

MODERN HISTORY **2**

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First published 2021 by:

HTAV
PUBLISHING

History Teachers' Association of Victoria

Suite 105
134–136 Cambridge Street
Collingwood VIC 3066
Australia

Phone 03 9417 3422
Email admin@htav.asn.au
Web www.htav.asn.au
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Modern History 2

by Luke Cashman, Katrina Davey, Luca Finanzio, Huw Lewis,
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978 1 922481 10 8 (print)
978 1 922481 11 5 (ebook)

Publisher: Georgina Argus
Design and typesetting: Sally Bond
Editor: Guy Nolch
Proofreader: Giuliana Cincotta

Printed by: Southern Impact
www.southernimpact.com.au

Cover image: Martin Luther King Jr at the March on Washington, 1963.
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MODERN HISTORY

2

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IMAGE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Acknowledgement: 'I would like to thank my wife Leah and our two sons Emmett and Liam for their unwavering support and perpetual kindness. I would also like to thank all of my History students for their passion and dedication. Finally, I would like to thank HTAV Publishing Manager Georgina Argus for her advice, encouragement and openness to new ideas.'

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Acknowledgement: 'I would like to thank my wife Kirsty and our children Declan, Ava and Charli for their support and patience. I owe Georgina Argus much gratitude for her encouragement and professionalism throughout the writing process. I would like to acknowledge Rosalie Triolo and Judith Backholer, the best mentors a History teacher could have asked for. Finally, I thank all my students for making History teaching such a rewarding experience.'

HTAV ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

HTAV would like to thank the authors of this edition, Luke Cashman and Stephen White, for their exceptional work on this project. We are especially grateful to lead author Luke Cashman for his substantial contribution to the series. Thank you also to the authors of the first edition (*Twentieth Century 2: Post-War Challenges*), whose work appears in this book: Katrina Davey, Luca Finanzio, Huw Lewis, Phillip O'Brien, Natalie Shephard and Rachel Towns. Thank you to Geraldine Carrodus for her work on the previous edition.

Many others contributed to this book. Thank you to Ruben Hopmans, Ian Lyell, Nikki Davis, Stephen Frigo, Dr Deb Hull, Shaun Silcock, the HTAV staff and Board, and the many HTAV members who have provided valuable feedback over the years.

SECTION OVERVIEWS

- » Introduce the area of study with focus questions and a preview of topics covered.

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

What caused the challenges to existing political and social structures and conditions?
 How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to continuity and change?
 To what extent did change occur?
 What were the perspectives and experiences of those who demanded and/or resisted change?

100,000 THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE HUNG FROM THE GALILEO BRIDGE IN MAY 1939

250,000 THE APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON ON 28 AUGUST 1963

500% INCREASE IN NAZI'S BUDGET BETWEEN 1941 AND 1964

272,000 NUMBER OF FLIGHTS MADE INTO WEST BERLIN DURING THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

5 million TV SETS SOLD EACH YEAR DURING THE 1960s IN THE US

24 R-12 MISSILES
24 R-14 MISSILES
42 R-28 BOMBERS
THE SA-2 AIR DEFENCE MISSILES
30,000 TROOPS
2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

24 R-12 MISSILES
24 R-14 MISSILES
42 R-28 BOMBERS
THE SA-2 AIR DEFENCE MISSILES
30,000 TROOPS
2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

24 R-12 MISSILES
24 R-14 MISSILES
42 R-28 BOMBERS
THE SA-2 AIR DEFENCE MISSILES
30,000 TROOPS
2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

THE COLD WAR

What were the causes of the Cold War?
 How did Cold War ideology contribute to sustained tensions and conflict?
 What were the consequences of the Cold War on nations and people?
 What caused the end of the Cold War?
 How did the social, political, economic and cultural conditions influence and change the post-Cold War world?

40 million tonnes THE AMOUNT OF COAL THE USSR HAD TO EXPORT IN THE 1980s TO FEED ITS OWN CITIZENS

24 R-12 MISSILES
24 R-14 MISSILES
42 R-28 BOMBERS
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42 R-28 BOMBERS
THE SA-2 AIR DEFENCE MISSILES
30,000 TROOPS
2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

blow us all up into kingdom come...

11 TOTAL NUMBER OF CHARLIE HUBBARD MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH OLYMPIC TEAM

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THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER 7

'There is no easy walk to freedom anywhere and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.'

1948 26 MAY - National Party Government takes office to establish apartheid laws

1952 18 FEBRUARY - Defiance Campaign begins

1955 26 JUNE - Freedom Charter signed

1960 21 MARCH - Sharpeville Massacre

1976 16 JUNE - Soweto Uprising

1994 27 APRIL - First democratic South African election

KEY QUESTIONS

- What was apartheid?
- How was apartheid justified and enforced by the white South African government?
- How did black and South African protest against the apartheid law?
- What was the role of significant individuals and groups in challenging apartheid?
- What were the experiences and perspectives of those who demanded, or resisted, change?
- How and why did the apartheid system end?

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- NELSON MANDELA** 1st leader of the ANC until 1991
- STEVE BIKO** 2nd leader of the ANC until 1962
- P.W. BOTHA** 4th Prime Minister of South Africa (1978-1984)
- F.W. DE KLERK** 9th President of South Africa (1989-1994)

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Most historians agree that apartheid was a significant change in history that placed a significant role in the economic, social, political, cultural and racial factors of the country. It was the result of a long history of government and oppression that had been in place for decades or even centuries. It can be argued that apartheid was a response to the challenges of the time.

CHAPTER INTRODUCTIONS

- » Preview key content—such as key dates and events as well as significant individuals—that will be covered in the chapter ahead.
- » List key questions to focus and guide your thinking.
- » Include historical inquiry tasks to help extend your thinking. Keep these in mind as you progress through each chapter.

CHAPTER REVIEWS

- » Include activities so you can practise demonstrating your knowledge and understanding.
- » When you review the key points covered in the chapter, if anything is unfamiliar, go back and find what you missed.
- » Visit Beyond the Book for additional resources.

CHAPTER 6 REVIEW

REVIEW

6-2 Create a table that demonstrates the changes made to the Constitution for African Americans through the 1950s and 1960s.

SITUATION	LEGISLATION/ POLITICAL OUTCOME	SOCIAL OUTCOME OF PROTEST	SUCCESS OR FAILURE?	NOTE?
Segregation				
Education				
Work				
Living				
Travel				

EXTENDED RESPONSE

6-3 Write a 200-300-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear conclusion, arguments and a clear conclusion.

6-4 Write a 200-300-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear conclusion, arguments and a clear conclusion.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- The Montgomery bus boycott started the civil rights movement.
- Martin Luther King was a crucial leader of the movement until his assassination in 1968.
- The Supreme Court ruled that segregation was unconstitutional.
- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were significant pieces of legislation.

THE COLD WAR

- What were the causes of the Cold War?
- How did Cold War ideology contribute to increased tensions and conflict?
- What were the consequences of the Cold War on nations and peoples?
- What caused the end of the Cold War?
- How did the social, political, economic and cultural conditions influence and change the post-Cold War world?

CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

- What caused the challenges to existing political and/or social structures and conditions?
- How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to continuity and change?
- To what extent did change occur?
- What were the perspectives and experiences of those who demanded and/or resisted change?

By September 1939, any hope that the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations could actually work had been comprehensively dashed. The German invasion of Poland began a period of mass destruction, slaughter and genocide never before witnessed in Europe. War was already well underway in China as the Japanese began a cruel quest to establish their own sphere of influence in East and south-east Asia. The war in Europe ended in May 1945 when Adolf Hitler, to the sounds of Russian artillery overwhelming German forces in Berlin, died by suicide. The Third Reich had fallen well short of its planned 1000 years of European domination. The war in the Pacific continued until the Japanese, reeling from the total nuclear annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, surrendered in August. The world would never be the same.

There was to be no rest from conflict in the second half of the twentieth century, although the nature and arenas of war changed. The 'Big Three' of the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or 'Soviet Union' for short) had already seen large cracks appear in their wartime alliance, even before the war had ended. Differences of opinion and ideology saw very different visions of the future emerge from discussions at Yalta and Potsdam. The Americans envisaged a new Europe characterised by democratic governments and capitalist economies. Soviet Russia was determined to create a buffer zone of loyal, subservient satellite states between themselves and Germany. As the 'Iron Curtain' descended upon Europe, a division between East and West emerged: there was an ideological division between Western freedoms and communist control; and a physical division as barbed wire fences, guard towers and minefields were constructed to restrict movement between these new spheres of influence. As the West attempted to contain the spread of communism, powerful alliances formed— North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the West, the Warsaw Pact in the East. The Cold War had begun.

These two powerful spheres of influence now set their sights on the rest of the world. In a series of rapid developments, it became clear that there was to be no easy peace in the future. The triumph of Mao's communists in China and the successful testing of Russia's first atomic bomb, both in 1949,

Extracts above from the VCE Modern History Study Design (2022–2026) © VCAA, reproduced by permission.

combined to send the Americans a message: they were not going to have everything their own way. The Korean War (1950–1953) demonstrated that the so-called Cold War had the ability to heat up, leaving millions more dead. The Americans and Soviets waged war politically, economically, in sporting arenas and in their cinemas. The USSR crushed any opposition to their world view within their sphere with tanks and secret police, while the Americans responded to any hint of socialism with a repression of their own in the form of ‘McCarthyism’. In 1962, it seemed that the worst would happen when the Cuban Missile Crisis saw the world come as close as it had ever been to all-out nuclear war. However, the Soviets turned their ships around, tore their Cuban missiles down, and a hotline was established between the Pentagon and the Kremlin. War was averted, and the concept of ‘mutual assured destruction’ (MAD) brought an uneasy calm to the world.

This did not mean the hostilities were over. The Vietnam War, ostensibly a fight to halt the ‘domino effect’ of communism in Asia, was fought over twelve bloody years. For the Americans and their allies, this was arguably a war of ideology; for the North Vietnamese and their communist supporters, it was a nationalist war. Regardless of motivations, it was a war that, being beamed into the homes of American families, shone a stark light on atrocities committed by US troops. The Vietnam War changed the way the US thought about large-scale military conflict—how can you win almost every battle but lose the war?

The Cold War ended suddenly. After a decade of hardline anti-communist rhetoric from US President Ronald Reagan, the people rose up in the East. Once it was clear the USSR would not intervene in the Polish protests, people living under communist oppression behind the Iron Curtain found their voice and began to protest. They found their mallets, too, and responded to Reagan’s call to Gorbachev to ‘tear down this wall’, taking matters into their own hands. The Berlin Wall was smashed to pieces overnight in 1989. The Soviet republics rebelled, communist parties resigned and elections were held. Democracy won: the Cold War was over.

The post-war world was not just a staging ground for the Cold War. The destruction of World War II had undermined the accepted world order. As the US combated the spread of communism abroad, American civil rights activists began to question the status quo at home. African American soldiers had been willing to die for their country overseas, but were not permitted to sit next to white Americans on buses, in restaurants or at university. The widespread system of segregation was challenged and defeated. Giants of the movement—Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr, Malcolm X—became household names and the world changed. Similar protests occurred in South Africa against the established apartheid system. Decades of peaceful black protest were met with ever more violent reactions from the white government. The figure of Nelson Mandela loomed large over this conflict.

The political instability created by World War II led to the flourishing of decolonisation movements throughout Africa and Asia. The European colonial masters had been weakened at Versailles in 1919, but these empires unravelled quickly after 1945. More than one hundred new nations were created post-war, but the processes ranged from peaceful negotiation to costly civil wars. The calm transition in the Philippines contrasted sharply with protracted and bloody conflicts in Indonesia, Vietnam and Algeria. Even after independence, trouble could follow, as seen in the struggles of India, Pakistan and Congo to recover after decades of colonial rule. The creation of the nation-state of Israel in 1948 provided a home for thousands of displaced European Jews, but led to continuing instability in the Middle East—home to not only much of the world’s oil supplies but also three of the world’s great religions. The Middle East has been in a perpetual state of war ever since.

Australia was not immune to the problems that came with the challenges of the post-war world. The old traditions of sexism, racism and capitalism were all challenged. Movements focusing on women’s rights, peace, civil rights and environmental issues flourished, pressuring the political system to legislate for greater fairness and equality. The post-war era saw much change take place in Australia, but there is still work to be done to create a more just, equal, clean and peaceful society. The challenges that arose in the wake of World War II persist today, and require people of passion, creativity and conviction to continue to agitate for and pursue a better Australia in the future.

KEY SKILLS: WRITE LIKE A HISTORIAN

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **writing an extended response**:

- respond to the question in the first sentence by focusing on key and command/trigger words
- make three or four distinct points
- use signposting to differentiate, and show connections, between your points
- support your points with detailed and specific evidence
- write succinctly
- include relevant quotations from primary and secondary sources where appropriate.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **writing an essay**:

- carefully read the question and identify the key and command/trigger words
- understand what the question is asking you and formulate a contention (your answer to the question) that is relevant and considers the complexities of the past
- make a plan outlining the arguments that will form the basis of your paragraphs
- select a variety of relevant and accurate evidence that supports your arguments
- include relevant quotations from primary and secondary sources where appropriate
- sum up your argument with a conclusion
- write a response of an appropriate length to help you sufficiently develop your arguments within the allotted time.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **writing a source analysis**:

- place the source in its proper historical context by determining *when* and *where* it was made
- analyse the purpose of the source by establishing who made it (the creator/author) and who was the intended audience
- conduct a *close reading* of the source to ensure you understand what is being said or presented visually (You will need to rely on your background knowledge of the society in which the source was produced.)
- identify any inherent bias in the source by considering the background and perspective of the creator, their intended message and the desired effect on the audience (This helps you establish the *reliability* of the source.)
- evaluate the *usefulness* of the source by considering whether or not it helps you answer the question.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **adopting an appropriate tone**:

- avoid using personal pronouns such as 'I', 'me' and 'my', and phrases such as 'In my opinion'
- minimise the use of contractions such as 'didn't' and 'wouldn't'
- write in the past tense to indicate that you are writing about events from the past
- use a vocabulary that is formal and understated rather than emotive, rhetorical or exaggerated
- avoid clichés and colloquial (everyday) language
- avoid writing 'In conclusion'; it should be obvious from your writing that you are summing up your case.

Shorter than an essay, extended responses allow you to present your understanding of a topic in a more succinct way. Extended responses tend to be less argumentative than essays; rather, you are asked to demonstrate your knowledge of a particular aspect of the past in a focused and organised way.

WRITE AN EXTENDED RESPONSE

An essay is a coherent and structured response to a question about the people and events in history. Your response should be relevant to the question and maintain a consistent argument throughout. A long-form essay provides more scope for you to communicate your knowledge.

WRITE AN ESSAY

HISTORICAL WRITING

A key element of studying History is to analyse and evaluate the material traces of the past. These historical sources must be analysed and placed in their proper context so that we can extract historical knowledge and meaning from them.

WRITE A SOURCE ANALYSIS

ADOPT AN APPROPRIATE TONE

You should write in a way that is appropriate to the discipline of History. In History, we present arguments that are based on careful reasoning and analysis of the available evidence. It is not a personal opinion or thought. You should write in a formal tone, like a textbook, rather than in a casual, informal manner.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **opening with a clear topic sentence**:

- address the key terms and command/trigger words in the question
- present the argument or opinion that you will develop and support throughout your response
- answer the question rather than simply repeating or rephrasing it
- do not include too much historical detail and evidence. (This can be done in the main body of your response.)

It is very important when writing in History that you start any piece of work with a clear topic sentence. This will enable your reader to understand what you are writing about, and what your informed opinion on the topic is. It also allows you to demonstrate that you have a solid understanding of the topic.

OPEN WITH A CLEAR TOPIC SENTENCE

ADDRESS KEY AND COMMAND/ TRIGGER WORDS

In assessment tasks in History, you will be given questions to respond to or statements whose accuracy needs to be carefully weighed and commented on. Each question contains a command, or trigger, words that tell you how to respond, and key words which tell you what to write about.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

Identify **command/trigger** words and do what they ask you to. For example:

- **identify:** recognise, name and select features or elements of something
- **outline:** provide an overview of key features or elements
- **describe:** point out key features or elements
- **compare/contrast:** point out similarities and/or differences
- **infer:** derive conclusions from available information and evidence
- **explain:** give a detailed account including causes
- **interpret:** draw meaning from an argument, perspective, interpretation or source and determine significance
- **analyse:** identify features or break into parts and explain/examine the relationship between them
- **evaluate or determine:** make a judgement using information, evidence, criteria and knowledge
- **discuss:** consider more than one point of view in your argument.

Your response should focus on the **key words** in the question, such as:

- individuals
- events or dates
- groups and institutions
- documents, legislation and speeches.

HISTORICAL WRITING

USE SIGNPOSTING

You will need to connect a range of ideas and points together to create a sophisticated argument to effective pieces of writing. More relationship between these ideas it be connection or contrast. More signposting. Signposting can show the that you are moving on to a distinct, yet related, point. It also demonstrates to your reader your points are related to your reader your points are related to each other.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **using signposting**:

- differentiate between your main points by using simple signposting terms such as:
 - » first, second, third, finally
- have a list of linking terms that demonstrate a connection between ideas, such as:
 - » and, so, also, another
 - » moreover, further
 - » as a result of
 - » in addition to this
 - » similarly, likewise
 - » for example, for instance
- have a list of linking terms that demonstrate contrast or opposition in your argument, such as:
 - » however, though
 - » conversely
 - » nevertheless, nonetheless
 - » although, whereas
- have a list of signposting terms that indicate you are summing up your case, such as:
 - » therefore, thus, hence, overall.

USE EVIDENCE IN YOUR RESPONSE

Whenever you construct an argument about the events and people of the past, you need to support it with evidence. Evidence comes in many forms, from written documents such as letters and diary entries, to visual representations such as posters and cartoons, as well as audio and film. Statistics and quotations from historians' interpretations are also very useful.

WHAT SHOULD YOU DO?

When **using evidence in your response**:

- select evidence that is reliable, accurate and relevant to the topic
- use the point, evidence, analysis (PEA) format:
 - P = make a clear point or argument relevant to the topic you are writing about.
 - E = include evidence that supports the validity of your argument.
 - A = analyse the significance of the evidence you selected and how it relates to your point.

THE COLD WAR

- What were the causes of the Cold War?
- How did Cold War ideology contribute to increased tensions and conflict?
- What were the consequences of the Cold War on nations and peoples?
- What caused the end of the Cold War?
- How did the social, political, economic and cultural conditions influence and change the post-Cold War world?¹

'There probably was never any real possibility that the post-1945 relationship could be anything but hostility verging on conflict. ... Traditions, belief systems ... all combined to stimulate antagonism, and almost no factor operated in either country to hold it back.'

HISTORIAN ERNEST MAY

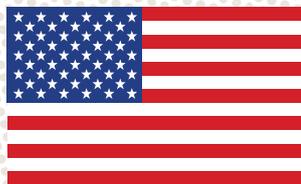
1945

24 OCTOBER 1945

United Nations is founded

500%

INCREASE IN NASA'S BUDGET BETWEEN 1961 AND 1964



5 million

TV SETS SOLD EACH YEAR DURING THE 1950s IN THE US

272,000

NUMBER OF FLIGHTS MADE INTO WEST BERLIN DURING THE BERLIN BLOCKADE



'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, MARCH 1946

¹ Extract from the VCE Modern History Study Design (2022–2026) © VCAA, reproduced by permission.

40 million tonnes

THE AMOUNT OF GRAIN THE USSR HAD TO IMPORT IN THE 1980s TO FEED ITS OWN CITIZENS



A SOVIET R-12 MISSILE DURING A MILITARY PARADE IN MOSCOW IN THE 1960s.

AMERICAN TROOPS PROTECT THE US EMBASSY FROM VIET CONG ATTACK DURING THE TET OFFENSIVE IN FEBRUARY 1968.



'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.'



PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, 1954

SOME OF THE SOVIET EQUIPMENT SENT TO CUBA IN THE LEAD UP TO THE MISSILE CRISIS

- 24 R-12 MISSILES
- 24 R-14 MISSILES
- 42 IL-28 BOMBERS
- 144 SA-2 ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES
- 10,000 TROOPS
- 2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

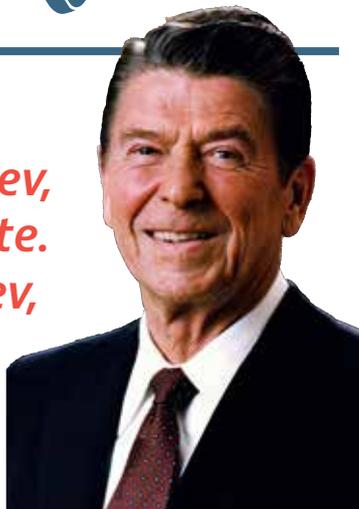
'We are eyeball to eyeball and the other fellow just blinked.'

US SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK

THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL ON 9 NOVEMBER 1989

'Mr Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!'

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, JUNE 1987



THE SUPERPOWERS AFTER WORLD WAR II

superpowers

Countries that are the most powerful in the world due to their economic strength and military might; usually armed with nuclear weapons.

UNITED STATES

KEY IDEAS

Individual rights and freedoms are paramount.

CAPITALISM

- Individuals control the property and industry that they own.
- A free and open market promotes economic growth.

DEMOCRACY

- Two or more political parties.
- Government power comes from the people (via free and regular elections).
- Freedom of speech and assembly.
- Freedom of religion.
- A free press.
- Rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

POSITION POST-WWII

- **Atomic bomb.**
- Low unemployment.
- Confidence from success in the war.
- Baby boom.
- Growth of suburban living.
- Middle-class living with 'mod cons'.
- United States (US) mainland was barely touched by the fighting in World War II.
- After the hardships of the **Great Depression**, the US emerges as the world's strongest economy.

atomic bomb

A hugely destructive weapon that uses the energy released from nuclear fission or fusion.

Great Depression

The severe economic crisis of the 1930s that saw more than one-quarter of people out of work in many Western countries.

LEADERSHIP

HARRY S. TRUMAN



- Became president on 12 April 1945 after the sudden death of Franklin Roosevelt.
- Had no prior experience with foreign policy, and had received no briefing about the growing tensions with the Soviet Union.
- Was more suspicious of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or 'Soviet Union' for short) than Roosevelt, and disliked Stalin. He wrote the following: 'The personal meeting with Stalin enabled me to see what the West had to face in the future. Force is the only thing the Russians understand. Stalin showed what he was after ... the Russians were planning world conquest.'

AIMS

- Help Germany recover from the war so it could become a trading partner.
- Stop the spread of communism.
- In 1947, President Truman granted federal bodies the power to fire employees if 'reasonable grounds' existed that they were disloyal to the US. Evidence of disloyalty could be shown if the person had a 'sympathetic association' with an organisation believed to be 'communist, fascist or **totalitarian**'.
- Establish and protect trade links around the world.

totalitarian

A single-party, dictatorial system of government where the state has total influence over life within it. Two examples are Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

GRIEVANCES

- Resented the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact signed in 1939.
- Truman was unhappy with Stalin's demand for harsh German reparations.
- Fear of Germany becoming a drain on Western Europe.
- Fear of communism in the US led to the McCarthy 'witch-hunt' era.
- William O. Douglas, 1952: 'The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear. ... Suspicion has taken the place of goodwill.'

'We may be likened to two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at the risk of his own life.'

FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL, 1953

SOVIET UNION

KEY IDEAS

The interests of the group or nation are paramount.

COMMUNISM

- Common ownership of the means of production (i.e. state-controlled industry).

TOTALITARIANISM/DICTATORSHIP

- One party, strong leader.
- People's lives are controlled by the government.
- Secret police.
- **Censorship.**
- Limited or no voting rights.

POSITION POST-WWII

- Economic strain.
- Agricultural and industrial decline: output in 1945 fell far short of pre-war levels.
- Refused a US offer for economic assistance under the Marshall Plan.
- Heavy population loss from war:
 - » 25 million people.
- Material destruction from war:
 - » 25 million homes
 - » 84,000 schools
 - » 31,000 factories.
- Stalin proved a strong negotiator at the Potsdam Conference.

censorship

When a government or organisation alters, deletes or bans any form of communication that challenges, criticises or contradicts the messages of that institution.

JOSEPH STALIN



LEADERSHIP

- Established himself as Lenin's successor and the Soviet Union's only leader by 1929.
- Suppressed any resistance to his rule with **purges** and imprisonment or execution of opponents.
- After World War II, the Soviet Union faced an impending famine and many factories had been destroyed. Stalin sought massive reparation payments from Germany at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945.
- Felt there was a threat of invasion from the West, so he set up communist regimes along the USSR's western border.

AIMS

- Extract large reparation payments from Germany.
- Ensure that Germany is never again able to invade the Soviet Union and inflict enormous damage.
- Protect the Soviet Union from invasion by creating a **buffer zone** of satellite states.
- Stalin aimed to show the superiority of socialism over capitalism by attacking writers, artists, historians and scientists who were supposedly influenced by Western thinking and culture.

purge

When a political party, government or other organisation expels members from its ranks, usually without fair cause or process.

GRIEVANCES

- Resented the Western support of the anti-Bolshevik White Army in the Russian Civil War.
- Resented appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s by Britain and France.
- Believed the US had deliberately delayed D-Day in the hope that Germany and Russia would destroy each other.
- Stalin believed his country had made the biggest sacrifice during World War II.
- Believed that the US developed the atomic bomb in secret in case it had to be used against the USSR.

buffer zone

A country or group of countries on your border designed to keep hostile nations as far away as possible.



IDEOLOGIES AND 'ISMS'

'There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world, and that is an idea whose time has come.'

VICTOR HUGO, 1877

THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Note: An ideology's position on the spectrum may vary according to the context and country.

COMMUNISM

Communism is an economic and political system in which the means of production are owned and controlled by the state and in which the needs of the whole society, as represented by the state, are considered more important than individual needs and preferences. In theory, everyone is equal and everyone works for the common good. Communist states tend to control many aspects of people's lives, with few civil liberties or freedoms afforded.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism forms the basis for most Western politics. The key characteristics of liberalism are:

- freedom and equality of individuals and their inherent right to pursue happiness
- people vote for representatives to make political decisions
- governments protect and assure civil liberties and individual rights through laws by 'the consent of the governed'
- reform and change occurs through non-violent methods
- economic freedom is assured, and economic decisions are made based on self-regulating markets and competition.

← LEFT (extreme)

Group focus

SOCIALISM

Socialism is an economic system in which the government or public controls key industries of production. The government uses its resources to provide jobs for as many people as possible to ensure that there is a more even distribution of wealth, and prices are kept as low as possible. Under socialism, taxes are high because the government uses this money to provide for people's needs. Government-run medical care and education are funded by the taxes paid. The distribution of wealth more equally is emphasised by socialism, but private ownership still exists. The terms 'communism' and 'socialism' are often used interchangeably when, in fact, communism is an extreme form of socialism. A socialist country can be democratic, whereas a communist country is often a one-party **dictatorship**.

DEMOCRACY

Democracy usually refers to representative democracy, a system of government whereby people who are eligible to vote elect representatives to govern on their behalf. The word comes from the Greek word *demokratia*, which means 'popular government'. Most democratic countries have a constitution—a set of rules by which they govern. For example, Australia is a constitutional parliamentary democracy whose model of government is based on the British Westminster system. The Commonwealth parliament is bicameral, which means it consists of an upper and a lower house; the government (executive) is formed by the party with a majority in the lower house.

dictatorship

A type of government in which one individual holds all political power.

KEY POINTS

- The twentieth century saw key ideologies pitted against each other.
- After World War II, new forms of nationalism emerged.
- The world wars, Cold War and other conflicts were direct results of ideology.

IDEOLOGY

Ideology is sometimes known as the 'science of ideas'. It refers to groups of related theories, values and beliefs held by an individual or group about how the world should be structured, governed and organised. These ideas are usually centred on political and economic policies. Many of the political ideologies below are still in use today, but the distinctions between some of them have become blurred.

CAPITALISM

Capitalism is an economic system in which businesses are run by private individuals and companies for a profit, while the majority of people exchange their labour for a wage. Advocates of capitalism argue that free enterprise creates prosperity and improves the quality of products and services through healthy competition.

CONSERVATISM

Conservatism can be found in many forms, but its key characteristics are:

- belief in established political institutions
- favouring traditions and resisting change
- limited government intervention in the economy
- individuals are responsible for their own financial needs.

FASCISM

Fascism is an extreme right-wing ideology associated with militarism and **authoritarianism**. Fascist leaders, such as Benito Mussolini in Italy, tend to be highly nationalistic and repressive. Fascists tend to advocate a mixed economy, and favour martial law as a form of social and political control.

Features of fascism are:

- one leader
- a military state, with fear and terror used to control the population
- censorship and **propaganda**
- nationalistic symbols such as flags, rallies and uniforms
- few individual freedoms
- an economy controlled by the state.

Individual focus

(extreme) RIGHT

NATIONALISM

Nationalism refers to strong identification with a particular country and its symbols and traditions. As a political ideology it is characterised by championing the needs and interests of one's country over those of other countries, sometimes in an aggressive manner. The most extreme example of aggressive nationalism from the twentieth century was Germany under Adolf Hitler, with Nazi ideology promoting racial purity and Germanic traditions. In Italy, nationalism emerged in its extreme form as fascism.

In some cases, twentieth-century nationalism grew out of independence movements. For example, in India, nationalism began in the middle and elite classes who had benefited from a British education and were seeking independence.

In the Middle East, the expression of nationalism in the twentieth century was spearheaded by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) against what it saw as unlawful occupation of its land by the Israelis. In south-east Asia, Vietnamese nationalists resisted French colonialism in the First Indochina War (1946–1954), and these tensions led into the Vietnam War (1955–1975).

authoritarianism

A style of government that is usually a one-party dictatorship. Individual liberties and freedoms are suppressed, and the government enforces its power through coercion or violence.

propaganda

An organised means of spreading a particular philosophy. It uses art, literature, radio, film, media releases, education and other forms of communication to transmit a message that a government or organisation wishes to relay.

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

S.01 Write a paragraph comparing the beliefs and attitudes at the heart of **capitalism** in the US and **communism** in the Soviet Union.



CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

'Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims.'

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1945

On 8 May 1945, celebrations broke out across Europe as the Allies officially announced the surrender of Germany's armed forces. Victory in Europe Day (or VE Day) was a public holiday notable for massed crowds that cheered and danced in some of the world's most famous streets, including the Champs Élysées in Paris, Piccadilly in London and Times Square in New York. Music, flags, fireworks, hugs and kisses unified society after six years of war, devastation and loss. Peace had been achieved in Europe.

This chapter explores the changing dynamic of international relations in the years following the end of World War II. During this time, the post-war negotiations of the Allied Powers would shape the lives of all in Europe and create a division in territory and ideology. This was later known as the *Cold War*, which would come to dominate world politics for fifty years.

Cold War

A state of political hostility and military rivalry between countries characterised by threats, propaganda, espionage, alliances and other competitive measures. It stops short of open warfare.

sphere of influence

A country or region controlled by a more powerful nation in a political, cultural, military and an economic sense.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



JOSEPH STALIN

Leader of the USSR after Lenin died in 1924
Successfully captured Berlin from the Axis Powers during World War II
Expansionist intentions caused tensions during post-war negotiations



WINSTON CHURCHILL

British prime minister during World War II
Took part in negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam
Delivered the 'Iron Curtain' speech in 1946



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

President of the United States (1933–April 1945)
Declared war on Japan and joined the war in Europe in December 1941
Diplomacy was fundamental in post-war negotiations at Yalta



HARRY S. TRUMAN

Became US president after Roosevelt's death
Used atomic weapons against Japan, bringing about the end of the war in the Pacific
Issued the Truman Doctrine to contain the spread of communism

KEY QUESTIONS

- How did the Yalta Conference demonstrate the Allied Powers' use of diplomacy, negotiation and unity?
- What tensions between the US and the USSR became apparent at the Potsdam Conference?
- How did Stalin expand his *sphere of influence*?
- Who first suggested that Eastern and Western Europe were divided?
- How did the US respond to the political and territorial changes occurring in Europe?

**Source 1.01**

British women dance in the street with American soldiers during VE Day celebrations, London, 1945.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS**1945****FEBRUARY** — The Yalta Conference**16 JULY** — The US detonates the first atomic bomb**JULY–AUGUST** — The Potsdam Conference**1946****5 MARCH** — Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech**1947****MARCH** — The Truman Doctrine introduced**5 JUNE** — The Marshall Plan announced**HISTORICAL INQUIRY**

Referring to the origins of the Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis states the following: 'Geography, demography, and tradition contributed to this outcome but did not determine it. It took men, responding unpredictably to circumstances, to forge the chain of causation.'¹ Consider both arguments as you work through this chapter. Use the material and ideas you have developed to answer one of the following questions.

1.01 To what extent were the origins of the Cold War due to territorial matters?

1.02 How important were the personal attributes of key world leaders in determining the origins of the Cold War?

YALTA CONFERENCE

WINSTON CHURCHILL (FEBRUARY 1945): 'Poor Neville [Chamberlain] believed he could trust Hitler. He was wrong. But I don't think I'm wrong about Stalin.'

Similar to the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, the Yalta Conference was established to discuss the future of Europe after World War II. This landmark meeting of the **Big Three** Allied leaders took place from 4–11 February 1945. The location of Yalta, in the Crimea, was chosen because Stalin refused to leave the Soviet Union.

In discussion with Churchill and Roosevelt, several important matters were raised regarding territorial boundaries and political agreements. These were:

- **surrender:** The **unconditional surrender** of **Nazi Germany** was the first priority for all leaders. This was signed on 7 May 1945, three months after the conference.
- **zones:** They agreed on the need to de-Nazify and **demilitarise** Germany, and decided to divide the country into four zones: US, French, British and Soviet. The German capital Berlin, situated within the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four zones. Austria was split into the same four zones.
- **The creation of a United Nations (UN).** This was a key aim for Roosevelt, and membership of the Security Council was finalised at Yalta. Stalin agreed to the idea of a veto vote within the Security Council, along with France, Great Britain, the US and China. The UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945.
- **reparations:** German **reparations** were to be established, with Stalin demanding US\$20 billion, half of which would be for the Soviet Union. While not agreeing on this figure during the conference, the leaders did agree that part of the reparations would include the forced labour of Germans to repair damage, as well as the removal of national industrial assets such as machinery, ships and shares in German enterprises. New phrases emerged in Germany to describe people who removed the debris, such as 'rubble women'.
- **Japan:** Stalin agreed to enter the war in the Pacific against Japan once victory had been achieved in Europe. In return, he sought parts of Manchuria and some islands off the eastern coast of the Soviet Union.
- **justice:** Nazi war criminals would be brought to justice.
- **democracy:** Free and democratic elections would be held in all countries previously under German rule, according to a 'Declaration on Liberated Europe' proposed by Roosevelt. He believed this would assist the formation of temporary governments. Most importantly, it was hoped that Poland would be able to complete this process, as its government was currently in exile in London. However, the Soviet Union had already created a communist government in Poland. Stalin agreed to allow Poland **universal suffrage** in the form of a **secret ballot** within one month of the conference, based on the advice of Churchill and Roosevelt. (This election never took place, and led to mistrust between the nations.) By 1 April 1945, Roosevelt documented his thoughts to Stalin, stating that the lack of progress would lead the 'people of the United States to regard the Yalta agreement as having failed'.

Did you know? Another reason for holding the conference in Soviet territory was that Stalin was terrified of flying. He made only one long-distance flight in his life—to the Allied conference at Tehran, Iran, in 1943.

Big Three

The wartime allies Great Britain, the USSR and the US, and their respective leaders.

unconditional surrender

When the surrendering nation must submit to all of the conditions set by the victorious nation(s).

Nazi Germany

The regime of Adolf Hitler that governed Germany from 1933–1945.

demilitarise

When a nation decides, or is forced, to give up some or all of its armed forces.

reparations

The amount one country owes another at the end of a war; a form of compensation.

universal suffrage

An electoral system that gives the vote to all adult citizens regardless of gender, class, race or religion.

secret ballot

An election in which no one is allowed to know for whom people vote; this enhances political freedom and contributes to valid elections.

- Poland:** The Polish borders also changed significantly because of Stalin's insistence on a 'friendly' Poland. With the borders moving westwards, Poland would now occupy part of Germany, and Soviet territory expanded to the agreed Curzon Line. Stalin believed that access through Poland had always been the main method of attack on the Soviet Union, so it was necessary to establish a communist government there. Despite suspecting Stalin's motives, Churchill reluctantly agreed to this change of borders. In Britain, his agreement was criticised harshly, especially as it was Hitler's invasion of Poland that originally led to Britain's declaration of war on 3 September 1939.

Did you know? There were many names given to the area now known as Russia during the twentieth century. In 1922, the Treaty on the Creation of the USSR was approved. 'USSR' stands for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and is commonly shortened to the 'Soviet Union'. The USSR originally consisted of six republics, but grew to fifteen by 1940. In the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, 'USSR' is represented as 'СССР', which you will see sometimes in cartoons and on posters. The USSR dissolved in late 1991 after many of its constituent republics formed independent states.

Stalin's toast at the start of the Yalta Conference, February 1945

I am talking as an old man, that is why I am talking so much, but I want to drink to our alliance, that it should not lose its character of intimacy, its free expression of views. In the history of diplomacy I know of no such close alliance of the three Great Powers as this, when allies had the opportunity of so frankly expressing their views. ... I propose a toast to the frankness of the three-power alliance. May it be strong and stable; may we be as frank as possible.

Source 1.02 Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003).

Source 1.03 Map showing changes to European territories decided at the Yalta Conference.



➔ **Source 1.04** Photo of the Big Three taken on 9 February 1945. Left to right: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin.



general secretary

The head of the administrative branch of the CPSU; in reality the leader of the USSR.



JOSEPH STALIN, 1878–1953

Significant individual

Was *general secretary* of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) (1922–1953) and leader of the USSR (1929–1953).

Believed in the importance of security for the Soviet Union in the wake of World War II.

He said: 'Whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army has the power to do so.'

Said about: 'Stalin's post-war goals were security for himself, his regime, his country and his ideology, in precisely that order.' (*John Lewis Gaddis, historian*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by installing pro-Soviet communist governments in Poland and other countries of Eastern Europe, in contravention of the Yalta agreement.



HARRY S. TRUMAN, 1884–1972

Significant individual

Was the thirty-third US president (1945–1953).

Believed that the spread of communism around the world should be stopped.

He said: 'It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.'

Said about: 'In his foreign policy Truman is best described as a patriotic, conscientious and largely colourless man whose fate it was to cope with some of the most difficult policy problems in American history.' (*James Patterson, historian*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by announcing the containment of communism and supporting Western Europe with considerable financial aid.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1.03 Create a table summarising the agreements made at the Yalta Conference, as outlined below:

Conditions agreed to unanimously	Conditions agreed to after negotiation	Conditions that caused tension

1.04 Explain which condition you believe had the greatest effect on:

- Germany
- Europe
- the world.

1.05 What promise did Stalin make at the Yalta Conference about Poland? Did Stalin keep that promise? Explain your answer.

1.06 How did the Yalta Conference affect the territorial boundaries of Poland?

EXTENSION

1.07 By referring to Sources 1.02 and 1.04, explain how communication and relationships among the Big Three might have affected group dynamics at the Yalta Conference.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

1.08 Write a front-page newspaper article from the perspective of one of the countries represented at the Yalta Conference: Great Britain, the USSR or the US. The date of the article will be 12 February 1945. In the article, include:

- a provocative heading
- an image or cartoon that grabs the reader's attention
- an explanation of which agreements your country would see as a success, and those considered a loss or point of difference (You do not need to cover them all.)
- an outline of the attitudes and thoughts of your country's leader and the general public (You could write your own quotations to convey empathy.)
- a quotation from a primary source.

STUNDE NULL (ZERO HOUR)

While most of Europe celebrated VE Day on 8 May 1945, Germans witnessed the arrest of the Reich government and the beginning of *Stunde Null*, or zero hour. This term, often used in the military, described the massive and catastrophic turning point in the everyday lives of the population. Germans were desperately fleeing west from Eastern Europe to avoid Soviet occupation. Those who did not flee were either expelled or deported to labour camps. By 1950, this figure reached more than eleven million people, and it was believed that almost 15,000 people per day were being expelled from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania. With so many people displaced and flooding into the newly formed zones in Germany, security became a major issue. Therefore, the Big Three ordered the arrest of anyone considered a threat, with each country arresting 90,000–120,000 suspects. They also established non-*fraternisation* policies that prevented the interaction of Allies with German citizens.

Stunde Null

'Zero hour', a German term that described the situation Germany was in at the end of World War II.

fraternisation

When the soldiers of an occupying army interact and form relationships with the local citizens.

malnutrition

The state of not having enough food to eat, particularly food that is nourishing and healthy.

📍 **Source 1.05** A bombed-out building in Wittenbergplatz, Berlin. Many of the signs posted give directions to merchants' new locations.

Stunde Null was a time of famine, inflation and massive unemployment in Germany. In 1945 the French zone only produced enough food for half the population because extremely cold weather affected the harvest. Germans called this *der Erlendswinter* ('the miserable winter'). Cardinal Josef Frings of the Catholic Church in Cologne even suggested that stealing food or coal for your family was acceptable, sparking robberies called *fringsen*, meaning 'to steal to survive'. For example, the food supply for the city of Königsberg, in what was once East Prussia, had been destroyed, and some people resorted to eating human flesh in the form of fried meatballs. **Malnutrition** affected the economy, as the starving workers were unable to work hard. The destruction of transport systems during World War II prevented the movement of coal for industry, creating mass unemployment, and the black market became prominent, as people paid for goods with cigarettes or by bartering. De-industrialisation caused the further loss of more than 3500 factories in Germany. These factories were dismantled and shipped to the Allied countries as war reparations. With such a devastating loss of infrastructure, almost five million jobs were wiped out. Berlin's population declined to 65 per cent of its pre-war size, with sixteen women to every ten men. One-quarter of the population was more than sixty years old, and there were more than 50,000 orphans who had no recollection of who they were.



POTSDAM CONFERENCE

JOSEPH STALIN: 'Poland is not only a question of honour but of life and death for the Soviet Union.'

Five months after the Yalta Conference, the Allied leaders arranged to meet again in Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin. Now that the common enemy had been defeated, it was time for the suggestions put forward at Yalta to be finalised. However, the atmosphere of this conference—which spanned two weeks (17 July–2 August)—changed dramatically because of new leadership. President Roosevelt had died on 12 April 1945 and was replaced by US Vice-President Harry Truman. Further, Winston Churchill was replaced by Clement Attlee during the conference, after losing the British general election. Truman was considered more anti-communist than Roosevelt, and relations between the three countries were clouded by a sense of mistrust, suspicion and rivalry.

The Big Three agreed on several issues, including:

- the division of Germany and subsequent demilitarisation of its factories, as discussed at Yalta
- the Japanese government would be called on to accept the terms of an unconditional surrender. Japan would then be occupied by Allied forces until the complete **disarmament** of its military forces and the establishment of a peaceful and responsible government
- Nazi war criminals would be prosecuted swiftly, with the first list of defendants published before 1 September 1945
- the 'humane and orderly' transfer of all ethnic German populations living in Eastern Europe to Germany. This led to ten million people being forcibly moved, and it is believed that 500,000 expelled people died due to starvation, **hypothermia** or violence.

Did you know? Truman's opinion on the Soviet Union can perhaps be gleaned from a comment he made during World War II when he was a Democratic senator for Missouri. In June 1941 Truman told a journalist, 'If we see that Germany is winning we should help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible, although I don't want Hitler to win under any circumstances.'²

disarmament

Taking away the weapons of a defeated nation and greatly reducing its armed forces.

hypothermia

Prolonged exposure to conditions of extreme cold.



Did you know? The Nuremberg war crimes trials began in November 1945, and twenty-four members of the Nazi Party were charged. Eleven were sentenced to death for crimes against humanity, three received life sentences, four received fixed-term sentences and three were acquitted. The trials lasted more than 200 days.

Source 1.06 The accused at the Nuremberg trials, including Karl Doenitz, Franz von Papen, Albert Speer, Hermann Göring and Joachim von Ribbentrop.

ratified

When a proposed law is accepted and comes into effect.

provisional government

A temporary body that governs until a legitimate and permanent government can be elected or appointed.

impinge

To interfere with or reduce another's capacity.

subsist

To support oneself.

Manhattan Project

The code name for the US effort to design and produce an atomic explosive device during World War II.



Source 1.07 A replica of the atomic bomb named 'Fat Man' that was dropped on Nagasaki on 9 August 1945.

The following issues were considered controversial:

- **Poland:** While the changing borders of Poland were *ratified* at Potsdam, there was much suspicion over the political situation in the country. Both the US and Great Britain were aware that Stalin's Red Army currently occupied Poland after removing the Nazi forces from the region. The Potsdam protocols acknowledged the desire to protect the Polish *provisional government*, and restated the need for free elections. However, in reality both Churchill and Truman knew that Stalin had already organised a communist government.
- **Reparations:** Disagreements arose over reparations. Truman was determined not to repeat the mistakes of the Treaty of Versailles, whereas Stalin wanted to cripple Germany because of the devastation it had caused the Soviet Union, which lost up to twenty-seven million people during World War II. However, a monetary figure, as Stalin put forward during Yalta, was never agreed on. Eventually the Potsdam Agreement settled on the following terms:
 - » Reparations should not *impinge* on the German people's right to *subsist* independently and free from the need for foreign assistance.
 - » Claims by the Soviet Union should be recovered from assets within its own occupied Eastern Zone. The Soviet Union would also settle reparation claims made by Poland.
 - » Claims for all other entitled countries should be recovered from the Western zones.
 - » The Soviet Union could remove 10 per cent of all industrial equipment within the Western Zone if it was not considered necessary for the German economy.
 - » All countries agreed not to interfere in the claiming of shares of German businesses within each other's zone.
- **Atomic bomb:** The issue of the atomic bomb also heightened suspicion during the conference. One day before the Potsdam Conference began, the US successfully tested an atomic bomb that had been developed under the *Manhattan Project*. While it is believed that Stalin knew about this from Soviet intelligence, it was not until a week later, on 24 July 1945, that Truman personally told Stalin that the US had 'a new weapon of unusual destructive force'.³ As Truman had not specifically mentioned the bomb's true potential, there was much speculation about what Stalin must have been thinking and whether he understood the magnitude of the information.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1.09 Create a table that summarises the continuities and changes that occurred between the Yalta and Potsdam conferences.

	CONTINUITIES	CHANGES
Settlements regarding the end of World War II		
Diplomatic relations between leaders		
International affairs and events		

AT POTSDAM: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONVERSATION ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB

President Truman

On July 24 I casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusual destructive force. The Russian Premier showed no special interest. All he said was he was glad to hear it and hoped we would make good use of it against the Japanese.

 **Source 1.08** Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1955), 416.

Winston Churchill

I was perhaps five yards away, and I watched with the closest attention the momentous talk. I knew what the President was going to do. What was vital to measure was its effect on Stalin. I can see it all as if it were yesterday. He seemed to be delighted. A new bomb! Of extraordinary power! Probably decisive on the whole Japanese war! What a bit of luck! This was my impression at the moment, and I was sure that he had no idea of the significance of what he was being told ... his face remained gay and genial. As we were waiting for our cars I found myself near Truman. 'How did it go?' I asked. 'He never asked a question,' he replied. I was certain therefore that at that date Stalin had no special knowledge of the vast process of research upon which the United States and Britain had been engaged for so long.

 **Source 1.09** Winston Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953), 669–670.

Soviet Marshal Georgii Zhukov

At that moment Churchill fixed his gaze on Stalin's face, closely observing his reaction. However, Stalin did not betray his feelings and pretended that he saw nothing special in what Truman had imparted to him. Both Churchill and many other Anglo-American authors subsequently assumed that Stalin had really failed to fathom the significance of what he had heard.

 **Source 1.10** Georgii Konstantinovich Zhukov, *The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1971), 674–675.

In actual fact, on returning to his quarters after this meeting Stalin, in my presence, told Molotov about his conversation with Truman. The latter reacted almost immediately. 'Let them. We'll have to talk it over with Kurchatov [the Soviet nuclear physicist in charge of the USSR's atomic bomb project] and get him to speed things up.' I realized that they were talking about research on the atomic bomb.

Charles Bohlen (Truman's interpreter)

Across the room, I watched Stalin's face carefully as the President broke the news. So offhand was Stalin's response that there was some question in my mind whether the President's message had got through. I should have known better than to underrate the dictator.

 **Source 1.11** Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929–1969* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), 247–248.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

1.10 Why is it important for a historian to always research more than one perspective when gathering evidence? Think about how the perspectives given in Sources 1.08–1.11 shaped or changed your opinion as you read them.

1.11 How have the memoirs of the individuals in Sources 1.09–1.12 ensured that this short moment in history has remained a topic of much debate?

1.12 What is your final opinion about Stalin's possible understanding, or lack thereof, of the atomic bomb? What evidence or perspective would further help to clarify your opinion?

ANALYSING A SOURCE

Did you know? 'The 12 Points' written on the newspaper that Truman is showing to Stalin and Attlee refers to a foreign policy statement made by Truman in October 1945. In it, he stated that the US opposed territorial expansion and aggressive wars. The US would respect the sovereign right of people to form governments of their own choosing. However, Truman also stated that the US would retain sole possession of the atomic bomb.

➔ **Source 1.12** A political cartoon by British journalist David Low in *The Evening Standard* on 30 October 1945 showing reactions to Truman's secret weapon.

SOURCE ANALYSIS QUESTION

Evaluate the significance of Truman's decisions regarding the development and use of the atomic bomb as a cause of the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.



How to structure your answer

This question asks you to determine what the causes of the Cold War were, and the role played by the development of the atomic bomb in that process. There are three important elements to any answer.

Take note of all these elements in the response on the next page.

Strong opening sentence: Your first sentence must make a statement that directly addresses, and answers, the question. You should acknowledge that the factor listed in the question certainly contributed to the outbreak of the Cold War. You should then indicate that other factors also played a role. This helps you 'evaluate' or 'analyse' the *significance* of the factor presented in the question.

Body of the paragraph: You should discuss the factor presented in the question first. You should then bring in two to four other relevant factors and discuss how they also contributed. In general, each point should:

- a) begin with a linking phrase to clearly signpost the start of a new reason (e.g. first, second, third, another, also, further, in addition)
- b) provide specific historical details such as:
 - » dates » key terms » statistics
 - » events » names » places.

You could also briefly quote a historical perspective (primary source) or historical interpretation (secondary source)

- c) explicitly outline how it is significant or important in relation to the question.

Referring to the source: It is a good idea to quote from a written source or refer to elements of a visual source. For images you may also refer to the caption. It is best to incorporate your references to the sources when discussing the factor listed in the question. Make it obvious to the reader by using phrases such as:

- a) 'As Churchill notes in this extract from his "Iron Curtain" speech ...'
- b) 'This is depicted in the visual by ...'

SAMPLE RESPONSE

Evaluate the significance of Truman's decisions regarding the development and use of the atomic bomb as a cause of the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.

Signposting three relevant factors in the opening sentences. ① ② ③

Analysis of causal factors.

Introducing new factors with **signposting**.

Analysis of causal factors.

Introducing new factors with **signposting**.

Quotations from primary perspectives.

① The way that President Truman first attempted to conceal, then dramatically use, the atomic bomb contributed enormously to the outbreak of the Cold War. However, **other** factors, such as Stalin's search for security and the US requiring free and open global markets, were also critical. The atomic bomb was developed under the Manhattan Project with great secrecy. The decision to use the weapon on Japan on 6 and 9 August 1945 showed Stalin that the Americans were not interested in sharing the technology of this deadly new device. *The concern that this caused Stalin is represented in the cartoon by David Low. Stalin's body language is guarded, even defensive, while Truman tightly holds on to an atomic bomb labelled 'private'.*

Another factor that led to tensions between the USSR and the US was Stalin's desire for security. Russia had **'deep-rooted security fears'** (McMahon), and Stalin wanted a series of buffer states to protect the Soviet Union from future attack. America's sole possession of the atomic bomb only heightened Stalin's insistence on dominating neighbouring states in Europe.

In addition to this, the US feared slipping back to an economic depression at the end of the war; hence, they desired open markets worldwide to secure cheap raw resources and sell surplus manufactured goods. This would keep American workers in relatively well-paid jobs and maintain their high standard of living. The spread of communism in Eastern Europe threatened America's vision of the post-war world and seemingly proved **George Kennan's view that 'world communism is like [a] malignant parasite.'** Overall, while Truman's decisions about the use of the atomic bomb certainly contributed to the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust, the underlying fears of both the US and USSR also played key roles in causing the Cold War.

Introducing new factors with **signposting**.

Specific historical knowledge.

Referring to the source.

Quotations from **historical interpretations.**

Specific historical knowledge.

Analysis of causal factors.

In a History exam you might be given 15 minutes to respond to questions of this nature. You should aim to write **250–300 words** in that time.

Word count: 290 words

COLD WAR SYMBOLS

Common Cold War symbols seen in political cartoons and posters

UNITED STATES

LEADERS

Truman—round glasses, big grin and often wearing a suit.



NATIONAL SYMBOLS

Stars and stripes of the US flag.



Uncle Sam or an eagle.



IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS

Dollar symbol to show economic strength or capitalism.



SOCIETY

Capitalist: Often wearing a top hat, striped pants; overweight.



SOVIET UNION

LEADERS



Stalin—large, thick moustache, smoking a pipe and wearing a military jacket.



Molotov—small moustache, fierce eyebrows and round glasses.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS



Hammer and sickle of the Soviet Union.



Brown bear.

IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS



Red star or red flag to symbolise unity under communism.

SOCIETY

Worker/Proletariat: Often holding a tool and wearing an apron; strong arms.

OTHER

LEADERS

Churchill—often smoking a cigar.



NATIONAL SYMBOLS



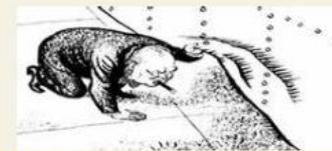
Union Jack, the British flag.



John Bull.

IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS

Barriers to symbolise the Iron Curtain or division, such as fences, a tennis court net and walls. Usually someone is spying or peering over them.



SOCIETY



Fists or arm wrestles to show strength or a power struggle.

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY

The phrase *atomic diplomacy* described US foreign policy after the tense Potsdam Conference. Since the US was the only country with atomic weapons at that time, it was believed that US military power could be used as a threat to pressure other countries to align with US diplomatic goals. At the Potsdam Conference, Stalin's agreement to enter the Pacific War three months after the war in Europe had ended greatly concerned the US government. It was believed that this would only increase the Soviet Union's sphere of influence in the Pacific region and affect the balance of power.

Realising Stalin's intentions for Eastern Europe, Truman did not want to see another co-occupation similar to Germany; instead, he wanted the Japanese occupation to be led entirely by the US. The decision to use nuclear technology to end the Pacific War was not debated at length, as it was firmly believed that it would bring a faster end to the conflict and ensure fewer war casualties. As Truman put it, 'When you have to deal with a beast, you have to treat him as a beast'.⁴ Additionally, the use of such a weapon justified the cost of the Manhattan Project, which amounted to US\$2 billion (US\$26 billion in today's currency).

Apart from ending the war, atomic diplomacy may have also been used by the US in attempts to persuade the Soviet Union to allow free elections in Eastern Europe. If this was the case, it did not achieve its goal. Atomic weapons only made Stalin more anxious about the security of the Soviet Union and determined to protect its borders with a buffer zone. The atomic age had just begun, and the actions of the US in July and August 1945 would profoundly shape international relations for the rest of the twentieth century.

President Truman's radio report on the use of the atomic bomb in Japan, 9 August 1945

The British, Chinese and United States governments have given the Japanese people adequate warning of what is in store for them. We have laid down the general terms on which they can surrender. Our warning went unheeded; our terms were rejected. Since then the Japanese have seen what our atomic bomb can do. They can foresee what it will do in the future.

The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on her war industries and, unfortunately, thousands of civilian lives will be lost. I urge Japanese civilians to leave industrial cities immediately, and save themselves from destruction.

I realise the tragic significance of the atomic bomb. ... Having found the bomb, we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretence of obeying international laws of warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.

We shall continue to use it until we completely destroy Japan's power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us.

Source 1.14 Hiroshima, Japan, after the atomic bomb was dropped.



atomic diplomacy

When a nation uses the threat of nuclear weapons in its negotiations with other nations to secure an advantage or exert its will.

Source 1.13 University of Virginia, <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/august-9-1945-radio-report-american-people-potsdam-conference>

Did you know? VP Day (Victory in the Pacific) or VJ Day (Victory over Japan) is celebrated on 15 August in Australia. In 1945, the Australian government declared a public holiday and the capital cities witnessed the biggest crowds ever assembled. It was time to celebrate the ending of a war that took 34,000 Australian lives. In New York, VJ Day has been symbolised by several photos of a sailor and a nurse kissing in Times Square. It has become one of the most iconic images of the twentieth century. For the sixty-fifth anniversary of VJ Day, an 8-metre-tall sculpture of the kissing couple was placed in Times Square and a lookalike competition was held.



↑ A similar image, taken on VJ Day, by US Navy photographer Victor Jorgensen.

TIMELINE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE END OF THE PACIFIC WAR

26
JULY
1945
Truman and Churchill demand the unconditional surrender of Japan at the Potsdam Conference.

27
JULY
1945
A Japanese newspaper publishes the censored version of the Potsdam terms under the heading 'Laughable Matter'. The Supreme War Council consensus is lost, and Prime Minister Suzuki announces the following: 'The government does not regard [the Potsdam Declaration] as a thing of any value; the government will just ignore it. We will press forward resolutely to carry the war to a successful conclusion.'

28
JULY
1945
The city of Toyama is completely destroyed by 173 B-29 American bombers. Toyama produces aluminium and steel, and has 150,000 residents at the time of the bombing. The Potsdam Conference ends.

30
JULY
1945
The first use of an atomic bomb as a weapon takes place at Hiroshima at 8.15 a.m. 'Little Boy' is released from the *Enola Gay* B-29 bomber, and kills 80,000 people instantly. The blast is equal to roughly 15,000 tonnes of TNT, and wipes out 90 per cent of the city. Japan does not surrender.



1-2
AUGUST
1945
Japan's Supreme War Council discusses the demands, and decides to gain clarification of the terms through the Soviet Union. At this stage it does not reject the terms. The Japanese government fears that the Allies might make the terms known to the public so it releases a censored version of the Potsdam terms.

6
AUGUST
1945
Days after transporting half of the world's enriched uranium for the bomb called Little Boy, the USS *Indianapolis* is torpedoed by a Japanese Imperial Navy submarine. The heavy cruiser sinks in just 12 minutes. Although 900 men from a crew of 1196 manage to survive the initial attack, only 317 men survive the following days because of dehydration, saltwater poisoning, drowning and shark attacks.



8
AUGUST
1945
The Soviet Union enters the war against Japan by invading Manchuria from three fronts an hour before midnight. Japan is caught completely by surprise.

9
AUGUST
1945
Another atomic bomb, called 'Fat Man', is dropped over Nagasaki at 11.02 a.m. It is estimated that 75,000 people are killed instantly. Truman holds a radio broadcast announcing that the bombings have taken place.

14
AUGUST
1945
Japan unconditionally surrenders to the Allies.

JAPANESE OCCUPATION

After World War II ended, Japan was occupied by the US. All major Japanese cities except Kyoto had been destroyed during the war, including their industries and transport infrastructure.

War crimes trials took place. In 1947 a new **constitution** was written, removing all political and military power from the emperor, who was reduced to being a figurehead. Universal suffrage was granted to the Japanese people, and Article 9 of the constitution outlined the abandonment of the use of war as a way to settle international disputes. Despite these new political freedoms, Japan was in a critical situation economically. During 1947–1948 there was a severe shortage of food, as well as a shortage of the **raw materials** needed to stimulate markets and industry. Rehabilitating the Japanese economy was the highest priority for the US, which feared that a communist takeover could occur in East Asia if Japan was weak. The US occupation of Japan ended on 8 September 1951 when forty-eight nations signed the Treaty of San Francisco. From this point, Japan was once again a sovereign nation.

war crimes

When soldiers commit acts in wartime that fall outside agreed laws of warfare.

constitution

The legal document outlining the principles, structure and rules of a government system.

raw materials

The basic resources of a country, such as wood, oil, gas, iron and coal, used to manufacture a wide range of items.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 1.13 Explain what the phrase 'atomic diplomacy' means.
- 1.14 How many days passed from the start of the Potsdam Conference to the end of World War II? Would you consider this a fast end to World War II, as Truman had hoped?
- 1.15 What does the phrase '*Stunde Null*' mean?
- 1.16 Describe the living conditions in Germany at this time.
- 1.17 List and explain the agreements made at the Potsdam Conference by the 'Big Three'.
- 1.18 Did the policy of 'atomic diplomacy' work for the US? Explain your answer.
- 1.19 Explain the impact of the US occupation of Japan after World War II.

EXTENSION

1.20 After reading Source 1.13, discuss why Truman might have felt so confident when explaining the use of the atomic bomb and threatening to use it again in the future. Compare his tone to the dialogue of world leaders in the twenty-first century.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

- 1.21 Hold a class discussion about the actions of the US government towards Japan. To what extent was the use of the bomb justified? Remember to include reasons that support and oppose each question raised.
- 1.22 Do you think the use of the atomic bomb resulted in fewer war casualties than the alternative of continuing invasions and battles?
- 1.23 How did the use of atomic bombs compare to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?
- 1.24 Did the use of atomic bombs on Japan ultimately bring peace to the world?
- 1.25 Do you believe that the post-war occupation of Japan was successful in re-establishing a country devastated by war? Provide evidence to support your answer.

IRON CURTAIN

WINSTON CHURCHILL: 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent.'

Iron Curtain

Winston Churchill's description of impenetrable Soviet control over Eastern Europe from the end of World War II.

satire

The use of humour or exaggeration to criticise or expose the flaws in another's arguments, decisions or actions.

paranoia

The unfounded belief that someone or something presents a threat to you.

Congress

The federal legislative body of the US, which has two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate.

warmonger

A term of insult used against someone who looks forward to, or tries to encourage, warfare and conflict.

Winston Churchill famously used the term **Iron Curtain** when describing the actions of the Soviet government during 1945. In multiple telegrams between the Yalta and Potsdam peace conferences, Churchill expressed to Truman his concerns that this metaphorical divide was being built between Eastern and Western Europe. Additionally, Churchill complained to Stalin about the 'iron fence' that was being established in Bucharest during the Potsdam Conference. However, it was not until 5 March 1946, after Churchill's US lecture tour, that international recognition was given to the term. At Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, he described the geographic location of the Iron Curtain in his 'Sinews of Peace' speech. Churchill's intention was to warn the Western world of the threat Stalin posed and urge the US to remain an accountable stakeholder in world politics. He wanted to prevent US isolationism from re-occurring by reminding the audience of the consequences of inaction against the Nazi regime. Further, Churchill encouraged unity among the nations of the Western world to quell the spread of communism.

At the time, the public still regarded the Soviet Union as an ally, and the term 'Iron Curtain' was not well received; many people were even angered by the message. In their minds, not even a year had passed since the Allied victory in World War II, and hearing such doom and gloom was not appreciated—the announcement of yet another threat to world peace was simply exhausting. The press published many cartoons **satirising** and exaggerating Churchill's apparent **paranoia**, and one newspaper even suggested his speech was an 'ideological declaration of war against Russia'.⁵ The US **Congress** was reportedly 'shocked' and jolted by the sentiment. Truman's government had not publicly acknowledged any of the tense communications with Stalin, so although they agreed with Churchill, they were not pleased to have it so candidly announced.

Stalin commented in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* that Churchill was a **warmonger**, and compared him to Hitler. (Churchill's 'Sinews of Peace' speech was not published in the USSR until 1998.) Throughout 1946–1947, as more information was released about the international relations between the US and the USSR, people came to accept the 'Iron Curtain' metaphor as a reference to the division occurring within Europe. In hindsight, many would consider Churchill's speech a prophecy of the Cold War.



Source 1.15 A Soviet cartoon of Churchill in 1946. Churchill is shown with two flags, one declaring 'Anglo-Saxons must rule the world' and the other threatening an 'Iron Curtain'. Hitler and Goebbels are in the background.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 1.15 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 1.26 How is Churchill portrayed in this cartoon?
- 1.27 What is the possible motive for creating this cartoon?
- 1.28 To what extent does this image provide an accurate depiction of Churchill's speech?

THE 'LONG TELEGRAM'

Despite the US government's alarmed response to Churchill's speech, it was well aware of the growing polarisation between the West and the Soviet Union. On 9 February 1946, at a meeting of voters in an electoral district of Moscow, Stalin argued that World War II was caused by capitalism because it promoted uneven and unequal economic development. He stated that 'the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps, and war breaks out between them'. He then declared the Soviet social system victorious, having emerged successful after World War II and proven 'that it is fully viable'.⁶ Following Stalin's speech, the US government contacted the US embassy in Moscow, asking for an analysis of the Soviet position. George Kennan, a US embassy diplomat, replied on 22 February with an 8000-word telegram stating his views on the Soviet Union and suggesting policies that should be implemented. His message was very strong, and it shaped the future policy of containment. Source 1.16 contains extracts from Kennan's telegram.

The 'Long Telegram' sent by George Kennan

USSR still lives in antagonistic 'capitalist encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence. ... At bottom of *Kremlin's* neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity. ... For this reason they have always feared foreign penetration, feared direct contact between Western world and their own. ... And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it. ... Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like [a] malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue.

 **Source 1.16** The George Washington University National Security Archive, <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>

Historian John Lewis Gaddis on the roots of the Cold War

So what *did* Stalin want? ... Stalin's post-war goals were security for himself, his regime, his country and his ideology, in precisely that order. ... What did the Americans want after the war? Unquestionably also security. ... The Americans did seek global influence in the realm of ideas: their Declaration of Independence had, after all, advanced the radical claim that *all men* were created equal. ... With all these priorities, what prospects were there for a World War II settlement that would preserve the Grand Alliance? Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin no doubt had hoped for such an outcome: nobody wanted new enemies so soon after having overcome their old ones. But their coalition had been, from the start, *both* a means of cooperating to defeat the Axis *and* an instrument through which each of the victors sought to position itself for maximum influence in the postwar world. It could hardly be otherwise: despite claims made by the Big Three [Great Britain, the USA and the USSR] that politics were adjourned [put aside; ignored] while the war was going on, none of them believed in or sought to practise this principle. What they did do—in communications and conferences mostly shrouded from public view—was to try to reconcile [bring together] divergent [different] political objectives even as they pursued a common military task. For the most part, they failed, and it was in that failure that the roots of the Cold War lay.



 George Kennan in 1947.

Kremlin

The official residence of the Soviet government in Moscow; Russian for 'fortress'.

 **Source 1.17** John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (London: Penguin, 2005), 10–18.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Sources 1.16 and 1.17 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 1.29** Explain Stalin's motives and goals at the end of World War II.
- 1.30** Explain America's aims at the end of World War II.
- 1.31** Explain how Gaddis's views are similar to, and different from, those of Kennan.
- 1.32** Analyse the significance of national security as a cause of the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.

➔ **Source 1.18** Winston Churchill, 'The Sinews of Peace,' NATO On-line Library, http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1946/s460305a_e.htm



↑ Winston Churchill in 1941.

Churchill's Iron Curtain speech, 5 March 1946

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favours to groups of left-wing German leaders.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 1.33** What was Churchill's aim when he referred to an 'iron curtain'?
- 1.34** Why was the term 'Iron Curtain' not well received by some people?
- 1.35** Why did Churchill believe unity was needed among Western countries?
- 1.36** Why did Churchill regard the US as an important country in establishing such unity?
- 1.37** Why might the US government have preferred that Churchill not discuss the Iron Curtain?

HISTORICAL SOURCES —PERSPECTIVES

- Using Source 1.18 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.
- 1.38** What feelings does Churchill exhibit towards Russia in the first paragraph? Cite specific examples.
- 1.39** How does his message change in the second paragraph? Support your answer with two specific quotations.
- 1.40** What is the tone of the speech? Does it change within this extract?
- 1.41** Explain the significance of free elections in Europe after World War II.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES —ROLE-PLAY

- 1.42** In groups of three, create a role-play that communicates one perspective held about Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech. It is important to convey empathy for those involved. Divide the following perspectives among the class to ensure all perspectives are covered:
- the general public's perspective
 - Winston Churchill's perspective (possibly portraying his feelings the next day and one year later)
 - the US government's perspective
 - Joseph Stalin's perspective
 - the media's perspective.

'SALAMI' TACTICS

MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI (HEAD OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY):
'Cutting [countries] off like slices of salami.'

Despite the initial hostile reactions to Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech, the West became increasingly aware of the Soviet Union's *expansionist* policies as the year progressed. Although not mentioned until 1952, Hungarian communist leader Mátyás Rákosi coined the term *salami tactics* to describe Stalin's 1945–1947 actions. In retrospect, Rákosi suggested that the Soviet Union sliced off all non-communist political parties in Eastern Europe. He boldly stated that 'the presence in the country of the Soviet army precluded any attempt at armed rebellion'. Stalin was determined to protect Russia from a future attack by increasing its sphere of influence. By gaining control of the independent countries between East Germany and Russia, Stalin was able to create a buffer zone of *satellite states*. These satellite states became known as the *Eastern Bloc*. The occupation of each country completely disregarded the intent of the Potsdam Conference, which had outlined the importance of holding free elections in Eastern Europe. In some cases these occupied countries also had to repay war reparations to the Soviet Union based on the Paris Peace Conference, which was held in the latter half of 1946. The following countries were affected:

- **Albania:** communists took power without opposition (1945).
- **Bulgaria:** a communist party gained power and then executed the leaders of all other parties (1945).
- **Poland:** a coalition government was formed in 1945, but all non-communist leaders were arrested and party members were forced into exile (1947).
- **Romania:** Communists gradually took control after being elected in 1945. Romania was forced to pay US\$300 million in reparations to the Soviet Union.
- **Hungary:** Elections were permitted, and non-communists won a majority of seats. However, Mátyás Rákosi, a communist, gradually pressured other parties to remove those who were not willing to work with the communists. By 1947 he had gained control of the police and brutally oppressed all opponents. Hungary also had to pay US\$200 million in reparations to the Soviet Union.
- **Czechoslovakia:** A communist party was elected in 1945. By 1948, all other parties had been banned and their leaders killed.
- **Yugoslavia:** No interference was needed to promote communism, as President Tito maintained a strong and respected regime within the country. Yugoslavia remained independent because it had not been liberated by the Red Army during World War II.

expansionist

A nation that seeks to increase its territory and power by aggressively attacking and taking over other countries.

salami tactics

The act of defeating an opponent by taking off one 'slice' at a time.

satellite states

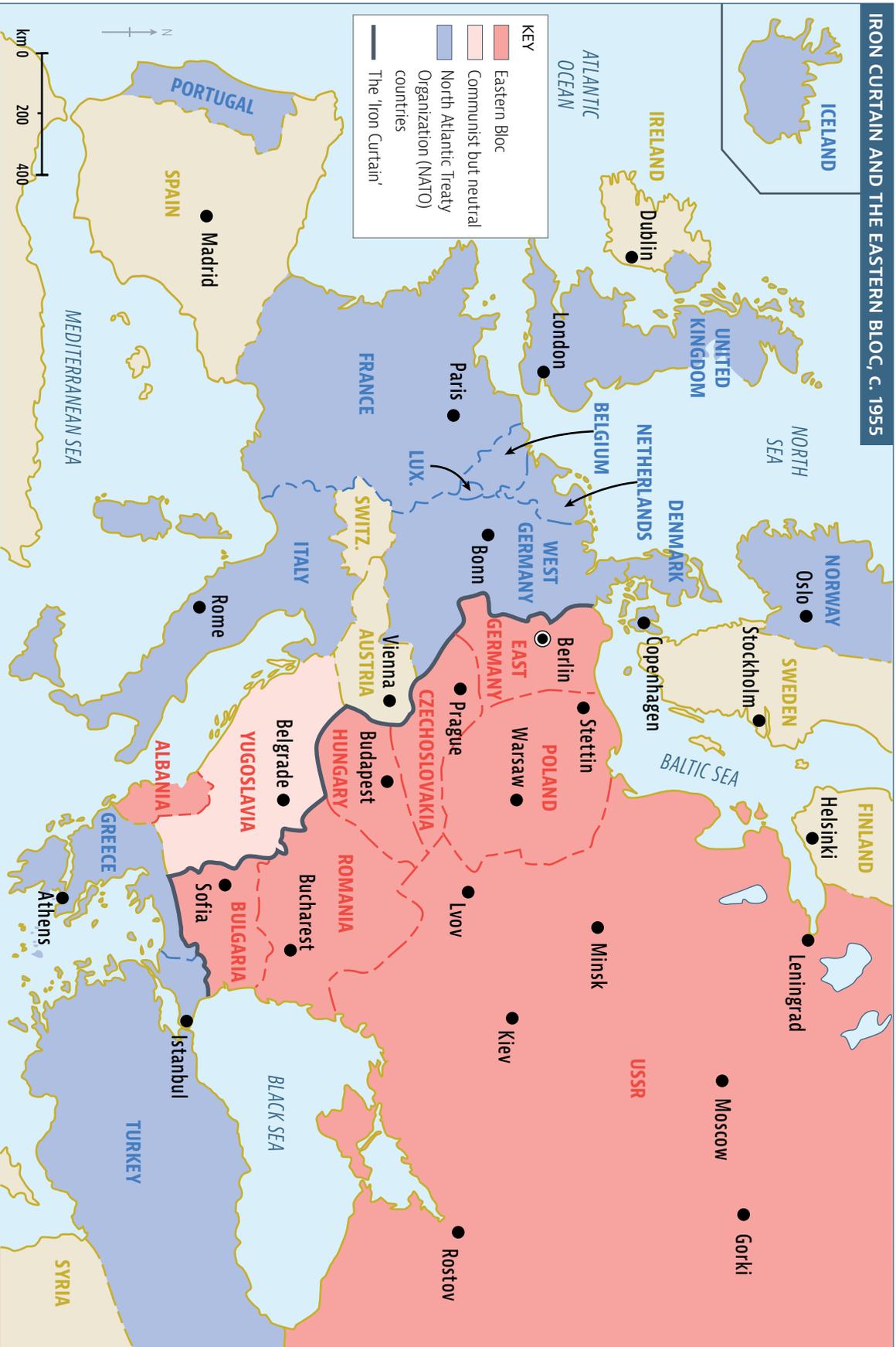
A country or countries dominated or under the control of a more powerful nation; they may not necessarily share a border; similar to a sphere of influence.

Eastern Bloc

The countries of Eastern Europe that fell under the dominance of the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1989.

Did you know? The set amount for war reparations was decided at the Paris Peace Conference, which was held from July to October 1946. Many countries that had to pay reparations also had their pre-war borders restored. Italy was forced to end its colonial empire and recognise the independence of Albania, Libya and countries within eastern Africa.

IRON CURTAIN AND THE EASTERN BLOC, c. 1955



Source 1.19 Map showing the Iron Curtain and the satellite states that formed the Eastern Bloc under Stalin's control, c. 1955.

Bloc Heads

Before the war in Europe ended, in May, 1945, the Soviets had already begun to establish 'people's democracies' in the countries of Eastern Europe. When Winston Churchill gave his Iron Curtain speech, in March, 1946, it was clear that Stalin had no intention of withdrawing from Eastern Europe, or of allowing regimes unfriendly to the Soviet Union to install themselves there. ... For the next six years, the Soviets, using tactics of intimidation, imprisonment, execution, assassination, election rigging, and show trials, eliminated all political opposition. It turned those nations into one-party states and installed puppet regimes.

What Churchill and Roosevelt did not foresee is ... that the Soviet Union would not stop at installing friendly regimes in the countries on its borders but would embark on a totalitarian remake of the entire region, complete with ethnic cleansing. It's not clear, though, that even Stalin foresaw the direction that events would take. All the evidence is that the Kremlin believed that the Communists would easily win open elections in the liberated countries. It was only when this proved to be a delusion that the Soviets began seriously to force the issue.

 **Source 1.20** Louis Menand, 'Bloc Heads: Life behind the Iron Curtain', *The New Yorker*, 12 November 2012.

Did you know? In response to the Eastern Bloc that Stalin had formed, the American and British zones within West Germany combined on 1 January 1947 to form the 'Bizonia'. The agreement stated the following: 'It is the aim of the two governments to attain a self-supporting economy in this area by the end of 1949.' In 1949, France also joined the merger and the area became known as 'Trizonia'.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 1.20 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

1.43 Explain the methods used by the Soviet Union to install friendly regimes in the Eastern Bloc.

1.44 Explain Stalin's broader aim in Europe.

1.45 Analyse the significance of Stalin's actions as a cause of the Cold War in Europe. Use evidence to support your response.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

1.46 This task can be completed individually or in pairs. Choose one country that was located behind the Iron Curtain. Research the political and social events that took place in this country from 1945–1948. Formulate three key historical inquiry questions that help you to evaluate the extent to which free and democratic elections were undertaken, as proposed by Roosevelt in his 'Declaration on Liberated Europe'.

Possible methods of presentation include the following:

- **A poster**
Make sure it is visually appealing by including images of leaders, maps, symbols and a timeline. You could incorporate a concept map or diagram to separate each inquiry question. Make sure you clearly answer the question by making a judgement.
- **A presentation**
Use your inquiry questions as the basis for each slide, and ensure the majority of your information is contained within the speech. Include images of leaders, maps, symbols and a timeline in your presentation. Conclude by answering the question and making a judgement.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE

SENATOR VANDENBERG: 'Scare the hell out of the American people.'

The *Truman Doctrine* was the US response to George Kennan's 'Long Telegram' and Stalin's expansionist 'salami tactics'. The doctrine was designed to contain the spread of communism in Europe. Most of the countries that were vulnerable to communism were poor countries with unstable economies. By pouring aid into these countries, Truman hoped to strengthen their economies and make them less susceptible to the appeal of communism. Aware of the Iron Curtain that had developed during 1946, Truman decided that a policy of **containment** was vital once Greece and Turkey became Stalin's next potential targets. On 21 February 1947, Britain announced it could no longer support Greece and Turkey financially or militarily. Both were in a poor political state, with weak governments and crumbling economies. In Greece, a

Truman Doctrine

Taking its name from US President Harry S. Truman, this foreign policy initiative marked the commencement of efforts to contain communism. This principle would dominate US foreign policy initiatives throughout the world during the Cold War.

containment

The strategy of preventing the further growth and influence of a rival or opponent.

insurgency

An uprising by a small group aiming to take over a country.

communist-led **insurgency** known as the National Liberation Front was on the rise, and the country was in a state of civil war. In Turkey, the Dardanelles (the narrow strip of water between the Mediterranean and Black seas) were considered a strategic vantage point for the USSR. To prevent further expansion, Truman considered it was the duty of the US to continue to aid Greece and Turkey to prevent communism from spreading into the Middle East or around the Mediterranean. It was decided that President Truman must address the US Congress about the situation and emphasise its seriousness in a public broadcast over the radio.

On 12 March 1947, Truman asked US Congress for US\$400 million to assist Greece and Turkey. Half of this amount would be solely for military purposes, with Greece receiving US\$125 million for economic aid. His speech reiterated the importance of allowing people to live in free societies, compared with those people he considered to be living under totalitarian regimes. Truman promoted Western political ideology and clearly expressed his intentions to halt expansionism, but did not openly threaten the USSR. The doctrine created an 'us versus them' or 'good versus evil' culture within the US, and heightened public suspicion of anyone who might not fully support the capitalist way of life. The media highlighted the positives of living in a free country to ensure that the US was unified with the government's political stance.

Truman's speech had international significance. It established a division between countries in Europe and their sphere of influence, and marked the solid involvement by the US in European affairs, possibly fulfilling the obligation mentioned by Churchill

in 1946. This was a fundamental change to the US foreign policy previously maintained by President Roosevelt. In France, the French Communist Party had become the biggest single political party, with 26 per cent of the vote in the post-war elections. A similar case was reported in Italy, whose national communist party had more than 1.17 million members. However, after Truman's address, both parties were expelled in May 1947.

Source 1.21 A 1948 Soviet image by Alexander Zhitomirsky showing Truman as a hysterical war drummer.



Source 1.22 Many Greek children were orphaned after World War II. They suffered starvation and 85 per cent contracted tuberculosis.

Excerpts from President Truman's address to Congress, 12 March 1947

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved. One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey. ...

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. ...

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. ...

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East. ...

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

 **Source 1.23** 'Truman Doctrine', Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 1.47** Explain why the phrase 'salami tactics' is used to describe how the Soviet Union took over the countries of Eastern Europe.
- 1.48** Why did Stalin want to create a series of 'buffer states' in Eastern Europe?
- 1.49** What was the main purpose of the Truman Doctrine?
- 1.50** How much economic aid was promised to Greece and Turkey?
- 1.51** What effect did the Truman Doctrine have on countries in Western Europe?

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 1.23 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 1.52** Identify the two lifestyles mentioned by Truman.
- 1.53** Outline four differences between these lifestyles.
- 1.54** Explain why both Greece and Turkey were considered important countries to assist.
- 1.55** Analyse the significance of Truman's speech as a turning point in international relations post-World War II. Use evidence to support your response.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to the topic below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **1.56** Explain how political uncertainty led to the announcement of the 1945–1947 Truman Doctrine.

GUIDE TO EXTENDED RESPONSES

Use the following steps to structure your answer.

- Decide on three or four main reasons or events that led to the Truman Doctrine. Be succinct.
- Discuss each reason chronologically.
- Explain the cause and effect or significance of each reason to show the progression of political uncertainty over time.
- Your answer should end when the Truman Doctrine is reached.

MARSHALL PLAN

After World War II, the industrial and agricultural output of most European countries had been severely disrupted, leaving the population on the brink of starvation. The recently formed UN was providing some humanitarian assistance, but by June 1947 the US decided that it would have to extend the assistance offered in the Truman Doctrine to more countries in Western Europe. Earlier in the year Truman had appointed George Marshall as the US secretary of state, believing him to be the 'the greatest military man America ever produced'.⁷ Marshall realised that the US was the only major power not significantly damaged by the war and, in conjunction with State Department officials including George Kennan, developed the *Marshall Plan*. On 5 June 1947, Marshall announced what was officially known as the European Recovery Program, which aimed to rebuild the economies of Europe and ultimately ensure the future political stability of these countries. By strengthening European countries economically and promoting the benefits of capitalism, Marshall was convinced that any communist ambitions would be overturned. Despite this, the invitation to take part was extended to the Soviet Union, as Marshall believed that excluding them would be perceived as distrust. Marshall's speech outlined the need for Europeans to cooperate and asked all leaders to develop their own plans, which could then receive US funding.

Marshall Plan

Named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall, the Marshall Plan was a program for aid and technical advice to European countries proclaimed by the US in 1947. Its announcement and implementation deepened divisions between the Soviet Union and the US.

<u>"Marshall Plan" Assistance</u> Grants and Loans by Country, April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1952			
(Millions of Dollars)			
COUNTRY	Total	Grants	Loans
GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL MARSHALL PLAN COUNTRIES (Obligations Basis)	\$13,325.8	\$11,820.7	\$1,505.1
Europe			
Austria	677.8	677.8	-
Belgium-Luxembourg	559.3 ^{a/}	491.3	68.0
Denmark	273.0	239.7	33.3
France	2,713.6	2,488.0	225.6
Germany, Federal Republic	1,390.6	1,173.7	216.9 ^{b/}
Iceland	29.3	24.0	5.3
Ireland	127.5	19.3	128.2
Italy (Including Trieste)	1,508.8	1,413.2	95.6
Netherlands (Excluding Indonesia)	982.1	832.6	149.5
Norway	255.3	216.1	39.2
Portugal	51.2	15.1	36.1
Sweden	107.3	86.9	20.4
United Kingdom	3,189.8	2,805.0	384.8
Regional	407.0 ^{c/}	407.0 ^{c/}	-
Other			
Greece	706.7	706.7	-
Turkey	225.1	140.1	85.0
Indonesia (Netherlands East Indies) ^{d/}	101.4	84.2	17.2

^{a/} Loan total includes \$65.0 million for Belgium and \$3.0 million for Luxembourg; grant detail between the two countries is not separable.

^{b/} Includes an original loan figure of \$16.9 million, plus an additional \$200.0 million representing a pro-rated share of grants converted to loans under an agreement signed February 27, 1953.

^{c/} Includes the following: U.S. contribution to European Payments Union capital fund, \$361.4 million; General Freight Account (not attributable by country), \$33.5 million; and European Technical Assistance Authorizations (multi-country or regional), \$12.1 million.

^{d/} Marshall Plan aid to the area now comprising Indonesia was extended through the Netherlands, prior to transfer of sovereignty on December 30, 1949.

Statistics and Reports Division
Office of Program and Policy Coordination
Agency for International Development
August 24, 1967

 **Source 1.24** A summary of Marshall Plan funding provided to each country from 1948–1952. George C. Marshall Foundation, <http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2014/04/funding.jpg>

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 1.24 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

1.57 Calculate the percentage of funding allocated to each of the four countries that received the most money.

1.58 Why do you think some countries received more money than others?

1.59 What do you think might have happened regarding the Netherlands and Indonesia in 1949? Explain your reasoning.

By July 1947, negotiations over the Marshall Plan were underway in Paris. After several days, Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov ended discussion, stating that the Soviet government ‘rejects this plan as being altogether unsatisfactory and incapable of yielding any positive results’.⁸ Following Molotov, the majority of Eastern European countries also rejected the offer, although Poland and Czechoslovakia agreed to attend. However, this did not eventuate, as both countries were prevented from attending, demonstrating the power of Stalin’s sphere of influence. Altogether, sixteen nations received funding through the Marshall Plan, which totalled US\$13 billion in aid through loans or grants. This was substantially less than the requested US\$22 billion drafted by delegates in Paris. The type of aid initially provided by the US included food, fuel, other staples and machinery. All shipments were to be clearly marked ‘For European Recovery—supplied by the United States of America’. There were set conditions and directives each recipient had to fulfil, and the US established its own administrative organisation to oversee all developments to avoid corruption or skimming. Due to the huge effect this aid would have on US taxpayers, the media were not informed of Marshall’s speech. In fact, 51 per cent of Americans had not ever heard of the European Recovery Program even as negotiations were taking place in Paris. Over time, the US government began investing in European industries, maintaining that all raw materials must be supplied by US companies. This displeased many US businesses, which felt that they were only assisting the growth of their future market competition. Despite this, the US economy flourished during the years of the Marshall Plan, providing many jobs and strong trade deals because of Europe’s reliance on American products.

Many specific projects were undertaken to rebuild Europe. In particular, the US was able to greatly assist in improving industry efficiency. Technical assistance programs saw 3000 Europeans visit the US to learn new techniques in industrial and agricultural production. The Ford Motor Company in Britain received new machinery to produce a wide range of vehicles, and the Otis Elevator Company helped to modernise British factories. Other projects involved improving the French aircraft industry, improving textile and leather industries in West Germany, building a new hospital in Portugal, constructing railroads and wharfs in some French and British colonies to increase trade, and allocating US\$50 million towards medicine to combat tuberculosis. The German city of Stuttgart had been reduced to rubble during World War II and owed its rapid rebuilding to the funding provided by the Marshall Plan. Funding ended in 1951 after reporting the fastest period of economic growth in European history. Industrial production increased by 35 per cent, while agricultural production exceeded pre-war levels, helping to eradicate the **poverty** and hunger experienced only a few years earlier. More importantly, the European Recovery Program encouraged the implementation of democratic governments and **liberalisation** within Western Europe. It contained communism by encouraging new **free-trade markets** among cooperating countries, and allowed the US to market itself as a generous yet extremely powerful nation.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 1.60** Describe the state of the European economy in the aftermath of World War II?
- 1.61** What was the main aim of the Marshall Plan?
- 1.62** Which countries in Europe received aid under the Marshall Plan, and which ones missed out?
- 1.63** What effect did Marshall Plan aid have in the countries that accepted it?
- 1.64** How did the Marshall Plan help to extend American influence in Europe?

poverty

Someone is said to be living in poverty when they cannot afford to pay for basic necessities such as food, clothing, rent or a mortgage, heating, cooling, electricity, gas and water.

liberalisation

The process of gaining freedoms and rights, such as freedom of speech and religion.

free-trade markets

A system whereby goods can be bought and sold by nations without government intervention, regulations or taxes.



Source 1.25 'Noses Left', cartoon from a British newspaper, 9 July 1947.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 1.25 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 1.65** Identify the two groups depicted in this cartoon.
- 1.66** Outline the situation in Europe after World War II that led to the creation of the Marshall Plan.
- 1.67** Explain the effect of Marshall Plan aid on the economies of European countries.
- 1.68** Analyse the extent to which this cartoon is an accurate portrayal of the effect of the Marshall Plan on US–Soviet relations after World War II. Use evidence to support your response.

CHAPTER 1 REVIEW

At the end of World War II, the Big Three spoke of diplomacy, security and peace. However, their actions bred a climate of mistrust, fear and conflict. The decisions to use the atomic bomb, to prevent free elections in Eastern Europe, to force emigration based on nationality, to only fund countries if they agreed to a certain political model, and to separate a country into zones instead of keeping it united all betrayed the deeper motivations of the leaders of the US and USSR. The cost of these actions was the loss of innocent lives and personal liberties throughout Europe and Japan. People had already endured a war; now they were deprived of the freedom of choice.

Despite establishing the UN, such divisive political actions by the two superpowers only further polarised international relations, thereby contradicting Roosevelt's optimistic statement, 'Never before have the major Allies been more closely united'. As the two superpowers' spheres of influence grew larger, the second half of the twentieth century was set to be dominated by political suspicion, threats and conflict. Only the mutual fear of ever more advanced atomic weaponry would prevent armed military conflict—a 'hot war'—from occurring. The term 'Cold War' would be used to describe the state of international relations between the US and the USSR for almost fifty years.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- The Big Three failed to compromise on a new world order at the conferences at Yalta and Potsdam.
- The destruction of the Japanese towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US ushered in the atomic age.
- Churchill summarised the new state of international affairs—one of fear, suspicion and competition—in his 'Iron Curtain' speech.
- The Soviet Union brought Eastern Europe under its sphere of influence.
- The US responded with the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, which contained the spread of communism and propped up the failing economies of Western and central Europe.

REVIEW

1.69 Create a concept map that displays the cause and effect of various political actions, policies and speeches made between 1945 and 1947.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **1.70** Explain how the USSR developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.
- **1.71** Explain how the US developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **1.72** John Lewis Gaddis, regarding the origins of the Cold War, stated the following: 'Geography, demography, and tradition contributed to this outcome but did not determine it. It took men, responding unpredictably to circumstances, to forge the chain of causation.'⁹ To what extent do you believe that territorial ambitions, competing ideologies and political leaders shaped the actions and agreements formed in the two years following World War II?
- **1.73** Analyse the differences and similarities between Stalin's expansionist policies and Truman's containment policies.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

1.74 Look online and find four to six political cartoons or posters from the early Cold War period that convey different perspectives (i.e. Soviet, US and United Kingdom [UK]).

For each cartoon, complete the following.

- Outline the context of the cartoon, noting its date, author and the historical events occurring at the time.
- What common symbols are used in the cartoon or poster?
- What message is implied by the cartoon or poster?
- How does the cartoon help you to understand more about the time period?
- What is missing from the cartoon or poster? For example, what facts or perspectives are not included?

1.75 Once you have done this for each cartoon, synthesise your analysis and evaluate the usefulness of each cartoon or poster. In other words, could a historian use each cartoon or poster to reconstruct an accurate narrative of events?



THE UNITED NATIONS

'We the peoples of the United Nations determined ... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom ... have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.'

UN CHARTER (PREAMBLE)

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UN: TIMELINE

1941

14 AUGUST 1941 — THE ATLANTIC CONFERENCE AND CHARTER

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt meet to discuss their war aims and propose guidelines for international collaboration. They release the Atlantic Charter outlining the guidelines.

1942

1 JANUARY 1942 — UN DECLARATION

Representatives of twenty-six nations pledge their support for the Atlantic Charter, and sign a 'Declaration by United Nations'. The name 'United Nations' is coined by Roosevelt and refers initially to the Allied nations that were fighting together.

1945

24 OCTOBER 1945 — UN FOUNDED

The UN Charter is ratified. It is legally binding, and all member states must observe its provisions. Representatives of fifty countries, including Australia's Herbert 'Doc' Evatt, had met to draw up the charter in June 1945.

1946

1 JANUARY 1946 — FIRST MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The first meeting of the General Assembly is held in London, and attended by fifty-one nations. One of its first resolutions is to establish a commission 'to deal with the problems raised by the discovery of atomic energy'.

1948

10 DECEMBER 1948 — UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The UN adopts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which had been drafted by the UN Commission on Human Rights. The declaration was borne from the experience of two world wars, and sets out absolute human rights to be universally observed and protected.

1949

24 OCTOBER 1949 — UN HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK

The cornerstone is laid on the new building for the UN headquarters in New York City. While it sits on US land, it is classified technically as international territory. There are now three other main offices in Geneva (Switzerland), Vienna (Austria) and Nairobi (Kenya).

KEY POINTS

- The UN was established as an international organisation to stabilise international relations and maintain peace.
- The primary aims of the UN are to secure peace, eliminate poverty and protect **human rights**.

human rights

The basic necessities of life that all people should expect to have, including food, shelter, clothing and rights such as freedom of speech.

Extract from the UN Charter, 1945

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

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

ARTICLE I

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 the 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 cooperation 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.



UN headquarters, New York.

Source 1

'UN Charter', <http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>

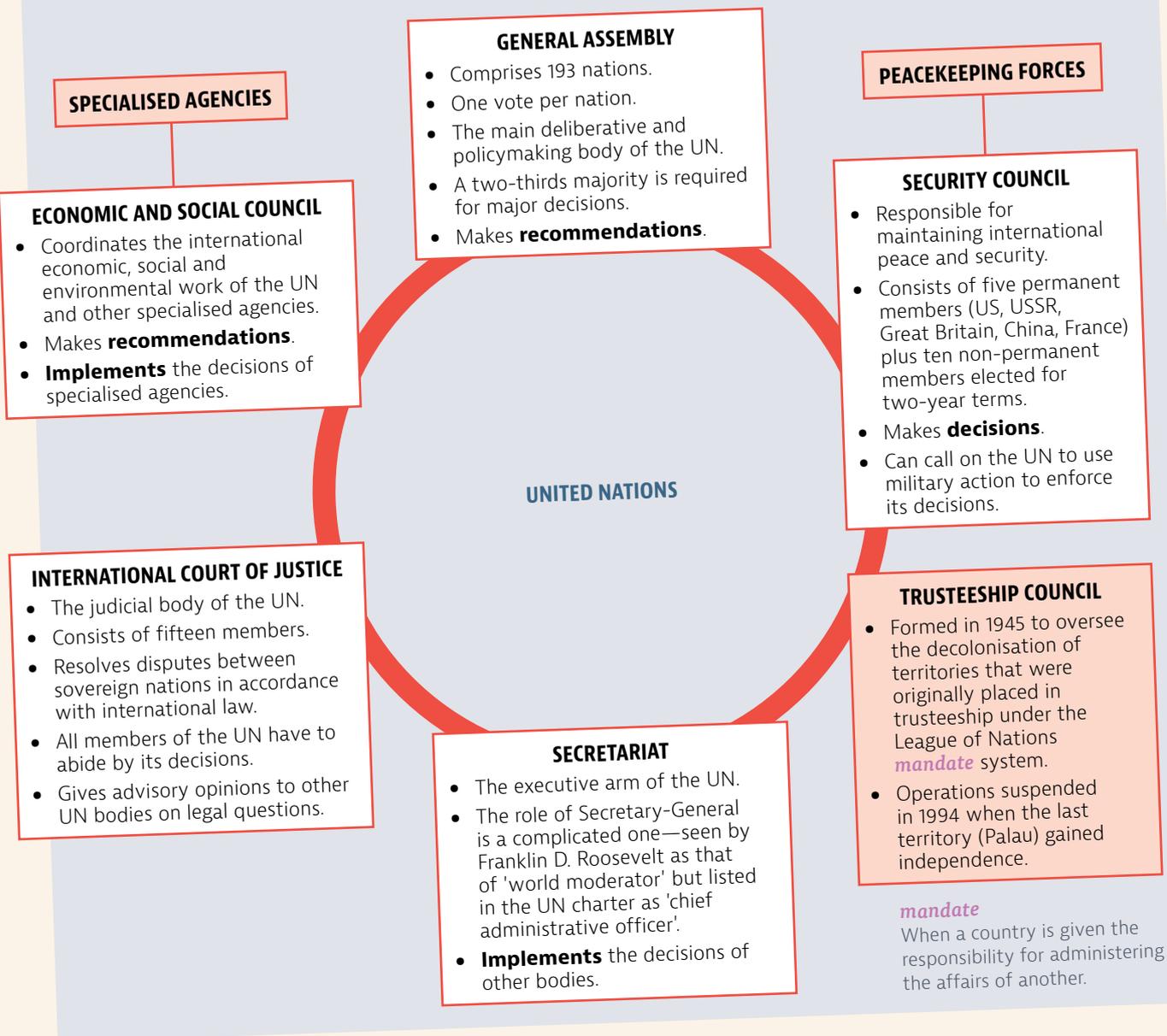
SPECIALISED AGENCIES, FUNDS AND PROGRAMS

WHO	UNICEF	IMF	UNESCO	UNHCR
World Health Organization	UN Children's Fund	International Monetary Fund	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
Works to solve health problems to improve life expectancy and quality of life. Its programs include providing essential drugs and health education. More recently, the WHO has worked to give an overview of the cause and impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, and to coordinate health safety measures, including vaccines.	Works specifically to help children and mothers to overcome poverty, violence, disease and discrimination .	Provides international monetary cooperation, and helps to work towards financial stability by providing a forum for consultation, advice and support on financial issues.	Works to protect the world's natural and cultural heritage by promoting education and cultural development. It also provides international cooperation in science, press freedom and communication.	Helps people who have been displaced by war, have suffered persecution or human rights abuses. The UN estimated that, as of 2019, there were almost 80 million forcibly displaced people in the world, as well as 45 million internally displaced people and 4.2 million asylum seekers.

discrimination

Treating people differently (usually negatively) because of their gender, race, nationality, religion, age or some other aspect.

STRUCTURE OF THE UN



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- S.02** What are two goals of the UN?
- S.03** What are two problems the UN initially aimed to solve?
- S.04** What feature of the UN structure is significantly different to the League of Nations?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

- S.05** Read the text of the Atlantic Charter online. Why was this non-binding treaty so significant?

EXTENSION

- S.06** The position of UN secretary-general has been described as being 'world moderator' and 'chief administrative officer'. To what extent are the two roles compatible?
- S.07** The words in bold in the diagram above have a very precise meaning in the context of the UN. Research their definitions and discuss why their technical meaning in this context is so important.



KEY UN INVOLVEMENT

YEAR	LOCATION / NAME	UN INVOLVEMENT
1947–1949	GREECE	The UN set up a Special Committee to investigate claims that communist Balkan states were helping Greek communists in their attempt to overthrow the government there. The UN was unsuccessful in preventing the fighting, which only ceased when Yugoslavia stopped supplying weapons to the Greeks.
1950–1953	KOREA	In the absence of the USSR, the UN decided to send troops into Korea in 1950 to push North Korean forces out of South Korea. The UN was accused of being under the influence of the US. Trygve Lie (the first secretary-general of the UN) resigned in 1952 following the USSR's refusal to extend his term of office due to his sanctioning of UN involvement in Korea.
1956	SUEZ CANAL CRISIS	First UN Emergency Force sent to police the Egyptian–Israeli border in autumn 1956 following an invasion by Israel, Britain and France to regain control of the Suez Canal and to remove Egyptian President Nasser from power. UN troops remained until 1967.
1956	HUNGARY	The USSR vetoed the Security Council Resolution 120, which criticised the Soviet Union for its invasion of Hungary in October 1956. The UN was powerless to do anything. A subsequent Special Committee's findings were disputed by the new Hungarian government.
1960–1964	CONGO	The UN adopted Resolution 143 to facilitate the withdrawal of Belgian forces following Congolese independence in 1960, when the Congo army mutinied following the refusal of white officers to hand over control of the army to them. The UN was also tasked with maintaining law and order and to help legitimise the post colonial government. About 20,000 men and officers were sent to Congo.
1975–2002	EAST TIMOR	The Indonesian occupation of East Timor resulted in its population being subjected to numerous human rights abuses, which included <i>extrajudicial</i> executions, systematic torture and starvation. The UN was unable to enforce a resolution calling for Indonesian withdrawal until Indonesia granted East Timor independence in 2002 following international pressure.
1992–1995	UN PROTECTION FORCE	Following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the resulting wars in the former Yugoslavia, the UN sent peacekeeping forces to serve in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1993–1996	RWANDA	The UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda was tasked with aiding the peace process between the Hutu-dominated government and the Tutsi rebels (known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front). It was unable to stop the 1994 genocide perpetrated by the Hutus against the Tutsis.
2004–2017	HAITI	The aim of the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti was to ensure peace and security in Haiti after the coup of 2004. In the wake of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the UN mission was expanded to include search and rescue, as well as economic aid and assistance.
2007–	SUDAN	The UN–African Union Mission in Darfur was established to monitor the arms trade and bring peace and stability to the war-torn Darfur region.
2012	SYRIA	The UN monitored the ceasefire agreement in the Syrian Civil War. While the mission was cancelled the same year due to escalating violence, UN observers remain in the country to monitor the situation.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

S.08 After conducting your own research, write an 800-word essay in response to the following topic.

- 'The UN peacekeeping efforts have, for the most part, been a failure.' To what extent do you agree with this view? Use evidence to support your response.

extrajudicial

Not authorised by a court of justice.



COLD WAR TENSIONS

**'Let us not be deceived:
we are today in the midst of
a cold war.'**

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE, JOURNALIST, 1947

The term 'Cold War', used to describe the relations that existed between the US and USSR in the second half of the twentieth century, was first used in the mid-1940s. British writer George Orwell employed the phrase only two months after atomic bombs were dropped on Japan, but the term was chiefly popularised by American journalist Walter Lippmann's 1947 book *The Cold War*.

The word 'cold' accurately describes the atmosphere that developed between the US and the Soviet Union after the 1945 post-war negotiations over Europe. Unlike a 'hot war', which involves direct action in the form of battle, the two nations competed with each other on the world stage economically, socially, technologically and politically to prove the superiority of their own ideology and way of life. What it really meant for society was a heightened sense of fear and division, as the looming threat of nuclear holocaust jeopardised the quest for peace.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1948 24 JUNE — The Berlin Blockade begins

1949 4 APRIL — NATO is established

1950 9 FEBRUARY — Senator Joseph McCarthy denounces communists in the US

1955 14 MAY — The Warsaw Pact is established

1957 5 OCTOBER — The USSR launches *Sputnik 1* into space

KEY QUESTIONS

- Why did Berlin become the focal point of the Cold War?
- What were the significant features of the tensions brought about by the Cold War?
- How did the Soviet Union and the US demonstrate and exert their power?
- How did this rivalry affect the everyday lives of ordinary people around the world?
- How are the events of the early Cold War interpreted by historians?



Source 2.01
 Berliners watch a US aircraft coming in to land at Tempelhof Airport, Berlin, 1948.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



JOSEPH McCARTHY

Senator from Wisconsin (1947–1957)

Accused many US officials of being communists

Lost support after the televised hearings on suspected Communists in the US Army



DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Head of Allied ground forces in Europe during the late stages of World War II

President of the United States (1953–1960)



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Replaced Stalin as the leader of the USSR by 1956

Condemned Stalin's rule in a secret speech to the CPSU

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

The Cold War, which lasted from approximately 1945–1989, was an intense period of competition, rivalry and brinkmanship between the two superpowers that emerged from the ashes of World War II. However, in their quest for superiority, both the US and the USSR ruined the lives of many of their own civilians. As you read this chapter, ask the following questions.

2.01 How and why did the USSR and US compete for dominance during the Cold War?

2.02 What detrimental effects did the ideological struggle have on the lives of ordinary people?

BERLIN BLOCKADE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: 'The Berlin *Blockade* was a move to test our ability and our will to resist.'

blockade

To isolate a place by surrounding it with military forces.

Cominform

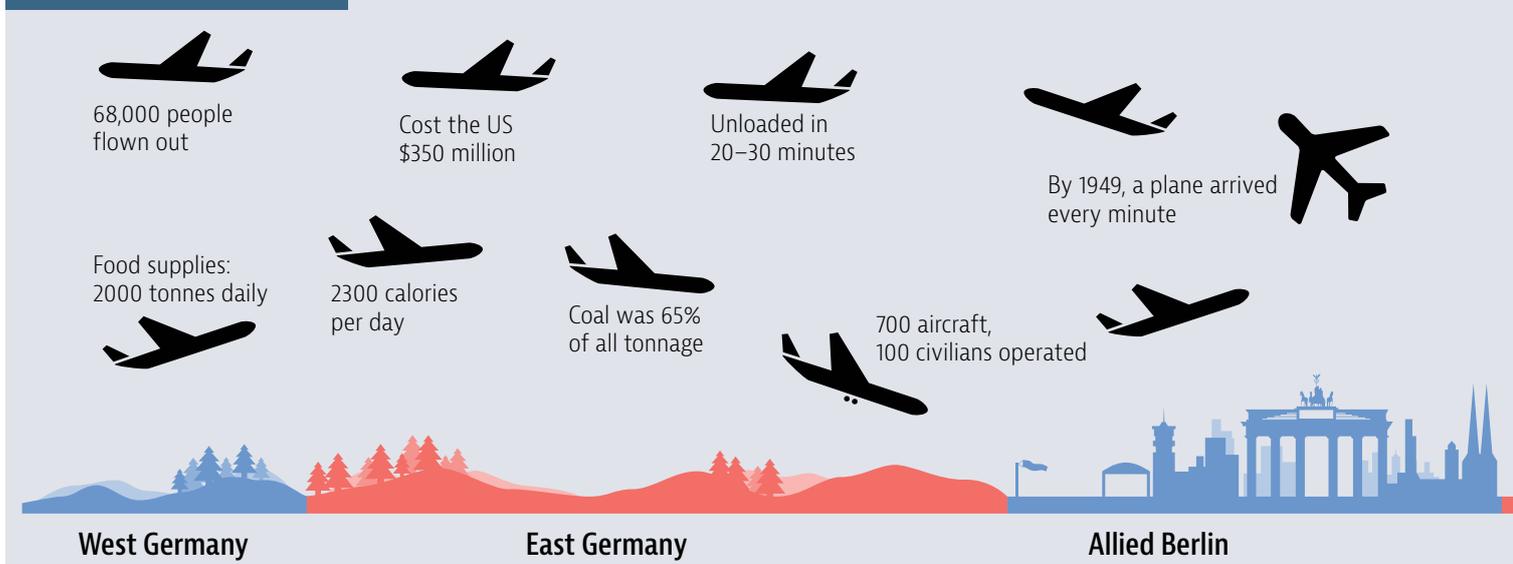
Short for 'Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties', Cominform was set up by the Soviet Union in 1947 to draw together the various communist parties of Eastern Europe. Activities were coordinated and information exchanged.

In late 1947, following the establishment of *Cominform*, Soviet politician Andrey Zhdanov suggested that two clear camps had formed in Europe. Cominform—which aimed to consolidate all communist parties under Soviet direction—was a direct response to the US Marshall Plan that was aiding Western Europe. With both camps now providing their own forms of assistance, Germany became the key location for this competitive rivalry to play out. In West Germany, which comprised three zones controlled by the Allied Powers, the US, British and French began rebuilding infrastructure and industries, as well as ensuring that democratic governments were established. Economically they founded a central bank for all Western zones of Germany, instigating a currency reform from 20 June 1948 called the mark. This currency reform was to combat the black market and remove price controls. This provoked similar changes in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. The Soviets also introduced a currency with the belief that it would be used across all of East Germany, including Berlin. However, upon discovery of the distribution of the mark in West Berlin, the Soviets felt that the West was trying to undermine their efforts to build a socialist society. Their reaction was sudden and dramatic, marking the first major event of the Cold War.

Did you know? In 1835, French traveller and writer Alexis de Tocqueville wrote the following prophetic insight about the US and USSR in his book *Democracy in America*: 'Their starting point is different, and their courses are not the same, yet each seems marked out by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe!'

Fearing that Germany would become strong again and threaten the Soviet Union, on 24 June 1948 Stalin ordered the blockage of all roads, trainlines and canals between East and West Germany. He hoped to seize control of West Berlin, which was isolated within the Soviet zone of East Germany. While interruptions and restrictions to cargo travel had been occurring since April 1948, the Soviets had now also severed all connections between the Soviet zone of Berlin and the Western zones. They stopped supplying food to the population living in non-Soviet zones of the city, and cut off the electricity supplies to Berlin, using their own generating plants in the Soviet zone. The Soviets rejected all legal claims to the use of supply routes from West Germany into West Berlin, arguing that no agreement was ever formalised and that the Soviet Union

BERLIN AIRLIFT STATISTICS



had demonstrated goodwill by allowing access for the past three years. As a result, people living in West Berlin had thirty-six days' worth of food and forty-five days' worth of coal remaining. Historians have suggested that Soviet authorities believed Westerners would decide that maintaining a democratic presence in the heart of communist East Germany was too difficult and would simply give in.

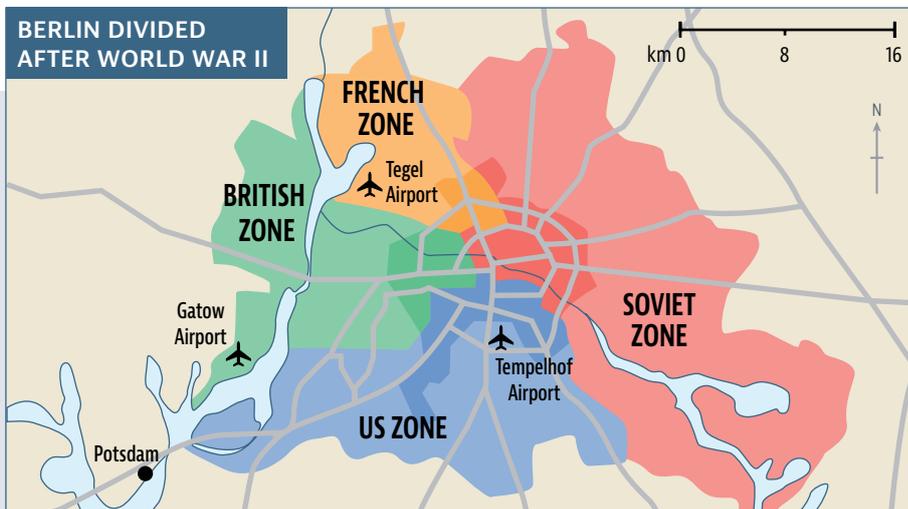
However, knowing that the Soviet Union had 1.5 million troops surrounding Berlin, the Western zones decided to undertake an *airlift* of supplies using air corridors that had been agreed to in 1945. Such an operation would force the Soviets to either shoot down an unarmed cargo plane or back down. Over 321 days, the West made 272,000 flights into West Berlin until 12 May 1949 when the Soviets ended the blockade, reopening the borders and supply routes. For now, the fear of another European war breaking out was resolved.

airlift

When aircraft are used to transport a large number of supplies in a short amount of time.



Source 2.02 German children look on as bags of flour are unloaded from a US plane.



Source 2.03 Map of Berlin showing Soviet and Allied zones after World War II.



THE CHOCOLATE FLIER

On 17 July 1948, airlift pilot Gail Halvorsen met with many curious children who watched his aircraft land at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, and then gave them chewing gum. As long as they did not fight over it, he told them he would drop off more when he next returned. One child asked how they would know if it was him flying. Halvorsen replied, 'I'll wiggle my wings.' The following day Halvorsen dropped chocolate bars attached to a handkerchief parachute to the children below. With the crowd of children increasing daily, mail started to appear at the operation base addressed to 'Uncle Wiggly Wings' or the 'Chocolate Flier'. Soon the gesture expanded into an operation, and as the news spread, US children also began sending their own candy to help the mission. Such publicity resulted in an estimated 150,000 Chocolate Flier parachute drops.



Source 2.04 Children in Berlin watching one of the airlift planes.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 2.03** Explain how tensions between the superpowers developed because of their actions in Germany.
- 2.04** Why did Stalin order the blockade of all road, rail and canal routes into West Berlin?
- 2.05** How did the Western powers respond to Stalin's blockade?
- 2.06** How long did the blockade last, and how many flights did the Western powers make into West Berlin?
- 2.07** Why do you think Stalin eventually ended the blockade?
- 2.08** How might have the activities of the Chocolate Flier assisted the Americans in their competition with the Soviet Union?

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

- 2.09** Outline a long-term, short-term and immediate cause of the Berlin Blockade.
- 2.10** Create a mind map of the consequences of this event. Try to separate the consequences into economic, social and political strands, and ensure that both Western and Eastern perspectives are considered.

ALLIANCES ESTABLISHED

LORD ISMAY (BRITISH GENERAL AND DIPLOMAT): 'Keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Yanks in.'

The Berlin Blockade heightened the spheres of influence within Europe, and placed pressure on both the US and the Soviet Union to confirm their superpower status by creating military alliances. With the establishment of a unified military command in the **Pentagon** and the creation of the **Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)**, the US set about influencing European security. In line with Truman's containment policy, it became essential for the US to maintain its position in Berlin. Berlin was considered a listening post; it was the only access the West had to life behind the Iron Curtain, and it provided vital intelligence. Events that occurred in Berlin affected international policymaking. This was made evident when China fell to communism in 1949. The spread of communism to a country with the world's largest population was considered a huge threat to the US. If the Soviet Union shared its technology and military power with China, communism could spread throughout Asia. It was already known that China's communist leader, Mao Zedong, had prioritised military action against nations such as Taiwan, Laos, Tibet and Burma. It seemed that the Cold War was leading towards conflict on a global scale.



Source 2.05 The US and USSR duel over Berlin. Cartoon from a British newspaper, 5 April 1948.

NATO

On 4 April 1949 the founding treaty of the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)** was signed in Washington, DC. This alliance consisted of twelve members: the US, Canada, Great Britain, France, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal. The three main purposes of the NATO alliance were to:

- deter Soviet expansionism
- prevent a revival of national militarism
- encourage political cooperation (thus, ending the US tradition of isolationism).

Did you know? The label 'Third World' originally referred to a country that was not aligned with either the US (First World) or the Soviet Union (Second World).

Pentagon

The five-sided building in Washington, DC that houses the US Department of Defense.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The chief spy organisation of the US.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 2.05 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 2.11** Identify the two leaders represented in this image.
- 2.12** Identify the two features that suggest both sides are prepared to attack.
- 2.13** Explain why this event exemplifies the definition of a Cold War.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO was formed in 1949 by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the UK, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal and the US. It stated that an attack on any of these states was an attack on the group as a whole.

All members agreed on a system of collective and mutual defence. Article 5 of the Treaty outlined that an attack on any member from an external party would be considered an attack on them all, allowing for armed force to be used if necessary. In 1952, Greece and Turkey also joined NATO, followed in 1955 by West Germany.

THE DIVISION OF GERMANY

In April 1949, the French were persuaded to join the British and US zones of Berlin to form 'Trizonia'. Once it was reluctantly accepted by the occupying powers that Germany was divided and not likely to be reunited, they established the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) on 23 May 1949. Not to be outdone, the Soviets then established the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) on 7 October 1949 and handed authority over to East German officials.

WARSAW PACT

During the early 1950s, the Soviet Union attempted to reunify Germany, set up collective security treaties for the whole of Europe and even join NATO. Except for the Austrian State Treaty, which allowed the country to return to neutrality, all of these proposals were rejected by the Western powers. In direct response to the establishment of NATO, the **Warsaw Pact** was established on 14 May 1955. The main aim of the Warsaw Pact was mutual defence and cooperation among the member countries: the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. Yugoslavia was the only communist Eastern European country that did not join, as it had already established its own defence alliance and remained relatively independent. The Warsaw Pact helped to secure the ideological beliefs and strategic positions of the Iron Curtain countries, yet the largest military operations carried out by the Warsaw Pact would be against its own members.

DEATH OF STALIN

In the late 1940s, Soviet life was constrained by Stalin's strong **nationalist** ideals. In particular, the arts became a major form of propaganda as restrictions and purges hit theatres, literature, music and cinemas. Imperialist influences were removed so that ideological messages could be spread. This movement led to the imprisonment of many talented intellectuals in the Soviet Union. In a dramatic act of anti-Semitism, in 1953 Stalin ordered the arrest of predominantly Jewish doctors whom he believed were conspiring against Soviet officials in what was known as the Doctor's Plot.



↑ A bust of Joseph Stalin.

Ironically, soon after this order was made, Stalin suffered a massive stroke. Treatment was delayed at first because people were afraid to enter his room. After waiting an entire day, a guard finally entered Stalin's room but struggled to find a doctor because of the purge. Stalin eventually died on 5 March 1953. A week later the doctors were released from prison when the alleged conspiracy was revealed to be a fraud.

nationalist

An individual who is devoted to their country and puts its interests above those of other nations.

Warsaw Pact

Formed in 1955 by the Soviet Union and its Eastern allies, it promised mutual assistance and was the Eastern Bloc's response to the formation of NATO.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 2.14 Why was West Berlin so important to the US during the Cold War?
- 2.15 What was the significance of China becoming a communist country in 1949 in the broader context of the Cold War?
- 2.16 What was the primary aim of NATO?
- 2.17 What was the primary aim of the Warsaw Pact?

NEW LEADERS, BIG SPEECHES

EISENHOWER: 'America is today the strongest, most influential, and most productive nation in the world.'

The year 1953 brought about new leadership for both superpowers, with Eisenhower inaugurated as US president in January and Nikita Khrushchev emerging as the sole Soviet leader following a power struggle after Stalin's death in March. Both leaders set about establishing a new conciliatory tone to the Cold War through their policies and their speeches.



EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower wanted to build domestic economic strength rather than devote expenditure to military operations. He developed the New Look policy, which relied on relatively inexpensive nuclear weapons as the main form of security because of the pressure they placed on the Soviet Union. Through the New Look policy, Eisenhower hoped to reduce budget deficits by cutting land and naval forces and

to create a situation of mutual **deterrence** for both superpowers. In his 'Chance for Peace' speech, Eisenhower highlighted the costs of rivalry for humanity. Additionally, his 'Atoms for Peace' speech was a propaganda campaign to quell the public's fears about a nuclear future, as atomic energy reactors had only recently been created. Further, Eisenhower's 'Open Skies' speech in 1955 proposed that the US and USSR exchange maps showing military bases within their nations and allow surveillance to occur to ensure that both sides were compliant with any arms agreements formed. Khrushchev rejected the idea, believing it was an **espionage** plot.

Eisenhower's speech: The Chance for Peace, 16 April 1953

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some 50 miles of concrete highway.

We pay for a single fighter plane with a half million bushels of wheat.

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8000 people.

This, I repeat, is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking.

This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

← Dwight Eisenhower, thirty-fourth US president.

deterrence

The idea of preventing an attack by scaring or intimidating the other side.

espionage

The practice of spying or using spies, typically undertaken by governments to obtain political and military information.

← **Source 2.06** "'The Chance for Peace Speech" Address Delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 16, 1953', The Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum and Boyhood Home, https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/file/chance_for_peace.pdf



Source 2.07 A 1950s advertisement depicting a happy housewife with her new washing machine.

consumerism

The idea that people buy large quantities of manufactured goods for use in the home or for leisure activities; a key feature of capitalist societies.

détente

A more permanent relaxation of tension between the US and USSR that evolved after the Cuban Missile Crisis and lasted until the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

de-Stalinisation

A process of political reform within the Soviet Union that diminished Stalin's reputation after his death in 1953.

decentralise

The process of shifting political or economic control to a greater number of people who are lower in a hierarchy or power structure.

gulag

The name given to prison and labour camps in the Soviet Union.

peaceful coexistence

Khrushchev's term for the idea that the USSR and US could learn to live with each other without resorting to conflict.

The 1950s was a time of economic prosperity in the US. Its goods were exported to the Western world. New companies emerged providing modern technology, and household names such as IBM, General Electric, Holiday Inn, Hush Puppies, Tupperware and Pizza Hut were established. As cities grew and new suburbs formed, **consumerism** skyrocketed, with Americans buying cars, refrigerators, toasters, vacuum cleaners and stoves. There were more than five million televisions sold each year during the 1950s. With so many new appliances, domestic life in the US became an important propaganda tool to spread internationally, as it promoted the nation's high standard of living.

KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev's new stance brought about a change in international relations during the mid-1950s. Many people hoped that it would be the beginning of a 'thaw' in the Cold War—or even a **détente**. Khrushchev's new policies for the Soviet Union were expressed during his 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences' speech ('The Secret Speech') to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in February 1956. At this major forum in Moscow, Khrushchev's 4-hour speech condemned the policies and actions of Stalin, who had 'showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power'. While not wishing to start anti-communist uprisings, Khrushchev felt it necessary to point out the many areas in which Stalin strayed from socialist ideology. This led to the policy of **de-Stalinisation** in the Soviet Union, which aimed to improve people's standard of living and remove Stalin's legacy. The son of a peasant, Khrushchev was aware of the poverty that still burdened Russians despite the revolution. In 1958 he noted the need to produce more grain and stated, 'If after forty years of Communism, a person cannot have a glass of milk or a pair of shoes, he will not believe Communism is a good thing, whatever you tell him'.²

Did you know? During the Cold War, Nikita Khrushchev said to Mao Zedong, 'Berlin is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to make the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin.'

Under de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev **decentralised** the economy. This did not bring the results hoped for, as wages stagnated and expectations grew. However, the population was allowed to enjoy a little more freedom as the power of the secret police was reduced, the death penalty was abolished, and greater freedom of speech was allowed, sparking a literary renaissance. One significant change was the release of thousands of political prisoners from the **gulags**. De-Stalinisation even ensured the relocation of Stalin's body from the Red Square to the Kremlin, and statues of Stalin were removed. Apart from the domestic policy of de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev also attempted to demonstrate a theory of **peaceful coexistence** by travelling internationally and attending peace conferences such as the Geneva Summit. When visiting Britain in 1956 he stated, 'You do not like communism. We do not like capitalism. There is only one way out—peaceful coexistence.'

Significant individual



DWIGHT EISENHOWER, 1890–1969

Was the thirty-fourth US president (1953–1961).

Believed in the use of nuclear weapons to deter the spread of communism around the world.

He said: 'The only way to win the next war is to prevent it.'

Said about: 'To him belongs the credit of the first American president to try to bury the Cold War.' (*Hugh Brogan, historian*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by threatening the Soviet Union with a massive nuclear weapons build-up and supporting the French in the First Indochina War.

Significant individual



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, 1894–1971

Was general secretary of the CPSU (1953–1964) and leader of the Soviet Union (1956–1964).

Believed in directly challenging the US for world supremacy.

He said: 'Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you!'

Said about: 'Khrushchev's public rhetoric made Soviet-American reconciliation difficult, if not impossible.' (*Ronald Powaski, historian*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by ordering the construction of the Berlin Wall and establishing nuclear missile bases in Cuba which threatened the US.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 2.18** Explain the aim of President Eisenhower's 'New Look' policy.
- 2.19** How did he justify the 'New Look' policy in his speech on 16 April 1953?
- 2.20** What was the purpose of Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' and 'Open Skies' speeches?
- 2.21** How was American prosperity in the 1950s used as a propaganda tool?
- 2.22** What was the main purpose of Nikita Khrushchev's 'On the Cult of Personality' speech?
- 2.23** What were the key features of Khrushchev's 'de-Stalinisation' policy?
- 2.24** How did Khrushchev improve relations with the West?

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

- 2.25** Assess how Eisenhower and Khrushchev influenced the dynamics of the Cold War. Structure your response in two paragraphs focusing on what they continued from the previous leadership and what they changed.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

- 2.26** Historians have argued that Eisenhower's New Look policy created a dilemma with international repercussions. Discuss how the policy of increasing the number of nuclear weapons for security may have instead led to the further endangerment of society.
- 2.27** What changes in the USSR by 1956 were a result of Khrushchev's leadership?

COLD WAR: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Historians debate the causes of the Cold War, raising various arguments as to who or what was responsible for its development. It is important to understand the views of historians and eyewitnesses to develop your own opinion. Some believe the Cold War was caused by the Soviet Union's aggressive expansionism, while others believe it was caused by the US's push for capitalism.

More recent historians, who have the benefit of hindsight when assessing the Cold War, prefer to look at individual events and the complicated nature of international relations from 1945–1991. Before you read the views on the following pages, think about whether you would blame one superpower more than another, or whether there was a particular event that possibly sparked this division.

INTERPRETATION: THE SOVIET UNION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT

- This was the conventional view until the 1960s.
- Commonly held by US historians.



ARGUMENTS

- Stalin's expansionist policy was ruthless.
- The Soviet Union wanted an international revolution.
- The US had no choice but to meet the challenges posed by Soviet actions.
- Perhaps US presidents were too accepting of Soviet demands for a sphere of influence.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Winston Churchill: 'The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world.'³

Herbert Feis: The Soviets 'were trying not only to extend their boundaries and their control over neighbouring states but also beginning to revert to their *revolutionary* effort throughout the world.'⁴

Arthur Schlesinger Jr.: 'The Cold War could have been avoided only if the Soviet Union had not been possessed by convictions both of the infallibility of the communist word and of the inevitability of a communist world.'⁵

'The Cold War was the brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression.'⁶

revolutionary

Someone who wants to bring about total and rapid change to the political, social and economic features of a country. Sometimes violence is used to achieve this.

monopoly

Exclusive control or possession.

INTERPRETATION: THE US WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT

- This approach reached its height during the Vietnam War.



ARGUMENTS

- The Cold War was caused by the US's desperation to continually build its capitalist trade markets.
- The US was expansionist by trying to create 'dollar imperialism'.
- The US adopted atomic diplomacy due to its *monopoly* over nuclear weapons in the years following World War II.
- Stalin had created buffer states to defend the Soviet Union's national interest.
- Stalin could not risk another invasion of his country.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Joseph Stalin: 'The imperialistic powers will wring your necks like chickens.'⁷

William Appleman Williams: On the US: 'One of the most unnerving features was the extensive elitism that had become ingrained in the policy-making process.'⁸

'Even the American public came more and more ... manipulated and controlled in the effort to establish and maintain the American Way as the global status quo.'⁹

'Firm conviction, even dogmatic belief, that America's domestic well-being depends upon such sustained, ever-increasing overseas economic expansion.'¹⁰

Walter LaFeber: 'The Cold War has dominated American life since 1945. It has cost Americans \$4 trillion in defense expenditures, taken the lives of nearly 100,000 of their young men, ruined the careers of many others during the McCarthyite witch hunts. ... It has not been the most satisfying chapter in American diplomatic history.'¹¹

Gar Alperovitz: 'American officials calculated that using the atomic bomb would enormously bolster US diplomacy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in negotiations over postwar Europe.'¹²

Joyce and Gabriel Kolko: The 'basic source of the world crisis was an expansive American foreign policy.'¹³

'To contain and reconstruct the world according to its own needs, the United States was prepared to destroy itself—morally, socially, and economically—in a deepening trauma whose effects began to weaken American capitalism.'¹⁴

INTERPRETATION: THE COLD WAR WAS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

CONTEXT

- This view emerged in the later years of the Cold War.

ARGUMENTS

- There was mutual self-interest, misperception, suspicion and reaction.
- Not who was to blame but what was to blame (e.g. the mentality of the leaders).
- Tension arose due to each superpower's determination to uphold its national security, which influenced policymaking.
- The superpowers misperceived each other's ideology and way of life.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

John Lewis Gaddis: 'Both the United States and the Soviet Union had been born in revolution. Both embraced ideologies with global aspirations: what worked at home, their leaders assumed, would also do so for the rest of the world.'¹⁵

Melvyn P. Leffler: 'It was not so much the actions of the Kremlin as it was fears about socioeconomic dislocation, revolutionary *nationalism* ... and Eurasian vacuums of power that triggered US initiatives to mold an international system to comport [conform] with its concept of security.'¹⁶

Ernest May: 'There probably was never any real possibility that the post-1945 relationship could be anything but hostility verging on conflict. ... Traditions, belief systems ... all combined to stimulate antagonism, and almost no factor operated in either country to hold it back.'¹⁷

nationalism

Pride in belonging to one's country.

INTERPRETATION: THE GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT

- This view was developed within the field of political science.
- It emerged after the end of the Cold War.

ARGUMENTS

- A power conflict between two *geopolitically* dominant nations wanting to secure more land.
- Competition over practical capabilities rather than ideologies.
- Focus on international relations, economic power and agreements between superpowers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Kenneth Waltz: 'So long as the world was bipolar ... the [US] and the Soviet Union held each other in check.'¹⁸

Marc Trachtenberg: 'The crux of this problem lay in Soviet fears of German power set against an American need for a remilitarized Germany to assist in Western security.'

'It seems that both sides' leaders were more "power politics" oriented than originally perceived. Ideology did not provide an overly tight constraint on their freedom of action.'¹⁹

geopolitical

Concerned with politics and the way geographical features of a country or region influences its power, policies and relationships with other countries.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Read the interpretations of the causes of the Cold War and answer the following questions.

2.28 Despite placing the blame on different countries, what similarities exist between the arguments for each interpretation?

2.29 What is overlooked or omitted in each interpretation?

2.30 Which views do you believe most strongly relate to the reasons for creating alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

2.31 Which historical interpretation do you find most convincing? Support your response with reference to evidence.

2.32 Explain why interpretations that have arisen since the end of the Cold War may provide more useful and reliable arguments.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: FOCUS ON RELIABILITY AND USEFULNESS

Historians and students of the past rely on primary sources. Without them we cannot know anything about what happened before our own time. They offer a crucial insight into the perspectives of those who lived in the time period we are studying. Primary sources come in many forms (documents, architecture, cartoons, newspapers, diaries, etc.), and historians use them to construct narratives and arguments about the past. However, before a historian decides to use a primary source, they must determine the **reliability** and **usefulness** of a source.

Reliability

One of the first questions a historian must ask about a primary source is 'how reliable is it?' It is important to determine how **truthful** an account of the past is, but how do we best do that? French historian Marc Bloch wrote, 'A document is a witness, and like most witnesses it rarely speaks until one begins to question it.'²⁰ To assess the reliability of a source, historians must ask particular questions of it:

- » What is the source? This could be a letter, a law, a speech, etc.
- » When was it produced? Was it close to the event to which it refers?
- » Who produced the source? Provide a name, age, gender, class, nationality, organisation, etc.
- » For whom was it produced?
- » Why was it produced? What was the intention of the author, their argument or opinion?

It is very important to read the captions accompanying a source, as these will help you to answer at least some of these questions. While no source is ever completely reliable or unreliable, if these questions can be answered then the historian should have a good idea about the degree of reliability of a source.

As with a witness, evidence from documents should be corroborated. This means that it should be compared with other primary and secondary sources about the past to see if there is broad agreement about the event or person being discussed. Of course, these corroborating sources also need to be checked for reliability.

Usefulness

Once the extent of a source's reliability has been established, a historian can then think about its usefulness. This will depend on whether or not the source is reliable, and the questions about the past that the historian is asking.

Even if a source is identified as biased government propaganda that distorts the truth about the past, it still has usefulness to a historian who might want to study the nature of Soviet or American propaganda during the Cold War. Hence, even one-sided propaganda is useful in this regard. Conversely, a thoroughly reliable first-person account of the Yalta Conference, for example, might not be useful to a historian who wants to know about the impact of World War II on the lives of ordinary Europeans.

Overall, historians must carefully sift through the sources they discover in the course of their inquiry so that they can create a detailed, truthful and relevant argument about the key events and people of the past.

A range of views

Sometimes we assume that everyone who lived at a particular time held the same opinion on important events. Of course, this is not the case. People in the present do not all agree, and neither did people in the past. They could hold very different views and perceive historical events in completely different ways. As students of History, then, it is always important to understand the notion of complexity and nuance. Things are never as simple as they seem.

For example, during the Cold War, some in the West recognised the reasons for Stalin's establishment of buffer states in Eastern Europe, particularly given the death and destruction suffered by Russia during World War II. US Vice-President Henry A. Wallace (1941–1945) tried to see the world through Russian eyes. 'How would it look to us,' he asked, 'if Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not?'²¹ Conversely, others saw Stalin's expansion as irrefutable proof that communism was spreading and would soon take over every country in the world. American diplomat George Kennan argued that the USSR had 'learned only to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power'²²

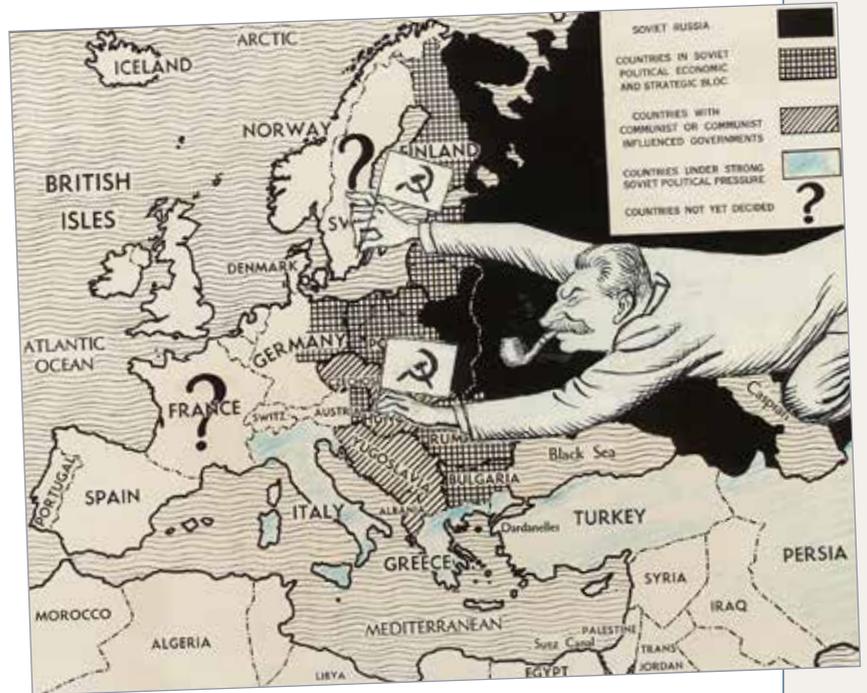
Therefore, the contrasting views of Wallace and Kennan remind us that just because two people are in the same place at the same time, we should never assume they held the same opinion. We need to read and analyse historical sources carefully, and be open to the idea that a range of different views can be held by people living in the same era.

HISTORICAL SOURCES: RELIABILITY AND USEFULNESS

Using Source 2.08 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

➔ **Source 2.08** A political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth that appeared in Britain's *Daily Mail* on 16 June 1947.

- 2.33 What is the source?
- 2.34 When was it produced?
- 2.35 Who produced the source? (You might need to conduct background reading and research on this.)
- 2.36 For whom was it produced?
- 2.37 Why was it produced?
- 2.38 Compare this source to what else is known about the origins of the Cold War. Use three other sources (primary and/or secondary, visual and/or written) that must also be analysed for their reliability. You could use some of the historians' views on the previous pages. Copy and complete the following table to help you corroborate the source.



QUESTIONS	SOURCE 1	SOURCE 2	SOURCE 3
What is the source?			
When was it produced?			
Who produced the source?			
For whom was it produced?			
Why was it produced?			
Does it agree or disagree with the opinion expressed in Source 2.08?			

2.39 Make an overall assessment on the reliability of the document in Source 2.08. Do you think it presents a truthful assessment of the causes of the Cold War? Explain your answer with reference to other sources on this topic.

2.40 Would a historian who is interested in creating an accurate account of the origins of the Cold War find Source 2.08 useful? Explain your answer.

2.41 If you answered 'No' to Question 2.40, write down a historical inquiry question for which Source 2.08 *would* be considered useful. With a partner, discuss the difference between your new inquiry question and Question 2.40.



📌 **Source 2.09** *Is This Tomorrow: Australia under Communism* was a comic published in Melbourne around 1949. The opening scene shows Parliament House in Canberra with hammer and sickle flags. In the comic, the Communist Party plans to 'engineer a total crisis'.

civil liberties

Fundamental political rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, suffrage and the media.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The American law enforcement agency that deals chiefly with serious federal crimes, counter terrorism and counter espionage.

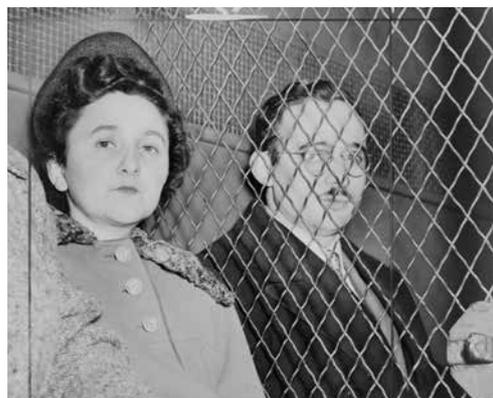
subversive

Behaviour and activities that deliberately and subtly seek to undermine a government.

spy ring

A group of spies working together to gather evidence or undermine an enemy state.

📌 **Source 2.10** Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.



THE RED SCARE

As the Cold War developed during the 1940s and 1950s, anti-communist hysteria spread throughout the US and other Western nations. Many people who expressed passionate views towards underprivileged people, or who argued for *civil liberties*, were accused of being communists. Conservative politicians such as Senator Joseph McCarthy found that there were votes in creating a communist scare. Newspapers, film, television and advertising all tapped into the fear of communism and heightened the hysteria. This campaign, known as the 'Red Scare', also led to many arbitrary legal processes. People in the literary and artistic fields, as well as many Hollywood actors and directors, were accused on the flimsiest evidence of having 'red' (communist) sympathies. Doubt was even expressed about the loyalties of actress Katharine Hepburn because she wore a red dress to the Oscars. The Red Scare raised awareness of the possibilities of spies on home soil, and led to catch phrases such as 'Reds under the bed'.

J. Edgar Hoover was the first director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)* when it was established in 1935. He remained in that position until his death in 1972. He was able to gather enormous amounts of information; only after his death did his abuse of power become known. Collecting secret files on political leaders, harassing dissenters and illegally gathering evidence meant that Hoover was so powerful that even US presidents were intimidated, allowing him to continue as director well past retirement age. In 1947, President Truman signed Executive Order 9835, which established the Federal Employee Loyalty Program. This order authorised the FBI to identify any communist sympathisers working for the government, and led to the investigation of approximately three million federal government employees. Of these people, 300 were dismissed as security risks. While no one was accused of spying, many employees were considered communist sympathisers (referred to as 'pinkies' or 'fellow travellers').

.....
Did you know? To spy on communist activity, the CIA launched an operation codenamed Acoustic Kitty. This involved implanting cats with bugging devices so they could eavesdrop on Soviet conversations. The US\$15 million mission ended after a cat was run over.

The Loyalty Program soon spread to other institutions such as schools, and whole organisations could be considered *subversive*. By 1948, almost eighty organisations were viewed as suspicious and many migrants were deported, even if they had become US citizens. This era in the US became known as 'the purges'. Individuals who admitted their guilt and begged forgiveness were still required to implicate others who were thought to be communists. People suspected of sharing secrets with the Soviet Union paid the ultimate price. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for espionage in 1951. They were accused of leading a *spy ring* that passed secrets about the atomic bomb to the USSR. While there was much debate over the penalty chosen, President Eisenhower refused to give clemency, stating, 'I can only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of

millions of innocent people all over the world. The execution of two human beings is a grave matter. But even graver is the thought of the millions of dead whose deaths may be directly attributable to what these spies have done.’²³

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)** was established in 1938 as a temporary committee to investigate anyone undertaking un-American or subversive actions. HUAC became a permanent committee in 1945, and focused on suspected communists. It had the power to subpoena citizens and hear their testimony before Congress. People suspected of assisting communists were deliberately intimidated, and any dramatic revelations from them were used to arouse public hysteria. People who refused to answer questions about their political beliefs were considered subversives, especially if they justified their silence by referring to their **constitutional rights**. Refusal to answer questions could lead to prison or **blacklisting**. Blacklisting meant that suspects would lose their jobs and be prevented from gaining alternative employment within their industry. In some instances, the tactics used by HUAC became a **witch-hunt** against a specific group of people, ruining their reputations.

The most prominent example of a HUAC witch-hunt was the ‘Hollywood Ten’ in October 1947. HUAC believed there were many communists in the film industry, so it pressured the major studios to blacklist anyone suspected of communist activity. The Hollywood Ten was a group of writers and directors who refused to cooperate with investigations, pleading the rights of the US Constitution to every question asked. They were each subsequently held in contempt, sentenced to prison for one year and ordered to pay a US\$1000 fine. All appeals were unsuccessful. Due to the fear and the focus on communists within Hollywood, some blacklisted writers kept writing under false names. One blacklisted writer even won an Academy Award, but did not collect it. The film industry blacklist continued to grow throughout the 1950s as more careers were damaged. It did not end until the 1960s. HUAC contributed greatly to the atmosphere of mistrust within the US during this time.

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

The government committee responsible for uncovering and punishing communists in the US.

constitutional rights

Political rights that are specifically protected by a constitution.

blacklisting

A list of people barred from employment for holding opinions considered undesirable.

witch-hunt

When an individual or group is unjustly targeted for prosecution and mistreatment.

 **Source 2.11** Hollywood actors protest against HUAC.



HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

2.42 Espionage undertaken during the Cold War is still classified information in many cases. Despite this, a few key organisations, individuals and projects provide insights into the tactics used on both sides. Your mission, should you wish to accept it, is to choose a topic from the list below to research. Each person will then create a top-secret pamphlet summarising their topic, and work in small ‘spy rings’ that swap their pamphlets with each other to ensure they are gathering intelligence.

Possible research topics:

- Alger Hiss
- Oleg Penkovsky
- CIA and FBI
- The Petrov Affair
- *The McCarran Internal Security Act 1950*
- Ursula Kuczynski
- Cambridge Five
- Rudolf Abel
- Venona project
- Peter and Helen Kroger
- Theodore Hall
- MI5
- George Blake
- Operation Gold
- KGB
- Klaus Fuchs
- GRU.

MCCARTHYISM

Joseph McCarthy became a prominent figure in US politics during the 1950s, when he took advantage of the Red Scare. Elected to the US Senate in 1946, McCarthy came to public attention on 9 February 1950 when he announced that 'card carrying communists' had infiltrated the government. Such allegations were supposedly supported by evidence from Hoover's FBI loyalty searches, but were never actually substantiated.



McCarthy attacked both President Roosevelt and President Truman for being soft on communism, and led a smear campaign against General George C. Marshall, who had established the Marshall Plan to prevent the spread of communism in Europe. In 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. This was a committee that normally dealt with waste and corruption in government. However, as chair of the committee, McCarthy decided to focus on subversion instead, especially communism. McCarthy promoted the use of HUAC and led investigations with the intention of bullying and terrifying others, often targeting high profile figures both within and beyond government. His actions against creative expression were exemplified by the removal of thousands of books from libraries, pressuring universities to fire more than one hundred lecturers and encouraging the blacklisting of 324 Hollywood personalities.

Source 2.12 Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Did you know? In the 1946 election to the US Senate, McCarthy campaigned for one of two seats in the Senate for the state of Wisconsin. McCarthy campaigned under the slogan, 'Congress needs a tail-gunner'. This was a reference to McCarthy's nickname during World War II—'Tail-gunner Joe'. McCarthy served in the Pacific during the war, and flew twelve missions as an observer/gunner in a dive-bomber.

However, McCarthy's provocative accusations—especially his claims about disloyalty in the US military—ultimately led to his political demise during 1954. Many newspapers expressed their concerns about McCarthy's unsubstantiated claims. A television journalist, Ed Murrow, exposed the investigations undertaken by the US Air Force into its own servicemen. On 9 March 1954 Murrow broadcast an episode of his show, *See It Now*, that allowed the public to see McCarthy's underhanded tactics for the first time—and allowed McCarthy to condemn himself with his own words. The US Army then accused McCarthy of trying to get favourable treatment for a soldier who had been his aide. This led to a three-month televised hearing known as the Army–McCarthy hearings. These hearings used the same trial techniques that McCarthy had used on people he accused of being communists. McCarthy's support from the public—and even from his own party—evaporated, and it was the end of his life as a major public figure. He died three years later.

McCarthy's legacy lives on in the word 'McCarthyism', which means publicly accusing someone of being subversive or disloyal without substantial evidence.



Source 2.13

'The Last Quiz: Senator McCarthy Investigates Senator McCarthy', by Vicky. Published in the *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1954.

Did you know? The campaign badge the seated McCarthy is wearing reads 'I Lick Ike'. This is a play on the 'I Like Ike' phrase used in Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign. In this instance, 'lick' means to defeat or beat.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 2.13 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 2.43** Identify two items depicted in the image that refer to the tactics McCarthy used.
- 2.44** Describe how McCarthy has been depicted in this cartoon. Why would the cartoonist draw him this way?
- 2.45** List the targets of McCarthy's accusations. Conduct your own research into who these people were and why McCarthy targeted them.
- 2.46** Evaluate the extent to which this cartoon is an accurate depiction of the effect that McCarthyism had on the lives of American people during the 1950s and 1960s. Use evidence to support your answer.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

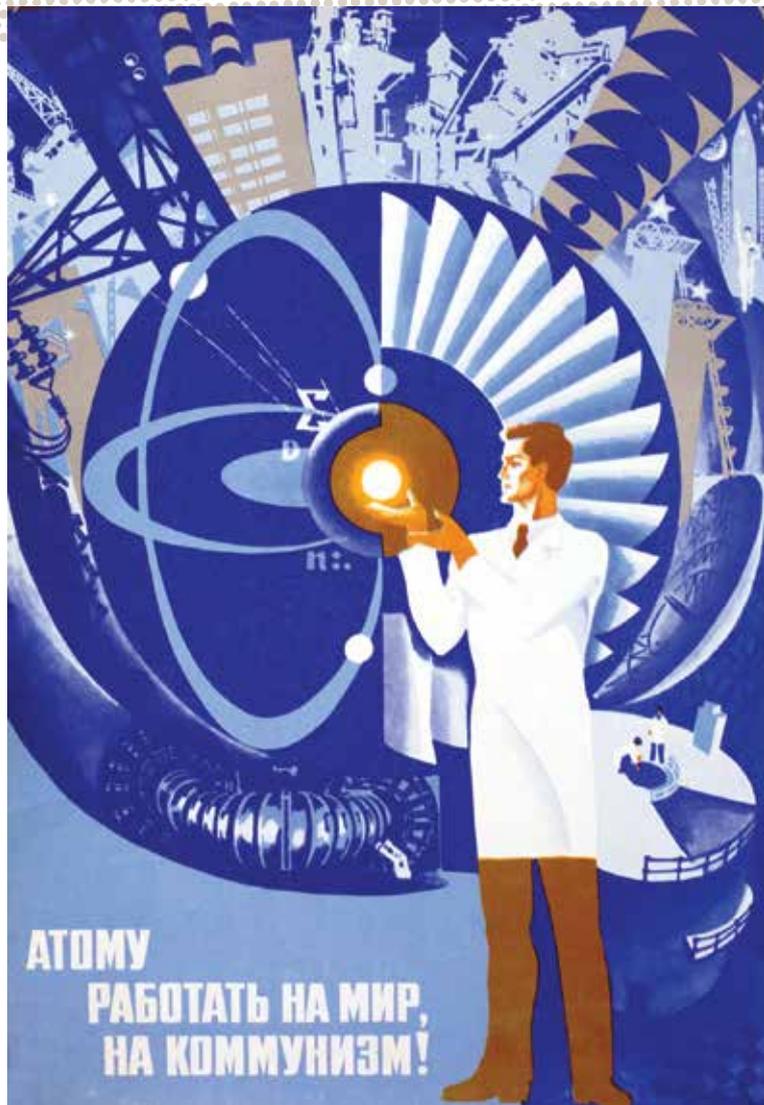
- 2.47** What were some of the causes and consequences of the 'Red Scare' in the US?
- 2.48** What effect did the Federal Employee Loyalty Program have on the lives of the American people?
- 2.49** Why were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg executed?
- 2.50** What was the purpose of HUAC? What effect did this have on the Hollywood film industry?
- 2.51** What brought Senator Joseph McCarthy to American national attention in 1950? What effect did he have on the HUAC proceedings?
- 2.52** What eventually brought McCarthy's political career to an end?

ARMS RACE

BERTRAND RUSSELL: 'To spread ruin, misery and death throughout one's own country as well as that of the enemy is the act of madmen.'

After the impact of the atomic bomb in Japan was assessed—especially its ability to end a war within a week—it became apparent to both the US and the USSR that atomic bombs would significantly alter the nature of warfare. America's monopoly of atomic weaponry ended in August 1949 when the Soviet Union detonated its first nuclear bomb. The 1950s marked the beginning of an **arms race** as both sides competed to create more powerful bombs. This race led to the creation of the hydrogen bomb, which was 1000 times more powerful than the atomic bomb. Instead of a fission reaction that splits the atom's nucleus, nuclear fusion causes the subatomic particles to join together, which generates an enormous amount of energy.

The arms race reached new heights in 1954 when the US secretary of state, John Dulles, announced a policy of 'massive retaliation' should the Soviet Union launch an attack. Both superpowers spent billions of dollars producing nuclear weapons that could destroy all of humanity. However, once both sides had nuclear weapons, they would both be destroyed if one attacked and the other retaliated. This theory became known as **mutual assured destruction (MAD)**, and it prevented the outbreak of nuclear war. By the late 1950s it was realised that such bombs had no strategic military value and that a better delivery system was required instead of a plane that could easily be shot down. This led to the development of **intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)**, which required satellites to direct their path as they left the atmosphere and then returned. By 1960, both sides had bombers armed with nuclear weapons patrolling the Earth and missile bases placed in strategic locations. Dulles called this **brinkmanship**. The US had short-range missiles situated throughout Western Europe and Turkey that could strike the Soviet Union within minutes. These were backed up with US-based long-range missiles that could reach the USSR in 30 minutes.



Source 2.14 A Soviet poster celebrating putting the atom to work for peace and communism.

arms race

When two or more countries increase their armed forces to gain military and diplomatic advantage.

mutual assured destruction (MAD)

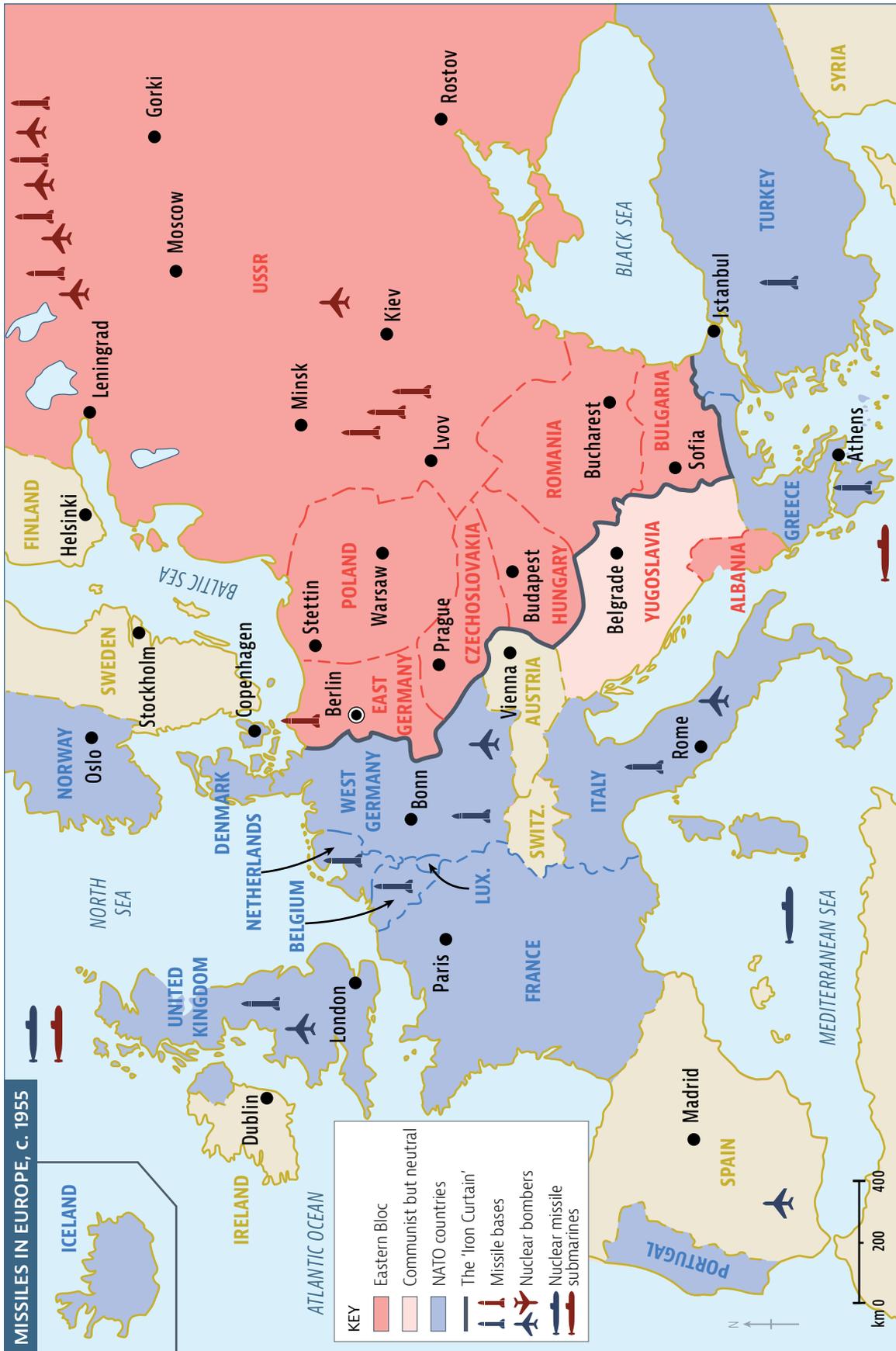
Understanding that using or retaliating with atomic or nuclear bombs will cause the complete annihilation of both the attacker and defender.

intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)

Missiles with a nuclear warhead that can be fired at targets on the other side of the globe.

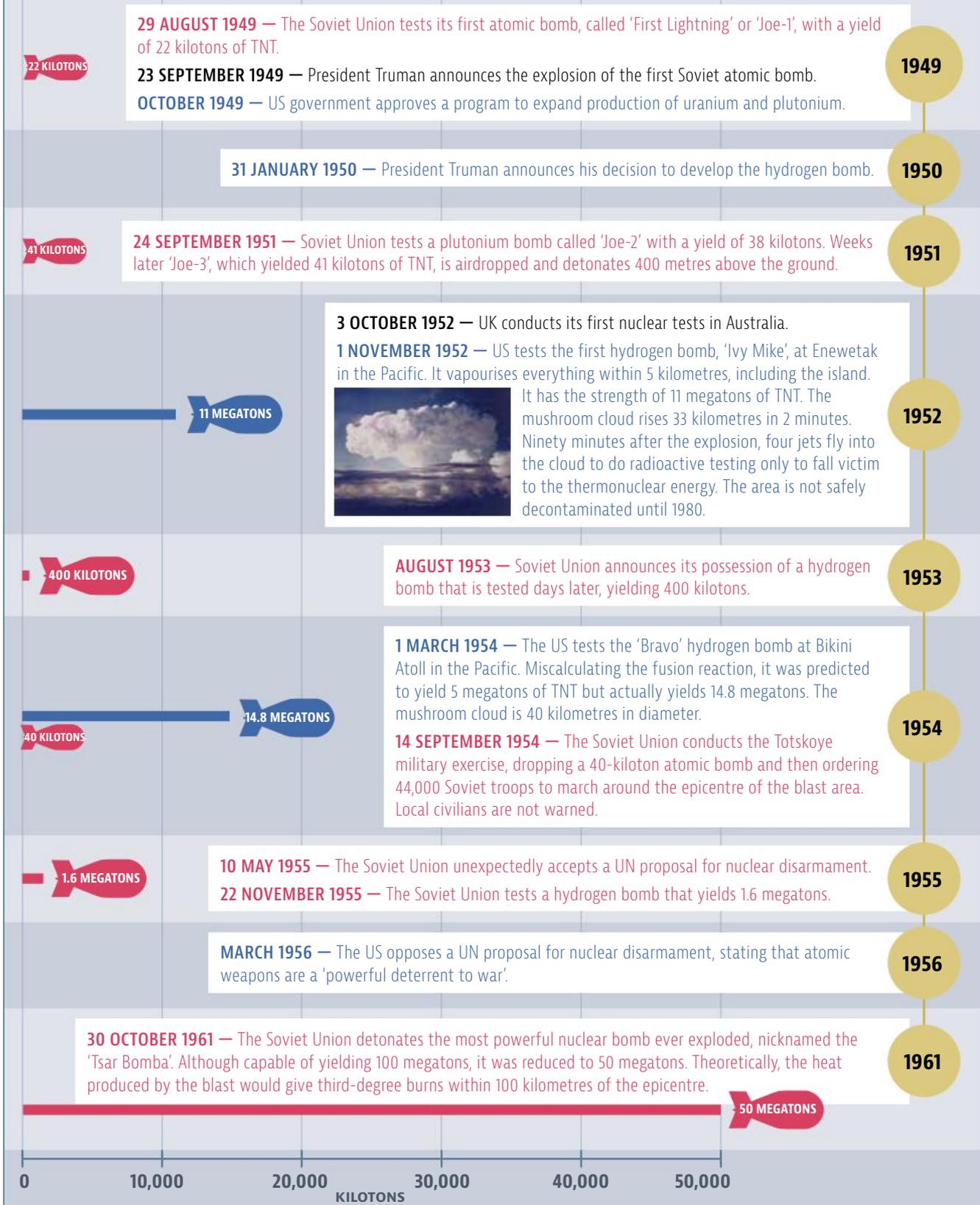
brinkmanship

Pushing a competitor to the brink of war, without actually precipitating war, to make them back down and offer concessions.



Source 2.15 Map showing missile launch capabilities in Europe, c. 1955.

TIMELINE OF ARMS RACE DEVELOPMENTS



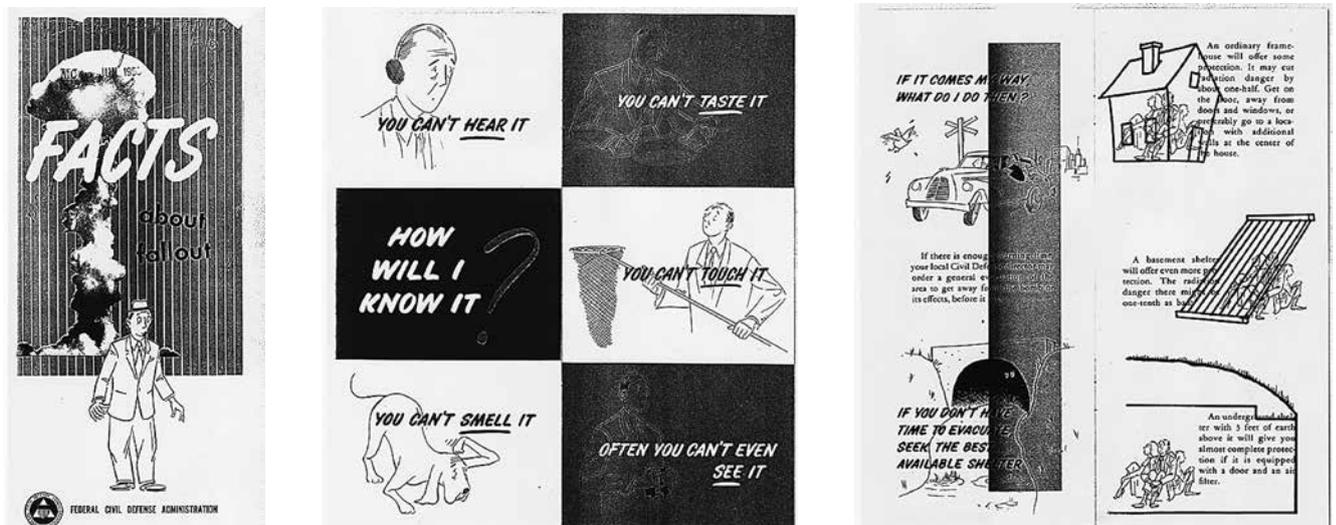
Note: Bomb measurements have been left in US tons (907 kg) rather than converted to tonnes (1000 kg) so that their comparative sizes are easier to understand.

During the 1960s, an international peace **movement** challenged the use of nuclear arms. In response, the two superpowers began to negotiate disarmament. In 1963, a **Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty** agreed to in Moscow banned the detonation of all bombs in the atmosphere or in the ocean. This meant that all future tests were to occur underground (although both China and France have since conducted above-ground tests in spite of this treaty). In 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to limit the spread of nuclear weapons was signed by the US, the Soviet Union and the UK. It was ratified by a further forty-seven countries two years later. Additional discussions took place in 1969 at the **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)**, which aimed to reduce the development of nuclear weapons.

DUCK AND COVER

While Americans were experiencing prosperity in the 1950s, they were also experiencing an extreme sense of anxiety over the prospect of a nuclear war. In response, the US government reassured the population that they could survive a nuclear explosion. A pamphlet called 'Facts about Fallout' played down any concerns about radioactivity, suggesting that it would all be gone within a few days. This propaganda led to many families building underground fallout shelters in their backyards. Architectural designs included cubes, domes, cylinders and pods made from steel, concrete, wood or fibreglass. Millions of dollars were dedicated to such shelters, with 200,000 built by 1965. Prices were in the range US\$100–5000, with investors predicting the business to gross US\$20 billion. In Las Vegas, wealth could even buy you a fallout shelter with a putting green, swimming pool, kitchen and formal dining room, and bathtubs. Washington, DC opened its first fallout shelter in 1962; three years later it had 1000 of them spread over every corner of the city. Shelters in government buildings could provide for 36,000 people. In one fallout shelter, 20 tonnes of wheat crackers were stored for food. Today, the fallout shelter signs in the capital are preserved as monuments of this frightening time in US history.

Source 2.16 A pamphlet detailing the facts about fallout.



movement

Any organisation or group of people who are pushing for change in a particular area.

Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

An agreement signed by the US and USSR in 1963 that restricted the testing of nuclear weapons.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks/Treaty (SALT)

A series of formal agreements and corresponding treaties between the US and the Soviet Union to limit arms build-ups and curb the arms race.

Did you know? It is believed that the Soviet Union thought that the routinely heavy traffic outside a building in the centre courtyard of the Pentagon was a top-secret meeting room or bunker, so it always had at least two missiles pointing at it during the Cold War. It turned out it was a hot dog stand.

Did you know? During the 1960s the US continuously flew B-52 bombers carrying nuclear bombs around the world in case of an attack by the Soviet Union. Five of these planes crashed and two resulted in nuclear contamination, one over a village on the southern coast of Spain and the other near the coast of Greenland.

Another form of nuclear war propaganda took place within schools. Teachers were encouraged to perform air-raid drills where students were expected to hide beneath their desks, clutching their heads. In some cases, schools even distributed dog tags to help identify children after an attack. From this, the government developed an educational film called *Duck and Cover* (1952) in which an animated turtle named Bert would duck his head into his shell whenever a monkey set off a firecracker nearby. A convoy toured the film across the US in 1952 to spread the message through posters and a film theatre, reaching more than one million people. However, it was its distribution into schools and to television stations that increased its audience to tens of millions. Hollywood also took advantage of the arms race, producing nuclear war doomsday films such as *On the Beach* (1959), *The Last Man on Earth* (1964), *The Day the World Ended* (1955), *The Atomic Kid* (1954), and *Dr Strangelove* (1964). The documentary film *The Atomic Cafe* (1982) is a satire of life during the 1950s that emphasises the extensive propaganda used to keep the US population optimistic about surviving possible nuclear warfare.

Geoffrey Roberts analyses the secrecy of the arms race

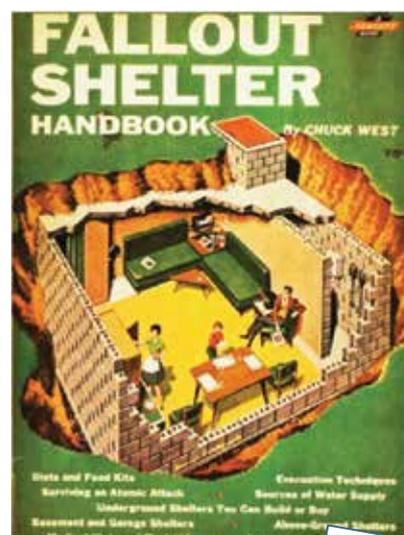
After Stalin died there were many more Soviet nuclear tests, thousands of atomic bombs were produced, and Moscow was never shy of publicising and boasting of the USSR's technological achievements in this sphere. Curiously, Moscow remained silent about the first test, which took the world by surprise and should have been a cause for celebration in the USSR. In the West, the expectation had been that it would take the Soviets many years to develop a bomb, notwithstanding their success in stealing Western atomic secrets. The news of the Soviet test was, in fact, broken to the world by Truman on 23 September [1949]. The next day the Soviet news agency Tass issued a statement claiming that the USSR had possessed the bomb since 1947 and that the recent explosion was connected to 'large-scale blasting' necessary for infrastructural building works such as mines, canals, roads and hydroelectric power stations. Such coyness may have reflected the Soviet obsession with secrecy or it may have been calculated to avoid provoking the Americans too much. It may also have been connected to Vyshinskii's [Soviet foreign minister, 1949–1953] imminent address to the UN about Soviet proposals for disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and the control of atomic energy. Indeed, on 23 November 1949 Vyshinskii claimed at the UN that, in contrast to the aggressive US nuclear tests, those of the Soviet Union were peaceful because they were being used to level mountains and move rivers—a claim described by one incredulous American author as 'one of the most nonsensical statements ever perpetrated on an international organisation'.

📌 **Source 2.19** Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War 1939–1953* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).



📌 **Source 2.17**
Fallout shelter with provisions, c. 1957.

📌 **Source 2.18**
The *Fallout Shelter Handbook*.



HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 2.19 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 2.53** Explain why it was surprising that Moscow downplayed, and even denied, the detonation of the Soviet Union's first atomic bomb.
- 2.54** What reasons are given for the Soviet Union's 'coyness' (or secrecy) about this matter?
- 2.55** How does Vyshinskii contrast US testing of nuclear weapons and testing carried out by the Soviet Union?
- 2.56** Explain how the superpowers used the UN to advance their own world view and national interests during the Cold War.
- 2.57** Evaluate the significance of the test of nuclear weapons and a factor that contributed to the deteriorating relations between the US and USSR after World War II. Use evidence to support your response.

SPACE RACE

JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1962: 'We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard.'

Another showcase of power to emerge alongside the arms race was the 'space race'. Once again, the USSR and the US sought to prove their technological might and superiority as they explored outer space. The Soviet Union took the lead when it launched the first satellite into orbit on 5 October 1957. *Sputnik 1* was launched using an ICBM. Its launch surprised the US, which saw space as the next frontier that it would be first to explore. As the Soviet Union continued to break new records, such as the first animal and the first man in space, the US acted with urgency to launch its own satellite, *Explorer 1*, in 1958, and create the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)**. Concerns over the Soviet Union's ability to gather intelligence and send ICBMs into US airspace led Eisenhower to create other space programs, such as the National Reconnaissance Office, which was a classified mission that used satellites to collect intelligence about the Soviet Union and its allies.

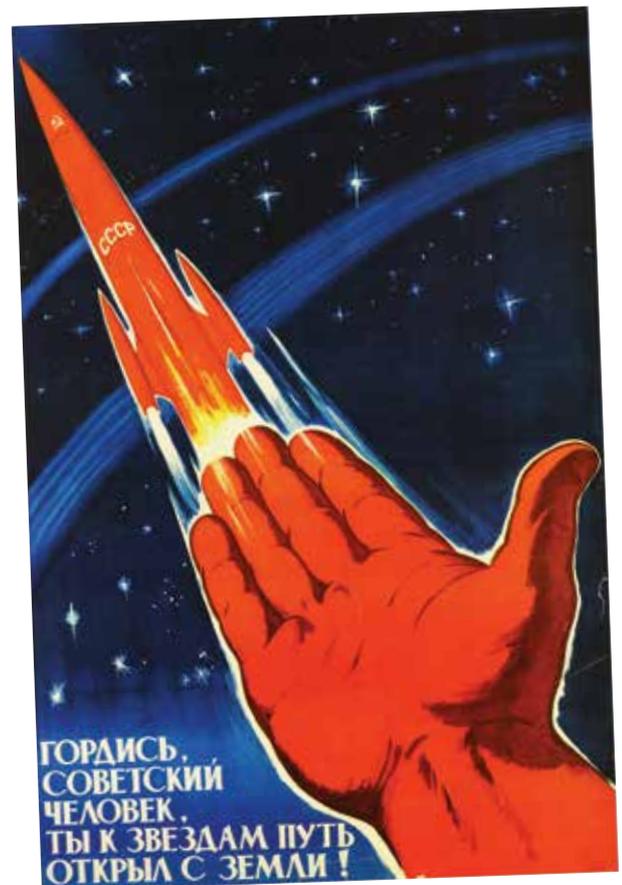
The competition between the two powers intensified on 25 May 1961 when the new US president, John F. Kennedy, pledged to land a man on the Moon by the end of the 1960s. To move things along, Kennedy even suggested a joint program between the USSR and US. This was rejected by Khrushchev, who believed that the US was trying to steal Russian space technology. From 1961 to 1964, NASA's budget increased almost 500 per cent, and 400,000 employees were required. Although spacecraft did not need to have astronauts aboard, it seemed that the world was in need of an international hero. Soviet propaganda launched tourism campaigns based on its own ability to send people to outer space, and the media maintained the hype around a possible Moon landing. Eight years after President Kennedy's statement, on 21 July 1969, the US reached its goal when Neil Armstrong walked on the Moon. Using an Australian tracking station and telescope, the first images of Neil Armstrong on the Moon were broadcast to 600 million people on Earth, who heard the famous line, 'That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind'. In line with the competitive rivalry between the USSR and the US, the astronauts planted a US flag on the Moon's surface; they also spoke to the White House, signalling that the US had won the race. Over the next three years, the US would continue a series of Apollo missions to the Moon before it was ended due to funding cuts. The Soviet Union made four failed attempts to land on the Moon. By 1975 the space race was over. A joint mission that year between the two superpowers, called the Apollo–Soyuz Test Project, witnessed a 'handshake in space' between the two commanders. This action symbolised an improvement in relations during the Cold War era.

Did you know? During the Cold War, the US developed a top-secret plan to detonate a nuclear bomb on the Moon to demonstrate its military strength. It also used bears to test the ejector seats in supersonic jets in the 1960s.

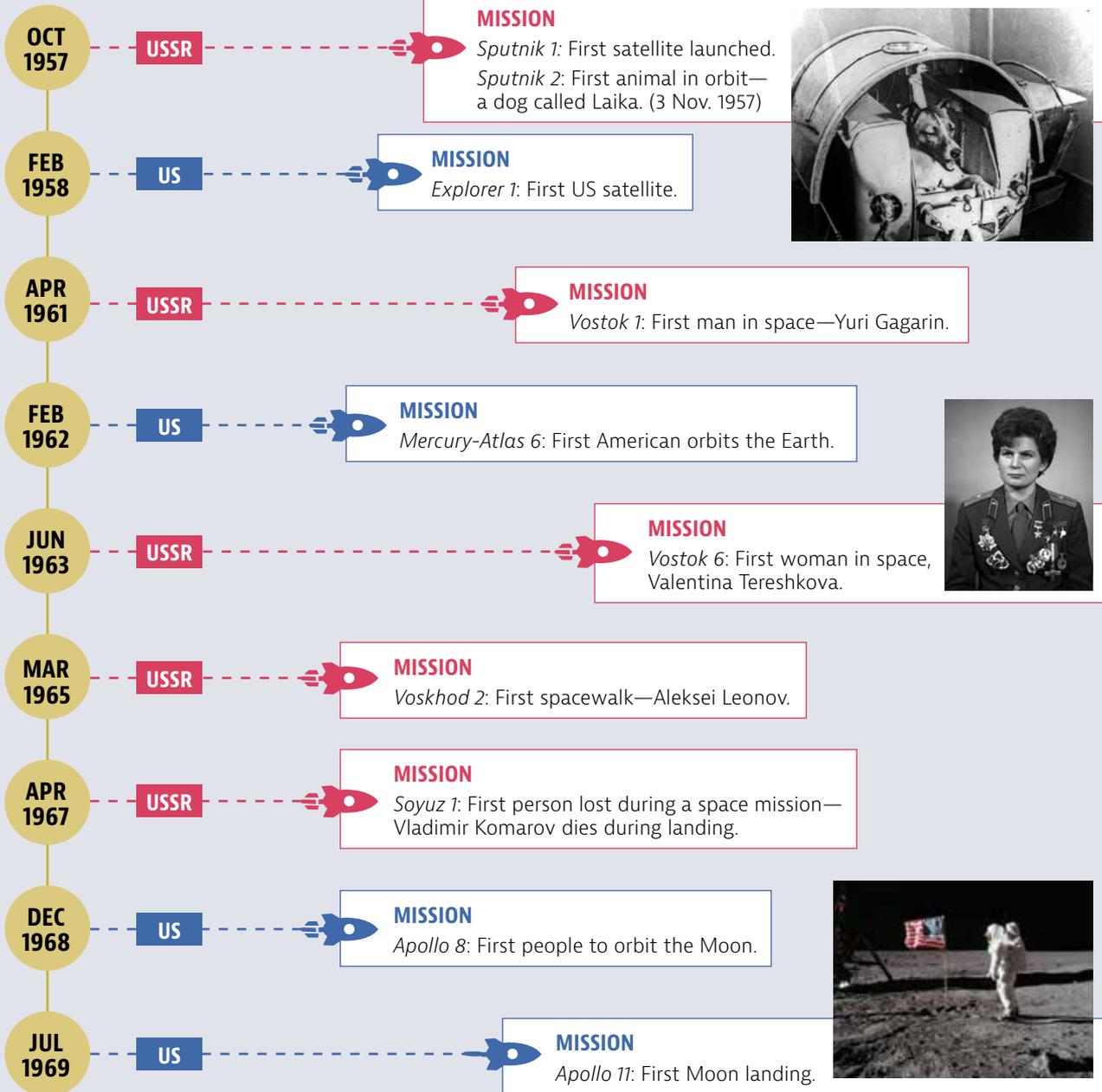
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)

The US agency responsible for space exploration.

Source 2.20 Soviet poster from 1963. 'Soviet man you can be proud, you opened the road to stars from Earth.'



TIMELINE OF SPACE RACE DEVELOPMENTS



HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

2.58 In pairs, research the impact of the space race on both the USSR and the US. Create four inquiry questions that explore varying factors such as social, economic, political, cultural and technological.

For example, to what extent has knowledge gained from the space race been applied to products and applications that have helped modern life (e.g. anti-icing technology used on the wings of aircraft)?

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 2.59** When did America's monopoly of atomic weapons end?
- 2.60** Explain the notion of 'mutual assured destruction' and how, in theory, it prevented nuclear war.
- 2.61** Who started the space race, and when did it begin?
- 2.62** How did developments in the space race assist the arms race?
- 2.63** Why do you think the world was in need of an international hero? Provide multiple reasons.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW

When George Orwell first referred to the idea of a Cold War in 1945, he suggested that the world may be entering a time that was 'horribly stable'. In some respects, life during the 1950s was restrictive and personal liberties were limited, as both superpowers were determined to oversee the successful implementation of their ideologies within their spheres of influence. Yet, if anything, life for most people only became more unpredictable. Politically, neither the US nor the USSR could anticipate each other's actions or responses, as leaders constantly contradicted themselves. Historian Fred Halliday has suggested this was a time of 'oscillatory antagonism', meaning that diplomatic relations were always changing. Eisenhower wanted to improve the lives of ordinary Americans by cutting military spending, but at the same time he made the public more anxious by provoking an arms race. Khrushchev suggested 'peaceful coexistence' and accepted proposals for nuclear disarmament, but years later detonated the world's largest bomb. As each country desperately tried to build its national security and power, people around the world became more uncertain about what the future would bring. The Cold War soon spread throughout the world as this atmosphere of uncertainty, propped up by intensive propaganda campaigns, elevated into protests, uprisings, hot wars and even the threat of nuclear war.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Stalin's attempt to starve the West out of Berlin failed.
- The rival alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact were formed.
- The fear of communism dominated American social and cultural life in the 1950s.
- The US and USSR engaged in an arms race that saw the rapid development of ever-more powerful nuclear bombs.
- A space race emerged from the intense rivalry between the US and USSR.

REVIEW

2.64 Create a concept map that displays the key tensions of the Cold War. Categorise different types of tensions under headings such as 'Territorial', 'Military' and 'Technological'.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **2.65** Explain how the Berlin Blockade sparked further political actions in the following years.
- **2.66** Explain how propaganda increased the US public's fear and suspicion during the 1950s.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **2.67** Discuss how the Cold War affected each superpower. You may consider a range of social, political, technological, economic and cultural factors.
- **2.68** Compare how both the US and USSR displayed power during this era.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

It is important to understand how people in the past tried to understand their world, how they were affected by it and how they tried to change it.

2.69 Choose one of the following perspectives and write a creative piece exploring their thoughts about the threat of nuclear weapons on life within the US:

- a US government official
- a scientist
- a primary school child
- a mother or father living in the suburbs
- an architect.

2.70 Do you believe that governments still have an impact on perspectives held within society today? Discuss as a class, and think of present-day examples to support your arguments.

EXTENSION

2.71 Research a Cold War topic in greater depth and write a report or create a presentation for the class. Some suggested topics are:

- film
- sport
- radio
- economies
- defence
- literature.



LIFE IN EAST GERMANY

'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1946



KEY POINTS

- The Soviet zone of occupation in Germany became the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany) in 1949.
- Socialism resulted in declining living standards.
- An uprising against the regime was crushed in June 1953.
- To prevent its citizens fleeing to the West, the East German government built the Berlin Wall in August 1961.
- Many were killed trying to cross the barrier between East and West.
- The secret state police (Stasi) of East Germany monitored and arrested anyone who challenged the authority of the government.

Source 1 The Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. The barbed wire is on the western side, and was laid by Berlin's British military command.

LIVING UNDER COMMUNISM

The *standard of living* under communism was considerably lower than in Western democracies. The economies of communist countries were dictated and controlled by the state, which decided what would be produced, the timeline in which goods would be manufactured, and the wages that would be paid to the workers. Economies concentrated heavily on industrial manufacturing, in particular focusing on steelmaking and coalmining, with large quotas imposed on the workers. Agriculture was subject to *collectivisation*. People were no longer able to own their own businesses and make a profit. As a result, consumer goods became rare and expensive.



standard of living

The general conditions under which people live; often measured by life expectancy, health metrics, income, assets etc.

collectivisation

An element of socialist economics that gathers a state's productive capacity, such as farms, into large, state-owned enterprises with the aim of improving efficiency and productivity.

Source 2 East Germans queuing in the city of Jena in 1987. The sign above the door reads, 'The stronger socialism is, the safer the peace'.

LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM



Very limited private ownership of businesses.
Economy controlled by the state.



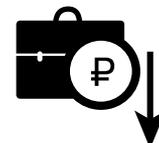
Everyone had a home, often in prefabricated high-rise apartment blocks.



Media controlled by the government.



Lack of consumer goods.



Lower wages.



Secret police used to control population through fear, intimidation and terror.



Lack of personal freedom and individual liberties.



Forced collectivisation of agriculture.



Low standards of living.



Culture controlled by the state and used to promote communist ideals.



Free education for all.



No trade unions: workers unable to improve work conditions.

THE EAST GERMAN UPRISING, JUNE 1953

The Soviet Union had to suppress several uprisings in its Eastern Bloc 'allies' throughout the course of the Cold War. The first occurred in East Germany in June 1953.

Causes

With the failure to reunify Germany in the immediate aftermath of World War II, East German communist leader Walter Ulbricht commenced the full socialisation of the economy in July 1952. There was a new focus on heavy industry, private firms were taxed heavily and agriculture was collectivised. However, these measures led to a rapid and dramatic decline in the living standards of East Germans. As collectivised farms were generally less efficient and productive, food prices rose sharply while wages for factory workers fell. Between 1951 and 1953 nearly 500,000 East Germans fled to the West.¹ In early June 1953, the German Communist Party renounced many of its economic measures. However, one remained—the increase in hours for factory workers. For many Germans this was the catalyst for a demonstration against the regime.

Course

After a few days of small strikes and protests, on 16 June, 300 construction workers walked off the job and marched to the government buildings in East Berlin. The next day, 80,000–100,000 East Berliners took to the streets and congregated in the city centre to demand better living conditions, fairer wages and free elections. There were similar scenes in the other major cities of East Germany. The night before, however, the East German government had called for help from Moscow. Soviet tanks and soldiers were sent in against demonstrators all over East Germany to quell the uprising. They fired into the crowds and caused dozens of deaths. It is thought that thirty-two Soviet soldiers who refused to fire on the protestors were shot by the Russian counterintelligence agency **SMERSH**.² The Soviet troops and East German police regained control of the streets by the evening. Although there was sporadic protest activity over the next few days, it had almost entirely ceased by 24 June.

Consequences

The uprising was a failure, and East Germans would not challenge their government on this scale again until November 1989 when the Berlin Wall fell. The East German government responded by increasing the size and powers of the **Stasi** (*Staatssicherheit*) and never again attempted such large-scale economic reforms.



Source 3 A Russian T-34 tank rolls through the streets of East Berlin on 17 June 1953.

SMERSH

The Russian counterintelligence agency tasked with discovering and eliminating all internal threats to the Soviet state.

Stasi

'Stasi' was the common shortened form of *Staatssicherheit*, or state security. The Stasi was East Germany's secret police.

GERMANY AND BERLIN DIVIDED

Steve Phillips (author): ‘West Berlin had become an island of prosperous capitalism in a sea of communism.’³

Under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement, both Germany and Berlin were divided into four zones of occupation. The Berlin Blockade had resulted in the formation of two countries: the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Berlin remained a symbolically divided city. Nowhere were the differences in lifestyles between the capitalist West and communist East more sharply highlighted than in Berlin. Berlin was in a unique position, as there was fairly free movement through the city before the wall was built in August 1961. East Berliners could see for themselves the prosperity of the West, where consumer goods that were often unavailable in East Germany could be purchased cheaply. It also allowed many East Germans to flee to the West via Berlin.

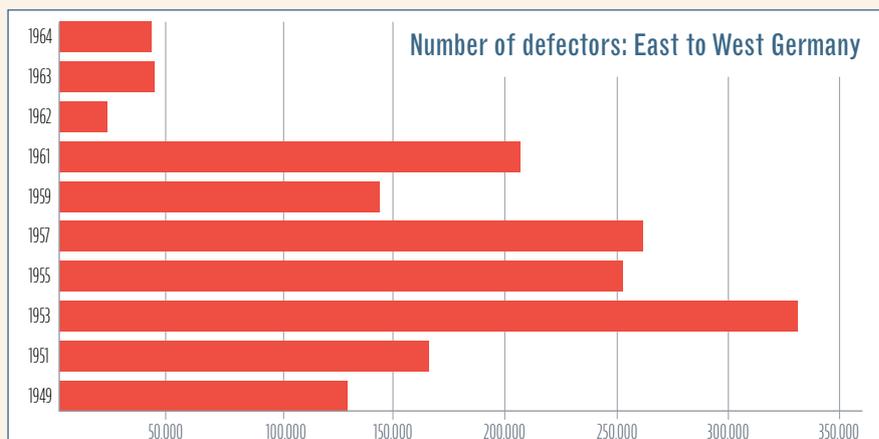
By the mid-1950s the recovery of West Germany and its entry into NATO caused concern in the Soviet Union. In 1958, Khrushchev suggested that Berlin become a neutral city and that the occupying powers should leave, but then a US spy plane was shot down in Soviet air space just before the May 1960 Paris summit, and relations between the two superpowers grew decidedly frosty. When Kennedy became US president in 1961, Khrushchev decided to try and push the new, young and inexperienced leader, who had already suffered an embarrassing international incident—the failed **Bay of Pigs** invasion (see Chapter 3, p.91). Khrushchev demanded that the West recognise East Germany, withdraw their troops from West Berlin and hand over access routes to the East German government. At the Vienna summit in June 1961, Kennedy refused Khrushchev’s demands, and followed up in July by announcing increased arms spending.

Did you know? The leader of the East German Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht, declared two months before the construction of the Berlin Wall began that ‘Nobody has the intention of building a wall’.

THE BERLIN WALL

Nikita Khrushchev, 1963: ‘Berlin is the testicles of the West. When I want the West to scream, I squeeze on Berlin.’

During the 1950s, Walter Ulbricht, the first secretary of East Germany, introduced two Five-Year Plans that saw heavy industry production double. However, the benefits to industry came at a cost, as there was a shortage of consumer goods and East Germans continued to suffer from low wages and food shortages. The shortage of food was exacerbated under the second Five-Year Plan (1956–1960) when many farmers walked away from their farms rather than enter a state-run farm under forced collectivisation. Food production fell and rationing was reintroduced in 1961. Many people were disillusioned with life under communism and left for West Germany. So many East Germans were defecting to West Germany that the population drain was beginning to threaten the East German economy. Many of the people who were fleeing to the West were young professionals and skilled workers. Konrad Adenauer, the chancellor of West Germany, called this the **magnet theory**, as people sought freedom and higher wages in the West. In April 1961, 30,000 East Germans fled via West Berlin amid rumours that the border between East and West Berlin was about to close.



Bay of Pigs

The failed invasion of Cuba by an anti-Castro militia trained and equipped by the CIA in April 1961.

magnet theory

Factors that draw people to a new place, such as higher wages, more freedom or a better standard of living.

Source 4 Graph showing the number of people who defected from East Germany to West Germany between 1949 and 1964.



Source 5 Construction begins on the concrete wall that eventually surrounded West Berlin.

Sunday 13 August 1961 became known as *Stacheldrahtsonntag* ('Barbed Wire Sunday'), as East German soldiers and police placed barbed-wire fencing along a 50-kilometre stretch, closing the border between East and West Berlin. Over the next 48 hours, the barbed wire was replaced with a concrete wall. The East German government called it an *Antifaschistischer Schutzwall* ('anti-fascist protection barrier').

The building of the wall extended to encompass the whole of West Berlin. Families were divided and cut off from each other. Many East Germans lost their jobs in the West. Strict travel restrictions meant that it was virtually impossible for families to visit one another. The Berlin Wall was a symbolic reality of the division between communism and capitalism. The West did nothing to prevent the building of the Berlin Wall.

In the following decades, more than 100 people died attempting to cross the Berlin Wall. One of the most well-known deaths was that of Peter Fechter in 1962. Fechter was one of the first people to be shot attempting to cross the Berlin Wall. He bled to death as East German border police refused to help him. Those in the West feared the reaction from the Eastern side and did nothing. His death was witnessed by many people.



Source 6 East Berliners escaped through houses adjacent to the Berlin Wall before they were boarded up.



Source 7 The body of 18-year-old East Berliner Peter Fechter being carried away by East German border soldiers, almost an hour after he was shot.



Source 8 'I just closed off what's mine—for the rest I'm ready to negotiate', by Edmund Valtman.

Did you know? Regarding the construction of the Berlin Wall, US President Kennedy said, 'It's not a nice solution but a wall is a hell of a lot better than war'.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- S.09** Draw up a table to identify the differences between East and West Berlin.
- S.10** Why was the Berlin Wall built?
- S.11** What were the consequences of the decision to build the wall for the people of Berlin?

SUMMARY

- S.12** Create a diagram to show the causes and effects of defections to West Germany.

CREATIVE TASK

- S.13** Imagine you live in East Berlin. Write a letter to your cousin in West Berlin describing what your life is like after the Berlin Wall was built.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 8 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- S.14** Identify the two leaders represented in the cartoon.
- S.15** Describe the background as drawn of the cartoon. Why do you think Berlin has been portrayed in this way?
- S.16** Explain the events leading up to the construction of the Berlin Wall.
- S.17** Analyse the consequences of Khrushchev's decision to build the Berlin Wall on Soviet–American relations. Use evidence to support your response.

THE STASI

The 'Stasi' used fear and intimidation to control the population of East Germany and ensure that any perceived dangers to the regime were eliminated. It was founded in 1950 and was answerable only to the government of East Germany, which was the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, or SED). The aim of the Stasi was to prevent the development of non-conformist or **dissident** ideas and behaviour. The Stasi employed over 90,000 people full time, and had a network of unofficial collaborators who gathered information on people from all areas of society. Suspects could be arrested on suspicion without having committed any offence. Just having hair that was too long was enough for someone to appear suspicious. The Stasi used a range of methods to stamp out non-conformist ideas, from physical violence, arrests, kidnappings and show trials to rumours and manipulation. They tailed suspects, bugged telephones, installed video cameras in buildings, searched apartments and destroyed friendships and careers in the name of ensuring East Germany's security.

The Stasi targeted all aspects of people's lives to control and minimise subversive behaviour. Youth organisations were used to politically educate and control young people to ensure that they were loyal citizens, as well as use young people as informants. The Stasi had representatives in all walks of life: they infiltrated factories, schools and hospitals; a Stasi representative lived in every apartment block; and many clergymen were recruited as informants. Stasi officers would accompany athletes to international competitions, as they were concerned that sportspeople would escape and defect once they were out of East Germany.

Censorship

The Stasi was also responsible for culture and media. Censorship was applied to every aspect of culture. All novels and plays had to be submitted for review before they could be published. Anything considered to contain criticism of the communist state was not allowed, so references to life in East Germany were banned. Newspapers, radio and television were all strictly controlled by the state.

Control of sport

East Germany went to extremes to prove its superiority, and used sport as a propaganda tool. The use of drugs to enhance sporting performances became systematic from the 1970s, and it was monitored by the Stasi. East German athletes were the equivalent of rock stars. They enjoyed greater freedom than ordinary East Germans, but that freedom came at a price. Due to the state-sanctioned use of anabolic steroids (synthetic versions of the male sex hormone testosterone), female athletes suffered from infertility and miscarriages. Other athletes later suffered from liver disease, heart disease and cancer.

dissident

Behaviour or communication that criticises and challenges a government or the status quo; also used as a label for anyone who holds such views.

Extract from *Stasiland* by Anna Funder

The Stasi was the internal army by which the government kept control. Its job was to know everything about everyone, using any means it chose. ... The Stasi's brief was to be 'shield and sword' of the Communist Party, called the SED. But its broader remit [goal] was to protect the Party from the people. It arrested, imprisoned and interrogated anyone it chose. It inspected all mail in secret rooms above post offices (copying letters and stealing any valuables), and intercepted, daily, tens of thousands of phone calls. It bugged hotel rooms and spied on diplomats. It ran its own universities, hospitals, elite sports centers and terrorist training programs for Libyans and the West Germans of the Red Army Faction. It pockmarked the countryside with secret bunkers for its members in the event of World War III. Unlike secret services in democratic countries, the Stasi was the mainstay of State power. Without it, and without the threat of Soviet tanks to back it up, the SED regime could not have survived.

 **Source 9** Anna Funder, *Stasiland* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003), 5.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 9 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- S.18** Identify two goals of the Stasi.
- S.19** Identify two ways the Stasi monitored people.
- S.20** Explain why the SED used the Stasi to maintain control.
- S.21** Analyse the impact of security agencies on the lives of ordinary people during the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.

RESEARCH

- S.22** Conduct research into one male and one female East German athlete. Look in to their sports, training regimes, diet, use of drugs, competitions entered, success, and longer-term effects. Some examples include Renate Neufeld, Dagmar Käsling and Steffen Zesner.

THE STASI FILES

ANNA FUNDER: 'The thoroughness of the regime was horrifying: it accumulated, in the 40 years of its existence, more written records than in all of German history since the Middle Ages. East Germany was run on fear and betrayal: at least one in 50 people—by CIA estimates, one in seven—were informing on their relatives, friends, neighbours and colleagues.'⁴

After the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, Stasi officers were ordered to destroy the files they kept on East German citizens. They were interrupted by citizen groups who occupied the Stasi headquarters and had discovered approximately 16,000 bags full of shredded or torn files, plus partially destroyed photos, slides and recordings.

The Stasi Records Agency was established in 1992 with the aim of preserving Stasi documents. Since 1995 it has had the painstaking task of reconstructing torn documents by hand. More recently, computer-supported techniques have been used to speed up the process.

Since 1991 the Stasi Records Agency has received more than 7.3 million requests to view files. In January 2015 it made some files available online for the first time.

Stasi files in numbers

Total documents: 111 kilometres of files

File cards: 41 million

Photos, film negatives, slides: 1.95 million

Film, video and audio recordings: 25,576

Shredded material: 15,500 bags

Reconstructed shredded files: 1.67 million pages or file cards

Source 10 Das Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives), 'About the Stasi Archives', <https://www.stasi-unterlagen-archiv.de/en/archives/about-the-archives/>



Source 11 Reconstructing the Stasi files, 1996.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

S.23 What was the Stasi?

S.24 In the eyes of the East German regime, why was the Stasi necessary?

S.25 How did the activities of the Stasi affect the lives of ordinary East German people?

SUMMARY

S.26 Create a concept map to show the type of activities the Stasi might have considered a threat to East German security.



DISSENT AMONG THE SOVIET SATELLITES

'Any provocateur or lunatic who raises his hand against the people's government may be sure that this hand will be chopped off by the people's government.'

JÓZEF CYRANKIEWICZ, PRIME MINISTER OF POLAND

provocateur

Someone who incites or encourages others into action, usually against the government.



Source 1 A tank on fire during the Prague protests.

KEY POINTS

- Countries that had been liberated by the USSR during World War II fell under the control of the Eastern Bloc.
- Socialism was introduced and political oppression was commonplace.
- Living standards fell dramatically.
- Popular uprisings in Poland (1956, Poznań protests), Hungary (1956, Hungarian Uprising) and Czechoslovakia (1968, Prague Spring) were brutally repressed.
- Under the Brezhnev Doctrine, the Soviet Union reserved the right to intervene in the affairs of other communist nations.
- The West did not interfere for fear of sparking a third world war.

LIFE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Life for the ordinary person behind the Iron Curtain involved restricted personal freedom and liberties as the Soviet Union controlled those countries under its sphere of influence. The communist regimes of central and Eastern Europe were characterised by fear of the brutality that could be dispensed by secret police to maintain control. Religion was discouraged and suppressed. Censorship and propaganda controlled the media and culture, with only party-approved programming that reinforced ideology allowed. The standard of living declined, as industries were developed to meet the demands of the USSR. With food shortages common, queues to obtain what little was available were guaranteed. The poor selection of foods available led to an increase in health problems in some Eastern Bloc countries. Consumer goods were scarce and difficult to obtain with the low wages that were paid. Although everyone had a home, they were often cramped. Thin walls made it easy for the communist regimes to monitor those who expressed dissatisfaction with life in the East. The long hours that people worked in unsuitable conditions led to apathy, and people became increasingly inactive. The consumption of alcohol and cigarettes increased dramatically. Attempts at reform were short-lived and brutally suppressed by the Soviet Union, which was determined to maintain a buffer zone between itself and the West.

SOVIET SUPPRESSION

Many of the countries that became satellite states of the Soviet Union had little choice in becoming communist. Nations were forced to bow to the might of the Soviet Union under Stalin's rule. The control imposed from Moscow, the loss of individual rights and personal freedoms, and the decline in living standards prompted resistance in Eastern Europe. This resistance was brutally suppressed by Soviet troops sent to the satellite states to ensure that the Soviet sphere of influence remained.

POLAND

Poland had been invaded by both Germany and the Soviet Union in September 1939. The terms of the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (August 1939) led to the Soviets annexing one-third of Poland. Both invading countries subjected Polish citizens to brutality and persecution. Warsaw was 'liberated' by the Red Army in January 1945, which then remained under occupation despite Stalin's promises of free elections. Communists loyal to Stalin dominated the 1947 Polish parliamentary elections, and Poland became a satellite state.

Once in power, the Polish United Workers' Party began to impose Soviet-dictated rules. A state-controlled economy under a Six-Year Plan was introduced, the press was subject to censorship, the Roman Catholic Church was persecuted and *trade unions* were suppressed. However, the promised improvements to living conditions never materialised. Reconstruction following World War II was slow, and people faced housing problems. Food shortages were common, consumer goods were scarce and wages were low, while at the same time workers were asked to increase production. Fear of, and repression by, state security forces kept the Polish people silent. Khrushchev's leadership had resulted in a reduction of the terror experienced under Stalin's rule. The Polish leadership was reluctant to undertake reforms, and many of them were conservative Stalinists. The release of 100,000 political prisoners only prompted the Polish people to demand improvements to their living and working conditions.

trade unions

Organisations established by workers to negotiate with management and governments over fair wages and conditions.

POZNAŃ PROTESTS

By 1956, workers in the Polish city of Poznań had seen a decline in living and working standards since the 1950 introduction of the Six-Year Plan. They had submitted more than 4000 requests for improvements in work organisations since 1953. In 1956, their frustration reached breaking point when they lost promised bonus payments because their work quotas were increased. On 28 June 1956, workers from the Cegielski engineering plant walked off the job and started marching towards the city centre. Their march was joined by more than 100,000 other people. The marchers did not call for any political change—although they wanted the Russians to go home, their demands were mainly about economic reform. However, the march turned into a riot. The marchers attacked the Ministry of Public Security office, where they were shot at. They also attacked the prison, released prisoners and armed themselves with weapons from the prison's armoury. The following day, 10,000 troops and 350 tanks from the Polish army were sent to restore order. The workers of Poznań attacked, using petrol bombs and disarming some tanks. It took three days for the Polish forces to subdue the rebels. Fifty-eight Poznań residents were killed—the youngest just thirteen years old—and more than 600 people were injured.

The Poznań uprising forced the communist leadership to make changes for fear that widespread protests might lead to Soviet involvement. In October 1956 Wladyslaw Gomulka, a moderate, was made first secretary of Poland. Gomulka assured Khrushchev that Poland would remain part of the Warsaw Pact while also gaining increased autonomy.

➔ **Source 2** Protesters at Poznań, 1956.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- S.27** Identify the causes of the Poznań riots.
- S.28** Describe the events that took place in Poznań in June.
- S.29** What was the significance of the Poznań protests for the Polish workers?

EXTENSION

- S.30** What might have been the reaction of the Soviets if the demands of the protesters had been anti-communist?



HUNGARY

Hungary had fought on Germany's side during World War II and was invaded by the Red Army in September 1944. Elections were held at the end of the war, but the Communist Party only won 17 per cent of the vote. Despite this a coalition government was formed, with members of the Hungarian Communist Party taking key political roles. By 1947 a new constitution had been introduced, and Mátyás Rákosi became the Hungarian prime minister. Rákosi used terror and brutality to assert his control. He supported Stalin, and ensured that Hungary became a member of both Cominform and **Comecon**. In 1950 the Államvédelmi Hatóság, or State Protection Authority, was established and Hungary became a police state. More than 200,000 political opponents were imprisoned and thousands were killed in Stalin-like purges. The Communist Party banned religion in Hungary and imprisoned the leader of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Mindszenty. Under Rákosi, the Hungarian economy focused on heavy industry and agricultural production declined. This led to a fall in living standards and an increase in poverty. Food shortages occurred and there were fewer consumer goods, as Hungarian-manufactured goods were sent to the Soviet Union. Having had communism imposed upon them, the Hungarians were far from happy with the situation. In 1953, Rákosi was replaced by Imre Nagy, a reformist prime minister. However, Nagy was too much of a reformist for the Soviets, and less than two years later he was replaced by Rákosi and expelled from the Communist Party. When Khrushchev's 'secret speech' denouncing Stalin's tactics was made public in February 1956, it was interpreted by some Hungarians as a sign that reform might be possible.

THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING

The **Hungarian Uprising** began among Budapest's students, who had been subjected to state-approved syllabuses that were biased towards communist ideology. They resented the Soviet Union's influence over Hungary. On 23 October 1956 the students demonstrated, demanding change and setting out their demands for political reform in a sixteen-point plan. These protests escalated and riots broke out, with workers and soldiers joining the students, attacking the State Protection Authority and Russian troops and destroying symbols of Soviet control.

Khrushchev sent troops and tanks into Budapest on 25 October 1956 to restore order. The Soviets opened fire, killing and wounding Hungarians. Imre Nagy was

reinstated as the Hungarian prime minister and, after negotiations, Khrushchev agreed to withdraw Soviet troops. Believing he had the support of the US, Nagy set about de-Stalinising Hungary. Between 28 October and 3 November he released political prisoners (including Cardinal Mindszenty), announced freedom of speech and religion, and formed a coalition government that included some non-communists. On 3 November, Nagy announced that Hungary would be leaving the Warsaw Pact and appealed to the UN for help in establishing Hungary's neutrality. For Khrushchev this was too far.



Source 3 A dead Russian soldier on a Budapest street during the Hungarian Uprising.

Comecon

Short for Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Comecon was set up by the Soviets in 1949 to coordinate economic development in response to the US Marshall Plan.

Hungarian Uprising

The failed attempt by the Hungarian people to break away from Soviet-style socialism and Russian dominance.



COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

- S.31** What does Source 4 tell you about the Soviet attitude towards Hungary?
- S.32** What does Source 5 view as the cause of rebellion in Hungary?
- S.33** Why do you think opinion has changed despite the articles being published in the same newspaper?

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 6 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- S.34** What is the origin of this source? You might need to look up what a telex machine was.
- S.35** For whom do you think this message was intended? Explain your answer.
- S.36** What impression of the situation in Hungary is given? Briefly quote specific elements from the source in your response.
- S.37** Explain how the West responded to the Soviet invasion of Hungary and why they responded this way.
- S.38** Analyse how the Soviet Union maintained control of their satellite states in Eastern Europe. Use evidence to support your response.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

- S.39** Identify why the Hungarians were dissatisfied with Soviet-style socialism.
- S.40** What was the turning point that pushed Hungarians to rebel against their Soviet-backed government?
- S.41** What do you think was the most important factor in causing the Hungarian Uprising? Support your response with evidence.

SUMMARY

- S.42** Create a spider diagram to show the reasons why the Soviet Union invaded Hungary in October and November 1956.

While Khrushchev had denounced Stalin’s tactics in his ‘secret speech’, he was not going to risk the security of the Soviet Union and allow states that were part of the buffer zone to gain their independence. Unlike the protests in Poland, the Hungarian protesters were attacking communism itself. Khrushchev could not afford to look weak; he feared that the anti-communist sentiments in Hungary might spread to neighbouring satellite states and damage the Warsaw Pact. He was also under pressure from China’s Mao Zedong to protect communism. Thousands of Soviet troops and hundreds of tanks returned to Hungary on 4 November, firing indiscriminately and killing 2500–3000 people. Despite the superiority of the Soviet forces, the Hungarians resisted by employing guerrilla tactics. However, the Soviets gained the strategic advantage over the Hungarians, and on 7 November János Kádár became the new leader of Hungary. Nagy, who had sought refuge in the Yugoslav embassy, was tried for treason and executed.

Despite appeals to the West for help, the Hungarians were left to fight against the Soviet troops alone. Britain and France had been distracted by the **Suez Canal Crisis**, and US President Eisenhower was not willing to go to war over Hungary. The UN proposed an investigation, but the decision was vetoed by the USSR and the new Hungarian government under Kádár refused to cooperate.

Suez Canal Crisis
The ultimately unsuccessful attempt by Britain, France and Israel in late 1956 to take control of the Suez Canal from Egypt.

Published in Pravda, the Soviet state newspaper, on 31 October 1956

The Soviet Government is prepared to enter into the appropriate negotiations with the government of the Hungarian People’s Republic and other members of the Warsaw Treaty on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of Hungary.

Source 4 *Pravda*, 31 October 1956.

Published in Pravda, the Soviet state newspaper, on 23 November 1956

A socialist state could not remain a silent observer of the bloody reign of Fascist reaction in the People’s Democratic Hungary. When everything settles down in Hungary, and life becomes normal again, the Hungarian working class, peasantry and intelligentsia [educated people] will understand our actions better and judge them right.

Source 5 *Pravda*, 23 November 1956.

A telex message sent in October 1956 by Hungarian rebels

We have almost no weapons, no heavy guns of any kind. People are running up to the tanks, throwing in hand grenades and closing the drivers’ windows. The Hungarian people are not afraid of death. It is only a pity that we cannot last longer. Now the firing is starting again. The tanks are coming nearer and nearer. You can’t let people attack tanks with their bare hands. What is the United Nations doing?

Source 6 Cited in George Mikes, *The Hungarian Revolution* (London: A. Deutsch, 1957).

MELBOURNE OLYMPICS, 1956

When Hungary and the USSR met in the water polo semifinals during the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, it became known as the 'blood in the water' match. Melbourne had a large Hungarian community, many of whom had escaped Hungary and migrated to Melbourne following the communist takeover after World War II. Their resentment and hostility lent vocal support to the Hungarian players and contributed to the charged atmosphere.

The Olympic Games opening ceremony took place on the same day that Imre Nagy was arrested. The Hungarian players saw the match as an opportunity to represent Hungary, and they deliberately insulted the Russians to get them angry in the hope that the Russians would start fighting and be penalised by the referees.

The Hungarian tactics worked, and within a minute the first Russian player was sent to the penalty box. Players from both sides spent time there. The Hungarians led the match 4–0 when, in a moment of distraction, Hungarian player Ervin Zádor was hit by Russian opponent Valentin Prokopov, splitting his cheek open. The crowd attempted to avenge Zador, and the police intervened. The Swedish referee blew the final whistle on the match. The Hungarians went on to win the final against Yugoslavia 2–1.

At the end of the Olympic Games, nearly half the Hungarian team remained in Australia. Some of them later migrated to the US.

Source 7 Blood streams from the cut eye of Ervin Zádor, who was injured during a brawl with a Russian water polo player during the closing minutes of the USSR–Hungary match.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia became a communist state in 1948. Its loyalty to the Soviet Union was ensured by purges that removed potential political opponents between 1949 and 1954. One such example was high-ranking communist Rudolf Slánský, who was accused of being a Titoist. (Tito was the leader of communist Yugoslavia, but he refused to be dictated to by the Soviet Union.) Czechoslovakia had been a founding member of Comecon and the Warsaw Pact, but by the early 1960s the Czech economy was suffering badly and living standards fell. Czech workers felt they were being exploited, as much of their industry was forced to produce goods for the benefit of the Soviet Union. Antonín Novotný, a hardline communist who led Czechoslovakia from 1957, was slow to implement any changes following Khrushchev's de-Stalinisation speech. He failed in his attempts to reform the economy, which produced consumer goods that no one could afford to buy.

By 1967 there were increasing complaints from students and writers about the failings of the economy and the lack of freedom. Novotný appealed to Leonid Brezhnev (the new leader of the Soviet Union) for help, but was not supported. This allowed Alexander Dubček to challenge Novotný's leadership and become first secretary of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia in January 1968. Dubček's bid to introduce reform to Czechoslovakia and reduce Soviet control became known as the *Prague Spring*.



Antonín Novotný.

Prague Spring

The uprising in Prague in 1968 against Soviet rule over Czechoslovakia.

THE PRAGUE SPRING

Dubček called his reforms ‘socialism with a human face’, as they would give greater freedom to the people of Czechoslovakia. They included:

- freedom of speech and the end of censorship
- freedom of assembly so that people could meet and discuss politics
- political freedom through the election of a new National Assembly to create **democratic socialism**
- restricting the powers of the secret police so they could no longer imprison without trial
- freedom of movement by lifting travel restrictions with the West
- economic freedom through an increase in privately owned businesses
- allowing trade unions to improve work conditions
- freedom of religion
- the release of political prisoners.

Did you know? Jan Palach, a student at Prague University, performed self-immolation (killing oneself, often by burning, as a sacrifice) as a political protest against the end of the Prague Spring. He became a symbol of anti-Soviet resistance in Europe.

Although Dubček’s reforms had the support of two other Warsaw Pact nations, Yugoslavia and Romania, the USSR was deeply unhappy and tried to persuade him to abandon them. The Soviet position hardened in June when the Czechoslovakian Social Democrats formed a separate political party and increased calls for reform.

Despite Dubček’s reassurances to the Soviets that Czechoslovakia would not abandon the Warsaw Pact, Soviet leaders feared that Czechoslovakia would leave a hole in the border with the West. They also feared the effect that Dubček’s reforms might have on other communist countries.



Walter Ulbricht, leader of East Germany, put pressure on Brezhnev when Czechoslovakia appeared to be developing closer trade links with West Germany.

Alexander Dubček, a moderate reformer during the Prague Spring.

A Warsaw Pact meeting was held in Bratislava on 3 August 1968. The Soviet leadership seemed to accept Dubček’s assurances when he affirmed the communist struggle against anti-socialist forces, but at the same time Warsaw Pact troops were holding training exercises near the Czechoslovakian border.

The official Soviet version given by Tass, the Soviet news agency, 21 August 1968

Party and government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had asked the Soviet Union and other states to give brotherly help to the Czechoslovak people with armed forces. This request was brought about by the threat from counter-revolutionary forces. The troops will be withdrawn as soon as the threat to Czechoslovakia and neighbouring communist countries has been eliminated.

Source 8 Tass statement of 21 August 1968.

On 20 August 1968, 200,000 Warsaw Pact troops and 2000 tanks entered Czechoslovakia. They were units from the USSR, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria (Romania and Albania refused to become involved). According to the Soviets, the troops were there at the invitation of leading Czech communists who had asked for immediate assistance with armed forces. Unlike the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, there was no organised armed resistance from the Czechs. Although petrol bombs were thrown at tanks as they moved through the streets, the Czechs mainly used non-violent forms of protest. Street signs were removed to confuse the invading troops, and citizens—mainly women—greeted the Soviet troops with flowers. Radio Prague refused to give up the building in which it was located and twenty journalists were killed before the Soviets captured the radio station. Other anti-Soviet broadcasts continued, with the broadcasters moving from one hidden location to another to avoid arrest. Up to 100 Czechs died as a result of the invasion, and Dubček and three other leaders were arrested and taken to Moscow where they were forced to sign the Moscow Protocol. The Moscow Protocol reinstated censorship, suppressed opposition and ended Dubček’s reforms. More than 3000 Czechs—mainly from the professional and intellectual classes—fled.

democratic socialism

An ideology that offers liberal rights and freedoms along with the economic equality of socialism.

Demonstrations continued against the Soviet invasion until April 1969, when Gustav Husak took over as Czech leader. A purge of the Czech Communist Party followed, with the removal of liberal members and anyone who disagreed with Soviet policy. Dubček was sent as an ambassador to Turkey. The reforms of the Prague Spring were revoked, the authority of the secret police was increased, and ties with the Warsaw Pact were strengthened. Czechoslovakia returned to being a strict communist state.

The Prague Spring also had consequences outside Czechoslovakia. The invasion of Czechoslovakia resulted in the declaration of the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, where the USSR would intervene to maintain control over the satellite states. The Brezhnev Doctrine drew condemnation from communist countries that were outside the Warsaw Pact, notably China, which criticised the Soviet Union for using force against other communists. This increased rivalry between the two countries.

Many Western countries denounced Soviet actions, and relations between the East and West temporarily worsened. However, ultimately this did not have a lasting effect on détente, as the US was more concerned with events in Vietnam than Czechoslovakia. As Hitler had done in 1938 and 1939, the Soviet Union had moved into Czechoslovakia without consequence, as the world's attention was engaged elsewhere and would not risk a major conflict over this country.

The Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968

When the internal and external forces hostile to socialism seek to reverse the development of any socialist country toward the restoration of the capitalist order, when a threat to the cause of socialism in that country emerges, a threat to the security of the socialist community as a whole exists; this is no longer a problem of the people of that country but also a common problem, a concern for all socialist states.



Source 9 *Pravda*, 13 November 1968.

Source 10 Street signs were defaced to confuse Soviet troops.

Brezhnev Doctrine

The policy justifying Soviet interference in socialist states that were 'under threat' from internal and/or external capitalist forces.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- S.43** List the reforms Dubček introduced.
- S.44** Why do you think the Soviet Union used troops from other communist states to help suppress the Prague Spring?
- S.45** Why did the Soviet Union think that the Czech reforms presented such a threat?

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

S.46 Use a Venn diagram to compare and contrast the events of the Hungarian Uprising with the Prague Spring. Consider the causes and consequences of these events.

REVIEW

S.47 Complete the following table to summarise dissent among Soviet satellite states and the Soviet responses.

COUNTRY	REASONS FOR UPRISING	SOVIET RESPONSE

S.48 Create a summary diagram to show all the reasons why Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **S.49** Explain why the Poznań protests occurred in Poland in 1956.
- **S.50** Explain why relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia changed in the late 1960s.
- **S.51** Explain why the Soviet Union crushed all uprisings in the Warsaw Pact countries with such violence.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **S.52** 'The "secret speech" given by Khrushchev was directly responsible for the Hungarian Uprising.' To what extent do you agree?
- **S.53** 'Of all Dubček's reforms, political freedom was the one that most concerned the Soviet Union and was the main reason for the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.' To what extent do you agree? In your answer you should examine all the reforms in the light of political freedom.

THE KOREAN WAR

'Communism was acting in Korea just as Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had acted ten, fifteen, and twenty years earlier. I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores.'

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR (1948)

KEY POINTS

- North Korea's invasion of South Korea prompted the UN to request a coalition force led by the US.
- China became involved and demonstrated its power and influence in international politics.
- The Korean War was the first significant test of UN resolve as an international organisation.
- After three years of war, the border remained unchanged and there was little impact on the politics of the region.



➔ **Source 1** Invasion of Inchon during the Korean War, 15 September 1950.

Significant individual

KIM IL-SUNG, 1912–1994

Kim Il-Sung was educated in Manchuria when his parents fled Japanese-occupied Korea. He later fought with the Korean resistance against the Japanese, and then served as a major with the Soviet military forces during World War II. In 1945 Kim

returned to Korea as a follower of Stalin to establish a communist provisional government. He became leader of the Workers' Party of Korea and was responsible for persuading Stalin to support the invasion of South Korea. Kim established an authoritarian dictatorship and introduced *juche* (self-reliance) during the 1960s to ensure that North Korea would be more than simply a satellite state of the USSR. He became increasingly reliant on his son, Kim Jong Il, whom he groomed to become his successor.

Was communist leader of North Korea (1948–1994).

Believed in creating a unified Korea based on the principles of communism.

He said: 'Thanks to our trust in people, we won everything.'

Said about: 'Kim Il-Sung took the *cult of personality* to a new level. What distinguished him in the rogue's gallery of twentieth-century dictators was his ability to harness the power of faith.' (*Barbara Demick, journalist*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by invading South Korea and attempting to unify the Korean peninsula under his communist government.

cult of personality

When a country's leader, usually a dictator, uses forms of media to encourage adoration among the people.



INTRODUCTION

The year 1950 proved to be a turning point for Korea. The outbreak of war following North Korea’s invasion of South Korea marked the end of US dominance in south-east Asia and was the first direct conflict of the Cold War. The Korean War, known as the *Forgotten War*, also marked the involvement of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in international affairs and was the first significant test of the UN’s resolve to act as an organisation.

Japan had occupied Korea since 1895. When World War II ended in 1945, Japanese rule over Korea came to an end. Under the terms of the Yalta Agreement, it had been agreed that Korea would become independent. However, under the terms of the Japanese surrender, Japanese troops in Korea north of the *38th parallel* surrendered to Soviet forces and troops south of the 38th parallel surrendered to US forces. This led to Soviet forces occupying northern Korea and US forces occupying southern Korea, with the understanding that free elections would take place. When the UN General Assembly called for elections to take place in Korea in 1947, the USSR refused to cooperate. Elections were held in South Korea in 1948 and the National Assembly set up the Republic of Korea, with Seoul as its capital and Syngman Rhee as the first president. North Korea became known as the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, with its capital in Pyongyang and Kim Il-Sung as its leader. Both governments claimed to rule the whole of Korea. The USSR and the US withdrew their troops but continued to provide support for each side.

What	The Korean War
When	1950–1953
Who	Kim Il-Sung (leader of communist North Korea)
Where	The Korean peninsula in East Asia
Why	Attempt by Kim Il-Sung to unify Korea under communist rule
Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Expanded the Cold War into Asia » China rose as a potential third superpower » Demonstrated America’s determination to fight communism anywhere in the world » Increased tension in the nuclear arms race

Forgotten War
A name often applied to the Korean War, as more attention was given to World War II and the Vietnam War.

38th parallel
The line 38 degrees above the Equator that denoted the boundary between communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea at the end of World War II.

STAGES OF THE WAR

From the start of his leadership, Kim Il-Sung was determined to unite Korea. There had been skirmishes along the border between North Korea and South Korea, but neither side had launched a full-scale attack. Kim Il-Sung had been given military equipment by the Soviets. Most of it was designed for attack, not defence.

Kim Il-Sung had a plan to invade South Korea, which Stalin finally agreed to support for several reasons:

- The Soviets had successfully detonated an atomic bomb in April 1949, ending the US nuclear monopoly and potentially making the US more cautious about retaliating.
- Stalin believed that South Korea was not of vital interest to the US.
- In October 1949, the PRC was established. In February 1950, Mao and Stalin formed the Sino–Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.

NORTH KOREA INVADES

The North Koreans believed that the US was unlikely to respond to any attack made on South Korea. On 25 June 1950, with a force of more than 230,000 troops, the North Korean People’s Army (NKPA) invaded South Korea. In just three days it captured Seoul.

THE UN INTERVENES

In response to the North Korean assault, the US sent troops and warships to South Korea, and called upon the UN Security Council for action. At the time, the USSR was boycotting Security Council sessions to protest the UN’s refusal to recognise the People’s Republic of China. In turn, it was unable to use its powers of veto, and the UN Security Council passed Resolution 83. As a result of Resolution 83, a UN Command Force was created and twenty-one countries offered personnel, military and medical equipment. Sixteen countries, including Australia, sent troops to assist South Korea.

By August 1950, North Korean troops occupied almost all of South Korea, having pushed back UN forces to a small area surrounding Pusan (now Busan), a port in the south-east.

UN Security Council, Resolution 83 (1950)

The Security Council,
 Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,
 Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities,
 Having called upon the authorities in North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel,
 Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel, and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security,

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security,
 Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.

Adopted at the 474th meeting by 7 votes to 1 (Yugoslavia).

Source 2 Security Council Resolution 83, S/RES/83 (27 June 1950), <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f20a2c.html>

US FORCES LAND AT INCHON

In September 1950, an American-led force launched an offensive 320 kilometres behind the front line at the port of Inchon. The NKPA was forced to retreat or risk being surrounded. By the end of September 1950, the South Korean government had been re-established in Seoul. By October, the NKPA had been pushed back to the 38th parallel. In a bold move, US General Douglas MacArthur then invaded North Korea and, having captured Pyongyang in October, drove his forces to the Yalu River on the Korean–Chinese border.

CHINA INTERVENES

China responded by sending 400,000 troops into Korea. The US was forced to retreat following the defeat of UN Command Force and Republic of Korea units. By December, Seoul had been lost for a second time and the occupation line was pushed to 80 kilometres south of Seoul. Bitter fighting followed, with high numbers of casualties on both sides.

STALEMATE

Despite an increase in American troops and a concerted bombing campaign, a stalemate occurred from July 1951 until July 1953. Although peace talks were taking place, fierce fighting continued.



Source 3 David Low, 'History Doesn't Repeat Itself'. Published in the *Daily Herald*, 30 June 1950.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 3 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- S.54** Identify two groups or individuals represented in the cartoon.
- S.55** Explain the meaning of the machine gun and tombstone in the cartoon.
- S.56** Explain the events leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War.
- S.57** Evaluate the significance of America's decision to become involved in the Korean War. Use evidence to support your response.

ARMISTICE

The election of Eisenhower as US president in November 1952 and the death of Stalin in March 1953 contributed to the end of the Korean War. Eisenhower had won the election on the promise that he would end the Korean conflict; when Stalin died, the USSR stopped supplying weapons and withdrew its support for China and North Korea. An armistice was signed on 27 July 1953—fighting was brought to an end with the border being drawn as the 38th parallel. After three years of fighting, North Korea was still communist and South Korea was still capitalist, which remains the case today.

EFFECT ON THE COLD WAR

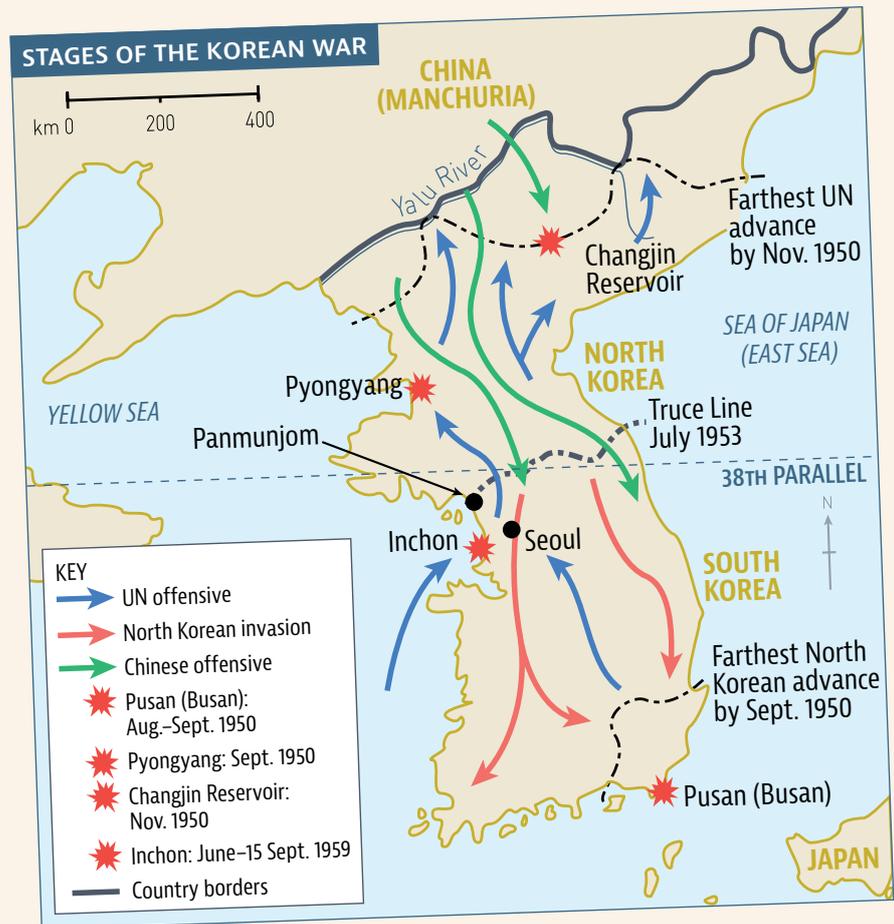
The Korean War increased concerns among Western leaders that Stalin would continue expanding communist influence across the globe. With the fear of another world war, the arms race intensified. During the Korean War, US President Eisenhower threatened the Chinese with America's new hydrogen bomb, which had been developed that year. The USSR tested its own hydrogen bomb in 1953, and by the 1960s China had developed its own atomic and hydrogen bombs. Korea had provided the Americans with an opportunity to use other forms of weaponry such as **napalm**, a flammable liquid that burns when ignited. Napalm also burns flesh when it sticks to skin, and was later used extensively during the **Vietnam War**.

napalm

A flammable liquid that sticks to surfaces and burns when ignited. It can be dropped in bombs from aircraft or used in flamethrowers.

Vietnam War

The war of reunification between North and South Vietnam, and their allies, from 1961–1975.



Source 4 Map of Korea showing the stages of war.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- S.58** How were North Korea and South Korea formed?
- S.59** Why did the Korean War start?
- S.60** Why did China and the US feel that it was so important for them to intervene in the war?

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- S.61** Explain how the context of the Cold War contributed to the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950.
- S.62** Explain how Stalin contributed to the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950.
- S.63** Analyse the effect of the Korean War on three or four of the nations involved.



THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

'We and you should not now pull on the ends of the rope in which you have tied the knots of war.'

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, OCTOBER 1962

On 1 January 1959, left-wing rebels under the leadership of Fidel Castro seized control of Cuba. As Castro's ideology and policies veered towards socialism, Castro caused deep concern for the US. *Embargo*, invasion and assassination attempts followed. Castro was forced to seek economic and military security from another world power: the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier Khrushchev decided to install nuclear missiles in Cuba to intimidate the US. This was the catalyst for the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The Cuban Missile Crisis saw an escalation in the tensions between the two superpowers, which historian Evan Thomas calls the 'most dangerous crisis of the Cold War'.¹ Only by standing on the edge of the abyss could the US and USSR see that their rivalry had taken humanity to the brink of extinction. A period of *détente* followed, which saw greater communication between the two superpowers. A tentative step was taken towards limits on the most dangerous weapon mankind has ever devised.

embargo

When one country places trade restrictions on another as a form of punishment or diplomatic pressure.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1959 1 JANUARY — Castro seizes control of Cuba

1961 17-19 APRIL — The Bay of Pigs invasion

1962 MAY — Khrushchev decides to send missiles to Cuba
16-28 OCTOBER — The Cuban Missile Crisis

1963 10 JULY — Kennedy's 'Pax Americana' speech
5 AUGUST — The Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty

KEY QUESTIONS

- When did Castro come to power in Cuba?
- Why did the US put economic pressure on the Castro regime?
- When did Castro adopt socialism and request military support from the Soviet Union?
- Why did the Soviet Union deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba, and how did the US respond?
- How did the stand-off over the missiles almost lead to World War III?
- How was the crisis resolved?

OXIDIZER TRAILERS

2 MISSILE TRANSPORTERS

OXIDIZER TRAILER

6 MISSILE TRANSPORTERS

PROB IRBM
PROPELLANT TRAILERS**Source 3.01**

A U-2 spy plane photograph of Soviet ships unloading equipment for a nuclear missile base in Cuba.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS**FIDEL CASTRO**

Seized power in Cuba on 1 January 1959

Permitted the Soviet Union to place nuclear missiles in Cuba

**JOHN F. KENNEDY**

President of the United States (1961–1963)

Determined to force the Soviet missiles out of Cuba

**NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV**

Became sole ruler of the USSR in 1956

Wanted to achieve nuclear parity with the US

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

With a partner, create eight to twelve inquiry questions under the general heading of 'The causes and consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis'. Keep your inquiry questions in mind as you read the information and work through the activities in this chapter. Here are three questions to help you get started.

3.01 How did the US react to Castro's policies and actions in Cuba?

3.02 Why did Khrushchev deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba?

3.03 What were the outcomes of the crisis for the key leaders and nations involved?

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

FIDEL CASTRO: 'A revolution is not a bed of roses. A revolution is a struggle between the future and the past.'

TROUBLE IN THE TROPICS

Cuba had been a Spanish colony until the Spanish–American War of 1898. While Cuba technically became an independent nation, it quickly came under the economic and political dominance of the US. Under the Platt Amendment, the US reserved the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, with troops if necessary, and supported several **corrupt** regimes. The US also maintained a military base at Guantánamo Bay. In 1933, Colonel Fulgencio Batista overthrew the existing government and, as head of the army, effectively controlled the five-man presidential committee. Batista was president of Cuba in 1940–1944 and, after a long stay in the US, seized control of Cuba in 1952. This occurred three months before an election Batista feared he would lose. He suspended individual liberties and favoured wealthy landowners over the poor. Batista's regime also brutally suppressed political opponents. In a speech in October 1960, US Senator John F. Kennedy claimed that 'Batista murdered 20,000 Cubans in seven years'.² Batista allowed American businesses to control the Cuban economy and reap enormous profits. He also encouraged the US Mafia to establish casinos in the capital city, Havana.

While Batista had the support of a small group of wealthy businessmen and plantation owners, most Cuban people detested the corruption of his regime. By the mid-1950s, resistance groups had emerged. One was led by a middle-class law student named Fidel Castro. On 26 July 1953, Castro and a group of his followers attacked an army barracks. The raid was unsuccessful and Castro was captured. After two years in prison, Castro was released and fled to Mexico. He founded a revolutionary group named after the date of the attack on the barracks—the **26th of July Movement**—and started planning another attempt to overthrow the Batista regime.³ He returned to Cuba in 1956 with a small group of followers. Unable to defeat Batista's forces, Castro fled to the Sierra Maestra mountains in the south-east of the island.

corrupt

Individuals willing to use their position of authority for personal gain.

Did you know? Many scenes in the 1974 film *The Godfather Part II* (directed by Francis Ford Coppola) are set prior to and during Castro's seizure of power in Cuba in 1959.

26th of July Movement

The name of Castro's revolutionary movement, named after the date of an unsuccessful attack on an army barracks.

BATISTA'S GOLDEN TELEPHONE

Batista gave American companies a great deal of freedom over the way they operated in Cuba. IT&T, an American telecommunications company that controlled all the phone lines in Cuba, was allowed to charge extremely high rates for phone calls. As a sign of its gratitude, IT&T gave Batista a working, gold-plated telephone. It now sits in the Museum of the Revolution in Havana as a symbol of American complicity in Batista's opulence and corruption.

CREATIVE TASK

3.04 The year is 1961 and you have just been appointed curator of the Museum of the Revolution in Havana. Write the text for a sign to accompany the phone explaining America's exploitation of Cuba since 1898. This should be about 300 words in length.



↑ Batista's gold-plated telephone.



Source 3.02 Map showing Cuba's proximity to the US.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 3.05** How did the US increase its influence over Cuba?
- 3.06** Describe the nature of General Batista's rule in Cuba.
- 3.07** How did Fidel Castro present a challenge to Batista's control of Cuba?

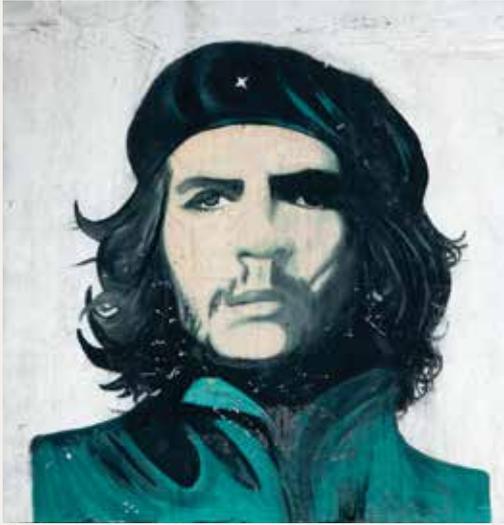
CASTRO'S LEFT TURN

Castro's forces waited in the mountains and gathered support while Batista's regime grew more unpopular with the Cuban people. During this time Castro was helped by the Argentinian revolutionary Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. Batista launched a few half-hearted attacks on Castro's positions in May 1958 but they were unsuccessful. In fact, many of Batista's soldiers went over to Castro's side!⁴ By late 1958, Castro's forces were ready to advance on Havana. Support for Batista's regime collapsed, and the dictator fled to Portugal. There was widespread support in Cuba for Castro when he took control of the country on 1 January 1959, and even some sectors of the US government approved of the new government in Cuba.⁵

Initially Castro's ideology was vague, as he had never made a clear statement on whether or not he supported Marxism. As American journalist Drew Pearson wondered at the time, 'Where does Castro stand regarding Russia?'⁶ Certainly Castro was a nationalist who deeply resented the US's influence over his country. US interests owned about 80 per cent of Cuba's utilities (water, electricity and telephone services), 40 per cent of its sugar production and 90 per cent of its mining industry.⁷ Profits from these industries made US businesses very wealthy while the majority of the Cubans lived in poverty.

Did you know? Che Guevara's motorcycle journey through South America inspired him to write a book called *The Motorcycle Diaries*, which became a *New York Times* bestseller. It later became the basis of a film in 2004 of the same name.

ERNESTO 'CHE' GUEVARA



Born in Argentina in 1928, Guevara studied medicine but became better known as a Latin American revolutionary who supported left-wing movements and uprisings throughout South America. He helped Castro train his guerrilla army in the Sierra Maestra mountains and was Castro's minister of industry from 1961 to 1965. Guevara left Cuba to encourage revolution in Bolivia but was captured and killed by the Bolivian Army in 1967. He is now an icon as a revolutionary and as someone who challenged the status quo. Guevara earned his nickname 'Che' when, in 1951, he and a friend went on an 8000-kilometre motorcycle journey around South America. Argentinians were known by other Latin Americans to frequently use the word *che* (meaning 'hey', 'mate' or 'OK') when they talk.

← Ernesto 'Che' Guevara.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 3.03 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

3.08 Identify two elements of the image that suggest Castro is a revolutionary leader.

3.09 Explain why there was widespread opposition to Batista's regime.

3.10 Analyse the reasons why Castro's revolution was ultimately successful. Use evidence to support your response.



↑ **Source 3.03** Castro with supporters in the Sierra Maestra mountains. Castro stands in the centre of the group, while his brother Raúl is on the far left.

Despite fears that he would nationalise all privately owned property and businesses, at first Castro only took over the US-owned and US-operated telephone system. He also arrested and executed ex-officials of the Batista regime, many of whom had US supporters. Other ex-Batista officials fled to the US, where they formed groups that resolved to return to Cuba and overthrow Castro. US President Eisenhower halted shipments of arms to Cuba and threatened to stop purchasing Cuban sugar. This would have been a disaster for the Cuban economy, as it relied heavily on its sugar exports to the US.

The breakdown in US–Cuba relations came in July 1960 when Castro demanded that Soviet oil be refined in American-owned refineries based in Cuba. When Shell, Texaco and Esso refused, the Cuban government seized their facilities. Eisenhower retaliated by ‘suspending the sugar quota, some 80 per cent of Cuban exports to the United States’.⁸ The Soviet Union agreed to purchase the sugar and, in the wake of a US trade embargo, supply all of Cuba’s fuel needs. Castro had wrested Cuba’s economy from the grasp of the US, but, as historian Donald Kagan notes, by turning to the Soviet Union ‘they had only traded one [form of] subordination for another’.⁹



← Dwight Eisenhower, US president 1953–1961.

MISSILES TO CUBA

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV: ‘What about putting one of our hedgehogs down the Americans’ trousers?’¹⁰

Having a communist nation with close ties to the Soviet Union so close to home was an unpleasant experience for the US. Ever since the *Monroe Doctrine* of 1823, Americans had considered Central America and South America, including the Caribbean, to be within their exclusive sphere of influence. In his address to Congress on 2 December 1823, US President James Monroe maintained that the US would ‘consider any attempt on their [Europe’s] part to extend their [political or economic] system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and security’.¹¹ In line with this, in 1960 Eisenhower emphatically stated that the US would not ‘permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international communism in the Western hemisphere’.¹²

Monroe Doctrine

The policy announced by US President James Monroe in 1823, which stated that Europe could not intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.



← James Monroe, fifth US president.

THE BAY OF PIGS

When President Kennedy was *inaugurated* in January 1961, he inherited a variety of schemes designed to *depose* Castro. Perhaps the most ambitious was a CIA plan to support an invasion of Cuba by 1400 anti-Castro Cuban exiles. Kennedy supported the idea but did not want any evidence of US involvement. On 17 April an invasion was launched from Guatemala that landed at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. Kennedy withdrew US air support at the last minute and refused to let the US Navy protect the invasion with gunfire. Castro’s tanks and artillery pounded the exiles on the landing beach and easily defeated them. Of the invaders, 114 were killed and more than 1100 were taken prisoner. In December 1962, a prisoner exchange was arranged. More than 1100 prisoners were released and returned to the US in exchange for basic necessities including food and medical supplies.¹³

inauguration

The official ceremony held when an individual elected as president is sworn into office.

depose

To remove from office or a position of power.

tyranny

Similar to a dictatorship; a form of government where one individual has total power and usually rules brutally.

Did you know? April was not a good month for President Kennedy. On 12 April, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first man in space. This was seen as a significant technological achievement for the USSR and another blow for the Kennedy administration.

Source 3.04 Members of the Cuban militia celebrate after defeating the CIA-backed invasion of anti-Castro exiles at the Bay of Pigs, 17 April 1961.

If the invasion was a catastrophe for the exiles, it was a political disaster for Kennedy. He felt personally responsible for the failure of the landing and admitted US involvement at a media conference on 20 April. Nevertheless, Kennedy stated that the invasion was not ‘the final episode in the eternal struggle of liberty against **tyranny**, anywhere on the face of the globe, including Cuba itself’.¹⁴ Despite his resolve and promises of future action, Kennedy felt humiliated and reasoned that he had appeared weak and indecisive on the world stage. Eisenhower told Kennedy that ‘the failure of the Bay of Pigs will embolden the Soviets to do something that they would not otherwise do’.¹⁵ Unfortunately for Kennedy, Eisenhower was right.

Did you know? The name ‘Bay of Pigs’ might be the result of a mistranslation. In Spanish, this area is called *Bahía de Cochinos*. *Cochinos* means ‘pigs’ in Spanish, but it is also the name of a variety of fish found in the waters of the bay.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

The Bay of Pigs invasion was not the only event in 1961 that made Kennedy seem weak and indecisive in the eyes of the Soviets. At the Vienna summit in June 1961, and during the building of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, Kennedy appeared unable or unwilling to stand up to Soviet aggression. For either or both of these historical events, research and report on the following questions.

- 3.11** What were the origins of the event?
- 3.12** Why did Kennedy appear weak and indecisive?
- 3.13** What were the consequences of the event for the leaders involved, and for relations between the US and the USSR?



OPERATION MONGOOSE

Objective: Assassinate Castro!

Before the Bay of Pigs invasion and Kennedy's presidency, the CIA hatched an array of schemes designed to either oust the Castro regime or assassinate Castro. In September 1960, the CIA met with members of the Mafia to organise a 'hit' on the Cuban leader.¹⁶ The Mafia despised Castro, as he had shut down their lucrative nightclubs and casinos in Havana. When this came to nothing, the CIA concocted other schemes. One involved coating a cigar in poison (as Castro was a prolific smoker), while another suggested placing exploding seashells in locations where Castro (a keen scuba diver) was known to swim.¹⁷ In January 1962, **Attorney-General** Robert Kennedy initiated **Operation Mongoose**. The goal of this CIA scheme was to secretly send US agents and anti-Castro Cubans to Cuba to engage in acts of sabotage against targets such as docks, crops, shipping and oil refineries. President Kennedy hoped that Operation Mongoose would eventually lead to an uprising by the Cuban people that would topple the Castro regime. Despite a lavish budget and a large number of agents and equipment, Operation Mongoose had achieved very little by the start of the Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁸



Source 3.05 Castro laughing in the face of danger.

attorney-general

The chief law enforcement official in the US federal government.

Operation Mongoose

The CIA program to assassinate Castro and topple his socialist government.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 3.14** What was the central idea of the Monroe Doctrine?
- 3.15** Explain why Castro turned to the Soviet Union for economic support.
- 3.16** How did the US respond to increase Soviet influence in Cuba? What was Castro's response to this?
- 3.17** What were the outcomes of the Bay of Pigs invasion? Refer to three groups or individuals in your response.

DISCUSSION

- 3.18** With a partner, debate the following topic: 'The US pushed Fidel Castro into the arms of the Soviet Union.' Share your ideas and opinions with the rest of the class.
- 3.19** Read the information contained in the text box above and conduct some further research. Then, consider the following premise: 'For a liberal, democratic nation such as the US, Operation Mongoose and the schemes to assassinate Castro were morally indefensible.' Share your opinion with the class.

DIAGRAM

- 3.20** Make a flow chart explaining the key events from the Spanish-American War to the Bay of Pigs invasion.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

3.21 Draw up and complete a table like the one below and put each event from the timeline right in the most appropriate column.

SPACE RACE	MILITARY	POLITICAL

3.22 Discuss your decisions with a partner and then share your thoughts with the rest of the class.

3.23 In your opinion, which side was 'winning' the Cold War by the end of 1961? Justify your response.

3.24 By referring to the key events in the timeline, explain how advances in military technology contributed to the growing tension between the US and the USSR.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

By 1962, Cold War tensions had reached their height. The US and the USSR were competing in several fields to demonstrate their dominance to the rest of the world. In a way, each success seemed to vindicate the political and economic systems of each side and 'prove' that their way of life was intrinsically superior. Just prior to the Cuban Missile Crisis it appeared that the Soviet Union was winning in several important areas.

A TIMELINE OF KEY COLD WAR EVENTS

1945

16 JULY 1945 — The US detonates the world's first atomic bomb.

AUGUST 1945 — The US drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima (6 August) and Nagasaki (9 August).

1949

29 AUGUST 1949 — The USSR detonates its first atomic bomb.

1952

1 NOVEMBER 1952 — The US detonates the first hydrogen bomb.

1953

12 AUGUST 1953 — The USSR detonates its first hydrogen bomb.

1957

21 AUGUST 1957 — The USSR tests the R-7, the world's first ICBM.

4 OCTOBER 1957 — The USSR sends the world's first satellite into space, *Sputnik 1*. The delivery rocket is an R-7.

3 NOVEMBER 1957 — The USSR sends *Sputnik 2* into orbit. It carries the first animal launched into space, a dog named Laika.

1958

28 NOVEMBER 1958 — The US tests its first successful ICBM, the Atlas missile.

1959

1 SEPTEMBER 1959 — The US deploys the first Atlas missile with a nuclear warhead.

1960

1 MAY 1960 — An American U-2 spy plane is shot down over the USSR. The pilot, Gary Powers, is captured.

20 JULY 1960 — The US tests the first submarine-launched ICBM.

10 SEPTEMBER 1960 — The USSR tests its own submarine-launched ICBM.

1961

12 APRIL 1961 — Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space.

17–19 APRIL 1961 — The Bay of Pigs invasion.

5 MAY 1961 — Alan Shepard becomes the first American in space.

JUNE 1961 — Kennedy and Khrushchev meet in Vienna; Kennedy feels bullied by Khrushchev.

13 AUGUST 1961 — The USSR builds the Berlin Wall.

30 OCTOBER 1961 — The USSR detonates the Tsar Bomba, the most powerful weapon ever devised.

By 1960, the US believed that the Soviet Union was far ahead of it in several important fields, and Khrushchev was keen to perpetuate this notion. In 1957 the CIA released the Gaither Report, which expressed deep concerns over a **missile gap**, with the Soviets possessing one hundred ICBMs to America's thirty.¹⁹ Khrushchev played up to American fears. In November 1959 he boasted that Russian factories 'were turning out missiles like sausages'.²⁰ However, photographs taken during U-2 spy plane flights over Soviet territory revealed that while a missile gap did exist, it was greatly in favour of the US.²¹ US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara announced this at a press conference in February 1961. In September, the CIA assessed the number of Soviet ICBMs to be between ten and twenty-five.²² The Americans led the Soviet Union in terms of deliverable nuclear warheads by a factor of seventeen to one.²³ The following month, Kennedy ordered Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric to make a statement declaring America's nuclear superiority.

Deputy Secretary Gilpatric on the arms race

The total number of our delivery vehicles [ICBMs, aircraft and submarines] ... is in the tens of thousands, and, of course, we have more than one warhead for each vehicle. ... The destructive power which the United States could bring to bear even after a Soviet surprise attack upon our forces would be as great as, perhaps even greater than, the total undamaged force which the enemy can threaten to launch against the United States in a first strike.



Through this announcement, Kennedy was communicating to the world—and to the USSR specifically—that even if the US were attacked first in a nuclear war it possessed enough nuclear weapons to deliver a devastating counterstrike. This was an enormous blow to Khrushchev's personal prestige as the leader of the socialist world. He knew that the Soviet Union did not have the resources to keep up with the US in an arms race and it would take too long for the USSR to develop and deploy enough ICBMs to catch up. Khrushchev responded in the short term, in October 1961, by authorising the detonation of the **Tsar Bomba**. Despite its power, the Tsar Bomba was not a practical weapon—it could only be carried by an aircraft (not an ICBM), which could be shot down. Khrushchev needed a more realistic means of establishing a balance of power with the US. Castro's revolution in Cuba provided Khrushchev with the perfect opportunity.

missile gap

The perceived lead in the arms race that the Soviet Union had in nuclear-equipped ICBMs.

← **Source 3.06** Cited in Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War* (London: Pimlico Books, 1995), 491.

← **Source 3.07** A U-2 spy plane. The U-2 flew at an altitude of more than 20,000 metres and could take incredibly detailed photographs. Some of these are included in this chapter.

Tsar Bomba

Detonated by the USSR on 31 October 1961 over the Barents Sea, the Tsar Bomba was the most destructive weapon ever devised.

Did you know? The Tsar Bomba had a yield of 50 megatons, making it roughly 1500 times more powerful than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined.

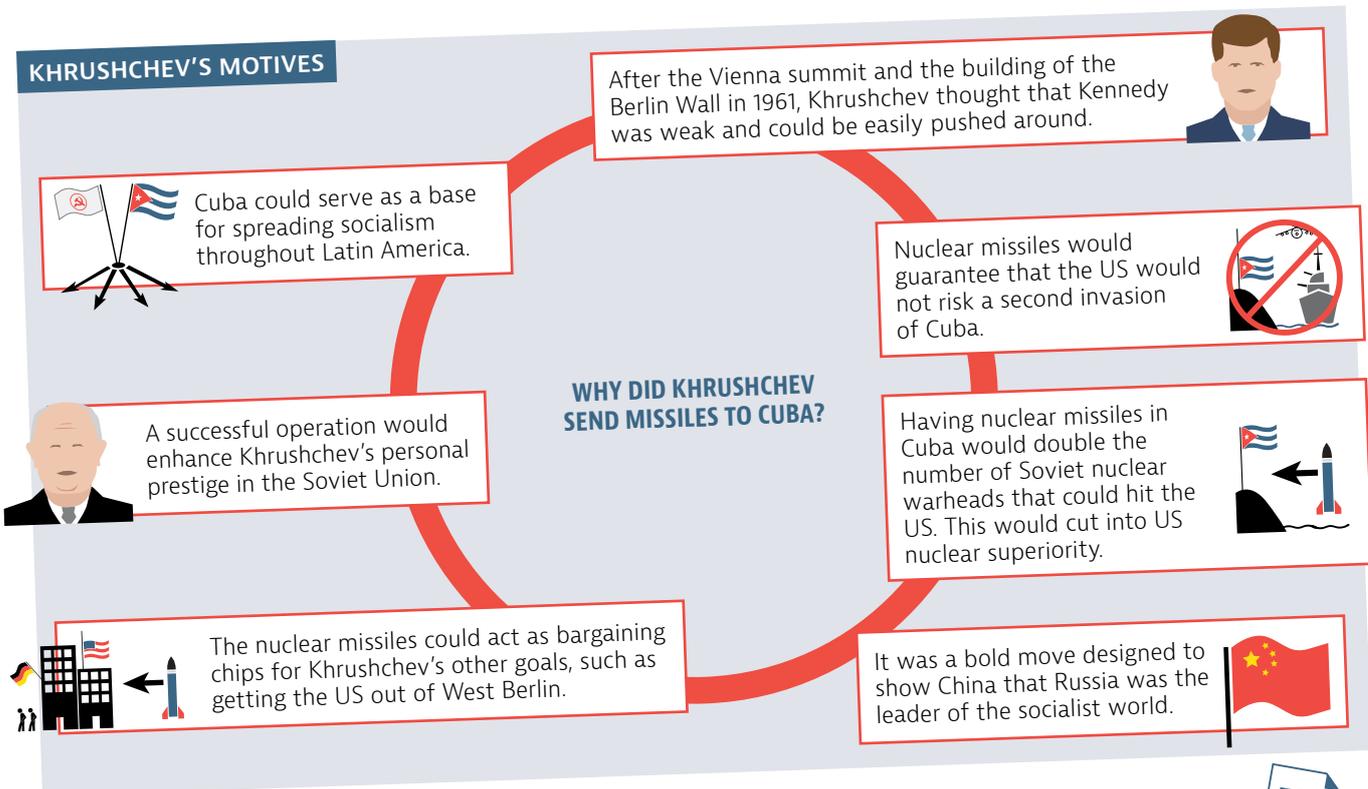
megaton

A measurement of the power of a nuclear bomb; a 1-megaton blast is equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT.

Fearing a repeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion with more direct involvement from the US, in September 1961 Castro requested that Khrushchev send military equipment and soldiers to help defend Cuba. Khrushchev initially agreed to the appeal but soon decided to give Castro more than he had requested. On a state visit to Bulgaria in May 1962, Khrushchev looked across the Black Sea to Turkey, where the US had installed seventeen Jupiter missiles—each carrying a 1.4-megaton warhead—that were aimed at targets in the Soviet Union. The US had established a precedent for using nuclear missiles to defend geographically vulnerable allies. ‘Now they would learn,’ Khrushchev wrote in his memoir, ‘just what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointed at you.’²⁴ On 30 May 1962, Castro gratefully accepted Khrushchev’s offer to place Soviet missiles in Cuba.²⁵ The stage was now set for the deadliest showdown of the Cold War.

KHRUSHCHEV’S MOTIVES

It was not just the presence of US nuclear missiles in Turkey that convinced Khrushchev to consider placing Soviet missiles in Cuba. Several of Khrushchev’s concerns, desires and fears intersected in mid-1962, prompting him to embark on a strategy that risked destabilising the extraordinarily delicate relationship between the US and the USSR.



HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Carefully review Khrushchev’s motives for placing missiles in Cuba, and answer the following questions.

3.25 With a partner, rank Khrushchev’s motives from most significant (1) to least significant (7). Discuss your reasoning for each decision.

3.26 Share your thoughts with the rest of the class and compare your responses with other groups.

OPERATION ANADYR

Soviet nuclear missiles, along with other military equipment, were shipped to Cuba under the codename

Operation Anadyr. Overall, the Soviet Union sent:

- » four motorised regiments with 2500 men each
- » two tank battalions equipped with new T-55 tanks
- » a MiG-21 fighter squadron
- » forty-two Il-28 bombers, each of which could carry six nuclear bombs with 8–12-kiloton warheads
- » anti-aircraft guns
- » 144 SA-2 anti-aircraft missile launchers
- » twelve short-range Luna missiles, each with a range of 45 kilometres and a 2-kiloton warhead
- » eighty R-11m front cruise missiles, each with a 12-kiloton warhead
- » twenty-four R-12 medium-range ballistic missiles (MRBMs) with a range of 1600 kilometres
- » twenty-four R-14 intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) with a range of 3200 kilometres.

Did you know? Anadyr is the name of a river in far eastern Siberia. A Russian bomber base was located nearby. The Soviets used this codename in an attempt to mislead any Western spies about the ultimate destination of the missiles.

The Il-28 bombers, called 'Beagle' by NATO, flew at more than 900 km/h and had a range of more than 2000 kilometres. Thus, they could easily attack US military bases in Florida.

Each R-12 and R-14 missile carried a 1-megaton warhead, equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT. The bomb that destroyed Nagasaki had a yield of 20 kilotons (equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT). The Luna rockets (codenamed 'Frogs' by the US military) would be used against a US invasion force on the beaches. This equipment represented a serious commitment to defend Cuba from any future US invasion.²⁶



Source 3.08 An R-12 missile on display in Moscow in the early 1960s.

Operation Anadyr

The codename for the Soviet operation to ship military equipment, including nuclear weapons, to Cuba.

DECEPTION AND DISCOVERY

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV: 'This may end in a big war.'²⁷

Khrushchev was well aware that placing missiles in Cuba was a provocative act. He hoped—with misplaced optimism—that the US would not notice the Soviet military build-up in Cuba. Once the missiles were in place and fully operational, Khrushchev's plan was to announce their existence during a speech at the UN. Kennedy would find it extremely difficult to dislodge the missiles once they were operational—he would just have to learn to live with them, as Khrushchev was forced to live with US missiles in Turkey.

Unfortunately, from Khrushchev's perspective, the US was keeping a close eye on Cuba. US intelligence sources detected the arrival of the MiGs, the Il-28s and SA-2s in August 1962. The CIA suspected that the Soviets were also sending nuclear missiles to Cuba, and urged Kennedy to act. President Kennedy ordered U-2 flights over Cuba to gather more information.



Source 3.09 Khrushchev and Castro meet for the first time in 1960.

Deeply concerned by the Soviet military build-up on an island only 140 kilometres off the coast of Florida, Kennedy sent a clear warning to the Soviet Union in a speech at a press conference on 13 September.

➔ **Source 3.10** JFK Presidential Library and Museum, 'News Conference 43, September 13, 1962', <https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-press-conferences/news-conference-43>

Kennedy's speech on 13 September 1962

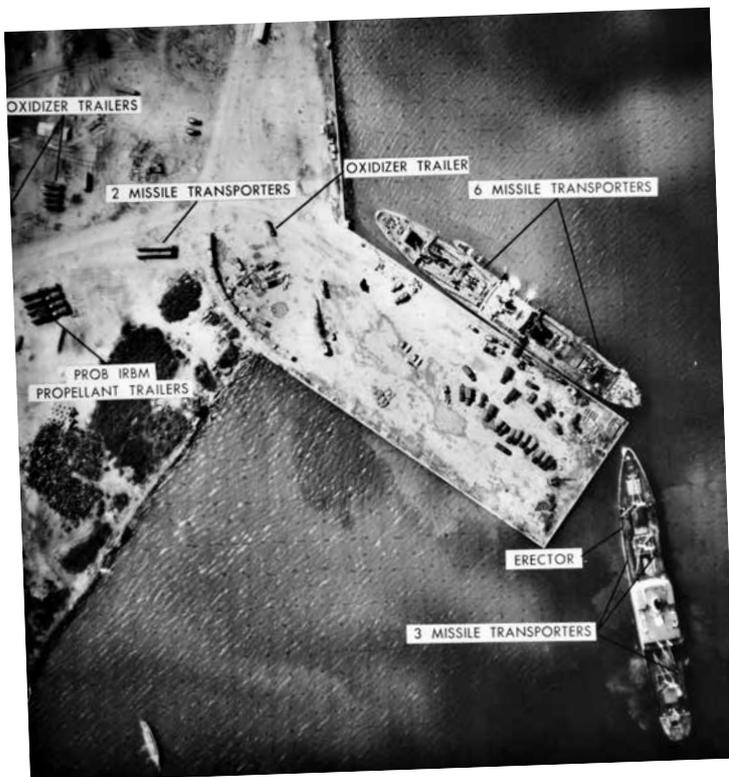
Ever since communism moved into Cuba ... Soviet technical and military personnel have moved steadily onto the island in increasing numbers at the invitation of the Cuban Government. Now that movement has been increased. It is under our most careful surveillance. But I will repeat the conclusion that I reported last week: that these new shipments do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere. ... But let me make this clear once again: If at any time the Communist buildup were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way ... or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ... become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies.

Did you know? One Soviet freighter ship, the *Indigirka*, was tasked with carrying the warheads for the nuclear missiles to be based in Cuba. It has been estimated that the total TNT equivalent on board that one ship was twenty times greater than all the bombs dropped by Allied aircraft on Germany during World War II.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 3.10 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 3.27 What do you think Kennedy meant by the phrase 'an offensive military base of significant capacity'?
- 3.28 What might Kennedy have meant when he stated, 'this country will do whatever must be done'?
- 3.29 Explain why Khrushchev decided to send nuclear missiles to Cuba.
- 3.30 Evaluate the significance of Kennedy's decision to force Khrushchev to remove the nuclear missiles from Cuba. Use evidence to support your response.



THE MISSILES DISCOVERED

On Sunday 14 October, a U-2 aircraft flew over the western end of Cuba and took a series of photographs. Developed and analysed by the CIA the next day, the photos revealed the presence of two Soviet nuclear missiles. On the morning of Tuesday 16 October, the presidential adviser on national security matters, McGeorge Bundy, informed President Kennedy who alerted his brother, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, at 9.30 am. This meeting was kept brief so that the press would not be alerted to a problem, but an 'off-the-record' meeting was held later that evening. President Kennedy had an advantage: Khrushchev did not know that the Americans knew about the missiles in Cuba. The question for Kennedy was what to do about them.

➔ **Source 3.11** One of the U-2 aerial reconnaissance photos shown to President Kennedy by the CIA on 16 October 1962.

THIRTEEN DAYS

DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE: 'We are eyeball to eyeball and the other fellow just blinked.'²⁸

One of Kennedy's options was to do nothing about the missiles. As Secretary of Defense McNamara noted, the missiles did not meaningfully reduce America's lead in the nuclear missile race. However, they did double or even triple the number of Soviet warheads that could hit targets in the US. In addition, it was estimated that approximately eighty million people would be killed within 6 minutes of the rockets being launched. Several strategic US bomber and ICBM bases were also within range of the missiles in Cuba. The Soviet Union could now initiate a devastating first strike against the US (see Source 3.12). While the US possessed enough nuclear weapons to obliterate the Soviet Union in a counterstrike, the prospect of living under the threat of nuclear destruction was not one that Kennedy could consider. In the wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna—which Kennedy admitted was the 'roughest thing in my life'—and the building of the Berlin Wall, Kennedy felt the need to appear tough in front of the Soviets.²⁹ As Attorney-General Robert Kennedy noted, 'The US could not accept what the Russians had done'.³⁰ There were also mid-term Congressional elections coming up in November, and Kennedy knew that backing down in front of the Soviets would be disastrous for the Democratic Party and his own chances for re-election in 1964.

Almost immediately President Kennedy set up a special group called **ExComm**. The composition of the group changed over the thirteen days of the crisis, but its key members included Robert Kennedy, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, director of the CIA John McCone, McGeorge Bundy, presidential counsel Ted Sorensen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Maxwell Taylor, and Vice-President Lyndon Johnson. The members of ExComm represented very different personalities and ideas on how to deal with the Soviet Union. President Kennedy rarely sat in ExComm's meetings, as he felt that his presence might make its participants reluctant to speak their minds. This was a well-considered move, as ExComm needed to come up with a plan that would resolve the looming showdown with the USSR without destroying the world. The Cuban Missile Crisis had begun.

ALL THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICES

By mid-afternoon on 16 October, ExComm presented Kennedy with several options, ranging from aggressive to diplomatic. In the end it would be up to the president to decide on the course of action that he hoped would get the missiles removed without triggering a nuclear war.



↑ A US Navy P-2H Neptune reconnaissance aircraft passes low over a Soviet cargo ship carrying crates full of military equipment for Cuba.

ExComm

Short for 'Executive Committee' of the National Security Council; the government body set up by President Kennedy to advise him on how to respond to the deployment of Russian nuclear missiles in Cuba.

Did you know? On 15 October 1962, the CIA told McGeorge Bundy about the discovery of Soviet missiles. Bundy opted not to tell President Kennedy until the next day, reasoning that Kennedy should be given one more good night's sleep. It was the last sleep anybody in the White House would have for two weeks.

KENNEDY'S OPTIONS



Do nothing. McNamara argued that the missiles in Cuba did not significantly reduce America's lead in the missile race.



A blockade, or quarantine, of Cuba to prevent more missiles from arriving.



A limited air strike targeting only the nuclear missiles and their launch sites.



A larger air strike targeting the missiles, sites of anti-aircraft weapons and other military targets.



Full air strikes, followed by an invasion of Cuba designed to get rid of Castro and his regime.



Work through the UN to arrive at a negotiated solution to the crisis.



Trade the missiles in Cuba for the US missiles in Turkey.

Did you know? Throughout the Cold War, those in the US government who called for an aggressive attitude when dealing with the Soviet Union were called 'hawks', while those who advocated diplomacy and discussion to avoid crises were called 'doves'.

CLASS DISCUSSION

3.31 Examine the information presented on Kennedy's options during the crisis. With a partner, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each option. Write down your ideas in a table like the one below, and share them with the rest of the class.

OPTION	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
Do nothing		
Blockade Cuba with US warships to prevent more missiles arriving		
Limited air strike		
Full air strike		
Full air strike with invasion		
Negotiate through the UN		
Trade 'missiles for missiles'		



Source 3.12 The range of the Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba. The two types of missiles stationed in Cuba ensured that almost every part of continental US could come under nuclear attack.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 3.12 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 3.32** Identify two cities in the US that the Soviet missiles in Cuba could reach.
- 3.33** Identify two other important targets, not in the US, that the Soviet missiles could strike.
- 3.34** Explain why President Kennedy felt that he had to force the Soviets to withdraw their missiles from Cuba.
- 3.35** Evaluate the extent to which this map helps you understand why Khrushchev decided to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. Use evidence to support your response.

As the crisis intensified, Khrushchev began to wonder if he had pushed Kennedy too far. The quarantine around Cuba, Kennedy's *address to the nation* on 22 October (see Source 3.14) and reports of a huge US troop deployment to Florida suggested to Khrushchev that the US was prepared to start World War III.³¹ He now sought to resolve the matter diplomatically. Khrushchev sent two letters to President Kennedy, one on 26 October (see Source 3.15) and another the next day (see Source 3.16). In the first letter, Khrushchev promised to withdraw the Russian missiles from Cuba in return for a US guarantee that they would not attempt to invade Cuba again. However, the second letter was more demanding. Khrushchev insisted that the US must also withdraw its nuclear missiles from Turkey. We can only speculate the reasons for why Khrushchev's second letter was harsher. It may have been the result of an article by journalist Walter Lippmann, which suggested that a missile trade-off was one way of ending the crisis.³² Khrushchev was known to think that Lippmann's views reflected the views of the White House. That Kennedy failed to publicly reject Lippmann's proposal might have suggested to Khrushchev that the US government was prepared to trade. In addition, Robert Kennedy met with the Soviet ambassador to the US, Anatoly Dobrynin, on the night of 26 October and suggested that the US was prepared to trade missiles in Turkey for those in Cuba.³³ Khrushchev had raised the stakes of the game considerably and the Kennedys were now in an extremely awkward position. If the US offer to remove the missiles from Turkey were made public, it would look like the US had given in to Soviet pressure.



On Saturday 27 October, a U-2 spy plane on a photographic reconnaissance mission over Cuba was shot down by Soviet anti-aircraft missiles. Some members of ExComm demanded that President Kennedy respond by bombing all anti-aircraft sites on the island on Monday morning, along with other military targets such as the nuclear missiles. As the crisis escalated, Kennedy found it harder to withstand ExComm's demands for decisive military action. Not wanting to spark World War III, that night Kennedy called a small group of his advisers into the Oval Office to discuss their options. They decided that Robert Kennedy would meet with Dobrynin and respond to Khrushchev's first letter with a promise not to invade if the Russian missiles were removed. In addition to this, Robert Kennedy indicated that the US would withdraw its missiles from Turkey after the crisis was over—but that this had to remain strictly confidential. Dobrynin passed this message onto Khrushchev, and the Soviet leader accepted the US offer the following morning.³⁴ A possible nuclear war had potentially been averted by less than 24 hours.

Did you know? CIA reconnaissance photo analysts became experts at determining the type of Soviet military equipment being shipped by studying the dimensions of the crates being used to ship the equipment. This technique was dubbed 'cratology'.

President Kennedy's offer to remove the missiles from Turkey was kept from the public for more than twenty-five years. Robert Kennedy did not mention it in his own account of the crisis. Even though the Jupiter missiles in Turkey were obsolete and scheduled for removal anyway, the Kennedys could not risk giving the impression that they had been removed under pressure from the Soviets. In his memoir, Khrushchev claimed that he had won a great victory, as the Soviet Union had 'forced the United States to demobilize and to recognize Cuba'.³⁵ However, he had been forced to remove his missiles from Cuba and tacitly accept that his gamble had not paid off. While President Kennedy had been compelled to promise that Cuba would not be invaded again, he was seen as a tough yet calm leader who had defended the 'free world' from communist aggression.

Source 3.13 Attorney-General Robert Kennedy consults with his brother, President John Kennedy, at the White House in 1962.

address to the nation

When the US president delivers a speech directly to the American people, usually via television, on a matter of great importance.

KEY DOCUMENTS FROM THE CRISIS

Extract from Kennedy's address to the nation, Monday 22 October 1962

Good evening, my fellow citizens. This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military build-up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purposes of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capacity against the Western hemisphere. ... Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western hemisphere. ... To halt this offensive build-up, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. ... It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

 **Source 3.14** Cited in Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 149–153.

Extract from Khrushchev's first letter to Kennedy, Friday 26 October 1962

If people do not show wisdom, then in the final analysis they will come to a clash, like blind moles, and then reciprocal extermination will begin. Let us therefore show statesmanlike wisdom. I propose: We, for our part, will declare that our ships, bound for Cuba, will not carry any kind of armaments. You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces. ... Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear. ... [W]e and you ought not now pull on the ends of the rope in which you have tied the knots of war, because the more the two of us pull, the tighter the knot will be tied.

 **Source 3.15** JFK Presidential Library and Museum, 'Department of State Telegram Transmitting Letter from Chairman Khrushchev to President Kennedy, October 26, 1962,' <http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/cmc/oct26/doc4.html>

Extract from Khrushchev's second letter to Kennedy, Saturday 27 October 1962

We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous [equivalent] weapons from Turkey. ... [T]he United States will [also] respect the integrity of the frontiers of Cuba, its sovereignty, [and] undertake not to invade.

 **Source 3.16** Cited in Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 159–160.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 3.14 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

3.36 According to President Kennedy, what was the purpose of the Soviet missile bases in Cuba?

3.37 How would the US government react to this?

3.38 What do you think Kennedy meant when he referred to 'a full retaliatory response'?

Using Source 3.15 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

3.39 Outline the details of Khrushchev's proposal to Kennedy.

3.40 What might Khrushchev be referring to when he stated that 'the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear'?

3.41 What do you think Khrushchev meant by the phrase 'the knots of war'?

3.42 Who did Khrushchev blame for precipitating the crisis? How did he come to this conclusion? Is this a reasonable evaluation of the causes of the Cuban Missile Crisis? Explain your answer.

Using Source 3.16 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

3.43 Compare the tone used in this letter with that of the first letter (Source 3.15). Is it different? If so, how? What would account for any difference?

3.44 What new demands did the Soviet government make in the second letter?

3.45 Explain why it would be so difficult for the US to meet the new demands.

SPEECH-WRITING

3.46 Imagine you are a secondary school principal in the US at the time of this crisis. You are aware of student fear about the crisis, and decide to address the matter in your weekly assembly address. Prepare a 300–500-word speech in which you attempt to tell the truth without raising student anxiety.

THE THIRTEEN DAYS

THE KEY EVENTS OF THE CRITICAL DAYS IN OCTOBER 1962



Source 3.17 Examining a reconnaissance photo at a US State Department discussion about Cuba.

DAY 1 — TUESDAY 16 OCTOBER

Early morning: President Kennedy is informed that the Soviet Union is constructing nuclear missile bases on the island of Cuba.

11.45 am: ExComm meets for the first time to discuss how the US government should respond. Kennedy concludes the meeting by stating that 'we're going to take out these missiles'.³⁶

6.30 pm: ExComm meets again. No decision is reached on how to respond, but a rapid air strike is the most favoured option at this stage. Robert McNamara presents the idea of a blockade.

DAY 2 — WEDNESDAY 17 OCTOBER

ExComm meets throughout the day to consider the best response. The air strike option still has the most support.

DAY 3 — THURSDAY 18 OCTOBER

New U-2 reconnaissance photographs show that there are at least thirty-two nuclear missiles in Cuba, including IRBMs with a range of more than 3200 kilometres that are capable of striking most cities in the US (see Source 3.12).

5.00 pm: Kennedy meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Kennedy does not mention that he is aware of the missiles. Gromyko reiterates the Soviet government's statement that no missiles are, or will be, installed in Cuba.

9.15 pm: ExComm gives its recommendations to President Kennedy. Dissatisfied with the lack of consensus within the group, Kennedy tells them to reconvene and present a response with which they all agree.

DAY 4 — FRIDAY 19 OCTOBER

Morning: Kennedy meets with top military officers who exert considerable pressure on him to launch air strikes in preparation for an invasion of Cuba to destroy the missiles and oust Castro.

Late morning: Kennedy leaves Washington for a scheduled Congressional election campaign trip to Chicago.

ExComm meets throughout the day and into the evening. Robert Kennedy pushes hard for the blockade option, but the group remains divided.

Did you know? On 20 October President Kennedy falsely informed the press that he had a cold so that his return to Washington on Saturday would not seem too suspicious. However, many journalists were not fooled and suspected that something big was brewing in Washington, DC.

DAY 5 — SATURDAY 20 OCTOBER

US armed forces around the world are put on high alert.

ExComm meetings continue throughout the morning.

Kennedy cuts short his trip to Chicago and returns to Washington.

The CIA informs Kennedy that the missiles are probably now operational and can be launched at a few minutes' notice. This makes an air strike extremely risky.

2.30 pm: After a meeting in the Oval Office, Kennedy decides in favour of a blockade of Cuba to prevent more missiles arriving. The word 'quarantine' is used instead of 'blockade' to reduce the military connotations of the action.

DAY 6 — SUNDAY 21 OCTOBER

The Soviet government receives reports of the US military build-up in Florida and the Caribbean. Russian military forces in Cuba are put on high alert.

DAY 7 — MONDAY 22 OCTOBER

6.00 pm: Kennedy meets the leaders of Congress to inform them of the crisis and his decision to initiate a quarantine of Cuba. Congress demands a tougher military response.

7.00 pm: Kennedy announces to the American people the presence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, and his intention to quarantine the island, via a live televised speech. Khrushchev receives a copy of the speech soon afterwards (see Source 3.16).

DAY 8 — TUESDAY 23 OCTOBER

Kennedy authorises low-level reconnaissance flights over the missile sites in Cuba. The chance that one or more flights might be shot down (thus, sparking a war), is high.

3.00 pm: The Organisation of American States votes unanimously to condemn the placement of missiles in Cuba, and approves of the quarantine.

7.00 pm: President Kennedy signs the proclamation for the quarantine to come into effect.

9.30 pm: Robert Kennedy meets with Soviet ambassador to the US, Anatoly Dobrynin, to express the US government's anger over the placement of the missiles in Cuba.



Source 3.18 Photographers and film cameramen swarm around President Kennedy at his desk in the Oval Office as he signs the Cuba Quarantine Order, 23 October 1962.

DAY 9 — WEDNESDAY 24 OCTOBER

Reconnaissance photographs reveal that the missiles will be operational within a few days.

10.00 am: The US quarantine of Cuba comes into effect. Two Russian ships, the *Gagarin* and the *Komiles*, are very close to the quarantine line.

10.30–11.00 am: ExComm learns that twenty Russian ships have either stopped short of the quarantine line or are turning around. Dean Rusk makes his 'eyeball to eyeball' remark.³⁷

10.00 pm: Strategic Air Command is placed at **DEFCON 2**. US bombers are ready to launch a full nuclear attack on the Soviet Union.

DEFCON 2

'DEFCON' stands for Defense Readiness Condition. DEFCON 2 means that all US military forces, including its nuclear weapons, must be ready to deploy within 6 hours.

CONTINUED ...

DAY 10 — THURSDAY 25 OCTOBER

Reconnaissance photographs reveal that the Soviet Il-28 bombers are being rapidly assembled in Cuba.

US Ambassador to the UN Adlai Stevenson confronts Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin over the presence of missiles in Cuba during a televised session of the General Assembly.

DAY 11 — FRIDAY 26 OCTOBER

8.00 am: A Russian cargo ship, the *Marucla*, is stopped by US Navy vessels and boarded. The ship is carrying no weapons and is allowed to continue its journey.

10.00 am: ExComm discusses a possible military response if the quarantine fails. Air strikes and invasion are offered as likely options.

9.00 pm: The White House receives a letter written personally by Khrushchev that opens up the possibility of withdrawing the missiles in return for an American promise not to invade Cuba (see Source 3.15).

DAY 12 — SATURDAY 27 OCTOBER

10.00 am: Kennedy receives Khrushchev's second, much sterner, letter demanding that the US also remove the Jupiter missiles stationed in Turkey in return for a withdrawal of the Russian missiles in Cuba (see Source 3.16).

4.00 pm: ExComm meets to discuss their response to Khrushchev's second letter. They learn during the meeting that a U-2 has been shot down over Cuba and that the pilot, Major Rudolf Anderson, has been killed. The question now is whether the US should retaliate by bombing anti-aircraft sites in Cuba. Kennedy delays his decision until the following morning.

Late afternoon: ExComm ignores the demand to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey and responds to Khrushchev's first letter, agreeing not to invade Cuba in return for the withdrawal of the Soviet missiles.

7.45 pm: Robert Kennedy meets Dobrynin and reiterates the US government's acceptance of the terms of Khrushchev's first letter. He also indicates that the missiles in Turkey would be removed in four to five months, but that this must be kept absolutely secret. Robert Kennedy hints at the possibility of military action to take out the missiles in Cuba if Khrushchev does not respond quickly.

DAY 13 — SUNDAY 28 OCTOBER

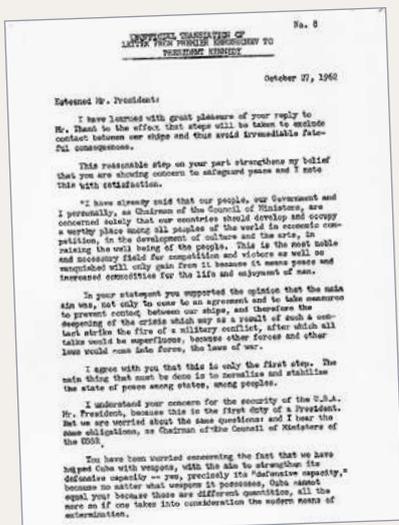
Preparations for a US invasion of Cuba continue. ExComm expects that it will take place on either Monday or Tuesday if Khrushchev does not agree to withdraw the missiles.

10.00 am: The US government receives a message from Khrushchev indicating that he accepts the US government's terms. The missiles will be removed from Cuba in return for a public US guarantee not to invade and the eventual, albeit secret, withdrawal of the Jupiter missiles from Turkey.

A potential third world war has been averted by less than 24 hours.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

3.47 With a partner, write and present a conversation between two ordinary Americans at the height of the crisis, one supporting an invasion of Cuba and the other opposed. Make reference to some of the key events of the crisis, such as Kennedy's address to the nation and the shooting down of the U-2 spy plane.



Source 3.19 Khrushchev's second letter.

Did you know? The Jupiter missiles in Turkey were obsolete by October 1962 and had already been scheduled for removal. They would be replaced by US submarines, armed with nuclear missiles, which would patrol the eastern Mediterranean Sea. However, the US demanded that the removal of the Jupiter missiles be kept secret to avoid giving the impression that they had withdrawn the missiles under duress. The Jupiter missiles were finally removed in March 1963.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1917–1963

Was the thirty-fifth US president (1961–1963).

Believed in defending the free world from communist aggression.

He said: ‘Do not ask what your country can do for you. Ask what you can do for your country.’

Said about: ‘Kennedy would have ordered nuclear retaliation on Cuba—and perhaps the Soviet Union—if nuclear weapons had been fired at the United States.’ (*Robert McNamara, secretary of defense*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by insisting that Khrushchev remove the nuclear missiles installed in Cuba.

← Significant individual



FIDEL CASTRO, 1926–2016

Was a Cuban revolutionary and leader of Cuba (1959–2008).

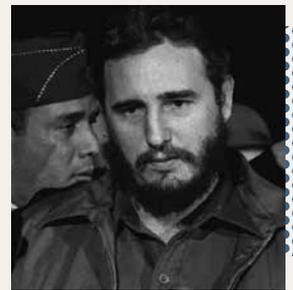
Believed in freeing Cuba from American domination and establishing socialism in Cuba.

He said: ‘Condemn me, it does not matter: history will absolve me.’

Said about: ‘Fidel is a man of tremendous personal magnetism, destined to assume the role of leader in any movement in which he takes part.’ (*Che Guevara, Argentinian revolutionary*)

Contributed to Cold War tensions by permitting the Soviet Union to place nuclear weapons on Cuba.

← Significant individual



CLOSER THAN ANYONE KNEW

There were many more nuclear-tipped weapons in Cuba and the Caribbean than the US government realised. While ExComm was aware of the ballistic missiles and Il-28 bombers, they knew nothing of the R-11m cruise missiles and the Lunas. More importantly, they had no idea that the Soviet commander in charge of all the Russian forces in Cuba, General Pliyev, had been given permission to use these relatively ‘small’ nuclear devices in the event of a US invasion. One of the cruise missiles could take out a US aircraft carrier and its support vessels. The Lunas were so powerful that only ten of them would have been needed to completely destroy all the Allied forces landing on the Normandy beaches on D-Day, 6 June 1944.³⁸ In addition, each of the four Soviet Foxtrot submarines guarding the freighter ships en route to Cuba carried one nuclear-tipped torpedo. Like the cruise missiles, each torpedo was capable of destroying an aircraft carrier.³⁹ If the US had invaded Cuba, it is highly likely these tactical nuclear weapons would have been fired.

Kennedy would have then felt compelled to respond with a full nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. The Soviet MRBMs and IRBMs in Cuba would have been fired at their targets in the US, along with the ICBMs based in Russia. Tens of millions of people would have died within a few hours. This was the essence of MAD.



↗ An Il-28 bomber on display at an aviation museum.

THE MAN WHO SAVED THE WORLD

Did you know? In the Soviet armed forces, every unit and ship had a representative from the Communist Party called the 'political officer' or 'commissar' whose role was to look after the political education of the soldiers and maintain high morale. Political officers also ensured that the decisions made by commanding officers were in the best interest of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party.



↑ Vasily Arkhipov, the man who saved the world.

→ A Soviet Foxtrot submarine on display at a maritime museum in Zeebrugge, Belgium.

At the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a confrontation occurred in the Caribbean Sea that could have caused World War III. As troubling as this is, what makes it even worse is that the US knew nothing about it until years afterwards.⁴⁰

As part of Operation Anadyr, the USSR dispatched four Foxtrot submarines to accompany the freighter ships to Cuba. Each submarine carried a 'special torpedo' that had a 5-kiloton warhead. This was more than enough to destroy a US aircraft carrier and its accompanying escort vessels.

On 27 October, US warships detected Foxtrot submarine *B-59* in the Caribbean Sea and started dropping practice depth charges into the water. These were small devices that contained a minimal number of explosives. They were designed to signal enemy submarines to come to the surface rather than to damage them. However, for the captain of *B-59*, Valentin Savitski, it seemed that the Americans were trying to destroy his ship. The submarine had been submerged for several days and had not been in contact with Moscow. The crew did not know whether or not a war had begun. With US destroyers dropping what appeared to be real depth charges around him, Savitski started to think that it had.

Savitski ordered the nuclear-tipped torpedo be readied to fire. He needed the consent of the ship's political officer, Ivan Maslennikov, who concurred. Fortunately, also aboard *B-59* was Vasily Arkhipov, the commander of the four-submarine fleet. Therefore, he outranked both Savitski and Maslennikov and did not consent to launching the 'special weapon'. After an argument, Arkhipov ordered the captain to raise *B-59* to the surface to await further orders from Moscow. With its batteries depleted and air conditioning not working, *B-59* was ordered back to the USSR.

Had Arkhipov consented to firing the torpedo, it is certain that the US would have detected the nuclear explosion. An invasion of Cuba would have followed. From there it is likely that the US and USSR would have fired their ICBMs at each other. This episode demonstrates the high-risk nature of the confrontation at Cuba in October 1962 and how close humanity came to orchestrating its own demise.



DÉTENTE, DISMISSAL AND DEATH

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: 'We are all mortal.'

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, humanity came closer to destroying itself than at any other point in history. It forced the leaders of the US and the USSR to abandon their game of brinkmanship. They realised the importance of communicating clearly and establishing a shared agreement on peaceful coexistence. The years after the crisis saw a significant relaxation in the tension between the two superpowers. The French word *détente* is used to describe this period that lasted, largely uninterrupted, until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

President Kennedy summed up the new spirit of *détente* in a speech he delivered during the commencement ceremony at the American University on 10 July 1963. Kennedy and his speechwriters had a gift for producing memorable lines, which is evident in the following extract.

President Kennedy's 'American University' speech

What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children. ... Let us not be blind to our differences—but let us also direct attention to our common interests and the means by which those differences can be resolved. ... For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this same small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.

Source 3.20 JFK Presidential Library and Museum, 'Commencement Address at the American University, 10 June 1963', <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/BWC714C9QUmLG9J618oy8w.aspx>



Source 3.21 'Over the Garden Wall', by Norman Mansbridge, from *Punch* magazine, 17 October 1963.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 3.21 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 3.48** Identify the two individuals depicted in this cartoon.
- 3.49** Explain the meaning of the phrase, 'Hints on pruning'.
- 3.50** Explain the role that Nikita Khrushchev played in ending the stand-off over the Cuban missiles.
- 3.51** Analyse the causes of the tension between the US and USSR in 1962. Use evidence to support your response.

OUTCOMES OF THE CRISIS

A general period of détente lasted between the two superpowers.

A hotline was established between the Pentagon and the Kremlin.

Did you know? The hotline was not a phone line, as is often suggested in popular culture. Initially the link was between two teletype machines, and from 1986 a fax machine was used. Since 2008 a secure email connection has been used when the leaders of the Soviet Union and the US need to communicate quickly.

The Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, signed in August 1963, prohibited testing nuclear weapons above the ground or under water.

Khrushchev withdrew nuclear missiles from Cuba.

Khrushchev discouraged Castro from exporting socialism to other Latin American countries.

Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba.

In a secret deal, Kennedy agreed that the Jupiter missiles would be withdrawn from Turkey.

THE FATE OF LEADERS

KENNEDY

Did you know? At the mid-term Congressional elections in November 1962, the Democrat Party lost four seats in the House of Representatives but retained its overall majority of 258 seats to the Republicans' 175. In the Senate the Democrats won four new seats, holding a total of sixty-eight seats to the Republicans' thirty-two.

After the events of October, Kennedy turned his mind to other pressing issues, such as civil rights, the looming crisis in Vietnam and his own presidential re-election campaign. However, Kennedy's full potential as a world leader would never be realised. On 22 November 1963 Kennedy was in Dallas, Texas, on a political trip to boost support in the southern states (where his civil rights bill was deeply unpopular) for his re-election campaign in 1964. He was shot and killed by an assassin while riding in a limousine in the presidential motorcade. There has been a great deal of speculation about who killed Kennedy, and how many assassins were involved, ever since.

Did you know? President Kennedy's brother, Robert Kennedy, was also killed by an assassin. On 6 June 1968, while campaigning for his own bid to become president, Robert Kennedy was shot and killed as he left a hotel in Los Angeles.

KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev remained leader of the Soviet Union until he was ousted by the *Presidium* in October 1964. His political opponents criticised the state of the economy, agriculture and education under Khrushchev's rule. They also accused him of increasingly directing policy without input from the Presidium. The inherent riskiness of Operation Anadyr—and his decision to back down in the face of US firmness during the Cuban Missile Crisis—also fatally wounded Khrushchev's political reputation.⁴¹ Khrushchev offered his resignation and pointed out just how much the USSR had changed under his leadership. 'Could anyone have dreamed of telling Stalin that he didn't suit us anymore and suggesting he retire?' Khrushchev asked a colleague. 'Not even a wet spot would have remained where we had been standing.'⁴² Khrushchev lived in quiet retirement until his death from a heart attack in 1971.

CASTRO

Castro had not been part of the negotiations to remove the missiles, and he felt deeply betrayed by Khrushchev's decision. The Cuban leader also thought that they had missed the perfect opportunity to force the US out of their Cuban military base at Guantánamo Bay. For Castro, the nuclear missiles had been placed in Cuba to defend it from another US invasion. Without a nuclear deterrent, Castro believed that his country was vulnerable. No attack materialised but the US trade embargo of Cuba continued. Castro remained president of Cuba until poor health forced him to step down in 2008. He was succeeded by his brother Raúl. Castro died in November 2016.

Presidium

The ruling committee of the CPSU; formerly known as the Politburo.

CHAPTER 3 REVIEW

All revolutions have repercussions beyond their own borders. However, only one almost resulted in the end of human civilisation. Castro's revolution in Cuba, his subsequent adoption of socialism and his appeals to the Soviet Union for economic and military assistance took place within the broader context of the Cold War. The US was unwilling to accept that the USSR now had a foothold in Latin America, and feared that Cuba would be used as a base to encourage revolution in other nations in the Western Hemisphere. Even worse, Cuba could be used as a base for the installation of Soviet nuclear weapons that could directly threaten the security of the US.

This is exactly what a U-2 spy plane discovered on 14 October 1962. Two days later, President Kennedy was informed and the Cuban Missile Crisis began. For thirteen days the world held its breath as the leaders of the two superpowers tested the limits of their courage. Courage during the crisis took two forms: the courage to stand firm and the courage to back down. Fortunately, the US and the USSR put reason and compassion before fear and aggression. They came to an agreement at the last minute and ushered in a period of détente between the two superpowers.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Fidel Castro seized power over Cuba from the corrupt Colonel Fulgencio Batista in 1959.
- CIA-backed anti-Castro Cubans tried to oust Castro at the Bay of Pigs.
- Castro sought economic support and military assistance from the Soviet Union.
- Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev placed nuclear missiles in Cuba to be on equal terms with the US.
- US President Kennedy insisted that the missiles be removed. Quarantine was put in place to force Khrushchev to remove the missiles.
- After thirteen tense days, both sides reached a compromise and avoided nuclear war.

REVIEW—CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

3.52 The year is 1963 and you are a journalist in either the US or the USSR. Your editor has tasked you with writing a feature-length article on the causes and consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Write a report of about 500 words from the perspective of a journalist from your chosen nation.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **3.53** Explain why President Kennedy reacted so swiftly and forcefully to remove the Soviet missiles from Cuba.
- **3.54** Analyse how Kennedy and the members of ExComm dealt with the problem of Soviet missiles in Cuba.
- **3.55** Explain how the outcomes of the Cuban Missile Crisis contributed to the general climate of détente that existed between the US and USSR during the 1960s and 1970s.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **3.56** Historian Donald Kagan argues that Kennedy's inability to demonstrate America's strength during the early 1960s encouraged Khrushchev to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. To what extent do you agree with this argument?
- **3.57** Historian John Lewis Gaddis argues that the reason behind Khrushchev's decision to place nuclear missiles in Cuba was to extend socialism throughout Latin America. To what extent do you agree with this argument?
- **3.58** 'Kennedy only made the risky decision to force the Russian missiles out of Cuba in an effort to protect his own political reputation in the US.' Do you think this is a fair assessment of Kennedy's actions during the crisis?



THE VIETNAM WAR

'You have a row of dominoes set up; you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is that it will go over very quickly.'

US PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER, APRIL 1954

The Vietnam War had its roots in the French colonisation of south-east Asia in the nineteenth century. French Indochina, which included the modern nations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was occupied by Japan during World War II. After the defeat of the Japanese, Vietnamese nationalists and communists sought independence from the French. Led by Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Minh struggled against the French from 1945–1954. The 1954 Geneva Conference saw France withdraw from Indochina. Vietnam was split along the **17th parallel** into capitalist South Vietnam and communist North Vietnam.

Fuelled by the oppression of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem, communist sympathisers in the South became more vocal. As concerns about communism increased abroad, particularly following Diem's assassination in 1963, the US committed to supporting the South. The subsequent conflict drew in other nations, including Australia. The tough psychological conditions proved difficult for soldiers on both sides, and the war was littered with atrocities that gained extensive media coverage. By 1975, following the US withdrawal, Vietnam was united as an independent communist republic.

17th parallel

The line 17 degrees above the equator that denoted the boundary between North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1945

2 SEPTEMBER — Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam's independence

1954

7 MAY — The Viet Minh wins the Battle of Dien Bien Phu

21 JULY — The Geneva Accords divide Vietnam along the 17th parallel

1964

2 AUGUST — The Gulf of Tonkin incident

1968

FEBRUARY — The Tet Offensive

1969

25 JULY — President Nixon announces the steady withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam

1975

30 APRIL — North Vietnam troops capture Saigon and reunify Vietnam

KEY QUESTIONS

- What was the background to tension and division in Vietnam before 1954?
- How did the US and Australia become involved in the Vietnam War?
- How was the Vietnam War fought?
- How and why did attitudes towards the war change in the late 1960s?
- What was the impact of the war on Vietnam and the Vietnamese?
- What was the impact on the US and Australian soldiers who fought there?



Source 4.01
An interpreter questions the family of a Viet Cong suspect in 1966.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



HO CHI MINH

Vietnamese nationalist and socialist

Led the Viet Minh, then North Vietnam, until his death in 1969



NGO DINH DIEM

Prime minister, then president, of South Vietnam

Assassinated on 2 November 1963 during a military coup



LYNDON B. JOHNSON

President of the United States (1963–1969)

Heavily escalated US involvement in Vietnam



RICHARD NIXON

President of the United States (1969–1974)

Promised to end the Vietnam War and bring home the troops

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

North Vietnam and South Vietnam had very different political ideologies in the 1950s. The involvement of foreign powers in Vietnam—notably France and the US—shaped the conflict between the North and the South. Some historians suggest that the presence of foreign powers increased tensions; others cite the domino theory as necessary justification for the international involvement. As you work through this chapter, consider both arguments. Use the material and ideas that you have developed to answer one of the following questions.

4.01 To what extent did foreign powers create division in Vietnam?

4.02 To what extent was the Vietnam War a *proxy war* of the Cold War?

proxy war

A war fought between the allies of more powerful states, or between a powerful state and one of the allies of its rivals.

BACKGROUND TO THE WAR: A LAND DIVIDED

Ho Chi Minh, 1945: 'Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country—and in fact it is so already.'

Ancient Vietnam was known as **Annam**. It held strong cultural links with the Chinese to the north and was essentially a Chinese satellite state for many centuries. By the 1880s French forces had seized control of Vietnam. They instilled a distinct French influence across the nation and created **Indochina**, a vast territory encompassing modern-day Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

By the beginning of World War II, Vietnam had been divided into three administrative regions under French colonial rule: Cochinchina in the south, Tonkin in the north and Annam across the central regions. These regions were led by Emperor Bao Dai, over whom the French held great influence. After war erupted in Europe in 1939, German advances saw France come under increasing pressure, and some troops were withdrawn from Indochina to fight in Europe. Seizing this opportunity, Japanese forces 'requested' permission to station their forces in Indochina. With the occupying French in no position to negotiate, Japanese forces took over this key region in south-east Asia.

THE VIET MINH

Officially known as the *Viêt Nam Độc Lập Đảng Minh Hồ* (League for the Independence of Vietnam), the **Viet Minh** was formed in 1941 by Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh was a revolutionary who had just returned from the Soviet Union, a graduate of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East in Moscow.

Deep dislike among the Vietnamese for both the French and the Japanese colonial powers saw membership of the Viet Minh flourish, drawing in disenchanted Vietnamese people from all corners of the country and all parts of the political spectrum. Under the tutelage of General Vo Nguyen Giap—a former schoolteacher and renowned strategist—the Viet Minh began a campaign of **guerrilla warfare** against the Japanese, using covert tactics such as wading through streams to cover their tracks, and moving during rainstorms to deter pursuit, as well as executing informers, suspects and spies.



Source 4.02 Map of colonial Vietnam during the French period. Siam is now Thailand and Burma is now Myanmar.

Annam

The term used by the West for Vietnam prior to French colonisation; the Vietnamese people were sometimes called 'Annamites' by Westerners.

Indochina

The French colony comprising Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (called French Indochina after 1950).

Viet Minh

An organised fighting force founded in 1941 by Ho Chi Minh to fight the Japanese occupation.

guerrilla warfare

Warfare conducted on unconventional terms. Often one side, usually weaker, strikes through ambushes and surprise attacks against a stronger foe.

In August 1945, the US bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima forced the Japanese to surrender. With the remaining French military ill-equipped and low on morale, the Viet Minh was able to establish control over Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh declared independence for the **Democratic Republic of Vietnam** on 2 September 1945. Ho Chi Minh actively sought the support of the US, which had previously encouraged other nations to become independent. However, much to his dismay, the US instead chose to support the French return to Vietnam, seeing them as valuable allies against the communist forces now appearing in Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. The Cold War had come to Vietnam.

THE WAR IN INDOCHINA

Despite the Vietnamese declaration of independence, the French refused to relinquish control of its colonial territory. Skirmishes continued in the post-independence period, but a major incident in the northern city of Haiphong soured relations further. On 20 November 1946 an incident in the harbour led to Vietnamese soldiers firing on a French patrol ship, killing twenty-nine French soldiers. The French retaliated by bombarding Haiphong from the warship *Suffren*, which was stationed in the harbour. More than 6000 Viet Minh and Vietnamese civilians were killed, and a new wave of anti-colonial hatred was triggered.¹ Viet Minh retribution was swift. Just three weeks later, French civilians in Hanoi were kidnapped and killed.

Newspaper report

Towards 8 pm on 10 December 1946, the lights in Hanoi went out. The Annamites (Viet Minh) attacked in many parts of the town. A number of French civilians were killed, some with revolting cruelty, and many more were kidnapped. It was a night of terror. Cries for help, the frenzied screaming of the Annamites, grenades exploding and small arms fire were heard on all sides.

Conflict between the Viet Minh and French colonial forces continued for eight years. General Giap's guerrilla tactics, combined with difficult jungle terrain and strong popular support, ensured that large swathes of country areas remained under Vietnamese control. French outposts and convoys were easily isolated and ambushed. The French maintained greater control in the urban areas, partly because there were more middle-class Vietnamese in the cities who were more likely to speak French, work in administrative positions and practise Catholicism. Their lifestyle was in stark contrast to the rural Vietnamese, whose traditional **agrarian** way of life had been undermined by the French.

In 1949, French authorities reinstated Emperor Bao Dai to re-establish some control over French Indochina. He was widely seen as a puppet of the colonialists. In the same year, Mao Zedong's communists established power in neighbouring China and started to support the Viet Minh with military training and modern, reliable weapons.

China's actions drew the US into the conflict. In a dramatic change from its neutral policy, the US supported the French both financially and morally. A colonial Vietnam was considered less of an evil than a communist Vietnam. Despite considerable US assistance, the French attempt to reinstate colonial control over Vietnam came to an abrupt end in May 1954 when they were defeated in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Democratic Republic of Vietnam

The name of the independent state announced by Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945.

Source 4.03 *The Times*, 7 February 1947.

agrarian

A society whose economy is predominantly based on farming instead of industry.



↑ Emperor Bao Dai.

THE BATTLE OF DIEN BIEN PHU

Buoyed by US backing, the French sought to gain the upper hand in the conflict with the Viet Minh. In 1954 French General Henri Navarre planned a decisive trap aimed at breaking the morale of the guerrillas. As conflicts in rural areas were difficult for the French, Navarre aimed to draw General Giap's forces into a frontal attack on French positions. This would allow the French to apply the full force of its aerial superiority and firepower. Dien Bien Phu, a key town in north-west Vietnam on the road to Laos and Cambodia, was chosen as the perfect site for such a trap. On a plateau surrounded by hills, the French established several key fortified positions supported by isolated strong points in the lower valleys—positions Navarre felt were relatively defensible and suitably tempting targets for the Viet Minh.

On 13 March 1954, the siege of Dien Bien Phu began—but not in the manner the French had anticipated. Navarre had wrongly assumed that the Viet Minh would not be able to move heavy artillery equipment into the surrounding hills, but the Viet Minh proved him wrong. The Viet Minh was able to pound the exposed French positions to devastating effect. As the siege wore on, the isolated French outposts were quickly overrun and wave after wave of Viet Minh advances wore down the remaining key strong points. On the afternoon of 7 May 1954, the French positions were finally broken and the Viet Minh claimed a historic and morale-lifting victory. The humiliated French—who felt that US forces should have come to their aid—found their hold on Indochina no longer tenable. It left them in a difficult position in the subsequent Geneva peace discussions.



Source 4.04 A Vietnamese soldier waves a flag at a captured French command post. Battle of Dien Bien Phu, 1954.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

4.03 Compare the confidence and organisation of the Viet Minh before and after the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.

Geneva Conference

The international conference held from April–July 1954 to settle issues in Korea and Indochina.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The *Geneva Conference* of 1954 signalled the end of the Indochina conflict with the French but marked the beginning of circumstances that would lead Vietnam into another war. Following their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French knew that their hold on the region was slipping away. They made heavy concessions at the negotiating table, granting independence to Laos and Cambodia as well as partitioning Vietnam along the 17th parallel. The partitioning of Vietnam disappointed the Americans who, increasingly concerned at the growing popularity of communism in Vietnam, mockingly labelled French Prime Minister Pierre Mendès-France a 'peace-at-any-price man' (a phrase used to suggest cowardly policy). Many of the South Vietnamese and Catholics who had fought alongside the French were also disillusioned.

South Vietnamese telegram sent to Saigon from Geneva

We fought desperately against partition and for a neutral zone in the Catholic area of North Vietnam. Absolutely impossible to overcome the hostility of our enemies and the treachery of our false friends.

North Vietnamese speech at Geneva

We will win the unity of Vietnam as we have won the peace. No force in the world will deter us. ... People of Vietnam, compatriots of the South, victory is ours.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 4.05 and 4.06 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.04** What central point is being made in each of these statements from Geneva?
- 4.05** Compare the tone of the two reports. How do you explain the difference?

The outcomes of the Geneva Conference were a pleasant surprise for Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and led to a new phase in Vietnamese history. It would draw the US into much greater involvement, along with a host of other nations, including Australia and New Zealand. Vietnam now lay across two lands, the communist North led by Ho Chi Minh, and the predominantly Buddhist South under the control of Emperor Bao Dai. Partition also triggered significant movement of people across the 17th parallel, with hundreds of thousands of Catholic refugees fleeing to the South and around 80,000 communists heading to the North.

Did you know? The CIA commenced 'black operations' in Vietnam following the Geneva Conference, dropping leaflets in Hanoi to undermine the Viet Minh and encourage emigration to the South.

With free elections looming in 1956 after the 1954 partition, Emperor Bao Dai realised he stood little chance of winning. His association with the French had undermined his political position and, eager to stave off the challenge of Ho Chi Minh, he appointed a passionate nationalist, Ngo Dinh Diem, as prime minister. A year later, in 1955, with the support of the US government, Diem declared South Vietnam a republic with himself as president. Although free elections under the supervision of an International Control Commission had been mandated under the Geneva Conference, Diem refused to hold elections, wanting to allow no chance for the communists to take power. He argued that free elections would not be possible in the North and, therefore, they should not be conducted in the South.

Source 4.05 Telegram sent by Tran Van Do, representative of President Diem at the Geneva Conference. Cited in *Time* magazine, 2 August 1954.

Source 4.06 Pham Van Dong, cited in Arthur J. Dommen, *The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 250.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 4.06** What effect did French colonisation have on the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia?
- 4.07** What was the primary aim of the Viet Minh organisation?
- 4.08** Describe the nature of the fighting between the French and the Viet Minh during the First Indochina War.
- 4.09** Explain how the Viet Minh were able to win the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.
- 4.10** What were the main outcomes of the Geneva Conference of 1954?

CATHOLICISM IN VIETNAM

Catholicism in Vietnam began with the arrival of Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century, French missionaries had converted more than 6000 Vietnamese people to the Catholic faith. One missionary, Alexandre de Rhodes, adapted an alphabet created by Portuguese missionaries, adding accents and tones (called diacritical marks). De Rhodes's alphabet is still in use today. By the late eighteenth century Catholic priests had befriended Nguyen Anh, later known as Emperor Gia Long—ruler of all Vietnam. Gia Long tolerated Catholicism and allowed its numbers to flourish. However, divisions among Gia Long's successors saw the Catholics fall out of favour, and rebellions ensued. During the French colonial period (1887–1954), Catholics were given key positions of responsibility and preferential treatment. Following the partition of Vietnam in 1954, Catholicism again became a contentious issue—particularly as President Ngo Dinh Diem was a Catholic. This fuelled tensions between Catholics and Buddhists, eventually leading to Diem's assassination in 1963. Catholics in modern Vietnam represent almost 10 per cent of the population, but the percentage is much higher among Vietnamese expatriate communities, many of whom fled the country after the 1975 withdrawal of US forces.



↑ Alexandre de Rhodes.

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

4.11 To what extent was faith a factor in political tensions in Vietnam?

INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Robert McNamara, US secretary of defense, 1964: 'South East Asia has great significance in the forward defense of the USA.'

Fear of communism spreading throughout south-east Asia strengthened following the establishment of a communist government in North Vietnam. The success of communism in China and the outbreak of the Korean War added to anxiety among Western powers. The US and its allies were to spend the following twenty years attempting to crush Vietnamese communism and establish a democratic republic in a united Vietnam.

THE DOMINO THEORY



domino theory

The belief that once one country fell to communism, the neighbouring countries would follow very quickly; this would lead to worldwide communist dominance.

THE DOMINO THEORY

One of the most important influences on the decision of Western countries to become involved in Vietnam was the *domino theory*. This was the belief that communism could spread from country to country through south-east Asia in the same way that a line of dominoes would fall. This theory was strengthened by memories of World War II, when the Japanese had managed to 'island hop' through China and south-east Asia to threaten Australia.

Richard Nixon, 1953

If Indochina falls, Thailand is put in an almost impossible position. The same is true of *Malaya* with its rubber and tin. The same is true of Indonesia. If this whole part of South East Asia goes under Communist domination or Communist influence, Japan, who trades and must trade with this area in order to exist must inevitably be oriented towards the Communist regime.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1954

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the 'falling domino' principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

A challenge to the domino theory

We do not believe that the loss of South Vietnam and Laos would be followed by the rapid, successive communization of the other states of the Far East. Instead of a shock wave passing from one nation to the next, there would be a simultaneous, direct effect on all Far Eastern countries. With the possible exception of Cambodia, it is likely that no nation in the area would quickly succumb to communism as a result of the fall of Laos and South Vietnam. Furthermore, a continuation of the spread of communism in the area would not be inexorable [impossible to stop] and any spread which did occur would take time—time in which the total situation might change in any of a number of ways unfavorable to the Communist cause.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 4.07–4.09 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.12** Briefly explain the point that each source is making about the domino theory.
- 4.13** What explanation can you offer for the different theories?
- 4.14** Which do you believe to be the most convincing argument? Give reasons.

SEATO AND MILITARY ADVISERS

In 1954—the same year as the Geneva Conference—the US formed the *Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)*, along with Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United Kingdom. SEATO's aim was to protect the countries of south-east Asia from communism. This was indicative of a broader anti-communist sentiment across the US, especially after the 1950–1953 Korean War in which nearly 34,000 US soldiers died supporting South Korea against communist North Korea.

In November 1954, US President Eisenhower approved the appointment of military advisers to Saigon. Their purpose was to train the new *Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)* and supplement the economic aid and military technology that poured into the new nation. Eisenhower was determined to ensure that South Vietnam would remain both pro-Western and anti-communist. This US involvement, driven by the domino theory, continued to grow over time. By 1960, when Eisenhower left office, the number of US military advisers had grown to 685.

Source 4.07 Cited in Robert Barro, 'Democracy and Growth', *Journal of Economic Growth* 1 (1996): 1–27.

Malaya

The name of the former British colony. Malaya achieved independence in 1957 and renamed itself Malaysia in 1963.

Source 4.08 Dwight Eisenhower at a press conference, 7 April 1954. Office of the Historian, 'Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952–1954, Indochina, Volume XIII, Part 1', <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1952-54v13p1/d716>

Source 4.09 Memorandum from the Board of National Estimates to the Director of Central Intelligence, Washington, 9 June 1964. Office of the Historian, 'Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume 1, Vietnam, 1964', <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01/d209>

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

An organisation of states including the US, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia to block the spread of communism (1954–1977).

Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)

The armed defence force of South Vietnam.

THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

➔ Lyndon B. Johnson (right) with Dwight Eisenhower.



In November 1963 Lyndon B. Johnson became US president at a crucial moment in the Vietnam conflict. Faced with several options, including withdrawal or escalation, Johnson initially chose to maintain the advisory support-role policy of presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. This approach changed in August 1964 after two US destroyers allegedly came under attack from North Vietnamese

forces in the Gulf of Tonkin. The Gulf of Tonkin incident, as it became known, was used by Johnson for political leverage. On 7 August he was able to convince Congress to ratify his **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**, which gave the US the authority to become actively involved in Vietnam.

Even with the support of Congress, Johnson still felt public opinion would not support open military involvement in Vietnam. Yet, there was little public outcry when US warplanes bombed the **Ho Chi Minh Trail** in neighbouring Laos, which was the main supply line between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. In response, in February 1965 the **Viet Cong** attacked the US base at Pleiku in north-central Vietnam, killing eight US advisers and injuring scores more. This incident was well covered in the US press, and Johnson finally had the overwhelming public support he needed to escalate the war.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

The statement from US Congress permitting official armed intervention by the US in Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh Trail

The series of jungle paths used to take supplies from North Vietnam to the South.

Viet Cong

The name given by the South Vietnamese and US governments to the National Liberation Front. It came from the term 'Vietnamese Communists'.

Joint Resolution of Congress, 7 August 1964

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1: That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

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

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

➔ **Source 4.10** 'Joint Resolution of Congress H.J RES 1145, August 5, 1964', Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/tonkin-g.asp

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

4.15 Explain the factors that led to the US becoming involved in the Vietnam War.

4.16 Which factor do you believe was the most significant in the US decision? Explain your response.

WHO WERE THE VIET CONG?

The Viet Cong was a communist rebel organisation that emerged in 1954 after the Geneva Conference. Its military force fought against the government of South Vietnam, the US and their allies. They were distinct from the **North Vietnamese Army (NVA)**, which were the armed forces of the government of North Vietnam. Although the Viet Cong called themselves the **National Liberation Front**, the South Vietnamese and Americans used the term 'Viet Cong', which was a shortened version of the phrase 'Vietnamese communists'. The Americans further shortened 'Viet Cong' to VC, or 'Victor Charlie' in the phonetic alphabet— hence, why American soldiers often referred to their foes as 'Charlie'. While most members of the Viet Minh migrated to the North, some had stayed behind to lay the foundation for the eventual unification of Vietnam under a single socialist government. Lacking heavy weapons and military aircraft, the Viet Cong waged an effective guerrilla war against the ARVN and American forces.



Source 4.11 Viet Cong soldiers crossing a river in Vietnam in 1966.

North Vietnamese Army (NVA)

The armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; also called the NVA.

National Liberation Front

The official name of the group that fought for the unification of Vietnam under a communist government; also known as the Viet Cong.

OPERATION ROLLING THUNDER

Following the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Johnson authorised selected bombing raids on Vietnamese communist targets, building up to **Operation Rolling Thunder**. This was a sustained bombing campaign on North Vietnamese targets, including military and transport infrastructure. It began on 2 March 1965 and continued until 1967. Rolling Thunder aimed to bring the Vietnamese communists back to



potential peace talks by undermining their supply lines and demonstrating US aerial superiority. On 8 March 1965, only days after the start of Operation Rolling Thunder, 3500 US Marines arrived in Vietnam. Despite the presence of US military advisers since 1954, the Marines became the first US combat troops to serve in Vietnam. By the end of 1965, US numbers had been bolstered by troops from Australia and New Zealand.

Source 4.12 The bombing of North Vietnam.

Operation Rolling Thunder

The codename for the initial bombing campaign of communist targets in North Vietnam.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 4.17** How did the US government use the domino theory to justify their actions in Vietnam?
- 4.18** What is the meaning and purpose of SEATO?
- 4.19** How did the Gulf of Tonkin incident help President Johnson increase America's involvement in Vietnam?
- 4.20** Explain the origin of the term 'Viet Cong'.
- 4.21** What was the primary aim of Operation Rolling Thunder?

AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT

In Australia, the shifting political climate regarding Vietnam saw the introduction of a **conscription** scheme known as 'national service'. The soldiers conscripted under this program were called 'nashos'. Rolled out in November 1964 by the Menzies government, conscription was introduced in an era of concern about the broader regional stability of Malaya and Indonesia, not just Vietnam. Over eight years, almost 800,000 young men registered for service in the Australian armed forces and just more than 15,000 went on to serve in Vietnam. The scheme itself was met by much opposition, notably from the **Save Our Sons (SOS)** movement, whose members protested outside army barracks and distributed anti-conscription flyers.

On 29 April 1965, through fear of communism, belief in the domino theory and loyalty to its allies, Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies announced that two battalions of the Australian army would be sent to Vietnam. Menzies's announcement indicated that the Australian government had been asked by the government of South Vietnam to send military assistance. The first battalion departed in June 1965.

conscription

Mandatory service in the army; refusal is often punished with fines or a prison sentence.

Save Our Sons (SOS)

An organisation set up by the mothers of Australian soldiers; the group called for an end to conscription and the war in Vietnam.



Source 4.13

Liberal Party poster from 1966 asking Australians where they would draw the line against communism.

Announcement by Prime Minister Robert Menzies in Parliament, 29 April 1965

The Australian Government is now in receipt of a request from the Government of South Vietnam for further military assistance. We have decided ... to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam. In case there is any misunderstanding, I think I should say, Sir, that we decided in principle some time ago—weeks and weeks ago—that we would be willing to do this if we received the necessary request from the Government of South Vietnam and the necessary collaboration with the United States. This is not to be regarded as something that has suddenly arisen out of more recent events. ...

There is ample evidence to show that with the support of the North Vietnamese regime and other Communist powers, the Vietcong has been preparing on a more substantial scale than hitherto insurgency action designed to destroy South Vietnamese Government control, and to disrupt by violence the life of the local people. ...

We have not of course come to this decision without the closest attention to the question of defence priorities. We do not and must not overlook the point that our alliances, as well as providing guarantees and assurances for our security, make demands upon us.

Source 4.14

Australia, House of Representatives, *Parliamentary Debates*, 29 April 1965, http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650429_reps_25_hor45/



Source 4.15

Front page of *The Australian* newspaper, 30 April 1965.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 4.13 and 4.14 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

4.22 What reasons did Menzies give for his decision to commit troops to Vietnam?

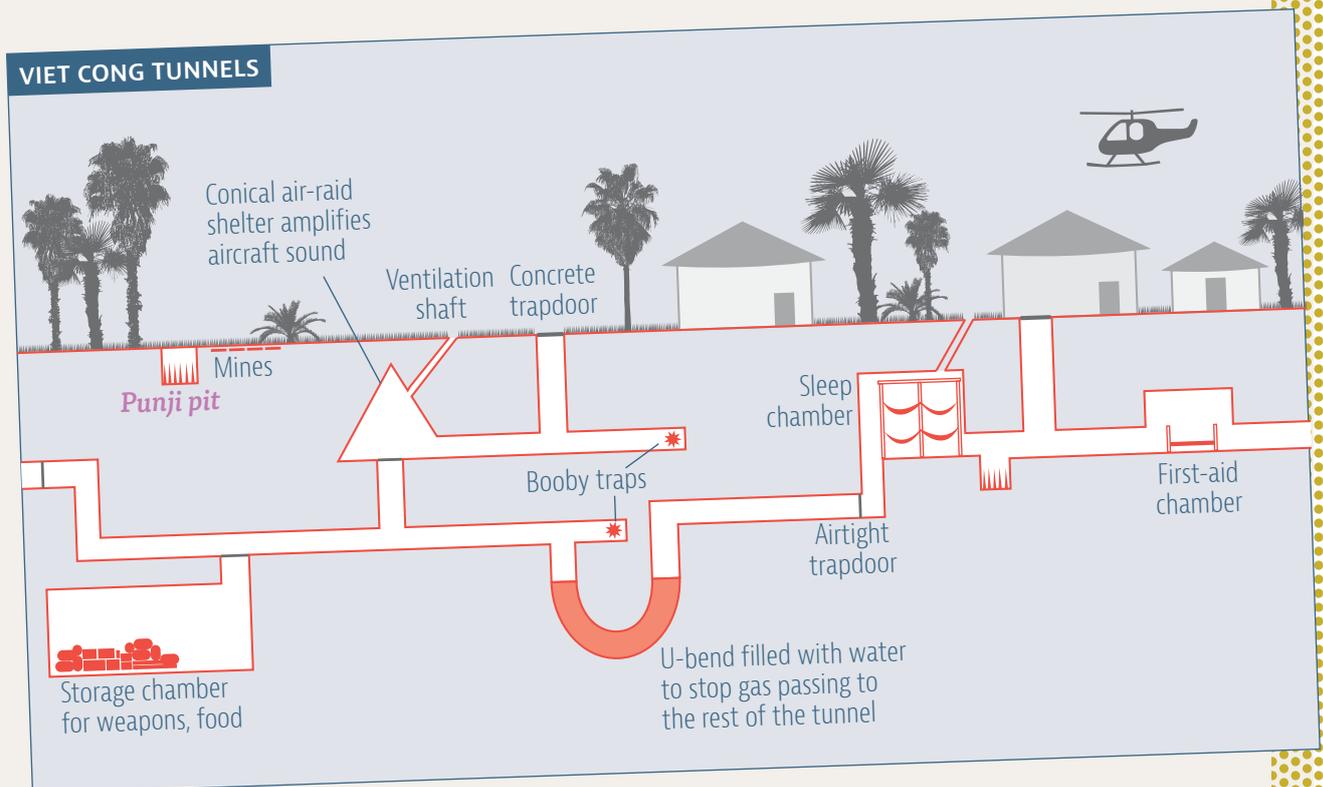
4.23 Why do you think Menzies repeatedly suggested that the decision is not a sudden one?

4.24 What does the front page of *The Australian* tell you about the significance of the decision to commit troops to Vietnam?

AN UNCONVENTIONAL WAR

Effectively fighting against both the NVA and the Viet Cong, the Allied servicemen found themselves in an unconventional war. Tanks and armoured personnel carriers were useless in the swamps, jungles and paddy fields that covered much of Vietnam. Moreover, guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong furthered hampered their efforts. The enemy was difficult to identify, as many Vietnamese were farmers by day and soldiers by night. The Viet Cong used **booby traps** and hidden mines to attack unsuspecting US and Australian soldiers. As the Viet Cong had an extensive network of tunnels, they were able to launch an attack and then disappear swiftly.

booby trap
A hidden trap or bomb.



punji pit

A trap consisting of a hole in the ground disguised by branches, leaves and dirt. Sharpened stakes line the bottom of the pit.

KEY BATTLES

General Westmoreland: 'We will prevail in Vietnam over the communist aggressor.'

Small gains were made by the US and its allies in the first two years of war. Key battles—such as at Da Nang under Operation Starlite in August 1965, and the battles of Ia Drang and Plei Me in October 1965—helped to boost morale and public support for the war effort.

THE BATTLE OF LONG TAN

One of the most significant engagements for Australian troops occurred in August 1966 with the Battle of Long Tan. The battle was provoked by a Viet Cong mortar attack on the Australian base at Nui Dat. In retaliation, about one hundred members of D Company spread out into the neighbouring rubber plantation of Long Tan, attempting to find the source of the mortar attacks. In the battle that followed, eighteen Australians were killed. Despite this loss of life, the battle was hailed as a victory with 245–800 Viet Cong killed. However, news and images of the battle caused some who had previously supported the war to have doubts about its morality.

Did you know? The fifty-year anniversary of the Battle of Long Tan attracted large crowds across major Australian cities, as well as at the battle site itself, underlining its importance in Australian military history.

➔ **Source 4.16** Ashley Ekins, 'A Very Close Thing Indeed', *War-time Magazine* 55, <https://www.awm.gov.au/wartime/55/long-tan/>

➔ **Source 4.17** Ashley Ekins, 'A Very Close Thing Indeed', *War-time Magazine* 55, <https://www.awm.gov.au/wartime/55/long-tan/>

➔ **Source 4.18** Australian troops at Long Tan fire a mounted mortar.

➔ **Source 4.19** (far right) A battlefield memorial to the Australians who died in the Battle of Long Tan.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

4.25 Using the text, and Sources 4.16 to 4.19, write a letter to the editor of a fictitious Australian newspaper arguing for or against the view that the Battle of Long Tan should be commemorated by a public holiday.

Recollection of a soldier involved in the Battle of Long Tan

A solid line of them [Viet Cong]—it looked like hundreds—would suddenly rush us. The artillery would burst right in the middle of them and there would be bodies all over the place. The survivors would dive for cover beside these bodies, wait for the next attacking line, get up and leap over the dead to resume the rush. They were inching forward all the time over their piles of dead.

Radio messages from D Company, 18 August 1966

4.26 pm 'Being mortared. ... Want all artillery possible.'

4.31 pm 'Enemy [on] left flank. Could be serious.'

5.01 pm 'Enemy ... penetrating both flanks and to north and south.'

5.02 pm 'Running short of ammo. Require drop through trees.'



THE TET OFFENSIVE

By the beginning of 1968, more than 500,000 US servicemen were stationed in South Vietnam.² The communists had lost more than 100,000 men the previous year, and free elections in the South had brought increased political and social stability. Given the victories in prior battles and skirmishes with the Viet Cong and NVA, US morale was high, with many believing that victory was on the horizon.

Such beliefs were quickly dispelled on 31 January 1968 during celebrations for the Chinese New Year, the **Tet festival**. Attacking at night during the peak festival period, the Viet Cong launched a series of coordinated strikes across key cities in South Vietnam, catching their opponents off-guard. The fighting was no longer confined to guerrilla tactics—the Viet Cong had taken a calculated risk in revealing themselves to achieve the element of surprise.

The Tet Offensive stunned the US, especially as Viet Cong soldiers were able to blast a hole in the wall of the US **embassy** in Saigon and gain entry. It took several hours before troop reinforcements, flown by helicopter to the embassy roof, were able to restore order.



A surprise attack

A prime reflection of surprise is this incident related by CIA's George Allen. At CIA Headquarters he was in the process of giving a Vietnam briefing to State's Phil Habib ... a CIA officer rushed in to tell them that the Embassy in Saigon was under attack. 'Habib chuckled, suggesting that I have my troops knock off their horsing around. ... The officer earnestly persisted, exclaiming in his best "Pearl Harbor" tones, "This is no drill, sir; the wire tickers report that the embassy is under attack and the VC have penetrated the compound." ... Habib's jaw fell, and he turned ashen gray; he realized immediately the significance of this development; that the wind had been taken out of the administration's sails, the "light at the end of the tunnel" had been turned off, the administration's policies had been derailed from "the right track."

The North Vietnamese themselves saw the Tet Offensive as a failure, not so much because of the heavy toll of Viet Cong soldiers but because they had failed to achieve their primary objective: to inspire the South Vietnamese to rise up against the Americans.

Tet festival

An important occasion in Vietnamese culture that marks the beginning of the Chinese New Year.

embassy

The official residence of a foreign ambassador.

Source 4.20 American military police protecting the US consulate in Saigon against a Viet Cong attack on the compound during the Tet Offensive, February 1968.

Did you know? Tet, the most important celebration in Vietnam, signifies the New Year. Traditional beliefs hold that making noise will drive away evil spirits. The Viet Cong took advantage of the noise of firecrackers, gongs, drums and bells to launch the Tet Offensive.

Source 4.21 George Allen, *The Indochina Wars* (unpublished manuscript), 323–324, quoted in Harold Ford, *CIA and the Vietnam Policymakers: Three Episodes, 1962–1968* (Center for the Study of Intelligence, CIA, 1998), 118.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

4.26 Explain the significance of the Battle of Long Tan for Australia.

4.27 Describe the tactics used by the Viet Cong.

4.28 Why was the Tet Offensive such a shock to the US?

➔ **Source 4.22** Cited in Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Penguin, 1991), 536.

➔ **Source 4.23** Douglas Welsh, *The Complete Military History of the Vietnam War* (Greenwich: Brompton Books, 1990).

➔ **Source 4.24** General William Westmoreland in Bernard C. Nalty, ed., *The Vietnam War: The History of America's Conflict in Southeast Asia* (London: Salamander, 1996).

North Vietnamese General Tran Do

In all honesty, we didn't achieve our main objective, which was to spur uprisings throughout the South. Still, we inflicted heavy casualties on the Americans and their puppets and that was a big gain for us. As for making an impact on the United States, it had not been our intention—but it turned out to be a fortunate result.

Historian and Vietnam veteran Douglas Welsh

Many observers believed it was their last massive effort, and, having been repulsed, their losses were so great that they would never again be able to mount an offensive on such a scale. The lack of civilian support for the NVA/[Viet Cong] during Tet strengthened the South Vietnamese government's claim that the war and the hearts of the people were both being won.

General Westmoreland

Despite the fact that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong incurred a military defeat of such proportions it took them four years to recover, reporting of the Tet Offensive by press and television of the United States gave an impression if not of American and South Vietnamese defeat, then of an endless war that could never be won.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

4.29 Using the text and sources on these pages, write a paragraph explaining why the Tet Offensive could be seen as a turning point in the Vietnam War.



GROWING OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

Popular anti-war slogan: 'Hey, hey, LBJ. How many kids did you kill today?'

Although the attack on the US embassy and similar uprisings were eventually quelled, the Tet Offensive proved to be a public relations nightmare for the US and its allies. It became obvious that the war was not being won. It was not only that the Tet Offensive had shown the US campaign to be vulnerable; the ruthless manner in which the US and ARVN forces crushed the Tet Offensive also caused disquiet. Just more than 4000 US and South Vietnamese died as a result of the Tet Offensive. However, nearly 60,000 Viet Cong and civilians lost their lives in the retaliation.

The American people, who had been given the impression that victory was on the horizon, now began to see the conflict as a **quagmire** with no immediate solution. Serious questions began to arise about how long the US could continue to be involved. The conflict saw the political end of US President Johnson; Richard Nixon's promise to end the war was a key factor in his victory of November 1968.

THE MY LAI MASSACRE

By 1966, US forces began an intensive campaign aimed at hunting down and eliminating NVA and Viet Cong forces and infrastructure through 'search-and-destroy' missions. Helicopters ferried troops inland from the larger coastal supply bases at places such as Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. Missions included **Operation Junction City**, which took place north of Saigon from February 1967.

quagmire

A swamp or bog that is very difficult to walk through; politically and strategically, a situation that a country or army finds very difficult to evade.

Operation Junction City

A three-month military operation (February–May 1967) in the Tay Ninh province west of Saigon. While the US and ARVN forces killed or captured many VC troops, they were not able to completely eradicate communist influence in the region.

Hunting the Viet Cong in this fashion was physically and mentally difficult. Allied forces often struggled to differentiate friend from foe. In March 1968, between 300 and 507 elderly men, women and children were killed in the village of My Lai. Charlie Company, led by Lieutenant William Calley, raided the village having been told that it was a Viet Cong stronghold. Although they found no evidence of Viet Cong, the US soldiers launched a brutal attack on the villagers, in some cases torturing and raping victims before they were killed.

The horror of the massacre was compounded by the fact that high-ranking US officers decided to cover up the events at My Lai. The public only became aware of the event through an article by Seymour Hersh, published in the *St Louis Post* in November 1969. Initially twenty-eight soldiers were charged but eventually only one, Lieutenant Calley, was found guilty. He served about five years of a twenty-year sentence.

Like the news of the crushing of the Tet Offensive, public awareness of the My Lai Massacre added to the sense of disillusionment that an increasing number of Americans felt about the war. The massacre and its aftermath divided Americans. Many saw it as an atrocity, but others argued that the soldiers were 'just following orders'.



Source 4.25 Part of the My Lai Massacre Memorial Museum in Son My, Vietnam.

Army review of the preliminary investigations into the My Lai incident

An appreciation of the misleading and deceptive nature of LTC [Lieutenant Colonel] Barker's report can be gained from the following extract:

'Commander's Analysis: This operation was well planned, well executed, and successful. Friendly casualties were light and the enemy suffered heavily. On this operation the civilian population supporting the VC in the area numbered approximately 200. This created a problem in population control and medical care of those civilians caught in fires of the opposing forces. However, the infantry unit on the ground and helicopters were able to assist civilians in leaving the area and in caring for and/or evacuating the wounded.'

The Combat Action Report can only be considered an effort by LTC Barker deliberately to suppress the true facts and to mislead higher headquarters into believing that there had been a combat operation in Son My Village on 16 March [1968] involving a hotly contested action with a sizable enemy force.

Source 4.26 US Department of the Army, *Report of the Department of the Army Review of the Preliminary Investigations into the My Lai Incident*, Volume I, 14 March 1970 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1970), 11–7.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 4.26 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

4.30 Why was there an investigation into the events at My Lai?

4.31 Outline why Lieutenant Colonel Barker's account was deceptive, according to the report.

4.32 Explain the events that actually occurred at My Lai on 16 March 1968.

WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

As search-and-destroy missions continued, Allied servicemen found it increasingly difficult to detect their enemies. The Viet Cong soldiers were exceptionally good at blending in and had plenty of sympathisers among the local population. To help develop the support of civilians in these areas, the US began a policy of **pacification** to win over the **hearts and minds** of the Vietnamese villagers. US forces worked with locals to develop rural infrastructure, provide basic medical and educational services, and assist in running elections. These efforts may not have swayed all the Viet Cong sympathisers, but did go some way towards promoting democracy and reducing the enthusiasm for communism.

pacification

Attempts by the military to end a violent uprising and win the support of the people.

hearts and minds

A term describing efforts to gain the support of a foreign population through positive engagement and construction programs.

THE SHOOTING OF NGUYEN VAN LEM

One of the most significant images of the Vietnam War was the public shooting of Viet Cong officer Nguyen Van Lem in a Saigon street. He was executed, without trial, by South Vietnamese chief of police General Nguyen Ngoc Loan on 1 February 1968. Footage of the event was shown on evening television in the US, causing even many staunch supporters of the war to be horrified.



Source 4.27 The public execution of Nguyen Van Lem.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 4.27 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.33 Outline what is depicted in the image.
- 4.34 What is your immediate reaction to this image?
- 4.35 Why might the photograph have affected public opinion in the US about the war?



Source 4.29 An Australian soldier teaches English to Vietnamese children, 1966.

Australian soldiers also played a role in the 'hearts and minds' campaign. In Bien Hoa Province, Australian personnel dug wells, re-roofed houses and built windmills. Doctors and dentists attended to the health of villagers. The US government claimed that the policy was working, but its effectiveness has been questioned.

Recollections of an Australian soldier

There was such a massive cultural difference between a Vietnamese and a white guy that even if you went in and built a windmill and did their dentistry, they would just smile and bow. ... They didn't have any idea where Australia was. You were just another person stuffing up their lives.

Source 4.28 Adrian Bishop, quoted in Stuart Rintoul, *Ashes of Vietnam* (Melbourne: William Heinemann/ABC, 1987), 81.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 4.36 Why was it difficult for soldiers to tell friend from foe?
- 4.37 What were the aims of 'pacification' for the US?
- 4.38 To what extent was pacification successful?

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

From the start of US involvement in Vietnam there had been questions about the wisdom and morality of the war. Events such as the Tet Offensive and the My Lai Massacre contributed to a sense of unease about the war. The exposure of the war on nightly television added to anxiety and concern. From 1968 onwards, the anti-war movement began to gather strength. Protesters used street marches, *sit-ins*, letters to newspapers, seminars and speeches to express their disapproval of the war. Popular songs such as ‘Give Peace a Chance’ by John Lennon and ‘Eve of Destruction’ by Barry McGuire expressed the views of a generation and were sung at marches and protests. In 1967, Dr Martin Luther King Jr delivered a famous speech outlining many of the key reasons why the war should be ended—regardless of the outcome. Pressure was also placed on politicians to rethink America’s and, later, Australia’s commitment to what seemed to be an unwinnable war.

Beyond Vietnam: A time to break silence

When Diem was overthrown they [the Vietnamese] may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically [with little interest] as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers. ...

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation’s only noncommunist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. ... The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers.

Anti-war protests were often unruly and, as the war dragged on, several tragic incidents occurred. On 2 May 1970, a large protest group at Kent State University in Ohio burnt one of the campus buildings to the ground. Two days later, as demonstrations continued, National Guardsmen used tear gas to dispel the hundreds of protesters. After protesters threw rocks in return, the Guardsmen opened fire, killing four students and injuring nine. This tragedy triggered further protests at universities across the US and increased anti-war sentiment to new levels. On 15 May at Jackson State University in Mississippi, two students were shot dead by National Guardsmen.

sit-ins

A form of non-violent protest where people sit down or otherwise occupy space and refuse to leave when asked.

 **Source 4.30** Dr Martin Luther King Jr, 4 April 1967.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 4.30 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.39** Summarise the negative consequences of the US presence in Vietnam that Martin Luther King identified.
- 4.40** What hope did King give for the future of a non-communist South Vietnam? Explain your answer.
- 4.41** Write a response to this speech from the perspective of someone who wants the US to continue the war.

Protests by students gained extensive media coverage. A new element in protests during 1970 and 1971 was the presence of returned servicemen, many of them wounded, disabled or disfigured. In 1971, more than 300,000 people, up to one-third of them veterans, marched in Washington, many in wheelchairs and on crutches. With camera crews watching on, they took their service medals, ribbons and honours and threw them away. As veterans discarded—and even burnt—their decorations in the nation's capital, the powerful symbolism strongly affected the level of support for the war. Here were young men who had served their nation—not students, hippies or draft dodgers—and they no longer wished to be recognised as having done so.

In Australia, anti-war protests drew huge crowds across the capital cities, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney. An estimated 200,000 people marched in Australian cities on 8 May 1970, including 100,000 in Melbourne (see Chapter 8 p. 236).

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

4.42 What particular events in the Vietnam War contributed to the rise in anti-war feelings and protests?

4.43 What tactics did anti-war protestors use to demonstrate their opposition to the war in Vietnam?

4.44 What were the tragic consequences of the student protest at Kent State University in Ohio?

4.45 How did the media contribute to the rising anti-war sentiment?



Source 4.31 A young man wearing a helmet with a peace sign burns his draft card at an anti-draft demonstration.

THE MEDIA AND THE VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam War coincided with the global rise of television and international reporting. At no prior point in human history had a war been so easily brought into people's living rooms than during the 1960s and 1970s. The Vietnam War became known as the 'television war'.

Arguably, images from the conflict did more to sway public opinion than politicians' statements.

Time magazine was one of the most famous news outlets covering the war, informing millions of readers about events through its pages. Significant *Time* articles can be accessed through the magazine's archives.³



Source 4.32 US citizens watching television coverage of the war.

DE-ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT

Richard Nixon, 1973: 'I pledge to you that we will have an honorable end to the war in Vietnam.'

Partly because of the growing protest movement and partly because of the failure of the US and its allies to make any progress in Vietnam, political leaders began to rethink their commitment to the war. As waves of Vietnam War protests swept the US, Richard Nixon was sworn in as president on 20 January 1969 on a ticket of peace. His promise to end the war would see him play a key role in subsequent peace talks. President Nixon began withdrawing troops from Vietnam in the middle of 1969. An initial 25,000 soldiers were **repatriated** in August and 35,000 in September. In December 1969, Australian Prime Minister John Gorton announced that the withdrawal of Australian troops would begin in the new year.

The plan was for a gradual withdrawal of troops and a corresponding handover of responsibility to the army of South Vietnam. This policy was known as **Vietnamisation**. Billions of US dollars were poured into training and equipping the South Vietnamese army to carry on the fight against communism single-handedly.

In April 1970 Nixon declared that, after extensive consultation, a further 150,000 troops would be withdrawn. However, the public was unaware that Nixon had reinstated bombing raids on North Vietnam, and that he had also launched an invasion of Cambodia.

repatriate

To send someone back to their country of origin.

Vietnamisation

The process of withdrawing Western troops and giving primary responsibility for defending Vietnam to the ARVN.

PEACE TALKS WITH NORTH VIETNAM

The idea of peace talks was mooted as early as 1964. However, the North Vietnamese felt that the US should leave Vietnam before negotiating, while the US wanted a suspension of the conflict first. In 1967, North Vietnam began to signal that if US bombing ceased, it might be open to discussions. Formal peace talks began in May 1968 in Paris, but the talks soon stalled.

A further attempt was made in Paris in January 1969. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his chief foreign adviser and negotiator, were under pressure from US public opinion to end the war. For North Vietnam, represented by Le Duc Tho, a complete US withdrawal remained the key objective. High on the agenda was also the possibility of future **reunification** with South Vietnam, but only without US (or other 'foreign') interference. The US wanted South Vietnam to be left to determine its own future without communist influence. Reunification would only be possible if it was supported by all Vietnamese—a most unlikely outcome.



Five years of drawn-out peace talks ensued, influenced by world events. The Cold War continued, although relations between the US and China improved following Nixon's visit to China in February 1972. This came at a time when the two great communist powers—the Soviet Union and China—had increasingly strained relations. With its two primary backers at loggerheads, North Vietnam found itself increasingly isolated, and this weakened its position at the peace talks.



Henry Kissinger, US secretary of state, 1973–1977.

reunification

When a country that has been split into two or more smaller countries is restored to as a single nation.

Source 4.33 Henry Kissinger and President Nixon meet at Camp David to discuss the Vietnam situation.

FURTHER DE-ESCALATION

As the peace talks wore on and Vietnamisation continued, more foreign troops left Vietnam. By the end of 1971, only 140,000 US soldiers remained in the country. The South Vietnamese government was confident that the ARVN had developed to the point where it could manage its own defence.

South Vietnam's ability to defend itself was put to the test on 20 March 1972 when a surprise campaign was launched by North Vietnam. This attack, spearheaded by 100 Soviet tanks, startled the inexperienced South Vietnamese forces, many of whom abandoned their posts and fled.

➔ **Source 4.34** *The Times*, 3 May 1972.

Report from *The Times*

Thousands of South Vietnamese soldiers of the Third Infantry Division, most of whom did not appear to have seen much combat with the advancing North Vietnamese troops, today fled in a confused stream down Highway 1 from Quang Tri province. They commandeered civilian vehicles at rifle point, carried away rations but not ammunition, and threw stones at Western news photographers taking pictures of them. No one tried to control the troops. Their officers were fleeing too.

Operation Linebacker

The bombing offensive by the US over North Vietnam to force it to halt its invasion of South Vietnam.

⬇ **Source 4.35** The bombing of Hai Duong railway and highway bridge in North Vietnam during Operation Linebacker.



Paris Peace Accords

The conference held in 1973 to discuss the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam.

Nobel Peace Prize

An annual award given to those who, by their efforts, attempt to reduce or halt conflicts around the world.

With only a skeletal ground force remaining, US forces responded with a series of intense bombing raids codenamed **Operation Linebacker**. Although earlier bombing runs had deliberately avoided civilian targets, Linebacker had no such limitations: transport infrastructure, bridges, storage areas and railway lines were reduced to rubble with the aid of laser-guided smart bombs dropped by scores of B-52 bombers. As well as devastating North Vietnam's communications and access routes, the bombings brought North Vietnam back to the peace conference table in August 1972.

Barely three months after bombing runs began, Le Duc Tho, North Vietnam's chief negotiator in Paris, proposed a ceasefire. It was the first such concession initiated by the North, and one warmly welcomed by Henry Kissinger, who was the American representative at the talks.

However, talks stalled again and, over Christmas 1972, the US piled further pressure on North Vietnam with one of the biggest aerial attacks in history. Over several days, more than 36,000 tonnes of bombs were dropped on cities, villages, roads, fuel dumps and infrastructure. The harbour at Haiphong, the main northern port, was strewn with mines, making it extremely difficult for Soviet and Chinese ships to resupply the communists. Le Duc Tho returned to the negotiating table and, in January 1973, the **Paris Peace Accords** were signed by both parties. Later that year, Le and Kissinger were each awarded a **Nobel Peace Prize**.

Reactions to the Accords were mixed (see Sources 4.36–4.39), but crucial elements were initially upheld by both parties. North Vietnam released more than 600 US prisoners of war, mostly airmen who had been shot down. US Navy minesweepers cleared North Vietnamese waters of mines by mid-1973 and US forces finally withdrew, leaving only a handful of advisers. South Vietnam, led by President Nguyen Van Thieu, struggled initially, fighting rising inflation, unemployment and widespread unrest at the perceived corruption of the incumbent government. Further, northern troops remained in southern areas, and resentment between people from the two regions continued for some time.

THE PARIS PEACE ACCORDS, 1973

Ceasefire to take effect from 28 January 1973.

US armed forces to withdraw completely.

The NVA to remain in areas of South Vietnam it controlled at the time of the ceasefire.

All foreign forces to leave Cambodia and Laos.

Elections aimed at reuniting Vietnam to be held.

PARIS PEACE ACCORDS,
1973

All US prisoners of war to be returned by North Vietnam.

US mines off the coast of North Vietnam to be cleared by US minesweepers.

North Vietnam to recognise the South Vietnamese government.

An International Commission for Control and Supervision—comprising Hungary, Poland, Indonesia and Canada—to monitor the ceasefire.

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PARIS PEACE ACCORDS

The US military

The cease-fire agreement was theoretically workable—if the threat (and reality) of American airpower remained. By adopting the Amendment which prohibited ‘any funds whatsoever to finance directly or indirectly combat activities by the United States military forces in, over, or from off the shore of North Vietnam, South Vietnam or Cambodia’, the United States Senate took away that threat.

↑ **Source 4.36** General William Westmoreland, quoted in Bernard C. Nalty, ed., *The Vietnam War* (New York: Salamander Books, 1996).

South Vietnam

Let me say frankly of the Peace Accord that I consider it only a cease-fire agreement. As to whether or not we will have real peace, we must wait and see.

↑ **Source 4.37** South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, *The New York Times*, 24 January 1975.

The New York Daily News

One sure fact emerges amidst the confusion and the uncertainties. The United States has laid down its policeman’s club, at least for this generation. The people simply will not stand for it. Never again can American armed forces be committed to combat without the full and whole-hearted support of the American people.

↑ **Source 4.38** *The New York Daily News*, January 1973.

The British military

The Americans were out and, as for the agreement, the members of the [communist] politburo knew that at the right moment they could drive tanks right through it.

↑ **Source 4.39** Sir Robert Thompson, *War in Peace* (London: Orbis, 1981).

HISTORICAL SOURCES—
PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 4.36–4.39 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

4.46 Summarise the main point that each source is making.

4.47 Explain how a ceasefire differs from a peace agreement.

4.48 Which group or groups would have been relatively pleased with the peace agreement? Outline why.

4.49 Which of these four perspectives most closely reflected reality? Support your answer with evidence.

COMMUNIST VICTORY: THE FALL OF SAIGON

Despite the Peace Accords in 1973, unrest in Vietnam continued. As South Vietnamese military bases were abandoned in 1974, NVA units travelled south and became more confident. As well as the departure of foreign forces, the South faced the drying up of financial aid. In 1975, the NVA renewed its march towards Saigon, easily overcoming weak resistance and making further gains. Those in the South who had fought the communists, as well as those who had openly criticised them, held fears for their lives and those of their families. This panic descended into chaos as the North reached the capital, rolling into Saigon in tanks on 30 April 1975.

➔ **Source 4.40** South Vietnamese people desperately flee the advancing NVA.



⬇ **Source 4.41** A US Marine helicopter sets down on a baseball field on the northern section of Saigon to pick up waiting evacuees on 29 April 1975.



re-educate

A process in which enemies of a government or party are held in prisons or camps and forced to declare allegiance to the new regime.

emigration

When people leave the country of their birth for safety or better opportunities in another country.

Getting out of Vietnam now became the sole priority for many. The remaining US military advisers and staff were airlifted by helicopter from the US embassy. Outside the embassy, large crowds of desperate Vietnamese had gathered. Searching for a way to escape the advancing communists, many people rushed forwards to board the helicopters, only to be beaten away; others held up small children, begging the Americans to take them to safety. Hundreds of small boats—many barely seaworthy—sailed out of the main South Vietnamese ports towards neighbouring countries.

The punitive policies of the new Vietnamese government, many of which aimed to **re-educate** the people of the formerly democratic South, triggered a further exodus of citizens who piled onto boats in huge numbers in search of freedom. The Hoa (Vietnamese people of ethnic Chinese background) were a particular focus of the new government, and they formed a significant portion of the mass **emigration** movement. Many people settled in refugee camps in Thailand and Malaysia while others made lengthy journeys. Conditions on the boats were ghastly: overcrowding and disease, combined with the hot sun and lack of food and water, made sea travel extremely risky. The passage was further complicated by the risk of pirate attacks and the poor condition of many of the boats. More than 700,000 people fled Vietnam in boats, and it is estimated that up to another 400,000 people lost their lives in the attempt.⁴

CONSEQUENCES OF THE VIETNAM WAR

After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Vietnam was united under one flag and one government as the **Socialist Republic of Vietnam**. State-controlled food production and communist collectives were established, and many private enterprises and homes were confiscated by the government and redistributed. Re-education camps, particularly in the former South Vietnam, were aimed at establishing support for the government and ensuring loyalty to 'Uncle Ho' (Ho Chi Minh) and the communist collective ideal. In reality, these were little more than forced labour camps. Food shortages threatened to undermine the newly unified nation, but financial support from the Soviet Union provided some semblance of stability. At the same time, wherever they could, refugees continued to pour out of the country, sometimes using false documents or offering bribes.

RESPONSES IN THE WEST

In the US, political soul-searching became commonplace after the Vietnam War, with many people wrestling with the deaths of the 57,000 young men and their 300,000 injured compatriots—particularly in the context of a military loss. The communists had not been defeated, so what had been achieved? The enormous cost of the war effort, which ran into billions of dollars, angered many people, and the social ramifications of the war saw veterans struggling to readjust to civilian life. The war left a cultural legacy too, with new cinema and music, and a generation of youth who felt less inclined to obey traditional authority.

The effect of the Vietnam War on Australia was also politically and socially significant. The arrival of Vietnamese refugees and migrants from the 1970s ushered in a new chapter for modern multicultural Australia. The **stigma** and readjustment for Vietnam veterans proved especially challenging. Soldiers suffered from sleepless nights and psychological stresses, and in some cases suicide. Even the Returned and Services League was not initially welcoming to those who had fought in Vietnam. It was not until 1987 that an official welcome parade was held to acknowledge Vietnam veterans.

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR VIETNAM

The war would continue to haunt the Vietnamese for decades afterwards. **Napalm** and **Agent Orange**, used to kill jungle foliage, rendered much of the soil unproductive. More seriously, they led to skin rashes, cancers and severe birth defects. In addition, land-mines and a missing generation of young men were stark reminders of the horrors of the war. American bombing runs destroyed much of the infrastructure in northern Vietnam, and events such as the My Lai Massacre left deep distrust among many people.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

The official title of the reunified Vietnam; declared on 2 July 1976.

stigma

A mark or association of disgrace, shame or guilt.

napalm

An explosive device formed by igniting petroleum jelly; it causes terrible burns.

Agent Orange

A chemical defoliant sprayed onto the Vietnamese jungle to deny the communist forces cover; its use led to soil contamination, cancer and birth defects.

Source 4.45 A boy born with protruding eyes and deformed limbs looks out the window in Peace Village at Tu Du hospital. The hospital in Ho Chi Minh City is home for children with disabilities believed to be caused by Agent Orange.



Source 4.42 Napalm bombs explode on Viet Cong structures.



Source 4.43 Agent Orange is sprayed on dense jungle in the Mekong Delta.



Source 4.44 The Vietnam Women's Memorial in Washington, DC, honouring women's military service.



Prime Minister Pham Van Dong

Yes, we defeated the United States. But now we are plagued by problems. We do not have enough to eat. We are a poor, underdeveloped nation. Waging a war is simple, but running a country is very difficult.

📌 **Source 4.46** Stanley Kurnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Viking, 1991).

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 4.50 Why did support for the war effort in the US and Australia continue to wane as the war progressed?
- 4.51 Why did some Vietnam veterans face ostracism and even hostility after they returned home?
- 4.52 What psychological problems did many veterans face upon their return?

THE VIETNAM WAR: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

📌 **Source 4.47** David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 132.



📌 Walter Cronkite (1916–2009) was a highly respected American journalist and news presenter. He reported and broke stories on World War II, the Kennedy assassination, the Apollo 11 moon landing and the Watergate scandal.

📌 **Source 4.48** Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin History of the United States of America* (London: Penguin, 2001), 602.

Historian David Farber on the Vietnam War

Kennedy was not deciding the fate of Vietnam in a political vacuum [i.e. in the absence of other events]. Cuba, Berlin, Laos, and the bullying presence of Nikita Khrushchev all weighed on the President. As historian George Herring notes, Kennedy told his staff that the 'gut issue' in Vietnam was not the relative effectiveness of the current South Vietnamese government but whether the United States of America would allow Communist 'aggression' to stand in South Vietnam. 'Both sides of the Iron Curtain,' Kennedy argued, would watch Vietnam 'as a measure of the administration's intentions and determination.' America's long-shot experiment in nation building was becoming, in the minds of many of America's most powerful men, a test of American resolve. Kennedy hated the idea of failing the test. Slowly, over the next year, Kennedy escalated American involvement in the war.

Historian Hugh Brogan on the Vietnam War

On 30 January [1968] the Viet Cong launched the so-called 'Tet' offensive (named after the Buddhist holiday on which it began) which involved American troops in desperate battles for control of their bases at Da Nang and Khe Sanh, the city of Hue and the grounds of the US embassy itself. All this was displayed on television, and the lesson was rubbed in by the widely respected television journalist Walter Cronkite, who visited Vietnam and came back appalled by what he had discovered. 'It seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate,' he said; and LBJ [President Johnson], watching, commented that if he lost Cronkite he had lost America. It made no difference that the communists were eventually driven from all their targets, with losses much heavier than those of the Americans: the essential intractability [hard to control or deal with] of the war had been made clear to all.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 4.47 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.53 Outline the challenges Kennedy had faced as US president during the Cold War.
- 4.54 Explain why the Cold War expanded to Asia in the 1950s and 1960s.
- 4.55 Evaluate the significance of national prestige as the reason why the US got involved in the fighting in Vietnam. Use evidence to support your response.

Using Source 4.48 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 4.56 Outline the communists' aims in the Tet Offensive.
- 4.57 Explain the role the media played in the Vietnam War.
- 4.58 Analyse the significance of the Tet Offensive as the main factor in convincing the US to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. Use evidence to support your answer.

CHAPTER 4 REVIEW

The Vietnam War (c. 1955–1975), which is estimated to have cost between 1.3 million and 3.6 million lives worldwide, pitted the conflicting ideologies of communism and capitalist democracy against each other in south-east Asia. In the first internationally televised war, Vietnam struggled for independence and then split into the communist North (backed by the USSR and its allies) and the democratic South (backed by the US and its allies, including Australia).

In the long and costly Vietnam War (or 'American War', as it is known in Vietnam), Allied ground troops faced an adaptable enemy that often took cover among the civilian population. The war proved to be an ill-defined, costly and ultimately humiliating conflict for the US and its allies. The conflict also left a deep legacy for Vietnam itself, with significant death and destruction wrought upon this country after several decades of fighting the French, the Japanese and the Americans and their allies.

The vocal anti-Vietnam War movement in the US and Australia became part of a broader movement to challenge traditional values and power relations in the 1960s and 1970s. Shifts in attitudes towards militarism, inequality, racial discrimination, sexuality and women's rights, among other issues, combined to usher in a new era in politics.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Vietnam was part of the colony of French Indochina.
- The Viet Minh, the armed force of guerrilla soldiers fighting for Vietnamese independence, defeated the French in 1954.
- Vietnam was divided into the communist North and capitalist South.
- Fighting between the two sides to reunify the nation began almost immediately.
- The US and its allies intervened in the war but withdrew by 1972.
- North Vietnam and South Vietnam were reunited in 1975 under the control of Hanoi.

REVIEW

4.59 Using the information presented in this chapter, create a mind map or flow chart that visually demonstrates the sequence of key events that led from the 1945 declaration of independence to the fall of Saigon in 1975. Include primary source quotations, images or diagrams for two or three key events, and references to the US, China and the USSR.

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

4.60 Why were people increasingly opposed to the war in Vietnam? How was this opposition expressed in popular culture?

4.61 How did beliefs about militarism change in the West after the Vietnam War? To what extent were people more critical of involvement in international conflicts?

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **4.62** Explain why the US became involved in the Vietnam War.
- **4.63** Analyse the role of the media in turning public opinion in the US and Australia against the Vietnam War.
- **4.64** Explain the consequences of war for Vietnam.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **4.65** 'The domino theory was used as justification for US and Allied support for a weak South Vietnamese government.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
- **4.66** 'For the US, the Vietnam War was more about exerting political control than defeating communism.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?



THE END OF THE COLD WAR

***'Mr Gorbachev, open this gate.
Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!'***

RONALD REAGAN, 1987

Few things seemed more certain in the early to mid-1980s than the persistence of the Cold War. Détente, the period of improved relations between East and West, was over by 1980 and a new and deadly phase of international rivalry had begun. The *rhetoric* of the leaders of the US and USSR was aggressive, and both sides poured trillions of dollars into ever more sophisticated and deadly military hardware. However, the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the CPSU in March 1985 ushered in change. The Soviet economy was falling apart by the mid-1980s, and Gorbachev realised that he had to reform the system if he was going to save it.

Gorbachev was able to successfully extract the Soviet Union from the crippling expensive arms race with the US. However, he unwittingly unleashed the forces that would bring down the Berlin Wall and see the end of Soviet dominance over the Eastern Bloc. Like the domino theory in reverse, the fifteen republics of the USSR quickly followed. By 1991, communism in Eastern Europe had been relegated to the pages of history.

rhetoric

Language that is designed to persuade an audience to a particular point of view.

unilaterally

When a nation acts without agreement or consultation with other nations.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1979 DECEMBER — Soviet Union invades Afghanistan

1981 JANUARY — Ronald Reagan sworn in as US president

1985 15 MARCH — Mikhail Gorbachev appointed general secretary of the CPSU

1989 9 NOVEMBER — The fall of the Berlin Wall

1991 31 DECEMBER — The Soviet Union is dissolved

KEY QUESTIONS

- How and why did superpower rivalry change between 1970 and 1991?
- How did the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union in the 1980s affect its ability to compete with the US?
- Why did Gorbachev *unilaterally* decide to pull the USSR out of the Cold War?
- How did Gorbachev's reform program contribute to the end of the Eastern Bloc?
- Why did the fifteen republics that constituted the USSR leave this organisation by 1991?
- How has the world changed since the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism?



Source 5.01
Fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



RONALD REAGAN

President of the United States (1981–1989)

Initially took a hardline approach to the Soviet Union



MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

Appointed general secretary of the CPSU in March 1985

Initiated a series of reforms that ended the Cold War



LECH WAŁĘSA

Leader of the Solidarity movement in Poland

First president of Poland (1990–1995)

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

As you work through this chapter, think carefully about the reasons for the end of the Cold War. Use the resources and ideas that you have developed to answer one of the following questions.

5.01 What role did the relative economic strengths and weaknesses of the superpowers play in ending the Cold War?

5.02 What impact did individuals and leaders have in the ending the Cold War?

5.03 What was the role of 'people power' in ending Soviet control of Eastern Europe?

THE WINDS OF CHANGE

This chapter explores how four important features of the late twentieth century came to such a sudden conclusion. To people living at the time, these features seemed permanent. However, within the space of six years, they had all come to an end. The four features are:

- » the end of the Cold War (the state of tension and rivalry that had existed between the US and USSR since the end of World War II)
- » the end of Soviet dominance over Eastern Europe
- » the dissolution of the USSR
- » the end of communism as the dominant political-economic system of Eastern Europe and the states that comprised the USSR.

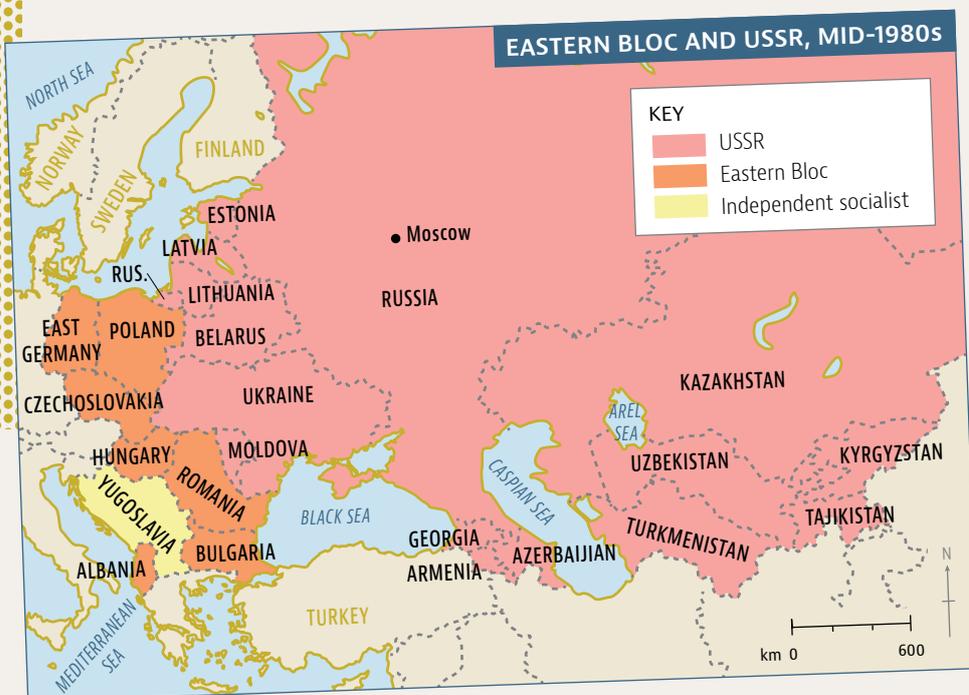
This was a very complex process at the time, making it difficult to study and understand today. These four features were closely connected and, to a significant degree, one event led more or less directly to the next.

Communism, as a political and economic ideology, was rejected by the nation-states of the Eastern Bloc and the USSR. One by one they broke away from Russia's orbit and started to track their own paths. The pro-Soviet communist parties of these countries, which had ruled virtually unchallenged for decades, lost power in elections that saw more liberal, democratic and (to some extent) *free market* political parties come into office.

free market

An economic system in which competition between privately owned businesses is not restricted by government regulation of prices or wages.

THE CHAIN OF CAUSE AND EFFECT



Source 5.02 The countries of the Eastern Bloc and the USSR in the mid-1980s.

Did you know? The song 'Winds of Change' by the West German band Scorpions was released in January 1991. It seemed to capture the sense of momentous transition that was taking place in Eastern Europe and the USSR. It reached the top ten of the most popular song lists in many countries around the world when it was released.

THE SECOND COLD WAR

RONALD REAGAN: 'Here's my strategy on the Cold War: we win, they lose.'

DÉTENTE, 1963–1979

After the world almost plunged into World War III during the Cuban Missile Crisis (October 1962) there was a noticeable improvement in relations between the US and the USSR. This new state of affairs, which lasted until the end of the 1970s, was referred to as détente. This was symbolised by several international agreements and direct links between the US and USSR. The period also saw various incidents that, in previous decades, would have undoubtedly led to some kind of confrontation between East and West. However, during this thaw in the Cold War, the two sides were able to come to negotiated settlements.

DÉTENTE IN THE 1960s

The Cuban Missile Crisis demonstrated that communication was too slow between Moscow and Washington. To eliminate a potentially deadly delay of several hours, in June 1963 the US and USSR agreed to establish a hotline between the Pentagon and the Kremlin. Initially the link was established by cable between two teletype machines. In later years these machines were replaced by a fax and then a secure email system. On 5 August 1963, the US and USSR signed the Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. This prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in the air and the water, but not underground. It did nothing to stop the development and deployment of new nuclear weapons, but it was a step forwards.

When the Arab–Israeli *Six-Day War* broke out in 1967, neither the US nor the USSR became embroiled, and it did not lead to a confrontation between the two superpowers. This was despite the fact that the US supplied arms to Israel and the USSR sent weapons to the Arab nations. During the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 during the Prague Spring (see p. 80), US President Lyndon B. Johnson assured General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev that the US would not interfere.¹

Similarly, US involvement in Vietnam grew throughout the 1960s and the Soviet Union supplied North Vietnam with weapons and other essential equipment. However, unlike Korea, this did not lead to a confrontation between superpowers. On the contrary, new US President Richard Nixon offered to improve trade links with the USSR if Brezhnev agreed to persuade North Vietnam to negotiate an end to the war with the US. Nixon called this idea *linkage*, and it was used for the next ten years to describe the greater cooperation between the US and the USSR.²

➔ **Source 5.03** A teletype machine used in the Pentagon in the late-1960s.



▼ **Source 5.04** General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev (left) and President Richard Nixon meet in 1972.



Six-Day War

The brief conflict between Israel and several Arab nations in 1967.

linkage

The term used to describe cooperation and trade between the US and USSR in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV)

A 'multiple independent re-entry vehicle', this nuclear missile carried multiple warheads.

DÉTENTE IN THE 1970s

SALT I

The general improvement in relations between the rival superpowers continued in the next decade. In May 1972 Nixon travelled to Moscow and signed SALT I with Brezhnev. This agreement froze the number of ICBMs possessed by the US (1054) and the USSR (1600).³ Even though the Soviet Union possessed many more missiles than the US, SALT I did not limit the number of warheads per missile. During the 1960s, the US had been developing *Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV)* warheads for its ICBMs. Essentially this meant that each missile could carry several warheads that broke away from the

main rocket and guided themselves to their targets. Therefore, the US still possessed a significant lead over the Soviet Union in terms of the number of deliverable warheads. Strategic bombers, where the US had a distinct advantage, were also not part of the SALT I talks. Despite the limitations of the treaty, it was the first time two nuclear-armed states had sought to limit the proliferation of atomic weapons.

The US and USSR also signed the **Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty** at this time. This limited the number of ABMs to two sites, each containing one hundred missiles.⁴ ABMs are dedicated weapons designed to knock down incoming enemy missiles before they reach their target. The point of contention with ABMs was that if one country were able to shoot down every single enemy missile, it would be safe from nuclear attack. Technically there would then be nothing to stop that country starting a nuclear war. This would make the theory of MAD, which had been holding the nuclear forces in balance since the 1950s, redundant. Limiting the number of ABMs would mean that neither side could completely protect itself from nuclear missiles, and, therefore, would not initiate a nuclear attack of its own.

The Apollo–Soyuz Mission

Space had been an arena for competition between the US and USSR since the 1950s. However, on 17 July 1975 a US Apollo spacecraft docked in orbit with a Soviet Soyuz capsule. The three US astronauts and two Soviet cosmonauts shook hands and conducted scientific experiments together before the two craft detached and returned to Earth. This physical linkage in space was a symbol of the closer relations between East and West, and demonstrated how a field of rivalry and competition could become an opportunity for cooperation.

The Helsinki Accords

The **Helsinki Accords** of June–July 1975 also added greatly to the general climate of détente in world affairs. The US, USSR and thirty-three other nations met in the Finnish capital and made a declaration about three international issues: security, cooperation and human rights. For the first time in history, all signatories recognised the boundaries of Europe at the time, while the USSR accepted the existence of West Germany as an independent nation-state. There was also a call for greater trade, cultural and scientific links between all participating nations. The last issue—human rights—called upon all states to extend fundamental human rights to all of its citizens. This would become a point of tension between the US and USSR.

SALT II

After the success of the SALT I talks, discussions were held on a more ambitious arms limitations treaty. The terms for **SALT II** were agreed upon in June 1979. Each side was limited to 2400 nuclear delivery vehicles (ICBMs, bombers and submarines) each and, unlike SALT I, MIRVs were restricted to 1320 each. This treaty was intended to last until 1985 when it would be up for review and renewal.⁵ Jimmy Carter, the new US president, took the plan to Congress for approval.



← **Source 5.05** A MIRV warhead. Each individual nuclear device can guide itself to a separate target and possesses a destructive force of 300 kilotons, about twenty times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

→ **Source 5.06** The mission patch of the Apollo–Soyuz link-up in July 1975.



← Jimmy Carter, thirty-ninth US president.

Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM)

An 'anti-ballistic missile' designed to target and destroy incoming enemy missiles.

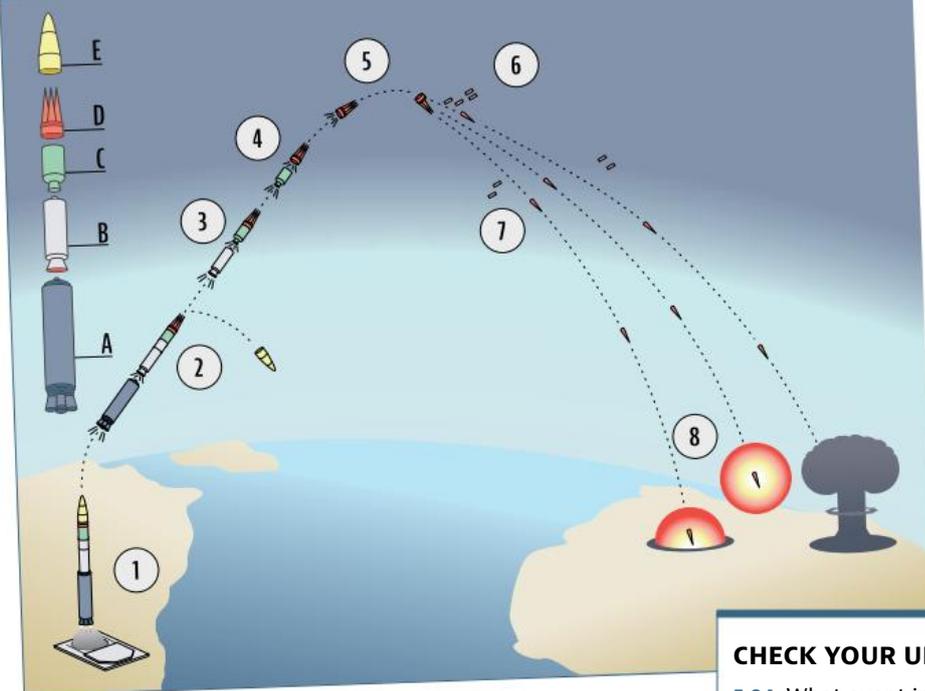
Helsinki Accords

The international meeting in 1975 to discuss security, cooperation and human rights.

SALT II

The second in the series of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, agreed upon by the US and USSR in June 1979, which limited the number of deliverable nuclear warheads and the number of MIRVs each country would possess.

THE LAUNCH AND WARHEAD DELIVERY SEQUENCE OF THE US MINUTEMAN III ICBM WITH MIRVS



- A Primary booster
- B Second-stage rocket
- C Third-stage rocket
- D MIRV warheads
- E Nose cone covering the MIRVs

- 1 The ICBM launches from its silo.
- 2 The nose cone and primary booster break away.
- 3 The second-stage rocket breaks away.
- 4 The third-stage rocket breaks away.
- 5 The MIRV warhead begins its descent.
- 6 The individual warheads detach. Decoy warheads are also deployed.
- 7 Each warhead evades enemy defences.
- 8 Warheads detonate on their designated targets.

Did you know? The first MIRV-equipped ICBM was the US Minuteman III. Deployed in 1970, it carried three 170-kiloton warheads that were capable of evading defences and guiding themselves to their targets. The ICBM was named after the volunteer militia groups who fought for independence during the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). They were called ‘minutemen’ because they could be formed rapidly from the local population.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 5.04 What event in the 1960s led to the period of détente?
- 5.05 List and explain three events that provide evidence of improved relations between the US and USSR.
- 5.06 Why was restricting the number of ABMs so crucial to the balance of power?
- 5.07 How might the Helsinki Accords have been a potential cause of friction between the US and USSR?

AMERICAN–CHINESE RELATIONS

After the Chinese communist revolution of 1949, the US refused to acknowledge the new government under Chairman Mao Zedong. Instead, the US recognised the Nationalist government exiled in Taiwan as the legitimate government of China. The Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek even represented China at the UN. US relations with communist China (known as the People’s Republic of China, or PRC) worsened during the Korean and Vietnam wars when China aided America’s opponents. However, US security advisor Henry Kissinger visiting China twice in 1971 to establish diplomatic relations, and this was partly responsible for the PRC taking China’s seat from the nationalist government at the UN on 23 November 1971.

➔ Chairman Mao Zedong and President Nixon shake hands during Nixon’s visit to China in February 1972.



US President Richard Nixon made an official visit to China in February 1972. Nixon felt that by improving relations with China, he could drive a wedge between it and the USSR. Opening trade links with China would also help America’s struggling economy. Nixon’s visit went well. Bans on trade and travel between the US and China were lifted, and an American table tennis team visited China (giving rise to the phrase ‘ping-pong diplomacy’). Tensions regarding Taiwan, which the communist government claimed was under its authority, were discussed but not resolved. Nevertheless, by 1979 the US officially recognised the communist government of China.

Yom Kippur War

The conflict between Israel, Egypt and Syria in 1973.

mujahideen

The Afghans fighting for freedom from the Soviet Union; many were fundamentalist Muslims.

fundamentalism

Strict adherence to the literal meaning of a religious text.

➔ **Source 5.07** An Afghan mujahideen firing a handheld surface-to-air missile.

RENEWED TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS

Despite the improved relations between East and West, there were moments of disagreement and tension. While there had been little friction between the US and USSR during the Six-Day War in 1967, this was not the case in the Arab–Israeli War of October 1973 (the so-called *Yom Kippur War*). The Arab states still received military equipment from the Soviet Union, and the US was a strong supporter of Israel. Brezhnev suggested to Nixon that both their countries should intervene in the conflict and that, if the US refused, the Soviet Union would intervene unilaterally. Nixon objected to this, and put all US armed forces on high alert. Eventually both sides agreed to negotiate an end to the conflict between the Arab states and Israel.

Ironically, the Helsinki Accords provided another source of international friction due to the third issue raised at the talks: human rights. President Carter corresponded directly with Andrei Sakharov, a Russian critic of the Soviet regime. Brezhnev felt this was a violation of the USSR's domestic affairs. Various human rights groups were formed to keep watch on the Soviet Union's maintenance of its citizens' rights and freedoms. They made frequent comments on the abuse of human rights taking place in the USSR and Eastern Bloc, including the lack of freedom of speech and rights to religious expression and a fair trial.⁶

THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

The event that was perhaps most responsible for the breakdown in relations between the superpowers, and, hence, for the resumption of the Cold War, was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. On 27 April 1978 the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) overthrew the government and began to impose Soviet-style reforms. The PDPA changed marriage customs and redistributed land. The party also had opposition leaders of political and religious groups arrested, tortured and executed. As a direct result, thousands of Afghans joined the *mujahideen*, a guerrilla force fighting the PDPA. The Afghani president, Hafizullah Amin, called upon the Soviet government to help quell the uprising. Brezhnev eventually agreed to help Amin because:

- he wanted to support a communist nation
- he did not want Islamic *fundamentalism* to spread to the 30 million Muslims living within the USSR at the time
- the mujahideen had been seeking assistance from the US, and Brezhnev did not want another pro-US country on the borders of the USSR
- Brezhnev believed that Amin would also seek assistance from the US if none was forthcoming from the USSR.⁷



In late December 1979, Soviet troops crossed the border and moved into the capital of Afghanistan, Kabul. The Brezhnev Doctrine (see p. 81) was used to justify this drastic step. By January 1980 there would be more than 50,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Brezhnev claimed that Soviet troops were invited in to protect a communist government from a foreign-backed insurgency. At the height of the war in 1985 there were more than 100,000 Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan. Many in the West saw this as an aggressive invasion that heralded a new expansionist ideology in the Soviet Union. In his address to the nation on 4 January 1980, President Carter stated that 'there has been another very serious development which threatens the maintenance of the peace in Southwest Asia'. The US was primarily concerned about the spread of Soviet influence in the region. In a modern manifestation of the domino theory, the US believed that there was the potential for the USSR to spread its control to countries bordering the Persian Gulf, through which a significant percentage of the world's oil passed. If it moved into Pakistan, the Soviet Union would also have access to the Indian Ocean.



Source 5.08 Map of south-west Asia in 1980 showing American concerns about the potential spread of Soviet influence in the region.

President Carter was determined to take a firm stance against what was seen as unprovoked Soviet aggression. In a *State of the Union* address on 23 January 1980, Carter made the following announcement:

State of the Union

The speech given by the US president to both Houses of Congress at the start of the year.

➔ **Source 5.09** Jimmy Carter, 'State of the Union Address 1980', The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum, <https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/su80jec.html>

Carter Doctrine

US President Carter's statement that the US would block any Soviet advance in the Persian Gulf region using whatever means were deemed necessary.

President Carter's State of the Union address

Let our position be absolutely clear: 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 of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

This became known as the **Carter Doctrine**. Carter also outlined other measures that the US would take against the Soviet Union:

- The US ambassador to the Soviet Union was recalled.
- Carter asked the Senate to defer consideration of SALT II.
- No high-technology items, such as computers and oil-drilling equipment, could be sold by US companies to the Soviet Union.
- Fishing privileges for the Soviet Union in US waters would be curtailed.
- Seventeen million tons of grain, intended as fodder for livestock in the USSR, would not be sent.

The Cold War had always been fought on multiple fronts, including the sporting field. This continued in the new phase of the Cold War when the US and sixty-one other countries boycotted the Moscow Olympic Games in 1980.⁸ The Soviet Union responded in kind when, in 1984, it and many of the countries under its influence refused to participate in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles. The period of détente, which had been carefully nurtured for more than fifteen years, was over.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

5.08 Create a mind map that explains the various factors involved in the worsening relations between the US and USSR from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s. Include as much relevant historical detail as possible.

MISSILES IN EUROPE

Tensions in the Cold War also intensified over medium-range missiles in Europe. In 1977 the Soviet Union deployed more than 400 SS-20 nuclear missiles on mobile launchers. While these could not hit the US, these missiles were equipped with three 150-kiloton MIRVs and could reach any target in Western Europe.⁹ President Carter responded to this new threat by sending 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles to NATO countries in Western Europe. The Pershing missiles, which carried a warhead of up to 80 kilotons, could reach Moscow in less than 10 minutes.¹⁰

← **Source 5.10** An artist's impression of the Soviet SS-20 nuclear missile on its mobile launcher.

➔ **Source 5.11**
The Pershing II.



THE ELECTION OF RONALD REAGAN

Another critical turning point in the resumption of hostilities between East and West was the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency. Reagan brought with him a different outlook on the Cold War and the Soviet Union. He believed that the Cold War did not have to be permanent, and could be won by the US without sparking World War III. People fighting the spread of communism all over the world would be given American support, and at times this would include money and weapons. This position later became known as the *Reagan Doctrine*. Reagan also believed that the US did not have to tolerate the existence of the USSR or live under the threat of a Soviet nuclear missile attack. This meant a rejection of both the Truman Doctrine, which aimed to contain the spread of communism, and détente. In his first press conference at the White House on 31 January 1981, Reagan expressed his opinion on détente.

Reagan on détente, 1981

So far, détente has been a one-way street which the Soviet Union has used to pursue its own aims. I know of no leader of the Soviet Union who has not more than once repeated in Soviet congresses that their goal must be the promotion of a world revolution and a one-world communist state. They have openly and publicly declared that the only morality they recognise is that which will further their cause—meaning the right to lie and cheat in order to obtain it even in détente. You must keep that in mind.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 5.12 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

5.09 Outline Reagan's opinion on détente according to the extract.

5.10 What views did Reagan hold on the aims of the Soviet Union?

5.11 Explain how these aims might have presented a threat to the US.

5.12 Evaluate the significance of these comments as a cause of renewed Cold War tensions. Use evidence to support your response.

Reagan made further public comments on the Soviet Union and communism that revealed his loathing of this form of government. In a speech to the British parliament in June 1982 he stated his belief that the 'march of freedom and democracy' would 'leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash-heap of history'.¹¹ In March the following year, speaking at a conference for the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan stated that communist governments were 'the focus of evil in the modern world' and that Americans had to reject the 'aggressive impulses of an evil empire'.¹² The new Soviet general secretary, Yuri Andropov (Brezhnev had died in November 1982), protested vehemently at such inflammatory rhetoric. He called Reagan a liar and compared him to Hitler.¹³ Such comments by the leaders of the US and USSR had not been heard since the 1940s.

Did you know? When Reagan used the phrase 'ash-heap of history' he may have been consciously and ironically paraphrasing Trotsky. After the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917, several members of the other socialist political parties staged a walkout of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Trotsky jeered at them as they left the hall and remarked that they had 'consigned themselves to the garbage heap of history'.

Reagan Doctrine

The notion that the Soviet Union could not just be contained but rolled back without risking World War III.

← **Source 5.12** Cited in Steve Waugh and John Wright, *Peace and War: International Relations, 1943–1991* (London: Hodder Education, 2009), 88.



↑ Ronald Reagan, fortieth US president.

↓ Yuri Andropov, general secretary of the USSR from 1982–1984.



RONALD REAGAN, 1911–2004



Was the fortieth US president (1981–1989).

Believed that the Cold War was something that could be won rather than something that had to be endured.

He said: ‘With the destructive power of today’s weapons, keeping the peace is not just a goal; it’s a sacred obligation.’

Said about: ‘To his great credit, Reagan proved willing first to moderate, and then abandon, deeply held personal convictions about the malignant nature of communism.’ (*Robert McMahon, historian*)

Contributed to the end of the Cold War by personally meeting with Gorbachev and being a signatory to several weapons-reduction agreements.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

Strategic Defense Initiative; a complicated defence system designed to shoot down incoming Soviet nuclear missiles.

Solidarity (Solidarność)

An independent trade union movement formed in Poland in 1980 by Lech Wałęsa. Initially illegal, it was free from the control of the Polish state.

A NEW ARMS RACE

One of Reagan’s key strategies in his effort ‘to contain and over time reverse Soviet expansionism’ was to force it into an arms race that it could not afford.¹⁴ The belief was that this would bankrupt the Soviet Union and thereby eliminate it as a potential threat and challenger to the US.¹⁵ Accordingly, by mid-1981 Reagan initiated a defence program that represented the biggest build-up of weapons in America’s history. From 1982–1989, US\$1.6 trillion was spent expanding and modernising the US armed forces.¹⁶ In addition to new tanks and warships for the navy, funds were spent on technologically advanced weapons such as the MX missile, stealth bombers that would be invisible to enemy radar, and new submarines carrying nuclear missiles.

STAR WARS

Reagan wanted to project strength by funding the development of a dazzling array of high-tech weapons that the Soviet Union, far behind the West in terms of electronics, could not possibly emulate. He also wanted to protect the US from nuclear missiles with something less abstract than the notion of deterrence. During his State of the Union address in March 1983, Reagan presented a vision to the American people of a defensive system that ‘could intercept and destroy ballistic missiles before they reached our soil or that of our allies’.¹⁷ Reagan was referring to a program called the **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)**. This was an ABM system that used satellites to detect enemy missiles that would then be shot down by lasers fired from ground-based stations and reflected off orbital mirrors. It was quickly dubbed ‘Star Wars’ by the media after the popular film series that featured battles in space. Congress approved the funds, and Andropov accused the US of building a first-strike nuclear capacity against the Soviet Union while remaining safe behind its SDI shield.¹⁸ While the technology of the 1980s was not capable of bringing down nuclear weapons, the SDI further elevated the tensions between East and West.

MAINTAINING THE PRESSURE

Reagan found other ways to maintain military, diplomatic and economic pressure on the USSR during the first half of the 1980s. One way of doing this was to support movements in Eastern European countries that were opposed to Soviet rule. One such group, called **Solidarity**, emerged in Poland in 1980. After a period of growth in the 1970s, the Polish economy experienced a sharp decline in 1979. When the government increased the price of meat in July 1980, workers at the ship-building yards in Gdansk (formerly Danzig) put forward a series of

demands. Led by Lech Wałęsa (pronounced 'Lek Vawensa'), the workers demanded the right to form a union, the right to go on strike, better pay and an end to strict censorship.¹⁹ The government, fearing mass strike action, accepted these demands. As Solidarity grew in strength, the head of the Polish Army, General Jaruzelski, took over the government in February 1981. By the end of the year 10,000 members of Solidarity, including Wałęsa, had been arrested. The Soviet Union did not directly intervene but it kept soldiers close to the Polish border. Reagan wanted to show support for Solidarity without directly confronting the Soviet Union. He announced, 'We can't let this revolution against communism fail without offering a hand'.²⁰ Reagan criticised Brezhnev's regime and banned all high-tech trade with the USSR. Even though it ended in failure for the time being, the Solidarity movement in Poland revealed several important facts:

- Communism could not provide a high standard of living for the people living under it.
- It was possible to create change in a communist country, even if only temporarily.
- Communist regimes could only stay in power by using force or the threat of force from the USSR.
- The US was prepared to offer support, even if only moral, to people challenging communist rule.

Other events also caused relations to deteriorate between East and West in the early 1980s. On 1 September 1983, a Soviet fighter jet shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007. All 269 people aboard the aircraft were killed. It is possible that the Soviet air defence network mistook the aircraft, which had drifted off course, for a US military reconnaissance plane. Nevertheless, the world was outraged at this seemingly barbaric act.

Despite the tensions, Reagan proposed a new round of weapons-reduction negotiations called **Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (START)** in mid-1982. However, the Soviet Union backed out of the talks in December 1983 due to its fears of the SDI. The two sides were now not communicating with each other in any international forum. Relations between East and West were at their lowest point since 1962.

Significant individual

LECH WAŁĘSA, 1943–



Was leader of the Solidarity movement and Poland's first president (1990–1995) after it gained independence from the Soviet Union.

Believed in restoring the full independence and autonomy of the Polish state.

He said: 'Freedom is a food which must be carefully administered when people are too hungry for it.'

Said about: 'At last here was someone who expressed the thoughts of the man in the street.' (*Mieczysław Wachowski, friend and political supporter*)

Contributed to the end of the Cold War by organising Polish workers and demonstrating that the military might of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact could be successfully challenged.

Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty (START)

A treaty designed to replace the stalled SALT II talks in the superpowers' efforts to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 5.13** How did the comments Reagan made in speeches reflect his attitude to the Soviet Union?
- 5.14** How did the renewed arms race increase tensions between the US and USSR?
- 5.15** What other means did Reagan employ to keep pressure on the Soviet Union?

EXTENSION

- 5.16** In 300 words, explain how the period of détente between the US and USSR had come to an end by 1983. Use evidence to support your response.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV: 'We can't go on living like this.'

The year 1983 was perhaps the most dangerous in all of human history. This was an incredibly tense year in American–Soviet relations, and was marked by a climate of suspicion and fear on both sides. On 26 September, only a few weeks after Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down, the Soviet nuclear missile warning system 'detected' the launch of five ICBMs from the US. The command-and-control computer recommended an immediate counterstrike by the entire Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal. The officer on duty, Lieutenant Colonel Stanislav Petrov, did not believe the US would start World War III with only five missiles, so he did not pass on the order to fire the Soviet missiles. It turns out that the Soviet satellites had detected the sun's rays reflecting off unusual cloud formations over the US, and the Soviet computers had interpreted this as missile launches.²¹

war games

A military exercise or simulation in which the armed forces run mock battles to study and prepare for real conflict.

In November, NATO held a series of *war games*, codenamed Able Archer 83, in which it tested its ability to respond to a full Soviet attack on Western Europe that included the use of nuclear weapons. Soviet spies and listening posts observed NATO 'preparing' for war, but believed that NATO was preparing to launch a real attack of its own under the guise of war games. Soviet nuclear forces were put on high alert. Eventually the Soviet Union realised its mistake and the crisis passed, but these two episodes showed how strained the relationship between East and West had become. Most alarmingly it also showed how easily human civilisation could be obliterated through misunderstandings.²²

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

Into this tense and febrile international situation came Mikhail Gorbachev. As historian Robert J. McMahon notes, 'The accession, in March 1985, of Mikhail S. Gorbachev to the position of General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party stands as the most critical turning-point in the Cold War's final phase'.²³ Gorbachev seemed to be a breath of fresh air compared to his predecessors. Andropov, who had replaced Brezhnev on 10 November 1982, passed away on 9 February 1984. His replacement, Konstantin Chernenko, was already seventy-two and died on 10 March 1985. At only fifty-four years old, Gorbachev seemed relatively young. Western commentators noted his energy, enthusiasm and friendliness, qualities not usually found in the general secretary of the CPSU. Upon meeting Gorbachev in 1984, UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher summarised her first impression of him at a press conference: 'I like Mr Gorbachev. We can do business together.'²⁴

Did you know? When he heard of Chernenko's death, Reagan quipped, 'How am I supposed to get any place with the Russians if they keep dying on me?' This was quite ironic because when Reagan was inaugurated in January 1981 he was already sixty-nine years old. Prior to the election of Donald Trump in 2016, Reagan was the oldest person elected president in US history.

➔ (left) Konstantin Chernenko ruled the USSR for only thirteen months.

➔ (middle) Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU from 1985–1991.

➔ (far right) Margaret Thatcher, UK prime minister from 1979–1990.





MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, 1931–

← Significant individual

Was general secretary of the CPSU and leader of the Soviet Union (1985–1991).

Believed that communism could be saved by making reforms such as perestroika and glasnost.

He said: 'It is possible to suppress, compel, bribe, break or blast, but only for a certain period.'

Said about: 'Without this remarkable individual, the astonishing changes of the 1985–90 period become nearly inconceivable.' (*Robert McMahon, historian*)

Contributed to the end of the Cold War by initiating a series of key reforms and refusing to use violence to keep nations within the Soviet sphere of influence.



THE SOVIET ECONOMIC CRISIS

In July 1959 Richard Nixon, then serving as Eisenhower's vice-president, visited the Soviet Union. At the American National Exhibition in Moscow, Nixon and General Secretary Nikita Khrushchev engaged in what became known as the *kitchen debates*. As they toured the exhibits that showcased life in the US, Nixon and Khrushchev challenged each other in an impromptu and friendly debate on the merits of their own countries and economic systems. While they were inspecting a display of a typical American kitchen, Khrushchev boasted that the Soviet Union would catch up with, and eventually surpass, the US in a range of fields.²⁵

By the time Gorbachev was appointed general secretary in March 1985, it was clear that the Soviet Union had not only failed to catch up with the West, it was falling far behind. It has even been claimed that 'by 1990, the Soviet Union was already in a depression so severe as that the West had experienced in the 1930s'.²⁶ Communism had not been able to offer its people a lifestyle greater than the capitalist world. Most people in the Soviet sphere of influence were poorer than people in the West. Basic foodstuffs such as sugar had to be rationed, and the Soviet Union was far behind the West in terms of computing and communications technology. This was a fatal disadvantage, as it meant that the USSR simply could not keep up in the new high-tech arms race of the 1980s. Industrial standards were so poor in the Soviet Union that it could not export manufactured goods to the world outside the Soviet bloc.²⁷

GRAIN AND OIL

Russian economist Yegor Gaidar claims that 'the story of the collapse of the Soviet Union could be told as a story about grain and oil'.²⁸ Twenty per cent of the Russian population were farmers compared with only 3 per cent in the US, but American farmers produced seven times more food. The Soviet Union was forced to import millions of tons of grain to feed its own citizens.²⁹ In 1981–1982 the gap between grain required and grain harvested was 40 million tonnes. This forced the USSR to purchase grain on the international market. This cost the Soviet Union more than 15 billion roubles from 1965–1980.³⁰

kitchen debates

The series of informal debates between Nixon and Khrushchev in 1959 over which system was better: capitalism or communism.

📌 **Source 5.13** Nikita Khrushchev and Richard Nixon engage in the 'kitchen debates' in 1959. To the right of Nixon is future Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.



OPEC oil crisis

In 1973 the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries reduced the sale of oil to countries supporting Israel during the Yom Kippur War; this raised the price of oil per barrel by 300 per cent.

glut

The oversupply or overproduction of a commodity in the economy; this usually leads to a rapid and significant fall in the price of that commodity.



Source 5.14 Mujahideen fighters in Afghanistan, c. 1980s.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

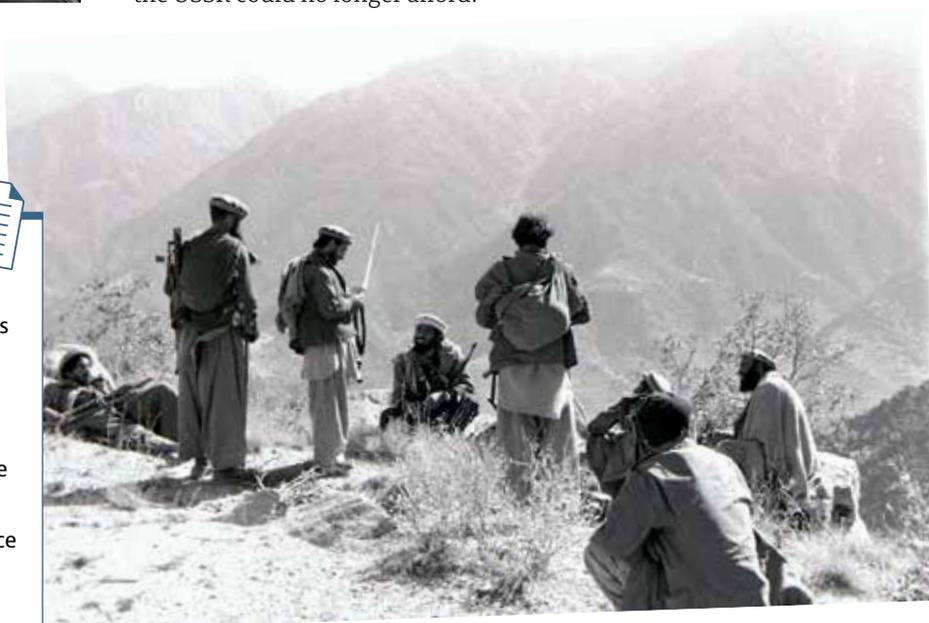
- 5.17** Why was 1983 such a dangerous year in the Cold War?
- 5.18** In what ways was Gorbachev different to his predecessors?
- 5.19** How had communism failed the people of the USSR by the 1980s?
- 5.20** What impact did the global price of oil have on the Soviet economy?
- 5.21** How did the Soviet Union's military and global commitments affect its economy?

The USSR's chief export commodity was oil, and by 1984 this accounted for just over half of all exports.³¹ The price of oil per barrel had risen sharply since the *OPEC oil crisis* of 1973. However, Saudi Arabia increased its oil production fourfold in September 1983. This overproduction led to an oil *glut* that sparked a collapse in the price of oil per barrel. This hit the Soviet economy hard. The value of oil exports to the West fell quickly so that by 1986 the Soviet government had lost 20 billion roubles in revenue.³² The Soviet economy was trapped between the rising cost of grain and the declining price of oil on the world market.

THE BURDEN OF EMPIRE

Faced with a collapsing economy at home, the Soviet Union still had to maintain its international prestige by spending heavily on armaments. To keep up with the Americans in terms of the quantity and quality of new weapons, the Soviet Union was forced to spend 25 per cent of its GDP on armaments while the US was only spending 4–6 per cent.³³

The war in Afghanistan cost the Soviet Union approximately 8 billion roubles per year. In an effort to prolong the war, and thereby inflict more damage on Soviet prestige and its economy, the US secretly sent military equipment to the mujahideen. This included stinger missiles that enabled the previously poorly armed mujahideen to shoot down Soviet jets and helicopters. Over the course of that conflict, 15,000 Soviet soldiers were killed and thousands more were wounded. In addition to this, the cost of propping up failing communist governments around the world amounted to around 40 billion roubles (US\$53.2 billion) annually.³⁴ Cuba received 3 billion roubles annually while Vietnam was the recipient of 4 billion roubles. Poland, whose economy had not improved since the crushing of the Solidarity movement in 1982, needed 2.25 billion roubles annually in oil subsidies.³⁵ Being a superpower was becoming an economic burden that the USSR could no longer afford.



Source 5.15 The mountainous terrain made finding and defeating the mujahideen extremely difficult for the Soviet army.

THE SOCIAL IMPACT

In an effort to keep up with the US in the arms race, the Soviet Union was forced to divert funds away from domestic concerns. This had a dramatic effect on living standards in the USSR.



Both Reagan and Gorbachev commented on the failings of the USSR's economy.

Ronald Reagan in a speech to the British parliament, 8 June 1982

The Soviet Union is in deep economic difficulty. A country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people. Were it not for the private sector ... the country might be on the brink of famine. These private plots occupy a bare three per cent of the arable land but account for nearly one-third of meat products and vegetables. ... The Soviet system pours its best resources into making instruments of destruction. The constant shrinkage of economic growth ... and the growth of military production is putting a heavy strain on the Soviet people.

Source 5.16 Cited in Justin Briggs, *Contested Spaces: The Cold War* (North Ryde: McGraw Hill, 2005), 116.

Gorbachev in his 1992 memoir on the economy of the USSR in 1985

I knew that an immense task of transformation awaited me. Engaged in the exhausting arms race, the country, it was evident, was at the end of its strength. Economic mechanisms were functioning more and more poorly. Production figures were slumping. Scientific and technical developments were cancelled out by an economy totally in the hands of the bureaucracy. The people's standard of living was clearly declining. Corruption was gaining ground. We wanted to reform by launching a democratic process.

Source 5.17 Cited in Tony McAleavy, *Twentieth Century History: International Relations since 1919* (London: Hodder Murray, 2006), 163.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 5.16 and 5.17 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 5.22** What problems in the Soviet economy did Reagan highlight?
- 5.23** What effect does Reagan say this is having on the Soviet people?
- 5.24** What issues in the Soviet economy did Gorbachev refer to?
- 5.25** What did Gorbachev propose to do about this?
- 5.26** Is there a difference in tone between these two sources? Explain the possible reasons for this.
- 5.27** Explain the factors that contributed to the state of the USSR's economy by the mid-1980s. Use evidence to support your response.

GORBACHEV'S REFORM PROGRAM

As the new general secretary of the CPSU, Gorbachev was determined to fix the economic crisis of the USSR and prevent the collapse of communism. To this end he initiated a series of sweeping reforms that were designed to change both the USSR and the CPSU. These were organised under four broad areas:

1. **Perestroika** ('restructuring' or 'rebuilding'): Gorbachev realised that the Soviet economy, which was run centrally by the CPSU, could no longer function in the same way. 'Perestroika' meant an end to strict state control of the economy. The government would no longer control the production, distribution and price of all goods and services. Competition between different firms was permitted to encourage higher efficiency and performance. Small-scale, privately owned businesses would be permitted. Workers would also be permitted to set up a **cooperative** that would be free from direct state regulation. Introduced in 1987, Gorbachev hoped that perestroika would 'kick-start' the economy and reverse the Soviet Union's terminal decline.³⁶
2. **Glasnost** ('openness'): In order to properly implement perestroika, Gorbachev realised that he had to let the Soviet people criticise the economic system and propose reforms. To this end, Gorbachev ended censorship in the Soviet Union so that people could speak their minds freely and openly without fear of arrest and punishment. Music, books and films from the West were now made available in the USSR. Dissidents under internal exile were invited back to Moscow. There was more opportunity for Soviet citizens to protest and go on strike.³⁷
3. **Demokratizatsiya** ('democratisation'): Convincing Soviet citizens to embark on this reform program would be easier, Gorbachev realised, if they felt they had some say in the decision-making process. A limited form of democracy was introduced into the USSR in March 1988 when elections were held for the new Congress of People's Deputies. Sessions of this body were televised, and the deputies had the power to question and scrutinise government ministers.³⁸
4. **Novomyshlenie** ('new thinking'): Most directly related to the end of the Cold War, *novomyshlenie* was Gorbachev's term for reconsidering the Soviet Union's relations with the West. Gorbachev realised that if he wanted to stabilise and improve the economy, the USSR could no longer afford to be locked in an arms race—particularly one it was losing. If the security of the USSR could not be guaranteed by weapons, Gorbachev had to improve relations with the West.

Did you know? Gorbachev was the eighth and last general secretary of the CPSU.

Gorbachev articulated his ideas on *novomyshlenie* in his memoirs written in the early 1990s.

Gorbachev outlines his 'new thinking' on relations with the West

I realised that it was vitally important to correct the distorted ideas that Soviet Union had about other nations. These misconceptions had made us oppose the rest of the world for many decades. We understood that in a world of mutual interdependence, progress was unthinkable for any society which was fenced off from the world by impenetrable state frontiers and ideological barriers. We knew that in a nuclear age we could not build a safe security system based on just military means. This prompted us to propose an entirely new idea of global security which would include all aspects of international relations.

 **Source 5.18** Cited in Steve Waugh and John Wright, *Peace and War: International Relations, 1943–1991* (London: Hodder Education), 100.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 5.18 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

5.28 Explain what Gorbachev meant by the phrases 'mutual interdependence' and 'ideological barriers'.

5.29 Explain the Soviet Union's perception of the non-communist world prior to 1985.

5.30 Evaluate the significance of the cost of the arms race as the catalyst for wideranging reforms in the Soviet Union. Use evidence to support your response.

perestroika

Gorbachev's policy of 'restructuring' the economy allowed some private enterprise and individual ownership of businesses to promote production, efficiency and higher-quality goods.

cooperative

A business or enterprise that is jointly owned by the employees; all profits are divided evenly among its employees.

glasnost

Gorbachev's policy of 'openness' allowed greater freedom and democracy in Eastern Bloc nations. This included the ability to criticise and question the communist system, put forward new ideas and show initiative.

demokratizatsiya

The process of gradually bringing democratic reforms to the Soviet Union.

novomyshlenie

Gorbachev's policy of 'new thinking' to end the Cold War with the West so that money could be spent on areas other than defence.

DISASTER AT CHERNOBYL

On 26 April 1986, a nuclear power plant in the Ukrainian town of Chernobyl was destroyed by a series of explosions, followed by a major fire.

The economic, environmental and human consequences were severe. Agricultural land was contaminated and countless farm animals killed. An estimated thirty-one people died and an unknown number of people were exposed to radiation poisoning. This caused cancers at unprecedented rates, particularly in Ukraine and neighbouring Belarus.

Radioactive particles spread throughout the western USSR, as far north as Sweden and Finland and as far south as Italy and Greece. It is estimated that the total cost exceeded 18 billion roubles (equivalent to US\$18 billion at that time), a price that the Soviet Union could not afford.³⁹

Chernobyl came to symbolise all of the problems of the backward Soviet economy and highlight the apparent differences between the inefficient East and the modern, forward-looking West.

📖 **Source 5.19** Mikhail Gorbachev, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1996).

Gorbachev on Chernobyl

The Chernobyl catastrophe was a historic turning point: there was the era before the disaster, and there is the very different era that has followed. ...

The Chernobyl disaster, more than anything else, opened the possibility of much greater freedom of expression, to the point that the system as we knew it could no longer continue.

📍 The Chernobyl nuclear power plant.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 5.19 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 5.31** What was the 'freedom of expression' to which Gorbachev referred known as?
- 5.32** Explain why Chernobyl made 'greater freedom of expression' necessary.



📍 **Source 5.20** An abandoned amusement park in Pripyat, a town in the exclusion zone around Chernobyl.

THE END OF THE ARMS RACE

summit meetings

The highest-level meetings between heads of state.

Gorbachev was keen to begin the process of disengaging from the arms race and improving relations with the West as soon as possible. From 1985–1991, Gorbachev and Reagan (and then his successor, President George Bush Sr) met at a series of **summit meetings** and signed several treaties that ended the arms race and brought the Cold War to an end.

KEY SUMMIT MEETINGS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

1985

NOVEMBER 1985, GENEVA — Little of substance in terms of arms reduction comes out of this meeting. Gorbachev asks Reagan to halt the SDI project, but Reagan refuses. Both agreed to meet again to discuss arms reduction the following year.

1986

OCTOBER 1986, REYKJAVIK — Gorbachev proposes that both sides eliminate all their ballistic missiles, but he withdraws this after Reagan again refuses to alter his stance on the SDI.

1987

DECEMBER 1987, WASHINGTON — Remarkably, and crucially, Gorbachev drops his insistence that the US abandon the SDI prior to further discussions on arms reductions. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty is signed. This calls for all missiles with a range of 500–5000 kilometres to be destroyed. The USSR eliminates 1846 of its missiles while the US removes 846 from its arsenal (this chiefly means the SS-20, Pershing II and cruise missiles). For the first time in the atomic age, an entire class of nuclear weapons has been eliminated.⁴⁰ Each side is allowed to inspect missile sites and observe the elimination process with teams of military specialists and satellites. Two months later, Gorbachev announces that the USSR will start withdrawing troops from Afghanistan.

1988

MAY 1988, MOSCOW — Reagan travels to the Soviet capital for further talks. Details of the INF are finalised and other matters are discussed. Gorbachev and Reagan stroll around the Red Square in front of the Kremlin and chat with the media and Soviet citizens.

DECEMBER 1988, NEW YORK — This trip coincides with Gorbachev's announcement at the UN that he intends to withdraw 500,000 Soviet troops from Eastern Europe. This effectively means the repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine, and contributes to the end of the Soviet-dominated Eastern Bloc.

1989

DECEMBER 1989, MALTA — This meeting takes place only a few weeks after the fall of the Berlin Wall. No agreements are made but general discussions are held about the future of Europe, in particular the Eastern Bloc, which by this time is slipping from the Soviet Union's control. Soviet foreign affairs minister Eduard Shevardnadze announces that the superpowers have 'buried the Cold War at the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea'.⁴¹

1990

MAY–JUNE 1990, WASHINGTON — Gorbachev and Bush commence discussions on START.

NOVEMBER 1990, PARIS — NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives sign the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty. This agreement leads to a significant reduction in troops, tanks, aircraft and other non-nuclear military forces.

NOVEMBER 1990, PARIS — The USSR, US and thirty-one European nations sign the Treaty of Paris, which includes a non-aggression agreement between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. President Bush announces: 'We have closed a chapter in history. The Cold War is over.'⁴²

1991

JULY 1991, MOSCOW — START I is signed. Over seven years, 1600 nuclear delivery vehicles and 6000 nuclear warheads would be eliminated. A limit of 4900 ballistic missiles each results in a reduction of one-quarter to one-third of US and Russian stockpiles of nuclear warheads.⁴³

Did you know?

During the signing of the INF Treaty in Washington in 1987, Reagan uttered a saying in Russian. Regarding the supervision of the other side's missile elimination program, Reagan described this as *doveryai no proveryai* ('trust, but verify').

Did you know?

George Bush Sr won the presidential election in November 1988 and was sworn in as the forty-first US president on 20 January 1989.

Did you know?

Gorbachev and Bush Sr signed START I with pens made from scrapped nuclear missiles. This was in reference to a line from the Bible in the Book of Isaiah about converting weapons of war into instruments of peace (2:3–4): 'They shall beat their swords into ploughshares [farming tools for digging up soil].'

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

5.33 In 300 words, explain how the arms race between the US and USSR came to an end by 1991. Use evidence to support your response.

The international situation in 1991 was very different to 1983. In that most dangerous year, the Soviet Union and US were not engaging with each other in any international forum. Both sides were spending vast sums of money on enhancing and increasing their armed forces, particularly their nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union had sent troops into a neighbouring country and shot down a commercial airliner. Its leadership was ineffective, physically ill and scared. Due to paranoia, suspicion and faulty technology, the USSR had almost started World War III twice. Eight years later this had all changed. The Cold War—the arms race that had been the centrepiece of Soviet–American relations since 1945—had been called off.

This was due in large part to one man—Mikhail Gorbachev. As historian Steve Phillips notes, ‘The importance of the role of Gorbachev cannot be overestimated. Many of his decisions were taken without reference to his advisors’.⁴⁴ Gorbachev realised that the Soviet Union’s economy threatened to derail the socialist experiment, and that pulling out of the arms race with the West was an absolute necessity. Gorbachev had the energy and ideas to make this a reality. He also possessed an ideological flexibility that enabled him to dismantle nearly seventy years of Soviet paranoia about the West. Using a charm, charisma, intelligence and warmth that was absent in his predecessors, Gorbachev reached out to President Reagan. Fortunately, Reagan was also a man of vision and had the capacity to change his mind once the facts had changed. During the summit in Moscow in May 1988, a reporter asked Reagan about his ‘evil empire’ remark. Reagan replied, ‘That was another time, another era’.⁴⁵ And so it was. But while the superpowers were negotiating the end of the Cold War, the winds of change that Gorbachev had unleashed were blowing over more than he had expected.



Source 5.21 Reagan and Gorbachev enjoy a relaxed chat at the Geneva Conference in November 1985.



George Bush Sr, forty-first US president.

Did you know? The INF Treaty was signed at precisely 1.45 pm. Reagan’s wife Nancy, who regularly consulted an astrologist, believed that the alignment of the planets and stars at that time would be a good omen for the treaty.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 5.34** List and briefly explain Gorbachev’s four main reforms.
- 5.35** What were the causes and consequences of the nuclear reactor explosion at Chernobyl?
- 5.36** Explain why the INF and CFE arms treaties were crucial turning points in ending the Cold War.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 5.21 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 5.37** What does the setting and body language in this image suggest about East–West relations?
- 5.38** Explain the outcomes of the Soviet–US summits that were held from 1985–1991.
- 5.39** Evaluate the significance of Gorbachev’s ideas and personality as a key factor in bringing about the end of the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE EASTERN BLOC AND THE USSR

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE: 'The most dangerous moment for a bad government is usually when it begins to reform itself'

In 1856, French politician and historian Alexis de Tocqueville wrote a book called *The Old Regime and the Revolution*. His focus was the origins of the French Revolution of 1789, and he wrote the quotation above to explain this momentous event.⁴⁶ This insight also holds true for the Soviet Union and Gorbachev's four key policies (see p. 154). Gorbachev had hoped to save communism by reforming and adjusting the system. Therefore, it is somewhat ironic that the policies Gorbachev put in place to save communism became its undoing.⁴⁷

The countries in Eastern Europe that lay within the Soviet sphere of influence—known as the Eastern Bloc (see map on p. 140)—had always resented their condition. 'Liberated' towards the end of World War II by the Red Army, they had communism and pro-Soviet dictatorships imposed on them. These were backed up by vicious political police services and the ever-present threat of the Red Army. On several occasions the people of Eastern Europe rose up against the status quo. These protests were inspired by poor living standards, a lack of basic civil and human rights, incompetent and corrupt governments, and nationalism. In every instance the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact, dominated by the Soviet Union, cracked down brutally on the protesters. Nevertheless, the grievances lingered and the powder keg of discontent needed only a spark to ignite once more.

Perestroika gave the people of Eastern Europe the sense that great changes were coming, while glasnost appeared to give legitimacy—and a sense of security—to protests and marches. Most significantly, severe economic problems convinced Gorbachev to abandon the Brezhnev Doctrine and replace it with *novomyshlenie*. It was no longer economically viable for the USSR to send in the troops and tanks when there was a popular uprising within a Warsaw Pact nation. It would also have been difficult for Gorbachev to promote peace in his dealings with the US while brutally crushing peaceful protests in Eastern Europe.⁴⁸ Gorbachev made this point to the UN in 1988.

➔ **Source 5.22** Cited in Steve Waugh and John Wright, *Peace and War: International Relations 1943–1991* (London: Hodder Education), 104.

Gorbachev's remarks to the UN, 7 December 1988

Force or the threat of force neither can nor should be instruments of foreign policy. The principle of freedom of choice is not negotiable. Refusal to recognise this principle will have serious consequences for world peace. To deny a nation choice, regardless of any excuse, is to upset the unstable balance that has been achieved [in East–West relations]. Freedom of choice is a universal principle. It knows no exception.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 5.22 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 5.40** List the words and phrases in this extract that indicate a change in Soviet ideology.
- 5.41** What implications might have Gorbachev's remarks had for the Eastern Bloc and the nations of the USSR?
- 5.42** What might be the significance of the place where Gorbachev delivered his speech?

Gorbachev informed the leaders of the communist parties in the Eastern Bloc countries that their regimes, which were only held together by fear, would no longer be supported by Soviet tanks as they had been in 1953, 1956 and 1968. This repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine became informally known as the **Sinatra Doctrine**. The phrase was coined as a joke by Soviet foreign policy spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov in an interview on 25 October 1989.

Gerasimov explains the 'Sinatra Doctrine'

The Soviet Union recognises the freedom of choice of all countries, specifically including the Warsaw Pact states. We now have the Sinatra Doctrine. Sinatra had a song, 'My Way', so now every country decides on its own which road to take. Political structures must be decided by the people who live in a country and the Soviet Union will accept the rejection of communist parties.

These remarks were in fact partly retrospective, as some of the key events in the rejection of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe had already taken place. In any event, the so-called Sinatra Doctrine meant that when the end of communism came, it would be a relatively bloodless and smooth transition.

POLAND

In mid-1988 a series of strikes escalated with workers demanding the end of the ban on the Solidarity trade union. In April 1989, the government finally backed down—Solidarity was allowed to re-form, and free elections were allowed in June. Solidarity candidates won 99 per cent of the seats in the Polish Senate in the second round of voting. By August, a non-communist prime minister was chosen, and in December 1990 Lech Wałęsa was elected president. In many ways the Cold War began in 1945 over disagreement over the future of Poland. It was fitting, then, that Poland was the first country to escape from the orbit of the Soviet Union.

HUNGARY

Around the same time as events were unfolding in Poland, long-time pro-communist Hungarian leader János Kádár resigned. Kádár's resignation coincided with a wave of demonstrations and public protests demanding political reform. Non-communist parties, which had been banned for many years, began to re-emerge and negotiate with the government. Gorbachev accepted this decision by the Hungarian authorities. In May 1989, the Hungarian government took the unprecedented step of removing the electrified barbed wire fence along its border with Austria, allowing free transit between the two countries. The Hungarian government took this step partly because the Soviet government refused to pay for the repair and maintenance of the fence.⁴⁹ Thousands of Eastern Europeans began to use the open border with Austria to escape to the West. East Germans began to go 'on holiday' to Hungary—and were not seen in their homeland again until after the fall of communism. In May 1990, free elections were held in Hungary. An anti-communist party, the **Hungarian Democratic Forum**, won and started to lay the foundations for parliamentary democracy and a free market economy.



Sinatra Doctrine

Named after Frank Sinatra's song 'My Way'; the Soviet Union would no longer support communist governments in Eastern Europe with armed force; these countries would be able to go their own way.

↑ Frank Sinatra, American singer and entertainer.

← **Source 5.23** Cited in Steve Waugh and John Wright, *Peace and War: International Relations, 1943–1991* (London: Hodder Education), 104.

⋮
Did you know? In 1989, before he was president, Lech Wałęsa addressed a joint meeting of Congress in the US, the first non-head of state to do so.
 ⋮

↓ **Source 5.24** Abandoned East German cars in a forest near the border of Hungary and Austria in the summer of 1989. Thousands of tourists from East Germany took advantage of the dismantling of barbed wire fences on Hungary's western border and fled to West Germany.



Hungarian Democratic Forum

The centre-right, nationalist and Christian political party that came to power in Hungary at the end of the Cold War.



↑ Václav Havel.

Velvet Revolution

The term describing Czechoslovakia's peaceful transition from the Eastern Bloc to a democratic form of government.

émigré

A person who has emigrated (left their native country).



↑ Erich Honecker, leader of East Germany from 1971–1989.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Events in Czechoslovakia followed a similar pattern. Glasnost had stimulated popular criticism of the government. Gorbachev visited Prague in April 1987 but disappointed many Czechs by not urging their government to make reforms. The Czech people became bolder and more conspicuous in expressing their dissatisfaction throughout 1988–1989. Student demonstrations in Prague turned into public rallies and labour strikes. This became known as the *Velvet Revolution*. The government bowed to public pressure and in November 1989 allowed new parties to form, giving up its monopoly on political power. Liberal playwright and dissident Václav Havel was elected president in December 1989.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

5.43 Compare and contrast the events leading to the collapse of communism in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, identifying any similarities and differences between them.

EAST GERMANY

By early 1989, the wave of anti-communist feeling sweeping through the Warsaw Pact countries had reached East Germany. Once Hungary opened its border with Austria, the exodus of thousands of East Germans leaving the country led to attempts by the government, led by long-serving hardliner Erich Honecker, to stop the flow of *émigré* East German citizens. This resulted in protests held every Monday evening in several cities. *Montagsdemonstrationen* ('Monday demonstrations') started in Leipzig on 4 September 1989. Thousands of East Germans camped out in the grounds of the West German embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia, demanding asylum in West Germany. Eventually trains carrying these protesters were allowed free passage through East Germany to the West.

In October 1989, the public demonstrations grew in size and frequency each week. In the East German city of Leipzig, 70,000 people (from a population of 500,000) protested on 9 October. On 16 October, 120,000 people participated, and the next week more than 320,000 people chanted slogans such as *Wir Wollen Raus!* ('We Want Out!') and *Wir Sind Das Volk!* ('We Are the People!')—a stark reminder that the government did not represent the majority of its citizens.

On 18 October Honecker resigned, having failed to attract support from Gorbachev who said that Soviet troops would not intervene to stop demonstrations by East Germans. The new leader, Egon Krenz, decided to ease the flood of refugees leaving East Germany via Hungary or via the West German embassy in Prague by opening several crossing points between East and West Germany, including East and West Berlin. The decision was announced on West German television on 9 November 1989—which meant that all of East Germany would hear it, as most East Germans had tuned their televisions to West German channels.

Opening the border between East and West Berlin

This is a historic day. East Germany has announced that, starting immediately, its borders are open to everyone. The [German Democratic Republic] is opening its borders ... the gates in the Berlin Wall stand open.

Huge crowds gathered immediately at the checkpoints between East and West Berlin. Later that night, the checkpoints were opened and people were freely allowed to cross from East to West amid scenes of great rejoicing and celebration. Crowds of East and West Berliners danced on top of the Berlin Wall, and soon sledgehammers and pickaxes were used to begin the people's demolition of the most potent symbol of the Cold War. In March 1990 East Germany held free elections and a non-communist government was formed. In July, the move towards a single currency was ratified. In August 1990 a reunification treaty was agreed between East and West Germany, and in December 1990 the first free all-German election was held.

Source 5.25 Broadcast on *Tagesthemen* (a program on West German television station SRD), and quoted in M.E. Sarotte, 'How It Went Down: The Little Accident that Toppled History', *Washington Post*, November 2009.

Did you know? Although some pieces of the Berlin Wall were saved as mementos or sold as souvenirs, most of the rest, some 900,000 tonnes of concrete, was pulverised for use in road construction.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

5.44 Explain the significance of Poland being the first country to break away from Soviet authority. Why might Poland have been the first country to achieve this?

5.45 Some historians have described these events as a 'reverse domino theory'. Explain what they mean by this.

5.46 Assess the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev in the events that occurred in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in the period 1988–1989.

Source 5.26 Berliners from East and West standing on the Berlin Wall in November 1989.





↑ Nicolae Ceausescu, the leader of Romania until his execution in 1989.

National Salvation Front

The left-wing political party in Romania that replaced the communist regime.

➔ **Source 5.27** Robert Service, *A History of Twentieth-Century Russia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 484.

OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES

Romania and Bulgaria also experienced ‘people power’ revolutions against their communist governments. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, crowds of Bulgarian people gathered in the capital, Sofia, demanding reforms and democracy. In February 1990, the Bulgarian Communist Party gave up its monopoly on power, and free elections were held four months later.

The Romanian revolution was bloodier than the other revolts. The Ceausescu communist government resisted all demands for change, and the regime was brutally bolstered by its secret police force, the Securitate. However, demonstrations continued despite killings and mass arrests.⁵⁰

Between 21 and 24 December 1989, rebellions began in Timisoara, a city in western Romania, then spread to the capital Bucharest and the rest of the country. Rather than stopping the protests, the Romanian army joined them. Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee the country but were stopped by the army and returned to Bucharest to face trial. After a show trial, the Ceausescus were executed by a firing squad on 25 December 1989. In May 1990, free elections were held and the

National Salvation Front emerged victorious.

Historian Robert Service on Gorbachev's ‘exceptional determination’

Gorbachev could have sent the Soviet Army to suppress the anti-communist movements earlier in the year. He would, needless to emphasise, have paid a great price. In particular, he would have forfeited [given up] the diplomatic support he had from Western countries; ... And yet any one of Gorbachev's predecessors would not have blanched [thought twice] at a resumption of the Cold War. That he chose to avoid such a course was among his momentous choices. It took exceptional determination to stand by policies involving the minimum of violence when this resulted in the demise not only of old-style communism but even of those communist leaders in Eastern Europe who were his political allies. He had not set out to achieve this end; rather it was the unwilling result of his activity as it developed. But great was the work of his hands.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 5.27 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 5.47** Explain why Gorbachev did not suppress uprisings in Eastern Europe by force.
- 5.48** Explain how Gorbachev was different, in terms of policies and personalities, to his predecessors.
- 5.49** Evaluate the importance of Gorbachev's decisions in ending Soviet dominance over the Eastern Bloc. Use evidence to support your response.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

- 5.50** What were the similarities and differences between the downfall of communism in Romania and the other Soviet satellite states?

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE USSR

The winds that blew through Eastern Europe in 1989–1990 eventually swept away the Soviet Union. This political entity, first announced by Lenin on 30 December 1922, was composed of fifteen theoretically independent nations, including Russia. Each of the non-Russian member states had distinct cultures, languages and religions that had been suppressed for decades. As in Eastern Europe, nationalism and the desire to be free from external oppression were powerful factors that drove the break-up of the USSR in 1990–1991. Economic collapse and Gorbachev's policies of perestroika and glasnost were also powerful driving factors.⁵¹

In February 1990, Gorbachev passed a law to allow free elections on **secession** and independence from the USSR for all fifteen Soviet states. One by one, the republics surrounding Russia declared their independence from the USSR. In March 1990, Lithuania became the first Soviet state to break away from the USSR entirely, followed closely by Estonia in March and Latvia in May. The remaining countries, including Russia, announced their departure over the next eighteen months. As in Eastern Europe, there was remarkably little bloodshed in the break-up of the Soviet empire. Resisting the break-up of the USSR, Russian communist hardliners launched an attempt to overthrow Gorbachev in August 1991. They placed Gorbachev under house arrest in Crimea (where he was on holiday) and sent tanks into Moscow in an attempt to seize control. Boris Yeltsin, prime minister of the recently created Russian Federation, condemned the coup and gained huge popular support. On 21 August the coup collapsed, along with any possible return to the USSR and communism.

Perestroika and glasnost gave the people of the fifteen nations of the Soviet Union the confidence to stand up for their right to freedom. The leaders of the coup were arrested, and Gorbachev returned to Moscow to negotiate the end of the Soviet Union and communism. He resigned on 25 December 1991 and the USSR voted itself out of existence on 31 December 1991. As historian Robert Service noted, 'The irony was that Gorbachev, in trying to prevent the descent of the system into general crisis, proved instrumental in bringing forward that crisis and destroying the USSR'.⁵²



secession

When a country, or a region within a country, breaks away from the dominant political entity.

Did you know? In May 2015, Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko signed 'de-communisation laws' banning communist symbols and monuments. This led to the removal of hundreds of statues of Vladimir Lenin across the country.

EXTENSION

5.51 Research what happened in Russia in the period December 1991–December 1999 when Boris Yeltsin was Russian president. Consider the political, social and economic features of Russia in your research. Present your findings in a poster, slideshow presentation or written report.

Source 5.28 Boris Yeltsin at the funeral of civilians killed during the August 1991 coup.



1 POLAND

APRIL 1989: Solidarity legalised.
JUNE 1989: Free elections held.
DECEMBER 1990: Lech Wałęsa is elected president of Poland.

2 HUNGARY

MAY 1989: The border with Austria is opened, allowing free movement. Thousands flee Eastern Europe through this 'open door'.
MAY 1990: Free elections are held and anti-communist parties emerge to form a new government.

3 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1988–1989: Growing public dissent and demonstrations (the 'Velvet Revolution').
NOVEMBER 1989: New parties are allowed to form, ending the communist dictatorship.

4 EAST GERMANY

SEPTEMBER 1989: Mass emigration through the Hungary/Austria border is stopped by the government, but the resulting demonstrations escalate until a new leader opens crossing points at the Berlin Wall to ease tensions.
MARCH 1990: Free elections are held and a new non-communist government is formed.
3 OCTOBER 1990: East and West Germany are reunified.

5 ROMANIA

NOVEMBER–DECEMBER 1989: Despite brutal crackdowns by security forces, huge demonstrations take place against the Ceausescu regime. Eventually the army, instead of stopping the demonstrators, joins them and the Ceausescus are overthrown and later executed.
MAY 1990: Free elections held.

6 BULGARIA

OCTOBER–DECEMBER 1989: Increasing public dissent and demonstrations.
FEBRUARY 1990: Free elections are held and the Bulgarian Socialist Party takes power.

7 SOVIET UNION

FEBRUARY 1990: Gorbachev allows free elections in all of the Soviet republics, and the Soviet Union begins to break up.
AUGUST 1990: Hardline communists attempt to overthrow Gorbachev in a coup but find the public against them. The coup collapses and Gorbachev retains power.
10 JULY 1991: Boris Yeltsin becomes president of Russia.
DECEMBER 1991: Gorbachev and Yeltsin dissolve the Soviet Union. Gorbachev resigns as Soviet president. The Cold War officially ends.

CHAPTER 5 REVIEW

The end of the Cold War occurred so rapidly that it took most observers by surprise. There is still ongoing debate about the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet system, but most historians would agree with Simon Ball (1998) who argued that there is 'little doubt that the Cold War came to an end as a result of Soviet economic failure'.⁵³

It was Mikhail Gorbachev's attempt to save the Soviet Union from its own economic woes that eventually led to the entire system's demise. Perestroika taught the people that things could be changed, and glasnost gave them the security and encouragement to express their views. Perhaps most crucially, *novomyshlenie* meant that the regime would not suppress popular uprisings. Withdrawing the USSR from the heavy costs and unimaginable risks posed by the nuclear stand-off between East and West was of paramount importance for Gorbachev. Luckily for the world, Reagan and Bush agreed with him.

Once the countries under Soviet control sensed that the swift and vicious repressions of the past would not materialise, they quickly embraced democracy and, to varying degrees, free-market economics. The lives of tens of millions of people changed dramatically over the period 1985–1991. The scale and rapid pace of the change means that it was nothing short of a revolution.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- The Cold War and Soviet dominance of Eastern Europe seemed permanent up to the mid-1980s.
- The Soviet economy was facing serious problems, and living standards declined.
- US President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev brought new attitudes and ideas to the East–West rivalry.
- A series of summits and treaties saw a reduction in arms and the end of the Cold War.
- The countries of the Eastern Bloc threw off Soviet dominance by 1990.
- The countries of the USSR achieved independence over 1990–1991.

REVIEW

5.52 Using the information presented in this chapter, create a detailed flow chart that covers the years 1963–1991. Be sure to include:

- détente
- the end of the Cold War
- points of friction in the 1970s
- the break-up of the Eastern Bloc
- the Second Cold War
- the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
- Gorbachev's reforms

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

5.53 Many events could rightfully claim to mark the end of the Cold War. In a 300-word report, nominate the event that you think marks the moment when hostility between East and West came to an end. Use evidence to support your response.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **5.54** Explain how the 1960s and 1970s were a period of both détente and tension between the US and USSR.
- **5.55** Explain why and how Gorbachev ended the Cold War between the US and USSR.
- **5.56** Analyse how Soviet control over the Eastern Bloc and the USSR collapsed from 1989–1991.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

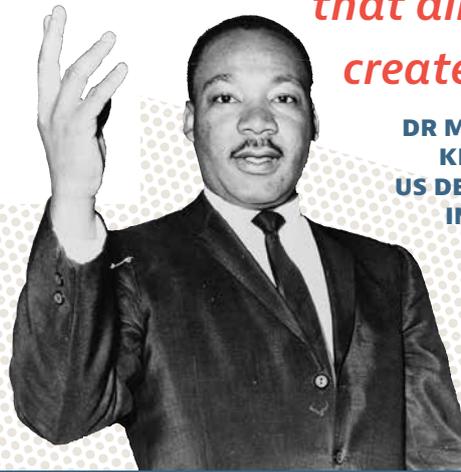
- **5.57** 'While the Cold War came to an end as a result of a combination of factors, Gorbachev's policies were by far the most significant.' To what extent do you agree?
- **5.58** Historian Simon Ball argues that 'there is little doubt that the Cold War came to an end as a result of Soviet economic failure'. To what extent do you agree?



CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

- What caused the challenges to existing political and/or social structures and conditions?
- How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to continuity and change?
- To what extent did change occur?
- What were the perspectives and experiences of those who demanded and/or resisted change?¹

'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'



DR MARTIN LUTHER KING CITING THE US DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AUGUST 1963

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON, 28 AUGUST 1963



250,000

THE APPROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON ON 28 AUGUST 1963

100,000

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED THE MELBOURNE MORATORIUM IN MAY 1970

'When as a young mother I took a Saturday job at the local TAB. ... I was paid less than the man working alongside me, even though I could add faster than he could.'

PAMELA BONE, AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST



POSTER FROM THE 1990S URGING WOMEN TO RUN FOR POLITICAL OFFICE

¹ Extract from the VCE Modern History Study Design (2022–2026) © VCAA, reproduced by permission.

Apartheid: An Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness'; the system that racially segregated white and black South Africans from 1948 until the early 1990s.



NELSON MANDELA, FREEDOM FIGHTER AND PRESIDENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE FLAG OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, OR ANC



'This is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all up into kingdom come.'

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, OCTOBER 1984

THE SYMBOL OF THE ROTE ARMEE FRAKTION (RAF)



'They have weapons and we haven't any. We must arm ourselves too.'

GUDRUN ENSSLIN, MEMBER OF THE RED ARMY FACTION

OSAMA BIN LADEN



11 TOTAL NUMBER OF ISRAELI ATHLETES KILLED AT THE MUNICH OLYMPICS, 1972



A TERRORIST OF THE BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANISATION AT THE MUNICH OLYMPIC GAMES

Terrorism: the use of, or threat to use, violence with a specific political, religious or social purpose.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

'Free at last, free at last. Thank God Almighty, we're free at last.'

MARTIN LUTHER KING, 1963

In the mid-twentieth century, men and women in the US set out on a fight against the status quo. World War II had come to an end, and African American soldiers were good enough to die for their country but not good enough to sit on a bus or drink at a water fountain with white Americans.

Armed with, as US President Barack Obama said in 2015, 'a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America's founding', **activists** challenged the long-standing race issues prevalent in American society! Events such as the Montgomery bus boycott, the Freedom Rides and the March on Washington highlighted the struggle for **civil rights**, and created a groundswell of support across the nation and overseas. Individuals such as Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Rosa Parks were fearless, and instilled in others the courage to stand up for racial equality in the face of oppression and violence.

activist

A person who campaigns for a cause, such as political or social equality, with the aim of bringing about positive change.

civil rights

Political rights such as voting, standing for elections, freedom of speech and movement; the right to access goods, services and facilities.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1955

1 DECEMBER — Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat on a bus

1961

MAY — The Freedom Rides

1963

28 AUGUST — Martin Luther King delivers his 'I Have a Dream' speech

1964

2 JULY — *Civil Rights Act* signed into law

1965

21 FEBRUARY — Malcolm X assassinated

1968

4 APRIL — Martin Luther King assassinated

KEY QUESTIONS

- What conditions and significant events gave rise to the push for racial equality in the US?
- Which significant individuals or groups were involved in the movement, and what methods did they use to create change?
- How did the established political order respond to the demands for change?
- What were the experiences and perspectives of those who demanded, or resisted, change?
- To what extent were the goals of racial equality achieved?
- What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the pursuit of racial equality in the US?



Source 6.01
A civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, 1965.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



MARTIN LUTHER KING JR

Baptist minister and civil rights activist

Delivered the famous 'I Have a Dream' speech in 1963



LYNDON B. JOHNSON

President of the United States (1963–1969)

Passed key civil rights legislation



MALCOLM X

Became a member of the Nation of Islam

Believed in the use of violence to achieve change

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

The struggle of African Americans, and their supporters, for equality in the US in the 1950s and 1960s is one of the most fascinating narratives of the twentieth century. There were tragedies but also triumphs that paved the way for the next generation. As you work through this chapter, consider the following questions.

6.01 What pre-existing conditions gave rise to the desire for challenge and change?

6.02 Which key figures rose to lead others, and which ideologies informed their proclamations and actions?

6.03 What tactics did the civil rights movement employ, and to what extent were they successful?

THE GREAT DIVIDE

W. E. B. DU BOIS: 'We have today in the United States, cheek by jowl, prosperity and depression.'

plantation

A large farm employing many workers.

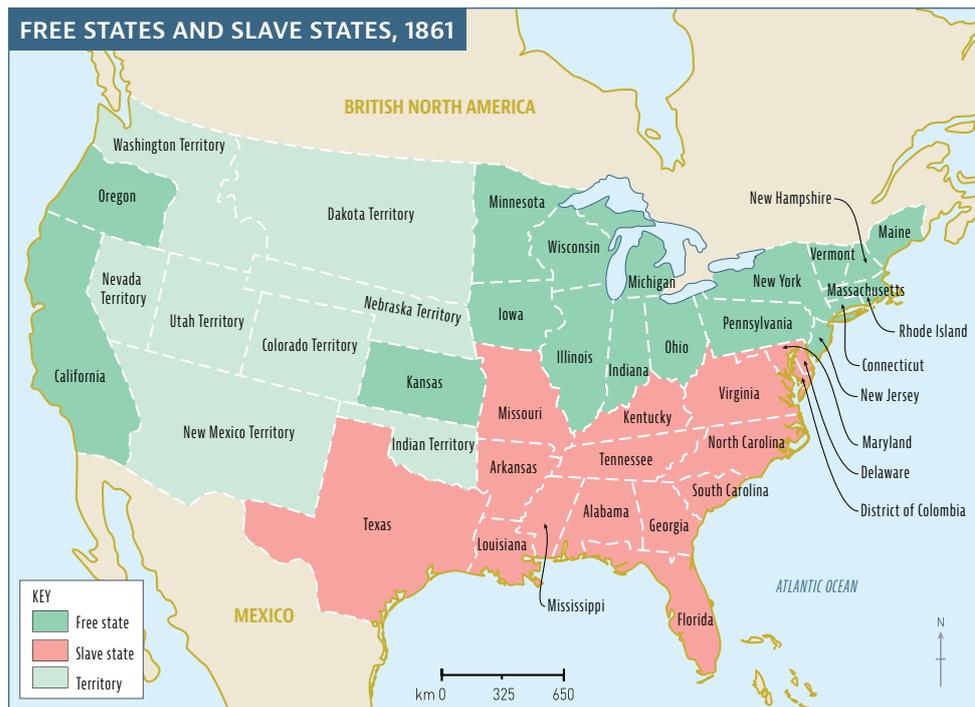
slaves

People who are forced to work against their will for no pay.

As a country, the US was divided from its beginning. When colonies created by white Europeans began sprouting up along the east coast of the US in the seventeenth century, agricultural needs had to be met. **Plantations** in colonies such as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana grew commodities such as rice, sugar, cotton and tobacco. There was a huge demand for these agricultural products in Europe, and plantation owners wanted to keep costs low and profits high. Their solution was to purchase African **slaves** from European slave traders. This solved the labour problem, but it created an entirely new problem—a humanitarian one. Many white Europeans thought themselves to be superior to Africans; their organised religion, education and weapons provided the 'justification' for whites to buy and sell African slaves, forcing them to work without pay or freedom.

Not surprisingly, African American slaves deeply resented the slave trade and those who profited from it. A social divide was created in the US between the northern industrialised states and the southern agricultural states. Philosophically, politically and socially, the northern states of the US were at odds with their southern counterparts. While slavery was abolished in the northern states by the early nineteenth century, it remained an integral part of the economy of the southern states.

➔ **Source 6.02** Map showing free states and slave states in 1861.



American Civil War

The war fought between the northern and southern states over breaking into separate nations; slavery was a key issue.

Emancipation Proclamation

The document issued by President Abraham Lincoln that offered slaves in southern states their freedom.

During the **American Civil War** (1861–1865), which was fought to stop the southern states breaking away to form a separate nation, US President Abraham Lincoln issued the **Emancipation Proclamation**. Taking effect in January 1863, it proclaimed that all slaves should be freed from the bondage of their owners.

Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln, 1863

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

After the North defeated the South in the civil war, slavery ended. As part of the **Reconstruction** period after the Civil War, changes were made to the US Constitution. Amendments 13, 14 and 15 abolished slavery, granted birthright citizenship to freed slaves and gave freed slaves the right to vote, respectively.

JIM CROW LAWS AND SEGREGATION

RICHARD WRIGHT: 'As you grow a little older, you begin to feel that you are under siege.'²

Despite the changes to the law, racism prevailed and many southerners would not accept that there could be equality between white and black people. Various codes and laws, known as **Jim Crow** laws, were used to enforce **segregation**.

According to historians John Salmon and Kerrie Newell, 'Civil rights depend on the law, popular attitudes to the law and the interpretation of the law by the courts'.³ The strength of the Constitution's reach was put to the test in 1892 when Homer Plessy sat in a 'whites only' train carriage in New Orleans. The famous phrase 'separate but equal' emerged from the *Plessy v Ferguson* case, as the US Supreme Court deemed it lawful to segregate races provided they enjoyed 'equal' access to public facilities.⁴ This precedent created a racially based approach to rights in the US.



Source 6.03 Abraham Lincoln, 'Emancipation Proclamation', Abraham Lincoln Online, <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/emancipate.htm>

Reconstruction

The period from 1865–1877 when the southern states were reintegrated into the US.

Jim Crow

A derogatory nickname given to African Americans based on racist impersonations of black people.

segregation

Where two or more groups in a society are kept separate, usually by law, due to perceived differences in race, gender, religion or some other factor. In a segregated society, one group of people is usually disadvantaged or oppressed by these arrangements.

Source 6.04 'Jim Crow' was a character played onstage by a white performer in the 1830s and 1840s. The song-and-dance routine was done in **blackface**, with the character of Jim Crow supposedly based on a dimwitted slave.

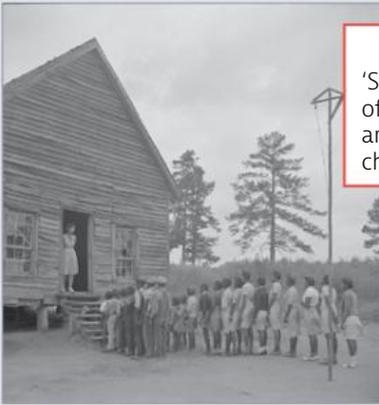
blackface

When a performer, usually white, blackens their face to mimic and parody darker-skinned people, often African Americans. This is considered deeply offensive.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

6.04 Using Source 6.04, explain what messages the Jim Crow character communicated to whites about African Americans.

EXAMPLES OF JIM CROW LAWS



EDUCATION

'Separate free schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent; and it shall be unlawful for any colored child to attend any white school, or any white child to attend a colored school.' (*Missouri*)

← A school for 'colored children' in Georgia.



TRANSPORTATION

'All railroad companies and corporations, and all persons running or operating cars or coaches by steam on any railroad line or track in the State of Maryland, for the transportation of passengers, are hereby required to provide separate cars or coaches for the travel and transportation of the white and colored passengers.' (*Maryland*)

→ A 'colored waiting room' at a North Carolina bus station.

MARRIAGE

'All marriages between a white person and a negro, or between a white person and a person of negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited.' (*Florida*)



ENTERTAINMENT

'It shall be unlawful to conduct a restaurant or other place for the serving of food in the city, at which white and colored people are served in the same room, unless such white and colored persons are effectually separated by a solid partition extending from the floor upward to a distance of seven feet or higher, and unless a separate entrance from the street is provided.' (*Alabama*)

'It shall be unlawful for a negro and white person to play together or in company with each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers.' (*Alabama*)

← The 'colored' entrance to a theatre.

HEALTH CARE

'No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse to nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals, either public or private, in which negro men are placed.' (*Alabama*)

Supreme Court Decision on *Plessy v Ferguson* delivered by Justice Brown

We consider the underlying fallacy [misbelief] of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. ... The argument also assumes that social prejudice may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured except by an enforced commingling of the two races. ... If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

Source 6.05 *Plessy v Ferguson*, judgment, decided 18 May 1896; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States *Plessy v Ferguson*, 163 US 537 (1896), Record Group 267, National Archives.

THE KU KLUX KLAN

The **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK or 'the Klan') is a **white supremacist** group that still exists today. The Klan was formed in 1866. Since then it has died out and been revived several times. At its peak in the 1920s it was thought to have had 3–4 million members.

Members of the Klan disguised themselves (and their horses, too, in the early days) in intimidating white robes and pointed hoods to commit acts of terror to further their goal: reversing the equality granted to African Americans after the Civil War. Klansmen raped and murdered African Americans and sympathetic white people, in addition to committing acts of **arson**. They would often put burning crosses in front yards and hold **lynchings**.

The Klan was revived in the 1960s as a response to the progress made by the civil rights movement. Klansmen intimidated and used violence against African Americans and civil rights activists. Beatings, bombings, abductions and murder were commonplace. The 1963 Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, resulted in the deaths of four African American girls.

However, the Klan's campaign of terror backfired. In 1965 US President Johnson publicly condemned the Klan, and the FBI started investigating them. Appalled Americans threw their support behind the civil rights movement.

Today there are many different (and often opposing) groups operating in the US under Klan banners, with membership totalling 5000–8000 people.⁵

Ku Klux Klan

Hate-based group that terrorised and murdered African Americans and other minority or marginalised groups.

white supremacist

Supporting the belief that white people are superior to other racial groups.

arson

The deliberate and criminal destruction of property by fire.

lynching

To illegally and publicly hang someone for a crime (real or imagined).



Source 6.06 Members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Did you know? Billie Holiday's 1939 song 'Strange Fruit' was about the lynchings occurring in the South.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

An organisation formed in 1909 by W.E.B. Du Bois to protect and promote the rights of African Americans.

THE NAACP

Not only did African Americans in the South have to face the humiliation of having to sit in separate sections of restaurants or separate train carriages, attend separate schools or drink at separate water fountains, they could be fined or arrested if they broke segregation laws. Lynchings, even public ones, were often overlooked by local law enforcement agencies.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was created in 1909 in response to concerns about the lynchings of African Americans and to secure the rights promised in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the US Constitution. The NAACP was the vision of W.E.B. Du Bois, who hoped to reinstitute equality for all Americans, regardless of race. When World War II broke out in 1939, the conflict reminded Americans that they gave few rights to African Americans yet expected them to fight for the US.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 6.05** Give three examples of 'Jim Crow' laws.
- 6.06** Why was the Klan condemned by President Johnson in 1965, and how did this affect the civil rights movement?
- 6.07** What were some of the oppressive measures that whites living in the South took to keep African Americans fearful and dependent?
- 6.08** What protections, if any, did the US government provide to oppressed people?
- 6.09** Explain your understanding of the term 'separate but equal'. In practice, to what extent were African Americans and white people treated as being 'equal'?

GET UP, STAND UP: CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS QUO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, 1947: 'It is my deep conviction that we have reached a turning point in our country's efforts to guarantee freedom and equality to all our citizens.'

The years after the end of World War II brought an awakening of the US civil rights movement. African Americans had just fought for the US, yet they were still denied basic rights. The Cold War highlighted the hypocrisy of the claim that the people living in communist countries were oppressed while America was the 'land of the free'. The 1960s, often defined as the most socially revolutionary decade of the twentieth century, was alive with protest against the establishment and the status quo. Increasing individual wealth and greater access to university courses for women, African Americans and working-class people enabled more people in the US to express their views more publicly.

In April 1945, Harry S. Truman became US president after the death of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman's views on race were shaped initially by his childhood in Missouri. His grandparents had owned slaves, and uttering racist slurs was commonplace. But when he took public office—particularly when he heard about the treatment of black soldiers on their return from World War II—he became one of the first presidents to highlight race issues in the US and to push for reform.

In 1946 Truman established the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The committee was charged with investigating the state of civil rights in the US, and making recommendations to help protect them. Based on their recommendations, Truman issued **Executive Orders** 9980 and 9981, which outlawed segregation in federal government workplaces and in the US armed forces.

Executive Order 9980

REGULATIONS GOVERNING FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES WITHIN THE FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT

1. All personnel actions taken by Federal appointing officers shall be based solely on merit and fitness; and such officers are authorized and directed to take appropriate steps to insure that in all such actions there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Executive Order 9981

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED SERVICES

WHEREAS it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed services, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.

executive orders

Directives given by the president to manage the operation of the federal government, its property and activities.

 **Source 6.07** Issued by Harry S. Truman, the White House, 26 July 1948. The American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-9980-regulations-governing-fair-employment-practices-within-the-federal>

 **Source 6.08** Issued by Harry S. Truman, the White House, 26 July 1948. Harry S. Truman Executive Library & Museum, <https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/library/executive-orders/9981/executive-order-9981>

BROWN V BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA, KANSAS

Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas was a landmark court case that went to the US Supreme Court. For the NAACP, getting rid of any legal form of segregation would be a victory in the push for equality and civil rights. An opportunity presented itself in 1954 in the state of Kansas, when a church minister named Oliver Brown sought action against segregation in high schools. Reverend Brown's daughter had to travel a long distance to attend an all-black high school rather than the nearby all-white high school. With the support and financial backing of the NAACP, Brown was successful in overturning the decision on segregated schools. The judge in the case, Chief Justice Earl Warren, deemed that learning in a segregated environment was psychologically detrimental to African Americans. This was a landmark decision; the first non-violent movement for change had been successful. However, in what was to become known as the **Southern Manifesto**, politicians in states such as Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana committed to fighting the Supreme Court decision on *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, refusing to **desegregate** high schools in their states.

Southern Manifesto

A document written in 1956 by federal representatives of southern states that opposed racial integration.

desegregate

When a service, facility or society that was segregated legally ends that separation.

➔ **Source 6.09** James T. Patterson, 'The Troubled Legacy of Brown v Board', *African-American Studies at the Woodrow Wilson Center 2* (2002), <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/documents/publication/ACF236.pdf>

The troubled legacy of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*

I would also point out that the case did have some impact. We tend to forget that in 1954 segregation was mandated not only in eleven southern states but in six others, and was optional in four more. It also existed in the District of Columbia. So there were twenty-one states where segregation was either mandated or possible, Kansas among them. Richard Kluger reports in his magisterial book, *Simple Justice*, that there were 11,500,000 white and black children, 40% of all American school children, affected by segregation policies in the southern and border states in 1954. We tend to forget that Brown changed this relatively quickly in most of the Border States.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 6.09 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 6.10** List the statistics used in this passage. What picture do they paint of the challenge faced by those looking to end segregation?
- 6.11** Patterson refers to the 'border states'. Why would the Brown ruling be implemented quicker in these border states?
- 6.12** Explain one or more effects the Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v Board of Education* would have had on states.
- 6.13** Evaluate the importance of the *Brown v Board of Education* case as a key moment in securing civil rights for African Americans. Use evidence to support your response.

EMMETT TILL

In the state of Mississippi in August 1955, a fourteen-year-old African American named Emmett Till was said to have wolf-whistled at a white woman, Carolyn Bryant. The woman's husband, Roy Bryant, and his brother-in-law, J.W. Milam, kidnapped Till, tortured and then killed him. They tied a 30-kilogram metal fan to his neck and dumped him in the Tallahatchie River. The torture included gouging out Till's eyes before shooting him in the head. At the trial that followed, Bryant and Milam were found not guilty of murder and kidnapping after an hour of deliberation by an all-white jury. One of the reasons this event received such nationwide press coverage—apart from the judicial injustice of such a clear-cut case—was because Emmett's mother, Mamie Till-Mobley, chose to have her son's coffin open at his funeral. The brutality of the wounds on Till's face brought attention to the case when photos of Till's body were published in *Jet* magazine, a national black publication. Months after the acquittal, Bryant admitted in an interview with *Look* magazine in January 1956 that he did, in fact, murder the teenager. With double jeopardy in effect—meaning he could not be tried twice on the same charges after a legitimate acquittal—Bryant's admission only stoked the fire of those who sought justice. Till's murder, and the perversion of justice that followed, prompted many people to become politicised and socially active, and brought into focus the fundamental problems of race relations in the US.



➔ Emmett Till.

ROSA PARKS AND THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

ROSA PARKS: 'People always say that I didn't give up my seat because I was tired. ... The only tired I was, was tired of giving in.'⁶

The name Rosa Parks is synonymous with the civil rights movement. Rosa Parks was an African American seamstress from Montgomery, Alabama. On 1 December 1955 she took the bus home from work, just as she always did. The bus was full and a white man was standing. In line with Montgomery City Bus Policy, the bus driver ordered the four black passengers to vacate their seats to make room for the white passengers. While the other three passengers complied, Parks refused to be moved. She was arrested and charged with violating the Chapter 6, Section 11 segregation law of the Montgomery City code.

Parks's defiance sparked a reaction from the African American community in Montgomery, with the Women's Political Council calling for a **boycott** of buses.



Source 6.10 A segregation notice on a Dallas bus, 1941.

Women's Political Council pamphlet, 5 December 1955

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. ...

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

[Rosa Parks's] case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus.

You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses Monday.

Leaders of the African American community met to plan the boycott at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery. Among them was Martin Luther King Jr, a Baptist pastor who was chosen as the leader of the protest. Shortly afterwards, the **Montgomery Improvement Association** was formed and King was elected its president.

boycott

A strategic refusal to have any dealings with another person, organisation or country, usually to express disapproval or to force change.

Source 6.11 Cited in Jo Ann Robinson and David J. Garrow, eds, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 45–64.

Did you know? Black churches across the US collected shoes to send to Montgomery because the Montgomery bus boycott participants were wearing out their shoes by walking everywhere.

Montgomery Improvement Association

The organisation formed to manage the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama.

The boycott was organised, thoughtful and deliberate. On the day of Rosa Parks' trial, African Americans in Montgomery did not take any buses. They also made a few demands. They wanted guarantees that bus drivers would be polite to black passengers, that those who purchased bus tickets first be allowed to sit wherever they pleased, regardless of skin colour, and that black bus drivers would be employed. Decision-makers in Montgomery rejected these demands. As a result, the black community continued to boycott the bus service until the buses were desegregated.

Churches within the community purchased vehicles and created their own transport system. A private taxi service was set up. African Americans walked, rode bikes and even carpooled with white people—although this had consequences for the white people involved. The boycott became more than a political issue—it was an economic one. The bus line was facing bankruptcy because African Americans made up seventy-five per cent of its fares. Shops in Montgomery had lost their customers.

During the 381 days of the boycott, at least eighty-nine boycott participants were arrested, including King, whose home was also bombed.⁷ Remarkably, there was no violence from the protesters.

On 20 December 1956, a month after a Supreme Court ruling that upheld the ruling in the District Court of Alabama (*Browder v Gayle*) that segregated public transport was unconstitutional, King led African Americans back onto the buses where they could sit wherever they wanted. This landmark constitutional victory gave reason, purpose and confidence to the desegregation movement.

New York Times, 13 November 1956

An Alabama law and a city ordinance requiring segregation of races on intrastate buses were declared invalid by the Supreme Court today.

The Court affirmed a ruling by a three-judge Federal court that held the challenged statutes 'violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.'

The Fourteenth Amendment provides that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law nor deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws.

In upholding the lower court's judgment, the Supreme Court cited its 1954 decision outlawing racial discrimination in public parks and on public golf courses.

↑ **Source 6.13** Luther A. Huston, 'High Court Rules Bus Segregation Unconstitutional', *New York Times*, 13 November 1956.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

6.14 What implication do you think the ruling described in Source 6.13 would have had for the *Plessy v Ferguson* case?



↑ **Source 6.12** Rosa Parks.

Did you know? After her death in 2005, Rosa Parks became the first woman to lie in state (when the body of a well-known figure is displayed in public prior to burial) in the US Capitol rotunda. This was an honour normally reserved for presidents and military leaders.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR, 1929–1968

Significant individual

Martin Luther King Jr was born in Atlanta, Georgia. His father, 'Daddy King', was a Baptist preacher. He had suffered under the Jim Crow laws but had a reputation as a fiery defender of African American rights. From a young age, King proved to be a studious young man and excelled at school and then theological seminary.

In 1953 King was appointed pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. This was the most prestigious black church in Montgomery, and it was a tribute to King's already growing reputation that such a young man would be invited to fill this prominent position of leadership in the African American community. Naturally, this appointment placed King right at the heart of the civil rights struggle. In 1955 King received his PhD from Boston University.

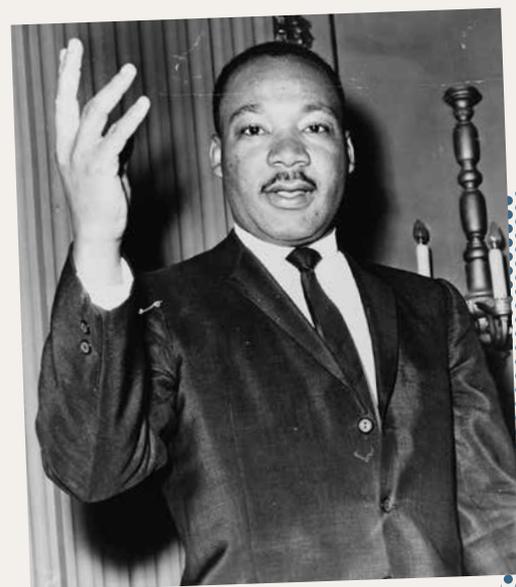
King was a convert to Gandhi's ideas of non-violent civil resistance. More than any other person, he was responsible for establishing this as the fundamental philosophical basis of the American civil rights movement. In 1957 King became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which was perhaps the single most important organisation in the civil rights movement. Very soon King was travelling widely and making speeches that inspired a generation of people. He was leading peaceful marches across the South, and was arrested on several occasions. By 1961 his phone was being wire-tapped by the FBI under the direction of its anti-communist head, J. Edgar Hoover.

In April 1963, during a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama, King was arrested. He used his time in prison to write an open response to Christian critics. The 'Letter from Birmingham City Jail' is so powerful that some scholars have compared it in importance to the prison writings of Paul in the New Testament.

In 1964 King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. With the passage of the *Civil Rights Act 1964*, King's focus began to shift from civil and legal rights to issues of economic equality. The SCLC began to get directly involved in various labour disputes, particularly confronting entrenched inequalities in northern cities such as Chicago.

King was also growing very concerned at the escalation of the Vietnam War. These were controversial issues that divided loyalties within the civil rights movement. At the famous Riverside Church in New York on 4 April 1967, King gave his bravest speech, 'A Time to Break Silence'. King showed that he was prepared to confront former allies in the civil rights cause and shift his focus to international peace. Attacking US policy in Vietnam became a new moral imperative because so many young black men were dying in south-east Asia.

On 3 April 1968, King arrived in Memphis, Tennessee, to address a demonstration the next day in support of striking garbage collectors. At a local church he delivered what was to be his final prophetic speech, 'I've Been to the Mountaintop'. The next day, on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, shots rang out. King was hit in the throat and died at the scene. America went into mourning. Two months later a white supremacist, James Earl Ray, was arrested and found guilty of the murder. He denied it and there are those who believe that a deeper conspiracy was at work in King's assassination.



Source 6.14 Martin Luther King Jr.

Was a key leader and proponent of peaceful protest in the American civil rights movement.

Believed in racial equality and the integration of black and white people.

He said: 'We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed.'

Said about: 'By dint of his vision, and determination, and most of all faith in the redeeming power of love he finally inspired a nation to transform itself' (*Barack Obama, forty-fourth US president*)

Challenged the status quo by calling for racial equality in areas such as voting, education, public facilities and housing.



Source 6.15 Two members of the 'Little Rock Nine', 1957.

Did you know? Martin Luther King's name at birth was Michael. His father only changed both his and his son's names after learning more about the German Protestant trailblazer, Martin Luther.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Formed in 1942 to organise non-violent protests and activities against racism and segregation in the South.

Freedom Rides

A series of non-violent protest; activists rode buses through the South to determine whether federal rulings on integration were being enforced.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

The power of the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* Supreme Court decision was put to the test in Arkansas. In September 1957, nine black students enrolled in the recently desegregated Little Rock Central High School. The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, banned their entry and attempted to call in the National Guard to block the nine students from entering the high school.

In what some regard as a political attempt to hasten the implementation of the Brown decision, the 'Little Rock Nine' were handpicked by the NAACP based on their academic aptitude and emotional resilience. Throughout their time at Little Rock Central High School, they were victims of physical and verbal abuse. The events at Little Rock highlighted the difficulties of putting into practice decisions made in courtrooms, and the need for African Americans to remain active in the pursuit of civil rights and equality so that the issues remained in focus.

SIT-INS

On 1 February 1960, maintaining the non-violent approach to bring attention to civil rights issues, a group of black students entered a Woolworths department store in Greensboro, North Carolina, and sat down in a white-only area of the eatery. This created such a stir that protesters in more than fifty-five cities in thirteen states followed suit. Many participants, both black and white, had food poured over them but they remained resolute. They were having an impact, made evident by the hordes of television crews and reporters that descended upon the cities where these sit-ins were taking place.

THE FREEDOM RIDES

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942, was an organisation aimed at ending discriminatory policies. In May 1961 it began the practice of **Freedom Rides**, which aimed to test two Supreme Court rulings in the State of Virginia: *Morgan v Virginia* (1946) and *Boydton v Virginia* (1960). These rulings overturned segregation and allowed white people and African Americans to be integrated on transport if the travel was between states.

The Freedom Riders toured the southern states by bus to see if these rulings were being implemented and enforced. Along the way they attempted to use white-only bathrooms and facilities. When the integrated bus rolled into the terminal in Montgomery, Alabama, John Lewis, a black activist, and Jim Zwerg, a white civil rights activist, were both brutally beaten. Police officers who arrived on the scene did little to protect the Freedom Riders. When they reached Mississippi, they were jailed for 'breach of the peace'.

The highly publicised attacks and arrests of protesters garnered support for the desegregation movement, and the number of Freedom Riders grew. In response, in November 1961 US Attorney General Robert Kennedy activated the Supreme Court decisions. These included the requirement for each bus to display a certificate that stated, ‘Seating aboard this vehicle is without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin, by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission’.



Did you know? On 14 May 1961 near Anniston, Alabama, a car load of Klansmen threw a firebomb into one of the buses carrying Freedom Riders. As the bus burnt, the Klansmen tried to prevent the passengers from leaving by blocking the door. The passengers eventually escaped, but the Freedom Riders were then beaten up by the Klan members.

Source 6.16 Freedom Riders outside the remains of their burnt-out bus, Alabama, 1961.

Source 6.17 Aerial view of the 1963 March on Washington.

FREEDOM MARCH ON WASHINGTON

MARTIN LUTHER KING, 1963: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.’

On 28 August 1963, approximately 250,000 supporters of the civil rights movement took part in what was officially called the ‘March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom’. Organised by leaders of six different civil rights organisations, all with different agendas, the aim of the march was to draw attention to issues relating to African American employment and civil rights in general. Marchers gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC and listened to songs and speeches. Afterwards, organisers met with President Kennedy to discuss his proposed civil rights bill.

One of the most memorable parts of the march—and what has become one of the most significant events in the entire civil rights campaign—was Martin Luther King’s ‘I Have a Dream’ speech. Televised live across the US, the speech was replayed throughout the world and remains relevant today. King’s speech put into words the hopes and dreams of all of those who were misrepresented or discriminated against.

Did you know? The March on Washington cost US\$29,563. Additional costs incurred above this amount included US\$18,838 for sound equipment, US\$16,626 for printing leaflets and bulletins, and US\$11,277 for making badges and pennants.



➔ **Source 6.18** Martin Luther King Jr speech given in Washington, 28 August 1963, quoted in James Melvin, ed., *I Have A Dream: Writings and Speeches That Changed the World* (San Francisco: Harper, 1986), 102–106.

Excerpt from Martin Luther King's 'I Have A Dream' speech

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvellous new militancy [using violent methods in support of a cause], which has engulfed the Negro community, must not lead us to a distrust of all white people. For many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who

⬇ **Source 6.19** Protesters during the March on Washington, 28 August 1963.



are asking the devotees of Civil Rights, 'When will you be satisfied?' We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality; we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one; we can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating 'For Whites Only'; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote, and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No! No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until 'justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream'.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 6.18 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 6.15** Outline what Martin Luther King Jr did not want civil rights activities to become.
- 6.16** Explain what Martin Luther King Jr no longer wanted to see in America.
- 6.17** Evaluate the extent to which Martin Luther King Jr's 'I Have a Dream' speech contributed to meaningful change in race relations in the US. Use evidence to support your response.

➔ **Source 6.20** Martin Luther King Jr leads the March on Washington.

SELMA

In 1965, the civil rights movement turned its attention to the lack of registered voters in the black community. There were three marches from Selma to Montgomery in March 1965, each one about voting rights for African Americans. Given Selma's history of violence and intolerance towards African American townspeople, the marches were bound to cause controversy and draw national attention to Alabama.

On 7 March, state troopers were waiting for the 600 marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, and attacked them with clubs and tear gas when they did not disperse. The beatings were shown on national television. On 9 March, Martin Luther King led more than 2000 protesters towards the bridge, but turned around when they were met by 500 state troopers.

As a result of the violence on 7 March, US President Lyndon Johnson directed state law enforcement to fall under the control of federal agencies. On 21 March, Martin Luther King led 25,000 people and peacefully marched from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, protected by US army troops and 1900 members of the Alabama National Guard, which was now under the control of the federal government.

The publicity resulting from the violence on the Edmund Pettus Bridge helped make African American voting rights an issue for Congress. These events in Selma led to the *Voting Rights Act 1965*, which guaranteed the vote for all African Americans—a significant victory in the ongoing battle for racial equality.

Did you know? Martin Luther King Jr was jailed twenty-nine times, mostly for acts of **civil disobedience**.

civil disobedience

Refusing in a non-violent way to obey a law, demand or order that is perceived to be unjust.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

6.18 What role did Rosa Parks play in the civil rights movement?

6.19 What role did Martin Luther King Jr play in the early civil rights movement during the 1950s?

6.20 How did some white people in the South respond to the civil rights actions at Little Rock, Arkansas, and the lunch counter sit-ins?

6.21 What was the purpose of the Freedom Rides?

6.22 What similarities do the protests from 1955–1965 share?

6.23 Boycotts, marches and sit-ins are all examples of challenging authority or the status quo. What makes them so effective? Use examples.

6.24 The protests above are examples of civil disobedience. Explain how this differs from armed struggle.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE

MARTIN LUTHER KING, 1963: 'I am in Birmingham because injustice is here.'

The civil rights campaign was a struggle defined by resistance and adversity. The established political order presented many obstacles to change. Further, even within the civil rights movement itself there were varying philosophies on the best ways to achieve equality. At times these differences threatened to derail the entire movement. Perceived excessive responses by law enforcement agencies to civil rights protests and political demonstrations occasionally prompted further violence from activists that, according to some in the movement, compromised the groundwork laid by early campaigners. Over time, key players in the movement, in particular Malcolm X and the **Black Panthers**, became more **militant**, contrasting with the civil disobedience approach of Martin Luther King Jr and others. Thus, the civil rights movement started to fracture as different approaches to political action struggled for dominance.

Black Panther Party

An organisation formed to protect and promote the rights of African Americans; it endorsed the use of violence.

militant

The use of organised violence to achieve political change.

THE RIOTS OF THE 1960S

Many members of the white population were incensed with the small victories being won by the civil rights movement and the attention that civil rights were receiving nationwide. This sparked further confrontations.

BIRMINGHAM, 1963

After five weeks of *picketing*, sit-ins, kneel-ins, demonstrations and marches in Birmingham by African Americans, a truce was reached on 10 May 1963. A timetable was set out for the desegregation of changing rooms and lunch counters, the removal of 'whites only' and 'blacks only' signs, and the beginning of a program to give employment to African Americans.

On 11 May 1963, the home of King's brother, Reverend A.D. King, was bombed, as was the A.G. Gaston Motel where King stayed when he was in Birmingham.

picketing

A form of protest in which people gather outside a building or location, often with the intent of preventing workers from going inside.



Source 6.21 Firemen hose demonstrators as they lie on the footpath, Birmingham, 1963.

African Americans rioted, suspecting that the police had played a part in the bombing. Local police units and state troopers—including 100 mounted troopers—fired tear gas into the crowd of 2500 that had gathered in the town centre.⁸ Fifty people were injured in the riots.

The Birmingham riots received national attention, but they also ushered in a new approach in the fight for civil rights. Those wanting rapid change were growing tired of the patient and non-violent approach of King and his followers. Many people feared that the civil rights cause would be lost if violence was not met with violence.

In a much-criticised decision, President Kennedy initiated Operation Oak Tree by deploying 18,000 mobilised troops to deal with civil unrest. As military protection had not been provided when the violence had been against African Americans, many believed that the Kennedy government had done nothing proactive to avoid the confrontations in the first place. Vocal black leaders such as Malcolm X and Adam Clayton Powell Jr made the point that the events in Birmingham would only be the beginning of rioting against racial inequalities.

HARLEM, 1964

When a fifteen-year-old African American, James Powell, was shot by a white New York police officer in July 1964, the riots lasted for six days. About 4000 rioters destroyed cars, threw Molotov cocktails and looted businesses. When the rioting had subsided, reported casualties included one fatality and 118 people injured; 465 rioters were arrested.⁹ That the officer responsible for James Powell's death, Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan, was found not guilty of all charges only inflamed an already volatile situation.

PHILADELPHIA, 1964

The neighbourhood of North Philadelphia rioted over three days in August 1964 after months of alleged cases of police brutality. The catalyst for the riots in Philadelphia was an incident at a busy street intersection. An African American woman, Odessa Bradford,

stopped her car in the middle of the road. Whether this was because of car trouble or an argument with her husband is unclear, but when requested to move along by a police officer, Bradford was unable to do so. As a result, she was forcibly removed from her vehicle.

Things got out of hand quickly, as the neighbourhood reacted to false reports that a police officer had beaten to death a pregnant black woman. As a result of the riot, 225 predominantly white-owned businesses were looted or destroyed in the North Philadelphia area. In all, 341 people were injured and 774 people were arrested.

BLACK POWER

MALCOLM X: 'I don't see an American dream. I see an American nightmare.'

BACK TO AFRICA: MARCUS GARVEY



Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican political activist who organised a black nationalist movement in New York in the 1910s and 1920s. Garvey's view was that all African Americans should return to Africa and create an independent nation for black people. Although Garvey's beliefs did not take hold, he sowed the seeds for future generations who would adapt his ideas and redefine the idea of Black Power.

THE NATION OF ISLAM

The *Nation of Islam (NOI)* was originally founded in Detroit in 1930 as the Allah Temple of Islam. Making the NOI a prominent player in the political landscape of the civil rights movement was its leader Elijah Poole, who was better known as Elijah Muhammad. While the NOI's approach was Islamic in principle, Muhammad took liberties to shift and mould his ideas, which, at times, contradicted traditional Islamic beliefs. His views centred on the premise that originally all people created by Allah were black and that an evil being called Yakub created all other races, including the evil white people. The NOI appealed to many African Americans on a social level as it sought to improve their lives spiritually, politically and economically. The NOI believed not in segregation but separation, as only this would strengthen the black community rather than hinder it.

Muhammad and the NOI had an 'eye for an eye' approach to activism—a contrast to Martin Luther King's non-violent approach to achieving equality. This ideological split was highlighted in May 1959 when Muhammad suggested that because King was not reacting to the injustices inflicted on African Americans he was simply maintaining all aspects of slavery from which they were trying to move away.

The NOI was responsible for several positive outcomes. It raised hopes and self-esteem in impoverished black communities, and its publication, *Muhammad Speaks*, informed and educated many African Americans. Assisting in the NOI's platform was its star recruit, boxer Muhammad Ali. However, one man's departure from the ranks of the NOI would greatly affect its stature. That man was Malcolm X.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

6.25 How did the methods of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers contrast with those of Martin Luther King and his followers?

6.26 Why were there race riots in the 1960s in the US?

6.27 What was Operation Oak Tree and why was it controversial?

EXTENSION

6.28 To what extent do tensions between African Americans and police remain today?

← Marcus Garvey in 1922.

Did you know? Marcus Garvey died on 10 June 1940 in London without ever having set foot in Africa.

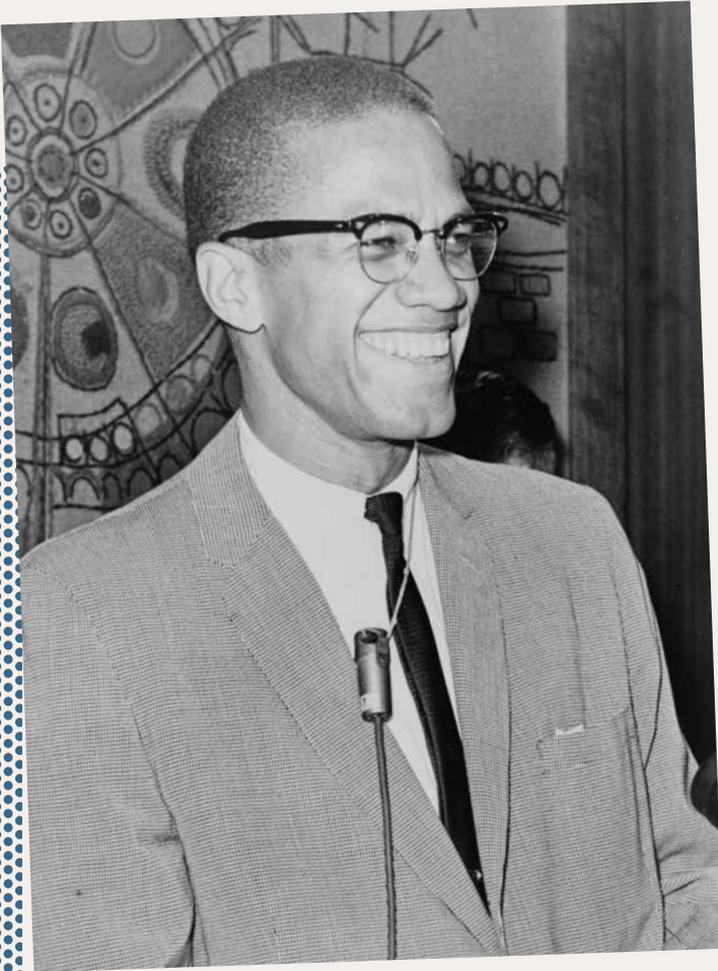
Nation of Islam (NOI)

An organisation loosely based on the principles of Islam for the promotion of African American culture.

↓ **Source 6.22** Prophet Elijah Muhammad speaks to the followers of the NOI. Boxing legend Muhammad Ali (far left) looks on.

MALCOLM X, 1925–1965

Significant individual



Malcolm X was one of the most polarising figures of the twentieth century, let alone the civil rights movement. Born Malcolm Little, he changed his family name to 'X', as he considered 'Little' to be a slave name imposed on his ancestors by their masters. X lost his parents when he was young, and he moved from town to town through many foster homes.

X spent six years in prison for burglary and theft. There he read extensively and was convinced to join the NOI. Upon his release from prison in 1952, he threw himself into his work, converting many African Americans to the NOI in key cities such as New York and Philadelphia. As his popularity grew, so did X's views and beliefs. He became disillusioned with the leadership of the NOI and in 1964 distanced himself from the organisation. In that same year he began the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which based itself on five principles: restoration, reorientation, education, economic security and self-defence.

Malcolm X.

Source 6.23 Cited in William L. Van Deburg, ed., *Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 110–113.

Program of the Organization of Afro-American Unity

I. Restoration

... In order to free ourselves from the oppression of our enslavers then, it is absolutely necessary for the Afro-American to restore communications with Africa. ...

II. Reorientation

... We can learn much about Africa by reading informative books and by listening to the experiences of those who have traveled there, but many of us can travel to the land of our choice and experience for ourselves. ...

III. Education

... The Organization of Afro-American Unity will devise original educational methods and procedures which will liberate the minds of our children from the vicious lies and distortions that are fed to us from the cradle to keep us mentally enslaved. ...

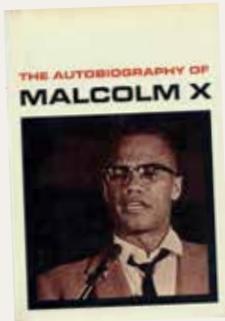
IV. Economic security

After the Emancipation Proclamation ... it was realized that the Afro-American constituted the largest homogeneous [similar] ethnic group with a common origin and common group experience in the United States and, if allowed to exercise economic or political freedom, would in a short period of time own this country.

V. Self-defense

... Over five thousand Afro-Americans have been lynched since the Emancipation Proclamation and not one murderer has been brought to justice! ...

In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, The Organization of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done—whatever the price and by any means necessary.



Did you know? In 1965, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* was published. The book detailed Malcolm X's difficult childhood, his life of crime, his conversion to Islam in prison and his subsequent activities with the NOI. The book was co-authored by Alex Haley who also wrote *Roots* (1976), a book that outlined Haley's attempts to trace his own ancestors back to Africa.

Malcolm X hoped to improve standards for the black community, but his attempts to turn the Organization of Afro-American Unit's principles into action were cut short—he was assassinated on 21 February 1965 by members of the NOI. Only days prior to his death, Malcolm X claimed that the NOI was trying to kill him. He was shot by three assassins—the first, Thomas Hagan, shooting him from close range with a sawn-off shotgun, followed by Norman Butler and Thomas Johnson using semiautomatic pistols to ensure X's death. Twenty-one gunshot wounds were found on X's body.

As dramatic and tragic as his assassination was, X's life still captivates people today. In assessing his own political life, X commented on the difference between his approach and that of Martin Luther King: 'I want Dr. King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult. I really did come thinking I could make it easier. If the white people realize what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King.'¹⁰

Bruce Perry comparing Malcolm X and Martin Luther King

[Malcolm's] ability to identify with his followers and to articulate their anger was central to his charisma. His stature in Harlem [a suburb of New York City] was also due to the way he portrayed himself as a child of the ghetto, despite his semi-rural, small-town upbringing. ... [I]t was Malcolm who stood up to the white establishment and bluntly said what American blacks had been whispering for centuries. It was he who helped them shed their fear and who made their white oppressors fear instead. Outwardly, he seemed unafraid of death ... his willingness to die for his followers was another part of his charisma. His ability to transform his fear into political fearlessness attested to the skill with which he waged private battles on public battlefields. Unlike Martin Luther King Jr., who was determined to 'love' the supporters of white supremacy until they yielded, Malcolm harnessed his anger and that of his followers with devastating effectiveness. King was a product of the seminary [training school for preachers], not the penitentiary [prison]. Even the vocabulary of the two men—one tall and lean, the other short and stocky—reflected their different backgrounds. Malcolm's was earthy and unpretentious [natural; easily understood]; King, by his own admission, was fond of big words ... Eventually, King's 'forgive them, they know not what they do' approach would prove more effective politically. But Malcolm's unforgiving, accusatory approach afforded his followers more release. It also made King look so 'moderate' that many white Americans would eventually embrace him as the lesser of two evils.

Source 6.24 Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (New York: Station Hill Press, 1991), 182–183.

Was an African American activist for the Nation of Islam and later the Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Believed that black and white people could not live together, and that African Americans should have their own separate identity and culture.

He said: 'I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare.'

Said about: 'Malcolm's ability to identify with his followers and to articulate their anger was central to his charisma.' (Bruce Perry, *Malcolm X biographer*)

Challenged the status quo by advocating and justifying the use of violence to create a separate African American identity and culture.



Source 6.25 Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. only met once, during a reading of the civil rights bill in the Senate in Washington, DC on 26 March 1964.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 6.24 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 6.29** Outline why Malcolm X was so popular with the black community in the US.
- 6.30** Explain the differences in personality and methods between Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.
- 6.31** Analyse the extent to which Malcolm X played a key role in improving the lives of African Americans. Use evidence to support your response.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

In every historical conflict, the actions of those challenging an established power tend to escalate from ideological thought to professing and publicising their plight, sometimes ending in violent outcomes. While this was not the case for King and his followers, others in the black community became impatient with the lack of change and the lack of protection for the rights of impoverished African Americans. Some African Americans believed that militant action was required to receive what was rightly theirs. In 1966 the Black Panther Party was formed with its own demands about opportunities for black communities in civil rights, employment, education and housing. Its Ten Point Program consisted of the following demands.

➔ **Source 6.26** Cited in Huey P. Newton, *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* (Santa Cruz: University of California, 1980), 141.

⬇ **Source 6.27** US athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos gave the Black Power salute at the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games after taking gold and bronze, respectively, in the 200-metre sprint. Australian athlete Peter Norman took the silver medal.

The Ten Point Program

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black community.
4. We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

The Black Panther Party was short-lived, as its militant approach affected its ability to be taken seriously as a voice for social change. It was closely linked to criminal activity, was overtly violent, and even encouraged the killing of police officers if necessary. The Black Panthers' place in the political landscape of civil rights lasted from 1966 until 1969, largely because it attracted the attention of the police and the FBI. As a result of this, arrests, infiltration and constant surveillance crippled the Black Panthers, causing them to lose their public appeal.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 6.32** Using their Ten Point Program, identify what the Black Panthers stand for.
- 6.33** Compare the views of the NOI and Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity. What similarities exist, and where do they differ?
- 6.34** Do you think the Black Power movement helped or hindered the civil rights movement? Explain your answer.

Did you know? US athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos were pallbearers at the funeral of Australian runner, Peter Norman, in 2006.

THE CHANGING TIDE

BARACK OBAMA: 'Trayvon Martin could have been me thirty-five years ago.'

Despite sit-ins, protests, boycotts and education about civil rights, the most significant changes in the US occurred as a result of legislation and its enforcement. The following are examples of the laws passed by US Congress to enact civil rights and equality.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT 1964



The key element of the *Civil Rights Act* 1964 was that discrimination on the basis of race would become illegal in public places. Job discrimination was also outlawed, as the Act established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. To compel states to comply with the legislation, the federal government had the right to withhold funds from any state unwilling to support the Act, and the attorney general had the power to take federal court action against all of those who broke the law.¹¹



↑ In 2012 Trayvon Martin was shot dead at the age of seventeen.

↻ Source 6.28 Rosa Parks and Congressman Walter Fauntroy holding a framed picture of President Lyndon Johnson signing the *Civil Rights Act* 1964.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT 1965

Another significant shift in the civil rights movement was the *Voting Rights Act* 1965, which abolished **literacy tests** for voter registration, thereby giving all citizens the opportunity to register to vote in elections. To remove any bias in voter registrations, it also legislated that federal examiners be put in place in areas where less than 50 per cent of the non-white population had not registered to vote.¹²

literacy test

A test based on reading and writing skills that must be passed if certain rights, in this case voting, are to be granted.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT 1968

The *Civil Rights Act* 1968 gave equal housing opportunities to all US citizens. This meant that landlords could no longer refuse to sell or rent a dwelling just because they did not like someone's origin, race or creed. The Act included a provision relating to hate crimes. Anyone found guilty of causing harm to another person because of their race, religion, colour or national origin could be sentenced to up to a year in prison.¹³

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

6.35 'The US civil rights movement had little effect on the lives of African Americans.' To what extent do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer.

WE SHALL OVERCOME: THE US TODAY

Civil rights in the US took quite a leap in the 1950s and 1960s. While the 2009 inauguration of President Barack Obama was arguably an indication of progress—as well as the greater employment opportunities available for African Americans—the struggle is ever-present in the US. Riots in response to police brutality have occurred throughout recent decades, with the most significant being the 1992 Los Angeles riots that followed the beating of taxi driver Rodney King. More recently, the 2012 shooting of a teenage boy, Trayvon Martin, prompted a similar response and reminded many

Did you know? Rodney King was awarded nothing in punitive damages in a civil trial against the police officers who had beaten him. He had asked for US\$15 million.

Americans of what had transpired during the 1960s and the 1990s. When Hurricane Katrina hit Louisiana in 2005, it was a natural disaster with political implications. It highlighted the gulf in the quality of life between black and white Americans living in the South in the twenty-first century.



 **Source 6.29** Michelle and Barack Obama, 2009.

The events and reactions to these moments in history have put into focus the continued social, economic and educational inequalities that exist in the US today. **Affirmative action**, where people are employed *because of* their race, is said to have improved employment opportunities for minorities. However, it has also created some controversy, as some believe that merit, not race, should be the basis for employment and promotion.

Economically, disparities still exist:

- In 2017 the **median household income** for African American families was US\$40,258. This compares with US\$68,145 for white households.¹⁴
- The poverty rate for African Americans declined from 40 per cent in 1960 to 18.8 per cent in 2017. The poverty rate for white people over the same period remained consistent at approximately 7.5 per cent.¹⁵
- In 1976, African American children made up 40.6 per cent of all children living in poverty in the US. In 2016 this had dropped to 30.8 per cent even though African American children comprise only approximately 15 per cent of the total child population in the US.¹⁶
- In August 2020 the unemployment rate for African Americans was 6.3 per cent while for whites the figure was 3.1 per cent.¹⁷
- In 1964, one in four African Americans above the age of twenty-five had graduated from high school. In 2014 the number was 85 per cent. The percentage of African Americans with a college degree rose from 4 per cent to more than 21 per cent in 2014. In comparison, the rate for white people was 34 per cent.¹⁸

As has been the case over the past sixty years, the quest for equality will continue to unfold in the decades to come.

BLACK LIVES MATTER

A significant contemporary group that continues the struggle for African American equality is **Black Lives Matter**. This loosely organised political and social protest movement emerged after the man who shot and killed Trayvon Martin in 2013, George Zimmerman, was acquitted. It publicises its ideology and activities under the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. The focus of this group is largely on police brutality and the disproportionately high number of African Americans shot and killed by police officers every year. In many cases the police officers responsible are not investigated or are found not guilty of any charges. The movement was galvanised by the killing of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer on 26 May 2020. This led to months of sometimes violent protests in many cities in the US.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

6.36 What positive developments have there been for African Americans in recent times?

6.37 The events involving Rodney King and Trayvon Martin prompted similar public reactions even though they were twenty years apart. Looking at the development of the civil rights movement since the 1950s, how would you describe the rate of change in US race relations?

6.38 What do the statistics about standards of living suggest about the current social, political and economic situation of African Americans?

affirmative action

Where people are employed because of their minority or disadvantaged status to redress larger imbalances and inequalities.

median household income

The amount of income (wages, investments, rents collected, etc.) earned by the people living together in a house; 50 per cent earn above the median amount and 50 per cent earn below this amount.

Black Lives Matter

A loosely organised social and political protest movement that uses the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter; it seeks to raise awareness of continuing black inequality and, in particular, the number of African Americans killed by police officers.

CHAPTER 6 REVIEW

Rosa Parks's refusal to give up her seat on a bus marked a turning point in the US civil rights movement. Not only did the year-long bus boycott that followed help overturn segregation laws, but also a new leader emerged: Martin Luther King Jr. King was a Baptist minister who believed in non-violent social change. He would have an extraordinary influence in the years to come. Peaceful protests such as sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the Selma marches all highlighted the struggle for equality. They were also met with violence. However, Americans were listening, and two landmark Acts were passed: *The Civil Rights Act 1964* and the *Voting Rights Act 1965*.

Martin Luther King was assassinated on 4 April 1968, the day after telling followers he had been to the 'mountaintop' and seen the 'promised land'. He was not the first person killed for their beliefs on race relations in America. He would not be the last.

Much has been accomplished by the civil rights movement since the 1960s, culminating in the election of the first African American president, Barack Obama. But there is still significant disparity between white and black Americans in terms of unemployment, poverty, education, voting rights and incarceration. Civil rights leader Julian Bond said, 'The civil rights movement didn't begin in Montgomery and it didn't end in the 1960s. It continues on to this very minute.'

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- In spite of the Civil War and three amendments to the Constitution, African Americans faced significant discrimination up to and beyond World War II.
- The Montgomery bus boycott sparked the civil rights movement.
- Martin Luther King was a crucial leader of the movement until his assassination in 1968.
- Groups including the Nation of Islam and Black Panthers rejected the peaceful protest methods of the mainstream civil rights movement.
- Key pieces of legislation guaranteed civil rights for all American citizens.
- African Americans have gained many rights but there is still a long way to go for equality.

REVIEW

6.39 Create a table that demonstrates the changes and continuities for African Americans through the 1950s and 1960s.

SITUATION	SITUATION OR LEGISLATION REQUIRING CHANGE	POLITICAL OUTCOME OF PROTEST	SOCIAL OUTCOME OF PROTEST	SUCCESS OR FAILURE?	WHY?
Segregation					
Employment					
Education					
Wages					
Voting					
Housing					

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **6.40** Explain the significance of individuals such as Martin Luther King, Elijah Muhammad and President Johnson to the civil rights movement.
- **6.41** Evaluate which events in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s were the most effective in bringing about change.
- **6.42** Explain the role different ideologies played in creating the political and social landscape of the US between 1940 and 1970. You could consider non-violent protest, the Black Power movement and the Ku Klux Klan.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **6.43** 'The civil rights movement would not have happened if it were not for the *Brown v Education Board of Education* ruling.' Discuss.
- **6.44** 'The social and political situation for African Americans did not change, regardless of the civil rights movement.' Discuss.



THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

'There is no easy walk to freedom anywhere and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.'

NELSON MANDELA, 1953

Apartheid was the policy of the South African government from 1948 to 1994. Its official aim was to keep the majority black and minority white South Africans apart in all aspects of life while guaranteeing equality. In reality, apartheid ensured that all power and wealth remained with the white minority.

Apartheid laws affected every aspect of the lives of black and coloured South Africans, from denying them voting rights to enforcing the **pass system**. The rise of groups such as the **African National Congress (ANC)** and leaders such as Nelson Mandela introduced a strategic approach to challenging apartheid, mainly through peaceful defiance. The reaction of the government's security forces to these protests became ever more brutal, leading to increasingly violent challenges to the apartheid system. Mandela's imprisonment in 1964, alongside other ANC leaders, saw the protest movement decline until Steve Biko's Black Consciousness movement emerged. Student challenges in the 1970s culminated in the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

Violent protests against apartheid continued throughout the 1980s. International opposition began to have an impact, ultimately leading to the first free elections in South African history in 1994, when Mandela and the ANC swept to power.

apartheid

A system of legal racial segregation enforced by the National Party government in South Africa between 1948 and 1994 under which the rights of the majority black inhabitants of South Africa were curtailed and minority rule by white people was maintained.

pass system

An internal passport system designed to segregate the population, severely limit the movements of black Africans, manage urbanisation and allocate migrant labour.

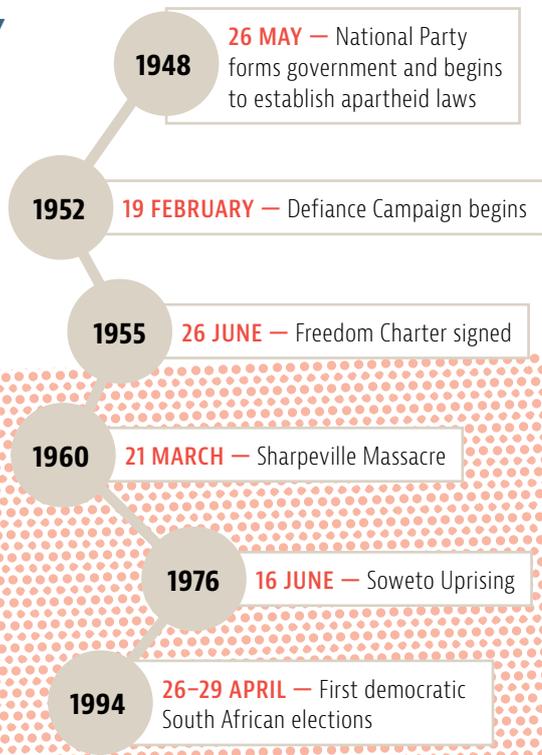
African National Congress (ANC)

An organisation founded in 1912 with the aim of obtaining equal voting and civil rights for the black inhabitants of South Africa.

coloured

In the apartheid era, this was a legal racial classification. It referred to any person of mixed European (white) or African (black) race.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS



KEY QUESTIONS

- What was apartheid?
- How was apartheid justified and enforced by the white South African government?
- How did black and **coloured** South Africans protest against the apartheid laws?
- What was the role of significant individuals and groups in challenging apartheid?
- What were the experiences and perspectives of those who demanded, or resisted, change?
- How and why did the apartheid system end?

All shall be equal before the law



Source 7.01

All shall be equal before the law, The Freedom Charter, South Africa, 2010 mural by Faith XLVII.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS



NELSON MANDELA

Key leader of the ANC until 1964
Imprisoned on Robben Island from 1964–1990
First president of South Africa (1994–1999)



STEVE BIKO

Anti-apartheid activist, African nationalist and socialist
Developed the ideology of Black Consciousness
Arrested and murdered by security officers in 1977



P.W. BOTHA

Served as prime minister (1978–1984) and state president (1984–1989)
Introduced a program of minor reforms to apartheid
Presided over the most brutal period of suppression of the anti-apartheid movement



F.W. DE KLERK

State president of South Africa from 1989–1994
Key figure in the dismantling of the apartheid system
Oversaw the first free election in South African history

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Most historians agree that significant changes in history take place because of a wide range of internal and external social, political, economic and cultural factors, as well as the actions of key individuals, groups and movements. History is also full of examples of systems of government and oppression that, having lasted for decades or even centuries, can come crashing down almost overnight. As you read through this chapter, develop a response to one of the following questions.

7.01 How was the white minority government able to enforce the apartheid system for so long?

7.02 How important were the actions of individuals and protest movements in bringing the apartheid system to an end?

THE PRE-APARTHEID ERA

CECIL RHODES, PRIME MINISTER OF CAPE COLONY, 1877: 'I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race.'

The Dutch East India Company established Cape Colony as the first significant European settlement in South Africa in 1652. Its strategic value was as a trading outpost. Over subsequent centuries both the British and Dutch empires showed limited interest beyond the colony. This, together with the banning of the Dutch language, forced the Dutch settlers—now known as the **Boer**—to embark on the 'Great Trek' in search of land from 1835 onwards. Initial contact with African peoples, such as the Xhosa and Zulu, were peaceful but competition for land soon led to conflict.

Boer

The descendants of the original Dutch settlers.

Scramble for Africa

The invasion and colonisation of most of Africa by European powers between 1881 and 1914.

➔ Cecil Rhodes.

Did you know? From the 1880s until 2007, South Africa was the largest gold producer in the world.

DIAMONDS AND GOLD



The discovery of diamonds in 1866, followed by gold twenty years later, was a contributing factor in the infamous **Scramble for Africa**. This led to the colonisation of much of the continent, including South Africa, by various powers, most notably the British Empire. Cecil Rhodes, a politician, mining magnate and noted British imperialist, became the world's leading diamond trader and eventually took up the position of prime minister of the Cape Parliament. He claimed in 1877 that the Anglo-Saxon race was 'the first race in the world' and later stated that 'the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race'.¹ Rhodes was instrumental in passing laws that took land from black South Africans, and viewed them as good for nothing more than manual labour.

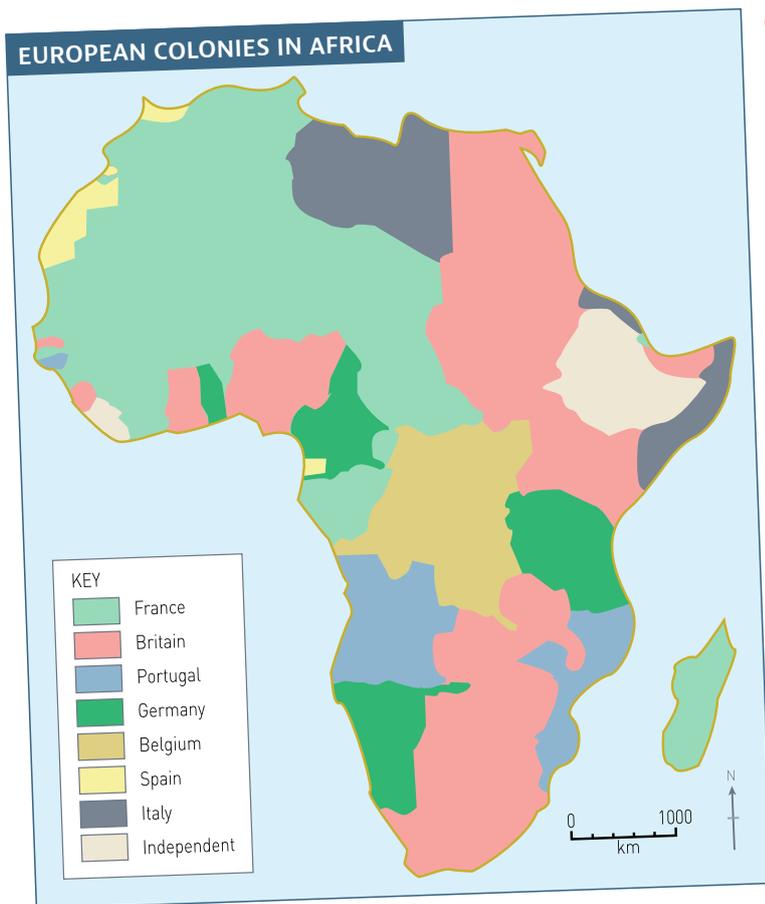
BRITISH COLONISATION AND THE BOER WARS

As Britain moved to consolidate its power in South Africa, and especially access to the abundant gold deposits, it came into direct conflict with the Boer people. The First Boer War (1880–1881) resulted in a decisive Boer victory. Tensions continued to grow and war broke out again in 1899, with the British committing more than 500,000 troops to the campaign.² While the British once again suffered significant casualties, their overwhelming numbers against the much smaller Boer population led to a British victory. The Boer people suffered terribly as the British army employed **scorched earth tactics** and established concentration camps in which 28,000 Boer women and children died, as well as up to 18,000 Africans.³ This devastating experience would contribute to the Boer's fear of being overwhelmed

scorched earth tactics

A military strategy that aims to destroy anything that might be useful to the enemy.

by the black majority during the apartheid era. Shortly after the war, Britain united the various colonies and Boer republics into the self-governing Union of South Africa.



Source 7.02 Map showing European colonies in Africa.

Did you know? During World War I, more than 230,000 South Africans fought as part of the Triple Entente alliance. Eighty-three thousand of those troops were black.

SEGREGATION

In this new union, several harsh segregation laws were implemented, including the denial of voting rights to black South Africans. English and *Afrikaans* were made the official languages of South Africa. The *Natives Land Act 1913* prohibited Africans from purchasing or leasing land other than what was specifically reserved for their own use. Just 7 per cent of all land was made available to black South Africans, who accounted for more than 80 per cent of the total population.⁴ Restricted to these *Bantustans*, or homelands as they would be known during the apartheid era, poverty, hunger and a rapid decline in the quality of life followed. The only employment available to African men was low-paid manual labour in white-owned mines, factories and farms. The government attempted to control the movement of black workers into cities by introducing pass laws. Any infraction of these pass laws could see a worker jailed or stripped of work. The foundations for the apartheid era had been established.

Afrikaans

A South African language originating from the original Dutch settlers.

Bantustans

Tribal homelands established by the apartheid regime to deprive the black majority of South African citizenship.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 7.03** What was the 'Scramble for Africa'?
- 7.04** How were the Boer people affected by conflict with Britain?
- 7.05** Describe some of the restrictions placed on Africans during the early twentieth century.

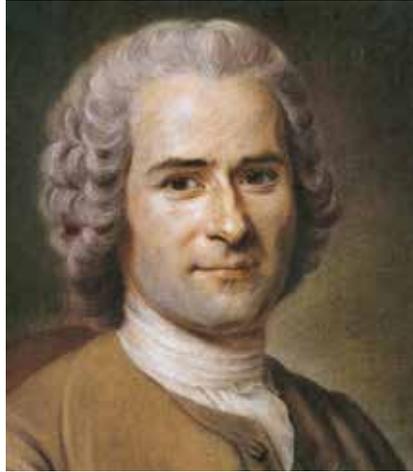
ESTABLISHING THE APARTHEID STATE

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU, *THE SOCIAL CONTRACT* (1762): 'Since no man has a natural authority over other men, and since might never makes right, it follows that agreements are the basis for all legitimate authority among men.'

Enlightenment

An eighteenth-century philosophical movement that focused on ideas such as personal liberty and freedom.

➔ Jean-Jacques Rousseau



Jean-Jacques Rousseau was an **Enlightenment** thinker whose ideas and writings heavily influenced the 1789 French Revolution, specifically the contents of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. In Australian society we could say that authority is legitimate because the overwhelming majority of Australians see our elected bodies as representatives of their opinions. Australia's predominantly peaceful electoral processes and transfer of power support this idea.

Although Australians are subject to authority, we have many freedoms—thought, conscience, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, movement, government participation through fair and free elections, and the right to a fair trial with adequate legal representation (even if one cannot afford it). Imagine a society where authority is considered illegitimate by a significant proportion of the population, and these freedoms are extremely restricted for specific people based on their ethnicity. This was life for the vast majority of South Africans during the apartheid era.

JUSTIFYING APARTHEID

Feeling threatened by the vastness of the black masses, and influenced by the experience of the Second Boer War, the **National Party** developed a colour policy that defined who was white, black and coloured. The National Party was the dominant political force in South Africa and represented the interests of the white population.

National Party

The white minority political party of South Africa responsible for establishing the apartheid system, as well as enacting and enforcing the apartheid laws.

➔ **Source 7.03** *Population Registration Act* (No. 30 of 1950), <https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/DC/leg19500707.028.020.030/leg19500707.028.020.030.pdf>

Did you know? In the 1948 General Election, the National Party won a majority of seats in the House of Assembly (70 to 65) despite losing the popular vote 402,000 to the United Party's 524,000.

Racial categories defined by the National Party in the *Population Registration Act 1950*

(iii) 'coloured person' means a person who is not a white person or a native ...

(x) 'native' means a person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa ...

(xv) 'white person' means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person.

The National Party's colour policy was also used to justify the policy of apartheid.

📌 **Source 7.04** UN General Assembly, *Official Records: Eighth Session*, Supplement No. 16 (A/2505 and A/2505/Add.1) 'Report of the United Nations Commission on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa' (New York: UN, 1952) Annex V, 139–140.

National Party's colour policy, 1948

There are two sections of thought in South Africa in regard to the policy affecting the non-European community. On the one hand there is the policy of equality, which advocates equal rights within the same political structure for all civilized and educated persons, irrespective of race or colour, and the gradual granting of the **franchise** to non-Europeans as they become qualified to make use of democratic rights.

On the other hand there is the policy of separation (*apartheid*) which has grown from the experience of established European population of the country, and which is based on the Christian principles of Justice and reasonableness.

Its aim is the maintenance and protection of the European population of the country as a pure White race, the maintenance and protection of the indigenous racial groups as separate communities, with prospects of developing into self-supporting communities within their own areas, and the stimulation of national pride, self-respect, and mutual respect among the various races of the country.

We can act in only one of two directions. Either we must follow the course of equality, which must eventually mean national suicide for the White race, or we must take the course of separation (*apartheid*) through which the character and the future of every race will be protected and safeguarded with full opportunities for development and self-maintenance in their own ideas, without the interests of one clashing with the interests of the other, and without one regarding the development of the other as undermining or a threat to himself.

The party therefore undertakes to protect the White race properly and effectively against any policy, doctrine or attack which might undermine or threaten its continued existence. At the same time the party rejects any policy of oppression and exploitation of the non-Europeans by the Europeans as being in conflict with the Christian basis of our national life and irreconcilable with our policy.

The party believes that a definite policy of separation (*apartheid*) between the White races and the non-White racial groups, and the application of the policy of separation also in the case of the non-White racial groups, is the only basis on which the character and future of each race can be protected and safeguarded and on which each race can be guided so as to develop his own national character, aptitude and calling.

📌 **Source 7.05** From *Union of South Africa Government: Information Pamphlet* (New York, 1953), reprinted in Ruth E. Gordon and Clive Talbot, eds, *From Dias to Vorster: Source Material on South African History, 1488–1975* (Goodwood: Nasou, 1977), 409–410.

Excerpts from a speech given by A. L. Geyer, South African High Commissioner to the UK, to the Rotary Club in London on 19 August 1953

Let me turn to my subject, to that part of Africa south of the Sahara which, historically, is not part of Black Africa at all—my own country. Its position is unique in Africa as its racial problem is unique in the world.

1. South Africa is no more the original home of its black Africans, the Bantu, than it is of its white Africans. Both races went there as colonists and, what is more, as practically contemporary colonists. In some parts the Bantu arrived first, in other parts the Europeans were the first comers.
2. South Africa contains the only independent white nation in all Africa. The South African nation has no other homeland to which it could retreat; a nation which has created a highly developed modern state, and which occupies a position of inestimable importance.
3. South Africa is the only independent country in the world in which white people are outnumbered by black people. Including all coloured races or peoples the proportion in Brazil is 20 to 1. In South Africa, it is 1 to 4.

franchise

The right to vote in public, political elections.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 7.03–7.05 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 7.06** Why did the National Party need to define who was 'white', 'native' and 'coloured'?
- 7.07** What evidence does Source 7.03 give in support of criticism that apartheid was a system that could not work?
- 7.08** According to Source 7.04, why might the 'White race' have felt undermined or threatened?
- 7.09** How does Source 7.05 both guarantee and restrict the freedoms and rights of 'non-White racial groups'?
- 7.10** What evidence does A. L. Geyer provide in Source 7.05 to explain why white South Africans had a legitimate territorial claim?
- 7.11** Evaluate the significance of race as the justification for apartheid in South Africa. Use evidence to support your response.

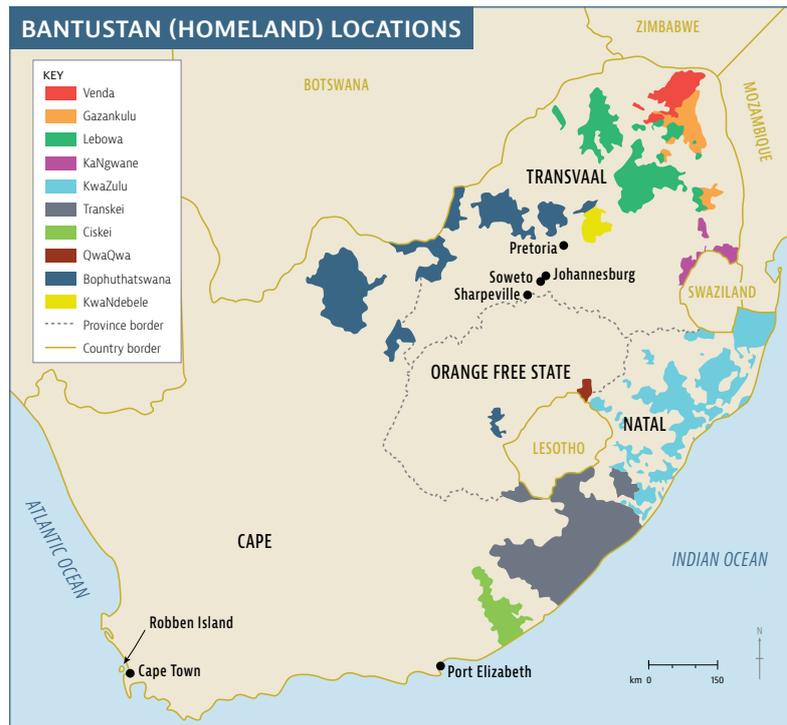
APARTHEID BECOMES LAW

Between 1910 and 1948, the colonial government of South Africa set about developing a system that restricted the freedom and power of black South Africans—politically, socially and economically. Traditions and accepted practices became harshly enforced racial laws. Upon its victory in the 1948 election, the National Party legally implemented apartheid through a series of major laws passed between 1949 and 1959. These laws would oppress most South Africans until the end of the apartheid era.

APARTHEID LAWS

The apartheid laws established the legal framework for both *grand apartheid* and *petty apartheid*. Grand apartheid focused on policies concerning the Bantustans and racial classification, while petty apartheid dealt with laws relating to matters such as discrimination in education, housing and access to public buildings and facilities. In total there were 148 apartheid laws legislated by the white minority government to control and oppress the black majority.

Source 7.06 Map showing the location of Bantustans in South Africa.



grand apartheid

Apartheid policies concerning homelands, resettlement and racial classification.

petty apartheid

Discrimination laws affecting housing, education, employment and access to public facilities.

APARTHEID LAWS



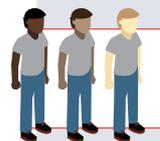
PROHIBITION OF MIXED MARRIAGES ACT 1949

This law prohibited marriage between white and coloured people.



IMMORALITY AMENDMENT ACT 1950

Sexual relations between white people and black people were forbidden.



POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT 1950

This law classified every South African according to their specific racial group.



SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT 1950

This law was established to prevent towns and cities from being overwhelmed by black people travelling there for work. Large townships were built far away from white suburbs for this purpose.

GROUP AREAS ACT 1950

Residential segregation was enforced by this law. Urban areas were divided into 'group areas' restricted to specific racial groups.



BANTU EDUCATION ACT 1953

This law enforced racially separated schools and universities.



RESERVATION OF SEPARATE AMENITIES ACT 1953

Black and white people were forced to use separate public amenities such as parks, buses and trains, public toilets and entrances to buildings.



NATIVES (ABOLITION OF PASSES AND COORDINATION OF DOCUMENTS) ACT 1952

All previous passes and permits were combined into a single new pass book. All African men (and women from 1956) had to carry passes when travelling into white areas.





Source 7.07 Segregation signs.



Source 7.08 Cartoon by Abe Berry published in *The Star* newspaper, Johannesburg, 1966.

While the purpose of these laws was to restrict the rights and movement of the black population, the apartheid laws affected all South Africans. The *Separate Amenities Act 1953* in particular outraged both white and black people, as it brought racism squarely into the public eye and was experienced by all on a daily basis. There was no hiding the racism—the rhetoric of the National Party’s colour policy may have promised protection and self-development for all racial groups, but in reality the amenities provided for black and coloured South Africans were of poor quality.

In addition, the security forces were granted extra powers and privileges to deal with threats to the apartheid regime, including:

- **banning orders** that prevented any named individual from attending meetings, writing, broadcasting by any medium or being quoted by media sources
- detention without trial—introduced after the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre (see p. 204)—which granted the police the right to hold anyone accused of terrorism for up to thirty days without charge
- the use of violence on anyone held in custody by police, up to and including murder
- press censorship, which meant that banned persons could not be quoted and anyone in the media who was critical of the government could find it increasingly difficult to do their job.



banning orders

Ways in which a person’s freedom of movement, association, speech and actions were restricted by the government.

Did you know? In 1962 the UN adopted a resolution condemning apartheid, and called on all its member nations to end economic and military relations with South Africa.

LIVING UNDER THE APARTHEID LAWS

➔ **Source 7.09** *Cape Times* (14 November 1970–2 January 1971), quoted in Hilda Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa* (Cambridge: International Defense & Aid Fund for South Africa, 1975), 34.

➔ **Source 7.10** *Rand Daily Mail* (3 November 1969), quoted in Hilda Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa* (Cambridge: International Defense & Aid Fund for South Africa, 1975), 35.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 7.08–7.11 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 7.12** Describe the specific laws being referenced in the sources.
- 7.13** Refer to Source 7.08 to explain the concept of petty apartheid.
- 7.14** Explain how restrictions placed on individual black South Africans affected their families.
- 7.15** Analyse the extent to which the lives of non-white South Africans were affected by the apartheid laws.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 7.16** What were the three racial categories defined by the National Party?
- 7.17** How was the policy of apartheid justified?
- 7.18** What was the purpose of the *Group Areas Act 1950*?

Case Study 1: Harlem Msini

A crippled [South] African factory worker of Wellington, Mr. Harlem Msini, was informed that his wife and 4-year-old child could not continue to live with him, after his wife had been convicted and fined R30 [30 rand, about \$30] for being in an area illegally. Because she left the place where she was born, Dordrecht, and has forfeited [given up] her right to return, and because she had been [ordered] out of the area where her husband lived, she is not legally entitled to live anywhere, and is a displaced person. Her case was taken up by the Black Sash [an organisation set up to aid victims of apartheid], finally reaching the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, Dr. Koornhof, who rejected appeals saying there could be no [exceptions to the law], as this would open the door to more such situations. 'If all Bantu men are freely allowed to marry women who do not qualify ... and are allowed to enter the territory, the numbers of Bantu will more than double.' Subsequently, Mrs. Msini was given a temporary permit to live in Dordrecht, where she will live with her children, apart from her husband.

Case Study 2: Victoria Madi

Mrs Victoria Madi, 53, was born in Swaziland, but has lived in South Africa since 1936. She married in 1937 and has five children all born in South Africa. When her husband died, she was told she no longer qualified to remain in the urban area of Johannesburg and must return to the country of her origin—Swaziland. Mrs Madi works in Johannesburg, all her children live in Johannesburg, where two are still at school, she has not been to Swaziland for 33 years and does not know anyone there.

Case Study 3: Mr and Mrs M

Mr and Mrs M. and their three children are typical of those forced apart. Although they each had a permit, the husband was working in [the African township of] Alexandra and the wife in Johannesburg, so they are not permitted to seek joint accommodation in another township. As he has not lived in Alexandra for 15 continuous years he does not qualify for a house. The husband is awaiting allocation of a bed in a hostel, the wife has been told to go to a hostel and that the children must be sent away. Where? To the homeland that is no homeland for they have never known it ... to grandparents now dead ... to strangers somewhere who might let them live in their own barren huts if the parents can send sufficient money ... anywhere. Away.

➔ **Source 7.11** *Black Sash* (February 1973), quoted in Hilda Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid South Africa* (Cambridge: International Defense & Aid Fund for South Africa, 1975), 33–34.

CHALLENGES TO APARTHEID

NELSON MANDELA, 1960: *'Sebatana ha se bokwe ka diatla [the attacks of the wild beast cannot be fought off with only bare hands].'*

'We defy.' With these words, the black resistance to apartheid pursued equality, fairness and justice against the South African government. During this period, a series of significant protests took place, almost always peacefully—at least, until 1960—and the security forces almost always reacted with violence and further repression. It was during this period that some of the most significant names of the resistance movement came to the fore. These include ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and many more.

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

As the South African government planned to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the beginning of Dutch settlement at Cape Town, the ANC developed plans of its own—a national day of *defiance* on 26 June 1952 that would reveal the injustices of apartheid to the world. In the two years leading up to the official launch of its Defiance Campaign, the ANC promoted demonstrations, strikes, curfew violations and other acts of civil disobedience, including the burning of passes and ignoring of 'Europeans Only' signs. More than 8000 people were arrested and jailed for deliberately breaking the law, filling the jails to overflowing and embarrassing the authorities.⁵ The awareness brought about by the campaign saw the ANC's membership rise from 7000 to 100,000 by the end of 1952. In response, the government introduced new laws and increased the severity of punishments.

Source 7.12 The Defiance Campaign, 1952.



defiance
Resistance to authority.

GROUP TASK: WE DEFY!

7.19 Imagine that you are a member of the ANC committee and are tasked with making plans for a defiance campaign against the National Party government and its apartheid laws. Brainstorm in groups some strategies you can use to protest, while following the strict criteria set out below.

- You cannot use weapons to help you.
- You do not have much money.
- You should plan for the consequences of your actions (e.g. fines, jail).
- You will not harm anyone.
- You DO have large numbers of supporters inside and outside of South Africa.
- You can get lots of positive publicity if you carry out the right sort of actions.

In your group, discuss the following questions.

- Would anything positive have come out of your plans?
- What would have been some negative consequences of your plans?
- What would black and coloured South Africans have had to consider before getting involved in the Defiance Campaign?

Did you know? Walter Sisulu, Mandela's staunch ally throughout the apartheid era, helped to plan the Defiance Campaign and was jailed seven times over the next ten years. He was appointed deputy leader of the ANC in 1991.

FREEDOM CHARTER 1955

The successes of the Defiance Campaign gave hope to opponents of the government that political change was possible, but greater solidarity was necessary. The ANC joined forces with many different black, coloured and Indian organisations, together with white allies, to draft the *Freedom Charter*. This revolutionary document consolidated demands for a free, just and equal society. It addressed the issues of the legitimacy of power and the sovereignty of the people. It also focused on basic rights such as the right to vote, free education, equality before the law and freedom of speech. The Freedom Charter revived the ANC and provided the basis of its policy. Some of the terms it mentioned are now enshrined in the South African Constitution.⁶

Freedom Charter

A document outlining the goals of the ANC and its allies for a free South Africa.

➔ **Source 7.13** Excerpts from the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on 25–26 June 1955, <https://www.anc1912.org.za/the-freedom-charter-2>

Freedom Charter (excerpts)

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

ALL PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE NATION'S WEALTH

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED BY THOSE WHO WORK IT

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.

ALL SHALL ENJOY HUMAN RIGHTS

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY

All who work shall be free to form trade unions. ... Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry.

LET THERE BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

7.20 Look up the full text of the Freedom Charter at the ANC website (<https://www.anc1912.org.za/the-freedom-charter-2>). Compile the details together in a graphic organiser (e.g. a Lotus Diagram) to gain a better understanding of the demands set out in the charter.

7.21 Which apartheid laws were being addressed in the Freedom Charter? Link specific laws to key points in the charter.



The government reacted swiftly, and in 1956 arrested and charged 156 people with high treason. Those arrested included doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists, members of the clergy and many other professional occupations—black, white and coloured. Mandela and other key leaders were also charged. Although all of the accused were eventually acquitted, the trial dragged on for four years. Deprived of strong leadership during this time, the opposition to apartheid was seriously weakened. The cost of supporting those who had lost their jobs due to the length of the trial was a considerable financial burden to the movement.

Did you know? The Treason Trial began in 1956 with 156 people accused of various crimes. By the time the trial ended in 1961, 128 defendants had been dropped from the indictment and only twenty-eight remained. All were acquitted.

Source 7.14 The Treason Trial accused in 1956.

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS

Women had been active in the struggle against apartheid since at least 1913, and in 1943 the ANC formed a women's branch.⁷ Apartheid policies placed a particular burden on black women. Pass laws and travel restrictions for men meant that families could be separated for weeks or even months at a time. In 1955 the government extended the pass laws to include women. The intention was to limit the number of black families moving into towns and cities to be with their husbands, leading to the breakdown of many marriages. The Federation of South African Women, established to coordinate protests against the extension of pass laws to women, had many white members who also noted the damage being done to black families. The group organised a march on government buildings in Pretoria on 9 August 1956, with 20,000 women each delivering a letter of protest to the prime minister, together with a petition listing 100,000 signatures.⁸ The government stood by its laws and arrested 2000 women in 1961 for pass law infractions.⁹ While this lack of success led to great frustration, women continued to challenge the apartheid regime throughout the era.

Black and coloured women were supported in their fight against apartheid by the **Black Sash movement** founded by liberal white women in 1955. Initially founded to campaign against the removal of voting rights for coloured women, the Black Sash movement assisted those charged with pass law offences. Black Sash members were a visible presence, often seen standing in public places wearing white dresses with a black sash to symbolise mourning for the government's disregard for the Constitution.¹⁰



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 7.22** What was the Defiance Campaign?
- 7.23** Describe the main goals of the Freedom Charter.
- 7.24** How did women resist the apartheid regime?

Black Sash movement

A non-violent white women's anti-apartheid movement.

Did you know? The Black Sash movement also protested against military conscription for young white men in the 1980s, and contributed to voter education during the 1994 election. It functions today as a non-racial humanitarian organisation.

Source 7.15 (far left) Women's march on 9 August 1956.

Source 7.16 Black Sash demonstration.

SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

A turning point in the ANC's approach to protesting the apartheid laws occurred on 21 March 1960 in Sharpeville, home to 26,000 black South Africans. While Sharpeville had been seen by the government as something of a 'model' black township, the residents were still aggressively opposed to the pass laws.¹¹ Organised by the **Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)**, a new group that had split from the ANC, a crowd of approximately 5000 people had descended on the local police station. The protesters were in a cheerful mood and seemed prepared to be arrested for breaking pass laws. The police, numbering just twenty, at first tried to warn away the crowd with fighter jets flying low above the crowd. This was unsuccessful, and 130 reinforcements in armoured personnel carriers arrived for support. Without warning, shots were fired into the crowd, leading to mass panic.

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

A political movement that broke away from the ANC, advocating for African nationalism and rejecting a multiracial worldview.

Did you know? Since 1994, 21 March has been commemorated as Human Rights Day in South Africa. Sharpeville was also the site selected by Nelson Mandela for the signing into law of the 1996 South African Constitution.

➔ **Source 7.17** Police at the Sharpeville Massacre.



When the dust settled, sixty-nine people lay dead, including women and children, with a further 200 injured. Many had been shot in the back as they fled. The PAC led a march with 30,000 protesters right into the centre of Cape Town and up to the parliament. Local PAC leader Philip Kgosana was promised an audience with the minister of justice the next day if he persuaded the protesters to disperse peacefully. He did, but when he turned up for his appointment he was arrested.¹²

As unrest spread through the country, international outrage followed. Condemnation flowed from world leaders who demanded that apartheid should end. South Africa was banned from future Olympic Games. Businesses questioned whether investment in South Africa was viable, and a financial crisis followed. For its part, the South African government responded with total repression, outlawing the ANC and PAC and arresting thousands of protesters after declaring a state of emergency.

➔ **Source 7.18** Aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre.



MANDELA, MK AND THE RIVONIA TRIAL

For Nelson Mandela, Sharpeville convinced him that a change of strategy in the fight was necessary. 'If the government reaction is to crush by naked force our non-violent struggle, we will have to reconsider our tactics,' he told local and international media. 'In my mind we are closing a chapter on this question of a non-violent policy.'¹³ Both the ANC and PAC formed armed wings, *Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)* or 'Spear of the Nation' and *POQO*, respectively.

MK, led by Mandela, focused on attacking government infrastructure such as post offices, railroads and power stations, and was at pains to avoid loss of life. After living underground for several months, Mandela was eventually captured and put on trial along with several other ANC leaders. At the Rivonia Trial, which lasted from December 1963 to June 1964, prosecutors demanded the death penalty for Mandela, Sisulu and others. In a 4-hour statement, Mandela went to great lengths to explain why the ANC and others had turned to violent protest.

Nelson Mandela at his trial

I came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic to continue preaching peace and non-violence. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle. I can only say that I felt morally obliged to do what I did. ...

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 to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

When the judge handed down the sentence for Mandela and the others accused, the court erupted in joy—life imprisonment, instead of the death penalty, had been the preferred sentence of the prosecution. Mandela himself believed this was because he had dared the judge to sentence him to death, but pleas for clemency from around the world, including from the UN, certainly played their part.¹⁴ The resistance to apartheid had been crushed for now.

Did you know? Mandela was imprisoned on Robben Island, 6 kilometres off the west coast of South Africa, for eighteen of his twenty-seven years of imprisonment. The prison closed in 1996 and is today recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

'Spear of the People' was the armed wing of the ANC. Founded in 1961, it was responsible for a series of violent attacks on government installations. It was classified as a terrorist organisation in South Africa and abroad.

POQO

The formal name for the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the PAC. *Pogo* is a Xhosa word meaning 'pure' or 'standing alone'.

Source 7.19 'I am prepared to die.' Nelson Mandela's statement at the opening of the defence case at his trial; Nelson Mandela Foundation, http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&itemID=NMS010&txtstr=prepared%20to%20die



 The MK logo.

 **Source 7.20** Paul Briens et al., eds, *Reading about the World*, Vol. 2 (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Custom Books, 1999), <https://briens.wsu.edu/2016/11/07/umkhonto-we-sizwe/>

From 'Umkhonto we Sizwe: We Are at War! 16 December 1961'

To you, the sons and daughters of the soil, our case is clear. The white oppressors have stolen our land. They have destroyed our families. They have taken for themselves the best that there is in our rich country and have left us the worst. They have the fruits and the riches. We have the backbreaking toil and the poverty. We burrow into the belly of the earth to dig out gold, diamonds, coal, uranium. The white oppressors and foreign investors grab all this wealth. It is used for their enrichment and to buy arms to suppress and kill us.

In the factories, on the farms, on the railways, wherever you go, the hard, dirty, dangerous, badly paid jobs are ours. The best jobs are for whites only. In our own land we have to carry passes; we are restricted and banished while the white oppressors move about freely. Our homes are hovels; those of the whites are luxury mansions, flats and farmsteads. There are not enough schools for our children; the standard of education is low, and we have to pay for it. But the government uses our taxes and the wealth we create to provide free education for white children.

We have suffered long enough. Over 300 years ago the white invaders began a ceaseless war of aggression against us, murdered our forefathers, stole our land and enslaved our people. Today they still rule by force. They murder our people. They still enslave us. Only by meeting force with force can we win back our motherland.

We have tried every way to reason with the white supremacists. For many years our leaders and organizations sent petitions and deputations to Cape Town and Pretoria, even overseas, to London and the United Nations in New York. We organized mass demonstrations, pass-burnings, peaceful stay-at-homes.

What answer was given by the government? Strikers and demonstrators were shot in cold blood. New acts of oppression and injustice were heaped upon us. Our leaders and spokesmen were banned, gagged, jailed, banished even murdered. Our organization, the African National Congress, was outlawed. Our meetings, journals and leaflets were prohibited.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 7.20 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 7.25** Outline how the white minority oppressed black South Africans.
- 7.26** Explain how the government responded to peaceful protests.
- 7.27** Evaluate how successful the South African government was in 'maintaining and protecting' black communities according to its own policy (see Source 7.04). Use evidence to support your response.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

7.28 Create a chart listing the grievances of MK, relevant points from the Freedom Charter, and the apartheid laws that led to the grievances.

GRIEVANCES	FREEDOM CHARTER DEMANDS	APARTHEID LAWS

STEVE BIKO AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Steve Biko was born in 1946 to a poor Xhosa family in a township in the Eastern Cape region. A particularly talented and intelligent student, he excelled at school and studied medicine at university. While studying he became involved in politics, but became frustrated at anti-apartheid groups led by white liberals. Biko believed that whites, no matter how well intentioned, were incapable of comprehending the black struggle. He was an important factor in the creation of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), which only opened membership to black, coloured and Indian people. SASO provided practical help to black students, including legal aid, health advice and support for small businesses.

While at university, Biko began to develop the concept of **Black Consciousness**, an ideology that aimed to unite black people by affirming their common identity in the struggle against white supremacy. Black Consciousness became the official ideology of SASO. Biko encouraged black people to rid themselves of any sense of racial inferiority, with slogans such as 'black is beautiful' popularising the belief that South African black and other repressed groups needed to fight their own battle against apartheid without the help of white people. The government began to see Black Consciousness as a real threat, and issued a banning order on Biko in 1973. This restricted his movement and ability to speak publicly or to more than a single person at a time. The media were prohibited from quoting him.

Despite these restrictions, Biko remained influential until his death in 1977. Having broken his banning order by travelling to Cape Town, he was arrested and taken to Port Elizabeth where he was detained, interrogated and severely beaten. On 6 September he died from a massive brain haemorrhage that was likely caused by the brutal actions of the police, although at the time no one was found responsible for his death. News of his death spread quickly around the world and reinforced international opposition to South Africa's policy of apartheid. While Mandela's imprisonment in 1964 had reduced the effectiveness of the ANC and anti-apartheid protest, Biko's death only served to fan the flames of protest and outrage across South Africa. These flames would continue to burn until the eventual collapse of the apartheid system.

Nelson Mandela paying tribute to Steve Biko in 2002

Living, he was the spark that lit a veld [open grassland] fire across South Africa. His message to the youth and students was simple and clear: Black is Beautiful! Be proud of your Blackness! And with that he inspired our youth to shed themselves of the sense of inferiority they were born into as a result of more than three hundred years of white rule.

Source 7.21 Xolela Mangcu, ed., *Biko: A Life* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 7–9.

Did you know? Three months after winning a scholarship to study at a prestigious private school in 1964, Biko was arrested and accused of having connections to a banned nationalist group. Despite having no evidence presented against him and being released without charge, Biko was expelled from the school.

Black Consciousness

A political movement in South Africa that aimed to unite black people by affirming their common identity.

Significant individual

STEVE BIKO, 1946–1977



Was a South African anti-apartheid activist.

Believed in the dignity of black Africans and the power of black consciousness.

He said: 'The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the black man must reject all the value systems that seek to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity.'

Said about: 'Dictatorships fall not only when they have implacable opponents but also exemplary victims.' (*Bret Stephens, journalist*)

Challenged the status quo by questioning the apartheid system and demanding racial equality for black South Africans.

SOWETO UPRISING

In 1975, the South African government decreed that African schools should teach half of all lessons in Afrikaans. However, for the students, this was the language of their oppressors, and far less useful than learning English. The *Bantu Education Act 1953* had mandated that 50 per cent of all lessons should be taught in Afrikaans, but this had not been strictly enforced. Most African teachers did not know how to speak Afrikaans, let alone teach in that language.

On 16 June 1976, a crowd of up to 20,000 students took to the streets of Soweto, a large township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Organised by SASO and influenced by the Black Consciousness movement, their apparent goal was to march to nearby Orlando Stadium to voice their grievances over the new law. Police intervened and tried unsuccessfully to stop the march, firing tear gas and warning shots. When the students failed to disperse, police fired directly into the crowd. Two children were killed and many more wounded. Police were reported to have requested a list of the names of shooting victims from hospitals so they could be processed for rioting. Doctors on duty refused to create such a list.

➔ Source 7.22

The famous photo by Sam Nzima showing twelve-year-old Hector Pieterse, the first victim of the Soweto Uprising, being rushed from the scene by fellow students. This photo appears outside the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum in Soweto, Johannesburg.



Once news of the shootings spread throughout Soweto and then to other townships, a wave of violence swept through South Africa. The next day more than 1500 heavily armed police arrived in Soweto to quell the violence and subsequent rioting. The government originally claimed only twenty-three people had been killed in the uprising, but the real number was closer to 200 students, with some estimates rising as high as

700 dead and more than 1000 wounded.¹⁵ As conflicting reports of the protest and violence began to emerge after the event, the causes of the shootings became difficult to ascertain.

Ten years after the events of Soweto, three of the student leaders involved in the demonstrations were interviewed by journalist Richard Manning. Each leader had been tried on charges of sedition and terrorism. Manning incorporated their recollections of 16 June 1976 into a single account.

Murphy Munro, Thabo Ndabeni and Seth Mazibuko on the Soweto Uprising

The winter dawn broke cloudy, cold, and filled with coal smoke. ... Seth, 18 at the time, kissed his mother goodbye and walked to Musi High School. At 8 am he rang the school bell: a kid summoning a township for the orders of the day. ... His friend Thabo was in another part of the building, trying to decide whether to take an exam or join the protest. He eventually did both.

Across town, their friend Murphy was painting placards for the planned march. One sign read 'Down with Afrikaans'. Another one goaded the Prime Minister: 'If we must do Afrikaans, Vorster must do Zulu'. Murphy carried them into the assembly room at Morris Isaacson High. At the close of the assembly, instead of singing the Lord's Prayer as usual, the students sang *Nkosi sikelel iAfrica*—'God Bless Africa'. Murphy recalled, 'That was the clarion call that sent us marching out'. 20,000 black students marched on Orlando West High School from four directions. Two of the student columns reached Orlando West, Seth remembered, when a third hove into view. It was followed by a detachment of police. The police gave an order to disperse. Then they opened fire.

Twelve-year-old Hector Pieterse was the first to die. Blood foaming at his lips and running from his nose, Pieterse's dead body was carried away by a young black man. A picture of the dead Pieterse circulated around the world. The most haunting aspect of that photograph was Hector's sister, Antoinette. Arms raised, as if warding off bullets. Screaming. 'My God', Seth remembered saying to himself when he saw Hector Pieterse fall. 'They're killing people and I'm supposed to be responsible for them. Go home, everybody. Go home'. No-one went home.

➔ Source 7.23 Richard Manning, *They Cannot Kill Us All— an Eyewitness Account of South Africa Today* (Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 1987), 78.

Source 7.24 Peter Younghusband, '26 Dead in Riots as New Violence Flares,' in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 1976.

Front page of the *Sydney Morning Herald*

26 DEAD IN RIOTS AS NEW VIOLENCE FLARES

Student rioting, which has already killed 26 and injured 223 in the African township of Soweto, flared again after dawn today.

Police renewed their battle with stone-throwing students and rioters again began setting fire to buildings and vehicles throughout the town, 16 km from Johannesburg.

A senior police officer told reporters: 'It's breaking out again all over the township. It's out of control.'

The latest rioting showed signs of organisation. Police said they could see older black militants with the youths, inciting them to violence.

One large group of students, waving clubs and iron bars, tried to storm into the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto but were driven back by police, hurling teargas.

In spite of a Government decree that all schools in the township remain closed until further notice, thousands of schoolchildren appeared in their uniforms, marching on the police.

HELICOPTERS DROP TEARGAS

Air force helicopters bombarded roving mobs of black rioters with teargas.

In downtown Johannesburg, whites attacked a march of 1,000 black and white demonstrators protesting against the use of gunfire in yesterday's police action in Soweto.

Among the casualties yesterday was an African schoolboy, Hector Peterson, 13, who was shot dead by police.

Two white officials, both members of the Administrative Board of Soweto ... were pulled from their cars and hacked and stoned to death by mobs of black high school students.

One of the officials was a prominent sociologist, Dr Melville Edelstein, 56, who had devoted his life to the welfare of black South Africans. Dr Edelstein, whose daughter, Shana, is 11 today, was chief welfare officer in Soweto, with the job of recommending ways of easing racial tension. His advice was often ignored.

In another incident, four white women in a small car trapped by rioters on a road near Soweto were stoned badly and beaten.

When rescued, one of them, bleeding, covered in dust and deeply shocked, clung to the jacket of a police officer so desperately that ambulance men had to prise her fingers open.

The rioting, triggered by a clash between police and students protesting against compulsory instruction in the Afrikaans language, is South Africa's worst racial clash since Sharpeville 16 years ago.

The dawn sky over Soweto this morning was lit with the flames of hundreds of burning buildings and motor vehicles.

Rioting, pillaging mobs continued to rampage through the township as army troops in

full battledress ringed the area and detachments moved in to guard power stations and other vital installations.

More than 1,000 policemen, most of them in riot gear and armed with Sten guns, automatic rifles and submachine guns, were massed at strategic points.

As I drove through a section of the town with a heavily armed police convoy, I saw flaming wrecks of motor vehicles and burning buildings.

Sporadic outbursts of shooting could be heard from various parts of the town as armed police clashed with rioters. ...

A fire engine was seized after its crew fled on foot and, after being driven into the town centre, was set alight.

One school has been completely burnt down.

In a Johannesburg newspaper today a black journalist, Derrick Thema, wrote: 'I saw mob anger and it was ugly. I saw black power in its most violent mood. And, ironically, it was child-power.'



Did you know? In 2002, the Hector Pieterse Museum was opened in Soweto to commemorate the twelve-year-old and all who died in the 1976 protests around South Africa. It has become a major tourist attraction, and Hector's sister Antoinette works there as a guide.

Clipping from front page of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 June 1976.

CONTINUED ...

Connie Mofokeng was a student leader in Soweto. After the uprising she was detained by police without charge for more than four months.

➔ **Source 7.25** In Diana E. H. Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa* (Virago Press: London, 1990), 47–48.

Connie Mofokeng's recollection of her interrogation and detention

When they knocked on my door, I didn't realise it was the police at first. Then I looked through the window and saw many cars and torches, so I knew it was them. Someone must have tipped them off that I was there. They detained everybody in the house, but they let all the others return in the morning. They never charged me with anything, but about eight policemen beat me and kicked me, even before I said anything. They didn't give me a chance to talk until they thought they had exhausted me. They interrogated me to try to find out who said we must stay away from school. I said, 'All the students who were marching decided to stay away'. But they wanted to know the person who started it, which I refused to say. The interrogations lasted over a period of six weeks. After that I sat in my cell day and night for three months in solitary confinement without reading material. I never knew if it was morning or evening. ... They finally let me out after three months. I had been in standard eight [Year 10] when the Soweto uprising occurred and I was expelled from school for being detained. ... The SSRC [Soweto Students' Representative Council] and SASO had dissolved by then, because all the leaders had been arrested and faced trials and the other members were too afraid to continue.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 7.29** What were the effects of the Sharpeville Massacre?
- 7.30** Why did MK encourage resistance against the South African government?
- 7.31** Describe the influence of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness ideology.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Sources 7.23–7.25 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 7.32** How well organised did the march appear to be?
- 7.33** Is there any indication in Source 7.23 that students expected a violent response from the police?
- 7.34** Write a list of apparent facts and opinions presented in Source 7.24.
- 7.35** In Source 7.24, compare how the deaths of white people are written compared with those of black people.
- 7.36** How useful is Source 7.24 in understanding the causes of the Soweto Uprising?
- 7.37** What does Source 7.25 reveal about the extent of police powers during the apartheid era?
- 7.38** What does Source 7.25 tell us about the effect of the police response to Soweto on both Connie's education and the Soweto student organisations?
- 7.39** Analyse the effects of apartheid on black African students. Use evidence to support your response.



DEVELOPING A HISTORICAL INQUIRY

7.40 Follow the steps below to develop your own historical inquiry into the actions and impact of an individual or group who protested against apartheid.

STEP ONE

Choose your topic area. This should be specific. You could consider an individual such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo or Miriam Makeba, or a group such as the ANC, PAC or the Black Sash movement. Your choice will be limited only by the availability of resources. The biography section of the South African History Online website (<https://www.sahistory.org.za>) has an extensive list of anti-apartheid activists.

STEP 2

Develop three inquiry questions to help you structure your research. For example, you could ask what life was like under apartheid for your selected individual or group. How did the apartheid laws affect them? What were they specifically protesting? What was the outcome of the protest? How did the government and security forces respond? Develop your own detailed inquiry questions and submit them to your teacher to check before beginning your research.

STEP 3

Locate your resources. These should include books or non-book material such as images, posters, documentaries, films, internet resources and eyewitness accounts. Record the details of your sources. If using a website, record the address and the date accessed. If referring to images, include them in an appendix for reference.

STEP 4

Take notes from your resources. Do not just highlight or copy and paste text into your notes—write down the relevant points in your own words. Include historical evidence such as dates, events, statistics and quotations.

STEP 5

Write a structured essay of approximately 800 words on your selected individual or group. Include such components as:

- an introduction that includes your main contention and lists your three inquiry questions
- topic paragraphs that address one inquiry each—begin with a topic sentence, followed by your evidence and an analysis of that evidence
- a conclusion that reiterates your contention and explains the importance of your selected individual or group in the context of the anti-apartheid movement.

APARTHEID UNDER PRESSURE

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU, 23 OCTOBER 1984: '[This] is a highly volatile land, and its inhabitants sit on a powder keg with a very short fuse indeed, ready to blow us all up into kingdom come.'

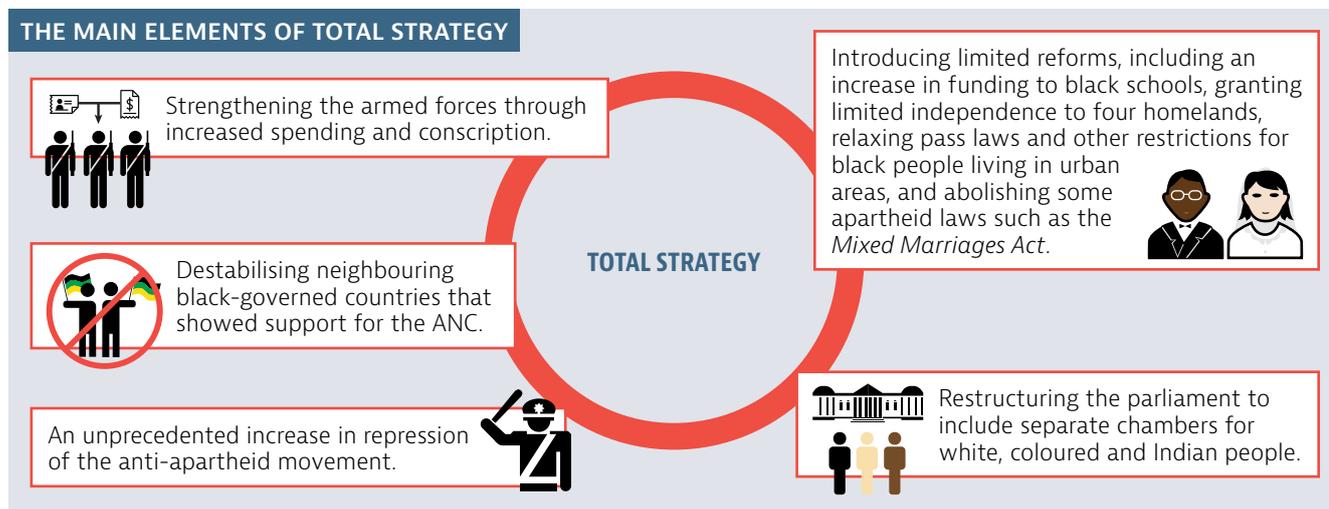
In the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa began to change dramatically. The economic boom of the 1960s began to slow and unemployment began to rise. The black population was growing at a much faster rate than the white population. Resistance from black organisations intensified, and international pressure against apartheid increased. The complex set of laws and enforcing bodies that were part of the apartheid apparatus became very expensive to maintain. Neighbouring countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe were throwing off their white masters and setting up independent black governments. These developments caused great anxiety for the minority white government, which used increasing amounts of force and a range of repressive tactics to maintain power in South Africa.

TOTAL ONSLAUGHT, TOTAL STRATEGY

The Soweto Uprising changed the future of apartheid in South Africa. Opponents of apartheid—both at home and abroad—had seen that the government was prepared to sacrifice children to protect apartheid and white supremacy. As resistance intensified, repression grew more brutal and the government became more inflexible. The government also feared the external influence of the Soviet Union and communism. Prime Minister P. W. Botha summarised the threats as a ‘total onslaught’. In response, he developed a policy called *total strategy*.

total strategy

P.W. Botha’s plan for the white minority to resist the ‘total onslaught’ of apartheid’s internal and external enemies.



Did you know? Any neighbouring states that provided support to the ANC could expect violent retribution from the South African military. South Africa acted to destabilise both the Mozambique and Botswana governments during the 1980s.

one person, one vote

The principle that an individual person’s vote is valued the same as all other votes, guaranteeing equal representation.

Botha hoped that these measures would win over Western governments, justify the continued repression of the black population, and consolidate white support for apartheid and the government.

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE

The government’s strategy to win over black support by implementing limited reforms failed utterly. Urban black workers saw through the facade of the government’s show of strength, seeing it for what it was: a weakening regime. Resistance intensified throughout South Africa. Schools had remained key centres of anti-government activity. While the attendance of black children had increased after the reforms, academic performance declined overall.¹⁶ Trade unions representing black workers negotiated more forcefully with employers and went on strike when deemed necessary. Anti-apartheid groups including the ANC continued to stoke dissent against the government. While the ANC campaigned with a vision of a multiracial *one person, one vote* future, other anti-apartheid groups called for more radical solutions, such as a revolutionary black workers’ republic.

Violence in the townships escalated dramatically as the 1980s progressed. Demonstrations were met with police violence, which often had the effect of causing rioting and other violent responses. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of Sharpeville, more than thirty mourners were killed by police at a funeral in the Eastern Cape region. Most had been shot in the back after refusing an order to disperse.¹⁷ The tension between the various anti-apartheid groups often boiled over into black violence against black people. The government declared a state of emergency in July 1985 in an attempt to bring the violence under control, but in many townships the police simply gave up.

INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

While the international community had condemned apartheid from the outset, it was not until powers such as the US began enforcing economic **sanctions** against South Africa that the government began to take criticism seriously. Many nations imposed a variety of boycotts of sporting events, concert tours and South African products. The resulting financial crisis in South Africa caused many to hope that State President Botha would begin to make significant changes to the apartheid laws, but he responded with continued tough talk. However, inside South Africa polls indicated that the majority of black workers were opposed to economic sanctions, noting the financial hardship it created for those who were already struggling.

During the 1980s many popular musical artists lent their support to the plight of those living under apartheid. It was common for performers such as Peter Gabriel, U2 and others to praise anti-apartheid icons such as Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko in front of an audience of tens of thousands, who responded with deafening cheers. In 1988, a concert held at Wembley Stadium in London in honour of Nelson Mandela's seventieth birthday attracted a worldwide television audience of 600 million people. The increasing global awareness of the injustice of apartheid, particularly in Western societies, added to the pressure placed on democratic governments to do more to bring apartheid to an end. Peter Gabriel's song *Biko* was a hit, and received widespread critical acclaim. It is today credited with making resistance to apartheid an important aspect of Western popular culture during the 1980s.¹⁸

sanctions

Economic and political restrictions imposed on a government to pressure it to uphold international laws.

Did you know? Between 1980 and 1992, South Africa organised a series of 'rebel' cricket tours to boost the standard of the game, which had weakened during apartheid. Australian players who took up the offer were branded as 'traitors' by Prime Minister Bob Hawke and suspended from playing for the national cricket team.



Source 7.26 The Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute, an 11-hour concert held at Wembley Stadium in London on 11 June 1988.

ANTI-APARTHEID SONGS

7.41 Using YouTube and any good lyrics website, look up one or more of the following songs. Print off the lyrics and annotate them, noting factual information as well as more emotive language and metaphors. What impact did songs such as these have on raising a greater awareness of the anti-apartheid movement throughout the world?

- *Biko* by Peter Gabriel
- *Silver and Gold* (live) by U2
- *Freedom Now* by Tracy Chapman

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

7.42 Describe what was meant by 'total onslaught, total strategy'.

7.43 How effective was total strategy?

7.44 How did the international community protest against apartheid?

THE END OF APARTHEID

NELSON MANDELA, INAUGURAL SPEECH AS PRESIDENT, 10 MAY 1994: 'Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another. ... The sun will never set on so glorious a human achievement.'

The end of apartheid seemed inevitable. Internal problems, international pressure, the rising star of Nelson Mandela and an impending civil war all combined to bring about free and democratic elections for all South Africans. Millions who had lived their entire lives under the shadow of apartheid and the violence of the South African security forces lined up to vote in a government of their choice. Apartheid had taken decades to establish itself but only a few years to collapse in the face of pressure from all sides.

MANDELA AND DE KLERK

After suffering a stroke in 1989, State President Botha was forced to resign by an increasingly hostile ministry. With the policies of the National Party clearly failing, conservative F.W. de Klerk replaced him. Most knowledgeable observers did not expect much to change under de Klerk, but in his first speech he provided hope to those who had spent their lives campaigning against apartheid. He lifted the ban on the ANC and the PAC, released hundreds of political prisoners, and promised to deliver a new constitution that would bring equality to all South Africans. The dire financial position of the economy certainly played a part in de Klerk's planning.



➔ **Source 7.27** Frederik de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

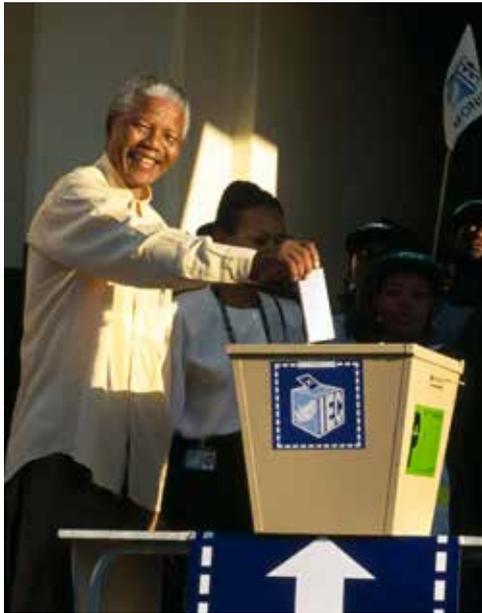
Nelson Mandela, imprisoned since 1964, had been offered early release by Botha in 1985 on the condition that he refrain from any political activity, but this was rejected by Mandela. His eventual release in 1990 was broadcast live around the world, and in his first speech he declared that the struggle against apartheid continued but that the potential for armed conflict depended on the actions of the government.

As violence continued to spread throughout the nation it was Mandela, not de Klerk, who appeared on television to appeal for peace. It is generally accepted that Mandela's intervention prevented the outbreak of civil war in South Africa. After much negotiation between Mandela and de Klerk, a constitution was agreed on and a date set for the first free elections in the history of South Africa.

1994 ELECTION

On 27 April 1994, millions of South Africans lined up to vote, most for the first time in their lives. Despite continuing violence from both sides, the election was successfully conducted and resulted in an overwhelming victory for Mandela and the ANC.

.....
Did you know? Mandela and de Klerk were joint winners of the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to end apartheid. This was controversial, as de Klerk was thought to have ordered a massacre of resistance fighters, including teenagers, in that same year.
.....



Source 7.28 Mandela casting his vote in the 1994 election.

1994 ELECTION RESULTS	
PARTY	% OF VOTE
African National Congress	62.5
National Party	20.5
Inkatha	10.5
Other parties	6.5

The ANC won seven of the nine provinces, with one province going to the National Party and one to Inkatha, a black party that opposed the ANC and represented Zulu cultural interests. All parties felt like they had achieved something from the result. Nelson Mandela was appointed president with de Klerk as his deputy. De Klerk accepted the electoral defeat graciously, and Mandela claimed victory in a speech characterised by gratefulness, hope for reconciliation and hope for the future. Mandela's 'long walk to freedom' had been a long one indeed, but the humiliation of living under the apartheid laws was finally over.

In his victory speech, Mandela echoed his closing statement at the Rivonia Trial in 1964: 'We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity—a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.'¹⁹

NELSON MANDELA, 1918–2013



Was an anti-apartheid campaigner and president of South Africa (1994–1999).

Believed in racial equality for South Africans of all colours and backgrounds.

He said: 'Real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their people.'

Said about: 'Nelson Mandela reminds us that it always seems impossible until it is done.' (*Barack Obama, forty-fourth US president*)

Challenged the status quo by challenging the apartheid system and demanding racial equality for black South Africans.

Did you know? Mandela and the ANC were viewed as terrorists and communist allies by British and American conservative governments. US President Reagan even placed Mandela on a terrorist watchlist—his name was only removed in 2008.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 7.45** What role did F. W. de Klerk play in bringing about the end of apartheid?
- 7.46** Why did Mandela decline to be released in 1985?
- 7.47** What were the results of the 1994 election?

NELSON MANDELA: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Nelson Mandela was one of the driving forces behind the anti-apartheid movement, especially until his imprisonment in 1964. He was certainly the catalyst for bringing the apartheid era to an end in 1994, becoming South Africa's first black president. Historians and biographers will continue to evaluate his significance in the years ahead. Consider the following views of Nelson Mandela to better evaluate his impact on the anti-apartheid movement.

➔ **Source 7.29** 'Mandela: The 20th Century's Greatest Leader?' *History Extra*, 18 July 2018, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/mandela-the-20th-centurys-greatest-leader/>

➔ **Source 7.30** Keven and Jackie Freiberg, 'Madiba Leadership: 5 Lessons Nelson Mandela Taught the World About Change', *Forbes*, 19 July 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/kevinandjackiefreiberg/2018/07/19/madiba-leadership-5-lessons-nelson-mandela-taught-the-world-about-change/?sh=6ce7b61541ba>

➔ **Source 7.31** Peter Limb, *Nelson Mandela: A Biography* (London: Greenwood Press, 2008), xii.

➔ **Source 7.32** 'Mandela: The 20th Century's Greatest Leader?' *History Extra*, 18 July 2018, <https://www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/mandela-the-20th-centurys-greatest-leader/>

➔ **Source 7.33** Elleke Boehmer, *Nelson Mandela: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1.

Professor Saul Dubow

By the early 1970s, Mandela was largely forgotten outside South Africa and only dimly remembered inside. The ANC and the Communist Party deliberately projected him as a leader of the struggle, but not always as the leader. In the aftermath of the Soweto uprising of 1976, Steve Biko, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, was for many people the foremost symbol of resistance.

Kevin and Jackie Freiberg

Mandela's road to change was paved with enormous challenges, but he never gave up the fight. His passion for the cause was bigger than the bitterness and shame of his failures. He said, 'The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days.'

Dr Peter Limb

Mandela would be the first to agree that he and many, many other anti-apartheid leaders and supporters combined to remove the apartheid regime, but Mandela stood at the apex of this resistance: the general, the organiser, the African King, the 'Father of the Nation' capable of realizing momentous social change.

Dr Matthew Graham

One of the greatest successes of the ANC's struggle, with the assistance of the anti-apartheid movement, was the global PR campaign that turned Mandela into this symbol of resistance. He was a figure with an almost impeccable background—apartheid was a rare, cut and dried moral cause, and being a key imprisoned leader made Mandela a natural focal point.

Professor Elleke Boehmer

Once a man without a face (photographs of political prisoners in South Africa being banned), he became after his 1990 release an internationally recognizable image. For over four decades, while his country was vilified the world over for its policies of state-sanctioned racism, called apartheid, Mandela symbolically and to some extent practically led the movement of resistance to that injustice.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

7.48 Using Sources 7.29–7.33 and your own knowledge, evaluate the significance of Nelson Mandela in the anti-apartheid movement.

CHAPTER 7 REVIEW

The rapid collapse of apartheid, the foundation of life in South Africa for so long, was the result of both the actions and vision of individuals such as Mandela and Biko, as well as countless others who burnt their passes, marched in protest against inequality in schools, and challenged the laws on a daily basis. The pressure exerted on the South African government by the international community, from rock stars to political leaders, also played a part. The extraordinary scenes of 1994, when millions lined up to cast their votes in the first free and fair elections in South African history, remain an inspiration to this day. Mandela, in his first years as president, faced significant challenges as he worked to unify South Africa. With a primary focus on reconciliation, he strove to bring unity to a fractured nation. He also negotiated the new constitution, dealt with crippling economic problems and doused the threat of civil war. South Africa continues to struggle with the legacy of apartheid and may not yet be the 'rainbow nation' Mandela envisaged, but, in his own words, 'There is no easy walk to freedom'.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- The apartheid laws established a legal framework to ensure the white South African government retained political power over the majority black and coloured population.
- African political groups resisted the apartheid laws through a range of coordinated passive and non-violent protests.
- After the Sharpeville Massacre, protests grew increasingly more violent, resulting in the imprisonment of many leaders of the anti-apartheid movement.
- The emergence of the Black Consciousness movement inspired black students to continue to challenge apartheid, leading to increasingly violent responses from the security forces.
- A range of internal and external pressures forced the apartheid government to transition to a free and democratic political system by 1994.

REVIEW

- 7.49** How did the white minority government justify the policy of apartheid?
- 7.50** How did the anti-apartheid movement protest against the apartheid laws and government oppression?
- 7.51** What were the turning points in the struggle?
- 7.52** Who do you think were the three most influential individuals and/or groups during the apartheid era? Write a paragraph for each of your choices, justifying your selection with historical evidence.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to the topic below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **7.53** Analyse the ways in which the white minority government sought to oppress black and coloured South Africans during the apartheid era.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on the topic below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **7.54** 'It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle.' To what extent is Nelson Mandela's statement in 1964 an accurate reflection of the actions of the anti-apartheid movement between 1948 and 1964?

EXTENSION

- 7.55** Create a digital timeline of key events during the apartheid era. Include a short written summary of each key stage, relevant images, primary source quotations and links to helpful video clips.
- 7.56** Create a collection of quotations from key individuals involved in the apartheid era. Colour code them to differentiate between those that justify apartheid and those that condemn it. Work to memorise your quotations so you can use them as relevant supporting evidence when answering assessment questions.



POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN AUSTRALIA

'All social movements are founded by, guided by, motivated and seen through by the passion of individuals.'

MARGARET MEAD, AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

The second half of the twentieth century was fuelled by tremendous social change. After World War II, movements that focused on women's rights, peace and environmental issues flourished as old traditions, sexist views and the impact of capitalism were questioned throughout the Western world. Although Australia was often seen as something of a backwater and an eager follower of the US or the UK, the social changes in Australia were just as important and significant as those in other Western countries.

These movements all required key groups and significant individuals to take on issues as personal missions and fight hard to make changes. In the 1960s and 1970s there was an outpouring of popular enthusiasm and energy for *feminism*, peace and environmental rights. Activists used mass protests, legal challenges and influential writings to make the world a more equal, harmonious and environmentally conscious place. However, although these movements promised much, the battle was not won in the twentieth century and many groups continue to push for change in the twenty-first century.

feminism

The belief that women should be treated equally to men in every field.

feminist

A person who supports feminism.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1964 NOVEMBER — Contraception introduced in Australia

1965 APRIL — Australia sends troops to Vietnam

1969 First women's liberation groups meet

1970 MAY — First moratoriums against the Vietnam War

1980 30 MARCH — Palm Sunday anti-nuclear protests

1984 MAY — *Sex Discrimination Act* passed

KEY QUESTIONS

- How did significant events and conditions contribute to demands for change?
- How did *feminists* struggle for legal, social and economic rights?
- How did the sexual revolution and greater reproductive freedom for women change the domestic landscape?
- How was the media used as a tool of protest?
- How did peace movements develop in response to the end of World War II and the Vietnam War?
- What role did green groups play in altering views and protecting the environment?
- What were the experiences and perspectives of those who demanded, or resisted, change?

**Source 8.01**

The Union of Australian Women protest against the war in Vietnam, 1965.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

**GERMAINE GREER**

*Became a key figure in the women's liberation movement after writing *The Female Eunuch**

Her views have often caused controversy

**JULIA GILLARD**

First female prime minister of Australia (2010–2013)

Made her famous 'misogyny speech' in October 2012

**JIM CAIRNS**

Labor minister and deputy prime minister under Gough Whitlam

Became a leader of the Victorian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign

**BOB BROWN**

First leader of the Australian Greens Party

First openly gay Australian parliamentarian

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Key events in the first half of the twentieth century—such as World War I, the Great Depression and World War II—are often seen as having led the way towards the women's liberation and anti-war movements of the 1970s. Use the material and ideas that you have developed to answer one of the following questions.

8.01 Which event was the most significant in developing the women's liberation movement: World War I, the Great Depression or World War II? How did these events differ in how they contributed to the women's movement?

8.02 How has the nature of warfare in the twentieth century led directly to the desire for peace? Consider why there were different reactions to World War II and the Vietnam War.

8.03 Which factors led to the rise of green groups in the latter half of the twentieth century? What were the aims of these groups, and how successful have they been?

FEMINISM

Did you know? In 1943, Enid Lyons was the first woman elected to Australia's federal parliament. Her husband, Joseph Lyons, was prime minister of Australia from 1932–1939.

prohibition

The movement to ban a particular item or behaviour; historically linked to banning alcohol.

age of consent

A person's age when certain behaviours and actions become legal, such as voting, driving, drinking and having sex.

➔ **Source 8.02** The Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Did you know? South Australia allowed women to vote in state elections as early as 1895. In 1908, Victoria became the last Australian state to allow women to vote in state elections. This was seven years after women were allowed to vote in federal elections.

EARLY FEMINISM: SUFFRAGETTES AND WOMEN WARRIORS

ENID LYONS, 1922: 'Two months before the new baby was born I was asked to speak at the opening of the federal election campaign.'

FIGHTING FOR THE FRANCHISE

The fight for women's rights is not a modern issue. The first women's movement started in Australia in the 1880s and 1890s, with groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Victorian Women's Suffrage Society both formed in 1884. Their aims were to get votes for women and to protect women and children. These protectionist aims led many suffragettes to support **prohibition** (the restriction of alcohol) and to raise the **age of consent** (from twelve to sixteen) to protect women and children from domestic and sexual abuse. Women had to fight several arguments about why they did not deserve the right to vote. Arguments included their supposedly lower intelligence, their inability to fight in war, and the belief that they already had political influence through their husbands or brothers. All of these arguments were refuted by the suffragettes, and white women were given the vote under the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*. However, at the same time, the right of Aboriginal people to vote was withdrawn in the states where they had the franchise—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania—and Aboriginal women (and men) had to wait until 1962 for the right to vote.



WOMAN'S WORLD

The implementation of universal white suffrage in 1902 meant that Australians believed they were more democratic than the US (where universal white suffrage was only achieved in 1920) and Britain (which partially allowed suffrage in 1918 and fully allowed it in 1928). However, the Australian government continued to relegate women to the domestic sphere, and only created programs that supported traditional gender roles—maternal and infant welfare clinics, women's hospitals, child endowment and maternity allowance.

WAR WORK AND WORKING LIVES

The early twentieth century led to some improvements in women's ability to access education and a range of occupations. Women's roles began to change during World War I. War led to women serving overseas as nurses and to the development of many women-led charity groups to support soldiers overseas. Women's contributions were celebrated, although they largely remained in the domestic domain. After the war, in the 1920s, the large number of male casualties meant that there were new openings in the workplaces that could be filled by women, creating a newly independent woman that was epitomised by the *flappers*. The prosperity of the 1920s soon faded with the Great Depression of the 1930s, when many businesses were *bankrupted* and families ruined. This was a problematic time—many women were abandoned by their husbands and left to raise families by themselves. Although some women remained working, they were seen as cheap, unskilled labour and were often *scapegoated* for the loss of the male breadwinner.

World War II changed the working woman's experience yet again. With the increased demands of war, women were allowed to join not only the traditionally female-oriented position of nurses but also the Australian Women's Army Service and the Australian Women's Land Army, as well as working in factories. However, when the war ended many women were forced out of these new workplaces, their jobs taken by returned soldiers. Suddenly women who had previously felt comfortable in the role of housewife began to question that role after experiencing



the benefits of working for wages. It was also towards the end of World War II, in 1943, that the first women were elected into the *Australian parliament*, with Enid Lyons elected to the *House of Representatives* and Dorothy Tangney to the Senate.

Source 8.04 Enid Lyons, Australia's first female federal politician.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

8.04 Explain how women's rights changed and developed throughout the early twentieth century. Consider in what ways women's position and rights remained the same.

8.05 Explore propaganda images of women in World War I and World War II. Compare different representations and consider how images and perceptions about women changed over time.



Source 8.03 Royal Australian Air Force World War II recruiting poster.

flappers

Young women in the 1920s who broke convention with their attitudes, behaviours, activities and style of dress.

bankrupted

Unable to pay debts; a court may order that all assets must be sold to settle these debts.

scapegoated

Blamed for the mistakes or wrongdoings of others.

Australian parliament

The legislative branch of the federal political system in Australia.

House of Representatives

The lower house of the Australian parliament.

WOMEN'S WORDS AND WOMEN'S ACTIONS

Did you know? 1975 was declared International Women's Year by the UN.

utopian

A vision of a perfect society that is usually unattainable or unrealistic.

hippie

Young people associated with the counterculture movement of the 1960s; typified by particular types of music, clothing, language and drug use.

mainstream

The ideas held by the majority in a society; the opposite of marginal, radical or extreme.

FEMINIST CHANT AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MARCH, SYDNEY, 8 MARCH 1972:

'Men like birds; birds live in cages,
They have done for ages; on second-class wages;
Women's Liberation's going to smash that cage,
Come join us now and rage, rage, rage.'¹

FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO CHALLENGE PATRIARCHY

In the 1950s and 1960s, the idealisation of the 'perfect' home with the 'perfect' housewife meant that many women felt trapped by their domestic roles but were also unable to move away from their supposedly *utopian* existence. It was only in the late 1960s and 1970s—with increased protests over the Vietnam War, the development of *hippie* culture, improved media access through televisions and radios in most homes, and improved educational opportunities (including free tertiary education)—that this dissatisfaction was given a more *mainstream* voice. The first women's liberation groups in Australia, formed in Adelaide and Sydney in 1969, gave women a sense of community and a place to air their concerns and complaints. These groups led to the Australian International Women's Day March on 8 March 1975. Additional marches through much of the 1970s and 1980s gave women a public voice to matters they'd only ever raised privately before—no longer were abortions, rape, premarital sex and family violence hidden behind closed doors. These conversations led to calls for new rights for women.

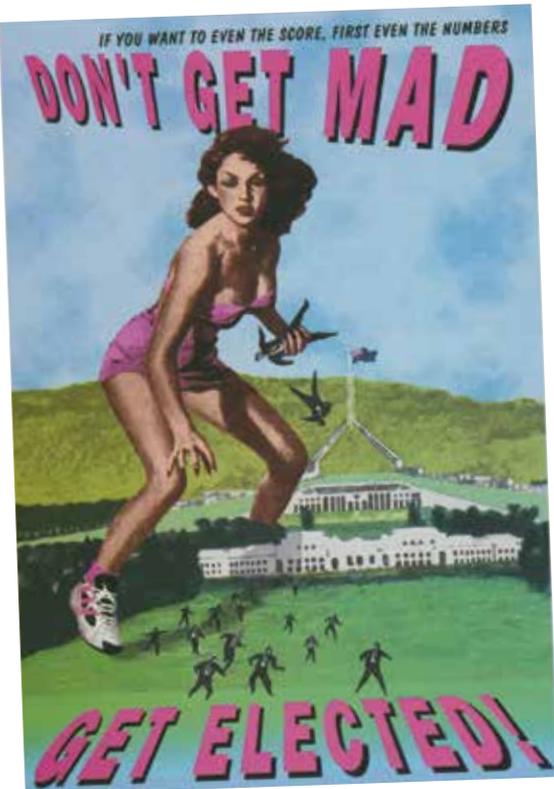
➔ **Source 8.05** International Women's Day March, 1975.

⬇ **Source 8.06** Poster by Carol Porter for women's rights in the 1990s.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

8.06 Source 8.06 is a poster by Carol Porter for women's rights. It was inspired by the poster for the 1958 film *Attack of the 50 Foot Woman*. Explain what beliefs and values are being expressed in this feminist poster. Discuss reasons why Carol Porter has made this choice to connect the film to the idea of women getting elected.



ONE VOICE OR ALL VOICES?

The **women's liberation** movement was a powerful force for change, creating rape crisis centres, women's refuges, women's health centres and active campaigning to improve the legal and economic position of women.

However, the movement of the 1970s was not completely progressive, as the voices of the feminist women were largely from the white middle and upper classes. Although some women's liberationists fought to improve the position of women from different social and ethnic groups, not all were as welcoming. Migrant women often found themselves excluded by language and accessibility. Aboriginal women struggled under a burden of racism and sexism, while many lesbians found their struggles hidden by those of mainstream heterosexual members.

FEMALE EUNUCHS AND FEMINIST JOURNALS

One of the key elements for change came from increased access to feminist literature, allowing more women to both read and write about feminist issues. In the 1970s and 1980s the number of feminist journals grew to around twenty. Some lasted for only one or two issues, while others are still published today. Some key feminist journals include *Refractory Girl* (published from 1972), *Hecate* (from 1975) and *Australian Feminist Studies* (from 1985). These journals were complemented by increased access to feminist texts including Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in 1949, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* in 1970. One of the most significant books for Australian feminists was *The Female Eunuch* by Australian author Germaine Greer in 1970.

The frustration of the 1970s woman

I am sick of the masquerade. I'm sick of pretending eternal youth. I'm sick of belying my own intelligence. ... I'm sick of pretending that some fatuous [foolish] male's self-important pronouncements are the objects of my undivided attention, I'm sick of going to films and plays when someone else wants to, and sick of having no opinions of my own about either.

Source 8.07 Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (Pymble: HarperCollins, 2008), 70.

women's liberation

A movement whose goal is to free women from oppression, particularly in male-dominated societies.

Significant individual

GERMAINE GREER, 1939–

Is an Australian feminist, author and social commentator; best known for writing *The Female Eunuch*.

Believes in liberating women from traditional feminine roles rather than making them equal with men.

She said: 'Freedom is fragile and must be protected. To sacrifice it, even as a temporary measure, is to betray it.'

Said about: 'She enjoys what most women do not enjoy, and therefore it's valuable, which is going out and doing battle with men.' (*Gloria Steinem, feminist, journalist and activist*)

Challenged the status quo by articulating and criticising the inferior role given to women in society, and advocating for meaningful change.



Did you know? During International Women's Day marches, women were sometimes challenged by critics who disagreed with their views on equality and reproductive rights. In 1972 Germaine Greer was egged by opponents.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 8.07 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 8.07** Outline the beliefs and attitudes about women that Greer is attempting to change.
- 8.08** Identify language used by Greer to convey exhaustion with the expectations and limitations placed on women.
- 8.09** Evaluate the extent to which the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s succeeded in addressing the problems identified by Greer. Use evidence to support your response.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 8.10** Why might women have felt unable to challenge patriarchal views in the 1950s?
- 8.11** Create a table listing the positives and the negatives of the 1970s women's liberation movement.
- 8.12** Write a paragraph discussing why the women's liberation movement was largely made up of women from the white middle and upper classes.

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY

PAMELA BONE, AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST: 'I was paid less than the man working alongside me, even though I could add faster than he could.'

Did you know? In 2011, Fair Work Australia decided to raise the wages of workers in the community services sector (social workers and counsellors), reasoning that their lower wages were because the sector was perceived as a female industry.²

dependents

Those people, such as children, the infirm or the very old, who cannot look after themselves and require care and assistance from an adult.

Source 8.08 Women working in a textiles factory during the 1950s.



WAGES AND WORK

Women's ability to be employed and earn a fair wage was often hampered by perceptions of them as mothers and wives rather than as workers or employees. In 1907, the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration reinforced the stereotype of men as the breadwinners and women's earnings as simply a

supplementary wage, with Justice Higgins's decision that the minimum male wage was in reality 'a "family wage" [and] should provide for a married man with three dependents', while the female wage was set at a lower rate because 'women were not usually legally responsible for the maintenance of a family'.³ Women were usually paid about half of what men earned. During World War II, the rate of female pay rose but the average female wage was still only about 60 per cent of the average male wage. After the war, women's wages remained static until the 1970s. This meant that women who could not rely on a male wage struggled economically, making marriage a matter of survival for many women.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

In 1969, after much campaigning by the women's movement, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission chose to support the idea of 'equal pay for equal work', but this applied only to a small number of occupations. It was not until 1974 and a new Labor government that it was decided that 'the male minimum wage should be extended to women to become an "adult" minimum wage'.⁴ The *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986* helped to remove barriers that prevented women entering and remaining in the workforce. However, there is still a significant difference between the average wage for women and men today, with women's wages lagging far behind. This is due to several factors, including the fact that 'historically, female-dominated industries and jobs have attracted lower wages', 'skill differentials', the choice of part-time over full-time work to support dependents, and discrimination in the workforce.⁵ This all suggests that economic reform still has a long way to go. Women are also far more likely than men to have to interrupt their careers to have children and then raise them.

minimum wage

The legislated minimum amount that someone can be paid for a certain amount of work; usually expressed as an hourly rate.

Sex Discrimination Act 1984

(b) to eliminate, so far as is possible, discrimination against persons on the ground of sex, marital status, pregnancy or potential pregnancy or breastfeeding in the areas of work, accommodation, education ...

(d) to promote recognition and acceptance within the community of the principle of the equality of men and women.

Source 8.09 *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* (Cth) pt I div 3, http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2013C00012/Html/Text#_Toc345321013

Did you know? Before the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*, female teachers often had to resign or take long-service leave to have or raise children.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

8.13 Explain the significance of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*. Suggest three ways in which the Act could lead to important changes in women's lives.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

8.14 Which factors have created a pay gap between women and men?

8.15 Why has a lower wage for women been so problematic?

8.16 How are women still affected by discrimination in the workforce? Consider some reasons for the current inequality.

Source 8.10 The first oral contraceptive pill (Enovid) was approved for use in the US in 1960 and released in Australia in 1961 (as Anovlar).

social stigma

The negative effect on someone's reputation because of behaviour or actions that are perceived as immoral or inappropriate.

STDs

'Sexually transmitted diseases' that can be transferred during sexual intercourse.

birth control pill

A tablet taken by women on a regular basis to prevent an unwanted pregnancy.

**I DO AND I DON'T**

WOMEN'S LIBERATION SLOGAN IN THE 1970S: 'Better dead than wed.'⁶

Did you know? In Australia, rape within marriage was not legally defined as a criminal act until the 1970s.

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND CHILDREN

In the past, marriage was often talked about as the pinnacle of a woman's existence. However, the reality was sometimes very different, with domestic hardship, multiple pregnancies and physical or sexual abuse. Divorce laws had only been created in the UK in 1857 with the *Matrimonial Causes Act*, which finally allowed the possibility of a legal separation. (Prior to this, people could pay to have their marriages annulled.) This law was subsequently introduced in various forms in the states of Australia, but it only gave limited causes for divorce so it was hard for couples to separate legally. Some states, such as Victoria, seemed to have 'one law for the husband, another law for the wife'. For example, women were punished for a single case of adultery while men were only in trouble if they committed 'aggravated' adultery.⁷ It was only the introduction of the *Matrimonial Causes Act 1959* (Cth), which identified fourteen causes for divorce, that divorce law became universal throughout Australia. However, the biggest change came with the *Family Law Act 1975*, which had only one cause for divorce—that the 'marriage has broken down irretrievably' and that the 'parties separated and thereafter lived separately and apart for a period of not less than 12 months immediately preceding the date of the filing of the application for the divorce order'.⁸ This effectively created a no-fault divorce law that encouraged more positive relationships between divorcing partners and their children, as they no longer had to prove that one partner had caused the marriage breakdown.

SEXUAL REVOLUTION

The 1970s women's liberation movement was also described as a sexual revolution for the changes it promoted in sexual relationships. Women wanted to change the double standard in society that forgave men their premarital and adulterous sexual interactions yet punished women for the same actions. Before the 1960s, women who engaged in extramarital relations, whether by choice or force, suffered not only **social stigma** but also the fear of **STDs** and unwanted pregnancy—with the associated concerns of backyard abortions and forced adoptions. The development and availability of the **birth control pill** and the increase in popularity of condoms helped reduce these concerns, allowing women to engage in sexual relations with men on a more equal footing. Attitudes began to change, and marriage was no longer seen as the only option.

➔ **Source 8.11** Alleyne Jukes, ed., *Woman's World* (Melbourne: M.A. White and Staff, 1960), 354.

'First Catch Your Man'

Let's face it, every healthy, well balanced woman always wants to have a man in her life. ... Men particularly need to feel your attention when they speak to you. Your eyes are your most expressive feature—show your interest in him by looking into his eyes when he speaks to you. Your eyes will often say more than your words. Use them.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

8.17 Imagine you are a twenty-one-year-old woman studying medicine. How would you view the advice in Source 8.11? What positives and negatives would you take from this?

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

8.18 Why was birth control so important?

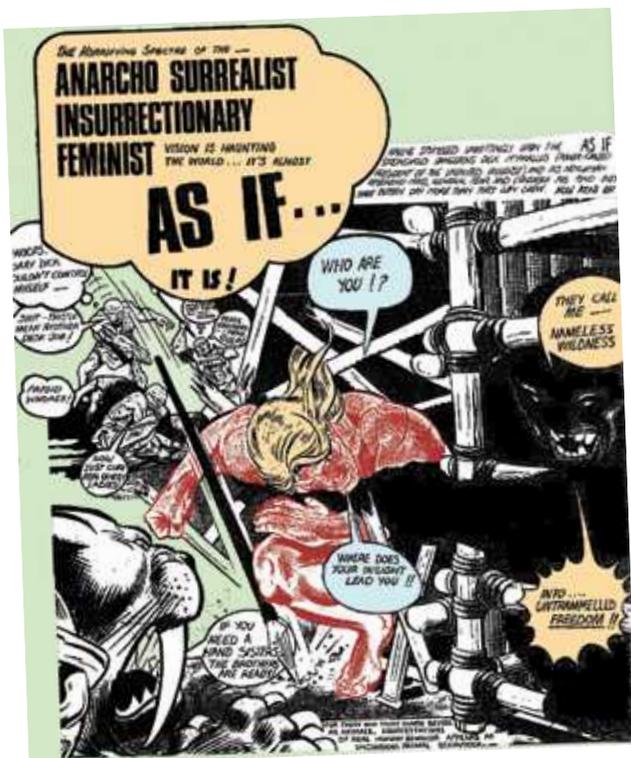
8.19 How did divorce laws in Australia change from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century?

8.20 Why might the women's liberation movement use slogans such as 'Better dead than wed'? What does this indicate about marital relationships both before and after the sexual revolution?

FEMINIST FILMS

WE AIM TO PLEASE (1976), **FEMINIST FILM**, : 'Women have been depicted in quite a different way from men, not because the feminine is different from the masculine, but because the ideal spectator is always assumed to be male.'⁹

➔ **Source 8.12** *Anarcho Surrealist Insurrectionary Feminist* magazine, 1973.



FEMINIST FILM-MAKERS

The Australian film industry, although powerful in the early twentieth century, soon struggled against the Hollywood powerhouse. It was only in the 1970s, with funding from the Australian government, that it expanded again. Many of these early Australian films, such as *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975), included key female characters that empowered female actors, but it was only in 1977 that Australia had its first female director since the McDonagh sisters in the 1930s. Gillian Armstrong's *My Brilliant Career* (1979) and Jane Campion's *The Piano* (1993) both explored feminist ideas of powerful women and important choices. Female authors such as Kathy Lette and Gabrielle Carey also became involved in film-making when their novel *Puberty Blues* (1979) was turned into a film in 1981.

AS IF

Much of the assumed gaze of cinema is male, setting up women as sexual objects or as background scenery, while only men are allowed to be active characters. Feminist film-makers like the Anarcho Surrealist Insurrectionary Feminist (AS IF) collective attempted to change this male gaze by replacing it with a female one to create unsettling cinema.

Extract from the AS IF manifesto, June 1973

Women suffer a *double oppression* ... an essential inferiority. Every time we see advertisements that use women's breasts to sell some useless product; every time we walk alone at night ... we are *reminded* of our sexuality. Every wolf whistle reminds us that we are women, and that women are sex. We walk with fear in our hearts because we know that inferior beings face a constant danger of being used, and abused.

Source 8.13 AS IF collective, *Anarcho-Surrealist-Insurrectionary Feminists 2*, (June 1973), <http://www.takver.com/history/aia/aia00032.htm>

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 8.13 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

8.21 Outline the concerns the AS IF group have about how women are defined and understood.

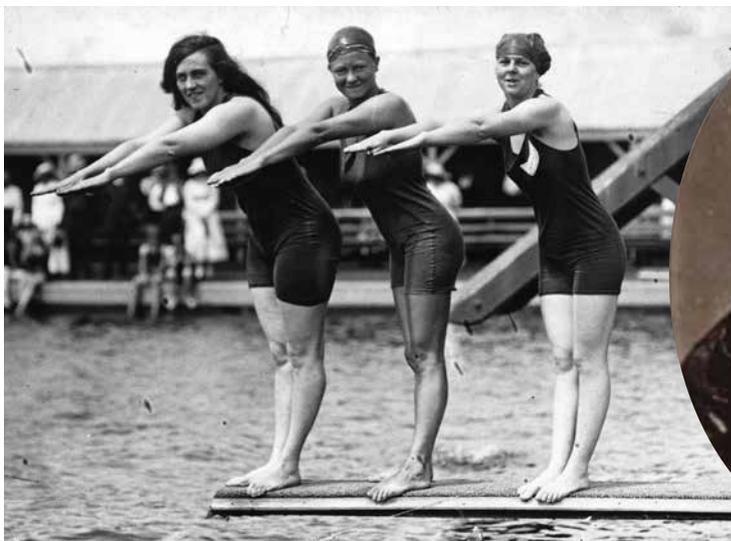
8.22 Explain what 'double oppression' means in this context.

HIDDEN WOMEN IN HISTORY

JOCELYNNE SCUTT, FEMINIST ACADEMIC: 'Who are the women who have disappeared or have been kept from us, and from our daughters?'

ABSENCE MAKES THE HEART GROW FONDER

One of the major concerns for early feminists in the women's liberation movement was women in history. Even though women often made significant contributions to society, science, culture, politics and events, their actions and lives were often silenced, their history unrecorded. The absence of women in most history books was connected to prevailing attitudes that devalued women and their actions, but was also linked to prevalent academic contemporary views that only valued political histories, the stories of kings and battles. Beverley Kingston's *My Wife, My Daughter, and Poor Mary Ann: Women and Work in Australia* (1975), Anne Summers's *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (1975) and Miriam Dixson's *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia, 1788 to the Present* (1976) were key texts to address the absence of women in traditional histories. These and other books led to changes in the way history was written, including more references to influential women and a greater focus on social history.



Source 8.14 (far left) Australian swimmers Fanny Durack and Mina Wylie with British swimmer Jenny Fletcher. Durack and Wylie were the first Australian female Olympians, winning gold and silver, respectively, at the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games.



Source 8.15 Portrait of Truganini (c. 1812–1876), one of the last 'full-blood' Aboriginal people of Tasmania. Photograph taken in the 1870s.

➔ **Source 8.16** Beverley Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann: Women and Work in Australia* (West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia, 1975), 137.

➔ **Source 8.17** Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia, 1788 to the Present* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1976), 21.

➔ **Source 8.18** Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1975), 32, 62.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Sources 8.16–8.18 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

8.23 Using Source 8.16 and your own knowledge, explain the role women played in Australia up to the end of World War II.

8.24 Using Sources 8.17 and 8.18 and your own knowledge, outline the main virtues of women according to Australian society.

8.25 Evaluate the extent to which these views expressed in the 1970s had been achieved by the end of the twentieth century. Use evidence to support your response.

RESEARCH

8.26 Identify three or four women who have been emphasised in history and try to determine why they have been singled out when so many others have been ignored.

➔ **Source 8.19** Pat O'Shane, 'Aboriginal Women and the Women's Movement', *Refractory Girl* 12 (1976), republished in *Refractory Girl* 44–45 (1993): 73.

FEMINIST HISTORIANS

Beverley Kingston on Australian women

Australian women had a very important part to play in building a modern and progressive society in a new land far from its origins. They bore the children and they nourished them. Later they became the major agents of civilization. ... So important were these functions—child rearing and the care of homes and maintenance of family influences—that women were given no choice.

Miriam Dixon on Australian women

Yet the overall standing of women in Australia comes close to the *lowest* among the Western industrial democracies. ... Australian woman's sense of personhood is among the thinnest. ... [T]he Australian woman ... is to be tip-toe, dull, dolly-bird, blank-faced, 'don't crowd me love, I've got my mates.'

Anne Summers on Australian women

To be a Mother of Two would seem to be a more important status for an Australian woman than any other conceivable accolade. ... The traditional mother/wife role has been structured around an unequal social and economic relationship between men and women, with the 'separate but equal' ideology cloaking a multitude of legally sanctioned and *de facto* inequalities.

FEMINISM IN THE 2000s

RASHMERE BHATTI: 'It is a difference as stark as black and white.'

POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM

The women's liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s slowly moved from solely supporting white middle- to upper-class women to becoming more inclusive of other women and their needs. There is more awareness and inclusion of migrant, Indigenous, Third World and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT+) feminism, and their specific needs from being doubly or trebly oppressed—these women are discriminated against not only as women, but also as members of their specific group.

Aboriginal women

Not only are Aboriginal women victims of male chauvinism, but also of racism. ... [I]n a male dominated white society black men pose a greater threat ... and it is for that reason that black men have been so enslaved, caught in the 'pub-to-gaol' phenomenon. That Aboriginal women pose no threat to white men is very clearly seen by the fact that they have so often been ... considered easy game for the racist rapist.



CHANGES

There are many ways in which women are more equal in our modern society. There are many feminist groups that use the internet to share their ideas on gender equality and female empowerment. Our sex discrimination and equal opportunity laws prevent overt discrimination in women's working lives, while new marriage and divorce laws provide more protection to women. In addition, women are slowly becoming more powerful in businesses and politics, with female politicians such as Penny Wong and the first Australian female prime minister, Julia Gillard, playing a more significant role in our political landscape.

Source 8.20 Australia's first female prime minister, Julia Gillard.

#I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE ... #I DO NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE ...

The word 'feminist' has now become problematic, as it is often defined as 'man-hater' rather than someone who seeks equality. There have been social media campaigns such as #WomenAgainstFeminism, where women post images of themselves saying, 'I don't need feminism because ...' and ironically state that their reason for not being feminist is because they have the very same rights for which feminists fight. Even using the term 'feminist' can be quite complicated. In October 2014, former Liberal Party politician and foreign affairs minister Julie Bishop stated, 'It's not something that I describe myself as. I'm not saying I'm not a feminist, I don't reject the term, I'm just saying it's not a way I describe myself. First and foremost I'm a parliamentarian, a minister. I don't find the need to self-describe in that way.'¹⁰ Some commentators have suggested that feminism is not necessary because women are already equal, but there are many ways in which women are still not equal. We need only look at victim blaming, rape, domestic violence, the *glass ceiling* in the workforce, insidious stereotypes and the *gender pay gap*, all of which reinforce women's *subservient* role in society.

Did you know? As of May 2021 the gender pay gap was 14.2 per cent, meaning that an average full-time male worker will earn \$261 more each week than an average full-time female worker!¹¹

Source 8.21 Gender pay gap postcard by the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission in the 2000s.

glass ceiling

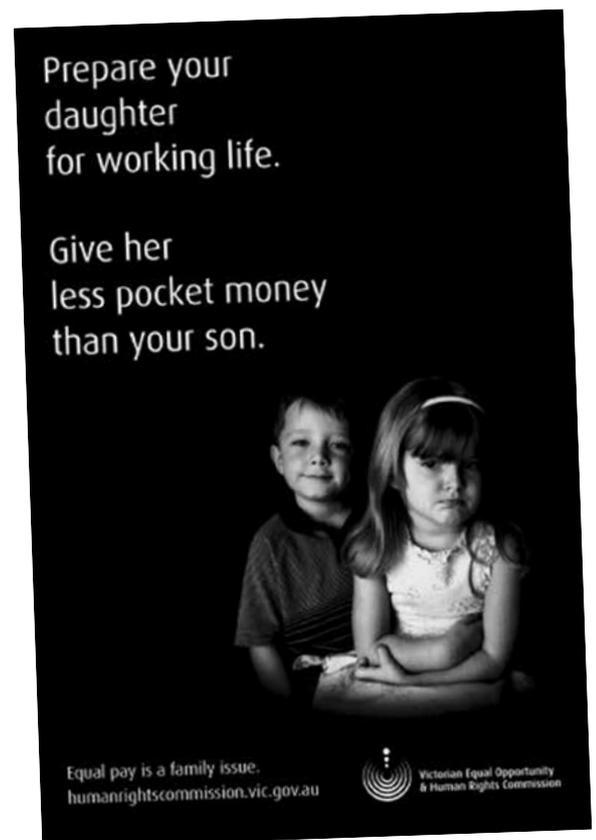
A barrier that prevents women or minorities from advancing or being promoted beyond a certain point.

gender pay gap

The difference between the average man's salary and the average woman's salary; historically and currently a woman's salary is lower than a man's.

subservient

Willing to obey or serve others without question.



#METOO

The struggle for equality and respectful treatment for women continues into the twenty-first century. In 2006, American activist Tarana Burke used the phrase 'Me Too' on her Myspace social media account to raise awareness of the prevalence of rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment in society. Burke had been raped as a teenager and wanted to show her support for other women who had gone through the same experience. In October 2017, actress Alyssa Milano posted a tweet asking all women who had suffered sexual assault to write 'Me Too' on their status to show the magnitude of the problem. Milano's tweet quickly went viral and #MeToo became a global movement. It allowed women to come forward with their own stories of survival in the wake of sexual assault and seek assistance and support, not just in America but all over the world. Subsequently, widespread allegations against several individuals were made on social and traditional media. Some notable celebrities, including film producer Harvey Weinstein, were accused by multiple women of sexual harassment and assault. In February 2020 Weinstein was found guilty of sexual assault and rape, and sentenced to twenty-three years in prison. The #MeToo movement has been instrumental in encouraging people and organisations to reflect on crucial issues like the relationship between men and women, consent and respectful behaviour, and to ensure that workplaces are safe for all employees.



Source 8.22 Tarana Burke, social worker and activist.



Source 8.23 A #MeToo sign at a rally in the US.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 8.27** Describe how women were better represented in the Australian film industry from the 1970s.
- 8.28** How did female historians of the 1970s change the depiction of women in Australian history?
- 8.29** By the 2000s, what have been the areas of success for the feminist movement in Australia? In which areas is there still some way to go for full equality to be reached?

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

- 8.30** Consider how different backgrounds (e.g. migrant, Aboriginal, LGBT+, white, developing world) might have an impact on the specific women's rights that the group is seeking. Identify what might be important to certain groups, and what might not be.

MEDIA TASKS

- 8.31** Watch contemporary music video clips (one female performer and one male performer). Compare and contrast how they are represented. Consider what this tells us about women's and men's roles in society today.
- 8.32** Watch advertisements targeted towards women and advertisements targeted towards men. Is each gender represented positively or negatively? Does it differ depending on the target audience? Are gender stereotypes used or broken in these advertisements?

PEACE MOVEMENTS

BAN THE BOMB

SADAKO OKUDA: 'I imagined how, if there were no such violence and fear, these two would be with their mother right now.'¹²

DAYS OF DARKNESS, DAYS OF WAR

World War II was a war like no other. Although it shared the direct fighting involving soldiers from many countries like World War I, no previous war had such an effect on so many civilian lives. In the lands invaded and controlled by Nazi Germany there was the usual brutality of a conqueror towards a conquered nation, but there was also the specific genocide-driven persecution and murder of Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, black people and homosexuals, as well as the mentally and physically disabled. The horror of these actions led many in the world to reconsider their own treatment of many of these groups, and ensured the development of the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by the UN. This declaration, along with newly changed post-war attitudes, helped to catalyse campaigns for the civil rights of African Americans, Indigenous Australians, women and homosexuals, and led to decolonisation movements in a number of Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries.

In their desire to end the war in the Pacific quickly, in August 1945 US forces dropped atomic bombs on two of Japan's major cities. The atomic bombs hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki with devastating force and shook the world with the new destructive capabilities of nuclear weapons. The fear of such weapons led to a nuclear arms race between the USSR and the US. It also resulted in a Cold War between the two countries—with their competing ideologies of communism and capitalism—that would last from 1945–1989. There were no direct wars between the two superpowers, but the fear of a nuclear war was an ever-present concern, especially when other countries began their own nuclear programs. Although there had always been peace movements, it was only after the horror of Hiroshima that these movements gained momentum. Sometimes these groups labelled themselves as peace campaigners while others described themselves as anti-nuclear or anti-war—but their main aim was always peace.



Did you know? Sadako Okuda wrote *A Dimly Burning Wick: Memoir from the Ruins of Hiroshima*. This is a powerful book that illuminated the horrors of the atomic bomb and the depths of human compassion.

Source 8.24 A ceremonial arch standing in the flattened and smoking landscape of Hiroshima, 1945.



Source 8.26 Dead and injured people lying in the street in Hiroshima, 1945.

Source 8.27 Pamphlet from the Australian Peace Council 1950 by Reverend Alf Dickie.



Survivor testimony from a severely burnt grocer

The appearance of people was ... well, they all had skin blackened by burns. ... They had no hair because their hair had been burned, and at a glance you couldn't tell whether you were looking at them from in front or in back. ... Many of them died along the road—I can still picture them in my mind—like walking ghosts. ... They didn't look like people of this world. ... I myself was one of them.

Source 8.25 Robert Jay Lifton, *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 27.

ASKING HISTORICAL QUESTIONS

8.33 Use your knowledge of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to create and then answer one simple question and one complex question.

POST-WAR PEACE

Did you know? Nuclear testing took place in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s at Maralinga, a remote area of South Australia. The British army conducted numerous tests there, and left at least 23 kilograms of plutonium buried in the area when they finally stopped the testing.¹³

After the end of World War II, the world seemed to give a sigh of relief as it turned from the horrors of the war to hope for peace. The desire for peace became more mainstream, and placards celebrating such aspirations were included in several different arenas, including May Day marches in the 1950s.¹⁴ Although many people were against the idea of war and supported the idea of peace, few actually became involved in specific peace groups. Some felt that it was unpatriotic to become involved in peace groups, as it disrespected the memory of Australian fighters in World War I and World War II. Other people were concerned that peace movements were connected too closely with the communist movement. This meant that peace movements were viewed with suspicion during the Cold War, and their motives questioned.

PEACE MOVEMENTS

One of the earliest post-World War II peace groups was the Australian Peace Council, which was founded in Melbourne in 1949 by Reverend Francis John Hartley, Reverend Alf Dickie and Reverend Victor James. The three clergymen, all from different Christian faiths, worked together to spread their vision of peace. They used this council to help organise the Australian Peace Congress in Melbourne in 1950. The World Peace Council was also created in 1950, with Reverend Francis John Hartley sent to represent Australia at the council meeting in 1951.

Later, Hartley and Dickie helped create the Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament, which was held in Melbourne in 1959 and Sydney in 1964. Both events were well-attended and discussed anti-war views, nuclear disarmament and the desire for peace. These peace leaders were so well-regarded in the international peace community that in 1965 Hartley and Dickie were awarded the Joliot-Curie gold medal, a medal of peace, by the World Peace Council.¹⁵

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

8.34 Why might have the events that occurred in Nazi Germany and at Hiroshima and Nagasaki contributed to the development of peace movements?

8.35 Why might the peace movements have been damaged by being associated with communism in the 1950s?

8.36 Why would it be necessary to create a pamphlet such as the one shown in Source 8.27? Write a paragraph explaining this pamphlet in terms of its historical context.

CONFLICT WITHOUT CENSORSHIP—VIETNAM WAR

TONY MCFARLAND, CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, 1966: 'I am truly ashamed of our part in this disgusting affair.'

VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam War revolutionised the peace movement. Before the Vietnam War, many peace movements focused only on avoiding war if possible, and were composed of small, marginalised groups. During the 1960s, the fight for peace became an anti-war statement as the morality of the war itself was challenged by large groups, beginning with students and radical protest groups before moving into the mainstream.

The Vietnam War came about because the Vietnamese wanted to rid themselves of French colonial rule. In 1954, after the Geneva Conference, Vietnam was partitioned into the communist North and the nominally democratic, capitalist South. In the complicated Cold War era, the threat of communism ensured that the US supported President Ngo Dinh Diem to protect South Vietnam against communism. US political relations were motivated by their belief in the domino theory—that if one country became communist, the neighbouring countries would also become communist, like dominoes knocking each other over. The US decided that it had to prevent countries from becoming communist, and provided economic assistance and advice to non-communist nations that were being threatened by communist rule. When President Ngo Dinh Diem was unable to prevent the attacks from North Vietnam, the US army moved in with advisers in 1955 and combat troops in 1965.

Australia followed its US ally into the war in 1962, also with Australian advisers and then with a combat presence in 1965. As a smaller ally to the greater superpower, Australian forces in Vietnam generally followed the lead of the US.

MASS MOVEMENT

Initially the Vietnam War was relatively popular in Australia. A 1965 Morgan Gallup poll showed that 56 per cent of Australians supported involvement in the war. As Vietnam was so close, the threat of communism concerned many people. There was also support for the idea that the Vietnam War was a necessary war, a fight to support the democratic South Vietnamese against the communist North Vietnamese. However, by 1970 public support for the war had fallen to 42 per cent.



Source 8.28 Australian soldiers make an assault landing from an American Chinook helicopter in Vietnam, 1967.

REASONS FOR LOSS OF SUPPORT BY 1970

Conscription

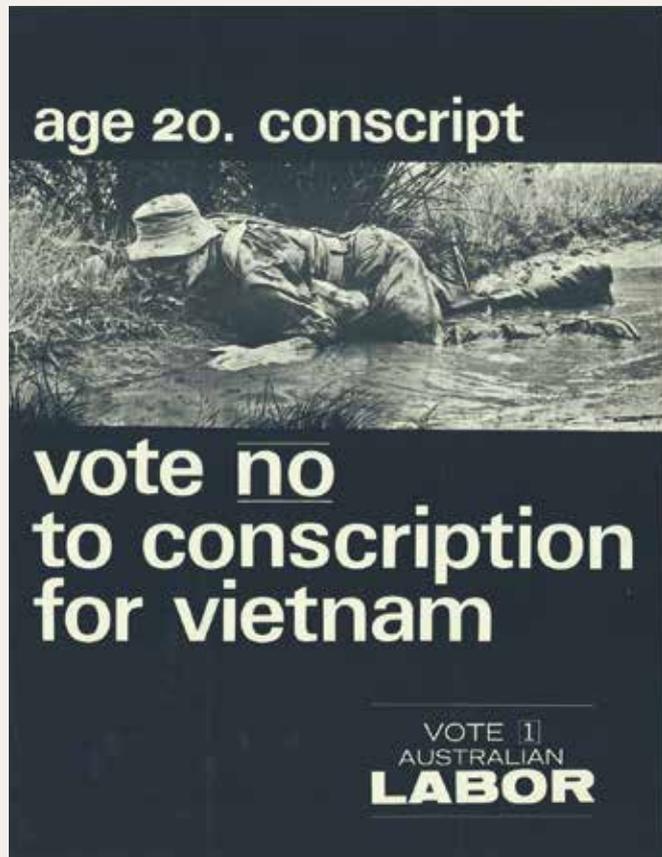
National Service Act

An Australian federal law passed by parliament on 24 November 1964, which required all twenty-year-old men in Australia to serve in the army for two years; in May 1965 this law was amended so that these soldiers could be sent into overseas combat zones.

In 1964 the *National Service Act* was introduced in Australia. Men were chosen from a draft lottery by their birthdate to serve as National Service conscripts for two years, and then a further three years in the Army Reserve. In 1965 the law was changed so that these National Service conscripts could be sent overseas, and 15,300 conscripts were sent to fight in Vietnam. It has been suggested by some historians that several soldiers went over as unwilling recruits, although other historians have challenged this view.



Source 8.29 Former Australian cricket test captain Lindsay Hassett drawing the National Service ballot in 1966.



Source 8.30 'Vote No to Conscription for Vietnam' Labor Party poster, 1970.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Sources 8.29–8.32 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

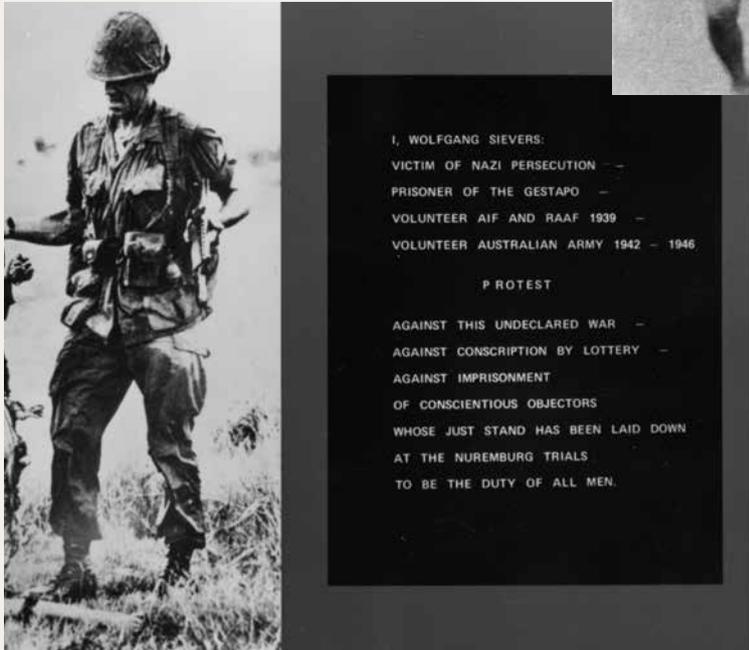
8.37 What was the purpose of having a former cricket test captain drawing the ballot?

8.38 Compare the sources and discuss the impact that these images would have had on their audiences during the Vietnam War.

8.39 What emotions would these images elicit from the audience? How do they create this emotional response?

Journalism

Journalists had unprecedented access to information and photo opportunities during the Vietnam War. The intensity of these images and the information obtained helped to change public attitudes towards the war. Most Australian newspapers were originally supportive of the Vietnam War and the Australian soldiers. Even near the end, they tended to put the blame for the war on US forces rather than Australian soldiers. However, the overwhelming quantity of confronting images swayed Australians towards a desire for peace.



Source 8.31 Nine-year-old Kim Phuc Phan Thi running from her napalmed village, 1972. Photograph by Nick Ut.

Source 8.32 A photograph and text protesting against the Vietnam War, by Wolfgang Sievers, 1960s. As this image may be distressing for some students, we have chosen not to publish the full image. To view the image in its entirety, visit <http://handle.slvic.gov.au/10381/285279>

Guerrilla war

The Vietnam War was largely a guerrilla war. It was not a series of battles where both sides wore uniforms and could clearly identify enemy combatants. Instead, attacks could take place at any time and often included unexpected combatants such as women and children. Making the war even more stressful for US and Australian forces was the fact that they faced two armies fighting different kinds of wars: the NVA fighting conventional battles, and the guerrillas of the National Liberation Front fighting in the countryside. This constant uncertainty and paranoia, linked with racism and an emphasis on masculinity, led to several atrocities such as the My Lai Massacre. Although these atrocities were committed by small groups of soldiers, all Vietnam veterans were tainted with the belief that they had participated in massacres. They also faced community disapproval for taking part in an unpopular war, which led to many veterans developing *post-traumatic stress disorder* after they returned.

post-traumatic stress disorder

A range of psychological conditions that result from the experience of traumatic situations; formerly known as 'shell shock' or 'combat fatigue'.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

8.40 Explain some of the consequences of being involved in a guerrilla war, especially one that is easily reported on by the media.

MOTHERS AND MORATORIUMS

DR JIM CAIRNS: 'Well, the heart of it was to prove that Vietnam had not been an aggressor.'

SAVE OUR SONS

One of the earliest groups to protest in Australia against the Vietnam War was Save Our Sons (SOS), which was created in Sydney in 1965 by women who had sons of conscription age. Their aim was to oppose conscription and prevent their sons being sent to a war that was not of their choosing. They protested by handing out pamphlets at the sign-in barracks or engaging in silent vigils at key areas such as the Shrine of Remembrance. SOS members often faced verbal abuse; they were called 'communists, rabblers, naive mothers and neglectful wives', and their actions were not viewed positively, particularly in the movement's early phase. In 1971, five women from the group (Joan Coxsedge, Jean McLean, Chris Cathie, Jo Maclaine-Cross and Irene Miller) were imprisoned for fourteen days on trespass charges after handing out fliers near a military barracks. Their imprisonment gained publicity for the group and their desire to end conscription.



BELIEFS AND VALUES

8.41 Explain the beliefs and values held by SOS. Compare and contrast the values of those who did not view them positively.

8.42 Most members of SOS were middle-aged women. Do you think that was an advantage or a disadvantage for their cause? Explain.

moratorium

A halt placed on a particular activity or event.

MORATORIUMS

A *moratorium* is when people agree to suspend an activity. The first moratoria were held in US cities in 1969 when thousands of people stopped work and closed down cities to protest against the Vietnam War. Moratoria were held across the US on 15 October 1969, and a march on Washington was held on 15 November 1969.

Melbourne moratoria

The success of the US movement encouraged protest groups in Australia, and a Vietnam Moratorium Campaign was created to coordinate similar activities in Australian capital cities. Many of the members came from the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament. Originally the moratorium was planned for April 1970 but was changed to 8–10 May to align with moratoria being held in the US at the same time. The moratorium protests were largest in Melbourne, where 100,000 people joined the first march. This was followed by other moratoria in September 1970 and June 1971.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

8.43 What is a moratorium?

8.44 Why did the anti-Vietnam War protesters want to use this form of protest?

8.45 Write a paragraph discussing the idea of Australia following the US lead, both into the Vietnam War and then into peace protests.

PRIMARY SOURCES: MORATORIA



Source 8.33 An ASIO photo of the 1971 Canberra moratorium.



Source 8.34 'Vietnamisation' poster made by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, 1970.

Source 8.35 Poster for the 1970 Brisbane moratorium.



HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Sources 8.34 and 8.35 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 8.46** Explain what the hand, the puppet and the strings represent in Source 8.34.
- 8.47** Explain what the term 'Vietnamisation' meant. What were the outcomes of this policy?
- 8.48** List some of the symbols you can see in Source 8.35 and explain their meaning.

- 8.49** Explain the meaning of the soldier and the fist in Source 8.35.
- 8.50** Evaluate the extent to which posters like these contributed to the growing anti-Vietnam War sentiment in Australia. Use evidence to support your answer



CONTINUED ...

Jim Cairns on the Melbourne moratorium

The Vietnam Moratorium movement was a Melbourne movement. When action was taken by marching in the street in Adelaide and Sydney, a little in Perth and a little in Brisbane, there was no organisations like that, or no organisations like that underneath, to encourage people to come: 'Are you going? What about coming? Are you going? What about coming?' The result was that when we got our street marches in Melbourne they were two or three times as big as anywhere else. The Vietnam Moratorium movement was a Melbourne movement. It wasn't just because of me, it was because I was one of initially twenty or thirty who emerged out of that South Melbourne Town Hall conference and worked together. ... They were going to behave unaggressively because they were committed to unaggressive behaviour. I didn't make it peaceful. It was peaceful because it was peaceful itself. And so it was peaceful. I had another shot at them along those lines in the Flagstaff Gardens and again there's a photograph there of me standing in front of a monument talking to the thousands, only saying that, that's all.

Source 8.36 Australian Biography: Jim Cairns, National Film and Sound Archive, <https://www.nfsa.gov.au/collection/curated/australian-biography-jim-cairns>



Source 8.37 Jim Cairns sitting with other protesters during the 1970 Melbourne moratorium.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

8.51 Using Sources 8.33–8.37 and your own knowledge, discuss the key ideas and values expressed in the moratoria. Use evidence from the sources to support your response.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on the topic below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- 8.52** The last Australian troops came home from Vietnam in December 1972. To what extent was the moratorium movement responsible for Australia's withdrawal from Vietnam?

Significant individual

JIM CAIRNS, 1914–2003

Was an Australian politician and leader of the Australian movement against the Vietnam War.

Believed in ending conscription for the Vietnam War and—after 1968—ending Australian involvement in Vietnam altogether.

He said: 'Democracy is government by the people, and government by the people demands action by the people.'

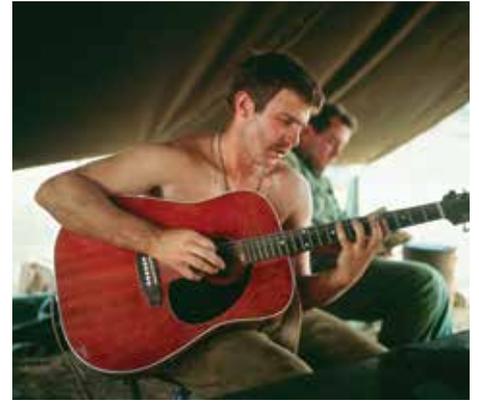
Said about: 'Jim was a man of deep conviction and a man of great conscience, none more so with his passionate and long-standing opposition to the Vietnam War' (*Simon Crean, Labor politician*)

Challenged the status quo by organising the Vietnam moratorium campaign and helping to convince the government to bring Australian troops back home.



SONGS: PATRIOTIC PROPAGANDA AND PROTEST POWER

Songs have always been used in war—whether they were created by the soldiers themselves to mock and belittle the enemy, by the propaganda departments to ensure nationalistic fervour, or by the popular singers at the time to appeal to the patriotic masses. In World War I and World War II, songs were almost uniformly positive, identifying the war as a worthy goal and encouraging soldiers to sign up. With the Vietnam War, the attitudes expressed in songs began to change. Rather than patriotically supporting the idea that war was necessary, these songs questioned the waste of young life, whether the other side was really an enemy, and whether the war needed to be fought at all. These songs included ‘Smiley’ by Ronnie Burns (performed in 1969 during the Vietnam War), ‘Khe Sanh’ by Cold Chisel in 1978, and ‘I Was Only 19’ by Redgum in 1983.



Source 8.38 ‘Smiley’ was written by Johnny Young about Normie Rowe (pictured), a popular singer described as the ‘King of Pop’ who was conscripted in 1967 to fight in the Vietnam War. When he returned, Rowe was unable to regain his pre-war popularity.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES—SONGS

8.53 Research the background to the three songs below. What event or person was each song written about?

- ‘Smiley’ performed by Ronnie Burns.
- ‘Khe Sanh’ performed by Cold Chisel.
- ‘I Was Only 19’ performed by Redgum.

8.54 What are the common themes in these songs?

8.55 Songs about World War I and World War II were mostly positive. How do you think the songs listed above helped to change the way Australians felt about their men and women being sent away to fight in wars?

MEDIA RESPONSE

8.56 Watch the film clip for ‘I Was Only 19’. Using three or four points, discuss what values are being explored in the film clip and song lyrics.

PEACE IN OUR TIME

THE PEOPLE FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: ‘[Our] objective is to inspire, and mobilise public opinion in support of disarmament.’

A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD

During the Cold War, the *proliferation* of nuclear weaponry in the US and USSR became a deep concern for many countries, particularly during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Peace groups increasingly turned anti-nuclear as nuclear weaponry threatened the entire world. In 1973 the Australian Peace Liaison Committee focused its mission on conferences, disarmament marches and creating a nuclear-free Pacific. This was supported by other groups such as People for Nuclear Disarmament—a group active since 1960s—and the UN Association of Australia in the 1980s. The Cold War did not end until the 1990s, making nuclear war a very real possibility for people in this era. In the 1980s large peace and anti-nuclear rallies were held across Australia each Palm Sunday.

proliferation

The spread or increase of something; usually used to describe the increasing number of countries capable of building nuclear weapons.

TODAY

Many different peace groups remain today. Some groups are motivated by religious reasons, including the Religions for Peace group, while other groups, such as People for Nuclear Disarmament, are fighting for the reduction of nuclear

weapons. With the end of the Cold War there is less fear of nuclear war, although there is still concern about some of the nations that have nuclear weapons, such as North Korea, and the threat of terrorist groups obtaining weapons-grade nuclear material.

The peace movement continues in several forms, as it did in the beginning, with different groups focusing on creating peace through anti-war or anti-nuclear protests as well as specific peace protests. The protest landscape has changed. Although peace marches still take place, they now tend to be organised through social media and petitions tend to be held online, allowing people to develop and share their social conscience with the online community.



➦ **Source 8.39** Palm Sunday rally, East Melbourne, 1985.

➦ **Source 8.40** Protesters march towards the US Capitol in Washington, DC during a 2007 protest against the Iraq War.



EXTENSION

8.57 Research a recent protest that is connected to the peace movement. Identify the conditions and events that inspired the movement, the methods and tactics employed, and how successful the protest was.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

8.58 List some of the key anti-nuclear weapons groups.

8.59 Why were religious groups often connected to peace movements?

8.60 How has the peace movement changed over time?

ENVIRONMENTALISM

IT'S NOT EASY BEING GREEN

BOB BROWN, 1996: 'Here we are, some six billion people, on this finite, fragile living planet.'

Initially the *green movement* was not comprised of one organisation; it was made up of different groups working in related areas to defend nature, protect endangered animals, prevent mining and remove nuclear power generators. The green crusade gained momentum in the 1960s as teenagers and young adults with a tertiary education and increased social awareness started to consider the impact that humans and big business were having on the world. Environmental groups were often created to fight against specific environmental threats. The Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland emerged in 1962 to protect the Great Barrier Reef. Over time, several groups formed in Australia, including a local branch of *Greenpeace*, the Wilderness Society, the World Wildlife Fund and the Australian Conservation Foundation.



Did you know? Australia was the first country to have a 'green' political party, with the United Tasmania Group founded in 1972 in response to the proposal to flood Lake Pedder and turn it into a dam.

green movement

Organisations and individuals working to raise awareness about environmental issues and pushing for change in these areas.

Greenpeace

The international organisation devoted to environmental issues and halting the damage being done to the Earth's ecosystems by human activity.

← Bob Brown, former senator and leader of the Australian Greens from 2005 to 2012.

ANTI-NUCLEAR PROTEST

One of the biggest concerns from environmental and peace perspectives was the development of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy during the Cold War between the US and the USSR. During this period, both sides—as well as other countries—worked hard to develop their nuclear capabilities, fearing the consequences if they were left behind. In Australia between 1952 and 1963, nuclear testing was done by the British government at Maralinga in South Australia. The tests contaminated the land and left many Indigenous people sick. The damage was hidden by the Australian government for many years. Later, when the French government started testing nuclear weapons on Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in French Polynesia in 1966, there were protests in Australia against these tests. The contamination from the nuclear blasts damaged the atolls and concerned all those living in the Pacific region. The environmental group Greenpeace sailed into the exclusion zone around Mururoa in an attempt to prevent these tests from continuing. The last French nuclear test in the South Pacific took place in 1996.

↓ **Source 8.41** Nuclear disarmament protest in Melbourne, 1984.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

8.61 When did the environmental movement gain momentum? Why might this have occurred at that time?

8.62 How did Australians protest environmental issues?

8.63 Consider the significance of the issues for which these environmentalists fought. What were they focused on?

CHALLENGES

Environmentalists faced many challenges in changing public opinion and protecting locations or animal species. Initially, the general public was dismissive of people who fought to protect forests from logging, to prevent lakes and rivers such as the Franklin River in Tasmania from being dammed (1983), or to save national landmarks such as the Great Barrier Reef from being mined and drilled for oil (1975). These battles were considered insignificant compared with the improvement in human lives, new developments in technology and industrial progress. The environmentalists' opponents believed that conservationists were ridiculous for caring so much about the environment, and often derided them as 'hippies' or 'tree huggers' to reduce their political and protesting power. The green movement launched many legal challenges, created petitions and staged protests to gain support for their views. Sometimes they succeeded, but often their protests failed against government pressure or the economic power of big business.

TODAY

Over time, attitudes changed and environmental concerns became more mainstream. Many people now see the need for renewable energy and the necessity of preserving wildlife from extinction or destruction. The Australian Greens increased its percentage of the total vote in the Senate and in the 2010 federal election won nine Senate seats. The party's performance at federal elections has remained consistent ever since, and as of 2021 the Greens Party held one seat in the lower house of parliament and nine seats in the Senate. The Greens became a strong political force by offering a more socially conscious alternative to the two main political parties—Liberal and Labor. Many environmental campaigns are now conducted via the internet, bringing together a large number of petitions and signatures in the hope of making change. However, with the rise of one-click petitions, which enable numerous people to click and forget, the impact of these petitions may decline over time.

MEDIA RESPONSE

Pick one of the following songs and listen to it or watch the film clip:

- 'Blue Sky Mine' by Midnight Oil
- 'Rip Rip Woodchip' by John Williamson
- 'Better People' by Xavier Rudd
- 'No Longer There' by The Cat Empire
- 'When the River Runs Dry' by Hunters and Collectors
- 'Maralinga' by Paul Kelly.

8.64 Does the song focus on a particular event or issue? If so, which one?

8.65 Which environmental values are evident in the song?

8.66 What perspective on the environment is it trying to bring to its audience?

8.67 To what extent do you believe songs can change attitudes?

THE GREENS

Over time, many environmental groups realised that they needed to become involved in politics if they wanted to make wideranging changes. The first green political party, the United Tasmania Group, was formed in Tasmania in 1972 to protect wilderness areas. Over the next twenty years, each state in Australia developed its own Greens Party, and in 1992 these groups joined together to make a federal political party: the Australian Greens. The initial aim of the Australian Greens was to support the protection of wildlife and natural areas, but gradually it moved towards humanitarian concerns as well, supporting those who are disadvantaged such as children, refugees, the poor, immigrants and students.¹⁶



↑ Poster for the Greens.

CHAPTER 8 REVIEW

The second half of the twentieth century saw numerous protest movements rise up to challenge the status quo and realise their vision of a better society.

Drawing on the women's suffrage movement of the early twentieth century, second-wave feminism sought to extend equality for women in areas such as equal pay and opportunities in the workplace. Feminist historians also sought to recover the experiences of women in the past.

The savagery of modern warfare saw the rise of peace movements in many countries, while the threat posed by climate change has become a cause taken up by many 'green' groups and, now, mainstream political parties. Greta Thunberg has become the face of a youth movement deeply concerned about the world in which the next generation will grow up.

Protest movements in the twenty-first century have adapted to the digital world. Movements such as #MeToo and Black Lives Matter have reached wider audiences than ever before.

In spite of the progress made since 1945, much work still needs to be done in the areas of gender and racial equality. The world also needs to be made a safer place for us all.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Australia saw significant social, political and economic change as a result of World War II.
- Feminism made great gains for women in terms of sexual freedom, marriage laws, equal pay and equal opportunity.
- The Holocaust and bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki demonstrated the horrors of modern warfare.
- Peace groups emerged to protest the use of nuclear weapons and Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.
- The environmental movement grew out of the realisation that human activity is doing profound damage to the planet.
- While great gains have been made in these areas, there is still a long way to go for their aims to be realised.

REVIEW

Write a summary on at least one of the following topics.

8.68 The feminist movement and how it developed in Australia by considering the suffragettes and post-war attitudes, the rise of second-wave feminism, and how literature, history and films helped influence changes.

8.69 The peace movement and how it developed in Australia by considering its links to World War II and the Vietnam War, the use of songs as protest, and its transition to large, anti-nuclear protests.

8.70 The environmental movement and how it developed in Australia by considering first actions, the politicisation of activism and modern environmentalism.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **8.71** Explain the changes in women's rights during the years 1945–2000.
- **8.72** Explain the impact that federal legislation has had on the path to gender equality.
- **8.73** Explain the differences between the peace movement after World War II and the peace movement during the Vietnam War.
- **8.74** Explain how the Australian environmental movement has been viewed over time.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **8.75** 'The Melbourne moratorium was crucial in ending Australian involvement in the Vietnam War.' To what extent do you agree with this assessment?
- **8.76** Feminists made it one of their early goals to rewrite history to include women. Consider their representations of Australian femininity, and discuss the importance of this action.
- **8.77** 'Environmental movements care more for trees and animals than for human lives.' Discuss.

EXTENSION

8.78 Create a research question for feminism, peace or environmentalism, and research the movement in one of the following countries: Japan, France, the US, West Germany or Great Britain. Compare these movements to those in Australia.

8.79 Research the gender pay gap in Australia, and write a speech identifying reasons for the gap and proposing a solution to the problem. Use evidence in your speech.



TERRORISM

'The choice of the Olympics, from a purely propagandistic viewpoint, was 100 per cent successful.'

STATEMENT BY THE BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANISATION

On 5 September 1972, eight **terrorists** from the **Black September Organisation (BSO)**, a Palestinian militant group, stormed the athletes' village at the Munich Olympic Games and took hostage nine members of the Israeli team. Images of the terrorists in balaclavas peering over the balcony were beamed around the world by the media that had gathered to cover the Olympic Games. An attempted rescue operation ended tragically, and the terrorists scored a significant propaganda victory—the Palestinian cause was now at the forefront of the world's attention.

International terrorist acts became a brutal reality during the second half of the twentieth century. As terrorists sought to communicate their grievances and change the status quo, they engaged in increasingly violent and shocking acts to attract attention to their cause and to force governments to give in to their demands. Government reactions to terrorism ranged from complying with the terrorists' demands to taking military action against them. However, none of these responses eliminated the menace of terrorism, and terrorist attacks seem destined to remain a disturbing fact of life in the twenty-first century.

terrorism

The use of violence to achieve a political outcome.

terrorists

People who use violence to achieve a political outcome.

Black September Organisation (BSO)

A branch of Fatah responsible for the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1968

2 APRIL — Red Army Faction bombs a department store in Frankfurt, Germany

1972

5 SEPTEMBER — BSO terrorists attack the Munich Olympic Games

1993

26 FEBRUARY — Bombing of the World Trade Center, New York

1998

20 APRIL — Red Army Faction disbands
7 AUGUST — Bombing of US embassies in Africa

2000

12 OCTOBER — Al-Qaeda attacks the USS *Cole*

2001

11 SEPTEMBER — Al-Qaeda hijacks several airplanes, crashing two into the World Trade Center twin towers in New York

KEY QUESTIONS

- What is terrorism?
- What are the aims and goals of terrorist groups?
- What methods and tactics do terrorists employ?
- How effective are government responses to terrorism?
- Do terrorists achieve their aims?
- What are the short-term and long-term consequences of terrorist attacks?

Source 9.01

A member of the Black September terrorist group at the Munich Olympics, 1972.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS**ANDREAS BAADER**

*One of the founders of the Red Army Faction in Germany
Died by suicide in prison on 18 October 1977*

**LUTTIF AFIF**

*Member of the BSO
Led the terrorist attack at the 1972 Munich Olympics
Died in a shootout with West German police*

**OSAMA BIN LADEN**

*Organised resistance in Afghanistan against
the Soviet Union
Formed the terrorist group al-Qaeda
Ordered the September 11 attacks*

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

With a partner, generate between eight and ten inquiry questions under the heading, 'The causes, nature and consequences of terrorist attacks'. Keep these inquiry questions in mind as you read the information and work through the activities in this chapter. Select one question to explore in detail as part of an inquiry research project. Here are three examples to help you get started.

9.01 Why do certain individuals become terrorists?

9.02 Do terrorists achieve their aims and goals?

9.03 Do counterterrorist measures do more harm than good?



↑ Vladimir Lenin.

➔ **Source 9.02** US Department of Defense, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, Joint Publication 1-02, https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp1_02.pdf

non-state

A term describing any organisation or institution that is not classified as a nation-state but often has global significance and influence.

al-Qaeda

Arabic for 'the base'; the terrorist organisation established by Osama bin Laden in 1988.

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

A fundamentalist Sunni Islamic group that formed a caliphate, or Islamic state, after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.

caliphate

A political-religious state that follows the religious teachings of Islam.

Koran

The religious book of Islam based on the teachings and sayings of the prophet Muhammed.

jihād

Arabic for 'struggle'; this can refer to a war fought on the basis of the teachings of Islam.

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

VLADIMIR LENIN: 'The purpose of terrorism is to terrify.'

TERRORISM: A DEFINITION

Despite the fact that terrorism is a regular feature in the news, it is a difficult concept to define. Vladimir Lenin's characteristically blunt definition touches on one of the main elements of terrorism: it is designed to evoke fear in the targeted population. However, terrorism is much more complex than this because other human activities—such as war and crime—can also create a climate of terror. The US Department of Defense's definition of terrorism is a useful starting point, as it covers most of the key elements.

US Department of Defense's definition of terrorism

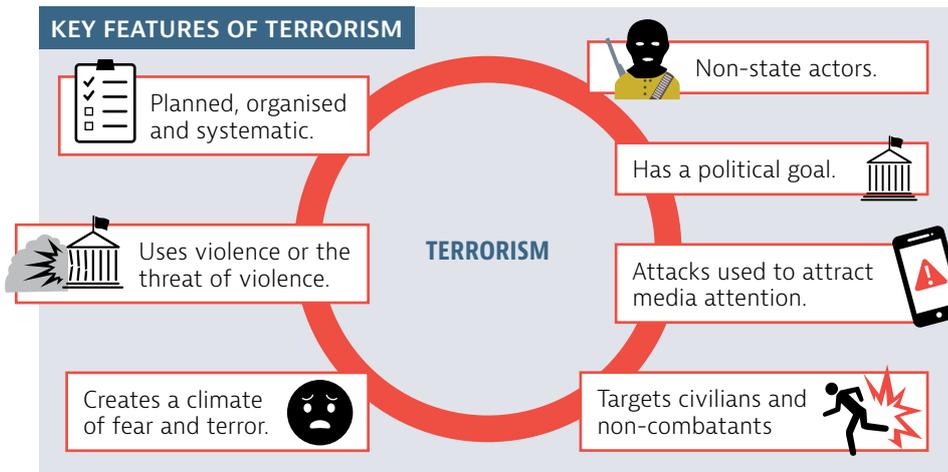
The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instil fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political.

This definition focuses on the use of violence or the threat to use violence. All terrorist acts involve destructive attacks, or the realistic threats of such attacks, on people or installations in some way. These acts are considered unlawful, as they deliberately target civilians, non-combatants (soldiers not directly engaged in combat) or neutral third parties. According to Bruce Hoffman, traditional military forces are at least theoretically bound by the rules of warfare that protect civilians and non-combat forces from deliberate attack.¹ Unlike criminal acts that are purely self-interested, terrorist acts have specific goals based on political, economic, social or religious ideologies. Such goals can include changing a government's domestic or foreign policy, achieving national liberation and self-determination, or replacing one political-economic system with another.

As terrorist groups are almost always numerically and militarily weaker than their targeted opponent, they rely on surprise, apparent randomness and fear as psychological weapons to bring about the changes they desire. Striking at undefended or unprepared targets without warning or a logical pattern creates a feeling that the next attack could come anywhere, at any time and against anyone. The only way to prevent this, in the logic of terrorism, is to give in to the terrorist group's demands.

A key aspect of terrorism that the US Department of Defense does not refer to is that it is committed by **non-state** actors. When perpetrated by state governments, such as the revolutionary government of France in the 1790s and Stalin's purges in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, it is usually referred to as 'Terror'.² **Al-Qaeda**, which had bases, personnel and contacts in several countries around the world, exemplifies the typical non-state terrorist group.

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (also called ISIL or Daesh) claimed to have established a **caliphate**, or independent state based on a fundamentalist interpretation of the **Koran**, in parts of Iraq and Syria but this was not recognised by other nation-states. ISIS claims to have many adherents around the world who wage **jihād** in the name of a free Islamic State.



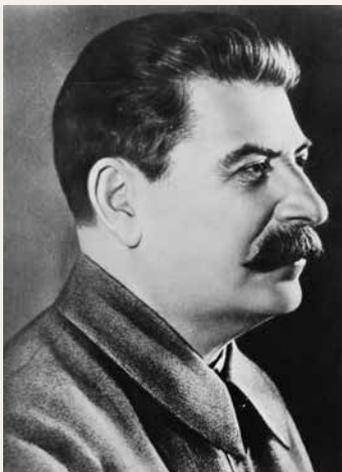
↗ Maximilien de Robespierre, architect of the Terror in the French Revolution.

A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

While terrorism is often thought of as a recent phenomenon, it has a history stretching back centuries. The Zealots were members of a Jewish sect that assassinated Roman soldiers and administrators in the province of Judea in the first century CE. A radical Shia Islamic sect called the Order of Assassins carried out targeted killings in the eleventh century. The French government under Maximilien de Robespierre instigated the 'Reign of Terror' in 1793–1794 to defend the Republic against internal and external foes. In Russia, a revolutionary group called *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) sought to end oppression by assassinating Tsar Alexander II in 1881.³ In the 1930s, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin unleashed the Great Terror on political opponents, social classes and ethnic minorities, killing and displacing millions of people.

Did you know? Lenin's brother, Alexander Ulyanov, was arrested and executed in 1887 for his part in a failed assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander III (son of Tsar Alexander II).

↓ Joseph Stalin, leader of the USSR from 1927 to 1953.



↗ **Source 9.03** The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881.

Attacks on innocent civilians, such as the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, attract substantial media coverage. This magnifies the horror of the incident by exposing potentially millions of viewers to the deed and draws attention to the terrorist group, its cause and political objectives. Attacks on civilians are also designed to make seemingly powerful nations appear helpless, vulnerable and unable to protect their own citizens or interests. Therefore, terrorism can be thought of as 'propaganda by deed'.⁴ This means that terrorists communicate their demands by perpetrating violent acts that draw media attention to the group and their cause. Terrorist groups deliberately select vulnerable targets to maximise media exposure and create terror for the purpose of generating political change. It is in this sense that they can justifiably be called 'terrorists'.

➔ **Source 9.04** The wreckage of Pan Am Flight 103, 1988. Flight 103 was destroyed by a bomb over the Scottish town of Lockerbie on 21 December 1988. All 259 passengers and crew on the plane were killed, and another eleven people on the ground died. In 2001, a Libyan intelligence officer named al-Megrahi was jailed for life for organising the attack and planting the bomb. He was released in 2009 on compassionate grounds and died in 2012.



CREATIVE TASKS

9.04 A government agency concerned with national security has asked you to devise a useful definition of terrorism. Using the information in this section, and any other resources you can locate, draft a definition of terrorism (no more than 200 words) that encompasses all of its key aspects.

9.05 There have been many terrorist attacks perpetrated since the end of World War II. Select one from the list below, or choose one of your own, and explain why it can be classified as a terrorist act. Present your findings as a poster with images of the attack and the perpetrators.

- The *hijacking* of El Al Flight 426 (1968).
- The hijacking of Air France Flight 139 (1976).
- The bombing of the US Marine Corps barracks in Lebanon (1983).
- The Lockerbie bombing (1988).
- The hijacking of Air France Flight 8969 (1994).
- The Oklahoma City bombing (1995).

hijacking

When terrorists take over an installation or form of transport (usually an aircraft) and hold the passengers hostage until certain political demands are met.

THE RED ARMY FACTION

GUDRUN ENSSLIN: 'They have weapons and we haven't any. We must arm ourselves too.'

ORIGINS OF THE RAF

The Red Army Faction (RAF) emerged from the radical student politics that was a feature of Western society during the 1960s. At that time, the world was in the grip of the Cold War between the capitalist US and socialist USSR. In the wake of World War II, Germany symbolised this conflict as it was split in two—the Federal German Republic (West Germany) and the Democratic German Republic (East Germany). Berlin itself was also split between East and West. Some university students and other young people in West Germany and West Berlin believed that capitalist societies, particularly the US, were exploiting and oppressing poor workers in the Western world and people in the developing world for their own profit and gain. People who held such views were often called 'leftists' for their left-wing political views. The involvement of the US in wars in Vietnam and the Middle East was a particular focal point for protests against government authorities.⁵

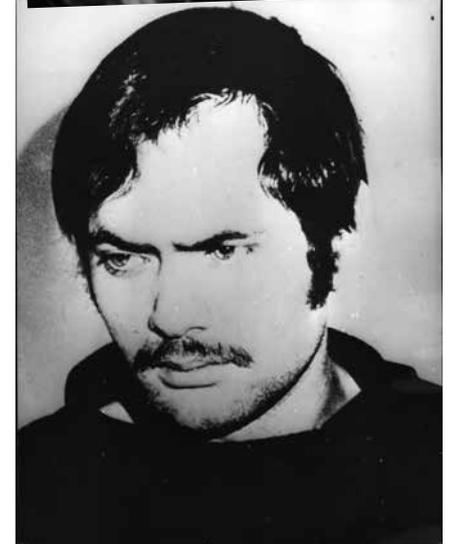
It was during one such protest that the RAF was born. Reza Pahlavi, the Shah (or king) of Iran, was in West Berlin on a state visit. Leftists viewed the shah as a dictator who had seized total power in a CIA-backed coup and ruthlessly cracked down on political opponents.⁶ On 2 June 1967, the West Berlin police broke up a student protest with batons. One student, Benno Ohnesorg, was beaten by the police and shot to death. A week later, at a block of apartments, a group of students and youths met to discuss the shooting and how they should respond. It was here that Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader met. Ensslin believed that 'we must organise resistance. Violence can only be answered with violence.'⁷ An accidental fire that killed more than 250 people in a department store in Brussels, Belgium, gave the newly formed terrorist group the inspiration for their first attack—firebombing two department stores in Frankfurt on 2 April 1968. As the timers were set for midnight, the stores were empty and no one was harmed. Ensslin, Baader and two accomplices were arrested two days later on arson charges, but the leftist revolutionary terrorist campaign had only just begun.

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

The four Frankfurt arsonists were sentenced to four years in prison but they were released after fourteen months as an appeal over the length of their sentences was being heard. The appeal failed but only one of them went back to jail; the others went into hiding. Ensslin and Baader went to France, Switzerland and Italy before returning to Berlin on 12 February 1970. They stayed in a flat rented by left-wing journalist Ulrike Meinhof, who had interviewed Ensslin in prison and gradually gravitated towards the group and their increasingly radical views. Baader was arrested again by the police on 2 April 1970 after being caught on his way to a hidden RAF weapons cache. He was to serve out the rest of his sentence. However, on 14 May 1970 Ensslin, Meinhof and two accomplices helped Baader escape from a library he had been permitted to visit under the pretence of conducting research for a book.

The Red Army Faction (RAF)

A Marxist terrorist group that operated in West Germany primarily in the 1970s.



↑ Gudrun Ensslin (top) and Andreas Baader (bottom), founding members of the RAF.



↑ Ulrike Meinhof, journalist turned revolutionary.

In April 1971 Meinhof wrote a long essay called 'The Urban Guerrilla Concept' in which she explained the group's motives and overall aims. It was the first time the name 'Red Army Faction' had been used in the group's messages to the media. In this and other essays, letters and speeches during trials, the members of the RAF revealed its complex ideology.

Did you know? The RAF was more commonly known in the German media as the Baader–Meinhof Gang. This was because of Baader's position as a leader of the group and because, before she joined, Meinhof was a well-known journalist.

IDEOLOGY OF THE RAF

ANTI-FASCIST

The RAF argued that West Germany, especially the police, was progressively becoming like the Nazi Party.

MARXISM

As followers of the theories of Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and Mao Zedong, the RAF was opposed to capitalism and sought to end all class differences.

REVOLUTIONARY

The RAF believed in the violent overthrow of the government in West Germany and the Western world in general.

THE RED ARMY FACTION

ANTI-VIETNAM WAR

The RAF was opposed to America's involvement and the presence of US military bases in West Germany.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST

The RAF called for an end to Western exploitation and dominance of developing countries for their own economic benefit.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

9.06 Name three members of the RAF.

9.07 Explain how the death of Benno Ohnesorg contributed to the founding of the RAF.

9.08 Make a timeline of the early activities of the RAF and explain the importance of each event.

CREATIVE TASK

9.09 Write a brief biography of one of the key leaders of the RAF. This could be written in the style of a newspaper story or a police report.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

9.10 Research and write a report on the role played by West Germany in the Vietnam War, with a particular focus on the use of bases and airfields by the US Air Force.

Significant individual

ANDREAS BAADER, 1943–1977

Was a founder and leader of the Red Army Faction in Germany, also known as the Baader–Meinhof Gang.

Believed in attacking the symbols of capitalism in West Germany and starting a socialist revolution.

He said: 'It's been established that 20 percent of the population sympathises with us.'

Said about: 'In argument, he always held strong opinions which he would defend violently. He often got into a fight, but not only in his own interests.' (*Stefan Aust, journalist*)

Challenged the status quo by attacking targets in West Germany associated with capitalism and the US.



METHODS AND TACTICS

The RAF used a variety of tactics to draw attention to its cause and attain its goals. In September 1970, the RAF robbed three banks simultaneously to protest against the financial system—and to secure funds for its own expenses. In May 1972, the group began what could be considered a genuine terrorist campaign when they bombed a US officers' club in Frankfurt. A few days later, three US soldiers were killed and five injured when a car bomb exploded outside a barracks in Heidelberg. Also in May, five policemen were injured by a pipe bomb in Augsburg, and the wife of a judge was badly hurt in another car bomb attack.

In June 1972, Baader, Ensslin, Meinhof and other members of the RAF were arrested on charges of murder and attempted murder. This did not stop the wave of terrorist attacks conducted by other members of the RAF. Meinhof died by suicide in prison on 8 May 1976, and Baader and Ensslin were found guilty of murder a year later and sentenced to life in prison. In an effort to free the original leaders of the group, other members of the RAF kidnapped Hanns Martin Schleyer, a wealthy businessman, on 5 September 1977. The following month, four Palestinians hijacked Lufthansa Flight 181 and forced the pilot to land in Somalia. They demanded the release of the imprisoned RAF members but the West German anti-terrorism force GSG-9 stormed the plane and killed the hijackers. Upon receiving this news, Baader and Ensslin killed themselves using weapons that had been smuggled into the prison. Realising that their hostage was now useless, the RAF killed Schleyer and dumped his body in a forest.



Source 9.05 Hanns Martin Schleyer as a hostage of the RAF.

Did you know? Meinhof was not much of a bank robber. In one heist she grabbed a box carrying 8155 marks but missed another box that held 97,000 marks.

Did you know? The increased activity by the RAF and international groups that sympathised with and supported them in late 1977 led to this period being called the 'German Autumn'.

BRANDING THE RAF

Meinhof chose the name of the terrorist group as a sign of solidarity with the Japanese Red Army, another Marxist revolutionary group.⁸ However, it was not well-chosen, as it reminded Germans of the Soviet Red Army that had brutalised the German population at the end of World War II. The initials also reminded them of the Royal Air Force, which had devastated German cities during night bombing raids.⁹

The RAF's initials appeared in its logo, which was prominent in the background of photographs it released of Schleyer. The logo contained two other distinct elements: a star, which linked the RAF to other revolutionary groups and communist nations around the world, and a machine gun called the Heckler & Koch MP5. This was a West German-designed weapon used by both the RAF and the police who were trying to catch them.

REACTION AND RESPONSE

The West German police went to great lengths to capture members of the RAF. Under federal police chief Horst Herold, the number of police dedicated to hunting down the terrorists rose from 1113 to 3536 over ten years. Herold also instituted an information revolution by entering the details of nearly five million Germans onto computer databases so that information could be retrieved and crosschecked easily.¹⁰ After a series of bombings in May 1972, the West German police launched 'Operation Punch in the Water'. This involved using temporary roadblocks and every helicopter in Germany to force the RAF terrorists into the open. Tens of thousands of wanted posters were printed and displayed all over Germany so that the faces of the group members were well-known.¹¹ By early 1992, when the RAF was into its third generation of terrorists, the German government announced that it was prepared to release imprisoned members in return for a promise to renounce violence. The RAF accepted the government's offer.

➔ **Source 9.06** A wanted poster for the Baader–Meinhof Gang, 1970–1972. Translation:

Violent Criminal Anarchists— Baader/Meinhof Gang

The following persons are being sought for their participation in murders, bombings, bank robberies, and other criminal acts.

Reward money in the amount of 100,000 marks is being offered for tips leading to the capture of these persons. The reward does not apply to civil servants whose professional responsibilities involve the prosecution of criminal behavior. The award and distribution of this money will proceed without the possibility of recourse to legal action.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 9.06 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

- 9.11** Read the translation of the poster provided above. Make a list of the words and phrases that signify the danger posed by the RAF terrorists.
- 9.12** Select one member of the RAF from this poster who has not been referred to in this chapter. Research and write a paragraph on his or her background and activities with the RAF.
- 9.13** Explain how this poster could help the West German police capture RAF members.
- 9.14** Evaluate the usefulness of this poster in understanding how the government dealt with the RAF. Refer to other tactics and responses in your answer.





Source 9.07 A mourner shows his fist at the funeral of RAF terrorists Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader and Jan Carl Raspe on 27 October 1977. On the left is priest Helmut Ensslin, the father of Gudrun Ensslin. Raspe was tried with Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin in a trial held on the grounds of Stuttgart's Stammheim Prison. After the longest trial in German history, in April 1977 Raspe was convicted along with Baader and Ensslin (Meinhof died by suicide in 1976) of murder and other counts, and sentenced to life. On the morning of 18 October 1977 Baader, Raspe and Ensslin were found dead in their prison cells.

THE RAF: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

Ultimately, the RAF was a failure, as it never came even remotely close to achieving its goal of a Marxist revolution. Arrest, imprisonment and deaths after shootouts with the police took a steady toll on the group's numbers. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc from 1989 also meant that the RAF's ideology seemed out of touch. On 20 April 1998, German media outlets received a letter from the RAF announcing that the group was disbanding.

The final message from the RAF

Almost 28 years ago, on May 14, 1970, the RAF was born from an act of liberation: Today we are ending this project. The urban guerrilla in the form of the RAF is now history. We, that is all of us who were organised in the RAF until the end, are taking this step jointly. From now on, we, like all others from this association, are former RAF militants. We stand by our history. The RAF was the revolutionary attempt by a minority of people to resist the tendencies in this society and contribute to the overthrow of capitalist conditions. We are proud to have been part of this attempt. The end of this project shows that we were not able to succeed on this path.

Horst Herold called this statement 'the tombstone erected by the RAF itself'.¹² However, the RAF was not quite finished yet. On 20 July 1999 an armoured truck was robbed by a handful of RAF members. More than one million marks was stolen from the truck, which was transporting money from one bank to another. Since then, the police and media have heard nothing more of the group that terrorised Germany for three decades.

Source 9.08 'The Urban Guerrilla Is History', Social History Portal, https://socialhistoryportal.org/sites/default/files/raf/en/0019980300%2520EN_2.pdf

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 9.15** List three terrorist attacks perpetrated by the RAF.
- 9.16** What measures did the West German police take to bring down the RAF?
- 9.17** Explain why the RAF announced its own dissolution in 1998.

DISCUSSION

- 9.18** In 1992 the German government decided to negotiate with the RAF. It agreed to release RAF prisoners in return for a promise from the RAF to renounce violence. With a partner, discuss the morality of making deals with terrorists. Share your ideas and opinions with the rest of the class.



BLACK SEPTEMBER

Did you know? The Palestinians referred to their flight from the Israeli armies in 1948–1949 as *al-Nakba*—‘the catastrophe’.

Fatah

A political party whose primary goal was the liberation of Palestine from Israel.

Holocaust

The attempt by Nazi Germany to eliminate the Jews and other groups deemed racially inferior during World War II.

Eretz Yisrael

The Hebrew name for the nation-state of Israel.

FUAD AL-SHAMALI: ‘We have to kill some of their most important and most famous people.’

THE ORIGINS OF BLACK SEPTEMBER

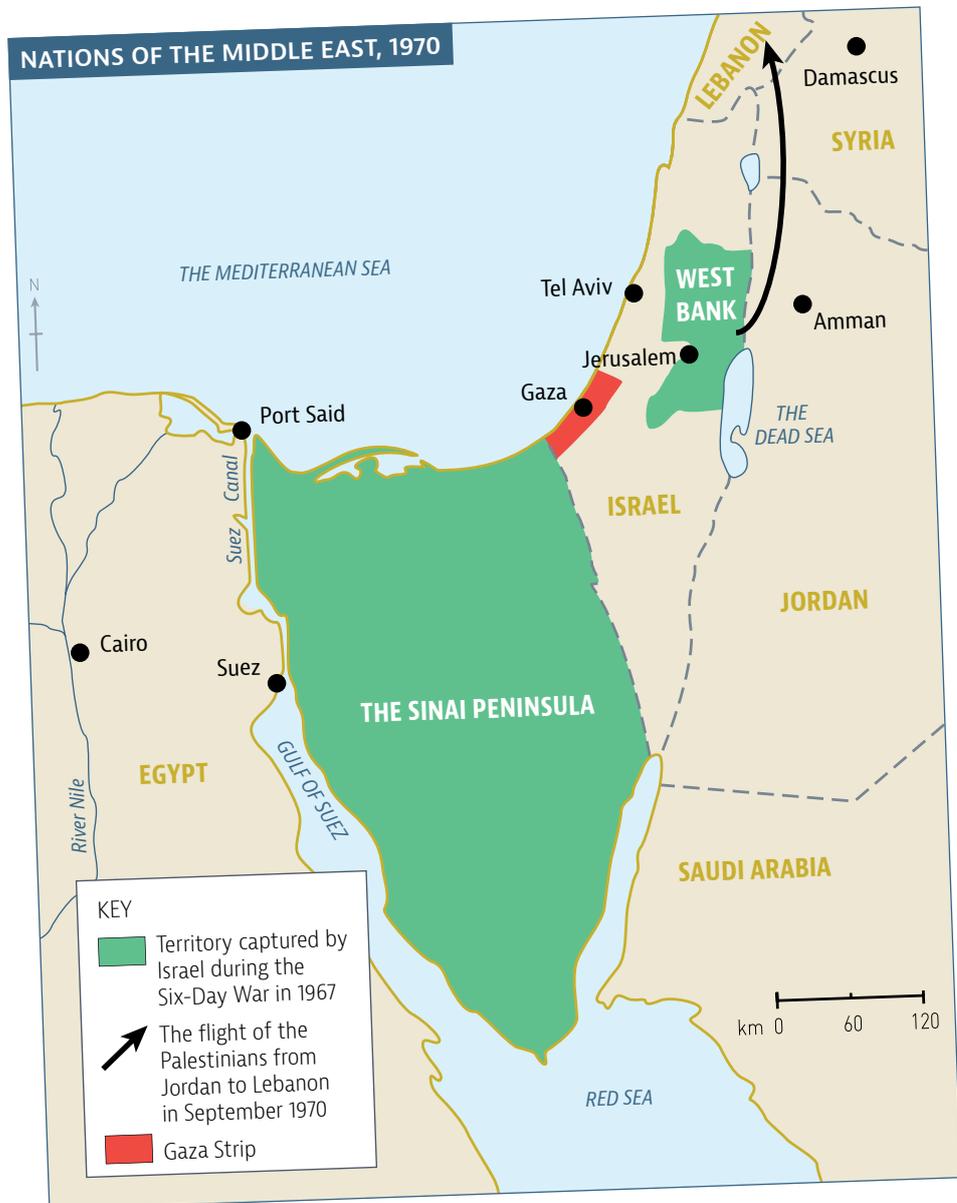
In the early hours of 5 September 1972, eight men crept into the Olympic athletes’ village in Munich and took nine Israeli athletes hostage. The eight men were part of a terrorist group called the Black September Organisation (BSO). The militant wing of **Fatah**, the BSO emerged from the complex political situation in the Middle East. In 1947, one of the first items on the UN’s agenda was the creation of a Jewish homeland. At the end of World War II, Jewish survivors of the **Holocaust** called on the UN to create a Jewish state. The land they chose was the British protectorate of Palestine, which the Jewish people called **Eretz Yisrael**, meaning ‘land of Israel’.¹³

➔ **Source 9.09** Map showing nations of the Middle East, 1970.

Did you know? The name Fatah comes from the initials of the Palestinian Liberation Movement in Arabic: *Harakat al-Tahrir al-Filastin*. It takes the first letter from each word and reverses the order.



➔ Yasser Arafat, founder of Fatah.



Until 1947, Palestine had been under British mandate, but in November 1947 the UN voted to partition Palestine into two states, with 60 per cent allocated to the Jewish population and 40 per cent to the Arab Palestinians.¹⁴ However, Israel seized most of the Palestinian territories during the Arab–Israeli War in 1948–1949. Jordan intervened and captured the West Bank, which it formally annexed in 1950. More than 725,000 Palestinians fled to neighbouring countries, particularly Jordan. They lived in refugee camps, many of which had no electricity, sanitation or running water.¹⁵

Almost immediately, the displaced Palestinians formed guerrilla groups to take back their homeland. The soldiers were called *fedayeen*, meaning ‘those who sacrifice themselves’ or ‘freedom fighters’. One group that emerged in the 1950s was called *al-Fatah* or Fatah. Founded by Yasser Arafat, Fatah guerrillas launched raids into Israel from Egypt, Syria and Jordan. In 1964 the Arab League created the *Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO)* to fight for a Palestinian state. In 1969 Fatah became the dominant group in the PLO. The king of Jordan, Hussein bin Talal, was deeply concerned about the Israeli response to Fatah raids launched from Jordanian soil, as well as the political instability the PLO was creating within Jordan. In September 1970, the Jordanian army attacked the Palestinian camps and forced the survivors to flee to Lebanon. Taking its name from this conflict with Jordan, Fatah formed a new group, the BSO, to carry out revenge attacks on the Jordanian government and to draw attention to the plight of the Palestinian people.¹⁶

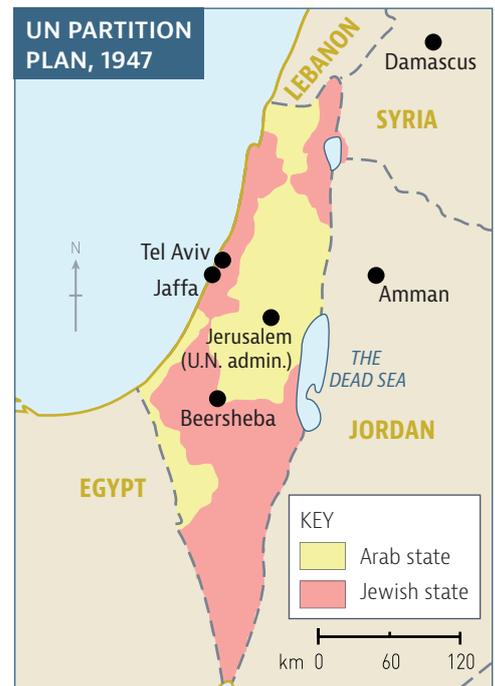
IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

Essentially, the BSO, Fatah and the PLO held the same broad ideology and were striving for the same goals—the destruction of Israel and the creation of a free and independent Palestinian state. This was outlined in a document issued by the PLO in June 1964 and reissued in a revised version in 1968.

Palestinian Charter of 1964 (and 1968)

1. Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people. ...
2. Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.
3. The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland. ...
9. Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine.
10. Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. ...
15. The liberation of Palestine ... is a national duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggressions against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. ...
19. The Partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal ... because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people.

📌 **Source 9.11** The Palestinian National Charter, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp



📌 **Source 9.10** Map showing the UN Partition Plan for Palestine, 1947.

fedayeen

Arabic for ‘freedom fighters’; militants who attacked Israel to restore the Palestinian nation.

Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO)

The representative body of the Palestinian people. Until 1993 the PLO called for the violent overthrow of the state of Israel.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 9.11 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

9.19 Look up and define the term ‘Zionist’. Explain why Palestinians might object to the ideology of Zionism.

9.20 What might the phrase ‘commando action’ mean in Clause 10?

9.21 Why might ‘armed struggle’ be the only available option for achieving their goals, according to the PLO?

9.22 Explain how Jewish people in Israel might have responded to the Palestinian Charter.

9.23 Evaluate the usefulness of this document in understanding the grievances of the Palestinian people from 1945–1968. Use evidence to support your response.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

A political party that adopted terrorist tactics to overthrow the state of Israel.

Perhaps the most urgent concern for the PLO and Fatah was to make an international issue out of the plight of the Palestinian people living in refugee camps. George Habash, founder of the **Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)**, claimed that 'For decades world opinion has been neither for nor against the Palestinians. It simply ignored us.'¹⁷ To increase international awareness of the Palestinian struggle, and draw sympathy and assistance for their cause, the BSO needed do something dramatic.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

9.24 Explain the impact of the founding of the state of Israel on the Palestinian people.

9.25 Who founded Fatah?

9.26 What are two of the aims of the PLO?

9.27 Explain the origins and purpose of the BSO.

9.28 How had the world responded to the plight of the Palestinians up to 1968?

WORKING WITH MAPS

9.29 The history of the Arab–Israeli dispute is a very complicated one. However, it can be better understood by working with maps that show the changing political borders in the region over time. Locate and print maps of the Middle East for 1914, 1920, 1947, 1949 and 1967, and annotate them to explain why these changes occurred. Also comment on the significance of those changes.

CREATIVE TASK

9.30 The Palestinians outlined their grievances, desires and demands in the 1968 Palestinian Charter. As a creative task, write a speech that a member of the PLO might have delivered to the UN General Assembly in 1968, expanding on the ideas of the Charter and explaining why the Palestinian people hold these beliefs and values.

Did you know? Not all Palestinians are Muslims. About 6 per cent, like Fuad al-Shamali, are Christians. While there were a few Palestinian Jews, like Lutfif Afif who led the BSO raid on the Munich Olympic village, almost all Jewish people living in the Middle East today identify as Israeli.

Did you know? The BSO called the attack on the 1972 Munich Olympics 'Operation Ikril and Birim' after two Palestinian villages that were destroyed by the Israeli army in 1948.

METHODS AND TACTICS

The BSO employed a wide range of terrorist tactics in its efforts to gain greater recognition for the plight of the Palestinians. These included assassinations, hijackings, bombings, capturing embassies and posting letter bombs. The first act that the BSO claimed responsibility for was the assassination of Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal in Cairo on 28 November 1971. Other terrorist acts included:

- bombing oil storage tanks in the Netherlands (February 1972)
- hijacking Sabena Flight 571 from Brussels to Tel Aviv (May 1972)
- dozens of letter bombs sent to Israeli officials and diplomats (September–October 1972)
- hijacking a Lufthansa flight (October 1972)
- storming the Israeli embassy in Bangkok (December 1972)
- failed plots to kill Golda Meir, the prime minister of Israel (January and March 1973)
- storming the Saudi embassy in Sudan (March 1973)
- two gunmen firing on a crowd at Athens airport (September 1973).

THE MUNICH MASSACRE

By far the most infamous terrorist action undertaken by the BSO was the kidnapping and murder of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany. The Olympic Games was a natural target for the terrorists; it would ensure maximum media exposure and serve as propaganda for the cause of Palestinian liberation. The athletes were also seen as an 'easy' target. As Fuad al-Shamali, one of the Fatah organisers of the attack, claimed, 'Since we cannot come close to their [Israeli] statesmen, we have to kill artists and sportsmen'.¹⁸

In an effort to put the memory of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (that Hitler had turned into a propaganda spectacle for the Third Reich) behind them, the 1972 Munich Olympics

were called *Die Heiteren Spiele*, or ‘The Cheerful Games’. As a result, security was minimal.¹⁹ At about 4.30 am on 5 September 1972, eight BSO terrorists, dressed in tracksuits and carrying weapons in sports bags, jumped the wire fence surrounding the athletes’ village and burst into the rooms occupied by the Israeli team. Two athletes were killed while trying to repel the terrorists, and another nine were taken hostage. By 5.00 am the Munich police had been notified and the hostage crisis had begun.

The leader of the attack, Luttif Afif, presented the BSO’s demands: release more than 200 PLO prisoners held in Israeli prisons, as well as Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof of the RAF. The BSO also demanded an aircraft to fly the terrorists and their hostages to either Egypt or Morocco. If their demands were not met, the BSO terrorists would start executing their hostages.²⁰



Did you know? The Black September terrorists initially captured thirteen members of the Israeli Olympic team in the early hours of 5 September 1972. However, in the confusion, two members of the team were killed and another two managed to escape—one fleeing through an open window.

Source 9.12 The world’s media were on hand to cover the hostage crisis at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

REACTION AND RESPONSE

There were two separate responses to the Munich Olympics massacre—the West German police during the hostage crisis, and the Israeli government and its security forces in the aftermath. West German officials agreed to the BSO’s demands, and two helicopters were flown to the Olympic Village to transport the terrorists and their hostages to the nearby Fürstenfeldbruck military airfield, where a plane was waiting to take them to Cairo. As the terrorists were inspecting the plane, snipers from the West German police opened fire. The result was a catastrophe. While five terrorists were killed and the other three captured, all nine hostages died when the terrorists turned their machine guns on them. A police officer was also killed.²¹ In response to this disaster, several Western European nations set up dedicated counterterrorism teams, such as the GSG-9 in West Germany and GIGN in France, which engaged in several successful counterterrorism operations over the next few decades.

Determined to avenge the deaths of their athletes, the Israeli government launched Operation Wrath of God. Members of the PLO around the world, whether they had a connection with the Munich massacre or not, were targeted by agents of Mossad (the Israeli secret service) and assassinated. Mossad used letter bombs, explosives and guns to eliminate their targets. The Israeli army also sent commandos to southern Lebanon to kill senior members of the PLO and Fatah in Operation Spring of Youth.²² Realising that terrorism had not helped bring about the goal of Palestinian liberation, Arafat disbanded the BSO at the end of 1973.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

9.31 Why did the BSO consider the Olympic Games to be a viable target for their terrorist plot?

9.32 How many terrorists entered the Olympic village and how many hostages did they take?

9.33 What were the demands made by the BSO during the hostage crisis?

➔ **Source 9.13** The twisted wreckage of one of the West German police helicopters.

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Using Source 9.13 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

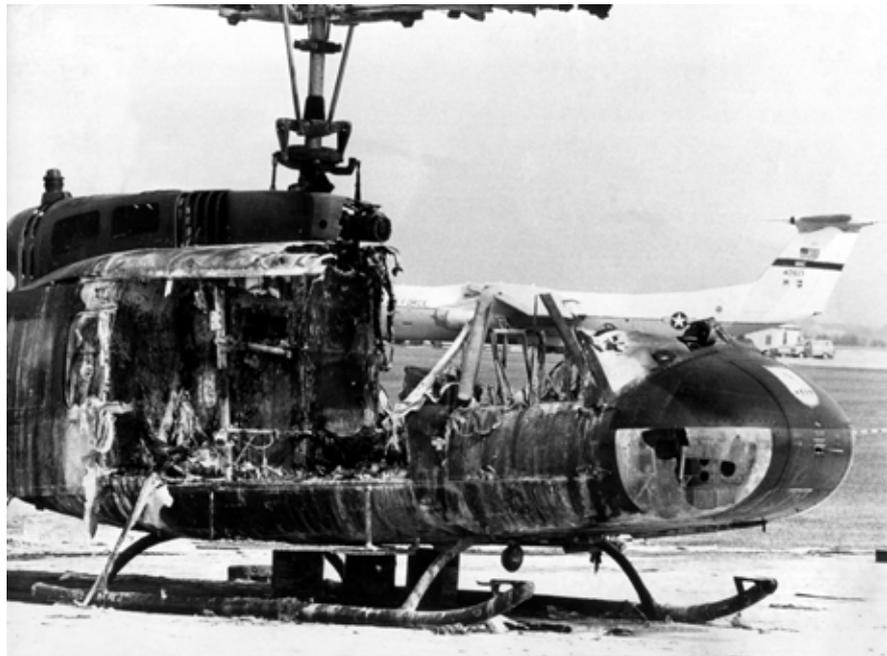
9.34 Explain the errors made by the West German police during the hostage crisis.

9.35 Explain the immediate outcomes of the BSO's attack on the Olympic Games in Munich.

9.36 Evaluate how useful this image is in offering an explanation of the range of government responses to the hostage crisis during the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

9.37 Write a brief report of 300–450 words on the extent to which the BSO and the 1972 Munich Olympic Games massacre generated significant change for the Palestinian people, and how governments dealt with the threat posed by terrorists.



BLACK SEPTEMBER: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

Tactically, the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics was a complete failure for the BSO. None of the Palestinian prisoners were released and all the members of the squad were either killed or captured. In addition, the massacre failed to elicit sympathy for the Palestinian cause. In fact, the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause had been irreparably damaged by the carnage and bloodshed on the airfield in Munich.²³

However, in a broader sense, the attack had been a spectacular success. The world could not ignore the grievances of the Palestinian people and their desire for freedom any longer. At least 900 million people around the world watched the hostage crisis unfold on their television screens.²⁴ Thousands of Palestinians rushed to join Fatah and similar groups. Eighteen months after the Munich Games, Arafat was invited to address the UN General Assembly and the PLO was granted observer status. While the operation itself might have failed, it gained the Palestinian people the international recognition they so desperately demanded.

AL-QAEDA

OSAMA BIN LADEN: 'To kill the Americans and their allies ... is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it.'

THE ORIGINS OF AL-QAEDA

Al-Qaeda was founded in mid-1988 by Osama bin Laden. The son of a wealthy Yemeni construction magnate, bin Laden spent his early years in Saudi Arabia. He enjoyed a privileged childhood with holidays to Europe and Beirut. He spent one summer learning English in a London language school. However, bin Laden started giving up this lifestyle from the mid-1970s. The Lebanese civil war, the Arab defeat

Did you know? There is no consistent spelling in the translation of Arabic into English, so Osama bin Laden's name has also been written as Usama bin Ladin. Al-Qaeda has been variously spelt as al Qaida and al Qa'ida.

 Significant individual

in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the Arab oil embargo and the assassination of King Faisal, the ruler of Saudi Arabia, all had a profound effect on bin Laden. The capture of the Grand Mosque of Mecca in November 1979 by 1500 armed radical Islamists impressed bin Laden greatly.²⁵ He started to believe that armed violence was the only way to protect his fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

Bin Laden found a cause worthy of his religious fervour in December 1979. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in support of the Afghan communist government, which was facing a widespread Islamist revolt (see Chapter 5, p. 144). Two weeks after the Soviet invasion, bin Laden left Saudi Arabia for Pakistan to assist the mujahideen ('holy warriors') who were fighting against the Soviets. Bin Laden raised funds and recruited volunteers from the Arab nations. In 1984 he established a base in Pakistan called *Bayt al-Ansar* ('the House of Supporters'), where new recruits would come before being sent to training camps in Afghanistan. About 20,000 Arabs answered bin Laden's call for jihad ('holy war') against the Soviet Union.²⁶ From the flow of recruits, bin Laden would select individuals who had highly sought-after skills such as computing, engineering or surgery to join a new group called al-Qaeda for special training and operations against the Soviets. Its members came from Muslim countries all over the world and formed the nucleus of what would become a global Islamist terrorist organisation.

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

The Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan in 1989. The war in Afghanistan had a profound effect on the Muslims who fought in it: they believed that the mujahideen had defeated one of the world's great superpowers. With no reason to stay in Afghanistan, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia in late 1989. When Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq, invaded Kuwait in August 1990, bin Laden offered to raise an Islamic army of 100,000 followers to protect Saudi Arabia and fight Hussein. When this was rejected by the Saudi government—which invited American troops into the country instead—bin Laden was incensed. According to bin Laden, it was an affront to all Muslims to have US troops on the same soil as the two holiest places in the Islamic religion: Mecca and Medina. His primary focus was now to defend all Muslims from the military might and cultural influence of the US.²⁷ Another of al-Qaeda's goals was the destruction of Israel and the restoration of an Arabic Palestinian state. Finally, bin Laden wanted to create a single state encompassing all Muslims who would live under strict *sharia law* and follow the most literal interpretation of the Koran.²⁸

In 1996 and 1998, bin Laden issued two *fatwas* that outlined his criticisms of the US and its allies. He also called upon Muslims all over the world to do everything they could to destroy Americans and their allies. His second fatwa issued a call for jihad to expel their enemies from all countries with significant Muslim majorities.

OSAMA BIN LADEN, 1957–2011

Was the founder and leader of al-Qaeda, an Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organisation.



Believed in creating an Islamic caliphate from Spain to Indonesia based on strict sharia law.

He said: 'We do not have to differentiate between military or civilian. As far as we are concerned, they are all targets.'

Said about: 'Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda.' (*Barack Obama, US president*)

Challenged the status quo by encouraging and planning terrorist strikes against the US and the Western world.



 Saddam Hussein, leader of Iraq from 1979–2003.

sharia law

A law code based on the most literal and fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

fatwa

A religious decree or ruling in the Islamic faith that, theoretically, all Muslims must obey.

Bin Laden's second fatwa

For over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorising its neighbours, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighbouring Muslim people. ... All of these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger [Muhammad] and Muslims. ... On that basis, and in compliance with Allah's orders, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it ... in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. ... We—with Allah's help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.

Source 9.14 Osama bin Laden's second fatwa, quoted in Vincent Burns and Kate Dempsey Peterson, *Terrorism: A Documentary and Reference Guide* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 93.

suicide bombers

Those who commit terrorist attacks by deliberately killing themselves in the process.

Source 9.15 First responders evacuate workers after the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993.

Did you know? Fortunately, the terrorists failed to realise their ultimate goal in their 1993 attack on the World Trade Center in New York. They had hoped that the explosion would topple one tower into the other and kill more than 250,000 people.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 9.14 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

9.38 According to bin Laden, what had the US done to the lands of Islam?

9.39 In this fatwa, what does bin Laden order all Muslims to do?

9.40 Explain the objectives of bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

9.41 Evaluate the significance of the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia as the motives for bin Laden's terrorist campaign. Use evidence to support your response.

METHODS AND TACTICS

To realise its ambitions, al-Qaeda inspired, funded or directly participated in several terrorist attacks during the 1990s aimed at US targets around the world. The attacks typically involved extremely powerful, highly sophisticated explosive devices, many of which were delivered by **suicide bombers**.

WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING

In the early afternoon of 26 February 1993, a huge bomb exploded in the basement car park underneath the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. Six people were killed in the blast and more than 1000 people injured. While not directly perpetrated by al-Qaeda, the chief bombmaker, Ramzi Yousef, had been through an al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. He received funds from bin Laden and hid in an al-Qaeda base in Pakistan prior to his arrest.²⁹ Osama bin Laden personally praised the terrorists, claiming that they were 'role models' for being determined to 'take the fight to America'.³⁰



THE BOMBING OF US EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA

A much deadlier attack was carried out by al-Qaeda agents on 7 August 1998. Bin Laden activated an African *cell* of al-Qaeda that targeted the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, where security was minimal. The truck bomb that exploded at the embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, contained 2000 pounds (almost 1000 kilograms) of TNT and killed more than 200 people. More than 4500 people were wounded, mainly by shards of broken glass. Less than 10 minutes



later, another truck bomb exploded at the US embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This second attack killed another eleven people and wounded eighty-five.³¹ The drivers of the two trucks were killed in the blasts while another terrorist, Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, was arrested by Kenyan police at the airport.

cell

The smallest unit in an organisation; in terrorist groups, the individuals in a cell are usually 'inactive' until they receive instructions from those higher up in the organisation.

Source 9.16 The US embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, after the 1998 bombing.

BOMBING OF THE USS COLE

Suicide bombers were employed again by al-Qaeda in an attack on a US Navy destroyer, the USS *Cole*, on 12 October 2000. The *Cole* had docked in the Yemeni port of Aden to refuel. While this 4-hour procedure was taking place, two al-Qaeda operatives, Hassan al-Khamri and Ibrahim al-Thawar, steered a small boat packed with explosives into the side of the *Cole*. In the resulting explosion, seventeen US sailors were killed and thirty-nine injured. Unlike the attacks on the World Trade Center in 1993 and the US embassies in 1998, the suicide bombing of the *Cole* was ordered, planned and supervised by bin Laden himself. He considered the attack a great success and ordered the filming of a reconstruction of the event for use in a propaganda and recruitment video to attract young Muslims to al-Qaeda.³²



Source 9.17 The USS *Cole* after the 1998 suicide bombing.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- 9.42** List the dates and places of three al-Qaeda terrorist attacks.
- 9.43** How many people were killed and wounded in each of these attacks?
- 9.44** Explain how al-Qaeda was involved, directly or indirectly, in these attacks.

REPORT WRITING

- 9.45** Using three or four points, explain the ideology and ultimate goals of al-Qaeda. Explain your ideas in 300–400 words.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

- 9.46** Explain the importance of the war in Afghanistan in the radicalisation of Osama bin Laden and the formation of al-Qaeda as an international terrorist group. Present your ideas in a brief speech to your class.

REACTION AND RESPONSE

The US response to the various terrorist acts perpetrated by al-Qaeda varied in terms of scope, technique and effectiveness. Ramzi Yousef, the bombmaker in the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, was arrested by the FBI shortly afterwards when he tried to claim the US\$400 deposit on the truck he had rented to transport the bomb. When sifting through the rubble, FBI agents had discovered a piece of the truck with its serial number. They then traced the truck to a specific rental company, sent an undercover agent to work at the company and waited.³³ The response to the US embassy bombings was much more dramatic. US President Bill Clinton ordered US Navy vessels to fire long-range missiles at suspected al-Qaeda targets in Sudan and Afghanistan. Bin Laden had spent several years in Sudan (1992–1996) where, alongside construction and agricultural projects, he had also established terrorist training camps. In 1998, the US targeted the al-Shifa pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, which was suspected of manufacturing VX, an extremely deadly nerve agent. Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan were also targeted. These strikes, codenamed Operation Infinite Reach, were a failure. Bin Laden was warned hours before the missile strikes and the camps in Afghanistan were mostly evacuated, so only six al-Qaeda terrorists were killed. The factory in Khartoum was not connected with al-Qaeda—it manufactured medicines used in nearby hospitals.³⁴ The al-Qaeda organisation proved to be too well-informed, too flexible and too resilient for the US to destroy with a few missiles. This might explain why the US did not respond with military force after the bombing of the USS *Cole*.

AL-QAEDA: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

By 2000, al-Qaeda had achieved some spectacular successes in individual terrorist operations, but it had not attained its stated goals of creating a unified, fundamentalist Islamic state free from the political, military and cultural influence of the US and the Western world. Nevertheless, al-Qaeda was playing the long game. Its operatives, bin Laden included, did not expect to realise their grand scheme within a few years—it would take generations.³⁵ Simply by surviving as it waged war against one of the most powerful nations in history meant that al-Qaeda was winning—and while it survived, it could plan and execute further terrorist attacks against the US and its allies.

SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE WAR ON TERROR

On the morning of 11 September 2001, two civilian passenger aircraft were flown by al-Qaeda terrorists into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Another was flown into the Pentagon in Washington, DC, and a fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after the passengers tried to regain control of the aircraft. This terrorist attack, which had been approved, financed and partly organised by Osama bin Laden, led to the deaths of 2977 Americans with 25,000 injured.³⁶

President George W. Bush announced a 'War on Terror' in Congress on 20 September. In October, US and Allied troops invaded Afghanistan to destroy al-Qaeda and capture or kill bin Laden, and oust the Taliban government that had harboured and supported them. What was initially meant to be a short war turned into an almost twenty-year conflict that devastated Afghanistan and cost more than 175,000 lives.³⁷

Osama bin Laden was eventually tracked down in Abbottabad, Pakistan, and was killed by US Navy SEAL Team 6 on 2 May 2011. As part of the War on Terror, the US also invaded Iraq in March 2003. The US government argued that Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, supported al-Qaeda and was manufacturing weapons of mass destruction (such as biological and chemical weapons) that could be used by terrorists against US targets. Neither of these claims were true. While the Hussein regime was toppled relatively quickly, the US invasion unleashed terrible religious and tribal conflicts in Iraq and led directly to the creation of ISIS. Sources vary on the number of deaths caused by the US invasion of Iraq, but it is approximately 300,000.³⁸

The US sought to bring the perpetrators of the September 11 attacks to justice and succeeded in eliminating Osama bin Laden. However, the War on Terror took a toll on the US and devastated the lives of many Afghani and Iraqi people. In 2021, the US withdrew from Afghanistan, leaving it once again under Taliban rule.

➔ Smoke billows from the World Trade Center towers in New York, 11 September 2001.



CHAPTER 9 REVIEW

The conflict between terrorist groups and counterterrorist forces is like a stalemate at the end of a game of chess: the terrorist groups can't realise their ultimate objectives but counterterrorist forces can never completely nullify the threat terrorism poses to society. The result is a seemingly never-ending clash between state and non-state actors.

That terrorist attacks can take place anywhere and at any time increases the sense of fear in the target population, and can convince governments to accede to the terrorists' demands. The structure of terrorist groups makes them difficult targets for counterterrorist operations. Responses to terrorist groups can actually play into their hands by apparently 'proving' the oppressive nature of the regime. Poorly aimed strikes can also be counterproductive as they often increase recruitment numbers for terrorist groups.

When perceived injustices and imbalances in society reach a critical point, there will always be individuals who seek to change the status quo through the use of terror. In the twenty-first century, the challenge for nation-states is to discover an effective means of dealing with those who use violence in the pursuit of political ends. This must be done without alienating or endangering non-aligned sections of the population. However, with extremists around the world continuing to commit terrorist attacks, a solution to the challenge of terrorism appears to be a long way off.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Terrorism is defined as the use, or threat to use, violence by non-state actors to bring about politically motivated change.
- Certain conditions or specific actions contribute to the emergence of terrorists and terrorism.
- Terrorists employ ideologies, either based on political theory or religion, to justify their actions.
- Terrorists attack civilian targets to achieve maximum media exposure for their cause.
- Counter-terrorism responses can be counterproductive.
- Terrorist groups rarely achieve their broader aims and goals. Some examples are the RAF's goal of creating a Marxist state in West Germany, the BSO's goal of liberating Palestine and al-Qaeda's goal of creating a caliphate encompassing all Muslims.

REVIEW

9.47 Using the information presented in this chapter, create a series of mind maps or flow charts that visually demonstrate the origins, tactics and counterterrorist operations employed by the RAF, the BSO and al-Qaeda. Include primary source quotations or images for each event.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **9.48** Explain how terrorism took on an international aspect in the second half of the twentieth century.
- **9.49** Explain how terrorist groups use acts of violence to communicate their ideology and demands to the world.
- **9.50** Explain the methods employed by states in their attempts to deal with and defeat terrorist organisations.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **9.51** 'Terrorist groups chiefly arise because of the existence of injustice and inequalities in the world.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
- **9.52** 'Counterterrorism operations are not only futile, but also counterproductive. We might as well just learn to live with terrorism.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
- **9.53** 'Terrorist groups rarely, if ever, achieve their ultimate goals.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

CREATIVE TASK

9.54 You are a press secretary working for the US government in 1998. After it has been revealed that the pharmaceuticals factory in Khartoum was making medicine rather than bombs, President Clinton has asked you to write a brief report for him to read to the media. Write a 200–300-word statement that explains why the US bombed the factory.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

A great way to learn about the past is to conduct a historical inquiry project. For this type of task, you need to devise a question about an area of the past that interests you. Then, find resources to help you answer that question, and conduct research by reading and taking detailed notes. You then write up your findings and present your work. This might be in the form of a written report, a poster, a speech or a short film.

The best thing about historical inquiry projects is that they encourage you to be a more independent learner. With some guidance from your teacher, you are encouraged to apply the key historical thinking concepts and skills (see p. XII in *Modern History 1* for an overview of these). These are central to the study of history. Understanding and employing these concepts and skills will also be useful if you study history as part of your tertiary education. They can even help you in your future employment. Historical inquiry projects give you the tools to become a lifelong learner.

The chapters in this textbook on social and cultural change post-World War II provide a perfect opportunity for you to embark on a historical inquiry project. These chapters offer an excellent introduction to many groups and individuals who challenged existing political and social power structures in the second half of the twentieth century, and who used a range of different tactics and techniques to bring about the change they desired. They also present information on the institutions and individuals who sought to maintain the status quo by repressing protest movements.

In your own historical inquiry project, you could choose one of the groups or individuals discussed in this textbook. Alternatively, your teacher might allow you to choose a topic that is not included in this book. If you select this option, be sure to discuss your ideas with your teacher first and speak to the librarians about the availability of resources.

STEPS

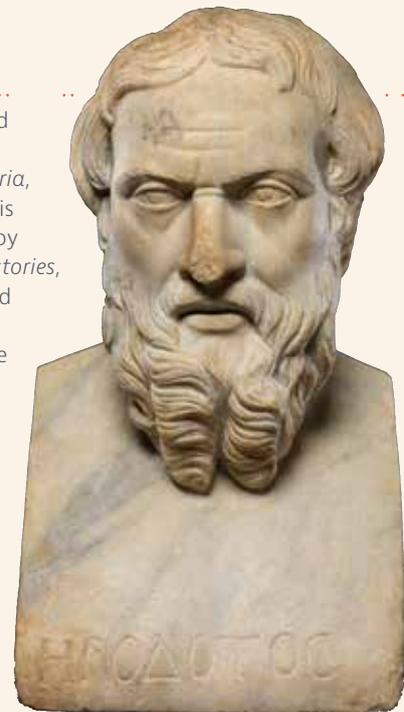
Carrying out a historical inquiry involves several phases:

1. Choose a theme and then a topic.
2. Formulate an inquiry question.
3. Locate useful resources.
4. Conduct research.
5. Write up and present your findings.

These are covered in more detail on pp. 266–269.

The steps should be followed in order.

Did you know? The word 'history' comes from the Ancient Greek word *historia*, which means 'inquiry'. This was the title of writings by Herodotus who, in his *Histories*, attempted to find out and explain the causes of the Greco-Persian Wars of the early fifth century BCE.



➔ Bust of Herodotus of Halicarnassus, the 'Father of History'.

OTHER DETAILS TO NOTE

AUTHENTICATION

It is very important that your teacher can verify that the work you present is your own. Keep your notes together in an exercise book or folder. Hand this to your teacher at the end of each research session to be signed off.

TIME

Your teacher will give you time to plan, research and present your historical inquiry project. They will let you know how many lessons will be allocated for each phase, along with the deadline for submission. Use your time wisely and efficiently, particularly in the library.

ASSESSMENT

Your teacher will give you the assessment criteria for this project. This might be in dot points or presented in a rubric. Discuss these criteria with your teacher and find out the best way to address each of them. As you carry out your research, have the assessment criteria close by to ensure that you are addressing each of them thoroughly.

REFERENCING

You must provide details of the resources you used during your research. You must do this for two main reasons:

1. Referencing the sources you use in your work ensures that you properly acknowledge that the information used to develop your argument is not your own. It is perfectly OK to do this, but you must acknowledge their work accurately. Failure to do this is called **plagiarism**. This is when you pass off someone else's work as your own. It is a kind of intellectual theft that can have negative consequences.
2. If the audience is interested in your report or presentation, they can use your referencing to follow up on the books, websites and other resources you used. This means that your referencing needs to be as accurate as possible.

Footnotes

In history books such as this one, you might have noticed small numbers at the end of some sentences. These are called footnotes. You use them when you have quoted a work directly (either a primary or secondary source) or when an idea or argument that you have presented is not your own. You do not need to use a footnote for information such as events, places and names, or widely known facts such as the date of Martin Luther King Jr's 'I Have A Dream' speech.

Bibliography

A bibliography is a list of resources you have relied on during your research. This includes all the resources listed in your footnotes as well as any other works you consulted but did not quote directly. Your bibliography should be divided by the types of resources you used (e.g. books, websites, documentaries). Within each group, you should list the resources alphabetically by the author's surname. However, not every website lists an author. If this is the case, you can use the name of the company or institution that produced and moderates the website.

Referencing styles

There are several different ways of appropriately referencing your work (such as the Harvard, Modern Language Association and Chicago systems). The most important thing is to be consistent within your work so that it is easy for your audience to follow.

The *Chicago Manual of Style* website offers very clear guidelines on how to cite a range of different types of resources (books, articles, magazines, newspapers, websites, documentaries, interviews, etc.). It also points out the differences in referencing styles for footnotes and the bibliography.

https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html

STEP 1: CHOOSE A THEME AND THEN A TOPIC

THEME

Your teacher might determine the theme, or you might be able to choose your own.

Themes: Challenge and change in:

- decolonisation and self-determination movements
- terrorism campaigns
- regional conflicts
- social and political movements.

TOPIC

Once you have chosen a theme, you will have to narrow this down to a more specific topic (see p. 267 for ideas). You might ask yourself the following questions to help decide on a topic:

- Does this topic fascinate me? Do I want to learn more about this?
- Will my audience be interested in this topic?
- Is my topic too big or small?
- Is it a well-known topic or a bit obscure?
- Will I be able to find enough resources on this topic? Will I be swamped with resources on this topic? Are the resources likely to be unreliable?
- Is this a complex/sensitive topic? What might that mean for my project?

STEP 2: FORMULATE AN INQUIRY QUESTION

MAIN QUESTION

Next, you need to devise an inquiry question to guide your research. Make sure this is broad and open-ended so that it enables you to explore the topic in a meaningful way—but not so broad that you cannot focus on a particular issue.

SUBQUESTIONS

To help you explore your topic and present your argument in a clear, logical way, you should create subquestions. Your inquiry question and subquestions will be informed by your initial reading. You might refine or change them in the early part of your research, but make sure you settle on your questions quickly so you do not waste valuable research time.

Use the following sentence starters to help you devise your own inquiry question:

- **What were the key factors that contributed to** *[the challenge to the status quo/demands for change]*?
- **How did** *[key idea]* **contribute to demands for change?**
- **What role did** *[key individual]* **play in ...?**
- **What methods were employed by** *[individual/group/movement]* **to** *[express views/demand change]*, **and to what extent were they successful?**
- **How did** *[government or people in power]* **respond to the demands for change?**
- **How successful was** *[group/section of society/government]* **in resisting demands for change?**
- **To what extent were the goals of** *[key individual/group/movement]* **achieved?**
- **What were the experiences of** *[social group]* **during the process of demanding and achieving change?**
- **What were the short-/long-term outcomes of** *[the challenge to the status quo/demands for change]*?

X *Who were the key individuals in the civil rights movement?*

This question is too broad. It lacks a specific focus and does not encourage you to formulate an argument.

X *What was the significance of Martin Luther King Jr's 'I Have A Dream' speech?*

This question is too narrow. While the speech was hugely important, an analysis of its significance might not enable you to present a report that explores the broader context of the civil rights movement in detail.

✓ *How significant was Malcolm X's contribution to the civil rights movement in America during the 1960s?*

This is a good inquiry question. It gives you a focus (Malcolm X) within a broader context (civil rights movement) and requires you to make a judgement (how significant ...?).

Possible subquestions:

1. What situation did African Americans find themselves in during the 1960s, politically, economically and socially?
2. How did Malcolm X's early life experiences shape his ideology?
3. What organisations did Malcolm X join and what influence did they have on him?
4. What activities did he undertake to improve the lives of African Americans?
5. Were African Americans better off because of the work of Malcolm X?

TOPIC AND QUESTION IDEAS

Here are some ideas and sample inquiry questions to get you started on your own historical inquiry project.

THEME	TOPIC	SAMPLE INQUIRY QUESTION
DECOLONISATION	The Algerian Revolution	How did the French government's reaction to the Algerian Revolution intensify the conflict?
	The Iranian Revolution	What role did the shah (king) of Iran play in contributing to the revolution of 1979?
	Cambodia	What factors contributed to the rise of the Khmer Rouge?
TERRORISM	The Irish Republican Army	To what extent were the tactics used by the Irish Republican Army successful?
	ETA (Spain)	To what extent did ETA achieve their aims and goals?
	The Japanese Red Army	How did international and/or domestic events lead to the emergence of the Japanese Red Army?
REGIONAL CONFLICTS	US war on drugs	To what extent was the war on drugs in the US successful for the government?
	Break-up of former Yugoslavia	What role did key individuals play in promoting conflict in the Balkans in the 1990s?
	The Rwandan genocide	How did group identity and rivalries contribute to the Rwandan genocide?
SOCIAL/POLITICAL MOVEMENTS	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander land rights	Why was there opposition to the landmark Mabo decision of 1992?
	Stonewall riots	What preconditions contributed to the Stonewall riots of 1969?
	Tiananmen Square	Why did the Chinese government respond with violence to the student protests in 1989?

STEP 3: LOCATE USEFUL RESOURCES

Once you have selected an inquiry question, you need to locate resources to help you answer it. Here are some hints on what to do, and what not to do:

✓ Do:

- talk to your teacher and the librarians for assistance
- find books in your library that present information for students at your level
- gather several resources so that you can crosscheck information and get a variety of different perspectives and interpretations
- include a range of different types of resources (e.g. books, articles, websites, documentaries)
- locate primary sources. These can often be found in textbooks and in edited collections.

✗ Don't:

- start by putting your topic into an online search engine
- rely on only one to two sources
- rely on only one type of resource (such as websites or textbooks)
- use only secondary source material
- rely only on material that was produced a long time ago. Try to find more recent works and compare them to information you find in older sources.

STEP 4: CONDUCT RESEARCH

Once you have located suitable resources, it is time to start reading them and taking notes. You can use the **SQ3R** method:

S = Survey. Scan the resource quickly to determine if it useful to you. Focus on headings, diagrams, maps, charts and key terms.

Q = Question. Ask what the resource is about, what questions it is trying to answer, and how the information can help you answer your inquiry question.

R1 = Read. Keep in mind your inquiry question and subquestions as you read the source.

R2 = Record. As you read, start taking notes. You could use the template pictured (see p. 269), which is based on the Cornell method,¹ to help you organise your notes.

R3 = Review. Read over your notes and scan the resource one more time to ensure that you have noted down all the relevant information.

Other tips for effective note-taking:

- Do not try to write down everything.
- Use abbreviations such as MLK for Martin Luther King Jr, 't'ism' for terrorism and 'g'ment' for government.
- Use mind maps, flowcharts and other visual organisers.
- Focus on headings and important information such as:
 - » names
 - » events and dates
 - » places
 - » important laws and legislation
 - » key terms and concepts
 - » statistics
 - » quotations from primary and secondary sources.
- Carefully record the details of the resource you are using, including the page number. See the advice on footnotes and bibliography on p. 265.

STEP 5: WRITE UP AND PRESENT YOUR FINDINGS

When you have finished the research phase, it is time to put everything together and produce your project.

The format of the project will determine how you write up and present your findings.

See p. 269 for some examples and key features you will need to include.

For all formats, you will need to include:

- your overarching inquiry question
- your subquestions
- quotations from primary and secondary sources
- evidence such as statistics, names, places, events and key individuals
- a conclusion
- footnotes
- a bibliography.



Download the template: www.htavshop.com.au/beyond-the-book

NOTE-TAKING TEMPLATE

RESOURCE DETAILS: _____

DATE: _____

MAIN IDEA

Key questions
Key people
Important dates
Key terms and definitions

MAIN POINT 1:

Subpoint 1:
Evidence -
Evidence -
Evidence -

Subpoint 2:

Evidence -
Evidence -

MAIN POINT 2:

Subpoint 1:
Evidence -
Evidence -
Evidence -

SUMMARY OF INFORMATION:

FORMAT IDEAS

A poster

- Clear headings and subheadings
- Visuals such as pictures and maps
- One to three extracts from primary and/or secondary sources
- A mind map or flowchart to communicate complex information

A written report

- An introduction, main body and conclusion
- Clear headings
- Supporting diagrams such as maps and graphs

A website

- A clear heading and subheadings
- Visuals such as pictures or maps
- Video and/or audio clips
- Hyperlinks to other relevant websites
- Extracts from primary and/or secondary sources
- Your name along with the date of production and the date the page was last modified

An oral presentation

- Clear signposting (see p. 1 of this book to find out about this) to help your audience follow your speech
- A supporting slideshow with:
 - » visuals such as pictures or maps
 - » one to three extracts from primary and/or secondary sources
 - » video and/or audio clips
 - » a few key points on each slide.
- Time for audience questions at the end

TIMELINE: 1945–1952

EUROPE	8 MAY 1945 Victory in Europe Day	29 JULY– 15 OCT 1946 Paris Peace Conference drafts peace treaties with other European Axis powers	19 JANUARY 1947 Poland becomes communist
	17 JULY–2 AUG 1945 Potsdam Conference divides Germany and Berlin into four zones	19 NOVEMBER 1946 Communists gain 80 per cent of the vote in Romania	AUGUST 1947 Communists in Hungary take over the government and ban other political parties
USSR	11 NOVEMBER 1945 Josip Tito and his National Liberation Front party win elections in Yugoslavia	9 FEBRUARY 1946 Stalin's 'Two Hostile Camps' speech	
	18 NOVEMBER 1945 Communists win elections in Bulgaria	22 FEBRUARY 1946 Kennan's 'Long Telegram'	
US	4–11 FEBRUARY 1945 Yalta Conference	5 MARCH 1946 Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech	
	26 JUNE 1945 UN Charter signed		
	12 APRIL 1945 Roosevelt dies Truman becomes US president		12 MARCH 1947 Truman Doctrine announced
	16 JULY 1945 US detonates the world's first atomic bomb		5 JUNE 1947 Marshall Plan announced



BEFORE 1945	1945	1946	1947
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ASIA / PACIFIC	21 AUG 1943 Australia elects first women to federal parliament	FEBRUARY 1945 Yalta Agreement divides Korea along 38th parallel	23 NOVEMBER 1946 The Haiphong incident in Vietnam
		6 & 9 AUGUST 1945 Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan	
	14 AUGUST 1945 Victory in Japan Day		
	2 SEPTEMBER 1945 Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam independent and begins armed struggle against the French		



OTHER	LATE 1800s Zionists call for Jewish homeland, possibly in Palestine	
	MAY 1916 Secret Sykes–Picot Agreement undermines promise of Arab homeland	
	NOV 1917 Britain's Balfour Declaration favours Jewish state in Palestine	
	1920–1923 League of Nations gives Britain mandate over Palestine	
	1939–1945 Holocaust prompts further Zionist efforts	29 NOVEMBER 1947 UN partition of Palestine; Palestinians reject this

25 FEBRUARY 1948
Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia

24 JUNE 1948–12 MAY 1949
Berlin Blockade and airlift



8 FEBRUARY 1950
Stasi founded in East Germany

EUROPE

29 AUGUST 1949
Soviet Union detonates its first atomic bomb

10 DECEMBER 1948
UN General Assembly proclaims the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

USSR

9 FEBRUARY 1950
McCarthy gives speech about communists within the US government



1 NOVEMBER 1952
The US detonates the first hydrogen bomb

4 NOVEMBER 1952
Eisenhower elected US president

US

4 APRIL 1949
NATO established

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

15 AUGUST 1948
Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Republic of Korea (South Korea) established

SEPT/OCT 1949
Mao Zedong's communists seize power and establish the People's Republic of China

France reinstates Emperor Bao Dai to placate the Viet Minh in Vietnam

Mao Zedong's Chinese forces begin training and supplying North Vietnamese forces

APRIL 1950
Australian Peace Congress, Melbourne

MAY 1950
US funding provided to support the French, to limit the spread of communism in Vietnam

25 JUNE 1950
Communist North Korea invades South Korea, beginning Korean War

27 JUNE 1950
UN passes resolution establishing a Joint Command Force in the Korean War

NOVEMBER 1950
Chinese troops invade North Korea

3 OCTOBER 1952
UK conducts its first nuclear tests in Australia



19 FEBRUARY 1952
Defiance campaign begins in South Africa

ASIA / PACIFIC

OTHER

9 APRIL 1948
Deir Yassin massacre in the First Arab–Israeli War

15 MAY 1948
State of Israel declared

26 MAY 1948
National Party forms in South Africa

TIMELINE: 1953–1963

Region	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
EUROPE				28 JUNE 1956 Poznań Riots in Poland OCTOBER 1956 Władysław Gomułka becomes leader of Poland Hungarian Uprising	
USSR	5 MARCH 1953 Stalin dies 		14 MAY 1955 Warsaw Pact established	25 FEBRUARY 1956 Khrushchev makes his 'secret speech' denouncing Stalin	5 OCTOBER 1957 Soviet Union launches <i>Sputnik 1</i> 
US		17 MAY 1954 <i>Brown v Board of Education of Topeka</i> : The Supreme Court unanimously rules that separate public schools for blacks and whites are unconstitutional 1 DECEMBER 1954 Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat to white passengers on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama; Montgomery bus boycott begins 			14 FEBRUARY 1957 Southern Christian Leadership Conference is founded, with Dr Martin Luther King Jr as its president
ASIA / PACIFIC	27 JULY 1953 Armistice signed and the border between North and South Korea is fixed close to 38th parallel	21 JULY 1954 Geneva Agreements reached: Vietnam is partitioned along the 17th parallel into North Vietnam and South Vietnam		JUNE 1956 Ngo Dinh Diem becomes prime minister of South Vietnam 	
OTHER			26 JUNE 1955 Freedom Charter signed in South Africa	OCTOBER 1956 Suez Canal Crisis	



		 <p>AUGUST 1961 Khrushchev orders the construction of the Berlin Wall</p>	<p>5 AUGUST 1963 The Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty signed by the US, USSR and UK</p> <p>MARCH 1963 The Jupiter missiles are removed from Turkey</p>	EUROPE
	<p>JULY 1959 Richard Nixon visits Soviet Union, engages in 'kitchen debates' with Khrushchev</p>	<p>12 APRIL 1961 Yuri Gagarin becomes the first person in space</p> <p>30 OCTOBER 1961 Soviet Union detonates 'Tsar Bomba'</p>		USSR
	<p>1 FEBRUARY 1960 Lunch counter protests begin</p> <p>5 DECEMBER 1960 <i>Boynton v Virginia</i> finds racial segregation on public transport to be illegal</p>	<p>20 JANUARY 1961 John F. Kennedy becomes US president</p> <p>MAY 1961 Activists participate in Freedom Rides to challenge segregation on interstate transportation</p>	<p>10 JUNE 1963 Kennedy delivers his 'Peace' speech</p> <p>20 JUNE 1963 A 'hotline' established between the US and the USSR</p> <p>26 JUNE 1963 Kennedy delivers his 'Ich bin ein Berliner' speech</p> <p>28 AUGUST 1963 200,000 people march on Washington protesting against racial discrimination</p> <p>22 NOVEMBER 1963 Kennedy assassinated</p> <p>23 NOVEMBER 1963 Lyndon B. Johnson becomes US president</p>	US

1958

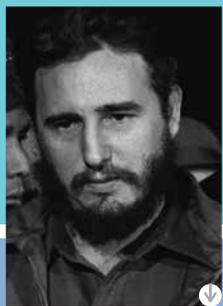
1959

1960

1961

1962

1963



1 JANUARY 1959
Fidel Castro seizes power in Cuba

21 MARCH 1960
Sharpeville Massacre

JULY 1960
Castro demands that US petrol companies in Cuba refine Russian oil
Castro nationalises all US companies in Cuba



17–19 APRIL 1961
The Bay of Pigs invasion

JULY 1962
Australia enters the Vietnam War by sending military advisers to South Vietnam

6 SEPTEMBER 1962
Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland is created to protect the Great Barrier Reef

MAY 1962
Khrushchev installs missiles in Cuba

14 OCTOBER 1962
Russian missiles in Cuba discovered by the US

16–28 OCTOBER 1962
Cuban Missile Crisis

2 NOVEMBER 1963
President Diem of South Vietnam assassinated

9 OCTOBER 1963
Rivonia Trial begins in South Africa—Nelson Mandela and other leading opponents of apartheid are charged with sabotage

EUROPE

USSR

US

ASIA / PACIFIC

OTHER

TIMELINE: 1964–1973

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
EUROPE	<p>14 OCTOBER 1964</p> <p>Khrushchev 'voluntarily' resigns</p> 				<p>JANUARY 1968</p> <p>Alexander Dubček becomes leader in Czechoslovakia and begins the Prague Spring</p> <p>2 APRIL 1968</p> <p>Red Army Faction firebomb a Frankfurt department store</p>
USSR		<p>21 FEBRUARY 1965</p> <p>Malcolm X assassinated</p> 	<p>15 OCTOBER 1966</p> <p>Black Panther Party founded</p>		<p>AUGUST 1968</p> <p>Soviet-led Warsaw Pact forces invade Czechoslovakia, ending the Prague Spring</p>
US	<p>2 JULY 1964</p> <p><i>Civil Rights Act</i> is signed into law</p>				<p>Anti-Vietnam War protests and marches across America</p> <p>4 APRIL 1968</p> <p>Martin Luther King Jr assassinated</p> 
ASIA / PACIFIC	<p>AUGUST 1964</p> <p>The Gulf of Tonkin incident in Vietnam</p> <p>24 NOVEMBER 1964</p> <p>Conscription introduced in Australia via the <i>National Service Act 1964</i></p>	<p>MARCH 1965</p> <p>First US combat troops arrive in Vietnam</p> <p>29 APRIL 1965</p> <p>Australia announces it will send troops to the Vietnam War</p> 	<p>18 AUGUST 1966</p> <p>Australian soldiers involved in the Battle of Long Tan in Vietnam War</p> <p>29 OCTOBER 1966</p> <p>In Australia, ban on married women being employed in the Commonwealth Public Service is abolished</p>		<p>31 JANUARY 1968</p> <p>Viet Cong forces launch the Tet Offensive in Vietnam War</p> <p>16 MARCH 1968</p> <p>My Lai Massacre in Vietnam</p> <p>10 MAY 1968</p> <p>Peace talks begin in Vietnam</p>
OTHER	<p>MAY 1964</p> <p>Founding of Palestine Liberation Organization</p> <p>12 JUNE 1964</p> <p>In South Africa, Nelson Mandela is sentenced to life imprisonment</p> <p>JULY 1964</p> <p>Palestinian National Charter issued</p>	<p>MAY 1965</p> <p>Save our Sons group is created in Sydney, Australia</p>		<p>5 JUNE 1967</p> <p>Israel captures land in Arab-Israeli War (Six-Day War)</p>	



1969
Détente (improved relations between the US and the USSR)

14 MAY 1970
West Germany:
Andreas Baader
escapes from prison

11 MAY 1972
Red Army Faction bombs a
US Army barracks in Frankfurt

1 JUNE 1972
Andreas Baader arrested in
Hamburg

5 SEPTEMBER 1972
Terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics



EUROPE

USSR

29 OCTOBER 1969
Alexander v Holmes
County Board of
Education case

4 MAY 1970
Student protest at
Kent State University
turns deadly, with
four students killed

1971
Henry Kissinger
visits China twice
to establish
diplomatic relations

US

1969 **1970** **1971** **1972** **1973**

1969
First women's liberation
groups meet in Adelaide,
Brisbane, Sydney and
Melbourne

3 NOVEMBER 1969
President Nixon
announces the beginning
of the withdrawal of
US troops from Vietnam

MAY 1970
Moratorium marches held
in Australian capital cities



NOVEMBER 1970
Australian forces begin
withdrawing from Vietnam

23 NOVEMBER 1971
People's Republic of
China takes
China's seat from
the Nationalists at
the UN

MARCH 1972
4000 people march in Sydney
for International Women's Day

DECEMBER 1972
In Australia, 'equal pay for
equal work' principle accepted
by the Commonwealth
Arbitration Commission

27 JANUARY 1973
Paris Peace Accords
signed to establish
peace in Vietnam

SEPTEMBER 1973
Yasser Arafat disbands the
Black September group



25 OCTOBER 1973
Yom Kippur War ends
in ceasefire and shift in
regional power dynamics

SEPTEMBER 1970
Palestinians expelled
from Jordan

28 NOVEMBER 1971
Black September
terrorists kill
Jordan's prime
minister

9 MAY 1972
Israeli commandos storm
a plane hijacked by Black
September terrorists

ASIA / PACIFIC

OTHER

TIMELINE: 1974–1984

EUROPE		27 JUNE 1976 Air France Flight 139 is hijacked	18 OCTOBER 1977 Red Army Faction members Baader and Ensslin die by suicide in prison	
USSR	1975 UN declares 1975 International Women's Year	JULY 1975 First US–Soviet joint space mission, known as Apollo–Soyuz Test Project		24 DECEMBER 1979 The Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan ends détente: A 'Second Cold War' begins
US	1 AUGUST 1975 Helsinki Accords promoting peace, economic cooperation and human rights			

1974

1975

1976

1977 1978

1979

ASIA / PACIFIC	MARCH 1974 First women's health centre opens in Leichhardt, Sydney First women's refuge and rape crisis centres open in Australia	30 APRIL 1975 North Vietnamese forces conquer Saigon, uniting Vietnam as a communist republic and triggering mass emigration		
		1975 <i>Family Law Act 1975</i> passed in Australia		

OTHER		16 JUNE 1976 Soweto Uprising	12 SEPTEMBER 1977 Anti-apartheid leader Steve Biko is murdered by police in South Africa	26 MARCH 1979 Egypt–Israel Peace Treaty signed
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17 SEPTEMBER 1980

Strikes in Poland force the government to allow the establishment of a free trade union, Solidarity



12 NOVEMBER 1982

Poland's Lech Wałęsa, leader of Solidarity, is freed after eleven months in jail

10 NOVEMBER 1982

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev dies

12 NOVEMBER

Yuri Andropov becomes leader of the Soviet Union



9 FEBRUARY 1984

Soviet leader Andropov dies in office and is replaced by Konstantin Chernenko

JULY 1980

The US and other Western nations boycott the Moscow Olympic Games

29 JUNE 1982

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty talks begin between the US and the USSR

JULY 1984

The USSR and Eastern Bloc countries boycott the Los Angeles Olympic Games

4 NOVEMBER 1981

Ronald Reagan elected US president

23 MARCH 1983

Reagan proposes the US Strategic Defense Initiative, known as 'Star Wars'

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1980s

Palm Sunday anti-nuclear protests in cities across Australia



MAY 1984

Australian federal government passes the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*

DECEMBER 1984

Equal Opportunity Act passed in South Australia and Western Australia

13 JUNE 1982

Siege of Beirut

EUROPE

USSR

US

ASIA / PACIFIC

OTHER

TIMELINE: 1985—

Region	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
EUROPE					<p>9 NOVEMBER 1989</p> <p>The Berlin Wall is torn down. 300,000 East Berliners migrate to the West</p>
USSR	<p>MARCH 1985</p> <p>Chernenko dies</p> <p>Mikhail Gorbachev becomes leader of the Soviet Union</p> 	<p>26 APRIL 1986</p> <p>Nuclear accident at Chernobyl, Ukraine</p>	<p>JULY 1987</p> <p>Perestroika introduced to the Soviet Union</p>	<p>1988</p> <p>Growing hostility in Eastern Europe towards communist governments</p>	<p>29 DECEMBER 1989</p> <p>Václav Havel elected president of Czechoslovakia</p>
	<p>NOVEMBER 1985</p> <p>Gorbachev and Reagan meet at the Geneva Summit</p>	<p>1986</p> <p>Summits at Geneva and Reykjavik fail to reach agreement on arms reductions</p>	<p>8 DECEMBER 1987</p> <p>Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty signed in Washington by Reagan and Gorbachev</p>	<p>1 DECEMBER 1988</p> <p>Pan Am Flight 103 is bombed over Lockerbie in Scotland</p>	<p>15 FEBRUARY 1989</p> <p>Soviet troops complete withdrawal from Afghanistan</p>
US				<p>15 MAY 1988</p> <p>Soviet troops begin withdrawal from Afghanistan</p>	<p>27 MARCH 1989</p> <p>Democratic, multi-party parliamentary elections held in Russia—the first since 1917</p>
ASIA / PACIFIC		<p>1986</p> <p><i>Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986</i> passed in Australia</p>			
OTHER	<p>JUNE 1985</p> <p>Israeli forces withdraw from Lebanon</p>		<p>9 DECEMBER 1987</p> <p>First intifada (Palestinian uprising) begins</p>	<p>11 AUGUST 1988</p> <p>Osama bin Laden founds al-Qaeda</p> 	



1988
Growing hostility in Eastern Europe towards communist governments

1 DECEMBER 1988
Pan Am Flight 103 is bombed over Lockerbie in Scotland

15 MAY 1988
Soviet troops begin withdrawal from Afghanistan

8 NOVEMBER 1988
George H.W. Bush elected US president

JANUARY 1990
Romania bans the Communist Party

9 DECEMBER 1990
Lech Wałęsa becomes president of newly democratic Poland



20 APRIL 1998
Red Army Faction announces that it is disbanding

EUROPE

11 MARCH 1990
Lithuania declares itself independent from the USSR

1990
Soviet troops leave Czechoslovakia

1991
The Warsaw Pact ends. Collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States

31 JULY 1991
Gorbachev and Bush sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty

26 FEBRUARY 1993
Bombing of the World Trade Center, New York



2006
#MeToo movement begins
2013
Black Lives Matter movement begins

11 SEPTEMBER 2001
September 11 terror attacks in New York

USSR

US

1990–1995

1996–2000

AFTER 2000

ASIA / PACIFIC

11 FEBRUARY 1990
Nelson Mandela is released from prison in South Africa

2 AUGUST 1990
Saddam Hussein invades Kuwait

1993, 1995
Oslo Accords: peace process based on Palestinian self-determination

26–29 APRIL 1994
First democratic South African elections



AUGUST 1996
Osama bin Laden issues first fatwa

23 FEBRUARY 1998
Osama bin Laden issues second fatwa

7 AUGUST 1998
Bombing of US embassies in East Africa

28 SEPTEMBER 2000
Second intifada begins

12 OCTOBER 2000
Al-Qaeda attack on the USS *Cole* in Aden

2021
Afghanistan once again ruled by Taliban after US withdraws



OTHER

17th parallel

The line 17 degrees above the equator that denoted the boundary between North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

26th of July Movement

The name of Castro's revolutionary movement, named after the date of an unsuccessful attack on an army barracks.

38th parallel

The line 38 degrees above the Equator that denoted the boundary between communist North Korea and capitalist South Korea at the end of World War II.

A**activist**

A person who campaigns for a cause, such as political or social equality, with the aim of bringing about positive change.

address to the nation

When the US president delivers a speech directly to the American people, usually via television, on a matter of great importance.

affirmative action

Where people are employed because of their minority or disadvantaged status to redress larger imbalances and inequalities.

African National Congress (ANC)

An organisation founded in 1912 with the aim of obtaining equal voting and civil rights for the black inhabitants of South Africa.

Afrikaans

A South African language originating from the original Dutch settlers.

age of consent

A person's age when certain behaviours and actions become legal, such as voting, driving, drinking and having sex.

Agent Orange

A chemical defoliant sprayed onto the Vietnamese jungle to deny the communist forces cover; its use led to soil contamination, cancer and birth defects.

agrarian

A society whose economy is predominantly based on farming instead of industry.

airlift

When aircraft are used to transport a large number of supplies in a short amount of time.

al-Qaeda

Arabic for 'the base'; the terrorist organisation established by Osama bin Laden in 1988.

American Civil War

The war fought between the northern and southern states over breaking into separate nations; slavery was a key issue.

Annam

The term used by the West for Vietnam prior to French colonisation; the Vietnamese people were sometimes called 'Annamites' by Westerners.

anti-ballistic missile (ABM)

An 'anti-ballistic missile' designed to target and destroy incoming enemy missiles.

apartheid

A system of legal racial segregation enforced by the National Party government in South Africa between 1948 and 1994 under which the rights of the majority black inhabitants of South Africa were curtailed and minority rule by white people was maintained.

arms race

When two or more countries increase their armed forces to gain military and diplomatic advantage.

Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)

The armed defence force of South Vietnam.

arson

The deliberate and criminal destruction of property by fire.

atomic bomb

A hugely destructive weapon that uses the energy released from nuclear fission or fusion.

atomic diplomacy

When a nation uses the threat of nuclear weapons in its negotiations with other nations to secure an advantage or exert its will.

attorney-general

The chief law enforcement official in the US federal government.

Australian parliament

The legislative branch of the federal political system in Australia.

authoritarianism

A style of government that is usually a one-party dictatorship. Individual liberties and freedoms are suppressed, and the government enforces its power through coercion or violence.

bankrupted

Unable to pay debts; a court may order that all assets must be sold to settle these debts.

banning orders

Ways in which a person's freedom of movement, association, speech and actions were restricted by the government.

B**Bantustans**

Tribal homelands established by the apartheid regime to deprive the black majority of South African citizenship.

Bay of Pigs

The failed invasion of Cuba by an anti-Castro militia trained and equipped by the CIA in April 1961.

Big Three

The wartime allies Great Britain, the USSR and the US, and their respective leaders.

birth control pill

A tablet taken by women on a regular basis to prevent an unwanted pregnancy.

Black Consciousness

A political movement in South Africa that aimed to unite black people by affirming their common identity.

Black Lives Matter

A loosely organised social and political protest movement that uses the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter; it seeks to raise awareness of continuing black inequality and, in particular, the number of African Americans killed by police officers.

Black Panther Party

An organisation formed to protect and promote the rights of African Americans; it endorsed the use of violence.

Black Sash Movement

A non-violent white women's anti-apartheid movement.

Black September Organisation (BSO)

A branch of Fatah responsible for the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

blackface

When a performer, usually white, blackens their face to mimic and parody darker-skinned people, often African Americans. This is considered deeply offensive.

blacklisting

A list of people barred from employment for holding opinions considered undesirable.

blockade

To isolate a place by surrounding it with military forces.

Boer

The descendants of the original Dutch settlers.

booby trap

A hidden trap or bomb.

boycotts

A strategic refusal to have any dealings with another person, organisation or country, usually to express disapproval or to force change.

Brezhnev Doctrine

The policy justifying Soviet interference in socialist states that were 'under threat' from internal and/or external capitalist forces.

brinkmanship

Pushing a competitor to the brink of war, without actually precipitating war, to make them back down and offer concessions.

buffer zone

A country or group of countries on your border designed to keep hostile nations as far away as possible.

C**caliphate**

A political-religious state that follows the religious teachings of Islam.

Carter Doctrine

US President Carter's statement that the US would block any Soviet advance in the Persian Gulf region using whatever means were deemed necessary.

constitution

The legal document outlining the principles, structure and rules of a government system.

cell

The smallest unit in an organisation; in terrorist groups, the individuals in a cell are usually 'inactive' until they receive instructions from those higher up in the organisation.

 censorship

When a government or organisation alters, deletes or bans any form of communication that challenges, criticises or contradicts the messages of that institution.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

The chief spy organisation of the US.

civil disobedience

Refusing in a non-violent way to obey a law, demand or order that is perceived to be unjust.

civil liberties

Fundamental political rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, suffrage and the media.

civil rights

Political rights such as voting, standing for elections, freedom of speech and movement; the right to access goods, services and facilities.

Cold War

A state of political hostility and military rivalry between countries characterised by threats, propaganda, espionage, alliances and other competitive measures. It stops short of open warfare.

collectivisation

An element of socialist economics that gathers a state's productive capacity, such as farms, into large, state-owned enterprises with the aim of improving efficiency and productivity.

coloured

In the apartheid era, this was a legal racial classification. It referred to any person of mixed European (white) or African (black) race.

Comecon

Short for Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Comecon was set up by the Soviets in 1949 to coordinate economic development in response to the US Marshall Plan.

Cominform

Short for 'Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties', Cominform was set up by the Soviet Union in 1947 to draw together the various communist parties of Eastern Europe. Activities were coordinated and information exchanged.

communism

A society based on the theories of Karl Marx, where all property is controlled by the state and goods and services are distributed evenly among the people.

Congress

The federal legislative body of the US, which has two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Formed in 1942 to organise non-violent protests and activities against racism and segregation in the South.

conscription

Mandatory service in the army; refusal is often punished with fines or a prison sentence.

constitutional rights

Political rights that are specifically protected by a constitution.

consumerism

The idea that people buy large quantities of manufactured goods for use in the home or for leisure activities; a key feature of capitalist societies.

containment

The strategy of preventing the further growth and influence of a rival or opponent.

cooperative

A business or enterprise that is jointly owned by the employees; all profits are divided evenly among its employees.

corrupt

Individuals willing to use their position of authority for personal gain.

Cuban Missile Crisis

The confrontation over Soviet missiles placed in Cuba in October 1962.

cult of personality

When a country's leader, usually a dictator, uses forms of media to encourage adoration amongst the people.

D**decentralise**

The process of shifting political or economic control to a greater number of people who are lower in a hierarchy or power structure.

DEFCON 2

'DEFCON' stands for Defense Readiness Condition. DEFCON 2 means that all US military forces, including its nuclear weapons, must be ready to deploy within 6 hours.

defiance

Resistance to authority.

demilitarise

When a nation decides, or is forced, to give up some or all of its armed forces.

Democratic Republic of Vietnam

The name of the independent state announced by Ho Chi Minh on 2 September 1945.

democratic socialism

An ideology that offers liberal rights and freedoms along with the economic equality of socialism.

demokratizatsiya

The process of gradually bringing democratic reforms to the Soviet Union.

dependents

Those people, such as children, the infirm or the very old, who cannot look after themselves and require care and assistance from an adult.

depose

To remove from office or a position of power.

desegregate

When a service, facility or society that was segregated legally ends that separation.

de-Stalinisation

A process of political reform within the Soviet Union that diminished Stalin's reputation after his death in 1953.

détente

A more permanent relaxation of tension between the US and USSR that evolved after the Cuban Missile Crisis and lasted until the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

deterrence

The idea of preventing an attack by scaring or intimidating the other side.

dictatorship

A type of government in which one individual holds all political power.

disarmament

Taking away the weapons of a defeated nation and greatly reducing its armed forces.

discrimination

Treating people differently (usually negatively) because of their gender, race, nationality, religion, age or some other aspect.

dissident

Behaviour or communication that criticises and challenges a government or the status quo; also used as a label for anyone who holds such views.

domino theory

The belief that once one country fell to communism, the neighbouring countries would follow very quickly; this would lead to worldwide communist dominance.

E**Eastern Bloc**

The countries of Eastern Europe that fell under the dominance of the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1989.

executive orders

Directives given by the president to manage the operation of the federal government, its property and activities.

Emancipation Proclamation

The document issued by President Abraham Lincoln that offered slaves in southern states their freedom.

embargo

When one country places trade restrictions on another as a form of punishment or diplomatic pressure.

embassy

The official residence of a foreign ambassador.

emigration

When people leave the country of their birth for safety or better opportunities in another country.

émigré

A person who has emigrated (left their native country).

Enlightenment

An eighteenth-century philosophical movement that focused on ideas such as personal liberty and freedom.

Eretz Yisrael

The Hebrew name for the nation-state of Israel.

espionage

The practice of spying or using spies, typically undertaken by governments to obtain political and military information.

ExComm

Short for 'Executive Committee' of the National Security Council; the government body set up by President Kennedy to advise him on how to respond to the deployment of Russian nuclear missiles in Cuba.

expansionist

A nation that seeks to increase its territory and power by aggressively attacking and taking over other countries.

extrajudicial

Not authorised by a court of justice.

F

Fatah

A political party whose primary goal was the liberation of Palestine from Israel.

fatwa

A religious decree or ruling in the Islamic faith that, theoretically, all Muslims must obey.

fedayeen

Arabic for 'freedom fighters'; militants who attacked Israel to restore the Palestinian nation.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

The American law enforcement agency that deals chiefly with serious federal crimes, counterterrorism and counterespionage.

feminist

A person who supports feminism—the belief that women should be treated equally to men in every field.

flappers

Young women in the 1920s who broke convention with their attitudes, behaviours, activities and style of dress.

Forgotten War

A name often applied to the Korean War, as more attention was given to World War II and the Vietnam War.

franchise

The right to vote in public, political elections.

fraternisation

When the soldiers of an occupying army interact and form relationships with the local citizens.

free market

An economic system in which competition between privately owned businesses is not restricted by government regulation of prices or wages.

Freedom Charter

A document outlining the goals of the ANC and its allies for a free South Africa.

Freedom Rides

A series of non-violent protest; activists rode buses through the South to determine whether federal rulings on integration were being enforced.

free-trade markets

A system whereby goods can be bought and sold by nations without government intervention, regulations or taxes.

fundamentalism

Strict adherence to the literal meaning of a religious text.

G

gender pay gap

The difference between the average man's salary and the average woman's salary; historically and currently a woman's salary is lower than a man's.

general secretary

The head of the administrative branch of the CPSU; in reality the leader of the USSR.

Geneva Conference

The international conference held from April–July 1954 to settle issues in Korea and Indochina.

geopolitical

Concerned with politics and the way geographical features of a country or region influences its power, policies and relationships with other countries.

glasnost

Gorbachev's policy of 'openness' allowed greater freedom and democracy in Eastern Bloc nations. This included the ability to criticise and question the communist system, put forward new ideas and show initiative.

glass ceiling

A barrier that prevents women or minorities from advancing or being promoted beyond a certain point.

glut

The oversupply or overproduction of a commodity in the economy; this usually leads to a rapid and significant fall in the price of that commodity.

grand apartheid

Apartheid policies concerning homelands, resettlement and racial classification.

Great Depression

The severe economic crisis of the 1930s that saw more than one-quarter of people out of work in many Western countries.

green movement

Organisations and individuals working to raise awareness about environmental issues and pushing for change in these areas.

Greenpeace

The international organisation devoted to environmental issues and halting the damage being done to the Earth's ecosystems by human activity.

guerrilla warfare

Warfare conducted on unconventional terms. Often one side, usually weaker, strikes through ambushes and surprise attacks against a stronger foe.

gulag

The name given to prison and labour camps in the Soviet Union.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

The statement from US Congress permitting official armed intervention by the US in Vietnam.

H

hearts and minds

A term describing efforts to gain the support of a foreign population through positive engagement and construction programs.

Helsinki Accords

The international meeting in 1975 to discuss security, cooperation and human rights.

hijacking

When terrorists take over an installation or form of transport (usually an aircraft) and hold the passengers hostage until certain political demands are met.

hippie

Young people associated with the counterculture movement of the 1960s; typified by particular types of music, clothing, language and drug use.

Ho Chi Minh Trail

The series of jungle paths used to take supplies from North Vietnam to the South.

Holocaust

The attempt by Nazi Germany to eliminate the Jews and other groups deemed racially inferior during World War II.

House of Representatives

The lower house of the Australian parliament.

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

The government committee responsible for uncovering and punishing communists in the US.

human rights

The basic necessities of life that all people should expect to have, including food, shelter, clothing and rights such as freedom of speech.

Hungarian Democratic Forum

The centre-right, nationalist and Christian political party that came to power in Hungary at the end of the Cold War.

Hungarian Uprising

The failed attempt by the Hungarian people to break away from Soviet-style socialism and Russian dominance.

hypothermia

Prolonged exposure to conditions of extreme cold.

I**impinge**

To interfere with or reduce another's capacity.

inauguration

The official ceremony held when an individual elected as president is sworn into office.

Indochina

The French colony comprising Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (called French Indochina after 1950).

insurgency

An uprising by a small group aiming to take over a country.

intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)

Missiles with a nuclear warhead that can be fired at targets on the other side of the globe.

Iron Curtain

Winston Churchill's description of impenetrable Soviet control over Eastern Europe from the end of World War II.

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

A fundamentalist Sunni Islamic group that formed a caliphate, or Islamic state, after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.

J**jihad**

Arabic for 'struggle'; this can refer to a war fought on the basis of the teachings of Islam.

Jim Crow

A derogatory nickname given to African Americans based on racist impersonations of black people.

K**kitchen debates**

The series of informal debates between Nixon and Khrushchev in 1959 over which system was better: capitalism or communism.

Koran

The religious book of Islam based on the teachings and sayings of the prophet Muhammed.

Kremlin

The official residence of the Soviet government in Moscow; Russian for 'fortress'.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

Hate-based group that terrorised and murdered African Americans and other minority or marginalised groups.

L**liberalisation**

The process of gaining freedoms and rights, such as freedom of speech and religion.

linkage

The term used to describe cooperation and trade between the US and USSR in the late 1960s and 1970s.

literacy test

A test based on reading and writing skills that must be passed if certain rights, in this case voting, are to be granted.

lynching

To illegally and publicly hang someone for a crime (real or imagined).

M**mainstream**

The ideas held by the majority in a society; the opposite of marginal, radical or extreme.

Malaya

The name of the former British colony. Malaya achieved independence in 1957 and renamed itself Malaysia in 1963.

malnutrition

The state of not having enough food to eat, particularly food that is nourishing and healthy.

mandate

When a country is given the responsibility for administering the affairs of another.

Manhattan Project

The code name for the US effort to design and produce an atomic explosive device during World War II.

Marshall Plan

Named after the US Secretary of State George Marshall, the Marshall Plan was a program for aid and technical advice to European countries proclaimed by the US in 1947. Its announcement and implementation deepened divisions between the Soviet Union and the US.

median household income

The amount of income (wages, investments, rents collected, etc.) earned by the people living together in a house; 50 per cent earn above the median amount and 50 per cent earn below this amount.

megaton

A measurement of the power of a nuclear bomb; a 1-megaton blast is equivalent to 1 million tons of TNT.

militant

The use of organised violence to achieve political change.

minimum wage

The legislated minimum amount that someone can be paid for a certain amount of work; usually expressed as an hourly rate.

missile gap

The perceived lead in the arms race that the Soviet Union had in nuclear-equipped ICBMs.

magnet theory

Factors that draw people to a new place, such as higher wages, more freedom or a better standard of living.

monopoly

Exclusive control or possession.

Monroe Doctrine

The policy announced by US President James Monroe in 1823, which stated that Europe could not intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

Montgomery Improvement Association

The organisation formed to manage the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama.

moratorium

A halt placed on a particular activity or event.

movement

Any organisation or group of people who are pushing for change in a particular area.

mujahideen

The Afghans fighting for freedom from the Soviet Union; many were fundamentalist Muslims.

Multiple Independent Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV)

A 'multiple independent re-entry vehicle', this nuclear missile carried multiple warheads.

mutual assured destruction (MAD)

Understanding that using or retaliating with atomic or nuclear bombs will cause the complete annihilation of both the attacker and defender.

N**napalm**

A flammable liquid that sticks to surfaces and burns when ignited. It can be dropped in bombs from aircraft or used in flamethrowers.

Nation of Islam (NOI)

An organisation loosely based on the principles of Islam for the promotion of African American culture.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)

The US agency responsible for space exploration.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

An organisation formed in 1909 by W.E.B. Du Bois to protect and promote the rights of African Americans.

National Liberation Front

The official name of the group that fought for the unification of Vietnam under a communist government; also known as the Viet Cong.

National Party

The white minority political party of South Africa responsible for establishing the apartheid system, as well as enacting and enforcing the apartheid laws.

National Salvation Front

The left-wing political party in Romania that replaced the communist regime.

National Service Act

An Australian federal law passed by parliament on 24 November 1964 which required all twenty-year-old men in Australia to serve in the army for two years; in May 1965 this law was amended so that these soldiers could be sent into overseas combat zones.

nationalism

Pride in belonging to one's country.

nationalist

An individual who is devoted to their country and puts its interests above those of other nations.

Nazi Germany

The regime of Adolf Hitler that governed Germany from 1933–1945.

Nobel Peace Prize

An annual award given to those who, by their efforts, attempt to reduce or halt conflicts around the world.

non-state

A term describing any organisation or institution that is not classified as a nation-state but often has global significance and influence.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO was formed in 1949 by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the UK, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal and the US. It stated that an attack on any of these states was an attack on the group as a whole.

North Vietnamese Army (NVA)

The armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; also called the NVA.

novomyshlenie

Gorbachev's policy of 'new thinking' to end the Cold War with the West so that money could be spent on areas other than defence.

O**one person, one vote**

The principle that an individual person's vote is valued the same as all other votes, guaranteeing equal representation.

OPEC oil crisis

In 1973 the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries reduced the sale of oil to countries supporting Israel during the Yom Kippur War; this raised the price of oil per barrel by 300 per cent.

Operation Anadyr

The codename for the Soviet operation to ship military equipment, including nuclear weapons, to Cuba.

Operation Junction City

A three-month military operation (February–May 1967) in the Tay Ninh province west of Saigon. While the US and ARVN forces killed or captured many VC troops, they were not able to completely eradicate communist influence in the region.

Operation Linebacker

The bombing offensive by the US over North Vietnam to force it to halt its invasion of South Vietnam.

Operation Mongoose

The CIA program to assassinate Castro and topple his socialist government.

Operation Rolling Thunder

The codename for the initial bombing campaign of communist targets in North Vietnam.

P**pacification**

Attempts by the military to end a violent uprising and win the support of the people.

Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

The representative body of the Palestinian people. Until 1993 the PLO called for the violent overthrow of the state of Israel.

Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC)

A political movement that broke away from the ANC, advocating for African nationalism and rejecting a multiracial worldview.

paranoia

The unfounded belief that someone or something presents a threat to you.

Paris Peace Accords

The conference held in 1973 to discuss the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam.

Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty

An agreement signed by the US and USSR in 1963 that restricted the testing of nuclear weapons.

pass system

An internal passport system designed to segregate the population, severely limit the movements of black Africans, manage urbanisation and allocate migrant labour.

peaceful coexistence

Khrushchev's term for the idea that the USSR and US could learn to live with each other without resorting to conflict.

Pentagon

The five-sided building in Washington, DC that houses the US Department of Defense.

perestroika

Gorbachev's policy of 'restructuring' the economy allowed some private enterprise and individual ownership of businesses to promote production, efficiency and higher-quality goods.

petty apartheid

Discrimination laws affecting housing, education, employment and access to public facilities.

picketing

A form of protest in which people gather outside a building or location, often with the intent of preventing workers from going inside.

plantation

A large farm employing many workers.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

A political party that adopted terrorist tactics to overthrow the state of Israel.

POQO

The formal name for the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the PAC. Poqo is a Xhosa word meaning 'pure' or 'standing alone'.

post-traumatic stress disorder

A range of psychological conditions that result from the experience of traumatic situations; formerly known as 'shell shock' or 'combat fatigue'.

poverty

Someone is said to be living in poverty when they cannot afford to pay for basic necessities such as food, clothing, rent or a mortgage, heating, cooling, electricity, gas and water.

Prague Spring

The uprising in Prague in 1968 against Soviet rule over Czechoslovakia.

Presidium

The ruling committee of the CPSU; formerly known as the Politburo.

prohibition

The movement to ban a particular item or behaviour; historically linked to banning alcohol.

proliferation

The spread or increase of something; usually used to describe the increasing number of countries capable of building nuclear weapons.

propaganda

An organised means of spreading a particular philosophy. It uses art, literature, radio, film, media releases, education and other forms of communication to transmit a message that a government or organisation wishes to relay.

provisional government

A temporary body that governs until a legitimate and permanent government can be elected or appointed.

provocateur

Someone who incites or encourages others into action, usually against the government.

proxy war

A war fought between the allies of more powerful states, or between a powerful state and one of the allies of its rivals.

punji pit

A trap consisting of a hole in the ground disguised by branches, leaves and dirt. Sharpened stakes line the bottom of the pit.

purge

When a political party, government or other organisation expels members from its ranks, usually without fair cause or process.

Q**quagmire**

A swamp or bog that is very difficult to walk through; politically and strategically, a situation that a country or army finds very difficult to evade.

R**ratified**

When a proposed law is accepted and comes into effect.

raw materials

The basic resources of a country, such as wood, oil, gas, iron and coal, used to manufacture a wide range of items.

Reagan Doctrine

The notion that the Soviet Union could not just be contained but rolled back without risking World War III.

Reconstruction

The period from 1865–1877 when the southern states were reintegrated into the US.

Red Army Faction (RAF)

A Marxist terrorist group that operated in West Germany primarily in the 1970s.

re-educate

A process in which enemies of a government or party are held in prisons or camps and forced to declare allegiance to the new regime.

reparations

The amount one country owes another at the end of a war; a form of compensation.

repatriate

To send someone back to their country of origin.

reunification

When a country that has been split into two or more smaller countries is restored to as a single nation.

revolutionary

Someone who wants to bring about total and rapid change to the political, social and economic features of a country. Sometimes violence is used to achieve this.

rhetoric

Language that is designed to persuade an audience to a particular point of view.

S

salami tactics

The act of defeating an opponent by taking off one 'slice' at a time.

SALT I

The first in the series of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, signed in May 1972 by the US and USSR, that put a limit on the number of ICBMs each country could possess.

SALT II

The second in the series of Strategic Arms Limitations Talks, agreed upon by the US and USSR in June 1979, which limited the number of deliverable nuclear warheads and the number of MIRVs each country would possess.

sanctions

Economic and political restrictions imposed on a government to pressure it to uphold international laws.

satellite states

A country or countries dominated or under the control of a more powerful nation; they may not necessarily share a border; similar to a sphere of influence.

satire

The use of humour or exaggeration to criticise or expose the flaws in another's arguments, decisions or actions.

Save Our Sons (SOS)

An organisation set up by the mothers of Australian soldiers; the group called for an end to conscription and the war in Vietnam.

scapegoated

Blamed for the mistakes or wrongdoings of others.

scorched earth tactics

A military strategy that aims to destroy anything that might be useful to the enemy.

Scramble for Africa

The invasion and colonisation of most of Africa by European powers between 1881 and 1914.

secession

When a country, or a region within a country, breaks away from the dominant political entity.

secret ballot

An election in which no one is allowed to know for whom people voted; this enhances political freedom and contributes to valid elections.

segregation

Where two or more groups in a society are kept separate, usually by law, due to perceived differences in race, gender, religion or some other factor. In a segregated society, one group of people is usually disadvantaged or oppressed by these arrangements.

Sinatra Doctrine

Named after Frank Sinatra's song 'My Way'; the Soviet Union would no longer support communist governments in eastern Europe with armed force; these countries would be able to go their own way.

sit-ins

A form of non-violent protest where people sit down or otherwise occupy space and refuse to leave when asked.

Six-Day War

The brief conflict between Israel and several Arab nations in 1967.

slaves

People who are forced to work against their will for no pay.

SMERSH

The Russian counter-intelligence agency tasked with discovering and eliminating all internal threats to the Soviet state.

social stigma

The negative effect on someone's reputation because of behaviour or actions that are perceived as immoral or inappropriate.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam

The official title of the reunified Vietnam; declared on 2 July 1976.

Solidarity (Solidarnosc)

An independent trade union movement formed in Poland in 1980 by Lech Wałęsa. Initially illegal, it was free from the control of the Polish state.

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

An organisation of states including the US, Thailand, the Philippines and Australia to block the spread of communism (1954–1977).

Southern Manifesto

A document written in 1956 by federal representatives of southern states that opposed racial integration.

sphere of influence

A country or region controlled by a more powerful nation in a political, cultural, military and an economic sense.

spy ring

A group of spies working together to gather evidence or undermine an enemy state.

sharia law

A law code based on the most literal and fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

standard of living

The general conditions under which people live; often measured by life expectancy, health metrics, income, assets etc.

Stasi

'Stasi' was the common shortened form of Staatssicherheit, or state security. The Stasi was East Germany's secret police.

State of the Union

The speech given by the US President to both Houses of Congress at the start of the year.

STDs

'Sexually transmitted diseases' that can be transferred during sexual intercourse.

stigma

A mark or association of disgrace, shame or guilt.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks/Treaty (SALT)

A series of formal agreements and corresponding treaties between the US and the Soviet Union to limit arms build-ups and curb the arms race.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)

A treaty designed to replace the stalled SALT II talks in the superpowers' efforts to reduce their stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)

A complicated defence system designed to shoot down incoming Soviet nuclear missiles.

Stunde Null

'Zero hour', a German term that described the situation Germany was in at the end of World War II.

subservient

Willing to obey or serve others without question.

subsist

To support oneself.

subversive

Behaviour and activities that deliberately and subtly seek to undermine a government.

Suez Canal Crisis

The ultimately unsuccessful attempt by Britain, France and Israel in late 1956 to take control of the Suez Canal from Egypt.

suicide bombers

Those who commit terrorist attacks by deliberately killing themselves in the process.

summit meetings

The highest-level meetings between heads of state.

superpowers

Countries that are the most powerful in the world due to their economic strength and military might; usually armed with nuclear weapons.

T

terrorism

The use of violence to achieve a political outcome.

terrorists

People who use violence to achieve a political outcome.

Tet festival

An important occasion in Vietnamese culture that marks the beginning of the Chinese New Year.

total strategy

P.W. Botha's plan for the white minority to resist the 'total onslaught' of apartheid's internal and external enemies.

totalitarian

A single-party, dictatorial system of government where the state has total influence over life within it. Two examples are Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

trade unions

Organisations established by workers to negotiate with management and governments over fair wages and conditions.

Truman Doctrine

Taking its name from US President Harry S. Truman, this foreign policy initiative marked the commencement of efforts to contain communism. This principle would dominate US foreign policy initiatives throughout the world during the Cold War.

Tsar Bomba

Detonated by the USSR on 31 October 1961 over the Barents Sea, the Tsar Bomba was the most destructive weapon ever devised.

tyranny

Similar to a dictatorship; a form of government where one individual has total power and usually rules brutally.

U

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)

'Spear of the People' was the armed wing of the ANC. Founded in 1961, it was responsible for a series of violent attacks on government installations. It was classified as a terrorist organisation in South Africa and abroad.

unconditional surrender

When the surrendering nation must submit to all of the conditions set by the victorious nation(s).

unilaterally

When a nation acts without agreement or consultation with other nations.

universal suffrage

An electoral system that gives the vote to all adult citizens regardless of gender, class, race or religion.

utopian

A vision of a perfect society that is usually unattainable or unrealistic.

V

Velvet Revolution

The term describing Czechoslovakia's peaceful transition from the Eastern Bloc to a democratic form of government.

Viet Cong

The name given by the South Vietnamese and US governments to the National Liberation Front. It came from the term 'Vietnamese Communists'.

Viet Minh

An organised fighting force founded in 1941 by Ho Chi Minh to fight the Japanese occupation.

Vietnam War

The war of reunification between North and South Vietnam, and their allies, from 1961–1975.

Vietnamisation

The process of withdrawing Western troops and giving primary responsibility for defending Vietnam to the ARVN.

W

war crimes

When soldiers commit acts in wartime that fall outside agreed laws of warfare.

war games

A military exercise or simulation in which the armed forces run mock battles to study and prepare for real conflict.

warmonger

A term of insult used against someone who looks forward to, or tries to encourage, warfare and conflict.

Warsaw Pact

Formed in 1955 by the Soviet Union and its Eastern allies, it promised mutual assistance and was the Eastern Bloc's response to the formation of NATO.

white supremacist

Supporting the belief that white people are superior to other racial groups.

witch-hunt

When an individual or group is unjustly targeted for prosecution and mistreatment.

women's liberation

A movement whose goal is to free women from oppression, particularly in male-dominated societies.

Y

Yom Kippur War

The conflict between Israel, Egypt and Syria in 1973.

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MODERN HISTORY **2**

The Cold War dominated the second half of the twentieth century. The United States and the Soviet Union (and their respective allies) engaged in a tense, decades-long ideological conflict, as well as an arms race and proxy wars fought across the globe.

At the same time, the traditional ideas, values and political systems of nations were being challenged by individuals, groups and movements.

Modern History 2 (a new edition of the popular textbook *Twentieth Century 2: Post-War Challenges*) explores the changing world order in the late-twentieth century and early twenty-first century. The book includes new content and features, and has been substantially reworked to ensure it is accessible and engaging to all readers.

FEATURES

- In-depth, compelling narrative.
- Engaging design with dual coding, infographics, maps and diagrams.
- Primary and secondary sources.
- 'Significant individual' profiles.
- Skills overview that shows students how to write like a historian.
- Chapter introductions containing key information.
- Chapter review pages with summary points.
- Glossary, timeline and index.

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