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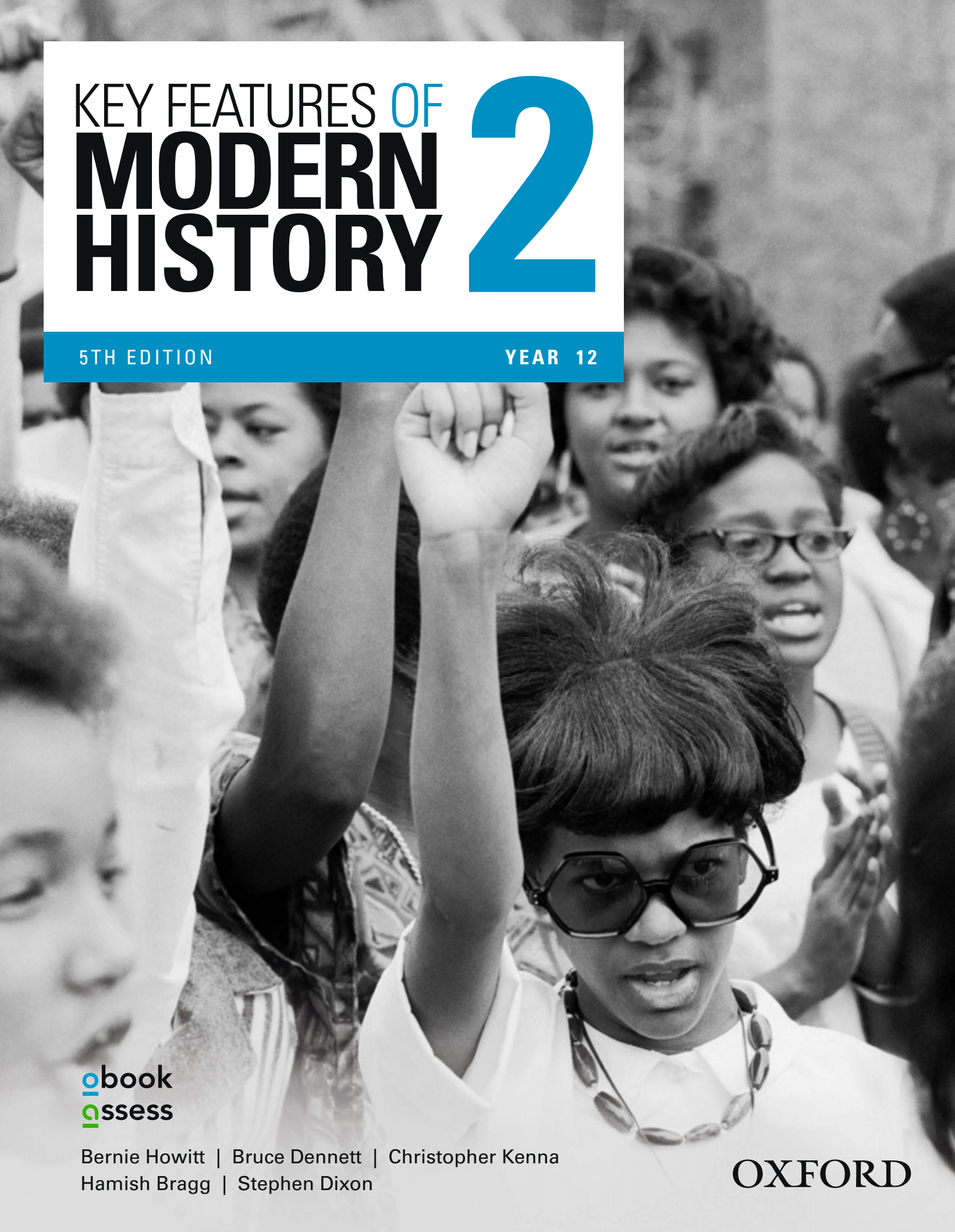

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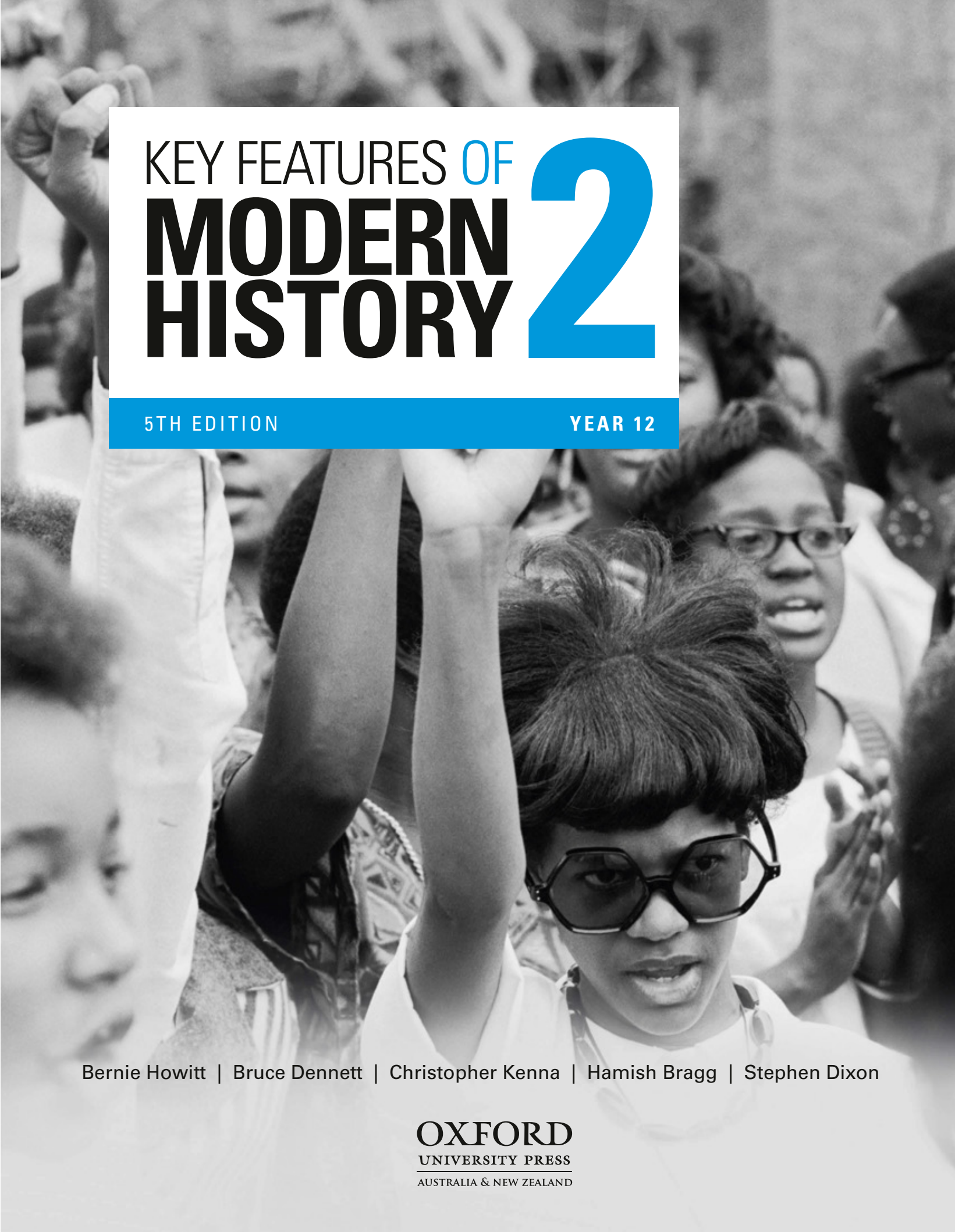

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YEAR 12

Bernie Howitt | Bruce Dennett | Christopher Kenna | Hamish Bragg | Stephen Dixon

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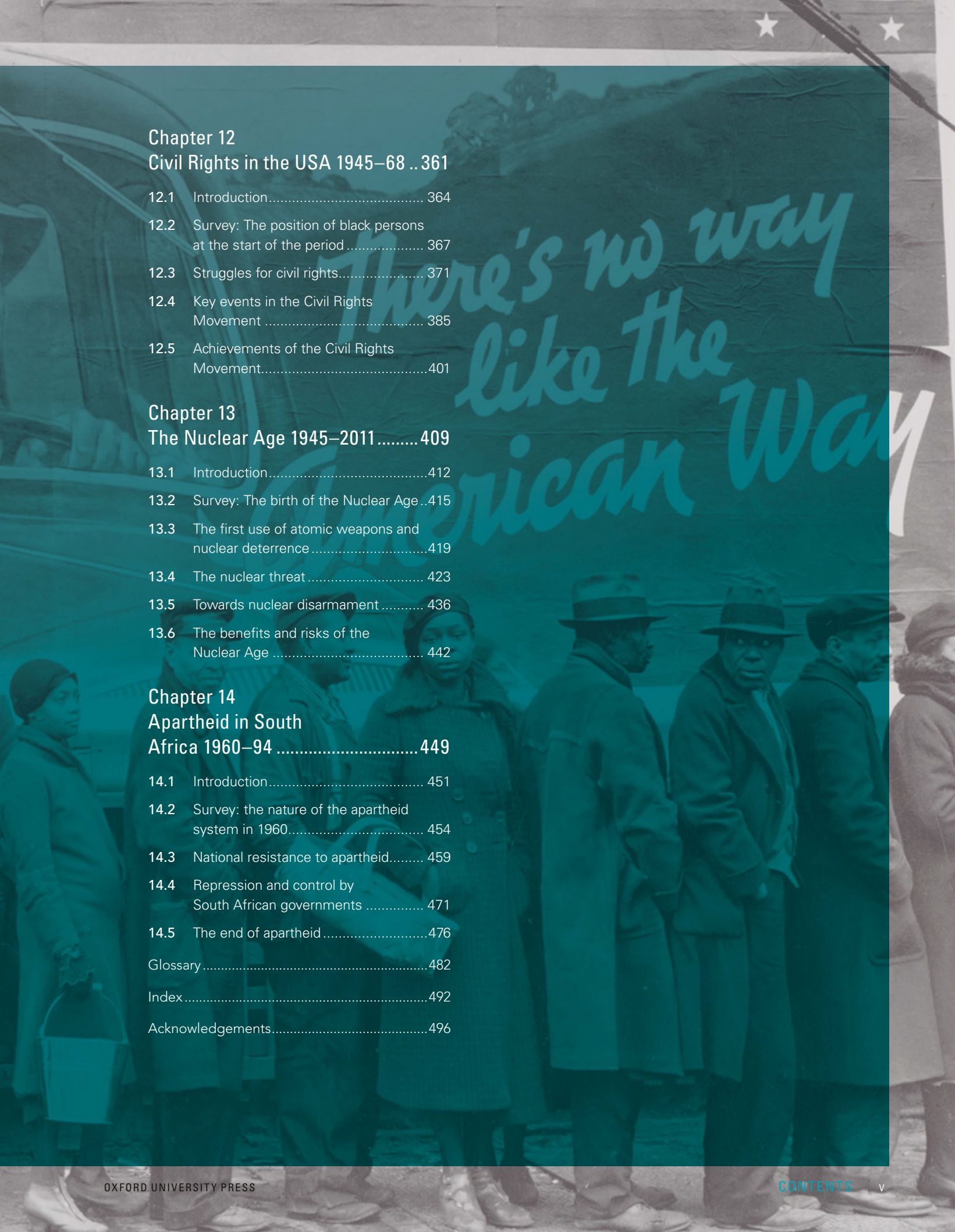

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USING KEY FEATURES OF MODERN HISTORY 2

New South Wales' most trusted modern history series has been updated for the new Stage 6 Modern History syllabus. The second of a two-volume series, *Key Features of Modern History 2* offers complete support for Year 12 teachers and their students, providing unparalleled depth and coverage and a range of new chapter features that will give students of all abilities the best chance of achieving success in Modern History.

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5
Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–41
FOCUS QUESTIONS
KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS
LEARNING GOALS

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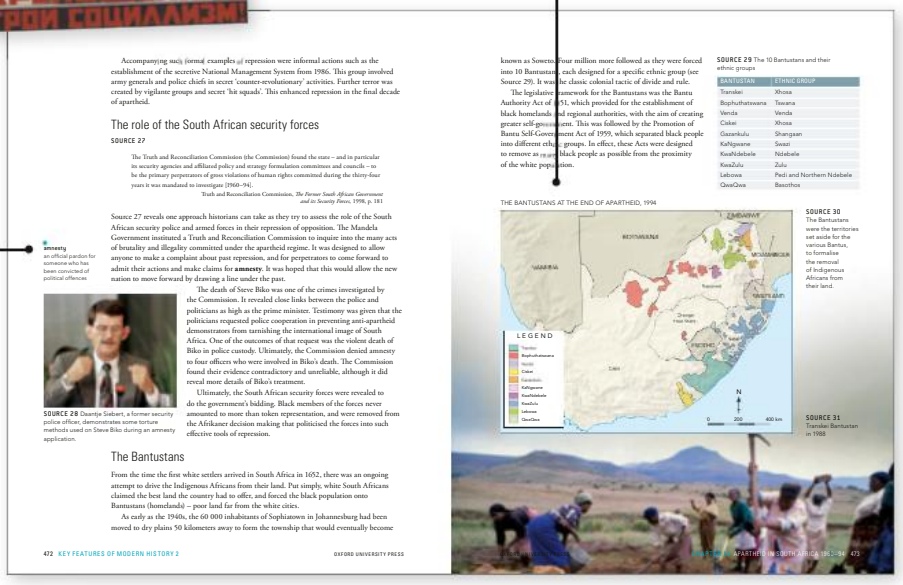
The role of the South African security forces
SOURCE 27
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) found the state – and in particular its security agencies and affiliated policy and strategy formulation committees and councils – to be the primary perpetrators of gross violations of human rights committed during the thirty-four years it was mandated to investigate [1960–94].
Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Former South African Government and its Security Forces*, 1998, p. 181
The Bantustans
SOURCE 28 Daantjie Siebert, a former security police officer, demonstrates some torture methods used on Steve Biko during an amnesty application.
SOURCE 29 The 10 Bantustans and their ethnic groups
SOURCE 30 The Bantustans were the territories set aside for the various Bantu, to formalise the removal of Indigenous Africans from their land.
SOURCE 31 Transkei Bantustan in 1968

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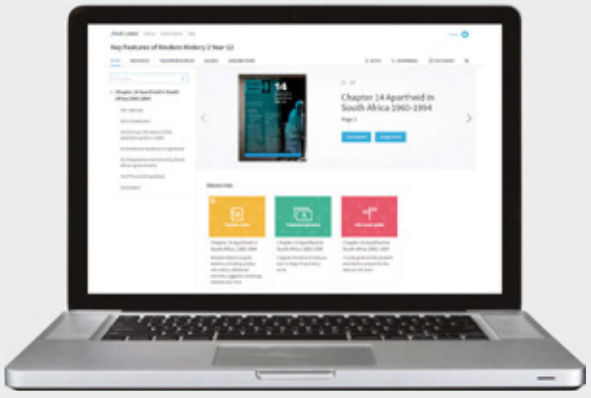

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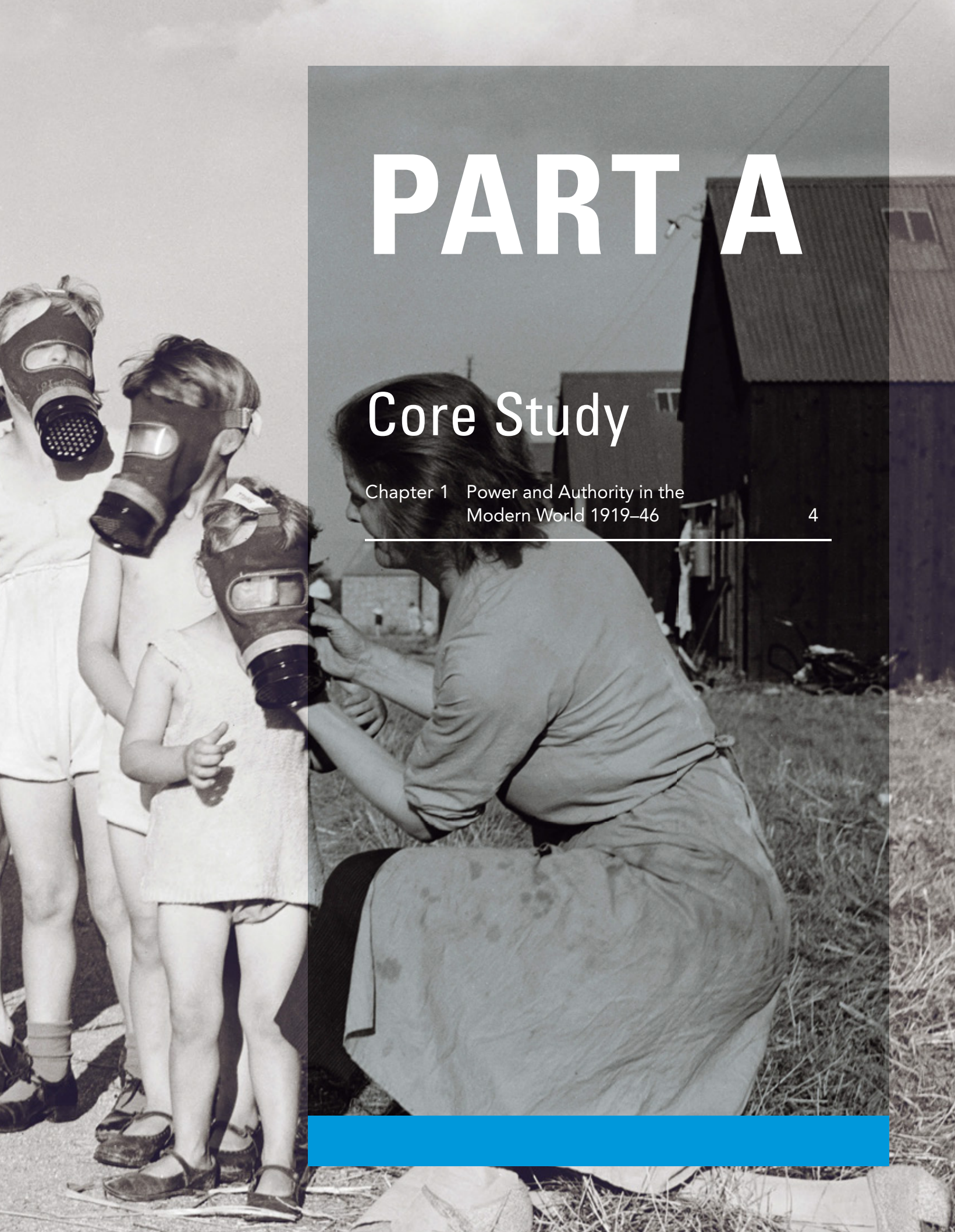
The children of seasonal workers on a hop farm at Paddock Wood, Kent, have their gas masks checked, 29 August 1939. The outbreak of the Second World War is less than a week away.



PART A

Core Study

Chapter 1 Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919–46 4

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the concepts of 'power' and 'authority' and how do they apply to the study of history in the period 1919–46?
2. What were the peace treaties that ended the First World War and what consequences did they have?
3. What were the features of the fascist, totalitarian and militarist movements that emerged after the First World War and how did they differ from each other?
4. How and why did democracy collapse in Germany in the 1930s?
5. What was the nature of the Nazi dictatorship?
6. How and why did the search for peace and security fail between 1919 and 1939?
7. How was the search for peace and security renewed between 1939 and 1946?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The historical skills involved in considering the nature, usefulness and reliability of sources are critical to the Core Study and to success in the HSC exam. This means that you will need to consider the context of each source before you analyse its content. Always note when your source was produced, who the author is and the likely intended purpose behind the source. Remember that all sources are biased and that even maps and tables of statistics were selected with a purpose and an audience in mind. It is for you to think about the nature of that bias and whether or not it was intentional.

Historical interpretation

As you study the Core and the relationships between power and authority in the modern world, it is important to focus on the nature of those concepts and how they can help us understand and explain the historical events of this period. Interpretation is key to any successful historical study, as historians seek not only to describe, but also to explain and understand the causes and nature of events. In the process, historical interpretations change as new evidence comes to light and old evidence is viewed from new perspectives.

1

Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919–46

Historical investigation and research

All historical investigations start with questions. What is it that you want to learn? What are the best ways to find answers to your questions? Always consult a range of sources throughout your process. These should be selected to reflect different perspectives. Remember that a perspective can be influenced by the time when the source was produced, the national origin of the source and the political affiliation of the producer of the source.

Explanation and communication

Keep in mind that the Core Study does not only require you to study and learn about events that took place between 1919 and 1946. To be successful in your HSC, you will need to be able to analyse and interpret sources, as well as integrate these sources with your own knowledge. Finally, you will need to be able to present this ability in a structured and coherent response in your HSC exam.

LEARNING GOALS

- Understand the relationships between the concepts of power and authority in the modern world.
- Explain the failure to maintain peace and security following the First World War.
- Understand the ambitions of Germany in Europe and Japan in the Asia–Pacific Region in the period 1919–46.
- Understand and account for the nature of the different dictatorships that emerged after the First World War.
- Understand and explain the nature of Hitler's dictatorship in Germany up to 1939.
- Understand the authority and intentions of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

(From left) French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, US President Woodrow Wilson and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George attend the Versailles Peace Conference at the end of the First World War, 1 June 1919.

1.1 Introduction

Before addressing any of the content that follows in this Core Study, it is vital to consider the nature of the two concepts of power and authority and to understand that, although often linked, they are two separate ideas. As a modern history student, considering these concepts will provide you with the opportunity to develop a broader, transnational perspective – that goes beyond the history of individual nation states – when investigating the rise of **fascist**, **totalitarian** and **militarist** movements after the First World War.

This chapter will consider why people were attracted to these movements and the conflicts associated with them, why struggles to preserve the peace through collective security failed. Collective security was an approach to international peace developed after the First World War whereby nations promised to support one another, in a collective fashion, to ensure their security if threatened. It did not work in practice because nations were reluctant to give up their individual rights to make decisions about their foreign policy. The chapter will further consider why, in some cases, democracies (in this case, the democratic governments in Germany and Italy) collapsed as a result. This Core Study also provides an opportunity for you to develop an understanding of the impact of dictatorships, especially on individual freedoms and on peace and security. In the process, you will be offered insights into the contemporary world and a critical perspective on the nature of power and authority.

fascist
a right-wing nationalist political movement that originated in Italy but then gave its name to any nationalist, conservative, authoritarian movement or ideology

totalitarian
a concept developed by social scientists to describe an extreme form of dictatorship with what appears to be total or near total control over a society; historians regard the term as being useful as a general description, but not for the purpose of explanation

militarist (adj)
a strong military influence on a society or its government

realpolitik
a type of politics where decisions are based on practical and 'real' concerns about gaining and retaining power and influence, rather than questions of justice or right and wrong

plutocracy
a society or form of government dominated by wealth; the plutocrats were the rich and their money gave them power

The concept of power

It is widely acknowledged by both historians and political scientists that at the heart of political power are the twin elements of fear and reward. Power comes in many different forms linked to one or both of these elements. Throughout history, some people and groups have held power because of their physical or military strength. Others have wielded power because they have been wealthy or controlled other people's or groups' finances. Therefore, having strength and wealth has historically often meant having power.

In a **realpolitik** sense, leaders or nations hold power because they control more weapons and more troops than any other group. Many dictatorships – including those that you will learn more about in this book, such as Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia and the militarists in the Japan – held power because they held a monopoly (that is, complete, or almost complete control) of coercive force. Coercive force is the power to punish people who do not obey. Punishments can involve death, imprisonment, beatings, fines, confiscation of property, exile and so on. This type of power has been frequently exercised under dictatorships, as the governments in dictatorships control the army and the police.

In contrast, societies where power sits with those having the greatest wealth are called **plutocratic** societies, and the people in power are plutocrats. Historical examples of plutocratic societies include the Roman Empire and some of the city states of Ancient Greece.

Regardless of whether power comes from strength or wealth, all of the dictatorships that you will study in this chapter attained power and held on to it because they were able to command the obedience of their people. Their power to control their population came from a combination of fear and reward: the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. Rewards could be in the form of higher wages, better housing or status; that is, rank within society.

The concept of authority

The concept of authority is more complex. In a democracy, by definition, authority comes first from the people. In other words, the authority behind every decision that is made in a democracy – including the allocation of power – is meant to come from ordinary citizens. In a democracy, therefore, elected representatives exercise power on behalf of the people. In religious societies, sometimes called theocracies, authority comes from religion and the idea that whoever is in power has a divine **mandate** to rule.

SOURCE 1 The Japanese military dictator General Hideki Tojo (right) bows to Emperor Hirohito, October 1940. Tojo's power was linked to the authority of the emperor.

mandate
a claim to power, authority, control or the right to govern

In Hitler's Germany, authority rested with the Führer (leader), Nazi leader Adolf Hitler, who claimed that his authority and his right to make decisions and exercise power came from the *Volk*, the ethnic German people. Hitler claimed that he served the *Volksgemeinschaft* – the 'people's community'. In Stalin's Russia, authority came from the Communist Party that claimed to represent both communist ideology and the proletariat (the Russian urban, industrial working class). In Italy, fascist dictator Benito Mussolini tried to link his authority to the glories of Ancient Rome and even spoke about wanting to create a 'Third Rome' (where the 'First Rome' referred to the Roman Empire, while the 'Second Rome' referred to Constantinople).

In militarist Japan, the authority of the army was based on loyalty to the emperor, and the generals exercised power in his name. As the Japanese people saw Emperor Hirohito as a God, there was also an element of **theocracy** in the Japanese system.

theocracy
a society or form of government dominated by religious ideas

In summary, authority justifies the use of power and power gives meaning to authority and can make people accept it. As noted above, the concepts are different but nonetheless linked, and one rarely exists without the other. Both will be explored further throughout this Core Study.

1.1 Check your learning

1. What are the twin elements of political power? Provide examples of how each one can be exercised.
2. What is a plutocracy? List some examples of plutocratic powers within Australian society.
3. What is the foundation of authority in a theocratic society?
4. Explain how the idea of power is different from the idea of authority.
5. Identify the various authorities behind the respective powers of Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Tojo.

1.1 Understanding and using the sources

Source 1 was published in Japan in 1940. Analyse the source and consider the implied message that the militarist government of Japan wanted to send to the Japanese public. Make reference to the source in your response.

1.2 Survey: Peace treaties that ended the First World War and their consequences

Central Powers
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allies in the First World War; they included Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey

Allies
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France, Russia, the United States, Serbia and Italy

imperial/imperialism
relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

arms race
an escalation of arms development by nations, seeking to ensure that each side has more powerful weapons than the other

In the beginning of winter 1918, the First World War seemed to come to an unexpected end as, one by one, the **Central Powers** crumbled. Bulgaria surrendered on 29 September, followed by Turkey on 31 October. Austria-Hungary followed on 4 November. The German armies on the Western Front were under increasing pressure and the German High Command informed Kaiser (Emperor) Wilhelm II that the war was lost. The Kaiser fled Germany for the Netherlands on 9 November and two days later, on 11 November, a new German Government signed the armistice (that is, an agreement to cease fighting). However, while the armistice ended the fighting in the First World War, it did not end international conflict, nor did it end the struggles for power.

The First World War, or the 'Great War' as it has also been called, had raged for four years, from 1914 to 1918, with the **Allies** on one side and the Central Powers on the other. The war had been triggered by the assassination of the heir to Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in late June 1914. The assassination followed a series of disputes over power in the Balkans and the authority of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to rule a number of different ethnic communities. The 'July Crisis', as it became known, soon expanded into a general European war – only Spain, Switzerland, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries managed to stay out of it. At the time, the war was blamed on Germany and, in turn, on the nationalism, the **imperialism** and the **arms race** that had been taking place in Europe in the years leading up to the outbreak of the conflict.

SOURCE 2 A patriotic postcard from around 1918 shows the three main Central Powers: (from left) Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Germany. The caption reads: 'We want to be a people of brothers.'

The war killed over nine million people and a further five million died as a result of food shortages. Financial estimates have placed the cost of the war – which was fought across Europe and in parts of Asia, Africa, the Pacific and the Middle East – at over $300 billion. The Great War saw the collapse of four imperial powers: Germany, Russia, the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Austria-Hungary. In the long term, the war also marked the decline of Europe and the rise of the United States, while in Asia, Japan emerged as a growing political force in international affairs.

The Paris Peace Conference

The Paris Peace Conference took place at the start of January 1919 and led to a range of debates about the foundations of authority in the new post–First World War world. The Paris Peace Conference is still sometimes mistakenly referred to as the Versailles Conference. However, the Treaty of Versailles – the treaty between Germany and the Allies, which was signed in the Palace of Versailles – while important, was only one of the agreements that came out of the Paris Peace Conference.

It is almost impossible to understand the world today, or indeed the history of much of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, without an understanding of the Paris Peace Conference. Historian Margaret Macmillan has called the conference 'six months that changed the world'. This is a fair comment, as the delegates to the conference, representing 32 countries, not only redrew the map of Central Europe, but also created new countries in the Middle East, including Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. They also established the foundations for the creation of the modern state of Israel, which emerged in 1948. At the outset, however, the conference attendees mainly had two goals in mind. The first was to prevent a repeat of the disaster in the form of another major war. The second was to justify the vast costs in terms of both lives and money that had been paid during the war.

All the victorious nations except Russia attended the conference. Russia was excluded because it had made a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers in 1918. On the losing side, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey were not invited to attend until the terms of the treaty had been finalised. This was because the conference began as a preliminary conference, but gradually changed into a full conference.

The rules for the conference were drawn up by five of the countries regarded as 'Great Powers': Britain, France, the United States, Italy and Japan. They stated that the conference members were to be divided into three groups. The first group, made up of all five of the Great Powers, was entitled to attend all sessions at the conference. The second group included lesser powers that had fought in the war and had special claims. This group included members of the Commonwealth, Belgium and Greece, among others. The third group, including Peru and Bolivia, had not fought in the war but had broken off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers.

Germany, Italy and Japan all left the conference dissatisfied with the results, and many historians trace the origins of the Second World War back to the decisions made at the Paris Peace Conference.

SOURCE 3 A postcard from around 1916 shows Italy (centre) joining the Allies. Italy had previously been part of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, but changed sides. Italy therefore came to the Paris Peace Conference with high expectations of making major territorial gains. These expectations were not met.

1.2a Check your learning

1 Explain why the Paris Peace Conference is so important to understanding the world today.

2 Why do you think historian Margaret Macmillan chose to use the words 'six months that changed the world' to describe the conference?

SOURCE 4 The leaders of the 'Big Four' at the Paris Peace Conference: (from left) David Lloyd George of Britain, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France and Woodrow Wilson of the United States

The role of the 'Big Four'

Even though Japan had become a member of the five Great Powers, the real power at the Paris Peace Conference rested with the 'Big Four': Britain, Italy, France and the United States. The leaders of the 'Big Four' were all very different people and their temperaments and the needs of their individual countries saw them clash, compromise, argue and negotiate as they attempted to meet the challenges of making lasting peace.

Georges Clemenceau (France)

The French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was 78 years old in 1919. He had seen his country invaded by Germany twice in his lifetime and was determined to make sure it would never happen again. Clemenceau had insisted the conference be held in Paris. When this idea, and his other demands, were challenged, the French leader argued that his authority to exercise this power came from the huge sacrifice that France had made during the war. Clemenceau recognised that because France shared a border with Germany, and because of the difference between the birth rates of the two countries (around three or four children per family in Germany, compared with around two in France), France would always be at risk of invasion. He was therefore determined that Germany should be weakened to reduce the possible threat. He advocated a harsh peace with the following consequences for Germany:

- the payment of reparations (money that Germany was required to pay as a penalty for damage and loss of life during the war)
- loss of territory
- limits to the size of its army (to 100 000 troops)
- a ban on **conscription**
- a navy limited to six battleships
- a loss of all colonies
- a ban on having an air force.

conscript/ conscription
a soldier who did not volunteer for service and is serving a period in the armed forces as mandated by the government

David Lloyd George (Britain)

The British Prime Minister David Lloyd George was a complex, clever and ruthless politician. His role during the Paris Peace Conference – and, in particular, in the making of the Treaty of Versailles – is often misunderstood. Like Clemenceau, Lloyd George wanted to guarantee his nation's security. He had therefore, before arriving at Paris, taken control of the German Navy. Naval power was the only means by which Germany could pose a threat to Britain, and so Lloyd George had acted to remove that threat. He also approved the continuing of a Royal Navy **blockade**, which limited food to the starving Germany population until the treaty was signed. Beyond these demands, Lloyd George was willing to side with US President Wilson's softer approach. After all, the British did not want Germany completely crippled, as they feared that this would make France too strong. Britain also wanted the German postwar economy to be healthy enough to buy British manufactured goods.

blockade
sealing off a place to prevent people or goods arriving or leaving

TERRITORIAL CHANGES AS A RESULT OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 5 In addition to the losses shown here, Germany also lost territory to the new state of Czechoslovakia.

Vittorio Orlando (Italy)

The Italian leader Vittorio Orlando came to Paris with high hopes of major territorial gains, especially control of the Adriatic coastline. This was not to happen. Instead, he was often isolated among the 'Big Four' and regularly clashed with Wilson. In his memoirs, Lloyd George complained that both Orlando and Clemenceau would cry when they did not get their way; but by the end of the conference, Orlando had more to cry about than Clemenceau. Italy did not receive many of the territories it had been hoping for, as the other Great Powers were suspicious of Italy's imperial ambitions. This saw Orlando leave the conference deeply dissatisfied. The failure in Paris ended Orlando's political career and paved the way for a right-wing dictatorship in Italy under Benito Mussolini, who took power in October 1922.

Woodrow Wilson (United States)

President Woodrow Wilson regarded himself as an idealist and believed that he and America (the new world) could save Europe (the old world) from itself and from further war. He believed that America could offer leadership and make the world a better and safer place. Importantly, Wilson and the United States did not have the same security fears as France and Britain. Nor did the United States need more territory, like Italy, to justify entering the war. It was therefore easier for Wilson to take the 'high road'. If Orlando needed territory to justify Italy entering the war, Wilson needed the **League of Nations** (see page 14) to justify having broken the election promise he had made to the American people when he was re-elected in 1916 – to keep the United States out of the war. He hoped that founding a League of Nations to ensure enduring peace would make the American people agree that entering the war was the right decision.

League of Nations an intergovernmental organisation founded as a result of the Paris Peace Conference; it was the first international organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace

Before the United States entered the war on 22 January 1917, Wilson delivered a speech to Congress that set out the idea of 'Peace without victory'. This came after he had written to both sides and asked for their war aims. The speech included some ideas that would appear the following year in the famous 'Fourteen Points', set out below:

1 no secret treaties
2 freedom of the seas in peacetime or wartime
3 free trade between countries
4 international disarmament
5 colonies to have a say in their own future
6 German troops to leave Russia
7 independence for Belgium
8 France to regain Alsace-Lorraine
9 the frontier between Austria and Italy to be adjusted
10 self-determination for the people of Eastern Europe
11 Serbia to have access to the sea
12 self-determination for the people of the Ottoman Empire
13 Poland to become an independent state with access to the sea
14 a League of Nations to be established.

Neither the British nor the French were willing to support the Fourteen Points when Wilson first proposed them in January 1918, but this did not seem to matter because Germany had already rejected some of the provisions when it turned down the conditions included in the earlier 'Peace without victory' speech. However, the position had changed by October 1918, when the Germans realised that the war seemed lost. The Germans then asked Wilson to arrange a peace on the basis of the original Fourteen Points, but Wilson replied that new peace terms would have to be decided after an armistice.

SOURCE 6 A cartoon from March 1919 shows Wilson in his 'Fourteen-League-of-Nations' boots coming to Europe.

After the fact, some people in Germany argued that they had only agreed to an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points. This is one of the many 'half truths' that became part of the myth of the 'stab in the back' and German claims of unfair treatment in the conditions of the Treaty of Versailles.

1.2b Check your learning

1 Identify the states that made up the 'Big Four.'
2 Account for the key French demands.
3 Describe Britain's position and analyse how it differed from that of the French.

The Treaty of Versailles

Even though the Treaty of Versailles (the treaty that made the peace with Germany at the end of the First World War) is by far the most famous and perhaps the most important treaty signed during the Paris Peace Conference, it was not the only one. There were in fact four other treaties that made up the peace settlements:

1 the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary
2 the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria
3 the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria
4 the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey.

The Treaty of Versailles would, however, have the arguably biggest influence on postwar Europe. It included many of the harsh conditions that Clemenceau had wanted. Germany lost its overseas colonies and was forced to give up territory in Europe to new neighbours. It had its military vastly reduced. It had to pay reparations and accept responsibility for causing the war. This acknowledgment of blame was formally set out in Article 231: the so-called 'War Guilt Clause'.

The Treaty of Versailles became famous, or infamous, because of what followed. The idea of the treaty, and what it was perceived as having led to, became more important and powerful than the treaty itself. It is not uncommon – as is evident in the cartoon in Source 7 – to blame the Second World War on the Treaty of Versailles. Yet as a history student it is crucial that you rely on facts to come to your own conclusion about the role of the treaty in setting Germany up to initiate the Second World War.

SOURCE 7 This 1920 cartoon by Australian Will Dyson is highly critical of the Treaty of Versailles. The French leader Clemenceau (the Tiger) comments that he thinks that he hears a child crying. The child is labelled '1940 class'.

In the decades between the two World Wars, the most important consequences of the Treaty of Versailles were:

1 the failure of the US Senate to **ratify** the Treaty of Versailles; as the League of Nations was established within the Treaty of Versailles, this also meant that the United States did not become a member of the League – a personal failure for Wilson who had been championing the creation of the League since before the United States joined the war
2 the resentment towards the treaty in Germany that was inspired and exploited by conservative groups.

ratify to agree to or support; to give formal confirmation of a treaty or agreement

Many historians have argued that the Treaty of Versailles was neither excessively harsh nor unreasonable, but, as noted above, the fact that the treaty would be used as a means to mobilise dissatisfied leaders and groups ended up being as significant in shaping modern history as the treaty itself.

SOURCE 8 A German right-wing **propaganda** poster blaming Germany's defeat in the First World War on the 'stab in the back'

Did the Treaty of Versailles treat Germany unfairly?

The 'stab in the back' was one of the most important and influential myths to emerge in twentieth-century history. Like all powerful myths, this one was not pure fiction. It has elements of truth.

The German claim that the Treaty of Versailles was a **diktat** – a treaty that simply dictated to the German delegates – is in part true. The Paris Peace Conference was originally intended to be a preliminary conference, where the Allies would meet to decide on the terms of a treaty that would then be negotiated with the German delegates. However, the preliminary meeting turned into a full conference and the phase of negotiation with German delegates never took place. This fact was often pointed to by conservatives, in particular Hitler, who campaigned against the treaty and against the democratic politicians who had been forced to sign it.

propaganda
biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

diktat
a harsh settlement unilaterally imposed on a defeated nation

1.2c Check your learning

Conduct research to find evidence to help you determine whether the Treaty of Versailles was unreasonably harsh and unfair to Germany. Discuss your findings in a 300-word article.

1.2a Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse and interpret the usefulness of Source 7 to a historian studying the Treaty of Versailles. Consider the context of the source, when it was produced and the theme of the cartoon.

2 Analyse and assess the effectiveness of the poster in Source 8 as an example of propaganda. What are the themes and motifs (consider images and colours) used by the artist, and how might these choices impact on the effectiveness of the poster?

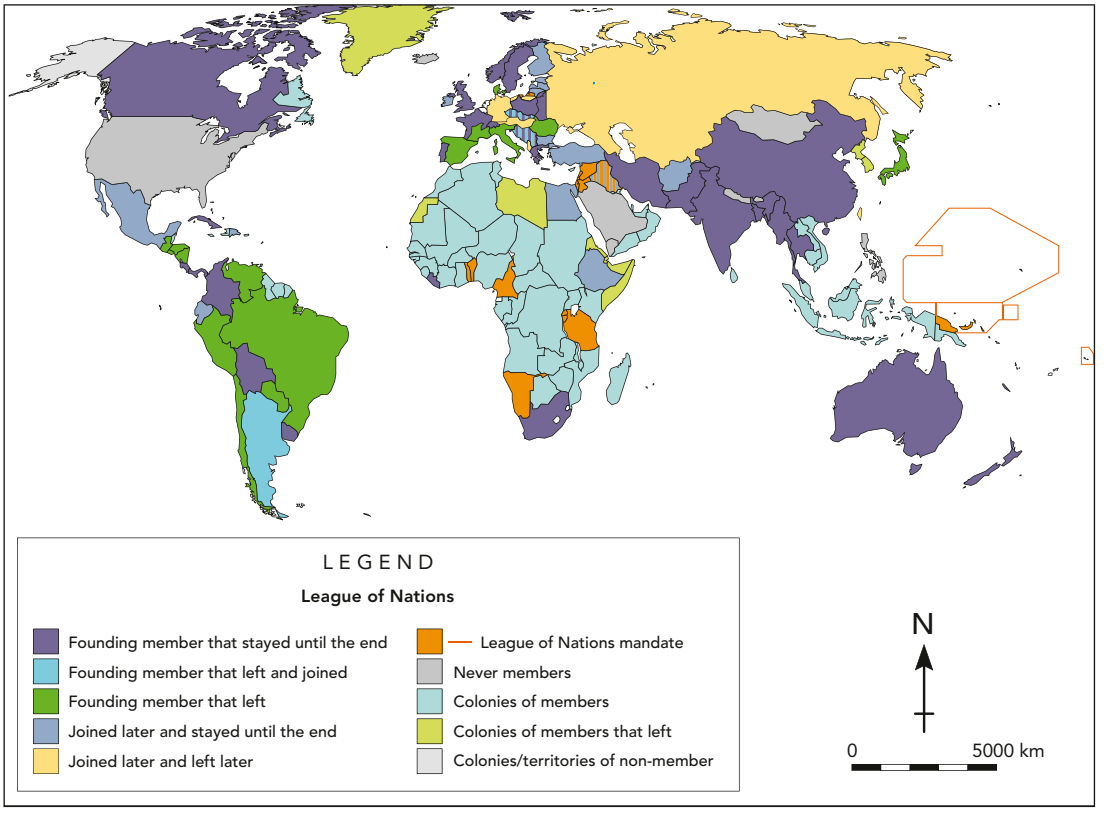
The League of Nations

The Covenant of the League of Nations – the document setting out the organisation's structure and aims – claimed that its key objective was to 'promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting obligations not to resort to war'.

Even though the League of Nations is closely linked to US President Wilson, it was not his idea alone. During the war, a series of proposals were put forward favouring some kind of international organisation that would aim to maintain the peace and limit the growth of **armaments**. Proposals by General Jan Smuts of South Africa and Lord Robert Cecil of Britain formed part of the basis for the League, making it clear that there was support for the concept before the end of the war.

armaments
the collective term for all the weapons of war – guns, tanks, aircraft, warships etc.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS



SOURCE 9 Member states of the League of Nations, 1920–45

Source: Oxford University Press

The participants at the Paris Peace Conference established a League of Nations Commission, which was in charge of drawing up plans for the League. The conference attendees then approved the commission's proposal, which became the Covenant of the League of Nations on 28 April 1919. The 26 articles of the covenant initially focused on implementing the peace treaties ending the Great War. Despite its authority, and despite it having been sanctioned by the members of the Paris Peace Conference and having 42 founding members, the League did not have a military force of its own, unlike the modern United Nations, and its power was therefore limited.

The headquarters of the League was placed in Geneva, Switzerland, and the League's structure was based on three main branches: the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat.

The Assembly included all of the member states, where each state, large and small, had a single vote. The Assembly met once a year.

The Council met more regularly – four times a year – and although it was meant to represent the five Great Powers of Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan, the fact that the US Senate failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles meant that the Council started out with four members. These Great Powers were balanced by four non-permanent powers, elected to represent the smaller nations. From 1922, more non-permanent members became part of the Council, which gave the smaller powers a majority.

The Assembly was also responsible for supervision of the Secretariat, which was made up of 600 full-time professional administrators under a Secretary General. They were responsible for managing everyday League business.

SOURCE 11 An American cartoon from 1920 critical of the US Republican-led Senate for failing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles

Under these three main groups there were also the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Labour Organization and a series of technical organisations, dealing with economics, health, transport and communication.

SOURCE 10

> Power involves will, as the United States and the world are discovering today: the will to spend, whether in money or lives. In 1919 that will had been crippled among the Europeans; the Great War meant that the leaders of France or Britain or Italy no longer had the capacity to order their peoples to pay a high price for power … It is tempting to say that the United States lost an opportunity to bend Europe to its will before competing ideologies of fascism and communism could take hold … In 1919, however, the United States was not yet significantly stronger than the other powers.
>
> Armies, navies, railways, economics, ideologies, history: all these are important in understanding the Paris Peace Conference. But so too are the individuals because, in the end, people draw up reports, make decisions and order armies to move. The peacemakers brought their own national interests with them but they also brought their likes and dislikes. Nowhere were these more important than among the powerful men – especially Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson – who sat down together in Paris.

Margaret Macmillan, *Peacemakers: Six Months that Changed the World*, 2001

SOURCE 12 This 1920s cartoon blames the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations for a critical weakness in the structure.

1.2d Check your learning

1 Analyse the importance of individual leaders to the events in Paris in 1919.

1.2b Understanding and using the sources

1 Identify what Margaret Macmillan argues is the key to power in Source 10.

2 With specific reference to Source 10 and the ideas expressed by Macmillan, what are, in your view, the lessons of power that the world today can learn from 1919?

3 Study Source 7 and Source 10. Choose one of the 'Big Four' leaders and write a 250-word newspaper-style obituary summing up his life and career. In the process, assess the validity of the views of your chosen figure presented by these sources.

4 Using Sources 9–12 and the information available in this chapter, assess the importance of the United States to the process of making peace.

5 What insights can be gained about the relationship between power and authority by studying Sources 1–12?

The role of power and authority in the peace process

The victors at the Paris Peace Conference maintained that their authority for exercising the power to impose the terms of the peace after the First World War came from their victory. For example, US President Wilson repeatedly asserted a moral authority for the creation of the League of Nations, while French leader Clemenceau spoke of the millions of French dead and the enormous damage done to France by a war fought largely on French soil as the basis of his authority at the conference.

In terms of power, however, the power of the 'Big Four' was already in decline by the time their leaders arrived for the conference in 1919. The armies that had won the war were going home and returning to civilian life. Therefore, the power of the 'Big Four' to assert their authority was weaker in 1919 than it had been when their armies were at full strength in November 1918. When David, Lloyd George, Vittorio Orlando, Wilson and Clemenceau met to make decisions, they appeared powerful; and yet, because they came from democratic societies, their power was always limited to the authority granted to them by their voters at home.

The clearest example of the complex relationship between power and authority that emerged from the Paris Peace Conference was the part played by Wilson. The authority of the democratic process in his own country ultimately overruled him, despite his apparent power at the conference. The US Senate refused to endorse American membership of the League of Nations, the very body that Wilson had vigorously championed. In turn, the absence of the United States from the League of Nations, and America's decision to adopt a more **isolationist** position, weakened the power of the League as Europe moved away from democracy and into a time that would be dominated by the rise of dictatorships.

isolationism the idea that a country needs to isolate itself from world affairs and focus on its own self-interest

1.3 The rise of the dictatorships after the First World War

As noted earlier in the chapter, the three countries that produced the most famous right-wing dictatorships after the First World War – Germany, Italy and Japan – were all dissatisfied when they left the Paris Peace Conference, as was the new left-wing communist dictatorship in Russia, which had been banned from the conference. It would be wrong, however, to assume that this dissatisfaction was the primary cause for the rise of any of these dictatorships. Rather, there were specific local, national, social, economic and cultural factors at work in each of these countries that played a part in the rejection of democratic governments. Furthermore, it would also be wrong to view all four of these dictatorships as the same. Each of them was unique, or, to use the Latin term, *sui generis*. The factors that led to the rise of communism in Russia and Stalin's dictatorship were very different from the circumstances in Italy that saw Benito Mussolini become dictator, or those in Germany where Adolf Hitler created Nazi rule. The historical factors at work in creating each of the European dictatorships were also clearly different from the cultural heritage that saw Hideki Tojo become first Prime Minister and then leader of a military dictatorship in Japan. To properly understand how and why these dictatorships emerged, each of them must be studied individually.

All these societies did, however, have two things in common. They all rejected democratic values, and they all placed loyalty to the state above the rights and freedoms of individuals.

As discussed in the introduction to this Core Study, the power exercised by each of these dictatorships was based on a combination of fear and reward. Further, their authority rested on loyalty to a particular leader, ideology or set of values.

SOURCE 13
The Paris Peace Conference 1919: within two decades the world order championed by the victors at this conference had been challenged and, for a time, overturned.

As a history student it is important that you stay clear of the dangerous assumption that **liberal democracy** and **representative government** – of the kind that exists in Australia, the United States and Britain, for example – are somehow the natural order and the logical result of social progress and modernity. This view is both misguided and historically short-sighted. In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, as you will have noted earlier in this chapter, the democracies appeared to have prevailed. However, within two decades the world order championed by the victors at the Paris Peace Conference had been challenged and, for a time, overturned. Dictators had taken power in Italy, Russia, Spain and Germany in the 1920s and 30s. At the time, many people in Europe had in fact come to feel that these dynamic nationalist dictatorships represented the future.

Columbia University historian Mark Mazower called Europe between the First and Second World Wars the 'Dark Continent'. He was referring to the ideas that led to the rise of the dictatorships and the war and bloodshed that became part of these dark times.

liberal democracy
a form of democratic government where liberal freedoms – meaning freedom of religion, freedom of the press and free enterprise – are valued and protected

representative government
government run by elected officials

SOURCE 14

> [W]e should certainly not assume that democracy is suited to Europe. Though we may like to think democracy's victory in the **Cold War** proves its deep roots in Europe's soil, history tells us otherwise. Triumphant in 1918, it was virtually extinct twenty years on. Maybe it was bound to collapse in a time of political crisis and economic turmoil, for its defenders were too utopian, too ambitious, too few. In its focus on constitutional rights and its neglect of social responsibilities, it often seemed more fitted to the nineteenth than the twentieth century. By the 1930s the signs were that most Europeans no longer wished to fight for it; there were dynamic non-democratic alternatives to meet the challenges of modernity. Europe found other, **authoritarian**, forms of political order no more foreign to its traditions, and no less efficient as organizers of society, industry and technology.
>
> Mark Mazower's *The Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*, 1999, p. 3

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

authoritarian
favouring strict obedience to authority; a term normally associated with dictatorships, where the authority of the government is not to be challenged

1.3a Check your learning

1. Identify the meaning of the Latin term *sui generis* and explain why it is important for historians studying the nature of dictatorships.
2. Account for the general qualities that the dictatorships had in common.
3. Explain why historian Mark Mazower would describe Europe in the interwar period as the 'Dark Continent'? Is the description justified?

1.3a Understanding and using the sources

1. Examine Source 14. What do you think that Mazower meant when he suggested that the defenders of democracy had neglected their 'social responsibilities'?
2. As you read this chapter, think about Mazower's argument and decide whether or not you agree with his argument that democracy was not necessarily 'suited to Europe' in the 1920s and 30s.
3. Mazower suggests that democracy might have been bound to collapse in a time of political and economic turmoil. Do you agree that democracy is better suited to rich and stable countries? Justify your response.

SOURCE 15 Timeline

Key events in the rise of the dictatorships after the First World War

1860

The Japanese military starts to play an important part in Japanese politics.

1878

The Imperial Japanese Army General Staff is established. Both it and the later Naval General Staff are independent from civilian political control.

1917

The Bolshevik Party (later known as the Communist Party) takes power in Russia.

1919

Benito Mussolini founds the Fascist Party in Italy.

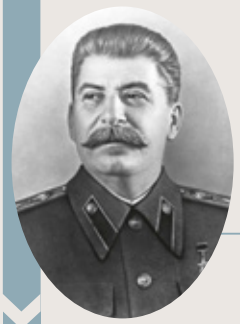
Mussolini

1922

Mussolini takes power in Italy and establishes a fascist dictatorship that ends democratic government.

1922

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union) is formed, with Russia as the central member.



Stalin

1924

Joseph Stalin becomes head of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

1929

The Great Depression creates massive unemployment and economic hardship in Japan, Italy and Germany, conditions that encourage public support of dictators.

A 'cult of personality' begins in Russia/the Soviet Union, establishing Stalin's authority to hold power.

1930

A number of political moderates are assassinated in Japan by extreme nationalist/militarist groups.

1933

January: Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany. He will turn Germany into a Nazi Party dictatorship.

February: Japan leaves the League of Nations.

1936

Germany and Japan form an alliance known as the Anti-Comintern Pact.

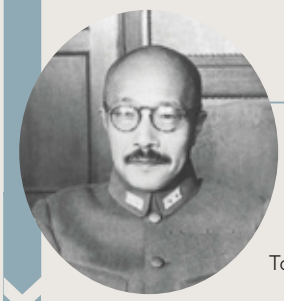
Hitler

1936–38

Stalin stages purges with the arrest and murder of many of his potential political rivals.

1937

Italy and Spain join Germany and Japan and they all become known as the Axis Powers.



Tojo

1941

October: General Hideki Tojo becomes Prime Minister of Japan.

Europe in the interwar period

During the interwar period, Europe displayed the scars of the Great War and suffered the wounds of the **Great Depression**. In terms of the scars of war, Harvard historian Paul Kennedy wrote that financing the Great War caused major long-term economic and social problems. After decades of economic growth before 1914, manufacturing took a downturn following the end of the war, and in 1920 global manufacturing was 7 per cent below what it had been before the war started. The figures were even worse for Germany, France, Belgium and most of Eastern Europe, where manufacturing was down to 30 per cent below what it had been in 1914.

Great Depression a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s

As Europe struggled to heal the scars and recover from the economic dislocation and destruction of the First World War, it was struck by the Great Depression. Kennedy again observed that the global economic depression and massive unemployment changed the face of both international relations and domestic politics in all industrial economies. The economic statistics from the period support Kennedy's conclusion. The value of European trade before the Great Depression, in 1928, had been $58 billion, but by 1935 it had dropped to less than half that figure, at $20.6 billion.

Not surprisingly, the impact on the social conditions in Europe was dismal.

1.3b Check your learning

1. Identify what the 'scars of the Great War' is referring to.
2. Analyse the impact of the 'wounds of the Great Depression' on Europe in the interwar period.
3. Discuss whether you believe there is a link between the events of the Great Depression and the First World War on the one hand, and the rise of dictatorships on the other. Remember to support your opinion with evidence where possible.

Rising dictatorships in Russia, Italy and Japan

As with any period of economic instability, people in Europe soon began to question existing institutions. Uncertainty and change have always proved fertile ground for extremists with radical solutions to everyday problems. This saw challenges to moderate, 'middle of the road' politicians, especially in Germany and Italy. These challenges came from both sides of politics. On the one side, there were the Communist Parties, inspired by the success of the revolution in Russia in 1917 and the promise of a new classless society. On the other side, there were the 'right wing' anti-communist groups, such as the Fascist Party in Italy, and the Nazis and other militarist right-wing groups in Germany.

As Mark Mazower suggests in Source 14, the dictatorships that emerged in the interwar period partly came about because of the deep, cultural authoritarian traditions that existed in Europe long before the more immediate economic and social crises that challenged the democratic order.

1.3 PROFILE

LENIN (1870–1924)

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, was one of the great revolutionary leaders of the twentieth century. Lenin was born into a well-educated middle-class family and went on to university, where he studied law. Like many others of his generation, at university Lenin was influenced by **socialist** ideas and, in particular, the works of the German thinker and economist Karl Marx. However, a key episode in Lenin's path to becoming a radical revolutionary was the execution in 1887 of his older brother Aleksandr, who was a member of a terrorist group.

After university, Lenin became virtually a professional revolutionary and a leading figure in the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party. In the years before the First World War, he was arrested for publishing a revolutionary newspaper that had been banned and spent time in exile in Siberia. The **Tsarist government camps** were not harsh and there was time to read, argue and organise. It was during this time that Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov took the name Lenin. Lenin also spent many of his pre-revolutionary years overseas. For example, in 1902 and 1903 he was living in London, where he edited the revolutionary newspaper *Iskra* and spent hours in the reading room of the British Museum where many of the papers of Marx were held.

The years before 1917 saw Lenin tirelessly working for his vision of a proletarian (workers') state based on the theories of Marx. Lenin was equally involved in educating and organising urban workers for the struggle against the Tsarist state, and in conflicts and power struggles within the socialist revolutionary movement. These internal conflicts came to a head in 1902 following the publication by Lenin of a pamphlet titled *What is to be Done?*, in which he argued that the revolution could only succeed if it was led from the front by a determined and **elite** group of revolutionaries. This view challenged the orthodox Marxist view that regarded the revolution as a mass movement, rejecting elites. This would not be the last time that Lenin would impose his ideas on the Russian revolutionary movement and, in doing so, modify Marxism to the degree that the official ideology of the Soviet state that was created after the revolution became known as Marxist-Leninism.

Lenin regarded the outbreak of the First World War as a critical moment representing a key opportunity for revolution, but at the time he was in exile in Austria and later Switzerland. When the Tsar (ruler) was overthrown in February 1917, Lenin returned to Russia with German assistance. The Germans were convinced that Lenin would try to take Russia out of the war, which was exactly what Lenin aimed to do. He refused to let the Bolsheviks join the **Provisional** Government, as some other socialists had done. He announced a policy of 'Peace, land and bread'. This meant that the Bolsheviks stood for an end to Russian involvement in the war, social reform with better wages and working conditions for factory workers, and land reform for the peasants. Lenin encouraged the Bolsheviks to concentrate on gaining control of the Soviets, which was the name given to the committees of soldiers and workers that appeared after the fall of the Tsar's government. The Soviets held control of some aspects of local government, and it was from this power base that the Bolsheviks, led by Marxist revolutionary Leon Trotsky, seized power from the Provisional Government.

socialism
belief in a society where wealth is shared through public ownership instead of private ownership of property

Tsarist
relating to the monarchical government of Russia

government camps
camps set up to house political prisoners who were thought to be a threat to Tsarist Russia, often in remote regions

elite
a small, select group of leaders in their field

provisional
temporary, subject to change

The popular image of Lenin is often presented as a contrast to Stalin, who is generally seen to be more brutal in his leadership. The fact is that Lenin was also ruthless. Shortly after taking power, he ordered the 'Red Terror', where opposition parties were banned, opponents imprisoned and rigid censorship imposed. In August 1918, during the Russian Civil War, Lenin wrote a letter (Source 16) to the Bolsheviks in Penza, a city south-east of Moscow.

When Lenin died in 1924, he was idolised and granted a mythical status.

SOURCE 16

> Comrades! The Kulak uprising … must be crushed without pity … An example must be made. (1) Hang (and I mean hang so that people can see) not less than 100 known kulaks, rich men. Bloodsuckers. (2) Publish their names. (3) Take all their grain away from them. (4) Identify hostages … Do this so that for hundreds of miles around the people can see, tremble, know and cry: they are killing and will go on killing the bloodsucking kulaks. Cable that you have received this and carried out [your instructions].
>
> Yours Lenin
>
> P.S. Find tougher people

Dmitri Volkogonov, *Lenin: Life and Legacy*, 1994

SOURCE 17 A Soviet propaganda poster featuring Lenin. It reads: 'Lenin lived, Lenin lives, Long live Lenin.'

1.3 PROFILE TASK

Read the letter in Source 16 and research its context. Who were the kulaks? What conclusions do you draw from the letter about Lenin's attitude to the exercise of power, and the extent to which terror was a feature of dictatorship in Russia before Stalin came to power?

Russia and Joseph Stalin (1878–1953)

The situation in Russia in the interwar period was very different from that of the other European counties. Compared with Western Europe, Russia was still socially and economically backwards. Like the other European powers, Russia suffered from the scars of the First World War, but because of its economic isolation from 1917, it did not suffer the same kinds of wounds from the Great Depression as most of the other European powers.

Before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, Russian society had been dominated by a few extremely wealthy, landowning aristocratic families. There was a small middle class and a small urban, industrial working class. However, the vast majority – over two-thirds of the population – were poor peasants. This social order had been overthrown by the removal of Tsar Nicolas II in 1917 (and the subsequent assassination of his whole family in 1918), and the period that followed came to be dominated by the following key features:

autocrat/autocratic a ruler who has absolute power

- the impact of the political revolution that ended the **autocratic** rule of the Tsar
- the consequences of the seizure of power by the Bolshevik Party (later known as the Communist Party)
- the rise of Stalin's dictatorship
- the rapid transformation of the Russian economy and social structure through the rapid industrialisation and **collectivisation** of all land under government control.

collectivisation the Stalinist plan to bring all farmland under collective communist government control

Joseph Stalin came to power after the death of Lenin in 1924. Stalin proved to be one of the most ruthless and brutal dictators of the twentieth century and is often compared with Adolf Hitler. The **Stalinist** regime in the Soviet Union and Hitler's Nazi dictatorship prompted the great sociologist Hannah Arendt to link the two in her famous 1951 book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Other sociologists and political scientists would follow Arendt's lead in describing Stalin and Hitler as 'totalitarian dictators'. This approach, however, is no longer seen as useful by twenty-first-century historians, who prefer to study each of these dictatorships as distinct phenomena.

Stalinism the authoritarian dictatorship established by Joseph Stalin in Russia; also describes any harsh and repressive form of government

When Stalin came to power, he based his authority on two things:

1. he claimed to be Lenin's chosen successor and a loyal servant of the Communist Party
2. he claimed to be the new prophet of Marxist (communist) ideology.

But Stalin was not always the natural leader of the party. Rather, after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin had only reached this position after a brief power struggle within the Communist Party with the better-known Leon Trotsky. Unlike the charismatic Trotsky – who had led the original Bolshevik seizure of power and then the Russian Red Army during the Civil War – Stalin presented himself as solid, humble and a loyal party member. Stalin suggested to his fellow party members that Trotsky would be likely to make himself a dictator and dominate the party if he were to be made leader. Stalin also skilfully used his position as General Secretary of the Communist Party to build support. It was Stalin who could offer party members better jobs, better houses (so-called *dachas*) and improve their quality of life. Historian Sheila Fitzpatrick called this 'patronage', meaning that in the first stages of his dictatorship Stalin used rewards for fellow party members. Reward under the Soviet system was linked to patronage, favours and benefits that came with party membership and loyalty. The terror, or fear, would come later.

SOURCE 18

> In the Soviet Union, for all its apparent bureaucratization, many things actually functioned on a personal basis. This was true of government offices, where the joke was that the only way to get in to see an important official was to say that your business was personal. It was true in the sphere of supply, where the best way of getting goods was by *blat*, personal connections. It was even true within the sphere of privilege, for commodities like *dachas* and housing in a ministerial apartment block were in extremely short supply, and mere membership in the eligible group was not enough to secure the prize. To get privileges, you needed contacts with somebody higher up: in short, you needed a patron. Patronage relations were ubiquitous in Soviet society.
>
> Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 2000, p. 109

'cult of personality' a term that became associated with the political leadership in a number of regimes where faith in the greatness and wisdom of the leader was the key to holding power

Stalin's campaign worked and he ultimately gained the greatest support among party members, while Trotsky was expelled from the party and exiled from Russia. Soon after securing the leadership, Stalin started to create a '**cult of personality**' around the dead former leader, Lenin. When Stalin delivered the eulogy at Lenin's funeral in 1924, he proclaimed himself Lenin's chosen successor and declared that Lenin should be revered as a kind of communist god. The city of Petrograd was renamed Leningrad, and Lenin's body was mummified and entombed in a huge mausoleum in Moscow.

The greater Lenin became in the public memory, the more authority Stalin inherited as Lenin's successor. Stalin gained access to Lenin's papers and made himself the governing voice and authority in determining communist ideology. Stalin gradually inherited Lenin's status and the cult of personality. This became clear in 1929 when there was an official celebration of Stalin's 50th birthday. The Soviet press, completely controlled by the Communist Party, printed hundreds of letters that they claimed were sent in by loyal followers. The letters called Stalin 'all knowing', 'all good', 'all just' and even 'all powerful'. Stalin was now mentioned by name in the national anthem. Not even Hitler or Mussolini had gone this far. This Stalinist cult of personality was taken even further in 1938 with the publication of Stalin's version of Soviet history in a book entitled *History of the All-Union Communist Party: Short Course*. In Stalin's version, the history of the party and the revolution were rewritten, with Stalin as the hero of the story. Stalin also made use of films and art to depict himself as above anyone else in the party, and in the Soviet Union.

SOURCE 19 A poster for the 17th Congress of the Communist Party in 1934, with two slogans: 'Long live the invincible Lenin's Party' and 'Long live the Great Leader of the World Proletarian Revolution, Comrade Stalin'

SOURCE 20 Kulaks were driven off their land and relocated to labour camps in the 1930s.

Stalin's personal dictatorship was to completely control the Soviet Union until his death in 1953. In this time, Stalin transformed Soviet society far more than Hitler, Mussolini or Tojo ever did in Germany, Italy or Japan. This transformation began shortly after Stalin came to power. Prior to this, peasants had been independent. They lived in remote communities, a long way from the centres of power, and they had access to food supplies as they could harvest the produce on their own small landholdings. This was to change under Stalin's rule.

From 1927, peasant land was increasingly brought under direct government control through the so-called 'collectivisation initiative', where individual farms were consolidated into collective landholdings. In 1928, more than 97 per cent of agricultural land in the Soviet Union was under private peasant control. In less than a decade, 93 per cent of land had been collectivised. The collective farms were known as *kolkhozy*, and the aim of the program was to solve the crisis in the agricultural industry that had developed since the mid-1920s. Collective farms, it was thought, would increase food supply to urban areas. This plan failed spectacularly as many peasants refused to work under the new conditions. The number of livestock soon started to fall dramatically, and by the 1940s collectivisation had proved a complete failure as the losses suffered in the Second World War had further hampered agricultural production. On top of this, several provinces suffered a severe drought in 1946, resulting in a famine that historians estimate killed over one million people.

Stalin blamed some of the wealtheir peasants, who he called kulaks, for the failure of his agricultural plan, and declared them enemies of the people and traitors to the revolution. They were subject to arrest and either exile, imprisonment or execution. From the 1930s, special prison camps, called **gulags**, were increasingly used as instruments to punish opponents of the Stalinist regime.

Gulag
An acronym for the agency in change of the Soviet labour camps; the term has come to also refer to the camps themselves.

1.3c Check your learning

1. Outline the foundations of Stalin's authority.
2. Explain how Stalin used rewards during the power struggle with Trotsky in 1924.
3. Identify how Stalin extended his power over the peasants and assess the importance of this to his power as a dictator.

1.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. Study Source 18 and explain the significance of both *blat* and patronage under the Stalinist system.
2. To what extent does Source 18 suggest a different approach to totalitarianism than a society dominated primarily by terror?

Fear and reward under Stalin

One of the key reasons for Stalin's success in the power struggle that followed Lenin's death was his ability to provide rewards. The system of offering rewards to officials loyal to Stalin eventually became institutionalised; in other words, patronage became part of the way the Stalinist Government operated. It was soon extended to include party members and workers who could receive rewards for meeting production targets. Some received lavish bonuses and a few – such as coal-miner and party member Alexei Stakhanov – gained celebrity status.

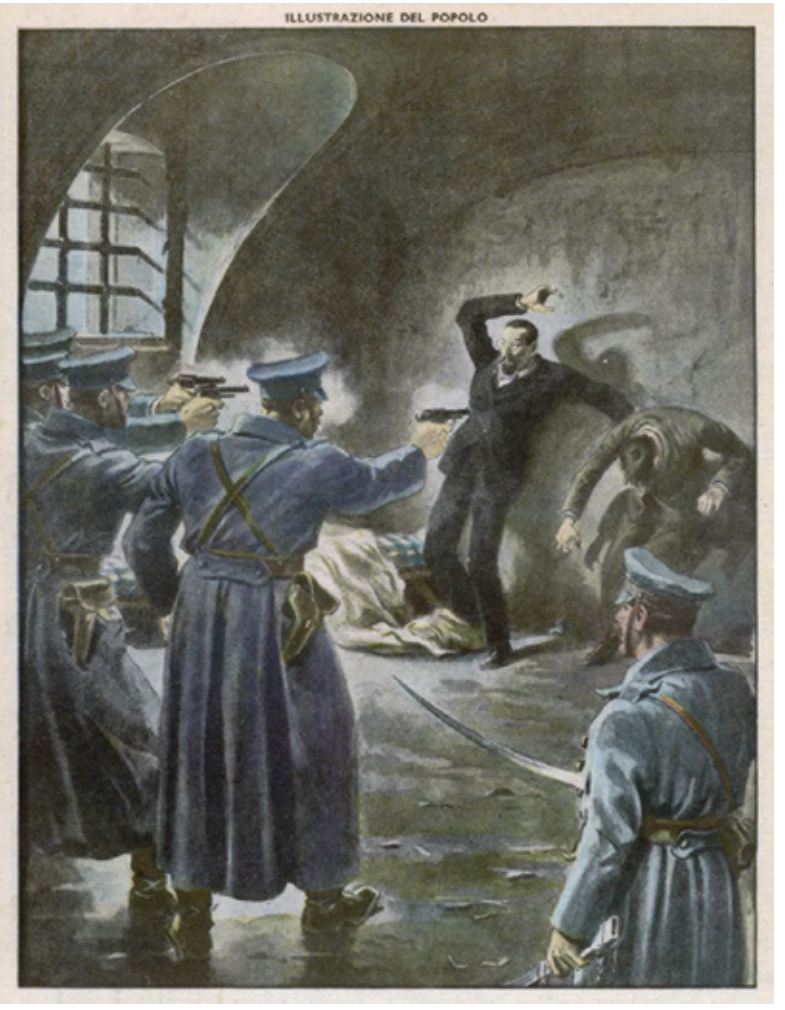
Simultaneously, fear was a key element in the power structure of Stalinism. Stalin had a ruthless approach to eliminating opponents and the infamous '**purges**', especially the mass purges of 1937 and 1938, have become synonymous with his rule. By this time Stalin had shattered the independence of the peasants and the urban population were easy to control as they, unlike the peasants, depended on the government for food, water and power. They could also be easily watched and rounded up by the police if they appeared to oppose the Stalinist line. From 1937 Stalin extended the purges to include leading figures in the army, as well as engineers and other educated citizens who might become potential rivals.

purge
to remove opponents or potential opponents, often by force

Central Committee of the Communist Party
the high-level governing body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from which the inner Politburo drew its members

Stalin also turned on the older members of his own party. The so-called 'Old Bolsheviks' – who were members of the Bolshevik Party prior to the revolution and hence might be able to remember the past and challenge the Stalinist version of communist history – were removed. This political party purge became so extensive that of the 139 members of the **Central Committee of the Communist Party** elected in 1934, all but 41 fell victim to the purges. To replace them, Stalin brought in a new generation of party officials, untainted by personal past experience and loyal to the ideas of the party favoured by the Stalinist versions of communist ideology and history.

The fear of challenge from old party members also led Stalin to become increasingly obsessed with having Trotsky killed. Even though Stalin had defeated Trotsky in the power struggle, and Trotsky had fled the country and was by 1940 living in Mexico, Stalin was determined that Trotsky be assassinated. Trotsky was murdered on 20 August 1940.



SOURCE 21 An illustration of the execution of some of the 'Old Bolsheviks' in 1938

SOURCE 22 A Soviet poster from 1929 celebrating the advances in transport under the first Five-Year Plan

Alongside the terror, Stalin also modernised the Soviet Union and transformed its society. This was achieved through the collectivisation of land and by a series of Five-Year Plans to modernise and industrialise the Soviet economy. The rates of literacy increased under his rule, and electricity became available in many parts of the country, along with improved roads and transport. As such, Stalin helped transform a backward society into a global superpower. But it all came at a huge cost in human life.

1.3d Check your learning

1 Why was it easier for Stalin to exert power and control the people living in the cities?

2 Why did Stalin 'purge' the older members of his party? Explain how this was linked with his obsession with the assassination of Trotsky.

Italy and Benito Mussolini (1883–1945)

Italian Fascism was unlike either of the other famous twentieth-century European dictatorships. Although there was suppression of individual freedom, Benito Mussolini's dictatorship was nowhere near as brutal or repressive as Hitler's or Stalin's regimes. Italian Fascism was not marked by the same degree of racial thinking as Nazi Germany, nor was it influenced by an ideology, as was the case in Russia. The core of Mussolini's Fascism was, rather, the assertion of nationalism. Beyond that, it was defined more by what it opposed than by what it stood for. The Fascists were primarily anti-communist and anti-democratic, and their movement grew out of widespread public discontent and disillusionment in the aftermath of the First World War.

In the late 1920s and early 30s, some left-wing historians and political scientists began to classify Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany in similar terms. They were both described as conservative, anti-communist responses to **capitalism** in crisis. The crisis in question was the massive disruption caused by the First World War, the economic uncertainty of the 1920s, and finally the high levels of unemployment associated with the Great Depression. Although there is some truth in these broad generalisations, this view was quickly challenged and few – if any – historians today find it useful to group Fascism and Nazism together in this way. Mussolini had come to power more than a decade before Hitler. Germany had lost the First World War, while Italy had been on the winning side and one of the 'Big Four' at the Paris Peace Conference. But where Fascism and Nazism differed most clearly was on matters of race and antisemitism. These themes did not feature in Italian Fascist ideology until 1938, and even then they did not appear popular. Italian Fascism, like the other dictatorships that emerged after the First World War, needs to be studied on its own terms.

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

Democracy failed in Italy because it had not been able to establish deep roots in Italian society. Prior to 1912, the right to vote was limited to men with a formal education and who paid a certain level of income tax. A 1912 election reform saw the vote extended to include all adult males over 21 who had served in the armed forces. The changes resulted in an increase of the number of people entitled to vote from 1.8 million to over five million men, of whom three million were illiterate. However, the traditional Italian elites – the great landholders, industrialists, merchant families and key figures in government administration and the law – were critical about the changes, as they lacked faith in the capacity of this 'under class' to make sound decisions about the future of Italy.

The economy was fragile in the aftermath of the First World War and there were no more loans to access from wartime allies. Demand for wartime industrial production decreased and unemployment grew. This was made even worse by three million ex-servicemen returning to civilian life looking for work. By the end of 1919 there were more than two million unemployed men in Italy. At the same time, the value of the Italian currency plummeted and the cost of living rose dramatically. The rate of inflation grew and money simply could not buy as much. The result was that class divisions became more pronounced. In November 1919 the voting system changed again and a system of proportional representation was introduced. This meant that the overall percentage of the national vote that a party received determined the percentage of parliamentary officials elected. The result was a parliament made up of many small quarrelling parties. In the 1919 election the Socialists were the largest parliamentary party, with 156 of the 506 seats.

It was in the midst of these troubled times that the Fascist Party was founded by Mussolini on 23 March 1919. In this 'first wave' of fascism, party numbers grew rapidly in response to disillusionment with democracy and high unemployment rates. Fascist policies were vague and were more like propaganda slogans about **nationalism** than actual policies. Nevertheless, by February 1921 the party had 100 000 members. In October 1922 Mussolini led the famous March on Rome. It was a powerful public display of the strength of the movement.

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

When King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy asked Mussolini to form a new government in Italy in October 1922, the Italian Fascist Party was still relatively small and lacked the kind of broad popular support that the Nazis had built up by the time Hitler came to power in Germany. According to historian Mark Mazower, the trigger for the rise of Mussolini and his Fascist Party had been the introduction of universal male suffrage as part of the 1919 reforms, meaning that every male over 21 could vote. In other words, real democracy had created fears among the more conservative sections of the community, especially among the police, the government civil service and the courts. These groups were not accustomed to being held accountable and resented potential interference from ordinary citizens.

SOURCE 23 Mussolini (left) during the famous March on Rome in 1922; this was the high point of the 'first wave' of Fascism.

SOURCE 25 The dictators Benito Mussolini (left) and Adolf Hitler in 1937

The rapid rise of the Italian Fascist Party was due to various factors, including:

1 a cultural sympathy related to the monarchy and the respected history of Imperial Rome, associated with authoritarian values and a distrust of democracy
2 disappointment that Italy did not get all that it had been promised and hoped for at the Paris Peace Conference
3 economic recession and high unemployment
4 growing class conflict and fears of communism
5 the positive image and vision presented to the Italian people by Mussolini and the Fascists, who claimed to offer an alternative middle way to liberal democracy on one side and communism on the other
6 an acceptance of the Fascists by the Catholic Church.

Mussolini's first government, a coalition with three other political parties, reflected his initial lack of broad popular support. Once in power, Mussolini pushed through changes in the voting system in 1923 that helped to give the Fascists control of the Council of Deputies (the Italian parliament). In these early years, Mussolini was criticised for his willingness to compromise and work with the parliamentary system – for not being dictatorial enough. This prompted what is sometimes called the 'second wave' of Fascism in 1925–26, where **executive power** was increased and critics lost their citizenship. During this phase, both individual freedom and freedom of the press came under attack. The outward projection of a postwar democracy in Italy had been short-lived.

executive power power that rests with a small group

SOURCE 24

> Anti-individualistic, the Fascist conception of life stresses the importance of the State and accepts the individual only in so far as his interests coincide with those of the State, which stands for the conscience and the universal will of man as a historic entity. It is opposed to classical liberalism [liberal/democratic values] which arose in reaction to absolutism [one-person rule by a king or queen] and exhausted its historical function when the State became the expression of the conscience and will of the people …
>
> The Fascist State, as a higher and more powerful expression of personality, is a force, but a spiritual one … the symbol of unity, strength, and justice.
>
> Benito Mussolini, *The Doctrine of Fascism*, published by the Italian Fascist Government in 1935

1.3e Check your learning

1 Explain why it is inappropriate to study Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany as though they were the same.
2 Describe the state of the Italian economy in the 1920s.
3 In 250 words, account for Mussolini's rise to power.

1.3c Understanding and using the sources

1 Examine Sources 23–25 and outline what you believe to be the key elements of Fascism based on these sources.
2 Using the extract from *The Doctrine of Fascism* in Source 24, consider the general nature of Fascist ideology compared and contrasted with both Nazi and communist ideology.

Japan – the militarists

After a long military career, Hideki Tojo (1884–1948) became Prime Minister of Japan in October 1941, just before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor that brought the United States in to the Second World War. Although Tojo was not a dictator in October 1941, he did become one in the following months and he eventually took over the posts of Prime Minister, Minister for War, Minister for Armaments, Minister for Education and Chief of the Imperial Army General Staff. He promoted people personally loyal to him and exiled many whom he thought might become rivals. The most famous example of this behaviour was when he exiled General Tomoyuki Yamashita – who, despite being outnumbered three to one, had won dramatic victories early in the Second World War, when he defeated British forces in Malaya and Singapore – to Manchuria in China.

Tojo was known during his army career as 'the razor' due to his sharp mind and ruthless nature. He was a product of Japan's long samurai tradition – the military and warrior class that had dominated Japan for centuries. Tojo's father had been a samurai who joined the new modern Imperial Japanese Army created after the **Meiji Restoration**. This new army modelled itself on the German military model, but came from a military tradition very different from those of Europe.

SOURCE 26 Hideki Tojo

Tojo's rise to power in Japan began during the **factional** power struggles within the Imperial Japanese Army that took place in the 1920s and 30s. The Great Depression hit Japan very hard, and the downturn in global markets, tariffs and trade restrictions hurt the Japanese economy. At the same time, a growing domestic population put stress on Japan's limited natural resources and food supply. Japan therefore began to follow what it regarded as the imperialist example set by the Western powers in the nineteenth century – acquiring territory and exploiting the food supplies of its weaker neighbours, China and Korea.

This military expansion in the region gave the army an important part to play in domestic politics. Even though the Meiji Restoration of 1868 had produced a written constitution and the appearance of parliamentary and representative government, the army did not answer to the parliament, known as the *Diet*, but to the Emperor. Hence, the army was the real power behind the Japanese throne and, as a result, had its own internal disputes, debates and power struggles over the fate and future of the nation.

The two key military factions within the Imperial Japanese Army were:

1 the *Kodo Ha* or Imperial Way: this group of generals wanted to remove all civilian politicians and stage an army revolution
2 the *Tosei Ha* or Control Faction: like the *Kodo Ha*, this group of generals believed that the army should play a leading part in Japanese political life, but they opposed the idea of directly challenging the status of the emperor and removing all civilian political influence.

Meiji Restoration the return of imperial rule to Japan in 1868 under Emperor Meiji; it was part of the modernisation of Japan

factionalism arguments/disputes between two or more small groups within a larger party or organisation

SOURCE 27 Japanese troops celebrate the capture of the Chinese city of Nanking (Nanjing) in 1937. The brutal massacre of more than 200 000 Chinese men, women and children followed in a six-week rampage by the Japanese troops after the city fell.

Although sympathising with many of the nationalist aims of the *Kodo Ha*, Tojo was a member of the *Tosei Ha*. When the radical nationalists in the *Kodo Ha* organised assassinations of moderate politicians and generals, leading members of the *Tosei Ha* decided that they had to be brought under control. In 1933, Tojo was chosen to take command of the *Kempeitai*, the Japanese military police, and to control and ultimately crush the influence of the *Kodo Ha*. It was this episode that brought Tojo to fame within, and eventually outside, Japan.

SOURCE 28

> To understand General Tojo and the other militarists who had seized power by 1937, one must first understand the nature of the Japanese society of that day. It was not so far removed from the society of the past as one might imagine. Although the militarists wore uniforms that looked much like those of the Germans, and their military and naval forces had all the trappings of modernity, beneath the modernity beat the hearts of warriors who were essentially samurai in their attitudes. The Japanese warriors – the samurai – had always lived to die. Their maxim was to expect death every day and to comport themselves in a fashion to be ready for it. That was also the way in which the Japanese soldiers lived in this new army, and it explains why the Japanese had the attitude they did toward dying in battle and taking or being taken prisoner. There was no place in the Japanese military code for prisoners. If you won, you were victorious. If you lost, you were dead. It was as simple and as cruel as that, and the Japanese fully expected the same sort of cruelty to be visited on them that they inflicted on others. That was the personal aspect of the Japanese soldier's creed.
>
> Edwin P. Hoyt, *War Lord: Tojo Against the World*, 2001, p. 43

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, each of the dictatorships that emerged after the First World War was unique. However, Tojo's dictatorship in Japan offers a greater contrast in terms of the relationships of power and authority than any of the others. Stalin's dictatorship, Mussolini's dictatorship and – as you will see in the next section on Germany – Hitler's dictatorship were dominated by a single charismatic leader. A kind of 'cult of personality' became associated with each of the European dictators, and this became an aspect of their authority and their perceived right to exercise power. This was not the case with Tojo. When the Imperial Japanese Army took political power in Japan in 1937, Tojo rose steadily through the ranks. But even at the height of his personal power he was at best 'the first among equals' – part of a military **oligarchy**. That meant that power in Japan at this time was exercised by a small powerful group of senior generals, of which Tojo was only one. Historian Ian Kershaw described the Japanese system of government at this time as an 'autocratic **bureaucracy**'. In other words, it was very different from the European systems that were dominated by a single individual.

oligarchy
a small group of people having control of a country

bureaucracy
any group of administrators; they can be part of government or the administration of any large organisation

As an effect of this shared power, Tojo had to accept more limits on his personal power than Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler. At the height of Mussolini's popularity, he was supreme. After the purges in Russia, when Stalin dominated both the Communist Party and the government bureaucracy, he was unchallenged. In Germany, Hitler – and, more importantly, the image and idea of Hitler – dominated the state. This was not the case with Tojo. His power was always subject in some way to the authority of the army and the authority of the emperor. Tojo owed his power to his loyalty to, and willingness to serve, both army and Emperor.

Each of the dictatorships discussed here emerged as a result of specific and individual circumstances. In order to understand them, historians, unlike social scientists, focus on the individual and the particular. The basis of the European dictators' authority was very different from the circumstances in Japan. Similarly, Tojo's power was exercised in a very different way from that of the Europeans. Tojo was not an autocrat. This was a false idea created by Western wartime propaganda that needed a single enemy to **vilify**. It is crucial to remember that the circumstances that led to Mussolini's dictatorship, Stalinism, the Nazi regime and the rise of the militarists in Japan – even though they all were linked to difficult economic and political times – were nonetheless different.

vilify
a propaganda technique where an opponent is presented as a complete villain and a figure of evil

1.3f Check your learning

1 Account for the offices that Tojo held that meant that he had acquired dictatorial power.
2 Explain the difference between Tojo's dictatorship and the power and authority of the European dictators.

1.3d Understanding and using the sources

1 According to Edwin P. Hoyt (in Source 28), what is the key to understanding Tojo and the militarists who seized power by 1937?
2 Explain the link between Hoyt's approach to understanding the military dictatorship in Japan and Source 14, where Mark Mazower addresses the failure of democracy in parts of Europe.

1.4 The Nazi regime to 1939

Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany are all but synonymous with the idea of dictatorship. Thus, studying the development of the Nazi regime gives you the opportunity to develop an understanding of how a democracy can collapse and the impact of the dictatorship that replaces it. Further, with an examination of Hitler's distinctive regime, you will be able to refine your thinking about both the concept of dictatorship and the ideas of power and authority.

Historiography of Nazi Germany

It is common to begin an assessment of Hitler's dictatorship by going back to the First World War. The Great War did indeed have a significant impact on Germany. It brought about the collapse of the **Hohenzollern monarchy** and replaced it with a democratic system, which, after early difficulties, seemed to flourish before becoming a casualty of:

- Germany's cultural traditions
- the scars of the First World War
- the wounds of the Great Depression.

The legacy of the First World War, the **hyperinflation** of the 1920s and the Great Depression allowed Hitler to rise from obscurity to overthrow the short-lived Weimar Republic (the democratic government set up in Germany after the First World War) and impose a dictatorship.

Over the last 30 years there have been a number of important developments in the historiography of Nazi Germany. Some of the most influential of these accounts have been the following.

Hohenzollern monarchy
a German dynasty of princes, electors, kings and emperors of Hohenzollern, Brandenburg, Prussia, the German Empire and Romania

hyperinflation
an extreme case of inflation, where the price of consumer goods rises and the value of currency decreases

presentism
the concept of assessing and judging historical events based on ideas, knowledge, values, beliefs or awareness from the present time

Third Reich
third regime, or third empire; the First Reich dated from 962 to 1806; the Second Reich was Imperial Germany (1871–1918); Nazi Germany (1933–45) was described by Hitler as the Third Reich

Richard Evans' trilogy: *The Coming of the Third Reich, The Third Reich in Power* and the *Third Reich at War*

Richard Evans opens his account with what he calls the 'legacy of the past', where he looks at Germany's traditional nationalist, militarist and authoritarian values. These values, he suggests, made it easier for Hitler to come to power and harder for democracy to survive.

Evans also makes valuable points about the dangers of **presentism**. In *The Coming of the **Third Reich*** (2003), he writes that it is important to understand 'the sheer complexity' of the decisions that people in the past had to make. He advocates attempting to 'imagine oneself back in the world of the past, with all the doubts and uncertainties people faced'.

In 2013, in another book – *Altered Pasts: Counterfactuals in History* – Evans went further and suggested an approach known as 'counterfactual history'. This is the idea of considering alternative versions of the past, if events had unfolded differently from the way they actually did. Evans maintained that this helps historians think about the relationships between events, decisions, and cause and effect. He also pointed out that glimpses of this approach could be found in a variety of historical accounts, from the time of the Ancient Roman historian Livy to the modern era. Historians have been especially imaginative when it comes to alternative

historical courses in 1900s Europe. Much has been written, for example, about what might have happened if Hitler had died in the First World War, or had been assassinated in one of many plots to take his life.

The value of this approach is that it encourages us to think about the importance of individuals set against social and economic factors. It also raises disturbing questions about the part that chance plays in shaping history. For example, if, during the famous July Plot of 1944, the briefcase containing the bomb meant for Hitler had not been moved a couple of metres, or if the meeting had been held in the Führer's bunker as planned, Hitler would have almost certainly been killed.

SOURCE 29 A portrait of Adolf Hitler (1889–1945)

Michael Burleigh (ed.), *Confronting the Nazi Past: New Debates on Modern German History*

Burleigh emphasises the changes that have taken place in German historiography and refines studies of different aspects of Nazi society, including the experiences of different social classes and ethnic groups. He also examines high culture under Hitler, the workings of Nazi bureaucracy and the 'Final Solution' – the Nazi plan to eradicate Jewish people.

Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life*

The writings of German historian Detlev Peukert provide us with invaluable insights into the social history of both the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany. As the title of his book suggests, his historiography focuses on the ordinary people and everyday life.

Ian Kershaw, *The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich*

Kershaw has produced a number of major works on both Hitler and the Nazi regime. *The Hitler Myth* emphasises the importance of seeing Nazi Germany as the unique result of Hitler's personality and leadership style. At the same time, Kershaw acknowledges the extent to which Hitler exploited traditional German values.

Eberhard Kolb, *The Weimar Republic*

Kolb argues that democracy might have survived in Germany, but that it was unable to cope with the challenges that it faced from both sides of the political spectrum. Kolb argues that both the right-wing nationalists and the left-wing communists wanted to see it fail.

SOURCE 30 Timeline

Key events of the Nazi regime to 1939

1918

The armistice ends the fighting in the First World War. The Kaiser flees to the Netherlands and the Weimar Republic is established.

1919

June: Germany signs the Treaty of Versailles.

1921–24

Hyperinflation ravages the German economy. Its biggest impact is on the middle class whose savings, as well as incomes, become almost worthless.

1923

January: French and Belgian troops occupy the Ruhr (an industrial area of Germany) due to Germany's failure to make reparations payments. This causes bitter resentment in Germany and encourages support for extremist nationalist groups like the Nazis.

1925

April: Paul von Hindenburg becomes president.

1929

October: The onset of the Great Depression sees growing unemployment and increased support for extreme political groups, both from the right and the left.

1933

January: Hitler becomes chancellor.

1934

June: 'The Night of the Long Knives' curbs the power of the *Sturm Abteilung* (SA, or Brownshirts).

August: Hindenburg dies and Hitler becomes Führer.

1935

September: The Nuremberg Laws deprive Jews of German citizenship.

1936

March: Germany reoccupies the Rhineland, the territory between Germany and France, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.

1938

March: Germany unites with Austria (the *Anschluss*), again in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.

September: The Munich Agreement hands part of Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

Czechs in New York protest against the Munich Agreement.

1939

September: The Second World War begins.

The rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party

Adolf Hitler was born in Braunau, Austria, on 20 April 1889. He left Austria and made his way to Munich, the capital of the south German state of Bavaria, in 1913. A year later, as the First World War broke out, Hitler volunteered for the German Army and reached the rank of corporal. He was present at the First Battle of Ypres, the Battle of the Somme, the Battle of Arras and the Battle of Passchendaele and was rewarded with the Iron Cross First Class for courage. In October 1918, he was temporarily blinded by mustard gas and was in hospital when he received news that the war had ended.

putsch
the violent overthrow of authority

Hitler remained in the army and was employed as an investigator to check on the right-wing radical groups that had sprung up in Bavaria following the war. He attended a meeting of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Workers' Party) in September 1919 and reported back that the party was harmless and did not pose a real revolutionary threat to the government. He saw, however, an opportunity to express his own political ambitions and joined the party, emerging as its leader by 1920. He renamed the party the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or NSDAP) and set out a 25-point program designed to attract wide support. The program called for:

- strong leadership from a central government
- the 'abolition' of the Treaty of Versailles
- the unification of all Germans in a greater Germany
- anti-capitalist measures, such as land reform and profit-sharing
- the abolition of unearned income; for example, inheritances
- the introduction of welfare provisions, such as pensions for the aged
- the creation of a healthy middle class (*Mittelstand*)
- a ban on Jews from being members of the German racial community.

SOURCE 31 Hitler during the First World War

SOURCE 32 Hitler at the time of the Munich **Putsch**, 9 November 1923

The Nazi Party, as it soon became known, was a curious mixture of individuals from all walks of life and was to remain so for much of its history. It enjoyed the support of powerful conservative interests, yet its message was addressed to ordinary Germans, and its meetings were often violent affairs where, from its inception in 1921, the *Sturm Abteilung* (SA, or Brownshirts) would beat up opponents. Although party membership grew to reach about 55 000 by 1923, the Nazi Party remained a minor part of the populist German nationalist Volkisch Movement (People's Movement).

The Munich Putsch

The opportunity to lift the profile of the Nazi Party came in 1923, at the height of hyperinflation. Hitler saw this as the moment to seize power. Inspired by Mussolini's March on Rome in 1922, Hitler decided to march through Munich to seize political power in Bavaria.

SOURCE 34 *Mein Kampf* is a rambling summary of Hitler's political philosophy, written while he was in prison.

The march turned out to be a failure, with armed police opposing it and opening fire on the crowd, killing 14 Nazis. Hitler was arrested two days later and charged with high treason.

If the 'Munich Putsch', as it became known, was a failure, the trial was an unquestioned success as it became front-page news throughout Germany. Hitler made patriotic speeches from the dock, declaring there was 'no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918'. He received the minimum sentence of five years' imprisonment, serving nine months in the comfort of Landsberg Prison, surrounded by his party faithfuls and as many newspapers and books as he wished. He used the opportunity to dictate the text of his book *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), in which he set out his views on Germany's future. The book would represent one aspect of his authority over the movement.

SOURCE 33

After the war, the widespread belief on the right that the German army had been 'stabbed in the back' by revolutionaries in 1918 translated easily into **antisemitic** demagogy. It was, men like [First World War General] Ludendorff evidently believed, 'the Jews' who had done the stabbing, who led subversive institutions like the Communist Party, who agreed to the Treaty of Versailles, who set up the Weimar Republic. In fact, of course, the German army was defeated militarily in 1918. There was … no stab in the back …

Richard Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 2003, p. 150

antisemitic hostile to or prejudiced against Jews

1.4a Check your learning

1. Identify and describe the key elements of the Nazi program developed by Hitler.
2. What was the Volkisch Movement? How do you think it fitted in with the traditional German values that Richard Evans examined?
3. Identify the two factors that inspired Hitler to try and take power with the Munich Putsch.

1.4a Understanding and using the sources

1. According to Richard Evans (in Source 33), General Erich Ludendorff encouraged the 'stab in the back' theory. Research Ludendorff and find out about his role during the First World War and his association with the Nazi Party. Discuss how what you find out about his past might have influenced his backing of the 'stab in the back' theory.
2. Following your research findings, discuss Ludendorff's reliability as a source.

The structures and policies of the Nazi Party

Hitler learned from the failed Munich Putsch that the way to take power lay through the ballot box rather than the street riot. When he was released from prison in December 1924, the Nazi Party was fragmented and membership had dropped to around 700. The party had also been banned in Bavaria, and Hitler's first objective was to have the ban lifted. He managed to convince the Bavarian prime minister that he would work within the Weimar constitution, and the ban was lifted on 27 February 1925.

SOURCE 35 Members of the SS on parade at the Nazi Party Rally in Nuremberg, 1933

Hitler's next problem was how to reunify the party. At a special congress in February 1926, his authority over the whole party was reimposed. This was the beginning of the 'Führer Principle' as the basis of Hitler's authority. The Führer Principle meant that Hitler's decisions were final and the will of the Führer became the policy of the party. This was further strengthened in July 1926, with a decree that only motions approved by the Führer could be discussed at meetings. Between 1924 and 1928, Nazi organisations were created to appeal to special interest groups, including the Nazi Students' League, the Physicians' League, the Teachers' League and the Women's League.

In 1925 the **SS** was set up, originally serving as Hitler's bodyguards. The swastika (crooked cross), originally a symbol of spirituality found in Hinduism and Buddhism, became the party emblem, and in 1926 the stiff-armed 'Heil Hitler' salute became established as party ritual. By 1926, the party membership had risen to 49 000 people.

Why did the Nazis gain popularity?

According to the great German historian Martin Broszat, the goal of a 'people's community' (*Volksgemeinschaft*) was the most effective element of Nazi propaganda. The party became popular with the younger generation because it appeared to be dynamic in contrast to the 'tired' older parties of the Weimar Republic. Some historians suggested that the lower middle class provided the bulk of Hitler's support because they had suffered most from hyperinflation and the Great Depression; however, Eberhard Kolb has argued that recent analysis of the social background of Nazi Party voters offers different insights into the groups that were attracted to Hitler. While acknowledging middle-class support, Kolb argues that support for the Nazis came from all sections of the population, to the extent that it deserved the name 'people's party'.

The collapse of the Weimar Republic

Following the Kaiser's departure in November 1918, the Weimar Republic became the unofficial name for the new democratic German state. However, the transition was not smooth and the young republic was not without its critics. Powerful groups – such as big businesses, the army, large landowners and leading civil servants – never accepted the Weimar democracy. This was partly due to the fact that (as noted above), following the end of the Hohenzollern monarchy, Germany had never really had time to embraced democracy. In addition, the Weimar Republic was always associated with the humiliation of defeat in the First World War, and the Great Depression allowed anti-democratic groups to openly express their opposition.

But while it is true to say that the Great Depression provided opportunity for the Nazis, it was not, in the narrow economic sense, the main cause behind their rise to power. Historian Richard Evans argues that two factors influenced the collapse of the Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazi Party:

1 Germany's historical and cultural traditions dating back to Bismarck and German Unification – Germany became a nation in 1871 under the strong anti-democratic leadership of Otto von Bismarck; hence there was a historical distrust of democracy and faith in nationalism and an authoritarian style of government
2 the particular economic circumstances facing Germany in the 1920s and 30s.

The German people had grown up with nationalist ideas and respect for authority and the army, and these cultural traditions still dominated society. Combined with high unemployment and the economic instability of the 1920s and 30s, these factors made people look for radical solutions and blame all of Germany's ills on the new republican government. The people longed for the stability of the authoritarian years before the First World War.

Article 48

When the Weimar Republic was established in 1918, its laws were laid down in a constitution inspired by the democratic systems of Britain and the United States. Embedded in the constitution was Article 48, an entry that was to have crucial implications for Hitler's ability to rise to power. The article stated that:

SOURCE 36

> If public security and order are seriously disturbed or endangered within the German Reich, the President of the Reich may take measures necessary for their restoration, intervening if need be with the assistance of the armed forces.
>
> Article 48 of the Constitution of the Weimar Republic, 1918

From 1923 onwards, Article 48 was invoked frequently by President Friedrich Ebert to deal with challenges faced by the German economy. He would, however, always return power to the Reichstag (parliament) as soon as the issues at hand had been resolved.

SOURCE 37 President Paul von Hindenburg (right) and Adolf Hitler, the newly appointed Chancellor of Germany, 1933

Following his election to the presidency in 1925, Paul von Hindenburg – who was a former general in the Austro-Prussian Army, Chief of **German General Staff** during the First World War, and not used to democratic processes – grew increasingly frustrated with the ins and outs of the Reichstag and started invoking Article 48 on a regular basis. In 1932, it was invoked a total of 60 times and the result was a dramatic weakening of a democratic system that had never really taken root. When Hitler offered himself to the German people as a strong, authoritarian leader who would not be inhibited by the democratic process, the stage was already set in his favour. Hitler was invited to become Chancellor of Germany in 1933.

German General Staff the high command of the combined German military: army, navy and air force

1.4b Check your learning

1. Account for how Hitler became chancellor and explain how Hindenburg's actions assisted the process.
2. Identify the key factors in the collapse of the Weimar Republic according to Martin Broszat, Eberhard Kolb and Richard Evans. Do you agree with them? Justify your response.

1.4 PROFILE

PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS IN THE NAZI STATE

Martin Bormann was the Head of the Nazi Party Chancellery (head office) and, as Hitler's private secretary, controlled appointments and the flow of information to the Führer. This gave Bormann significant power. Bormann was born in 1900 and served briefly in the German Army in the last days of the First World War. He joined the Nazi Party in 1927, became a member of the SS in 1937 and gradually rose through the Nazi Party bureaucracy. He was with Hitler in the bunker in Berlin in the last days of the Second World War. After Hitler committed suicide, Bormann tried to escape, but was cornered and also killed himself. However, his death was not confirmed until 1972.

SOURCE 38 Martin Bormann

SOURCE 39 Hermann Goering

SOURCE 40 Joseph Goebbels

SOURCE 41 Heinrich Himmler

Hermann Goering was the Commander of the German Air Force and President of the Reichstag. He was born in 1893 into a military family and served as a fighter pilot during the First World War. He joined the Nazi Party in 1922 and was part of the failed Munich Putsch of 1923, where he was wounded. From 1933, Goering played a key role in the Nazi state and was in charge of the mobilisation of the German economy. He was a central figure at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials where he was sentenced to death by hanging. Goering committed suicide in his cell on 15 October 1946, the night before his sentence was to be carried out.

Joseph Goebbels was the Minister for Propaganda and Enlightenment. From this position, he managed the flow of information and public opinion. Goebbels was born into a lower middle-class family in 1897. He was a sickly child, born with a deformed foot that left him with a permanent limp. He went to a number of universities and gained his PhD in 1921. Goebbels joined the Nazi Party around 1924 and, with his gift as a speaker and writer, he quickly made important contributions to Nazi propaganda, both before and after 1933. He kept extensive and detailed diaries that have been widely studied by historians. Following Hitler's suicide, when it was clear that the war was lost, Goebbels arranged for the death of his own children and then killed himself.

Heinrich Himmler was the commander of the SS and was responsible for implementing the 'Final Solution'. He was also responsible for state security and

controlled the secret police, known as the Gestapo. Himmler was born into a middle-class, Catholic family in 1900 and served in a reserve unit during the First World War, although he did not take part in any of the fighting. After the war, Himmler joined the Nazi Party and became a member of the SS in 1925. Himmler tried to escape after the Second World War, but was captured and committed suicide in the headquarters of the British Second Army in May 1945.

1.4 PROFILE TASK

Conduct your own research into the careers of each of these individuals. Based on your research, suggest who you think was the most important for the development of the Second World War. Refer to your research findings to justify your response.

The consolidation of Nazi power 1933–34

Although the Nazis were outnumbered in the new cabinet of January 1933, Hitler insisted on controlling key domestic posts, with the Nazi Party's Wilhelm Frick becoming **Minister of the Interior** and Hermann Goering becoming the Minister of the Interior of **Prussia**, Germany's largest state. From these positions, the Nazis were ideally placed to control the local police and begin what the German scholar Karl Dietrich Bracher described as a 'legal revolution'.

Hitler's chancellorship was greeted by many as a turning point in the nation's history. Hitler was the outsider, the 'non-politician', come to clear away the debris of a failed and broken political system. With the resources of the state at their disposal, the Nazis presided over a number of impressive parades and celebrations.

Within a day of becoming chancellor, Hitler made an 'appeal to the German people' on 31 January 1933, continuing his well-worn theme of blaming the 'November parties' of 1918 – the democratic politicians who had agreed to the armistice and signed the hated Treaty of Versailles – and the communists for all of Germany's ills. He also issued a call for national 'unity of mind and will'. For many Germans, the Weimar Republic and the whole democratic experiment had brought nothing but division and indecision. Hitler offered unity and strong authoritarian leadership, appealing to traditional German values.

Few army officers had supported the Nazis in the early 1930s. They regarded them as vulgar street fighters who wanted to radicalise society. On gaining office, Hitler began an intensive campaign to win over his opponents. In other words, Hitler recognised that the army was an important foundation of authority and means to power. Many of the new Nazi laws, which were antisemitic or aimed at restricting civil liberties, appealed to the generals. This was partly due to the underlying antisemitism of many members of the military elite, but also to their fundamental belief in the habit of obedience rather than individual freedom. Evidence of the link between the Nazis and the army can be clearly seen from February 1934, when the Nazi swastika was being worn on the uniforms of all members of the armed forces. Between 1933 and 1936, Hitler was careful to respect the opinions and authority of the army. He was aware that the career of more than one political leader had been cut short by the sentence: 'The chancellor no longer enjoys the confidence of the army.'

Minister of the Interior
the person in charge of managing the internal affairs of the country, such as education and transport

Prussia
a German state that adopted militarism as a philosophy to unify Germany in 1871 and direct the militaristic development of the German Empire, contributing to the outbreak of the First World War

Although Bracher's idea of a 'legal revolution' might imply that Hitler did not break the law in establishing his power, a closer examination of the weeks after his swearing in as chancellor reveals a tendency to at least stretch constitutional law and convention. The limitations on freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and other civil rights definitely defied constitutional convention, and the SA carried on its campaigns of street violence, brawls and assassinations. But despite the fact that Hitler did break laws, the point that Bracher makes is that the creation of an authoritarian Nazi system had to *appear* legal. Hence, the revolution would come from above, using and manipulating the political powers of the state.

On 27 February 1933, the Reichstag building was set on fire. A Dutch communist, Marinus van der Lubbe, was charged with the crime. The burning of the Reichstag was a propaganda gift for Hitler. He requested and was granted emergency powers to resist the supposed threat. Civil rights were suspended and arrests made as the Nazis used the fire as an excuse to attack their political enemies. The Decree for the Protection of People and State of 28 February 1933 was also used to help extend central power over the states. This act gave Hitler sweeping personal power to do whatever he thought was necessary to protect the German people from a supposed communist revolutionary threat. Following this was the Enabling Act of 1933, which in effect served to give Hitler the power to enact laws without involving the Reichstag. This Act was passed by 444 votes to 94; only the Social Democrats opposed it. Hitler had now taken political power away from parliament, and democracy had ended.

The Enabling Act not only made Hitler an apparently legal dictator, it also led to *Gleichschaltung*, the 'coordination' of Germany's political structure, meaning that all government was unified under central control. Not long afterwards, on 2 May 1933, trade unions were abolished and replaced by the German Labour Front. On 14 July, a decree made the Nazi Party the only legal political party in Germany. The Nazis' prestige was enhanced with the results of a referendum on Hitler's administration in November. The referendum produced a 90 per cent approval of Hitler's rule and the decisions he had taken since becoming chancellor.

1.4c Check your learning

1 Account for the general public's reaction to Hitler's accession to power.
2 What do you understand by Karl Dietrich Bracher's reference to a 'legal revolution'?
3 Explain how the Reichstag fire was used by Hitler to his advantage.

The Night of the Long Knives, 1934

This episode saw Hitler turn on his own party and execute members of the private Nazi Army, the SA, after members of the German General Staff (the generals at the head of the army) indicated that they would not support Hitler as long as the SA remained as a political force.

The SA had provided the 'muscle' and physical intimidation in Nazi election campaigns, and by 1934 there were close to two million of them. Many were the worst kind of thug, attracted by the uniform, racial hatred and violence. They were generally drawn from the lower classes of society, in contrast to the upper-class leadership of the Reichswehr, the official government army, who looked down on them. Ernst Roehm, as leader of the SA, had a power base from which he could, in theory, pose a threat to Hitler's leadership. Not only that, but Roehm and the SA were also part of a more radical element within the Nazi movement. At one point, Roehm called for a change in the German Army and demanded that the SA become its core – a prospect that

Daily Express

NO. 10,652. MONDAY, JULY 2, 1934. ONE PENNY.

LOST 6 st. 2 lbs.

Don't be Vague ASK FOR Haig

CAPTAIN ROEHM EXECUTED

Arrested Storm Troop Commander Given Ten Minutes To Kill Himself—Shot When He Refuses

Among Those Dead ---

GENERAL VON SCHLEICHER

KARL ERNST

HERR HEINRICH KLAUSENER

HITLER CRUSHES BROWN SHIRT REVOLT

MORE THAN THIRTY LEADERS DEAD

PAPEN AND CROWN PRINCE UNDER ARREST

CAPTAIN ERNST ROEHM, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NAZI STORM TROOPS UNTIL HIS DRAMATIC ARREST BY HITLER ON SATURDAY MORNING, WAS EXECUTED YESTERDAY AFTERNOON.

With his death, and that of more than thirty Storm Troop commanders, the Brownshirt mutiny against Hitler is regarded as having been completely crushed.

The execution of Roehm took place in the gaol at Munich, where the Storm Troop commander shared imprisonment with Hitler after the Nazi uprising in 1923.

Roehm was presented with a revolver, and was given ten minutes in which to decide whether he would take his own life or not.

An exclusive "Daily Express" picture of Staff Chief Roehm, taken in his Munich home.

HOW HITLER ENTERED 'THE LION'S DEN'

A PREMIER TO PAY A GIRL £2,000?

JURY FIND FOR HER, BUT JUDGE DIFFERS

EDMONTON (Alberta), Sunday.

THE suit brought by a girl typist against Mr. J. E. Brownlee, Premier of Alberta, claiming damages

LATE NEWS

Telephone: Central 8000

IN GERMANY TEN MORE EXECUTIONS

BERLIN, Sunday Night.

A further batch of ten Storm Troop leaders have been executed.—Reuter.

for alleged enticement and seduction, had a sensational finish last night.

After an absence of five hours the jury returned a verdict in favour of the plaintiff, Miss Velma Macmillan, awarding her [illegible] dollars ([illegible]) damages.

SOURCE 42 The front page of a British newspaper features the story of the purge of the SA.

appalled the generals of the Reichswehr, who made it clear to Hitler that they were unlikely to continue to back the new regime unless the SA was eliminated. Hitler was not yet in a position where he could ignore the wishes of the army high command, and in April 1934 he met with the army commanders and made a deal. The army would support Hitler's succession to the presidency, on the death of the ageing Hindenburg, in return for the suppression of the SA and the acceptance of the Reichswehr's position as the sole armed force in the state.

Hence, the move to execute SA members was taken as a response to a potential challenge to Hitler's power and authority within the Nazi movement. It also indicated that, in 1934, Hitler and the Nazis needed the power and authority of the Reichswehr.

On 30 June 1934, Hitler used Heinrich Himmler's SS to murder Roehm and other SA leaders. The violence extended to other 'enemies' of the Nazi Party: communists, Jews, outspoken politicians and trade unionists, and even Kurt von Schleicher, Hitler's predecessor as chancellor.

Hitler did not deny ordering the murders. This is the moment when, according to Richard Evans, Hitler became the 'real' dictator of Germany. At this time, Hitler was above the law. When Hitler admitted his actions in the Reichstag on 13 July 1934, there was widespread public approval. To many, it appeared to be an example of Hitler's strong, decisive leadership. The SA continued under Viktor Lutze, but never again played a prominent role. However, the SS under Himmler, having carried out the murders, was now given prominence.

Upon Hindenburg's death on 2 August 1934, Hitler combined the leadership positions of president and chancellor to be known as Führer of the Reich. That same day, at ceremonies throughout Germany, the army took an oath of allegiance to Hitler personally. On 19 August, 90 per cent of the German people approved these actions in a plebiscite (vote).

SOURCE 43 The front page of a German illustrated publication from 1943; by this time, the 'Hitler myth' was well established.

Nature and methods of the Nazi regime

The Nazis argued that they aimed to create a new people's community, or *Volksgemeinschaft*, based on what they saw as the traditional values of the German people. The *Volksgemeinschaft* implied a classless society, which would be at the heart of the community. Hitler aimed to create national solidarity behind the regime, as in the slogan '*Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer*' ('One people, one country, one leader').

According to Ian Kershaw, the so-called *Führerprinzip* (Führer principle) placed all authority in the hands of the leader. Nazi propaganda deliberately built up Hitler's image, creating the 'Hitler myth'. According to this myth, Hitler represented the national will and worked tirelessly for his people, was above party politics or selfish motives, had brought prosperity and work to his people, and was a statesman, a defender of Germany's rights and a rebuilder of national pride. This idea made it possible for the general public to separate their devotion to Hitler from their anxieties or complaints about the Nazi Party.

Nazi ideology

Like so much else associated with the history of the Nazi dictatorship, ideology is a complex issue. It cannot just be described; it needs to be evaluated and assessed. The first question has to be: What is the difference between ideas and ideology? Ideas, according the *Oxford English Dictionary*, are 'thoughts or suggestions as to a course of action'. In other words, ideas are not necessarily permanent or binding. They can be ignored. By contrast, an ideology involves a commitment and is meant to be binding.

Based on this analysis, there were three binding and enduring aspects of Nazi thinking that could be called ideology:

1 the dominant leadership of Hitler (the *Führerprinzip*) and the notion that the will of the Führer was supreme in the Nazi Party, and then in the Nazi state
2 commitment to the *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community); that is, the creation and protection of a harmonious national racial community – this had associations with racist thinking and the perceived greatness of traditional German culture
3 race thinking – the notion that German greatness and the harmony of the *Volksgemeinschaft* were constantly under threat from jealous, evil, racially inferior groups, in particular the Jews and the Slavic peoples on German's eastern borders (notably the Poles and Russians).

Traditionally, the individual most often described as the chief thinker or philosopher of the Nazi movement was Alfred Rosenberg. Rosenberg was an ethnic German born in 1893 in Estonia, which was then part of the Russian Empire. He developed a deep hatred of both communism and the Jews.

Rosenberg was one of the earliest members of the Nazi Party. His main influence on Nazi thinking came with the publication in 1930 of his book *The Myth of the Twentieth Century.* By 1945 more than a million copies had been sold, but according to both Richard Evans and the great German historian K.D. Bracher, this book had far less impact on the thinking of party members than Goebbels' propaganda, election pamphlets and posters, Nazi newspaper articles and – above all – Hitler's speeches. Bracher suggested that limits were imposed on

both Rosenberg's influence and the role of ideology by 'Hitler's tactical opportunism'. In other words, there were times when Hitler was willing to abandon what is loosely described as Nazi ideology to serve his desire for power.

As noted above, the only binding and permanent aspects of Nazi thinking that might therefore be described as ideology were Hitler's supreme power, the *Volksgemeinschaft* and the associated race thinking.

Propaganda and censorship

In Hitler's Germany, all forms of entertainment and culture had to be approved by the party and conform to Nazi ideology. A Reich Chamber of Culture was set up in 1933, supervised by Goebbels' propaganda ministry. The radio became the principal means of reaching ordinary Germans, and an inexpensive people's radio (*Volksempfanger*) reached 70 per cent of German households by 1939, the highest percentage of radio access in the world.

Goebbels had firm ideas about the use of the cinema as propaganda. He favoured escapist entertainment in which the films had an interesting story, with the Nazi message being subtly conveyed through the lives of the main characters. Historical dramas based on famous periods of German history were favoured. Even antisemitism could be portrayed in the context of an exciting story.

Goebbels' ministry, along with the SS, also imposed rigid censorship. The news media were kept firmly under government control. Information from outside Germany was restricted, and books unacceptable to the Nazis were banned. Book burning became a regular feature of Nazi rallies.

SOURCE 44 Hitler is shown the new German people's radio, c. 1936.

1.4d Check your learning

1. Why does Richard Evans suggest that Hitler only became the 'real' dictator of Germany in 1934? Do you agree with Evans's argument? Justify your answer.
2. Explain the Führer principle and analyse how it related to the concept of authority in Nazi Germany.
3. Describe what you think the links might be between Stalin's 'cult of personality' and the Führer principle. How were they different?

Terror and consent, repression, fear and reward

Historians have long argued about the extent to which the German people were ruled by either fear or reward under the Nazis. In the years immediately after the Second World War, the consensus was that Nazi Germany was a police state, where the government ruled by the threats of violence and imprisonment, and the individual had little freedom. By the late 1960s, however, this view was challenged as local and social histories – that is, history done on a small scale, looking at the lives of ordinary people and day-to-day living – uncovered a different image, where ordinary Germans had choices in terms of either resistance or support.

SOURCE 45 A public book burning in Berlin, 1933

This view was most strongly asserted by historian and political scientist Gotz Aly, who wrote that the Nazi regime was not maintained by force, but was in fact popular. Aly pointed to the fact that in 1937 the Gestapo (the secret police) had only about 7000 employees – hardly enough to maintain tight control over 60 million people.

There is, however, no denying that there were real and obvious elements of terror associated with the Nazi regime. Most people point to the SS, the Gestapo and the **concentration camps** as signs of that terror. Nevertheless, although these institutions continued to play a part in the life of the Nazi state, Richard Evans has argued that in time these were superseded by other means of control and, at least in part, by the more positive appeal of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Evans has also pointed to existing laws and traditional police agencies as necessary means of control, as well as schemes that, even if they did not explicitly terrorise, nevertheless forced people to support the government. One example was that young people who refused to join the Hitler Youth (the youth organisation of the Nazi Party) would not receive a school-leaving certificate and hence would find it difficult to find a job or enter higher education.

concentration camps camps where dictatorships imprisoned political opponents; in the specific case of Nazi Germany, they were also labour and death camps for Jews and others regarded as racial inferiors

Evans ultimately concluded that there were elements of both fear and reward at work in the Nazi state.

SOURCE 46

> The Nazi leadership knew by 1939 that most Germans paid its most loudly and insistently proclaimed ideals little more than lip service: they conformed outwardly while keeping their real beliefs for the most part to themselves. Nazism had succeeded in shifting the attitudes and beliefs of most Germans, particularly in the younger generation, in some way in the direction it wanted, but it had not reached the ambitious goal that it set itself … in the end, coercion was at least as important as propaganda in its impact on the behaviour of the vast majority of people who lived in Nazi Germany.
>
> Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in History and Memory*, 2015

1.4b Understanding and using the sources

1 According to Source 46, what were the two factors at work ensuring Nazi control?
2 Use Source 46 and your own knowledge to evaluate the basis of Nazi power.

Life in Germany under the Nazi regime

It is dangerous to overgeneralise about life under the Nazi regime. Experiences varied over the course of the regime and depended on whether you were inside or outside the German racial community. Experiences also varied, as you will see, according to age, social class and gender.

Arts and culture

In terms of the visual arts, realism was favoured both in paintings and sculptures. Works had to be 'true to life' and abstraction was regarded as decadence. When it came to music, the regime favoured classical music, with the works of Ludwig van Beethoven and Richard Wagner (Hitler's favourite composer) given special status.

Architecture had to be along classical lines and size was valued. Hitler spent many hours with his architect, Albert Speer, poring over plans for the rebuilding of Berlin. Hitler told Speer that the purpose of his buildings was to transmit Hitler's spirit to **posterity** – in Hitler's case, meaning all future Germans and German descendants.

posterity
all future generations of people

Religion

Hitler told the Reichstag on 23 March 1933 that the national government saw in both the Protestant and Catholic Christian denominations 'the most important factors for upholding our nationhood'. However, these calming words did little to hide the truth – that the teachings of the Christian church, with its humanitarian outlook and care for the poor and weak, ran contrary to the Nazi ideology of a racially based 'struggle' and the survival of the fittest.

Historically, Germany was divided into a Protestant (Lutheran) north and Catholic south and, despite the Nazis' pledge of support for a 'positive Christianity', clashes soon occurred with both branches of the faith. In July 1933, these were brought together into a single 'Reich church' under Ludwig Mueller. Mueller was a former naval chaplain and head of the Nazi-inspired 'German Christians' in East Prussia. Attempts to introduce Nazi ideas – such as banning the Old Testament on the grounds that it was a 'Jewish book' and a measure to exclude 'non-**Aryans**' from church attendance – led to opposition from German Christians.

Aryan
a race of northern Europeans that Nazi ideology deemed to be superior to all other races

Hitler had a greater regard for the Catholic Church because of its larger, international organisation. In July 1933, Hitler signed a Concordat (agreement) with the Vatican, promising to guarantee the freedoms of the Catholic Church on the condition that it did not interfere in the political life of the state. Hitler regarded the Concordat as a triumph for his regime as it nullified the possibilities of Catholic political interference.

Workers

Following the abolition of trade unions in 1933, the Nazi-run German Labour Front took control of the workforce. There was regular work available and people worked hard. Through the 'Strength through Joy' movement (*Kraft durch Freude*), workers were given holidays and treated to concerts and sporting events – privileges many of them had never experienced before. A 'people's car', the Volkswagen, was designed, and workers were encouraged to save weekly to purchase one (although none had actually been delivered before the war broke out in 1939). The 'Beauty of Work' campaign sought to improve working conditions in the absence of pay rises, giving the illusion that the Nazi regime was achieving a social revolution. By 1937, Hitler claimed that he had succeeded in breaking down the old class system with all its prejudices, achieving a genuine people's community.

SOURCE 47
A poster advertising the savings plan to buy a Volkswagen as part of the 'Strength through Joy' movement

SOURCE 48
A poster promoting the Hitler Youth and the League of German Maidens; the text reads 'All ten-year-olds to us'

Women

The attitude of Nazis towards women was summed up in the slogan '*Kinder, Kuche und Kirche*' ('Children, kitchen and church'). Women at home producing healthy Aryan children were a central image in Nazi ideology, with its biological division of the world. There were no female Nazi members of the Reichstag, and a party rule of 1921 banned women from senior leadership positions. Nazi organisations for women, such as National Socialist Womanhood (NSF), followed the party line that women should stay confined to the home. Between 1933 and 1936, married women were banned from the top professional jobs as doctors, lawyers and senior civil servants, and employers were asked to favour men in their appointments.

Statistics on marriage and birth rates suggest that Nazi policies were not successful. The birth rate did increase from a low point in 1933 to peak in briefly in 1939, but declined thereafter. Historians differ on the interpretation of the peak in 1939, but most argue that Hitler's policies of social engineering were less responsible than general factors such as the end of the Great Depression and a tendency towards a younger age of marriage, as occurred in other countries.

The policies that banned female participation in the workforce ultimately became irreconcilable with Nazi objectives of rearmament and military conquest. As the state mobilised for war, the need to draft women into the workforce to provide cheap and reliable labour became more pressing. The result was that the Nazis relaxed the restrictions on women working from 1938.

Youth

The goal of a lasting transformation of society required the Nazis to capture the minds of young people and indoctrinate them with Nazi ideology. The Hitler Youth movement had originally been set up in 1926, and a girls' wing – the League of German Maidens – was set up in 1930; but it was with the appointment

of Baldur von Schirach as leader in July 1933 that the organisation began to develop rapidly. Boys and girls were recruited into the movement, and at first this was voluntary; but after the Hitler Youth Law of December 1936, membership was regarded as compulsory. Nonetheless, further regulations, including a second Hitler Youth Law of 1939, were needed to deal with those who sought to find loopholes in the regulations.

Many young people found the combination of outside sports and comradeship attractive. Others found the activities confining and resented the attempts to eradicate individualism. Young people were also expected to keep watch on their parents and to report any anti-Nazi sentiments to the authorities.

1.4e Check your learning

1 Describe the roles of fear and reward in the control exercised by the Nazis.
2 Explain the role of the Reich Chamber of Culture.
3 Describe the impact of Nazism on religion in Germany.
4 Outline of the impact of Nazism on the lives of workers in Germany.
5 Analyse the influence of Nazism on the lives of women and the young in Germany.

Minorities in Nazi Germany

In the early 1930s, there were approximately 500 000 Jews in Germany, accounting for less than 1 per cent of the population. Central to Hitler's world view was the idea of life as a struggle between the Aryan master race and inferior races, of which the Jews were the worst example. Between 1933 and 1939, the Nazis introduced more than 400 pieces of anti-Jewish legislation designed to deprive the Jews of their civil rights.

According to the Nuremberg laws of 1935, an individual with even one Jewish grandparent could be deprived of their German citizenship and status as an Aryan. The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour made it illegal for Jews to marry Aryans or have sex with them. With each succeeding regulation, the position of Jews in Germany became more difficult. They could no longer attend German schools or universities, were excluded from the professions, prohibited from teaching and forbidden to own land. In 1938 Walter Buch, President of the Nazi Party Supreme Court and an SS officer, declared that the Jew was 'outside the law as he was not a human being'.

Romani people had been persecuted in Europe for centuries and, according to historian Detlev Peukert, the Nazis' discrimination was initially simply a continuation of this legacy. Increasingly, however, the Nazis became more ruthless in their approach, as Nazi racist ideology depicted Romani people as more likely to inherit, exhibit and pass on criminal tendencies. In December 1940, Himmler's Auschwitz Decree ordered members of the Romani community from 11 countries under Nazi rule to be shipped to the concentration camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. It is estimated that 219 000 Romani were murdered, including the 15 000 to 20 000 living in Germany in 1939.

Romani
a traditionally nomadic ethnic group living mostly in Europe

1.4f Check your learning

1 Outline the Nazi Government policies aimed at Jews from 1933.
2 Describe how the lives of the Romanis were influenced by Nazism from 1933.

Opposition to the regime

Between 1933 and 1939, opposition to Nazism was restricted to small groups or individuals. The popularity of Hitler, the propaganda calling everyone to work together for the 'people's community' and the blend of fear and reward tended to ensure cooperation. Opposition was largely a matter of civil resistance, because it was recognised that armed resistance would easily be crushed. Those areas of society in which some opposition could be found included the following.

> The political left – Social Democrats, communists and trade unionists – encouraged acts of sabotage and absenteeism in factories.
> The army was the most significant and organised grouping before 1939, and there were plots to remove Hitler. In 1938, however, Hitler purged the German General Staff and assumed personal control over the army.
> Young people formed groups opposed to the Hitler Youth.
> The Protestant and Catholic Churches both had minorities opposed to Nazism. Perhaps the most famous churchmen involved in opposition were Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was executed in a concentration camp in 1945, and Martin Niemoller, who spent time in concentration camps from 1938 to 1945.
> Some individuals – such as Carl Goerdeler (see the profile opposite) – joined the party in order to oppose Nazism from within.

Some young Germans opted out, such as members of the 'Swing Youth' – young people fond of American jazz music. They avoided, wherever possible, being drawn into the typical Nazi organisations and were members of a 'counter-culture' within Nazi Germany. Another similar group was the 'Edelweiss Pirates'. This group was found in and around Essen, Dusseldorf and Cologne. Its members were generally from working-class backgrounds and were often involved in street brawls with the Hitler Youth.

1.4g Check your learning

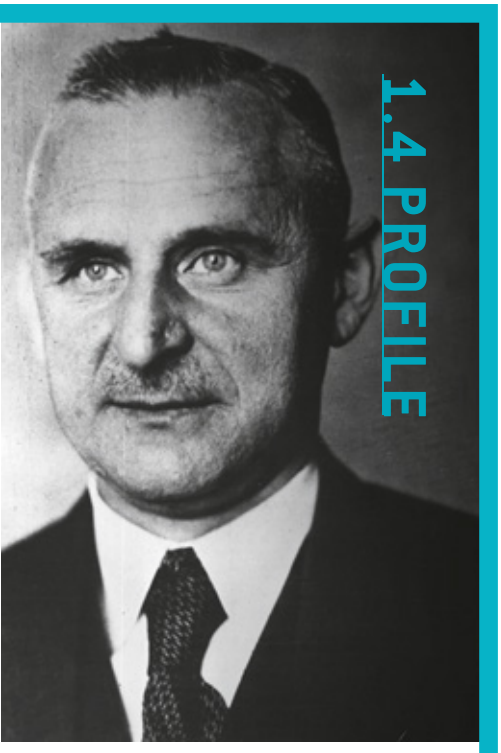
1 Explain why opposition to the Nazis was largely a matter of civil resistance.
2 Identify the areas of society where opposition to the Nazis was more obvious.
3 Use the internet and the library to research some of the groups and individuals who actively opposed the Nazi regime. Write a brief 250-word account on the nature of opposition to the Nazi regime.

CARL GOERDELER

Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, born in 1884, was the Mayor of Leipzig from 1930. After initially placing hope in Hitler as a source of good for Germany, Goerdeler soon became a very active opponent of both Hitler and the Nazi regime, and was forced to resign as mayor in 1937. After this, he took up a role as chief of overseas sales for the electronics company Bosch, which allowed him to travel overseas to warn officials from Britain, the United States and France, among other countries, of the Nazis' aggressive foreign policies. He was also in regular contact with British and American agents.

Back in Germany, Goerdeler reached out to a number of conservative generals for support, including Ludwig Beck who was dissatisfied with Hitler's conduct of the Second World War. Together with Beck and a group of other generals and officers, Goerdeler took part in planning a number of plots to kill Hitler, including the failed July Plot (sometimes referred to as Operation Valkyrie) of 1944. Had the assassination succeeded, Goerdeler would have taken over as chancellor in the new government, with Beck as president.

After the assassination failed and the coup collapsed, Goerdeler fled to Poland but was tracked down by the Gestapo and executed on 2 February 1945.



SOURCE 49 Carl Goerdeler

SOURCE 50 Actor Kevin McNally (top left) as Carl Goerdeler in the film *Valkyrie* (2008), which centres on the July Plot of 1944

1.4 PROFILE TASK

Using the idea of 'counterfactual history' mentioned earlier in this section, research the July Plot and the other assassination attempts on Hitler's life. Consider:

1. the role played by chance or luck in determining the outcome of historical events
2. how the history of Europe might have been different, had any of these assassinations plots been successful.

Write an extended response, making a clear argument supported by evidence.

1.5 The search for peace and security in the world 1919–46

The search for peace and security in the world failed in the two decades between 1919 and 1939, as the world lurched towards the Second World War (1939–45). Historians in the twenty-first century increasingly view the interwar period and the failure to protect the peace and security as a clash between two groups:

status quo
the existing or the current situation; the status of things as they are

1 *The defenders of the **status quo**:* these were the victors at the end of the First World War and the principal beneficiaries of the Paris Peace Conference – Great Britain, France and the United States – who, by and large, wanted to preserve the existing world order and the peace settlement.

2 *The revisionist powers:* these were the countries – Germany, Italy and Japan – that left the Paris Peace Conference dissatisfied and wanted change to, or revision of, the world order.

The failure to preserve peace and security led to the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe in September 1939, with the German invasion of Poland, and the outbreak of war in the Pacific in December 1941, with the Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

self-determination
the right of people, generally from the same cultural and ethnic background, to decide or determine for themselves how they will be governed and by whom

The search for peace, if not security, did however prove to be more successful after the end of the Second World War. The key date that marked the change was 24 October 1945, when the United Nations (UN) was created. The idea for the UN was born from the failed League of Nations, the international organisation created at the Paris Peace Conference, within the Treaty of Versailles.

US President Franklin D. Roosevelt had breathed new life into the idea of an international organisation committed to world peace during the Second World War, when he used the phrase 'united nations' to refer to the 26 Allied nations that joined together to fight the war against the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan). The aims of these 'united nations' were set out in the so-called Atlantic Charter – a statement of principles for a postwar world that came out of a meeting between Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in August 1941.

DAILY NEWS FINAL

F.D.R.-CHURCHILL GIVE PEACE AIMS

Momentous Meeting.

Historic 2-Page Group Foto of Meeting

SOURCE 51 The front page from the New York *Daily News*, 1941

The eight principles of the charter were as follows:

1 Territorial gains would not be sought by the United States or the United Kingdom.
2 Any territorial adjustments must be in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned.
3 All people had a right to **self-determination**.
4 Trade barriers were to be lowered.
5 There was to be global economic cooperation and advancement of social welfare.
6 The participants would work for a world free of want and fear.
7 The participants would work for freedom of the seas.
8 There was to be disarmament of aggressor nations and a common disarmament after the war.

SOURCE 52 Timeline

Key events in the search for peace and security in the world, 1919–46

1918

November: The armistice ends fighting in the First World War.

1919

June: The Treaty of Versailles is reluctantly signed by the German delegation.

1920

March: The US Senate fails to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and the United States does not join the League of Nations.

1922

October: Mussolini comes to power in Italy, committed to revision of the Paris peace settlements.

1923

January: French and Belgian troops occupy the Ruhr (an industrial area of Germany) due to Germany's failure to make reparations payments.

French troops in the Ruhr, 1923

1929

October: The Great Depression begins.

1931

September: The Japanese Army begins its conquest of Manchuria in north-eastern China to acquire raw materials needed by the Japanese economy.

1932

May: The assassination of the civilian Japanese Prime Minister Tsuyoshi Inukai signals the beginning of a militarist dictatorship in Japan.

1933

January: The Nazi leader Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany. Hitler, like Mussolini in Italy, is committed to revision of the Paris peace settlements.

March: Japan leaves the League of Nations in protest over the League's response to the annexation of Manchuria.

1935

Hitler announces the creation of a German Air Force and conscription to create a large German Army; both acts are against the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

1936

March: Germany sends troops into the Rhineland, an area between Germany and France that, according to the Treaty of Versailles, was meant to be kept free of German military forces.

October: Italy and Germany form an alliance, the Rome–Berlin Axis.

November: Germany and Japan form an alliance known as the Anti-Comintern Pact. The Axis is now complete.

Germany and Japan complete the Axis Alliance.

1937

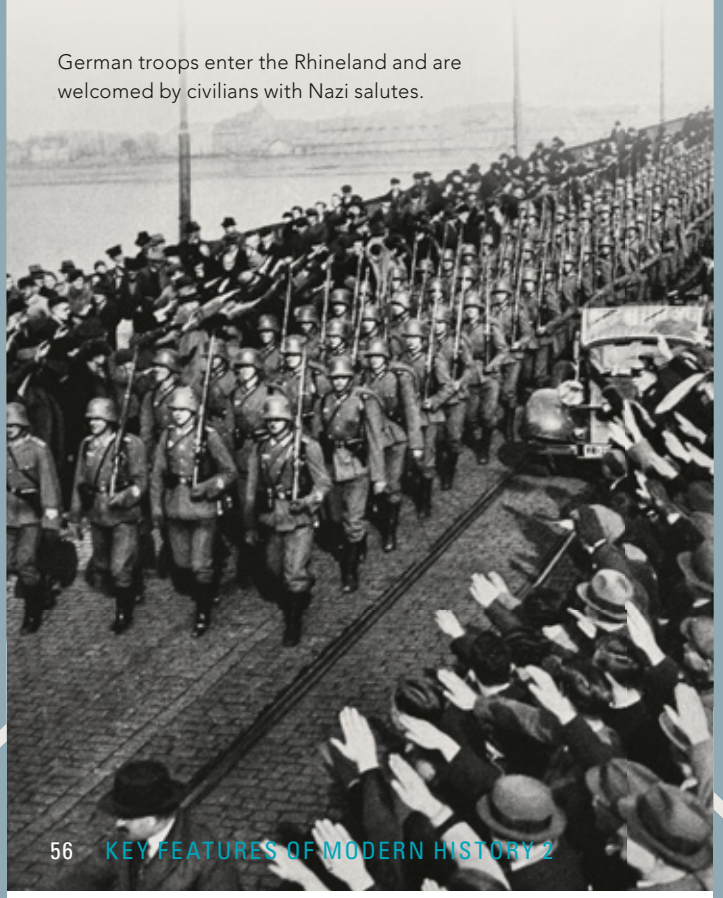
July: The war between China and Japan officially begins.

1938

March: Germany unites with Austria (the *Anschluss*) in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.

September: At the Munich Conference, Britain and France agree to Germany's territorial demands for German control of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.

German troops enter the Rhineland and are welcomed by civilians with Nazi salutes.



1939

March: German troops occupy the rest of Czechoslovakia. Britain and France guarantee Polish security.

August: Germany and the Soviet Union sign a Non-aggression Pact.

September: Germany invades Poland and the Second World War begins.

1941

August: Britain and the United States sign the Atlantic Charter.

October: Hideki Tojo becomes Prime Minister of Japan.

December: Japan bombs the US navy base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

December: Germany and Italy declare war on the United States.

The Japanese attack Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941.

1945

September: The Second World War ends.

1.5a Check your learning

1. Outline the background to the creation of the UN. Assess what it owed to the League of Nations and the Atlantic Charter.
2. In the interwar period, identify which countries defended the status quo and explain why.
3. Identify the revisionist powers.

Germany's ambitions and revisionist aims in Europe

Hitler and a number of other conservative German nationalists had been committed to a revision of the hated conditions of the Treaty of Versailles virtually from the day that it was signed. In Germany, the treaty was perceived as unfair, and was accepted in word but not in spirit. Where Hitler differed from his fellow Germans, however, was that he did not only want to revoke the Treaty of Versailles, but also envisioned building up German military strength to the point where Germany could dominate Europe, acquiring *Lebensraum* (living space) for the German people in Eastern Europe and making Germany a global power.

1937 was a key year in the evolution of German interwar foreign policy. Up until then, Nazi foreign policy, with its aim of revising the Treaty of Versailles, lived comfortably side-by-side with traditional German nationalism. After 1937, however, Hitler's foreign policy aims took a more radical and extreme turn. According to the great twentieth-century British historian A.J.P. Taylor, Germany had pursued the domination of Central Europe since the age of Bismarck and the German Empire of the late 1800s. This policy was, as such, at the heart of traditional German nationalism. Therefore, Nazi foreign policy was, in its early stages, completely compatible with Germany's longstanding traditions espousing revision of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The new and distinct features of the Nazi foreign policies of 1937 were the virulent antisemitism and the pursuit of a greater pan-German state to unify all ethnic Germans into a kind of German racial empire. Hitler had made this clear in 1928 when he wrote:

SOURCE 53

> The National Socialist movement … will always let its foreign policy be determined by the necessity to secure the space necessary to the life of our people … Even in the future the enlargement of a people's living space for the winning of bread will require staking the whole strength of the people.
>
> Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Road to War*, 2009

In order to accommodate this more radical shift towards creating a German racial empire in Central and Eastern Europe, with 'living space' and resources for the German people, two things had to be done:

1. A change had to take place in the foreign office, with ideologically committed Nazis loyal to Hitler's vision moving into key roles. Similar staffing changes were made in the army.
2. The German economy had to be made both self-sufficient and ready to fight a war.

SOURCE 54 A Nazi poster reads: 'One people, one country, one leader'.

SOURCE 55 The British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who had hoped to preserve 'peace and security' through a policy of appeasement

The second of these saw the emergence of the *Wehrwintschaft* or 'defence based economy'. As a result of the shift, Germany rapidly accelerated its military spending. In 1938, 17 per cent of the German **GDP** was spent on the military – twice the level of Britain and France. By 1939, that figure had risen to 23 per cent.

The year 1937 was also the time when, according the Hitler's memoranda, he identified what he perceived to be a growing 'power vacuum'. The vacuum was created by the obvious weakness of the League of Nations, and the fact that Britain, France and the United States were preoccupied with domestic problems arising from the Great Depression.

As you can see from the timeline in Source 30, Hitler repeatedly defied the rules of the Treaty of Versailles. In 1935, he reintroduced conscription, which saw the German Army increased to more than the 100 000 troops specified in the treaty. In 1936, German troops marched into the Rhineland and, in 1938, Austria and Germany united, also forbidden according to the treaty.

GDP
gross domestic product; the measurment of the quantity of goods and services produced in a country in one year

appeasement
the policy adopted by the British and French Governments of giving into Hitler's demands in order to keep the peace

It is easy with hindsight to condemn the British and French leaders who failed to stop Hitler. The policy of **appeasement** that allowed Hitler to defy the Treaty of Versailles in this way is especially associated with the British Prime Minister of the time, Neville Chamberlain. But as students of history, it is crucial that you stay clear of the historian's fallacy of assuming that decision makers of the past had access to the same information to help them assess a situation that we have today.

On the one hand, the extent of Hitler's plan of European domination was not clear to the major democracies, including Britain. On the other hand, by the 1930s many people – including non-Germans – were beginning to argue that the Treaty of Versailles had been too harsh. When Hitler increased the size of the German Army, he was simply increasing its numbers to a level that would match those of its neighbours. Furthermore, the Rhineland was in fact German territory; hence it did not seem unreasonable that Germany put soldiers on German land. Finally, when it came to union with Austria, the majority of Austrians were in favour of *Anschluss* and in fact, according to historian Margaret Macmillan, this was an example of national self-determination – something favoured by the European democracies.

Hitler did, however, regard the British and French as weak, and he set about exploiting this weakness by making more territorial demands, this time at the expense of Czechoslovakia. The British and French again gave way. Only when Hitler took all of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 did the British and French stand firm and promise to defend Poland. By this stage, however, Hitler had won repeated bloodless victories and was growing in confidence.

By now, Germany had signed a Non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union and Hitler and Stalin – both brutal and ruthless dictators – thus formed an 'unholy' alliance. The aim was set on Poland, and the result was a carving up of the country between the German Army and the Soviet Red Army. Despite the major powers' guarantees to Poland, Hitler appears to have been surprised when Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939.

1.5b Check your learning

1. Identify the reasons why 1937 was a key year in the evolution of Nazi foreign policy.
2. Discuss what steps had to be taken by Germany to make the creation of a German racial empire in Central and Eastern Europe possible.
3. Explain the historic fallacy of arguing that the policy of appeasement was being 'too easy' on Hitler.

SOURCE 56

> Not only was open aggression on two continents a feature of the decade preceding the war, there were also at least three – some say four – determined aggressors vying for the opportunity to upset the status-quo. The diversity of players and the loose bonds between them meant that the game was very fluid, fastpaced and intricate. Making sense of the world crisis of 1931 to 1941, as it was played out on different continents by different powers, may be likened to playing racket ball, chess or poker simultaneously against several opponents. So complex was this crisis that historians have disagreed on when the Second World War began and even whether it was initially two separate wars, the first in East Asia starting perhaps as early as 1931, and the second in Europe, which merged into a single global conflict only in December 1941.
>
> Robert Boyce and Joseph Maiolo Palgrave (eds), *The Origins of World War Two*, 2003, p. 3

SOURCE 57

> Relations with Japan were also slow to mature. The Foreign Ministry firmly favoured support for China where Germany had strong and traditional trading links. But the German ambassador in Tokyo, Herbert von Dirksen, a keen supporter of the Hitler revolution, urged a German-Japanese link on the grounds that Japan was doing to Asia what Germany was doing in Europe: 'It seems to be both a psychological imperative and one dictated by reasons of state that these two powers, who are combating the status-quo and promoting the dynamism of living forces, should reach common agreement.' He was supported by the Party foreign affairs spokesman, Joachim von Ribbentrop, who sought during the summer months to find a way of formally linking the two states in some pact directed against the Soviet Union. Hitler acknowledged in his memorandum on the Four-Year Plan that Japan, too, belonged to the circle of powers ideologically committed against communism: 'apart from Germany and Italy only Japan can be regarded as a Power standing firm in the face of the world peril'.
>
> Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Road to War: The Origins of World War 2*, 2009

1.5a Understanding and using the sources

1. Source 56 refers to 'at least three – some say four – determined aggressors'. The three aggressors were Germany, Italy and Japan. As you reread this chapter, consider which country might be considered the fourth aggressor. Provide examples to support your answer.
2. What was the status quo referred to by Source 56?
3. After reading Source 56, suggest why the interwar period is such a challenging topic for historians to study and understand.
4. According to Source 57, why was there a shift in Germany's relationship with Japan?
5. What was the 'world peril' that Hitler referred to in Source 57?

Japan's ambitions and revisionist aims in the Asia–Pacific

Japan, like Germany, wanted to challenge the status quo in the interwar period. Although Japan was one of the victors at the Paris Peace Conference, it was unhappy about the results of the settlement and left Paris resentful that counties such as Australia and the United States still had racist immigration policies. Japan had also been denied access to some German Pacific colonies that it had hoped to gain.

Two factors were especially important when explaining Japan's ambitions and revisionist aims at this time:

1 The Japanese had a longstanding view of themselves as special – as chosen people, superior to others in the Asia region. From the time that Japan had been forced to open itself to trade and contact with the West when an American fleet under Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay in 1853, Japan had resented its treatment at the hands of the Western powers.

2 Japan had a growing population and limited resources. During the 1920s and 30s, Japan set about acquiring territories to provide raw materials and food for its people.

Korea had been under Japanese control since 1905, and by the 1930s Japan looked to add Manchuria in north-eastern China to the territories that would help with Japanese resource needs. Manchuria was rich in iron ore and coal, and also had land to help grow the food needed by Japan's expanding population. In 1937, Japan began a war of conquest against China. This has led some historians to use 1937 as the starting date for the Second World War in the Pacific, rather than 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

SOURCE 58
Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrives in Japan, 1853.

SOURCE 59

> For over a century and a half the Asiatics have been pressed down by the Whites and subjected to Western tyranny. But Japan, after defeating Russia, has aroused the sleeping Asiatics to shake off the Western tyranny and torture.
>
> Rin Kaito, c. 1935, quoted in Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Road to War: The Origins of World War 2*, 2009

SOURCE 60

> England is already on the downgrade, Japan has started on the upgrade. The two come into collision because England is trying to hold on to what she has, while Japan must perforce expand. Territorial possessions and natural resources England has in abundance, she can afford to relinquish some. Japan has neither, and to her they are a matter of life and death.
>
> Tota Ishimaru, 1936, quoted in Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Road to War: The Origins of World War 2*, 2009

SOURCE 61

> The two contenders for mastery of the Pacific were the United States and Japan. For more than seventy years, Japanese leaders had been mesmerized by the United States: by her abundant wealth and huge size, by her capacity to change and grow. They saw Japan herself, like the USA, as a new nation, Japan had been reborn in the nineteenth century, but unlike America, a mish-mash of many peoples, the Yamato [Japanese] race was pure, growing from the most ancient of roots; the Emperor claimed to trace his unbroken lineage back 2600 years. In the 1920s Japanese scholars proudly attested that the Yamato race was 98 per cent 'pure'. This racial purity was, in Japanese eyes, a crucial distinction, giving her people a unique superiority. It would enable Japan to become the 'United States of Asia', outstripping all her neighbours in wealth and might, and, soon, to challenge America herself.
>
> Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Road to War: The Origins of World War 2*, 2009

1.5b Understanding and using the sources

Using the quotes from Rin Kaito (Source 59) and Tota Ishimaru (Source 60), and the summary offered by Richard Overy and Andrew Wheatcroft (Source 61), assess the influence of ideas of race and cultural difference in contributing to the growth of conflict in the Asia–Pacific.

1.5c Check your learning

1. Identify two primary factors that help explain Japan's ambitions in the Asia–Pacific.
2. Account for the reasons why Japan wanted to control Manchuria and parts of China.
3. Purpose what you think is the most appropriate date for the start of the war in the Asia–Pacific: 1937 or 1941. Justify your answer.

SOURCE 62 The logo of the League of Nations

SOURCE 63 The logo of the UN

SOURCE 64 Sean Lester, the last Secretary General of the League of Nations

Intentions and authority of the League of Nations and the UN

Any consideration of the delicate balance between the concepts of power and authority in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries would be incomplete without a closer and more specific consideration of the two great experiments in international cooperation: the League of Nations and the UN. While the League experiment failed and the organisation simply withered away by 1940, following the outbreak of the Second World War, the great experiment of the UN is still ongoing.

After the outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939, the last Secretary General of the League of Nations, Irish politician Sean Lester, did his best to preserve the League's records and staff. Some of the League's humanitarian and financial responsibilities were transferred from Geneva to the United States, where they were taken over by the Rockefeller Foundation and Britain. The wartime Allies, primarily the United States and Great Britain, recognised the need to both:

- clearly establish a justification and therefore an authority for the Allied cause and its right to use its combined power against the dictators
- create a foundation for a peaceful international order after the war. This was reflected in a key phrase from the Atlantic Charter calling for 'a permanent system of general security'.

SOURCE 65 Articles of the Charter of the UN: Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Both the League and the UN were born out of an opposition to war and grounded on a hope that the world could be made a safer place. The authority for the League was based on the set of rules and principles agreed upon by all members and set out in its covenant. The authority of the UN is likewise based on its principles, which are agreed to by all members and set out in the Charter of the UN. Power, however, is another matter. The League and the UN were, and are still, dependent on the goodwill and support of their members for power. Both organisations used the term 'collective security' – the idea that individual nations would look first to the international body, rather than to their own efforts or armies for security. The idea of 'collective security' has determined the final limit to the power of any international organisation. No nation state, either dictatorship or democracy, has ever been willing to totally

surrender its sovereignty to an international body. Rather, each nation state wants to reserve the right to make decisions that it regards as being in its best self-interest. The League of Nations failed this part of the experiment while the UN, despite many and frequent challenges, has managed to balance its relationships of authority and power within the international community.

While neither the League of Nations nor the UN has succeeded in securing world peace, many historians regard the UN as a successful example of international collaboration. Among them is Paul Kennedy, who argues in his 2007 book *The Parliament of Man: The United Nations and the Quest for World Government* (2007) that without the UN, and the vision of the League, we would be much worse off than we are today. There would be a greater threat of war, less understanding between nations and no real mechanism for international cooperation. Kennedy also points out some of the real, enduring achievements of the two great international bodies, including the following:

1 The League of Nations and the UN created a central place where all nations, large and small, could meet.
2 They created secretariats and agencies to coordinate efforts to improve the health and welfare of people all over the world.
3 They established a framework for international human rights.
4 They created an enduring idea of international – rather than just national – civil society.
5 The UN has helped lead important technological, economic and social changes since 1945.

Structure of the UN

The structure of the UN was modelled closely on that of the League of Nations. The UN has a General Assembly, a Security Council of major powers, an administrative Secretariat directed by the Secretary General, an International Court of Justice, a Trusteeship Council, and an Economic and Social Council.

In creating the UN, the founders were well aware of the shortcomings of the League. They recognised that, despite the high ideals of equality between member states, this clashed with the realities of international power politics. The League had been too democratic, leading to the smallest powers – such as tiny Costa Rica, with a smaller stake in global affairs – having had an equal voice with the major powers. When faced with the growing aggression of the dictators in the 1930s, this made it difficult for the League to act decisively.

The UN has proved to be more flexible and agile in adapting to the changing international political situation than the League. This was evident in the changes in the UN's role during and after the Cold War.

One of the clearest examples of the UN exercising real power in the modern world is the way it has helped combat global terrorism following the events of September 11, 2001. At that time, the UN passed Security Council Resolution 1373 which required member states to cut funds to terrorist groups and to share information to help combat global terrorism. The UN also created its own Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Despite criticism by US President Donald Trump about inefficiency, voiced in his address to the UN General Assembly in 2017, historians argue that despite a limited staff of only 14 000 at the UN Secretariat, the United Nations can point to many significant achievements over the past seven decades.

1.5d Check your learning

Research the formal structure of both the League of Nations and the UN. Note what aspects the UN borrowed from the League and what it left out. Take particular note of the more prominent public role of the Secretary General of the UN and the fact that, unlike the League, the UN has the capacity to raise and deploy a military force of its own. Also note that the UN introduced the power of **veto** for the great powers on the Security Council. What do you think this means for the power and effectiveness of the UN compared with the League? Use your research findings to support your argument.

veto
the right to overturn any decision by a person or group

The future of peace and security

The relationships that exist between power and authority in the contemporary world are arguably as complex, if not more complex, than at any other time in the past. A study of the past can, however, serve to help us put some of the issues that we confront in the present day in context. The past does not repeat itself in a strict sense, but it can offer lessons for the present. Ever since the Ancient Greek historian Thucydides wrote about the Peloponnesian Wars (431–404 BCE), the struggles for security and the tensions linked to power and authority have been a feature of historical accounts. In the context of modern history, A.J.P. Taylor wrote an account in 1979 called *How Wars Begin*. He concluded as follows:

SOURCE 66

> People often ask historians to tell them about the future. Heaven knows it is difficult enough to know about the past … When people ask me 'Will there be another world war?' I am inclined to answer 'If men behave in the future as they have done in the past there will be another war.' But of course it is possible that men will behave differently.
>
> A.J.P. Taylor, *How Wars Begin*, 1979

1.5e Check your learning

Historian E.H. Carr once said: 'Before you read the history, study the historian.' Research A.J.P. Taylor and then, using what you have learned in this Core Study:

1. Reflect and comment on Taylor's words (in Source 66): 'Heaven knows it is difficult enough to know about the past'. What do you think that he meant? Why might it be hard to know the past?
2. Do you agree with Taylor that 'it is possible that men will behave differently' and therefore avoid another world war? What evidence for this optimistic view can you find in this Core Study?
3. Do you disagree with Taylor and believe that there will be another world war? What evidence for this pessimistic view can you find in this Core Study?

1.5c Understanding and using the sources

Study Source 65 and summarise, in your own words, the key aims of the UN.

CONCLUSION

This Core Study has explored some of the most influential events of the twentieth century, many of which continue to shape the world we live in today. We began in 1919, a time when the Great War had just ended and had been replaced with great hopes for a peaceful future, with democracy and international cooperation at its core. But as we now know, this was not to be. Instead, the scars of the war and the wounds of the Great Depression would create a political environment that allowed for the rise dictatorships around Europe and the world. The reign of Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini and Tojo, followed by the destruction of the Second World War, ensure that the period 1919–45 is one of the most complex in modern history, and, as such, one of the most challenging for historians seeking to understand and analyse it.

The key thing to always remember when studying any period of history is that for the people who lived through that time, and were part of the events in question, few things were ever certain. What we study as the past was for them the present and the future – much of which was unknown. When you are studying the Paris Peace Conference, the rise of the dictators and the struggle for peace and security might, with the benefit of hindsight, seem obvious. In reality, the problems faced by the leading historical players of the times were far from simple. Good historians always acknowledge what might have been and carefully weigh the actions and the options available to decision makers in the past. Therefore, as you review the key episodes and the key features examined in this Core Study, be mindful that empathy and understanding are crucial elements of determining any historical truth about the past. Only when you do this are you thinking like a historian.

SOURCE 67 German troops march through Warsaw, the Polish capital, after the invasion in 1939.

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

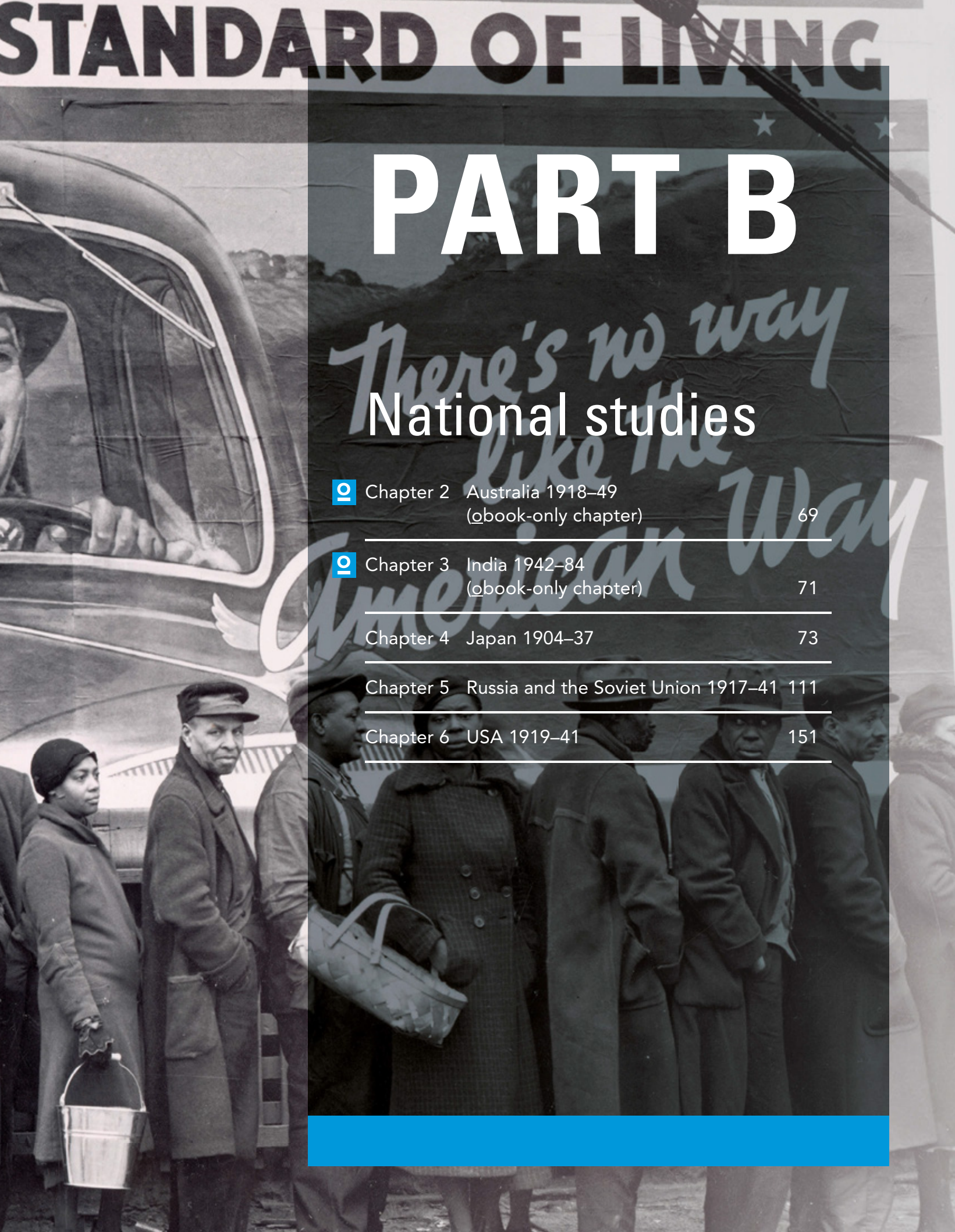
Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

African American flood victims queue up for food and clothing from a relief station, in front of a billboard proclaiming 'world's highest standard of living'.



PART B

National studies

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obook-only chapter

2 Australia 1918–49

Social worker Reverend S.W. McKibbin pouring soup for the children of the Kemp family in Erskineville, Sydney, whose father is unemployed due to the coal-miners' strike, 1949

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. How did Australia change between 1918 and 1949?
2. What was the nature and impact of Australian Government policy between 1918 and 1949?
3. How did Australia develop after the Second World War?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Studying Australian history in Years 7–10 may have presented you with a set historical narrative and limited interpretation. It will be important to analyse a wide range of sources to both challenge and support the ideas on Australian history you may already hold.

Historical interpretation

The mythology of the ANZAC legend and Gallipoli as the birth of the nation has become an established interpretation of Australian history. Success in HSC Modern History requires you to form your own judgments and develop interpretations that may challenge historical orthodoxy. The important thing will be that you can provide evidence from a range of sources to support your interpretation.

Historical investigation and research

You should develop a range of historical questions to help you analyse the period of Australian history between 1918 and 1949. These should be questions that challenge traditional interpretations as you investigate the period to ascertain whether those interpretations are sustainable after analysis of sources.

Explanation and communication

Ultimately, you will be communicating your understanding of this period of Australian history in a 1000-word written response under exam pressure to a question you will not have seen before. This will require you to develop your ability to communicate clearly and directly, and cite relevant examples to support your response to the question.

LEARNING GOALS

- Develop an understanding of the nature of Australian society and politics in the period 1918–49.
- Explain changes in Australia's foreign policy in the period 1918–49, and the implications of the move towards an American alliance.
- Use sources as evidence to explain social and political change in Australia in the period 1918–49.
- Identify and explain postwar reconstruction between 1945 and 1949.

Key features

Nature and role of nationalism

You will have to consider to what extent there was a united vision of Australia as a nation during the period 1918–49. You will also have to interrogate the accepted view that Australia became a nation on the shores of Gallipoli in 1915.

Experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

SOURCE 1 Unveiling the statue of cricketer Eddie Gilbert, Allan Border Field, Brisbane; Gilbert's career could be described as representative of the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples during this period: see the profile in Section 2.3.

The period 1918–49 was largely a time of exclusion for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in Australia. Examination of government policies and their implications will help you understand to what extent Indigenous Australians were included in visions of Australia and its future.

Changes in society

Between 1918 and 1949, Australia emerged from one world war, and then entered and survived another. In that time, it was exposed to a closer alliance with the United States at the expense of its traditional links with Britain. In many ways, this period in Australian society was marked by division. There were fault lines based upon religion, race, gender, political beliefs, location, wealth and background. In many ways, any investigation of this period is an analysis of the divisions in Australian society.

The changing role of women

During the two world wars, women were frequently required to take on tasks that had previously been the domain of now absent males. At the end of each war, it was expected that men would return and women would resume their traditional homemaking role in Australian society. Closer examination may also reveal the emergence of social change regarding women's roles in Australian society, but issues of wealth and class have to be considered when analysing this change.

Post-war economic development

The Chifley Government was determined to learn from the experiences of repatriation of soldiers after the First World War. It could be argued that the period 1945–49 was the start of modern Australia. You will have to analyse the validity of that argument.

Impact of communism

The Australian Communist Party was formed in 1920 and, from its inception, its stance for an equal distribution of wealth and rights for workers and Indigenous Australians brought it into conflict with the conservative elements of the Australian population. Fear of communism was a key issue in the 'Red Scare' federal election of 1925, and was also politically prominent in 1951, when the Menzies Government attempted to ban the party.

Aims and impacts of foreign policy

As Australia emerged from the First World War, it clearly saw its future in international relations to be entwined with Britain. The experience of the Second World War had a major impact on Australian foreign policy. Australia emerged from this war in an established alliance with the United States that would have significant impacts on Australian society in the years to come.

2.1 Introduction

Eminent Australian historian Stuart Macintyre once made the point that Australian survivors of the First World War 'knew it as the Great War; they had never experienced such a catastrophe and could not imagine that another would follow so soon'. Yet, the period 1918–49 saw not only a second world war, but also a second peacetime – in which the people of the nation had to come together to decide what kind of country they wanted Australia to be.

The popular narrative of Australian history presents the country emerging from the horrors of Gallipoli and the Western Front as a united nation with a clear national identity. As the First World War ended, Australia entered a period of stability and progress known as the 'Roaring Twenties', which was soon followed by the misery of the **Great Depression**. But within a generation, Australia was again sending its young men to Europe to serve the 'mother country' in the Second World War. Ironically, it was the failure of Britain to return the favour and support Australia in the face of a growing Japanese threat that saw the once-loyal colony break away and turn across the Pacific to the United States, in order to build political and military relationships. That decision arguably saved Australia from a Japanese invasion and set Australia on the course to decades of prosperity, particularly after the election of the Menzies Government in 1949 ushered in 23 years of continuous stable growth.

Great Depression
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 1940s

As a history student, you will have to question this simplistic view of Australian history by applying proper historical investigation and analysis. As always, reality is more complex than can ever be captured in a timeline, and a closer look reveals that Australia's road to the modern country we now live in was far more crooked than we are sometimes led to believe.

Between 1918 and 1949, Australia had 10 prime ministers, whose terms in office ranged from eight days to seven years. Coming from a range of political parties, they showed that Australia was a deeply complex and divided country during this period. The nation was largely populated by British immigrants, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were effectively barred from partaking in mainstream Australian society. In addition, the economic reliance on primary industries was slowly being challenged as the first signs of industrialisation commenced, and the population in the cities started to grow as suburbs developed.

There is no doubt that the period 1918–49 represents a significant period in Australian history. It was a time when Australia was coming to grips with its place in a changing world. Many young Australian men, and some women, had sailed off to foreign shores to support the 'mother country', find adventure and fight 'the war to end all wars'. When they returned – often broken and haunted by the horrors they had experienced – it was to a country that did not seem quite sure what the peace they had fought for should look like.

The country that had started at Federation with dreams of 'a working man's paradise' and 'a fair go for all' was growing increasingly divided. When Australia again engaged in war in 1939, there was a greater determination to win any subsequent peace, and the period of peace that followed saw attempts to define a new, modern Australia. Analysis of this time will require you to explore to what extent Australia today was shaped by the values and actions of this time.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events in Australia 1901–49

1901

Australia is created by the Federation of the states and territories.

1914

Australia enters the First World War in support of Britain.

1915

The first major Australian action is fought at Gallipoli in Turkey.

1917

William 'Billy' Hughes forms the Nationalist Party after splitting the Australian Labor Party (ALP) over conscription, and retains the prime ministership.

1918

The First World War ends.

1919

As troops begin arriving home from Europe, Australia becomes part of the worldwide influenza epidemic.

The Repatriation Commission is established.

The Paris Peace Conference commences.

1920

October: The Australian Communist Party established.

November: Qantas established.

1921

Edith Cowan is elected to the Western Australian Legislative Assembly and becomes the first women in parliament.

1922

Hughes leads the Nationalists to election victory, but is reliant on support from the Country Party. Earle Page, leader of the Country Party, refuses to serve under Hughes, forcing Hughes' resignation.

1923

Stanley Melbourne Bruce replaces Hughes, leading to the Bruce–Page Government that would last until 1929.

2FC becomes the first licensed commercial radio station in Australia.

1924

Compulsory voting is introduced to federal elections.

1925

The Bruce–Page Government wins the first 'Red Scare' federal election.

Australia and Britain sign a £34 million loan agreement, giving the Australian Government access to loan money for development schemes.

1926

The Balfour Declaration of 1926 establishes the equality of the independent dominions within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) established. It becomes the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO) in 1949.

1927

The Federal Government moves to Canberra from Melbourne.

1928

The Royal Flying Doctor Service is established.

1929

James Scullin and the ALP win government in the same week that the Wall Street Crash in New York heralds the start of the Great Depression.

1931

The Statute of Westminster passed by the British Parliament effectively removes power of Britain to make laws for Australia. Australia ratifies it in 1942.
The airmail service to Britain begins.

1932

The ABC is established.

1933

The Australian Antarctic Territory is declared.

Australian explorer Sir Douglas Mawson and his party after hoisting the flag on newly claimed territory in Antarctica

1935

BHP begin steel production at Port Kembla near Wollongong.

1938

The sesquicentennial celebrations and the Aboriginal Day of Mourning take place.

1939

Robert Menzies becomes prime minister after the death of Joseph Lyons and announces that Australia is at war with Germany.

1941

John Curtin becomes prime minister.

1942

Singapore falls to Japan.

Women and children are herded together by Japanese soldiers after the fall of Singapore, 1942.

1945

Ben Chifley becomes prime minister after the death of Curtin.
The Second World War ends.

1948

The status of Australian citizen is created.
The first Holden car is built.

1949

The Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme commences.
Chifley calls in military troops to end a coal-miners' strike.
Robert Menzies leads the Liberal Party to power.

2.2 Survey: Australia and the aftermath of the First World War

conscript/ conscription
a soldier who did not volunteer for service and is serving a period in the armed forces as mandated by the government

The year 1918 was a unique time in Australian history. The young country had fought in a major international conflict that was now drawing to its conclusion. Its prime minister, William 'Billy' Hughes, had divided the country over the issue of **conscription** in 1916 and 1917. So deep was this division that Hughes left the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Remaining as prime minister, he marshalled the opposition forces together into what would become the Nationalist Party – a party he would lead until his divisive personality resulted in him being rejected in favour of Stanley Melbourne Bruce, who became prime minister in 1923.

The First World War had a devastating effect on the Australian population. The deaths of Australian soldiers, and the drop in the birth rate as a result of so many males being absent, impacted dramatically on the growing country. The 1921 census estimated that the population was between 240 000 and 660 000 less than it should have been because of the war. With a total population of 5 030 479 on 31 December 1918 and 5 436 794 on 4 April 1921, that was a significant loss of population growth.

The loss of 60 000 during the war meant that many towns and suburbs suddenly lost their best and brightest young men. Women lost actual or potential partners, children lost fathers, and the great number of men returning from the front suffering from symptoms such as night tremors, suicidal thoughts and guilt about survival – what we would now recognise as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) – created great social disruption.

The 1921 census report clearly stated that the data collected was 'exclusive of full-blood Aboriginals'. But as this chapter will show, Australia's Indigenous population was excluded from more than just the census. This was despite the fact that a thousand Indigenous men, out of a population of 93 000, had volunteered to serve the Crown in the First World War. Many Indigenous men were in fact barred from serving by a racist system that officially stated: 'Aboriginals, half-castes, or men with Asiatic blood are not to be enlisted. This applies to all coloured men.' Those who did serve would have been disappointed if they had hoped for greater equality upon returning to Australia.

Consequences of the First World War for Australia

Prime Minister Hughes travelled to France for the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 that negotiated the end of First World War. He was determined to drive a wedge between British support for Japanese expansion in the North Pacific, and successfully argued against any racial equality clause being recognised in peace settlements. He was also a vocal supporter of harsh treatment for Germany, and in both these viewpoints contributed towards the resentments that would fester for 20 years before exploding into the Second World War. Hughes was also determined to tie Australia to Britain economically, and saw Australia as the logical home for new British settlers following the war.

SOURCE 3 Australian voluntary workers call for assistance with a banner reading 'Come & Help at French's Forest', c. 1917. French's Forest, just outside Sydney, was established as a home for soldiers returning from the war.

Participation in the First World War gave Australia a seat at the settlement table, but it also left the previously rather isolated continent exposed to global **pandemics**, as returning soldiers brought back with them a virulent strain of influenza. The virus would eventually infect an estimated 500 million people worldwide – about one-third of the planet's population at the time – and kill an estimated 20–50 million victims. In Australia, 12 000 people died as a result of contracting influenza.

pandemic
an infectious disease that spreads across a large region

SOURCE 4

> This conspicuous increase [in deaths] during 1919 was largely due to deaths from influenza. Of the 65 930 deaths which were registered during that year, no less than 11 989 (7046 males and 4943 females) were classified as due to influenza.
>
> Influenza statistics from the 1921 census report

Another unplanned consequence of the First World War was the issue of how to deal with the returning veterans. A Repatriation Commission was established to deal with traumatised soldiers, as well as the families whose loved ones did not return. Private funds and the Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia (later called the Returned and Services League [RSL]) were created to help with the massive task of integrating First World War soldiers into 1920s Australian society.

SOURCE 5

> The scale of assistance required for the 150 000 casualties and the families of those who served and died was significant. By the late 1930s, 250 000 Australians were supported with war pensions, 133 000 men had been found jobs by the Repatriation Department's Labour Bureau, 40 000 families had been placed on the land, 21 000 war service homes had been built, 20 000 children had received educational assistance, 28 000 servicemen had undergone training courses and over 4000 artificial limbs had been supplied free of charge.
>
> Stephen Garton and Peter Stanley, in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *The Cambridge History of Australia*, Vol. 2: 'The Commonwealth of Australia', 2013, p. 60

The social landscape of Australia following the First World War

Australia following the First World War was a country increasingly marked by division. Historian Jill Roe described this time as a period when Australia 'left behind' its pre-war optimism and enthusiasm for social experimentation. Instead, it became a country fearful of unrest and change, more conservative and inward-focused.

An early indicator of the divisions within Australia was the narrow rejection of conscription in 1916 and 1917. This issue divided Protestants against Catholics, British Australians against Irish Australians, fathers against mothers and, within the ALP, competing factions against each other. In 1920, the Country Party emerged to represent the interests of rural people and businesses, who felt they were being neglected by the spread of suburbs in the cities. As we know now, the trend of population drift from the country to the city was not going to slow down; rather, it would speed up and it continues to this day.

Postwar challenges to the roles of women

domestic duties looking after the home and family full time

There was a social expectation that as soldiers returned from the front, women would relinquish the jobs they had taken on to support the war effort and return to their **domestic duties**. However, not all women were ready to give up the small degree of independence that the war had given them. Some women, known at the time as 'flappers', started adopting elements of social liberation that they had picked up from American culture, such as smoking, listening to jazz, and being more open than any previous generation in their pursuance of the opposite sex. But the more these young women attempted to challenge society's values, the more the conservative elements fought back.

As the case of a young woman called Molly Meadows from Bunbury, Western Australia, showed, even the state was ready to intervene to quell emerging female expectations of equality. In 1922, Meadows accused a man, Joseph McAuliffe, of raping her, and an all-male jury initially found him guilty. However, despite the fact that McAuliffe admitted to the rape – his only defence being that the previous day, Meadows had flirted with him and kissed him, and thus he had been 'promised' intercourse – the guilty verdict caused outrage in the community. The rage was so great that a re-trial was called for, where McAuliffe was cleared of the charges. The presiding judge said that if Meadows had indeed kissed and 'encouraged' her attacker, as was reported, she could not be an innocent victim, and further stated that 'if that is innocence, then the word has changed its meaning'.

SOURCE 6

The 'modern girl,' however, courted male attention and hinted at female sexual emancipation from neo-Victorian mores. The 'modern girl' was also white. She might work while young, but was ultimately expected to find fulfilment in marriage.

Frank Bongiorno, in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *The Cambridge History of Australia*, Vol. 2: 'The Commonwealth of Australia', 2013, pp 70–1

The rise of anti-worker activism

Many of the soldiers who returned from the First World War felt they had earned the right to shape Australia's future. When workers carrying red flags marched in Brisbane in 1919, several thousand returned soldiers stormed into the Russian and working-class area of South Brisbane, smashing and looting shops and burning the community hall in what became known as the Red Flag riot. The reason behind the attack was that the returned soldiers believed that Australia should be loyal to Britain; and their conservative world view, honed by their wartime experience, saw any potential link to **communism** or workers' rights as a threat to Australia's future. War had made them accept discipline, and they wanted this carried into peacetime.

SOURCE 7 A depiction of South Brisbane's 'Red Flag riot', 1919

The South Brisbane riot continued without police intervention for three days and was only one of a number of similar riots across the country reflecting further division in society, and a sense of alienation among many veterans.

communism/ communist a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology of the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

SOURCE 8

Fear about the future had derived from a May Day 1921 march and demonstration by trade unionists. The crowd, listening to Jack Kilburn of the Bricklayers' Union, speaking in the Sydney Domain, was attacked by returned soldiers. With the Union Jack in hand, the soldiers had tried to make their own way to the speaker's platform and pull down the unionists' red flag.

Thomas Keneally, *Australians: Flappers to Vietnam*, 2014, p. 4

The division that the aftermath of the First World War ushered in to Australian life was neatly summed up by Stephen Garton and Peter Stanley when they argued that 'if Australia became a nation at Gallipoli, the cost of that making was a heavy one'.

Attitudes and policies towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples immediately after the war

Since the arrival of the first British colonists, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples had been deliberately excluded from society. Historians Anna Haebich and Steve Kinnane described white Australians' attitude towards the Indigenous peoples as 'a history of a nation-state resistant to change and reluctant to recognise Indigenous difference in positive terms'.

This created a situation where Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were legally British subjects, but were denied any of the rights or benefits of that status. They could not participate in public life, elections or debate, or be included in official actions such as the census. Instead they were 'protected', which essentially meant a denial of both rights and opportunity. Part of that process was the removal of Indigenous children from their families for placement in institutions to be trained for lives as domestic servants or labourers. Today, these children are referred to as the Stolen Generations.

SOURCE 9

> The appropriation of their lands and resources was seen as the right and duty of a higher civilisation. Such views also shaped Australia's protectionist policies, which were designed to 'smooth the pillow of a dying race,' a popular and conscience soothing euphemism for providing minimal short-term amelioration of poor living conditions.
>
> Anna Haebich and Steve Kinnane, in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (eds), *The Cambridge History of Australia*, Vol. 2: 'The Commonwealth of Australia', 2013, p. 335

2.2 Check your learning

1. Describe how the First World War impacted on the size of the Australian population.
2. What views did Prime Minister Billy Hughes push in the Paris Peace Conference and what were their implications for Australia?
3. List examples of divisions that existed in Australian society in the period immediately after the First World War.
4. Critically analyse the suggestion that 'if Australia became a nation at Gallipoli, the cost of that making was a heavy one'.
5. What was the nature of Australia's 'protection' of its Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples?

2.2 Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 4 helps you understand the impact of the global influenza pandemic on Australia's population. Why would this source be regarded as reliable?
2. Analyse Source 5 and explain why this data would have significant implications for the Australian Government.
3. In what ways could Source 6 contribute to a discussion regarding continuity and change in Australian history?
4. Why would events such as that described in Source 8 take place in Australia in the period after the First World War? How does the source help you understand divisions that were occurring in Australia at this time?
5. Explain what the term 'smooth the pillow' means in Source 9. Why would it be used in Australia at that time?

2.3 The changing face of Australia in the 1920s

Australia was just one of the British Commonwealth countries that had fought to support the 'mother country' in the First World War. Many young Australian men had enlisted voluntarily, hoping for an 'adventure'. Instead, they found themselves in a war that saw 60 000 Australians die and over 150 000 more imprisoned or disfigured, both mentally and physically. As Australia entered the 1920s, arguably the largest problem facing the nation was what to do with the returning veterans. Like many countries, Australia had rushed quickly to war, but had given very little consideration to the implications this would have on the peace that would eventually follow.

At the same time as divisions started to show following the end of the war, Australia became increasingly connected with new innovations in transport and technology. On 16 November 1920 the company that would become known internationally as Qantas was formed in Winton, Queensland. Its planes, then still a novelty, would help bridge Australia's enormous distances, and by the end of 1920 the first flight had been made between Melbourne and Perth. Cars increased in accessibility throughout the decade, but train travel was hampered by the different gauges (the spacing between the rails on the railway tracks) in each state, which meant that passengers and freight had to disembark at any state border and change trains to continue their journey.

Politically, leadership of the nation in the 1920s started with Billy Hughes and the Nationalist Party, and ended with James Scullin and the ALP, just as the first tremors of the Great Depression arrived. For most of the time in between, Australia was governed by the Bruce–Page Government, a coalition between the Nationalist Party and the newly formed Country Party, whose 14 seats in the 1922 federal election gave it the balance of power. The 1925 election not only returned the Bruce–Page Government, but formally introduced the 'Red Scare' fear of communism into Australian elections through Bruce's rhetoric aimed at undermining and weakening unions.

SOURCE 10 The increased acceptance and availability of motor cars helped revolutionise Australia. Australians could travel further and more easily, leading to the growth of tourism and, more importantly, the expansion of the city into suburbs.

The 1920s was also a time when divisions started to show in Australian society between workers seeking to improve their lives and returned soldiers trying to do the same thing. Conservative and progressive forces duelled in politics, women struggled to gain more social freedoms and recognition, and the Protestant–Catholic divide was a consistent characteristic of Australian society from the 1920s through to the 1960s.

Postwar soldier settlements

By 1919, the Federal Government had established a Repatriation Commission to commence the reintegration of returned soldiers into Australian life. One of the schemes enthusiastically adopted was the idea of placing veterans on their own farms. This would serve the dual purposes of providing homes and employment for returned soldiers, as well as maintaining primary production in Australia. According to historian Stuart Macintyre, the government placed 37 000 ex-soldiers on their own land.

It was a well-meaning scheme that showed the continuity of the idea of Australia as a nation built by strong, independent bushmen. The scheme also rested on the idea of the small, yeoman farmer – creating a living from small blocks of land. However, the success of the scheme was severely limited. Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce appointed Mr Justice Pike to investigate the causes of failure that had become increasingly apparent by 1929. He found that nearly half of all soldier settlers had quit the land – not only destitute, but with a combined Commonwealth debt of £23 million. Problems were widespread, including poor land, the small size of the blocks, lack of farming knowledge, no formal support or training, the incapacity of many of the soldiers to do the physical work, the high cost of maintaining the properties, wives and children having to leave the land after the soldiers were hospitalised with ongoing health issues, and a lack of coordination between federal and state authorities.

The success stories that did occur were the result of failing soldier settlers giving up their land to neighbouring soldier settlers, who had better outcomes with larger properties. Those who expanded their landholding were able to survive the onset of the Great Depression, which forced most of the remaining soldier settlers from their land.

SOURCE 11

> King Island near Tasmania … was the home of 50 original soldier settlers, but … many of the farmers struggled to work the land due to their impairments.
>
> 'The first lot that failed was the chap next door who lost an eye in the war and he had a disability, and a chap down the road who had a war injury,' Mr Sullivan said.
>
> 'It was their failure in health mainly, and they didn't have enough cows.'
>
> Len Sullivan, aged 85, still running the farm his father, Clifford Sullivan, took on after his service in Gallipoli and Palestine, quoted in 'From Gallipoli to Australian Farms: Soldier Settler Success and Failure and Contribution to the Future of Agriculture', *ABC News* website, 2015

The tensions between urbanisation, industrialisation and rural development

The census, which is the official government record of a country, is a very useful source for historians. Source 12 gives you the opportunity to compare population figures across two consecutive censuses – 1921 and 1933 – in New South Wales local government areas. The ones marked with an asterisk (*) would have been regarded as rural at the time of the census. Parramatta, Liverpool, Sutherland and Hornsby mark the farthest edges of any area that could be regarded as even remotely urban.

SOURCE 12 Population figures from the 1921 and 1933 census results

LOCAL AREA	POPULATION 1921 CENSUS MALE	POPULATION 1921 CENSUS FEMALE	POPULATION 1933 CENSUS MALE	POPULATION 1933 CENSUS FEMALE
Sydney	54 526	49 627	44 571	43 737
Sydney North	21 824	26 614	21 888	27 864
Parramatta	7 449	7 145	9 359	8 717
Liverpool	3 930	2 372	3 685	2 630
Sutherland	3 776	3 929	6 903	6 622
Hornsby	7 749	7 838	11 111	11 485
Newcastle*	7 878	6 688	6 983	6 674
Wollongong*	3 309	3 399	5 778	5 625
Ulmarra*	1 037	971	1 038	947
Blue Mountains*	3 048	3 712	3 394	3 447
Woy Woy*	–	–	1 347	1 219
Gundagai*	547	603	2 888	2 404

As Source 12 reveals, urban areas were much more populous than rural regions. The population drift from rural to urban accelerated during the 1920s, and the Great Depression saw many people move to the big cities in hope of finding work. Sydney reached one million people in 1922, and Melbourne counted its millionth citizen in 1928. Together, those two cities contained over a third of the population of Australia at this time.

People in rural regions were starting to show concern that they would get left behind in the urban explosion, and as a result of this the Country Party was formed in 1920. Today, this party is known as the National Party, and has remained in coalition with the major conservative party of the day since the 1922 election. Already in the 1920s, the party reflected some of the rising tension in the community about where Australia was heading. In many ways, rural Australia represented the past, and urban, industrial Australia represented the future. The development of the Country Party, however, showed that the rural sector was not going to relinquish its position without a fight.

SOURCE 13 The Sydney Harbour Bridge, an economic necessity to bring the northern and southern sides of Australia's largest city together, commenced in the 1920s industrial boom and limped into existence at the height of the Great Depression in 1932.

Prime Minister Bruce's famous slogan was 'men, money, markets', which applied to his three essential ingredients for boosting the economy: increasing the size of the workforce, seeking foreign investment to help stimulate Australian manufacturing and industry, and

securing overseas markets to sell the goods. Thus the 1920s witnessed a significant increase in foreign (largely British) investment, and rapid increases in public spending, particularly in the expanding cities. These were accompanied by the development of private companies, and a boom in the production and consumption of consumer goods. The automobile industry expanded, as did suburbs and the accompanying **infrastructure** required.

infrastructure
the groundwork to a functioning society, such as roads and railways

Although the development boom of the 1920s was brought to a shuddering halt with the onset of the Great Depression, the progress made would provide a basis for the economic prosperity that marked post–Second World War Australia. One example was BHP's Newcastle steelworks, which opened in 1915 and provided both steel and stable employment, cementing regional growth in the Hunter region.

Among the fault lines in Australian society, the division between rural and urban Australia has been consistent. The industrial growth of the 1920s meant that much of the money borrowed to modernise Australia was being spent in urban areas, supporting urban populations. As indicated above, the formation of the Country Party in 1920 was a reflection of the tension that was rising between rural and urban Australia.

THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY

FREE PAPER PATTERN on Page 31.

PRICE 2d.

What Smart Sydney Women Are Wearing

•Camera pictures reveal charm of the wearers, and chic and distinction of attire in intimate garden settings

Equal Social *Rights* For *SEXES*

Mrs. Littlejohn Outlines Big Issues To Be Fought For

Unique New Jumpers—and A Surprise!

SOURCE 14 The cover of the first issue of *The Australian Women's Weekly*, 1933

The changing role of Australian women

As the example of Molly Meadows (see Section 2.2) shows, the war and the temporary roles given to women while men were away had seen the emergence of the 'modern woman' in the 1920s. But it would take many decades for any substantial and lasting change to impact upon the lives of most Australian women. It is far too simplistic to look at popular culture images of the 'Roaring Twenties', or to point to the election of Edith Cowan to the Western Australian Legislative Assembly as Australia's first female parliamentarian in 1921, and argue that the role of Australian women was substantively changing.

Undoubtedly, the right to vote given to Australian women in 1902 had placed them ahead of most other countries in terms of political equality. The 1903 federal election was the first where women were eligible to stand for election. Four women, all unsuccessful in gaining party support, decided to stand. Three stood for the Senate, and Selina Anderson became the first woman to stand for the House of Representatives as an Independent for the

seat of Dalley in Sydney. She received 18 per cent of the vote, and went on to help found the Cardboard Box Makers Union and sit on the New South Wales Labor Party executive. **Suffragette** leader Vida Goldstein from Victoria ran for the Senate in 1903, 1910, 1913, 1914 and 1917. And although Edith Cowan was only elected for one term, she was able to push forward legislation in Western Australia that supported women's aspirations, such as allowing women to work in the legal profession.

When the first issue of *The Australian Women's Weekly* was published on 10 June 1933, its front page captured the dilemma facing Australian women of the time. It also illustrates the danger of historians relying on a single source in their investigation.

The 'smart Sydney women' photographed for the cover did not represent the reality for the majority of women struggling to make ends meet and hold families together in the depths of the Great Depression. Such women could not afford food, let alone 'unique new jumpers'; and equal social rights for both sexes often took second place to simple survival for women further down the social hierarchy. In fact, the future of the 'modern woman' of the 1920s was largely dependent on wealth, social class and marital status as Australia entered the Great Depression years.

SOURCE 15 A woman stirring a metal pot at the Redfern Fish Markets during the Great Depression, Sydney, 29 May 1932

The exclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples

suffragettes women working for the right to vote

Indigenous Australians served with distinction in Australia's armed forces in both the First and Second World Wars. The need to boost troop numbers had temporarily trumped legal obstacles and social attitudes of prejudice towards Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. The equality was, however, to be short-lived. Upon returning to civil life, these soldiers were met with exclusion and a failure to gain the same compensation as their peers. When white Australian soldiers returned to blocks of land, Indigenous soldiers were still not regarded as citizens and were not even granted membership to their local RSL.

SOURCE 16

> The story of Indigenous men and women who served on the front lines in major battles, in intelligence, in transport, in logistics, in hospitals and in dozens of other roles is absolutely central to our military history.
>
> Mike Dodson, 2009 Australian of the Year and member of the Yawuru peoples, at the launch of the ABC's *Untold Stories* documentary series in 2014

In the time between the two wars, Indigenous Australians' lives were determined by the state government under which they lived. However, although the experience varied from state to state, policies such as the removal of children, poor standard of education, and restriction of rights and freedoms were consistent across the country. The overall policy towards Indigenous Australians at this time has become known as the Protection Policy.

In Queensland, it was the 1897 Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act which placed Indigenous lives completely under the control of the government. This policy was designed to 'protect' Indigenous Australians, but ended up being the legislative support for massive exploitation and dislocation. In New South Wales, the 1915 amendments to the Aborigines Protection Act 1909 gave the Aborigines Protection Board the power to remove any Indigenous child at any time and for any reason. Each state had some form of Protection Board that controlled the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

Employment opportunities for non-white Australians were largely limited to servant and labourer roles, and it was legal for payment to Indigenous workers be significantly less than that paid to white Australians. Land was taken away in exchange for a life on 'reserves' – areas of inferior land quality, where Indigenous Australians were confined by the state. The period between the wars was characterised by a lack of opportunity and hope for most Indigenous peoples in Australia.

SOURCE 17 Land was taken away from Indigenous Australians in exchange for a life confined to reserves.

EDDIE GILBERT

2.3 PROFILE

SOURCE 18 Eddie Gilbert

Although it is impossible to ever wholly understand the struggles of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in the time between the two wars, studying the life of cricketer Eddie Gilbert can shed light on some of the notorious discrimination that Australia's Indigenous population was subjected to.

Born in Durundur Aboriginal Reserve in south-eastern Queensland in 1905, Gilbert was removed from his parents and placed in the children's dormitory at Barambah Reserve, which would be later known as Cherbourg. After rudimentary schooling until Grade 4, he was contracted out as a labourer by the reserve superintendent.

While living at Barambah, Gilbert was introduced to cricket and, despite his small frame (170 centimetres and 57 kilograms), he developed a 'whippy' bowling action, characterised by a strong wrist and long arms, and generated amazing pace off a short run. In 1929 he was given permission to leave the reserve and go to Brisbane, where he was asked to demonstrate his bowling. Like most Indigenous people living on reserves, he required permission to leave for even a short absence – a rule that would affect Gilbert throughout his cricket career. The discrimination did not stop even as Gilbert's talents were recognised and he was selected to play for the Queensland Colts in 1930. Rather, once away from the reserve, Gilbert was forced to sleep in a tent at the cricket ground, while his teammates stayed in hotels.

Gilbert played for Queensland in 19 Sheffield Shield games, as well as against touring international teams, but he was never picked for the Australian team. The sight of an Indigenous Australian not only bowling fast, but also doing so with control and success, was unique in an Australian sporting community that practised the same exclusionary policies as the rest of society. From the start, Gilbert's action was questioned, and the flexibility of his wrist – which helped him generate such pace – became the basis of accusations that he illegally threw the ball rather than bowled it.

Due to the controversies around his bowling style, Gilbert had his action filmed and scrutinised by the Queensland Cricket Association, which found no irregularity. However, Gilbert's continued success caused him problems. In 1931, after being picked to play for Queensland, he dismissed Don Bradman, playing for New South Wales, for a duck. In three balls, he knocked Bradman's cap off, hit the bat from his hands, and then dismissed him. Bradman described those few balls as the fastest he ever faced. New South Wales responded by further questioning Gilbert's bowling action and pressured Queensland to drop him from the team.

The only time cricket and the white society that supported it showed any indication of accepting Gilbert was during the 1932–33 'Bodyline' series against England. England's tactics of targeting the bodies of the batsmen with fast bowling was proving successful, and Australia looked for someone who could bowl as fast as the Englishmen. Under pressure, Gilbert tried to change his bowling action and was injured. His best chance of playing for Australia passed him by. By the end of 1936, he had retired and was back in Cherbourg.

Increasing signs of mental instability saw Gilbert hospitalised in 1949, and he was to stay in Wolston Park mental hospital south of Brisbane for close to 30 years, until his death in 1978.

Gilbert never received proper recognition for his contribution to Australian cricket during his lifetime. It would take until 2008 for a statue of him to be unveiled at Allan Border Oval in Brisbane. One year later, Indigenous Sports Queensland established the Eddie Gilbert Medal to recognise Queensland's best Indigenous sports person. Finally, in 2015, the cricket ground next to the Wolston Park mental hospital was renamed the Eddie Gilbert Memorial Oval, an honour reserved for the truly great sports people of their time.

2.3 PROFILE TASKS

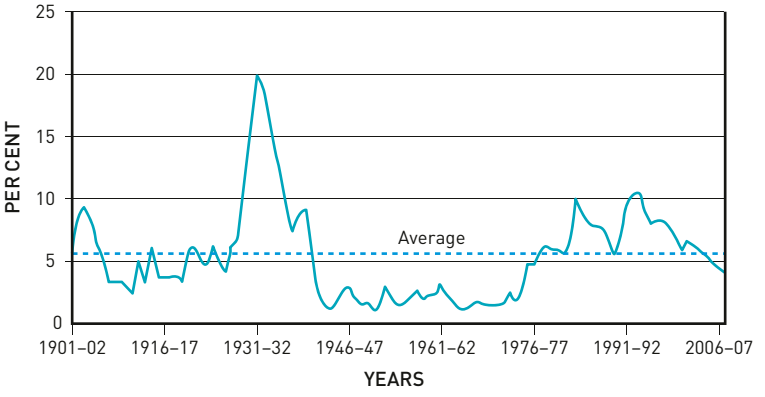
1 Explain why Eddie Gilbert's career could be described as representative of the experiences of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples during this period.
2 Discuss why Gilbert's sporting career was regarded as 'controversial'.

The impact of the Great Depression

It is simplistic history to try to understand Australia's experience of the Great Depression merely as a response to the Wall Street Crash in the United States in 1929. By the time the Scullin ALP Government was elected in the same week as the crash, Australia's economic status was already precarious.

Political impact of the Great Depression

From 1923, the year the National Party–Country Party Coalition came to office, unemployment never went below 7 per cent and, as Source 19 shows, unemployment continually rose in Australia during the 1920s, consistently running at around 10 per cent. Therefore, any view of the 'prosperous 1920s' has to be tempered by the historical question: 'Who was prospering?' The fact is that economic output was already stagnating in the late 1920s; both state and federal governments borrowed massive amounts of money to fund economic expansion, and the country's major cities grew as a result of this investment.



SOURCE 19 Unemployment in Australia during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Stanley Melbourne Bruce, the first businessman to be elected prime minister, saw restriction of wages as the main means of cutting costs and improving profits. Key industries on the wharves and in coal-mining and timber conducted major strikes against this attack by employers, the Federal Government and the Commonwealth Arbitration Court. Workers also rallied behind the ALP, resulting in a swing towards that party in the 1928 federal election. When Bruce lost a vote in parliament in 1929, after Billy Hughes led a group of Nationalists to **cross the floor**, Bruce was forced into another federal election. He became the only sitting prime minister until John Howard in 2007 to lose both the election and his seat in parliament.

cross the floor
to vote against your own party's wishes

James Scullin inherited an export-dependent economy (at a time that world trade was rapidly shrinking) and a government that had borrowed heavily to finance growth. This combination ensured that Australia was quickly drawn into the worldwide economic deterioration. In 1930 a representative of the Bank of England, Sir Otto Niemeyer, visited Australia to advise the Federal Government on the crisis. Since the late 1920s, the British Treasury and the Bank of England had been concerned that Australia was borrowing too much and creating an unrealistic expectation in the country of a high standard of living. Niemeyer's advice was basically to make massive cuts in government spending and balance budgets.

Pressure mounted on the Scullin Government to act. The two basic approaches were either *inflationary* – use government spending to stimulate the economy and generate employment; or *deflationary* – cut wages and costs as much as possible. The British Government and the Bank of England were strong advocates of the deflationary approach, which Scullin and the state premiers adopted in 1931.

The ALP split over the direction it should advocate. Federal Treasurer Edward Theodore and New South Wales Premier Jack Lang were inflationary advocates, while Joseph Lyons, who had been Acting Treasurer while Theodore faced corruption allegations, supported the status quo of deflation. By May 1931, Lyons had left the ALP and established the United Australia Party (UAP), which had replaced the Nationalist Party as the unifier of conservative forces.

In December 1931, Lyons was elected prime minister, a position he would retain until he died in office in 1939. During this time, his deflationary approach would lead to more suffering before the world slowly started to recover from the crisis.

shanty towns
makeshift collections of self-made homes

democracy
representative government based on the will of the people

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

Social impact of the Great Depression

According to economic historian C.B. Schedvin, Australia recorded one of the highest rates of unemployment in the world at this time. Males were still regarded as the family breadwinners, and by 1932 around one in five males was unemployed. Individual Australians' experience of the Great Depression was largely dependent on employment status. Evictions were common. Self-made **shanty towns** sprung up on the edges of cities and many families were broken up as males left home in search of work. Farmers who were able to hang on to their land usually survived through self-sufficiency, although this period broke many of the soldier settlers. The wealthy continued their lives throughout the Depression with little or no disturbance, as the front page of *The Australian Women's Weekly* from 1933 indicates (see Source 14).

As in many Western countries at this time in history, faith in **democracy** and **capitalism** to benefit all citizens was put to the test, and one of the unexpected consequences of the Great Depression in Australia was the growth in support for the Communist Party. It was

Communist Party members who challenged the police when poor families were evicted from their homes, and Communist Party members who spoke loudly and openly about the importance of workers' rights. Although this activity confirmed them as an enemy to the business class, support among workers steadily built.

At the same time, the returned, pro-British veterans who had rushed Communist Party meetings in the 1920s organised themselves into secret armies, as the impact of the Great Depression threatened social stability. The most prominent of the proto-**fascist** groups to emerge at this time was the New Guard, which rose to fame by disrupting ALP New South Wales Premier Jack Lang's ribbon-cutting at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932. Their aims were specifically anti-Lang; they reflected conservative values of traditional allegiance to 'King and country' and sought to remove any taint of communist influence. Their meetings included Nazi-style salutes, and at one point they planned to kidnap Lang and members of his Cabinet. Their tactics became increasingly similar to those of the quasi-legal groups appearing on German streets at the time, with uniformed gangs, physical intimidation and threats being commonplace. Their threat, however, was largely negated by the emergence of conservative governments.

fascist
a right-wing nationalist political movement that originated in Italy but then gave its name to any nationalist, conservative, authoritarian movement or ideology

SOURCE 20 A land fit for heroes? An ANZAC veteran and his family are evicted from their Redfern home into the street during the Great Depression.

William Roberts, 1929, Courtesy State Library of New South Wales

SOURCE 21 Happy Valley shanty town at La Perouse, Sydney

2.3 Check your learning

1. What were soldier settlements? How successful were they?
2. How effectively does Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne Bruce's slogan 'men, money, markets' summarise the 1920s in Australia?
3. Explain how the roles and status of Australian women changed between the wars.
4. Explain the impact of the Protection Policy on the lives, participation and aspirations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples between the wars.
5. Explain how the Great Depression revealed divisions in Australian society.

2.3 Understanding and using the sources

1. Describe the view of Australia given by Source 10. What other sources would be required to allow you to assess the validity of your description?
2. How useful is Source 11 to a historian investigating soldier settlements after the First World War? Does it provide evidence of continuity or change in Australian history?
3. Examine Source 12 carefully. Analyse the changes in population between 1921 and 1933 in terms of continuity and change. Which changes would you regard as significant? How can you account for these changes?
4. Identify the ways Sources 14 and 15 contribute to your understanding of the role of women in Australian society between the wars.
5. Explain how Source 19 helps you understand the impact of the Great Depression on Australian society.
6. Explain what Sources 20–22 reveal about the impact of the Great Depression on Australian society.

SOURCE 22 The costume of an inner fascist group member of the New Guard, c. 1930s

Courtesy National Archives of Australia

2.4 Government policy 1918–49

One of the difficulties in assessing the success of Australian Government policy in the period 1918–49 is being able to differentiate between federal and state government responsibilities. The Constitution established a division of powers between the states and the Commonwealth, but events such as the World Wars and the Great Depression played a significant role in enabling the Commonwealth to gain more power at the expense of the states. For example, it was during the Second World War that the Federal Government consolidated its right to collect and distribute income taxes.

The nature of Australia's foreign policy 1918–49

As the world emerged from the ashes of the First World War, Prime Minister Billy Hughes sailed off to France to represent Australia's interests at the Paris Peace Conference. The aim of the conference was to decide on the terms of the peace. Stuart Macintyre described one of Hughes' aims as being 'a punishment of Germany so severe it could only imbalance the international economy and poison international relations'. This placed Hughes alongside the French, in demanding harsh terms of settlement. Hughes was also vehemently opposed to the American idea of a 'new world order' that would be characterised by international cooperation and national self-determination, and he successfully fought against racial equality being included in settlements. In short, Hughes displayed a postwar Australian foreign policy that seemed to want to retain a world of British imperialism. Certainly Hughes contributed to a sense of alienation in Germany and Japan that would prove to have severe consequences during the 1930s.

SOURCE 23 Prime Minister Billy Hughes is held aloft on his return from the Paris Peace Conference, Sydney, July 1919.

Hughes also used the settlement of the First World War to lay down the beginnings of Australian imperialism in the Pacific region. He argued that Australia should receive control of territory previously held by Germany. As a result, Australia was granted a 'Class C' mandate over New Guinea, meaning the Australian Government could administer this area as part of Australian territory. The Australian Government also received a 42 per cent share of the wealth from Nauru, another former German colony. Further, Hughes pushed for a tight imperial arrangement that drew Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa closely under the umbrella of British foreign policy. This was not to last, however, as South Africa and Ireland pursued agendas that would drive them further from Britain; while Newfoundland eventually joined Canada and moved more closely into the orbit of the United States.

Britain's 1926 **Balfour Declaration** was another outcome of the Paris Peace Conference. It gave Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, the Irish Free State and South Africa equal status with Britain in internal and external affairs. The **Statute of Westminster** in 1931 gave the **dominions** the right to follow an independent foreign policy, and established the parliamentary basis for the relationship between Britain and the countries of the Commonwealth. Australia, however, did not **ratify** this until 1942, at a time when the country was moving to establish a foreign policy independent of Britain by becoming more closely aligned to the United States. Accordingly, Britain's declaration of war in 1939 led to Australia and New Zealand automatically joining the British, while the Irish Free State remained neutral, and Canada and South Africa both hesitated and consulted before committing to war. Clearly, in matters of defence and trade, in the period up to the Second World War, Australia saw its foreign policy as inextricably linked to Britain's.

Australia's commitment to British foreign policy included support of Britain's **appeasement** of Germany during the 1930s, and the Lyons Government suppressed criticism of European dictators. Australians were certainly desperate to avoid another war, but among the UAP Government there was also some admiration of the discipline and achievement of Germany. Indeed, Robert Menzies (then the Attorney-General of Australia) returned from a visit there in 1938 commenting on the spiritual quality of 'the willingness of young Germans to devote themselves to the service and well-being of the state'. It was Menzies who replaced Lyons as prime minister and leader of the UAP in 1939, after Lyons' sudden death in office. Thus in September it fell to Menzies to announce that, because of Britain's declaration of war on Germany, it was his 'melancholy duty' to inform the nation that 'Australia is also at war'.

Balfour Declaration
a 1926 British Government declaration that gave the dominions equality within the British Commonwealth

Statute of Westminster
a 1931 law passed by the British Parliament that stopped the British Parliament making laws for the dominions

dominion
a larger self-governing territory within the British Commonwealth

ratify
to agree to or support; to give formal confirmation of a treaty or agreement

appeasement
the policy adopted by the British and French Governments of giving into Hitler's demands in order to keep the peace

Australian policy during the Second World War

Australia's legal, constitutional and emotional links were with Britain, still fondly referred to as the 'mother country', and both the government and the people of Australia felt that those links would guarantee Australian security in the Second World War. However, the threat of the war extending into the Pacific simultaneously saw a rare sign of Australian independence, with Menzies establishing the first Australian diplomatic missions to Japan, China and the United States in 1940.

In February 1942, the British base at Singapore – the bastion of Australia's defence and security – fell to the invading Japanese force. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had failed to come to Australia's aid, and the previous 20 years of unquestioning loyalty quickly turned to a sense of betrayal and disillusionment.

The ALP's John Curtin had won the federal election in 1941, and took on the responsibility of defending Australia from what was seen as an impending Japanese invasion. Even before the fall of Singapore, Curtin's New Year message to the Australian people (as published in the Melbourne *Herald* newspaper on 27 December 1941) announced that: 'Without any inhibitions of any kind, I make it quite clear that Australia looks to America, free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom.' This showed Curtin's awareness of the need for a change of foreign policy, and his lack of confidence in the traditional reliance on Britain. His clash with Churchill over the need to withdraw Australian troops from the European conflict to defend Australia had been an indicator that Curtin was prepared to take a new, Australia-centred approach to foreign policy.

Curtin's announcement of such a dramatic change in foreign policy outraged traditional conservatives; and Churchill complained it was insulting, threatening to go over Curtin's head and broadcast directly to the Australian people. Ultimately, however, it was Australia's military alliance with the United States that halted the Japanese advance and maintained Australian territorial integrity.

It was a different Australia that emerged from the war, and in Dr Herbert Evatt, the Minister for External Affairs, the country produced a politician who was able to take to the world stage as a representative of the smaller nations. Evatt played a significant role in establishing the United Nations in 1945, and was its third president in 1948, when it adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Thus when Prime Minister Menzies committed Australia to the Korean War in 1950, signed the ANZUS Treaty (the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty) in 1951, and joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1954, it reflected the emergence of a very different foreign policy to the one with which Australia entered the Second World War.

SOURCE 24
The moment that confirmed a major change in Australian foreign policy – the fall of Singapore on 15 February 1942

Australia's changing relationship with the United States

Like most Australian history, the question of American influence can be told as a simplistic narrative, or it can be approached with a deeper, more complex interpretation. The simplistic view holds that a grateful nation saw American help in the Second World War as the saving of Australia, and responded by gleefully adopting American popular culture in an explosion of rock'n'roll, movies and television after the war.

However, the fact is that some elements of American influence were already evident from the first half of the nineteenth century, as the Australian colonies sought to define their place in the world. Academics have seen parallels between the two sets of settler colonies – both originating as British, and both influenced by ideas of democracy and independence. Where the United States rebelled against British rule, however, the Australian colonies (notwithstanding the 1854 Eureka Rebellion) remained determinedly British.

Historian Richard Waterhouse has explored the development of Australian popular culture and identified strong nineteenth-century American influences. Touring minstrel shows were a popular form of entertainment right up until the First World War. These were travelling entertainers – sometimes local, sometimes from the United States – and they introduced the tradition of 'blackface', where white actors would blacken their face to play black roles. This reinforced the exclusion of most Indigenous Australians from mainstream cultural life. Baseball was played on the goldfields by American miners and, by the 1930s, American influence could be identified in film, jazz, dance, magazines, cheap novels, advertising, the growth of consumerism and architecture, where 'Californian bungalows' reflected similarities in climate and style between the American west coast and the Australian east coast. Thus when Curtin wrote his 'Australia looks to America' message to the Australian people as the war in the Pacific was rapidly expanding, Australians were already familiar with many aspects of American life.

The assistance of the United States in the Second World War was decisive in defeating Japan, but it also opened Australia to American troops. It is thought Australia was hosting around 100 000 American soldiers at any given time as the Pacific War raged. This was an unprecedented situation that reflected political change and military reality, but also created a degree of social stress. American troops reflected glamour and wealth to a country still emerging from the realities of the Great Depression. There was also potential embarrassment in that the United States was sending African American troops at a time when Indigenous Australians were largely excluded from mainstream Australian life. The diplomatic solution was to largely confine the troops to northern Queensland. It is worth noting that the US Army was still segregated at this time, and there are numerous reports of African American soldiers being killed by white soldiers or by the military police.

SOURCE 25

> The American servicemen were much better paid, had much smarter and better fitting uniforms, and frequented canteens that contained luxuries that Australian servicemen could only dream of. Unsophisticated, lonely Sydney women couldn't be altogether blamed for forsaking their Aussie boyfriends, who they hadn't seen for years, to go out with the more glamorous looking Americans who had the money to buy them chocolates and flowers, and the money to access 'nylons'.
>
> L.E. Pembroke, *Children of the Anzacs*, 2007, p. 62

Source 25 reveals some sources of simmering tension between American and Australian troops. Australian soldiers resented the 'flashy' Americans who had smarter uniforms, access to American products and disposable wealth. This image made the Americans popular with Australian women, further stoking the resentment. It was this tension that exploded in Brisbane in November 1942, where two days of conflict and rioting between the soldiers of the two allies left an Australian soldier dead, hundreds from both sides injured, and strict censorship imposed on reporting of the event.

American influence – both political and social – would continue to grow after the war as the government moved Australian foreign policy closer to the United States, and the narratives of rock'n'roll, film and television really started to shape the Australian cultural landscape.

The contribution of John Curtin to social welfare

Prime Minister Menzies travelled to England between January and May of 1941 at a time when the UAP–Country Party Coalition Government he was leading was torn by internal bickering. In Menzies' absence, factions of his own party moved against him. He lost a vote of confidence within the UAP, and was replaced as prime minister by the Country Party leader Arthur Fadden. But after only 40 days, Fadden's government had collapsed and he asked the Governor-General to appoint the ALP's John Curtin as prime minister. So it happened that in 1941, Curtin found himself prime minister of a country under increasing threat.

In 1942, the Commonwealth Government took over the collecting of income tax from the states. This was a wartime measure that has remained in place ever since, and it greatly enhanced the Federal Government's financial power and control. It was supported by the acquisition of new powers over banking, which were confirmed in 1945. Thus Curtin's prime ministership played a significant role in centralising power under a Federal Government.

Curtin used this power to both challenge and endorse previous ALP policy. In 1943, he extended income tax to all workers, which was against ALP policy, but he also provided support for a range of social services. **Child endowment** had been introduced in 1941, but Curtin extended it to children in state institutions and – even more significantly – to Aboriginal children living in **missions** the following year. The Curtin Government also legislated for widows' pensions, maternity benefits for Indigenous mothers, and unemployment and sickness benefits. After the privations of the Great Depression and a decade of conservative rule, Curtin's domestic policy gave support to the less affluent in Australian society.

child endowment
an allowance paid by the government to the parent or guardian of a child

mission
a religious-based institution for Indigenous children

2.4 Check your learning

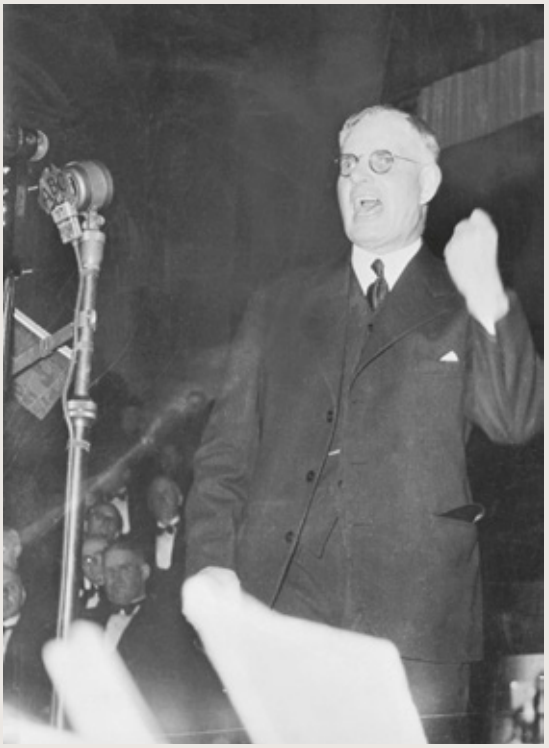
1. Describe the changing aims of Australian foreign policy between 1918 and 1949.
2. What evidence is there that Australia was influenced by the United States between the wars?
3. How could you explain the conflicts between Australian and American soldiers in Australia?
4. What did Prime Minister John Curtin's period in office contribute to the welfare system in Australia?

2.4 Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain why Source 24 would be useful to a historian studying Australian foreign policy between the wars.
2. What steps could you take to assess the validity and reliability of Source 25?

2.5 Post–Second World War influences

Prime Minister Curtin died in office in 1945, exhausted from the exertions of leading Australia through the Second World War, just six weeks before the final victory over Japan. His deputy, Frank Forde, became Australia's shortest-serving prime minister – for just one week – before Ben Chifley was elected leader of the ALP. This meant he became prime minister, but he also retained the position of treasurer for the next four years, as the nation transitioned to a new peace.



SOURCE 26 Prime Minister John Curtin, who led the country for most of the Second World War, died in office just six weeks before the final victory over Japan.

The settlement of the First World War had been marked by a determination to apportion blame to Germany, and an attempt to maintain the world as it had been. The end of the Second World War marked a 'new world order'. The division between a US–led capitalist world and a Soviet Union–led communist bloc would become known as the **Cold War**. Domestically, the Chifley Government wanted to remain true to its working-class roots and build a new, secure and prosperous Australia. Its intention to be more successful than its predecessors in managing the peace was shown in the establishment of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction in December 1942.

Postwar reconstruction

Reconstruction refers to the rebuilding of something. In the case of Australia after the Second World War, it was the country and its future that was to be reconstructed. Chifley described his government's aim in a famous speech to the New South Wales Labor Party Conference in 1949, where he referred to the aim of a 'light on the hill'. To reach that light, the Federal Government would have to strengthen its control of finance and political power at the expense of the states. It would also have to negotiate a revitalised conservative opposition, which had now coalesced into the new Liberal Party under Menzies. Menzies was targeting the 'forgotten people': those Australians who fell between the traditional wealthy and the manual labour movement. This ideological difference – with the ALP supporting the 'battlers' and the Liberals supporting the 'aspirationals' – would be the political battleground of postwar Australia.

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

SOURCE 27

> I try to think of the Labour movement, not as putting an extra sixpence into somebody's pocket, or making somebody Prime Minister or Premier, but as a movement bringing something better to the people, better standards of living, greater happiness to the mass of the people. We have a great objective – the light on the hill – which we aim to reach by working for the betterment of mankind not only here but anywhere we may give a helping hand. If it were not for that, the Labour movement would not be worth fighting for.
>
> Ben Chifley, address to the New South Wales Labor Party Conference, 12 June 1949

SOURCE 28

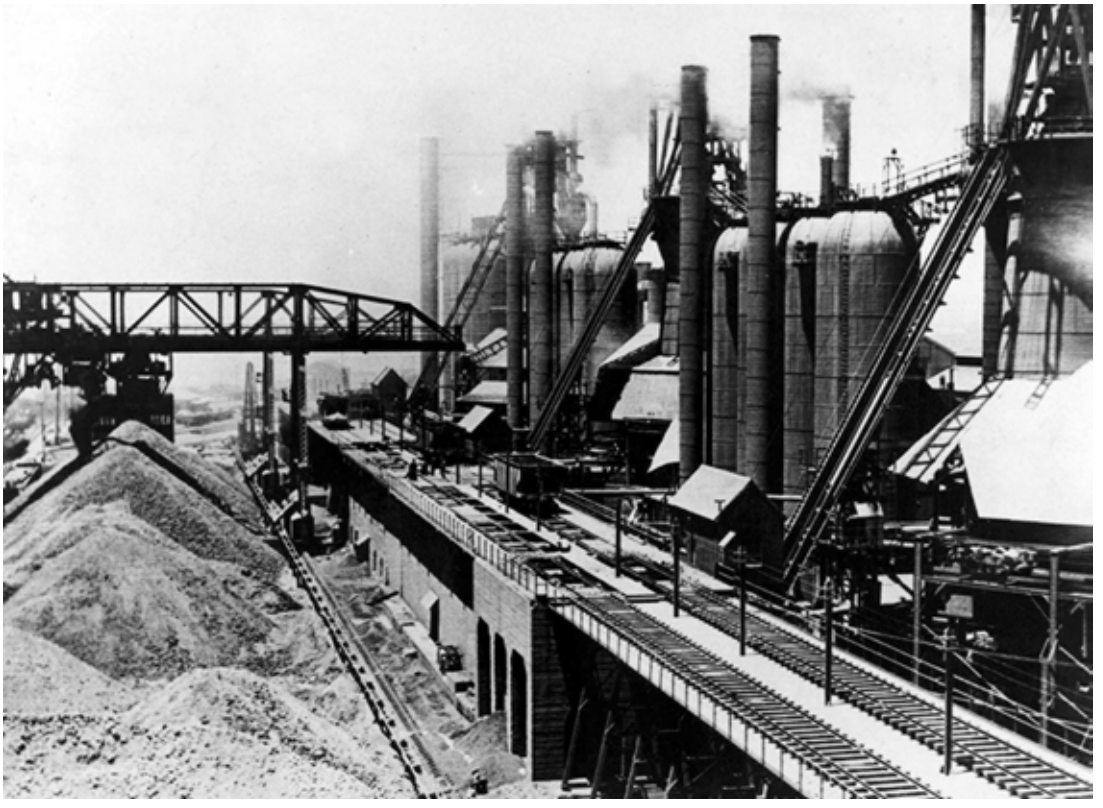
> But if we are to talk of classes, then the time has come to say something of the forgotten class – the middle class – those people who are constantly in danger of being ground between the upper and the nether millstones of the false war; the middle class who, properly regarded represent the backbone of this country.
>
> Robert Menzies, radio broadcast, 22 May 1942

Industrialisation

Chifley's government moved in the key areas of industrialisation and immigration. Factories that had been producing ammunitions during the war were to be utilised for postwar industrialisation. **Tariffs** were to be maintained to protect developing Australian industries, and the government gave concessions to the American General Motors Company to establish a local car industry. The first Holden cars were produced in 1948, and car making was to remain a cornerstone of Australian manufacturing until October 2017, when the final Holden car was produced.

tariff
a duty levied by a country on imported goods to make them more expensive, to encourage people to buy domestically produced goods instead

Housing and associated industries also entered a boom time as peace was established, with 200 000 new homes built between 1945 and 1949. BHP's mining and steelworks industries brought jobs and security to the cities of Newcastle and Wollongong at a time when demand for their products was escalating. That demand brought the need for an increased workforce, one that local labour could not adequately meet. The result was an immigration scheme that would see the composition of Australia's population change dramatically over the following decades.



SOURCE 29 The Newcastle steelworks was one of the businesses that boomed as a result of the postwar government's reconstruction policies.

Immigration

The call for mass migration to help meet labour needs was tempered by the ALP tradition of working for full employment, which essentially meant having jobs available for all those who could work. The dream of no unemployment was a strong factor after the Great Depression. Negotiations between the government and trade unions sought to guarantee migrants the same wages and conditions as Australian workers, thereby ensuring they would not become a source of cheap labour. With that guarantee in place, the transformation of postwar Australia really began.

There was a general acceptance at this time that Australia would need a larger population to drive economic development and support the future defence of the country. The migration program, begun under Chifley and continued by Menzies from 1949, had the support of both sides of politics.

The scale of the scheme becomes clear when we study census data from this time. It shows that in 1947, 90 per cent of Australians were born locally, and another 8 per cent were born in either Britain or New Zealand. By 1961, the number of Australian-born people had dropped to 81 per cent.

A comparison of statistics from the 1947 and 1954 censuses capture a country in transition from monocultural to multicultural.

SOURCE 30 Birthplace of the Australian population in 1947 and 1954 (selected countries only)

BIRTHPLACE	1947 CENSUS	1954 CENSUS
Australia	6 835 171	7 700 064
United Kingdom	541 267	664 205
Germany	14 567	65 422
Greece	12 291	25 862
Italy	33 632	119 897
Malta	3 238	19 988
Netherlands	2 174	52 035
Poland	6 573	56 594
Yugoslavia	5 866	22 856
Other	31 998	128 205
Total	**7 579 358**	**8 986 530**

Fear and suspicion of Asian migration were still strong components of Australian migration policy, but the shattered remnants of Europe were a fertile recruiting ground for Australia. Arthur Calwell, the very first Minister for Immigration, coined the phrase 'new Australian' to describe the newcomers, in an attempt to ease their assimilation into Australian life. However, there was an expectation that the migrants would conform by relinquishing their previous cultural attachments and adopting Australian customs and values.

Migration and industrialisation came together in major projects, such as the massive Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme which was launched in 1949. This huge infrastructure project provided employment and power, and produced a melting pot as Australian-born, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Norwegian, British, Polish and Yugoslav workers toiled side by side.

Women post–Second World War

As in the case of the First World War, the Second World War had again created opportunities for women to experience employment beyond their traditional social limitations. But any momentum women had to bring about change was challenged by the expectation that peacetime would bring more children, who would require their mothers at home with them. A 1944 National Health and Medical Research Council inquiry into the birth-rate received replies from women that 'the cost, drudgery and lack of support' convinced them 'to stop at one or two'. One result of this research was a gradually emerging understanding of the need to support women who wanted to be wives and mothers without necessarily sacrificing all of their own ambitions. As a result, the Director-General of the Department of Post-War Reconstruction, H.C. 'Nugget' Coombs, argued for the introduction of crèches and nurseries to support mothers and children.

Communist scare in Australia

As the world split into two clear ideological camps with the emergence of the Cold War, the communist Soviet Union was perceived as the natural enemy to freedom, prosperity and economic individualism. Australia had moved firmly into the US camp, and this provided fundamental difficulties for the ALP. Many unions that supported the ALP had communist links, and despite the growing popularity of the Communist Party during the Great Depression years, those links were emerging as a political weakness for the ALP in the new Cold War world.

At this time, both the Soviet Union and the United States were operating intelligence gathering in Australia. In 1948, the United States suspended the flow of classified information to Australia because it was concerned about Western intelligence leaking to the Soviets, due to their successful penetration of Australia's Department of External Affairs. Soviet spies had been successful in recruiting officers in the department to act as 'moles' – revealing confidential information. Indeed, a US naval attaché in Canberra, Stephen Jurika Jr, claimed in a 1948 intelligence report that 'the public service is riddled with Communists … and until the Parliamentary Labor Party is removed from office there is not one chance in ten million that any effective action against communism can, or will, be taken'.

Chifley was committed to building a future for Australian workers, but in the hostile Cold War atmosphere of the late 1940s, support for workers was often construed as support for communism. In 1949, Chifley reluctantly founded the Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) as a result of being presented with proof of Soviet penetration of Australian government from American intelligence sources.

Chifley's dilemma – in that he wanted to support workers, but oppose communist influence; stand up for the right to strike, but show leadership against perceived communist undermining – came to a head during a coal-miners' strike in 1949. This resulted in power shortages, where demand for electricity outstripped supply, and Chifley ordered in military troops to break the strike. He followed this by enacting emergency anti-union legislation. It was exactly the situation Chifley had hoped to avoid in an election year, and showed how strongly communism had emerged as a political issue in Australia.

SOURCE 31

> [Breaking the strike] was a costly victory … Having consistently argued since the war that a government could not force strikers back to work, [Chifley] did just that; and having denied that communism posed such a threat, he accused its leaders of seeking to usurp control.

Stuart Macintyre, *Australia's Boldest Experiment*, 2015, pp. 456–7

SOURCE 32 The coal-miners' strike of 1949

SOURCE 33 1949 election promises

ALP	LIBERAL PARTY
'No glittering promises'	Reduce taxes
'Judge us on our record' – this included economic growth, full employment, the immigration program, establishment of the Australian National University (ANU), the Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme, car manufacturing and pension increases	Extend child endowment to first child (it had previously been paid only for second and later children, to encourage population building)
Australia cannot afford tax reductions	Put medical benefits and other welfare on contributory insurance basis
'I ask the people of Australia to search their hearts and to realise that there are things that go deeper than material factors. There are spiritual and moral values. There is the right of every human being to the greatest share of happiness that life can bring.'	Free Australia from 'the Socialist State with its subordination of the individual to the universal officialdom of government'
	Compulsory military training
	Strengthen the Arbitration Commission's control over unions (this was the Federal Government court that ruled on industrial matters)
	Ban the Communist Party
	Raise dollar loans to end petrol rationing

The election of Robert Menzies

A federal election was held on 10 December 1949. The ALP had led Australia through the darkest days of the Second World War and into peacetime, laying the groundwork for a prosperous country that was welcoming what would eventually be millions of migrants. Against the ALP was an opposition reinvigorated as the Liberal Party, which had arisen from the ashes of UAP in 1944 under the leadership of Robert Menzies. For many, it would be the past versus the future. The spectre of communism loomed above the election, and despite Chifley's 'get tough' policy on the coal-mines, fighting a perceived communist influence in Australia would come to be Menzies' strength. Menzies also showed the electorate that he was a forward-thinking leader with his adoption of radio as a means of communication for the election.

The election resulted in a swing away from the Chifley Government. In two-party-preferred terms (that is, when voters' preferences were distributed to the two major parties), the Liberal–Country Party Coalition won 51.3 per cent of the vote compared with the ALP's 48.7 per cent, but this translated into 74 seats for the Coalition in the House of Representatives and 47 for the ALP. Ultimately, the Australian people had wearied of austerity and rationing, and had decided to look forward.

The ALP would sit in opposition for 23 years, until the election of Gough Whitlam in 1972, as Australia prospered on the back of the postwar reconstruction program the ALP had developed.

2.5 Check your learning

1. Explain the origin and meaning of the terms 'light on the hill' and 'forgotten people' for postwar Australia.
2. Why was immigration so crucial for Australia's postwar development?
3. Research the career and achievements of H.C. 'Nugget' Coombs. How would you describe his contribution to Australia?
4. Explain the significance of communism in Australia in the period 1945–49.
5. Why did the Liberal–Country Party Coalition win the 1949 election?

2.5 Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Sources 27 and 28, and compare their visions of Australia's future.
2. Explain how Source 30 helps you understand the concepts of continuity and change in Australian history in this period.
4. Explain how Sources 32 and 33 could help you explain the result of the 1949 federal election.

CONCLUSION

Between 1918 and 1949, a divided Australia cast around for inspiring leaders to help negotiate its increasing involvement in and links to the wider world. Ten prime ministers in 31 years showed that the country was not always satisfied with those chosen to help negotiate two periods of postwar reconstruction and the Great Depression.

Australia did produce two outstanding leaders in the 1940s who ensured that the country moving on from the Second World War was significantly different from the divided country that muddled through the period between the wars. Where William 'Billy' Hughes divided, Ben Chifley built, and Australia benefited.

The popular narrative – which can be summarised as the 'boom to bust', 'turn to America' and 'launch a massive migration program leading to stability' interpretation of Australian history – is there to be challenged. History is built on interpretation of evidence, and Australian history is no different. The period 1918–49 took Australia through global events of major significance, such as the Great Depression and the Second World War. It was also a time when Australia became increasingly linked to the rest of the world. The largely rural economy transformed into mining, manufacturing and industry, and arguably the most loyal member of the British Empire had turned to the United States 'free of any pangs as to our traditional links or kinship with the United Kingdom'.

Australia had changed. It is up to you to decide for yourself who was responsible for those changes, and what they meant for Australians.

SOURCE 34 Australian children line up for food during the Great Depression.

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

obook-only chapter

3 India 1942–84

Sikh refugees going to a Hindu-majority area after the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan, October 1947

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What were the key reasons for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947?
2. What was the impact of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Indira Gandhi on the history of India in the period 1942–84?
3. How successful were Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi in achieving democracy, socialism, secularism and non-alignment for India?
4. What were the causes and consequences of India's wars with Pakistan and with China in the period 1942–84?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

All sources are contestable, but especially so when they concern emotive topics such as colonialism and anti-colonialism; the creation of new nations and national identity; and violence against civilians, and between religious communities.

Historical interpretation

Why did the possibility of a unified and independent India instead result in partition and the creation of Pakistan? There have been important scholarly debates about the relative importance of leaders and ordinary people in driving the anti-colonial independence movement. Another issue is how Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union impacted on developments in India. Crucially, when studying this topic it is important not to read events 'backwards', as if the partition of India was pre-ordained or inevitable.

Historical investigation and research

Any initial hypotheses explaining key events should be tested by carefully checking reliable sources, and should then be refined in the light of new findings. It is important to check how far individual sources have been influenced by the outlook of their authors, including their background and political leanings if shown. An important issue in the historiography of modern India is the debate about who pushed India's struggle for independence forward – whether it was being mobilised and directed 'from above' by political leaders, or by ordinary peasants and workers who took action 'from below'.

Explanation and communication

Communicating on key issues, through class discussions and formal assessment work, will help to clarify and deepen your understanding of this topic.

LEARNING GOALS

- Understand the significance of anti-colonialism, religious and secular nationalism, democratic socialism, and non-alignment for India's history in the period 1942–84.
- Evaluate the key reasons for the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan in 1947.
- Analyse the causes and consequences of war between India and Pakistan, and between India and China, in the period 1942–84.
- Assess the impact of key personalities on India's history in the period 1942–84.
- Develop an empathetic understanding of how the partition of India, and later conflicts in South Asia, involved and affected the lives of millions of people there.

Key features

Visions for India post-independence

Indians waged a long struggle to achieve independence from British imperial rule. The Indian National Congress, and later the All-India Muslim League, were the main groups seeking to organise this struggle. As Britain gradually granted limited democratic rights to India, two main visions for post-independence statehood emerged: one involved a democratic and secular society that all religious communities would share; and the other involved creating a separate democratic and Islamic state mainly for Muslims.

National unity and identity

Hopes for a secular and unified independent India faded in the face of concerns by some Muslim leaders about the rights of the Muslim minority in a mainly Hindu country. Increasing violence between Hindus and Muslims also undermined the possibility of retaining India's unity. After India and Pakistan were created as separate states in 1947, the visions for each country proved difficult to achieve: India's secular, socialist and democratic goals were challenged by rising Hindu nationalism, obstruction of government policy, corruption, and a period of restricted political rights; and Pakistan's aim to be unified on the basis of shared Islam was shattered by the 'freedom struggle' and war that led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971.

Nature and impact of modernisation

Under a long period of British rule, India experienced the growth of cities, railways, telecommunications and other infrastructure. Earlier signs of modernisation included the growth of an educated and usually English-speaking middle class. Many of modern India's political leaders were lawyers, with skills relating to the modern, British-controlled legal and administrative systems.

Changes in society

While India from the 1940s to the 1980s experienced rapid population growth and some urbanisation, most Indians still lived in rural areas. Overall, the country experienced substantial economic growth per capita, but many people still lived in poverty. Despite India's modern constitution mapping out a society that would be fairer, non-discriminatory and achieve much progress, discrimination on the basis of caste and gender was difficult to end. Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts to bring about social change by taking a middle course between communist planning and capitalist-free enterprise were only partially successful.

Successes and failures of democracy

India has often been called the 'world's largest democracy'. A major achievement of independent India has been the running of democratic elections for hundreds of millions of voters, many of whom have been unable to read. As the leading organisation in India's struggle for independence, the Indian National Congress dominated the early years of full democracy with its secular and socialist policies. However, this dominance was increasingly challenged from both the left and the right. A system of economic restrictions that was meant to boost India's agricultural and industrial growth helped to create conditions for inefficiency, corruption and nepotism. After Nehru's death, Congress itself was soon split by a power struggle reflecting ideological differences. While elections and not military takeovers have decided the fate of India's

governments, Indira Gandhi's emergency rule in the period 1975–77 represented a low point in India's post-independence democracy. Both Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi and Indira Gandhi suffered religiously motivated assassinations: the first by a Hindu extremist in 1948 and the other by her Sikh guards in 1984.

Aims and impact of foreign policy

Against a backdrop of Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, the key goals of Nehru's foreign policy were often followed by the non-aligned movement to avoid joining either the American or Soviet camps, and to maintain peaceful coexistence with other like-minded nations. However, the legacy of partition and the reality of national self-interest combined to undermine the achievement of these goals. India's wars with Pakistan and with China showed mixed results for India's post-independence foreign policies; and it proved difficult for India to maintain equally friendly relations with the Soviet Union, the United States and China.

SOURCE 1 Homeless people on the streets of Mumbai (Bombay), 1964

3.1 Introduction

Today, the region of South Asia includes the nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It is home to millions of Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs and Christians. In addition to major cities such as Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Mumbai (Bombay), Delhi, Karachi, Lahore and Dhaka (Dacca), the region includes many rural towns and villages. In the period of British rule (1858–1947), Muslims made up about one-fifth of the mainly Hindu population, but they did not dwell evenly throughout the country; there was significantly higher Muslim representation in India's east and north-west.

Hinduism is a **polytheistic** religion with early roots in the Indian **subcontinent**. Ancient India was also home to the Buddha (the 'Awakened One'), but the religion that he founded declined there from the twelfth century. Islam, a **monotheistic** religion that developed from the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad in seventh-century Arabia, arrived in India soon after, but became much more significant from the eleventh century. The Sikh monotheistic religion was founded in the Punjab in the fifteenth century, drawing on Hindu and Muslim influences, and most Sikhs still live in that region today.

The origins of British rule in India arose from the East India Company's trading presence there from the early 1600s. The major Indian cities of Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai (Madras) grew as centres for trade between Britain and India from the seventeenth century onwards. A key development occurred in 1765, when the Muslim ruler of Bengal gave the East India Company responsibility for administration and revenue collection. From there, the British *raj* (rule) extended further over India, while leaving sizeable territory still under the control of local rulers of the various Indian **princely states**. A major rebellion and army mutiny against the British in mid-1857 led to the capture of Delhi by rebels, but the British regained control by mid-1858. The same year, Britain's Queen Victoria replaced the East India Company as India's supreme ruler, and the first governor-general, or viceroy, was appointed as her representative in India.

The social system of castes (*jatis*) has been central to much of South Asia since ancient times. Traditional Hindu society comprised four *varna*s (caste categories) that were ranked from high to low according to levels of religious purity: traditionally, the Brahman priests were seen as the highest caste, followed by warriors, traders and workers. 'Below' these, and outside the main caste system, were the **Dalits** or **Harijans**, who were considered to be 'Untouchable'. Apart from the exchange or the buying and selling of goods and services between different castes, each caste was theoretically self-contained and came with particular set life choices, including the job they could have and whom they could marry. This made

polytheistic
relating to belief in many gods

subcontinent
part of the continent of Asia, now including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal

monotheistic
relating to belief in one god

princely states
states ruled by Indian nobles and not formally part of British-ruled India before independence

Dalit
'oppressed'; the lowest 'Untouchable' caste

Harijan
a 'person of Hari' (a Hindu god); a term invented by Mahatma Gandhi for 'Untouchables'

it almost impossible to escape the caste that a person had been born into. Urbanisation and modernisation in South Asia have contributed to some weakening of the caste system, but while India's modern constitution officially ended 'untouchability' and prohibited discrimination because of caste, religion or gender, this still occurs.

While there has been a great deal of shared culture between South Asia's Hindus and Muslims, there have also been conflicts. Historian Peter Hardy makes the important point that medieval India's Muslims did not see themselves as a separate nation because of their religion. A key issue is why most, but not all, of India's Muslims opted in the 1940s for a separate Pakistan, rather than for a unified and **secular** India.

secular
not influenced by religion

INDIA PRE-PARTITION

SOURCE 2 British India was made up of indirectly ruled princely states and more directly ruled British areas. While the majority of the Indian population was Hindu, the north-western and eastern parts were Muslim-majority areas.

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events in India 1600–1984

1600

England's Queen Elizabeth I grants the East India Company its charter to trade in India.

1612

The East India Company creates its first overseas headquarters at Surat in western India.

1765

The East India Company takes over administration and revenue collection in eastern India.

1857–58

The Indian Rebellion (also called the Indian Mutiny) against British rule leads to the British Crown taking over control of India from the East India Company.

1885

The Indian National Congress (referred to as 'Congress') is founded.

1906

The All-India Muslim League (referred to as the 'Muslim League') is founded.

1939

The Second World War begins.

Viceroy Marquess of Linlithgow states that Britain's goal for India is dominion status.

Congress ministers from representative bodies resign, giving up Congress influence in decision making.

1940

Congress calls for independence from Britain.

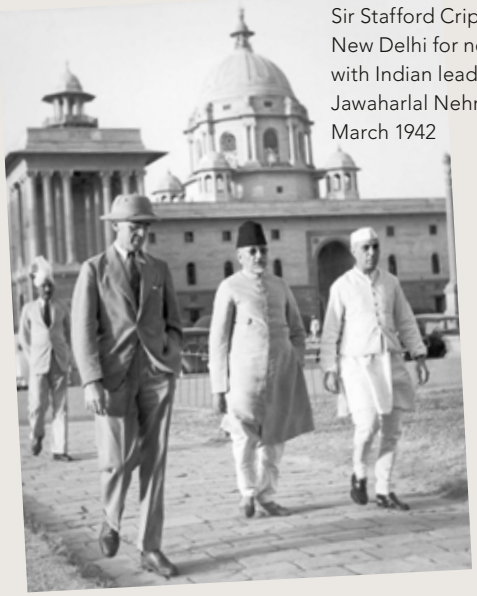
The Muslim League, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, demands the creation of Pakistan.

Congress starts adopting tactics of civil disobedience.

1942

Sir Stafford Cripps offers a constitution created by an elected body and dominion status after the Second World War, but this is rejected by Congress and the Muslim League.

Congress starts the 'Quit India' campaign and is hence declared an unlawful organisation. Its key leaders are imprisoned.



Sir Stafford Cripps (left) in New Delhi for negotiations with Indian leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru (right), March 1942

1943

Lord Archibald Wavell becomes viceroy.

The Bengal famine kills an estimated two million people.

1944

Unsuccessful talks are held between Mahatma Gandhi and Jinnah about Pakistan and the political representation of Indian Muslims.

1945

The Second World War ends.

Congress leaders are released from prison.

1946

The British Cabinet mission proposes an Indian Union of the then British-administered provinces and the princely states, and suggests an interim government.

An interim government is formed that includes the Muslim League.

Riots and violence break out between Hindus and Muslims.

A meeting is held in the Constituent Assembly, which the Muslim League boycotts.

1947

Lord Louis Mountbatten becomes the last British viceroy. He announces the independence of India from Britain and the simultaneous partition into the separate states of India and Pakistan.

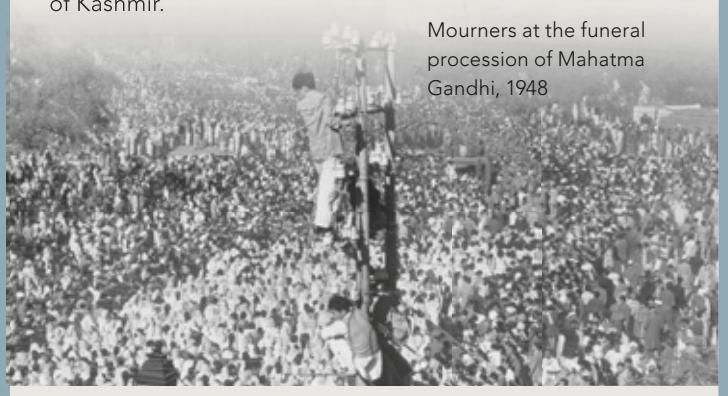
Mountbatten becomes Governor-General and Jawaharlal Nehru becomes Prime Minister of India.

Jinnah becomes Governor-General and Liaquat Ali Khan becomes Prime Minister of Pakistan.

1948

Mahatma Gandhi is assassinated by Hindu extremists.

India and Pakistan go to war over the disputed territory of Kashmir.



Mourners at the funeral procession of Mahatma Gandhi, 1948

1962

India and China go to war over a border dispute – although China's forces later withdraw, India suffers a military defeat.

1964

Nehru dies and Lal Bahadur Shastri becomes Prime Minister of India.

1965

The second India–Pakistan War over Kashmir takes place.

1966

Indira Gandhi (Nehru's daughter) becomes Prime Minister of India.

1967

The 'Green Revolution' develops.

1971

A third war with Pakistan takes place after India intervenes in a civil war between West Pakistan and East Pakistan.

West Pakistan is defeated and Bangladesh is created from former East Pakistan.

1975

Indira Gandhi declares a state of emergency across India. The government uses special new powers and imprisons political opponents.

1977

The state of emergency ends.

Congress is defeated in elections and the Janata Party heads a coalition government.

1980

Indira Gandhi again becomes Prime Minister of India.

1984

Indira Gandhi is assassinated.

Rajiv Gandhi (Indira Gandhi's son) becomes Prime Minister of India.

3.2 Survey: India towards independence

colonialism
the policy of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically

imperial/imperialism
relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

The history of India's attempts to gain freedom from British **colonial** and **imperial** rule involves more than the formation of political groups such as the Indian National Congress in 1885 and the All-India Muslim League in 1906, even though these were important agents for political change. In reviewing the historiography of the Indian national movement from the vantage of the early 1980s, historian Sumit Sarkar contrasts a focus on 'constitutional developments' and the reactions of an 'English-educated "middle class"' elite with a 'new emphasis on "a history from below"'.

The Indian Mutiny by soldiers in 1857–58, and related uprisings, led to the temporary re-establishment of a Muslim emperor who sought to rule from Delhi, until the British regained control. While the mutiny was a revolt against the British, historian Percival Spear argues that this revolt 'looked backwards' to previous Indian regimes rather than forwards to a 'united India', and that India's 'new westernized class' (such as lawyers, professionals and administrators) at that time backed the British rather than the rebels.

A key development for the Indian independence movement was the formation of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in 1885. While Muslims were encouraged to join, many Muslim leaders felt that Congress could not represent what they saw as separate Hindu and Muslim communities.

Early in its history, Congress' professionals, business people and landowners did not challenge continuing British rule. Instead, they respectfully sought more opportunities for Indians in law-making bodies and in the prestigious Indian Civil Service. However, the Congress leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak advocated a more radical direction from the 1890s, one that both appealed to Hindu sentiment and rejected British rule.

Another important step was the formation of the All-India Muslim League by Muslim landowners and aristocrats in Dhaka, eastern India, in 1906. Early in its history, the Muslim League was loyal to British rule as the supposed protectors of Muslim interests. But from the 1910s, young **nationalists** began to steer the League away from pro-British loyalty and towards the Congress position.

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

The so-called Lahore Resolution of 1940 would be a key incident for the Muslim League and its leader Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Here, the working committee of the League called for Muslims in India to gain independent states.

SOURCE 4

> [I]t is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designated on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous [side-by-side] units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the Constituent Units shall be autonomous and sovereign.
>
> Lahore Resolution, All-India Muslim League, passed 26 March 1940

While not mentioned by name, the idea of Pakistan became an official demand following the Lahore Resolution (the name 'Pakistan' – meaning 'spiritually pure and clean' in the **Urdu** language – was actually coined by students at Cambridge University in 1933 to incorporate Muslim-influenced areas of north-west India).

The Lahore Resolution laid bare one of the major points of disagreement between Congress and the Muslim League – that while Congress sought to represent all Indians irrespective of their religion or caste, and still included Muslims in its leadership and as members, the League sought to be the sole representative body for Indian Muslims.

Urdu
the language of most Muslims in northern pre-independence India; similar to Hindi, but written in the Persian script; now the official language of Pakistan

Mahatma Gandhi and the 'Quit India' movement

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in a small princely state in western India in 1869 ('Mahatma', meaning 'great soul', was a title of respect and was not his personal name). His family belonged to a middle-ranking merchant caste, but his father and grandfather were both important local officials. Married at only 13, Gandhi travelled to England in 1888 for legal training, and then returned to India in 1891 to practise as a barrister. He left India in 1893 to be a lawyer in South Africa and stayed there for 21 years. As political theorist Bhikhu Parekh points out, Gandhi's years in South Africa were his 'turning point'. There, Gandhi personally experienced racially motivated discrimination and violence, and devised his peaceful protest methods of ***satyagraha***.

satyagraha
'hold fast to the truth'; Gandhian methods of peaceful civil disobedience

SOURCE 5 A mural of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) on the walls of the Delhi Police Headquarters by German graffiti artist Hendrik Beikirchalong and Delhi-based artist Anpu

Parekh adds that Gandhi proposed a wide range of methods by which India was to be rescued from what he saw as its degraded status. These included creating unity between Hindus and Muslims, abolishing 'untouchability', banning alcohol, using cloth spun by hand, developing village industries, and achieving women's equality. Gandhi highly valued 'civilisation' in the sense of morality and 'good conduct', and argued that India was superior to Europe's supposed 'civilisation', where factory and mine conditions were unfit even for animals and only benefited the wealthy.

monopoly the exclusive possession or control of the supply of, or trade in, a commodity or service

dominion a self-governing nation within the British Commonwealth

After the death of the nationalist leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak in 1920, Gandhi became the key leader of Congress. He rejected violence and reached out to India's rural and urban masses, irrespective of their caste or religion. A famous example of Gandhi's peaceful methods was his *satyagraha* of 1930 against the British officials' introduction of a tax on salt. The tax affected the locals who made salt from sea water, a trade that the British regulations made unlawful. To protest against the British salt **monopoly**, Gandhi and 70 of his followers marched almost 400 kilometres to the village of Dandi on India's western coast. Here, Gandhi demonstratively picked up salt from the ground. The move led to Gandhi being arrested and jailed, along with some 60 000 locals who continued to produce salt illegally.

In early 1942, British Labour member of parliament Sir Stafford Cripps visited India with an offer that India become a self-governing **dominion** after the Second World War, with the proviso that any Indian state or province could opt out if it so wished. Gandhi rejected this proposal. Other Congress leaders also did so, since it undermined the idea of a unified India after independence. Jinnah and the Muslim League saw the 'opting out' provision as enabling a separate Pakistan; but, like Congress, they rejected the proposal, also hoping for popular support.

SOURCE 6 Gandhi picking up salt at the end of the so-called Salt March, 1930

Soon after turning down Cripps' offer, Gandhi launched the 'Quit India' ('*Bharat Choro*') movement, calling for Indians to struggle for independence and to be prepared to die for this cause. Gandhi was not content with half-measures. His key messages to the Indian people were 'Nothing less than freedom' and 'Do or die'.

SOURCE 7

> Here is a mantra [religious saying], a short one, that I give to you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is 'Do or Die'. We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation [continuation] of our slavery. Every true Congressman or woman will join the struggle with inflexible determination not to remain alive to see the country in bondage and slavery.
>
> Mahatma Gandhi, speech to a Congress meeting in Bombay, August 1942

Sporadic violence broke out across India in the wake of the 'Quit India' launch, and as a result the government arrested key Congress leaders, including Gandhi, who would remain in jail until May 1944. While Gandhi relied on peaceful methods himself, Bhikhu Parekh points out that Gandhi accepted that spontaneous violence could occur in response to extreme provocation.

In early February 1943, while in jail, Gandhi announced that he would start a 21-day fast as a way of peacefully protesting against the British, whom he claimed were responsible for provoking the violence. The fast had the desired effect of putting the Indian situation in the spotlight. Newspapers across the world reported on Gandhi's health during the fast and international groups, including the Australian Council of Trade Unions, urged that Gandhi be released from prison.

At this time, the movement broadened into strikes and uncoordinated attacks on police. Students joined forces with peasants to launch a huge challenge to British rule. Urban dwellers launched *hartal*s (protest strikes); railway tracks and railway stations were destroyed; trains were derailed; telegraph poles and lines were brought down; school and college students began strike action; and some police stations and post offices were destroyed. However, rather than making concessions, the British believed that the violent situation justified responding with ruthless force. The army had almost completely put down the rebellion in less than seven weeks. The Congress leaders were held in jail for the remainder of the Second World War, and some offenders were even flogged in public.

Historian Bipan Chandra and his colleagues point out that women, girls and young people generally took prominent roles in the 'Quit India' movement. Up to the end of 1943, more than 91 000 people had been arrested and over 1000 had been killed by the army or the police.

With the Congress leadership in jail, the Muslim League grew in strength. In 1942–43, League ministries were established in four provinces and Jinnah was increasingly able to present himself as solely representing Muslims; and the League as deserving equal status with Congress.

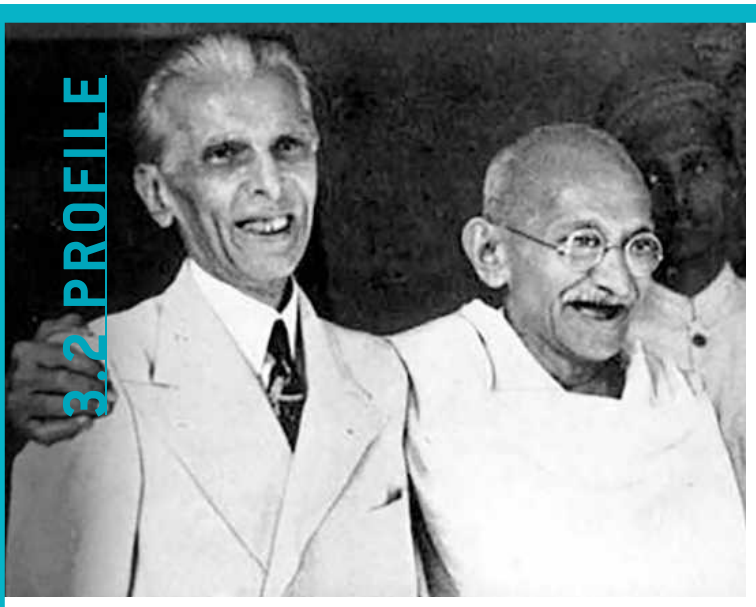
3.2a Check your learning

1 Explain why Congress leaders rejected Sir Stafford Cripps' offer of 1942.
2 Assess the political consequences of the 1942 'Quit India' movement.
3 Outline the significance of Mahatma Gandhi's role in India's freedom movement.

3.2a Understanding and using the sources

1 Explain how Sources 2 and 3 provide a historical context for your study of India in the period 1942–84.
2 Outline what Source 4 is calling for.
3 Examine Sources 5–7, and explain how they help you understand the significance of Gandhi's contribution to the 'Quit India' campaign.

3.2 PROFILE



SOURCE 8 Jinnah and Gandhi in Bombay, 1944

MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born into a wealthy Muslim merchant family in the then Indian city of Karachi in 1875 or 1876. After school he went to London, where he became a barrister in 1895. He returned to Karachi in 1896 and then moved to Bombay to start work as a lawyer.

Jinnah began his political career as a moderate nationalist and he even joined the Congress session held in Calcutta in 1906. The All-India Muslim League was founded the same year, but Jinnah did not join until 1913. In his early days of League activism, Jinnah helped create joint meetings between Congress and the League. However, his relationship with Congress was severed in 1920 when he opposed Gandhi's program of non-cooperation – the refusal to buy any British goods and only use local handicrafts. In his book about Jinnah, Indian parliamentarian Jaswant Singh argued that while Jinnah did develop a 'wary respect' for Gandhi, he also came to see Gandhi as a '**demagogue** and a fake'.

demagogue a political leader who seeks support by using emotive arguments and appealing to popular desires

Pakistani scholar and author Khalid B. Sayeed compares the views of Jinnah before and after the 1937 provincial elections, suggesting that he went from being aloof and distant from the 'Muslim masses', to being strongly affected by their 'emotional warmth and religious fervour'. After the election, Jinnah also started developing the Muslim League throughout India.

Sayeed notes that some of Jinnah's 'limitations' as a leader were that he was not robust enough to campaign in the noise and dust of the Indian countryside, and he was not a fluent speaker of Urdu, the main language of north Indian Muslims, so his speeches had to be translated. Further, he could not speak Bengali, the language of Muslims in the eastern province of Bengal. However, in any consideration of the events leading to the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan, it is hard to disagree with British historian Perceval Spear that 'Jinnah's intransigence [inflexibility] had won the day'.

communal relating to different communities, especially those with different religious beliefs

mendicant relating to a religious person who survives on gifts of food or money

SOURCE 9

> A nationalist who preferred constitutional methods, Jinnah's moderation in politics was tactical, not strategic; he recognised the need to keep inarticulate, but potentially disruptive **communal** passions at bay. There was nothing **mendicant** about his approach. Proud, with an assurance painfully constructed in difficult circumstances, he was never prepared to compromise over principles and had little liking for India's white masters with whom he never felt wholly at ease.

Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan*, 1985, p. 8

SOURCE 10

> Gandhi was the Mahatma [Sanskrit for 'great soul'], who was associated in the Hindu mind with a sort of semi-divine authority. Jinnah was only the Quaid-i-Azam [Urdu for 'great leader'] and because of his Western habits and temperament, could never claim to be a religious leader or a holy man. In Muslim history, particularly in political matters, Muslims had been content to follow leaders who were not very religious but politically or militarily capable or successful. Thus, Jinnah was presented as a man of great wisdom, courage and such shrewdness that Hindus were afraid of him.

Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857–1948*, 1968, p. 184

3.2 PROFILE TASKS

1 What is your comparative assessment of how Sources 9 and 10 describe Mohammad Ali Jinnah's characteristics as a political leader? Begin by creating a table with two columns, and then note down and compare the points made in each source.
2 Explain why you either agree with or challenge Perceval Spear's view that Jinnah was intransigent.

British decision to withdraw from India

In May 1944, the government in India released Gandhi from prison for medical reasons. Other Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, were freed in June of the following year to join talks proposed by Lord Archibald Wavell, the British **viceroy**.

viceroy the supreme representative of the British monarch in pre-independence India

The talks, known as the Simla Conference, were held in order for the viceroy to present the Wavell Plan for Indian self-governance. The conference was attended by 21 leaders, including Gandhi, Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad (a Muslim) from Congress, and Jinnah as head of the Muslim League. However, Jinnah demanded that only the League could send Muslims to participate, and he refused to accept that Azad could have a role in the talks. Jinnah's stubbornness contributed to the Conference being abandoned in mid-July 1945 as a failure.

Later, in July 1945, elections produced a change of government in Britain, with the Labour Party, led by Clement Attlee, convincingly defeating the Conservative Party, led by Winston Churchill. The new Labour Government decided to speed up the process of transferring power to India, and Attlee announced that India would have elections, the first since 1937. American historians Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf argue that while Britain was on the winning side of the Second World War, the war had tired the country so that it had neither the human nor the financial resources to continue to hold on to a restless India. Another American historian, David Ludden, comments that after the war Britain still controlled the process of transferring power to India, but wanted a quick exit from the 'politically unbearable burden of empire in South Asia'.

Elections for seats in the Central and Provincial Legislative Assemblies (parliaments of elected representatives) began in late 1945. The Muslim League won all the seats reserved for Muslims, at the expense of nationalist Muslim candidates. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Congress won more than half and the League almost a third of the 102 seats available. Results for the Provincial Legislative Assemblies led to Congress ministries in eight and League assemblies in two (**Bengal** and Sind).

Bengal
an eastern province of pre-independence India with high proportions of Hindus and Muslims, which in 1947 split into West Bengal (part of India) and East Pakistan (Bangladesh from 1971)

A small British mission sent by the British Cabinet, including Lord Pethick-Lawrence and Sir Stafford Cripps, arrived in India in March 1946 to consult with Indian leaders. It had the challenging task of preserving a unified India while reassuring the Muslim minority, and finding a solution that was acceptable both to the majority Indian National Congress and the minority All-India Muslim League.

The mission proposed two solutions to how India could structure independent governance. The first suggestion rejected the idea of a separate Pakistani state, suggesting instead the creation of a three-level federal structure to enable Muslim-majority areas to have regional autonomy under a central government that dealt only with defence, international relations and communications. This was to preserve Indian unity while reassuring Muslims that they would not be overrun by Hindu control. The mission's second option was the creation of a separate Pakistan, with Muslim-majority districts (but not necessarily whole provinces) being split from India.

While the British Cabinet preferred the first option, it accepted the possibility of the second, if that was all that could be agreed upon. In April 1946, the Muslim President of Congress, Abul Kalam Azad, stated that Congress still sought an independent and undivided India. Jinnah, on behalf of the League, opposed the 'smaller' version of Pakistan suggested, which would lack the Muslim-minority areas of Bengal and Panjab, but saw that the grouping of provinces could advance the League's cause. In July 1946, however, Nehru rejected the possibility that any province might have to join a larger grouping of provinces. For historians Metcalf and Metcalf, this killed off the Cabinet mission's proposals and the possibility of a unified India.

constitution
a set of rules/ principles by which a state is governed

The failure to agree saw the mission suggest a short-term solution through the creation of an interim government; this would convene an assembly to draw up a new **constitution** for the federal structure. In June 1946, Viceroy Wavell announced that this 14-person body would include six members from Congress (including one 'Untouchable' but no Muslims) and five from the Muslim League. Congress rejected this proposal, partly because it could not nominate its own Muslim members. In July 1946, the viceroy amended the proposal: neither Congress nor the League could block nominations from the other group, meaning that Congress could include its own Muslim representation. In August 1946, Congress quickly accepted Wavell's invitation for Nehru to form an interim government. However, as the League wanted to solely represent India's Muslims, Jinnah informed Wavell that he would not join the interim government.

Historian Perceval Spear comments that, from this point, India moved towards a civil war, with the two main religious communities unleashing violence on each other. He argues that the breakdown of negotiations in response to the British Cabinet mission was the 'point of no return' – when it became inevitable that India would be split by partition. Jinnah called for 16 August 1946 to be a Direct Action Day for Muslims. Tensions between Hindus and Muslims that had been building in Calcutta since late 1945 escalated from the Direct Action Day onwards, when riots saw Muslim violence against Hindus. This was followed by incidents in the Bihar province where Hindus inflicted violence on Muslims.

Throughout this period, Gandhi was travelling to places of communal violence in rural Bengal and Bihar, and in poor slum areas of Delhi and Calcutta, to try to calm the people. In November 1946, he threatened to fast until death if Hindus in Bihar did not cease their violence.

3.2b Check your learning

1. Discuss why Congress and the Muslim League failed to reach agreement at the 1945 Simla Conference.
2. Assess the reasons historians have given to explain why Britain gave up India after the Second World War.
3. Explain what the 1945 central government and provincial elections revealed about the future of a post-colonial India.
4. Analyse the 1946 British Cabinet mission's proposal for a unified and federal India.
5. Outline the reasons why the Cabinet mission's proposals failed to achieve final Congress and Muslim League agreement.

Interim government of Nehru

In September 1946, Congress began serving in the interim government, placing its own Muslim representatives in three of the seats left unfilled by the Muslim League's non-participation. The Muslim League did, however, change its stance and it joined the interim government in October 1946. But as a result of not having achieved any of his demands – such as equal numbers with Congress in the interim government and the League alone representing Muslims – Jinnah refused to completely hand over central government to Congress, and the League refused to acknowledge Nehru as the leader of the government. The League also included an 'Untouchable' as one of its representatives, arguably to show that the League (rather than Congress) could represent 'low' castes.

Constituent Assembly a short-term parliament of elected representatives tasked with writing a nation's constitution

A Congress priority was for a **Constituent Assembly** to be held, and for the League to join this. However, when this assembly met in early December 1946, it lacked League participation. Historian Sumit Sarkar points out that Nehru's interim government was helpless in the face of the 'growing communal inferno' of violence between Hindus and Muslims.

In February 1947, Prime Minister Attlee announced that Britain would transfer power to India no later than June 1948, and that Lord Louis Mountbatten would replace Wavell as viceroy in March 1947. However, Attlee left open the question of whether central power would be transferred 'as a whole' or only in part. This fell short of automatically agreeing to Jinnah's notion of 'Pakistan'. Nevertheless, by March 1947, Nehru felt that while the mission's plan was the preferred solution, splitting the provinces of Bengal and the Punjab was the only real way forward.

SOURCE 11 Discussion of the partition of India, 3 June 1947; from left: Jawaharlal Nehru, Lord Ismay (councillor to Mountbatten), Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten and Mohammad Ali Jinnah

3.2c Check your learning

Explain why Jinnah nominated an 'Untouchable' as a Muslim League representative in the interim government.

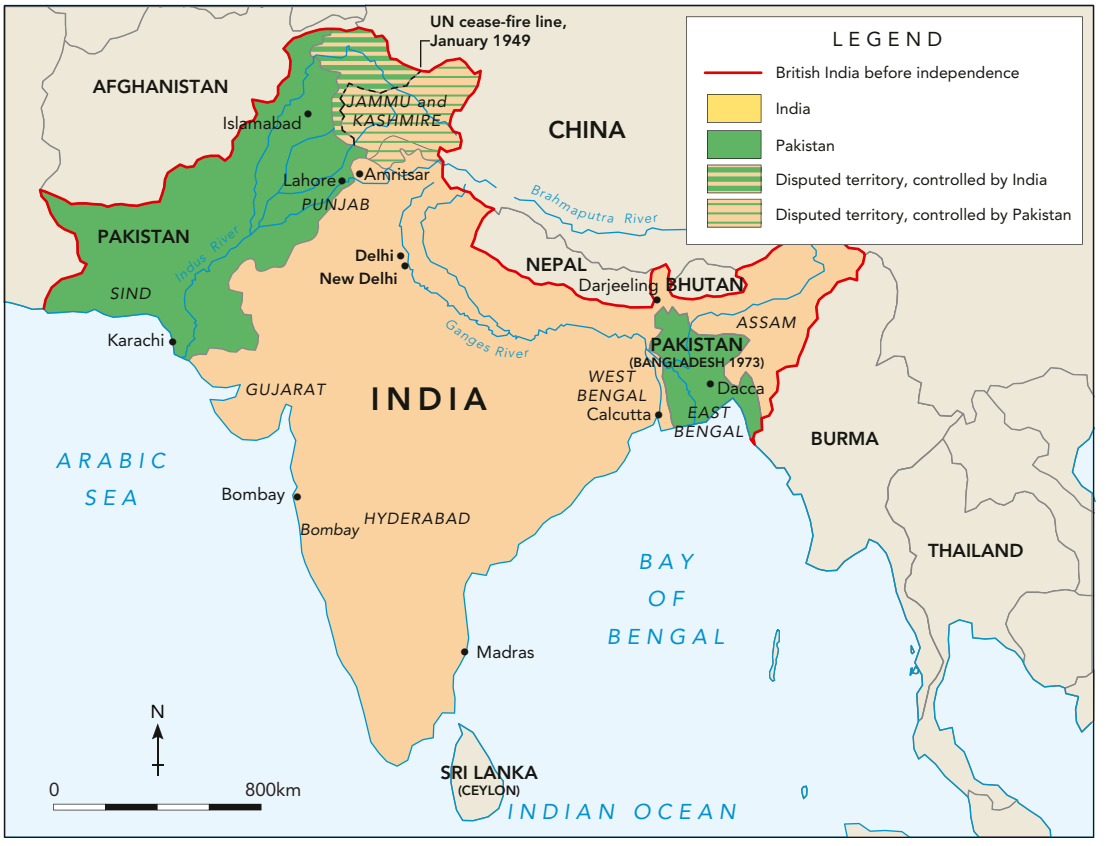
3.2b Understanding and using the sources

Discuss how Source 11 helps your understanding of the moves towards India's independence and the partitioning of Pakistan.

Independence and partition of India and Pakistan

In March 1947, Mountbatten took up his role as Britain's last viceroy in India. By June 1947, he proposed the creation of the dominions of India and Pakistan, involving the partition of the Punjab and Bengal provinces, which would be split to sit geographically within both countries. Jinnah and the Muslim League grudgingly accepted this solution, even though it fell short of the 'big' Pakistan, incorporating all six Muslim-majority provinces, that they had been arguing for.

The practical implications of partition included dividing the bureaucracy, armed forces, assets and territory between India and Pakistan. The split resulted in instability and violence, as some 10 million people – Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs – abandoned their homes for life in either India or Pakistan. Some one million of these refugees were murdered in the process.



SOURCE 12 India and Pakistan following the partition of 1947; the provinces of Punjab in the north-west and Bengal in the east are split as a result.

At midnight on 14–15 August 1947, Britain's 89-year-long direct rule over India ended with the creation of the separate independent nations of India and Pakistan. In India, Mountbatten changed from being viceroy to becoming governor-general, with Nehru as prime minister; and in Pakistan, Jinnah became governor-general, with Liaquat Ali Khan as prime minister.

Parliamentarian and historian Jaswant Singh comments that Gandhi referred to the partition as a '**vivisection**', a term associated with 'pain and feelings and emotions'. The term also demonstrates how the creation of Pakistan caused deep resentment for those who had worked for decades – and possibly endured injuries or imprisonment – for an inclusive and independent India. But, ultimately, the League had not achieved what it had been fighting for either. The Pakistan created in 1947, with its division of the Punjab and Bengal, was what Jinnah had earlier described as a 'maimed, mutilated, and moth-eaten Pakistan'.

vivisection
a medical or experimental operation on a living animal

SOURCE 13

> And then there were huge walking convoys … people coming in across the border, millions, wounded, without food, without clothes, carrying what they could, just streaming across the border helter-skelter. And then inside, where you had Muslim pockets, you had to provide protection for them, because otherwise they would be slaughtered. And every time there was a slaughter on the other side, or trains and vehicles came with dead bodies, there was a reaction on this side. When there was a reaction on this side, there was another one on that side; and so it built up.
>
> K.P. Candeth, Indian army officer in the 1940s, quoted in Mark Tully and Zareer Masani, *From Raj to Rajiv: 40 Years of Indian Independence*, 1988, p. 17

SOURCE 14

> A division [of India] had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it … Any idea of a united India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to terrific disaster.
>
> Mohammad Ali Jinnah's speech to Pakistan's Constituent Assembly, 11 August 1947, quoted in Jaswant Singh, *Jinnah: India – Partition – Independence*, 2010, p. 482

3.2d Check your learning

1. Identify the short-term human and political consequences of the 1947 partition of India and creation of Pakistan.
2. How fully did the 1947 partition meet the key demands of Congress and of the Muslim League? Discuss whether this outcome was fair to the Hindu and Muslim communities.

3.2c Understanding and using the sources

1. Source 13 represents a description of the consequences of partitioning India and Pakistan, and Source 14 represents a justification for the partitioning. Discuss the perspective of each source, and explain why they are useful to historians examining the partition.
2. Assess the reliability and bias of Sources 13 and 14.
3. Discuss whether Mohammad Ali Jinnah's involvement in the partition movement makes Source 14 more or less valid than Source 13.

3.3 India as a new nation 1947–64

At the 'midnight hour' on 15 August 1947, India commenced as a free and independent nation. Congress had long promoted the values of **democracy** and secularism. To these, Jawaharlal Nehru added his own commitment to **socialist** domestic policies and a **non-aligned** foreign policy. He sought to achieve these goals by steering a middle course between **communism** and **capitalism**, and by engaging in international affairs without allegiance to either the United States or the Soviet Union. However, in spite of some economic achievements, and in the face of enormous challenges and obstacles, the Nehru era was marred by a failure to achieve substantial social change or regional peace.

democracy
representative government based on the will of the people

socialism
belief in a society where wealth is shared through public ownership instead of private ownership of property

non-alignment
a foreign policy that seeks to make alliances with no particular side, in a bid to remain neutral in an area of developing conflict

communism/ communist
a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology of the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

Nehru's vision for India, including democracy, socialism and secularism

Jawaharlal Nehru was born in 1889 in the north Indian city of Allahabad into a 'high' caste Brahman family whose ancestors came originally from Kashmir. He was the eldest child of Motilal Nehru, a successful lawyer and Congress politician. In 1905, Nehru was sent to the elite Harrow school in England. Between 1907 and 1910, he studied science at Trinity College, Cambridge, and then law in London, before becoming a barrister in 1912. He then returned to Allahabad and joined his father's legal practice. From 1918, Nehru switched from legal practice to Congress politics. He became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi, joined in nationalist non-cooperation activities, and took on Congress leadership roles nationally from 1922. In the 1940s, he was chosen by Gandhi as his successor to lead India's nationalist movement. As well as being a socialist intellectual, Nehru was a committed political activist – he was beaten almost unconscious when leading a demonstration in the north Indian city of Lucknow in 1928, and during his career he was imprisoned in India for periods totalling almost nine years, the longest being almost three years in 1942–45.

Pre-partition, Nehru's vision for India had six main elements:

1 freedom from British imperial rule
2 a strong national government and parliamentary democracy
3 the creation of a secular society where all religions were respected
4 centralised planning for industrialisation and economic growth
5 socialism as the means to end India's poverty and unemployment
6 India becoming a focal point in Asia's renewed engagement with world affairs.

For the Congress session held in Karachi in 1931, Nehru had drafted a resolution on the fundamental social and economic rights to be established in an independent India. Historian B.N. Pandey points out that this summarised Nehru's thinking and outlined a 'secular, socialist and democratic state'. Key elements included the state's neutrality on religion; private ownership mixed with state ownership of essential industries; reducing economic inequality through higher taxes on business people and rural landlords; adult voting rights; and free primary education for all.

In spite of a lukewarm response from some capitalist Congress members in attendance, Nehru's resolution was passed with Gandhi's support. These goals were consistent with features

SOURCE 15 Nehru presenting India's new national flag during a meeting of India's Constituent Assembly, 30 July 1947

of the future Indian constitution that Nehru outlined in December 1946. Again based on democratic, secular and republican principles, the constitution would not only enshrine rights to social, political and economic justice, but would also enshrine freedoms, including freedom of thought.

Nehru rejected both violence and terrorism as the means to achieve political change. But he also rejected religion, which he saw as an enemy holding back India's progress. In his opinion, religion weighed people down with the burden of holy books and outdated customs, and he saw education as the way for India's people to be freed from religion's negative hold. As Pandey points out, however, Nehru's rejection of religious ideas made it more difficult for him to connect with India's rural masses.

Nehru and other Congress leaders dismissed the view of an India divided along dominant religious communal lines. As a sign of this, independent India adopted state symbols associated with the ancient Buddhist emperor Asoka, and not with Hinduism or even with Gandhi. Nehru also rejected Gandhi's vision of recreating a simple, harmonious, non-industrial and village-based society, as might have existed in an idealised version of ancient India. While Nehru recognised that modern industrialisation had created negative effects under capitalism, he advocated controlled industrial development under socialism.

SOURCE 16

> I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure … the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of cooperative service.
>
> Jawaharlal Nehru's speech to Congress, 1936, quoted in Deelip Laxman Maale, *Contribution of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru To Indian Politics – A Critical Study*, 2015, p. 127

3.3a Check your learning

1 Create a flow chart that outlines Jawaharlal Nehru's rise to become India's first prime minister.
2 Outline Nehru's vision for an independent India.

3.3a Understanding and using the sources

1 Examine Source 15, and research the significance and meaning of India's national flag.
2 Explain what Source 16 reveals about Nehru's key values and beliefs.

Creation of the Republic of India

The constitution that became effective in 1950 set the framework for implementing the core values of the new Republic of India: democracy, secular tolerance of all religious communities, and removal of social discrimination and disadvantage. India's constitution drew from the system of British parliamentary democracy, and from features of government in the United States. These included the creation of a supreme court; and the establishment of a federal structure with a central government, state governments and some territories. Another feature of the constitution was that the position of governor-general, as a representative of the British monarch, was replaced by the mainly ceremonial role of president.

SOURCE 17 Indian Prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964)

Constitution of 1950

During the period 1947–49, the Constituent Assembly debated the shape of the constitution, which became effective on 26 January 1950. One of Nehru's aims was to see India shake off the colonial era and embrace modern ideas. India became a republic, but remained within the British Commonwealth. The constitution set up a British-style parliament, comprising the Lok Sabha (lower house) and a senate-like Rajya Sabha (upper house). The constitution also empowered the national president to suspend elected governments at times of emergency. A federal structure established power sharing between the central and state governments, where the central government had responsibility for areas including defence, foreign affairs, transport, the postal service and telecommunications, while the states took charge of police, justice, health, education, agriculture and other functions. There were also shared responsibilities for areas such as economic planning and trade. Within the federal structure, the constitution also reflected Nehru's belief in keeping strong powers for the central government.

Importantly, US-educated 'Untouchable' leader Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar chaired the drafting committee for India's constitution, which came to contain many socially progressive provisions, including prohibiting discrimination due to 'religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth'; abolishing 'untouchability'; prohibiting human trafficking and 'forced labour'; prohibiting 'hazardous employment' for children; ensuring freedom of religion; and protecting cultural minorities. But, despite the promise of the constitution, discrimination and inequality based on caste still exist in India today.

Role of the Indian Congress Party

In the period soon after India achieved independence, Gandhi suggested that Congress should be reformed as a national organisation committed to social development, and no longer be directly involved in politics. However, this did not occur, as Congress instead took on the role of leading the national government after India's independence.

In 1951–52, India held its first general elections with complete adult voting rights. A huge electorate of some 200 million voters delivered substantial victories to Congress at both national and state levels. Congress won almost three-quarters of the 489 seats in the Lok Sabha. However, it only achieved some 45 per cent of votes, with other left-wing, right-wing and regional parties sharing the rest.

American historians Barbara Metcalf and Thomas Metcalf argue that India's politics in the 1950s relied on collaboration between Nehru as leader and various influential Congress members. From the 1937 elections, Congress changed from being an activist organisation with village connections to being more like a party seeking votes. While Nehru was pivotal, he depended on senior conservative power-brokers, who in turn controlled Congress at the state and district level. Similarly, chief ministers exercising power in their states were linked to the centre via the national Congress Working Committee. Senior Congress figures offered jobs and development funding in return for Congress workers enlisting blocks of village-level votes for the party.

Senior official and diplomat B.K. Nehru (Jawaharlal Nehru's cousin) commented that while public servants in independent India were expected to act according to the law, they were often pressured to bend to the wishes of ministers who cared less about such regulations.

Hindu nationalism

The rise of a greater Hindu consciousness and identity can be traced from the nineteenth century, with a significant development being the founding in 1915 of the **Hindu Mahasabha** organisation. Its policies included the protection of cows (considered holy to Hindus but not to Muslims), the promotion of **Hindi** as the national language, and the provision of education and welfare for Hindus. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, the Brahman leader of the Hindu Mahasabha in the late 1930s and early 1940s, promoted the idea of 'Hindutva' ('Hindu-ness'), where Hindus living together in a land of their own could achieve 'national solidarity, cohesion, and greatness'.

Hindu Mahasabha
'Hindu Great Society'; an extreme Hindu organisation

Hindi
the main language of north Indian Hindus, written in virtually the same script as the ancient Indian language of Sanskrit

Metcalf and Metcalf point out that 'Hindu nationalism' became more militant when the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) was founded in 1925 as a self-styled cultural movement rather than as a political party. Its main members were from 'higher' castes, who formed themselves into paramilitary groups (unofficial armed groups). With their racist and anti-Muslim ideology, they opposed both the partition of India and most of what Gandhi stood for. Extreme cultural nationalism translated into brutal action with Gandhi's 1948 assassination by Nathuram Godse, who was both a member of the RSS and a follower of Savarkar.

SOURCE 18 Members of the Hindu nationalist organisation Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) marching during a festival in Allahabad, 2015

The Hindu Mahasabha did spawn a political party in the form of the Jan Sangh (People's Party), founded in 1951 as a cover for the RSS and its **xenophobic** dimensions, which grew stronger in the 1960s. A further outgrowth of political Hinduism was the creation of the Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian People's Party) from the Jan Sangh in 1980.

Even though these groups attacked Congress for alleged softness towards Muslims, American historian David Ludden argues that many leaders of Congress also sympathised with the idea of Hindutva, the most prominent of whom was Vallabhbhai Patel, Nehru's deputy prime minister between 1947 and 1950.

xenophobia
fear of outsiders

SOURCE 19

> Led by paramilitary RSS cadres [members], Hindu nationalists also developed strong local bases among Brahmans in Maharashtra [a state in Western India], propagating the idea that Hindu India had been dominated by Muslims for centuries before 1800, ripped apart by Muslims in 1947, and betrayed by the Congress Party, which had given Muslims Pakistan and continued to placate Muslim minorities in India in order to maintain itself, at the expense of the Hindu majority.
>
> David Ludden, *India and South Asia: A Short History*, 2nd ed., 2014, p. 266

3.3b Check your learning

1. Create a diagram that identifies the key features of India's federal system of government.
2. Outline the key rights and values shown in India's 1950 constitution.
3. Explain why Mahatma Gandhi wanted Congress to give up politics after India's independence.
4. Discuss Metcalf and Metcalf's assertion that Indian politics in the 1950s relied on collaboration.
5. Identify the key ideas promoted by conservative and extreme Hindu organisations. Explain the significance of Gandhi being murdered by a Hindu extremist.

3.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. After analysing Source 19, outline the main reasons why Hindu nationalists criticised Congress.
2. Explain how Source 19 allows you to differentiate between the progressive views within Congress and the RSS.

Attempts at unity

Nehru's Congress Government faced a number of challenges to developing a more cohesive nation, while recognising the rich diversity of India's regional cultures. One was the reluctance of some former princely states, previously semi-autonomous from British India, to enter the Indian Union. Another was the issue of whether Hindi should become the main national language.

Integration of the princely states

In addition to the Hindu-, Sikh- and Muslim-majority areas of British India, the Indian subcontinent included many large and small states ruled by 'princes' (Indian nobles) separately from British rule. Historian Judith M. Brown argues that the British saw these states as 'breakwaters' against the rising nationalist challenge. However, in July 1947, Viceroy Mountbatten held a meeting of the Indian princes about the need to choose between India and Pakistan when British rule ceased in the following month. Deputy Prime Minister Patel and Pakistani leader Jinnah each persuaded most of the states to do so. However, the two largest states of **Kashmir** in the north and Hyderabad in the south, and the small state of Junagadh, had not accepted being merged into India or Pakistan by the time of independence.

Kashmir
a north-western region of pre-independence India, split between India and Pakistan from 1947

The Muslim leader of Hyderabad preferred the state to gain independence itself, and he intended to enforce this with his own army. However, as Hyderabad was surrounded by independent India and Hindus comprised most of the state's population, this was not going to be easy. The Indian Army entered into Hyderabad in September 1948, and the state joined India in 1950.

The Hindu leader of the mainly Muslim state of Kashmir, bordering both India and Pakistan (see Source 12), also delayed making a decision until Pakistan-backed militants forced the issue in October 1947. Indian forces were then flown to Kashmir and removed the militants from most areas. After United Nations (UN) intervention was requested, a UN commission brought about a ceasefire in January 1949. In 1950, Australian judge Sir Own Dixon recommended that Kashmir should be divided after a limited plebiscite (a people's vote on an important issue), but Pakistan rejected this. In October 1951, the political assembly representing 'Indian' Kashmir (divided from 'Pakistani' Kashmir) backed India having authority for foreign affairs, communications and defence.

National language

Soon after India's new constitution became effective in 1950, Nehru and his government faced growing calls for provincial reorganisation based on regional language areas. Despite Nehru's reluctance to allow for any further separatist moves, states were reorganised in 1956 to reflect India's different linguistic regions.

India's constitution initially recognised 14 Indian languages, and stated that Hindi would displace English as a joint national official language in 1965. Nehru agreed on this role for Hindi, but was open-minded about the time frame. However, there was a strong reaction in southern India (with its own major languages) to what appeared as northern 'Hindi imperialism' against them. Nehru reassured south Indians that any move to make Hindi a national language would be gradual and subject to their agreement, and that English would keep its national role.

3.3c Check your learning

1 Evaluate the likelihood of the leader of Hyderabad being able to negotiate independence from India.
2 Discuss the arguments for and against having Hindi as the national language of India.

Modernisation of India's economy and society

In 1941, India's total population was almost 319 million people, of whom 86 per cent were in rural areas and only 14 per cent were in urban areas. In only four decades, by 1981, India's total population had more than doubled to over 683 million people, with more than three-quarters still living in the countryside.

One of the key mechanisms that Nehru's Congress Government adopted to achieve economic development was centralised planning. It is important to note that the goal was never to replicate the **authoritarian** style of Soviet planning, but rather to use it as a framework for cooperatively pursuing India's economic priorities. Nehru also believed in a mixed economy, with roles in key sectors for both public and private enterprises.

authoritarian favouring strict obedience to authority; a term normally associated with dictatorships, where the authority of the government is not to be challenged

Agricultural reform

While Mahatma Gandhi had advocated a return to simple village communities, Nehru was unenthusiastic about this. In what amounted to an attempt to use centralised planning as a way to achieve economic growth that was also socially beneficial, India's First Five Year Plan (1951–56) emphasised agricultural production as the basis for industrialisation. This approach succeeded in increasing agricultural and industrial production, along with per capita and national income.

During the Nehru era, there were some noteworthy campaigns to address rural poverty and the supposed 'backwardness' of India's peasants. From the late 1940s, a prominent follower of Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, had started asking landlords in south India to give him land which he would then pass on to landless rural workers. By the late 1950s, Bhave had passed on a large amount of such land to the rural poor. While this movement helped those who were able to participate, it did not amount to a national restructuring of the unfair and often exploitative rural economy.

Industrial development

The Second Five Year Plan (1956–61) focused more on industrial development in sectors such as iron and steel in order to gain greater economic self-sufficiency. Since independence, India's economy had become more isolated from the global economy, and domestic production was intended to reduce the need for imports. India's agriculture and industries continued to grow, and despite population growth there was also a small increase in average personal incomes during this period. However, the reliance on domestic industrial production increased the cost of consumer goods, and dampened overall technological innovation.

With some exceptions, the proportion of Indians in poverty did not consistently fall between the 1950s and the mid-1970s. British historian David Arnold argues that a lack of competition was one of the causes of India's economic stagnation until the economy was freed up further in the 1990s.

3.3d Check your learning

Create a Venn diagram that outlines the similarities and differences between Mahatma Gandhi's and Jawaharlal Nehru's visions for the economic future of independent India. Discuss what the diagram reveals about their policies.

SOURCE 20 A starving child in Calcutta – a victim of the devastating 1943 Bengal famine

Social challenges and the nature of Nehru's social reforms

Newly independent India faced substantial challenges. As recently as 1943, about two million people in Bengal had starved to death in a terrible famine, largely caused by what Metcalf and Metcalf call 'administrative failure' – the choice to handle a rice shortage by moving rice from rural areas to supply the military and the people in Calcutta, leading rural people to starve.

Partition in 1947 caused some 10 million people to become refugees seeking safety in either India or Pakistan, all of whom needed food and shelter. More generally, there was widespread poverty, malnutrition, ill-health and illiteracy, with the average life expectancy for Indians at birth in the 1950s being less than 42 years. Economists Martin Ravallion and Gaurav Datt show that, in the early 1950s, more than half of India's population lived in poverty, with higher levels of poverty in rural areas than in urban areas, and with significant variations between different states.

In the early 1950s, Congress set out to redistribute land away from wealthy landowners by restricting the size of their land and transferring large holdings to state governments. However, the impact of this was weakened by the requirement that rural landlords receive compensation, and by the fact that some wealthy families found ways around the restrictions. In fact, the landless poor gained few benefits from this program.

While voting rights and law reforms advanced women's rights in the Nehru era, Metcalf and Metcalf argue that because of restrictions and disadvantages, especially for rural women, laws amounted to little more than well-meaning statements.

SOURCE 21 A Muslim Indian girl carrying a goat, one of the thousands of refugees travelling to Pakistan in September 1947

3.3e Check your learning

Identify some of the key social challenges facing India soon after independence.

3.3c Understanding and using the sources

Explain how Sources 20 and 21 identify challenges faced by India in the early 1940s. Discuss whether these sources were created to identify challenges or to provoke an emotional reaction.

3.4 India under Indira Gandhi

While Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter Indira Gandhi had been closely involved with her father's public life, and had a detailed knowledge of his ideas and ideals, she presided over a period when key Congress values of democracy and non-partisanship became eroded. If Nehru was an idealist and visionary who sometimes had to sacrifice his principles, Indira Gandhi emerged as a tough politician who was unable to maintain the high standards set by her father.

The pivotal role of the Nehru family is one of the themes running through India's pre- and post-independence history. While Jawaharlal Nehru represented a high point, with his years of political struggle and breadth of vision, Indira Gandhi showed that she was tough enough to defy the senior conservatives in Congress, but that her brand of Congress politics increasingly failed to live up to the high ideals of her father. In gradually showing more political opportunism and authoritarianism, she paid a terrible price when she was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards in 1984. An undoubted achievement, however, was her willingness to support the east Bengali independence struggle that led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971.

SOURCE 22 US President John F. Kennedy, Indira Gandhi, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy in the United States, 1961

Indira Gandhi's role in the Indian state

Indira Gandhi was born in November 1917, the only daughter of Jawaharlal and Kamala Nehru. Her schooling took place in India, Switzerland and Britain, where she studied history and anthropology at Oxford University. Part of her political apprenticeship was gained through accompanying her widowed father at official events. In 1942, she married Feroze Gandhi (unrelated to Mahatma Gandhi). She joined the Congress Working Committee in 1955 and became the President of Congress' national youth wing, before serving her first round as Congress President in 1959–60.

When Nehru died in 1964, Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded him as prime minister, but following his death only two years later, Congress power-brokers known as the 'Syndicate' launched their support for Indira Gandhi to become prime minister. They envisaged that she would stay under their influence, and that being Nehru's daughter would make her popular with the electorate. Indira Gandhi was put forward as the candidate for the 1967 central government elections, which Congress won, if only with a narrow majority of lower house seats. As both

left-wing and right-wing parties increased their presence, Indira Gandhi found it necessary to accommodate the conservative Congressman Morarji Desai as her deputy prime minister. In the 1967 state elections, Congress suffered more serious setbacks when communist and right-wing parties were elected, along with a regional party in the country's south-east.

Scheming within Congress in late 1969 led Indira Gandhi to accuse her party opponents of a sham commitment to democracy, socialism, secularism and non-alignment, and of trying to block Nehru's push for social and economic change. The Syndicate then expelled her from Congress, but as most Congress parliamentarians backed her, Congress itself split as a result, leaving Morarji Desai and other conservatives in the opposing camp. Gandhi's next key moves were to **nationalise** the banks and cut the benefits of India's former nobility, changes that proved popular with the people.

nationalise
to transfer industries or businesses from private to state ownership

Nature and impact of economic and domestic policies

During Indira Gandhi's interrupted prime ministership during the period from the 1960s to the 1980s (she was prime minister in 1966–77 and 1980–84), India saw a decline in the share of agriculture in its overall economy, and a substantial rise in the per capita **GDP**. But while there were significant reductions nationally in the percentage of people in poverty, these improvements varied from state to state; for example, while Punjab-Haryana in the north had less than 20 per cent of people in poverty by around 1990, the comparable figure for Bihar amounted to almost 60 per cent.

GDP
gross domestic product; the measurement of the quantity of goods and services produced in a country in one year

The Third Five Year Plan (1961–66) was aimed at producing growth though agricultural achievements, but two conflicts (the **Sino**-Indian War of 1962 and the conflicts with Pakistan; see Section 3.5) saw resources being put towards the army instead. As a result, the Third Plan was a major failure and resulted in three 'plan-free' years in India.

Sino
Chinese

Green Revolution and the Fourth Five Year Plan

Technological and economic changes in agriculture began in the Indian subcontinent in the 1960s. Known as the Green Revolution, the economy was again directed at growing higher-yielding varieties of rice and wheat, the use of pesticides and fertilisers, and greater use of irrigation. Historian Burton Stein points out that while the overall risk of famine and food shortages decreased, 'social tensions' and class inequalities worsened as wealthy farmers who could afford the expensive inputs became wealthier, while ordinary farmers were forced to working for wages, and already disadvantaged rural women became worse off. Environmental problems also followed as an effect of increased water use, run-off from fertilisers and pesticide resistance.

According to development expert C.T. Kurien, it was the 'larger farmers' (who were also allied with industrialists and traders) who benefited from India's Green Revolution. These farmers took advantage of subsidies to sink wells and install pumps for more irrigation, but then switched from cultivating food grains needed by the poor to more profitable cash crops.

Political scientist Shalendra D. Sharma argues that India's Green Revolution failed to match economic growth with redistributing rural incomes. He shows that while the yield for cereal crops in India was almost one-third higher in 1980–81 than in 1969–70, growth varied between regions and was greatest in north-western India. This is confirmed by data provided by economists Martin Ravillion and Gaurav Datt, showing that, by the 1960s, this area had the lowest percentage of people in poverty.

Economic instability and growing corruption in the early 1970s

In her campaigning for the 1971 elections, Indira Gandhi answered her right-wing opponents' slogan of '*Indira Hatao*' ('Remove Indira') with her own '*Garibi Hatao*' ('Remove Poverty'). Her campaigning sought to reassure property-owners, while promising reforms for poor peasants and workers. Her faction of the party, now known as 'Congress (R)', won over two-thirds of lower house seats, with her opponents in the 'Congress (O)' group receiving very few.

A feature of Indian-style non-coercive economic planning was that control and influence were shared between politicians, bureaucrats and their 'clients', such as business people, industrialists, self-employed professionals and wealthier farmers. One disputed view is that those controlling this system benefited from creating shortages, which then provided opportunities for higher prices through the 'black market'. Such a system also facilitated attempts to influence or bypass controls through bribery and corruption.

nepotism favouritism by powerful people towards their relatives or friends

A notorious example of **nepotism** concerns a 1970s business venture by Sanjay Gandhi, Indira Gandhi's younger son. After returning to India from an incomplete apprenticeship with Rolls-Royce in Britain, Sanjay Gandhi obtained permission to begin manufacturing the first completely Indian car, called 'Maruti'. While Sanjay Gandhi lacked experience, he still managed to gain a valuable licence for industrial production, as well as financial backing and land for a factory. But Indira Gandhi refused to be swayed by allegations of corruption in this case. Ultimately, however, 'Indian' Maruti cars were only produced after the Japanese firm Suzuki came to the rescue of the failing venture.

SOURCE 23

> Although India's capitalists were tightly regulated, they commanded the domestic market without fear of competition. Nehru's socialism, unlike Mao's, never sought to encompass the entire economy. Often little more than a tangle of permits, licences, and credits, it never brought under its control the vast world inhabited by the petty trader and moneylender.
>
> Barbara D. Metcalf and Thomas R. Metcalf,
> *A Concise History of Modern India*, 2nd ed., 2006, pp. 246–7

SOURCE 24 Indira Gandhi addresses an election campaign meeting in March 1971.

3.4a Check your learning

Analyse the success of the Green Revolution in India.

3.4a Understanding and using the sources

Identify and assess the validity of the historical argument presented in Source 23.

The Emergency of 1975–77 and the Fifth Five Year Plan

In June 1975, a court found Indira Gandhi guilty of minor electoral breaches in the 1971 elections and found that she had been invalidly elected. Faced with political pressure to resign, on 26 June 1975 Gandhi announced that India's president had imposed a state of emergency. Despite the appearance that this emergency was designed to help Gandhi retain power, she claimed that it was necessary to prevent a conspiracy by opponents to her 'progressive measures' helping ordinary Indian men and women, and that it was not to benefit her personally but to stop 'communal passions' and threats to India's unity.

The effects of the emergency were wide-ranging and drastic – usual civil liberties were withdrawn, including freedom of the press; bans were imposed on opposition political parties; thousands of political opponents were jailed; and the 1976 elections were postponed. As the crisis unfolded, Sanjay Gandhi established a more influential role as an adviser to his mother, an incredibly powerful position for someone who was never personally elected.

Through his role as major influencer in the party, Sanjay Gandhi pursued two social programs in Delhi – the demolition of slums in Old Delhi and the forced sterilisation of poor men in the Greater Delhi area – that had devastating consequences for the victims. As a result of these programs, hundreds of thousands of mainly Muslim residents of Old Delhi were dislocated by 'slum clearance', and many poor rural men were forcibly sterilised to make progress in reducing population growth. These were actions that British historian David Arnold labels as part of a 'war against the poor', because this group was perceived to be holding back India's modernisation.

SOURCE 25

> The decision to have [a state of] emergency was not one that could be taken lightly or easily … but there comes a time in the life of the nation when hard decisions have to be taken. When there is an atmosphere of violence and of indiscipline and one can visibly see the nation going down, then the time has come to stop this process.
>
> Indira Gandhi's address to the upper house of India's parliament, 22 July 1975, quoted in Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, 3rd ed., 1989, pp. 397–8

SOURCE 26

> There was no threat to the well-being of the nation from sources external or internal. The conclusion appears … that the one and the only motivating force for tendering the extraordinary advice to the President to declare an 'internal emergency' was the intense political activity generated in the ruling party and the opposition, by the decision of the Allahabad High Court declaring the election of the Prime Minister of the day invalid on the grounds of corrupt election practices.
>
> Shah Commission Report on the Emergency, published in 1981, quoted in Tariq Ali, *The Nehrus and the Gandhis: An Indian Dynasty*, 1985, p. 186

Indira Gandhi decided to hold elections again in 1977 in the hope that voters would endorse actions under the state of emergency. Indian historian Ramachandra Guha comments that India's middle class welcomed the relative calm under the emergency, in contrast to previous 'strife-filled decade' involving protests and strike action that came before it. Nevertheless, in January 1977, a coalition of opposition Congress, socialist, farmer and right-wing Hindu parties formed the Janata Party (People's Party) under the leadership of conservative Congressman Morarji Desai. The party convincingly defeated Indira Gandhi's Congress in the elections and Desai became India's first non-Congress prime minister.

3.4b Check your learning

1 Explain how extensive the government's powers were under the state of emergency.
2 Evaluate the claims that Indira Gandhi's motives for the emergency were more concerned with political advantage than with responding to a law and order crisis.

3.4b Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Sources 25 and 26, and compare the perspectives they present. Discuss whether they contradict each other. Explain whether you believe one is more reliable than the other in helping you draw conclusions about the emergency.

Social tensions and opposition to Indira Gandhi

Arnold argues that Indira Gandhi's appeal to end poverty was just an attempt to politically outmanoeuvre her Congress opponents, but that this could not be achieved without making radical economic or political changes. Against a background of unpopular high food and fuel costs, the Congress Socialist leader Jayaprakash Narayan launched a protest movement for 'total revolution' in the mid-1970s.

SOURCE 27 Suspected Sikh militants surrender to the army in Amritsar, 1984.

In India's national elections of 1980, Indira Gandhi again triumphed, with Congress gaining two-thirds of the lower house seats. Metcalf and Metcalf argue that after her return to government, Gandhi began to seek votes by appealing to 'ethnic and religious' loyalties. By now, it was clear that both sides of politics had discarded a commitment to secular values, especially in the case of Congress; this marked a serious departure from one of its hallmark principles, as once promoted by Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Sikh religious community in northern India had already successfully demanded a state (Punjab) based on those speaking their Punjabi language, and they now sought the city of Chandigarh exclusively as Punjab's capital. Some Sikhs went further and wanted

SOURCE 28 Sikhs in London commemorating the massacre of 1984 by demonstrating for a free Khalistan, 2011

their own Sikh state of Khalistan, which would be independent of India. Metcalf and Metcalf argue that, in attempting to engineer the defeat of the Sikh political party in the Punjab (which had favoured the Janata Government), Gandhi backed a Sikh fundamentalist named Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who sought the creation of Khalistan. In 1984, Sikh extremists and other armed Sikhs took over the Golden Temple in Amritsar, the holiest shrine of the Sikh religion, as a way of exerting pressure for the creation of Khalistan. Having helped to fuel this situation, Gandhi authorised the army to retake the temple. The army killed the extremists, but thousands of other Sikh worshippers at the shrine and some army personnel also died in the attack. This caused huge resentment against Gandhi among India's Sikhs. In October 1984, near her house in New Delhi, Gandhi was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards. In savage reprisals for this murder, many innocent Sikhs in Delhi were killed over a number of days by roaming gangs.

3.4c Check your learning

1 Discuss whether evidence suggests that the 1980 elections were a key turning point in Indira Gandhi's political career. Identify the evidence that supports your viewpoint.

2 Assess the factors that led to the violent confrontation between Sikh militants and the Indian Army in Amritsar in 1984.

3.4c Understanding and using the sources

Explain how Sources 27 and 28 represent continuity and/or change in India's relationship with its Sikh population.

3.5 Indian foreign policy

Part of what Jawaharlal Nehru represented as a world leader was the emergence of Asian and African nations as important contributors in international affairs, after centuries of domination and repression by Western imperialist powers. Nehru also led India as a new member of the British Commonwealth. While he had great optimism about pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy, and despite undoubtedly becoming a leader of the non-aligned movement, his achievement was tarnished by a series of conflicts with Pakistan, followed by a war with China.

Aims and strategies of Indian foreign policy 1947–84

Key aims of Indian foreign and defence policy during the period 1947–84 included keeping the Indian part of Kashmir within the Indian Union and defending its disputed northern border with China. India was prepared to go to war to defend these interests. While seeking to maintain a non-aligned stance, India also gave priority to its cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union, while the United States' closer links with Pakistan complicated the Indo–US relationship. During this period, India exercised its diplomacy in meetings both with other non-aligned states and with fellow Commonwealth nations.

Non-alignment and the Panchsheel Treaty of 1954

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

In the context of post-1945 **Cold War** rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, and its related international conflicts and crises, Nehru's pursuit of a non-aligned foreign policy was both innovative and brave, and it signalled his vision for India as a leader of other rising Asian and African nations. In early 1947 in Delhi, months before independence, Nehru held a conference attended by representatives from such nations. This was followed by a similar conference in 1949 that condemned Dutch colonial actions in Indonesia.

In Beijing in April 1954, Indian and Chinese representatives agreed on relations between India and the 'Tibet region of China'. Significantly, they agreed on the five principles that became known as the Panchsheel Treaty and would confirm mutual respect, non-interference and peace. The five principles were:

sovereignty
the right of individuals or nations to make their own decisions and not be told what to do or how to act by others

1 mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and **sovereignty**
2 mutual non-aggression
3 mutual non-interference
4 equality and mutual benefit
5 peaceful coexistence.

Nehru welcomed this agreement because it would not only preserve age-old trade between India and Tibet, but also guarantee that China would not meddle in India's domestic affairs. Following an invitation from Nehru, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited India in June 1954, and both leaders issued a statement reaffirming the Five Principles which, they felt, would give a 'solid foundation for peace and security' globally.

SOURCE 29 Jawaharlal Nehru (centre) speaks with representatives from Burma and Indonesia at the Bandung Conference, 1955.

In April 1955, Nehru attended a conference involving representatives of 29 African and Asian nations in Bandung, Indonesia. Among Nehru's statements there, he referred to colonialism in all its forms as an evil to be quickly ended. He argued that outside of Western Europe, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** represented colonialism. He also said that while each nation had the right to self-defence, joining the Western, Soviet or other bloc would not strengthen African and Asian nations. Strength would instead be gained from industrial development and greater self-reliance.

The Bandung Conference also incorporated the Panchsheel Treaty into its declaration of 'Ten Principles of International Peace and Cooperation'. Furthermore, in 1957, the Panchsheel Treaty formed part of a resolution adopted unanimously by the UN General Assembly, and in 1961 the non-aligned movement accepted them as core principles.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) a military and political alliance founded in 1949 by the United States, Canada and Western European nations in opposition to the communist Soviet Union

3.5a Check your learning

1. Account for Jawaharlal Nehru pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy for India during the Cold War.
2. Identify the challenges Nehru faced in adopting non-alignment. Discuss how successful he was in meeting these challenges.

Relations with Pakistan and Communist China

Indo-Pakistani relations since independence have generally been marked by mutual hostility and distrust, with the new neighbours going to war three times during the period 1947–71. These difficulties were compounded by shifting allegiances involving the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

American historian Burton Stein points out that the first conflict about Kashmir following partition in 1947–48 led Pakistan to see the need for allies in order to counter India. However, Nehru saw Pakistan's 1954 membership of the anti-communist Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) – which also included the United States and Australia – as a sign of growing US power in Asia. In 1969, Pakistan's president raised the possibility of a defence alliance with India as protection against China, but Nehru declined in order to maintain India's non-alignment and to avoid being drawn into SEATO. Lacking support from the United States and Britain, Pakistan turned towards China from the early 1960s.

The Indo-Pakistani War and the creation of Bangladesh

In 1965, India and Pakistan again went to war. Pakistan was annoyed by India's refusal to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir about its future. However, the Indian section of Kashmir had voted in 1951 to hand India control of its international affairs, defence and communications. After an initial incursion near the southern Indo-Pakistani border, Pakistan launched **guerrilla** forces, and later regular forces, into Kashmir in September 1965. The Indian response was to send tanks towards the major Pakistani city of Lahore. The conflict lasted three weeks. In January 1966, the Soviet Union convened a meeting between the warring sides at which the pre-conflict situation was confirmed: Pakistan's attempt to force the issue of Kashmir by military means had failed.

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

BANGLADESH AND THE BORDERING INDIAN PROVINCE OF WEST BENGAL

SOURCE 30 The liberation of East Pakistan in 1971 led to the creation of the independent nation of Bangladesh.

The most serious of the Indo-Pakistani conflicts, in terms of human impact and political consequences, was the war to liberate East Pakistan in 1971. The province of Bengal had been split along mainly Hindu or Muslim lines as part of the partition of India in 1947. This split saw Muslim-majority eastern Bengal become East Pakistan, and the Hindu-majority western part become the Indian state of West Bengal. While there were differences of religious practice and belief between Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus, Bengalis shared their language and much of their culture.

In 1965, Bengali leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced a six-point plan for eastern Bengal (then East Pakistan) to separate from Pakistan. When Sheikh Mujib's Awami League party won an overall majority of seats in Pakistan's national elections in December 1970, but was denied the prime ministership, Bengalis of East Pakistan launched protests, mainly non-violent, against what was seen as domination and discrimination by West Pakistanis. Pakistan tried to put down these actions from March 1971 using military force, and arrested Sheikh Mujib. India at first secretly supported the Bengali insurgents, but held off on direct military intervention. To pre-empt a possible Indian attack, Pakistan launched an airstrike against India in December 1971, and then launched an invasion of East Pakistan. The military and political outcomes were the rapid defeat of the West Pakistani forces by Indian troops, and by Bengali troops known as Mukti Bahini ('Freedom Fighters'). In January 1972, Sheikh Mujib became the first prime minister of independent Bangladesh ('Land of Bengal').

The formation of Bangladesh was a victory for India and its prime minister Indira Gandhi both because they had supported the plight of the East Pakistanis, but also because these events proved that the idea of religion being a sufficient reason for Pakistan's existence had failed.

The human costs of the Bangladesh War of Liberation were immense. Cases of alleged abuses by both sides were common, including the killing of unarmed civilians, rape, looting and burning. The eventual surrender by the Pakistani Army resulted in India taking some 100 000 prisoners of war. Up to three million people died as a result of the conflict, which also created a major refugee emergency, as some 10 million people – mainly Hindus – fled from East Pakistan into India. The plight of the Bengali people gained attention across the world. Concerts starring leading Western and Indian musicians, including George Harrison, Bob Dylan and Ravi Shankar, were held to raise funds in support of Bengali refugees.

3.5b Check your learning

1. Explain why the Bangladesh War of Liberation of 1971 took place.
2. What is your assessment of the pros and cons for India in providing military support for Bengali 'Freedom Fighters' who were striving to create Bangladesh?
3. Assess the factors that led Pakistan to form closer ties with the United States.
4. Explain why India and Pakistan went to war in 1965. Discuss the foreign and defence policy implications of this war for India.

Clashes with China

India's second major conflict since partition involved Communist China. This is ironic since Nehru, in his leadership position within the non-aligned movement, had made special efforts to maintain friendly relations and to promote China's participation in international forums.

The background to the conflict was that the mountainous Sino-Indian border, which had been drawn in 1914, had not been formally agreed to by the Chinese, who claimed their right to some of the Indian territory along the border. In 1957, China built a road though the Aksai Chin region, then part of Kashmir, leading to a confrontation in 1959 in which some Indian soldiers were killed.

Cuban Missile Crisis a 1962 confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War that threatened the use of nuclear weapons

In September 1962, Nehru authorised Indian troops to regain the remote Indian territory held by Chinese aggressors. The Chinese Army answered by advancing into north-eastern India during October and November of 1962, before suddenly withdrawing again. It is worth noting that the Sino-Indian War took place simultaneously with the **Cuban Missile Crisis** and the 13-day standoff between the United States and the Soviet Union. This likely contributed to neither of these powers assisting either side in the conflict between India and China.

Relatively few lives were lost in the brief war, and the subsequent outcome was that both sides accepted the situation as at November 1959, but without formal agreement on the international boundary. The conflict with China had initially shocked Nehru, who then became disillusioned at what he saw as China's rejection of India's friendship and support.

3.5c Check your learning

1 Analyse the causes of the war between China and India in 1962.
2 Identify and discuss the implications of this war on the non-aligned movement internationally.

SOURCE 31 Refugees during the Sino-Indian War, November 1962

CONCLUSION

In the period 1942–84, the Indian subcontinent was shaped by three of the most influential figures of the twentieth century: Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali Jinnah. In particular, Gandhi's commitment to peaceful change and generosity of spirit is still an inspiration for political leaders and activists today.

In the 1940s, India's movement for independence entered a new phase of political protest on a mass scale, which was met with harsh repression by the British *raj*. While gaining independence from Britain in 1947, the hopes of many of India's leaders and people for the creation of a unified and independent nation based on the principles of secularism, social justice and democracy were only partly fulfilled.

Political tactics, negotiations and decision making were overshadowed by horrific incidents of violence, and the efforts of Gandhi were only temporarily successful. In spite of its attempts to find a compromise, the British administration has been accused of rushing its departure and failing to provide sufficient protection for the victims of communal violence. Religious extremism led to the murder of Gandhi himself.

The rebirth of India and Pakistan in August 1947 as independent nations prompted inspiring speeches full of hope and commitment. However, the reality was that millions of people were uprooted to travel across new borders, accompanied by violence.

While Nehru's attempt to create a 'middle-way' socialism from 1947 achieved some success, political and bureaucratic controls benefited insiders and their networks. Nehru also put aside peaceful coexistence when India's national interests were threatened by China.

The post-Nehru era saw his daughter Indira Gandhi rise to become India's dominant personality, until she also fell victim to religiously motivated murder in 1984. Indira Gandhi took up from her father the highest Congress ideals of socialism and secularism, but allowed these to become tarnished through her determination to hold power and her blindness to the abuses perpetrated by her son, Sanjay Gandhi.

SOURCE 32 Indian troops celebrate with locals following the victory over West Pakistan in the Bangladesh War of Independence, 1971.

By the early 1970s, political repression and violence by West Pakistan against Bengali citizens in East Pakistan culminated in genocide, resulting in millions of Bengali people becoming refugees. Backed by India, the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 also saw the fracture of Pakistan as an intended safe place for Muslims of the subcontinent.

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

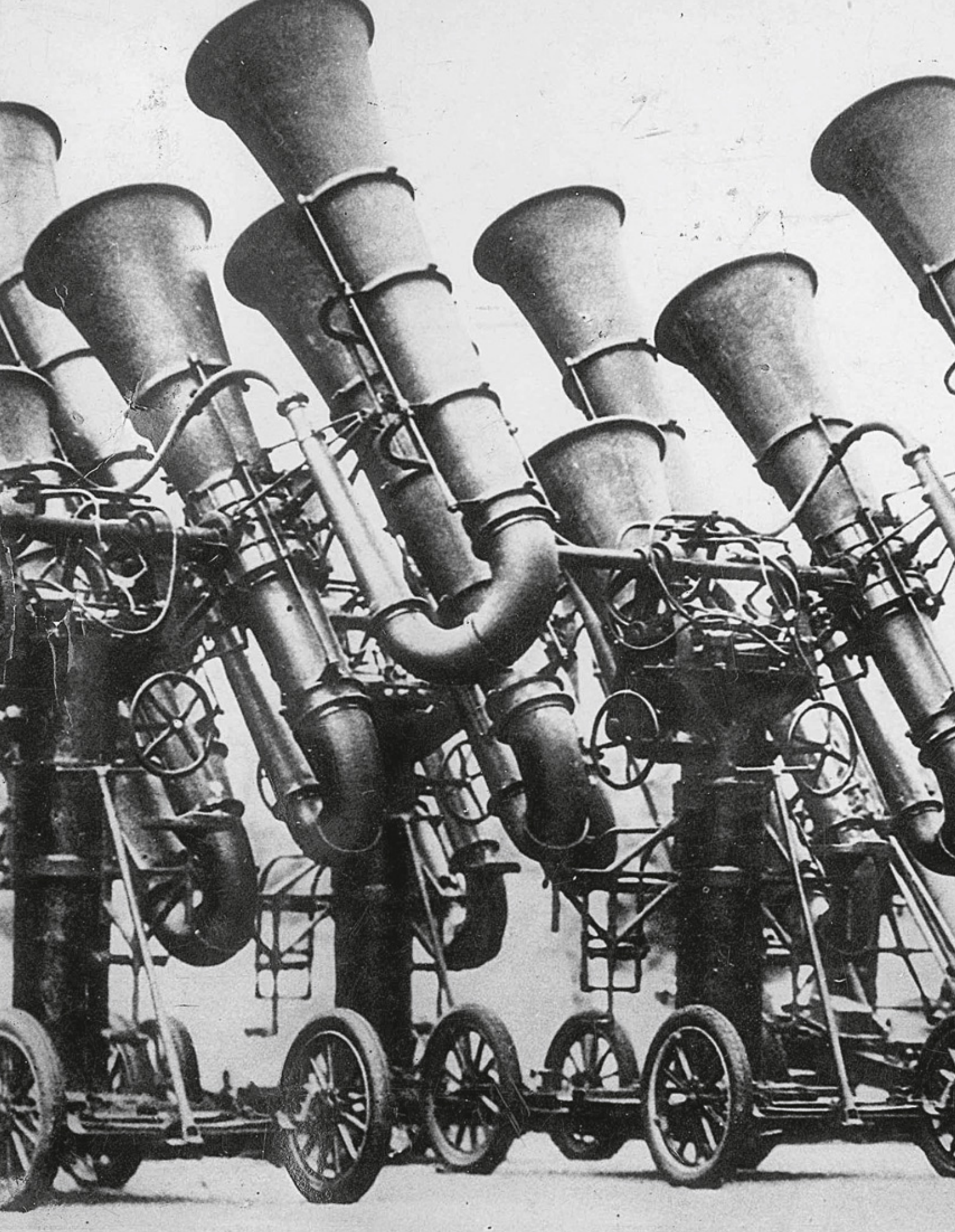
Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension



4

Japan 1904–37

Sound detectors used for military defence in Japan, 1930s

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1 What was the nature and role of nationalism in Japan in the period 1904–37?

2 What impact did imperialism and militarism have on Japanese society in the period 1904–37?

3 What were the aims and impacts of Japan's foreign policy engagements in the early twentieth century?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

To reach a sound understanding of Japan in the period 1904–37, it is necessary to critically assess a wide range of sources: both primary sources – such as official documents, memoirs, oral histories, maps and photographs – and scholarly sources. All sources are contestable, but this is perhaps especially so when they are dealing with emotive topics such as religious beliefs, nationalism, imperialism, militarism and fascism. It is important to note the context in which each source was created, along with its purpose and any points of agreement or disagreement with other sources.

Historical interpretation

This topic involves interpreting the interplay of ideas, individual actions and events that shaped the complex and contested history of early twentieth-century Japan. It is necessary to assess the relative significance of: internal factors (such as economic, social and political changes in Japan); external factors (such as the impact of the Russo-Japanese War [1904–05], the First World War [1914–18], the 'Manchurian Incident' [1931] and the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident' [1937]); and the decisions of key individuals, including Emperor Meiji and Emperor Showa (Hirohito), and Japanese political, business and military leaders.

Historical investigation and research

When asked to conduct further research, it is important that you read widely and consult reputable primary and secondary materials from websites, journal articles, general historical accounts and more specialised scholarly texts. Any initial hypotheses explaining key events should be tested by carefully checking available sources, and then refined based on the strength of your particular findings. It is important to note how far individual sources have been influenced by the outlook of their authors, including their background and political leanings.

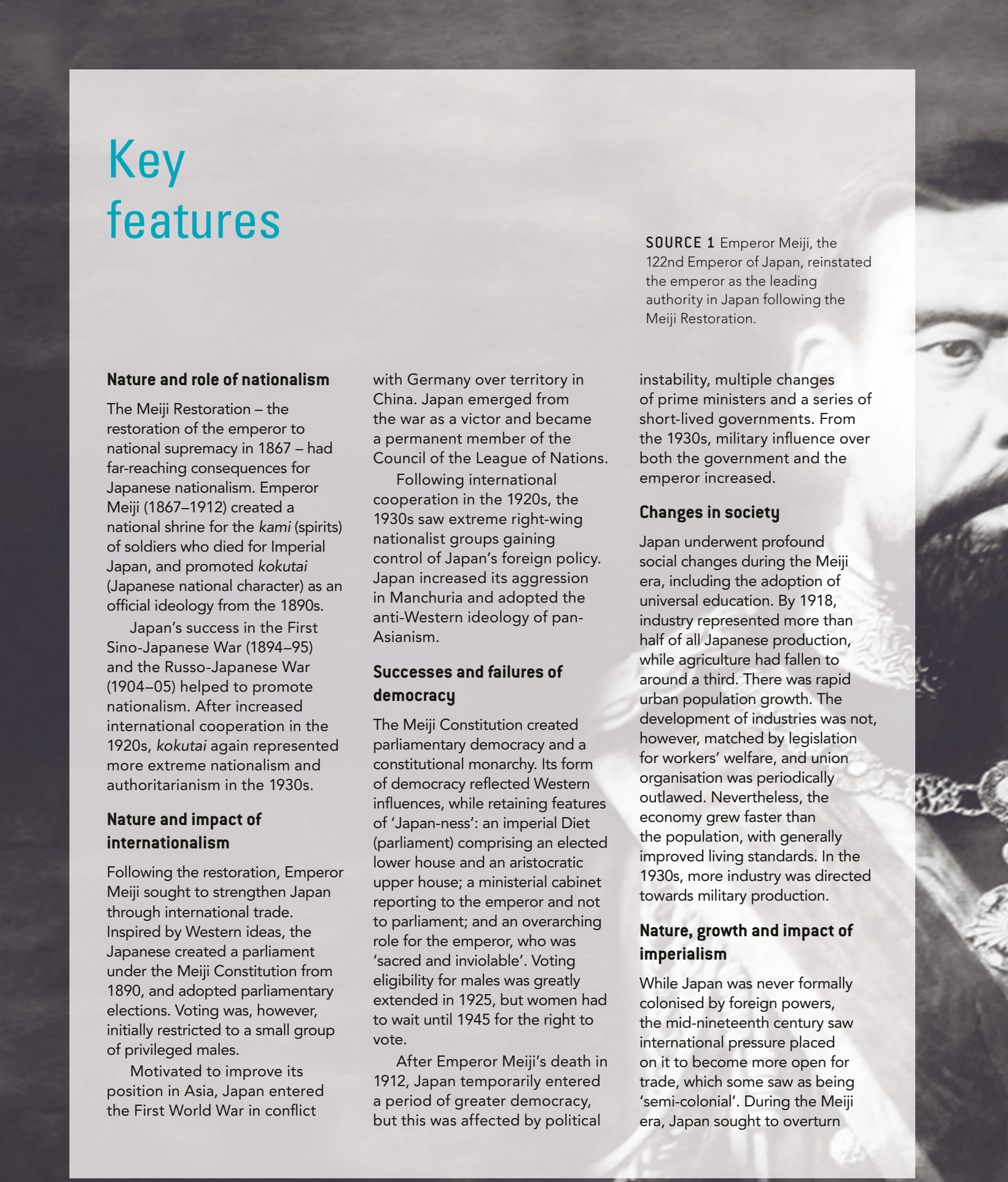
Explanation and communication

Keep in mind that you will be required to write an extended response for your HSC. To succeed, you will need to be able to develop and sustain a response to a specific question, and support it with evidence and examples.

LEARNING GOALS

- Assess and evaluate the nature and role of nationalism, internationalism, militarism and foreign policy in Japan during 1904–37.
- Critically assess different perspectives on the roles of Japan's emperors and the challenges to representative democracy.
- Understand key changes in early twentieth-century Japanese society and the challenge to traditional social values, including the role of women.

Key features



SOURCE 1 Emperor Meiji, the 122nd Emperor of Japan, reinstated the emperor as the leading authority in Japan following the Meiji Restoration.

Nature and role of nationalism

The Meiji Restoration – the restoration of the emperor to national supremacy in 1867 – had far-reaching consequences for Japanese nationalism. Emperor Meiji (1867–1912) created a national shrine for the *kami* (spirits) of soldiers who died for Imperial Japan, and promoted *kokutai* (Japanese national character) as an official ideology from the 1890s.

Japan's success in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) helped to promote nationalism. After increased international cooperation in the 1920s, *kokutai* again represented more extreme nationalism and authoritarianism in the 1930s.

Nature and impact of internationalism

Following the restoration, Emperor Meiji sought to strengthen Japan through international trade. Inspired by Western ideas, the Japanese created a parliament under the Meiji Constitution from 1890, and adopted parliamentary elections. Voting was, however, initially restricted to a small group of privileged males.

Motivated to improve its position in Asia, Japan entered the First World War in conflict with Germany over territory in China. Japan emerged from the war as a victor and became a permanent member of the Council of the League of Nations.

Following international cooperation in the 1920s, the 1930s saw extreme right-wing nationalist groups gaining control of Japan's foreign policy. Japan increased its aggression in Manchuria and adopted the anti-Western ideology of pan-Asianism.

Successes and failures of democracy

The Meiji Constitution created parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy. Its form of democracy reflected Western influences, while retaining features of 'Japan-ness': an imperial Diet (parliament) comprising an elected lower house and an aristocratic upper house; a ministerial cabinet reporting to the emperor and not to parliament; and an overarching role for the emperor, who was 'sacred and inviolable'. Voting eligibility for males was greatly extended in 1925, but women had to wait until 1945 for the right to vote.

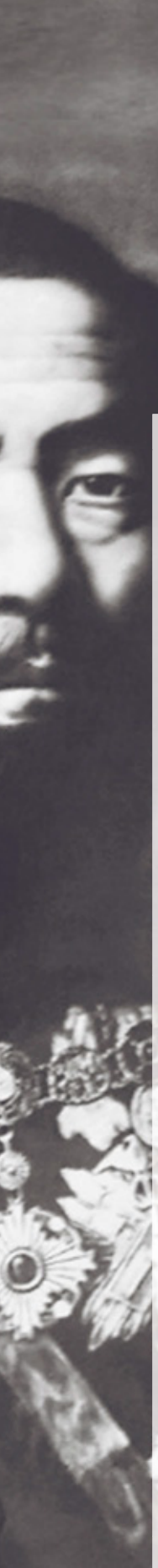
After Emperor Meiji's death in 1912, Japan temporarily entered a period of greater democracy, but this was affected by political instability, multiple changes of prime ministers and a series of short-lived governments. From the 1930s, military influence over both the government and the emperor increased.

Changes in society

Japan underwent profound social changes during the Meiji era, including the adoption of universal education. By 1918, industry represented more than half of all Japanese production, while agriculture had fallen to around a third. There was rapid urban population growth. The development of industries was not, however, matched by legislation for workers' welfare, and union organisation was periodically outlawed. Nevertheless, the economy grew faster than the population, with generally improved living standards. In the 1930s, more industry was directed towards military production.

Nature, growth and impact of imperialism

While Japan was never formally colonised by foreign powers, the mid-nineteenth century saw international pressure placed on it to become more open for trade, which some saw as being 'semi-colonial'. During the Meiji era, Japan sought to overturn



such inferiority. A key step was to withdraw from unequal international treaties.

Ironically, while opposing foreign influence, the Japanese created their own colonial empire in the period 1895–1910, including Taiwan, southern Sakhalin island, southern Manchuria and Korea. The Japanese elite wanted their empire to become the most powerful one in East Asia, and Japan to become a great power.

Japan pushed into China with the 'Manchurian Incident' of 1931, allowing Japan to occupy the rest of Manchuria, and this was followed in 1932 by the creation of Manchukuo as a puppet state. By the late 1930s, Japan had extended its military control over northern China, within a few years also including a large part of South-East Asia

Nature and impact of militarism

The Japanese traditionally revered the samurai and martial values, and Japan's victories over China and Russia further increased the prestige of the armed services. The military were heavily involved in controlling Japan's colonies. While Taisho era democracy from 1912 saw a decline in the influence of the military, the rise of right-wing political ideas from the mid-1920s again enabled military figures to become powerful. The Manchurian Incident showed how military leaders in conflict zones made independent decisions without first seeking government approval.

Tensions between tradition and modernisation

Signs of modernisation and Western influence from the Meiji era onwards included the growth of new forms of industry, transportation, communication, banking, business, education, and structures of government. However, nationalism and resistance to the West endured.

Influential financial groups called *zaibatsu* developed into huge and diverse business conglomerates. Created under a modern financial system, these groups were often controlled traditionally, by a few powerful families.

While the Meiji Constitution established an elected House of Representatives, it gave equal authority to the aristocratic House of Peers. Importantly, while incorporating progressive ideas, the Meiji Constitution also supported the traditional ideology of *kokutai*.

Aims and impact of Japanese foreign policy

By 1890, Japan believed that its independence depended on joining the Western great powers in having political and military influence in Asia. Japan's foreign policy from the early twentieth century focused on the need for security in a competitive world, and a wish for international respect and devotion to Japan and its emperor. Japan's military victories over China and Russia brought territory in Taiwan and China, confirming Japan as the strongest power in East Asia.

While Japan engaged more with the West after 1918, support for internationalism had fallen by 1931 and it left the League of Nations in 1933. Japan's foreign policy from late 1933 sought to maintain its East Asian dominance, including control of Manchukuo, but unconstrained by agreements with Western powers.

A note on names

While modern Japanese convention writes the family name first, followed by the given name, people with Japanese names who live in the West often use the given name first. For clarity, this chapter follows the Western tradition.

Japanese emperors have a reign name as well as a personal name. While emperors are often referred to by their reign name (for example, Emperor Meiji), some (notably Emperor Hirohito) are referred to by their birth names.

4.1 Introduction

Japanese society and political structure went through significant changes from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s. So in order to understand and evaluate the period 1904–37, it is important to acknowledge that this era was greatly influenced by the turbulent time that directly preceded it.

According to traditional accounts, Japan was founded by Emperor Jimmu, a direct descendant of a sun goddess, in 660 BCE. Over time, the role of the emperor changed from being a ceremonial, symbolic figurehead with little actual power, to a powerful leader with divine rights and direct political and military control. From 1185 CE onwards, the de facto leaders of Japan were the shoguns – military dictators from various powerful clans running a **feudal** society with the various fiefdoms (estates) controlled by *daimyo* (lords). The *daimyo* were given land to control and **samurai** to protect them.

feudalism/feudal the dominant social system in medieval Europe, where the nobles could live on the ruler's land in exchange for military service, and the peasants in turn rented the land in exchange for working on the land and sharing the produce with the nobles and the ruler

samurai members of Japan's military class who provided protections to the *daimyo* (lords)

concessions rights that are granted, often in response to demands

During the time of Shogun Iemitsu Tokugawa (1623–51), Japan became increasingly closed off to the outside world, as the shogun believed that Western influence would undermine his rule. The Sakoku Edict of 1635 banned virtually any non-Japanese person from entering the country, and went so far as to state that Japanese people who left Japan would be executed if they returned.

Japan was to maintain this level of isolation for more than 200 years, until American Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in Tokyo Bay in July 1853. Perry wanted the Japanese to begin trading with the United States, and when the Japanese initially refused, he threatened war. Shogun Iesada Tokugawa, realising that Japan would be defenceless against an invasion, accepted the terms and signed the Convention of Kanagawa (1854), and his successor, Iemochi Tokugawa, signed the Harris Treaty (1858). These allowed the establishment of foreign **concessions** in Japan, and gave extra-territorial rights to American citizens and 'most-favoured nation' status to the United States (this relates to an international trade arrangement that gives all trading nations the same treatment as the 'most-favoured nation').

It is important to note that the shoguns had become increasingly unpopular prior to Perry's arrival, and the signing of treaties with the United States was a clear sign of their weakening status. The people of Japan, who largely resented the increased power and influence of Westerners, began to question the legality of the shogunate system and turned to the emperor for support. As a result of internal pressure, Shogun Yoshinobu Tokugawa handed back power to the emperor in 1867. Two years later, Emperor Meiji (1867–1912) formally declared the restoration of his power: the Meiji Restoration.

Meiji Restoration

One of the first things that Emperor Meiji did to reinforce his power was to establish Shintoism as the state religion of Japan. Shintoism worked to enhance nationalism by connecting modern-day Japan to its ancient history. According to this religion, the emperor was regarded as a living god.

A new constitution was adopted in 1889. The Meiji Constitution provided the framework for Japan's political system until after the Second World War, and was a form of mixed constitutional and absolute monarchy (based on the Prussian and British models). Japan then entered a period of rapid modernisation and industrialisation. This saw a movement towards modifying traditional beliefs in accordance with modern – often Western – ideas, and the abolition of the old four-class social structure of samurai, farmers, artisans and merchants.

A series of trade agreements with the West saw Japan's economy prosper, but the increasing foreign influences did not come without resistance. There was still a strong nationalistic feeling, and the Japanese reaffirmed the importance of the 'native' Shinto religion and the role of the emperor. Importantly, the widely held view was that Japan's society and culture were superior to those of the West – an idea that would linger and affect Japan's dealings with the international community over the following century. The goal of developing and defending an empire underpinned many of Japan's policies up to and during the Second World War.

Politically, the Meiji Constitution opened the way for parliamentarians to be elected (albeit by a limited section of the population) and then to deliberate and advise on national policies. However, the emperor and the *genro* (a group of unelected senior statesmen and unofficial advisers to the emperor) retained considerable power, along with the military and the bureaucracy. While there were times of more effective party-based democracy, especially during the 1920s, the elites (the emperor, the army, the navy, the nobles and the *genro*), the bureaucracy and the *zaibatsu* (wealthy industrial and financial business conglomerates) – were all capable of influencing decision making.

Personal name: Mutsuhito
Reign name: Meiji ('enlightened rule')
Period of reign: 1867–1912

Personal name: Yoshihito
Reign name: Taisho ('great righteousness')
Period of reign: 1912–26

Personal name: Hirohito
Reign name: Showa ('enlightened peace')
Period of reign: 1926–89

SOURCE 2 Modern emperors of Japan (1867–1989)

4.1 Check your learning

1. How did the arrival of Commodore Matthew C. Perry contribute to the re-emergence of the emperor in pre-Meiji Restoration Japan?
2. What is Shinto and how did it support the growth of Japanese nationalism in the late 1800s?
3. Define the terms *shogun*, *daimyo*, *genro* and *zaibatsu*.

4.1 Understanding and using the sources

Analyse the official photographs of the emperors in Source 2. Write a brief description of the appearance of the emperors and suggest the value of these sources to a historian investigating the Westernisation of Japan.

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events in Japan 1868–1937

1868

Crown Prince Mutsuhito commences as emperor with the reign name of Meiji (meaning 'enlightened rule').

1889

Emperor Meiji hands down the new constitution.

1904

The Russo-Japanese War begins.

The Japanese bring pack ponies ashore at the port of Chemulpo, marching distance from the Korean capital of Seoul, at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, February 1904.

1910

Japan annexes Korea.

1912

Crown Prince Yoshihito commences as emperor with the reign name of Taisho (meaning 'great righteousness').

1914

Japan enters the First World War and successfully fights Germany for control over territory in China.

1915

Japan presents its Twenty-One Demands to China.

1921

Emperor Taisho passes duties to Crown Prince Hirohito, his son, who effectively becomes regent.

1926

Hirohito commences as emperor with the reign name of Showa (meaning 'enlightened peace').

1927

The Showa Financial Crisis involves the collapse of many banks and companies.

1928

Japan signs the Kellogg-Briand Pact, an international agreement renouncing war as a way to resolve conflicts.

The 'Chang Tso-Lin Incident' – the assassination of a Chinese war lord – takes place near Mukden in Manchuria.

1931

The 'Manchurian Incident' takes place.

1932

Party-style government ends.

1933

Japan leaves the League of Nations.

1936

Japan and Germany sign the Anti-Comintern Pact in opposition to world communism and the Soviet Union.

1937

Japan commences war with China following the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident' in July.

Japanese troops commit horrific atrocities in the Chinese city of Nanking (Nanjing) from December 1937 into 1938.

4.2 Survey: Japan as an emerging power

imperial/imperialism relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

From the late Meiji era (1868–1912), Japan underwent significant economic growth, which was partly stimulated by the demand for military equipment to support its **imperial** expansion, especially in China. Japan's arrival as a great international power was marked by its role at major diplomatic conferences in Paris (1919–20), Washington (1921–22) and London (1930), and by its membership of the Council of the League of Nations (1920–33).

Impact of Japanese expansion

Sino Chinese

isolationism the idea that a country needs to isolate itself from world affairs and focus on its own self-interest

Due to Korea's location between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, many leaders during Japan's Meiji era regarded it as an attractive area to influence, or even control. To this end Japanese traders and diplomats sought to weaken China's influence in Korea in the 1880s and 90s. In 1894, the Koreans staged a rebellion against foreign interference, and the Chinese responded by moving in to reinstate order. The Japanese in turn sent troops to attempt the expulsion of Chinese forces, and when a Japanese naval ship launched an attack on Chinese vessels, it was the start of First **Sino**-Japanese War (1894–95).

Japan's navy defeated China in the Yellow Sea, and Japanese troops captured Port Arthur on the strategically important Liaotung Peninsula in Manchuria. Under the terms of the First Sino-Japanese peace treaty, known as the Treaty of Shimonoseki, China was compelled to recognise Korea's independence and transfer control of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan. However, less than a week after the treaty was signed, Russia, France and Germany forced Japan to relinquish control of the peninsula.

JAPANESE EXPANSION, 1870–1937

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 4 This map shows how Japan's empire expanded from 1870.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The idea of an alliance between Britain and Japan first came about at the time of the First Sino-Japanese War. Britain's foreign policy had been one of **isolationism** throughout the late 1800s and it had refused to join the alliance of Russia, France and Germany in opposition to Japan's expansion on the Liaotung Peninsula. However, the fact that Britain had recently had close dealings with Japan, supporting its push towards modernisation and industrialisation, and that both nations had a common enemy in Russia, resulted in the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance being signed in London on 30 January 1902.

4.2a Check your learning

1 Why was Korea seen as an attractive area for Japanese influence?
2 Identify at least two reasons why Britain would want to form an alliance with Japan in 1902.

SOURCE 5 The alliance between Britain and Japan was intended to counter the presumed menace posed to each power by Russia – seen in this cartoon (together with France) watching the alliance being concluded. This illustration was printed in the French newspaper *Le Petit Journal* on 6 April 1902. The text reads: 'In China. France and Russia – Not so fast! We are there.'

4.2a Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse the map in Source 4 and conduct your own research into the areas that the Japanese brought under their control between 1870 and 1937, especially Korea and Manchuria. Consider the natural resources available in each territory and, in a written response, evaluate and explain the role that geography and resources played in Japan's imperial expansion in this period.

2 Study the cartoon in Source 5 closely. From what the source tells you, identify who you believe the intended audience is and what the intention behind the cartoon was.

3 Note that the faces of the European characters in Source 5 – France, Russia and Britain – are shown, but the Japanese character's face is not. Why do you think this is the case?

4 Use Source 5 as the starting point for further research into why Britain would have been interested in making an alliance with Japan against both Russia and France in 1902. The book *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914* by Richard Evans could be a useful starting point. Summarise your findings in a 300-word response.

Russo-Japanese War

The Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) was a direct result of Japan's success in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). Shortly after Japan had been forced to drop its claim over the Liaotung Peninsula, Russia swooped in and leased the area from China, including Port Arthur. Russian expansion in the area clashed with Japan's increasing stake in Korea, and after initial negotiations between Russia and Japan failed, the Japanese opted for war. They began with a surprise attack on the Russians at Port Arthur, in much the same way that they would begin the Pacific War in 1941 with their attack on the United States at Pearl Harbor. This was completely compatible with the **militaristic** thinking at the heart of the traditional samurai code of *bushido*. *Bushido* was the traditional collective term – dating from the seventeenth century – for the rules of conduct of the samurai (the 'Way of the Warrior'). It emphasised the need to strike first and strike decisively, and included ideas such as 'death before surrender'. *Bushido* became part of the culture of the Imperial Japanese Army.

militarism
a philosophy which holds that a state should maintain a strong military capability and use it aggressively to expand or promote national interests

Japan had an advantage in this conflict, as it was able to mobilise troops relatively close to Port Arthur, while Russian troops had to travel a vast distance from Moscow. After almost eight months of fighting, and a siege of some five months, Russia surrendered Port Arthur in January 1905. Soon afterwards, Japanese and Russian troops fought a short battle over the city of Mukden in Manchuria, resulting in a Russian retreat. Japan was equally successful at sea, winning the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905. Following the victory, US President Theodore Roosevelt convened a meeting between Japan and Russia in August 1905, which resulted in the Treaty of Portsmouth and Russia recognising Japan's stake in Korea.

EAST ASIA, 1904

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 6 Korea, Manchuria and Japan at the time the Russo-Japanese War began in 1904

4.2b Check your learning

1 Analyse the importance of Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese War.
2 Identify at least three advantages that Japan gained from the Russo-Japanese War.

4.2b Understanding and using the sources

After a careful visual analysis of Source 7, explain the value this source would have to a historian studying the concept of nationalism in Japan around 1900.

SOURCE 7 Shinto priests in a funeral procession in Tokyo in 1905 for victims of a Japanese ship sunk by the Russians during the Russo-Japanese War

Japan's annexation of Korea

Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 strengthened its position in East Asia and led to further military engagement with both Manchuria and Korea. In 1906, Japan appointed a Resident-General in Korea. The Koreans fought back, as they had done at the beginning of the First Sino-Japanese War only 10 years earlier, and up to 70 000 Koreans fought Japan's rule in the first years of occupation. Japan answered by sending in 20 000 troops, which had been modernised along Western lines and crushed the resistance.

Members of the ultra-nationalist Japanese *Kokuryukai* group (also known as the Black Dragon Society) called for Korea to be formally **annexed** by Japan. When Korean nationalists assassinated senior Japanese statesman and *genro* Hirobumi Ito in October 1909, this helped build support for annexation, which was made official through the Japan–Korea Treaty on 22 August 1910. As Japan had already had its stake in Korea recognised by Britain (through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance) and Russia (through the Treaty of Portsmouth), neither of these powers objected to the annexation.

annex
to add to a nation's territory by appropriating (taking control over) the territory of other states or nations

SOURCE 8 An elementary school classroom, c. 1900

Status as a great power

Japan's foreign policy objectives in the late Meiji era were to strengthen its national security and to achieve economic and political autonomy, free of influence from Western powers. Japan also sought to be recognised as a great power internationally. The context for this goal can be found in the rivalry between the strongest world powers during the nineteenth century 'Age of Empires', where Western nations – including Britain, France and Germany – had competed for colonial control over parts of Asia and Africa.

In order to promote itself as a great power, Japan needed the capacity to construct warships and weapons. This had been made possible by the rapid industrial growth that took place in the early 1900s, supported by the development of a new national system of taxation that provided funding for the national army.

In its effort to create a powerful empire, Japan's build-up of a strong military force was accompanied by a focus on education. The Meiji leadership had begun compulsory elementary schooling modelled on the European system in 1872, and by the end of the 1910s primary school attendance was high for both boys and girls.

Initially, the vision for Japan's education system had been to teach progressive values to upcoming generations. However, a traditionalist and nationalist reaction soon saw different opinions emerge about the content and purpose of education. Shinto nationalists advocated respect for the 'imperial way' and **Confucian** scholars promoted Confucian values, while those who saw education as the means for modernisation advocated Western learning.

Confucius
a fifth-century BCE Chinese teacher, editor, politician and philosopher; Confucianism emphasised personal and governmental morality, correctness of social relationships, justice and sincerity

SOURCE 9

> … the moral textbooks [in Japan in the late nineteenth century] instilled in the young pupils the importance of loyalty to the Emperor. The first lesson in the third grade moral text says, 'Because of the profound benevolence [kindness] of the Emperor, we are able to live each day in peace. We must always keep in mind with deep gratitude the great debt we owe him.'
>
> Mikiso Hane, *Japan: A Short History*, 2000, pp. 85–6

SOURCE 10

> Universal education made Japan the first country of Asia to have a literate populace. A high degree of literacy explains, as much as industrial strength and military power, the dominant role Japan was to gain in East Asia in the first half of the twentieth century … To Japanese leaders, education meant not the development of young minds for participation in a fuller life but rather the training of a technically competent citizenry to help build a strong state. Education was essentially a tool of government, training obedient and reliable subjects who could serve as technically efficient cogs in the complicated machinery of the modern state.
>
> Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan: Past and Present*, 3rd ed, 1964

Note: Sources 9 and 10 were produced by historians living and working in the West. As a history student it is important to note that even though both authors have wide experience of Japanese

history and culture, they are writing for Western audiences. This can, at times, result in what is called a 'Eurocentric' point of view – that is, an assessment based primarily on Western or European ideas and values. When considering any sources, think first about their context and whether or not their views can be regarded as Eurocentric.

The Twenty-One Demands

Japan went into a new phase of imperialism between 1914 and 1922. In the first half of this period, when the European powers were preoccupied with the First World War, Japan made use of what historians Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert Craig call a 'power vacuum in East Asia'. In January 1915, Japan presented a set of 'Twenty-One Demands' to China, seeking to bolster its gains from the Russo-Japanese War and to obtain further privileges there. There were five groups of demands:

- Group 1 stated that Japan was to seize control of railways, ports and major cities in China's Shandong Province.
- Group 2 demanded an extension of the Japanese hold of Manchuria for 99 years, including rights to settlement and the appointment of Japanese administrative officials to the government in this area, as well as priority for Japanese investments there. It also included a demand for access to Inner Mongolia and its raw materials.
- Group 3 stated that Japan was to gain control of mining in central China.
- Group 4 prohibited China from giving any further concessions of coastal areas or islands to any other foreign power.
- Group 5, the most aggressive and controversial of the five, stated that China was to give Japanese advisers effective control of their financial and police system. It also stated that Japan could build railways through the country, and erect Buddhist temples and schools. Finally, it stated that Japan would gain control of the province of Fujian, a coastal area opposite Formosa (modern-day Taiwan).

China resisted and sought help from foreign powers. Following criticism from Britain and the United States, Japan delivered an amended version set of demands – removing Group 5 – which China accepted in May 1915.

Without the fifth group of demands, the Japanese in fact achieved little control in China that it did not already have. Rather, the main outcome of the push was that Japan lost its standing in the eyes of its closest ally, Britain, which was in the midst of fighting in the First World War and felt that Japan's bullying approach to China showed a concerning level of aggression.

Role in the First World War

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, which was renewed in 1905 and again in 1911, enabled Japan to enter the First World War as Britain's ally. The war provided Japan with the opportunity to advance its imperialist goals in Asia and the Pacific, while other powerful nations were locked into the conflict in Europe and hence had a reduced capacity to object.

Japan was especially interested in gaining control over China's Shandong Province, which had been leased to Germany in 1897 and was regarded as belonging to Germany's **sphere of influence** ever since. Although Britain wished to limit Japan's possible territorial ambitions, it did not stand in the way of Japan declaring war on Germany in August 1914. Only a few months later, Japan had taken Shandong, as well as some German-held Pacific islands.

sphere of influence
a geographic region in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

Overall, however, Japan was not a major participant in the First World War, and did not, therefore, suffer the losses that crippled the European powers. This was to serve it well in the interwar period as it challenged the **status quo** established at the Paris Peace Conference. The scars of the war meant that the major European powers were limited in their capacity to react.

status quo
the existing or the current situation; the status of things as they are

4.2c Check your learning

1 What is meant by the term 'Eurocentric'?
2 Explain, in your own words, how Japan's victory in the First Sino-Japanese War contributed to the development of a Japanese empire.
3 Evaluate the way in which the 'Age of Empires' in Europe impacted upon Japan's foreign policy in the early 1900s.
4 Assess what historians Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert Craig meant when they said there was a 'power vacuum in East Asia' in the period 1914–22.
5 Identify and analyse the cause and effect of Japan's Twenty-One Demands.

4.2c Understanding and using the sources

Study Sources 9 and 10 closely.

1 Identify the key points each source makes about the aim of Japanese education.
2 Select and record one phrase from each source that reflects agreement between them.
3 Evaluate and explain the reliability of these sources for historians studying the Japanese education system. Does the fact that the views of both sources are similar, despite being separated by 40 years, strengthen or weaken their value?

Washington Conference

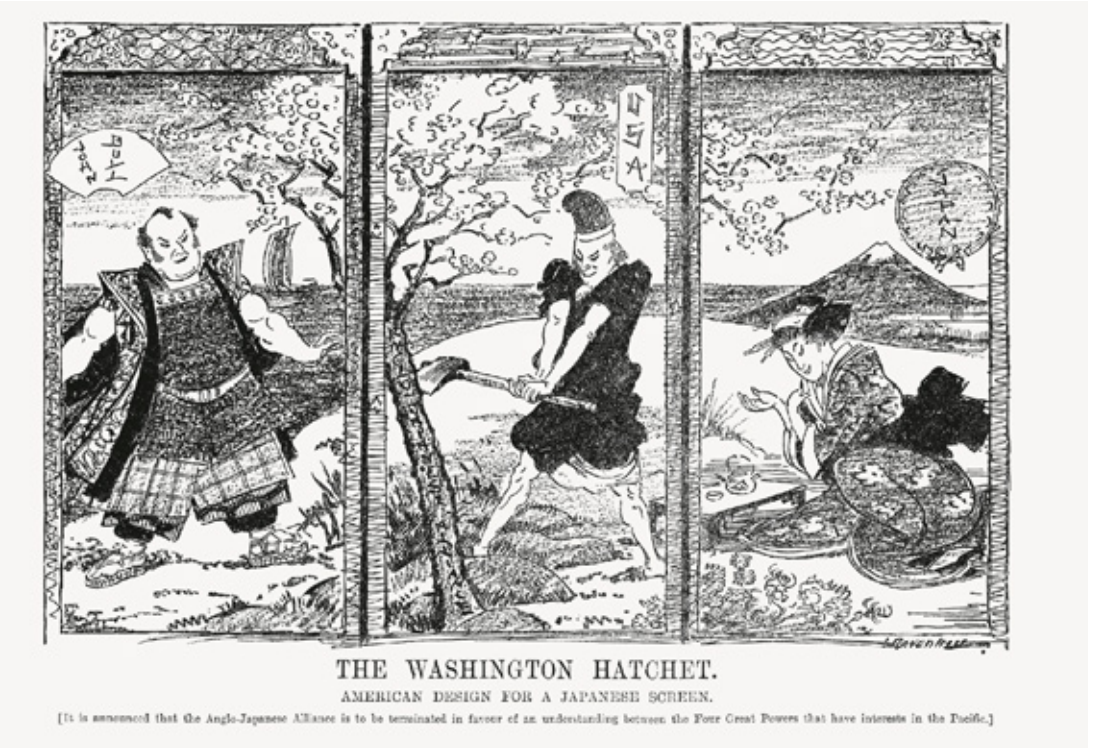
From November 1921 until February 1922, nine international powers, including Japan, met at the **Washington Conference** to discuss East Asian affairs and attempt to limit competitive naval growth. This resulted in Japan joining the Four-Power Pact with Britain, France and the United Sates, which bound the signatories to respect each other's rights in the region and to consult each other if a crisis arose. However, the minor treaties signed by the Four-Power Pact had little real effect other than representing the end of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Washington Conference
an international conference held in Washington D.C. to limit the naval arms race and organise the Pacific region after the First World War

The Washington Conference also resulted in the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty between the United States, Britain, Japan, France and Italy, which sought to limit naval expansion. It was agreed that thousands of tons of warships would be destroyed; and that Britain, the United States and Japan would possess warships at a ratio of 5:5:3, and 1.67 each for France and Italy. Japan also agreed to maintain the status quo concerning naval bases in the Eastern Pacific. These agreements effectively halted the First World War naval expansion race and Japan became increasingly opposed to them, announcing its intention to leave the latter treaty in 1934.

A further outcome of the Washington Conference was the Nine-Power Pact between the five powers, plus the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium and China. The agreement limited Japan's aggressive expansion into China by pronouncing China a sovereign and independent state, with which all signatories had the right to do business on equal terms.

Japan's participation in these agreements in the early 1920s illustrates its temporary return to using diplomacy, rather than military growth and armed conflict, as the preferred means of conducting foreign policy.



SOURCE 11 An interwar cartoon in the style of Japanese screen art shows Uncle Sam (the United States) chopping down the Anglo-Japanese Alliance tree, as John Bull (Britain) and Japan look on.

Political, social and economic issues in Japan by 1921

The dominant political and economic climate of early twentieth-century Japan combined shallow democracy, **top-down capitalism** and diplomacy to achieve its aims. Political opinion in the late Meiji and Taisho eras ranged from extreme right-wing ultra-nationalism and militarism to extreme left-wing communism and anarchism. However, as Australia-based academic Elise Tipton points out, to understand the 'ferment' of politics and ideas in 1910s and 20s Japan, one must look more broadly than just observing party politics.

While Japan's first political parties were formed in the 1880s, they soon disbanded in the face of legal restrictions and it was not until the early twentieth century that two main parties emerged. They were the essentially conservative Seiyukai (Association of the Friends of Constitutional Government), formed in 1900, and the more progressive Doshikai (Association of Believers of Constitutional Government) – which later became the Kenseikai and then the Minseito – formed in 1913. This did not mean, however, that democracy was fully established. In fact, the prime minister was selected by the *genro* until the 1920s, even though political party leaders began to play a greater cabinet role from the Taisho era (1912–26). American historian Peter Duus sees the main political focus in Japan in the 1900s and 1910s as the attempt by Japan's new political parties to weaken the traditionally **oligarchic** power of the ***hanbatsu***.

The so-called 'Taisho Political Crisis' of 1912 involved a struggle between two political positions. On the one side were military officers advocating more military spending, supported by members of the oligarchy (made up of former prime ministers and the Privy Council – the emperor's advisory council, comprising nobles appointed by the emperor for life) who wanted government to be free of the political parties. On the other side were politicians who rejected increased military spending and wanted the political parties to control cabinet without military interference.

top-down capitalism
the idea of establishing major businesses and heavy industry, and then assuming that the economy and society would be transformed 'from the top down'

oligarchy
a small group of people having control of a country

hanbatsu
meaning 'clan faction'; the name that political rivals gave to powerful Japanese groups known as *hans* and led by the *daimyo*

American historian Conrad Totman sees the beginning of the First World War as a turning point in Japan's political and social history. He argues that in the period from the 1890s until around 1914, the ruling elite was coherent and in control, achieving successes both in its military expansion overseas and in domestic industrial growth. However, in subsequent years this elite was less cohesive. As a result there was more social and economic disorder, paired with a foreign policy that was 'increasingly reckless'. Totman also identifies some key factors that created new forms of conflict within Japan, including a growing population, more opportunities for social mobility, urban development, greater differences between social strata, more public schooling, and changes in technology.

It is useful to examine how Japanese scholars of the time interpreted democratic processes in Japan. In the early 1900s, Sakuzo Yoshino used *minponshugi* (literally meaning 'people-as-the-base-ism') as a term for 'democracy', envisioning a system where the Japanese people would be looked after without undermining the emperor's authority. However, given the fact that there were only limited voting rights for men until 1925 (and none at all for women until 1945), it is clear that Taisho-era democracy was limited in scope.

4.2d Check your learning

1 What was the Four-Power Pact and who were its members?
2 Explain the aim of the Five-Power Naval Limitation Treaty and its impact on Japan's ability to expand its military in Asia.
3 Analyse what is meant by the statement that Japan combined 'shallow democracy' with 'top-down capitalism' in the early twentieth century, giving examples that support this statement.
4 Identify the two sides in the Taisho Political Crisis and their aims.

Political and economic issues

While Japan's economic growth from the mid-1800s featured rapid industrialisation and the expansion of factories and the banking system, the Japanese economy continued to be based on agriculture, with almost half of Japan's population making a living from farming up until 1945.

The successful wars with Russia (1904–05) and Germany (as part of the First World War) were both major stimulants for Japan's economy. Further, the development of the Japanese colonial empire, especially on the Asian mainland, not only created an opportunity to access important resources, but also opened up new markets for Japanese exports.

The first two decades of the 1900s also saw rapid growth in heavy and small-scale industry, including mining and agriculture. Metal and machinery production quadrupled between 1895 and 1914, foreign trade nearly quadrupled between 1895 and 1914, and the size of the factory workforce doubled between 1900 and 1914.

Of the many issues that confronted Japan's rulers in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the rice riots were perhaps the biggest in terms of citizen participation. One consequence of the economic inflation during the First World War was the quadrupling of rice prices, which affected workers in both rural and urban areas. After a local protest about rice hoarding in 1918, demonstrations and riots broke out across Japan, with over 500 incidents of food theft and property damage recorded between July and September. Millions of people in villages, towns and cities were involved. The authorities cracked down heavily on this popular

protest by sending in some 100 000 soldiers, resulting in thousands of arrests and 30 deaths.

The riots showed the extent of popular discontent and distress in Japan. While a few *zaibatsu* grew into huge business conglomerates at this time, workers and peasants continued to struggle to put food on the table.

SOURCE 12 Japanese farmers threshing harvested rice around the turn of the twentieth century

Workers

The life of a peasant worker in Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century was tough and exploitative. The fact that the Meiji Government largely financed the Japanese industrialisation program with tax revenue from landowners meant that many farmers were forced to hand over their land to landlords in order to pay their taxes. By 1910, the majority of peasants were rent-paying tenants rather than landowners.

While the government quickly reduced rice prices and started a policy of rice importation after the riots of 1918, the 1920s saw ongoing agricultural hardship, made worse by the fact that agricultural work was almost entirely manual, with no powered machinery available and no tractors as late as 1937.

As an important reflection of social change, agriculture as a proportion of domestic production fell from more than two-fifths in the 1880s to less than one-fifth in the 1930s. Rice was, however, still the main crop and provided over half of agricultural produce in 1940.

One feature of Japan's industrialisation was the increase of sites producing items such as cotton, silk and woven cloth. Factory workers, many of whom were rural girls and young women, had to endure low pay, long hours, and unhealthy work conditions. In the early twentieth century, many textile workers died from **tuberculosis**.

SOURCE 13 Young factory girls in Kyoto, Japan, decorating cheap pottery for foreign markets, 1904

tuberculosis
an infections disease of the lungs that was deadly until antibiotic drugs became available

Another blight on Japan's industrialisation was the harsh exploitation of coal-miners, including women and children. The conditions observed in Japanese coal-mining during the First World War were appalling: naked men and half-dressed women and girls worked in cramped and often dangerous spaces, affected by heat, moisture and darkness. A law that applied to mines and factories from 1916 restricted women's and children's work to 12 hours per day, but children aged 10 were still permitted to carry out 'light' work. Poor immigrants from Korea, often deprived of land due to Japanese policies in their own country, were especially badly treated by companies looking for cheap labour.

In a move to suppress any political uprising, Prime Minister Aritomo Yamagata issued the Public Order and Police Law of 1900. This was designed to repress organised labour movements, but also restricted freedom of speech and prohibited workers from going on strike.

Despite being outlawed periodically, labour unions sought to improve the conditions and welfare of workers. Prominent organisations included the Yuaikai (Friendly Society) from 1912, the Nihon Rodo Sodomei (Greater Japan Labour Federation) from 1919, and the pro-communist Nihon Rodo Kumiai Hyogikai (Japan Labour Unions Council) between 1925 and 1928.

SOURCE 14 Japanese women attending higher education in 1910

The role and issues of women

While the reforms brought forward at the time of the Meiji Restoration had improved the lives of many Japanese women and girls – perhaps most fundamentally by giving them equal access to education – women still mainly held a subordinate position in late Meiji Japan. The Public Order and Police Law of 1900 restricted women from engaging in politics, and a telling phrase of the time defined the narrow ideal roles for women at the time: '*ryosai kenbo*' ('good wife, wise mother').

For women in the workforce, conditions were often just as harsh as they were for men, but women only earned half a man's salary, and also had to do domestic work at home, such as cooking and caring for children. Occupations available for young women and girls included textile and factory work, domestic service, peddling, day labouring (casual work – where workers were employed on a day-to-day basis), and tea picking. At the poorest end of the social scale, coal-mining was one of the harshest and most demanding jobs available to women.

SOURCE 15 Japanese women protesting against low wages for female factory workers, 1920

Despite the restricted access to political organisations for women, Japan had an active women's movement from the 1920s. However, while the ban on women attending political meetings was lifted in 1922, women were still prohibited from joining a political party and were unable to vote until 1945.

Women's associations in this period included the literary Seitosha (Bluestocking Society), the Shin Fujin Kyokai (New Women's Society), which sought voting and political rights, and the socialist Sekirankai (Red Wave Society). Upper-class women joined the welfare-oriented Aikoku Fujinkai (Patriotic Women's Association).

4.2e Check your learning

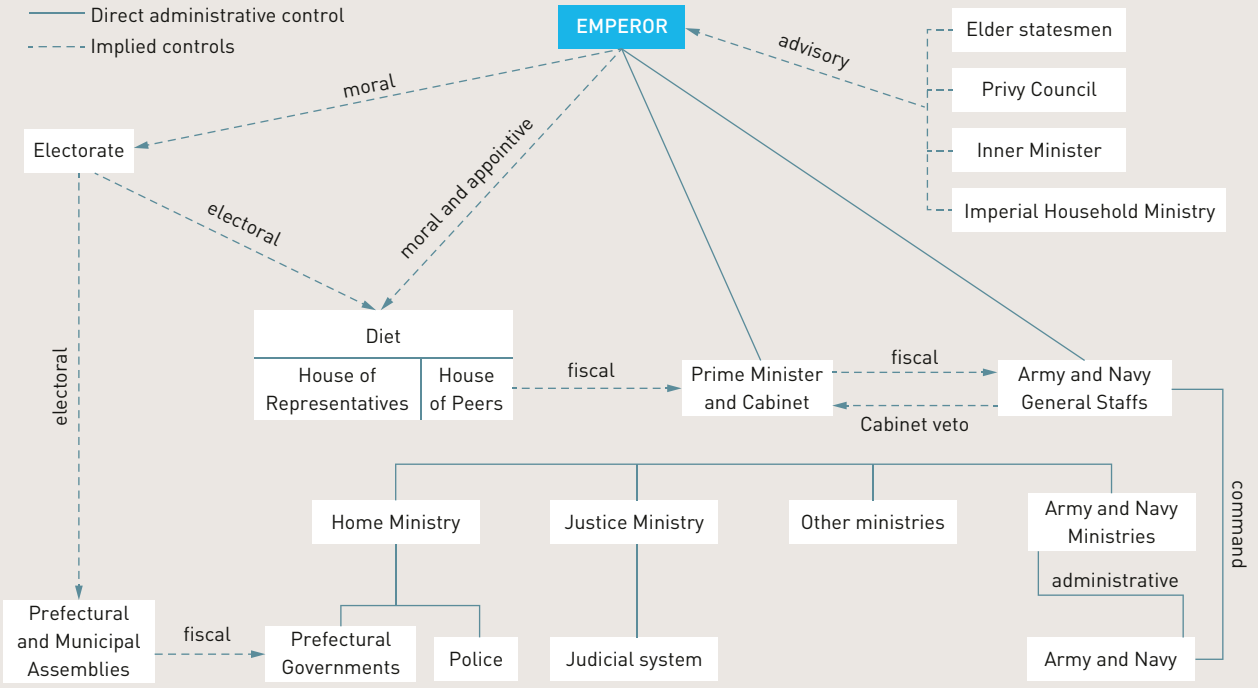
1. Describe the rice riots and assess the impact they had on workers and the government in 1918.
2. Analyse to what extent the rights of urban and rural workers were protected in 1920s Japan and identify the key factors affecting their situation at this time.
3. Identify how the treatment of immigrant workers reflected Japan's imperial mindset at this time.

4.2d Understanding and using the sources

Write a 250-word response analysing and identifying ways in which Japanese women were treated equally or unequally to men throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century. Use Sources 12–15 to support your arguments.

4.3 Challenges to traditional power and authority in the 1920s

While the 1920s saw the extension of male suffrage (the right to vote), a more conciliatory foreign policy, and more effective party-led governments, this was also a time of conservative challenges to parliamentary democracy. These challenges stemmed mainly from the ability of powerful non-parliamentary elite groups to influence or resist government decisions. Especially significant were the roles of the *zaibatsu*, the *genro* and the military.



SOURCE 16 The political system under the Meiji Constitution (effective from 1890)

Introduction of limited liberal democracy

While Japan officially had a system of constitutional government in the period 1890–1945, the parliaments at any given time were not usually in full control of the country. Power was instead shared among various elite groups, the *zaibatsu* and the Diet, with its elected lower house and appointed upper house.

While political parties were formed and government changed hands in the early twentieth century, it is telling that all of Japan's prime ministers up until 1918 came from a small group of power-broker clans, mainly the Satsuma and Choshu groups.

Tipton notes that during the era of 'Taisho Democracy' in the 1920s, the parties in parliament also dominated the cabinets, which made for a stronger democratic model. Tipton comments, however, that the period of party influence in the 1920s seems short-lived in view of the greater military influence apparent in the 1930s. Further, scholars have argued about the breadth and depth of democracy even during the so-called democratic era.

SOURCE 17 Takaaki Kato (1860–1926) was the President of the Kenseikai and Prime Minister of Japan from 1924 until his death. He was opposed to the influence of the *genro* and supported extending popular suffrage.

The Seiyukai (Friends of Constitutional Government) was the largest party in the Diet in 1918. A key Seiyukai leader was Takashi Hara (informally known as Kei Hara), who helped found the party in 1900. Hara has been described as a pragmatic politician who intimidated opponents, excelled in the 'politics of compromise', and used 'pork barrel' methods (offering jobs and political favours to supporters) to win over voters. Hara was not a supporter of democracy in a Western sense. His party did not seek ideological or policy goals, nor did it set out key areas for reform.

The main opponent of Seiyukai was the Doshikai (Constitutional Party), which became the Kenseikai party from 1916. The Kenseikai, led by Hara's opponent Takaaki Kato, was less conservative than Seiyukai and more interested in social reforms, including universal male suffrage.

Until the 1920s, voting rights in Japan were limited to better-off males such as landlords, wealthy farmers, owners of urban property, and urban and provincial businessmen. While some Western countries had already extended the vote to women, the political parties of Japan moved slowly in support of any form of universal suffrage, with the Kenseikai waiting until 1919 and the Seiyukai until 1924 to support the vote for all Japanese men aged 25. When the change took place in 1925, it quadrupled the size of the electorate to over 12 million men. Women, however, were excluded until electoral reforms in 1945.

Beyond the sphere of party politics, broader social movements of the time aimed to help disadvantaged groups, including women, peasants and industrial workers. In the case of marginalised groups experiencing discrimination, especially the *burakumin* (formerly 'outcastes') and Korean immigrants, these were more likely to be drawn to left-wing ideologies, including communism. The Japan Communist Party first formed in 1922 but was disbanded in 1932. That same year, another party came on the scene – the left-wing Shakai Taishuto (Social Mass Party).

4.3a Check your learning

1 Identify the two main political parties in Japan in the early 1900s and describe their differences and similarities.
2 How did the voting laws change in Japan in the 1920s and what effect did this have on Japanese democracy?

4.3a Understanding and using the sources

Historians have argued about the 'breadth and depth' of Japanese democracy in 1920s. Account for your own view in a written response, referring to Source 16 to support your claims.

Political influence of the *zaibatsu*

The *zaibatsu* were **monopolistic** business groups that gained huge economic power and political influence in Japan from the Meiji era, up until the end of the Second World War.

monopoly
the exclusive possession or control of the supply of, or trade in, a commodity or service

Japanese American economist Kozo Yamamura recognises the three main features of the *zaibatsu* as being their feudalistic relationships between superiors and subordinates within extended families, closely controlled links between the member firms, and the huge influence gained from supplying finance through their banks.

Mitsui was the largest *zaibatsu*, followed by Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. Other huge groups included Furukawa, Kawasaki and Nissan. The links between various parts of their business activities was a striking feature of the *zaibatsu*. The Mitsui clan, for example, was active across banking, trading, coal- and mineral-mining, shipping, chemicals, timber, textiles, sugar, machinery and metals. Mitsui and Mitsubishi were possibly the two largest private businesses in the world in the 1920s–30s.

The growth of the z*aibatsu* was prompted by government policy from the late 1800s. To address a shortage of investment capital, the Meiji Government gave financial support to businesses that were contributing to economic development, and in the 1880s it also sold state-owned industries to private buyers. As a result, a small number of businessmen gained control of key economic activities early on in the period of industrialisation. However, other businesses did continue to operate alongside the *zaibatsu* into the 1920s and beyond.

As the *zaibatsu* became wealthier and more powerful, they no longer needed government financing. But the government in the 1920s continued to provide subsidies and tax benefits for industries, including ship building, aviation, and the production of iron, steel and petrol. In this favourable environment, Mitsui's assets grew six-fold in the period from before the First World War until the late 1920s.

The *zaibatsu* also established links with the bureaucracy and began to influence the policies of political parties, sometimes providing personnel who joined parties as members, or by offering financial support to parties, especially for election campaigns. Such support often included corrupt practices, such as bribing voters.

During his time as prime minister, Hara was accused of running a government that was made up of a wealthy elite, including many cabinet members who were former businessmen with *zaibatsu* links. Hara responded to the criticism by taking firm measures against workers who had gone on strike as a way of protesting against the system. In 1919, Hara's home affairs minister, Takejiro Tokonami, even established a strike-breaking organisation called the Dai Nippon Kokusuikai (Japan National Essence Society).

Gold Standard
a monetary system where a country's currency or paper money has a value directly linked to that of gold

By the late 1920s, Mitsui was closely connected with the Seiyukai party, and Mitsubishi with the Kenseikai party. The close connections between the *zaibatsu* and party political interests can be seen in the policy of the Seiyukai Government to take Japan off the **Gold Standard**, which was very lucrative for parts of the Mitsui group.

militarist (n)
a person who believes in the key principles of militarism – a philosophy which holds that a state should maintain a strong military capability and use it aggressively to expand or promote national interests

Another connection between the government and the *zaibatsu* was the military: families such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi gained much of their wealth from heavy industry supporting a growing defence sector. Mitsubishi manufactured many naval vessels, as well as fighter aircraft from the late 1930s. Interestingly, however, historians Reischauer and Craig propose that the *zaibatsu* favoured conservative democratic government rather than militarism in the 1920s, and that **militarists** even in the 1930s often criticised the *zaibatsu*. It was only after 1937 that these companies became central to Japan's war economy.

Impact of the Seiyukai and other political parties on Japanese political systems and governments

As we have seen, Japan's early twentieth-century parliamentary politics were dominated by two main parties: the Seiyukai and the Doshikai (called the Kenseikai from 1916).

According to American historian Peter Duus, the Seiyukai Party adopted a large-scale bribing system to win voters – promising access to updated infrastructure (such as railroads, roads and telephone networks), as well as schools, to those who voted for them. In the 1915 elections, the Doshikai imitated these tactics by using police and officials to support their own candidates, and by promising local benefits in return for votes. It was a successful move that saw the party win a majority in the House of Representatives, which it would hold for two years. This was the only period of non-Seiyukai control of the House of Representatives in the period 1900–24.

SOURCE 18 Takeshi Hara (1856–1921), Seiyukai Party leader, and Japan's prime minister from 1918 until his assassination in 1921

When the Seiyukai regained its position as the dominant party in the elections of 1917, it was again by offering benefits in return for votes, which ensured popularity in rural areas. Following the rice riots of 1918, Hara became prime minister and was referred to as the first 'commoner' to hold this position. But despite this title, Hara in fact seemed to care little about the common people of Japan. Rather, he supressed the labour movement and those fighting for Korea's independence, and was also regularly accused of corruption. The Seiyukai Government's rejection of workers' and union rights, and the unsuccessful push for universal voting rights in 1920, caused widespread disillusionment about conventional politics. Instead, unions and some student and political groups turned to the left and held rallies in cities around Japan.

The dissatisfaction with the Seiyukai led to the Kenseikai winning the majority of seats in the 1924 election. The Kenseikai was more interested in moderate reforms, including universal male suffrage, and its leader Kato's support for parliamentary democracy was greater than Hara's. However, Tipton argues that the Kenseikai did not rely on popular mass support, and points to contemporary criticism of both main parties for being 'entrenched' with support from rural elites and business leaders.

During its 1924–26 period in power, Kato's Kenseikai Government introduced universal male suffrage in 1925, as well as legislation for national health insurance and for settling industrial disputes. The government also cut military funding from a massive 42 per cent of the budget in 1922 to 28 per cent in 1927. While some of these changes advanced democratic principles, Kato's government also passed the **authoritarian** Peace Preservation Law to crack down on socialism, and to protect the ideology of *kokutai* and private property rights.

authoritarian favouring strict obedience to authority; a term normally associated with dictatorships, where the authority of the government is not to be challenged

After Kato's death in office in 1926, Reijiro Wakatsuki took over as Kenseikai leader, but the party was forced to give up control of the government during the Showa Financial Crisis of 1927, which saw the collapse of many banks and companies. At this time the party was dissolved and merged with the Seiyuhonto Party (an offshoot of the Seiyukai Party) to form the Minseito Party. The Minseito Party, which took back power in 1929, was to become one of the major political parties in Japan in the decade leading up to the Second World War.

Challenges of the *genro*, bureaucracy and army to party politics

Each of the two major parties of this time attacked the other with claims of being too influenced by the *zaibatsu*: the Seiyukai Government of 1927–29 was labelled a 'Mitsui' cabinet and the Minseito Government of 1930 was called a 'Mitsubishi' cabinet. Significantly, this contributed to a weakening of popular support for the parliamentary system.

Senior officials in the bureaucracy comprised another influential and important elite group. These officials were well educated and enjoyed high social status; and while they were expected to play a neutral role in carrying out government decisions, many held conservative views and some became increasingly politicised. After retirement, very senior bureaucrats could also take on influential roles in forming government policies.

It is worth noting how the Meiji Constitution was designed in a way that essentially worked against the establishment of a genuine democracy in Japan. According to the constitution, most of the power was still held by the emperor, who would take advice from the Diet (which comprised two houses of parliament). But as Source 16 shows, the realm of the military was one where the emperor had complete control as the supreme military leader. This system enabled the increasing military influence on Japanese politics from the 1930s.

4.3b Check your learning

1 Using information from this book as well as your own research, copy and complete the table below, listing the political parties in power and their support base and policies for the period 1915–37.

YEAR	PARTY IN POWER	SUPPORT BASE	EXAMPLE OF POLICIES

2 Make a comparative assessment of the roles of the *genro*, the bureaucracy and the army in challenging parliamentary democracy in the period 1915–37.

4.4 Rise of militarism in the 1930s

American historian Herbert P. Bix defines militarism as a 'technique of class rule associated with military budgets, the arms race, the development of weapons technology and everything which contributes to the spiritual support for waging war'. These factors would all dominate Japanese domestic and foreign policy through the 1930s.

British historian Janet E. Hunter argues that the *gunbatsu* ('military clique') started emerging as an increasingly powerful elite group in Japan from the mid-1920s. By the 1930s Japan's military again had the upper hand in directing foreign policy, and was increasingly free from control by governments in Tokyo. A clear understanding of the rise and the appeal of militarism in Japan was the powerful influence of the samurai tradition and its links to the idea of being Japanese.

The 1930s also saw the growing importance of extreme right-wing nationalist groups that were loyal to the emperor and the ideology of *kokutai*. These groups supported Japan's expansion as the **pan-Asian** leader, and rejected international cooperation. In the period 1932–36, ultra-nationalists – including military officers – assassinated several senior political figures, among them Seiyukai Prime Minister Tsuyoshi Inukai in 1932. In regard to external influences behind the rise of militarism, Reischauer and Craig identify three important factors: the **Great Depression** from 1929; the northward advance of the Kuomintang (Chinese nationalist) forces, along with stronger Chinese nationalism, potentially threatening Japan's hold over Manchuria; and the rise of Nazis and fascists in Europe.

pan-Asianism
an ideology promoting the unity of Asian people in resistance to Western imperialism and colonialism

Great Depression
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s

Increasing aggression in Manchuria

An example of the autonomy of the Imperial Japanese Army can be seen in the planning and execution of the so-called 'Manchurian Incident' of September 1931.

From the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), extreme Japanese nationalists saw Manchuria – located in North-East China, on the border of Russia – as being crucially important for Japan's security. Many Japanese Army officers, including those in the Kwantung Army on the southern Liaotung Peninsula, were concerned that Chinese nationalists might take action to bring Manchuria back within the framework of Chinese control. In response to this perceived threat, senior officers of the Japanese Army drafted a plan that would prompt Japan to invade Manchuria. Colonel Seishiro Itagaki and Lieutenant Colonel Kanji Ishiwara of the Kwantung Army decided to sabotage the South Manchurian Railway at Liutiao Lake, and blame it on Chinese troops, led by warlord Zhang Xueliang.

Explosives were detonated on the evening of 18 September 1931. To further boost support for retaliation for this 'attack', Japanese newspapers referred to the site as the 'Liutiao Bridge', implying that the damage was much greater than it was. It only took until the next morning for the Japanese to open fire on a Chinese **garrison** located nearby. The Chinese troops stood little chance against the Japanese and the fighting was over that evening. In less than 24 hours, the Japanese had occupied the city of Mukden at the cost of 500 Chinese lives, and two Japanese casualties.

garrison
a group of troops stationed in a fortress or town to defend it

SOURCE 19 Japanese experts inspect the 'railway sabotage' on the South Manchurian Railway.

According to historian Richard Storry, the Japanese cabinet in Tokyo could only react after action had already been taken by the army in Manchuria. On 21 September 1931, Prime Minister Wakatsuki's cabinet decided that the Manchurian situation should be called an 'incident', and not the outbreak of war. Despite this clear message from the government, the military commander in Korea decided to send his troops across the Korean border into Manchuria in anticipation of a military escalation. When Wakatsuki and his foreign minister Kijuro Shidehara sought to restrict the army's actions, the army claimed that such military operational decisions lay outside the government's control.

In response to an appeal from the Chinese Government, the Council of the League of Nations called for Japan to withdraw its troops, and held that Japan was in breach of international agreements. This, however, only prompted more support from Japanese nationals for further military intervention. Following his failure to control the army, Wakatsuki resigned as prime minister in December 1931.

His successor, Tsuyoshi Inukai, continued the seemingly fruitless attempt to rein in the army. He sought to have the army return to the area of the South Manchurian Railway, but it responded by pushing further north instead, taking the cities of Jinzhou and Harbin. In January 1932, after Chinese and Japanese forces clashed in Shanghai, Japanese aircraft bombing there caused international outrage. China's troops were forced from Shanghai and an armistice was agreed in May 1932. On the back of broader nationalistic support for the Imperial Japanese Army, Japan transformed Manchuria into Manchukuo and made it a Japanese **puppet state**.

puppet state an officially independent state that is in fact controlled by an outside power

Inukai's opposition to the military cost him his life. He was assassinated in May 1932 by ultra-nationalist army and navy officers. His death effectively marked the end of civilian political control in Japan until the end of the Second World War.

As a sign of increasing military influence, Japan's next two cabinets were led by Admiral Makoto Saito (1932–34) and Admiral Keisuke Okada (1934–36).

SOURCE 20 Members of the Imperial Japanese Army wave their 'Rising Sun' flag as they march into Manchuria, 1931.

Growing Chinese nationalism and growing Japanese militarism were both again on display in July 1937, at what has become known as the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident'. Here, the Chinese National Revolutionary Army confronted the Imperial Japanese Army at Marco Polo Bridge outside Beijing in an attempt to stop the Japanese gaining control of railways in the region. Despite a ceasefire and the Japanese Government's wish to come to settlement, China moved in more troops. Japan responded by also mobilising more troops, and a serious escalation of the conflict grew into the Second Sino-Japanese War, which was to continue until 1945. Notably, by this stage, military leaders and nationalistic bureaucrats in Tokyo were pursuing a more aggressive policy than the army commanders based in Manchuria. The dominant view in Japan was that its actions in China were justified as reasonable measures to protect Japan's empire.

4.4a Check your learning

1. In your own words, explain the term *militarism*.
2. Explain who the *gunbatsu* were and assess the role they played in Japan from 1920.
3. Identify and analyse the cause and effect of the 'Manchurian Incident'.
4. Explain how Japan justified its actions during and after the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident', and analyse how this event reflects the growing impact of extreme right-wing nationalism in Japan.

4.4a Understanding and using the sources

Research the evolution of the Japanese army's flag, the 'Rising Sun', pictured in Source 20. What is the value of this source to a historian studying the role of the Imperial Japanese Army in 1931?

The political divisions within the army

In addition to the clashes between the military and the civil government, there were also disagreements within the army. The main rivals operating within the War Ministry and the army were the ultra-nationalist Kodoha (Imperial Way Faction), led by General Sadao Araki and General Jinzaburo Mazaki, and the Toseiha (Control Faction), whose leadership included Tetsuzan Nagata and Hideki Tojo (who later became prime minister).

Those in the Kodoha had a consciously 'Asian' outlook and advocated for violently overthrowing the existing political system, with the exception that the emperor would keep his central role. Further, the Kodoha believed in the supreme **Yamato spirit** of the Japanese soldiers, were anti-communist, and wanted to make preparations for a likely war with the Soviet Union.

Yamato spirit referring to the Japanese 'heart and mind'; reflecting cultural values and characteristics of Japanese people

By contrast, the Toseiha did not support politically motivated acts of violence and believed more in the effectiveness of modern military hardware than in soldiers' spiritual qualities. They also advocated national mobilisation of effort, including control of investment and of labour, under a centralised army control, and wanted to expand Japan's role both in China and to its south.

In 1935, rivalry between the two factions escalated over the dismissal of a senior supporter of the Kodoha and, in retaliation, one of the Kodoha used a sword to kill a senior Toseiha leader, Tetsuzan Nagata. Kodoha officers, with support from some generals, then decided to move against senior political figures, conservative businessmen and some politicians. Nevertheless, there was broad agreement between both factions about the aim to create a more powerful and more 'pure' Japan.

Political and economic impact of the Great Depression

Even before the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, Japan experienced a preview with the Showa Financial Crisis of 1927. As news spread that some banks had been poorly managed, many people panicked and withdrew their money, leading many companies and banks to go bankrupt. However, the worst of this financial crisis was over within a couple of months.

While the Great Depression that hit Europe and the United States in 1929 had a limited impact on Japan overall, Japan's export market suffered as international demand for silk and other goods was drastically reduced. In 1931, Japan's exports fell to half their 1929 value.

Government actions improved the economic situation from late 1931, after the Seiyukai Party's Tsuyoshi Inukai became prime minister. The government's decision to remove Japan from the gold standard led to higher exports, higher domestic consumption, and (until 1934) higher real wages, combined with a fall in unemployment.

One of the most crucial impacts of the Great Depression era on Japan was, however, the way it changed the Japanese people's view of the world and their place in it. Economic hardships in Europe and the United States resulted in scepticism about the international economy, and led to criticisms of the Japanese Government from those who believed that the political parties mainly served the interests of the *zaibatsu* and the bureaucracy.

It was against this backdrop of political unrest and dissatisfaction that the Imperial Japanese Army staged the Manchurian Incident, started ignoring orders from Tokyo, and began Japan's shift from the relative **liberalism** of the 1920s to the military leadership of the 1930s. Some Japanese people, both inside and outside the armed services, now regarded overseas military expansion as a way of creating a self-contained empire where workers and farmers would be better off.

liberal/liberalism beliefs respecting individual liberties and moderation

Development and impact of modernisation and urbanisation and rising social tensions

Christopher Goto-Jones, an expert on modern Japan, points out that Japan is often seen as the first non-Western nation to become 'modern'. But he takes exception to the idea that this modernisation was simply the result of US Commodore Matthew C. Perry's arrival in 1853, after two centuries of Japanese isolation.

First, Goto-Jones argues, we need to examine what we mean by the term 'modern'. He suggests that we often use the term essentially to refer to a period in time that is closer to the present; but sometimes we think of 'modernity' less as a period in time and more in terms of 'related principles'. For example, if we look at technology, was the Middle East 'modern' before Europe? Or, was literature more 'modern' in China in 1820 than in the United States? Goto-Jones suggests that this process of establishing what is modern becomes rather judgmental.

SOURCE 21

> … if we accept that the modern is effectively a stage of development, how can we avoid (and should we avoid) judging the development of nations against these standards? In other words, does the idea of the modern smuggle in a linear conception of historical progress that culminates in contemporary Euro-American ideals?
>
> Christopher Goto-Jones, *Modern Japan: A Very Short Introduction*, 2009, p. 7.

SOURCE 22 A Japanese woman wearing a traditional kimono, with a boy in a Western-style sailor suit, 1927

If we are to accept the definition that 'modern' refers to a change that we in the West perceive as progressive, Japan had been showing signs of becoming a 'modern nation' prior to Perry's arrival. Further, Japan's rapid modernisation from the late nineteenth century was not simply a reaction to Western ideas and influences, but resulted from pressure within Japanese society.

One important catalyst for social change during the first half of the twentieth century was population growth and the move to a more urban lifestyle. In 1895, 12 per cent of Japan's population of 42 million lived in cities and larger towns, but within about 40 years, almost half of Japan's total population of 69 million were urban dwellers.

While cities often offered a higher standard of living, the rapid growth of the industrial workforce saw many workers being forced to live in slum conditions. However, the formation of unions saw workers' real wages more than double between 1914 and 1929.

The Taisho era (1912–26) also saw the development of a new middle class, especially in growing towns and cities, where 'white-collar' (non-manual) workers – both male and female – became more common. Japanese people who adopted Western values, hairstyles clothes were called *moga* and *mobo* (modern girls and boys). Western sport and music, such as baseball and jazz, also became more popular. However, some conservatives were shocked by the signs of what they perceived to be *ero*, *guro* and *nansensu* ('the erotic', 'the grotesque' and 'the nonsensical'). Indeed, while there were far-reaching social and cultural changes associated with modernisation, older Japanese values and practices remained resilient. Scholar and art critic Kakuzo Okakura wrote in 1921: 'One who looks beneath the surface of things can see, in spite of her modern garb [clothing], that the heart of Old Japan is still beating strongly.'

Despite making life easier for many, Japan's industrial and economic development was not welcomed by all, especially when the success of this development was dependent on

international markets and a global economy. As we have seen, the high price of rice – Japan's most widely consumed food – sparked widespread riots and protests in 1918. At the same time there were protests about unemployment and housing issues.

Continued high levels of rural tenancy (peasants renting their land from landlords) led to tenant unions springing up in an attempt to protect their members' interests. The 1920s also saw an increasing degree of public protests and activism by *burakumin*, feminists, students, socialists and **anarchists**. But as a sign of the stern measures imposed on anyone appearing to challenge the ideology of *kokutai*, thousands of people accused of being communists were arrested in more than 100 raids on 15 March 1928.

anarchist
a person who advocates a lack of central authority and control

4.4b Check your learning

1 Identify three impacts that the Great Depression had on Japan for each of the following three areas: social, economic and political.
2 Explain how modernisation and urbanisation contributed to rising social tensions in Japan.

4.4b Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse Source 21 and identify what, in your view, is the key point that the source is seeking to make. Identify how the views presented in this source relate to the concept of 'Eurocentrism'.
2 Examine Source 22 and assess how useful and reliable it would be to anyone trying to understand Japanese society in the 1920s. In your answer, consider that this photograph was deliberately selected for this chapter, and take into account the motive behind that choice.
3 Identify the steps that you, as a history student, could take to verify if the image in Source 22 was a true, general reflection of Japanese society at this time; in other words, was it typical? What would you need to do next to find an answer?

Hostility towards the *zaibatsu* and the collapse of party politics

The 1920s witnessed growing militarist hostility towards the *zaibatsu*. While their organisations were hierarchical and undemocratic, an atmosphere of increasing militarism was not favourable for them. First, this was due to their support of democracy and their links with the Seiyukai and Kenseikai political parties. Second, the Kwantung Army officers based in Manchuria viewed them as pro-Western, city-based and 'liberal', as well as corrupt. As a result, the *zaibatsu* were excluded from economic activities in Manchuria following the Manchurian Incident of 1931; but this soon changed as militarists realised that they needed *zaibatsu* involvement to reap benefits from Manchuria and to foster military-oriented industrial growth.

Another important sign of the opposition to the *zaibatsu* can be seen in the violence against business figures around this time. Members of the Ketsumeidan ('Blood Brotherhood' or 'League of Blood') society murdered former Finance Minister Junnokuke Inoue in February 1932, and the following month they killed Baron Takuma Dan, head of the Mitsui group. These assassinations were motivated largely by resentment against economic hardship, especially in rural areas.

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

Nationalist groups' dislike of the economic effects of **capitalism** and its increasingly strong links with, and influence from, the West was also directed towards Japan's democratic system. This criticism was especially widespread during the years of the Great Depression. The political parties also received much of the blame from the Japanese people at this time, largely because of their perceived links with the *zaibatsu*.

Following the assassination of Prime Minister Inukai, party-led government had been weakened to the point where a moderate prime minister, Admiral Makoto Saito, established a cabinet of 'national unity' in 1934. This comprised former bureaucrats and politicians from both main parties. Saito was succeeded as prime minister in 1934 by another moderate, Admiral Keisuke Okada. Nevertheless, there was still criticism of military actions from the political parties within the Diet.

'February 26 Incident'

One of the biggest disruptions to parliamentary democracy during the 1930s came from military leaders who were unhappy about what they felt was a political and military failure to uphold the nation. They wanted the war minister to take control and restore primacy to the emperor through a 'Showa Restoration' (mirroring the previous restoration of Emperor Meiji in 1868).

coup d'état
takeover of an existing government by a small group, using violence or military force

The so-called 'February 26 Incident' in 1936 saw members of the Imperial Japanese Army's First Division carry out a **coup d'état** by occupying government buildings in Tokyo and assassinating a number of politicians, including former prime minister Makoto Saito and the finance minister of the day, Korekiyo Takahashi. In the aftermath of the coup, the senior military leadership of Japan failed to agree on a response to the coup makers. Emperor Hirohito, however, rejected any compromise with the killers of his own advisers. After military control under martial law was declared, the rebels were defeated and 19 of them were convicted and executed.

In the aftermath of this attempted coup, Kodoha officers were expelled from the military and Toseiha officers began to strengthen centralised discipline in the army and navy. Even though the coup was put down, it caused leading politicians to be increasingly wary of putting the military offside.

Differing domestic responses to militarism

Scholars, including the Japanese historian Ryusaku Tsunoda, show that Japanese liberalism peaked in the 1920s. Its main principles were that Japan should cease aggression in China and not exceed its existing rights in Manchuria, and that Japan should pursue disarmament and international cooperation. Thus 'liberalism' was directly opposed to 'militarism'.

Japan's 1920s liberalism gained support from six mainly urban groups: progressive politicians, businessmen from the established *zaibatsu*, journalists, academics and diplomats. While organised labour and trade unions endorsed key liberal goals, such as adult male voting rights, they were more interested in left-wing politics than in confronting militarism. Indeed, some of the ultra-nationalists' social programs were more appealing to workers than the policies of liberalism.

An important advocate for liberalism in international affairs, though not necessarily in the domestic political arena, was Baron Kijuro Shidehara. In his role as foreign minister

from 1924, Shidehara consistently promoted a policy of conciliation towards China, but nationalists rejected this as showing weakness.

The *zaibatsu* mainly favoured international economic cooperation rather than aggressive militarism. For example, the Mitsubishi Trust Company's president Sobun Yamamuro argued in 1929 for friendly international relations as the means for Japan to both expand its foreign markets and to be able to increase the import of necessary raw materials from overseas. Significantly, Yamamuro argued against aggressively seizing overseas territories as dependencies, and against a Japanese version of the US **Monroe Doctrine**, under which Japan would not tolerate outside interference in its own sphere of influence.

Monroe Doctrine
a US policy of opposing European colonialism in North or South America, beginning in 1823

SOURCE 23

> The Japanese often give the name, kurai tanima – 'dark valley' – to the period between 1931 and 1941, the decade immediately preceding the outbreak of the Pacific War. For during those years the still delicate plant of liberalism and personal freedom that had sprouted during the twenties was effectively killed … liberal-minded men in politics, the [armed] services, education, literature, and art found themselves, after 1931, treading a path increasingly beset with dangers from the twin forces of reaction and revolution … This violence had two aspects – unchecked aggression abroad and murderous conspiracy at home.
>
> Richard Storry, *A History of Modern Japan*, revised ed., 1972, p. 182

While ultra-nationalist and militarist ideas were sometimes advocated by political parties, extreme nationalist groups usually preferred non-parliamentary methods such as terrorism and propaganda to pursue their goals. They also tended to show special respect for the armed forces. Indeed, young military officers themselves also increasingly showed extreme militarist, nationalist and anti-democratic views in the 1930s. Someone significantly influencing these views was the extremist Ikki Kita.

SOURCE 24 In spite of 1930s militarism, election campaigns still took place, as illustrated by the preparation of these political posters in 1936.

4.4c Check your learning

1 Evaluate the key reasons for, and consequences of, growing militarist hostility to the *zaibatsu* in the 1920s and 30s.
2 Identify the aims and consequences of the attempted military coup on 26 February 1936.

4.4c Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse the extract from Richard Storry's text in Source 23. Identify the key points that Storry is making about Japan in the decades leading up to the Second World War.
2 Examine Sources 9, 10, 21 and 23. What is the nationality and the context of the authors of each of these accounts? Is there a pattern? In what way might this pattern influence conclusions about key features of Japan's history in the 1920s and 1930s?

SOURCE 25 Because of his association with the failed 'February 26 Incident', Kita was arrested and executed in 1937.

IKKI KITA (1884–1937)

Ikki Kita was a radical theorist, writer and political philosopher who has been called the founder of Japanese fascism. He began as a socialist who called for a complete restructuring of Japan's political system, but his later views blended pro-imperialism with anti-capitalism and cannot simply be labelled as left-wing or right-wing. He called his mix of Western revolutionary ideas and Eastern philosophy 'Japanism'.

Born in 1884, Kita took an early interest in socialism, and by the age of 17 he had begun criticising the Meiji era idea of *kokutai*. After moving to Tokyo in 1904, he mixed with socialists but soon reacted against what he saw as their opportunism. American historian Brett L. Walker argues that Kita's socialism was always closer to Nazism than to **Marxism**. As an advocate of a 'revolutionary Asia', Kita supported China's nationalist revolution of 1911, but was disappointed at its failure to establish democracy. After returning from China in 1919, he became involved with ultra-nationalism.

Kita called for radical changes to enable Japan to lead a 'new Asia'. He advocated ridding the imperial household of influence from bureaucrats, powerful *zaibatsu* businessmen and corrupt political parties. He also wanted the nationalisation of important industries, an eight-hour day for workers, and land reforms.

Marxism the economic and political theories of Karl Marx (1818–83) and his collaborator Friedrich Engels (1820–95)

In 1919, Kita drafted his *Nihon kaizo hoan taiko* ('Plan for the reorganisation of Japan'), which was secretly printed but later banned. This advocated a 'Showa Restoration', with the emperor suspending the Meiji Constitution through a military coup d'état. Once Japan was rid of overseas influences, it would create a 'great revolutionary empire' and liberate Japan from Western imperialism. Walker points out that Kita's ultra-nationalist, anti-democratic and anti-party views grew more influential in 1930s Japan.

Kita became involved with the Kodoha, which was involved in the 'February 26 Incident' of 1936. Because of his association with the failed coup, he was arrested and executed along with other rebels in 1937.

SOURCE 26

> Truly, our seven hundred million brothers in China and India have no path to independence other than that offered by our [Japan's] guidance and protection. And for our Japan, whose population has doubled within the past fifty years, great areas adequate to support a population of at least two hundred and forty or fifty millions will be absolutely necessary a hundred years from now … How can those who are anxious about these inevitable developments, or who grieve over the desperate conditions of neighbouring countries, find their solace [comfort] in the effeminate pacifism of doctrinaire socialism?
>
> Ikki Kita, *An Outline Plan for the Reorganization of Japan*, 1919, quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 269

4.4 PROFILE TASK

'The description of Ikki Kita as the "father of Japanese fascism" is an example of a "Eurocentric" approach where Western scholars use Western thinking and Western concepts to explain Japanese attitudes.' Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Argue for your view in a 300-word response.

Role of Emperor Hirohito

SOURCE 27 Emperor Hirohito during his coronation ceremony in 1928, dressed in the robes of a Shinto priest

As British historian W.G. Beasley points out, the role of Emperor Hirohito (1926–89) in Japan's modern history has proved to be controversial, especially the extent to which he could be held responsible for the growing imperialism and militarism that led to the Pacific War of 1941–45. A critical perspective finds that Hirohito was implicated in decisions taken and atrocities committed by others acting out of loyalty to him. However, an opposing, more sympathetic view is that Hirohito was unable to intervene due to his role as a constitutional monarch.

The governance structure created under the Meiji Constitution gave the emperor full decision-making power, but he was also bound to take advice from the prime minister, the cabinet, court officials and senior statesmen. He was, however, supreme commander of the armed services, whose leaders had direct access to him without the need for cabinet involvement. In his political biography *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan* (2005), historian Stephen S. Large points to a 'profound contradiction' in the constitution between the idea of 'absolute monarchy' (giving the emperor complete decision-making power) and 'limited monarchy' (with ministers needing to counter-sign laws).

The role of the emperor in Japan was also debated in the early twentieth century. In 1912, Japanese law scholar Tatsukichi Minobe published the 'Emperor-Organ' theory. Here, he suggested that the emperor, as the 'head' of the state body, did not have powers outside the state, but was an 'organ' in the state body. Both the bureaucracy and the emperor household generally accepted Minobe's theory throughout the liberal 1920s. However, in the context of 1930s ultra-nationalism, Minobe was criticised and forced from public life and his university job. He was also attacked and wounded by an extremist in 1936. Significantly, Hirohito did not consider Minobe 'disloyal' and commented that a scholar of his quality should not be ignored.

SOURCE 28

> To say that the sovereign is an organ of the nation merely expresses the idea that the sovereign governs not for his own private ends but for the ends of the whole nation. Article IV of the [Meiji] Constitution clearly states that the emperor is the 'head of state.' This means that if the nation is likened to the human body, the emperor occupies the position of its head …
>
> … To come now to the idea that the nation is the passive object of the ruler's governing, this makes the nation something inanimate [lifeless] and devoid of energies and therefore is contrary to a completely sound national spirit.
>
> Tatsukichi Minobe, 1934, quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 242

It is useful to review the September 1931 Manchurian Incident through the lens of Hirohito's response. American Japanese scholar Mikiso Hane argues that the emperor clearly wanted the conflict to be resolved as quickly and as agreeably as possible, and that he supported the government in trying to enforce its decision to prevent an escalation of the incident. An official later remembered that the emperor said that he believed in 'international justice', that he was trying to maintain 'world peace' and that the army's 'reckless' military actions overseas, which disregarded his commands, caused him 'no end of anguish'.

On 22 September 1931, Hirohito instructed that the army chief of staff should not expand the Manchuria Incident. However, on the same day, Prime Minister Wakatsuki told the emperor that the cabinet's only option was to approve the troop transfer to Manchuria, as this was already under way. According to Stephen S. Large, due to Wakatsuki's views and his own 'meticulous respect for the authority of the prime minister's office', the emperor 'reluctantly' approved the reinforcements but wanted 'utmost restraint in Manchuria'. The following was Hirohito's instruction for the next prime minister, Tsuyoshi Inukai (following Wakatsuki's resignation in December 1931): 'The indiscipline and violence of the military and their meddling in domestic and foreign affairs is something which, for the welfare of the nation, must be viewed with apprehension.'

In this view, Hirohito was acting as a constitutional monarch who was opposed to military escalation in Manchuria, but could only support the government in its attempts to resist the direct action of the army.

American historian Herbert P. Bix, however, interprets Hirohito's response differently. According to Bix, Hirohito did not oppose the army when it briefly ignored his authority and expanded 'his empire', provided that its actions were successful.

SOURCE 29

To the Emperor, the Manchurian incident signified a deep-seated crisis of political authority. General Honjo, who had not been involved in the plot to precipitate the war in Manchuria, but who had led Japanese forces once it had begun, rather ironically wrote later that throughout the Manchurian incident, the Emperor had consistently wanted to ensure 'that the lines of authority for governance, supreme command, foreign affairs, and so on were clearly distinguished and that the agencies involved did not transgress the proper bounds of their areas of responsibility:

[From General Honjo's diary]: 'In the Emperor's view, that was how the state should function, given his concept of constitutional government in which different agencies operated in an orderly, interdependent manner and always responsibly under the rule of law. The incident made a mockery of this perception and of his personal efforts to oppose Japanese aggression in Manchuria. The military simply ignored him.'

Stephen S. Large, *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan: A Political Biography*, 1992, pp. 48–9

SOURCE 30

Hirohito's military attaché was about to enter the emperor's chambers one day during this period [the 1931 Manchurian Incident], when he heard a sad soliloquy [speech to oneself] from beyond the door: 'Again, again … They're at it again. Once again, the army has gone and done something stupid, and this is the result! Wouldn't it be simpler just to give Manchuria back to Chang Hsueh-liang [the ruler of North-East China]?' The aide was left with a vivid image of his troubled sovereign, alone in his room, pacing back and forth, muttering to himself.

Toshiaki Kawahara, *Hirohito and His Times: A Japanese Perspective*, 1990, pp. 56–7

SOURCE 31

Having now understood the need to reinforce the vastly outnumbered Kwantung Army's forward units, Hirohito accepted the situation as a fait accompli [done deed]. He was not seriously opposed to seeing his army expand his empire. If that involved a brief usurpation [overthrowing] of his authority, so be it – so long as the operation was successful.

> By October 1, 1931, two weeks into the [Manchuria] incident, most Japanese had begun to rally behind the army. Hirohito knew that the incident had been staged. He knew who had planned it, who had ordered it, and who had carried it out. He was totally aware that several senior officers had violated the army's own penal law of 1908 by ordering troops into areas that lay outside their command jurisdiction. Nevertheless, as Chief Aide-de Camp Nara's diary makes quite clear, Hirohito intended to order only the lightest of punishments for the army chief of staff and the Kwantung Army commander.
>
> Herbert P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 2000, pp. 239–40

Another key phase of the Sino-Japanese conflict began with the 'Marco Polo Bridge Incident' near Beijing on 7 July 1937 and ended with the Rape of Nanjing in 1937–38, which saw around 300 000 people killed. How much did Hirohito know and what were his actions at this time? Stephen S. Large presents evidence that the emperor did not favour this war but was unable to stop it, and that he was distressed and wanted peace and better relations between the cabinet and the military. With Prime Minister Fumimaro Kanoe seemingly unable to control the army, Hirohito suggested convening an imperial conference for a peaceful end to the fighting. However, senior adviser Kinmochi Saionji recommended against it because the emperor's 'authority' would be damaged if the army ignored his desire for peace.

Large argues that the emperor was just as powerless as top army officers to control military actions. Bix, on the other hand, argues that since Hirohito no doubt knew about what was happening in Nanjing, he bore a moral and constitutional duty, even privately, to express concern about the army's indiscipline. Further, Bix argues that the emperor actually supported 'a decisive battle' in Nanjing because such a blow to Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Chinese nationalist forces, would end the conflict. Bix makes the important point that even if the emperor had been 'privately dismayed' about Nanjing, he failed to publicly mention this and did nothing to change Japan's treatment of its war prisoners. Finally, Bix argues that Hirohito acted in ways that 'indirectly' condoned the 'criminality of his troops'.

SOURCE 32 An American cartoon showing Emperor Hirohito following Japan's invasion of Manchuria in July 1935

4.4d Check your learning

1. Describe the 'Emperor-Organ' theory and explain why it was controversial to some at the time it was published.
2. Assess how the events of the early 1930s reflected Emperor Hirohito's status as the true leader of Japan.

4.4d Understanding and using the sources

Analyse the contested interpretations of Emperor Hirohito's role in Japan's war of aggression presented in Sources 29–31, and produce a 200-word response where you acknowledge each view and argue for the one you support, using evidence from the chapter.

4.5 Japanese foreign policy

internationalism the political state of being international and open to external influence

Much of Japan's foreign policy from the late Meiji to the Showa eras was influenced by national and imperial ambition. Using both trade and military strength, Japan sought to cement its position as the dominant force in Asia. While there were periods of greater **internationalism**, especially in the 1920s, Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 signalled that it would pursue its national interests without being constrained by international criticism. While there were domestic opponents to militarism and ultra-nationalism, these right-wing ideologies were often influential in the overall direction of Japanese foreign policy in the early twentieth century.

Aims and strategy of Japanese foreign policy to 1937

Britain and Japan entered into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, seeking to counter the perceived threat from Russia. Following the outbreak of the First World War, Japan took possession of German acquisitions in China's Shandong Province. However, in the face of US and British opposition, Japan had to drop the part of its Twenty-One Demands that would have increased its influence over China's internal affairs.

One effect of the Russian Revolution of November 1917 was disruption in Siberia, and the government of Masatake Terauchi considered whether to launch a military intervention there to protect its interests in Manchuria and Korea. The emperor supported Japan joining in a limited shared military action in Siberia. However, the Imperial Japanese Army did not limit its troops but increased them, and remained in the area until 1920.

After the First World War, the Paris Peace Conference confirmed Japan's control over Germany's interests in the Shandong Province and the Pacific. However, even though Japan was on the winning side of the war, the Japanese were angered by the results of the conference. Japan had wanted to include a racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations, but this was rejected by Australia's Prime Minister, William Morris (Billy) Hughes, who saw it as a threat to the 'White Australia' Policy.

The foreign policy of the Hara Government (1918–21) emphasised economic priorities through greater cooperation with Western powers and less emphasis on territorial and military issues. However, Hara paid a high price for this conciliatory approach to foreign policy when a fanatical ultra-nationalist stabbed him to death in Tokyo in November 1921.

A key outcome from the Washington Conference of 1921–22 was fixing the relative size of the powers' naval assets, under which Britain and the United States would each maintain an advantage over Japan. Despite some criticism from the military, Japan agreed to withdraw from Siberia and Shandong, and also agreed to give up most of the interests it had gained in China. When the outcomes of the Washington Conference were reviewed at the London Naval Conference of 1930, Japan's position did not significantly improve. This was followed by yet another political assassination, this time of Prime Minister Osachi Hamaguchi in 1931.

Baron Kijuro Shidehara played such a major role as foreign minister in Japan's peace-oriented official foreign policy of the 1920s that it is often called 'Shidehara diplomacy'. His

diplomatic career included being ambassador to the United States in 1919, and leading Japan's delegation at the Washington Conference. Key features of his terms as foreign minister (1924–27 and 1929–31) were policies less hostile towards China, and more in favour of economic cooperation and expansion than further military conquest in mainland Asia. But Shidehara's approach was brought to an end by Japan's return to military methods as the main method of achieving its foreign goals.

Japan's final party-based government until after the Second World War was led by Tsuyoshi Inukai of the Seiyukai Party in 1931–32. Inukai disagreed with military interference in government decision making and, according to his son, he was preparing for the emperor to order a stop to the army's activities in Manchuria. However, nationalist extremists from within and outside the army learnt of this and, in May 1932, a group of young naval and army personnel shot and killed Inukai at his home.

SOURCE 33 Members of the Imperial Japanese Army at Mukden, Manchuria, after the Manchurian Incident, 1931

From this time onwards, Japan pursued an aggressive approach to the Asian mainland. After Japan created Manchukuo as a puppet state in 1932, its troops soon moved into the region of Inner Mongolia. When the League of Nations accepted a 1932 report criticising Japan's aggression in Manchukuo, Japan showed its disdain for international pressure by withdrawing from the League in 1933.

In this context of international isolation, Japan was concerned about a non-aggression treaty between China and the communist Soviet Union in August 1936. In November, Japan responded by signing the Anti-**Comintern** Pact with Nazi Germany, and this was expanded to include Fascist Italy in November 1937. Significantly, it was Japan's army representatives, and not civilian diplomats, who negotiated the pact with Germany. While these alliances were directed against the Communist International at large, they were especially targeted at the Soviet Union.

Comintern
the Third Communist International; an international communist organisation founded in 1919 to advocate world communism, with members representing international communist parties

However, according to Reischauer and Craig, Japan's rejection of disarmament and its growing friendship towards Germany and Italy in the mid-1930s was a 'diplomatic blunder' because it worsened Japan's relationship with the United States. Nevertheless, what Japan gained was greater security in the north-west if it decided to take military action southwards into China.

SOURCE 34

> From the end of 1933, foreign policy was directed at securing Japan's dominant position in east Asia, unaided and unchecked by formal agreements with interested Western Powers. Japan's political and economic control of Manchuria became a key factor in a foreign policy which took more notice of strategic considerations as advanced by experts in the war ministry, than of advice offered by diplomats. This position not only disrupted relations with the West, but was highly disturbing to the Nationalist regime in China, despite Japan's projection of herself as a pan-Asian leader.
>
> R.H.P. Mason and J.G. Caiger, *A History of Japan*, revised ed., 1997, pp. 337–8

SOURCE 35

> Japan saw its position in China as based on national destiny, economic need, and history. Most Japanese felt their actions since 1931 were necessary to protect legitimate imperial interests. They judged events in terms of a status quo [existing situation] that was being disturbed by Chinese nationalism. China, on the other hand, saw its entire modern history as one of continuous aggression by foreign powers. Japan's encroachments were the most recent and outrageous. Rising Chinese nationalism could tolerate these no longer.
>
> Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation*, revised ed., 1989, p. 256

4.5a Check your learning

1. Identify five aims and five strategies of Japan's foreign policy, 1904–37.
2. Create a timeline of Japan for 1904–37, where above the line signifies diplomacy and openness to the international community, and below the line means isolationism. Mark out points on either side of the line to illustrate where Japan's foreign policy was sitting at any given time, and connect the dots with a line.

4.5a Understanding and using the sources

Summarise the key ideas set out in Sources 34 and 35, and then compare and contrast the views expressed by the sources.

Impact of ideology on Japanese foreign policy to 1937

Ideology can be described as a system of ideas and ideals, especially one that forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy. This section examines the key ideas informing Japan's foreign policy from the 1910s to the 30s, and asks whether different ideologies were espoused by different social groups.

Contemporary Japanese historian and author Eri Hotta argues that Japan's 'Fifteen Year War' (for empire building – from its seizure of Manchuria in 1931 until its surrender in the Second World War following the dropping of atomic bombs in 1945) was informed by a 'transnational ideology of Pan-Asianism' that had developed since the late nineteenth century. Importantly, Hotta sees this ideology as enabling the mobilisation of the Japanese people to pursue Japan's goals.

SOURCE 36

> … Japan's intellectuals and political elites, as well as many of their Asian colleagues, had come to embrace the idea of Asian linkages for quite some time before 1931. Within this broad framework, many Japanese Pan-Asianists, aware of their country's unique position as almost the only Asian country that had escaped colonization, came to believe that Japan had a special mission to save weak Asia from Western domination.
>
> Eri Hotta, *Pan-Asianism and Japan's War 1931–1945*, 2007, p. 3

Another powerful ideology was linked to the respect for the emperor as someone who traditionally held both religious and worldly powers. Article III of the 1889 Meiji

Constitution stated that the emperor was 'sacred and inviolable'; thus the emperor's role was central to the idea of *kokutai*.

In 1937, the Ministry of Education published a document called *Kokutai no hongi* ('Fundamentals of our national polity'), which was intended as an instructional tool for adults and children to achieve ideological conformity. Herbert P. Bix also suggests that 'emperor ideology' not only justified the ideologies of militarism and war, but also underpinned Japanese fascism by the early 1940s.

SOURCE 37 The slogan on this poster showing Manchuria reads: 'Five races under one union.' The colours on the flags relate to different ethnic groups: yellow – Manchurian; red – Japanese; blue – Han; white – Mongolian; and black – Korean.

SOURCE 38

> Our country is established with the emperor, who is a descendant of Amaterasu Omikami [the sun goddess of the Shinto religion], as her center, and our ancestors as well as we ourselves constantly have beheld in the emperor the fountainhead [source] of her life and activities …
>
> Loyalty means to reverence the emperor as [our] pivot and to follow him implicitly. By implicit obedience is meant casting ourselves aside and serving the emperor intently …
>
> … harmony is clearly seen also in our nation's martial [warrior] spirit. Our nation is one that holds bushido [the Way of the Warrior] in high regard, and there are shrines deifying [making gods of] warlike spirits … But this martial spirit is not [a thing that exists] for the sake of itself but for the sake of peace, and is what may be called a sacred martial spirit. Our martial spirit does not have for its object the killing of men, but the giving of life to men.
>
> Japanese Ministry of Education, *Kokutai no hongi* ('Fundamentals of our national polity'), 1937, quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, Vol. II, 1958, pp. 280, 283

4.5b Check your learning

Describe what is meant by 'emperor ideology' and assess the importance that this had for Japanese foreign policy between 1904 and 1937.

4.5b Understanding and using the sources

1. In Source 36, Eri Hotta refers to Japan's war as starting in 1931, while most Western scholars would use a different, later date. Conduct your own research into Hotta and see if you can identify any other differences between her perspective and the views offered by the Western historians in earlier sources in this chapter.
2. Source 37 was designed for propaganda purposes and suggests racial unity in a pan-Asian future. How is that idea communicated by the cartoon? Does this message reflect Japan's idea of race and the status of the Japanese people in Asia? Use examples from this chapter as evidence in your response.
3. Summarise the key points made by Sources 36 and 38.

CONCLUSION

The history of early twentieth-century Japan involves several key themes. While Japan initiated major political reforms from the Meiji era, important traditional values endured even as its society and economy modernised.

The development of representative democracy was often constrained by the influence of powerful groups outside parliament: the *genro*, the *zaibatsu* and the military all exercised significant power. It is also important to recognise the controversial role of Japan's emperors. While they were constitutional and semi-divine monarchs who avoided directing national affairs, they presided over a nation that periodically used military rather than peaceful means to achieve its goals.

Japan's impressive social, technological and economic achievements in this period should be weighed against occasional ultra-nationalist violence, political repression and military brutality.

SOURCE 39 Emperor Hirohito on his favourite white horse 'Snow Drift', directing annual military exercises in Japan, November 1933

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

5

Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–41

This 1926 poster calls on women to join the workforce with the slogan: 'Emancipated women – build up socialism!'

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1 What was Lenin's role in shaping Bolshevik ideology and practice?

2 What were the competing visions for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union?

3 How did the Bolsheviks win and consolidate power?

4 How did Stalin rise to power and what was the nature and impact of his rule?

5 What were the key political, economic, social and cultural changes taking place in the period 1917–41?

6 What were the key goals and outcomes of Soviet foreign policy?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Extensive primary sources on this topic include writings by key participants such as Lenin, Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin; many of these sources are strongly worded and need careful and comparative analysis. A wealth of scholarly material is also available; these sources may also reflect the ideological leanings of their authors, from sympathetic to critical interpretations of 1917 and beyond. In addition, important visual sources include contemporary photographs, posters and art.

Historical interpretation

The Russian Revolutions of 1917 finally ended three centuries of autocratic rule by the Romanov dynasty, culminating in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. To compare the revolutions of March and November 1917, we must analyse what happened, who was involved, and what the consequences were. Other aspects in this period include the role of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the effects of the Civil War of 1918–20, and the nature of Stalin's repressive and brutal dictatorship.

Historical investigation and research

The aim is to stimulate further research into key personalities, ideas and changes in this important phase of Soviet history. An important challenge is to examine the causes of such developments, while remembering that people make history, and that the rise of Stalinism was not inevitable.

Explanation and communication

You will need to demonstrate your understanding of this period by clearly explaining what happened and why. There will be many opportunities to focus on issues that you find intriguing, inspiring or confronting. Developing empathetic and intellectual engagement will help you to communicate effectively.

LEARNING GOALS

> Understand Lenin's role in Bolshevik ideology and practice.

> Compare the competing visions for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union.

> Assess Bolshevik methods to achieve power.

> Assess Stalin's path to power and the impact of his regime.

> Evaluate significant political, economic, social and cultural changes.

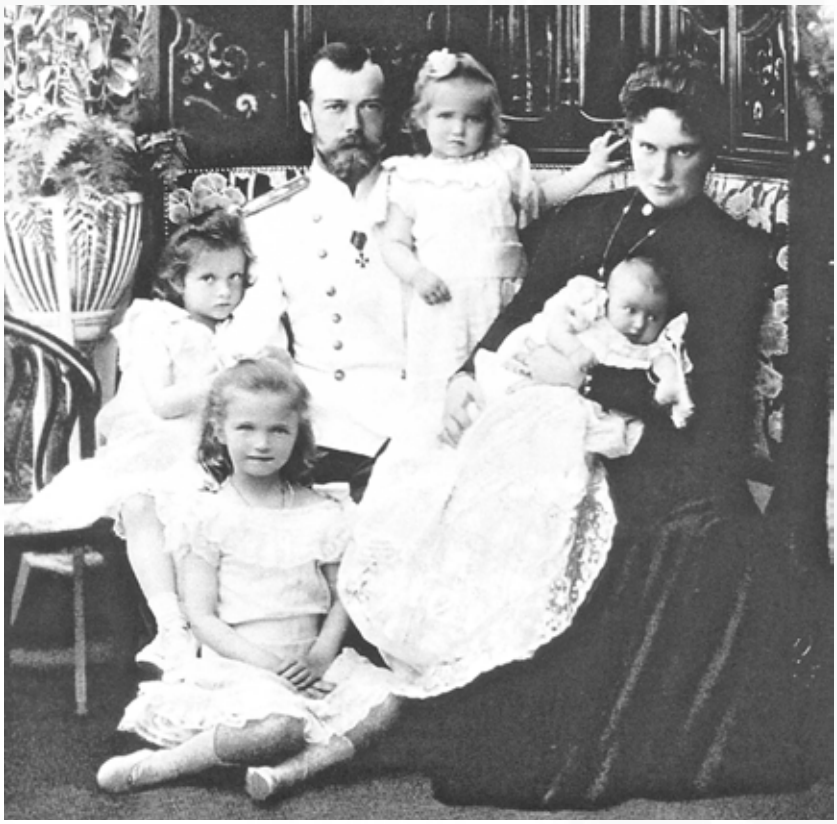
> Assess the course and consequences of Soviet foreign policy.

Key features

Bolshevik ideology in theory and practice

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Russian Marxists were preoccupied with considering whether the autocratic, semi-feudal and capitalist Russian Empire was ripe for a successful proletarian (working-class) revolution. The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was formed in 1898, but split in 1903 into Lenin's Bolshevik (majority) group and Julius Martov's Menshevik (minority) group. While the Mensheviks held that Russia would take time to undergo further political change after a bourgeois (middle-class) revolution, Lenin argued that a small group of disciplined revolutionaries could use existing conditions to move quickly to a proletarian revolution, involving workers and peasants.

These different analyses shaped Bolshevik and Menshevik attitudes to the revolution of March 1917 and the Provisional Government that followed. Lenin's vision was that a small, secret group of dedicated revolutionaries would lead and inspire workers and peasants to adopt revolutionary socialism. What would follow would be a society where the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' would place workers in control. Eventually, Lenin's heavy-handed methods paved the way for Stalin's more repressive regime.



SOURCE 1 Tsar Nicholas II, shown with his family, headed an autocratic, semi-feudal and developing capitalist Russian Empire.

Competing visions for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union

Before the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the creation of the Provisional Government in 1917, socialists set up the Petrograd Soviet (council) of workers' and soldiers' representatives. Other soviets also formed in the regions, carrying out central government policies at the local level. While initially the Bolsheviks did not see their party as having a direct role in government, from the end of the Civil War period (1918–22) the party was largely running the state with its own bureaucracy. Historian E.H. Carr shows that in framing a constitution for the new Soviet republic in 1918, there were differences between the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries, who wanted less concentrated state power, and the Bolsheviks, who wanted more centralised state power. Lenin believed that

the dictatorship of the proletariat (with workers in charge) would only last while a middle class also existed, but that it would disappear once communism was achieved. However, far from 'withering away' under Joseph Stalin, the institutions of state power became even stronger.

Bolshevik consolidation of power

Historian Sheila Fitzpatrick suggests that rather than ending in November 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution had only really begun. This highlights that the Bolsheviks had to defend the revolution against their opponents through the Civil War. The Communist Party (formerly the Bolsheviks) emerged from the Civil War in a strong position: its members served in the Soviet of People's Commissars and filled lesser government roles. While Lenin was the key figure in the party's Central Committee and its inner Politburo of senior leaders, Leon Trotsky's command of the Red Army during the Civil War enhanced his position. Lenin's physical decline from 1922 until his death in 1924 highlighted the rivalry between his possible successors, and Stalin increasingly consolidated his power at the expense of Trotsky.

Political and economic transformation

The economic system of War Communism (1918–21) set out to take control of the private sector, nationalise the economy, take surplus food from the peasant sector for the state, and replace money with tokens. But the economy was in decline, with gross industrial output in 1921 falling to one-third of its 1913 level, and with agricultural output falling in this period to two-thirds of its previous level. This had a devastating impact on the people of the new Soviet state, with millions of dead from the terrible famine of 1921. The New Economic Policy (NEP, 1921–28) ended the rigours of War Communism. Money was restored and peasants could again work on privately held land and pay tax. By 1926, overall industrial output again exceeded the 1913 level, and harvested grain had almost returned to the 1913 figure. Under Stalin, the Soviet Union changed further through collectivised agriculture and steady industrialisation.

Social and cultural transformation

From 1917, the Bolsheviks introduced a range of progressive gender policies. A small number of women took on national leadership roles, including Aleksandra Kollontai, a revolutionary and Bolshevik, who became Commissar of Social Welfare. Along with Inessa Armand and Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), Kollontai helped found the Communist Party's Women's Section (Zhenotdel) in 1919, with branches spreading throughout the Soviet Union before it was closed in 1930. There was strong official support for women's employment. Abortion became freely available in hospitals in 1920 and the Family Code of 1918 made divorce easier and dealt with property rights in marriage. However, abortion was banned and divorce again became more difficult in the 1930s. From 1928, Stalin imposed repressive control over literature, music, history and the social sciences.

Nature and impact of Stalinism

By 1929, Stalin had entrenched his powerful position as a dictator who would not tolerate any dissent within the Communist Party. Any opponents were held to be traitors. As part of a 'cult of personality', Stalin decided on Soviet policy and ideology. His goal was to create 'socialism in one country' within the Soviet Union, despite being surrounded by anti-communist forces. A result of the push for industrialisation was the collectivisation of agriculture and the persecution of wealthier peasants, known as 'kulaks'. In 1933–35, the Communist Party was purged of anyone critical of Stalin's approach, and from 1936 the 'Great Purge' launched the ruthless harassment of what the regime called 'enemies of the people', including followers of Trotsky, kulaks, and even 'Old Bolsheviks' (that is, those who had been members of the Bolshevik Party since before the revolution of 1917). Aided by the work of the secret police, investigations and trials often resulted in executions and deportations to labour camps.

Aims and effectiveness of Soviet foreign policy

Lenin and the Bolsheviks gained popular support with the slogan 'Peace, land and bread'. With the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (effective from March 1918), the Bolsheviks made peace with Germany under harsh terms, but these soon lapsed under the wider peace terms of the Treaty of Versailles. From the 1920s, the Soviet regime established commercial and diplomatic relations with Britain and other states, and the Third Communist International (the Comintern), founded in 1919, also fostered dealings with foreign communists. The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations in 1934.

5.1 Introduction

communism/ communist
a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology for the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

socialism
belief in a society where wealth is shared through public ownership instead of private ownership of property

The Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917 brought to power the first government in the world dedicated to **communism**: radical **socialism** under which state ownership would replace private property and a classless society was expected to emerge. Initially, there were high hopes that the revolution would spread worldwide, sweeping away national boundaries and uniting workers of all nations; but by 1920 these hopes had faded. The harsh economic policy War Communism and a brutal civil war between communist and anti-communist forces were followed by the more market-oriented New Economic Policy (NEP) from 1921. A power struggle after Lenin's death in 1924 resulted in Stalin's rise to power. With enormous loss of life, the Soviet Union was transformed by state-directed planning, industrialisation and collective farming. By 1941, when the Soviet Union entered the Second World War, the country was ruled by Stalin as a dictatorship. By then, ordinary people were vulnerable and opponents of the regime were hunted down by secret police. This was not the vision of Lenin and other early revolutionaries, but it was the reality of Stalin's Soviet Union. In 1945, the Soviet Union emerged victorious but heavily scarred from the war against Nazi Germany.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events in Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–41

1917

March: Tsar Nicholas II is forced to step down. The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is formed, as is the first Provisional Government.
April: Lenin holds a speech announcing the 'April Theses', in which he calls for the soviets to take power.
July: Alexander Kerensky becomes Prime Minister.
August: The second Provisional Government is formed.
October: The coalition Provisional Government is formed.
November: Bolsheviks and left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries overthrow the Provisional Government.

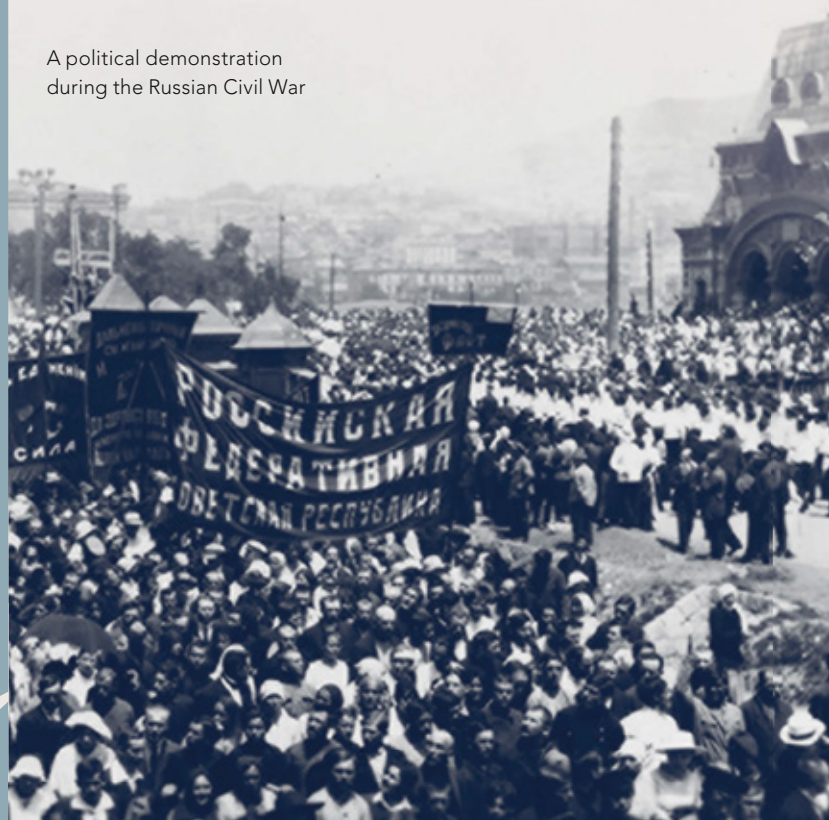
1918

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk formally ends Russia's involvement in the First World War, but with great losses of Russian territory. General Lavr Kornilov organises an anti-Bolshevik volunteer army known as the 'Whites'. Civil war breaks out between the Bolshevik 'Reds' and the anti-Bolshevik 'Whites'. Tsar Nicholas II and his family are executed.

1920

The Civil War officially ends with the communist Red Army's victory, but there are further peasant uprisings in some non-Russian regions until the mid-1920s.

A political demonstration during the Russian Civil War



Rebel forces take command of a battleship at Kronstadt naval base

1921

Sailors from the Kronstadt naval base rebel against the government's New Economic Policy (NEP). The end of War Communism results in a growth of private enterprises.

1922

Joseph Stalin is appointed to the newly created position of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) is created from four socialist republics that replaced the Russian Empire after the November Revolution (more soviet republics were added in later years).

1924

Lenin dies. This leads to Stalin taking hold of the power of the party at the expense of Leon Trotsky.

1928

The first Five-Year Plan further develops Soviet industry and agriculture. Trotsky is exiled to Alma-Ata in Soviet Central Asia (Kazakhstan).

1929

Stalin announces the principle of liquidating (eliminating) kulaks (wealthier peasants).

1931–33

Government policies and actions result in some seven million deaths from famine and disease.

1934

Concerned by the rise of Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union enters the League of Nations. Sergey Kirov, the leader of the Leningrad Communist Party and Stalin's rival, is assassinated.

A 1937 painting by Nikolai Rutkovsky shows Stalin by the coffin of Sergey Kirov.

1936–38

Three major 'show trials' are held, where Stalin's opponents are publicly tried and shot.

1939

The German–Soviet Non-aggression Pact is formed. Hitler invades Poland without reaction from the Soviet Union, and Poland is divided between Germany and the Soviet Union.

1941

Stalin becomes government head, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Germany launches Operation Barbarossa and invades the Soviet Union.

Note: The new state changed from the old (Julian) calendar to the modern (Gregorian) calendar in February 1918. Old dates were 13 days behind dates in the new calendar. This text gives dates according to the modern calendar: events of March and November 1917 were previously called the February and October Revolutions.

5.2 Survey: Bolshevik consolidation of power

provisional
temporary, subject to change

soviet
a district-level political organisation or council, especially of workers', soldiers' and/or peasants' representatives

Marxist
the economic and political theories of Karl Marx (1818–83) and his collaborator Friedrich Engels (1820–95)

capitalist/capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

Industrial Revolution
the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

During the time of the autocratic regime of the tsars (the rulers of Russia until 1917), various revolutionary parties sought to overthrow the system at one time or another. In 1903 one of these parties, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (formed in 1898), split into the Menshevik (minority) and Bolshevik (majority) factions. The Mensheviks sought the eventual introduction of socialism, but thought that the overthrow of the autocracy would be followed by a long period of cooperation between the bourgeoisie (middle class) and the proletariat (working class). They also believed that the party should have broad membership, including all who supported their platform. In contrast, the Bolshevik leader, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, known as Lenin, held that the period of bourgeois domination would be brief and followed by a second stage of the revolution, when the proletariat, led by the party, would take over. Lenin argued that this would best be achieved by a party of tightly disciplined and professional revolutionaries. Lenin also acknowledged the rural nature of much of Russian society and said that the proletariat needed to enlist poorer peasants' support to complete the revolution.

This background highlights the different responses of Mensheviks and Bolsheviks to the Revolution of March 1917: while the Mensheviks largely tolerated the **Provisional** Government within a necessary 'bourgeois' phase, Lenin refused to cooperate with it and saw the **soviets** as a rival source of power. Historian Isaac Deutscher argues that the Mensheviks were sticking slavishly to **Marxist** 'orthodoxy' in 1917, thinking that it was not yet time for the workers' revolution. By contrast, the Bolsheviks were more flexible in their interpretation of Marxism and, as historian Sheila Fitzpatrick observes, they believed that the conditions in 1917 were ripe for a proletarian revolution.

SOURCE 3 A statue of Lenin stands over a town in Russia.

Overview of Bolshevik ideology

According to the classic theory of communism outlined by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the 1840s, all previous history involved class struggle. According to Marx and Engels, the contradictions within feudalism gave rise to a bourgeois revolution that established **capitalism** as the main mode of production. The contradictions within capitalism would, however, ultimately enable communists, as the leaders of the proletariat, to bring about a proletarian revolution. The exploitation of workers under capitalism became more marked under the **Industrial Revolution**.

Bolshevik political ideas in the early twentieth century were almost identical to those communicated by Lenin in his theoretical and polemical (strongly argued) way. Lenin often expressed ideas to support a particular course of

SOURCE 4 Russian Marxist Revolutionary Parties in 1917

	RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY: BOLSHEVIKS	RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY: MENSHEVIKS	SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
Key leader	Lenin	Julius Martov	Alexander Kerensky
Revolutionary ideas and program	Sees the Bolshevik Party leading an alliance of workers and poorer peasants in revolution Wants to overthrow the Provisional Government which represents a 'bourgeois' phase Key slogans: 'All power to the soviets!' and 'Peace, bread and land' Supports withdrawal from the First World War	Suggests that capitalism is too underdeveloped in Russia to hold a successful socialist revolution Wants to serve as opposition party within a democratic republic Mainly supports continued involvement in the First World War	Nationalisation of land: 'land belongs to the people' Right wing: wants participation in Provisional Government and supports continued involvement in the First World War Left wing: supports the Bolsheviks and direct action
Main support base	Urban workers Soldiers Radical socialists	Urban workers Moderate socialists	Peasants Right wing: moderate socialists Left wing: radical socialists

action, and historian and philosopher Leszek Kolakowski points out that, for Lenin, political theory simply served the overriding goal of the revolution, and all issues, ideas and values were to be judged in terms of the class struggle between workers and the middle class.

Lenin's 'April Theses' of 1917 provided some slogans that illustrated key elements of the Bolsheviks' revolutionary program: 'All power to the soviets!' highlighted that soviets led by revolutionaries would help pass power to the workers; and 'Peace, bread and land' called for withdrawal from the war and the taking of landlords' land for the peasants.

SOURCE 5

> The active and widespread participation of the masses will … benefit by the fact that a 'dozen' experienced revolutionaries, no less professionally trained than the police, will centralise all the secret side of the work – prepare leaflets, work out approximate plans and appoint bodies of leaders for each urban district, for each factory district and to each educational institution, etc. ... [I]n order to 'serve' the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to **Social Democratic** activities, and … such people must train themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries.
>
> Lenin, *What Is To Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*, 1902

social democracy political belief in moving peacefully and democratically towards a fair and cooperative society

5.2a Check your learning

1 Account for the similarities and differences between the goals and methods of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.
2 Explain why Lenin opposed 'spontaneous' political actions by workers.

5.2a Understanding and using the sources

1 According to Source 5, what kind of revolutionary party does Lenin want? Outline how it would be organised and how it would relate to the working class.
2 Evaluate how useful Source 5 is for understanding Lenin's role as a revolutionary.

The 'October coup'/Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and early Soviet government

The Revolution of March 1917 (sometimes called the 'February Revolution' according to the old Julian calendar) led to the abdication of Tsar Nicolas II and the formation of a Provisional Government that – first under the leadership of Georgy Lvov, and then from July 1917 under that of Alexander Kerensky – tried to bring moderate reform to Russia, while keeping Russia in the First World War.

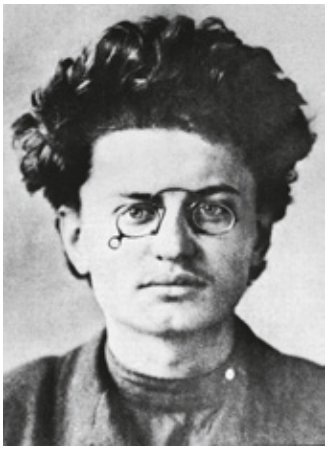
Lenin, who had been in exile in Switzerland, returned to Petrograd in April 1917 and urged his supporters to follow the successful 'first stage' of the revolution in March with a 'second' stage, where the revolution was to be waged on behalf of workers and poor peasants. Lenin urged his supporters not to cooperate with the Provisional Government and advocated for an exit from the First World War. These stances – especially the opposition to the war – led to the Bolsheviks gaining support, as they were the only party to consistently oppose the war and argue for the immediate seizure of land for the peasants. Soon Bolshevik delegates at the battle front were telling soldiers that they should return to their villages to avoid missing out on the land redistribution. Army desertions increased in response to the Bolshevik slogan of 'Peace, bread and land'.

Bolshevik Party numbers increased rapidly during 1917. While it only had some 24 000 members early in the year, these had increased to 350 000 by the year's end. Nevertheless, Bolshevik leaders wanted to avoid a premature uprising. When the Provisional Government took steps against the Bolsheviks in July 1917, including raids on Bolshevik organisations, Lenin went into hiding in Finland; from there, he unsuccessfully urged an insurrection against the Provisional Government.

Following the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917, for soviet representatives from across the country, a second congress was planned for Petrograd in November. It was decided to move against the government then, when the Bolsheviks would claim power on behalf of the soviets as the representatives of the people.

The Bolsheviks' position also rose due to their position as the only major party that supported the popular soviets, which at the time served as a form of alternative government to the more middle-class Provisional Government. The slogan 'All power to the soviets' helped

SOURCE 6
Lenin speaking to a crowd in Petrograd, 1917



SOURCE 7 Leon Trotsky (1879–1940)

Lenin achieve his goals. In his 'April Theses', Lenin spelled out his vision of a future republic that was controlled not by a parliament but by the soviets. The Petrograd Soviet proved to be more effective than the Provisional Government, but held back from declaring itself as the real government.

In September 1917, Leon Trotsky was elected chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. Trotsky had previously been pro-Menshevik, but as recently as August 1917 had joined the Bolsheviks and became a member of their **Central Committee**. The same month, General Lavr Kornilov, the army commander-in-chief, ordered troops to march on Petrograd in September in order to carry out a **coup d'état**, which was intended to restore order and to protect the new republic, as well as to break up the soviets and arrest key Bolsheviks. But in the face of actions by Petrograd workers and leftist groups (including building defences, destroying railway lines and encouraging more popular support), Kornilov's troops lost their resolve and the move for a coup ended peacefully. Alexander Kerensky – the Socialist Revolutionary Party leader and leader of the Provisional Government – had Kornilov arrested and continued to side with the soviets. While the Bolsheviks had not specifically organised resistance to Kornilov's movement, they and the left-wing groups generally benefited from these events; in particular, such events led to working-class people being more disillusioned towards the bourgeoisie, and enabled the Bolsheviks to show how the 'revolution' was endangered.

Successive Provisional Governments were unable to resolve broader issues, such as peasants seizing land, regional movements declaring independence from Russia, and the rejection of the war by many in the army. Moreover, other urban and army soviets were formed, which were more connected with the people than the central government.

In October 1917, Lenin returned to Petrograd in disguise, and the Petrograd Soviet created a Military Revolutionary Committee to pre-empt any further Kornilov-style coup attempts. As most members of the Military Revolutionary Committee were Bolsheviks, Lenin identified this body as the means for revolt. Kerensky's decision to close the Bolsheviks' printing press provided the immediate impetus. By 7 November, the **Red Guards**, under Trotsky's leadership, had taken control of the main telephone exchange, the main post office, railway stations, bridges and roads. As the Bolsheviks fired blank shots on the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government was holding an emergency sitting, the protection of the government lay in the hands of some cadets, loyal **Cossack** troops, and members of the Women's Battalion of Death, an all-female combat unit. After some scuffles and shooting, ministers (excluding Kerensky) were taken as prisoners to the Peter-Paul Fortress.

Central Committee of the Communist Party the high-level governing body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from which the inner Politburo drew its members

coup d'état takeover of an existing government by a small group, using violence or military force

Red Guards (Russia) groups of armed factory workers

Cossacks an Eastern Slavic-speaking ethnic Russian group with a strong military tradition, often skilled with horses

SOURCE 8 The Women's Battalion of Death, formed in 1917, fought at the front in the First World War and later guarded the Provisional Government against the Bolsheviks.

At the same time the Winter Palace was taken, the Congress of Soviets was holding a meeting. Trotsky describes how the debate was conducted with the sound of cannon shots in the background. Bolsheviks, supported by left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries, were in the majority and had had a large increase in numbers since the first such congress in June. A member of the Right Mensheviks spoke against the Bolsheviks' 'military conspiracy' and called for negotiation with the Provisional Government. There were cries of opposition and some of the right-wingers left the meeting. Trotsky described those opposing the Bolsheviks as being at that time consigned to the 'rubbish-can of history'. With the Winter Palace taken and most of the government ministers arrested, Trotsky declared: 'There is no other power now in Russia but the power of the Soviets.'

Whether the Bolshevik uprising of November 1917 was simply a military coup d'état is more than a question of terminology. While the Military Revolutionary Committee played a key role in what was a relatively bloodless takeover, it is also necessary to acknowledge the wider support for this by soviets, workers and soldiers.

The Bolsheviks' most urgent task was to establish themselves as the legitimate government of Russia while holding together a country that seemed to be breaking apart. Non-Russian and borderland regions, such as the Ukraine and the Caucasus, had become virtually independent, and provincial areas, freed from any effective central government for the previous eight months, were reluctant to accept the reimposition of direction from the capital.

Although Lenin would not work with the Mensheviks, as they were regarded as having been tainted by their cooperation with the Provisional Government, an agreement with the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries would enable the government to claim it represented the peasants. In late 1917, the left-wing Socialist Revolutionaries joined *Sovnarkom* (the Council of People's **Commissars**) and took the portfolios of agriculture and justice.

commissar
head of a government department in the Soviet Union, equivalent to a government minister

SOURCE 9

> [The aim of socialist reforms] is to create a communistic society and not merely to expropriate [take] factories, shops, land, and other means of production or to introduce strict accounting and control over production and distribution. We must go beyond that and realize the principle: from each one according to his ability and to each one according to his needs.
>
> The Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Right and the Mensheviks were on one side of the barricades with all the counter-revolutionary swine; the Bolsheviks were on the other side with the workers and the soldiers. Blood has created a gulf between us. This is not and never will be forgotten.
>
> Lenin, *Collected Works*, 1918, Vol. XXVII, pp. 140–1

In the community, support for the Bolsheviks was mixed. In their first week of power there were arrests and newspaper closures as the Bolsheviks attempted to stifle criticism and opposition. In response, staff in banks, shops, schools and government buildings went on strike. The state bank refused government demands for access to funds. The railway union, bitterly hostile to the Bolshevik takeover and the prospect of one-party rule, refused orders to drive troop trains. The Bolshevik tactic was to identify any resistance as the work of class enemies. Trotsky labelled all such resisters 'petty bourgeois scum' and urged the party to maintain its nerve. By Christmas 1917, some government departments were still refusing to work with their new masters.

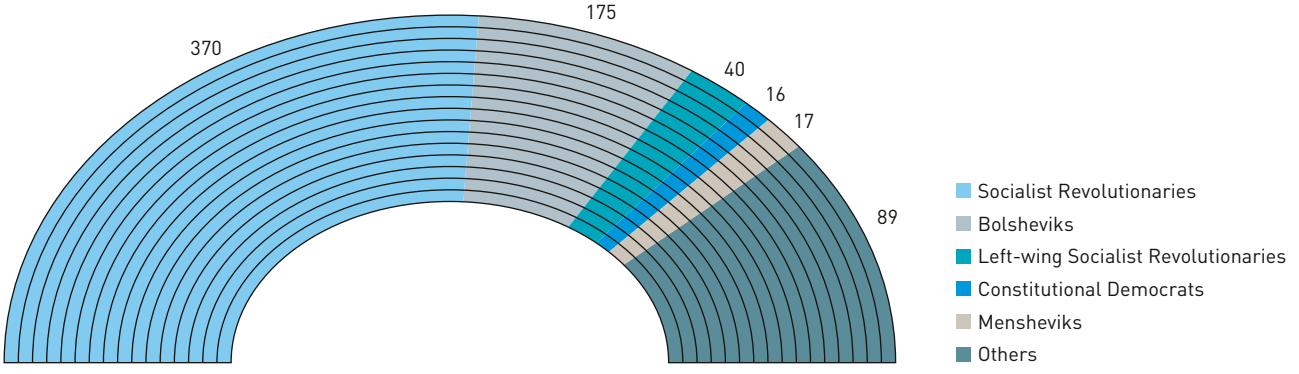
constitution
a set of rules/ principles by which a state is governed

Many awaited the opening of a new Constituent Assembly, a democratically elected body that would draw up a new **constitution**. The Provisional Government had already scheduled the elections before it was overthrown, and the Bolsheviks allowed them to proceed, as they were confident of victory. In December 1917 all men and women over 20 years of age were entitled to

take part in Russia's first-ever democratic election. The turn-out was high, but the results did not favour the Bolsheviks. Instead it was the Socialist Revolutionaries, thanks to their peasant support, who were the most successful party, with 40 per cent of the vote. The Bolsheviks gained 25 per cent, with more support in urban areas.

When the trend of the results became clear, the Bolsheviks postponed the opening of the assembly, claiming electoral abuses. A protest movement led by the Socialist Revolutionaries and other socialists quickly arose, and a demonstration was planned to coincide with the delayed opening of the assembly on 18 January 1918. Squads of armed Bolsheviks arrested leading Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), and the Cadet Party itself was banned. Sailors from the Baltic fleet at Kronstadt were brought in to intimidate the delegates to the assembly. When the assembly finally met, the attempts by the Bolsheviks to control its proceedings were resisted. In the early hours of 19 January, the assembly adjourned, but when the delegates returned later that day, the Kronstadt sailors blocked the entrances. The first freely elected Russian parliament had lasted a little over 12 hours.

SOURCE 10 Russia's first-ever democratic election, December 1917



SOURCE 11 The results of the Constituent Assembly elections in 1917

SOURCE 12 Some early declarations of the Bolsheviks

8 November 1917	Land belonging to the church, the Tsar and the nobles to be handed over to the peasants Russia asks for peace in the war with Germany
12 November 1917	Working days to be limited to eight hours in a 48-hour working week
14 November 1917	Workers to be insured against illness and accidents
1 December 1917	All non-Bolshevik newspapers to be banned
11 December 1917	Opposition Cadet Party to be banned and its leaders arrested
20 December 1917	Cheka (secret police) to be established
27 December 1917	Factories to be put under control of workers' committees Banks to be put under Bolshevik Government control
31 December 1917	Marriages could take place without a priest and divorce to be made easier

In March 1918, the Bolsheviks changed their name to the Russian Communist Party. It was around this time that Lenin's speeches began to emphasise party organisation and discipline over popular self-government. Soviets and trade unions were reconstructed to follow the party line and to act less independently. In July 1918, the Congress of Soviets adopted the Constitution or 'Fundamental Law' of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (the forerunner of the Soviet Union). Key provisions included nationalising land, natural resources and banks; organising the Soviet Red Army; enabling 'national' soviets to join the Russian Federation; separating church activities from the state; and giving equal rights to citizens, excluding any who would use such rights to weaken the revolution. In January 1919, power at the top of the party was divided into two subcommittees. The **Politburo** decided major policy, and the **Orgburo** oversaw internal administration. In 1919, the Politburo included Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Lev Kamenev, head of the Moscow Soviet in the 1920s, who was married to Trotsky's sister, Olga.

Politburo
Political Bureau (office), the main policy-making body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

Orgburo
Organisational Bureau (office), the main administrative body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

5.2b Check your learning

1. Describe the key elements of Lenin's political program following the Revolution in March.
2. Evaluate the significance of the Bolshevik slogan 'All power to the soviets'.
3. Check the definition of terms such as 'revolution', 'uprising', 'military conspiracy' and 'coup d'état'. Which term best describes the events of November 1917? Justify your answer.
4. Identify key early actions the Bolsheviks took to defend the revolution, and why these were taken.

5.2b Understanding and using the sources

1. To what extent does Source 6 reveal useful information about the situation in Petrograd in 1917?
2. Assess how useful Source 9 is for understanding the kind of society Lenin wanted after the revolution. Describe some of its key features.
3. Identify the evidence Source 9 provides about Lenin's views on the Mensheviks and right-wing Socialist Revolutionaries.
4. From an analysis of Sources 9 and 12, outline the important Bolshevik goals and methods following the revolution in November 1917.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

Having steadily opposed Russia's involvement in the First World War since Lenin's return in April, the new Bolshevik Government rapidly issued the 'Decree on Peace'. In it, the Bolsheviks stated that they offered immediate peace without **annexations** and without **indemnity**. The actual negotiations between the Bolshevik Government and the representatives of the Central Powers (mainly Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire) began in Brest-Litovsk on 22 December 1917.

When Germany set out its demands for a peace agreement, including independence for some regions in the Russian Empire and the Ukraine, the Bolshevik leaders and their supporters proposed three different responses: Lenin called for peace at any price; Nikolai Bukharin, another high-ranking Bolshevik, urged turning the war into a broader Communist revolution in Europe; and Trotsky argued for neither war nor peace, but focused on whether or not to accept

annex
to add to a nation's territory by appropriating (taking control over) the territory of other states or nations

indemnity
money paid as compensation

Germany's terms. Trotsky's policy was preferred at first and, on 10 February 1918, he announced that Russia would end the war, but would not sign the peace agreement. However, this did not satisfy Germany and, on 18 February, the Germans resumed the offensive. Armies moved deeper into Russian territory, meeting little resistance from the Russian Army. Lenin threatened to resign if his colleagues would not vote for the immediate acceptance of peace terms, and on 3 March 1918 the Soviet delegates signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The treaty was harsh. Russia had to pay a war indemnity of six thousand million marks; 30 per cent of its population was transferred through loss of territory; and it lost 32 per cent of its agricultural land, 85 per cent of its sugar beet land, 54 per cent of its industrial undertakings and 89 per cent of its coal mines. However, Lenin's view that no sacrifice of territory was too great for the survival of the revolutionary government, and that a concession could always be reversed later, proved to be correct in the long run. Under the terms of the armistice that ended the First World War on 11 November 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was annulled (cancelled). Lenin had helped to give the new republic the freedom from international conflict which it needed to consolidate. But the Bolsheviks now faced an internal war that would also threaten the revolution.

THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 13 Territory lost by Russia by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

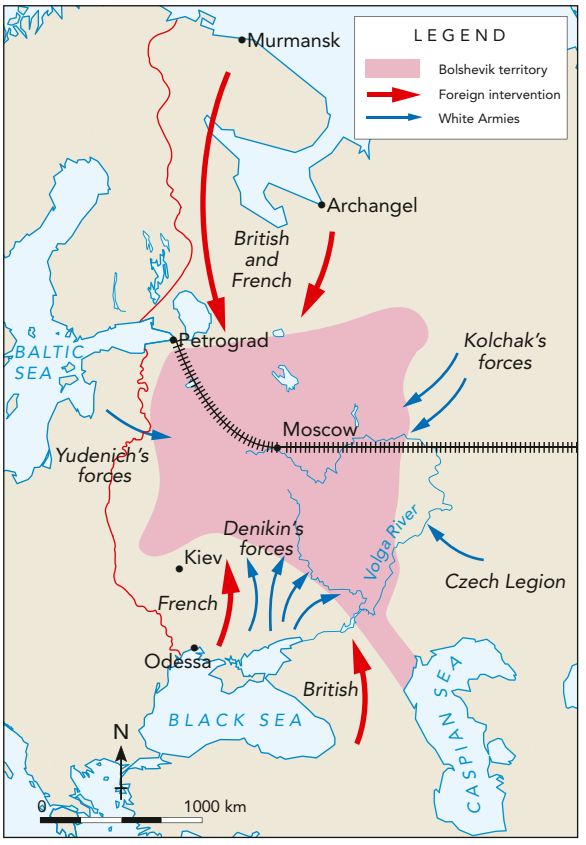
Civil War

The Civil War between pro- and anti-revolutionary forces that broke out in early 1918 both hindered and helped Bolshevik consolidation. By threatening the existence of the new government, the Civil War preoccupied Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership at a time when they wanted to establish the new socialist state, but the war also meant that by 1920 the major counter-revolutionary groups in Russia had been brought into the open and defeated.

In March 1918, Trotsky, as Commissar for War, took command of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, a voluntary pro-revolution force that had been established two months earlier. Realising the need for experienced military leaders, he recruited thousands of officers from the old Imperial Army as 'military specialists'; but he attached communist military commissars (officials) to supervise them to ensure their loyalty to the new communist regime. To ensure loyalty, he attached a political commissar to each officer. Trotsky imposed a firm and ruthless discipline upon the Red Army and he himself toured the battle lines in a special train equipped with its own printing press. Troops were inspired by both revolutionary fervour and fear of their own side.

Communist strength and Bolshevik support were greatest in the north-western area of Russia, around Moscow and Petrograd. The task of the Red Army was to extend the authority of the regime across the rest of Russia, reconquering areas that had used the breakdown of central authority in 1917 to declare their independence. Assembled against the defenders of the revolution were liberals, monarchists, disgruntled socialists and ex-officers who collectively became known as the 'Whites'. They were aided by foreign powers, groups of partisans, and a collection of ex-prisoners of war called the Czech Legion.

BOLSHEVIK RUSSIA DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1918–20



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 14 Foreign forces supported the White Armies against the Bolsheviks during the Civil War.

There was foreign support for the Whites, which stemmed from several motives. At first, the British and the French sought to keep Russia in the First World War to occupy the Germans on the Eastern Front, taking pressure off the Western Front where the Allied forces were engaged. When it became clear that the Bolsheviks would not comply, the British sent troops to the northern ports around Murmansk and the French-occupied Odessa in the south. There was also a financial motive for anti-Bolshevism. One of the first acts of Lenin's government had been to repudiate (reject) all foreign debts incurred by its predecessors and to freeze all foreign assets in Russia. The Allies hoped that defeat of the Bolsheviks would restore financial normality.

5.2c Check your learning

1 Trotsky's command of the Red Army could be described as a mixture of pragmatism, revolutionary zeal and ruthlessness. Discuss the evidence for or against this view.
2 Identify the interest groups represented in the forces fighting the Red Army.

5.2c Understanding and using the sources

1 Assess what information Source 14 provides for understanding the overall strategy of the counter-revolutionary forces.

The impact of War Communism, 1918–21

free market
a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

Russia's costly involvement in the First World War led to severe economic strains. Continuing almost immediately from international war to civil war, the Bolsheviks' pragmatic economics and anti-**free-market** ideology combined into the more radical and state-directed policies of 'War Communism'.

For a period of several months between the revolution of March 1917 and the Civil War, Lenin was prepared to let much of the existing industrial system continue under state supervision: so-called 'state capitalism'. However, the anticipated economic recovery did not occur, and the ceasefire with Germany worsened the industrial situation. Over 70 per cent of Russia's industrial capacity was geared to the war, and adjusting to peacetime production proved too difficult for many factories. This resulted in large-scale factory closures and redundancies, and more poor people on urban streets. Workers began to leave the cities to return to the villages or join the Red Army.

Petrograd had lost 60 per cent of its workforce by 1918, and the overall urban workforce decreased from 3.6 million in 1917 to 1.4 million in 1919. In rural areas, the situation was also problematic. The autumn harvest of 1917 was less than average and confiscation of non-peasant land continued. Farmers usually sent their excess food to the towns in return for manufactured

goods, but now there was no excess in the countryside and the towns could not supply any goods in return. There were claims of peasants withholding grain in order to increase prices, while urban people starved.

With the onset of the Civil War in March 1918, emphasis again turned to armaments and heavy industry. All industry and foreign trade were taken over by the state. Strict discipline was imposed in the factories. Workers were punished for lateness and absenteeism, and the working day was extended to 11 hours. Cheka informers watched for sabotage or slackening enthusiasm for Bolshevism. For efficient industrial production, the urban workers had to be adequately fed. Lenin's answer to the failure of the food supply was to send out armed requisition squads to seize grain. Strikes occurred in Moscow and Petrograd throughout the Civil War and, in the spring of 1918, the Bolsheviks were defeated in some urban soviet elections in central Russia. However, the polls were ruled invalid by the government.

The stricter conditions of the War Communism period bred revolt across the country. Many peasants slaughtered their cattle and refused to sow their land, rather than turn over food supplies to the government. Russia was pushed further towards economic crisis with the harvest of 1918 being less than a tenth that of 1916. Official sources admitted the existence of numerous peasant revolts in 1919 and, as the Civil War ended, these intensified. Famine was widespread across southern Russia in 1921, and diseases such as typhoid and cholera became **epidemic**.

epidemic
widespread outbreak of infectious disease

mutiny
military uprising

A major blow for the Bolsheviks in 1921 was a **mutiny** at the Kronstadt naval base near Petrograd, where the sailors demanded new soviet elections, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly for trade unions and peasant associations, the freeing of all political prisoners, fairer rationing, and freedom of decision making for small peasants as regards their land. In response, Lenin sent Trotsky and General Mikhail Tukhachevsky to suppress the mutiny in February and March 1921. Units of the Red Army crossed the frozen Gulf of Finland to attack Kronstadt, which lost some 1500 men. A further 2500 were captured and handed to the Cheka to be shot.

SOURCE 15 A 1919 poster shows a bourgeois (middle-class man), a priest and a kulak (wealthy peasant) pulling a chariot holding counter-revolutionary leader Admiral Alexander Kolchak.

Introduction of the New Economic Policy

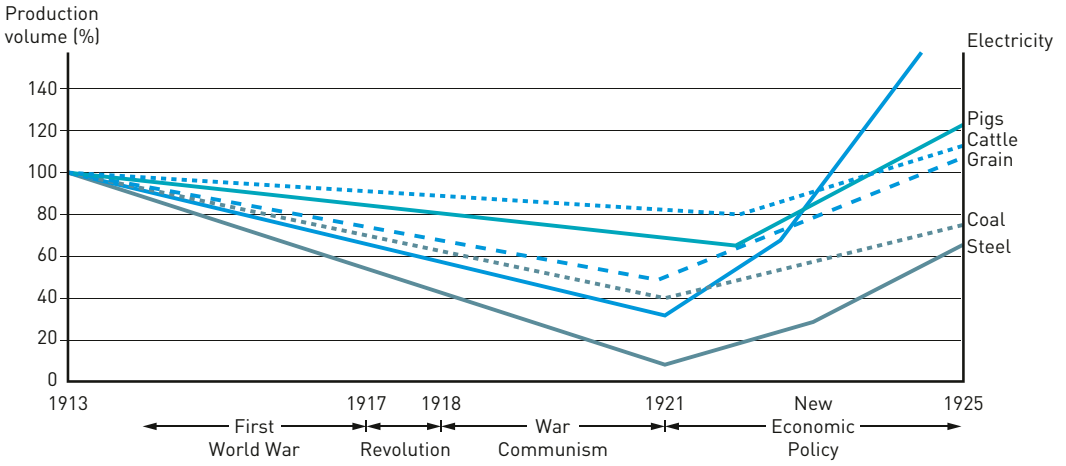
Victory in the Civil War, combined with threats posed by a severely damaged economy, persuaded Lenin to replace the severity of War Communism with a less strict New Economic Policy (NEP). While key sectors of the economy (the banking, steel and transport industries) remained state-owned, small businesses and private profits were now permitted. In the rural areas, grain requisitioning was abolished and replaced by a tax in kind (that is, a tax paid with produce, not with money). Peasants could again sell their surplus crops in the marketplace for a profit. The change from War Communism to the NEP was approved at the Tenth Party Congress in 1921, but some believed that Lenin had abandoned socialist principles in pushing for the change.

A sympathetic view is that War Communism was a short-term diversion from the mixed economy (in which privately owned enterprise existed alongside publicly owned state enterprise) that Lenin revived in 1921 with the NEP: in other words, the freer market socialism of the NEP was the real face of Leninism, as opposed to the anti-market socialism of War Communism, which was to return under Stalin. In a more critical view, the Bolsheviks' true policy can be seen in War Communism, which was only abandoned through concessions to the market when the Bolsheviks were forced to do so – from this perspective, War Communism was consistent with the strongly planned economy later, under Stalin.

By the 1921 Party Congress, the role of the Politburo as the deciding body was emphasised and there was a clamping down on **factionalism**. Lenin argued that power could not yet be exercised by the whole proletariat because of its divided and degraded situation and, accordingly, the Communist Party still needed to rule as the revolutionary leaders of the working class.

factionalism arguments/disputes between two or more small groups within a larger party or organisation

SOURCE 16 During the 1920–21 famine, instances of cannibalism were reported. This photograph shows bodies being sold for cannibalism in the Volga region, 1921.



SOURCE 17 Economic changes from War Communism to the NEP

The period 1917–24 had seen the Communist Party survive severe challenges to its authority and consolidate its position in government. Although the use of terror against its opponents had become an important method for retaining power, other factors were also important: peace had been secured and land had been redistributed. The promotion of factory workers, who formed the basis of the party's support, into public office had strengthened the party. The challenges of 1918–21 had also hardened communist power: hunger, unemployment and the flight from towns weakened the risk of resistance.

Above all, the future of the Communist Party had been secured through Lenin's leadership. Taking a longer view of the need for the revolution to survive, he was willing to compromise in the short term, often in the face of criticism. Hence, he supported the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the NEP because they lessened threats to the revolution from the German army and a partially rebellious population.

5.2d Check your learning

1. Explain the term 'War Communism'. What were its causes and consequences?
2. Assess the significance of the threat posed by the Kronstadt mutiny for the Communist regime. Justify your answer.
3. Identify the key features of the NEP.
4. Assess what deeper conclusions can be drawn about Lenin's leadership and political philosophy from his acceptance of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the NEP.
5. Account for your assessment of the shifting balance of power in the 1920s between the soviets and trade unions on the one hand and the Communist Party on the other.
6. From a close analysis of its visual elements, extract and identify the key messages of Source 15. Discuss how both sides in the Civil War might have responded to this image.

5.2d Understanding and using the sources

1. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Source 16 as evidence for the famine of 1921.
2. Analyse Source 17 and explain the economic effects of changing from War Communism to the NEP.

5.3 Bolsheviks and the power struggle following the death of Lenin

Lenin was the undisputed Bolshevik leader until his death in January 1924 at the age of 53. However, his political role declined along with his failing health from mid-1921. This highlighted the power of the Communist Party's Politburo and its seven members:

- Lenin: Party Leader
- Leon Trotsky: Commissar for War
- Joseph Stalin: Communist Party General Secretary
- Lev Kamenev: Head of the Moscow Communist Party
- Grigory Zinoviev: Head of the Petrograd Communist Party and the **Comintern**
- Alexei Rykov: member
- Mikhail Tomsky: member.

Comintern
the Third Communist International; an international communist organisation founded in 1919 to advocate world communism, with members representing international communist parties

Despite their continued deference to Lenin, from 1923 a power struggle emerged between Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev as a group against Trotsky. In 1925, when Stalin announced that industrialisation was a key priority, he was attempting to show himself as Lenin's worthy successor.

Impact of the Bolshevik consolidation of power and creation of the Soviet Union

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

self-determination
the right of people, generally from the same cultural and ethnic background, to decide or determine for themselves how they will be governed and by whom

When Tsarism collapsed following the revolution of March 1917, non-Russian regions – such as the Ukraine and Georgia – showed growing signs of their own **nationalism**. Soon after the Bolsheviks took power, Lenin and Stalin guaranteed that the ethnic nationalities would be given rights of **self-determination** and even separation. Lenin later amended this to a federal structure, based on a system of seemingly democratic soviets. But according to historian Richard Pipes, this amounted to 'pseudo-federalism', where the soviets were a cover for the real power still being wielded by the Communist Party. The Russian, Transcaucasian, Ukrainian and Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, which were all established after the revolution, provided the basis for forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) in 1922, and additional republics joined in subsequent years.

Following the threat posed by counter-revolutionary forces in the Civil War, and the enormous human suffering imposed by famine, the Bolshevik leaders directed economic rebuilding by ruthlessly driving change 'from above'. The Communist Party took upon itself the task of industrialising and modernising the Soviet Union and allowing less and less room for opposition or indiscipline in the process. However, as part of lessening control under the NEP, the Cheka was later reduced in size and lost some of its arbitrary powers. The Communist Party idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' did not ultimately mean workers collectively ruling society – it meant promoting former workers, where possible, within the party.

5.3a Check your learning

Identify and analyse the evidence to suggest that the Communist Party was increasingly driving change 'from above' in the 1920s.

Bolshevik policies on women's rights, education and culture

In the areas of social and gender policies, the official Bolshevik view – as seen in the writings of leading women such as Nadezhda Krupskaya, a revolutionary who was married to Lenin, and feminists Inessa Armand and Aleksandra Kollontai – was that Russian women suffered under an oppression imposed by class and family. Revolutionary theorists called for the establishment of communal dining halls, laundries and nurseries to liberate women from the drudgery of housework, while the dissolution of the 'bourgeois' family through reform of marriage, divorce and abortion laws was supposed to liberate women from the tyranny of their husbands. In 1919, Armand and Kollontai established the *Zhenotdel* as a Women's Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

A key function of the Zhenotdel was to organise and inform women, as a hard-to-reach group, about the party's goals and 'instructions'. It was not intended to provide a vehicle for women's opinions to influence the party. Equality was explained in terms of political rights, the right to divorce from a cruel husband, and equal pay for equal work. The Zhenotdel attempted to portray the 'new Soviet woman' through its journal *Kommunistka*. She would work tirelessly at whatever job the party gave her, putting duty before all else. Armand herself became a prime example of self-sacrifice. Having energetically supported the revolution, she died from cholera in 1920 and Kollontai took over her role as head of Zhenotdel.

Faced with the task of governing a country devastated by the Civil War, the revolutionary aim of abolishing the traditional family structure was postponed as the family seemed essential to the social order. After Kollontai's dismissal as head of Zhenotdel in 1922, the organisation lost influence. While fewer controversial goals – such as full employment for women and childcare – were still on the agenda, more radical demands – such as the abolition of the family and female equality throughout society – failed.

SOURCE 18 Aleksandra Kollontai (pictured centre) attends the Second International Conference of Socialist Women, Copenhagen, 1910.

5.3 PROFILE

SOURCE 19 Aleksandra Kollontai in 1910

ALEKSANDRA KOLLONTAI, 1872–1952

Aleksandra Kollontai (previously Alexandra Domontovich) was born in 1872, and was a major figure in the Russian socialist movement from the early twentieth century to the end of the Civil War. A skilled orator, she attempted to free Russian women from their traditional roles in society and to redefine womanhood and family life in the context of the new communist state. Kollontai advocated free love and argued that women should have the right to choose between love and work, and that soviet society should permit a variety of relationships between men and women. Initially a Menshevik, she left for the Bolsheviks in 1915 because of their opposition to the First World War. She became Commissar for Social Welfare in 1917, and headed Zhenotdel from 1920 to 1922.

Kollontai's support for more democracy in the party caused the Central Committee to seek her removal. Her dismissal as head of Zhenotdel in 1922 was consistent with her declining influence within the Soviet Union. She was, however, given senior diplomatic postings. In 1923, she became the Soviet Union's first female ambassador and served overseas in Norway, Mexico and Sweden. From 1946 until her death in 1952 she was unwell and then retired, but she continued as an adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

5.3 PROFILE TASKS

1 Outline the key achievements of Aleksandra Kollontai's career.
2 To what extent does the evidence suggest that Kollantai became increasingly at odds with official views about the party, women and the family? Justify your answer.

SOURCE 20

The family no longer produces; it only consumes. The housework that remains [involves] difficult and exhausting tasks and they absorb all the spare time and energy of the working woman who must, in addition, put in her hours at a factory [but] are of no value to the state and the national economy …

The individual household is dying. It is giving way in our society to collective housekeeping. … In Soviet Russia the working woman should be surrounded by the same ease and light, hygiene and beauty that previously only the very rich could afford. Instead of the working woman having to struggle with the cooking and spend her last free hours in the kitchen preparing dinner and supper, communist society [will] organise public restaurants and communal kitchens.

Aleksandra Kollontai, *Marxists Internet Archive*, 1920

SOURCE 21

The emancipation of women and the emancipation of all people would proceed from the creation of a harmonious society, built by the working class and by a party of revolutionaries who refused to compromise their principles. It was a fine vision, unsullied by realism. Factories, electrification, uneducated workers, military power … nuts and bolts – none of these concerned Kollontai. She demanded communes, revolutionary purity and the emancipation of women. And 1923 was the last year she was allowed to do so.

Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Feminist*, 1979, p. 231

SOURCE 22

The enormously growing employment of female labor in all branches of economy, the fact that no less than half of all existing values are produced by women's hand, the recognition of the important part proletarian women play in the construction of the new Communist social order, particularly in the transition to communistic domestic relations, in the reform of the family as an institution, and the realization of a socialistic education of children destined to produce able and common-spirited citizens for the Soviet Republics – all these considerations cause the following to be the urgent task of all parties adhering to the Communist International: to exert all their energy towards the winning of proletarian women for those parties, and towards the education of working women in the spirit of the new society and of communistic ethics in society and the family.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized and kept up only through the active and energetic participation of the women of the working class.

Comintern, Resolution on the Role of Working Women, 6 March 1919

SOURCE 23

[A]s the moral survivals of the past and the difficult economic conditions of the present still compel many women to resort to this operation [abortion], the People's Commissariats of Health and of Justice, anxious to protect the health of the women and considering that the method of repressions in this field fails entirely to achieve this aim, have decided: … To permit such operations to be made freely and without any charge in Soviet hospitals, where conditions are assured of minimizing the harm of the operation.

People's Commissariat of Health, Decree on Abortion: On the Protection of Women's Health, 18 November 1920

5.3b Check your learning

To what extent were the goals of Soviet feminists achieved in the 1920s? What is your explanation for this outcome?

5.3a Understanding and using the sources

1. Based on a close reading of Sources 20 and 21, evaluate how far Aleksandra Kollontai's vision matched reality for most Soviet women in the 1920s.
2. Study Sources 22 and 23 and identify the key features of women's roles envisaged for a communist society.

liberal/liberalism beliefs respecting individual liberties and moderation

Bolshevik education policy altered between the period of War Communism and that of NEP. Under the stricter War Communism, 1918–20, it was an open education policy, seeking to develop children's personalities. When the more **liberal** NEP started from 1921, the Communist Party altered the policy to be stricter in an attempt to limit possible negative effects from this new, more pro-capitalist system.

SOURCE 24

> The public free-of-charge education of children should begin the day they are born. The incorporation of preschool education into the general system of public education has as its purpose laying down the foundation work for the social upbringing of the child at the earliest stages of formation. The further development by the school of attitudes to work and society laid down in preschool age will turn out a physically and spiritually fully developed member of society, willing and able to work.
>
> Commissariat of Enlightenment, 1917, quoted in Richard Pipes, *Russia Under the Bolshevik Regime*, 1993, p. 315

propaganda biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

The post-revolutionary Soviet regime was not confident that the population would independently discover and hold 'correct' beliefs; **propaganda** was needed to instil true revolutionary understanding among the mainly illiterate masses. Accordingly, the authorities used methods such as theatrical performances and movies as ways of spreading propaganda. However, many visual artists, architects and music composers wanted to mirror the revolutionary political and social changes, and in the early Soviet years there was much creative innovation in these fields. Lenin himself was not usually involved with cultural policy, and he mainly left such matters to Anatoly Lunacharsky who headed the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment. This Commissariat and Lunacharsky also looked favourably on the Proletarian

SOURCE 25 A Soviet education poster: 'In order to have more, it is necessary to produce more. In order to produce more, it is necessary to know more.'

SOURCE 26 Group exercises for Soviet school students, 1920

Culture (Proletkult) movement, which sought to reject the 'bourgeois' and create new culture of and for the proletariat. Proletkult members were prominent only early in the cultural life of post-revolution society.

SOURCE 27

> The musical and theatrical studios of the Proletkults and many proletarian writers traveled around the fronts, despite the hardships, and had a strong impact on the [morale] of the Red Army, inspiring it toward victory. In the fine arts and poetry, Proletkult workers led the struggle against cubism and futurism [new art movements] and identified a significant stratum of worker-artists and poets.
>
> The proletariat needs a mass monumental art, different from that of the professionals of the past, and a new communist content in this art. Only Proletkult has the strength to create this, if it does not fall into amateurism.

The First All-Russian Congress of Proletkults, 11 October 1920

SOURCE 28 Red Army soldiers taking items from the Simonov monastery, Moscow, 1925

Religious practices may also form an important part of a people's cultural life and beliefs. The Bolshevik Revolution had a dramatic (and mainly destructive) impact on institutional Christian and Jewish religious practice, but less on that of Muslims. Communists saw religion as a superstitious barrier to creating a modern society. The new regime was of the view that religious beliefs would progressively decline in the face of economic development and education. Christian monasteries and churches were stripped of valuable and religious items, and turned over for everyday uses. Some Christian and Jewish clergy were tried, imprisoned and executed. Secular values replaced the teaching of religion in schools, and any religious teaching was made illegal. Secular anniversaries such as the revolutions of March and November replaced old religious holidays. But despite the Bolshevik drive against most organised religion in the 1920s, popular religious practices such as celebrating Easter and Christmas were not completely eradicated.

5.3c Check your learning

1 Explain why measures against organised religion would serve the interests of the Bolshevik Revolution.
2 Outline the methods the Bolsheviks used to bring religions under its control and assess whether they were successful.

5.3b Understanding and using the sources

1 Assess the usefulness of Sources 24, 25 and 26 for understanding the goals and achievements of the early Soviet education system. Would pro- or anti-Bolshevik perspectives be likely to interpret these sources differently?
2 From a close reading of Source 27, account for how Proletkult members saw the new relationship between artists and the people. What kinds of artists would or would not be consistent with their vision?
3 Following a close visual analysis of Source 28, identify the advantages or disadvantages in using this image as a historical source. Justify your answer.

Power struggle between Stalin, Trotsky and other leading Bolshevik figures in the 1920s

Lenin's death in 1924 opened the way for new developments in the struggle for party and national leadership. While differences on policy issues were a factor, Sheila Fitzpatrick explains the conflict as being between the 'party machine' (headed by Stalin) and its 'challengers' (including Trotsky and 'other oppositionists').

Although Lenin originally valued Stalin's practical nature, he began to have doubts about him during the course of 1922. While recovering from his first stroke in December 1922, Lenin wrote down his views on the leading Bolsheviks in a **testament**. His verdict on Stalin was that he 'has concentrated limitless power in his hands, and I am not sure that he will always manage to use this power with sufficient caution'. His view of Trotsky was more positive, but still showed reservations: 'Comrade Trotsky … is distinguished not only by his exceptional capabilities … but also by his excessive self-assurance and excessive absorption in administration'. He later added a damning postscript on Stalin: 'Stalin is too rude, a fault … intolerable in the office of General Secretary … Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to transfer Stalin from that office and appoint another man more tolerant'. Lenin's intention to present this testament to the 1923 party congress was thwarted by a further decline in his health. Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, placed the testament before the Central Committee in May 1924, but it was decided that it would not be publicly read out. Before Lenin died, the leading figures in the Politburo began to position themselves for the power struggle to follow. Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin formed a troika, or group of three, united in their opposition to Trotsky.

testament
a document or statement providing evidence about particular events

The first clash came over the so-called 'Scissors Crisis' of 1923, which was caused by a fall in agricultural prices along with a rise in the prices of manufactured goods. The troika advocated giving priority to the recovery of the peasant sector, financing the growth of industry from the growing prosperity of the peasants and from their increased purchasing of products. The left opposition, led by Trotsky, argued that priority should be given to industry and the interests of the proletariat. Stalin ensured that when the issue came before the 1923 Party Congress, most delegates supported the troika's line.

The struggle between Trotsky and Stalin now addressed the direction for the party and the aftermath of the revolution. Trotsky and his followers argued that the party was becoming anti-democratic and that the survival of the Revolution depended on the so-called '**permanent revolution**'. This view, also held by Lenin in 1917, was that the revolution could only be defended if it spread to other countries; otherwise it risked isolation and attack from a capitalist world. Stalin rejected Trotsky's comments on the party and accused him of factionalism, which had been specifically prohibited by Lenin at the 1921 Party Congress. Stalin also advocated 'socialism in one country', which involved strengthening communism within the Soviet Union rather than applying the Marxist idea of unity of workers around the world. The Fourteenth Party Congress of 1925 supported 'socialism in one country' and Trotsky was forced to resign as Commissar for War.

permanent revolution
political theory, espoused by Leon Trotsky, that a 'backward' country could move to a socialist revolution without stopping at a middle-class democratic stage

SOURCE 29

> What is the chief aim of the present united bloc [group] headed by Trotsky? It is little by little to switch the Party from the Leninist course to that of Trotskyism. That is the opposition's main sin. But the Party wants to remain a Leninist party. Naturally, the Party turned its back on the opposition and raised the banner of Leninism ever higher and higher. That is why yesterday's leaders of the Party have now become renegades [deserters].
>
> Joseph Stalin, 'The Trotskyist Opposition Before and Now', speech delivered 23 October 1927

SOURCE 30

> Trotsky was very unpopular in certain sections of the party: the apparat [party bureaucrats] tended to dislike him, partly because he was an upstart ex-Menshevik, but largely because he attacked the bureaucratization of the party and because the intellectuals of his own generation could not forgive him his arrogant brilliance. Nor did the new generation of workers favour Trotsky. On the other hand, students and recent students, government workers, and much of the Red Army, respected him.
>
> J.N. Westwood, *Endurance and Endeavour*, 1973, p. 287

The next divisive issue concerned the NEP and the peasants. Zinoviev and Kamenev argued that the NEP had been introduced as a temporary measure, and that to continue it would lead to a restoration of capitalism. They meant that the proper socialist policy to follow was to industrialise. Bukharin argued for the long-term preservation of the NEP and claimed that even Lenin realised it would take many years for the peasants to accept cooperative farming. On this, Stalin sided with Bukharin. In 1927 the left wing, now composed of an alliance between Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky, made its last protest after a series of setbacks in foreign policy. Each side tried to portray the other as departing from the policies of Lenin. At a party meeting in November 1927, Stalin denounced Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky as anti-Leninist, and accused them of factionalism and attempting to undermine the unity of the party. Their expulsion from the party followed, and although Zinoviev and Kamenev were later readmitted after acknowledging their 'errors', Trotsky refused to recant. In January 1928, he was arrested and sent into exile to Alma-Ata in Soviet Central Asia.

SOURCE 31

> Trotsky was loved as a leader of the revolution, yet by the end of the 1920s his name had become a term of abuse. It took Stalin no more than five years to turn a hero into a pariah [outcast]. Trotsky himself was partly responsible for this. His tragedy lay in the fact that in his tireless and passionate struggle with Stalin, he facilitated Stalin's seizure of power in the Party. It was Trotsky's own doing that allowed Stalin to surround him with a circle of schismatics, heretics and other 'internal enemies'. Paradoxically, it was Trotsky's furious fight against Stalin that helped Stalin to become a bloody dictator.
>
> Dmitri Volkogonov, *Trotsky*, 1996, p. 486

SOURCE 32 A 1928 image suggests Trotsky's unpopularity.

collectivise replacing wealthy individual farms with group farming and shared resources

With his left-wing opponents removed, Stalin disagreed over agricultural policy with the right-wing faction. Reversing his previous stand, Stalin now advocated rapidly **collectivising** agriculture and developing heavy industry. He expressed his determination to eliminate the kulaks. Bukharin stood by his earlier defence of the NEP. Once again, Stalin had sufficient support when the crunch came in April 1929: the right wing was defeated and Bukharin was dismissed from the Politburo. Also that year, Trotsky was banished from the Soviet Union.

Reasons for the emergence of Stalin as leader of the Soviet Union by the late 1920s

Before Lenin's death, Stalin had been appointed to two positions within the national leadership, first as Commissar for Nationalities in 1917 and then as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1922. One of Stalin's trademarks was his ability to create political intrigue that enhanced his own power. He soon began to reorganise the party machine and surrounded himself with people who linked their own careers with him. This was a way to ensure loyalty, because, as Stalin rose, so did they. Through the secretariat, Stalin placed nominees whom he could trust at every level of the party structure. Trotsky criticised both the 'bureaucratisation' of the party and Stalin's ability to dispense favours in his role as General Secretary.

SOURCE 33 A poster of Stalin, c. 1922

With an interesting use of terminology, Sheila Fitzpatrick describes the group of leaders that developed around Stalin in the 1920s as a 'team' (thus avoiding more negative terms such as 'faction' or 'gang'). Fitzpatrick suggests that, as a feature of how he exercised power, Stalin could decide whom to select or reject for this team.

5.3d Check your learning

1. Assess how useful Lenin's testament is for insights into any strengths or weaknesses of Trotsky and Stalin.
2. What is your assessment of the reasons why Stalin outmanoeuvred Trotsky as Lenin's successor?
3. Evaluate whether the rivalry between Trotsky and Stalin was about real differences of ideology, or more about political opportunism. Carefully weigh up the evidence when presenting your argument.

5.3c Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse how Sources 30 and 31 support or reject the claims made by Stalin about Trotsky in Source 29.
2. Based on your reading of Sources 29–31 and other evidence, what is your assessment of Trotsky as a political leader and theorist?

5.4 The Soviet state under Stalin

SOURCE 34 Joseph Stalin (1878–1953)

There are at least three key elements that comprise what has been termed Stalin's 'revolution from above': the drive to increase industrial output through centralised planning, the forced collectivisation of agriculture and elimination of the kulaks, and the party taking control of cultural and academic activities through a 'cultural revolution'. A fourth feature is the way in which the regime went about achieving its goals: the persecution and elimination of opposition, and the use of the secret police and the prison system. Any progress towards modernising the Soviet Union was achieved at a huge social and personal cost. The term 'Stalinism' has become synonymous with a ruthless and repressive regime that crushed any opposition. Stalin's Soviet Union was not unlike the world of George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, with its Big Brother, the party as political elite, and the rewriting and falsification of history. In Orwell's words: 'Who controls the past controls the future; who controls the present controls the past.'

Nature of the Soviet Union under Stalin, including dictatorship and totalitarianism

totalitarian
a concept developed by social scientists to describe an extreme form of dictatorship with what appears to be total or near total control over a society; historians regard the term as being useful as a general description, but not for the purpose of explanation

Stalinism, the oppressive system of Soviet Union government under Stalin's rule, has sometimes been equated with **totalitarianism**.

In the early years of Stalin's supremacy as leader of the Politburo, he still had to contend with opposing views within the party. As industrialisation and collectivisation progressed, critics called for a slower pace of change. In 1932, Politburo member Martemyan Ryutin called for Stalin's replacement and described him as being driven by 'power and revenge' and almost ruining the revolution. Stalin reacted by not only having Ryutin purged from the party, but also demanding that he be killed. The orders, however, were not obeyed at that time, showing that while Stalin was influential, his word was not yet final.

At the 1934 Party Congress, a small proportion of almost 2000 delegates may have voted against Stalin in the elections for the Central Committee (only three negative votes were actually recorded), possibly showing some opposition still within the party. Shortly afterwards, however, Stalin issued a decree on new procedures for dealing with terrorism. Such a decree, which was issued without consultation with the Politburo and only later ratified by it, showed Stalin that he could take important decisions without reference to his senior colleagues.

Despite Stalin's growing control, the Communist Party itself was not a totalitarian body. For much of its history it had tolerated different viewpoints on key issues, such as whether to support the Provisional Government in 1917, when to seize power, whether to accept the terms of Brest-Litovsk, and the various changes made under the NEP. In this sense, the party had always served to check the leader of the day, and this had applied to Lenin as much as to Stalin. Leading Bolshevik figure Bukharin described the party in 1925 as a 'negotiated federation' between the various groups, and Soviet Union foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov commented that opposition was tolerated until 1937, but not afterwards.

To remove opposition within the party, Stalin turned to the security police. Having rid himself of Zinoviev, Kamenev and other 'Old Bolsheviks', the arrests of Bukharin and Rykov in 1937 marked both the final defeat of the opposition and the weakening of the Central Committee. British historian Alan Bullock suggests that 'Stalin felt strong enough to order the arrest of any of his colleagues without consultation or appeal to the Central Committee or anyone else – the classic definition of the tyrant's power'.

It has been argued that the Stalinist state demonstrated the features of totalitarianism: centralised economic control, one party directing the people, total control of the media, widespread control by 'terroristic security police', elevation of a supreme leader, and 'a single official ideology' taking precedence both over laws and what historian Geoffrey Hosking calls 'individual conscience'.

While Stalin suppressed society and any opposition through fear and coercion, there was nevertheless some support for his regime. A new class of people owed their advancement to the Stalinist system, where every person purged meant a job vacancy to be filled by an ambitious subordinate. In addition, some Stalinist reforms, such as urban industrialisation and rural collectivisation, brought many peasant families into the towns with better prospects than in the countryside. In the early 1930s, at least half a million people of working-class origin moved into white-collar and managerial jobs. These people were to form the new Stalinist elite, rewarded with extra privileges, power and status.

Stalin was not, however, a sole dictator. As Sheila Fitzpatrick shows, he depended on supporters who surrounded him and with whom he ran the day-to-day workings of the state. Indeed, historian J. Arch Getty draws on a range of studies to argue that 'policymaking in the early Stalin years was sometimes unstructured and erratic'; that the policies of the late 1920s and early 1930s grew out of 'conflicting initiatives'; and that while Stalin was most powerful, he was not the sole policy source and could show 'erratic' decision making in the 1930s.

From 1937, while Stalin wielded enormous power, it was based on substantial popular support. Encouraged by propaganda and personality 'cult' status, Stalin took credit for the successes of Soviet Union life, whether real or fictitious.

5.4a Check your learning

1 In your own words, what is an accurate definition of the features of totalitarianism?
2 Based on your reading of the evidence, to what extent is it accurate to describe Stalin as a dictator. Justify your response.
3 Evaluate how political dissent, and the operation of the Politburo within the broader Communist Party, served to limit Stalin's power. Describe how this changed over time.

Economic transformation under Stalin and its impact on Soviet society

The key features of economic and social changes in the Soviet Union under Stalin's regime were linked in that the drive to develop Soviet industry was accompanied by the enforced collectivisation of agriculture.

Collectivisation and the Five-Year Plans

The starting point for the massive restructuring of agriculture was the '**procurement** crisis' of 1928. Stalin announced that the Soviet Union lacked the minimum amount of grain needed for urban workers, so rationing was introduced. At the Sixteenth Party Congress in 1929, Stalin announced a longer-term solution to the problem of the food supply: collectivising all farms.

procurement
the action of obtaining goods or services

Collectivisation meant replacing small, privately owned farms with kolkhozes (collective farms) and the sovkhoz (the state farm). The original plan was to collectivise 20 per cent of the sown area, which would be achieved during what was known as the first Five-Year Plan. This target, however, was soon to be both increased and brought forward. Between December 1929 and March 1930, nearly 60 per cent of peasant farms in the Soviet Union were collectivised. This sparked widespread peasant resistance, and many killed their animals and burned their homes in defiance.

In Stalin's famous 'Dizzy with Success' article of March 1930, he claimed that a new class of wealthy landowners, or kulaks, had arisen under the NEP and were now undermining the state by withholding grain from the market in an attempt to increase prizes. According to Stalin it was therefore necessary to '**liquidate**' the whole kulak class. The Bolsheviks were aware of the important role the poor peasants – who made up about 80 per cent of the population – had been playing in the revolution, so when Stalin targeted better-off landowners many in the party supported him.

liquidate
to kill or eliminate someone

SOURCE 35

> Within a short time rural Russia became pandemonium [chaos]. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry confronted the Government with desperate opposition. Collectivization degenerated into a military operation, a cruel civil war. Rebellious villages were surrounded by machine-guns and forced to surrender. Masses of kulaks were deported to remote unpopulated lands in Siberia. Their houses, barns, and farm implements were turned over to the collective farms … The bulk of the peasants decided to bring in as little as possible of their property to the collective farms which they imagined to be state-owned factories, in which they themselves would become mere factory hands. In desperation they slaughtered their cattle, smashed implements, and burned crops.
>
> Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*, 1966, pp. 324–5

The treatment of the kulaks was brutal: in addition to losing land and possessions, many thousands were transported to remote regions where countless numbers died in labour camps. Increasingly, the word 'kulak' came to mean anyone in rural areas who opposed collectivisation. This campaign, combined with poor harvests and the government obtaining more of the grain, caused a terrible famine in 1932–33. However, party leaders blamed the poor performance of collectivised agriculture on sabotage and 'wreckers'.

SOURCE 36
A kulak is arrested while trying to hide grain that has been requisitioned by the state.

SOURCE 37

> Now, the kulaks are being expropriated [taken from] by the masses of poor and middle peasants themselves, by the masses who are putting solid collectivization into practice. Now, the expropriation of the kulaks in the regions of solid collectivization is no longer just an administrative measure. Now, the expropriation of the kulaks is an integral part of the formation and development of the collective farms. Consequently it is now ridiculous and foolish to discourse on the expropriation of the kulaks. You do not lament the loss of the hair of one who has been beheaded.
>
> Joseph Stalin, 'Problems of Agrarian Policy in the USSR', speech at a conference of Marxist students, 27 December 1929

SOURCE 38

> [K]ulaks were subjected to the kind of dehumanization and stereotyping that was common for victims of genocide throughout the twentieth century. They were 'enemies of the people,' to be sure, but also 'swine,' 'dogs,' and 'cockroaches'; they were 'scum,' 'vermin,' 'filth,' and 'garbage,' to be cleansed, crushed, and eliminated.
>
> Norman N. Naimark, *Stalin's Genocides*, 2010, p. 59

SOURCE 39

> The train puffed slowly across the Ukrainian steppe [plains]. It stopped frequently. At every station there was a crowd of peasants in rags, offering ikons [religious pictures] and linen in exchange against a loaf of bread. The women were lifting up their infants to the compartment windows – infants pitiful and terrifying with limbs like sticks, puffed bellies, big cadaverous [death-like] heads lolling on thin necks … My Russian travelling companions took pains to explain to me that these wretched crowds were kulaks, rich peasants who had resisted the collectivisation of the land and whom it had therefore been necessary to evict from their farms.
>
> Arthur Koestler in 1932–33, quoted in David Christian, *Power and Privilege*, 1994, p. 249

Though collectivisation led to widespread food shortages, the Ukraine was the area worst hit. Stalin insisted that grain targets be collected from its peasants 'at all costs'. He wanted to quell Ukrainian nationalism and thought that 'idlers' should starve. The Russia–Ukraine border was closed, peasants were not allowed to leave by train, and security police arrested some 220 000 who tried to do so. As starvation increased, stories of cannibalism emerged.

kolkhozniks workers on a kolkhoz, or collective farm

SOURCE 40 Some peasants supported collectivisation, as shown by this procession in 1932 – the banner echoes Stalin and reads: 'We, as **kolkhozniks**, will eradicate the kulaks, following the total collectivisation principle'.

A staggering six to eight million people died in the famine, including three to five million in the Ukraine and the Kuban area.

Despite some fierce peasant resistance, the collectivisation program was virtually implemented by 1936. The Communist Party now controlled the rural areas, and counter-revolutionary peasants no longer threatened urban workers by withholding food supplies. In the process, some 15 million people had left the countryside – some were shot, some were deported, and others fled to the cities. In economic terms, however, the agricultural part of the plan was a failure. By 1939, Soviet agricultural production had barely reached the levels recorded in 1913.

SOURCE 41 Two boys discover a secret store of potatoes during the Ukraine famine.

Soviet Union agricultural production

Along with agricultural reform went the push to rapidly modernise Soviet Union industry.

Stalin argued that the Soviet Union urgently needed to change from an agrarian country to a modern, self-sufficient industrial one. The method to achieve this would be centralised direction under Five-Year Plans. The first Five-Year Plan commenced in October 1928, but the following year Stalin already decided that the original targets would be met within four years instead. In response to protests about this pace, Stalin claimed that the Soviet Union was 50–100 years behind the advanced capitalist countries and faced destruction if the gap was not closed within 10 years. The priority in the first plan was to have heavy industries – producing coal, steel and oil – support increased manufacturing. As a result, whole industrial cities, such as Magnitogorsk in the Urals, rose from nothing.

During the period 1928–32, some nine million peasants displaced by collectivisation in rural areas entered the urban workforce. This led to rapid urbanisation (growth in cities and large towns), which in turn resulted in housing shortages, lower urban health standards, higher crime rates and alcoholism.

Stalin actively linked rapid industrialisation to national security, which meant that any protest against the plan could be interpreted as treason, resulting in execution or imprisonment. While working conditions could be harsh, some younger communists wanted to

SOURCE 42 Soviet agricultural production, 1928–36

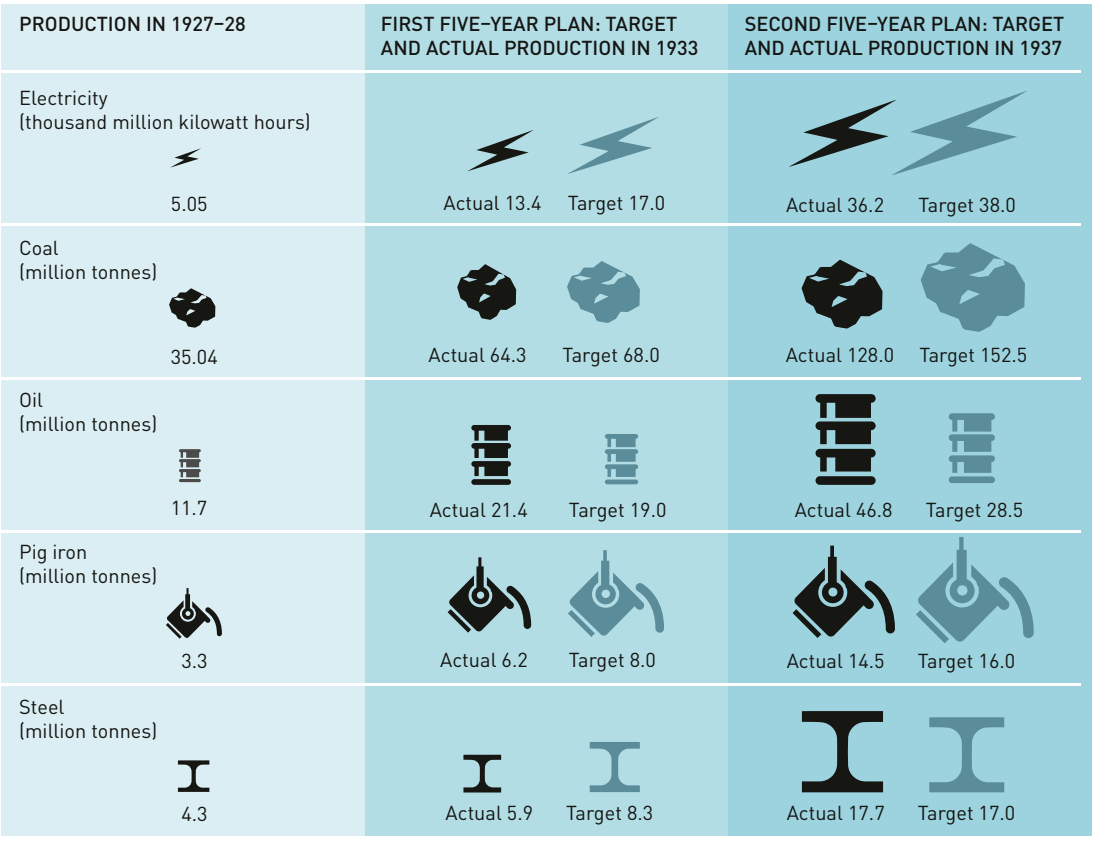
YEAR	HARVEST (MILLION TONNES)	PROCUREMENT (% OF HARVEST OBTAINED)	CATTLE (MILLION HEAD)
1928	73.3	15	66.8
1929	71.7	22	58.2
1930	78.0	28	50.6
1931	68.0	34	42.5
1932	67.0	28	38.3
1933	69.0	33	33.5
1934	72.0	36	33.5
1935	77.0	36	38.9
1936	59.0	47	46.0

David Christian, *Power and Privilege*, 1994, p. 250

SOURCE 43 Alexei Stakhanov became the face of dedication to the revolutionary cause through breaking production records for coal–mining.

support the revolution and national security by joining so-called 'shock brigades'. These were groups of young workers who wanted to set a good example by competing to raise output of production; in other words, they competed to see who could work the hardest. As a result, they earned privileges, such as opera tickets, paid holidays and access to special shops. At the forefront of the Soviet Union's workforce were the Stakhanovites, who were given medals, better pay and superior housing. The group was named after Alexei Stakhanov, whose 1935 record for coal-mining was used as propaganda, aimed at other workers (see Source 43).

The results of the three Five-Year Plans between 1928 and 1941 are controversial. Industrial production increased, but the reality was partly obscured by government propaganda. Although Stalin claimed in 1933 that the material conditions of workers and peasants were improving, living standards were lower in 1937 than in 1928 due to food rationing and high prices.



SOURCE 44 Production figures for the Five-Year Plans ending in 1933 and 1937

5.4b Check your learning

1. Does your reading of the evidence support Stalin's view that rapid industrialisation was necessary for the Soviet Union's security? Explain your answer.
2. Identify the political and economic reasons underpinning Stalin's collectivisation campaign.
3. Assess the social impact of the Five-Year Plans on the Soviet Union's workforce.
4. Explain why collectivisation failed to achieve its key goals. Justify your answer.

5.4a Understanding and using the sources

1 Compare and contrast the purpose and historical value of Sources 33–41. To what extent are these useful for understanding Stalin's approach to collectivisation and the treatment of kulaks?
2 Evaluate the historical value of Source 39 to a historian studying the situation for kulaks in Russia in the early 1930s.
3 Construct your own graph based on the figures in Source 42. Explain the main implications of declining grain production combined with increasing government procurement. Suggest some possible explanations for the declining numbers of cattle.
4 Based on the range of perspectives in Sources 35–42, what is your overall assessment of the economic and social consequences of collectivisation in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 30s?
5 Following close analysis of Source 44, evaluate the extent to which the Five-Year Plans were economically successful.

Political transformation and growth of the party under Stalin

Despite having been called an 'outstanding mediocrity' by Trotsky, Stalin led the Communist Party through a period of exponential growth in his first years in power, from 350 000 members in 1923 to over one million by 1927. A large number of the posts had been filled with Stalin's own nominees, many of whom were young, inexperienced and poorly educated. While the 'Old Bolsheviks' still dominated the upper ranks of the party, over 60 per cent of all local secretaries had joined after 1921. Soon, more members worked for the Communist Party than in the industry sector.

Whereas the Party Congresses in Lenin's lifetime allowed for genuine discussion, after his death there was less debate: Stalin could allege that opponents were engaging in divisive and unacceptable 'factionalism'.

Isaac Deutscher argues that in the 1920s, Stalin's role within the Communist Party leadership was to reject political extremes and to adopt what appeared to be a sensible, middle course. However, this did not represent any real consistency, as Stalin manoeuvred to quash any internal criticism.

In 1925, differences between the party and its Politburo led to the formation of different factions. When Trotsky and other leading members were threatened with expulsion if they did not disband the factions, they apologised and promised to discontinue. Despite Trotsky's apology, Stalin expelled him from the party soon afterwards.

By late 1927, Stalin's opponents had been effectively outlawed. Trotsky was deported to the Soviet Union area of Alma-Ata in 1928 and to Turkey in 1929. His Soviet citizenship was revoked in 1932 and, after living in various parts of Europe, he was granted political asylum in Mexico in 1937. Trotsky spent his later years in exile, speaking and writing against Stalinism. His influence was still sufficiently dangerous for Stalin to order his murder in Mexico in 1940.

Use of terror, show trials and the Gulag

show trials
trials conducted in public to show how alleged 'enemies of the people' were exposed and usually convicted for their 'crimes'

Purging (removing) suspect members from the Communist Party had been a much-used strategy ever since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. The first large-scale purge was carried out in 1921, when nearly 20 per cent of the party membership of 750 000 was expelled on grounds ranging from drunkenness to counter-revolution. Under Stalin, the purges involved arrest, accusation, punishment in a labour camp or execution. In the period 1936–38, major figures from the party were given public **show trials** with maximum publicity. Most were found guilty and many were shot. Part of the motivation for these trials was to expose alleged attempts to assassinate Stalin. When the accused appeared to confess their guilt in public, the intention was that the people of the Soviet Union would turn against them as well. Isaac Deutscher suggests that these trials may have been timed so that Stalin could eliminate any opposition, as Hitler's militarism was on the rise. In other words, Stalin may have acted to ensure that a strong and unified Soviet leadership would be prepared to confront Nazi Germany if required.

SOURCE 45 Forced labour working without machinery to build the Belomor Canal

The security police could obtain confessions through beatings, torture or sleep deprivation under continuous interrogation. Psychological torture could include threats against the prisoner's family. Purges against the party's Central Committee, the army and the security police itself showed that Stalin wanted to destroy all possible opposition and to brand dissident views as counter-revolutionary. The hunting down of possible threats occurred on a staggering scale, with many false confessions being made – both as a result of threats of torture, and because of promises of freedom for those who confessed. Some would even confess to crimes they had not committed out of loyalty to the Communist Party. Prominent figures who were tried in this process included Lev Kamenev, Grigory Zinoviev, Karl Radek, Yury Pyatakov, Mikhail Tomsky, Alexei Rykov, Nikolai Bukharin and Mikhail Tukhachevsky; of these, all except Radek and Tomsky were executed. In a three-year period, 1936–39, some 14 million deaths were caused by these purges. About 12 million of these deaths took place in labour camps, while the rest were results of executions.

Although labour camps had been a tool of the Communist Party since the time of Lenin, it was the Gulag – the Chief Administration of Corrective Labour Camps – under Stalin that was to reach worldwide infamy. One of the Gulag's first major projects was the completion of the 500 kilometer Belomor Canal connecting the White and Red Seas in 1933. In just 20 months, 300 000 prisoners without machinery finished digging the canal before the scheduled time, a feat that made Stalin use the project as an example of the success of the Five-Year Plan. The canal was built to allow alternative access for the Soviet Union's Baltic fleet, but the canal was too shallow and fell into disuse. While some prisoners were freed as promised, most were simply transferred to other projects.

THE 'GULAG ARCHIPELAGO'

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 46 Stalin's network of forced labour camps

Much has been written about the Gulag system, perhaps the most famous account being *The Gulag Archipelago* by Nobel Prize winner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (published in 1973), which likens the labour camps dotted across the Soviet Union to a collection of hidden islands: 'Scattered from the Bering Strait almost to the Bosporus are thousands of islands of the spellbound Archipelago. They are invisible, but they exist.'

SOURCE 47

> Had they [older senior communists] been executed merely as men opposed to Stalin or even as conspirators who had tried to remove him from power, many might still have regarded them as martyrs for a good cause. They had to die as traitors, as perpetrators of crimes beyond the reach of reason, as leaders of a monstrous fifth column [internal traitors]. Only then could Stalin be sure that their execution would provoke no dangerous revulsion; and that, on the contrary, he himself would be looked upon … as the saviour of the country … He may be given the dubious credit of the sincere conviction that what he did served the interests of the revolution and that he alone interpreted those interests aright.
>
> Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*, 1966, pp. 374–5

5.4c Check your learning

1 Explain the official justification for the scale and severity of the purges.
2 Evaluate the importance of the security police and the Gulag in maintaining loyalty to Stalin and the Communist Party leadership.

5.4b Understanding and using the sources

1 Asses the usefulness of the evidence provided by Source 45. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of using this type of source material.
2 Identify some key conclusions that can be drawn from Source 46.
3 Outline the author's main argument in Source 47. To what extent does this help explain Stalin's motivation for the purges?

SOURCE 48 A Soviet poster from 1939: 'Stalin's mood makes our army and country strong and solid!'

Propaganda and censorship

Stalin's image came to dominate everyday life in the Soviet Union where his image was widely shown – often alongside that of Lenin. The *Short Course on the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, first published in 1938, rewrote history to show Stalin's correctness and central role in transforming society. Around 42 million copies were printed in 67 languages.

Censorship had been central to the Communist Party ever since the revolution of 1917. By August 1918, all independent journals and newspapers had been shut down and, through the creation of Glavlit (the Central Censorship Bureau) in 1922, the party could completely control publishing. Creative media such as films and theatrical drama were also controlled. According to Richard Pipes, this amounted to reinstituting the 'preventive censorship' of tsarism.

5.4d Check your learning

1 Discuss what conclusions can be drawn from the fact that millions of Stalin's *Short Course* were printed in multiple languages.
2 Explain why extensive censorship was so important for maintaining Communist Party power.

5.4c Understanding and using the sources

From a close analysis of Source 48, identify the key messages of this propaganda. Explain whether this image of Stalin is accurate, comparing and contrasting it with other sources in this chapter.

Social and cultural change in the Soviet Union under Stalin

With Stalin increasingly in control of the Communist Party and hence the Soviet Union, a new Soviet society was emerging. An important means for social change was the opportunity for people (mainly men) of working-class background (given that they survived the ruthless political purges) to gain qualifications to advance into senior positions in industry, the party and government. Some 1.5 million proletarians moved into office and professional positions in the period 1929–32, during the First Five-Year Plan.

The Communist Party increasingly controlled the appointment process for a wide range of positions through the 'nomenklatura' system, where lists were made of those politically eligible

for promotion. In a savage irony, the purges ensured that there were always opportunities for new people with the correct ideas and credentials. Those favoured via the nomenklatura received benefits such as better standards of housing, healthcare, holidays and consumer goods.

Since the revolution, women had made substantial progress towards political equality. They were equal with men in the eyes of Soviet Union law, education was open, there were generous maternity benefits, and children's day care had begun. The party had accomplished more for women in the period 1917–29 than any other European political movement at the time. However, the Bolsheviks stopped short of abolishing traditional women's roles and eliminating discrimination, as had been an early goal. As women added outside labour to domestic work, they were still not equals in society.

Since 1918, it had been clear that the Bolsheviks' new marriage laws had gaps, so to fix these, in 1926 the party reinstated **alimony** and recognised **common-law marriages**. But by then, more conservative views of women and morality had again emerged.

In another retraction of the feminist policies of the revolution, party writings now reacted against promiscuity by promoting monogamy and premarital **chastity**. Officially approved women's rights again became closer to earlier traditional views about women and the family. By the 1930s, the revolutionary heroine was presented as an equal citizen and loyal worker outside the home, and as a devoted wife and mother to her family. Under Stalin, divorce again became more difficult to obtain, and in 1936 abortion was banned. Being a successful wife and mother was presented as a woman's greatest achievement.

alimony
funds to support a divorced or separated spouse

common-law marriage
partners living as spouses without a formal ceremony

chaste
the practice of avoiding sexual intercourse

SOURCE 49

> The state cannot exist without the family. Marriage has a positive value for the Soviet socialist state only if the partners see in it a lifelong union. So-called 'free love' is a bourgeois invention … Moreover, marriage receives its full value for the state only if there is progeny [children], and the consorts [married couples] experience the highest happiness of parenthood.

Soviet Union media source of the 1930s, quoted in Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union 1917–1991*, 1992, p. 213

SOURCE 50 This 1931 poster encourages women to work in factories and have children.

5.4e Check your learning

1. Examine what evidence there is to suggest that rights for Soviet Union women deteriorated from the mid-1920s onwards. What is your explanation for this?
2. To what extent did the Communist Party offer social and economic advancement for workers?

5.4d Understanding and using the sources

1. Assess how Source 49 attempts to promote traditional marriage and discredit 'free love'.
2. Identify the key messages from Sources 50 and 51. Evaluate the usefulness of these sources for understanding changes to the ideal Soviet women of the 1930s.

SOURCE 51 Female factory workers express breast milk so that they do not need to stop work to feed their babies.

5.5 Soviet foreign policy

Soviet foreign policy passed through various phases between the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Union's entry into the Second World War. The early period was influenced by revolutionary ideals, as the Bolsheviks hoped that other nations would embrace socialism and reject colonial control over other peoples. As the leaders of the Comintern, they also expected revolutionary upheavals to arise in Western countries. This was not to eventuate. Instead, the period following the 1917 revolution saw the European powers engage in another world war, despite attempts to delay such an outcome.

Nature of Soviet foreign policy 1917–41

Following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Soviet Union made trade agreements with Britain in 1921 and also with Germany in 1921, followed by the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany in 1922. The high point of Soviet–German relations was the Treaty of Berlin in 1926; however, relations between these powers declined as each tried to find other allies.

In 1927 Stalin announced that 'peaceful coexistence' between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries was over, and this was adopted as Comintern policy in 1928. The Comintern now identified democratic leftist parties as the main enemies of communism, and hence saw the Social Democrats as an even greater problem than the Nazi Party in Germany. But as Stalin's power within the Soviet leadership grew, the relationship with other Comintern countries changed. Accompanying the idea of 'Socialism in one country' was Stalin's growing suspicion about the revolutionary potential of the Comintern members.

As Hitler consolidated his power and eliminated opponents, including the German Communist Party, the Soviet Union became more isolated. Despite previously rejecting the League of Nations as a 'capitalists' club', the Soviet Union saw that membership would provide collective security against aggressors if Germany attacked. The Soviet Union therefore joined the League in 1934 and allied with France and Czechoslovakia in 1935.

In 1938, a crisis developed over Hitler's demands for ethnic Germans in western Czechoslovakia to be reunited with Germany. The Soviet Union said that it would honour its 1935 treaty of support for Czechoslovakia if France did the same, but the French did not agree. In September 1938, Britain, France, Germany and Italy met, without the Soviet Union, to sign the Munich Agreement, where the Western powers permitted Germany's annexing of parts of Czechoslovakia. Stalin reacted by seeking an agreement with Germany, culminating in the German–Soviet **Non-aggression** Pact of August 1939 that ruled out military action against each other for 10 years. While it only lasted until 1941, the pact kept the Soviet Union out of the war in Europe for nearly two years, and gave Stalin time to build up Soviet military forces.

non-aggression not practising violence or aggression

The outbreak of war in September 1939 served Stalin's interests, as Western capitalist countries engaged in conflict. After Germany's rapid military successes, Stalin quickly moved Soviet forces into eastern Poland in accordance with the Non-aggression Pact. Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were also occupied, ending their brief independence. But relations between Germany and the Soviet Union became strained. By late 1940, Hitler had ordered the development of his attack to the east: the famous Operation Barbarossa.

5.5a Check your learning

1 What were the key milestones in Soviet foreign policy from the Bolshevik Revolution until Germany's invasion in 1941?
2 What is your assessment of Stalin's main foreign policy goals? To what extent were they successful?

Role of ideology in Soviet foreign policy 1917–41

SOURCE 52 Operation Barbarossa: a German tank crosses a river on the Eastern Front in Russia, 1941

Initially, the anticipated world revolution so dominated Bolshevik thinking that conventional diplomacy seemed unnecessary. But after failed revolutions in Germany, Hungary and Austria in the early 1920s, the prospect of a successful revolution in Europe fell.

Within the Soviet Union in the late 1920s, the dispute between Trotskyism and Stalinism was also reflected in their different attitudes to events in China. Stalin held that China was not ready for a socialist revolution and urged that Chinese communists should accept the leadership of the nationalist Kuomintang Party. Trotsky, however, rejected Stalin's view and thought that the Chinese communists should work for a proletarian revolution. These differences helped to accelerate the split between Stalin and Trotsky.

At the start of the 1930s, Stalin was waging a political battle against social democratic groups in Europe, which were seen as the most significant enemies of communism. This led to a failure to support moderate left-wing opposition to the growing Nazi Party threat. Only in 1935 was the negative policy against moderate democratic socialism dropped for a '**popular front**' of anti-Nazi forces. From then, Stalin unsuccessfully sought to create an international coalition against Hitler.

popular front
a broad alliance of left-wing and liberal parties opposed to right-wing governments and political movements

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in July 1936, the Soviet Union again noted the Western Allies' failure to resist German and Italian involvement. The Soviet Union intervened to help the leftist Republicans in Spain in September 1936.

With its entry into the Second World War in 1941, the Bolsheviks' earlier hopes for support from friendly revolutionary regimes must have seemed very remote from the brutal and costly struggle now facing the Soviet Union.

5.5b Check your learning

1 Analyse the importance of the Comintern for Soviet foreign policy.
2 Explain why the Soviet Union was initially more hostile to left-wing European Social Democrats than to right-wing Nazis, but later changed its position.
3 Compare and contrast the implications of the Soviet Union's intervention in the Spanish Civil War in 1936 with its Non-Aggression Pact with Germany in 1939.
4 To what extent did communist beliefs hamper Stalin in pursuing a pragmatic and flexible foreign policy? Give examples to support your argument.

CONCLUSION

In only two and a half decades, the former Russian Empire underwent perhaps the most intense and far-reaching social, political and economic changes anywhere in the modern world. Only Japan's rapid changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and China's Communist Revolution three decades after the Bolshevik Revolution, perhaps launched any other social transformations of similar scale and intensity.

The Bolshevik revolutionaries, who successfully overthrew a fragile and partial democracy in a mainly peasant land, were highly organised, backed by armed forces and prepared to carry out their plans in opposition to moderate leftists and democrats. They were led by Lenin, a prolific Marxist theorist who blended tactical flexibility with ruthless disdain for his political enemies. The Bolsheviks seized opportunities presented by an ineffectual government, a disastrous and costly war, widespread economic hardship, and an array of workers' and soldiers' councils.

The early years of the new communist state saw the creation of progressive social policies and innovation. However, the 1920s were blighted by a brutal Civil War, devastating famine conditions, and a ruthless power struggle among senior Bolsheviks following the death of their revered first leader. A period of greater economic flexibility gave way to a class war against a section of wealthier peasants, combined with a determined push for rapid industrialisation. A corollary of government-directed economic and social change was the operation of ruthless secret police, whose activities resulted in millions of political opponents being exiled to labour camps or executed.

A flexible and pragmatic foreign policy enabled this huge communist state to build its military and economic capacity to a stage where it could ultimately triumph over its Second World War enemies, but only after suffering huge human and economic losses.

SOURCE 53 This still from newsreel footage shows Bolsheviks storming the Tsar's Winter Palace, 1917.

obd

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

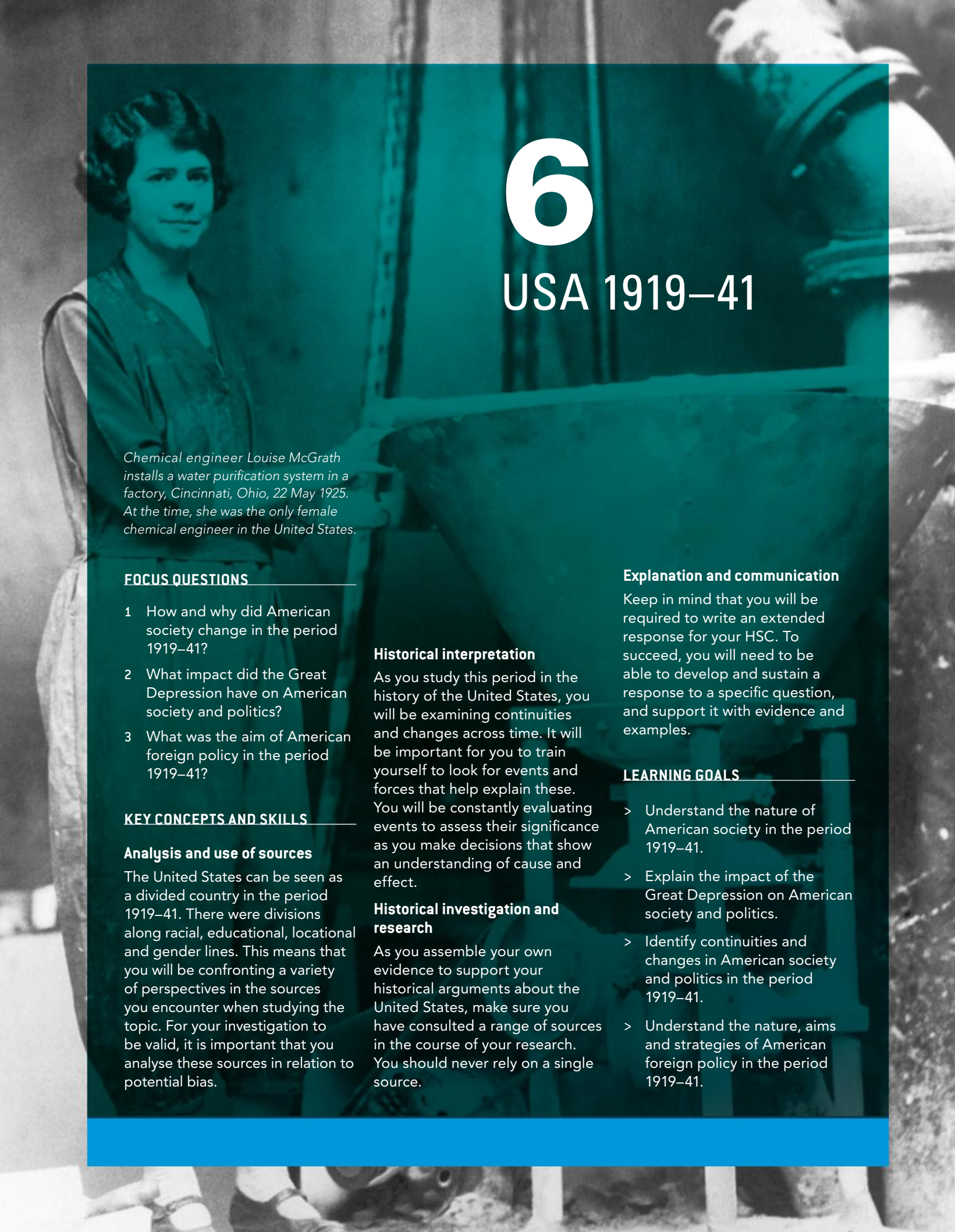
Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

6
USA 1919–41



Chemical engineer Louise McGrath installs a water purification system in a factory, Cincinnati, Ohio, 22 May 1925. At the time, she was the only female chemical engineer in the United States.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. How and why did American society change in the period 1919–41?
2. What impact did the Great Depression have on American society and politics?
3. What was the aim of American foreign policy in the period 1919–41?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The United States can be seen as a divided country in the period 1919–41. There were divisions along racial, educational, locational and gender lines. This means that you will be confronting a variety of perspectives in the sources you encounter when studying the topic. For your investigation to be valid, it is important that you analyse these sources in relation to potential bias.

Historical interpretation

As you study this period in the history of the United States, you will be examining continuities and changes across time. It will be important for you to train yourself to look for events and forces that help explain these. You will be constantly evaluating events to assess their significance as you make decisions that show an understanding of cause and effect.

Historical investigation and research

As you assemble your own evidence to support your historical arguments about the United States, make sure you have consulted a range of sources in the course of your research. You should never rely on a single source.

Explanation and communication

Keep in mind that you will be required to write an extended response for your HSC. To succeed, you will need to be able to develop and sustain a response to a specific question, and support it with evidence and examples.

LEARNING GOALS

- Understand the nature of American society in the period 1919–41.
- Explain the impact of the Great Depression on American society and politics.
- Identify continuities and changes in American society and politics in the period 1919–41.
- Understand the nature, aims and strategies of American foreign policy in the period 1919–41.

Key features

Nature and impact of industrialisation

The period 1919–41 was one of rapid industrialisation in the United States. Manufacturing output doubled during the 1920s, paving the way for a post–First World War boom. The First World War had provided a massive stimulus to American industry, and the Second World War helped the post–Great Depression recovery. When combined with the widespread application of Henry Ford's production line innovation, industry drove employment and wealth generation throughout the first post–First World War decade.

Nature and impact of consumerism

The United States has been described as the world's first consumer society. Consumerism emerged in the 1920s as a driver not only in finance, but also in communications, entertainment, dress and behaviour. The development of the concept of credit in that period played a key role in making consumer products increasingly available to a wider part of society. As the 1930s showed, however, with credit comes risk.

The Great Depression

The Great Depression dislocated American society. It destroyed the presidency of Herbert Hoover, and led to the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR). FDR's New Deal policy greatly increased federal power while providing a lifeline to many Americans. Social class and employment situation had a major impact on how Americans experienced the Great Depression.

Racism in American society

The 1920s saw a rise in the activity and political success of the white supremacist organisation the Ku Klux Klan. The massive rise in immigration to the United States at the start of the twentieth century saw migrants, as well as black people, being a target of racial discrimination. Internal migration by black Americans from the Southern states moving north in search for work and improved opportunities also saw cities like Detroit becoming residentially divided along racial lines.

Changes in society

The United States in the 1920s and 30s was a society in flux. Industrialisation, migration and urbanisation were changing the way people lived, worked and consumed. Traditionalism was giving way to modernism, and movies and jazz emerged as popular cultures whose influence would reach far beyond the nation's shores. The Wall Street Crash of 1929 and the Great Depression of the 1930s revealed that many of the changes in society disguised an unequal distribution of wealth in the United States.

Influence of conservatism

Change can also lead to resistance, and conservative forces in the United States yearned for a past where things seemed more certain. Prohibition had introduced a ban on the sale, manufacture and transport of alcohol in 1920, and traditional and modernist views were on display in the Scopes Trial of 1925, where a high school teacher was put on trial for teaching evolution in a science class.

American capitalism

The United States was built on capitalism. It encouraged the wealthy to exploit and expand in search of profits. As a result of the widespread acceptance of the freedom and superiority of the open market (that is, an economy that allows free access and competition between buyers and sellers), the 1920s reflected a period of capitalist boom. Entrepreneurs such as Ford typified the dynamism of American capitalism.

6.1 Introduction

Great Depression
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s

boom and bust
an economic cycle where high profits and low unemployment are followed by a crash and a period of low profits and high unemployment

'American Dream'
a binding idea in American society that recognises the equality of opportunity for every member of the society to succeed

'American Century'
a term used to describe the period following the Second World War that was marked by American economic and military strength

The period between 1919 and 1941 in the United States covers the end of the First World War to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and its introduction to the Second World War. It was a period of rapid economic success, as well as the deprivation of the **Great Depression**. It saw the emergence of entertainment that would come to dominate popular culture globally in the shape of movies and popular music. It witnessed the industrial development that would characterise most of the twentieth century, with booms in consumer goods, transportation, oil and high-rise building. It was the period that saw the United States become 'modern'.

It was also the period in which many divisions in American society became apparent. The Civil War (1861–65) was still in living memory for many Americans and it symbolised the depth of the divisions within the country. There were political divisions between Democrats and Republicans; racial divisions between white and black Americans; religious divisions between fundamentalists and more traditional Christians; and further divisions between drinkers and non-drinkers, unionists and anti-unionists, those born in America and immigrants, men and women, urban and rural Americans, wealthy and poor, educated and uneducated. There were fissures in American society that had not healed properly since the Civil War, and new ones that were opening up as industrialisation helped lead the country through **boom and bust**.

Many of those fissures in American society opened wider in the interwar period. It was a time when many Americans asked what the **'American Dream'** actually meant, and who was allowed to access it. It was a time of great hope and abject despair and, as such, it makes for a fascinating study.

American self-belief was tested, but the country emerged from the Second World War with the confidence and self-assurance to assume the role of leader of the Western, democratic capitalist world, a sphere it would dominate for the second half of the twentieth century.

Studying the interwar years is key to understanding what has been referred to as the **'American Century'** and enables you to understand the emergence of the United States that people are most familiar with today.

SOURCE 1 A bankrupt investor tries to sell his luxury roadster for $100 cash on the streets of New York following the 1929 Wall Street crash, which marked the start of the Great Depression.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events in the USA 1919–41

1861–65

The American Civil War takes place.

1919

President Woodrow Wilson attends the Paris Peace Conference after the end of the First World War and campaigns for a League of Nations to work for world peace. He wins the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts, but is unable to convince the American people to support the League.

1920

Warren Harding is elected president, women are given the vote, and Prohibition is introduced.

1923

Harding dies in office and is replaced by Calvin Coolidge. The apparent prosperity of his presidency would quickly give way to the Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression.

1925

The Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, places teacher John T. Scopes on trial because he breaks a state law that makes it illegal to teach Darwin's theory of evolution. He is found guilty.

1927

The Jazz Singer, the first 'talkie' film, is released.

1928

Herbert Hoover is elected president and promises 'a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage'.

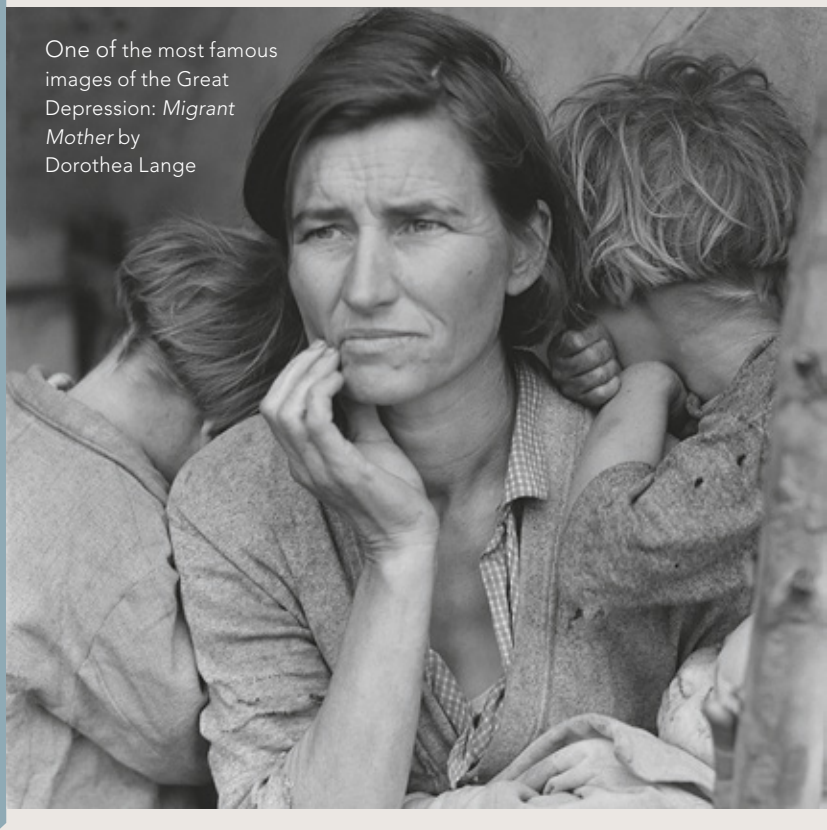
The Jazz Singer

1929

A massive fall in stock prices on the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street marks the start of one of the worst economic depressions in US and world history. Within months, millions of people are out of work.

1930

President Hoover reacts slowly to the Great Depression, preferring to rely on local government and volunteer groups.



One of the most famous images of the Great Depression: *Migrant Mother* by Dorothea Lange

1931

Congress passes the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Bill. It raises tariffs (taxes that make imported goods more expensive) to help American industry. Other countries answer by putting up their tariffs and the Great Depression spreads globally.

1932

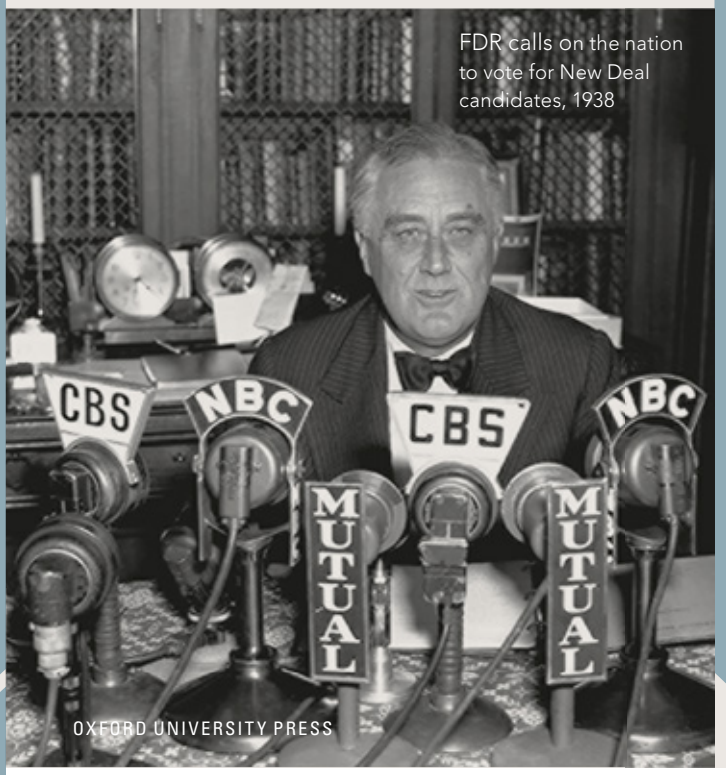
The Great Depression worsens and unemployment rises. FDR is elected president, promising the American people a 'New Deal' – he plans to use the money and resources of the US Government to boost the economy and get people back to work. FDR remains president for a record period of time, until his death in 1945.

1933

In his first 100 days, FDR institutes the New Deal, setting up a number of government agencies to help deal with a range of problems in American society. It is regarded as a radical step as it increases the power of the Federal Government. At the same time, drought turns much of the centre of the country into a 'Dust Bowl', forcing farmers off their land.

1935

The second New Deal is rolled out as FDR starts another round of major programs and laws to deal with the Great Depression and try to prevent future depressions.



FDR calls on the nation to vote for New Deal candidates, 1938

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1936

FDR is easily re-elected, reflecting the public acceptance of his policies.

1939

The Second World War begins in Europe and the United States remains neutral. This reflects the influence of the isolationism in a country that is strongly opposed to involvement.

US troops in the Second World War

1940

The United States stops all exports of iron and scrap steel to Japan to voice its objections to continued Japanese aggression in South-East Asia. FDR is the first president to be elected for a record third term.

1941

Congress passes the Lend Lease Act, giving the President the power to lend or lease any equipment to countries that the President decides might be important for America's security. Under this Act, FDR gives US$7 billion worth of aid in weapons and food to Britain. FDR calls the United States the 'arsenal of democracy'.

7 December: Japan attacks the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. The United States enters the Second World War shortly afterwards.

6.2 Survey: The USA in the aftermath of the First World War and its policies in the 1920s

The United States had been a reluctant entrant into the First World War, preferring to remain separate from what was perceived as a self-destructive European entanglement. Democratic President Woodrow Wilson attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 with high hopes of introducing a League of Nations that would make the world a safer place. Although he won the argument, and the League of Nations was founded in 1920, he was unable to convince his own country to join.

Wilson was too ill to stand for re-election, and in 1920 Warren Harding returned the White House to the Republican Party. Harding promised to take the country back to normal after its involvement in the First World War, and appointed friends to prominent positions. Those friends became embroiled in a range of scandals that undermined his presidency until his death in 1923.

Harding's successor, his former Vice President Calvin Coolidge, presided over a period of minimal government involvement and increasing prosperity. Another Republican, Herbert Hoover, was elected in 1928, and while continuing the minimalist government approach to the economy, found his presidency lost due to the impact of the 1929 Wall Street Crash and the ensuing Great Depression.

Consequences of the First World War for the United States

Historian George C. Herring describes 1919 as the period when America engaged in a debate about its role in the world. The immediate consequence of the war, as described by Herring, was a 'politically supercharged environment' characterised by strikes, racial violence and the 'Great Red Scare' of communism.

Part of the American national character was a belief in 'American exceptionalism'; that is, that Americans saw their nation as a beacon to the world, guiding the way to **democracy** and prosperity, and their history as ongoing triumphant progress. There had been American support for Wilson's attempts in Paris to stand up for the world's dispossessed and support self-determination; however, this was followed by disappointment when Paris resulted in maintenance of the European status quo of imperialism. **Ratification** of the League of Nations became Wilson's battleground, and he set out on a national speaking tour of the United States in 1919 to build support for the League from the American people. Less than a month into the tour, however, Wilson suffered a stroke and was rushed back to Washington. The President would never fully recover and when the US Senate rejected ratification of the **Treaty of Versailles**, the treaty, including the dream of a successful League of Nations, was ultimately destined for failure.

There is no doubt that participation in the First World War meant that the United States had become a major global player for the first time in history. With Europe apparently

democracy
representative government based on the will of the people

ratify
to agree to or support; to give formal confirmation of a treaty or agreement

Treaty of Versailles
the most significant in the series of official treaties that ended the First World War

determined to continue on its path of self-destruction, American leadership in world affairs had the potential and the environment to develop.

The war also had significant economic consequences. It had seen the nation begin the transition from an **agrarian** to an industrial society, and the 1920s would see a boom in **consumerism** as the economy grew by an average of 5 per cent a year during the 1920s.

Culturally, movies and jazz reflected a new way of communicating ideas. Curiously, this social change was accompanied by the introduction of Prohibition, a national ban on the making, transporting and selling of alcohol. The Anti-Saloon League, under the leadership of Wayne Wheeler, had rapidly developed into a powerful lobby group that fought successfully for Prohibition and even attempted to have a global prohibition on alcohol included as part of the Treaty of Versailles.

agrarian
related to the use of farming and agriculture

consumerism
a focus and economic reliance on the consumption of good and services

SOURCE 3 A common verse from the 1920s

Mother's in the kitchen
Washing out the jugs;
Sister's in the pantry
Bottling the suds;
Father's in the cellar
Mixing up the hops;
Johnny's on the front porch
Watching for the cops.

Eric Burns, *1920: The Year that Made the Decade Roar*, 2015, p. 50

tariff
a duty levied by a country on imported goods to make them more expensive, to encourage people to buy domestically produced goods instead

Republican economic policies

With Harding's election as President of the United States in 1920, the Republican Party was restored to the White House. With the exception of two Democrats, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, all American presidents since the Civil War (1861–65) had been Republican. The election of 1920, therefore, seemed to be a return to the normal and familiar patterns of American political life. The Republicans would continue to dominate presidential politics until the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) in 1932.

Under Republicans Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, big business had champions in the White House. They presided over an economic boom, and strongly believed in minimal government interference in business activity. They supported this approach by appointing Supreme Court judges who would consistently rule in favour of big business. Harding and Coolidge supported high **tariffs**, which protected American business, but as other countries responded with similar tariffs, international trade was restricted and helped contribute to the spread of the Great Depression across the world.

SOURCE 4 Big business sings the praises of President Coolidge's policies.

In 1928 another Republican, Herbert Hoover, was elected president. Regarded as an intelligent and politically talented man, Hoover had grown up in modest circumstances in rural America to become a self-made millionaire. This background no doubt helped shape his belief that the strength of the United States and its economy rested on the initiative and energy of the individual. He was, in this sense, a reflection and champion of the American Dream.

Hoover has often been dealt with harshly by historians and the public. He is seen as a lacklustre figure when compared with the political genius of FDR. Nevertheless, with the onset of the Great Depression, Hoover introduced a range of programs that would be the foundation for key aspects of FDR's famous New Deal. It was Hoover who convinced Congress to vote for $2.25 billion of funding for public works programs to stimulate the economy, and in 1932 he created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The RFC, as it was known, was a forerunner of the agencies that were to become a familiar feature of the New Deal. It provided indirect aid and funded banks, insurance companies and a range of other organisations. It is clear that while Hoover retained his belief in private enterprise and was cautious of anything that might be seen as socialistic, he did, in the final years of his administration, begin to move in the direction of far greater government involvement in the economy and intervene on behalf of the unemployed and needy. It is fair to see Herbert Hoover as a pioneer of the New Deal rather than simply a heartless economic rationalist.

Long-term causes of the Great Depression

The Great Depression began in 1929 and proved to be one of the greatest domestic crises in American history. It was marked by high unemployment and the closure of businesses and banks. President Hoover was seen as having failed to effectively respond to the crisis and was defeated in the 1932 presidential election by FDR.

SOURCE 5 The famous Ford production line revolutionised the way products were manufactured.

The Depression is often linked to the crash in share prices on Wall Street, home of the New York Stock Exchange, in October 1929. The causes of the Depression, however, went far deeper than just a bad day on the stock market. American economist John Kenneth Galbraith has argued that the Great Depression could have been avoided, or its impact lessened, if fundamental flaws within the American economy had been rectified during the 1920s. He maintains that the American economy in 1929 was – despite Hoover's comments to the contrary at the time of the Wall Street Crash – basically unsound. This view is supported by American historian David Kennedy, who has emphasised the 'economic disparities between the agricultural and industrial sectors' (meaning that farmers were not doing as well as manufacturers). During the 1920s there had been a fall in the market for agricultural produce due to shrinking export markets after the end of the war. The domestic market had also been reduced due to slowed population growth, partly influenced by limitations on immigration from 1924.

In manufacturing, new technology and mass production based upon economies of scale – the idea that the more you produce, the cheaper it is – had been the basis for the country's industrial growth throughout the 1920s. Productivity per worker hour had risen by 43 per cent, the most successful example being the production lines at the Ford Motor Company. The flaw in this system was, however, as Kennedy has pointed out, that mass production made mass consumption a necessity. In other words, there was no point in producing an abundance of goods, such as cars, if there were not enough people willing or able to purchase them. At this time, a system that saw the richest 5 per cent of the population receiving over one-third of all personal income was working against the buying power of the working class. Most of the profits were going to the wealthy owners of business and, although workers' wages had risen, they had not risen enough to maintain the level of consumption needed to avoid a depression. Production did not outstrip the desire of people to consume; it simply outstripped their ability to buy because wealth had not been shared.

In addition to these basic weaknesses in the industrial system, the status of the United States as a creditor nation caused further issues. Being a creditor, or an international lender of money, meant that the country had to import more or invest more overseas, especially in Europe, to help its debtors restore their economies so they could repay their debts to the United States. Hoover was to acknowledge this link after 1929. He believed he had come to terms with the domestic aspects of the American Depression, when the economies of Europe collapsed. His confidence was misplaced, as the European crash reinforced the Depression in the United States.

The United States also had a number of pyramid holding companies, where the profits of one company were based upon the production and profit of the ones below. The practice was particularly prevalent among the emerging electricity and natural gas companies. It inflated stock prices without always having a sound foundation.

Finally there is the question of a lack of economic leadership to be considered. The US Secretary of the Treasury during the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover years, Andrew Mellon, has been blamed for not taking steps to curb the runaway prices on Wall Street. Mellon was a very traditional economic thinker; even after October 1929 he saw depression as one of the natural ills of any **capitalist** system, like sickness in people. He told Hoover that depression was sometimes a good thing – that it would weed out the weak companies, make people work harder and encourage them to save, and that as a result the entire system would be stronger.

capitalist/capitalism an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

SOURCE 6 Crowds gather outside the New York Stock Exchange after the Wall Street Crash, 29 October 1929.

Reactions to the Wall Street Crash of 1929

The Wall Street Crash that launched what would become known as the Great Depression was the crash of the American stock market on Tuesday, 29 October 1929. Due to what followed, that day has become known as 'Black Tuesday'. The stirrings of the crisis had begun the previous week, as investors began to lose confidence, which is the key ingredient on a stock market. Investors started selling stocks regardless of their value. On the Monday, the pace of selling increased. On Black Tuesday, the London Stock Exchange followed suit, and people who had invested their life savings in stocks that seemed to have limitless potential suddenly found them worthless. It took nearly three weeks for markets to reach any level of normality.

Following the Wall Street Crash, despite the efforts of Hoover, who was perhaps the most able Republican of his time, the economic depression grew worse. Hoover tried to restore confidence. His private papers suggest that he deliberately used the word 'depression' because he thought it was less likely to worry people than words such as 'panic' or 'crisis'. He adopted a mildly **inflationary policy** to encourage recovery, but it was based largely on self-help and voluntary cooperation from business.

Between 1929 and the presidential election of 1932, national income fell from $87.4 billion to $41.7 billion, and almost 70 000 businesses went bankrupt. Five thousand banks failed.

inflationary policy an economic policy that leads to an increase in prices and a fall in the purchasing power of money

Unemployment reached four million in 1930, and then doubled in 1931. By 1932 it had reached 12 million. *Fortune* magazine calculated that 28 million Americans had no income at all in 1932.

Further, hundreds of thousands of Americans lost their homes as banks foreclosed and over a million jobless people roamed the country. There were hunger riots in former factory towns, and **shanty towns** sprang up around the United States.

SOURCE 7 Inauguration Day 1933, when President Herbert Hoover (left) made way for FDR (right)

Nevertheless, there were those who championed the traditional values of individualism and self-help. Former president Calvin Coolidge has been quoted as saying that 'the man who builds a factory builds a temple' and 'the man who works there worships there'. It is crucial to understand the extent to which free enterprise and business were regarded as cornerstones of what it was to be American during the 1920s. In 1925 author, politician and Coolidge advisor Bruce Barton even wrote a book suggesting that if Jesus had come to the United States in the 1920s, he would have been an advertising executive. After the Wall Street Crash, Henry Ford also said of the unemployed roaming the country in search of work: 'Why it's the best education in the world for those boys travelling around! They get more experience in a few months than they would in years at school.' Against this background, FDR set about offering the American people his 'New Deal' and new hope.

shanty towns makeshift collections of self-made homes

6.2 Check your learning

1 Which political party held the presidency throughout the 1920s? Identify the main features of its policy.
2 Outline the main consequences of the First World War for the United States.
3 Explain three long-term causes of the Great Depression in the United States.
4 What was the Wall Street Crash?
5 What impact did the Wall Street Crash have on the American economy?

6.2 Understanding and using the sources

1 Which 1920s American social issue does Source 3 provide a perspective on? What perspective does the source take?
2 Analyse Source 4. Why would American big business be singing the praises of Calvin Coolidge?
3 Why was the Ford assembly line, shown in Source 5, such a significant feature of American industry?
4 The date of Source 6 is 29 October 1929. Why would so many people be gathering outside the New York Stock Exchange? Construct a conversation between two people in the crowd.

6.3 The Great Depression and its impact

The Great Depression that followed the Wall Street Crash saw the collapse of the previously buoyant American economy. Unemployment soared, and cities particularly suffered as construction employment fell to 20 per cent of pre-depression levels. Employment in manufacturing fell by 40 per cent, and hours worked by 60 per cent. This placed economic stress on households, as even basic items such as food and clothing suddenly became too expensive to most people. As Source 8 reveals, the effects of unemployment were felt the most by the least skilled.

As the economic author Charles R. Morris has pointed out, unemployment data from this period is imprecise, and actual unemployment may have been around three million higher than the accepted figures. What is clear is that the impact of the Great Depression on many families was devastating.

SOURCE 8 Unemployment figures in Chicago in 1931

CLASS OF WORKER	PERCENTAGE UNEMPLOYED
Skilled workers	40.4
Semi-skilled workers	36.6
Unskilled workers	57.2

Charles R. Morris, *A Rabble of Dead Money*, 2017, p. 137

The effects of the Great Depression on different groups in society

As Source 8 suggests, the effects of the Great Depression on different groups were uneven. Professionals and managers fared better than the people they were managing. Only 6.8 per cent of clerks were unemployed in 1930, and although that rose to 18.1 per cent in the following year, it was below national unemployment rates. Location also had an impact. The Great Depression hit industrial cities such as Detroit particularly hard. As the home of the automobile industry, its workers were vulnerable to any economic contraction. The Ford Motor Company, for example, reduced its payroll from 128 000 workers in March 1929 to 37 000 by the summer of 1931.

SOURCE 9 A 'Hooverville' in Seattle, Washington

Workers

For the United States in the 1930s, as was the case in all Western societies, the family traditionally relied upon a male breadwinner. Thus, if that breadwinner was thrown out of work, the family was placed under great stress, and for men the sense of failure became all-pervasive. This led to a collapse of morale across the country. Researchers in Chicago noted that 'middle aged men, those between thirty five and fifty five, just at the time when their family responsibilities are at their greatest' were suffering significant despair. One subject, a middle-aged man himself, reported that 'a man over forty may as well go out and shoot himself'. As people lost their homes, unemployed workers created shanty towns, ironically nicknamed 'Hoovervilles', across America.

Women

As men were laid off in droves during the Great Depression, women and children – whose wages were significantly cheaper than men's – often had to accept the responsibility of trying to support the family. Women found it easier to gain employment as clerks than men, and unskilled service jobs that were traditionally filled by women, such as cleaning and waitressing, were not as impacted by the Great Depression as manufacturing and industry jobs.

Alongside their paid work, women also had to continue to maintain households, often in squalid conditions.

Farmers

Wholesale revenue from agricultural production halved between 1929 and 1932 and researcher Frederick Mills, who investigated the impact of the Great Depression on the agricultural sector, found that, by 1933, farmers' ability to purchase basic items had deteriorated by about a third more than the rest of the economy. When farmers declared bankruptcy as the Great Depression increased, there was a flow-on effect on small rural banks, with many having to close down.

Paired with the impact of the 'Dust Bowl' – a period of severe dust storms and drought that hit mid-western agricultural states such as Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico during the 1930s – these pressures became unbearable for many farmers. It drove thousands of families off their land, with many heading west to California, further exacerbating the effects of the Great Depression.

SOURCE 10
A Dust Bowl farm in Dallas, South Dakota, in May 1936, showing the effects of sand storms and droughts on farming

Black people

sharecropper
a tenant farmer who pays part of their crop as rent for the land they are farming

In his 2017 book *A Rabble of Dead Money: The Great Crash and the Global Depression 1929–1939*, Charles Morris narrates the story of Ned Cobb (referred to as Nate Shaw), the son of a slave and black **sharecropper** in Alabama, as an example of the trickledown effect of the 1920s boom. Sharecroppers were tenant farmers who gave part of their crop to their landlords as rent. In the American South, black sharecroppers were regularly exploited by white farmers. Cobb was a hard worker and was able to save enough from his cotton crop to become one of the few black people to own some land of his own, and to be one of first people of colour in the South to buy his own car, a Model T Ford. In 1931 he joined the Sharecropper's Union to help fight for the rights of black sharecroppers, as they found themselves at the end of the exploitation chain when the Great Depression impacted on the largely rural and racist South. After helping a black neighbour fight to hold land that a group of white deputies were trying to illegally repossess, Cobb was involved in a gun fight and was jailed for 12 years. He managed to retain his land and was portrayed as a rare example of black success from the time of the Great Depression. His oral history became the basis of an award-winning book in 1975 – *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw*, as told to Theodore Rosengarten. Cobb's experience shows the opportunities that were available for black people in the 1920s, and also the ways in which the realities of racism and the Great Depression prevented black Americans from making any serious social or economic progress.

SOURCE 11 A sharecropper works in a field in Georgia, 1937.

Many black Americans had migrated north in the first two decades of the twentieth century in search of opportunity. However, the jobs they had found in industry disappeared during the Great Depression, often more quickly than they did for whites – black workers were often the first laid off as economic conditions tightened. Like their white counterparts, black people established shanty towns, or Hoovervilles. In Washington D.C., a black and white Hooverville managed to exist side by side until Hoover controversially ordered the US Army to destroy both of them, because their presence was seen as an embarrassment to the government.

6.3a Check your learning

1. What evidence is there that the Great Depression impacted differently on different groups in American society?
2. Explain what Hoovervilles were and why they would be seen as 'an embarrassment to the government'.
3. What advantages did females searching for work in the Great Depression have over males?
4. Research the 'Dust Bowl' and analyse the impact it had on American farmers during the Great Depression.
5. Research the life of Ned Cobb. Would you argue that his experience was typical of, or different from, that of the majority of black Americans during the Great Depression?

6.3a Understanding and using the sources

1 What does Source 8 reveal about the nature of the impact of the Great Depression on American society?

2 Analyse Sources 9 and 10, and explain what they have in common. How reliable would they be as sources of information about the experiences of people during the Great Depression?

Attempts to halt the Great Depression

The responsibility for dealing with the Great Depression fell squarely on the shoulders of two American presidents: the Republican Herbert Hoover and the Democrat FDR. They took different approaches, and it will be important for you to consider the evidence and provide examples to support your conclusion when attempting to evaluate which approach was most successful.

The Hoover presidency

Despite the drama of Black Tuesday and the Wall Street Crash, economic writers such as Charles R. Morris concluded on an examination of the figures to the end of 1929 that 'a slowdown, and a mild recession, was very likely in the cards, but there were still a number of positive indicators'. Unemployment had briefly fallen at the start of 1929 and businesses such as radio and movies were steadily growing. Morris describes the most likely scenario in late 1929 as 'a modest slowdown to realign the real economy, followed by a pickup in the financial markets'. The significance of this interpretation is that it places the Hoover presidency squarely in the key position to influence economic direction at a critical time.

Hoover's reaction was to institute a series of meetings to try and head off a recession. He met with business people and a range of local and state political representatives to encourage them to maintain wages, and he urged states and cities to accelerate construction to stabilise spending and employment. He was reluctant to involve the Federal Government in any large-scale spending because of the traditional fear that government involvement could harm the **free market** that had enabled the United States to build such strong economic success in the past.

free market
a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

Being a prisoner of Republican thinking and economic orthodoxy condemned Hoover to failure as he dealt with the developing economic slowdown. His reliance on private enterprise and market forces to aid the increasing number of unemployed people simply failed. City-based relief agencies were overwhelmed as unemployment rapidly grew throughout 1931, and wealthy business people declined to invest, preferring to wait out the unstable markets.

In June 1930 the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Bill was put forward to the President. The Bill proposed an increase on the tariff placed on goods entering the country in an effort to support local producers. A month earlier, 1028 economists had signed a petition pleading with Hoover not to sign it, but despite his own misgivings, Hoover signed the Bill into law. Debate has raged since about the responsibility of the Smoot–Hawley Tariff Bill for the escalation of the Great Depression. Economists are now moving towards the standpoint that the impact was small, but there is no doubt that the Bill caused an international reaction, with other countries – starting with Canada and spreading across the globe – imposing their own tariffs and strangling international trade.

Hoover maintained his resistance to providing relief for the poor, and was booed when he attended a World Series baseball game in October 1931. His reputation was further stained by his reaction to the 'Bonus Army', who had arrived in Washington D.C. over the spring and summer of 1932. This 'army' was made up of First World War veterans who had been promised a bonus payment for their war service that was not due to be released to them until 1945. With many veterans now unemployed and living in poverty, they marched to demand it be paid early. Hoover refused to give in to the protesters and in 1932 he ordered the Secretary of War to break up the protests. The result was that two veterans were killed and more than a hundred were injured. Hoover then ordered the army to go in and clear the veterans' camps and, under Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur, the army burned most of the tents and squatters' few belongings. It was a public relations disaster that confirmed for the public that Hoover did not care about the poor. FDR, who would run against Hoover in the November presidential election, is reported to have said about the raids: 'Well this elects me.'

SOURCE 12 Democratic Senator Robert Wagner, speaking in 1931

> We shall help the railroad; we shall help the financial institutions, and I agree that we should. But is there any reason why we should not likewise extend a helping hand to that forlorn American, in every city and village in the United States who has been without wages since 1929?
>
> Charles R. Morris, *A Rabble of Dead Money*, 2017, p. 145

FDR and the New Deal

FDR was elected President of the United States on 8 November 1932, but had to wait until March 1933 to be inaugurated as the 32nd president. As Source 14 indicates, it was a comprehensive win, reflecting a country that had wearied of the Republican approach to big business and small government.

FDR first used the term 'New Deal' in his acceptance speech at the 1932 Democratic Convention in Chicago, when he said: 'I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people.' It is unlikely that, at the time, FDR was doing anything more than delivering a speech. The words were inspiring, but deliberately vague, as he neither wanted, nor needed, to commit himself to any specific plan of action at this time.

The 1932 election was the election that Hoover lost, rather than the election that FDR won. FDR disclosed very little about his economic plans during the election campaign. He had, however, criticised Hoover for being reckless and extravagant with government money and for trying to centre too much government power in Washington. FDR did pledge to cut government spending by 25 per cent. This bore no resemblance to what he actually did once he took office, but it was an important reflection of FDR's political style. He could be ruthless, practical and willing to deceive others to get what he wanted.

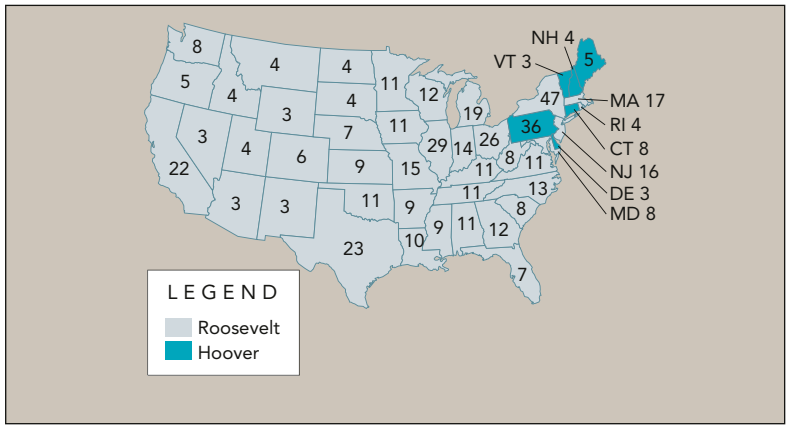
Despite the vagueness during the election campaign, there were some clues as to what FDR might do to address the Great Depression. As Governor of New York between 1929 and 1932, he had supported low tariffs and assistance to agriculture. He had also been willing to spend government money, and he favoured public-funded hydroelectric projects and the provision of government money for the unemployed and the elderly.

The New Deal that emerged during 1933 evolved from trial and error. There was no bold, revolutionary grand design; that was not FDR's style. He was pragmatic; in other words, he

SOURCE 13 Police attack the camp of the 'Bonus Army' in Washington D.C., July 1932.

looked for practical solutions to specific problems. During the months preceding his inauguration, FDR had a number of meetings with the outgoing President Hoover. They did not get along well, and represented a contrast in approaches. Hoover described FDR as an intellectual lightweight and felt that he had little understanding of the economic situation. While Hoover immersed himself in economic detail, FDR looked at the big picture; while Hoover read every economic report, FDR gained more from talking to people.

THE ELECTION RESULTS MAP FROM 1932



SOURCE 14 The numbers indicate the Electoral College votes available in that state.

Following Inauguration Day, FDR used the full power of the president's office to attack the Great Depression. He also utilised the new technology of radio to appeal directly to the public, in what became known as his 'fireside chats'. Considering the country's size and diversity, being able to harness the communicative power of radio to speak with all Americans in such an intimate manner was a masterstroke.

The program for the New Deal became clear after FDR's first hundred days in office. The initial stage of the New Deal was based on three foundations:

1 the establishment of government agencies devoted to relief from the hardships of the Great Depression and recovery
2 tighter government regulation of aspects of business, banking and the economy at large
3 an expansion of public works to stimulate the economy.

SOURCE 15

> The country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands, bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it: If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something. The millions who are in want will not stand by silently forever while things to satisfy their needs are within easy reach.
>
> FDR's speech to commencing students at Oglethorpe University, spring, 1932, in Charles R. Morris. *A Rabble of Dead Money*, 2017, p. 257

Fifteen major bills went through Congress between 9 March and 16 June 1933, creating the following agencies: the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Home-Owners Loan Corporation, the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the United States Employment Service, the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Communications Commission, the National Housing Administration, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Gold Standard
a monetary system where a country's currency or paper money has a value directly linked to that of gold

FDR took the United States off the **Gold Standard**, closed the banks and then gradually reopened them, providing a government guarantee of all deposits under $5000. This was the type of action that began restoring much-needed confidence into American life, while also subtly increasing the federal administration's involvement in the day-to-day running of the government.

FDR then went on to extend government regulation of the economy through the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Farm Tenancy Act, the Public Utilities Holding Company Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. There was also an expanded public works program, with the Rural Electrification Administration, the United States Housing Authority and the Works Progress Administration.

This aspect of the New Deal played a role in easing the burden of the Great Depression. The so-called 'New Deal recovery' caused unemployment to fall from nearly 12 million in 1932–33 to less than eight million four years later. A recession in 1937–38 saw the figures rise again for a time, until full recovery came with the Second World War.

Despite the traditional American suspicion against government intervention, the New Deal won major and enduring public approval. FDR's party, the Democrats, added to their majority of seats in both Congress and the Senate in the 1934 elections. Two years later, FDR was re-elected president with a huge majority, defeating the Republican candidate, Alf Landon. FDR was re-elected again in 1940 and 1944, as he moved from guiding his country through the Great Depression to leading it through the Second World War.

The New Deal did, however, prompt a great deal of controversy – while many people saw it as revolutionary, others complained that it did not go far enough. The Supreme Court blocked many of the changes that FDR wanted; for example, the National Recovery Administration (NRA), an agency set up in 1933, which was designed to provide direction for future economic planning, was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1935.

SOURCE 16 A New Deal encampment to accommodate unemployed workers from Chicago and Milwaukee while they were trained in forestry work as part of the New Deal, Fort Sheridan United States Army Post, Illinois, c. 1935

As mentioned above, the New Deal was not a grand plan; rather, it was a series of specific and often experimental solutions to particular social and economic problems. As a consequence, the New Deal comprised many changes and many phases. Some historians have found it useful to distinguish between the initial changes and later aspects of the program.

The early phase, sometimes called the 'first New Deal', referred to measures taken up to 1935. The 'second New Deal' went from 1935 to 1939. If the early period had been about relief and recovery, the second period was dominated far more by the hope of lasting reform.

6.3b Check your learning

1. Script a conversation between Hoover and FDR where they try to convince each other of the validity of their economic approach.
2. What evidence is there that the American people lost confidence in Hoover's economic approach?
3. Outline the three foundations of the New Deal.
4. Select any two of the agencies listed and research their roles during the New Deal.

6.3b Using and understanding sources

1. Explain how Source 14 could be used as evidence by a historian to evaluate the acceptance of Hoover and FDR's approaches to dealing with the Great Depression. What limits are there on relying on it to answer that question?
2. Source 15 was delivered before FDR had been elected president. To what extent did the New Deal reflect what FDR said in Source 15?

Assessment of the New Deal

Historians will always debate interpretations of evidence. Any evaluation of the New Deal must be supported by evidence, and you should look for your own sources that will help you argue for your own interpretation of the success and achievements of the New Deal.

Some historians argue that the first New Deal had focused on the needs of business and banks in order to support the economy. The second New Deal, they suggest, did more to address the needs of the poor, the unemployed, the farmers and other disadvantaged groups, such as through the Social Security Act, the Revenue Act and the Welfare Tax Act, all passed in 1935. Each of these Acts was designed to make the social system more equitable, providing pensions and social welfare payments to the unemployed and the elderly, and imposing a heavier tax burden on the rich.

In 1944, Basil Rauch wrote a history of the New Deal in which the first New Deal was presented as being primarily conservative, aimed simply at recovery rather than reform. Rauch suggests that the Second New Deal, which appeared in 1935, was more radical and gave rise to progressive measures. The problem with this interpretation is that it is too simple: it ignores some progressive aspects of the early years of the FDR administration.

A contrasting view was developed by Rexford Tugwell, one of FDR's advisers, and was made popular by historian Arthur M. Schlesinger. This view also recognises two New Deals, but describes them differently from the way Rauch does. Schlesinger saw the first New Deal as radical and the second New Deal as conservative. According to Schlesinger, the radical nature of the early period was evident in a commitment to national planning and, after 1935, the second New Deal was more traditional, more conservative and increasingly pro-business. As with Rauch's view, these labels are too clear-cut. It is difficult to describe legislation such as the Wagner Act (which guaranteed basic work rights to private sector employers), or the creation of new government agencies (such as the Farm Security Administration or the National Planning Board) as representing a conservative shift in policy.

According to David Kennedy, if labels are to be used, they should distinguish between features of the New Deal in terms of its legacy. In other words, which pieces of legislation had lasting effects? Kennedy sees the measures adopted to address the immediate economic crisis of the Great Depression as part of what he calls the first New Deal. For Kennedy, the second New Deal includes all of the enduring changes that came out of the reforms from 1933 onward. He bases his distinction not on when policies were enacted, but on how significant and lasting they proved to be.

Historian Richard Kirkendall suggests that FDR and the New Deal made significant changes to American politics and even helped defend the two-party system. He also suggests that the New Deal, in providing moderate change, helped prevent more radical change, such as a revolution. This view is supported by the fact that by 1932, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party – which represented a more radical approach to dealing with the Great Depression – had expanded their membership and campaigns for radical change.

Kirkendall saw the New Deal as continuing an American tradition of pragmatism. In 1929 and 1930, the economic crisis of the Great Depression was so extreme that the view was not whether there would be change, but how significant the change would be. Hoover had been willing to involve the government in the bid for recovery, but he hoped that the private sector might lead the way. His failure to turn the 'economic cycle' meant that people had less

SOURCE 17 Eleanor Roosevelt speaking to a young girl at a slum clearance in Detroit

confidence in the ability of the private sector to deal with the crisis, leading them to accept FDR's expanded role for government.

Kirkendall portrays FDR's election victory in 1932 – with 57.4 per cent of the vote to Hoover's 39.7 per cent – as a triumph for **centrism**, as FDR managed to create a coalition of voters who trusted him to deliver in their best interests. Many of these had been Republican voters for most of the twentieth century. The political support FDR called upon, dubbed the 'Roosevelt coalition', was made up of urban support from the big cities (he won big support in the 36 largest cities) and immigrants. In addition, the Great Depression resulted in a return of the South to the Democratic Party, and a shift towards the Democratic Party from farmers in the West and Midwest. This support became even stronger in the 1936 election.

Democratic support from black voters rose in the 1932 election. Traditionally, black people had supported the Republicans – the party of Abraham Lincoln and the **emancipation** – but Hoover's record on race relations was poor. Even so, most black voters still distrusted the Democrats. By 1936 this had changed and the majority of black voters cast their vote for FDR.

Here, it is important to note that the New Deal did little to deal with the racism that was prevalent in the United States at this time. There was no effort to address the **lynchings**, **disenfranchisement**, **segregation** or job discrimination. Where the New Deal helped black Americans was as members of the lower class through welfare programs. The New Deal did, however, result in more non-whites being placed in important government positions than had been the case under any previous administration.

Women were also a key part of FDR's support base and during his time in office women were employed in significant government positions. The high public profile of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was also an important factor in building support for FDR among female voters.

centrism
a political viewpoint that adopts a pragmatic policy of problem solving, balancing individual and community needs and aspirations

emancipation
the freeing of the slaves during and after the American Civil War

lynching
an informal public execution, often conducted by a mob, designed to punish an individual or intimidate a group of people

disenfranchisement
deprivation of a privilege, particularly the right to vote

segregation
keeping people and opportunities separated, usually because of race or ethnicity

Criticism of the New Deal

There were those – such as journalist and labour activist Benjamin Stolberg and politician Warren Vinton, both writing in 1935 – who claimed that the New Deal did not go far enough and that it failed to alter the basic injustices within American society. They attacked the limitations of the social security, the lack of concern for the black population and the inadequate unemployment relief programs.

This attack has since been continued by historians James MacGregor Burns and Paul Conkin, who argue that the New Deal benefited the wealthy and those with vested interests, especially the farmers and the middle class. They suggest that it did not lead to fundamental change for those most in need.

On the other side of politics, FDR was criticised for being 'revolutionary'. Conservatives, such as former president Hoover and Senator Robert Taft, claimed that the New Deal tried to set up a welfare state, and that it was socialist; that is, that too much power flowed to government.

SOURCE 18

> [T]here is a striking vein of research that suggests that the main factor in the recovery was Roosevelt himself – and it's not nearly as far-fetched as it sounds. It has long been a puzzlement that the economy picked up sharply in the *month* that Roosevelt finally assumed the presidency. There was no obvious reason for it – no sudden increase in the money supply, no fall in real wages that might explain a turnaround.
>
> Charles R. Morris, *A Rabble of Dead Money*, 2017, p. 263

Historians continue to debate the extent and duration of the political legacy of the New Deal. It could be argued that it carried through to the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson presidential campaigns of 1960 and 1964. Kennedy spoke about his 'new frontier', while Johnson was a New Deal Democratic congressman from Texas, who proposed the 'great society' of the 1960s – the 'high tide' of Democratic liberalism. Even Bill Clinton's campaign of 1992 was not without cultural links to the Democratic tradition of FDR and the New Deal in terms of its rhetoric. Barack Obama's appeal for 'Hope' in 2008 showed the continuity of the New Deal ideas in Democrat political campaigning.

6.3c Check your learning

1. Identify the different perspectives historians have presented in their interpretations of the New Deal. Select one perspective and research it in detail. Explain how it has contributed to your historical understanding of the New Deal.
2. Evaluate the success of the New Deal in helping the United States through the Great Depression.
3. What political impact did the New Deal have in the United States?

6.3c Using and understanding sources

1. What image of Eleanor Roosevelt is portrayed in Source 17? Research her life and career, and explain why she was a significant political asset for FDR.
2. Explain the point that Charles R. Morris is making in Source 18. Develop an argument either supporting or opposing this perspective.

6.4 US society 1919–41

The decade after the First World War has been called the 'Roaring Twenties', and the writer F. Scott Fitzgerald nicknamed it the 'Jazz Age'. It was a time of urban expansion, technological advance, social change and superficial prosperity. It was a period of transition that established many of the foundations of modern American society. But the 1920s were also characterised by conservative impulses such as Prohibition, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, a fear of immigrants and of communism, and clashes with a modern sense of permissiveness symbolised by the 'flappers'. The term 'flapper' was used to describe young women who broke with the puritanical traditions of the past by wearing short dresses and make-up, and smoking in public.

While the 1920s is often thought of as a decadent decade, it did not represent prosperity for everyone. Worker wages did not increase at a rate comparable to productivity or profits. The decade after the war also saw a major rural recession as prices of farm produce fell from wartime highs and failed to recover. The growing gap between the rich and the poor reinforced class divisions and the sense of alienation between more traditional rural Anglo-Saxon America and the emerging urban, multicultural America of the big cities. It is fair to suggest that the Jazz Age has been glamorised in popular American culture because of the stark contrast with the bitter decade of the Great Depression that followed in the 1930s.

SOURCE 19 Two 'flappers' illustrate the era's penchant for both fun and recklessness by dancing 'the Charleston' on a rooftop ledge at Chicago's Sherman Hotel.

Implications of growing urbanisation and industrialisation

The growth of urban society was one of the most striking developments of the 1920s. This shift was partly driven by foreign immigrants flocking to the large cities for work and a better life. It was also the product of internal migration, as people from small towns moved to the big manufacturing centres in search of opportunity.

The large-scale movement of black Americans from the South to the North – the black population of northern cities such as Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland and New York grew by 35 per cent between 1910 and 1920 – had both social and cultural implications. Many white residents in cities such as Detroit resented any attempts by black people to move into what they regarded as white areas, increasing racial tensions.

As a result of internal migration, black culture, especially music, spread and started to generate change in American society. Initially it was jazz and blues that built a significant following. This would explode in the 1940s and 50s, leading to the development of rock'n'roll in the 1950s. Through music, black culture was made accessible to white Americans, and by the 1960s *Motown*, a black music company based in Detroit, would be the largest black corporation in the United States.

By the end of the 1920s, for the first time in the country's history, the urban population was larger than the rural communities. In 1910, there were only three US cities with populations over one million: New York (4 766 883), Chicago (2 185 283) and Philadelphia (1 549 008).

SOURCE 20 The 'Promised Land': Hollywood, California in 1929

SOURCE 21 The growing city: New York in 1925

By the end of the 1920s, there were five, all with vastly increased populations: New York (6 930 446), Chicago (3 376 438), Philadelphia (1 950 961), Detroit (1 568 662), and Los Angeles (1 238 048). Detroit's population grew by 600 per cent and Cleveland's by 300 per cent between 1910 and 1920.

The 1920s have been called the decade of the second American Industrial Revolution; a claim that is supported by the fact that industrial production doubled between 1922 and 1927. This increased production was a result of technological advances in manufacturing. Electrical power replaced steam in most factories, and most of the products produced were consumer goods.

The automobile industry was the backbone of industrial production during this period. In 1922, 2.5 million new cars and trucks were sold in the United States. By 1929 that had more than doubled to 5.3 million. Steel plants were operating beyond capacity, producing the steel that supported the skyscrapers that were starting to dominate city skylines. Electricity sales were up 12 per cent, and the impact of electrification was seen in a 30 per cent jump in electrical machinery sales. Radio was becoming an essential item in households across the nation, and the movie industry was on the verge of an even larger boom as it adapted to new technology with the introduction of sound in films.

Mobilisation of the military and war production 1939–41

An examination of US war production in 1939 makes it clear that the country was not prepared for the Second World War. Incredibly, the United States was ranked 39th in the world in terms of military production at the time the war broke out in Europe. Further, the US armed forces still contained 50 000 cavalry and used horses to pull artillery.

The Great Depression had taken its toll, and many Americans were determined to keep their country out of another European entanglement, believing they had no need to be involved in

SOURCE 22 Workers building a skyscraper in New York, 1925, have lunch while perched on a girder 20 storeys in the air.

the conflict. Then came Pearl Harbor. Less than a month after the Japanese attack on 7 December 1941, FDR told Congress and the American people: 'Powerful enemies must be out-fought and out-produced. It is not enough to turn out just a few more planes, a few more tanks, a few more guns, a few more ships than can be turned out by our enemies. We must out-produce them overwhelmingly, so that there can be no question of our ability to provide a crushing superiority of equipment in any theatre of the world war.'

FDR set mighty targets for war production, including 60 000 aircraft in 1942 and 125 000 in 1943. These ambitious aims and rapid mobilisation of troops transformed American industry. Companies fell into line and applied their manufacturing skills to supporting the war. In 1941, more than three million cars had been manufactured in the United States. Only 139 more were made during the entire war. Instead, Chrysler made aeroplane fuselages and General Motors made aeroplane engines, as well as guns, trucks and tanks. Packard made Rolls-Royce engines for the British Air Force, and, in Michigan, the Ford Motor Company turned to manufacturing B-24 Liberator long-range bombers 24 hours a day. One came off the production line every 63 minutes.

War mobilisation also helped transform American society. Sixteen million men and women served in the armed forces, and another 24 million worked in industries supporting the war effort. Eight million women entered the work force, and minorities such as black people and Latinos found a much wider range of employment opportunities than were available to them before the war. To pay for this massive transformation, personal income tax exemption was lowered and **war bonds** were issued. Necessary commodities were rationed to ensure their availability. The production potential in the United States was always there, but the urgency generated by Pearl Harbor ensured that it burst into efficient action.

war bonds in effect, a means by which the public lends the government money to meet military needs; people purchase a war bond certificate and are repaid the money when it matures in later years

Growth and influence of consumerism and entertainment

As mentioned, the United States has been described as the world's first consumer society, and it was in the 1920s that this transformation really began. Industrial expansion made more and more consumer goods available at lower prices. Electrification and the increasing application of credit meant that even working families had access to new products. For example, the price of one of Henry Ford's Model T's had dropped from $950 to $290 in 1926. Industry also provided a growing range of now familiar labour-saving household appliances, including stoves, refrigerators and washing machines, all of which started appearing in working-class homes. Technology also allowed the production of synthetic products, such as cellophane and rayon.

In the 1920s, the focus of advertising shifted in the United States. While advertising began as a way to inform customers about produce, the 1920s saw advertisements becoming more persuasive. Advertising agencies more than doubled their income from 1919 to 1926, a shift that was closely connected with the fundamental and near-fatal weakness of the market capitalism of the 1920s – the continual need for consumption and growth. At this time, credit boomed and many families used the credit system to purchase cheaper goods, such as cars and even clothing. In 1920 there was virtually no money tied up in consumer instalment credit; by 1925 the total was $11.5 billion.

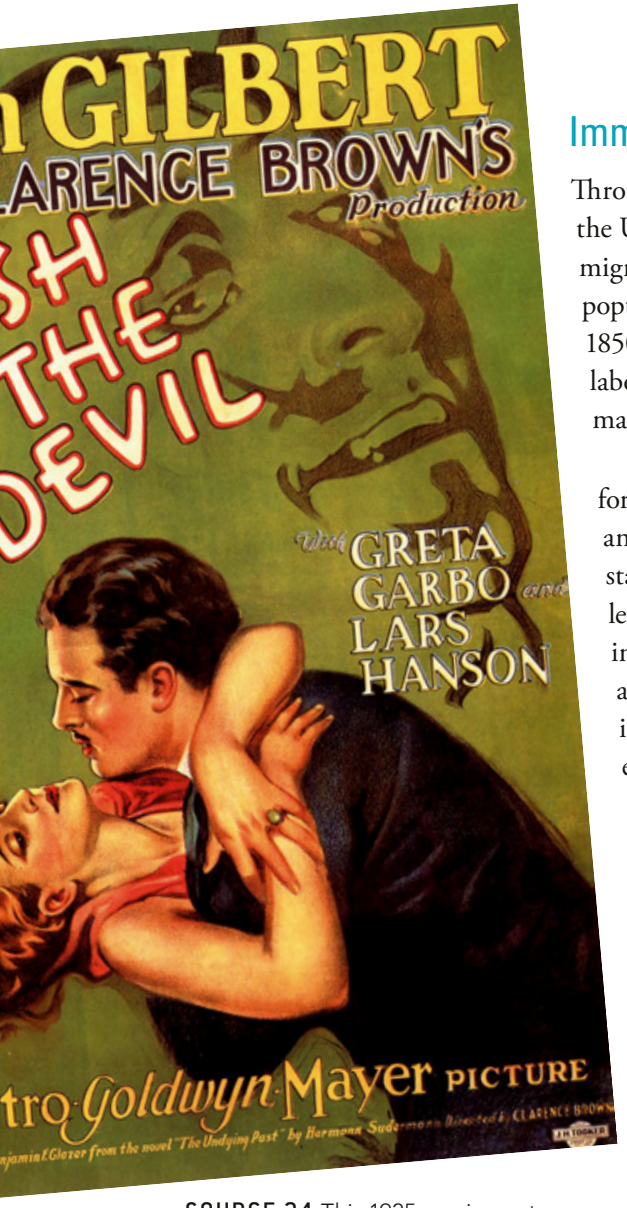
Through the development of the film industry, entertainment and consumerism began to blur together. Visiting the movie theatres that sprung up across the country became a favourite pastime for Americans during the 1920s. As Source 24 indicates, movies started to feature more controversial content during the 1920s, including nudity and the use of curse words. This trend was to be temporarily reversed by the introduction of the Motion Picture Production Code, commonly known as the Hays Code, in 1930. The code was designed to ensure that a film did not 'lower the moral standards of those who saw it', and included the ban of features such as suggestive nudity, profanities and miscegenation (sexual relations between a black person and a white person). Always controversial, the code maintained a largely conservative approach to filmmaking before finally coming under sustained attack in the 1960s, when it faded into history.

SOURCE 23 Boom times: advertising, 1920s-style

As for music, the jazz genre was booming and spread beyond churches and black communities of the South to metropolitan areas such as Chicago and New York. Black musicians like Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong become major forces in the Jazz Age, eventually blazing a path that would lead to mainstream acceptance of the genre that crossed any racial divide.

Social tensions

The surface appearance of the United States in the 1920s portrayed a progressive consumerist society moving ever onwards to greater prosperity and success. That picture obscured the tensions that existed in American society at the time. There were deep divisions along racial lines, with the Civil War still in living memory. Moves were made to restrict migration, and religious fundamentalists pushed back against modernism and scientific rationality. Communism became an ongoing fear and, by being linked to workers' rights, it condemned unions to an increasingly peripheral role. The prohibition on alcohol sales continued throughout the 1920s, which offered great opportunities for criminal gangs to make a thriving business in the illegal alcohol trade. When the Great Depression hit, many of these tensions came to the fore, and the apparently unstoppable surge towards a golden future hit a shuddering halt.



SOURCE 24 This 1925 movie poster suggests the increasing **salaciousness** of films during the 1920s.

Immigration restrictions

Through much of the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States had offered largely open entry to European migrants searching for a better life. This resulted in a population increase in the United States from 23 million in 1850 to 106 million in 1920. Migrants were also a willing labour force that helped fuel the growth of industry and manufacturing.

However, with mass migration came division, and foreigners became an easy target for prejudice in the age of anti-communist movements. Some American-born citizens started demanding restrictions on migration, and the first legislation aimed at imposing such restrictions was passed in 1917. This Act – known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, as it banned immigrants from the Asia–Pacific Region – imposed a literacy test and increased the tax payable upon entry to the United States.

One of Harding's first acts as president in 1921 was to impose restrictions on the number of places available to immigrants. This was an attempt 'to preserve the ideal of US homogeneity', in the words of the Office of the American Historian (which provides official interpretations of historic events online). The restrictions were consolidated in the Immigration Act of 1924. As well as imposing much smaller quotas on immigrants, the Act excluded Asian races, which included, for the first time, the Japanese. As the Office of the American Historian concluded, 'the US Congress had decided that preserving the racial composition of the country was more important than promoting good ties with Japan'.

salaciousness creating an undue interest in sexual matters

The era of open entry to the United States had finished, and the anti-immigration movement created another division in American society. In a nation of immigrants, those born in America sought to place themselves above those who had recently arrived.

Religious fundamentalism

The savagery of the First World War encouraged many people to reflect on the nature of humanity. One result of this was a rise in fundamental Christianity – that is, belief in the literal truth of everything in the Bible – in the United States. Fundamental Christians wanted a return to older values and behaviours. They supported a very traditional approach to religion, and were opposed to what they perceived as the sinful behaviour of the 'modern world', which appeared to be celebrating the end of the war in an immoral manner. They took a literal approach to the Bible and campaigned to oppose developments that reflected modernity. They formed what became referred to as a 'Bible belt' across the Southern states, which influenced social developments in that region well into the 1960s.

The most noticeable political victory for the fundamental Christians was Prohibition, but other successes included bans on short swimming costumes and on Sunday gambling. The fundamentalists rejected the concept of evolution, and their opposition to Darwinian scientific theory being taught in schools came to prominence in 1925 in the Scopes Trial, also termed the 'Scopes Monkey Trial'.

The United States led the world in the development of science and technology throughout much of the twentieth century, yet in 1925 an American science teacher, John T. Scopes, was put on trial in the State of Tennessee for teaching part of his subject. Tennessee, along with 15 other states, had passed laws declaring it illegal to teach Charles Darwin's theory of evolution in schools and universities, instead forcing teachers to teach the biblical version of creation. One of the great campaigners in defence of the creationist, or biblical, view was William Jennings Bryan. Bryan was the unsuccessful Democratic Party candidate for the presidency in 1896, 1900 and again in 1904, and had played a key role in gaining the passage of two important amendments to the US Constitution – one giving votes to women and the other introducing Prohibition. At the time of the Scopes Trial, Bryan, who appeared for the prosecution, was working towards another constitutional amendment – to ban the teaching of Darwin in every school or university across the whole country.

To us, this might seem to oppose everything that education stands for; however, in some parts of the United States in the 1920s, fundamentalist religion was highly influential. In the end, Scopes was found guilty. The contradiction was evident in that the United States based much of its greatness on science and technology, yet at the same time, in some states, attacked science and education through its own laws.

Prohibition

Prohibition was a ban placed on the sale, manufacture and transportation of alcohol in the United States, introduced by the 18th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1920 and ended by the 21st Amendment in 1933. Prohibition was marketed as an attempt to protect families and weak individuals from the harmful effects of too much drink and many people, including President Hoover, described it as a 'noble experiment'. Many of those who supported Prohibition did so because they blamed alcohol for changes in the traditional ways of life. They did not realise there were other larger forces at work that were as influential – if not more – than alcohol in altering American society, including urbanisation, improvements in transport, the mass media and more.

SOURCE 25 Illegal liquor being poured into a New York sewer during Prohibition

The introduction of Prohibition in 1920 was not a sudden development. The United States had a long history of groups that were opposed to alcohol. In the 1800s they were called 'Temperance' groups. Members of these groups felt that alcohol was 'un-American' and evil; they spoke of the 'demon drink' and blamed it for divorce, poverty, unemployment and crime. Many of them looked back to what they thought were 'real' American values: the simple country life centred on the family, the local community and the church. As the country changed during the latter

part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, some Americans from white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon backgrounds became convinced that the change was for the worse. At the same time, many immigrant groups, including Germans and Italians, had a culturally much more relaxed relationship to alcohol, which created tensions between these groups and the temperance supporters.

Prohibition had made some progress by 1910 when a number of individual states had passed laws banning alcohol. However, the 'Drys' – those in favour of Prohibition – wanted more, and in 1913 they began to campaign for a change to the US Constitution that would ban alcohol all over the country. One of the most colourful fighters for Prohibition was Mrs Carrie Nation. She travelled around the country invading bars and saloons with a small axe, smashing bottles, glasses, beer kegs and anything else she could reach. She represented the thoughts of many woman who resented the violence that alcohol introduced into households.

SOURCE 26 Mrs Carrie Nation, with her axe

The First World War helped the Prohibition cause. The Prohibitionists proposed arguments that since many of the brewers of beer were German or of German origin, it was somehow unpatriotic to drink beer; that the grain used to make alcohol was needed to feed the hungry during the war; and that since American soldiers at the front were not allowed to drink, civilians at home should make the same sacrifice.

But despite successful legal wins for the Drys in some states, Prohibition proved almost impossible to enforce, especially since it was not against the law to *buy* alcohol, which made it acceptable to many people to continue drinking. Saloons were closed, but were quickly replaced by 'speakeasies' – secret undercover bars or saloons. Ironically, rather than diminishing the evils of alcohol, Prohibition appeared to make them worse. After the introduction of Prohibition in New York, there were more 'speakeasies' than there had been legal saloons.

SOURCE 27 Protests against Prohibition were common.

Ultimately, those politicians opposed to Prohibition, called the 'Wets', gained control of the Democratic Party; hence Prohibition came to an end soon after the Democratic candidate for the presidency, FDR, was elected in 1932.

Prohibition had failed to take the United States back to what its supporters thought were the traditional values of American life. Instead, it had encouraged an increase in organised crime and violence between rival groups of gangsters. The growing wealth of the crime bosses added to the corruption of local government officials and police through bribes. The government also discovered another major drawback to the introduction of Prohibition: the Federal Government had collected about $500 million a year from alcohol – a 10th of the national revenue – and it disappeared overnight into the pockets of gangsters.

Crime

Crime is a part of any society, and the 1920s in the United States were no different. Gangs had controlled areas of society well before the 1920s, but their influence and ambitions were usually limited. It was the introduction of Prohibition that enabled organised crime to become a major American business.

SOURCE 28

> Nothing like it had ever happened before. An entire American industry – one of the most important in the country – had been gifted by the government to gangsters.
>
> Mike Dash, *The First Family: Terror, Extortion, and the Birth of the American Mafia*, 2009, p. 268

Prohibition proved to be the greatest boost to crime and gangsters in American history. People still wanted to drink and although, as mentioned, it was not against the law for them to buy alcohol, respectable, honest brewers and distillers of beer and spirits had been put out of business. Gangsters jumped on the opportunity to make money from average American citizens. Gangs like the Chicago Outfit, headed by mob boss Al Capone, set up illegal breweries and smuggled alcohol across the Canadian border.

By 1925, Capone's liquor empire had made him one of the most powerful and well-known criminals in the United States. In 1927 alone it was estimated that he earned over US$100 million from his illegal empire. His wealth gave him and his associates political influence, as they were able to bribe police and other officials on a regular basis. Capone was known to be ruthless towards anyone who sought to rival his status as the head of American illegal liquor trade and regularly ordered rival gang members to be killed. The most violent single act carried out by his people was the St Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929, when Capone's men used machine-guns to shoot seven members of a rival gang in a garage in Chicago's Lincoln Park neighbourhood. Failing to tie Capone to any murders, the federal authorities finally prosecuted him for tax evasion, and in 1931 he was sentenced to 11 years in prison.

Capone was, however, only one of many 'crime bosses' who grew rich, made war on one another, and contributed to the corruption of local government and the police during Prohibition era.

Racial conflict

Racial division has a long history in the United States and the Civil War (1861–65) had been fought largely around questions of race. Although the Civil War resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, which ended slavery, racial equality was still a long way off. The background of the Civil War provides a necessary context for events that were to follow in the 1920s.

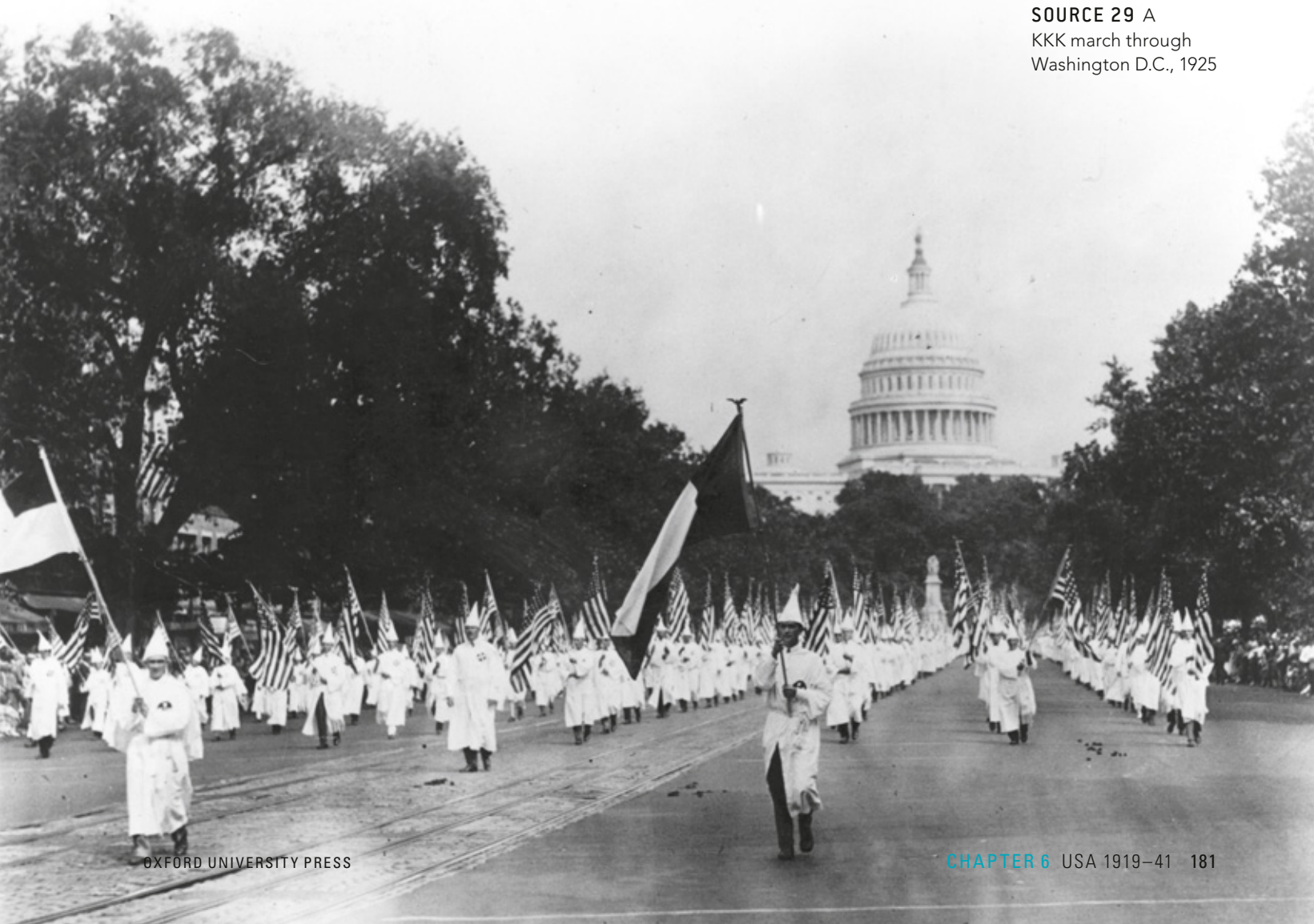
The 1890s marked the beginning of the age of 'Jim Crow' and reflected growing racial tension in both the North and the South. The term 'Jim Crow' dated back to the 1830s, where it appeared in a song-and-dance caricature of black people called 'Jump Jim Crow'. After this, 'Jim Crow' simply became a derogatory term for a black person. 'Jim Crow laws', as they were known, were designed to segregate people based on their race. While the 1875 Civil Rights Act had declared that black people were to have full and equal access to public facilities, it was not until 1896 that this was tested in the Supreme Court case of *Plessy v Ferguson*. In that case, Homer Plessy, a man of African descent, was on trial for having travelled in a 'whites only' car of a New Orleans train. Plessy's lawyer argued that his client was protected by the 13th and

14th Amendments to the US Constitution, both of which protected equality under law. In the end, the court rejected Plessy's argument and, in a seven-to-one decision, ruled that segregation was indeed legal. The court based its argument on the concept of 'separate but equal', which suggested that facilities – whether railroad cars, restaurants or public bathrooms – could be the same, but just kept separate. The reality of this concept proved to be very different. 'Separate' soon came to equal inferior. Despite this, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' dominated race relations for 58 years until it was overturned in 1954.

Plessy v Ferguson paved the way for states across the South to pass all kinds of segregationist 'Jim Crow' laws. Schools, restaurants, toilets, waiting rooms and even lifts were segregated. In 1905, the State of Georgia even legislated for separate parks. Alabama passed a law in 1909 declaring that black people had to be off the streets by 10 p.m. The American Red Cross kept the blood from black people separate from that of white people until the 1940s.

The growth and influence of the Ku Klux Klan

This was the climate in which the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) had its second, and most influential, reiteration in the 1920s. At this time, the immediate post–First World War recession served to increase race tensions, as many black people moved north in search of work in the expanding factories.



SOURCE 29 A
KKK march through Washington D.C., 1925

poll tax
a tax levied on every adult, with no reference to their ability to pay

While the migrants were offered employment, they received less pay and had fewer opportunities and a poorer quality of life than their white co-workers. Even in 1930, the infant mortality rate among black Americans was almost double that of the white population, and life expectancy was 15 years less than that it was in the white community. In many states, citizens were only allowed to vote if they paid a **poll tax**. This use of income as a limitation on the right to vote prevented the majority of black citizens from voting. As late as 1940, only 5 per cent of eligible black people voted in 11 Southern states.

There was also the constant threat of racial violence – lynching was not uncommon, and between 1900 and 1914 over 1000 black Americans were murdered by mobs. The group behind many of the lynching attacks was the KKK. The KKK first appeared after the American Civil War, in a reaction by white people in the South against the policies of the victorious North, and against some of the equal privileges that the black population was starting to gain. At this time, the KKK was a secret society that used violence and terror to ensure that black people were prevented from voting or holding any real power in the United States. Members of the KKK were known as the 'Knights of the Invisible Empire', and dressed in white hoods and robes.

In 1915, the famous filmmaker D.W. Griffith first showed his epic silent picture about the period of the American Civil War. Even though the film was originally entitled *The Clansman*, it is better known by its second name, *The Birth of a Nation*. The film tells the story of a community in a Southern state where the KKK comes to save the population from violent black people, and hence sustain the white way of life. The idea for the film came from a racist novel by Thomas Dixon, which made no secret of the fact that the author thought of black people as less than human.

Some people at the time felt the film was racist, and there were arguments about whether parts of it should be changed or censored. Nevertheless, the film reached a wide audience and triggered a revival of the KKK, reflecting the emerging power of Hollywood to mould public opinion and as the creator of myth.

The KKK made a name for itself from its hatred of anyone who was not white, Protestant and born in the United States. But more than simply tapping in to mainstream American racism, the success of the KKK was largely built on the fact that Americans had a tradition of joining local social groups or clubs called 'lodges'. The KKK was a lodge in the way that it provided a space where people could come together and feel part of a group. The 1920s were a time of change in the United States; more and more people were moving away from the small towns into the big cities. Many of these people missed the feeling of community that they had known in the past, and lodges – and the KKK – filled that need.

In 1922, a Texan by the name of Hiram Evans became the leader (known as the 'Imperial Wizard') of the KKK and successfully started turning the attention of the KKK towards politics. A review of newspapers and magazines of the time shows that the KKK was taken seriously as a factor in many elections between 1923 and 1925. The high point of the KKK's political power came in 1924 when it blocked the nomination of a Catholic, Al Smith, as the Democratic candidate for the presidency. In 1924, the KKK claimed to have a total of four million members, which it used to influence members of Congress to pass the 1924 Immigration Restriction Act.

OSSIAN SWEET

Ossian Sweet was born the son of a slave in Florida in 1895. His parents sent him north in 1909 in the hope of furthering his education in the medical field. He attended Wilberforce University, Ohio, the first college in the United States that was owned and operated by African Americans. Sweet gained medical qualifications and was eventually able to start practising in Detroit. Having furthered his medical credentials by studying in Europe, his education would have been superior to most Americans, regardless of colour or wealth, at this time.

By 1925 he had saved enough to purchase a house in an all-white area of Detroit. Sweet wanted to show how upwardly mobile black people could be if they pushed themselves. But a backlash from his white neighbours was soon sparked by fears of their houses losing value if black people were allowed into the area. When he moved in, Sweet brought with him a party of friends and relatives to help protect his property against threats. For the first two days and nights, the house was besieged by a group of hostile neighbours who threw rocks at the house and broke windows. On the second night, shots were fired and a white man, Leon Breiner, was killed.

Sweet and 10 of the other people who had been inside his house were brought to trial in what was a hostile and racially charged environment. For black groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP), the Sweet Trial represented an opportunity to move forward in the struggle for civil rights. The famous criminal lawyer Clarence Darrow accepted an offer to defend Sweet and the others, and after a second trial, they were finally acquitted.

Sweet became symbolic of the problems facing the black community in the United States in the 1920s. He was finally able to return to the house in the middle of 1928, but struggled to pay it off, not completing final payment until 1950. In April 1958 he sold the house to another black family, and in 1960, Ossian Sweet's lifelong struggle for equality and recognition came to an end when he committed suicide.

6.4 PROFILE

SOURCE 30
Ossian Sweet

6.4 PROFILE TASKS

1. Discuss how Ossian Sweet challenged the stereotypical view of blacks in the United States in the 1920s.
2. Identify Sweet's motivation in buying a house in an all-white area.
3. Research Sweet's life and create a detailed timeline of his life and achievements.
4. Explain why Sweet could be regarded as 'symbolic of the problems facing the black community in the United States in the 1920s.

Anti-communism and anti-unionism

anathema
something that is hated or despised

When Russia became a Communist state following the 1917 Russian Revolution, this created a division with the United States. American politicians and business people saw communism as the epitome of evil. It espoused values of equality and workers' rights that were **anathema** to the free market capitalism upon which the country had been built. Despite the reluctant alliance between the two nations during the Second World War, this division between Russia (or the Soviet Union, as the communist state was later known) and the United States would shape much of the twentieth century.

anarchist
a person who advocates a lack of central authority and control

In the period immediately after the First World War, Americans grew increasingly fearful of the presence of Russian immigrants in the country. Russians were seen as dangerous radicals preparing to force communism on to an unsuspecting public. Small-scale bombings by **anarchists** in various American cities raised public fears, and the activities of Attorney-General A. Mitchell Palmer certainly ensured that public fears and distrust of anarchists and communists were maintained.

In November 1919, on the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Palmer led the first of a series of raids, known as the 'Palmer raids', with the deportation of possible communists from the country. In the hope of becoming the Republican presidential candidate in the 1920 election, Palmer coined the phrase that he was waging a war on the 'Great Red Scare'. It was a phrase that would resonate throughout the century.

The first wave of Palmer raids coincided with industrial action by workers, and helped generate the enthusiasm for a second series of raids in January 1920. However, Palmer's arrests and deportations in many cases were not strictly legal. Around two-thirds of his warrants were found to be unlawful, and Palmer's reputation never recovered. His chief investigator, J. Edgar Hoover, would, however, go on to have much greater success as Chief of the Bureau of Investigation (later to become the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI), where his rabid anti-communist ideals would dominate his lengthy period in control of the bureau from 1924 until his death in 1972.

McCarthyism
a period in American history in the 1950s dominated by extreme anti-communism; named after Senator Joseph McCarthy

Although the fear of communism in America would peak during the **McCarthyism** era of the 1950s, the first wave of anti-communism culminated with the Wall Street bombing

SOURCE 31 The aftermath of the Wall Street bombing, 1920

in New York on 16 September 1920. A bomb containing 45 kilograms of dynamite and laced with 230 kilograms of iron weights exploded in the centre of the American financial district, killing 38 people and injuring hundreds more. Although the perpetrators were never found, Italian anarchists were the most likely culprits, and the bombing confirmed for many Americans the danger of foreign forces and the need to be vigilant against communism.

American business people saw unions as another dangerous oppositional force that needed to be controlled. American labour was viewed as an obstacle to economic success and profits in the eyes of many American businesses. The United Automobile Workers (UAW), for example, attempted to unionise automobile factories to improve wages and conditions for factory workers, including at Ford plants, but met consistent opposition. Ford's tactics included hiring thugs to beat union officials, and lawyers to resist the National Labour Board's authority to enforce wage fairness. The UAW finally won their struggle against Ford in 1941, but the long, drawn-out process and the nature of the resistance reflected an industrial landscape where, particularly in the Republican era of the 1920s, businesses felt they had wide support in their attempts to quash union campaigns.

SOURCE 32 In 1935 the UAW staged the first successful sit-down strike at General Motors, in Flint, Michigan. It was a major victory.

6.4 Check your learning

1. Outline major changes in American society in the period 1919–41.
2. What evidence is there that the United States was able to effectively mobilise for the Second World War?
3. Explain the impact of Christian fundamentalism on American society during this period.
4. Create a mind map that outlines the achievements and failures of Prohibition as a government policy.
5. Create a flow chart that shows the successes and failures of equality for black Americans as economic conditions changed between 1919 and 1941.
6. Explain why many Americans feared communism and trade unions during this period.

6.4 Using and understanding sources

1. Explain how Sources 20–22 help you understand the development of urbanisation in the United States between the wars.
2. Outline how Sources 23 and 24 reflect the development of consumerism in the United States.
3. Analyse Sources 25–28, and explain how they could be used as evidence in a historical argument regarding the effectiveness of the Prohibition policy.
4. Explain what Source 29 reveals about race relations in the United States in the 1920s.
5. Discuss the impact of the event shown in Source 31 would have had on the American people in 1920.

6.5 US foreign policy 1919–41

There is no doubt that involvement in the First World War had an impact on the foreign policy of the United States, as well as on the way Americans viewed themselves as a nation, during this period. They entered the war reluctantly in 1917, and found in their involvement in European politics and warfare a reason to value their own national identity. The US Secretary of State Robert Lansing, in Paris for the Peace Conference in 1919, wrote that 'the more I breathe the foulness of European intrigue, the sweeter and purer becomes the air of my native land'. This illustrates the conundrum facing American foreign policy between the wars: how to balance the American distaste for involvement in European affairs with increasing global economic ties and the entanglements they created.

The nature, aims and strategies of US foreign policy 1919–41

The election of Warren Harding as a Republican president in 1920 guaranteed a break with Woodrow Wilson's attempt to negotiate the United States into a leading role in building a secure postwar world. Historian George C. Herring summarised the nature and aim of American foreign policy in the 1920s instead as 'a maximum of security with a minimum of commitment'.

It is important to recognise that there was no clear consensus on the direction that American foreign policy should take in this period. Harding was predominantly interested in supporting big business, but his Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, while maintaining a low-key approach, managed to get 71 international treaties through the US Senate. A radical group of Republicans known as the 'Peace Progressives' was influential in Congress at this time. Often condemned as **isolationists**, the Peace Progressives wanted to promote a vision of the United States as a significant influencer in building a more peaceful world. They challenged mainstream Republican views by opposing the dominance of big business in domestic policy, by being anti-imperialist and anti-militarist, and – in a major break with mainstream American values – by arguing for recognition of the Soviet Union and for working closely with communism in order to reform the Soviet Union. Among the foreign policy achievements of the Peace Progressives in this period was helping to end the US occupation of Nicaragua in 1933, and helping to avert war with Mexico in the 1920s and 30s.

isolationism the idea that a country needs to isolate itself from world affairs and focus on its own self-interest

Challenging the simplification that American foreign policy between the wars was only isolationist was the Republican administrations' support for the Open Door Policy, which

SOURCE 33 US Secretary of State Robert Lansing (left), 1916

pushed for equal access for American exporters, investors and exploiters of foreign raw materials in foreign markets. Particularly under Republican president Calvin Coolidge from 1923, American business was encouraged to search for foreign markets. The success of this element of foreign policy can be seen in the American economic boom of the 1920s. In 1922, US exports were worth $3.8 billion; by 1929, that had risen to $5.1 billion. Automobile exports amounted to 10 per cent of total exports by the end of the decade, confirming the car industry's increasingly critical role in the American economy. Other exports reflecting the manufacturing boom included typewriters, sewing machines and petroleum products. By 1929, the United States had become the world's leading exporter. Despite tariffs, imports – especially oil and rubber – increased from $3.1 billion to $4.4 billion across the same period.

The 1920s also saw the start of what would become multinational American-based companies that established factories abroad. It was the beginning of global economic dominance by American companies, led by Ford and General Motors in the car industry, and by General Electric and International Telephone and Telegraph in utilities and communications. With economic power came political influence, particularly manifested by the United Fruit Company in Latin America.

SOURCE 34

> Economic expansion was inextricably linked with the achievement of major US foreign policy goals during the 1920s. Republican policymakers were NOT ignorant or indifferent to the outside world. On the contrary, the Great War highlighted for them in the most gruesome way the importance of events abroad to their nation's prosperity and security. Peace and order were vital for American commercial expansion, which in turn was important for prosperity.
>
> George S. Herring, The *American Century and Beyond: US Foreign Relations 1893–2014*, 2017, p. 151

The defeat of Wilson's aim to have the United States as a key player in the League of Nations did not stop the development of the organisation. As the League of Nations became established, the United States was forced to deal with it. Diplomats began to correspond with League representatives, and by 1925 the United States had official representation at the League headquarters in Geneva. It was a small step in breaking down the strong American tradition of avoiding involvement in Europe.

By the time FDR came to power in 1933 and broke the Republican hold on the presidency, the focus was clearly on domestic economic issues. It would take until Germany invaded France in 1940 for foreign policy to clearly emerge as a significant issue in the United States. The development of air power in international conflicts made the United States more vulnerable to international conflict than ever before, and made the government realise that defence of other nations could be important for the country's own security.

The Second World War created a battleground for testing foreign policy approaches in the United States. Isolationists such as the America First group were afraid that offering any aid to Britain could lead to the United States becoming part of the war in Europe, as happened in the First World War. However, FDR argued that aid to Britain was the best way to defend the United States, because a victorious Germany might ultimately become strong enough to pose a threat to the country. FDR used all his political skill and power of persuasion to move the United States out of its staunch isolationism. In September 1940, under pressure from the President, Congress passed a law introducing conscription. In the same month, FDR agreed to transfer 50 ageing destroyers (warships vital to Britain's fight against German submarines) to the Royal Navy. In return, the United States gained the lease on eight key British naval bases along the Atlantic coast of the Americas.

Policies towards Central America, South America and Asia

As a historian it is dangerous to generalise, and it is fair to say that the United States had more than one foreign policy during this period. For example, Americans' attitudes to Europe were very different from their attitudes to Central and South America, or their approach in Asia, where Japan was seen as a growing menace.

The United States had always shown itself ready to use military force to intervene in the affairs of its southern neighbours. In terms of the Caribbean and Latin America, America's aims were a mix of security and trade. It was against the background of this tradition that the United States occupied Haiti from 1914 to 1934 and Nicaragua from 1926 to 1933.

The Great Depression changed some American attitudes, and businesses were less eager to risk investment or exploitation capital overseas. President Hoover used this change in the political and economic climate as a foundation for improving relations with South America through what he called his 'Good Neighbour' policy. This shift, however, did not mean that the United States had given up on its desire to ensure that it was dominating trade in the region. It simply meant that, for the time being, it had adopted more tactful and diplomatic strategies. The policy appeared to be working. During FDR's time in office, trade with Central and South America increased massively.

Washington Conference an international conference held in Washington D.C. to limit the naval arms race and organise the Pacific region after the First World War

During the 1930s, FDR saw major dangers to American interests in Europe and Asia and therefore wanted stability close to home, which led him to establish a policy of regional security for the Americas. Cooperation and diplomacy had replaced force as the prime instrument of American foreign policy with its closest neighbours.

The main element influencing American policy towards the Asia–Pacific Region was the expansionist policies of Japan. By the 1920s, Japan had decided to resolve many of its economic problems and lack of raw materials by expanding its territory at the expense of its Asian neighbours. In 1921, at the **Washington Conference**, the United States and Japan met with seven other nations to try to ease tensions in the Asia–Pacific. Aside from Japan's territorial expansion, a major source of concern to the United States was the growth of Japan's navy. One result of the conference and the treaty that followed was that Japan agreed to have a smaller navy than the United States, on the condition that Americans did not fortify their Pacific bases in the Philippines and on Guam. As later events showed, the Washington Conference did little to resolve the real conflicts between Japanese and American interests. In 1931, Japan moved into Manchuria, a region rich in coal and iron ore deposits, which the Chinese regarded as their Manchu homeland. In 1934, the Japanese resumed naval expansion, breaking the limits imposed by the Washington Conference and, in 1937, Japan attacked China.

SOURCE 35 US soldiers march through the streets of Managua, Nicaragua, 1931.

SOURCE 36 The Washington Conference, 1921

FDR demanded an end to the Japanese war against China, and in 1940 the United States placed a trade **embargo** on Japan and later froze all Japanese assets held in the United States, as well as stopping shipments of oil to Japan. This created a major crisis in the Japanese economy. The Japanese needed oil, and the American embargo meant that they could either back down or strike out in a war of conquest to get the oil they needed. They chose a war of conquest.

embargo
an official ban on trade and/or commercial activity with another country

Final negotiations between the Japanese Government and the United States took place in late November and early December 1941, where the Americans continued to insist that the Japanese end the war with China and return to normal trade relations. By this time, the United States had already received top-secret information that Japan was going to enter the Second World War. However, the Americans were sure that the first strike would be against either British colonies (such as Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore) or the Philippines. Few suspected that the first Japanese attack would be aimed at Hawaii and the American naval base at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, and that the United States would enter the war only days later.

Impact of domestic pressures on the United States

As seen in the Core Study, the deterioration in global economic conditions from late 1929 created domestic pressures in many countries. In Germany, Italy and Spain, fascist regimes started their rise to power, and in Japan the militarists strengthened their control of policy.

In the United States, fear of modernisation mixed with increasing prosperity had created a conservative political body in the 1920s. The Republicans dominated the presidency, and in the first half of the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan's demand for a return to conservative values had seen it develop a significant following. The advent of the Great Depression changed the political dynamic, and FDR and his New Deal strengthened his influence over domestic and foreign policy.

SOURCE 37 Crowds gather at the White House on 7 December 1941, the day of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Under the pressure generated by the Great Depression, Americans began to read literature promoting the view that their country had been forced to enter the First World War in order to protect bankers and weapon makers. A book called *The Merchants of Death* and an article in *Fortune* magazine called 'Arms and Men' became popular in 1934. A Republican isolationist, Gerald Nye, led a congressional committee that reported in 1936 that the United States had been dragged into the war by corporate greed. This culminated in Congress passing the Neutrality Act in 1935, which was extended the following year, and was supported by a ban on arms sales to either side in the Spanish Civil War.

In October 1937, FDR delivered his 'Quarantine the aggressor' speech in Chicago, which started the challenge to isolationism as the situation in Europe deteriorated. When the speech failed to resonate with the American public, FDR retreated from any approach that would appear to be encouraging engagement with European political issues.

Japan's decision to launch a raid on American forces stationed at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 quelled domestic pressure for isolationism in the United States. Any debate over foreign policy disappeared and Congress' declaration of war was passed with only a single dissenting vote in the House of Representatives. The United States was again at war, and the country that emerged in 1945 would be prepared to take on a much more significant role in global affairs.

6.5 Check your understanding

1. Explain how the phrase 'a maximum of security with a minimum of commitment' applies to American foreign policy between the two world wars.
2. Discuss the extent to which isolationism is an appropriate term to apply to American foreign policy during this period.
3. Outline the differences between America's approach to Europe, Latin America and Asia in the period 1919–41.
4. How did domestic pressures impact upon America's foreign policy during this period?

6.5 Understanding and using the sources

Use Source 34 to corroborate your view that either supports or challenges the idea that American foreign policy between the wars was dominated by isolationism.

CONCLUSION

The period between the two world wars was a time of transformation in American society. Manufacturing boomed and the flourishing industrial sector absorbed the bulk of the immigrants who had found their way to the United States at the start of the twentieth century in search of security and a better life. Popular culture prospered on the back of the emergence of the motion picture industry and the rapidly expanding popularity of jazz. New technical products made life easier, and cities grew upwards as well as outwards, when skyscrapers made the United States appear to be the ultimate modern country.

Many Americans resented their country's involvement in the final two years of the First World War and wanted to keep the United States isolated from world affairs. The Republican presidencies tilted the country firmly towards big business, and one of the implications of this policy was that while American political foreign policy sought to distance itself from the European situation, American business was encouraged to search for opportunities on a global scale.

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 was the starting point for the economic downturn that became known as the Great Depression. It spread to become a global phenomenon, and in the United States it led to the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt as the first Democrat president in over a decade. He launched his New Deal, which greatly increased federal involvement in citizens' lives, but also managed to provide support and employment for many of the most desperate and disadvantaged.

Beneath the veneer of the 1920s boom and the 1930s bust, there were still deep divisions evident in American society. Race remained a burning issue, and FDR was prepared to bargain away support for an anti-lynching bill to gain support for other initiatives. Immigrants also became a target for resentment, and the 1924 Immigration Act placed much greater restrictions on entry to the United States. Fundamental Christians resisted the country's move towards modern living, and their resistance to scientific method saw attempts to ban the teaching of evolution in schools.

For a country that attempted to look inwards for most of the years between the wars, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 changed everything. The United States mobilised all of its strengths into its war effort and would ultimately usher in the latest in modernity when it dropped the world's first atomic bombs on the Japanese in 1945. It marked the start of a new era, when the United States would accept a role as the leader of the 'free world', defending democracy and capitalism across the globe.

SOURCE 38 American jazz band leader and singer Cab Calloway, 1934

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

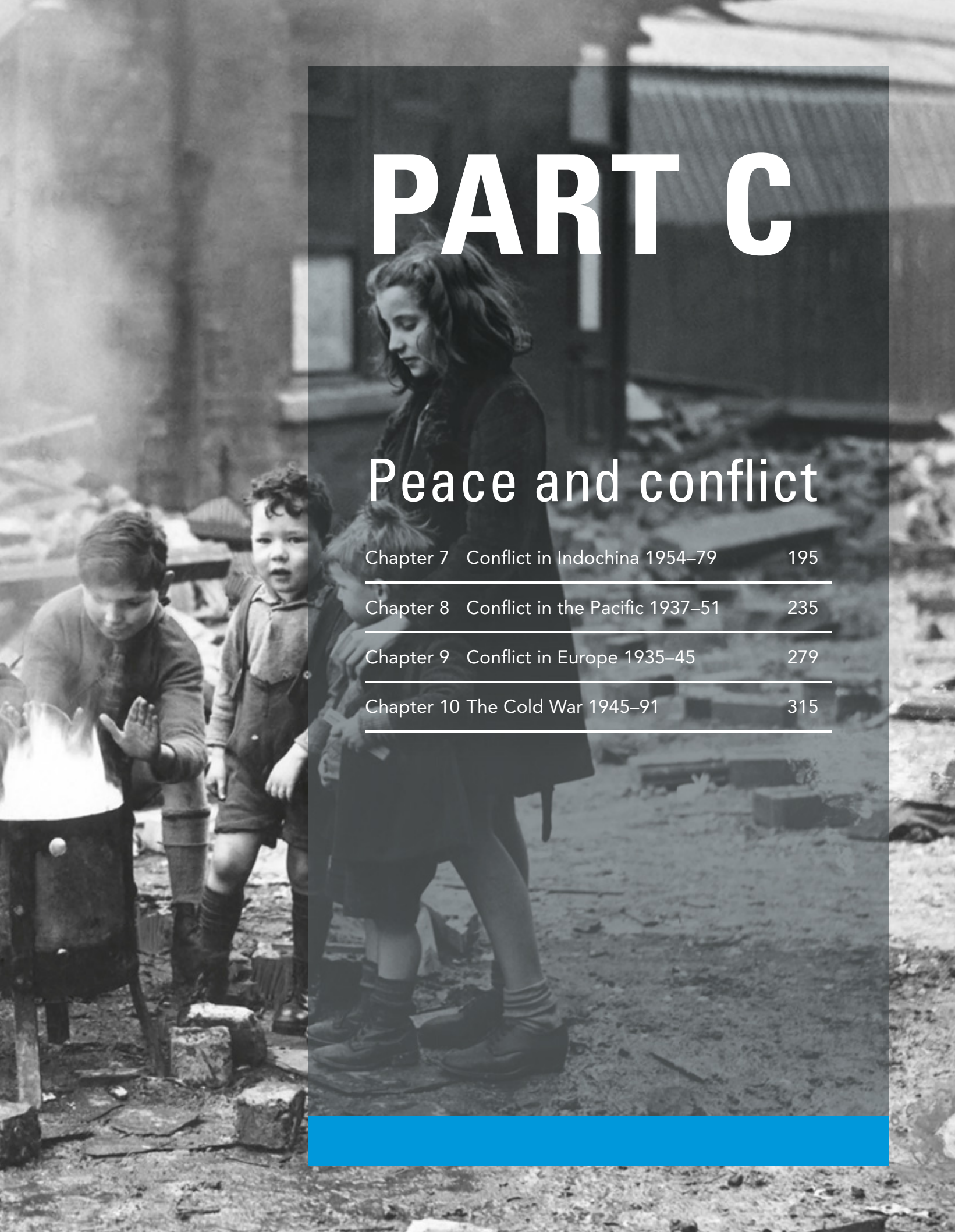
Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

Children warm themselves by a fire after an air raid on the British city of Manchester, March 1941.



PART C

Peace and conflict

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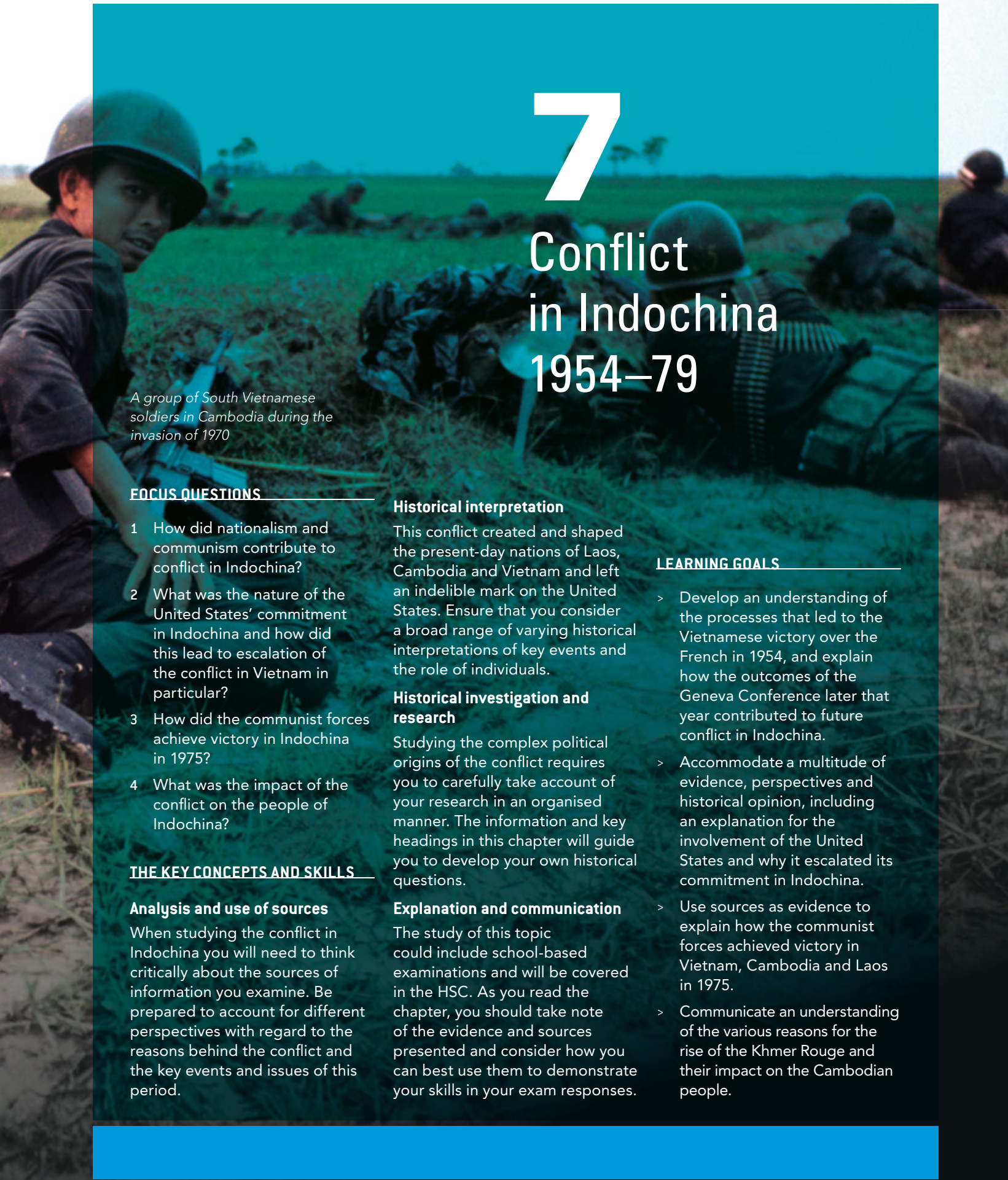
7

Conflict in Indochina 1954–79



A group of South Vietnamese soldiers in Cambodia during the invasion of 1970

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. How did nationalism and communism contribute to conflict in Indochina?
2. What was the nature of the United States' commitment in Indochina and how did this lead to escalation of the conflict in Vietnam in particular?
3. How did the communist forces achieve victory in Indochina in 1975?
4. What was the impact of the conflict on the people of Indochina?

THE KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

When studying the conflict in Indochina you will need to think critically about the sources of information you examine. Be prepared to account for different perspectives with regard to the reasons behind the conflict and the key events and issues of this period.

Historical interpretation

This conflict created and shaped the present-day nations of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam and left an indelible mark on the United States. Ensure that you consider a broad range of varying historical interpretations of key events and the role of individuals.

Historical investigation and research

Studying the complex political origins of the conflict requires you to carefully take account of your research in an organised manner. The information and key headings in this chapter will guide you to develop your own historical questions.

Explanation and communication

The study of this topic could include school-based examinations and will be covered in the HSC. As you read the chapter, you should take note of the evidence and sources presented and consider how you can best use them to demonstrate your skills in your exam responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- Develop an understanding of the processes that led to the Vietnamese victory over the French in 1954, and explain how the outcomes of the Geneva Conference later that year contributed to future conflict in Indochina.
- Accommodate a multitude of evidence, perspectives and historical opinion, including an explanation for the involvement of the United States and why it escalated its commitment in Indochina.
- Use sources as evidence to explain how the communist forces achieved victory in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in 1975.
- Communicate an understanding of the various reasons for the rise of the Khmer Rouge and their impact on the Cambodian people.

Key features

Nature and role of nationalism

Nationalism is a patriotic consciousness unique to people with a shared history and culture. Nationalism in Indochina developed after the First World War as a response to the continuation of the French colonialisation of Indochina. As you read this chapter, consider the role nationalism played in conflicts between various groups at different times.

Nature and role of communism

Communism is a theory of social organisation where property is owned by the community and each person contributes according to their ability. After the successful communist revolution in Russia in 1917, communism became important in shaping the political destiny of Asia. The American fear of communism spreading across the world played a big role in US involvement in Indochina.

Nature and consequences of US involvement

You need to account for the nature of the US involvement in Indochina as it was directed by an anti-communist agenda and against the backdrop of the Cold War. You should also identify when and how the nature of the American involvement changed.

Strategies and tactics

After studying this chapter you should be able to identify and explain the difference between a strategy and a tactic. History tells us that the communist approach to fighting the conflict was ultimately more effective than the approach of the forces of South Vietnam and the United States. You will need to explain why this was so.

Impact of the war on civilians

Millions of lives were destroyed in this pitiless conflict. You should be led empathetically in your investigation of the reasons for this and the responsibilities of the parties contributing to the destruction. Aim to examine sources carefully to account for the individual human cost of this conflict, which can often be lost in statistics.

Reasons for the communist victories

In your final analyses of the joint communist victories of 1975, you will need to consider the following factors: the power of ideology as a decisive factor in the result; the extent to which the nature of the regimes in North and South Vietnam facilitated the communist victory; the role of the United States over time; and the choices made on the ground by various parties.

SOURCE 1 French troops evacuate Hanoi, 1954.

7.1 Introduction

As early as 111 BCE, the Han Dynasty of China spread its influence across the region that we today know as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Laos). Chinese cultural influences took hold in the form of writing, Chinese Buddhism, and the **Confucian** style of government administration. Regular revolts against the Chinese, however, became a feature of the history of **Indochina**. One of the earliest was in 40–43 CE, but others followed over the 400-year period to 938 CE. Historians were well aware of this fierce independence at the time of the twentieth-century conflicts in Indochina, but were ignored in the United States and Australia by policy makers and politicians.

In 1862, French imperial policy impacted on the region by extending French power over a large part of South Vietnam, which they called Cochinchina. While they established **protectorates** in central Vietnam (Annam) and Northern Vietnam (Tonkin), their influence was more direct in the South. By 1893 the countries that we now know as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos had all been brought together as French Indochina.

French administration of Indochina was based on repression and exploitation. Repression was evident in attempts to replace the Vietnamese education system in the native tongue with lessons in French. A network of secret police was established to brutally stamp out opposition. Exploitation occurred economically via an established **monopoly** on trade in salt, opium and alcohol. Rice was exported by the French for profit, often in times of famine, when it was needed to feed Vietnamese rural communities and farmers. Westerners referred to these rural workers as 'peasants'. The Vietnamese had been removed by the French from their traditional lands to make way for large foreign-owned farms. Furthermore, Vietnamese men were subject to the 'corvee', a system of forced labour where farmers were indiscriminately forced into labour projects for the French authorities. While the French developed roads, railways and increased sanitation in the cities, very few Vietnamese benefited from the improvements.

The French oppression spurred on the growth of a determined nationalist resistance, with Ho Chi Minh as one of Vietnam's emerging nationalist leaders. He was attracted to communism because of its claim to oppose imperialism and colonial empires. After being arrested for revolutionary activity in Vietnam, Ho was exiled to France in 1911. Here he first read Russian revolutionary Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's *Thesis on the National and Colonial*

Confucius
a fifth-century BCE Chinese teacher, editor, politician and philosopher; Confucianism emphasised personal and governmental morality, correctness of social relationships, justice and sincerity

Indochina
a geographical term that originated in the early nineteenth century, referring to the region now known as South-East Asia; it is geographically bound by the Indian subcontinent in the west and China in the north

protectorate
a country that is controlled and protected by a more powerful country

monopoly
the exclusive possession or control of the supply of, or trade in, a commodity or service

FRENCH INDOCHINA, 1880s

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 2 This map of French Indochina (as it was known from the 1880s) shows how Vietnam was divided into three provinces to best serve French interests: Tonkin in the North, Annam in the centre, and Cochinchina in the South.

Questions, which stated that 'only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations'. Ho's exposure to Lenin's communist ideas was a revelation, confirming much of Ho's own personal experience. It helped him develop his own political ideology that displayed elements of nationalism, communism and anti-colonialism.

In 1923–24, Ho lived in Moscow, Russia, where he studied methods for organising a revolution. The following year he formed the Revolutionary Youth League in China and, by 1930, he had formed the Indochinese Communist Party, which was to become the political platform from where the uprising against the French was to be organised.

During the Second World War, as a result of France's defeat by Nazi Germany and its inability to provide a show of force in the region against the growing power of the Japanese, the French colonial authorities were forced to grant Japan access to Indochina from 1940. Ho now combined his opposition to both the French and the Japanese by returning to Vietnam to form the resistance group the Viet Minh (League for the Independence of Vietnam), with support from military leader Vo Nguyen Giap. The Viet Minh under Ho and Giap blended traditional Vietnamese **guerrilla** war tactics with the lessons learnt from Lenin and Leon Trotsky in Russia, and from Mao Zedong in China.

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

In August 1945, taking advantage of the Japanese surrender in the Second World War, the Viet Minh swept into Hanoi and took control of much of the countryside in the North in a coup known as the August Revolution. Shortly after, Ho proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam).

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events in Indochina

1862

The French begin to take political control over parts of Indochina. The French had previously brought Catholicism to Indochina after the first missionaries arrived in 1612.

1911

A 21-year-old Ho Chi Minh leaves Vietnam and begins a 30-year exile visiting and living in countries around the world, including in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China.

1919

Ho attends the Paris Peace Conference to make a case for 'national self-determination' for Vietnam. His request to meet US President Woodrow Wilson to state his case is not granted, and he is rebuffed by the United States and European powers.

1930

The Indochinese Communist Party is established.

1941

Following the Japanese occupation of Indochina from 1940, Ho returns to Vietnam. He establishes the Viet Minh with the aim of expelling the Japanese and the French from Vietnam.

1944

With support from the United States, the Viet Minh begins a guerrilla war against the Japanese.

1945

After the successful 'August Revolution' in Hanoi, Ho declares independence from France and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) is established, with its base in Hanoi.

1946

After failed negotiations with the French, the Viet Minh begin the First Indochina War.

1947

US President Harry S. Truman announces the policy of containment of communism via the 'Truman Doctrine'. This promises to provide economic and military aid to contain the spread of communism.

1949

In September, the Communist Party takes power in China. This leads the United States to fear that communism will now spread rapidly throughout Asia.

The French set up the Republic of Vietnam, with their base in Saigon in the South. While the French claim authority over the whole of Vietnam, the Viet Minh has the actual control of the North.

1950

The US National Security Council issues policy paper number 68 (NSC68). It calls for a massive increase in spending to meet the threat of communism worldwide.

The United States provides aid to the French in their fight to retain control of Indochina.

June: The Korean War begins, and continues for three years.

1954

In April, US President Dwight D. Eisenhower refers to the 'domino theory' in a press conference.

May: French forces are defeated by the Viet Minh at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, ending the First Indochina War.

July: The Geneva Accords divide Vietnam into North and South along the 17th parallel of latitude. Ngo Dinh Diem becomes the leader of South Vietnam.

1955

South Vietnam refuses to take part in the elections for a unified Vietnam, prescribed in the Geneva Accords.

A referendum makes Diem President of the new Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam).

1956

April: The American Military Assistance Advisory Group Indochina (MAAGI) takes over the training of South Vietnamese forces.

August: Laotian Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and the communist Prince Souphanouvong agree to a coalition government.

1959

In Laos, the Nationalist-Communist Pathet Lao's bid for power receives aid from communist North Vietnam. Fearing the Pathet Lao, the anti-communist General Phoumi Nosavan takes power in Laos and, with US aid, holds off challenges.

1960

The Communist National Liberation Front (NLF) is formed.

1962

Following US President John F. Kennedy's decision in 1961 to increase aid and military advisers to South Vietnam, the Strategic Hamlet Program begins. This program aims to concentrate South Vietnamese rural communities into fortified villages. The first Australian troops are sent to Vietnam.

A strategic hamlet in South Vietnam

1963

June: The first of a number of Buddhist monks commits suicide by setting himself on fire as a protest against the Diem Government.

November: A US-sponsored coup overthrows Diem and he is assassinated. General Duong Van Minh takes power and the era of 'governments by turnstile' in the South begins.

1964

August: The US Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

1965

March: The United States commences Operation Rolling Thunder, a large-scale bombing of North Vietnam.

Anti-war protests grow in the United States.

1968

January: The Tet Offensive by communist forces erupts.

March: Vietnamese people in the village of My Lai are massacred by US troops.

May: Preliminary peace talks begin in Paris.

November: Richard Nixon is elected President of the United States promising 'peace with honour' in Vietnam.

1969

Ho Chi Minh dies. The Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam, a massive anti-war protest, is staged in the United States. The number of US combat troops on the ground in Vietnam is reduced.

1970

March: The pro-American General Lon Nol takes power from Prince Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia. Later in the same month, US and South Vietnamese forces attack communist bases in Cambodia.

May: Four students are shot and killed during a protest over Nixon's Indochina policy at Kent State University, Ohio.

December: The US Congress repeals the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

The National Guard opens fire on students at Kent State University in Ohio, killing four people, May 1970.

1971

April: Another round of major anti-war demonstrations takes place in the United States.

June: The *New York Times* publishes the top-secret 'Pentagon Papers'.

1973

January: The Paris Peace Accord is signed, officially ending the Vietnam War.

March: The last US troops leave Vietnam.

1975

April: South Vietnamese President Thieu resigns and, later in the same month, North Vietnamese troops enter Saigon. The unification of Vietnam will occur the following year.

The Khmer Rouge take power in Cambodia, and rename the country Kampuchea.

December: Laos becomes communist after the Pathet Lao overthrows the royalists government.

1978

Following border clashes between Vietnamese and Kampuchean forces, Pol Pot begins his 'purification' campaign. Vietnam responds by commencing a major assault along the Kampuchean border.

1979

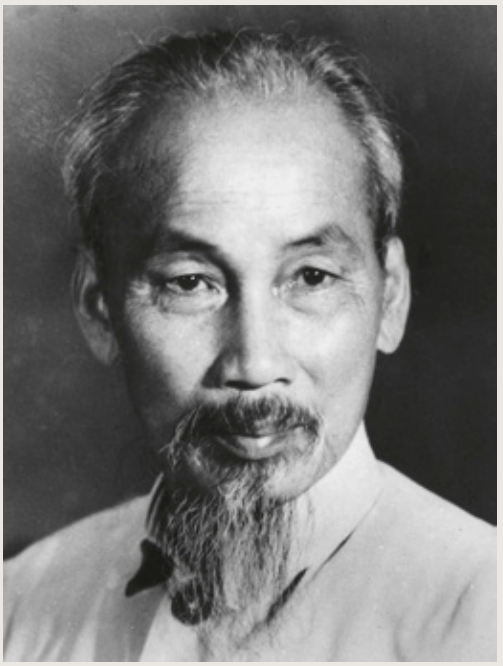
January: Vietnamese troops reach the Kampuchean capital of Phnom Penh.

February: Chinese troops invade Vietnam in response to Vietnam's war with Kampuchea.

April: Chinese troops withdraw from Vietnam and peace talks begin between China and Vietnam.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

7.2 Survey: Decolonisation in Indochina 1946–54



SOURCE 4 Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969): His time in China as a young revolutionary in the 1930s with Mao Zedong was crucial to his understanding of warfare.

Although the syllabus for 'Conflict in Indochina' begins in 1954, it is impossible to understand or explain events between 1954 and 1979 without understanding what went before. Indochina has a long history of conflict, both within the region and as a result of resistance to foreign empires. The history and identity of Indochina were forged in conflict. The rebirth, which occurred after the Second World War, saw a reawakening of the **nationalist** spirit. Nationalism would be responsible for the defeat of the French, who had occupied Vietnam since the 1860s.

Conflict in Vietnam 1946–54

As Ho Chi Minh was proclaiming Vietnamese independence from France, declaring the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Hanoi in 1945, the Allied powers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France were meeting at the Potsdam Conference to establish national borders after the Second World War.

Ho hoped for US support, or at least acknowledgment of the legitimacy of his new government. However, the Americans had their eyes on the bigger picture – on what they regarded as the more important parts of the postwar puzzle and the emerging **Cold War**. As a result, Ho's declaration was ignored and the French began to return to Vietnam, hoping that its colonies, including Indochina, would supply much-needed wealth to assist their post–Second World War rebuilding. Negotiations between the French and the Viet Minh failed to reach any agreement, and in 1947 the First Indochina War broke out.

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

SOURCE 5

All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776.

… [T]he whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country.

We are convinced that the Allied nations who acknowledged the principles of self-determination … will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam.

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eight years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent.

Ho Chi Minh, 'Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam', Hanoi, 2 September 1945

The nature of the Vietnamese victory against the French in 1954

The Viet Minh fought a successful guerrilla war against the French, drawing on strong support from people in agricultural communities. The French quickly came to rely more and more on American aid. In turn, the Viet Minh were supported with aid and military hardware from the Soviet Union as well as China, which had become communist after a long revolution culminating in 1949. In addition to successful guerrilla attacks on the enemy, the Viet Minh opened a series of trails – collectively known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail – through the mountains along the Laos–Vietnam border and through parts of Cambodia. These trails allowed the Viet Minh to move troops and supplies deep into southern Vietnam, and also enabled them to assist fellow communists in the region, especially the Pathet Lao group in Laos. The nature of the Vietnamese success was encapsulated in their victory in a conventional military battle against the French in the mountainous region of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, where the United States, under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, chose not to intervene in support of the French.

SOURCE 6 Viet Minh fighters use loudspeakers to urge French troops to give up the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

The significance of the Geneva Conference for Indochina in 1954

At a conference chaired by Britain and the Soviet Union, representatives from France, Communist China, the Viet Minh, North Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam and the United States (as observers only) met in Geneva in April 1954 to discuss the future of Indochina. The key outcomes of the Geneva Conference for Vietnam were contained in the Geneva Accords. They included the declaration of a ceasefire in the Indochina War and the formal division of Vietnam. It was a bitter political reality for the Viet Minh, who stood by the demands they had presented at the conference: recognition of the national rights of the Vietnamese. At the same time, Ho and the Viet Minh realised that, at this time, North Vietnam could not afford to oppose the wishes of both Communist China and the Soviet Union, which sought a relaxation of international tension. As a result, North Vietnam and South Vietnam were separated by a 5-kilometre demilitarised zone (DMZ) at the 17th parallel.

Another outcome of the Geneva Accords was an agreement stipulating that free elections were to be held in Vietnam in 1956. The idea was that the elections would allow the people of the South to decide if they wanted unity with the North. Ho Chi Minh, however, doubted the intentions of the United States, which he suspected intended to establish a non-communist state in the South. Ho believed, rightly, that the Vietnamese would have to fight another war to achieve unity.

The Geneva Conference also saw Cambodia and Laos declared fully independent states and acknowledged as neutral parties. The Geneva Accords further contained arrangements for the return of refugees to their homes, and an international commission was created to oversee the implementation of the agreements reached.

The attitude of the Eisenhower administration was that the defeat of the French had been a setback for the containment of communism, but one that could be remedied. Eisenhower had recently spelt out the **'domino theory'**, and regarded communist aggression in the region as a matter of the 'gravest concern'.

NORTH VIETNAM, SOUTH VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA, AFTER 1954

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 7 The Indochina region after the division initiated at the 1954 Geneva Conference

7.2 Check your learning

1 How did the French control and exploit the people of Indochina?
2 Evaluate the role Lenin's *Thesis on the National and Colonial Questions* played in Ho Chi Minh developing his revolutionary ideology.
3 In one paragraph, discuss the leadership and style of warfare adopted by the Viet Minh during the conflict against the Japanese and the French.
4 Explain how the Geneva Conference contributed to the development of future conflict in Vietnam.

7.2 Understanding and using the sources

1 Using Source 3, identify the three developments in the period 1947–54 that reflect the United States' growing commitment to anti-communism as the ideological basis for its foreign policy.
2 Using Source 3, identify two key developments in Vietnam in the period 1955–60 that suggests the coming of a Second Indochina War.
3 Examine Source 5. What do you think Ho's purpose is for quoting from the American Declaration of Independence?
4 After reading Source 5, identify two reasons why Ho believed the Allies would support him in his demands for independence.

'domino theory' the theory that a political event in one country will cause similar events to happen in neighbouring countries; articulated by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1954, regarding the spread of communism

7.2 PROFILE

THE ROLE OF COMMUNIST CHINESE SUPPORT AT DIEN BIEN PHU

In his book *The End of the First Indochina War: A Global History* (2012), historian James Waite argues for the importance of Chinese support in Vietnam's 1954 victory against the French at Dien Bien Phu. He suggests that this support was crucial in terms of both strategic advice and provision of weapons. From 1950, at least 20 000 tonnes of weapons poured into the hands of the Viet Minh from China, including Soviet anti-aircraft guns and rockets. Further, 30 000 Viet Minh troops received specialist training in China.

The importance of the Chinese leader Mao Zedong in the final victory is also evident. Ho Chi Minh had spent time in China in the 1930s and had learnt about the principles of the 'people's war' from Mao. These warfare tactics included building support from the local population and forcing the enemy to move deep into the countryside, where loyal farmers would fight the enemy using guerrilla-style techniques.

In 1950, Mao ordered his military advisers to support the Viet Minh in fighting a 'modern war' against the French. Waite acknowledges, however, that not all the tactics suggested by the Chinese – such as **human wave attacks** – worked well, and notes that such tactics instead offered the French 'juicy targets for **artillery** and aircraft'. General Giap, the leader of the Viet Minh, modified this strategy at Dien Bien Phu and used his forces around the valley with much greater caution than Mao had suggested.

It was the role of heavy Chinese guns – which the French wrongly assumed could not be moved to a mountainous location – that greatly contributed to the final victory. The Viet Minh's determination to dissemble their large artillery pieces and carry them up the mountains would seal the fate of the French. On 12 March 1954, the reassembled heavy guns supplied by the Chinese began shelling the French airstrip at Dien Bien Phu. The French were cut adrift from possible supply and soon surrendered.

human wave attack
an offensive infantry tactic where a dense frontal assault of soldiers is launched against an enemy line

artillery
large-calibre guns

SOURCE 8 Communist leaders (from left) Nikita Kruschev (Soviet Union), Mao Zedong (China), Ho Chi Minh (North Vietnam) and Soong Ching-ling (China) at a dinner in 1959, celebrating the 10-year anniversary of the 1949 Chinese communist revolution.

SOURCE 9 General Vo Nguyen Giap, military leader of the Viet Minh, adapted aspects of Mao's military strategies to suit combat against the French and later the United States.

7.2 PROFILE TASKS

1. Research Mao's concept of the 'people's war'. Explain how it was used by Ho and Giap in the context of the First Indochina War.
2. Following your research, explain how Giap adapted aspects of Chinese military strategy to suit the conflict against the French.
3. How useful is Source 8 for a historian studying Eisenhower's concept of the domino theory? Explain your answer.

7.3 Conflict in Vietnam 1954–64

SOURCE 10 South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem (right) is greeted by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower in Washington D.C., 1957.

Following the Geneva Conference, both North Vietnam, under Ho Chi Minh, and South Vietnam, under Ngo Dinh Diem, set about consolidating power and establishing their independent legitimacy. Ho had established the Lao Dong Party (Vietnamese Workers Party) as a successor to the Indochinese Communist Party in 1951. The key aim of the Lao Dong Central Committee (the main policy-making body) was to establish a united, socialist Vietnam.

By 1960, the communists under Ho and the Lao Dong Party had largely achieved political and economic stability in North Vietnam. The South, on the other hand, never achieved this. Diem, who had been installed with help from the United States, also failed to gain the support of his people that Ho enjoyed in the North. Importantly, the promised elections scheduled in South Vietnam for 1956 failed to take place. The communists of the North had hoped these election would unite the country; and their failure to occur resulted in growing tensions – both between North and South Vietnam, and within the South itself.

SOURCE 11 Key groups involved in conflicts in Indochina, 1954–79

NAME	ACTIVE PERIOD	AIMS	LEADER
Viet Minh	1941–54	Decolonisation, independence and a unified Vietnam Resistance against Japanese and French occupation	Ho Chi Minh (political) Vo Nguyen Giap (military)
National Liberation Front (NLF), also known as the Viet Cong (a rebel group formed in North Vietnam)	1960–76	To encourage and support military resistance against the Diem regime in the South	Nguyen Huu Xuyen (1961–63) Tran Van Tra (1963–67, 1973–75) Hoang Van Thai (1967–73)
North Vietnamese Army (NVA)	1950–	To defeat the forces of South Vietnam (the ARVN) and the United States in order to unify Vietnam by force	Vo Nguyen Giap
Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)	1955–75	To protect the nation of South Vietnam against communist forces (the Viet Cong and the NVA)	Notable commanders: Cao Van Vien Duong Van Minh
US Army	1955–73	To fight alongside and support ARVN forces to protect South Vietnam against Communist forces (the Viet Cong and the NVA)	William Westmoreland (1963–68) Creighton Abrams (1968–72) Frederick C. Weyand (1972–73)

Political, social, economic and military developments within North and South Vietnam

The leadership aims of North and South Vietnam were to build their respective nations and consolidate political power. Both Vietnams aimed to establish themselves as viable and stable nation states in South-East Asia, and each developed according to their political aims and philosophies. In the North, that meant transforming what had been ruled as a French colony into a socialist state, while the South looked to establish a capitalist system. Both sought support from powerful outsiders to achieve their goals. The North attained economic support from both the Soviet Union and China, while the South looked to the United States for economic aid.

Developments in South Vietnam

Political instability was a feature of life in the new nation of South Vietnam. The Americans, who watched the development in the country closely, had hoped that Ngo Dinh Diem could be the leader of a new, anti-communist Vietnam. His background as a provincial governor under the French, his Catholic faith, and his strong anti-communist record made him appear the logical choice. Diem, however, was no democrat. Rather, the Can Lao Party, which he had established with his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, was a secretive and corrupt organisation. Diem was also aloof from rural Vietnamese and was far less charismatic than Ho Chi Minh. Throughout his period in control, Diem depended on force, repression and the support of the United States to cling to power. His major challenge came in 1955 when he moved against two powerful religious sects, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao, as well as the private army of the Binh Xuyen, which all challenged his authority. They were swiftly defeated. Diem consolidated his position and gained further American support.

Diem set about undoing the land reforms that had been put in place by the Viet Minh during their struggle with the French. Rural Vietnamese who had come to regard land as their own were now expected to buy the land or to pay rent to wealthy landlords. Diem also established the hated Agroville Program in 1959, which forcibly removed farmers from their traditional lands into sanctuaries, or hamlets, designed to protect them from communist influence. Much of the hostility traditionally directed at landlords was now directed at the officials of Diem's government, as Diem's army – the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) – often acted as agents collecting the re-imposed rents for a commission.

SOURCE 12 Madame Nhu (in grey), the influential wife of Diem's brother and chief adviser Ngo Dinh Nhu, in Paris, January 1963

In 1960, a South Vietnamese guerrilla group, the National Liberation Front (NLF), was established to encourage and support a military insurgency against the Diem regime. Diem would refer to the group derogatively as 'Viet Cong' (or Vietnamese communists). Diem's ARVN was tasked with defeating this insurgency, which would eventually draw the United States into the Vietnam War.

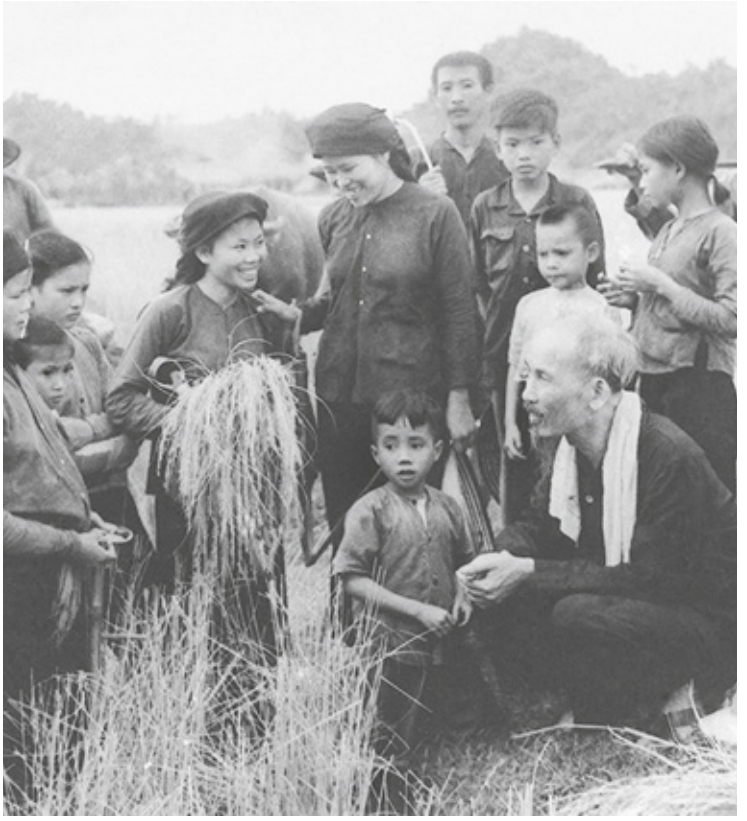
Adding to the unpopularity of the South Vietnamese Government was its links with foreign powers. Having largely been a creation of the Americans, Diem's regime still depended primarily on American support. This was reinforced when a growing number of US military advisers arrived in South Vietnam to direct ARVN military operations. By contrast, the Viet Cong had no obvious links to foreign powers and Ho Chi Minh minimised to the public their reliance on Soviet and Chinese aid.

The people of South Vietnam were in no way united in support of Diem, nor did they rally around the goal of independence, as did the people of the North. Historian Gabriel Kolko has suggested that this began to change when Diem started to undo the land reforms introduced by the Viet Minh, which, Kolko argues, 'unleashed social discontent and created actual and potential enemies'. Society in the South ultimately rejected Diem, and his unpopularity grew after a wave of public protests was staged by members of South Vietnam's Buddhist majority. The civil unrest and resistance would eventually lead to the United States and Diem's own army, the ARVN, conspiring to have him assassinated.

SOURCE 13 Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc burns himself to death at a busy intersection in Saigon on 11 July 1963, in a protest against the anti-Buddhist policies of the Diem regime.

Developments in North Vietnam

In the North, Ho aimed to consolidate political power for the communists ready for the proposed 1956 elections. To facilitate this, landlords and capitalists, who were thought of as the remnants of colonialism, were removed. This removal expanded into a program of 'purification' to eliminate what the Ho regime referred to as the 'enemies of the people', such as those Vietnamese who were loyal to the French and large landowners. Thousands of executions followed, but by August 1956, protest against the extremes of purification convinced Ho to alter the policy. Ho was forced to make a personal apology to the people for the excessive measures he had taken. By 1960, the people of North Vietnam had largely accommodated the radical transformation that had taken place under the Viet Minh. Unlike their southern neighbours, most people were now compliant with and supportive of the political aims of the regime.



SOURCE 14 Ho Chi Minh visits a farm in 1954. Despite initial terror, and the persecution of those opposing the new regime, 'Uncle Ho' was largely popular with the rural population.

The hardest challenge for the Northern leaders was economic reform and food production. Land reform policies were announced by Ho in 1957, reflecting the communist economic policies of China and the Soviet Union. All land, individual businesses and private wealth was seized. Land was then allocated to landless peasants and reorganised into large agricultural cooperatives. From 1958, land reform was pursued through a **cooperative** strategy, which was largely successful.

cooperative
an economic policy where individuals work to achieve a common purpose or target; this entails collective ownership of land and resources; individual wealth and property are banned

With its mountainous terrain and – compared with the South – shortage of **arable** land, geography also challenged the economic aims of North Vietnam. The North had in fact never been self-sufficient and relied on imports of rice and other foodstuffs from the South. But by the end of 1960, the land reforms were yielding results, with rice production reaching more than double the amount harvested before the First Indochina War. As more than 100 new factories had been constructed and the country was mining its own coal, North Vietnam was also achieving the economic targets for industry set in the first **three-year plan**.

arable
used for or suitable for growing crops

The North provided considerable support for the Southern Viet Cong groups, and the Diem regime – and eventually the United States – viewed the Viet Cong as being controlled by Hanoi. This was further reinforced by the fact that Viet Cong forces were made up of former Northern Viet Minh fighters, and used similar guerrilla tactics against Diem's army as they had used to drive out the French only a few years earlier. The North Vietnamese Army (NVA) was the conventional army of North Vietnam. The NVA grew significantly in size and capability from 1963. This regular army, established to fight a conventional war, would play a much greater role in the South as time went on.

three-year plan
an economic plan, modelled on Communist Chinese economic policies, where socialist policies would be introduced and the economy converted to a communist system during the first three years of the regime

7.3a Check your learning

1. What is your assessment of how ready the North was to wage war against the South by 1960. Discuss economic, political and military factors.
2. Explain why the United States supported the Diem Government.
3. Identify and explain the major challenges to the Diem Government by 1963.
4. Which of Diem's actions would you identify as being the most damaging to his hold on power?

7.3a Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Sources 12 and 14 and explain how a historian could use these sources to understand why Ho Chi Minh had greater support than Ngo Dinh Diem.
2. Why would the image in Source 13 be useful to a historian studying the political stability of Diem's regime by July 1963? Justify your response.

The nature and development of US policy towards Indochina to 1964

American involvement in Vietnam stemmed from the anti-communist policies that the US Government had developed in the 1940s, as a response to the Soviet Union's exertion of a **sphere of influence** over Eastern Europe and the 1949 communist revolution in China. A 'Cold War consensus' now underpinned all foreign policy decisions made in Washington D.C. There was a belief that the threat of communism to the American way of life was real and had to be resisted.

sphere of influence
a geographic region in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

US President Harry S. Truman's anti-communist intentions, known as the 'Truman Doctrine', were based on the theory of '**containment**' – the strategy by which the United States thought the spread of communism throughout the world would be stopped. During the First Indochina War, the United States' desire to stop the spread of communism was so great that Truman promised US$400 million in military and financial aid to anti-communist forces in South and North Vietnam. When President Dwight D. Eisenhower came to power in 1953, he continued this theme when he spoke of the 'domino theory' the following year. He believed that if South Vietnam were to fall to communism, it would trigger a chain reaction across the rest of South-East Asia. It was with the aim of stopping the dominoes from falling that Eisenhower set about establishing an anti-communist state in South Vietnam under Diem. It was this engagement that the United States would, over time, find exceedingly difficult to abandon.

SOURCE 15 American anti-communist propaganda from 1947

SOURCE 16

> You have a row of dominos set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is that it will go over very quickly …
>
> Dwight D. Eisenhower, news conference, 7 April 1954

SOURCE 17

> The real roots of the Vietnam War lie in the policies the Eisenhower administration adopted towards Southeast Asia after 1954 …
>
> David Kaiser, *American Tragedy*, 2000, p. 11

In 1960, Democrat John F. Kennedy was elected US President over his Republican rival, Richard Nixon, on the basis of a promise that he was going to be a tougher 'cold warrior' than his opponent and challenge the spread of global communism. Between 1960 and 1963, the US commitment to Vietnam grew significantly. Kennedy inherited and generally supported the Eisenhower administration's views on Vietnam, but was cautious about a direct military commitment. Kennedy initially attempted to use a diplomatic approach, as advised by the **State Department**. However, as the number of fighters from the North joining the Viet Cong increased, Kennedy opted to use military tactics suggested by the **Pentagon**.

As a response to the Viet Cong insurgency in the South, from the end of 1961 Kennedy increased the number of US advisers in South Vietnam from 900 to 3025. They offered more than strategic advice; they also assisted in training the ARVN forces in the belief that communist forces could be defeated militarily. The ARVN's struggle to match the Viet Cong was illustrated in the 1962 Battle of Ap Bac, where 400 Viet Cong troops inflicted serious casualties on 2500 ARVN, even though the ARVN had armoured support.

To complement its struggling military approach, the Diem regime now set about conducting a 'hearts and minds' campaign, which focused on winning the loyalty of Southern rural communities and protecting them from Viet Cong infiltration. In 1962 this culminated in the Strategic Hamlet Program. This program was similar to Diem's failed Agroville Program, which had attempted to protect villagers from the Viet Cong.

containment
a strategy to stop the expansion of an enemy; it is best known as a Cold War foreign policy of the United States and its allies to accept the Soviets' influence in certain areas, such as Eastern Europe, and contain their influence to those regions in order to prevent the spread of communism

State Department
an executive department in the United States that advises the president in international affairs and foreign policy issues

Pentagon
the headquarters of the US Department of Defense

Like the Agroville Program, the Strategic Hamlet Program forcibly removed farmers from their ancestral land into fortress enclaves. Here they received economic support and aid from the government. The program was a failure and, rather than a means of winning back rural support, it became another mechanism for repression.

Kennedy had been advised by Senator Mike Mansfield, who returned from Vietnam in December 1962, that the US$2 billion in aid that the United States had given to Vietnam since 1955 had accomplished very little. In his report, Mansfield blamed Diem for failing to share power and win support from the people of the South.

SOURCE 18 Madame Nhu, the wife of Diem's brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, inspects the strategic hamlet of Phuoc Nguon.

By 1963, the United States had realised that Diem would never achieve the popular support he needed to lead a stable and independent South Vietnam. It was now ultimately accepted that more personnel, more money and more fire-power were the only way to achieve victory in Vietnam. In addition, Kennedy was advised that Diem had to go and that a coup to remove him could be expected within six months. The South Vietnamese generals of the ARVN moved against Diem on 1 November 1963, assassinating both him and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu. The control of South Vietnam was now placed in the hands of ARVN General Duong Van Minh. But there were further upsets to come. Before the end of the month, Kennedy had been assassinated and replaced by his Vice-President, Lyndon B. Johnson.

When Kennedy had come into office there had been 800 American military personnel in Vietnam. At the time of his death there were more than 16 000. The death of Diem did not change the progress of the war in the South, and the Viet Cong continued to dominate the countryside. After a series of short-lived regimes, **'governments by turnstile'** in the South, some degree of political stability was established when General Nguyen Van Thieu became Prime Minister of South Vietnam in 1967. He would hold the position until the end of the war.

'governments by turnstile' where political stability is hard to establish due to many changes of government

7.3b Check your learning

1. Explain the term 'Cold War consensus'.
2. Discuss two events that influenced the foreign policy of President Harry S. Truman.
3. What were the different approaches to the Vietnam War held by the State Department and the Pentagon respectively, around 1962?
4. Why was the Battle of Ap Bac significant?
5. Use evidence to explain how US involvement in Vietnam had escalated by the time President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963.
6. Explain the reasons for and the impact of the coup against Ngo Dinh Diem.

7.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. Use Source 15 and 16 to explain the evolution of the domino theory.
2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with David Kaiser's argument in Source 17?
3. Using your own analysis of Source 18, explain what the Strategic Hamlet Program was and why it was deeply unpopular with farmers.

7.4 The Second Indochina War

destroyer
a type of warship used to escort and defend other vessels

In August 1964, in separate incidents, two US **destroyers** – the *Maddox* and the *Turner Joy* – claimed to have been attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats while operating peacefully in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin off the North Vietnamese coast. The newly instated President Lyndon B. Johnson initially announced 'we still seek no wider war', yet in direct response to these events, the US Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving the green light for Johnson to declare war on North Vietnam.

US foreign policy towards Vietnam from 1964

Johnson directed US foreign policy towards Vietnam following the assassination of Kennedy in November 1963. Johnson was a commanding presence but, by his own admission, much more comfortable with domestic issues than foreign policy matters. In 1964, he oversaw the successful passing of the Civil Rights Act into law, at last ending legal segregation of and discrimination against black Americans. The Civil Rights Act was part of Johnson's 'Great Society' programs, which also included government spending on education, medicine and transportation to aid equality between different groups in the United States. Historian Robert Dallek argues that the Vietnam War highjacked Johnson's work on the Great Society, instead forcing him to focus on the situation in South-East Asia.

SOURCE 19 President Lyndon B. Johnson on the 1964 presidential campaign trail

Facing a presidential election in November 1964, Johnson wanted to appear moderate and had – despite the powers given to him through the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution – limited the conflict in Vietnam to bombing raids on targets in North Vietnam. In the election, he easily defeated the conservative Republican candidate Barry Goldwater, who publicly took a much tougher line on Vietnam. Goldwater was a 'hawk' – a label used for those who believed that the United States should ramp up its military involvement and fight the war to win. Another hawk was US Air Force Chief of Staff General Curtis Le May, who repeatedly declared that the US bombing of North Vietnam should escalate. There were others in Washington D.C. who were more moderate and cautious. These politicians, including Senator Mike Mansfield, were classified as 'doves'. Secret tapes from the **Oval Office** made available to historians from 1998 reveal that Johnson himself was deeply torn by the human cost of the Vietnam War.

Oval Office
the physical office of the President of the United States

The United States appeared to adopt a kind of 'carrot and stick' policy towards North Vietnam under Johnson, who declared in March 1965 that he was willing 'to go anywhere, at any time' for discussions that would lead to an honourable peace. In April of the same year he appeared to seek a diplomatic solution by calling for 'unconditional discussions'. This was the carrot. The stick was a major bombing campaign against North Vietnam, code-named 'Rolling Thunder', which began in March 1965 and continued until October 1968.

Early in the bombing campaign, Johnson agreed to a change in the role of the US Marines in Vietnam. They would no longer merely guard bases in order to protect aeroplanes; they

SOURCE 20
An American B-52 plane dropping bombs over Vietnam in 1965

would go out into the South Vietnamese countryside on active 'search and destroy' missions. By the end of 1965, there were more than 100 000 US troops in Vietnam in full combat roles.

The North Vietnamese response remained unchanged from their terms at Geneva in 1954 – they demanded that the United States recognise the national rights of the Vietnamese people to be independent. To this end, they commanded the United States to withdraw troops from South Vietnam and to stop all acts of war against North Vietnam. The North still envisaged that a peaceful reunification of Vietnam could occur without foreign interference.

Historian Robert Schulzinger argues that it was at this time – between late 1964 and the middle of 1965 – that the United States passed 'the point of no return' in Vietnam. Johnson was starting to feel trapped by the conflict. His political instincts told him that the United States was caught up in a bad situation, but his pride and insecurity made it difficult – and ultimately impossible – for him to withdraw. Johnson was afraid that a communist takeover of Vietnam would lead to a conservative domestic political backlash in the United States that would lead to the repeal of his beloved domestic reforms. Polls showed that by late 1965, 60 per cent of the American people saw the Vietnam War as their country's most urgent problem, and only 20 per cent favoured a withdrawal.

SOURCE 21 An American newspaper cartoon, 1 February 1966

7.4a Check your learning

1 Why were US troops initially sent to Vietnam?
2 Explain the significance of the Tonkin Gulf incident and the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964.
3 What was meant by the terms 'hawks' and 'doves'? Explain in one paragraph.
4 Explain how President Lyndon B. Johnson used the 'carrot and stick' approach to the North Vietnamese.

7.4a Understanding and using the sources

1 What does Source 19 illustrate about Johnson's character? Consider the image in light of what had happened to President John F. Kennedy the previous year.
2 How does Source 20 illustrate the nature of change in the US involvement from President Kennedy to President Johnson?
3 What does Source 21 illustrate about the contradictions of US policy in Vietnam under Johnson?

The nature and effectiveness of strategies and tactics employed in Vietnam

Before assessing the nature and effectiveness of strategies and tactics, it is necessary to distinguish between the two concepts. While 'strategy' refers to the broad, overall plan and vision for a campaign as a whole, 'tactics' are the more specific means and methods that will be used to achieve the broader strategic goals. Both sides in the Vietnam conflict adopted **attrition** as an overall strategy. However, the communist understanding and implementation of this strategy were more effective than those of the enemy. Importantly, American strategy and tactics would alter from 1969, under President Richard Nixon.

attrition
a military strategy whereby the enemy's strength is reduced though sustained attacks and pressure

The communist forces: the NVA and the Viet Cong

Using the attrition strategy, the communist forces were determined to wage war by a variety of means until the Americans, just like the French before them, tired of the conflict. Part of this plan was to make the war in Vietnam so long, bloody and expensive that American public opinion would turn against it. In summary, attrition for the communists meant continuing to fight and resist until the other side was either defeated or decided to give up. To make this strategy work, General Vo Nguyen Giap, Commander of the NVA, developed a three-phase view of warfare. Phase 1 involved the formation and training of guerrilla bands of Viet Cong and their infiltration into South Vietnamese villages to win local support. In Phase 2, the guerrillas would engage the South Vietnamese Army by ambush and assassination. The final phase was designed to involve troops from the NVA, which would fight more conventional battles.

The key tactical instruments of Giap's strategy of attrition were flexibility and concealment. The Americans and the South Vietnamese controlled the major cities and the key arterial roads, especially during the daytime. The countryside, jungle and night, however, belonged to the Viet Cong and the NVA. During the night they moved troops and supplies, laid mines, set booby traps, and arranged ambushes.

What the Viet Cong and the NVA lacked in fire-power, they had to make up for with persistence and ingenuity. Generally, the Viet Cong and the NVA avoided major confrontations and were largely on the defensive. They always chose the time and place of any engagement carefully, and set ambushes on jungle trails or on roads. Americans arriving at a helicopter landing zone also became targets of ambushes.

SOURCE 22 US soldiers using the protection of daylight to cross a river in an area recently held by the Viet Cong

SOURCE 23 This image shows a later version of the Viet Cong punji trap, a type of booby trap which, when the enemy stepped on it, pierced the flesh above the boot with sharpened wood or bamboo sticks. After the US Army issued its troops with a new type of boot, the Viet Cong started using iron spikes instead.

SOURCE 24

1 Just over 58 000 Americans were killed in the conflict in Vietnam, of those just short of 41 000 were killed in action. 382 deaths were self-inflicted.
2 The average age of American servicemen killed was 23 years.
3 The youngest American killed in the conflict was 15 years old.
4 Eight American women died in the conflict, all of them nurses.
5 The deadliest year of the conflict for America was 1968 with 16 899 killed.

'American Statistics of Vietnam War Casualties, *National Archives of the United States of America* website

The US forces and the ARVN

Attrition warfare was also adopted as an overarching strategy by the United States under General William C. Westmoreland, following the escalation of action during 1964 and 1965. The Americans intended to use overwhelming fire-power and resources to make the war too costly for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong to continue fighting. For the United States, the success of this strategy was measured in the number of bombing raids and the 'body counts' of Viet Cong dead reported.

With the aim of saving American lives, Westmoreland used massive amounts of destructive airpower, utilising accurate artillery to support infantry (soldiers fighting on foot) in the field. He also oversaw the use of **chemical defoliants** to clear jungle and make it harder for the enemy to hide. Alongside the strategy of attrition, the United States also planned to win the support of the civil population in so-called **'hearts and minds'** operations, aimed at making popular appeals to Southerners to sway them from supporting the Viet Cong. These appeals took the form of providing education and aid to villagers, and assisting in village building programs. The contradictions inherent in these opposing strategies meant the United States and the ARVN ultimately failed to win over the peasant population.

chemical defoliant a chemical sprayed in dense jungle areas causing leaves to fall off trees and expose potential troop movements

'hearts and minds' a campaign in which one side seeks to prevail not by the use of superior force, but by making popular appeals to sway supporters of the other side

'Search and destroy' missions soon became the primary US and ARVN tactic. Such missions used mobile units supported by tanks and armoured personnel carriers to move through areas, or helicopters, in search of the enemy. This tactic was problematic, however, as the Viet Cong fighters blended in with civilians. In addition, both the Viet Cong and the NVA were skilled at concealment, and made excellent use of tunnels and underground bases beneath apparently peaceful villages.

SOURCE 25 American military commander General William C. Westmoreland reviews the men of the US Army's 1st Infantry Division, Vietnam, November 1966.

SOURCE 26

> From 1961 to 1965, the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were learning much from the American efforts to use helicopters to profitably employ South Vietnamese troops. A study group headed by Brig Gen John Norton found that the Viet Cong had already introduced heavier machine guns (12.7mm) into South Vietnam. The Viet Cong had also begun locating their anti-aircraft weapons to control the most desirable LZs [landing zones] which, in effect, forced ARVN troops to use LZs preferred by the Viet Cong.
>
> Walter Boyne, *How the Helicopter Changed Modern Warfare*, 2011, p. 128

The United States and the ARVN established a permanent presence in some places to challenge the Viet Cong through a system of **fire-support bases**. These were well-fortified and self-contained artillery bases that acted as a forward position in enemy territory. The bases could be supplied by helicopters and could call on artillery support from nearby fire-support positions. They achieved limited tactical success, however, as their fixed position offered up an enticing target for enemy 'shoot and scoot' raids. In summary, whether US or ARVN forces were conducting a 'search and destroy' mission or were contained in the supposed safety of a fire-support base, the Viet Cong and the NVA always knew where the Americans were; but the Americans rarely knew just where or when the enemy would strike.

fire-support base
a fortified US/ARVN position established in an area known to be desired or threatened by the enemy

SOURCE 27

> The twelve-month **tour of duty** of the ordinary soldier contributed to the alienation GIs felt in Vietnam. But soldiers did not develop strong ties with their units in their twelve months. Worse, after their break for 'R and R' many men could think only of their return home and had less desire than ever to expose themselves to the Viet Cong. Frightened, unfamiliar with guerrilla warfare, not well led, many American soldiers soon saw all Vietnamese as the enemy. 'I'd just as soon shoot a South Vietnamese as a VC' was a common refrain.
>
> R.D. Schulzinger, *A Time for War*, 1997, pp. 195–6

tour of duty
a period of time that a soldier spends in service in a particular military deployment

7.4b Check your learning

1. Explain the distinction between strategy and tactics.
2. Identify the three phases of General Vo Nguyen Giap's strategy.
3. Examine the strategies preferred by the United States. Discuss why these strategies were favoured.
4. Explain the 'hearts and minds' program. Why was it incompatible with the rest of the US strategy?
5. Describe the main tactics employed by the US and ARVN forces.

7.4b Understanding and using the sources

1. What do Sources 22 and 25 illustrate about the American way of warfare in Vietnam?
2. In what way does Source 23 represent the Viet Cong's ultimate success in the war?
3. Propose any possible weaknesses of relying only on Source 24 to develop an understanding of the conflict. How could a historian address this issue?
4. Study Source 26 and explain how the Viet Cong had adapted to successfully combating the enemies' use of helicopters.
5. According to Source 27, what are the problems of US troops having a limited 12-month period of service in Vietnam?

The impact of the 1968 Tet Offensive

The Tet Offensive was a direct military challenge by the NVA and the Viet Cong on the Americans and the South Vietnamese. There had only been a few subtle warning signs that an attack was coming, all of which were primarily ignored by the Americans. The NVA initially conducted a siege of the US military base at Khe Sanh as a diversion to distract the American high command. Then, in January 1968, Viet Cong and NVA forces exploited the Vietnamese New Year celebrations known as 'Tet' to launch a series of carefully coordinated attacks simultaneously right across South Vietnam, employing 84 000 troops. The result was that 48 provincial capitals, five major cities and 64 district capitals – including Saigon, where the US Embassy was located – came under attack. For a time, the Viet Cong controlled the city of Hue near the North–South border and proceeded to take bloody revenge against the South Vietnamese. These attacks marked the beginning of two weeks of intense fighting and a huge loss of life until the US troops and the ARVN managed to repel the offensive.

SOURCE 28 Tet Offensive statistics

Number of communist forces involved in the Tet Offensive	84 000
Number of Viet Cong casualties	45 000
Number of ARVN casualties	2 300
Number of US casualties	1 100
Number of South Vietnamese civilians executed in Hue	5 000

Source: Sean Brawley, Chris Dixon and Jeffrey Green, *Conflict in Indochina 1954–1979*, 2005, pp. 126–7

Westmoreland claimed that the communist side had failed in its objectives as the people of the South did not rally to support the communists, which was the intention of the offensive. Instead, he maintained, the Viet Cong had suffered such major losses that the NVA, after rebuilding its forces, would now take the lead role in the war in the South. The North, however, claimed to have achieved its strategic objective to provoke a challenge to the Americans so strong that it would force them to de-escalate their commitment to the war.

Westmoreland's stance that American victory was in sight at the time of the Tet Offensive has been criticised. But in fact, from a tactical point of view, Westmoreland was correct in his assessment that Tet was a communist defeat. However, from a broader strategic point of view, despite the losses, it proved to be a victory for the North as images of the offensive were shown on US television and in newspapers, which significantly undermined support for the war among the American people and gave weight to the claims of the anti-war movement.

SOURCE 29 Bodies of dead Viet Cong fighters, following the attack on the US Embassy in Saigon during the Tet Offensive

At the time of the Tet Offensive, the total number of US troops in Vietnam had risen to 500 000 and the number of Americans who wanted to see the troops return home was growing steadily. Until 1968, the majority of Americans thought victory was close. Walter Cronkite, a respected American news anchor with the CBS network, evidenced his shock at seeing Americans fight it out for their embassy in Saigon when he announced: 'I thought we were winning the war.'

After Tet, Americans realised that they were now trapped in a protracted war. Furthermore, the barbarity of the war was revealed in all its horror to the American viewing public. Middle America began to question who were the 'good guys' in the conflict and ask deeper questions about American commitment to the war. Tellingly, after the Tet Offensive, 78 per cent of Americans surveyed felt that the United States was not making progress in the war.

US soldiers on the ground in Vietnam began to feel the impact of Tet in two significant ways. The rise of anti-war feeling in the United States decreased the morale of soldiers, which in turn impacted on their fighting morale and led to worse results in the field. Furthermore, many American soldiers were shocked by the attacks and bitter about their losses. During the following months, they were more aggressive than usual in their patrols, especially in '**pacification**' operations, as their attitudes to Vietnamese civilians changed.

SOURCE 30 US Marine D.R. Howe treats the wounds of Private First Class D.A. Crum during the Tet Offensive in Hue, 2 June 1968.

SOURCE 31 A Viet Cong fighter accused of attempting to blow up US barracks in Saigon is executed by firing squad in the public marketplace, 22 June 1965.

pacification the process by which US forces aimed to counter Viet Cong insurgencies and establish control through occupying and 'pacifying' a particular geographical area; the Americans aimed to establish control over the area and remove communist influence over the people

7.4c Check your learning

1 Identify two strategic purposes of the Tet Offensive.
2 Discuss the successes and failures of the operation.
3 What would the offensive have illustrated to the United States about the ability and resolve of the communist forces?
4 To what extent do you believe the Tet Offensive changed the course of the Vietnam War?
5 What was the impact of the Tet Offensive on American soldiers?

7.4c Understanding and using the sources

1 Using Source 28, assess the impact of the Tet Offensive on the ability of the communist forces to continue fighting the war.
2 Using Source 29–31, identify and explain two impacts of the Tet Offensive on American television audiences in two detailed paragraphs.

The impact of the war on civilians in Vietnam

The fundamental political impact that the conflict had on the South was a pattern of regime instability. The lofty aspirations of the Geneva Conference, which had aimed to develop democratic freedoms in the South, were never realised. Beginning with Ngo Dinh Diem, the Southern regime had instituted policies such as the Agroville and Strategic Hamlet Programs, which denied villagers their freedom and ensured that the regime would never attain popular support. The culture of corruption that was established under the Diem regime continued, and the nation was ruled by a succession of 'governments by turnstile' after his assassination. The former Air Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky and Army General Nguyen Van Thieu established the longest-serving regime in 1967–75, when they ruled the South as a **military junta**. Restrictions on civil liberties were tightened, land reform was never enacted, electoral fraud continued, and all opposition was quickly extinguished.

military junta
a military group that takes power by force and exercises its authority through power and coercion (the opposite of democratic freedoms)

Because the South became reliant on aid from the United States, American imports damaged the developing South Vietnamese industries. Until 1964 the per capita **GDP** in the South outstripped the North by two to one. The economy began to decline from this time, and by 1965 South Vietnam had begun to import rice, illustrating the turn-around in its economic status. With the reduction of US troops from 1970, the economy went into freefall, with inflation rates reaching levels of **hyperinflation**.

GDP
gross domestic product; the measurement of the quantity of goods and services produced in a country in one year

hyperinflation
an extreme case of inflation, where the price of consumer goods rises and the value of currency decreases

SOURCE 32 Vietnamese women entertaining American soldiers at a US-style bar in Saigon in 1971

SOURCE 33 An American soldier drinking American beer at an American-style bar near the Da Nang military base

South Vietnamese society was also transformed by the impact of American involvement in the Vietnam War. The establishment of large US bases in the South created a network of bars and brothels to support this infrastructure. A culture of drugs, gambling dens and black-market racketeering was fostered – the antithesis of traditional Confucian values. South Vietnamese society, with the village and family at the centre, was irreversibly disrupted, as more and

more Vietnamese left the countryside for urban areas, leading to Saigon's population increasing by 45 per cent to 3.3 million by 1970. Further, society became increasingly materialistic as various consumer and military goods, food, cigarettes and medicine were sold illegally on the streets of Saigon.

The war also wrought significant environmental damage on the South. Although much of the US bombing occurred over the North, US fire-power targeting the Ho Chi Minh Trail destroyed areas of arable land in the South, which in turn impacted on civilians' ability to feed themselves. Furthermore, in an attempt to expose the jungle networks of the Viet Cong, the US Air Force's use of the defoliant Agent Orange in Operation Ranch Hand saw 19 million gallons of this chemical sprayed over Vietnam and Laos, from 1961 to 1972. The chemical immediately destroyed crops and forests, forcing people to relocate to urban areas. In addition to the estimated four million Vietnamese people who were killed or wounded on both sides of the conflict, millions more suffered birth defects and cancer from the effects of their exposure to chemicals.

SOURCE 34 Aeroplanes on a defoliation mission spray Agent Orange over the jungles of South Vietnam.

SOURCE 35 A woman affected by Agent Orange from birth works in a factory in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon). Up to four million people were exposed to the chemical dioxin contained in Agent Orange, and the effects can be transmitted across many generations.

Compared with the South, the North experienced political stability, especially following the reversals of the radical land reform tribunals in 1960. Civilians in the North were generally united behind the political and military aims of the North. As historian and professor Sean Brawley suggests, fighting a war against a superpower 'left little time for internal dissent'. Morale in the North was not destroyed, as had been the Americans' intention when they conducted major bombing campaigns over the North, including Operations Rolling Thunder (1965–68), Linebacker I (May–October 1972) and Linebacker II (December 1972). The bombings did, however, succeed in destroying 4000 villages and disrupting transport and communication, as roads and railways were a favoured target of US planes. Store trading hours were greatly reduced and many people were evacuated to the countryside. Factories, now operated by a predominately female labour force, moved out of urban areas or underground.

Although 100 000 civilians in the North were killed by the two million tonnes of bombs dropped by the US Air Force, the collective will to endure this hardship and disaster did not break. Instead, the bombings worked to unite society.

7.4d Check your learning

1 Account for the impact of the war on the people of South Vietnam in an extended response. Ensure that you discuss the major factors in your response, including social, political, military and economic impacts.
2 Explain the impact of the war on civilian lives in North Vietnam in a response at least a page in length.

7.4d Understanding and using the sources

1 In what ways could Sources 32–33 contribute to a historian's understanding of the impact of the Vietnam War on the population of the South?
2 Use Sources 34–35 as a starting point for further research into the American use of chemicals in Vietnam. From your investigation, list at least four impacts that this had on humans and the environment.

The nature and significance of anti-war movements in the United States and Australia

The anti-war movement began developing on university campuses from the middle of the 1960s, and would develop in size and strength as the decade wore on, and the justification for American involvement in the war was more widely questioned. The actions taken at campuses across the country contributed to the growth of a more general anti-war feeling that spread into wider American society. The movement in Australia developed at the same time, also on university campuses, and primarily focused on the issue of **conscription**. The Australian anti-war movement would also come to influence society as it highlighted the destructive nature of the war to the general public. This, in turn, saw pressure building on political leaders to find an exit strategy from the conflict.

conscript/ conscription
a soldier who did not volunteer for service and is serving a period in the armed forces as mandated by the government

SOURCE 36 Young Americans protesting during the March on the Pentagon, Washington D.C., 21 October 1967

The anti-war movement in the United States

During the late 1960s, the anti-war movement in the United States grew as part of a broader agenda of social reform and civil rights. One of the earliest organised forms of protest on university campuses were the so-called 'teach-ins', where students and academics stayed overnight in university buildings debating aspects of American policy. Gradually the protests became more militant and vocal. As the US Government pushed for an escalation of the war, the anti-war movement itself escalated into a series of rallies, petitions,

burning of **draft cards**, and street marches that became an almost daily feature on America's news bulletins.

The anti-war movement was made up of many different factions and shades of political opinion, ranging from moderates, who wanted peaceful, orderly protests to voice their disapproval of the war, to militant groups, who advocated violent protest. The extreme factions did not, however, help the anti-war cause because their radical and violent protest tended to result in a conservative backlash by the people Nixon called the 'silent majority' in a speech delivered on 3 November 1969.

A key event reflecting the growth of the anti-war sentiment, and its nature as a movement with wide-ranging appeal, was the April 1965 'March Against the Vietnam War' in Washington D.C. Around 20 000 protesters picketed the White House and were entertained by popular musicians, including Joan Baez, before marching to the Washington Monument. Speeches were held, including an address by Paul Potter, the head of the organisation Students for a Democratic Society, questioning the reasons the government stated it was fighting a war in Vietnam.

The anti-war movement gained significant traction as it received the support of the civil rights movement. In 1967, African-American civil rights leader Martin Luther King spoke out against the war. He believed that too much of the American blood being shed in Vietnam was from the black community serving as conscripts. The visibility of the movement escalated further in late 1969 with the massive **Moratorium** to End the War in Vietnam demonstration in Washington D.C., which attracted over 500 000 demonstrators.

SOURCE 37 The assembled crowd on the National Mall during the Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam demonstration, Washington D.C., 15 November 1969

SOURCE 38 President Richard Nixon, shown here on a surprise visit to South Vietnam, rejected demands for a total, immediate US withdrawal from Vietnam and asked 'the great, silent majority' of Americans to support his careful course toward a settlement of the war.

draft card
a formal notice informing someone that they have been conscripted into the army

moratorium
a temporary prohibition of an activity (used by the anti-war movement in the United States and Australia)

Nixon had been elected the 37th President of the United States in November 1968. Protests subsided for a time during the first months of his administration, but were soon reignited when the nature of his aggressive policies became clear. In 1969, the Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam movement became a feature of the anti-war cause. Organisers asked supporters to ban normal activities (that is, to hold a moratorium). In schools and universities, this meant that students abandoned classes to attend anti-war rallies.

In May 1970, four college students were shot and killed during a protest over Nixon's Indochina policy at Kent State University, Ohio. News of the killings triggered a wave of further protests, and raised doubts in the minds of many people about the direction of America's policy in Vietnam. In April 1971, about 500 000 anti-war marchers converged on Washington D.C. in a massive protest. Importantly, later that same year, the publication of what was to be known as the 'Pentagon Papers' by the *New York Times* convinced many people of the validity of numerous claims by the anti-war movement about the war. The Pentagon Papers, a study authorised by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara in 1968, showed that from the earliest stages of the war there were many in government who questioned the nature and role of US involvement.

SOURCE 39 The Hard Hat Riot in support of US involvement in Vietnam took place in New York City, 8 May 1970. Two protestors are shown holding placards attacking the Mayor of New York City, John Lindsay, who ordered flags at City Hall to be flown at half-mast after the Kent State University shootings.

The anti-war movement did not end the Vietnam War, but it was one of a number of factors, alongside the images shown in the news, which ensured that the nature and conduct of the war remained in people's consciousness week after week. The movement also forced politicians to engage in debates over issues highlighted by the protesters. Further, the television broadcasts showing the barbarity of the war also gave buoyancy to the North Vietnamese, who welcomed the disruptive effect that the war was having on American politics.

Counter-protest movements supporting the role of the United States in Vietnam also emerged. This is illustrated by the Hard Hat Riot that took place in New York City in May 1970, where construction workers supporting the war clashed with anti-war protesters, resulting in over 70 people being injured.

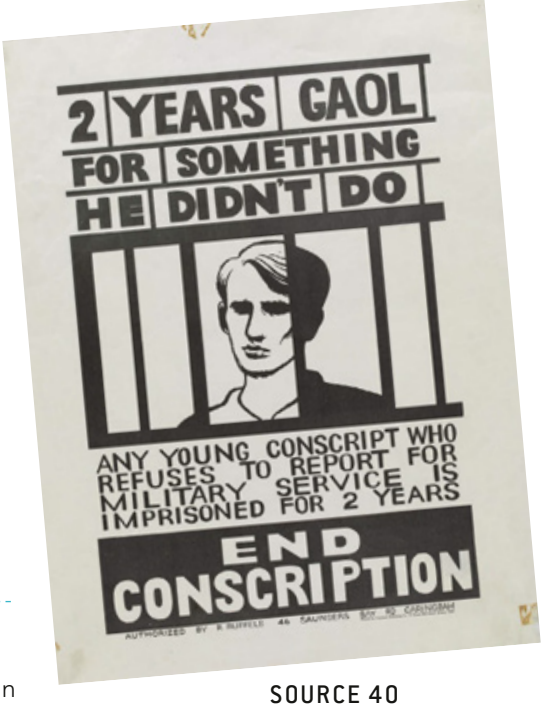
Historian Stanley Karnow argues that most Americans supported the role of the Nixon administration in prosecuting its war aims. The proof of this can be seen in Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign. After tackling anti-war feeling and singling out radical protesters for criticism in his 'Silent majority' speech in November 1969, Nixon won another decisive presidential election victory in 1972.

The anti-war movement in Australia

As in the United States, the anti-war movement in Australia first developed on university campuses in the mid-1960s before growing in size and potency as a result of the opposition to conscription. Conscription was dictated by the National Service Act, introduced by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in 1964, which made military service compulsory for all males of 20 years of age. In March 1966 it was announced that conscripts would be sent to Vietnam to serve with regular Australian Army units, as Australia's commitment to the conflict in Vietnam increased. Conscripts who would serve in Vietnam were chosen from a lottery system, where birthdates were selected at random. If a man's birthdate was selected from the lottery, he was conscripted to serve a two-year tour of duty in Vietnam.

Over 15 000 Australians served as conscripts in the Australian Army in Vietnam, of whom 200 were killed. When the first conscripts died, opposition developed from student groups at universities, including the group Youth Campaign Against Conscription, which organised

protests and the burning of national service papers. This opposition escalated when a group of concerned mothers formed the group Save our Sons in 1965. This group would organise hiding places for men who sought to avoid conscription. From 1969, the movement seeped into mainstream society and the Australian trade union movement joined opposition to the war, organising protests and rallying its members. The Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam marches of 1970–71 illustrated the extent of opposition to the war, as hundreds of thousands of people gathered in major cities across Australia to protest against Australia's role in Vietnam. The last Australian troops were withdrawn from Vietnam in 1972.



SOURCE 40
An example of an Australian anti-war poster targeting the government policy of conscription

7.4e Check your learning

1. Identify some of the methods of protest used by the anti-war movement in the United States and Australia and analyse their success.
2. What were the key episodes in the anti-war movement in the United States between 1965 and 1971?
3. Discuss what part the anti-war movement played in ending the Vietnam War.
4. Research President Nixon's 'Silent majority' address, and assess the impact the address had on the anti-war movement.

7.4e Understanding and using the sources

1. Using Source 36 and the information in the text, identify the key issues motivating anti-war protesters from the African-American community.
2. Research the synthesis between the civil rights and anti-war protests in the United States. What potency did one give to the other?
3. To what extent does Source 39 illustrate the support that Nixon had to continue the war in Vietnam on his terms?
4. How successful would Source 40 have been in achieving its message? Discuss the elements used in the poster, including tone, audience, image, colour choice and text.

The My Lai Massacre and the Pentagon Papers

The anti-war movement was strengthened by various revelations in the media showing the brutality of the conflict – information that the US Government had tried to keep from the American people. The first revelation came in May 1969, when the *New York Times* published details of Nixon's secret bombing campaign in Cambodia, which had commenced in March that year. Further damage to the new presidential administration occurred when the atrocity that became known as the My Lai Massacre was made public in November 1969. The My Lai Massacre, which took place on 16 March 1968, was a mass killing of hundreds of unarmed Vietnamese civilians by US troops in South Vietnam. Victims included men, women, children and infants. Just one American soldier, Lieutenant William Calley, was convicted, but he only served three and a half years under house arrest before he was pardoned by Nixon. When the massacre and attempts to cover it up were revealed, public outrage followed. The confidence of the US public in the nobility of their cause and in the legitimacy of government-supplied information were shaken.

Following the My Lai Massacre outrage, more (previously hidden) information leaked out to the public about the US Government's reasoning for being involved in Vietnam and its lack of confidence about how the conflict was developing. The most influential of these revelations were the 'Pentagon Papers', which were published by the *New York Times* in 1971. The papers – officially titled *United States–Vietnam Relations, 1945–1967: A Study Prepared by the Department of Defense* – revealed a number of attempted presidential cover-ups. The documents proved that successive presidential administrations had misled the public as to their actual intentions in Vietnam.

SOURCE 41 Civilians killed by the US Army during its pursuit of Viet Cong militia; this became known as the My Lai Massacre.

Revelations from the Pentagon Papers included:

- Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara stated that the Eisenhower administration supported the South Vietnamese Ngo Dinh Diem regime 'not to help a friend, but to contain China'.
- Kennedy's administration knew of plans to overthrow South Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem.
- Johnson's promise to the nation to 'seek no wider war' after the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964 was false. He intensified covert warfare campaigns and planned overt campaigns from this time.
- Johnson ordered the bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, despite intelligence advice arguing that it would not cause the North Vietnamese to cease their support of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam.

SOURCE 42 A church service held at a fire-support base; the text on the gun refers to Lieutenant William Calley, who was tried and convicted for his role in the My Lai Massacre.

7.4f Check your learning

1. Research the events that took place at My Lai Massacre and the role of Lieutenant William Calley. List some of the key factors illustrating his failure of leadership.
2. Summarise what the Pentagon Papers reveal about American policy makers and their approach in Vietnam.

7.4f Understanding and using the sources

In a 250-word written response, discuss what Source 42 illustrates about US troops in Vietnam around the time of the My Lai Massacre.

The reasons for and the nature of the US withdrawal

The Tet Offensive of 1968 had demonstrated the failure of the US military campaign in Vietnam against the communist strategy of attrition. When Nixon took office the following year, 31 000 American lives had been lost and the incompatibility of the 'hearts and minds' campaign with the attritional air and ground strategies amounted to little tactical success. In addition, the nationalistic sympathies of the rural South Vietnamese stayed with the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese and, although challenged by the failure of Tet to achieve its tactical objectives, the communist forces remained in a commanding position. Further, the supply of weapons and aid to the North from both the Soviet Union and China continued, and the Ho Chi Minh Trail remained open to supply future offensives. Importantly, the resolve of the Northern people remained firmly fixed behind their government's aim to unify their homeland.

Initially, American policy makers had thought that Ho Chi Minh's primary intention was to spread communism throughout the region. As the war went on, they recognised that powerful nationalistic forces were at work in Vietnam and the North's key aim was national unity. Furthermore, the US-friendly South Vietnam regime, which the Americans had helped to set up, never won wide acceptance from the people. Rather, as the harsh nature of the South's regime became more widely publicised, it served as yet another tool used by the anti-war movement to challenge American involvement in the conflict.

By the end of the 1960s, general support for the war in the United States had evaporated, making it impossible for any presidential administration to sustain the war. Nixon responded to the new **zeitgeist** in the US electorate and announced that he would end America's involvement in Vietnam by 1973. Leaving Vietnam, however, was not going to be easy. Not only did Nixon need to save face as the United States unchained itself from nearly two decades of involvement in Vietnam, he also needed to ensure the survival of South Vietnam.

Nixon was determined to achieve his agenda of forcing North Vietnam to negotiate. His strategy for doing so was to commence Operation Menu, a covert bombing campaign in Cambodia from 1969, designed to halt the communist infiltration into South Vietnam via the Ho Chi Minh and Sihanouk Trails. A similar secret bombing campaign was initiated against Laos. Finally, Nixon initiated the ruthless 'Christmas bombing' campaign, dropping 40 000 tonnes of bombs over North Vietnam in December 1972.

One strategy that Nixon applied was to appear unpredictable, ruthless and ready to do whatever it took to see the end of the conflict. This position he took would become known as Nixon's 'madman theory'.

SOURCE 43
Number of US troops in Vietnam

YEAR	NUMBER
1967	485 600
1968	549 500
1969	549 500
1970	335 790
1971	156 800
1972	24 200

zeitgeist
the 'spirit of the times'

SOURCE 44 Nixon's 'madman theory'

> Nixon had been recorded confiding: 'I want the North Vietnamese to believe I've reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war', and that he wanted them to think: 'We can't restrain him when he's angry – and he has his hand on the nuclear button'.
>
> Harry Robbins 'Bob' Haldeman (Nixon's Chief of Staff), *The Ends of Power*, 1978, p. 122

SOURCE 45 President Richard Nixon (centre) and Secretary of State William Rogers (right) with Chinese Deputy Premier Li Xiannian during a visit to the Great Wall of China in 1972

In January 1973, representatives from the United States and North Vietnam signed a peace treaty in Paris which ended direct American involvement in Vietnam. The North saw US withdrawal as a first step towards its eventual victory and a unified Vietnam. The United States did, however, promise to continue aiding the ARVN so that they could sustain their fighting force against the communist North. A small American presence remained in the South in the form of political advisers and some marines to advise the Nguyen Van Thieu regime and to maintain operations at the US Embassy in Saigon.

The 1970s was the decade when the Cold War entered a period that has become known as **détente** – a thawing of tensions between the Western democracies and the communist powers. To this end, Nixon began nuclear arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union and made a state visit to China in a bid to commence relations. Peace in Vietnam hence became an element of this reduction in tensions between the superpowers.

In a speech following the signing of the agreement, Nixon would describe the Paris Peace Accord as 'peace with honour'.

détente
the period during the Cold War when the Soviet Union and the United States found agreement on global issues and attempted to live in peaceful coexistence

The reasons for the communist victory in Vietnam

As noted above, the primary reason for the communist victory in Vietnam was its close association with Vietnamese nationalism. The other key reason was that the United States misread the situation and saw the conflict in Indochina as part of the wider Cold War. Further, for Ho Chi Minh and the North Vietnamese this was a vital struggle for their homeland and national sovereignty. By contrast, victory for the United States was not such a crucial matter.

The collapse of the regime in the South, which led to the final communist victory in Vietnam, occurred in April 1975. The victory was mainly the result of two factors – the conclusion of American aid to the South, and the success of the NVA's offensive led by General Van Tien Dung, starting in January 1975.

SOURCE 46 US Marines evacuate civilians at Tan Son Nhut airbase in Vietnam while under Viet Cong fire, at the end of the war, 15 April 1975.

Nixon had promised aid would continue to Vietnam after the US departure. Although President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam had almost hobbled the peace talks in a bid to ensure continued US protection, the United States had continued to provide the South with US$1 billion of aid per annum to fight the war. Thieu assumed that if the North broke the Paris Peace Accord, the Americans would resume bombing. Nixon, however, was not able to keep his promises to protect the South for two key reasons: first, because US Congress passed the War Powers Resolution, limiting the power of the president to commit troops to combat; and second, because Nixon was forced to step down as president after the **Watergate scandal** in August 1974. The same year, aid to the South was reduced to US$700 million, and in 1975 it ceased.

Watergate scandal the revelation of a break-in at the US Democratic National Committee and other illegal activities undertaken by members of Nixon's administration, and the subsequent attempt by Nixon to cover up his involvement; the scandal would eventually lead to Nixon's resignation

In late 1974, before Dung's NVA offensive was launched, the ARVN was already in significant trouble. Outnumbered but determined NVA forces had overrun battalions of fleeing ARVN soldiers in the failed Operation Lam Son in 1971. The corruption that had plagued the ARVN now became a danger to its operational existence. Historian Mark Bradley argues that 'ghosting' – the process whereby senior ARVN officers collected the pay of dead soldiers kept on the payroll – ran as high as 20 per cent of the ARVN fighting force. The ARVN looked a lot stronger on paper than it was in reality. Its soldiers were dispirited and desertion was a chronic problem.

Amid an environment of economic collapse in the South – where inflation was out of control, unemployment sat at 30 per cent and the black-market economy was expanding daily – the North Vietnamese decided to act. In December 1974 they tested the resolve of the Americans to come to the aid of the South by attacking deep into South Vietnam, about 100 kilometres from Saigon, in the Phuoc Long province. No American aircraft appeared to protect the city and Thieu was only able to field one ARVN battalion on the ground. In the United States, the newly elected President Gerald R. Ford, restricted and constrained by Congress, which refused to foot the bill for a losing cause, was unable to act to protect South Vietnam.

Dung commenced a major operation on 9 March 1975, in the central highlands. The major centre of Ban Me Thout fell three days later. Panic began to set in as the NVA marched southwards. NVA artillery fired on fleeing civilians, killing over 100 000 Southerners. Dung began the march on Saigon in early April, with 18 NVA divisions massed for this final assault. The ARVN soon collapsed and Saigon fell to the communist forces on 29 April 1975. The North had won the war and the transition to unification began. The two Vietnams officially merged into one nation in July 1976.

7.4g Check your learning

1. Explain why American aid to Vietnam eventually stopped.
2. Discuss the problems faced by the ARVN by 1973.
3. Assess how Nixon's visit to China influenced his agenda to achieve peace with North Vietnam.
4. Can the methods that President Nixon used to achieve peace be justified? Explain your answer.
5. Construct an extended response that evaluates the contribution of the end of American aid to the South and the success of the NVA's offensive in 1975 to the communist victory.
6. List all the factors you can think of that contributed to the communist victory in April 1975.

7.4g Understanding and using the sources

1. To what extent is Source 44 useful for a historian studying Nixon's methods in achieving peace? How might the background of the author and the year of publication impact on its usefulness?
2. Discuss the value of Source 46 to a historian studying the nature of the US troop withdrawal in 1975.

SOURCE 47 Desperate Vietnamese refugees flee the advancing NVA, April 1975.

7.5 The spread of the conflict to Cambodia and Laos

The war did not remain contained within the boundaries of North and South Vietnam, but also greatly affected the lives of civilians in neighbouring Cambodia and Laos. The war would see both of these countries heavily bombed by the Americans in their bid to halt North Vietnamese infiltration via the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Furthermore, civilian lives in Cambodia and Laos would be fundamentally transformed by the rise of communist-nationalist groups in both countries that shaped the destinies of the Laotian and Cambodian peoples.

The impact of conflict on civilians in Cambodia and Laos

CIA
the Central Intelligence Agency; the foreign intelligence service of the US Government

Civilians in Laos had been adversely affected since the communist-nationalist Pathet Lao ('Lao Nation') – a group beginning effectively as a sub-branch of the Viet Minh – began fighting a civil war against the French-backed Royal Lao Army in 1953. After a brief interlude, the civil war in Laos ignited again in 1957 when the United States supported the Royal Lao Government against the Pathet Lao, as per the policy of containment, which directed that the United States would fight against a communist insurgency anywhere in the world.

MAJOR TRAILS AND AIR BASES

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 48 The Ho Chi Minh and Sihanouk Trails were the conduits for North Vietnamese infiltration into the South via Laos and Cambodia.

Kennedy had inherited Eisenhower's policy of treating Laos as the initial 'domino' to be defended in South-East Asia. The impact of US policy in Laos first fell on the Hmong from mountain villages in Laos from 1960, when the **CIA** began training and equipping them to fight the communists. Over the next decade, the number of CIA contractors grew by 2000 per cent. At least 30 000 Hmong were killed in the course of the conflict and, following US withdrawal, the Hmong were left to face the enemy alone. Many became refugees, having been forced to flee the victorious communist forces.

Many civilians would also be affected by air raids in the covert Operation Barrel Roll, carried out by US Air Force-trained pilots in the Royal Laos Air Force in 1964–73. The initial aim of this campaign was to assist the Royal Lao forces to fight the Pathet Lao. The more pressing concern for the United States, however, was the increased infiltration into South Vietnam via the widened Ho Chi Minh and Sihanouk Trails. The Ho Chi Minh Trail snaked its way through Laos and Cambodia,

where the Sihanouk Trail commenced, and hence became the target for the bombings.

Nixon's aim was to empower the ARVN to protect the South from the North Vietnamese forces while the United States withdrew its troops. To facilitate this, he initiated similar bombing campaigns in Cambodia – first as Operation Menu in March 1969 and later as Operation Freedom Deal, 1970–73. The purpose of the air attacks over Cambodia was to destroy what US intelligence reports had identified as the headquarters of 'Central Office for South Vietnam' (COSVN). The missions intensified after 1970 with a joint US–ARVN invasion of Cambodia on the ground, in an attempt to locate the COSVN. Historians Ben Kiernan and Owen Taylor, in their article 'Roots of US Troubles in Afghanistan: Civilian Bombing Casualties and the Cambodian Precedent', describe how Nixon demanded the US Air Force 'really go in' to Cambodia and 'crack hell out of them'. This destructive activity was one of the secrets kept from Congress and the American people. The most damaging and transformative impact on the lives of Cambodians, however, would be unleashed from 1970 onwards, with the ignition of the Cambodian Civil War.

SOURCE 49 The impact of bombing and unexploded bombs in Laos

Tonnage of bombs dropped on Laos from 1964 to 1973	2 million
Rate of bombing	One B52 bombing every 8 minutes
Percentage of **cluster bombs** failing to explode	30 per cent
Number of unexploded bombs in Laos by 1975	78 million
Laotian civilians killed or injured by unexploded bombs since 1973	13 000
Laotian civilians killed or injured each year since 2000 by unexploded bombs	300

Source: Channapha Khamvongsa and Elaine Russell, 'Legacies of War: Cluster Bombs in Laos' (2009)

SOURCE 50 Impact of US bombing on the lives of Cambodian civilians

Cambodian civilians killed by US bombing 1968–75	150 000
US Air Force missions flown over Cambodia 1965–73	230 488
Refugees fleeing the conflict	750 000

Source: Ben Kiernan and Taylor Owen, 'Roots of US Troubles in Afghanistan: Civilian Bombing Casualties and the Cambodian Precedent' (2010)

7.5a Check your learning

1. Why did Nixon commence bombing operations over Cambodia?
2. What was the purpose of the US-led invasion into Cambodia in 1970?
3. Explain how the United States planned to stop the spread of communism in Laos.
4. Account for how the lives of Laotians were affected by US policy.

7.5a Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 48 and explain the difference between the Ho Chi Minh and Sihanouk Trails.
2. Using Source 49, account for the impact of US actions on the people of Laos in two detailed paragraphs. Discuss short-term and long-term impacts.
3. From the information in Source 50, briefly describe the impact of US bombing in Cambodia.

cluster bomb
a type of bomb that releases smaller projectiles when it hits its target

The reasons for the communist victories in Cambodia and Laos

The communist victories in Cambodia and Laos occurred in the same year that North Vietnam defeated the South and set about unifying the country. As the successful military offensive in Vietnam came to an end in April 1975, the communist Khmer Rouge in Cambodia marched into the capital city of Phnom Penh and took control of the city and its people. This action brought an end to the brutal civil war which the Khmer Rouge had been fighting against the US-backed government of Lon Nol since 1971. In Laos, the reduction of US support to the regime saw the communist Pathet Lao defeat government forces and take over the country from June 1975.

The communist victory in Cambodia

Under the administration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia had managed to stay independent from US, Chinese or Soviet influence until 1969–70. Sihanouk had been successful because of his political skills and because of Cambodians' traditional reverence for his royal background. He had kept the Cambodian people out of the conflicts raging throughout Indochina, as he had long recognised that Cambodia would suffer if it took sides. He did, however, anger the United States through his decision to **nationalise** Cambodia's banks in 1963 (a policy common to communist governments), and diplomatic relations with the United States were broken in 1965. Sihanouk's 'see-saw' policy and desperate attempt at **non-alignment** were reflected in the re-establishment of relations with the United States in 1969. Simultaneously, NVA and Viet Cong troops were occupying parts of Cambodia and passing through Cambodian territory along the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

nationalise
to transfer industries or businesses from private to state ownership

non-alignment
a foreign policy that seeks to make alliances with no particular side, in a bid to remain neutral in an area of developing conflict

In March 1970, while Sihanouk was out of the country, General Lon Nol, supported by the United States, staged a coup and took power in Cambodia. At the same time, the radical communists known as the Khmer Rouge were slowly gaining popularity and influence in rural regions. Up until 1969, the Khmer Rouge had achieved little success in their fight against the Sihanouk regime, but the US attacks would benefit them greatly, as the Khmer Rouge could use them as a propaganda tool to help them recruit rural Cambodians to their cause. Interviews with former Khmer Rouge members tell of fathers whose children had been killed by US bombing joining the Khmer Rouge.

SOURCE 51

> [W]hen the big bombs and shells came [the ordinary people's] minds just froze up and they would wander around mute for three or four days. Terrified and half-crazy, the people were ready to believe what they were told … [T]hey kept on cooperating with the Khmer Rouge, joining up with the Khmer Rouge ...
>
> Ben Kiernan and Taylor Owen, 'Roots of US Troubles in Afghanistan: Civilian Bombing Casualties and the Cambodian Precedent' (2010)

Upon his return to the country, Sihanouk himself inflated the ranks of the Khmer Rouge when he decided to join forces and form a political coalition with them. Sihanouk's decision created the platform for the rise of the regime as people flocked to an organisation that had the backing of their former sovereign. The Khmer Rouge, which would use and then discard Sihanouk on their rise to power, were now strong enough to commence a brutal civil war with the Lon Nol Government from 1971. By 1975, Lon Nol had been forced out of power, and the Khmer Rouge occupied the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh.

SOURCE 52 The Khmer Rouge oversee weapon collection from defeated Lon Nol forces as they take the capital Phnom Penh, 17 April 1975.

The communist victory in Laos

Much of the history of Laos in the mid-twentieth century mirrored that of neighbouring Vietnam. Laos had been a French colony and was later occupied by the

Japanese in the Second World War. When Laos was returned to the French in 1946, Ho Chi Minh's Indochinese Communist Party assisted the Laotian nationalist freedom fighter group, the Pathet Lao, to fight the French. Similar to the Viet Minh, the Pathet Lao were motivated by a nationalist endeavour to end foreign rule in Laos and bring a communist system to the nation.

Following the departure of the French, power was handed over to the Royal Lao Government. This ruling body included many royal figures who had established their authority before and during the French era. Moves were made to establish more representative coalition governments to include the views of independence groups that had formed in opposition to the French occupation.

SOURCE 53 Prince Norodom Sihanouk (second from right) and his wife, Princess Monique, pose for a photograph with Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan (third from left), wearing Khmer Rouge neck scarfs

By 1956, the coalition between the royalists and the Pathet Lao that had been established in the 1954 Geneva Accords had broken down. In accordance with its containment policy, the United States now began carrying out large-scale bombings over Laos in support of the Royal Lao Army and against the North Vietnamese-backed Pathet Lao.

Despite American support, the NVA fighters in Laos effectively neutralised the government forces, and the eventual American withdrawal from Indochina in 1973 left them severely depleted. When Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma had a heart attack in 1974, the government forces were left leaderless. Sensing a Pathet Lao takeover, wealthy Laotians began to move their business interests overseas. Riding on the coat-tails of communist takeovers in Cambodia and then Vietnam in April 1975, the Pathet Lao began taking control of major towns and cities from June 1975, with the fall of the capital city Vientiane occurring in December that year.

7.5b Check your learning

1. Discuss the reasons for Prince Norodom Sihanouk's popularity with the Cambodian people.
2. To what extent can Sihanouk's policy of non-alignment be described as naïve? Explain your answer.
3. Explain why the United States would have supported a coup against Sihanouk.
4. Discuss why you think Sihanouk joined the Khmer Rouge after previously seeing them as his enemy.
5. Assess how North Vietnam contributed to the communist victory in Laos.

7.5b Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse the image in Source 52. What conclusions can you draw about typical Khmer Rouge fighters?
2. Explain the usefulness of Sources 51–53 to a historian studying the growth of the Khmer Rouge and the victory of Communism in Cambodia.

Democratic Kampuchea under Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge

Following the takeover of Phnom Penh, Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge (a term that had come to signify the Communist Party of Cambodia [CPK]), set about conducting one of the most ruthless campaigns ever undertaken to transform the social and political life of a country. It would end with the death of one-third of the Cambodian people.

The domestic aims of the regime can be seen in a radical policy that focused on building a country inhabited by a classless, peasant-based agricultural society. To this end, Pol Pot planned to take Cambodia back to 'Year Zero' – removing and destroying all historical culture and traditions and replacing them with a new revolutionary ideology, starting from scratch. These radical aims, reflecting the **xenophobic paranoia** of the Khmer Rouge, were formalised in the eight guiding principles produced at a conference in May 1975.

xenophobia
fear of outsiders

paranoia
an irrational and persistent feeling that someone is threatening you

SOURCE 54 The eight guiding principles, May 1975

> Evacuate people from all towns. Abolish all markets. Abolish currency. Defrock Buddhist monks and put them to work in the fields. Execute all officials of the Lon Nol government. Create cooperatives right across the country and introduce communal eating. Expel from Cambodia the minority Vietnamese population. Send troops to safeguard the borders especially the border with Vietnam.
>
> Samuel Totten and Paul Bartrop, *Dictionary of Genocide*, 2008

Immediately after seizing power, the Khmer Rouge began burning books, destroying public buildings and emptying the city of Phnom Penh of its two million people, who were forced into rural areas. Many lives were lost. Once the Khmer Rouge had the cities and towns firmly under their control, the next step was to expand their domination across rural Cambodia. Many people began their new life working twelve hours a day on **collective farms** under the iron hand of brutal guards who watched their every move.

collective farms
an approach to agricultural production where a number of farms are organised and managed as a joint enterprise

In 1976 the Khmer Rouge engineered a four-year economic plan with the aim of modernising the agricultural sector. As part of the plan, rice-yield targets were established, which the collective farms were expected to reach. The targets were, however, unachievably high, and as a result the overseers started falsifying the rice-yield statistics of their farms in an attempt to protect themselves against a regime that did not tolerate failure. The inflated statistics led to a situation where rice was exported to other communist countries while Cambodian citizens were left starving.

SOURCE 55

> Several other practices were put in place. These included long working hours for everyone (known as 'following the sun'), rejection of Western-style medicine, and an abolition of play. People with glasses were assumed to be capitalists, as were those with pale skin and soft hands and were taken off to be killed. Work in the fields began before sunrise and ended long after dark, with only short breaks in between.
>
> David Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History*, Yale University Press, 1991, p. 259

The impact of the Khmer Rouge policies was felt not only by citizens sent to work on collective farms, but also by Cambodian intellectuals and property owners. Schools and hospitals were closed across the country, private property became the property of the state, and all

Cambodians were advised to beware of spies and potential enemies of the new regime. This fear of 'enemies' gave rise to mass murder and concentration camps (called 're-education centres'), such as the infamous Tuol Sleng, which was converted from a high school into a place of torture and interrogation.

A staggering example of the result of the persecution of intellectuals is the fact that by 1979, only 207 out of 2300 Cambodian secondary school teachers remained alive. In addition to schools and universities, the regime also targeted theatres, museums and historical monuments.

The Yale University Genocide Program estimates that 1.7 million Cambodians lost their lives as victims of both organised violence and the great famine that ensued as a result of the radical **egalitarian** collectivisation policies.

egalitarian relating to the principle that all people are equal and deserve equal rights and opportunities

The Khmer Rouge foreign policy was largely aimed at protecting itself from foreign invasion. Kampuchea had few friends, and remained for the most part closed to the West. China assisted the regime in Cambodia with economic aid to support the implementation of the four-year plan and, while initial relations with the Vietnamese were positive, the relationship quickly soured. The regime leaders hated the Vietnamese and shared a collective paranoia about their intentions. They had a fear that Vietnam might attempt to create some kind of Indochinese federation, with Vietnam at the head.

From 1977, repeated border raids into Vietnamese territory and the violent execution of villagers prompted the Vietnamese to invade Cambodia on 7 January 1979. Their plan was to remove Pol Pot and replace his government with a communist regime more sympathetic to Hanoi. It took only 17 days for the Vietnamese to overrun the Cambodian forces. Pol Pot fled to western Cambodia and a new government was established.

SOURCE 56 The Tuol Sleng Museum in Phnom Penh is housed in a former school that the Khmer Rouge turned into a prison. Shown here is one of the torture cells. It includes a photograph depicting a torture victim.

7.5c Check your learning

1. How did the Khmer Rouge consolidate their hold on power?
2. What was the ideological aim of moving people into rural areas to work on collective farms?
3. Identify the main internal and external enemies of the Khmer Rouge.
4. Explain the foreign policy aims of the regime.
5. Evaluate how the Cambodian leadership's attitude towards the Vietnamese contributed to conflict.

7.5c Understanding and using the sources

1. Using Source 54 and the information in the text, explain in at least a half-page response how the Khmer Rouge aimed to consolidate their power across the country in order to implement their ideological agenda.
2. Using Source 55, explain how the aims and intentions of the Khmer Rouge leaders were experienced by Cambodians in the countryside.
3. The photograph on the wall in Source 56 was taken on 10 January 1979 by a Vietnamese cameraman accompanying the Vietnamese forces as they invaded Cambodia. Discuss factors affecting the reliability of the source, including the provenance of the image, the motive, the intended audience, the proximity of the photographer and the limitations of the source.

CONCLUSION

The conflict in Indochina began with the Viet Minh conducting a war of liberation against their French colonial rulers from 1946. After the success of the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the nations of North and South were established and hostilities between the two had commenced by the end of the 1950s. This new conflict in Indochina saw the United States, in a bid to support the ailing nation of South Vietnam, dragged into a conflict that it was unable to win. While this occurred from the early 1960s, the communist superpowers of the Soviet Union and China supported the North with weapons and aid. This full-scale, immensely violent war would cause the death of millions of Indochinese people by the end of the conflict in 1975. It would also lead to the death of millions of Cambodians by the time the Khmer Rouge had been ousted from power in Cambodia in 1979.

Following the end of the war, hundreds of thousands of people fled Indochina. Many would die in these attempts to flee the new regimes while others would spend years in refugee camps waiting for safe refuge. Western nations such as France, the United States and Australia opened their doors to provide a new life for many refugees.

SOURCE 57 Veterans pay their respects at the Vietnam Memorial, Washington D.C., 1986.

Around 58 000 Americans died fighting what became known as 'the Vietnam war' and 521 Australian soldiers were killed as a result of Australia's ten-year commitment to the conflict. The war caused deep divisions, particularly within the United States. Many veterans of the conflict struggled for decades to cope with the after-effects of their service in Vietnam. To historians, US involvement in Vietnam provides a lesson in how overseas military engagement can escalate out of control.

The nations of Indochina today remain (to varying degrees) communist and since 1995 they have all been recognised by the United States as sovereign states. In addition to being welcomed into the international community Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have also greatly profited from a capitalist system that sees millions of people visit the region every year, many making visits to sites associated with the conflict in Indochina.

For the locals, especially in the countryside, the many unexploded bombs and the continuous impact of defoliant chemicals is a gruesome reminder of this brutal war.

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

8

Conflict in the Pacific 1937–51

US warships in the Pacific Ocean, 1944

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. How did imperialism and nationalism contribute to the outbreak of conflict in the Pacific?
2. Identify and explain the strategies of the Japanese and the Allies during the war in the Pacific.
3. Account for the impact of the war for Japan, Australia and the occupied territories.
4. Explain the reasons for the Japanese defeat.
5. Explain the aims and consequences of the Allied occupation of postwar Japan.

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

When studying the conflict in the Pacific, be prepared to analyse sources carefully in order to assess the context of the source and its perspective, motives and reliability.

Historical interpretation

It is important to consider how and why historical interpretations of this conflict have changed over time. Be able to critically evaluate contesting interpretations of key events and individuals.

Historical investigation and research

The sources and tasks in this chapter should encourage you to conduct your own research. Use the key headings in this chapter to guide you to develop your own historical questions.

Explanation and communication

The questions that have been created in each section follow the skills targeted in the HSC exam specifications and are designed to help you practise your communication skills. Aim to use the text and the sources to provide short answers and extended responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- Develop an understanding of the causes and results of the growth of tensions in the Pacific leading to the outbreak of war in December 1941.
- Use evidence, perspectives and historical opinion to explain the reasons for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the US response, the Japanese and Allied strategies implemented during the conflict, and the major turning points of the war.
- Use sources as evidence to explain the impact of the war in the Pacific on civilians, including those living in occupied territories, prisoners of war, and those on the Japanese and Australian home fronts.
- Communicate an understanding of the various reasons for and perspectives of the Allied victory and Japanese defeat, the US decision to use atomic weapons on Japan, the war crimes tribunals, and the postwar occupation of Japan to 1951.

Key features

Imperialism and responses

Imperialism is a policy where one country seeks to extend its influence over others. It is a policy that usually pursues an economic benefit and can have cultural or religious motives. In Japan, imperialism developed at the end of the nineteenth century in a similar climate to that in Europe and the United States. Due to its aggressive nature, imperialism was a major contributing cause of the First and Second World Wars.

Nature and impact of nationalism

Nationalism is a patriotic consciousness unique to people with a shared history and culture. Nationalism in Japan developed during the Meiji period (1868–1912) to promote national unity and identity, as well as to combat the expanding empires of European nations and the United States. As you read this chapter, consider the role of nationalism and the influence of racist attitudes in the origins and course of the conflict in the Pacific.

Japanese and Allied strategies

The Japanese and Allied forces developed strategies to meet the challenges of the large expanses of ocean. These strategies embraced modernisation and new weapons and tactics in sea and air power.

Impact of the war on the home fronts of Japan and Australia

Japanese civilians existed under a military state during the period 1937–45. Although Japan had liberal institutions such as the Imperial Diet (parliament), the reality was that democratic freedoms and civil liberties of Japanese citizens were limited. These restrictions tightened the longer the Pacific War continued. In Australia, the fall of Singapore and the threat of the Japanese led to the transformation of the Australian home front as attention was focused on defeating Japan.

Impact of the war in occupied territories

The Japanese committed many atrocities as they occupied countries across South-East Asia and the Pacific. Millions of civilians were killed, or died as a result of famines created by Japanese wartime economic policies. Hundreds of thousands of civilians and Allied prisoners of war were used as slave labour by the Japanese. As you read the chapter, consider the reasons why the Japanese felt they could act in this manner.

Use of the atomic bomb

Consider the controversy about the United States' decision to use atomic weapons on Japan. To what extent does the justification for and the arguments against the use of nuclear weapons make historical sense when you consider the information that the Allies had at the time?

Reasons for the Japanese defeat

Assess the reasons for the Japanese defeat as you examine the material in this chapter. The traditional view is that Japan was forced to surrender after the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Historiography has developed over time to provide a greater understanding of other factors that contributed to the Japanese surrender in August 1945.

Aims and consequences of the Allied occupation of Japan

In order to succeed in your study of consequences for Japan following its 1945 surrender, you will need to develop an understanding of what Allied military and political planners envisaged for Japan, and their aims and intentions. As you read the chapter, you should also consider the consequences of their reforms on postwar Japan to 1951.

8.1 Introduction

militarist(n)
a person who believes in the key principles of militarism – a philosophy which holds that a state should maintain a strong military capability and use it aggressively to expand or promote national interests

Sino
Chinese

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

colonialism
the policy of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically

The Pacific War had a direct impact not only on the Asia–Pacific region, but also on the global balance of power. It is therefore critical for a clear understanding of the world today. Japan largely remained isolated from the Western world until the arrival of US Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his fleet of iron-clad warships in July 1853, which forced Japan to open its doors to the outside world. Note that the United States used the threat of force to achieve its political goals. This was a lesson not lost on the Japanese.

With the coming to power of the Meiji Emperor in 1868, the new government embraced Westernisation by modernising Japan and instituting a sweeping set of reforms across all spheres of government, including the economy and the military, as well as traditional Japanese society. Industrialisation occurred on a grand scale, with Japan expanding its manufacturing industries and developing a railway system. The traditional feudal structure of society was abolished, and a centralised, constitutional government was established.

A national assembly known as the Imperial Diet was established, but the system was not a robust democracy. Real power lay in the hands of the emperor and, as time went on, **militarists** who commanded growing power and political control.

Japanese leaders developed imperial policies to achieve security, build national pride and ensure the supply of food and raw materials. This was achieved using their newly formed army and navy. The Imperial Japanese Army was created in 1868 and was modelled on the Prussian Army. The Imperial Japanese Navy was created in 1870 and was modelled on the British Royal Navy, the dominant sea power at the time. The Japanese people largely supported the modern manifestation of traditional ethnic **nationalism**.

Initial expansion occurred in China in the first **Sino**-Japanese war of 1895. Japan occupied Taiwan the same year and annexed (took control over) Korea in 1910.

SOURCE 1 Emperor Meiji of Japan, 1890

European **colonialism** dominated the region of Asia at this time. The economies of Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands were driven by the industrialisation occurring in their own countries, fuelled by raw materials from their colonies in Asia. The United States had emerged as a great power following the First World War and had established an imperial presence in the Pacific in Samoa, Cuba and the Philippines.

One turning point for Japan's role in the world came with victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. Russia's defeat made Western powers take notice of Japan's emergence. Importantly, at the time, the racial prejudices of Western powers ensured that Japanese expansion was eyed with suspicion.

Nevertheless, in the First World War, Japan served with the Allies. After the defeat of Germany in November 1918, as you will have noted in your Core Study, the Paris Peace Conference carved up the postwar world and allocated previous German possessions in the Pacific to victorious nations. Japan benefited by retaining the German territory of Jiaozhou in China, which Japan had occupied during the war. However, Japan resented that it was not seen as an equal by the Western powers.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events leading up to and during the conflict in the Pacific 1937–51

1853

Matthew C. Perry, Commodore of the United States Navy, opens up Japan to foreign trade and influence.

1853–1900

Japan embarks on a program of industrialisation and modernisation.

1894–95

The First Sino-Japanese War: Japan's victory highlights the successful modernisation of its military forces.
Japan takes control of Formosa (now Taiwan) from China.

1904–05

The Russo-Japanese War: Japan's victory is the first gained by an Asian country over a European great power.

Russian troops in action on the Manchurian front during the Russo-Japanese War

1910

Japan annexes Korea.

1914

Japan declares war on Germany and takes control of its colonies in the North Pacific.

1919

Japan is a major participant at the Paris Peace Conference.

1926

Hirohito becomes Emperor of Japan.

1931–32

Japan completes the conquest of Manchuria, China, renaming it Manchukuo.

1937

The Second Sino-Japanese War begins with the Japanese invasion of the remainder of China.

1939

The Second World War begins in Europe.

1940

July: The United States begins to impose embargoes on strategic materials to Japan.
September: Japan signs the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy. Later that month, taking advantage of the defeat of France, Japan invades and occupies French Indochina.

A Japanese aircraft carrier is hit by American aeroplanes during the Battle of Midway.

1941

April: Japan and the Soviet Union sign a neutrality pact.

July: The United States freezes Japanese assets in America. The Japanese send 140 000 troops to bolster forces in French Indochina ready for an invasion of the Dutch East Indies early in 1942.

7 December: Japan attacks the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

8 December: Japan invades the Philippines.

Japanese bicycle troops are among the first to enter French Indochina, 1941.

1942

January: Japanese forces invade the Dutch East Indies and take control of the islands by March. The Imperial Japanese Army invades Burma and captures the capital of Rangoon in March.

February: Singapore falls to the Japanese.

The Japanese 1st Air Fleet bombs Darwin and Broome in Australia.

March: The Japanese invade New Guinea.

April: The US Air Force conducts the Doolittle Raid over Tokyo – the first air strike on Japanese home soil.

May: Japan completes its conquest of the Philippines, defeating the armies of US General Douglas MacArthur. The southern advance of the Imperial Japanese Navy is checked by a joint US–Australian force in the Battle of the Coral Sea.

June: The Imperial Japanese Navy suffers heavy losses in the Battle of Midway.

1943

February: The Japanese are defeated at Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands.

1944

By August, the United States' amphibious force landings on Saipan and Tinian Islands have secured the Mariana Islands and Palau. These islands are used as bases from which to conduct large-scale B-29 bombing raids over Japan.

1945

May: Germany is defeated in Europe.

August: The United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and then Nagasaki. The Japanese surrender.

1951

A peace treaty is signed between the Allies and Japan, ending the Pacific War.

8.2 Survey: Growth of Pacific tensions

League of Nations an intergovernmental organisation founded as a result of the Paris Peace Conference; it was the first international organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace

isolationism the idea that a country needs to isolate itself from world affairs and focus on its own self-interest

Great Depression a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s

Japanese delegates to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 came away feeling that their claims to equal power status with the other victorious Allies had received a rebuke when their request to have a 'racial equality clause' inserted in the final treaty was ignored. For its part, the United States refused to join the **League of Nations** and embarked on a policy of **isolationism**. There was a desire to avoid commitments that might draw the United States into future European quarrels. In Asia, however, the United States had a strong interest in maintaining an 'open door' free trade policy in China (which aimed to keep China open to trade with all countries on an equal basis), accompanied by a desire to avoid conflict with Japan. The European powers and the United States watched with alarm as Japanese expansion in China continued from the 1930s.

Economic and political issues in the Pacific by 1937

The Washington Naval Conference (an arms control conference held between November 1921 and February 1922 regarding interests in the Pacific Ocean and East Asia, which was attended by nine nations) showcased the major political and economic issues of the interwar period and highlighted the developing tensions between Japan and the West. The key resulting naval treaty limited the number and tonnage of battleships allowed to the United States, Britain and Japan to a ratio of 5:5:3; however, as both the United States and Britain had to spread their fleets over a greater geographical area, this gave Japan an advantage in the Pacific. Furthermore, Britain and the United States agreed not to establish or build up bases in the Western Pacific, with the exceptions of Hawaii and Singapore. The Nine-Power Agreement was also signed at the Washington Naval Conference, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of China and granting all participating countries access to Chinese trading ports.

From 1930, Japan was hit by the effects of the **Great Depression**, but Manchuria – an area of China where Japan had been exercising influence since the 1920s – offered rich minerals, forestry and agricultural land that could assist Japanese expansionary aims in China. The Japanese viewed the Chinese as racially inferior and used the explosion of a bomb targeting the Japanese company, the South Manchurian Railway Company, on 18 September 1931 as an excuse to occupy Manchuria. By early 1932, the plan was completed and the 'independent state' of Manchukuo was proclaimed. Although this was a clear breach of the League of Nations covenant, the major European powers were unwilling to commit themselves to military

JAPANESE EMPIRE BUILDING 1870–1942

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 3 Japanese expansion in the Pacific to 1942

or economic **sanctions** because of their own domestic problems with the Great Depression. On 27 March 1933, Japan left the League of Nations in response to European demands to withdraw from Manchukuo.

The US response to Japanese aggression in Manchukuo was the Stimson Doctrine (1932). This declared that the United States would not officially recognise Manchukuo, or any arrangement imposed upon the Chinese by force. However, as the Great Depression bit deeper into American society, its isolationist spirit hardened. Even in light of the growing power and aggression of Hitler's Germany and Japanese aggression in China, there was strong opposition to US President Franklin D. Roosevelt's US$1.1 billion defence request. Instead, the US Congress debated the first of a series of Neutrality Acts aimed at limiting American involvement in international crises. Roosevelt (known as FDR) struggled to find ways to aid the nationalist forces in China, led by Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese. The difficulty of FDR's position is evident in his October 1937 'Quarantine' speech.

SOURCE 4 Japan complains while sitting on its naval ratio number 3, as Britain and the United States sit on their number 5 ratios: *Punch* magazine, 31 October 1934.

SOURCE 5

> The political situation in the world … is such as to cause grave concern and anxiety to all the peoples and nations who wish to live in peace and amity with their neighbours … vast numbers of women and children, are being ruthlessly murdered with bombs from the air … ships are being attacked and sunk by submarines without cause or notice … It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease …
>
> Franklin D. Roosevelt, 5 October 1937

sanctions threatened penalties for a person or country breaking a rule or agreed course of action

8.2a Check your learning

1. What impact did the 1922 Washington Naval Conference have on Japanese foreign policy? Explain your assessment in a paragraph.
2. List the motivations Japan had for its invasion of Manchuria in 1931.
3. Explain the Japanese attitude to the global community and the League of Nations in 1933.
4. Explain the purpose of the US Stimson Doctrine and Neutrality Acts.

8.2a Understanding and using the sources

1. How is Source 4 useful to an understanding of Western attitudes towards the Japanese? Discuss the nature, intended audience and reliability of the source.
2. Identify three specific phrases in the speech in Source 5 that would have alarmed Japan.

Japanese foreign policy 1937–41

Japanese foreign policy during this period rested on two main supports: a growing militant nationalism, with its origins in traditional Japanese culture, and a related desire to expand Japanese power through a policy of regional **imperialism**, which had begun with the First Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95. The Japanese observed how the major European powers had carved out colonial empires and felt that they had a right to do the same.

imperial/imperialism
relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

The origins of Japanese militarism

From the start of Japan's constitutional era in 1868 – when Japan embarked upon a policy of openness with the West after centuries of isolation – the armed forces occupied a unique and powerful position in the state structure. From 1936, the army and navy ministers had to be high-ranking serving officers and there could be no civilian-only cabinets.

The military codes laid excessive emphasis on 'spirit' and the 'destiny' of Japanese battlefield success. While their own Field Service Code, issued in 1941, contained the injunction 'Do not be taken prisoner alive', the Japanese also treated their prisoners of war, as well as civilians, with extreme brutality.

During the period from 1932 to 1937, increased budget spending on the military showed that there had been a power shift from the 'moderates' towards the armed forces in Japan. Rearmament and the stockpiling of raw materials indicated the move to a war economy. As the Great Depression worsened, militarists argued that they needed to create an autonomous empire within which Japan would be isolated from the **tariff** barriers and **protectionist** policies of other states.

tariff
a duty levied by a country on imported goods to make them more expensive, to encourage people to buy domestically produced goods instead

protectionist
where a nation attempts to shield domestic industries from foreign competition by taxing imports

SOURCE 6 Japanese soldiers march into Manchuria, 1934.

SOURCE 7 Tokyo residents welcome soldiers on a train station platform en route to Manchuria, 6 December 1931.

The Second Sino-Japanese War 1937

On 7 July 1937, a clash occurred between Japanese and Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge, near Peking (now Beijing). The situation rapidly escalated into all-out war. By August 1937, Beijing had fallen to Japanese forces, followed by Shanghai in November that year. Around 350 000 Imperial Japanese Army troops then moved against the Kuomintang capital Nanjing, which fell to the Japanese on 12 December 1937, after an incredibly violent episode known as the Rape of Nanjing. Despite promising safe conduct and food to the Chinese civilian population, the Japanese soldiers embarked on a killing spree that took the lives of approximately 300 000 people over a period of six weeks.

SOURCE 8

> [T]oday [Nanjing] is a city laid waste, ravaged, completely looted, much of it burned. Complete anarchy has reigned for ten days – it has been a hell on earth … hundreds of innocent civilians are taken out before your eyes to be shot or used for bayonet practice … a thousand women kneel before you crying hysterically begging you to save them from the beasts who are preying on them …
>
> Diary entry of George Fitch, American Protestant missionary in China, dated Christmas Eve 1937

8.2b Check your learning

1. Explain the influence of militarism as a philosophy in Japan by 1937.
2. How did the Great Depression affect political decision making in Japan? Explain in a detailed paragraph.

8.2b Understanding and using the sources

1. What judgments can you make from Source 7 regarding the Japanese public's general attitude to imperial policies?
2. How reliable is Source 8 for a historian studying the Rape of Nanjing? Discuss the author and his motive, his proximity to events, the type (or nature) of the source and any limitations it may have.

SOURCE 9 Japanese soldiers used live Chinese prisoners for bayonet practice during the Rape of Nanjing.

US and British policies in the Pacific 1937–41

Britain consistently underestimated Japan as a rival, and had grave doubts about Japan's financial ability to support a large rearmament program. These judgments were often warped by a strong underlying sense of racism. In February 1935, a British report on the Imperial Japanese Navy said: 'I have to strain my imagination to the utmost to believe that these people are capable of springing a technical surprise of any importance on us in a war.'

SOURCE 10

> The persistence of this belief [that the Japanese were poor pilots] up to the end of 1941 is especially surprising, since from August 1940 some of Japan's pilots in China had been flying the world's most advanced fighter plane, the Mitsubishi Zero … It was [the] blindness of most high-ranking Allied officers, who simply could not conceive of Japan independently designing and manufacturing an aircraft of this calibre ...
>
> John Dower, *War Without Mercy*, 1986, pp. 104–5.

As the war in China continued, British policy aimed to provide China with greater assistance in the belief that a Japanese victory would prove the death knell of British interests in the Far East.

SOURCE 11 Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe, pictured at his villa, 1937

Britain, the United States and economic sanctions

On 3 November 1938, Japanese Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoe announced the establishment of a 'New Order in East Asia' – a grouping of Japan, China and Manchukuo into one political, economic and cultural bloc. Japan also rejected the Nine-Power Agreement of 1922, which had guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. Britain reacted by cutting off supplies of oil, nickel, iron and other vital raw materials. However, sanctions required international cooperation, and the United States did not support restrictions of any type against Japan at this time.

In July 1940, a Japanese Government reshuffle brought in ultra-nationalist General Hideki Tojo as War Minister. Soon after, on 27 September 1940, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact with Nazi Germany and **Fascist** Italy. The war in Europe had escalated steadily since September 1939 and Japan took advantage of the chaos. Following defeat by Germany, France was unable to protect its colonial possessions and the Imperial Japanese Army took the chance to occupy French Indochina with 140 000 troops in July 1941.

In response, the Americans froze Japanese assets in the United States and banned oil exports. This reduced Japan's trade by three-quarters and cut off nine-tenths of its oil supply. Historian Niall Ferguson describes the impact of this decision on newly appointed Prime Minister Tojo, who expressed his fear to Emperor Hirohito on 2 November 1941 that if Japan did not act immediately, it 'would become a third-class nation in two or three years'.

fascist
a right-wing nationalist political movement that originated in Italy but then gave its name to any nationalist, conservative, authoritarian movement or ideology

8.2e Check your learning

1. Make a timeline of the key dates and events after September 1939 that you believe would have created a build-up to the war in the Pacific. Which events do you think were most significant and why?
2. Assess the accuracy of the following statement in a one-page written response: 'With better diplomacy, the Pacific War was avoidable.'

8.2e Understanding and using the sources

'Racism clouded Allied judgment of Japan.' Justify this statement, using Source 10 and the information provided in this section.

8.3 The outbreak and course of the Pacific War

aircraft carrier
a large warship with a deck from which aircraft can take off and land

At 7.49 a.m. on 7 December 1941, the first of two waves of Japanese planes launched from Japanese **aircraft carriers** attacked the US Pacific Fleet, anchored at the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The Japanese quickly devastated the fleet. When the attack was over Japan had lost 29 planes, but the loss on the American side was far worse, with 18 vessels sunk, more than 180 aircraft destroyed and another 120 crippled. It was significant that no US aircraft carriers were in port at the time and were not impacted by the Japanese assault. The American dead numbered 2403, 1103 of them entombed in the sunken battleship USS *Arizona*.

Strategic and political reasons for the bombing of Pearl Harbor

By 1941, the Japanese had feared encirclement by the United States, Britain, China and the Dutch (in the East Indies). To break the impasse (deadlock) and maintain a steady supply of resources, it was necessary for Japan to expand southwards, though this would be at the risk of antagonising this quartet of powers.

The key issue for Japan was oil. Japan needed a secure supply, which the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) provided, and the freedom to transport it by sea to the Japanese homeland. Japanese naval research indicated that Japan could fight a war for two years, but would rapidly run out of petroleum.

SOURCE 12
The attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941

The American decision to end oil exports to Japan in July 1941 brought matters to a head. No responsible Japanese leader actually believed that an attack on the US Pacific Fleet would 'defeat' the United States. Rather, Japan's military leaders, who feared an American attack on Japan, felt that sinking the US Pacific Fleet would enable Japan to carve out an area of the Western Pacific within which economic self-sufficiency would be possible. They knew that the United States would recover, but in the meantime Japan was willing to rely on air power, short supply lines, fortified islands in the Western Pacific and 'national willpower' to wear down the Americans. Japan believed that this strategy would make the United States grow tired of fighting, and come to an arrangement that would leave Japan as the masters of the Western Pacific and on the Asian mainland.

The failure to catch the American carriers in port or to destroy the vast fuel supplies at Pearl Harbor were to prove serious mistakes. Further, the Japanese view that the Americans were 'soft' as a race and would retreat from a challenge was a grave misreading of the American psyche. Not all Japanese shared this simplistic racial view. Admiral Tomoyuki Yamamoto commented: 'We have awakened a sleeping giant and instilled in him a terrible resolve.'

SOURCE 13

> Yamamoto also feared the consequences of a prolonged war … 'In the first six to twelve months of a war with the United States and Britain, I will run wild and win victory after victory', he predicted with considerable accuracy. 'After that … I have no expectation of success'.
>
> Antony Beevor, *The Second World War*, 2012, p. 248

8.3a Check your learning

1. Why was oil such a vital issue for the Japanese?
2. What was the reason for the Japanese attempting to eliminate the US Pacific Fleet?
3. Evaluate the degree of success the attack achieved.

8.3a Understanding and using the sources

What does Source 13 illustrate about the nature of the task the Japanese had set themselves? Ensure you discuss the reasons for Tomoyuki Yamamoto's perspective in your one-paragraph response.

The US response to the bombings

The next day, describing the attack as an act of 'infamy', FDR declared war on Japan. Although many Americans had watched with concern the conquests of Nazi Germany in Europe and Africa throughout 1940–41, and were aware of the merciless nature of Japanese expansion in China, it was the attack on the nation itself that propelled the majority of the US public into action. The attack also motivated them to support the president's decision to move away from an isolationist approach.

propaganda biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

The unity of the nation was illustrated in campaigns generated soon after the attack encouraging Americans to 'Remember Pearl Harbor'. This slogan was used throughout the war to maintain support for the 'just war' that the United States was fighting. The fact that Japan had not declared war before the attack further galvanised the public opinion against the Japanese.

The US economy soon transitioned to a war footing. Industries, many of which had already been producing war material for the British and the Soviet Union in their war against Nazi Germany, converted their outputs to produce goods for the US armed forces. The president said to the American people a month after the Japanese attack: 'Powerful enemies must be out-fought and out-produced … we must out-produce them overwhelmingly, so that there can be no question of our ability to provide a crushing superiority of equipment in any theatre of the world war'.

In 1942 FDR created the War Production Board to coordinate government war offices. The government called on people to ration certain commodities so they could instead be allocated for defence purposes, and sold government **war bonds** to raise revenue.

The Office of War Information created a series of posters with the set purpose of engaging women to pursue work as mechanics and machine operators. They were successful in their campaign, with eight million American women going to work for defence industries in places such as Mobile, Alabama. As such, women provided crucial human resources for the war effort. This development would catalyse social change and transform the role of women in the United States in the decades after the conclusion of the war.

SOURCE 14 FDR speaks to the US Congress on 8 December 1941 to request a declaration of war on Japan in response to the surprise attack on Pearl Harbor the day before.

war bond
in effect, a means by which the public lends the government money to meet military needs; people purchase a war bond certificate and are repaid the money when it matures in later years

Congress Declares War On Japan; Only 1 'No' Vote

U. S. Battleship Sunk —Hawaii Dead 1,500

F.D.R. on Air Tonight

ALL FACTIONS OF C UNITE TO CHEER

"THE GIRL HE LEFT BEHIND" IS STILL BEHIND HIM

She's a WOW

WOMAN ORDNANCE WORKER

SOURCE 15
New York Daily News, 9 December 1941

SOURCE 16
A **propaganda** poster to maintain support for the 'just war', 1942

SOURCE 17
A propaganda poster encouraging women to work for the war effort, 1942

In the documentary series *The War*, historical filmmaker Ken Burns details the transformation of small shipping yards – such as the one in Mobile – into major production facilities for the US Navy. Burns suggests that the eventual US victory was, in addition to development of the atomic bomb, due to the Americans' ability to overwhelm Japanese production. He said that shipyards such as the one in Mobile 'turned out tonnage so fast that by the autumn of 1943 all Allied shipping sunk since 1939 had been replaced. In 1944 alone, the United States built more planes than the Japanese did from 1939 to 1945'.

SOURCE 18

> This new year, 1942, of the Second World War opened upon us in an entirely different shape for Britain. We were no longer alone … final victory [was] certain. A fearful and bloody struggle lay before us, and we could not foresee its course, but the end was sure.
>
> Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. 1: 'The Hinge of Fate', 1951, p. 3

8.3b Check your learning

1. Describe the following three aspects of the American response to Pearl Harbor: declaration of war, propaganda and changes to the economy. Aim to write a paragraph for each.
2. Contest the following statement in a one-page response: 'American victory over the Japanese after Pearl Harbor was certain.'

8.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 15. Identify what it tells you about the level of political support for FDR's decision to take the nation to war. Research the origin of the single 'no' vote and write a paragraph explaining the reason this politician had for not agreeing with the president.
2. In one page, discuss the effectiveness of the US propaganda in Sources 16 and 17. Discuss specific features of each propaganda poster and the techniques used by the creators.
3. How reliable is Source 18? Discuss specific features of reliability, including author, date of production, nature (type) of source and purpose of the author in a 250-word response.

The Japanese advance 1941–42

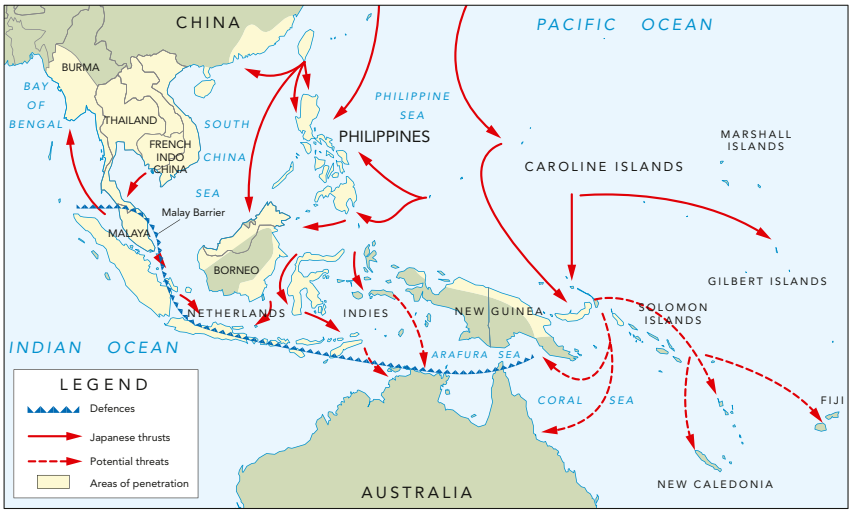
As the Japanese pursued their strategic objective of establishing a zone of conquest, they launched strikes on the Malay Peninsula and against the Philippines. They also set out to build a defensive perimeter along the islands of the Western Pacific to hold the American fleet at bay and prevent the United States from establishing operational bases in the Pacific, which they could then use to link up with Australia. Meanwhile, on the Asian mainland, Britain's influence in Malaya, Burma (now Myanmar) and even India would be challenged.

scurvy
a disease caused by a deficiency of vitamin C, characterised by swollen bleeding gums

The fall of the Philippines

General Douglas MacArthur was in charge of US forces in the Philippines when Japan attacked on 8 December 1941. Most US aircraft were destroyed by the Japanese before the Japanese landed, and MacArthur opted for a retreat into the Bataan Peninsula. Thousands of US soldiers, Philippine soldiers and civilians, all undersupplied, soon fell victim to **scurvy**,

JAPANESE CONQUESTS IN THE PACIFIC, 1941–42



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 19 Japanese conquests that isolated US General Douglas MacArthur's forces in the Philippines

beriberi, **malaria** and **dysentery** because of the lack of fresh food, clean water and medicines.

Knowing that the Philippine **garrison** was doomed, FDR ordered MacArthur to depart for Australia. On the night of 12 March 1942, he departed with his staff and family announcing: 'I shall return.' By May 1942, all US forces in the Philippines had surrendered.

Following the attack, the Japanese found themselves with nearly 70 000 captives, 10 000 of them American. The captives, treated brutally by the Japanese, began what has become known as the Bataan Death March, a 130-kilometre trek to prisoner of war (POW) camps. Some 600 Americans and as many as 10 000 Filipinos died on the march, and thousands more perished in these camps.

The fall of Singapore

Despite the fact that pre-war British planning had suggested that the tropical forests of the Malay Peninsula would make any Japanese advance difficult and the use of tanks impossible, the Japanese advanced southwards. The Japanese destroyed the British naval presence assigned to protect Malaya on 10 December 1941, when the battleships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* were sunk by **carrier aircraft**. The British and Commonwealth forces retreated to the island of Singapore, and the Japanese responded by launching their attack across the Johore Strait on 8 February 1942. Lacking air defences, and faced with battle-hardened Japanese soldiers and tanks, the defenders – many of whom had only recently arrived in the island as reinforcements – surrendered on 15 February. As a result, 130 000 British and Commonwealth troops, including the Australian 8th Division, became POWs. In a campaign lasting just 70 days, the Japanese had driven the British out of Malaya and captured Singapore, their main strategic fortress in the Far East.

SINGAPORE

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 20 Key locations in the fall of Singapore, 1942

beriberi
disease that causes inflammation of the nerves and heart failure, ascribed to a deficiency of vitamin B1

malaria
a fever caused by a parasite that invades the red blood cells and is transmitted by mosquitoes

dysentery
an infection of the intestines resulting in severe diarrhoea, with blood and mucus in the faeces

garrison
a group of troops stationed in a fortress or town to defend it

carrier aircraft
aircraft designed for operations from aircraft carriers

SOURCE 21 A photograph for Japanese publication *The Asahi Shimbun* shows Imperial Japanese Army Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita (back, third from left) demanding unconditional surrender from British Lieutenant General Arthur Ernest Percival (front, centre), the General Officer Commanding Malaya, 15 February 1942, Singapore.

SOURCE 23 After the Dutch surrender to Japanese troops and the handing over of Java, Dutch Governor-General Tjarda van Starkenborgh (left) and Major General Hein ter Poorten enter a Japanese internment camp, 12 March 1942.

SOURCE 22

The very speed and apparent ease of the Japanese victory was a major factor in the severe impact that this event had, both in Britain and Australia. For Singapore was supposed to have been an impregnable fortress, and had stood for many years as a potent symbol of British power in South-East Asia. Since the construction of a great naval base at Singapore began in the 1920s, Australian governments had been wedded to this (and the strategy of imperial defence that it encapsulated) as the lynchpin of Australian defence policy also.

Chris Coulthard-Clark, 'Remembering 1942: The Fall of Singapore', a talk presented by the Australian War Memorial Historian, 15 February 2002

The surrender of the Dutch East Indies and the collapse of Burma

In the face of the Japanese advance, a frantic effort was made to concentrate the Allied forces in the region under a coherent command. The command was dubbed ABDA (American British Dutch Australian) and was placed under the authority of the British General Archibald Wavell. At sea, the ABDA naval force, under the Dutch Admiral Karel Doorman, met the Japanese in the Battle of the Java Sea on 27–28 February 1942. Only four of the 14 Allied ships that took part in the battle survived. Beaten at sea, the Dutch were also quickly forced to surrender on land. On 12 March, a formal surrender was signed at Bandung, Java.

The Japanese advanced into Burma with the aim of closing the 'Burma Road', the supply line providing vital war supplies to Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese nationalist forces, which were still fighting the Japanese in China. The Japanese also aimed to take control of rubber supplies in Burma, which would deplete Allied stocks.

The British Army in Burma retreated in front of the Japanese advance, and on 19 May 1942, having travelled 960 kilometres through Burma in nine weeks, the survivors crossed the Indian frontier, as the rains of the monsoon season made further retreat impossible. The monsoon also denied the Japanese the possibility of pushing their pursuit into India itself. At the end of the campaign, about 4000 of the 30 000 British troops had perished.

8.3c Check your learning

1 Using the information in the text, create a brief timeline listing the main Japanese successes by April 1942.
2 To what extent do you believe a racially motivated underestimation of the Japanese capabilities led to Allied defeats in the Philippines and Singapore? Write a 200–300-word response.

8.3c Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse Source 21. What is the intention of the Japanese in the image? How is their intention shown by the framing and positioning of the parties in the image? Discuss the publisher's intention in a paragraph.
2 Evaluate whether Source 22 is a useful and reliable source of information regarding the impact of the fall of Singapore.

Turning points in the war

By April 1942, not one of Japan's 11 battleships or 10 aircraft carriers had been even seriously damaged in the war thus far, while the US Pacific and Asiatic Fleets had lost, or lost the use of, all their battleships and large numbers of their **cruisers** and **destroyers**. The British and Dutch Far Eastern Fleets had been annihilated, and the Australian Navy had been driven back to port.

The Allies responded by establishing geographical areas of command in South-East Asia. From April 1942, Britain took strategic responsibility for the defence of India, the Indian Ocean and Sumatra (in Indonesia), while the United States assumed responsibility for the entire Pacific region. The US Army under MacArthur took command of the South-West Pacific area, while the US Navy under Admiral Chester Nimitz took command of the Pacific Ocean.

The swiftness of the Japanese victories presented its High Command with a dilemma: should Japan stand on the defensive and attempt to hold its strategic gains, or should it resume the offensive in a bid to break the Allies' will to fight? This debate was largely promoted by the navy, as the army already felt overstretched in the southern area. To Yamamoto, the final victory lay only one battle away: against the US base at Midway Atoll in the North Pacific.

cruiser
a warship larger than a destroyer and less heavily armed than a battleship

destroyer
a type of warship used to escort and defend other vessels

Japanese home islands
the group of islands forming the country of Japan; this term was commonly used in the Second World War to define the area of Japan to which its sovereignty and the constitutional rule of the emperor would be restricted

The Doolittle Raid

Determined to strike back at the Japanese at the earliest opportunity, the Americans were hampered by the distance of the **Japanese home islands** from American airbases. Their answer was the Doolittle Raid, named after Lieutenant-Colonel James Doolittle. In April 1942, 16 bombers were successfully launched from an aircraft carrier 1040 kilometres from Japan, targeting Tokyo and three other Japanese cities. Of the 80 fliers who departed on the mission, 71 survived to return to the United States. It was the first airstrike on the Japanese home islands, and the success not only boosted American morale, but also demonstrated Japan's vulnerability to attacks at home.

SOURCE 24 Members of the US Air Force task force that bombed Japan in April 1942

The Battle of the Coral Sea

The Japanese decided to extend the perimeter of their conquests into the Pacific by sending a fleet to land troops at Port Moresby on the southern coast of Papua, which was an Australian territory at the time. The American cryptographic unit (Station HYPO) had, unbeknown to the Japanese, cracked the Japanese naval code and, knowing that they had a distinct intelligence advantage, the Americans prepared a fleet of their own to intercept the invasion vessels.

The resulting Battle of the Coral Sea, which was fought between 4 and 8 May 1942 off the south-eastern coastal tip of Papua, was the first battle in naval history to be conducted entirely by carrier aircraft, in which neither fleet sighted the other. As they sank a greater tonnage of Allied ships the Japanese could claim a tactical victory, but at the strategic level they had suffered a defeat. The Japanese advance to Papua and New Guinea had been stopped and confined to the northern shores of Papua, and for the first time in the war the Japanese had failed to gain their objective.

SOURCE 25

> At 3.19pm, [the Australian warship] Australia had to dodge more bombs from three huge aircraft that had suddenly appeared overhead. These turned out to be American B-17 bombers … Failing to recognise the Allied cruisers, they had dropped their bombs and gleefully reported they had inflicted heavy damage on several Japanese warships. A similar error in identification was made by a Japanese spotter plane that mistook the tanker *Neosho* and her escorting destroyer *Sims* for a United States carrier and a cruiser [both were destroyed in this action].
>
> Peter Thompson, *Pacific Fury – How Australia and Her Allies Defeated the Japanese Scourge*, 2008, pp. 300–1

SOURCE 26

> 'Coral Sea was definitive', Lieutenant-General Mackenzie J. Gregory RAN (ret.) says. 'The Japanese then started to lose so many pilots that they couldn't replace them. The most immediate advantage was that the threat to Australia's sealanes had been alleviated.'
>
> Peter Thompson, *Pacific Fury – How Australia and Her Allies Defeated the Japanese Scourge*, 2008, p. 302

8.3d Check your learning

1. Estimate the impact of the Doolittle Raid on Japanese war planners and the US public.
2. In one paragraph, explain the strategic impact of the Battle of the Coral Sea on Japanese war aims.

8.3d Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 24. Discuss the following in a 300-word response: Who do you think produced images such as this? How would such images have been used and who was the intended audience? What does this tell you about the use and control of information in wartime?
2. Identify and list what Source 25 reveals about the nature of fighting air–air and air–sea battles in the Pacific War.
3. What two pieces of useful information for a historian studying the significance of the Battle of the Coral Sea are illustrated in Source 26?

The Battle of Midway

Historians agree that the Battle of Midway was the most important naval engagement of the Pacific War. The Japanese, unaware that the Americans had cracked their naval code, sent a fleet to attack Midway Island, located 2300 kilometres north-west of Hawaii, in the last week of May 1942. Japanese commanders believed that they held the advantage of surprise, as they had had at Pearl Harbor. In fact, the American carriers *Yorktown*, *Enterprise* and *Hornet* rendezvoused to the north of Midway, intent on fighting an air action against the Japanese carriers. The battle, which was fought 4–6 June 1942, ended with the sinking of all four Japanese carriers, as well as 12 Japanese destroyers and more then 200 Japanese aircraft. The human losses were also significant on the Japanese side with more than 2500 casualties, compared with just over 300 on the American side. Japan would never make up the loss. Six more aircraft carriers would join the Japanese Navy between 1942 and 1944, while the United States would launch 89 carriers of various sizes by the end of the conflict in August 1945.

SOURCE 27

> Midway … cost the Japanese four of the six carriers that had attacked [Pearl Harbor] … along with 322 planes and 700 pilots. Their feared navy would never forcefully strike again, and the Japanese would from then on be on the defensive from a greater US naval power … After Midway, [Yamamoto said] 'I take full responsibility' … By now his navy had lost almost every ace pilot, and his new aircrews were novices … In their zeal, they would report one great victory after the next back to Tokyo, which only spurred on the country's drunken war fever.
>
> Craig Nelson, *Pearl Harbor – From Infamy to Greatness*, 2016, pp. 390–5

SOURCE 28 This official US Navy photograph, released in Washington on 14 July 1942, shows the American aircraft carrier *Yorktown* already listing badly to portside (left), as it receives a direct hit from a Japanese bomber in the Battle of Midway, June 1942. *Yorktown* was the only American carrier lost in the battle.

The Battle of Guadalcanal

Victory at Midway saw the development of a US offensive strategy. The Americans were faced with two alternatives: to proceed along the southerly route of the East Indies island chain, a strategy that would give emphasis to MacArthur and the army, or advance across the central Pacific, using Nimitz's naval and marine forces.

A compromise was reached, by which the southerly route was chosen, but part of the area was allocated to Nimitz. A naval landing at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands would be the first step, and the US marines landed without difficulty on 7 August 1942. The Japanese were determined to hold Guadalcanal, as it was the key to their southern conquests, and on the night of 8–9 August they surprised the American fleet by sinking four ships and damaging three others.

SOURCE 29 Japanese soldiers killed in the Battle at Tenaru, Guadalcanal Island, 21 August 1942.

On 24 August, a Japanese fleet was intercepted by the Americans and repelled. On land, the Japanese fought furiously. However, the island was plagued by leeches, tropical wasps and malarial mosquitoes and, as rations dwindled, the Japanese fell prey to disease.

After Midway, and as 1942 progressed, the Japanese became less able to supply their troops with food and equipment. Americans became ill too, but the tide of battle was now turning their way. By February 1943, Japanese resistance on Guadalcanal ended. The Japanese had lost 22 000 troops, either killed or missing, while the US Marines had lost a little over 1000 people.

The New Guinea Campaign

The Japanese attempt to limit the ability of the United States to use Australia as a base from which to conduct their offensive had started with battles in the Australian territories of Papua and New Guinea. The campaign commenced with the Japanese capturing the port of Rabaul on the island of New Britain on 23 January 1942. The Japanese aim was to capture the territories administered by Australia before capturing the major town Port Moresby. The attempt failed when combined Australian and US forces repelled the Japanese in the Battle of Milne Bay.

The failure of the Milne Bay landing led to an overland campaign – an attempt to capture Port Moresby by crossing the rugged Owen Stanley Ranges from Buna in northern New Guinea to Port Moresby in the south of Papua, via the Kokoda Track. Beginning in August 1942, heavily outnumbered Australian **militia** forces conducted a fighting retreat towards Port Moresby until support from regular Australian Army forces arrived. This part of the Pacific War is controversial because, at the time, neither the US Commander Douglas MacArthur nor the Australian General Thomas Blamey believed that the Japanese could bring so many troops over land; hence the part-time Australian soldiers were falsely accused of cowardice. Blamey was once quoted as saying to troops that the 'rabbit gets shot because it runs away'. This produced deep resentment among the frontline Australian troops.

militia
a military force raised from the civil population to supplement a regular army in an emergency

The soldiers faced extremely difficult fighting conditions, as the Kokoda Track included very steep and narrow passes in rough jungle terrain. The climate itself challenged many men, as temperatures soared and rain bucketed. Soldiers from both sides were worn down as they experienced dysentery and beriberi throughout the campaign.

It is important to note that racial hatred had now developed as a key component of the Pacific War. The Australian and US troops regarded the Japanese with a hatred borne of racially motivated intensity, which would characterise and propel the brutal nature of the conflict in future battles.

SOURCE 30 Australian soldiers using horses to transport artillery and supplies along the Kokoda Track

SOURCE 31

> Allied troops often regarded the Japanese in the same way as Germans regarded the Russians – as Untermenschen [subhuman]. General Sir Thomas Blamey, who commanded the Australians in New Guinea, told his troops that their foes were 'a cross between the human being and the ape', 'vermin', 'something primitive' that had to be 'exterminated' to preserve 'civilisation'.
>
> Niall Ferguson, *The War of the World*, 2006, p. 546

By November 1942 the Japanese, who were by this stage severely weakened by disease and malnutrition, were forced north back to the beaches of Buna and Gona. Those not successfully evacuated by early 1943 were killed by US and Australian troops. The Japanese attempt to isolate Australia – which had continued with a series of attacks on Australian soil, including submarine raids on Sydney and Newcastle Harbours, and the aerial bombings of Darwin, Broome and Townsville – had concluded.

8.3e Check your learning

1. The Battle of Midway is often described as a major turning point in the story of the Pacific War. Why? Explain in 400 words, using some further research of your own.
2. In a 500-word response, explain the significance of the Battle of Guadalcanal for the course of the Pacific War.
3. List the main features of the New Guinea Campaign, including the Japanese objectives, the nature of the campaign, the results and the developing role of race.

8.3e Understanding and using the sources

1. Identify at least three reasons why Source 27 is useful to a historian studying the course and outcome of the Pacific War.
2. What do Sources 28 and 29 illustrate about the sustainability of Imperial Japanese Army strategies in the conflict in the Pacific? Explain in a brief paragraph.
3. In a paragraph each, assess the usefulness of Sources 30 and 31 for a historian studying the nature of the New Guinea campaign.

THE ALLIED RECONQUEST OF THE PACIFIC

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 32 The progression of the Allied strategy in retaking the Pacific from Japanese hands 1942–1945

Strategies used by Allied forces against Japan 1942–45

The strategy that the United States would use to beat the Japanese was largely developed at the Battle of Guadalcanal. It entailed the commitment of elite landing troops, supported by ground-attack aircraft and naval gunfire, to take and hold key islands at the perimeter of Japan's area of conquest as stepping stones towards the Japanese home islands.

The 'island-hopping' campaign was successful, despite fierce resistance from the Japanese. The Gilbert and Marshall Islands fell in 1943, followed by the Marianas in 1944, among which were the larger islands of Saipan, Tinian and Guam, whose airfields brought the Japanese home islands within range of the B-29 Superfortress bombers. As their ammunition ran out, many of the Japanese on Saipan chose suicide rather than surrender.

At sea, decisive battles were fought in the Battle of the Philippine Sea (June 1944) and at Leyte Gulf (October 1944). The former, which became known as the 'Great Mariana Islands Turkey Shoot', was the greatest carrier battle of the war, and effectively ended the air arm of the Japanese Navy, which lost 480 planes and two aircraft carriers. The engagement at Leyte Gulf offers an important insight into the capacity of American industry. Of the six US battleships that took part, five had been attacked at Pearl Harbor in December 1941, and the Japanese

believed they had been sunk, or else so badly damaged that they were out of the war. American ingenuity and industrial capacity, however, had them back in service by 1944.

The capacity of the Japanese to wage war had been seriously diminished. In the air, there were few planes and even fewer experienced pilots. A shortage of fuel meant that student pilots received much of their instruction on the ground. It was also a factor in the development of the **kamikaze** missions of 1945, in which aircraft would be loaded with high explosives to fly one-way suicide missions to crash themselves into American ships.

kamikaze
Japanese aircraft loaded with explosives that made deliberate suicidal crashes on enemy targets

By 1945, US Marine forces moved closer to the Japanese home islands in preparation for what they thought would be an eventual landing on Japan itself. After two months of vicious fighting on Iwo-Jima (south of Japan) from 19 February 1945, 6821 US marines had been killed and 20 000 – over one-third of those who had landed – had been wounded. With similar ferocity, Japanese soldiers defended the island of Okinawa, while 300 kamikaze planes and 600 other aircraft attacked US and Australian ships. Between 1 April and 29 July 1945, when the Battle of Okinawa concluded, 14 US destroyers had been sunk by suicide pilots, together with other ships and landing craft, while 110 000 Japanese soldiers had died refusing to surrender. All the senior officers committed ritual suicide, as did many of their subordinates. Up to 160 000 civilian Okinawans also died in the fighting.

While the United States, under the lead of MacArthur, advanced through the Philippines, Japan suffered further setbacks in Burma. On 6 March 1944, the Japanese began an offensive to invade India. During bitter fighting, the British – who were defending what was still a British colony – were supplied with weapons and food by airlift, while the Japanese, without an effective navy, were not supplied at all. Diseased and emaciated, by the end of June 1944 the surviving Japanese retreated.

8.3f Check your learning

1. Discuss the significance of US forces retaking the Mariana Islands.
2. What did the arrival of the kamikaze reveal about the Japanese situation by early 1945? Explain in at least half a page, discussing specific events in the war.
3. What motivated the Japanese troops at Saipan to commit suicide? Consider the role of Japanese propaganda in your response.

8.3f Understanding and using the sources

Using the map in Source 32, create a timeline of key events in the Allied reconquest of the Pacific.

SOURCE 33 USS *Bunker Hill* is hit by two kamikaze pilots during the Battle of Okinawa, Japan, 1945

8.4 Civilians at war

technocrat
a technical expert, often one who exercises managerial authority

geopolitical
where international relations are influenced by geographical factors

The Japanese portrayed their conquest of South-East Asia from 1937 as liberation from European imperialism, and proceeded to reorganise the political, economic and cultural life of the region. In August 1940, the Japanese Government announced its policy to create a so-called 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' to replace old Western colonial rule. Historian Janis Mimura explains that this was an imperial policy envisioning the inclusion of South-East Asia, eastern Siberia, Manchukuo, China and 'possibly outer regions of Australia, India and the Pacific Islands' into the Japanese sphere. Mimura argues that Japanese **technocrats** 'conceived of the Pacific War as more than a battle of resources. They viewed it as an ideological battle between the architects of a new, fascist **geopolitical** order and defenders of the old liberal capitalist order'. In other words, the Japanese plan was to create an 'Asia for Asians', expel the old colonial order, and replace it with a 'technologically advanced, self-sufficient, regional economic sphere'.

SOURCE 34 A Japanese perspective of the aims of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere; the caption reads: 'With the help of Japan, China and Manchukuo, the world can be in peace'.

Mimura's view about a Japanese invasion of Australia is questionable and has been explicitly challenged by former Chief Historian of the Australian War Memorial Dr Peter Stanley. Stanley has argued persuasively that there was no Japanese plan to invade Australia; that it is one of the myths that survive in popular memory, but that it lacks historical merit.

Japanese propaganda spoke of coexistence and common prosperity in Asia, free of colonial rule and united under Japanese leadership. A Greater East Asia Ministry was set up in Tokyo in 1942 to coordinate life in the various territories of the Sphere. This involved building educational and cultural programs, holding writers' conferences in Tokyo, encouraging Islam and Buddhism, fostering political and youth groups, training volunteer and independent armies, and sending South-East Asian students to Japan to study.

The reality of Japanese rule was quite different. Policy towards local peoples was more likely to be made by local commanders on the spot than by administrators in Tokyo. The Japanese also maintained a deep sense of their own racial superiority. Historian John Dower points out that hundreds of millions of Asians learned 'that when the Japanese spoke of creating a "new order" in which each race and nation assumed its proper place, it was taken for granted that the proper place of everyone else was below the Japanese'.

Social, political and economic effects on civilians in occupied territories

puppet ruler
a person or group exercising authority in one country under the control of another country

Social and economic life for civilians was transformed under Japanese rule. Their governing philosophy was to use repression to force civilians to comply with Japanese aims. Japan set up political offices to govern their territories directly or indirectly via a **puppet ruler** who adhered to Japanese plans for that particular territory.

Japanese repression of civilians took many forms. There were massacres, such as one in 1942 in which over 100 Dutch civilians were killed as a reprisal for the destruction of oilfield installations in the Dutch East Indies. In Manila, the capital of the Philippines, over 100 000 people were massacred in 1945.

Asian civilians provided a pool of forced labour for the Japanese. Between 1939 and 1945, approximately 670 000 Koreans were taken to Japan to work in mines and heavy industry. Of these, approximately 70 000 died. Korean and other Asian women were forced to work as 'comfort women' (prostitutes) for Japanese soldiers. Further, as many as 300 000 Javanese, Tamils, Malays, Burmese and Chinese worked alongside Allied POWs on the **Thai–Burma Railway**. An estimated 90 000 perished in the disease-ridden jungle.

The treatment of the Chinese was particularly savage. The rapes, murders and atrocities first seen on a large scale in Nanjing in 1937 were repeated throughout China and Chinese overseas communities, including Singapore. Filled with racial arrogance, and regarding the Chinese as inferior, the Japanese tortured, killed and recruited forced labour from among the Chinese population. In Manchukuo, medical experiments were carried out on live patients by the notorious Unit 731, a group in charge of gathering data for Japan's biological weapons program.

SOURCE 35 Kim Hak-Sun, a former 'comfort woman', weeps in Seoul, South Korea, 18 March 1994, at the coffin of fellow victim Chun Keum-Wha, who died in Seoul at the age of 72. The funeral was attended by some 100 supporters of the former sex slaves' demands for compensation from Tokyo.

SOURCE 36 The remains of Unit 731 at Harbin, China, where prisoners were used for gruesome medical experiments, is now open to the public as a museum.

In attempting to consolidate their hold over northern China, the Japanese introduced the 'Kill all, burn all, destroy all' policy that reduced the population in this area from 44 million to 25 million. After the collapse of Singapore in February 1942, the *kempeitai* (Japanese military police) ordered all male Chinese to be rounded up into five large concentration camps, in which local informers identified 'hostile' Chinese to the Japanese guards. This campaign spread to the mainland, and resulted in the deaths of up to 40 000 Malay Chinese.

Thai–Burma Railway a 415-kilometre railway built by POWs in 1943 to support Japanese force transfers between Thailand and Burma

8.4a Check your learning

1. Explain in a paragraph what the historian Janis Mimura means when she argues that Japanese war planners viewed the Pacific War 'as an ideological battle between the architects of a new, fascist geopolitical order and defenders of the old liberal capitalist order'.
2. Assess the accuracy of this statement: 'The noble aims of the Japanese Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere were a veneer for Japan's imperial conquest.' You will need at least half a page to complete this assessment.
3. Assess what the experience of Chinese civilians illustrates about race relations in Asia in 1942.

8.4a Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse Source 34. How did the Japanese plan to 'sell' their plans for imperial conquest to the rest of Asia?

2 Using both Source 35 and 36, explain in 400 words the importance of marking historical events and anniversaries.

Cultural changes

Educational and cultural changes introduced by the Japanese were designed so that Japan was shown as the model for all Asian societies. In schools, emperor worship, Japanese language, music, religion and history were stressed, and the 'Japanese spirit' was extolled. Youth organisations were introduced to train young people to be useful subjects of the Japanese Empire – physically and spiritually fit for any form of service. 'Oriental morality' and the 'imperial way' were to replace materialistic Western culture and political liberalism.

Nipponisation
to make or become Japanese in customs and culture

In Korea, the **Nipponisation** that began at the start of the century, during Japanese occupation, became increasingly intense during the war and produced a generation instilled with Japanese cultural values. After the annexation of 1910, the Japanese introduced a free public education system in Korea modelled on the Japanese school system. The aim was for students to emerge as good students of the empire, loyal to the emperor. By 1943, Korean language courses had been phased out and the teaching and speaking of Korean was prohibited.

Economic changes

Initially, Japanese policy in South-East Asia aimed to plunder the raw materials of the Co-prosperity Sphere for the war effort, while making the region dependent on Japan for industrial goods. In conquered territories, the Japanese exploited the production of raw materials including rubber, tin, iron ore and rice. Farmers and other rural workers lost their livelihoods and had to depend on rationing and, as the war went on, food prices increased dramatically as demand outstripped supply.

Soon after the Japanese invaded, they issued so-called 'invasion money' in an attempt to dominate and control domestic economic activity. Each occupied country was issued with a currency that had some features of, and equated approximately with, the pre-war currency. Introducing a new currency also served the aims of the Co-prosperity Sphere to remove the legacies of Western influence and assert Japan's dominance as the new economic force.

By the middle of 1943, the destruction of the Japanese merchant fleet by US submarines had reduced shipping to such a critical level that Tokyo ordered a reversal of policy. All emphasis was now to be placed on the self-sufficiency of every region.

SOURCE 37
A one shilling note: Japanese 'invasion money'

Famine became the reality for some areas of Japanese conquest. Historian Geoffrey Gunn argues that the compulsory sale of Vietnamese rice to the Japanese was the key cause of the great Vietnamese famine of 1944–45. People were made to supply 130 305 tonnes of rice in 1943 and 186 130 tonnes in 1944, in an area already short of rice before the wartime occupation. Estimates of the number of people who perished in this famine vary. Conservative estimates claim that 700 000 Vietnamese people died, while Vietnamese sources estimate the range to be between one and two million deaths.

8.4b Check your learning

1. Describe how the Japanese attempts to implement cultural changes influenced life in the occupied countries.
2. Explain the Japanese strategy of introducing a new currency in each conquered territory.
3. Evaluate the economic impacts on civilians under Japanese occupation the longer the Pacific War went on. Complete your evaluation in a minimum of 250 words.

Life under occupation

People chose different ways of managing the Japanese conquest. Most accepted the reality of the Japanese presence and attempted to go about their lives as best they could. Others saw an opportunity in the changing political situation to collaborate with the Japanese authorities and thus improve their situation. In some cases, movements were established to fight the Japanese in the hope of winning national independence.

Collaboration and resistance

In order for the Japanese to consolidate power and achieve their economic aims in conquered territories, they replaced those who had worked for the previous colonial regime with a new, often younger generation of leaders. These leaders were keen to impress their new masters and carried out Japanese wishes in their respective territories. Historians Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton argue that no occupying power 'can administer territory by force alone … successful occupations depend heavily upon accomplices drawn from the disaffected, sympathetic, or ambitious elements within the conquered people'.

SOURCE 38 Japanese people wave flags at a procession of cars carrying Nanjing Nationalist Government Head Wang Jingwei, 22 December 1942, Tokyo. Jingwei led the Nanjing Regime, a Japanese collaborationist government that was established in 1940.

SOURCE 39 A letter composed by the Huangpu West Residents' Association to the Shanghai Municipal Government, 14 January 1939

> [W]e need to grasp the spirit of New China and engage in the work of collaboration … Not only is Japan's culture quite advanced and its financial power great, but its people are sufficiently firm and sincere that they can serve as good neighbors and guides in the project of joining our vast territory with their fine culture …
>
> Timothy Brook, 'Collaboration in the History of Wartime East Asia', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, July 2008

In China, the resistance to the Japanese invasion had been led by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang regime since 1931. Chiang attained support from the West to fight the Japanese as the Pacific War escalated. Historian Rana Mitter argues that Chiang's call for a 'war of resistance to the end' subjected millions of Chinese to years of Japanese control and resulting famine conditions. It is unknown if Chinese civilians would have fared better if the Kuomintang had surrendered. However, evidence of the atrocities against the Chinese at Nanjing in 1937 is an indicator of the mode of Japanese occupation of a conquered China.

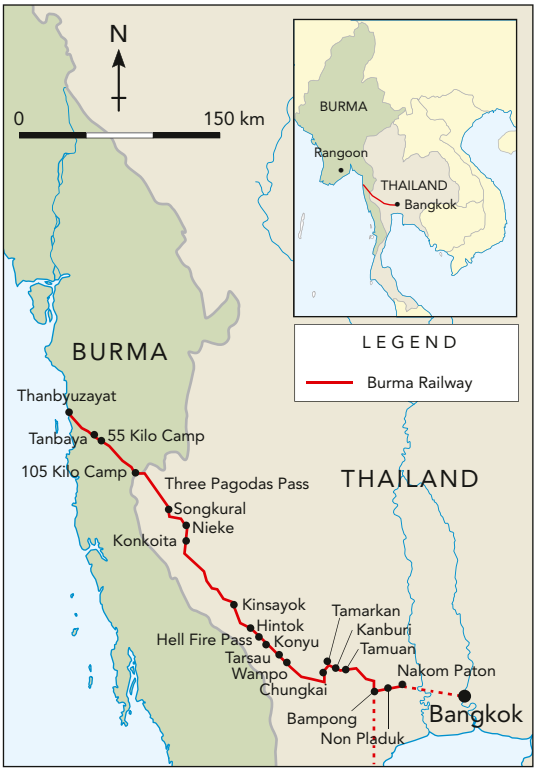
Small resistance movements also sprung up in the Dutch East Indies, such as the Student Underground Movement. However, the Japanese used their network of willing informers, who welcomed the Japanese in place of the Dutch, to quickly shut down any opposition. One important resistance movement was led by Vietnamese revolutionary leader Ho Chi Minh, at the time living in China, who was unhappy with the French–Japanese rule in Indochina (now Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia). Ho founded the rebel group Viet Minh in 1941 and it would become an effective force that used **guerrilla** tactics to challenge the Japanese in the region.

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes

The use of slave labour

In order to understand the cruelty with which the Japanese treated their POWs, it is important to recognise the strong Japanese warrior culture. The warrior culture infusing the attitudes of Japanese military leaders, down to the soldiers themselves, stated that it was more honourable to die than to be taken captive. This in turn dictated the treatment of captives, which was characterised by an almost complete disregard for human rights.

THE PROPOSED THAI–BURMA RAILWAY



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 40 A map illustrating the scope of Japanese plans for a railway to supply their army in Burma

To mobilise the use of slave labour, the Japanese established the East Asia Development Board. The Chinese historian Zhifen Ju, in *Joint Study of the Sino-Japanese War*, estimates that 10 million Chinese citizens were put to work in slave labour conditions by the Japanese; while the American historian and statistician Rudolph Rummel estimates that hundreds of thousands of Koreans died as a result of working for the Japanese in Korea and Manchukuo. Further, the US Library of Congress estimates that several million Indonesians worked as forced labourers for the Japanese for some period of the war. It is difficult to know how many died enduring the tremendous hardship of this experience. Australian War Memorial records estimate that at least 90 000 Indigenous labourers died while working on the Thai–Burma Railway.

Allied POWs also suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Around 140 000 were imprisoned early in the war in camps such as Changi in Singapore. If they survived, the men spent the remaining years of the war experiencing back-breaking work, disease and brutal punishments, while working on projects such as the Thai–Burma Railway. Some were even take back to Japan to work as labourers. They became part of what was known as 'J Force'. The Australian War Memorial states that of the 30 000 Australian servicemen who were taken prisoner by the Japanese, only 36 per cent survived.

SOURCE 41 Three POWs at Shimo Sonkurai No 1 Camp, standing outside the camp hospital in 1943; this image was taken in secret by Private George Aspinall, using a folding Six-20 Kodak Brownie camera he kept hidden in a belt.

An example of the callousness of the Japanese can be found in the Sandakan Death Marches – the forced march of more than 2000 Australian and British POWs across Borneo, from Sandakan to Ranau, a distance of 260 kilometres along jungle tracks. Some died of exhaustion along the way, others were killed. Of more than 1000 Australians who set out on the march, only six survived.

SOURCE 42

> Some prisoners found their circumstances in full view of Asian civilians, 'a most humiliating experience'. The official war artist Murray Griffin, recalling the march from Singapore to Changi in full view of the locals, later wrote: 'What a change, from rulers to slaves, to a position more lowly than theirs in so short a time. Some of the Malays laughed'…
>
> Lachlan Grant, *Australian Soldiers in Asia-Pacific in World War II*, 2014, pp. 148–9

8.4c Check your learning

1. Explain how the Japanese intended to consolidate and exercise power in the conquered territories. Discuss at least two examples in a half-page response.
2. Give at least two reasons why so many civilians and POWs died in Japanese captivity during the war.

8.4c Understanding and using the sources

1. Assess how Source 39 could be useful for a historian studying the issue of collaboration. Discuss the perspective provided by the source and the factors affecting its reliability in a half-page response.
2. Consider Source 42. What does it reveal about the attitude of Allied troops to the civilians in Malaya, whom they were previously controlling through their colonial occupation?

8.4 PROFILE

SOURCE 43 Jan Ruff-O'Herne, aged 17, just before she was captured by the Japanese

THE USE OF WOMEN AS SEX SLAVES FOR JAPANESE OCCUPYING FORCES

Throughout their period of occupation of South-East Asia, the Imperial Japanese Army provided 'comfort stations', at which young women were forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers. Around 200 000 young women served as sex slaves in this way – about 80 per cent of them from Korea, with others from China, the Philippines and Indonesia. The United Nations has estimated that only about 30 per cent of these women survived the war. The women were either forcibly taken from their families or recruited by deception. Resistance was met with violence or even death.

Female prisoners from other countries were also used as sex slaves, as shown in the experience of Jan Ruff-O'Herne, who grew up in the Dutch East Indies and was interned with her family in a Japanese prison camp. One day during their internment, all girls aged 17 years and over were made to line up for inspection. Those thought suitable, including Jan, were driven away to a house known as the 'House of the Seven Seas' and told that they were there for the sexual pleasure of the soldiers. They were repeatedly raped. In an effort to make herself unattractive, Jan cut off all her hair, but the soldiers thought her a curiosity and chose her more often. At one point, she asked her fellow sufferers to embroider their names on a handkerchief she had been given. Today, the handkerchief is preserved in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

SOURCE 44 Jan Ruff-O'Herne's handkerchief, embroidered with the signatures of Dutch 'comfort women' at the 'House of the Seven Seas', Semarang, Java

8.4 PROFILE TASK

Research the life of Jan Ruff-O'Herne. Explain how she has come to terms with the experience she endured and what she has done to advocate for other survivors.

The effect of the war on the home fronts in Japan

While the Imperial Diet still existed, it had been rendered impotent by the militarists who had real power in Japan. Political freedom had been destroyed, and threats and use of force by the police and the *kempeitai* were commonplace.

Political parties were dissolved and political life was carried out through the Imperial Rule Assistance Association (IRAA), which was established in October 1940. The IRAA used local organisations to interfere constantly in people's lives through ration distribution, air raid drills, and official send-offs for draftees. Controls were tightened until civil rights virtually ceased to exist.

Censorship was strongly enforced, and any way of thinking other than the 'imperial one' was considered 'dangerous thought'. Simply failing to remove one's hat in the theatre when the emperor appeared in a newsreel could mean arrest. In addition, news of defeats in battles was suppressed, and so the retreat from Guadalcanal became merely a 'transfer of forces'.

In February 1942, all women's organisations in Japan were brought together in the 20-million-strong Great Japan Women's Association. The conscription of unmarried women into war production began slowly, but married women were never formally conscripted.

Rice rationing began in major cities on 1 April 1940, and by early 1942 severe shortages in food, clothing and other basic necessities led first to price controls and then to even tighter rationing. A black market operated, where those with connections could obtain anything they desired. As shortages mounted, theft became rampant. By 1944, theft of produce still in the fields led police to speak of a new class of 'vegetable thieves'. In August 1944, 30 per cent of the workforce at a Mitsubishi glass factory were found to be suffering from beriberi, caused by malnutrition.

By mid-1945, as most of the Japanese Navy and merchant marine fleet were on the bottom of the ocean, supplies to both the home islands and the front were choked off. In response, the authorities recommended an emergency diet that included acorns, peanut shells and sawdust. Many farmers engaged in a barter trade with city folk, who flocked to rural areas, trading kimonos, watches and jewellery for food.

SOURCE 46

> Day after day we ate watery gruel in the cottage of the farmhouse to which we had been evacuated. Things got even worse, and our daily chore was to gather field grasses.
>
> Hashimoto Kumiko, who experienced the war on a farm in Japan, quoted in Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Food and War in Mid-Twentieth Century East Asia*, 2013, pp. 136–7

In 1945, Japan experienced its worst harvest since 1910 and thousands of deaths from malnutrition occurred after the surrender. Unlike American and Australian citizens, Japanese civilians felt the full force of the war. Around one million died, principally in the firebombing raids of major cities which commenced in 1944 (see Section 8.5).

SOURCE 45
People lining up for food rations, Tokyo, 21 September 1945

The effect of the war on Australia

home front
those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

The fall of Singapore on 15 February 1942 came as a shock to all Australians. Prime Minister John Curtin spoke of it as opening the 'Battle for Australia'. Morale on the **home front** plummeted, and was further depressed when Darwin was bombed four days later on 19 February. Invasion appeared imminent, and within government circles there was talk of abandoning northern Queensland down to the 'Brisbane Line', where a defence would be mounted against the Japanese invaders. However, though there were more attacks on Darwin and on northern coastal towns in Western Australia and Queensland, in addition to a midget submarine attack on Sydney, the invasion fear subsided after the Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway.

SOURCE 47

> The year 1942 will impose supreme tests. These range from resistance to invasion to deprivation of more and more amenities ... Australians must realise that to place the nation on a war footing every citizen must place himself, his private and business affairs, his entire mode of living, on a war footing. The civilian way of life cannot be any less rigorous, can contribute no less than that which the fighting men have to follow.
>
> John Curtin, 'The Task Ahead', *The Herald* (Melbourne), 27 December 1941

Axis
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allied Powers in the Second World War

internment camp
a form of wartime prison for captured enemies and their supporters

Although Prime Minister Robert Menzies had announced in 1939 that it would be 'business as usual' for the Australian economy, this was not the case after 1941 when the war brought on a transition from dependence on primary industry to the growing importance of the manufacturing industry, and marked the start of a phase of expanded economic growth for Australia. The Commonwealth Government acquired much greater powers over the states as part of the need to coordinate war production and allocate scarce resources. The most important of these powers was the Commonwealth acquiring the exclusive power to levy income taxes. The Federal Treasury and the Commonwealth Bank became key instruments of government policy to control the economy and finance the war.

SOURCE 48 An Australian propaganda poster from 1942; it was propaganda like this which encouraged the myth that the Japanese had a plan to invade Australia.

Social cohesion was enforced through censorship, propaganda and warnings to look out for the 'enemy within'. In total, 52 000 Australian citizens born in **Axis** countries had to register as 'enemy aliens' with authorities. Italians in particular, as the largest non-British group in society, suffered spontaneous assaults, business closures, dismissal from jobs and internment in camps. At their peak, Australian **internment camps** – including the largest one, near Liverpool, west of Sydney – held about 7000 'aliens'.

For women, the war brought an expansion of activities beyond those that had been permitted in the First World War: knitting and the preparation of parcels for soldiers. The shortage of male recruits by 1941 led to the formation of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF). Other service organisations followed, plus the civilian Women's Land Army (of women working on farms), so that by 1944 a total of 50 000 women were working for the war effort, performing skilled work in traditional male occupations. In total, 855 000 married and single women were in paid employment by 1944, representing 25 per cent of the total workforce.

The war also provided increased opportunities for Indigenous Australians. Racial barriers to enlistment were relaxed after Japan entered the war in 1942,

and by the end of the war approximately 3000 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders had served in the military forces. Another 3000 worked as labourers in the armed services in Australia's north, and undertook a variety of jobs that had been previously denied to them.

Further, the war brought about population movement on a scale that had not previously been seen. Rural workers flocked to the cities in search of higher-paid war work, while Land Army women and men in the **Civil Construction Corps** 'went bush', in the latter case to maintain strategic road and rail links. Civilians were evacuated from areas threatened by Japanese bombing, including Darwin and Tennant Creek in Australia's north.

When American service personnel began disembarking in Brisbane on 24 December 1941, they were the first of approximately one million who passed through Australia; and while MacArthur received a hero's welcome upon arriving in Melbourne in March 1942, the regular soldiers received a more mixed reception. Soldiers in the Australian Army envied the superior conditions the Americans enjoyed, and feared American seductive power over Australian women in their absence. In turn, Americans were angered by inflated 'Yank prices' charged by Australian business owners to US soldiers. In February 1943, mounted police in Melbourne dispersed a brawl between American and Australian servicemen. The biggest clash came in what has become known as the 'Battle of Brisbane' in 1943, when an Australian private was killed. Around 7000 Australian women would eventually travel to the United States as **war brides**.

SOURCE 49 Women working at the government munitions factory, Footscray, Victoria, in October 1940

SOURCE 50 General Douglas MacArthur arrives in Melbourne, March 1942.

8.4d Check your learning

1. Compare and contrast the wartime experiences of women in Japan and Australia.
2. Compare and contrast the increase in government intervention in the daily lives of citizens in Japan and Australia.
3. In which country was the home front most affected by the war? Justify your response.

8.4d Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 45. What does it tell you about conditions in Tokyo in 1945 and the processes involved in the rationing system?
2. How is Source 46 useful to a historian studying the reasons for the Japanese defeat? Identify and explain at least two points in 400 words.
3. How is Source 47 useful as a snapshot illustrating the challenges to its security faced by Australia in early 1942? List three of these challenges.
4. List some of the propaganda techniques used by the creators of Source 48. In a paragraph, discuss the effectiveness of the source on its intended audience.

Civil Construction Corps
a body established in Australia in April 1942 to supply labour for the creation of infrastructure, such as airfields, barracks and roads

war brides
foreign women who marry military personnel in times of war or during the military occupation of a foreign country

8.5 The end of the conflict

amphibious operation a type of offensive military operation using naval ships to land troops onto a hostile shore at a designated landing beach, protected by aircraft cover

By 1945, the island-hopping strategy that had commenced with the Guadalcanal invasion in August 1942 had seen US forces advance through large-scale **amphibious operations** against the outlying islands of Japan itself.

The Japanese defended their home islands ferociously against these now enormous fleets consisting of millions of US troops and naval forces. There was enormous loss of life on both sides in the final year of the war until, in early August 1945, the US Air Force dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

SOURCE 51 A photograph taken in March 1946 shows damage in Hiroshima some eight months after the atomic bombing of 6 August 1945.

SOURCE 52 Tokyo, after being destroyed in the American firebombing mission of 1945

Reasons for the use of the atomic bomb

The decision to use atomic weapons on Japan in August 1945 was and is controversial. US President Harry S. Truman did not even learn about the existence of the atomic bomb until he became president after FDR died in office in April 1945. The official justification offered for using the bomb was that the Japanese would not seek peace and that there could be as many as a million Allied casualties in an invasion of the Japanese home islands. It was argued that the bomb would end the war quickly and therefore save lives.

Japan had already been devastated by conventional bombing. For example, on the night of 9–10 March 1945, 334 bombers attacked Tokyo with **incendiary bombs**. The firestorm that followed killed 100 000 people and almost burnt the wooden city to the ground. By July 1945, 60 per cent of the ground area of the country's 60 largest cities had been burnt out, and hundreds of thousands of civilians had been killed.

The Potsdam Declaration was a statement defining the terms for Japan's surrender which was drafted after an Allied war council meeting in occupied Germany. Article 13 of the Declaration, which was published on 26 July 1945, stated that the Japanese armed forces must unconditionally surrender or face 'prompt and utter destruction'. When Japan refused, Truman made the decision to use atomic bombs.

SOURCE 53

Japanese military leaders rejected the idea of unconditional surrender because they also believed that their conquerors intended to dispose of the Emperor. Although an overwhelming majority of the American public wanted exactly that, the State Department and the joint chiefs of staff had come round to the idea of retaining him as a constitutional monarch and softening the terms. The Potsdam Declaration on Japan, published on 26 July, made no mention of the Emperor to avoid a political backlash in the United States.

Antony Beevor, *The Second World War*, 2012, p. 773

incendiary bombs bombs designed to start fires when they hit their target

SOURCE 54 Japanese representatives on board USS *Missouri* during the surrender ceremonies in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945; standing in front are Mamoru Shigemitsu, Foreign Minister (left) and General Yoshijiro Umezu, Chief of the Army General Staff.

HARRY S. TRUMAN
INDEPENDENCE, MISSOURI
August 5, 1963

Dear Kup:

I appreciated most highly your column of July 30th, a copy of which you sent me.

I have been rather careful not to comment on the articles that have been written on the dropping of the bomb for the simple reason that the dropping of the bomb was completely and thoroughly explained in my Memoirs, and it was done to save 125,000 youngsters on the American side and 125,000 on the Japanese side from getting killed and that is what it did. It probably also saved a half million youngsters on both sides from being maimed for life.

You must always remember that people forget, as you said in your column, that the bombing of Pearl Harbor was done while we were at peace with Japan and trying our best to negotiate a treaty with them.

All you have to do is to go out and stand on the keel of the Battleship in Pearl Harbor with the 3,000 youngsters underneath it who had no chance whatever of saving their lives. That is true of two or three other battleships that were sunk in Pearl Harbor. Altogether, there were between 3,000 and 6,000 youngsters killed at that time without any declaration of war. It was plain murder.

I knew what I was doing when I stopped the war that would have killed a half million youngsters on both sides if those bombs had not been dropped. I have no regrets and, under the same circumstances, I would do it again - and this letter is not confidential.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

Mr. Irv Kupcinet
Chicago Sun-Times
Chicago, Illinois

SOURCE 55 A letter dated 5 August 1963 sent from Harry S. Truman to Irv Kupcinet, a newspaper columnist from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, responding to Kupcinet's column about the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan

On 6 August 1945, the Americans dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. Around 80 000 people perished instantly, but no word of surrender came from Japan. On 8 August, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and rapidly moved its forces into Manchukuo. On 9 August, a second bomb on Nagasaki killed a further 40 000 instantly. Then, on 14 August, Japan indicated its willingness to surrender. MacArthur received the formal Japanese surrender on board the American battleship USS *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay on 2 September 1945. The Pacific War was over.

SOURCE 56

> If the primary objective was to save American lives, Washington could have deferred both the bomb and an invasion of Japan until the Soviet offensive had run its course. The Red Army was smashing through Manchuria before the United States could reach Japan, a situation not to the liking of the American military. The sensational atomic attacks diverted attention from the Russian successes. This may have been the reason why the United States rushed to drop the bombs.
>
> Ienaga, Saburo, *Pacific War, 1931–1945*, 1978, p. 201

SOURCE 57

> The main point at issue historically is whether, if immediately following the terrific devastation of Tokyo by our B-29s in May 1945, the President had made a public categorical statement that surrender would not mean the elimination of the present dynasty if the Japanese people desired its retention, the surrender of Japan could have been hastened … if such a categorical statement [by Truman] about the dynasty had been issued in May 1945, the surrender-minded elements in the government might well have been afforded … a valid reason and the necessary strength to come to an early clear-cut decision.
>
> Former US Ambassador to Japan, Joseph Grew, quoted in H.P. Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, 2000, pp. 498–9

Challenging a historical myth: Was the bomb the only option?

The historical debate about the use of the atomic bombs in August 1945 is an example of three key aspects of the historian's craft. The first is that all history is subject to revision. In other words, new evidence and new perspectives provide fresh insights, and hence versions of the past can and do change. Second, there are many – so-called – facts about the past, especially the conflict in the Pacific, that are in reality popular myths. They are not valid history; rather, they are versions of the past that are maintained through the stories we share. Third, there is rarely a simple explanation for major events, and a multiplicity of factors are often at work.
A distinguished American academic, Gar Alperovitz, challenged the myths about the use of the atomic bombs in two publications. The first was *Atomic Diplomacy Hiroshima and Potsdam: The Use of the Atomic Bombs and the American Confrontation with Soviet Power* in 1965. His arguments were later revised and expanded when more documents, previously secret, became available; and in 1995 he published *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth*. Alperovitz argued that, despite the official explanation:

1 The atomic bombs were not needed to end the war in the Pacific.
2 The bombs did not save lives.
3 The use of the bombs was more about US relations with the Soviet Union than ending their war with Japan.
4 There were domestic American political factors at work in the decision to use the bombs.

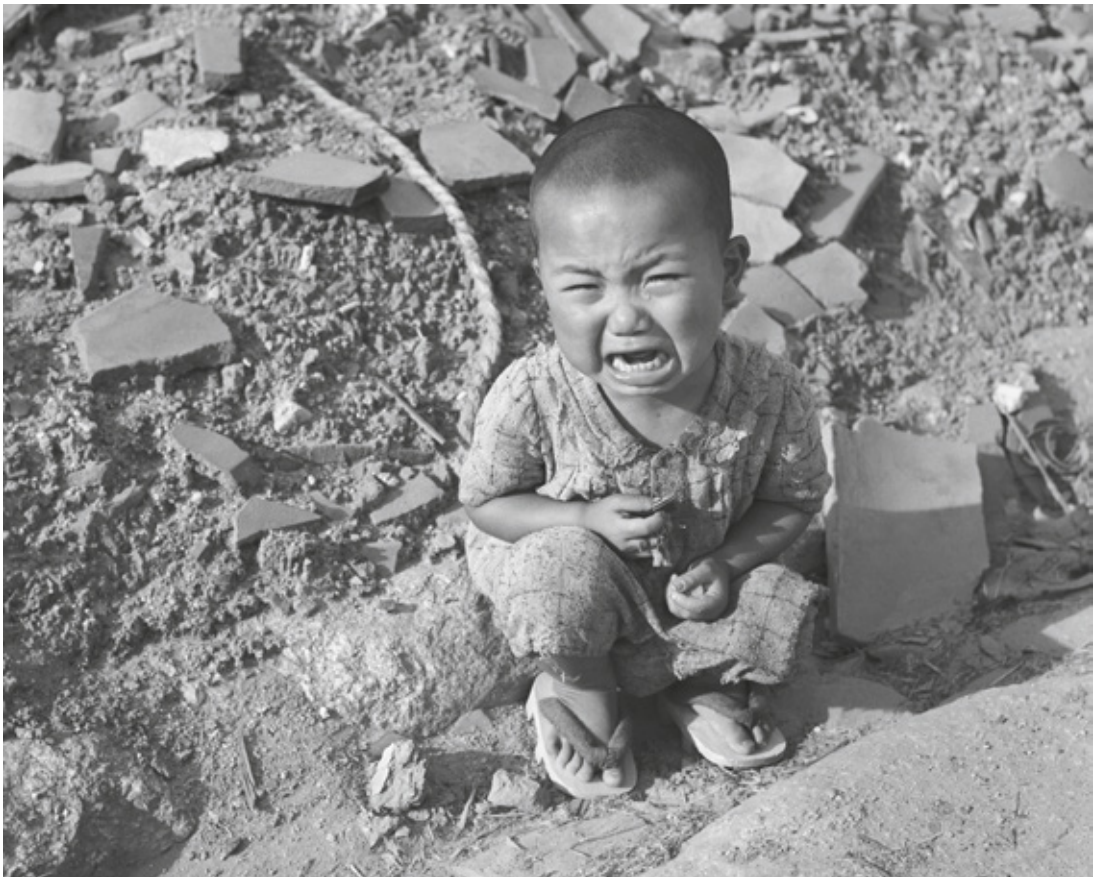
In addressing each of these points, Alperovitz provided documentary evidence that the Japanese had, from as early as June 1945, realised that they needed to end the war, and that from April and May 1945 they in fact used intermediaries to offer peace with the United States. They were willing to accept a peace with only one condition, and that was that they could keep the emperor. Given the fact that the United States eventually agreed to this condition, the war could have ended two or three months sooner. That would arguably have saved lives. Alperovitz

went further and pointed out that President Truman had deliberately delayed meeting with the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at Potsdam until he had word of the successful testing of the atomic bomb on 16 July 1945. Truman then took a very tough line with the Soviet Union about the fate of the postwar world. In other words, the use of the bombs was more about sending a message to the communists about American power than ending the war with Japan. Beyond that, before the successful test of the bomb, the United States had been encouraging the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan as soon as possible. Once Americans knew that the bomb worked, their approach changed and they were happy for the Soviet Union to stay out of the Pacific War. An earlier Soviet entry would have allowed the communists to make more demands in the peace settlement.

Truman was honest and straightforward but he was also a fierce partisan politician. More than many others, Truman would have been aware of the electoral damage that would have been done to his Democratic Party if the Republican opposition learned that US$3 billion had been spent on developing a weapon that was never used. The fear was that the Democrats would be charged with wasting taxpayers' money, and spending money on the bombs that could have been spent elsewhere to equip US forces and save lives.

Alperovitz described the official version – that became the generally accepted version of the decision to use the bombs – as a 'myth'.

It also has to be acknowledged that for Truman and many Americans, there was a satisfying element of revenge in using the atomic bombs. More than once, Truman reminded critics that the Japanese had brought it all on themselves by attacking Pearl Harbor. Therefore the military solution, dropping the bombs, was in a way easier than a diplomatic resolution of the conflict.



SOURCE 58
A baby sits crying in the rubble left by the explosion of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima, 1945. Around 80 000 people died instantly in the bombing, and virtually every building in Hiroshima was destroyed or damaged.

8.5a Check your learning

There is a wealth of primary source documentary evidence available online from the *Truman Presidential Library* website. Make use of this evidence, and use your school library and other internet sources, to write an essay evaluating the decision to use the atomic bombs in August 1945.

8.5a Understanding and using the sources

1. How might American public opinion have influenced President Harry S. Truman's decision? Support your response using evidence from Source 55 and the information in the text in your page-long response.
2. Using Sources 53 and 57, explain why the Japanese rejected the Potsdam Declaration.
3. Consider the information in Source 56. How might this affect Truman's justification for the use of atomic weapons? List two reasons.
4. Why is Source 55 useful for a historian studying the reasons for the using the atomic bomb? Discuss the information provided in the source, the perspective of the source and the factors affecting its reliability.

Reasons for the Japanese defeat

Japan's defeat in 1945, nearly four years after the American entry into the war in December 1941, was the result of a synthesis of factors, mainly Japan's inability to match the resource strength of its enemy. By 1942, the United States had turned all of its industrial focus on the war industry. The production of American aircrafts, ships, submarines and other weapons gave it an ever-increasing advantage. The United States had already been the world's largest industrial producer, but remarkably, in the four years of war, its industrial output doubled in size and provided almost two-thirds of all Allied military equipment used during the Second World War.

SOURCE 59 A factory worker paints the American insignia on a US Navy plane at a naval airbase in Texas, 1942.

Its ability to finance the war was the United States' most significant achievement. Although taxes were raised, the war was mainly paid for by a hugely successful series of war bond drives, whereby the government sold debt securities with a guaranteed return on people's investment. The financial might of the United States was again reflected in evidence that three-quarters of these bonds were bought by American banks and financial institutions.

The Japanese, blinded by their belief in their own racial superiority, underestimated the resolution of the Allies to fight on to victory. As a result, the Japanese High Command was wasteful in its use of troops. Time and again, units were thrown into battles without any realistic hope of success. This was seen as early as mid-1942

in the Japanese defence of Guadalcanal. The *bushido* warrior culture informed this pattern of leadership recklessness – the notion that attack was the key to success and to retreat was shameful. This philosophy was best illustrated in New Guinea, where Japanese soldiers reported that the order they received to turn back was 'forward march to the reverse'.

Further, the Japanese medical system and supplies to its soldiers were inadequate. Defeat often came because the soldiers had to 'live off the land' – a difficult proposition in jungle conditions. As a result, Japanese troops suffered sickness and malnutrition. In Burma in 1944, for example, there were 24 680 Japanese battle casualties, but 541 575 casualties from infection and disease. With much of the Japanese fleet sunk as the war went on, the situation for Japanese troops in various reaches of the Pacific became dire. Historian Paul Ham chronicles how cannibalism had become common practice for Japanese survival in New Guinea in 1942.

8.5b Check your learning

Identify at least three reasons that contributed to Japanese defeat in the Pacific in a 500-word response.

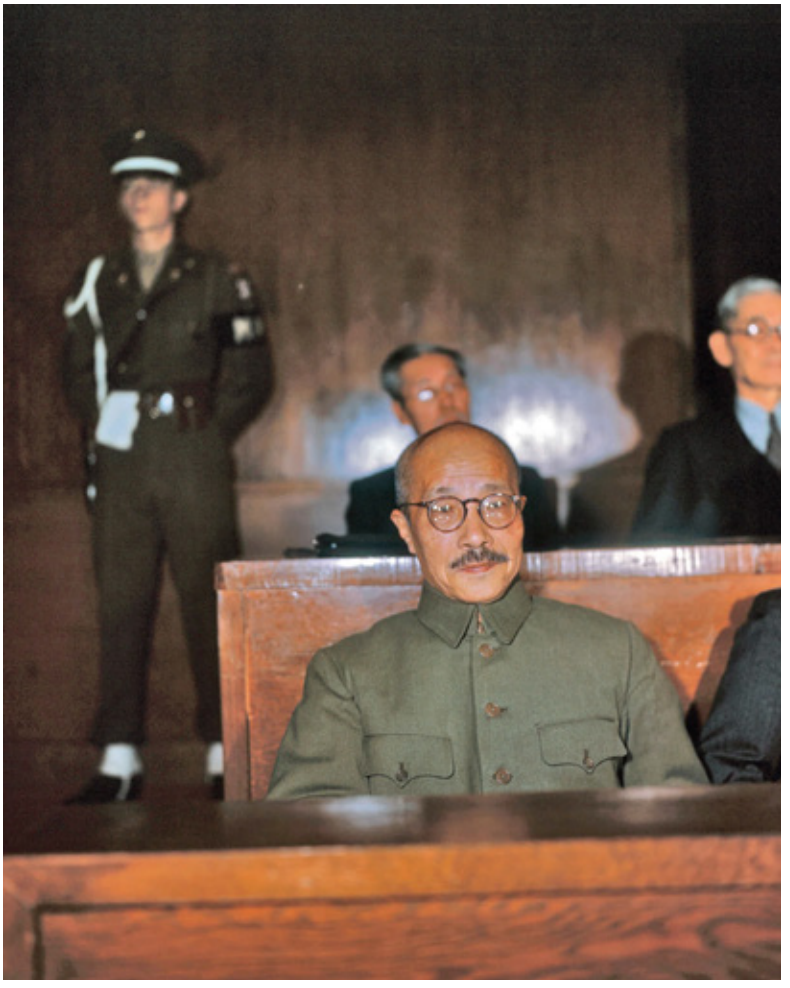
War Crimes Tribunals and the status of the emperor

The Potsdam Declaration had promised that 'stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals'. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, known as the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, was formally inaugurated by MacArthur on 19 January 1946. An original American list of approximately 100 potential war criminals was combined with a British list of 11, adjusted to produce a final list of 28.

The trials began on 3 May 1946 and continued for more than two and a half years. Eleven judges from the Allied Powers presided at Tokyo. By majority decision, seven former Japanese leaders were sentenced to death by hanging, while the rest were sentenced to imprisonment in terms ranging from seven years to life. One was declared mentally unfit to stand trial and two died before proceedings concluded. While many died in prison, the former Foreign Minister, Mamoru Shigemitsu, was released in 1950 and returned to politics.

Before the war crimes trials began, MacArthur, now titled the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP), worked with Japanese officials behind the scenes to influence the testimony of the defendants to ensure that no one implicated Emperor Hirohito.

SOURCE 60 A Japanese soldier re-enacts for a military tribunal at a war crimes trial how a US pilot – 2nd Lieutenant Darwin T. Emry – was beheaded.



SOURCE 61 After surviving a suicide attempt, former Prime Minister Hideki Tojo was sentenced to death for war crimes. He was executed by hanging in December 1948.

In addition, no leaders of the dreaded *kempeitai*, the ultra-nationalistic secret societies, or the industrialists who had profited from aggression were indicted. Blanket immunity was given to the personnel in Unit 731 in Manchukuo who had conducted lethal experiments on thousands of prisoners. They were exempted from prosecution in return for sharing their research results with the Americans.

As a result, the tribunal received criticism from many high-ranking generals, including Charles Willoughby, MacArthur's chief of intelligence, who described the trials as 'the worst hypocrisy in recorded history'. When the verdicts were announced on 12 November 1948, Sir William Webb, the Australian High Court judge appointed as the President of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, criticised the fact that 'the leader of the crime, though available for trial, had been granted immunity'. Webb had presented the Australian case throughout the proceedings, which rejected the 'school of thought in some Allied countries which is prepared to save the face of the Emperor'. Webb believed that there were too many atrocities and 'prisoners of war who [had] been barbarously ill-treated under the Emperor's orders', contradicting the decision for him to go unpunished.

Eventually, around 50 military tribunals were convened at various Asian venues, and others were convened by the Soviet Union and, much later, by the communist regime in China. It is generally accepted that 920 death sentences were handed down. Secretly, the Soviets may have executed as many as 3000 Japanese as war criminals, following **summary proceedings**.

summary proceedings a trial conducted hastily without formalities for the speedy settlement of a matter

SOURCE 62

> In response to Washington's call for an investigation of the emperor's war responsibility, MacArthur pulled out all the stops in defending him. [MacArthur said that] no evidence had been found that connected Hirohito to political decisions during the past decade. MacArthur characterized the emperor as 'a symbol which united all Japanese' and warned that if he were indicted the nation would experience a 'tremendous convulsion', 'disintegrate', 'initiate a vendetta for revenge' ... Government agencies would break down ... guerrilla warfare could be expected ... and once the occupation forces left 'some form of intense regimentation probably along communistic lines would arise from the mutilated masses'.
>
> John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 1999, p. 324

SOURCE 63

> The emperor had presented himself as commander in chief ... but had failed to curb the violence of the military. He spoke ... of his subjects as his 'children', but then urged them to obey to the death an army and navy he knew to be out of control. As head of state, he should now set a moral example by taking responsibility for the disaster'.
>
> Japanese poet Miyoshi Tatsuji in 1946, quoted in John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, 1999, p. 322.

8.5c Check your learning

1 Analyse the purpose of establishing the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal. What do you think the Allies were hoping to achieve and to avoid?
2 Identify the major criticism of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal.

8.5c Understanding and using the sources

1 What do you believe was the Allies' purpose of having Japanese war criminals re-enact their crimes, as shown in Source 60? List as many reasons as you can think of.
2 Outline the reasons General Douglas MacArthur gives in Source 62 for not bringing Emperor Hirohito to trial.
3 Argue the case for or against Emperor Hirohito being tried as a war criminal. Support your response with reference to the text and at least two of the sources.

Allied occupation of Japan to 1951

The aim of the Allied occupation of Japan was to remove the strain of militarism, which had propelled Japan to war, from all Japanese institutions. The Allies aimed to replace the militarist order with a **liberal democracy** and to reconstruct Japan as a peaceful, stable and economically buoyant trading nation in Asia. With their eyes on the coming of the **Cold War**, the Americans had an agenda to facilitate Japan's reformation as a leading capitalist democracy in order to ensure that communism did not take hold in this part of the world.

The first contingent of Allied forces arrived in Japan on 28 August 1945. These were Americans who were to make up the vast majority of the almost one million service personnel who served at one time or another in the army of occupation. There was also a small force of approximately 40 000 drawn from Australia, Britain, India and New Zealand, who made up the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF).

Rivalry for leadership of the BCOF soon arose between Australia and Britain. H.V. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, felt that Australia's place as the leading Commonwealth nation in the region, enhanced by its role in fighting the Japanese, should not be overlooked. As a result, when advance units of the BCOF arrived on 8 February 1946, they were commanded by Australian Lieutenant-General John Northcott, and were assigned the military control of the Hiroshima region.

liberal democracy
a form of democratic government where liberal freedoms – meaning freedom of religion, freedom of the press and free enterprise – are valued and protected

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

Life for the occupation forces

The duties of the BCOF were to locate and dispose of weapons, patrol the seas to prevent the smuggling of illegal immigrants and goods for the black market, supervise the repatriation of returning Japanese soldiers and Allied POWs to their homelands, and assist in reconstruction. By 1947, over 800 caves and tunnels containing weapons and war equipment had been located in the BCOF area. As time passed, BCOF service personnel were allowed to bring their families to Japan, and over 1000 dependants arrived in 1947–48 alone.

SOURCE 64 The hierarchies of race and privilege were apparent in virtually every interaction between the Japanese and the occupying forces. Here, troops are being transported in a *jinrikisha* (rickshaw) pulled by yesterday's battlefield foe, posing for a US Army photographer in front of the Imperial Palace.

The spontaneous distribution of chocolates and chewing gum by the Allied forces, and the help offered in times of natural disaster – such as the Nankai earthquake of December 1946 – were welcomed by the Japanese. Nevertheless, the occupation forces and their families lived lives of privilege that contradicted the ideal of democracy being preached to the Japanese.

At the same time as some 3.7 million Japanese families lacked housing of their own, the Japanese were forced to pay for the maintenance of the occupation army. In 1948, the Japanese Government was required to direct a large part of its budget to providing housing and facilities for the occupiers, and ensure that they met American living standards. While war widows begged for relief, the government paid the expenses of Americans wishing to modernise their accommodation with electrical appliances. While Japanese travelled in crowded railway carriages, the government was forced to run exclusive trains, often not full, for the free use of the occupation personnel.

The few square miles of downtown Tokyo that had been spared by the air raids became known to all as 'Little America', where it was reported that one could walk 'without being out of sight of an American face or an American vehicle'. Americans accused of crimes against Japanese were tried by their

own government, not in local courts, and their crimes went unreported in the press because of occupation censorship.

Prostitution was a problem, particularly in the early years of the occupation. The Recreation and Amusement Association (RAA) recruited young Japanese women to service the occupation troops, and there were soon numerous 'rest centres' scattered throughout the major cities. By the time all 'public' prostitution was prohibited in mid-1946, high rates of venereal disease were causing concern to the occupying authorities. It was largely to combat these infections that the first US patents for penicillin were sold to Japanese companies in April 1946.

The new constitution

On 6 March 1946, a new Japanese Constitution was made known to the public. It gave equal prominence to the emperor and to the ideals of democracy and peace. The most striking feature of the Constitution, which came into effect on 3 May 1947, was the 'renunciation of war' mentioned in the preamble and in Article 9: 'the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international disputes'. With the Constitution, the Japanese people became citizens, and not 'subjects', of the emperor.

The end of occupation

In October 1946, the British reversed their occupation policy, deciding that they had too many costly overseas commitments to stay. Washington ordered MacArthur to avoid replacing the departing British soldiers with Americans, and suggested instead that the Commonwealth forces should be spread more thinly across their area of occupation. In the spring of 1947 the British left, followed within a few months by the Indians. The New Zealanders left in 1948, leaving the Australians alone in Hiroshima. Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies decided in 1950 to recall the remaining 2750 Australians from Japan. With the outbreak of the Korean War they would, in fact, not return home but only be directed to the Korean Peninsula.

With the occupation, Japan and its economy had begun the transformation that would see it emerge as the capitalist engine of Asia. On 8 September 1951, the Treaty of San Francisco formally concluded the Allied occupation of Japan and, the following April, the treaty came into effect, restoring full sovereignty to Japan.

8.5d Check your learning

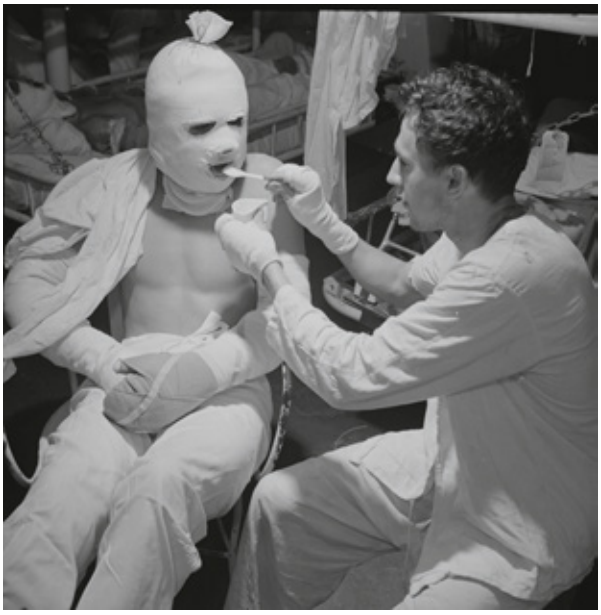
1 What was the purpose of the Allied occupation of Japan?
2 List the main duties of the BCOF.
3 Describe what life was like for the Japanese during the occupation in a half-page response.

CONCLUSION

The Pacific War commenced as a result of a policy of Japanese expansion in the Asia–Pacific which had began at the turn of the century. Early twentieth-century success in wars against China and Russia, and the growth of an empire after the First World War, institutionalised militarism as the dominant mode of thought among Japan's political and military elite. The militarist culture would lead to acts of Japanese aggression from the early 1930s, when the Imperial Japanese Army swept into China.

The determination to achieve an imperial destiny, which the Japanese believed was theirs by right, would see Japan develop plans to wage war against the West. This determination was no doubt driven by what they felt were insulting, racially motivated responses from the West, who were determined to keep them in their place.

After initial success marked by an impressive assault across South-East Asia and throughout the South Pacific region, Japan's conquest came to a halt by the last quarter of 1942. The industrial might of the United States would dwarf the economic potential of the Japanese, and the power of the American military – on the ground, at sea and in the air – had absolutely devastated the enemy on the battlefields and at home by 1944. The campaigns of the final year of the war were driven by a racial hatred that became a hallmark of what historian Niall Ferguson has called 'history's age of hatred'. These vicious campaigns, and the Japanese determination to fight on at all cost, led to the use of atomic weapons by the United States to force the Japanese surrender in August 1945.



SOURCE 65 Injured in a kamikaze attack, a severely burned American sailor is fed ice-cream aboard the hospital ship USS *Solace*, 1945.

The Pacific War, fought with such savagery by all of the nations involved in the 1930s and 40s, set the historical forces in motion that have generated the state of peace which has been present in the region since the last quarter of the twentieth century.

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

9 Conflict in Europe 1935–45

A woman saving board games from bomb wreckage following the London Blitz, 1940–41

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What were the causes of the conflict in Europe and how have historical interpretations changed over time?
2. What were the aims and strategies of the Allied and Axis Powers?
3. What was the impact of the war and the Holocaust on civilians?
4. What were the reasons for the Allied victory?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

Looking at the conflict in Europe (1935–45) from the perspective of the twenty-first century, we have an array of sources from which to draw. These include official documents, memoirs, oral histories, government films, newsreels and photographs. This was one of the best-documented periods of history. It is possible, therefore, to trace changes in how historians and the public view the conflict.

Historical interpretation

Working through this chapter, you will have the opportunity to learn to think like a historian, going beyond memorising names and dates and simply telling the story. You will see how and why interpretations have changed over time. You will be asked to think about the importance of events, assess decisions made, and reflect on cause and effect.

Historical investigation and research

As you conduct historical research and collect evidence to support your historical arguments about the conflict in Europe, make sure you consult a range of sources. You should never rely on a single source. There are always at least two sides to every story.

Explanation and communication

Note that you will be required to write an extended response for your HSC. You will need to write a sustained response to a specific question, and support it with evidence and examples. Learn to focus on the question and not just address the general area of the topic. You will need to go beyond describing events.

LEARNING GOALS

- Understand the causes of the conflict in Europe and why historical interpretations have changed over time.
- Assess the key features of the conflict, such as the possible turning points and their impact.
- Understand the nature and impact of the Holocaust on occupied territories.
- Evaluate the reasons for the Allied victory.

Key features

Causes of the conflict

As you will have noted in your Core Study, it has been traditional to point to the legacy of the First World War and the failure of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles as key causes of the conflict that started in September 1939. These are not the only causes. The impact of the Great Depression and the failure of the League of Nations, along with the policy of appeasement, are also often listed among the causes. The challenge for historians has always been to evaluate the relative importance of each of these factors. This evaluation began shortly after the war, when Britain's wartime prime minister, Winston Churchill, published his multi-volume work *The Second World War* in 1948, in which he blamed the war on Adolf Hitler and the British policy of giving into his demands. In his preface to the first volume, 'The Gathering Storm', Churchill wrote that the war was 'unnecessary' and that there had never been a war 'more easy to stop'. This view was widely accepted and is still popular but, as you will see, has been challenged by more recent historians.

Aims and strategies of the Allied and Axis Powers

The aim for both the Allied and the Axis Powers was, naturally, victory. Countries do not start wars unless they think that they can win. The Allies – in the first instance, Britain and France, and then from 1941 with the support of the United States and the Soviet Union – aimed initially to defend themselves. As the tide of war turned, their aim instead became to destroy Germany. The aim of the Axis Powers (which included Germany and Italy) was to revise the provisions of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference and, in Germany's case, the Treaty of Versailles. Germany also had a desire to establish control over Central Europe and create an empire in Eastern Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union. The Allies' strategy was to prolong the war. As was the case in the First World War, the Allies had the advantage of more people, money and resources; therefore the longer the war continued, the more likely it was that they would win. By contrast, the Axis Powers needed a short war and a swift victory. The result was, again as was the case in the First World War, that the Axis Powers pursued 'high-risk' strategies in order to achieve speedy victory.

Turning points of the war

There were a series of turning points in this war. It lasted for more than five years and reached across the entire European continent and into North Africa, with naval engagements in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. An 18-month period from 1940 to the end of 1941 was, however, critical. This period saw Britain decide to fight on after the fall of France and saw the rescue of British forces from Dunkirk. It also saw the victory of Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF) in the Battle of Britain. In 1941, Hitler decided to attack the Soviet Union and declare war on the United States. The decision to attack the Soviet Union was understandable, given Hitler's racial policies, his anti-communism and his plans to create an ethnic German racial empire in Europe. The decision to declare war on the United States after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 is, however, not as easily understood. Nevertheless, these are critical decisions that famous British historian Ian Kerhsaw called 'fateful choices'.

Impact of the war on civilians

The conflict in Europe, although not the first total war (that is, a war in which all aspects of society are involved), was far more 'total' in its impact on civilian populations than any previous conflict. Advances in air power meant that there was less to separate risks associated with war on the battlefront from those on the home front. For countries that were invaded, civilian populations *became* part of the battlefront. The German Air Force targeted British cities

SOURCE 1 Three of the key Allied commanders – from left: Soviet commander Georgi Zhukov, American General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Britain's Bernard Montgomery. The American and British generals are far better known today in the West than Zhukov. As a history student you should consider why that is.

during the Blitz, and the home front became the front line. The RAF responded, and had a deliberate policy to break civilian morale in Germany. These risks were even greater for the civilian populations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which were faced with German invasion from 1941. Civilians also faced rationing and shortages.

Impact of the Holocaust in occupied territories

The deliberate murder of people the Nazis regarded as ethnic inferiors, including – among others – Jews, Slavs and Romani people reached as high as 17 million killed in the period from 1933 to 1945. Most of the murders occurred in Eastern Europe, in a region American historian Tim Snyder in 2010 labelled the 'Bloodlands'. As Stanford University historian Norman Naimark points out, there has always been – and sadly, given human nature, will continue to be – outbreaks of this kind of ethnic violence. The Holocaust, however, was different due to the scale of the undertaking and because of its deliberate and calculated approach to mass murder.

Reasons for the Allied victory

Wars involve fighting and killing. Sacrifices are made and commanders make critical decisions. All of these things – at the most basic, bloody level – influenced the outcome of the war. The Axis Powers were ultimately overwhelmed by the superior economic and industrial capacity of the Allies. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged as major powers, and they helped to ensure Allied victory.

A note on terminology

You will note that the terms 'Soviet Union' and 'Russia' are used in the syllabus as though they are interchangeable. In the case of the 'Conflict in Europe', the Russian campaign began in 1941 with the German attack on the Soviet Union. Russia was the largest of the Soviet Socialist Republics that made up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR). The Soviet Union or USSR was established in 1922 after the Bolshevik Revolution that brought the Communist Party to power. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991 and Russia was again a separate country. In the syllabus, the 'Russian campaign' and the 'Russian counter-offensives' were parts of the war between Germany and what was at that time the Soviet Union.

9.1 Introduction

In the West, both historians and people in general have long been fascinated by Adolf Hitler, the Nazis and the conflict in Europe. Consider the number of books, television shows and films made about the subject. As historians, we seek to explain that interest and reflect on the importance of this period in history. The conflict marked Europe's decline as a centre of global power and the emergence of the United States as a superpower. As such, we still live with the results of this conflict today.

In many respects, the conflict in Europe – or the European part of the Second World War – was a resumption of the First World War and cannot be properly understood without reference to the earlier conflict. Perhaps the greatest of Britain's twentieth-century historians, A.J.P. Taylor, called the Second World War a 'repeat performance'. As you study this topic, decide whether you agree or disagree about its importance, and if you share the level of interest that the topic commands in public memory.

SOURCE 2 Film posters for major motion pictures dealing with aspects of the conflict in Europe: (left) *Sink the Bismarck* (1960) and *Battle of Britain* (1969), and (right) the more recent *Dunkirk* (2017)

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events of the conflict in Europe

1933

Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party come to power in Germany, determined to undo the Treaty of Versailles.

1935

March: Hitler announces German rearmament in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.

October: Italy invades Abyssinia and defies the League of Nations.

1936

March: The Wehrmacht (German Army) occupies the Rhineland.

July: The Spanish Civil War begins. Both the German and Italian Governments provide military aid to the fascist General Francisco Franco.

1938

March: Hitler again successfully defies the Treaty of Versailles when the Wehrmacht marches into Austria and makes it a part of Germany.

September: The Sudetenland Crisis breaks out when Hitler falsely claims that Germans living in the Sudetenland – part of the newly created state of Czechoslovakia – are being victimised by the Czech government. Hitler threatens war. The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, intervenes and, at the Munich Conference, the Sudetenland becomes part of Germany.

1939

January: Germany takes the remainder of Czechoslovakia. The British and French protest, but do not act.

March: Britain and France promise to support Poland in case of attack by Germany.

August: The German–Soviet Non-aggression Pact is signed between Hitler and Joseph Stalin. This paves the way for the invasion of Poland.

1 September: The Wehrmacht attacks Poland.

3 September: Britain and France declare war on Germany, after delivering an ultimatum that demands the withdrawal of German forces from Poland.

1940

January: In Britain, food rationing of butter, bacon and sugar is introduced.

April: Germany invades Denmark and Norway.

May: Germany invades Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France. Winston Churchill replaces Chamberlain as Britain's prime minister.

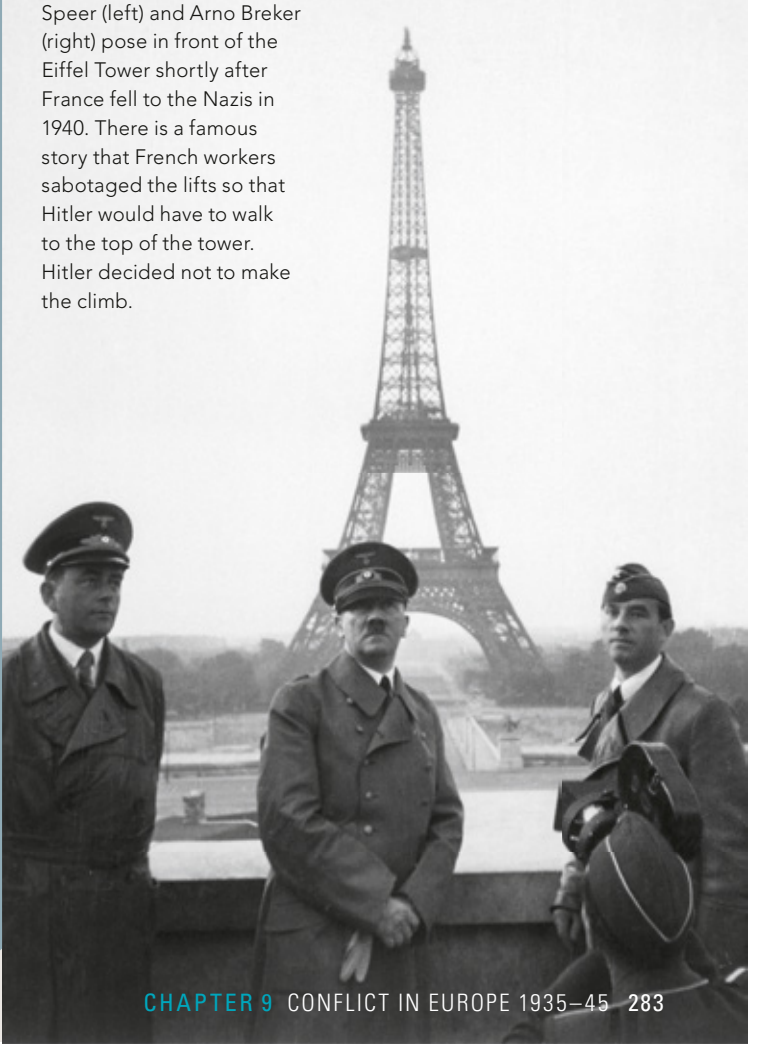
June: The evacuation of the British Army from Dunkirk is completed, following the success of the German Blitzkrieg. Italy, under Benito Mussolini, enters the war on Germany's side on 10 June. France surrenders on 22 June.

August: The Battle of Britain begins and continues until September.

September: The Blitz – the German bombing of London and other major British cities – begins.

October: The Italian Army invades Greece, but struggles against determined resistance. Eventually, German forces have to become involved.

Adolf Hitler (centre) and German architects Albert Speer (left) and Arno Breker (right) pose in front of the Eiffel Tower shortly after France fell to the Nazis in 1940. There is a famous story that French workers sabotaged the lifts so that Hitler would have to walk to the top of the tower. Hitler decided not to make the climb.



German infantry advances into the Soviet Union during Operation Barbarossa. The swastika on the tank is to help with identification for supporting aircraft.

1941

February: Germany provides troops to support the Italians against the British in North Africa, and General Erwin Rommel is given command of the German Afrika Korps.

June: Germany attacks the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa.

September: The Siege of Leningrad begins and does not end until January 1944.

December: Hitler declares war on the United States.

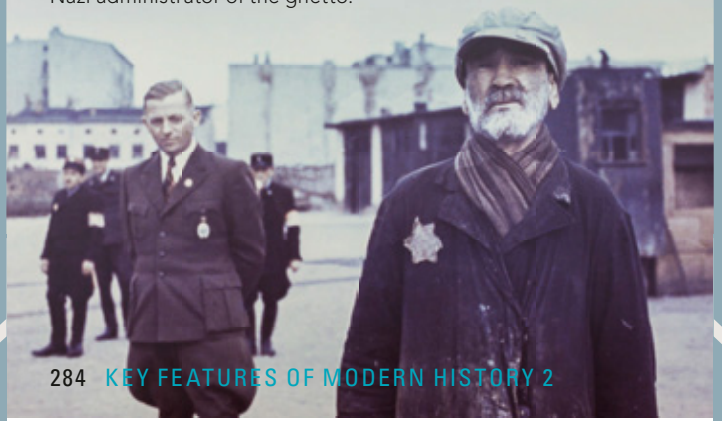
1942

January: Plans for a 'Final Solution' to the Jewish 'problem' are drawn up at the Wannsee Conference.

August: The Battle of Stalingrad begins.

October–November: The Second Battle of El Alamein results in a major victory for Britain's 8th Army against the German Afrika Korps.

A Jewish resident of the Lodz ghetto is identifiable by the yellow Star of David on his jacket. Behind him is Hans Biebow, chief Nazi administrator of the ghetto.



1943

May: The Wehrmacht in North Africa is defeated by combined British and American forces.

July: The Battle of Kursk, the largest tank battle in history, takes place between the Germans and the Soviet Red Army on the Eastern Front.

September: The Allied invasion of Italy begins.

1944

June: D-Day – the Allied invasion of France, with landings along the Normandy coast – begins on 6 June. German missile attacks on London begin.

1945

April: The Soviet Red Army captures Vienna. Hitler commits suicide on 30 April.

May: The Soviet Red Army captures Berlin on 2 May. Germany surrenders on 7 May, and 8 May is declared VE Day (Victory in Europe Day).

10 November: The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials and the prosecution of leading Nazis begin.

9.1 Check your learning

As a research task, select a feature film based on the history of the conflict in Europe, either from the three shown in Source 2 or one of your own choosing. Based on your pre-knowledge of the conflict in Europe, assess the film's accuracy. Do you think it represents a reliable history of the war or is just an example of myth-making? Why do you think that the filmmakers selected that particular aspect of the conflict? Write an extended essay response supporting your view with evidence. Revisit your response upon completing your study of this chapter to see if your views have changed.

9.2 Survey: Growth of European tensions

appeasement
the policy adopted by the British and French Governments of giving into Hitler's demands in order to keep the peace

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

League of Nations
an intergovernmental organisation founded as a result of the Paris Peace Conference; it was the first international organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace

Any discussion of the growth in European tensions from 1935 onwards, and the causes of the conflict in Europe, must begin (as noted earlier) with the influential first volume of Winston Churchill's *History of the Second World War* and with the British historian A.J.P. Taylor. In 1961, Taylor published his famous and controversial *Origins of the Second World War*. In it, he challenged what had been the generally accepted view initiated by Churchill – that Hitler and **appeasement** had been the primary causes of the war.

Taylor argued that rather than having a 'blueprint' in mind for war, Hitler had been an opportunist. Taylor and his successors thus shifted the focus away from the Second World War being simply 'Hitler's War', and instead identified lines of continuity in the foreign policies adopted by Germany and Italy. Germany's desire for land in Eastern Europe and dominance in Central Europe was not Hitler's creation or the product of Nazi ideology. Rather, it had been part of German **nationalist** foreign policy since the nineteenth century. In Italy's case, there was a long-held desire for a neo-Roman Empire in the Mediterranean.

Another historian, Ian Kershaw, recently emphasised Hitler's commitment to two specific ideological purposes that contributed to war in 1939: destruction of the Jews and control of Central and Eastern Europe. According to Kershaw, Hitler's interlocking aims were based on the concepts of racial struggle and war as key determinants of history.

Debates about the origins of the war continue to rage. Was it 'Hitler's War' arising from Nazi ideology, or was Hitler simply pursuing traditional German foreign policy? Did Hitler plan each of the steps to war, or was he an opportunist? Was the war the product of appeasement? Was it, as Churchill wrote, the 'unnecessary war' – one that could have been easily avoided? Was it due to the failure of the victors of the First World War to find a better peace settlement? Could the League of Nations have succeeded?

EUROPE, 1935

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 4 The borders of European nations in 1935

The appeasers may be defended by pointing out that Hitler's early demands were seen as reasonable, and it was difficult to recognise that appeasement would lead to war. Between 1933 and 1938, however, as Hitler steadily re-armed, the British and French continued to disarm and France committed to a series of alliances with minor Eastern European powers, such as Czechoslovakia. At this time, France also depended on Britain and the false collective security of the **League of Nations**. Collective security was an approach to international peace that developed after the First World War and was directly linked to the League of Nations, whereby members of the League promised to support one another, in a collective fashion, to ensure their security if threatened. It did not work in practice because individual nations were reluctant to give up their right to make decisions about their foreign policy.

The collapse of collective security

You will already have an understanding of the collapse of collective security from your Core Study. As noted in the Core Study, from the time of the United States' refusal to join the League of Nations, the League was likely to fail. The League was also based on the unrealistic idea that nations would give up their **sovereignty** and turn aspects of foreign policy decision making over to an international body. Hence, collective security – the idea that members of the League would combine to guarantee the safety or security of members – was unrealistic. This failure was evident when Italian leader Benito Mussolini invaded Abyssinia.

sovereignty
the right of individuals or nations to make their own decisions and not be told what to do or how to act by others

Abyssinia

In 1935, Mussolini set about building his new Italian empire and invaded Abyssinia, part of modern-day Ethiopia, in North Africa. In theory, the League of Nations and collective security should have acted to stop the invasion, as Abyssinia was a member of the League. However, national self-interest intervened. At the start of the year, Britain and France wanted to make an ally of Mussolini to help meet the more serious threat posed by Germany, and when Italy invaded Abyssinia they did nothing to stop it.

The Spanish Civil War

In 1936 a civil war broke out in Spain between forces loyal to left-wing democracy and the **fascist** forces of General Francisco Franco. Hitler and Mussolini supported a fellow dictator and, as in the case of Abyssinia, Britain and France refused to become involved. Again, the League of Nations advocated non-intervention. It was another failure for the League and another success for the dictators. After Franco's success in Spain, France was confronted by potentially hostile dictatorships on three sides.

fascist
a right-wing nationalist political movement that originated in Italy but then gave its name to any nationalist, conservative, authoritarian movement or ideology

Britain, France and the policy of appeasement

As noted in the Core Study and above, the policy of appeasement has long been listed among the causes for the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. Appeasement needs to be examined as a policy in its own right. The reason for this is associated with the historical concept of causation (why things happen). Was appeasement a cause of the war? Or did it simply fail to prevent the war? These are very different questions. Think about it – is the cause of a fire the failure to put it out? When we look at it like that, it becomes clear that the policy of appeasement might have encouraged the dictators, but it did not create Hitler or Mussolini or their aims. Given what we know about Hitler and his ideological commitment to repudiating the Treaty of Versailles and creating an ethnic German racial empire in Europe, only war would have stopped him. The policy of appeasement was laid down before the outbreak of the war, but that does not automatically make it a cause.

The British and French treated Hitler as a reasonable national leader and regarded many of his initial demands as fair. Hence they did nothing when Hitler re-armed in 1935. There was also no action taken when German troops moved into the Rhineland in 1936. Although this was German territory, the Treaty of Versailles had directed that German troops were not allowed into a region this close to the French border.

In 1938, Germany unified with Austria, which had also been forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles but was not challenged by the British or French. In the same year, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain negotiated away part of Czechoslovakia in response to Hitler's demands, through the Munich Agreement. It was only after the Wehrmacht occupied all of Czechoslovakia that Chamberlain recognised that Hitler was not reasonable and offered guarantees to support Poland, Germany's next likely target.

9.2b Check your learning

1 Why do you think that historians today often begin with Winston Churchill and A.J.P. Taylor when conducting research into the theories about the causes of the conflict?
2 According to Ian Kershaw, what were Hitler's two ideological purposes?
3 Assess why 'collective security' failed in the face of German expansion.
4 Define the term 'causation'. Considering the concept, should appeasement be seen as an actual cause of the war? Justify your response.

Significance of the German–Soviet Non-aggression Pact

On 23 August 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact, by which these ideological enemies agreed not to take military action against one another for 10 years. The pact also contained a secret set of provisions regarding the dividing-up of Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe.

The pact was significant because it ended British and French hopes of allying with the Soviet Union against Hitler and preventing, by diplomacy, German aggression against Poland. Earlier, Britain and France had been reluctant to join with the Soviet Union in an alliance against Hitler. This reluctance – rather than appeasement in general – was a major failing of Chamberlain's foreign policy.

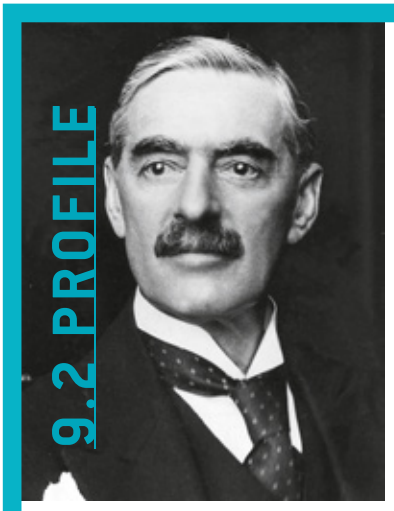
The non-aggression pact meant that Hitler felt confident he could attack Poland and, as such, it became both a trigger and an immediate cause of the war.

SOURCE 5 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov signs the Non-aggression Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union. On the left is German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, and next to him is Soviet leader Joseph Stalin.

9.2c Check your learning

1 What was the German–Soviet Non-aggression Pact and why was it significant?
2 Explain why the creation of the Non-aggression Pact could be seen as more of a cause of the war than appeasement.

9.2 PROFILE



SOURCE 6 Neville Chamberlain, British Prime Minister 1937–40

NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

Neville Chamberlain was born into a famous political family in 1869. Both his father Joseph and older half-brother Austen were prominent political figures. Austen – who had been Foreign Secretary 1924–29, and negotiated the Locarno Pact that maintained peace between Germany and France in 1925 – may have set the example for Chamberlain's attitude to international relations.

Like Austen before him, Chamberlain was a successful businessman and Mayor of Birmingham before entering parliament. Chamberlain rose quickly and served as Chancellor of the Exchequer (Treasurer) and Minister for Health before becoming Prime Minister in 1937. He once wrote that he wanted to be remembered as a 'peacemaker'. But the outbreak of war in September 1939 and the poor performance of British and French forces early in the war saw him resign and be replaced by Winston Churchill after three years in power. Chamberlain died at his home in 1940 a few months after leaving office. His name is always historically linked to the policy of appeasement.

SOURCE 7

Neville Chamberlain … was alert, businesslike, opinionated and self-confident in a very high degree … His all-pervading hope was to go down to history as the great Peacemaker, and for this he was prepared to strive continually in the teeth of facts, and face great risks for himself and his country. Unhappily he ran into tides the force of which he could not measure, and … with which he could not cope.

Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. 1: 'The Gathering Storm', 1954, pp. 199–200

More than 30 years later the historian Paul Kennedy offered his assessment.

SOURCE 8

There was a persistent willingness on the British government's part, despite all the counterevidence, to trust in 'reasonable' approaches toward the Nazi regime. The emotional dislike of Communism was such that Russia's potential as a member of an antifascist coalition was always ignored or downgraded . . . Germany's and Italy's power was consistently overrated, on the basis of slim evidence, whereas all British defence weaknesses were seized upon as a reason for inaction . . . For all the plausible, objectively valid grounds behind the British government's desire to avoid standing up to the dictator states, therefore, there is much in its . . . narrow attitude that looks dubious, even at this distance in time.

Paul Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988, pp. 411–12

ARGUMENTS FOR CHAMBERLAIN AND APPEASEMENT

- Much of the criticism of Chamberlain is based on a version laid out by political rival Churchill. Churchill made no secret of the fact that he intended to write his version to ensure that history was kind to him.
- When Churchill spoke out for rearmament in the 1930s, Chamberlain recognised that the British people were not ready for war, nor were they willing to see money spent on defence at the expense of domestic social reform.
- Chamberlain's defence chiefs advised him that Britain could not risk a war in Europe when there was a growing Japanese threat in Asia. Chamberlain therefore used appeasement to ease tensions in Europe.

- Chamberlain believed Hitler's initial demands were reasonable. He felt that Germany had a right to re-arm, to put troops in the Rhineland (which was, after all, German territory) and to unify with fellow Germans in Austria – a move supported by a majority of Austrians.
- Chamberlain did re-arm after 1938 when it was clear that Hitler could not be trusted.
- Had the British spent money on expanding the Royal Air Force (RAF) in 1935, as Churchill wanted, they would have wasted money on outdated designs and not been able to acquire the large numbers of modern fighter planes – such as the Hurricane and the Spitfire – that saved them in the Battle of Britain.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST CHAMBERLAIN AND APPEASEMENT

- Appeasement, regardless of the reasons, failed. It only encouraged Hitler and therefore made the war more likely.
- Chamberlain lacked experience in foreign affairs and often neglected the advice of his experts.
- Standing up to Hitler sooner could have prevented the need to go to war.
- Hitler might have made reasonable demands, but his methods were unacceptable.
- Chamberlain's dislike of communism meant that he failed to do more to enlist the Soviet Union as an ally during the 1930s.
- Chamberlain gave Germany a vital opportunity with the Munich Agreement in 1938. The Czech Army was about the same size the Wehrmacht at the time, and Czechoslovakia was the sixth-largest industrial power in Europe, with an extensive **armaments** industry. By allowing Germany to **annex** Czechoslovakia and access its military equipment and industrial potential, Chamberlain enabled Hitler to make Germany stronger.
- The British and the French vastly overestimated Germany's military strength. Had they taken action at any stage before the final German takeover of Czechoslovakia in January 1939, or even before the German–Soviet Non-aggression Pact in August 1939, they were likely to have been successful.

armaments the collective term for all the weapons of war – guns, tanks, aircraft, warships etc.

annex to add to a nation's territory by appropriating (taking control over) the territory of other states or nations

9.2 PROFILE TASKS

1. Summarise, in your own words, Winston Churchill's view of Neville Chamberlain.
2. Explain what Churchill meant when he suggested that Chamberlain acted 'in the teeth of facts'.
3. Identify what parts of Paul Kennedy's assessment in Source 8 support the view presented by Churchill in Source 7.
4. Assess how Kennedy's assessment differs from Churchill's point of view.
5. Using the views expressed in the sources from Churchill and Kennedy and the list of arguments for and against appeasement set out above, along with your own research, write an extended essay response to the following question:

   'What is the fairest historical judgment that can be made about Neville Chamberlain and the policy of appeasement?'

   Remember to support your view with evidence and examples.

9.3 German foreign policy

As noted earlier, German foreign policy under Hitler was a product of traditional nineteenth-century, nationalist, foreign policy aims. It was also inseparable from Germany's racial policy, which was also a product of the 1800s. In other words, German foreign policy under Hitler was not purely a product of Nazi thinking. Rather, as a range of historians – including A.J.P. Taylor and, more recently, Richard Evans and Ian Kershaw – have pointed out, it was a renewal of longstanding foreign policy aims.

The key aim of German foreign policy was the creation of an ethnic German racial empire in Europe and, to do that, the first step was to break the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. German foreign policy – from rearmament in 1933, through each of the stages of territorial expansion up to the invasion of Poland in 1939 – was directed towards this aim. Eventually, Nazi foreign policy merged with traditional German foreign policy aims. As an example, secret rearmament, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, began in Germany under the **Weimar Republic**. The clearest difference between traditional German foreign policy and that of the Nazis lay in the racial policy that led to the Holocaust.

Weimar Republic the democratic government set up in Germany after the First World War

Aims and strategy of German foreign policy

The aims of German foreign policy to September 1939 were to revise the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in order to pursue the goals noted above. The initial strategy was to take advantage of the lack of commitment by the British and French to collective security, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Hitler therefore began by making small and reasonable demands, including German rearmament and the right to put German troops in the Rhineland. The unification (or 'Anschluss') with Austria in March 1938 also appeared reasonable. After all, this was a move based on the principle of national **self-determination**, which was one of the guiding principles from the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. The Austrians were ethnic Germans and unification was popular. Therefore, as Professor Margaret Macmillan has pointed out, the Anschluss – although forbidden by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles – was in fact a matter of self-determination and, as such, was supported in principle by Britain, France and the League of Nations. This was a reasonable argument.

self-determination the right of people, generally from the same cultural and ethnic background, to decide or determine for themselves how they will be governed and by whom

Impact of Nazi ideology on German foreign policy

Theories about both race and war that had been evident in German thought since the nineteenth century were incorporated into Nazi ideology. In *Mein Kampf*, his Nazi **manifesto**, Hitler criticised 'the peaceful contest of nations', calling it 'a cosy mutual swindling match'; instead he praised 'the romance of battle'. This kind of thinking, which was evident in the conduct of Nazi foreign policy, can only be really understood in the light of the ideology informing it.

manifesto a statement of principles

9.3 Check your learning

1 Describe Nazi foreign policy. What needed to be done to achieve its aims?
2 Analyse the impact of Nazi ideology on German foreign policy. To what extent was it a product of traditional nationalist German thinking?

9.4 Course of the European war

The course of the war can be broken down into two clear parts. The first part was the stunning and rapid German advances in 1939 and 1940. The second part was from 1941 and 1942, when the tide of the war clearly turned. The shift can be linked to the German invasion of the Soviet Union and Hitler's declaration of war on the United States.

GERMAN ADVANCES, MAY 1940

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 9 This map shows the direction of the German advances in May 1940, along with the lines of Allied defences.

German advances: the fall of Poland, the Low Countries and France

In order to create an excuse to invade Poland, the Germans fabricated attacks on their own people, blaming them on Polish nationals. The best-known of such incidents was an attack on a German radio station on 31 August 1939. German troops disguised themselves as Poles and even transported bodies from concentration camps, dressed as German civilians, that they left on the scene as fake victims. Against this background, Germany invaded Poland the following day, 1 September 1939. Britain and France answered by declaring war, but in 18 days, Poland had fallen to the Germans. It has been suggested that there was little that Britain and France could have done to save Poland, and this may be true, but the democratic powers did no doubt miss an opportunity. As the Germans committed their best forces to the attack on Poland, they left their frontier with France protected by only 33 divisions, against 70 French divisions. The German divisions had no tanks, little air support and only three days' worth of ammunition. Despite this advantage, the French stayed behind the massive border fortifications of the **Maginot Line**. It is worth considering what might have happened if they had instead chosen to attack Germany. But as the mentality that had produced appeasement continued among the Allies even after the war had begun, such an attack never came.

Maginot Line
the French defensive line built in the 1930s to deter a German invasion

In April 1940, German troops went further north and occupied Norway and Denmark. It was at the time of these setbacks that Neville Chamberlain saw himself replaced by Winston Churchill as British Prime Minister. On 10 May 1940, the same day that Churchill took office, Hitler unleashed 'Case Yellow' – also known as the Fall of France – through an attack on the Low Countries of Holland and Belgium, and on France. The ultimate speed of the German attack and the subsequent victory were stunning. Within five days, the French Premier, Paul Reynaud, telephoned Churchill and said: 'We are beaten.'

Schlieffen Plan
the German war plan from the First World War for the attack on France in 1914

Blitzkrieg
a German word meaning 'lightning war'; it involved the coordinated use of aircraft and tanks for a rapid advance

The French commander, General Maurice Gamelin, and the leader of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), Lord Gort, assumed that the Germans would repeat the strategy of the **Schlieffen Plan** of 1914. Instead, the Germans drew the British and French forces into Belgium and then attacked further west, avoiding the Maginot Line. German tanks smashed through the lightly defended French region of the Ardennes, while other units drove into Holland and Belgium. Allied and German forces were almost even in strength, but the Germans were better organised and they concentrated their panzers (tanks), while British and French tanks were scattered. Meanwhile, the German Air Force, the Luftwaffe, supported its ground forces efficiently and quickly established control of the air. This form of war became known as '**Blitzkrieg**', or 'lighting war'. As French resistance crumbled, Mussolini raced to help the winner and entered the war on Germany's side on 10 June 1940.

Dunkirk

As the Germans moved into France in May and June of 1940, the British forces were driven back to a small perimeter around the French channel town of Dunkirk, on the border of Belgium. The focus quickly became to rescue the BEF in order to make it the centre of a new army. The rescue operation, known as Operation Dynamo, saw the 338 000 members of the BEF and some French troops taken from Dunkirk across to Britain by the Royal Navy, passenger ferries and other smaller ships.

The evacuation from Dunkirk is one of the most legendary stories of the war but, as with much in history, the truth is complex. It is generally accepted that one of the keys to the success of the evacuation was Hitler's order to halt the German tanks and to leave the destruction of the BEF to the Luftwaffe.

SOURCE 10 Allied troops being evacuated from the beaches near Dunkirk, between 27 May and 4 June 1940

The air war and its effects

According to famous British historian Martin Gilbert, air power was the means by which Germany declared it would 'terrorize all the countries of the world'. Gilbert went on to point out that although up until 1940–41 the air war had gone in Germany's favour, it was an aspect of the conflict in which Germany was first challenged and then finally crushed by the Allies.

The Battle of Britain and the Blitz

This section will focus primarily on the Battle of Britain, with the events and outcome of the Blitz being outlined in more detail in Section 9.5.

When France officially surrendered to Germany on 22 June 1940, Britain was alone, apart from the distant support of the Commonwealth, with a perceived threat of invasion. This fear was not unfounded as the Luftwaffe began staging attacks on coastal ports and shipping routes in the English Channel.

The Battle of Britain began in earnest in August 1940, as the Luftwaffe attempted to destroy the **RAF Fighter Command**, and win control of the skies over southern England and the English Channel through attacks on airfields in south-east England. From September 1940, the Luftwaffe began shifting the focus of their attacks to London. This was the beginning of what would become known as the '**Blitz**'.

RAF Fighter Command
the section of the RAF in charge of fighter aircraft and operations

Blitz
the German bombing of London and other major British cities, 1940–41

The move northwards towards London not only reduced pressure on the RAF Fighter Command, but it also meant that the Germans had to fly further to reach their target, allowing the RAF more opportunities to shoot down German aircraft. The change also meant that RAF fighters stationed north of London could be more heavily involved. At this point, the battle began to shift in favour of the RAF. The frequency of German air raids dropped dramatically after September 1940, as Hitler turned his attention to the East and the prospect of war with Russia. The Battle of Britain had been won. Today the Battle of Britain has a special place in British history and culture, and is regarded in a similar way to how Australians think of Gallipoli.

As is the case with so many of the most famous and iconic aspects of the war, the Battle of Britain has come under scrutiny by historians and many of the old interpretations are being challenged. The accepted wisdom has been that the Battle of Britain saved Britain from a German invasion and that it was therefore a key turning point in the war. Richard Overy has, however, argued that there is another 'history' to be uncovered under this popular version. Overy used German archives and found documents that cast doubts on the plan to invade Britain. Rather, these documents suggest that the threat of invasion was a bluff, which was meant to force the British Government to negotiate a settlement and make peace with Germany. There is substance to this claim, because Hitler's main strategic aim in fighting the war was to win territory in the East, not to make war on Britain. Remember that Hitler did not start the war in the West; Britain and France declared war on Germany when Hitler persisted with his war in the East against Poland. Note that this view does not detract from the bravery and sacrifice of those who fought in the battle.

SOURCE 11 The four fighter aircraft that fought the Battle of Britain (clockwise from top left): RAF Spitfire, RAF Hawker Hurricane, Luftwaffe Messerschmitt Bf-109 and Luftwaffe Messerschmitt Bf-110

The RAF was successful in the Battle of Britain because of the following.

- Most of the battle was fought over England; therefore, when RAF pilots were forced to bale out of their damaged aircraft, they could later rejoin the battle, while German pilots became prisoners of war.
- The German Messerschmitt Bf-109 was an excellent fighter plane (superior to the Hawker Hurricane and almost the equal of the Spitfire), but it was short on range and therefore had a limited operational time in the combat area.
- The Germans failed to recognise the importance of radar. The RAF had an excellent early warning system and therefore was almost always in the right place at the right time.
- The Messerschmitt Bf-109 had to escort German bombers, which meant that they operated at lower altitudes and were limited in how they could manoeuvre. This meant that the Messerschmitt could not exploit one of its greatest assets, which was that at high altitudes it outperformed even the Spitfire.
- The second German fighter in the battle, the Messerschmitt Bf-110 (a long-range twin-engine aircraft), was vastly inferior to both RAF fighters and, in fact, had to be protected along with the bombers by the Bf-109s.

9.4a Check your learning

1. Outline the stages of the German advances in 1939 and 1940.
2. Identify and discuss the potential British and French missed opportunity in 1939.
3. Describe what is meant by the term 'Blitzkrieg'.
4. According to Richard Overy, what was the myth associated with the Battle of Britain? If Overy is right, should Dunkirk and the Battle of Britain still be viewed as key turning points in the war? If so, why; and if not, why not?
5. What were the reasons for British success in the Battle of Britain? List at least three.
6. To what extent could the Battle of Britain be called a 'turning point' in the war?

The bombing of Germany

RAF Bomber Command the section of the RAF in charge of bombers and bombing operations

area bombing a bombing strategy that targets indiscriminately across a larger area, such as a whole city

strategic bombing deliberately targeted bombing aiming to destroy specific, carefully selected targets

During the course of the war Britain continued to produce new and improved bombers, including the Avro Lancaster, which is regarded as one of the best bombers of the war.

RAF Bomber Command was in action from the first day of the war, but by April 1940 raids were confined mainly to night-time, due to heavy losses being incurred in daylight raids. The first major strategic raid against Germany occurred on 15–16 May 1940, when planes bombed targets in the industrial Ruhr Valley. Problems with flying at night and navigation, however, meant that it was hard to hit precise targets. Therefore, from August 1941 **area bombing** replaced targeted, **strategic bombing**.

Indiscriminate area bombing was controversial, both during and after the war, and led to criticism of Air Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, who led Bomber Command from February 1942. The government privately supported area bombing, despite heavy German civilian casualties, yet publicly downplayed the tactic to avoid upsetting 'religious and humanitarian groups'. There was, however, an Air Ministry directive, stating the primary objective of bombing to be the destruction of the enemy civilian morale.

In January 1943, Britain and the United States began combined day and night bombing. The Americans, still believing in strategic bombing, bombed by day while the British bombed by night. Between March and July 1943, Bomber Command launched 43 major attacks against German towns, including the industrial city of Hamburg, where it is estimated that over 42 000 civilians were killed. The Americans, with their B-17 Flying Fortresses, attacked targets such as the ball-bearing manufacturing plants at Schweinfurt and Regensburg in central Germany. Ball bearings were essential components for German tanks, aircraft and submarines. The Americans also targeted Germany's aircraft production and the oil industry. Up to March 1944, however, the bombing offensive was failing to reduce German war production or break morale. The bombing of Germany reached its most successful stage in the northern spring of 1944, as Britain and America prepared for the D-Day landing and the liberation of France (see Section 9.6).

9.4b Check your learning

Identify and describe the key differences between the British and American approaches to the bombing war.

Operation Barbarossa

Caucasus
a mountainous region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea

On 22 June 1941, the Wehrmacht unleashed Operation Barbarossa on the Soviet Union. Three million German troops with 3350 tanks, 7000 field guns and 2000 aircraft, organised into three armies, broke through poorly prepared Soviet frontier defences. Army Group North, under General Wilhelm Ritter von Leeb, besieged Leningrad before heading towards Moscow; Army Group Central, commanded by General Fedor von Bock, drove towards Moscow and into parts of the Ukraine; and General Gerd von Rundstedt's Army Group South advanced into the Ukraine and further south towards to the oilfields of the **Caucasus**. German strength in the south had been reduced because German troops had to be diverted to help the Italians in their ill-fated invasion of Greece in October 1940.

In the first three weeks of the campaign, the Soviet Red Army lost two million men, 3500 tanks and 6000 aircraft, and it seemed as though the Germans could look forward to another quick victory. The Eastern Front, however, proved different from the war in the West. It was not like racing across the Low Countries and France in 1940, and by early 1942, when the initial German attacks had faltered, Rundstedt wrote: 'The vastness of Russia devours us.'

Three Soviet cities – Leningrad, Moscow and Stalingrad – featured heavily in the campaign. Leningrad was under constant siege by the Wehrmacht from September 1941 until January 1944, but would not fall. Hitler narrowly failed to take Moscow in 1941, but resumed the offensive in 1942, although his focus was increasingly on the city of Stalingrad. It appeared that Hitler had convinced himself that a psychological victory could be won by capturing the city named after the Soviet leader.

OPERATION BARBAROSSA, JUNE 1941

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 12 The advance of the Axis Powers through the Soviet Union

The Battle of Stalingrad

The Battle of Stalingrad is widely regarded as one of the bloodiest military engagements in history. Although it is still difficult to obtain accurate figures, it is estimated that between June 1942 and February 1943, the combined German and Soviet losses were 1.5 million dead and wounded.

The battle involved three phases. The first phase saw German forces almost surround the city. The second phase was the attack on the city itself, which began in September 1942 with massive bombing raids that reduced 80 per cent of the city to rubble. Bloody 'house to house' fighting followed. Stalin responded with 'Special Order 227', declaring that no Soviet soldier was permitted to take a single step back. That order was enforced with the threat of immediate execution. Nevertheless, by November 1942, the Germans controlled most the city. This ushered in the third phase, a successful Soviet counter-attack. The Soviet commander, Georgi Zhukov, began to lay a trap by building up his forces north and south of the city. The counter-attack began on 19 November 1942, first in the north and then in the south. About 250 000 troops, under the German General Friedrich von Paulus, were trapped inside the Stalingrad pocket. The **German General Staff** immediately recommended a planned breakout, but Hitler refused to listen, insisting that the Germans stay. On 2 February 1943, von Paulus surrendered and more than 90 000 German troops were captured. They faced a brutal captivity and only 6000 survived.

German General Staff
The high command of the combined German military: army, navy and air force

SOURCE 13 A Soviet **propaganda** poster from 1943 claiming to depict Hitler sending troops into the Soviet Union

The significance of the Russian campaign

Despite the preferred versions of the conflict in Europe that can be found in many of the popular history texts and some of the academic writings published after the war and into the 1970s, the Russian campaign was crucial to the ultimate Allied victory. British and American historians, understandably, have focused on their own nations' roles. This, combined with the fact that Stalinist Russia was particularly secretive, has meant that it has not always been easy to learn the full story of what happened there. Nevertheless, there is growing acknowledgment in the West of the importance of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Nazi Germany. This is evident in more recent books such as Richard Overy's *Russia's War* and Antony Beevor's *Stalingrad*, both published in 1998. It is vital to remember that unlike the British and American Armies, the Soviet Red Army continuously engaged the bulk of the Wehrmacht from June 1941 until the end of the war in Europe in May 1945.

The surrender of German forces at Stalingrad and their subsequent defeat in the Battle of Kursk in July 1943 were major turning points in the conflict in Europe. From this time on, the Red Army advanced and the Wehrmacht was merely delaying Germany's defeat. It is arguable that this phase of the war was the most significant – perhaps more important than either the legendary British victory in North Africa at El Alamein or the highly celebrated British and American D-Day invasion of France.

propaganda
biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

9.4c Check your learning

1 Describe Operation Barbarossa.
2 Outline the details of the Battle of Stalingrad. Why do you think that it could be seen as a turning point in the war?

9.4 Understanding and using the sources

Study Source 13, produced in the context of the bloody fighting for Stalingrad. Describe and explain the message of the cartoon in a 250-word response discussing the cartoon's motive, likely audience and accuracy for depicting what happened at Stalingrad.

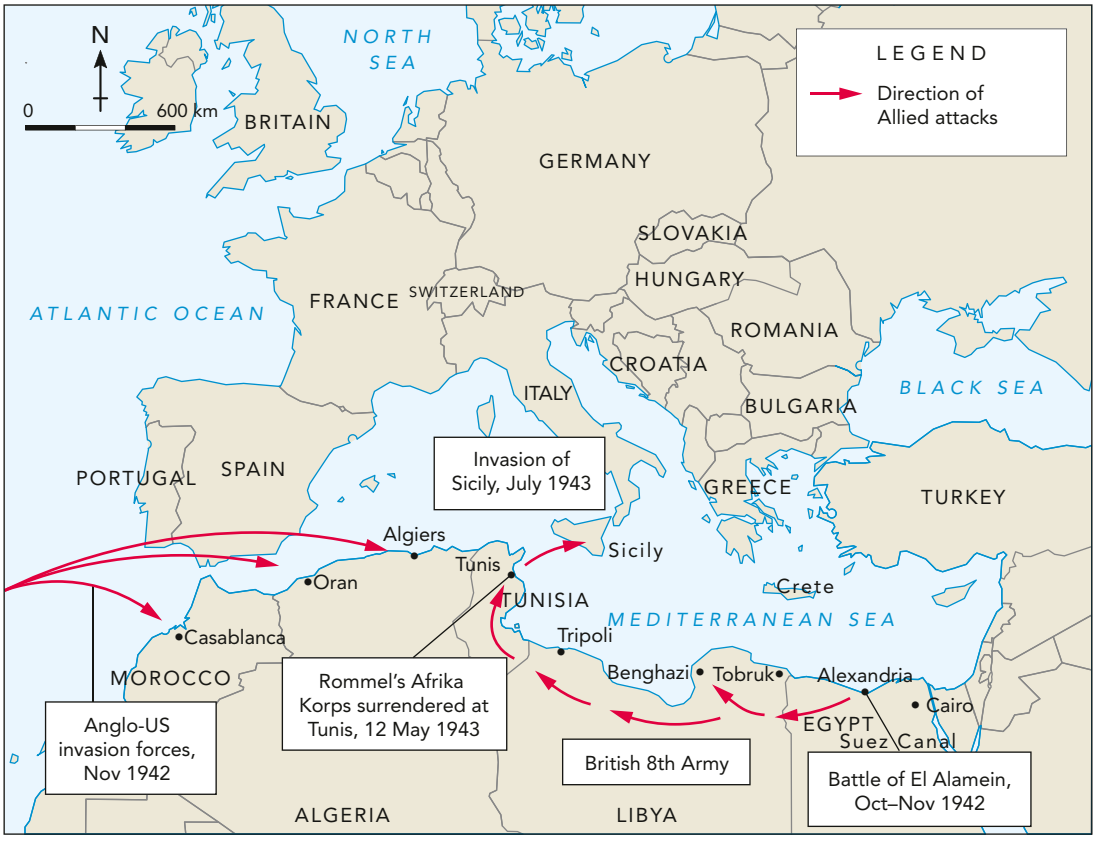
The Battle of El Alamein

The Battle of El Alamein was in fact three battles that took place near El Alamein in Egypt between July and November 1942. The first battle halted the German push towards the **Suez Canal**, while the final and most famous battle drove the Germans out of Egypt.

Suez Canal
an important shipping canal connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea

When Italy entered the war in 1940, Britain was concerned about the threat posed by the Italian Navy in the Mediterranean and the 200 000 Italian troops in Libya, North Africa. Italy, it was feared, had the potential to threaten British control of Egypt and the Suez Canal. If the Italians took Egypt, this would mean they would gain access – and the British would be denied access – to traditional British oil supplies in the Middle East; and the British would also lose access to the Suez Canal, which was a vital link between Britain and India, South-East Asia, Australia and New Zealand. On the other hand, if Britain could retain and perhaps increase its control of the North African coast, it would open the way for possible counter-attacks on Italy and German-occupied territory anywhere in the Mediterranean. The contest for Egypt and the canal, therefore, made the campaign in North Africa significant for both sides.

THE CAMPAIGN IN NORTH AFRICA, 1942–43



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 14 The location and direction of Allied attacks in the North African campaign

The British had only 63 000 troops in Egypt, and were facing a much larger Italian army to their west in Libya. Despite being reinforced in December 1940 with another 35 000 troops, the British were still heavily outnumbered. The land war in North Africa was a see-sawing affair, as the Italians first advanced into Egypt from Libya and then were driven back.

Ian Kershaw has suggested that the disastrous Italian invasion of Greece in October 1940 limited the numbers of troops and resources available to the Italians in North Africa. However, by February 1941, it was clear that the Italians could not cope on their own, and Hitler was forced to send General Erwin Rommel and a German army known as the Afrika Korps to help out.

Rommel made excellent use of his tanks and the British soon found themselves driven out of Libya and in retreat. By July 1942, Rommel had advanced deep into Egypt and only desperate defence by the British forces under General Claude Auchinleck, at what became known as the First Battle of El Alamein, managed to stop him.

At this time, chance and circumstances combined to see General Bernard Law Montgomery take command of the British 8th Army in Egypt. While Montgomery had not been the first choice for the job, he proved to be ideal. On 30 August 1942, Rommel launched another unsuccessful attack to break through British defensive positions, this time at Alam Halfa, in what is known as the Second Battle of El Alamein. Montgomery, who had built up a huge advantage in men, tanks and heavy guns, answered by launching the Third – and most famous – Battle of El Alamein, where the Germans were forced to retreat and were driven out of Egypt.

In November 1942, American forces landed in Morocco and Algeria as part of Operation Torch and drove east. By May of 1943 the Afrika Korps, trapped between advancing British and American forces, surrendered. The British and Americans in July 1943 then used Tunisia and the port of Tunis in North Africa as a staging point for an invasion of Sicily and the beginning of a bid to force Italy out of the war.

The significance of the conflict in North Africa on the European war

The British could not afford to lose Egypt and the Suez Canal. This – combined with the prospect that German forces in the Soviet Union might drive south through the Caucasus and link up with a victorious Afrika Korps – meant that defeat in North Africa would have been devastating for the Allied cause. The significance of the conflict in North Africa is still debated among military historians, many of whom argue that North Africa was little more than a sideshow – a theatre of war that gained undue attention and fame because at the time it was the only place where British and American troops were fighting the Germans.

The British military historian Correlli Barnett argues that the British overcommitted themselves in North Africa and, in doing so, badly weakened their forces in South-East Asia. He also acknowledges that this campaign was less important than the Russian campaign, pointing out that at the Third Battle of El Alamein, the largest of all the desert battles, Montgomery engaged only four and a half German divisions while, at the same time, the Soviet Red Army in the Battle of Stalingrad and on other parts of the Eastern Front confronted 190 divisions.

9.4d Check your learning

In an extended HSC-style essay response, evaluate the importance of the North African campaign. Note that this means that you should offer a judgment based on criteria.

9.5 Civilians at war

partisans
civilians who resist foreign invasion

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

By definition, civilians are all those people who are not members of the military. Sometimes they are called non-combatants. In the case of the Second World War, however, these distinctions became blurred. Civilians in Russian cities like Leningrad and Stalingrad became combatants when their cities were under siege. At other times and other places, including all of the occupied territories, civilians became **partisan** fighters involved in sabotage and staging **guerrilla**-style hit-and-run raids against German forces. For the most part, however, the focus in this section is on the majority of non-combatant civilians.

Social and economic effects of the war on civilians

Care needs to be taken not to overgeneralise when dealing with the social and economic effects of the war on civilians. Experiences were not uniform, either within nations or between nations. There were many variables, and location, gender, age, occupation and social class influenced these. One limited generalisation that can be made is that the war had a far more extreme impact on the civilians in Germany and the Soviet Union than in Britain. Both Germany and the Soviet Union were invaded and civilians came 'face to face' with foreign armies. This was not the case for British civilians. Hardships, danger and shortages of food, clothing and housing confronted the civilian populations of all three countries, but these were more extreme for German and Soviet civilians than the British.

SOURCE 15 An Air Raid Precautions Warden hands a damaged radio to a family whose home was hit in the Blitz.

You will note that there is more detailed information about the experiences of British civilians than either the German or the Soviet civilians in this chapter. This is in part due to the following:

1 The democratic British wartime society was relatively open, in contrast to the German and Soviet experience. Further, the Blitz became part of Britain's own heroic 'myth-making' process.
2 It was not until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 that its archives became more widely available to historians.
3 In the case of Germany, there was an initial desire to forget the Nazi episode of German history and, in the case of West Germany, to focus on creating a national myth focusing on the revival of Germany after 1945.

Britain

As an island nation, Britain was protected, to a degree, in the Second World War – as it had been in the First World War – by the power of the Royal Navy and its control of the waters surrounding Britain. But at the same time, this left British civilians vulnerable to food shortages, as Britain imported much of its food and resources by sea. The key difference between the experiences of British civilians in the Second World War, as opposed to the First World War, was due to the dramatic advance in air power, a fact reflected in the preparations made in Britain before the war, including the building of air raid shelters. Many of the oral histories recorded by Londoners for the Imperial War Museum recall that on 3 September 1939, the day that war was declared, an air raid warning went off and people rushed straight to shelters. On this occasion, it turned out to be a false alarm, but these fears were soon shown to be justified as London came under heavy bombing by the German Air Force during the Blitz of 1940–41.

incendiary bombs bombs designed to start fires when they hit their target

SOURCE 16 The Bishop of Coventry holds a communion service in the ruins of Coventry Cathedral, 1941.

The London Blitz remains the most memorable example of British civilians under attack, but in fact most of Britain's major cities were bombed in 1940 and 1941. Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester, Belfast, Plymouth and Glasgow were all severely damaged. The city of Coventry in the English Midlands became a symbol of the war. On the night of 14–15 November 1940, the centre of the city was devastated by over 500 tonnes of high-explosive bombs and 30 000 **incendiary bombs**. Of the city's pre-war total of 75 000 dwellings, 60 000 were destroyed or damaged, along with 27 vital war plants. After the raid, according to witnesses, soldiers scoured the city 'picking up bits of arms and legs and putting them into potato sacks'. For the first time in the war, mass graves were used to cope with the number of dead.

The impact of the air war on civilians varied greatly depending on whether they lived in a city or in a rural area, where the risk of being killed in an air raid was vastly reduced. This was reflected in the decision to conduct massive evacuations of children, mothers with small children, teachers and the disabled from London, a plan that had been put in place before the war was declared. Beginning on 1 September 1939, 1.5 million evacuees, some of them as young as three years old, made their way from the crowded inner cities to small towns or the countryside.

Many wealthy people simply moved out of their London homes and rented hotel accommodation in rural areas. Not everyone could afford to do this, however, and instead chose to become 'trekkers'. In many of the industrial cities, workers would leave the centre of the city at night to trek into the countryside and 'sleep out', before returning to work in the morning. On 24 April 1941, about 50 000 trekked out of Plymouth, a port city in the south-west of Britain, and in the same month it was estimated that in the Scottish industrial town of Clydeside, only 2000 people were spending the night at home.

For those who stayed in their homes, either through desire or lack of options, the government provided a choice of shelters at low cost, or free to those who could not afford them. The Anderson shelter – which was constructed from sheets of corrugated iron sunk into back gardens and covered with earth – provided a damp, cold and cramped alternative to staying in the house. For people without gardens, the Morrison shelter, resembling a steel cage with a solid top that could double as a table, offered an indoor alternative.

The nightly bombings of the London Blitz meant disturbed sleep as families moved back and forth between their house and their Anderson shelter for the period of time between the air raid warning and the 'all clear'. The inconvenience, coupled with a rising sense of fatalism, meant that by November 1940, only 27 per cent of the 3.2 million people in the central London area were using their shelters. Across the country, some stayed in their beds and took the risk, while others sought the hopefully more secure public shelters that had been set up in basements and buildings.

SOURCE 17 This Anderson shelter, in 1941 London, doubles as a vegetable patch.

SOURCE 18 A Morrison shelter set up in a dining room in 1941; it could also function as a table.

In London, an obvious source of shelter was the Tube, the underground railway system. At first, the government banned the use of Tube stations as shelters, not wishing to disrupt train services. On 7 September 1940, however, people from the East End of London – an area that was being severely bombed – defied the ban, and within days many Tube stations across London were being used as shelters.

SOURCE 19 London civilians spend the night in a Tube station during the Blitz.

From October 1940, the government sanctioned the use of Tube stations as shelters and gradually gave money to provide lighting, sanitation and sometimes even bunks. As people were not allowed to stay all day, queues started to form in the early afternoon to grab a space. Soon an average of 120 000 people a night were sheltering in the London Tube system.

Air raids did not result in as many deaths as had been feared, but did result in more homelessness than anticipated. Around 2.25 million British people lost their homes between September 1940 and May 1941, two-thirds of them in London. In the nine months of the Blitz, as the **home front** became the frontline, over 43 500 civilians were killed by enemy action, and it was not until 1943 that the Germans killed more British soldiers than civilians.

German bombing raids carried on into 1943, though lessening in frequency and intensity as the bombers were required on the Russian front. By the end of the war, around 62 000 civilians had been killed by enemy action in Britain, 49 per cent of these in London, and about 86 000 had been seriously wounded.

As mentioned, the Blitz has become part of a heroic British narrative of Britons standing strongly together to face the enemy. As with all historic events, however, not everyone shared the same experience or the same memory. This is apparent when studying these two accounts – both from the early twenty-first century, and both examples of the **revisionist** approaches to the history of the conflict.

home front
those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

revisionist
to revise or change; in history, it means revising old interpretations based on new evidence and new perspectives

SOURCE 20

> The picture of a firmly united and determined people standing shoulder to shoulder against fascism has been slowly eroded by the weight of historical evidence. The British were less united in 1940 than was once universally believed. Defeatism could be found, side by side with heroic defiance. Churchill's government, so it is argued, (very well by Ian Kershaw) had powerful voices urging a search for peace in the summer of 1940, just like the appeasers of the 1930s.
>
> Richard Overy, *The Battle of Britain, 2000*, p. xiii

SOURCE 21

> Our heritage industry has encouraged a 'Myth of the Blitz' that differs from the reality of wartime experience. The myth is that we all pulled together … But the 'Myth of the Blitz' is just that – a myth. As members of the establishment were able to take refuge in country houses, in comfort and out of the way of the bombs, or in expensive basement clubs in the city, the lower-middle and working classes were forced to stay in the cities and face up to the deadly raids with inadequate provision for shelter. It was a time of terror, confusion and anger.
>
> J. Richards, 'The Blitz: Sorting the Myth from the Reality', *BBC History* website

9.5a Understanding and using the sources

1 Clarify what you believe is the key point being made by Richard Overy in Source 20.
2 Indicate the parts of Source 21 that support and confirm the interpretation offered by Source 20.

Rationing

The First World War had shown Britain's dependence on food imports, which provided 60 per cent of its requirements by 1939. In January 1940, the government introduced a rationing scheme for basic foods to ensure that everyone received an adequate diet. Ration books were issued and people exchanged coupons for a weekly allowance of food. Overall, the scheme was seen as fair, and it actually improved the diet of many poorer people, although the wealthy could purchase extra or restricted goods on a flourishing 'black market'. Unlike in Germany and the Soviet Union, however, staple foods such as potatoes and carrots were relatively abundant.

The role of women

Women in Britain made an important contribution to the war effort. Before the war, it was only socially acceptable for women to work outside the home before marriage. With the outbreak of war, however, about 200 000 women, both married and unmarried, served in the Auxiliary Territorial Service (ATS), operating searchlights as part of Anti-Aircraft Command. Women also joined the Women's Royal Naval Service (known as the Wrens) as meteorologists, clerks and radar operators; and in the Women's Auxiliary Air Force (WAAF), women plotted aircraft movements, debriefed aircrew and flew aircraft from the factories to operational sites.

By the end of 1942, when 10 million single and married women aged from 19 to 50 were registered for war work, they made up one-third of the workforce in the metal and chemical, shipbuilding and vehicle manufacture industries. They built aircraft, and worked on the railways and in demolition gangs. Nurseries and flexible working hours were arranged to enable women with small children to play their part. There were few limits to the type of work done by women to boost the war effort, although their pay rate was roughly half that of the men.

Germany

As in Britain, German parents were urged to evacuate their children from the major cities and, by the summer of 1943, approximately 300 000 children had been sent away. Most went to specially established camps run by the **Hitler Youth**, which were set up throughout the **Third Reich** and its occupied territories, as far afield as Poland and Hungary. In the last year of the war, refugees became an increasing problem, as Germans fled the ruined cities. Areas such as the Black Forest, Bavaria and the rural parts of eastern Germany had avoided the horrors of the bombing, and it was to these areas that refugees moved.

Hitler Youth
the Nazi Party's youth organisation

Third Reich
third regime, or third empire; the First Reich dated from 962 to 1806; the Second Reich was Imperial Germany (1871–1918); Nazi Germany (1933–45) was described by Hitler as the Third Reich

The impact of air raids was worse in Germany than in Britain. By the end of the war, German civilians came under direct attack by Britain's RAF by night and the US Air Force by day. Life in the cities continued as best as possible; ruined houses were patched up and the homeless camped among the rubble and all waited fatalistically for the next air raid. By the end of the war, more than four million German homes had been destroyed and 12 million people were left homeless. But in spite of the hardship, a large number of people chose to stay in the cities throughout the war.

Those who did remain in the cities had a harsher time than their civilian counterparts in Britain, despite the measures put in place by the Nazi leadership to ensure that there would not be a repeat of the starvation years of the First World War. Ration cards, colour-coded for each food item, had been printed and stored in 1937 and were issued in August 1939. With the expectation of a short, victorious war, fruit and vegetables were not rationed. As the war dragged on, flowerbeds were made into vegetable gardens and the meat ration was reduced. A black market developed, ensuring that the wealthy were still able to eat well.

As German-held territory shrank from 1944, food supplies became harder to get. But despite the increasing difficulties in finding food towards the end of the war, the situation was never critical and Germans did not starve as their parents had done in 1918.

SOURCE 22 A Nazi propaganda poster encouraging civilians to keep defending their homes; it reads: 'The front city of Frankfurt is held'.

The role of women

Unlike the situation in Britain, women in Germany were not involved in the war effort to the same degree, although they did join auxiliary military units in increasing numbers from 1943. This was due to the Nazi emphasis on women's role as mothers and homemakers. Despite this, the number of women in employment in the domestic economy increased from 11.4 million in 1933 to 14.8 million in 1939, when, on the outbreak of war, women made up 37 per cent of the total labour force. By 1942, 52 per cent of the German labour force was female, with women working in factories manufacturing war supplies, as well as in transport, administration, communications, commerce, and as managers of farms after their husbands had left to fight. Tensions over the use of German female labour remained unresolved throughout the war, as the need for employing women was not compatible with Nazi ideology.

The Soviet Union

The point needs to be reiterated that, as was the case for Britain and Germany, there is no single, simple valid generalisation that can be made when discussing civilians in the Soviet Union during the war. Experiences were different depending on location, nationality, occupation, age, gender and social class.

Russia today still refers to the German invasion and the war from 1941 to 1945 as the 'Great Patriotic War'. As in the case of Britain and the Blitz, this history is clouded by myth-making and state-sponsored propaganda. The British historian Richard Overy noted evidence of defeatism in the Soviet Union during the first stages of the German attack. The German invasion came as a shock to many ordinary Soviet citizens, especially those happy to accept the official Communist Party versions of events. The public had been repeatedly told of the superiority of the Soviet military and Stalin's diplomatic genius. Therefore, the German invasion and its early success stunned many. It appears to have taken some months for the Soviet people to recover from the shock and rally behind the war effort.

Public opinion was initially mixed, with many expecting to lose, but a change came when the Soviet Red Army halted the German advance and successfully defended Moscow. This inspired confidence that the invasion could be successfully resisted. It also gradually became clear that the advancing Germans were prepared to target and murder not just Jews and Communist Party officials, but also ordinary Russian civilians.

By 1942, Soviet resistance was more determined. There was, however, a different response among Soviet civilians outside 'mother Russia'. As an example, in parts of the Ukraine, advance units of the Wehrmacht were greeted warmly. Many in the Ukraine remembered the harsh treatment that they had received during the forced Soviet **collectivisation**. This difference in attitude should not come as surprise to students in the twenty-first century who see reports of conflict between Russia and the Ukraine on the news today.

collectivisation
the Stalinist plan to bring all farmland under collective communist government control

SOURCE 23
A Soviet propaganda poster depicts soldiers and civilian workers (men and women) standing shoulder to shoulder in a display of unity during the defence of Moscow in 1941.

conscript/ conscription
a soldier who did not volunteer for service and is serving a period in the armed forces as mandated by the government

Conditions for Soviet civilians were harsh during the war. Rationing was strict and it was hard to obtain bread and other basic foods. As a result, malnutrition was common. All food was rationed according to the kind of war work done, and the only people guaranteed food were frontline troops and workers in vital heavy industry.

Conscription was applied widely in the Soviet Union, and as much of the civilian labour force as possible was called in and sent to serve across the vast Soviet territory. Of those who stayed behind as civilians, it is estimated that at least 15 million died as a direct result of the war.

One of the most significant changes in the daily life of Soviet civilians was the decision of the communist government to enlist the support of the Russian Orthodox Church to build patriotism. Importantly, this shows that in time of crisis, Joseph Stalin turned to nationalism and religion rather than communist ideology as the source of inspiration for the war effort.

SOURCE 24

The discovery of the truth was painful for generations brought up on textbook images; even more painful perhaps for the veterans themselves, a shrinking number, who had kept the real war to themselves. Each of the participating states in the Second World War sustained its own version of the conflict, myths and all, but none was asked to tear up this version almost entirely and to bear witness to the truth as openly and savagely as the Soviet Union and its successor states . . . War, no longer just a testament to military triumph, has become a crucible of miserable and incomprehensible revelations.

Richard Overy, *Russia's War: A History of the Soviet War Effort: 1941–1945,* 1998, pp. 326–7

9.5a Check your learning

1. Explain why it is dangerous to overgeneralise about the experiences of civilians in the war.
2. Compare and contrast the experiences of British, German and Soviet civilians during the war.
3. Outline the 'myths' about civilian experiences that have become part of historical memory and popular accounts of the war.

9.5b Understanding and using the sources

1. Identify the key point that Source 24 makes about Soviet – and later Russian – versions of the war.
2. What do you think are the implications of the following phrase: 'Each of the participating states in the Second World War sustained its own version of the conflict, myths and all'?
3. Consider how and why different countries – including Australia, Britain and the United States – might have created their own myths and preferred versions of the war.

The nature and effects of the Holocaust in the Nazi-occupied territories

The Holocaust, which led to the deaths of as many as 17 million people at the hands of the Nazi regime, was addressed as part of the Year 11 course in the first volume of this textbook. In terms of the nature of the Holocaust, most of the deaths due to Nazi racial policies took place in Eastern Europe, in an area historian Tim Snyder calls the 'Bloodlands', which extended from central Poland to western Russia and included the Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic States. Snyder emphasises that 14 million died in this area and that all of them were civilians. Most of them were women, children and the aged.

THE BLOODLANDS

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 25 The area of Eastern Europe that historian Tim Snyder refers to as 'Bloodlands', where most of the deaths due to Nazi racial policies took place during the Holocaust

The horrors of the Holocaust are often linked to the infamous concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, but the fact is that the concentration camps were not where most of the civilian victims of the Nazis died. According to Snyder in the preface to his book, the overwhelming majority of victims of the Nazi regime never saw a concentration camp. Rather, as tragic and horrible the fate of concentration camps victims were, many more millions were gassed, shot and starved to death outside the camps. These deaths occurred across rural areas and in the areas known as ghettos – parts of cities and towns that were walled off to confine Jews and other people whom the Nazis referred to as 'undesirables'.

SOURCE 26

[T]he Nazis identified some 60 000 leading Polish politicians, clergymen, teachers, lawyers, writers … for elimination. The idea was to decapitate the Polish nation and force the remainder of the population into a subservient role as denationalized helots [slaves] in the service of the Third Reich …

The rounded-up Jews received a minimum amount of food, with a caloric intake per capita that meant the gradual withering away of their bodies, hunger and death. In these conditions, sickness broke out in the ghettos across the region. People died in ever growing numbers from what one victim Dawid Sierakwiak, called in his Lodz diary 'ghetto disease'. He writes: 'A person becomes thin (an "hourglass") and pale in the face, then comes the swelling, a few days in bed or in the hospital, and that's it. The person was living, the person is dead; we live, we die like cattle.'

Norman M. Naimark, *Genocide: A World History*, 2017, p. 79

SOURCE 27 Children from the Lodz ghetto line up for transportation to the Chełmno extermination camp. Children with **Aryan** features were removed and sent to Germany to grow up as Aryan Germans. Others, such as those in this photograph, were sent to death camps because they were young and without skills. Their deaths were to create 'living space' for ethnic Germans.

Aryan
a race of northern Europeans that Nazi ideology deemed to be superior to all other races

9.5b Check your learning

1. Recall the estimated numbers of deaths associated with the Holocaust. Why do you think that it might be hard to collect accurate numbers?
2. According to Tim Snyder, what were the 'Bloodlands'?

9.5c Understanding and using the sources

1. According to Source 26, what was the first aim of the Holocaust in Poland?
2. Discuss the purpose of the Nazis targeting the 'leading … politicians, clergymen, teachers, lawyers, writers'.
3. Use the internet to research Dawid Sierakwiak and his experiences, and then write a 500-word biography of his life.
4. Look closely at the faces of the children in Source 27 and imagine your response if you were standing in that line as a child of 5–10 years of age. Discuss your thoughts in class.

9.6 End of the conflict

Despite the preferred versions of the end of the conflict that originated, again, with Winston Churchill's *The Second World War* and were popularised in the West by focusing on El Alamein and D-Day, it is important to remember that the decisive turning points of the war took place on the Eastern Front.

The spring of 1944 marked a turn in the conflict as the Allied bombing of France became more effective. In April, in preparation for D-Day, British and American bombers began attacking transportation targets and the German Air Force in France. Objectives were near, and operations were often split into several different smaller attacks, giving German fighters less time and fewer large bomber streams to intercept. Importantly, the American P51-Mustang, an aircraft with the range of a bomber and the performance of a fighter, arrived as a long-range escort. The Mustang could reach Berlin and match the best German fighters. The Allies had won command of the air. Before this, results had not been decisive; afterwards, the bombing went a long way to destroying Germany's ability to continue the war.

For the purpose of both a balanced and honest interpretation in this text, the point needs to be made that the Soviets also launched bombing raids on Germany. They primarily targeted Berlin in response to German attacks on Moscow. The Soviet Red Air Force did not, however, match the RAF or the US Air Force.

D-Day and the liberation of France

Planning for D-Day – the Allied invasion of France – began in 1943 under the code-name 'Overlord'. General Dwight D. Eisenhower from the United States was appointed supreme commander of the Allied invasion forces, General Bernard Montgomery from Britain as commander of land forces, and Admiral Bertram Ramsay from Britain as commander of naval forces. As D-Day approached, the problem for the Allies was to conceal the massive build-up of men and equipment so that the Normandy landing site for 6 June would not be revealed.

Each of the landing beaches had been given code-names. The British beaches were 'Gold', 'Sword' and 'Juno', and the American ones were 'Omaha' and 'Utah'. The landings were scheduled for different times, due to the tides, beginning at 6.30 a.m. at Utah beach. Though the landings were successful overall, there was heavy loss of life at Omaha beach, where stiff resistance and steep cliffs meant that over 2000 Americans became casualties.

German resistance was fierce, but faced several disadvantages. As the Allies had command of the skies, no German bombers attacked the landing sites. Further, the Germans had only limited numbers of tanks in the Normandy region to use in opposing the invasion. By nightfall on D-Day, 83 000 British and Canadian troops and 73 000 Americans had landed on the beaches, sustaining 10 000 casualties.

The next step was to break out of the Normandy region and drive inland towards Paris. The Battle of Normandy resulted in over 425 000 Allied and German casualties, roughly equally distributed on both sides, with an additional 20 000 French civilian casualties, largely as a result of Allied bombing.

Russian counter-offensives 1944

During the final two years of the war, the Eastern Front saw the relentless advance of the Soviet Red Army westwards, driving into Germany. In the 1944 summer offensive, the Russians advanced almost 500 kilometres. In June 1944 the Red Army launched Operation Bagration. Advancing west from Moscow, they recaptured Minsk at the end of July and then drove into Poland. By August, they were on the outskirts of the Polish capital, Warsaw. At the same time, further south, the Red Army advanced into Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

According to Richard Overy, the common explanations for this success that rely on the image of the 'Russian steamroller' – the Soviet advantage in numbers – miss the point. He argues that what changed the war in the East was a drastic increase in the number of Soviet battlefront weapons, and improvements in the way those weapons were used. The Soviet army leaders learnt from earlier defeats and made tactical changes in the use of tanks, radios and intelligence gathering that enabled them to fully exploit the range of weapons pouring out of the factories.

SOURCE 28 Soviet troops enter Vienna in April 1945. The Soviet-made T34 seen here was a match for even the best German tanks.

9.6a Check your learning

1. Outline the key aspects of the Normandy landing.
2. What were the casualties sustained? Identify the main cause of civilian casualties?
3. Evaluate the relative significance the D-Day landings and the Russian counter-offensives as potential turning points in the war.

Final defeat 1944–45

Following D-Day, the Americans and British occupied France and concentrated their forces to drive across the Rhine into Germany. A German counter-offensive – the Battle of the Bulge in the area of the Ardennes Forest on 16 December 1944 – slowed, but did not stop, the advance from the west.

From the east, the Soviet Red Army advanced to enter Berlin on 21 April 1945, where it met stiff resistance. Progress through the shattered city was made street by street. Four days later, on 25 April, American and Soviet forces met at the Elbe River and within a week, on 30 April, Hitler committed suicide. The war dragged on for a further week until, on 7 May, the Germans accepted unconditional surrender at a signing ceremony in Rheims, France, followed by another in Berlin the next day. While the Second World War was not finished – there remained the war in the Pacific against Japan – it was VE Day (Victory in Europe Day) and, as Churchill said: 'We may allow ourselves a brief period of rejoicing.'

9.6b Check your learning

1 According to Richard Overy, what was the key to the success of the Soviet Union on the Eastern Front?

2 a Outline the key events of the last stages of the war.

b Assess what you think were the most important of these events. Give reasons for your answer.

Nuremburg War Crimes Trials

Before the war's end, it was decided to bring the leading Nazis to trial for war crimes. Hitler and leading Nazis Joseph Goebbels and Heinrich Himmler had all committed suicide before they could be placed in front of a jury, but 21 others were tried at Nuremberg, Germany, a venue chosen because it had been the home of Nazi rallies. The trials lasted from November 1945 until October 1946, and the defendants faced some or all of four charges: conspiracy to wage aggressive war, crimes against peace, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

There was, however, a lack of legal precedent in international law for putting the Germans on trial, and the decision to **indict** them for crimes against humanity was regarded by some as a mockery as long as Soviet judges sat on the bench, given Stalin's record against his own people.

indict
to formally accuse or charge with a crime

Early in the trials, the defendants were shown a film of the liberated concentration camps, which seems to have genuinely shocked many of the prisoners except Hermann Goering, who stood by everything he had done and tried to force the others to do the same. Albert Speer was the only one to openly admit guilt and show remorse, a response that probably saved his life.

The standard defence offered by the accused was that they were obeying the laws of their country and that therefore their actions were legal, in addition to the fact that extreme measures were regularly taken by all countries in times of war.

There were a series of controversies arising from the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials:

1 Although the United States was an advocate for Nuremberg and an international system of justice, it has since been reluctant to have American citizens and service personnel stand trial in the same way. For example, the United States is not a member of the current International Criminal Court.

SOURCE 29
The dock at Nuremberg: in the front row (from left) Hermann Goering, Rudolf Hess, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Wilhelm Keitel

2 Despite being arguably as guilty as – or more guilty than – many of the people sentenced to death, Hitler confidant Albert Speer was spared the death penalty. The reasons for his sentence were his willingness to accept the legitimacy of the trials and the desire of the United States and, specifically, the American Chief Prosecutor Robert Jackson, to make it appear that justice, and not revenge, was the basis of the trials.

3 The Americans, in their zone they occupied in Germany, held the trials of German generals after the trials at Nuremberg. Fourteen leading German commanders were put on trial. Two were acquitted, one committed suicide during the trials and the rest received sentences ranging from three years to life. These trials were very controversial because they challenged one of the German national myths about the war: that the Wehrmacht had not been responsible for war crimes and that all the blame rested with the Nazis alone. This is clearly a myth and there is ample evidence, from the Russian campaign alone, that the Wehrmacht had been implicated in almost every atrocity committed by Germany during the war.

9.6c Check your learning

1 List the key controversies associated with the Nuremberg Trials.
2 Explain why the myth of the innocence of the Wehrmacht proved popular in postwar Germany.

Reasons for the Allied victory in Europe

Again, Winston Churchill's view is a useful starting point when addressing this key feature of the conflict. When the British Prime Minister received news of the US entry into the war in December 1941, he wrote that Hitler's defeat was sealed by overwhelming force. This has led to the generally accepted view that the vastly superior economic and human resources of the Allies determined Germany's defeat. Although there is some truth in this interpretation, there was more to winning the war than economics and resources. The economic historian Paul Kennedy notes that it was the 'proper application' of that overwhelming force that was important. In other words, it was not just a matter of having economic advantages, but making use of them.

Richard Overy supports this view, arguing that economic capacity alone does not explain the outcome of the war. In 1940 Germany had greater industrial capacity than Britain, and by 1941 it was greater than the capacity of Britain and the Soviet Union combined. Still, the Germans could not win. Overy argues that the war had to be won by fighting it. In the first years of the war, the Allies were ill-prepared and failed to properly apply their economic advantages.

Rather than accepting a simplified version of history, we need to consider a multitude of factors that contributed to the outcome of the conflict, including the following:

- The Red Army put up fierce resistance. The major defeat of the Wehrmacht was on the Eastern Front, where Soviet forces destroyed or disabled an estimated 607 German divisions between 1941 and 1945.
- The vast supply of American armaments and equipment not only supplied the war in the West, but also provided vital aid for Russia. Most of the Soviet rail network was made in the United States. Vast supplies of telephone wire, 14 million pairs of boots and 363 000 trucks all helped the Red Army to fight with growing efficiency.
- Allied air power disrupted the German war effort between 1943 and 1945 in several ways:
  - Allied bombing forced the German Air Force to divert most of its fighters to the defence of Germany and to build fighters rather than bombers. This denied German frontline troops air support. By September 1944, 80 per cent of the German fighter force was based in Germany on anti-bombing missions. In the invasion of France, Allied air forces enjoyed a superiority of 70:1.
  - Bombing limited the ability of Germany to produce more armaments.
  - Bombing forced Germany to waste resources on radical, rather than strategic, ways to hit back. Hitler obsessed over new weapons that proved expensive but often had limited impact.
- Germany lacked allies that were capable of offering real assistance. Italy was weak and proved to be a liability, and Japan fought a separate war on the other side of the world.
- The secret role of British cryptographers at Bletchley Park who cracked the German **Enigma Code** meant that the British knew German plans in advance from 9 July 1941.
- Nazi policy towards racial minorities in captured territories encouraged resistance. The Ukrainians, for example, were keen to throw off Russian rule but atrocities against them ensured that they supported the Soviets in their fight against the Germans.
- The organisation of the Germans' war effort was poor and at times chaotic, and they consistently failed to make the best use of the available resources.
- Hitler made mistakes that directly contributed to Germany's defeat, including his decision in 1941 to attack the Soviet Union before resolving the conflict in the West, and his choice to declare war on the United States, both of which were disastrous.

Enigma Code the top-secret German code used during the Second World War, which was thought to be unbreakable

9.6d Check your learning

1. Use the material set out above to write an extended response accounting for the Allied victory. In your response, consider the relative contributions of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. Outline what you see as the key 'myths' in histories of the conflict and account for them.

CONCLUSION

Studying the conflict in Europe is valuable to help us better understand the world in which we live today. This unit of work is also important in acquiring the analytical and interpretive skills that are part of the historian's craft. It is important to remember that the events that took place in Europe between 1935 and 1945 are very different from the accounts of them that have been produced over the past decades. The history of the conflict has been constructed and reconstructed in academic history, popular history, film, television, literature and museums to serve a variety of ends, not all of them focused on finding the 'truth'. Sometimes, these are about national pride and popular memory. In the end, it is for you to separate sound history from the myths created around a specific time period or event.

The other important lesson that needs to emerge at the conclusion of this study is that the past is not predetermined. Looking back, it might sometimes seem that events follow each other in a natural, fixed order. As a history student, it is crucial that you reject this way of thinking. For example, with hindsight, it is clear that Hitler could not be trusted. This, however, was not obvious at the time. In terms of Hitler's strategic decisions – such as the fateful Operation Barbarossa – it is easy to criticise Hitler for not acknowledging that it would fail. But the fact is that at the time, in 1941, Hitler had reasons to believe that Operation Barbarossa would be successful. The Soviet Red Army had a poor record and the German generals reported to Hitler that the Wehrmacht was vastly superior.

While decisions taken in wartime can have major consequences for the outcome, we must always carefully analyse them and never assume that the outcomes were inevitable.

SOURCE 30 Adolf Hitler is surrounded by a crowd of people raising their arms in a mass salute.

obook

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

10

The Cold War 1945–91

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (left) and US President Ronald Reagan sign a treaty eliminating US and Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the first treaty of its kind in history, on 8 December 1987.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What was the Cold War and why did it occur?
2. What were the key features of the Cold War?
3. How and why did the Cold War end?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

One of the important things to consider in relation to the sources used to study the Cold War is the way our understanding changed after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. After this point, historians had access to a wide range of Soviet archival material that gave a much deeper understanding of the historical forces at work during the period 1945–91. Always check the date of publication for any source you are using to study the Cold War to see whether it was written before or after the Soviet Union collapse.

Historical interpretation

National origins and ideological differences give clear and definite perspectives to many of the sources for the Cold War. In order to detect and acknowledge bias in your sources it is important to recognise their origin, ideological viewpoint and the political context in which they were created.

Historical investigation and research

It becomes critical that you access a range of sources in any historical inquiry into the Cold War. Relying on a single perspective will compromise your research and lead to your conclusions being historically invalid.

Explanation and communication

You have to communicate your historical understanding of the Cold War in a written response to a specific question under exam pressure. In order to succeed it will be essential that you are able to draw on a range of sources that reflect different perspectives to support your response to the question asked.

LEARNING GOALS

- Explain the origins and course of the Cold War.
- Analyse and utilise a range of sources to support an understanding of the Cold War.
- Account for the end of the Cold War.
- Evaluate the Cold War's historical significance.

Key features

Origins and developments of the Cold War

It is important that you are able to explain why Second World War allies fell so quickly into the conflict that became known as the Cold War and to consider whether the conflict could have been avoided.

Influences of the ideologies of communism and capitalism on the Cold War

You must be able to explain the ideologies of capitalism and communism, and why they were so opposed during the Cold War. You will need to give examples of the ideologies in action.

Origins and nature of détente, and its impact on the Cold War

Throughout the Cold War, both sides attempted to achieve a détente whereby they could peacefully accommodate the existence of the other. Consider why détente seemed achievable at some times and completely out of reach on other occasions.

Changing policies, strategies and responses to the Cold War

Through the Cold War, you will see examples of continuity and change. Consider how key features – such as the arms and space races, détente and protests – reflect continuity and/or change during the period.

Impact of crises on changing superpower relations

Examine specific crises such as the Berlin Wall (1961), Cuba (1962) and Czechoslovakia (1968) to observe the objectives, tactics and actions of both sides. This will help you understand the impact of these crises on the relations between the two sides.

The arms race and disarmament

Starting with the use of atomic weapons, the Cold War was characterised by an 'arms race', where both sides stockpiled weapons, guaranteeing mutual destruction. This led to calls for disarmament as the world grappled with the implications of nuclear proliferation.

Reasons for the end of the Cold War

You will have to consider why communism and the Soviet Union collapsed so spectacularly in 1991, and whether this collapse represents the victory of capitalism over communism. You might also want to consider whether you believe that the Cold War has effectively ended.

COLD WAR MILITARY ALLIANCES

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 1 Europe was a divided continent during the Cold War.

10.1 Introduction

In 1941 Germany, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, attacked the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union). In December of that same year, the Japanese launched a surprise attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. An effect of these two attacks was that the Soviet Union and the United States were brought into an alliance that, although tested, survived throughout the rest of the Second World War. By 1945, however, with the war coming to an end, tensions between the two powers quickly increased. In 1946 the former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill spoke about the 'Iron Curtain' – an imagined barrier descending across Europe, isolating Eastern Europe from the West.

The basis of that division was largely ideological. The Soviet Union had established itself as the people's champion. Its communist ideology preached equality and fairness, and claimed to support the common good. In opposition, the United States positioned itself as the champion of individuality, freedom and democracy, and the idea that everyone had the opportunity to better themselves under the competitiveness of capitalism. Those two opposing ideologies were the fundamental bedrock of the **Cold War**.

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

When the Second World War was finally settled, with the dropping of American atomic bombs on the Japanese cites of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a significant threshold was crossed. For the first time, a country controlled a weapon capable of ultimately destroying the planet. This continually increased threat, as both sides engaged in an orgy of weapons growth, has accurately described as an arms race. The spectre of planetary destruction hovered like a dark shadow over the world for the duration of the Cold War.

Simultaneously with the Cold War, the world saw a period of decolonisation. European imperialism was challenged as independent countries, throughout Africa and Asia in particular, emerged from the ashes of their exploitive colonial pasts. Some of these former colonies became the sites of **proxy wars** between the Soviet Union and the United States, as the two powers battled for ideological control of the former colonies.

proxy wars
a term used to describe the conflicts during the Cold War fought by allies, rather than those involving the Soviet Union and the United States in direct fighting

Sporadic attempts at **détente** and arms limitation helped in preventing both countries engaging in what would have been a mutually destructive 'hot' war. Ultimately, it was the breakup of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries (that is, its allies in Eastern Europe) that presaged the end of the Cold War in 1991. The United States claimed an ideological victory for capitalism; but, as tensions that arose in 2017 over the nature of Russian involvement in the 2016 US presidential election show, the shadow of the Cold War has never completely disappeared.

détente
the period during the Cold War when the Soviet Union and the United States found agreement on global issues and attempted to live in peaceful coexistence

SOURCE 2 US President Harry S. Truman (left of the podium) listens to British Prime Minister Winston Churchill make a speech regarding the communist threat, which was to become famous as the 'Iron Curtain' speech.

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events leading up to and during the Cold War

1917

The United States enters the First World War and Russia leaves, as the Bolshevik Revolution changes the country and it moves towards communism.

1945

4–11 February: The Yalta Conference is held and Joseph Stalin (the Soviet Union leader), FDR and Churchill are present.
26 June: The United Nations Charter is signed.
17 July – 2 August: The Potsdam Conference is held.
6 August: The United States drops an atomic bomb on Hiroshima and another on Nagasaki, three days later.
2 September: The Second World War ends.

1946

Churchill gives his 'Iron Curtain' speech.

1947

US President Harry S. Truman develops his approach to postwar Europe and announces the Marshall Plan.

1948

The Berlin Blockade begins (and lasts until May 1949).

1949

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is formed. The Soviet Union successfully tests an atomic bomb.

1950

The secret American security document NSC-68 calls for a major build-up of US armed forces to combat Stalin's global expansion. The Korean War starts.

1953

Stalin dies. The Korean War armistice is signed. The CIA leads a coup in Iran.

1955

The Warsaw Pact is established as a counterbalance to NATO.

1956

The Soviet Union crushes the Hungarian uprising. The United Kingdom, France and Israel invade Egypt in a conflict known as the Suez Crisis. When both the Soviet Union and the United States pressure the invaders to withdraw, the result is a weakening of Britain and France as world powers.

1957

The Soviet Union launches *Sputnik 1*, and starts the space race.

1959

Fidel Castro overthrows the Batista regime to gain control of Cuba.

1961

Yuri Gagarin is the first person in space. The United States invades Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The Berlin Wall is erected.

1962

The Cuban Missile Crisis takes place during two tense weeks in October.

1964

The United States escalates its involvement in Vietnam after the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

American officers confer during the Gulf of Tonkin incident, 1964.

1968

The Warsaw Pact invades Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union announces the Brezhnev Doctrine.

1972

US President Richard Nixon visits China and the Soviet Union, and signs the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) with the Soviet Union.

1973

The Paris Peace Accords are signed and the Vietnam War ends. In Chile, Salvador Allende's government is toppled in a US-supported coup.

1979

The United States and China establish full diplomatic relations. US President Jimmy Carter and Soviet Union leader Leonid Brezhnev sign SALT II. Soviet troops invade Afghanistan.

1983

US President Ronald Reagan announces the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI). The Soviet Union shoots down Korean Air flight KAL007. The United States invades Grenada.

1985

Mikhail Gorbachev is appointed General-Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The US–Soviet Geneva Summit is held.

1986

Gorbachev introduces policies of *perestroika* (reconstruction) and *glasnost* (openness). Reagan and Gorbachev meet in Reykjavik, Iceland.

1987

David Bowie, Genesis and Eurythmics perform a concert next to the Wall in West Berlin that is heard by East Berliners. Gorbachev signs the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in Washington D.C.

1988

Gorbachev addresses the United Nations General Assembly and announces the 'end of the Cold War'.

US President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George H.W. Bush and Soviet General-Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in New York.

1989

Following a year of unrest in the Soviet republics, the Berlin Wall falls in November.

1990

Apartheid ends in South Africa. NATO declares that the Soviet Union is no longer an enemy. East and West Germany reunite.

1991

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) is signed. The Soviet Union dissolves.

2017

American accusations and investigations into Russian interference in the 2016 US presidential election, supporting Donald Trump, raise tensions between the old Cold War rivals.

10.2 Survey: Origins of the Cold War 1945–53

There can be any number of starting points for a survey of the origins of the Cold War. Undoubtedly the seizing of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917 created a new potential world power. From its inception, Bolshevik Russia pronounced itself as ideologically oppositional to the West. That split between what became the **communist** Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) and the **capitalist** West continued until 1941, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and Japan attacked the United States. Opponents became allies, but while negotiations throughout the rest of the Second World War resulted in sufficient cooperation to successfully end that war, mutual distrust also ensured that difference – and at times dangerous – competition would dominate the post–Second World War world.

communism/ communist
a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology of the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

1945 conferences and the emergence of the superpowers

By 1945, the Allied Powers of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union were at the brink of victory against the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. There had been tactical arguments regarding the distribution of forces, with Britain's wartime leader, Winston Churchill, prioritising the war against Germany in Europe and the maintenance of the British Empire. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin argued for the security and future of the Soviet Union, while US President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) saw a war in the Pacific against Japan as a priority.

It was FDR who emerged as the main negotiator, often developing compromises against competing agendas. Stalin's major fear was that the Soviet Union would be left to carry the bulk of the burden for fighting Hitler, while the United Kingdom and the United States waited on the sidelines, ready to pick up the spoils. This underlying distrust would provide the basis of the ultimate breakdown of the wartime alliance.

The first face-to-face meeting between FDR, Stalin and Churchill occurred in Tehran, Iran, in 1943. It was at this meeting that the dynamics between the so-called 'Big Three' changed. FDR and Stalin emerged as the major players, with Churchill becoming increasingly sidelined. The other significant outcome of the Tehran Conference was the emergence of differing views about what a postwar world should look like. Ignoring 1941's Atlantic Charter agreement between FDR and Churchill, which championed national freedom, Stalin started his campaign for a series of Eastern European satellite countries to act as a barrier between the Soviet Union and Western Europe. FDR's agreement in tacitly accepting this arrangement reflected the wartime reality that the United States and the United Kingdom needed Soviet support in 1943 to successfully defeat Germany and Japan in their different theatres of war.

Conferences at the American towns of Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 saw the United States emerge as the dominant economic and political force. The postwar negotiations also saw the United Nations (UN) emerge to replace the weak and discredited League of Nations, which had been unable to apply any sort of brake on the chaotic descent into the Second World War.

The last meeting of the Big Three took place in the Soviet seaside town of Yalta in February 1945. At this time, there was still no clear end to the war in sight, with Germany and Japan mounting savage rear-guard actions to try and avoid defeat. The Yalta Conference saw compromises made that would increase Soviet influence in postwar Europe, with the division of Germany offered in exchange for the Soviet Union entering into the war against Japan.

FDR's death in April 1945 removed the negotiating 'glue' from the Big Three. His replacement, Harry S. Truman, lacked FDR's ability to find compromise in order to move forward. Two weeks after FDR's death, the conference to establish the UN took place in San Francisco, where Truman and Stalin managed negotiations that enabled the UN Charter to be accepted and signed.

SOURCE 4 The 'Big Three' at Yalta: Winston Churchill (United Kingdom), Franklin D. Roosevelt (United States) and Joseph Stalin (Soviet Union)

The final wartime conference of the three allies took place in Potsdam, Germany, in July/August of 1945. The timing had been chosen by Truman, who wanted to delay it until the United States had tested its new weapon, the atomic bomb. This was a period of major change, with the war in Europe having been brought to a conclusion with Germany's surrender on 8 May. To further add to the disruption, the United Kingdom had held an election prior to the Potsdam Conference, but the counting of votes was delayed to allow for the postal votes from those still serving in the war against Japan to arrive. Churchill ended up losing the election and, with that, his prime ministership. He was forced to leave Potsdam and be replaced by the incoming Prime Minister, Clement Atlee. One of the main outcomes of Potsdam was that Germany was to be divided into sectors that were allocated to the victors, with France being added to the Big Three. This decision would have a major impact on the early years of the Cold War.

Everything changed with the American use of the atomic bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With this action, the United States sent a clear message that the postwar world order would be one where those with access to atomic weapons could destroy large swathes of the globe with the press of a button. While the Soviet Union lacked the immediate wealth of the United States, it had technological capacity and, by 1949, it too had successfully tested an atomic weapon.

As the Soviet Union and the United States emerged strong from the end of the Second World War, the United Kingdom and France had to deal with the surge of nationalistic fervour around the world that would lead to the decolonisation of their empires.

For the majority of time since 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union have been considered global superpowers; in other words, nations that think and act in global terms. Their military and economic power was so great that they created, in the 1940s and 50s, what has been called a 'bipolar' world, meaning that most of the nations in the world were allied to one or the other, either as allies or trading partners.

The bipolar nature of international affairs began to gradually break down from the 1960s and was slowly replaced by a 'multipolar' world of international relations, due to the growing power and influence of China, Japan and West Germany. After 1991, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States was the only superpower left in the world. However, the ongoing rise of China throughout the twenty-first century has once again meant that the United States has to consider other countries' political aims and perspectives.

Emerging differences between the superpowers

Differences between the United States and the Soviet Union came into focus as soon as the Second World War ended. The last major act of alliance between the two nations was the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials, which ran for almost a year from November 1945. There were early signs of the Cold War in the evidence that was allowed at the trials – the Soviet pact with Germany was examined, while the Allied bombing of German cities was suppressed after resistance from the United Kingdom, the United States and France.

sphere of influence
a geographic region in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

veto
the right to overturn any decision by a person or group

Eastern Europe now emerged as a Soviet **sphere of influence**, while the Soviets ceded to American influence in the settlement of Japan. With membership of the UN Security Council giving members the right of **veto** over any resolution, the Soviets used this power to block movements from the West that challenged the Soviet Union's emerging dominance in Eastern Europe.

By 1946, an early Cold War clash emerged in Iran, where both sides were laying claims to the region's oil. Stalin took the tension to the brink, resisting UN resolutions and US complaints in what would become characteristic of Cold War interactions between the two sides. Stalin's preparedness to back down came only after he had negotiated significant oil concessions.

Peace treaties to officially conclude the Second World War were finally signed in 1947, and Europe's slip into two spheres of influence was confirmed. Germany was divided, and Greece and Turkey remained attractive targets for both sides; but by 1947 the Iron Curtain appeared to be dividing Europe into a postwar east and west. With ideological differences underpinning the physical division, the stage was being set for what would become the Cold War.

SOURCE 5

> The ideological chasm separating the USSR from the capitalist world was substantial … One side presented itself as a regime dedicated to removing economic and political exploitation and ushering in an era of international peace and brotherhood. The other side presented itself as dedicated to individual freedom, political democracy, and unfettered national and international markets. And both sides claimed that the other was a menace to their security and way of life.
>
> Caroline K. Fink. *Cold War: An International History*, 2nd ed., 2017, p. 2

The Truman Doctrine and its consequences

In February 1947 the United Kingdom informed the United States that it would terminate its financial aid to Greece and Turkey within 14 months. Both Greece and Turkey were ripe for takeover from within by communist insurgents, and in this sense they became a test of the policy the United States would adopt towards the Soviet Union and communist

expansion. Truman, with his new Secretary of State, George Marshall, and Undersecretary, Dean Acheson, developed the American response that would become known as the 'Truman Doctrine'.

The Truman Doctrine was linked to ideas put forward by US foreign policy expert George Kennan, and was based on the notion of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant **containment** of communism. Truman stated that the world had become divided between **totalitarian** and democratic ways of life, and his doctrine called on the United States 'to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure'. In other words, the United States had committed itself to supporting any country it thought was threatened by communism, both politically and economically. This was to be the American approach in the **new world order**.

In June 1947, Marshall outlined what American economic power would do in this new, divided world. He invited every European nation, including the Soviet Union, to coordinate their rehabilitation efforts if they wished to receive US economic aid. The Marshall Plan was a program whereby the United States gave large amounts of money to its European allies to help them rebuild after the Second World War and maintain an anti-communist political stance. It was in fact a kind of economic containment and was meant to make the idea of capitalism more attractive than communism. It would help boost European economies, while also opening the door to American commerce and trade.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance constituted the diplomatic and military form of containment. It was signed by the following countries of Western Europe: the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal and the Netherlands, which joined the United States and Canada in a pact where members were obliged to help one another if a member was ever threatened. This was an example of countries being drawn into the bipolar structure, where NATO represented the American pole.

The Soviet Union responded by creating an equivalent organisation, the Warsaw Pact, in 1955. This grouping placed the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Albania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria under Soviet control, and guaranteed that each member of the pact would support each other in case of external attack. This was a direct response to the US decision in 1955, supported by NATO, to allow West Germany to join NATO and re-arm. The formation of the Warsaw Pact came five days after the NATO decision, and reflected the Soviet fear of attack.

containment
a strategy to stop the expansion of an enemy

totalitarian
a concept developed by social scientists to describe an extreme form of dictatorship with what appears to be total or near total control over a society

new world order
a period showing dramatic change in world political thought and the balance of power, such as that which occurred after the Second World War when US and Soviet leadership and dominance were largely accepted

SOURCE 6 President Truman signs the Bill giving aid to Turkey and Greece. These nations were the recipients of the first substantial aid under the Truman Doctrine.

In April 1950, a secret document, NSC-68, was developed by the American National Security Council. It detailed a more aggressive approach to resisting communism globally, arguing for massive arms spending and military aid to anti-communist groups. It announced the emergence of the next step in American policy: the arms race and military containment. For the Soviet Union, the change in policy gave clear warning that there was the potential for grave repercussions if global aggression continued. The stakes had been raised considerably when the Soviet Union successfully completed its first atomic bomb tests in 1949.

The impact of early crises

brinkmanship the practice of pushing a policy to the limits of safety before stopping

With the advent of the Truman Doctrine and the Soviet Union's development of the atomic bomb, the world moved closer to a period of **brinkmanship**, where both sides had the potential to destroy much of the planet. A series of crises helped develop the concept of the Cold War – so named because with the stakes becoming so high, neither side wished to engage in a 'hot war', which could quickly degenerate into a nuclear exchange.

SOURCE 7 West Berlin residents awaiting the arrival of a US plane during the blockade, 1949

The Berlin Blockade

Germany had been divided into East and West Germany from 1945, where East Germany was under Soviet control, and the United States and other Western powers controlled West Germany. The old German capital of Berlin was in the Soviet sector, but it too was divided. With growing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, Stalin soon wanted the Western powers – and, in particular, the United States – out of Berlin. He was not, however, prepared to engage in military action and attack US troops directly. Instead, he planned to starve them out by cutting off all road links to the western part of Berlin.

The United States' reaction to this proved to be a blueprint for future Cold War patterns of reactions between the two countries. The United States did not want to risk direct conflict either, but it would not give in, and so set about supplying West Berlin from the air. Strictly speaking it was legal for the Soviets to close the roads – after all, they were on Soviet territory – but both sides had agreed to safe 'air corridors' into West Berlin, and Truman used these. Every day, tonnes of food and fuel were flown into Berlin by American and British aircraft until the **blockade** was lifted. The Berlin Blockade lasted from 24 June 1948 until 12 May 1949.

blockade sealing off a place to prevent people or goods arriving or leaving

In the West, the ending of the blockade was seen as an important Cold War victory. Only a few months later, the American people would be shocked to learn that the Soviet Union had successfully tested an atomic bomb on 23 September 1949. This marked the start of the process of military upscaling that was to be known as the arms race.

China becomes communist

Eight days after the Soviet Union's successful atomic bomb test, the stakes were raised again the announcement that the People's Republic of China had been established on 1 October 1949. Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had forced the Nationalist government to step down and the leaders, including President Chiang Kai-shek, retreated to the island of Taiwan. The United States had supported the Nationalist forces against Mao and, because the new regime was communist, from an American perspective this guaranteed its alliance with the Soviet Union. But the Soviet and Chinese perspectives were in fact different, with each country wary of the other; and while the Soviet Union provided financial support to China, it did so on strict terms. Western lack of understanding of the tensions between the Soviet Union and China was to hamper relations for the next 20 years, with some Western countries (including the United Kingdom) recognising Communist China, and others (such as the United States) refusing to give formal diplomatic recognition to the country until the Carter presidency in 1979.

The Korean War

At the end of the Second World War, Korea had been split in two. The northern part of the country had come under communist control, while the southern part was non-communist. By 1950, the communist North Korean Government of Kim Il Sung had the backing of the Soviet Union and the new communist government of China led by Mao. On 25 June 1950, the North Koreans invaded the South. US President Truman saw this as clear act of communist aggression and was determined to stop it. At the time, there was a great deal of domestic political pressure in the United States on Truman and his Democratic Party from the rival Republicans. The Republicans said that Truman had not been tough enough and had allowed the communists to take China. There were also members of the Republican Party at this time, such as Senator Joe McCarthy, who claimed that there were communist spies in the US government. These domestic pressures, combined with Truman's commitment to the policy of containment, meant that he had to act over Korea. American military aid was immediately sent to South Korea, and Truman also managed to convince the UN that it should act against the North Korean invaders.

The Korean War lasted until 1953. It eventually involved the Chinese on the North Korean side and many countries – including the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia – on the South Korean side. In the end, the two sides agreed to end the fighting and to keep the country divided. By then, over a million Koreans from both North and South were dead, along with one and a half million Chinese and more than 30 000 Americans.

SOURCE 8 A woman and her grandchild wander among the debris of their wrecked home in the aftermath of an air raid by US planes over Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea.

SOURCE 9 Artillery is fired near Seoul (the capital of South Korea), 1950.

The Korean War provided three important lessons about the Cold War: it was a clear example of the Truman Doctrine in action; it showed that even though the United States had atomic weapons, it could not use them due to the risk of starting a nuclear war; and it was an example of 'war by proxy' – the Soviet Union had backed the communist Koreans and Chinese while avoiding involvement itself.

10.2 Check your learning

1. When would you say the Cold War started? What evidence would you use to support your answer?
2. Create a timeline of the Big Three's (FDR, Stalin and Churchill) interaction during the Second World War. Place successful interactions above the timeline, and unsuccessful interactions below. Explain why you would regard their interaction as successful or unsuccessful.
3. Explain what the Truman Doctrine was.
4. Argue for or against the idea that the Marshall Plan was an effective policy in containing the Cold War in Europe.
5. Select one of the early crises – Berlin, China or Korea – to research in more depth, and explain its role in the early years of the Cold War.

10.2 Understanding and using the sources

1. Account for the events that led to the gathering shown in Source 4.
2. Analyse Source 5 and evaluate its usefulness in explaining why the United States and Soviet Union distrusted each other.
3. Why does Source 6 represent a significant moment in Cold War history?
4. Explain how Source 7 represents American determination to resist Soviet expansion in the first phase of the Cold War.
5. What is the significance of the gunfire in Source 9 being located close to Seoul?

10.3 Development of the Cold War to 1968

standing army
an available armed force of full-time soldiers that is not disbanded during times of peace

America's nuclear monopoly (that is, the sole control of nuclear weapons), which lasted until 1949, meant that the Soviet Union felt the need to keep a huge **standing army** in Eastern Europe in order to balance the nuclear power of the United States. After 1949, when the Soviet Union developed its own bomb, everything changed. The nuclear strategy of both sides became dominated by the idea of deterrence: both sides would threaten to use their nuclear weapons to stop the other becoming aggressive. In this strategy, nuclear weapons were meant to deter or prevent a war. However, during the 1950s the United States accepted the idea of massive retaliation, which meant that it was prepared to use all of its atomic weapons in a massive strike against anyone who threatened the United States or its allies.

Nuclear strategy changed as the weapons and their design developed. At first, the only way to drop atomic bombs was from an aircraft, and both sides set about building up their arsenal of long-range bombers. Then, in 1957, the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik 1*, a small satellite, which it put into orbit around the earth using a rocket. This rocket was a key development in nuclear strategy. It was the first **intercontinental ballistic missile** (ICBM) – a rocket capable of dropping an atomic **warhead**, or bomb, on the United States. The Americans quickly set about developing ICBMs of their own. The race to develop the atomic bomb, to build more long-range bombers, and then to build ICBMs was all part of the arms race and the economic competition that became a key feature of the Cold War.

intercontinental ballistic missile
a long-range (5500 km) missile carrying nuclear warheads

warhead
the explosive head of a missile, torpedo or similar

By the 1960s, the policy of massive retaliation was out of favour in the United States. President John F. Kennedy and his secretary of defence, Robert McNamara, did not want their only choice in the event of an attack to be all-out nuclear war. Therefore, they developed the concept of 'flexible response', ensuring that the United States could respond to Soviet aggression with conventional – that is, non-nuclear – weapons, or by using just a few nuclear weapons on a limited number of targets.

SOURCE 10 An American *Titan* ICBM is readied for a test launching, Cape Canaveral, Florida, 6 February 1959.

As missiles became bigger and more accurate, nuclear strategy changed again in the 1970s and 80s with 'counter force': the idea of attacking the other side's missiles and bombers on the ground to reduce their ability to fight. It was hoped that, by doing this, the damage and losses on the attacker's side would be reduced. From 'counter force' came the 'nuclear war theory', where experts sought to theorise ways of fighting and surviving a nuclear war if one was actually fought.

In general, however, the idea of deterrence has been at the heart of nuclear strategy; in other words, nuclear weapons being used as a threat rather than as actual weapons. The clearest statement of deterrence came from US Secretary of Defence McNamara in 1962, when he proposed the concept of 'mutual assured destruction' (MAD). This is the idea that both the United States and the Soviet Union had the ability to completely annihilate the other, were they attacked. As such, MAD worked as an effective form of deterrence, as no one wanted to be the first to attack and, by doing that, bringing about their own demise.

SOURCE 11 Throughout the Cold War, the fear of nuclear war acted as deterrence, but it prevented either side from ever really trusting the other.

It is generally agreed that the policy of deterrence did stop the United States and the Soviet Union from going to war. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill described safety in the nuclear age as the 'child of terror'. However, many studies since the end of the Cold War have suggested that while deterrence might have stopped the United States and the Soviet Union fighting, it also stopped them ever really becoming friends. The 'terror' that Churchill referred to prevented them from being able to trust one another completely. In 1995, after the Soviet Union had collapsed, historian Richard Lebow and political scientist Janice Stein published an article in the *American Journal of Political Science* arguing that, on the one hand, deterrence and the bomb played a vital role in preventing war between the two superpowers; but, on the other, the threat of nuclear war poisoned the relationship. For the policy of deterrence to work, fear rather than trust, was the main ingredient.

Policy of containment, domino theory and the emergence of peaceful coexistence

In 1947, a US diplomat and foreign policy expert wrote an article for the prestigious journal *Foreign Affairs* under the pseudonym 'Mr X'. In the article, Mr X – who was later revealed to be foreign policy expert George Kennan – called for a US policy of 'long term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies'. Through economic initiatives such as the Marshall Plan, and political/military alliances such as NATO, the containment policy aimed to restrict the bulk of the Soviet Union's influence to Eastern Europe. Kennan's approach had credibility because he had served as America's **Chargé d'Affaires** in Moscow in 1946, and had already warned the State Department about Stalin's aggressive foreign policy. The American determination to resist Soviet attempts to pressure the other occupying powers in the Berlin Blockade is a good example of containment in action.

chargé d'affaires a diplomat who heads an embassy without an official ambassador

The idea of a 'domino theory' was first introduced by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower when answering a journalist's questions in 1954. When asked about the significance of the United States assisting Vietnam, Eisenhower said as follows:

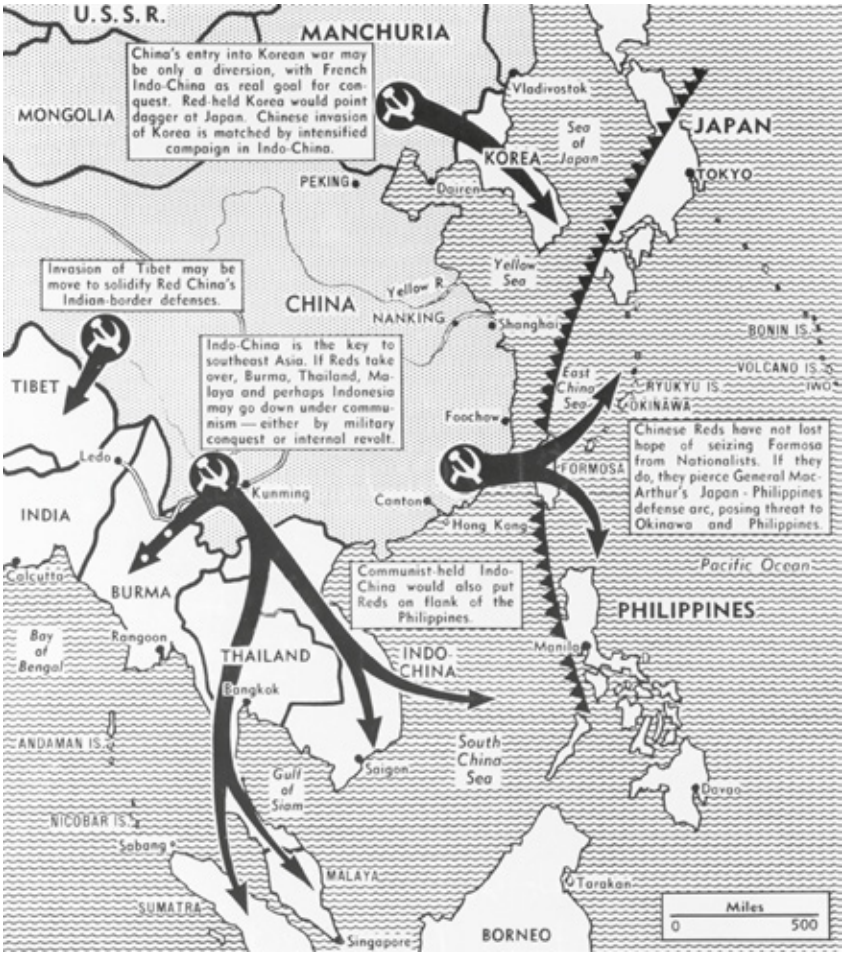
SOURCE 12

> [Y]ou 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.
>
> Dwight D. Eisenhower, news conference, 7 April 1954

This visual depiction by Eisenhower developed into a theory of communist expansion. This basically argued that if you allowed one country to fall to communism, its neighbour would follow, and so would its neighbour. In the South-East Asian context, it was thought that the domino effect following China's fall to communism in 1949 would see Korea and Vietnam fall, before communism ultimately flowed through South-East Asia to reach Australia and New Zealand.

There is no doubt that communism was a valid and popular political alternative in many poverty-ridden countries following the Second World War. However, the inherent weakness of the domino theory is that it presupposes a grand organising hand and denies recognition of countries' own unique internal circumstances. For example, Vietnam was inspired as much by an anti-colonial longing to shake off the shackles of French control, as it was by a desire for a communist lifestyle, which nevertheless meshed well with Vietnamese understanding of home, family and community. When the communist north was finally victorious in 1975, neighbours Cambodia and Laos also turned to communism, but any application of the domino theory conveniently overlooked their shared colonial heritage. Certainly, countries' rejection of European imperialism in the era of decolonisation after the Second World War helps explain why many of them turned to communism.

THE DOMINO THEORY



Source: Bettman

SOURCE 13 This 1950 map depicts the 'domino theory' – the idea that one nation 'going communist' would start a chain reaction of governmental change in the region. The map also shows military threats to US interests in East Asia by the communist Chinese.

SOURCE 14 The world's first thermonuclear, or hydrogen, bomb test took place at Los Alamos, New Mexico, 1952. It was the development of ever more powerful nuclear weapons that raised the stakes so high that both the United States and the Soviet Union attempted to introduce a policy of peaceful coexistence.

When Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party and Soviet Union leader following Stalin's death in 1953, met with US President Eisenhower at the Geneva Summit in 1955, there was the hope of improved relations. However, in 1956 these hopes were crushed by the Hungarian uprising and the Suez Crisis (see the timeline at the start of this chapter). A second chance came in 1959, when Khrushchev was the first Soviet leader to visit the United States, but again hope of better relations crumbled when the Soviets shot down an American 'U-2' spy plane over Soviet territory in May 1960.

Both countries continued to do what they thought was in their best national self-interest, and supported their allies, while trying to convince other countries that their system of government was the best and defending their spheres of interest. At the same time, they were trying to adjust to the bipolar pattern of power that by now had cemented them as the world's superpowers. This conscious adjustment was demonstrated by the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union starting to meet more often and holding regular summits.

Nuclear and weapons technology also went through some of its greatest changes in the 1950s and 60s. The development of the hydrogen bomb, ICBMs and nuclear submarines made both sides aware of the risks and expense involved in the arms race. Simultaneously, other countries aligned to the United States and the Soviet Union developed their own bombs, including the United Kingdom, France and China. This spread of nuclear weapons is called 'nuclear proliferation', and brings attention to the fact that the more countries there are that have the bomb, the greater the chance is that one of them might use it. This realisation made both US and Soviet leaders increase their attempts to control the risk that the Cold War would turn into all-out war. In the Soviet Union, Khrushchev moved away from the idea that war with the West was inevitable, introducing the concept of 'peaceful coexistence' and the idea of détente. It is worth noting, however, that the fear of nuclear war was not the only reason for moving towards a more peaceful mindset. Khrushchev believed that the communist system would ultimately prove to be better than capitalism. In his mind, the superior Soviet system would out-produce the United States and win the political struggle through economic and social competition.

Superpower rivalry: the arms race and the space race

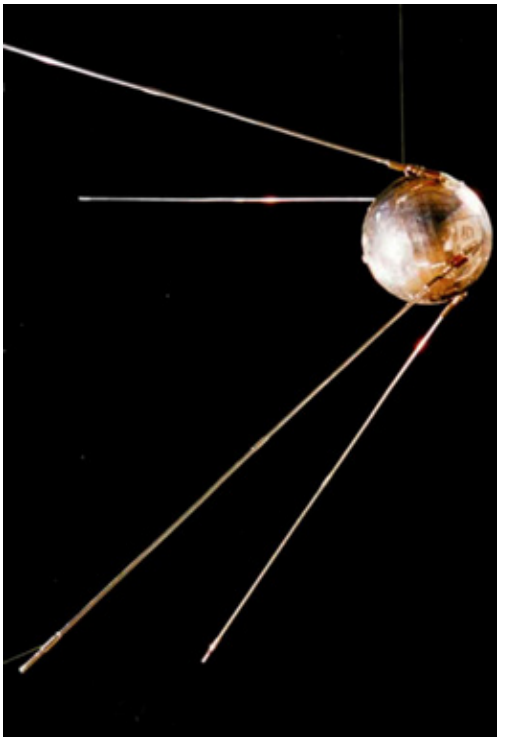
space race the competition between the United States and Soviet Union in space exploration and technology that culminated with the American landings on the moon in 1969

As Khrushchev consolidated his power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin in 1953, the United States continued to develop its military advantage. By 1956, US nuclear bombs and long-range bombers outnumbered those of the Soviet Union by about 11:1. Additionally, the United States had 1000 B-47s, 150 B-52s, and 250 B-36 Strategic Air Command bombers stationed in Europe, effectively encircling the Soviet Union.

In 1957, Khrushchev determined to make the Soviet Union more equal. By not accepting American superiority, he effectively initiated both an arms race and a **space race**. While he continued to argue for peaceful coexistence, Khrushchev was determined to negotiate from a

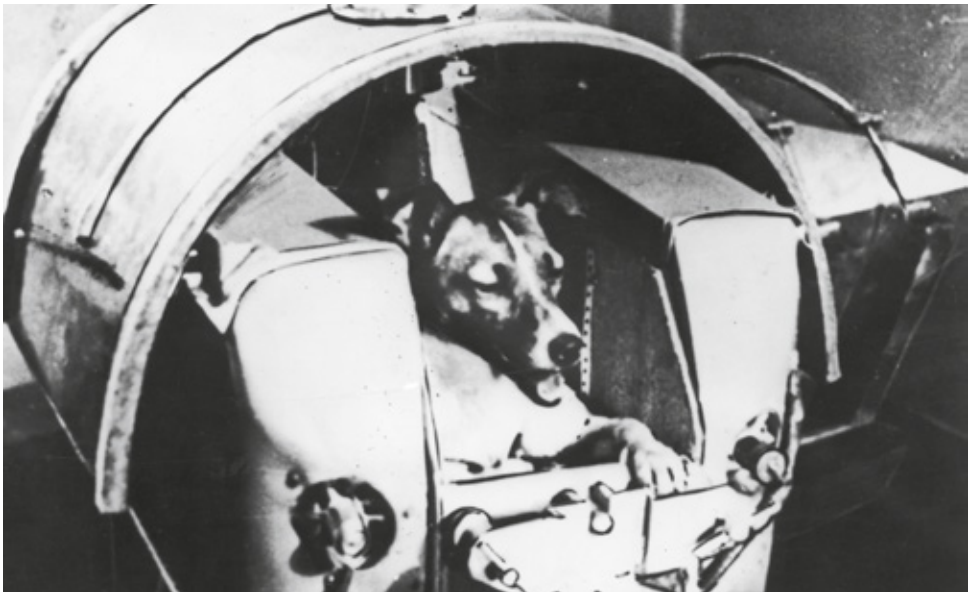
position of greater strength. He increased the number of bombs and bombers built, as well as developed ICBMs, which had the potential to direct threatening a nuclear attack on American soil. This arms race ensured that for the first time in the planet's history, human beings had the potential to effectively destroy the earth. Thus the arms race had the paradoxical effect of, on the one hand, making the planet extremely dangerous, and, on the other hand, securing peace by making the stakes so high that neither side was prepared to go to war.

The arms race entered space on 4 October 1957, when the Soviets launched *Sputnik 1*, the first human-made object to orbit the Earth. In today's age of an International Space Station and serious discussions about flights to Mars, the launch of a 58 centimetre metal sphere may seem to be a minor event. Its impact in 1957, however, was staggering. The implications of being able to launch something into space were immense, and the United States immediately reacted. The sense that the United States was being left behind in the race to space accelerated when, only a month later, the Soviets launched Laika, a Moscow stray dog, into orbit on *Sputnik 2*, proving that living things could survive the launch. It was not until 2002 that Russia finally revealed that Laika had died on her fourth orbit of Earth.



SOURCE 15 A replica of the Soviet satellite *Sputnik 1*, the first artificial satellite in space.

Two months after the launch of *Sputnik 1*, the Americans replied with the launch of a Vanguard rocket, which exploded shortly after take-off. It was an embarrassing failure that encouraged Eisenhower to change his strategy and use another type of rocket, known as the Redstone. This had been created by German engineer Wernher von Braun's team as part of the Nazi rocket development program during the Second World War. In 1945, as the Allied forces advanced into Germany, the Americans captured von Braun and brought him and 1500 of his staff to the United States to work for the US space program. This shows that America's aspirations for conquering space had started well before the Cold War.



SOURCE 16 Laika, a Soviet dog, became the first life form from earth to fly into space in 1957.

SOURCE 17 After being beaten into space by the launch of *Sputnik 1*, the best the Americans could do was plot its orbits from Earth.

SOURCE 18 Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first person in space in 1961.

The Soviets received a major setback in the Nedelin Space Disaster in 1960, when a launch pad missile exploded, killing dozens of the Soviet Union's best military and space scientists who were present for the take-off. Officials kept the incident under close wraps and it was not until 1989 that the Soviet Union acknowledged the incident had even taken place. In 1961, however, the Soviets surged ahead again with the launch the first human into space, Yuri Gagarin. America's response to Gagarin's spaceflight was for the newly elected president John F. Kennedy to proclaim that the United States would land a man on the moon by the end of the decade.

Military, spying and scientific priorities were often confused during the space race and the cost – both human and financial – of getting to the moon was constantly rising. In January 1967, America's *Apollo I* suffered a launch pad fire that killed all three astronauts, and in April of the same year the Soviet Union's Vladimir Komarov was killed when his parachute failed to open upon his return to earth from *Soyuz 1*, the rocket that was designed to take the Soviets to the moon. Kennedy's assassination in 1963 led to a vow to achieve his dream of a man on the moon, which was finally realised on 20 July 1969, when Neil Armstrong and Edwin 'Buzz' Aldrin became the first humans to walk on the surface of the moon.

The space race officially ended in July 1975 when a joint *Apollo–Soyuz* mission was conducted by the Americans and Soviets, as a reflection of the era of détente that was emerging in the mid-1970s. Despite numerous problems, an *Apollo* command module docked with a *Soyuz* spacecraft, and the 44 hours the two crews spent together showed that coexistence was possible, even as the Cold War continued back on earth.

The nature and impact of crises in the 1960s

The two sides edged closer to the brink of war with a series of crises during the 1960s in Berlin, Cuba and Czechoslovakia, which all tested the validity of the power of MAD as a policy. While calls for nuclear weapons to end the conflict in Vietnam were resisted, the world would not have felt like a very safe place for those who lived through this decade of increasing mistrust.

The United States entered this period with a new president, John F. Kennedy, who was elected in November 1960. Kennedy was the first American president to be born in the twentieth century, and his relative youth and inexperience were to be tested by Khrushchev, who was prepared to use any opportunity to trial Kennedy's resolve.

The Berlin Wall, 1961

The failure of America's invasion of communist Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961 provided the context for a meeting between the two superpowers in Vienna in June that year. It was the only meeting where Kennedy and Khrushchev met face to face, and Khrushchev took a hard line on Berlin, demanding it become part of a unified East Germany. Kennedy held firm on the issue of Berlin, gaining respect from Khrushchev. According to Austrian historian Stefan Karner, 'the two sides got a vision of hell in Vienna, they saw the apocalypse of a nuclear war'. In other words, both Kennedy and Khrushchev emerged from Vienna with a clear understanding of the ultimate Cold War reality – that if a conflict was allowed to escalate to military confrontation, the global consequences would be catastrophic.

This led to Khrushchev seeking to solve the Berlin situation by building a concrete wall through the city in August 1961, effectively isolating West Berlin as an encased island inside communist territory. The Berlin Wall effectively removed the last avenue of escape from East to West, and ensured the future of East Germany. The West quietly accepted the Wall as it brought stability to the region, and, as Kennedy remarked to his aides: 'A wall is a hell of a lot better than a war.' In that sense, by bringing both sides to an awareness of what was at stake, the Vienna Summit arguably had a major role in ensuring that the Cold War never exploded into a full conflict, an awareness that would prove crucial in the next crisis.

SOURCE 19 Kennedy's dream was realised when Edwin 'Buzz' Aldrin and Neil Armstrong landed on the moon, 20 July 1969. This photograph shows Aldrin with the American flag (which had been stiffened with wire so that it would 'wave' in the windless atmosphere).

SOURCE 20 The Berlin Wall in 1965: a Cold War **flashpoint** that divided a city

flashpoint
a situation or location that could set off a larger conflict

10.3 PROFILE

SOURCE 21 A Soviet bootleg Beatles record

SOFT POWER

SOURCE 22

America's 'soft power' in the form of such things as rock-and-roll music and the glitter of Western consumer goods may have had a greater subversive effect than its military power.

George C. Herring, *The American Century and Beyond: US Foreign Relations 1893–2014*, 2017, p. 615

'Soft power' is the term used to describe the 'softer' alternatives to military power, and it is a strategy that is used by governments to win people over to share their views and perspectives. Soft power is often rooted in popular culture, and can include music, film, television and dance. It can allow the transmission of ideas that seek to undermine the governing power, which is the role it played during the Cold War. Political scientist Joseph Nye summarised the United States' application of soft power during the Cold War in the following way:

SOURCE 23

During the Cold War, military containment prevented Soviet expansion, but the real victory was the transformation of the cultures behind the Iron Curtain by their attraction to Western values. So soft power was essentially the transformative force …

Joseph Nye, quoted in Peter Hartcher, 'Soft Power: Jackson and a New Anthem for American Politics', *The Age*, 30 June 2009

In other words, through soft power, the West convinced many within the Soviet orbit that the lifestyle they heard of in songs and films was attainable if they shifted to the Western way of life. It was a powerful argument, and music became particularly effective because of the difficulty in preventing people hearing songs being played over the airwaves.

Consider the impact of Chuck Berry's lyric 'anything you want we got right here in the USA' on a teenager living within the Warsaw Pact countries, where most luxury items were in short supply. Russian music critic Art Troitsky gives a teenager's perspective from behind the Iron Curtain.

SOURCE 24

It's interesting, in the big bad West they've had whole huge institutions that spent tens of millions of dollars trying to undermine the Soviet system – you know, the **CIA** and the FBI and Radio Liberty and all that stuff. And I'm sure the impact of all those stupid Cold War institutions has been much, much smaller than the impact of The Beatles.

Art Troitsky, quoted in Leslie Woodhead, *How The Beatles Rocked the Kremlin: The Untold Story of a Noisy Revolution*, 2013, pp. 222–3

CIA the Central Intelligence Agency, the foreign intelligence service of the US Government

Soft power went both ways during the Cold War, with the Soviets regularly sending troupes such as the Bolshoi Ballet and Moscow Circus to tour the West. They were used to show a softer side of communism and the strength of culture under Soviet rule. The Soviet cultural offering often aimed at an older clientele than the United States' soft power. As historian Carole Fink succinctly put it, 'while Eastern Europe's writers railed against their governments' censorship, ordinary people simply longed for Western blue jeans, rock music, soft drinks, and a beach holiday in a place other than the Black Sea'.

The impact of soft power is becoming increasingly understood as significant by historians gaining access to Soviet sources and testimonies from the Warsaw Pact. It reminds us that historical explanations and interpretations are always subject to change as evidence emerges.

10.3 PROFILE TASKS

1 Define soft power and explain its role in the Cold War.
2 Explain how Sources 21–24 can be used as evidence that soft power was a significant factor during the Cold War.
3 Research examples of American and Soviet soft power from the period, and argue which you feel would be the most successful.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

In 1959 a communist government under Fidel Castro had come to power on the island of Cuba. The facts that the Soviet Union provided the new government with economic aid, and Cuba is located less than 200 kilometres from Florida, made this alliance a threatening and provocative one for the United States.

In October 1962, US spy planes discovered that the Soviet Union had been building missile sites in Cuba. The reaction of President Kennedy was immediate; he made it clear that any missiles launched from Cuba at the United States or its allies would lead to a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union in response. Kennedy demanded that the missiles be removed and ordered the US Navy to blockade Cuba in order to prevent more Soviet missiles being delivered. Kennedy actually used the word 'quarantine' because a blockade was, in fact, an act of war. The Soviet leader, Khrushchev, and the Cuban leader, Castro, claimed that the demands by the United States were unfair, arguing that the missiles were defensive and that the US Navy had no right to blockade Cuba or to try to stop Soviet ships on the high seas. There appeared to be a real risk of war.

Many of Kennedy's military advisers suggested an air strike to wipe out the missile bases before they became fully operational. Kennedy himself, in one of the conversations during the crisis that he recorded, stated: 'My guess is well, everybody sort of figures … that everybody would use nuclear weapons'. Secretary of State Dean Rusk even put on the table the possibility that 'we're going to decide that this is the time to eliminate the Cuba problem by actually eliminating the island'.

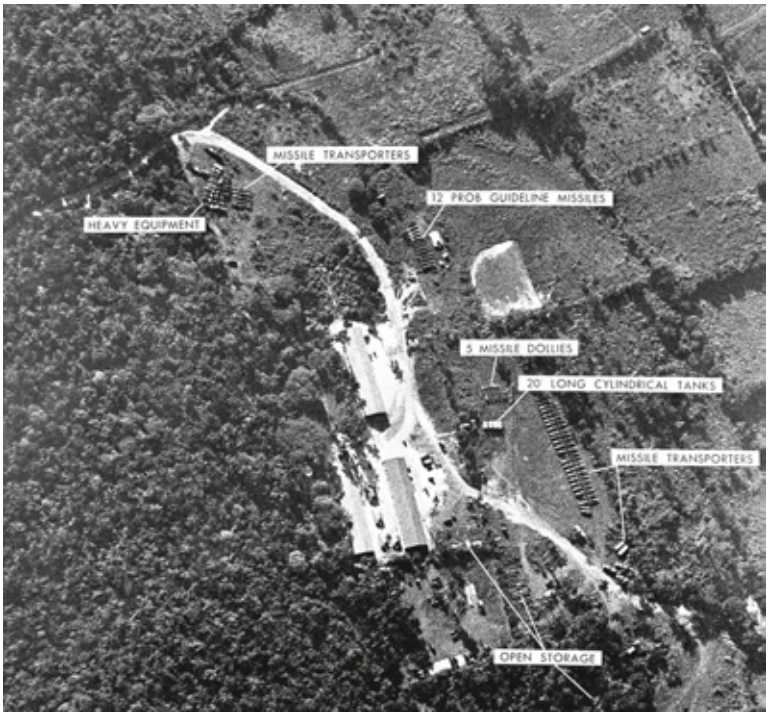
Adlai Stevenson, America's representative to the UN, on the other hand, recommended a diplomatic solution. Stevenson pointed out that there were US Jupiter missiles in Turkey and Italy, near the Soviet Union's southern border. It was his view that Kennedy should offer to remove these if Khrushchev pulled his missiles out of Cuba. Kennedy rejected this option.

SOURCE 25 The activist group Women Strike for Peace protest Kennedy's actions during the Cuban Missile Crisis.

In the end, the strong reaction from the United States and its naval superiority in the waters around Cuba were enough, and after less than two weeks Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles in return for a promise from the United States to never invade Cuba.

The crisis added to Kennedy's reputation and built his political support domestically. For Khrushchev, his failure led to a decline in his local support and ultimately to his fall as Soviet leader in 1964. Khrushchev had hoped that by putting missiles in Cuba he could ensure the island's safety from US invasion and place pressure on the United States, which might lead to negotiations over Berlin. But there were also evidence that Khrushchev, as the leader of the communist world, was under pressure from the Chinese communists to take a tougher line with the Americans.

SOURCE 26 Americans gather in a television shop to watch Kennedy deliver an address to the nation on the Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962.



SOURCE 27 A spy photo showing a Russian missile base on Cuba – this gave Kennedy the evidence he needed to launch his blockade.

The Cuban Missile Crisis is central to both new and old Cold War history literature. In fact, it appears to have been an even more important turning point than previously realised. According to military historian John Lewis Gaddis, rather than humiliating the Soviet Union, the long-term effect of the crisis appears to have been to raise its image to that of 'an equal embroiled in Vietnam, North Vietnam' to the United States in a Cold War that would continue for another three decades'. He means that the Cuban crisis led to a new phase of the Cold War – one that evolved into a 'long peace'.

Those in the United States who called for the toughest response to the Soviet Union during the Cuban Missile Crisis described Khrushchev's actions as communist aggression and expansionism. In reality, Khrushchev's motives were far more defensive, both in terms of Cuba and more generally. The Soviets felt that they were losing the Cold War. By 1961 the United States had secured Western Europe and Japan as part of the capitalist world, which – combined with the United States itself – was the basis of global, economic, industrial and military power. The Soviet Union's most promising area of influence remaining was the Third World. As a result, Khrushchev was determined to protect Castro and his Cuban Revolution, hoping that it would be the basis for other similar revolutions to come.

Cuba would prove to be the last crisis negotiated by Kennedy and Khrushchev. Just over a year later, Kennedy was assassinated in

Dallas, Texas, and in October 1964 Khrushchev was overthrown by the **Politburo**. Discontent had grown with Khrushchev's conflicting efforts to engage in crisis diplomacy while also seeking peaceful coexistence. Kennedy left the legacy of increasing involvement in an anti-communist crusade in the former French colony of Vietnam, while Khrushchev ensured that the hardliners who replaced him would crush any weakening of **Eastern Bloc** loyalty, as would be seen in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Politburo
Political Bureau (office), the main policy-making body of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party

Eastern Bloc
a term used to describe the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies

Czechoslovakia, 1968

In the first phase of the Cold War, Czechoslovakia had proved a loyal Soviet ally. But things were changing when, in 1968, the new Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev approved the appointment of Alexander Dubček to lead Czechoslovakia. At 46, Dubček was significantly younger than the old-style communist leaders of the Eastern Bloc nations that had become militarily allied in 1955 as the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet answer to NATO.

SOURCE 28 Soviet soldiers try to move through a crowd of protestors to capture Czechoslovak Radio during the 'Prague Spring' period of political liberalisation in 1968.

By April of 1968 the Czech Communist Party was publicly speaking about 'socialism with a human face', and had initiated economic and social reforms. The party moved towards allowing greater freedom by lifting censorship, freeing up the economy and introducing democracy. These reforms were the opposite of the system that enabled communist governments to maintain control throughout the Warsaw Pact countries. While Dubček became a rallying point for anti-communist forces, the Soviet Politburo in Moscow, as well as the other Warsaw Pact countries, demanded strong suppression of the Czech uprising. Both Dubček's rebels – whose aspirations were always limited to Czechoslovakia – and the Soviets were fearful of the potential for what was being termed the 'Prague Spring' to spread throughout the Eastern Bloc. The Czech uprising revealed that for all the rhetoric, communist power ultimately rested on a tight control by the government over the governed.

The pressure on Brezhnev to act resulted in 480 000 Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops invading Czechoslovakia on the evening of 20 August 1968. The Prague Spring was crushed, and on 13 November Brezhnev announced his new doctrine. Under the Brezhnev Doctrine, the Soviet Union had the right to prevent deviation by any members of the Eastern Bloc. It was a defensive measure designed to hold the Warsaw Pact countries together as a **bulwark** against what Brezhnev feared would be the start of Western imperialism in the Eastern Bloc.

bulwark
protective barrier

10.3 Check your learning

1. Explain the policy of containment, and its impact upon the course of the Cold War.
2. Outline examples of significant steps in the arms race between the United States and Soviet Union.
3. Explain how the West's reaction to the Berlin Wall could be used as evidence to support the suggestion that the 1961 summit between Kennedy and Khrushchev convinced both leaders to never push the world into a nuclear conflict.
4. Research the Cuban Missile Crisis further and discuss how close it brought the world to a nuclear conflict.
5. Discuss why the Prague Spring occurred and why it was ultimately suppressed.

10.3 Understanding and using the sources

1. What point is Source 11 making about nuclear war as a Cold War policy?
2. Explain how Source 13 helps you understand the domino theory. How could you use this source to either support or dispute the validity of the domino theory?
3. Sources 15–19 represent a historical interpretation of the space race. Outline what was at stake at each stage represented by the sources, and explain who you think 'won' the space race.
4. Explain how Sources 20 and 28 could be used by a historian as evidence that Soviet suppression was an essential element of its Cold War policy.
5. Analyse Sources 25–27. How do they help you understand what was at stake in the Cuban Missile Crisis? Can they help you explain why the two sides acted the way they did during the crisis?

10.4 Détente

The term 'détente' emerged to describe those brief moments of reprieve from the constant fears and tensions in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. It first appeared in 1955, but the real period of détente commenced with the election of Richard Nixon as US President in 1968. His National Security Adviser was Henry Kissinger, who was also appointed Secretary of State in 1973. Together with the Soviet General-Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, they tried to isolate each problem or dispute and deal with it separately. Kissinger referred to this as the idea of 'linkage'. By applying the concept of linkage, they introduced a period where dialogue was more open, and international tensions decreased during the 1970s.

SOURCE 29 Henry Kissinger in the White House barber shop, Washington D.C., 1972

International relations expert Fred Halliday suggested that there were six characteristics of this period of improved relations:

1. A break in the arms race meant that although there was not an overall reduction in weapons, limits were placed on the increase of weapons.
2. There was a greater tolerance between the two powers of each other's political system; in other words, there was less criticism of communism in the United States and fewer attacks on capitalism by the Soviets.
3. Agreements on Third World conflicts were made; hence the United States and the Soviet Union managed to avoid clashes over conflicts in Asia and Africa.
4. The leaders of the two countries met more frequently at summits during this period than at any other time.
5. The United States wanted to avoid a repeat of its Vietnam involvement. It was hoped that better understanding with the Soviet Union could prevent the need for US military action.
6. The Soviet Union began to relax some of its political controls over the Eastern Bloc. Although this was a limited step, Soviet domination was not as heavy-handed as it had been in the past.

Economic and political reasons for détente

The push for the period of détente came from Brezhnev and Nixon, who both took over as leaders in the mid to late 1960s. In a reflection of the possibility of changing political times, Nixon said in his inauguration speech in 1969: 'For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.'

Both Brezhnev and Nixon had well-deserved records as conservatives, and as such, could move towards détente without their conservative supporters accusing them of being too soft. If a more liberal American politician had tried to implement détente, they would have aroused hostility and suspicion, but Nixon, with such a strong reputation as anti-communist crusader, could move forward with the backing of the conservative elements in the United States.

With Kissinger's support, Nixon proposed a move towards specific agreements linked to the two sides' common interests: arms control, expanding economic ties and containing conflicts. For Brezhnev, this was an attractive proposition, and one that he believed could increase Soviet prestige, lead to access to Western technology, help saving a faltering economy, and alleviate what was becoming a growing threat from China.

The economic necessity for the Soviet Union was to reduce its massive arms spending, in order to be able to provide stimulus to its domestic economy. Western consumer goods had always been sort-after items in the Eastern Bloc, and détente could lead to stronger trade relations, which could in turn improve Soviet access to these goods.

Geopolitical developments

The period leading up to détente saw tensions in different parts of the globe that ran the risk of dragging the major powers into a more direct conflict. The period of the late 1960s coincided with the culmination of an arms race that gave the Soviet Union parity with the United States in **stockpiled** nuclear weapons. Those stockpiles, and their implications of MAD, helped to ensure that Vietnam, the conflict between the Soviet Union and China, and the Middle East did not spill over into a major **conflagration**.

stockpile
a collection of arms available for use if necessary

conflagration
explosive conflict

Vietnam

The conflict in Vietnam between the communist North and the non-communist South was seen by many in the United States as yet another example of attempted communist expansion that had to be stopped. The administrations of Eisenhower, then Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon all held onto the idea that the policy of containment should be applied in the Vietnam War. They saw Vietnam as an example of the 'domino theory' where if Vietnam fell to communism, so would Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand, and down through South-East Asia to Australia.

As Kennedy's vice-president, Lyndon B. Johnson not only inherited the presidency on Kennedy's assassination, he also inherited Kennedy's involvement in Vietnam. After Johnson's election in his own right in 1964, he escalated the United States' commitment in Vietnam. He used the **Gulf of Tonkin incident** in August 1964 to win congressional approval for more direct action against the communist North Vietnamese, and greatly intensified US military involvement.

Gulf of Tonkin incident
a 1964 incident in which the US Navy thought it had been fired on by North Vietnamese vessels; later investigations showed this was not the case

The Vietnam War deeply divided the American public. Public protests and popular culture turned against American involvement as US casualties mounted. This turning tide of public opinion was part of the reason Johnson chose to not stand for election again in 1968, paving the way for Richard Nixon. From the Soviets' point of view it was in their interests that the United States had locked so much of its military resources into Vietnam. While both the Soviet Union and China provided aid to the North Vietnamese forces, they did not become directly involved.

The Vietnam War caused a change in US policy, with the Nixon Doctrine replacing the Truman Doctrine in 1969. While the United States still opposed the expansion of communism, it moved away from the position of supporting any country threatened by communism, to

instead expecting the locals to do the fighting, with American aid being more focused on training than providing troops.

Famous American historian Stephen Ambrose noted that the United States has often expected quick solutions to problems: the atomic bomb, for example, was meant to provide a quick solution to the problems of postwar Europe in 1945. This view was supported by former Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara when he wrote that some of the reasons for the Americans' ultimate defeat in Vietnam was that they failed to accept that some problems do not have a 'quick fix', they overestimated what their high-technology weapons could do, and they refused to accept that their wishes would not always prevail.

One of the most telling comments made by McNamara was the claim that: 'Our misjudgements of friend and foe alike reflected our profound ignorance of the history, culture and politics of the people in the area.' After a bitter war, McNamara, the supreme **technocrat**, admitted the importance of understanding history.

technocrat
a technical expert, often one who exercises managerial authority

Sino-Soviet split

While the United States was embroiled in Vietnam, North Vietnam's two major supporters, the Soviet Union and China, became engaged in their own border conflict. The roots of the **Sino**-Soviet dispute lay in their common border between China's Xinjiang Region and the Soviet Republic of Tajikistan. The border had been agreed between the Russian Empire and the Qing Dynasty in 1894, but in the 1960s the Chinese became more vocal in their demands for territory to be returned to them.

Sino
Chinese

By 1968, the Soviet Union had 375 000 men, 1200 aeroplanes and 120 medium-range missiles based along its Chinese border. In response, China had mobilised 1.5 million troops, and had already tested its own nuclear weapon. China was relying on the sheer size of its army to act as a deterrent to a Soviet first strike.

SOURCE 30 The United States committed huge resources to Vietnam, while the mounting death toll turned the public against the war.

SOURCE 31 Richard Nixon (right) meets Mao Zedong in Beijing in 1972, establishing a new dynamic in the Cold War.

In March 1969, skirmishes broke out on Zhenbao Island, located in the Ussuri River, which divided China and the Soviet Union. Although the fighting resulted in losses on both sides, neither side committed to full-scale military action. Afterwards, Soviet and Chinese sources would interpret the events on Zhenbao differently, with both claiming their troops were victorious. Further border clashes broke out in August 1969, on the western border at Xinjiang. The Soviet Union was targeting China's nuclear facility, and what was a minor border dispute quickly became a major flashpoint between the two communist powers.

The Sino-Soviet border dispute of 1969 led the United States to seek to develop closer ties with China, and in 1971 Nixon secretly sent his National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, to Beijing to start negotiations. In 1972, Nixon met with Mao Zedong in Beijing, initiating a thaw in relations that would lead to official US recognition of China in 1979.

The Middle East

The Middle East has been a contested area for much of history, but the 1948 settlement that created Israel helped to create another proxy Cold War battleground. The establishment of Israel, and the clashes between Israelis and Palestinians that followed, became the focus of the regime in neighbouring Syria. At this time, Syria was the main Soviet ally in the region, and the establishment of the US-allied Israel made Syria fear an Israeli invasion. In 1967 Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to escalate the tension between Syria and Israel by mobilising Egyptian forces and closing the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, which would block Israeli access to the Red Sea. He was hoping that the move would increase his authority in the Arab world by showing him to be a champion of the Arab cause.

Israel responded by looking to the United States for support, while Syria and Egypt relied on the Soviet Union to supply arms and aid. The Soviets were happy to assist, as any successful conflict raised the possibility of influence and naval bases in the eastern Mediterranean.

On 5 June 1967 the United States, which was bogged down in Vietnam, stood silently by as Israel launched a pre-emptive strike on Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian airfields. Over the six days that followed, the Israeli Army captured Gaza and Sinai from Egypt, East Jerusalem and the West Bank from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. For the Arabs it was a total disaster, and both the United States and the Soviet Union discovered how little actual control they had over their Middle Eastern clients. When the United States placed no pressure on Israel to retreat from its captured territory, the Soviet Union quietly went along with the decision to allow Israel to retain the lands won through the conflict, which became known as the 'Six-Day War'. These same areas remain places of contention in Middle Eastern peace negotiations today.

Features and consequences of détente

After taking over leadership of the Soviet Union from Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev soon became conscious of the economic weakness of the Soviet Union and the urgent need for reform. To help bring about domestic change, he needed a break from the arms race. Détente made that possible. Less money spent on arms meant that more money could be spent on domestic needs.

In the United States, Nixon and his National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, followed the policy of 'linkage' – dealing with each aspect of the relationship with the Soviet Union on its merits, while linking cooperation in one area to progress in another. The Americans hoped that their improved links or relations with China would pressure the Soviet Union into also seeking better links with the United States. Once better links or relations were set up with China and the Soviet Union, it was further hoped that the two communist countries would help put pressure on the North Vietnamese to end the Vietnam War. However, linkage only worked in part, and while relations between the United States and both China and the Soviet Union improved, the North Vietnamese displayed their independence and refused to be influenced.

In the end, détente did show that the United States and the Soviet Union could come to terms on many issues. However, it is important to remember that the improved relationship during détente was based on self-interest, as is everything in international relations. In other words, during this period, both the United States and the Soviet Union thought that an easing of tension would be beneficial for their own countries.

SOURCE 32
Captured Egyptian soldiers in an Israeli convoy in the Sinai Desert during the Six-Day War

SOURCE 33 Leonid Brezhnev (right) and Richard Nixon shake hands after signing the SALT I treaty in 1972

One of the most striking examples of détente was the progress made on limiting the numbers of nuclear weapons. In 1972, the United States and the Soviet Union signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), which limited the missiles held on each side. There was also an agreement to limit spending on anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) – defensive missiles intended to shoot down incoming enemy rockets. When SALT I was combined with the Nuclear Accident Agreement of 1971 (which aimed to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war) and the Sea Bed Treaty that came into effect in 1972 (which banned nuclear weapons from the sea floor outside the territorial waters of each country), it amounted to real progress.

There were hopes that SALT I would mark the beginning of more far-reaching arms limitation treaties; however, even though a SALT II agreement was signed in 1979 – and re-signed in 1993 – it was never completely ratified by both countries.

From 1972 there were signs that détente was fading. In the United States, Nixon had been forced to resign in disgrace. The Soviet Union saw his successors, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, as weak and unreliable. Brezhnev was particularly annoyed by Carter's attacks on the Soviet Union over human rights, relating to the Soviet Union's treatment of its own citizens. The Soviet leader saw this as direct interference in Soviet domestic policy. American conservatives began to attack SALT I, saying that the United States had given too much away and had allowed the Soviet Union to keep pace with it in terms of nuclear weapons. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, détente was well and truly dead.

10.4 Check your learning

1. How would you explain Henry Kissinger's concept of 'linkage' in a Cold War context?
2. Critically analyse Fred Halliday's six characteristics of détente. How effectively do they explain relations between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s?
3. Why did the Americans become directly involved in Vietnam while the Russians did not?
4. What did China gain from its 1969 border conflict with the Soviet Union?
5. Explain why the Six-Day War in 1967 could be described as a component of the Cold War.
6. What was the significance for the Cold War of the SALT negotiations?
7. Why had détente basically disappeared by the end of 1979?

geopolitical where international relations are influenced by geographical factors

10.4 Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Sources 30–33 and explain how each could be used as evidence of **geopolitical** developments in the Cold War.

10.5 Renewal and end of the Cold War

Détente effectively ended with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the election of Ronald Reagan as US President in 1980. These events contributed to a return to the hostile atmosphere of the initial Cold War, which was to last until the end of the 1980s.

This second phase of the Cold War was at its most intense in the early 1980s, during the first four years of the Reagan administration. Historian Fred Halliday identified what he thought were the five characteristics of the renewed Cold War:

1 There was a renewal of the fear of conflict, with both sides openly expressing concern about the likelihood of war. In the United States, Reagan demanded a major arms build-up, and by 1979 the Soviet Union had placed new missiles, the SS20s, in Europe.

propaganda biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

2 Hostile **propaganda**, similar to that used in the initial phase of the Cold War, returned. Reagan called the Soviet Union 'evil', and claimed that its economy was weak and that it was spending too much on arms. The Soviet Union described Reagan as 'dangerous' and a threat to world peace.

3 Negotiations between the two nations were largely unsuccessful. There was more discussion than during the first Cold War, but little was achieved.

4 Both sides tightened controls on groups within their own society. The Reagan administration criticised 'peace' and 'anti-nuclear' groups, claiming they were helping the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, the government was less willing to let opponents of the leadership of the Communist Party speak out. While censorship was not as bad as it had been in Stalin's day, it marked a significant change from the period of détente.

5 Fear of the Soviet threat again became the focus of US foreign policy. All other foreign policy matters were regarded as secondary.

THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES, 1979

Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 34 The borders of the Soviet Union and Soviet-allied countries at the time of the invasion of Afghanistan

At this time, the renewed Cold War appeared to be more dangerous than it really was. It maintained its focus on regional proxy conflicts that were supported by the United States and the Soviet Union, such as Angola (1975–88), Nicaragua (1979–80) and Afghanistan (1979–89).

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its impacts

Afghanistan is a landlocked country that, during the Cold War, shared its borders with the Soviet Union, Iran and Pakistan. In 1973, Afghanistan's monarchy had been overthrown by Mohammad Daoud Khan, who launched an oppressive republican regime. Daoud and his family were murdered in a coup in 1978, and were replaced by a communist-dominated government. The United States had declined to become involved, regarding Afghanistan as being part of the Soviet sphere of influence.

Throughout 1979, the situation in Afghanistan continued to deteriorate as its people stood up to the excesses of the communist regime. Leading the opposition were the Mujahideen, Islamic rebels who styled themselves as holy warriors. The Soviet Union had seen neighbouring Iran fall under radical Islamist control the same year, and Moscow now feared that the communist regime in Afghanistan would meet a similar fate.

In December 1979, against the advice of its military chiefs, the Politburo voted to invade Afghanistan to quell the opposition and establish a stable government. On Christmas Eve 1979, 30 000 Soviet troops occupied Afghanistan, capturing the major cities and lines of communication. Increased access to the Soviet archives has revealed that Defence Minister Dmitriy Ustinov and **KGB** Chairman Yuri Andropov argued that a military intervention would be swift and unopposed. They also believed that the United States – with Carter preoccupied with Iran and seemingly condoning Soviet activity in the region – would ignore the invasion.

KGB
the Soviet organisation responsible for state security, which frequently involved ensuring government secrecy and suppressing any anti-government dissent in society

The Soviet misreading of the United States showed that the ageing Soviet Union leadership was out of touch. Carter, facing re-election and needing to seem decisive in the wake of the **hostage crisis** in Iran, responded with the Carter Doctrine, and called the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 'the greatest threat to world peace since World War II'. In a clear statement of American aims and a sign that détente had reached its end, he claimed that 'an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States'. Those vital interests were largely access to oil, which was crucial to US economic success but had been disrupted because of the situation in Iran. Carter also stated that military force could be used to repel any threat. It was this sort of rhetoric and threats that restored the tension of the pre-détente Cold War.

hostage crisis
the 1979 capture of American diplomats and citizens in Iran that led to a 444-day crisis in relations between the United States and Iran

Carter's response shows just how complacent the Soviet leadership had been in taking for granted his acquiescence in the invasion. In quick succession, Carter increased the US military budget; brought back registration of draft-aged men (that is, men who would be eligible to be called up for military service); created a rapid deployment force for the Middle East; ordered a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow; introduced a grain embargo that greatly increased the price the Soviet Union had to pay for grain; and authorised the CIA to assist the Islamic rebels.

Within a year, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had become bogged down, and would remain so for the next decade. The Soviets did not have support from the Afghani people, were unable to control the countryside, and only held the cities through force. They had rapidly alienated most of the world, and even lacked the support of formerly loyal allies such as the Warsaw Pact countries and Cuba. The Muslim world was united against them, and arms continued to pour into Afghanistan to support their enemies. Despite the confidence shown

SOURCE 35 Soviet troops cross the border back into Soviet territory in March 1989, at the end of the decade-long occupation of Afghanistan.

in the now released Soviet archives, the invasion of Afghanistan had proved to be a massive miscalculation.

When Mikhail Gorbachev took over as Soviet Union leader in 1985, he decided that the war in Afghanistan needed to end. The challenge was to find an exit strategy that preserved Soviet honour. It took until 1989, when a peace accord was arranged, and the last returning Soviet soldiers were met with flags and a parade to celebrate a 'success' that had cost around 15 000 Soviet lives, and achieved nothing. With the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, Afghanistan quickly fell to the Mujahideen and their supporters, and Soviet leadership and credibility had suffered a fatal blow.

US attitudes and policies under Reagan

When Ronald Reagan was elected US president in November 1980, he represented a return to conservative American values. He was a declared anti-communist who had never believed in détente. His Soviet opponent was the ageing Leonid Brezhnev, whose country was now facing a range of problems. Détente had bought the Soviets some time to try and resist modernisation, but the mistake of invading Afghanistan and increasing restlessness across the Eastern Bloc had increased pressure within the Soviet Union. The Soviets also faced pressure from a revived China that, since the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, had started a series of economic reforms and moved to strengthen ties with the West.

Reagan proceeded to ensure that the careful diplomatic language of détente disappeared. In 1982 he spoke to the UN and loudly condemned the Soviet Union for spreading 'political terrorism'. He told both the Soviet Union and his NATO allies that détente was over and would be replaced by 'a global campaign for democracy'. To ensure his message got through, in 1983 he referred to the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire'. He supported his rhetoric with an increase in US aid to anti-communist forces in Afghanistan, as well as Africa, Asia and Central America. He also ordered a boost in American defence spending, seeing it rise from US$155 billion in 1980 to nearly US$300 billion in 1986. Reagan found an ally in the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who had come to power in May 1979, and followed a similar aggressively nationalist anti-communist agenda.

The Soviets, whose economy was struggling, could ill afford to engage in another arms race with the United States. The lack of stability within the Soviet Union was accelerated by the death of Brezhnev in 1982, and the deaths of his successors Yuri Andropov (in 1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (in 1985).

The Reagan administration also built up not only its nuclear forces, but also its conventional forces, with plans for a new defensive system – the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), known as 'Star Wars' – announced in 1983. The initiative involved building satellites designed to destroy Soviet missiles that were aimed at the United States. Reagan used a televised Oval Office address to outline his new anti-missile system. Most importantly, this was Reagan's attempt to boost the defence budget and break through the limitations imposed by the mutual deterrence policy that had provided the bedrock of the Cold War so far.

Reagan's SDI proposal would place the United States in a superior position of strength and give it an advantage beyond the constraints of MAD. It provided a defence against attack, and rendered the Soviets vulnerable to retaliation. It was a direct threat to the Soviet Union that destroyed the nuclear balance and, while it was a proposal that was unlikely to ever be developed, it had the effect of galvanising the world into action. Countries warned against escalating the Cold War into space, and even the ultra-loyal United Kingdom cautioned against starting a new arms race.

Tensions heightened dramatically when a Korean Air Lines plane, Flight KAL-007, was shot down by a Soviet fighter jet on 1 September 1983 after it flew into Soviet airspace on the same night as an American RC-135 reconnaissance plane. The incident brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of conflict, and with each side having stockpiles of over 20 000 nuclear warheads, the stakes were increasingly high.

Public fears of a nuclear conflict were taken to even higher levels with the release of a television film *The Day After* at the end of 1983. The public reaction to the film, which depicted a nuclear attack on a US city, verged on panic. That reaction was repeated when the film was

SOURCE 36 A still from the 1983 film *The Day After*, which terrified audiences around the world with its realistic portrayal of a nuclear attack on the United States.

shown around the world, and increased when the BBC released *Threads* in 1984, an even more realistic and frightening vision of a nuclear attack, this time on the United Kingdom.

With 1984 being an election year, and Reagan having to face a public that was terrified of the prospect of nuclear war, the President started pulling back from the confrontation that had marked his first three years in office. He even called 1984 'a year of opportunities for peace'. However, any attempt at a rapprochement with the Soviets was put on hold with the death of Andropov in February 1984, and the ill-health of his successor, Chernenko, who died the following year.

While verbal clashes between the United States and the Soviet Union were ongoing, the Cold War also flared up around the world. Reagan made clear his intentions, with moves against Soviet-friendly regimes in Central America and the Caribbean, culminating in the invasion of the tiny island of Grenada in 1983. In addition, Reagan's government provided aid and training to the Contras, an anti-government rebel group looking to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. Further outcomes of Reagan policies included a bloody civil war in Cambodia, and support for the apartheid regime in South Africa. One of the reasons why the world had turned a blind eye on South Africa's racist apartheid regime for so long was because that country was seen as the great anti-communist power of Africa.

In 1985 the Politburo selected its youngest member, the 54-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev, as Chernenko's replacement. This ended the rapid succession of Soviet leaders that had plagued superpower relations for most of the Reagan era. Gorbachev had already called for 'new political thinking' to try and remove the threat of nuclear war, and the newly re-elected Reagan finally had a Soviet leader he could sit down and talk to.

From 1985 onwards, the tension of the second Cold War began to ease. This was due, in part, to Reagan's desire for the progress of nuclear arms reduction, and because Gorbachev recognised that the future of his country depended on serious and sustained reform. The changes that Gorbachev wanted in the Soviet Union were impossible if the Cold War and the arms race continued.

SOURCE 37

> George Shultz told me that if the only thing that came out of this first meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was an agreement to hold another summit, it would be a success. But I wanted to accomplish more than that.
>
> I believed that if we were going to break down the barriers of mistrust that divided our countries, we had to begin by establishing a personal relationship between the leaders of the two most powerful nations on earth.
>
> During the previous five years, I had come to realize there were people in the Kremlin [the centre of Soviet government] who had a genuine fear of the United States. I wanted to convince Gorbachev that we wanted peace and they had nothing to fear from us. So I had gone to Geneva with a plan.
>
> That morning, as we shook hands and I looked into his smile, I sensed I had been right and felt a surge of optimism that my plan might work.
>
> No one could win a nuclear war – and as I told Gorbachev in one of my letters to him, one must never be fought.
>
> I wanted to go to the negotiating table and end the madness of the MAD policy, but to do that, I knew America first had to upgrade its military capabilities so that we would be able to negotiate with the Soviets from a position of *strength*, not weakness.
>
> Ronald Reagan, *An American Life*, 1990, pp. 12–14

Soviet attitudes and policies under Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev took control of a society struggling for relevance in the 1980s. Soviet society had attempted to control its citizens for decades, restricting access to information and ideas. In selected areas, such as space technology, it had outstanding talents; for example, Sergei Korolev, who had been given the support necessary to achieve greatness with the Soviet space program. In most areas of society though, tight restriction on culture, media and education fostered generations of people encouraged not to question their political masters. It was one of the reasons Western soft power was so effective in breaking through ideological barriers.

Soviet society was also in economic difficulties and the huge cost of maintaining military parity (equality) with the United States was proving a critical drain on its economy. Gorbachev's ultimate solutions were the policies that came to be known as **glasnost** (openness) and **perestroika** (reconstruction). Gorbachev's commitment to the model of his hero Lenin meant uneven progress, but a lessening of censorship had encouraged a greater freedom of ideas and expectation of change.

glasnost
a term used to describe the new openness in the Soviet Union's dealing with both its own citizens and with the United States

perestroika
a term used to describe the reconstruction of the Soviet Union's economy and society under Mikhail Gorbachev

If internal change was to be managed in the Soviet Union, security in international relations was a necessity. Gorbachev met Reagan in Geneva, in November 1985, and again in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986. Progress was tentative, with long-held mutual distrust still underpinning any talks. Suddenly, in Reykjavik, Gorbachev proposed a 50 per cent reduction in strategic weapons. Caught by surprise, the Americans responded with a proposal to eliminate all strategic weapons in the next decade. Both leaders then agreed to halve their nuclear stockpiles by 1991, and eliminate them by 1996. It was an extraordinary breakthrough. However, hope rapidly disappeared when no agreement was signed as the two sides bickered over Reagan's SDI ('Star Wars') proposal. Regardless of the theoretical nature of SDI, both sides needed this initiative for propaganda value. For Gorbachev, an agreement to contain SDI's development within science labs would be seen as a victory. For Reagan, any backdown would be viewed as giving in to the Soviets.

In June 1987, Reagan visited West Berlin and urged Gorbachev to 'tear down this wall'. In the same month, Western musical acts – including David Bowie, Genesis and Eurythmics – headlined concerts in West Berlin. The stage was placed against the Berlin Wall, and each night young East Germans gathered to listen. Bowie dedicated his hit 'Heroes' to his 'friends on the other side of the Wall'. Upon Bowie's death in 2016, the German Foreign Office tweeted the following message: 'Good-bye, David Bowie. You are now among #Heroes. Thank you for helping to bring down the #wall.' By the time Genesis performed on the third night, East German police were beating concert listeners who were taunting them with chants of 'the Wall must fall' and 'Gorby get us out'. This was early evidence of the impact Gorbachev was having on young people behind the Iron Curtain, who could sense the possibility of change. Across Eastern Europe, Gorbachev and his twin policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* were leading to restlessness, and change that had appeared inconceivable to earlier generations was starting to manifest in the younger population.

SOURCE 38 Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev during the Reykjavik Summit, 1986

In December 1987 Gorbachev made a triumphant trip to the United States and signed the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) – an agreement to destroy all short- and intermediate-range European-based missiles by 1991. (Although it sounded impressive, this only represented 4 per cent of the nuclear stockpile of both sides.) Gorbachev followed this victory by announcing Moscow's withdrawal from Afghanistan in March 1988. Further, he reduced Soviet aid to its allies, and persuaded Vietnam to remove its troops from Cambodia. It was clear that Gorbachev was working to ensure Reagan understood he was not a threat to the United States.

SOURCE 39 David Bowie performs in front of the Reichstag near the Wall in West Berlin, June 1987. On the other side of the Wall, East Germans gather to listen.

Gorbachev's drive for change culminated in an address to the UN General Assembly on 7 December 1988. In one of the most stunning speeches of the century, he announced the end of the Cold War. He renounced the 1945 Yalta Settlement, the ideological struggle with the United States that had endured since 1917, and Brezhnev's doctrine of force as an element of foreign policy. He concluded by denouncing the stockpiling of nuclear arms and replacing it with the concept of 'reasonable sufficiency'. The speech completed three years of stunning transformation of Soviet foreign policy.

Disarmament agreements 1978–91

The disarmament agreements signed in the period 1979–91 cover the end of détente through to the end of the Cold War itself. These agreements tended to reflect the aspirations and frustrations of both sides, as they tentatively sought to reduce the enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons that threatened to destroy the planet.

SOURCE 40 The key agreements made between the United States and the Soviet Union, 1979–91

YEAR	NAME	LEADERS	MAIN FEATURES
1979	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II (SALT II)	Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev	Limited both sides' strategic forces Failed to be ratified by the United States and unravelled after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
1987	Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)	Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev	Banned short- and immediate-range nuclear weapons (these only represented 4 per cent of stored nuclear warheads)
1991	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I)	George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev	Placed major caps on nuclear weapons, with each side being limited to 6000 warheads and 1600 ballistic missiles and bombers; signed in 1991 and ratified in 1994

Collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

The reaction to Gorbachev's UN speech came relatively quickly in Eastern Europe, where life in many ways had stagnated behind the Iron Curtain. These countries had not turned out to be 'dominoes', willingly falling into line behind communism, as predicted by the West; but countries with their own internal grievances and dreams, longing to throw off the yoke of Soviet control and move to establish independent, non-communist societies.

Moscow allowed the Polish Government to negotiate with the rebellious leaders of the Solidarity trade union, which eventually was made legal in April 1989. Democratic elections were held, and in August a coalition government led by Solidarity candidate Tadeusz Mazowiecki came to power.

SOURCE 41 East German troops break through the Berlin Wall in November 1989, symbolising the end of the Cold War.

In Hungary, Janos Kadar, the leader imposed by the Soviet Union in 1956, was removed from government and replaced with Karoly Grosz, with support from Moscow. Grosz instituted democratic reforms that resulted in free elections, and on 2 May 1989 Hungary opened the barbed-wire gates that had separated its people from neighbouring Austria since the 1950s.

While Poland and Hungary had gone through top-down reform supported by Moscow, East Germany saw a more populist revolt. Events such as the clashes between youth and police at the 1987 concert reflected an ever-increasing generation gap in East Germany. It was the young citizens who fled to the recently democratic Hungary in the summer of 1989. When refused entry, they returned to East Germany and besieged the West German Embassy. Those remaining in East Germany felt encouraged to give voice to their frustrations, and when Gorbachev arrived in East Berlin on 6 October 1989 for East Germany's 40th anniversary celebrations, he was met by crowds calling for democracy. Gorbachev ordered the Soviet troops stationed in East Germany not to aid any attempt by the East German Government to suppress its people.

In an effort to stem the protests, the hated East German leader Erich Hoeneker was replaced by his protégé, Egon Krenz. But this did not help the situation. After weeks of unrest, the East German people took control on 9 November 1989. Travel restrictions were lifted, and thousands flocked to the Wall, climbed it and entered West Berlin. Spontaneous celebrations led to citizens on both sides tearing down sections of the Wall. In scenes televised around the world, the most obvious symbol of the Cold War was literally disintegrating.

Velvet Revolution the non-violent transfer of power from the Communist Party to a democratic government in Czechoslovakia in 1989

Bulgaria followed by announcing free elections on the day the Wall came down, and in Czechoslovakia the **Velvet Revolution** saw playwright and prominent dissident Vaclav Havel elected president by the year's end. In Romania, dictator Nicolae Ceausescu tried to hold on to power, but after his troops refused to fire on their own people, he fled, was recaptured and executed by firing squad on 25 December 1989.

SOURCE 42 The breakdown of Yugoslavia into sovereign states following the collapse of the Soviet Union

FORMER YUGOSLAVIAN STATE	DATE OF INDEPENDENCE
Croatia	25 June 1991
Slovenia	25 June 1991
Macedonia	8 September 1991
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1 March 1992
Serbia and Montenegro	28 April 1992 (split into two independent states in June 2006)
Kosovo	17 February 2008 (independence status disputed)

Altogether, 110 million people across six countries in Eastern Europe were impacted by the rapidly changing events of 1989. Albania's regime collapsed in 1990, and Yugoslavia – which had been held together by the iron grip of Josip Tito until his death in 1980 – responded by disintegrating into six independent states after 1990.

Mikhail Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990, as the world adjusted to a new Europe. Certainly the forces were in place across the region for reform to occur, but Gorbachev played a key role in creating the environment for change and refusing to prop up decaying regimes that had lost the trust of their people. At the same time, he was faced with the challenge of holding the Soviet Union's 15 independent republics together.

Following the successful uprisings in Soviet satellite countries of the Eastern Bloc, many in the Communist Party feared that Soviet Union would break down as well. Their concerns seemed to be well founded, as the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia declared that their own laws took precedence over those of the Soviet Union. In August 1989, two million people joined hands along the road that connected the three in a massive protest against Soviet occupation that spanned over 675 kilometres. It was these three states that really started the chain of events that would culminate in the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Georgia, Ukraine, Armenia and Moldova followed, although the biggest blow to date came when Russia, always the dominant republic of the Soviet Union, declared in 1991 that its local laws were supreme over those of the Soviet Union. The Russian leader, Boris Yeltsin, now emerged as a key player in the future direction of the Soviet Union.

In March 1991, Gorbachev proposed the creation of a new Soviet Union with independent republics but a common president, and a unified military and foreign policy. A referendum on the proposal was boycotted by six of the 15 republics.

Fearful of the unknown consequences of a chaotic disintegration of the Soviet Union, US President George H.W. Bush was unsure whether to push for a breakup of the traditional enemy, or support Gorbachev's idea of unification. In the end, he threw his weight behind Gorbachev by travelling to Moscow to sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) in July 1991.

SOURCE 43 Protesters join hands to create what has become known as the Baltic Chain of Freedom, 23 August 1989.

SOURCE 44 Boris Yeltsin (left) stands on a Soviet tank in central Moscow on 19 August 1991, defying the Soviet coup leaders in a decisive moment in the ending of the Soviet Union.

While Bush supported Gorbachev, conservative forces in the **Soviet State Committee** and the KGB conspired to implement a military coup, and placed Gorbachev under house arrest. Gorbachev had lost popularity, but the people did not want a return to the days of strict Communist Party control that the coup plotters were looking to reinstall. Thus, when Russian leader Boris Yeltsin walked out to confront Soviet tanks outside parliament on 19 August 1991, he became the most significant figure in Soviet politics at that moment.

Over the next three days, a standoff developed between Yeltsin and his supporters and the coup leaders from the State Committee. Sporadic violence and the deaths of protestors appeared to be leading towards a major violent conflict. Ultimately, however, the coup fell apart as military commanders refused orders to move against their own people. On 22 August 1991, Gorbachev returned to Moscow, and to power. It was a compromised power, however, and Yeltsin emerged as the major force in Soviet politics. When the Ukraine, including its Russian residents, voted for independence in a referendum on 1 December 1991, Gorbachev's control was completely compromised. On 25 December 1991, under pressure from Yeltsin, Gorbachev resigned; and at midnight on 31 December 1991, the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist. It was replaced by 15 new countries, loosely united as the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Soviet State Committee
an important centre of power in the Soviet system of government

10.5 Check your learning

1. Explain why the United States and the Soviet Union ended détente and renewed Cold War hostility in the 1980s.
2. Analyse the Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan in 1979 and discuss the outcomes of the invasion.
3. Describe US attitudes towards the Soviet Union during the Reagan era.
4. Outline and assess the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev on the Cold War.
5. Explain how the actions of Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin contributed to the breakup of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991.

10.5 Using and understanding sources

1. Analyse Source 35 and explain how it could be used as evidence of the Soviets' argument that they honourably withdrew from Afghanistan.
2. What argument does Source 37 make? Explain how it provides evidence for US foreign policy under Reagan.
3. Why do you think films like *The Day After*, shown in Source 36, had such a dramatic impact when they were released?
4. Explain how Source 39 helps you understand why the German Foreign Office tweeted 'Thank you for helping to bring down the #wall' after the death of David Bowie in 2016.
5. Identify why Source 41 represents such a significant moment in the Cold War.
6. Explain the importance of the event captured in Source 44.

CONCLUSION

A study of the 46 years between the end of the Second World War and the fall of the Soviet Union shows clear evidence of both continuity and change as major conceptual elements of historical understanding. While most of the major ideological differences between the two sides of the Cold War – as well as the tension – were continuations, dramatic changes also took place, especially towards the end of the period.

This conflict, which was almost half a century long, was called the Cold War as the superpower combatants managed to avoid a destructive outright conflict with each other. The stakes were incredibly high during this time, with the two sides managing to stockpile over 20 000 nuclear missiles each. However, there was a belief that the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) policy – the idea that nuclear war would result in total annihilation of both superpowers – would protect the world against military conflict.

It is estimated that, together, the United States and the Soviet Union spent trillions of dollars on defence during the Cold War – money that in the case of both players was diverted from domestic social and educational programs. One estimate suggests that the United States spent US$8 trillion ($8 000 000 000 000) on defence between 1945 and 1996. Figures for the Soviet Union are not easy to find, but it is estimated that as much as 50 per cent of the Soviet Union's gross national product (GDP) was spent on defence.

While the United States styled itself as the winner, there is not even an agreement over when the Cold War actually ended. Was it Gorbachev's announcement of its end to the UN in 1988? Was it when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, or was it in 1990, when NATO declared that the Soviet Union was no longer an enemy? There is also an argument for the end of the Cold War being the last day of 1991, when the Soviet Union dissolved. So much of the Cold War is still contested and, as a conflict that encouraged secrecy, spying and propaganda that distorted truth, it requires clear historical thinking to make sense of a period that brought the planet to the brink of destruction.

SOURCE 45 Tanks and trucks display missiles during the annual November parade in Red Square, Moscow, 1971.

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

White Johannesburg riot police stand before anti-apartheid student protesters at the University of Witwatersrand, who are holding flowers and flashing peace signs, 1989.

PART D

Change in the Modern World

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obook-only chapter

11

The Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square 1966–89

A group of Chinese stewards, Little Red Books in hand, entertain the US Table Tennis Team at Canton's White Cloud Airport.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What was the Cultural Revolution and how did it impact upon China?
2. What impact have individuals such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin had on the modernisation of China?
3. What occurred in Tiananmen Square in 1989, and how did it impact on Chinese politics and international relations?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

A study of China presents the challenge of foreign language sources, which means you will be relying on translations for most primary sources. China also presents the difficulty of state-encouraged secrecy of many archival records. Thus it becomes important to look at the qualifications of those providing sources, and assess how reliable their language and access skills may be.

Historical interpretation

As one of the last communist countries in the world, China has often inspired mistrust among its ideological enemies. Western sources may have an anti-communist bias, just as ideologically committed Marxists may interpret Chinese history very uncritically. Ideology can play a significant role in historical interpretation, and you will need to be alert to this as you study Chinese history.

Historical investigation and research

It will be important for you to consider a range of sources when investigating this historical period. As you will be relying largely on secondary sources with an already established historical interpretation, it will be important to identify this specific interpretation and to consider a range of interpretations of your own in any investigation you carry out.

Explanation and communication

In the HSC examination, you will be required to provide brief answers to specific questions on this period of China's history. This will require direct responses to be supported by relevant evidence and examples. It will be important to make sure that you have practised writing these types of responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- Understand the nature of the 1949 Chinese Revolution and its subsequent impact.
- Explain the nature and impact of the Cultural Revolution on China.
- Outline the achievements and impacts of significant individuals on modern Chinese history.
- Discuss the significance of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests.

Key features

Permanent Revolution, competing versions of Marxism and anti-revisionism

Mao Zedong's China attempted to apply Marxist theory to a largely agrarian (farming) society. Mao envisaged a state of Permanent Revolution as the Chinese proletariat (working class) gradually grew after the agrarian peasantry had shown the way forward in their own revolution. Mao followed Soviet leader Joseph Stalin's style and approach, and after 1956 he came into conflict with post-Stalin Soviet approaches to Marxist thought. Mao's own ideology was subject to revision, and you need to be particularly aware of the ideological battles after Mao's death in 1976.

The role of leadership

In a society where the Communist Party controls life, a fundamental question is: who controls the Communist Party? Mao used his position as Chairman of the Communist Party of China (CCP) to maintain his control over the country and the direction it would take from the Chinese Revolution of 1949 until his death in 1976. Mao's domination at times made it difficult for other individuals to display leadership. Political infighting became a major characteristic of Chinese political life under the CCP, as potential leaders jockeyed for Mao's favour. Zhou Enlai had been Mao's loyal deputy, but any attempt to resist Mao's direction during the Cultural Revolution (1966–76) would have resulted in his death. Leadership of China has often been particularly volatile. Individuals have made significant contributions to the modernisation of China, but have also quickly fallen from power in factional struggles.

Modernisation of the economy

Throughout the twentieth century, China has been a study in modernisation. It is often confusing to Western observers that the Chinese view of modernisation has not always coincided with the Western view. Modernisation covers more than the economy, but it was the fruits of economic modernisation (which was often fiercely contested in Chinese political circles) that resulted in the powerful modern economy that China is today. The single-party control of economic direction has been a significant factor that helped introduce rapid industrialisation and create the proletariat that was missing at the time of the 1949 revolution. It should be noted, however, that leaders had the power to implement policies that actually set back modernisation. Mao's Great Leap Forward is one example of this.

The nature of social change

China has undergone enormous social change since 1949. The war-torn country has emerged as one of the world's leading powers. Chinese society has transformed from a largely inward-looking agrarian society into a modern successful global power. This change has been driven by deliberate policy from the CCP. Individuals, commencing with Mao, wanted to see China become a modern, socialist nation. Your study of China from 1966 to 1989 covers the period when political thought and the nature of social change were tightly controlled. You will be examining the policies, strategies and decisions that have helped the China you are familiar with emerge.

The causes of the Tiananmen Square protests

As you consider the causes of the 1989 student protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, it is crucial to take the historical context into account. The protests came towards the end of Deng Xiaoping's period of political power. In 1978, he had initiated the 'Four Modernizations': agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defence. He had also opened China to more Western influences. This had the effect of creating personal wealth for some, but increasing the gap between rich and poor. From 1986, the Soviet bloc was experiencing major reform, including democratisation. Pressure built within China, particularly among students, for a greater say in the conduct

SOURCE 1 Student protestors in Tiananmen Square seek greater freedom of speech and democracy, 4 May 1989.

of Chinese society. This developed into the Tiananmen Square protests that challenged the control of Premier Li Peng.

Reaction of the CCP to the pro-democracy movement

The suppression of the Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 by the use of armed force was the most immediate and far-reaching reaction by the CCP towards the pro-democracy movement. The use of the army signalled a tightening of government control, and the event ushered in a period where modernisation continued in economic areas, but not in society. Democratic developments were quickly suppressed, ensuring that the influence of Deng continued, supporting economic growth; while the government's record on human rights became a public concern for many foreign nations.

A note on names

You may find different spellings of Chinese names, both personal and place names, in different sources. For example Mao Zedong was once commonly referred to as 'Mao Tse-tung', and Beijing was referred to as 'Peking'. The change came about as the world started to use the official pinyin system of translation introduced by the Chinese Government during a literacy push in the 1950s and 60s. This has become the accepted system since China's links with the West increased in the 1980s. For personal names in Chinese, the family name comes before the given name.

A note on Chinese politics, positions and terminology

Chinese politics can often seem to be a difficult and confusing combination of names and positions. Some basic points to remember are set out below.

The only political party in China is the CCP, which dominates Chinese politics and life. The leader of the CCP is the chairman. Traditionally, this is the most powerful position in China, and Mao used it throughout his career not only to lead China, but also to dominate all political appointments and policies. The day-to-day running of the CCP is done by the general secretary, another very powerful position because of the power and dominance of the CCP. In recent times, the general secretary has replaced the chairman as the most significant political figure in China.

The CCP runs the Chinese state, known as the People's Republic of China (PRC). All politicians who run the PRC are members of the CCP and owe their positions to the party. The main offices are the president and premier. Their power is dependent upon their influence in the CCP. Mao was simultaneously Chairman of the CCP and President of the PRC until 1959, when the failure of his Great Leap Forward saw him replaced as president. By keeping the position of Chairman of the CCP, however, he was able to retain his control of Chinese politics, although his position was weakened between 1960 and 1966. Due to the close relationship between the CCP and PRC, they often become interchangeable terms; but it is important to remember that it is the CCP that runs the PRC.

In addition, the term 'paramount leader' is used to designate what we would regard as the leader of the country. Usually this would be the Chairman of the CCP, but Deng was recognised as paramount leader while accepting lesser offices. Some individuals – such as Lin Biao during the Cultural Revolution – also used the military as a power base. Lin was able to use his positions as a Vice Chairman of the CCP, a Vice Premier of the PRC, and what we would call the minister of defence to build support in the army and become Mao's likely successor, until a falling-out during the Cultural Revolution.

11.1 Introduction

democracy representative government based on the will of the people

Cultural Revolution the decade of Chinese history between 1966 and 1976 marked by Mao Zedong's control of politics and thought

The study of China between 1966 and 1989 is a study in complexity. It raises a number of significant historical issues: How much influence can an individual have on history? Is Western **democracy** the ideal that all nations are progressing towards? To what extent does a Western upbringing impact on an understanding of alternative methods of organising society? How do historians develop a full understanding of an event if documents and archival material are not released for public access? As you work through the aims and impact of the **Cultural Revolution**, the modernisation of China and the Tiananmen Square protests, it is important that you consider these issues and develop your own responses, informed by specific examples.

When the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was successful in attaining power in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, it heralded a period of massive change. The progress of that change was, however, inconsistent, and often reflected the personal ideology and vision of the leader of the time. It was change marred by oppression, mass deaths and a frequently fractious relationship with other countries. Through all the turmoil, China has emerged as one of the major global powers of the twenty-first century, and knowledge of its history is critical for understanding its role and aspirations in the contemporary world.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events in China 1842–2013

1842

The Treaty of Nanjing ends the First Opium War and grants Britain privileged access to China.

1900

The Boxer Rebellion against foreign influence takes place.

1911

A revolution ends China's final dynasty, the Qing.

1912

The Republic of China is proclaimed.

1919

Demonstrations for the May Fourth Movement are held in Beijing to protest the weakness of the Chinese Government's response to the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War, which favoured Japan over China.

1921

The Chinese Communist Party is founded.

1934–35

The Long March marks the start of the rise of the CCP and Mao Zedong.

1937

War with Japan temporarily unites Chinese nationalists and communists.

1945

The Second World war ends with the defeat of Japan.

1946

Civil war breaks out between the Guomindang Nationalist Party and the CCP over control of China.

1949

Mao and the CCP defeat the Guomindang and establish the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Guomindang and its leader, Chiang Kai-shek, flee to Taiwan to establish an 'alternative China' that is recognised by the West.

1950

China signs a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union and enters the Korean War on the side of North Korea.

1952

China launches a Five Year Plan of economic development.

1957

Mao briefly allows the 'One Hundred Flowers' movement free speech campaign, but this is soon followed by a crackdown on anti-government speech.

1958

The Great Leap Forward begins.

1959

Mao steps down as President of the PRC, but continues to hold power as Chairman of the CCP.

1960

Widespread famine causes millions of deaths and marks the winding-back of the Great Leap Forward. The Soviet Union withdraws all advisers from China.

1961

Wu Han's play *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* is published, and is seen as a criticism of Mao.

1962

Liu Shaoqi describes the famine as a man-made disaster at a party gathering in Beijing, contributing to a loss of support for Mao.

1964

China explodes its first atomic bomb.

1966

Liu and Deng Xiaoping, both regarded as future leaders, are dismissed from office as the Cultural Revolution begins. Encouraged by the 'Gang of Four', students form Red Guard units throughout the country to fight against those whom they believe seek to take China back to capitalism.

Red Guards shout slogans in downtown Beijing, seeking to rouse the people and recapture the 1949 revolutionary zeal, 1967.

1968

After chaotic protests, the Red Guards are brought under control by the People's Liberation Army (PLA), and Mao orders students to be 're-educated' in rural areas. By 1980, 17 million students will have been banished from the cities.

1969

Fighting breaks out on the Chinese border with the Soviet Union. Lin Biao is designated Mao's successor at a CCP Congress.

1971

The PRC replaces Taiwan as China's official representative at the United Nations. Lin Biao and his family die in a plane crash in Mongolia while fleeing from Beijing.

1972

US President Richard Nixon visits China, resulting in a triumph for the negotiating skills of Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai.

Zhou Enlai was Premier of the PRC from 1949 until his death in 1976.

1974

Mao begins the rehabilitation of Deng by appointing him to head the Chinese delegation to the United Nations.

1975

Zhou launches the 'Four Modernizations' of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defence.

1976

Zhou dies in January, and Mao in September, heralding the end of the Cultural Revolution and the arrest of the Gang of Four.

1978

Deng emerges as the Chinese leader, ushering in a period of economic liberalisation and growth.

1986

University protests are met with a government crackdown.

1989

Escalating pro-democracy protests are met with military suppression and loss of life in Tiananmen Square and its surrounding area on 3–4 June.

Jiang Zemin is chosen as the CCP leader.

1992

US confers 'most favoured nation' trading status on China.

1993

Jiang becomes leader of both the CCP and the PRC.

1997

Deng dies.

Hong Kong is officially returned from British to Chinese control.

2001

China joins the World Trade Organization.

2003

Hu Jintao becomes leader of China when he succeeds Jiang in all positions.

2008

The Olympics are held in Beijing.

2013

Xi Jinping succeeds Hu.

11.2 Survey: Political and social conditions in China 1949–66

communism/ communist
a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology of the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had been single-minded about building a better China along **communist** lines since the party's formation in 1921. The Guomindang Nationalist Party under its leader Chiang Kai-shek, who controlled China at the time, started a civil war against the CCP in 1927.

The CCP reached its lowest ebb during the famed Long March of 1934–35. The 'Long March' is the name given to a series of marches that made up the CCP's military retreat in the face of Nationalist pursuit in the civil war. While some of Mao Zedong's forces, led by inexperienced military commanders, were under heavy attacks from Chiang's troops in the southern province of Jiangxi, the CCP troops escaped by retreating north, eventually covering over 9000 kilometres through challenging terrains to reach safety. Mao and Zhou Enlai came to command the troops during this episode, which resulted in Mao's ascent to power within the party. As such, the Long March formed the base for Mao's subsequent hold on the CCP leadership.

As the threat from Japan grew through the 1930s, the Guomindang was more interested in securing power than confronting Japan. The CCP, on the other hand, was prepared to compromise for the good of China, and won significant support for that approach among the Chinese people. The two groups did temporarily unite in 1937 to fight against Japan, but Chiang's refusal to negotiate with Mao after the war was over saw his support drift away during the 1946–49 civil war, which led to CCP victory and the declaration of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.

The CCP had restored a sense of pride and purpose to China – a country that had recently experienced the end of the Qing Dynasty, which had ruled between 1644 and 1911; humiliation in the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when Germany's trading rights in China were transferred to Japan without any consultation; and division between the Guomindang and the CCP leading up to Japan's invasion in 1937. It was with good cause that Mao was able to stand at the Gate of Heavenly Peace in Beijing on 1 October 1949 and announce the foundation of the PRC, declaring: 'Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up.'

SOURCE 3 Key figures in Chinese politics 1949–2003

LEADER	MAJOR POSITIONS/NOTES	LEADER	MAJOR POSITIONS/NOTES
Mao Zedong [*mow dzer dong*] 	Chairman of the CCP (1943–76) Chairman of the PRC (name of position changed to president in 1954) (1949–59) Paramount Leader of China: 1949–76 Least control: 1960–66	Zhou Enlai [*joh en ly*] 	Premier of the PRC (1949–76) Foreign Minister (1949–58) Vice Chairman of the CCP (1956–66) First Vice Chairman of the CCP (1973–76) A skilled diplomat and, at different times, Mao's second-in-command

LEADER	MAJOR POSITIONS/NOTES	LEADER	MAJOR POSITIONS/NOTES
Deng Xiaoping [*deng shee-ow ping*] 	Minister of Finance (1953–54) Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (PRC) (1978–83) Chairman of the Central Advisory Commission (CCP) (1982–87) Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CCP) (1981–89) Chairman of the Central Military Commission (PRC) (1983–90) In effect was China's Paramount Leader: 1978–97 Architect of China's economic modernisation Moved himself to a less public position after Tiananmen Square in 1989	Liu Shaoqi [*lee-oh show chee*] 	President of the PRC (1959–68) Succeeded Mao, but criticism of the Great Leap Forward made him an enemy of Mao and a victim of the Cultural Revolution
Lin Biao [*lin bee-ow*] 	Vice Premier of the PRC (1954–71) Vice Chairman of the CCP (1958–71) Defence Minister (1959–71) First Vice Chairman of the CCP (1966–71) Succeeded Peng Dehuai and regarded as Mao's successor until a rift in late 1960s Mao moved to remove Lin, but Lin died in a plane crash while fleeing China with his family	Hua Guofeng [*hwa gwo feng*] 	First Vice Chairman of the CCP (1976) Premier of the PRC (1976–80) Chairman of the CCP (1976–81) Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CCP) (1976–81) Vice Chairman of the CCP (1981–82) Succeeded Mao, but was gradually manoeuvred from power by Deng
Li Peng [*lee peng*] 	Vice Premier of the PRC (1983–87) Premier of the PRC (1988–98) Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (PRC) (1998–2003) Regarded as conservative in Chinese terms Imposed martial law in Tiananmen Square	Zhao Ziyang [*jow dzuh yahng*] 	Premier of the PRC (1980–87) General Secretary of the CCP (1987–89) Economic reformer who was supported by Deng Xiaoping, he was purged after supporting protestors in Tiananmen Square
Hu Yaobang [*hoo yow bahng*] 	Chairman of CCP (1981–82) General Secretary of CCP (1982–87) Economic and political reformer supported by Deng His support of student protests led to a forced resignation His death contributed to the events at Tiananmen Square	Jiang Zemin [*jee-ang dzer min*] 	General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP (1989–2002) Chairman of the Central Military Commission (PRC) (1990–2005) Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CCP) (1989–2004) President of the PRC (1993–2003) Came to power after Tiananmen Square Regarded as Paramount Leader as Deng aged

The legacy of the 1949 revolution and the Great Leap Forward

Historian Michael Dillon describes the 1949 Chinese Revolution and foundation of the PRC as the time when 'China had been transformed from an exploited country to a country in which the Chinese were masters of a new society'. The CCP would be in charge of this new society, representing the working class in an application of **Marxist** theory that planned to see China emerge as a true communist republic of equality. The ability of the CCP – and Mao as chief spokesperson – to articulate a vision of progress and opportunity helps explain why the CCP has been able to maintain its position in Chinese society.

Mao launched three important political campaigns as part of the process of consolidating the CCP's control of the new republic. The first was a campaign against counter-revolutionaries. It was an opportunity to imprison or execute former members and higher-ranking leaders of the Guomindang before they were able to pose a threat to the CCP. Between January and October 1950, over 13 800 arrests of accused counter-revolutionaries were made. As citizens were encouraged to supply names of potential enemies, a pattern of distrust and fear was established within society that would become magnified during the Cultural Revolution. The counter-revolutionary campaign claimed many victims, although no official figures can be regarded as definitive. A 1957 statement by Mao suggested 500 000–800 000 deaths; Zhou Enlai reported that 800 000 Guomindang had been 'mopped up'; and figures as high as two million have been suggested by historians. Certainly it had the effect of bringing what had been a bitterly fought civil war to an end, and securing CCP control.

The second of Mao's major campaigns is known as the 'Three-anti Campaign'. Taking place in 1951, this was an urban operation targeting three evils: corruption, waste and the culture of **bureaucracy**. Its main focus was government employees in finance and economics who were suspected of corruption through their contact with the old commercial and banking elite. Its aim was to **purge** 25 per cent of CCP party members, and it is believed to have reached its target. The Three-anti Campaign created a template for future similar programs of control that would be utilised in the Cultural Revolution and beyond.

The third campaign was the 'Five-anti Campaign', which targeted five more evils the CCP felt had to be dealt with before moving on to build its planned society. In this case, the evils were bribery, tax evasion, fraud, the theft of government property, and the leaking of state secrets. The Five-anti Campaign was launched in January 1952, and its specific target was industrialists and merchants, a group that the CCP referred to as the 'national bourgeoisie' (middle class). The wealth and power of this group under the previous

Marxist
the economic and political theories of Karl Marx (1818–83) and his collaborator Friedrich Engels (1820–95)

bureaucracy
any group of administrators; they can be part of government or the administration of any large organisation

purge
to remove opponents or potential opponents, often by force

SOURCE 4 Mao Zedong proclaiming the foundation of the People's Republic of China, 1 October 1949

regime meant that it remained a major threat to a communist state. The Five-anti Campaign gave workers the opportunity to investigate and challenge the business dealings of their bosses, and in time completely changed the way business was conducted in China.

Ultimately, the three campaigns can be viewed as part of the process of establishing a revolutionary government after a bitter civil war. By empowering workers and targeting those who appeared wealthy and privileged, the campaigns helped the majority of Chinese feel they had a stake in the new society, and that they would benefit from Mao's vision. The process also tested methods of state control that encouraged fear and distrust, which in turn helped consolidate government power and control.

After a brief period of engagement in the Korean War, fighting on the side of North Korea, the CCP returned to its priority of establishing 'New China'. Following the Soviet model, a Five Year Plan was implemented, covering 1953–57. It achieved dramatic economic growth, and progress on the government's priorities. These changes were taking place against the background of the establishment of the new Chinese Constitution, which was adopted in 1954. It consolidated the power of the CCP while also establishing a People's Congress.

Land redistribution saw land moved from traditional landlords to farmers. It is estimated that 60 per cent of the rural population owned roughly 43 per cent of cultivatable land by the late 1950s. This indicates the incredible impact the Five Year Plan had on peasants who had never before had access to their own land. Laws abolished **feudal marriage** and replaced it with free choice of partners. It also removed the traditions of **bigamy**, the use of **concubines** and the **betrothal** of young children. Further regulations were put in place on art and literature, as the CCP viewed these expressions as a means to serve the revolution. The tension between intellectuals, artists and writers on the one hand and the party on the other still remain unresolved in Chinese society today.

feudal marriage
marriage based on the traditional system of parental desires and needs, rather than the wishes of the couple involved

bigamy
the act of marrying while still married to someone else

concubine
a secondary wife or partner

betrothal
an arrangement where someone is promised as a marriage partner

collectivise
replacing wealthy individual farms with group farming and shared resources

commune
a community that works together on common land to serve the state

SOURCE 5

> At the top of the list were economic reconstruction for a land devastated by almost 40 years of conflict; the more equitable redistribution of land; marriage reform to alleviate the suffering of millions of women and the thorny problem of how to deal with the educated and professional classes, many of whom were inclined to support New China from patriotic motives but were also, by profession and by disposition, extremely critical.
>
> Chinese Government priorities in the early 1950s, in Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History*, 2012, p. 283

At the end of 1957, as a second Five Year Plan was due to be implemented, Mao replaced it with a more ambitious plan to rapidly industrialise and **collectivise** the country (meaning that work and production would be state-controlled and state-owned). The plan was called the 'Great Leap Forward', and between 1958 and 1962, under Mao's direction, it became the organising feature of Chinese life. It was designed to break free from the Soviet approach and provide a model for a truly Chinese version of communism.

In 1958, the Great Leap Forward seemed to be making dramatic progress. The peasant majority were organised into self-sufficient **communes**, and worked together for the good of the commune and the common good of the country. Mao continued to insist that if they worked together, the Chinese people were capable of anything. His aim was to surpass British industrial output and ultimately challenge the wealth and industry of the United States.

To achieve this goal, workers were placed into factories, and agricultural communes were encouraged to produce steel in backyard furnaces. Everything was achieved through strict state control, and any questioning was seen as being anti-revolutionary.

By 1959 it was becoming obvious that the estimates for China's industrial production rates had been wildly optimistic. The backyard steel was substandard and, in addition, poor weather had led to smaller-than-expected harvests, which brought on a famine that would kill at least 20 million people between 1959 and 1962. Some estimates have the figure as high as 55 million dead. Government directives to leave land unplanted because of a lack of storage made a bad situation worse, and such was the scale of the disaster that the government eventually retreated from its Great Leap Forward in the early 1960s.

The extent of lives lost during the Great Leap Forward is still the source of much historical investigation and debate. In 2010, historian Frank Dikötter released *Mao's Great Famine: The Story of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe*. In it he described the Great Leap Forward as 'one of the worst catastrophes the world has ever known'. After accessing CCP archives, he estimates that at least 45 million people were worked, starved or beaten to death in China in the period 1958–62.

SOURCE 6

> State retribution for tiny thefts, such as stealing a potato, even by a child, would include being tied up and thrown into a pond; parents were forced to bury their children alive or were doused in excrement and urine, others were set alight, or had a nose or ear cut off. One record shows how a man was branded with hot metal. People were forced to work naked in the middle of winter; 80 per cent of all the villagers in one region of a quarter of a million Chinese were banned from the official canteen because they were too old or ill to be effective workers, so were deliberately starved to death.
>
> Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The Story of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe*, 2010

SOURCE 7 Rural workers were mobilised to build a water reservoir during the period of the Great Leap Forward.

SOURCE 8

> Yet the Great Leap Forward was a monumental failure. It can hardly be defined as anything else, as its methods caused a massive famine whose effects were dismissed by Mao, and caused at least 20 million deaths. Its modernising aims were dashed in the face of reality.
>
> Rana Mitter, *Modern China*, 2008, p. 87

SOURCE 9 A man working to produce steel in his backyard furnace, as encouraged by the CCP

Government policy certainly played a role in the tragedy that unfolded, and Mao's leadership was placed under pressure. In 1959, Mao stepped down as Chairman of the PRC, but retained his power through his position as President of the CCP. Liu Shaoqi replaced Mao as PRC President and, together with CCP General Secretary Deng Xiaoping, was given the responsibility of changing policy and creating an economic recovery.

11.2a Check your learning

1. What was Mao Zedong's vision for 'New China'?
2. Explain the three campaigns Mao launched to help consolidate the PRC.
3. Evaluate the success of the Great Leap Forward.

11.2a Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 5 helps you understand the difficulties faced by the CCP when it came to power in 1949.
2. Analyse Sources 6–9 and explain what each reveals about the Great Leap Forward. Which sources corroborate each other? Do you think any are more reliable than others?

The state of Chinese-Soviet relations

As a new communist nation emerging in the era of the **Cold War**, China had difficulty with international relations. Its obvious ally was the Soviet Union, but as China had developed a revolution totally independent from Soviet direction and support, it was not an easy or straightforward relationship. Mao met Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in Moscow in December 1949, but it was not until Zhou Enlai travelled to Moscow that negotiations between the two countries proceeded. Zhou was regarded as a much better negotiator than Mao, and his involvement led to a 1950 treaty between the two countries, called the Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Treaty. As a further sign of warmer relations, the Soviet Union withdrew from all the Chinese territory it had occupied during the Second World War, and offered China a US$300 million loan at 1 per cent interest. Soviet experts were also sent into China to help it prepare for the establishment of a communist society.

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

When Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev made his 'secret' speech in 1956 condemning previous Soviet leader Stalin, and the **'cult of personality'** that surrounded him, it rocked Soviet politics and society. The ripples of that speech also penetrated the CCP. Mao had modelled much of his direction on Stalin, and the call to denounce the cult of personality was a direct threat to the role Mao was establishing for himself in China. Ultimately, it would lead to a split between the Soviet Union and China, but in the short term it encouraged Mao to experiment with a more open approach. He was hoping to avoid what he saw as Stalin's major mistake – cutting himself off from the people he was governing. As a result, Mao announced that he encouraged **dissenting** views in what has become known as the 'One Hundred Flowers' movement. He stated: 'Let 100 flowers bloom, and let 100 schools of thought contend.' But it would only take months before the policy was reversed, and by the middle of 1957, dissent again became a crime. By 1958, the Great Leap Forward – a deliberate attempt by China to differentiate itself from the Soviet Union – had increased the gap between the two countries.

'cult of personality'
a term that became associated with the political leadership in a number of regimes where faith in the greatness and wisdom of the leader was the key to holding power

dissenting
having an opinion that is not in line with the official view

In June 1960, at an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Bucharest, Romania, the Soviet Union started a campaign against Chinese policies. A month later, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies withdrew technical and economic experts from China, and broke contracts to supply equipment that the Chinese were relying on for their ongoing modernisation plans. A further meeting in November 1960 saw a deepening difference of opinion over Khrushchev's push for 'peaceful coexistence' with the West. This was not a direction China was comfortable with, and by the end the year, there was an increasingly widening split between China and the Soviet Union.

SOURCE 10 Mao Zedong meets Joseph Stalin in Moscow, December 1949

THE SITE OF THE 1969 CHINESE–SOVIET CLASH OVER ZHENBAO ISLAND

SOURCE 11 This map shows the disputed border between China and the Soviet Union.

Source: Oxford University Press

By the end of 1960s, the split had led to a serious border skirmish and placed the two countries on the brink of war. They shared over 4000 kilometres of border that became increasingly contested as China accused the Soviet Union of weakening in its commitment to a true communist society. In the spring and summer of 1969, fighting broke out over disputed islands on the Ussuri River (most famously on Zhenbao Island), which formed the border between China and the Soviet Union. Tensions eased after negotiations between Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai, but relations were never fully restored throughout the remaining decades of the Soviet Union's existence.

11.2b Check your learning

1. Explain the aim of the One Hundred Flowers movement. Analyse how successful it was.
2. Outline the changing nature of relations between China and the Soviet Union between 1949 and 1960.
3. Research the 1969 border conflict between China and the Soviet Union, and explain how it occurred.

11.2b Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Source 10 and discuss whether it provides any evidence of a close relationship between Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin.

Tensions between the Chinese Communist Party and its leader, Mao Zedong, that gave rise to the Cultural Revolution

The failure of the Great Leap Forward and the relinquishing of the role of PRC President to Liu Shaoqi were the first major setbacks Mao had experienced since establishing the PRC. Ultimately those setbacks led to the Cultural Revolution, because, as Michael Dillon points out, 'as the Cultural Revolution unfolded, it became clear that it was not in fact a struggle about culture but was a battle for the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party'.

In the period 1962–65, Mao's dominance was being increasingly challenged by Liu and by Deng Xiaoping. As the leader of the PRC, Liu started to be referred to as 'Chairman', a title previously only used with Mao; and on the 1 October national day celebrations in Beijing in 1965, images of Mao and Liu were carried in roughly equal numbers by the crowd. Another testament to Liu's popularity was that conservative opponents of Mao, who had lost their jobs under his direction, started to regain their positions. As a result, Mao left Beijing, which was regarded as the centre of government and a stronghold of the conservative factions of the CCP, and headed to the Shanghai region. Shanghai was a more radical city and the powerbase of Mao's wife, Jiang Qing. It was Jiang's support that would form the leadership of the Cultural Revolution. Jiang and Mao used their contacts in Shanghai to act independently of the authorities in Beijing, and used the local media to attack what they regarded as a conservative right-wing political direction in Beijing.

While freedom of political thought and the role of academics and intellectuals were the battleground of the Cultural Revolution, it was the controversies of a theatre play by Wu Han, Deputy Mayor of Beijing, that became the catalyst for what would be a decade of political

SOURCE 12 Liu Shaoqi with his wife and fellow politician Wang Guangmei

SOURCE 13 Deng Xiaoping's influence in Chinese politics started growing in the early 1960s. After being ousted from the CCP more than once, Deng would eventually emerge as the de facto leader of China following Mao Zedong's death in 1976.

SOURCE 14 The major political players who would lead the Cultural Revolution: (from left) Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun, Liu Shaoqi, Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, 1962

conflict. Wu's play *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* was about an incorruptible official who spoke the truth from the Ming Imperial Court of the sixteenth century. The play was published in 1961, and was widely regarded as an attack on Mao's treatment of Peng Dehuai, his defence minister and moderniser of the Chinese Army. Peng had criticised the cult of personality developing around Mao, and been removed from all offices in 1959. It took until 1965 for a challenge to the play to be published, as Mao's supporters strengthened their position. An article in a Shanghai newspaper on 29 November 1965 called the play 'poisonous weed'. With that, the first steps towards what would become the Cultural Revolution had been taken.

11.2c Check your learning

1 Explain why Mao Zedong and Jiang Qing moved from Beijing to Shanghai in 1965.
2 Outline the role of *Hai Rui Dismissed From Office* in the lead-up to the Cultural Revolution.

11.2c Understanding and using the sources

1 Use Sources 12 and 13 as a starting point for research into the conflict between Mao and those shown in these sources. What impact do you think the conflict had on Chinese history?
2 Examine Source 14 and research the individuals shown. Briefly explain the links between each person.

11.3 The Cultural Revolution

The Cultural Revolution took the focus away from the economic aims of the Five Year Plan and the Great Leap Forward, and replaced them with a political struggle for power. During this period, any attempt at engagement with the broader world was subjugated to an internal fight for control. While the military provided stability from 1968, the battle for power continued, even after Mao Zedong's death in 1976, as the Cultural Revolution evolved into a struggle for the future direction of China.

As historian Frank Dikötter described in his 2016 study *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962–1976*, 'during the ten years spanning the Cultural Revolution, between 1.5 and 2 million people were killed, basically for opposing Mao's ideas and thoughts, but many more lives were ruined through endless denunciations, false confessions, **struggle meetings** and persecution campaigns'. As Dikötter's extensive research in the Chinese archives has revealed, it was a struggle at the top of the political ladder, but the implications extended across the whole of a Chinese society that was still reeling from the massive loss of life associated with the Great Leap Forward.

struggle meeting
a form of public humiliation, torture or even execution for enemies of the state

SOURCE 15

> In 1966 China entered a period of turmoil which was to last for 14 years. The Communist Party appeared to be at war with itself and it was a war that had been instigated primarily by its own leader, Mao Zedong.
>
> Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History*, 2012, p. 325

The aims and methods of Mao Zedong

A study of the Cultural Revolution places the focus clearly on Mao and his leadership. The Great Leap Forward had been a setback and, like many leaders before and after, he sought an opportunity to reassert his power and control. For history students, it also raises questions regarding the reasons for change, and the power of an individual to influence change and its direction.

While still believing in the cause of class struggle, and suspicious of intellectuals and the urban bourgeoisie, Mao's main aim was to restore his leadership and control within the party. Mao was also determined to secure his legacy as the revolutionary leader who had proved communism would work.

In launching a program of ideological renewal in China, Mao also attacked his own party. One early method of this undermining campaign was his use of public posters. He encouraged school students to make posters denouncing traitors to the class struggle, and provided materials to schools to encourage this. In the summer of 1966, large posters started appearing in prominent places in Beijing, including at the university, praising Mao and condemning key figures of the party, such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. They were accused of being 'takers of the **capitalist** road' – arguably the most serious crime imaginable in the ideologically pure society Mao was attempting to cultivate. Liu and Deng were the most prominent leaders of the conservative element that had condemned Mao's handling of the Great Leap Forward, and Beijing was their political base. Their public denouncement was Mao's way of exerting a direct threat to any who wished to challenge his authority.

capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

SOURCE 16 A poster from 1968 reading, 'The 3 July and 24 July proclamations are Chairman Mao's great strategic plans! Unite with forces that can be united with to strike surely, accurately and relentlessly at the handful of class enemies.' (These proclamations called for the return of weapons that anti-Mao forces had seized from the Chinese Army.)

The poster campaign spread to other cities and encouraged students to name potential opponents of the regime. Frequently these were teachers, who suddenly found themselves publicly accused with no evidence and no appeal. A student in Zhengding at the time, Gao Yuan, outlined the process of accusation: 'The method was, first, to declare yourself a defender of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; second, to pose a series of accusatory questions about your target; and third, to expose it as yet another example of counter-revolutionary infiltration of the Party.' To Mao, this was empowering citizens to protect the revolution; for China, it unleashed a period of dangerous chaos.

The disorder that followed the poster campaign also revealed another of Mao's methods: to encourage the Chinese people to study his writings. As everyone wanted to know what ideas were publicly acceptable at any given time, millions of people studied Mao's works, especially his *Little Red Book*. This work, known also as *The Quotations of Mao Zedong*, was filled with Mao's thoughts and sayings, and became essential reading throughout China. It was a simple and powerful method of indoctrinating an entire society in 'correct' political thought, while continuing to establish a cult of personality.

SOURCE 17 Soldiers with Mao's *Little Red Book* at a Cultural Revolution rally in Beijing, 1966

SOURCE 18 Peasants take a break from work to study Mao's writings together.

On 16 July 1966, Mao plunged back into public life by swimming across the Yangtze River. This was a symbolic show of strength by the 72 year old, sending a clear message that he was prepared to continue leading. It portrayed him as a leader of character, and the photograph shown in Source 19 spread throughout China, and then globally. It had huge propaganda value at exactly the right time; and such was its value and impact, that *Time Magazine* named it as one of the 100 most influential images of all time.

When Mao returned to Beijing after his Yangtze swim, he moved against Liu, because Liu had been organising 'work teams' – small groups sent into schools and workplaces to oversee 'correct political thinking' and ensure that schools, factories and offices were following the government line in supporting Liu and Deng. This was an attempt by Beijing to prevent Mao's standing from becoming too strong. To combat these work teams, Mao utilised his newly established Cultural Revolution Group. Among its members was Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen. Collectively, these figures would make up the core of the Cultural Revolution Group and become known as the 'Gang of Four'.

SOURCE 19 Mao swimming the Yangtze River surrounded by his bodyguards

11.3a Check your learning

1 List the main aims and methods employed by Mao Zedong in the lead-up to the Cultural Revolution. Which do you think were the most effective?
2 Research what was contained in Mao's *Little Red Book*, and explain how it helps you understand the ideology of the Cultural Revolution.

11.3a Understanding and using the sources

1 Analyse Source 15 and discuss how valid you think Michael Dillon's conclusion is.
2 Explain how Sources 16–18 help you understand the methods Mao employed in the lead-up to the Cultural Revolution.
3 Why is the event captured in Source 19 significant? Explain its place in Chinese history.

The role of the Gang of Four and the Red Guards; the destruction of the 'Four Olds'

Although membership of the Cultural Revolution Group changed, the group remained the Gang of Four's power base throughout the Cultural Revolution. Its formation and activity revealed the meticulous nature of Mao's planning – the group worked to carry out his wishes, but he could also move any accountability to them, thus protecting himself. The Cultural Revolution Group proceeded to undermine Liu's work teams, and turned students against them, inciting even more violence and isolating Liu. A new **Politburo** standing committee of the Politburo (the most important administrative and political grouping in the CCP) was formed, where power was concentrated in Mao's defence minister, Lin Biao, who at this stage had effectively replaced Liu as Mao's designated successor.

Politburo
Political Bureau (office), the main policy-making body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

The Gang of Four was based in Shanghai where Jiang – a former actor – played a central role in changing China's cultural mechanisms: turning art, including films and opera, into tools of oppression. The students who had been recruited by Mao in 1966 became the basis of a new grouping, the **Red Guards**. Mao revealed his method of dealing with opposition forces in a conversation with his doctor: 'We have to depend on them [the students] to start a rebellion, a revolution. Otherwise we may not be able to overthrow those demons and monsters.' Those 'demons and monsters' were the CCP leaders who challenged Mao's leadership. In ideological terms, they were condemned as bourgeois capitalists determined to restore the 'old China'. For the young and idealistic students, the old China meant a return to inequality, inefficiency and the destruction of the dreams they had been encouraged to believe about China's glorious future.

Red Guards (China)
students organised into groups to support Mao Zedong's rule during the Cultural Revolution

Encouraged by Mao, the Red Guards proceeded to unleash violent chaos. Frank Dikötter details numerous instances of the students turning on their educators. At a girls' school administered by Beijing National University, the Red Guards decided to rid the school of bourgeois elements. They accused five members of the school administration of forming a '**Black Gang**', splashed them with black ink and then bashed them with nail-studded clubs. A vice principal, Bian Zhongyun, became one of the first victims of the Cultural Revolution when she was beaten to death by her students and placed in a garbage cart.

Black Gangs
groups during the Cultural Revolution that were thought to oppose Mao Zedong

Throughout this process, the Cultural Revolution Group toured schools and universities, supporting the Red Guards. On 18 August 1966, one million students packed Tiananmen Square in Beijing to see and hear Mao speak. Lin appealed to the students to destroy 'all the old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits of exploiting the classes'. A student, Song Binbin, was appointed to present Mao with a Red Guard armband. She came from the school where Bian Zhongyun had been beaten to death two weeks earlier. It was clear that Mao was sanctioning violence against anyone willing to stand against him or his ideology.

SOURCE 20

> There are no accurate statistics about the number of victims in Beijing, but in late August [1966] more than a hundred people were killed every day. One internal party document reports that, on 26 August, 126 people died at the hands of the Red Guards; the following day, 228; the day after, 184; on 29 August, 200. The list goes on. According to a conservative estimate, by late September, as the first wave of violence abated, at least 1770 people had lost their lives, not including those massacred in the outskirts of the capital.
>
> Frank Dikötter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962–1976*, 2016, pp. 78–9

The Red Guards believed they were smashing the old order and building a new society under the guidance of Mao. Lin demanded that they destroy the 'Four Olds' – being old customs, old culture, old habits and old ideas – which led to attacks on anything regarded as traditional. People were attacked in the street and had their hair forcibly cut, their tight pants slashed and their high heels ripped off. While their Western counterparts were preparing to embrace the ideals of the hippies, Beijing's students were imposing a narrow and compulsory world view on the population, by violence if necessary.

SOURCE 21

> We are Chairman Mao's Red Guard, and Chairman Mao is our highest leader … We have unlimited trust in the people! We have the deepest hatred for our enemies! In life, we struggle for the party! In death, we give ourselves up for the benefit of the people! ... With our blood and our lives, we swear to defend Chairman Mao! Chairman Mao, we have unlimited faith in you!
>
> An oath of loyalty taken by Red Guards at the high school attached to Qinghua University, quoted in Rana Mitter, *Modern China*, 2008, p. 89

The Red Guards movement spread across China. Streets were renamed and new signs were made to help sweep away the past and celebrate current political heroes. Books were burned, monuments toppled, and churches and pagodas (temples) destroyed. The Red Guard attacks on the Four Olds had unleashed an orgy of violence, encouraged by Mao and his Gang of Four.

SOURCE 22 An attack on the Four Olds – the remains of Ming Dynasty Wanli Emperor at the Ming tombs; remains such as these were removed from tombs, and either destroyed or publicly exhibited to be humiliated.

11.3b Check your learning

1 Outline the rise of the Gang of Four during the Cultural Revolution.
2 Discuss the actions and success of the Red Guards. What made their success possible?
3 What were the 'Four Olds'?

11.3b Understanding and using the sources

1 Explain how Source 20 helps you to understand the role, method and effectiveness of the Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution.
2 Does Source 21 provide any evidence for the suggestion that the Cultural Revolution was about Mao Zedong strengthening his leadership of China?
3 Why would the remains shown in Source 22 be a target for the Red Guards?

The removal of Deng Xiaoping from politics and the flight of Lin Biao

At a meeting addressed by the Gang of Four, in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing on 18 March 1968, Kang Sheng, a close ally of Jiang Qing, began to publicly list traitors and secret agents he believed were hidden inside the CCP. Liu Shaoqi was the first to be named, and as the list was revealed, Jiang shouted 'Down with Deng Xiaoping!' Kang added Deng to the list as a deserter, and Deng's downfall commenced. Revolutionary committees, dominated by the army, were formed with the support of Mao to investigate potential enemies. These investigations became an avenue for the settling of personal **vendettas**. They also marked the next phase of the Cultural Revolution, where the People's Liberation Army (PLA) replaced the Red Guards as the main organisation to support Mao's ongoing revolution to ensure his control of the CCP.

vendetta
a prolonged and bitter quarrel

Jiang's nomination of Deng as a traitor meant that he was purged from any position of power. Seen as a threat to the Gang of Four and their aspirations to succeed Mao, Deng was effectively removed from public life in 1968. Deng was allied to Premier Zhou Enlai, whose loyalty to Mao and considerable diplomatic skills had enabled Zhou to survive the Cultural Revolution purges. As Zhou's health deteriorated in 1974, he handed much of the day-to-day running of the country to Deng, who was elected first deputy premier and chief of the general staff in 1975. Deng's return from purging brought him into direct conflict with the Gang of Four's own plans to control the CCP.

Lin Biao's power base was the PLA, which had been used to restore order and stability after the Red Guards had played a major part in ousting Mao's enemies in the early period of the Cultural Revolution. The PLA's role from late 1968 led to many of the radical students who had made up the Red Guards being sent to rural areas for 're-education' – to help them unlearn the 'aggressive freedom' they had previously been allowed. These actions cemented Lin's close relationship with Mao. At the Ninth Congress of the CCP, held in April 1969, Lin was officially designated as Mao's successor. It was a chaotic period in Chinese politics, as the reality of Mao's age (75 at the time) meant an ongoing power struggle to succeed him. Different factions looked for political or military support to further their own objectives.

SOURCE 23 A propaganda poster for the PLA, 1971

The Ninth Congress took place during rising border tensions with the Soviet Union (see Section 11.2). This had the effect of rebalancing China's approach to foreign policy. As China moved further away from the Soviet Union, it suddenly veered closer to the United States. Zhou was entrusted with the negotiations that culminated in US President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972. It was a mutually beneficial relationship that allowed the United States to further isolate the Soviet Union, in a classic Cold War manoeuvre.

Throughout 1971, despite Lin's resistance to any movement towards the United States, negotiations with the Americans deepened. This led to a weakening in Mao's relationship with Lin – particularly dangerous during the political machinations of the Cultural Revolution, and with Jiang always lurking in the background. As Mao became increasingly concerned with Lin's control of the PLA, rumours began circulating that Lin was planning a **coup d'état** against the increasingly frail Mao. On 13 September 1971, Lin fled China for the Soviet Union. He never made it, however, as his plane crashed over Mongolia, killing Lin and his family. Rumours have continued to swirl around the circumstances of the flight, with suggestions that Lin was killed in Beijing or that the plane was shot down. Whatever the cause, Lin's death, combined with Mao's deteriorating health, advanced the prospects of all of the Gang of Four to reach a position of control over China.

coup d'état takeover of an existing government by a small group, using violence or military force

SOURCE 24

> In our country also there is a reactionary group which is opposed to our contact with you. The result was that they got on an airplane and fled abroad … As for the Soviet Union, they finally went to dig out the corpses, but they didn't say anything about it.
>
> US National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger's account of Mao's conversation during negotiations for President Richard Nixon's visit to China, quoted in Henry Kissinger, *On China*, 2011, p. 260

11.3c Check your learning

1 Create a timeline of key events from the meeting addressed by the Gang of Four on 18 March 1968 through to US President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972, based on the events in this section.
2 Explain why Deng Xiaoping and Lin Biao both fell from favour during the Cultural Revolution.
3 Why did the Gang of Four's position in Chinese politics improve during this period?

11.3c Using and understanding the sources

What does Source 24 reveal about the impact of negotiations between China and the United States during the Cultural Revolution?

The impact of the Cultural Revolution

The fall of Lin Biao greatly diminished the role of the PLA, as the Cultural Revolution began to lose its grip on Chinese society. It had been a decade of terror and death. In 1967, 2.8 million soldiers had been deployed to ensure that the state maintained control as the Red Guards were in the ascendant. By August 1972, the soldiers were back in their barracks, leaving the key question of who would now run the local villages and ensure commitment to Mao's vision. As PLA commanders withdrew from civilian administration, Mao had little choice but to replace them with party officials who had previously been purged as 'takers of the capitalist road' as the Cultural Revolution burned through all parts of China.

The *People's Daily Newspaper*, an official organ of the CCP, explained the reversal simply: 'We should remain convinced that more than 95% of our cadres [groups of activists] are good and fairly good, and that the majority of those who have committed errors are able to change.' It was a decision that helped restore political and administrative stability, but left

SOURCE 25
People hold Mao Zedong's portrait high as they parade during the Cultural Revolution, Beijing, c. 1970.

Chinese society questioning who could be trusted or relied upon. For those who had been let back in from the cold, it ensured that they would be reluctant to question or challenge Mao's strict communist orthodoxy again.

Society

The Cultural Revolution had totally disrupted society. Traditional trading patterns, for example, had been completely overturned during the period when the PLA had virtually run China, between 1969 and 1971. There had been an insistence on 'self-reliance', which led to entire provinces breaking their old trade connections. The supply of ordinary items broke down across the country, leaving people unable to obtain items such as matches, soap, toothpaste, batteries and cotton cloth. The shortages varied from region to region, but in the countryside outside Nanjing, for example, toothbrushes were considered a luxury, and only came into common usage after the death of Mao.

The main organising element of any society, the family unit, had come under attack during the Cultural Revolution. Family members had been encouraged to spy on and denounce other family members to show their loyalty. Divorce was encouraged when one member was accused of disloyalty. Families were broken up as members were dispatched to different parts of the country. Children were sent to serve the Cultural Revolution as soon as they graduated from middle school, and their parents were often sent to separate re-education camps. Ultimately, however, the tradition of the family was so deeply rooted in Chinese society that although it was certainly threatened by the Cultural Revolution, it survived.

Even such a basic human need as love was regarded as bourgeois during the Cultural Revolution. Romantic relationships were frowned upon and sex was taboo. Revolutionary films portrayed **chaste** heroes. Real revolutionaries, it was thought, loved with their hearts, not with their bodies, and did not even hold hands. As a result, teens grew up without sex education, but like most of the impositions of the Cultural Revolution, attempts to restrict basic social behaviour were not sustainable without PLA enforcement in the period 1969–71.

chaste
the practice of avoiding sexual intercourse

Economy

The starvation that many – particularly in rural areas – faced during the Cultural Revolution was testament to how badly the revolution disrupted the economy. Anything that represented tradition or a pre-1949 past had been banned, so many traditional crafts were suppressed for the duration of the Cultural Revolution. The placement of former craftsmen into factories led to a rapid decline in quality and production. In Guangdong province, only a third of the wide range of products produced reached manufacturing standards; while in Shaanxi, the level of faulty goods was 50 per cent. The burden of meeting the production targets set by the state led to substandard products and financial loss. Before long, the Cultural Revolution was risking the destruction of the Chinese economy.

Below the official economy, a secret black market economy developed to help cope with the limitations imposed by the Cultural Revolution. In the impoverished town of Yan'an, for example, the villagers had given up trying to grow grain in the poor soil, and had switched to selling pork. To meet the state-required grain quota they had to submit, they used profits from pork sales to buy grain. In Luonon, the villagers divided up the assets of the collectives and quietly reverted to individual farms. Farmers broke away from the directive to produce only grain, which was designed to ensure food supplies for the cities, and grew crops they could sell

on the thriving black market. Sometimes with the complicity of local officials, and sometimes out of their sight, Chinese farmers were reinventing the economy, substituting the communist collectivisation with a hidden **free market**. As villagers starved, some officials quietly gave them their own patches of land to offer them some chance of survival. The result was a silent revolt occurring at a local level.

free market
a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

The economic and organisational instructions given to the Chinese people were constantly changing, depending on whose viewpoint was prominent at the time. In practice, this meant that different approaches to coping economically could be found across China at any given time. In many places, interest in politics dwindled and disenchanted farmers went back to focusing on their farming rather than being engaged in political meetings. In some places, they farmed as part of a commune; while in other places they applied more capitalist structures of individual profits. It was clear that the Cultural Revolution had ruined any consistent economic policy.

Education

The Cultural Revolution effectively destroyed the Chinese educational system. After the Red Guards had rampaged through classrooms, bureaucrats and their offices often reappeared where schools had stood. In Jiangsu province, 700 000 square metres of school space had been lost by 1972. This equalled tens of thousands of classrooms. In higher education, 27 000 students on the eve of the Cultural Revolution had become less than 5000 by 1970. What was taught in schools had become almost completely ideological, further restricting academic development.

May Seventh Cadre Schools
labour camps where people were 're-educated' during the Cultural Revolution to follow Mao Zedong's thinking

socialist realism
government-controlled art which, during the Cultural Revolution, depicted an all-powerful Mao Zedong surrounded by joyful supporters

SOURCE 26

> By the 1970s the educational system lay in ruins. Higher institutes of learning had all but closed down, with some of the best minds in the country confined to **May Seventh Cadre Schools**. As soon as they finished middle school, students were sent to the countryside for re-education by the peasants … at Peking University in 1972 … [the] campus was virtually deserted. The student body amounted to a few hundred, compared to an enrolment that normally ran into the thousands.
>
> Frank Dikötter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962–1976*, 2016, pp. 286–7

SOURCE 27 Mao Zedong and his wife, Jiang Qing, who played a major role in the Cultural Revolution

Art, culture and religion

Under the Cultural Revolution, as with all other aspects of Chinese life, culture was strictly controlled. '**Socialist realism**' was the only acceptable form in art, leading to an underground art movement. In Beijing, a clandestine group of artists sourced their materials by painting official portraits of Mao, but then used the leftover paint to experiment with various forms.

Opera was another traditional cultural form that was brought under state control. With her theatrical background, Jiang Qing sought to reform Chinese opera, banning all except eight operas which glorified the PLA and the so-called 'Mao Zedong Thought'. Those eight were heavily promoted, appearing on posters, postcards, stamps, calendars and the like, and were performed by official troupes. In a typical reaction to Cultural Revolution control, traditional operas continued to be staged in rural provinces, often as part of folk festivals that also included pre-revolutionary culture such as dragon boat racing, folk musicians and fortune tellers.

Religion also became a victim of the Cultural Revolution. While priests and other religious leaders were marginalised and removed from positions of power, organised belief systems such as Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism and Islam were still being practised underground. In villages, observation of local gods and deities continued away from official eyes.

Despite the strict and often vicious attempts to control Chinese lives and impose ideologically pure thoughts, ideas and values during the Cultural Revolution, oppression was usually counter-productive. Beneath the violence of the Red Guards and the tight control of the PLA, life continued. Creativity and determination enabled many Chinese to circumvent imposed controls secretly in many fields of life, including the economy, family life and cultural practices.

The nature of political disruption and the impact on the CCP

The Cultural Revolution was totally disruptive to political organisation in China, as well as to the internal dynamics of the CCP. Essentially, it was a clash between the Gang of Four and their desire to enforce a hard-line ideological discipline on the one hand, and Lin Biao and the PLA on the other. In between the two extremes, figures such as Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping moved in and out of favour with Mao, who remained concerned throughout that his legacy be preserved after his death.

By the Ninth Congress of the CCP in April 1969, a changing balance of power was recognised with Lin being presented as Mao's successor and 50 per cent of his PLA officers being elected to the CCP's Central Committee. As Premier Zhou Enlai manoeuvred to create an unlikely alliance with the United States and isolate the Soviet Union, Lin's situation deteriorated, resulting in his flight and death in 1971. That in turn brought the Gang of Four back into contention, as they launched a campaign against Zhou under the guise of an attack on **Confucianism**. This attack led to Mao denying Zhou treatment for the bladder cancer he was suffering from. His death in January 1976 removed another obstruction to a full Gang of Four power takeover.

This power struggle was a consistent political backdrop to the Cultural Revolution. It was at times as ruthless and brutal as the battle for **'hearts and minds'** being fought in urban streets and rural villages. It had very little to do with effective policy making, and marked the Cultural Revolution as a time where very little of practical benefit for the majority of Chinese people emerged. As the party descended into a series of factions, the CCP ran the grave risk of totally alienating itself from the people whose lives it had seized responsibility for in the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

Confucius
a fifth-century BCE Chinese teacher, editor, politician and philosopher; Confucianism, emphasised personal and governmental morality, correctness of social relationships, justice and sincerity

'hearts and minds'
a campaign in which one side seeks to prevail not by the use of superior force, but by making popular appeals to sway supporters of the other side

11.3d Check your learning

1 Create a mind map or a chart that shows the impact of the Cultural Revolution on China.
2 Discuss whether you think the impact of the Cultural Revolution on China helped or hindered Mao Zedong's leadership of China.

11.3d Understanding and using the sources

Discuss how Source 26 helps you differentiate between short- and long-term impacts of the Cultural Revolution.

11.4 Deng Xiaoping and the modernisation of China

Leadership became a crucial issue in 1976. The year started with the death of Zhou Enlai and endured the death of Mao Zedong on 9 September. It marked the end of the Cultural Revolution, and an opportunity for the Gang of Four to finally take power. The four moved to once again condemn Deng Xiaoping, and strengthen their hold on government. Their plan would fail, however, as Mao had chosen a successor in Hua Guofeng, the local party leader from Mao's home province of Xiangtan. Hua became Chairman of the CCP as well as Premier of the PRC, effectively combining Mao and Zhou's former roles. Knowing that he ran the risk of being ousted by the Gang of Four and realising that their support came largely from Mao, not from the CCP, Hua had the four arrested. By July 1977, Deng was once again rehabilitated and reinstated as Vice Chairman of the CCP.

Responses to the death of Zhou Enlai

When Zhou died in January 1976 there was a genuine sense of loss among many Chinese, who saw him as the moderate resistor to much of the Cultural Revolution extremism. Although it was unknown at the time, Mao's refusal of treatment for Zhou's bladder cancer reflected the jealousy Mao obviously felt, and condemned Zhou to a painful and prolonged death.

The official reaction to Zhou's death reflected Mao's fear that Zhou's reputation and legacy may surpass his own in the public's eye. The death was announced in a brief radio broadcast and Jiang Qing tried to forbid black armbands and white chrysanthemums, traditional signs of respect and mourning. She also announced that there was no need for any memorial service other than an official one. This was an orchestrated campaign to deny recognition to Zhou's many, many years of service both to Mao and the country.

SOURCE 28
Mourners wait to view Zhou Enlai's body.

The public's response was markedly different. Despite the funeral route to the cemetery being kept secret, tens of thousands of people took to the streets in bitter conditions to farewell the man they regarded as a symbol of moderation. Observers report ordinary workers appearing with red and swollen eyes from their weeping when they attended their jobs. It was a natural outpouring of grief that reflected the undercurrent of resentment most felt towards the Cultural Revolution.

In April 1976, when crowds started to gather ahead of the Qingming Festival, the traditional honouring of the dead in China, the Gang of Four saw it as an opportunity to assert their authority. Shortly after over two million people attended Tiananmen Square in central Beijing to leave flowers and poems for Zhou on the eve of the holiday, police arrived and removed all the gifts. The following day, 5 April, furious demonstrators turned on police in what became known as the 'Tiananmen Incident'. This was the first spontaneous public demonstration in the PRC's history. The poems and eulogies for Zhou turned rapidly into public condemnations of Jiang and the other Gang of Four members, who were seen as the architects of the Cultural Revolution. Jiang blamed Deng for the demonstrations, and had him, yet again, stripped of all government positions.

11.4a Check your learning

1 Outline and explain the difference between the official and public reactions to Zhou Enlai's death.

2 What was the significance of the 5 April 1976 demonstrations in Beijing?

11.4a Using and understanding the sources

Analyse Source 28. Discuss the merits of this resource when gauging the sincerity of the public reaction to Zhou's death.

Changing political standing of Deng Xiaoping

Deng Xiaoping's career during the Cultural Revolution was a rollercoaster of purging and rehabilitation, dependent upon his relationship with Mao and, perhaps more significantly, with Jiang. Having been active in the party since 1949, Deng had significant prestige and had worked his way through the CCP system. In the aftermath of the Great Leap Forward, it had been Deng and Liu Shaoqi who had taken over economic control from Mao, and it was Mao's fear that Deng and Liu's reforms could lead to a return of capitalism that played a key role in leading him towards the Cultural Revolution.

While both Deng and Liu were purged in the early years of the Cultural Revolution, Deng was not treated as severely as Liu. In 1969, Deng was sent to a tractor factory in the rural Jiangxi province as a regular worker. He was there for four years, until the ailing Zhou Enlai convinced Mao to allow him to return to politics in 1974 as Zhou's assistant and potential successor. Influenced by Jiang, Mao's distrust of Deng continued to develop, and by the end of 1975 Deng was asked to compile a list of self-criticisms, a sure sign that Jiang's influence on Mao was stronger than Zhou's. After Deng delivered Zhou's eulogy at his funeral, he was blamed for the Tiananmen Incident, and removed once again from all official positions. This revealed that throughout his life, Mao retained the power to make or break Deng's career.

Although Mao demanded and received political power and control, the one thing he could not control was the feelings of his people. He regarded the Cultural Revolution as the major achievement of his career that would secure his legacy, but the Tiananmen Incident showed that his legacy may be beyond his control.

The death of Mao Zedong and the end of the Cultural Revolution

According to imperial Chinese tradition, dynastic change is preceded by a natural catastrophe. On 28 July 1976, a major earthquake struck Tangshan, 150 kilometres east of Beijing. Seismograph experts had been critically affected by the Cultural Revolution because they lacked modern equipment and training. As a result, somewhere between 500 000 and 700 000 people were killed. Around 95 per cent of the 11 million square metres of living space in the city simply collapsed.

Mao had effectively been an imperial emperor, as he had asserted his control over the PRC through the CCP since the 1949 Chinese Revolution. For 28 years, he had led a quest for ideological purity in developing a Chinese communism that he hoped would shine as a beacon of hope for the poor and dispossessed of the world. His two major programs, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, had killed well over 20 million Chinese, dislocated the economy, education and society, and attempted to destroy all vestiges of traditional culture in the name of ideological purity. He had used his support as a bargaining tool to keep potential rivals disoriented. At the time of his death, on 9 September 1976, he controlled the lives of about 930 million people.

SOURCE 29 An official Chinese news agency photograph dated 12 September 1976. It was released with the following caption: 'Peasants from Peking's outskirts, with boundless profound proletarian feelings, paying respects to the remains of the most esteemed and beloved leader Chairman Mao Zedong.'

It is indisputable that Mao's death signified the end of an era. Ordinary Chinese were torn between veneration of the leader who had dragged the country from a debilitating civil war to make it a global power, and grief for the missing face of a friend or neighbour who had been removed or murdered as that global power sought to maintain discipline and control over the lives of all its citizens. It was this dilemma that Jung Chang remembers in her autobiography *Wild Swans*, as told below by Frank Dikötter.

SOURCE 30

> In schools, factories and offices, people assembled to listen to the official announcement. Those who felt relief had to hide their feelings. This was the case with Jung Chang, who for a moment was numbed with sheer euphoria. All around her people wept. She had to display the correct emotion or risk being singled out. She buried her head in the shoulder of the woman in front of her, heaving and snivelling.
>
> Frank Dikötter, *The Cultural Revolution: A People's History 1962–1976*, 2016, p. 314

Mao's state funeral was held on 18 September 1976, and a million people packed Tiananmen Square. The entire Chinese leadership was there, with the exception of Deng Xiaoping, who remained under house arrest after his most recent purging. Three minutes of silence was called for across China, and everything stopped. Mao's body was preserved and remains on display in a mausoleum built in Tiananmen Square to this day.

11.4b Check your learning

1. Explain the significance of the earthquake that occurred at Tangshan on 28 July 1976.
2. Create two timelines that reflect the changing roles, achievements and public standing of Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping between 1966 and 1976.
3. Discuss whether Mao's death marked the end of the Cultural Revolution, and what his death revealed about his relationship with the Chinese people.

11.4b Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Sources 28 and 29, and prepare a Venn diagram that shows the similarities and differences between the mourners shown in each source. What historical understanding can you draw from an analysis of the two sources?
2. What does Source 30 tell you about Mao's relationship with the Chinese people?

The role of Hua Guofeng in the arrest of the Gang of Four

Mao's funeral had seen all the Chinese leadership portraying a united display of loss. With formal proceedings completed, a power struggle quickly erupted. Hua Guofeng had been a surprise appointment as Mao's likely successor in April 1976. It was an appointment the Gang of Four felt they could easily override in the power vacuum after Mao's death. They were wrong.

Hua displayed political perception and ability, and moved quickly to secure his position. Two days after Mao's death, Hua established a connection with the Minister of Defence (and controller of the PLA) Marshal Ye Jianying. He then went on to reach out to Wang Dongxing, Mao's bodyguard and commander of the troops in charge of the security of the country's leadership. He worked quietly and diligently to create allies within the CCP; this had been the weakness of the Gang of Four, who had relied on Jiang Qing's direct link to Mao, and a power base in Shanghai, far removed from the CCP centre in Beijing.

SOURCE 31 The Gang of Four at their trial in 1981; clockwise from top left: Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen, Yao Wenyuan

Hua called a Politburo meeting for 6 October 1976. The Gang of Four members were arrested, one by one, as they entered the meeting. The only one missing was Jiang, who had suspected a trap. She was arrested shortly afterwards in her residence. The arrests were announced on 14 October, and were met with widespread jubilation. Firecrackers exploded and shops ran out of liquor as people celebrated the political end of the group regarded as the architects of the Cultural Revolution. Dikötter cites one participant describing the night the arrests were announced: 'Everywhere I saw people wandering around with broad smiles and big hangovers.' While Hua was acknowledging the cheers of crowds in Tiananmen Square, the Cultural Revolution's great survivor, Deng Xiaoping, was quietly cultivating his CCP contacts, resulting in a return to power in July 1977. The Hua–Deng showdown that loomed would be the final act in the power struggle started by Mao's death. It would be followed by a show trial of the Gang of Four in 1981, which resulted in their denouncement and imprisonment.

11.4c Check your learning

1 Outline Hua Guofeng's role in the political downfall of the Gang of Four.
2 Explain the people's reaction to the arrest of the Gang of Four, as detailed by Dikötter. What does this reaction reveal about the experiences of ordinary Chinese people during the Cultural Revolution?

11.4c Understanding and using the sources

Research the fate of the Gang of Four individuals shown in Source 31.

The rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, the nature of his reforms and the modernisation of the economy

Mao's death and the political demise of the Gang of Four left Hua Guofeng as the nominal successor to Mao. But it would take less than two years before China's greatest political survivor, Deng Xiaoping, had outmanoeuvred Hua. Unlike Mao and Hua, Deng preferred to avoid the 'chairman' title, and rely on his political skill rather than an official title to wield power.

The difference in approach between Deng and Mao was revealed to the world when Deng travelled to the United States in February 1979. At a rodeo in Texas, he wore a cowboy hat and waved to the American crowd as he circled the ring in a horse-drawn stagecoach. It was an impossible scenario to conceive during the Cultural Revolution, and showed that China was preparing to enter an era of modernisation.

Deng adopted an old Mao saying from the 1930s, 'seek truth from facts', and used it against Mao and the Cultural Revolution. As historian Rana Mitter points out, 'in particular, Deng recognised that the Cultural Revolution's profound anti-intellectualism and **xenophobia** were proving economically damaging to China'. By the late 1970s, Deng felt secure enough to resurrect a Zhou Enlai idea called the 'Four Modernizations'. This acknowledged that the Cultural Revolution under Mao had set back China's quest to modernise, and that the CCP's responsibility was to reset priorities in the four areas of agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defence. The quest for a more modern approach did not, however,

xenophobia
fear of outsiders

SOURCE 32 When Deng Xiaoping attended a rodeo in Texas wearing a cowboy hat, it represented a major shift in China's interaction with the United States and the West.

carry into the political arena. In 1978, Chinese human rights activist Wei Jingsheng called for a fifth 'modernization': democracy in China. He was imprisoned for the next 20 years. Yet it should be recognised that, despite injustices like those experienced by Wei still occurring, overall the push to open China to the modern world ensured that people were noticeably freer than they had been under Mao.

What has been referred to as the 'reform era' under Deng really started in 1978. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CCP (essentially a meeting of the most powerful members of the political elite) in December 1978, the topic of modernisation was discussed. The recognition of the need for modernisation was a tacit admission that the party had strayed from the economic strategies of Mao's time. But four priorities needed to be addressed in order for China to engage with the world and modernise its economy.

1 correct the imbalances in the economy and reform the overcentralised management of the economy
2 develop economic cooperation with the world's advanced countries
3 improve science and education to support modernisation
4 reform the agricultural economy.

As moving away from the economic direction from the Great Leap Forward meant challenging the memory of Mao, it was a delicate political task for Deng to undertake. His political skill and connections, however, enabled him to emerge from the Third Plenary with the necessary support to begin working towards implementing the Four Modernizations. Simultaneously, political victims of the Cultural Revolution began to be rehabilitated, strengthening support for change.

The initial area for reform was agriculture, with the introduction of a 'responsibility system'. This meant the breaking-up of the communes and collectives that had been the hallmark of the Mao economy. It enabled peasants to have their own plot of land, and sell any surplus to make money. It tied in with Deng's suggestion that 'to get rich is glorious'. It was the death knell for the hard-line communism of the Mao era, and a dramatic and direct break with the immediate past.

This move was followed by the creation of four 'Special Economic Zones' on the Chinese coast. They were the towns of Shenzhen, Zuhai, Shantou and Xiamen. In addition, the province of Hainan was also allocated Special Economic Zone status. These zones could take advantage of free market policies and government flexibility – two areas required for modernisation that were totally opposite the old Maoist approach.

Shenzhen was the first zone to be finished. Only a fishing village in the 1970s, by 1980 it was home to over 10 million people, and in 1990 it became the home of China's first McDonald's. As an example of how completely the Special Economic Zones reflected a modernised Chinese economy, by 2012, Shenzhen contained 6000 firms contributing to the making of mobile phones, employing a total of one million people. Today, it houses biotech companies and is the headquarters of China's biggest internet firm, with over 700 million users. In the 30 years since the end of the Cultural Revolution, Shenzhen's status as a Special Economic Zone has allowed it to totally transform. The other three zones followed similar paths.

Opening China to the world was facilitated by full diplomatic relations being established between China and the United States, including the exchange of ambassadors in March 1979. The year before, in 1978, a Treaty of Peace and Friendship had been signed with China's close neighbour, Japan. This new link with Japan helped China to move on from the memory of Japanese invasion during the Second World War, and also helped boost the Chinese economy, as technological knowhow and capital were transferred from Japan.

Another significant aspect of the opening up of China was the arrival of foreign tourists and students to China in the 1980s. Where Mao sought to restrict knowledge and access to information, under Deng, ideas were welcome; and for the first time since 1949 Chinese people started to come into contact with Westerners. China also began the process of allowing its students and tourists to travel into the wider world. This openness to ideas and contact between Chinese and the rest of the world outside the political elite was one of the effective methods adopted by Deng to help create the appetite for reform that has ultimately transformed China. While the American rejection of communism was still prevalent in the United States' relationship with the Soviet Union during the Ronald Reagan presidency, as Rana Mitter points out, 'China seemed to be the Communist giant that the West learned to love'. With a Chinese population that had reached over a billion in the 1980s, the West saw huge market potential in an open China.

The success of the Deng era has seen more than a tenfold increase in China's **GDP** since 1978. It became the world's largest exporter in 2010 and largest trading nation in 2013. By 2014, China had surpassed the United States as the largest economy in the world. The other side of those spectacular economic statistics, however, is that China's per capita income is still below world average. Deng's 'to get rich is glorious' mantra has resulted in the wealth being unequally distributed – in common with the capitalist countries Mao despised.

GDP
gross domestic product; the measurement of the quantity of goods and services produced in a country in one year

SOURCE 33 Deng Xiaoping meets US President Jimmy Carter at the White House, January 1979.

SOURCE 34

> Xiaoping believed in bringing in large-scale foreign investments. He believed it was difficult for a developing economy like China's to take off without foreign investment. Of course, he only dealt with major issues and didn't intervene much as to how this might be brought about. But he supported all of it: preferential loans, non-preferential loans, joint ventures.
>
> Premier Zhao Ziyang on Deng Xiaoping's ideas on foreign investment, quoted in Bao Pu, Renee Chiang and Adi Ignatius (eds), *Prisoner of the State: The Secret Journal of Zhao Ziyang*, 2009, p. 102

11.4d Check your learning

1. Prepare a chart that outlines the major steps Deng Xiaoping took to modernise the Chinese economy.
2. Explain how Deng's adoption of the phrase 'seek truth from facts' was significant for Chinese trying to understand the Cultural Revolution.
3. Discuss why Deng opted for four rather than five 'modernizations'.
4. Outline the significance of the establishment of Special Economic Zones.
5. What evidence is there that Deng's economic reforms were successful?

11.4d Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 32 could be used as evidence in a historical argument that Deng represented a clear departure from Mao Zedong's China.
2. Discuss what links historians could make between Sources 33 and 34.

11.5 The Tiananmen Square protests

Deng Xiaoping's reform period had undoubtedly changed China's economic structure and led to greater freedom in trade and commerce. The question of political reform, however, was much more contested. As the experience of Wei Jingsheng in 1978 revealed, the idea of the introduction of Western-style democracy was not on the CCP agenda.

Having delivered China from a deadly civil war and ousted the Guomindang Nationalist Party, which was regarded as corrupt and self-serving, the CCP and the communist agenda were widely supported among the Chinese people. While the party recognised some of Mao Zedong's mistakes, he was still widely revered as the 'great helmsman' of the country. Although millions had lost their lives during CCP reign, the demand for political reform in the 1980s was driven by a desire to reform the CCP, not replace it. In Chinese terms, democratic reform often meant increased say over whom they elected to various party meetings. As the lead-up to the violence in Tiananmen Square in 1989 unfolds, it is important to remember that the people of China did not necessarily wish for a transition to a Western-style democracy.

SOURCE 35

> The western democratic system is hailed by the developed world as near perfect and the most superior political system to run a country. However, what's happening in the United States today will make more people worldwide reflect on the viability and legitimacy of such a chaotic political system.
>
> Statement by Xinhua, the official Chinese newsagency, on the shutdown of the US Government on 20 January 2018

The demand for political, social and economic reform

Historian Michael Dillon has described the economic miracle that was 1980s China as 'being accompanied by social and political confusion'. In a country where tradition was highly valued and respected, the economic reforms of the 1980s created uncertainty and threatened a dislocation of old values. It was similar to the oft-repeated claim that the instability in many Western democracies today is a result of globalisation and its impact on societies. As Dillon concluded: 'There was uncertainty at all levels of society as to how China should deal with what were seen as strange and alien values that were coming from the West and Japan.'

In 1982 the CCP held its Twelfth Congress, and adopted a new constitution for China. It sought to remove the 'leftovers' of the Cultural Revolution by declaring the death of the concept of the 'exploiter class', which had profited during the Cultural Revolution – meaning there was no longer a class war in China. This totally undercut the ideology and rhetoric of the Mao years. The final nail in the Mao-approach coffin was the denouncing of personality cults, which also dashed any hope Hua Guofeng had of replacing Mao as both a leader and dominant figure.

The willingness with which China embraced the economic and technological power of Japan caused social anxiety. The Chinese Government welcomed Japanese economic involvement, but those who had suffered during the Japanese invasion of the 1930s and 40s started to protest. In September 1985, students launched protests against Japanese economic aggression.

The protests escalated as people launched complaints against changes that had left them worse off. Inflation was eroding the value of wages, and the rise in cost of basic items such as foodstuffs was a concern for many. There was also growing public concern about corruption within the CCP and the government. As the economy started to boom, officials were taking advantage of their positions and finding prime positions for their allies and families. By December 1985, protests had taken on a more general tone. Calls for freedom of speech, assembly and press intersected with demands for democratic elections.

By 1986, the calls for action on the demands for democratic reform of the Chinese system were mounting. The numbers of protesters were in the thousands, but not yet large enough to be described as a mass movement. When 4000 students marched to Tiananmen Square in December 1986, and burned copies of the *Beijing Daily* newspaper, which was controlled by the CCP, it was clear that in large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai the growing group of protesters were becoming louder and bolder.

There was no clear agreement within the CCP about how to deal with the increasing unrest. To some degree it was a generational split, with the older party veterans wanting suppression, while Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the CCP, favoured leniency towards the demonstrators. By January 1987, Hu had been dismissed from office, and it appeared the conservatives were regaining control.

SOURCE 36 A statue of Hu Yaobang; Hu was dismissed from office in 1987, and his death two years later was to spark the Tiananmen Square protests.

The Thirteenth CCP Congress at the end of October 1987 became the testing ground for China's future direction. In Beijing, 1936 delegates represented 46 million party members at the Congress. Deng Xiaoping not only offered his retirement, but also helped persuade many of the old guard – whose service dated back to the Long March of 1934–35 – to follow him. They were replaced by the more promising representatives of the younger generation. Deng managed to retain the chairmanship of the Central Military Commission, the CCP body that ran the PLA, and as such he remained the Paramount Leader of China. A **technocrat**, Li Peng, became Prime Minister of China, and Zhao Ziyang replaced Hu Yaobang as General Secretary of the CCP. Zhao Ziyang emerged as the reformer to chart a new future for China. His key proposal was to separate the functions of the CCP and the government. It would remove the CCP from day-to-day involvement with administration and the economy, and would be the most radical reform in China since the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

technocrat
a technical expert, often one who exercises managerial authority

11.5a Check your learning

1 Explain what Michael Dillon means when he says that the economic miracle that was 1980s China was 'accompanied by social and political confusion'.
2 Why was there resentment of the Chinese leadership turning to Japan for economic support in the 1980s?
3 Explain the significance of the Thirteenth CCP Congress in Beijing in 1987.

Events leading up to the June Fourth Incident

The year 1989 promised to be significant for China. It was the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the PRC, and the 70th anniversary of the 1919 May Fourth Movement, which ultimately led to the formation of the CCP. This was all occurring within the context of the breakdown of Soviet control in Eastern Europe.

The rapid decline of communist power in Eastern Europe set off alarm bells in Beijing. The CCP believed that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had made a number of errors in retreating from communism's core, and opening up the country and government to competitors to communism. Chinese leaders were prepared to sanction opening the country economically, but believed that to do so politically would lead to the same type of chaos that was unfolding in the Soviet Union.

When Hu Yaobang died from a heart attack in April 1989, rumours persisted that it had occurred while he was arguing the case for political reform with members of the Politburo. Within a week, thousands of students were demanding an audience (formal meeting) with Premier Li Peng. Police suppression using batons only increased the protests, and later that month an autonomous student organisation, independent of CCP connections, was established in Beijing. Tiananmen Square quickly emerged as the site of demonstrations. Most protesters focused on a vague request for 'democracy', without a clear articulation of what that actually meant.

On 4 May, a declaration was read out in Tiananmen Square calling for political and economic reform, including guaranteed constitutional freedoms, a crackdown on corruption and an end to the ban on privately run newspapers.

Gradually, Tiananmen Square attracted more than students. Other residents of Beijing, including trade unionists, journalists and academics, began to join the students. A hunger strike started, and by mid-May there were specific demands for the removal of Deng Xiaoping and Li Peng. By mid-May, the numbers protesting in Tiananmen Square had reached around one million, presenting a significant threat to public order.

The public order situation became a crucial issue on 15 May, when Gorbachev was due to become the first Soviet leader to visit China since the breakdown of relations in 1959. The planned welcome in Tiananmen Square had to be aborted because of the protestors, and was instead held well outside Beijing. The announcement of the resumption of normal diplomatic relations between the two countries was completely overshadowed by the ongoing clashes in Beijing.

SOURCE 37 The Goddess of Democracy statue was raised in Tiananmen Square in front of a portrait of Mao.

The Politburo continued to debate how to respond to the protestors. The CCP leadership knew that if the protests developed into a genuine popular movement, this risked not only destroying the political control of the CCP, but also the unity of China itself. Zhao Ziyang argued for accommodation of the protestors' views and a peaceful resolution; as was the case with Hu Yaobang, his approach led to his dismissal from his post as General Secretary of the CCP. Instead, Li declared martial law in specific Beijing districts on 20 May. Units of the PLA moved into Beijing to restore and maintain public order. The protestors responded with increased calls for the resignation of Li and the other hardliners. By 24 May, the PLA units had withdrawn, and on 30 May the demonstrators erected a statue in Tiananmen Square they called the 'Goddess of Democracy', modelled on the Statue of Liberty. It was designed to confront the hardliners, and it succeeded.

On 2 June the CCP elders decided to clear Tiananmen Square. Additional troops with no ties to the Beijing community were brought into the city from outlying areas. The following day, as 300 000 troops marched to the city, residents set up barricades and met the soldiers, pleading with them not to hurt protestors. Troops fired on the residents, and although figures for all parts of this action remain contested and hidden, the dead numbered in the hundreds.

SOURCE 38 A demonstrator gives the victory sign to soldiers who are lined up outside the CCP's headquarters, just three days before the bloody crackdown.

It was in the early hours of 4 June that troops moved into Tiananmen Square itself. By then most of the demonstrators had left, worried about the prospect of a bloodbath. The main casualties came after sunrise when concerned parents tried to enter the area to look for their children, after reports of gunfire had circulated. They were fired upon, again killing a significant number. In the afternoon, troops moved to clear the areas surrounding Tiananmen Square, crushing demonstrators under their tanks. By the next day, the army was in complete control of the city.

SOURCE 39 Student nurses treat hunger strikers in Tiananmen Square, 1989.

11.5b Check your learning

1. Create a timeline that shows the main events leading up to the events in Tiananmen Square in June 1989.
2. Explain the similarities of the approaches of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang to student protests. What was the outcome of their approach?
3. Why was the decision taken to clear Tiananmen Square in June 1989?

11.5a Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 35 helps you understand continuities and changes in Chinese politics.
2. What do Sources 37–39 reveal about the tactics and aspirations of the protestors who had gathered in Tiananmen Square?

11.5 PROFILE: TANK MAN

SOURCE 40 Photographs of 'Tank Man' appeared on frontpages all over the world and drew attention to the plight of the Chinese pro-democracy movement.

One of the most compelling images of the twentieth century was taken on the Avenue of Eternal Peace near Tiananmen Square on 5 June 1989. It is often simply referred to as 'Tank Man', and depicts a man holding plastic shopping bags in his hands standing in front of a line of PLA tanks. The tanks are on their way to continue clearing the streets of demonstrators that had been embarrassing the government for weeks.

The image of a lone man standing up to a convoy of tanks, alone and armed only with his daily shopping, conveyed the power of the individual against the all-encompassing CCP machine. Many photographers captured this historic moment, which came to define the term 'Tiananmen Square' for many in the West.

Charles Cole, the photographer who took one of the images, shot it from his hotel balcony and then hid the film in the toilet cistern, retrieving it later. Cole feared that making the image of Tank Man iconic risked not only ignoring the work of other photojournalists, but also oversimplifying the complexities of what the students were doing, and why they were doing it. As he pointed out, journalists were killed covering the protests. In his words, 'we should not be lured into a simplistic one-shot view of this amazingly complex event'.

No one knows what happened to Tank Man. After stopping the convoy of tanks, he climbed onto the turret of the lead tank and spoke to the driver. He climbed down again, and was then hustled away by members of the public. His identity or fate has never been revealed, and his motives remain unknown. In 2013, the British playwright Lucy Kirkwood created a fictional account of the search for his identity with the play *Chimerica*, which was staged in Sydney in 2017. Her imaginative, fictional account showed how strongly the image of Tank Man continues to resonate in the popular imagination.

PROFILE TASKS

1. Explain how a study of Tank Man helps you understand the strengths and weaknesses of images as historical sources.
2. Discuss whether Tank Man's actions were more significant inside China or in the wider world.
3. As a group, discuss Charles Cole's assertion that 'we should not be lured into a simplistic one-shot view of this amazingly complex event'.
4. Examine Source 40 and write down your personal reflection of what it reveals.

Military and political response to the protest, and the rise to power of Jiang Zemin

SOURCE 41 Evidence of the ongoing impact of Zhao Ziyang: people visit the Beijing home of former CCP General Secretary Zhao Ziyang to mourn him on 17 January 2013, the eighth anniversary of his death.

Immediately after the June Fourth Incident, the government argued that there had been only a few deaths in Tiananmen Square. This was true, but it masked the fact that many more deaths had taken place in the surrounding streets. The number of deaths from the protest is still contested, and until all Chinese archives are opened it is unlikely that a definitive total can ever be accepted by all sides. In response to Tiananmen Square, major protests erupted across China and the period became known as the 'June Democracy Movement'.

When the Fourth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Central Committee of the CCP took place in Beijing on 23–24 June 1989, the removal of the reform-minded Zhao Ziyang was formally announced. Li Peng reported to the meeting on Zhao's mistakes, which were based around taking the side of the demonstrators and splitting the CCP. Zhao was not given the right to defend himself, and his political career was over. He spent the next 15 years under house arrest, and died in 2005. The beneficiary of his political demise was Jiang Zemin, who became his successor as General Secretary of the CCP.

Jiang Zemin had gained some prominence during the build-up to the June Democracy Movement, and his rise had been at the expense of Zhao even before Zhao was ousted. In 1989, Jiang Zemin was Secretary of the Communist Party in Shanghai, and had showed his iron-fist approach to critics of the regime by closing down the independent and liberal newspaper *World Economic Herald*, with which Zhao was closely tied. Jiang Zemin was also closely allied with Li Peng, which helped him secure the role of President of the PRC in 1993.

11.5c Check your learning

Briefly outline the different outlooks, approaches and beliefs of Zhao Ziyang and Jiang Zemin.

11.5b Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Source 41 and explain why people would still be acknowledging Zhao Ziyang in 2013.

The impact of the events of Tiananmen Square in 1989 on China and its standing in the world

The events in Tiananmen Square did not lead to another revolution in China. Nor did it lead to a civil war or an unbridgeable generational divide. As Rana Mitter identified, 'for some three years, politics did indeed go into a deep freeze'. The liberal political trends represented by Hua Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang were now 'evil winds of bourgeois liberalism'. This rhetoric may have reminded survivors of the Cultural Revolution, but China avoided another bloodbath like the one that had erupted in 1966.

The images and television footage that came out of China at this time ensured that awareness of the events of Tiananmen Square was global. The reactions of countries often reflected their current relationship with China. Communist countries such as Cuba and North Korea supported the Chinese Government and denounced the protestors. They were joined by Soviet-controlled Czechoslovakia and East Germany, whose communist governments were soon to fall. Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke cried during a memorial service in the Australian Parliament, and offered all Chinese students a four-year special asylum visa to stay in the country. The European Economic Community condemned the Chinese Government's actions, and suspended loans and political contact. Japan froze loans to China for several months, while India took a low-key approach at a time when it was seeking a thaw in relations with China. The United States took a double stand, with the US Congress and media being openly critical of the Chinese action, and President George H.W. Bush suspending military sales and visits to China. However, his Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft flew secretly to Beijing shortly after the events to ensure that lines of communication were kept open.

As the 1990s continued, China's relations with most countries settled into a pattern of cooperation based around economic necessity, as China's economy continued to grow. As one of the permanent members of the United Nations, China has been reluctant to use its power of veto. Rather it has focused on 'soft power' and diplomacy to build influence around the world. 'Soft power' means the 'softer' alternatives to military power, and it is a strategy that is used by governments to win people over to their views and perspectives. Soft power is often rooted in popular culture.

When US President Donald Trump announced after coming to power in 2017 that his policies would focus on American interests, it was widely anticipated that China would be the country to fill the political and economic gaps created.

11.5d Check your learning

1 Using examples, explain why different countries responded to the events in Tiananmen Square in different ways.

2 Explain why the events in Tiananmen Square unfolded the way they did in May and June of 1989.

11.6 CONCLUSION

In the 40 years between 1949 and 1989, China underwent dramatic change. From the ashes of a brutal civil war emerged a revolutionary communist regime headed by Mao Zedong. Mao would dominate Chinese history until his death in 1976. His position as China's 'great helmsman' was basically unchallenged despite two major mistakes: the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. These two Mao initiatives cost millions of lives, and created the desire for change among the Chinese people.

After 1976, China commenced a move away from the rigid, doctrinaire ideological commitment Mao demanded. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, China's economy was transformed. Collectivisation was replaced by individualism, and foreign investment and ideas were welcomed. The result was that by the second decade of the twenty-first century, China dominated the world's economy, and people spoke of the world entering the 'Chinese century'. Political change was much slower, however, as the CCP worked tirelessly to maintain power and stare down attempts at democratic reform.

As China entered the twenty-first century, commentators began to speak of four generations of Chinese leaders. The first generation was Mao and the veterans of the Long March and the civil war. That first generation included Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai and Lin Biao. They were followed by Deng Xiaoping and the 'old men' who helped to fill the vacuum created by Mao's death. Their time was characterised by a wrestle between the demands of economic reform and resisting political change. Against them were two liberal leaning leaders, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, whose attempts at political reform ended their careers. Jiang Zemin emerged as the first third-generation leader and restored confidence in the path of economic reform after the protests at Tiananmen Square.

China became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001, a clear sign of acceptance in the global economy. Jiang was persuaded to reluctantly relinquish power to a fourth generation – Hu Jintao in 2002 and his successor Xi Jinping in 2012. Their leadership has been responsible for the modern economic powerhouse that China has become. They have moderated criticism of their failure to adopt Western democracy with adept diplomacy and a reliance on soft power to help win widespread acceptance for an increasing role in the world that was unimaginable when Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China in 1949.

SOURCE 42 Soviet Prime Minster Alexei Kosygin meets with Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai in Beijing to discuss the border crisis, 1969.

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

12

Civil Rights in the USA 1945–68

The Civil Rights Movement inspired many to follow its vision of social change.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What is segregation and how was it practised in the United States in the period 1945–68?
2. How did the Civil Rights Movement develop in the United States and how was it opposed?
3. Who were the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement and what did they achieve?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The sources you consult when investigating a broad social movement like the Civil Rights Movement will be presenting specific perspectives. It will be important to identify and evaluate these perspectives to ensure that you are able to use your sources effectively. There was clear social division during the civil rights campaigns, and being aware of perspectives from both sides of that division will help you achieve a balanced understanding of events.

Historical interpretation

In the period 1945–68, there were forces at work in US society that were actively agitating for social change. But there were others attempting to resist change and preserve social and cultural continuities. You will be required to analyse and evaluate those forces and their achievements. The US Civil Rights Movement presents an excellent opportunity to study continuity and change in history.

Historical investigation and research

Begin your study of this topic by thinking about the historical questions you will be required to develop and investigate to gain a deeper knowledge of US civil rights, including questions about how and why the Civil Rights Movement came about, why it succeeded and failed at certain times, and why some leaders were able to achieve the support of so many people and ultimately bring about change.

Explanation and communication

In the HSC examination you will be required to provide brief answers to specific questions on the topic of civil rights in the United States between 1945 and 1968. This will require direct responses to be supported by relevant evidence and examples. It is important to make sure you have practised writing these types of responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- Identify key groups and explain how they contributed to bringing about change in the period 1945–68.
- Identify major struggles for civil rights in the United States and the opposition met by the movement.
- Describe and analyse key events and leading figures of the Civil Rights Movement in the period 1945–68 and assess their achievements.

Key features

Nature and impact of segregation and discrimination

As photographs and recordings from southern American states taken in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century will reveal, segregation and discrimination were widely applied. Signs reading 'No coloreds' were a constant reminder of the practical application of segregation in daily life. Segregation was applied all across society – from schools, workplaces and restaurants to public transport, theatres and even hospitals.

Role and impact of civil rights groups

The fight for civil rights in the United States is an ongoing battle. In this chapter, the focus will be on the struggles fought by the most influential groups of this period, including:

- the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Today, as well as groups representing black persons, there are groups fighting for the civil rights of women, racial and ethnic minorities, LGBTQI communities, immigrants and the disabled. As such, civil rights campaigning is a good example of continuity in American history.

Opposition to civil rights

Throughout history, sections of society have felt threatened by the granting of civil rights to others. Such sections of society believe that if equal rights are granted to one group, this will result in them losing power or status themselves. Opposition to civil rights in the United States between 1945 and 1968 was largely, but not exclusively, focused in the southern United States, and reflected deeply held social division.

Influence of changing social attitudes

When rock'n'roll gained prominence in the 1950s, American music charts were segregated, but black artists such as Chuck Berry, Little Richard and Fats Domino had 'crossover' hits that appeared on 'white' charts. Racist attitudes became difficult to sustain when your idols were black. As black persons also gained more prominence in the area of sport, this contributed further to changing social attitudes. As a result, by the 1960s, an increasing number of people showed much more open attitudes towards people of different racial backgrounds.

Role of leadership

The Civil Rights Movement produced significant individuals who inspired many to follow their vision of social change. The most prominent was Martin Luther King, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 for his contribution to civil rights. Not all followed his peaceful approach, however,

and more militant leaders such as Malcolm X also emerged. As your study will reveal, leaders in the Civil Rights Movement came from a range of backgrounds and operated across local, national and international spheres.

Successes of the Civil Rights Movement

The success of the Civil Rights Movement is open to historical interpretation. The emergence of the 'Black Lives Matter' movement in 2013, following the acquittal of George Zimmerman in the shooting death of black teen Trayvon Martin, revealed that the struggle is ongoing. President Donald Trump's failure to quickly condemn the white supremacist violence in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 2017, which resulted in the death of a civil rights protestor, confirmed that despite the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965, there are still civil rights struggles to be won in the United States.

A note on language

The language used to describe black persons fighting for civil rights has varied across time. In sources, original language has been used, so you may find reference to 'negroes'. For some time, the term 'African American' has been used, and this is the term used in the syllabus. However, this term has fallen out of use because it is regarded as America-centric and meaningless on an international level. It has also been tarnished by its links to slavery. This chapter will use the term 'black people' to refer to those who have been characterised in the past as negroes or African Americans.

It is important for you, as a student of history, to be aware of the power of words to convey perspective. For some people the 'Civil Rights Movement' is regarded as the 'freedom struggle', and 'segregation' has also been referred to as 'white supremacy'. As you delve further into this topic, it will be important for you to look carefully at the language and terminologies used, and reflect on the perspective they are conveying.

SOURCE 1 White supremacists march with torches in Charlottesville, Virginia, 11 August 2017.

12.1 Introduction

Jim Crow laws laws that discriminated against black people; the term 'Jim Crow' dated back to the 1830s, where it appeared in a song-and-dance caricature of black people called 'Jump Jim Crow'; after this, 'Jim Crow' simply became a derogatory term for a black person

lynching an informal public execution, often conducted by a mob, designed to punish an individual or intimidate a group of people

When you see dates applied to a historical period, it is important to think about how these dates are interpreting the period. The years 1945–68 are arbitrary dates in the American Civil Rights Movement. They cover the period from the return of US armed forces from the Second World War through to the rise of Black Power and the Mexico Olympics. It is important to understand that they do not indicate the start and conclusion of the Civil Rights Movement. Rather, they cover a period containing some key events. Historians such as Charles M. Payne argue that compressing the movement into dates like these also creates a stereotypical narrative that is coming under increased challenge by scholars.

A key moment in the development of the Civil Rights Movement was the American Civil War (1861–65) that split the country. Although historians still debate the causes of the war, slavery was certainly a significant element. In simple terms, the South supported the continuity of slavery, while the North opposed it. The North's victory led to the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1865, which formally abolished slavery.

The joy many blacks felt with the abolition of slavery was tempered by the reality of their day-to-day experiences. As the nineteenth century ended, **Jim Crow laws** and **lynchings** were stark reminders of the segregation and repression that marked the black experience, particularly in the South. That experience ensured that the Civil Rights Movement had already begun in the nineteenth century.

The 'Black Lives Matter' movement and incidents such as the 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville in August 2017, which saw the death of civil rights campaigner Heather Heyer, show that the Civil Rights Movement not only continues, but still has a major role to play in promoting positive social change in the United States.

SOURCE 2 Teenage boys protest against school integration and wave Confederate flags in Montgomery, Alabama, 1963.

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events in civil rights in the United States

1861–65

The American Civil War is fought and won by the northern 'free' states, and in 1865, the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution abolishes slavery.

1896

The *Plessy vs Ferguson* case in the Supreme Court introduces the doctrine of 'separate but equal', which maintains segregation.

1903

Historian W.E.B. Du Bois publishes *The Souls of Black Folk*, regarded as the first great work of civil rights literature.

1909

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is formed.

1939

Black singer Billie Holiday records the anti-lynching song 'Strange Fruit'.

1942

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is established as an interracial group in Chicago.

1948

President Harry S. Truman establishes the Fair Employment Practices Commission to ensure fair hiring practices for black people, and orders the armed forces to be desegregated.

1954

In the *Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka*, Kansas case, the Supreme Court overturns state-supported segregation of schools, up-ending *Plessy vs Ferguson*. In the same year, the first White Citizens Council is established in Indianola, Mississippi, to organise white supremacist opposition to desegregation.

1955

Rosa Parks is arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, after she refuses to give up her seat on a bus to a white passenger. This leads to the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

1957

The Southern Christian Leadership Convention (SCLC) is formed in Atlanta, Georgia.

September: President Dwight D. Eisenhower sends federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to help nine black students enrol at Little Rock Central High School.

NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall (second from left) leaves the US Supreme Court building during the Little Rock hearings. Marshall would go on to become the first black Supreme Court justice.

1960

Four black students stage a sit-in at a Woolworths lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. This quickly spreads as an anti-segregation movement.

April: The sit-in leads to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

October: Martin Luther King is arrested during an Atlanta sit-in.

December: The Supreme Court strikes down segregation on interstate buses and trains in the *Boynton vs Virginia* case.

1961

CORE organises Freedom Rides to test the desegregation of buses. The CORE riders, later joined by SNCC volunteers, disband after violent attacks.

1962

The SNCC opens voter registration schools in Mississippi to teach black people to pass the voter registrationtest.

1963

Mass protests against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, are dispersed by police dogs and fire hoses. Many are jailed, including King, whose 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' gets widespread attention.

June: NAACP field secretary Medgar Evars is murdered in Jackson, Mississippi.

August: The 'March for Jobs and Freedom' in Washington draws 250 000 people to call for federal action on civil rights and hear King deliver his 'I have a dream' speech.

September: Four young black girls are killed in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama.

1964

SNCC workers found the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to challenge the domination of white segregationist Southern Democrats.

June: James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner are murdered in Philadelphia, Mississippi, at the start of the 'Freedom Summer' voter registration drive.

July: The Federal Civil Rights Act is passed, banning discrimination in public accommodation and hiring.

1965

February: Malcolm X is assassinated in New York.

March: Civil rights demonstrators are attacked and beaten by state troopers outside Selma, Alabama.

August: A large race riot occurs in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

1966

The SNCC adopts Black Power as a philosophy and expels white members.

1967

Thurgood Marshall becomes the first black Supreme Court justice.

From April: A total of 159 separate race riots break out in US cities including Detroit, Cleveland and Newark.

1968

April: King is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. This is followed by widespread rioting across the United States.

October: At the Mexico Olympics, runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos give Black Power salutes on the winners' dais, supported by Australian silver medal winner Peter Norman.

1981

Nineteen-year-old Michael Donald becomes the last black person lynched by Ku Klux Klan members.

2013

The 'Black Lives Matter' movement begins after the exoneration of George Zimmerman for killing black teenager Trayvon Martin.

2015

Nine black people are shot dead by a white supremacist at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina.

2017

Heather Heyer is killed by an attacker while protesting against a 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. President Donald Trump's failure to condemn the protestors sparks further protests and accusations of racism.

Flowers surround a photograph of Heather Heyer, the day after her death.

12.2 Survey: The position of black persons at the start of the period

SOURCE 4 The lynching of Dooley Morton and Bert Moore, Lowndes County, Mississippi 1935

The position of black people in American society in 1945 was very much shaped by what had gone before. The Civil War had been fought less than a century earlier, and while the **Age of Reconstruction** that followed the North's victory promised much for black Americans, it delivered little. Slavery had ended, but historian Charles M. Payne has described what followed as 'racial terror' in much of the South. Black people were denied political rights and access to the legal system. Their lives were dominated by a social system that used violence and suppression as its methods. Payne cites that the state of Mississippi alone lynched 539 black people in the period 1877–1954.

Following the abolition of slavery in the South, '**sharecropping**' sprang up in its place. Sharecropping was the system by which black workers were given small areas of land to rent from whites, in return for a share of the crop. Ongoing debts to the white landowners and business people meant that sharecropping was effectively used as a method of economic entrapment.

The industrialised North offered more employment for black people than the South. But while black people in the North had more access to the political and legal systems, cultural traditions still maintained a subtle racism that condemned the black community to the poorest sections of the rapidly growing cities.

Age of Reconstruction the period of rebuilding the United States that followed the Civil War

sharecropper a tenant farmer who pays part of their crop as rent for the land they are farming

The impact of the Second World War on the circumstances of black people in the United States

In June 1941, six months before the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and the resulting entry of the United States into the Second World War, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an order to prohibit racial discrimination in defence industries. The President hoped that this would ensure that essential production could be maintained if the United States joined the war in Europe.

SOURCE 5 Distribution of US black population

YEAR	BLACK POPULATION	BLACK PEOPLE LIVING IN CITIES – NUMBER	BLACK PEOPLE LIVING IN CITIES %	BLACK PEOPLE LIVING OUTSIDE THE SOUTH – NUMBER	BLACK PEOPLE LIVING OUTSIDE THE SOUTH %
1910	9.8m	2.6m	27	800 000	9
1968	21.5m	15m	69	10m	45

Richard Morris, William Greenleaf and Robert Ferrell, *America: A History of the People*, 1971, p. 708

Wartime production was based in the North, while the South remained predominantly agricultural. Despite racism and clashes with white conservatives, many black people regarded their new lives in the north as an improvement on the lives they had left behind in the South. As Source 5 shows, the massive internal migration that had begun at the start of the century changed the distribution of the American black population. There were both 'push' and 'pull' factors at work, with northern employment prospects providing the pull, and social and economic conditions in the South providing a strong push.

democracy representative government based on the will of the people

When entry into the Second World War was a reality, it was presented to Americans as an opportunity to fight for **democracy** and equality against the tyranny of dictatorship in Germany and the aggression of the Japanese. While military units were still segregated, black soldiers could draw inspiration for their own cause in the battle cries for equality and justice. Notably, the Second World War also coincided with a period in history when many African and Asian countries began to throw off their colonial yokes, which inspired the black community in the United States to achieve their own liberation on the back of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the more recently formed Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

As esteemed historian Vincent Harding points out, the Second World War helped influence a drive for change that was building momentum throughout the war.

SOURCE 6

> By the time the war ended in 1945, it was clear to some sensitive observers that nothing at home or overseas would ever be quite the same again where the struggle for black freedom and justice was concerned. The momentum that had been building in the courts, churches, temples and mosques, in the minds and hearts of marching men and women, on battlegrounds at home and overseas, could not be denied.
>
> Vincent Harding, 'Prologue: We the People' in Clayborne Carson *et al.* (eds), *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 1991, p. 30

segregation keeping people and opportunities separated, usually because of race or ethnicity

Following Roosevelt's death and the end of the war in 1945, incoming president Harry S. Truman oversaw a range of activities centred on expanding civil rights for black Americans. Changes included forming the first presidential Civil Rights Commission (1946), outlawing interstate bus **segregation** (1946) and desegregating the armed forces (1948). In addition, the first tentative steps towards desegregation of southern border state universities were also taken in this period. The Second World War had been the catalyst for change, and slowly but surely the American judicial and political systems were moving to support that change.

SOURCE 7 Members of the Negro Labor Committee (a group promoting black interests in the workforce) wait to greet outgoing president Harry S. Truman during the 1952 election campaign.

The extent of racial segregation and various forms of discrimination

As noted above, military service was still segregated in 1945, as were many forms of transport and travel. Some change was introduced at a federal level, but one characteristic of the civil rights period was the clash between federal and state rights. Particularly in the South, state governments were brought into direct confrontation with Washington as they resisted federal laws imposing desegregation. They were often successful, as in the case of the Southern Democratic Party senators who managed to prevent any anti-lynching bill from being successfully passed by the US Senate.

In the area sometimes referred to as the 'Deep South' (usually comprising the former slave-owning cotton states of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana), segregation and discrimination were rife. Separate facilities had been the way of social organisation in many states since the *Plessy vs Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling in 1896. In that case Homer Plessy, a black New Orleans shoemaker, tested the constitutionality of segregation laws by boarding a 'whites only' carriage on a Louisiana train in 1892. Plessy was arrested and brought before Judge John Ferguson. Plessy argued that the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution – which included the words 'No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States' – made segregation illegal. The case went through all levels of appeal to the Supreme Court, which ruled that the 14th Amendment guaranteed *legal* but not *social* equality, and that states were entitled to enforce segregation as long as black people were provided with equal facilities.

SOURCE 8 Malcolm Wright and his family

The doctrine of 'separate but equal' became the cornerstone of southern segregation throughout the first half of the twentieth century and was fed by the cultural tradition of discrimination. Facilities that were segregated into black and white sections included hotels, bars, restaurants, parks, schools and libraries.

In his study of rural Mississippi, Charles M. Payne catalogues a number of specific incidents showing the level of discrimination that was such a part of daily life for black Americans in southern states. The case of Malcolm Wright was by no means exceptional, but provides a clear example of the racism and lack of legal protection that black southerners faced at this time.

In July 1949, Wright was riding in his mule-driven wagon with his wife and children near Houston, Mississippi. Three white men in a car nearly pushed the wagon off the narrow country road. The white men then stopped the wagon and beat Wright to death in front of his family. Wright's life was ended that brutally, and that simply. This incident illustrates how little control a black person in the South had over their own fate at this time. As for the white perpetrators, discrimination and prejudice was so normalised to them too that they expected to be able to take a black life without having to fear retribution. In this case, they were correct. In April 1950 a jury found the three men not guilty of murder.

12.2 Check your learning

1. Analyse the validity of Charles M. Payne's description of the lives of black people in the South around the time of the Second World War as 'racial terror.'
2. Describe how the Second World War impacted upon the lives of black Americans.
3. Analyse the significance of the *Plessy vs Ferguson* ruling by the Supreme Court.
4. Assess the success of President Harry S. Truman in confronting segregation.
5. Explain how the case of Malcolm Wright reflects the discrimination suffered by black Americans in the United States around the end of the Second World War.

12.2 Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 4 can help you understand Payne's description of racial terror.
2. Analyse Source 5 and explain what it tells you about the black population of the United States between 1910 and 1968.
3. What examples can you use to support Vincent Harding's comments in Source 6?
4. What does Source 7 indicate about Truman's policies on segregation and discrimination?

12.3 Struggles for civil rights

The struggle for civil rights was never controlled by a single group or leader, and its success was often uneven. It relied on Federal Government support against states that were determined to resist any social or legal change, and on the Supreme Court to enforce the constitutional rights of all Americans. Popular culture also provided a significant context for the postwar struggles. Jazz music had played an important cultural role in the first half of the twentieth century, but the emergence of rock'n'roll in the 1950s saw black musicians reach a white fan base. In the late 1940s, black baseballers, following the lead of Jackie Robinson, started to enter the previously white domain of professional sport, and in 1946 Kenny Washington became the first black National Football League (NFL) player. By 1960, black men had started playing professional basketball. These changes helped provide a context for the Civil Rights Movement.

Formation and role of groups supporting civil rights and their ideas for change

One of the main findings of the most recent historiography of the Civil Rights Movement has been the recognition of the role of small, local civil rights groups. Charles M. Payne's 1995 study *I've Got the Light of Freedom* is a good example of the work being done by historians examining the impact of local action. He focuses on Mississippi, and the work of local organisers and groups in helping the more prominent national groups. Payne suggests that it was this local work that helped dissipate the fear many black Americans felt about engaging in any sort of political activity. Any examination of the Civil Rights Movement must be accompanied by an understanding that the major groups all functioned because of the work done by local groups and individuals.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The first group to make a major contribution to the twentieth-century civil rights campaign was the NAACP, founded in 1909. The formation of the NAACP was initiated by white citizens as a response to ongoing incidents of lynchings and race riots in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908. The aim of the group was to achieve political and social equality for black people and secure 'for all people the rights guaranteed in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the US Constitution, which promised an end to slavery, the equal protection of the law and universal adult male suffrage, respectively'.

Today, the organisation has grown to half a million members and it continues to work to remove barriers to racial equality through legal processes. The decision to use a legal approach is significant as, in the early years, black people – as well as the whites who supported them – could find themselves at the end of a rope for taking any direct action for civil rights.

SOURCE 10 A poster for the 1915 silent film *The Birth of a Nation*

SOURCE 9

> The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line, – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea. It was a phase of the problem that caused the Civil War …
>
> William Du Bois
> *The Souls of Black Folk*, 2016 edition, p. 12

W.E.B. Du Bois' book *The Souls of Black Folk*, originally published in 1903, is widely regarded as a seminal work of civil rights literature. Du Bois was the only black original executive of the NAACP and was also the founder of *The Crisis* magazine, which became an important channel for articulating and spreading ideas and arguments for equality at the start of the twentieth century. Engaging in communication with the wider community became particularly important to the NAACP following the 1915 release of the controversial Hollywood film *The Birth of a Nation*, which portrays the Ku Klux Klan as heroes. Representatives from the group protested at premieres in various cities and tried, unsuccessfully, to get the film banned.

The attention that the group received from protesting against *The Birth of a Nation* helped its members realise the value of working with publicity alongside the work they were doing in the courts. Their approach saw them win small, local cases over a period of time that culminated in the successful *Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka*, Kansas case in 1954, an event that launched the group into the civil rights era.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

As the NAACP's actions for civil rights gained prominence, other groups started to form. One of the most significant on a national level was CORE, an interracial group established in Chicago in 1942. Its approach was non-violent direct action, and it gained widespread recognition when it supported Martin Luther King in the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–56 (see Section 12.4).

The original influence for CORE's non-violent approach was activist Mahatma Gandhi, who was spearheading the Indian campaign for independence from Britain at the time. CORE's initial target was segregated restaurants and businesses in Chicago. Although a northern city, Chicago had been a major destination for black people moving northwards, and the rise of CORE showed that the need for campaigns for racial equality was not limited to the South. CORE instigated a series of successful **sit-ins** in Chicago that would become a blueprint for later campaigns in the South.

sit-in
a form of non-violent protest that involves occupying a space to make a statement and promote change

The murder of CORE workers Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 (see Section 12.4) led many to abandon their creed of non-violence. In 1966, an internal power struggle based on the issue of non-violence led to the elevation of Floyd McKissick as the new director. He moved CORE towards the adoption of **Black Power** as a philosophy, and the minimal inclusion of whites in the organisation. The assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968 (see Section 12.4) was the final straw for McKissick who declared that non-violence was now a 'dead philosophy', signalling a more militant approach.

Black Power an offshoot of the Civil Rights Movement that demanded a more aggressive and confrontational approach to white superiority

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The SCLC drew on the strength and organisation of the black churches of the South. Formed in Atlanta, Georgia, in January 1957, the group arose from the Montgomery Bus Boycott (see Section 12.4). Founders decided to use the term 'Christian' in the name of the group to attract church leaders, and they focused on activism on a local, community level. One of the strengths of the SCLC was its ability to draw together small groups and create a greater awareness of civil rights across a broader geographical area. It gained increasing recognition under the leadership of Martin Luther King.

The emphasis of the SCLC was always on non-violence, and all of its campaigning reflected this. The group worked to elevate the economic status of black people by focusing on the job market, literacy programs, voter education and community programs. Good examples of the local work done by the SCLC in Atlanta from 1962 were:

- Operation Breadbasket: a program designed to encourage black people to support businesses that gave employment opportunities to black people
- the Citizenship Education Program: a program designed to provide training in citizenship to black people and have them teach their communities.

The success of the SCLC in Atlanta enabled it to become the model for this type of **grassroots** activism across the South.

grassroots relating to the ordinary people at the local level of membership or action in a group

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

The SNCC emerged from the sit-in campaign that started in Greensboro, North Carolina, in February 1960 (see Section 12.4).

Ella Baker (see the profile on page 375), a veteran of both the NAACP and the SCLC, was the catalyst for the formation of the SNCC. Like the other groups, the SNCC preached and trained for non-violence and would issue press releases that challenged both politicians and the public to accept the idea of racial equality. It gained great support among students in 1961 when its members completed the Freedom Rides (see Section 12.4) to desegregate buses in the South after the original CORE freedom riders had been subjected to great violence. The group played a key role in driving black voter registration in the South, the 'Mississippi Freedom Summer' (see Section 12.4) and the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

As the SNCC's members became subject to increasing violence, its non-violent approach became more militant, and it also turned its protests to the Vietnam War. The SNCC had ceased being an effective organisation by the early 1970s.

SOURCE 11

> Local law in the deep South is based on the custom of prejudice and the political expediency of southern governors, police commissioners, mayors and sheriffs. Aiming at maintaining the status quo, the supremacy of the White, and the second-class citizenry of the Negro, this 'local law' which you sanction is contrary to the Constitution of the United States. It is, thus, null and void.
>
> An extract from an August 1960 SNCC press release criticising presidential candidate Richard Nixon for supporting 'local law' in the South

Septima Clark

One example of the hundreds of local groups that worked tirelessly to effect change at the local level was Septima Clark's Citizenship School, which was established on Johns Island in South Carolina. Clark had lost her job as a teacher in 1955, when the South Carolina Government decided that no teacher could be a member of the NAACP. Rather than resign herself to her fate, she went to Highlander Folk School in Tennessee to learn activist skills. (Highlander was another example of an effective local group that effected social change through education.)

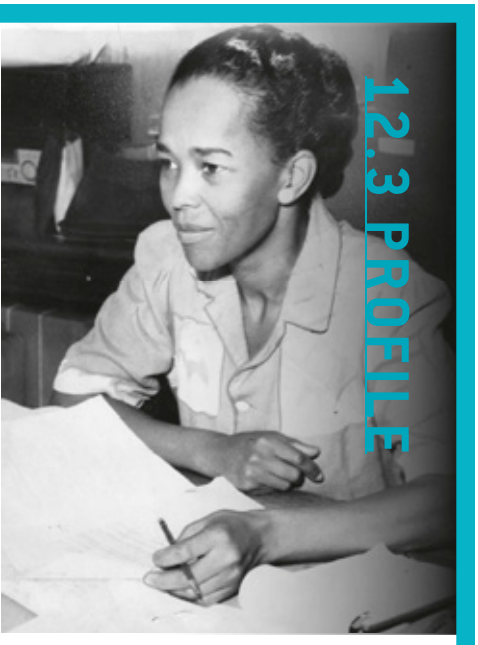
Clark borrowed $1500 to buy and equip a run-down building on Johns Island. The front of the building was set up to look like a grocery store so that no one would suspect that the back rooms were being used as a citizen school, where black adults were taught how to read and understand the voter registration forms that presented such a barrier to black people being enrolled to vote. Citizenship was discussed, and life skills such as writing cheques were also taught. From the first intake of 14 students, eight were able to register to vote and the South Carolina islands were soon hosting five of Clark's Citizenship Schools.

From small, local groups like these, significant change took place. By 1961 there were 37 Citizenship Schools, black voters had increased significantly in number, and a black credit union, nursing home, kindergarten and low-income housing project had been established.

SOURCE 12 Septima Clark with a plaque presented to her by the SCLC in June 1970 in recognition of her civil rights work through her local Citizenship Schools

ELLA BAKER

12.3 PROFILE



SOURCE 13 Ella Baker, 1941

Many leaders of the Civil Rights Movement have been overlooked in the writing of its history. Ella Baker is one of the most significant leaders of the movement, and arguably one of the least known. She played a key role in the NAACP, SCLC and SNCC, and on that score alone deserves recognition as a major figure in American history.

Born in Virginia in 1903, Baker was the granddaughter of slaves. After completing university, she moved to New York where she joined the Young Negroes Cooperative League, a group working to develop black economic power.

In 1938 Baker joined the NAACP as an assistant field secretary, and later became director of various branches. She resigned in 1946, believing that the group was too leadership oriented, while she believed that the emphasis needed to be on grassroots organisation and activism. She rejoined in 1952 when she was elected president of the New York City branch. She continued to push for a broader based organisation, and travelled to Atlanta in 1957 to discuss the foundation of a new group to build on the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Thus she was a key element of the foundation of the SCLC.

Baker played key organisational roles in the SCLC's first major event, 'Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom', and its first major project, the voter registration campaign 'Crusade for Citizenship'. In both cases, her flair for organisation and strong grassroots connections were critical features of their success.

It was at Baker's instigation that the leaders of the Greensboro sit-in were invited to meet the leaders of the SCLC in April 1960; it was from this meeting that the SNCC emerged; and it was Baker who ensured that the SNCC remained independent of the SCLC leadership. Baker argued that they should be wary of 'leader-oriented organisations', which reflected her view that Martin Luther King was becoming too dominant as a leader. This was the ongoing theme of her life – that the true struggle for civil rights came from empowering people at the grassroots level, and giving them the power to have control over their lives through voting.

From 1962, Baker worked with the Southern Conference Education Fund, yet another group whose aim was bringing black and white people together to work for social justice. As a group, it agitated for civil rights legislation at a federal level, and worked tirelessly to educate the white community about the realities of the rife racism of the southern states.

Baker returned to New York in 1967, where she continued to organise groups to work towards a more just world. She campaigned actively against **apartheid** in South Africa, worked with women's groups, and remained an activist up until her death in 1986, on her 83rd birthday. Throughout the many aspects of her life, despite the restrictions imposed on her for being both black and a woman, Ella Baker refused to be silenced, and ultimately made an enormous contribution to the Civil Rights Movement.

apartheid
a theory of racial separation used by South Africans to divide their society

12.3 PROFILE TASKS

1. In which major civil rights groups did Ella Baker play a key role? What was her role in each group?
2. Outline the main beliefs Baker held throughout her life.
3. Explain why Baker is a significant figure in the US Civil Rights Movement.

The efforts of Martin Luther King to achieve change for black people in America

Martin Luther King is widely recognised as one of the most important leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. While King accomplished a great deal, however, it is important to see his achievements within the context of the broader movement. King could not have attained his successes without the dedication, activism and organisation of those at the grassroots level.

King came from a family deeply involved in the southern black church. His grandfather and father both served as pastors of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, and this was the origin of King's social activism.

King was a member of the executive of the NAACP and emerged as the visible leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which brought him to national attention. This led to his leadership of the SCLC in 1957, and between then and 1968 he travelled over 9 million kilometres and spoke over 2500 times at rallies, meetings and conference across the South. His growing fame made him a target and he was arrested more than 20 times during protests.

SOURCE 14 Martin Luther King being arrested in 1958

In 1963, King galvanised the Civil Rights Movement with one of the most famous speeches of the twentieth century. In front of 250 000 people, his 'I have a dream' speech became a defining moment in the movement, drawing black and white people together. In 1963 he was named *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year, and the following year he won the Nobel Peace Prize.

On 4 April 1968, King was in Memphis to lead a march of striking garbage men. At 6 p.m., he stepped out onto the balcony of the Lorraine Motel where he was staying and was shot dead by an assassin (see Section 12.4). King was 39 years old. His assassination sparked riots across the country, and convinced many black people that the non-violent approach that was the cornerstone of King's philosophy had failed.

The methods employed by Civil Rights Movements in the United States across the period

Different civil rights groups and individuals employed different methods to try and achieve that same basic aim. When you study the key events of the movement, you will be seeing some of those methods applied in specific situations. As you analyse each event, make sure that you can identify the methods used, and how successful they were.

The Supreme Court ruling *Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* of 1954 (referred to here after as '*Brown vs Board of Education*'), which started the desegregation of American schools, is widely regarded as the beginning of the modern civil rights era. It is an example of the NAACP's use of the court system to bring about change. As firm believers in a non-violent approach, the NAACP members saw application of the law and constitutional rights as the best method of bringing about long-term change. As will be seen, however, opponents of civil rights found various methods to delay and avoid the obligations that the court decisions placed upon them.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama, which ran from December 1955 to December 1956, is a good example of direct action achieving social change. After Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus for a white passenger, a boycott of the city's buses was quickly organised. The effectiveness of this boycott came from the economic impact it had on white business, and its strength came from the willingness of the black community to maintain the boycott until change was implemented. Boycott leaders had their houses bombed by the Ku Klux Klan in an attempt to restrict social change.

The lunch counter sit-in became another accepted form of direct action. The 1960 Greensboro sit-in (see Section 12.4) has been acknowledged as the start of this tactic, but examples of sit-ins had occurred earlier. One early example was the 1955 student sit-in at a Read's Drug Store lunch counter in Baltimore, in the northern state of Maryland. Two days later, 37 Baltimore drug stores had desegregated.

By 1958, a group of NAACP youth wing members took the lunch counter sit-ins further south by hosting one in Wichita, in the midwestern state of Kansas. Despite threats of violence, the sit-in held out for four weeks and ended when the proprietor told his staff to 'serve them, I'm losing too much money'. That tactic was replicated in Oklahoma City shortly afterwards, and was the start of the desegregation of lunch counters throughout the country. In 1960, Greensboro took the campaign deeper into the South and showed the economic power of black boycotts of white businesses.

SOURCE 15 Rosa Parks is fingerprinted after refusing to give up her seat on a bus for a white passenger, leading to the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (see Section 12.4) illustrated the power of an integrated approach to political pressure as a method of bringing about change. At this time, there was increasing pressure on President John F. Kennedy's administration to enact civil rights legislation. This pressure had been accompanied by disagreements among various civil rights groups about the best tactics for bringing about change. The mass march, which drew 250 000 to Washington D.C. on 28 August 1963, was an attempt to bring all civil rights groups together in a show of strength. It attracted families, students, church figures and people from various ethnic backgrounds, stunning politicians with the size and diversity of the group. After Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson would enact a Civil Rights Act the following year, securing crucial federal support for the movement.

As the Civil Rights Movement continued to meet opposition, the non-violent approach espoused by leaders such as King and groups such as the NAACP and SCLC was increasingly questioned. The emergence of the concept of Black Power gained an increasing foothold in black communities. Muslim minister and activist Malcolm X emerged as a powerful leader with a message of black self-empowerment, and exposed a generational gap in some black communities. Younger people in particular were becoming increasingly frustrated with the slow pace of change.

Alongside a shift to a more confrontational approach was a growing support from black musicians and sports stars, who used their fame to take a stand for civil rights. One of the most famous examples was the protest of Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Mexico Olympics. There had been major tensions in the US team regarding issues of race in the lead-up to the Olympics, and the Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR) had urged athletes to boycott the games. Black athletes Smith and Carlos decided to make a stand after

SOURCE 16 Leaders representing a range of groups prepare to lead the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 1963.

finishing first and third in the 200 meter race. They walked to the podium in black socks, symbolising black poverty, and after being presented with their medals lifted their black-gloved fists above their heads. This gesture was starting to become widely accepted as a Black Power salute, although Smith has always maintained it was a human rights salute. They also bowed their heads during the playing of the American national anthem. Australian Peter Norman, who finished second and was present on the podium, expressed sympathy with Smith and Carlos and wore an OPHR badge in support of the protest.

With the Mexico Olympics the first to be televised live, the protest electrified the world. It was a powerful moment that marked the transition into a new era for the Civil Rights Movement. It combined non-violence and direct confrontation of authority, and it raised awareness of the concerns of black Americans at a global level.

All three men paid a high price for their action. The US Olympic Committee initially only reprimanded Smith and Carlos, but the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), American Avery Brundage, pushed for a more severe treatment. Brundage had established his position within the IOC in 1936 when he supported the Nazi Government's staging of the Berlin Olympics and now he wanted Smith and Carlos expelled from both the team and the Olympic Village. There is no doubt Brundage wanted to make them scapegoats. Smith and Carlos never ran for America again.

Norman certainly ran afoul of some of the more conservative officials in Athletics Australia. Despite running the qualifying time on a number of occasions, he was not selected for the 1972 Olympics. When he died in 2006, Smith and Carlos were pallbearers at his funeral and delivered the eulogy. Norman received an official apology and recognition from the Australian Parliament in 2012.

Music became another accepted method of raising awareness of the need for social change, particularly when black artists developed widespread appeal in white markets. Examples such as Nina Simone's 'Mississippi Goddam' (1963), Stevie Wonder's version of Bob Dylan's 'Blowin' in the Wind' (1966), Aretha Franklin's hit version of Otis Redding's 'Respect' (1967) and James Brown's 'Say It Loud I'm Black and Proud' (1968) all challenged their white audiences to engage with civil rights, and empowered black audiences to keep seeking change. By the time Marvin Gaye released the seminal album *What's Going On* in 1971, music had become a significant weapon in the Civil Rights Movement's armoury.

SOURCE 17 Australian Peter Norman (left) wearing his OPHR badge in front of Tommie Smith (centre) and John Carlos, while they give salutes in what has been described as the 'most iconic sporting image of all time'.

SOURCE 18 Soul singer Aretha Franklin in 1967, the year she had a hit with 'Respect', a powerful statement for the Civil Rights Movement.

12.3a Check your learning

1. Create a chart that includes basic information about the founding, aims and highlights of the following groups that participated in the Civil Rights Movement: NAACP, CORE, SCLC and SNCC.
2. Explain how Septima Clark's Citizenship Schools help you understand the role of small, community-based groups within the Civil Rights Movement.
3. Outline the highlights and successes of Martin Luther King's efforts to secure civil rights.
4. Create a mind map based on 'methods used' that allows you to show the range of methods – and specific examples of them – that allowed the Civil Rights Movement to bring about social change.
5. Analyse the significance of Mexico being the first Olympics to be televised live in explaining the impact of the 'salute'.
6. Discuss the role and status of the 'salute' in the Civil Rights Movement.

12.3a Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Sources 9 and 11 could be valuable in establishing a historical context for the Civil Rights Movement.
2. Explain the significance of Source 12.
3. Outline how Source 14 helps you understand the efforts of Martin Luther King to achieve civil rights.
4. Why could Source 17 be described as 'the most iconic sporting image of all time?' Do you think it deserves that description?
5. Sources 15–18 are evidence of different methods used by the Civil Rights Movement. Identify the situation and method used in each source. Discuss how successful each method shown was in helping to achieve progress towards civil rights.

Martin Luther King and Malcolm X: beliefs, aims and methods

As a Christian pastor, Martin Luther King developed his non-violent approach from his Christian principles. He drew on Mahatma Gandhi's approach to freeing India from British imperialism as his model, and travelled to India in 1959 to study Gandhi's methods. King faced both arrests and physical attacks, but maintained his conviction, and his non-violent philosophy only worked to broaden his appeal. He presented as the 'safe' approach to civil rights for white audiences.

King was a masterful communicator, whether writing his 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' in 1963, or delivering his famous 'I have a dream' speech the same year. The 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' called on Americans to take notice of the desegregation protests that had led to his arrest. When television cameras captured the Birmingham police turning dogs and fire hoses on protestors, King's message reached a wide audience and President Kennedy started pressuring Birmingham city leaders for change. The 'I have a dream' speech cemented King's reputation as a major spokesperson for the Civil Rights Movement.

Malcolm X was the antithesis (opposite) of King. Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little, and his family was driven out of Omaha, Nebraska, by the Ku Klux Klan when he was still a baby. His family house in Lansing, Michigan, was burnt down by another white supremacist group, who also killed his father by throwing him under a car. With his mother unable to cope alone with eight children during the Great Depression, Malcolm X was made a **ward of the state** and started a life of delinquency. By the age of 21, he was in prison for burglary.

SOURCE 19 Malcolm X (1925–1965); he changed his name from Malcolm Little because: 'For me, my "X" replaced the white slave master name of "Little" which some blue-eyed devil named Little had imposed on my parental forebears.'

In prison, Malcolm X was influenced by the group Nation of Islam and its leader Elijah Muhammad, and spent his time learning about the African roots and culture of black people in America. He discovered that black history had been removed from the traditional narrative told to American children, and reflected that it was a crime that '[i]nnocent little black children [were] growing up, living out their lives, dying of old age – and all their lives ashamed of being black'.

His growing awareness of racism and discrimination saw him develop a tactic that differed markedly to King's non-violent path to integration and equality. Malcolm X sought to destroy black self-hate and replace it with black self-esteem. Rather than seeing whites as a group with whom black activists needed to negotiate, as King did, Malcolm X saw whites as largely irrelevant to the future he envisaged.

ward of the state a child for whom a court takes responsibility

Upon his release from prison, Malcolm X became a minister in the Nation of Islam. He was based in Harlem in New York, where he told his black audiences: 'We are black first and everything else second.' He worked extensively with poor people, and his message of refusing integration in favour of black self-sufficiency was often rejected by those who believed in King's more optimistic approach. Where King saw hope in convincing whites of the justice of his cause of a non-violent path to equality, Malcolm X increasingly felt that black people needed to confront the reality of racism. He attacked King's philosophy, and responded to the 'I have a dream speech' by saying: 'While King was having a dream, the rest of us negroes are having a nightmare.'

When Malcolm X described the assassination of President Kennedy as a case of 'chickens coming home to roost', Elijah Muhammad was not pleased and tried to silence him, leading to Malcolm X officially splitting from the Nation of Islam in March 1964.

nationalism a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

He travelled to Africa, Europe and the Middle East, connecting with **nationalist** movements seeking to throw off the yoke of **imperialism**, telling his Harlem audience: 'You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't know what is going on in the Congo.' As part of his strategy to implement black nationalism, Malcolm X reached out to King in 1964. He formed his Organisation of Afro-American Unity, and urged black Americans to exercise their right to vote. Malcolm X was assassinated by a black Muslim on 21 February 1965.

imperial/imperialism relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

Prominent academic theologian James H. Cone argues that Malcolm X's influence in the black community is much greater today than during his lifetime. His message of black empowerment provided the philosophical platform for the emergence of Black Power towards the end of the 1960s.

SOURCE 20 Martin Luther King (centre) leads a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to protest the lack of voting rights for black people, 1965.

Although a direct contrast with Martin Luther King's non-violent philosophy of peace and love, Malcolm X's ideas became more powerful after King's assassination in 1968. As key civil rights leader John Lewis said, Malcolm X was 'able to articulate the aspirations, bitterness, and frustrations of the Negro people'.

Both King and Malcolm X wanted to give black people a place in American society. They may have differed in their approaches, and argued over how to achieve their aims, but both played a significant role in the movement.

The opposition to civil rights

Like the groups involved in supporting the Civil Rights Movement, those opposing it also operated at different levels. Although claiming to be national, groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Council relied largely on local organisation and support, particularly in the Deep South. These two groups were united in their support for the idea of white supremacy and the desire to maintain the historical continuity of segregation. They were supporters of tradition and the status quo (that is, the status of things as they were), and were determined to resist the social change the Civil Rights Movement was attempting to introduce.

The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (or Klan, as it is commonly known) has a history dating back to the period after the Civil War. It arose from the remains of the Confederate Army (which had fought the southern 'slave states' during the war), and spread through the South. It lacked a strong organisational base, and largely relied on violence and intimidation to try and enforce white supremacy in the Age of Reconstruction. Federal laws had basically crushed the group by the early 1870s but it was resurrected in 1915, at least in part as a response to the D.W. Griffith film *The Birth of a Nation*, which portrayed the formation of the original Klan as a defining moment in American history. With a stronger organisational base, the second Klan pushed the idea of **nativism** – promoting American-born whites over the recent influx of migrants. It was strongly anti-Roman Catholic and antisemitic (prejudiced against Jews), and also gained popularity in northern cities such as Detroit, New York and Chicago. Its membership reached six million in 1924, but its influence fell away under the pressure of leadership scandals, the Great Depression and the Second World War.

nativism
the idea that those born in the United States were superior and more deserving of rights than immigrants or black people, whose colour, nativists believed, revealed their foreign background

The emergence of the modern Civil Rights Movement – and specifically the Supreme Court judgment of *Brown vs Board of Education* in 1954 – was the catalyst for a third incarnation of the Klan. In this iteration, the Klan was largely made up of local groups of whites, often closely aligned with local law officials. Their major mode of operation was terror, going as far as developing death lists and carrying out lynchings. Creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, the Klan tried to force black people to resist voter registration drives

and stop them from entering segregated premises. Violence and intimidation were commonplace, and Klansmen were responsible for a number of murders of both black and white civil rights supporters.

The Klan's strong connections with many local police, politicians and legal institutions meant that these groups willingly turned a blind eye to their crimes. One example is the perpetrators of the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, who avoided justice for decades. Although the four attackers were named to the FBI in 1965, the FBI's Director J. Edgar Hoover ordered the case closed in 1968. The case was reopened in 1971, and the first perpetrator was jailed in 1977. One died before he was indicted, and the remaining two were jailed in 2001 and 2002. This was typical of the Klan's tactics and the level of protection its members often received at the local and even national level.

SOURCE 21 A Ku Klux Klan cross-burning rally in Tennessee

This third incarnation of the Klan still exists today in its fragmented, localised form. There have been indications that the number of local chapters of the Ku Klux Klan has grown since 1916.

As recent racial hate crimes – such as the 2015 Charleston church shooting of nine black worshippers – show, today's Klan competes for attention and relevance with various other white supremacy hate groups. The 2017 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, revealed both the opportunities and difficulties the Klan faces. The rally was held to protest the removal of a pro-Confederate statue, and was attended not only by Klan members, but also by white supremacists, white nationalists and neo-Nazis. The audience the Klan used to dominate now has much greater choice in terms of organisations seeking to perpetuate racism.

The White Citizens' Council

The White Citizens' Council was formed in Mississippi in October 1954 as a reaction to the decision in *Brown vs Board of Education*. Historian Charles M. Payne described the group as has having 'the agenda of the Klan with the demeanour of the **Rotary**'. Its members were professionals, business people and cotton planters and, as such, it represented many of the pillars of southern society. The members stated that they were against violence, and instead relied on economic power to hold back civil rights progress. The White Citizens' Council established branches throughout the South, and the local presidents were often also the local bank presidents, which gave them significant power in small southern communities. With its veneer of respectability, the White Citizens' Councils often had very close links with local and state government.

Rotary
a worldwide organisation of professionals and business people serving the community through projects

SOURCE 22
Spectators at a 1960 White Citizens' Council meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, which was called to protest against the desegregation of local schools

In its first year in Mississippi, the White Citizens' Council had 25 000 members, a number that rose to 80 000 within two years. The group was proving particularly effective in driving down the number of black people registering to vote – through intimidation and economic power, but also through violence.

The White Citizens' Council remained active throughout the late 1950s and 60s. To promote segregation in schools, it produced children's books that stated that heaven was segregated. In Mississippi, it managed to hold off school desegregation until 1964, and when desegregation did arrive, it had the wealth and connections to establish private schools that could deny black students entry.

The White Citizens' Council was a group resistant to change that eventually succumbed to forces beyond its control. By the 1970s, it was largely irrelevant, and today its activities and members have been absorbed into the Council of Conservative Citizens.

12.3b Check your learning

1. Create a Venn diagram that shows the similarities and differences between the beliefs, aims and methods of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.
2. Create a dialogue that outlines a conversation between Martin Luther King and Malcolm X where they discuss their aims and methods.
3. Outline the actions of groups that were opposed to civil rights. Explain why you think it took so long for many of the perpetrators of murders to be brought to justice.

12.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. Discuss what Sources 19 and 20 reveal about the similarities and differences in the aims and methods of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. What other sources would you require to reach a more detailed understanding?
2. Research the ritual of cross-burning shown in Source 21, and explain the significance of the scene depicted there. How does that knowledge help you explain Source 10?
3. Analyse Source 22 and explain how it helps you understand resistance to the Civil Rights Movement.

12.4 Key events in the Civil Rights Movement

One way of analysing the Civil Rights Movement is to examine key events that helped drive social change. It is important to understand that this will not give you a complete understanding of the movement and its significance. Rather, it allows a snapshot of the movement at different points in time, and will enable you to reflect on historical continuities and changes. That understanding will become crucial in delivering exam responses.

The syllabus designates six key events that must be covered, but to focus only on those would lead to a very narrow historiographical understanding. In this section, you will briefly examine 11 key events that all had an impact on the development and success of the movement. Of course there are many more, and you should explore further to decide which other incidents could also be regarded as 'key events'.

The events will be explored chronologically. Note that the length of each event in no way reflects its significance or historical importance. It is also important to assess which events are local and which are national. Quite often, you will be able to identify a local event which has national implications.

Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)

The Supreme Court ruling in *Brown vs Board of Education* is often regarded as the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement. The 'Brown' in the case was Linda Brown, a young black student in Topeka who was forced to catch a bus each day, and travel across town to attend an all-black school, despite living much closer to an all-white school. In the court case, a number of other cases were also included where black students argued that they were receiving an inferior education in substandard conditions, simply because they were black.

The Supreme Court in the United States hears appeals from other courts and its judgments become the accepted law. In this specific case, Brown's team was seeking to overturn the 1896 *Plessy vs Ferguson* ruling, which had made 'separate but equal' the accepted practice, including in the field of education.

The NAACP was the main group involved in prosecuting the case. Ultimately the Supreme Court accepted the NAACP argument that, in education, separate did not mean equal. The court ruled that any classification that was based solely on race violated the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution. The 14th Amendment had originated in 1868 as part of the Reconstruction Era after the Civil War. Among its requirements was 'equal protection', meaning that each state guaranteed equal protection to all people living there. The southern states had been forced to sign the 14th Amendment in order to have representation in Congress, but had long been opposed to implementing any moves towards equality that would break the segregationist culture that was regarded as essential to Southern life.

What is sometimes overlooked is that after the decision in *Brown vs Board of Education* there was a follow-up ruling in 1955, usually referred to as 'Brown II'. This provided southern states with the opportunity to delay the impact of desegregation by ruling that it had to be implemented with 'deliberate speed'. The result was that many southern states took full advantage of this ruling in order to delay desegregating their schools.

SOURCE 23

All Americans are now relieved to have the law of the land declare in the clearest language: '… in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place …' Segregation in public education is now not only unlawful; it is un-American. True Americans are grateful for this decision … Having canvassed the situation in each of our states we approach the future with the utmost confidence …

Extract from a NAACP press release issued two days after the handing down of the *Brown vs Board of Education* ruling, quoted in Clayborne Carson *et al.* (eds), *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 1991, p. 82

The death of Emmett Till (1955)

Emmett Till was a 14-year-old black boy who lived with his mother in Chicago. In August 1955 he travelled to Money, Mississippi, to visit relatives during the summer break. On a visit to a grocery store, Till was alleged to have either whistled at, or made inappropriate comments to, the wife of the store owner, 21-year-old white woman Carolyn Bryant. Four days later, two white men came to Till's uncle's house and kidnapped him. He was then violently beaten before being shot in the head, and his body was dumped in the Tallahatchie River. It was suggested that Till may have inadvertently broken the unwritten social code of black males not speaking socially to white women.

When Till's body was found and returned to Chicago, his mother insisted on an open-casket funeral so that the world could see what had been done to her son. The powerful image shocked the American public who were brought face to face with the violence that was commonplace in many southern towns. Bryant's husband and his half-brother were later charged with the murder after being identified by Till's great-uncle in court as the two men who had kidnapped him. Despite the identification, an all-white jury found them not guilty. The two men later confessed to the murder in a magazine article, but as they had already been freed in court they could not be charged a second time.

SOURCE 24 A photograph of Emmett Till's battered body in his open casket

The reaction to the lynching of Emmett Till showed a gradual rejection of the type of violence that had been a continuity in southern life. By taking the step of allowing an open casket to reveal the true nature of Till's death, his mother, Mamie Till, started a process of community education and awareness that eventually made a significant contribution to social change.

Musician Bob Dylan wrote the song 'The Death of Emmett Till' in 1962, as the Civil Rights Movement started to take off, illustrating the contribution popular culture could make to social change.

In January 2017, Bryant finally revealed that she had fabricated evidence against Emmett Till and lied about him physically touching her and making crude remarks.

SOURCE 25

In the current [Emmett Till] case, the Department of Justice hastily issued a statement declaring that it was making a thorough investigation to determine if young Till's civil rights had been violated.

The Department evidently concluded that the kidnapping and lynching of a young Negro boy in Mississippi are not violations of his rights.

Editorial in the black *Chicago Defender* newspaper, 1 October 1955, quoted in Clayborne Carson *et al.* (eds), *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 1991, p. 39

SOURCE 26 A court drawing of Emmett Till's great-uncle, Mose Wright, identifying the two suspects in their trial for murder

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955–56)

On 1 December 1955, Rosa Parks, a local NAACP organiser who worked as a seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat for a white man on a bus on her way home from work. It was the start of a year-long boycott of Montgomery buses by the city's black community in an effort to desegregate public transport.

Parks was not the first black woman to be arrested for refusing to surrender her seat. Segregation and humiliating treatment on Montgomery's buses had been a festering sore for the black community for several years. When Parks made her stand, she was quickly supported by two local activists: E.D. Nixon, a black civil rights leader, and Clifford Durr, a white lawyer who supported the Civil Rights Movement. They had in fact been looking for the ideal person to challenge the segregated buses, and when Parks was arrested, they had found their test case.

While in civil rights mythology, Rosa Parks has been cast as a meek, tired worker, and described as a 'saint of American history', she was in fact well educated and well mannered – as Durr's wife said: 'She was a lady.' This was vital if the case was to win widespread support among white people who would be quick to find fault with any black woman prepared to stand up for her rights. Journalist Walt Harrington also described Parks' most significant quality: 'She was velvet hiding steel.'

Parks was taken off the bus, charged with failing to follow instructions and fined $10. Nixon, Durr and Parks agreed that the case was a perfect catalyst for a wider boycott. A story through a friendly newspaper journalist and thousands of hastily prepared leaflets alerted the black community. After years of poor and often humiliating treatment, Montgomery's black community had suffered enough. The call to boycott was supported and people drove or simply walked many miles to work, whatever the weather.

Although Rosa Parks is indelibly linked to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, it was in reality a people's movement. Some people lost their jobs as a result of the boycott and some were subject to beatings and even bombings. The violence of the white reaction encouraged moderates to support the black community, which remained solid throughout the boycott.

Martin Luther King also became a face of the boycott, which in many ways represented a key moment for his emergence as a civil rights leader. However, when nearly 100 supporters were arrested for conspiracy during the campaign, King was not available to be photographed when arrested, and it was the sight of Parks being fingerprinted that appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* (see Source 15), increasing awareness in the North. In the end, however, it was the 40 000 people who refused to ride the buses that brought about social change. Their unstinting commitment led to the Supreme Court ruling that the segregation of public buses was unconstitutional by the end of 1956, showing that change was possible.

SOURCE 27 Rosa Parks (centre) riding on a newly integrated bus in Montgomery, Alabama, after the conclusion of the boycott

SOURCE 28

> … and this one man was standing and when the driver looked around and saw he was standing, he asked the four of us … to let him have those front seats. At his first request, didn't any of us move. Then he spoke again and said, 'You'd better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats.' … when the three people stood up and moved into aisle, I remained where I was. When the driver saw that I was still sitting there, he asked if I was going to stand up. I told him no, I wasn't. He said, 'well if you don't stand up, I'm going to have you arrested.' I told him to go on and have me arrested.
>
> An extract from a 1977 interview with Rosa Parks, quoted in Clayborne Carson *et al.* (eds), *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 1991, p. 47

The desegregation of Little Rock Central High School (1957)

The Brown I and II Supreme Court cases had established that public high schools had to desegregate. Actually fulfilling that legal directive was much more problematic in many parts of the South. One of the key battlegrounds that illustrates the difficulties black students faced was Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas.

The local NAACP had been working with the Little Rock School Board on a plan for the gradual integration of the local schools and the implementation of the Supreme Court decision. A start date of 4 September 1957 was decided upon, and nine black students were selected to attend the all-white Central High School, starting on the first day of the school term. In response, two pro-segregation groups were formed: the Capital Citizens' Council and the Mothers' League of Central High School.

The 'Little Rock Nine', as the students became known, were selected and prepared by the NAACP. They were warned what to expect and, under the leadership of NAACP President and co-editor of the black Arkansas State Press, Daisy Bates, workshopped potential situations they would be confronted by. They were also trained in non-violent responses.

On the day of enrolment, Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus called in the state National Guard to prevent the Little Rock Nine from entering the school.

Eight of the Little Rock Nine arrived as a group, but Elizabeth Eckford did not have a phone at home and was not aware of the group arrival. In a defining moment of the civil rights struggle, Eckford walked alone to the front door of Central High School, facing hatred, spitting, and calls for her lynching.

SOURCE 29 The face of courage: 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford attempting to attend her first day at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, 4 September 1957

Sources 29 and 30 capture one of the most profound moments of individual courage in American history as Elizabeth Eckford, a teenaged black girl, on her own, stared down racism and hatred. She was refused entry by the bayonets of the National Guard and, after retreating, was assisted by a white observer to leave the scene.

SOURCE 30

> When I was able to steady my knees, I walked up to the Guard who had let the white students in. He too didn't move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards moved in and they raised their bayonets.
>
> They glared at me with a mean look and I was very frightened and I didn't know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me.
>
> They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!' … They came closer, shouting, 'No nigger bitch is going to get into our school. Get out of here!'

Elizabeth Eckford's description of the incident, as told to Daisy Bates, quoted in Clayborne Carson *et al.* (eds), *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 1991, pp. 102–3

Ultimately it took until 25 September 1957 for the Little Rock Nine to attend their first full day of classes. This only occurred after President Dwight D. Eisenhower had intervened by sending in 1200 members of the US Army's 101st Airborne Division to ensure that the students were able to enter the school. The Nine suffered intimidation throughout the school year, but on 25 May 1958, Ernest Green became the school's first black graduate. The following September, Faubus closed all high schools in Little Rock for the year while a vote was conducted. Unsurprisingly, desegregation was rejected, and the schools remained closed until August 1959.

SOURCE 31 The Little Rock Nine leave under military escort at the end of a school day.

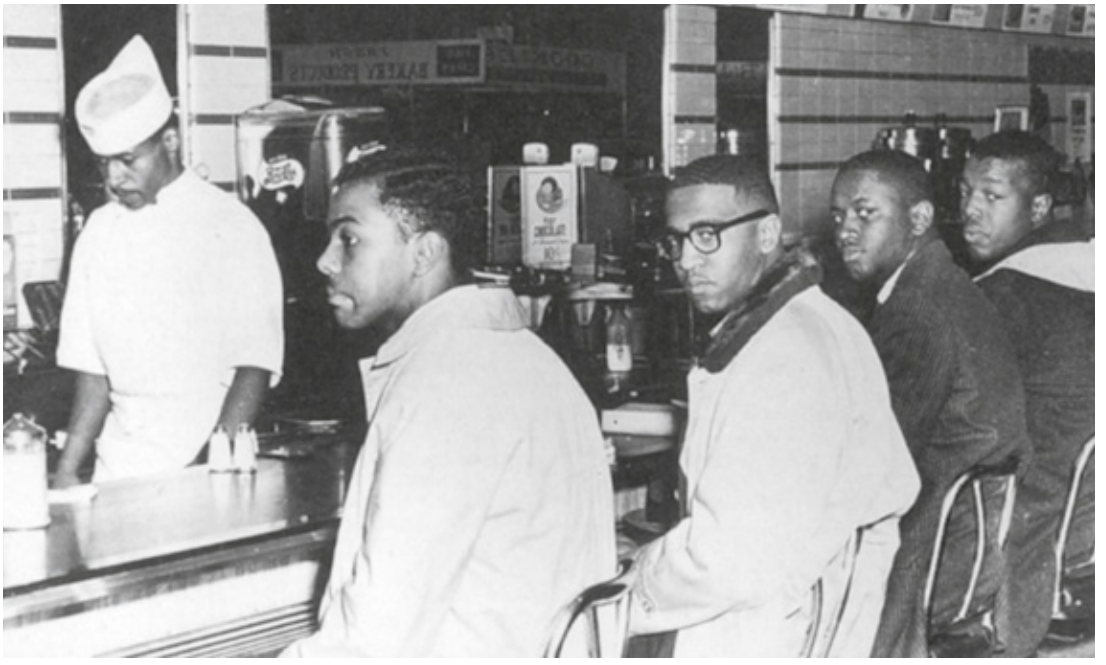
The remaining members of the Little Rock Nine completed their education by correspondence or at interstate schools. The courage of all nine was recognised by President Bill Clinton in 1999, when each was awarded a Congressional Gold Medal.

The Greensboro sit-in (1960)

While sit-ins were already an established tactic of the Civil Rights Movement by 1960, the Greensboro lunch counter sit-in was the one that gained national attention. The event started at the whites-only lunch counter of the Woolworths store in Greensboro, North Carolina. Four local black university students decided that they had to make a stand. Inspired by the work of Gandhi in India, and angered by the death of Emmett Till, they chose the lunch counter as their venue for protest.

The sit-in commenced on 1 February 1960. The four students came in daily, sat at the counter, tried to order, and were refused service because of their skin colour. They were soon joined by others, including white supporters, and attracted national attention. By the end of March, the movement had spread to 55 cities in 13 states. Restaurants, libraries, beaches and hotels were all targets. By the end of July, Woolworths in Greensboro had desegregated its lunch counter because the sit-in was simply too costly; in fact, the cost factor was a key element of the success of the sit-in. Further, the peaceful nature of the protest made any violent police attempts to remove the participants even starker than they would otherwise appear, and as a result the protesters won further public support.

One of the significant outcomes of the Greensboro sit-in was the formation of the SNCC, which developed in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1960 to continue the momentum generated by the protest. The SNCC would play a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement through the 1960s.



SOURCE 32 Students wait for service on the second day of the Greensboro sit-in.

The Freedom Rides (1961)

As with the desegregation of schools, the Supreme Court was also the catalyst for what was to become known as the 'Freedom Rides'. In December 1960, in the case of *Boynton vs Virginia*, the court ruled that segregation of bus and railroad terminals was illegal. The decision sparked a round of protests among white southerners, who rejected this type of federal intervention. In the North, civil rights activists developed a plan for a major statement about the ongoing segregation of the South. CORE drew on a tactic it had used in its 'Journey of Reconciliation' protest in 1947, where black and white people travelled together across state lines to test a court ruling against segregation of interstate travels.

In May 1961, CORE decided to send two integrated buses from Washington D.C. to New Orleans, Louisiana. The group planned to challenge segregation by using the facilities designated for the opposite race en route. Public anger and police apathy were encountered at every stop, but in Anniston, Alabama, one of the buses was forced off the road by a mob, which burnt the bus and attacked the passengers. The second bus continued to Birmingham, Alabama, where the riders were met by an angry crowd of men, women and children. Police remained blocks away, allowing the mob free rein, with the result that one rider was bashed into a coma, and another paralysed. So vicious were the beatings that CORE's leader, James Farmer, made the decision to call off the rest of the Freedom Ride.

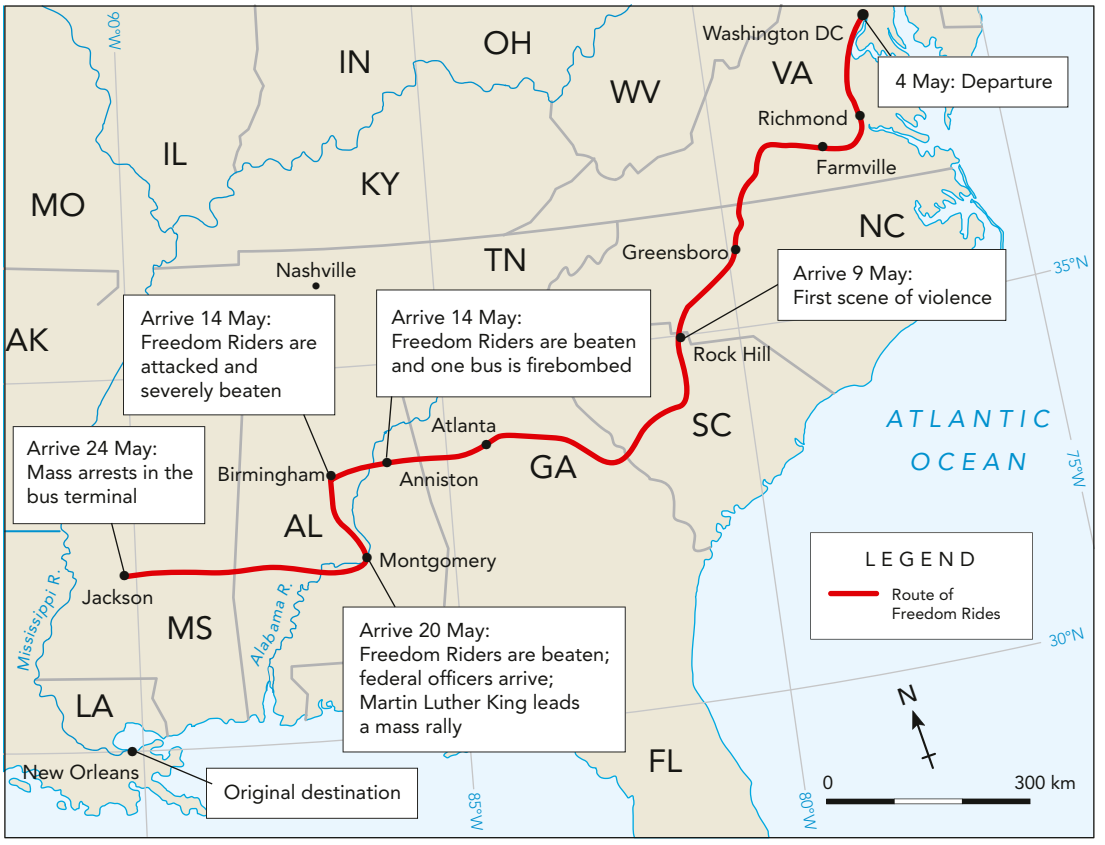
SOURCE 33 The burnt Freedom Ride bus which was forced off the road in Anniston, Alabama, 1961

SOURCE 34 Freedom Riders John Lewis (left) and James Zwerg, after being beaten in Montgomery, Alabama

Rather than allow racism to win, SNCC volunteers organised a bus in Nashville, Tennessee, and drove to Alabama to continue the ride. In Birmingham, Alabama, they were forced back into Tennessee, and upon returning to Birmingham they were unable to find anyone willing to drive the bus. After several days of negotiation, the bus was only allowed to continue if it was accompanied by law enforcement officers. Those officers abandoned the bus outside Montgomery, Alabama, and once again the Freedom Riders were beaten by a mob. They eventually reached Jackson, Mississippi, where the riders were arrested for disturbing the peace and sentenced to prison.

Although that event ended the Freedom Rides, sympathisers conducted smaller rides throughout the South during the year. Further, the beating of John Seigenthaler – a white federal civil rights officer from the Department of Justice – in the Montgomery attack focused the attention of the Kennedy administration on the Freedom Rides, and certainly had a major impact on making the nation more aware of the civil rights situation in the South.

THE FREEDOM RIDES, 1961



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 35 The route taken by the Freedom Riders in 1961, including key incidents

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963)

The context of the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the increasing battle for desegregation in the southern states. In June 1963, Alabama Governor George Wallace had attempted to refuse the admittance of two black students to the University of Alabama. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy had placed 400 specially trained troops on standby, and ultimately the students were enrolled. The same evening Kennedy's brother, President John F. Kennedy, had made a public televised address where he endorsed the civil rights activism that was taking place across the country. Within hours of the broadcast, NAACP's field director in Mississippi, Medgar Evers, was assassinated by White Citizens' Council member Byron De La Beckwith as he entered his home. Beckwith shot Evers in the back and survived two **hung juries** in 1964, before finally being sentenced to jail in 1994. In the 10 weeks following Evers' murder, there were 758 demonstrations against racism and 14 733 arrests in 186 American cities. More and more people were starting to call for change.

hung jury
a jury that is unable to reach a unanimous decision

SOURCE 36 Folk singer Joan Baez performing at the march

It was against this background that a veteran of the Civil Rights Movement, A. Philip Randolph, revived a plan for a march on Washington to bring national attention to the two urgent requirements for black America: jobs and freedom. He had organised a march in 1957 which attracted 25 000 people, but hoped that the violence that was emerging in the South would galvanise more people to join. President Kennedy called a meeting with the representatives of the major civil rights groups after learning of the march, and asked for it to be called off. He was afraid it would derail attempts to guide a Civil Rights Act through Congress. Randolph replied that 'the negroes are already in the streets', and Kennedy agreed not to oppose the march.

After the meeting with Kennedy, all the major civil rights groups agreed to participate. The Department of Justice gave tentative and largely background support, and the date of the march was announced as 28 August 1963. A total of 250 000 people joined the march from across America and assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial. It was the first major display of the breadth of opposition to racism, and a direct challenge to the segregationist policies of the South.

The march combined speeches and musical acts, including performances by artists such as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan and Odetta. Ultimately, gospel singer Mahalia Jackson may have made the day's most telling contribution. Martin Luther King, representing the SCLC, had been given the final speaking spot. He was progressing through his prepared speech when Jackson, standing nearby, implored him to 'tell 'em about the dream Martin'. Responding to Jackson and the crowd, King departed from his prepared speech. He stated: 'I say to you today my friends – so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.' Riffing on the dream theme, King delivered one of the most famous speeches in history.

SOURCE 37 The 250 000-strong crowd that attended the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom cemented King's position as the spokesperson for the Civil Rights Movement. It secured the continuation of his non-violent approach for the foreseeable future, and won the attention and support of many white Americans. The momentum of the movement was rapidly gathering pace.

The 'Mississippi Freedom Summer' (1964)

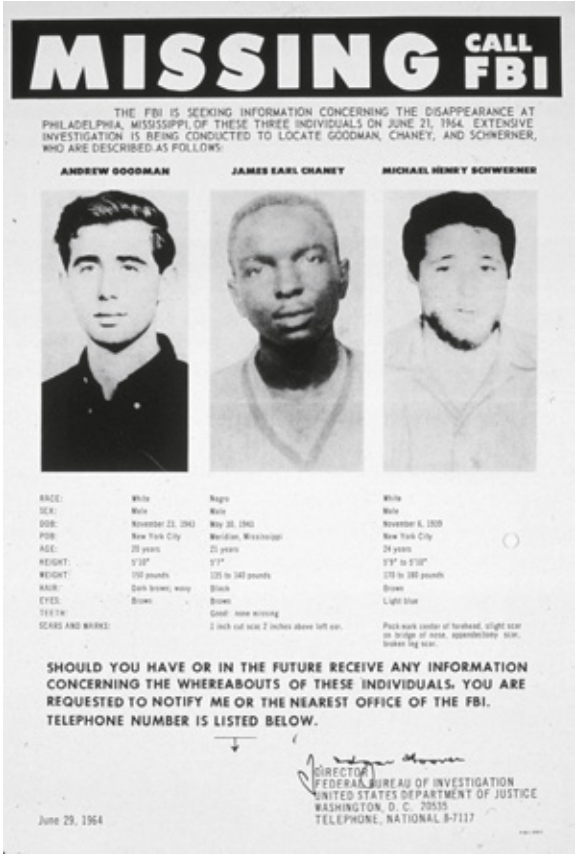
All historical events occur within a specific context. For the 'Mississippi Freedom Summer' of 1964, that context was a presidential election a few months later. It was an unusual election, because John F. Kennedy had been assassinated in Dallas, Texas, in November 1963. His vice president, Lyndon B. Johnson, had succeeded him, and was progressing Kennedy's moves towards a Civil Rights Act. He had the Act passed in July 1964, after further strengthening its equal opportunity sections and making the voting rights guarantees stronger.

Johnson was a Southern Democrat from Texas, and it was the Southern Democrats who had been the most active politicians in stonewalling moves towards desegregation. A staunch Southern Democrat, George Wallace – the Governor of Alabama, who had tried to keep the University of Alabama closed to black students – stood against Johnson for the 1964 democratic presidential nomination. When Johnson won the nomination, many whites drifted to the Republican Party in an attempt to resist desegregation, while new black voters felt their future lay in supporting the Democrats. This new political alignment has continued through to the present day.

Against that changing political landscape, the SNCC developed a plan to challenge the existing Democratic Party with the establishment of the new Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, known as the Freedom Democratic Party. It was to be a desegregated party, and would be supported by the enrolment of black voters. An umbrella group called the Council of Federated Organisations (COFO) flooded into southern states in June 1964 to register new black and white voters with the party. Students and church workers were recruited to help people enrol to vote, presenting the ultimate challenge to white southern political control of the region. Training in non-violence was provided, while volunteers were warned to expect violence.

On 21 June 1964, early in the campaign, two young CORE workers, Michael Schwerner and James Chaney, together with a student volunteer from New York, Andrew Goodman, were travelling through Neshoba County in Mississippi to investigate a church bombing. Their vehicle was known to belong to CORE and was pulled over for alleged speeding by the local deputy sheriff, Cecil Price, who was also a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

After releasing the three men later in the evening, Price stopped them as they were leaving the county and forced them into his vehicle. He handed the three men over to a group of Klansmen who beat Chaney, the only black man in the group, and then shot all three. Their bodies were buried in the wall of a dam, and they remained missing for two months, before their bodies were discovered after a tip-off.


MISSING CALL FBI

THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

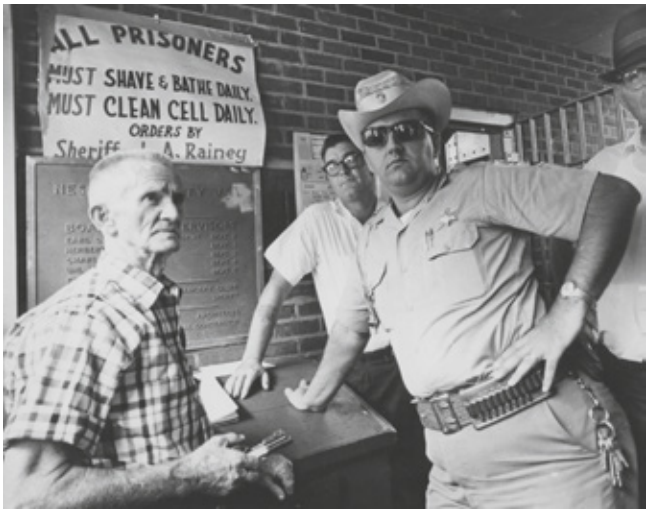
ANDREW GOODMAN | JAMES EARL CHANEY | MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER

SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI. TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

June 29, 1964

SOURCE 38 An FBI missing persons poster released during the search for Michael Schwerner, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, June 1964



SOURCE 39 Cecil Price (right, pictured in 1966): the Neshoba County deputy sheriff and Klansman who arrested Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, and handed them over to their deaths

It took until 2005 for any of the perpetrators to receive serious punishment, when Edgar Ray Killen was found guilty of manslaughter, 41 years to the day after the murders had taken place. He was sentenced to 60 years' jail, and remains in prison. The murders, and the reaction of the Mississippi political and legal system in refusing to deal with the possible murderers, outraged mainstream America. The 'Mississippi burning' murders (upon which the 1988 film *Mississippi Burning* was based) became another galvanising point in changing public opinion, and played a major role in helping the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act through Congress, another major step towards empowering black people in the South.

Selma's Bloody Sunday (1965)

Race riots had become increasingly common throughout the United States during the 1960s, as tensions simmered. As well as the ongoing conflict in the South, there were riots in northern cities as dissatisfaction with the lack of employment, housing and education opportunities for black people grew. In the summer of 1964, while civil rights campaigners were working on the Mississippi Freedom Summer, race riots sprung up in New York, Philadelphia, New Jersey and Chicago.

In early 1965, civil rights activists calling for a Voting Rights Act to strengthen the rights of black people to vote started a campaign focused on Selma, Alabama. On Sunday, 7 March, campaigners prepared to walk across the Edmund Pettus Bridge and on to the state capital of Montgomery to confront Governor George Wallace. The marchers were beaten so badly by state troopers and white supremacists that the incident became known as 'Bloody Sunday'. A second attempt was also turned back, but between 21 and 25 March, protesters completed the march with protection from nearly 4000 federal troops.

In many ways, Selma was the last great action of the 'southern phase' of the Civil Rights Movement. It again attracted national attention, and helped achieve the voting rights legislation. Furthermore, it confirmed the value of the tactic of involving the Federal Government in the enforcement of civil rights. Images from the march helped focus the anger of black Americans, and led to further questioning of the non-violent approach, as it was consistently met with such serious white supremacist violence.

The Watts Riot (1965)

Relations between white police forces and black citizens were fraught in many cities, and Los Angeles, California, was no exception. Black families had moved west to Los Angeles at the start of the Second World War in search of opportunities, and between 1940 and 1965 the black population of Los Angeles rose from 63 700 to about 350 000. But many found themselves still considered below white people in terms of employment status, and there was

also a widespread perception among the black community that the Los Angeles police force was racist. Frustration grew as the treatment of black people in the South became featured on broadcasts throughout 1964, and from Selma in 1965.

When a white policeman accused a black man of drunk driving on 11 August 1965, it sparked a riot that would last until 16 August, destroy $40 million worth of property, cost 34 lives, and require 4000 members of the Californian National Guard to restore order. Resentment grew stronger as explosions wracked the region of Watts, a poor, predominantly black area of the city. Martin Luther King arrived in Watts the day after a tenuous peace was established. Watts is credited with turning King towards a wider, more inclusive approach that included dealing with the lives of the black urban population, outside the South.

The Governor of California, Pat Brown, instigated an investigation into the riot, headed by former CIA Director John McCone. The McCone Commission reported in December 1965, and found that the major causes of what happened were high unemployment, poor schools and substandard housing for most of the black residents of the Watts area. Recommendations included 'emergency literacy and preschool programs, improved police–community ties, increased low-income housing, more job-training projects, upgraded health-care services, more efficient public transportation'. These echoed the emerging demands of black people across the country, and although many of the recommendations remained unfulfilled, helped accelerate the move towards a more nationally focused Civil Rights Movement.

SOURCE 40 Police fire from behind their car as Watts goes up in flames.

SOURCE 41 Watts, Los Angeles, a year after the riot

The springboard from Selma to Watts marked an important shift in the direction of the movement. It was more than simply including an urban emphasis; it also led to questioning the approach of the entire movement. In the same summer that Watts exploded, SNCC workers in Lowndes County, Alabama, assisted the black community in creating an all-black political party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. The group adopted the mascot of a local college, and soon became known as the Black Panther Party. The Civil Rights Movement was moving towards a new era that would be more confrontational and less willing to negotiate.

The assassination of Martin Luther King

By 1968, Martin Luther King was struggling to redefine his movement. If Watts had been a turning point in helping him to understand the breadth and nature of his challenge, solutions were becoming more difficult in a country that was fracturing along a number of fault lines. The United States of 1968 was in turmoil over its involvement in Vietnam and was still entrenched in a Cold War where absolute loyalty to the government was deemed essential. Protestors were identified as 'un-American' and a challenge to the system. In a presidential election year, it seemed as if a generation gap was dividing America, as well as the now well-established race and ideological divides. It was from the centre of this turmoil that King was trying to build a strong coalition.

As historian Vincent Harding put it, 'constantly facing the threat of death and the reality of harsh criticism from many former allies, he groped for a way which would challenge the best energies and indignation of the black community – especially its young people – and move them into a higher level of nonviolence'. King's aim became focused on building an alliance of America's poor, cutting through race, age and location boundaries. In a country that was investing billions in a war in Vietnam, and relying on armed forces where the poor were disproportionately represented, King believed that a program of massive civil disobedience from a united poor population could challenge government priorities.

The theme of unity was also the focus of King's final speech in Memphis, Tennessee, on 3 April 1968, at the Bishop Charles Mason Temple: 'Now we are poor people, individually we are poor when you compare us with white society in America. We are poor. Never stop and forget that collectively … We don't have to curse and go around acting bad with our words. We don't need any bricks and bottles; we don't need any Molotov cocktails'. At the time of his death, this was the direction King was mapping out for black Americans – the collective power of the poor to transform their world peacefully.

The last section of King's final speech contained the words: 'Like anybody, I would like to live a long life – longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now … And so I'm happy tonight; I'm not worried about anything; I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord'.

The following day, on 4 April 1968, King was standing outside his bedroom on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, in Memphis, Tennessee. He was 39 years old when he was shot through the neck by a sniper's bullet, which severed his spinal cord. He was pronounced dead on arrival at hospital. A white racist was later found guilty of his murder. King's final speech suddenly transformed into a haunting **epitaph**, as his supporters across the country questioned the point of non-violence if it was met with a sniper's bullet.

SOURCE 42 The Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, where Martin Luther King was shot, now the site of the National Civil Rights Museum

In Indianapolis, Indiana, Robert Kennedy had just decided to enter the presidential race. He was scheduled to deliver a speech when he received the news that King had been murdered. Throwing out his prepared notes, he announced King's death to an audience of 2000 mainly black people. In perhaps his greatest speech, Kennedy called for calm and spoke of a future that echoed many of King's sentiments. That night, Indianapolis remained calm as riots broke out in over 100 cities across the country. Two months later, Kennedy too would be shot dead.

epitaph
something by which a person, time or event will be remembered

A week after King's assassination, President Lyndon B. Johnson was able to get another Civil Rights Act passed. Known as the Fair Housing Act, it prohibited discrimination concerning the sale, rental and financing of housing based on race, religion, national origin and sex. It was something King had campaigned for, and it became the last major piece of legislation achieved in this phase of the movement.

Following King's death, a campaign to recognise him through a public holiday for his birthday commenced. The campaign gained strength when Stevie Wonder released his song 'Happy Birthday' in support, and in 1983 President Ronald Reagan signed a Bill recognising the third Monday in January as Martin Luther King Day. However, it took until the year 2000 for all 50 states to officially observe it. In 1991, the National Civil Rights Museum opened on the site of the Lorraine Motel, allowing visitors the opportunity to understand the significance of the movement within the geographical context of King's last moments.

SOURCE 43

> I have bad news for you, for all of our fellow citizens, and people who love peace all over the world, and that is that Martin Luther King was shot and killed tonight …
>
> For those of you who are black and are tempted to be filled with hatred and distrust at the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I can only say that I feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man …
>
> But the vast majority of white people and the vast majority of black people in this country want to live together, want to improve the quality of our life, and want justice for all human beings who abide in our land.

Robert Kennedy's speech on the assassination of Martin Luther King, Indianapolis, Indiana, 4 April 1968

SOURCE 44 Martin Luther King's funeral procession, Atlanta, Georgia, 9 April 1968

12.4 Check your learning

1. Why would *Brown vs Board of Education* be regarded as such a significant moment for the Civil Rights Movement?
2. Explain how the Montgomery Bus Boycott brought about lasting social change.
3. Compare and contrast the roles and contributions of Orval Faubus and Elizabeth Eckford to the desegregation of schools in Little Rock.
4. Discuss how successful the Freedom Rides were in contributing to social change.
5. Explain why the historical context is essential for understanding the role of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and the Mississippi Freedom Summer in the Civil Rights Movement.
6. Analyse the significance of the Watts riot in the Civil Rights Movement. Is it legitimate to regard it as a turning point in the movement? Explain your answer.
7. What impact did the assassination of Martin Luther King have on the movement?
8. Create a chart that links the key events of the movement to the methods each employed to achieve progress in gaining civil rights.

12.4 Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 23. Describe the tone of the source. Is there any evidence of bias in the language used?
2. Sources 24–26 show aspects of Emmett Till's story. Use the sources to establish a chronology of Till's time in Mississippi, and explain how each of the sources contributed to your historical understanding.
3. Examine Source 28 and explain whether you think it is biased or not. What value would it be to a historian studying the Civil Rights Movement?
4. Examine Sources 29 and 30 and explain whether they corroborate each other. Do you think one is more reliable than the other? Explain your answer.
5. Outline why it could be argued that Source 32 represents progress for the Civil Rights Movement.
6. Explain what Source 37 reveals about the Civil Rights Movement.
7. Outline how Sources 38 and 39 are linked.
8. Create a 'cause and effect' flow chart that shows the links between Sources 40 and 41.
9. Analyse Sources 42, 43 and 44 and explain how they contribute to your historical understanding of the impact of the death of Martin Luther King.

12.5 Achievements of the Civil Rights Movement

Any analysis of the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement historically must also reflect an understanding of the contemporary situation in the United States. As the 'Black Lives Matter' movement and the rise of white supremacist groups since 2016 reveal, the Civil Rights Movement is not simply a historical investigation of a social movement from the 1960s. Many of the issues raised between 1945 and 1968 have been resolved to varying degrees, but as 2016 statistics reveal, there are still more changes needed to reach equality. *The Guardian* newspaper recently revealed that black males aged 15–34 are nine times more likely to be killed by law enforcement officers than other Americans. In 2015 and 2016, black people were killed at more than twice the rate of white people by police. The NAACP's stated aim to remove all barriers to racial equality through legal processes is still clearly a work in progress. Your historical understanding of the Civil Rights Movement allows you to develop a contextual understanding of many of the incidents that dominate the media today.

The nature of social and political change

To investigate the nature of social and political change, it is important to be able to identify specific changes, and reflect on their causes. Change may take years to identify, and may require deeper analysis to separate from the concept of continuity. As you develop explanations for historical change, you are also taking important steps towards developing your own historical interpretations.

SOURCE 45 Nine-year-old Linda Brown outside Sumner Elementary School, Topeka, Kansas; the segregated school's refusal to enrol her led to the landmark civil rights lawsuit, *Brown vs Board of Education*.

The nature of social change

The *Brown vs Board of Education* ruling in 1954 can be portrayed as both an *example* and a *cause* of social change. By overturning the previous half-century of the 'separate but equal' doctrine established by the *Plessy vs Ferguson* case of 1896, the Supreme Court was ruling against the southern cultural continuity of segregation. As the highest judicial arm in the US political system, the Supreme Court has the power to interpret the Constitution. Its decisions, such as *Plessy vs Ferguson*, can support continuity, or, as in the case of *Brown vs Board of Education* force change upon society.

Essentially, the Brown verdict ruled that states should integrate their schools, and if that was to happen, particularly in the South, it would be launching major social change. As you have seen, that integration often had to be enforced at gunpoint, whether it was at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, or at the University of Alabama. There was significant and ongoing resistance to that legally enforced change, but ultimately schools became integrated, and the idea of 'separate but equal' – which was the cornerstone of both the Amercian South and apartheid South Africa – became part of the historical past. If you had investigated this change in 1955, you would have seen little evidence of it, but if you attempted your investigation in 1995, the shift that took place around the mid-1950s would be clear.

Looking back at the desegregation of southern schools, we can see that it brought on a range of other changes in its wake. The school children of the 1960s in the South were the first generation to be in direct contact with people of another race. 'Busing', where students travelled by bus to ensure a greater racial mix in schools, became an effective desegregation tool. From that experience, students eventually develop friendships that cross the colour divide, and in the following generation, deeper and more meaningful social change starts to occur. This change was driven both by a legal decision and by grassroots support from the communities that had so much to gain from improved educational opportunities. They were in turn joined by white communities that recognised a moral need to make the United States fairer and more equal, and live up to the egalitarian sentiments of its constitution.

But desegregation was also resisted by significant sectors of the white southern population who felt threatened by potential change, believing that their way of life would disappear. When examining desegregation in the South through specific events and examples, it may appear that progress travelled in a straight line. Change however, rarely follows a simple chronological or geographical path.

The nature of political change

The emergence of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and the Freedom Democratic Party in the early 1960s started a period of profound and lasting political change in the United States. It changed the political landscape of elections and, in changing the Democratic Party, also contributed to social change. Political and social change are rarely far removed from each other, and it becomes important to identify change and analyse the nature of that change.

The Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 was a clear example of the process of political change starting to occur. The decision of SNCC volunteers to create the desegregated Freedom Democratic Party to facilitate voting enrolments was the catalyst for political changes that are still being felt today.

The Democrats found themselves being battered by the forces of change in 1964. At this time, the Democratic Party in the South was very much the political party of segregation. The emergence of the Freedom Democratic Party threatened to destroy the strong political support the Democrats had enjoyed from white people in the South.

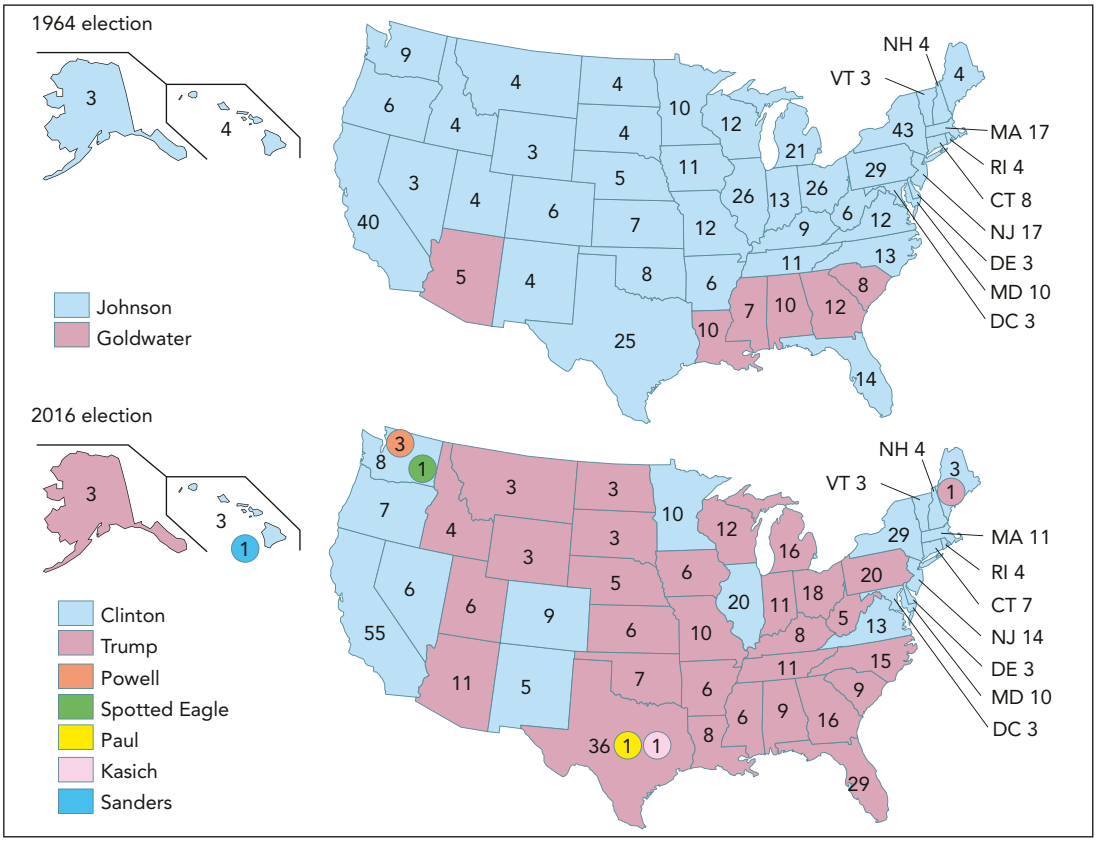
The Freedom Democratic Party challenged the politically strong Mississippi Democratic Party's right to sit at the Democratic National Convention on the grounds that it was not legitimate because it excluded black people. Attempts at compromise resulted in the threat of the Southern Democrats walking out as a bloc. Even though the Freedom Democratic Party

failed to win support at the 1964 Convention, it drew sharp attention to the segregationist policies of Southern Democrats. While the 1964 US election was easily won by the Democrat Lyndon B, Johnson, in a sign of things to come, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina all voted for the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater.

By the 1968 election, the divisions, both in the United States and within the Democratic Party, were sharper and deeper than they had been four years earlier. After Alabama Governor George Wallace had failed to win Democrat support for his segregation policies, he left to run as a third-party candidate for the American Independent Party. Republican nominee Richard Nixon ran a 'southern campaign' to try and break the Southern Democrat political machine. Democrat nominee Hubert Humphrey tried desperately to appeal to **liberals**, as well as the traditional Southern Democrat base, but was unable to do so. In the end Nixon won easily, but Wallace won five southern states, and the Southern Democrat power base was effectively destroyed.

liberal/liberalism
beliefs respecting individual liberties and moderation

Since 1964, the South has largely voted Republican, with the exception of two Southern Democrat nominees: Jimmy Carter (from Georgia) in 1976 and Bill Clinton (from Arkansas) in 1992 and 1996. Both were modern Southern Democrats, and although it was difficult to see in 1964 when the Freedom Democratic Party were denied a place at the Democratic Convention, by the twenty-first century, their aim to change the policies and direction of the Democratic Party had been largely achieved.



SOURCE 46 Electoral maps showing the distribution of votes in the 1964 and 2016 presidential elections

The significance of legislative change

There are three components of American government:

- the legislature (the House of Representatives and the Senate, together referred to as 'Congress')
- the executive (the president, who is elected every four years for no longer than two terms)
- the judiciary (the Supreme Court, which decides whether laws and proposed changes to laws are constitutional).

There is a balance of power between all three elements (that is, all elements are roughly equal in power), and both the legislature and the executive can pass and block laws.

You have already seen the key role the judiciary has played in supporting social change. Both Congress and different presidents have also initiated legislation that has helped bring about major change in the United States. The syllabus period of 1945–68 effectively covers the following presidents:

- Harry S. Truman (1945–52) (Democrat)
- Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–60) (Republican)
- John F. Kennedy (1961–63) (Democrat)
- Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–68) (Democrat).

A president who has an idea for change and presents this in a Bill has to have the Bill passed by Congress, and Congress in turn has to have its legislation signed off by the president. These checks and balances have at times resisted and delayed social change.

Eisenhower had been reluctant to act on civil rights, believing that legislation could not force people to adapt their beliefs and values. He was also conscious of protecting states' rights, but felt compelled to act during the Little Rock crisis, a significant step in asserting federal power over states' rights. He had been forced to send in federal troops because of the obstructionist tactics of Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus, and decided to support the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This was the first Civil Rights Bill in 82 years, and effectively achieved very little. It was taken through a Senate committee where Lyndon B. Johnson, the future president, managed to water it down sufficiently to allow its passage. It was more of a symbolic bill than a serious attempt to introduce lasting change.

In 1963 President John F. Kennedy was engaged in a political balancing act, trying to keep faith with his new black, liberal supporters, without alienating his traditional Southern Democrat constituents. There was increasing pressure for a Civil Rights Bill to consolidate the achievements of the movement so far and secure lasting change in the South. The South was equally determined to resist change.

After Kennedy's assassination in November 1963, Johnson became president. Johnson was a Southern Democrat from Texas, but took seriously the responsibility of fulfilling Kennedy's legacy.

A favoured Southern Democrat technique to resist any attempt to introduce pro-black bills through the Senate was the 'filibuster'. This involved senators speaking and debating for days over a proposed piece of legislation to prevent bills being brought to a vote. As Johnson presented his Civil Rights Bill to Congress in 1964, Southern Democrat senators, led by Richard Russell of Georgia, prepared to filibuster to try and prevent its passage.

The 1964 Senate Civil Rights filibuster was the longest in history. It lasted 12 weeks, and finished with Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia taking 14 hours to deliver an 800-page speech against 'cloture', which was the term given to a vote to end the filibuster and bring the

issue to a vote. Ultimately the Senate passed the Bill on 19 June 1964. It was one year to the day after the late President Kennedy had introduced it.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the best remembered of the Civil Rights Acts because it was the one that effectively outlawed discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex or national origin. Regardless of the attempts to obstruct it, the 1964 Act laid the groundwork for profound social change in the United States. It gave legislative support to the social and political changes that were gathering pace, both in the South and in communities across the country. It was supplemented by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and a further Civil Rights Act in 1968 that was more popularly known as the 'Fair Housing Act'. In this way, legislative change at a federal level overcame state-based resistance, leading to sustainable social change.

SOURCE 47 Achievements in civil rights, by president

PRESIDENT	IN OFFICE	ACHIEVEMENTS
Harry S. Truman	1945–53	First presidential Civil Rights Commission Legal denial of interstate bus segregation Desegregation of armed forces Literacy tests for voting declared unconstitutional First tentative steps taken in desegregating southern border state universities Fair Employment Practices Commission
Dwight D. Eisenhower	1953–61	1957 Civil Rights Act Federal support for integration of black students at Central High School, Little Rock, Arkansas
John F. Kennedy	1961–63	Initial drafting of 1964 Civil Rights Act Establishment of electoral support from black voters Federal observers sent on Freedom Rides
Lyndon B. Johnson	1963–69	1964 Civil Rights Act 1965 Voting Rights Act 1968 Civil Rights Act (Fair Housing Act)

Influence of the US Civil Rights Movement beyond the United States

As shocking footage of vicious white suppression in the American South spread across the world, the news bulletin became an invaluable tool for winning global support for the Civil Rights Movement.

One of the major breakthrough moments for the movement was Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream' speech in 1963, followed by his Nobel Peace Prize win in 1964. Through these two events, King became a recognisable figure internationally, and an inspiration in countries where racial oppression was part of daily life.

SOURCE 48 In Australia, a University of Sydney protest against segregation in the United States led to the foundation of Student Action for Aborigines (SAFA) and the Australian Freedom Riders.

On his way to Oslo to collect his Nobel Peace Prize in December 1964, King stopped in London and delivered a speech on apartheid South Africa. He stated that: 'we feel a powerful sense of identification with those in the far more deadly struggle for freedom in South Africa.' While recognising the long struggle still ahead in the United States, he concluded his speech by saying, 'increasingly we intend to influence American policy in the United Nations and towards South Africa'. For black South Africans living under the harsh conditions of apartheid, the recognition from King was a powerful boost. As King moved more clearly into opposition to the Vietnam War in the last years of his life, his influence also became an inspiration to the Vietnamese people fighting for national unification and independence.

In Australia, where racial division and denial of rights were a daily experience of the Indigenous population, the Civil Rights Movement also resonated clearly and loudly. As Australians reacted to news footage of the violence being perpetrated on black Americans, Indigenous Australians reflected on the irony of the white concern. Perhaps the clearest and most famous example of the influence of the Civil Rights Movement in Australia was the 1965 Freedom Ride. Inspired by the US Freedom Riders, 34 students from the University of Sydney left Sydney in February by bus with three basic aims: to draw public attention to the poor state of Aboriginal health, education and housing; to expose the socially discriminatory barriers that existed between Aboriginal and white residents; and to encourage and support Aboriginal people themselves to resist discrimination.

In towns such as Walgett, Moree, Bowraville and Kempsey, the Freedom Riders were frequently refused service, and came face to face with white hostility. In another echo of the Deep South of the United States, their bus was run off the road outside Walgett, New South Wales. One of the Freedom Riders, Darce Cassidy, was a part-time reporter for the ABC, and he filmed parts of the tour. Australian viewers were shaken to hear the whites who had driven the bus off the road delivering racial vitriol, or the vice president of the Walgett Returned Service League Club saying he would never allow an Aboriginal person to become a member. For white Australia, the news footage that emerged from the Australian Freedom Ride provided a stark and brutal reminder that the ugliness they were repelled by in reports from Mississippi and Alabama was also prevalent in their own country.

SOURCE 49 A confrontation between Freedom Riders and white townspeople in Moree, New South Wales, February 1965

In 1968, the Mexico Olympics were broadcast live to televisions around the world and a global audience was acutely aware of both the progress of and resistance to the Civil Rights Movement. The movement had influenced the decolonisation movement throughout Africa and Asia, as well as Indigenous movements in countries such as Australia and Canada. Colonial countries found it increasingly difficult to justify resistance to change. By the time Tommie Smith and John Carlos raised their gloved fists above their heads, the rest of the world understood, and recognised that the Civil Rights Movement would be ongoing.

When touring Australia in 2017, Paul McCartney showed the power of the Civil Rights Movement to reach globally when he introduced the Beatles' song 'Blackbird'. McCartney told the audience how he felt as a young man when the news reached England about what was happening in the American South. He revealed to Zan Rowe of Triple J that 'Blackbird' was his 'civil rights song', written to let black people in the United States know that they were being supported. 'I'd just heard about the civil rights stuff going on in America,' he said. 'We didn't have that kind of prejudice in Liverpool. When we saw [the footage], we were all pretty shocked.'

SOURCE 50 Paul McCartney meets Elizabeth Eckford and Thelma Mothershed Wair of the Little Rock Nine after performing in Little Rock, 2016.

12.5 Check your learning

1. Explain why *Brown vs Board of Education* is both an example and a cause of social change.
2. Outline how the Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1964 led to political change in the United States.
3. Select one example of how legislation has changed the civil rights of Americans. Explain what the change was and how it impacted upon American society.
4. How important was technology in spreading the influence of the Civil Rights Movement beyond the United States?

12.5 Understanding and using the sources

1. Examine Sources 46 and 47 and explain how they could be used to help understand change in American society.
3. Analyse Sources 48–50 and outline how they help you understand the influence of the US Civil Rights Movement beyond the United States.

CONCLUSION

The Civil Rights Movement is ongoing in the United States. The period 1945–68 marks the beginnings and main period of what is often referred to as the 'modern' Civil Rights Movement, but even that term indicates a much broader period. The Civil Rights Movement was born from slavery and the inhuman treatment many Africans received after being taken from their homes and transported across the Atlantic to provide profits for the white gentry. It continues today – as self-proclaimed white supremacists kill nine black worshippers at a Bible study meeting in a church in Charleston, South Carolina, in June 2015, or run down an anti-racism protestor at a 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017.

The Civil Rights Movement between 1945 and 1968 achieved major social change in America. By 1968, discrimination was illegal, schools were becoming desegregated, and you could no longer refuse to sell or rent property to someone because of the colour of their skin. The movement had achieved major change in the law, and changes in society were starting to follow.

Many people died, or suffered humiliation or severe beatings in pursuit of their civil rights. It is an ugly period of American history, frequently showing the dark side of human nature. Rising above it were many, many heroes in the shape of ordinary human beings who chose to take a stand against racism. In this chapter we have mentioned some of them, such as nine-year-old Linda Brown, who wanted to go to the closest school and not have to travel across Topeka because she was black and ultimately contributed to the desegregation of American schools. The bravery of Elizabeth Eckford – who turned from the National Guard's bayonets that prevented her entering Central High School to face calls to lynch her – also helped bring about change.

The Civil Rights Movement produced outstanding leaders, such as Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, who both paid with their lives. Even white leaders who moved to support civil rights, such as Robert Kennedy, fell to an assassin's bullet. In the end, however, it was the grassroots, local activists – those who took small steps for other to follow – who created the true success of the Civil Rights Movement. It was the thousands of local people who attended meetings, organised voter education, were the first to attend all-white schools, and marched in the streets who ultimately created the Civil Rights Movement and brought about social change.

SOURCE 51 The funeral of civil rights campaigner Robert Kennedy, led by his 14-year-old son, Robert Jr, 1968

obook assess

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

13

The Nuclear Age 1945–2011

A woman looks out from the entrance to an underground bomb fall-out shelter in Texas, 1961.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1 What is meant by the term the 'Nuclear Age'?

2 How has the development of nuclear weapons impacted on global politics?

3 What is the future for nuclear weapons and nuclear power?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

The decision to develop and use nuclear weapons changed history. It divided opinion, and as you would expect, historical sources will reflect that division. As you approach sources to build understanding of the issues in the Nuclear Age, be careful to consider the origin and perspective of all the sources that you use.

Historical interpretation

The development of nuclear power – whether for weaponry, medicine or energy – represents a dramatic technological change. It is important that you understand and analyse the reasons for such a major change, and that you can build an historical argument from that analysis.

Historical investigation and research

Think about questions you might have about the Nuclear Age, and use those as a starting point for your investigation of the topic. They will help you focus research and enable you to properly investigate the historical impact of the Nuclear Age.

Explanation and communication

In the HSC examination you will be required to provide brief answers to specific questions on the topic of the Nuclear Age. These will require direct responses to be supported by relevant evidence and examples. It will be important to make sure you have practised writing these types of responses.

LEARNING GOALS

> Understand and explain the decision to use nuclear weapons at the end of the Second World War.

> Develop an understanding of the nature of nuclear weapons and the risks for humanity in both testing and using them.

> Use a range of sources to support opinions on the development and use of nuclear weapons and energy in the period 1945–2011.

> Communicate an understanding of the development and use of nuclear weapons and energy in the period 1945–2011.

Key features

The development and use of the atomic bomb

The concept of the atom can be traced back to the thoughts of the Ancient Greek philosopher Democritus, c. 540 BCE. The development of understanding of the atom culminated in the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan by the United States at the end of the Second World War. This event unleashed the potential for humans to destroy the earth, and ushered in the Nuclear Age.

The struggle to maintain weapons parity

The end of the Second World War was the beginning of the Cold War era, a time that provides the historical context for much of the Nuclear Age. Once the United States had not only developed an atomic bomb, but also shown that it was prepared to use it, the Soviet Union felt obliged to respond. Its development of the bomb sparked an arms race with the United States, and encouraged countries such as Britain, France and China to also join the 'nuclear club'.

The nature of deterrence

As the arms race expanded and stockpiles of nuclear weapons grew, the United States and the Soviet Union developed a policy called Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). This ensured that if one side provoked a war and used nuclear weapons, the other side would retaliate, resulting in complete devastation for both parties. Thus ever-expanding stockpiles of nuclear weapons acted as a deterrent for either side to risk starting a nuclear engagement.

Social, political and environmental impacts of the Nuclear Age

The development of nuclear weapons, and the associated technological applications for power and medicine divided people's opinions. Nuclear weapons in particular generated massive global protests, clearly reflecting social division. Following the lead of the US or Soviet Union Government demanded total acceptance of a nuclear future, and those against nuclear weapons were soon politically marginalised. Evidence is only now starting to emerge of the catastrophic costs of nuclear weapon testing on specific environments such as Maralinga in South Australia.

Proliferation and non-proliferation

As the superpowers stockpiled nuclear weapons, they were equally determined to maintain a monopoly, and ensure there was no proliferation (that is, spreading of nuclear weapons to other countries). By the time the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons came into being in 1968, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China all held nuclear weapons. The treaty encouraged South Africa to give up its developing nuclear program. India, Israel, Pakistan, North Korea and South Sudan are all non-signatories.

Problems and issues with the use of nuclear energy

Nuclear energy has been portrayed as the energy of the future, cheap, safe and reliable.

But, as major nuclear accidents have shown, it comes with serious risks to humans and the environment. Three Mile Island in the United States (1979), Chernobyl in Ukraine (then part of the Soviet Union) (1986) and Fukushima in Japan (2011) all showed the potential or actual catastrophic damage that nuclear energy can do.

A note on bomb types

Throughout this chapter, you will see reference to atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and neutron bombs.

- Atomic bombs were the first to be developed, and are what were used by the United States to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. They are fission bombs that rely on splitting an atom. This sparks a chain reaction that results in an explosion which is the equivalent of about 15–20 kilotons of TNT.
- Hydrogen bombs are regarded as thermonuclear devices. They also start with the splitting of an atom, but, through a secondary process, use most of the available radioactive fuel in the bomb, creating a much longer and more explosive chain reaction. The first hydrogen bomb, which was tested by the United States in 1952, produced an explosion equivalent to 10 000 kilotons of TNT.
- Finally, the neutron bomb was developed to spread radiation with a lower explosive impact. This meant it could kill more people while preserving buildings and infrastructure. It is a smaller warhead, where the uranium that prevents radiation spreading is removed from the weapon. The warhead requires significant maintenance to maintain its effectiveness. It is described as a tactical battlefield weapon, but countries today find it difficult to convince their own populations of its value.

Most nuclear weapons referred to today are hydrogen bombs.

SOURCE 1 Hiroshima after the attack of 6 August 1945

13.1 Introduction

On 8 May 2018, the President of the United States, Donald Trump, withdrew his country from what was known as the Iran Nuclear Deal. This was an agreement signed in 2015 between Iran and the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France) and the European Union. Its aim was to persuade Iran from developing nuclear weapons. In return, **sanctions** that had severely restricted Iran's economy would be lifted. The agreement clearly showed that the world was still living in the Nuclear Age, and that negotiating an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons remained a difficult task.

sanctions
threatened penalties for a person or country breaking a rule or agreed course of action

nuclear energy
the energy released when the nuclei of atoms are split apart or combined; frequently used to generate electricity

proliferation
spreading from country to country

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

The Nuclear Age was ushered into existence when the United States dropped an atomic bomb, code-named *Little Boy*, onto the Japanese city of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945. It was the first human application of nuclear power against other humans, and resulted in the loss of over 100 000 lives. For the first time in history, human beings had developed a power strong enough to threaten the very existence of our planet.

The Nuclear Age arose from the chaos and calamity of the Second World War. An atomic bomb promised a swift end to the resistance of Japan that threatened to prolong the war. But the concept of **nuclear energy** had been around for much, much longer. Ancient Greek philosopher Democritus had first suggested the presence of atoms in 540 BCE, and it had taken over 2000 years of scientific development and experimentation to reach *Little Boy*.

The threat of nuclear war has been part of life since 1945. From one single country holding all the nuclear weapons in existence, those weapons and their associated threat have **proliferated**. The **Cold War** raised the stakes in developing more powerful weapons. This arms race gave each side the potential to destroy the planet several times over. The idea of the United States and the Soviet Union being able to annihilate each other was known as 'Mutually Assured Destruction', known appropriately as 'MAD'. According to MAD, a strike on the enemy guaranteed that you would be attacked with equal strength in return. In this way, MAD effectively worked to keep both sides from initiating the use of nuclear weapons, and as such became a guarantee of peace and stability.

SOURCE 2 Evacuees from Chernobyl are tested for radioactivity, 1986.

Tensions on the Korean peninsula and in Middle East in 2018 showed clearly that despite the use of nuclear power in peaceful pursuits, such as energy and medicine, the potential for a nuclear catastrophe remains in the hands of a few countries and their leaders.

Nuclear power has been championed as the answer to the problem of growing energy needs across the globe. Its safety has been questioned, however, and high-profile accidents such as that at Chernobyl in 1986 and, most recently, the Fukushima catastrophe of 2011 have made the world acutely aware of the risks of even a peacetime nuclear disaster.

SOURCE 3 Timeline

Key events leading up to and during the Nuclear Age 1945–2011

c. 540 BCE

Greek philosopher Democritus proposes the existence of atoms.

1941

American scientist Glenn Seaborg discovers the existence of plutonium, which can be used to make an atomic bomb.

1942

The United States creates its top-secret Manhattan Project, with the aim of developing an atomic bomb.

1945

16 July: The first atomic bomb, *The Gadget*, is successfully exploded at the Trinity test site in New Mexico.

August: The world's second atomic bomb, *Little Boy*, is dropped over Hiroshima on 6 August. The third, *Fat Man*, is exploded over Nagasaki three days later. Japan surrenders on 15 August and the Second World War ends.

1946

The United States creates the Strategic Air Command to deliver atomic weapons.

July: The United States tests two more atomic weapons at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. The US Government also creates the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to control atomic weapon development, removing it from the military.

1948

US President Harry S. Truman orders the AEC to create an atomic bomb stockpile. He also signs an order giving the president, rather than the military, sole power to use atomic weapons in wartime.

1949

After a successful espionage program against the United States, the Soviet Union detonates its first atomic bomb.

1951

American spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are sentenced to death for passing atomic secrets to the Soviets.

Handcuffed and bound for separate cells, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg share a fervent kiss in a prison van. The couple became the only two American civilians to be executed for espionage during the Cold War.

1952

October: Britain conduct its first atomic bomb tests in the Montebello Islands, off the coast of Western Australia. The United States conducts its first successful hydrogen bomb test in the Pacific.

1954

The United States vaporises a small island at Bikini Atoll when it tests a powerful hydrogen bomb.

1955

Britain announces that it will test hydrogen bombs and Soviet Union explodes its first true hydrogen bomb.

1956

Britain explodes two atomic bombs at the Montebello Islands and four more at Maralinga, South Australia.

1957

Britain continues to test atomic bombs at Maralinga, and hydrogen bombs at Christmas Island. The Soviet Union successfully test launches an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), showing its ability to conduct a nuclear missile attack on the United States. The United States begins underground bomb testing in Nevada.

1958

The United States and Britain agree to share nuclear weapons. The United States, Britain and the Soviet Union agree to halt all nuclear tests. This agreement lasts for nearly three years.

1960

France conducts its first atomic bomb test in the Sahara Desert.

1961

The Soviet Union explodes a 50 000-kiloton bomb, the most powerful nuclear weapon ever tested, on Severny Island in the Soviet Arctic.

1962

The Cuban Missile Crisis brings the world to the brink of a nuclear war. During the year, a record 178 nuclear bombs are exploded: 96 by the United States, 79 by the Soviet Union, two by Britain and one by France

1964

China explodes its first atomic bomb.

1968

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is signed. By including the United States and the Soviet Union as signatories, this is the first step towards limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

1971

The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), bringing in a period of détente (easing of tensions) between the United States and the Soviet Union.

1974

India detonates its first atomic bomb.

1979

An accident takes place at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant in Pennsylvania, United States. The United States and the Soviet Union sign SALT II.

1980

France tests its first neutron bomb.

1981

Israel bombs an Iraqi nuclear plant near Baghdad.

1985

The Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* is sunk in Auckland Harbour by French secret agents.

1986

The worst nuclear accident in history takes place at Chernobyl in Ukraine.

Israel's secret weapons program is revealed. Israel refuse to confirm or deny its existence, a practice that continues to the present day.

1998

Pakistan explodes its first nuclear bomb.

2006

North Korea explodes its first nuclear bomb.

2011

Japan's Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant starts leaking after being hit by a tsunami.

13.2 Survey: The birth of the Nuclear Age

Covering the years since 1945, the Nuclear Age includes the end of the Second World War, the Cold War, technological developments that enabled the widespread use of nuclear energy, and the equally widespread questioning of the world's reliance on oil as our main energy source. The period closes, as it opened, in Japan. The Nuclear Age has carried the planet from Hiroshima to Fukushima, war to peace, weaponry to energy.

Truman, Stalin and the Potsdam Conference

nuclear fission the process that occurs when the nucleus of an atom splits into smaller parts

Franklin D. Roosevelt, as president of the United States, started his country's journey towards being the world's first nuclear power in 1939. As the clouds of the Second World War gathered he established a committee to examine the military potential of the emerging scientific knowledge around **nuclear fission** that German chemist Otto Hahn had created a year earlier. Scientists were beginning to see the possibility of a weapon to match what British writer H.G. Wells had written about 25 years earlier: in 1914, Wells had published the novel *The World Set Free*, which correctly predicted the danger of radiation contamination from nuclear weapons.

SOURCE 4 The 'Big Three' meet at Potsdam: (left to right) Winston Churchill, Harry S. Truman and Joseph Stalin.

Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945, and the presidency – and hence control of the atomic bomb – was transferred to his vice president, Harry S. Truman. In July 1945, Truman travelled to Potsdam in Germany, where he met with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to discuss the ending of the Second World War. While Germany had been defeated, Japan continued to fight in the Asia–Pacific. On the day before the meeting took place, the United States had secretly exploded the world's first atomic bomb, *The Gadget*, at the Trinity test site in New Mexico. The success of the test had given Truman a potential solution for ending the war against the Japanese, who, despite being forced back towards their own country, and had given little indication that they were prepared to surrender.

Truman confided in Churchill about the existence of the weapon, but would only speak to Stalin about 'a new weapon of unusual destructive force'. This lack of trust between Truman and Stalin would go on to have grave implications for the development of future relations between the two superpowers. It was also unnecessary, because Stalin was well acquainted with America's nuclear program through years of successful espionage.

At Potsdam, a declaration was issued, calling on Japan to surrender or suffer the consequences. Truman knew the significance of the declaration's warning that 'the alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction'.

Truman left Potsdam with the knowledge that preparations had already started for the delivery of two atomic bombs that would be dropped on Japan if it failed to surrender. His argument for dropping the bombs was that there was a great threat to American lives if the United States continued fighting Japan. This is supported by historian Philip Jenkins, who has estimated that up to 10 million lives were saved by dropping the bombs. Those who were saved, he argues, included **Allied** prisoners of war – whom the Japanese would have killed in the case of a conventional attack on their mainland – and those in Japanese-occupied territories in China and Indonesia.

Allied Powers
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Axis Powers in the Second World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth and France, which were joined by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1941

In his diary, written while still at Potsdam, Truman reflected that it was a good thing that Hitler or Stalin had not developed the atomic bomb. He wrote that: 'it seems to be the most terrible thing ever discovered, but it can be made the most useful'. He saw the use of the atomic bomb as the critical shortcut to ending the Second World War, and wrote in his diary that 'we will issue a warning statement asking the Japs to surrender and save lives. I'm sure they will not do that, but we will have given them the chance'. The Potsdam Declaration was that warning, and as predicted, the Japanese ignored it.

Stalin had arrived at Potsdam with different motives from those of Truman. The Soviet Union had suffered immensely after Hitler's attempted invasion, and the communist leader had found himself thrust into an uneasy alliance with the West.

Stalin's awareness of the American atomic bomb project dated back to September 1941, when British sources involved in the project informed him of its progress. One of the best sources of information proved to be scientist Klaus Fuchs, who worked in the Theoretical Physics Division at the Los Alamos Laboratory, home of the Manhattan Project (see opposite). Fuchs was German born, but had fled to Britain before the war. He became part of the British team at Los Alamos, and fed information back to Britain as well as the Soviet Union. Fuchs confessed his spying activities in 1950 and was sentenced to prison. He left for East Germany after his release in 1959, where he continued to work in nuclear development.

In 1953, two American spies, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were found guilty of spying for the Soviet Union and were executed in 1953, at the height of American anti-communist **paranoia**. There was also a range of unidentified spies, and the Soviet espionage program provided the Soviet Union with a great deal of valuable information; however, experts are still undecided about how quickly it progressed Soviet development of their own atomic bombs.

paranoia
an irrational and persistent feeling that someone is threatening you

Stalin firmly believed that in order for the post–Second World War world to be fair, and for the Soviet Union's place in the world to be guaranteed, the Soviets needed nuclear weapons. He feared that the United States would use its nuclear supremacy to compose a postwar world settlement in its favour, which would leave the Soviet Union largely excluded.

Stalin had agreed to Allied requests to join the war against Japan at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, but refused to do so until Hitler was defeated. However, Stalin also realised that if this new weapon did indeed end the war immediately, the Soviet Union would be unable to participate in any discussions regarding borders and areas of influence on the Soviet Union's eastern boundaries. Thus for Stalin, Potsdam represented a race against time to have the Soviet Union participate in the war against Japan before the United States deployed its new weapon and brought the war to an end.

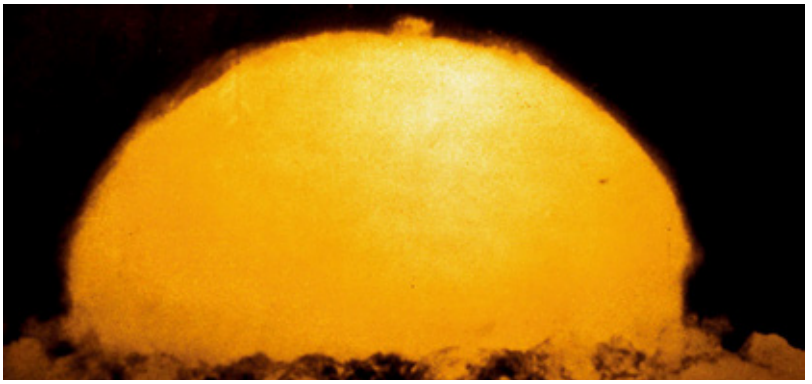
The Manhattan Project and Trinity test

The Manhattan Project was the name most commonly used for the American development of the atomic bomb. Starting in 1942 and running until Truman signed the Atomic Energy Act on 1 August 1946, it was both costly and widespread; it covered over 30 locations, including research laboratories and testing sites in the United States, Canada and Britain at a price total of US$2 billion. At its peak, the Manhattan Project employed 130 000 people. In only four years, it turned the scientific possibility of an atomic bomb into the reality that ended the Second World War.

The control of the Manhattan Project was given to Colonel Leslie Groves in 1942 and, for the next four years, he commanded the US nuclear program. While work on the development of the bomb continued across a number of sites, it was at the laboratory built at Los Alamos in New Mexico, and headed by American physicist Robert Oppenheimer, that the actual bomb would be developed. The team at Los Alamos worked on solving problems such as what method to use for firing a proposed bomb and how to deliver it to the detonation spot.

Work accelerated in 1943 when the United States and Britain reached an agreement to share information and resources, which included having British scientists join the program. By early 1945, Oppenheimer felt confident that an actual bomb could be ready by the summer. Oppenheimer's optimism was supported by the development of the radioactive chemical plutonium as an implosion trigger device. Five years earlier, only microscopic traces of plutonium had been available to the scientists, but by 1945 it was successfully being created in laboratories. The rush to develop an atomic bomb saw a top-secret US program to create more plutonium being initiated an in 1945. So many people were hired to produce plutonium for the bomb that a whole city was built in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to house them.

SOURCE 5 One of the signs that greeted workers at Oak Ridge, Tennessee; secrecy was essential, but often compromised



SOURCE 6 The world's first atomic bomb, *The Gadget*, explodes on 16 July 1945.

Simultaneously with the bomb being created, the search was on for a suitable test site. In 1944 a site was identified within the Alamogordo Air Base in New Mexico. It was named the Trinity test site and would host the world's first atomic bomb test explosion on 16 July 1945. The bomb was nicknamed *The Gadget*. Only one journalist, William Laurence, was present. He later described what he had witnessed.

SOURCE 7

> [T]here rose from the bowels of the earth a light not of this world, the light of many suns in one. It was a sunrise such as the world had never seen, a great green super-sun climbing in a fraction of a second to a height of more than eight thousand feet, rising even higher until it reached the clouds, lighting up the earth and sky all around with a dazzling luminosity.
>
> William Laurence, quoted in James P. Delgado, *Nuclear Dawn: The Atomic Bomb from the Manhattan Project to the Cold War*, 2009, p. 61

It would take until December 1945, after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, before US Commerce Secretary Henry Wallace discovered that neither Truman nor his Secretary of War knew how many atomic bombs America had, as Groves had insisted on keeping this information secret. The revelation brought to a head the postwar question of who should control the United States' nuclear **arsenal** and its use: the military or civilians. In 1946, Democratic Senator Brien McMahon introduced a Bill for an Atomic Energy Commission that gave control of the nuclear program to a civilian authority. The Bill passed, and there is a strong historical argument that it has played a big part in preventing nuclear weapons being used in any conflict since this time.

arsenal
a collection of military weapons and equipment

13.2 Check your learning

1. Describe what was declared at the Potsdam Conference.
2. Discuss why President Harry S. Truman did not let Joseph Stalin know he had successfully tested an atomic bomb while he was at Potsdam.
3. Discuss whether the world would be safer if the United States had maintained a **monopoly** on nuclear weapons.
4. Explain Truman's and Stalin's approach to nuclear weapons during the Second World War.
5. Analyse the significance of the 1946 McMahon Bill.
6. Identify why secrecy was so essential for the Manhattan Project and its workplaces. How successful was the demand for secrecy?

monopoly
the exclusive possession or control of the supply of, or trade in, a commodity or service

13.2 Understanding and using the sources

Analyse Sources 6 and 7, which are from the same event. Do you think what you read in Source 7 corresponds with what you see in Source 6? Create a Venn diagram that allows you to show the similarities and differences between the two sources. Would you rely on one more than the other? Explain your answer.

13.3 The first use of atomic weapons and nuclear deterrence

The use of atomic weapons on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was effectively the start of the Nuclear Age. It was also the event that ended the Second World War. There are no accurate figures for the casualties in both cities, but what is certain is the utter and massive destruction caused by the two bombs.

The fact that no nuclear weapons have been used in a conflict since the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is significant. Instead, the past decades have seen the threat of a nuclear conflict act as a deterrent to any country or leader contemplating taking that step. While the possession of nuclear weapons has increased across a number of countries, the consequence of their use has acted as a brake on leaders considering using them.

The dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, their impact and legacy

On 9 May 1945, a special committee, known as the Interim Committee, formed by Truman to give advice on how to use the atomic bomb, met for the first time. A separate committee met on 10–11 May. By the end of May, a final decision had been made. The committee recommended that the bomb be used as soon as possible against Japan, without prior warning. It also recommended that the target be a war plant surrounded by workers' homes.

Test runs saw replica bombs dropped near the Northern Marianas Islands in the Pacific Ocean, as the two atomic bombs – *Little Boy*, destined for Hiroshima, and *Fat Man*, to be dropped on Nagasaki – were assembled in the utmost secrecy. The order to drop the first bomb was issued on 25 July 1945, with the command for the air force unit to 'deliver its first special bomb as soon as the weather will permit visual bombing'. The following day, the final key components of the bombs were flown to Tinian Island (in the Northern Marianas Islands), and Truman, Churchill and Chinese Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek issued Japan with a demand for unconditional surrender or face the consequences. Japan rejected the Potsdam Declaration on 28 July 1945.

The pilot of the B-29 bomber that dropped *Little Boy* was Colonel Paul Tibbets, who had named the plane *Enola Gay* after his mother. At 08:16:02 a.m. on 6 August 1945, the bomb was detonated 1903 feet (580 metres) above Hiroshima's Aioi Bridge. Marine archaeologist James P. Delgado, who has written on the nuclear program, described the impact of the 15-kiloton blast: 'The bright flash and the intense heat of the detonation killed, burned, blinded, and maimed as neutrons and gamma particles raced out as deadly radiation.' Anything near the epicentre (central point) of the blast, known as Ground Zero, was instantly incinerated. Due to the flat terrain of Hiroshima, and the largely wooden construction of its buildings, the city was literally flattened. Radiation sickness meant that the death toll would continue to rise for months and even years after the bombing, with most historians estimating the death toll to be around 100 000.

The secret of the atomic bomb had been revealed, and the world digested the enormity of the attack on Hiroshima. Truman was on his way home from Potsdam, on board the ship USS *Augusta*, when he learned about the bombing. He greeted the news with: 'this is the greatest thing in history.' The Japanese Government reported that Hiroshima had been damaged, and that a 'new type of bomb appeared to have been used'. There was no mention of surrender. The Japanese appeared to be prepared to fight on.

While the Americans continued preparations to launch their second atomic bomb, *Fat Man*, they sent warnings to Japan via press and radio, and dropped leaflets across the country that told the Japanese that the United States now possessed 'the most destructive explosive ever devised by man'. To bypass the Japanese Government, they told doubters to 'make inquiry into what happened to Hiroshima when just one bomb fell on the city'.

militarist (n) a person who believes in the key principles of militarism – a philosophy which holds that a state should maintain a strong military capability and use it aggressively to expand or promote national interests

Truman went further, proclaiming that 'we are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city'. With no reply, the second atomic bombing mission set off on 9 August 1945. The target was Kokura and its arsenal, which provided munitions and poisonous gas for the Imperial Japanese Army. However, heavy clouds prevented a visual sighting of the target, and the city of Nagasaki was targeted as the backup. Two Mitsubishi factories took the brunt of the 21-kiloton blast, while Nagasaki's location, in a valley, worked to contain the explosion. Between 40 000 and 75 000 people are thought to have died.

SOURCE 8 Nagasaki, 3 kilometres from Ground Zero

Following the bombings, the **militarists** in the Japanese Government clung to the hope that the Soviet Union would support them and help negotiate more favourable peace terms. That hope was dashed by the Soviet Union's announcement that it had joined the war against Japan. It still took a renewal of hostilities and an attempted coup before Japanese Emperor Hirohito finally accepted an unconditional surrender on 15 August 1945. In his surrender speech, Hirohito pointed out that a continuation of the war would not only 'result in the ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilisation'. The stakes in future wars had certainly risen.

Truman and the debate on the use of the bomb

Despite Truman's apparent excitement about the bomb, the decision to use it weighed heavily on the president. He had confided in Churchill, who had given his approval, but Churchill had lost an election and been replaced as prime minister in the middle of the Potsdam Conference. Truman had also had his Interim Committee, but ultimately the decision rested with him. When he delivered a radio address on his return from Potsdam, Truman spoke about the 'tragic significance' of the bomb, and the 'awful responsibility that has come to us'.

Within four months, Truman had become President of the United States, inherited the atomic bomb, and made the decision to unleash it on Japan. He had been forced to balance the lives of the Japanese victims against the potential loss of life among the troops who would have had to invade Japan to force surrender by conventional means. After the horrors of the Pacific War, the pressure to secure an earlier end to the conflict had simply been irresistible.

According to historian Richard Rhodes, 'after the war Truman disguised his aversion to using nuclear weapons with public bluster, but his policies as well as his private comments reveal his qualms'. Truman fought for civilian control of the US nuclear program, but abandoned any attempts to have international control of nuclear weapons when the Soviet Union developed its own. Instead, he decided that the United States needed to be strongest with nuclear weapons. The arms race had well and truly begun.

SOURCE 9

> The war of the future would be one in which man could extinguish millions of lives with one blow, demolish the great cities of the world, wipe out the cultural achievements of the past – and destroy the very structure of a civilization that has been slowly and painfully built up through hundreds of generations. Such a war is not a possible policy for rational men.
>
> President Harry S. Truman's farewell address in 1953, quoted in Richard Rhodes, *Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race*, 2008, p. 79

US and Russian nuclear capacity 1945–2011 and the doctrine of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)

Despite movements towards transparency among some nuclear countries, nuclear arsenals are still regarded as secret, and discrepancies exist between sources. This makes it impossible to find completely accurate figures on the nuclear capacity of different countries. The figures in Source 10 should, therefore, be regarded as approximate.

SOURCE 10 Approximate number of nuclear warheads (bombs) in inventories of the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia, post-1991)

YEAR	UNITED STATES	SOVIET UNION/RUSSIA
1945	2	0
1960	18 638	1 627
1970	26 008	11 736
1985	23 368	38 582
2000	10 577	12 188
2011	4 763	4 858

Source 10 provides evidence of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. It also shows the impact of the period of **détente** and successful international moves to reduce the nuclear weapons **stockpiles** of both countries. The rapid growth during the first phase of the Cold War to 1970 gave rise to the doctrine of MAD. The philosophy behind MAD was that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union would instigate a

détente
the period during the Cold War when the Soviet Union and the United States found agreement on global issues and attempted to live in peaceful coexistence

stockpile
a collection of arms available for use if necessary

nuclear conflict with the other because this would guarantee a retaliatory attack that would ensure the destruction of both countries. While MAD did help prevent conflict, it did little to ease the concern about the risks involved with stockpiling such large numbers of weapons.

To gain a broader understanding of the significance of nuclear weapons in the contemporary world, it is important to also examine the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Source 11 gives the approximate nuclear arsenals of the eight countries that held them in 2011. It should be remembered that North Korea has conducted nuclear tests, most recently in 2016 and 2017, and claims to have nuclear weapons.

SOURCE 11 Approximate distribution of nuclear weapons, 2011

COUNTRY	NUCLEAR WEAPON STOCKPILE
United States	4 763
Russia	4 858
China	240
Britain	225
France	300
Israel	80
India	90
Pakistan	100

13.3 Check your learning

1 Describe the impact of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
2 Outline the arguments for and against using atomic weapons in 1945. Explain why President Harry S. Truman made the decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan.
3 Explain the doctrine of MAD in your own words. What evidence is there that it was successful?

13.3 Understanding and using the sources

1 Describe what you see in Sources 1 and 8. What do the sources reveal about the impact of atomic weapons?
2 Analyse Source 9. What do you think it reveals about Truman's attitude to nuclear weapons? What is the significance of it being part of his farewell from office speech?
3 Explain how Sources 10 and 11 help you understand the nuclear arms race and the issue of nuclear proliferation.

13.4 The nuclear threat

The dropping of the atomic bombs over Japan in 1945 kickstarted a nuclear arms race that continued to grow as countries stockpiled weapons. With it came a widespread fear – and at times panic – about the possibility of a nuclear war. In the 1950s this fear manifested itself in American school children conducting drills that taught them to 'duck and cover' in the event of a nuclear attack. Popular culture portrayed the end of the earth in novels such as Nevil Shute's *On the Beach* from 1957, which was also made into a successful film.

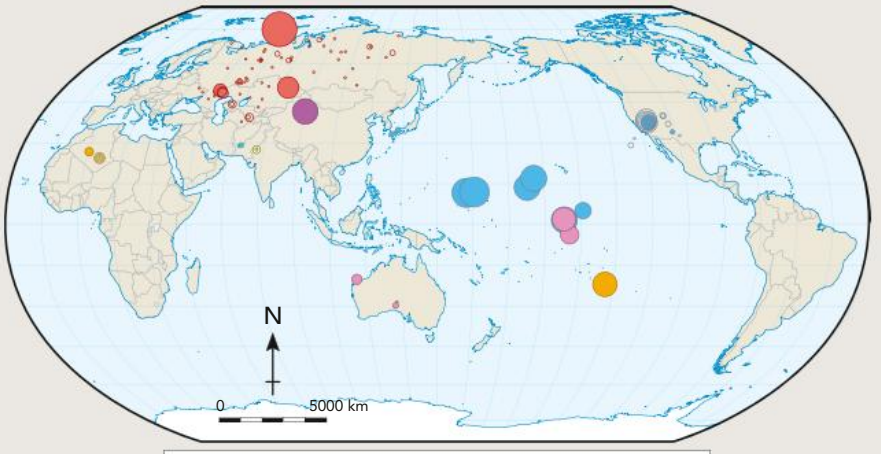
Over 2000 nuclear weapons tests have taken place since the Second World War, including in Australia, where the Montebello Islands and South Australia were the sites of British nuclear testing for 11 years. The French continued testing nuclear weapons in the South Pacific until as recently as 1996.

Civilian fears and state programs in the United States to survive the bomb and fall-out

In conjunction with the development of its nuclear stockpile, the United States also developed a nuclear defence program. Books were published to reassure the public that nuclear attacks were survivable if you followed the rules and prepared yourself. Among the people giving advice was Ralph Lapp, a Manhattan Project physicist, who dismissed radiation as 'one of the hazards of contemporary living'. In 1950, the US Government published *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb*. The author, radiation monitor Richard Gerstell, stated that radiation and **fall-out** were 'not likely to hurt you' if you took the correct precautions.

fall-out
radioactive particles released in a nuclear explosion that fall back to earth as dust or in rain

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS SINCE 1945

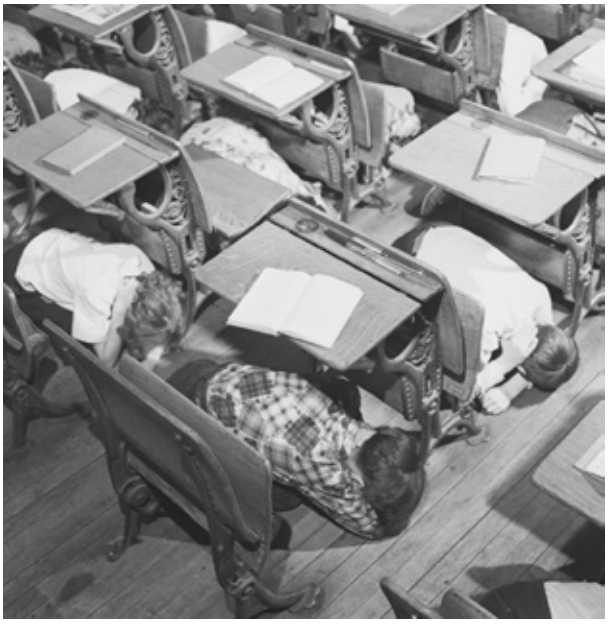


LEGEND

Country	Year of first Detonation	Number of detonations Atmospheric	Underground	Underwater
United States	1945	206	912	5
USSR	1949	223	756	3
United Kingdom	1952	21	24	
France	1960	50	160	
China	1964	22	26	
India	1974		6	
Pakistan	1998		7	
North Korea	2006		1	

Source: Radical Cartography

SOURCE 12 The locations of nuclear weapon tests carried out since 1945



SOURCE 13 American school children 'ducking and covering'

Public relations campaigns encouraged Americans to have a fall-out shelter, store canned food and bottled water, and be ready to wait for help to come. An early warning system was also developed to ensure Americans were prepared for the eventuality of a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. The Cold War, the arms race, and the increasing nuclear stockpiles fed fear and uncertainty, and the American Government went to great pains to make its citizens feel secure.

School children were an important target audience, and in January 1952 an animated film featuring Bert the Turtle called *Duck and Cover* was released. It aimed to teach students the essential nuclear survival skill of ducking and covering your body with your arms in the event of a nuclear attack. The opening song outlined why Bert was so successful:

SOURCE 14

There was a turtle by the name of Bert
and Bert the turtle was very alert;
when danger threatened him he never got hurt
he knew just what to do …
He ducked!
And covered!
Ducked!
And covered!

Bert the Turtle, 1952, quoted in James P. Delgado, *Nuclear Dawn: The Atomic Bomb from the Manhattan Project to the Cold War*, 2009, p. 172

The nature and impact of nuclear tests in the United States and Soviet Union

imperial/imperialism relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

colonialism the policy of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically

After the carnage of the Second World War, world leaders were reluctant to enter another major confrontation. Threats and enemies had not disappeared, however. Thus, weapons had to be tested in peacetime conditions. This meant either testing in your own country or in a colony. One of the unintended consequences of the age of **imperialism** and **colonialism** was that it provided the nuclear powers with options for testing far away from their own citizens.

There were two options for nuclear testing: above ground, which released fall-out and radiation into the air; and below ground, which risked damaging the structural integrity of the area. Both the United States and the Soviet Union employed both types of tests, although below ground eventually became favoured for tests near their own populations. Again, official figures regarding any information linked to nuclear stockpiles and testing is open to challenge. These programs were shrouded in secrecy for decades, and efforts in international scrutiny have not always been welcomed. It is estimated that the United States

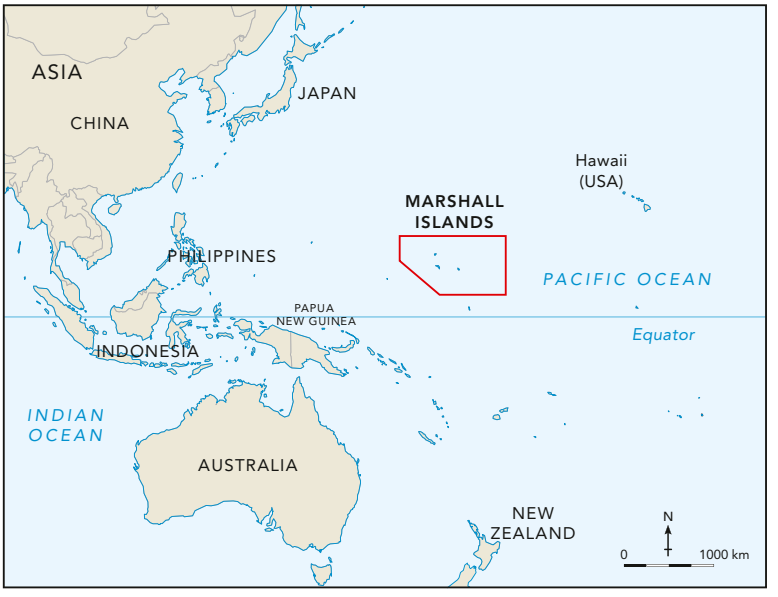
has conducted 1032 nuclear weapons tests, and the Soviet Union 727. Added to those are known tests by Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea.

There were suggestions that after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, traditional warfare would be obsolete, and that all future war would be nuclear. Hence both the United States and the Soviet Union needed to have stockpiles ready for such a conflict. Those stockpiles, tested and ready for action, became accepted as the main source of national protection in the Nuclear Age. Indeed, General Curtis LeMay, who led the US Air Force bombing of Japan, suggested that if the United States possessed a nuclear arsenal in 1941, Japan would never have attacked Pearl Harbor.

Nuclear tests in the United States

One of the first things the Americans wanted to test was the effect of atomic weapons on naval ships. For this purpose they developed Operation Crossroads, the first test operation since the Trinity test in July 1945. The operation was designed to be a statement of American power and to further identify the United States as the major victor in the Second World War. The target for the testing would be a fleet of 95 surplus ships (that were now available after the end of the war), and the site would be Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands, located between Hawaii and Papua New Guinea. This area had become part of the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, after previously being a German colony that had come under Japanese control after the First World War.

THE LOCATION OF BIKINI ATOLL AND THE ENEWETAK ATOLL, PART OF THE MARSHALL ISLANDS



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 15 The Marshall Islands were located about 4300 kilometres west of Hawaii and were frequently used as a test site for nuclear bombs between 1946 and 1958.

In March 1946, the 167 residents of Bikini Atoll were told that their island was required 'for the good of mankind', and were moved to an island 128 miles away. On 24 June, a B-29 bomber dropped an atomic bomb on the USS *Nevada* and other ships that were moored in Bikini Atoll's shallow lagoon. The bomb missed its target by 650 metres, and although a number of ships were destroyed, observers were disappointed there was no evidence of catastrophic destruction. Three weeks later a second bomb was exploded 27 metres below the surface of the lagoon. The massive explosion – which swept a ship, the lagoon floor and over one million tons of sea water into a massive nuclear column – was regarded as much more spectacular by the press, which had been invited to view and report on the Operation Crossroads tests. A third test was cancelled because of the radioactive fall-out that had penetrated the area. Crews attempting to scrub radiation from target ships by hand found they were unable to do so. When it became clear that the radiation was continuing to settle on support ships, the decision to cancel the third test was made.

SOURCE 16 The **mushroom cloud** from the nuclear testing at Bikini Atoll, July 1946

mushroom cloud the distinctively shaped cloud that forms after a nuclear explosion

The major learning from the first Bikini Atoll tests was the danger of radioactive fall-out and the difficulty in removing it once it had spread.

The United States continued to test atomic weapons at Enewetak Atoll (1948, 1951 and 1952) and the Nevada test site (1951). Following Soviet progress, and reflecting the Cold War arms race mentality, the United States soon developed and tested an even bigger and more powerful bomb – the hydrogen bomb. The first hydrogen bomb was tested on the island of Elugelab, part of Enewetak Atoll, on 1 November 1952. Its 10.4–10.6-megaton force made it a thousand times more powerful than the bomb that had destroyed Hiroshima. It completely demolished the island.

Despite American involvement in the Korean War, Truman refused to consider using nuclear weapons again. Instead, emphasis was put into developing a combat-ready hydrogen bomb to act as an even greater deterrent. The result was the testing of a 14.8-megaton military-ready hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll in 1954. The explosion, which was named the Castle Bravo test, obliterated another island and sent a 1000-mile (1609-kilometres) wave of radioactivity across the Pacific. It was the most powerful nuclear device ever detonated by the United States.

SOURCE 17 Runit Island on the Enewetak Atoll; to the left is the Dome, containing 80 000 cubic metres of toxic nuclear waste; to the right is a second crater, also created by a nuclear blast

Runit Island, another part of Enewetak Atoll, experienced a nuclear blast in 1958 that left a huge crater. In an effort to clean up the site in the 1970s, the US authorities brought in untrained soldiers and had them throw all the waste into the crater that the bomb had left behind. The waste included at least 400 pieces of plutonium from a failed test. The plutonium was placed in plastic bags and buried. The crater was never reinforced, but simply capped with concrete and abandoned.

Today, this space – referred to as the 'Dome' – contains 80 000 cubic metres of nuclear waste. The troops who were ordered to conduct the clean-up have struggled for recognition and

compensation from the US Government as they started to suffer illnesses and premature death. This echoed the approach that would also be taken by the British and Australian Governments towards their troops involved in testing in Australia.

In 2017, Marshall Islands community leader Alson Kelen described the situation on Enewetak Atoll in the following way: 'That dome is the connection between the nuclear age and the climate change age', referring to the way that rising sea waters threaten not only the existence of the Marshall Islands, but also a much larger environmental catastrophe. If the nuclear waste and radioactive material in the Dome and in areas such as Bikini Atoll – which are still regarded as too contaminated to allow people to return – leak into the rising sea, nuclear material could spread throughout the Pacific.

Nuclear tests in the Soviet Union

On 29 August 1949, the Soviets entered the Nuclear Age with the explosion of their first atomic bomb at the Semipalatinsk Test Site in Kazakhstan. The rush to develop their own bomb had been politically motivated, as Stalin wanted to make a statement to the United States and the world. It would be another two years, however, before the Soviet Union was able to test a second, larger bomb in September 1951. The stakes were significantly raised in 1955 when the Soviet Union exploded its first true hydrogen bomb.

SOURCE 18 Svetlana Mikhailovna was placed in an orphanage by her parents, who worked on the Soviet testing facility in Kazakhstan, when they saw her birth defects.

The next logical step for both the United States and the Soviet Union was improvement in weapons delivery, which took the arms race into space. When the Soviet Union launched the world's first object into orbit, the satellite *Sputnik 1* in October 1957, the initial reaction from the United States was concern about its vulnerability to a nuclear attack from space.

As secrecy and censorship were hallmarks of Stalin's soviet regime, it is difficult to access reliable information about the Soviet nuclear tests. However, as Source 18 shows, there is no doubt that the tests in Kazakhstan had a severe impact on the local population. But protests against the state testing were not an option, so the local population simply had to accept what their leaders were doing.

After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Soviet nuclear stockpile was deployed in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Under the 1992 Lisbon Agreement, part of the stockpile was given to Russia as the recognised successor state of the Soviet Union. Ukraine gave up its weapons in return for guarantees of its territory. Kazakhstan inherited the Semipalatinsk nuclear test area, but became a non-nuclear power by relinquishing any weapons to Russia. The final Soviet nuclear test was carried out on 24 October 1990, just over a year before the Soviet Union dissolved. When the United States conducted its final test on 23 September 1992, under the surface of its Nevada test site, the Cold War rivalry of nuclear testing was over. Other nations have continued to test, with underground testing being conducted by China and France until 1996, and North Korea apparently testing weapons underground as recently as 2017.

13.4a Check your learning

1. How effective do you think the 'duck and cover' advice given to Americans in the 1950s would be in the event of a nuclear attack?
2. Which countries are known to have conducted nuclear tests?
3. Critically analyse General Curtis LeMay's view that if the United States possessed a nuclear arsenal in 1941, Japan would never have attacked Pearl Harbor. Do you think this justifies nuclear testing and stockpiling of weapons?

13.4 Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Sources 13 and 14 were designed to reassure Americans about the Nuclear Age. How effective do you think they were?
2. Analyse Sources 16–18 and 42, and explain what they reveal about the dangers of nuclear testing.
3. Research the Runit Island Dome shown in Source 17, and discuss to what extent it is an example of the Nuclear Age meeting the Climate Change Age.

SOURCE 20 Robert Menzies (1894–1978), the Australian Prime Minister who welcomed British nuclear tests on Australian soil

Maralinga, state secrecy and impact of tests on local First Nations people

SOURCE 19

> Robert Menzies couldn't say yes quickly enough when Britain asked if they could explode their atom bombs in Australia. The Australian Prime Minister received the polite and rather casual request on a Saturday. He said yes on Monday.
>
> Menzies enthusiastically offered his young nation to be used in any manner the mother country may desire.
>
> He didn't waste time asking his own cabinet colleagues before he agreed to the request.
>
> He didn't ask the British if there was any possibility of harm to Australians or the Australian environment.
>
> Frank Walker, *Maralinga: The Chilling Exposure of our Secret Nuclear Shame and Betrayal of our Troops and Country*, 2016, p. 1

Following the Second World War, the United States had refused to share nuclear research and weapons with Britain. As a result, British Prime Minister Clement Atlee decided that Britain should develop its own nuclear capability. Like Stalin, Atlee was concerned about security in Europe, and felt that Britain could not afford to rely on American protection. When Stalin developed his own atomic bomb in 1949, the pressure rose to guarantee Britain its own nuclear security. With Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies enthusiastically supporting British interests, British scientists looked to Australia to test its weapons.

The first British atomic bomb was exploded in October 1952 on the Montebello Islands, off the north-western coast of Western Australia. The frigate HMS *Plym*, which served as the detonation platform, was obliterated in the explosion, and a crater was left in the seabed. Britain had arrived as the world's third nuclear power.

The test was celebrated by the press, who felt that Australia had become part of the nuclear club. However, the sailors who had been moored in an observation vessel 3 kilometres from the explosion had quite a different experience of the event.

SOURCE 21

> The signal came over the radio to prepare for countdown and a black heavy canvas tarpaulin was pulled over the boat so we were now in darkness. We all then draped jungle green towels over our heads and I pressed the palms of my hands into my eye sockets. I was dressed in shorts and a pair of shoes. At zero there was a blinding electric blue light of an intensity I had not seen before or since. I pressed my hands harder to my eyes, then I realised I could see the bones of my hands. It seemed that this light was passing through the tarpaulin and towel for about ten to twelve seconds and there seemed to be two surges and two detonations with a continued rumbling and boiling sensation. My body seemed first to be compressed, and then billowing like a balloon.
>
> Sailor Henry Carter, quoted in Frank Walker, *Maralinga: The Chilling Exposure of our Secret Nuclear Shame and Betrayal of our Troops and Country*, 2016, p. 25

Stories like that told by Henry Carter would not be revealed until the Australian Government established the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia in 1984, after ongoing complaints about the higher-than-normal rates of cancer and premature death among service personnel involved, and among the Indigenous peoples on whose traditional lands the tests had been conducted. Everything about the British nuclear testing program in Australia had been deliberately hidden from the Australian public under the veil of official secrecy.

SOURCE 22
Rosemary Laing, *one dozen considerations, Totem 1, Emu Field*, 2013.
The obelisk at Emu Field with a British flag placed in situ by the artist to mark out 60 years since the event

In September 1952, knowing that the Montebello test would only be the beginning of the British program, Menzies had secretly given Britain permission to investigate a site at Emu Field, north of Woomera in South Australia, and in October 1953 the British tested their first atomic bomb there. An Australian Air Force crew were given instructions to fly through the mushroom cloud from the bomb, turn around, and fly back again. The reason, they were told by the British, was that 'it's a mystery as to what goes on inside an atom bomb's mushroom cloud'. The crew were given no protective clothing, and were met by British scientists clad in full protective gear. Upon their return, they were cleaned by a high-pressure hose and were never warned about the dangers of eating the sandwiches that had flown through the mushroom cloud with them. One of the pilots, Geoffrey Tuck, was dead within three years at the age of 34, his body riddled with cancer. His medical records were classified and it was not until 2001, when the government released a list of those who had served in the nuclear tests, that his family discovered what he had been ordered to do.

In 1956, the Emu Field site was found to be too remote and the major British nuclear tests were moved 200 kilometres south, to Maralinga. There are many stories of Australian defence personnel who were used as guinea pigs during the Maralinga tests. They were asked to work in radioactive areas with inappropriate equipment, and given little support when they suffered a variety of unexpected illnesses. All were told not to reveal they had been part of Maralinga, and were threatened with prosecution for breach of the **Official Secrets Act**. Even when children born to those who served at Maralinga displayed strange and sometimes fatal birth defects, the Australian Government continued to suppress information.

Official Secrets Act legislation that prevents people from discussing or mentioning specific projects, in order to protect national security

It was not only Australian service personnel who were exposed to extreme health risks and forbidden from talking about them. The British soldiers assigned to the tests also suffered from similar treatment from their own government.

As the British Government looked to expand its Maralinga testing in 1957, Australian public opinion turned. A Gallup opinion poll from 1 June 1957 showed that 49 per cent of Australians were opposed to nuclear testing, and only 37 per cent were in favour, and this was without the knowledge that radioactive clouds had been allowed to drift over eastern Australia. The same year, tests had found that radioactive dust had fallen over a wide range of cities and towns, including Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. The New South Wales town of Lismore received the highest reading: double the strength of a dentist's X-ray. Experiments were carried out to test the penetration of radioactive dust into the **food chain**, and the bones of dead babies and children were secretly collected for testing. Information about the potential hazards was kept from the Australian people.

food chain
a series of organisms, each dependent on the next in the chain for food

The British finally left Maralinga in 1963 and made an attempt to clean up the site in 1967, after the Australian Government had done nothing to ensure the decontamination of any nuclear testing sites. The clean-up consisted of the British turning over the soil, burying equipment and placing concrete caps on the pits. In September 1968, the British Government signed a deal with the Australian Prime Minister, John Gorton, releasing Britain from all liabilities and responsibilities for any claims brought against Britain over testing.

It would take until the 1980s before the Australian Government initiated a serious clean-up of the nuclear sites, after Prime Minister Bob Hawke planned to return Maralinga to its traditional owners in 1984 and decided to test the contamination levels of the site. The findings reported that the site was 'riddled with atomic residue', including high levels of plutonium and uranium present in the sand.

The Royal Commission established by the Hawke Government in 1984 did not get all the answers, and met with strong and subversive resistance from the British Government. After mounting pressure, however, the British Government released 38 tonnes of documents, in an attempt to drown the inquiry in paper. Among the documents were papers that revealed the British Government had expected a much tougher 'selling' of the tests to Australia. It had prepared a wide range of arguments to help relieve Australian fears, but Menzies never questioned Britain. He simply handed the country over to British nuclear testing without any apparent concern about the risks involved for Australian military personnel, Indigenous peoples or the environment.

Maralinga has become part of Australian history and popular culture, and many musicians, including Midnight Oil and Paul Kelly, have written songs about the events. Kelly's 'Maralinga (Rainy Day)' is based on the experiences of Yami Lester, a First Nations leader who witnessed the aftermath of the Emu Fields explosion. The 1987 film *Ground Zero* also explored the story of Britain's tests in Australia.

To date, evidence continues to mount about contamination and illness among those involved in the tests, and governments of all political persuasions have desperately fought against claims for compensations from those affected. What is certain is that both Indigenous Australians and service personnel have suffered immensely as a result of the tests. Ultimately, it is they who have paid the highest price for Australia's flirtation with Britain's drive to become a nuclear world power.

13.4 PROFILE

YAMI LESTER

Yami Lester was an 11-year-old Yankunytjatjara boy living at Wallatinna cattle station in South Australia, 173 kilometres north-west of Emu Field, when the Totem 1 atomic bomb was exploded in 1953. He heard the bang of the explosion in the distance, but it was the following day that changed his life.

On the morning after the first Emu Field test, a large black cloud rolled in from the south. As Lester testified before the Royal Commission in 1985: 'it stretched as far as I could see. As it came over the camp it blocked the sun. Everything went dark. It was like a thick black mist rolling along.' The black mist had a metallic smell, and left sticky dirt on people's bodies. Shortly afterwards, Lester's eyes closed and he was unable to see. Sight briefly returned to his left eye, but he soon was totally blind in both eyes.

Lester's experience was fundamentally different from that described by Menzies when he was asked, in parliament, about whether a thorough investigation could be made into the effects of the tests on humans and animals. Menzies replied: 'It has been stated most authoritatively that no conceivable injury to life, limb or property could emerge from the test.'

The story of the black mist and its impact remained unknown until 1980, when Lester heard Sir Ernest Titterton – whom Menzies had appointed as the Australian observer on the test program – speaking on radio. Titterton, a leading British nuclear scientist who had accepted the Chair of Nuclear Physics at the Australian National University, was speaking about 'the Aboriginal people we looked after'. An angry Lester rang the *Adelaide Advertiser* newspaper and told them his story. The newspaper investigated and ran a front-page story. Its research vindicated Lester, and started the process that would culminate with the Royal Commission.

SOURCE 23 Aboriginal activist and leader Yami Lester (1941–2017)

SOURCE 24 The detonation of the Totem 1 atomic bomb in South Australia, 1953

Lester did not let his blindness hold him back and had a successful career in a range of fields in his life, including in welfare, as a court interpreter, in education and business administration, and in land rights issues with the Pitjantjatjara Land Council. Lester was a leader of the First Nations community in Central Australia, and a respected elder. Upon his death in 2017 he was given a state funeral, and Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull described him in Federal Parliament as 'one of the most significant Aboriginal leaders our country has known'. In a life of achievement, bringing national attention to the plight of the First Nations peoples who suffered in the British test program was arguably the most significant.

13.4 PROFILE TASKS

1. Outline the impact the British test at Emu Fields had on Yami Lester and other First Nations people.
2. Research the career of Sir Ernest Titterton, and explain why he was in a position to state that the Aboriginal people were 'looked after' during the British atomic tests. Could he be regarded as a reliable and unbiased source in making that claim?
3. Evaluate the life of Lester and explain why Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull described him as 'one of the most significant Aboriginal leaders our country has known'. What do you think was his greatest achievement?

The nature of French tests in the Pacific and the international response

Following the Second World War, France, like Britain, found itself left behind in a world dominated by the Cold War and the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the French had been leaders in the atomic field through the work of physicist couple Marie and Pierre Curie, who had conducted pioneering research in radioactivity in the early 1900s, Nazi occupation during the Second World War had curtailed their progress. Britain's entry into the Nuclear Age spurred the French into action, and in late 1954 a French atomic bomb program was approved.

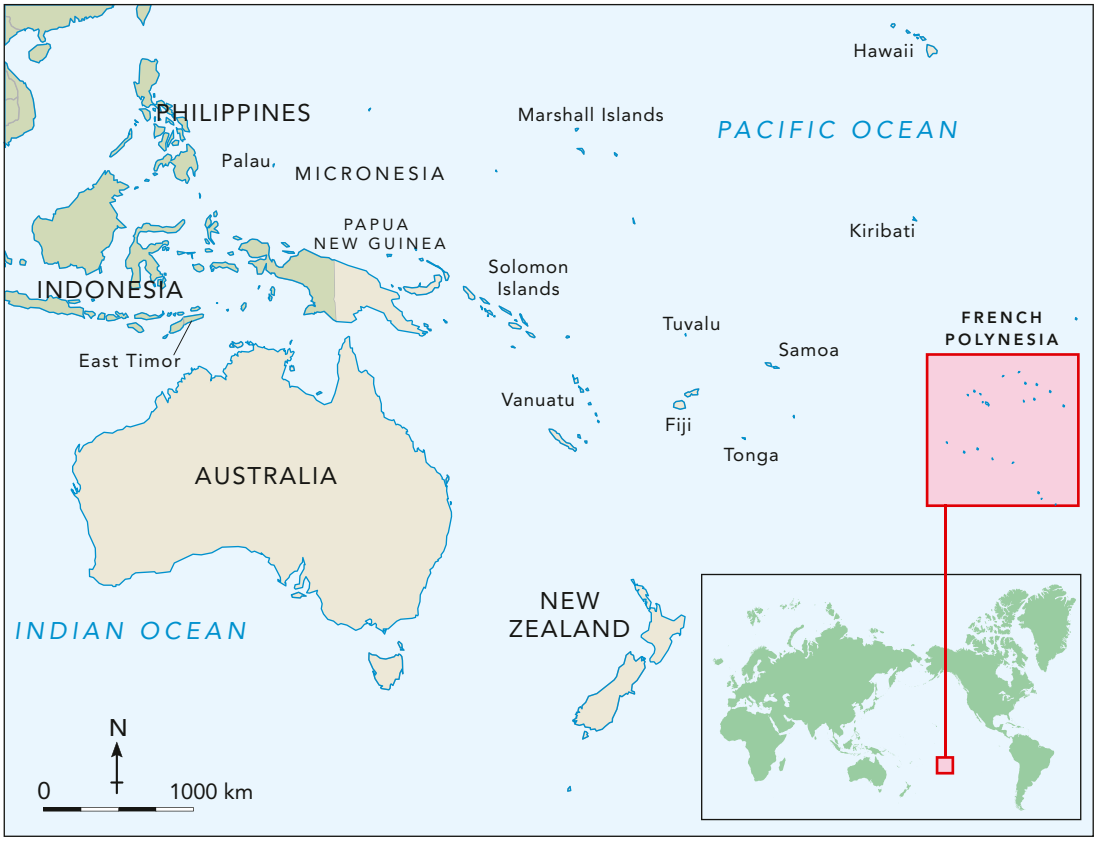
The first test was carried out under the prime ministership of Charles de Gaulle in 1958, initially in the Algerian Sahara Desert; but with Algeria fighting for independence, French testing was eventually relocated to the South Pacific and French Polynesia. France withdrew completely from Algeria in 1967 after 17 nuclear tests. When the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 was signed by the Soviet Union, Britain and the United States, banning nuclear testing in the atmosphere, France refused to join the treaty, thereby justifying its above-ground testing in the tropical paradise of French Polynesia. In total, France would carry out 193 tests on the Mururoa and Fangataufa Atolls between 1966 and 1996.

The French decision to move their nuclear testing program to French Polynesia resulted in a large economic infusion for the region, but the ongoing tests sparked international outrage and protests as people were worried about the risk of uncontrolled nuclear fall-out carrying across the

Pacific. Protests and **boycotts** of French companies and products were common in the region. In an effort to stop the tests, the Australian and New Zealand Governments took France to the International Court of Justice. In 1974, the court ordered France to stop its tests, but the new French President, Giscard d'Estaing, had them moved underground. It would take until 1996 for France to stop carrying out nuclear tests in the Pacific altogether.

boycott
the withdrawal of political, trade and/or other contact with another country or organisation

LOCATION OF FRENCH POLYNESIA



Source: Oxford University Press

SOURCE 25 The French nuclear tests in the South Pacific received massive criticism, both from the general public and many of the world's governments.

declassified
previously secret official information that has been released into the public domain

The release of **declassified** papers in 2013 revealed the real cost of the French testing regime in the South Pacific. The papers showed that the nuclear fall-out had been much more extensive than had been publicly known, with Tahiti – the main island of French Polynesia – having received 500 times the accepted level of radiation. This report followed a 2006 study from a French medical research team reporting that residents in French Polynesia had increased incidences of cancer that could be tied to the nuclear testing. In the tradition of the US, British and Australian Governments, the French have consistently resisted acknowledgment of and compensation for the effects of their nuclear testing program.

SOURCE 26 The Mururoa test site in 2014; in the past few years, seismic activity has been monitored as some believe the atoll is in danger of collapsing

Greenpeace and the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*

Resentment against French nuclear testing grew particularly strong throughout the 1970s and 80s. The pressure on the French Government was made stronger by the work of environmental group Greenpeace, which sailed into the Mururoa region to disrupt testing in 1972. Greenpeace had earned the ire of the French Government by revealing the testing of the new neutron bomb, and releasing photos of the extent of the damage to Mururoa – showing that the atoll was literally sinking into the Pacific. Perhaps most damagingly to the French, Greenpeace promoted the argument internationally that if the testing was as safe as France indicated, why was it not carried out in France? It was a question the French consistently refused to answer.

By 1985, Greenpeace's activities were seriously embarrassing the French Government. From February of that year, French intelligence and the Defence Ministry began planning to disrupt the Greenpeace protests. Two teams of French operatives secretly entered New Zealand, planning to sink the Greenpeace flagship the *Rainbow Warrior*, which was temporarily moored in Auckland Harbour in preparation for departure to Mururoa. One agent, Christine Cabon, even joined Greenpeace, pretending to be an activist in order to gather information that she then passed on to French officials. On the evening of 10 July 1985, two other agents, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, dived below the surface to attach two mines to the hull of the *Rainbow Warrior*. The explosions that followed destroyed the ship and killed one crew member, photographer Fernando Pereira.

SOURCE 27 A French warship shadowing Greenpeace protest vessels at the Mururoa **exclusion zone** in 1995

Initially, the French denied all knowledge and responsibility, even as the evidence mounted. New Zealand regarded the attack as a terrorist act on a friendly country and Prime Minister David Lange described it as being 'just short of an act of war'. The reaction from France's allies in the US Government was not nearly as harsh, and President Ronald Reagan refused to use the word 'condemn' in his statement on the attack.

Mafart and Prieur were the only two people ever charged with the attack. When the pair was found guilty of manslaughter by a New Zealand court, the French Government responded with threats to destroy the New Zealand economy by banning New Zealand products from Europe. Mafart and Prieur eventually served two years on the small French Pacific island of Hao before returning to France.

exclusion zone an area into which entry is excluded

New Zealand did eventually receive an unprecedented apology from France and some compensation, as did Greenpeace and the family of Pereira.

Despite the controversy around the *Rainbow Warrior*, the French continued testing at Mururoa and Greenpeace continued protesting. As the release of documents in 2013 revealed, the cost for the environment and the health of residents and military personnel is still being tallied.

SOURCE 28 The *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland Harbour after the French attack on 10 July 1985

13.4b Check your learning

1. Discuss whether you think Prime Minister Robert Menzies acted in Australia's best interests throughout the British nuclear testing in Australia.
2. Research the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and discuss whether it should be described as an act of terrorism.

13.4b Understanding and using the sources

1. Carefully analyse Source 19. Is any evidence presented to support the assessment of Menzies' actions? Is there any indication the source may be biased? What else would a historian require to ensure the validity of the source?
2. What does Source 21 reveal about the nature of the British nuclear tests in Australia and the protection offered to those who worked on them?
3. Source 22 is an artwork that combines factual history – an obelisk commemorating the Emu Springs tests – with the art of placing a British flag nearby. What do you think the purpose of placing the obelisk there was? Why would the artist place the British flag in her photograph? How does the presence of the flag impact on your interpretation and historical understanding of the image? How can art contribute to historical understanding?
4. Research the complete lyrics to Paul Kelly's 'Maralinga (Rainy Land)', shown in Source 24. Explain how these lyrics help you understand the nature of British nuclear tests in Australia and the life of Yami Lester.
5. Sources 25–28 present a summary of French nuclear testing in the South Pacific. Explain how each of the sources contributes to your understanding of the impact of French nuclear testing in the region.

13.5 Towards nuclear disarmament

SOURCE 29 A nuclear-capable missile on display during the annual Republic Day parade in New Delhi, India, 2009.

At the end of the Second World War, Truman was considering handing the control of nuclear weapons to the newly formed United Nations. Having been in charge of the dropping of the bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he was the only person who truly understood the responsibility of using them, and he considered it appropriate to have international approval. His approach rapidly shifted when Stalin continued the development of his own nuclear arsenal.

Despite an international movement calling for nuclear disarmament, and the loss of testing sites that came with decolonisation, the number of nations with nuclear weapons continues to grow today. China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea have all acquired and tested nuclear weapons, and proliferation continues around the world.

Anti-nuclear movements and the role of the United Nations: test ban treaties, arms limitations and non-proliferation

Cuban Missile Crisis
a 1962 confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War that threatened the use of nuclear weapons

In March 1963, only five months after the **Cuban Missile Crisis** had dragged the world to the brink of a nuclear war, US President John F. Kennedy was holding a press conference where he told the press that he was hopeful of achieving an international nuclear ban. He went on to say: 'I see the possibility in the 1970s of the President of the United States having to face a world in which fifteen or twenty or twenty five nations may have these weapons. I regard that as the greatest possible danger and hazard.'

Kennedy maintained a push for the limitation of nuclear testing, reasoning that countries without nuclear weapons would struggle to develop them if they were unable to conduct tests. Negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union had been ongoing since the mid-1950s in an effort to stem the rapid escalation in nuclear capability. Soviet resistance to outside inspectors, however, was a major stumbling block.

CIA
the Central Intelligence Agency, the foreign intelligence service of the US Government

A few years earlier Kennedy's predecessor, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, had attempted to reach a similar agreement, but his attempts failed when a **CIA** spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. The events in Cuba in 1962 showed what was at stake, and efforts were renewed by Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in their aftermath. Their enthusiasm to take a step back from the brink was indicated by the speed of final negotiations. It took only 10 days in July 1963 for the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain to negotiate the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which pushed all nuclear testing underground.

The United Nations **General Assembly** had already unanimously approved an Irish resolution in 1961 that called on all nations to stop transferring or developing any more nuclear weapons. This reflected the **non-aligned** powers' fears about the international situation. While the General Assembly lacked the authority to enforce its resolution, it brought the focus onto what might be possible. It would only take until 1964, when China joined the nuclear powers, for the weaknesses in the Limited Test Ban Treaty to become obvious.

General Assembly the only organ of the United Nations where all countries are members and have equal power

non-alignment a foreign policy that seeks to make alliances with no particular side, in a bid to remain neutral in an area of developing conflict

In 1968, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, or NPT) was opened for signature. It was designed for non-nuclear powers to give up their rights to acquire nuclear weapons in return for guarantees that they would have access to the benefits of nuclear energy. Nuclear powers would not make their weapons technology available, and the world would be restricted to the current five nuclear powers: the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. The treaty also called on the nuclear powers to move towards nuclear disarmament. The ban came into effect in 1970, and contained a clause ensuring that it would be re-examined in 25 years, to decide whether it was working and, if so, it would be extended. In 1995, the treaty was extended indefinitely.

As of 2017, 191 states had joined the treaty – more nations than have joined any other arms limitation or disarmament agreement in history. One of the important aspects of the NPT was the establishment of a safeguards system under the responsibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Compliance is verified through inspections conducted by the agency, and effectively achieves what Truman sought in 1945.

In addition to the NPT, there have been a range of other treaties and agreements seeking to limit the risk of nuclear weapons ever being used again. Some have been bilateral agreements (between two countries), others have been international. They show that despite the fears of the 1950s, and clashes that have pushed participants to the edge of nuclear war, human beings have chosen survival over destruction. Source 30 should really be viewed as an optimistic set of achievements that have helped secure the planet's future.

SOURCE 30 Some of the treaties that have contributed to an easing of nuclear fears

TREATY	YEAR	THOSE COVERED	AIM
Antarctica Treaty	1959	51 signatories	Bans the use of Antarctica for anything but peaceful purposes
Outer Space Treaty	1967	107 signatories	Prevents states from placing nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction in orbit, on celestial bodies or in outer space
Seabed Arms Control Treaty	1971	94 signatories	Bans nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction on the seabed outside a 12-mile (19-km) coastal zone
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty	1972–2002	United States and Soviet Union	Limited each side to 200 anti-ballistic missiles; the United States withdrew in 2002, ending the treaty
Threshold Test Ban Treaty	1974	United States and Soviet Union	Prohibits underground tests of nuclear devices having a yield exceeding 150 kilotons (equivalent to 150 000 tonnes of TNT)
Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty	2002	United States and Russian Federation	Mandates cuts in deployed strategic nuclear warheads

Opposition to nuclear weapons development grew steadily throughout the 1960s. Groups were formed on both a local and on a global level, and represented grassroots concerns, as well as scientific and medical concerns that grew throughout the decade.

One of the earliest groups to organise and act was the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which was formed in Britain in 1957 with the aim of achieving nuclear disarmament in Britain. Its Easter march each year between 1959 and 1965 became a major focus of the nuclear disarmament movement. CND had a major revival in the early 1980s after the election of Margaret Thatcher in Britain (1979) and Ronald Reagan in the United States (1980) renewed Cold War tensions after a period of détente. CND remains active, seeking global nuclear disarmament.

Another group that shows the diversity of approaches to achieving nuclear disarmament was the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). It was founded in 1980 by physicians from the United States and the Soviet Union who worked to prevent a nuclear war breaking out between the two countries. It now represents medical groups in 63 countries, and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.

SOURCE 31 Berit Reiss-Andersen (left), Chairperson of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, hands the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize to Beatrice Fihn (right), leader of ICAN. In the centre is Setsuko Thurlow, survivor of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima.

As seen above, Greenpeace has been a consistent campaigner for nuclear disarmament on environmental grounds. Its approach of confronting nuclear tests in the Pacific gathered valuable publicity that turned regional public opinion strongly against the continuation of above-ground nuclear testing in the Pacific.

The ongoing nature of groups campaigning against nuclear weapons is reflected by the awarding of the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize to the Australian-based group International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). The group's citation stated: 'for its work to draw attention to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and for its ground-breaking efforts to achieve a treaty-based prohibition of such weapons'.

Nuclear disarmament after the Cold War

The Cold War ended with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Russian Federation was by far the strongest of the 15 new states, and inherited many of the Soviet Union's nuclear treaty obligations, as well as most of its weapon stockpile. On 3 January 1993, Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty known as SALT II with US President George H.W. Bush. While this looked like a positive start to the post–Cold War era, SALT II failed to be completely **ratified**. While the US Senate ratified it agreement in 1996 and Russia in 2000, Russia withdrew in 2002 in response to the United States withdrawing from the 30-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

ratify
to agree to or support; to give formal confirmation of a treaty or agreement

SOURCE 32 President Barack Obama of the United States (left) and President Dmitry Medvedev of the Russian Federation sign the New START Treaty in Prague, 2010.

SALT II was replaced by the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty, which was signed in 2002 and came into effect the following year. It was a bilateral treaty between the United States and the Russian Federation that limited each side to between 1700 and 2200 operationally deployed **warheads**. This treaty was replaced again by New START, which came into effect in 5 February 2011, with the aim of reducing the number of strategic nuclear missile launchers by half before 2021. It is unclear whether the agreement will last, however, as it has been attacked by US President Donald Trump as 'favouring Russia'.

warhead
the explosive head of a missile, torpedo or similar

Issues of proliferation: Israel, India, Pakistan, Iran and North Korea

The question of proliferation has two equally significant aspects: one peaceful and the other military. Countries such as Iran have consistently argued for the need to have **nuclear reactors** to ensure access to nuclear energy and its peaceful application. Countries such as the United States have argued that it is dangerous to allow peaceful reactors because they could quickly be adjusted for military purposes. This dichotomy has been at the core of nuclear proliferation since the Second World War.

nuclear reactor
a structure in which a controlled nuclear reaction takes place, releasing energy

In 1953, the Eisenhower Government started an 'Atoms for Peace' program, aimed at providing technical assistance for countries to conduct nuclear research for peaceful purposes. However, while the program promoted a positive image of how nuclear energy could be used as a force of good, both Israel and India used the program to start their journey towards developing nuclear weapons.

An attempt was made in 1974 to limit the acquisition and manufacturing of nuclear weapons through the establishment of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. The aim of the group was for supplier countries to control the export of materials and technology with which to develop nuclear weapons. But the agreement lacked any real enforcement powers, and a trade in the technology and material necessary to develop nuclear weapons instead grew on the black market.

It was through the black market that the Pakistani nuclear physicist A.Q. Khan gained the necessary connections to help launch Pakistan's nuclear program. Khan has since been accused of aiding nuclear proliferation into Iraq, Iran, Libya and North Korea. In 2011, Khan suggested that if Iraq and Libya had been nuclear powers, their people would not have suffered in the way that they have from foreign incursions. He also argued that Pakistan would not have lost half of its territory in the 1971 Indo-Pakistani war if it had possessed a nuclear bomb at the time.

This type of argument is at the heart of proliferation – emerging countries feel that they are entitled to the same protection offered by nuclear weapons as that held by the already established nuclear powers. They view it as yet another colonial privilege, and argue that they are entitled to use whatever means are necessary to gain protection from other nuclear states.

Protection was also at the heart of Israel's decision to develop and test nuclear weapons in the 1970s. As a Jewish state in an Arab world, Israel has long refused to compromise on protection. Its political connections with the United States resulted in bipartisan support for Israel's nuclear program, while American politicians looked to limit their own country's nuclear expansion.

India's interest in nuclear energy as a power source dates back to the 1940s, and it was an eager recipient of assistance under Atoms for Peace. However, a Himalayan border war with China in 1962 provided the catalyst for the development of nuclear weapons as protection from China. India's first nuclear test was carried out in 1974, and quickly resulted in Pakistan arguing that it too now needed nuclear weapons to protect itself from India. In 1999, India presented its 'no first strike' doctrine to alleviate the fears in the region.

As a close ally of the United States in the 1950s, Iran was the recipient of technology under the Atoms for Peace project. US aid was cut off after the 1979 Islamic revolution, but in the 1990s Russia took over as suppliers of technical information and experts to allow Iran to build a nuclear power program. In the 2000s, fears arose that Iran's nuclear program could be directed towards weapons development.

There is credible evidence that up until 2003, Iran was attempting to develop a nuclear weapon. International sanctions followed as the IAEA continued to inspect the country. In December 2015, the IAEA issued a report concluding that no activity since 2009 indicated that Iran had been trying to develop a nuclear weapon. In January 2016, Iran dismantled part of its nuclear program and sanctions were lifted.

In 2003, North Korea withdrew from the NPT, and has since developed a nuclear weapon arsenal. It conducted its first nuclear test underground in 2006, followed by a second one in 2009. In February 2012, North Korea suspended its program to seek talks with the United States aimed at easing the sanctions imposed on it; but missile tests in 2012 and 2013 brought an international food aid program to North Korea to a halt and increased suspicion about its willingness to seriously negotiate an end to its nuclear program. Nuclear tests continued throughout 2016, and **intercontinental ballistic missiles** tested in 2017 were specifically designed to reach the mainland United States. The provocation between North Korea's Kim Jong-Un and the United States' Donald Trump are reminding long-time observers of the Nuclear Age of the days of intense Cold War hostility.

intercontinental ballistic missile
a long-range (5500 kilometres) missile carrying nuclear warheads

SOURCE 33 Kim Jong-Un and Donald Trump: do they represent the start of a new Cold War?

13.5 Check your learning

1. Select one example of attempts to reduce nuclear tension and research how successful it was.
2. Outline the attempts to bring about nuclear disarmament since the end of the Cold War.
3. Describe the role one group has played in the anti-nuclear movement, and assess how successful it has been.
4. Describe the Atoms for Peace project. How effective do you think it was?
5. Discuss the argument that new nations are entitled to do whatever is necessary to guarantee their security.
6. To what extent do the nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea represent the success and failures of the nuclear disarmament movement?

13.5 Understanding and using the sources

1. Do you agree that Source 30 represents 'an optimistic set of achievements that have helped secure the planet's future'? Why or why not?
2. What is the significance of an international campaign to abolish nuclear weapons winning the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize, as shown in Source 31?
3. What is the historical significance of the event captured in Source 32?
4. Discuss whether the people shown in Source 33 represent the start of a new Cold War.

13.6 The benefits and risks of the Nuclear Age

American journalist Stephanie Cooke, who has specialised in the nuclear industry, summed up the dilemma of this industry very effectively: 'The reality of nuclear energy, of harnessing the atom's awesome power, held great promise for mankind. But it also harboured unprecedented peril.' It is these twin sides of humankind dealing with nuclear issues that have been the major characteristic of the Nuclear Age.

The development of knowledge about the power of the atom has led to improvements in both medicine and energy. But it has also led to catastrophic accidents that have created environmental wastelands. Many of these accidents have been kept secret, and that secrecy has in turn helped create an atmosphere of distrust between governments, as well as between governments and citizens.

The contributions of nuclear medicine and energy

The ability to view inside the human body makes diagnosis and treatment significantly more effective. While X-rays started being developed late in the nineteenth century, it was the development of nuclear research that changed the field of medicine dramatically.

gamma rays electromagnetic radiation released from the radioactive decay of atomic nuclei

Nuclear medicine essentially uses small radioactive tracers that are injected into the bloodstream, swallowed or inhaled. These tracers emit **gamma rays** that allow for the accurate imaging of the specific area being examined. This has transformed medicine, allowing for much earlier and more accurate diagnoses of potential disease, and more effective treatment. Nuclear medicine images can be superimposed with computed tomography (CT) or magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) to produce special views of areas of the body. These images have a high level of accuracy and allow specialists to view internal organs and structures.

Nuclear material can also be used as treatment. Small doses of radioactive material have been used to treat patients with cancer, thyroid disease and non-Hodgkin's lymphoma. After more than 50 years of use, there has been no evidence of long-term effects from the low doses of radiation used for medical purposes, and nuclear medicine has become an accepted tool of modern medicine. As such, it is an example of the nuclear industry contributing positively to society.

While harmless on a small scale, larger volumes of radioactive materials of the degree that is needed to produce energy has been much more controversial. Nuclear energy is produced through the processes of splitting atoms and is a low-carbon alternative to the use of fossil fuels to meet the planet's energy needs. When first developed in the 1940s and 50s, nuclear energy was presented as the planet's energy future.

The Soviet Union produced the world's first nuclear power station in 1954 and Britain followed suit two years later. America's first station was opened in 1957. The amount of power generated by nuclear energy rose steadily through the 1960s and 70s, but slowed down in the 1980s as the risks associated with nuclear reactor accidents came into sharp focus after an accident at Three Mile Island power station in Pennsylvania, United States, in 1979. The accident took place as a cooling malfunction caused a reactor core to melt down. The reactor was destroyed and some radioactive gas was released, but no people were hurt and there were no health effects or environmental damages as a result of the event. Hence, the accident at Three Mile Island served as a warning rather than a full-scale catastrophe.

SOURCE 34 A group of protestors calling for the closure of Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in 1980, a year after the accident

The twenty-first century has seen renewed interest in nuclear power generation as fossil fuel prices continue to rise and the negative side effects of using carbon-releasing energy, like gas and oil, becomes clearer. As of 2017, a total of 31 countries use nuclear power plants for power generation, but only France, Slovakia, Ukraine, Belgium and Hungary rely on them for the majority of their power needs. However, due to high-profile incidents like those at Chernobyl in 1986 and Fukushima in 2011, public opinion on nuclear power is split.

Radioactive waste and issues of storage, safety and security

The growth of the nuclear industry since the Second World War has created the most significant issue of the Nuclear Age: how to dispose of the radioactive waste generated. With radioactivity not breaking down for, in some cases, hundreds of years, it presents a massive challenge if nuclear energy is to continue as a viable energy source for the planet. In 2001, the United Nations' *Joint Convention on the Safety of Spent Fuel Management* and the *Safety of Radioactive Waste Management* came into force in an attempt to gain international agreement on how to store and dispose of radioactive waste. A key element was the decision to ensure 'radioactive waste should, as far as is compatible with the safety of the management of such material, be disposed of in the country in which it was generated'.

SOURCE 35 The past or the future? The world's first commercial nuclear power plant at Calder Hall, Windscale, England.

SOURCE 36 Nuclear fuel being stored underwater at a reactor in Sweden

Nuclear waste is differentiated into three types: high-level, intermediate-level and low-level waste. In a typical nuclear reactor, high-level waste comes from the used nuclear fuel. Although on average it represents about 3 per cent of total waste, high-level waste generates 95 per cent of the radioactivity. Intermediate waste includes used filters and steel used in the reactor. It represents 7 per cent of the total waste and 4 per cent of the radioactivity. Low-level waste is lightly contaminated material such as clothing and tools. It comprises 90 per cent of the total waste, while providing only 1 per cent of the radioactivity.

Used fuel is often reprocessed to regain uranium and plutonium after it has been stored underwater. Once the uranium and plutonium are extracted, the remains are high-level waste that has to be stored deep underground. Deep storage requires a stable geological environment, and is a process that continues to be developed. The method involves drilling shafts up to a kilometre below the earth's surface, and storing and sealing off drums of highly radioactive nuclear waste. There is ongoing debate over how much scrutiny should be continued once shafts have been sealed.

The storage and disposal of nuclear waste remains a contentious issue throughout the world. More than being an environmental issue, access to nuclear waste also becomes a security threat with the ever-present fear of terrorist groups gaining access to nuclear materials.

Critical incidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima and their impact

As well as having a major environmental impact, nuclear accidents cause significant damage to the credibility of the nuclear industry. In such a highly regulated industry, those accidents are rare, but almost always have serious consequences. Two of the most significant accidents occurred at Chernobyl in what was then the Soviet Union in 1986, and Fukushima in Japan in 2011.

Historian Richard Rhodes has identified at least 13 serious nuclear accidents in the Soviet Union before Chernobyl, including at Chernobyl itself. The Soviet Government had kept these accidents secret, but the size, intensity and radioactive risk at Chernobyl in 1986 were unable to be contained. However, despite the initial explosion occurring in Reactor 4 just after midnight on 26 April 1986, it took until 6 May for a Soviet press conference to reveal the full extent of the disaster.

Research released in November 2017 through the journal *Nuclear Technology* provided evidence that the initial explosion at Chernobyl – the one that caused the catastrophe – was actually a nuclear explosion. This explosion was followed seconds later by a steam explosion, which was previously believed to have been the initial cause. A jet of debris up to 3000 metres high was released and radioactive material formed a dust cloud that travelled across Western Europe, exposing millions of people to dangerous levels of radiation. The official death toll

SOURCE 37 The destroyed Reactor 4 at Chernobyl

from the explosion is 56, but it is thought that the actual death toll from radioactive fall-out could be as high as 4000. In addition, birth defects and cancers continue to plague those who experienced the highest exposure. By December 1986, Reactor 4 had been encased in a concrete sarcophagus to provide basic protection. The reactor is still covered by a 30-kilometres exclusion zone and, in the decades since the explosion, about 350 000 people have had to be moved to safer areas.

The first nuclear reactor in Japan was commissioned in 1966, and by 2011 as much as 30 per cent of Japan's electrical power came from nuclear sources. Questions had been raised about the reliability and validity of Japan's nuclear program, with the country being exposed to seismic (earthquake) activity, and the industry suffering scandals from the revelation of accidents that had been kept secret. Despite these concerns, nuclear capacity was expected to rise in Japan, until 11 March 2011, when an earthquake and tsunami caused the failure of cooling systems at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant.

Because of the damage caused by the tsunami, cooling systems were unable to be activated, leading to three nuclear meltdowns, hydrogen-air explosions, and the release of radioactive material in Units 1, 2 and 3 of the power plant. The incident devastated the area, with about 300 000 people being forced to evacuate.

SOURCE 38 Children in a home for Chernobyl victims, 1993

SOURCE 39 Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (in the red helmet) inspects the area near a storage tank in Unit 1, Fukushima Daiichi, from which radioactive water was found to have leaked following the accident.

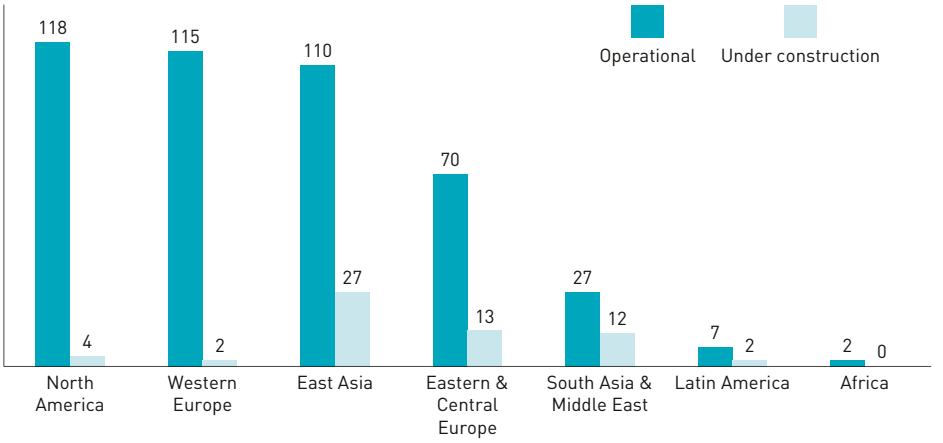
Although most of the damage and deaths were due to the earthquake and tsunami, a significant finding was the dramatic increase in stress levels of those living close to the reactor. In other words, while negative health effects of the accident have so far been limited to increased risk of thyroid damage, particularly among young girls, millions were mentally and physically affected by the stress of living in proximity to the power plant.

The Fukushima Nuclear Accident Independent Investigation Commission (NAIIC) found that the direct causes of the accident had been predictable and that protective steps should have been taken. The total cost of the disaster has been estimated at $100 billion, and the owners of the power plant, Tokyo Electric Power Company Holdings, Inc. (TEPCO), has had the Nuclear Damage Compensation and Decommissioning Facilitation Corporation become their major stockholder to ensure that Fukushima Daiichi is decommissioned and that appropriate compensation is paid out. Debate continues to rage about whether the treated contaminated water should be released into the Pacific. Fukushima fishermen are concerned because they already meet resistance from consumers who worry about consuming fish caught in the area.

Ending the Nuclear Age and the question of expanding or winding back nuclear energy

The incidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima showed the world the potentially devastating impact of nuclear accidents. As both private companies and governments have shown a reluctance to fully disclose the danger of incidents or take pre-emptive protective measures, nuclear power has lost the trust of many consumers. In June 2011, 80 per cent of Japanese identified as anti-nuclear, and said that they did not trust government information on radiation. On the other side of the debate are the nuclear advocates who argue that nuclear power is a clean, carbon-free form of energy that can help reduce our reliance on energy sources such as coal and gas. They also argue for the ability of nuclear power plants to run 24 hours a day, which gives them an advantage over natural sources such as sun and wind power.

Price will continue to hold back nuclear growth, as the cost of building and running reactors is significant, and the manufacture and deployment of cheap reactor models are at least a decade away. As reactors from last century reach their use-by date, companies will be faced with major economic decisions. In the end, it may be the price of natural sources of power, such as wind and solar, that decides the nuclear industry's future. As Source 40 shows, however, new nuclear power plants are still being constructed around the world.



Source: Nuclear Energy Institute

SOURCE 40 Nuclear units worldwide in 2017

SOURCE 41

> I was struck by how deeply affected Gorbachev appeared to be by the Chernobyl accident. He commented that it was a great tragedy which cost the Soviet Union billions of roubles [the Soviet currency] and had only been overcome through the tireless efforts of an enormous number of people. Gorbachev noted with seemingly genuine horror the devastation that would occur if nuclear power plants became targets in a conventional war much less a full nuclear exchange.
>
> US Secretary of State George Schultz commenting on the impact of Chernobyl on Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in 1988, quoted in Richard Rhodes, *Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race*, 2007, p. 26

13.6 Check your learning

1. Outline the benefits and risks of the application of nuclear technology in the fields of medicine and energy.
2. Identify the three levels of nuclear waste. What is your opinion on the safest way to store nuclear waste?
3. Compare and contrast the nuclear accidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima and identify the major impacts of the two.
4. Write an opinion piece arguing for or against the future of nuclear power for the planet.

13.6 Understanding and using the sources

1. Research the Three Mile Island accident and explain why the people shown in Source 34 would be protesting a year after the event.
2. Identify the issues raised by Source 35. How would supporters and opponents of nuclear energy describe the source?
3. Explain how a historian could use Sources 37 and 38 as evidence in a discussion on the impact of the Chernobyl disaster.
4. Identify why Source 39 is evidence of the ongoing impact of the Fukushima incident.
5. Analyse Source 40 and argue whether it provides evidence for a positive or negative future for nuclear energy.
6. Assess whether you think Source 41 is suitable as the final source in a chapter on the Nuclear Age. Justify your answer.

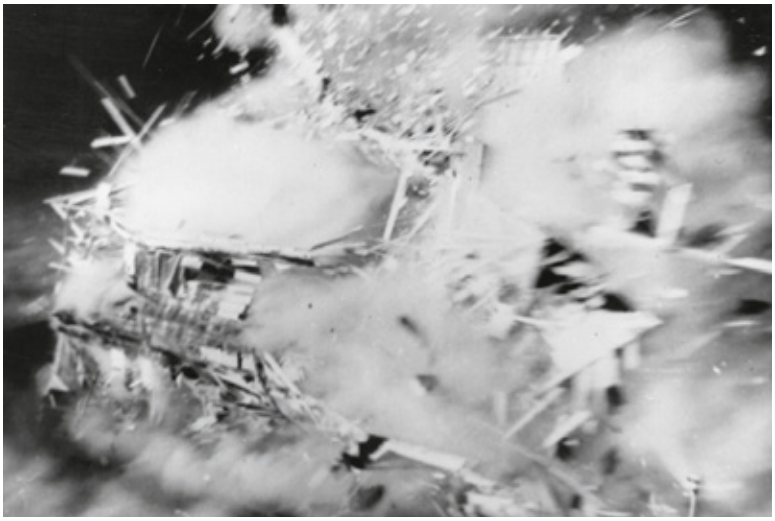
CONCLUSION

A study of the Nuclear Age will always involve controversy. Nuclear warfare has the potential to devastate and even destroy the world as we know it. As the exchanges between North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un and US President Donald Trump throughout 2017 have shown, nuclear weapons remain a credible political option in the contemporary world. On the other hand, nuclear power has the potential to end the planet's reliance on carbon-based energy sources and significantly decrease the emission of greenhouse gases. One thing that has been consistent throughout the Nuclear Age has been the way it divides opinions.

From the time US President Harry S. Truman ordered the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the hope of ending the Second World War, humans have had the potential to render life on the planet extinct. At the same time, progress has been made with politicians drafting and signing multiple treaties over the past decades, which have made the world more secure.

The testing of nuclear weapons in old colonies links the pre– and post–Second World War worlds. Australia, Algeria and the Pacific were all recipients of radioactivity because of colonialism. While the environmental and medical costs of that testing have gradually been revealed, governments are still reluctant to take responsibility.

Climate change and a global rush to pull back from high-carbon-emitting energy sources such as coal, oil and gas have thrown nuclear energy a lifeline. Climate change links the Cold War period to the contemporary world through the desire to use nuclear energy. There is no guarantee the world will opt to pursue a nuclear future; but at the moment, the planet continues to live in the Nuclear Age.



SOURCE 42
A photograph from the Nevada nuclear test site in 1951 shows the impact of a nuclear explosion a mile away; the house was destroyed in 2.3 seconds.

obook

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

14

Apartheid in South Africa 1960–94

A black cleaner sweeps the pavement in front of segregated public bathrooms, which are marked with a sign reading 'Whites' in both Afrikaans and English.

FOCUS QUESTIONS

1. What is apartheid?
2. How did the South African Government control society between 1960 and 1994?
3. How did South Africans challenge and overcome apartheid?

KEY CONCEPTS AND SKILLS

Analysis and use of sources

In a country that was as decisively and totally divided as South Africa, it is only natural that many historical sources reflect that division. When studying South Africa it is important to look at who is the origin of each source, and to ascertain their background. In a society divided by race, the origin of sources impacts directly on perspectives.

Historical interpretation

The story of South Africa between 1960 and 1994 is a story of a country moving towards momentous change. One of your responsibilities as a history student studying this period is to determine the significance of the events and personalities that can be identified as driving social and political change.

Historical investigation and research

Studying South African history between 1960 and 1994 will encourage you to develop a range of historical questions to help you investigate change on a national scale. When investigating an ideology such as apartheid, you will also have to be aware of your own bias as you explore ideas that may challenge your values and beliefs.

Explanation and communication

In the HSC exam you will be required to provide brief answers to specific questions on the topic of apartheid in South Africa. This will require direct responses to be supported by relevant evidence and examples. It will be important to make sure you have practised writing these types of responses.

LEARNING GOALS

- Develop an understanding of the nature of apartheid and its role in the historical development of South Africa leading up to 1994.
- Be able to explain the nature of government in South Africa in the period 1960–94 and the reasons why the government met resistance.
- Use sources as evidence to explain social and political change in South Africa in the period 1960–94.
- Communicate an understanding of why apartheid ended in South Africa.

Key features

SOURCE 1 Nelson Mandela swept to power in the South Africa's first non-racial elections, 1994.

Differing visions of democracy

The concept of democracy implies the involvement of the citizen body in the direction of the country. South Africa developed a system of government that excluded the racial majority from participation. You will have to consider what white and non-white South Africans considered democracy to be.

Nature and impact of apartheid

Essentially, apartheid was a political system that divided South Africa along racial lines. White people held economic and political power, and excluded the non-white population from opportunity. What sort of society emerges from a system where the minority exploit and exclude the majority? Think about whether such a system could ultimately be sustainable.

Role and impact of state terror and repression

If apartheid was to be maintained against opposition, then non-white South Africans and their aspirations had to be repressed. The South African Government resorted to a regime of extreme brutality to repress its non-white population. Images of school children killed by their police force brought international condemnation.

Resistance to apartheid

Non-white South Africans felt compelled to resist the restrictions and limitations of apartheid. It is important to consider whether the nature of apartheid created the seeds of its own destruction by excluding non-white people from any hope or opportunity to participate in the success their labour was helping create.

Changes in society

The story of South Africa between 1960 and 1994 is one of dramatic change. In 1960 the National Party, which created apartheid in 1948, was firmly in power and using that power to enforce control over the non-white population. In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) won the first-ever non-racial elections, bringing Nelson Mandela to power as the country's first black president. You will have to consider the forces that generated such profound change, and consider why they were successful.

Reasons for the collapse of apartheid

When a country abandons the system that has been the defining feature of its society, there must be significant reasons. As you study South Africa between 1960 and 1994, you must consider the significance of events and personalities in driving such profound change.

International responses to apartheid

In 1960 the ANC made the decision to set up international connections to further its campaign against apartheid. In traditional areas such as politics, through the United Nations, and economics, through boycotts and sanctions, pressure was brought to bear on South Africa to moderate its policies. By the late 1980s, however, sport and music had also played significant roles in galvanising international pressure into a groundswell for change. You will need to think about how important cultural factors can be in contributing to political change.

14.1 Introduction

scurvy
a disease caused by a deficiency in vitamin C

On 6 April 1652, a small contingent of Dutch settlers arrived on the southern tip of Africa. They established a settlement to provide fresh produce for the trading ships of the Dutch East India Company, to help their crews avoid the scourge of **scurvy** on their long voyages. The group included an engineer who was to investigate the possibility of digging a canal across the peninsula to isolate the colony from the natives. When this proved impractical, the leader of the settlers, Jan van Riebeeck, planted a double row of wild almond trees to form a barrier. Thus the colony that would eventually develop to become South Africa was founded on racial division from its inception.

The early Dutch settlers expanded north, driven by a deep belief that their God had ordained their success. The conviction that these 'Boers' (farmers), as they referred to themselves, were divinely ordained to possess the land and its peoples became the core of their determination to succeed. Indigenous Africans were merely a potential labour force, controlled through violence, threats and torture.

British imperialism also demanded access to southern Africa. Britain's clash with the devout descendants of those early Dutch settlers evolved into a vicious, full-scale war in 1899, after the discovery of diamonds in the region. The conflict lasted until 1902.

The Union of South Africa was created in 1910 and two years later, in 1912, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was formed to agitate for black African recognition and representation in the new country. SANNC became the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923 and would remain the key black organisation opposing white supremacy for the remainder of the century.

Afrikaner
the term used by the original Dutch settlers and their descendants to describe themselves

In the 1920s and 30s, the **Afrikaners**, as the Boers came to be known, sent their best and brightest young men to Germany. Here they witnessed the rising tide of Nazism, and, heavily influenced by what they had seen, they returned to South Africa determined to create '*Eie Volk, Eie Taal, Eie Land!*' This motto translated as 'Our own people, our own language, our own land!' It became the catchcry of Daniel Malan, who led the breakaway Purified National Party from 1935. The party's ideology was closely linked to Nazi theories of racial purity.

apartheid
a theory of racial separation used by South Africans to divide their society

By the 1948 general elections (where only whites were eligible to vote), the Purified National Party had joined with a breakaway nationalist wing of the United Party to become the Reunited National Party. Its election campaign was based on the concept of **apartheid** and the party's success in the 1948 election was crucial in establishing the foundation for South African history in the second half of the twentieth century.

For the next 45 years South Africa would be divided by race and ruled by repression. More than 1750 separate pieces of legislation designed to ensure unbreakable control of the country for its white minority were passed. Apartheid had arrived, and in his first speech as prime minister Malan said: 'South Africa at last belongs to us.'

In a country of 25 million blacks and 5 million whites, the minority had spoken. If apartheid was to be challenged, it would require the overturning of government, legislation and an economy that were all completely dominated by white power.

SOURCE 2 Timeline

Key events in the history of apartheid

1652

The Dutch East India Company establishes a settlement on the southern tip of Africa.

1795

The first British colonists arrive in southern Africa.

1899–1902

The British and the Boers fight the Boer War.

1910

The Union of South Africa is established.

1912

The South African Native National Congress (SANNC) is established.

1923

The SANNC becomes the African National Congress (ANC).

1948

Daniel Malan's extreme version of the National Party comes to power.

1949

The legislation to establish apartheid commences.

1952

The Defiance Against Unjust Laws campaign marks the first large-scale, multiracial political mobilisation against apartheid laws under a common leadership.

1953

The Bantu Education Act creates separate educational facilities based on race.

1955

The South African Congress Alliance outlines its Freedom Charter for South Africa.

1956

The Treason Trial of 156 people – including Nelson Mandela – begins. By 1961, all would be acquitted.

1958

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister, refining apartheid into the policy of 'separate development'.

1959

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act creates 10 Bantu homelands known as 'Bantustans'.

Grim housing in the Bantustan at Qwa Qwa

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

An armed man stands by the body of one of the 69 black South Africans killed by police at the Sharpeville Massacre.

1960

The Sharpeville Massacre leads to a state of emergency, and the banning of the ANC, the Pan African Congress and the South African Communist Party.

1961

South Africa leaves the British Commonwealth and becomes a republic.
Led by Mandela, Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation'), the military wing of the ANC, commences a policy of guerrilla sabotage in December.

1963

The Rivonia Trial of Mandela and other ANC leaders commences. The following year, Mandela and most of the other leaders are sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island with hard labour.

1966

Prime Minister Verwoerd is assassinated.

1968

The 'D'Oliveira Affair' leads to England withdrawing from a cricket tour of South Africa, after South Africa refuses entry to Basil D'Oliveira, a mixed-race player of South African descent.

1976

During the Soweto Uprising, over 100 school students are shot dead by police.

1977

Steve Biko, a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, is killed while in police custody.

1978

P.W. Botha becomes Prime Minister.

1983

South Africa's new constitution creates a Tricameral Parliament.

1985

Steven Van Zandt creates Artists United Against Apartheid to record 'Sun City', which raises both money and awareness of apartheid. The song is banned in South Africa.

1988

The 'Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute', also known as the 'Free Nelson Mandela Concert', takes place at Wembley Stadium in London. It is broadcast to a worldwide audience of 600 million, and is credited with hastening the release of Mandela from prison.

1989

F.W. de Klerk becomes President of South Africa.

1990

Unbanning of opposition organisations, and the freeing of political prisoners – including Mandela, who becomes the de facto leader of the ANC – and the dismantling of apartheid legislation commences.

1993

De Klerk and Mandela win the Nobel Peace Prize.

1994

The first-ever non-racial elections are held. Mandela is elected president, and apartheid is officially abolished.

14.2 Survey: The nature of the apartheid system in 1960

The only way that the history of South Africa in the twentieth century can be understood is through an analysis of the nature of the apartheid system. From the election of the National Party under Daniel Malan in May 1948, South African society was legally divided along racial lines. The National Party had won the election – in which only white South Africans could vote – campaigning about *swart gevaar* ('the black danger'), and using the slogans '*Die kaffirop sy plek*' ('The **kaffir** in his place') and '*Die koelies uit die land*' ('The **coolies** out of the country').

kaffir
a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to black South Africans

coolie
a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to Indians

SOURCE 3 Basic South African demographics based on census data

YEAR OF CENSUS	TOTAL POPULATION	% BLACK AFRICAN	% COLOURED	% WHITE	% ASIAN	% OTHER
1904	5 175 463	67.5	8.6	21.6	2.4	N/A
1960	16 003 139	68.3	9.4	19.3	3.0	N/A
2011	51 770 560	79.2	8.92	8.86	2.49	0.54

The numerical advantage people of colour held over the white population was huge. At the 1948 election, only about one in five South Africans could vote, and they were voting to preserve their political, economic and social superiority over their demographic inferiority. Apartheid was the system designed to perpetuate their advantage.

SOURCE 4

> Malan's platform was known as apartheid. Apartheid was a new term but an old idea. It literally means 'apartness' and it represented the codification in one oppressive system of all the laws and regulations that had kept Africans in an inferior position to whites for centuries.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 111

SOURCE 5
A common sign in Johannesburg, South Africa, in the 1950s

The apartheid system was essentially an ever-growing set of laws that separated South African society into two separate groups: white people and non-white people. The white population controlled wealth, power and education. In committing non-white people to **'separate development'**, the white population allocated them fewer resources to ensure they remained in 'their place' – serving white supremacy and power.

'separate development' the main idea behind apartheid; it argued that non-whites would develop their own societies separate from white people, interacting only when it benefited whites

life chances the opportunities each individual has to improve their life

Political issues

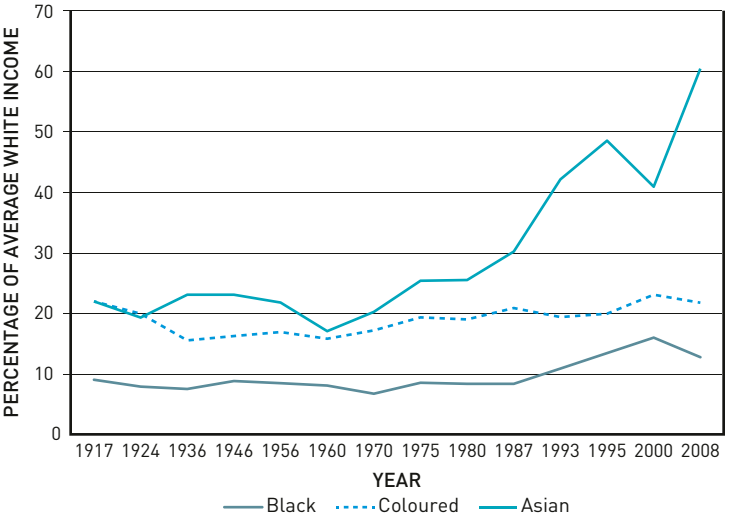
The heart of apartheid was the Population Registration Act 1950, which required the classification of all South Africans along racial lines. Your classification decided your **life chances** in a society that so rigorously embraced discrimination. If you disputed your classification, experts used a range of tests, usually based on observation of skin colour, pigment around the nails, or hair type, to establish your status. Your future could be decided by the notorious 'pencil test'. This involved white officers placing a pencil in a person's hair and asking them to shake their head. If the pencil remained in the hair, the person was classified as black.

Other legislation prohibited sexual relations between white and non-white people. By legislating to create and perpetuate racial purity, the Malan Government was drawing on the previous decade's Nazi experience in Germany. A number of South Africa's white leadership had travelled to Germany to further their education in the 1920s and 30s, drawing influence from Hitler's rise to power and racial purity theories.

Arguably the most hated of all apartheid legislation was the system of reference books, known simply as 'passes'. These were documents that had to be carried at all times by non-white South Africans, officially documenting their racial status and restricting their ability to travel freely. Frustration with these documents boiled over into a protest at Sharpeville in March 1960, which left 69 protestors dead, many of whom were shot in the back as they tried to flee armed police.

Economic issues

South Africa was a country split by economic inequality in 1960. At that time, the black population's average income level was less than 10 per cent of that of the white population. Other people of colour and Asian people earned less than 20 per cent of the white income, but still twice as much as black South Africans. French author Dominique Lapierre described South Africa at this time as a country 'that produced more steel, coal, copper, uranium, and precious woods than India and Brazil consumed, but … failed to provide millions of its children with a daily dish of corn or sweet potato'.



SOURCE 6 Income levels in South Africa as a percentage of white average income, 1917–2008

Demographic issues

As with all aspects of South African life, race dominated social issues. Prior to 1948, mixed-race relationships had been possible, but two of the first laws made after the 1948 election changed this: the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949 and the Immorality Act 1950. The rare areas where non-white and white people had interacted freely and without incident – such as Sophiatown near Johannesburg, and Cape Town's District Six – were broken up. 'Upright' white citizens were encouraged to spy on people and report transgressions. It quickly became a society based not only on race, but also fear, violence and repression.

Apartheid: ideology, policy and practice

The ideology of apartheid was very simple: racial division to maintain the supremacy of the white population of South Africa. The policy was implemented by ongoing legislation designed to maintain division and inequality.

SOURCE 7 A 1965 cartoon by John Frith

To Hendrik Verwoerd – Minister of Native Affairs from 1950, and Prime Minister from 1958 until his assassination in 1966 – apartheid was simply 'good neighbourliness'. Verwoerd said apartheid accepted that 'there were differences between people', and that separate development would work 'when you acted as good neighbours do' to each other. His cheery description ignored the death, misery and lack of opportunity for most of the population.

In practice, apartheid condemned non-white South Africans to forced removals, manual labour, little or no education in segregated and underresourced schools, and no prospect of improvement. Indeed Verwoerd, when speaking about the South African education system in 1954, argued that: 'The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open.'

The impact of apartheid on rural and urban communities

Bantustan
land set aside for native South African ethnic groups, or Bantus, under the apartheid system

In 1959, Verwoerd enacted the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act. This enshrined his idea of separate homelands, or '**Bantustans**', land that non-white South Africans were forced to relocate to. The Bantustans were in parts of the country that were of no use to white South Africa, and very little money and attention was spent on them in terms of facilities, infrastructure or education.

The reality of Bantustans was that they saw people dislocated from their families, communities and past. Movement was strictly regulated by the pass system, and previously thriving multiracial communities such as Sophiatown and District Six were destroyed. Sophiatown was rebuilt with housing for white South Africans, and renamed Triomf, which translates simply as 'Triumph'. Five-hundred-yard buffer zones were established between the poor black Bantustans and the white cities that profited from their cheap labour. These townships would continue to grow and suffer under apartheid. The appalling conditions there provided rich recruiting grounds for organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) (see Section 14.3).

SOURCE 8 A family waits for relocation from Sophiatown with their possessions, 1955.

14.2 Check your learning

1. Describe the apartheid system in your own words.
2. Explain how the demographics of South Africa impacted upon its historical development.
3. Why was the 'pass' so hated by non-white South Africans?
4. Research the career of Hendrik Verwoerd. Should he be described as the 'father of apartheid'? Explain your answer.
5. Explain why Sophiatown and District Six were threats to apartheid.

14.2 Understanding and using the sources

1. Analyse Source 3, and use the statistics to describe the history of South Africa between 1904 and 2011 in terms of continuities and changes. What would you regard as the major continuity and major change?
2. Explain how Nelson Mandela's description of apartheid in Source 4 either supports or challenges Verwoerd's description of it as 'good neighbourliness'.
3. Discuss how Source 6 could be used as evidence to help explain why there was such resistance to apartheid in South Africa during the twentieth century.
4. Because of its placement here, Source 7 appears to be making a comment about apartheid. It is actually a drawing by Australian cartoonist John Frith that appeared in the Melbourne *Herald* newspaper on 19 February 1965, commenting on the Australian Freedom Ride (a movement for civil rights of Indigenous Australians).
   a. Explain how the placement of any source can impact upon its interpretation.
   b. Discuss how this cartoon could help you understand society in both South Africa and Australia in 1965.
5. Create your own caption for Source 8, and describe what is happening in the photo.

14.2 PROFILE

SOURCE 9 Sandra Laing with her husband, Johannes Motloung, at a screening of the film *Skin* in 2008

SANDRA LAING (b. 1955)

Sandra Laing was born to white parents in the town of Piet Retief in 1955. Her black curly hair and dark skin made her look different, but she was brought up as a white child in a white family. Laing's childhood was that of a typical white child in 1950s South Africa, until she started attending an all-white school. Here she was teased by fellow students and their parents, who suspected that Laing's mother had committed one of the greatest crimes that a white woman could commit under apartheid: having an affair with a black man. It was later proven to be untrue, but following complaints to the principal that Sandra was too dark, the principal notified the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs. As this was before the invention of DNA testing and there was no knowledge of the phenomenon of dormant genes, Laing's family could offer no evidence to explain why their daughter looked different from them.

Officers visited Laing at school, and withdrew her from class. Confused by her skin colour and family background, they conducted a 'pencil test' to decide her classification. The pencil remained in her curly hair, and in that instant, Laing's life was changed forever.

Laing's parents fought for her to be recognised as their white child, but the courts refused to overturn the results of the pencil test. Ultimately, Laing was forced to attend a school 900 kilometres from her home. By the time the law had been changed to allow a child of two white parents to be recognised as white, Laing had eloped with a black man, which led to her father disowning her. She also lost contact with her mother, whom she did not reunite with until 2000, shortly before her mother's death.

Purely because of her skin colour, Sandra Laing was denied participation in society at the same level as her parents and brothers, and was largely condemned to a life of poverty. Her story was told in the book *When She was White, The True Story of a Family Divided by Race* (2007) and depicted in the movie *Skin* (2008).

14.2 PROFILE TASKS

1. Research Sandra Laing's story and create a timeline that outlines the main events in her life.
2. Explain how apartheid impacted upon Laing's life.
3. Conduct the pencil test on your own hair. How would you have been classified in apartheid-era South Africa?

14.3 National resistance to apartheid

The premise of apartheid, from a white South African perspective, was that it was the only system that would prevent the non-white population from asserting their numerical superiority. It was designed from its inception to suppress resistance, and if the law failed, an armed police force was willing to use violence to ensure compliance. To resist apartheid in South Africa between 1948 and 1990 was to invite imprisonment, torture and even death.

The ANC (African National Congress) was formed in Bloemfontein in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress. Even its original title indicated the position of subservience non-white people had been relegated to after the union of South Africa in 1910. The creation of an organisation working for the rights of non-whites saw British and Afrikaner descendants combine in a political union to guarantee continued white supremacy. The ANC, as it became in 1923, aimed to defend and advance African civil rights under the existing white government. Some Africans felt that the ANC's focus on attaining civil rights was too passive, and in 1959 the PAC (Pan African Congress) was formed as a more radical offshoot of the ANC.

The election of the Malan National Party Government in 1948 enshrined white supremacy after the formal adoption of the apartheid policy. Ironically, this occurred as the post–Second World War move towards decolonisation and human rights gathered pace in the world beyond South Africa's borders. Indeed, 1948 saw the world adopt the International Court of Justice and International Declaration of Human Rights, while South Africa developed a system to deny the majority of its population these very rights.

The growth and impact of the ANC and the PAC

The ANC had championed non-violent opposition to racism from its inception in 1912. Its members saw their future as citizens in a united South Africa, and hoped that the global move towards decolonisation that helped define the post–Second World War world would impact on the South African Government. The election of 1948 dashed those hopes.

A new, more radical direction for the ANC first emerged in 1944 when Anton Lembede became the president of the ANC Youth League. Under Lembede, the ANC moved towards a manifesto rooted in African nationalism and direct action. His premature death in 1947 saw the emergence of three key figures in the Youth League, who would influence not only the ANC, but also the course of South African history: Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu.

The more activist approach of the new leadership was displayed when the ANC organised an official strike for 26 June 1950 as a protest against the Malan Government's move to ban the Communist Party. Any official action like a strike had serious consequences in apartheid South Africa.

SOURCE 10

> Mass action was perilous in South Africa, where it was a criminal offence to strike, and where the rights of free speech and movement were unmercifully curtailed. By striking, an African worker stood to not only lose his job but his entire livelihood and the right to stay in the area he was living.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 118

Mandela described the strike as a 'moderate success', and it did serve to show the Malan Government that attempts to impose restrictions would be met with resistance.

SOURCE 11 On Freedom Day 1952, ANC supporters protested against apartheid by breaking the night curfew that had been imposed upon them.

The date of 26 June became known as Freedom Day during the African struggle for freedom, up until 1994 (when Freedom Day was changed to 27 April to commemorate the first-ever **non-racial** elections in South Africa).

non-racial
an election or society where race does not impact on participation or opportunity

One challenge for the ANC throughout the 1950s was its domination by a largely urban leadership. Much of the thought and action were directed towards the large urban areas such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria. One advocate for the rural black population was Govan Mbeki. In 1964 he published *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt*, which detailed the significant actions of rural Africans during the 1950s in their campaign against the apartheid government. These included the armed refusal of Witzieshoek peasants to comply with cattle culling in 1950, the refusal of Bafarutshe women to carry passes in 1957, the Sekhukhuneland uprising, and the Pondoland revolt. These actions all showed that despite restrictions on news, non-white South Africans in rural as well as urban areas continued to resist apartheid. From 1954 until its banning in 1962, Mbeki was on the editorial board of the *New Age* newspaper. In 1964, he became one of the ANC members jailed for life on Robben Island, the notorious prison in Cape Town harbour.

For most of the 1950s the ANC was led by Albert Luthuli, who attempted to steer the organisation in a traditional liberal democratic direction. The government's response to his leadership was a series of bans, restricting Luthuli's right to travel. He presided over the introduction of the Freedom Charter in 1955, which produced a series of demands that would be the bedrock of non-white action for the duration of the apartheid government. The Charter Movement created an alliance between major non-white groups, the Federation of South African Women and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Luthuli's activism saw him become the first African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960.

Cold War
the ideological conflict that centred on the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union after the Second World War; it was characterised by threats and propaganda, but not direct conflict – military engagements were largely fought through proxy nations

By the 1960s, the ANC was attempting to provide leadership of a competing range of opposition organisations that differed in strategies, tactics and outcomes. In 1959 one group of dissenters left the ANC to form the PAC under the leadership of Robert Sobukwe. The PAC's anti-Communist stance during the **Cold War** and its **pan-African** message found international support at a time when much of Africa was moving towards a post-colonial future. Its leadership moved towards a more confrontational approach to the government.

pan-African
the idea that all Africans can unite because of their commonalities (shared features or attributes)

The formation of the PAC and the realisation that the Verwoerd Government was determined to continue its adherence to legislation and violence to enforce apartheid created the circumstances for the ANC to move its own struggle forward. The younger, more aggressive leaders, such as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu, argued that, particularly after the crushing of protests at Sharpeville and Langa in 1960, the ANC needed a military wing. On 16 December 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation') was launched as an armed wing of the ANC. It would move resistance to apartheid into a new phase.

SOURCE 12 Robben Island, the notorious prison that held many ANC members

The significance of the Sharpeville Massacre

A decade of rigid control under the apartheid regime had placed pressure on opposition groups. The formation of the PAC in 1959 saw this group portray themselves as a more active and radical alternative to the ANC. At the same time, the ANC leaders who had emerged from the party's youth wing – such as Mandela, Tambo and Sisulu – were also pressing for more direct action.

The pass laws provided the ideal setting for a campaign that would enable the organisers to claim success and loyalty for the changes they hoped were around the corner. Both the PAC and the ANC planned direct action against the pass laws in 1960. The two groups found themselves in competition for support, and the PAC decided to act quickly.

The PAC campaign resolved on the tactic of having thousands of male Africans present themselves at police stations across the country. They would offer themselves for arrest for not carrying their passes, refuse to pay fines, and effectively clog the judicial system and jails. This action, the organisers thought, would mark the PAC as the organisation most likely to bring change, and be the first step in a campaign the PAC stated would bring 'independence' in South Africa by 1963. The day chosen for this action was 21 March 1960.

However, a desire to pre-empt ANC action had led to rushed organisation and a smaller-than-hoped-for number of protestors. Sobukwe led a group of about 100 to the police station in Orlando, where they were told to wait. The whole initiative may have remained a small footnote in the South African struggle had it not been for Sharpeville – a black township that had been created in the 1930s and 40s to move Africans away from the industrial city of Vereeniging.

Thousands of Sharpeville residents joined the pass law protest on 21 March 1960. There is some evidence to suggest that PAC activists threatened people to make them participate. The assembly marched to the police station chanting slogans such as '*Izwe lethu*' ('Our land'), '*Awaphele amapasti*' ('Down with passes') and '*Sobukwe sikhokhele*' ('Lead us Sobukwe'). As the police refused to arrest people on the grounds that their cells were too small to accommodate them all, reinforcements arrived. Academic and Nelson Mandela biographer Tom Lodge wrote that: 'By 1pm … there were about 400 policemen: 200 were white and armed with guns and about 200 black, equipped with knobkerries (clubs).'

About 1.15 p.m., there was a small scuffle near the police station, and as the crowd moved forward to see what was happening, the fence surrounding the police station started to give way. In the confusion, police started firing, using pistols, rifles and machine-guns. A total of 1344 rounds of ammunition were discharged into the crowd, who at first believed the police were firing blanks. As the reality became clear, the crowd turned to run. Most of those killed were shot in the back as they tried to flee.

When what occurred at Sharpeville was investigated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996, all evidence suggested that the crowd was peaceful and unarmed. White journalists who had arrived to cover the protest corroborated these accounts. The white armed police were Afrikaner, and were used to immediate compliance with any order when dealing with non-white people. Their reaction to a group of Africans disobeying orders were to have tragic consequences. Where eyewitnesses saw a peaceful, even celebratory crowd, white police officers saw threats and enemies. This was the reality apartheid had created.

After the volleys of firing ceased, police emerged to inspect the bodies. Evidence suggested that the police placed stones and knives in the hands of victims to help build their argument that they acted in self-defence. There were claims made after the end of apartheid that police killed some of those they found lying injured, and mutilated other bodies. Film footage suggests the police gave no help to the wounded.

The official records from Sharpeville show that 69 people were killed and 180 people were seriously wounded. In 1999, former police and medical officers stated that up to two dozen bodies had been removed for secret burial because their badly disfigured bodies were evidence that the police had used exploding bullets known as 'dum-dums'. Thus, the complete toll of the carnage at Sharpeville may never be known.

More deaths followed at the Cape Town township of Langa later that day. As the news of what had occurred at Sharpeville spread, crowds were told to disperse. Protestors at the Langa Flats bus terminus were given three minutes to disperse. When they re-formed, police charged them, leaving three dead and 26 injured.

SOURCE 13 Testimony from eyewitness Carlton Monnakgotla

> I stood frozen, couldn't believe what was happening. Then I saw the bodies and people fleeing. Right in front of me a pregnant woman was shot. Her unborn baby fell out of her stomach and the next bullet got her. Horrible.
>
> Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, 2011, p. 12

SOURCE 14 Testimony from eyewitness Ruben Rapoetsoe

> [W]hen I passed the police station again I heard officers shouting: 'Where is your land now, kaffirs? Where is your land now?' Oh, I forgot one thing. During the shooting, there was a man who, despite the bullets, ran straight towards the police station, shouting: 'It's enough, you've shot enough!' He was shot moments later.
>
> Tom Lodge, *Sharpeville: An Apartheid Massacre and its Consequences*, 2011, p. 13

SOURCE 15 Police inspect bodies at Sharpeville, 21 March 1960.

The repercussions of Sharpeville were profound. For the South African Government it confirmed the necessity of even harsher implementation of apartheid. It revealed the precarious nature of the white stranglehold on power. If there was any letting up in the armed suppression of non-white peoples, they reasoned, the numerical superiority of non-whites would overwhelm the white population. On 30 March 1960 the government declared a state of emergency, detaining more than 18 000 people. Robert Sobukwe was imprisoned on Robben Island, where he was to be kept until 1969. These initiatives were followed by the banning of the ANC, PAC and South African Communist Party. Such actions reveal the simple philosophy of the government that apartheid could be maintained by banning any opposition and violently suppressing attempts to challenge the law.

SOURCE 16 PAC leader Robert Sobukwe in his prison cell on Robben Island, where he was held from 1960 until 1969, after which he was kept under virtual house arrest.

SOURCE 17
A demonstration against apartheid at Trafalgar Square, London, in 1960, calls for boycotts against South Africa – the raising of international awareness of the realities of apartheid began with Sharpeville.

For the non-white population, Sharpeville confirmed what they already knew: that the white government would not concede power without a fight. Thus armed resistance rather than any attempt to negotiate a settlement became the preferred route to bring about change. The ANC had formed Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC had formed Poqo, military wings that would move resistance to apartheid onto a new level. The banning of these organisations by the Verwoerd Government forced them underground, but resistance was to become more violent as the government tightened its grip on security.

The raising of international awareness of the realities of apartheid also began with Sharpeville, and this would become increasingly significant over the next 30 years.

The symbolic significance of Sharpeville to the resistance to apartheid was shown when Mandela signed the South African Constitution there on 10 December 1996, and opened the Sharpeville Memorial that honours the victims of 21 March 1960. The date of 21 March is now celebrated as Human Rights Day in South Africa.

14.3a Check your learning

1. Identify the white and non-white perspectives on apartheid.
2. Identify why 1948 was such a significant year in South African history.
3. Write a brief description of the origin and growth of the ANC and the PAC, including their military wings.
4. Create a table that shows the implications of Sharpeville for both white and non-white South Africans.

14.3a Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 10 helps you understand the difficulties non-white people faced in opposing apartheid.
2. Examine Sources 13–15, and discuss their validity. How could they be used as evidence of what occurred at Sharpeville on 21 March 1960? What conclusions can you draw from these sources about the events in Sharpeville?
3. Outline why Robert Sobukwe is in the situation shown in Source 16.

Nelson Mandela and Umkhonto we Sizwe

Sharpeville became a line in the sand for those forces opposed to apartheid. Dr Percy Yutar, the white attorney who was the Transvaal prosecutor during the Rivonia Trial against ANC members in 1964, claimed that once banning had pushed resistance underground, the ANC was using sabotage and mass uprising as a precursor to an armed invasion. This claim encapsulated all the paranoia of the Verwoerd Government. Yutar argued that it was Umkhonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation', commonly known as 'MK') that was the engine behind this plan to ultimately bring apartheid in South Africa to a violent end.

When speaking to journalists in a safe house in 1960, Mandela explained that the non-violent approach had been met with bullets. He argued that there was now a need to reconsider tactics. Non-violence had been integral to the ANC's opposition to apartheid since its inception, and the decision to create a military wing was not taken lightly. After much discussion, it was decided that the MK was to operate at arm's length from the ANC to protect ANC members from prosecution. MK was to be led by Mandela and Joe Slovo, a member of the South African Communist Party.

The MK commenced its sabotage campaign in December 1961. The initial aim was to show that there was a clear break with the previous 50 years of non-violent protest. Electricity pylons and pass offices were targeted in actions designed to show the potential for future chaos rather than cause major dislocation. Attacks were carried out at night so as to avoid injuring people. The high command of MK, including Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, based itself at Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, as they planned their sabotage attacks. It was here that members of the high command were captured on 11 July 1963.

Only a month before the arrest, Slovo had managed to leave the country to meet up with Oliver Tambo, who had been sent on a 'mission in exile' in the immediate aftermath of Sharpeville, to establish support for the ANC internationally.

SOURCE 18 Lilliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, near Johannesburg, was the secret hideaway of the MK leadership, who were captured there in 1963.

Rivonia Trial

Mandela had been arrested in an operation in Durban in 1962 and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Pretoria. More than 50 years later, in 2016, a former CIA agent, Donald Rickard, revealed that he had informed the South African Government of Mandela's location because of the United States' fear that Mandela was a 'dangerous Communist'. Despite already being in prision when the Lilliesleaf Farm raid occurred, Mandela was added to the list of accused when the occupants of Lilliesleaf were brought to trial. The charge was sabotage rather than high treason, but despite the lesser charge, the South African Government declared it was seeking the death penalty.

The trial attracted widespread international attention when it began on 9 October 1963. The government was forced to rearrest those charged when the judge quashed the original indictment, which had included basic errors such as accusing Mandela of actions that had taken place while he was imprisoned in Pretoria. Charges against one of the 11 defendants, Bob Wolpe, were withdrawn. Wolpe was expected to testify against the others, but fled overseas. The remaining 10 defendants reappeared in court in December, where they all pleaded not guilty.

What became known as the Rivonia Trial became a watershed in the South African resistance. The ANC militants decided that, if they were to be hanged, they would use the trial as their opportunity to speak to the watching world. As the most high-profile accused, Mandela had the responsibility of speaking first.

SOURCE 19 Nelson Mandela on preparing his Rivonia statement

> I spent about a fortnight drafting my address … I felt we were likely to hang no matter what we said, so we might as well say what we truly believed. The atmosphere at the time was extremely grim, with newspapers routinely speculating that we would receive the death sentence.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 362

Mandela's speech, known as 'I am prepared to die', has become accepted as one of the great speeches of the twentieth century. He detailed his involvement in the resistance to apartheid, and his reasons for it. He challenged the South African Government's right to sit in judgment on him and his co-accused, and called for equality in South Africa. His final statement, at the end of his four-hour speech, summarised on a personal level the African resistance to apartheid.

SOURCE 20 Nelson Mandela's concluding statement

> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, p. 368

SOURCE 21
ANC supporters pray outside the courtroom during the Rivonia Trial.

Two of the 10 accused, Lionel Bernstein and James Cantor, were acquitted. Despite the government's demands for the death sentence, the presiding judge, Quartas de Wet, decided on life imprisonment for the remaining eight. As the only white defendant, Denis Goldberg was sent to prison in Pretoria. Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni were all sent to Robben Island. All of those convicted lived long enough to see the first non-racial South African elections on 27 April 1994.

The aftermath of the Rivonia Trial

The immediate effect of the Rivonia Trial was the removal of the leading figures of the MK and the ANC. But preparations had been made to deal with such an eventuality. Immediately after Sharpeville, Oliver Tambo had fled the country, and by 1962 he was formally the head of the ANC's diplomatic mission, addressing meetings and driving international support for the struggle. External bases were established in African countries such as Zambia (1964), Botswana (1966), Lesotho (1966) and Swaziland (1968), as well as Mozambique and Angola when they became independent countries in 1975. From 1965, Tanzania provided both the administrative (Morogoro) and military (Kongwa) headquarters for the ANC.

The resistance also continued within South Africa. In 1968 the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) was created, followed by the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972. This period also saw the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement, matched by increased government suppression.

But Rivonia had further brought apartheid policies to international attention, and by 1966 the United Nations had commenced conferences seeking solutions to apartheid, and implemented **sanctions** on South Africa. International sporting organisations also moved to ban South African teams that were selected on racial grounds from participating in events. South Africa was excluded from the Olympic Games between 1964 and 1988, and from football's World Cup across the same period. By the 1970s, the major South African sports of cricket and rugby were also included, and the country was effectively excluded from all international sports competition.

sanctions threatened penalties for a person or country breaking a rule or agreed course of action

SOURCE 22 Alistair Cook of England (left) and Hashim Amla of South Africa pose with the Basil D'Oliveira Trophy in 2015. This trophy is awarded to the team that wins a Test series between the two nations. In 1968, South Africa had refused to accept D'Oliveira, a mixed-race player of South African descent, as a member of the English Cricket Team. This led to England withdrawing from a cricket tour of South Africa, and to further boycotts of South African sport.

14.3 PROFILE

SOURCE 23 Nelson Mandela (second from right) joins with fellow Robben Island prisoners on 11 February 1994 to visit the lime quarry where they worked.

NELSON MANDELA (1918–2013)

Nelson Mandela was born Rolihlahla Mandela in 1918, and given the Christian name Nelson by his primary school teacher, as was common practice at the time. He became increasingly politicised while studying for his BA, and in 1944 joined the ANC, helping to establish its youth wing. In 1952 he established South Africa's first black law firm with Oliver Tambo. By the end of that year, Mandela was **banned** for the first time as apartheid policies increased the suppression of non-white people. Arrested at the end of 1955, he was one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial, but was aquitted in 1961. Following the formation of the paramilitary MK and a new phase of the struggle against apartheid, Mandela spent a great part of 1962 illegally travelling overseas to seek support for the anti-apartheid movement, and also receiving training in guerrilla tactics.

banning restricting a person's right to freely communicate or mix with other people; banning was an important tool in the South African Government's suppression of those opposed to its policy of apartheid

Although he was already a prominent figure within the resistance, it was Mandela's speech at the Rivonia Trial in 1963 that elevated him to a position of great influence in South Africa and globally. Following his conviction, his imprisonment on Robben Island inspired increased resistance to apartheid, both within South Africa and abroad.

From the mid-1980s the South African Government tried to negotiate a release with Mandela, who refused to renounce violence or compromise his beliefs for freedom. By this stage he had emerged as the symbolic leader of non-white South Africa, holding a moral authority the white government lacked.

When Mandela was finally freed on 11 February 1990, he faced his arguably greatest challenge yet. Although progress had been made during his imprisonment, South Africa was not yet a unified country.

On 4 May 1990, the Groote Schuur Minute was signed – an agreement committing the ANC and the South African Government, under F.W. De Klerk, to a peaceful process of negotiation. In September 1991 Mandela signed the National Peace Accord on behalf of the ANC, which also brought the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party into an agreement to end violence. But by June 1992, violence was increasing within South Africa and Mandela withdrew the ANC from negotiations with the government.

The bulk of non-white negotiation with the government fell to Mandela, although 1992 and 1993 saw challenges to his control. His calls for peace were booed on occasion as pressure intensified through clashes with competing groups such as the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In 1993 Mandela and de Klerk were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, as they negotiated their way towards a date for the first multiracial election. The election took place on 27 April 1994. The ANC received 62 per cent of the vote, and Mandela expressed his relief that the party had failed to gain the two-thirds majority which would have enabled it to rewrite the Constitution without opposition. Instead, a government of national unity was formed, and on 9 May the Constituent Assembly elected Mandela President. Until his retirement in 1999 he used his diplomatic skills to negotiate a path of reconciliation rather than revenge to help prepare a united South Africa for its place in the twenty-first century.

14.3 PROFILE TASKS

1 Explain why you think Mandela was able to retain his influence during his imprisonment.
2 Discuss what you think Mandela's greatest achievements were after his release from prison.

Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

The imprisonment of the Rivonia Trial defendants removed some of the most popular and active anti-apartheid leaders, creating a leadership vacuum. This vacuum gave rise to the Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The essence of Black Consciousness was young, disenfranchised black South Africans, determined to overthrow apartheid, and drawing pride in their identity and culture. It drew its strength from the formation of the South African Student Organisation, SASO, which was formed by Steve Biko in 1968. Simultaneously, black trade unions were also forming and growing in defiance, despite ongoing repression.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 had emerged as a major battleground for Black Consciousness in the 1970s. The education of black South Africans was designed as a tool of repression. It was chronically underfunded and had a ratio of one teacher to 58 students by 1967. In 1974 the Minister for Education ordered that 50 per cent of subjects had to be delivered in Afrikaans, the language of the white oppressor. This created even greater tensions that would eventually explode in the township of Soweto on 16 June 1976.

On this day, school students began a peaceful march to protest the imposition of Afrikaans. When confronted by police, the students sang songs of protest, and the police responded by opening fire. This was followed by an orgy of violence as armed police fired at will from armoured vehicles. The image of a dying 13-year-old student, Hector Pieterson, being carried from the conflict by fellow student Mbuyisa Makhubu and accompanied by Pieterson's sister Antoinette, became one of the defining images of apartheid South Africa. Over 100 students died in the ensuing days of violence, as the white South African Government won its 'war' against protesting school children, but lost any remaining shreds of moral authority.

SOURCE 24 Antoinette Sithole, sister of Hector Pieterson, stands next to the iconic image taken by Sam Nzima, at the Hector Pieterson Memorial in Soweto.

security police the police force operated by the South African Bureau for State Security from 1969 to 1980; it was used to repress the aspirations of the non-white population

International condemnation of South Africa was swift, and within the country Black Consciousness became the next target for government repression. The leader of the movement was the charismatic Steve Biko. An intelligent and articulate speaker, Biko demolished apartheid arguments with wit and logic. Apartheid apologists found him impossible to deal with, and responded by banning him.

On 17 August 1977, Biko was arrested and taken to Walmer Police Station in Port Elizabeth. He was kept stripped and manacled for 20 days before being transferred to the **security police** in Port Elizabeth. During a beating between 6 and 7 September, Biko suffered a brain haemorrhage, but under instructions from the security police, doctors ruled that he did not require treatment. On 11 September, the police decided to drive an unconscious Biko 700 kilometres to Pretoria on the floor of a Land Rover. He died in custody the following day. The Minister for Justice, Jimmy Kruger, announced that Biko had died of a hunger strike, but the truth quickly emerged. The government continued to deny the reality of Biko's torture and death, and it was not until the post–apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission that the truth was finally conceded.

SOURCE 25 The body of Steve Biko at his funeral, which became another demonstration against the government

While the murder of Biko removed the one leader capable of uniting competing black groups until the release of Mandela over a decade later, it guaranteed further unrest, protest and underground movements against the government.

14.3b Check your learning

1. Explain the significance of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for the resistance to apartheid.
2. Outline the significance of the Rivonia Trial in the struggle to resist apartheid.
3. Research the student uprising in Soweto in 1976. Why could it be argued that this was a turning point in the resistance to apartheid? To what extent did the Black Consciousness Movement influence the Soweto Uprising?
4. Prepare a biographical report on the life and death of Steve Biko.

14.3b Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Sources 19 and 20 help you understand the significance of the Rivonia Trial in the struggle against apartheid.
2. Research the career of Basil D'Oliveira, and discuss why his name was an appropriate choice for the trophy shown in Source 22.
3. Examine Source 24 and explain the context that led to the photograph of Hector Pieterson being taken. How influential do you think that image was in the struggle against apartheid?
4. Discuss why a public showing of Steve Biko's body at his funeral, as shown in Source 25, would be a significant historical moment.

14.4 Repression and control by South African governments

One approach to examining the history of South Africa would be to simply examine government legislation passed between 1948 and 1990. The white government's control of the country rested on two things: repressive legislation that controlled the movement and opportunities of the non-white population, and a well-resourced security police force that had permission to use any force necessary to enforce that legislation.

From its formal inception after the 1948 election, apartheid sowed the seeds of its own demise. By creating a racial elite, it narrowed its economic base. South Africa relied on cheap labour to mine and export its mineral wealth, while maintaining a small privileged class who had the access and wealth to consume its imported consumer goods. This created such inequality that long-term economic stability was always going to be compromised.

The nature, impact and significance of tactics of repression and oppression

As the incidents in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 showed, repression could quickly turn to a violent and deadly suppression of dissent. The banning of individuals and organisations, and the Rivonia Trial, showed another side of repression. The example of Steve Biko's torture and death in police custody revealed yet another approach. In all approaches the South African Government relied upon its security police to repress the aspirations of the non-white population.

The formal approach to repression taken by the South African Government can be summarised in the following table.

SOURCE 26 The formal approach to repression taken by the South African Government

EXAMPLE OF FORMAL REPRESSION	EXAMPLE OF APPLICATION
Legislation	The Public Safety Act of 1953, which gave the government power to declare a state of emergency
Detention without trial	From 1960, more than 75 000 people were detained without trial
Banning of individuals	The arrest, torture and killing of Steve Biko in 1977 for breaking a banning order
Political trials	The Rivonia Trial of 1963–64 25 000 people in 1985 being charged with 'unrest'
Political executions	The execution of Notemba Bozwana in 1964 for sabotage
Control of passports	The government regularly refusing applications from non-white people for passports to allow them to travel overseas; examples include Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo
Banning of organisations	South African Communist Party (since 1950), ANC (since 1960), PAC (since 1960), Congress of South African Students (since 1985)
Repression of gatherings	Formal ban on all outdoor political meetings since 1976
Repression of publications	The banning of books and magazines at an average of 500 per year, including the *New Age* newspaper in 1962 Newspapers unable to report on 'unrest'
Repression of political activities	The banning of a broad range of campaigns calling for change

Accompanying such formal examples of repression were informal actions such as the establishment of the secretive National Management System from 1986. This group involved army generals and police chiefs in secret 'counter-revolutionary' activities. Further terror was created by vigilante groups and secret 'hit squads'. This enhanced repression in the final decade of apartheid.

The role of the South African security forces

SOURCE 27

> The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission) found the state – and in particular its security agencies and affiliated policy and strategy formulation committees and councils – to be the primary perpetrators of gross violations of human rights committed during the thirty-four years it was mandated to investigate [1960–94].
>
> Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *The Former South African Government and its Security Forces*, 1998, p. 181

Source 27 reveals one approach historians can take as they try to assess the role of the South African security police and armed forces in their repression of opposition. The Mandela Government instituted a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to inquire into the many acts of brutality and illegality committed under the apartheid regime. It was designed to allow anyone to make a complaint about past repression, and for perpetrators to come forward to admit their actions and make claims for **amnesty**. It was hoped that this would allow the new nation to move forward by drawing a line under the past.

amnesty
an official pardon for someone who has been convicted of political offences

SOURCE 28 Daantje Siebert, a former security police officer, demonstrates some torture methods used on Steve Biko during an amnesty application.

The death of Steve Biko was one of the crimes investigated by the Commission. It revealed close links between the police and politicians as high as the prime minister. Testimony was given that the politicians requested police cooperation in preventing anti-apartheid demonstrators from tarnishing the international image of South Africa. One of the outcomes of that request was the violent death of Biko in police custody. Ultimately, the Commission denied amnesty to four officers who were involved in Biko's death. The Commission found their evidence contradictory and unreliable, although it did reveal more details of Biko's treatment.

Ultimately, the South African security forces were revealed to do the government's bidding. Black members of the forces never amounted to more than token representation, and were removed from the Afrikaner decision making that politicised the forces into such effective tools of repression.

The Bantustans

From the time the first white settlers arrived in South Africa in 1652, there was an ongoing attempt to drive the Indigenous Africans from their land. Put simply, white South Africans claimed the best land the country had to offer, and forced the black population onto Bantustans (homelands) – poor land far from the white cities.

As early as the 1940s, the 60 000 inhabitants of Sophiatown in Johannesburg had been moved to dry plains 50 kilometers away to form the township that would eventually become

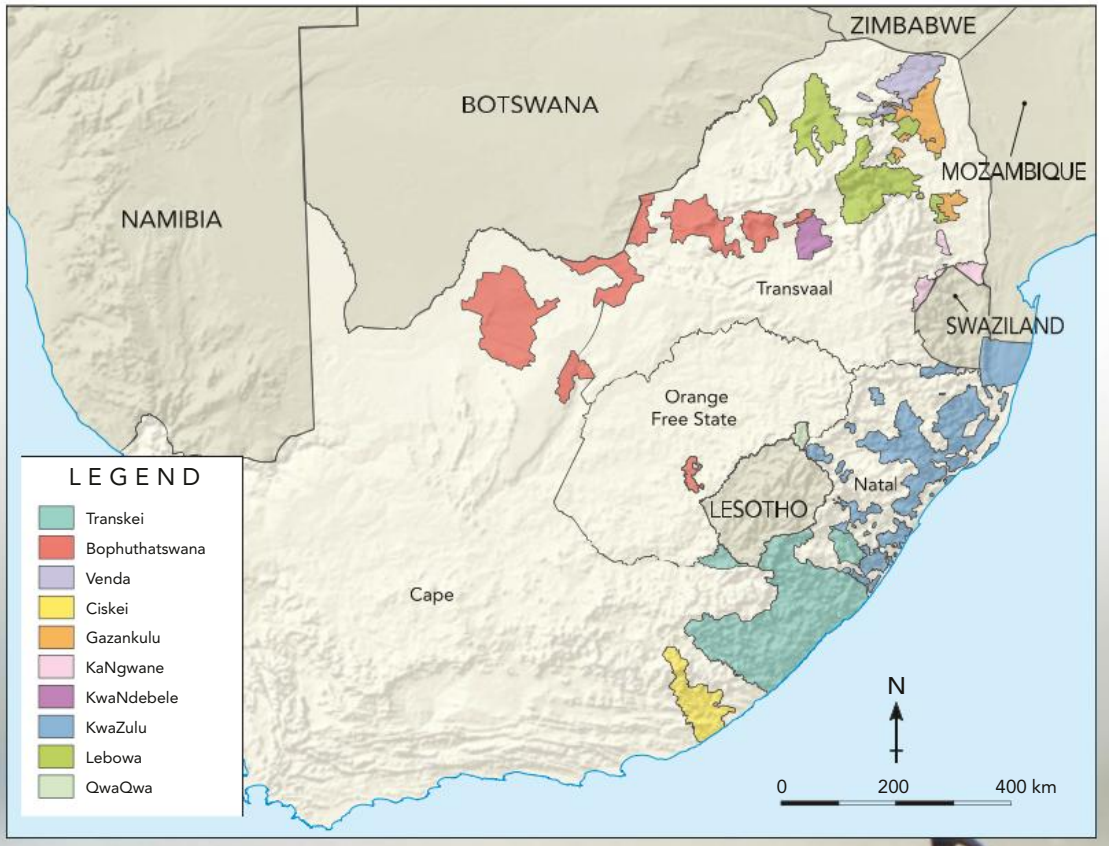
known as Soweto. Four million more followed as they were forced into 10 Bantustans, each designed for a specific ethnic group (see Source 29). It was the classic colonial tactic of divide and rule.

The legislative framework for the Bantustans was the Bantu Authority Act of 1951, which provided for the establishment of black homelands and regional authorities, with the aim of creating greater self-government. This was followed by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, which separated black people into different ethnic groups. In effect, these Acts were designed to remove as many black people as possible from the proximity of the white population.

SOURCE 29 The 10 Bantustans and their ethnic groups

BANTUSTAN	ETHNIC GROUP
Transkei	Xhosa
Bophuthatswana	Tswana
Venda	Venda
Ciskei	Xhosa
Gazankulu	Shangaan
KaNgwane	Swazi
KwaNdebele	Ndebele
KwaZulu	Zulu
Lebowa	Pedi and Northern Ndebele
QwaQwa	Basothos

THE BANTUSTANS AT THE END OF APARTHEID, 1994



SOURCE 30
The Bantustans were the territories set aside for the various Bantus, to formalise the removal of Indigenous Africans from their land.

SOURCE 31
Transkei Bantustan in 1988

Between 1976 and 1981, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were granted 'independence'. The South African Government was trying to legally separate the Bantustans from South Africa, but no nation would recognise them. They effectively became labour reservoirs for white South Africa. As the land was too poor to farm, men instead sought the opportunity to work in menial, low-paying jobs for white employers – jobs that forced them to travel far, leaving their families behind.

Relations with neighbouring African countries and international reactions to apartheid

As Africa decolonised in the 1960s and 70s, the South African Government found itself surrounded by unsympathetic black governments, which had already cast off the type of repression the previous governments had resorted to with increasing frequency. The six countries that share land borders with South Africa all claimed independence between the 1960s and the 1990s: Botswana and Lesotho in 1966; Swaziland in 1968; Mozambique in 1975; and South Africa's only regional ally Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980. Namibia was under South African control until 1990.

While apartheid built towards its most vicious phase in the 1980s, as an increasingly desperate government tried to cling to power, international pressure for change mounted. Zimbabwe and Mozambique had fought bitter wars for the control of their countries, and together with the former British colonies of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, which combined to become Tanzania in 1964, provided material support and access for anti-apartheid activists, who fled from South Africa to mount **guerrilla** campaigns across their borders.

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

But international borders were no obstacle to the South African security police if neighbouring countries were thought to be harbouring active ANC members. Incursions into foreign territory became a regular aspect of South African military activity.

SOURCE 32 Nelson Mandela on South African military incursions

> In 1981, the South African Defense Force launched a raid on ANC offices in Maputo, Mozambique, killing thirteen of our people, including women and children. In December 1982 … the South African military again attacked an ANC outpost in Maseru, Lesotho, killing forty-two people, including a dozen women and children.
>
> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom*, 2013 edition, pp. 517–8

The United Nations had ruled that apartheid was based on racial discrimination as early as the 1950s, but its first official call for South Africa to abandon apartheid came in the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. This was followed by attempts at sanctions from 1963 onwards. In 1968, the General Assembly of the United Nations requested all states and organisations 'to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid'. A voluntary United Nations embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa became mandatory in 1977. At this time, a movement in the United States for **disinvestment** in South Africa gained momentum. American companies in South Africa were pressured to either treat workers with equality or close down. Calls to boycott companies that had any financial interest in South Africa had a major impact in the United States, and the pressure resulted in Congress passing the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in 1986, despite a presidential veto from President Ronald Reagan. During 1988,

disinvestment
where countries or companies remove their financial investment or company from a country

5.5 billion **rand** was withdrawn from South Africa, and inflation was rising up to 15 per cent a year. Action in the West was severely damaging the South African economy.

rand
the monetary unit of South Africa

International pressure on the Botha Government increased when Archbishop Desmond Tutu was awarded the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for his work within South Africa, campaigning for a non-violent solution to the country's problems. As Tutu was the first black archbishop of Cape Town, and an advocate of non-violence, the government found it difficult to launch its repressive tactics against him, and he emerged as a significant voice against apartheid in the 1980s.

Boycotts of sporting tours to the country followed, and most musicians rejected large sums of money to tour there. However, some artists, such as Queen, Rod Stewart and Elton John, accepted substantial money in 1983 and 1984 to play in Sun City, a major resort that had opened in the Bantustan of Bophuthatswana. A major campaign led by American musician Steven Van Zandt culminated in the Artists United Against Apartheid recording of the song 'Sun City' in 1985, which brought international scrutiny to this backdoor attempt to break the cultural sanctions.

Musicians and the wider public increased pressure on the South African Government with a massive concert held in London in June 1988 for Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday. This was followed later that year by 'Human Rights Now!', a worldwide tour of Amnesty International concerts – one of which was held in Zimbabwe – to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Zimbabwe. The line-up featured Bruce Springsteen and the E Street Band, Sting, Peter Gabriel, Youssou N'Dour and Tracy Chapman. These concerts reminded South African youth what their government was denying them. They also helped push the South African Government towards dismantling apartheid and freeing political prisoners, including Mandela.

SOURCE 33 The 'Human Rights Now!' Amnesty International Concert at Wembley Stadium London, 2 September 1988

14.4 Check your learning

1. Explain how repressive legislation and a strong security force aided the South African Government's repression of non-white people between 1948 and 1994.
2. Explain how one example of formal repression operated in South Africa.
3. Explain why Bantustans existed. How effective were they as a tool of repression?
4. Outline the way that international pressure helped drive change in South Africa.
5. Discuss how the decolonisation movement in Africa in the 1960s and 70s assisted the ANC.

14.4 Understanding and using the sources

1. Explain how Source 27 helps you understand the nature of repression in South Africa during apartheid. Does Source 28 challenge or corroborate Source 27?
2. Analyse Source 31 and outline what it reveals about the nature of life in the Bantustans.
3. Discuss what Source 32 reveals about the pressure of international actions contributing to destabilisation in South Africa. How does it help you understand the refusal of Mandela to leave jail before South Africa also renounced violence?
4. Research the term 'soft power'. Examine Source 33 and explain why it is an example of soft power in action.

14.5 The end of apartheid

The final days of apartheid commenced in 1989. Domestically, the government was going through a generational change. On 15 August 1989, F.W. de Klerk replaced P.W. Botha as leader of the National Party and President of South Africa. At 53, he was 20 years younger than his predecessor, and a different generation to those who had trained in Nazi Germany and perfected the apartheid policy.

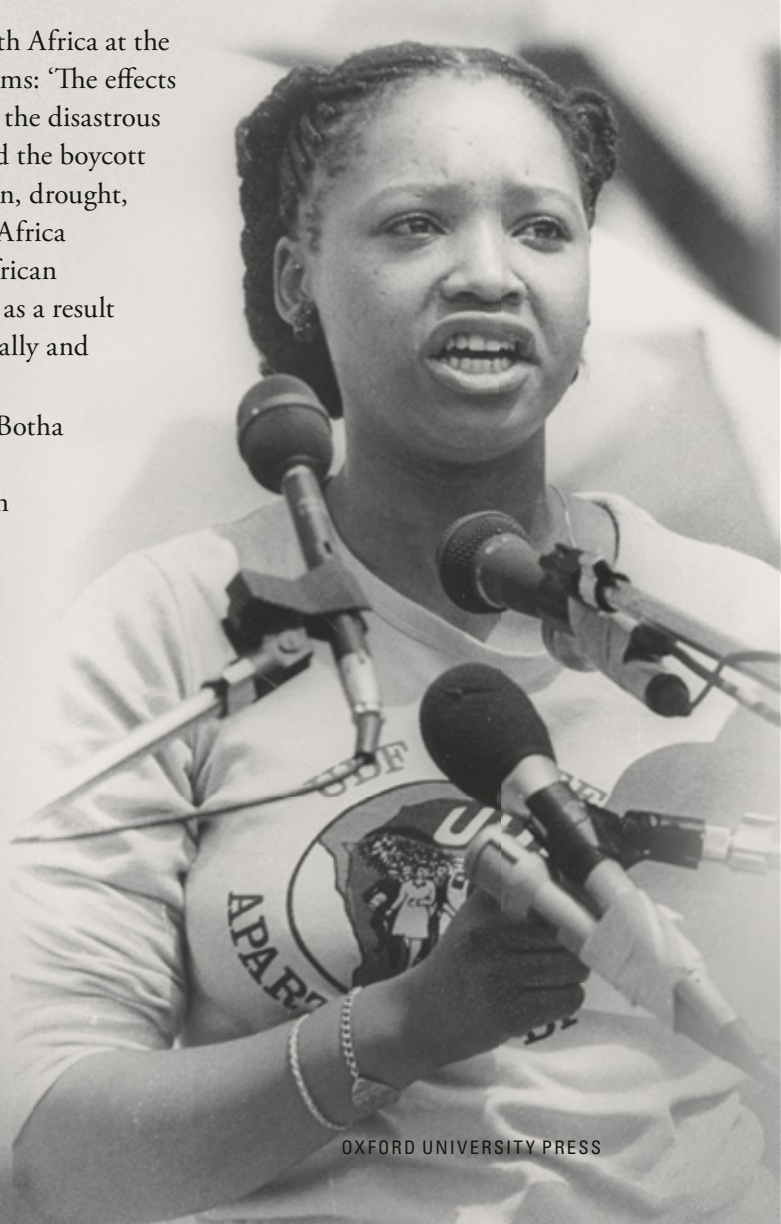
The global context in which South Africa operated in also changed dramatically in 1989. The Cold War was ending as communism collapsed spectacularly in Eastern Europe. Anti-communism had been a major ideological underpinning of apartheid and repression. The collapse of communism drained the South African Government of a major reason for its policies, as Soviet support for organisations like the ANC and the PAC also disappeared. What was left was a system that was based nakedly on racial supremacy.

The political, economic and social factors contributing to the end of apartheid

Author Dominique Lapierre described South Africa at the beginning of the 1980s in the following terms: 'The effects of the UN embargo on military purchases, the disastrous consequences of international sanctions and the boycott on South African goods, economic recession, drought, racial violence – the future of white South Africa looked grim indeed.' By 1989 the South African economy was suffering from disinvestment as a result of boycotts, and the country remained socially and politically divided along racial lines.

In 1983, after a successful referendum, Botha introduced a new constitution. Under it, a **Tricameral Parliament** gave representation to the 'Coloured' and 'Indian' population, although in reality power still resided in the whites-only house of parliament. Botha also changed his office from Prime Minister to President in 1984, hoping to secure more power to control events. Black people however remained permanently

Tricameral Parliament
a parliament with three separate chambers

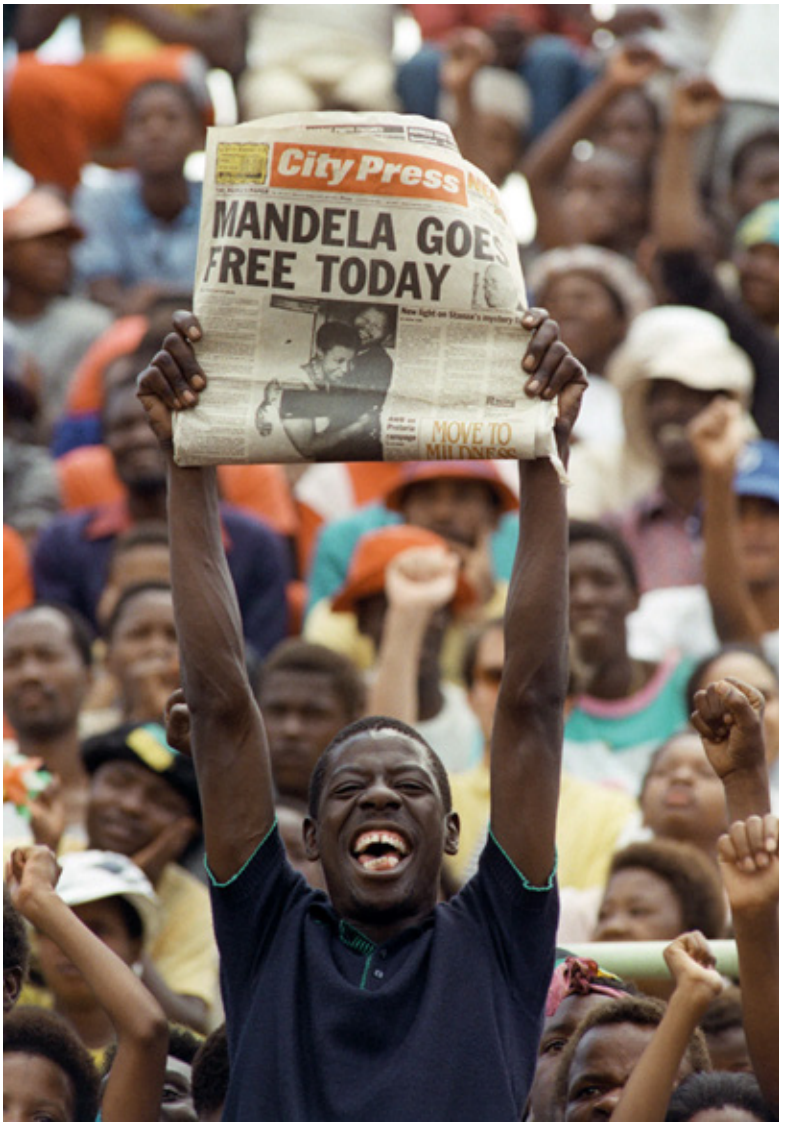


SOURCE 34 At a rally in Soweto, 1985, Zindzi Mandela, Nelson Mandela's daughter, reads a letter from her father rejecting Botha's offer of provisional release.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

excluded. Botha offered the argument that they were not South African, instead belonging exclusively to their allocated Bantustans. That had always been the intention of the Bantustans – to remove black South Africans from any claim on their land.

The black reaction to this political move was massive protest. A major non-racial coalition formed under the banner of the United Democratic Front. It brought together a wide range of groups opposed to the new constitution including churches, students and trade unionists. The government responded with a state of emergency and further repression in 1985. This became the dominant theme of the second half of the decade. Botha attempted to persuade Mandela to accept a provisional release from prison on the condition that he renounce the violence of non-white activists, hoping that would help settle an increasingly desperate situation. Mandela had been moved from Robben Island to Pollsmore Prison in Cape Town in 1982, but continued to resist Botha's overtures. Instead, Mandela sent his youngest daughter, Zindzi, to speak at a rally at Soweto in February 1985. Most South Africans had no idea what Mandela looked like, because his image had been banned in South Africa since his imprisonment. Through his daughter, he called on Botha to be the one to renounce violence, stating that the ANC had only adopted violence when there were no other forms of resistance left. This message was the reverse of the demand Botha had been insisting on as the price for Mandela's release. Botha responded by calling on white South Africa to 'mobilise against the forces of darkness that threaten to destroy the land of our fathers'.



SOURCE 35 South Africans react to the freeing of Nelson Mandela in 1990.

Botha panicked when Mandela was diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1985. Terrified of Mandela dying in jail, and the forces that would be unleashed, he arranged for Mandela to receive surgery in the elite, whites-only Volks Hospital. The same privilege was extended in 1988 when Mandela was revealed as suffering from tuberculosis. During his recovery, Mandela met with Botha. When Mandela asked for all political prisoners to be released, Botha replied that it was out of the question because 'those men are still enemies of the people God has chosen to reign over Africa'. As it had done since 1652, the Afrikaner belief in the divine right to rule continued to unleash hatred and discrimination.

The circuit breaker that the impending crisis in South Africa required occurred later in 1989 when de Klerk replaced Botha as President after Botha had suffered a stroke. De Klerk was not Botha's preferred successor. On 2 February 1990, de Klerk announced that 'the time for negotiation has arrived'. He included all South Africans in the negotiations, and followed this with the announcement that the ANC, the PAC and the Communist Party were unbanned, and that he was releasing all remaining political prisoners, including Mandela.

Problems facing the National Party and the ANC in the transition to democracy

In May 1990, a meeting occurred that seemed inconceivable only 12 months earlier: the members of the apartheid resistance met face to face with de Klerk and members of his government. The historic significance of the meeting was, as Mandela pointed out, that 'we had come to the meeting not as suppliants or petitioners, but as fellow South Africans who merited an equal place at the table'. Over three days, both sides hammered out an agenda for a peace conference.

But shortly after the meeting South Africa was plunged into yet another explosion of violence. This time, however, the perpetrators were the country's Zulu population. Their Bantustan, Kwazulu, was arguably the strongest of the 10 Bantustans established under apartheid, and the Zulu could see their future as an independent state, separate from South Africa. This kind of division among the different black ethnic groups was exactly what the originators of the apartheid policy had hoped to create. The Zulu had been forged into a powerful group by a royal chief, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. His power base was the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) he had developed and which was now unleashing a massacre of non-Zulu Africans, including Xhosa, the ethnic group of Nelson Mandela. The attacks were supported by some of the more extreme elements of white South Africa. De Klerk himself saw Buthelezi as a valuable ally against the ANC and the leadership of Mandela. In turn, Buthelezi saw de Klerk as his best chance for an independent homeland. This alliance threatened all the progress the ANC-dominated talks had promised.

On 29 January 1991, Mandela and Buthelezi met and concluded a truce between the ANC and the IFP. Both sides expressed a desire for political tolerance, and this was an arrangement that would hold, despite strains, until 2004. In a democratic South Africa, the anti-apartheid organisations had to develop effective political parties to compete for support. In a country that had been divided for so long, that presented huge challenges.

As for de Klerk, he had the right wing of his party demanding no concessions to black South Africans, while constantly being pressured for concessions by the black organisations. He decided to bring matters to a head by calling an all-white-people referendum on whether to accept the end of apartheid. He promised to resign if the election failed. It was not only the ultimate test of his leadership, but also a moment that would define the path to a democratic South Africa. On 17 March 1992, 88 per cent of white voters produced a 68.73 per cent vote in favour of ending apartheid. It was the decisive moment of the transition period.

On 3 June 1993 it was announced that 27 April 1994 would be the date for the first-ever non-racial elections in South Africa. Twenty million voters would go to the polls, and for non-white people it would be the first time in their history that they would be able to vote to choose their leaders. The IFP had decided to participate in the elections at the last minute, which strengthened its credibility.

SOURCE 36 Inkatha Freedom Fighters, 1990s

It was a massive logistical task to get people to polling booths. Non-white South Africans had only been permitted passbooks as identification. Electoral rolls had never been established before, and black South Africans had no experience at all in voting. At Sharpeville, 93-year-old Miriam Mqomboti declared, 'I never thought I would see this day.' In the Gugulethu township outside Cape Town, Desmond Tutu yelled 'Yippee!' as he dropped his ballot into a voting box. At Ohlange School in Natal, Nelson Mandela joyously announced, 'I have cast the first vote of my life!'

Mandela's ANC won an overwhelming endorsement with 62.65 per cent of the vote, winning 252 seats. The National Party under de Klerk won 20.39 per cent and 82 seats, while the IFP under Buthelezi received 10.54 per cent and 43 seats. Mandela formed a government of national unity with de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki as his vice presidents. Of the 19 parties that offered candidates, seven had candidates elected. The PAC struggled with the transition to a political party and only won five seats. The 1994 elections would be its strongest electoral performance.

SOURCE 37 'Yippee!' Archbishop Desmond Tutu votes on 27 April 1994.

Much more would be needed to achieve equality and an equal distribution of wealth, education and opportunity in the 'Rainbow Nation', as South Africa was referred to after the 1994 election. However, as 27 April had showed, at least all South Africans now had an opportunity to vote in that future. The date is now a public holiday in South Africa. It is simply called Freedom Day.

14.5 Check your learning

1. Discuss why the generational difference between P.W. Botha and F.W. de Klerk was significant.
2. Outline the global context of the fall of apartheid.
3. Explain why Botha's attempts to free Nelson Mandela failed.
4. Explain the process of disinvestment, and why it was an important contributor to the ending of apartheid.
5. Discuss the significance of South Africa's Freedom Day.

14.5 Understanding and using the sources

1. Historians have to be careful of imposing their own thoughts and values on a source. Analyse Source 35 and describe the emotion that it reveals. What problems could a source like this present to historians?
2. Devise an alternative caption that conveys the significance and meaning of Source 37.

CONCLUSION

The title of Nelson Mandela's autobiography is *Long Walk To Freedom*. He had started work on it while imprisoned on Robben Island. There was all likelihood that it would be his epitaph, yet he was able to survive his imprisonment and become the first freely elected president of his country. The title captured Mandela's experience, but it was also the experience of South Africa. It was 342 years between the arrival of the first Dutch settlers in 1652 and the first free elections in the country.

Throughout that time, black South Africans were deprived of life, freedom, opportunity and dignity solely on the basis of their race. They were deprived by a group of people who believed God had given them the right to impose their will on the majority of the population. Complicit in that repression were many of the descendants of a wave of British imperialism. Of course, not all white people were evil; nor were all black people innocent. The policy of apartheid was, however, a deliberate and systematic attack on the rights and freedoms of all non-white people in South Africa. It institutionalised brutality, repression and violence, and denied the majority of the population access to decent education, housing or employment. Further, through the policy of removal, it denied black South Africans access to their homes.

The twentieth-century resistance to apartheid is a remarkable testimony to human beings' willingness to fight for freedom against all odds. Desmond Tutu shouted 'Yippee!' on 27 April 1994 as he voted for the first time in his life. He spoke for oppressed peoples everywhere. That South Africa was able to cast off that oppression and move forward into the twenty-first century as the Rainbow Nation reveals that the desire for freedom and justice is truly a key feature of modern history.

SOURCE 38
Headliners from the 'Human Rights Now!' tour of 1988 sing together in Los Angeles: Peter Gabriel, Tracy Chapman, Youssou N'Dour, Sting, Joan Baez and Bruce Springsteen.

FOR THE TEACHER

Check your obook assess for the following additional resources for this chapter:

Answers
Answers to each *Check your learning*, *Understanding and using the sources* and *Profile task* in this chapter

Teacher notes
Useful notes and advice for teaching this chapter, including syllabus connections and relevant weblinks

HSC practice exam
Comprehensive test to prepare students for the HSC exam

assess quiz
Interactive auto-correcting multiple-choice quiz to test student comprehension

GLOSSARY

A

Afrikaner
the term used by the original Dutch settlers and their descendants to describe themselves

Age of Reconstruction
the period of rebuilding the United States that followed the Civil War

agrarian
related to the use of farming and agriculture

aircraft carrier
a large warship with a deck from which aircraft can take off and land

alimony
funds to support a divorced or separated spouse

Allied Powers
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Axis Powers in the Second World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth and France, which were joined by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1941

Allies
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Central Powers in the First World War; they included Britain, the Commonwealth, France, Russia, the United States, Serbia and Italy

'American Century'
A term used to describe the period following the Second World War that was marked by American economic and military strength

'American Dream'
a binding idea in American society that recognises the equality of opportunity for every member of the society to succeed

amnesty
an official pardon for someone who has been convicted of political offences

amphibious operation
a type of offensive military operation using naval ships to land troops onto a hostile shore at a designated landing beach, protected by aircraft cover

anarchist
a person who advocates a lack of central authority and control

anathema
something that is hated or despised

annex
to add to a nation's territory by appropriating (taking control over) the territory of other states or nations

antisemitic
hostile to or prejudiced against Jews

apartheid
a theory of racial separation used by South Africans to divide their society

appeasement
the policy adopted by the British and French Governments of giving into Hitler's demands in order to keep the peace

arable
used for or suitable for growing crops

area bombing
a bombing strategy that targets indiscriminately across a larger area, such as a whole city

armaments
the collective term for all the weapons of war – guns, tanks, aircraft, warships etc.

arms race
an escalation of arms development by nations, seeking to ensure that each side has more powerful weapons than the other

arsenal
a collection of military weapons and equipment

artillery
large-calibre guns

Aryan
a race of northern Europeans that Nazi ideology deemed to be superior to all other races

attrition
a military strategy whereby the enemy's strength is reduced through sustained attacks and pressure

authoritarian
favouring strict obedience to authority; a term normally associated with dictatorships, where the authority of the government is not to be challenged

autocrat/autocratic
a ruler who has absolute power

Axis
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allied Powers in the Second World War

B

Balfour Declaration
a 1926 British Government declaration that gave the dominions equality within the British Commonwealth

banning
restricting a person's right to freely communicate or mix with other people; banning was an important tool in the South African Government's suppression of those opposed to its policy of apartheid

Bantustan
land set aside for native South African ethnic groups, or Bantus, under the apartheid system

Bengal
an eastern province of pre-independence India with high proportions of Hindus and Muslims, which in 1947 split into West Bengal (part of India) and East Pakistan (Bangladesh from 1971)

beriberi
disease that causes inflammation of the nerves and heart failure, ascribed to a deficiency of vitamin B1

betrothal
an arrangement where someone is promised as a marriage partner

bigamy
the act of marrying while still married to someone else

Black Gangs
groups during the Cultural Revolution that were thought to oppose Mao Zedong

Black Power
an offshoot of the Civil Rights Movement that demanded a more aggressive and confrontational approach to white superiority

Blitz
the German bombing of London and other major British cities, 1940–41

Blitzkrieg
a German word meaning 'lightning war'; it involved the coordinated use of aircraft and tanks for a rapid advance

blockade
sealing off a place to prevent people or goods arriving or leaving

boom and bust
an economic cycle where high profits and low unemployment are followed by a crash and a period of low profits and high unemployment

boycott
the withdrawal of political, trade and/or other contact with another country or organisation

brinkmanship
the practice of pushing a policy to the limits of safety before stopping

bulwark
protective barrier

bureaucracy
any group of administrators; they can be part of government or the administration of any large organisation

C

capitalist/capitalism
an economic system in which businesses and industry are run for profit by private owners, with minimal government involvement; this ideology was characteristic of Western economies, such as the United States

carrier aircraft
aircraft designed for operations from aircraft carriers

Caucasus
a mountainous region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea

Central Committee of the Communist Party
the high-level governing body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from which the inner Politburo drew its members

Central Powers
the coalition of countries in opposition to the Allies in the First World War; they included Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey

centrism
a political viewpoint that adopts a pragmatic policy of problem solving, balancing individual and community needs and aspirations

chargé d'affaires
a diplomat who heads an embassy without an official ambassador

chaste
the practice of avoiding sexual intercourse

chemical defoliant
a chemical sprayed in dense jungle areas causing leaves to fall off trees and expose potential troop movements

child endowment
an allowance paid by the government to the parent or guardian of a child

CIA
the Central Intelligence Agency, the foreign intelligence service of the US Government

Civil Construction Corps
a body established in Australia in April 1942 to supply labour for the creation of infrastructure, such as airfields, barracks and roads

cluster bomb
a type of bomb that releases smaller projectiles when it hits its target

Cold War
a state of geopolitical tension that arose after the Second World War between powers in the communist nations of the Eastern Bloc and capitalist-democratic powers in the West

collective farms
an approach to agricultural production where a number of farms are organised and managed as a joint enterprise

collectivisation
the Stalinist plan to bring all farmland under collective communist government control

collectivise
replacing wealthy individual farms with group farming and shared resources

colonialism
the policy of acquiring political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically

Comintern
the Third Communist International; an international communist organisation founded in 1919 to advocate world communism, with members representing international communist parties

commissar
head of a government department in the Soviet Union, equivalent to a government minister

common-law marriage
partners living as spouses without a formal ceremony

commune
a community that works together on common land to serve the state

communal
relating to different communities, especially those with different religious beliefs

communism/communist
a system of government, social and economic organisation that formed the ideology of the Soviet Union and involved government control for the common good

concentration camps
camps where dictatorships imprisoned political opponents; in the specific case of Nazi Germany, they were also labour and death camps for Jews and others regarded as racial inferiors

concessions
rights that are granted, often in response to demands

concubine
a secondary wife or partner

Confucius
a fifth-century BCE Chinese teacher, editor, politician and philosopher; Confucianism emphasised personal and governmental morality, correctness of social relationships, justice and sincerity

conflagration
explosive conflict

conscript/conscription
a soldier who did not volunteer for service and is serving a period in the armed forces as mandated by the government

Constituent Assembly
a short-term parliament of elected representatives tasked with writing a nation's constitution

constitution
a set of rules/principles by which a state is governed

consumerism
a focus and economic reliance on the consumption of good and services

containment
a strategy to stop the expansion of an enemy; it is best known as a Cold War foreign policy of the United States and its allies to accept the Soviets' influence in certain areas, such as Eastern Europe, and contain their influence to those regions in order to prevent the spread of communism

coolie
a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to Indians

cooperative
an economic policy where individuals work to achieve a common purpose or target; this entails collective ownership of land and resources; individual wealth and property are banned

Cossacks
an Eastern Slavic-speaking ethnic Russian group with a strong military tradition, often skilled with horses

coup d'état
takeover of an existing government by a small group, using violence or military force

cross the floor
to vote against your own party's wishes

cruiser
a warship larger than a destroyer and less heavily armed than a battleship

Cuban Missile Crisis
a 1962 confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States during the Cold War that threatened the use of nuclear weapons

'cult of personality'
a term that became associated with the political leadership in a number of regimes where faith in the greatness and wisdom of the leader was the key to holding power

Cultural Revolution
the decade of Chinese history between 1966 and 1976 marked by Mao Zedong's control of politics and thought

D

Dalit
'oppressed'; the lowest 'Untouchable' caste

declassified
previously secret official information that has been released into the public domain

demagogue
a political leader who seeks support by using emotive arguments and appealing to popular desires

democracy
representative government based on the will of the people

destroyer
a type of warship used to escort and defend other vessels

détente
the period during the Cold War when the Soviet Union and the United States found agreement on global issues and attempted to live in peaceful coexistence

diktak
a harsh settlement unilaterally imposed on a defeated nation

disenfranchisement
deprivation of a privilege, particularly the right to vote

disinvestment
where countries or companies remove their financial investment or company from a country

dissenting
having an opinion that is not in line with the official view

domestic duties
looking after the home and family full time

dominion
a larger self-governing territory within the British Commonwealth

'domino theory'
the theory that a political event in one country will cause similar events to happen in neighbouring countries; articulated by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1954, regarding the spread of communism

draft card
a formal notice informing someone that they have been conscripted into the army

dysentery
an infection of the intestines resulting in severe diarrhoea, with blood and mucus in the faeces

E

Eastern Bloc
a term used to describe the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies

egalitarian
relating to the principle that all people are equal and deserve equal rights and opportunities

elite
a small, select group of leaders in their field

emancipation
the freeing of the slaves during and after the American Civil War

embargo
an official ban on trade and/or commercial activity with another country

Enigma Code
the top-secret German code used during the Second World War, which was thought to be unbreakable

epidemic
widespread outbreak of infectious disease

epitaph
something by which a person, time or event will be remembered

exclusion zone
an area into which entry is excluded

executive power
power that rests with a small group

F

factionalism
arguments/disputes between two or more small groups within a larger party or organisation

fall-out
radioactive particles released in a nuclear explosion that fall back to earth as dust or in rain

fascist
a right-wing nationalist political movement that originated in Italy but then gave its name to any nationalist, conservative, authoritarian movement or ideology

feudalism/feudal
the dominant social system in medieval Europe, where the nobles could live on the king's land in exchange for military service, and the peasants in turn rented the land in exchange for working on the land and sharing the produce with the nobles and the ruler

feudal marriage
marriage based on the traditional system of parental desires and needs, rather than the wishes of the couple involved

fire-support base
a fortified US/ARVN position established in an area known to be desired or threatened by the enemy

flashpoint
a situation or location that could set off a larger conflict

food chain
a series of organisms, each dependent on the next in the chain for food

free market
a major belief of capitalism that government should not interfere in the operation of the economy

G

gamma rays
electromagnetic radiation released from the radioactive decay of atomic nuclei

garrison
a group of troops stationed in a fortress or town to defend it

GDP
gross domestic product; the measurement of the quantity of goods and services produced in a country in one year

General Assembly
the only organ of the United Nations where all countries are members and have equal power

geopolitical
where international relations are influenced by geographical factors

German General Staff
the high command of the combined German military: army, navy and air force

glasnost
a term used to describe the new openness in the Soviet Union's dealing with both its own citizens and with the United States

Gold Standard
a monetary system where a country's currency or paper money has a value directly linked to that of gold

government camps
camps set up to house political prisoners who were thought to be a threat to Tsarist Russia, often in remote regions

'governments by turnstile'
where political stability is hard to establish due to many changes of government

grassroots
relating to the ordinary people at the local level of membership or action in a group

Great Depression
a period of severe economic downturn that began in the United States and quickly spread around the world during the 1930s and 40s

guerrilla
a style of fighting where a numerically inferior force fights a larger enemy in ongoing smaller skirmishes without engaging in outright battle; also refers to the fighters who conduct this style of war

gulag
An acronym for the agency in change of the Soviet labour camps; the term has come to also refer to the camps themselves.

Gulf of Tonkin incident
a 1964 incident in which the US Navy thought it had been fired on by North Vietnamese vessels; later investigations showed this was not the case

H

hanbatsu
meaning 'clan faction'; the name that political rivals gave to powerful Japanese groups known as hans and led by the *daimyo*

Harijan
a 'person of Hari' (a Hindu god); a term invented by Mahatma Gandhi for 'Untouchables'

'hearts and minds'
a campaign in which one side seeks to prevail not by the use of superior force, but by making popular appeals to sway supporters of the other side

Hindi
the main language of north Indian Hindus, written in virtually the same script as the ancient Indian language of Sanskrit

Hindu Mahasabha
'Hindu Great Society'; an extreme Hindu organisation

Hitler Youth
the Nazi Party's youth organisation

Hohenzollern monarchy
a German dynasty of princes, electors, kings and emperors of Hohenzollern, Brandenburg, Prussia, the German Empire and Romania

home front
those citizens who remain at home during a war; the home front typically includes women, children and the elderly

hostage crisis
the 1979 capture of American diplomats and citizens in Iran that led to a 444-day crisis in relations between the United States and Iran

human wave attack
an offensive infantry tactic where a dense frontal assault of soldiers is launched against an enemy line

hung jury
a jury that is unable to reach a unanimous decision

hyperinflation
an extreme case of inflation, where the price of consumer goods rises and the value of currency decreases

I

imperial/imperialism
relating to the creation and extension of an empire of territories and possessions controlled and administered for economic gain

incendiary bombs
bombs designed to start fires when they hit their target

indemnity
money paid as compensation

indict
to formally accuse or charge with a crime

Indochina
a geographical term that originated in the early nineteenth century, referring to the region now known as South-East Asia; it is geographically bound by the Indian subcontinent in the west and China in the north

Industrial Revolution
the rapid development of industry, beginning in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century, in which advances in technology fundamentally changed the agricultural and manufacturing industries, as well as transport and communications

inflationary policy
an economic policy that leads to an increase in prices and a fall in the purchasing power of money

infrastructure
the groundwork to a functioning society, such as roads and railways

intercontinental ballistic missile
a long-range (5500 km) missile carrying nuclear warheads

internationalism
the political state of being international and open to external influence

internment camp
a form of wartime prison for captured enemies and their supporters

isolationism
the idea that a country needs to isolate itself from world affairs and focus on its own self-interest

J

Japanese home islands
the group of islands forming the country of Japan; this term was commonly used in the Second World War to define the area of Japan to which its sovereignty and the constitutional rule of the emperor would be restricted

Jim Crow laws
laws that discriminated against black people; the term 'Jim Crow' dated back to the 1830s, where it appeared in a song-and-dance caricature of black people called 'Jump Jim Crow'; after this, 'Jim Crow' simply became a derogatory term for a black person

K

kaffir
a derogatory term used by white South Africans to refer to black South Africans

kamikaze
Japanese aircraft loaded with explosives that made deliberate suicidal crashes on enemy targets

Kashmir
a north-western region of pre-independence India, split between India and Pakistan from 1947

KGB
the Soviet organisation responsible for state security, which frequently involved ensuring government secrecy and suppressing any anti-government dissent in society

kolkhozniks
workers on a kolkhoz, or collective farm

L

League of Nations
an intergovernmental organisation founded as a result of the Paris Peace Conference; it was the first international organisation whose principal mission was to maintain world peace

liberal/liberalism
beliefs respecting individual liberties and moderation

liberal democracy
a form of democratic government where liberal freedoms – meaning freedom of religion, freedom of the press and free enterprise – are valued and protected

life chances
the opportunities each individual has to improve their life

liquidate
to kill or eliminate someone

lynching
an informal public execution, often conducted by a mob, designed to punish an individual or intimidate a group of people

M

Maginot Line
the French defensive line built in the 1930s to deter a German invasion

malaria
a fever caused by a parasite that invades the red blood cells and is transmitted by mosquitoes

mandate
a claim to power, authority, control or the right to govern

manifesto
a statement of principles

Marxist/Marxism
the economic and political theories of Karl Marx (1818–83) and his collaborator Friedrich Engels (1820–95)

May Seventh Cadre Schools
labour camps where people were 're-educated' during the Cultural Revolution to follow Mao Zedong's thinking

McCarthyism
a period in American history in the 1950s dominated by extreme anti-communism; named after Senator Joseph McCarthy

Meiji Restoration
the return of imperial rule to Japan in 1868 under Emperor Meiji; it was part of the modernisation of Japan

mendicant
relating to a religious person who survives on gifts of food or money

militarist (adj)
a strong military influence on a society or its government

militarist (n)
a person who believes in the key principles of militarism – a philosophy which holds that a state should maintain a strong military capability and use it aggressively to expand or promote national interests

military junta
a military group that takes power by force and exercises its authority through power and coercion (the opposite of democratic freedoms)

militia
a military force raised from the civil population to supplement a regular army in an emergency

Minister of the Interior
the person in charge of managing the internal affairs of the country, such as education and transport

mission
a religious-based institution for Indigenous children

monopoly
the exclusive possession or control of the supply of, or trade in, a commodity or service

monotheistic
relating to belief in one god

Monroe Doctrine
a US policy of opposing European colonialism in North or South America, beginning in 1823

moratorium
a temporary prohibition of an activity (used by the anti-war movement in the United States and Australia)

mushroom cloud
the distinctively shaped cloud that forms after a nuclear explosion

mutiny
military uprising

N

nationalise
to transfer industries or businesses from private to state ownership

nationalism
a sense of pride in, and love of, one's country; advocacy of political independence for a particular country

nativism
the idea that those born in the United States were superior and more deserving of rights than immigrants or black people, whose colour, nativists believed, revealed their foreign background

nepotism
favouritism by powerful people towards their relatives or friends

new world order
a period showing dramatic change in world political thought and the balance of power, such as that which occurred after the Second World War when US and Soviet leadership and dominance were largely accepted

Nipponisation
to make or become Japanese in customs and culture

non-aggression
not practising violence or aggression

non-alignment
a foreign policy that seeks to make alliances with no particular side, in a bid to remain neutral in an area of developing conflict

non-racial
an election or society where race does not impact on participation or opportunity

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
a military and political alliance founded in 1949 by the United States, Canada and Western European nations in opposition to the communist Soviet Union

nuclear energy
the energy released when the nuclei of atoms are split apart or combined; frequently used to generate electricity

nuclear fission
the process that occurs when the nucleus of an atom splits into smaller parts

nuclear reactor
a structure in which a controlled nuclear reaction takes place, releasing energy

O

Official Secrets Act
legislation that prevents people from discussing or mentioning specific projects, in order to protect national security

oligarchy
a small group of people having control of a country

Orgburo
Organisational Bureau (office), the main administrative body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

Oval Office
the physical office of the President of the United States

P

pacification
the process by which US forces aimed to counter Viet Cong insurgencies and establish control through occupying and 'pacifying' a particular geographical area; the Americans aimed to establish control over the area and remove communist influence over the people

pan-African
the idea that all Africans can unite because of their commonalities (shared features or attributes)

pan-Asianism
an ideology promoting the unity of Asian people in resistance to Western imperialism and colonialism

pandemic
an infectious disease that spreads across a large region

paranoia
an irrational and persistent feeling that someone is threatening you

partisans
civilians who resist foreign invasion

Pentagon
the headquarters of the US Department of Defense

perestroika
a term used to describe the reconstruction of the Soviet Union's economy and society under Mikhail Gorbachev

permanent revolution
political theory, espoused by Leon Trotsky, that a 'backward' country could move to a socialist revolution without stopping at a middle-class democratic stage

plutocracy
a society or form of government dominated by wealth; the plutocrats were the rich and their money gave them power

Politburo
Political Bureau (office), the main policy-making body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

poll tax
a tax levied on every adult, with no reference to their ability to pay

polytheistic
relating to belief in many gods

popular front
a broad alliance of left-wing and liberal parties opposed to right-wing governments and political movements

posterity
all future generations of people

presentism
the concept of assessing and judging historical events based on ideas, knowledge, values, beliefs or awareness from the present time

princely states
states ruled by Indian nobles and not formally part of British-ruled India before independence

procurement
the action of obtaining goods or services

proletariat/proletarian
people of the working class

proliferation
spreading from country to country

propaganda
biased or misleading information used to influence people towards a particular point of view

protectionist
where a nation attempts to shield domestic industries from foreign competition by taxing imports

protectorate
a country that is controlled and protected by a more powerful country

provisional
temporary, subject to change

proxy wars
a term used to describe the conflicts during the Cold War fought by allies, rather than those involving the Soviet Union and the United States in direct fighting

Prussia
a German state that adopted militarism as a philosophy to unify Germany in 1871 and direct the militaristic development of the German Empire, contributing to the outbreak of the First World War

puppet ruler
a person or group exercising authority in one country under the control of another country

puppet state
an officially independent state that is in fact controlled by an outside power

purge
to remove opponents or potential opponents, often by force

putsch
the violent overthrow of authority

R

RAF Bomber Command
the section of the RAF in charge of bombers and bombing operations

RAF Fighter Command
the section of the RAF in charge of fighter aircraft and operations

rand
the monetary unit of South Africa

ratify
to agree to or support; to give formal confirmation of a treaty or agreement

realpolitik
a type of politics where decisions are based on practical and 'real' concerns about gaining and retaining power and influence, rather than questions of justice or right and wrong

Red Guards (China)
students organised into groups to support Mao Zedong's rule during the Cultural Revolution

Red Guards (Russia)
groups of armed factory workers

representative government
government run by elected officials

revisionist
to revise or change; in history, it means revising old interpretations based on new evidence and new perspectives

Romani
a traditionally nomadic ethnic group living mostly in Europe

Rotary
a worldwide organisation of professionals and business people serving the community through projects

S

samurai
members of Japan's military class who provided protections to the *daimyo* (lords)

salaciousness
creating an undue interest in sexual matters

sanctions
threatened penalties for a person or country breaking a rule or agreed course of action

satyagraha
'hold fast to the truth'; Gandhian methods of peaceful civil disobedience

Schlieffen Plan
the German war plan from the First World War for the attack on France in 1914

scurvy
a disease caused by a deficiency of vitamin C, characterised by swollen bleeding gums

secular
not influenced by religion

security police
the police force operated by the South African Bureau for State Security from 1969 to 1980; it was used to repress the aspirations of the non-white population

segregation
keeping people and opportunities separated, usually because of race or ethnicity

self-determination
the right of people, generally from the same cultural and ethnic background, to decide or determine for themselves how they will be governed and by whom

'separate development'
the main idea behind apartheid; it argued that non-whites would develop their own societies separate from white people, interacting only when it benefited whites

shanty towns
makeshift collections of self-made homes

sharecropper
a tenant farmer who pays part of their crop as rent for the land they are farming

show trials
trials conducted in public to show how alleged 'enemies of the people' were exposed and usually convicted for their 'crimes'

Sino
Chinese

sit-in
a form of non-violent protest that involves occupying a space to make a statement and promote change

social democracy
political belief in moving peacefully and democratically towards a fair and cooperative society

socialism
belief in a society where wealth is shared through public ownership instead of private ownership of property

socialist realism
government-controlled art which, during the Cultural Revolution, depicted an all-powerful Mao Zedong surrounded by joyful supporters

sovereignty
the right of individuals or nations to make their own decisions and not be told what to do or how to act by others

soviet
a district-level political organisation or council, especially of workers', soldiers' and/or peasants' representatives

Soviet State Committee
an important centre of power in the Soviet system of government

space race
the competition between the United States and Soviet Union in space exploration and technology that culminated with the American landings on the moon in 1969

sphere of influence
a geographic region in which a foreign power has significant military, political and economic influence or control

SS
Schutzstaffel; literally translated, this means 'protection squadron'; it began as an elite bodyguard for Adolf Hitler and then expanded its duties

Stalinism
the authoritarian dictatorship established by Joseph Stalin in Russia; also describes any harsh and repressive form of government

standing army
an available armed force of full-time soldiers that is not disbanded during times of peace

State Department
an executive department in the United States that advises the president in international affairs and foreign policy issues

status quo
the existing or the current situation; the status of things as they are

Statute of Westminster
a 1931 law passed by the British Parliament that stopped the British Parliament making laws for the dominions

stockpile
a collection of arms available for use if necessary

strategic bombing
deliberately targeted bombing aiming to destroy specific, carefully selected targets

struggle meeting
a form of public humiliation, torture or even execution for enemies of the state

subcontinent
part of the continent of Asia, now including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal

Suez Canal
an important shipping canal connecting the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea

suffragettes
women working for the right to vote

summary proceedings
a trial conducted hastily without formalities for the speedy settlement of a matter

T

tariff
a duty levied by a country on imported goods to make them more expensive, to encourage people to buy domestically produced goods instead

technocrat
a technical expert, often one who exercises managerial authority

testament
a document or statement providing evidence about particular events

Thai–Burma Railway
a 415-km railway built by POWs in 1943 to support Japanese force transfers between Thailand and Burma

theocracy
a society or form of government dominated by religious ideas

Third Reich
third regime, or third empire; the First Reich dated from 962 to 1806; the Second Reich was Imperial Germany (1871–1918); Nazi Germany (1933–45) was described by Hitler as the Third Reich

three-year plan
an economic plan, modelled on Communist Chinese economic policies, where socialist policies would be introduced and the economy converted to a communist system during the first three years of the regime

top-down capitalism
the idea of establishing major businesses and heavy industry, and then assuming that the economy and society would be transformed 'from the top down'

totalitarian
a concept developed by social scientists to describe an extreme form of dictatorship with what appears to be total or near total control over a society; historians regard the term as being useful as a general description, but not for the purpose of explanation

tour of duty
a period of time that a soldier spends in service in a particular military deployment

Treaty of Versailles
the most significant in the series of official treaties that ended the First World War

Tricameral Parliament
a parliament with three separate chambers

Tsarist
relating to the monarchical government of Russia

tuberculosis
an infectious disease of the lungs that was deadly until antibiotic drugs became available

U

Urdu
the language of most Muslims in northern pre-independence India; similar to Hindi, but written in the Persian script; now the official language of Pakistan

V

Velvet Revolution
the non-violent transfer of power from the Communist Party to a democratic government in Czechoslovakia in 1989

vendetta
a prolonged and bitter quarrel

veto
the right to overturn any decision by a person or group

viceroy
the supreme representative of the British monarch in pre-independence India

vilify
a propaganda technique where an opponent is presented as a complete villain and a figure of evil

vivisection
a medical or experimental operation on a living animal

Volksgemeinschaft
the German 'people's community'

W

war bonds
in effect, a means by which the public lends the government money to meet military needs; people purchase a war bond certificate and are repaid the money when it matures in later years

war brides
foreign women who marry military personnel in times of war or during the military occupation of a foreign country

ward of the state
a child for whom a court takes responsibility

warhead
the explosive head of a missile, torpedo or similar

Washington Conference
an international conference held in Washington D.C. to limit the naval arms race and organise the Pacific region after the First World War

Watergate scandal
the revelation of a break-in at the US Democratic National Committee and other illegal activities undertaken by members of Nixon's administration, and the subsequent attempt by Nixon to cover up his involvement; the scandal would eventually lead to Nixon's resignation

Weimar Republic
the democratic government set up in Germany after the First World War

X

xenophobia
fear of outsiders

Y

Yamato spirit
referring to the Japanese 'heart and mind'; reflecting cultural values and characteristics of Japanese people

Z

zeitgeist
the 'spirit of the times'

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↓ A French hydrogen bomb explodes above the Fangataufa atoll in the Pacific Ocean during a test on 24 August 1968.

↑ Women protest at an American civil rights rally in the 1960s.

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