assimilation to integration

After Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had gained the rights to vote in federal elections and to be counted in the census, institutional discrimination began to soften. But the shift in policy from 'assimilation' to 'integration' was due, in large part, to the hundreds of thousands of new migrants who had entered the country since the end of World War II and were trying to find the balance between honouring their traditional beliefs, language and culture, and adopting the Australian way of life.

Unlike assimilation, **integration** policy did not require a person to deny their cultural background, including their language, in order to become a valuable member of society. Yet while integration was a step in the right direction, it fell short of recognising the true value of other cultures. Integration policy, like assimilation before it, still expected citizens to adapt to the needs of the country, rather than the other way around.

SOURCE 4 Pat O'Shane's reaction to the result of the 1967 referendum. From Pat O'Shane, 'Aboriginal People and Political Power', quoted in C. Cunneen and T. Libesman 1995, *Indigenous People and the Law in Australia*, Butterworth, Sydney, pp. 214–5.

My reaction to the referendum result was one of exhilaration. I thought that it was really going to sweep away the past, I suppose. I think probably to one degree or another we all felt that. I think those who had been really active in the campaign — certainly Aborigines and Islanders in the north, where I came from — felt that this was our liberation. Of course, it wasn't; it didn't work like that at all. The Queensland Act stayed there and the change to the Constitution didn't do anything to alter that situation. But it was liberating to this extent: the people actually knew, felt, believed that they were citizens of Australia. I think that made a very significant psychological difference to how we operated, because then it wasn't a question of our campaigns being directed at being recognised as Australian citizens but being able to fight other fights, wage other campaigns. So, it was an exhilarating experience for me and certainly for a lot of people that I worked with at that time.

4.7 ACTIVITY

Using your local library or the internet, learn more about the activists Chicka Dixon or Faith Bandler and their role in convincing Australians to vote 'yes' in 1967. Concentrate your research on your chosen activist's background and what might have motivated them to fight for this cause. **Using historical sources as evidence**

4.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Indicate whether each of the following statements is true or false.
   (a) The 1962 Electoral Act amendment was responsible for giving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples the right to vote in state elections.
   (b) Queensland extended the right to vote in state elections to its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population in 1965.
   (c) Under the 1962 Electoral Amendment Act, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were compelled to enrol to vote.
   (d) The census is an important tool in understanding the needs of a population.
   (e) The referendum of 1967 made Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples Australian citizens.
   (f) The proposals in the 1967 referendum were agreed to by the two major political parties.
2. **HS2** Construct a timeline to show all the dates and events outlined in section 4.7.1.
3. **HS1** What result is required for a referendum proposal to be successful?
4. **HS1** In what way was the Australian Constitution amended as a result of the 1967 referendum? Why was this important?
5. **HS1** As an official policy, do you think that integration was an improvement on assimilation? Explain your answer.
6. **HS1** Why was the integration policy still not ideal?

4.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Is **SOURCE 1** a primary or secondary source? Explain your choice.
2. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) What 'play on words' is used in the poster in **SOURCE 2**? Do you consider it an effective way of getting the message across?
   (b) Who authorised this poster? Would you regard this as a reliable source based on this authorisation?
   (c) What do you think the message on a poster in favour of a 'No' vote might be?
3. **HS3** After reading **SOURCE 4** about Pat O'Shane's recollections of the time around the referendum, explain what her reaction to the referendum result was. What were they celebrating?
4. **HS3** Do you believe that Chicka Dixon was justified in his comments about the Australian Constitution? Why or why not?
5. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 3**, based on the rights held by Aboriginal people in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia before the referendum, rank the states from best to worst. Why would you make this choice?
6. **HS5** Explain any differences between the two policies of assimilation and integration.
7. **HS5** Why did the shift from assimilation to integration happen?
8. **HS5** What was the impact of the shift?
9. **HS6** Evaluate the impact of the referendum on the move towards equal rights for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

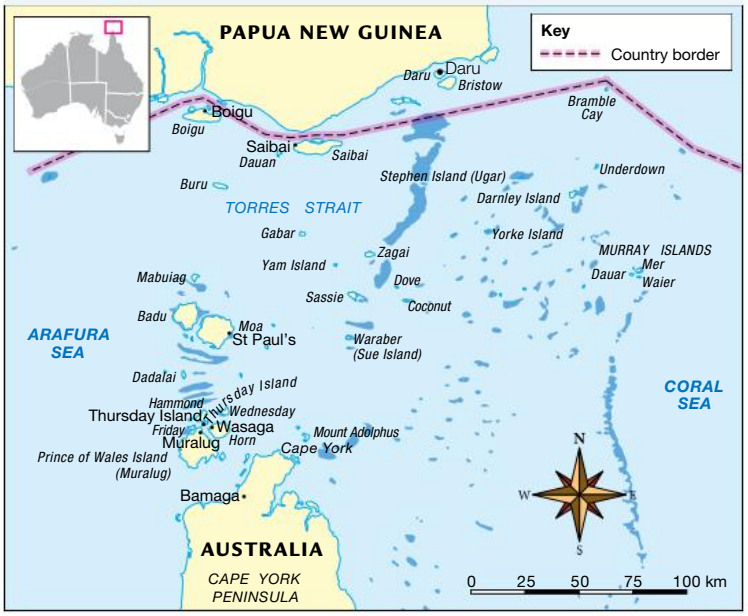
Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.8 Torres Strait Islander rights and freedoms

4.8.1 The Torres Strait Islander community today

Torres Strait Islander peoples are a separate people in origin, history and culture from Australia's mainland Aboriginal peoples. Traditionally, they lived on over 100 islands of the Torres Strait, close to the larger island of New Guinea. The islands became legally part of the state of Queensland in 1879.

SOURCE 1 A map showing the location of the Torres Strait Islands. Australia's border is shown by the pink dotted line. The administrative centre is Thursday Island.



Source: MAPgraphics Pty Ltd, Brisbane.

The 2016 census recorded Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population at 649 200, comprising 2.8 per cent of Australia's total population. Of these 649 200 citizens, 4.1 per cent (26 600) reported being of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander origin, and 5 per cent (32 400) were of Torres Strait Islander origin only. Thus, they can be regarded as a minority within a minority. Approximately 4000 live in the Torres Strait Islands, with the remainder of the population living in mainland Australia, predominantly Queensland.

While many of the causes identified by Aboriginal Australians historically and today are also relevant to Torres Strait Islanders, there remain specific issues that relate to their unique geographical and historical context.

SOURCE 2 The flag of the Torres Strait Islands portrays a white headdress (Dari) which is a symbol of the peoples who identify as Torres Strait Islanders. The five-pointed star symbolises the five major island groups. The green stripes represent the land, the black stripes the people and the blue the sea. In 1995, the federal government proclaimed the flag as a 'Flag of Australia', giving it legal recognition.



4.8.2 Struggles for recognition and rights

In the period from 1897, the Torres Strait Islander peoples were subject to the Queensland Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Acts. Reserves were established from 1912 and a curfew and pass system controlled the lives of the people.

The *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939* recognised Torres Strait Islanders as a separate people after a maritime strike that protested for Islanders' rights to control wages and their own affairs under the Protection Acts. However, the Department of Native Affairs established under the Queensland Department of Health and Home Affairs continued to control many aspects of island life.

SOURCE 3 An extract from the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939,* which recognised, in its definitions, the separate status of Torres Strait Islanders.

Definitions. **3.** In this Act, unless the context otherwise indicates, the following terms have the meanings set against them respectively, that is to say :—

Council. "Council"—The island council constituted under this Act ;

Director. "Director"—The Director of Native Affairs appointed under †"*The Aboriginals Preservation and Protection Act of* 1939" and charged with the administration of this Act : the term also includes the Deputy Director of Native Affairs or any officer who may be appointed as Assistant Director of Native Affairs ;

Islander. "Islander"—Any person who is—

(*a*) One of the native race of the Torres Strait islands,

(*b*) A descendant of the native race of the Torres Strait islands and is habitually associating with islanders as defined in paragraph (*a*) of this definition, or

TORRES STRAIT ISLANDERS. 17803

1939. *Torres Strait Islanders Act.* PART I.—PRELIMINARY.

(*c*) A person other than an islander as defined in paragraph (*a*) or (*b*) of this definition who is living on a reserve with an islander as so defined as wife or husband or any such person other than an official or person authorised by the protector who habitually associates on a reserve with islanders as so defined ;

"Minister"—The Secretary for Health and Home Affairs or other Minister of the Crown charged for the time being with the administration of this Act ; Minister.

"Prescribed"—Prescribed by this Act ; Prescribed.

"Protector"—The Protector of Islanders : the term shall also include the Deputy Protector of Islanders ; Protector.

"Regulations"—Regulations made under this Act ; Regulations.

"Reserve"—Any Torres Strait island or part of a Torres Strait island heretofore or hereafter granted in trust or reserved from sale or lease by the Governor in Council for the benefit of islanders under the provision of any law in force in Queensland relating to Crown lands ; Reserve.

"This Act"—This Act and all Proclamations, Orders in Council, regulations and by-laws thereunder ; This Act.

"Torres Strait island"—Any island north of eleven degrees south latitude which is part of the State of Queensland. Torres Strait island.

PART II.—

World War II discrimination

During World War II, more than 700 Torres Strait Islanders served in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion. Others served in support roles in the defence forces, although none were initially permitted to advance beyond the rank of corporal. They were paid only one-third of the European rate and were given no family allowance. Torres Strait Islander soldiers staged sit-down strikes in 1943 and 1944, with the result that the army authorities raised their pay rate to two-thirds the European rate, but lowering what had been full **repatriation** benefits by a third. It was not until 1983 that the federal government repaid the full amount to those who had served. In 2015, Australia's prime minister at the time, Tony Abbott, awarded medals to three surviving Torres Strait Islander war veterans (see **SOURCE 4**).

SOURCE 4 Former Prime Minister Tony Abbott awards a medal to Bamia Mast, a veteran of World War II service in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion.



Gaining the vote

As was the case for Aboriginal Australians, Torres Strait Islanders were not able to vote in federal elections until the passing of the Electoral Amendment Act in 1962. Torres Strait Islanders were denied the right to vote in state elections irrespective of whether they lived on island reserves in the Torres Strait or on the Queensland mainland. On 17 December 1965, the Elections Amendment Act was passed, extending voting rights to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people resident in Queensland. The first state election in which they were able to vote was held on 28 May 1966.

Torres Strait Islanders in national organisations

Torres Strait Islanders played an active role in national campaigns and organisations, particularly in the lead-up to the 1967 Referendum. The Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement became the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) in 1964 as a result of the work of Islanders such as Dulcie Flowers and Elia Ware. Elia Ware, a Torres Strait Islander from Moa, had served in the Torres Strait Light Infantry Battalion (see above) and became a foundation member of the Cairns Advancement League after moving there in the late 1950s. He was also active in the ongoing campaign to redress the discrimination against the Torres Strait Islander men who had served in the Light Infantry Batallion.

The Torres Strait Regional Authority

The Torres Strait Regional Authority (TSRA) was established on 1 July 1994 in response to local demands for greater autonomy. It is a Commonwealth statutory authority governed by the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Act 2005*. Torres Strait Islanders felt that they needed a separate organisation to deal with issues specifically relevant to their culture and their region (**ailan kastom**).

Today, the Authority has a Board consisting of 20 elected members who are all Torres Strait Islander or Aboriginal persons living in the region. They are elected every four years by their individual communities. The TSRA administers a Torres Strait Development Plan which contributes to closing the gap between Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal peoples in the Torres Strait region and non-Indigenous people in mainland Australia.

SOURCE 5 An extract from the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Act 2005*

142A Functions of TSRA

Functions

1. The TSRA has the following functions:
   a. to recognise and maintain the special and unique Ailan Kastom of Torres Strait Islanders living in the Torres Strait area;
   b. to formulate and implement programs for Torres Strait Islanders, and Aboriginal persons, living in the Torres Strait area;
   c. to monitor the effectiveness of programs for Torres Strait Islanders, and Aboriginal persons, living in the Torres Strait area, including programs conducted by other bodies;
   d. to develop policy proposals to meet national, State and regional needs and priorities of Torres Strait Islanders, and Aboriginal persons, living in the Torres Strait area;
   e. to assist, advise and co-operate with Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal communities, organisations and individuals at national, State, Territory and regional levels;
   f. to advise the Minister on:
      i. matters relating to Torres Strait Islander affairs, and Aboriginal affairs, in the Torres Strait area, including the administration of legislation;
      ii. the co-ordination of the activities of other Commonwealth bodies that affect Torres Strait Islanders, or Aboriginal persons, living in the Torres Strait area;
   g. when requested by the Minister, to provide information or advice to the Minister on any matter specified by the Minister;
   h. to take such reasonable action as it considers necessary to protect Torres Strait Islander and Aboriginal cultural material and information relating to the Torres Strait area if the material or information is considered sacred or otherwise significant by Torres Strait Islanders or Aboriginal persons;...

4.8 ACTIVITY

Undertake some research into the current issues that are of importance to Torres Strait Islander peoples. Do they have any similarities with the issues of importance to Aboriginal Australians? **Identifying continuity and change**

4.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why can Torres Strait Islanders be described as 'a minority within a minority'?
2. **HS1** Do all Torres Strait Islanders live in the Torres Strait Islands? Explain.
3. **HS1** Do Torres Strait Islanders share a common origin and culture with Aboriginal peoples on the Australian mainland? Explain.

4. **HS1** What was the outcome of the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939*?
5. **HS1** Identify examples of discrimination against Torres Strait Islander men who served in World War II.
6. **HS1** When did Torres Strait Islander peoples gain the right to vote in:
   (a) federal elections
   (b) state elections?
7. **HS1** Who was Elia Ware and what were his achievements?
8. **HS1** Explain *ailan kastom.*

4.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Study the map in **SOURCE 1**. How does this map show how geography might have influenced the identity, history and culture of Torres Strait Islander peoples?
2. **HS3** How could the Torres Strait Island flag shown in **SOURCE 2** be considered a historical source?
3. **HS3** According to the extract from the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939* (**SOURCE 3**), what was the definition of an Islander? Why was this definition of legal and historical significance?
4. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 4** and describe what is taking place. Why was this of historical significance to Torres Strait Islander peoples?
5. **HS3** Is **SOURCE 5** a primary or secondary source? How does it provide evidence for the recognition of *ailan kastom* in the Torres Strait Islands?
6. **HS3** Consider whether the sources in this subtopic support or deny a claim that Torres Strait Islanders have the right to be considered a separate Indigenous group within Australia. What might be the advantages and disadvantages of such separateness?
7. **HS4** Create a timeline to show the significant milestones covered in this subtopic in the history of Torres Strait Islander peoples' journey towards rights and freedoms.
8. **HS6** In the light of Australia's honouring of non-Indigenous men and women who served in World War II, how significant is it for Torres Strait Islander service to be recognised? Write a paragraph expressing your view.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.9 The Aboriginal Tent Embassy

4.9.1 The Yirrkala petition

In the late eighteenth century, proof of sovereignty (exclusive rights) over land, under European law, required evidence of fencing, farming or settlement. Captain James Cook saw no such evidence when exploring the east coast of Australia, and proclaimed the country *terra nullius*. Believing that the land belonged to no one, he legally claimed it for the British Crown in 1770. It would be almost 200 years before this claim would be challenged in Australia's courts.

The **land rights** movement began in 1963 when the Yolngu people from Yirrkala (in the Northern Territory) sent a bark petition to federal parliament. Signed by 17 Aboriginal leaders, it protested the government's decision to allow a mining company to mine bauxite on their traditional land. Encouraged by the support they received for this action, the Yolngu lodged a challenge in the Northern Territory Supreme Court in 1968. Three years later, Justice Blackburn ruled that, while the Indigenous system of law and the people's longstanding association with the land were recognised, British law had replaced these after 1788. This decision angered many Indigenous people, whose expectations had been raised by the outcome of the 1967 referendum. On Australia Day 1972, Prime Minister William McMahon proclaimed that 'land rights would threaten the **tenure** of every Australian'.

SOURCE 1 The Yirrkala bark petition, sent to federal parliament in 1963. A transcript of the text is shown in **SOURCE 2**.



SOURCE 2 Transcript of the text of the Yirrkala petition

TO THE HONOURABLE SPEAKER AND MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Undersigned aboriginal people of Yirrkala, being members of the Balamumu, Narrkala, Gapiny, Miliwurrwurr people and Djapu, Mangalili, Madarrpa, Magarrwanalmirri, Djambarrpuynu, Gumaitj, Marrakulu, Galpu, Dhaluangu, Wangurri, Warramirri, Naymil, Riritjingu, tribes respectfully showeth.

1. That nearly 500 people of the above tribes are residents of the land excised from the Aboriginal Reserve in Arnhem Land.
2. That the procedures of the excision of this land and the fate of the people on it were never explained to them beforehand, and were kept secret from them.
3. That when Welfare Officers and Government officials came to inform them of decisions taken without them and against them, they did not undertake to convey to the Government in Canberra the views and feelings of the Yirrkala aboriginal people.
4. That the land in question has been hunting and food gathering land for the Yirrkala tribes from time immemorial: we were all born here.
5. That places sacred to the Yirrkala people, as well as vital to their livelihood are in the excised land, especially Melville Bay.
6. That the people of this area fear that their needs and interests will be completely ignored as they have been ignored in the past, and they fear that the fate which has overtaken the Larrakeah tribe will overtake them.
7. And they humbly pray that the Honourable the House of Representatives will appoint a Committee, accompanied by competent interpreters, to hear the views of the people of Yirrkala before permitting the excision of this land.
8. They humbly pray that no arrangements be entered into with any company which will destroy the livelihood and independence of the Yirrkala people.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray God to help you and us.

4.9.2 The Tent Embassy

On the day of Prime Minister McMahon's announcement in 1972, Aboriginal activists erected a beach umbrella on the lawn outside Parliament House. The umbrella was accompanied by a sign that read 'Aboriginal **Embassy**'. Soon the grounds were filled with tents and activists as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples asserted their right to occupy their traditional lands. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy, as it became known, quickly drew media attention along with further support and controversy. It was a visible demonstration of Australian Indigenous peoples' desire to move beyond the policies of assimilation and integration, towards an official recognition of their right to determine their own future.

SOURCE 3 An artist's impression of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 1972



A The Embassy flew the Aboriginal flag, which had recently been designed by Luritja man and artist Harold Thomas.

B While most of the 2000 supporters demonstrated peacefully, throughout 1972 some protesters scuffled with police, leading to a number of arrests.

C In 1972, members of the national and international press began to take notice. Their coverage helped to make the Tent Embassy a symbol of the worldwide struggle for civil rights.

D Placards were a constant reminder of what the group was fighting for.

4.9 ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss the following with a classmate:
   (a) Why might the activists have chosen to call their camp an 'embassy'?
   (b) How might events have turned out differently if they had not placed that sign above their tents?

   Analysing cause and effect
2. Using **SOURCE 3** and your own research, write a newspaper article that could have been written in 1972 explaining the purpose of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy and the public response to it. In your article, engage the reader by making them feel as if they're there with you. **Using historical sources as evidence**

4.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why did Captain Cook believe Australia belonged to no-one?
2. **HS1** Why did the Yolngu people want to control their own land?
3. **HS1** What, according to Prime Minister McMahon, was the major reason for not granting the Yolngu people rights over their land?
4. **HS1** What did the Aboriginal Tent Embassy represent?
5. **HS1** What was controversial about it?

4.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What does the Yirrkala petition (see **SOURCES 1** and **2**) represent about the Yolngu people and Aboriginal Australians more generally? In your answer, refer to what you know of the content of the document, as well as its physical form.
2. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) How useful is a source like this? Evaluate its importance.
   (b) Would a photograph be more or less useful in its place? Explain your answer.
3. **HS5** Create a timeline titled 'The struggle for land rights' that begins in 1770 and ends in the present. Include on your timeline all the important dates from this subtopic. Make sure to annotate them so you will remember why these dates are important.
4. **HS6** The Tent Embassy has been removed and rebuilt several times, but still exists on the lawns of Old Parliament House. Some people believe it is a cultural icon and should be preserved, while others view it as an eyesore and believe it should be removed. Which perspective do you agree with, and why? What other perspectives might be relevant to this discussion?
5. **HS6** The Aboriginal Tent Embassy flew the Aboriginal flag. What was so significant about flying this flag at the time? Does it still have the same significance today?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.10 Land rights and protests

4.10.1 The Gurindji Strike

After the Yolngu people's unsuccessful bid to regain their land in 1963, it seemed to many that Indigenous land rights might never be recognised by the government. Then in 1966, fed up with their poor treatment, a group of Indigenous workers walked off the Wave Hill cattle station, owned by the British aristocrat Lord Vestey. This simple act of defiance, which began as a strike, would eventually become the first successful land rights case in Australia, setting the **precedent** for many others.

Since 1914 the Vestey family had owned the Wave Hill cattle station, which covered the traditional lands of the Gurindji people. Working conditions on the station were hard. Aboriginal workers complained of low pay, disrespectful treatment by white workers and poor living conditions — claims that had been confirmed by official reports. Dissatisfaction with these conditions had already led to at least three strikes or protests on the property — in 1949, 1952 and 1955.

On 23 August 1966, about 200 Aboriginal stockmen, domestic servants and their families walked off the property. Under the leadership of a Gurindji elder named Vincent Lingiari, the group moved to Wattie Creek (known as Daguragu to the Gurindji people), an area also officially owned by Lord Vestey. Daguragu was chosen as a suitable place to camp both because it contained a number of sacred Gurindji sites and because it provided a reliable source of fresh drinking water.

Vestey sent a member of the Anti-Slavery Society in London to visit Wave Hill and assess the situation. On recommendation, the Vestey company volunteered to surrender half the Wave Hill lease area. However, the government did not allow the transfer because Indigenous land rights were not recognised at that time.

Instead, the government offered Indigenous workers a raise in wages and new houses that would be built at Wave Hill. The protesters refused, insisting that they should be given the same wages as white employees. As the 'Wave Hill mob' set up camp, it became clear that this would be a struggle not only for better working conditions, but for ownership of their traditional lands.

SOURCE 1 Ted Egan was a supporter of the Gurindji people's battle to take ownership of their traditional lands. During the Wave Hill walk-off, he interviewed Gurindji leader Vincent Lingiari and told his story through the song 'Gurindji Blues', which was recorded in 1969. The sales of the single helped finance the Aboriginal Tent Embassy for its first six months.

Gurindji Blues

My name is Vincent Lingiari, came
from Daguragu, Wattie Creek Station.
Poor bugger me Gurindji
Me bin sit down this country
Long time before the Lord Vestey
Allabout land belongin' to We
Oh poor bugger me, Gurindji.
Poor bugger blackfeller; Gurindji
Long time work no wages, we,
Work for the good old Lord Vestey
Little bit flour; sugar and tea
For the Gurindji, from Lord Vestey
Oh poor bugger me.
Poor bugger me, Gurindji,
Man called Vincent Lingiari
Talk long allabout Gurindji
'Daguragu place for we,
Home for we, Gurindji:
But poor bugger blackfeller, Gurindji
Government boss him talk long we
'We'll build you house with electricity
But at Wave Hill, for can't you see
Wattie Creek belong to Lord Vestey'
Oh poor bugger me.
Poor bugger me, Gurindji
Up come Mr. Frank Hardy
ABSCHOL too and talk long we
Givit hand long Gurindji
Buildim house and plantim tree
Longa Wattie Creek for Gurindji
But poor bugger blackfeller Gurindji
Government Law him talk long we
'Can't givit land long blackfeller, see
Only spoilim Gurindji'
Oh poor bugger me.
Poor bugger me, Gurindji
Peter Nixon talk long we:
'Buy you own land, Gurindji
Buyim back from the Lord Vestey'
Oh poor bugger me, Gurindji.
Poor bugger blackfeller Gurindji
Suppose we buyim back country
What you reckon proper fee?
Might be flour, sugar and tea
From the Gurindji to Lord Vestey?
Oh poor bugger me.
Oh ngaiyu luyurr ngura-u
Sorry my country, Gurindji.

From little things, big things grow

Within the Aboriginal community, word of the walk-off spread quickly. In 1966 and 1967 strikes and protests sprung up at stations across the Northern Territory, led in part by organisers of the Wave Hill protest.

Australian author Frank Hardy had left Sydney in 1967 to undertake a radical project: he wanted to find the 'real Australia' — the Australia celebrated in the poetry of earlier writers such as Banjo Paterson. Instead, he found Indigenous people being mistreated and living in what he referred to as an 'unofficial apartheid'. After spending time with the organisers of the Wave Hill walk-off, he went back to the city, where he arranged press conferences and lobbied politicians in an attempt to bring the plight of the Gurindji people to their attention.

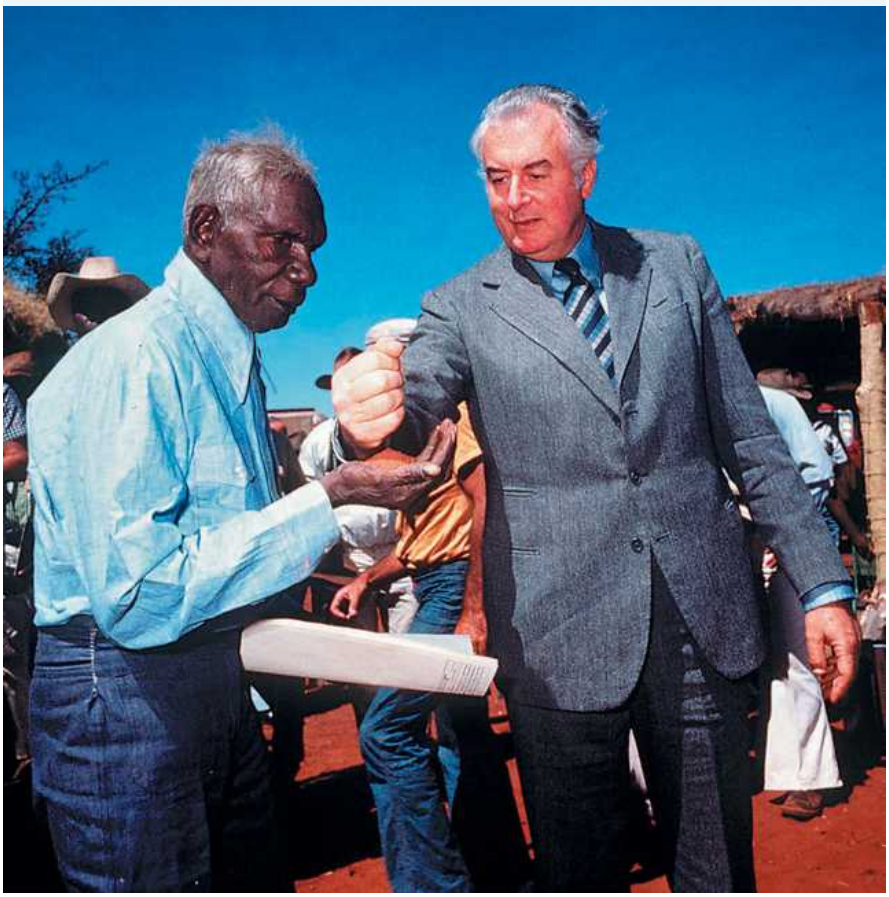
As the national press picked up the story, the broader Australian community began to support the action, some even making the journey to Wave Hill to offer their support to the strikers. Finally the Gurindji people were no longer alone in their cry to take back their land.

SOURCE 2 Protesters Vincent Lingiari (right) and Mick Rangiari (left) stand beside a sign made for them by the author Frank Hardy.



On 16 August 1975 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam 'handed back' 300 000 square kilometres of the Gurindji people's traditional lands, declaring, 'I want to acknowledge that we Australians have still much to do to redress the injustice and oppression that has for so long been the lot of Black Australians.' As a symbolic gesture, he poured sand from the river bank at Daguragu into Vincent Lingiari's hands.

SOURCE 3 In this photograph, captured by Australia's first Aboriginal press photographer, Mervyn Bishop, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam pours sand into the hands of Vincent Lingiari to mark the return of the Gurindji people's traditional lands.



4.10.2 Moves towards land rights and native title

The most significant decision on land rights and native title came from what might have seemed an unlikely place, the Torres Strait Islands. Throughout the 1970s, the Queensland government, which administered the Torres Strait Islands, had indicated to Islanders that although they occupied their traditional lands, they were not the legal owners of them.

The Mabo decision

In 1982 a group of Indigenous people from Mer Island, in the eastern part of the Torres Strait, challenged the right of the government to prevent Islanders from using their lands. They took their case to the Queensland Supreme Court. The group was led by Eddie Koiki Mabo. After the court ruled against them, the Meriam Islanders appealed to the High Court of Australia. On 3 June 1992 the High Court made a historic ruling: the Meriam people of the Torres Strait *did* have **native title** over their traditional lands. The 'Mabo decision', as it became known, was important for all Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because it recognised under law that European settlement of Australia did not automatically wipe out native title. At the same time, it created some confusion as to how decisions on native title should be made.

SOURCE 4 Mer Island, the traditional land of the Meriam people, and subject of the Mabo case, was known as Murray Island to white settlers.



Who was Eddie Mabo?

The man who led the Meriam Islanders to victory was born on Mer Island in 1936 and had no formal education beyond primary school. He had become politically active in the 1970s, but his views on the importance of native title only became clear during a conference he attended at James Cook University in 1981. At this conference, titled Land Rights and the Future of Australian Race Relations, Mabo was exposed to some of the leading minds dealing with the complexities of native title, many of whom would become his supporters after he launched his landmark case in 1982. He would continue fighting for land rights until his death a decade later.

SOURCE 5 In this 'manifesto', Eddie Mabo states some of his aims in launching a native title case against the Queensland government in 1981.

My name is Edward Mabo, but my island name is Koiki. My family has occupied the land here for hundreds of years before Captain Cook was born. They are now trying to say I cannot own it. The present Queensland Government is a friendly enemy of the black people as they like to give you the bible and take away your land. We should stop calling them boss. We must be proud to live in our own palm leaf houses like our fathers before us.

Source: © Mabo Family Collection. In website: Mabo The Native Title Revolution (http://www.mabonativetitle.com/info/myNameIsEddieMabo.htm, accessed 22 November 2019)

DID YOU KNOW?

The Mabo decision meant that the High Court recognised that native title existed under Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' customary law that had existed in Australia prior to 1788.

Native title

The *Native Title Act 1993* was the federal government's way of clarifying the law relating to the Mabo case and providing the legal means to deal with future land rights claims. To succeed in a claim, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had to prove they have had a 'traditional connection' with the land since 1788, and that their interests had not been 'extinguished' (overridden) by the granting of other rights. According to the Act, those who believed they had a valid claim must apply to the Native Title Tribunal, which would work with Aboriginal representative bodies, as well as land councils, mining companies and other interested parties, to negotiate claims under the direction of the Federal Court.

DID YOU KNOW?

To date, around 15 per cent of Australia has been legally recognised as belonging to Indigenous peoples under native title claims.

The Wik case

Since settlement, the Australian government had granted leases to **pastoralists** so they could raise herds of cattle or sheep on large tracts of land. These leases meant that the pastoralists could use the land but they did not, in many cases, stop other people, many of them Indigenous, from using the land as well.

In *Wik Peoples vs Queensland*, the High Court ruled that a pastoral lease did not necessarily extinguish native title. Rather, native title rights could coexist with pastoral leases but, if Indigenous rights conflicted with pastoralists' activities, these pastoralists' rights would prevail. This was a major blow to the Wik people, and to other Indigenous groups seeking land rights. However, it was a coup for many politicians, who had been voted in by non-Indigenous Australians concerned that they might lose their land through native title claims.

SOURCE 6 Conservative politician Pauline Hanson was voted into the Queensland seat of Oxley in the 1996 federal election. She was one of the leading voices calling for land rights to be repealed following the Wik decision. In this excerpt from her first speech to Parliament in 1996, she focuses on what she saw as an unfair granting of land to people under native title.

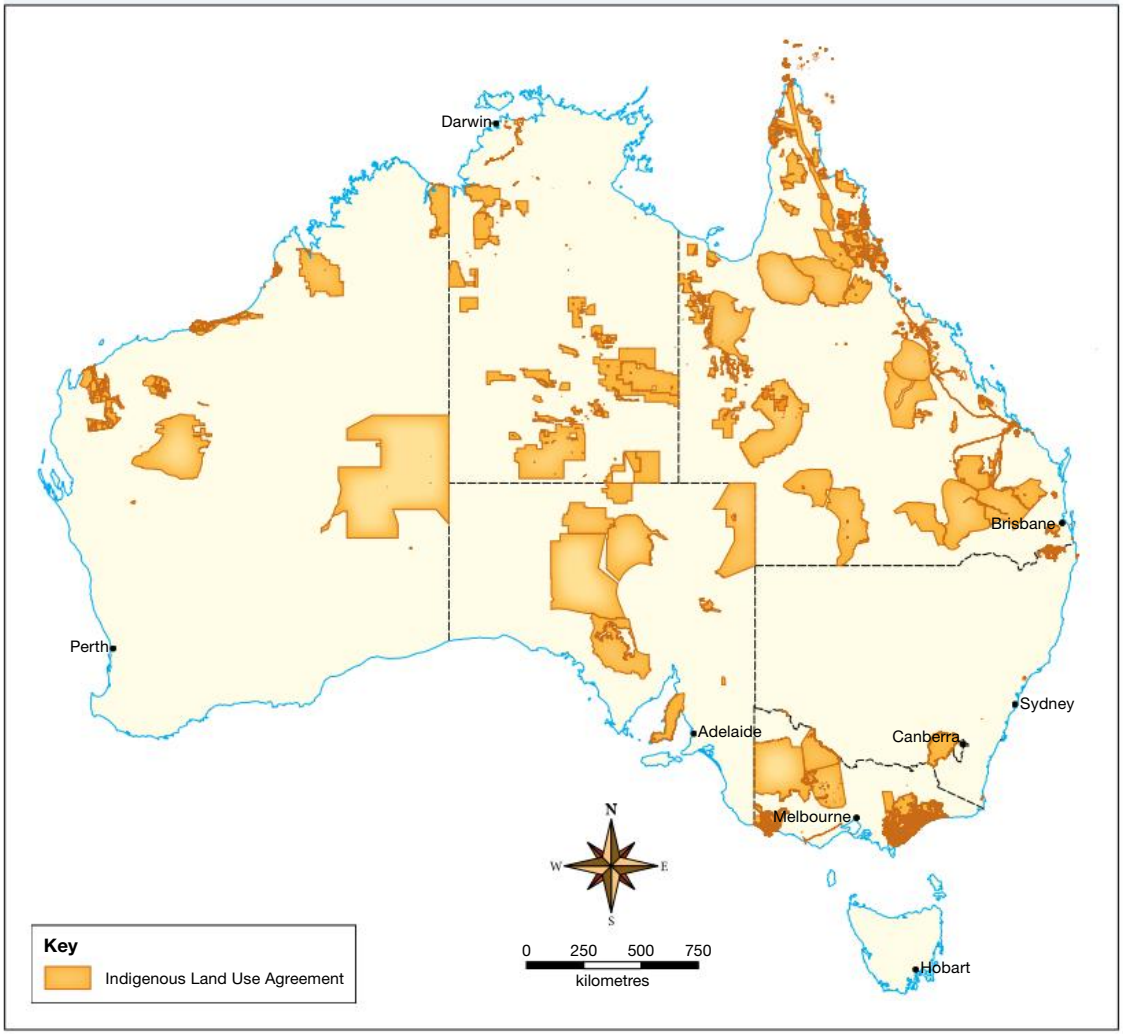
... This nation is being divided into black and white, and the present system encourages this. I am fed up with being told, 'This is our land.' Well, where the hell do I go? I was born here, and so were my parents and children. I will work beside anyone and they will be my equal but I draw the line when told I must pay and continue paying for something that happened over 200 years ago. Like most Australians, I worked for my land; no-one gave it to me.

Prime Minister John Howard, declaring that 'the pendulum has swung too far the way of Aborigines in the argument', was ready to deliver a 10-point plan to alter the Native Title Act that would see a greater number of native title claims extinguished. Labor, the Greens and the Democrats argued that the plan needed to be softened. Both sides needed the support of Independent Senator Brian Harradine. Finally, after one of the longest debates federal parliament has ever seen, the senator threw his support behind Labor, the Greens and the Democrats. The plan was passed, but with a number of conditions, including that it would be subject to the Racial Discrimination Act, Australia's protection against racist legislation.

Beginning in 1998, the Native Title Tribunal was given responsibility for working with native title holders and other interested parties to negotiate Indigenous Land Use Agreements (ILUAs). These agreements would allow use of the land based on terms that suited both parties. From a slow start, with only six ILUAs registered up to 2000, by 2011 more than 500 had been put in place across the country.

The distribution of these first agreements is shown in **SOURCE 7**. Since 2011, agreement numbers have increased significantly. In 2019, there were nearly 1300 registered agreements, covering almost one-third of the country.

SOURCE 7 Distribution of Indigenous Land Use Agreements established from 1998 to 2011. Since 2011, the number of agreements has more than doubled, with over 2.5 million square kilometres of land and nearly 40 000 square kilometres of sea area now registered under an agreement of some kind.



Source: Map by Spatial Vision, based on National Native Title Tribunal Indigenous Land Uste Agreements map © Commonwealth of Australia 2008–2011.

DISCUSS

Which of the events in this subtopic do you think was most significant to the land rights movement? Why do you think this is so? Do other people in your class have different opinions? **[Personal and Social Capability]**

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- Rights and freedoms > **Indigenous rights**

4.10 ACTIVITIES

1. Many Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists and writers have supported the land rights movement. Using research, find a variety of these texts and explain how they persuade their audience to agree with their point of view. **Using historical sources as evidence**
2. Write your own narrative poem or song, based on 'Gurindji Blues', that tells the story of one of the other struggles for land rights mentioned in this subtopic. You may need to conduct further research to develop your ideas more fully. **Identifying continuity and change**

4.10 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.10 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why did the Gurindji people walk off the Wave Hill cattle station in 1966?
2. **HS1** Who was Vincent Lingiari? Why is he considered a significant person in the struggle for Aboriginal rights?
3. **HS1** Why did the government refuse to allow the land transfer that the Vestey family offered?
4. **HS1** What did the protesters do as a result?
5. **HS1** What was the 'Mabo Decision'?
6. **HS1** Who was Eddie Mabo?
7. **HS1** In what way might it be ironic that Eddie Mabo decided to launch his native title claim at a university named after the explorer James Cook?
8. **HS1** What was the importance of the *Native Title Act 1993*?
9. **HS1** What was the finding of the *Wik Peoples vs Queensland* case in the High Court? How was this finding a blow to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?

4.10 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3 SOURCE 1** is a ballad written by Ted Egan. It tells the story of the reasons behind the Wave Hill walk-off.
   (a) What were the main problems that the Gurindji had with their treatment at Wave Hill?
   (b) Why do you think the artist suggests buying back Gurindji land with 'flour, sugar and tea'?
   (c) Do you think this is a useful source for historians studying the Wave Hill walk-off? Explain.
2. **HS3** Explain the symbolism inherent in **SOURCES 2** and **3**. How could both acts be said to represent the changing perceptions of white Australia towards the rights of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the late 1960s?
3. **HS3** What do the two names of Mer/Murray Island in **SOURCE 4** symbolise?
4. **HS3 SOURCES 5** and **6** express contrasting views of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' struggle for native title. Based on these sources, who do you believe makes a stronger case? Explain your view.
5. **HS3 SOURCE 7** depicts the Indigenous Land Use Agreements across Australia as of 2011. Where are the greatest number of ILUAs situated? Where are the fewest? What might this suggest about Indigenous peoples in these areas? Discuss with a classmate.
6. **HS4** The Mabo case is considered a turning point in the struggle by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to secure land rights. Explain why it was so significant.
7. **HS4** Why might it be difficult for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to show they have a 'traditional connection' to the land? Think of the type of evidence usually required to prove a case in court. Why might Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples not have this type of evidence?
8. **HS3** Examine all the sources in this subtopic. Which one do you think is the most effective in conveying its message? Explain why.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.11 Reconciliation

4.11.1 Perspectives on the road to reconciliation

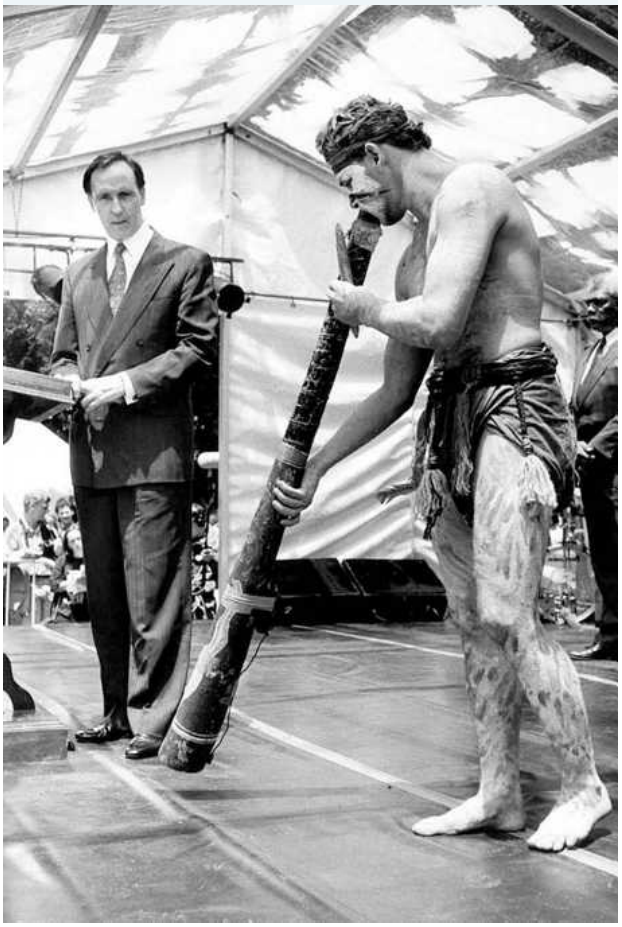
Reconciliation — the coming together of parties divided by difference — is rarely a single event; rather, it is based on the sum of many special moments that together heal the hurt. This is particularly so when the reconciliation involves two groups of citizens separated by a long history of injustice, misunderstanding and resentment, as has been the case for Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and those who came here after 1788.

In 1991, the federal parliament passed the Council for Reconciliation Act. As a result, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was formed with representatives from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups.

The Redfern Speech

Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating was known for his skill as a public speaker. In 1992, at the Australian launch of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People in Redfern, a Sydney suburb that was home to a large Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples community, he made one of the greatest speeches of his career. In this speech, he spoke of the need for the nation to acknowledge the harm caused to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples through the policies of previous governments. He said that there was nothing to fear or lose by recognising 'historical truth', and that social democracy should be extended to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians. The Redfern Speech, as it was known, would be — for many — the first step in the long road to reconciliation between Australia's Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

SOURCE 1 Prime Minister Paul Keating delivers the Redfern Speech on 10 December 1992, to mark the beginning of the International Year of the World's Indigenous People.



Bringing Them Home

In 1995 Prime Minister Keating commissioned a report into Australia's Stolen Generations. Titled *Bringing Them Home*, the 'Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families' (1997) outlined the process by which Indigenous children were taken from their families in the name of protection. These children would become known as the Stolen Generations (see subtopic 4.4). Through the voices of those who had experienced separation, and the organisations established to represent Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, the report painted a stark picture of the mistreatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and their families by the Aborigines Welfare Board. The report also revealed the ongoing effects of forced removal on the Stolen Generations and their families. These included a higher incidence of depression, poverty and crime, and a lower level of education. A lack of role models had also made it difficult for many members of the Stolen Generations to raise their own families. On the first anniversary of the day the report was tabled, 26 May was declared National Sorry Day.

Refusing to say sorry

While all state and territory governments and the churches publicly apologised to the Stolen Generations following the release of *Bringing Them Home*, the federal government — then led by Prime Minister John Howard — refused to apologise. This could, in part, be explained by the government's fear that admitting **culpability** would lead to a landslide of claims for compensation. But it also reflected the reluctance of many Australians to accept **moral** responsibility for the acts of previous generations. This view was shared by Howard, who claimed to support reconciliation but 'not of the apologetic, shame-laden, guilt-ridden type'. He said that millions of Australians would never entertain the notion of apologising to Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because they would refuse to accept responsibility for past events.

SOURCE 2 Sir William Deane, a former High Court judge who had presided over the Mabo case, was appointed to the office of governor-general in 1996. In August the same year he made a passionate plea to the Australian people. It forms part of the introduction to the *Bringing Them Home* report.

It should, I think, be apparent to all well-meaning people that true reconciliation between the Australian nation and its Indigenous peoples is not achievable in the absence of acknowledgement by the nation of the wrongfulness of the past dispossession, oppression and degradation of the Aboriginal peoples. That is not to say that individual Australians who had no part in what was done in the past should feel or acknowledge personal guilt. It is simply to assert our identity as a nation and the basic fact that national shame, as well as national pride, can and should exist in relation to past acts and omissions, at least when done or made in the name of the community or with the authority of government...

One key difference between those who were prepared to say sorry to Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and those who were not was the way in which they viewed Australia's past. Some people believed that the arrival of white people in Australia symbolised the beginning of civilisation and progress in Australia (known as the 'three cheers' view of history), while others viewed it as the start of a brutal invasion (the 'black armband' view of history). In relation to the Stolen Generations, the former believed that the government had removed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their homes for their own good, while the latter often claimed that this was another attempt to **eradicate** Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians.

SOURCE 3 John Howard presented his views on Australian history in parliament, under a motion on the topic of racial tolerance, on 30 October 1996. He would reiterate these views over the months that followed.

I profoundly reject... what others have described, and I have adopted the description, as the black armband view of Australian history. I believe the balance sheet of Australian history is a very generous and benign one. I believe that, like any other nation, we have black marks upon our history but amongst the nations of the world we have a remarkably positive history. I think there is a yearning in the Australian community right across the political divide for its leaders to enunciate more pride and sense of achievement in what has gone before us. I think we have been too apologetic about our history in the past. I think we have been far too self-conscious about what this country has achieved and I believe it is tremendously important that we understand, particularly as we approach the centenary of the Federation of Australia, that the Australian achievement has been a heroic one, a courageous one and a humanitarian one.

4.11.2 Positive moves forward

The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was designed to legally protect the rights of all children. Australia signed the Convention in 1990. The Convention granted Indigenous children the right to life, health and education (including education about the child's own cultural identity, language

and values), and the right to family. The Convention also prohibited discrimination against Indigenous children, and granted them protection from physical or mental violence, injury, abuse, maltreatment or exploitation. In 2005, the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child congratulated the authors of *Bringing Them Home* for illuminating the hardships faced by members of the Stolen Generations, but made a number of recommendations for continuing to improve life for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children. The Committee also recommended that the nation address issues including the disproportionately high number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in out of home care (such as orphanages and foster homes) and in juvenile detention centres.

Australia offers an apology

In 2007 the federal Labor Party gained power under the leadership of Kevin Rudd. In his acceptance speech, he vowed to be a 'Prime Minister for all Australians'. Immediately, plans were made to offer the nation's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples a formal apology. The parliamentary year began with politicians being treated to a 'Welcome to Country' ceremony, the first ever held at Parliament House. As the sounds of a didgeridoo echoed through the halls of Parliament House, Matilda House-Williams, a Ngambri elder, welcomed both the Prime Minister and the Opposition Leader to her traditional lands.

On 13 February 2008, in front of parliamentarians as well as members of the public, including members of the Stolen Generations, the prime minister acknowledged the harm caused to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and the unfairness of past government policies. He pledged that Australia would never again allow such injustice to occur. Then he encouraged both sides of the house to work together to 'close the gap' between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous Australians. The speech received a standing ovation, both from those within the parliament, and from the crowds watching the broadcast on large screens in every capital city. Rudd's speech was regarded by many as a great step towards achieving reconciliation. Of the 360 words that made up his apology that day, however, the crowds had come to hear only one — 'Sorry'.

SOURCE 4 Ngambri elder Matilda House-Williams welcomes Prime Minister Rudd and Opposition Leader Brendan Nelson to parliament.



Following the prime minister's speech, Dr Brendan Nelson, the leader of the Opposition, reiterated his party's position, stating, 'Our generation does not own these actions, nor should it feel guilt for what was done in many, but certainly not all cases, with the best intentions.' In many of the nation's capital cities, his words were drowned out by boos and hisses from the crowd.

Aboriginal leader Pat Dodson, regarded by many as the father of reconciliation, described the apology as 'a **seminal** moment in the nation's history'. While many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples welcomed the apology, there were those who felt that the prime minister hadn't gone far enough. John Moriarty, a successful businessman who has held positions in Aboriginal Affairs departments at state and federal levels, said, 'It doesn't get down to the real crux of the issue, in my view, that people like me were taken away from their full-blooded mothers to breed out the culture. It doesn't come to that. It doesn't hit home with me.'

SOURCE 5 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's formal apology to members of the Stolen Generations in February 2008. This speech is viewed as a key moment in the struggle for reconciliation.

Today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history.

We reflect on their past mistreatment.

We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations — this blemished chapter in our nation's history.

The time has now come for the nation to turn a new page in Australia's history by righting the wrongs of the past and so moving forward with confidence to the future.

We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians.

We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country.

For the pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry.

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry.

And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry.

We the Parliament of Australia respectfully request that this apology be received in the spirit in which it is offered as part of the healing of the nation.

For the future we take heart; resolving that this new page in the history of our great continent can now be written.

We today take this first step by acknowledging the past and laying claim to a future that embraces all Australians.

A future where this Parliament resolves that the injustices of the past must never, never happen again.

A future where we harness the determination of all Australians, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to close the gap that lies between us in life expectancy, educational achievement and economic opportunity.

A future where we embrace the possibility of new solutions to enduring problems where old approaches have failed.

A future based on mutual respect, mutual resolve and mutual responsibility.

A future where all Australians, whatever their origins, are truly equal partners, with equal opportunities and with an equal stake in shaping the next chapter in the history of this great country, Australia.

While much is still to be done to achieve lasting reconciliation, gestures such as the federal government's willingness to say sorry symbolise Australians' growing appreciation of this country's checkered past and their acknowledgement of the rich culture of its First Peoples.

SOURCE 6 Tom Calma, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner at the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, responds to the apology on behalf of the National Sorry Day Committee and the Stolen Generations Alliance, the two national bodies representing the Stolen Generations and their families.

Let me tell you what this apology means to me. For many years, my family has been searching in vain to find information about my great-grandmother on my father's side, who was taken at the turn of the twentieth century.

Recently, Link Up in Darwin located some information in the Archives. In a document titled 'list of half-castes in the NT' dated 2 December 1899, a government official named George Thompson wrote the following about my great-grandmother:

Half caste May is a well grown girl, is living with her mother in the black's camp at Woolwonga, her mother will not part with her, she mixes up a great deal with the Chinamen...

My great-grandmother's ordeal was not uncommon and nor was the chilling account — 'her mother will not part with her'.

This is not about black armbands and guilt. It never was.

It is about belonging.

SOURCE 7 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's formal apology to members of the Stolen Generations in February 2008



SOURCE 8 In Melbourne, angry crowd members turn their backs on the Opposition leader in silent protest at his refusal to say sorry.



4.11 ACTIVITY

Using all the sources in this subtopic and the information given, develop a reconciliation chronology. You can represent it as creatively as you like, but make sure you provide dates and clear annotations for the major events on the journey towards reconciliation.

Using historical sources as evidence

4.11 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.11 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was the importance of Paul Keating's Redfern speech in 1992?
2. **HS1** Why was it significant that it was made in Redfern?
3. **HS1** What did the 1997 *Bringing Them Home* report reveal?
4. **HS1** Explain the significance of 26 May 1996.
5. **HS1** Why did the federal government, led by John Howard, refuse to apologise to the Stolen Generations?
6. **HS1** What legal impact did The *United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child* have on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children?
7. **HS1** What recommendations did the Committee on the Rights of the Child make regarding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in Australia?
8. **HS1**
   (a) What great step towards reconciliation did Kevin Rudd take in 2008 while prime minister?
   (b) Did everyone agree with his position? How do you explain a divergence of views?

4.11 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What evidence in **SOURCE 1** indicates Prime Minister Paul Keating's commitment to the reconciliation process?
2. **HS3** Based on the excerpt from *Bringing Them Home* provided in **SOURCE 2**, do you consider it is important for a country such as Australia to acknowledge its past wrongdoings? Explain your view.
3. **HS3** In your own words, and using the text in section 4.11.1 and **SOURCE 3**, define the 'three cheers' and 'black armband' views of history.

4. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 4**, explain the symbolic significance of beginning the year with a 'Welcome to Country'.
5. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 5** carefully. Explain what Kevin Rudd is apologising for and who he is representing when he says 'we'.
6. **HS3** Why did those watching Kevin Rudd's apology turn their backs when Brendan Nelson spoke **(SOURCE 8)**?
7. **HS3** What does the fact that the Sorry speech was broadcast in many public spaces in all capital cities demonstrate about its significance? (See **SOURCES 7** and **8**.)
8. **HS3** Analyse the apology (see **SOURCE 5**). Using one colour, write down the *people* he apologises to. In another colour, write down the *actions* he apologises for. In a third colour, write down any words or phrases relating to the *reasons* behind the apology. And in a fourth colour, outline *recommendations* for moving forward. Having completed this activity, decide whether, in your view, this represented a full apology, or whether there were other issues you believe Prime Minister Rudd should have addressed. Explain your opinion using some of the words you have highlighted.
9. **HS3** Tom Calma's response to the apology (see **SOURCE 6**) was delivered on behalf of the Stolen Generations.
   (a) Who do you think his comments were aimed at?
   (b) Which lines were particularly significant? Explain your answers.
10. **HS4** Do you think Kevin Rudd's apology is the sort of thing Paul Keating had in mind when he gave his speech at Redfern more than a decade earlier? Explain your view.
11. **HS4** Write a journal article expressing your own views about the reconciliation issue. Respond to the following prompts, explaining each of your answers in detail:
   (a) Do you think the Australian government owed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples an apology?
   (b) Was the Howard government's refusal to apologise the right decision or the wrong decision?
   (c) Did Kevin Rudd's apology go far enough? Did it go too far?
   (d) What barriers need to be broken down before reconciliation can truly be said to have been achieved?
12. **HS3** Using evidence from a range of sources in this subtopic, construct a case that argues that the road to reconciliation has not been not an easy one.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.12 Fighting for equity

4.12.1 The Northern Territory National Emergency Response

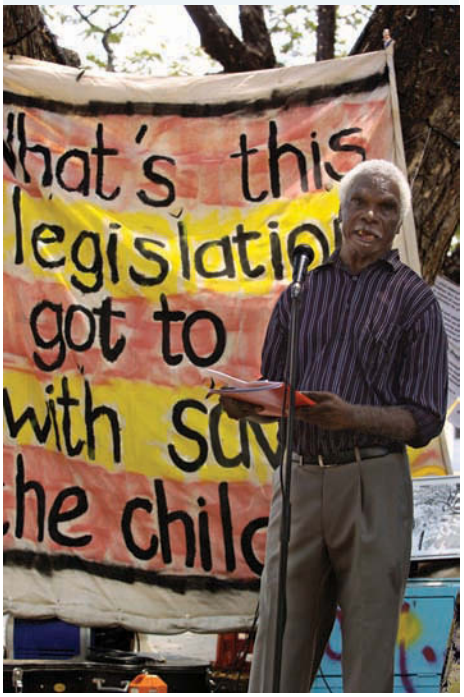
Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples lost much of what they had considered to be theirs with the arrival of European settlers in 1788 and beyond. Over the next 150 or so years, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples became used to injustice, even racist hostility, from those who had taken their land and denied them their civil and human rights. While federal government policies such as Closing the Gap are slowly redressing many inequities, legislation such as that in 2007 to intervene in Aboriginal peoples' lives was still placing restrictions on their rights and freedoms.

On 15 June 2007 the Board of Inquiry into the Protection of Aboriginal Children from Sexual Abuse released a report titled *Little Children Are Sacred*, which indicated that child sexual abuse was rampant in many remote Indigenous communities. The Howard government responded by suspending the Racial Discrimination Act in relation to these communities and announcing emergency measures designed to protect Indigenous children. The Northern Territory Emergency Response (NTER) included sending soldiers and police into the Northern Territory, banning alcohol and restricting the ways in which community members could spend their welfare cheques (a practice known as income management). The 'intervention', as it came to be known, was supported by the Australian Labor Party but caused controversy within the wider Australian community. Supporters claimed that such strict measures were required to protect children within remote communities while others claimed that it was a racist policy and another 'invasion' of Indigenous lands.

The complexities of this issue highlight many of the difficulties that still accompany decisions made by the Australian government in relation to the country's Indigenous peoples.

Opinions on the worth of the intervention remain divided. As shown in **SOURCE 2**, many Aboriginal elders and other Australians abhorred the lack of consultation with Aboriginal people, especially those directly affected.

SOURCE 1 The government's intervention in the Northern Territory: a necessary step to protect children or racial discrimination? This photograph, taken in 2007, shows Bagot (Darwin) council chairman James Gaykamangu speaking against the policy at the National Day of Action.



SOURCE 2 A statement by Aboriginal elders to the people of Australia on 7 February 2011

TO THE PEOPLE OF AUSTRALIA 7 FEBRUARY 2011

We are the people of the land. The land is our mother. For more than 40 000 years we have been caring for this land. We are its natural farmers.

Now, after so many years of dispossession, we find once again we are being thrust towards a new dispossession. Our pain and our fear are real. Our people are again being shamed.

Under the intervention we lost our rights as human beings, as Australians citizens, as the First People of the Land. We feel very deeply the threat to our languages, our culture and our heritage. Through harsh changes we have had removed from us all control over our communities and our lives. Our lands have been compulsorily taken from us. We have been left with nothing.

The legislation under which we now live does not comply with international law. It is discriminatory. We are no longer equal to other Australians. We are no longer equal to you.

As people in our own land, we are shocked by the failure of democratic processes, of the failure to consult with us and of the total disregard for us as human beings. We demand the return of our rights, our freedom to live our traditional lives, support to develop our economic enterprises to develop jobs and to work towards a better future for all our peoples.

So extreme have been the actions against our people that we must appeal to all people of Australia to walk with us in true equality. Speak out and help to put an end to the nightmare that Northern Territory Aboriginal people are experiencing on a daily basis.

Some Aboriginal commentators and activists gave their conditional support to the policy, citing its benefits for women and children against a 'wrong-headed Aboriginal male ideology'. In 2011, after more than three years of the intervention, Central Australian Indigenous leader Bess Price told ABC television:

> I am for the intervention because I've seen progress. I've seen women who now have voices. They can speak for themselves and they are standing up for their rights. Children are being fed and young people more or less know how to manage their lives. That's what's happened since the intervention.

Cape York Aboriginal leader Noel Pearson said:

> I'm in agreement with the emphasis on grog and policing. I'm in agreement with attaching conditions to welfare payments. But the difference between the proposals that we've put forward to the Government and the proposals announced by Minister Brough ... a difference in that we would be concerned that those people who are acting responsibly in relation to the payments they receive, should continue to exercise their freedoms and their decisions ... we should only target cases of responsibility failure.

In terms of human rights, Australian organisations such as Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (ANTaR) criticised the suspension of the Racial Discrimination Act, arguing the protection of children

could have been achieved without its suspension. Despite some amendments made in 2010, concerns remained about the implementation of 'special measures' taken by the government to 'protect' communities at the heart of the intervention. A delegation of Northern Territory Aboriginal leaders met with the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in 2011 to express their view on the discrimination that had ensued under the implementation of the intervention, and found a sympathetic ear. Despite this, the Rudd–Gillard government continued much of the work done in the Howard government years when they introduced the Stronger Futures Act. Beginning in 2012, this Act was designed to maintain tight controls over Aboriginal people's use of alcohol and money. Like its predecessor, it has been criticised for not taking into account the principles of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, particularly the principle of self-determination. The Stronger Futures Act will remain in force until 2022.

4.12.2 Closing the gap

In March 2008, the then Australian government and Opposition signed the Close the Gap Statement of Intent, committing to closing the health and life expectancy gap between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and non-Indigenous Australians by 2030. The 2019 Closing the Gap report, like those before it, revealed a mixed bag in terms of progress towards the targets set in 2008. While gains had been made in the life expectancy for both men and women over this period, the goal of 'closing the gap' between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians was not on track, with Indigenous Australians living in remote and very remote parts of the country showing the poorest health outcomes.

In March 2019, the Council of Australian Governments (GOAG) entered into a formal partnership with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peak Organisations, and agreed to form the Joint Council on Closing the Gap. It is hoped that this council will be able to more effectively develop solutions for closing the gap by better understanding the needs of Indigenous communities.

SOURCE 3 Extract from Close the Gap statement 2008

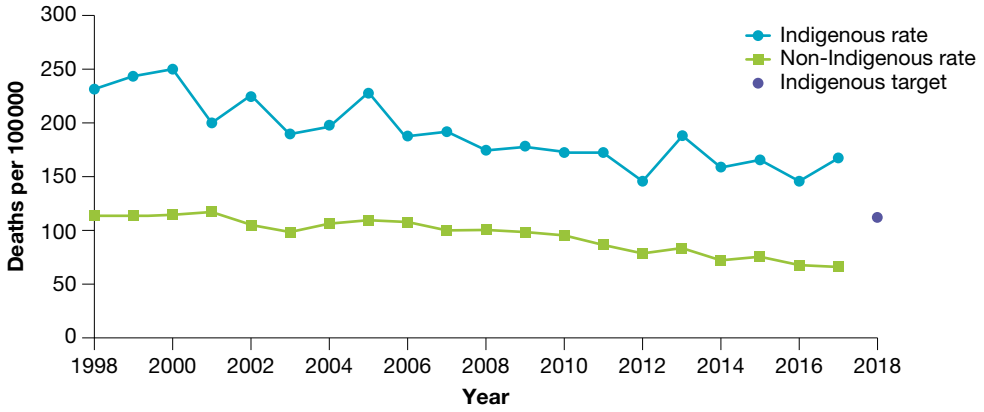
Our challenge for the future is to embrace a new partnership between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. The core of this partnership for the future is closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians on life expectancy, educational achievement and employment opportunities. This new partnership on closing the gap will set concrete targets for the future: within a decade to halve the widening gap in literacy, numeracy and employment outcomes and opportunities for Indigenous children, within a decade to halve the appalling gap in infant mortality rates between Indigenous and non-Indigenous children and, within a generation, to close the equally appalling 17-year life gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous when it comes to overall life expectancy.

Life expectancy and child mortality

The target to close the gap in life expectancy between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and other Australians by 2031 is not on track. Life expectancy for Indigenous men born between 2015 and 2017 is estimated to be 71.6 years, 8.6 years less than non-Indigenous men. For Indigenous women, life expectancy is 75.6, which is 7.8 years less than non-Indigenous women. On a positive note, mortality rates from chronic and circulatory diseases have declined significantly in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population since 1998, but cancer mortality rates are rising: between 2006 and 2017, there was a 25 per cent increase in cancer death rates for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander patients, with deaths from cancer exceeding those for circulatory diseases within this population for the first time in 2017.

The target to halve the gap in the infant mortality rate among the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population by 2018 was not achieved. While the rate of infant mortality within this population has declined by 10 per cent since 2008, it has declined at a slower rate than within the non-Indigenous population. However, as a result of health campaigns, immunisation rates for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children by the age of five have continued to rise, and in 2018 were higher than rates of immunisation of non-Indigenous children.

SOURCE 4 Child mortality rates by Indigenous status: NSW, Qld, WA, SA and the NT combined, 1998–2017. This graph shows the decline in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander infant mortality since 1998.

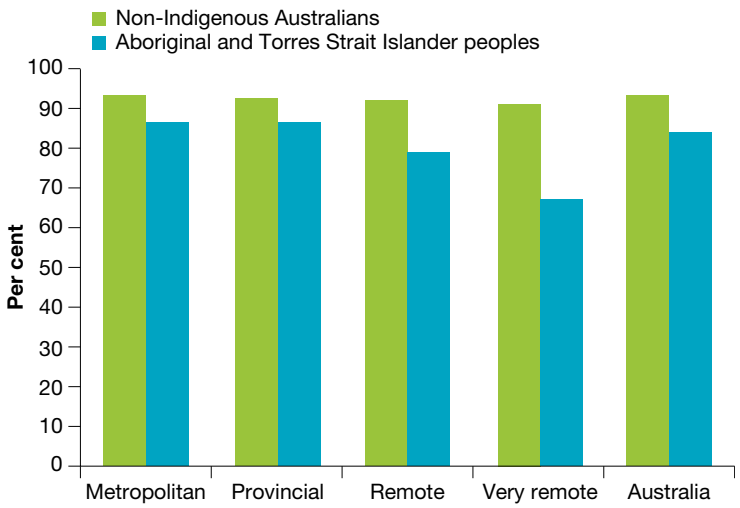


Source: ABS and AIHW analysis of National Mortality Database.

Education and employment

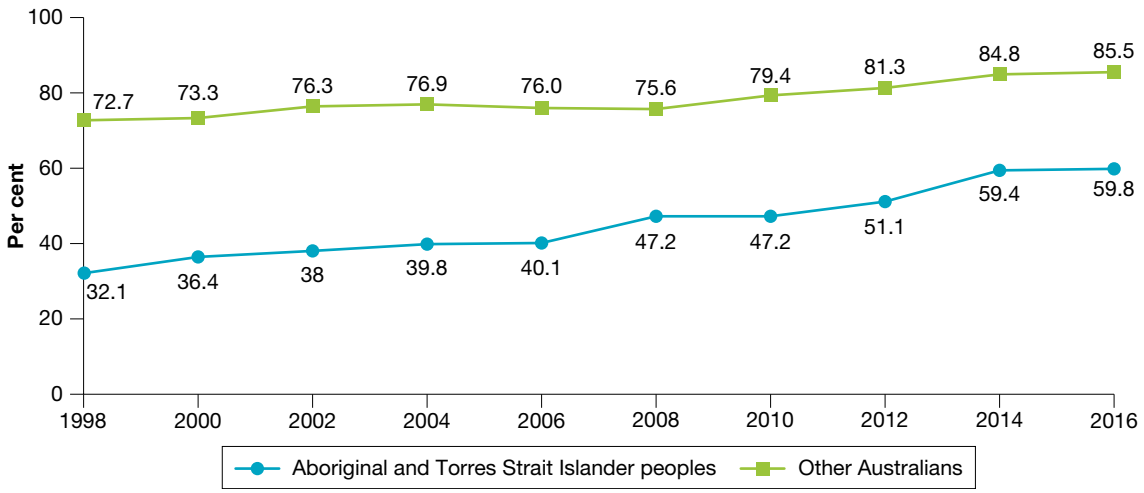
Progress is mixed in the key target areas of education and employment. The share of Indigenous children at or above minimum standards in reading at Years 3 and 5, and in numeracy at Years 7 and 9, has improved and the gap has narrowed between 2008 and 2017, although the target of halving the gap was not met. Attendance at school is also lower than expected, with the attendance of Indigenous students in Year 10 at 73 per cent, compared with 90 per cent attendance for non-Indigenous students at the same year level. However, an increasing proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are completing Year 12 or its equivalent across all states and territories, up by 15 per cent in major cities to 74 per cent in 2016, with the largest gains seen in remote and very remote areas. In very remote areas, Indigenous Australians' rate of attainment increased from just 23 per cent in 2006 to 43 per cent in 2016. The overall retention rate was 59.8 per cent, compared with 85.5 per cent for non-Indigenous Australians. In 2017, this increased again to 62.4 per cent for Indigenous Australians, compared with 86 per cent for the non-Indigenous population. This success in completion rates means that the target to halve the gap by 2020 is on track. However, the target to halve the gap in employment by 2018 was not met, with the employment rate showing no improvement, and the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians widening by 1.5 per cent between 2008 and 2018.

SOURCE 5 Graph showing student attendance rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples compared to non-Indigenous Australians



Source: Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority.

SOURCE 6 Graph of retention rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for Year 7 to Year 12



Source: ABS Schools, 2014.

4.12.3 Responding to inequity

It can be demonstrated from the Closing the Gap Reports since 2008 that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' quality of life lags behind that which non-Indigenous Australians enjoy. The interrelated elements of health, education and employment have an impact on the cultural, physical and social wellbeing of Australia's First Peoples and thus their rights and freedoms. The federal and state governments of Australia must work in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander bodies and other organisations to effect change. The federal government cites its Indigenous Advancement Strategy, its Better Start to Life approach, its Remote School Attendance Strategy and its Community Development Programme as positive strategies and programs for improvement. Other government-funded schemes and not-for-profit organisations can all play a role.

SOURCE 7 The Australian government's Visiting Optometrist Scheme (VOS) works in remote communities in the Northern Territory performing eye checks. While Indigenous children are five times less likely to have eye problems than non-Indigenous children, by the time they reach adulthood, Indigenous people are six times more likely to have vision problems than other Australians.



SOURCE 8 Programs such as the NT School Nutrition Program seen in action here at Papunya School in the Northern Territory aim to improve both the nutritional health and the school attendance rate of Aboriginal children.



4.12 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.12 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was the initial trigger for the intervention?
2. **HS1** Which part of Australia did the intervention affect?
3. **HS1** Which existing legislation had to be suspended in order for the intervention to proceed?
4. **HS1** What were some of the provisions of the new legislation?
5. **HS1** Who supported the intervention?
6. **HS1** When was the Close the Gap Statement of Intent signed and what commitment did it make?
7. **HS1** What is the 'gap' that must be closed?
8. **HS1** Are the following statements true or false?
   (a) Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' life expectancy is lower than that of non-Indigenous Australians.
   (b) The infant mortality rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander infants met its target to halve by 2018.
   (c) The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people completing Year 12 is decreasing.
9. **HS1** What interrelated elements have an impact on the cultural, physical and social wellbeing of Australia's First Peoples?
10. **HS1** List some of the different government strategies and programs that form part of the Australian government's response to reducing inequities for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

4.12 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** A criticism was made that the Northern Territory National Emergency Response Bill contained over 200 pages but did not mention the word 'child' or 'children' once. How does **SOURCE 1** relate to this fact?
2. **HS3** What arguments are put in **SOURCE 2** against the intervention?
3. **HS3** What other evidence would you need to gain a balanced view of the intervention?
4. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**. Which parties were involved in the Closing the Gap Statement of Intent?
5. **HS3** Which state of Australia is not captured in the data in **SOURCE 4**? How might this affect its validity in terms of the representative nature of its data?
6. **HS3** What are three statements you could justify making based on the data shown in **SOURCE 5**?
7. **HS3** What trend is visible in the graph shown in **SOURCE 6**?
8. **HS3** The images in **SOURCES 7** and **8** show different aspects of health inequity that relate to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups.
   (a) What are these aspects?
   (b) What impact might these images have on non-Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who view them?
   (c) What impact do they have on you?
9. **HS4** To what extent do you believe that the Northern Territory intervention represents a continuation of the restriction of Aboriginal peoples' rights and freedoms?
10. **HS4** Using what you have learned in this subtopic, create a mind map that shows the challenges faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples today. Consider aspects such as health, education and employment and show how they are interrelated.
11. **HS5** Based on continuing increased rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students completing year 12, what are some of the possible effects for the future of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?
12. **HS4** Using the information and sources in this subtopic, write 400 words on the trends and patterns that are evident in the Closing the Gap initiative.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.13 The struggle continues

4.13.1 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the twenty-first century

The struggle for Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is far from over. Major inequities still exist between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous Australians, and the nation continues to debate fundamental issues, from land rights to the treatment of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander prisoners and what it means to be Indigenous. In recent years, however, there have been major improvements in the recognition of the rights of Indigenous people both in Australia and in the rest of the world. This is thanks to the work of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leaders and activists, past and present, whose words and actions continue to influence policymakers.

Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population is projected to increase by more than one-third to reach between 907 800 and 945 600 people by 2026, according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Projected figures are based on assumed higher than average levels of fertility and improvements in life expectancy. This represents a 2.2 per cent projected growth per year compared to a projected annual growth rate of 1.6 per cent for the total Australian population over the same period.

Like the total Australian population, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population is ageing. The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children aged 0–14 years is projected to decline from 36 per cent of the population in 2011 to between 31 per cent and 33 per cent in 2026, while the proportion of persons aged 65 years and over is projected to increase from 3 per cent to between 6 per cent and 7 per cent. These projections will need to be taken into account in future government policies.

What does it mean to be Indigenous today?

The definition of an Indigenous Australian has changed over time. Older definitions referred to skin colour or the amount of Aboriginal blood a person was said to have. Today, a person is entitled to be identified as Indigenous if they:

- are of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent
- identify themselves as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin
- are accepted as such by the community with which they associate.

SOURCE 1 Author Nicole Watson describes what it was like to grow up as a light-skinned Indigenous person.

I belong to the Birri Gubba People of central Queensland, even though I live in Sydney. I have blonde hair and blue eyes; characteristics that are irrelevant to my identity as an Aboriginal person. I never chose that identity. Rather, it was a bequest from the people who reared me — my strong-willed European Australian mother and my fiery Aboriginal father...

... Throughout my teens, more than one observer casually raised the apparent clash between my light features and my Aboriginal identity. Such comments always drew a flash of pain on my father's face. As an adult, I can only imagine how horrible it must have been for Dad to hear the paternity of his child being questioned so audaciously. I still marvel at the incredible privilege that lurked behind those obtuse comments.

When strangers question my identity, they question the adults who grew me. They question the choices that were made for me and perhaps, even the love that my family gave to me, and continue to give. As painful as such interrogations have been, they will never shake my identity. I know who I am. But I do wonder what motivates the likes of Andrew Bolt [a journalist who was found guilty of discrimination for criticising people who appear Caucasian but identify primarily as Indigenous]. What dark insecurities fester in his psyche that he has a desperate need to assault the humanity of strangers?

Between 1991 and 2001 the number of people who identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (or both) on the national census rose dramatically — from 351 000 to 517 000. This increase then was due, it is believed, to census officers' increased access to Indigenous communities and to the greater levels of acceptance for people to identify as Indigenous.

Some people view the growing number of people who identify themselves as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander as a positive sign. They believe it represents a growing pride in Indigenous Australia. However, there are those who have questioned the motives of people who identify as Indigenous when they have a mixed heritage. These critics have implied that identifying as Indigenous may be based on a desire to profit from this identity — a claim that is rejected by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander leaders. Articles written by journalist Andrew Bolt, which criticised people who appear Caucasian but identify as Aboriginal, were the subject of a racial discrimination trial in 2010, launched by nine prominent Aboriginal people mentioned in the articles.

SOURCE 2 Indigenous plaintiffs celebrate victory after journalist Andrew Bolt is found guilty of breaching the Racial Discrimination Act in the articles 'It's so hip to be black' and 'White fellas in the black'.



DID YOU KNOW

According to legal historian John McCorquodale, since the time of white settlement, governments have used 67 classifications, definitions or descriptions to decide who is Aboriginal.

4.13.2 The rights of Indigenous peoples

In the twenty-first century the United Nations has taken a more active interest in supporting the rights and freedoms of Indigenous people around the world. Of particular importance are agreements such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which has made it very clear that a 'hands-off' approach to Indigenous rights is no longer enough. In some cases, CERD has used an 'Urgent Action Procedure' to pressure countries, including New Zealand and the United States, to recognise and respect the land rights of their Indigenous peoples.

The most decisive action taken by the United Nations in relation to Indigenous people was the creation of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007 (see **SOURCE 3**). The Declaration was developed, over two decades, with the input of Indigenous representatives from around the world, and in direct response to requests brought to the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP). It embodies the rights and freedoms fought for by the world's Indigenous people throughout the twentieth century. Although the articles of the Declaration are not legally binding, the Declaration is a very important symbol, particularly for nations attempting to reconcile with their Indigenous peoples.

The right to self-determination

Importantly, the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples officially recognised **self-determination** as a basic right for Indigenous peoples. Signatories agreed to allow their Indigenous communities to govern themselves and take charge of their own economic, social and cultural matters.

Only four UN countries voted against the Declaration in 2007. They were the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. Mal Brough, Australia's federal Indigenous Affairs Minister at the time, explained:

> We haven't wiped our hands of it, but as it currently stands at the moment, it would provide rights to a group of people which would be to the exclusion of others... The best way of putting it is, it's outside what we as Australians believe to be fair.

It would take a change in government before Australia, under the leadership of Kevin Rudd, would sign the Declaration in 2009. This would finally give Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples the opportunity to determine their own future.

SOURCE 3 Articles 1–5 of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007

Article 1
Indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law.

Article 2
Indigenous peoples and individuals are free and equal to all other peoples and individuals and have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their Indigenous origin or identity.

Article 3
Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 4
Indigenous peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

Article 5
Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State.

SOURCE 4 Some of the things Indigenous people believe are essential for a national organisation that represents them

'... the National Representative Body should primarily act as an **advocacy** and negotiation body, arguing independently from a considered and well researched base, for the domestic implementation of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other relevant and binding human rights provisions...' (Public Submission 2)

'The outcomes must be our own and we cannot feel like our funding will be cut if we stand up and speak out against a government policy or program.' (Public Submission 8)

'Any national body should collaborate effectively with the Indigenous Dialogue — the Dialogue should be the key vehicle to facilitate constitutional reform and that this process be carried out under the principles of the UN Declaration such as free, prior and informed consent...' (Public Submission 77)

'We need a balance of young people as representatives on our peak body also. It's always easy to presume we know best for our kids, but don't take the time to ask. I would like to see a balance of 50/50 men and women represented.' (Public Submission 16)

Our future in our hands

Building on the promise of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the Australian government supported the establishment of a National Congress of Australia's First Peoples. While this Congress is not the first organisation designed to represent the interests of Indigenous people, it differs in some key ways. Based on a model proposed in the *Our Future in Our Hands* report (2009), the Congress is made up of Indigenous people, with equal numbers of men and women, and representation from young people and members of both urban and rural communities. It is a private, not-for-profit company, meaning it does not rely on government funding.

Tom Calma, who chaired the committee charged with designing the Congress, explained, 'It is time for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to take control and set the agenda', Establishment of the Congress was praised by national Indigenous leaders, as well as international organisations such as the United Nations and Amnesty International.

SOURCE 5 On 19 April 2010, at the ninth session of the United Nations' Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the New Zealand government announced its support for the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and received a chorus of cheers from 2000 Indigenous delegates in response. The announcement was followed by a traditional Maori song of thanks.



4.13.3 The next steps — recognition in the Constitution

The Australian government has given a commitment to work towards the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the Australian Constitution. This recognition is about acknowledging that an Indigenous culture was flourishing on this continent many thousands of years before Europeans arrived and continues today.

The journey to constitutional change

An expert panel, which included Indigenous and community leaders, constitutional experts and parliamentarians, consulted extensively across Australia, reporting their recommendations to the prime minister in January 2012. In 2015, a Referendum Council was established to lead a national discussion on how this might be achieved. Consultations will be undertaken with both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and non-Indigenous groups to ensure community engagement. Partners in the

campaign include diverse groups in Australian society such as the Australian Broadcasting Commission, the Commonwealth Bank, BHP, Uniting Church of Australia, Amnesty International, and Carlton and Richmond Football Clubs. At the time of writing, the final form of the referendums that would be needed to add this recognition to the Constitution and a date for it to be put to the Australian people has not been finalised.

SOURCE 6 A summary of the recommendations made by the expert panel in their report of 2012

- **Remove Section 25** — which says the States can ban people from voting based on their race;
- **Remove section 51**(xxvi) — which can be used to pass laws that discriminate against people based on their race;
- **Insert** a new section 51A — to recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and to preserve the Australian Government's ability to pass laws for the benefit of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples;
- **Insert** a new section 116A, banning racial discrimination by government; and
- **Insert** a new section 127A, recognising Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages were this country's first tongues, while confirming that English is Australia's national language.

SOURCE 7 A quote from Noel Pearson, member of the expert panel and a descendant of the Bagaarrmugu and Guggu Yalani peoples. He is a key advocate for constitutional recognition.

The original Constitution of 1901 established a negative citizenship of the country's original peoples. The reforms undertaken in 1967, which resulted in the counting of Indigenous Australians in the national census and the extension of the races power to Indigenous Australians, can be viewed as providing a neutral citizenship for the original Australians. What is still needed is a positive recognition of our status as the country's Indigenous peoples, and yet sharing a common citizenship with all other Australians.

SOURCE 8 Sydney Swans AFL team Indigenous players Lance Franklin, Adam Goodes and Lewis Jetta stand in the centre circle next to the letter 'R' for Recognise at the Sydney Cricket Ground ahead of the Indigenous Round in 2014.



4.13 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

4.13 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What is the projected population of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by 2026? What are the likely causes of this increase?
2. **HS1** For a person to be considered as Indigenous, they have to meet three criteria. What are these?
3. **HS1** What crime was journalist Andrew Bolt accused and found guilty of in 2009? By whom was he accused?
4. **HS1** Who created the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007 and what is its purpose?
5. **HS1** In your own words, explain why the Minister for Indigenous Affairs, Mal Brough, believed that Australia should not sign the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.
6. **HS1** Did Australia eventually sign the Declaration? If so, what made the difference?
7. **HS1** Explain why the National Congress of Australia's First Peoples was created.
8. **HS1** Why is it important that the National Congress is not government funded?
9. **HS1** Explain the constitutional recognition journey in your own words.

4.13 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** In **SOURCE 1**, author Nicole Watson reflects upon the experience of being a light-skinned Aboriginal Australian.
   (a) In what ways was this experience difficult for her and for her parents?
   (b) Why do you think she chose to begin this piece with the words, 'I belong to the Birri Gubba People of central Queensland, even though I live in Sydney'?
2. **HS3 SOURCE 2** depicts some of the prominent Aboriginal Australians who filed charges against journalist Andrew Bolt. Their case was ultimately successful.
   (a) How might this photograph have looked if a similar case — in which Aboriginal Australians challenged the words of a white journalist — had been held in the 1950s or 1960s?
   (b) List some of the social changes that have occurred over the past 50 years that might have contributed to the ultimate success of the case.
3. **HS3** Evaluate what points in **SOURCE 3** could have given people like Mal Brough enough concern to cause him to be against signing the Declaration.
4. **HS3** After reading **SOURCE 4**, make a list of ideas that Indigenous people wanted to come out of the creation of a body that represents them as a people.
5. **HS3** What is the significance of the inclusion of **SOURCE 5** in this subtopic?
6. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 6**. What key words emerge and how do they sum up the movement for recognition?
7. **HS3** According to Noel Pearson (**SOURCE 7**) what would be the difference between the 1967 reform to the Constitution and the proposed recognition reform?
8. **HS3** Analyse **SOURCES 3** and **4** and select the sections that relate to self-determination. If these recommendations were followed, how might the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples change over the next decade?
9. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 8**.
   (a) How effective is the choice of an 'R' as a symbol for the recognition campaign?
   (b) What might be the advantages and disadvantages of displaying it in this way at a popular sporting event, accompanied by Indigenous sporting stars?
10. **HS4** As the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 2007 is not legally binding, do you think that it has any value? Explain your view.
11. **HS4** Imagine that you are the new chairman of the Board of the National Congress of Australia's First People. Write the speech that you would give in the opening meeting. It will give your motivations and set the agenda for your leadership.
12. **HS4** Write a 250-word report that explores the significance of Australia's signing the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and how the Declaration relates to the rights and freedoms strived for by at least one Indigenous activist, such as Charles Perkins (subtopic 4.6), Faith Bandler or Eddie Mabo.
13. **HS6** Rank all the sources presented in this subtopic in order of what you consider to be their historical significance in the struggle of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders for rights and freedoms in the twenty-first century.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

4.14 SkillBuilder: Historical debate

online only

What is a historical debate?

A historical debate is an argument that reflects opposing or contesting views on an event or a period in time, the historical evidence for which may be interpreted in different ways.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

4.15 Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru!

online only

SCENARIO

You have been given a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, and all the technology you require, to change history. Selecting a protest movement of the past and using what you know about grassroots activism today, you will develop the first protest movement ever to go online.



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru (pro-0206)

4.16 Review

online only

4.16.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

4.16.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31751)
Crossword (doc-31752)

Interactivity Rights and freedoms crossword (int-7663)

KEY TERMS

advocacy active support
ailan kastom (island custom) the body of customs, traditions, observances and beliefs of some or all of the Torres Strait Islanders living in the Torres Strait area
alienate to cause someone to feel isolated or separated
assimilation the process by which a minority group gives up its own customs and traditions and adopts those of the dominant culture
Australia's First Peoples an inclusive term used to refer to groups that make up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander community
bipartisan supported by the two major political parties
census an official, usually periodic count of a population
culpability state of guilt; being responsible or blameworthy
embassy the residence or place of official business of an ambassador, who represents a foreign country
eradicate wipe out, obliterate
folly foolishness; lack of good sense
heritage cultural traditions
inalienable belonging to a thing by its nature; not able to be taken away
incarceration imprisonment
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
land rights the rights of Indigenous peoples to possess land they traditionally owned and occupied
moral relating to right and wrong behaviour
native title a 'bundle of rights' of Indigenous people to possess land they traditionally owned and continue to occupy
pastoralist a person who runs sheep or cattle on a property
precedent an action or decision on which later actions or decisions might be based; a law made by a superior court that must be applied by lower courts in future cases with the same or similar facts
referendum a ballot in which people decide on an important political issue
repatriation assistance given to ex-service men and women returning to a civilian way of life
rhetoric effective and persuasive language, sometimes used to mislead
self-determination the freedom for a people to determine their own course of action
seminal original and influential
terra nullius ('land belonging to no-one') in Australia, the legal idea that since no-one was 'using' the land when the first Europeans arrived, it could be claimed by the British Crown
treaty an agreement between two or more sovereign states (countries) to undertake a particular course of action. It usually involves matters such as human rights, the environment or trade.
unconstitutional not in accord with the principles set forth in the Constitution
unfettered unrestricted

4.14 SkillBuilder: Historical debate

4.14.1 Tell me

What is a historical debate?

A debate is an argument between two or more people in which opposing views are expressed about a particular issue. Its purpose is both to reveal the 'truth' and, in the case of a public debate, to influence public opinion. In some cases, a debate may be conducted face to face. In others, the debate may be conducted through a range of media such as newspapers and magazines.

Why is a debate a valuable source of information?

Debate is important to historians because it reveals information, not only about the issue at its centre, but about those involved in the debate as participants and audience members. In this case, you will be analysing a national debate that came to be known as the 'History Wars'. While it was sparked by the views of historian Keith Windschuttle, as expressed in his book *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2002), the debate would eventually engulf university academics, writers, journalists and politicians and, of course, the Australian public.

4.14.2 Show me

How to analyse a historical debate — a step-by-step approach

One of the most challenging aspects of analysing a debate is working out what is fact and what is simply designed to 'score points' with the readers, listeners or viewers. Examine each view in turn, asking the following questions:

a. What are the major arguments made?
b. Are there any obvious flaws in the arguments presented — for example, are they simplistic, unrealistic or irrelevant?
c. What supporting evidence is given for each argument, and how accurate do you think this evidence is?
d. Are some points skimmed over or ignored? If so, why might this be?
e. Does the writer/speaker criticise the character of his or her opponent(s)? If so, what words/phrases are used to characterise them?
f. Is there any evidence of bias? If so, what is it?

The final stage of your analysis involves drawing conclusions about the validity of the arguments presented. The conclusions you draw are always open to challenge and should be revised if you find compelling evidence to the contrary.

SOURCE 1 In this excerpt from a paper presented at the Conference on Frontier Conflict (2001), Keith Windschuttle restates his belief that much of accepted Aboriginal history since settlement is a fabrication.

... When it is closely examined, the evidence for the claims of widespread mass killings of Aborigines turns out to be highly suspect. Much of it is very poorly founded, other parts are seriously mistaken, and some of it is outright fabrication ... Defenders of the orthodoxy attacked my politics, my morals and my ability to do historical research, while at the same time pretending that the academics I had criticised were reliable scholars whose opinions should be trusted ...

Unfortunately, the fictions and fabrications of our academic historians are more than matched by those created by the Aborigines themselves. Because Aborigines in the colonial period were illiterate and kept no written records, we are urged today to accept the oral history of their descendants as an authentic account of what happened in the past. My view is that Aboriginal oral history, when uncorroborated by original documents, is completely unreliable, just like the oral history of white people. Let me illustrate this with an account of the

infamous Mistake Creek Massacre in the Kimberley district ... There are at least four versions of Aboriginal oral history about this incident ... and all of them are different ...

The colonial authorities wanted to civilise and modernise the Aborigines, not exterminate them. Their intentions were not to foster violence towards the Aborigines but to prevent it. They responded to violence by the Aborigines towards white settlers cautiously and reluctantly, and their overriding concern was to prevent retaliatory violence by settlers and convicts from getting out of hand.

Model

SOURCE 1 reflects the views of Keith Windschuttle. It has been used as the basis for answering questions a–f.

a. *What are the major arguments made?*
   Keith Windschuttle claims that much of what we know about Indigenous history after Australia was settled — particularly claims of massacres by white settlers — is based on poor research.
b. *Are there any obvious flaws in the arguments presented — for example, are they simplistic, unrealistic or irrelevant?*
   Windschuttle states that 'Aboriginal oral history, when uncorroborated by original documents, is completely unreliable', but he himself points out that the Aboriginal people were illiterate and were therefore unable to keep these sorts of documents.
c. *What supporting evidence is given for each argument, and how accurate do you think this evidence is?*
   The claim that Aboriginal oral history cannot be trusted is supported by an example — the Mistake Creek Massacre. According to Windschuttle, four different versions of this story have been passed down.
d. *Are some points skimmed over or ignored? If so, why might this be?*
   Windschuttle characterises the settlers in a very positive way, suggesting they wanted to 'civilise and modernise the Aborigines, not exterminate them'. He seems to ignore the idea that forcing European 'civilisation' on a community that already has its own culture may have had a negative impact on that community.
e. *Does the writer/speaker criticise the character of his or her opponent(s)? If so, what words/phrases are used to characterise them?*
   Windschuttle suggests that the historical claims made by academic historians and Indigenous Australians are 'fictions and fabrications'. He also hits back at his detractors, calling them 'defenders of the orthodoxy'.
f. *Is there any evidence of bias? If so, what is it?*
   It seems from this excerpt that Keith Windschuttle may be biased towards viewing white settlers in a positive light, and viewing both Indigenous people and many historians quite negatively.

4.14.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activity to practise this skill.

4.14 ACTIVITY

Analyse **SOURCE 2** using questions a–f detailed in the Show me section.

SOURCE 2 Robert Manne, a writer and academic at Melbourne's Latrobe University, has been a vocal critic of Keith Windschuttle and those who suggest that there is little proof of the deliberate mistreatment of Indigenous Australians following settlement. This excerpt is from the introduction to *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, a collection of essays edited by Manne and released in 2003.

... Windschuttle had never previously written at any length about Aborigines or the Australian frontier. In his *Quadrant* essay his starting point, for reasons that were never satisfactorily explained, was four massacres mentioned by the journalist Phillip Knightley in his new portrait of Australia. In three of these cases Windschuttle attempted to show, either by drawing on others' work or by a far from convincing chain of evidentiary reasoning, that no massacres had taken place. He also attempted to show that the tentative estimates of 20 000 Aboriginal killings on the frontier between the late 1780s and the late 1920s which had been independently arrived at by Henry Reynolds and Richard Broome, and which had been regarded as a reasonable guess by the most conservative of all contemporary Australian historians, Geoffrey Blainey, was a vast exaggeration and, indeed, a 'fabrication'.

Windschuttle, who had at that time done no systematic historical research on settler–Indigenous relations (or on anything else), claimed to know for certain that the number of Aborigines killed at the frontier had been very small. How did he know this? Windschuttle argued that because of the British settlers' Christian faith and because of their civilisation's fidelity to the idea of the rule of law, large numbers of killings could be excluded in advance as a cultural impossibility. He expressed astonishment at the discovery that Henry Reynolds' estimate of 20 000 killings, which he had previously accepted on trust, was not even based on a tabulated list of every occasion on which Aborigines had been killed. For Windschuttle, it appeared clear that a death which was unreported and thus undocumented was a death which had not occurred. (By the use of a methodology equivalent to Windschuttle's it would be possible to prove that virtually no sexual abuse of children occurred in Western societies before the 1970s.)

Windschuttle apparently could not imagine the kind of rough frontier society where settlers killed Aborigines who threatened their livestock or their lives; where such deaths went officially unidentified; and where government officials tacitly agreed, in regard to settler violence, to turn a blind eye ...

4.15 Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru!

Scenario

In this topic, you have seen how the internet has allowed ideas to spread quickly, with grassroots protests going national, or even global, very rapidly. We can only imagine how some of the movements for rights and freedoms of the past might have benefited from this sort of widespread, rapid promotion online.

You have been given a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, and all the technology you require, to change history. Selecting a protest movement of the past and using what you know about grassroots activism today, you will develop the first protest movement ever to go online.

SOURCE 1 Technology allows for the easy mobilisation of huge numbers of people in support of a cause.



Task

Your task is to build a website for one of the following pre-internet (i.e. pre-1991) protest movements:

- the struggle of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples for rights and freedoms before 1962, as considered in this topic
- the 1962 right to vote federally
- the 1967 referendum.

You will need to learn enough about this protest movement to be able to develop a website that is both informative and engaging for would-be protesters. This means that you must also understand who these would-be protesters could be, and what would interest and motivate them to get involved.

SOURCE 2 Indigenous rights protesters marching in Melbourne, 26 January 2018



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in groups of two or three will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find starter topics loaded to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Conduct research to find information and make notes to answer the following questions:
  - What was this protest movement designed to change?
  - Who were its leaders/instigators?
  - Who were its most enthusiastic followers?
  - What motivated people to join the movement?
  - What debates surround the movement, and what does this tell you about those who choose one side of the debate over the other?
  - What techniques have you used to try to corroborate your information and ensure that it is valid?

  The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point. Remember to record details of your sources so you can create a bibliography.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your group members. You can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.

- When you have completed your research, study some current protest websites aimed at the same target audience, and consider how they use the following elements to engage and influence the potential supporter:
  - words
  - pictures
  - colour
  - blank space
  - any other design elements you can see.
- Now design your own protest movement website, using any available web design software. Use creative design elements to create interest on your pages and ensure that information is clear and easy to follow. Your site should contain at least six pages:
  - *Home* — This is the site's landing page. It should be designed to appeal to your target demographic (that is, future protesters).
  - *Background* — This is where you need to give the potential protester a sense of when and why the protest movement began.
  - *Actions so far* — Here you should outline anything that has been fought for, and achieved, as well as other things protesters should know, such as how many people have been arrested.
  - *Future actions* — This is what the protest movement hopes to achieve in future, particularly if it grows at a rapid rate. This page gives you another chance to talk about the aims of the protest movement.
  - *Get involved* — Now that you've got your potential protesters interested, you need to give them a way to get involved. This might include sending them to a particular venue, telling them about upcoming events, or putting them in touch with the protest movement's leaders.
  - *Bibliography* — Create a reference page to detail all your source material used for the project.
- Share your completed website with your classmates and explore their websites in turn.



Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Needed: Social media guru! (pro-0206)

4.16 Review

4.16.1 Key knowledge summary

4.2 Examining the evidence

- Until the latter half of the twentieth century the voices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were largely absent from discussions about Australian history.
- Attempts have been made to address this through the inclusion of a wide range of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander voices from a range of sources, including oral histories and accounts, reports, commentaries and stories, as well as many other sources.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as well as non-Indigenous people have contributed to the range of resources used to examine the struggle for rights and freedoms.
- Primary and secondary sources such as films, documentaries, political commentary and official documentation are all rich sources of information to examine and interrogate.

4.3 The beginnings of an Aboriginal protest movement

- During the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries, Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples struggled to gain rights.
- From the early twentieth century Aboriginal protest movements became more organised with the first Aboriginal political organisations formed in the 1920s.
- The AAPA was formed by Fred Maynard to campaign for the right for Aboriginal self-determination.
- By 1937 the Aborigines Progressive Association was formed with the intention of pushing for full citizenship and parliamentary representation. It set 26 January 1938 as the Day of Mourning protest to focus concerns about the treatment of Aboriginal peoples and to set the agenda for change for the future through a 10-point plan. This was successfully received by the prime minister, although it would be a long time before the points were turned into action.

4.4 The Stolen Generations

- During the 1800s the government believed that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples needed to be 'protected' and the policies of this time reflected this attitude.
- The *Aborigines Protection Act 1909* gave legal control of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to the Boards of Protection around the country, including legal guardianship over the children.
- This policy became one of assimilation, where the government believed that the best way for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to assimilate, or become more like other Australians, was to remove children, sometimes forcibly, from their families and raise them in institutions or foster families. This practice continued from 1910 to 1970 and adversely affected a large number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, now called the Stolen Generations.

4.5 Influence on Australia of civil rights movements abroad

- The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, outlining the rights and freedoms that should be enjoyed by all people. Civil libertarian and president of the United Nations General Assembly, Australian Dr Herbert Vere Evatt, was instrumental in contributing to the UDHR.
- This declaration established the international call for universal civil rights.
- The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s in the United States was a program of protest against racist policies that denied African Americans their civil rights.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples found much in this movement to support and inspire them, especially non-violent methods of protest.
- Significant individuals such as Martin Luther King provided a role model for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activists.
- Campaigns such as the Freedom Rides in the 1960s in the United States were adopted by people fighting for civil rights in Australia.

4.6 The Freedom Ride in Australia

- In 1965 Charles Perkins led a Freedom Ride in rural New South Wales where issues of racial discrimination had been identified.
- The media coverage of this event stimulated national and international pressure for reform, as well as launching Perkins and his colleagues as significant civil rights campaigners.

4.7 Being counted

- In 1962, due to continued pressure from civil rights campaigners and a growing awareness from the general population, a parliamentary amendment to the Electoral Act allowed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to vote, although it was three more years before Queensland put this into practice.
- The final area for constitutional discrimination was that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were still not counted in the national census and the only way to make constitutional change was to hold a referendum. In 1967 a referendum was held and there was overwhelming support for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to be counted in the census.

4.8 Torres Strait Islander rights and freedoms

- Torres Strait Islander people were recognised as a separate people after the *Torres Strait Islanders Act 1939.*
- Like the Aboriginal people, Torres Strait Islander people were not able to vote in federal elections until the passing of the Electoral Amendment Act in 1962 and not able to vote in state elections until 17 December 1965, when the Elections Amendment Act was passed, extending voting rights to all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples resident in Queensland.
- Discrimination in rates of pay for Torres Strait Islanders who had served in World War II was finally redressed in 1983.
- The Torres Strait Regional Authority, established in 1994, deals with issues of special relevance to Torres Strait Islander culture and heritage, as well as the administration of a Torres Strait Development Plan.

4.9 The Aboriginal Tent Embassy

- In 1963 the Yolngu people from Yirrkala in the Northern Territory sent a bark petition to the federal parliament, starting the land rights movement which fought for the rights of Indigenous peoples to possess the traditional lands they had owned and occupied.
- Initially the Yolngu people received support for their claim protesting the government's decision to allow a mining company to mine on their traditional lands; however, a few years later they had their challenge turned down, a decision supported by the then prime minister. This angered many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander activists set up an umbrella outside parliament house in Canberra, with a sign labelling it the 'Aboriginal Embassy'.
- It was soon followed by a number of tents and came to represent Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' desire to have the rights to determine their own futures.

4.10 Land rights and protests

- Despite the lack of success by the Yolngu people, a group of Gurindji workers from the Wave Hill cattle station went on strike to protest their working and living conditions. Led by Vincent Lingari, a Gurindji elder, they pushed for the return of the land to their ownership.
- This picked up public support and in 1975, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam handed back 300 000 km^2 of the Gurindji's peoples traditional lands.
- In 1982 a group of Mer Island people from the Torres Strait, led by Eddie Mabo, challenged the right of the government to prevent islanders from using their own lands. In 1992, the Australian High Court made a historic ruling that the Meriam people of the Torres Strait did have native title. This 'Mabo decision' was extremely significant for all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because it recognised that European settlement did not automatically wipe out native title.

- The *Native Title Act 1993* clarified any confusion following this. It was later challenged by the Wik case and the subsequent attempt by Prime Minister John Howard to alter the Native Title Act, but this was only passed with the proviso that it is subject to the Racial Discrimination Act.

4.11 Reconciliation

- In 1992 Prime Minister Paul Keating gave what is known as the 'Redfern Speech' launching the International Year of the World's Indigenous People in Redfern, Sydney. He pledged to recognise the harm caused to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples by previous governments and to extend them social democracy.
- In 1995 Keating commissioned a report into the Stolen Generations called *Bringing Them Home* (1997), which outlined the damage done to individuals, families and communities because of the so-called protection policies.
- Despite the creation of National Sorry Day, 26 May, and the apologies of the state governments and churches, the federal government, led by John Howard by that stage, refused to apologise.
- It was not until 2008 that the federal Labor Party Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, made a formal apology in Parliament House in Canberra, acknowledging the harm caused to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples because of past government's policies and pledged for Australia to ensure that such injustices would not happen again.

4.12 Fighting for equity

- The struggle for equity continues for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.
- In 2007 the Howard government suspended the Racial Discrimination Act in the Northern Territory (NT) in response to a report indicating that child sexual abuse was rampant in many remote communities in the NT. Alcohol was banned from these communities and the spending of welfare cheques was restricted.
- The 'intervention' received mixed support, with some saying that it was a racist policy and others saying that it was needed.
- Other studies and reports, such as Closing the Gap, show that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are still far behind other Australians in lifestyle issues, such as life expectancy, drug and alcohol abuse, infant mortality and imprisonment rates. There have been some improvements but they are still behind the hoped-for outcomes. Education and employment data show similar gaps.
- While there have been some improvements, such as increased high school retention rates, these are still significantly behind those of non-Indigenous Australians. The government is still working to address these longstanding inequities in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

4.13 The struggle continues

- The number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples is increasing due to higher than average fertility rates and improvements in life expectancy.
- In 2007 the United Nations created the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which embodies the rights and freedoms fought for by Indigenous peoples throughout the world in the twentieth century. Significantly it recognises the right to self-determination. Initially Australia refused to sign this Declaration but eventually signed in 2009.
- Currently the Australian government is working toward a referendum on changing the Constitution to recognise that an Indigenous culture was flourishing on this continent many thousands of years before Europeans arrived and that culture continues today, as opposed to *terra nullius*. This will be another step forward in the struggle for the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

A timeline of the struggle for rights and freedoms (1945–present)

CE

1925

1924
Fred Maynard founds the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA).



1930

1935

1938
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples proclaim the 150th anniversary of settlement a 'Day of Mourning'.



1939
Indigenous men enlist for World War II.

1940

1939
The *Torres Strait Islander Act* recognises Torres Strait Islanders as a separate people.

1945

1948
The UN adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1950



1955

1960



1965

1966
Indigenous workers walk off Vestey's cattle station at Wave Hill, demanding better pay and conditions.

1967
In a national referendum, 90 per cent of voters vote for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to be included in the national census.

1970

1975



1980

1992
In the Mabo case, the High Court of Australia recognises Indigenous ownership of the land for the first time.

1985

1990

1998
Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, which believes that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are favoured over non-Indigenous Australians, picks up 22 per cent of the vote in the Queensland election.

1995

1997
The *Bringing Them Home* report, tabled in Parliament, outlines the damage done to the Stolen Generations.

2000

2007
The Howard government approves an emergency 'Intervention' to protect the children of remote Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory.

2002
Historian Keith Windschuttle causes controversy by challenging other historians' accounts of the mass slaughter of Aborigines by white settlers.

2005

2008
Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivers a formal apology to the members of the Stolen Generations.



2010
The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples expresses grave concerns over the continuing Intervention in the Northern Territory.

2010

2015

2016
Discussions continue around a referendum to change Australia's Constitution to formally recognise Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

CE

4.16.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

4.16 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

What does it take to change the hearts and minds of a nation, so they don't just tolerate the Indigenous population but respect and value them?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question, outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31751)
Crossword (doc-31752)

Interactivity Rights and freedoms crossword (int-7663)

KEY TERMS

advocacy active support
ailan kastom (island custom) the body of customs, traditions, observances and beliefs of some or all of the Torres Strait Islanders living in the Torres Strait area
alienate to cause someone to feel isolated or separated
assimilation the process by which a minority group gives up its own customs and traditions and adopts those of the dominant culture
Australia's First Peoples an inclusive term used to refer to groups that make up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander community
bipartisan supported by the two major political parties
census an official, usually periodic count of a population
culpability state of guilt; being responsible or blameworthy
embassy the residence or place of official business of an ambassador, who represents a foreign country
eradicate wipe out, obliterate
folly foolishness; lack of good sense
heritage cultural traditions
inalienable belonging to a thing by its nature; not able to be taken away
incarceration imprisonment
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
land rights the rights of Indigenous peoples to possess land they traditionally owned and occupied
moral relating to right and wrong behaviour
native title a 'bundle of rights' of Indigenous people to possess land they traditionally owned and continue to occupy
pastoralist a person who runs sheep or cattle on a property
precedent an action or decision on which later actions or decisions might be based; a law made by a superior court that must be applied by lower courts in future cases with the same or similar facts
referendum a ballot in which people decide on an important political issue
repatriation assistance given to ex-service men and women returning to a civilian way of life
rhetoric effective and persuasive language, sometimes used to mislead

self-determination the freedom for a people to determine their own course of action
seminal original and influential
terra nullius ('land belonging to no-one') in Australia, the legal idea that since no-one was 'using' the land when the first Europeans arrived, it could be claimed by the British Crown
treaty an agreement between two or more sovereign states (countries) to undertake a particular course of action. It usually involves matters such as human rights, the environment or trade.
unconstitutional not in accord with the principles set forth in the Constitution
unfettered unrestricted

5 Popular culture (1945–present)

5.1 Overview

What can we discover about people of the past by studying the way they enjoyed their spare time?

5.1.1 Links with our times

Mass culture and mobilisation of young people is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the early and mid-twentieth century, only teenagers from privileged backgrounds had the opportunity to finish school and attend university. This changed after World War II as Australia experienced a period of relative peace and prosperity. A 'baby boom' followed and families were encouraged to buy a home and fill it with the latest consumer goods.

Teenagers of this 'baby boom' generation would help to end the Vietnam War and fight for civil rights, land rights, women's rights and gay rights. They were encouraged by a growing awareness of their own power, best exemplified in popular culture.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson Popular culture (eles-2622)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

5.1 Overview
5.2 Examining the evidence
5.3 Post-war Australia — the 1950s
5.4 Sport and society
5.5 The rock'n'roll revolution
5.6 Global political and social influences on popular culture
5.7 The evolution of television as a cultural influence
5.8 The Australian film industry: post-war to today
5.9 Continuity and change in beliefs and values
5.10 **SkillBuilder:** Conducting a historical enquiry online only
5.11 **Thinking Big research project:** Pop culture time capsule online only
5.12 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of popular culture, 1945–present

CE

1940



1945
World War II ends

1948
General Motors produces Holden, 'Australia's Own Car'.

1950

1946
Arthur Calwell introduces a new immigration scheme that will have a major impact on Australia and its culture.



November 1962
Australia wins 38 medals at the Commonwealth Games, the highest medal tally in the games' history.

1960

September 1956
Australia airs its first television broadcast.



April 1965
Prime Minister Menzies commits Australian troops to fight in Vietnam.

June 1964
Beatlemania touches down in Australia.

1970

April 1968
Dr Martin Luther King Jr is assassinated, triggering riots across America.

May 1967
More than 90 per cent of Australians vote in favour of including Indigenous Australians on the census.



June 1969
Members of New York's gay community riot when the Stonewall Inn is raided by police, sparking a worldwide gay rights movement.

1980

1973
Australia's voting age is lowered from 21 to 18.

1974
Australia qualifies for the FIFA World Cup.

1990



1980
AC/DC release their album *Back in Black*. It is currently the second highest selling album of all time.

2000

2000 Sydney hosts the Olympics.



1985
Neighbours first airs.



2010

2008
Sydney hosts Catholic World Youth Day.

2013
Holden announces it will cease manufacturing in Australia in 2017.

2020

CE

5.2 Examining the evidence

5.2.1 How do we know about popular culture?

Popular culture refers to the beliefs, attitudes and lifestyles shared by a group of people. These are reflected in their actions and in the products they choose to consume. After World War II, improvements to communications technology created a direct connection between the mass media (newspaper, television and radio) and their target audience, many of whom were teenagers. The period after World War II was a time of social turmoil in Australia, as people began to challenge the **status quo**. By analysing popular film, music, television, sport and fashion, we can better understand the sorts of things that preoccupied, motivated and inspired people during this tumultuous period.

First-hand sources

As historians, we can draw on many primary sources produced by people who lived through the events, including photos, songs, film, books, letters, newspaper and magazine articles, and interviews. Because we are considering recent history, many members of our community have lived through and remember this period, making these people a rich source of first-hand information.

SOURCE 1 In the 1960s and 1970s, many teenagers rebelled against their parents' generation by joining the anti-war movement, while others joined the Mods, Rockers or Sharpies. Each group had its own culture, with members following strict rules regarding the way they behaved, the music they listened to and the clothes they wore. In this interview, former Sharpie Alannah describes the pains she went to in order to get the right 'look'.

Cuffed pants, roman sandals were the shoes that were 'in' then — as well as platforms... Cardigans with emblems on either side. Short hair... scissor cut and flat over with one side parted — very Mia Farrow. We didn't go to the hairdressers, we went to the barbers to have our hair cut with the guys. We'd have our hair cut all the same — all on the same Saturday morning. We'd have our hair cut every two weeks because we couldn't let it grow too long.

Historical accounts

The post-war period, especially the 1960s, is widely recognised as a time of great change. Because of this, many secondary sources have been created to explore the events of this time. While some secondary sources, such as history books and documentaries, may generally be considered factual, movies and television shows offer fictitious representations of the period, even if based on true events. Their accuracy needs to be analysed and compared against other sources to identify potential **bias**.

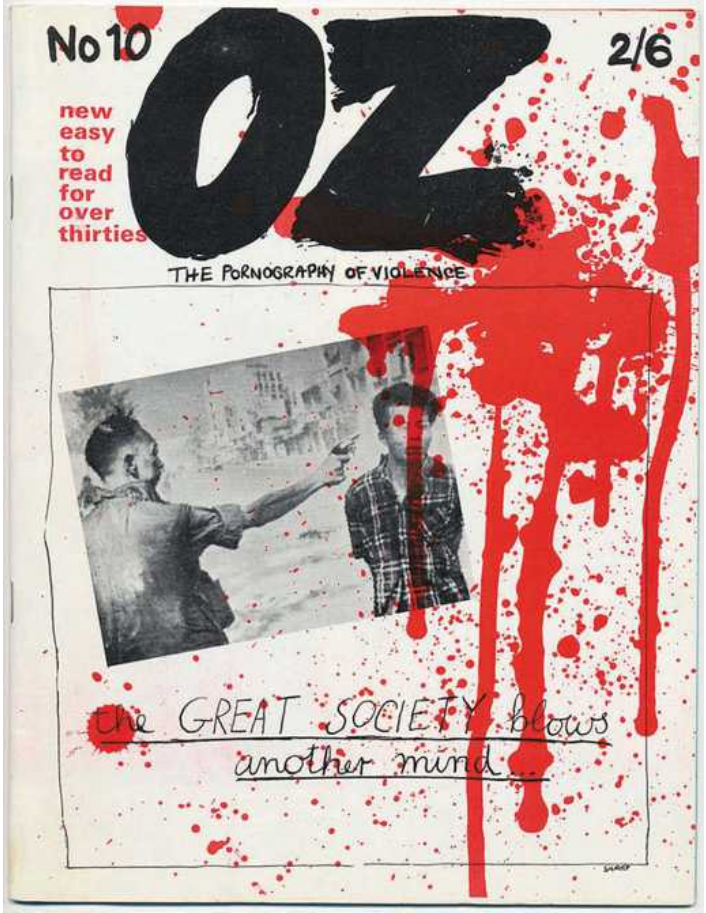
Advertising

Since the mid 1950s, advertising budgets and the range of venues in which you will find advertising, have increased dramatically. For advertising to work, it needs to capture the attention of its target audience. Because advertising is aimed at such a specific target market, it can often reveal important values of the time and place in which it was created. By influencing people to purchase products or think a certain way, advertising can also influence popular culture.

Satire

Satire can be a primary source and can take written, visual or audio forms. In the 1970s, the Sydney Push, a subculture made up of some of Sydney's most well-known young intellectuals, produced a controversial satirical magazine named *Oz*, which was known for its confronting covers and severe criticism of the government (see **SOURCE 2**).

SOURCE 2 This 1968 cover of Oz magazine carries a famous image from the Vietnam War. It shows a **Viet Cong** prisoner being executed by General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, chief of police of the South Vietnamese regime with whom the United States and Australia had allied themselves.



SOURCE 3 This advertisement for the Trans-Australian Railway was designed to entice travellers to see Australia from the comfort of a train. Like much advertising of the time, it paints a cheerful and positive picture of post-war Australia, a period in which wartime rationing and hardship were giving way to enjoyment of leisure time.



DID YOU KNOW?

Oz magazine was the subject of two obscenity trials, one in Australia and the other in England. The latter would become the longest running obscenity case in British legal history.

on Resources

Interactivity Popular culture in the 1960s and 1970s (int-6723)
Weblink *Oz* magazine

5.2 ACTIVITY

Popular satirical magazines such as *Oz* (**SOURCE 2**) were very critical of the government of the time. Research other issues of *Oz* magazine (archived online) and consider what messages the magazine might have for Australians today.

Using historical sources as evidence

5.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What is popular culture?
2. **HS1** Explain how improvements to communications technology following World War II have helped us better understand the period.
3. **HS1** What is the meaning of the term 'status quo'?
4. **HS1** Why was the period after World War II a time of social turmoil?
5. **HS1** List two important aspects of advertising for popular culture.

5.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** In **SOURCE 1**, the interviewee, Alannah, says that she and other Sharpie girls were influenced by an actress of the time, Mia Farrow. What does this suggest about the connection between subcultures, like the Sharpies, and mass media such as films?
2. **HS3** In what ways does **SOURCE 2** meet the definition of satire? In what ways might it differ from this definition?
3. **HS3** Which would you expect to give the most accurate depiction of history — first-hand experiences, historical accounts, expert opinion or satire? Explain your response.
4. **HS3** List the kinds of sources available to a historian in the immediate post-war period and those likely to be available to a future historian studying contemporary times.
5. **HS6** Do you believe one era's sources have more value than the other era? Explain your response.
6. **HS4 SOURCE 3** is a 1950s advertisement for the Trans-Australian Railway. Based on the images and words used in this advertisement, what can this source reveal about:
   (a) the people of the time
   (b) their changing interests
   (c) the importance of technology?
   Use evidence from the advertisement to support your responses.
7. **HS3** How might the advertisement for travel shown in **SOURCE 3** be communicated to an audience today? Consider the style, design and the medium in your answer.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.3 Post-war Australia — the 1950s

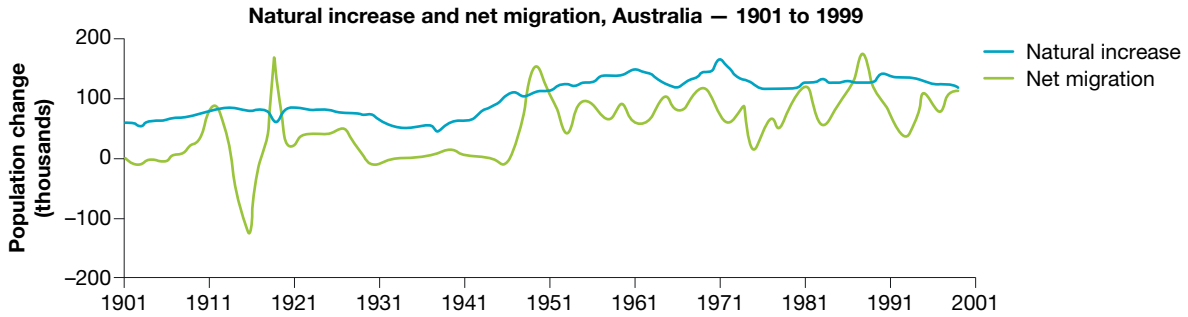
5.3.1 Populating Australia

During the 1930s, Australia had suffered a depression that, at its peak, saw 32 per cent of people out of work. Whole neighbourhoods turned into slums. Then war hit, and the country was plunged into a six-year battle that saw the mainland bombed by the Japanese and enemy submarines make it into Sydney Harbour. Australians, who had always felt great solidarity with the English, found themselves relying upon America for protection while England fought to defend itself against attack from Nazi Germany. This was a time of fear for many Australians: fear of poverty, fear of invasion, and fear that they would never be reunited with their loved ones. When the war ended in 1945, Australia rejoiced, but the soldiers returned to a country that still faced years of hardship.

The Australia to which the soldiers returned could no longer take its security for granted. The federal government, together with much of Australian society, believed that the only protection against foreign invaders was to dramatically increase the population, which at the time stood at only seven million. The ruling Curtin government set the target of increasing Australia's population by 1 per cent per year. This was largely to be accomplished by dramatically increasing the number of immigrants accepted into Australia. While many Australians recognised the need to populate the country, others feared that this would lead to a flood of undesirable immigrants entering the country. The government of the day reassured the populace that only the most suitable immigrants would be chosen and began recruiting Europeans who had been

displaced by the war, such as 'the beautiful Balts' (see **SOURCE 2**). With an influx of immigrants ready to work, the country began building major infrastructure projects such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme. These projects were designed to improve the lives of regular Australians, to supply new suburbs with much-needed power and to make a statement: Australia was on the move.

SOURCE 1 Australia's population increase during the twentieth century



Source: CBCS Demography Bulletins; ABS 1985; ABS Australian Demographic Statistics (3101.0), various issues.

SOURCE 2 One campaign designed to reassure Australians of immigrants' suitability involved offering residency to blond, blue-eyed members of the Baltic states, who were referred to as 'the beautiful Balts'. This photograph of Baltic immigrants was taken in Victoria in 1948.

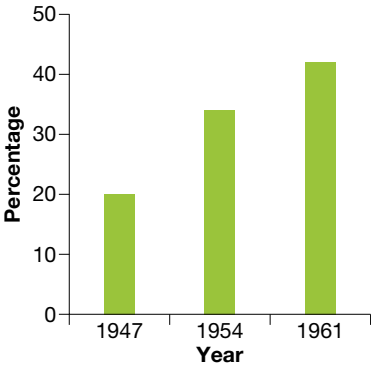


5.3.2 The nature of Australian society

Women and work

Social and economic changes after the war were slow to be felt by the women of Australia, particularly in relation to work. During the war, many women had found work in industries such as munitions production and nursing, and in the Women's Land Army. Undertaking this work gave many women a new-found sense of independence and pride. When the men returned from war, initially, women were expected to vacate their positions and resume their duties at home. However, an acute labour shortage meant that governments were forced to turn to married women to fill working roles (see **SOURCE 3**). Women in the workforce, married or single, were usually given a lower wage than their male counterparts. In 1949–50, the National Council of Women and the Australian Federation of Business and Professional Clubs petitioned for women to receive equal pay, and they were granted 75 per cent of what a man would earn to undertake the same job. It would be the late 1960s before Australian women would be granted equal pay for equal work, and the 1980s before they would be legally protected from harassment in the workplace.

SOURCE 3 Percentage of married women in the Australian female workforce 1947–61



Prosperity increases in the 1950s

As the 1950s began, unemployment was down, manufacturing was up, and the economy was growing steadily. Despite the recent influx of migrants, Australia was still a predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon society, in which the majority of people sought entertainment in film; bonded over sport and community events such as dinner-dances and church services; and learned about current affairs from radio, newspapers and the *Movietone news*. When this generation finally 'settled down', it was in comfortable, purpose-built suburbs, with quarter-acre blocks complete with a driveway for a new car. Women were not encouraged to work outside the home, but affordable whitegoods, vacuum cleaners and other products promised to make domestic chores less tedious. With this relative peace and prosperity as a backdrop, babies were born in record numbers, leading to a 'baby boom'.

The stability could not last forever. In the coming decades, world politics would once again throw the country into political turmoil, while advances in communications technology would introduce 'baby boomers' to a flood of American popular culture. The combination of these factors would cause many to question the social and political views of their parents, the nation's loyalty to its English roots and the very notion of what it meant to be 'Australian'.

SOURCE 4 In 1954, Queen Elizabeth II became the first monarch to tour Australia. At this time, the majority of Australians still considered themselves loyal subjects of the British crown. Around eight million people turned out to see the Queen during her visit.



DISCUSS

Is the monarchy more or less important to Australians today than it was in the post-war decades? In pairs or small groups, discuss and account for any change in feelings about the monarchy from then to now.

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

5.3.3 Suburban life in the 1960s

By the mid 1960s, many changes were afoot around the world and although the pace of change may have been slower, Australia was no exception. In the next decade, women's rights movements would transform Australian society, but in the 1960s many women still took on traditional roles, working in 'women's jobs' until they married. Australian wages and working conditions, for men at least, were better than ever. In the suburbs, in their kitchens and living rooms, many women reigned over the domestic domain. Families gathered around the television and absorbed a largely imported American culture.

SOURCE 5 A modern artist's impression of an Australian dinner party in the 1960s



- **A** The kitchen was where a woman would spend much of her day. With sleek, modern lines and pastel colours, the kitchen radiated control, hygiene and femininity, and often sported modern appliances.
- **B** Men usually wore a suit and tie to a dinner party while women wore the latest floral designs.
- **C** For many people, the dream home of the 1960s was a brick, single-level modern design that would accommodate a growing family.
- **D** The living room was the pride of the house, with furniture and art that demonstrated the owner's style and sophistication.
- **E** Children were generally expected to remain silent unless spoken to.
- **F** Too old to hang out with the children and too young to sit with the adults, teenagers entertained themselves by listening to music, gossiping or practising the latest dance craze.

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- Overview > **Women's rights**

5.3 ACTIVITY

Investigate the participation of women in the workforce in present-day Australia. Use your research as well as the information in this subtopic to draw a graph showing participation rates from the period 1950 to 2015. Write a paragraph describing the changing trends shown in your graph. **Identifying continuity and change**

5.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was Australia's population at the end of World War II? What percentage of today's population does this figure represent?
2. **HS1** What reason was given for Australia's need to increase its population after the war?
3. **HS1** What working roles had women undertaken in World War II?
4. **HS1** Create a timeline for women's progress towards equal pay using the dates mentioned in section 5.3.2. Add appropriate labels next to each date.
5. **HS1** Fill in the missing words in the following passage drawing on information in section 5.3.3. Australian _____ was changing in the 1960s. Men received _____ wages, while women were mostly content to work at _____. Once they were _____, many women were happy to stay at _____ in the _____. An important source of entertainment for families was _____, which transmitted a largely _____ version of culture.

5.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What chronological period is covered by the graph in **SOURCE 1**?
2. **HS3 SOURCE 2** depicts a group of 'beautiful Balts'. What did this immigration campaign suggest about the values of Australia's citizens at the time?
3. **HS3** What two aspects of Australia's population are shown over the period measured in the graph in **SOURCE 2**? Explain what each of these aspects means.
4. **HS3** There are three peaks shown in the net migration line on the graph and one very low trough. Can you explain these in historical terms?
5. **HS3** Write a paragraph explaining the data in the graph in **SOURCE 3**.
6. **HS3 SOURCE 4** depicts crowds filling the Melbourne Cricket Ground to see the Queen during her historic Australian tour in 1954. What can you tell about Australians at this time from this image alone?
7. **HS3** What sources might the artist who created **SOURCE 5** have used as references for his artwork? Do you consider **SOURCE 5** as a primary or secondary source? Explain.
8. **HS3** Based on the information in this subtopic, briefly explain what life was like during the period of post-war Australia for:
   (a) men
   (b) women.
9. **HS5** Some of you may have grandparents who are part of the 'baby boom' generation.
   (a) Explain how this demographic group received its name.
   (b) This generation is often described collectively as having certain defining characteristics, such as being individualistic, optimistic, high-achieving and acquisitive. How valid is it to classify a whole group in this way?
10. **HS4 SOURCE 5** is a modern artist's impression of life in the Australian suburbs in the 1960s. Create a table with two columns to compare and contrast the details of life depicted in **SOURCE 5** with details you think are representative of life in the Australian suburbs today.
11. **HS6** Evaluate the following statement: The demographic changes that occurred immediately after World War II were directly responsible for creating the Australia we see today. Use examples in your response.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.4 Sport and society

5.4.1 Developing a surfing culture

Sport has long been recognised as an important element of national identity. As free settlers arrived in Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century, they built rugby fields, cricket pitches and racetracks in an effort to recreate their English 'homeland'. Yet sport provided more than just a connection to the motherland. Both organised and informal sporting activities helped forge the characteristics of Australian communities. Sport provided a sense of community, identity and social interaction for communities often spread across vast distances. In the post-war era, while many sports teams promoted inclusiveness, others practised social exclusion and even racism.

on Resources

Video eLesson Surfies, clubbies and a changing way of life (eles-2623)

Before 1902, it was illegal to swim on Australian beaches in daylight hours. By the 1970s, Australian beach and surf culture had become a clearly defined movement with a strong focus on freedom of expression and rebellion. In the early twentieth century, mixed swimming at Australian beaches was still rare. Modest and almost full body bathing costumes (as seen in **SOURCE 1**) were still commonplace.

SOURCE 1 (a) Women in traditional bathing suits in New South Wales, 1908 (b) This one-piece suit worn by Australian film and swimming star, Annette Kellerman, was extremely controversial during the early 1900s.



DID YOU KNOW?

In September 1902 at Manly Beach, William Gocher openly defied the local regulations forbidding bathing in daylight hours and entered the water at midday in a neck-to-knee bathing costume. Despite being arrested, no charges were laid and in 1903, all-day bathing was allowed.

It was a visit from American Olympic champion Duke Kahanamokue in 1914 which introduced Australians to modern surfing (see **SOURCE 2**). With his royal Hawaiian heritage, surfing was a skill well known to the swimming champion. While on a post-Olympic tour in 1914, Kahanamokue was persuaded to demonstrate surfing to a group of bathers at Freshwater Beach in Sydney's north.

Australian teenagers soon realised that their coastal beaches provided the perfect conditions for this new pastime. Yet surfing's initial popularity was significantly affected by years of conflict and national economic hardship. It was only after World War II that Australian surf culture began to flourish. The timing of Australian surfing's rise corresponded with a range of social issues which were having a wider and dramatic impact on Australian society. The peace and civil rights movements, together with growing environmental concerns, contributed to the growing popularity of surfing. As such, the sport became a focus for youth counter-culture and rebellion; it became a way for young Australians to make a statement to older generations. A series of local and international films further popularised the archetypal surfer.

SOURCE 2 Duke Kahanamoku (pictured centre-right with a long-board over his shoulder) leaves the beach at Freshwater, Sydney, in January 1915.



SOURCE 3 Directed by Australian surfer and filmmaker Alby Falzon, *Morning of the Earth* (1971) helped popularise surfing and surf culture in Australia.



SOURCE 4 Young Australians preparing to surf in 1967.



on Resources

Video eLesson Surf culture hits Australia in the 1960s (eles-2745)

5.4.2 Going for gold

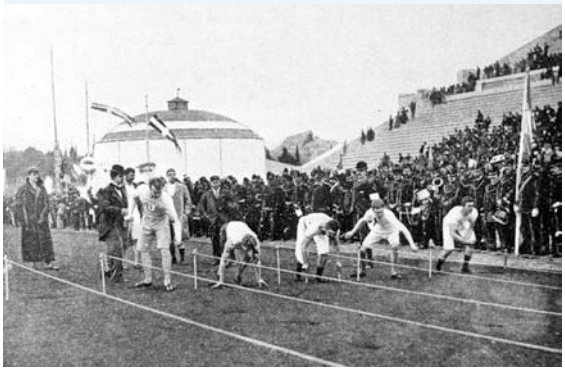
There may be no greater stage in world sport and no greater representation of inclusiveness and tolerance than that of the Olympic Games. Australia has been part of the Olympic movement since the first modern games in 1896. In fact, only Greece and Australia have participated in every Summer Olympics. Only one Australian athlete, Edwin Flack, was sent to Athens in 1896, yet his return with two gold models is, to this day, one of Australia's most successful Olympic track and field performances. Since the inaugural games, Australia's involvement has continued to grow, culminating in hosting the Olympics in 1956 and later in 2000. The games in 1956 corresponded with the official launch of television in Australia.

DID YOU KNOW?

In the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne, 325 Australian athletes participated, winning 35 medals: 13 gold, 8 silver and 14 bronze. This resulted in Australia being placed third after the USSR and USA on the overall medal table, an achievement not yet surpassed by an Australian team at the Olympics.

Australia's involvement in the Olympic Games and the wider Olympic movement represents our country's passion for sport but also our commitment to Olympic and Paralympic values of friendship, respect, excellence, determination, inspiration, courage and equality. The Australian government believes that the Olympic Games are an 'opportunity for nations to come together in peace and friendship' and it has a long history of service to the International Olympic Committee (IOC).

SOURCE 5 The start of the 100 metres sprint at the 1896 Athens Olympics. It was won by Thomas Burke (USA) in a time of 12.0s.



SOURCE 6 The start of the 100 metres sprint at the 2012 London Olympics. It was won by Usain Bolt (Jamaica) in a time of 9.63s.

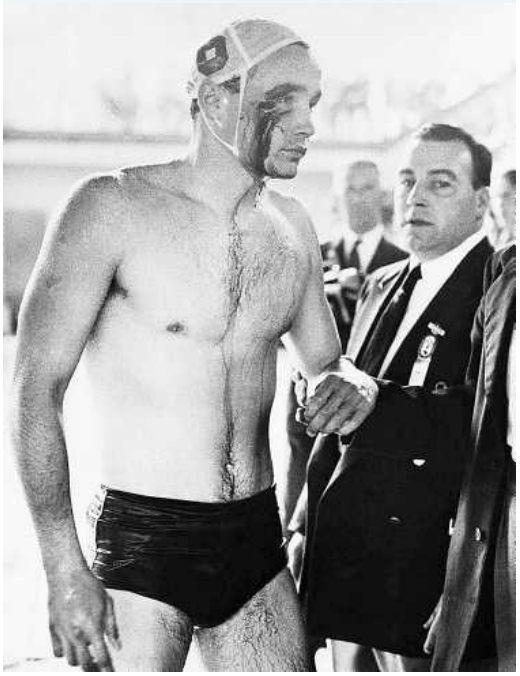


The Olympics as a platform for political protest

Australia has also featured prominently in some of the most enduring moments of the modern Olympics. At the 1956 Melbourne games, Hungary and the Soviet Union met in a water polo game which came to be known as the 'Blood in the water' match. Just months before the Olympics, Hungarians had revolted over the Soviet control of their country. Tensions exploded during the game, with brutal tactics employed by both sides. Fearing a crowd riot, officials eventually called the game off.

In 1968, Australian athlete Peter Norman found himself embroiled in controversy surrounding a civil rights protest by his American counterparts. On the way to the medal presentation ceremony, first-place getter Tommie Smith and third-place getter John Carlos, informed Norman they intended to make a statement supporting African-American rights by raising their fists in the 'Black Power' salute. From the image in **SOURCE 8**, it may not seem as though Norman was doing much to support his fellow athletes. Yet it was Norman who suggested that Smith and Carlos wear black gloves on the dais. Norman paid a significant price for his actions, being shunned by his peers and overlooked for selection in subsequent games, despite surpassing qualification standards. Only in 2012, six years after his death, did the Australian government issue a formal apology to Norman and his family.

SOURCE 7 Hungarian water polo player Ervin Zador is led from the pool after being punched in the closing moments of the 'Blood in the water' match against the Soviet Union at the 1956 Melbourne Olympics.



SOURCE 8 Peter Norman stands in support while Americans Tommie Smith and John Carlos give the 'Black Power' salute at the 1968 Mexico Olympics.



5.4.3 Immigration, soccer and national identity

Although other codes of football, namely Australian Rules and Rugby, had already become established in Australia, it was soccer, known in Europe as 'football', that was the sport that European migrants to Australia knew and loved.

Between 1947 and 1964, more than two million migrants entered Australia under schemes designed to expand industry, or as **displaced persons** following World War II. Often, they found themselves unwelcome in the established sporting clubs and sought refuge in soccer. The high number of migrants participating in soccer led to it being labelled 'Wogball' by some white Australians.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, soccer remained popular with migrant communities in all states. Clubs were run by immigrants and often represented a single ethnicity. The petroleum company Ampol sponsored these competitions and sponsored a national Ampol Cup. In 1974, just one year after the official end of the White Australia policy, Australia qualified for the FIFA World Cup. Although they were beaten by East Germany (2–0), West Germany (3–0), and drew with Chile (0–0), playing at one of the biggest sporting events in the world was a major achievement and reignited interest in establishing an Australian league.

SOURCE 9 Australia play Uruguay in Melbourne (1974) as part of their preparation for the World Cup held in the same year.



SOURCE 10 Australia's soccer team (left), lined up with Chile before their 1974 World Cup match. Hailing from clubs such as Hakoah Melbourne, St George Budapest and Pan Hellenic, the team represented a mixture of ethnicities.



Ethnic tensions

The National Soccer League was established in 1977. For most of its history, it would remain fairly segregated, with players and supporters divided along ethnic lines. Of the 14 teams that competed in the 1991 season, 11 were 'ethnic': three were Italian, four Greek, two Croatian, one Macedonian and one Maltese. The 1991 final was played between South Melbourne Hellas and Preston Makedonia, replicating the tensions felt in the Greek and Macedonian communities over the disputed Macedonian territory. Throughout the match, fans from both sides taunted each other with racial slurs, leading one member of the crowd to describe the match as a 'proxy war'.

In a society that claimed to be embracing multiculturalism, this sort of ethnic intolerance was a cause for major concern. In 1992, the Australian Soccer Federation began a process of 'Australianising' soccer clubs, which included banning any club that carried the name of a foreign country, state, or place, or any name with 'political implications'. This was an attempt to stop the **xenophobia** and racism that had sometimes accompanied the sport, as well as being a business decision designed to attract corporate sponsorship.

SOURCE 11 Fans rioted at a match between Preston and South Melbourne in 2005. Afterwards, both clubs were fined for bringing the game into disrepute, and it was ruled that matches between the two clubs would be played behind 'closed doors' for the next two years.



Establishment of the A-League

The National Soccer League was succeeded by the A-League, which had its inaugural season in 2005–06. Run by Football Federation Australia (FFA), it is the top professional soccer league in Australia. The A-League is associated with the National Youth League, and the W-League for women. One year after the establishment of the A-League, Australian soccer — or football, as it is referred to by many of its fans — had its greatest victory in decades. The Socceroos, Australia's national team, defeated Uruguay to qualify for the World Cup for the first time since 1974. The team would go on to make it into the Round of 16 for the first time. They continued this success in the 2011 AFC Asia Cup, making the final, where they were defeated by Japan 1–0.

SOURCE 12 Harry Kewell tackles Dario Srna and cements his place as man of the match in Australia's win over Croatia in the 2006 World Cup.



5.4 ACTIVITIES

1. Conduct your own research to determine the most socially significant moments in Australian sporting history. Justify your choice. **Determining historical significance**
2. Fan violence at soccer games is a continuing issue in Australia and around the world. Using the internet, find two articles about this issue. Summarise the key arguments used by the respective authors. Can you detect any bias in the two articles you have found? **Using historical sources as evidence**

5.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain how surfing was introduced to Australia.
2. **HS1** Which global events initially restricted the popularity of surfing in Australia? Explain why these events had such an impact.
3. **HS1** Explain why there was a connection between surfing and counter-culture.
4. **HS1** For how many years has Australian been involved in the modern Olympics?
5. **HS1** In which years has Australia been the host nation for staging the Olympic Games?
6. **HS1** What does the Australian government believe about the value of the Olympic Games? Do you agree?
7. **HS1** Describe how Peter Norman demonstrated his support for the American civil rights movement.
8. **HS1** Explain how the popularity of soccer in Australia increased.
9. **HS1** How did the National Soccer League represent the different ethnicities found within Australian society?
10. **HS1** What problems did the cultural background of soccer clubs pose for state and national soccer competitions?

5.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Why do you believe Annette Kellerman's bathing suit as shown in **SOURCE 1b** was considered controversial at the time? Would it be considered controversial now?
2. **HS3** Closely examine **SOURCE 2**. Identify and describe three features of interest to a historian in this photograph.
3. **HS3** Which of the sources shown in this section best represents early Australian surf culture? Explain your answer.
4. **HS3** Compare and contrast **SOURCES 5** and **6**. Identify and describe the key similarities and differences of these images.
5. **HS3** Discuss the strengths and weakness of **SOURCE 7** as a piece of historical evidence.
6. **HS3** What emotions does the image in **SOURCE 8** invoke? Are these emotions relevant in evaluating the value of a historical source? Explain your answer.
7. **HS3** Compare the scenes shown in **SOURCES 9** and **10** to those you might see in contemporary Australian soccer. Analyse and describe the key changes (both positive and negative).
8. **HS3** Soccer is often referred to as 'the world game'. Explain what this phrase means. How does **SOURCE 10** support this description?
9. **HS3** What value do photographs and written accounts of sporting events have as historical sources? Consider what else these sources could be used for apart from the documentation of sporting events.
10. **HS3** Examine the images shown throughout this subtopic. What do they tell us about the role sport plays in Australian society?
11. **HS4** Do you believe the role of sport in Australia has changed over time? Use examples to explain your answer.
12. **HS5** Provide examples of sporting events or organisations having one positive or one negative effect on Australian communities.
13. **HS5** Explain how Australian immigration patterns have influenced the development of Australian soccer.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.5 The rock'n'roll revolution

5.5.1 The origins of rock'n'roll

Australian popular music of the 1940s and 1950s consisted of jazz, country and big band music, and reflected the mostly conservative tastes of its listeners. Major stars of the day included the crooners Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra. Radio stations in this era did not specialise in styles, but played a range of popular songs, usually as part of programs that focused on a particular musical genre. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, teenagers were looking for a sound that was riskier and more 'authentic' than the music their parents were listening to. They found it in rock'n'roll, a new genre of music that would take the world by storm.

SOURCE 1 Elvis Presley, the undisputed King of Rock'n'Roll in the late 1950s, was influenced by a wide range of musical traditions and styles including country and western, blues, gospel and rockabilly.



Rock'n'roll began in America and blended country and western music with the beat of rhythm and blues and the vocal power of African-American gospel music. As a blend of traditionally white and black musical styles, rock'n'roll was initially met with controversy and opposition. The prevailing conservatism of the time simultaneously hindered and helped the popularity of rock'n'roll. Teenagers were drawn to rock'n'roll's faster beats and melodies, yet they were also attracted to the social statements made by this new genre of music. In this way, a

demographic division between older and younger generations was created by the rise of rock'n'roll music. This cultural and generational divide continued to grow as the popularity of rock'n'roll increased. The emergence of rock'n'roll also corresponded with technological developments in the musical world. Electric instruments were becoming more commonplace, and radio and television both had significant influences on the popularity of rock'n'roll.

Australian rock'n'roll — the first wave

In Australia, rock'n'roll found fans in **disc jockeys** such as Bob Rogers. Previously, Rogers had achieved some fame by discovering the song 'Pub with no beer' by Australian country and western artist Slim Dusty. Now Rogers would present the first top 40 show in Australia, bringing Australian teenagers the new sounds coming out of America on his weekly radio show.

Australian teenagers had been enthralled with rock'n'roll since the movie *Blackboard Jungle* hit theatres in 1955; its soundtrack featured 'Rock around the clock' by Bill Haley. Before this, most music hits would sell around 50 000 copies in Australia. 'Rock around the clock' sold three times as many copies. For Australian teenagers, rock'n'roll represented new-found freedom and an opportunity to break away from what they saw as the old-fashioned values of their parents. As it was developing in their lifetime, young people saw rock'n'roll as their music. In this way, rock'n'roll became the first musical style to be closely associated with a distinct generation — the baby boomers.

SOURCE 2 Australian singer Lonnie Lee, who would go on to have a string of number 1 hits of his own, recalls the effect that *Blackboard Jungle* had on him when he watched it for the first time.

I can remember walking down George Street with a couple of my friends to go and see it and it was really exciting. I was — I think I was about 16 or 17 and we went into the movie and the music came on and oh, mercy, I swear you could not put it into words the incredible effect that that music had on young people knowing myself how I felt and my friends felt. And the people were thumping on the floor with their feet to the beat of the thing and clapping and yelling, it was like a live performance.

Rock'n'roll was featured across Australia in live shows organised by promoters such as Lee Gordon. Through his 'Big Show' concerts, Gordon brought a number of major rock'n'roll acts to Australia, including Bill Haley and the Comets, Little Richard, and Buddy Holly and the Crickets, and allowed Australian acts to open for them, thereby promoting the local music scene. It was on one of these tours that audiences were introduced to an Australian singer named Johnny O'Keefe (known as 'The Wild One').

O'Keefe, who had modelled himself on Elvis Presley and Little Richard, became the first Australian rock'n'roll performer to tour the United States and to break into the United States top 40. Television would also play a major role in popularising early rock'n'roll, as television shows such as *Six O'Clock Rock*, hosted by O'Keefe, presented rock'n'roll to a predominantly teenage audience.

As the 1950s drew to a close, the American rock'n'roll performers were about to face a challenge from British rock'n'roll bands including the Rolling Stones, the Animals, and, of course, the Beatles. Together, these bands would come to be known as 'The British Invasion'.

SOURCE 3 Australian rock'n'roll singer Johnny O'Keefe performing live during the Lee Gordon show at Milton Tennis Courts in Brisbane, Queensland, 1959.



5.5.2 The rise of the Beatles

The Beatles

The working-class English city of Liverpool was a grim place to grow up in the post-war years. Local teenagers were looking for a creative outlet and many found it in music. Four of the best were John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison and Ringo Starr, who together became known as the Beatles. After being turned down by all the major record labels in London, the Beatles were finally signed to Parlophone Records, which had previously published classical, jazz and comedy albums. Their first single, 'Love me do', was released in October 1962 and peaked at number 17 on the British charts. In March the following year they made it to number 1 with a song they wrote themselves, 'Please please me'. This would be the first of many hits in the singles and album charts.

The Beatles' musical style was heavily influenced by the emergence of rock'n'roll. Elvis Presley, Little Richard and Chuck Berry were among those listed by the band as formative influences. The Beatles soon developed their own musical style which, in their early years, was characterised by cheerful guitar riffs and well-blended vocal harmonies. Subsequent albums would see the Beatles' musical style evolve and diversify. The band experimented with genres including country, heavy rock and, later, psychedelic rock. Though their physical appearance may not seem outrageous compared to modern standards, the 'moptop' hairstyle worn by all four Beatles in their early days was considered to be an expression of rebellion. This added to their popularity and placed the Beatles at the centre of the rock'n'roll revolution.

SOURCE 4 Fans scream for Paul, one of the 'Fab Four', in Exhibition Street, Melbourne, in 1964.



Beatlemania arrives in Australia

Following a meteoric rise to fame in England and a string of number one hits in the United States, in 1964 the Beatles set off on a World Tour, including Australia. When their plane touched down at Sydney's Mascot International Airport on 11 June 1964, the Fab Four (as the Beatles were known) were greeted by around 2000 screaming fans. Fans' hysterical reaction to the band had become known as 'Beatlemania'.

They would make 15 appearances at venues around the country, but nowhere would they receive a reception like they did in Adelaide. Large crowds of screaming teenage fans had been expected; what wasn't expected was the turnout — estimated at between 250 000–350 000 people — which was more than a quarter of the city's population. After they left Australia, the Beatles were more popular than ever, holding the top six spots on the top 40.

DID YOU KNOW?

When the Beatles toured Australia, the DJs hosting the events failed to stop the fans from screaming through the performance, making it almost impossible to hear the music.

DISCUSS

'The 1964 Beatles tour was the most influential moment in Australian popular music.' What other evidence would you need to evaluate the accuracy of this statement? **[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]**

SOURCE 5 John Bywaters was an Adelaide-based musician when the Beatles toured in 1964. In this excerpt with reporter Mike Sexton, he explains how he gained popularity in the post-Beatlemania hype with the Twilights.

MIKE SEXTON: But after the Beatles left and the screaming died down, the beat went on. Local musicians inspired by the visit were asking the question — if it could happen to four lads from Liverpool, then why not them?

JOHN BYWATERS: We then became sort of vacuums, or like a sponge if you like, sucking in all this new material that the Beatles started to produce and we sort of had a bit of reflected glory from them as they became popular.

MIKE SEXTON: John Bywaters played in a Beatles cover band called the Twilights which was fronted by a British migrant named Glenn Shorrock. Soon they started writing their own songs and found themselves in the charts alongside their idols.

JOHN BYWATERS: I think it's back to the migrant thing where these hip kids came from mainly England and the north of England. I think, you know, they were already into the influence of that sort of music and they came here and they made Adelaide a very vibey scene with the clubs and such like.

5.5.3 Australian rock goes worldwide

It was not long after rock'n'roll music made its way to Australia that the first home-grown rock bands began to emerge. This first wave of Australian rock was directly influenced by the new sounds coming out of the American music industry. Australian artists such as Johnny O'Keefe were part of this first wave. Although these acts were hugely popular in Australia, they struggled for international recognition. The same could not be said for artists who were part of the second wave of Australian rock. This era of Australian rock'n'roll occurred directly after the Beatles' 1964 Australian tour and its sound was heavily reminiscent of the famous British band. Part of this second wave were the Easybeats, the first Australian band to have an international rock'n'roll hit with the 1966 single, 'Friday on my mind'.

SOURCE 6 AC/DC at a performance in Hollywood in 1977.



A third wave of Australian rock'n'roll developed in the grit and grime of the 'pub rock' scene. The rise in popularity of pub rock was due, in part, to the continuing influence of TV music shows, particularly the ABC's *Countdown*, which ran from 1974 to 1987. Hosted by respected musical personality Ian 'Molly' Meldrum, this enormously popular show promoted Australian musical acts to a local audience. Bands such as Billy Thorpe and the Aztecs and later Cold Chisel, the Angels and AC/DC all emerged during this period. In 1975, members of the Easybeats produced AC/DC's first album, *High Voltage*. Fronted by Bon Scott (who was replaced by Brian Johnson in 1980), AC/DC would become mainstays on *Countdown*, endearing them to Australian audiences before they embarked upon their international career. After signing with Atlantic Records, AC/DC gained a succession of international hits, becoming one of the world's most popular and enduring rock bands over the following decades.

SOURCE 7 John Paul Young ('Squeak') and Ian 'Molly' Meldrum on the set of *Countdown*



Resources

Interactivity The Beatles (int-6727)
Weblink Rock'n'roll in Australia

5.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What music styles were major influences on early rock'n'roll?
2. **HS1** Explain how rock'n'roll created a cultural and generational divide between teenagers of the 1950s and 1960s and their parents.
3. **HS1** Through which medium did rock'n'roll enter Australia?
4. **HS1** Using the information available to you in this subtopic, how do you explain the incredible popularity of the Beatles?
5. **HS1** Describe the musical style of the Beatles.
6. **HS1** List the different waves of Australian rock'n'roll and the artists in each wave.
7. **HS1** Explain the role the television show *Countdown* had in increasing the popularity of Australian rock'n'roll.
8. **HS1** Which band released Australia's first international rock'n'roll hit?

5.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3 SOURCE 1** depicts a performance by one of the biggest rock'n'roll artists of all time, Elvis Presley. Based on body language and dress, what can you tell about Elvis at this point in his career? Why do you think he was so popular?
2. **HS3 SOURCE 2** describes Australian teenagers' responses to *Blackboard Jungle*. According to this quote, what was it about the soundtrack that made it so popular?
3. **HS3 SOURCE 3** shows Johnny O'Keefe in concert in 1959.
   (a) What do you notice about the audience?
   (b) What similarities and differences can you discern between this concert and a modern concert?
4. **HS3** Compare Johnny O'Keefe (**SOURCE 3**) to Elvis Presley (**SOURCE 1**). What are the similarities and differences between each source?
5. **HS3** Based upon **SOURCE 4**, who do you think the Beatles were trying to appeal to? What makes you say this?
6. **HS3** Based upon **SOURCE 5** as well as other information in this subtopic, do you think that the Beatles' 1964 tour promoted or stifled the creativity of Australian rock'n'roll?
7. **HS3 SOURCE 6** depicts a performance from one of Australia's most successful rock'n'roll bands, AC/DC, who are well known for staging exhilarating and theatrical performances. What similarities and differences do you see between AC/DC and the earlier rock acts depicted in this subtopic?
8. **HS3** Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of using song lyrics as historical sources.
9. **HS4** Explain how rock'n'roll created generational conflict in the 1950s and 1960s.
10. **HS4** Describe the development of rock'n'roll in Australia. Include references to artists and bands.
11. **HS5** Why were Australian audiences and musicians so open to influence from American musicians in the late 1950s and early 1960s? How did this change after the Beatlemania tour of 1964?
12. **HS5** How might the development of Australian rock'n'roll have helped with the development of Australia's post-war identity?
13. **HS6** In 1966, John Lennon of The Beatles caused controversy when he said 'We're more popular than Jesus now; I don't know which will go first — rock'n'roll or Christianity'. Do you agree with his statement? Justify your answer.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.6 Global political and social influences on popular culture

5.6.1 Music and the power of protest

The 1960s was a time of political and social upheaval. The country went to war in Vietnam. Battles sprung up at home against Australia's participation in the war and in the name of civil rights, and in support of Indigenous land rights and women's liberation. Around the world, many people took to the streets in protest, while others were inspired to create music that expressed their concerns. Musicians began to recognise that through their songs, they had an opportunity to educate and inform their listeners about political and social issues. This music became known as 'protest music'.

In 1964, Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced that the government would begin selective **conscription** of 20-year-old Australian men. While all young men of eligible age were required to register, only those whose birth dates were selected by lottery would be required for National Service. The following year, Menzies announced that Australia would send troops to assist the South Vietnamese government in combating the threat posed by the communists. The new conscripts could now be sent to Vietnam.

While many people who disagreed with Australia's presence in Vietnam took to the streets in protest, others — inspired by members of America's folk-music revival movement — put pen to paper to create protest music. Written by Johnny Young and sung by Ronnie Burns in 1969, 'Smiley' was inspired by the experiences of Normie Rowe, an Australian pop singer who was highly disturbed by the experience of fighting in Vietnam. The lyrics tell a story: *'Smiley / You're off to the Asian War / And we won't see you smile no more'*. The Vietnam War and the horrors experienced by its young soldiers would continue to inspire musicians for decades. In 1983, Australian folk group Redgum released 'I was only nineteen', in which they wrote, *'Frankie kicked a mine the day that mankind kicked the moon. God help me, he was going home in June'*.

SOURCE 1 Normie Rowe in Vietnam



Another major issue that preoccupied protest singers of the 1960s was **civil rights**. During this era, the protest against Vietnam and for civil rights went hand-in-hand. In America Bob Dylan led the musical protests around civil rights for African Americans. Many Australians supported Indigenous Australians' right to own their traditional lands (also known as 'land rights').

Protest music continued to hold a strong place in the Australian rock'n'roll scene through the 1970s and 1980s. Bands such as Midnight Oil proved that it was possible to have commercial success with socially responsible music. Contemporary Australian bands such as the John Butler Trio and hip-hop act The Herd continue to produce protest music.

SOURCE 2 On 28 August 1963, Bob Dylan, widely recognised as the pioneer of the folk-rock music style, and singer-activist Joan Baez, played in front of an estimated 250 000 people who had gathered in America's capital in support of economic and civil rights for African Americans. His song 'Blowin' in the wind' became a protest anthem.



5.6.2 The hippie movement

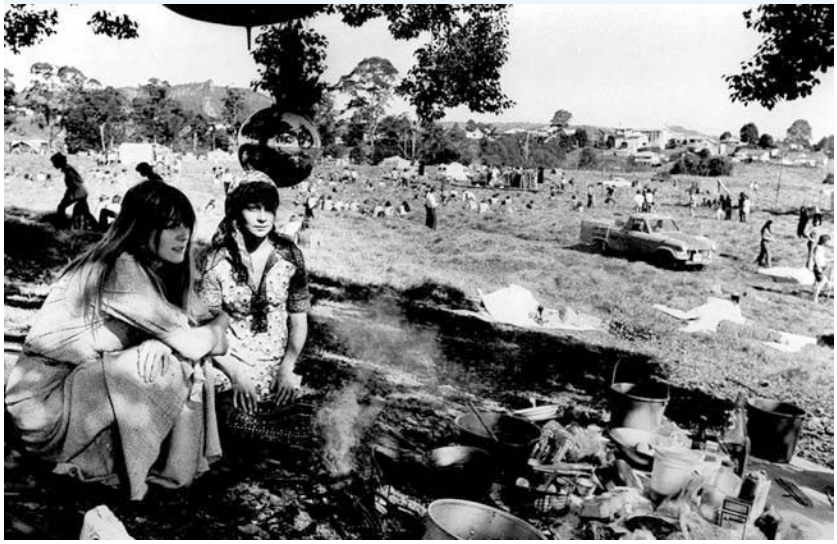
The hippie subculture emerged out of the **beat generation** of the 1950s in America, Australia, England and elsewhere. Rather than protesting as stridently as those who had come before them, hippies aimed to challenge the conventional values of regular, mainstream society by embracing a less materialistic, more communal lifestyle, and promoting a peaceful, compassionate and sustainable way of life. It could be said that they were attempting to create a **utopia**.

America's hippies and other like-minded people came together at Woodstock, a three-day, free music festival held outside Bethel, New York, in August 1969. Thirty-two musical acts performed for half a million people who danced in the rain and mud. The festival would come to be synonymous with the values of peace, love and communal living. Many of the values that underpinned Woodstock were also represented by Australia's **Aquarius** Festival, which was held in Nimbin in 1973, and attended by between 5000 and 10 000 young people from around the country. This festival was advertised with the slogan, 'From our hearts, with our hands, for the Earth, all the world together'. Many hippies decided to stay on in the Nimbin area after the festival and continue its counter-culture lifestyle philosophy.

Music festivals in Australia

In Australia, between 1970 and 1975, many outdoor music festivals were staged. The first Sunbury Music Festival in January of 1972 is often referred to as 'Australia's Woodstock'. The inaugural festival drew an audience of 35 000, all of whom camped out and lived communally for three days listening to rock, blues, soul and r'n'b (rhythm and blues) music. However, as far as music and mood was concerned, the hippie movement of peace and love was giving way to the essential Australian ingredients of sun, beer and gritty rock. Performers like Billy Thorpe and the Aztecs, Max Merritt and the Meteors and Chain showcased Australian contemporary music. The festival eventually folded in 1975 after financial difficulties that arose from the concert being rained out.

SOURCE 3 The Aquarius Festival, held in Nimbin in 1973, was designed to celebrate freedom of mind, body and spirit.



5.6 ACTIVITY

Choose a decade of the twentieth century (the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s) and conduct research into protest music from that decade. Find an example of lyrics that could be classified as 'protest' and write a persuasive essay of 400 words showing how it represents a protest against events of its time. **Analysing cause and effect**

5.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Write your own definition of protest music.
2. **HS1** What was the purpose of conscription? Which group of Australians faced conscription?
3. **HS1** List the aims of the 'hippie' movement.
4. **HS1** What values were represented at the Woodstock music festival?
5. **HS1** List the festivals mentioned in this section in order of occurrence. How did Australia's Sunbury Music Festival differ:
   (a) from Woodstock
   (b) from the Aquarius Festival?

5.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What do you think the respective photographers are trying to capture in **SOURCES 1** and **2**? How are you positioned to view the subjects in the photographs?
2. **HS3** What could a historian learn from studying the photograph (**SOURCE 3**)? In your response, consider:
   (a) the gender of those shown
   (b) the age of those shown.
3. **HS3** How would you categorise the sources included in this subtopic?
4. **HS4** Are music festivals held today in Australia? Are they based on a particular philosophy or set of values as Woodstock was? If so, what are they? If not, does this suggest music is no longer a means of protest? Outline your views.
5. **HS5** What is it about protest music that has made it such a powerful form of protest? Could another form of protest have replicated the success of protest music in the second half of the twentieth century? Why or why not?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.7 The evolution of television as a cultural influence

5.7.1 Welcome to television

Since it arrived in Australia in 1956, no form of mass media has been more influential in establishing and reinforcing popular culture than television. From humble beginnings, the television would become a pivotal cultural and political tool, and would help to transform the country forever. In recent years, television has gone digital, offering viewers more choice than ever, and forcing television producers to think of new ways to attract and maintain their audience.

Bruce Gyngell, a presenter on Australia's first commercial television network TCN-9, officially introduced television to the Australian public on 16 September 1956 with the words 'Good evening, and welcome to television'. The release date coincided with the Melbourne Olympics, which were held from 22 November to 8 December 1956. By the time the Olympics was broadcast, TCN-9 had been joined by HSV Melbourne and ABN-2. Other stations sprung up in the following years, including stations based in major metropolitan areas and regional or rural areas. The most popular programs of the day were produced overseas, where higher budgets allowed studios to create shows with higher production values. Local productions included quiz and musical variety shows, which had been popular during the radio era, as well as news and current affairs shows.

SOURCE 1 *In Melbourne Tonight*, one of the most popular musical variety shows of the 1950s and 1960s, was hosted by former radio star Graham Kennedy. He introduced celebrities, presided over comedy sketches and read product advertisements.



Vietnam — the first 'television war'

By 1966, only ten years after it was released in Australia, the television had become a common household item, and could be found in 95 per cent of homes in Sydney and Melbourne. Before television, listening to the radio was a family event, with a large radio found in the living rooms of most Australian homes. This trend was kept when household televisions replaced radios, with entire families huddled around a small screen. The Vietnam War was the first war to be shown on Australian television and gained the name 'the television war'. Early coverage of the war was upbeat, containing few images of the dead and focusing instead on the military's progress. However, as the conflict dragged on, and public opinion began to turn against the war, television opened a window into the more troubling stories. This culminated in the coverage of a South Vietnamese **napalm** strike on an enemy stronghold in the summer of 1972. During the attack, South Vietnamese bombers bombed their own citizens and soldiers as they ran for their lives. One of the most striking images of this event is of Phan Th Kim Phúc, a young girl burned by napalm, running down the middle of a road surrounded by American soldiers.

SOURCE 2 Neil Davis, an Australian war correspondent, captured footage from the front line throughout the Vietnam War. These stories were seen by millions of people around the world and contributed to shaping public opinion. This photograph, taken in 1973, shows him injured while in Cambodia.



Channel 0/28 — multiculturalism on screen

In 1980, Australia made history when it established Channel 0/28, the world's first ethnic television channel. The Fraser government supported the station because it believed the channel would assist immigrants in understanding Australia and would better reflect their interests. This was part of a deliberate strategy to develop a more **multicultural** nation, one that respected its residents' cultural heritage rather than attempting to force a dominant culture upon them.

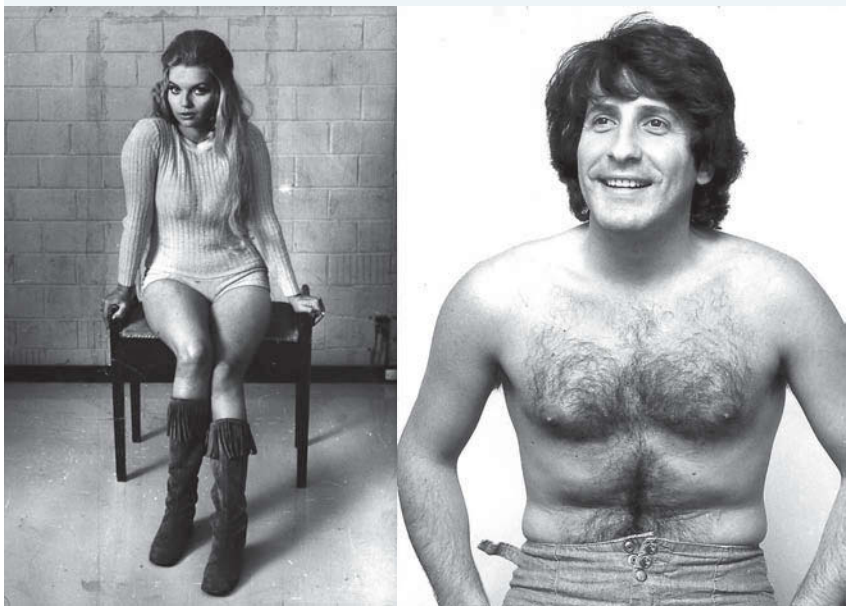
From the start, the Channel 0/28 broadcast was designed to offer a broad range of programming that would appeal to people whose interests weren't adequately covered by the other networks. On its first night, it screened the documentary *Who are we?*, which traced the history of immigration to Australia. This set the tone for the new channel, which would become known for screening movies from around the world and for covering international issues in depth within its news programs. In 1985 the channel changed its name to the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS).

5.7.2 From soapies to reality

Australia has produced a number of dramatic serials, or 'soap operas'. They typically feature an open storyline, which continues from one episode to the next, seemingly indefinitely. Early Australian soap operas included *Number 96* (1972), *The Sullivans* (1976) and *Sons and Daughters* (1982), all of which ran in prime-time slots and were important in reflecting changing social attitudes.

Number 96 was one show that courted controversy on a number of occasions. Launched in 1972 by an ailing 0–10 Network (now Channel 10), *Number 96* focused on the relationships of a group of people living in one apartment complex. The show featured a multiracial cast, frequent nudity, sex scenes, homosexuality and drug use. These racy storylines and themes had never been seen on television before. The impact of *Number 96* was exaggerated by its contrast to more conventional Australian 'soapies' such as *The Sullivans*. Viewers were confronted with representations of a changing world and this shocked and scared many Australian households.

SOURCE 3 These images of Abigail (left) and Joe Hasham (right), who were stars of the controversial television program *Number 96*, show why it may have been compelling viewing for Australians in the 1970s. At the peak of its popularity, *The Daily Mirror* newspaper claimed that 1.8 million Australian viewers had tuned in to watch. In 1977, after 1218 episodes, the show was cancelled because of falling ratings.



The genre reached new heights with *Neighbours* (1985) and *Home and Away* (1988) gaining huge popularity with predominantly teenage audiences in Australia. *Neighbours* and *Home and Away* also performed well overseas, particularly in England, because they represented a very different lifestyle than that of the British. Some Australian soap opera stars, most notably Kylie Minogue, used their new-found international stardom to become successful pop singers, while others, such as Russell Crowe, Margot Robbie, Liam Hemsworth and Chris Hemsworth, became A-list movie and television actors.

SOURCE 4 Domestic and international tourists continue to make the pilgrimage to the sets of *Home and Away* and *Neighbours* each year, where they can view the Summer Bay Surf Lifesaving Club, Alf's Bait Shop and Ramsay Street up close.



DID YOU KNOW?

The original dramatic serials were broadcast on radio during the week in daytime slots, when most listeners would be women. When the serials needed sponsorship, they approached the makers of cleaning products, including soap. This is why, even during the television era, these shows were known as 'soap operas' or 'soapies'.

Reality television 'gets real'

In the late 1990s, a new genre of television emerged from England and America known as 'reality television'. This genre took audience participation far beyond the competition of game shows or the (usually) strictly controlled documentaries of the past. *Big Brother*, once referred to as 'the mother of all reality shows', promised contestants a large cash prize if they could escape elimination by the audience over a number of weeks. Some people viewed the show as an interesting social experiment or reflection of our times, while others viewed it as degrading to participants.

Most reality television consists of a group of people put into a challenging situation and offered a substantial prize if they can survive a process of elimination. Since it requires no professional actors and can be shot entirely on location, reality television is quite cheap to produce, making it attractive to television stations. The popularity of reality television is largely due to viewers relating better to participants than to paid actors. Viewers enjoy watching normal people faced with abnormal situations. They are fascinated by flawed personality traits and are intrigued by the potential of conflict. In fact, some reality television shows have been criticised for deliberately misrepresenting participants and manufacturing conflict. Examples of popular reality TV shows include *Australian Survivor, Australian Idol, Australia's Next Top Model, The Voice* and *MasterChef*, all of which were based upon concepts developed in other countries.

The technology of television

Ever since the first television signal was broadcast in Australia, technology has dictated what Australians watch and how they watch it. In 1966, Australia received its first satellite images from the United States, a technology that would eventually allow television companies to show events live rather than waiting to broadcast recorded footage. On 20 July 1969, satellite images allowed Australians to watch Neil Armstrong

and Buzz Aldrin walk on the moon. This immediate access to information became even more important when Australian soldiers entered the Vietnam War. In 1975, colour television arrived in Australia, leading to a growing popularity in this medium, and further establishing its dominance over radio.

SOURCE 5 Australia fell in love with *MasterChef* when it was broadcast on Network Ten in April 2009. It would go on to be one of the top rating programs of the year, with an estimated 3.7 million people tuning in to the finale. The *MasterChef* format was originally developed for English television. Australia is one of more than 25 countries to have localised the show.



SOURCE 6 When it was first broadcast in 1968, *Skippy the Bush Kangaroo* was the most expensive Australian television production ever made, costing around $6000 per episode. It was the first Australian show to be widely screened in the United States, as well as 80 other countries worldwide. However, Australians would have to wait until 1975 to view *Skippy* in colour.



In recent decades, Australians have been given access to a broader range of television stations via cable television, which they pay for on a subscription basis. In 2010, Australia began the complex process of shifting from analogue to digital TV, which allows for an increasing number of television channels. However, many people, including content producers, worry that, rather than promoting a greater amount of local television production, these channels will become yet more venues for broadcasting American re-runs. The increase of internet pirates illegally downloading television shows and the rise of streaming services such as Netflix and Stan, also pose a significant threat to the future of television in Australia and around the world.

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- The globalising world > **Film and television**

on Resources

Weblink History of the ABC

5.7 ACTIVITIES

1. What do you believe has been the most significant moment in Australian television? You may need to conduct your own research in order to answer this question. Be sure to explain the reason for your choice.
   Determining historical significance
2. Conduct your own research on the issue of illegal downloading of television shows. Find two articles with opposing views on the issue. Compare and contrast their main arguments.
   Using historical sources as evidence

5.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** With what global event did the launch of television in Australia correspond?
2. **HS1** Explain how the television could be seen as a tool for family cohesion.
3. **HS1** What impact did televised updates from the Vietnam War have on Australian families and communities?
4. **HS1** Why was the establishment of Channel 0/28 seen as a milestone for Australia?
5. **HS1** Explain the origins of the term 'soapie'.
6. **HS1** Discuss the impact of *Number 96* on Australian society.
7. **HS1** Identify and explain the reasons viewers often prefer to watch reality television rather than 'soapies'.
8. **HS1** Describe the ways in which technological changes have improved television in the period from 1956 to the present.

5.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Graham Kennedy, a former radio star, was one of Australian television's first big stars. Looking at **SOURCE 1**, describe what you see, including the set, Kennedy's costume and overall 'look', and anything else that strikes you about the picture.
2. **HS3** **SOURCE 2** depicts Australian investigative journalist Neil Davis. What can you tell about his style of reporting based upon this image? How might this style of reporting have given him an advantage during the Vietnam War?
3. **HS3** As you can see from **SOURCE 4**, some tourists include a tour of a soap opera set when they travel to Australia. What does this suggest about the importance of Australian soap operas to our image internationally? What sort of impression do you think that the major soap operas, *Neighbours* and *Home and Away*, give of Australia? Is this an accurate impression?
4. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) How do these images and the popularity of the television program *Number 96* support or refute the idea of Australia as a conservative society in the early 1970s?
   (b) *The Daily Mirror* newspaper that reported the 'amazing figures' of '1.8 million viewers' every night is considered a tabloid newspaper. Why might a historian be reluctant to use a tabloid newspaper as a reliable source?
   (c) Can you think of any television programs today that draw 'amazing' numbers of viewers? What explanation about the interests and views of Australian society can you offer for this popularity?
5. **HS3** **SOURCES 5** and **6** represent very different television programs and television viewing habits over time. What does this change demonstrate about changes in Australian popular culture?
6. **HS3** Can all genres of television be used as historical sources? Are there some genres that are more reliable than others?
7. **HS4** Identify and explain the key changes in Australian television programs since its launch in 1956.
8. **HS4** Identify and explain the key changes in Australian television technology since its launch in 1956.
9. **HS5** How might illegal downloading affect Australian television broadcasting?
10. **HS3** Compare and contrast the images of early Australian television shown in this subtopic with those that are familiar to you from contemporary television. Make a table that summarises the main similarities and differences (include references to genre and content).

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.8 The Australian film industry: post-war to today

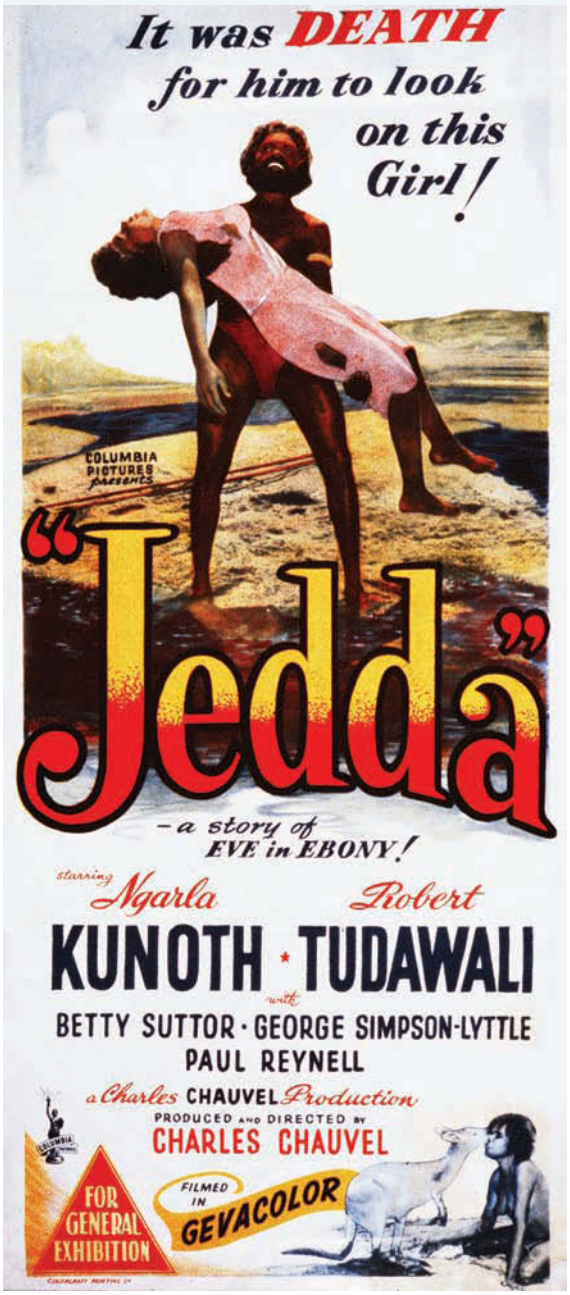
5.8.1 The growth of the Australian film industry

The Australian film industry has a long and proud history. Australian filmmakers the Tait brothers created the world's first feature film in 1906 with *The Story of the Kelly Gang*. Throughout the rest of the silent era, filmmakers would continue to create films that reflected Australia's colonial past. In the 1940s and 1950s, the industry was neglected by the government, and major productions were made possible only with investment from large British and American studios. In the 1970s, the Australian government began to invest heavily in its film industry, starting a boom period that would last for two decades. This cinematic 'new wave' would launch the careers of many of the country's best-known actors, filmmakers and on-screen personalities, and would underpin Australia's contribution to the global film industry in the decades to follow.

After the early success of the Australian silent movie industry, World War I and the Great Depression stymied further development in this new art form. Despite the disruption caused by World War II, some important films were made during this period. In the 1930s, film studio Cinesound was active producing newsreels and short documentary films. They were also responsible for the hugely popular *Dad and Dave* series of comedies. The first Australian feature film to be produced in colour was the groundbreaking movie *Jedda* (1955). Still one of the most debated Australian films, *Jedda* tells the story of a young Aboriginal girl who is brought up by a European family after her mother dies. Representing themes that are still deeply relevant in Australian society today, *Jedda* was also a film of firsts. It was the first Australian film to feature Indigenous lead actors and the first to debut at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival. After this time, however, the Australian film industry went into a decline that was almost terminal. It was only saved by tax concessions introduced by the Gorton and Whitlam governments in the early 1970s.

From 1970 to 1985, the nation produced about 400 movies, more films than had been made since film production began in Australia. During this period, the Australian government threw its support behind the industry by offering large tax breaks to encourage investment in film production, and establishing both the Australian Film Development Corporation (later renamed Film Australia) and the Australian Film Television and Radio School (AFTRS). This growth in the film industry allowed local audiences to watch films that felt truly Australian, created by home-grown directors. Popular films of the period included *Sunday Too Far Away* and *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975), and *Mad Max* (1979).

SOURCE 1 A movie poster for *Jedda* (1955)



SOURCE 2 *Mad Max* (1979) tells the story of a police officer in a post-apocalyptic Australian future. It was immensely popular in Australia and around the world, leading to a number of sequels and establishing Mel Gibson as an international movie star.



DID YOU KNOW?

In 2015, the fourth in the *Mad Max* film series, *Mad Max*: *Fury Road*, became the highest grossing Australian film ever, surpassing *Crocodile Dundee, Australia* and *Babe*. It also won six Oscars (from ten nominations) at the 2016 Academy Awards.

5.8.2 The Australian character in film

Since *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, Australian audiences have enjoyed watching characters test the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Rogues, larrikins and scoundrels depicted on screen seem to have an enduring appeal for both Australian filmmakers and filmgoers. One of the first films financed by the newly established Australian Film Development Corporation was *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* (1972). The film was written by Barry Humphries and directed by Bruce Beresford, and cost $250 000 to produce. *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* told the story of Bazza, an ill-mannered, hard-drinking 'hero', and his 'shameless adventures in Pommyland'. The movie relied heavily upon stereotypes of Australians and the English for its humour, pitting Bazza against a cast of uptight British characters. The **ocker** comedy was a hit in Australia and Britain, and was the first Australian film to earn more than $1 million at the box office.

SOURCE 3 *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie*, made in 1972, relied heavily on Australian and British stereotypes for its humour.



SOURCE 4 Crocodile Dundee makes his entrance wrestling the crocodile that almost took his life, which is now dead and stuffed, but still makes a great impression on the tourists.



In *Crocodile Dundee* (1986), Sue Charlton, a reporter from the 'big apple' visits the Australian bush in an attempt to meet a famed crocodile hunter. Michael J 'Crocodile' Dundee is unrefined with a good sense of humour, but, unlike Barry McKenzie, he demonstrates a number of features associated with the traditional hero, such as bravery and the willingness to protect his friends. After Mick rescues Sue from a crocodile attack, she takes him back to New York, where his straightforward manner and lack of pretences charm the people he meets. A worldwide smash hit, *Crocodile Dundee* still holds the number one box office record for an Australian movie.

In 2010's *Animal Kingdom*, Jackie Weaver plays crime family matriarch Janine 'Smurf' Cody, who is willing to do anything to protect 'her boys', a criminal gang targeted by the police. A critical sensation, *Animal Kingdom* picked up numerous awards including the AFI's Best Australian Film of 2010, while Weaver received an Academy Award nomination for Best Actress. Interestingly, the success of *Animal Kingdom* both at home and abroad mirrors the success of Australia's first feature film, another crime drama, more than 100 years earlier.

SOURCE 5 In this scene from *Animal Kingdom*, Janine 'Smurf' Cody offers guidance to her criminal son Craig.



5.8.3 Influences on Australian film and the future

The Australian film industry has been entwined with Hollywood for decades. Following World War II, many films shot in Australia, such as 1959's *On the Beach*, were financed at least in part by American studios, and feature foreign actors in major roles. This practice has been heavily criticised by some people, who claim that Australian stories would be better served by using local talent. However, others claim that major international productions shot locally, including *The Matrix* (1999), *Australia* (2008), *Where the Wild Things Are* (2009) and *The Wolverine* (2013), have given Australian actors and film crews experience that would be almost impossible for them to get otherwise.

Many Australians have made it big in Hollywood in front of, and behind, the camera. These days, it is not uncommon to see an Australian actor headlining an American film (usually with an American accent), while Australian directors such as Peter Weir and Bruce Beresford have had long, successful careers in Hollywood. Since the advent of computer-generated imagery (CGI), Australian special effects studios have contributed special effects to American films such as *Finding Nemo* (2003) and *The Lego Movie* (2014) and television series including multi-Emmy Award winner *The Pacific* (2010).

SOURCE 6 The Australian government supports the idea of movies being shot in Australia, in part because of the money that can be generated through promoting Australia as a travel destination. *Australia* (2008) was shot in various locations throughout Australia and was tied to a tourism campaign titled, 'See the movie, see the country'.



The Australian film industry has also recently developed strong ties with Bollywood. The largest and most successful film industry in the world, Bollywood is the name given to the Indian film industry. Since the 1990s, the link between the two industries has become closer. Increased Indian immigration, a changing Australian diplomatic and economic focus in Asia and strong cultural links, including a shared colonial heritage, have assisted the development of this relationship. Many Bollywood films have been shot in Australia and several Australian actors and personalities have featured in them. Even former Australian Test cricketer Brett Lee has starred in Bollywood movies!

SOURCE 7 In 2015, former Australian cricketer Brett Lee starred in the Bollywood-style feature film *UNindian*. The movie was set in Australia and funded by the Australia India Film Fund, whose aim is to 'fund India-centric films for a global audience'. Its box office takings were $133 910.



Cinema versus living rooms

In the five years following the introduction of television to Australia in 1956, cinema ticket sales fell drastically, resulting in the closure of many cinemas. Film studios, film distributors and cinemas responded by offering audiences productions that were shot and exhibited in Cinema Scope, a format that was twice as wide as it was tall, creating a very different experience to watching a television screen. Another important innovation was the drive-in — an open-air cinema designed to accommodate cars full of people. Throughout the 1960s, drive-ins grew in popularity by bringing together two things that suburban families loved: cars and films. By the end of the 1960s, there were 230 drive-ins in Australia.

In 1975, Australia's first Multiplex, the Hoyts Entertainment Centre, opened in George Street, Sydney, with movies showing on seven screens. This signalled the development of multiplexes around the country and the gradual decline of single-screen cinemas. Despite this major innovation, in 1975 Australian cinemas faced another threat from television as black and white went colour. Within three years, around two-thirds of homes in Melbourne and Sydney had a new colour television, and cinema attendance had fallen by more than 30 per cent. This pattern was repeated with the release of the video recorder, which grew in popularity throughout the 1980s.

Today, movie studios and cinemas continue to search for new and innovative ways to package their product in order to bring audiences into the cinema. Some strategies that have become popular in recent years have been to release films in 3D, and to appeal to cinema goers' sense of occasion by serving food and drinks within the movies, and offering customers a more luxurious experience. Cinemas have also experimented with showing live events such as theatrical performances, opera and ballet. In 2010, Hoyts formed a partnership with television station SBS, the official broadcaster of the FIFA World Cup, and showed a series of live matches, in 3D, in Australia and New Zealand.

SOURCE 8 Hundreds of cars parked at the Sundown Drive-In in Canberra, 1970



SOURCE 9 Cinemas have tried to entice people to go out to see films by offering a more luxurious experience, serving food and drink in a smaller, more intimate theatre with larger seats.



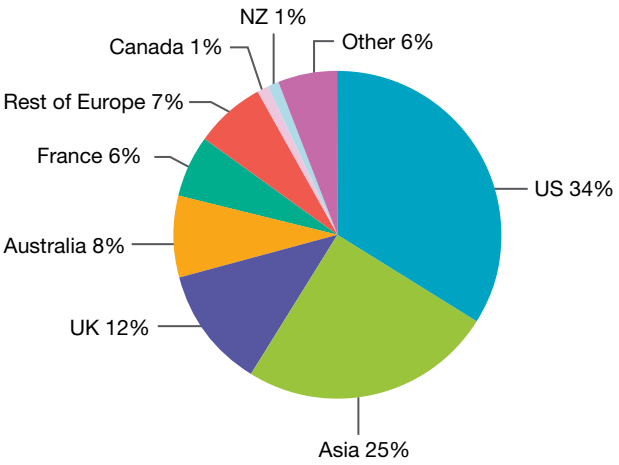
The future of Australian films

The future of Australian film (as well as the film industries of other countries) is under threat from the recent rise of illegal downloading. Making **bootleg** copies of movies has occurred for years in cinemas across the world. Most recently, bootlegged DVDs were commonly sold at markets around Australia. It is now even easier to find high quality copies of newly released movies online. These movies can be downloaded for free and watched in the comfort of your own home. The rates of illegal downloading have increased so dramatically in Australia that the federal government introduced the Copyright Amendment (Online Infringement) Bill (2015). This legislation seeks to implement tighter regulations on the downloading of music, television and movies. Such controls are necessary if the Australian film industry is to survive. Box office tickets and official DVD sales are two of the main forms of revenue for film studios. If Australians are downloading movies instead of paying to see them either in a cinema or at home, then less money will be earned by film studios. This will significantly reduce their ability to create films in the future.

More than half (57 per cent) of the films released in Australian cinemas over the past 31 years have come from the US. However, 2007 marked the beginning of a downward trend, with the US share falling below 50 per cent for the first time in 27 years in 2010 and reaching an historical low of 34 per cent in 2014. Nevertheless, US films earned 88 per cent ($883.7 million) of the total box office ($998.0 million) for all films released in Australia during 2013.

Recent data from Screen Australia suggests that Australians are returning to the cinema and that Australian films are increasing their share of box office takings. In 2018 box office takings were $1.245 billion (an increase of 3.1 per cent from the previous year). Box office earnings for Australian films were up by 13.8 per cent at $56.2 million.

SOURCE 10 Origin of films released, 2014



DISCUSS

'The Australian film industry is doomed unless the illegal downloading of movies is stopped.' Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Explain your response. **[Ethical Capability]**

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Weblink Australian Screen

5.8 ACTIVITY

Individually or as a group, design a new, more appropriate, poster for the movie *Jedda*.

Using historical sources as evidence

5.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Cinesound was an early Australian film studio. Upon which style of film did the studio focus?
2. **HS1** What was unique about the 1955 film *Jedda*?
3. **HS1** Explain how the Gorton and Whitlam governments saved the ailing Australian film industry in the early 1970s.
4. **HS1** Study the characters mentioned in this subtopic. For each of them, describe their personalities and explain how they represent members of Australian society.
   (a) Barry McKenzie
   (b) Mick 'Crocodile' Dundee
   (c) Janine 'Smurf' Cody
5. **HS1** Based on the descriptions provided in this subtopic, which movie provides the most accurate representation of Australian culture?
6. **HS1** Stereotypes are frequently used to depict characters in film. Why do you believe this is so?
7. **HS1** Explain how the relationship between American and Australian film studios developed.
8. **HS1** How do Australian companies currently contribute to the American film industry?
9. **HS1** What recent developments have assisted the formation of a close relationship between the Indian and Australian film industries?
10. **HS1** Explain how the rise of television influenced the popularity of cinema.
11. **HS5** Does illegal downloading of films have a positive, negative or neutral effect on the Australian film industry?

5.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine the movie poster for *Jedda*.
   (a) How are Indigenous Australians represented in this poster?
   (b) How does this representation reflect the understanding of Indigenous Australian culture during the 1950s?
2. **HS3** Based upon the scenes depicted in **SOURCES 3** and **4**, what do Barry McKenzie and Crocodile Dundee have in common? How might they differ? What might their depictions suggest about the way Australia changed between 1972 and 1986?
3. **HS3** Compare the movies referred to in **SOURCES 6** and **7**. Which film do you think filmgoers might prefer to visit a cinema to watch and why?
4. **HS3** Compare **SOURCES 8** and **9**.
   (a) Which cinematic experience would you prefer and why?
   (b) Which cinematic experience do you believe would appeal more to Australian cinema goers?
   (c) More than 230 drive-ins were once located across Australia. What factors have contributed to the decline of drive-ins?
5. **HS3** Referring to **SOURCE 10**, answer the following questions:
   (a) What was the country of origin of (i) most films released in Australia in 2014? (ii) the fewest number of films released in Australia? Can you suggest a reason for both figures?
   (b) Based upon this graph and caption, can you make any prediction about the future of the Australian film industry?
6. **HS3** Evaluate the following statement: 'As movies are mostly works of fiction, they have no use as historical sources.'
7. **HS3** Using the sources in the subtopic, as well as your knowledge of Australian cinema, construct a graphical representation (flow chart or similar) showing the major developments in Australian post-war film.
8. **HS4** The Australian film industry has been forced to change to suit the habits of the Australian people. Discuss these changes and how they have influenced Australian cinematic experiences.
9. **HS4** What do you think is the appeal of rogues, larrikins and scoundrels to the Australian filmmaker and filmgoer, and will this appeal continue?
10. **HS5** What do you believe is the greatest threat to the future of the Australian film industry?
11. **HS5** Why do you think the rate of illegal downloading of movies in Australia has increased so dramatically?
12. **HS5** Identify and explain any policies or strategies governments can implement to support the Australian film industry.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.9 Continuity and change in beliefs and values

5.9.1 Advance Australia fair?

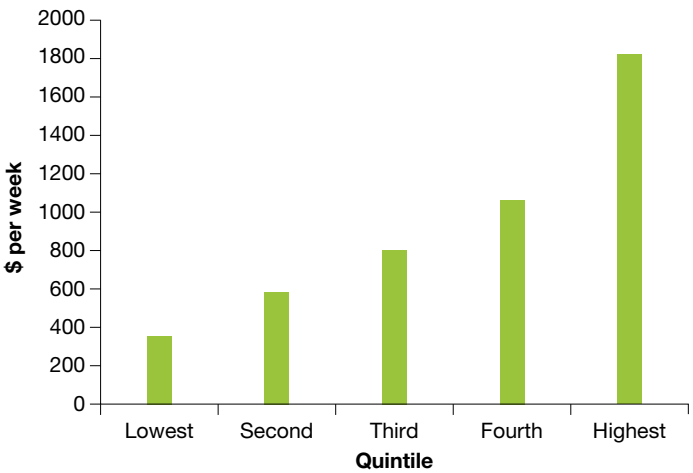
From 1945, as the British Empire lost its influence in Asia, Australia began forging closer ties with its Asian neighbours and the United States. Australia also changed its immigration policies between the late 1940s and the last decades of the twentieth century. From the 1960s onward, it responded to major social changes that were sweeping much of the world. These moves would have major implications for Australia — socially, politically and culturally. Although Australia had traditionally considered itself to be an egalitarian nation, this period of social upheaval would force many people to question just how fair the nation was towards all its citizens. Events, particularly in the 1970s, would lead many Australians to question the extent to which Australia was a truly democratic nation. And it was also during this turmoil that the country would finally break free from some long-held religious prejudices.

Australians have traditionally considered our nation to be an **egalitarian** society; that is, one that values equality and fairness. Some people have even referred to Australia as a 'classless society' because every member of society, in theory, has the opportunity to succeed. However, in 1945, there were a great number of people whose voices were left out of the national debate, including Indigenous Australians, non-white immigrants, homosexuals and many women. It would take decades for Australia to become a society that would truly value citizens of any colour, sexual orientation, religion and gender.

But in some ways Australians have become less equal since 1945. Today, while it is possible for people from a range of backgrounds to get an education, gain employment and become productive members of society, many Australians still live in poverty, and lack access to education, healthcare and other essential services. In the past 70 years, Australia has also seen the gap widen between its poorest and richest citizens (see **SOURCE 1**). For those living in poverty, the concept of egalitarianism can seem more myth than reality.

Recent statistics from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) reveal that although average weekly incomes have increased significantly since 2005 (from $843 to $1009 in 2016), average household debt has almost doubled since 2003–04. This is due to increasing house prices in the major capital cities.

SOURCE 1 Australian income inequality $ per week, by quintile



Source: ABS (2013) Household income and income distribution, Australia, 2011–12.

SOURCE 2 This extract from the article 'Still working for the man? Women's employment experiences in Australia since 1950' suggests gender inequality in work remains an issue for women in Australia.

The changes in Australian society since 1950 have been profound. From a minority of women in paid work in 1950, it is now the norm to combine both paid work and family care across the life course. The reality of the male breadwinner exists in a minority of families, as both women and men contribute to the family funds in the majority of households. Major changes have occurred in the conditions of work for women. Whereas lower wages for women were the law in 1950, this is now forbidden through anti-discrimination and industrial legislation. Equal opportunity at work and equality of conditions and rewards are now the law.

What kind of working world do the grand-daughters of those women of the 1950s face? They are the most highly educated cohort with more women than men possessing university degrees. They will spend longer than their grandmothers in the paid workforce and can enter any occupation and industry and expect equal pay with

their male co-workers. They can expect organisations (at least those with more than 100 employees as set out in the legislation) to have employment equity programs that consider and address equity issues. What is the current reality at work? There are many more opportunities for women to enter the workforce but these opportunities decrease if women choose to move to managerial ranks. Most managers are men. Women may be constrained in their choices by hostile organisational cultures and lack of practices that assist with managing both paid work and family care. Are women still working for a man? Most probably.

The power of democracy

A democratic society is one in which the people have the power to determine the laws and actions of the state. Australia has one of the oldest continuous democracies in the world. In 1945, all white Australian adults over 21 were entitled to vote in the federal election. This right did not extend to most Indigenous Australians. In 1962, as the civil rights movement built up momentum in Australia and overseas, the Menzies government extended the vote to all Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders (see subtopic 4.7). In 1971, Liberal senator Neville Bonner became the first Indigenous person to sit in Parliament. It was not until 2016 that Linda Burney became the first Indigenous woman to be elected to the House of Representatives.

In 1975, Australian democracy was put to the test when the Labor prime minister, Gough Whitlam, was dismissed by the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr (see topic 8). This dismissal was due to many reasons. One reason was because the government's supply of money had been frozen by the Opposition in the Senate. This made it impossible for the prime minister to govern the country.

The Whitlam dismissal was significant because it was the first time that many Australians realised that the governor-general (who was appointed by the prime minister to represent the Queen) could sack an elected prime minister. Despite the unsettling nature of this decision, the response by all parties demonstrated the strength of Australian democracy. All parties, including the Labor Party and trade unions, agreed to resolve their issues though the established democratic process.

SOURCE 3 Gough Whitlam watches on as the Governor-General's secretary reads the notice dismissing him in November 1975.



Today, all Australians aged 18 and over are required to vote in state/territory and federal elections. Each person's vote is cast in secret and recorded on a ballot (list of candidates); ballots are counted by independent monitors. Donations to political parties above a certain level must be disclosed. The whole electoral process is designed to be as fair and inclusive as possible, and is a great source of pride for many Australians.

5.9.2 Religious tolerance in a changing society

Technically, Australia is a secular society. This means that there is no official religion in Australia and governments are forbidden to promote one religion above others. Despite this, religious observance is still an important part of Australian society. In the 1940s, most of Australia's **Anglo-Celtic** population identified themselves as Christian (either Protestant or Catholic). It was expected that these people would attend church at least once a week. Followers of these faiths wore their 'Sunday best', and church-sponsored events, including dances, were a common meeting place for girls and boys. However, there was still a large religious divide between these denominations.

When World War II ended, most Australians considered themselves loyal to England, the 'mother country'. Many of these people viewed Catholics, who had traditionally immigrated from Ireland rather than England, as unreliable, superstitious and even disloyal to Australia. It was not uncommon for a job to be advertised accompanied by the disclaimer, 'Catholics need not apply'. At this time, a 'mixed marriage' referred to marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic. It was an act that could break families apart. Catholics who were married in a Protestant church were excommunicated, which meant they were denied membership to the Catholic Church, a fate that befell Ben Chifley, who was prime minister in the late 1940s. Despite the potential damage that it could cause, one in five people chose to marry outside their faith prior to 1960.

SOURCE 4 In an opinion piece written for the *National Times* in 2009, Siobhan McHugh reports on the Protestant/Catholic divide that was ever-present in Australia during much of the early twentieth century.

HOW THE IRISH ROSE ABOVE AUSTRALIA'S SOCIAL APARTHEID

Religion in 'Anglo-Celtic' Australia was code for identity: it branded you as part of the Protestant Ascendancy or the Catholic 'Bog Irish'. To marry across these entrenched divides was nothing short of consorting with the enemy for many...

One Randwick man was cut out of three wills for marrying a Catholic — yet his nominally Anglican parents did not even attend church regularly. It was all about upholding Englishness and Empire, about fealty [loyalty] not faith. On the Catholic side, the hatred was just as strong, fuelled by memories of the Irish famine of the 1840s, which halved the population through death, disease and emigration, as the English exported food from Ireland. After one Maitland woman, Julia O'Brien, eloped with her Protestant lover, her father forbade the mention of her name and spurned her deathbed visit. When Julia died in childbirth, neither side would help with the children, who had to be placed in an orphanage. The eldest went on to reject all religion...

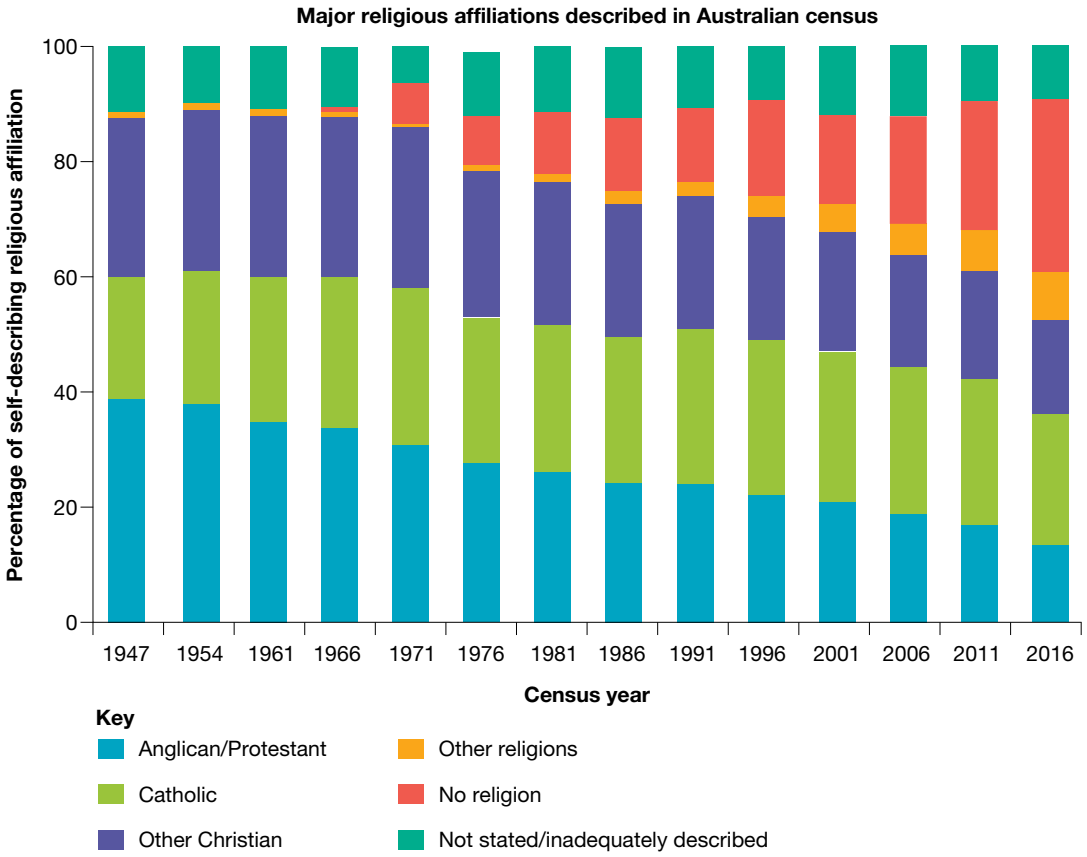
Changing attitudes to religious practice

Some of these long-held prejudices would start to be broken down as a tide of European migrants reached Australia's shores following World War II. Suddenly, the number of Roman Catholics (many from Italy) increased dramatically, along with members of other Christian denominations, such as the Greek Orthodox church, which challenged the supremacy of the Anglican church. Another significant milestone occurred following the 1963 federal election. The largely Protestant Coalition government approved state aid for Catholic schools (and other non-government schools). Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam consolidated this in 1972 when he tripled the amount of state aid given to all schools. From this point onwards, it could be said that the religious intolerance that had marked much of Australia's early history had finally begun to crumble.

With Whitlam's abolition of the White Australia policy in 1973, the nation opened its arms, and its borders, to people from across Asia, greatly increasing the number of practising Buddhists, Hindus and Sikhs in Australia. Between the 1980s and the present, an influx of immigrants from the Middle East and, more recently, Africa has led to an increase in the number of practising Muslims. Throughout this era, growing support for multiculturalism has led to an increasing level of religious tolerance within the community.

In recent years, it has also become more common to hear some political leaders referring to their faith in election campaigns and other interviews. This has become a point of debate for some people, who fear that such religious politicians may be unable to choose between their religion and the needs of the country, particularly when dealing with controversial issues. The recent debate over marriage equality is an example of how social and political issues can be influenced by religious beliefs.

SOURCE 5 This graph shows the proportion of the Australian population that identifies with various religions according to census data collected since 1947.



5.9 ACTIVITIES

1. Conduct a 'four corners' activity on the following statement: 'Religion in Australia is a unifying force, not a divisive force.'

   To do this, first of all divide into four groups according to whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In your group, discuss your perspectives on the issue to discover why you hold this view. Now swap with someone in an opposing corner (e.g. strongly agree with strongly disagree) and discuss your differing perspectives. Try to discover why you hold opposing views.

   Then answer these questions:

   (a) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the same view as you?
   (b) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the opposing view?
   (c) How well were you able to understand and appreciate the opposing view?

   [Intercultural Capability]; [Personal and Social Capability]

2. Complete an image search for 'marriage equality rallies' using an internet browser. Examine these images and make a list of the slogans written on placards held by protesters.

   (a) According to the placards, what did protesters want to change?
   (b) Are any political organisations represented in the crowds? If so, which ones are present and why do you think they attended these rallies?

   What do you see as the historical significance of this debate around marriage equality?

   Using historical sources as evidence

3. 'Religion in Australia is a unifying force, not a divisive force.' Discuss this contention in small groups and develop for and against arguments. Conduct some research on religious forces in Australia after World War II to support your arguments.

   Analysing cause and effect

5.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

5.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** In your own words, define the terms 'egalitarianism' and 'democracy'.
2. **HS1** Explain the ways in which Australia both is and is not an example of an egalitarian society.
3. **HS1** To the best of your knowledge, explain how it might be possible for inequality between a country's rich and poor populations to develop.
4. **HS1** Prime Minister Gough Whitlam was sensationally sacked by Governor-General Sir John Kerr in 1975. If Whitlam was elected by the Australian people, explain how his sacking was an example of democracy in action.
5. **HS1** In 1940, what was the predominant religion in Australia?
6. **HS1** After World War II, a distinct anti-Catholic sentiment existed in Australia. What was the origin of this ill-feeling towards Catholics?
7. **HS1** Explain how the abolition of the White Australia Policy led to increased religious freedom and tolerance in Australian communities.
8. **HS1** Provide an example of how the religious beliefs of politicians can increase policy decisions.

5.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Using the graph in **SOURCE 1**:
   (a) compute the difference between the weekly income of Australians in the lowest and highest quintile
   (b) compute this as an annual income. What statement can you make about the results you obtain in relation to income equality between Australians?
2. **HS3** What issue is being explored in **SOURCE 2**? What changes in Australian society are outlined in the source? Can you detect any bias in this source? What would you need to know in order to establish whether the source was biased?
3. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 5**. What were the largest religions at the middle of each decade between 1945 and 2006?
4. **HS4** Based on your answer to question 3 and your current knowledge, how do these changes reflect Australia's changing immigrant intake? What do these changes suggest about Australia's changing attitude toward religion since 1945?
5. **HS3** How reliable are statistics as a source for showing broad patterns of change over time? What might be their limitations?
6. **HS5** Based on this subtopic and your own observations, do you think it is accurate to describe Australia as a classless society? What factors have contributed to this description of Australia by historians and commentators?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

5.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

online only

What is a historical inquiry?

Historical inquiry is a process that involves formulating inquiry questions, identifying evidence such as primary and secondary sources, then interrogating, interpreting, analysing and evaluating those sources in order to reach conclusions about an event or events from the past.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

5.11 Thinking Big research project: Pop culture time capsule

online only

SCENARIO

You have bought a one-day time-travel pass to a decade of your choice from 1945–2000. On your trip, you must put together a time capsule containing ten items that will give people today an understanding of what it felt like to be there — items that reflect the popular culture of the time. Which items will you choose?



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Pop culture time capsule (pro-0207)

5.12 Review

online only

5.12.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

5.12.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31753)
Crossword (doc-31754)

Interactivity Popular culture (1945–present) crossword (int-7664)

KEY TERMS

Anglo-Celtic having ancestry originating in the British Isles, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
Aquarius relating to the Age of Aquarius — a period of transition, according to astrologers
beat generation a subculture, first associated with American writers and poets, that rejected conventional work, possessions, clothing and lifestyle, and promoted radical ideas
bias prejudice, leaning towards just one view of things; showing favouritism towards one entity over another
bootleg an illegal copy of copyright material, such as a movie
civil rights the rights belonging to an individual by virtue of citizenship
conscription compulsory enlistment, especially in the armed forces; also called the draft
disc jockey also known as a DJ, a disc jockey announces and plays music on the radio

displaced person a person driven from their homeland by war or political upheaval
egalitarian having the belief that all people are equal and deserve equal rights
multiculturalism policy recognising an immigrant's right to practise whichever culture they wish to, so long as they do not break the law; respect for, and appreciation of, cultural diversity
napalm a highly flammable, sticky jelly used in incendiary bombs and flamethrowers
ocker (slang) a boorish or uncultivated Australian
satire use of humour or ridicule to expose weaknesses or criticise something, often with the intent of changing an aspect of society
status quo the existing state of affairs
utopia an ideal, perfect place, especially in its social, political and moral aspects
Viet Cong a political and military organisation that fought against the South Vietnamese government and its US allies
xenophobia the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers

5.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

5.10.1 Tell me

What is historical inquiry?

Historians investigate events that have happened in the past and try to explain them. They do this through a process of inquiry.

Why is inquiry important?

One of the most valuable skills we can develop as a student of history is the ability and willingness to *inquire* about important events, and the people involved in those events. Engaging in historical inquiry involves asking rich questions; locating and evaluating primary and secondary sources of evidence; and drawing conclusions based on your findings. This involves recognising that what came before is important, not only because it affected the lives of the people involved but because it has a lasting effect on our lives today.

5.10.2 Show me

How to conduct a historical inquiry — a step-by-step approach

First you have to formulate the questions you want to answer. These should require more than a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer or a single date. A rich question may be puzzling at first, but sparks the imagination. Based upon the sources presented in this spread, it is your task to decide, 'Does America have too much influence on Australian popular culture?'

To answer this question, you must locate and evaluate sources of evidence. One of the most challenging aspects of finding reliable evidence is that different people will offer different accounts of the same event. Accounts tend to differ based on whether the person experienced the event *directly* or *indirectly*, whether their information was *complete* or *incomplete*, and their *role* in the event. Some accounts may also suggest *bias*. To decide which historical account is most accurate, you need to gather a range of sources and establish how reliable they are through a process of corroboration — that is, comparing them against each other.

Once you have located a number of sources, choose those that seem most relevant. Examine each in turn, asking the following questions:

a. What 'answers' does the source offer to your major question?
b. When was the source created and how does the source fit the chronology of the event under investigation? (*Hint:* You may sometimes need to complete further research to complete this question.)
c. Who created this source and why?
d. Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?
e. Do you see any evidence of bias?
f. Whose views or experiences are *not* represented?
g. Does the source support the general patterns of change suggested by other evidence?

The final stage of investigation involves drawing conclusions based on the evidence you have collected. The conclusions you draw are always open to challenge and should be revised if you find compelling evidence to the contrary.

SOURCE 1 An excerpt from an academic article entitled 'Globalisation: a threat to Australian culture?' by Jonathan Pickering, a university student. The article appears on an educational website promoting multiculturalism.

In recent decades, globalisation has ploughed deep furrows across Australia's cultural landscape. Developments in communication and transportation technologies have allowed for new forms of cultural production, consumption and exchange, while the changing nature of global markets has resulted in the consolidation of media and entertainment ownership, and increased flows of cultural products into and out of Australia. Concerns abound that our leisure time is becoming increasingly commodified [made into a business] and emblazoned with

corporate logos, and that the popularity of cultural products originating in the United States signals the demise of Australian culture. However, fears of cultural imperialism [promoting one culture over another] often fail to take into account salient [prominent] aspects of Australia's cultural history, the nature of cultural transmission, and the vitality and breadth of contemporary Australian popular culture.

Australian culture has always been influenced by imported cultural products, and indeed has been largely built on selective adoption of overseas cultural practices ... The mixed origins of contemporary Australian culture suggest that the dynamic of overseas cultural influence cannot be explained purely in terms of cultural imperialism, with larger, more established powers prevailing over their younger, apparently more impressionable counterpart.

Model

SOURCE 1 has been used as the basis for answering questions a–g.

a. *What 'answers' does the source offer to your question?* The author suggests that, although American television and other media is heavily broadcast in Australia, it is a two-way street, with Australian 'cultural products' being sent overseas as well. He also suggests that the claim that American media has a negative effect on Australian culture is simplistic.
b. *When was the source created and how does the source fit the chronology of the event under investigation?* This article was written by University of Sydney student, Jonathan Pickering in 2001. The article is part of a long-held debate regarding the influence of American culture on Australian society.
c. *Who created this source and why?* This source was created by a university student as part of a paper looking at the influence of American media on Australia's popular and political culture.
d. *Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?* Although the author's views appear quite balanced, this is an essay and does not come from a recognised publication such as a newspaper or academic journal. Therefore, it is hard to know how reliable his claims are.
e. *Do you see any evidence of bias?* There is little evidence of bias in the author's tone, although this excerpt does not reference actual evidence.
f. *Whose views/experiences are not represented here?* In this excerpt, there are no quotes from the opposition, who claim that American culture dominates Australian culture. Instead, these views are dealt with quite generally by the author.
g. *Does the source support the general patterns of change suggested by other evidence?* The source does fit the patterns of change suggested by other evidence. Pickering agrees that American culture is influencing Australians, an argument which is in many ways undeniable. He continues to say that this influence need not be entirely negative.

5.10.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

5.10 ACTIVITIES

1. Analyse **SOURCE 2** using questions a–g detailed in the Show me section.
2. Once you have analysed the evidence, offer a possible answer to the question, 'Does America have too much influence on Australian popular culture?'
3. Suggest other evidence that would need to be found and examined before you could come to a definitive conclusion for this historical inquiry.

SOURCE 2 An excerpt from an opinion piece titled 'Does Aussie culture need protection from US cultural imperialism?' written by Brendan O'Connor, Associate Professor at the United States Studies Centre at The University of Sydney and editor of the four-volume series *Anti-Americanism*

American culture is part of Australian mass consumer culture, like it or not, dude! It dominates our television, radio stations, movie theatres, fashion and our imagination. We are effectively governed from Washington DC with our cultural menu set by producers in Los Angeles and designers in New York. Resistance is futile and likely to mean you are totally uncool. In short, we are all Americans now.

This summary of affairs is, of course, an exaggerated view of reality, although plenty of Australians probably watch American sitcoms, own American CDs and DVDs, and dress in American fashion labels right down to their Calvin Klein underwear ...

... Global and Australian culture clearly has been Americanised, particularly since World War II. Although put-downs of American culture often run roughshod [without careful consideration] over the sheer diversity of American cultural output, it is entirely understandable that people worry about local business and art being overrun by American cultural icons such as McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Time AOL and so on.

Others worry about our obsession with middle-class American life via the tube. The world of TV viewers often knows far more about American high schools and colleges, American court rooms and police precincts, and American hospitals and office life than they know about their own society. I worry that Australians are familiar with Frasier's Seattle and Ally McBeal's Boston but have no popular equivalents set in Darwin, let alone Jakarta ...

SOURCE 3 The author of **SOURCE 2** worries that the saturation of American culture has made Australians more familiar with cities such as Seattle than with closer cities such as Jakarta, pictured.



5.11 Thinking Big research project: Pop culture time capsule

Scenario

You have bought a one-day time-travel pass to a decade of your choice from 1945 to 2000. On your trip, you must put together a time capsule containing ten items that will give people today an understanding of what it felt like to be there — items that reflect the popular culture of the time. Which items will you choose?

SOURCE 1 A 50-year time capsule in Toronto, Canada



Task

Usually designed to be buried and then dug up decades into the future, a time capsule is a container filled with items that are significant to the people who created the capsule. Each item needs to 'tell a story' about when and where it was created, including the thoughts, beliefs, and hopes of the people of the time. As such, it can provide a poignant reminder of times gone by.

The period from 1945 to the present day has been a tumultuous one, with enormous changes to our social, political and environmental frameworks, which inevitably are reflected in the popular culture of the times. You will use your imagination and creativity to select ten items from any decade from the 1940s through to the 1990s (inclusive) that best exemplify the changes within Australia during this period.

SOURCE 2 Different periods in time are often characterised by the fashions and technology of the era.



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in groups of two or three will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find starter topics loaded to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Research your chosen decade and create an introduction to your final presentation in which you describe Australia at the time, including the major concerns of the era, the demographic make-up of the country, and other important social and political factors. Also include information about aspects of popular culture at this time. The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point. Remember to record details of your sources so you can create a bibliography.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your group members. When you have completed your research, you can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.

SOURCE 3 A time capsule buried in County Kerry, Ireland. What surprises await when the capsule is opened in 2100?



- Now select the ten items to include in your time capsule. Each item should be:
  - something that could have been created or purchased within your chosen decade
  - a clear reflection of popular culture of the time — i.e. it should be related to music, entertainment, sport, or another aspect of popular (usually youth-oriented) culture
  - representative of something more meaningful about the beliefs at the heart of Australian culture during this period.

Note that it is not necessary for you to have access to actual items to complete this task. You may include physical items if they are available, but you can also use images you collect online or create yourself. You can create your time capsule either physically or digitally.

- Create a research report containing your justification for choosing each item. For each, you will need to answer the following questions:
  - When and where was the item created, and by whom?
  - What function was it designed to serve (i.e. what did it do)?
  - Why do you believe it was of cultural significance at the time?
  - For whom was it significant?
  - What role, if any, did technology play in its development, construction or use?
  - Were there differing opinions or debates about this item? If so, what were they?

  At the end of your report, be sure to include your source bibliography, and how you judged the sources to be a reliable guide when making your choice of items.
- Share your final time capsule with the rest of the class, justifying your choice of items and answering any questions your classmates might have about their significance.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Pop culture time capsule (pro-0207)

5.12 Review

5.12.1 Key knowledge summary

5.2 Examining the evidence

- Since World War II, improvements in technology have resulted in a mass media.
- By analysing sources such as films, music, television, sport and fashion, we can understand the phenomenon of popular culture since 1945.

5.3 Post-war Australia — the 1950s

- In post-war Australia, the population was predominantly white and Anglo-Saxon.
- Labour shortages meant immigration was encouraged. As well, women were needed in the workforce although they did not receive equal pay.
- Prosperity increased in the 1950s as the economy grew. Life in the suburbs and affordable consumer goods became the norm, along with a 'baby boom'.
- Advances in communications technology brought American popular culture to Australia.

5.4 Sport and society

- Sport is an important element of national identity and Australia has developed a strong sporting culture.
- A surfing culture developed in Australia after World War II, taking advantage of Australia's coastal features and sunny climate.
- Participation in the Olympics was seen as part of Australia's commitment to its values, and Australian athletes enjoyed great success. World events intruded into the Olympics in the form of political protests.
- Immigration from Europe encouraged the growth of soccer as a sport, although ethnic tensions sometimes created divisions rather than unity. Australia's national men's team, the Socceroos, have had increasing success in world soccer.

5.5 The rock'n'roll revolution

- Australian popular music immediately after World War II included jazz, country and big band music and catered to conservative tastes.
- Rock'n'roll was a new form of music which appealed to the 'baby boom' teenagers. It originated in America and its popularity quickly grew around the world.
- Australian rock'n'roll performers such as Johnny O'Keefe emerged and Australia joined the rock'n'roll craze. Performers from America toured Australia and were seen by a largely teenage audience.
- British music arrived in the 1960s, with the Beatles as its foremost exponents. The group toured Australia in 1964 and were met by large crowds of screaming fans.
- A second and third wave of Australian rock'n'roll acts achieved success overseas. Groups such as The Easybeats and AC/DC had international hit songs.

5.6 Global political and social influences on popular culture

- Some of the most significant cultural changes in Australia have developed in response to our evolving relationships with other countries.
- Australia's connection to its colonial past has formed the basis of our cultural identity. From cricket pitches to the houses of Parliament, much of Australian modern identity stems from British roots.
- Our connection to Britain began to wane after World War II. In its place arose a new partner in the United States of America. New trends in music, television and film soon found their way into mainstream Australian society. Along with these cultural areas, social and political movements popular in America were seen in Australia as well.
- The civil rights, peace, environmental and hippie movements all entered Australia through its new cultural partner. In recent years, Australian culture and identity has seen another change due to our closer relationship with our Asian neighbours.

5.7 The evolution of television as a cultural influence

- Television arrived in Australia in 1956 and soon became a dominant cultural force.
- The events of the Vietnam War were able to be seen in Australian households and this influenced public opinion against the war.
- Multiculturalism found a place in television with the establishment of Channel O, later SBS. This was the world's first ethnic television channel.
- Australian television programs have been varied in genre, but 'soap operas' have been particularly successful. Reality television has been popular with some demographics.
- Technology has influenced what Australians watch and the range of channels available has increased via cable, satellite and internet streaming services.
- Illegal downloading and internet streaming services pose a threat to the future of Australian television.

5.8 The Australian film industry: post-war to today

- As Australia's global relationships changed, so too did Australian music, film and television. New global trends and influences led to different genres of entertainment developing within Australia. As a result, the quality of Australian-made music, film and television began to improve. As it did, it began to have an influence on global audiences.
- A particular view of the Australian character was often depicted in Australian-made films with portrayals of larrikins, rogues and scoundrels.
- Australian films enjoyed increasing popularity overseas, feeding money back into the emerging Australian arts industry. This enabled further growth in these areas and also contributed to the development of Australian identity.
- The future of the Australian film industry is uncertain as American films continue to dominate Australian cinema releases. Australians also download many films — legally or illegally — rather than attend movie theatres.

5.9 Continuity and change in beliefs and values

- Australia now looks towards Asia and America rather than Britain.
- The vision of Australia as a democratic and egalitarian society has been questioned by some. Some Australians still live in poverty, and lack access to education and healthcare. This is particularly true for Indigenous peoples.
- Democracy, however, remains strong, with all Australians over the age of 18 being required to vote in federal and state or territory elections.
- As a secular society, Australia has no official religion. Multiculturalism has resulted in a growth in the different religions present within society. However, social and political issues can still be influenced by religious groups.

A timeline of popular culture, 1945–present

CE

1940



1945
World War II ends

1948
General Motors produces Holden, 'Australia's Own Car'.

1946
Arthur Calwell introduces a new immigration scheme that will have a major impact on Australia and its culture.

1950



November 1962
Australia wins 38 medals at the Commonwealth Games, the highest medal tally in the games' history.

September 1956
Australia airs its first television broadcast.



1960

June 1964
Beatlemania touches down in Australia.

April 1965
Prime Minister Menzies commits Australian troops to fight in Vietnam.

1970

May 1967
More than 90 per cent of Australians vote in favour of including Indigenous Australians on the census.



April 1968
Dr Martin Luther King Jr is assassinated, triggering riots across America.

June 1969
Members of New York's gay community riot when the Stonewall Inn is raided by police, sparking a worldwide gay rights movement.

1980

1973
Australia's voting age is lowered from 21 to 18.

1974
Australia qualifies for the FIFA World Cup.

1990



1980
AC/DC release their album *Back in Black*. It is currently the second highest selling album of all time.



2000

2000 Sydney hosts the Olympics.

1985
Neighbours first airs.



2008
Sydney hosts Catholic World Youth Day.

2010

2013
Holden announces it will cease manufacturing in Australia in 2017.

2020

CE

5.12.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

5.12 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

What can we discover about people of the past by studying the way they enjoyed their spare time?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question, outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31753)
Crossword (doc-31754)

Interactivity Popular culture (1945–present) crossword (int-7664)

KEY TERMS

Anglo-Celtic having ancestry originating in the British Isles, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
Aquarius relating to the Age of Aquarius — a period of transition, according to astrologers
beat generation a subculture, first associated with American writers and poets, that rejected conventional work, possessions, clothing and lifestyle, and promoted radical ideas
bias prejudice, leaning towards just one view of things; showing favouritism towards one entity over another
bootleg an illegal copy of copyright material, such as a movie
civil rights the rights belonging to an individual by virtue of citizenship
conscription compulsory enlistment, especially in the armed forces; also called the draft
disc jockey also known as a DJ, a disc jockey announces and plays music on the radio
displaced person a person driven from their homeland by war or political upheaval
egalitarian having the belief that all people are equal and deserve equal rights
multiculturalism policy recognising an immigrant's right to practise whichever culture they wish to, so long as they do not break the law; respect for, and appreciation of, cultural diversity
napalm a highly flammable, sticky jelly used in incendiary bombs and flamethrowers
ocker (slang) a boorish or uncultivated Australian
satire use of humour or ridicule to expose weaknesses or criticise something, often with the intent of changing an aspect of society
status quo the existing state of affairs
utopia an ideal, perfect place, especially in its social, political and moral aspects
Viet Cong a political and military organisation that fought against the South Vietnamese government and its US allies
xenophobia the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers

6 The environment movement

6.1 Overview

Earth is very big. Why does it need people to fight on its behalf to protect the environment?

6.1.1 Links with our times

Since the early 1900s, more visionary world leaders, as well as organisations and individuals, have taken an increasing interest in the environment, recognising a need to preserve it for future generations. This awareness of the vulnerability of Earth's environments to human impact intensified in the 1960s as the modern globalised world began to take shape. The dramatic photographs sent back to Earth from the Apollo 8 moon mission in 1968 showed a beautiful but fragile planet from a perspective never seen before by humankind, mobilising many to change their thinking. Astronomer Carl Sagan echoed this new awareness when he said in 1994, 'Our planet is a lonely speck in the great enveloping cosmic dark. In our obscurity — in all this vastness — there is no hint that help will come from elsewhere to save us from ourselves. It is up to us.'

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson The Green movement (eles-2618)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

6.1 Overview
6.2 Examining the evidence
6.3 The national park movement
6.4 Growing impacts on the environment
6.5 The contemporary environment movement
6.6 Defending the environment
6.7 The Atomic Age
6.8 Global environmental issues: responses
6.9 Australia's environmental future
6.10 **SkillBuilder:** Conducting a historical inquiry online only
6.11 **Thinking Big research project:** Climate change action — the view from 2120 online only
6.12 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions, and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of the environment movement from the 1870s to the present

CE

March 1872
In recognition of the importance of parkland, US Congress approves the establishment of Yellowstone National Park.



1872

1879
Australia creates the world's second national park 32 km outside Sydney, known simply as 'The National Park'.

1882

1962

September 1962
In her book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson argued that irresponsible industrial and farming practices were having a direct negative impact on the natural world.

September 1969
Protesters abseil 300 m down the side of an office block to protest the proposed mining of the Colong Caves in New South Wales.

June 1971
Sydney's Builders Labourers Federation impose the first 'green ban', refusing to allow AV Jennings to begin construction on the last remaining bushland on the Parramatta foreshore.

1972

1972
Months of protest end in failure when the Hydro-Electric Commission floods Tasmania's Lake Pedder.

1976
Conservationists win a major battle when a decision by the courts forces US company Dillingham-Murphyores to stop sand mining on Fraser Island.



1974
The federal government releases the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*, outlining the types of environments suitable for conservation and the methods by which they would be conserved.

1982

1978
The *Sea Shepherd* makes its maiden voyage, establishing itself as an aggressive protector of marine wildlife.

July 1983
Peaceful protest and clever use of national newspapers culminate in a Federal Court ruling to block the damming of Tasmania's Franklin River.



1992

2002

September 2008
Professor Ross Garnaut releases his much-anticipated report on the effects of climate change on the Australian economy.

June 2010
Prime Minister Kevin Rudd loses the Labor leadership after failing in the eyes of many to tackle climate change, which he had called 'the greatest moral challenge of our generation'.

August 2010
The Australian Greens receive 13 per cent of the national vote, giving each of the six states a representative in the Senate, a first for any minor party.

2012

2015
In July, the United Nations World Heritage Committee decides against declaring the Great Barrier Reef endangered.

2015
In December in Paris, 150 countries sign a draft Agreement at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to work towards capping global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius.



2022

CE

6.2 Examining the evidence

6.2.1 How do we know about the environment movement?

Around the turn of the twentieth century, with the **Industrial Revolution** in full swing, environmentalists attempted to gain support for wilderness preservation. However, it would be the 1960s before the broader public would begin to seriously re-examine their relationship with the natural world. This change was largely due to the influence of scientists, writers and artists, who shed light on the damage humans were doing to the environment. As the modern environment movement grew, organisations were established to promote the preservation, restoration and improvement of the natural environment. The record of their protests and actions, as well as works inspired by this awareness of the importance of the environment, offer us many sources to investigate when we seek to know about the environment movement.

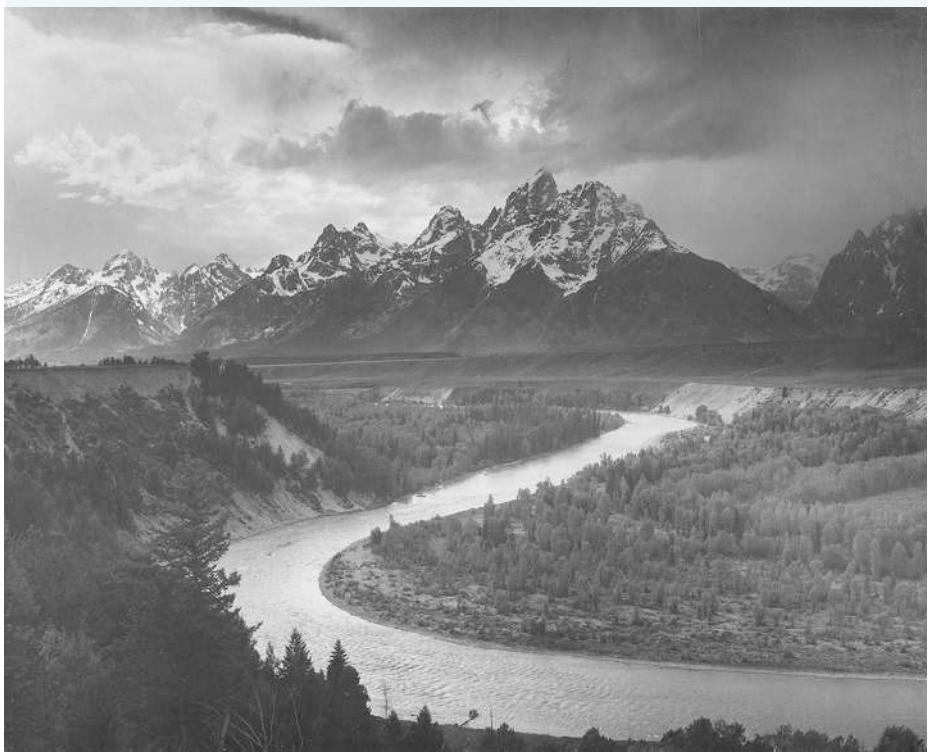
6.2.2 Visual and text sources

Many dedicated individuals, groups and organisations have contributed to the range of sources available for a study of the rise of the environment movement.

Photographs

As visual sources, photographs have the power to change people's perceptions in a way that words rarely can. The environment movement has benefited from the keen eye and compassion of photographers such as the American Ansell Adams, Lithuanian-Australian Olegas Truchanas and his protégé Peter Dombrovskis. Viewers are free to examine photographs and interpret the feelings they invoke. As Ansel Adams said, 'there are two people in every photograph: the photographer and the viewer'. In this way, photography has had a significant impact on environmental awareness and the environmental movement itself, becoming part of a historical record.

SOURCE 1 Taken by famous American photographer and environmentalist, Ansel Adams, in 1942, this image is one of many that captured the raw beauty of nature. Adams's work helped expand the American national park program.



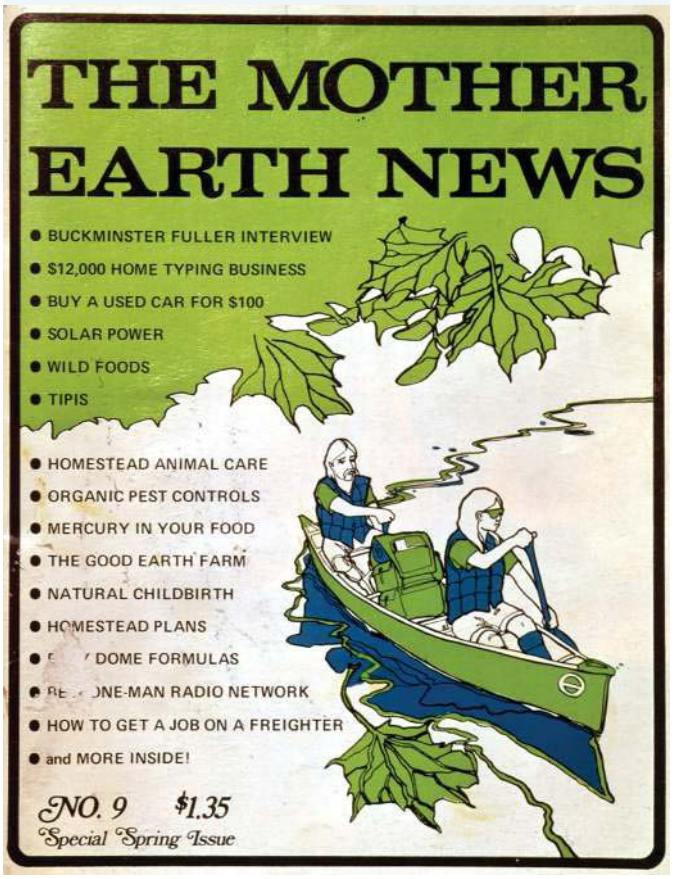
Text sources

Since the environment movement began, public perceptions of our relationship with the natural world have also been influenced by academic and popular writers, who have expressed their views in fiction and non-fiction, books, articles, letters, poems and songs.

Official reports

As important as creative expression has been in inspiring people to change their attitudes towards the environment, changes to government policy are often guided by official reports by trustworthy sources. These reports contain facts and figures; sometimes they may include quotes from people directly affected by the situation being investigated. If the report is to be considered reliable, it should be written by an independent organisation, while any contributors must be qualified to examine the evidence. Official reports that meet these criteria are useful not only to government, but to academics, reporters, historians and the general public.

SOURCE 2 Launched in 1970, *The Mother Earth News* offered concerned citizens practical advice on how to live a more sustainable life. From humble beginnings, it would go on to influence generations of do-it-yourself environmentalists and grassroots activists with its 'advice for wiser living'.



SOURCE 3 The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) oversees the Joint Environment Unit. Since its inception in 1996, this unit has been responsible for investigating and reporting on environmental emergencies and natural disasters. This is an excerpt from the unit's report into the Philippines' Marinduque Island Mine Disaster.

The U.N. Mission team arrived in the Philippines on 26–27 April 1996. During five days, the team remained in the area to carry out the assessment. The team inspected the affected areas, interviewed local residents and government officials and collected samples for chemical and physical analysis. It met subsequently with the various involved actors to discuss the results of their findings … Based on the assessment, the U.N. Mission team concluded that:

- The Makulapnit and Boac River system has been so significantly degraded as to be considered an environmental disaster;
- The aquatic life, productivity and beneficial use of the rivers for domestic and agricultural purposes are totally lost as a result of the physical process of sedimentation;
- The coastal bottom communities adjacent to the mouth of the Boac River are also significantly degraded as a direct result of smothering by the mine **tailings**;
- There is no evidence of acute poisoning in the exposed population due to the mine tailings;
- There is an increased health and safety risk due to immersion and flooding as a result of the very large volume and physical properties of the mine tailings, should they be mobilized during the wet season; and,
- Concentrations of trace metals in the mine tailings were not sufficiently high to represent an immediate toxicological threat.

DISCUSS

'Visual sources such as photographs have more influence on public perception of environmental issues than the written word.' Discuss whether you agree or disagree with this statement. **[Critical and Creative Thinking]**

6.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** List as many examples of sources that you can think of that would provide evidence about the history of the environment movement.
2. **HS1** What revolution was in full swing around the turn of the twentieth century?
3. **HS1** What did Ansel Adams mean by this statement: 'There are two people in every photograph: the photographer and the viewer.'
4. **HS1** What did *The Mother Earth News* provide its readers?
5. **HS1** Read **SOURCE 3** and fill in the missing words to complete the paragraph below.
   In order to assess the extent of damage caused by the Marinduque Island Mine Disaster, the UN Mission team spent _____ days in the affected area. During this time, they _____ affected areas; spoke to _____ and government officials and collected samples for _____ and physical analysis. Based on their assessment, they concluded that the river system had been so significantly _____ that the situation could be considered an environmental _____.

6.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**. What emotions does the image invoke? How could images such as this have benefited the environmental movement?
2. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 2**. What elements (text and visual design) of the cover tell you the magazine deals with the subject of the environment?
3. **HS3 SOURCE 3** describes the process by which a UN Mission team assessed the extent of the Marinduque Island Mine Disaster. According to its findings, what do you think would have been the largest impacts on the local people and wildlife?
4. **HS5** Explain how academic papers and reports from government and non-government organisations might influence environmental policy and public behaviours.
5. **HS6 SOURCE 1** is a black and white photograph. Consider why a black and white photograph of a natural environment taken in 1942 might remain relevant to the environment movement more than 70 years later.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.3 The national park movement

6.3.1 America leads the way

Each year, more than 100 million visits are recorded at the 500 national parks scattered across Australia. On bush walks or camping trips, both Australian and international tourists spend hours experiencing the unique natural features of our continent. In the United States of America, the home of the national park, visitor statistics are even more impressive. As designated areas focused on environmental protection, national parks play a crucial role for the plants and animals protected within them. Yet these parks also have a strong influence on people and communities, providing rare havens of natural beauty and tranquillity.

National parks first emerged in North America. Since settling in America, the population had moved westward from the Atlantic coast, shedding much of their European heritage as they went. By the mid 1800s, the majority of America's indigenous people had been driven out of their traditional lands and placed on **reservations**. America's wilderness was conquered; its trees felled on a previously unimaginable scale to be sold for construction and to make way for agricultural development; and millions of wild bison hunted almost to extinction. In 1864, George P. Marsh released his groundbreaking work *Man and nature*, in which he argued that humans were a destructive force upon the environment, and that they must stop land clearance in the name of industrialisation and work to restore 'wild nature'.

Yellowstone, the world's first national park

Yellowstone National Park was signed into law by United States (US) President Ulysses S. Grant on 1 March 1872. Comprising more than two million acres of land in Montana and Wyoming, much of Yellowstone falls within an ancient volcanic caldera, a natural cauldron formed by the collapse of land after a volcanic eruption. It contains spectacular mountains, petrified forests, waterfalls, **geysers** and North America's largest high-altitude lake. It is also home to a huge range of fish, birds, insects and animals, including black bears, grizzly bears, buffalo, mountain lions and grey wolves.

With such a vast range of flora and fauna (plants and animals), the park truly embodied what George Marsh had referred to as 'wild nature'. However, Yellowstone was not set aside merely to protect these natural wonders. The world's first national park was heavily promoted by the American railroad industry, which had made a major financial investment in linking the country by rail, and saw tourism as one way to recoup its costs. The public responded enthusiastically, with about 50 000 tourists making the trip to Yellowstone each year, an early example of **ecotourism**.

After witnessing the impact of humans upon the environment as a boy, Wisconsin-born John Muir believed that the battle to conserve the natural world was a battle between right and wrong. In 1867, he set out on foot to explore America's wilderness. Of California's Yosemite, he wrote, 'No temple made of hands can compare'. But Yosemite was under threat from logging. Through his letters and articles, Muir successfully lobbied the government to establish Yosemite National Park in 1890. Two years later, he would also found the Sierra Club, one of America's most important wilderness societies.

SOURCE 1 Preservationists such as John Muir objected to the logging of majestic trees like this one, a giant sequoia, the first of which was felled in 1853.



6.3.2 Australia and other countries follow

In 1879, Australia attempted to follow the Yellowstone model by setting aside about 18 000 acres of bushland outside Sydney to create the world's second national park. The National Park (renamed Royal National Park in 1955) interpreted Marsh's concept of 'preservation' very loosely, however. Native trees and mangroves were removed to make way for thousands of ornamental trees, and rabbits, foxes and deer were released for hunting. In the decades that followed, Sydneysiders made the 32-kilometre journey from the city to enjoy the amusements offered, use the dance hall or take a boat ride around the lake. The park was affectionately referred to as 'the lungs of Sydney'.

Today, tourists have found new ways to enjoy Royal National Park, albeit sometimes at considerable risk to their lives, as **SOURCE 2** details.

SOURCE 2 'Social media obsession risks lives at Figure 8 Pools in Sydney's Royal National Park', *ABC News*, January 2016

Instagram and tourism campaigns have led to ill-prepared visitors 'inundating' Sydney's Royal National Park, arriving with no knowledge of surf conditions or bushwalking, a local resident has warned.

Three people were treated for minor injuries after being knocked over by a large wave that crashed over the rock shelf at the popular Figure 8 rock pool in the national park on Saturday afternoon.

It is a scene that Royal National Park residents saw coming.

'It [Royal National Park] was dedicated for a small population of Sydney as a small recreational area, but we now have 2.5 million people coming to the park [each year]', Coastal Cabins Protection League and resident Helen Voysey said.

'There is limited access and now we're inundated by car visitors who are not serious bush walkers and who don't understand what a national park is about or the surf.'

'They want to get to the place that's advertised and they don't have the understanding of how dangerous the coastal fringe is.'

The Figure 8 Pools are on a rock ledge south of Burning Palms Beach and are accessed via a steep 3.5 km walking track.

The showpiece rock pool is a perfectly formed figure eight shape, roughly six metres in length.

Information online stresses the importance of visiting the site at low tide, but waves can still break over the ledge during high surf like that seen over the weekend.

With Instagram, areas that were once secret spots are now repeatedly published with a map location, and the Figure 8 Pools has been a social media sensation.

Like fellow Royal National Park attraction Wedding Cake Rock, Figure 8 Pools has become a fashionable but risky spot to visit and share photos of.

Kane Weeks, from the National Parks and Wildlife Service, said social media had had a significant influence on how the organisation managed the site.

'The visitation to Figure 8 has increased over the last 12 months, but in the last month we've seen a dramatic increase at the site', he said.

'We've had to upgrade parking and try to limit the amount of people going to the site because of the risks.'

Mr Weeks said a visit to the site would take about four hours return over challenging terrain.

'We've got information on the national parks website that clearly indicates you need to go at low tide, but it was the swell and height of the wave that people got caught out with [at the weekend].'

'[Social media] brings a whole new demographic to the Royal National Park with young people and international visitors, but they need to understand the safety concerns for the site.'

DID YOU KNOW?

The traditional Indigenous owners of the land on which Royal National Park was established are the Dharawal (Tharawal) people. Together with other tribes in the area, they were known as the 'Eora' people, meaning 'here' or 'from this place'. Rock engravings in the park highlight the Dharawal's connection to the land.

SOURCE 3 In 1968, German dignitaries Otto Kersten (right) and Mr and Mrs Brueckmann (centre) discuss an Indigenous rock carving of a kangaroo in Royal National Park with one of the park's guides (left).



Other parks were established around the world to preserve the wilderness. In Canada, 6641 square kilometres were set aside by the government in 1885 for the Banff National Park. Since this time, Banff has been grouped with other parks in the area to form the Canadian Rocky Mountain Parks. In New Zealand, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, a Maori tribe whose tribal lands covered the central North Island, gifted to the Crown the mountain summits of Tongariro, Ngauruhoe and Ruapehu in 1887 as a way of saving these sites from being sold to European settlers. By donating these areas to the British government, the tribe protected their use for future generations. These peaks were of major significance to the belief system of the Ngāti Tūwharetoa, one of whose sayings is, 'Te ha o taku maunga ko taku manawa' ('The breath of my mountain is my heart'). These words are now inscribed upon the entrance to the park for all visitors to see. This gift would become the basis for Tongariro National Park, the country's first national park, and the world's fourth.

SOURCE 4 On 23 September 1887, this letter was sent to the Honourable John Ballance (the Native Minister) by chief Te Heuheu, confirming that the mountains would be given to the Crown in order to make a national park.

Friend I have signed the deed laid before me by Mr Lewis for the purpose of confirming the gift of the land as a national park in accordance with the wish of the Government, and to fulfil my word spoken to you at Rotorua. I have however, two words to make known to you.

First — my father Te Heuheu Tukino, who was overwhelmed at Te Rapa, is laid on the mountain, and it is my wish that he be removed to some other place. He was, as you know, a chief of very high rank, and it is right that the Government should erect a tomb for him, because both my people and I are unable to do so. Your friend Mr Lewis has agreed to this word of mine, subject to your approval.

The second word is, that I am an old man, and the affairs of my people are conducted by my only son, Tureiti Te Heuheu Tukino. It is my wish that he be authorised, that is to say his name be inserted in the National Park Act; ... These are my requests to the Government on my signing the deed giving Tongariro and Ruapehu to the Government as a National park, for the use of both Natives and Europeans.

6.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** List some of the effects of the westward movement of America's population in the 1800s.
2. **HS1** Explain the geographical location and features of Yellowstone National Park.
3. **HS1** How did the American railroad industry assist the development of Yellowstone National Park?
4. **HS2** Was Yosemite National Park founded before or after the establishment of Yellowstone National Park?
5. **HS2** Construct a timeline to show the chronological sequence of the establishment of the national parks mentioned in this section.
6. **HS1** The Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribe gave the Tongariro and other mountain peaks to the British government. Identify and explain why they made this gift.

6.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) What does the source suggest about what the natural world meant to America's early industrialists?
   (b) What techniques were used to fell trees such as the one pictured in this source? What evidence is there in the photograph to support your observations?
2. **HS3** After reading **SOURCE 2**, consider how the historical uses of Sydney's Royal National Park might differ from the ways in which it is used today. In your opinion, does the type of activity described in **SOURCE 2** protect or endanger the environmental status of the park?
3. **HS3** **SOURCE 3** shows visitors standing on top of and touching ancient Indigenous rock engravings.
   (a) Why were these visitors shown these engravings?
   (b) Do you believe this behaviour is appropriate? Why or why not?
   (c) Do you believe this would be allowed today?

4. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) Explain the two requests made by Chief Te Heuheu. What do his requests suggest about the balance of power between the Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the Europeans?
   (b) What evidence is there to indicate how Chief Te Heuheu felt about gifting his land to the British government? Look for key words and consider language choice and tone.
5. **HS3** From the sources in this subtopic, what conclusions can you draw about the differing ways in which people viewed the environment in the late 1800s? Use specific examples in your response.
6. **HS4** How did the national park movement change the way in which natural environments were regarded by the public?
7. **HS5** Explain how the national park movement in the 1800s might have been influential in the development of modern environmentalism.
8. **HS4** Both the American and Canadian railroad industries were heavily involved in the national park movement. Do you think there are similar relationships between developers and environmental movements today?
9. **HS6** Was the National Park in New South Wales a good example of George P. Marsh's vision of preservation? Explain your response.
10. **HS6** Explain why the gifting of the peaks and the two requests made by Chief Te Heuheu in **SOURCE 4** have historical significance.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.4 Growing impacts on the environment

6.4.1 Impacts resulting from the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution brought many economic and social changes. Inevitably, rapid and ongoing industrialisation and urbanisation had a significant and transformative effect on many environments that had remained largely unchanged for many generations.

While George P. Marsh, John Muir and others (see subtopic 6.3) were effective in raising awareness of the need to set aside and protect unspoiled tracts of land and water, the world's urban centres were growing at an unprecedented rate as a result of rapid industrialisation and population growth. In 1800, only 3 per cent of the world's population lived in cities; just a century later, that number had risen to 14 per cent, with 12 cities of more than one million people. Although London had the highest population with almost seven million, three of the world's largest cities were located in America, the 'land of opportunity'. The impacts of industrialisation and urbanisation were being felt around the world. Today, these impacts are intensified many times, with 54 per cent of the world's population living in cities. There are over 300 cities with at least one million inhabitants.

The cost of urbanisation

As the cities of the world swelled, factories (and later cars) spewed toxins into the atmosphere, while biological and industrial waste was commonly discharged directly into waterways, sometimes the very waterways that were meant to serve the people of the city. This gave rise to a number of water-borne epidemics including typhoid and cholera.

Following the Meat Cutters strike of 1904 in America, during which 56 000 members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union battled with the 'Beef Trust' (a small group of powerful companies) for fair pay, Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*, a novel that examined life for workers in Chicago's meatpacking district. Its bleak depiction of city life was an eye-opener for its readers, and raised awareness about some of the social and environmental costs of the industrial revolution.

After reading *The Jungle*, President Theodore Roosevelt sent a commission to investigate its claims; less than six months later, he signed into law two Acts designed to clean up the industry, the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Meat Inspection Act.

SOURCE 1 In this excerpt from Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle,* Jurgis Rudkus and his family, recent immigrants from Lithuania, are transported by train to Chicago's meatpacking district, where they become, in Sinclair's words, 'wage slaves of the beef trust'.

A full hour before the party reached the city they had begun to note the perplexing changes in the atmosphere. It grew darker all the time, and upon the earth the grass seemed to grow less green. Every minute, as the train sped on, the colors of things became dingier; the fields were grown parched and yellow, the landscape hideous and bare. And along with the thickening smoke they began to notice another circumstance, a strange, pungent odor. They were not sure that it was unpleasant, this odor; some might have called it sickening, but their taste in odors was not developed, and they were only sure that it was curious. Now, sitting in the trolley car, they realised that they were on their way to the home of it — that they had traveled all the way from Lithuania to it. It was now no longer something far off and faint, that you caught in whiffs; you could literally taste it, as well as smell it — you could take hold of it, almost, and examine it at your leisure. They were divided in their opinions about it. It was an elemental odor, raw and crude; it was rich, almost rancid, sensual, and strong. There were some who drank it in as if it were an intoxicant; there were others who put their handkerchiefs to their faces. The new emigrants were still tasting it, lost in wonder, when suddenly the car came to a halt, and the door was flung open, and a voice shouted — 'Stockyards.'

6.4.2 Exploiting the developing world for resources

The damage caused by rampant industrialisation was illustrated most clearly in places that were exploited for their natural resources in the name of increasing industrial production and trade. In many cases, this exploitation was carried out by powerful **colonial nations** in their Asian or African colonies. Many of these colonial powers lacked sufficient access to natural resources to fuel their industrial growth. To alleviate resource shortages at home, they sought to exploit their respective colonies abroad where an abundance of highly sought-after raw materials might be found.

The experience of the Congo Free State in Africa can be used as an example of colonial resource exploitation. Between 1855 and 1908, the Congo Free State (now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo) was controlled by Belgium's King Leopold II. The king claimed that he wanted to bring infrastructure, laws and religion to Central Africa in order to 'civilise' it. Instead, over more than half a century, the king's forces plundered the country for resources, including ivory, copper and rubber. The latter was used to feed the growing rubber boom, which was brought about by the world's growing need for automobile tyres and elastic to be used in clothing. As they exploited the Congo, Leopold's forces tortured and killed much of the native population. They also exploited the natural environment. In the Congo, rubber came from jungle vines; as these were cut down, the vines died, leading the resource to become more scarce. Similarly, in Peru, Brazil, Ecuador and Columbia, large swathes of rainforest were cleared to make way for rubber-tree plantations. Rubber barons grew rich by using the native Indian population as slaves and punished them harshly for failing to meet quotas. In some places, this led to the death of large parts of the indigenous population, meaning that whole cultures died due to this industry.

SOURCE 2 In this *Punch* cartoon from November 1906, a Congolese man is entangled by the rubbery coils of a snake with the head of King Leopold II.



IN THE RUBBER COILS.

SCENE—The Congo "Free" State.

Sir Roger Casement, a former British consul in the Congo, worked hard to publicise these crimes in a series of reports to the British government between 1904 and 1911. The industry was changed as a result of international pressure. However, exploitation of the developing world continues to plague international

trade to this day, with smaller, weaker countries often exploited for their environmental riches or cheaper workforce. Recent examples include logging of the Amazon rainforest by domestic and multinational corporations; Multinational corporations' exploitation of workers in 'sweatshops' throughout Asia; and China's exploitation of the South-East Asian region in its hunt for energy, including the development of 40 hydro-electric plants along the Mekong River in nations with lax environmental and labour laws, such as Burma and Thailand.

DID YOU KNOW?

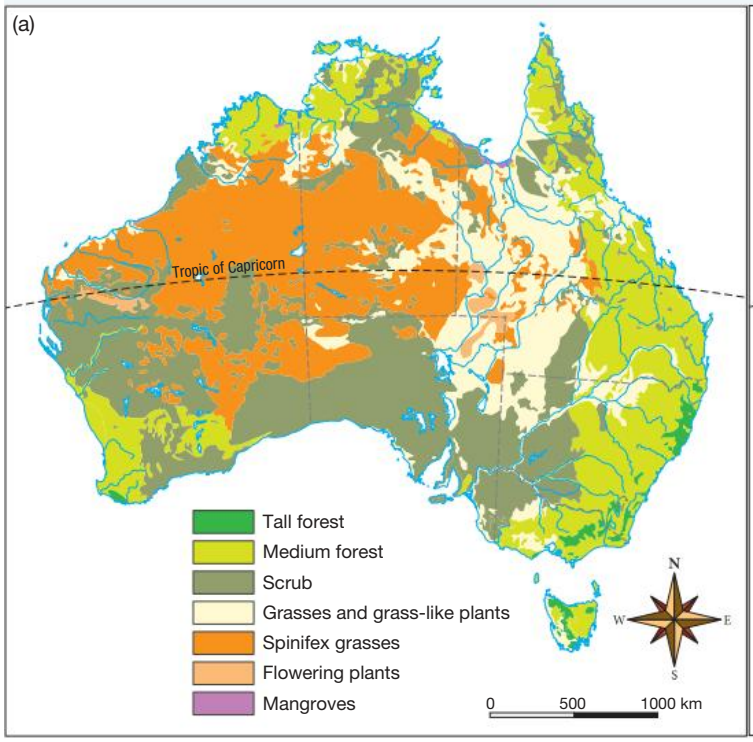
According to some estimates, during Leopold's rule of the Congo from 1885 to 1908, the country's population fell from 25 million to 10 million. These estimates are difficult to verify because records were not accurately kept. Starvation, war, disease and a falling birth rate are suggested as reasons for the drop in population.

6.4.3 The impact of industrialisation and urbanisation on Australia

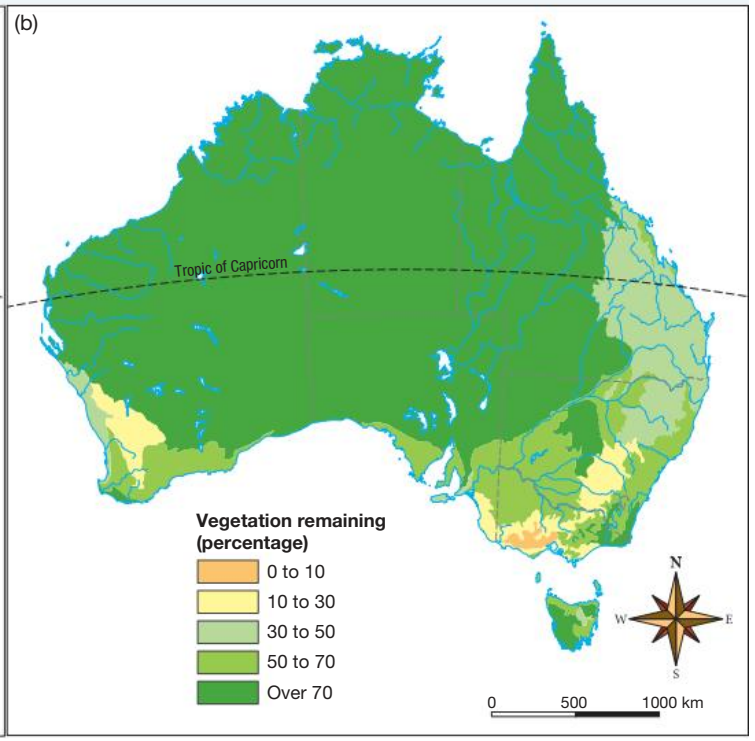
Vegetation

Before European settlement, most of Australia was covered by native species of vegetation, including shrubland, heath, grassland, woodland and forest. Since European settlement, around 13 per cent of this natural vegetation has been cleared to make way for our farms, cities and industries.

SOURCE 3 These maps show (a) a comparison of the vegetation on the Australian continent in 1788 when Europeans arrived and (b) the percentage of that vegetation remaining today.



Source: MAPgraphics Pty Ltd Brisbane.



Source: MAPgraphics Pty Ltd Brisbane.

Forests, for example, not only provide a habitat for many species of native flora and fauna, but also contribute to water catchment. In Victoria, for instance, vegetation cover dropped over a period of 100 years from 88 per cent to less than 35 per cent of the state. According to the Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, between 1972 and 2004, around 8.4 million hectares of forest were cleared across the country. Today, nationwide, over half a million hectares of native vegetation is still being cleared each year. The largest percentage of this is in Queensland.

Another negative effect of **deforestation** has been fully appreciated only in recent decades. Because of our use of fossil fuels to power our homes and factories and to run cars, the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has been steadily increasing since the Industrial Revolution began. This is dangerous because carbon dioxide is a greenhouse gas, a gas that becomes trapped in the atmosphere and does not allow heat to escape, leading to a rise in global temperatures. Trees are natural carbon sequestrators, meaning that they have the ability to remove carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and store it within themselves. When trees are cut down, this ability is lost.

Conservational agriculture

In response to the key environmental issues of land clearance, deforestation and pollution, Australian farmers adopted a number of strategies from the 1960s onwards that demonstrated the advantages of environmentally friendly farming practices over industrialised farming. These included the back-to-the-land movement, permaculture and organic farming.

Back-to-the-land began in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, where it was popularised by the activist and author Bolton Hall. It relates to being self-sufficient and promotes practices such as growing your own food. In Australia, the movement appealed to members of the counter-culture movement of the 1960s, including hippies. Having set up farms in areas such as Nimbin in northern New South Wales, people farmed the land in an attempt to become self-sufficient.

SOURCE 4 Quotation from Bolton Hall (1854–1938) in *Three Acres and Liberty*, written in 1907

The time is not far distant when the builders of homes in our American cities will be compelled to leave room for a garden, in order to meet the requirements of the people. In the mad rush for wealth we have overlooked the natural state, but we see a healthy reaction setting in. With the improvements in steam and electricity, the revolutionizing of transportation, the cutting of the arbitrary telephone charges, it is becoming possible to live at a distance from our business. May we not expect in the near future to see one portion of our cities devoted entirely to business, with the homes of the people so separated as to give light, sunshine, and air to all, besides a piece of ground for a garden sufficient to supply the table with vegetables?

You raise more than vegetables in your garden: you raise your expectation of life.

As a pioneer of the Australian environment movement, Bill Mollison's concern for the state of Australian habitats was sparked when he began to notice rapid environmental changes in his native state of Tasmania. After studying psychology and environmental science, Mollison realised humankind needed to live in balance with the natural world. Together with one of his research students, David Holmgren, Mollison founded the **permaculture** movement. In recent years, the permaculture movement has grown significantly in Australia and across the world.

SOURCE 5 From *Introduction to Permaculture*, 1991, by Bill Mollison

Sitting at our back doorsteps, all we need to live a good life lies about us. Sun, wind, people, buildings, stones, sea, birds and plants surround us. Cooperation with all these things brings harmony, opposition to them brings disaster and chaos.

SOURCE 6 From *Permaculture: A Designer's Manual,* 1988, by Bill Mollison

... every society that grows extensive lawns could produce all its food on the same area, using the same resources, and ... world famine could be totally relieved if we devoted the same resources of lawn culture to food culture in poor areas. These facts are before us. Thus, we can look at lawns, like double garages and large guard dogs, [and Humvees and SUVs] as a badge of wilful waste, conspicuous consumption, and lack of care for the earth or its people. Most lawns are purely cosmetic in function. Thus, affluent societies have, all unnoticed, developed an agriculture which produces a polluted waste product, in the presence of famine and erosion elsewhere, and the threat of water shortages at home.

Organic farming developed as a natural extension of the principles of permaculture, as it focused on working in harmony with nature rather than against it. It involves growing food that is pesticide-free, using natural fertilisers and pest controllers, and conserving water. The Organic Federation of Australia was established in 1998 to 'work in co-operation with all sectors of industry and government to develop the Australian Organic Industry from a niche industry into a major component of Australian agriculture and deliver benefits to consumers, producers and the Australian environment'. In recent years, organic farming requirements have expanded to include products that have not been genetically modified.

6.4 ACTIVITIES

1. Use your library and the internet to find out more about one of the current forms of exploitation of the developing world mentioned in this subtopic. Then compare it to what you have learned about Leopold II's exploitation of the Congo Free State. Based upon your research, decide how much has changed in the exploitation of the developing world for economic reasons in between the rule of King Leopold II and today. **Identifying continuity and change**
2. 'Increasing urbanisation is the single most important environmental threat faced by the modern world.' Evaluate the accuracy of this statement in a persuasive essay of 600 words. You will need to conduct further research to find evidence. Ensure you evaluate each source for bias before formulating your own view. You could also conduct a class debate to explore the proposition. **Determining historical significance**

6.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Identify and explain the ways in which urbanisation began to threaten natural environments during the early twentieth century.
2. **HS1** What was the outcome of President Roosevelt's commission to investigate the meatpacking industry in Chicago after the Meat Cutter's strike of 1904?
3. **HS1** Why did colonial powers take resources from their overseas colonies?
4. **HS1** The period of Belgian control of the Congo Free State in Africa can be used as an example of colonial resource exploitation.
   (a) What was the main resource wanted by Belgium's King Leopold II?
   (b) What was this resource used for in the industrialising western world?
   (c) List two ways in which taking this resource could result in an impact on the natural environment.
5. **HS1** Is **SOURCE 2** a primary or secondary source? Explain.
6. **HS1** Identify and explain three strategies Australian farmers used after 1960 to initiate environmentally friendly farming practices.
7. **HS1** Why should we be concerned about loss of forests, both in Australia and other parts of the world?

6.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS2** Create a table listing the historical sources used in this subtopic in chronological order. In a second column, identify the theme or main idea presented in each source. Then in a paragraph, discuss what these themes have in common.
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Whose perspective is detailed in the source?
   (b) The source is taken from a work of fiction. What might affect the validity of a work of fiction as a historical source?
   (c) To which of the human senses does this source particularly appeal?
   (d) Provide two examples of the sensual language used by the writer to describe the effect of the local environment on the immigrants.
   (e) How might this language indicate an attempt to position the reader to a particular viewpoint?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Where is the image depicted in the cartoon set? What element/s in the cartoon tell you this?
   (b) Identify and explain three elements (for example, use of symbols, appeal to the emotions) used by the cartoonist to convey their point of view.

(c) What do you believe the cartoon says about King Leopold II and his impact upon the Congo Free State?
(d) What might be depicted in a cartoon that represented King Leopold's point of view?
(e) What are the strengths and weaknesses of this cartoon as a historical source?

4. **HS3** Study the maps in **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Estimate the percentage of Australia covered by forest in 1788.
   (b) Identify which areas of Australia have fewer than 10 per cent of original forest remaining. Suggest reasons for this.
   (c) Identify which areas of Australia have had the least change to their 1788 vegetation. Suggest reasons for this.
5. **HS3** Using the quotations in **SOURCES 4, 5** and **6,** summarise the views expressed by Bolton Hall and Bill Mollison. In what ways are these views similar and different?
6. **HS3** Why are political cartoons useful historical sources? What might be their limitations?
7. **HS5** To what extent do you consider the Industrial Revolution the cause of the world's environmental issues? Draw a consequences wheel to show some effects of the Industrial Revolution on global environments.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

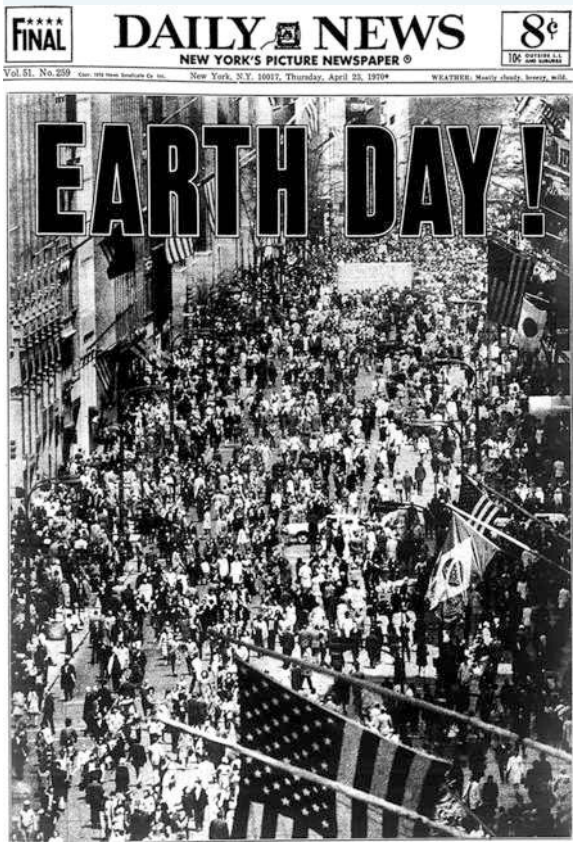
6.5 The contemporary environment movement

6.5.1 World events

The contemporary environment movement began in response to a wide range of issues, such as wilderness protection, anti-nuclear protests and chemical warfare in Vietnam. The movement also benefited greatly from the worldwide civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, there were widespread protest movements in favour of equal treatment of races, particularly in the United States. From 1962 to 1972, some countries faced social upheaval in response to what many people felt was an unjust war in Vietnam. These well-organised protest movements crossed social boundaries, bringing together people of all ages and walks of life. Consequently, people from different countries, including Australia, found themselves united in common causes, forming an organisational basis for powerful citizens' movements.

On 22 April 1970, the world celebrated its first Earth Day. In the United States, 20 million people, many of them students, turned out for a day of peaceful demonstrations to show policy-makers that the people wanted them to legislate to protect the environment. **SOURCE 1** shows protesters marching in New York.

SOURCE 1 New York, 22 April 1970. The caption reads: 'Making their feelings about pollution perfectly clear, throngs take over auto-free Fifth Ave.'



6.5.2 The influence of popular culture

As interest in the environment grew, conservationists such as Jacques-Yves Cousteau and American lawyer and politician Ralph Nader gave a public face to the environmental movement, becoming celebrities for the cause. Popular culture began to have an increasing effect on the rapid growth of the environmental movement as singers, photographers and writers highlighted the issue in mainstream popular culture.

Song lyrics

Growing awareness of negative environmental change formed the basis of songs such as 'Don't it make you want to go home' by Joe South and Marvin Gaye's 'Mercy mercy me (the ecology)' (1971). Gaye's song was both a critical and commercial hit, helping to raise the profile of the environmental movement. In the song, Gaye bemoans the impact humankind has on the natural world. 'Big yellow taxi' by Joni Mitchell, 'Eve of destruction' by Barry McGuire and 'Where do the children play?' by Cat Stevens are further examples of lyrics that expressed concern for the detrimental effects on the environment by development. This message was echoed by many other artists during the 1960s and 1970s, especially by folk singers who embedded important social messages in their lyrics.

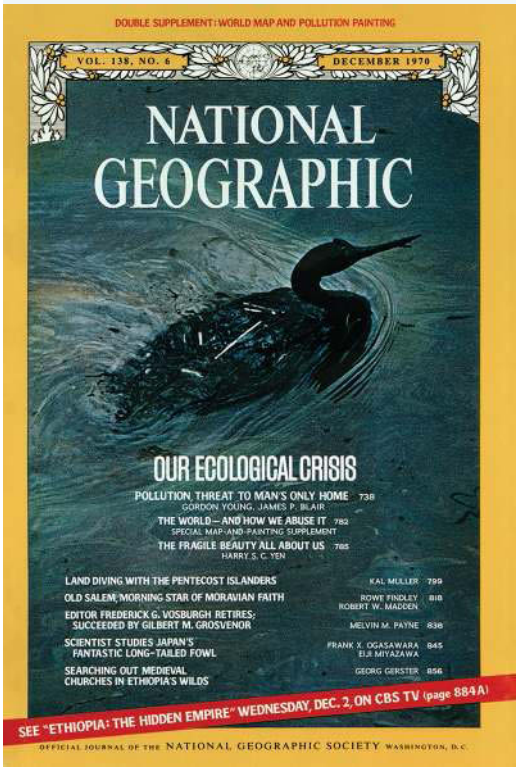
on Resources

Weblink 'Mercy mercy me' lyrics

Magazines

Magazines also played an important role in disseminating information about environmental issues. *Wildlife Australia* (launched in June 1963) featured thought-provoking pieces on environmental topics. In December 1970, *National Geographic* magazine included a special report titled 'Our ecological crisis', made up of three feature stories that captured the mood of the time: 'Pollution, threat to man's only home'; 'The world — and how we abuse it' and 'The fragile beauty all about us'.

SOURCE 2 The December 1970 issue of *National Geographic* put the issue of the environment on the agenda with its special report.



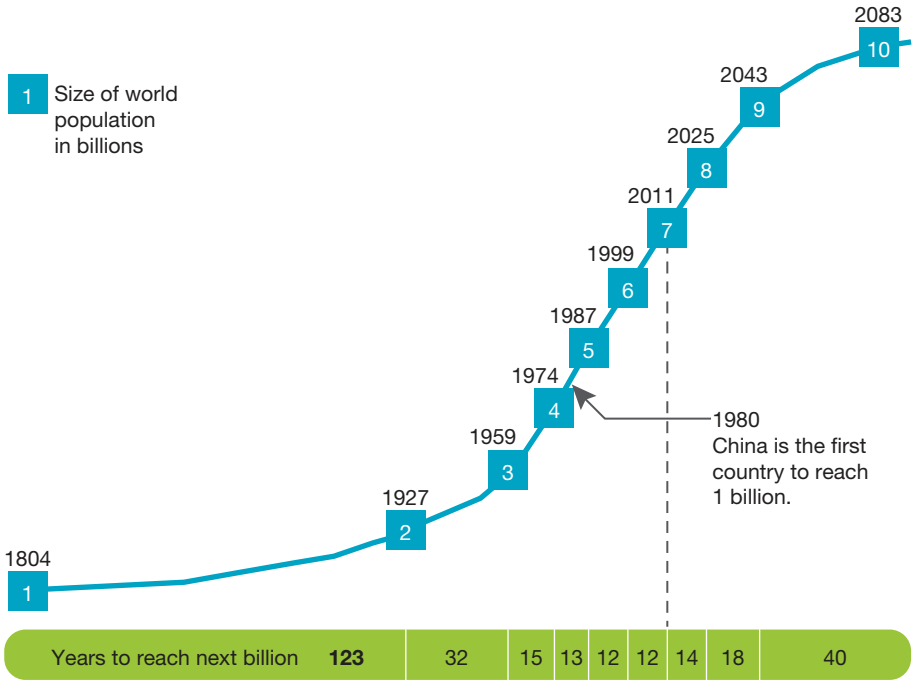
Books

While the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s acted as a foundation for the contemporary environment movement, the written word was very influential in bringing major environmental problems to the attention of the broader public. In *Silent Spring* (1962), American marine biologist and nature writer Rachel Carson's warnings of the damage that human beings were doing to nature led to a nationwide ban on DDT and other harmful pesticides. *The Population Bomb* (1968) by Paul and Anne Ehrlich took a controversial and extreme position on population control, suggesting that, if population growth went unchecked, the world would face famine on a never-before-seen scale in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1973, respected English economist E. F. Schumacher challenged the industrial-age notion that 'bigger is better' in his collection of essays *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered.*

The ideas that underpinned the new environment movement included:

- unlimited growth is unsustainable
- biological systems need to remain diverse and productive
- the natural world has inherent rights
- the Earth and its creatures are all part of the same living being.

SOURCE 3 Seven billion and beyond: the growth of the world population and future predictions



Source: The United Nations Population Division, United States Census Bureau.

SOURCE 4 Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* had a tremendous impact worldwide, raising consciousness in the public about the balance that must be maintained between humans and the environment if both are to remain healthy. She begins the book by describing a fictional town in the US and the fate that befalls it as a result of irresponsible farming practices. (From *Silent Spring,* 1962, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, p. 21)

There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. The town lay in the midst of a checkerboard of prosperous farms, with fields of grain and hillsides of orchards where, in spring, white clouds of bloom drifted above the green fields. In autumn, oak and maple and birch set up a blaze of colour that flamed and flickered across a backdrop of pines. The foxes barked in the hills and deer silently crossed the fields, half hidden in the mists of the autumn mornings ... Even in winter the roadsides were places of beauty, where countless birds came to feed on the berries and on the seed heads of the dried weeds rising above the snow ...

Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was a shadow of death. The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by new kinds of sickness appearing among their patients. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours.

New ideas

One idea to come out of the growing environment movement was the concept that the Earth and its **biosphere** are all part of the same **organism**. This was known as the **Gaia hypothesis**, a theory originally formulated in the 1970s by chemist James Lovelock and microbiologist Lynn Margulis. In Australia, the theory's proponents include the Gaia Foundation (founded in Perth in 1987). The foundation's members attempt to adhere to three basic commitments:

- personal growth; healing and empowering the self to fulfil personal, community and planetary potential
- community building through development and education
- service to the Earth to enhance the wellbeing and flourishing of all life.

Another concept to come out of this era was that nature has inherent rights. Rights of Nature is 'a worldwide movement creating human communities that respect and defend the rights of nature'. According to this school of thought, nature should be thought of as more than 'property' to be exploited by those who own it.

SOURCE 5 An official statement from the Global Alliance for the Rights of Nature

Rights of Nature is the recognition and honoring that Nature has rights. It is the recognition that our ecosystems — including trees, oceans, animals, mountains — have rights just as human beings have rights. Rights of Nature is about balancing what is good for human beings against what is good for other species, what is good for the planet as a world. It is the holistic recognition that all life, all ecosystems on our planet are deeply intertwined.

Rather than treating nature as property under the law, rights of nature acknowledges that nature in all its life forms has the right to exist, persist, maintain and regenerate its vital cycles.

And we — the people — have the legal authority and responsibility to enforce these rights on behalf of ecosystems. The ecosystem itself can be named as the defendant.

6.5.3 The environment movement in Australia

The Australian environmental movement has an extensive history. While many European settlers were at a loss to understand their new environment upon arrival in Australia, others immediately began to study and learn about the unique flora and fauna of this country. Botanists and naturalists such as Joseph Banks came to Australia on the First Fleet and began cataloguing the species they encountered. However, it was not until the late nineteenth century that organised environmental societies, such as the Field Naturalist Club of Victoria (1880), began to arise. Later, as railways expanded across the country, and the Depression made car travel expensive, bushwalking societies, such as the Sydney Bushwalkers Club and the Mountain Trails Club, gained popularity. Around this time, conservation societies also became popular, accompanying the public outcry against the culling of native species, particularly koalas. In the mid twentieth century, when World War II dominated the political and social landscape, the environment movement was relatively inactive, but it re-emerged in the 1960s as the notion of conservation experienced growing support at home and around the world.

Australian Greens lead the world

The world's first Green parties were founded from 1972 onwards, and included New Zealand's Values Party (1972), Europe's Popular Movement for the Environment (1972) and Britain's PEOPLE (1973), all of which would go on to have a lasting impact on their local political scene in the decades to come.

However, the first environment party to contest an election was the United Tasmania Group (UTG), which formed during the failed 1972 campaign to save Lake Pedder. During the 1970s and 1980s, environmental political parties emerged in every state and territory of Australia, while, in 1989, three Green Party members were elected to state parliament in Tasmania, where they held the balance of power, meaning that the presiding ALP government had to gain the support of the Greens before passing laws. In 1992, state parties joined to form a national Greens party. The rise of the Australian Greens was at the forefront of the corresponding rise of Green parties around the world.

SOURCE 6 The charter of the United Tasmania Group, known as the New Ethic, would go on to influence many international Green documents of the following decades, including the Global Greens Charter of 2001. Its principles relate not only to the environment, but to social justice as well, as can be seen in this excerpt.

And we shall:

- Create new institutions so that all who wish may participate in making laws and decisions at all levels concerning the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the community;
- Provide institutions for the peaceful and unimpeded evolution of the community and for the maintenance of justice and equal opportunity for all people;

- Change our society and our culture to prevent a tyranny of rationality, at the expense of values, by which we may lose the unique adaptability of our species for meeting cultural and environmental change;
- Prevent alienation of people in their social and work roles and functions while making scientific, technical and vocational knowledge and practice free and open to all;
- Create a new community in which men and women shall be valued for their personal skills, for the material and non-material worth of these skills to groups and the whole community, for their service to the community, and for their noncompetitive achievement in all aspects of life;
- Live as equal members of our society to maintain a community governed by rational non-sectional law;
- Preserve specific areas of private and group life where private thought, speech and action is of group importance and does not interfere unreasonably, with others;
- And vest our individual and communal rights in a parliament of representatives chosen by all to enforce our law for as long as that power is not used unfairly to advantage or disadvantage any individual or group in the community.

The core values of Green parties

A Green party is one that has adopted a set of six principles outlined in the Global Greens Charter, which was signed by 800 delegates from the Green parties of 72 countries in Canberra in 2001. These principles were based upon those outlined in the policies of Green parties from Australia, Europe, Britain, Mexico, Brazil, Canada, Taiwan and elsewhere. The principles are:

- ecological wisdom
- social justice
- participatory democracy
- non-violence
- sustainability
- respect for diversity.

SOURCE 7 From the Preamble of the Global Greens Charter, as adopted in Canberra in 2001 and updated in Dakar in 2012.

We, as citizens of the planet and members of the Global Greens ...

Assert the need for fundamental changes in people's attitudes, values, and ways of producing and living

Declare that the new millennium provides a defining point to begin that transformation

Resolve to promote a comprehensive concept of sustainability which:

- protects and restores the integrity of the Earth's ecosystems, with special concern for biodiversity and the natural processes that sustain life
- acknowledges the interrelatedness of all ecological, social and economic processes
- balances individual interests with the common good
- harmonises freedom with responsibility
- welcomes diversity within unity
- reconciles short term objectives with long term goals
- ensures that future generations have the same right as the present generation to natural and cultural benefits.

Affirm our responsibility to one another, to the greater community of life, and to future generations

Commit ourselves as Green parties and political movements from around the world to implement these interrelated principles and to create a global partnership in support of their fulfilment.

on Resources

Weblink The Australian Greens

6.5 ACTIVITIES

1. Rachel Carson is considered by some historians and commentators to be one of the most significant individual voices in the contemporary environmental movement. Use the library or internet to research her life and work and write a 300-word response assessing whether this claim is justified.

   Determining historical significance

2. Research subsequent Earth Days in 1990 and 2000 and create a graph to show the growth of participation since the first Earth Day. (The next global Earth Day will take place in 2050.)

   Identifying continuity and change

6.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** List some of the world issues that were the subject of protest movements in the 1960s and 1970s.
2. **HS1** Why did people in countries such as the United States and Australia protest against the Vietnam War?
3. **HS1** What forms of popular culture helped to bring the issue of the environment to public awareness?
4. **HS1** What prediction did Paul and Anne Ehrlich make in their book *The Population Bomb*? How accurate was it?
5. **HS1** What four key ideas underpinned the new environment movement?
6. **HS1** Explain the Gaia hypothesis in your own words.
7. **HS1** List three examples of early environmental activity in Australia.
8. **HS1** Explain why the Australian environment movement was relatively inactive in the mid twentieth century.
9. **HS1** What environmental issue led to the United Tasmania Group being the first 'Green' political party to contest an election?

6.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What does **SOURCE 1** tell you about popular support for the environment in 1970?
2. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 3**, answer the following questions.
   (a) When did the world population reach one billion?
   (b) When Ehrlich wrote *The Population Bomb* in 1968, what was the approximate world population?
   (c) The figures for 2025, 2043 and 2083 are predictions. What ongoing information could have been used to make these predictions?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 2**. Explain how the image used relates to the environment.
4. **HS3** Refer to **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) What are some of the examples of beauty that once existed in Rachel Carson's fictional town?
   (b) How did the 'evil spell' manifest itself in the town?
   (c) How valid or effective is her description in drawing attention to environmental changes?
5. **HS3** What analogy is used to explain Rights of Nature in **SOURCE 5**?
6. **HS3** Compare **SOURCES 6** and **7.**
   (a) Are these primary or secondary sources?
   (b) In what respects are they (i) similar and (ii) different?
   (c) Which source do you consider expresses its message most clearly? Explain your opinion.
7. **HS3** Choose two sources from this subtopic and write a paragraph discussing the reliability of each as a historical document. Consider the perspective from which each source originated and any bias that might affect its reliability.
8. **HS4** Explain how concern for the environment has changed in Australia from early European settlement until the present time. Use as many examples as possible from both time periods in your response.
9. **HS5** Explain how popular culture was able to influence and promote the development of the environmental movement.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.6 Defending the environment

6.6.1 Environmental activism

Borrowing tactics from the successful civil rights and anti-war movements, throughout the 1960s and 1970s environmental activists took to the streets to protest a range of issues. They would become increasingly sophisticated as they took on some of the world's largest and most powerful companies. The protests raised conservation awareness within the broader community in a way that conferences and official environmental education campaigns rarely had.

Greenpeace

The organisation that would become linked with the environment movement began in 1971 as a concerned citizens' group in Vancouver, Canada. They had come together to protest American nuclear testing off the coast of Alaska. This organisation began without an official **manifesto** or unified purpose. Instead, because they represented both the ecological and peace movements, the group members chose a name that combined the two aims: Greenpeace. Although their boat was stopped before it reached the test site, Greenpeace quickly became well known and would go on to become one of the world's leading environmental organisations, launching protests against many issues, including pollution, deforestation and nuclear testings, and establishing offices around the world.

SOURCE 1 As they approached Amchitka in 1971, crew member Ben Metcalf called CBC Radio. His statement would serve as a basis for the organisation that would later become known as Greenpeace.

We call our ship the *Greenpeace* because that's the best name we can think of to join the two great issues of our times, the survival of our environment and the peace of the world. Our goal is a simple, clear, and direct one — to bring about a confrontation between the people of death and the people of life. We do not consider ourselves to be **radicals**. We are conservatives, who insist upon conserving the environment for our children and future generations. If there are radicals in this story, they are the fanatical **technocrats** who believe they have the power to play with this world like an infinitely fascinating toy.

The message of the *Greenpeace* is this: The world is our place. And we insist on our basic human right to occupy it without danger from any power group. This is ... a sense and idea that we share with every ordinary citizen of the world.

DID YOU KNOW?

Today Greenpeace has over 2.8 million members worldwide. The organisation is funded largely through contributions from members. It conducts its campaigns using volunteers.

Ecological interdependence

In 1976, Greenpeace signed a Declaration of Interdependence, stating, 'With nuclear reactors proliferating [growing rapidly] and over 900 species on the endangered list, there can be no further delay or our children will be denied their future ...' The declaration stated the organisation's position on 'ecological interdependence' (being dependent on each other), the relationship between the Earth and its inhabitants, a concept of growing interest to many members of the broader public at the time. Greenpeace has succeeded in its aim to 'merge ecology, peace, post-industrialism and media strategy into a vision of cultural transformation'.

SOURCE 2 This excerpt from Greenpeace's Declaration of Interdependence (1976) outlines the organisation's three laws of ecology.

First Law of Ecology: All forms of life are interdependent. The prey is as dependent on the predator for the control of its population as the predator is on the prey for a supply of food.

Second Law of Ecology: The stability (unity, security, harmony, togetherness) of ecosystems is dependent on diversity (complexity). An ecosystem that contains 100 different species is more stable than an ecosystem that has only three species. Thus, the complex tropical rainforest is more stable than the fragile Arctic tundra.

Third Law of Ecology: All resources (food, water, air, minerals, energy) are finite and there are limits to the growth of all living systems. These limits are finally dictated by the finite size of the Earth and the finite input of energy from the sun.

Since its establishment, Greenpeace has lived up to its mission as the world's leading environmental activist organisation, involving itself in many campaigns. The most famous symbol of Greenpeace's peaceful protest and environmental activism is the ship *Rainbow Warrior*. The original *Rainbow Warrior* was sunk by French nationals when it was docked in Auckland Harbour in 1985. It was on its way to a nuclear protest in Muroroa. Kumi Naidoo, Greenpeace International's Executive Director, has described the ship as 'an icon of non-violent direct action and a beacon of hope for millions of people around the world'.

SOURCE 3 Greenpeace's ship *Rainbow Warrior*. This ship, registered in The Netherlands, is the third to bear the name and was launched in 2011. It was built to environmentally friendly specifications and uses mainly wind power.



The first Australian action under the Greenpeace banner was in 1977, when Australian activists joined with Canadian Greenpeace co-founder Robert Hunter to protest Australia's last whaling station in Albany, Western Australia. More than a year later, after a successful campaign, Australia ended its whaling program.

on Resources

Video eLesson The Green movement (eles-2618)

6.6.2 Environmental activism in Australia

Union activism and 'green bans'

Environmental activism took a grass roots, economic form in Australia in the 1970s through the union movement.

Unions have traditionally been a formidable force in Australia. With thousands of paying members, unions had the power to influence political decisions by bringing industry to a halt. In 1971, the New South Wales branch of the Builders' Labourers Federation (BLF) objected to plans to redevelop one of Sydney's historic suburbs, Hunter's Hill, and refused to begin construction. This was the first 'green ban'. By 1974, unions placed bans on more than 40 sites worth an estimated $3 billion. These bans saved some of Sydney's most historically and environmentally significant areas, including Woolloomooloo, Glebe and The Rocks, from inappropriate development.

SOURCE 4 With a force of 11 000 union members behind him, New South Wales BLF Secretary Jack Mundey (quoted in a later interview below) led the green bans, which challenged the belief, then held by many politicians and real estate developers, that 'all development was good'.

... Before the green bans there was a notion that the environment was the preserve of the better educated, well to do or middle upper classes and mainly about forests, or lakes or about the Barrier Reef or things like nature conservation. But, of course, the point is that we are one of the most urbanised countries on Earth. So the damage that this was doing to the city, this over-development was doing to the city, the progressive segment of the population were right on side with the green ban, and were really instrumental in the green ban.

Environmental campaigns in Tasmania

The fight for Lake Pedder

In 1967 the Tasmanian Labor government, along with the Hydro-Electric Commission, made plans to build three dams on the Gordon River to generate cheap, clean electricity. This would involve flooding Lake Pedder, which had received National Park status in 1955.

Environmental activists objected to the plan, recognising that it would have catastrophic consequences for the lake and its surroundings. They collected 10 000 signatures from around Tasmania for a petition to stop construction of the dams and compiled photographs that highlighted the natural beauty of the lake. As they came to recognise the lake's environmental significance, people from around Australia marched in support of the conservationists.

Their efforts were in vain. Lake Pedder was flooded in 1972. The loss to Australia's environmental and cultural heritage was summed up by environment movement analyst Dr Peter Hay, who said, 'Had it still existed, it would have the same sort of status in Australian mythology as other landscape icons like Uluru and Kakadu and the Great Barrier Reef.'

The country may have lost one of its greatest natural assets, but it had gained something very powerful. The campaign to save Lake Pedder had been spearheaded by the United Tasmania Group, the world's first Green party.

SOURCE 5 These two images show (a) Lake Pedder's pristine values in 1968 before its inundation in 1972 and (b) the Gordon Dam which was constructed after the inundation of Lake Pedder.



DID YOU KNOW?

A Lake Pedder Restoration Committee is campaigning to have Lake Pedder drained and restored. Doing so would cost in excess of $100 million. Divers have established that its original features such as pink sand dunes remain intact.

The fight for the Franklin River

Another major challenge came for Australian environmentalists in 1983, when the federal government nominated Western Tasmania Wilderness National Parks for inclusion on the World Heritage List. However, before this could be finalised the Tasmanian government passed the *Gordon River Hydro-Electric Power Development Act 1982*. This meant that a dam would be constructed on the Franklin River — the state's last 'wild river' — within this heritage area.

In 1983, thousands of protesters from around Australia took part in the Wilderness Society's blockade of the construction site, designed to protect the Franklin River and the wilderness environment of south-west Tasmania. As the campaign gained momentum through public awareness activities, such as slide nights, information stalls and media interviews, more and more concerned Australians added their voices to the protest. The federal government moved to prevent the project by passing the *World Heritage Properties Conservation Act 1983*. The issue ended up in the High Court, with the Tasmanian government arguing that the matter was outside the powers of the Commonwealth. The High Court did not agree. It decided that the international treaty the federal government had signed in 1974 gave it the right to protect this pristine wilderness area for future generations. The dam was not built. Franklin River was saved. In 1990, Bob Brown won the prestigious Goldman Award for his work in leading the campaign to save the Franklin River. He would go on to lead the Australian Greens from 1992.

SOURCE 6 Peter Dombrovskis was born in Germany in 1945 to Latvian parents and migrated to Australia in 1950. Dombrovskis took this photograph of the Franklin River in 1979. Entitled *Morning Mist, Rock Island Bend*, the photograph became instrumental in the successful campaign to save the Franklin River. The Wilderness Society ran a series of full-colour advertisements (extremely rare at this time) in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age* newspapers featuring the photograph. Underneath the image were the words, 'Could you vote for a party that would destroy this?'



SOURCE 7 Protesters blocking an access road to the Franklin dam site in December 1982



Significance of the Franklin campaign

The campaign to save Lake Pedder was a failure, but the campaign to prevent the damming of the Franklin was successful. In the 11 years between those two events, significant progress had been made in environmental activism in Australia. Using direct action and other highly organised methods, including enlisting the media, activists and their supporters had created a new public awareness of the environment movement and its aims. A new value on the worth of wilderness emerged, as well as the

establishment of an ecotourism industry for Tasmania. The Franklin campaign also showed that federal governments, through use of international treaties, could override state governments.

Resources

Video eLesson Franklin River campaign (eles-2620)

DISCUSS

At times, some environmental protesters employ controversial tactics to achieve their goals. Do you believe these tactics are justified? What effect can such tactics have on environmental issues? **[Ethical Capability]**

6.6 ACTIVITY

A stated aim of Greenpeace was to 'merge ecology, peace, post-industrialism and media strategy into a vision of cultural transformation'. Research one early and one recent Greenpeace mission and evaluate the success of each in relation to this aim. **Identifying continuity and change**

6.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain in your own words how the organisation Greenpeace came to be named.
2. **HS1** Fill in the missing words in the paragraph below.
   Greenpeace signed a Declaration of _____ in _____, _____years after the organisation was formed. The Declaration was based on _____ _____: the concept that the _____ and its inhabitants were _____ on each other.
3. **HS1** Explain the concept of a 'green ban'. Name some areas of Sydney saved from inappropriate development by these bans.
4. **HS1** Why was a proposal put forward to dam the Gordon River (and flood Lake Pedder)?
5. **HS2** Create a timeline of all the dates and events mentioned in the text under the main heading *Environmental campaigns in Tasmania*.

6.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Refer to **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Greenpeace crew member Ben Metcalf clearly describes two groups of people who are in confrontation. Identify the two groups.
   (b) Explain the two groups' perspectives (according to Greenpeace).
   (c) According to the source, in 1971 what was Greenpeace's essential message?
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) According to the source, why is a complex tropical rainforest ecosystem more stable than the fragile Arctic tundra ecosystem?
   (b) Explore the ecological relationship stated in 'First Law of Ecology'. According to Greenpeace, how can prey and predators be dependent on each other?
3. **HS3** Consider **SOURCES 1** and **2**. Which source best explains Greenpeace's perspective? Justify your choice.
4. **HS3** In **SOURCE 4**, Builders' Labourers Federation (BLF) Secretary Jack Mundey brought social class issues into his speech. Why would Mundey have done this?
5. **HS3** Study **SOURCES 5a** and **5b**. What aspects of the natural environment evident in **SOURCE 5a** appear altered in **SOURCE 5b**?
6. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 6**.
   (a) How did the image shown in the source become so important in the success of the Franklin River campaign?
   (b) Describe the imagery used in the photograph and explain what effect it might have had on the public.

7. **HS3** What does **SOURCE 7** tell you about the methods employed by the activists depicted? What impressions can you gain about those shown protesting in this photograph?
8. **HS3** Examine **SOURCES 1** and **2** and the information in this subtopic.
   (a) Summarise the views of Greenpeace as described by Ben Metcalf in his manifesto of 1971.
   (b) In what ways were these views similar to, and different from, those expressed in the Declaration of Interdependence of 1976?
   (c) From the evidence presented in section 6.6.2, how well do the concerns raised by Lake Pedder protesters match the views held by Greenpeace as presented in section 6.6.1?
9. **HS3** Compare the visual sources used in this subtopic. Explain the techniques used by photographers to carry their intended messages.
10. **HS4** Answer the following questions to compare the Lake Pedder and Franklin Dam protests.
    (a) List the similarities and differences between the two events.
    (b) How did the Franklin Dam protesters learn from their counterparts at Lake Pedder? What evidence of this continuity exists in environmental campaigns that you are aware of today?
11. **HS5** Why was the outcome so different in the cases of Lake Pedder and the Franklin River?
12. **HS6** What do you consider to be the historical significance of the success of the campaign to prevent the damming of the Franklin River?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.7 The Atomic Age

6.7.1 Fears of nuclear war

With the explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945, the world entered a new era that would become known as the Atomic Age. The United States' sole possession of nuclear weapons seemed to guarantee the world's security, while atomic energy promised to become the clean, cheap power source of the future. After the Soviet Union tested its first nuclear weapon in 1949, however, the two superpowers entered a nuclear 'arms race', in which each tried to develop the largest nuclear stockpile. Many people worried that a nuclear war could break out. Around the same time, environmentalists raised concerns about the safety of nuclear power plants and the toxic waste this supposedly 'clean' power source generated.

The **Cold War** that dominated international superpower politics after World War II resulted in, at best, an uneasy truce. This truce was sustained by a concept known as mutually assured destruction (MAD). This was the notion that in the event that nuclear warfare between the two countries did eventuate, both sides would be completely annihilated. Having seen the calamitous impacts nuclear warfare had on Japan's people and environment at the close of World War II, people across the world lived in serious fear of full-scale nuclear war.

SOURCE 1 A cartoon drawn by famed American political commentator, Herbert Block (aka Herblock). The cartoon was published immediately after the Cuban Missile Crisis between the US and USSR ended in October 1962.



SOURCE 2 An excerpt from US Secretary of State, Robert McNamara's 'No cities' speech delivered in Ann Arbour on 9 July 1962. The controversial speech outlined the government's nuclear war policies and strategies.

Let us look at the situation today. First, given the current balance of nuclear power, which we confidently expect to maintain in the years ahead, a surprise nuclear attack is simply not a rational act for any enemy. Nor would it be rational for an enemy to take the initiative in the use of nuclear weapons as an outgrowth of a limited engagement in Europe or elsewhere. I think we are entitled to conclude that either of these actions has been made highly unlikely.

Second, and equally important, the mere fact that no nation could rationally take steps leading to a nuclear war does not guarantee that a nuclear war cannot take place. Not only do nations sometimes act in ways that are hard to explain on a rational basis, but even when acting in a 'rational' way they sometimes, indeed disturbingly often, act on the basis of misunderstandings of the true facts of a situation. They misjudge the way others will react, and the way others will interpret what they are doing. We must hope, indeed I think we have good reason to hope, that all sides will understand this danger, and will refrain from steps that even raise the possibility of such a mutually disastrous misunderstanding. We have taken unilateral steps to reduce the likelihood of such an occurrence. We look forward to the prospect that through arms control, the actual use of these terrible weapons may be completely avoided. It is a problem not just for us in the West, but for all nations that are involved in this struggle we call the Cold War.

6.7.2 Nuclear power and the Chernobyl disaster

Nuclear war was not the only means by which the Earth's environment and people's lives could be devastated. The Chernobyl Power Complex was a nuclear power plant located in the Ukrainian SSR (now the Ukraine), on the border of Belarus and the USSR.

The plant consisted of four reactors, which were completed between 1970 and 1983. On 26 April 1986, Reactor 4 exploded, discharging approximately 5 per cent of its nuclear reactor core into the atmosphere and downwind. The disaster would lead to the death of hundreds of people, the ongoing illness of thousands and widespread contamination. No event symbolised the potential danger of nuclear power, or was more important to anti-uranium campaigners, than the Chernobyl disaster.

SOURCE 3 Location of the Chernobyl Power Complex in the Ukraine



SOURCE 4 An artist's impression of the chaotic scenes during the Chernobyl disaster



- **A** On 26 April 1986, a reactor at the Chernobyl Power Complex experienced a sudden power surge. Official records attribute about 64 deaths as a direct result of the accident. However, the spreading radiation would claim the lives of an estimated 200 000 people in the decades to come, as well as cause cancers and genetic abnormalities in future generations of children.
- **B** An army of liquidators consisting of firemen, nuclear power professionals, soldiers and civilians was sent in to clean up the site. They sealed the reactor inside a concrete sarcophagus (tomb). Most would later develop cancer and other life-threatening conditions as a result of the radiation.
- **C** The government initially downplayed the extent of the disaster. It was only because of mounting international pressure that, days later, people within a 30-kilometre exclusion zone were evacuated. This exclusion zone is still enforced today.
- **D** The radioactive fallout spread far across Europe. Some animals as far away as the United Kingdom have been discovered to contain unusually high levels of radiation attributed to the Chernobyl disaster.
- **E** Local media were allowed to film the event. Many of them did not know the dangers and wore minimal or no protective equipment.

DID YOU KNOW?

Calder Hall, the world's first commercial nuclear electric power plant, was opened at Sellafield in England in 1952. Although it was seen by many as the beginning of an exciting new 'atomic age', the plant supplied more than cheap electricity. It produced plutonium to feed Britain's nuclear weapons program.

6.7.3 Nuclear testing on Australian soil

Although environmental campaigners and anti-nuclear protesters were convinced of the threats that nuclear power and energy presented for the planet, others had more positive views on its potential for peaceful purposes. At the International Conference on Atomic Energy convened by the United Nations in Geneva in 1955, 25 000 participants came together to advance non-military uses of nuclear technology. President Eisenhower had delivered his 'Atoms for Peace' speech two years earlier and many leaders and their governments wanted to support the cause. In 1954, the United Kingdom established the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA), although it had already been carrying out nuclear testing, notably on Australian soil.

From 1952 to 1957, the United Kingdom conducted a series of 12 nuclear tests at Emu Junction, Monte Bello Islands and Maralinga. Although these tests had been approved by Australia's Commonwealth government, it is likely this was done without consideration of the true environmental impacts of the testing program. In fact, some sources from the time (such as newspaper headlines and articles) document the pride that Australians felt about our participation in the British nuclear testing program.

The testing sites were chosen primarily for their remote locations. The Monte Bello Islands, for example, are an isolated chain of small islands off the coast of far north Western Australia. The British Navy could easily access the site and could conduct their testing away from prying international eyes. The desert locations of Maralinga (see **SOURCE 6**) and Emu Junction were chosen for similar reasons.

An Australian royal commission in 1985 revealed that, as they tried to develop their nuclear weapons, the British had unwittingly exposed Australian and English troops, as well as Indigenous communities, to nuclear **fallout**. Scientists testified that they had found high levels of nuclear contamination at Maralinga but acknowledged that the human cost of the tests would be impossible to prove. This was partly because, at the time of the tests, few records were kept of the Indigenous people living on the land, and partly because of Indigenous taboos involving naming the dead. In 1985, the South Australian government returned ownership of the land to its traditional owners under the Maralinga Tjarutja Land Rights Act; however, it would take another ten years to clean up the contamination.

SOURCE 5 Two years before the more well-known nuclear tests at Maralinga, a bomb was detonated at Emu Junction, South Australia. Many of the local Indigenous people were not warned of the impending blast.

EILEEN KAMPAKUTA BROWN (translated): We noticed a very red, red colour in the sky in the west there, and we thought, hey. And it was that boom, that blast, and then that mushroom that we could see. That next morning when we all woke up, that was when we noticed sickness happening then.

Yami got up that morning and we saw, you know, red eyes, sore red eyes, real phlegmy in the nose, coughs, bad coughs as well, and so we were starting to think maybe it was to do with that bomb.

That morning when we woke up was when we found out about Kelly's father who passed away. Day Two we lost Kelly's sister then. So Day Three was when we lost Kelly's mother.

SOURCE 6 A sign declaring a prohibited area on the road to the Maralinga test site, taken in 1974



on Resources

Video eLesson Nuclear tests at Maralinga (eles-2621)

Protests at Jabiluka

In 1996, with the clean-up of Maralinga finished and the traditional owners returning to their land, a new controversy was brewing over Jabiluka, a proposed **uranium** mine in the middle of the Northern Territory's Kakadu National Park. On 8 October 1997, the Australian government had approved the Jabiluka uranium mining project. Following a plea by representatives of the Mirarr people, who believed that mining at the site would destroy their land and culture, activists from around Australia **blockaded** Jabiluka. In addition to the concerns raised by the Mirarr people about the immediate danger that the mine posed to their community, many environmentalists feared the long-term cost of mining uranium for power generation: nuclear waste.

Challenging the mine owners and the government, protesters blocked access to the proposed mining site. Around 500 protesters were arrested, but the blockade succeeded in promoting the claims of the Mirarr people and raising awareness of the human and environmental cost of uranium mining within the broader Australian community.

SOURCE 7 This press release by the Greens Party outlines why party leader Bob Brown viewed Jabiluka as one of the major issues of 1998.

Media Release/Spokesperson Bob Brown
Monday, 1 June 1998, 12:00 am
Greens Senator Bob Brown arrives in Darwin today to travel to the Jabiluka protest blockade.

On Tuesday morning Senator Brown will breakfast at the blockade with grandmother and anti-Jabiluka uranium mine protester Ethel Reynolds. Ethel, 85, from Melbourne, has travelled to Kakadu to be part of the blockade. Ethel is staying at the blockade camp with her granddaughter.

'I am going to show total support for the Mirrar people and to the blockaders,' said Senator Brown.

'The combined issues of the Mirrar people's right to determine the future of their country and the issue of Australia exporting uranium to be part of the nuclear fuel cycle, make this the pre-eminent environmental issue for 1998.

'It will be a major issue in the upcoming federal election,' said Senator Brown.

In 1998, the United Nations World Heritage Committee assessed the plans to mine uranium within Kakadu National Park (particularly at Jabiluka) and expressed 'grave concern' at the potential dangers to the National Park if the plans were to go ahead. This assertion was confirmed by the Australian Senate committee set up to investigate the potential impact of mining. Despite these criticisms, the Australian government did not order Energy Resources of Australia Ltd (ERA) to stop its plans to mine at Jabiluka.

It would take almost ten years before the protesters and the Mirarr people would get the outcome they had fought for. On 25 February 2005, Rio Tinto, which now owned the mining site, signed the Jabiluka Long-term Care and Maintenance Agreement, in which they agreed to secure the permission of the Mirarr people before beginning any future mining at Jabiluka.

DISCUSS

'The potential benefits of the use of nuclear power far outweigh all social and environmental impacts.' Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Justify your view. **[Ethical Capability]**

6.7 ACTIVITIES

1. Research the French government's nuclear testing on Mururoa Atoll in the 1980s. Find out about the mission of the *Rainbow Warrior*, Greenpeace's flagship protest boat and the death of a crew member in 1985. Establish the cause of his death and the effects that this tragedy had. **Analysing cause and effect**

2. Research the Fukushima nuclear disaster in 2011 and compare and contrast the impacts of this disaster with those of Chernobyl. Based on the long-term impacts on the environment and the population around Chernobyl, what is the future likely to hold for Fukushima? **Identifying continuity and change**

6.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why was the Atomic Age so called?
2. **HS1** Using your own words, explain the concept of mutually assured destruction (MAD).
3. **HS1** In what ways would a nuclear war be calamitous for the environment?
4. **HS1** Explain the response of the following people in the Chernobyl disaster:
   - locals
   - liquidators
   - government officials
   - local media.
5. **HS1** Why might the USSR government have been reluctant to admit that the Chernobyl disaster had taken place?
6. **HS1** Why was the Chernobyl disaster such a rallying symbol for anti-nuclear protestors?
7. **HS1** Why did some people feel nuclear technology could be a positive force?
8. **HS1** Answer the following questions about nuclear testing in Australia.
   (a) List the sites in Australia where the United Kingdom carried out nuclear testing.
   (b) How were they able to conduct these tests in Australia?
   (c) What was significant about the location of these sites?
   (d) Had environmental impact studies been conducted?
9. **HS1** The Jabiluka mine would potentially have been extremely profitable to the Mirarr people. If this is true, why would they have been so opposed to the mine's development?
10. **HS1** What were the results of the successful protests against the Jabiluka mine?

6.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Who are the 'we' and 'I' referred to in the source?
   (b) What two related points about the prospects of a nuclear war are made in this extract? Are these points in harmony or at odds? Explain.
   (c) According to Robert McNamara, what might lead to an outbreak of nuclear war?
2. **HS3** Examine **SOURCES 1** and **2**.
   (a) Which source was chronologically first to be created?
   (b) Which two countries are represented by their leaders shown in **SOURCE 1**?
   (c) How does the message of **SOURCE 1** support Robert McNamara's message in **SOURCE 2**?
   (d) In **SOURCE 1**, the cartoonist uses an analogy of the Greek myth of Pandora, who opened a box that contained all the evils of the world. How apt is this analogy with relation to the threat of nuclear war to the world?
3. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) The source represents an artist's impression of the aftermath at Chernobyl. What limitations might it have as an accurate historical source?
   (b) What other types of sources could a historian draw on to ensure an accurate account of the disaster could be given? Given the nature of the times, why might access to such sources be restricted or difficult to obtain?
4. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 5** carefully.
   (a) According to the source, what was seen and heard on the day of nuclear testing at Emu Junction?
   (b) Is this an eyewitness account? Explain.
   (c) How reliable do you consider this account? Why?
5. **HS3** **SOURCE 6** is a photograph taken in 1974.
   (a) How many years previously had nuclear testing taken place?
   (b) What can you deduce about the location of the site from this photograph?
6. **HS3** According to **SOURCE 7**, why does Bob Brown consider it important to meet with protesters at Jabiluka? In what way might his presence assist in their demonstration?

7. **HS3** Copy and complete the table below to complete an analysis of the different types of historical sources used in this subtopic.

Type of source	Example	Strengths	Weaknesses
Speech			
Political cartoon			
Artist's recreation of an event			
Photograph			
Eyewitness accounts			

8. **HS3** Political cartoons, such as the one shown in **SOURCE 2**, are valuable historical sources. At the time of their creation, why might they be more successful in influencing opinions on an issue as opposed to, for example, a government report or a newspaper editorial?
9. **HS4** Outline the similarities and differences between the treatment of Indigenous people at Maralinga and Jabiluka. Explain what these similarities and differences might suggest about the Australian government's attitude towards Indigenous peoples from 1950 to the present.
10. **HS4** Initially, the Australian public was proud of its involvement in the British nuclear testing program. Why do you think these views began to change once the testing began? How do you think the Australian government and the Australian people would react today if the United Kingdom proposed further nuclear testing in Australia?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.8 Global environmental issues: responses

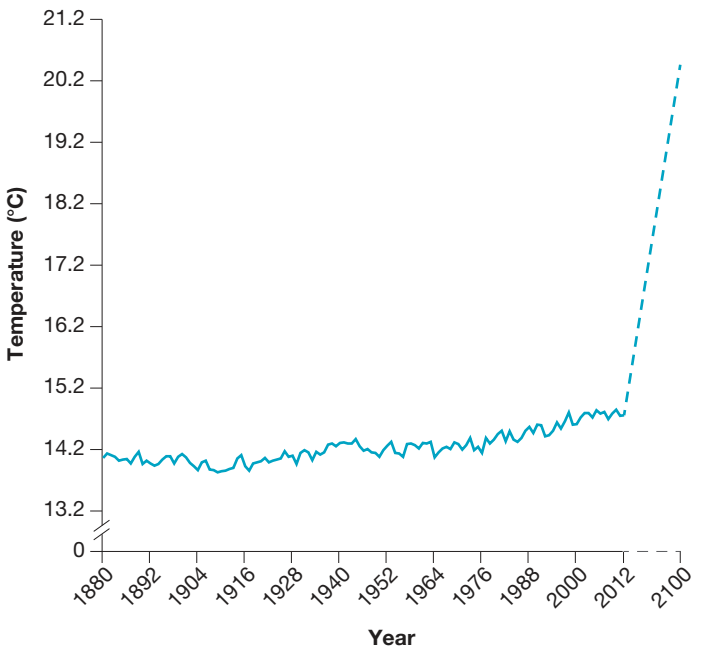
6.8.1 Responding to the global challenge of climate change

Many global issues today require global responses and international cooperation. Pollution, endangered environments and hazardous waste all demand attention. On one particular issue, however, the environment movement is increasingly vocal. That voice is being added to by scientists, politicians and citizens across the globe.

Despite controversial debates about whether **global warming** and climate change is the result of human activity, science has become settled on the issue, pointing to human activities, particularly our output of carbon dioxide emissions as a very likely cause.

The United Nations World Meteorological Organization announced in January 2016 that, according to its data, 15 of the 16 hottest years on record have all been this century, with 2015 being significantly warmer than the record-level temperatures recorded in 2014. Underlining the long-term trend, 2011–15 is the warmest five-year period on record. Most scientists expect this upward trend to continue.

SOURCE 1 Average global temperature, 1880–2012, with projection to 2100



By the end of the twenty-first century the Earth's average temperature might be up to 5.8 °C warmer than today, if greenhouse gas concentration continues to increase. But it is not just the temperature that might change — storms might be more extreme, sea levels might rise, and floods and drought might also become more frequent. Sea levels have risen 10 to 20 centimetres over the past century, affecting many low-lying regions such as Papua New Guinea's Carteret Islands, which are slowly being covered by the sea. They and other low-lying island groups, such as the Marshall Islands and Kiribati in the Pacific, and the Maldives in the Indian Ocean, may eventually be entirely submerged.

SOURCE 2 An aerial view of Kiritimati (Christmas Island), Kiribati, in the Pacific Ocean. This low-lying island is threatened by sea level increases caused by global warming.



Already governments are planning for below average rainfall levels to become more commonplace. Around Australia, desalination plants have been built to help meet the future water needs of growing populations. It has also been predicted that the extreme weather that led to the Victorian bushfires on Black Saturday in February 2009 will be exceeded in bushfire seasons to come. While individual governments may plan to deal with the specific issues they face on the home front, it is widely acknowledged that international cooperation is essential for long-term gains to be made in the effort to reverse the effects of global warming.

Kyoto Protocols and climate change conferences

In 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), an international environmental treaty, was negotiated at the United Nations Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro. Since 1995, parties to the UNFCCC have met annually at the Conference of the Parties (COP) to assess progress in dealing with climate change. Formulated at COP3, held in Kyoto, Japan, the Kyoto Protocols (1997) called for a 15 per cent reduction in carbon dioxide emission by 2012. However, the differing priorities of some countries soon became apparent, with large producers such as China claiming an exemption from any targets because of their growing industrial development. The Australian government was also reluctant to accept these targets, arguing that they would have a negative impact on the Australian economy because of our high dependence on fossil fuels. The Kyoto Protocol was finally ratified (approved) by the Australian government in December 2007 and came into effect in March 2008. In ratifying the agreement, Australia committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 60 per cent of year 2000 levels by 2050.

Ten years later, more than 10 000 participants, including government representatives and non-governmental organisations representing 180 nations, gathered at the Bali Climate Conference to develop the Bali Road Map, a document intended as a guide to reducing carbon emissions beyond 2012. When the United States delegates suggested developing nations should take more responsibility for carbon emissions, frustration with the United States boiled over, with a delegate from Papua New Guinea saying, 'If you

cannot lead, leave it to the rest of us. Please get out of the way.' Following the Bali conference, many people hoped for a stronger plan for cutting carbon emissions.

At COP15 held in Copenhagen, Denmark (2009), world leaders officially recognised the need to keep the global temperature rise to less than 2 degrees Celsius. However, the agreement did not contain specific commitments for reaching that goal. At subsequent global climate change meetings, the lack of concrete strategies continued to frustrate politicians and UN representatives. In Paris in 2015, COP21 focused on developing a binding agreement from all nations regarding practical solutions to climate change. The key outcomes of this meeting, the Paris Agreement, are listed in **SOURCE 3**.

SOURCE 3 Agreed outcomes from the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference held in Paris

Governments agreed:

- on a long-term goal of keeping the increase in global average temperature to well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels
- to aim to limit the increase to 1.5 °C, since this would significantly reduce risks and the impacts of climate change
- on the need for global emissions to peak as soon as possible, recognising that this will take longer for developing countries
- to undertake rapid reductions thereafter in accordance with the best available science
- to come together every 5 years to set more ambitious targets as required by science
- to report to each other and the public on how well they are doing to implement their targets
- to track progress towards the long-term goal through a robust transparency and accountability system
- to strengthen societies' ability to deal with the impacts of climate change
- to provide continued and enhanced international support for adaptation to developing countries.

In Katowice, Poland in 2018, COP24 formulated rules for implementation of the 2015 Paris Agreement,which outline how governments will measure and report on their efforts to cut carbon emissions. The Australian government has ratified the Paris Agreement and committed to reducing emissions and increasing renewable energy capacity to meet targets set for 2030 and beyond. The issue remains contentious, however, with many people believing more needs to be done now to protect the planet for the future. In March 2019, thousands of students across Australia went on strike — missing school to protest perceived government inaction on climate change.

SOURCE 4 'School Strike 4 Climate' supporters protest outside their local Member of Parliament's electoral office in Melbourne, March 2019.



DISCUSS

'Global climate conferences such as those held at Kyoto, Copenhagen and Paris have done little to further real action on global change issues.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

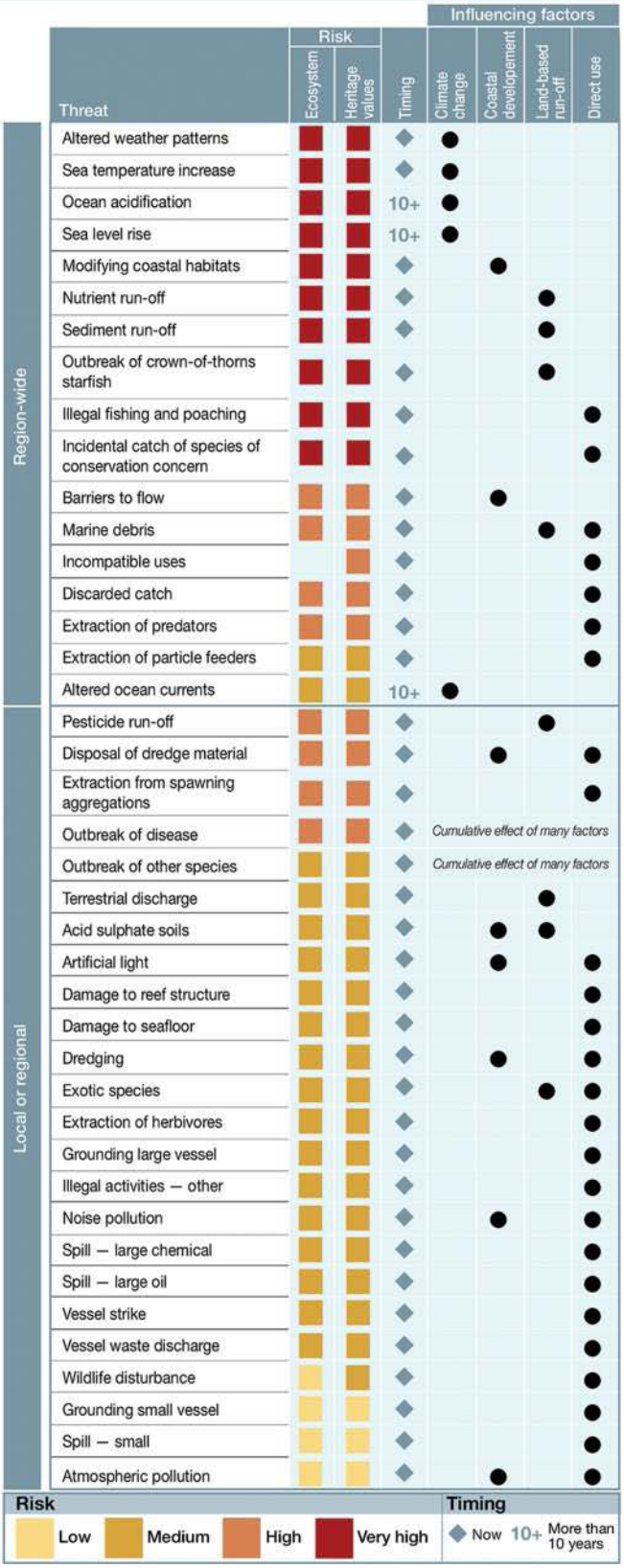
6.8.2 Responses to other environmental issues

Opinion polls in Australia and across the world have confirmed that governments can no longer ignore environmental issues. In the build-up to the 2016 US election, 51 per cent of people listed the environment as a key determining factor in their voting preferences (for a reference point, the most significant listed was terrorism, with 78 per cent). The rise of the Australian Greens as a legitimate alternative party has also forced our country's politicians to carefully consider environmental policies.These changes have resulted in several examples of positive government responses to environmental issues.

In the United States, growing concern regarding the treatment of hazardous material in the 1970s–1980s led to the creation of the *Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act* (1980). Referred to as CERCLA or simply Superfund, the Act gives the government the authority to clean sites that are deemed unsafe. The Act was developed after a long series of tragic environmental disasters in the late 1970s, including the deaths of five workers at a chemical treatment plant in Bridgeport, New Jersey. Today, more than 1300 hazardous sites have been cleaned as a result of this legislation.

Closer to home, the Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report can be seen as another example of a government response to an environmental concern. As one of the most ecologically significant sites in the world, the protection of the Great Barrier Reef is of the utmost importance. Every five years, a detailed assessment into the health of the reef is conducted. This data is then developed into management strategies implemented by the federal and Queensland governments. **SOURCE 5** presents a summary of the risks to the Reef that were identified in the 2014 report.

SOURCE 5 The risks to the Great Barrier Reef of various threats as shown in the 2014 Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report



DISCUSS

With a partner, decide whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Australia has a responsibility to cut its carbon emissions, even if other nations are not doing so'.

Justify your opinion using information from this subtopic and other sources you may find.

[Personal and Social Capability]

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.

- The globalising world > **Green politics**

on Resources

Weblink Climate protests

6.8 ACTIVITIES

1. With a partner, study **SOURCE 5** and answer the following questions.
   (a) What are (i) the two risk categories and (ii) the four influencing factors shown in the source?
   (b) List the threats that are linked to the influencing factor of climate change.
   (c) Which three threats will come into play in ten years or more?
   (d) Of the threats that present a very high risk to the ecosystem and heritage values of the Great Barrier Reef, which can (i) Australia's governments, (ii) environment groups and (iii) individual citizens do most about?
   (e) What responses can government and non-government organisations implement to help address the threats?

   Using historical sources as evidence
2. Create a flow chart or other graphic to present your views on the global environmental issue of climate change. Use the following questions to guide you in your thinking and planning.
   (a) Situation: What is the issue?
   (b) Background: Why has it happened?
   (c) Solutions: What are all the possible solutions you can think of? What are the consequences, good and bad, of each solution?
   (d) Choices: What are the best possible solutions?
   (e) Actions: What can we do about the issue? How can we influence decisions in the future?

   Analysing cause and effect
3. Use the **Climate protests** weblink in the Resources tab to watch the video. Would you participate in a protest of this kind? Do you think this sort of action is likely to be effective? Why or why not? What else could you do to express your views on climate change? Discuss as a class.

   [Creative and Critical Thinking Capability]

6.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Global warming is simply one element of climate change. To which other environmental impacts does this phrase refer?
2. **HS1** What is the most significant cause of climate change?
3. **HS1** Create a visual representation of the global climate conferences that have occurred since Kyoto. Include a description of the outcomes of these various meetings in your work.
4. **HS1** How did the outcome from the Paris Climate Conference differ from those that came before?

5. **HS1** What evidence demonstrates the growing environmental concerns held by people in the United States and Australia?
6. **HS1** Why are government organisations such as the American CERCLA so important to communities?
7. **HS1** How is the data that is collected during the five-yearly Great Barrier Reef Outlook Report used?

6.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** **SOURCE 1** graphically illustrates the rise in global temperatures. Why might the data on which this graph is based be a driving force for change at the highest (governmental) level?
2. **HS3** Describe the features of the natural landscape visible in **SOURCE 2**. Why will such an environment be vulnerable as a result of climate change?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) List the types of international cooperation mentioned.
   (b) How is the role of science given importance in the source?
4. **HS3** What does **SOURCE 4** suggest about who is concerned about the impact of climate change?
5. **HS3** To what extent can the sources presented in this subtopic be considered 'historical'? Assess each of them for their usefulness and reliability as a historical source on the topic of global environmental issues.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.9 Australia's environmental future

6.9.1 Change over time in environmental concern

In the future, it is likely that population increase, economic growth and climate change will see increasing pressures on Australia's natural environment. How the nation responds, including the sacrifices people are prepared to make, will affect our environmental future.

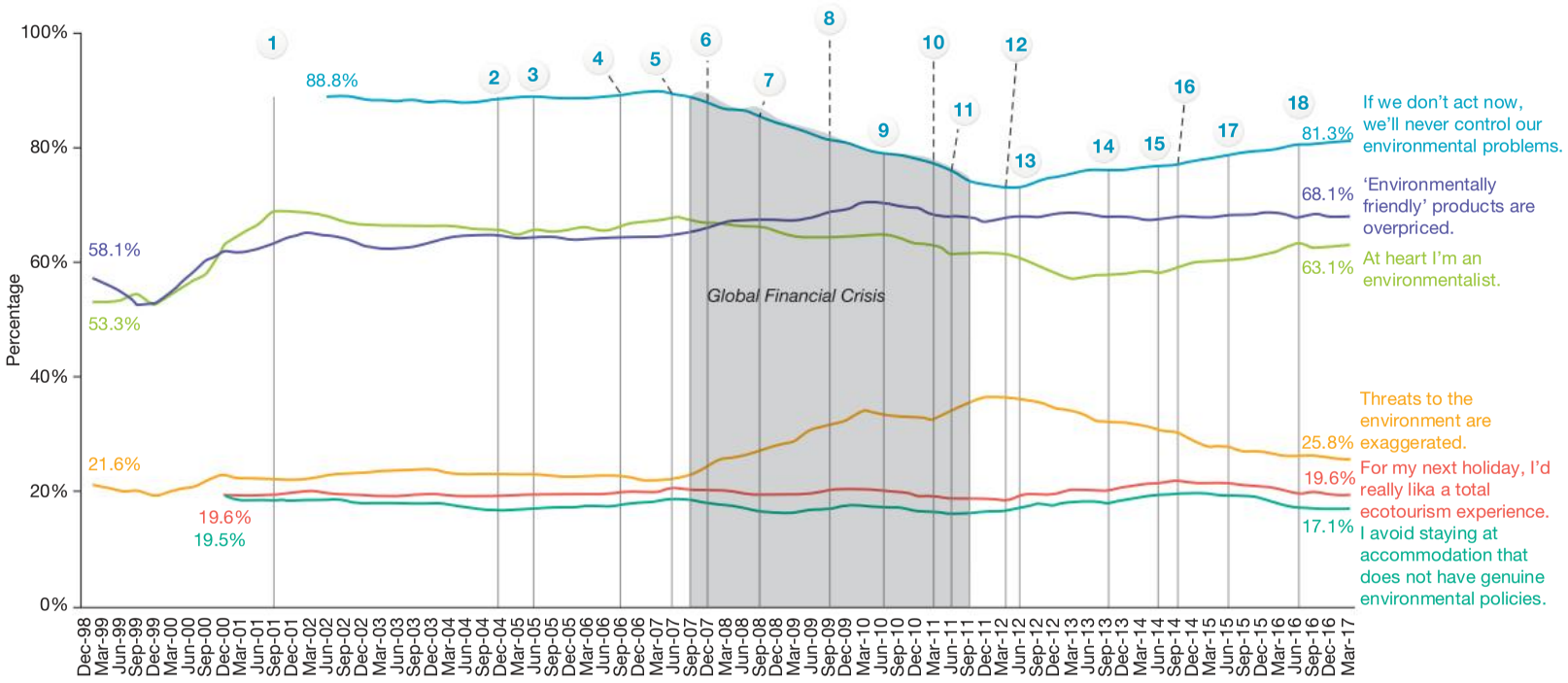
It is interesting to note the fluctuations in Australians' concern about the environment over the past few decades, and to see how these align with other national and global issues. In the early 1990s, a time of relative prosperity in Australia, concern about the environment was extremely high. Our biggest environmental concerns back then were air pollution, destruction of trees and ecosystems, ocean pollution and the depletion of the ozone layer. However, statistics gathered in 2007–08 saw a reduction in concern. Since then, Australians' levels of concern for the environment have returned to close to where they were at the turn of the millennium.

In 2017, Roy Morgan Research prepared a report for WWF-Australia based on 20 years' worth of data. This data included a recent survey of 1800 Australians aged 14 and above about their attitudes towards environmental issues. They found that, although 86 per cent of the population agreed that climate change was of concern, they were more concerned by other environmental issues. Their biggest concern was protecting oceans and marine life, including the Great Barrier Reef, which 94 per cent of people agreed was important. Almost 70 per cent of those interviewed felt that a healthy environment and a prosperous economy go hand in hand.

Variations according to location, age and gender

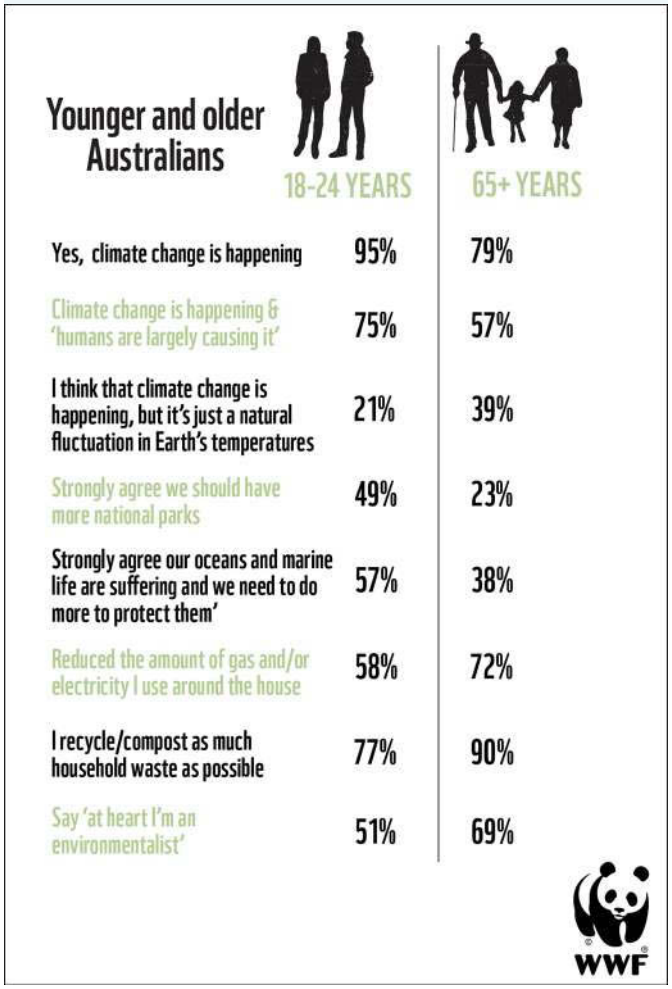
In 2017, more Australians who lived in capital cities reported concern about climate change (60 per cent) compared with people living outside capital city areas (52 per cent). The proportion of people concerned about environmental issues increased steadily with age, reaching a peak of 70 per cent in the age range 55–64 years, then declining to 54 per cent among Australians aged 65 years and over. Interestingly, similar proportions of 18- to 24-year-olds (53 per cent) and those aged over 75 (54 per cent) reported being concerned about environmental issues in general. On the specific issue of climate change, however, this younger age group (18–24) was the most concerned of all age groups, at 61 per cent. More females were concerned about water shortages (68 per cent), accumulation and disposal of household waste (67 per cent), and climate change (61 per cent) than males (61 per cent, 60 per cent and 53 per cent respectively).

SOURCE 1 This graph shows the change over time in Australians' attitudes towards environmental issues, as reflected in their responses to stimulus belief statements.



1. September 11 attacks; Ansett collapse
2. Boxing Day tsunami, Indonesia
3. London bombings
4. *An Inconvenient Truth* released
5. Howard proposes ETS
6. Rudd ratifies Kyoto Protocol
7. Rudd announces CPRS details
8. CPRS voted down in parliament
9. Resource super profits tax introduced; Gillard replaces Rudd
10. Earthquake/tsunami/nuclear event Japan
11. Anti-carbon tax campaign advertised
12. Miners launch new anti-tax ad campaign
13. Carbon and mining tax introduced
14. Abbott wins election
15. Carbon tax repealed
16. Mining tax repealed
17. Turnbull replaces Abbott
18. Brexit

SOURCE 2 Persons concerned about environmental issues in Australia, by age group



Aspirations for the environment

Consultations have shown that Australians believe that since the natural environment affects everyone, all people, groups, businesses and nations have a responsibility to participate in protecting it. Further, they hope that collective efforts and measures by governments, non-government organisations and individuals will work for positive environmental outcomes for the future. In caring for and sustaining the environment, alignment between the different levels of government, collaboration and linking across public and private activities and initiatives, and international cooperation is seen as imperative.

SOURCE 3 shows a summary of the hopes of Australians for the environment in 2012, which was gathered through extensive consultations.

SOURCE 3 An extract from the Australian Bureau of Statistics *Measures of Australia's Progress: themes and aspirations report 2012*

Environment
Healthy natural environment
Australians aspire to a healthy natural environment.
Appreciating the environment
Australians aspire to appreciate the natural environment and people's connection with it.
Protecting the environment
Australians aspire to care for and protect our natural environment.

Sustaining the environment
Australians aspire to manage the environment sustainably for future generations.
Healthy built environments
Australians aspire to healthy built environments.
Working together
Australians aspire for government, business and communities to work together locally and globally for a healthy environment.

6.9.2 Think global, act local

As the environment movement continues to inspire large-scale action worldwide, many people direct their efforts to making a difference in their local area. Growing community awareness of environmental issues is reflected in the rise of online and print publications that celebrate sustainability, going green and local activism. Countless small yet effective local projects focus on things that regular people can do to assist the environment every day, including buying products that are farmed organically, and participating in food swaps and community gardens. Many of these organisations believe that there is more opportunity to effect change at this grassroots level than there is through governments and political systems.

Sustainable neighbourhoods

In 2009, Melbourne's Yarra Council held its first Yarra Sustainability Awards, awarding prizes in the categories of 'Sustainable Business', 'Innovation in Sustainable Design', 'Community Action', 'Environment Group', 'Sustainable Garden' and 'Sustainable Household'. The Dame Nellie Melba Early Learning and Vision for Environmental Sustainability (ELVES) program won first place in the 'Community Action' category. Each term the kindergarten runs a 'no waste lunch week', during which they encourage parents and children to create as little waste as possible at lunchtime by reducing packaging and composting food scraps. The compost is used on the kindy's gardens, or bottled and sent home with the children, where it can be used on domestic gardens. Not only is the ELVES program successful in making the kindergarten's children and their families aware of being less wasteful, it also acts as a model for other communities wanting to develop a more environmentally sustainable lifestyle.

SOURCE 4 At Collingwood Children's Farm in Melbourne, the philosophies of permaculture, Landcare and organic farming guide farm activities. The farm was established by the community in 1979.



Grassroots organisations take the lead

Government departments and local councils have an important role to play in protecting the environment, but they cannot win the fight for the environment alone. Many non-government organisations (NGOs) represent the interests of those who want to protect the environment, working with local communities to run campaigns on issues such as the anti-nuclear movement, sustainability, healthy rivers and oceans, Indigenous land rights and climate change. In many cases, these **grassroots** movements give a voice to those who would otherwise go unheard. Popular grassroots environmental organisations include Friends of the Earth (FOE) Australia, which runs numerous campaigns on a range of issues; the Australian Network of Environmental Defenders' Offices (ANEDO), which represents independent community environmental law centres around Australia; and Watermark Australia, which encourages citizens to discuss water use and management and other water issues facing Australia.

Action on climate change

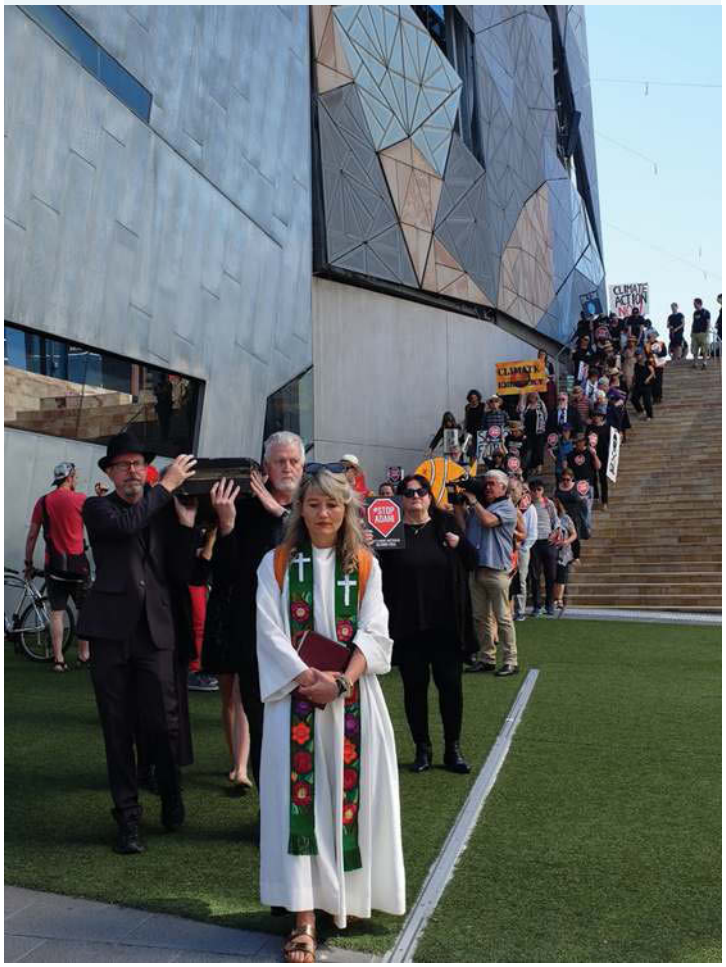
While many environmental NGOs welcome participation by young people, the Australian Youth Climate Coalition (AYCC) was specifically designed to give Australian environmentalists aged 30 and under a real voice in the climate change debate. This youth-run and youth-led organisation grew from 5000 members at the beginning of 2009 to more than 50 000 members by the end of the year. In 2009, the organisation focused on three major projects, which involved running the first Australian youth climate summit; working with World Vision to hold the world's first national youth vote on climate change; and establishing AYCC International to send a **delegation** to the United Nations Climate Conference. They have also sent delegates into schools to talk about climate change and to mentor students, and have established the Youth Climate Leadership Program. In 2010, the AYCC was one of 20 NGOs chosen to represent the community's interests in the Non-Government Organisation Roundtable on Climate Change.

Based in inner Melbourne, the Yarra Climate Action Now (YCAN) is a community group made up of people concerned about climate change. Their aim is to work to achieve collective responses to climate change. Lobbying all levels of government, media campaigns, stalls at events and festivals, participating in organised events such as 100% Renewables and doorknocking all form part of their act local, think global philosophy. Other campaigns include involvement in 350, a global grassroots climate action organisation, Yarra Community Solar, Trains not Toll Roads and Lock the Gate.

SOURCE 5 The figure '350' is formed by people holding umbrellas at a mass environmental awareness event at the Sydney Opera House. 350 Australia is part of a global grassroots movement that aims to hold governments accountable to 'the realities of science and the principles of justice' through mass public action and online campaigns. The number 350 refers to the recommendation by scientists that the amount of CO_2 in the atmosphere must be reduced from its current level of 400 parts per million to below 350 parts per million.



SOURCE 6 On 8 May 2014, the Queensland Government gave preliminary approval for the creation of Australia's biggest mining project, the Carmichael coal mine, which would be owned by the Adani family. Environmental groups protested because of concerns about the CO_2 generated through the burning of coal, the detrimental environmental effects to the land and forest around the mine itself, and the longer-term effects on the water supply in the Great Artesian Basin. This set up a years-long fight in the courts and on the streets. In this image, taken in December 2018, protesters in Melbourne stage a 'Funeral for our Future', which organisers hoped would shame politicians into taking action to stop the Adani mine and start the transition away from fossil fuels.



DISCUSS

The future health of the environment is arguably the greatest challenge for present day individuals, groups and governments. **[Ethical Capability]**

Explore more with myWorld HistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of the topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- The globalising world > **Green politics**

6.9 ACTIVITY

Using all the sources in this subtopic as evidence, write an essay on the following topic:
'Australia's environmental future is in good hands'. **Using historical sources as evidence**

6.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

6.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Overall, is the concern of Australians about environmental issues increasing or decreasing?
2. **HS1** Examine Australian attitudes to environmental issues in the years 2007–11. What is different about their concerns at this time compared to the years before and after this period? Can you suggest a reason for this change?
3. **HS1** In recent years, which (a) gender and (b) age group has been identified as having the most concern about climate change?
4. **HS1** Explain in your own words the meaning of the slogan 'Think global, act local'.
5. **HS1** Why might sustainable projects involving young children lead to a more environmentally sustainable community?
6. **HS1** How would you define a 'grassroots' organisation?
7. **HS1** What does the growth in membership of the AYCC suggest to you?
8. **HS1** List some of the projects the (a) AYCC and (b) YCAN have been involved in. What do you see as the similarities and differences between these two organisations?
9. **HS1** Why should caring for the environment be a collective effort? Which of the aspirations in **SOURCE 3** relates to this?

6.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Refer to **SOURCE 1** and/or **SOURCE 2** to answer the following questions.
   (a) Write 2–3 sentences about the trends shown in the **SOURCE 1** graph, including what you predict might happen in this data over coming years.
   (b) According to the **SOURCE 2** infographic, what particular environmental issues concern both young and older Australians the most? Why do you think these issues might be of paramount concern?
   (c) Which issues do these two segments of Australian society disagree on, and why might this be the case?
   (d) How could the evidence in these two sources be a valuable starting point for (i) an education campaign about the environmental issues faced by Australia and (ii) the focus of government policy aimed at making all Australians more concerned and active when it comes to protecting our environment?
2. **HS3** What aspects of sustainability can be seen in **SOURCE 4**?
3. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 6**.
   (a) What issue are the people shown in the source campaigning for?
   (b) What can you say about the demographics of the protesters based on the people in this photograph?
4. **HS4** Suggest what might be the biggest environmental concern of Australians in 20 years. Justify your opinion.
5. **HS5** To what extent can grassroots movements have more success than more formal government policies? Explain your view.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

6.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

online only

What is a historical inquiry?

Historical inquiry is a process that involves formulating inquiry questions, identifying evidence such as primary and secondary sources, then interrogating, interpreting, analysing and evaluating those sources in order to reach conclusions about an event or events from the past.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

6.11 Thinking Big research project: Climate change action — the view from 2120

online only

SCENARIO

It is the year 2120. You are a historian working for the UN's IPCC — the panel who warned back in 2018 that we must keep global temperature rise to 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels in order to avoid the worst outcomes of climate change. Did we act to save our planet?



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Climate change action — the view from 2120 (pro-0208)

6.12 Review

online only

6.12.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

6.12.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31755)
Crossword (doc-31756)

Interactivity The environment movement crossword (int-7665)

KEY TERMS

biosphere the part of the Earth and its atmosphere in which living organisms exist or that is capable of supporting life
blockade to block the movement of something
Cold War a power struggle and battle of ideologies, after World War II, between the Western bloc nations led by the superpower United States and the Eastern Bloc nations led by the superpower USSR
colonial nation a nation that has foreign settlements, or colonies, under its control
deforestation the removal of trees or forest
delegation a person or group appointed to represent others
ecotourism tourism to places with unspoiled natural resources
fallout the fall of radioactive particles after a nuclear explosion
Gaia hypothesis the idea that all living organisms and inorganic matter are part of a dynamic system that regulates the biosphere
geyser a natural hot spring that intermittently ejects a column of water and steam into the air
global warming the observable rising trend in the Earth's atmospheric temperatures, generally attributed to the enhanced greenhouse effect
grassroots involving ordinary people in a community or organisation
Industrial Revolution the period from the mid 1700s into the 1800s that saw major technological changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transportation, with far-reaching social and economic impacts
manifesto a public declaration of principles, policies or intentions
organism an individual form of life
permaculture landscapes that are designed to mimic the patterns and relationships found in nature and yield an abundance of food, fibre and energy
radical a person who advocates fundamental or revolutionary changes in current practices, conditions or institutions
reservations pieces of land set apart by the federal government for a special purpose, especially to hold and control a Native American people
tailings refuse left over after ore has been processed
technocrat a scientific or technical expert with a high position
uranium a radioactive element used in the construction of nuclear fuels and weapons

6.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

6.10.1 Tell me

What is historical inquiry?

Historians investigate events that have happened in the past and try to explain them. They do this through a process of inquiry.

Why is inquiry important?

One of the most valuable skills we can develop as a student of history is the ability and willingness to *inquire* about important events and the people involved in those events. Engaging in historical inquiry involves asking rich questions; locating and evaluating primary and secondary sources of evidence; and drawing conclusions based on your findings. In this case, you will evaluate the actions of an environmental protest group known for its unorthodox and sometimes dangerous tactics, the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society.

6.10.2 Show me

How to conduct a historical inquiry — a step-by-step approach

First you have to formulate the questions you want to answer. These should require more than a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer or a single date. A rich question is puzzling at first but sparks the imagination. As a historian, it is your task to decide, 'Are members of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society eco-defenders or eco-terrorists?'

To answer this question, you must locate and evaluate sources of evidence. One of the most challenging aspects of finding reliable evidence is that different people will offer different accounts of the same event. Accounts tend to differ based on whether the person experienced the event *directly* or *indirectly*, whether their information was *complete* or *incomplete*, and their *role* in the event. Some accounts may also suggest *bias*. To decide which historical account is most accurate, you need to gather a range of sources and establish how reliable they are through a process of corroboration — that is, comparing them against each other. Once you have located a number of sources, choose those that seem most relevant. Examine each in turn, asking the following questions:

a. What 'answers' does the source offer to your major question?
b. When was the source created and how does the source fit the chronology of the event under investigation? (Hint: you may sometimes need to complete further research to answer this question.)
c. Who created this source and why?
d. Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?
e. Do you see any evidence of bias?
f. Whose views/experiences are *not* represented?
g. Does the source support the general patterns of change suggested by other evidence?

The final stage of investigation involves drawing conclusions based on the evidence you have collected. The conclusions you draw are always open to challenge and should be revised if you find compelling evidence to the contrary.

Model

SOURCE 1 reflects one view of the actions of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society. It has been used as the basis for answering questions a–g.

SOURCE 1 In this interview excerpt from *Huck* magazine, a bi-monthly lifestyle magazine published in London and aimed at young males, Sea Shepherd captain and founder Paul Watson explains his views on the illegal destruction of marine life, including whales, and what should be done about it.

Huck: What do you say to people who reason that human welfare should be considered before animal welfare?

PW: I think what people should realise is that what we're doing in the areas of conservation and biodiversity is probably more important to humanity than anything else, whether it's cancer research or helping the poor. If the oceans die, we die. We're interdependent, as is a lot of ecology, on other species ... We need the fish, they don't need us. We need the bees, they don't need us ... And if we don't conserve and preserve all this biodiversity in our world we're doomed. I think one of the most important things to be involved in is the conservation of biodiversity on planet Earth.

Huck: The Japanese authorities have labelled you a terrorist. Are you worried what effect that might have on your work?

PW: In a world where the Dalai Lama is officially a terrorist, it doesn't bother me too much. A while back, I was coming into the US and Homeland Security ... said 'Japan have made an accusation that you're an eco-terrorist.' I asked 'Am I off to Guantánamo?' and they were like 'no it's just a lot of paperwork'. They seem to understand the politics of the situation. Japan have taken out an arrest warrant on me but nobody seems to take it seriously ... I find it absurd that Japan are breaking all these laws ... they sank one of our ships and the Captain responsible wasn't even questioned by authorities ... and they have the audacity to call me a terrorist. We're not killing anybody, we're not injuring anybody, we haven't even been convicted of any crime and the Japanese have shot at us, thrown flash grenades at us, destroyed a £2m ship of ours. It's a very bizarre world where people who inflict terrible violence have the audacity to label people who are non-violent, terrorists.

a. *What 'answers' does the source offer to your major question?*
   Captain Paul Watson defends the society's anti-whaling actions by arguing that they are far less violent than those committed by Japanese whalers. Watson also directly addresses the question of whether he is a terrorist, calling the claim 'bizarre'.
b. *When was the source created and how does the source fit the chronology of the event under investigation?*
   This interview was published in June 2010. Sea Shepherd has been active since 1979, albeit under a different name. The so-called 'Whale Wars' between Sea Shepherd and the whaling activities of Japan began in 2002 and continues today. This brief chronology places the interview in the midst of these activities.
c. *Who created this source and why?*
   This interview was conducted by *Huck* magazine, a bi-monthly lifestyle magazine published in London and aimed mainly at young males. Clearly, Paul Watson is the sort of person the editors thought the magazine's readers would be interested in.
d. *Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?*
   The views are those of society founder Paul Watson. None of his claims are questioned by the interviewer, indicating that they are a clear statement of Watson's position but do not necessarily reflect a balanced account of the incidents he describes.
e. *Do you see any evidence of bias?*
   Watson has a very one-sided view of the issues he describes, which is to be expected because he is an activist. He appears to view himself as the victim, at one point comparing himself to persecuted spiritual leader the Dalai Lama.
f. *Whose views/experiences are not represented here?*
   The experiences not represented in this article include those of the Japanese whalers, other environment groups such as Greenpeace and those officially charged with protecting the oceans.
g. *Does the source support the general patterns of change suggested by other evidence?*
   Although Captain Walker's views and methods could be described as extreme, they do reflect the growing sense of environmental concern witnessed in the twentieth century and beyond. Sea Shepherd and similar organisations arose because some people believed that more direct and hostile methods were required to combat global environmental issues.

6.10.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

6.10 ACTIVITIES

1. Use questions a–g from the Show me section to analyse **SOURCES 2** and **3**.
2. Having analysed the evidence, offer a possible answer to the question: 'Are members of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society eco-defenders or eco-terrorists?'
3. Suggest other evidence that would need to be found and examined before you could come to a definitive conclusion for this historical investigation.

SOURCE 2 This photo, taken 15 February 2012, was released by the Institute of Cetacean Research of Japan. It shows Sea Shepherd activists on an inflatable boat preparing to throw a bottle allegedly containing acid toward a Japanese whaling vessel during an encounter in the Antarctic Sea.



SOURCE 3 On 18 February 2011 Japan's foreign minister, Seiji Maehara, announced that the country had decided to bring its harpoon ships home a month early because of fears for the safety of the ships' crews due to the actions of the Sea Shepherd society.

[Today] Japan had no choice but to call off the research whaling mission for the current period from the viewpoint of ensuring the safety of the research vessels and the lives and property of the crew members. While this is due to obstructive acts by the Sea Shepherd, such obstructive acts are dangerous illegal acts that threaten the lives and property of the crew members of our country and the safe navigation of our ships that have been conducting lawful research activities on the open sea, and as such, they cannot be tolerated. Although the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for its part, has continuously called on the Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand, which are the flag states of Sea Shepherd's boats, or where the boats make port calls, to take effective measures to prevent acts of violence by Sea Shepherd, it is extremely regrettable that Sea Shepherd still has not been stopped from its obstructive acts ... Although we made the heartrending decision to return home this time for the sake of the crew's safety, we will work on the diplomatic front and since we must not allow ourselves to be prevented from doing what is allowed by law ...

6.11 Thinking Big research project: Climate change action — the view from 2120

Scenario

It is the year 2120. You are a historian working for the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). It was this organisation that warned in 2018 that we must limit global temperature rise to no more than 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels, rather than 2 degrees, in order to avoid the worst outcomes of climate change. It is your task to write the official history of one place of importance to people of the early twenty-first century that was either irreparably damaged or saved from irreparable climate-change damage by the actions of the global population.

Whether this important place has been destroyed or saved depends upon whether, in your imagined future, we were able to work together to keep global temperatures beneath the recommended 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels by 2030.

SOURCE 1 Rising sea levels due to climate change are a major concern for the global community.

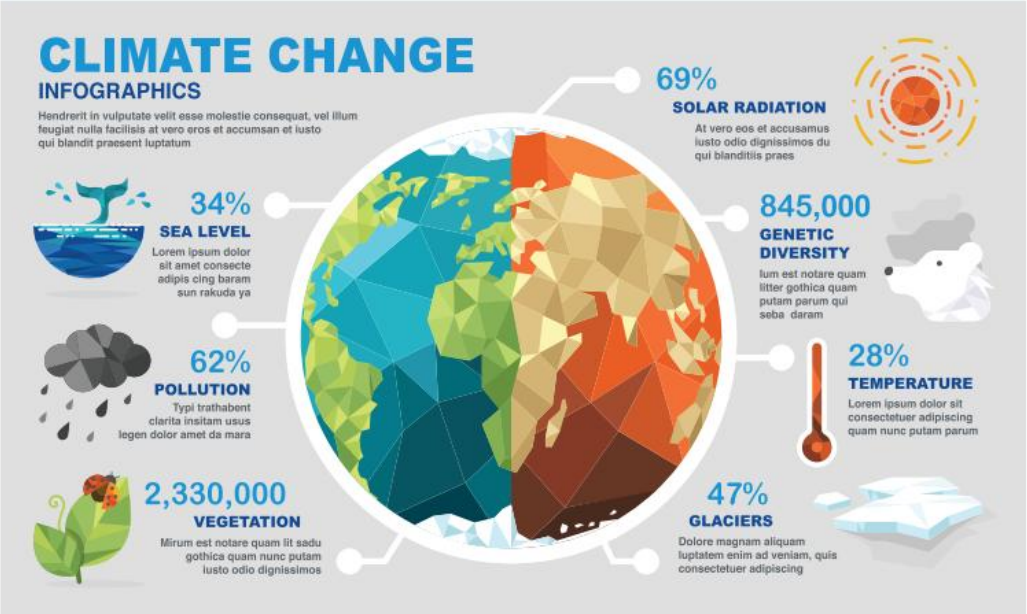


Task

Use your imagination and your research and design skills to create an informative poster, or infographic, that looks back to the world of the early twenty-first century (the present day) and presents the case for climate-change action by highlighting what could be lost if we do not act quickly.

Informative posters and infographics combine words, images and other design elements to grab readers' attention and give them the information they need in a form that is easily accessible and able to be acted upon. This sort of presentation is not only informative, but can be useful in inspiring change, which is one of the things that many people profiled throughout this topic have sought to do with their knowledge.

SOURCE 2 An infographic contains images and text to present information in an accessible manner.



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in pairs will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Before you design the look and feel of your poster or infographic, you need to collect the information you will require and compile it into a report. This report should:
  - focus on a place of local, national, or global significance
  - explain why this place is significant, and to whom
  - detail the history of the place before and after settlement
  - capture the 'voices' of people who have been interviewed about it, who have written about it, or who have created artwork inspired by it
  - outline what is predicted to happen to this place if global temperatures exceed 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels
  - create a timeline, showing what will be lost if this place succumbs to the predicted climate change–related effects
  - outline the short-term and long-term consequences of the place's deterioration or destruction on the people who believe it is important. Justify your opinion, showing that you have consulted a number of valid sources.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find the above points loaded as topics to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your work partner. When you have completed your research, you can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.
- After completing the research component of your project, you will need to study informative posters and infographics from reputable scientific organisations to gather ideas for how to present your information. The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point.
- When viewing these informative posters and infographics, make notes about the following aspects of their design, and how they work to engage the viewer:
  - words
  - pictures
  - colour
  - blank space
  - any other design elements you can see.
- Now create your own poster or infographic design!
  - Make sure that all written and visual elements work together and convey a clear message.
  - Use graphic design software or available art supplies such as cardboard, coloured paper, coloured pencils and pens.
  - Remember that the purpose of your poster/infographic is to engage and inform your audience. You want them to think about big issues, and ultimately take action to halt climate change before we exceed 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels.
- Present your poster or infographic, along with a summary of your report, to the class. With your presentation next to you, or shown onscreen, your words — about the predicted detrimental effects on a place of cultural significance — should inspire your audience to learn more about climate change and/or take action before it is too late!

SOURCE 3 School students strike for climate change action, March 2019



Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Climate change action — the view from 2120 (pro-0208)

6.12 Review

6.12.1 Key knowledge summary

6.2 Examining the evidence

- Since the 1960s the environment movement has grown considerably in strength as both experts and ordinary citizens have become involved.
- There are numerous readily available sources on the environment movement. These include visual sources, such as photographs, and text sources such as books, articles, official reports, letters and songs.

6.3 The national park movement

- North America led the way in establishing the world's first national park, Yellowstone, in 1872.
- In 1879 in Sydney, Australia established the second of the world's national parks, later to be known as Royal National Park.
- Other nations such as Canada and New Zealand followed, also establishing national parks to protect unique environments.

6.4 Growing impacts on the environment

- Impacts arising out of the Industrial Revolution, such as rapid urbanisation and expansion to exploit resources in new colonies, resulted in significant costs to the health of the global environment. In Australia, industrialisation and urbanisation after European settlement led to environmental issues such as land clearance, deforestation and pollution. From the 1960s onward, some Australian farmers pioneered conservational agriculture and organic farming.

6.5 The contemporary environment movement

- The contemporary environment movement grew in response to world events, such as the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The world's first Earth Day was celebrated in 1970.
- Popular culture played a role in highlighting environmental concerns through music, books and magazines.
- New ideas such as the Gaia hypothesis were expounded and Green political parties were founded.
- In Australia, the Australian Greens were politically active from the 1970s onward, having electoral success particularly in Tasmania.

6.6 Defending the environment

- Environmental organisations became more sophisticated in the 1970s, with activists protesting a range of issues.
- Greenpeace was formed in 1971 and continues its environmental campaigns today through peaceful protest.
- Environmental activism in Australia took the form of union activism and 'green bans', as well as campaigns by organisations such as the Wilderness Society.
- Key campaigns were in Tasmania to save Lake Pedder from being dammed. This failed, but a campaign to save the Franklin River was successful in 1983.

6.7 The Atomic Age

- Fears of nuclear war followed the detonation of atomic bombs in 1945.
- The Cold War saw the superpowers of the US and the USSR locked in an uneasy nuclear truce.
- The nuclear reactor disaster at Chernobyl in 1986 convinced many people that nuclear power was a threat to humankind and the planet itself.
- Britain conducted nuclear testing on Australian soil at Emu Junction and Maralinga.
- At Jabiluka, a long campaign against proposed uranium mining on the lands of the Mirrar people was finally successful in 2005.

6.8 Global environmental issues: responses

- Climate change is a global environmental problem that requires a coordinated international response.
- The Kyoto Protocol and various climate change conferences under the auspices of the United Nations have attempted to convince countries reduce their greenhouse emissions.
- Other environmental issues, such as the threat to the Great Barrier Reef, are not just Australian environmental issues but international issues.

6.9 Australia's environmental future

- Australia's environmental future is under pressure from population increase, economic growth and climate change.
- In the early 1990s, concern about the environment was extremely high. Our biggest environmental concerns were air pollution, destruction of trees and ecosystems, ocean pollution and the depletion of the ozone layer.
- However, statistics gathered in 2007–08 saw a reduction in concern. Since then, Australians' levels of concern for the environment have returned to close to where they were at the turn of the millennium.
- The strategy of 'think global, act local' finds expression in many grassroots organisations in communities and neighbourhoods.

A timeline of the environment movement from the 1870s to the present

CE



March 1872
In recognition of the importance of parkland, US Congress approves the establishment of Yellowstone National Park.

1872

1879
Australia creates the world's second national park 32 km outside Sydney, known simply as 'The National Park'.

1882

1962

September 1962
In her book *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson argued that irresponsible industrial and farming practices were having a direct negative impact on the natural world.

September 1969
Protesters abseil 300 m down the side of an office block to protest the proposed mining of the Colong Caves in New South Wales.

June 1971
Sydney's Builders Labourers Federation impose the first 'green ban', refusing to allow AV Jennings to begin construction on the last remaining bushland on the Parramatta foreshore.

1972

1972
Months of protest end in failure when the Hydro-Electric Commission floods Tasmania's Lake Pedder.

1974
The federal government releases the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*, outlining the types of environments suitable for conservation and the methods by which they would be conserved.

1976
Conservationists win a major battle when a decision by the courts forces US company Dillingham-Murphyores to stop sand mining on Fraser Island.



1982

1978
The *Sea Shepherd* makes its maiden voyage, establishing itself as an aggressive protector of marine wildlife.

July 1983
Peaceful protest and clever use of national newspapers culminate in a Federal Court ruling to block the damming of Tasmania's Franklin River.

1992



2002

September 2008
Professor Ross Garnaut releases his much-anticipated report on the effects of climate change on the Australian economy.

June 2010
Prime Minister Kevin Rudd loses the Labor leadership after failing in the eyes of many to tackle climate change, which he had called 'the greatest moral challenge of our generation'.

August 2010
The Australian Greens receive 13 per cent of the national vote, giving each of the six states a representative in the Senate, a first for any minor party.

2012

2015
In July, the United Nations World Heritage Committee decides against declaring the Great Barrier Reef endangered.



2015
In December in Paris, 150 countries sign a draft Agreement at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to work towards capping global temperature rise to 1.5 degrees Celsius.

2022

CE

6.12.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

6.12 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

Earth is very big. Why does it need people to fight on its behalf to protect the environment?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31755)
Crossword (doc-31756)

Interactivity The environment movement crossword (int-7665)

KEY TERMS

biosphere the part of the Earth and its atmosphere in which living organisms exist or that is capable of supporting life
blockade to block the movement of something
Cold War a power struggle and battle of ideologies, after World War II, between the Western bloc nations led by the superpower United States and the Eastern Bloc nations led by the superpower USSR
colonial nation a nation that has foreign settlements, or colonies, under its control
deforestation the removal of trees or forest
delegation a person or group appointed to represent others
ecotourism tourism to places with unspoiled natural resources
fallout the fall of radioactive particles after a nuclear explosion
Gaia hypothesis the idea that all living organisms and inorganic matter are part of a dynamic system that regulates the biosphere
geyser a natural hot spring that intermittently ejects a column of water and steam into the air
global warming the observable rising trend in the Earth's atmospheric temperatures, generally attributed to the enhanced greenhouse effect
grassroots involving ordinary people in a community or organisation
Industrial Revolution the period from the mid 1700s into the 1800s that saw major technological changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transportation, with far-reaching social and economic impacts
manifesto a public declaration of principles, policies or intentions
organism an individual form of life
permaculture landscapes that are designed to mimic the patterns and relationships found in nature and yield an abundance of food, fibre and energy
radical a person who advocates fundamental or revolutionary changes in current practices, conditions or institutions
reservations pieces of land set apart by the federal government for a special purpose, especially to hold and control a Native American people
tailings refuse left over after ore has been processed
technocrat a scientific or technical expert with a high position
uranium a radioactive element used in the construction of nuclear fuels and weapons

7 Migration experiences

7.1 Overview

From migrants to asylum seekers, why do people from all over the world leave their homes and come to live in Australia?

7.1.1 Links with our times

The resettlement of refugees and displaced persons is one of the most pressing problems facing the world today. Forced migration from Syria, Afghanistan and other war-torn countries has created a dire situation for the immigrants themselves and a dilemma for the countries in which they seek asylum.

Over its history, Australia has been faced with a similar dilemma: to offer a home to refugees or to 'secure its borders' against them. The case of asylum seekers from Iran and Iraq who attempted to enter Australian territory in December 2010 was particularly tragic: the overcrowded vessel, which had lost its engine, was wrecked and dozens of refugees perished.

Forced migration, however, is only one aspect of the history of migration that Australia has experienced. Not all immigrants to these shores have been seeking asylum — indeed, the vast majority of immigrants to Australia since World War II have been invited, and their industry and presence have enriched Australia both economically and culturally.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson Migration experiences (eles-2602)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

7.1 Overview
7.2 Examining the evidence
7.3 Waves of migration
7.4 Changing immigration policy
7.5 New Australians
7.6 Immigration from Asia
7.7 Australia's evolving immigration policy
7.8 Seeking asylum in Australia
7.9 The migrant contribution
7.10 **SkillBuilder:** Conducting a historical inquiry online only
7.11 **Thinking Big research project:** Migration story collector online only
7.12 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of significant events in the history of migration to Australia since World War II



1945
Arthur Calwell becomes Australia's first immigration minister.



1949
Immigrants from many European nations are employed in the Snowy Mountains Scheme.

CE

1940

1950

1960

1970

1980

1990

2000

2010

2020

CE



1947
The Australian government agrees to settle 12 000 displaced persons per year.

1955
The millionth post-war immigrant arrives in Australia.

1958
The controversial dictation test is abolished.

1966
Migration is offered to non-Europeans.

1967
A referendum allowed Indigenous people to be counted in the census and the federal government to make laws specifically for First Australians.



1971
The Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre closes.

1975
The *Racial Discrimination Act* prohibits discrimination on the basis of colour, descent, race, ethnicity or religion.

1978
The Galbally Report outlines key strategies to promote multiculturalism.

1980
Channel 0/28 begins broadcasting multicultural television in Melbourne





1998
With a platform opposing Aboriginal land claims, multiculturalism and Asian immigration, the One Nation Party gains 9 per cent of the vote in the federal election.

2001
The *Tampa* affair sparks national debate.

2008
The Rudd ALP government institutes the processing of asylum seekers at Christmas Island.

2010
15 December, the boat *SEIV 221* crashes against the cliffs of Christmas Island.

2012
Over 100 vessels carrying more than 5000 asylum seekers from mainly Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka arrive on Australian territory. Hundreds fail to complete the journey and perish at sea.

2013
The newly elected Abbott Coalition government introduces Operation Sovereign Borders, a border protection policy which significantly reduces the number of illegal entries by boat into Australia.

The Gillard ALP government reopens the Manus Island processing centre on PNG and Nauru.

2016
The Australian High Court dismisses a challenge to the legality of the immigration detention centre on Nauru.



7.2 Examining the evidence

7.2.1 How do we know about migration experiences?

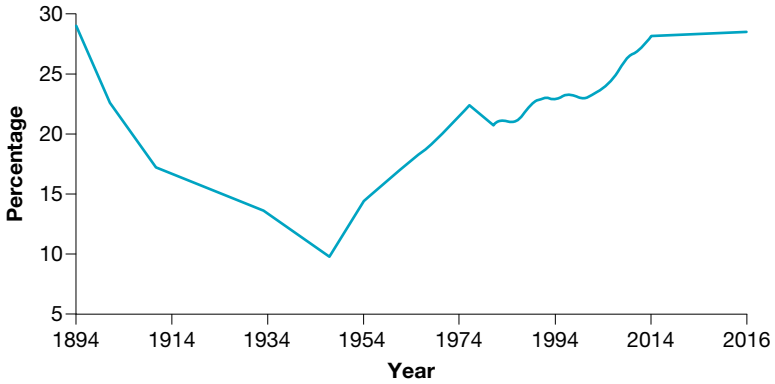
Immigration has been a constant of Australia's history, particularly since Europeans arrived in 1788. There are rich sources of information about Australia's immigration history in museums and libraries, including photographs, individual migrant experiences captured in stories, interviews and artistic works, as well as statistical data.

Statistical data

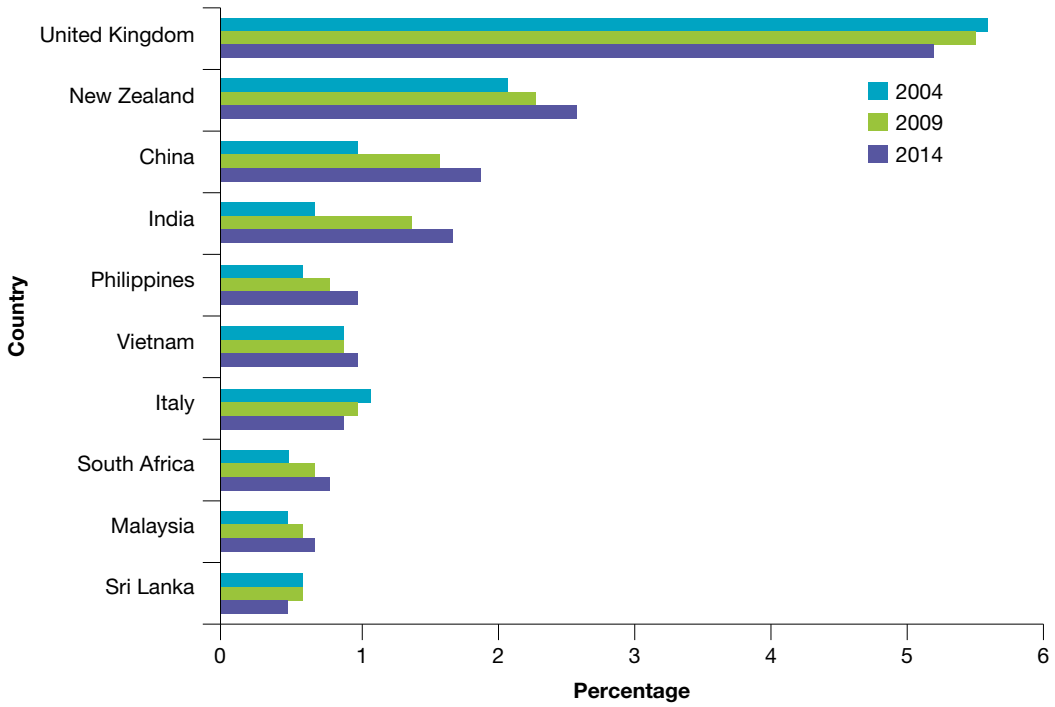
One way to view history is through the lens of a **statistician**, whose job it is to look at trends in the facts and figures that explain how society changes over time. In order to make judgements based on this data, it is essential to make sure that it is reliable by getting it from an official source.

Throughout the twentieth century the Australian Bureau of Statistics collected data on migration to, from and within Australia. This data shows clear trends, including rises and falls in the numbers of immigrants, and changes in the country of origin of immigrants and the types of work immigrants do once they have made Australia their home. From a low of 10 per cent in 1947, the percentage of people born overseas has steadily increased, reaching 28.5 per cent in June 2016, the highest point in 120 years.

SOURCE 1 This graph shows the proportion of Australia's population born overseas in the years 1894–2016.



SOURCE 2 This graph shows the top ten countries of origin for Australians born overseas.



Migrants' stories

As migration to Australia increased following World War II, social workers and policy-makers became increasingly interested in hearing migrants' stories. Some of these stories were collected in official documents and underpinned the government's decisions on how to promote better housing, working conditions, health and education among migrants. Today, the migrant experience is depicted in exhibitions held at locations around the country, including the National Maritime Museum (Sydney), and the Immigration Museum (Melbourne). The Albury Library Museum contains a permanent exhibition space, 'The Bonegilla Story', which focuses on the experiences of migrants who passed through the Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre. Migrants' stories have also formed the basis for recent autobiographies, including *The Happiest Refugee* by Anh Do and *Growing Up Asian in Australia* by Alice Pung. These stories provide primary source evidence of the migrant experience and add 'flesh' to the bare bones of statistical data.

SOURCE 3 Mariam Veiszadeh, a refugee from Afghanistan, and now a lawyer and Muslim community advocate, discusses the benefits and challenges of her experiences in immigrating to Australia.

I was born in Kabul, Afghanistan during the Soviet War in 1984. I, like every other human being living on this Earth, didn't exercise any choice in where, or the circumstances in which I would be born.

Due to the Soviet war my family had to flee Afghanistan in 1988. Our journey took us from Kabul to India, to the Czech Republic, followed by Germany and then finally we were granted asylum in Australia in 1991 under the Refugee and Special Humanitarian program.

I was enrolled in school both in India and Germany, each time making new friends and learning a completely new language. Upon arrival in Australia I was immediately enrolled into English as Second Language (ESL) classes.

Now when I reflect on my humble beginnings, it is still unbelievable to think that I arrived in Australia as a shy 7-year-old who couldn't speak a word of English. I will be forever grateful to Australia for the educational opportunities I have been given and for allowing my family and I, to call Australia our 'home'.

I am often saddened though by the conduct of some of our politicians and media personalities who seem to be peddling people's prejudices rather than challenging them. Multiculturalism is here to stay and not just in the form of Chinese dumplings and Turkish kebabs so let's all work towards ensuring that the Australia that we all call home, doesn't just seek to tolerate diversity, but rather, celebrates it.

Photographs

Another useful source that can assist in revealing the experience of migrants is photographs. The benefits of photographs are twofold. Firstly, they can provide an obvious snapshot of the living or social conditions experienced by migrants. They may reveal facts about affluence, age and gender distribution, among other things. **SOURCE 4** shows Yugoslav, Polish and Latvian displaced persons at Bonegilla, a migrant centre established in 1947. In the costume of their homelands, they contrast with the corrugated iron structures behind them. Closed in 1971, Bonegilla now is the site of a migration museum.

The second benefit of using photographs as sources is that they can balance, augment or even counter other sources of evidence. Often migrants' stories contain personal bias.

SOURCE 4 Yugoslav, Polish and Latvian displaced persons in 1949 at the Bonegilla Migrant Reception and Training Centre



Generally, they are success stories, and the author of the story wants to impress the listener with their tale of hardships overcome. **Oral history**, as this is known, is a complete history as far as the author is concerned, but historians are often wary of the bias that can be present in oral history. Photographs can complement or challenge the version provided.

on Resources

Weblink Australian Bureau of Statistics population data

7.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** List three different types of primary source evidence you would consult when studying the migrant experience.
2. **HS1** Which decade saw the greatest growth in the number of Australians born overseas?
3. **HS1** Consider migrant stories you have heard from someone you know or have met. Outline the advantages of learning about the past from oral history accounts.
4. **HS1** Statistics such as those in **SOURCES 1** and **2** provide a narrow understanding of immigration. List other statistics and facts you would like to know about to gain a fuller understanding of migration experiences.
5. **HS1** Describe, in your own words, the advantages of using photographic sources. Are there any circumstances in which photographs might not show 'the truth'?

7.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Identify what trends a statistician might draw from **SOURCES 1** and **2**.
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Why do you think the author begins her story with the statement that she didn't 'exercise any choice in where, or the circumstances in which I would be born'?
   (b) Identify what you think the author means by the statement that some people are 'peddling people's prejudices rather than challenging them'.
3. **HS3** In what ways could **SOURCE 4** be used to paint (a) a positive picture or (b) a negative picture of the migration experience?
4. **HS6 SOURCE 1** could be used to argue that immigration is increasing in Australia but it is only a graph about the percentage of overseas-born Australians. What other reasons could explain the increase detected?
5. **HS6** The figures on the horizontal axis of **SOURCE 2** are very low. They represent the percentage of Australians who were born in these countries. Could these figures challenge any of the stereotypes about immigration in Australia? Explain your response.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

7.3 Waves of migration

7.3.1 Australia after World War II

At the end of World War II, Australia's seven million people came from a predominantly **Anglo-Celtic** background and the majority of people — including politicians — wanted to keep it that way. However, the world was changing. In the decades that followed, Australia would be forced to open its borders to waves of immigrants, first from Europe, then from Asia. The different beliefs and attitudes that these immigrants brought with them would both cause conflict and enrich Australian culture.

Facing a significant employment shortage at the end of World War II, Australia needed to supplement its predominantly Anglo-Celtic population of only seven million people. Initially, northern and southern Europeans displaced or destitute because of the war filled the breach. The first 'wave' of post-war immigrants were able to enrich Australia economically by meeting the employment opportunities that were available and culturally by enhancing the diversity of the Australian population. The transition to Australian

life, however, was not always smooth and, for many immigrants, Australia was not a welcoming place. Australian politicians, torn between a need to economically diversify and to placate existing Australian attitudes, manipulated the immigration situation to suit their agenda. This has tended to be a mainstay of political involvement in immigration policy. In the decades that followed the end of World War II and up to the present, Australia has moved from seeking immigration to managing immigration and then to confronting those claiming to be the victims of forced immigration.

Australia emerged from World War II as a small, insular and mostly white population, living mainly at the coastal edges of a vast landmass. Fearing that such a small population would be vulnerable to attack from overseas, Arthur Calwell, the immigration minister at the time, attempted to recruit immigrants from Europe. Once here, these immigrants were put to work as part of the post-war construction effort. During this period, a high level of economic growth, combined with a low level of unemployment, led to the post-war boom. Despite the range of benefits that a larger population offered the country, the immigration minister's welcome initially extended only to those of white European descent.

SOURCE 1 Private Ian Hamilton Clark of the Australian Imperial Force and his Russian wife Olga contemplate a window display in London offering passages to Australia. They met during World War II, and planned to return together to his farm in Ballina, Australia, once her emigration papers were in order.



7.3.2 Economic boom and assimilation

A change of government in 1949 also led to a slight change to Australia's immigration policy. The Menzies government and its immigration minister, Harold Holt, relaxed the conditions facing some non-European immigrants and also permitted Japanese war brides (wartime marriages between soldiers and foreigners) to be admitted. Yet the focus was still on European migration and between 1945 and 1965 some two million European migrants came to Australia as assisted migrants. Assisted migrants had most of their fare paid for them and in return they had to work for at least two years in jobs often chosen by the Australian government for them. Economically, this was a great success and immigration to Australia facilitated the economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s. Socially, however, immigrants were encouraged to become 'New Australians' and to **assimilate**, by which their own culture was surrendered in favour of the Australian way of life. This policy had mixed results.

SOURCE 2 Migration poster from the 1950s distributed in the United Kingdom advertising immigration to Australia for £10



on Resources

Video eLesson A new home on Australia Day (eles-2603)

7.3.3 From integration to multiculturalism and beyond

In the mid 1960s Australia was at a crucial policy and international junction. It had just entered the Vietnam conflict. The **White Australia Policy**, a relic from the nineteenth century, had still not been completely abolished. There was a growing recognition that assimilation was not a policy suitable for any nation, let alone a nation of immigrants.

The first stage of change was brief but important. Hubert Opperman, immigration minister for the Holt Liberal government, announced in 1966 that immigrants would be considered on their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate and whether they had qualifications useful to Australia. This opened the door for non-European immigration under the policy of **integration**. This was a positive step that marked the beginning of the official end of the White Australia Policy.

Many Australians, however, saw integration as too conservative. Under changes introduced by the new Whitlam Labor Government in 1972, the settlement policy that Australia favoured was labelled **multiculturalism**. The end of the Vietnam conflict and the new policy of multiculturalism saw a period of increased Asian immigration. Al Grassby, the immigration minister in the Whitlam Government, stated in 1973 that 'ethnic pluralism is the most desirable policy for Australia as it moves towards the year 2000, and the most realistic given the experiences of immigration in the past'. Multiculturalism has been embraced by successive governments since that time. In 1999, the Howard Liberal Coalition government approved the National Harmony Day celebration. On 21 March every year, Australians recognise our multicultural heritage by celebrating Harmony Day.

SOURCE 3 This poster advertising Harmony Day conveys the message 'everyone belongs'. Harmony Day celebrates Australia's cultural diversity and promotes inclusiveness.



Skilled migrants, refugees and illegal arrivals

Australia's official immigration policies since the 1970s have been largely administered with two main concerns in mind. The first concern is to admit migrants who fill a gap in our employment market; that is, skilled migrants who can perform jobs that are needed. The second concern is to establish closer relationships in our geographic region. This latter concern has meant that immigrants from Asian countries are beginning to make up the largest group of immigrants to Australia.

Alongside government policy, the last few decades have seen international turmoil on an unprecedented scale. This has resulted in a vast exodus of people from their home countries. Australia was faced with a number of Indochinese refugees in the period after the Vietnam conflict and continues to encounter refugees from this region, as well as Middle Eastern countries such as Syria and Afghanistan. While many people trying to enter Australia are refugees, others are illegally attempting to enter Australia under the guise of refugee status. Like many governments around the world, the Australian government includes accepting legitimate refugees as part of its immigration policy but, like many other countries, is struggling to deal with determining who deserves refugee status. Successive Australian governments have tried a number of different approaches to deal with the situation. These approaches are examined later in this topic.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 2016, Syria was the source of the largest number of refugees worldwide, with more than four million people forced to flee the war in their homeland. Of those, at least 1.6 million are children. Syrian refugees live in Lebanon (1.5 million), Pakistan (1.5 million), Iran (900 000) and Jordan (600 000). Almost one out of every four refugees worldwide is Syrian. Syria also has the largest number of internally displaced people, at 7.6 million. In 2015 Australia pledged to take 12 000 Syrian refugees as part of its humanitarian intake. This number increased in 2018–19 to 18 750.

on Resources

Video eLesson Refugees arriving in Greece (eles-2604)

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- The globalising world > **Post-war migration to Australia**

Resources

Weblink Home Affairs

7.3 ACTIVITIES

1. Harmony Day coincides with the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Explore what other countries do to mark this day. **Identifying continuity and change**
2. Go to the **Home Affairs** weblink in the Resources tab to explore Australia's current immigration policy. Describe the nature of that policy and compare it to previous policies. **Identifying continuity and change**
3. In pairs, compile a list of 5–10 things that you think immigrants would like to know about living in Australia that are not shown on the **SOURCE 2** poster. **Using historical sources as evidence**

7.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** For what reason did Australia need to encourage immigration after World War II?
2. **HS1** How did the immigration minister at the time, Arthur Calwell, attempt to appease Australians who were fearful of immigration?
3. **HS1** From the information provided in this subtopic, how would you describe the overall character of Australia's immigration policy in the period 1945–66?
4. **HS1** What conditions were placed on assisted migrants when they chose to immigrate to Australia?
5. **HS1** For what reasons was the policy of assimilation criticised in the period after 1966?
6. **HS1** Identify the critical differences in the immigration policies of the late 1960s and early 1970s compared to earlier immigration policies.
7. **HS1** Identify the two main factors that have driven immigration policy since the 1970s.
8. **HS1** What mitigating factors have influenced immigration policy in the last two decades?

7.3 Exercise 1: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Look at **SOURCE 1**. What does the existence of such a window display in London reveal about Australia's immigration policy and needs in the period after World War II?
2. **HS3** In what ways would this image and caption alleviate the concerns of Australians who were not in favour of immigration?
3. **HS3** Look at **SOURCE 2**. What details does it provide about the types of employment and living conditions that will greet prospective immigrants when they arrive in Australia?
4. **HS3** Look at **SOURCE 3**. Who sponsors the concept of Harmony Day? What does this tell you about that sponsor?
5. **HS3** How have the creators of the poster tried to communicate the idea of harmony in **SOURCE 3**?
6. **HS4** Identify the events and factors that have driven Australia's immigration policy since 1945. Make a table under the following column headings:
   - Years
   - Name or description of immigration policy
   - Events/factors that influenced the formation of the policy
   - Impact of the policy.
7. **HS4** Consider what multiculturalism stands for and then write a sentence explaining why events like Harmony Day are important in modern Australia.
8. **HS6** The phrase 'waves of migration' has been used by Australian curriculum writers to describe the different stages of migration that have occurred in Australia. Could you argue that 'waves' is a negative term?
9. **HS6** Identify other terms that could be used to describe the stages of migration that Australia has experienced since 1945.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

7.4 Changing immigration policy

7.4.1 The White Australia policy

Government policy has always been the major factor in determining who was allowed to settle in Australia. In the first half of the twentieth century, the White Australia policy — a discriminatory set of laws designed to keep non-whites out of Australia — was in full force and enjoyed widespread support.

SOURCE 1 The first section of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

No. 17 of 1901.

An Act to place certain restrictions on Immigration and to provide for the removal from the Commonwealth of prohibited Immigrants.

[Assented to 23rd December, 1901.]

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

Short title.

1. This Act may be cited as the *Immigration Restriction Act* 1901.

Definition.

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

"Officer" means any officer appointed under this Act, or any Officer of Customs;

"The Minister" means the Minister for External Affairs.

Prohibited immigrants.
See Natal Act 1897, No. 1, s. 3.
W.A. 1897, No. 13, s. 2.
N.S.W. 1898, No. 3, s. 3.

3. The immigration into the Commonwealth of the persons described in any of the following paragraphs of this section (hereinafter called "prohibited immigrants") is prohibited, namely :—

(*a*) Any person who when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in an European language directed by the officer ;

(*b*) any person likely in the opinion of the Minister or of an officer to become a charge upon the public or upon any public or charitable institution ;

(*c*) any idiot or insane person ;

(*d*) any person suffering from an infectious or contagious disease of a loathsome or dangerous character ;

(*e*) any person who has within three years been convicted of an offence, not being a mere political offence, and has been sentenced to imprisonment for one year or longer therefor, and has not received a pardon ;

(*f*) any prostitute or person living on the prostitution of others ;

(*g*) any persons under a contract or agreement to perform manual labour within the Commonwealth : Provided that this paragraph shall not apply to workmen exempted by the Minister for special skill required in Australia or to persons under contract or agreement to serve as part of the crew of a vessel engaged in the coasting trade in Australian waters if the rates of wages specified therein are not lower than the rates ruling in the Commonwealth.

In the mid nineteenth century, immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands had been expelled from Australia in response to white Australians' fear that industrious immigrants would take their jobs by accepting a lower standard of living and working for less money. These actions were reinforced by the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, which gave immigration officers greater discretion when deciding whether or not to allow a person entry into the country. One means by which this was done was the dictation test. The dictation test was designed to test whether a potential immigrant was literate. The examiner could ensure that the candidate would fail by testing the immigrant in a language with which he or she was unfamiliar.

SOURCE 2 In the White Australia Game (1914), players are encouraged to 'get the coloured men out and the white men in'.



DID YOU KNOW?

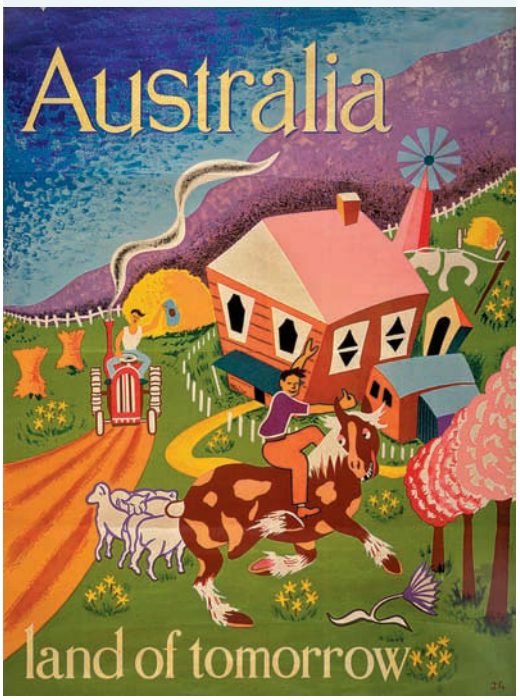
The dictation test was removed from the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1958. In the six decades since its introduction, it was used barely 2000 times.

7.4.2 Populate or perish

Immediately after World War II, there was much to be done. Labor Prime Minister Ben Chifley wanted to expand Australia's industrial capacity and needed workers with specialist skills to complete major construction works, such as the ambitious Snowy Mountains Scheme, which would usher Australia into a new age. More workers would also mean that the country could become more competitive as an exporter, offering primary goods, manufactured goods and elaborately transformed manufactured goods within the global market. This would be particularly important as Australia shifted its focus away from its traditional trade partners of the United Kingdom and Europe towards the Asia–Pacific.

Even though the war was over, there was a strong fear of the rise of **communism** in Asia, and many people were concerned that Australia's population of seven million was not large enough to resist this threat. These people believed that the way to protect Australia from invasion was to increase the population, a view that had originally been raised by former Prime Minister Billy Hughes in the mid 1930s. Hughes's slogan was 'populate or perish'. One of the greatest supporters of this view was Arthur Calwell, who became the first minister of immigration in 1945.

SOURCE 3 This poster, designed in 1948, was hung in many migration camps throughout Europe.



As immigration minister, it was Arthur Calwell's job to sell a message of hope to potential migrants in Europe. In 1945, he announced to parliament that he would 'embark on an adequate publicity campaign in Britain and in other centres of potential immigration on the European continent'. Calwell ran a publicity campaign using publications, newsreels and radio to paint a picture of Australia's natural beauty and economic wealth to potential migrants abroad. Despite seeking to increase migration to Australia immediately following the war, the government was still reluctant to open the borders to people who were not of Anglo-Celtic or European descent. They claimed that it would be more difficult for non-white immigrants to adapt to the Australian way of life and they would be less easily accepted by the Australian people. To support this argument, they pointed to the examples of the United States, South Africa and England, where racial tension, as well as poverty and prejudice, were causing escalating conflict.

SOURCE 4 This extract from one of Calwell's speeches reflects the concerns of many people at the time about Australia's low population.

If Australians have learned one lesson from the Pacific War ... it is surely that we cannot continue to hold our island continent for ourselves and our descendants unless we greatly increase our numbers ... Our first requirement is additional population. We need it for reasons of defence and for the fullest expansion of our economy. We can increase our seven million by an increased birth rate and by a policy of planned immigration with the limits of our existing legislation. Immigration is, at best, only the counterpart of the most important phase of population building, natural increase.

DISCUSS

Do you think the government's claim that Australia must populate or perish was realistic? Why or why not?

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

7.4.3 Australia's response to 'populate or perish'

Public opinion was divided when it came to the merits of the 'populate or perish' strategy. Most people agreed that Australia needed a larger population in order to protect itself in case of war. However, there was strong anti-migrant sentiment within much of the community. Some feared that a large migrant intake would put Australian jobs at risk. Others worried that migrants would not be able to accept the Australian way of life and would distort or spoil Australian cultural values. Despite these concerns, immigration was set to rise, but it would be done in such a way that — at least for a while — Australia's population could increase at unprecedented levels while accepting only those people deemed most acceptable.

SOURCE 5 In this article from the *Cairns Post* (14 August 1950), the author expresses his support for the government's proposed immigration program.

Our vast, abundantly rich, but empty and undeveloped spaces, constitute an alluring temptation and a standing invitation to our nearby numerous, land hungry and needy neighbours and a correspondingly grave menace to our national existence ... Sufficient population and effective development are the only effective means by which we can make a worthy contribution to the needs of mankind, establish our legal and moral right to the permanent control of Australia, and provide the necessary deterrent to any would-be aggressors. 'Populate or perish,' therefore, is a stark reality grimly and urgently staring at us.

Refugees

Some of the first people to benefit from Australia's loosening of its immigration laws were European refugees. When the war ended, more than 20 million Europeans had been displaced. Many could not return home for fear of persecution due to race, religion, membership of a social group or political belief. In the

late 1940s, the Australian government accepted many Baltic refugees from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. After signing the United Nations' Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951, Australia accepted many more migrants on humanitarian grounds, resettling 170 000 refugees by 1954. Between 1956 and 1968, refugees from Hungary and Czechoslovakia were resettled in Australia as they fled from communism. This meant a large supply of immigrants as Australia sought to increase its population.

SOURCE 6 Many residents in Europe's displaced persons camps dreamed of making a better life for themselves in a far-off place.



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- The globalising world > **Post-war migration to Australia**

7.4 ACTIVITY

The infamous dictation test earned Australia international condemnation. Research the story of Egon Kisch or Mabel Freer, two immigrants who successfully fought against the test. **Determining historical significance**

7.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** For what reasons was the White Australia Policy adopted in the nineteenth century in Australia?
2. **HS1** Why did immigration officials use a dictation test to vet potential immigrants?
3. **HS1** What advantages did Ben Chifley see in increasing Australia's workforce?
4. **HS1** How did the Chifley government justify their selective immigration policy, which favoured white Europeans?
5. **HS1** What were the concerns expressed by Australians who were opposed to immigration in this period?
6. **HS1** Despite their concerns, what was the outcome of Calwell's immigration policy?
7. **HS1** Using the information provided, define the term 'refugee'.
8. **HS1** In what ways did refugees benefit from Australia's post-World War II immigration policy?

7.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Look at **SOURCE 1**. What phrases or terms do you find confronting? Explain your response.
2. **HS3** How could section 3a of the Act be manipulated to thwart potential immigrants into Australia?
3. **HS3** Who was the White Australia Game designed for? How can you tell? What statement does it make regarding Australia's immigration policy in the early to mid twentieth century?
4. **HS3** Write a response to the statement, 'The White Australia Game is just a bit of fun. It couldn't hurt anyone'.
5. **HS3** What impression do you think **SOURCE 3** was designed to give Europeans of life in Australia? What makes you say this? Refer to colour, characters and setting in your answer.
6. **HS3** In **SOURCE 4**, Arthur Calwell gave two reasons to explain why Australia needed a larger population after World War II. What were they?

7. **HS3** What do the arguments made by Calwell suggest about the Australian public at this time?
8. **HS3** Why does the author of **SOURCE 5** support the notion of 'populate or perish'? Cite four reasons given.
9. **HS3** Propose two other reasons someone from this part of Australia would be interested in defending the notion of 'populate or perish'.
10. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 6** as evidence, what was life like for residents of displaced persons camps?
11. **HS5** Create a graphic organiser to show how Australia's immigration policy was affected by external events and national needs.
12. **HS5** Compare and contrast the motives of displaced persons from Hungary and Czechoslovakia who came to Australia between 1956 and 1968 to the experiences of displaced persons around the world today.
13. **HS6** The *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901 was one of the first laws passed in the Commonwealth of Australia's first year of government. What conclusions can you draw about the nature of Australians from this fact?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

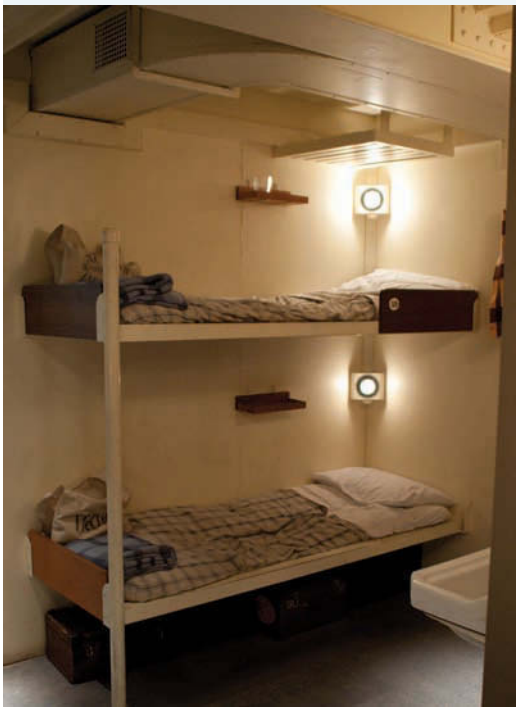
7.5 New Australians

7.5.1 Assisted migration

In the post-war period the government aimed to increase the population by attracting 70 000 migrants per year. They launched an assisted migration scheme to attract the most desirable migrants. Under this scheme, subjects of Great Britain, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and British territories such as Malta and Cyprus, were given the chance to travel to Australia on a cheap one-way ticket, while their children travelled free. Because they paid just £10 for their ticket, these migrants were known as 'ten-pound Poms' (see **SOURCE 2** in subtopic 7.3).

Those who chose to make the journey to Australia faced an ocean voyage that would take around one month. For some this meant travelling in a ship such as the *Fairsea*, which had been converted from a troop carrier. It was an uncomfortable journey, with cramped bunk spaces and a constant reek of disinfectant. For others, on purpose-built passenger ships like the *Orcades*, the voyage was much more comfortable, with a range of cabin choices, on-board shops, a swimming pool and even a hair salon.

SOURCE 1 While some immigrants made the journey to Australia on comfortable passenger ships designed for the purpose, many faced more austere and cramped conditions as shown below in this model of a typical cabin.



7.5.2 Migrant reception centres

When Australia began accepting large numbers of immigrants after the war, the lack of housing meant that immigrants had to be provided temporary accommodation. Unless they could stay with family who were already in Australia, they would be taken to a transit camp, holding centre, workers' hostel, or reception and training centre, where they would be housed for around six weeks.

The longest running post-war migrant reception centre was at Bonegilla in northern Victoria. Established by the Department of Immigration in 1947 in a former military barracks, Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre had its own hospital, three churches, a primary school and the capacity to house more than 7000 people at any one time. Between 1947 and 1951 around half of the 170 000 displaced persons who migrated to Australia came through the centre. After 1951 Bonegilla received a large proportion of assisted migrants.

On arriving at Bonegilla, men were sent to the men's barracks, and women and children to the women's barracks. These were simple huts that were scorching in summer and freezing in winter. Showers and meals were communal, and the residents had to use pit toilets. Each resident was given their own blankets, cutlery and crockery. Soon after arrival, their English skills were tested and they were enrolled in a language class. To find work, they undertook a job interview. In the morning residents were woken by the sound of a bugle; during the day they attended English-language classes and lessons on Australian culture, and a 'lights-out' policy was enforced each night. Immigrants who were not British citizens had to apply for an alien registration certificate. Their 'alien' status limited their political rights and access to social security, and permitted them to apply for specific jobs only. Immigrants remained 'aliens' until they gained Australian citizenship.

SOURCE 2 Immigrants serve a meal at Bonegilla.



The centre's functional but basic living conditions and longer-than-expected waits for employment led to a feeling of disenchantment among some of the residents. After three migrants committed suicide at the facility in 1952, a riot broke out. This was the first of two riots at the centre, the second of which broke out in 1961.

SOURCE 3 Marie Ashley was a language instructor at Bonegilla in 1949 and observed the residents' differing perceptions of the centre.

> The Bonegilla Centre meant different things to different people — a curate's egg [partly good, partly bad] sort of place. To some it was a place of peace and plenty after years as conscripts in German factories on starvation rations, a place where one could roam at will, where one was close to the sky and Nature. To others it was an isolated place in the middle of nowhere from which they couldn't get away fast enough.

7.5.3 Hardships faced by New Australians

Immigration minister Arthur Calwell had assured the Australian people, 'aliens are and will continue to be admitted only in such numbers and of such classes that they can readily be assimilated'. Assimilation is the process by which a minority group gives up its own customs and attitudes and adopts those of the prevailing culture. In this period, the concept of assimilation not only applied to immigrants, but also to Indigenous Australians.

SOURCE 4 Greek immigrants to Australia attend English language lessons at the Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre in northern Victoria.



Part of the role of a reception centre was to prepare new Australians for the world outside the camp. That meant familiarising them not only with formal written and spoken English, but also with the food, culture, customs and attitudes of the Australian people they would encounter. Many Australians were wary of the high intake of migrants during the post-war years. They were afraid that migrants would take their jobs and would be unable to accept the Australian way of life. Because of this, they were sometimes racist towards new Australians, or attempted to exclude them from everyday life.

SOURCE 5 These perspectives from Italian immigrants who arrived in Western Australia during the post-war years reflect the tension between white Australians and new arrivals.

Giovanni arrived in Fremantle in March 1952, when he was 25. He remembers the discrimination he faced because of his heritage:

In that period, Italians were not well-regarded because of the war. People believed or thought that Italians were fierce ... cruel.

Maria travelled to Australia in 1955, when she was 14. While her father fixed the railway line in Calingiri, Maria and her younger sister attended the local primary school. Sometimes, Maria would accompany her mother to the supermarket, where she experienced discrimination first-hand:

We used to go to the supermarket with my Mum and ... [people] would say, 'Talk in English, don't talk in Italian, go back to your own country'.

Resisting assimilation

As a result of the discrimination and lack of understanding shown to them, many immigrants settled in suburbs alongside their country folk. Here, they could practise their religion, speak their language, practise the trades for which they had originally been trained, play and support the sports that interested them, and socialise with members of their community. These neighbourhoods were pockets of resistance against the policy of assimilation.

7.5.4 The migrant work experience

An important aspect of the assisted migration scheme was that immigrants would be placed into work shortly after arrival. After arriving in Australia, non-British immigrants' professional qualifications were generally not recognised, and most immigrants were placed in the rapidly expanding areas of manufacturing and construction, where conditions were often difficult. Many faced prejudice from Australian co-workers and employers. This experience was very different from the rosy picture that had been painted by those who had encouraged new migrants to Australia.

The majority of non-English speaking (NES) women who migrated to Australia in the years after 1947 found work in factories, with newer immigrants getting work in 'dirtier' industries such as meat and boot industries, some food processing and cold storage; while women who had been in the country longer were able to move on to clothing, food and electrical industries. Difficulties understanding the language, limited job prospects and a lack of familiarity with their rights meant that many migrant women had to accept discriminatory treatment by their bosses, and difficult or even dangerous working conditions.

During this era, some of the trades and occupations that the government needed immigrants to fill included:

- mechanical and electrical engineers
- boilermakers, welders, sheet metal and foundry workers (skilled and unskilled)
- textile and clothing operatives
- brick and pottery workers
- machinists in the clothing, textile, printing, canvas and leather trades
- boot factory operatives (skilled and unskilled)
- building and civil engineers
- general construction workers (skilled and unskilled, required for river, dam and quarrying jobs)
- sawmill and timber workers
- architects, surveyors, pharmaceutical chemists, doctors, dentists, nurses and household servants.

Life was more promising for those who gained work on large-scale projects, such as the Snowy Mountains Scheme, which paid relatively high wages and allowed workers' families to live nearby. Because they were so heavily reliant upon immigrant labour, these projects often allowed immigrants from different nationalities to maintain a semblance of their own culture.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Snowy Mountains Scheme was Australia's largest post-war building project. The scheme was designed to divert water west of the Great Dividing Range to the Murray and Murrumbidgee River catchments to create a reliable water supply for domestic, agricultural and environmental use, and to generate hydro-electricity by harnessing the power provided by the water as it drops some 800 metres down the Snowy Mountains escarpment.

SOURCE 6 This photograph, taken in 1960, shows European migrant workers employed to work on the Snowy Mountains Scheme.



New Australians boost the economy

For Australia, this was a time of great economic growth. There were clear economic benefits in having a larger population — a greater number of workers meant more people to pay tax and to buy products such as houses, cars and washing machines. A larger workforce also allowed the country to become a greater exporter of merchandise, including primary goods (such as meat, wood and cereal grains) and manufactured goods.

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- The globalising world > **Post-war migration to Australia**

on Resources

Weblink Snowy Mountains Scheme

7.5 ACTIVITIES

1. Today, third country or offshore processing centres for those seeking to come to Australia exist in Papua New Guinea and Nauru. Using the internet, research one of these centres, then compare and contrast the experiences described in this subtopic about Bonegilla to the experiences of refugees in your chosen centre.
Identifying continuity and change
2. Using the information provided in this subtopic and your own research, address the following essay question: 'To what extent did assisted migration allow Australia to flourish?'
Determining historical significance

7.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was the assisted migration scheme?
2. **HS1** Which migrants did the Australian government consider the most desirable?
3. **HS1** What was the purpose of migrant reception centres such as Bonegilla?
4. **HS1** Using the text provided, draw a timeline of the history of Bonegilla, outlining the major events that took place there during the period 1947–62.
5. **HS1** Define, using examples from the text, what was meant by the concept of assimilation.
6. **HS1** How did migrant reception centres attempt to assimilate immigrants?
7. **HS1** How did immigrants who did not want to assimilate respond?
8. **HS1** How did the promise of work in Australia differ from the reality for many immigrants?
9. **HS1** Outline and explain some of the workplace practices that discriminated against immigrants in this period.
10. **HS1** Explain the benefits that Australia reaped from the assisted immigration program.

7.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Consider **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) What does the model of a typical cabin suggest about the journey from the United Kingdom to Australia?
   (b) How does the image differ to the information provided in the text about assisted migrants who travelled on the *Orcades*?
2. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) List the aspects of life at Bonegilla that the photographer wishes to emphasise.
   (b) Do you think this picture is staged or natural? Justify your opinion.
3. **HS3** In **SOURCE 3**, a former language instructor at Bonegilla describes the differing experience of residents and offers reasons for this difference. What other information might help to explain residents' different perceptions of a reception centre?
4. **HS3** Using evidence from **SOURCES 3–5**, explain why it was so hard for many newly arrived immigrants to adjust to life in Australia.
5. **HS3** Compare your classroom to the one shown in **SOURCE 4**. Identify the features in the photograph that would make this classroom a difficult learning environment for the Greek immigrants depicted.
6. **HS3 SOURCE 6** illustrates a group of European migrant workers who participated in the construction of the Snowy Mountains Scheme.
   (a) What physical attributes do these workers appear to have in common?
   (b) What does their physical appearance tell you about the nature of the work undertaken on the Snowy Mountain Scheme?
7. **HS6** Write a paragraph outlining in what ways the Snowy Mountains Scheme can be seen as an important nation-building project.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

7.6 Immigration from Asia

7.6.1 The fall of Saigon and its repercussions

The Vietnam War began as a conflict between communist North Vietnam and South Vietnam. America feared that, if South Vietnam was allowed to fall to communism, it could lead neighbouring countries such as Laos, Cambodia and Thailand to do the same, creating what was known as the 'domino effect'. After America sent troops to support South Vietnam, Australia followed suit, sending 60 000 personnel between 1962 and 1972. Of these personnel, 3129 would be injured and another 521 would be killed. During this time, many Australians joined the anti-war movement. When Australia and America withdrew from the conflict, a number of Australians felt a new-found sense of duty to protect the Vietnamese people.

On 29 April 1975, after months of heavy American casualties and mass protests around the world, US President Gerald Ford ordered all American personnel out of South Vietnam, effectively declaring defeat. On 30 April the North Vietnamese Army, led by General Vo Nguyen Giap, entered Saigon in tanks and trucks. Earlier that day US helicopters had removed the last of the embassy's staff, but Vietnamese citizens who had supported America's battle against the general's communist forces waited in vain for the choppers to carry them to safety. After more than two decades of war, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos 'fell' to the communists. This would lead to an unprecedented number of Vietnamese to seek refuge in friendly nations around the world, including Australia.

SOURCE 1 In this well-known photograph taken during the fall of Saigon, people attempt to climb on board an American helicopter, their only chance to escape the city.



7.6.2 The first 'boat people' arrive in Australia

In the months following the fall of Saigon, many South Vietnamese people fled their homelands, fearing persecution from the new communist government.

Escaping Vietnam was a difficult and dangerous experience for refugees. Many were afraid that they would be caught by the army as they attempted to leave and be sent back. There, they faced internment in a 're-education camp', where they might be tortured or killed. Most refugees escaped by buying passage on a large boat (some of which could hold up to 400 people). Others used small fishing boats that were never designed for sailing in open seas. Some were picked up by large trawlers from countries such as China, while many were lost at sea for months at a time. Because of the expense of escape, many families became separated during the process.

Estimates of the number of people who died attempting to flee Indochina in this period vary widely from 30 000 to 250 000. While many boats landed in neighbouring Asian nations, such as Malaysia, Japan, Hong Kong and Thailand, others made it much further.

On 26 April 1976, a worn-out fishing boat named the *Kein Giang* limped along the coast of Darwin. After a two-month journey navigated by means of a page torn from a school atlas, 25-year-old Lam Binh and his four crewmates had reached their destination. The following day their boat was boarded by immigration officials. 'Welcome on my boat,' the captain said. 'My name is Lam Binh and these are my friends from South Vietnam and we would like permission to stay in Australia!' The arrival of this tiny fishing boat and its crew signalled the beginning of an influx of Indochinese 'boat people'.

A moral and legal obligation

As a participant in the Vietnam War and signatory to the United Nations 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Australia had both a moral and legal obligation to accept refugees from Indochina. In 1977, in response to the growing number of refugees throughout Indochina, Australia developed its own refugee policy in which it formally acknowledged its responsibility to resettle a fair proportion of the world's refugees. In 1979, during Vietnam's war with the People's Republic of China, the Vietnamese government targeted ethnic Chinese who had been living in Vietnam. Many fled the country, adding to the flood of Vietnamese refugees who arrived at their neighbouring countries by any means necessary. By 1984, Australia had accepted around 90 000 Indochinese refugees out of a total of two million. Two thousand of these had arrived as boat people, while the others had been processed in camps set up by the United Nations, either in Vietnam or in its neighbouring countries, and arrived by air.

SOURCE 2 Indochinese 'boat people' fleeing their homeland



SOURCE 3 South Australia's Governor, Hieu Van Le, was a Vietnamese refugee. At 21, he set off, along with 50 other people, on a small fishing boat headed for anywhere that would accept them. This is an extract from an article appearing in a university magazine in 2008.

'The skipper, a local fisherman, summoned us together and said he didn't know which way to go or what else to do,' said Mr Le.

'We were mostly people from cities, many of us had never even been in a boat before. I waited for someone to come up with a solution. Nobody had any practical suggestions, neither the older people we deferred to or the professional people — everyone was arguing. Eventually, with youthful exuberance, frustration and some recklessness under the circumstances, I grabbed some paper and drew a map of Vietnam and the region as best I could remember.'

With roughly sketched map in hand, Mr Le announced that the only way to go was west which should bring them to Malaysia or Thailand. Two days later they saw fishing boats with Malaysian flags and Hieu Van Le was their acknowledged leader.

One major hurdle overcome, the next few days were nightmare material with coastguards turning them away, sometimes at gunpoint, every time they tried to land.

'When you escape from one country to another in a fragile boat with very limited supplies, water and fuel, the first thing you want to do is to land at the nearest place you can. But it turned out to be quite impossible,' said Mr Le.

'Mentally we weren't prepared for that. Before we left we were told by the so-called skippers and people in the know that once we'd successfully escaped the Vietnamese shore and made it into international waters there would be plenty of ships — a kind of highway of ships — that would pick us up and bring us to shore. It wasn't happening. Nobody wanted us.'

7.6.3 The Blainey debate

In 1984 Professor Geoffrey Blainey, a well-known historian and history author from the University of Melbourne, ignited a debate within the community and media. In a speech to a Rotary club in Warrnambool, Victoria, he suggested that the pace of Asian migration to Australia was too fast, that Asian immigrants were taking 'Australian' jobs, and that higher immigration rates would lead to racial conflict. The response from Professor Blainey's contemporaries from the University of Melbourne was swift, with 24 academics publicly distancing themselves from what they believed were inflammatory and divisive statements. Students **picketed** his lectures, and he was forced to hire personal security after he and his family received death threats. Despite this negative response within the academic community, Professor Blainey's views on Asian migration struck a chord with some Australians who feared that Vietnamese refugees represented an 'Asian invasion'.

SOURCE 4 Geoffrey Blainey in an extract from the speech he gave to a Rotary meeting at Warrnambool in March 1984 (the full text is in *Blainey: Eye on Australia*, 2001)

The unemployment in many Australian cities, more than any other factor, causes the present unease about the increasing rate of Asian immigration. These are the suburbs where the Asians are most likely to settle. These are the suburbs where they are most likely to work. But these are the suburbs where the rates of unemployment tend to be the highest.

It is easy for me in my secure job to say that I welcome Asian immigrants. I do welcome them, but they don't compete with me for work, and they don't alter the way of life where I live. I am not sure, however, that I would be so welcoming if I was out of work ...

I support the idea, disseminated from Canberra, of a multicultural Australia. But many of the Ministers, backbenchers and civil servants who preach the merits of that society will, in their private life and much of their public life, prefer a one-culture Australia. Multiculturalism is often what is good for other people.

7.6.4 Assimilation and lost identity

With the policy of assimilation having begun to give way to one of integration in the mid 1970s, the country was better prepared to assist refugees to resettle successfully. However, it was still very difficult for people to adapt to their new country and know how they could contribute to Australia while still holding on to the beliefs and practices that were important to them. Common problems experienced by Indochinese refugees included:

- little knowledge of English and, in many cases, little formal education
- few job prospects upon arrival
- being separated from family and friends
- the ongoing effects of physical and mental trauma and torture suffered in their homeland.

One strategy adopted by Indochinese refugees (which had been adopted by European immigrants 25 years earlier) was to form neighbourhoods where they could speak their own language, buy and sell their own food, and worship at their own temples. Suburbs with large Vietnamese populations included Richmond in Victoria, Darra in Brisbane and Cabramatta in New South Wales. Despite the positive attributes of these neighbourhoods, they often had a higher incidence of unemployment, crime and drug use than surrounding neighbourhoods. Because of this, some members of the Australian community and the media referred to Vietnamese neighbourhoods as 'ghettos'. As these refugees fought to make a life for themselves in Australia, they were often subject to racism and social exclusion.

Being Asian Australian today

Despite the attempts of some people to undermine the value of multiculturalism, Australia's Asian communities have continued to grow and thrive. Today, like immigrants from other nations, Asian Australians have made major contributions to all facets of Australian life. However, the lives of second- or third-generation Asian Australians are very different from those of their parents and grandparents.

SOURCE 5 Language is one of the things that makes us who we are. Not understanding English has been very difficult for previous generations of immigrants, while some third-generation immigrants know English but have abandoned the language of their family. This is the situation that Amy Choi wrestles with in this excerpt from her autobiographical story *The Relative Advantages of Learning My Language*.

... My grandfather wrote poetry on great rolls of thin white paper with a paintbrush. He offered to read and explain his poems to me several times over the years, but I only let him do it once. I'd let my Chinese go by then, which made listening to him too much of an effort.

Though I was raised speaking Chinese, it wasn't long before I lost my language skills. I spoke English all day at school, listened to English all night on TV. I didn't see the point of speaking Chinese. We lived in Australia ...

... At [his] funeral, my sadness was overshadowed by a sense of regret. I'd denied my grandfather the commonest of kindnesses. I was sixteen years old.

I am now twenty-six. A few weeks ago, during a family dinner at a Chinese restaurant, the waiter complimented my mum on the fact that I was speaking to her in Chinese. The waiter told Mum with a sigh that his own kids could barely string a sentence together in Chinese. Mum told the waiter I had stopped speaking Chinese a few years into primary school, but that I had suddenly started up again in my late teens.

I have often wondered how aware my mum is of the connection between Grandad's death and my ever improving Chinese. Whenever I am stuck for a word, I ask her. Whenever I am with her, or relatives, or a waiter at a Chinese restaurant, or a sales assistant at a Chinese department store, I practise. I am constantly adding new words to my Chinese vocabulary, and memorising phrases I can throw into a conversation at will.

It is an organic way of relearning a language. Textbooks and teachers are not necessary, since I am only interested in mastering the spoken word. I am not interested in the written word or in the many elements of Chinese culture of which I am ignorant. I am not trying to 'discover my roots'. I am simply trying to ensure that the next time an elderly relative wants me to listen to them, I am not only willing, I am able.

DISCUSS

'Understanding the language is a crucial part of being Australian.' Discuss.

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

7.6 ACTIVITIES

1. Find more extracts from Geoffrey Blainey's original speech. Why were his views seen as controversial? Many of his colleagues at the University of Melbourne dissociated themselves from his views. What reasons might they have had for doing this? **Determining historical significance**
2. Using the internet, research the number of Indochinese 'boat people' who arrived on Australian shores. Compare this number to the intake of immigrants Australia allows every year. **Determining historical significance**

7.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Describe the nature of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam conflict.
2. **HS1** Why did America retreat and concede their involvement in Vietnam on 29 April 1975?
3. **HS1** Why did so many South Vietnamese and ethnic Chinese people flee Indochina after 1975?
4. **HS1** How did most refugees escape Vietnam?
5. **HS1** Why did many Australians feel a 'moral obligation' to accept Indochinese refugees?
6. **HS1** What other obligations does a country have to refugees once they have been accepted?
7. **HS1** What aspect of Asian immigration did Professor Blainey object to in 1984?
8. **HS1** What conclusions can we draw from the way in which Australians responded to Blainey's comments?
9. **HS1** Using the text, describe why assimilation is problematic for many immigrants.

10. **HS1** Is there any accuracy in using a word like 'ghetto' to describe suburbs like Richmond? Explain.
11. **HS1** Identify the commonalities that exist between second and third generations of European and Asian immigrants.

7.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3 SOURCE 1** appeared on the front page of newspapers across the world in 1975. What aspects of the photograph make it so compelling?
2. **HS3 SOURCE 2** depicts a boatload of Vietnamese who had fled their homeland. What similarities and differences can you find between this image and Hieu Van Le's description of his own sea voyage in **SOURCE 3**?
3. **HS3** Apart from the physical dangers, what mental obstacles did Hieu Van Le and Lam Binh face when escaping Vietnam?
4. **HS3** Identify the assumptions that Professor Blainey made in his 1984 speech about the impact of Asian immigration in Australian cities.
5. **HS3** Professor Blainey argues that 'multiculturalism is often what is good for other people'. What do you think he meant by these comments?
6. **HS3** In **SOURCE 5**, Amy Choi reflects on growing up as a third-generation Asian Australian.
   (a) In what ways did language represent her identity as an Australian?
   (b) Why might she not have listened to her grandfather's stories?
   (c) Why might she have recently begun learning Chinese and what does this suggest about how she views her identity today?
7. **HS6** Write a paragraph suggesting why so much attention is given to the numbers of refugees brought into Australia, as part of our annual immigration.
8. **HS6** It is 2784 nautical miles from the bottom of Vietnam to Darwin (1 nautical mile is equal to 1.8 kilometres). It took Lam Binh and his crew two months to travel the journey. How many nautical miles did they average a day? What does this tell you about their vessel and/or their navigational skills?
9. **HS6** Given that it is now more than 35 years since the Blainey debate, assess whether he was accurate in his concerns about the pace of Asian immigration.
10. **HS4** In what ways were the experiences of Indochinese refugees similar to and different from those of the new arrivals during the post-war migration era? Draw up a table to summarise your findings.

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7.7 Australia's evolving immigration policy

7.7.1 Multiculturalism in Australia

Until 1966, immigrants coming to Australia were expected to assimilate — that is, to behave like the Australians already living here. From 1966 to 1973, the government encouraged immigrants to integrate, meaning that they would have to live like Anglo Australians in public, but could follow their own cultural practices at home. From the mid 1970s on, the policy towards immigrants shifted towards multiculturalism — respect and equality for everybody regardless of their cultural background. However, even as the majority of Australians began to support a shift towards a new, more inclusive Australia, others within the community, the media and politics would oppose it.

DID YOU KNOW?
By the 1970s, more than one-third of Australians were born overseas or were children of parents born overseas.

Within multicultural Australian society, immigrants were still required to respect Australia's laws and become part of the Australian community, while being encouraged to value and maintain the traditions and customs of their countries of origin. Laws such as the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* made it illegal to discriminate against others on the basis of their race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin. In 1977, the Fraser government commissioned a report by Frank Galbally, a Melbourne QC who had defended

Bonegilla 'rioters' in the mid 1960s. In his report, Galbally made a number of recommendations to give immigrants a 'fair go'. These included ensuring that:

- immigrants had equal access to services as did other members of society
- everyone was entitled to maintain their own culture while understanding others'
- while immigrants' needs should eventually be met by mainstream programs and services, in the short term they would require more targeted service provision
- services should assist immigrants to become self-reliant as quickly as possible.

This report led to a number of improvements in migrant services, including creating more ethnic schools, English language tuition and translation services, and migrant resource centres. In 1980 the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) was established to conduct research and provide the government with ongoing policy advice. To give the migrant community a 'voice', ethnic radio was extended and the government established an ethnic television review panel.

Multiculturalism and the media: Channel 0/28

Frank Galbally had submitted his report, but still felt there was more he could do for immigrants. In 1975, the government had supported the creation of two multilingual radio stations, 2EA Sydney and 3EA Melbourne, which had achieved real success in giving immigrants access to news and entertainment. Based on their success, Galbally set about trying to introduce a television service that would 'open up Australia' to immigrants.

He found a willing ally in Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, who established the Ethnic Television Review Panel. It was this committee, and its supporters, that developed Channel 0/28, the first multicultural television service in the world. Bruce Gyngell, who had famously welcomed Australian audiences to the first Australian television broadcast in 1956, officially launched the station on 24 October 1980 with the words, 'Ladies and gentlemen, good evening, and welcome to multicultural television.' From the start, Channel 0/28 promised 'a world of entertainment'. Its first program, the documentary *Who are we?*, explored the history of immigration to Australia.

SOURCE 1 In a speech to the Institute of Multicultural Affairs on 30 November 1981, Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser outlines the importance of Channel 0/28 in representing the interests and reflecting the identity of Australia's migrant community.

... It is very deliberately entitled 'multicultural' not 'ethnic television', because its intended audience is all Australians, whatever languages they speak, whatever their particular ethnic and cultural identity. Multicultural television has screened an impressive range of high-quality international programs and presented aspects of Australian life which other channels have tended to ignore.

Many of the achievements of the first twelve months have been encouraging. The news program, for example, has been widely praised in media circles for the scope of its international coverage. Channel 0/28 has established a viewing audience not just from ethnic communities but from the community at large. Even the sceptics have been impressed. Indeed it was an unusual, but not unpleasant experience to have the *Age* reversing its initial editorial stance by admitting that 'Channel 0/28 is making its critics (ourselves included) eat their words'.

In 1985, the network changed its name to the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS). Through its coverage of news, sport and entertainment, SBS has established a strong foothold in the Australian entertainment industry. SBS has also illustrated the power of television to make the world a smaller place; its annual coverage of the Eurovision Song Contest since 1983 was so well regarded by the organisers that in 2015 they allowed Australia to enter this European competition for the first time. SBS plays a pivotal role in representing Australia as a country that embraces its multiculturalism.

SOURCE 2 Australia's Kate Miller-Heidke performing at Eurovision in 2019



7.7.2 The One Nation Party ignites debate

After more than a decade of recognising and valuing cultural diversity in the name of multiculturalism, in 1989 Australia adopted the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia. The agenda built on the recommendations of the Galbally Report, outlining the rights and responsibilities of all Australians, whether of Indigenous, Anglo-Celtic or non-English-speaking background, and whether born in Australia or overseas. This was not universally embraced by all Australians and there were those who attacked the very premise of a multicultural country.

Pauline Hanson, a former fish-and-chip shop proprietor and self-proclaimed 'Aussie battler', gained her first major political victory in 1996 when she ran for the House of Representatives as a Liberal candidate in the seat of Oxley. Just before the election, however, she was disendorsed by the Liberal Party after making comments regarding benefits given to Indigenous Australians. With no other Liberal candidate in the running, and her name already on the ballot paper, she was voted in anyway, but was forced to sit as an Independent. Because of her controversial views on multiculturalism and what she perceived as an 'unfair advantage' being given to Indigenous Australians, she quickly captured the attention of the 'far right' of politics. In 1997 Hanson, David Oldfield and David Ettridge founded the One Nation Party, a nationalist party (a party that promotes the interest of its own country ahead of others) that would gain 22 per cent of the vote in Queensland's 1998 state election and 9 per cent of the vote in the federal election. Eighteen years later, in the double dissolution federal election of 2016, Pauline Hanson and One Nation re-emerged as a political force to win four seats in the Senate. In 2019, an Al Jazeera investigation alleged that members of the party were seeking financial assistance from the American gun lobby, the National Rifle Association, in order to change Australia's gun laws. Despite this and other scandals, One Nation remains a force in minority party politics in Australia.

SOURCE 3 In her maiden speech to parliament in 1996, Pauline Hanson makes her views on the rights of Australia's multicultural population very clear.

> Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 per cent of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united.

SOURCE 4 In this satirical photographic portrait, photographer Emma Phillips portrays Pauline Hanson as an 'Aussie battler' cleaning up the mess made of Australia.



7.7.3 Multiculturalism today

Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser once called multiculturalism 'the most intelligent and appropriate response to the diversity which characterises our society'. This view is still prevalent today and there is a significant agreement among all major Australian political parties that multiculturalism is an attractive feature of our national identity. Indeed, the Australian government is so committed to multiculturalism that part of the charter of the Department of Social Services is to provide protection for our multicultural nature. **SOURCE 5** is a document produced by the government in 1989 summarising what multiculturalism means. Do you think it is still relevant today?

SOURCE 5 What is multiculturalism?

In a descriptive sense multicultural is simply a term which describes the cultural and ethnic diversity of contemporary Australia. We are, and will remain, a multicultural society.

As a public policy multiculturalism encompasses government measures designed to respond to that diversity. It plays no part in migrant selection. It is a policy for managing the consequences of cultural diversity in the interests of the individual and society as a whole.

The Commonwealth Government has identified three dimensions of multicultural policy:

1. cultural identity: the right of all Australians, within carefully defined limits, to express and share their individual cultural heritage, including their language and religion;
2. social justice: the right of all Australians to equality of treatment and opportunity, and the removal of barriers of race, ethnicity, culture, religion, language, gender or place of birth; and
3. economic efficiency: the need to maintain, develop and utilise effectively the skills and talents of all Australians, regardless of background.

There are also limits to Australian multiculturalism. These may be summarised as follows:

- multicultural policies are based upon the premises that all Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia, to its interests and future first and foremost;
- multicultural policies require all Australians to accept the basic structures and principles of Australian society — the Constitution and the rule of law, tolerance and equality, Parliamentary democracy, freedom of speech and religion, English as the national language and equality of the sexes; and
- multicultural policies impose obligations as well as conferring rights: the right to express one's own culture and beliefs involves a reciprocal responsibility to accept the right of others to express their views and values.

As a necessary response to the reality of Australia's cultural diversity, multicultural policies aim to realise a better Australia characterised by an enhanced degree of social justice and economic efficiency.

7.7 ACTIVITIES

1. Conduct a 'four corners' activity on the following statement: 'Australia is a shining example of a successful multicultural society.'

   To do this, first of all divide into four groups according to whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. In your group, discuss your perspectives on the issue to discover why you hold this view. Now swap with someone in an opposing corner (e.g. strongly agree with, strongly disagree) and discuss your differing perspectives. Try to discover why you hold opposing views. Then answer the following questions.

   (a) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the same view as you?
   (b) How did it feel to discuss the issue with someone who held the opposing view?
   (c) How well were you able to understand and appreciate the opposing view?

   [Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]
2. Research the kinds of programs that SBS broadcasts today. How well does this channel perform in terms of ratings? Do you think this channel still represents the interests and reflects the identity of Australia's migrant community? Explain your response. **Determining historical significance**

7.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Using the text, explain the difference between integration and multiculturalism as policy positions.
2. **HS1** Identify and explain the legal rights and responsibilities that surrounded the introduction of multiculturalism.
3. **HS1** Outline the improvements in migrant services that resulted from the introduction of multiculturalism as a formal government policy.
4. **HS1** Why was Channel 0/28 (SBS) created? What role was it chartered to have?
5. **HS1** What was unique about this service?
6. **HS1** By 1989, the government was committed to a multicultural Australia. How was this made clear?
7. **HS1** How did Pauline Hanson gain entry into parliament?
8. **HS1** How did the One Nation Party come into existence?
9. **HS1** What are the three rights that Australia's multicultural policy protects?
10. **HS1** What are the three responsibilities it asks for in return?

7.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS3** In **SOURCE 1**, Malcolm Fraser explains that Channel 0/28 is 'multicultural' rather than 'ethnic'. What do you think is the difference in meaning?
2. **HS3** How, according to Prime Minister Fraser, was SBS providing a service to all Australians?
3. **HS3** What is the *paradox* (an apparent contradiction) of Australians (see **SOURCE 2**) competing in the Eurovision Song Contest?
4. **HS3** Note the language used by Pauline Hanson in **SOURCE 3**. In what ways does she try to include the audience in her argument?
5. **HS3** Write a response to Pauline Hanson where you argue against the claim that Asian immigration leads to the emergence of ghettos in our suburbs because Asian Australians do not share the same cultural beliefs and values as the broader Australian community.
6. **HS3** How else does she try to convince her audience of her argument?
7. **HS3** Consider the satirical image of Pauline Hanson in **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) What statement is the artist trying to make by depicting Pauline Hanson as an old-fashioned 'Aussie battler'?
   (b) Is this representation a positive or negative depiction of Hanson? Justify your response.
8. **HS3** How is Prime Minister Fraser's opinion on multiculturalism replicated in the opening lines of **SOURCE 5**?
9. **HS3** What, according to **SOURCE 5**, is the aim of multicultural policies?
10. **HS4** How do the sources in this subtopic provide evidence for changing attitudes to immigrants over the period 1996–1998?
11. **HS5** Explain the reasons why Australia moved from integration to multiculturalism.
12. **HS5** Outline the advantages that this shift provided for Australians.
13. **HS5** In embracing this shift, was the government ever out of step with the desires and opinions of the Australian people? Justify your response.
14. **HS5** Review Pauline Hanson's maiden speech to parliament **(SOURCE 3)**. Does she have a point? Can a multicultural country be strong or united? Justify your response.
15. **HS5** Write a paragraph explaining why it is so important to avoid racial stereotyping in a modern multicultural society.

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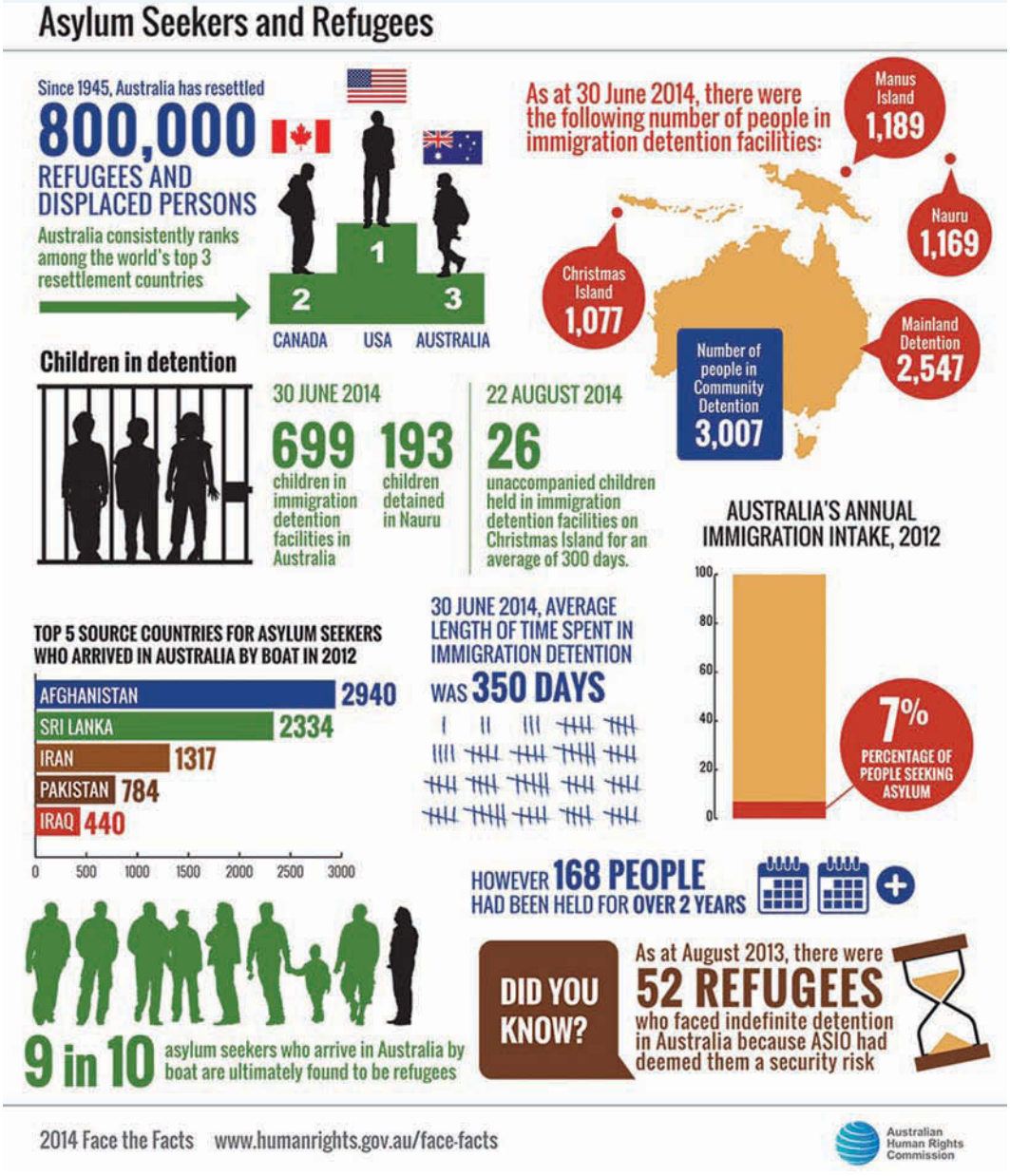
7.8 Seeking asylum in Australia

7.8.1 What is a refugee?

A refugee is a person who has fled their country because they fear they will be persecuted for their race, religion, nationality or beliefs. Global events from the late twentieth century onwards have led to an increase in the number of people from the Middle East and central Asia seeking asylum. In 2018, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated that the number of people displaced by conflict or persecution had reached a record high of 68.5 million globally. Fleeing conflict-ridden areas, refugees have headed for Europe via land routes and towards Australia via Indonesia, often undertaking dangerous sea voyages.

As a member of the UN and a signatory to the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Australia is obliged to offer protection to refugees against their forced return and to consider their requests for asylum (protection). It is also obliged to accept a reasonable number of refugees each year.

SOURCE 1 This graphic produced by the Australian Human Rights Commission illustrates the statistics associated with Australia's refugee and asylum-seeker intake.



7.8.2 The *Tampa* incident

Australia recognises two types of refugees. The first type, who resettle under official humanitarian programs are selected overseas and enter Australia with a **visa**. This entitles them to **permanent residency** and the right to apply for citizenship. The second type arrive unofficially, many of them by boat, typically after paying people smugglers thousands of dollars for their passage to Australia. Australia's immigration policies towards boat arrivals have been a source of debate within the Australian community.

In August 2001 a Norwegian cargo vessel, the MV *Tampa*, rescued 438 men, women and children from an overcrowded, sinking fishing vessel 140 kilometres north-west of Christmas Island. Those on board (from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) had fled an Indonesian refugee camp and were seeking sanctuary in Australia. When the ship's captain radioed to ask Australia for medical assistance for the asylum seekers, the government sent in Australia's Special Air Service (SAS) instead. Opposition Leader Kim Beazley expressed his support for the government's response.

Prime Minister Howard claimed that, as a **sovereign nation**, Australia had a right to protect its borders. He argued that by not going through the formal refugee process, these people were 'queue jumping', and insisted, 'We will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come'. The Australian government refused to allow the *Tampa* to enter Australian waters. Many Australians opposed the government's position, claiming it was inhumane and against international law.

SOURCE 2 According to statements made by the *Tampa*'s captain, by the time he picked up the asylum seekers many were in poor health. Some were unconscious, while others were suffering from dysentery.



The government's actions were successfully challenged in the federal court, but the government won a subsequent appeal. Some asylum seekers were transferred to New Zealand, but others were sent to Nauru and Papua New Guinea as part of the government's 'Pacific solution', where their applications for asylum often took months or even years to process. Subsequently, the government changed the law to remove its outer islands, including Christmas Island, from Australia's migration zone, meaning that those who sought to enter Australia without following the proper refugee process had to set foot on the Australian mainland before they would be processed. Due, in part, to this hardline stance on asylum seekers, the Coalition won a decisive victory in the federal election of 2001.

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7.8.3 Mandatory detention

Since the *Tampa* affair of 2001, asylum seekers have continued to play an important role in Australian politics. Discussions tend to focus on the refugees' right to be here and their treatment while in detention. According to Australia's *Migration Act 1958*, people who do not have a valid visa, and are therefore in Australia unlawfully, must be detained. They are not held prisoner, but are under 'administrative detention'. Once placed in detention, occupants are given the opportunity to apply for refugee status through either a protection visa (onshore) or refugee visa (offshore). Once a visa is granted, they can stay in Australia without restrictions; if not, they will be deported from the country as soon as possible. Australian detention facilities have included centres at Villawood, Northam, Sherger, Maribyrnong, Wickham Point and Yongah Hill.

Standards have been developed to ensure that people detained in Australia are treated humanely and in a way that respects their gender, culture, health and age. According to the Department of Immigration, services available at each detention facility include:

- health services
- educational programs, including English-language instruction
- cultural, recreational and sporting activities
- religious services
- availability of telephones, newspapers and television
- culturally appropriate meals and snacks and unlimited access to chilled water, tea, coffee, milk and sugar.

These services may have been provided at Australian detention centres, but as **SOURCE 3** illustrates that is not necessarily the case with offshore detention centres. These centres had been abandoned in 2008 but the tragic crash of SIEV 221 on Christmas Island in December 2010 forced the government to address the people-smuggling trade. It was claimed that, if asylum seekers could be dissuaded from getting on boats, lives could be saved. This caused the Gillard government in 2012 to revert (in the face of much criticism) to the 'Pacific solution' and they re-opened detention facilities on Nauru in September 2012 and on Manus Island some two months later.

SOURCE 3 A room on Manus Island used for the detention of asylum seekers. This photograph comes from an official handout provided by the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship.



Once again, treatment of potential immigrants became a political 'hot potato' and decidedly influenced federal elections. In July 2013, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, in an attempt to retain his party's hold on power, introduced a stricter refugee policy with the cooperation of the government of Papua New Guinea. Under this policy, no asylum seeker who arrived by boat would be granted a visa. This meant that the facilities at Manus Island (approximately 1070 kilometres north of Cape York) would be enlarged. This did not save Prime Minister Rudd, who lost

power in September 2013. His successor, Tony Abbott, through his immigration minister, Scott Morrison, introduced 'Operation Sovereign Borders', which had a significant impact on the number of boats landing on Australian territory. Boats were turned back by the Australian Coast Guard and Navy and the numbers of refugees in offshore facilities increased.

7.8.4 Criticisms of mandatory detention

The major criticisms of mandatory detention include the time taken to process visa applicants, the isolation that many occupants experience while detained and the large number of children held in detention. One of the most controversial sites was the Woomera Immigration Reception and Processing Centre in South Australia. Originally designed in 1997 for 400 occupants, at its peak Woomera held more than twice that number, putting a strain on the centre's facilities. In the summer of 2002, some occupants lit fires in some of the centre's smaller buildings and sewed their own lips shut in protest at what they perceived as inhumane treatment, while around 300 detainees conducted a hunger strike. Thousands of Australians marched in support of the detainees' rights to be heard. In response to the turmoil at Woomera, the United Nations launched an investigation into the conditions at two of Australia's detention centres and concluded that conditions could 'in many ways be considered inhumane and degrading'.

Woomera has been overshadowed by more recent events at Manus Island as Australia has returned to offshore processing of asylum seekers. Manus Island, the largest of the offshore detention centres along with the facility at Nauru, has been the focus of significant outrage. Human rights groups such as Amnesty International have labelled the conditions inhumane, as has Australian Greens' senator Sarah Hanson-Young. There have been riots, hunger strikes and allegations of sexual abuse. Reza Barati, a 23-year-old Iranian asylum seeker, was killed during a riot on Manus Island in February 2014. This set off a rush of protests across Australia within days. Similar protests have been occurring intermittently since then. **SOURCE 4** shows a protest in Melbourne in February 2016 against children in detention.

SOURCE 4 Protestors hold banners outside the Victorian State Library building during a rally in Melbourne on 4 February 2016 after the Australian High Court rejected a challenge to the government's right to hold asylum seekers on Manus Island and Nauru.



7.8.5 The response to asylum seekers

As the number of asylum seekers around the world grows, the Australian government faces a practical and moral dilemma. Election results would seem to suggest that the Australian public wants strict border control, but many Australians have argued for humane reform.

SOURCE 5 illustrates the type of poster that is being used overseas to deter people without visas from getting on boats to come to Australia, but a growing number of Australians, shocked at the world refugee crisis, have influenced government and forced a change of policy. In September 2015, Australia increased its intake of Syrian refugees by 12 000. **SOURCE 6** sums up the problem that is facing both politicians and the public.

DID YOU KNOW?

At the current rate of arrivals, it would take 20 years for asylum seekers to fill the MCG.

SOURCE 5 A warning poster from the Australian government in Arabic. The main caption states, 'No way! You will not make Australia home'. Underneath it adds, 'If you get on a boat without a visa, you will not end up in Australia'.



SOURCE 6 In this article, published in the *Griffith Law Review*, the authors discuss some of the problems with the way the asylum seeker debate has been presented to the Australian public.

The problem is that the issues underlying irregular and forced migration are very complex. In this '**sound bite**' age of instant communication ... there are challenges for those wishing to offer subtle explanations of the asylum seeker issue. In contrast, the 'message' of those pushing for harsh responses is simple and electorally very powerful. Undocumented arrivals are characterised as 'illegal' invaders who pose a threat to society. The ... division of migrants (forced or otherwise) into 'legal' and 'illegal' strips asylum seekers of their stories and of their vulnerabilities weaknesses. It also makes the compassionate response seem foolish, which is aligned in turn with 'threats' to national security.

7.8 ACTIVITY

Use your library or the internet to research how asylum seekers are treated in the United Kingdom, Canada or the Netherlands, then answer the following questions.

a. How many asylum seekers does the country receive on a yearly basis?
b. What is the country's official policy on asylum seekers?
c. What are the best things about the way the country treats asylum seekers?
d. How could the way the country deals with asylum seekers be improved?
e. What (if anything) could Australia learn from this country's practices? **Determining historical significance**

7.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Outline the differences between a refugee, an asylum seeker and an immigrant.
2. **HS1** Explain Australia's responsibility to refugees as a member of the United Nations.
3. **HS1** Describe the two categories of refugees recognised by Australia.
4. **HS1** Outline why the *Tampa* incident divided public opinion.
5. **HS1** Why did Australia remove outer islands such as Christmas Island from its migration zone following the *Tampa* incident?
6. **HS1** Under the Australian government's mandatory detention policy, who was detained and for how long?
7. **HS1** According to the government, in what conditions were they detained?
8. **HS1** When and why did Australia return to offshore detention centres for processing asylum seekers?
9. **HS1** For what reasons do Australians criticise mandatory detention?
10. **HS1** Given the criticism, why do governments continue to maintain these centres?
11. **HS1** What similar events have occurred in both domestic and offshore detention centres? What conclusions can you draw from this?
12. **HS1** What is the dilemma facing the Australian government with regard to asylum seekers?
13. **HS1** Given the response to the Syrian crisis in September 2015 by the Australian government, what can you conclude about Australia's ability to accept asylum seekers?

7.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Compare the number of refugees held in offshore detention facilities and the number held on the mainland. Which number is greater?
2. **HS3** Choose three facts from **SOURCE 1** that surprise you. Explain your selections to a partner.
3. **HS3** How many asylum seekers are legitimate refugees and how many could be labelled 'economic migrants'? How is it possible to distinguish between them? You might need to do some further research to answer this question.
4. **HS3** Which of these facts could you use to promote the idea that Australia does or does not have a significant refugee problem? Justify your selections.
5. **HS3** Based on **SOURCE 2**, how would you describe the conditions aboard the *Tampa*, the appearance of the asylum seekers and their possessions? What other sources would you need in order to further investigate these aspects of the asylum seekers' voyage?
6. **HS3** What do you think the photographer was trying to emphasise with **SOURCE 2**? Why do you think it has been shot from this height and distance? Has this influenced your previous answer?
7. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 3**, identify what facilities are provided in the rooms for detained asylum seekers. Does this image match the list provided in the text by the Department of Immigration?
8. **HS3** Why would the government allow this photograph in **SOURCE 3** to be used as part of their official handout on detention centre facilities? What would they be trying to emphasise or de-emphasise? Why?
9. **HS3** Given that the **SOURCE 3** photograph is from a government source, how reliable is it for a historian studying this topic?
10. **HS3** What do you notice about the nature and composition of the crowd in **SOURCE 4**?
11. **HS3** Why are the people in **SOURCE 4** protesting? Who do you think is the intended audience for their protest? What appeals are they making?

12. **HS3** Why is **SOURCE 5** written in Arabic? Where and/or in what sorts of places would this poster be displayed?
13. **HS3** Assess the effectiveness of the message of **SOURCE 5**. Do you think it would be successful in stopping asylum seekers? Justify your response.
14. **HS3** In **SOURCE 6**, the authors suggest that 'the "message" of those pushing for harsh responses is simple and electorally very powerful'. How does this relate to what you have read about politicians' statements regarding the *Tampa* incident and the mandatory detention of asylum seekers in places such as Manus Island?
15. **HS4** Do you believe Australians' attitudes towards refugees today compared with after World War II have hardened or softened? On what evidence do you base your view?
16. **HS6** Why do you think some people use border protection as an argument for very strict handling and processing of asylum seekers?
17. **HS6** Refer to the text and sources to write your own suggestion about what Australia's role should be with regard to accommodating the rising number of refugees throughout the world.
18. **HS6** Discuss and determine whether the Australian government should have acted differently with regard to the *Tampa* crisis, the tragedy on Christmas Island in 2010 and the situation in detention centres such as Woomera and Manus Island.

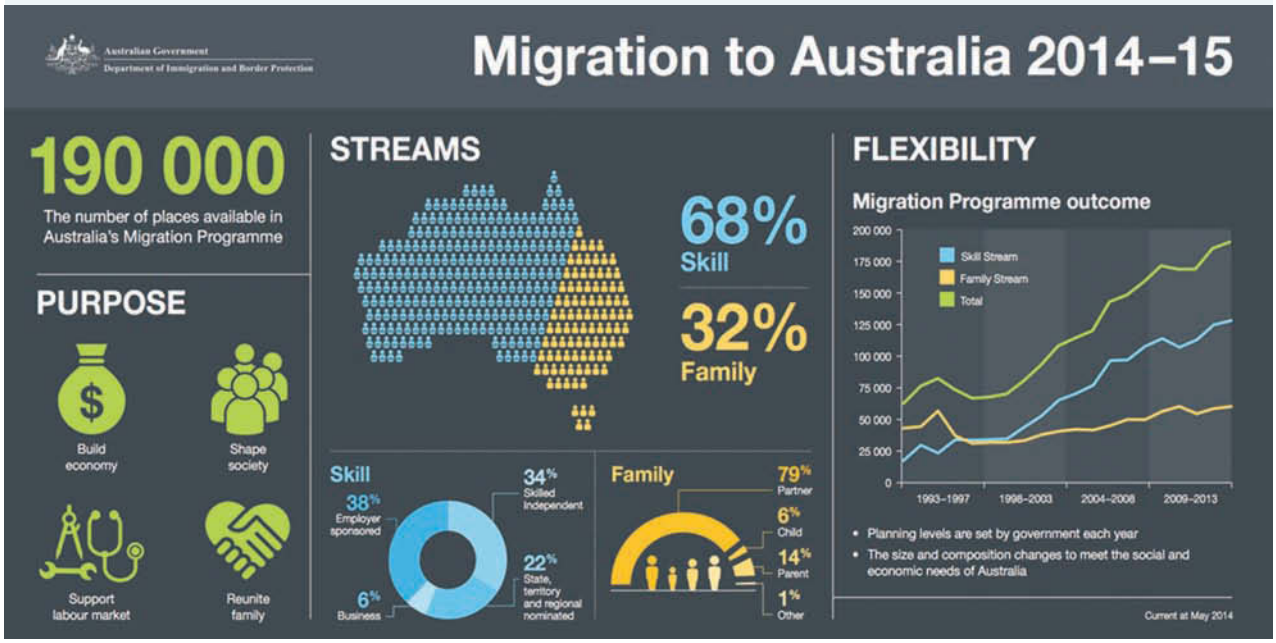
Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

7.9 The migrant contribution

7.9.1 Addressing the 'skills shortage'

Today Australia has a population of over 25 million people, over one-quarter of whom were born overseas. While English is the most commonly spoken language, more than 200 other languages are spoken by Australians, including 62 Indigenous languages. Immigration policies continue to change to reflect political and economic changes within Australia and the rest of the world. Immigrants have added to our cultural heritage by making Australia a more inclusive and cosmopolitan nation.

SOURCE 1 An official government poster that outlines the changing nature of Australia's migration program since 1993



Immigration policy continues to be based on the government's need to fill shortfalls in Australia's skilled workforce. Entry is competitive and is based on a points system designed to 'deliver the best and brightest skilled migrants'. The number of points a potential applicant is 'worth' is based on factors such as age, qualifications, relevant work experience and English proficiency. In 2009, as the global financial crisis squeezed economies around the world, the Australian government gave priority to migrants who were sponsored by Australian businesses, meaning they already had guaranteed work with an employer. This was part of a strategy to increase demand-driven rather than supply-driven immigration.

By 2014 this meant that the number of skilled migrants entering Australia was increasing significantly and more than twice as many migrants came to Australia to fill employment needs than to reunite with family members.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Temporary Skills Shortage Visa (482 visa) is a short-term visa that allows Australian businesses to employ overseas workers. A business can sponsor someone for this visa if they cannot find an Australian citizen or permanent resident to do the skilled work.

7.9.2 Australia's changing relations with its neighbours

Australia's changing approach to immigration has improved the economic and political ties between Australia and its neighbours. When the White Australia policy was in full force, the country saw the United Kingdom and Europe as its major partners in international matters. These links began to loosen as Australia welcomed its first wave of immigrants in the post-war years. However, it was in the 1970s and 1980s, as Australia opened its doors to 90 000 Indochinese refugees, that the country would become a more important player in the Asia–Pacific region. In 1974, Australia became the first 'dialogue partner' of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), while Gareth Evans, the Labor government's foreign affairs minister, chaired the first meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum in 1989. Both organisations promote trade and cooperation among member nations and discuss economic, political, social and cultural issues at their annual meetings.

SOURCE 2 World leaders and delegates pose for a photograph at the Group of 20 (G20) summit in Brisbane, Australia, 15 November 2014. The Australian Prime Minister at the time, Tony Abbott, is in the front row between Shinzo Abe, the Japanese Prime Minister, and President Xi Jinping of China. The Indonesian President, Joko Widodo, is just behind on the left of the Australian Prime Minister.



Today, the country's largest migrant intake comes from China and India, while China, Japan and the United States are Australia's largest trade partners. Australia has successfully redefined itself as a valuable member of this region.

Throughout this period of change, immigrants' continuing connections with their countries of origin have deepened ties and understandings between Australia and other countries. Today, Australia's third biggest export (after coal and iron ore) is educational services. In some cases, this involves teachers and/or curriculum being sent around the world, while in others it involves international students studying Australian programs within Australia. International students are entitled to stay in Australia while studying a full-time course and may be accompanied by their spouse and dependent children. When the student returns to their country of origin, the student will convey what they have learned about Australia to family and friends, thereby promoting cross-cultural understanding.

SOURCE 3 Traditional Indian dance performance during Diwali celebrations at Federation Square Melbourne in October 2014



7.9.3 The impact of migration on Australia's cultural heritage

Migration has enhanced the Australian nation across the full range of human endeavours. In education, science, business, artistic expression, sporting pursuits and other areas, the ingenuity and entrepreneurship of migrants has helped the country prosper. In the business world, migrants such as Richard Pratt, Harry Triguboff, Zhenya Tsvetnenko, Maha Sinnathamby and Frank Lowy have created wealth and opportunity for Australians.

Frank Lowy's story is amazing. Born in Czechoslovakia in 1930, he became a refugee during World War II, before travelling to Australia in 1953. Over the following decades, he would establish the Westfield shopping empire in Australia and the United States. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in Australia in 2003, Lowy donated the funds to establish the Lowy Institute, an independent think tank which aims to 'generate new ideas and dialogue on international developments and Australia's role in the world'. He has also been the chairman of the Football Federation of Australia and he crowned his time overseeing the Australian team with a secure victory in the Asian Cup in 2015.

This victory is captured in **SOURCE 4** where the Australian captain, Mile Jedinak, the son of Croatian immigrants, proudly wears the green and gold. Indeed, the Socceroos and Matildas owe much of their success to the migrant experience. Mark Viduka, Tim Cahill and Emily van Egmond are a few of the stars who have donned the national strip and are all the progeny of immigrants to Australia. Many other sports boast elite athletes from migrant backgrounds, such as boxer Kostya Tszyu, pole vaulter Tatiana Grigorieva, tennis player Mark Philippoussis and golfer Minjee Lee.

SOURCE 4 Mile Jedinak, captain of the Socceroos, and his team celebrate as he lifts the trophy after victory during the 2015 Asian Cup final match between Korea Republic and Australia at ANZ Stadium on 31 January 2015 in Sydney. Frank Lowy, then chairman of the Football Federation of Australia, is pictured bottom right.



DID YOU KNOW?

In 2010, *Business Review Weekly* estimated that Frank Lowy was worth over $5 billion, making him Australia's richest person at the time.

Migrants have also made significant contributions to the arts in Australia. In the design arts, Harry Seidler, an Austrian refugee from Nazi Europe, helped define modern architecture in Australia. Legendary Australian musicians John Farnham and Jimmy Barnes were born in the United Kingdom, as were artists Russell Drysdale and Tom Roberts. All of these artists have produced works that are frequently referred to as quintessentially Australian and it could be argued that their migrant background that has helped them create those iconic works.

DISCUSS

In groups, discuss the following statement: 'The contribution made to Australia by its migrants since World War II has immeasurably enriched of our economy, society and culture.' **[Intercultural Capability]**

7.9 ACTIVITY

In what ways have immigrants contributed to Australia's heritage? In order to answer this question fully, you will need to look back through the topic and identify the most important ways in which immigration has changed Australia. You may also like to use your library or the internet to research certain aspects more fully. Present your response in a written and visual presentation. **Determining historical significance**

7.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

7.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Identify the key fact in section 7.9.1 that illustrates that Australia is a multicultural nation.
2. **HS1** On what grounds are immigrants more likely to be admitted to Australia?
3. **HS1** In what way have changes in trade policy made Australia a more valuable member of the Asia–Pacific region?
4. **HS1** Identify and explain the benefits of 'importing' education.
5. **HS1** Define the term 'heritage'.
6. **HS1** Using the information in this subtopic, could you argue that immigration has enhanced Australia's cultural heritage?

7.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Identify the most significant changes to Australia's migration program since 1993.
2. **HS3** According to **SOURCE 1**, how many immigrants in percentage terms have been sponsored to migrate to Australia?
3. **HS3** Identify the facts that the creators of **SOURCE 1** wish to emphasise. How do they do that?
4. **HS3** Could you argue that **SOURCE 1** could be reasonably labelled as propaganda? Justify your response.
5. **HS3 SOURCE 2** is a carefully posed photograph. What cultural statement is possibly being made by the positioning of the Australian Prime Minister?
6. **HS3 SOURCE 3** shows an aspect of Diwali celebrations. Diwali is a Hindu festival that celebrates the victory of good over evil, lightness over darkness and knowledge over ignorance. In what ways is this festival an appropriate way to celebrate Australia's migration story?
7. **HS6** In what ways did official government policies about trade and immigration gradually make Australia less a distant partner of the United Kingdom and more a part of Asia?

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

7.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

online only

What is a historical inquiry?

Historical inquiry is a process that involves formulating inquiry questions, identifying evidence such as primary and secondary sources, then interrogating, interpreting, analysing and evaluating those sources in order to reach conclusions about an event or events from the past.



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

7.11 Thinking Big research project: Migration story collector

online only

SCENARIO

The Immigration Museum has engaged you for a special project that will capture the stories of Australians who have migrated from around the globe since the end of World War II. You will interview a migrant from your local community to better understand their experience and compare it to the migrant experience of today.



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Migration story collector (pro-0209)

7.12 Review

online only

7.12.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

7.12.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31757)
Crossword (doc-31758)

Interactivity Migration experiences crossword (int-7666)

KEY TERMS

Anglo-Celtic having ancestry originating in the British Isles, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
assimilate the process in which individuals or groups of differing origins take on the basic attitudes, habits and lifestyles of another culture
communism a system of government in which the state controls the economy, in an attempt to ensure that all goods are equally shared by the people
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
multiculturalism policy recognising an immigrant's right to practise whichever culture they wish to, as long as they do not break the law; respect for, and appreciation of, cultural diversity
oral history a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life
permanent residency status allowing a person to live indefinitely in a country, while retaining citizenship of another country
picket a group of people who try to persuade others from doing something; for example, trade unionists dissuading workers from working during a strike
sound bite a brief statement, as by a politician, taken from an audiotape or videotape and broadcast especially during a news report
sovereign nation a nation that has the right to determine its own laws and future
statistician a compiler of statistical data
visa a government document allowing the holder to enter or exit a country
White Australia Policy an Australian government policy that restricted immigration to Australia to white migrants

7.10 SkillBuilder: Conducting a historical inquiry

7.10.1 Tell me

What is historical inquiry?

Historians investigate events that have happened in the past and try to explain them. They do this through a process of inquiry.

Why is inquiry important?

As we delve into the past, one of the most valuable skills we can develop as a student of history is the ability and willingness to inquire about the past. Engaging in historical inquiry involves asking rich questions; locating and evaluating primary and secondary sources of evidence; and drawing conclusions based on your findings. This involves recognising that what came before is important, not only because it affected the lives of the people involved but also because it has a lasting effect on our lives today.

7.10.2 Show me

How to become a historical investigator — a step-by-step approach

First you have to formulate the questions you want to answer. These should require more than a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer or a single date. A rich question is puzzling at first but sparks the imagination. As a historian, it is your task to decide, 'In what ways have government policies shaped immigration since 1947?'

To answer this question, you must locate and evaluate sources of evidence. One of the most challenging aspects of finding reliable evidence is that different people will offer different accounts of the same event. Accounts tend to differ based on whether the person experienced the event *directly* or *indirectly*, whether their information was *complete* or *incomplete*, and their *role* in the event. Some accounts may also suggest *bias*. In order to decide which historical account is most accurate, we need to gather a range of sources and establish how reliable they are through a process of corroboration — that is, comparing them against each other. Once you have located a number of sources, choose those that seem most relevant. Examine each in turn, asking the following questions:

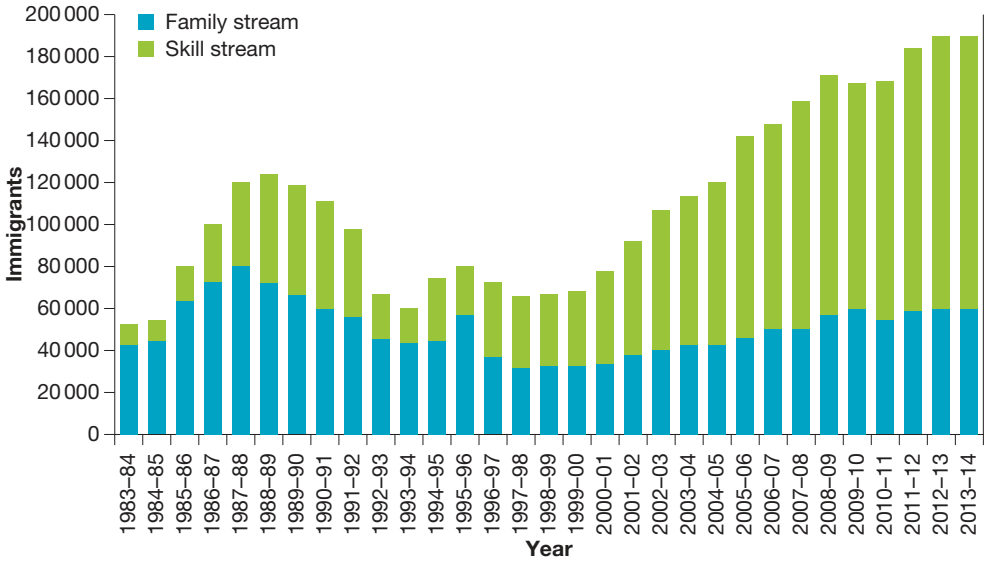
a. What 'answers' does the source offer to your major question?
b. Who created this source and why?
c. Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?
d. Do you see any evidence of bias?
e. Whose views/experiences are *not* represented? The final stage of investigation involves drawing conclusions based on the evidence you have collected. The conclusions you draw are always open to challenge and should be revised if you find compelling evidence to the contrary.

SOURCE 1 reflects an official view of changes to the immigration system. It has been used as the basis for answering questions a–e.

a. *What 'answers' does the source offer to your major question?*
   The statistics given in this graph show that between 1983 and 2014 the numbers of skilled migrants entering Australia have increased. This suggests the government is favouring skilled migration as a way to bolster the numbers of workers in various industries.
b. *Who created this source and why?*
   This data was collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics in order to better inform government and community groups.
c. *Are the views expressed reliable or unreliable?*
   The ABS is responsible for providing the Australian government with official statistics. They are very reliable.
d. *Do you see any evidence of bias?*
   No.

e. *Whose views/experiences are not represented here?*
Those of the migrants themselves.

SOURCE 1 Skilled and family as a proportion of the migration program (Parliamentary Library analysis using Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) and ABS statistics)



7.10.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

7.10 ACTIVITIES

1. Analyse **SOURCES 2**, **3** and **4** using questions a–e detailed in the Show me section.
2. Once you have analysed the evidence, offer a tentative answer to the question 'In what ways have government policies shaped immigration since 1947?'
3. Suggest other evidence that would need to be examined before you could come to a conclusion.

SOURCE 2 In this excerpt from an interview published by the Department of Immigration, George describes the difficulties that led to his immigration to Australia in the mid 2000s. Since arriving in Australia, he has become a prominent member of the Liberian community of South Australia and is recognised as one of the Department of Immigration's success stories.

Born in Liberia in 1978, George had a childhood filled with challenges. His father, a sergeant in the military, was murdered by rebels in the civil war in 1990 and, soon after, the family fled to a refugee camp in Guinea. This placed a heavy burden on George, who, as the eldest son in a family of eight siblings, felt pressure to help his mother raise his brothers and sisters.

'Eventually, I left the refugee camp to work in a photography shop and I sent money to my family in the camp,' George said. 'I felt responsible to look after them.'

Tragedy struck in November 2004, a month before George's migration to Australia on a refugee visa, when George's mother died in a minibus crash. She was returning from a migration health screening in Conakry, the capital city of Guinea, to the refugee camp. The crash exacerbated the mixed emotions he already felt about saying goodbye to his brothers and sisters to start a new life in Australia with his wife, Veronica, and first child, Edna.

SOURCE 3 This photograph, taken in 1948, shows migrant families waving goodbye at London airport as they leave for Australia. Using the assisted passage scheme, run by the Australian government, British migrants paid only £10 to travel to Australia. These families have paid extra to travel by air instead of sea.



SOURCE 4 Approximately 4000 protesters gather at Sydney Town Hall to demonstrate their opposition to the deportation and detention of asylum seekers to the offshore processing centres of Manus Island and Nauru. The protesters called for the abandonment of all offshore detention, demanding 'let them stay'.



7.11 Thinking Big research project: Migration story collector

Scenario

The Immigration Museum has engaged you for a special project that will capture the stories of Australians who have migrated from around the globe since the end of World War II. As well as providing an interesting personal history, the museum wants to explore the larger concepts of similarity and difference. They want you to discover how similar the migrant experience is today to the experience of years gone by. Through this project, the museum hopes to assist Australians in becoming better at welcoming future migrants to the country.

Task

One of the most important things a historian can do is to collect the stories, or 'lived experiences' of the people around them. These lived experiences might sit neatly alongside the 'official' history, offering colour and richness to what we already know about the past, or they may challenge our current beliefs and force us to dig deeper to understand what really happened.

Your task is to interview a migrant from your local community, and to use this as a window into the migrant experience over the past 60 years or so. You will then share your findings with the class to allow you, as a group, to better understand migrants' motivations for leaving the country of their birth, the manner of their journey, the social and political climate in Australia at the time of their arrival, and their efforts to adapt to a new way of life in Australia.

Your interviewee might be an older person, or a younger person; somebody you know well or somebody you've only recently met. It will be your task to record your conversation in order to gain an understanding of their experience. By sharing this migration story with your classmates, you will contribute to a growing tapestry of first-hand accounts that reflect the changing face of Australia due, in part, to migration.

SOURCE 1 Migration stories are many and varied and provide a unique insight into our past.



SOURCE 2 How has the migration experience changed over time? Are Australians more welcoming of migrants now than they were in the past?



Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in groups of two will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- After locating a suitable interviewee and explaining to them the purpose of this interview, ask them the following questions:
    1. Where were you born?
    2. How long have you lived in Australia?
    3. At what age did you set out for Australia?
    4. Why did you leave your country of origin?
    5. How did you travel to Australia?
    6. Who made the journey with you?
    7. Prior to making this journey, what did you know about Australia, and how did you know this?

8. What was your experience in the first days, weeks, and months after your arrival in Australia?
9. Would you describe this country as 'welcoming' to migrants such as yourself at this time?
10. What sort of support did you require to assist you in 'settling in'? Did you feel like you received this support?
11. Do you think the experience for migrants has changed since your arrival? If so, how?
12. What do you think it means to be Australian?
13. Has your view of what it means to be Australian changed over time? If so, how?
14. Do you have anything else you would like to share about your migration experience?

- After conducting your interview, complete the following tasks to add some context to your interviewee's experience.
  1. Use a reliable and up-to-date website, such as that of the Parliament of Australia or the Australian Bureau of Statistics, to track down the migration data for the year your interviewee arrived in Australia. (The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a starting point.) Looking at the data, note:
     - how many people migrated to Australia that year
     - which countries they came from.
  2. From the data you have found, create a graph showing what percentage of migrants for this particular year came from which country. Where does your interviewee fit on this graph?
  3. Choose a one-week period during the year that your interviewee arrived in Australia and, using your local or state library or the internet, access editions of one of your local city's major newspapers (e.g. *The Age*) for each day of that week. By scanning the headlines for the week, can you spot any stories that hint at Australians' attitudes to migrants and/or migration at this time?
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find the above tasks loaded as starter topics to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your partner. When you have completed your research, you can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.
- Remember to record details of all your sources so you can create a bibliography to submit with your final interview report.
- Write up your interview and your research findings, including diagrams and other evidence — such as photographs — where possible. Present your findings to the class and submit your completed interview and research to your teacher, along with your bibliography.

SOURCE 3 The reasons for migration vary, but usually there is a desire to start life in a place that offers the opportunity for a safe and happy life.



on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Migration story collector (pro-0209)

7.12 Review

7.12.1 Key knowledge summary

7.2 Examining the evidence

- Immigration was a unique and dominant feature of Australian society from the second half of the twentieth century.
- Our knowledge of migration experiences comes from statistical data gathered from government and non-government sources.
- Oral history also plays a part in revealing the impact of immigration on the immigrants themselves and on Australia.
- Photographs and other artefacts help historians understand the migration story, but this evidence needs to be contextualised on the basis of where it has been sourced.

7.3 Waves of migration

- Australia has experienced three identifiable 'waves' of migration in the post-World War II period.
- These included the first wave of displaced persons, European refugees; assisted migrants during the 1950s and 1960s; and the final wave made up immigrants who are supplementing Australia's skill shortage.
- Australia has responded with three immigration policies: assimilation, integration and multiculturalism.
- Alongside these 'waves' there has been an increase in asylum seekers reaching Australian shores since the late 1970s.

7.4 Changing immigration policy

- The legacy of the White Australia Policy has had a significant impact on the Australian outlook and Australia's relationship to its Asian neighbours.
- The impact of World War II created an impetus to build up Australia's population as a means of defence against perceived external threats.
- This facilitated the first wave of immigrants from non-traditional sources; that is, not Anglo-Celtic immigrants.

7.5 New Australians

- Assisted migration increased Australia's population significantly.
- Migrants were initially housed in reception centres such as Bonegilla.
- The experiences of some immigrants at these reception centres was not ideal.
- This indicated that the policy of assimilation was not suitable for many migrants. The policy of integration was introduced, but this too did not suit the reality of the migration experience for people.
- The impact of the assisted migration scheme upon the Australian economy was overwhelmingly positive.

7.6 Immigration from Asia

- Following the Vietnam War there was a significant increase in the number of Indochinese refugees.
- Australia received many of these refugees and this challenged previous immigration policies.
- The experience of immigration moved Australia towards multiculturalism and closer relations with regional neighbours.
- This was not a view shared by all Australians and some people, such as Professor Blainey, queried the speed of Asian immigration in the 1980s.

7.7 Australia's evolving immigration policy

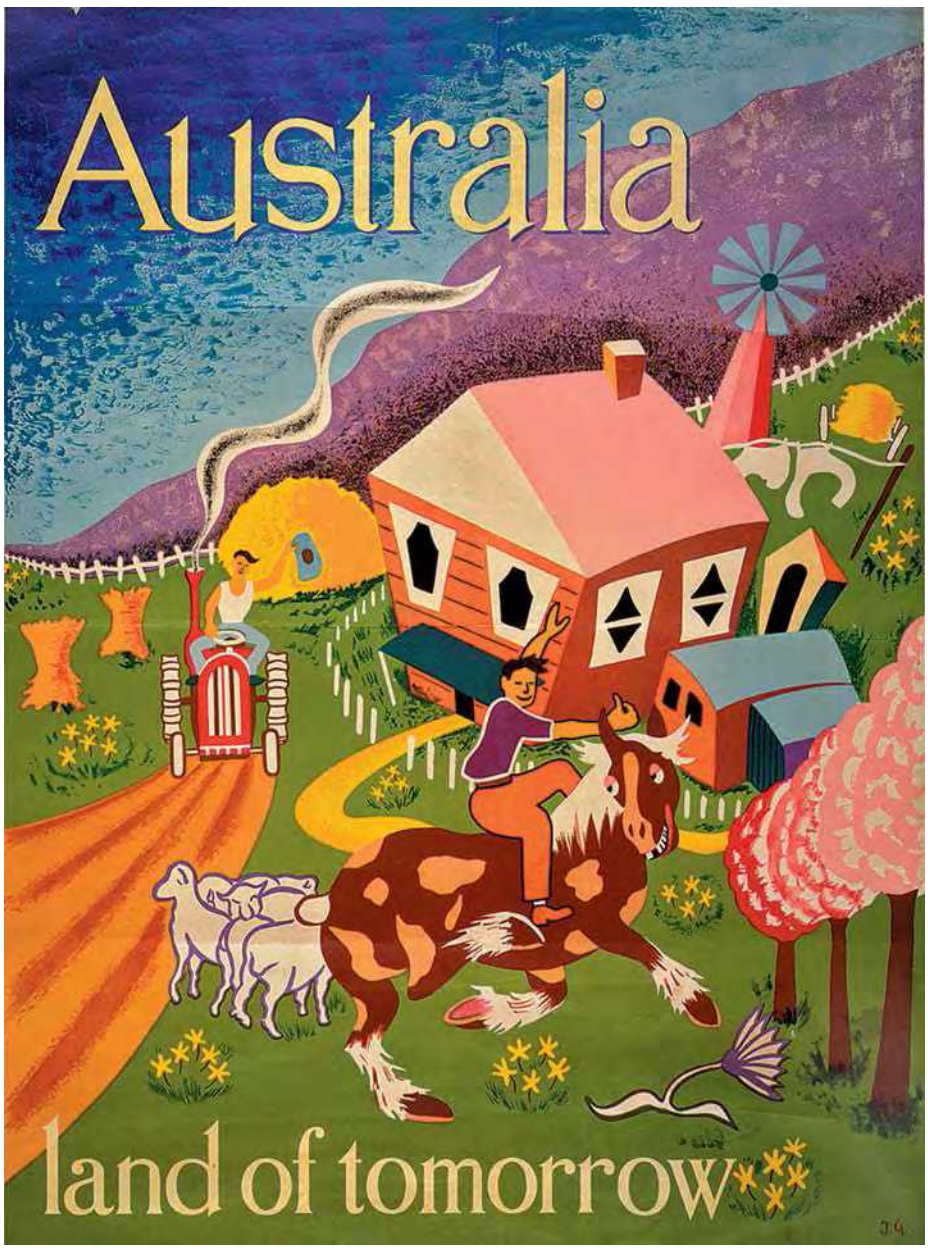
- By the mid-1970s, the White Australia Policy was formally denounced and Australia adopted the encompassing policy of multiculturalism.
- This policy had benefits for both migrants and Australians.
- Once again, this was not universally welcomed by Australians and some advocated a challenge to this policy and a return to integration or assimilation.

7.8 Seeking asylum in Australia

- Australian immigration policy has been challenged by a growth in the number of asylum seekers.
- Responses to this have divided Australians in both public and political life.
- Australia has failed to deliver a humane, successful approach to dealing with asylum seekers.
- This failure has been critical in the selection of governments at a federal level where many Australians have voted for conservative policies while others have protested vehemently for compassionate strategies in dealing with the problem.

7.9 The migrant contribution

- Australia has ultimately gained from its migrant experience.
- This is most obvious in the economic sphere where migrants fill skills shortages in Australia's employment market.
- Immigration has facilitated Australia's relations in the Asian region, particularly through the education of Asian students.
- Australia's cultural heritage is intrinsically linked with the migration experience. The nation is richer because of migration.



A timeline of significant events in the history of migration to Australia since World War II



1945
Arthur Calwell becomes Australia's first immigration minister.



1949
Immigrants from many European nations are employed in the Snowy Mountains Scheme.

CE

1940

1950

1960

1970

1980

1990

2000

2010

2020

CE



1947
The Australian government agrees to settle 12 000 displaced persons per year.

1955
The millionth post-war immigrant arrives in Australia.

1958
The controversial dictation test is abolished.

1966
Migration is offered to non-Europeans.

1967
A referendum allowed Indigenous people to be counted in the census and the federal government to make laws specifically for First Australians.



1971
The Bonegilla Reception and Training Centre closes.

1975
The *Racial Discrimination Act* prohibits discrimination on the basis of colour, descent, race, ethnicity or religion.

1978
The Galbally Report outlines key strategies to promote multiculturalism.

1980
Channel 0/28 begins broadcasting multicultural television in Melbourne





1998
With a platform opposing Aboriginal land claims, multiculturalism and Asian immigration, the One Nation Party gains 9 per cent of the vote in the federal election.

2001
The *Tampa* affair sparks national debate.

2008
The Rudd ALP government institutes the processing of asylum seekers at Christmas Island.

2010
15 December, the boat *SEIV 221* crashes against the cliffs of Christmas Island.

2012
Over 100 vessels carrying more than 5000 asylum seekers from mainly Afghanistan, Iraq and Sri Lanka arrive on Australian territory. Hundreds fail to complete the journey and perish at sea.

2013
The newly elected Abbott Coalition government introduces Operation Sovereign Borders, a border protection policy which significantly reduces the number of illegal entries by boat into Australia.

The Gillard ALP government reopens the Manus Island processing centre on PNG and Nauru.



2016
The Australian High Court dismisses a challenge to the legality of the immigration detention centre on Nauru.

7.12.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

7.12 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

From migrants to asylum seekers, why do people from all over the world leave their homes and come to live in Australia?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question, outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31757)
Crossword (doc-31758)

Interactivity Migration experiences crossword (int-7666)

KEY TERMS

Anglo-Celtic having ancestry originating in the British Isles, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
assimilate the process in which individuals or groups of differing origins take on the basic attitudes, habits and lifestyles of another culture
communism a system of government in which the state controls the economy, in an attempt to ensure that all goods are equally shared by the people
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
multiculturalism policy recognising an immigrant's right to practise whichever culture they wish to, as long as they do not break the law; respect for, and appreciation of, cultural diversity
oral history a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life
permanent residency status allowing a person to live indefinitely in a country, while retaining citizenship of another country
picket a group of people who try to persuade others from doing something; for example, trade unionists dissuading workers from working during a strike
sound bite a brief statement, as by a politician, taken from an audiotape or videotape and broadcast especially during a news report
sovereign nation a nation that has the right to determine its own laws and future
statistician a compiler of statistical data
visa a government document allowing the holder to enter or exit a country
White Australia Policy an Australian government policy that restricted immigration to Australia to white migrants

8 Political crisis

8.1 Overview

In the aftermath of World War II, what tensions, rivalries and movements captivated the world?

8.1.1 Links with our times

The twenty-first century has seen western governments grapple with the threat posed by terrorism. The reaction of governments, including the Australian government, has been to warn citizens of the threat to our way of life. This echoes the period following World War II, when the threat to our security was considered to be communism. The symbols of modern terrorism may have changed from the hammer and sickle of communism, but our attitudes towards today's threats can be illuminated by an understanding of the events and political crises of earlier times.

on Resources

eWorkbook Customisable worksheets for this topic

Video eLesson Political crisis (eles-2625)

LEARNING SEQUENCE

8.1 Overview
8.2 Examining the evidence
8.3 The Cold War in Asia
8.4 Anti-communism in Australia and the US
8.5 The Petrov affair
8.6 The aftermath of the Petrov affair
8.7 War in Vietnam
8.8 Vietnam and Australian politics
8.9 'It's time' — The Whitlam victory in 1972
8.10 The Whitlam dismissal, 1975
8.11 The Whitlam legacy
8.12 **SkillBuilder:** Interpreting historians' perspectives online only
8.13 **Thinking Big research project:** Timeline of communism in China online only
8.14 **Review** online only

To access a pre-test and starter questions and receive immediate, **corrective feedback** and **sample responses** to every question, select your learnON format at www.jacplus.com.au.

A timeline of Australian and international political events, 1945–75





1945
Russian troops occupy northern Korea.
Japanese surrender
Independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared

1947
US House Un-American Activities Committee begins investigations

1948
Anti-communist government in South Korea
Outbreak of hostilities in Malaya
Vietnamese war of independence against French rule begins

1949
ASIO established
Menzies wins election

1949
Chinese Communist Party establishes Peoples' Republic of China

1950
Menzies government attempts to ban the Communist Party

1950
North Korea invades South Korea.
Australian forces sent to Korea and Malaya



1951
High Court finds Communist Party ban unconstitutional
Australia signs the ANZUS pact

1953
Korean armistice signed

1954
Australia signs the SEATO Treaty.
Vladimir Petrov defects.

1954
Pro-French forces defeated; temporary division of Vietnam



1955
Labor Party splits in Victoria

1955
Pro-western Republic of Vietnam set up in the south

1957
Anti-Communist ALP renamed as DLP
ALP splits in Queensland

1962
Australia sends first military advisers to South Vietnam

1964
Gulf of Tonkin incident

1964
Conscription introduced in Australia

1965
Menzies commits Australian combat troops to Vietnam

1968
US President Johnson announces Vietnam peace talks in Paris.
400 Vietnamese civilians killed in My Lai massacre

1969
President Nixon begins withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam

1966
First Australian conscripts sent to Vietnam
Coalition wins federal election on Vietnam issue





1972
Electoral victory of Labor Party led by Gough Whitlam

1973
Vietnam Peace Accord signed in Paris

1974
Double dissolution election and joint sitting of Parliament

1975
Whitlam government dismissed
Landslide defeat of Labor government

1975
North Vietnamese and NLF forces enter Saigon as South is defeated

8.2 Examining the evidence

8.2.1 How do we know about Australia in the post-World War II era?

The past 70 years have seen an explosion in the variety of media available to provide evidence of the events of the era after World War II. Before the proliferation of online news sources we have today, print newspapers provided detailed analysis of events as they occurred; news broadcasts on radio, and later television, recorded the events of the day; and governments kept detailed documents related to their decision making. All of these sources can be located in **archives**, and many of the visual sources from the period are now readily available on internet resources such as YouTube. In addition to these sources, Australians aged over 65 have firsthand experience of the events of the post-war era.

Newspaper stories

Although the circulation of print versions of newspapers has declined in recent years, they have been a valuable source for historians for almost two centuries. All capital cities in Australia have had daily newspapers that documented the news and issues of the time. Historical editions of newspapers are being digitised, so it is now possible to see a copy of a paper from many decades ago.

A host of news websites, often with alternative or independent perspectives, are becoming increasingly important as news sources. Australian examples of independent media outlets are Crikey and New Matilda.

Newspapers contain stories that attempt to provide facts on an issue, as well as opinion pieces that seek to interpret these events. Often the two can occur within one story, so it is important to recognise opinion or **bias** within a news story. For these reasons, newspapers may be useful for the historian, but should be cross-checked with other sources. Online blogs and other news and opinion delivered via social media should also be interrogated for bias by any researcher.

SOURCE 1 Front page of *The Age* newspaper reporting on the Whitlam dismissal in November 1975


KERR SACKS WHITLAM

Now Fraser is the PM

The Herald

FINAL

WHAT SIR JOHN SAID

WHITLAM FIGHTS BACK

Warning

Hell! It's incredible

Unions plan strikes

Stack storage costs in your favour.

Cyclone

DISSOL dissolves dirt

NEW CAR LIQUIDATION

200 HOLDENS, TORANAS, GEMINIS must be sold

MYER

The frost-tipped look comes to Antoine

Film and television

The era since World War II has seen the flowering of film and television as a source of both entertainment and information. Audiovisual resources have been kept, stored and maintained, so that we can see footage from the last 100 years. Television was introduced in Australia in 1956, and since this time, television news and current affairs programs have often provided much of the population with their main source of information on contemporary events. The Vietnam War is often described as the 'first television war' because footage from the war was aired nightly on news broadcasts. Many historians believe that bringing the war into people's living rooms in this way may have contributed to the growing unpopularity of the war during the late 1960s (see **SOURCE 2**).

SOURCE 2 Images such as this brought the brutality of the Vietnam War into peoples' living rooms.



Before the television era, people gained much of their information about current events from newsreel films. At every cinema film screening a newsreel film would be shown, usually about ten minutes long, giving a summary of important current events. The newsreel died out by the 1970s as television was able to provide more immediate coverage. Much of the newsreel footage of the 1940s and 1950s has been preserved in the National Film and Sound Archive, and can give us insights into that era.

DID YOU KNOW?

The National Film and Sound Archive has more than 4000 Australian newsreels from 1929 to 1975 in its Newsreel Collection. The two main series were the *Cinesound Review* and the *Fox Movietone News*. Each newsreel usually contained up to five different segments, covering many significant events in our political, social and cultural history.

Government documents

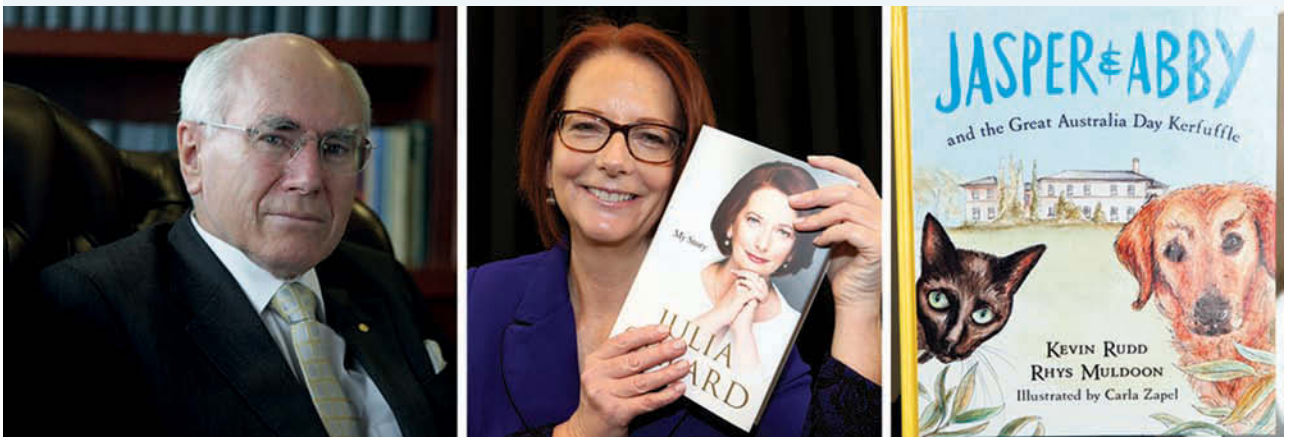
All governments keep large numbers of documents relating to their decision-making processes. Many of these documents are confidential and so are not readily available to the public. However, after a period of time this material is released and becomes available for public scrutiny. Until 2010, Cabinet records became publicly available only after 30 years, but from 2020 records will be available after 20 years.

Another source of information relevant to political decision-making is Hansard, the official record of all parliamentary business. All debates on legislation, ministerial statements and questions asked of ministers are recorded and are publicly available. Hansard records can often give us an idea of government policies at a given time, but reasons and justifications for those policies may also be revealed.

Personal recollections

The past 60 years has seen an explosion in political **autobiographies** and the publication of **memoirs**. Almost every prime minister and many other significant figures have recorded their experiences in politics, and these often give us insight into the reasons particular decisions were made. Individual memoirs, autobiographies and recollections must always be approached with caution. Politicians will always want to ensure that their legacy is viewed in the most positive light, so they will tend to highlight the achievements they are most proud of, while playing down their mistakes.

SOURCE 3 Politicians, both retired and current, regularly publish their political memoirs. Some even write children's books and novels!



on Resources

Weblink National Film and Sound Archive

8.2 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.2 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain why newspapers can be a rich source of information for historians.
2. **HS1** Outline why you should be cautious when using a newspaper story as a source for historical research.
3. **HS1** Why was the Vietnam War described as the 'first television war'?
4. **HS1** In what year was television introduced in Australia?
5. **HS1** Before the television era, how did people gain information on current events?
6. **HS1** Why are Cabinet documents useful to historians?
7. **HS1** Why are Cabinet documents kept confidential for such a long period?
8. **HS1** How can Hansard be a valuable source for historians?
9. **HS1** Why is it significant that so many political figures have chosen to record their memoirs in recent years?
10. **HS3** What might be the strengths and weaknesses of a memoir written by a retired politician, compared with a book written by a journalist about that same politician?

8.2 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What was the main story reported in **SOURCE 1**?
2. **HS3** Name three participants in the events reported who are mentioned on the front page of **SOURCE 1**.
3. **HS3** Describe what appears to be happening in **SOURCE 2**.
4. **HS3** Of the types of evidence discussed in this subtopic, which do you think might be the most reliable, and which do you think the least reliable? Justify your choice.
5. **HS6** When researching a particular event in the recent past, historian A has access to a newspaper story and a newsreel from an archive, both from the period when the event occurred. Historian B has access to the same sources as well as people who lived through the events and are still alive. Explain, in your opinion, which historian would have the better opportunity to determine the historical significance of the event on people's lives.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

8.3 The Cold War in Asia

8.3.1 The aftermath of World War II

The period of post-World War II history known as the **Cold War** had its major expression in the competing **ideologies** of the United States and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and was played out first in Europe. The defeat of the Japanese forces in eastern and south-eastern Asia in 1945 left a **power vacuum** in this region. As competing forces jockeyed to fill this power vacuum, the ideologies of capitalism and communism would soon come into direct conflict, as they had in Europe. This would be watched with growing disquiet by many other nations, including the United States and Australia.

The power vacuum left by the defeat of the Japanese led to many competing groups seeking to exercise power in different parts of eastern and south-eastern Asia. In some cases, colonial rulers sought to re-assert their power over their former colonies. This was the case with the French in Indo-China and the Dutch in what is now Indonesia. The British also sought to re-establish colonial control in Burma (now known as Myanmar), on the Malay Peninsula, and in Singapore and northern Borneo. Some countries were granted or regained independence, while others had temporary administrations established by the victorious **Allied powers**, pending final decisions on future government. In most of the countries of the region, communist parties and sympathisers had been active before and during the war, and many of these now saw an opportunity to fill the power vacuum. This was to lead to Cold War tensions similar to those affecting Europe in the post-war period. Since Australia had been left feeling vulnerable after the Pacific War, the likelihood of armed conflict in the countries to our north was of particular concern to the government and general public.

The status of the countries in the region can be summarised as shown in **SOURCE 1**.

SOURCE 1 The political status of countries in southern, eastern and south-eastern Asia post World War II

China had been in a state of civil war between the Communist Party and Nationalists, or Guomindang, since 1927, although the two sides had formed a truce to fight the Japanese since 1937. With the Japanese defeat, hostilities again broke out between the two sides, each side strongly supported by the Cold War rivals that faced off in Europe.

In Burma, the British also sought to re-establish their pre-war colonial rule, but were met by an independence movement consisting of a number of different parties, including the Communist Party of Burma. The British granted independence to Burma (now Myanmar) in 1947, and a government that included both communists and non-communists was established.

Thailand had been an independent country before the war, and resumed its independent status. Its small communist party had very little influence.

Before the war Britain had administered the Malay Peninsula as a federation of small states, each ruled nominally by a Sultan. After the defeat of the Japanese there were attempts to unify these states into one central nation. These met with varying degrees of success, but were opposed by the Malay Communist Party, which had a strong ethnic Chinese membership. The Malay Peninsula, known at the time as Malaya, gained independence in 1957, and joined with neighbouring former British colonies in 1963 to form the Federation of Malaysia.



Korea had been ruled by Japan since 1910, and so the power vacuum was more pronounced. In August 1945, Russian troops had entered northern Korea from Siberia as part of the allied campaign to defeat Japan. By the time of the Japanese surrender, Russia occupied the area north of the 38th parallel, and Korea was divided, just as Germany had been, with the US administering the southern half of the Korean peninsula, and Russia in charge of the north.

Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had all been French colonies before the war, and the French sought to re-establish their rule in 1945. They met resistance, however, as local inhabitants in each of these countries saw the defeat of the Japanese as an opportunity to gain independence. In Vietnam and Laos, these independence movements had strong communist sympathies and beliefs, and so were likely to be opposed by western powers.

The Philippines had been under US rule before the war, but had been working towards independence, which they then gained in 1946. Communists who had fought against the Japanese attempted a number of revolts between 1949 and 1954, but these were quickly put down by the government.

In Indonesia, formerly the Dutch East Indies, a strong independence movement had developed before the war, and as soon as the Japanese surrendered, Indonesian leaders declared Indonesian independence. The Dutch attempted to re-assert control, but were met with armed resistance. The Communist Party of Indonesia was an active participant in this resistance. In 1949, the Dutch recognised an independent Indonesia.

Source: © Spatial Vision

It is clear that many of the national independence movements that arose in Asia before, during and after World War II included groups of communist supporters and sympathisers. To the western powers facing up to the Cold War in Europe, the post-war period in Asia was to become a major focus of anti-communist activity. President Harry S. Truman saw it as a responsibility of the United States to protect vulnerable countries from communist influence, and so formulated what has become known as the Truman Doctrine (see **SOURCE 2**).

SOURCE 2 An address before a joint session of US Congress on 12 March 1947 by President Harry S. Truman



I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world — and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of this topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- Overview > **Independence movements in Asia**
- Overview > **The Cold War**

8.3.2 Communist victory in China poses a new threat

The civil war between the Guomindang (Nationalists) and the communists in China had been suspended while both sides worked together to fight the Japanese. With the defeat of the Japanese forces in Asia in 1945, Guomindang leader Chiang Kai-Shek and communist leader Mao Zedong negotiated a truce, but it did not last long. Hostilities broke out in early 1946 as Nationalist troops were airlifted into northern China with the help of US aircraft to battle communist forces that controlled the area. During the Japanese occupation, the communists had managed to gain considerable support from large numbers of landless peasants by promising that they would be granted their own farms under communist rule. By 1945, communist forces outnumbered those of the Guomindang, and many had seized abandoned Japanese weapons and tanks. The US came in strongly to support the Nationalists, as it saw this as an essential part of defeating communism. More than 100 000 American soldiers were deployed to assist in the war against the communists and the Americans helped train over half a million Nationalist troops. Billions of dollars in US military aid was provided during this time.

SOURCE 3 *China Fights On* (c. 1943) — this World War II poster shows a Chinese airman looking up at the sky with small airplanes flying around him.



It was to no avail, as the Communist Party eventually defeated the Guomindang in 1949 and proclaimed the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-Shek retreated to the island of Taiwan with his supporters, and continued to claim that his was the legitimate government of China. In line with Cold War politics at the time, Russia and its allies in eastern Europe immediately recognised the communists as the legitimate government of China. The US and its allies refused to recognise the communist government and gave official recognition to the Guomindang government on Taiwan as the legitimate government of China. The communist victory in China served to heighten western fears of the spread of communism in Asia. Because many of the national independence movements in Asia in the late 1940s had communist sympathies, a powerful communist China was seen by the US and its allies as being a potential supporter of many of those movements. On the other side, the Chinese saw the US as another colonial nation trying to take over and prevent Asian nations gaining their independence.

Explore more with myWorldHistoryAtlas

Deepen and check your understanding of this topic with related case studies and auto-marked questions.
- Overview > **The rise of China**

8.3.3 Falling dominoes?

The Western Bloc countries, led by the United States, feared that what had occurred in eastern Europe during the latter part of World War II was about to happen in Asia. As Russia had forced the Germans back towards Germany between 1943 and 1945, new governments had been established in countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. These governments included many local communist party members, and were established with large numbers of Russian advisers. Gradually non-communist members were removed from these governments, and each country became ruled by communists alone. The countries of eastern Europe had become a powerful Communist Bloc, centred around and led by Russia.

The Americans and their allies feared a similar process would occur in Asia, with China supporting communists in nearby countries to take over government. This fear became particularly strong after the Communist Party victory in China in 1949, as this was seen to be an inspiration to communist groups in other Asian countries. It was believed that once one country fell to communism, neighbouring countries would soon follow, one-by one, like a row of dominoes falling. This belief became known as the 'domino theory' and it became the basis for western policy towards communism in Asia until the 1970s.

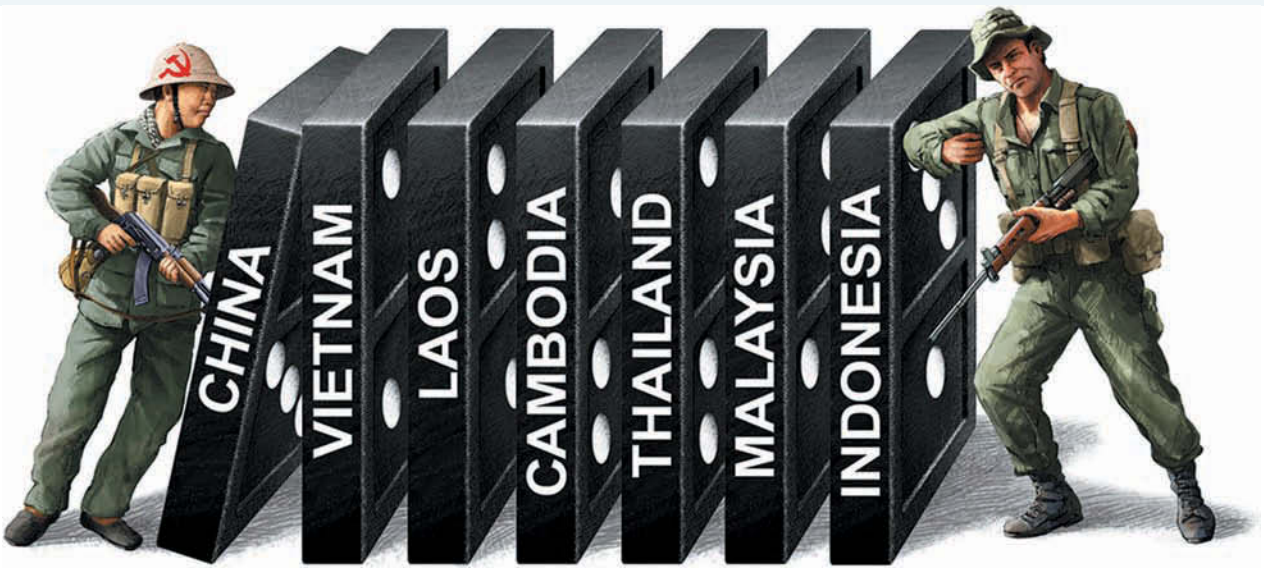
The idea came from an answer given by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower to a question at a press conference in 1954 (see **SOURCE 4**). It raised the possibility of communism taking over in each of the countries of South-East Asia in rapid succession (see **SOURCE 5**). If all the dominoes fell in the order suggested, the next country threatened would be Australia. As a consequence, the domino theory was readily accepted in Australia and fear of communist expansion became an important political issue. Successive US governments felt that they would need to intervene at the first and earliest opportunity to prevent the first domino falling and commencing the process, and Australian governments were to become strong supporters of such action.

SOURCE 4 US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in response to a question at a press conference on 7 April 1954

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call 'the falling domino principle'. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.



SOURCE 5 Under the domino theory it was believed that once one country fell to communism, others would follow, like a row of dominoes.



8.3.4 War in Korea

The first major military confrontation in Asia between communism and the western powers came in Korea. Following the partition of the Korean peninsula in 1945, negotiations were held between Russia, the US and the newly formed United Nations (UN) to determine a process for reuniting Korea under one government. The Russians and Americans were unable to agree on the conditions for unification and, in February 1946, a communist-leaning provisional government was set up in the north, with the support of Russia. In 1948, elections were held in the south and a western-leaning government was put in place. Both governments claimed to be the legitimate government of the entire Korean peninsula.

Following several border clashes, and with the backing of China, North Korea invaded the south in June 1950. The UN responded by condemning North Korea for its aggression and called on member nations to send forces to assist South Korea. The US led this force, contributing half the land forces and the vast majority of naval and air forces. US President Harry S. Truman saw the war as a vital action to stop the spread of communism across Asia (see **SOURCE 6**). Fifteen other countries, including Australia, also sent forces. The war was fiercely fought in harsh conditions. The battlefront ebbed and flowed. The initial communist attack nearly captured the entire peninsula by September. Following the US-led landing at Inchon on September 15, the UN counterattacks pushed North Korean forces right back into China by November, but Chinese intervention saw the UN pushed back again (see **SOURCE 7**). When the **armistice** was signed in 1953, the 38th parallel was again the divide between the two sides.

SOURCE 6 President Harry S. Truman, quoted in Robert H. Ferrell, *The Autobiography of Harry S. Truman* (1980)

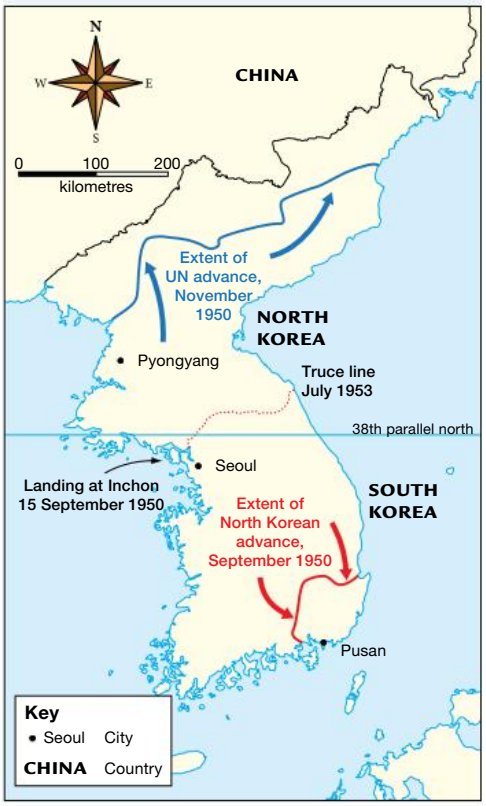
I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores. If the Communists were permitted to force their way into the Republic of Korea without opposition from the free world, no small nation would have the courage to resist threat and aggression by stronger Communist neighbours.

Legacy of the Korean war

The Korean War led to the death of more than 1.5 million South Koreans and an estimated 3.5 million from North Korea and China. Australia contributed ground, air and naval forces; 340 Australians were killed. The US and Australia painted the war as a victory that had stopped the spread of communism. Military intervention, according to this view, had proved to be a good way to stop communism.

Today, the armistice is still in place. No formal peace treaty was ever signed, and Korea remains divided along the 38th parallel.

SOURCE 7 A map showing the progress of the Korean War



Source: Map by Spatial Vision.

Resources

Video eLesson Korean War (eles-2746)

DID YOU KNOW?

Australia contributed ground, air and naval forces to the Korean War between 1950 and 1953. Australian deaths numbered 340, while over 1200 were wounded and over 40 were missing in action.

8.3.5 The Malayan Emergency

The Malay Peninsula became another battleground between communists and anti-communists in the years following World War II. During the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) had been a leading organisation in resisting the Japanese. After the defeat of Japan, Britain reasserted its colonial rule over the Malay Peninsula, but the poor state of the economy led many people to turn towards the MCP. The issues were made worse by racial tensions, particularly between ethnic Malays and people of Chinese and Indian background. Membership of trade unions grew strongly in the post-war period, and many strikes took place between 1945 and 1948. In June 1948, a number of European plantation managers were killed and the MCP was blamed. The party was banned, and its members took to the jungles and formed the Malayan National Liberation Army (MNLA), which aimed to remove the British administration.

The MNLA undertook a **guerrilla** campaign, particularly targeting British and other foreign-owned tin mines and rubber plantations, as well as transport systems. The British could not easily counterattack, as the MNLA had its bases spread throughout impenetrable jungle areas, so they attempted to cut off supplies being taken into the jungle by MNLA supporters. The MNLA had strong support amongst the ethnic Chinese community, who had been denied full citizenship by the British. In 1950, troops from other Commonwealth countries, such as Australia, New Zealand and Fiji came to support British forces. Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies was strongly anti-communist, and he saw Australian military action as a means of supporting the freedom and independence of emerging Asian nations (see **SOURCE 8**). The MNLA guerrillas were gradually forced deeper and deeper into the jungle, where they were cut off from their community support. By 1953 the MNLA was on the defensive, and by 1955 it had ceased to be a serious threat. Malaya gained independence from Britain in 1957, and the Emergency was declared over by 1960. By this time the MNLA guerrillas were a relatively small group, based near the border with Thailand.

SOURCE 8 Prime Minister Robert Menzies's election speech before the 1955 election

... we have positively set out to improve mutual understanding and friendship with the people of South and South-East Asia; and, I am happy to say, with considerable success. Discussions with Asian leaders proceed in an atmosphere of growing trust. We want the new nations of Asia to preserve their freedom and independence. We welcome the progress of Malaya and Singapore towards self-government. Australian forces, like other British Commonwealth forces in Malaya, are one of the guarantees to Malayans that they will decide their own future in peace, instead of having it decided for them by aggressive Communism.



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8.3 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.3 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Identify two European colonies in Asia in which the former colonial rulers attempted to reassert control after World War II.
2. **HS1** Complete the following sentences by choosing words from the box below.

Australia	conflict	communism	Europe	ideologies	Japan	Truman	vacuum

   At the end of World War II, the defeat of _____ left a power _____ in much of Asia. The competing _____ of capitalism and _____ were soon to lead to tension, as they had in _____. Allied countries such as _____ were particularly concerned at the likelihood of _____ in the region. US President _____ believed that his country had a responsibility to protect Asian countries from the spread of communism.
3. **HS1** Which area of China was the stronghold of the Communist Party at the end of World War II?
4. **HS1** How had the communists been able to become so powerful in this area?
5. **HS1** Outline two ways in which the US attempted to assist the Guomindang in their civil war against the communists.
6. **HS1** What happened to the Guomindang after their defeat in 1949?
7. **HS1** Explain the US attitude towards the People's Republic of China after 1949.
8. **HS1** How did governments in eastern European countries become ruled by communists?
9. **HS1** How did events in Europe in the latter years of World War II influence the views of western governments about the possible dangers to Asia?
10. **HS1** Who developed the 'domino theory'? Explain in your own words what it proposed.
11. **HS1** What events led to the Korean peninsula being divided at the 38th parallel in 1945? (Refer to **SOURCE 1** to assist with your answer.)
12. **HS1** Why were two separate governments formed in Korea in the late 1940s?
13. **HS1** What event actually ignited full-scale hostilities in the Korean War?
14. **HS1** Explain how the fortunes of the two sides ebbed and flowed between 1950 and 1953.
15. **HS1** What was the result of the signing of the armistice in 1953?
16. **HS1** Explain why many people turned to the MCP in the period after the end of World War II.
17. **HS1** How did racial and ethnic tensions contribute to the development of hostilities in Malaya?
18. **HS1** Why was it initially difficult to combat the MNLA?
19. **HS1** What method was used successfully to defeat the communist guerrillas?

8.3 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**, and answer the following:
   (a) Identify two countries that were able to gain independence soon after the Japanese defeat.
   (b) Explain why each of these countries was successful in achieving independence so quickly.
   (c) List three countries in which communist parties were active in the independence movements.
   (d) Which was the closest country to Australia that had a communist party active in its independence movement?
   (e) In what way was the situation in Korea similar to that in Germany?
   (f) Name a country in which a communist party was relatively unsuccessful and explain why.
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) What was President Truman referring to when he used the term 'attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures'?
   (b) What did he believe should be the main form of assistance that could be given to emerging nations to help them 'work out their destinies in their own way'?
   (c) In what circumstance did President Truman believe that 'totalitarian regimes' can be successful? What did he mean by the term 'totalitarian regimes'?
   (d) Who is the audience for President Truman's speech? Evaluate the tone and style of the language used by President Truman in this speech. How persuasive would it be to an audience?

3. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) What did President Eisenhower mean by 'what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly'?
   (b) What is the 'last one' referring to?
4. **HS3** Examine **SOURCES 1** and **5**.
   (a) Identify the suggested nationalities of the soldiers at each end of the row of dominoes in **SOURCE 5**. What evidence supports your choice?
   (b) Why does the possible succession of dominoes in **SOURCE 5** suggest that Australia was under threat from the domino theory? Refer to **SOURCE 1** to guide your answer.
5. **HS3** From **SOURCE 6**, how do we know that President Truman saw the possible defeat of South Korea as a possible threat to the United States?
6. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 7**.
   (a) Why is it possible to say that South Korea had almost been defeated by September 1950?
   (b) What do you think was the strategic reason for US troops landing at Inchon, rather than at Pusan in the south?
   (c) How do we know that the Inchon landing was successful?
7. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 8**.
   (a) What were Prime Minister Menzies's aims in Asia?
   (b) What role did Menzies see Australian forces playing in achieving these aims?
   (c) How justified is Menzies in referring to communism as 'aggressive' based on what you have read in this subtopic?
8. **HS4** Why might the success of the Communist Party in China in 1949 be considered a major turning point in the history of the Asian region?
9. **HS4** The US and many other western nations refused to recognise the legitimacy of communist rule in China, and recognised the Guomindang regime on Taiwan as the 'official' government of China until the early 1970s.
   (a) Why do you think many western nations adopted this position?
   (b) Do you think this was a practical position to hold? Give reasons for your answer.
10. **HS5** Explain why events in eastern Europe from 1943 to 1945 could have supported the legitimacy of the domino theory.
11. **HS5** Identify and explain two factors that contributed to the rise of communist-leaning groups in South-East Asia in the years following World War II.
12. **HS6** Do events in Korea and Malaya in the 1950s support the validity of the domino theory, or demonstrate that it was a false concept? Give reasons for your answer.

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8.4 Anti-communism in Australia and the US

8.4.1 McCarthyism in the US

The rise of communism in eastern Europe, and the activities of communist parties and supporters in eastern and south-eastern Asia led to a very strong reaction in the US and other western nations. Communist parties and supporters in these countries were viewed with great suspicion by authorities, as they were suspected of being in league with the Russians, rather than being loyal to their own country. In countries such as the US and Australia, it was believed that communists were actively trying to encourage revolution that would bring down the government.

The US and Russia had been allies in the war to defeat Germany and Japan but, once that war was over, suspicions between the two great powers and their competing ideologies quickly destroyed that alliance. In 1938 the US House of Representatives had established the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), primarily as an anti-communist body. During World War II it had revealed the activities of some Nazi sympathisers, but with the end of the war, it reverted to investigating suspected communists. In 1947 the HUAC set out to investigate communist influence in the Hollywood film industry, and eventually produced a **blacklist** of actors, producers, directors, screenwriters and others that it believed

were communist sympathisers. The film studios were encouraged to ban these people from working for them. Most of those named were never able to work in the entertainment industry again.

In 1950, a US Senator named Joseph McCarthy made a speech in which he alleged that more than 200 employees of the State Department were communists and that they were undermining American foreign policy (see **SOURCE 1**). These allegations caused a sensation at the time, although McCarthy had no proof in relation to any of the accused. A Senate subcommittee later found that there was no evidence of communist subversion in the State Department, but McCarthy continued on his crusade, accusing a variety of government departments of harbouring communists. The HUAC took up the fight to expose alleged communists and interviewed hundreds of suspected communists, destroying many reputations along the way.

SOURCE 1 Speech of Senator Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, 9 February 1950



The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores ... but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate, or members of minority groups who have been traitorous to this Nation, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest Nation on earth has had to offer ... the finest homes, the finest college education and the finest jobs in government we can give.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been most traitorous ...

I have here in my hand a list of 205 ... a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department ...

In 1953 Senator McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations and during the next two years held 169 investigations, interviewing over 650 witnesses. Many of these witnesses refused to answer the questions of the subcommittee, and were often branded as traitors for refusing to do so. The term 'McCarthyism' was soon applied to the practice of making accusations against people without having any real evidence to support those accusations. The fear of communism in the US at the time meant that false accusations often ruined reputations and many had their careers destroyed by McCarthy and his subcommittee. In 1954 McCarthy himself was condemned by a vote of the Senate, and his influence soon waned.

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8.4.2 Anti-communist measures in Australia

McCarthyist attitudes were not limited to the Unites States. Many US allies, such as Australia, adopted strong measures to expose possible communist influence in a variety of organisations. The Communist Party of Australia (CPA) was founded in the 1920s and had gained support during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when unemployment was very high and many believed that **capitalism** had let them down. The CPA was banned at the outbreak of World War II, but this ban was lifted when Russia joined the war against Germany in 1941. With Cold War tensions rising in the post-war period, conservative politicians warned that the threat of communism came not only from invasion, but also from communists within Australia.

- In the 1949 federal election Liberal Party leader Robert Menzies campaigned on a strong anti-communist platform. He warned that communists had infiltrated the trade union movement and the Australian Labor Party (ALP). He promised to outlaw the CPA and blacklist all its members if elected (see **SOURCE 2**). His party won the election and Menzies became prime minister in December 1949.
- In 1950 the Menzies government passed a law through parliament banning the Communist Party. The Communist Party challenged this law in the High Court of Australia, claiming that it was unconstitutional. In March 1951, the High Court found in favour of the CPA, declaring the law to be invalid under the Australian Constitution.
- Menzies responded by sponsoring a referendum to change the Constitution to give the government the power to outlaw the CPA. This referendum was held in September of 1951, but the vote was lost, so the government was unable to proceed with its plans and ban the Communist Party. The ALP, led by Dr H.V. Evatt, had campaigned against the referendum on the grounds that it was an attack on freedom of association and freedom of speech (see **SOURCE 3**).
- In 1950 Menzies committed Australian troops to fight in Korea against the communist North Koreans. He also sent troops to Malaya to fight against communists there. Menzies continued to speak out against communism and to accuse the ALP and the union movement of harbouring communist sympathies.

SOURCE 2 Robert Menzies, campaign speech, 10 November 1949

Communism in Australia is an alien and destructive pest. If elected, we shall outlaw it. The Communist Party will be declared subversive and unlawful, and dissolved. A receiver will be appointed to deal with its assets. Subject to appeal, the Attorney-General will be empowered to declare other bodies substantially Communist; to follow the party into any new form and attach illegality to that new association.

No person now a member of the Communist Party will be employed or paid a fee by the Commonwealth; nor shall any such person be eligible for any office in a registered industrial organisation. The laws with respect to sedition or other subversive activities will be reviewed and strengthened. Conviction under such laws will disqualify from employment under the Crown or from office in a registered organisation.



SOURCE 3 Dr Herbert Evatt, campaign speech, 9 November 1955

These are the principles which have governed Labor policy and my actions. It is true that I believed the Menzies Police State Bill, called the Anti-Red Bill, to be unconstitutional. But my belief did not make it unconstitutional. Six High Court Judges out of seven declared it was unconstitutional. Are they to be smeared as Communist sympathisers? Is a member of the Bar who defends a person accused of a crime to be accused of being sympathetic with crime? Only the half-wit or the most vicious would regard it. The right of legal defence by counsel in the courts is just as basic a right as freedom of expression itself.

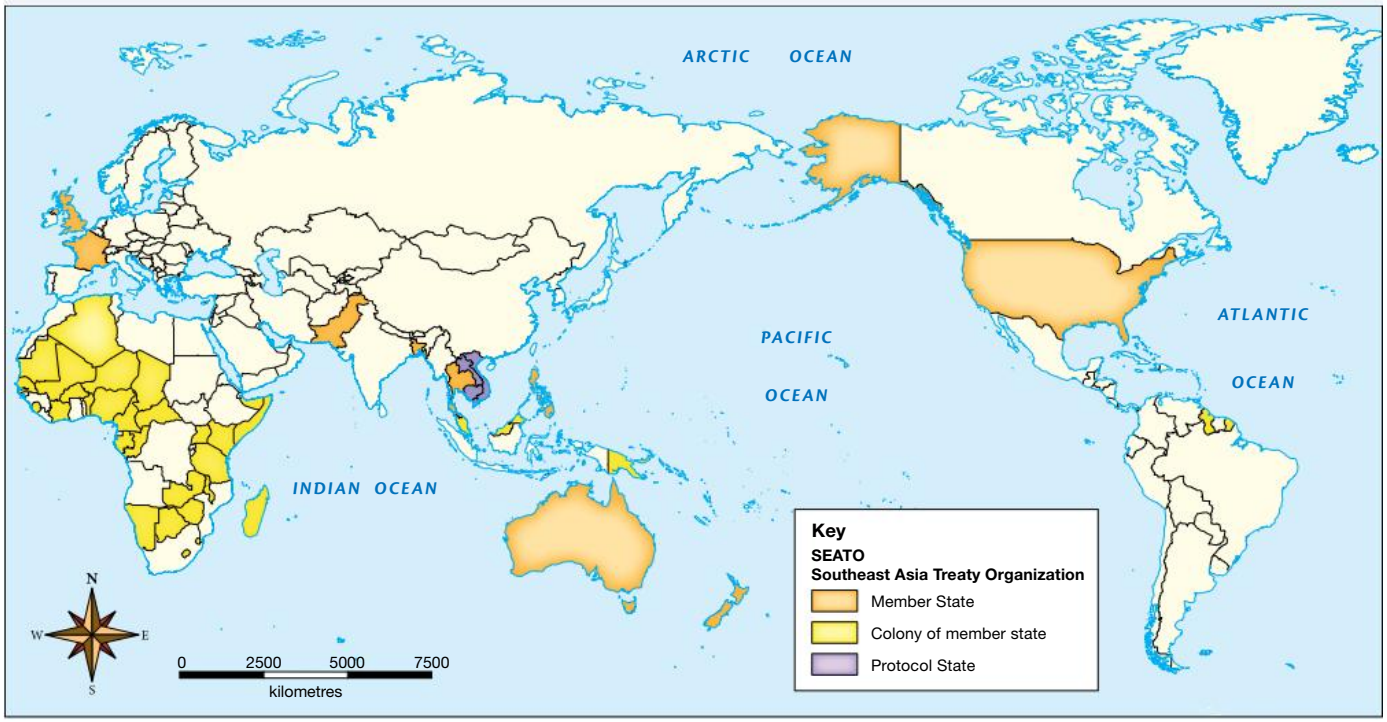


8.4.3 Defence treaties

As part of its campaign against communism, the Menzies government set out to form alliances with other countries that had similar anti-communist policies. Australia had turned to the US as its major ally during the Pacific War against Japan from 1942 onwards. It was natural that the Australian government would align itself with the Americans in their common struggle against the perceived threat of communism. Consequently, Australia signed two major treaties that tied the nation to the US and its foreign policy during the Cold War.

- The ANZUS Pact (1951) was a three-way alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the US, under which each state agreed to cooperate on defence matters and pledged to come to the aid of the other if attacked. Despite New Zealand withdrawing from the treaty in the mid-1980s, ANZUS remains the cornerstone of Australia's foreign policy today.
- The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was signed in 1954. The members of this alliance were Australia, France, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the United Kingdom and the US. Intended to complement the anti-communist collective defence role played by NATO in Europe, SEATO proved to be ineffective because of internal disputes and was disbanded in 1977.

SOURCE 4 The signatories to the 1954 SEATO Treaty



Source: Spatial Vision.

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8.4.4 The ALP, trade unions and anti-communist movements

The Australian Labor Party had been founded in the 1890s by members of the trade union movement. It had maintained its strong links to the unions throughout the first half of the twentieth century. The ALP had also had links to the Catholic Church in Australia, particularly as many unionists at the time of the formation of the Labor Party were of Irish Catholic background. During the 1930s many communists in Australia attempted to move into positions of influence within the trade union movement. By the 1940s, there was a strong communist influence in a number of trade unions, and many believed that this influence extended into the Labor Party. The Catholic Church was very strongly opposed to communism because of its atheistic nature, so the seeds of conflict were sown between those in the union and labour movement with strong Catholic beliefs, and those who did not believe that communist influence was a threat within that movement.

'The movement' and 'industrial groups'

In the early 1940s, Catholic activist B.A. Santamaria founded the Catholic Social Studies Movement, which became known simply as 'The Movement'. At the same time anti-communists within the trade unions were setting up 'Industrial Groups' to fight against communist influence in the union movement. Santamaria published a newspaper called the *News Weekly* in which he presented his views and those of The Movement (see **SOURCE 5**). Over time The Movement and the Industrial Groups effectively merged, as the same people were active in both. They came into direct conflict with the CPA, but also with many ALP members. By the early 1950s two clear factions emerged within the ALP — the conservative, or **right-wing** Catholic Movement and Industrial Groups; and those on the **left-wing** who wanted to see greater social change, and wanted the ALP to more strongly promote **socialist** ideals. Those on the left and within the mainstream of the Labor Party labelled their conservative opponents as 'Groupers', signifying that they were members of the Industrial Groups.

SOURCE 5 B.A. Santamaria in an interview recorded on 23 April 1997 on the Australian Biography website, recalling his activities with The Movement and the Industrial Groups

As far as the work against Communism was concerned, the key was who ran the unions? If the Communist Party ran the unions they would run the Labor Party and the Labor Party would one day become the government ... If, therefore, you intended to do something about taking Communist power out of the unions you had to go into the unions ... you would use the Catholic **parochial** structure, where you had to get the support of the bishops, ... you'd go into the parish and you'd ask the parish priest could he give you six men. He might call a meeting and you'd have to explain what you were about, and you either won them or you didn't win them, and very fortunately, with the support of the church, we did win them in the most cases ... Out of that basic structure you then found out who in Brunswick, North Brunswick, North Melbourne, what was a list of good practical Catholics who were union members ... Then, in order to keep them informed — the daily press wouldn't tell them what was happening — we had to start a paper. We started a paper that we called *Freedom*, which later became *News Weekly*, and that kept them informed on what was happening in the trade union movement. You had to produce that. Then you had to get the money. All of those things you've got to do.



DID YOU KNOW?

Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria was born in Melbourne in 1915 to Italian parents. He became politically active while a student at Melbourne University in the late 1930s, and remained an active political campaigner until his death in 1998. In 1957 he reorganised The Movement as the National Civic Council, which continues to produce the *News Weekly* today. From the 1960s to the 1980s he presented a weekly 10-minute TV commentary program, called 'Point of View' on Channel 9 network stations. He was not required to pay for the timeslot as it was donated by the Packer family, who were the owners of the Nine Network at that time.

8.4 ACTIVITY

Many of the sources in this subtopic are extracts from primary sources, namely speeches. Study each speech and look for any common themes that show the world's preoccupation with communism. You could use Wordle to create a word cloud of each speech to help you see what these themes might be.

Using historical sources as evidence

8.4 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.4 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What was the purpose of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)?
2. **HS1** Why did the HUAC become particularly active after 1945?
3. **HS1** What impact did the HUAC have on the entertainment industry?
4. **HS1** How did Senator Joseph McCarthy come to prominence in 1950? For how many years did his influence prevail?
5. **HS1** What was 'McCarthyism'?
6. **HS1** Refer to **SOURCE 2** and the text.
   (a) Why was Menzies' attempt to ban the Communist Party in 1950 unsuccessful?
   (b) What did he attempt to do to get around this obstacle to the banning of the Communist Party?
   (c) What was the attitude of the Labor Party to Menzies' attack on the Communist Party?
   (d) How did Menzies' attitudes towards communism impact on his government's foreign policy?
7. **HS1** What were the provisions of the ANZUS Pact that applied to Australia?
8. **HS1** Explain the proposed role of SEATO. Why was it ineffective?
9. **HS1** Why had there traditionally been a strong connection between the ALP and the Catholic Church?
10. **HS1** What was the attitude of the Catholic Church towards communism? Why?
11. **HS1** Explain the aims of the Industrial Groups. Why did these merge with 'The Movement'?

8.4 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) Which group in society was Senator McCarthy accusing of being traitors to the United States?
   (b) What evidence did he claim to have in support of his accusations?
2. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) What procedures was Menzies proposing in order to ban the Communist Party?
   (b) What does he mean when he says that the Attorney-General will 'follow the party into any new form and attach illegality to that new association'?
   (c) How does Menzies propose to deal with members of the Communist Party?
3. **HS3** In **SOURCE 3** how does Dr Evatt explain his reasons for opposing the attempts to ban the Communist Party in 1950 and 1951?
4. **HS3** From an examination of **SOURCE 4**, suggest a potential weakness of the SEATO Treaty.
5. **HS3** From **SOURCE 5**, draw a simple cause and effect diagram to explain Santamaria's fears in relation to the influence of communists in the union movement.
6. **HS3** How did Santamaria and his Movement make use of the Catholic parochial system to gain followers?
7. **HS3** Why did Santamaria believe he had to start his own newspaper?
8. **HS4** While there had been opposition to communism in Australia before World War II, this opposition intensified after 1945. Identify two factors that contributed to the level of anti-communism in this country.
9. **HS6** Joseph McCarthy had four years in the public spotlight, then his influence declined. B.A. Santamaria continued to be influential in Australian politics for many decades after the 1950s. Explain how the difference in their methods of dealing with the perceived threat of communism may have contributed to this variation in long-term influence.

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8.5 The Petrov affair

8.5.1 ASIO, espionage and counter-espionage

As we have seen in preceding subtopics, the post-war period in Australia was characterised by a strong fear of communism, stemming from not only our political leaders but also large numbers of the population. The establishment of communist regimes in eastern Europe and China created the impression that communism was expanding. The Korean War and Malayan Emergency saw Australian armed forces actually fighting communists in Asia. Robert Menzies, prime minister throughout the 1950s, was an ardent anti-communist, who took every opportunity to accuse his main political opponents, the Australian Labor Party, of having

communist sympathies. In this climate of fear and suspicion, any suggestion that communist spies had infiltrated areas of the government would be political dynamite and potentially lead to a significant political crisis.

In the mid to late 1940s, joint American and British spy agencies discovered that some secrets were being passed to the Russians through their Australian embassy in Canberra. Australia's close allies Britain and the US were concerned that Australia's security arrangements were not strong enough. It was believed that there was a spy ring operating in Canberra that was passing secrets to Russia via the Russian embassy. In response, the then ALP government, led by Prime Minister Ben Chifley, established a new security service in March 1949 (see **SOURCE 1**). This organisation became known as the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation or ASIO. Its purpose was to carry out **counter-espionage** operations. ASIO spent its early years attempting to expose Russian spies in government departments in Canberra. Possible suspects were identified, but very little evidence could be found, and there were no prosecutions.

SOURCE 1 Clause 6 of the Directive for the Establishment and Maintenance of a Security Service as presented to its first director by Prime Minister Chifley

You will take especial care to ensure that the work of the Security Service is strictly limited to what is necessary for the purposes of this task and that you are fully aware of the extent of its activities. It is essential that the Security Service should be kept absolutely free from any political bias or influence, and nothing should be done that might lend colour to any suggestion that it is concerned with the interests of any particular section of the community, or with any matters other than the defence of the Commonwealth. You will impress on your staff that they have no connection whatever with any matters of a party political character and that they must be scrupulous to avoid any action which could be so construed.

8.5.2 Petrov — diplomat or spy?

Vladimir Petrov had been a Russian intelligence agent for more than 20 years when he arrived in Australia in 1951 to take up a diplomatic role as Third Secretary of the Russian Embassy. His wife Evdokia was also an intelligence agent, and their mission was to spy on former Russian citizens living in Australia and to establish a spy network here (see **SOURCE 2**). In his attempts to set up such a network, Petrov befriended Dr Michael Bialoguski, a Polish doctor who had been a wartime refugee from Poland. What Petrov did not realise was that Bialoguski was actually working for ASIO and reporting on Petrov's activities. Bialoguski pretended to be spying for Petrov, but in fact he was feeding information back to ASIO.

SOURCE 2 Vladimir and Evdokia Petrov were employed to spy on former Russian citizens in Australia and to establish a spy ring.



Petrov failed to establish a useful spy network, and his superiors in the embassy sent some unflattering reports back to Moscow about his lack of success, as well as his drinking and other habits. Petrov had been appointed during the rule of Joseph Stalin in Russia, and when Stalin died in 1953, power struggles with the Russian Communist Party led to the trials and deaths of a number of Party leaders, including the man who had originally sent the Petrovs to Australia. There was every likelihood that Petrov and his wife would be recalled to Russia and that he would face disciplinary action, or worse, on his return.

8.5.3 The defection

Petrov expressed his fears about returning to Russia to his friend Bialoguski, and Bialoguski reported these fears to his superiors at ASIO. Those superiors became very interested in the kudos that would come from the possible **defection** of a Russian spy, and assigned the codename 'Operation Cabin 12' to a plan to assist

Petrov's defection. For six weeks, ASIO officials carried out negotiations with Petrov in a series of secret meetings. They were keen to obtain details of any Russian spies operating in Australia, particularly as they had been unsuccessful in this quest since 1949. Eventually, on 3 April 1954, Petrov defected to Australia. He brought 10 documents with him, labelled Documents A to J. These were expected to provide ASIO with evidence of Russian spy rings operating in Australia.

The defection was carried out in secret, with only a few ASIO officers aware of it. Even Mrs Petrov did not know of her husband's decision (see **SOURCE 3**). He was taken to a safe house in Sydney and kept there in secret while his documents were examined. Once officials at the Russian embassy found out that Petrov had defected, they took Mrs Petrov from her home in the suburbs of Canberra and kept her at the embassy, effectively under house arrest. Two security officers were sent from Russia to escort her back to Moscow.

A federal election had been called for 29 May 1954, and the parliament was due to rise on 14 April in preparation for the election. On 13 April, 10 days after the defection, Prime Minister Menzies informed the House of Representatives that a Russian spy, Vladimir Petrov, had defected and that he had brought evidence of Russian spy rings operating in Australia. Mr Menzies announced the establishment of a **Royal Commission** to examine the evidence in the documents Petrov had supplied to ASIO.

Six days later on 19 April, Mrs Petrov was taken from the Russian embassy in Canberra to Sydney, where she was to be flown back to Russia, via Darwin. There were fears that once she returned to Russia she would be executed, and a large crowd of protesters gathered at Sydney's Mascot airport. Some believed they were there to save Mrs Petrov and, as she was led across the tarmac towards her plane, the crowd surged forward and surrounded her and the two Russian guards escorting her. Some of the protesters tried to grab Mrs Petrov to prevent her being taken on to the plane, but eventually the two guards were successful in getting her on board. Press photographs of the incident caused a great deal of controversy when they were published in the daily papers.

SOURCE 3 A note from Vladimir Petrov to the Russian ambassador after his defection

To Ambassador Generalov.
15.4.54.

I have read in the newspaper today that my wife thinks I have been kidnapped, and that you say I did not leave the Soviet voluntarily.

I came to the Australian Authorities voluntarily. I was not kidnapped by them.

I am well and I am being treated kindly. I wish to see my wife to assure her of this.

I am sending a letter with this to be given to her.

Will you please arrange for me to see her as early as possible.

I have no wish to see anyone else from the Embassy Staff.

(signed)

V. Petrov.

SOURCE 4 This photograph showing Soviet agents 'escorting' an evidently reluctant Mrs Petrov onto her flight for Moscow was published in most daily newspapers in Australia, and shocked many Australians.



While Mrs Petrov's plane was in the air, the head of ASIO contacted the pilot by radio and arranged to have ASIO agents speak with her when the plane landed in Darwin. They wanted to offer her **political asylum** in Australia. The plane landed in Darwin in the morning of 20 April and Mrs Petrov was separated from the two Russian guards while ASIO agents spoke with her. Initially she was reluctant to seek political asylum because she was afraid that her sister in Russia would be punished. She eventually agreed and was returned to Sydney, where she was reunited with her husband in a secret location. Mr and Mrs Petrov were eventually given new identities and resettled in Melbourne.

DID YOU KNOW?

Mr and Mrs Petrov became Australian citizens in 1956 and were given new identities as Sven and Anna Allyson. They bought a house in the Melbourne suburb of Bentleigh, and Vladimir went to work developing film for a photographic company. He died in 1991. Mrs Petrov worked as a typist for a farm machinery company and eventually died in 2002. Their new names and location were kept secret until each of their deaths. Mrs Petrov was unable to attend her husband's funeral in 1991 because of the large media contingent present.

The immediate political consequences

The Royal Commission on Espionage, as it was called, opened on 17 May, 12 days before the election. At this time, evidence was presented alleging the existence of a Russian spy ring in Australia, although no documents were made public. Prime Minister Menzies used the establishment of the Royal Commission as a means of reinforcing his strong anti-communist credentials, but did not himself make it a major election issue. In fact, Menzies circulated a letter to his party members, urging them not to campaign on the issue of the Petrov defection. Dr Evatt, leader of the Labor Party, believed the whole Petrov affair was a conspiracy involving Menzies, ASIO and the Catholic Movement, designed to help Menzies' Liberal Party win the election (see **SOURCE 5**). The Menzies government had become unpopular due to some tough economic decisions and many experts believed Labor had a chance of winning the 1954 election. Evatt believed that Menzies had engineered the timing of the defection and the announcement of the Royal Commission to gain political advantage. Although the Labor Party gained five seats at the election, the Liberal–Country Party Coalition was re-elected with a reduced majority.

SOURCE 5 Dr Evatt, *Hansard*, 27 October 1954, asserting the Petrov affair was engineered by Menzies for political purposes

History will record that the Petrov defection was carefully and cold-bloodedly timed for April solely because an election was to be held the following month.

DISCUSS

Do you consider it legitimate for governments to run 'scare campaigns' about something in order to win an election? Do you think this is what the government did in Australia in 1954? **[Ethical Capability]**

8.5 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.5 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Explain the factors that led to the establishment of ASIO.
2. **HS1** What were the aims of ASIO in its early years? How successful was it in achieving those aims?
3. **HS1** What was the official role of the Petrovs as members of the Russian embassy in Canberra? What was their secret mission?
4. **HS1** How did Vladimir Petrov go about achieving his secret mission?

5. **HS1** Outline two reasons why Vladimir Petrov may have felt insecure about his position by late 1953.
6. **HS1** What role did Michael Bialoguski have in the defection of Vladimir Petrov?
7. **HS1** What happened to Petrov immediately after his defection?
8. **HS1** How did the Russians react towards Mrs Petrov once they became aware of the defection?
9. **HS1** Explain the response of the prime minister to the defection of Petrov.
10. **HS1** Outline what happened to Mrs Petrov in the attempt to have her returned to Moscow.
11. **HS2** Create a timeline of the events, starting with Petrov's defection and ending with Mrs Petrov seeking political asylum.
12. **HS1** How might the establishment of the Royal Commission into Espionage have assisted in the re-election of the Menzies government?
13. **HS1** Why did people believe that the Labor Party had a chance of winning the election before the Petrov defection occurred?

8.5 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** In his directive to the first director of ASIO, what did Prime Minister Chifley identify as a vital approach to be taken by the organisation?
2. **HS3** What did Chifley mean by the words 'nothing should be done that might lend colour to any suggestion ...'?
3. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) Do Mr and Mrs Petrov conform to the popular impression we have of spies from movies and TV shows?
   (b) Would this be an advantage or disadvantage in their work?
4. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Was it written before or after Petrov's defection had been made public? Identify two pieces of evidence in the source that tell us this.
   (b) Do you think Petrov's request in **SOURCE 3** was likely to be granted? Give reasons for your answer.
5. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 4**.
   (a) How do you think people in Australia viewing this photograph would have felt towards Mrs Petrov?
   (b) How might it have influenced attitudes towards the communist government in Russia?
6. **HS3** What does **SOURCE 5** tell us about Dr Evatt's views in relation to the Petrov defection and the Royal Commission?
7. **HS3 SOURCE 1** contains an instruction to the Director of ASIO to be 'free from any political bias'. Explain why this directive was probably never adhered to by ASIO in the early 1950s.
8. **HS5** Despite Menzies' instruction to his party members not to campaign on the issue of the Petrov defection, many ignored this instruction.
   (a) Do you believe Menzies' instruction was genuine or a political stunt? Give reasons for your answer.
   (b) Do you believe Dr Evatt was justified in believing the timing of the defection and the Royal Commission was carried out purely for Menzies' political advantage? Give reasons for your answer.
9. **HS6** The Petrov affair changed the course of the election campaign in 1954 and probably changed the result. Why do you think such a set of events could have had such an influence on the way people voted in that election?

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8.6 The aftermath of the Petrov affair

8.6.1 Evatt and the Royal Commission

The Petrov affair became the basis of a political crisis for the Australian Labor Party. Not only did it lose an election in 1954, but also the following 18 months saw a deepening of suspicions within the party between The Movement and Industrial Groups on one side, and Evatt and his supporters on the other. This was to lead to a split in the Labor Party that had electoral repercussions for the next 20 years.

Two members of Dr Evatt's staff had been named in the documents provided by Petrov. Before he entered parliament in 1940, Evatt had first been a prominent and successful barrister in the early 1920s and then, in 1930, he was appointed as a Justice on the High Court of Australia. He had resigned from the High Court to stand for parliament in 1940. With his legal background, he determined that he would appear before the Royal Commission as lawyer for his staff members. In September 1954, while appearing

before the Commission, Evatt aired his conspiracy theory relating to Menzies and ASIO having engineered the whole affair to win the 1954 election. He went on the attack throughout the whole Royal Commission process, and eventually the Commission withdrew his right to appear before it.

This only served to heighten Evatt's suspicions of what he believed were links between Menzies, ASIO and the Industrial Groups within the Labor Party. In the press and public eye, Evatt was beginning to appear rather erratic. He wrote to the Russian Foreign Minister to ask about the alleged Russian espionage in Australia, and unsurprisingly the reply denied that there were any Russian spies in Australia. When Evatt attempted to read out this reply in parliament, it was greeted by laughter from both sides of the House. His credibility and reputation were seriously damaged by these outbursts. In October 1954 the Royal Commission issued an interim report in which it found the Petrov documents to be genuine, but ultimately it was unable to recommend prosecutions against any alleged spies (see **SOURCE 1**). In the meantime, Evatt went on the attack against the Industrial Groups and The Movement, accusing them of undermining the Labor Party.

SOURCE 1 Final Report of the Royal Commission on Espionage, August 1955

We believe that the Soviet deliberately refrained from using the Australian Communist Party, as a Party, for espionage purposes lest exposure should lead to its serious political embarrassment ... (p. 298)

The substantive law is such that, when considered in conjunction with the technical legal rules governing the admissibility of evidence in courts of law, it would appear that prosecution of none of the persons whose acts we have considered in our report would be warranted. (p. 301)

8.6.2 The Labor Party splits

The Catholic right wing of the ALP believed that Evatt's performance before the Royal Commission amounted to a defence of communism and, even among Labor members of parliament, an anti-Evatt faction developed. On 5 October 1954, Evatt released a press statement in which he attacked the 'Groupers', accusing them of disloyalty to the Labor Party. He particularly identified members of the Victorian State Executive of the party (see **SOURCE 2**). The Federal Executive of the ALP began an investigation into the running of its Victorian branch. Early in 1955, it dismissed the Victorian State Executive and appointed a replacement Executive.

SOURCE 2 Press statement by Opposition leader Dr H.V. Evatt, 5 October 1954

One factor told heavily against us [in the 1954 election] — the attitude of a small minority group of members, located particularly in the State of Victoria, which has, since 1949, become increasingly disloyal to the Labor movement and the Labor leadership ...

It seems certain that the activities of the small group are largely directed from outside the Labor movement. The Melbourne *News Weekly* appears to act as their organ ... I am bringing this matter before the next meeting of the Federal Executive.

In March 1955, the ALP held its National Conference in Hobart, Tasmania. Members of both the old and the new Victorian State Executives arrived to represent their state membership, but only members of the new Executive were admitted to the Conference (see **SOURCE 3**). The Victorian branch of the ALP was now split into two opposing factions — the pro-Evatt faction and the supporters of the old 'Grouper' influenced State Executive (see **SOURCE 4**). The new State Executive suspended the party membership of 18 of its state parliamentary members that it suspected were in sympathy with the 'Groupers'. This was particularly significant as the ALP held government in the Victorian Parliament. A split government would be unlikely to remain in power for long. Any government in an Australian parliament is required to maintain the 'confidence of the House'; that is, it must be able to command a majority of votes in the lower house of the parliament.

SOURCE 3 Members of the expelled Victorian executive outside the ALP Federal Conference in Hobart, March 1955



SOURCE 4 A political cartoon from the time of the 1955 ALP Conference in Hobart. While in Hobart, Dr Evatt visited the Tasmanian Art Gallery.



Its title Doctor? They call it "Party Unity."

8.6.3 Electoral disaster

On 19 April 1955, Victorian Liberal Opposition leader Henry Bolte moved a vote of no confidence in the Labor government, and most of the 18 suspended Labor members voted with the Opposition to defeat the government. An election for the state parliament was held on 28 May and the suspended members and others stood as members of a newly created Australian Labor Party (Anti-Communist). Members of this party directed their preferences towards Bolte's Liberals, so that in any close seats where these preferences were counted, the Liberals would gain the advantage. Labor lost the election, although only one member of the new ALP (Anti-Communist) was able to hold his seat (see **SOURCE 5**).

SOURCE 5 Front page of *The Argus* newspaper, 30 May 1955, following the state election held on Saturday, 28 May 1955

30 UP, BOLTE WANTS 3 MORE SEATS TO GO IT ALONE

THE Liberal–Country Party is fighting to obtain an absolute majority to form a one-party Government. In the biggest landslide in Victoria's political history, the LCP on Saturday leaped from 11 members to at least 30 in the Legislative Assembly election. It has a fighting chance to win four others: Bendigo, Moonee Ponds, Hawthorn, and Benambra, to give it 34 seats in an Assembly of 66 members. The LCP needs only 33 seats for an absolute majority in the Assembly if the Speaker and chairman of committees are supplied from the Country Party or Labor Party. If the LCP fails to gain an absolute majority, it may be forced into a coalition with the Country Party.

At the federal level, Prime Minister Menzies could see a political opportunity with the Labor Party split. He called an early election for 10 December 1955. The Labor Party suffered a swing of more the 5 per cent against it and lost 10 seats in the House of Representatives. As had happened in the Victorian election earlier that year, members of the Anti-Communist Labor Party campaigned against the mainstream ALP, and directed their preferences towards the Liberal–Country Party Coalition in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. One Anti-Communist ALP Senator was elected from Victoria, and one Tasmanian Labor Senator who was only halfway through his six-year term changed his allegiance to the new Anti-Communist Labor Party, giving the party two seats in the Senate.

The Labor split also spread to Queensland, where the ALP government had been in power since 1932. Vince Gair had been state party leader and premier since 1952, and had become a supporter of Santamaria and the 'Groupers' during the early 1950s. In April 1957 the federal executive of the ALP expelled Gair from the party because of his alliance with the 'Groupers', and 25 ALP members of the state parliament left the party with him and formed the Queensland Labor Party (QLP). This left the Queensland Parliament

with a three-way split of members, with about a third as members of the QLP government, a third as residual ALP members, and a third as members of the Liberal–Country Party Coalition. The ALP and Coalition members voted together to bring down Gair's QLP government, and an election was held on 3 August. With a huge swing, the Coalition won 42 of the Legislative Assembly's 75 seats, forming the first non-Labor government in the Queensland Parliament since 1932 and only the second since 1915.

8.6.4 Ongoing repercussions

The ALP split of 1955 had ongoing repercussions. In 1957, The Australian Labor Party (Anti-Communist) was renamed the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), and it continued to contest elections under this name until the 1970s. Throughout this period it continued to direct preferences in state and federal elections away from the ALP, and usually towards the Liberal and Country (later National) Party candidates. In doing so, it assisted in keeping the Labor Party out of power in the federal parliament and some state parliaments for many years. Some consequences of the split included:

- In Victoria, the ALP was to remain out of power from 1955 until 1982, during which time the Liberal Party or Liberal–National Party (previously Country Party) Coalitions governed with healthy majorities.
- In Queensland, the Labor Party did not win an election until 1989, 32 years after the defeat of the Gair government.
- Labor remained out of office in the federal parliament until 1972. On two occasions, 1961 and 1969, Labor won more than 50 per cent of the popular vote for the House of Representatives, but DLP preferences helped elect Liberal–Country Coalition members in enough marginal seats to allow the Coalition to retain government (see **SOURCE 6**).
- In addition, the system of proportional representation in the Australian Senate allowed a number of DLP Senators to be elected between 1955 and 1974. One such Senator was Vince Gair, whose QLP merged with the DLP in 1962. He was elected as a DLP Senator in 1964, became DLP Senate leader and remained in the Senate until 1974.

SOURCE 6 Arthur Calwell, *Be Just and Fear Not* (1972). Arthur Calwell became federal leader of the ALP in 1960, upon the retirement of Dr Evatt.

I have witnessed three disastrous splits in the Australian Labor Party during the past fifty-six years. ... The first split occurred in 1916 over conscription in World War I; the second in 1931 over the Premiers' Plan for economic recovery in the Great Depression; and the third in 1955 over alleged communist infiltration of the trade union movement. The last was the worst of the three, because the party has not yet healed the wounds that resulted from it.



- With five senators between 1971 and 1974, the DLP held effective balance of power in the Senate. This became an issue after December 1972 when a Labor government came to power in Canberra. The DLP joined with Coalition Senators in blocking some of the new government's reform agenda. All five DLP Senators were defeated in the 1974 election, and the party's influence gradually declined. It voted to disband in all states except Victoria in 1978.
- Other states did not experience the dramatic split in the ALP that occurred in Victoria and Queensland, so the DLP was never as influential in those states. Nevertheless, the party fielded candidates in all states in both state and federal elections, and decided the outcome in some marginal seats by directing its preferences towards non-Labor candidates.

The Petrov defections, the ensuing Royal Commission and the reaction of Labor leader Dr Evatt to both, formed the basis of a political crisis for the ALP that was to last for a generation. H.V. Evatt remained as leader of the ALP until 1960, but the Petrov affair and its aftermath severely damaged his reputation and destroyed his political career.

8.6 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.6 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What aspects of Dr Evatt's background led him to believe he was well suited to carry out the legal defence of his two accused staff members?
2. **HS1** Why did Evatt eventually have his right to appear before the Royal Commission withdrawn?
3. **HS1** What evidence did Evatt attempt to use in parliament to suggest that there were no Russian spies in Australia?
4. **HS1** Explain the impact of Dr Evatt's October 1954 accusations on the ALP State Executive in Victoria.
5. **HS1** What did the newly appointed Victorian State Executive do that put the future of the Labor state government in Victoria in doubt?
6. **HS1** How did Liberal leader Henry Bolte take advantage of the Labor split to force an election for the Victorian state parliament?
7. **HS1** Explain what the members of the newly created Australian Labor Party (Anti-Communist) did to prevent the Labor government being re-elected.
8. **HS1** What did Robert Menzies do to take political advantage of the split in the Labor Party?
9. **HS1** Outline the impact of the Labor split on the Party in Queensland.
10. **HS1** Explain the effect of the split on the electoral success of the Labor Party after 1955 in:
    (a) Victoria
    (b) Queensland
    (c) the federal parliament.
11. **HS1** How did the split affect Senate elections and the composition of the Senate?

8.6 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**.
    (a) Why did the Royal Commission believe that the Russians did not use the Communist Party in Australia for espionage purposes?
    (b) Why did the Royal Commissioners not recommend any prosecutions in their report?
2. **HS3** Read **SOURCE 2**.
    (a) Who did Evatt blame as having contributed heavily to the 1954 election loss?
    (b) What did he propose to do following these accusations?
3. **HS3** **SOURCE 3** shows expelled Victorian Executive members outside the Hobart conference. Why do you think these members attended the conference, even after they had been expelled from their positions?
4. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 4**.
    (a) Who is the person holding the newspaper?
    (b) Describe what appears to be happening in the painting.
    (c) What point is the cartoonist attempting to make?
5. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 5**.
    (a) How many additional seats had the Liberal Party won in the election?
    (b) How many more did it need to be able to form a government in its own right?
    (c) Why was it clear that the Labor Party could not form a government in this parliament?
6. **HS3** How long after the split was Calwell writing the words in **SOURCE 6**?
7. **HS3** Why did he believe the split of 1955 was worse than the previous two Labor splits?
8. **HS5** Considering the differences between the mainstream of the Labor Party and the 'Groupers' in the 1950s, discuss each of the following, giving reasons for your opinion in each case:
    (a) How important was the Petrov affair as a cause of the split in the Labor Party?
    (b) To what extent did the actions of Dr Evatt increase the likelihood of the split occurring?
    (c) Was a split in the Labor Party inevitable by the mid 1950s, irrespective of the actions of Petrov and/or Evatt?
    (d) What could have been done, if anything, to prevent the split?
9. **HS6** Explain why the Petrov affair and its aftermath can be considered such a significant crisis in the context of Australian political history.

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8.7 War in Vietnam

8.7.1 Background to the war

The Vietnam War became a major focus of the tensions that existed between communist and capitalist countries during the Cold War. As had happened with the Korean War and the Malayan Emergency, forces of the west lined up against local communist fighters in an Asian country. The experiences of those previous conflicts were to influence the views of the US and its allies, including Australia, in becoming involved in yet another war in the jungles of Asia. In common with those previous conflicts, it was seen as an example of the domino theory, requiring intervention to prevent the spread of communism.

As European countries had expanded their empires into Asia and Africa during the nineteenth century, France had taken control of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. By the 1890s these countries were under French control as the colonies of French Indochina. Many inhabitants of the colonies opposed French rule, and a number of rebellions had taken place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During the 1920s, many of those campaigning for independence for the Indochinese colonies became influenced by communist ideals and not only sought independence from France, but also hoped to establish a communist system of government in their countries once they became independent. One of these leaders was Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese man who had been educated in France, and had lived for many years in the Soviet Union during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1940 he returned to Vietnam and formed the Viet Minh, a guerrilla army that fought against the Japanese occupation. During this period, the Viet Minh forces were supported by the US in their fight against the common enemy, Japan.

The war against the French

In September 1945, with the defeat of the Japanese, Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in Hanoi. The French were unwilling to grant independence and sought to re-assert colonial control. French troops arrived in 1946 and war continued for the next eight years. In 1948 the French set up an alternative government to that of the DRV, and installed the traditional Vietnamese emperor Bao Dai as head of the 'State of Vietnam', centred on Saigon. In 1950, the State of Vietnam was recognised by western countries including the US and its allies as the legitimate government of Vietnam, while the DRV was recognised by China and the Soviet Union. The State of Vietnam raised its own army to support the French in their battle to regain control of the country. The USA provided significant financial support for the French and the anti-communist State of Vietnam, as it saw this as another important theatre in the battle against the spread of communism in Asia.

After a long struggle, the independence forces militarily defeated the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. A peace conference was convened in Geneva, Switzerland, to determine the future of Vietnam. At this conference, Vietnam was temporarily divided into two, with a provisional border established at the 17th parallel. Northern Vietnam would remain under the control of the communist DRV, while southern Vietnam would remain in the pro-western hands of Bao Dai and his government. This division was similar to the way Korea had been partitioned at the end of World War II. As was the case in Korea, this partition was not a long-term solution, and would soon lead to renewed hostilities.

on Resources

Video eLesson Indo-China War (eles-2628)

The path to another war

The conference agreed that elections would be held in 1956 to determine a national government for a united Vietnam. For 300 days following partition, civilians were given the right to cross the border to live in the zone of their choice. Under this arrangement, about a million anti-communists, mainly Catholics, migrated south. Over 100 000 southern communists moved north, but most expected to return following the elections

of 1956. Many thousands of communists remained in their homes in the south, anticipating that nationwide elections would result in reunification under a communist government. In 1955 the prime minister of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, arranged to hold a referendum to determine the future government of the south. Diem wanted to remove Bao Dai and become president of a new republic. The result of the referendum was rigged. Diem removed Bao Dai and declared himself president of the newly created Republic of Vietnam (ROV). The elections of 1956 were never held, and Diem set out to consolidate his power and establish the ROV as a separate permanent, pro-western, anti-communist state.

Once it became clear that Diem had no intention of facilitating the reunification of the country, armed insurgency broke out in different parts of the south. The United States supported Diem because they saw his government as an ally in the fight to stop the spread of communism. America sent aid and military advisers to assist in the establishment of the ROV army to help put down communist rebellions. In 1960, the various pro-communist groups in the south united to form the National Liberation Front (NLF), known in the west as the Viet Cong. Its aim was to lead armed struggle against the government of Ngo Dinh Diem and reunite the south with the communist north. Many of the communists who had moved north in 1954 returned to the south to join in the battle against the Diem government. The NLF received supplies form the North via a secret route known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail (see **SOURCE 1**).

SOURCE 1 Vietnam was divided in two in 1954. When war resumed, the NLF in the south were supplied via the Ho Chi Minh Trail.



Source: MAPgraphics Pty Ltd.

DID YOU KNOW?

Lyndon Baines Johnson, known widely as 'LBJ', was elected vice-president of the US in 1960, at the time of the election of John F. Kennedy as president. In November 1963, Kennedy was assassinated and LBJ was immediately sworn in as president. He was responsible for promoting civil rights legislation, banning racial discrimination, as well as voting rights legislation designed to give the vote to all African-American citizens. He was re-elected in his own right in 1964 and was responsible for greatly increasing American troop deployment in Vietnam. He was the first serving US president to visit Australia, in 1966.

8.7.2 Western involvement

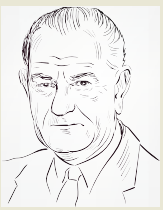
The activities of the NLF alarmed the anti-communist countries such as United States and Australia, and so from the mid-1950s they sent military advisers to support the government of the South. By 1963, over 16 000 American military personnel were stationed in South Vietnam. They had no specific combat role, but were assigned to advise and train the South Vietnamese army. In 1962 the Australian government sent 30 military advisers to South Vietnam. These men were sent because they had experience in jungle warfare during the Malayan Emergency. It was felt that they would be able to provide valuable training to the South Vietnamese army. The government of Prime Minister Menzies believed that it should support the fight against communism, as it had done in Korea and Malaya. Over the next two years increasing numbers of Australian military personnel were sent to South Vietnam, rising to 200 by late 1964.

During 1963, Diem became increasingly unpopular as he persecuted many members of the **Buddhist** majority in the south. Like many Vietnamese influenced by the previous French occupation, Diem was a Catholic. He appointed Catholics to most important government positions and removed Buddhists from positions of influence. When Buddhists protested against this discrimination, they were ruthlessly attacked. Diem's increasingly unpopular rule came to an end in November 1963 when he was overthrown and executed by leaders of the army. It is generally believed that the US was supportive of this change, as it increasingly found Diem to be an embarrassment. The Americans felt they had to support the ROV as an anti-communist power in Asia, but did not want to be seen to be supporting an increasingly authoritarian dictator. During the next few months, a succession of South Vietnamese military leaders took over leadership of the country, as the NLF forces became more active in the countryside and the South Vietnamese army came under increasing pressure.

Following the assassination of US President Kennedy in November 1963, newly appointed President Lyndon Johnson set out to renew the fight against communist forces in Vietnam (see **SOURCE 2**). The situation escalated in 1964 when an American destroyer falsely claimed it was attacked by the North in what was known as the Gulf of Tonkin Incident. Under this pretext, the United States dramatically increased its troop numbers in Vietnam, and Australia also increased its involvement.

SOURCE 2 Extract from a speech given by Lyndon B. Johnson on 24 November 1963, two days after assuming the US presidency following the death of President Kennedy

We should stop playing cops and robbers and get back to ... winning the war ... tell the generals in Saigon that Lyndon Johnson intends to stand by our word ... [to] win the contest against the externally directed and supported Communist conspiracy.



8.7.3 Escalation of the war

In March 1965, American Air Force bases in South Vietnam were attacked by Viet Cong forces. The US government was increasingly concerned that the local South Vietnamese army was not capable of protecting its bases, so it sent 3500 marines to assist with this task. It was the beginning of the US commitment to sending its troops to undertake a combat role in Vietnam. By early 1965, American combat forces had increased to almost 200 000, and the US changed its strategy from one of supporting the South Vietnamese army, to one of taking the lead in the fight against the NLF. Those who had previously been seen as advisers to the South Vietnamese assumed an active combat role. The US continued to send increasing numbers of combat troops to Vietnam, reaching a peak of over half a million by 1968 (see **SOURCE 3**). More than 58 000 American military personnel were killed in Vietnam, while more than 150 000 were wounded.

SOURCE 3 US troop numbers and deaths in Vietnam 1960–72

Year	Number of troops	Number of deaths
1960	900	5
1961	3200	16
1962	11 300	53
1963	16 300	122
1964	23 300	216
1965	184 300	1928
1966	385 300	6350
1967	485 600	11 363
1968	536 100	16 899
1969	475 200	11 780
1970	334 600	6173
1971	156 800	2414
1972	24 200	759

In April 1965, Prime Minister Menzies announced that Australia would be committing ground troops to the war in Vietnam (see **SOURCES 4** and **5**). Menzies invoked both the ANZUS and SEATO agreements to justify this involvement and claimed that the Australian government had received a request for assistance from the South Vietnamese government. Initially one battalion (just under 1000 soldiers) was sent, but this was soon increased to three battalions. The Australian commitment in Vietnam reached a peak of 8300 troops in January 1969. Over 10 years from 1962 to 1972, almost 60 000 Australians, including ground troops and air force and navy personnel, served in Vietnam; 521 died and more than 3000 were wounded. In November 1964, compulsory military service had been introduced for all 20-year-old males in Australia. Selection was by ballot, so not all were required to serve. In May 1965, the government announced that **conscripts** could be required to serve overseas, and in March 1966 it announced that conscripts would be sent to fight in Vietnam.

SOURCE 4 The front page of *The Australian* newspaper announcing the Australian government's decision to send combat troops to Vietnam



THE AUSTRALIAN

NUMBER 216 FRIDAY APRIL 30 1965 PRICE SIXPENCE

WE SAY SEE PAGE 8

MENZIES SAYS IT – WE FIGHT IN VIETNAM

First Battalion to be flown out

BY OUR DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT, KENNETH RANDALL

Australian troops will be fighting alongside the Americans in South Vietnam within a few weeks, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, announced last night. About 800 men of the 1st Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment, based at Ingleburn, New South Wales, have been assigned to combat duty in Vietnam, and are expected to be flown out.

Their commitment marks Australia's full entry into two simultaneous Asian wars. The 1st Battalion, RAR, is already occupying front-line positions against the Indonesians in the Malaysian State of Sarawak in Borneo.

Sir Robert announced the Government's decision to the House of Representatives after a day of speculation in Canberra, London and Washington, where news of the plan had filtered through a tight security screen.

DRAFTEES MAY HAVE TO GO, TOO

THANKS FROM LBJ

The war yesterday

HALF-FULL HOUSE HEARS NEWS

MOVES TOWARDS AGREEMENT

BOOST TO SEATO

LATE NEWS

Minister in the dark

UK curb on loans

60 YEARS OF SHIRTMANSHIP

PELACO BLENDENE

WEATHER

SOURCE 5 Prime Minister Menzies announcing the commitment of Australian ground troops to Vietnam, April 1965

The takeover of South Vietnam would be a direct military threat to Australia and all the countries of south and South-East Asia. It must be seen as part of a thrust by communist China between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The Vietnam War was a different type of war for most of the foreign troops sent to fight there. Over 75 per cent of southern Vietnam was covered in jungle, and the Viet Cong were experts at using the terrain to provide cover for their operations. They also developed systems of tunnels that allowed them to hide underground for long periods of time. US and Australian soldiers were regularly sent out in small parties to attempt to track down Viet Cong guerrilla fighters in 'search and destroy' missions, so engagement with the enemy was mostly small-scale exchange of fire, rather than large battles of the type fought in the two world wars (see **SOURCES 6** and **7**).

SOURCE 6 A new type of war for Australia



A Roving bands of Viet Cong guerillas tormented Australian and US troops with ambush and sudden raids. As well as using the natural features of the topography, they hid in vast underground tunnel complexes. These lay hidden behind enemy lines and provided the ideal launching pad for hit-and-run campaigns and sabotage.

B Approximately 75 per cent of the southern part of Vietnam is covered with dense forest and 40 per cent of it is mountainous. The climate is tropical and monsoonal with 84 per cent humidity throughout the year. Troops from both sides used the thick vegetation as a cover.

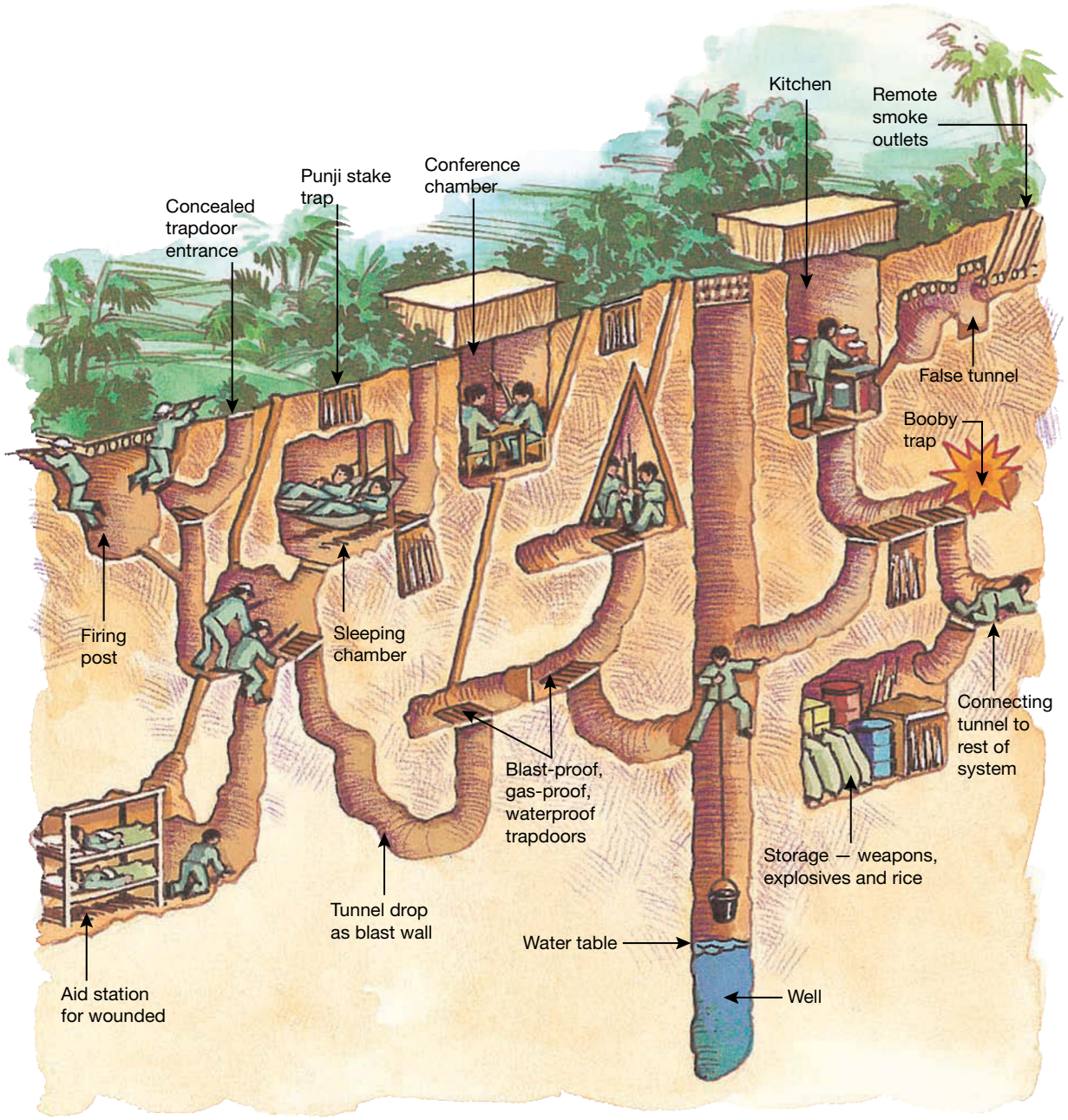
C Agent Orange, a weedkiller, was sprayed over jungles and farms to destroy food crops and to defoliate vegetation that provided cover for Viet Cong. Napalm bombs were dropped. When these bombs burst, they ignite and splatter burning napalm (a jellied gasoline) over a wide area. It clings to everything it touches and burns violently — death results from burns or suffocation.

D Sometimes local villagers would provide information about Viet Cong movements. However, Australian and US troops always approached with caution; often Viet Cong troops were hiding within, ready to mount an ambush. Villagers were punished by the Viet Cong if they were found to have helped foreign soldiers.

E There were many hidden dangers for Australian and US troops within the jungle itself and surrounding terrain. Mines were carefully hidden and booby traps were laid. Sometimes sharpened bamboo spikes were concealed in a pit. When a person stood on the camouflaged lid, it swung down, dropping the man onto the spikes below. It then swung back into position for the next victim.

F The use of chemicals was common. Coloured smoke bombs were used to alert incoming choppers if an area was safe, and to pinpoint bombing targets.

SOURCE 7 Example of Viet Cong tunnel complex



8.7.4 The end of the war

In addition to the Viet Cong guerrilla forces, regular troops from the North Vietnamese army also joined the fight, and the US embarked on a campaign of bombing North Vietnam. By 1969, the war had become very unpopular in the US, and newly elected President Richard Nixon embarked on a policy of attempting to increase the size of the South Vietnamese army to take over from the Americans and their allies. Gradually American and allied forces were to be withdrawn and the major responsibility handed back to the Vietnamese. By late 1970, Australia was decreasing its involvement in Vietnam. By late 1972, only a handful of Australian troops remained there, the last leaving in 1973.

In 1968, President Johnson had supported the establishment of peace talks to be held in Paris, France, involving representatives of the major parties involved. Johnson stopped the bombing of North Vietnam in the hope of encouraging the North Vietnamese to participate. The peace talks dragged on for five years without reaching any firm agreements. When Richard Nixon took over as President in January 1969, he committed to continuing the peace process, but at various times he resumed the bombing of North Vietnam in order to demonstrate his continuing support for the South Vietnamese government. A peace accord was signed in January 1973 that included a period of ceasefire, to allow American combat troops to withdraw. Prisoners of war were to be exchanged between the two sides, and the governments of North and South Vietnam were to begin negotiations to develop a plan for reunification. From this point on, only a small number of American soldiers remained in Vietnam, carrying out duties such as guarding the US embassy in Saigon.

The governments of the two parts of Vietnam failed to reach any agreement on a formula for reunification, and hostilities broke out again between the two sides. Gradually the North Vietnamese army and Viet Cong took over control of the south and in April 1975, North Vietnamese forces entered Saigon and the South Vietnamese government fell (see **SOURCE 8**). Many Vietnamese who had supported the government of the south were evacuated on American ships, and the US embassy was evacuated by helicopter flights to those same ships.

SOURCE 8 A North Vietnamese tank breaks down the gates of the South Vietnamese presidential palace, 30 April 1975.



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8.7 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.7 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** What had been the attitude of the Vietnamese towards French colonial rule in the years before World War II?
2. **HS1** Explain what Ho Chi Minh and his supporters were expecting to happen when the Japanese were defeated.
3. **HS1** How did the French respond to the establishment of the DRV?
4. **HS2** Construct a timeline that traces the sequence of events in Vietnam from the end of World War II in 1945 to the formation of the NLF in 1960.
5. **HS1** Describe the role of the United States in influencing these events.
6. **HS1** Explain the aims of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.
7. **HS1** Outline the way in which the US and its allies, such as Australia, increased their military presence in Vietnam.
8. **HS1** Why was President Diem overthrown in 1963?
9. **HS1** What event caused President Johnson to increase the American military commitment to Vietnam?
10. **HS1** How did the role of American troops in Vietnam change during 1965?
11. **HS1** In what way did the Australian government support the changing role of the Americans?
12. **HS1** Identify and list the key dates that represent major steps in the escalation of the US and Australian involvement in Vietnam.

13. **HS1** Why did President Nixon embark on a program of withdrawing American troops in 1969?
14. **HS1** Describe the key features of the peace accord signed in January 1973.
15. **HS1** Why did fighting soon break out again between the two sides in Vietnam?

8.7 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 1**, explain the route of the Ho Chi Minh Trail.
2. **HS3** Why might the location of the Ho Chi Minh trail have created a problem for the forces of the ROV and its American allies?
3. **HS3** What do you think President Johnson meant by the words 'We should stop playing cops and robbers' in **SOURCE 2**?
4. **HS3** When he uses the words 'externally directed and supported Communist conspiracy', what does this tell us about Johnson's interpretation of the causes of the conflict in Vietnam?
5. **HS3** From the information in **SOURCE 3** identify the two years that saw the greatest increase in the number of American troops sent to fight in Vietnam.
6. **HS3** Of the 13 years of American deaths in Vietnam shown in **SOURCE 3**, just three years saw over two-thirds of those deaths occur.
   (a) Identify the three years in question.
   (b) Calculate the percentage of the total number of deaths that occurred in those three years.
7. **HS3** Use the information in **SOURCE 4** to answer the following questions.
   (a) What was the reaction of the US President to Menzies' announcement?
   (b) What clues were there that conscripts might be sent to Vietnam?
8. **HS3** From **SOURCE 5**, explain what Menzies believed was the cause of the Vietnam War.
9. **HS3** Using **SOURCES 6** and **7**, outline the ways in which American and Australian troops were at a disadvantage in the jungle warfare against the Viet Cong fighters.
10. **HS3** Why would the activity taking place in **SOURCE 8** have been regarded as highly symbolic by both the NLF and the North Vietnamese government?
11. **HS3 SOURCES 2** and **5** give us insights into what American and Australian political leaders thought were the causes of the war. Do you agree or disagree with their opinions? Give reasons for your answer.
12. **HS5** When examining the causes of any historical event, we can identify long-term or underlying causes or trends, and short-term or immediate causes. The long-term causes are found in the nature and structure of the society. The short-term causes are the immediate actions that led directly to the events in question. From what you have read in this subtopic answer the following questions:
   (a) Identify and explain the long-term causes of the war in Vietnam, in terms of the nature and structure of Vietnamese society.
   (b) What were the immediate or short-term causes that led to the actual outbreak of hostilities? List at least two and explain how each contributed to the outbreak of war.
   (c) What were the long-term causes or trends in Australian and American society that led to these two countries becoming involved in Vietnam?

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8.8 Vietnam and Australian politics

8.8.1 Initial support for the war

The Vietnam War polarised Australia in a way no other war had. In its early years it was seen as essential to combat the spread of communism and the majority of Australians supported it. In time, however, the unpopularity of sending conscripts to an overseas war, and a growing realisation that we had become enmeshed in a civil war we could not win, was enough to dramatically change the tide of public opinion.

DID YOU KNOW?

When President Johnson stood for election as President in 1964, he used the slogan 'All the way with LBJ'. Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt visited the US in June 1966, and when declaring his support for the Vietnam involvement, he stated that Australia would be 'all the way with LBJ'.

Australia's involvement in Vietnam was strongly supported by the Australian community during the early years of the war. Prime Minister Robert Menzies was intensely anti-communist and a strong supporter of the domino theory, and the majority agreed with him at the time. **SOURCE 1** shows many of the reasons why Australians were prepared to support Australian participation in the Vietnam War.

SOURCE 1 Reasons for supporting Australian military involvement in Vietnam War

- Large numbers of Australians at that time had lived through World War II, when Australia was threatened from the north by Japan. Between 1938 and 1942, the Japanese had swept through South-East Asia, reaching Papua New Guinea by 1942. It was easy to imagine a communist force, supported by China, doing something similar.
- Conflicts between communists and anti-communists in so many areas of South-East Asia seemed to support the basic fears of the domino theory. Australia employed a 'forward defence' policy, by which it was considered better to confront an enemy overseas, rather than wait until they were on our doorstep.
- Australian involvement in Korea, along with the US and other allies, had resulted in a relatively stable division of that country into separate communist and anti-communist regimes. It was felt that a similar result could be achieved in Vietnam and a permanent anti-communist regime established in the south.
- Australia's involvement in Malaya was relatively successful. Communist guerrillas had been defeated and by the early 1960s only a few remained. It was believed that it was possible to achieve a similar result in Vietnam.
- Australia had turned to the USA for support during World War II, and since 1945 had become a signatory to both the ANZUS and SEATO agreements. Under these treaties, the Americans would provide assistance to Australia if it was threatened, but this also meant that Australia had to be prepared to support the United States in return. Australia did so by providing troops for the Korean War and for the war in Vietnam.
- Our own immediate region had experienced instability in the early 1960s. In 1962 armed conflict had occurred between Indonesia and the Dutch who still maintained colonial control over West Papua. The Dutch had supported transition to an independent West Papua, while Indonesia claimed the territory as part of its own country. It was felt that Australia should maintain a strong military presence in our part of the world to deal with possible future instability.
- In 1963, the formation of the Federation of Malaysia, that included Malaya, North Borneo, Sarawak and Singapore (only until 1965) led to a confrontation with Indonesia. At the time it was suspected that Indonesia's President Sukarno had communist sympathies, although he claimed not to be aligned with either the west or any of the communist countries. Australia sent forces to support Malaysia in its conflict with Indonesia, again reinforcing the notion that the area to our north was potentially insecure and needed Australian troops to maintain regional stability.



Despite this strong level of support from large sections of the community, the Labor Party in Australia was opposed to Australian military involvement in Vietnam. When Prime Minister Menzies announced the commitment of Australian troops to a combat role in April 1965, Labor leader Arthur Calwell made it clear that the ALP would not support this (see **SOURCE 2**). In January 1966, Robert Menzies retired from parliament, and was replaced as prime minister by his deputy, Harold Holt. Holt continued Menzies' policies towards Vietnam and, in February 1966, he trebled Australia's deployment to 4500, one-third of which were to be conscripts.

SOURCE 2 Arthur Calwell, *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, 4 May 1965, vol. 46, pp. 1102–7

We do not think it will help the fight against communism. On the contrary, we believe it will harm that fight in the long term. We do not believe it will promote the welfare of the people of Vietnam. On the contrary, we believe it will prolong and deepen the suffering of that unhappy people ... the government's decision rests on three false assumptions: an erroneous view of the nature of the war in Vietnam; a failure to understand the nature of the communist challenge; and a false notion as to the interests of America and her allies ...

During 1966, opposition to the Vietnam War within Australia became more vocal, with increasingly more public protests by opponents. These groups were still in a minority, however, with the vast majority still in favour of Australia's involvement. The 1966 federal election was held largely on the issue of the Vietnam War, with the Liberal–Country Party Coalition government campaigning in favour, and the Labor Party, led by Arthur Calwell, against Australia's military involvement (see **SOURCES 3** and **4**). The election saw a landslide victory to the government and Arthur Calwell resigned as Labor leader, to be replaced by Gough Whitlam.

SOURCE 3 A Liberal Party election poster from 1966 highlighting the belief that Australia needed to fight in Asia to protect ourselves from communism



SOURCE 4 Peaceful protests, such as this silent vigil outside old Parliament House in Canberra, were typical of the anti-war campaign in 1966.



DISCUSS

What are the advantages and disadvantages of peaceful protest on an important social or political issue?

[Critical and Creative Thinking Capability]

8.8.2 Growing opposition

Despite the 1966 election result, opposition to the war within the Australian community continued to grow. The war had always been presented by its supporters as a means of Australia defending itself against communism, but people began to question this assumption. Many came to realise that the war was primarily a **civil war** between two opposing groups within Vietnam and may not be part of a series of tumbling dominoes. Opponents of the war included many with the following points of view:

- Some people felt that foreign powers had no right to intervene in what was essentially a civil war between two opposing parties within the one country. They believed that the Vietnamese should be left to resolve the issue for themselves.
- Some questioned whether we should be fighting communism in this manner. By the mid 1960s, many of the fears of the late 1940s and early 1950s had not been realised. Communism had not spread into western Europe as had been feared; China had not shown any expansionist tendencies since asserting its sovereignty over Tibet in 1950, and clear ideological divisions between China and Russia meant that communism was no longer seen as a unified threat.
- People began to question why we should be supporting a corrupt and brutal South Vietnamese government. The Diem regime had been replaced by an oppressive military dictatorship in 1963. Presidential elections held in 1967 were widely regarded as rigged, and simply returned the same military government. It was difficult to see that the US and its allies were supporting anything remotely resembling democracy in South Vietnam. The brutality of the South Vietnamese regime was graphically illustrated by footage of the South Vietnamese police chief shooting a Viet Cong prisoner in a Saigon street in 1968 (see **SOURCE 5**).
- Some believed the war could not be won and that it was immoral to waste so many lives in a lost cause. At various times since 1964, American generals had suggested that they were winning the war, but the numbers of dead and wounded kept rising with no apparent military progress.

- Some were appalled by the immense price paid by Vietnam and its people. Millions of Vietnamese were killed, including in massacres of innocent civilians. In one well-known case, in the village of My Lai in 1968, more than 400 civilians, mainly women, children and the elderly, were murdered by US troops.
- The use of weapons such as napalm devastated the Vietnamese environment and caused horrific burns. A photograph of a young Vietnamese girl running away from an explosion with burns on her skin after the napalm had burnt through her clothes was an example of the type of images that began to turn people against the war (see **SOURCE 6**).
- Many Australian soldiers sent to Vietnam were not volunteers but were chosen by conscription. Some people considered it immoral to force someone to fight and kill. At this time the voting age was still 21, yet the age for conscription was 20. Some questioned how a person not yet considered old enough to vote could be considered old enough to fight and kill. The Save Our Sons (SOS) Movement was set up in 1965 by a group of mothers who opposed conscription and became very influential in the development of anti-war sentiment.

SOURCE 5 South Vietnamese General Nguyen Ngoc Loan, chief of the national police, shoots Viet Cong officer Nguyen Van Lem, also known as Bay Lop, on a Saigon street on 1 February 1968



SOURCE 6 This photo of people running from a napalm attack, with the young girl having had her clothes burnt off, was very powerful in turning public opinion against the Vietnam War.



DID YOU KNOW?

One of the founders of the Save our Sons movement was Jean McLean. Ms McLean was one of five SOS members who were arrested and sent to prison in April 1971 on a charge of wilful trespass, after they handed out anti-conscription leaflets at government offices in Melbourne. Ms McLean later became a Labor member of the Victorian Parliament and served from 1985 until 1999.

DISCUSS

Civilians harmed in a war have been euphemistically referred to as 'collateral damage'. Discuss the use of such language to refer to death and injury to innocent civilians caught up in a war zone. **[Ethical Capability]**

8.8.3 Opposition intensifies

Opposition to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War sprung from two broad sources — opposition to the war itself, and opposition to conscription and the deployment of conscripts to Vietnam. Interestingly enough, opinion polls regularly showed that the majority of Australians were actually against sending conscripts to Vietnam, even though they supported Australia's participation in the war (see **SOURCE 7**). It

would seem that opposition to sending conscripts was not strong enough in the minds of most people to cause them to oppose the war completely.

SOURCE 7 Opinion polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam (figures are rounded to whole numbers)

Poll date	Send to Vietnam (%)	Keep in Australia (%)	Undecided (%)
Dec 1965	37	52	11
Feb 1966	32	57	11
Apr 1966	38	49	13
July 1966	38	52	10
Dec 1966	37	52	11
Aug 1967	42	49	9

Source: Peter Cook, *Australia and Vietnam 1965–1972*, La Trobe University Melbourne, 1991, p. 29.

In addition to the Labor Party and groups such as SOS, many religious groups, trade unions, and university students and academics were opposed to Australia's military involvement in Vietnam. These groups had opposed the war before the 1966 election, but were still small in number at that time. In the early days of anti-war activity, protestors were often characterised as being unpatriotic, un-Australian and communist sympathisers. This attitude was even applied to members of SOS, most of whom were concerned mothers. Many were abused, insulted, sworn at and called 'bad mothers' or 'neglectful wives', despite the fact that their protests were always carried out peacefully.

Throughout the period from 1967 to 1969, the anti-war movement grew in strength and, by August 1969, Australian public opinion appeared to have turned against Australia's military involvement in Vietnam (see **SOURCE 8**). By 1969, groups opposing the war had increased in number and had improved their organisation and coordination to be able to organise nationwide mass protests, known as the **moratorium** marches. These were scheduled to be held in early 1970, and were aimed at having the largest possible numbers participate in a march through the centre of each of the state capital cities.

SOURCE 8 Public opinion polls on attitudes to the war in Vietnam (figures rounded to whole numbers)

Poll date	Continue to fight (%)	Withdraw troops (%)	Undecided (%)
Sept 1965	56	28	16
Sept 1966	61	27	12
May 1967	62	24	14
Oct 1968	54	38	8
Dec 1968	49	37	14
April 1969	48	40	12
Aug 1969	40	55	5
Oct 1969	39	51	10
Oct 1970	42	50	8

In the meantime, the 1969 federal election largely reversed the results of the election of 1966. The ALP, led by Gough Whitlam, went from 41 seats in the House of Representatives to 59, while the

Liberal–Country Party Coalition dropped from 82 seats to 66. The Vietnam War was not as dominant an issue in the election as it had been in 1966, as the Australian government had already begun following the American lead and reducing the number of troops in Vietnam. Nevertheless, it was still a sufficiently important issue to have influenced the decision of many voters. The Labor Party was seen as the major party of opposition to the war, while the Coalition was seen as the party that had committed Australia to an unwinnable and unnecessary conflict. If public opinion had remained strongly in favour of the war, it is unlikely that the election swing of 1969 would have occurred.

In 1970 and 1971, moratorium marches took place across Australia. They are generally regarded as the largest protest marches to have occurred in Australia up to that time. On 8 May 1970, approximately 150 000 people joined protests across all capital cities. It is estimated that the Melbourne march alone drew a crowd of around 100 000 (see **SOURCE 9**). Further marches were held on 18 September 1970, and 30 June 1971, both of which attracted crowds of more than 100 000 nationwide. It is difficult to assess the significance of the moratorium marches as the withdrawal of Australian troops had already begun in 1969, and the last soldiers came home in 1972. Just as Australia had followed the US into Vietnam, when the American government began withdrawing its forces, Australia did likewise. The moratorium marches certainly gave those opposed to the war an opportunity to express their views, and provided the government with good reason to disengage from Vietnam as quickly as possible.

SOURCE 9 Marchers outside the Melbourne Town Hall in May 1970, protesting against Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War



on Resources

Video eLesson Melbourne moratorium against Vietnam War (eles-2624)

8.8.4 The longer-term consequences

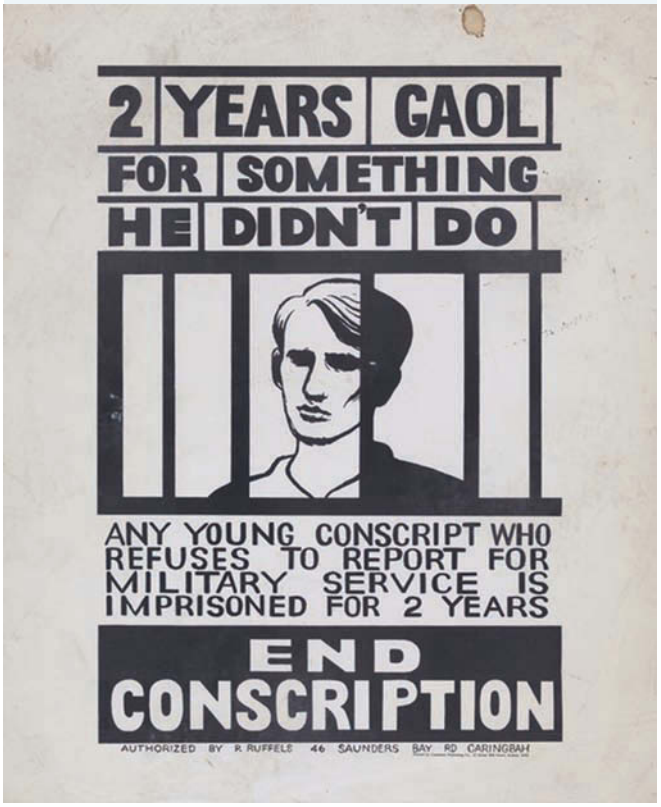
The Vietnam War led many Australians to question old certainties, particularly the need to fight communism. The Communist Party in Australia had split into a number of different parties during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and each one had a relatively small membership. The South-East Asian countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia all gained communist governments in the 1970s, but these were all locally based, and communism did not spread any further as the domino theory had predicted. The threat that had played so heavily on the minds of many since the late 1940s no longer seemed to carry any real danger.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1968, a young journalist, Simon Townsend, declared himself a conscientious objector to national service. He spent two months in prison before being exempted. He went on to work in television, and is most famous for his children's program *Simon Townsend's Wonder World*, shown on Channel 10 each weekday from 1979 until 1986.

The target group for conscription was the young men of the baby boomer generation — the group born in the period following the end of World War II. This generation was to become the most well-educated group in Australia's history to that time, with larger percentages finishing school and attending university than any previous generation. Much of the music and culture of the 1960s encouraged a questioning of previous values and habits, and many of this generation were more willing to challenge authority than had previously been the case. Some young men defied the law by refusing to register for conscription, in some cases choosing to go to jail rather than participate in the war (see **SOURCE 10**). Young men and women were prepared to challenge authority in a way that had rarely been seen during the twentieth century in Australia. Many who had been active in the anti-war protests became involved in other campaigns for social change, such as the environmental movement, during the 1970s.

SOURCE 10 An anti-conscription poster from the late 1960s



Source: Australian War memorial ARTV09198

A large protest movement developed in opposition to the war, holding some of the largest protest marches ever seen in Australia. Many people who had not been previously particularly interested in politics began to take an active role. Membership of Save Our Sons changed the views of many women. Although they often came from middle-class, Liberal-voting suburbs, many found that their political allegiances changed though their political involvement. Many became involved in political activities for the first time, and gained the confidence and ability to speak out on issues that concerned them (see **SOURCE 11**). The women's movement of the 1970s may well have been boosted by the heightened political activism of women who took part in the anti-war movement.

In April 1995, 20 years after the North Vietnamese victory and 30 years after Prime Minister Menzies had committed the first combat troops to Vietnam, an opinion poll found that 55 per cent of Australians believed that it had been wrong for Australia to become involved in the Vietnam War, while only 30 per cent believed that it had been the correct decision. Malcolm Fraser, who became prime minister in 1975, was Minister for the Army from 1966 to 1968 and Minister for Defence from November 1969 to March 1971. In these roles he had ministerial responsibility for the deployment of Australian troops in Vietnam. In his later years he declared on a number of occasions that the Australian involvement in Vietnam was a mistake that should never have occurred, and even published a book in 2014 questioning the value of Australia's military alliance with the United States.

SOURCE 11 This Save Our Sons float took part in the 1967 May Day parade.



on Resources

Video eLesson Fighting conscription 1966 (eles-2626)

8.8 ACTIVITY

Opposition to the war meant that ex-servicemen returning from Vietnam were not treated as heroes in the way veterans of previous wars had been. The Vietnam Veterans Association of Australia was established in 1980 to lobby the government for financial compensation and political recognition of its members. Research this group and write a report that considers:

a. why such a group was perceived to be needed.
b. what this group has achieved for Vietnam veterans.

Identifying continuity and change

8.8 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.8 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why would the alliance with the United States have been an important factor in our involvement in Vietnam?
2. **HS1** In what ways did the issue of Vietnam influence the outcome of the 1966 federal election?
3. **HS1** Identify and explain two reasons why many people were opposed to any Australian involvement in the war in Vietnam.
4. **HS1** In what ways did the issue of conscription influence the views of many in relation to the war?
5. **HS1** Identify three groups in Australian society that took an active role in the anti-war movement in the late 1960s.
6. **HS1** What does the 1969 election result tell us about changing attitudes to Australia's involvement in Vietnam?
7. **HS1** Explain how the consequences of the Vietnam War led to a reassessment of Australia's fears about communism.
8. **HS1** What impact did the Vietnam War and the issue of conscription have on the attitudes of many of the baby boomer generation?

8.8 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** From an examination of **SOURCE 1**, outline three reasons why large numbers of people in Australia in the 1960s would have believed that it was possible for our forces to achieve military success in Vietnam.
2. **HS3** From **SOURCE 2**, identify the three false assumptions that Arthur Calwell believed were behind the government's decision to send troops to Vietnam.
3. **HS3** In what ways is the message of **SOURCE 3** similar to the message of the domino theory?
4. **HS3** What message were the participants in the vigil in **SOURCE 4** attempting to convey to government?
5. **HS3** What did the action captured in **SOURCE 5** tell us about the nature of the regime Australia was supporting in South Vietnam? How might this have influenced public opinion in Australia?
6. **HS3** Why might the image in **SOURCE 6** have increased opposition to Australia's involvement in Vietnam?
7. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 7.**
   (a) At which time was support for sending conscripts to Vietnam at its greatest level?
   (b) At which time was it at its lowest level?
   (c) Despite the fact that these figures show no apparent trend, what would you expect the percentages to show by mid-1969?
8. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 8**. Identify the period during which public opinion changed from majority support to majority opposition to Australia's involvement in Vietnam.
9. **HS3** How significant was the moratorium march shown in **SOURCE 9** in ending Australia's participation in the Vietnam War?
10. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 10**. What aspect of the conscription laws is the author using to promote the end of conscription?
11. **HS3** The Save Our Sons movement as depicted in **SOURCE 11** was founded and led by women. How might the participation in activities such as those shown in this source have influenced the political views of these women?

12. **HS4** In what ways did Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War change many of the attitudes that existed in Australia in previous generations?
13. **HS6** Identify and explain two lessons that you believe Australia should have learnt from its involvement in Vietnam.

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8.9 'It's time' — the Whitlam victory in 1972

8.9.1 Australian politics in 1972

In 1972, Australia had been governed by the Liberal–Country Party Coalition for 23 years. In many people's eyes this government had become stale and lacking in ideas for Australia's future direction. On 2 December 1972, the Australian Labor Party, led by Gough Whitlam, was elected to government with a bold platform of social change.

The election of the Whitlam government ushered in a tumultuous period in Australian political history. The government suffered a number of political crises, culminating in the ultimate crisis — being dismissed by the governor-general in November 1975. Whitlam government ministers were impatient in wanting to implement change. The first 18 months of the new government were a time of feverish activity, when many past practices were overturned.

By 1972, Australia had been governed by the Liberal–Country Party Coalition since 1949. Prime Minister William McMahon had held the position only since March 1971. He was the third Liberal prime minister since the retirement of Robert Menzies in January 1966. Prime Minister Harold Holt, who succeeded Menzies, drowned near Portsea south of Melbourne in December 1967. At that time McMahon was deputy leader of the Liberal Party and was expected to become prime minister. Unfortunately for McMahon, the leader of the Country Party, John McEwen, declared that his party would no longer serve in coalition with the Liberal Party if McMahon became prime minister. On Monday, 18 December, the day after Holt disappeared, McEwen gave the Governor-General an ultimatum that he would not serve in a government led by McMahon. McEwen also told McMahon he would not serve under him because he did not trust him. Then, after securing the Country Party ministers' agreement, McEwen made his position public. The Liberal Party selected John Gorton as its leader and he became prime minister in January 1968. The government led by Gorton suffered a huge swing against it in the 1969 election and many in his party began to doubt his leadership abilities. McMahon challenged Gorton for party leadership following the election, but was unsuccessful. When McEwen retired from parliament in 1971, the new leader of the Country Party, Doug Anthony, removed the veto over serving with McMahon. In March 1971, Defence Minister Malcolm Fraser resigned from his ministerial position and stood up in parliament to declare that Gorton was 'not fit to hold the great office of prime minister' (see **SOURCE 1**). This led to a leadership challenge and McMahon became Liberal Party leader and prime minister. Although the Menzies era had been considered a period of great stability in Australian government, by 1972 the government appeared divided, and lacking in direction and leadership. The frequent changes in leadership, tension between the Coalition partners and apparent divisions within the Liberal Party had been reflected in opinion polls throughout 1972, with McMahon's approval rating at only 28 per cent.

SOURCE 1 Malcolm Fraser explains his reasons for resigning from his ministerial position, *Hansard*, 9 March 1971

I have now done so as a result of what I have regarded as the Prime Minister's disloyalty to a senior Minister. The Prime Minister, because of his unreasoned drive to get his own way, his obstinacy, impetuous and emotional reactions, has imposed strains upon the Liberal Party, the Government and the Public Service. I do not believe he is fit to hold the great office of Prime Minister, and I cannot serve in his Government.

8.9.2 The ‘It’s time’ campaign

In contrast to the position of the Liberal–Country Party Coalition, the Labor Party appeared united behind leader Gough Whitlam. Whitlam had spent the period since taking over the leadership in 1967 reforming many parts of the Labor Party to make it more appealing to non-traditional Labor voters. The Labor Party’s 1972 campaign slogan, ‘It’s time’, is generally considered to be one of the most effective slogans ever used in an Australian election. The 1972 Labor Party theme song stressed the need for a new direction in politics and promised to tackle issues in a fresh, creative manner to take the country into an exciting future (see **SOURCES 2** and **3**). For many voters, Gough Whitlam was a dynamic, forward-looking leader. He was a brilliant speaker, well educated, with the charisma to inspire confidence and enthusiasm among the voting public. He promised a whole range of sweeping changes that would transform the nation (see **SOURCE 4**). To the elation of its supporters, the Labor Party won the election held on 2 December with 67 seats in the House of Representatives to the Coalition’s 58 seats. Twenty-three years of conservative government in Australia had come to an end.

SOURCE 2 Gough Whitlam with entertainer Little Pattie and the message of his party’s successful 1972 election campaign: ‘It’s time’



SOURCE 3 ‘It’s time’ jingle, as sung by Allison McCallum

Time for freedom, time for moving,
It’s time to begin, yes it’s time
Time for old folks, time we loved them,
It’s time to care, yes it’s time
Time for children, time to teach them,
Time it was free, yes it’s time
Time for loving, time for caring,
It’s time to move, yes it’s time
Time for better days to be here,
It’s time we moved, yes it’s time

SOURCE 4 Gough Whitlam’s campaign speech delivered at Bankstown Civic Centre in western Sydney on 13 November 1972. Quoted by G. Freudenberg Whitlam’s speechwriter in *A Certain Grandeur*, Sun Books, 1978, pp. 229–38.

Men and Women of Australia!

The decision we will make for our country on 2 December is a choice between the past and the future, between the habits and fears of the past and the demands and opportunities of the future ... It’s time for a new government — a Labor government ...

Our programme has three great aims. They are:

- to promote equality
- to involve the people of Australia in the decision-making processes of our land
- to liberate the talents and uplift the horizons of the Australian people ...

Under a Labor government, Commonwealth spending on schools and teacher training will be the fastest expanding sector of Budget expenditure ... We will abolish fees at universities and colleges of advanced education ... We intend to raise the basic pension rate to 25 per cent of average weekly earnings ... We will establish a universal health insurance system ... We will establish a Prices Justification Tribunal ... We will change the emphasis in migration from government to family reunion and to retaining migrants already here ... We are determined to reverse the trend towards foreign control of Australian resources ... We will abolish conscription forthwith ... We will legislate to give Aborigines land rights ...

DID YOU KNOW?

In addition to Little Pattie, other well-known show business and sporting celebrities of the time participated in the 'It's time' video. They included actors Jack Thompson, Jacki Weaver, Lynette Curran and Terry Norris; TV presenters Graham Kennedy and Bert Newton; and singers Col Joye, Judy Stone and Barry Crocker. As is the case today, it was very rare for well-known entertainers to openly support a political party. The video was also interspersed with photographs of Gough Whitlam at various stage of his life.

on Resources

Weblinks 'It's time' speech

'It's time' jingle

8.9.3 Early successes of the Whitlam government

The election result would not be finalised until 15 December, so it would not be possible to finalise membership of the new ministry until then. Instead of waiting for the final election result, Whitlam and his deputy leader, Lance Barnard, formed a two-person Cabinet, dividing the government **portfolios** between them and implementing a wide variety of decisions to put their program into effect. These included:

- abolishing conscription
- withdrawing the last remaining Australian troops from Vietnam
- release from prison of seven young men who had refused to be conscripted
- banning from South Africa sporting teams that had been selected on racial grounds
- instructing Australia's delegates at the United Nations to vote in favour of sanctions against South Africa for its **apartheid** policies
- official recognition of the People's Republic of China, which the previous government had refused to recognise because it was communist. The Coalition had officially recognised the Guomindang regime on Taiwan as the official government of China for the previous 23 years.
- the establishment of a Commission to investigate Indigenous land rights
- the establishment of an interim Schools Commission
- removal of sales tax on the contraceptive pill, to make it cheaper for women
- re-opening the equal pay case for women before the Arbitration Commission, and the appointment of a woman to that commission.

SOURCE 5 Whitlam and his deputy, Lance Barnard, formed a two-person ministry for the first two weeks of the new government.



DID YOU KNOW?

During the apartheid era in South Africa, sporting teams travelling to other countries were selected on racial grounds. In the winter of 1971, a tour of Australia by the South African rugby team led to protests, demonstrations, and a refusal by six Australian players to compete against the South Africans. The McMahon government refused to act on the issue, but once the Whitlam government was elected, a ban on all official Australian sporting contacts with South Africa was imposed, which lasted until the early 1990s, when apartheid was abolished.

Once the full ministry had been appointed, the new government continued the rapid pace of implementing its program. Over the next year or so, the following policies were implemented:

- the establishment of an ongoing Schools Commission to administer the payment of additional funding to schools through programs such as the Disadvantaged Schools Program
- the abolition of all fees for higher education
- the establishment of the Tertiary Education Assistance Scheme to provide means-tested financial support to tertiary students
- the creation of the first Office of Women's Affairs to promote gender equality, and the appointment of a women's adviser to the prime minister
- the introduction of a supporting mother's benefit for single mothers not entitled to a widow's pension
- the establishment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Land Rights in Federal Territories
- the granting of funds to establish the Northern and Central Land Councils and to gain legal support for land rights claims. Whitlam had visited Aboriginal activists protesting in front of Parliament House in February 1972 (see **SOURCE 6**).
- abolition of the death penalty for all federal crimes
- the establishment of Legal Aid offices in all states to assist those who had to go to court, but could not afford a lawyer
- lowering of the voting age for federal elections from 21 to 18 years
- the establishment of the Department of Urban Development to fund the installation of sewerage pipes in outer suburban areas that had previously been unsewered
- setting up a process for providing direct financial grants to local councils for a variety of projects
- the beginnings of multiculturalism in Australia through the abolition of what remained of the White Australia policy and promotion of the idea that people of different backgrounds should not have to abandon their cultural heritage in order to participate in the life of their adopted country
- commencement of legal action in the International Court of Justice to prevent France from testing nuclear weapons in the South Pacific
- granting self-government to Papua New Guinea, which had been governed as an Australian territory since 1920.

DID YOU KNOW?

France began atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons on Mururoa atoll in the Pacific Ocean in 1966. Many nations in the Pacific region objected to this and, in 1973, the Whitlam government in Australia and the Labour government of New Zealand took action in the International Court of Justice to stop the testing. The case was finalised when the French government agreed to stop atmospheric testing in 1974 and only continue with underground tests.

Despite the clear mandate from the voters to implement its promises, the Whitlam Government often met with obstruction in the Senate, where it did not have a majority of seats. By early 1974, the Opposition in the Senate, with the help of the DLP, had blocked 19 pieces of legislation, six of them twice. Before long, it would force the government to an early election.

SOURCE 6 Gough Whitlam and Kep Enderby, federal member for the ACT, meeting with Aboriginal activists in front of Parliament House in February 1972



8.9 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.9 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Outline two examples of apparent divisions within the Liberal Party in the late 1960s and early 1970s.
2. **HS1** Why might this government have been seen to be lacking in direction?
3. **HS2** Using information in the text, create a timeline showing the events leading from Harold Holt's death to William McMahon becoming prime minister of Australia.
4. **HS1** What actions had Gough Whitlam taken in the late 1960s to make the Labor Party more appealing to traditional non-Labor voters?
5. **HS1** Outline some of the personal characteristics that made Whitlam appear such an effective leader.
6. **HS1** Why might it be so significant for Australia that 23 years of conservative government had come to an end?
7. **HS1** Identify two actions carried out by the two-person ministry of Whitlam and Barnard that were directly related to promises made during the election campaign (refer to **SOURCE 4**).
8. **HS1** What changes did the Whitlam government make in its first 18 months that were of benefit to:
   (a) Australians under 25 years of age
   (b) women
   (c) Aboriginal Australians?

8.9 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** What does John McEwan's refusal to serve under William McMahon tell us about potential problems within the Liberal–Country Party in the late 1960s?
2. **HS3** Identify the faults that Malcolm Fraser accused John Gorton of displaying in **SOURCE 1**. In your opinion, what does this suggest about the character of Malcolm Fraser?
3. **HS3** What image was Gough Whitlam trying to convey in the publicity photo shown in **SOURCE 2**?
4. **HS3** Describe the message of the 'It's time' campaign as shown in **SOURCE 3**.
5. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 4**. What were the three 'great aims' Whitlam proposed?
6. **HS1** Identify the significant groups in Australia that Whitlam sought to address in **SOURCE 4**.
7. **HS3** What message would Gough Whitlam have wanted to convey in **SOURCE 6**? Consider how powerful this image is in conveying this message. What is the value of such a source to a historian researching this period of Australian history?
8. **HS4** Outline three actions of the Whitlam government that were directly opposite to the policies of the previous government.
9. **HS4** Identify four ways in which the Whitlam government demonstrated its intention to make further changes to Australian society in the future.
10. **HS5** Discuss three reasons why you believe Whitlam and the Labor Party were successful in winning the 1972 election after 23 years in opposition.

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8.10 The Whitlam dismissal, 1975

8.10.1 The 1974 election

Over time, the Whitlam government experienced mounting problems and, in October 1975, a political crisis erupted when the Senate refused to pass legislation that would allow the government to spend money raised in taxes. After several weeks of drama, on 11 November the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the Whitlam government and appointed Liberal Party leader Malcolm Fraser as caretaker prime minister. Fraser won the election called for 13 December 1975 and the Labor Party lost 30 of its 66 seats.

However, the Whitlam government's problems had started well before the dismissal in 1975. Less than 18 months after the December 1972 election, the Whitlam government found itself going back to the voters to seek support to continue its policies. The election arose through a number of factors.

The senate situation

Australian voters today are used to Senate elections occurring at the same time as House of Representatives elections. This was not the case for much of the 1960s and early 1970s. When Prime Minister Menzies called an election a year early in 1963, only a House of Representatives election was held. This meant that regular half-Senate elections were held in 1964, 1967 and 1970, with new Senators taking up their positions from 1 July of the following year in each case. This meant that a Senate election was due to be held in the first half of 1974, before 1 July, when half the Senators' terms would expire.

The threat to block supply

Under the government budgetary processes that applied at the time, the government's annual budget was presented in August. The budget would allocate money to be spent for the remainder of the financial year, until 30 June of the following year. This meant that the government would have to present legislation to grant it the right to spend money (known as 'supply') for the first months of the new financial year, from 1 July to mid-August. This was usually done in April in preparation for the new financial year. In April 1974, the Liberal–Country Party Opposition in the Senate used its numbers to postpone a vote on these supply bills, in the hope of forcing Whitlam to hold a House of Representatives election along with the half-Senate election.

Double dissolution and joint sitting

Whitlam responded to the threats from the Senate by advising the Sir John Kerr, the Governor-General, to call a **double dissolution**, citing the six bills that had been twice rejected by the Senate as the grounds. The election was scheduled for 18 May and Whitlam campaigned on the basis of not having been given a chance to carry out his program, using the slogan 'Give Gough a Go'. The government was returned with a slightly reduced majority in the House of Representatives, but still no majority in the Senate. Although it had gained three additional Senators, it still only held 29 of the 60 Senate seats. Following the election loss of 1974, Liberal Party leader Billy Snedden was challenged for his position by Malcolm Fraser, but Snedden was able to win the party room vote.

Section 57 of the Australian Constitution allows for a joint sitting of the two houses of parliament to be held if the Senate continues to refuse to pass government legislation after a double dissolution election. Such a joint sitting was held on 6 and 7 August 1974, and it passed all six bills (see **SOURCE 1**). One of these was the legislation that allowed the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory to be represented in the Senate, while two other bills established the universal healthcare system, Medibank (now known as Medicare).

SOURCE 1 Gough Whitlam, speaking at the joint sitting of parliament, 6 August 1974

We are witnessing for the first time a Joint Sitting of the House of Representatives and the Senate of Australia. It is the first time that the members of both Houses have sat together as a single legislative body.

... It has come about because of the repeated refusal of the Senate to pass legislation which has been approved by the House of Representatives — the people's House, the House where alone governments are made and unmade. It has come about because despite two successive election victories by the Australian Labor Party, despite the clear endorsement by the Australian people at the elections only 11 weeks ago of the Party's policies and of the specific measures now before us, the Senate and the Opposition are still resolved to obstruct the Government's program and to frustrate the will of the people.

... The repeated rejection of this Bill is part of a pattern of obstruction adopted by the Opposition since the Australian Labor Government came to power. It has been rightly described by Sir Robert Menzies as a falsification of popular democracy. Writing in 1968, Sir Robert said:

It would be a falsification of democracy if on any matter of Government policy approved by the House of Representatives, possibly by a large majority, the Senate representing the States and not the people could reverse the decision.

DID YOU KNOW?

Campaign memorabilia from the Whitlam era has become collectable. T-shirts featuring the 'It's time' slogan (see subtopic 8.9 **SOURCE 2**) are the most sought after and can fetch $100 if in mint condition. Campaign badges for the 1974 election campaign featuring catch cries such as 'We want Gough', 'Give Gough a Go' and 'Shame, Fraser, shame' can be found online. Interest by collectors was stimulated by the death of Gough Whitlam in 2014 and the fortieth anniversary of the dismissal in 2015.

8.10.2 Difficulties and scandals

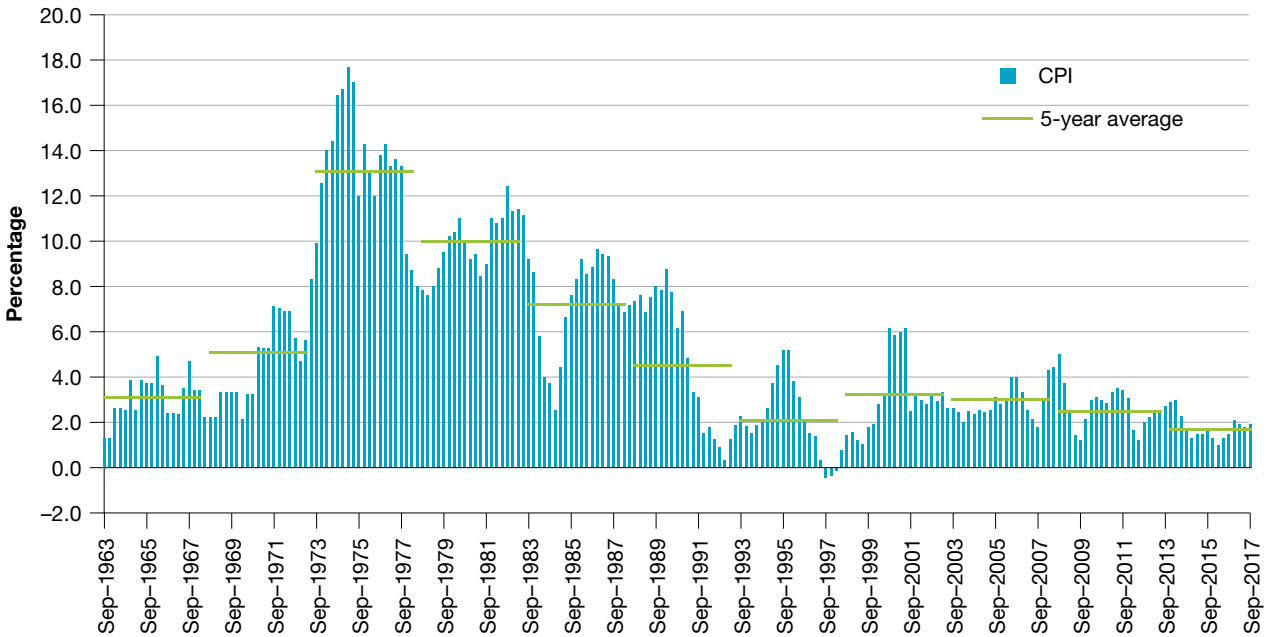
As the Whitlam government settled into its second term, a variety of challenges arose, as well as events regarded by many as government scandals. In March 1975, Malcolm Fraser again challenged Billy Snedden for the Liberal Party leadership and this time he was successful. He was to prove a more formidable opponent for Whitlam and was very successful at highlighting problems within the government.

Economic challenges

In October 1973, members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) imposed restrictions on the export of oil to western countries. This was in response to the USA's support of Israel in the Arab–Israeli War of that year. The restrictions on oil supply caused large increases in the international

price of oil so that by March 1974, the price of oil had quadrupled since the previous October. This rapid rise in oil prices led to problems of **inflation** within a number of western countries, including Australia. Australians had been used to an inflation rate of around 5 per cent in the early 1970s, but this rose rapidly after October 1973, eventually reaching as high as 18 per cent by early 1975 (see **SOURCE 2**). This rise in prices led to demands for wage increases, which in turn put pressure on business costs, further pushing up the inflation rate. The continued high rate of spending by the Whitlam government on its social program also contributed to the high inflation rate. Naturally the Opposition in parliament were quick to use these economic difficulties as a weapon against the government.

SOURCE 2 Australia's annual rate of inflation 1963–2017



Source: Source ABS 6401.0, RBA

Claims of 'impropriety'

In late 1974, the government sought to borrow $4 billion from overseas, through a dealer called Tirath Khemlani. The method of borrowing and the dealer engaged to arrange it were outside the normal channels for such a loan, and eventually the idea was abandoned. This became known as the Loans Affair, and it seriously harmed the reputation of the government, because it could be accused of doing secret deals and not following correct procedures. While this was happening, Whitlam was also forced to reshuffle his Cabinet several times. Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor was forced to resign because he had been the architect of the Loans Affair. In addition, Treasurer Jim Cairns was also required to resign, because he misled parliament over the Loans Affair, and because he was accused of having an extramarital affair with his private secretary. The government was beginning to take on an air of scandal. In early 1975, Whitlam offered his former deputy, Lance Barnard, a diplomatic post in Scandinavia, which led to a by-election in Barnard's seat of Bass in northern Tasmania. The by-election, held in June 1975, saw a swing of over 14 per cent to the Liberals in a seat that had been held by Labor for more than 35 of the previous 40 years.

Stacking the senate

After the 1974 election, the 60-member Senate included 29 ALP government senators, 29 Liberal–Country Party Coalition senators, and two independents, one of whom had previously been a Liberal politician in South Australia, while the other joined the Liberal Party in February 1975. So by early 1975, Whitlam

faced a Senate with half its members opposed to his government. In February 1975, Labor Senator Lionel Murphy resigned from the Senate to take up a position as a Justice on the High Court of Australia, creating a Senate vacancy in New South Wales. It had been accepted practice that when a Senate vacancy occurred, the relevant state government would appoint a person nominated by the same political party to fill the vacancy, but the Liberal Premier of NSW appointed an independent Senator. In June 1975, a Labor senator from Queensland died, and the Country Party premier of that state also refused to accept the nomination of the Labor Party to fill the vacancy. Instead he appointed a man named Albert Field, who was nominally a Labor Party member, but who was known to be anti-Whitlam. The ALP immediately expelled Field from the party, so he was effectively another independent. This meant that by mid 1975, the Labor government had only 27 Senators whose votes it could rely on, while the Opposition had 30.

8.10.3 The dismissal

In August 1975, Treasurer Bill Hayden presented the government's budget for 1975–76 to parliament. In order for the budget to be implemented it has to be voted on by both houses of parliament, so that 'supply' can be granted to the government. When the relevant bills came before the Senate on 16 October 1975, the Opposition decided to postpone a vote on them, hoping to force the government to hold an election. Opinion polling and the result in the Bass by-election in June had given Malcolm Fraser and the Coalition confidence that they could win such an election. The deadlock continued in parliament into early November, until the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, dismissed the government at around 1 pm on 11 November, appointed Malcolm Fraser as caretaker prime minister and called an election to be held on 13 December. By late afternoon in Canberra, a crowd had gathered outside Parliament House calling 'We want Gough' (see **SOURCE 3**). In other cities of Australia, students and unionists stormed Liberal Party headquarters and staged mass demonstrations protesting the sacking. The election campaign was one of the most bitterly fought in Australia's history. The Labor Party adopted the call from outside parliament on 11 November — 'We want Gough' — as its campaign slogan, and attempted to paint the Coalition as representing big business instead of ordinary people. The Liberal and National–Country Parties ran a campaign highlighting what they saw as the Labor government's failures. In the subsequent election, the Coalition led by Malcolm Fraser won 91 seats to Labor's 36 in the biggest landslide victory in Australia's history.

SOURCE 3 Shortly after the dismissal, Gough Whitlam appeared on the steps of Parliament House to deliver one of the most famous speeches in Australian political history.

Ladies and gentleman, well may we say God Save the Queen because nothing will save the Governor-General. The proclamation which you have just heard read by the Governor-General's official secretary was countersigned 'Malcolm Fraser', who will undoubtedly go down in Australian history from Remembrance Day 1975 as Kerr's cur.



on Resources

Video eLesson Powerful words: Gough Whitlam's dismissal speech (eles-2627)
Weblinks Dismissal speech
ABC podcast *The Eleventh*

SOURCE 4 The front pages of *The Courier Mail* and *The Australian* newspapers, 12 November 1975, reporting on the dismissal of Gough Whitlam and the forthcoming election


The Courier-Mail

BRISBANE, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1975

"Well may we say God save the Queen, because nothing will save the Governor-General"

"The Governor-General has acted in accordance with his duty under the Constitution"

SACKING, FURY, NOW TO ELECTIONS

Govt. House gate clash

On Dec. 13

'Dirty' campaign tip

Group will take charge

'Never by the Queen'


THE AUSTRALIAN

"It is for the people now to decide the issue which the two leaders have failed to settle"

"Well may we say God save the Queen. Because nothing will save the Governor-General"

IT'S DECEMBER 13

That was the day that was

Whitlam fury aimed at Kerr as Fraser takes over

Sacking sparks a boom in shares

Protesters in fierce brawls with police

Strikers defy Hawke call for restraint

8.10.4 Was the dismissal justified?

The dismissal of the Whitlam government was a political crisis that came to be one of the most hotly debated issues in recent Australian history. Was it appropriate for a democratically elected government to be dismissed in this way by an unelected governor-general? On the other hand, were the voters not entitled to pass judgement on a government mired in scandal and controversy? In assessing the different views on the dismissal, the following points can be considered:

- The governor-general has the constitutional power to dismiss a government. Sections 62 and 64 of the Australian Constitution give the governor-general the power to appoint any member of parliament to the position of minister, including prime minister, and to dismiss a member from holding that position. The normal convention is that those holding these positions will be appointed from the party that has a majority of seats in the House of Representatives, although this is not specified in the Constitution.
- The governor-general is expected to act on the advice of his or her ministers. Section 63 of the Constitution refers to the governor-general acting in this way. This would generally mean that the advice of the prime minister or another minister should take precedence over any other advice a governor-general might seek from any other person.
- In order to break the deadlock over supply between the two houses of parliament, Prime Minister Whitlam proposed holding an election for half the Senate, which would have allowed the two new senators from each of the territories to be elected. He advised Governor-General Sir John Kerr of this on 11 November and that he would follow his advice. Instead, John Kerr told Whitlam that he would be withdrawing his commission as prime minister and appointing Malcolm Fraser as caretaker prime minister.
- On 19 October 1975, Kerr contacted Whitlam asking for his approval to consult with the Chief Justice of the High Court, Sir Garfield Barwick, on the constitutional issues arising from the deadlock over

supply. Whitlam refused, believing that the Governor-General was required to follow the advice of his ministers, not that of the Chief Justice. Kerr sought Barwick's opinion anyway, initially in secret, although the Chief Justice released his advice publicly a week after the dismissal. Barwick's position was that the governor-general had a duty to dismiss a prime minister who could not guarantee supply (see **SOURCE 5**).

- In addition to seeking the advice of Chief Justice Barwick, Kerr had for some months also sought the advice of another High Court Justice, Sir Anthony Mason, in relation to the constitutional powers of a governor-general to dismiss a prime minister. Kerr had done this without even seeking Whitlam's approval. Mason later maintained that he had advised Kerr that he had the power to dismiss the prime minister, but that he had an obligation to warn Whitlam beforehand of his intentions (see **SOURCE 6**).
- Kerr was unwilling to warn Whitlam that he was considering dismissing him. The appointment of the governor-general is made by the Queen, acting on the advice of the prime minister of Australia. Kerr feared that if he warned Whitlam of his intentions, Whitlam would request that the Queen withdraw his commission as Governor-General.
- At the time of the dismissal, both Malcolm Fraser and Sir John Kerr claimed that Fraser had not known of Kerr's plan to dismiss Whitlam until the time that it actually happened. This has now been shown to be untrue. Some writers have asserted that Kerr was in contact with Fraser for at least a week before the dismissal. In June 2006, Fraser signed a statutory declaration confirming that he had taken a phone call from Kerr at 9.55 am on 11 November 1975 in which Kerr warned him of his plan to dismiss Whitlam, and discussed the conditions under which he would appoint Fraser as caretaker prime minister (quoted in Kelly, P. and Bramston, T., *The Dismissal*, 2015, p. 23).
- Irrespective of the rights and wrongs of the dismissal, many would argue that the people had the final say on the issue through their votes on 13 December at the election. The huge swing against the government would support the view that Sir John Kerr made the correct decision.
- Others would argue that an election was not due until May 1977, and that the government should have had an opportunity to run its full term before being judged by the voters. It could be argued that the opposition led by Malcolm Fraser was being opportunistic in forcing an election at a time when the government was facing difficulties.

SOURCE 5 Barwick's written advice to Kerr on 9 November 1975

... a Prime Minister who cannot ensure supply to the Crown, including funds for carrying on the ordinary services of Government, must either advise a general election ... or resign. If, being unable to secure supply, he refuses to take either course, Your Excellency has the constitutional authority to withdraw his Commission as Prime Minister.

(Quoted in Kelly, P. and Bramston, T., *The Dismissal*, 2015)

SOURCE 6 Article by Sir Anthony Mason, published in Fairfax newspapers, 27 August 2012

In his writings since 9 November 1975, Sir John has strongly defended his decision not to warn Mr Whitlam. Although he did not discuss his reasons for that decision with me before or after the dismissal, my impression is that Sir John thought that warning the prime minister might lead to Her Majesty becoming embroiled in the Australian constitutional controversy and that he wanted to avoid such an outcome.

Despite my disagreement with Sir John's account of events and his decision not to warn the Prime Minister, I consider that Sir John was subjected to unjustified vilification for making the decision which he made. I consider and have always considered that Sir John acted consistently with his duty except in so far as he had a duty to warn the Prime Minister of his intended action and he did not do so.

Even after more than 40 years, and the deaths of Gough Whitlam in 2014 and Malcolm Fraser in 2015, opinion remains divided on the issue of the dismissal, although most would agree that the events of November 1975 represent a major political crisis in Australian history.

8.10 ACTIVITY

Research the careers of Gough Whitlam, Malcolm Fraser and Sir John Kerr in the years following the dismissal to describe how each was affected in the longer term by their actions at the time.

Determining historical significance

8.10 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.10 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** Why was it necessary to hold a half-Senate election before 30 June 1974?
2. **HS1** What are 'supply' bills?
3. **HS1** What did the Opposition hope to achieve by refusing to pass the supply bills in April 1974?
4. **HS1** Outline two key changes that came about as a result of the joint sitting of parliament in August 1974.
5. **HS1** The Whitlam government was confronted with a major economic challenge during 1974–75.
   (a) What was this challenge?
   (b) Why had this problem arisen?
6. **HS1** Identify and explain two ways in which the Whitlam government appeared to be involved in scandals by 1975.
7. **HS1** Why were Senate numbers a serious problem for the government by mid-1975?
8. **HS1** Refer to section 8.10.1 to answer the following questions.
   (a) Why did the Coalition parties decide to postpone the Senate vote on supply?
   (b) What made the Coalition parties believe they could win an election if one were held at that time?
   (c) How did Governor-General Kerr resolve the deadlock?
9. **HS1** What was the result of the election held in December 1975?
10. **HS1** Identify and explain two arguments that could be put forward in favour of the dismissal of Gough Whitlam by Sir John Kerr in November 1975.
11. **HS1** What are two arguments that could be put against the fairness and legitimacy of the dismissal?

8.10 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 1**.
   (a) What accusation is Whitlam directing at the Opposition parties?
   (b) Why do you think Whitlam quoted Robert Menzies in his speech?
2. **HS3** Examine **SOURCE 2**.
   (a) What was the five-year average rate of inflation at the time of the election of the Whitlam government?
   (b) When did the inflation rate peak at almost 18 per cent?
   (c) What was the inflation rate by September 1975?
   (d) During what period did the five-year average finally drop below 10 per cent?
   (e) Why would soaring inflation rates as shown in the graph represent a problem for a government?
3. **HS3** Study **SOURCE 3**.
   (a) Describe what is happening and explain the significance of this photograph for Australia's political history.
   (b) What do you think Whitlam meant when he declared that 'nothing will save the Governor-General'?
   (c) What is a cur? Why do you think Whitlam used this term in reference to Malcolm Fraser?
4. **HS3** According to **SOURCE 5**, what grounds did Sir Garfield Barwick believe that the Governor-General had to dismiss Whitlam?
5. **HS3** From **SOURCE 6**, explain what Sir Anthony Mason believes Sir John Kerr should have done before dismissing Whitlam.
6. **HS3** Even though Kerr did not follow Mason's advice completely, what is Mason's view of the dismissal?
7. **HS5** It has been argued that leaders of the Liberal Party believed that they were the natural party of government in Australia, and had never been able to accept being defeated in 1972 or 1974. Explain whether or not you agree with this suggestion, and provide reasons and examples to back up your opinion.
8. **HS2** To what extent do you believe that the Whitlam government was ultimately responsible for its own fate and lost government because of its mistakes and scandals? Compile a timeline of the key events of the Whitlam period (1972–75) to assist you with this task.

9. **HS6** Almost every participant in the dismissal of the Whitlam government has written an account from their own point of view. Historians and political journalists have produced dozens of books on the subject, which makes it is one of the most intensely scrutinised events in Australian political history. Consider the following:
   (a) What impact did the dismissal have on the Australian public at the time?
   (b) Was the dismissal of the Whitlam government 'an attack on democracy' as some portrayed it at the time? Give reasons for your answer.
   (c) Since 1981, governments in Australia have held a majority in the Senate for only one brief period, from 2005 to 2008, and yet there has never been another dismissal. What do you think this tells us about the long-term legacy of the events of that time?

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8.11 The Whitlam legacy

8.11.1 Domestic legacy

After decades of very slow and minimal change in government activity in Australia, the Whitlam era saw almost revolutionary change in almost every aspect of Australian life. To many people, such change was considered unnecessary and possibly even dangerous. When the pace of change is so rapid, mistakes can easily be made, and it may not be so surprising that the Whitlam era ended in political crisis. Nevertheless, many of the changes of the Whitlam government proved to be permanent and have endured to this day.

In addition to the changes mentioned in section 8.9.3, the Whitlam government achieved many other reforms and advances in domestic policy that still influence us today:

- It substantially increased federal government spending on higher education. During its time in government, it increased government grants by 348 per cent and student assistance by 98 per cent. From 1969 until to the end of the Whitlam era, government spending on higher education doubled.
- The funding of universities and colleges of advanced education became a Commonwealth Government responsibility from the beginning of 1974. The Whitlam government began the process of setting up Deakin University in Geelong and put additional funding into a variety of specialised university programs, such as the funding of a pioneering Faculty of Medicine at Newcastle University.
- Whitlam took the view that education was a public benefit and that expenditure on education would not just help individuals get better qualifications, but would provide a boost to the nation as a whole. In the early 1950s, the Commonwealth Government had provided 2 per cent of education funding across the nation, with the balance coming from state governments. By the early 1960s the Commonwealth's contribution had risen to around 9 per cent. The Whitlam government introduced the most dramatic increases to education funding in Australia's history to that time, so that by 1975–76, Commonwealth funding for education had risen to almost 42 per cent.
- The establishment of a universal healthcare system is a lasting legacy of the Whitlam era. The legislation establishing the first scheme was passed by the joint sitting of parliament in August 1974 and was known as Medibank. It saw the introduction of bulk billing for visits to the doctor, the expansion of community health services and treatment for no charge in public hospitals. In 1981, the Fraser government effectively abolished universal health cover by converting Medibank into a medical insurance fund. In 1983, the Labor Party under the leadership of Bob Hawke promised to re-introduce a universal health scheme and was successful in defeating the Fraser government. Universal health cover was reintroduced in 1984 under the name of Medicare, and it has remained as an important part of our health system ever since.
- The Whitlam government ended a number of discriminatory practices related to immigration and citizenship. People from anywhere in the world could apply for a tourist visa to visit Australia, removing the previously discriminatory practice of giving preference to tourists from northern Europe

and North America. The Citizenship Act was reformed to remove the provisions that had given immigrants from the United Kingdom precedence over Asians and other nationalities when applying to take up Australian citizenship. The government also encouraged support for non-English-speaking migrants through the creation of radio programs in community languages, establishing migrant education centres and funding the provision of multilingual welfare officers and interpreters for emergency telephone services.

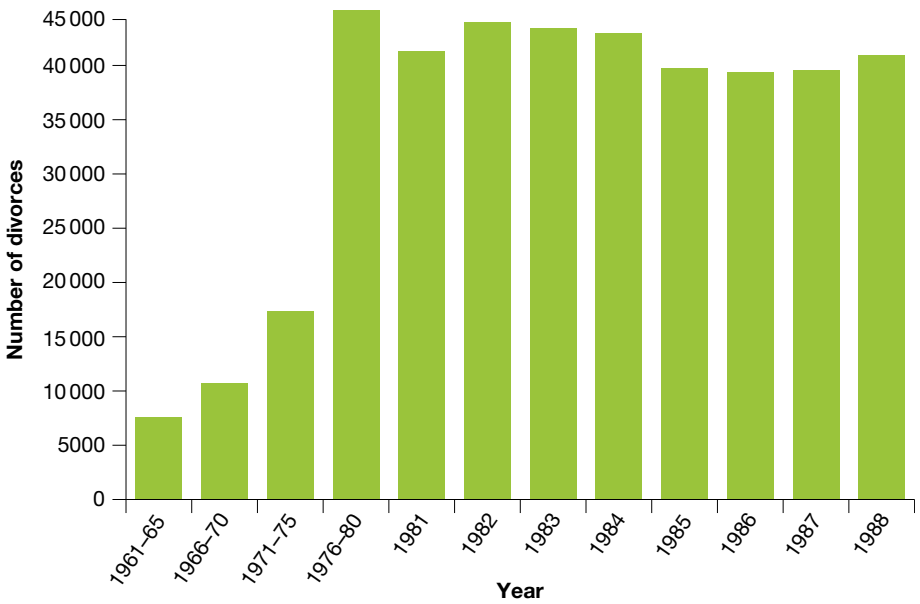
- In 1975 Whitlam formally returned areas of traditional land to the Gurindji people of the Northern Territory. During the period of the Whitlam government, funding for Aboriginal affairs was increased almost sixfold. In the 1971–72 budget, the previous Liberal government had allocated $23 million to Aboriginal affairs. By the time of the 1975–76 budget, this had been increased to $141 million. Whitlam also established the Federal Ministry for Aboriginal Affairs and created the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee (NACC) to provide advice to the minister. The Whitlam government also repealed Section 64 of the old *Migration Act 1958*. Under this provision, Aboriginal people had been required to seek government permission if they wished to leave Australia. Removing this restriction helped provide Aboriginal people with the same rights as other Australian citizens. The *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* came into operation on 11 June 1975 and was the first piece of human rights legislation passed by any Australian government (see **SOURCE 1**).

SOURCE 1 Extract from Gough Whitlam's speech at the launch of the Office of the Commissioner for Community Relations in 1975

The *Racial Discrimination Act* 1975 wrote it firmly into the legislation that Australia is in reality a multicultural nation, in which the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Aboriginal people and of peoples from all parts of the world can find an honoured place ... For the first time Australia affirmed its opposition to all forms of racial discrimination ... The Act, inadequate as it is in many respects, is still the best guarantee that Australians have ever had that the dark forces of bigotry and prejudice which have prevailed so often in the past will never again be able to exercise influences far greater than their numbers in the community.

- The principle of no-fault divorce was introduced with the enactment of the *Family Law Act 1975*. Prior to 1975, there had been 14 different grounds for divorce. Most of these required the person who wanted a divorce to prove fault on the part of their partner. The Family Law Act established the single grounds of irreconcilable breakdown of the relationship as the sole basis for divorce. This led to an immediate increase in the divorce rate, although the rate stabilised during the 1980s (see **SOURCE 2**).

SOURCE 2 Graph showing divorce rate in Australia, 1961–88



- Other significant domestic reform policies of the Whitlam government included the creation of Albury–Wodonga as a significant regional centre designed to encourage decentralisation away from the major capital cities; the re-design of the Australian passport, so that it no longer referred to Australians as British subjects; the establishment of important Australian cultural institutions such as the Australian Film Commission, the Australia Council, the Australian Heritage Commission, the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service, a National Film and Television School, and the Australian National Gallery; and the creation of important bodies for monitoring and improving legal processes, such as the Trade Practices Commission and the Australian Law Reform Commission.

8.11.2 Foreign policy legacy

Whitlam wanted Australia to have a foreign policy that reflected the particular interests of this nation, particularly in relation to its immediate region. He believed that Australia should pursue its own international priorities, not just reflect its traditional ties to Britain and the United States. He wanted to ensure that Australia would no longer blindly follow its allies into wars such as that in Vietnam, and to remove the notion that our choice of allies should be determined primarily by our traditional racial and English-speaking similarities to countries such as the US and Britain. He had a vision of Australia as a leading international advocate for human rights, justice and tolerance. In order to achieve these aims, the following policies were pursued:

- Whitlam was a strong supporter of international human rights treaties and wanted them to become part of the Australian legal framework. He felt that it was important for Australia to be seen as a leading international leader in this area. The Whitlam government was quick to **ratify** the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Six other international conventions were ratified during the Whitlam era, and the government also provided international support and advocacy for an additional five international human rights agreements. Whitlam was a strong supporter of the United Nations, and wanted to see Australia take its place as a leading participant in UN activities. To this end, his government committed increased resources to UN bodies such as the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labour Organization (ILO), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). By enacting the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, the government was able to implement the UN's 1965 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (see **SOURCE 3**).
- Australia established diplomatic relations with China and appointed Dr Stephen Fitzgerald, a well-known expert on China, as Australia's ambassador to Beijing. The Chinese government also agreed to open an embassy in Canberra. Australia's diplomatic recognition of China created a new, friendlier relationship with that country. It provided the basis for an expansion in trade between the two countries, the beginning of a number of cultural exchange programs and a booming two-way tourism trade that has had benefits for both countries (see **SOURCE 4**). Today China is Australia's largest trading partner, providing over 50 per cent of our export income and selling us almost 40 per cent of our imports.
- Australia gained control of British New Guinea in 1906, renaming it the Territory of Papua. In 1920, the League of Nations granted Australia control over the former German colony of New Guinea. After World War II, Australia continued to administer the combined territories of Papua and New Guinea under a UN trusteeship, with the understanding that the territories would eventually gain independence. Previous governments had made very little progress towards this goal, but Whitlam was a strong believer in self-determination for the former colonies of the European imperial powers. His government acted quickly, granting Papua New Guinea self-government in 1973 and independence in 1975.
- The Whitlam government initiated a number of additional foreign policy changes, including instructing Australia's representatives at the UN to support self-determination for the continuing African colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe); decreasing the

emphasis on military agreements such as SEATO and looking instead at creating peaceful agreements with countries in the Asian region, such as China and Japan; promoting greater acknowledgement of Australia's national identity and independence by replacing the British national anthem of 'God Save The Queen' with a uniquely Australian anthem; the introduction of the a new system of honours known as the Order of Australia to replace the outdated system of imperial honours; and reinforcing the High Court of Australia's position as the country's highest court, by abolishing legal appeals to the Privy Council in Britain.

SOURCE 3 Whitlam's view of Australia's role in international relations. Australia, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 1973, pp. 2643–4.

Australia's international relations, like those of any other country, must always be directed to maintaining the nation's security and integrity. An approach to foreign policy, however, which is solely an extension of defence policy ... will, in the long run, distort both foreign and defence policies.

The change in the Australian government came at a time of very great changes in international relations ...

The central aim of my government's foreign policy will be to do all we can as a medium-sized power to help all nations, including the great powers and not least our great ally, to make the most of the new opportunities now presenting themselves ...

SOURCE 4 Photograph showing Prime Minister Gough Whitlam with Premier Zhou Enlai during Whitlam's 1973 visit to the People's Republic of China



DID YOU KNOW?

After watching TV coverage of Gough Whitlam's visit to China, a young high school student named Kevin Rudd wrote to Mr Whitlam to ask his advice on how he might become a diplomat. Whitlam's advice was that he should learn a foreign language. Rudd went on to study at the Australian National University in Canberra, gaining first class honours in Chinese language and history. He then spent time as a diplomat at the Australian embassy in Beijing. When he became prime minister of Australia in 2007, he was the only western leader who was fluent in Mandarin.

The Whitlam government came to power at a time when the Liberal–Country Party Coalition was divided, and appeared to lack any appetite to implement the sort of changes the Australian people were seeking. Gough Whitlam himself struck a chord with the voters, and his vision inspired many to see that a new and different future was possible. While the government made mistakes, constant obstruction from an opposition-controlled Senate created a sense of crisis that prevented Whitlam and his government from achieving all of their vision. In the end, the refusal to pass the supply bills and the actions of Governor-General Kerr precipitated a constitutional drama that many believe is the most significant political crisis Australia has experienced. Despite this, much of Whitlam's legacy remains and the three years of his government is widely regarded as a major turning point in Australia's political history.

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8.11 EXERCISES

Historical skills key: HS1 Remembering and understanding **HS2** Sequencing chronology **HS3** Using historical sources as evidence **HS4** Identifying continuity and change **HS5** Analysing cause and effect **HS6** Determining historical significance

8.11 Exercise 1: Check your understanding

1. **HS1** In what ways did the Whitlam government make significant changes to education during its time in government?
2. **HS1** Explain the legacy of the Whitlam government in the area of healthcare.
3. **HS1** How did Whitlam set out to keep his original 1972 promises to Aboriginal people?
4. **HS1** In what ways did the Whitlam government embrace international human rights treaties and agreements?
5. **HS1** Why did Whitlam hasten the process of granting independence to Papua New Guinea?
6. **HS1** How did Whitlam seek to reinforce Australia's independence from Britain?

8.11 Exercise 2: Apply your understanding

1. **HS3** Use **SOURCE 1** to explain Whitlam's view of the value of the Racial Discrimination Act.
2. **HS3** Using **SOURCE 2**, what would you conclude was the impact of the *Family Law Act 1975*?
3. **HS3** Why there were fewer divorces before the Family Law Act than after it came into effect?
4. **HS3** Explain how some people might use **SOURCE 2** as the basis for criticising the Family Law Act.
5. **HS3** What are the two key ideas in **SOURCE 3** that Whitlam thought should form the basis of Australia's international relations?
6. **HS3** What did Whitlam consider to be an approach to foreign policy that would 'distort both foreign and defence policies'?
7. **HS3** Identify the main aim that Whitlam identifies as central to his government's foreign policy.
8. **HS3** Which nation is he referring to with the words 'our great ally'.
9. **HS3** What was the message you believe the photographer of **SOURCE 4** was attempting to convey? Explain how both opponents and supporters of the Whitlam government within Australia might have reacted to a photo such as this.
10. **HS4** Identify and explain two examples of the way in which the Whitlam government changed the direction of Australian foreign policy.
11. **HS4** Despite changes and new initiatives, the government continued at least one broad policy direction that had existed for 30 years. What was that policy?
12. **HS6** The establishment of diplomatic relations with China was an important and significant step for the Whitlam government.
    (a) What impact do you believe it may have had on the attitudes of Australians towards communism at that time?
    (b) In what ways has it affected ordinary Australian and Chinese people in the 40 years since?
    (c) How has it impacted on the Australian economy?
    (d) Would you regard this recognition as having had a major impact on Australia? Justify your answer.

Try these questions in learnON for instant, corrective feedback. Go to www.jacplus.com.au.

8.12 SkillBuilder: Interpreting historians' perspectives

online only

What are historians' perspectives?

As you study history in more depth, you will frequently encounter different historians' perspectives and viewpoints of events and issues. When investigating the past, historians do more than just ask what happened and when; they examine more difficult questions, such as why did it happen? And what was its significance?



Select your learnON format to access:

- an explanation of the skill (Tell me)
- a step-by-step process to develop the skill, with an example (Show me)
- an activity to allow you to practise the skill (Let me do it)
- questions to consolidate your understanding of the skill.

8.13 Thinking Big research project: Timeline of communism in China

online only

SCENARIO

In the years following World War II, the most significant development was the Cold War, initially in Europe, but rapidly of increasing concern in Asia. Your task is to construct a timeline that traces the rise of communism in China over the period from the collapse of the Chinese Empire in 1911 to the success of the communist People's Liberation Army in October 1949.



Select your learnON format to access:

- the full project scenario
- details of the project task
- resources to guide your project work
- an assessment rubric.

on Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Timeline of communism in China (pro-0210)

8.14 Review

online only

8.14.1 Key knowledge summary

Use this dot point summary to review the content covered in this topic.

8.14.2 Reflection

Reflect on your learning using the activities and resources provided.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31759)
Crossword (doc-31760)

Interactivity Political crisis crossword (int-7667)

KEY TERMS

Allied powers the allies who fought the Axis powers in World War II were the US, Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia
apartheid the South African policy of racial segregation
archives a collection of public records or historical documents stored together in the one location
armistice a ceasefire or truce that ends fighting in a conflict, so terms for permanent peace can be discussed
autobiography an account of a person's life, written or told by that person
bias prejudice, leaning towards one view of things; showing favouritism towards one entity over another
blacklist a list of people or organisations that are disapproved of and are to be punished or avoided by others
Buddhism an Asian religion that teaches that the path to enlightenment comes from accepting suffering as part of life and overcoming desire through adopting a set of ethical practices
capitalism the economic system under which industries are owned privately, not by the government
civil war a war between two opposing groups within the one country
Cold War a power struggle and battle of ideologies, after World War II, between the Western bloc nations led by the superpower United States and the Eastern Bloc nations led by the superpower USSR
conscripts soldiers recruited through compulsory military service
counter-espionage preventing or stopping enemies from spying on you
defection leaving one's country in order to live in an opposing country, particularly during wartime or during periods of hostile relations
double dissolution occurs when both houses of the Commonwealth parliament are dissolved and all members are required to face an election, unlike a scheduled election when only half the senators are up for re-election
guerrilla a member of an irregular military force that adopts tactics such as harassing the enemy, sabotage, and cutting communication and supply lines
ideology set of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation
inflation a general rise in the prices of goods and services within an economy
left-wing support for progressive beliefs, such as the intervention of government in society to create greater equality
memoir an account of an author's personal experiences of an event, or series of events
moratorium a suspension of activity. In this case it related to marches calling for the cessation of Australia's involvement in Vietnam.
parochial the system of parishes in the Catholic Church structure
political asylum protection granted to someone who has left their home country and is afraid to return to that country because of fear of persecution
portfolio a department or area for which a minister is responsible
power vacuum a situation when there is no effective government over a country or region
ratify to formally consent to and agree to be bound by a treaty, contract or agreement

right-wing support for conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise, and a belief that government should not intervene in the economy
Royal Commission a public judicial inquiry into an important issue, with powers to make recommendations to government
socialist supporting an economic system based on public ownership of industry to create greater equality

8.12 SkillBuilder: Interpreting historians' perspectives

8.12.1 Tell me

What are historians' perspectives?

As you study history in more depth, you will frequently encounter different historians' perspectives and viewpoints of events and issues. When investigating the past, historians do more than just ask what happened and when; they examine more difficult questions, such as why did it happen and what was its significance?

Why is it useful to study historians' perspectives?

By studying different historians' perspectives, we are able to gain a deeper understanding of the past. Consider the following two statements:

a. Australia began withdrawing its troops from Vietnam in 1970.
b. When Australia began withdrawing its troops from Vietnam in 1970, the government was admitting that the war could not be won.

Statement A is a simple statement of fact. Statement B contains the same fact, but it also offers an explanation of why the troops may have been withdrawn. Historians, who research an event or issue thoroughly, will ask questions of the evidence and begin to draw conclusions and offer explanations.

Often these conclusions and explanations will vary from historian to historian. It is possible for a number of historians to produce quite different interpretations of the same event for a number of reasons, including their reason for researching the topic, the sources of evidence they relied on and their perspective or point of view. When we have a variety of different interpretations in relation to an issue in history, this is known as contestability.

A contested debate between two historians occurs when each one proposes a different interpretation of the same set of events. An example of contestability in Australian history is the debate over whether or not it was appropriate for Australia to become involved in the Vietnam War in the 1960s. Examining debates between historians can help you to understand how historians use sources to construct historical accounts, and how their approach and interpretation can be shaped by their purpose and perspective, including their political outlook.

In this SkillBuilder we will use the Vietnam War as an example in order to consider some questions you can ask that will help you understand and interpret the perspective offered by a historian.

8.12.2 Show me

How to analyse historians' perspectives

Asking yourself the following questions will help you to interpret the historian's work.

Possible questions	Possible answers/implications
Step 1 — What specific issue is the historian investigating?	• The cause of the conflict or the key issues involved • The reasons why one side won or lost • The significance of the issue • The role or influence of leaders • The short- and long-term implications
Step 2 — What does the historian argue or conclude?	Any of the issues raised above could be addressed and answered by the historian.

(continued)

(continued)

Possible questions	Possible answers/implications
Step 3 — In what form, and for what purpose, was the material published?	It could be a general work or one with a specific purpose. For example, knowing that the extract was published in a Communist Party newspaper might well help you understand its perspective.
Step 4 — When was the work published?	The timing of its publication may reflect the availability of new sources or have some other significance. For example, when the USSR collapsed, historians gained unprecedented access to the Soviet archives, which provided a wealth of new material to use in their analysis.
Step 5 — What message is the historian trying to convey?	It could be an explanation of the past or a warning for the future.
Step 6 — What, if any, evidence does the historian present?	This might include facts, statistics, quotes, anecdotal examples or any number of other sources.
Step 7 — Contestability	Where does this historian stand in any contested debate in relation to this issue?

Model

Consider **SOURCES 1** and **2**. In the table below, these two interpretations of events by historians have been analysed by using the questions set out above. Do you agree with the analysis of these interpretations?

SOURCE 1 From Michael Sexton, 'The war we gatecrashed', *The Age*, 29 April 2005

Vietnam has cast a long shadow over American foreign policy. Since then, the American military has been anxious to avoid a ground war with the potential for large-scale casualties. This was the reason for the lack of intervention in Bosnia and the use of air power in Kosovo. Iraq was undertaken on the basis — which was correct — that there would be almost no battlefield casualties, although there have been subsequent losses.

This is the continuing importance of Vietnam for Australia's relationship with the United States. By encouraging American involvement in the war 40 years ago, the Australian government may have made it more difficult for its successors to obtain American assistance in a time of real crisis. Most of the men — whether politicians or bureaucrats — who organised Australia's entry into the Vietnam War are dead but their cynical and irresponsible conduct might yet prove a problem for this country.

SOURCE 2 From Gregory Pemberton, 'Conclusion' in Pemberton (ed.), *Vietnam Remembered*, 2002, p. 234

Although Australia remained firmly locked in the Western camp, America's defeat and withdrawal from Indochina, combined with Britain's decline, forced greater self-reliance on Australia in defence and foreign policy ... Australia had to chart a different course, developing its own policies towards its neighbours. It had to accept that its main effective relations were with Asian nations, notwithstanding the great symbolic importance of the American Alliance. A break was made with the white-supremacist South African and Rhodesian [now Zimbabwe] regimes. Notably, immigration laws were relaxed to allow entry of non-Europeans which, although it did not produce any great immediate racial changes in the migrant intake, was of great symbolic importance. Since then the flow of refugees from Indochina has forced Australians to re-examine the notion of preserving an essentially white Australia and has added new meaning to an old platitude — 'Australia, a part of Asia'.

Possible questions	SOURCE 1	SOURCE 2
What specific issue is the historian investigating?	The long-term impact of the Vietnam War on American and Australian policy	The impact of the Vietnam War on Australian policy
What does the historian argue or conclude?	The United States was unwilling to commit to large-scale ground wars.	Australia was forced to change the focus of its foreign policy and, rather than look to the UK or the US, to engage with our Asian neighbours.
In what form, and for what purpose, was the material published?	Newspaper article	Book
When was the work published?	2005	2002
What message is the historian trying to convey?	Our unwise encouragement of the US in Vietnam may make them more hesitant to offer us assistance in the future when we really need their help.	Australia must develop closer relations with our Asian neighbours, acknowledging our geographical position in Asia. Our old racial views need to change.
What, if any, evidence does the historian present?	The examples of the military interventions in Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq	Changes in immigration policy
Contestability	He regards Australia's involvement as inappropriate and unwise, because it may make the USA unwilling to come to our aid in the future in the way it attempted to come to the aid of the South Vietnamese government in the 1960s.	His view on Australia's involvement is not stated, but he sees the US defeat in Vietnam as providing a positive for Australia, because it has forced us to become more involved in Asia.

8.12.3 Let me do it

Complete the following activities to practise this skill.

8.12 ACTIVITIES

1. Now it's your turn. Using the same questions detailed in the Show me section, examine the historians' perspectives evident in **SOURCES 3** and **4**.
2. Suggest why contestability is an important aspect of historical inquiry.
3. Explain why different historians see an event differently.

SOURCE 3 From Dr Paul Strangio, 'Listen up, you warmongers', *The Age*, 2 August 2002

The most crucial lesson is that the political and military establishment in this country [Australia] is fallible. If that establishment erred in Vietnam, there is no guarantee that it will not bungle things again, now or in the future.

The related lesson is that as a society we should always be prepared to give a reasonable hearing to those who would question the orthodoxy of Australian support for Washington's military expeditions.

The evidence from the Vietnam era and since is that we are not particularly good at this. Too often there is a tendency to treat dissenting opinion as illegitimate and disloyal.

Yet, when the lives of Australian combatants and the soldiers and civilians of other nations are at stake, debate should be encouraged rather than closed down.

Otherwise, we risk being condemned to always relying on hindsight to realise that we got things wrong.

SOURCE 4 From Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 2007, pp. 657–8

In short, the Domino Theory was a grossly simplistic, unchanging metaphor imposed on a ceaselessly changing, complex world. As Qiang Zhai [a Chinese historian] concluded, in his classic account of China's role — 'Just as dominoes is a game for children, the ... theory was the stuff of child's play.' If the Domino Theory expressed a real fear of Soviet and Chinese aggression in the 1950s, it failed to justify a strategic case for the American war in Vietnam in 1965. In 1955 the British had largely defeated the Chinese 'communist terrorists' in Malaya, a job completed by the Australians in 1960; and in 1965–66, in Indonesia, a military junta [government] crushed the local Communist party. 'The notion that any of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore or Indonesia would have gone Communist in the 1960s because Vietnam fell strains credibility,' said Paul Kelly [an Australian historian]. Indeed, even as the Australians beat the domino drums, Washington had lost faith in the theory. LBJ [Lyndon Baines Johnson, President of the United States, 1963–69] later rejected the whole metaphor of toppling dominoes, and Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, never used the phrase. It trivialised a complex situation, he felt.

8.13 Thinking Big research project: Timeline of communism in China

Scenario

In the years following World War II, the most significant development was the Cold War, initially in Europe, but rapidly of increasing concern in Asia. Western powers had seen the expansion of communism throughout eastern Europe, through Russian influence in that part of the world. After the victory of the Communist Party in the Chinese civil war in 1949, China was seen as a power that could sponsor the spread of communism throughout South-East Asia. How did the communists come to power in China?

SOURCE 1 What brought about the rise of the Communist Party in China?



Task

Your task is to construct a timeline that traces the rise of communism in China over the period from the collapse of the Chinese Empire in 1911 to the success of the communist People's Liberation Army in October 1949.

You should select the 12 most significant dates during this period and write a paragraph to accompany each date to explain its importance. Where possible, provide an image or illustration to accompany each date.

Be creative with your timeline presentation to make the information engaging and visually appealing to the reader. (See the subtopic 1.5 SkillBuilder for examples and advice on constructing timelines.)

Process

- Open the ProjectsPLUS application in the Resources for this topic. Click on the **Start new project** button to enter the project due date and set up your project group so you can work collaboratively. Working in pairs will enable you to swap ideas and share responsibility for the project. Save your settings and the project will be launched.
- Navigate to the **Research forum**, where you will find starter topics loaded to guide your research. You can add further topics to the Research forum if you wish.
- Start by revisiting the content in this topic about the Cold War in Asia and the rise of communism.
- Conduct further research online or in your library to gain more information about key dates and events in the rise of Chinese communism. The weblinks in the **Media centre** will provide a useful starting point. Remember to record details of your sources so you can create a bibliography.
- Add your research notes and source details to the relevant topic pages in the Research forum. You can view, share and comment on research findings with your project partner. You can print out the **Research report** in the Research forum to easily view all the information you have gathered, if you wish.
- When you have completed your research and identified your 12 key dates and events, create an interesting timeline design to present your information (the **Timeline design** weblink in the Media centre may provide some ideas).
- Remember to include a paragraph outlining the events associated with each date, and their significance. Include images wherever possible.
- Submit your completed timeline, along with your bibliography, to your teacher for assessment.

SOURCE 2 Be creative with your timeline design.



Resources

ProjectsPLUS Thinking Big research project: Timeline of communism in China (pro-0210)

8.14 Review

8.14.1 Key knowledge summary

8.2 Examining the evidence

- Newspapers provide us with valuable information about events and opinions from our recent past.
- Film and TV accounts of recent events can provide a source of information for historians.
- Government documents are kept in archives, and are released to the public after a period of confidentiality.
- Many of the participants in political and other events have written their own accounts of these events.

8.3 The Cold War in Asia

- The defeat of the Japanese in Asia in 1945 left a power vacuum that set up conflict between former colonial powers and independence movements.
- Many of these independence movements were influenced by the ideals of communism.
- The US began to see communism in Asia as a threat, and believed that it should fight against the possible spread of communism.
- The victory of the Communist Party in China was seen as a threat because it was believed that China would support communist revolutions in other Asian countries.
- The Korean War saw the first open conflict between communism and the western powers.
- The Malayan Emergency saw British and Commonwealth troops fighting against communist guerrillas on the Malay peninsula.

8.4 Anti-communism in Australia and the US

- In the US, the House Un-American Activities Committee set out to investigate suspected communists in government and the entertainment industry.
- Senator Joseph McCarthy became an outspoken anti-communist campaigner.
- In Australia, Robert Menzies campaigned on an anti-communist platform during the 1949 election.
- Menzies attempted to ban the Communist Party of Australia, but his attempts were found to be unconstitutional.
- Australian troops were sent to fight communists in both Korea and Malaya.
- In the early 1950s, the Menzies government signed treaties designed to combat communism.
- A strong anti-communist movement, led by B.A. Santamaria, began to infiltrate the Australian Labor Party in the 1940s and 1950s.

8.5 The Petrov affair

- ASIO had been established as a counter-espionage body in 1949.
- In 1954, Vladimir Petrov, a diplomat from the Russian embassy in Canberra, approached ASIO, claiming there was a communist spy ring in Australia and that he wished to defect.
- Prime Minister Menzies established a Royal Commission to investigate Petrov's allegations.
- Mrs Petrov sought asylum in Australia after Russian agents attempted to return her to Moscow.
- The immediate aftermath of the establishment of the Royal Commission was the defeat of the Labor Party in an election many believed it had been likely to win.

8.6 The aftermath of the Petrov affair

- Labor leader Evatt defended two of his staff members before the Petrov Royal Commission, and used the opportunity to attack the whole process of investigating Petrov and his allegations.
- The rift between the mainstream of the Labor Party and the anti-communist movement within the party led to Evatt accusing the 'Groupers' of disloyalty.
- Anti-communist members of the ALP in the Victorian State Executive were expelled from the party and refused admittance to the 1955 Federal Conference.
- Suspended anti-communist ALP members of the Victorian parliament supported a vote of no confidence in the state Labor government, leading to a state election, which was won by Henry Bolte's Liberal Party.

- Prime Minister Menzies took advantage of the split in the ALP to call an early election.
- The ALP government in Queensland also split in 1957, leading to the electoral defeat of that government.
- The ALP remained out of power for a long time federally and in a number of states as a result of the DLP directing preferences towards Liberal and Country coalitions.

8.7 War in Vietnam

- Many Vietnamese, including communist leader Ho Chi Minh, had been campaigning for independence from French colonial rule since the 1920s.
- When the Japanese were defeated in 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam to be independent, but the French re-imposed colonial rule.
- Vietnamese forces eventually defeated the French in 1954 and a peace conference temporarily divided the country at the 17th parallel.
- When the government of South Vietnam refused to hold elections for the reunification of the country, hostilities broke out between the South, supported by the USA, and the government of the North and its supporters still living in the South.
- From the early 1960s, American forces increased their presence in South Vietnam to support the anti-communist government.
- Australia also sent troops to Vietnam in support of the Americans and the South Vietnamese government.
- Eventually, the unpopularity of the war in countries such as the USA and Australia led to the withdrawal of foreign troops from Vietnam, and the country was eventually reunited under communist rule.

8.8 Vietnam and Australian politics

- Australia's involvement in Vietnam was initially popular with voters and the Liberal–Country Party Coalition won a landslide victory in 1966.
- As Australia committed more and more troops to Vietnam, and more information became available to the public, the war became increasingly unpopular in Australia.
- By mid 1969, a majority of Australians were opposed to the war, and many expressed their view by joining in anti-war protests.
- The Vietnam War and conscription became a defining issue for many in Australia, whose longer-term political views were influenced by these events.

8.9 'It's time' — The Whitlam victory in 1972

- By 1972, the Liberal–Country Party Coalition had been in power for 23 years and appeared to be divided and lacking in direction and leadership.
- In the lead up to the 1972 election, Gough Whitlam and the Labor Party campaigned strongly on a platform of forward-looking policies, under the banner of 'It's Time'.
- The newly elected Whitlam government got to work quickly and was successful in making many significant changes to Australian society.

8.10 The Whitlam dismissal, 1975

- Following obstruction in the Senate, the government was forced to a double dissolution election in 1974.
- Following its election win in 1974, the Labor government held the first joint sitting of both Houses of federal Parliament to pass its legislation.
- The standing of the Whitlam government was undermined by the economic difficulties created by the oil shock of 1973 and the Loans Affair.
- During 1975, casual vacancies in the senate were filled in such a way as to increase the number of Senators opposed to the Whitlam government.
- In October 1975 the Senate voted to postpone a vote on providing supply to the government, creating a constitutional crisis by which the government risked running out of money to carry on its normal processes.

- On 11 November 1975, Governor-General Sir John Kerr sacked the Whitlam government, appointed Malcolm Fraser as caretaker prime minister and approved a double dissolution election for the following month.
- The dismissal of the Whitlam government created enormous controversy at the time and remains one of the greatest political crises of modern Australian history.

8.11 The Whitlam legacy

- The Whitlam government made enormous changes in its three years, many of which are still in place today.
- Domestic policy changes included increased spending on education, the establishment of a universal healthcare system, removal of discriminatory practices in immigration, land rights for Indigenous Australians and the establishment of no-fault divorce.
- In foreign policy, the Whitlam government threw its support behind UN human rights treaties, established diplomatic relations with China, and granted independence to Papua New Guinea.

A timeline of Australian and international political events, 1945–75





1945
Russian troops occupy northern Korea.
Japanese surrender
Independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared

1947
US House Un-American Activities Committee begins investigations

1948
Anti-communist government in South Korea
Outbreak of hostilities in Malaya
Vietnamese war of independence against French rule begins

1949
ASIO established
Menzies wins election

1950
Menzies government attempts to ban the Communist Party

1949
Chinese Communist Party establishes Peoples' Republic of China

1951
High Court finds Communist Party ban unconstitutional
Australia signs the ANZUS pact

1950
North Korea invades South Korea.
Australian forces sent to Korea and Malaya



1953
Korean armistice signed

1954
Australia signs the SEATO Treaty.
Vladimir Petrov defects.

1954
Pro-French forces defeated; temporary division of Vietnam



1955
Labor Party splits in Victoria

1957
Anti-Communist ALP renamed as DLP
ALP splits in Queensland

1955
Pro-western Republic of Vietnam set up in the south

1962
Australia sends first military advisers to South Vietnam

1964
Gulf of Tonkin incident

1964
Conscription introduced in Australia

1965
Menzies commits Australian combat troops to Vietnam

1968
US President Johnson announces Vietnam peace talks in Paris.
400 Vietnamese civilians killed in My Lai massacre

1969
President Nixon begins withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam

1966
First Australian conscripts sent to Vietnam
Coalition wins federal election on Vietnam issue





1972
Electoral victory of Labor Party led by Gough Whitlam

1973
Vietnam Peace Accord signed in Paris

1974
Double dissolution election and joint sitting of Parliament

1975
Whitlam government dismissed
Landslide defeat of Labor government

1975
North Vietnamese and NLF forces enter Saigon as South is defeated

8.14.2 Reflection

Complete the following to reflect on your learning.

8.14 ACTIVITIES

Revisit the inquiry question posed in the Overview:

In the aftermath of World War II, what tensions, rivalries and movements captivated the world?

1. Now that you have completed this topic, what is your view on the question? Discuss with a partner. Has your learning in this topic changed your view? If so, how?
2. Write a paragraph in response to the inquiry question outlining your views.

on Resources

eWorkbook Reflection (doc-31759)
Crossword (doc-31760)

Interactivity Political crisis crossword (int-7667)

KEY TERMS

Allied powers the allies who fought the Axis powers in World War II were the US, Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia
apartheid the South African policy of racial segregation
archives a collection of public records or historical documents stored together in the one location
armistice a ceasefire or truce that ends fighting in a conflict, so terms for permanent peace can be discussed
autobiography an account of a person's life, written or told by that person
bias prejudice, leaning towards one view of things; showing favouritism towards one entity over another
blacklist a list of people or organisations that are disapproved of and are to be punished or avoided by others
Buddhism an Asian religion that teaches that the path to enlightenment comes from accepting suffering as part of life and overcoming desire through adopting a set of ethical practices
capitalism the economic system under which industries are owned privately, not by the government
civil war a war between two opposing groups within the one country
Cold War a power struggle and battle of ideologies, after World War II, between the Western bloc nations led by the superpower United States and the Eastern Bloc nations led by the superpower USSR
conscripts soldiers recruited through compulsory military service
counter-espionage preventing or stopping enemies from spying on you
defection leaving one's country in order to live in an opposing country, particularly during wartime or during periods of hostile relations
double dissolution occurs when both houses of the Commonwealth parliament are dissolved and all members are required to face an election, unlike a scheduled election when only half the senators are up for re-election
guerrilla a member of an irregular military force that adopts tactics such as harassing the enemy, sabotage, and cutting communication and supply lines
ideology set of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation
inflation a general rise in the prices of goods and services within an economy
left-wing support for progressive beliefs, such as the intervention of government in society to create greater equality
memoir an account of an author's personal experiences of an event, or series of events
moratorium a suspension of activity. In this case it related to marches calling for the cessation of Australia's involvement in Vietnam.
parochial the system of parishes in the Catholic Church structure
political asylum protection granted to someone who has left their home country and is afraid to return to that country because of fear of persecution

portfolio a department or area for which a minister is responsible
power vacuum a situation when there is no effective government over a country or region
ratify to formally consent to and agree to be bound by a treaty, contract or agreement
right-wing support for conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise, and a belief that government should not intervene in the economy
Royal Commission a public judicial inquiry into an important issue, with powers to make recommendations to government
socialist supporting an economic system based on public ownership of industry to create greater equality

GLOSSARY

Abyssinia the only independent African state in 1935, now called Ethiopia
advocacy active support
ailan kastom (island custom) the body of customs, traditions, observances and beliefs of some or all of the Torres Strait Islanders living in the Torres Strait area
alien a person born in another country who is not yet a citizen of the country in which they live
alienate to cause someone to feel isolated or separated
Allied powers the allies who fought the Axis powers in World War II were the US, Britain, France, USSR, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia
Allies Britain, France and the other states on the winning side in World War I
anarchists revolutionaries who want an equal society based on cooperation rather than government or coercive laws
Anglo-Celtic having ancestry originating in the British Isles, including England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales
apartheid the South African policy of racial segregation
Aquarius relating to the Age of Aquarius — a period of transition, according to astrologers
archives a collection of public records or historical documents stored together in the one location
armistice a ceasefire or truce that ends fighting in a conflict, so terms for permanent peace can be discussed
artefact an object made or changed by humans
Aryan term used by the Nazis to describe 'pure-blooded' Germanic peoples
assembly line mass production method in which each worker completes the same operation over and over
assimilate the process in which individuals or groups of differing origins take on the basic attitudes, habits and lifestyles of another culture
assimilation the process by which a minority group gives up its own customs and traditions and adopts those of the dominant culture
Australia's First Peoples an inclusive term used to refer to groups that make up the Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander community
autobiography an account of a person's life, written or told by that person
beat generation a subculture, first associated with American writers and poets, that rejected conventional work, possessions, clothing and lifestyle, and promoted radical ideas
bias prejudice, leaning towards one view of things; showing favouritism towards one entity over another
biased one-sided or prejudiced, seeing something from just one point of view
biosphere the part of the Earth and its atmosphere in which living organisms exist or that is capable of supporting life
bipartisan supported by the two major political parties
blacklist a list of people or organisations that are disapproved of and are to be punished or avoided by others
blockade to block the movement of something
bootleg an illegal copy of copyright material, such as a movie
Buddhism an Asian religion that teaches that the path to enlightenment comes from accepting suffering as part of life and overcoming desire through adopting a set of ethical practices
bunker a fortified underground shelter, usually with openings from which to fire at enemies
capitalism the economic system under which industries are owned privately, not by the government
capitalist economic system based on private ownership of capital, free markets and competition
cause and effect the concept that every historical event will have a cause, and every event or action is likely to be the cause of subsequent effects or consequences
census an official, usually periodic count of a population

chronology a record of past events in order of time, from Greek *chronos*, meaning time, and *logos*, meaning logic or reasoning
civil rights the rights belonging to an individual by virtue of citizenship
civil war a war between two opposing groups within the one country
Cold War a power struggle and battle of ideologies, after World War II, between the Western bloc nations led by the superpower United States and the Eastern Bloc nations led by the superpower USSR
colonial nation a nation that has foreign settlements, or colonies, under its control
communism a system of government in which the state controls the economy, in an attempt to ensure that all goods are equally shared by the people
concentration camps prison camps where people were beaten, tortured, starved and used as slave labour
conscription compulsory enlistment, especially in the armed forces; also called the draft
conscripts soldiers recruited through compulsory military service
contestability when particular interpretations of the past are open to debate
continuity and change the concept that while many changes occur over time, some things remain constant
counter-espionage preventing or stopping enemies from spying on you
culpability state of guilt; being responsible or blameworthy
defection leaving one's country in order to live in an opposing country, particularly during wartime or during periods of hostile relations
deforestation the removal of trees or forest
delegation a person or group appointed to represent others
disc jockey also known as a DJ, a disc jockey announces and plays music on the radio
displaced person a person driven from their homeland by war or political upheaval
dissidents people who publicly disagree with government policy or actions
dole payments to the unemployed, usually in the form of coupons to exchange for food
dominions the British Empire's self-governing settler colonies
double dissolution occurs when both houses of the Commonwealth parliament are dissolved and all members are required to face an election, unlike a scheduled election when only half the senators are up for re-election
ecotourism tourism to places with unspoiled natural resources
egalitarian having the belief that all people are equal and deserve equal rights
embassy the residence or place of official business of an ambassador, who represents a foreign country
empathy the ability to understand and share another person's thoughts and feelings
eradicate wipe out, obliterate
evidence information that indicates whether something is true or really happened
fallout the fall of radioactive particles after a nuclear explosion
folly foolishness; lack of good sense
foment encourage or foster (rebellion)
Fortress Europa the term used by Hitler to describe the defences along the coastline of Europe from Denmark to southern France
foxhole a concealed dugout or pit used by one person to shelter from and shoot at the enemy
Gaia hypothesis the idea that all living organisms and inorganic matter are part of a dynamic system that regulates the biosphere
geyser a natural hot spring that intermittently ejects a column of water and steam into the air
global warming the observable rising trend in the Earth's atmospheric temperatures, generally attributed to the enhanced greenhouse effect
grassroots involving ordinary people in a community or organisation
guerrilla a member of an irregular military force that adopts tactics such as harassing the enemy, sabotage, and cutting communication and supply lines
heritage cultural traditions
hire purchase buying and using a product while paying for it in instalments

hyperinflation such an extreme rise in prices that a currency loses any real value
hypothesis (plural: hypotheses) a theory or possible explanation
ideologies sets of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation and provide the basis of political systems
ideology set of ideas or beliefs that guide an individual, group, society or nation
inalienable belonging to a thing by its nature; not able to be taken away
incarceration imprisonment
indoctrinate to teach or instruct in a way that is almost brainwashing
Industrial Revolution the period from the mid 1700s into the 1800s that saw major technological changes in agriculture, manufacturing, mining and transportation, with far-reaching social and economic impacts
inflation a general rise in the prices of goods and services within an economy
integration policy requiring immigrants to publicly adopt the new country's culture while still being able to celebrate their own culture privately; a policy that recognised the value of Aboriginal culture and the right of Aboriginal peoples to retain their languages and customs and maintain their own distinctive communities
internment to be put in prison for political or military reasons, either real or perceived
isolationist foreign policy based on avoiding involvement in the affairs of other countries
land rights the rights of Indigenous peoples to possess land they traditionally owned and occupied
left-wing support for progressive beliefs, such as the intervention of government in society to create greater equality
Luftwaffe the German air force during World War II
lynching the execution of a person without authority or process of law
mandate commission to act on behalf of the League of Nations to govern a people considered not ready to govern themselves
manifesto a public declaration of principles, policies or intentions
memoir an account of an author's personal experiences of an event, or series of events
militarism excessive influence of military values and pro-war ideas
militia a body of men called up for military service only in emergencies
moral relating to right and wrong behaviour
moratorium a suspension of activity. In this case it related to marches calling for the cessation of Australia's involvement in Vietnam.
multiculturalism policy recognising an immigrant's right to practise whichever culture they wish to, as long as they do not break the law; respect for, and appreciation of, cultural diversity
napalm a highly flammable, sticky jelly used in incendiary bombs and flamethrowers
native title a 'bundle of rights' of Indigenous people to possess land they traditionally owned and continue to occupy
Normandy a region of France on the Atlantic coast
ocker (slang) a boorish or uncultivated Australian
oral history a method of gathering and preserving historical information through recorded interviews with participants in past events and ways of life
organism an individual form of life
paramilitary armed forces outside the official military
parochial the system of parishes in the Catholic Church structure
partisans irregular fighters using guerrilla tactics behind enemy lines
pastoralist a person who runs sheep or cattle on a property
permaculture landscapes that are designed to mimic the patterns and relationships found in nature and yield an abundance of food, fibre and energy
permanent residency status allowing a person to live indefinitely in a country, while retaining citizenship of another country
perspective point of view or attitude

picket a group of people who try to persuade others from doing something; for example, trade unionists dissuading workers from working during a strike
plebiscite direct vote in which electors give their opinion on an issue
political asylum protection granted to someone who has left their home country and is afraid to return to that country because of fear of persecution
portfolio a department or area for which a minister is responsible
power vacuum a situation when there is no effective government over a country or region
precedent an action or decision on which later actions or decisions might be based; a law made by a superior court that must be applied by lower courts in future cases with the same or similar facts
primary sources objects and documents that were created or written in the period that the historian is investigating
prohibition 1920s nationwide ban in the US on the making, transporting or selling of alcoholic drinks
putsch an attempt to seize political power by force
radical a person who advocates fundamental or revolutionary changes in current practices, conditions or institutions
ratify to formally consent to and agree to be bound by a treaty, contract or agreement
rationing controlling the distribution of something when supplies are low
rearguard action direct engagement with the enemy by troops protecting a retreating force
referendum a ballot in which people decide on an important political issue
Reichstag the German Parliament
reparations payment of money or materials by a nation defeated in war, as compensation for damage caused
repatriation assistance given to ex-service men and women returning to a civilian way of life
reservations pieces of land set apart by the federal government for a special purpose, especially to hold and control a Native American people
rhetoric effective and persuasive language, sometimes used to mislead
right-wing support for conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise, and a belief that government should not intervene in the economy
right-wingers supporters of conservative beliefs, such as individual enterprise, and the belief that government should not intervene in the economy
Royal Air Force (RAF) Britain's Royal Air Force
Royal Commission a public judicial inquiry into an important issue, with powers to make recommendations to government
satire use of humour or ridicule to expose weaknesses or criticise something, often with the intent of changing an aspect of society
'scorched earth' military strategy of destroying or removing everything that could be used by an advancing enemy
secondary sources reconstructions of the past written or created by people living at a time after the period that the historian is studying
self-determination the freedom for a people to determine their own course of action
seminal original and influential
significance the importance assigned to particular aspects of the past; for example, events, developments, movements and historical sites
socialist supporting an economic system based on public ownership of industry to create greater equality
sound bite a brief statement, as by a politician, taken from an audiotape or videotape and broadcast especially during a news report
South-West Pacific Zone area, including New Guinea and what is now Indonesia, within which Australian conscripts could be sent to fight after February 1943
sovereign nation a nation that has the right to determine its own laws and future
soviets councils, originally elected by workers or peasants
spearhead to lead an attack

statistician a compiler of statistical data
status quo the existing state of affairs
stockbroker someone whose job is to buy and sell shares on behalf of others
stock exchange a place where stocks (shares in companies) are bought and sold
tailings refuse left over after ore has been processed
technocrat a scientific or technical expert with a high position
terra nullius ('land belonging to no-one') in Australia, the legal idea that since no-one was 'using' the land when the first Europeans arrived, it could be claimed by the British Crown
Third Reich the Nazi name for their regime in Germany. Reich means empire.
timeline a diagrammatic tool representing a period of time, on which events are placed in chronological order
treaty an agreement between two or more sovereign states (countries) to undertake a particular course of action. It usually involves matters such as human rights, the environment or trade.
tried in absentia tried even though the accused is not present in court
unconstitutional not in accord with the principles set forth in the Constitution
unfettered unrestricted
United Fronts policy of communist parties forming alliances with other parties to combat fascism
uranium a radioactive element used in the construction of nuclear fuels and weapons
USSR the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, the name of the former Russian Empire from 1922
utopia an ideal, perfect place, especially in its social, political and moral aspects
Viet Cong a political and military organisation that fought against the South Vietnamese government and its US allies
visa a government document allowing the holder to enter or exit a country
Weimar Republic the democratic system of government in Germany from 1919 to early 1933, so called because its constitution was written in the city of Weimar
welfare government system to provide help to members of society who need support
White Australia Policy an Australian government policy that restricted immigration to Australia to white migrants
White Russians those who wanted to crush the revolution and restore the old Russian order
xenophobia the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers

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