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Senior Modern History for Queensland

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For a list of websites and links related to this book, go to:
www.cambridge.edu.au/snrmodernqld

*This chapter could also be used when studying the Unit 4 topic 'Struggle for peace in the Middle East since 1948'.

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How to use this resource

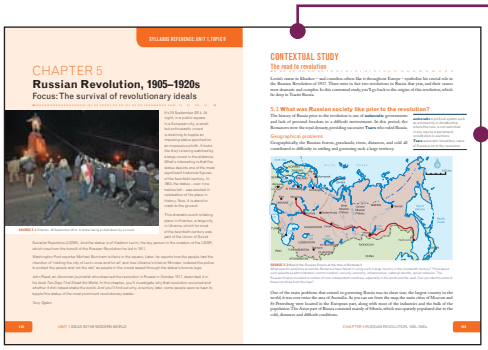
Unit openers

Each Unit of *Senior Modern History for Queensland* begins with an opener that contains the unit description and objectives from the syllabus, together with a list of chapters in the unit (including digital-only chapters) and a list of the contextual, depth and concluding studies for each chapter.



Chapter openers

Chapters open with a statement of the focus area for the topic, and an image and 'story' introducing a key theme to be explored within the chapter.



Contextual, depth and concluding studies

Each chapter is clearly divided into a contextual, a depth and a concluding study.

- The **contextual** study provides an introduction and background to prepare you for the focus area of the topic being examined in the chapter.
- The **depth** study explores a focus area of the topic by way of a key inquiry question. It contains one or two detailed **source-based inquiries**, in which a sub-question is explored primarily by way of source interrogation, supported where necessary by narrative text. Other sections within the depth study have a greater emphasis on narrative, but are still rich with sources for interrogation.
- The **concluding** study looks at the legacy of the focus area from the depth study, and draws connections between the chapter content and the current world.

Glossary terms

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

Margin icons

Margin icons indicate where additional digital material is available.

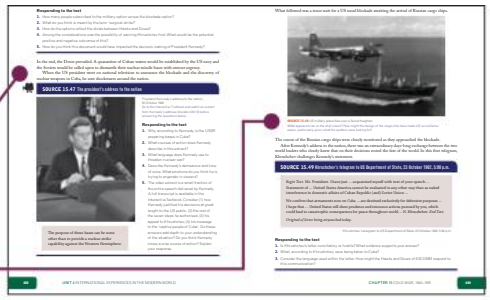
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Source interrogations*

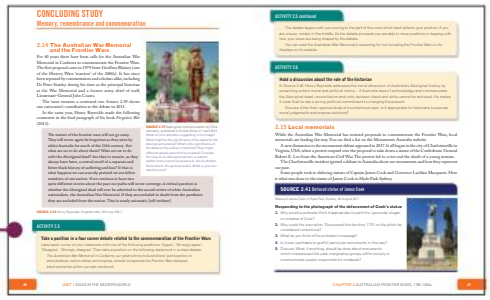


In line with the inquiry approach, chapters in this book contain a wide array of primary and secondary sources within all three studies. Most of these sources are presented for detailed interrogation, with a set of questions to guide you in analysis, interpretation and evaluation.

Almost all images in each chapter are treated as valuable sources for interrogation, with questions provided in a 'Responding to' format or within the image's caption.

In addition to textual and visual sources, interrogations also focus on audio and video sources, which you can access from the Interactive Textbook.

Activities*



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

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

End-of-chapter sections

At the end of each chapter you will find a chapter summary, outlining the main ideas covered in the chapter. In addition, review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word documents.



Additional digital chapters

The book contains five full digital-only chapters, available within the Interactive Textbook, or for offline use. This provides coverage of four extra syllabus topics, together with a detailed guide to historical inquiry.

Interactive Textbook



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

In addition, it includes:

- **video** and **audio** sources for interrogation
- additional **source interrogations** and **activities** to extend on material in the print book
- the ability to **zoom** in on some maps and images, for a closer examination

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About the authors



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Julie Hennessey is the Head of History at Brisbane Girls Grammar School and an executive member of the Queensland History Teachers' Association. Julie teaches Modern History including Australian history and world history. In 2017, Julie received the inaugural Dr Russell Cowie prize for Excellence in History Education in Queensland. She has contributed to a number of history textbooks.





Clayton Barry has taught history at various government high schools for the past 20 years. He lectures in history education for early childhood, primary, and secondary undergraduates. For most of his career Clayton has served as Head of Humanities.

Ryan Slavin is the Head of Humanities at Unity College on Queensland's Sunshine Coast. In addition to his departmental leadership, Ryan also leads the explicit teaching of literacy at the College. He has taught history and geography to students across Years 7 to 12 in several Queensland schools. He has been a member of the Executive for the Queensland History Teachers' Association for many years and is the editor of the Association's eJournal. Ryan also has over 20 years of martial arts teaching experience and manages a traditional Japanese martial arts school (dojo) on Queensland's Sunshine Coast.



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Sonia Ackerman would like to dedicate the Israel chapter to the memory of her parents, Joyce and Deane Webster who, despite their modest upbringing, believed in the virtues of a higher education. On the back of their second jobs and second mortgage, Sonia graduated from the Queensland University of Technology with a Bachelor of Business (majoring in Journalism) in 1995. In the years following, Sonia worked at several Central Queensland newspapers before taking up the management of Mackay City Council's public relations responsibilities. As a stay-at-home mother, Sonia acquired her Graduate Diploma in Teaching and thereafter worked six years with Whitsunday Anglican School teaching English and History. She is currently teaching casually in public and private schools across Brisbane and will shortly embark upon her research degree.

Mark Avery has taught History in middle years as well as Senior Modern and Ancient Histories. He has been employed by QCAA as a panellist in Central Queensland and Central Brisbane regions. His achievements include the creation of the Paterson Hall Heritage Museum at Rockhampton Girls Grammar School and delivery of numerous profession development seminars in history teaching in Central Queensland and Brisbane.





Susan du Rand is the Head of History at Brisbane Grammar School. Her background of over 25 years of teaching includes Senior History, English, French and Junior Secondary Humanities. Susan has worked as a History writer for Curriculum into the Classroom Project. Susan is a member of the Modern History District Panel and the Executive Committee of the Queensland History Teachers Association.

Peter Lawrence has been teaching history and other humanities subjects in Queensland state high schools for over 20 years. He was a part of the initial implementation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Queensland. Peter has been on regional panels for Modern History and Economics and has been on the Queensland State Panel for Modern History since 2012. His area of expertise is Aboriginal history with a particular focus on Queensland frontier violence and an interest in Kabi Kabi culture. Peter has been a researcher for a number of books published by the Ration Shed Museum at Cherbourg. His current substantive position is HOD Humanities and LOTE at Meridan State College.



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Tony Ogden is the teacher-librarian at Carmel College, Thornlands. He has extensive experience teaching Modern History in Queensland state and Catholic schools for over 35 years, as well as Ancient History, Economics and English. He has been a long-term member of District Review Panels during this time and has been responsible for writing and implementing Modern History work and assessment programs.





Kira Sampson is an experienced and passionate teacher of Modern History, currently working at Somerville House in South Brisbane. She has presented and written articles for the QHTA, HTAA, QCAA and Macquarie University's Big History project. She is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Queensland History Teachers' Association. Kira loves sharing the fascinating 'stranger than fiction' stories of History with her students; but believes that the greatest benefit of studying History is when students start to critique their own assumptions about the past, present and future.

Aaron Sloper is Head of Humanities at Livingstone Christian College, a co-educational P-12 College on the Gold Coast. After initially studying Law and Psychology, Aaron graduated in Secondary Education from the University of Queensland in 2009. Since then then he has taught Secondary English, Legal Studies, Geography, Ancient History and Modern History. He has experience lecturing and tutoring in the tertiary sector, and has worked as Head of Department since 2016. Aaron is passionate about seeing students develop a deep critical awareness of the world around them through the study of history and the humanities.



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Introduction

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

We authors hope that you had a close look at the book's cover. The striking image suggests a lot about today's world, about history and about this book.

Why is the cover significant?

It's a sad comment on today's world that this photo could have come from a number of countries. In this case, the location is Daraa, a city in southern Syria. The devastated city is a stark reminder of the violent destruction of dreams. In 2011, many people of Daraa rose up in revolt against the repressive Syrian Government. Part of the Arab Spring movement, the rebels held out against government forces for seven years in a civil war that engulfed much of the country. They had embraced a vision of a democratic future in which human rights were respected and freedom could flourish. Those same ideals of democracy, rights and freedoms that stirred the Arab Spring feature strongly in the book.

What is the scope of this book?

Across the chapters, you'll see powerful ideas and values as they emerge historically and variously flourish, are debated and sometimes suppressed. You'll study humanity at its best and at its worst.

Unit 1 sets the scene with a chapter on one revolution that signalled the beginning of modern history and another that 'shook the world' over a century later. Two other chapters depict contrasting responses to foreign challenges by Indigenous Australians and feudal Japanese.

Unit 2 highlights four major movements that aimed to challenge and change the status quo: Indigenous rights, freedom from colonial rule, gender equality and environmental sustainability. All four helped to create the modern world.

In Unit 3, the rich and contrasting national histories of Germany, the USA, China and Israel are explained. Major historical forces swirl around these countries – nation building, revolution, industrial modernisation, economic crisis, colonialism, civil war and international conflict.

Unit 4 projects the reader into a world transformed after World War II. Two chapters explore the Cold War, the conflict that produced a nuclear arms race that tapped into popular fears for decades. It also propelled Australia into a long and controversial military conflict in Vietnam. Then, just as the Cold War thawed, the world was shaken by the new and unexpected challenge of global terrorism – the focus of the final chapter in the book.

How are historical forces embedded in the cover photo?

Almost every historical force described above can be invoked to explain the photo of Daraa's devastation. It is not surprising that Syria – positioned astride a major trade route between Europe and Asia – has been a contested area for millennia. The name 'Syria' was applied by the Greeks in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquest. Over the centuries since, Syria was crossed, invaded and occupied by numerous groups – Romans, Byzantines, Mongols, Crusaders and Ottomans. It finally became an independent nation in 1946 after the turmoil

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of two world wars and international intrigue involving France and Britain. Put simply, Syria has been a stark victim of imperialism and national rivalries, intensified in modern times by fierce competition for its rich oil resources.

From 2011, the Syrian civil war pitted democratic aspirations against a repressive dictatorship; but the Syrian civil war reflected other powerful themes in modern history as well. It demonstrated the terrifying power of modern warfare, as well as the lingering shadow of the Cold War. Both the USA and Russia took sides in the conflict, and much of Daraa's destruction was caused by Russian naval and airborne bombardments. As well, there were Islamic State fighters in Daraa, injecting global terrorism into a complicated civil war. The horrors of the Syrian conflict prompted calls for war crime prosecutions, echoing the moral debates about warfare that emerged from World War II, the Holocaust and the Vietnam War. Moral questions also grew as millions of refugees fled from Syria amid the conflict, on a scale not seen since the aftermath of World War II.

Daraa represents a microcosm of the major forces of modern history – the focus of this book. As you study the chapters, you will not only see those forces at work, but will also discover many connections across the various chapters. For example, you might see that the revolutionary energy of France in 1789 was echoed in Russia in 1917. This revolution ushered in the world's first communist state and played a part in Germany's turmoil in the 1920s, China's revolution in 1949, the Cold War division of the world, India's post-independence foreign policy and Australia's role in the Vietnam War.

The photo highlights another vital point about history. The two young boys amid the ruins remind us that history is, at its heart, about people – their aspirations and actions, their achievements and failures, their triumphs and sufferings. Throughout the chapters, those experiences of people are centre-stage.

How is the Daraa photo a historical source of evidence?

Evidence is central to the process of historical inquiry that underpins this book, and the Daraa photo is an example of a historical source of evidence. Each chapter provides – within an overall historical narrative – opportunities for you to construct your own understandings and explanations of historical events and developments. In particular, you will explore the four key historical concepts of change, continuity, cause and effect. At times, you'll also apply the concepts of perspective, significance, empathy and contestability to produce your credible and well-supported explanations.

In your historical inquiries, a key process is the interrogation of historical sources to produce evidence. It's vital to ask deep, probing questions about historical sources. The Daraa photograph shows two boys in a rebel-held area of the city in September 2017, six years into the Syrian civil war. You could ask the following questions about it.

1. What are the main things you notice in this photograph?
2. How severely does this area seem to have been attacked?
3. What does the damage suggest about whether the rebels were winning the civil war in Daraa?
4. Could this particular photograph create a false impression of the overall situation in Daraa? How could you investigate that situation more fully?
5. Who might have taken this photograph, and why? What effect do you think the photographer might have intended by including the two boys in this photograph?
6. What could the boys be thinking and feeling as they view this scene? What would you need to know about the boys and the situation to answer that question with any confidence?

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7. How might the following have responded to this photo if they had seen it: rebels in Daraa; the Syrian Government; Syrian rebels fighting elsewhere in Syria; people elsewhere in the world, seeing the image online or in a newspaper?
8. What do you think and feel when you look at this photo? Can you compose a brief comment to express that? How challenging is it to form your own thoughts and feelings about such an extreme and unusual situation?
9. The rebellion that began in Daraa in 2011 was part of the 'Arab Spring' that developed in various Middle Eastern and North African countries. In Syria and other countries, citizens rose up against authoritarian regimes that denied democracy, suppressed dissent and crushed opponents. The Daraa rebels were one element of the Syrian civil war waged against the oppressive regime of President Bashar al-Assad, in power since 2000. Should citizens ever have the right to take up arms against an oppressive, authoritarian government, as the Daraa rebels did? If so, under what circumstances and conditions? If not, why not?
10. Many civilians were killed in Daraa during the civil war. Do you think it is defensible for a government to use military force to defeat citizens who are rebelling against it?
11. Much of the damage you see was caused by naval and airborne bombardment by Russian forces supporting the Syrian Government. Is it ever appropriate for a third country to intervene in a nation's civil war?
12. Research online to learn more about the current situation in Daraa, about the fate of the population, about the state of the Syrian civil war and about whether any participants in the conflict have been accused of war crimes.
13. Reflect on how you've handled questions 1–12. Why is it sometimes difficult to answer historical questions with certainty? How important is it to have background and contextual information about a source? Why is it vital to look beyond only one particular source? Is historical inquiry often likely to produce 'tentative answers' rather than 'the truth'? Should you continue to reflect upon and revise your tentative answers?

The 13 questions above have taken you from the simplest question of 'what can you see?' to sophisticated and complex questions about truth and morality. They remind you that historical events are complex and controversial, and that historical sources can prompt many probing questions not only about a particular situation but also about wider and deeper issues.

Why did the authors and publisher debate the cover?

When this book was being written, there was an interesting discussion among the authors and the publisher about whether the Daraa photo should be used on the cover, or at all. Some thought that the photo was an example of 'disaster porn' – that is, a photo that exploits the terrible suffering of some people – and was thus inappropriate. Others said that the photo was such a valuable and evocative historical source of evidence that its use was justified. In fact, at least one person said that they found the photo 'hopeful and optimistic', even while others found it 'distressing and pessimistic'. You might like to discuss this issue. Consider also that a different image – the 9/11 photo of New York (Source 16.7 in Chapter 16) – was rejected as a cover image as it was considered too painful and upsetting by one reviewer in particular. These debates about the cover image demonstrate key historical concepts of interpretation, perspective, empathy and contestability. In the topics you study in this book, you'll apply those concepts to other debates you encounter.

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How is the book structured?

- Chapter 1 is a digital-only chapter focused on the processes of historical inquiry.
- Chapters 2–16 have been structured to promote your knowledge of significant historical topics, your proficiency in history inquiry and your understanding of key historical concepts.
- Following a story-based introduction, each chapter provides a contextual study in which you will develop background knowledge of the chapter topic as preparation for the following depth study. The depth study is the major part of the chapter, immersing you in a process of source-based historical inquiry into a 'key question'. The depth study provides a rich combination of historical sources, deep questions, supporting narratives and challenging activities – all leading to your final decision-making and the communication of your answer to the key question. The concluding study can have a number of purposes: to take the topic's historical narrative further; to draw historical analogies and comparisons; to explore issues arising from your study of the topic; and to identify links between the historical topic, the modern world and your own life.
- Most of chapters 2–16 are included in the print book, but four of them are digital-only.
- In addition, all chapters have extra digital resources, including further activities, QCAA-style assessment questions, recommended reading and audio and video clips. The print pages indicate where extra material is available. We particularly encourage you to make use of the audio and video included in the Interactive Textbook as these are valuable source materials that cannot be included in a print book.

Why did we start with the photograph?

The cover photograph exposed you to the best of humanity, and the worst; to the idealistic optimism of democratic change and its brutal suppression by an entrenched dictatorship. The introduction took you back in time to the deep historical roots of the Syrian tragedy. You interrogated the image of two young boys standing amid the ruins of their city, and pondered the ambiguity of a scene that to some signals despair, but to others hope. You realised that, when exploring the past, you can yourself be drawn into the event – empathising with the thoughts and feelings of the people; making judgements about what you are witnessing; probing your own values about issues of freedom, authority and conflict.

In all these ways, this Introduction has signalled the shape and the purpose of the two years of Modern History that are ahead for you. The authors warmly invite you to take up the challenges in each chapter: to explore the past, to see links to the present and to develop the knowledge and skills to participate wisely and creatively in the future.

Brian Hoepper

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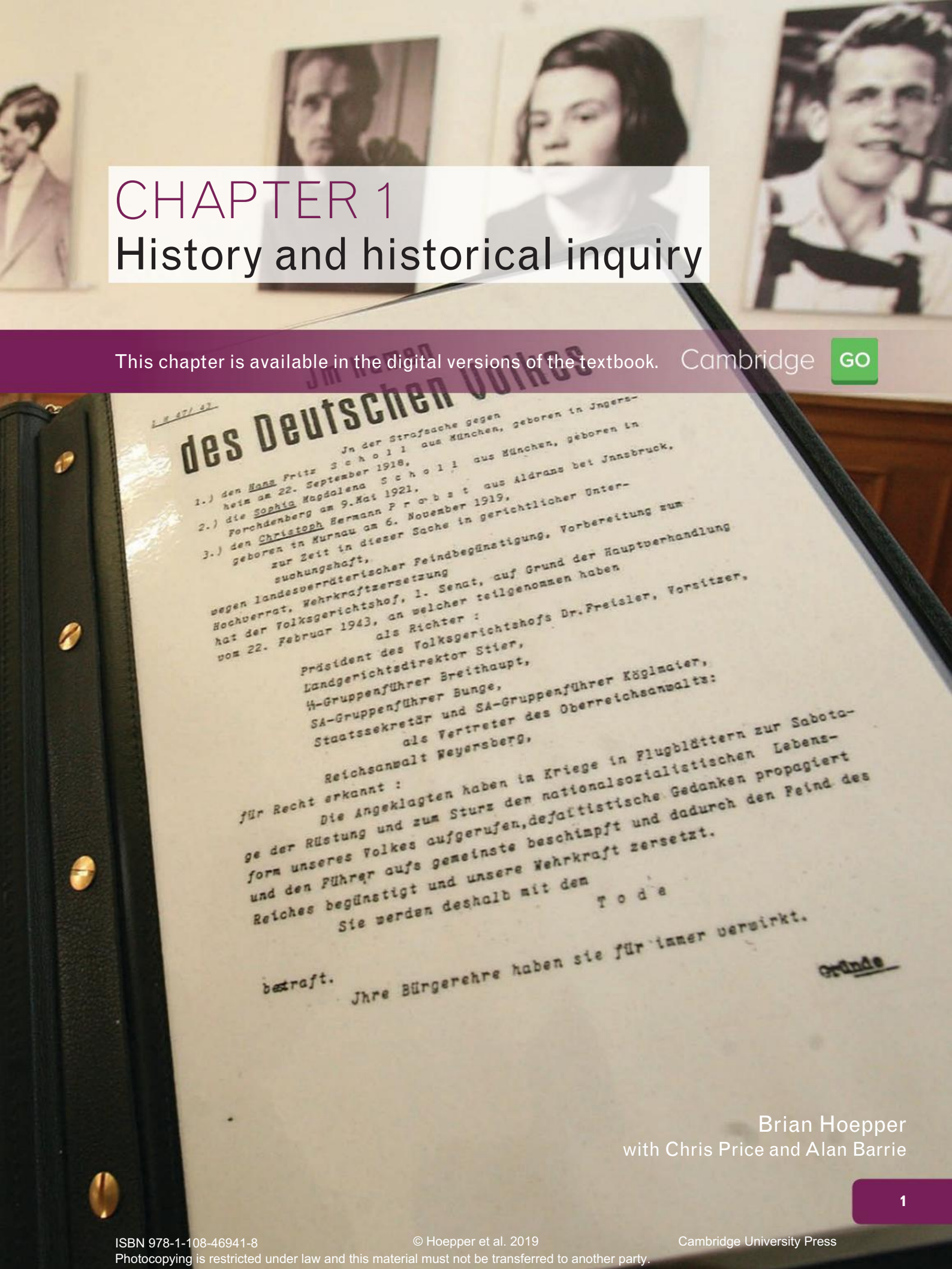
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CHAPTER 1
History and historical inquiry

This chapter is available in the digital versions of the textbook. Cambridge GO

Brian Hoepper
with Chris Price and Alan Barrie

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UNIT 1
Ideas in the Modern World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

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

Students will:

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues linked to ideas in the Modern World
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research associated with ideas in the Modern World
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about ideas in the Modern World
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument associated with ideas in the Modern World
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about ideas in the Modern World
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose about ideas in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 2 Australian Frontier Wars, 1788–1930s

- Contextual study: Aboriginal Australia and a clash of culture
- Depth study: What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?
- Concluding study: Memory, remembrance and commemoration

Chapter 3 French Revolution, 1789–1799

- Contextual study: The path to revolution
- Depth study: To what extent did the revolutionary ideals survive in the decade after 1789?
- Concluding study: Ongoing effects of the French Revolution

Chapter 4 Meiji Restoration, 1868–1912 (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

- Contextual study: Japan: The background to modernisation
- Depth study: What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?
- Concluding study: Reflecting on the 'Meiji' experience

Chapter 5 Russian Revolution, 1905–1920s

- Contextual study: The road to revolution
- Depth study: To what extent were the ideals of the Russian Revolution achieved?
- Concluding study: The legacy of the Russian Revolution

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CHAPTER 2
Australian Frontier Wars, 1788–1930s
Focus: Queensland Frontier Wars



SOURCE 2.1 Brisbane, 5 January 2011, a protest sign in Post Office Square. Dundalli, hanged near here 156 years before, is celebrated as an Aboriginal warrior and leader. In the background is the bronze statue of Sir Thomas William Glasgow, a celebrated military leader. Photograph from the personal blog of Neil Ennis, 5 January 2011.

On 5 January 2011, Post Office Square in Brisbane is the location of an unusual protest. A series of free-standing doors with puzzling, almost cryptic, messages are installed around the grounds of the square and one is placed at the main entrance to the General Post Office (GPO) on Queen Street. A central sign at the square claims 'Dundalli Murri hung! Defending our country'. Another sign calls upon passers-by to 'Walk in his track', while the sign at the GPO entrance asserts 'Unlocking 156 years of lies'.

Go back to 1855. On the morning of the same date in January, Dundalli, an Aboriginal warrior and leader, is publicly hanged on the site of the current GPO. His execution follows two trials on 21 November 1854 in which he is convicted of the murders of **pastoralist** Andrew Gregor (1846) and **sawyer** William Boller (1847). The evidence on which he is convicted is weak and flawed. The witnesses are unreliable. Dundalli, the accused, is a guardian of customary law and traditional authority. In that role, he sanctioned and led the deadly attacks. For the Aboriginal people, his actions are retributive justice via payback. To the colonial authorities, it is murder. It is white law that prevails.

Julie Hennessey

Reader advice: The following information, photos and clips contain images of deceased people. Graphic information is also described relating to massacres.

pastoralist a sheep or cattle farmer
sawyer someone who saws wood

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Aboriginal Australia and a clash of culture

The story of Dundalli is one episode among many on the Australian colonial frontier. However, it is a notable episode, reflecting a clash between Aboriginal and British ideas of justice and punishment. As the protest signs indicate, that clash is still fresh in the minds of some Australians today.

2.1 The story of Dundalli

Dundalli was born around 1820 into the Dalla tribe in the Blackall Range, roughly parallel to the Sunshine Coast. By the mid-1840s he was adopted by the Joondiburri people, the Traditional Custodians of Bribie Island, and moved over to this area. He became a key figure in Aboriginal politics and a leader in the struggle against European settlers in and around the area of Brisbane. Dundalli, however, was not rigid or inflexible in his enforcement of local law, and he did at times seek to conciliate good relations and to restrict conflict. Nevertheless, he never resiled from protecting his land and its people. During the decade prior to his death he figured prominently in accounts of conflict between European settlers and Aboriginal peoples. Before his arrest he had eluded the authorities for more than 11 years and during this time his reputation had grown. Historian Libby Connors, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, maintains that 'whites sought to connect him with almost every act of violence committed on the northern side of the Brisbane River' (2005). One reason for his mystique was his size. His trial judge Therry later wrote that Dundalli 'was the largest man I ever looked upon', being well over six feet (183 cm) tall, with 'formidable … ferocious strength'.

While considered a British subject, Dundalli as an Aboriginal person was not allowed to speak in his own defence at his trial. His evidence was deemed inadmissible as he could not swear an oath on a Christian Bible. He was therefore not afforded the opportunity to explain Aboriginal law and the basis upon which he acted. He couldn't explain that he was trying to protect his country and uphold his people's laws; that preserving the status quo was imperative and if the actions of individuals or groups disrupted the balance of life there must be reciprocal action to redress this and restore the balance. The legal process of the British justice system made traditional law and authority effectively invisible, and recast Dundalli, a traditional lawman, as a criminal and his enforcement of its customs as ferocious savagery. In turn, Dundalli displayed contempt for the court process. He tried to bribe the judge for sixpence, and later offered to row him back to Sydney if the judge would release him.

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

Native Police a special police force, comprising Aboriginal troopers under the command of a white officer, used to reduce Aboriginal attacks and resistance against settlers on the frontier

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

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

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SOURCES 2.2 A&B More photographs of the protest installation, 5 January 2011

A Post Office Square



B In front of the GPO



Photographs from the personal blog of Neil Ennis, 5 January 2011

Responding to the photographs and the story

1. Refer to the photographs. Who do you think might have erected the Dundalli protest installation in Post Office Square in 2011 and for what purpose? Explain how you arrived at your answer.
2. In the opening photograph (Source 2.1), you can see both the Dundalli protest sign and a statue of Australian World War I leader Major-General Sir Thomas William Glasgow. What thoughts are prompted by the juxtaposition of the sign and the statue?
3. Glasgow believed that each man must help to defend his country. To this end, he joined the local mounted infantry military as a teenager, thus beginning a military career that would see him knighted for his service. Knowing this, what might Glasgow have thought of Dundalli?
4. Based on the little that you know at this stage, how would you answer the question: Dundalli – savage murderer or noble warrior?

The following overview seeks to place Dundalli in a wider historical context.

2.2 Aboriginal Australia prior to the arrival of the British in 1788

The word **aborigine** comes from the Latin *ab origine,* which means 'from the beginning'. The word was initially used in Australia to refer to all Indigenous Australians. Most human history in Australia is Aboriginal history which extends to at least 65 000 years, or around 2600 generations. In contrast, non-Aboriginal Australians have been resident in Australia for around 230 years, or about nine generations. The *Sydney Morning Herald* quantified Aboriginal presence in Australia in these terms: 'if Aboriginal culture were 24 hours old, white people have been in Australia five minutes' (20 July 2017).

Aboriginal culture is hailed as the oldest continuous culture on Earth. Recent archaeological evidence suggests that Aboriginal people developed and utilised tools 20 000 years

aborigine comes from the Latin *ab origine,* which means 'from the beginning'. This Latin-derived English word was originally used to refer to any native people of any part of the world, and then more specifically to Indigenous Australians. The phrase 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' is now preferred as the collective term. In this book, the adjective 'Aboriginal' is used appropriately to describe; for example, 'Aboriginal person', 'Aboriginal land'. 'Aboriginal' is not used as a noun. The word 'Aborigine' is used only when it forms part of historical documentation.

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before any other civilisation – the world's oldest known stone axes were found in the Northern Territory in 2017. They developed religious beliefs and burial practices more than 10 000 years before similar ideas began to emerge in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In cave art, Aboriginal work pre-dates the famous cave paintings of bulls, horses and deer at Lascaux in France by nearly 20 000 years. In technology, archaeologists consider the boomerang a masterpiece of aerodynamics. Despite this, most Australian historians and textbook writers virtually ignored the place of Aboriginal people in Australian history until the 1960s.

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

By the time Europeans arrived in Australia, it is estimated that there were around 750 000 Aboriginal people living throughout the continent. There were several hundred separate groupings of people, speaking hundreds of different languages, living in their own territories and adapting to their local environment in what has been generally termed a 'nomadic hunter-gatherer' lifestyle. Recent scholarship (Bill Gammage, 2011; Bruce Pascoe, 2014) has challenged this view, citing evidence that the First Australians practised forms of agriculture and aquaculture, and utilised complex systems of land management involving fire.

Like the people living across Europe in the eighteenth century, Aboriginal Australians did not form one coherent or unified group of people, but were many different nations. They were widely dispersed in space, language, custom and culture. These discrete groups of people, however, had interlocking 'Dreamings' which laid down laws for all life. Every aspect of traditional Aboriginal culture involved links with the Dreaming and the land. Aboriginal people explain their origins through the Dreaming. They say that great ancestral beings created living creatures and all other aspects of the world from the land. When these ancestors were weary they sank back into the earth and their final resting places became special land features or sacred sites. The land, therefore, is spiritual and the Aboriginal people are a part of the land. Whereas white Australians might 'own' land, the Aboriginal people are 'owned' by, as well as custodians of, the land.

The social organisation of Aboriginal society before 1788 was based on a complex system of extended families and clans. At every stage in life, Aboriginal people knew what their duties and obligations were, and their position and role in the economic, social and spiritual life of the group. With slight variations, Aboriginal society had strict and very formal rules governing relationships, which included rules determining proper behaviour for hosts and visitors. These rules or protocols differed for family, friends and strangers, and influenced how they responded to newcomers. While the Aboriginal people had no written language, a rich tradition of ritual and storytelling was passed down through the generations. Much of this tradition was made up of stories of the Dreaming which kept the Dreaming traditions and laws alive and were told through song, dances, paintings and oral stories.

- Between 2012 and 2017 the federal government sponsored a campaign which sought to officially recognise Indigenous Australians in the Australian Constitution. What information from the material you have just read could be used to support this 'Recognise' campaign?
- What aspects of Aboriginal Australia would make it difficult for Aboriginal people to mount a unified and sustained offensive against the incoming British?
- What do you understand is meant by 'Aboriginal people are "owned" by, as well as custodians of, the land'?

2.3 The British claim possession of Aboriginal Australia

When Lieutenant James Cook commenced his first of three voyages to the Pacific in 1768, he received secret instructions from the British Admiralty that he was 'with the Consent of the Natives to take possession of the … Country in the name of the King of Great Britain'. Despite the fact that Cook had encountered

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Aboriginal people in his voyage along the east coast of Australia, no agreement was reached with any inhabitants. Cook erroneously concluded on little evidence that the country was in a 'pure state of nature' where the 'industry of man has had nothing to do with any part of it'. Under international (European) law of the time, people had no right to land they were occupying unless they were planting, tilling, improving or labouring on it. The land was thus deemed waste and unoccupied, or *terra nullius* ('land belonging to no one'). Accordingly, on 22 August 1770 Cook proclaimed the east coast of Australia the possession of the British Crown. As Richard Broome, an authority on Aboriginal history in Australia, observed, 'Aboriginal land rights were unilaterally dismissed, not so much through disregard for international law as through ignorance of Aboriginal life' (1988:93).

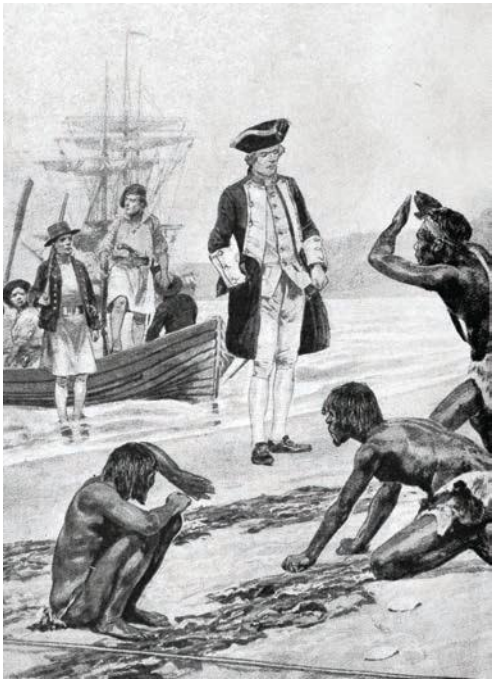
Eighteen years later, on 26 January 1788, Captain Arthur Phillip and the First Fleet, comprising 11 ships and around 1350 people – mostly convicts – arrived at Sydney Cove, the home of the Gadigal people of the Eora nation. Governor Phillip carried instructions 'to endeavour by every possible means to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

- What evidence is there to support the claim that initially the British had good intentions in their dealings with the Aboriginal people of Australia?

Below are two images depicting early contact between the British and Aboriginal people. The first depicts Cook's meeting with Aboriginal men from Tasmania in 1777 during his third voyage to the Pacific. The second shows Captain Arthur Phillip's meeting with Aboriginal people at Sydney Cove 11 years later in 1788.

SOURCES 2.3 A&B Depictions of British contact with Aboriginal Australians

A Illustration from an Australian secondary school history textbook, c. 1950s



Captain Cook's landing at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), 1777 during his third voyage to the Pacific.

B Illustration in WH Lang's *Australia*, 1907



Captain Arthur Phillip's encounter with Aboriginal Australians at Sydney Cove in 1788. Australian artist George Washington Lambert (1873–1930) contributed original illustrations to WH Lang's *Australia* (1907), which documents some of Australia's earliest history. It was part of the *Romance of Empire* series.

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Responding to the images

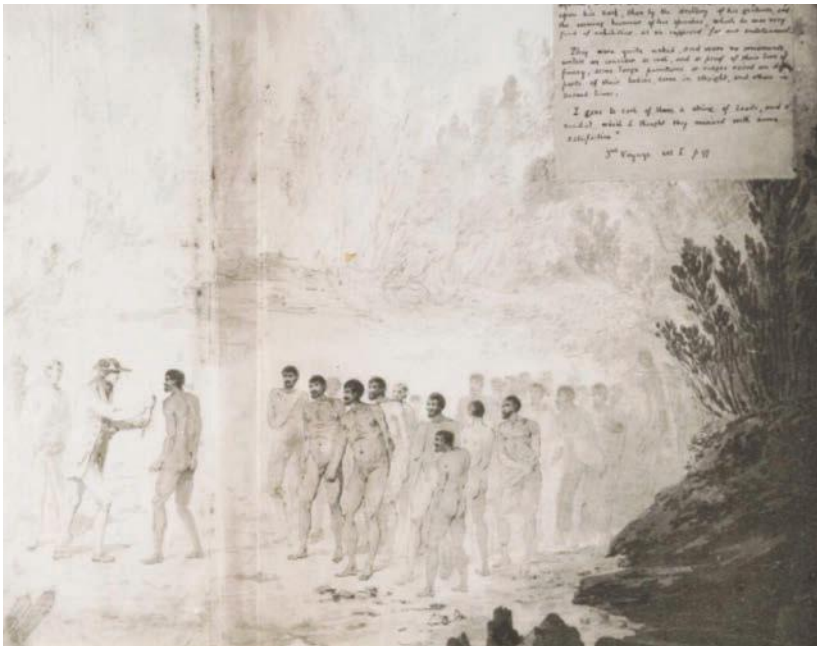
1. Compare the images in Sources 2.3A and 2.3B, noting the most significant similarities and differences.
2. Within each image, how has each artist created a strong sense of difference between the British and the Aboriginal people?
3. In the images, does 'different' also seem to imply 'unequal'? Explain your response.
4. Imagine the Aboriginal people did not actually look like this when they encountered Cook and Phillip. Why might the artist have chosen to depict them in this way?
5. Given the images were created long after the two events, how could the artists have known what the actual scenes looked like at the time?

The reaction of Aboriginal people to the British and later other Europeans was not uniform. Henry Reynolds and Bruce Dennett in their book *The Aborigines* (2002) identify four responses that were noted by a number of first explorers: 1) Observe from a distance and avoid; 2) Challenge the strangers with a display of force; 3) Greet peacefully; and 4) Attack. You might agree that the images in Sources 2.3A and 2.3B, while depicting a peaceful encounter, show Aboriginal people and the British quite differently. For example, while Cook and Phillip project an air of British superiority – a born-to-rule mentality – the Aboriginal people are portrayed as primitive, lowly and degraded. These secondary sources position the reader to see the British as commanding and authoritative, and the Aboriginal people as submissive natives. However, might there be an alternative interpretation? Note the 'hunched' posture of the Aboriginal people approaching Phillip.

- Discuss: In adapting that posture, might the Aboriginal people have been conveying something quite different from submission or 'kowtowing'?

Interestingly, there is a sketch done by someone who was there when Cook landed at Adventure Bay. This sketch, featured in Source 2.4, is by an anonymous author from Cook's third voyage (1776–80). It was part of a collection of drawings and charts made by Peter Fannin who was Master of the *Adventure* during Cook's second voyage (1772–75).

It is important to remember that all contact between the British (and later Europeans) took place on the land that was home to the Aboriginal people. Nevertheless, first contact experiences varied enormously because opinions differed among the various tribal groups over how best to deal with the white intruders – should they accommodate or resist them? This was the dilemma that confronted Dundalli and his people decades later. In the end, Dundalli decided to resist the Europeans and wage a war of retaliation against them for the shooting and poisoning of Aboriginal people.



SOURCE 2.4 Captain Cook's landing at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), 1777

Identify the two images from this section that depict the same scene, and decide which one is a primary and which one is a secondary source. Compare and contrast the two portrayals of the same event. What are the key similarities and differences? How might you explain the obvious discrepancies between these two images? Would you expect this sketch to be a reliable depiction of the event? (Consider author, date, purpose and its content.) Justify your answer.

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2.4 Significance of Dundalli's story and the 2011 protest in Post Office Square

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

Dundalli was part of what became known as the Frontier Wars – a series of conflicts that were fought between Aboriginal Australians and European settlers across the breadth of the continent, spanning around 150 years.

The paradox (and tradition) of overseas wars being publicly acknowledged and commemorated in Australia while internal wars have been ignored, and their very existence challenged, provides good reasons to study the nature and extent of these Frontier Wars.

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

Since the 1970s there have been a large number of books and articles published about frontier conflict in Australia; however, this was not always the case. Historian Henry Reynolds explains that in the first half of the twentieth century historians paid less attention to Aboriginal Australians and frontier violence, and instead celebrated the 'peaceful' nature of Australian settlement. 'The frontier became geographic or economic rather than political and martial. The settlers, in this new-scrubbed version, had pushed out into a legal and political vacuum' (2013:16–17).

It was the tension between the 'old history', which emphasised the peaceful and successful settlement of Australia, and the 'new history', which provided a more critical appraisal, and refocused on frontier violence among other things, which produced the 'History Wars' – an ongoing debate over how we see our past.

In 1993 Professor Geoffrey Blainey explained the different views of Australian history, coining the terms 'Three Cheers' history and 'Black Armband' history.

SOURCE 2.5 Blainey's view of Australian history, 1993

To some extent my generation was reared on the Three Cheers view of history. This patriotic view of our past had a long run. It saw Australian history as largely a success. While the convict era was a source of shame or unease, nearly everything that came after was believed to be pretty good ...

There is a rival view, which I call the Black Armband view of history. In recent years it has assailed the optimistic view of history. The black armbands were quietly worn in official circles in 1988, the bicentennial year ...

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The **multicultural** folk busily preached their message that until they arrived much of Australian history was a disgrace. The past treatment of Aborigines, of Chinese, of **Kanakas**, of non-British migrants, of women, the very old, the very young, and the poor was singled out, sometimes legitimately, sometimes not ...

My friend and undergraduate teacher Manning Clark, who was almost the official historian in 1988, had done much to spread the gloomy view and also the compassionate view with his powerful prose and Old Testament phrases ...

To some extent the Black Armband view of history might well represent the swing of the pendulum from a position that had been too favourable, too self-congratulatory, to an opposite extreme that is even more unreal and decidedly jaundiced.

multicultural relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within one society

Kanakas South Sea Islanders brought to Queensland, initially against their will, to work on sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century

Geoffrey Blainey, The Latham Lecture, published as 'Drawing Up a Balance Sheet of Our History', *Quadrant* No. 298, July–August 1993, pp. 10–15

Responding to Geoffrey Blainey

1. List the major features of the two rival views of Australian history as described by Blainey, i.e. the 'Three Cheers' view and the 'Black Armband' view.
2. Does Blainey believe that the 'Three Cheers' view needed to be challenged? Quote his words that support your answer.
3. Does Blainey believe that the 'Black Armband' view is a more appropriate view of Australian history? Quote his words that support your answer.

The media played a significant role in politicising the History Wars, which they cast in terms of the radical left supporting the Black Armband view and the moderate right supporting the Three Cheers view. Both sides of the debate accused each other of attempting to distort history and of taking an extreme view.

Early players in the History Wars were Prime Ministers Paul Keating (1991–96) and John Howard (1996–2007).

Here is cartoonist Peter Nicholson's view of the History Wars in 2003. In the cannons are historians Manning Clark (left) and Geoffrey Blainey (right). They are accompanied by their political allies, Labor Prime Minister Paul Keating (left) and Liberal Prime Minister John Howard (right).

SOURCE 2.6 The History Wars according to Nicholson, 2003



Cartoon by Peter Nicholson, September 2003

Responding to Nicholson's cartoon

1. Which of the following assertions better sums up the cartoonist's message? Justify your answer.
   a. The interpretation of Australia's past has been a cause of conflict among historians and politicians alike.
   b. Political leaders deployed history and historians as political weapons to advance their cause.

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During the 1990s both the Keating and Howard governments increasingly deployed history and historians as political weapons in their struggle over Australian culture, including the interpretation of the nation's past. In 2000, Howard's side of the debate gained a new ally in Keith Windschuttle, a former academic, history teacher, media sociologist and journalist. Between 2000 and 2002, Windschuttle published a series of articles and a book related to the frontier. In his second article, 'The Fabrication of the Aboriginal Death Toll' published in *Quadrant* magazine, Windschuttle claimed that 'mass killings of Aborigines were rare and isolated phenomena … Ever since they were founded the British colonies in Australia were civilised societies governed by both morality and laws that forbade the killing of the innocent' (2000).

However, a spate of more recent history books and articles written on the subject by professional historians who have devoted their professional lives to the issue suggest otherwise. According to Queensland historian Professor Raymond Evans, Windschuttle was 'only one persistent warrior obstinately marching to a different drummer than every other professional researcher in the field' (2004:153–4).

This chapter will help you engage in the debate over Australia's past and reach your own conclusions about the nature and extent of violence on the frontiers of European settlement. However before doing so, consider the following.

While the commentary surrounding the History Wars has often been acrimonious, it did generate some useful public debate – debate not only about the facts of the past, but also regarding the production of historical knowledge and the public role of history.

ACTIVITY 2.1

Hold a class discussion about the History Wars

Take both sides of the debate! Propose one good reason for each side of the following statements and share these with classmates. Then discuss which 'side' you prefer.

- Australian students should be shielded from history that is unduly critical of the nation's founders and pioneers.
- Australians should know about the terrible events which occurred during the occupation of the continent.

2.5 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you have learned about the life and death of Dundalli, one of the great warriors of the Dalla people in Queensland. Despite fighting to protect his land and uphold his law Dundalli was judged a murderer and executed and his life almost forgotten. Similarly, most historians seemed to forget the Frontier Wars for the greater part of the twentieth century. Rather, Australia was portrayed as having been settled peacefully. You've been reminded that Aboriginal culture is considered the oldest continuous culture on Earth and have discovered that historically it led the world in sea voyaging, the development and utilisation of tools, technology and art. The spiritual and cultural importance of the land to Aboriginal people has been noted, along with the British rendering the land *terra nullius* by Cook's proclamation in 1770. You've explored how the historical record has, at times, misrepresented the past through either distortion or omission, and seen how tensions between the 'old' and 'new' history resulted in the History Wars. These ongoing debates about how we see the past have generated useful discussions about the public role of history in the nation.

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DEPTH STUDY

What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?

The following depth study focuses on the history of the Queensland frontier through two case-studies: the Hornet Bank massacre and its aftermath, and the Kalkadoon resistance. A study of the Frontier Wars in Queensland is particularly significant as historians have concluded that it was the most bloody colony.

2.6 The Queensland Native Police Force

There is something striking, yet familiar, about this photograph of a young Aboriginal man, armed and in uniform. He holds an eye-catching pose, and exudes a quiet confidence and panache. Like those old World War I studio photographs of soldiers before they went off to war, he represents the humanity of an individual caught up in events beyond his control. And yet, he is both a perpetrator and a victim.

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

To the European settlers, on the outer edges of settlement, this trooper is an absolute necessity. Not only does he help protect their property and person but they perceive him as a useful tool in helping them to establish their toe-hold in remote areas and extend their **pastoral** operations. For the Aboriginal people he targets, he is part of a lethal fighting machine, a death squad, destroying Aboriginal law and wiping out whole Aboriginal clans and families.



SOURCE 2.7 A studio photograph of a young Aboriginal man armed and in uniform, undated
Does the existence of Aboriginal Native Police – commanded by Europeans, being used to pursue, punish and often kill other Aboriginal people – seem strange to you? Explain your response. Does the photograph suggest why young Aboriginal men would have wanted to join the Native Police Force? For what purpose might this photograph have been taken?

- In what ways were the Native Police part of a 'divide and conquer' strategy by the white authorities? Why might such terms as 'dispersing' – a euphemism for 'shooting to kill' – have been used in colonial Queensland by white authorities, colonists and newspapers? What skills and knowledge of the Aboriginal troopers could have been useful to European settlers and white authorities in dealing with Aboriginal people on the frontier? (Think beyond the text.)

pastoral land used for keeping or grazing sheep or cattle

Before investigating the Frontier Wars in Queensland, let's put them into a wider context.

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2.7 What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in Australia?

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

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

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

Paradoxically, the original conflict between white and black was largely unplanned. The confrontation was between two radically different groups, neither understanding the culture or value systems of the other.

Early on, conflict often came about as a result of mutual fear, anxiety and misunderstanding. Once settlement had been established, deaths occurred due to competition over property. When the settlers initially moved into Aboriginal territory their aim was not to exterminate the occupants. Economic motives primarily drove the settlers into the Aboriginal lands. To establish a livelihood, the settlers had to utilise the pasture and waterholes. Consequently, they were competing with Aboriginal people for vital natural resources. The competition for these resources resulted in atrocities committed by both sides – one side would attack and the other side would counter-attack.

Henry Reynolds (1981) claims that, initially, Aboriginal actions were more a matter of law enforcement than of war, but as European competition for land and water grew more intense and violence escalated, many Aboriginal groups moved from feud to warfare.

Many European settlers felt justified in handing out poisoned flour or poisoning waterholes, or shooting at Aboriginal people found anywhere in large numbers. This resulted in many massacres during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The best known massacre was at Myall Creek in northern New South Wales in 1838, where 28 Ngarabal people, many of whom were old men and women and children, were brutally killed. For the first and last time in Australian colonial history European settlers were found guilty and hanged for the murder of Aboriginal people. However, as historian Timothy Bottoms (2013:15) observes, it 'set in motion the settlers/squatters approach to violence on the frontier: *they kept quiet about it*' and so began 'Australia's "conspiracy of silence"'.

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

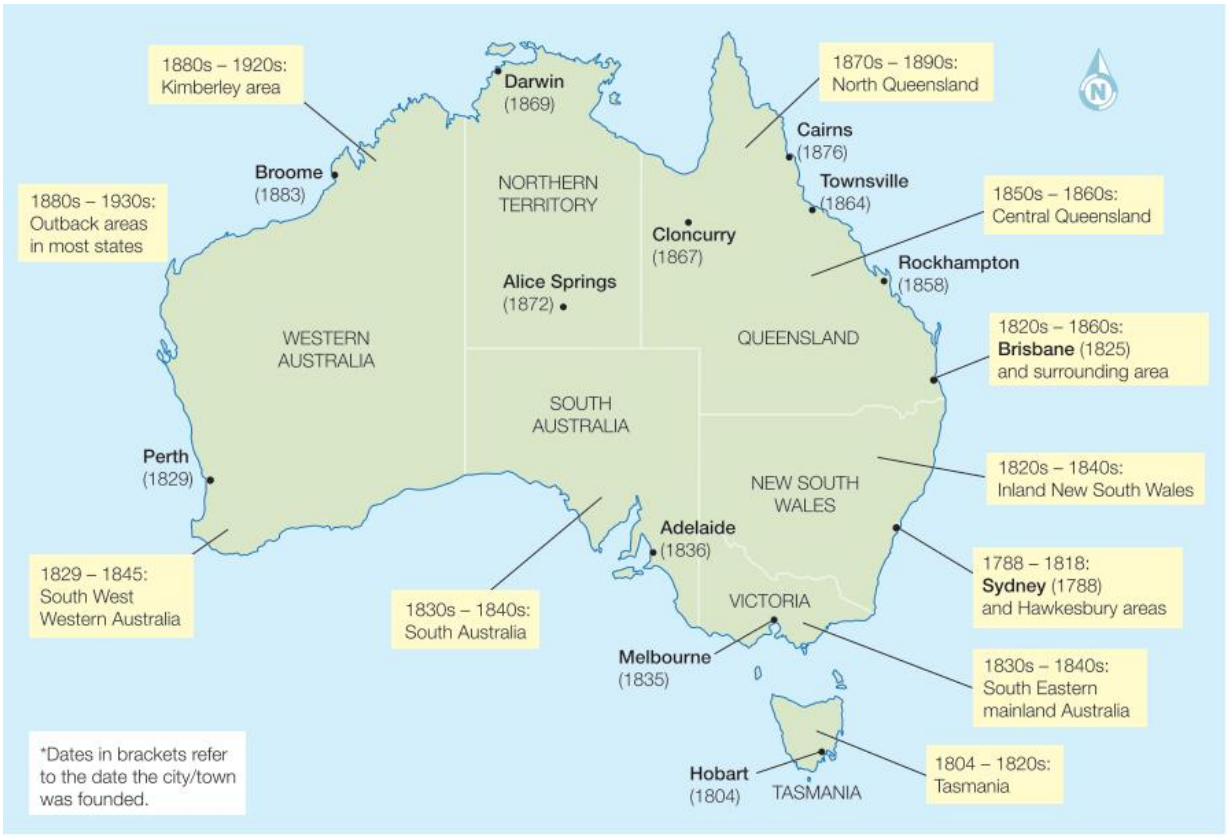
However, the almost total destruction of Aboriginal society in Tasmania during the first half of the nineteenth century is unparalleled in Australian history. It is estimated that the Tasmanian Aboriginal population was around 6000 when European settlement was first established in 1803. This population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

Europeans were not the sole perpetrators of atrocities and violence on the frontier. Violence was a two-way street and Aboriginal warriors were responsible for initiating a number of massacres. The three largest

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massacres of Europeans by Aboriginal people in Australian colonial history took place in Queensland – the Hornet Bank massacre in 1857 (11 killed), the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre in 1861 (19 killed) and the massacring of 14 European survivors after the wreck of the ship *Maria* in 1872 at Bramble Reef near the Whitsunday Islands.

The pattern of frontier conflict ran parallel to the pattern of settlement, as seen in the map below.



SOURCE 2.8 Map of frontier violence throughout Australia, 1788–1930s

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

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

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

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While the Australian frontier presents a violent and protracted contact history, the contact experience was not just simply white against black. Collaboration between the races was widespread and neither the Europeans nor Aboriginal people can be presented as a united group. There are many stories of Aboriginal troopers from the Native Police shooting other Aboriginal people, wives of troopers warning tribal people of where the detachment was next patrolling and Europeans 'rescuing' Aboriginal babies. These stories illustrate the complexity of the contact experience between Aboriginal people and the European settlers.

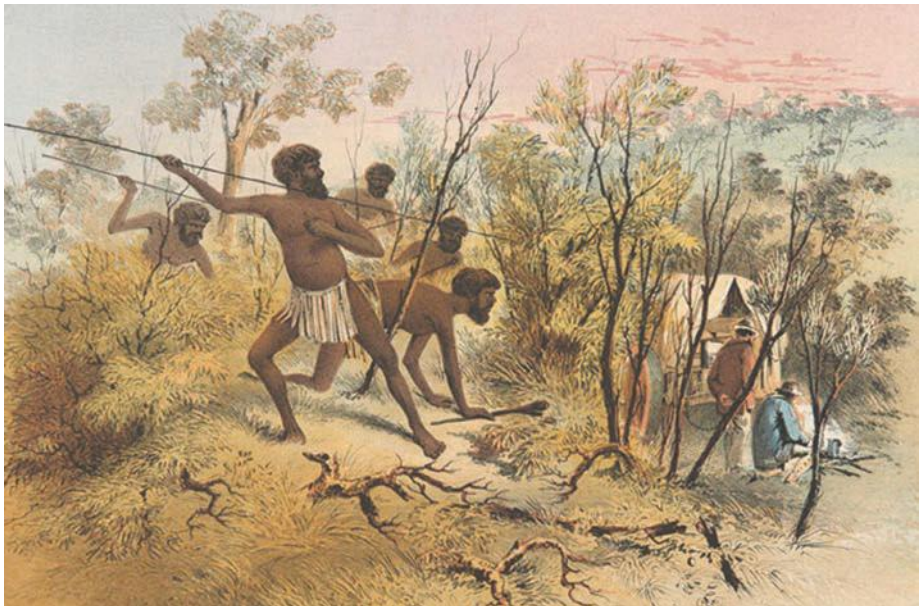
- Conduct further research on one of the following notable events related to frontier conflict: the Tasmanian Black War (1826–31), the Myall Creek massacre (1838) or the Coniston massacre (1928). Find out what happened, why it happened, who was involved, and what its outcome and significance was.

Depictions of violence on the frontier

Here are two pictures which depict two different perspectives on frontier violence. The paintings are by Australian artist Samuel Thomas (S.T.) Gill (1818–1880).

SOURCES 2.9 A&B Contrasting depictions of frontier violence

A *Attack on Store Dray* by S.T. Gill, c. 1865



B *The Avengers* by S.T. Gill, c. 1869



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Responding to the paintings by S.T. Gill

1. Do these paintings suggest that there was a cycle of violence and retribution on the Australian frontier? Explain your response.
2. How do the words in the captions – 'attack' and 'avengers' – influence your thinking about the incidents depicted? Would it make any difference to your reading of these paintings if the first picture was captioned 'avengers' and the second 'attack'?
3. Would there be a danger in generalising, from these two paintings alone, about the nature of and motives for frontier violence? Explain your response.
4. Can you think of an unwarranted generalisation that could be made, based on one or both of these paintings?
5. Bearing in mind your responses to the questions above, how useful are these two paintings in providing an account of frontier violence?

2.8 The Queensland Frontier Wars

Frontier conflict in Queensland was the most violent and protracted of all the Australian colonies. Timothy Bottoms, drawing on the work of Raymond Evans, claims that it is very likely that the overall death toll for Aboriginal people in Queensland may be in the range of 48 000 to 50 000 men, women and children. This is indeed a startling revelation when you consider that Henry Reynolds was savaged by the conservative media (*Quadrant* magazine and the Murdoch press) for suggesting in 1981 that 20 000 Aboriginal people were killed Australia-wide between 1788 and the 1930s. While the exact numbers can never be fully known, it is still worth asking the question: Why were the Frontier Wars in Queensland bloodier and more drawn out than in other Australian colonies*?* An exploration of this question is available in the Interactive Textbook.

ACTIVITY 2.2

GO

Rank reasons for the proliferation of Queensland frontier violence in order of importance

Go to the Interactive Textbook for information and an activity on the following nine key reasons for the proliferation of frontier violence in Queensland:

1. Large size of Queensland
2. Number of Aboriginal people
3. Pace of pastoral occupation
4. Mining
5. Western racist theories
6. Native Police Force
7. Queensland Government
8. Control of Indigenous affairs and land policy
9. More advanced guns.

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The settlement/invasion of Queensland begins

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

The attitudes and perceptions of European settlers towards the land they occupied and the Aboriginal people they encountered were very much shaped by the beliefs and values of their society. Four years after free settlement was permitted in Queensland, this is what the *Moreton Bay Courier* of 1846 had to say. As you read, note the words that are associated with Europeans and those associated with Aboriginal people.

SOURCE 2.10 Settler perceptions of themselves and of Aboriginal people in 1846

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

Moreton Bay Courier, 1846. Cited in *Lifelong Learning*, radio program, ABC Radio, Sydney, 16 October 2005

Responding to the *Moreton Bay Courier*'s account

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

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

2. How would such attitudes help justify the occupation of the land?

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

Historian Timothy Bottoms explains.

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SOURCE 2.11 Influential ideas creating dangerous mindsets

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

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

Responding to Timothy Bottoms' explanation

Create a table similar to the one below and complete.

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

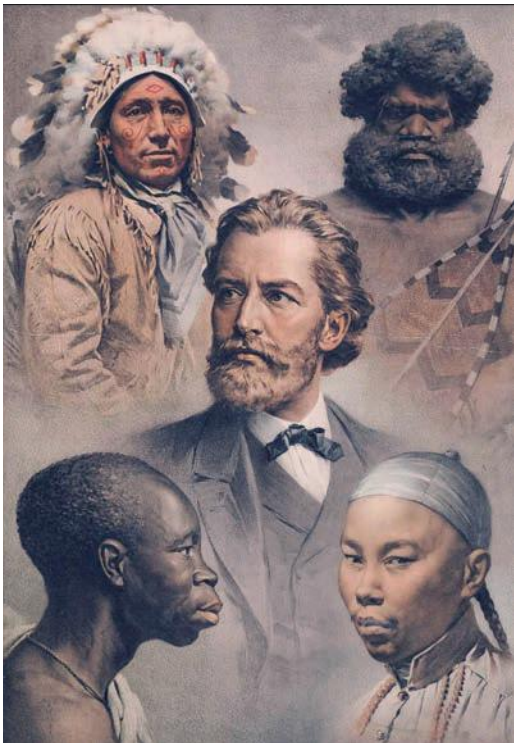
These racist ideas were shared by all of the dominant European powers during their imperial expansion in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The image in Source 2.12, which featured in a Dresden-based German magazine, encapsulates some of these ideas. The image depicts five men representing five different 'racial' groups: American 'Indian', Australian 'Aborigine', African, Asian and European (in the centre).

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

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

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SOURCE 2.12 'The five races of mankind', 1911



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

Responding to the image

1. Which of these ideas – the Great Chain of Being, polygenism, phrenology, and Social Darwinism – are evident in this image? Explain your reponse.
2. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the common hierarchical sequence for the five 'races' was: European (highest type) followed by Asian (often referred to as Mongol); American 'Indian'; African and finally the Australian 'Aborigine'. Does this image reflect such a hierarchy? If so, how?
3. Why might the idea that humanity is divided into separate and distinct 'races' be both useful and dangerous in a settler society?
4. These ideas from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have now been debunked. On what grounds have these ideas (the Great Chain of Being, polygenism, phrenology, and Social Darwinism) been discredited and shown to be false? Think beyond the text.

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

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

SOURCE 2.13 Aboriginal perspective of European settlers in the early 1840s

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

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

Responding to Connors' account

1. On what basis might the Aboriginal peoples of south-east Queensland have formed the view that European settlers were 'base', 'ignorant' and 'unlawful'?
2. Why would Aboriginal people be worried that Europeans had 'powerful technology' but 'no sense of proportion'?

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3. Does your study of contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans in this chapter so far support this Aboriginal peoples' view of settlers? Explain your response.
4. What evidence might exist that could allow Connors to know what Aboriginal people had 'agreed' about the settlers and what 'question' they posed?

The sentiments expressed in Connors' account (Source 2.13) echoed those of the weekly newspaper, the *Queenslander* in 1880, 40 years after free settlers first moved into Queensland.

SOURCE 2.14 How Aboriginal people are dealt with in Queensland, 1880

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

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

Queenslander, 1 May 1880

Responding to the article from the *Queenslander*

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

While the article from the *Queenslander* refers to Aboriginal resistance, Queensland Aboriginal people have largely been painted as the passive victims of European brutality and exploitation. And yet, according to historian Henry Reynolds, 'while suffering disproportionately, Aboriginal clans levied a considerable toll on pioneer communities – not just in death and injury but in property loss and prolonged anxiety as well' (1981:5).

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Attacks upon settlers' property in Queensland were extremely serious and widespread. History writer and educator Robert Armstrong claims that the early pastoralists in the Maranoa calculated their collective losses as 6000 cattle and 2000 sheep over 18 months in 1849–50, while 2000 head of stock were taken after an attack on May Downs Station in Central Queensland in 1866. Dr Noel Loos of James Cook University states that between 1868 and 1870, a total of 299 runs or 46 864 square kilometres were abandoned in North Queensland, while researcher Robert Orsted-Jensen maintains that prior to 1900 the number of Europeans and their associates (Aboriginal assistants, Chinese and Melanesian labourers) killed by Aboriginal people in violent skirmishes on the Queensland mainland was over 1250.

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

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

SOURCE 2.15 Map of settlement and massacre sites



Responding to the map

1. On the map find the location of Australia's three largest massacres carried out by Aboriginal people against European settlers: Hornet Bank Station, Cullin-la-Ringo Station and the Whitsunday Islands (site of the shipwrecked *Maria*).
2. What common feature found on the map explains why the pastoral stations of Hornet Bank and Cullin-la-Ringo were established there?
3. What specific factors might have led to conflict between settlers on these stations and the Aboriginal people nearby?
4. In the mid-1850s, Hornet Bank Station was on the fringes of European settlement. In order to get major supplies, pastoralists would need to travel to Ipswich or Brisbane. This would take a three-day horse ride. Calculate the distance from Hornet Bank Station to Brisbane (you may need to use Google Maps or similar to work out the distance).
5. When European settlers arrived on the frontier they were faced with a host of challenges. Make a list of the top 10 challenges that they would likely have faced. Use the map as a starting point for your initial ideas.
6. By 1861, Cullen-la-Ringo was on the fringes of European settlement. Calculate how far the frontier had moved in the four years between the Hornet Bank massacre (1857) and the Cullin-la-Ringo massacre (1861).

In this first case study you are going to investigate the Hornet Bank massacre and its aftermath.

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2.9 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What happened at Hornet Bank in October 1857?

On 27 October 1857, 11 Europeans, including eight members of the Fraser family, were massacred at Hornet Bank pastoral station on the Dawson River in central Queensland by the Jiman people (also spelt Yiman and pronounced Yee-man). The Jiman people have been described by Gordon Reid as the 'cock of the walk' – that is, they ruled the roost, asserting their dominance over other Aboriginal groups in the area. They had a reputation for being belligerent and were allegedly of superior physique to other groups of the region.

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

In the first five years of European settlement, the Jiman tolerated the presence of the white invaders peacefully; however, by mid-1857 a cycle of violence had become commonplace. An imminent attack on one of the stations by the Jiman was planned.

The attack and subsequent massacre

SOURCE 2.16 A recount of the Hornet Bank massacre of 1857

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

Patricia Clarke, 'Turning fact into fiction: the 1857 Hornet Bank massacre', *Margin: Life and Letters in Early Australia*, April 2005

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Responding to the account of the massacre

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

The Hornet Bank massacre confirmed European preconceptions of Aboriginal people: that they were barbaric and treacherous brutes devoid of conscience and morals.

The *Moreton Bay Courier*, two and a half weeks after the massacre, reflected on the possible motives for the Jiman people's brutal actions.

SOURCE 2.17 *Moreton Bay Courier* on the motives for the Hornet Bank massacre

Massacre by the Blacks

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

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

Responding to the *Moreton Bay Courier*

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

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

By piecing together scattered fragments of evidence he advances the following explanation.

SOURCE 2.18 Henry Reynolds on Jiman motivation for the Hornet Bank massacre

The Honourable M.C. O'Connell told the 1861 Select Committee on the Native Police that the killings were a consequence of the young men 'having been in the habit of allowing their black boys to rush the gins' [derogatory name for an Aboriginal female] in neighbouring camps. Archibald Meston, the Queensland 'expert' on Aborigines, heard from a friend of the surviving Fraser son that the white employees of the family had whipped and raped two local Aboriginal girls. The story was confirmed by W. Robertson who claimed to have discussed the events of 1857 with old Aborigines who as youths had been present at the time. They reported that

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after the women were raped the local clans attempted to use sorcery against the offending Europeans. When that appeared to have no effect they sent an old woman to the Frasers to explain the circumstances and seek redress. When no action was taken by the whites the clans determined on revenge. So the evidence concurs on the importance of sexual attacks by employees of the family. But one account directly implicates the young Fraser men. J.D. Wood explained in a memo to the Colonial Secretary that when arriving in Queensland he made enquiries about Hornet Bank. He was told by a Mr Nicol who had been in the Native Police in 1857 that Mrs Fraser had repeatedly asked him to reprove her sons 'for forcibly taking the young maidens' and that in consequence she 'expected harm would come of it, that they were in the habit of doing so, notwithstanding her entreaties to the contrary'. Several other informants told Wood that the Frasers were 'famous for the young Gins' and all agreed 'that those acts were the cause of the atrocity'.

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

Create a table like the one below and complete. (Note that extra information has been provided about each source where it is available.)

Source	Evidence provided which sheds light on Jiman motives
Maurice Charles O'Connell (1812–1879) Queensland Member of Parliament	
Archibald Meston (1851–1924) Journalist and Queensland Member of Parliament	
W. Robertson (n.d.–1914) Pastoralist	
J.D. Wood (no dates available) Queensland Member of Parliament	
Lieutenant Francis Nicol (no dates available) Officer in charge of a Native Police detachment in the Upper Dawson	

Responding to the source

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

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

The Jiman sought to commit acts so outrageous and horrifying that the invaders would withdraw. Hornet Bank was an ideal target: it was the farthest station to the west along the Dawson River, it was easily approachable on foot, there were more females than at any other station in the district, and the inhabitants of the station did not fully secure their homestead at night. As Bruce Elder notes 'as so often happened on the frontier, the people who were to become the target of the Aboriginal people's attack had not been involved in the crime they were attempting to avenge' (1998).

The response of colonial society to the Hornet Bank massacre

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

SOURCES 2.19 A–D Colonists responding to the Hornet Bank massacre

A *Moreton Bay Courier*, 14 November 1857

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

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

B *The North Australian*, 17 November 1857

> **Ipswich, Tuesday, November 17, 1857**
> In dealing with these wretches ... we should strike no blow till we can strike a decisive one, and one which will communicate a salutary impression of our power; small combats and dawdling operations would leave the matter worse still, for they would wear out the strength of men and horses, and leave the object unattained ... to capture the murderers, or to compel to submission the tribes now proved to be of a most sanguinary [bloodthirsty] and violent disposition ...

The North Australian, 17 November 1857, p. 3

C George Serecold, 31 December 1857

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

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

*George Serecold: one of the armed squatters from neighbouring Cockatoo station who set out to hunt down the Jiman perpetrators

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D George Lang, 31 March 1858

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

Recount by budding journalist George Lang*, 31 March 1858

Responding to the primary sources

1. Study Sources 2.19C and 2.19D (the letters written by Serecold and Lang). Consider the type of source, author, date, purpose, language, content (fact versus opinion). Do you think these sources provide reliable evidence about the European responses to the massacre? Do they corroborate each other in any way? Explain your responses.
2. To what extent do these four primary sources support the following hypothesis: *Colonists sought retributive justice for the crimes committed at Hornet Bank by the Aboriginal perpetrators*. (Retributive justice holds that the best response to a crime is a punishment proportional to the offence.) Consider each source in turn.
3. Write a paragraph response which addresses the hypothesis. In your response use evidence from the sources to support your conclusion. Endeavour to integrate evaluation of sources into your answer. You can do this by credentialing your sources and commenting on aspects of the source which heighten or decrease its reliability.
4. It cannot be disputed that serious and heinous crimes were committed by the Jiman people against the white settlers at Hornet Bank, and accordingly, the perpetrators needed to be punished. However, this punishment should have been applied within the normal processes of the law – investigation, arrest and trial. This did not happen. Why might such legal processes not have been pursued?

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

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

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

The first source, a feature article entitled 'The name of William Fraser made the natives cringe', appeared in the Saturday *Courier Mail* in 1950, 93 years after the Hornet Bank massacre.

SOURCE 2.20 A view of William Fraser in 1950

The name of William Fraser made the natives cringe

J. E. MURPHY

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

Courier Mail, 25 November 1950, p. 2

Responding to the *Courier Mail* feature article

1. Does this extract from the feature article appear to approve or disapprove of William Fraser? Provide evidence to support your answer.
2. Given what the author wrote, do you think he had read the accounts of Serecold (Source 2.19C) and Lang (Source 2.19D)? Explain your response.

This perspective comes from Bruce Elder, author of *Blood on the Wattle* (1998), a book about massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians.

SOURCE 2.21 Another view of William Fraser in 1998

For a couple of decades, from 1857 until the early 1880s, William 'Billy' Fraser looked as though he might be writ large in the history of central Queensland. He became a talking point in bars, around the camp fire, and in the shearing shed. He became a symbol and a focus for all the misguided frontier animosity which whites felt towards Aboriginal people. The image

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that was kindled and fuelled by frontier bigotry was that of a man who, standing at the grave of his mother, sisters and brothers, raised a tomahawk aloft and swore he would not rest until its razor-sharp blade was embedded in the skull of the Aboriginal people who had killed his family. To the minds of the white settlers on the frontier it was an image of heroism, justifiable revenge and a kind of romantic vengeful wrath which they endorsed and applauded. The fact that the legend also embraced the killing of at least one hundred Aboriginal people ... seemed not to tarnish the heroic image ... History plays strange tricks with fame and infamy. Billy Fraser is forgotten today. The details of his massacres are blurred and smudged by time. The memory of his atrocities has conveniently slipped from white consciousness ... [and he] has been expunged from the history of Queensland.

Bruce Elder, *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and Maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians Since 1788*, 1998, p.135

Responding to Bruce Elder

1. Bruce Elder mentions two more aspects of the legend (or image) of Billy Fraser that were cultivated on the frontier. Identify these two aspects.
2. According to Bruce Elder why were Billy Fraser's exploits against Aboriginal people applauded by white settlers on the frontier?
3. What might explain why Billy Fraser has ceased to be considered a frontier hero? (Think about those developments that have occurred in civil society over time which might render a former frontier hero an object of derision.) You will need to think beyond the text.

The revenge against the Jiman by Billy Fraser and others without prosecution 'helped to set the pattern for white attitudes and colonial government policy towards the Aborigines of Queensland for forty years' (Reid, 1982:ix). Dispersal and killing became the established method of dealing with Aboriginal people in Queensland. As a result of a series of punitive expeditions by Native Police and settlers at least 150 Aboriginal people died – with a possible total of around 300. The effect of such numbers on small clan groups was catastrophic – it left the survivors vulnerable to further attack, greatly diminished their ability to hunt food, reproduce, and carry out ceremonial obligations.

SOURCES 2.22 A–C Impact of the reprisals on Jiman people

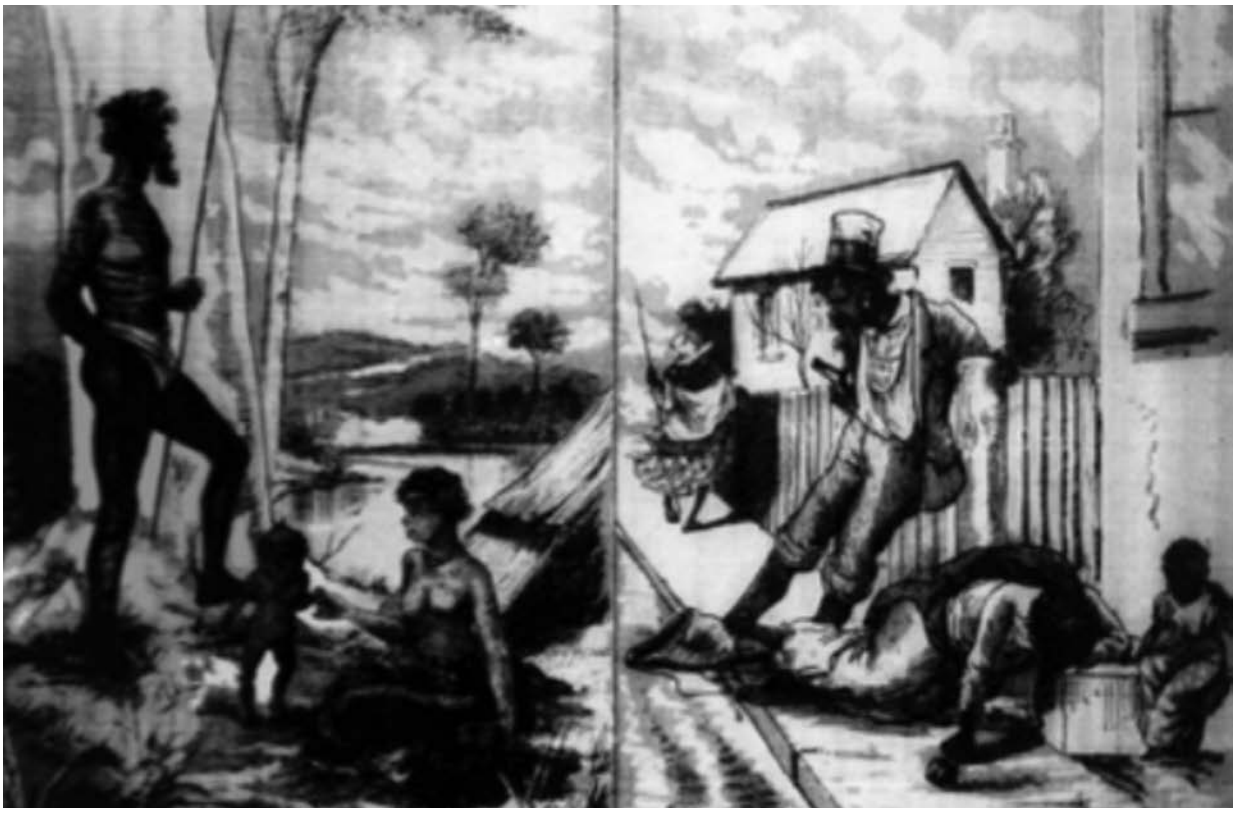
A History writer Tony Matthews, 1986

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

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

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B *Queensland Figaro* compares Aboriginal people pre- and post-colonisation, August 1887



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

C The fate of the Jiman according to Gordon Reid, 1892

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

Gordon Reid, *A Nest of Hornets*, 1982*, p. 178

Responding to the sources about impacts

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

Source	Aboriginal people before colonisation	Aboriginal people after colonisation	Causes of 'demise'
2.22A			
2.22B			
2.22C			

*Reid reached his conclusion about the fate of the Jiman people based on a 1979 Department of Aboriginal Affairs national survey of Aboriginal communities that sought the names of tribes and tribal languages spoken.

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1. What is each source's attitude to the impact of European colonisation and 'civilisation' on Aboriginal people? Are the sources critical of Aboriginal peoples, or white civilisation or both? Or are they neutral? Explain your response.
2. We now know that the Jiman people did survive. Professor Marcia Langton (1951–) is the most well-known descendant of the Jiman, and the Jiman were part of the Bidjara language group, which has been revitalised and is being taught in local schools in Central Queensland. Knowing this, what does it tell you about the problematic nature of historical sources and the challenges of writing history?

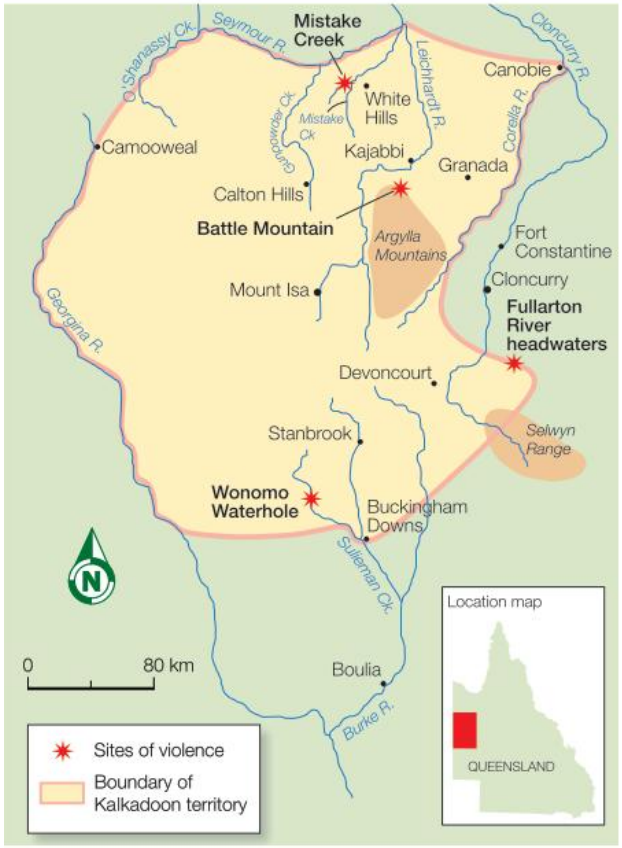
2.10 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Kalkadoon people resist European settlement?

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

From the 1860s increasing numbers of European pastoralists moved north and into territory that had been occupied by the Kalkadoon people for thousands of years. This territory, located in north-west Queensland, was centred around the site of modern-day Mount Isa. The extent of their territory and the size of the population made the Kalkadoons one of the largest Aboriginal groups in Australia. Before European occupation it is estimated that the Kalkadoon tribe consisted of 2000 people. Twenty-one years later, only 101 could be located. Today their descendants number more than 3000.

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

SOURCE 2.23 Kalkadoon territory



Map showing Kalkadoon territory

Responding to the map

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

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

Kalkadoon people

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

SOURCES 2.24 A–D Comments on the qualities of the Kalkadoons

A Raphael Cilento and Clem Lack, 1959

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

R. Cilento and C. Lack, *Triumph in the Tropics*, 1959, p. 187

B Hector Holthouse, 1974

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

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

C Robert Armstrong, 1980

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

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

D Al Grassby and Marji Hill, 1988

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

A. Grassby and M. Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 1988, p. 246

Responding to comments on the Kalkadoons

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

Compare the following photograph of the Kalkadoon warriors with the assertions from the secondary sources above.

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SOURCE 2.25 Photograph of two Kalkadoon warriors

Responding to the photograph

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



Contact and conflict

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

SOURCE 2.26 Armstrong explains the cause of the violence between the settlers and the Kalkadoon people

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

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The Kalkadoons found their food resources being depleted; bandicoots, porcupines, pelicans, opossums, kangaroos, wallaroos, emus and turkey-bustards were dwindling in numbers, thus forcing the Kalkadoons into a serious economic position.

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

Responding to Armstrong's explanation

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

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

SOURCE 2.27 Alexander Kennedy – arch foe of the Kalkadoons

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

A. Grassby and M. Hill, *Six Australian Battlefields*, 1988, pp. 257–60

Responding to the description of Kennedy

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

The Kalkadoons' feelings towards Kennedy are clearly revealed in one of their war songs which was directed against Kennedy.

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SOURCE 2.28 Kalkadoon song of war

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

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

Responding to the song of war

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

The first pastoralists moved into Kalkadoon territory in 1864. Kennedy was in conflict with the Kalkadoons by the late 1870s. In 1878, the first serious trouble occurred. In that year, a white stockman, Molvo, and his party were killed at the Wonomo waterhole on Sulieman Creek (about 19 kilometres from Kennedy's homestead at Buckingham Downs). Molvo had a mob of cattle at Sulieman Creek, possibly with the intention of occupying land along the banks. This was a favourite camping site of the Kalkadoons. These murders were to be followed by raids on surrounding cattle stations and by a plan by the Kalkadoons to kill the Europeans at Buckingham Downs and Stanbrook stations (see map at Source 2.23).

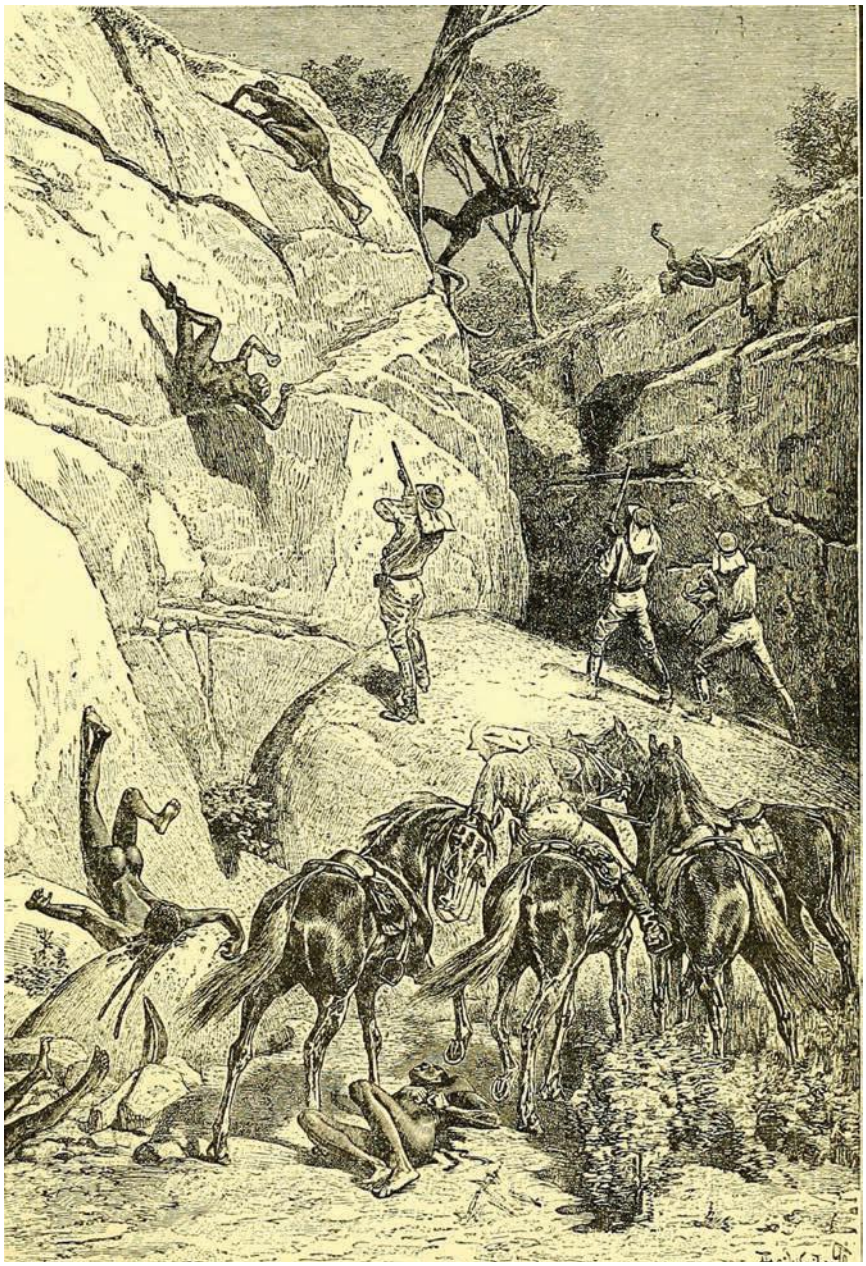
A punitive expedition was mounted by the Native Police, under Sub-Inspector Eglington, against the Kalkadoons. Reprisals followed and scores of Kalkadoon people were killed. Robert Benjamin Clarke, in a letter dated 12 August 1901 to the editor of the *Pastoral Frontier*, stated that 300 Kalkadoons were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

Following is a 1888 drawing of the Native Police killing Aboriginal people.

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SOURCE 2.29 Native Police 'dispersing' Aboriginal people

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



Responding to the image

1. We know little about this illustration. What we do know is that it was drawn by a visiting Norwegian social scientist, Carl Lumholtz, and appeared in an 1889 publication that he wrote, *Among Cannibals*. Between 1881 and 1883, during his visit to Australia, he had been shown a large number of skulls of natives who had been shot by the black police several years earlier. He made this sketch after a description was given to him on the spot of a massacre at Skull Hole, near Winton in central Queensland. What details in this sketch would you want verified before using it as a source of evidence?
2. The Native Police developed the reputation of being 'callous butchers'. If the details of this sketch were verified, what aspects support the accusation of 'callous butchers'?

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

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

SOURCE 2.30 Police Commissioner Seymour's reply to Kennedy's threats

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

H. Fysh, *Taming the North*, 1950, p. 139

Responding to Seymour's reply to Kennedy

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

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

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

SOURCE 2.31 The murder of Sub-Inspector Beresford, 1883

> Beresford and his troopers were out in search of the Kalkadoons who had previously killed a man by the name of Britcher. The party that attacked the Native Police party was rounded up by Beresford the day before he was murdered. The Kalkadoons gave in quietly – too quietly. Beresford 'corralled' them in a gorge with an inefficient guard for the night and, through his interpreter, told them he would decide what to do with them in the morning. If Beresford had known the terrain and the Kalkadoons better, he would have realized that nearly all these gorges had secret caches of weapons. During the night the Kalkadoons armed themselves and

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attacked the Native Police party. Beresford and his troopers were attacked simultaneously. Sub-Inspector Beresford's skull was smashed in and he was speared through the thigh. One of the troopers was speared and held by a Kalkadoon, but he managed to get his rifle and shoot one of the attackers. The remainder disappeared in the bush. The wounded trooper broke off the shaft of the spear and, with the barbed head still in his flesh, staggered twenty miles over the rugged country to give the alarm at Farleigh out-station.

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

Responding to the account of Beresford's murder

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

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

Some historians have maintained that the following period was the high-water mark of the Kalkadoon resistance. For more than a year after the death of Sub-Inspector Beresford, the Kalkadoons had the upper hand. Here's how Armstrong described that period.

SOURCE 2.32 The defiant Kalkadoons

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

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

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

Responding to Armstrong's description of Kalkadoon defiance

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

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

Urquhart, a 25-year-old Englishman and the son of a British Army officer, had arrived in Queensland eight years earlier. The Kalkadoons were not long in challenging Sub-Inspector Urquhart. In 1884,

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James White Powell, part-owner with Alexander Kennedy of Calton Hills station, was killed by the Kalkadoons at Mistake Creek. Word was soon conveyed to Sub-Inspector Urquhart. His Native Police troopers, together with Kennedy, were soon at the scene. Powell was buried. The party then pursued the Kalkadoons, who were found in a gorge feasting upon Powell's cattle. Kalkadoon men, women and children were subsequently killed.

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

SOURCE 2.33 Photograph of Sub-Inspector Urquhart and his troops

Photograph of Sub-Inspector Urquhart and his troops



Responding to the photograph

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

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

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

Battle Mountain

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

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

Below are two different accounts of this battle. The first one is from Armstrong.

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SOURCE 2.34 Armstrong's account of the battle of Battle Mountain, September 1884

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. What advantages did the Kalkadoon people have over Urquhart and his armed party?
2. What was the tactical error made by the Kalkadoons?
3. Why might the Kalkadoons have abandoned their previously effective guerrilla warfare and adopted conventional battle tactics? Does it appear credible that they should take such action?
4. Where, if anywhere, do the author's sympathies lie – with Urquhart, his troopers and settlers or the Kalkadoons? Provide evidence to support your interpretation.
5. In other parts of the world the British knew by name the war leaders they were fighting, such as the Zulu leader Chaka and the Maori chief Hone Heke. However, the name of the Kalkadoon leader at Battle Mountain was never recorded. Why might this have been?

In 2010 Dr Jonathan Richards, a professional historian who mainly researches frontier violence and policing in Queensland, especially the Native Police, reassessed the legendary version of the battle at Battle Mountain as presented by Armstrong. He posed the questions: What really happened at Battle Mountain in 1884? Was there really a stand-up military-style of battle?

Below is Richards' description of the conflict at Battle Mountain.

SOURCE 2.35 Richards' account of the battle of Battle Mountain

> ... a clash, or in nineteenth-century terms, a 'collision', took place after the Kalkadoon attacked a Chinese shepherd on Granada station. Urquhart, with civilian volunteers and his troopers, encountered a number of Kalkadoon warriors on a hill and called on them to surrender. They were met with rocks and spears, so dismounted and advanced, firing their rifles as they climbed the rocky ground. Urquhart, who was hit by a lump of rock and temporarily knocked out, [had] sent two troopers round the hill to attack the Kalkadoon from the side – a standard 'flanking' tactic. This tipped the balance, causing many casualties and a general retreat. Urquhart's troopers then pursued the fleeing Kalkadoon people, killing an unknown number of men, women and children.

Jonathan Richards, 'What really happened at Battle Mountain in 1884?', unpublished paper, 2010, p. 11

Responding to Richards' account

1. Compare and contrast Sources 2.34 and 2.35. Identify points of similarity and difference in the two accounts. Consider both the information supplied in each source as well as the way each account has been written.
2. What factors might explain the differences between these two accounts?
3. Both Armstrong and Richards mention that Sub-Inspector Urquhart had civilian volunteers in the party pursuing the Kalkadoons. This was against regulations. Why might Urquhart have ignored regulations and allowed civilians to make up the party pursuing the Kalkadoons?
4. Does Richards' re-assessment of the battle of Battle Mountain, if accurate, make the battle any less significant historically? Does it diminish the historical reputation of the Kalkadoon people? Explain your response.

Richards concludes that while Armstrong's book is 'well-researched and well-intentioned' it has, 'through exaggeration and error', contributed to misunderstandings in this area's frontier history. He believes that Armstrong's portrayal of the battle at Battle Mountain in modern military terms is 'the most misleading

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aspect of the whole affair'. His investigation revealed that there was a lack of primary source evidence to support Armstrong's version of this final battle.

Richards points out some key differences between Armstrong's account and what the historical record supports.

SOURCE 2.36 Comparison between the two versions of the battle at Battle Mountain

> The patrol consisted of two Europeans and six troops – not 110 as Armstrong reckons. Urquhart said they encountered '150 blacks' not 600 as Armstrong claims. There was no mention of an almost fatal attack on Urquhart, as Armstrong says. The entire concept of a 'flanking movement' to defeat the Kalkadoon appears to have been solely Armstrong's invention. Besides, it was standard practice for the troopers to attack from both sides. Importantly, there are no references for this crucial detail ...

Jonathan Richards, 'What really happened at Battle Mountain in 1884?', unpublished paper, 2010, p. 8

Responding to Richards' re-assessment

1. What discrepancies does Richards highlight between Armstrong's claims and the primary source evidence he studied?
2. Are these significant discrepancies? Explain your response.
3. In his unpublished article Richards states (see Source 2.35) that Urquhart ordered a 'flanking' attack on the Kalkadoons and yet in the same article (see Source 2.36) he states that the 'entire concept of a "flanking movement" ... appears to have been solely Armstrong's invention' and then claims that 'it was standard practice for the troopers to attack from both sides'. How do you respond to these internal inconsistencies?
4. Richards' research raises further questions, such as those listed in the table below. Discuss these questions with the person next to you.

Aspect	Questions to consider
Richards: No mention of Urquhart's near-fatal attack in the historical record	Is it possible that Urquhart might have suppressed this incident in his account for personal or promotional reasons?
Richards: Urquhart had a patrol of two Europeans and six troopers	Might Urquhart have minimised these numbers given that it was against regulations for Native Police officers to allow civilian volunteers to be part of reprisals against Aboriginal people?
Richards: Urquhart encountered 150 Aboriginal people, not 600	Might Urquhart have minimised these numbers in order to minimise casualties, which would have to be reported to the Queensland Parliament?
Richards: Patrol of eight against 150 Aboriginal warriors v Armstrong: patrol of 110 v 600 Aboriginal warriors	Calculating the ratio for Richards' figures is approximately 3:60 and Armstrong is 11:60. Which set of figures cast the authorities at a greater disadvantage? Which ratio seems more believable, given the outcome of the battle?

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

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

SOURCE 2.37 A modern Kalkadoon woman's portrayal of the battle



Battle Mountain, Chern'ee Sutton, 2013

Responding to the artwork

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

Whether the Kalkadoon people mounted a 'last stand' in a conventional military-style battle at Battle Mountain is still subject to debate. However, what is not disputed is that Kalkadoon resistance was more prolonged and intense than that of most other Aboriginal groups. Frontier violence over Kalkadoon territory, protracted and vicious though it may have been, was not the only factor undermining traditional lifestyles – disease also played a role. In a special memorandum of 8 June 1899, Sergeant Green of Cloncurry reported on the number and condition of the Kalkadoons in an area within a radius of 1½ kilometres from Cloncurry. Green located only 101 people from the Kalkadoon nation – 50 male, 39 female and 12 children. Despite this, the Kalkadoons never formally ceded their country and their resistance continued in new forms on the state government-run reserves which were established in the early 1900s.

The fate of the Kalkadoon people was replicated across the state as the settlers' parliament imposed its will on the remaining demoralised peoples. By the 1890s, the migrant population of Queensland had increased 13-fold since Separation in 1859, and the rural population had expanded almost twenty-fold. Whereas this incoming society had grown from a handful of convicts and military in 1824 to around 400 000, the Aboriginal population had shrunk to around 25 000 – a decline of approximately 90%. This was due to a combination of disease, starvation, a rapidly falling birth rate and overt frontier violence (Evans, 2004).

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2.11 Impact of the Frontier Wars on government policy in the Australian colonies

By the end of the nineteenth century Australian colonies were introducing comprehensive 'protection' legislation. The broad aims of this legislation were to 'protect' Aboriginal people from exploitation by whites, which they had first suffered on the edges of European settlement, and to help stem the decline in Aboriginal numbers. The Protection Acts in reality, however, were designed to control rather than protect. A central feature of the regulation of Aboriginal people was their segregation from white society. To achieve this, colonial governments established reserves. Some reserves remained areas simply set aside for Aboriginal people where they had the right to live and farm or fish. Those classed as 'stations' or 'missions' had a manager, a matron and sometimes school teachers. However, wherever Aboriginal people lived they were subject to the Protection Act. Queensland was the first colony in Australia to pass a comprehensive Aboriginal Protection Act – the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897*. It was followed in other colonies. Its impact was enormous as it probably affected more Aboriginal people than any other law until the passage of the Commonwealth *Native Title Act 1993* (Museum of Australian Democracy). The killings that had so drastically affected the Aboriginal nations were now replaced with extreme bureaucratic controls that were later found to breach international human rights.

Unlike other Australians, any person classified as 'Aboriginal' could be denied basic human rights under the Protection Acts. In most States an Aboriginal person 'under the Act' could be deprived of freedom of movement and association, lose control over personal property and have his or her children taken away. How often this actually happened depended on which region or state the Aboriginal people lived in, and on the attitude of the people in authority. The controls imposed on Aboriginal people were most far reaching in Queensland and Western Australia and least restrictive in Victoria. In Queensland, the responsible minister could order an 'uncontrollable' Aboriginal person to be imprisoned indefinitely without appeal and it was an offence for an Aboriginal person to enter or leave a reserve without permission. While new legislation was introduced in 1965 (*Aborigines' and Torres Strait Islanders' Act of 1965*) and 1971 (*Aborigines Act 1971*) it was closely modelled on the original 1897 legislation. According to Connors (2018) the bureaucratic controls of the Protection Acts 'did far more to restrain, control and weaken traditional Aboriginal political/institutional life but even that could not destroy their communities or effect full dispossession' (personal correspondence). It wasn't until the 1980s that Aboriginal people in Queensland were totally free from 'the Act' due to legislative changes.

2.12 Frontier violence and genocide

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

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

The term 'genocide' was coined in 1944 and enshrined in International Law by the United Nations four years later with the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (1948).

Article II of the Convention defines genocide as:

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

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

SOURCES 2.38 A–D Views of historians

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

ACTIVITY 2.3

Stage a round table discussion about genocide

Using the United Nations definition, would what happened on the Queensland colonial frontier be deemed 'genocide'? If so, who would the guilty parties be?

2.13 Depth study: summing up

You began this depth study with an overview of the Frontier Wars in Australia as a whole, before focusing on the Queensland situation. Here you analysed and evaluated a range of primary and secondary sources dealing with the Hornet Bank massacre and the Kalkadoon resistance, and synthesised evidence from these to form historical arguments. You learned about the impact the Frontier Wars had on government policy, and then considered the important question of whether genocide occurred by evaluating historians' views in light of the United Nations definition of genocide.

ACTIVITY 2.4

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?

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

Frontier War case study	Time/place	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Cause(s) of the violence	Key events and developments	Effects/ outcome
Hornet Bank massacre					
Kalkadoon resistance					

3. When all groups have shared their summaries, identify the key similarities and differences between the two case studies.
4. What might have been done differently in each of the case studies to avert violence?

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Memory, remembrance and commemoration

2.14 The Australian War Memorial and the Frontier Wars

For 40 years there have been calls for the Australian War Memorial in Canberra to commemorate the Frontier Wars. The first proposal came in 1979 from Geoffrey Blainey (one of the History Wars 'warriors' of the 2000s). It has since been repeated by commentators and scholars alike, including Dr Peter Stanley during his time as the principal historian at the War Memorial and a former army chief of staff, Lieutenant-General John Coates.

The issue remains a contested one. Source 2.39 shows one cartoonist's contribution to the debate in 2013.

In the same year, Henry Reynolds made the following comments in the final paragraph of his book *Forgotten War* (2013):



SOURCE 2.39 Aboriginal commemoration by Chris Johnston, published in *Eureka Street*, 21 April 2013
What is Chris Johnston suggesting in his image? What might be the significance of the dates for the Aboriginal memorial? What is the significance of the dates on the soldier's memorial? How might different people react to this proposal? Consider the view of: an Aboriginal person, a veteran soldier from a recent overseas war, the Australian Government, the general public. What is your own reaction/view?

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

SOURCE 2.40 Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War*, 2013, pp. 236–7

ACTIVITY 2.5

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

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

The Australian War Memorial in Canberra, our great shrine to Australians' participation in wars between nation states and empires, should incorporate the Frontier Wars between black and white within our own continent.

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ACTIVITY 2.5 continued

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

You can read the Australian War Memorial's reasoning for not including the Frontier Wars in its displays on its website.

ACTIVITY 2.6

Hold a discussion about the role of the historian

In Source 2.40, Henry Reynolds addresses the moral dimension of Australia's Aboriginal history by presenting a stark moral and political choice – if Australia doesn't acknowledge and commemorate the Aboriginal dead, reconciliation and unity between black and white cannot be achieved. He makes it clear that he has a strong political commitment to changing the present.

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

2.15 Local memorials

While the Australian War Memorial has resisted proposals to commemorate the Frontier Wars, local memorials are leading the way. You can find a list on the Monuments Australia website.

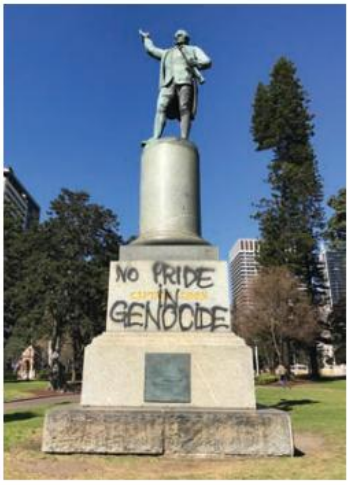
A new dimension to the monuments debate appeared in 2017. It all began in the city of Charlottesville in Virginia, USA, when a protest erupted over the proposal to take down a statue of the Confederate General Robert E. Lee from the American Civil War. The protest led to a riot and the death of a young woman.

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

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

SOURCE 2.41 Defaced statue of James Cook

Statue of James Cook in Hyde Park, Sydney, 26 August 2017



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

1. Why would a protester think it appropriate to paint the 'genocide' slogan on a statue of Cook?
2. Why could the inscription 'Discovered this territory 1770' on the plinth be considered contentious?
3. What do you think of the protester's message?
4. Is it ever justifiable to graffiti particular monuments in this way?
5. Discuss: What, if anything, should be done about monuments which misrepresent the past, marginalise groups within society or commemorate people responsible for misdeeds?

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

SOURCES 2.42 A&B Fremantle Explorers' Monument

A Front inscription on the Fremantle Explorers' Monument, 1913

THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY

C. J. BROCKMAN

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

PANTER, HARDING AND GOLDWYER

EARLIEST EXPLORERS AFTER GREY AND GREGORY OF THIS

'TERRA INCOGNITA', ATTACKED AT NIGHT BY TREACHOROUS NATIVES

WERE MURDERED AT BOOLE BOOLA NEAR LE GRANGE BAY

ON THE 13 NOVEMBER 1864.

ALSO AS AN APPRECIATIVE TOKEN OF REMEMBRANCE OF

MAITLAND BROWN

ONE OF THE PIONEER PASTORALISTS AND PREMIER POLITICIANS OF THIS

STATE, INTREPID LEADER OF THE GOVERNMENT SEARCH AND PUNITIVE

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

FATED THREE RECOVERED AT GREAT RISK AND DANGER FROM LONE

WILDS REPOSE UNDER A PUBLIC MONUMENT IN THE EAST PERTH CEMETERY

'LEST WE FORGET'

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

B Plaque mounted on the Explorers' Monument in 1994

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

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

THE VIEWPOINT OF THE WHITE `SETTLERS´.

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

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

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

LEST WE FORGET. MAPA JARRIYA-NYALAKU.

C Photograph of the Fremantle Explorers' Monument



Responding to the inscription and plaque on the Explorers' Monument

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

The amended Explorers' Monument is a reminder that rather than erasing history it is better to address the question of whose history is being told. Currently there are no plans to erect national or state monuments to commemorate the Aboriginal men and women who fought and died defending their country during the Frontier Wars. However, in Brisbane's Anzac Square, adjacent to Post Office Square near where Dundalli was hanged, there are plans to install a state memorial in 2018 for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander military personnel who fought overseas. It would appear that American civil rights leader Martin Luther King was right in asserting his famous quote from Theodore Parker: 'the arc of the moral universe is indeed long, but it bends toward justice' (1918).

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Aboriginal Australia and a clash of culture

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander culture is considered the oldest continuous culture on Earth, and it has led the world in sea voyaging, the development and utilisation of tools, technology and art.
- In 1770, James Cook claimed the east coast of Australia as a possession of the British Crown, maintaining that it was *terra nullius*.
- Dundalli was born around 1820 and became a leader in the struggle against European settlers in and around the area of Brisbane.
- Despite fighting to protect his land and uphold his law, Dundalli was judged a murderer and hanged in 1855.
- Historians in the first part of the twentieth century paid less attention to Aboriginal Australians and frontier violence, and instead celebrated the 'peaceful' nature of Australian settlement.
- Tensions between the 'old' and 'new' history resulted in the History Wars.

Depth study: What was the nature and extent of the Frontier Wars in colonial Queensland?

- The Frontier Wars were a series of conflicts that were fought between Aboriginal Australians and European settlers across the breadth of the continent, spanning around 150 years. They were most violent and protracted in Queensland.
- Both Europeans and Aboriginal people were perpetrators of atrocities and violence on the frontier.
- European attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples were shaped by the values of their society, including the idea of racial hierarchy.
- On 27 October 1857, 11 Europeans were massacred at Hornet Bank pastoral station by the Jiman people, who sought to commit acts so horrifying that the invaders would withdraw.
- Europeans viewed this as confirmation that Aboriginal people were barbaric and treacherous brutes devoid of conscience and morals.
- The reprisals for the Hornet Bank massacre were bloody, indiscriminate and out of proportion.
- Dispersal and killing became the established method of dealing with Aboriginal people in Queensland. They set the pattern for white attitudes and colonial government policy towards Aboriginal people in Queensland.
- From 1878 to 1884, the Kalkadoons engaged in guerrilla resistance, which included harassing supply lines, killing cattle and spearing stockmen.
- Government operations against the Kalkadoons included Native Police troopers.
- The Kalkadoons' defeat at Battle Mountain, September 1884, is one of the few recorded pitched battles between Aboriginal people and Europeans, supported by the Native Police.
- The most contentious issue related to frontier violence in Queensland, and indeed Australia, is whether or not genocide took place.

Concluding study: Memory, remembrance and commemoration

- For 40 years there have been calls for the Australian War Memorial in Canberra to commemorate the Frontier Wars.
- There are some local memorials.
- Some memorials to white settlers have been defaced, but the Explorers' Monument in Fremantle now has two official plaques which provide a more inclusive history.

GO **Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.**

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CHAPTER 3
French Revolution, 1789–1799
Focus: The survival of revolutionary ideals

It's 14 July in modern-day France. A villager from western France is dressed as Marianne, a symbol of the French **republic**, and stands in front of a timber and cardboard fortress. She is taking part in a celebration commemorating the storming of the Bastille on this date in 1789. Later, in the dark, the villagers will set the effigy of the Bastille on fire and dance to *La Carmagnole*, a French song created and popularised during the French Revolution. They will chant, '*liberté, égalité, fraternité*'. Liberty expresses being free in mind and body, equality represents being socially and politically equal and fraternity refers to brotherhood or kinship. It is a celebration of human and civil rights being introduced to the modern world.



SOURCE 3.1 Bastille Day celebrations in Lavaré, western France, 2014

republic a state in which there is no hereditary monarch and the head of state is elected

On 14 July 1789, more than 200 years prior, a Parisian crowd – some with muskets and swords – march in search of substantial weapons. Driven by a strong desire for justice, they attack and capture the Bastille, a royal fortress and prison. The Bastille has no strategic military significance, but for these Parisians it represents despotic royal authority. Traditionally it had been used by the French kings to imprison subjects who disagreed with them politically. On this day there are only seven prisoners and a hundred troops at the fortress. The crowd demands arms from the governor, De Launay, who defiantly refuses and orders his soldiers to open fire on the masses, killing about 100 people and wounding many. The crowd instantly takes revenge by seizing the Bastille's gunpowder and cannons and capturing the governor. In no time De Launay is murdered and his head is displayed to the crowd, fixed on a pike. The people who dismantle the Bastille are now in control, having demonstrated how quickly popular action can turn violent.

Susan du Rand

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY
The path to revolution

The fall of the Bastille confirmed the commitment of the common people to revolutionary change. It was a pivotal event, signalling the beginning of the French Revolution. This was the spark that forced the king to grant concessions, and it invigorated the people's movement to overthrow him. It became a symbol of the revolutionary movement and of the triumph of liberty over despotism. Bastille Day is still celebrated in France every year as a national holiday.

Many people in France during 1789 had significant social, political and economic grievances. French society was based on privilege, hierarchy and tradition. In this contextual study, you will investigate whether 'privilege' was the deepest cause of the French Revolution.

3.1 What was the political and social structure of the *Ancien Régime*?

Before the French Revolution, France's political and social system was known as the ***Ancien Régime***. Under the regime, everyone was a subject of the king of France, and was a member of one of the estates or orders of society. The king, Louis XVI, was an **absolute monarch**, meaning that he had complete power. The traditional ideas behind the status of monarchy stemmed from the 'divine right of kings', the accepted idea that God chose the king and his family to rule. The population of France in 1789, estimated at 28 million, was divided into three social classes.

The First Estate was made up of the clergy, who served the church. This group was wealthy, owned a great deal of land and enjoyed various privileges such as exemption from taxation and the ability to levy **tithes** on landowners.

Ancien Régime French term for an old order – the system of government before 1789

absolute monarchy system of government where the king has complete power unrestricted by a constitution

tithe a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

taille a direct land tax imposed on each household

corvée the service of unpaid labour on upkeep of roads

bourgeoisie a member of the middle class, part of the Third Estate

The Second Estate consisted of the nobility who derived their status by birth. Owning approximately 25% of all the land in France, they benefited from a number of sources of wealth and power. They were exempt from paying the taxes known as the ***taille*** and the ***corvée***.

The Third Estate – the commoners – made up the majority of the French population. This diverse group of people included wealthy merchants, urban workers and peasants. Professionals, the educated middle class or **bourgeoisie**, lived mostly in the towns, and the peasants who survived mostly by subsistence farming resided in the countryside. The Third Estate was heavily taxed and resentful of this burden. The inequality of taxation was prominent as the Third Estate carried the burden of taxation and also had no say in how the taxation was spent.

The social hierarchy, based on the hereditary principle of privilege, restricted the social mobility of the enterprising middle class who resented being ranked at the bottom of the social order.

The following two sources provide further details about the social classes in France at this time.

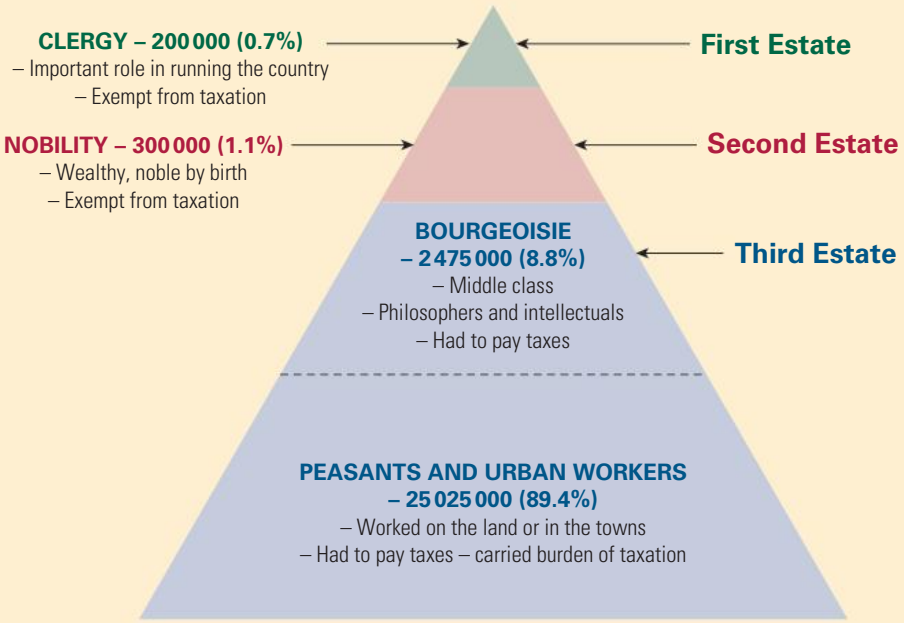
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ACTIVITY 3.1

Work with statistics on population distribution and land ownership



KING
– Despot/dictator/total rule
– Top of social order
– Old order
– Absolute monarchy
– *Ancien Régime*



SOURCE 3.2 Diagram illustrating the social hierarchy and population distribution in France during 1789 (population estimated at 28 million)

First Estate	10%
Second Estate	25%
Third Estate	65%

SOURCE 3.3 Land ownership of the three estates of French society in 1789

Using the statistics from the diagram and table, draw two pie graphs (by hand or using Microsoft Excel) to illustrate:

– Population distribution
– Land ownership.

- What significant finding emerges when the two pie graphs are compared? Does that finding signal a reason for discontent?

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Reasons for discontent are signalled also in the following two historical cartoons commenting on the Three Estates.

SOURCES 3.4 A&B Cartoons about the Three Estates

A Engraving, 1789



We must hope that this game will soon be over

B Engraving, 1789



The most important persons would always be walked all over. The privileged estates are depicted standing on top of the rock bearing the names of the taxes paid almost exclusively by the Third Estate.

Before attempting to answer the following questions, study the cartoons carefully and complete the table. This will assist you in observing the details and understanding how cartoonists use visual clues to relay their message.

Visual clues/message	Source 3.4A	Source 3.4B
Background setting		
Clothing of individuals		
Symbols and accessories*		
Main message		

*clues – symbols/accessories = **cockade**, revolutionary bonnet, sword, bible, rural animals and equipment

cockade a tight knot of coloured ribbons that were pinned to a hat or tunic worn in the eighteenth century. The colours were chosen to display loyalty to a particular ruler, military leader or political group.

Responding to cartoons commenting on the Three Estates

1. Identify the three figures present in both cartoons and explain how they are represented.
2. Describe and explain the significance of the background and setting of the cartoons.
3. Is the issue of privilege highlighted clearly in the cartoons? Is one cartoon more successful in relaying this message? Explain your response.

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3.2 What were the economic problems of the time?

In the latter eighteenth century an inefficient and overly bureaucratic French Government struggled to reform France's **fiscal** system. Historians have suggested many reasons for this financial crisis. Years of excessive spending by former kings, the extravagance of Versailles, the unfair system of taxation and the French support for the colonists in the American War of Independence all resulted in a national debt.

fiscal refers to government revenue, in particular taxes

parlements regional assemblies – in 1789, France had 13 *parlements*. They were the court of final appeal for the judicial system.

A succession of principal finance ministers – Turgot, Calonne, Brienne and Necker – attempted to introduce a series of financial reforms to save France from bankruptcy. They aimed to increase the royal revenue by ending tax privileges but they encountered opposition from the First and Second Estates and the ***parlements***. Finance ministers were either dismissed or resigned; however, Louis XVI soon returned to Necker, reinstating him as finance minister in 1788.

The disagreements over proposed tax reforms in 1787–88 transformed into a movement seeking political and constitutional change. A public debate went beyond the issue of fiscal reforms as people started to ask questions about the power of the king and questioned who ultimately should have the power to make the laws for the kingdom.

SOURCE 3.5 Hobsbawm describes the financial troubles of the monarchy, 1977

> For though the extravagance of Versailles has often been blamed for the crisis, court expenditure only amounted to 6 percent of the total in 1788. War, navy and diplomacy made up one-quarter, the service of the existing debt one-half. War and debt – the American War and its debt – broke the back of the monarchy. The government's crisis gave the aristocracy and the *parlements* their chance. They refused to pay without an extension of their privileges.

E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789–1848*, 1977, p. 78

Responding to the source

1. According to Hobsbawm, what was the main reason for France's financial troubles?
2. What does the source imply about the nobility's role in alleviating debt?

SOURCE 3.6 Rudé considers the difficulties of reform, 1964

> Turgot who was Louis XVI financial minister found that his experience was similar to that of Calonne, Brienne and Necker. It was proved once more, that however well-meaning the king, no far-reaching economic measures of reform were possible. So long as the privileged orders and the *Parlements* were influential at the court, Turgot's operations were obstructed.

G. Rudé, *Revolutionary Europe, 1783–1815*, 2000 (first published in 1964)

Responding to the source

1. The source refers to the king as 'well-meaning'. Does the source describe him as an effectual monarch with regard to the economic situation in France?

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deficit an excess of expenditure, debt, the total amount of money spent is more than money received

SOURCE 3.7 Cartoon by Isaac Cruikshank, November 1788. Referring to the empty treasure chests and lack of funds, Louis XVI (on the right) says, 'There's no more left'. The financial minister, Necker (on the left), looks on and says, 'I left them there.' The former finance ministers who failed to resolve the growing **deficit**, Calonne and Brienne, are sneaking out the door carrying sacks of money, saying, 'We have it.' What is the cartoonist suggesting about Necker's predicament and France's finances? How are Calonne and Brienne depicted in the cartoon?

SOURCE 3.8 The system of privilege

Louis pressed his advisors to devise new methods of retrenchment and taxation to keep the government afloat. Yet these men, and Louis with them, recognised that they could make no headway unless by some miracle they could induce the clergy and nobility to surrender the ancient privileges which allowed them to escape payment of an equitable share of the nation's taxes. The likelihood of this surrender was remote. The system of privilege was one the nobility and the church, the first two of the three 'estates' of the realm, were loath to alter. This remained the case despite the clamour of the third estate, the commoners, that they do so.

E. McNall Burns, R.E. Lerner and S. Meacham, *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture,* 1980, pp. 586–7

Responding to sources

Consider this source, and also Sources 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7. How do they corroborate the obstructive nature of the clergy and nobility? Refer to all sources in your answer.

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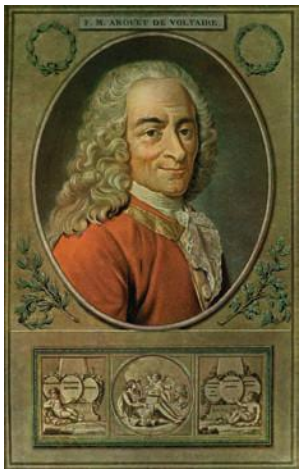
3.3 How significant was intellectual thought in the process of change?

The **Enlightenment** was a movement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries which featured a group of philosophers and intellectuals who promoted new ideas based on reason. The growth of modern political ideologies, such as liberalism, republicanism and independence of thought, led to a decline in the power of absolute monarchies and a reduction in the status of the church. Ideas played an important role in giving shape and substance to the discontent experienced by many, particularly among the middle class. Intellectuals believed in the inherent freedom and moral equality of men and expressed a new vision of society. This shift in thinking could not be reconciled with the existing state of affairs in France during the late eighteenth century.

Enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition

Critical thinkers of the Enlightenment

Voltaire (1694–1778)



SOURCE 3.9 Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet), French writer, philosopher, playwright, poet

'What does it mean to be free?' asked Voltaire. 'To reason correctly and know the rights of man. When they are well known they are well defended.'

Voltaire, born François-Marie Arouet, was a liberal political theorist who criticised social convention and rejected the ideas of the Roman Catholic Church. He was not a democrat but believed in an enlightened monarch or a republic dominated by the middle class. He was instrumental in promoting republican ideas.

Montesquieu (1689–1755)



SOURCE 3.10 Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède et de Montesquieu, political philosopher, judge, writer

'When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty'

Believing in a theory of the separation of powers, Montesquieu advocated that a limited monarchy would be the most appropriate system of rule for France. Using satire, his work poked fun at the church, court and French society. Montesquieu's work *Spirit of Laws* (1748) proposed a limited monarchy based on a three-way division of powers between the king, parliament and judiciary. This was a major contribution to political theory at the time.

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Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)



SOURCE 3.11 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, philosopher, writer, composer

'The consent of the people is the sole basis of a government's authority.'

Rousseau was a political philosopher extensively known for his work *The Social Contract* (1762). He was very critical of moral decadence, inequality and absolutism and sought to promote a more egalitarian form of government by consent. His thinking formed the basis of modern republicanism. He advocated that the only hope of security was to establish a civil society and to surrender all rights to the community.

SOURCE 3.12 Hobsbawm discusses the role of philosophers

A striking consensus of general ideas among a fairly coherent social group gave the revolutionary movement effective unity. The group was the 'bourgeoisie'; its ideas were those of classical liberalism, as formulated by the 'philosophers' and 'economists' and propagated by free-masonry and in informal associations. To this extent 'the philosophers' can be justly made responsible for the Revolution. It would have occurred without them; but they probably made the difference between mere breakdown of an old regime and the effective and rapid substitution of a new one.

E.J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789–1848*, 1977, p. 79

Responding to the source and quotations

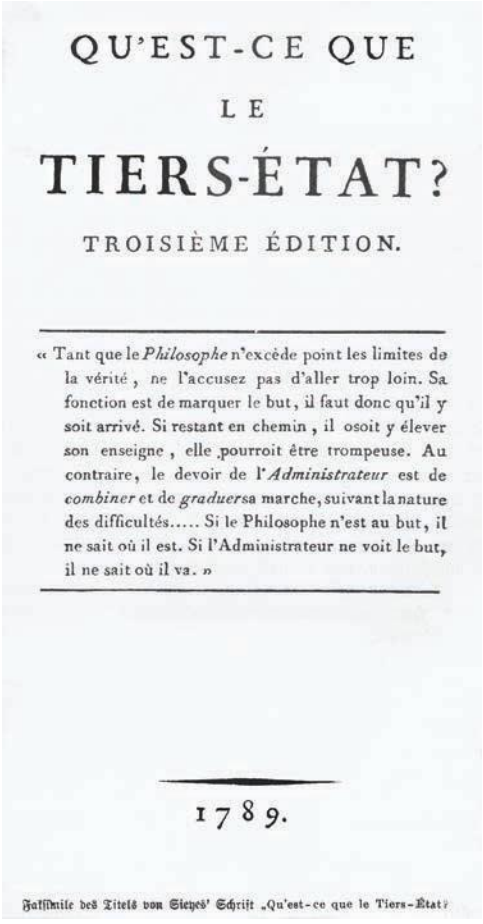
1. Briefly explain the Enlightenment philosophers' contribution to revolutionary thinking.
2. Examine the quotations in the speech bubbles. What beliefs do Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau have in common?
3. How were the ideological foundations of the French monarchy challenged and undermined by the Enlightenment philosophers?
4. Do you agree with Hobsbawn's argument that the philosophers 'can be justly made responsible for the Revolution'?
5. How is Montesquieu's idea of the 'separation of powers' reflected in Australia's system of government today?

3.4 How did the changing political role of the Third Estate contribute to the revolutionary situation?

Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès, commonly known as Abbé Sieyès, was a Roman Catholic abbot, clergyman and a political writer. He studied political philosophy, and challenged traditional ideas of government. Sieyès produced a famous pamphlet in January 1789 entitled 'What is the Third Estate?' He argued that sovereignty should come from those who produce and create the goods and services which benefit society. His influential document motivated members of the middle-class, particularly lawyers and businessmen.

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SOURCE 3.13 Abbé Sieyès: Pamphlet 'What is the Third Estate'



QU'EST-CE QUE

LE

TIERS-ÉTAT?

TROISIÈME ÉDITION.

« Tant que le *Philosophe* n'excède point les limites de la vérité, ne l'accusez pas d'aller trop loin. Sa fonction est de marquer le but, il faut donc qu'il y soit arrivé. Si restant en chemin, il osoit y élever son enseigne, elle pourroit être trompeuse. Au contraire, le devoir de l'*Administrateur* est de *combiner* et de *graduer* sa marche, suivant la nature des difficultés..... Si le Philosophe n'est au but, il ne sait où il est. Si l'Administrateur ne voit le but, il ne sait où il va. »

1789.

Fatſimile des Titels von Sieyes' Schrift „Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-État?"



Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) and the first page of his pamphlet '*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers-Etat*?' ('What is the Third Estate?')

Translation of an extract from the pamphlet:

> Who then shall dare to say that the Third Estate has not within itself all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation?
>
> What is the Third Estate? Everything.
>
> What has it been heretofore in the political order? Nothing.
>
> What does it desire to be? To become something.

Responding to the pamphlet:

1. What is Sieyès suggesting by his statement that the Third Estate has all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation?
2. At the time, why might this pamphlet have been considered a very significant one?

Winston Churchill, who was Britain's Prime Minister during World War II and again in the 1950s, wrote a number of popular and insightful narrative histories. In the following extract, he considers the revolutionary impulse in France.

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SOURCE 3.14 Churchill (1956) describes the rising bourgeoisie

> The heaviest fiscal burden lay upon the peasants. Their plight must not be exaggerated ... their grievances were substantial ... Most of them were uninterested in politics. They desired only freedom from oppressive landlords and antiquated taxes. The revolutionary impulse came from elsewhere. The nobles had lost their energy and their faith in themselves. The clergy were divided. The Army was unreliable. The King and his Court lacked both the will and ability to govern. Only the bourgeoisie possessed the appetite for power and the determination and self-confidence to seize it.

Winston Churchill, *The Age of Revolution* (Volume 3 of *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*), 1956

Responding to the source and the pamphlet

1. Does Churchill's statement about the bourgeoisie reflect what Sieyès says about that class? Focus on the words 'grievances' and 'revolutionary impulse' in your answer and quote from both sources.

Leading the Revolution

It can be argued that the formulation of grievances was driven by the middle class. Even though the bourgeoisie did not suffer the same hardships as the peasants and workers they were against the privileges of the first two estates and deeply resented the abuses of the *Ancien Régime*. It was the bourgeoisie who focused on this inequality and ultimately led the Revolution. This is clearly illustrated in an engraving entitled *The Awakening of the Third Estate* from July 1789, which you will study later in the chapter.

ACTIVITY 3.2

Research differing perspectives on the aspirations of the Third Estate

Not all the nobility and clergy opposed the aspirations of the Third Estate. In fact, there were those who favoured compromise, and some liberal nobles and clergy argued the importance of the Third Estate. You have already learned about a sympathetic member of the clergy, Abbé Sieyès. Now you can find out about other individuals.

Start with the following source:

The Cahiers of 1789 as an Evidence of a Compromise Spirit

Author(s): C.H. Lincoln

Source: *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Jan., 1897), pp. 225–8

Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of the American Historical Association

3.5 Was the meeting of the Estates General the trigger of the Revolution?

In May 1789, Louis XVI gathered the Estates General (an ancient parliament), which had not met for over a century and a half. It seemed to be the only way of solving France's increasing problems. According to tradition each estate voted as a bloc, so that only three votes would be cast on any issue. As the two 'privileged' estates could always form a majority against the Third Estate, they were guaranteed to retain

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their privileges. But by 1789, the Third Estate had gained confidence and was not willing to tolerate that arrangement. Its leaders demanded that the three orders sit together and vote as individuals and they insisted that the representatives of the Third Estate should be double the number of the First and Second Estates. Necker encouraged the king to order a doubling of the Third Estate by December 1788 but the question of how they should vote was unresolved. The first months of 1789 were devoted to electoral assemblies organised by each estate at which delegates were chosen.

The *Cahiers de doléances* (Books of Grievances drawn up by the three estates) is a useful source in understanding the thoughts of individuals and groups who put forward their concerns on the eve of the calling of the estates. The election of the Estates General created an expectation of change.

SOURCES 3.15 A&B Extracts from two *Cahiers* from the *Cahiers de doléances*

A Extract from a *cahier*, Orléans 1789

To be represented in the Estates-General, we cannot choose a lord, nor a noble without facing the greatest danger. There are some human, generous, and kind lords. But they can be jealous of their rights and their privileges and can keep us under their dependence. We should not trust any gentleman who approaches us or have his servants approach us in order to be elected … As farmers, we have only good and trustworthy people among our class: the Third Estate. If we seek our representatives somewhere else, our interests will be sacrificed and we will keep on being poor.

Vieuvic (Bailliage Orléans)

B Extract from a *cahier*, Paris 1789

If only you knew, Sire, how much sweat, how many tears soak the money going into your treasury. Without doubt, your kindness will be more on its guard against people's indiscreet requests who consume in one day the fruits of taxes from thousands of your poor subjects.

We cannot hide, Sire, that the nobility consumes the major part of State income. Indeed, it is this order of citizens, to whom we probably give the most merit, that furnishes the crown officers, the governors, the commanders, the quartermasters, and all the people who have honourable positions. A noble man, who knows how to dance well, ride a horse well, and handle a sword, thinks he deserves everything, and, nonetheless, he pretends that he does not owe anything to the State. If he is only greedy for glory, then he should serve Your Majesty and the nation and receive no income.

Lauris (Sénéchaussée Aix)

Responding to the *cahiers*

1. Which demands noted in the *Cahiers de doléances* challenged the established traditions in France? How?

Historian Denis Richards sums up the situation in France in 1789.

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SOURCE 3.16 The spark of May 1789

So there was all the material for a great combustion. An outworn, inefficient, unfair and bankrupt system of government, a strong body of opinion created by the philosophers, the successful example of the American War of Independence, a weak king, widespread economic distress and a mob in Paris. It needed only one spark to set it all alight. On May 5 1789, the States General met.

D. Richards, *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe 1789–1984*, 1986

Responding to the source

1. Why could the system of government in France be described as 'outworn' and 'inefficient'?
2. Do you think the use of words 'combustion' and 'spark' are appropriate? Explain your response.

Tennis Court Oath

The Estates General met at Versailles, the site of the royal palace and government. Confrontation over voting and the representation of different estates started immediately. The Third Estate demanded 'one man, one vote' which would give them the majority when it joined with sympathisers from other estates. When the two other estates refused, the representatives of the Third Estate took a revolutionary step and declared themselves the **National Assembly**. Locked out of their meeting hall, they moved to a nearby indoor tennis court. On 20 June 1789, they took an oath not to separate until they had drafted a constitution for France. This Tennis Court Oath was the real beginning of the French Revolution, as it set the scene for the revolutionary climate of the rest of the year. This courageous action, claiming to remake a government in the name of the people, threatened the old order and signalled the possibility that the absolute monarchy could end.

National Assembly formed on 17 June and was recognised on 27 June 1789. After July 1789 they became known as the National Constituent Assembly, often referred to as the Assembly.

3.6 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you've learned about the causes of the French Revolution and the influence of unfair privileges.

You've discovered that individuals and groups contributed to revolutionary thinking and have looked at the role of propaganda and satirical cartoons during the time. Understanding the social, economic and political causes of the Revolution will help you better understand the course of the Revolution.

This contextual study concluded with the meeting of the Estates General and the Tennis Court Oath in 1789. This sets the scene for the following depth study that focuses on the succession of events from 1789 to 1794. This period covers the transition from a monarchy to a republic, culminating in the Reign of Terror.

ACTIVITY 3.3

Write an essay about the causes of the French Revolution

The deepest cause of the French Revolution can be summed up in one word: 'privilege'.

Discuss the accuracy of this statement in a carefully structured essay.

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DEPTH STUDY

To what extent did the revolutionary ideals survive in the decade after 1789?

The grievances of so many French people – described in the previous section – came to a head in 1789. The Tennis Court Oath set the scene for change, and the storming of the Bastille prison on 14 July was the first rebellious act of what we now call the French Revolution. It was a startling time for many, as shown in this cartoon from the period.



SOURCE 3.17 Engraving, *The Third Estate Waking Up*, 1789, Paris

Identify the following elements of the cartoon: a member of the Third Estate, a priest, a nobleman, the Bastille prison, severed heads on poles.

What is the significance of:

a. The member of the Third Estate being on the ground?
b. What he is discarding with his right hand?
c. What he is reaching for with his left hand?

Do the reactions of the two other figures seem understandable? Explain. How is the background detail both descriptive and prophetic? Do the cartoonist's sympathies seem to lie with either 'side' in this scene? Explain.

As suggested in the cartoon in Source 3.17, 1789 saw an 'awakening' of the Third Estate and the instigation of a period of turmoil and bloodshed. And, as predicted by the artist, the Third Estate did begin to throw off the chains of bondage, and the nobility and the church did indeed have much to fear. Propaganda, using visual symbols and narratives about the Revolution, was an important mode of communication particularly for illiterate and semi-literate groups. Pro-revolutionary artists propagated the ideas of equality, liberty and fraternity which aimed at a regeneration of the French people. Despite the importance of political engravings for historians from this time, a study of this revolutionary movement must not be limited to an analysis of caricature. It was a story about real people, ruled by a **feudal** elite of king, nobility and clergy, who sought to better their social, economic and political conditions. Challenging absolutism, attacking unfair privileges and striving for a liberal democracy involved the efforts of many people and thinkers from different walks of life. As might be expected, they agreed on much but also had significant differences in aspirations and strategies. Regardless of these differences, those who clamoured for change were largely united over the common grievances of famine, high prices and the scarcity of bread in July 1789.

feudal social system of Medieval Europe based on set relationships between sections of the population

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3.7 How did the French system of government change from absolute monarchy to democratic republicanism?

The Great Fear and abolition of feudal privileges

After the storming of the Bastille, the unity of the Third Estate against the clergy and aristocracy extended from Paris to villages. Peasants in the countryside joined the Revolution, spurred on by rumours of an aristocratic conspiracy to thwart the aspirations of the Third Estate. A period of conflict between the Third Estate and the aristocracy, known as the Great Fear, involved a wave of peasant insurrections to end all seigneurial (feudal) rights. Peasants attacked the property of their landlords, burning manor houses and **châteaux** and destroying **feudal registers** that detailed the peasants' duties and obligations. Many nobles and clergy were killed while others attempted to flee the countryside.

châteaux a manor house or residence of the lord of the manor, or a country house of the nobility

feudal registers documents that recorded feudal relationships – which peasant 'belonged' to which lord and where they lived

In this letter, dated August 1789, Perigny discusses the peasant uprisings gripping the nation.

SOURCE 3.18 Peasant uprisings during the Great Fear

Sir, the flames are sweeping through Anjou and Maine. The comte de Laurencin read out to us yesterday the terrible events suffered by Madame, his sister, at two chateaux in Dauphine: papers burnt, the chateaux pillaged and roofs removed if they were not burnt. They were not even left with the means of gathering and securing their harvest.

At the end of her letter, M. de Laurencin's sister says that she is in despair because she was not killed by the first shot which reached her room; she has been hounded through the two chateaux and then to a friend's house, and with her was her young and beautiful unmarried daughter. The two of them, with her husband, were pursued for thirty-five hours without respite.

The monks at Cluny were more clever and more fortunate. The inhabitants of that small town have become so attached to them, through their good deeds and the renunciation of their rights and dues, that under the leadership of one of the monks, the townsfolk wiped out the whole gang of marauders. The citizens of Cluny hid themselves, well-armed, in the abbey, they concealed two cannon in a shed facing the main road into the town.

The brigands had thought to take the abbey and the townsfolk by surprise; the inhabitants let them all come in, closed the gates of the town while at the same instant they uncovered the two cannon loaded with shot, and all fired at the same time. Not a single outlaw escaped. They were all killed or taken off to the royal prisons. They were found to be carrying printed papers 'on the king's orders'. These documents encouraged the burning of abbeys and chateaux, on the pretence that the nobles and abbots hoarded supplies of grain and poisoned wells, and intended to reduce the people, the king's subjects, to the direst misery.

In Alsace the inhabitants destroyed the superb forests at Bitche and Hagueneau, destroyed the fine glass-making establishments at Baccarat, and the king's own magnificent ironworks. They are at work now in the forest of St-Germain, cutting down the finest trees.

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It is impossible to be sure now, and for the immediate future, where to live in France, or who can preserve their wealth. The king is in a state of despondency and in reply to complaints, says that there is nothing he can do.

Signed, Perigny
August 13 1789

Letter from Perigny, a royal official based in Paris, 13 August 1789

Responding to the letter

1. What do the reports of events at Dauphine suggest about the level of discontent among the peasants?
2. Consider why the inhabitants of the town saw the renunciation of the rights and dues of the monks as significant.
3. Note the Cluny episode where townsfolk combined with monks and 'wiped out' peasants whom the writer labels 'marauders', 'brigands' and 'outlaws'. What does this indicate about the complexity of the situation in France after July 1789?
4. How is Louis XVI depicted in the letter? What does this imply about his leadership at the time?
5. How does Perigny's language indicate where his loyalties and sympathies lie?

The August Decrees

The increase of pressure for social reform from the common people led the National Constituent Assembly (the national representative body of the French people) to officially abolish feudalism on 4 August 1789. This was known as the August Decrees. All the old rights of the feudal lords were removed, ending legal privileges in France. A new society based on liberty, equality and popular sovereignty was envisaged. The Revolution was now placed in the hands of the National Constituent Assembly, which was to begin drafting a new constitution for France.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

On the 26 August 1789 the National Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The document was influenced by the ideals of the Enlightenment, the American Declaration of Independence and the English Bill of Rights. The Marquis de Lafayette, who did the initial work on the declaration, followed the concept of a social contract, as championed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It announced the principles of a new society with popular sovereignty to replace the divine right which had existed for centuries. The goal of the declaration was to grant individuals 'natural, inalienable and sacred human rights' including 'freedom, property, safety and the right to resist oppression'. Initially, when the document was presented to the king, he refused to sign it. After a month of political stand-off and an increase in bread prices, the people in Paris became even more restless.

The October Days

Dissatisfied with food shortages and the high cost of bread, a crowd of working-class women marched on the Royal Palace at Versailles on 5 October 1789. National Guardsmen, who were sympathetic to the marchers, accompanied them. The crowd, which increased to approximately 60 000, forced Louis XVI and his family to take up residence in Paris. The women believed that returning the king to the French capital would make him answerable to the people. In Paris, Louis XVI was obliged to sign both the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the decrees adopted on 4 August 1789. This event, ending on the 7 October, was a major turning point in the Revolution as the monarchy was subjected to the will of the people and, as a result, Louis XVI was forced to declare support for the reforms.

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SOURCE 3.19 *The Triumphant Return of the French Heroines from Versailles to Paris on 6 October 1789*



Engraving, undated

Responding to the engraving

1. What triumph was achieved on the two days after these women reached Paris?
2. What are the various ways in which the artist has conveyed a sense of celebration in this picture?
3. What is the particular significance of the presence of the National Guardsman on the cart, and the way he is depicted?
4. Why would the artists think the women deserved the title of 'heroines'?

Clergy

It was not only the authority of the monarchy that concerned many people; they were also unhappy with the power and privilege of the Roman Catholic Church, which was the largest landowner in France. On 12 July 1790 the National Assembly passed an act, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which made the Roman Catholic Church in France subordinate to the state. There was widespread opposition to the measure, particularly from the clergy who believed that the appointment of clerics belonged to the church and not to the state. It also caused division, meaning that Catholics had to choose between support for the government or the church. When the Assembly ordered the clergy to take an oath in support of the Civil Constitution, many refused. Louis XVI was troubled by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and its implications for the church in France and only reluctantly signed it into law in December 1790. Church land was confiscated and became public property, and the state took responsibility for paying clerical salaries. The widespread resistance to the attempts to bring the church under state control meant that the Assembly had to compromise. There were constitutional churches representing those who had chosen to reform to the new law, and refractory churches where the traditional beliefs and practices remained.

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SOURCE 3.20 The plight of religious orders during the French Revolution



This cartoon from the late eighteenth century depicts a member of the clergy unsuccessfully attempting to dispose of his religious dress to a Jewish second-hand clothes dealer. The Friar asks '*M. le Juif*' if he will purchase his habit, but he is told to keep it as it has no value.

Responding to the cartoon

1. What had happened in France that would make religious dress worthless?
2. How might the following individuals have reacted to this cartoon, if they'd seen it at the time:
   - **a.** a Third Estate revolutionary
   - **b.** a member of the aristocracy
   - **c.** a member of the National Assembly
   - **d.** the king?
3. Imagine the cartoon being used as political propaganda. Devise a suitable title for its use as:
   - **a.** pro-revolutionary propaganda
   - **b.** anti-revolutionary propaganda.
4. This exact scene probably never happened. Does that make the cartoon worthless as historical evidence? Explain your response.
5. Where do you think the cartoonist's sympathies lie? Explain your response.

The Flight to Varennes, June 1791

Fearing the growing radicalism of the Revolution and the actions against the church, Louis XVI attempted to flee France with his family. It is believed that he wanted to organise counter-revolutionary activities and gain protection from monarchists. It was not long before Louis XVI and his family were recognised at Varennes and arrested. Forced to return to Paris in disgrace, as he had attempted to flee the Revolution, Louis XVI could no longer be trusted. At this time propaganda that ridiculed the royals and their failed escape attempt became widespread. They were portrayed by anti-royalist cartoonists as runaways and barnyard animals, humiliated and dehumanised, in an attempt to destroy the reputation of the monarchy.

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constitutional monarchy the rule of a kingdom by a monarch who must rule according to the laws and practices of the constitution. The monarch's role is mostly ceremonial.

The flight to Varennes opened up new political discussions. There had been hardly any advocacy of republicanism in 1789. However, with the king's flight, any support for a **constitutional monarchy** diminished and many people now spoke about a republic. After Varennes, the mistrust built up and a number of radical publicists demanded that the king be dethroned.

The following three sources are related to the king's flight and its consequences.

SOURCE 3.21 Cartoon by Gillray, 1791



French Democrats Surprising the Royal Runaways, James Gillray, 27 June 1791

Responding to the cartoon

1. Do both the royals and their captors appear ridiculous? Does the cartoon appear to make any serious political point? Provide evidence from the cartoon to support your response.
2. Could the cartoon be considered satirical and comic rather than partisan and political? Are the terms 'French Democrats' and 'Royal Runaways' used for comic effect?
3. The cartoonist is English, and the cartoon was for an English audience. Does that information affect your interpretation? Are there any clues as to the cartoonist's own beliefs and values?

SOURCE 3.22 Cartoon from 1791



La Famille des Cochons Ramenée dans l'étable (the family of pigs is taken back to the stable), 25 June 1791

Responding to the cartoon

1. Why is this a particularly degrading depiction of the royal family?
2. What is significant about the whip-holding rider and the French guards?

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SOURCE 3.23 Historian's analysis of the Flight to Varennes

The Flight to Varennes was the Revolution's second great turning-point. Like the oath of the clergy, it forced Frenchmen to make choices that most would have preferred not to face. Even if it had succeeded choices would have been unavoidable. Whether the king merely intended, as he claimed, to go to Montmédy and negotiate from that safe distance; or whether, as most suspected, he intended to emigrate and return at the head of Austrian armies, the achievements of the Revolution up to that moment would have been fundamentally challenged. Diplomats thought war would have been precipitated there and then. The failure of the attempted escape postponed that danger but demanded choices of a different order. The monarch had renounced the Revolution, and had explained why at great length in the proclamation he left behind. He complained of imprisonment in Paris, violation of property, and 'complete anarchy in all parts of the empire'. He denounced betrayal of the wishes expressed in the *cahiers,* the lack of power accorded to the Crown under the new constitution, the tentacular power usurped by the Jacobin clubs, and, implicitly, the new religious order. How could such a man remain head of state? The blackest suspicions of the Parisian populace and radical leaders were confirmed. Republicans now came into the open.

William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 2002, p. 152

Responding to sources 3.21, 3.22 and 3.23

1. According to historian William Doyle, what was the most significant aspect of the king's capture in Varennes?
2. Compare the two cartoons. Though they both deal with the king, can they both be labelled as propaganda?
3. What were the consequences of this event for:
   a. the king
   b. the Parisian populace?

Planning a new political system

From July 1789, the Assembly drafted and debated the structure of a new political system for France and eventually concluded that it should be a constitutional monarchy. By 1791 the Assembly had completed its task of a new constitution for the nation. The government was converted into a limited monarchy and Louis XVI's title changed from 'King of France' to 'King of the French', suggesting his power would now come from the people and the law. There was brief hope for peace and stability but this did not last as the revolutionaries could not trust that Louis XVI genuinely believed in the reforms. The king's attempted escape encouraged anti-royalist feelings and many people demanded that the king be deposed and that France become a republic. There was division between moderates who wanted a constitutional monarchy and the radicals who demanded a republic be instated. France's declaration of war against Austria in April 1792 and with Prussia in June 1792 also contributed to the atmosphere of uncertainty as there was further division between those who supported and those who opposed this conflict. A **National Convention** was established in September 1792 to draw up a new constitution with no monarchy. This was the first step towards establishing a democratic republic, but it was set up amidst internal and external tensions. From 1789 to 1792 significant changes occurred, but the stage was now set for even more fundamental developments.

National Convention an assembly that governed France from 20 September 1792 to 26 October 1795

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ACTIVITY 3.4

Create a timeline of changes that occurred from 1789 to 1792

Using the outline below, create an annotated timeline to illustrate the changes that occurred from 1789 to 1792. Provide your timeline with a heading: *From absolute monarchy to democratic republicanism*

1789 1792

.....

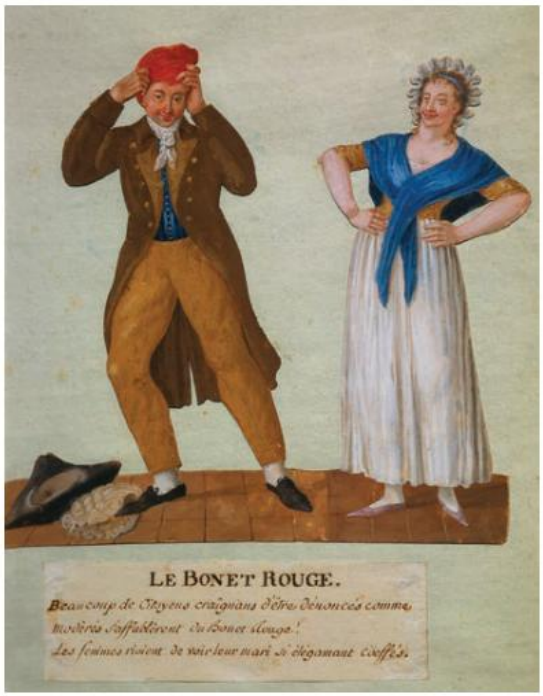
3.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Why did the Revolution become more radical?

Historians note a radicalisation of the Revolution from the second half of 1792. The main reason for this change in direction was the disillusion of the lower classes. At this time, France was at war and by August 1792 the allied armies of Austria and Prussia had crossed the border and were threatening the capture of Paris. The belief that the military disasters were the result of treasonable dealings between the king and the enemy led to radical action and brought extremists to the fore. A group of revolutionary people known as the **sans-culottes** (translated as 'without knee breeches') played a key role. They obtained this name as they dressed in long trousers instead of the knee breeches worn by the aristocracy. Their trousers were a way of identifying them, but the most distinctive part of their costume was the *bonnet rouge* (red hat). It was believed that this red woollen cap was a symbol of freedom and a unifying sign for all those who hated despotism. Tricolour cockades (ornamental ribbons) were also worn by revolutionaries from July 1789. The red and blue represented Paris and the white was the colour of the monarchy.

sans-culottes a group who were a major force in shaping the French Revolution

SOURCE 3.24 *Le bonnet rouge*

The Phrygian Cap, Jean Baptiste Lesueur (1749–1826). The caption reads 'A lot of citizens who fear being denounced as moderate, are decked out in a red cap. Women laugh seeing their husbands so elegantly capped'.



Responding to image

1. Why do you think the artist drew a hat and a wig on the floor? What do they symbolise?
2. What is the reaction of the woman? Does this suggest she is unaware of what is happening in the revolutionary environment?

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Who were the *sans-culottes*?

The image of the *sans-culottes* has changed over the years as historians have provided different interpretations. This group has often been stereotyped as the mob, or the rabble. In actuality the purpose and meaning of this group might be more complex than that.

Below are some relevant sources to give you insight into history's views of the *sans-culottes*.

SOURCES 3.25 A–E Views of the *sans-culottes*

A Description by historian George Rudé, 1988

Basically (as both police and court records amply testify), they were drawn from the urban menu people* – from the small shopkeepers and craftsmen (both masters and journeymen), servants and day-labourers of the city, but they were not drawn from the social riff-raff or down-and-outs, nor substantially from the vagrants who flocked into Paris as the Revolution began. But that is not the whole story; for, as the Revolution developed, the menu people, from their own and others, experience, acquired a political education and began to form a political movement and a political outlook of their own, often at variance with those of their mentors. So the word sans-culottes, used at first as a term of contempt for men and women of an 'inferior' life-style, began to take on a political connotation, from which the poorer elements – unemployed labourers and 'marginals' – it became extended to include political militants regardless of social milieu**. Thus the term *sans-culottes*, while social in origin, acquired political overtones which both enriched and obscured it.

*menu people – the common people/wage-earners

** milieu – background

George Rudé, *The French Revolution*, 1988, pp. 94–5

B Description by historian Richard Cobb, 1998

It is difficult to escape the impression that they were generally intolerable and occasionally brutal and cruel. But they were also enthusiastic, moderately disinterested, and undoubtedly patriotic ... the *sans-culottes* were certainly preferable to the steely bureaucrats of robespierriste unanimity, or to the vindictive judges and heartless bourgeois of the Thermidorian regime.

Richard Cobb, *The French and their Revolution*, 1998, pp. 240–1

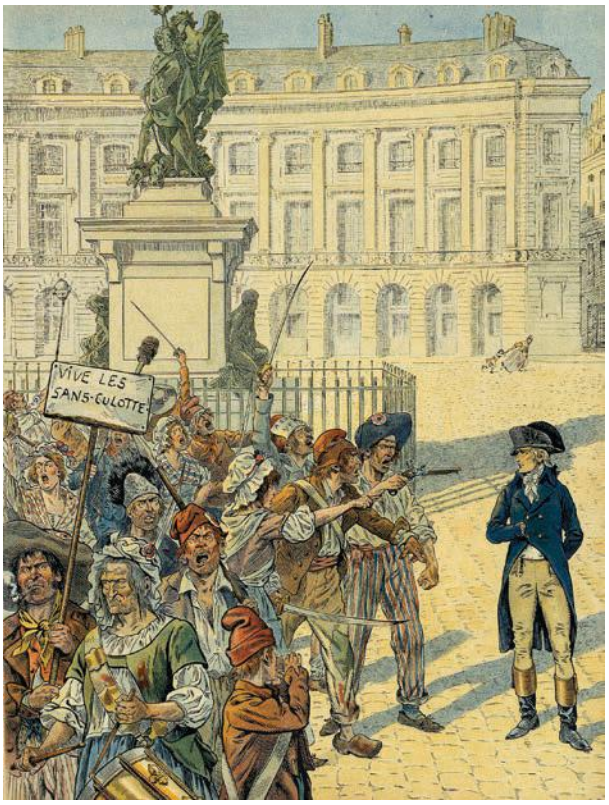
C Description by historian Albert Soboul, 1964

The absence of social prejudice amongst the *sans-culotterie* helped to strengthen their social solidarity. The word itself does not do justice to all which this entailed, but there are numerous examples of this civic virtue which, according to the sans-culottes, was nothing but outward expression of their fraternity.

Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution 1793–1794*, 1964

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D ***Napoleon Bonaparte threatened by the sans-culottes in Paris, 10 August 1792***



Jacques Marie Gaston Onfray de Breville (1858–1931)

E **A pair of working-class French revolutionaries, or *sans-culottes***



Responding to the sources

1. Carefully examine Sources 3.25 A–E. Decide whether each source provides a positive or a negative perspective of the *sans-culottes*. Place the number of the source in the table under the heading **negative** or **positive**. Provide an explanation for your choice. Source 3.25A has been used as an example.

Differing interpretations of the *sans-culottes*

Negative	Positive
	3.25A In part, Rudé is positive, describing how the *sans-culottes* took a strong interest in politics to inform their actions.

2. Based on this selection of evidence, how best would you sum up the *sans-culottes*?
3. To what extent do these sources endorse the view that the *sans-culottes* were the mob or rabble?

The September Massacres

On the 10 August 1792 the National Guard and a mob of Parisians carrying weapons invaded the Tuileries, the residence of the royal family. Despite the palace being protected by the Swiss Guard, it was overthrown and more than two-thirds of the guards were slaughtered. Their heads were removed and displayed on

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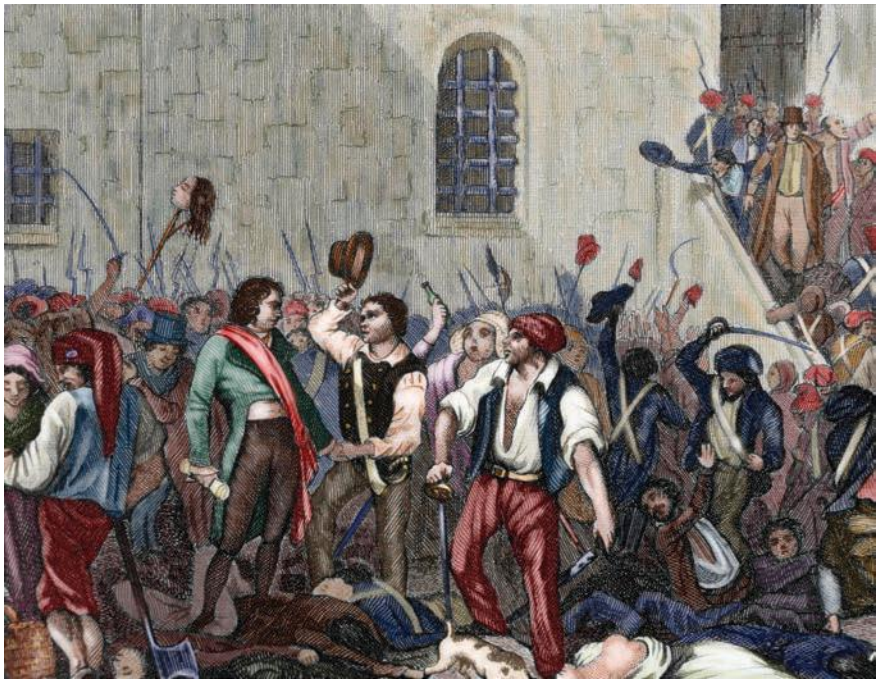
pikes, and the mob demanded the suspension of the monarchy. The deposed king and his family were imprisoned in the Temple in northern Paris. Four weeks later, during the first week of September, armed *sans-culottes* stormed the various prisons killing royal soldiers, clergymen, nobles and anyone suspected of counter-revolutionary activity. More than a thousand people were killed but the vast majority of these were just ordinary criminals. The Paris Commune, the municipal government of Paris, championed the cause of the *sans-culottes*, showing themselves to be one of the more aggressive municipal councils in France. This new radical stage of the Revolution saw the downfall of the more moderate middle-class leaders and the rise of radical republicans claiming to rule on behalf of the common people. The September Massacres widened the gap between two revolutionary groups, the **Girondins** and the **Jacobins**.

Girondins National Convention deputies who were more moderate during the Revolution

Jacobins the more radical and ruthless of the political groups during the French Revolution, associated with Robespierre

SOURCE 3.26 Nineteenth-century engraving

The executions during the month of September 1792 by the *sans-culottes* and members of the Paris Commune is illustrated in this coloured engraving from the nineteenth century.



Responding to the painting:

1. How does the artist create a particular impression of the members of the commune? What is that impression?
2. Do you think the communards (members of the Paris Commune) would be pleased by this depiction?
3. Comment on the use of the colour red and the *bonnet rouge* used by the artist in the engraving.

Jacobins and Girondins

It was in this context of violence and division that the National Convention met for the first time. Power was divided between the Jacobins and the Girondins. The Girondins were more conservative land-owners and factory-owners who believed in free trade and represented commerce and industry. They lived in the countryside and provincial cities and wanted a stable federal system of government in which power was shared by all the provinces of France. The Jacobins, Parisian middle-class professionals, represented the common people and were supported by the *sans-culottes*, workers and urban poor. They wanted a centralised government and believed that Paris was the centre of the Revolution. On 21 September 1792 the National Convention announced the abolition of the monarchy, and in its first few months the French Republic was created. Historian Peter McPhee aptly states 'the Revolution was now armed, democratic and republican' (2006:110).

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Historian David P. Jordan assessed the Jacobins and the Girondins as follows:

> We can see two identifiable factions in the Convention, holding two identifiable points of view, and struggling for control of the Revolution – Jacobins and Girondins ... In social and economic terms there was little difference between the two groups. Both were of the same generation and came from the same social class, the provincial, professional bourgeoisie. Both shared a common intellectual heritage, came from all over France, and were republicans. Both groups were blessed with leaders of remarkable capacity, even of genius, and both eventually died for what they believed.

SOURCE 3.27 David P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: Louis XVI vs. the French Revolution*, 2004, p. 49

ACTIVITY 3.5

Compare and contrast the Jacobins and the Girondins

Read the text and Source 3.27 and complete the following table to illustrate the similarities and the differences between the Jacobins and the Girondins.

Distinctive Jacobin aims, interests, policies, followers	Commonalities of Jacobins and Girondins	Distinctive Girondin aims, interests, policies, followers

guillotine initially introduced as a means to eliminate unnecessary suffering during execution. During the Reign of Terror, the guillotine was seen as very efficient as a skilled team of executioners could kill one person every two to three minutes.

The execution of Louis XVI

The next challenge for the Convention was to decide on the future of Louis XVI. The king was placed on trial and was accused of violating the sovereignty of the people. The deputies of the Convention debated the fate of the king. The Jacobins demanded his execution whereas the Girondins supported an 'appeal to the people'. After a vote, the king was found guilty of conspiring against the state and condemned to death. On 21 January 1793 Louis XVI was publicly executed by **guillotine**. His death deepened the rift between republicans and monarchists inside France and it also brought other European countries into the war against the Revolution.

SOURCES 3.28 A&B Execution of Louis XVI of France

A Jordan describes the execution, 2004

> The king's last words were spoken in a clear and strong voice, 'I die innocent. I pardon my enemies and I hope that my blood will be useful to the French'. The king appeared to say more but his last words were drowned by a drum roll. The executioners quickly strapped the king to the plank, slid him through the 'widow's window'. The king uttered a frightful cry as the blade fell.

D.P. Jordan, *The King's Trial: Louis XVI vs. The French Revolution*, 2004, p. 220

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B *Execution of Louis XVI of France, Paris, 21 January 1793*



Responding to the sources

1. What impression of the king does the picture in Source 3.28B convey?
2. How does it match the description in Source 3.28A?
3. How might news of the king's execution have been received in other European nations?
4. The author and date of this painting are unknown. Does that limit its usefulness as a source of evidence?
5. Try to locate online sources that can corroborate this painting's depiction.

This is a colourised version of a black-and-white print by an unknown artist.

Committee of Public Safety

Although the Convention had set up a new democratic constitution it deferred its introduction and focused on wartime emergency. The convention delegated responsibilities to a group of 12 leaders known as the Committee of Public Safety. By this time, moderate leaders such as the Girondins had lost influence and complete power was passed on to the Jacobins. Robespierre, Marat and Danton were leaders of this extremist faction. The most famous of all the extremists was Maximilien Robespierre, who was fanatically devoted to principle and justified ruthlessness as a necessary means to revolutionary progress. According to historian William Doyle, Robespierre was 'a figure of authority and power, and he took his own ideas very seriously' (Doyle, Third Edition, 2018, Ch12, p.274).

Revolutionary calendar

In order to mark the new age of liberty, the Gregorian calendar was replaced with a new republican calendar. The year the new Republic was proclaimed – 22 September 1792 – the National Convention endorsed the new calendar. The 12 months of the year were named after natural elements, replacing the names of saints and Christian festivals. For example, *Prairial*, meaning the month of meadows, was the ninth month extending from 21 May to 19 June, and *Thermidor*, meaning the month of heat was the eleventh month and extended from 20 July to 18 August.

Reign of Terror

Historians' opinions differ regarding the exact dates of the start of the Reign of Terror. Some believe it began after the execution of Louis XVI; others see the creation of the Revolutionary Tribunal or the consolidation of the Committee of Public Safety as the starting point. However, the end of the Terror is clearly identified by the fall of Robespierre. During this period, between 1793 and 1794, reliable estimates are that approximately 40 000 people were killed in France. The Terror saw the suspension of many civil liberties when the revolutionary government set up the *Law of Suspects*, Revolutionary Tribunals, Committees of Surveillance and the *Law of 22 Prairial*. Anyone who was an object of suspicion risked being sent to the guillotine. It was a time of radical authoritarianism in response to circumstances of war and counter-revolution.

Thermidorian reaction

In 1794 Robespierre became increasingly obsessed with purging the Republic of individuals who he believed were corrupt and fell short of his exacting standards of virtue. Robespierre, who had become the most prominent defender of the policies of the Terror, behaved in a manner that caused people to question his power. Assassination attempts against him brought about the *Law of 22 Prairial* in 1794. This legislation, which allowed juries to convict people without any evidence, significantly increased the

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number of executions. The law streamlined the procedures of the Revolutionary Tribunal and broadened the definition of those considered to be enemies of the state, marking the second stage of the Terror. During this period, cartloads of suspects were sent to the guillotine on the *Place de la Révolution* and Robespierre appeared more and more to act as a powerful dictator.

A coalition of concerned deputies with varying and conflicting motivations, yet sharing the same fears, galvanised to take action and planned a coup. On 27 July 1794 (Ninth Thermidor), Robespierre was denounced before a session of the National Convention and toppled from power. He was arrested along with a number of his loyal supporters and sent to the guillotine, bringing an end to the Terror and the revolutionary government. This period of conservative reaction against Robespierre and the Jacobin policies is referred to as the Thermidorian Reaction. The Thermidorians were predominantly conservative republicans who aimed at dismantling the Terror, yet their policies were contradictory. They used political intimidation in their efforts to bring an end to the Terror, punishing perpetrators and unleashing a 'White Terror' against the former Jacobins. The White Terror, characterised by chaos, was directed towards those who had been loyal to the revolutionary convention. In Paris it was carried out by the *jeunesse dorée* (the gilded youth), young people from wealthy backgrounds who targeted former militants such as the *sans-culottes* for public abuse, and carried out violent disruptions of Jacobin club meetings. The White Terror was motivated by revenge for the brutal Jacobin actions of the year before.

SOURCES 3.29 A&B Reaction against the terror

A A nineteenth-century coloured engraving showing the arrest of Robespierre



B Memoir of Marc-Antoine Baudot

> In the inextricable and bloody state that the Republic had reached before 9 Thermidor, the only way out of this horrifying situation was by death or ostracism of Robespierre ... so, in the struggle of 9 Thermidor, it was not a question of principles but of killing.

Extract from *Notes Historiques sur la Convention Nationale*, the memoir of Marc-Antoine Baudot, a deputy in the National Convention

Responding to the extract and image

1. Does the artist of Source 3.29A accurately depict the comments made by Baudot (Source 3.29B), a deputy in the Convention at the time? Make reference to visual clues in the image to support your answer.

ACTIVITY 3.6

Create a timeline of changes that occurred from 1792 to 1794

Using the outline below, create an annotated timeline to illustrate the changes that occurred from 1792 to 1794. Provide your timeline with the title: *Towards extremism*

1792 1794

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3.9 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Reign of Terror deviate from the principles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen?

During the Revolution there was a radical shift from idealism to extremism. The ideals of 1789 – liberty, equality and fraternity – were tarnished by the brutality and violence of the Terror. In this section, you will explore the Reign of Terror, already described briefly. To begin, you'll learn more about the revolutionary ideals which were articulated in the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

SOURCE 3.30 The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, August 1789

Preamble

The representatives of the French people, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect or scorn of the rights of man to be the only causes of national misfortunes and the corruption of governments, have resolved to set out, in a solemn Declaration, the natural, unalienable and sacred rights of man, so that this Declaration, always present to all members of society, reminds them constantly of their rights and their duties; so that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power, being able to be compared at every moment with the aim of the whole political institution, should have greater respect for that aim; so that the demands of the citizens, founded henceforth on simple and indisputable principles, are always oriented to conserving the Constitution and to the happiness of everybody. Consequently, the National Assembly acknowledges and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of man and of the citizen:

First Article: Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only upon benefit for the community.

Article 2: The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural rights of man, whose rights must not be prevented. These rights are freedom, property, security and resistance to oppression.

Article 3: The fundamentals of sovereignty has its origins essentially in the Nation. No organisation, nor individual, may exercise any authority that does not expressly come from there.

Article 4: Liberty consists in being able to do anything that does not harm other people. Thus, the exercise of the natural rights of each man has only those limits that ensure to the other members of society the enjoyment of these same rights. These limits may be determined only by the law.

Article 5: The law has only the right to forbid those actions that are detrimental to society. Anything that is not forbidden by law may not be prevented, and none may be compelled to do what the law does not require.

Article 6: The law is the expression of the collective wishes of the public. All citizens have the right to contribute, personally or through their representatives, to the forming of the law. The law must be the same for all, whether it protects or it punishes. All citizens, being equal in its eyes, shall be equally eligible for all important offices, positions and public employments, according to their ability and without other distinction than that of their qualities and talents.

Article 7: No man can be accused, arrested or detained except in the cases determined by the law, and according to the methods that the law has stipulated. Those who pursue, distribute, enforce, or cause to be enforced, arbitrary orders must be punished; but any citizen summoned, or apprehended in accordance with the law, must obey immediately: he makes himself guilty by resisting.

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Article 8: The law must introduce only punishments that are strictly and indisputably necessary; and no one may be punished except in accordance with a law instituted and published before the offence is committed, and legally applied.

Article 9: Because every man is presumed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it should be considered necessary to arrest him, any force beyond the minimum necessary to arrest and imprison the person will be treated severely.

Article 10: No one should be harassed for his opinions, even religious views, provided that the expression of such opinions does not cause a breach of the peace as established by law.

Article 11: The free communication of thought and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Any citizen can therefore speak, write and publish freely; however, they are answerable for abuse of this freedom as determined by law.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, August 1789 (includes 11 of the 17 Articles).

Responding to the declaration

1. What form of government would result from the ideas contained in this declaration?
2. Briefly comment on what effect Article 3 would have on the powers of Louis XVI.
3. Account for the inclusion of Article 7 in the document.
4. One of the main principles of the French Revolution is referred to in Article 11. What is it? Name the other two principles of the Revolution.

ACTIVITY 3.7

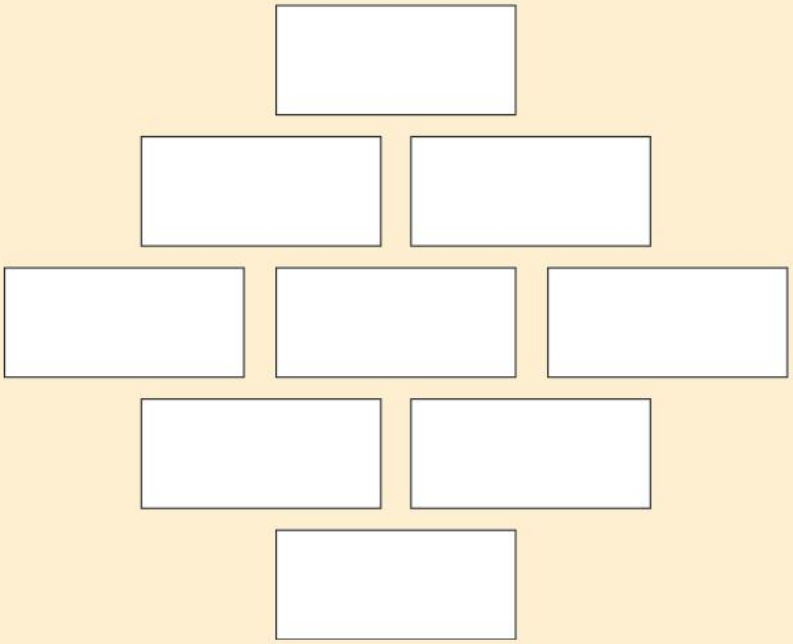
Choose nine key principles for a good society

If you had to choose nine of the ideas from the declaration upon which to base a good society, what would they be, and how would you rank them in importance? Use the pyramid ranking chart. Start at the top with your most important idea, and work your way down to the ninth.

Use a shorthand version of the declaration's ideas; for example, 'Article 11: freedom of expression'.

When finished, share your decisions with a classmate. Then engage in a class discussion about your choices. Think also about any important idea/principle that is missing from the declaration.

Planning a 'good society'



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In the following pages, you will discover more about the Terror. After that, you will evaluate the ways in which the ideas and practices of the Terror contradicted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

A key law that made the Terror possible was the following.

SOURCE 3.31 The *Law of Suspects*, 17 September 1793

Article 1: Immediately after the publication of the present decree, all suspected persons who are within the territory of the Republic and still at large shall be placed under arrest.

Article 2: The following are considered suspected persons: (1) those who, either by their conduct, relations, words or writings have shown themselves to be partisans of tyranny, federalism and enemies of liberty; (2) those who cannot justify in the manner prescribed by the law of 21 March last [establishing Committees of Surveillance] their means of existence and their discharge of their civic duties; (3) those who have been refused certificates of patriotism; (4) public officials suspended or removed from their offices by the National Convention or its commissaries, and not reinstated, especially those who have been or shall be removed by virtue of the law of 12 August last; (5) those former nobles, including husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sons or daughters, brothers or sisters, and agents of émigrés who have not constantly demonstrated their loyalty to the Revolution; (6) those who emigrated in the interval from 1 July 1789 to the publication of the law of 8 April 1792 [confiscating émigré property], although they may have returned to France in the period determined by that law or previously.

Article 3: The Committee of Surveillance established according to the law of 21 March last, or those substituted for them either by order of the representatives of the people sent to the armies and the departments, or by virtue of special decrees of the National Convention, are charged with preparing, each in its own arrondissement, a list of suspected persons with issuing arrest warrents against them, and with affixing seals to their papers. Commanders of the public force to whom those arrest warrents shall be delivered shall be required to execute them at once, under penalty of dismissal.

Article 4: The Committee may not order the arrest of any person unless seven members are present, and only on an absolute majority of votes.

Article 5: Individuals arrested as suspects shall first be taken to jail in the place of their detention; in default of jails they shall be kept under surveillance in their respective places of residence.

Article 6: During the following week they shall be transferred into national buildings, which the departmental administrations shall be required, as soon as possible after receipt of the present decree, to designate and prepare for this purpose.

Article 7: The detainees may have their absolutely essential belongings taken into these buildings. They shall remain there under guard until the peace.

Article 8: The guard costs shall be borne by the detainees and divided among them equally. This guard duty shall be entrusted, preferably, to fathers of families and relatives of citizens who have gone or shall go to the frontiers. The salary is fixed, for each man of the guard, at the value of a day and a half of labour.

Article 9: Surveillance Committees shall forward without delay to the Committee of General Security of the National Convention the list of persons whom they have had arrested, with the reasons for their arrest, and the papers which they have seized with respect to them.

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Article 10: The civil and criminal tribunals may, if there is occasion, hold under arrest as suspected persons, and send to the jails above mentioned, those accused of offences in respect of which it has been declared that there is no occasion for indictment, or who have been acquitted of charges brought against them.

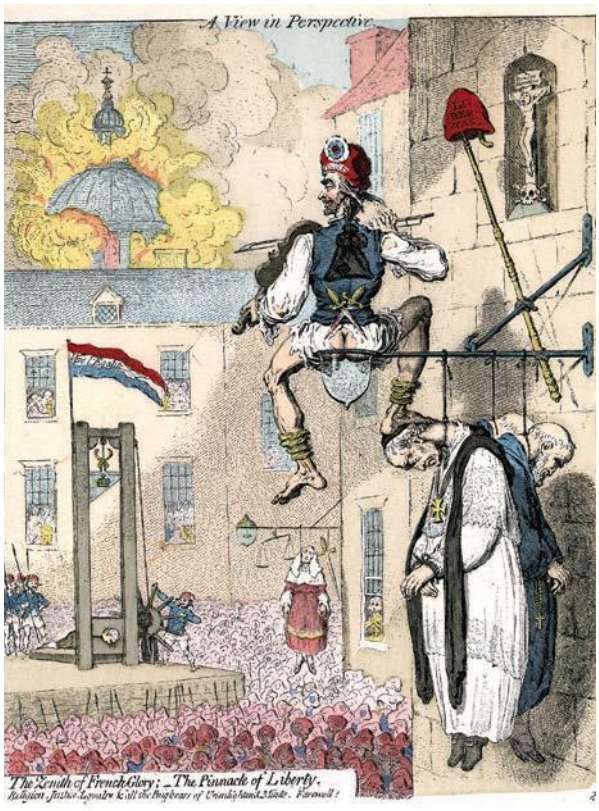
The Law of Suspects, 17 September 1793. Philippe-Joseph-Benjamin Buchez and Prosper-Charles Roux, *Histoire parlementaire de la Révolution française*, 40 vols (Paris, 1834–38), Vol. 29, pp. 109–10

Responding to the document

1. Consider the type of atmosphere this legal document, *The Law of Suspects*, created.
2. Article 2 states that 'those who have not constantly demonstrated their loyalty to the Revolution' are considered 'suspected persons'. Explain why such subjective criteria could be problematic.
3. Find evidence in the document to verify that *The Law of Suspects* broadened the power and responsibilities of the committees of surveillance which were established in March 1792.
4. Identify the dangers of the power given to civil and criminal tribunals mentioned in Article 10. What form of government could result from this type of legal document?

SOURCE 3.32 British cartoon on the Reign of Terror, published in 1793

Colour etching by James Gillray. The top caption reads: 'A view in perspective', the bottom caption reads: 'The zenith of French glory: the pinnacle of liberty, religion, justice, loyalty and all the bugbears of unenlightened minds farewell!'



Responding to the cartoon

1. What signs of turmoil has the artist included in the cartoon? What evidence is there that this turmoil is part of the Terror?
2. Comment on the use of satire and exaggeration in the cartoon.
3. Why do you think the cartoonist labelled his cartoon 'A view in perspective'?
4. Comment on the tone of the cartoonist's wording at the bottom of the cartoon, 'The zenith of French glory: the pinnacle of liberty, religion, justice, loyalty and all the bugbears of unenlightened minds farewell.'
5. Do you think the cartoonist was criticising the Terror, or poking fun at it? Explain your reponse.

Louis Prunelle was arrested and accused of being part of an insurrection chanting 'Long live religion and the Catholic army! Down with Clubs and the Jacobins!' in the name of religious liberty. This is his last letter written to his wife.

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SOURCE 3.33 Letter by a condemned prisoner, 2 March 1794

To citizeness Prunelle, school teacher, La Ferté-Gaucher in Brie, at Meilleray Paris, 12 Ventôse, Year II of the Republic one and indivisible

My dear friend,

I have taken this moment to give you and your poor children some sad news. Of all that I ask you, the one thing is not to grieve. Put your confidence in the children and in the Supreme Being who must be your force and your support. It has already been two hours since I have suffered the news of my condemnation as a result of negligence on the part of a municipal officer from the commune of Meilleray, who did not send the documentation I asked him to.

Learn to console yourself, my dear friend, because I will never see you again. Look after the children and raise them well. I will suffer death as an innocent, accused of being one of the conspirators in the crowd from Meilleray when we were at La Ferte-Gaucher, which is not true, but then someone has to be punished. Throw yourself into the merciful arms of God. Show this letter to all my relatives and tell those from Champguion that they should look upon you and the children as if I were there, that they should not cause you any distress, and that they should always take care of you, as well as my poor children.

Goodbye, my friend, my dear heart, I leave you, reduced to tears, with kisses, as well as for my children, my father and mother and all my relatives whom I ask you to kiss goodbye for me. Pray to the Supreme Being for me; from the one leaving you for ever.

Your dear friend,
Prunelle

Olivier Blanc, *La dernière lettre. Prisons et condamnés de la Révolution, 1793–1794*, 1984, pp. 209–10

Responding to the letter

1. Comment on the statement in the letter by Prunelle, 'but then someone has to be punished'.
2. What does this statement and the tone of the letter tell you about the beliefs and values of the time?

SOURCE 3.34 Extract from *The Law of 22 Prairial*, 10 June 1794

The National Convention, having heard the report of the Committee of Public Safety, decrees:
Article 4: The Revolutionary Tribunal is established to punish the enemies of the people.
Article 5: The enemies of the people are those who seek to abolish public liberty, whether by force or by guile.
Article 6: Considered enemies of the people are:

- those who have sought the reestablishment of royalty or sought to degrade or dissolve the National Convention and the revolutionary republican government of which it is the centre
- those who have betrayed the Republic in the command of posts and armies, or in any other military function, maintained a secret correspondence with enemies of the Republic, or toiled to disrupt the provisioning or the service of the army; those who have sought to prevent the provising of Paris or to cause dearth in the Republic

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- those who have assisted the plans of the enemies of France, whether by promoting the sheltering and impunity of conspirators and aristocracy, by persecuting and slandering patriotism, by corrupting the representatives of the people, by abusing the principles of the Revolution, or the laws or measures of the government by false and treacherous applications
- those who have deceived the people or the representatives of the people, to induce them into actions contrary to the interests of liberty
- those who have sought to spread despondency in order to promote the enterprises of tyrants leagued against the Republic
- those who have spread false news to divide or disturb the people
- those who have sought to mislead opinion and to prevent the instruction of the people, to deprave morals and corrupt the public conscience, to impair the energy and purity of revolutionary and republican principles, or to stop their progress, whether by counter-revolutionary or insidious writings, or by any other machination untrustworthy suppliers who compromise the security of the Republic, and peculators of the public wealth, other than those included under the provisions of the *Law of 7 Frimaire* dealing with embezzlement
- those who, being charged with public office, misuse it to serve the enemies of the Revolution, to harass patriots, or to oppress the people
- finally, all those who are designated in preceding laws relating to the punishment of conspirators and counter-revolutionaries and who, by whatever means or by whatever outward appearances they assume, have attacked the liberty, unity and security of the Republic, or toiled to prevent the enhancement of its strength.

Article 7: The penalty for all offences within the cognisance of the Revolutionary Tribunal is death.

Responding to the document

1. According to the *Law of 22 Prairial* who was considered an enemy of the people? Make a list of transgressions mentioned in the document.
2. Provide clear definitions of the following terms used in the document: *slandering, corrupt*, *tyrant* and *conspirators*. Why would some of the French population have been alarmed by the use of this radical and emotive terminology?
3. According to Article 7 what was the penalty for breaking this law?

ACTIVITY 3.8

Discuss Rights vs The Reign of Terror

1. Organise yourselves into pairs or into groups of four. Study the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the four primary source documents above. Discuss anything that you find particularly interesting, surprising or unfair.
2. Complete the table below in detail using Source 3.30 to add information to the left-hand column and Source 3.31 *The Law of Suspects*, Source 3.32 British cartoon, Source 3.33 Letter from Louis Prunelle and Source 3.34 *The Law of 22 Prairial* to complete the right-hand side of the table.

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ACTIVITY 3 .8 continued

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen	The Reign of Terror
1. Man is born free and remains free and equal in rights	**1.** People's individual rights are not respected. The interests of the Revolution are put first.
2. Rights of property, liberty and resistance to oppression are to be preserved	**2.** People's right to liberty are ignored as …
3. Nobody may exercise authority if she/he does not have authority from the nation	**3.** The Committee for Public Safety acted …
4. Liberty consists of the freedom to do anything which harms no one else	**4.**
5. No one may be forced to do anything not provided for by the law	**5.** The law was ignored and trials abolished during this period.
6. The law is the expression of the collective wishes of the public	**6.**
7. No person shall be accused, arrested or imprisoned except when it is lawful	**7.** The *Law of Suspects* allows …
8. No one should be punished except in accordance with the law	**8.**
9. All persons are held to be innocent until they have been declared guilty	**9.** The *Law of 22 Prairial* states …
10. No person should be harassed for their opinions	**10.**
11. Every citizen may speak, write or print with freedom	**11.**

3. Discuss the extent to which the sources indicate that the Terror represented an attack on some aspects of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

3.10 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Was the Terror a necessary measure to preserve the French Revolution?

As noted above, the September Massacres were endorsed by radical Jacobins like Robespierre, who justified them as a legitimate revolutionary act and an expression of the will of the people. Robespierre believed that dictatorship was necessary to achieve the goals of the Revolution. Robespierre stated that 'Terror is nothing more than rapid, severe and inflexible justice . . . a consequence of the general principle of democracy applied to the most pressing needs of the country'.

Here are three sources that provide insights into the Terror and into the ideas and actions of Robespierre.

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SOURCE 3.35 Robespierre defends the Terror in a public address, 1794

If we stop too soon we will die. We have not been too severe. Without the Revolutionary Government the republic cannot grow stronger. If it is destroyed now, freedom will end tomorrow.

Responding to the source

1. What key principle of the French Revolution did Robespierre claim the Revolutionary Government was preserving?
2. Robespierre headed the Committee of Public Safety. Why can the name of this Committee be considered ironic?

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Robespierre compiled a special report that explained why the Terror was necessary.

SOURCE 3.36 Robespierre's special report

Revolutionary government needs to operate in an extraordinary manner, precisely because it is at war. It is subject to less uniform and less rigorous regulations because the circumstances in which it finds itself are stormy and unstable, and, above all, because it is forced unceasingly to deploy new and swift resources against new and pressing dangers.

Constitutional government is principally concerned with civil liberty, and revolutionary government with public liberty. Under a constitutional regime, it almost suffices to protect individuals against the abuse of power by the state: under a revolutionary regime, it is the state which has to defend itself against all the factions which assail it.

Revolutionary government owes to all good citizens the fullest protection the state can afford; to the enemies of the people it owes nothing but death.

Extract from the *Report on the Principles of Revolutionary Government* made in the name of the Committee of Public Safety by Maximilien Robespierre, 25 December 1793

Responding to the source

1. How does Robespierre explain the difference between revolutionary government and constitutional government?
2. How does Robespierre justify the use of extreme measures by the revolutionary government?

One extraordinary primary source lists the crimes for which particular people were executed during the Terror.

SOURCE 3.37 Crimes for which people were executed during the Terror

Tree of Liberty tree decorated with the revolutionary colours and badges

Jean-Baptiste Henry for cutting down a **Tree of Liberty**

Jean Julien for shouting, 'long live the king'

Henriette-Francoise de Marboeuf for having hoped for the arrival of the Prussians

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Francois Betrand for providing soldiers with sour wine which was bad for their health

Marie-Angelique Plaisant, a seamstress, for saying she was an aristocrat and did not 'care a fig for the nation'

Extract from the '*Liste générale des Condamnés*' (execution record) of 1793, the names of those executed during the Terror and their 'crimes' recorded

Responding to the source

1. Identify the right that Jean Julien and Marie-Angelique Plaisant were denied.
2. Jean Julien was guillotined for shouting 'long live the king'. Explain why this statement resulted in his death.
3. How useful is this source to a historian studying the Terror? Give reasons for your answer.

Historian Christopher Hibbert reported a strange and paradoxical fact about Robespierre.

SOURCE 3.38 Hibbert reveals Robespierre's sense of self

He [Robespierre] saw none of the victims perish. He had once said that public executions brutalised people. But he made no effort to stop them. He had to stay in power because he thought himself incorruptible, more virtuous than other men. He alone could save the Revolution.

Christopher Hibbert, *The French Revolution*, 1980

Responding to the source

1. Why did Robespierre believe he was the best person to head France's government?
2. Why would he authorise a practice that he thought 'brutalised people'?

SOURCE 3.39 Description of the impact of the Terror in Paris

The *Law of Suspects* made nobody safe from accusation, and all too often guilt was assumed and innocence impossible to establish. Paris became accustomed to the sight of carts of aristocrats, priests and others being brought to the scaffold. For a while the guillotine was an object of obsessive, even pathological interest. It was the subject of grim jokes – 'the guillotine is the best doctor' – and large crowds attended the 'Red Mass' when it was customary to bait the prisoners with sarcastic comments about their fate. Since the actual killing was brief, interest centred on assessing the behaviour of the condemned as they faced death.

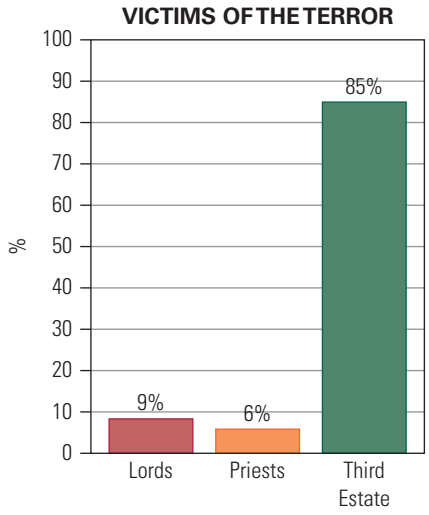
J.E. Sharp, *The French Revolution*, 1974

Responding to the extract

1. According to Source 3.38, Robespierre acknowledged that 'public executions brutalised [the] people' who watched them. Does Source 3.39 confirm or disprove Robespierre's observation? Quote from Source 3.39 to support your answer.

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SOURCE 3.40 A graph showing the victims of the Terror (1793–94)



Responding to the graph

1. During this period, 1793 to 1794, reliable estimates suggest that approximately 40 000 people were killed in France. The total population in 1789 was approximately 28 million. Refer to Source 3.40 and back to Source 3.2 (diagram illustrating the population distribution in France in 1789) to assist you in identifying the segment of the French population that was victimised the most during the Terror.
2. Use evidence from Source 3.39 to assist you in explaining why this occurred.

SOURCE 3.41 Historian Douglas Johnson offers a reason for the Terror

> It [the Terror] was not a blind bloodletting; it was a means of ensuring unity and security. Naturally there was suspicion of traitors, since there really was treason, just as there really was corruption ... Always, too, was the idea that state affairs ought to be directed according to the general will of the people. How this should be done led to controversy and bitterness.

Douglas Johnson, *The French Revolution*, 1970

Responding to the extract

1. Explain in your own words the meaning of the term 'treason' and give one example of someone who would have been regarded as a traitor during the Terror in France.
2. Were 'state affairs ... directed according to the general will of the people' during the Terror? Give reasons for your answer.

Francois-Rene Chateaubriand (1768–1848) was a young adult when the Revolution began. He was an aristocrat and a royalist and, not surprisingly, had strong views about the Jacobins and their Terror.

SOURCE 3.42 Chateaubriand explains how the Terror benefited the Jacobins

> While the armies were forming, the prisons were filled with all the wealthy persons of France. At one place they were drowned by thousands, at another the doors of the crowded dungeons were opened and the victims fired upon by cannon loaded with grapeshot. The guillotine was at work day and night. This implement of destruction was too slow for the haste of the executioner; and the artists of death invented a new kind, which cut off several heads with a

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single blow. The streets were so inundated with blood, as to become impassable; and it became necessary to change the place of execution. It was in vain that immense pits were opened to receive the dead bodies; they were soon filled, and new ones obliged to be dug. Grey-headed people of eighty years old and girls of sixteen, fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, husbands, wives and children died covered with the blood of each other. Thus the Jacobins attained four leading points at once, towards the establishment of their republic; they destroyed the inequality of rank, levelled the fortunes of individuals, augmented the finances by the confiscation of every person's property who was condemned, and attached the army to their interest by buoying it up with the hope that it would someday possess these estates.

François-René Chateaubriand, *Historical, Political, and Moral Essay on Revolutions, Ancient and Modern* (English translation), 1815, pp. 46–54

Responding to the extract

1. Why do you think that Chateaubriand would want to write about the Terror?
2. Chateaubriand describes extraordinary scenes from the Terror. If true, how could such large-scale ferocity be explained? Might Chateaubriand have had reason to exaggerate?
3. Chateaubriand says that the Jacobins benefited in four ways from the Terror. What were these four benefits?
4. Could any or all of them have been achieved without the excesses of the Terror? Give reasons for your answer.
5. If that had been possible, might the Jacobins still have enacted the Terror? Give reasons for your answer.

As explained earlier, Robespierre finally fell out of favour, was arrested, tried and executed by guillotine – the device invented to serve the pressing needs of the Terror. After his death, this engraving was made depicting Robespierre operating the guillotine.

SOURCE 3.43 A comment on Robespierre after his death, 1794

A comment on Robespierre after his death, 1794. The original caption was 'Robespierre, after having had all the French guillotined, beheads the executioner with his own hand.' The engraving on the stone behind Robespierre reads 'Here lies all of France'.



Responding to the illustration

1. How do both the image and the caption convey a sense of ridicule? What message do you think the artist intended?
2. The engraver who produced this image was executed. Does this seem strange, given the political situation? What might explain the decision to execute him?

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ACTIVITY 3.9

Analyse the Terror

Reviewing the evidence considering contestability

1. Robespierre argued that the Terror was a necessary measure to preserve France. His critics viewed the actions taken by the government during the Terror as extreme.
   Consider whether the Terror could be morally, politically or economically justified. Back up your answer with evidence from events which occurred from 1793 to 1794.
2. Use the evidence from Sources 3.35 to 3.43 and complete the table below to indicate justifications for the Terror, or condemnation of the Terror.

Justifications for the Terror	Condemnation of the Terror
E.g. Source 3.35 … Robespierre defends the Terror on political grounds.	

3. Write an essay using the skills of analysis, explanation, interpretation and communication. Use all the sources (3.35 to 3.43) to provide evidence to respond to this statement:
   The Terror can be justified on a number of grounds, but not on moral grounds.
   You will be expected to:
   - Identify the information from each source and reference the sources
   - Take a clear position on the statement
   - Develop an argument supporting the position that you have taken
   - Communicate your argument clearly.

3.11 How did women participate in the Revolution?

Women from different sections of society were engaged in a range of political actions during the Revolution. Many women were confined to domestic service. However, some pushed the boundaries of their gender and participated politically. The French women's march on Versailles, the establishment of political clubs and the role of prominent female political figures was the start of women's organised participation in politics in France. Women wanted political democracy, social equality and started to ask for equal rights. Initially seen as heroines and the mainstay of popular demonstrations in the capital, women were later seen as a liability to the revolutionary government. Women experienced many challenges during the Revolution and despite their involvement there were little gains for women. Twentieth-century feminist theorist Simone de Beauvoir, author of *The Second Sex*, wrote 'it might well have been expected that the Revolution would change the lot of women. It did nothing of the sort. That bourgeois revolution was respectful of bourgeois institutions and values and it was accomplished almost exclusively by men' (1949:182).

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The Constitution of 1791 made women passive citizens as they could not vote or stand for public office. The Jacobin Constitution of 1793 gave the vote to all men but to no women. The Constitution of 1795 took the vote away from some men and removed the earlier notion of passive citizenship, and women ceased to be citizens at all.

The Jacobin Knitters

Madame Therese Defarge, although a fictional character in the novel *A Tale of Two Cities* by Charles Dickens, provides a useful depiction of the militant market women who played a role in the Revolution. In the novel she is portrayed as a tough, unforgiving and ruthless woman seeking revenge for the injustice against her working-class family. Defarge and other female revolutionaries encoded the names of those who were to be executed into their knitting by using different sequences of stitches. These knitting women, known as the *tricoteuses*, sat by the guillotine during public executions as the enemies of the French Revolution were beheaded. Other writers have also made reference to these women. In the novel *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, Baroness Orczy writes that the *tricoteuses,* 'sat there and knitted whilst head after head fell beneath the knife, and they themselves got quite bespattered with the blood of those cursed aristos' (1908). Dominique Godineau, in her book *The Women of Paris and Their French Revolution*, wrote that the knitting needles were 'weapons without names; tools for labour tinged with bloody tips' (1998). Although Dickens and other writers referencing women in the French Revolution often portray them as forthright belligerent revolutionaries, Godineau describes these female revolutionaries not only as confrontational and contentious but also as nurturing and kind-hearted. Working-class women struggled to sustain themselves and their families in the economic climate of the Revolution and many wanted to play a role in improving the political situation. As their views were not considered relevant, there was little hope of equality for these women who were perceived by society as holding roles exclusively of wife and mother.

SOURCE 3.44 Advice offered to women by a Jacobin journalist in 1793

> Be honest and diligent girls, tender and modest wives, wise mothers, and you will be good patriots. True patriots consist of fulfilling one's duties and valuing only rights appropriate to each according to sex and age, and not wearing the [liberty] cap and pantaloons and not carrying a pike and pistol. Leave those to men who are born to protect you and make you happy.

Quoted in S.A. Spencer, *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, 1984, p. 75

1. Would this view of women have been considered normal at the time?
2. Why might some women have expected the Revolution to produce a different status, different expectations and different social roles for women? Why do you think this did not happen?
3. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was probably influenced by the United States Declaration of Independence (1776). Find out whether women were included in its statement of rights. What other group of people in the USA was definitely excluded from those rights?

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SOURCE 3.45 A painting of the Jacobin Knitters



A painting of the Jacobin Knitters by Jean Baptiste Lesueur. The caption reads: *The Jacobin or Robespierre's knitters. There were a great number who were given 40 sol [money – centimes] a day to go into the Jacobin gallery to applaud revolutionary motions.*

Responding to the painting

1. Judging by both the painting itself and the caption, do you think the artist was simply documenting the existence of the knitters or was he expressing some judgement about them and their actions? Explain your response.
2. Why do you think the Jacobins paid women to sit in the National Convention gallery and applaud during meetings (see the caption of the image)? Does this imply something about the political situation within the Convention?
3. Do you think the women in this painting would have been satisfied with the advice of the Jacobin journalist in Source 3.44?

Revolutionary women

During the years 1791 and 1793, women formed associations both to support the liberal constitutional and the republican regimes, and aimed to claim equal political rights with men. One such group, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women formed in 1793, believed in political democracy, social equality and equal rights for women. They initially formed in the winter of 1793, prompted by concern over the rising food prices. As many as a hundred women would attend meetings. However, as the political and economic situation worsened, their actions became more and more militant and the organisation was short-lived. In October 1793 the National Convention, which found the revolutionary women to be disorderly, formally banned women's organisations and arrested their leaders.

Olympe de Gouges

Olympe de Gouges was a social reformer, a playwright and a pamphleteer. In 1791 she produced the pamphlet *Declaration of the Rights of Women and of the Female Citizen,* which asked for equal political rights for women as a response to the Declaration of the Rights of Man. She challenged conventional views on the role of women as citizens and became politically active. She criticised Robespierre and the National Convention which brought her to the attention of the Committee of Public Safety. In 1793 she was arrested, sent to trial and guillotined as she was accused of producing written works directed against those in power which were contrary to the wants and needs of the entire nation.

- How does the guillotining of Olympe de Gouges for criticising those in power demonstrate how far the Terror had departed from the revolutionary ideals of 1789?

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SOURCE 3.46 *The Patriotic Women's Club in Paris*



The Patriotic Women's Club in Paris, Jean Baptiste Lesueur (1749–1826). There is a lack of clarity about this painting. It is possibly a group of middle-class women who support the republic. Commentators differ about the meaning of the coin donations shown – some describe it as assistance for the poor; others as donations to the republican political cause.

Responding to the paintings

1. Compare and contrast this painting and Source 3.45, both by the French artist Lesueur. Are there any clues that, while the first is Jacobin (working-class based), the other might be middle class?
2. Does the artist give any hint that he favours one group over the other?
3. Is the second painting still a useful historical source, despite the lack of information about it? Search online yourself to try to find better information about the second painting.

Charlotte Corday

Charlotte Corday assassinated Jean-Paul Marat, a Jacobin leader, on 13 July 1793. Corday visited Marat in his home on the pretence of providing him with the names of traitors to the Republic and stabbed him while he sat in his bath. Marat was the deputy of the Convention, a radical leader who called for the extermination of the enemies of the Revolution. He was very popular among the working-class of Paris and when he was assassinated by Corday he became one of the **martyrs** of the Revolution. Corday, a member of the Girondins, was opposed to the Jacobins whom she saw as dangerous and responsible for the radical course of the Revolution. Perceiving herself as a patriot, Corday believed she was saving the Girondins and the Revolution. She believed she could stop Marat's promotion of violence and stated that she 'killed one man to save a hundred thousand'. Seen as a traitorous villain, she was arrested, convicted by the Revolutionary Tribunal and executed in Paris on 17 July 1793. Within two years, however, Marat was seen in a different light by many.

martyr a person who suffers very much or is killed because of their religious or political beliefs, and is often admired because of it

SOURCES 3.47 A&B Charlotte Corday and Jean-Paul Marat

A Extract from the *Courrier republican, the Messager du soir*, and the *Narrateur impartial*

6 February 1795

The day before yesterday, a bust of Marat was found hanging at the entrance to a butcher's, on the corner of the rue de la Calande. Children who had seen it threw stones at it and smashed it, to the applause of the passers-by. A Jacobin woman, who wanted to defend her dear Marat, was booed by the crowd and escaped being whipped by a prompt flight.

Extract from the *Courrier republican, the Messager du soir*, and the *Narrateur impartial*

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B *Charlotte Corday killing Jean Paul Marat*, 1860

Paul Baudry (1828–1885), 1860

Responding to the sources

1. Compare the information about Charlotte Corday's punishment and the information in these sources. How can you explain the apparent change in Marat's reputation?
2. The painting is dated 1860, long after the assassination. Can you decide whether the artist wanted to convey particular impressions (favourable or unfavourable) of Marat and Charlotte Corday? How do the following contribute to the story of the painting: the map, books, inkwell, pen, paper and newspaper; the hat, fan and overturned chair; Charlotte's demeanour; her clenched fist?
3. Conduct research to find out how Marat was regarded in 1860, and how he is now regarded historically.

Marie Antoinette

In 1770 it was arranged for Marie Antoinette, the daughter of an Austrian Emperor, to marry Louis XVI in order to strengthen an alliance between France and Austria. Becoming the Queen of France at the young age of 19 posed many challenges as she had been brought up in a Viennese court which had a very different court culture from that of Versailles. There were strong anti-Austrian sentiments in the court and many were against the Franco-Austrian alliance. Marie Antoinette soon became a target for abuse. She was not a popular queen, being seen as frivolous and extravagant by many. She gained the nickname 'Madame Deficit'.



SOURCE 3.48 *Marie-Antoinette in the Temple*, Marquise de Brehan, showing the queen imprisoned

The queen was blamed for plotting the Flight to Varennes and for influencing the king to declare war in 1792 in the hope that the Austrian troops would defeat the revolutionary government. For these reasons, Marie Antoinette was perceived by many as a traitor.

In August 1793 Marie Antoinette was separated from her children and imprisoned. In prison she only wore black and was provided one change of clothing. Source 3.48 is a painting of the queen imprisoned in the Temple. Nine months after the execution of Louis XVI, she was presented for trial as a citizen with the title 'Widow Capet' before the Revolutionary Tribunal. The political situation in France had changed from the time of Louis XVI's trial. The Committee of Public Safety was established, the fear of counter-revolutionaries had increased and 'terror' had been declared order of the day. During this time the queen was swamped with negative propaganda and accused of political intrigue, adultery and incest. Even though her political views were unquestionably conservative and reactionary, it is not clear if the queen genuinely had significant political influence, particularly as women of this era did not have the authority to make decisions on matters of policy or government.

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During her trial Marie Antoinette was found guilty of several crimes such as squandering money and treason. However, this was not the main focus. The Revolutionary Tribunal concentrated on allegations of a sexual nature, accusing the queen of having extramarital affairs and an incestuous relationship with her son. Historian Bronislaw Baczko, who examined the political culture of revolutionary France, analysed the use of scandal and slander by the revolutionaries during the course of the queen's trial. These, he argues, 'speak volumes about the pathology of the terrorist imagination' (1994:24).

Throughout the ordeal Marie Antoinette defended herself with pride and dignity but the final judgement seemed predetermined by the revolutionaries. After a two-day trial she was convicted and sent to the guillotine on 16 October 1793. She was only 37 years old.

The following extract suggests the tone of her trial.

> The widow Capet, immoral in every way, the new Agrippina, is so perverse and so familiar with all crimes that, forgetting her quality of mother and the demarcation prescribed by the laws of nature, she has not stopped short of indulging herself with Louis-Charles Capet, her son – and on the confession of the latter – in indecencies whose idea and name would make us shudder with horror.

SOURCE 3.49 Indictment of Marie Antoinette, extract from her trial in October 1793

ACTIVITY 3.10

Research Marie Antoinette

Louis XVI, as a gift to the queen, created *Hameau* – a replica farm cottage in the grounds of Versailles. Marie Antoinette would dress as a peasant woman and act out idyllic scenes with close friends. Find out more about this online, then compose the queen's diary entry for a day in 1785 spent at *Hameau*. In the diary, try to convey (subtly) a sense of how remote Marie Antoinette was from the reality of most French people's existence.



SOURCE 3.50 *Hameau* in the grounds of Versailles



SOURCE 3.51 *Queen Marie Antoinette of France and Two of her Children Walking in the Park of Trianon*, Adolf Ulrik Wertmüller, 1785

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3.12 1794–99

After the fall of Robespierre, the Convention adopted the Constitution of 1795. At this time, dissatisfaction was strong in Paris as both Royalists and Jacobins protested the new regime. An armed insurrection in 1795 caused the Convention to use the army led by Napoleon Bonaparte to fight the counter-revolutionary demonstrators. This was the last mass rebellion of the revolutionary period.

In 1795 a new form of government, a five-man Directory, was developed. During the four years it was in power, the Directory was at war with foreign coalitions. Criticised for financial mismanagement and corruption, it never succeeded in achieving stability or support. Political, social and economic problems continued in France and it was in this context that Napoleon Bonaparte was able to take power. In 1799 Napoleon staged a successful military **coup d'etat** abolishing the Directory, and seized this opportunity to fill the vacuum of French leadership. He appointed himself First Consul of the Republic, marking the end of the French Revolution.

coup d'etat a violent or illegal overthrow of a government, often by the military

Commenting on the results of the revolutionary period an aristocrat wrote the following in his memoir:

SOURCE 3.52 Comment from Marquise de Créquy (a member of social elite)

> The chateaux have been demolished, the large farms devastated and the upkeep of the main roads left to the communes, which are crushed in taxes. In the towns you see only insolent or evil people. You are spoken to only in a tone that is brusque, demanding or defiant. Every face has a sinister look; even children have a hostile, depraved demeanour. One would say that there is hatred in every heart. Envy has not been satisfied, and misery is everywhere. That is the punishment for making a revolution.

Comte de Courchamps, *Souvenirs de la marquise de Crequy de 1710–1803*, vol. 9, 1865, pp. 144–5

Responding to the extract

1. When the Marquise says 'envy has not been satisfied', what is she suggesting the Revolution was all about?
2. When she says that 'misery' is 'the punishment for making a revolution', does she seem to be saying that revolution is against the natural order of things? Explain your response.
3. Identify the words that suggest the Marquise is exaggerating the actual situation.
4. What benefits might a supporter of the Revolution describe to counter the Marquise's bleak description?

ACTIVITY 3.11

Create a timeline of events from 1794 to 1799

Using the outline below, create an annotated timeline to illustrate the events from 1794 to 1799. Provide your timeline with the title: *The fall of Robespierre to the rise of Napoleon*

1794 1799

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3.13 Depth study: summing up

This depth study has focused on the series of events from 1789 to 1794, when France transitioned from a monarch to a republic, culminating in the Reign of Terror.

Through a range of primary and secondary sources, you've seen how the French system of government transitioned from a monarchy to a democratic republic, and then investigated the increasing radicalisation, considering how this departed from the original principles of the Revolution, and whether or not it was a necessary measure. You've also looked at the role of women in the Revolution.

ACTIVITY 3.12

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: To what extent did the revolutionary ideals survive in the decade after 1789?

Review the timelines you have created throughout this depth study. Extract the overall key events, and for each one write a brief note about its significance to the overall depth study question.



SOURCE 3.53 The slogan 'liberty, equality and fraternity' was changed to 'unity, indivisibility of the Republic; liberty, equality, fraternity or death' by a resolution of the Paris Commune in 1793.
Expain how this slogan foreshadowed the Reign of Terror.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Ongoing effects of the French Revolution

The study of the French Revolution reveals that when societies change and new ideas develop, events can produce far-reaching consequences. The shift from idealism to extremism highlights the dilemma of hypocrisy and contradictions which society still grapples with today. Nevertheless, positive outcomes of this period, including human rights, citizenship, free speech, secular society and democracy, are hallmarks of current day society. These features are challenged and continually need to be defended in an evolving modern world.

3.14 Continuing the history: The Napoleonic Era

It can be argued that Napoleon was a product of the Revolution as, without the events of 1789, France would have kept the restrictive old order and social barriers which would have limited Napoleon's early career and success. Even though Napoleon institutionalised the core values of the Revolution, his need for conquest and power led him to proclaim himself Emperor of France by 1804. The fall of the Directory regime was grieved by few and the rise of Napoleon as a dictator was welcomed by most in France. Even though there was a return to a system resembling that of the old order under Napoleon's rule, many of the revolutionary reforms continued. A new centralised administration system across the country brought about a modern nation and France rose to a dominant military position in Europe. Under his leadership Napoleon succeeded in creating a strong feeling of French **nationalism**. Napoleon successfully fought against various coalitions of European nations and expanded the French empire.

nationalism a nation's wish to be politically independent and a sense of pride and love for one's country

Napoleon worked to restore stability to post-revolutionary France by centralising the government and introducing reforms in banking and education. One of his significant contributions was the Civil Code, which streamlined the legal system and continues to be the foundation of French civil law today.

After a series of military campaigns Napoleon was finally defeated by the English at Waterloo in 1815. He was permanently detained on the island of Saint Helena until he died in 1821.

Napoleon can be perceived as both a destroyer and a saviour of the Revolution. The artist Antoine-Jean Gros was commissioned to paint the portrait in Source 3.54 to commemorate Napoleon's charge to battle at the Bridge of Arcole in 1796. The artist was selected by Napoleon to promote his public image and to depict him as a warrior and a hero.



SOURCE 3.54 *General Napoleon Bonaparte on the Bridge at Arcole*, Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835). Napoleon is holding a flag with the emblem of the French nation, looking back towards his troops as their saviour.
Discuss why Napoleon might have used paintings like this as propaganda during his reign as First Consul and Emperor of France.

3.15 Was the price for liberty too high?

According to historian William Doyle, the '*cahiers* of 1789 [made it] overwhelmingly clear that most French people wanted less state interference in their lives, yet [the outcome of the Revolution] brought far more, and fiercer [intervention]' (1989:406).

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ACTIVITY 3.13

Reflect on the consequences of the Revolution

> It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to heaven, we were all going direct the other way – in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

SOURCE 3.55 Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859

Go through the chapter to identify both the benefits and the disadvantages experienced by all or some of the people of France from 1789 to 1799, and complete the table.

The impact of the Revolution on the people of France	
Best of times	**Worst of times**

ACTIVITY 3.14

Watch a film: *A Tale of Two Cities*

The film *A Tale of Two Cities* (1935) directed by Jack Conway remains true to the book and was nominated for two Academy Awards. The TV miniseries *A Tale of Two Cities* (1989) which Masterpiece originally aired, directed by Philippe Monnier, is a detailed adaption of Dickens's story.

The slogan 'liberty, equality, fraternity, or death' is repeated by the revolutionaries throughout the film. Look for examples in the film which contradict the meaning of this revolutionary slogan.

3.16 Are the principles of the Revolution compromised in modern France?

Ethical implication of banning the burqa

In 2011 France was the first European country to adopt the law prohibiting full-face coverings in public places. Muslim women living in France who wear a burqa or a niqab in public can face a fine. The European Court of Human Rights upheld the ban, stating it encouraged citizens to 'live together'. Many French citizens believe that this law contradicts France's principle of national identity and denies citizens their liberty.

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Since the Revolution, human rights have been guaranteed to the French by law. These rights include basic liberties such as freedom of speech and a lot of French would also probably add freedom from religion.

SOURCE 3.56 Arabian woman activist with cell phone, in France

Responding to the photo

1. What is this woman suggesting about her democratic right to freedom of religion in France?
2. Do you think banning the burqa is compatible with the revolutionary principle of 'fraternity' (living together)?



ACTIVITY 3.15



SOURCE 3.57 This image, created by French photographer Laurent Yokel in 2015, has been captioned 'The awakening to the real knowledge of a young woman under her burqa'. When discussing the burqa-ban, think about how Yokel has combined different elements to make an evocative image.

Research and discuss the burqa-ban

The reactions of Muslim women to restrictions have varied. They have included protests by some, reluctant acceptance by others as well as some support for the bans.

1. Does the burqa-ban limit the empowerment of Muslim women? What specific barriers does it erect to women's opportunities and active participation?
2. Research this issue online to find out more about the impact of the burqa-ban on French society.

Terror attacks in France

The right to liberty has been tested by recent experiences of terrorism in France. Tragic examples include the mass shooting at the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* office in Paris in January 2015, shootings and suicide bombings targeting a music venue, sports stadium and several bars and restaurants in Paris in November 2015 and a cargo truck deliberately driven into crowds celebrating Bastille Day in Nice in July 2016. As a consequence of these terror activities, increased security measures were introduced. These pose challenges to the principle of liberty, as the intrusion of safety procedures is not always compatible with freedom. Maintaining the core principle of fraternity is also tested, as trust and unity among citizens is compromised.

The following photograph of French soldiers patrolling on the seafront Promenade des Anglais in Nice in 2017, one year after the terror attack, is a case in point. Bollards and fences are installed to prevent any vehicle intrusion and the ambience of the setting is altered.

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SOURCE 3.58 French soldiers patrolling the Promenade des Anglais in Nice, 2017
Nice is a popular tourist destination. How would you feel about seeing armed guards while on a beach holiday?

ACTIVITY 3.16

Discuss extremism

1. Why do you think extremism has increased around the world today?
2. How has recent terrorism impacted on daily life in new ways?
3. Could 'revolutionary' change be achieved in a society without the use of violence?

On the fringe of French society

In recent decades, the revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have been tested by the changing composition of the French population. From the 1960s onwards, in the wake of the decolonisation of France's overseas empire, there was an influx of people from north and west Africa and from Vietnam. In the past decade, there has been another influx, this time of refugees from conflict in the Middle East and Africa. Many sought to settle in France, while thousands more set up rough camps at French ports, waiting for opportunities to cross the channel to England, legally or not. Over the years, suburbs on the fringes of Paris and other cities have gained large concentrations of often poor, unemployed migrants. Those suburbs have become hotbeds of discontent and anger, creating fear and hostility among many French citizens. New right political parties have appealed to the French public with policies that restrict immigration and promote an ultra-conservative nationalism.

3.17 Are *liberté, egalité* and *fraternité* still important concepts in modern France?

The French Revolution transitioned France from the feudal *Ancien Régime* to a new republic expressing a national identity. Interestingly, the motto '*liberté, egalité* and *fraternité*', which emerged from the Enlightenment during the Revolution, was only officially adopted with the formation of the Third French Republic in 1870.

Emmanuel Macron, the French President elected in 2017, brought a new energy to France's engagement with Europe and the wider world. Led by Macron, modern France continues to promote the key principles from the Revolution. Discussing the future of Europe in a 2017 interview, Macron stated, 'The mix of capital market, progress, equality and liberty is the DNA of Europe.'

Source 3.59 is a photograph of Macron's supporters during the election in Paris on 7 May 2017. The enthusiastic crowd waving French national flags is reminiscent of the French crowds during the Revolution. Macron's slogan '*ensemble la France*' (France together) reiterates the importance of unity and fraternity among the people of the nation.



SOURCE 3.59 Supporters of Emmanuel Macron outside the Louvre Museum in Paris, 7 May 2017

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The path to revolution

- Before 1789, the French political and social system consisted of the First Estate (clergy), the Second Estate (nobility) and the Third Estate (commoners), all existing under the rule of the king.
- The country was undergoing a financial crisis.
- There was a growth of political ideologies, such as liberalism, republicanism and independence of thought.
- In 1789 the Estates General met at Versailles, and Third Estate demanded 'one man, one vote'.
- When the other two estates refused, representatives of the Third Estate declared themselves the National Assembly and in the Tennis Court Oath agreed not to separate until they had drafted a constitution for France.

Depth study: To what extent did the revolutionary ideals survive in the decade after 1789?

- The storming of the Bastille prison on 14 July 1789 was the first rebellious act of the French Revolution.
- Peasants in the countryside joined the Revolution.
- By 1791 the National Assembly had developed a new constitution, in which the government was converted to a limited monarchy.
- In 1792 a National Convention was established to draw up a new constitution with no monarchy.
- Massacres in September 1792 widened the gap between two revolutionary groups, the moderate Girondins, who tended to be conservative land-owners and factory-owners, and the more radical Jacobins, Parisian middle-class professionals, who represented the common people and were supported by the *sans-culottes*, workers and urban poor.
- King Louis XVI was executed on 21 January 1793; this brought other European countries into the war against the Revolution.
- The convention delegated responsibilities to the Committee of Public Safety, led by extremists such as Maximilien Robespierre.
- During the Reign of Terror, between 1793 and 1794, approximately 40 000 people were killed in France.
- In many ways, the ideas and practices of the Terror contradicted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, although radical Jacobins like Robespierre justified the violence.
- Robespierre finally fell out of favour, and in July 1794 he was arrested, tried and executed by guillotine.
- The period of conservative reaction against Robespierre and the Jacobin policies is referred to as the Thermidorian Reaction.
- Women from different sections of society were engaged in a range of political actions during the Revolution.
- In 1795 a new form of government, a five-man Directory, was developed.
- In 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte staged a successful military coup d'etat, abolishing the Directory, and seized this opportunity to fill the vacuum of French leadership.

Concluding study: Ongoing effects of the French Revolution

- Napoleon can be perceived as both a destroyer and a saviour of the Revolution.
- In recent decades, revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have been tested by the changing composition of the French population, and by terror attacks.
- Emmanuel Macron, French President elected in 2017, continues to promote key principles of the Revolution.

GO **Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.**

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CHAPTER 4
Meiji Restoration, 1868–1912
Focus: The Meiji modernisation of Japan

This chapter is available in the digital versions of the textbook. Cambridge GO



Ryan Slavin

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CHAPTER 5
Russian Revolution, 1905–1920s
Focus: The survival of revolutionary ideals



SOURCE 5.1 Kharkov, 29 September 2014. A statue being pulled down by a crowd.

It's 29 September 2014. At night, in a public square in a European city, a small but enthusiastic crowd is straining to topple an imposing statue perched on an impressive plinth. It looks like they're being watched by a large crowd in the distance. What's interesting is that the statue depicts one of the most significant historical figures of the twentieth century. In 1963, the statue – over nine metres tall – was erected in celebration of his place in history. Now, it is about to crash to the ground.

This dramatic event is taking place in Kharkov, a large city in Ukraine, which for most of the twentieth century was part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). And the statue is of Vladimir Lenin, the key person in the creation of the USSR, which rose from the tumult of the Russian Revolution he led in 1917.

Washington Post reporter Michael Burnham is there in the square. Later, he reports how the people had the intention of 'ridding the city of Lenin once and for all' and how Ukraine's Interior Minister 'ordered the police to protect the people and not the idol' as people in the crowd sawed through the statue's bronze legs.

John Reed, an American journalist who observed the revolution in Russia in October 1917, described it in his book *Ten Days That Shook the World*. In this chapter, you'll investigate why that revolution occurred and whether it did indeed shake the world. And you'll find out why, a century later, some people were so keen to topple this statue of the most prominent revolutionary leader.

Tony Ogden

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY
The road to revolution

Lenin's statue in Kharkov – and countless others like it throughout Europe – symbolise his crucial role in the Russian Revolution of 1917. There were in fact two revolutions in Russia that year, and their causes were dramatic and complex. In this contextual study, you'll go back to the origins of this revolution, which lie deep in Tsarist Russia.

5.1 What was Russian society like prior to the revolution?

The history of Russia prior to the revolution is one of **autocratic** governments and lack of personal freedom in a difficult environment. In this period, the Romanovs were the royal dynasty, providing successive **Tsars** who ruled Russia.

autocratic a political system such as a monarchy or dictatorship where the ruler is not restricted in any way by a parliament, constitution or elections

Tsars autocratic hereditary rulers of Russia prior to the revolution

Geographical problems

Geographically, the Russian forests, grasslands, rivers, distances, and cold all contributed to difficulty in settling and governing such a large territory.



SOURCE 5.2 Map of the Russian Empire at the time of Nicholas II

What specific problems would the Romanovs have faced in ruling such a large country in the nineteenth century? Think about such aspects as administration, communication, security, economy, infrastructure, national identity, social cohesion. The Russian Empire included a number of now-independent countries, especially in the south and the west. Can you identify some of these countries from the map?

One of the main problems that existed in governing Russia was its sheer size; the largest country in the world, it was over twice the area of Australia. As you can see from the map, the main cities of Moscow and St Petersburg were located in the European part, along with most of the industries and the bulk of the population. The Asian part of Russia consisted mainly of Siberia, which was sparsely populated due to the cold, distances and difficult conditions.

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Social problems

At the time of the Tsars, living conditions for most people were very difficult. Communications and transport were often non-existent, especially in winter. Information took days, often weeks to arrive. Lifespans were short in the harsh conditions; even by 1900 the average life expectancy in Russia was barely 35, similar to life expectancy in medieval Europe centuries before. Famine and disease were common, and literacy rates were minimal.

feudal system a rigid class-based social system of medieval times where peasant farmers and serfs were subject to the will of landowning nobles

In such a harsh environment, firm autocratic rule by regional princes and kings had always been used to provide some effective government over such a vast territory. Even by 1800 Russia had not experienced the modernisation and social reforms that had occurred in much of Western Europe. There still existed a vast economic gulf between rich and poor, with the majority of people being uneducated peasant farmers, or serfs, living under a **feudal system** even after this system had disappeared from Western Europe. As in medieval Europe, social status in Russian society was based on birth, not merit.

SOURCE 5.3 *Russian nobles gambling with serfs*



An 1854 satirical engraving by French artist Gustave Doré

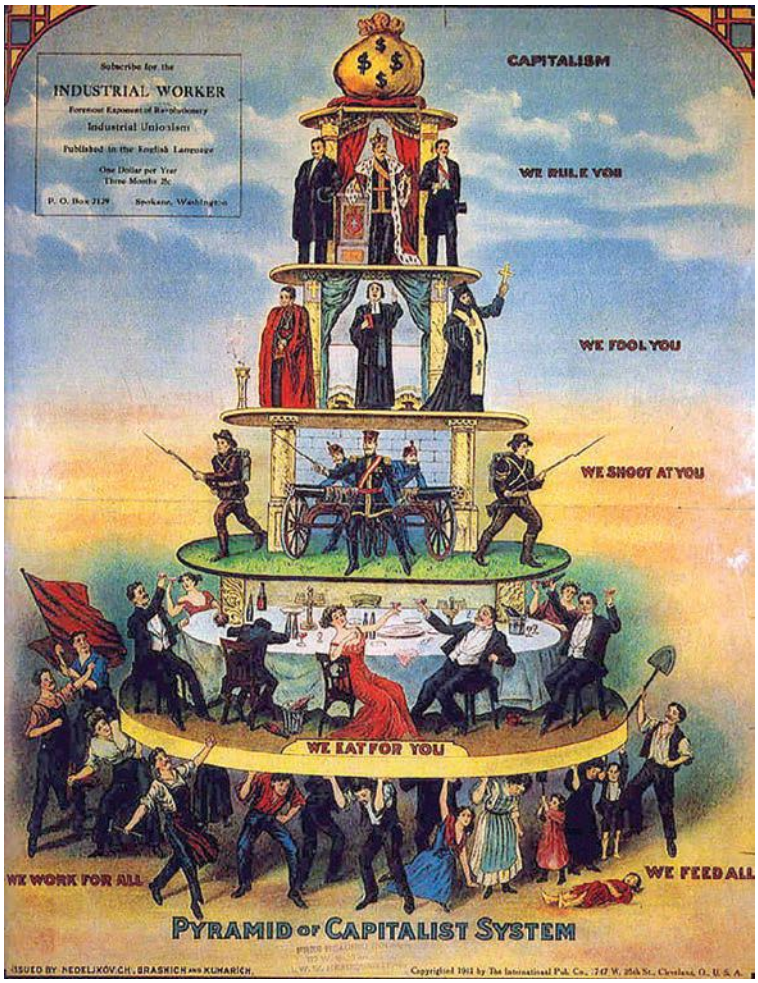
Responding to the source

1. What impression has the artist given of the serfs in the cartoon, by showing them as (a) small, (b) bound and (c) gagged?
2. How are the landowners portrayed? What impression might the cartoonist have been intending to convey about them?
3. What do you think might have been the overall message of the cartoon?
4. From what you know already, does this cartoon seem a fair comment on the situation of the serfs in Tsarist Russia in 1854? Explain your response.

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While the plight of the serfs had continued for centuries, a new element emerged in Russian society during the nineteenth century. The following image not only depicts that new element – the industrial proletariat – but hints at the trouble ahead.

SOURCE 5.4 The unequal layers of capitalist society



Pyramid of Capitalist System, cartoon published in *Industrial Worker*, 1911. The seven labels on the diagram read (from top to bottom) Capitalism; We rule you; We fool you; We shoot at you; We eat for you; We work for all; We feed all.

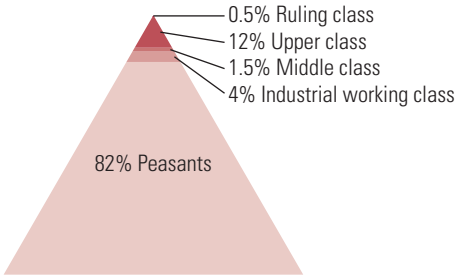
Responding to the source

1. Which social groups are represented by each level in the pyramid? What, according to the cartoonist, is the relationship between the upper four groups and the bottom group?
2. What signs of unrest has the artist depicted? What could be the grievances causing the unrest, and the possible demands of those involved? Is the flag being flown particularly significant?
3. This poster was published by the *Industrial Worker* newspaper in the USA in 1911. It is based on an original one published in Russia in 1901. What response do you think this poster intended to generate? Do you think it would get the same reaction in the USA in 1911 as in Russia in 1901? Explain your response.

The population breakdown of the main social classes in Russia at this time was as shown in the following diagram.

SOURCES 5.5 A&B Russia's social structure

A Russia's social structure according to the 1897 official census



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B The members and characteristics of Russia's classes in 1911

Class	Members	Characteristics
Ruling class	Tsar (Emperor)	ruled by **Divine Right**
Upper class	– hereditary landowning nobles – wealthy merchants – church leaders – members of government and bureaucracy – army officers	– privileged, leisurely existence – totally insulated from the harsh realities of life endured by the rest of the population
Middle class	**bourgeoisie**: – small business owners – factory managers – skilled workers – clerks and white-collar workers **intelligentsia**: – educated thinkers, writers and artists	– generally comfortable existence – economically secure but with no political rights
Industrial working class	**proletariat**: – factory workers	– worked long hours, with poor wages – overcrowded housing – often dangerous working conditions
Peasants	– rural farm workers	– generally illiterate and uneducated – under feudalism, peasants and serfs were subject to the will of the landowning nobles

Responding to the sources

1. Which sectors of the population might have found this situation unsatisfactory? What types of changes might they have wanted?
2. What avenues, if any, might have existed for achieving change?
3. How might the Romanov royal dynasty have tried to maintain order and stability? Do you get a sense that Russia was 'ripe for revolution'? Explain your response.
4. Which class or classes do you think would be most likely to lead a revolution? Why?

Divine Right common belief among European monarchs that they were born to rule under God's will

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; seen by Marx and Lenin as oppressors of the workers

intelligentsia the educated writers, artists and thinkers who were often responsible for new and progressive ideas

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

5.2 Who were the Tsars and how did they rule?

For centuries Russia was ruled by strong autocratic rulers, known as Tsars (or Czars). The first of these was the paranoid and ruthless Ivan IV, known as 'The Terrible', who established the concept of the Tsars being directly appointed by God and thus having no accountability to anyone. This concept of Divine Right was to define the rule of the Romanov dynasty, which ruled Russia from 1613 until 1917.

ACTIVITY 5.1

Research the Tsars of Russia

Research the Tsars of Russia, from Ivan the Terrible (ruled 1547–84) to Alexander III (ruled 1881–94). What sort of people were they? How did they rule? What were their achievements? Given the problems involved in ruling Russia, how successful would you say they were?

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Autocratic rule

The Tsars ruled by exercising control over the main institutions of society, particularly the government, police and church. In a democracy, these institutions are all independent; in a totalitarian state like Imperial Russia these institutions were expected to carry out the will of the ruler. For instance, the Tsar's chief advisers and cabinet ministers were appointed by him and swore an oath of loyalty to the Tsar personally, not to Russia. The Tsar also suppressed dissent using a secret police force, the **Okhrana**, which kept suspected enemies of tsarism such as socialist agitators and anarchists under surveillance. The Russian Orthodox Church was under state control as well and was used to legitimise the autocratic position of the Tsar in the minds of the masses by reinforcing his Divine Right.

Okhrana Tsar's secret police; used by the Tsar to eliminate opposition

Under the Romanovs there were some attempts at reform. Alexander II's progressive Edict of Emancipation in 1861 abolished serfdom, freeing 40 million peasants from the feudal system that repressed them. Despite this reform, the Romanovs really lacked any empathy for, or understanding of, the plight of the peasants or the working class. According to Christina Robinson, the curator of some surviving Romanov family letters which provide an insight into the family's personal lives, what comes across most is the complete separation of the Tsarist family from life in everyday Russia at the time. While discontent among ordinary people mounted, the imperial children were busy visiting and receiving visits from Europe's royal families, almost all of whom were their cousins. Their letters tell stories of picnics, bicycle rides, and bear hunts.

SOURCE 5.6 Evidence of the Romanovs' personal lives

> On an almost daily basis Mikhail [Nicholas' brother] goes shooting,' says Robinson, 'and he often writes to [a friend] to tell him how many bears he managed to shoot on that particular outing. They are so far detached from reality that they don't even know it.' A glance at various court menus proves the point. In the cold November 1910 in St Petersburg, when many Russians were going hungry, the royal family were having pheasant, artichoke, and asparagus for lunch, followed by fresh fruit and ice cream, sweet pastries, tea, coffee and liqueurs.

Christina Robinson, from auction house Hotel des Ventes, talking about the upcoming auction of a collection of documents from the court of Tsar Alexander III. Interview by Imogen Foulkes, 'Rare window into life of tsarist Russia', BBC News, 6 March 2012

Responding to the source

1. What evidence in this account is there that the royal family was extremely out of touch with ordinary people? What does Robinson say about how aware the Romanovs were of the 'outside world'?
2. What dangers could there be for the Romanovs in this situation?

Anarchists and terrorists

Despite the Edict of Emancipation, dissent continued to build in Russia. By the 1870s, the major groups opposing Tsarist authority included **anarchist** groups such as Zemlya I Volya (Land and Liberty) and Narodnaya Volya (People's Will). They aimed for a political assembly reflecting the democratic will of the people, and they regarded all other forms of authority as illegitimate and oppressive. As anarchists, they justified anti-Tsarist terrorism as necessary to force the Tsar into either concession or defeat. To some revolutionaries, killing the Tsar seemed a logical step in the struggle. Paradoxically, it was the reforming Tsar, Alexander II, whom Narodnaya Volya assassinated in 1881.

anarchy political belief that no form of state authority is justified and all should be resisted by any means necessary

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Alexander III, however, firmly believed in his Divine Right to rule and tolerated no opposition. After executing his father's assassins, he adopted more repressive political policies in an effort to prevent further dissent. In particular, the powers of the Tsar's secret police, the Okhrana, were increased. On Alexander's death in 1894, his son Nicholas II became Tsar.



SOURCE 5.7 *The Coronation of Tsar Nicholas II at the Church of the Assumption*, Moscow, painting by an anonymous artist, oil on canvas, 1896
What overall impression do you think the artist has tried to create in this painting? What elements of the painting contribute to that impression? How has the artist conveyed the supreme importance of the Tsar? Why would there be such an emphasis on the religious aspects of the ceremony in this painting? Does this painting reinforce the sense – described earlier by Robinson – of the Romanovs being 'detached from reality'? Explain your response. How do you think this painting would be regarded by: a member of the nobility, a member of the bourgeoisie, a member of the proletariat? Explain your responses.

5.3 Why was there an uprising in 1905 and what was its outcome?

Alexander Kerensky, who became leader of Russia in 1917, said about Nicholas II: 'His mentality and circumstances kept him wholly out of touch with his people. From his youth he had been trained to believe that his welfare and the welfare of Russia were one and the same thing, so that "disloyal" workmen, peasants and students who were shot down, executed or exiled seemed to him mere monsters who must be destroyed for the sake of the country.' (Malone, 2015:19) The events of 1905 highlighted this lack of empathy.

Bloody Sunday

The year 1905 was a momentous one for Russia. Since the 1890s, Russia had been hit by famine and economic recession. There were shortages of food and housing, and strikes were common, such as the one at a steel factory in St Petersburg in January 1905 which occurred after five workers were sacked. Virtually the whole city shut down in support and tensions were high. On the morning of 9 January, a massive protest was organised in St Petersburg by Father George Gapon, a Russian Orthodox priest and union leader. A crowd of over 20 000 men, women and children marched on the Winter Palace, carrying a large framed portrait of the Tsar, as well as banners and religious icons (pictures). Along with shouts of 'death or freedom!'

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the crowd also sang the Tsar's hymn, 'God Save thy People'. Their aim was to present the Tsar with a petition requesting reforms in working conditions, the right of free speech, and representation in government through democratic elections to the constituent assembly. The tone of the petition was deferential; the Tsar, after all, ruled by Divine Right and had to be treated with respect. The pressing question was how Tsar Nicholas would respond to the event which would come to be known as Bloody Sunday.

SOURCE 5.8 Gapon describes what happened as the workers approached the Winter Palace

At last we reached within two hundred paces of where the troops stood. Files of infantry barred the road, and in front of them a company of cavalry was drawn up, with their swords shining in the sun. Would they dare to touch us? For a moment we trembled, and then started forward again.

Suddenly the company of Cossacks galloped rapidly towards us with drawn swords. So, then, it was to be a massacre after all! There was no time for consideration, for making plans, or giving orders. A cry of alarm arose as the Cossacks came down upon us. I saw the swords lifted and falling, the men, women and children dropping to the earth like logs of wood, while moans, curses and shouts filled the air.

We were not more than thirty yards from the soldiers ... when suddenly, without any warning and without a moment's delay, was heard the dry crack of many rifle-shots. A little boy of ten years, who was carrying a church lantern, fell pierced by a bullet, but still held the lantern tightly and tried to rise again, when another shot struck him down. Both the [men] who had guarded me were killed, as well as those who were carrying the icons and banners; and all these emblems now lay scattered on the snow.

At last the firing ceased. I stood up with a few others who remained uninjured and looked down at the bodies that lay prostrate around me. I cried to them, 'Stand up!' But they lay still. I could not at first understand. Why did they lie there? I looked again, and saw that their arms were stretched out lifelessly, and I saw the scarlet stain of blood upon the snow. Then I understood. It was horrible ... Horror crept into my heart. The thought flashed through my mind, 'And this is the work of our Little Father, the Tsar.' Perhaps this anger saved me, for now I knew the very truth that a new chapter was opened in the book of the history of our people ... 'There is no longer any Tsar for us!' I exclaimed ...

George Gapon, *The Story of My Life*, 1905

Responding to the source

1. How has Gapon attempted to inspire empathy in the reader?
2. Why do you think the military responded in this way? Why might it be hard to know the actual reason?
3. The Tsar was sometimes affectionately referred to by his subjects as 'our Little Father', which implied the protective aspect of his Divine Rule. In this context, do you think Gapon was using the term 'our Little Father' affectionately? Why do you think he used the term at all?
4. What might Gapon have meant by 'a new chapter was opened in the book of the history of our people'? In the wake of the massacre, what do you think Gapon expected would happen? How realistic do you think his expectation was? Explain your response.

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SOURCE 5.9 *Bloody Sunday in St Petersburg*



Bloody Sunday in St Petersburg, Vladimir Makovsky, 1905

Responding to the source

1. What impression of Gapon (shown opening his shirt) has the artist created in the painting? How has this impression been created?
2. What attitude towards the marchers has the artist attempted to evoke? Is he trying to show sympathy, disapproval or a neutral stance? How is his attitude reflected in his painting?
3. Find out online about the artist Makovsky. Do your findings confirm the judgement you've made about his attitude?
4. Do you think this could be a completely accurate and realistic depiction of the scene? Explain your response.
5. Even if not completely accurate and realistic, could this painting still be a valuable source of evidence in your study of Bloody Sunday? Explain your response.
6. What research could you undertake to try to find out how accurate a portrayal this is?
7. Compared with an event today, why is what happened during a 1905 event probably much harder to establish? At the same time, are there potential pitfalls in modern ways of discovering 'what happened' today?
8. The painting was produced in 1905. If viewed widely at the time, might it have had a powerful political effect? Explain your response.

On 31 January 1905, the US Ambassador to Russia, Robert McCormick, wrote to the US Secretary of State John Hay. McCormick claimed that Gapon was a troublemaking revolutionary of dubious character, 'having to his record the violation of a young girl of twelve years of age', and that his real intention in leading the march was to take the Tsar hostage. McCormick defended the soldiers whom, he claimed, only fired as a last resort after the crowd had been warned to disperse.

- McCormick's claims could be true. If so, do you think they alter the historical significance of Bloody Sunday? Explain. If not true, what factors might explain why McCormick would make such claims?

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The cartoon you see here – from *L'Assiette au Buerre* (an illustrated French weekly satirical magazine with anarchist political leanings) – offers a comment on Bloody Sunday. Like most cartoons, it invites interpretation.

SOURCE 5.10 '... the number of malcontents is considerably diminished'



Cartoon from *L'Assiette au Buerre*, Paris, 4 February 1905. On the left stands Nicholas II saying, 'I am doing my best to reduce the number of malcontents'. The caption under the main picture says '... the number of malcontents is considerably diminished'.

Responding to the source

1. Can you identify any individual in the main cartoon? What clues give you an idea as to his identity?
2. How has the cartoonist depicted the events of Bloody Sunday here? From the way they are represented, what impression do you get of:
   - the marchers
   - the troops?
3. The Tsar and the woman protester are both holding the same object. What might this be? Why do you think they are both shown holding this?
4. What comment is the cartoonist making about the Tsar's relationship with his people? Explain your response.
5. The cartoonist has Nicholas saying, 'I am doing my best to reduce the number of malcontents'. How could that be interpreted in a way that makes Nicholas look good? How has the cartoonist given those words a negative spin by the caption under the main picture: '... the number of malcontents is considerably diminished'?
6. Nicholas probably never said these words. Is it a justifiable device for a cartoonist to put words into the mouth of the Tsar and then use those words to make a critical comment? Even if the words were invented, can the cartoon still be a fair comment on Nicholas, and a useful historical source?
7. Try to find some modern-day political cartoons that use this same technique.

War with Japan

The rest of 1905 only got worse for Nicholas. Apart from continuing riots and strikes at home, Russia ended up at war. The Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05 was sparked by competition between Russia and Japan over Manchuria and Korea. Like most European countries at the time, Russia viewed their Asian enemy as racially inferior, technologically backward and likely to be easily beaten in war. However, Japanese tactics and technology in shipbuilding learned from the West surprised the Russians, who suffered heavy defeats on land and at sea during this conflict.

The war was ended by the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905. After sailing halfway around the world, the Russian Black Sea fleet was ambushed by the smaller but better-led and more modern Japanese fleet. Within a day, the Russians were humiliatingly defeated. Russia lost 34 ships, including seven battleships; Japan lost only three small torpedo boats. It was one of the greatest naval defeats in modern history. In Russia, the defeat was catastrophic news for the Tsar. Unrest among the dispirited military continued in July when sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied over poor rations and treatment by their officers.

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Political opposition

Political opposition to the Tsar also increased. The main parties that formed in this period are outlined in the table below.

Party	Aims	Members	Supporters
Social Democratic Workers' Party	Revolution, inspired by the German **communist** philosopher Karl Marx	**Bolsheviks** (majority, more radical) **Mensheviks** (minority, more moderate)	Urban working classes
Socialist Revolutionary Party	Socialist land reform and elected representative governments	Democratic socialists	Rural peasants
Constitutional Democratic Party, or Kadets	Reform rather than revolution	Conservative middle-class democrats	Urban middle class, business owners and landowners
Octobrists	Supported the **October Manifesto**	Conservative monarchists loyal to the Tsar	Wealthy landowners and business owners

communism economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

Bolsheviks more radical majority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin

Mensheviks more conservative minority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party

October Manifesto a series of reforms reluctantly proposed by Nicholas II in October 1905 in order to end unrest and opposition to his rule

Soviets revolutionary workers' councils formed by the Bolsheviks in cities and towns all over Russia, the largest of which was the Petrograd Soviet

Duma Russian parliament

While discontent among rural peasants continued, urban unrest was increasing too. Workers became more organised, setting up councils called **Soviets** to represent them, and calling for full worker participation in an elected legislature. Workers' unions organised strikes which paralysed power and water supplies and transport. In August 1905, Nicholas convened the **Duma**, a representative congress, but this had no effect on the increasing discontent.

Nicholas's situation was depicted in the 1905 cartoon below.

SOURCE 5.11 *Nearing the End*

Responding to the cartoon

1. If each wolf represents an enemy, an idea, a setback, a threat or a danger, can you put a specific name to each of these? (For example, name one 'setback' Nicholas has experienced.)
2. Note the background. What signs or symbols can you see, and what does each represent?
3. Do you think the artist is a supporter of the Tsar, an opponent, or neutral? Explain your response.
4. Why might the artist have drawn this cartoon? Who might have been the intended audience? What reaction to the cartoon might the artist have hoped for?
5. The cartoon is titled *Nearing the End*. How apt a title does that seem? Explain your response. Can you devise a more dramatic or passionate title, reflecting the hopes of either a supporter or an opponent of the Tsar?
6. From what you've learned so far, does this cartoon seem to be a fair comment on the Tsar's situation in 1905? Explain your response.

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Nearing the End, cartoon, unknown artist, 1905
The Tsar is shown holding a baby that wears a crown labelled 'Autocracy'. He is being pursued by a huge pack of wolves.

The October Manifesto

It seems that Nicholas II did indeed have a sense of 'the end' approaching. On 30 October 1905, he proclaimed the October Manifesto in an attempt to save his position in the face of continuing criticism and unrest.

The main reforms of the October Manifesto were:

- To grant all citizens the right to free speech and assembly
- To allow all citizens to vote in elections to the Duma
- To guarantee that all laws passed must have the approval of the Duma.

These reforms would probably mean big changes in Russian politics and in Nicholas's role. On 2 November 1905 in a letter to his 'dear mama', he expressed his feelings at that prospect. Before reading the letter below, consider: how do you think he would feel about these reforms?

SOURCE 5.12 Tsar Nicholas expresses his feelings about the October Manifesto

There were only two ways open: (firstly), to ... crush the rebellion by sheer force. There would be time to breathe but then, as likely as not, one would have to use force again in a few months and that would mean rivers of blood, and in the end, we should be where we had started ... and no possibility of progress achieved. The other way out would be to give the people their civil rights, freedom of speech and press, also to have all laws confirmed by a State Duma – that, of course, would be a constitution. ... in the end, invoking God's help, I signed. My dear Mama, you can't imagine what I went through before that moment; I could not explain all the circumstances which brought me to this terrible decision, which I nevertheless took quite consciously. From all over Russia they cried for it, they begged for it, and around me many – very many – held the same views.

Letter from Nicholas II to his mother, 2 November 1905

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Responding to the source

1. Did you predict that Nicholas would have these thoughts and feelings about signing the October Manifesto?
2. What factors do you think caused Nicholas to sign the manifesto, despite his reservations?
3. Do you think Nicholas's decision to sign was a wise one? Explain your response.
4. Do you think Nicholas's thoughts and feelings were a good sign for the future of Russia, or not? Explain.

5.4 How did the Tsar avoid a revolution after 1905?

Revolutionary activity did continue after Bloody Sunday, but it gradually seemed to lose popular support, especially after Nicholas published the October Manifesto.

Earlier, in March 1906, Nicholas had announced the new State Duma, to be elected by the people. Between 1906 and 1914 there were four elected Dumas; however, elections were manipulated to ensure domination by conservatives and the Duma generally supported the autocratic rule of Nicholas II.

Therefore by the time of Russia's entry into World War I in 1914, Nicholas had basically managed to preserve the status quo from 1906. The war was to make a significant difference to this state of affairs. By 1914, Russia was faced with two challenges. Internationally there was the turmoil of involvement in a world war, and at home there was the continuing agitation for political change. These two challenges set the scene for the Russian revolutions of 1917.

ACTIVITY 5.2

Create a timeline of events in this contextual study

Using the text and your online research, compose a timeline of all significant events described in this contextual study, and make a note for each, explaining how it propelled or thwarted the historical development towards eventual revolution in Russia. Highlight the three events that you think most important. With a classmate, compare and discuss your timelines.

5.5 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study, you've examined how the geographical features of Russia created the conditions for autocratic rule, and how the Romanov Dynasty governed by Divine Right for hundreds of years. You've also seen how a strict hierarchical class structure kept the vast majority of the population repressed and exploited by a tiny but powerful ruling class.

Predictably, there was a rise of resistance to Tsarist rule. Violent acts of terrorism led to even further repression, before the events of Bloody Sunday in 1905, military defeat by Japan, and the rise of workers' Soviets led to Nicholas II proclaiming the October Manifesto, which appeased some reformist demands. However, as you will see in the depth study, dissatisfaction with the Tsar's rule continued to increase, especially as Russia became immersed in a war against Germany.

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DEPTH STUDY

To what extent were the ideals of the Russian Revolution achieved?

On 9 March 1917, a crowd of Russian exiles gathered at the railway station in Zurich, Switzerland. They were Bolshevik revolutionaries, who had been sent into exile for plotting the overthrow of the Tsarist regime. Many of them had lived abroad for years, not expecting to ever return home. However, recent events had given them hope. The previous month, the Tsar had been overthrown and a moderate Provisional Government installed in its place. Revolution was in the air.

The leader of the group was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who had been in exile since 1906. Along with about 30 others, including his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya, he was intending to return to Russia to lead the Bolsheviks in a second revolution, one which would overthrow the Provisional Government and establish a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' in line with Marxist theory. However, he first had to get to Russia.

Russia was at war with Germany in 1917, and the Germans, in the hope of destabilising the Russian Government by encouraging further revolution, organised a special train to take Lenin and his colleagues home. As the British historian Edward Crankshaw writes, Germany saw 'in this obscure fanatic one more bacillus to let loose in tottering and exhausted Russia to spread infection'.

The journey from Switzerland involved travelling through Germany, Sweden and Finland by train, ferry and horse-drawn sled. The conditions on the train were cramped and uncomfortable. There was only one toilet and Lenin refused to tolerate his comrades smoking in the carriage. Finally, they would face an uncertain reception from the Russian border guards, who could turn them away, detain them or worse.

As they boarded the train, a group of about 100 Russians, angry that the revolutionaries were being assisted by the German enemy in a time of war, accused them of being traitors. As the historian Michael Pearson recorded, the crowd jeered, 'The Kaiser is paying for the journey ... They're going to hang you ... like German spies!' Lenin looked out of the window and commented to a friend, 'In three months we'll either be swinging from the gallows or we'll be in power'.

One of the most momentous homecomings in history had begun.



SOURCE 5.13 Lenin and colleagues returning to Russia, March 1917

How does the drawing match the description you've read of the journey? What impression of the group – and particularly of Lenin (in the black cap) – has the artist created? Do you think the artist sympathised with these men? The artist was Pyotr Vasilievich Vasiliev, who is easily researched on the internet. Find out about Vasiliev and whether he was on the train. Judging by his career details, why might he have drawn this scene, and how might it have been used then and in later years?

5.6 How was Tsar Nicholas overthrown?

Between 1914 and 1916, Russian involvement in World War I against Germany and a deteriorating domestic situation all but sealed the fate of Tsar Nicholas and the monarchy.

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What problems confronted Tsar Nicholas in 1914?

Russia at war

When war broke out against Germany and Austria in August 1914, there was initial enthusiasm from most of the population, and as patriotism took hold, support for the Tsar rose. However, it didn't take long for the reality of Russia's unpreparedness for war to become apparent. In three key battles from August 1914 to September 1915, Russia lost 470 000 men compared to Germany's 71 200. The Russian army was poorly equipped, and many soldiers were reported to be deliberately giving themselves minor wounds in order to be sent home injured. Surrender was common; the preference of Russian troops to be captured, rather than fight to the death for the sake of their motherland, was an indication that their commitment to the conflict was rapidly diminishing.

Anti-German feeling was strong in Russia during the war. The capital city, St Petersburg, was renamed Petrograd in 1914 as it sounded less German. The Tsarina Alexandra was of German descent. When Russia went to war with Germany, many Russians suspected her of having divided loyalties; some even suspected her of being a traitor. Her perceived influence over Nicholas led to suspicion and criticism which further weakened the Tsar's position.

Rasputin

To make matters worse, a scandal had been brewing in the Russian royal court. It centred on the Tsarina and the mysterious Grigori Rasputin, a self-promoting peasant from Siberia who gained a reputation in some circles as a holy man with mystical powers. Through personal charisma he managed to convince the Tsarina that only he could save her son, Alexei, who suffered from haemophilia. Almost immediately after Rasputin's introduction to the royal family, rumours began to spread about the nature of his relationship with Alexandra, and his influence over the monarchs.

The following cartoon was circulated throughout Russia at the time.

SOURCE 5.14 *The Russian Tsars at home*



A cartoon from around 1916 showing Rasputin, Tsar Nicholas II and Tsarina Alexandra. The inscription reads *The Russian Tsars at home*.

Responding to the cartoon

1. How has the cartoonist emphasised the nature of Rasputin's personality, and his role in this situation?
2. What claim about Rasputin seems to be implied by this cartoon?
3. Like most cartoons, this one is not literally accurate in its portrayal of these three people. How can these exaggerations make cartoons even more powerful in their effects on readers?
4. At the time, how might different Russians seeing this cartoon have reacted?
5. How might you discover how credible this cartoon is as evidence of Rasputin's influence on the Tsar and Tsarina?

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Rasputin is such an interesting character that, as well as being the subject of many books and films, he was also the subject of a pop song! In 1978 *Rasputin*, by the German disco group Boney M, went to number one in five countries, including Australia. You can see the video clip on YouTube. The lyrics to the song are reasonably historically accurate.

ACTIVITY 5.3

Research the life of Rasputin

Rasputin's association with the royal family would be the gift of a lifetime today to tabloid newspapers, commercial television and social media. Research Rasputin's life and compose a posting for one of these media formats that reveals an aspect of his sensational relationship with the Romanovs. Your article could focus on his reputed magical powers, his relationship with the Tsarina, his death or some other controversial aspect.

Rasputin was eventually murdered by Russian nobles in 1915. His death removed one of the sources of discontent with the Romanovs, but there were wider issues. In Russian society people faced daily struggles to survive. Rasputin's death was unlikely to improve their standard of living.

Why did a revolution occur in February 1917?

Social and economic problems

Of all the issues facing Russia the one that affected people the most was the lack of improvement in their daily lives. Despite token attempts at reform, people in the cities and rural areas were still facing the same problems with food, fuel, prices and living conditions.

Food shortages	Russia experienced strong harvests in 1914–16, but poor organisation and hoarding by peasants meant that the crops were not efficiently transported to the towns and cities. Food riots were common in the cities, especially in winter.
Fuel shortages	Scarcity of fuel and raw materials such as coal affected industrial production and resulted in a lack of essential supplies. This fuel crisis was heightened by the freezing winter of 1916–17.
Inflation and price increases	Prices of food and goods outstripped wages due to shortages of production. The Okhrana reported to the Tsar in October 1916 that wages had risen 50%, but goods between 100% and 500%.
Social conditions	Fuel and food shortages resulted in growing discontent, especially as unemployment grew and wages fell. The daily lives of industrial workers became increasingly desperate, resulting in increased strikes and dissent.

ACTIVITY 5.4

Create an infographic about problems facing the Russian people

Create an infographic that demonstrates the cause-and-effect relationship among all four of the factors described above. Can you suggest any one realistic change that might have been able to break the cycle of cause and effect? Or does the situation seem hopeless? Explain your response.

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What happened next seemed almost inevitable. In February 1917, a series of strikes and protests rocked the capital city, Petrograd, driven by poor wages and food shortages. The demonstrations grew to massive numbers by 26 February. Nicholas, who was away from Petrograd at army headquarters, sent a message ordering his troops onto the streets to stop the disorder. However, this time the troops refused to fire on the people and instead joined them in their protests.

The Tsar abdicates

During February, mutinies increased among the military and riots worsened. The Tsar ordered the Duma to be dismissed, blaming it for allowing the riots to occur. But some members of the Duma sided with the revolution and formed a **Provisional Government**. At the same time, soldiers and workers formed the Petrograd Soviet, which was to play an important role in events later in the year. Nicholas probably realised that all was lost when the train carrying him back to Petrograd was forced to detour by armed revolutionary soldiers. On 2 March 1917, Nicholas **abdicated**. He wrote in his diary: 'All around me there is treachery, cowardice and deceit'. The Provisional Government took over the administration of Russia and the rule of the Romanov Dynasty, in power by Divine Right since 1613, had come to an end.

Provisional Government the new government of Russia formed after the Tsar abdicated in February 1917. Never effective, it was overthrown by the Bolsheviks in October that year.

abdicate when a monarch resigns as leader of their country

5.7 Why did the Bolsheviks succeed in October 1917?

With Nicholas's abdication, there were now two centres of power in Russia: the Provisional Government, comprised mainly of upper-class liberals like the Kadets, who believed in a constitutional democracy, and the Petrograd Soviet, which had become the leader of the many similar workers' councils established in cities and towns across Russia. The two groups co-existed uneasily; the Provisional Government led by Kerensky controlled the state, but real power came from the Soviet as it was seen to represent the workers, peasants and soldiers – the majority of the people.

What problems were faced by the Provisional Government?

The Provisional Government enacted a number of significant reforms between February and October 1917. Freedom of speech was declared, political prisoners were released, the Okhrana was abolished, as was the death penalty and exile to Siberia, and an eight-hour working day was introduced. It also promised to call nationwide elections for a Constituent Assembly, which would replace it as the legitimate government. However, there were also failures that contributed significantly to its lack of public support. The Provisional Government was not chosen by popular vote and did not have widespread support. Significantly, internal economic problems of inflation, food and fuel shortages, and peasant seizures of land were not dealt with effectively. Despite the escalating casualties, Kerensky also refused to withdraw Russia from the unpopular war with Germany. Lenin realised the potential for a Bolshevik-led revolution to take power from an increasingly weak and unpopular government.

Communist Manifesto the 1848 book by Marx and Engels that outlined the basic ideas of how class struggle would lead to a communist society

capitalism economic system that promotes the unrestricted growth of wealth in the hands of private individuals and companies based on market forces of supply and demand. Government intervention in the economy is disapproved of and extremes of wealth and poverty can occur.

Marx, communism and the Bolsheviks

The Bolsheviks were proponents of Marxism, the idea of the German philosopher Karl Marx, who in 1848 had written the ***Communist Manifesto*** with Friedrich Engels. Marx believed that all history was based on a dialectical struggle (conflict between two interacting and opposing forces); in this case a series of class struggles between those who controlled production and those who did not. The following table shows how Marx believed a **capitalist** society that exploited workers would eventually disappear and be replaced by a utopian communist society where people would work according to their abilities and be paid according to their needs.

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Progression of revolutionary stages according to Marx

	Feudalism	Capitalism	Dictatorship of the proletariat	Communism
Dominant class	Nobility	Bourgeoisie	Proletariat	Classless society; all are equal
Oppressed class	Peasants	Proletariat	None	
How does revolution occur to end this stage and progress to the next?	• Urban bourgeoisie develops, taking economic power from the nobility • Power now based on wealth not birth • Peasants move into towns for jobs, creating a class of urban workers (proletariat) in an emerging industrial economy • Economy now based on money (capitalism) and labour.	• As the Industrial Revolution develops after 1750, wealthy bourgeoisie exploit urban proletariat • Proletariat's wages don't reflect the profits they enable their employers to make from their labour • Gradually proletariat develops a 'revolutionary consciousness' of its own oppression and supports revolutionary change.	• Temporary stage leading to communism • Working class now controls means of production • Bourgeoisie disappears • Government redistributes wealth equally and establishes collective ownership of resources.	• No central government or dominant class • Society works on the principle of 'from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs', so no one is exploited or goes without necessities • Everyone works together to ensure society functions effectively • Political decision-making and authority is decentralised and communal.

Marx, and also Lenin and Trotsky, believed that eventually the appeal of communism would spread and create a worldwide international movement. This was reflected in the *Communist Manifesto*, which loosely translated, finished with the slogan 'Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!'

Lenin and the Bolsheviks embraced Marxist ideas, but Lenin adapted them to suit what he believed were unique conditions in Russia, which was far less industrially developed than countries like Germany, France and Britain. **Leninism** postulated that the working classes needed a political party (the Bolsheviks) to lead them, rather than waiting for them to spontaneously develop class consciousness and push for proletarian revolution.

Leninism Lenin's adaptation of Marxism to suit Russian society lacking a politically aware proletariat; rather than allowing class-based revolution to occur naturally, the Bolsheviks would actively lead this process

The Bolsheviks had little involvement in the February revolution, as most were in exile. However, as you saw in the introduction to this study, the German Government enabled Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders to return to Russia in a special sealed train in April 1917. Lenin did successfully return to Petrograd and was greeted by cheering crowds. In a defining speech, he outlined his April Theses which included ending Russia's participation in the war, ending co-operation with the Provisional Government,

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confiscation of all large private estates, establishing a government of Soviet workers' councils, rather than a parliamentary democracy, and promising 'peace, land, bread'.

By August 200 000 had joined the Bolshevik party. Groups of armed workers – the Red Guards – were also formed. Along with Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, Lenin began to organise the revolution which would put the Bolsheviks in power. However, the Bolsheviks still lacked majority popular support and were outnumbered by other socialist parties in the Soviet.

Why did a Revolution occur in October 1917?

The July Days

In the summer of 1917, Russia was rocked by a wave of Bolshevik-inspired strikes and demonstrations, known as the July Days, which directly challenged the Provisional Government. The military authorities set troops against the demonstrators, leaving more than 700 people killed and wounded. The failure of the uprising forced Lenin into hiding; in disguise and clean-shaven, he lived for three months in a remote forest hut and then in Finland. Trotsky and other Bolshevik leaders were arrested. The riots polarised Russian politics. On the right were the conservative forces who saw Kornilov, the Commander of the Russian army, increasingly as their saviour. On the left were the Bolsheviks. Caught in the middle was the Provisional Government, led by Alexander Kerensky.

The overthrow of the Provisional Government

In September, Kerensky became alarmed that Kornilov was planning a military coup. Kerensky freed Trotsky and allowed the Red Guards to be armed to help defend Petrograd. The attack never eventuated; however, the Kornilov Affair resulted in a surge of support for the Bolsheviks, who gained credibility for saving the city from a possible military takeover and a return to the pre-revolutionary order. The position of Kerensky and the Provisional Government was now critical, as support disappeared from all sides.

Reassured that the Provisional Government could no longer rely on the support of the army, Lenin and Trotsky made their move. On the night of 24 October, the Red Guards began to take control of the main locations in Petrograd. The Provisional Government, located in the Winter Palace, was lightly guarded and little resistance was shown when the Red Guards stormed the palace at 2.10 a.m. The Provisional Government ministers surrendered without a fight. Kerensky fled to the American embassy, where he was given protection. The Petrograd Soviet was now in control. Within a week the Bolsheviks were established as the Government of Peoples' Commissars, with Lenin as President.

ACTIVITY 5.5

Highlight the differences between two revolutions

Construct a table to highlight the differences between the two revolutions of 1917. Use two columns, one for each revolution. Consider such categories as: aims, causes (long and short term), participants, events, results.

5.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Bolsheviks transform Russia?

Lenin and Trotsky's victory in Petrograd was only the beginning of the Bolshevik attempt to establish control over all of Russia. The problems that had beset the Provisional Government still existed, and the Bolsheviks needed some form of electoral support to legitimise their takeover. Even within the Bolshevik party there were divisions. Transforming Russia into a truly revolutionary communist state was going to be an immense task.

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How did the Bolsheviks consolidate power?

Lenin first needed to ensure the Bolsheviks had the support of the majority of Soviets. The national All-Russian Congress of Soviets meeting on 26 October officially approved the new regime, giving it legitimacy among the workers' councils. This meant Lenin did not have to consider any coalition governments with other more moderate socialist groups, like the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks. He wanted the Bolsheviks to govern alone.

SOURCE 5.15 Lenin speaking at the Congress of Soviets, the day after the storming of the Winter Palace

Lenin haranguing deputies of the 2nd Soviet Congress, Smolny Palace, St Petersburg, 1917



Responding to the source

1. Note the people present, and the physical surroundings. Does this combination symbolise the idea of proletarian revolution? Explain your response.
2. What impression of Lenin do you think the artist has created? What aspects of the painting contribute to this?
3. From the depiction of the scene, what sort of emotions or mood might there have been among the delegates at the Congress of Soviets? What might have contributed to this?
4. This painting is by an unknown artist. Do you think the artist was simply trying to record a historical event or might there be some other purpose to this painting? Explain your response.

A one-party state

Lenin responded to pressure from workers' organisations to proceed with the elections for the Constituent Assembly that the Provisional Government had promised. Just over half of the 80 million eligible Russians voted. The results of the first democratic elections ever held in Russia, in November 1917, were as follows:

Party	% of vote	No. of seats
Socialist Revolutionaries	48	410
Bolsheviks	24	175
Minor parties	20	99
Kadets	5	17
Mensheviks	3	16

The majority of voters were peasants who supported the Socialist Revolutionary Party's land reform policies. Although the Bolsheviks received only a quarter of the vote nationally, they had great support from urban working-class voters. Lenin's reaction was as follows:

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SOURCE 5.16 Lenin takes a dramatic step, November 1917

As long as behind the slogan 'All power to the Constituent Assembly' is concealed the slogan 'Down with the Soviets', civil war is inevitable. For nothing in the world will induce us to surrender the Soviet power. And when the Constituent Assembly revealed its readiness to postpone all the painfully urgent problems and tasks that were placed before it by the Soviets, we told the Constituent Assembly that they must not postpone for a single moment. And by the will of the Soviet power, the Constituent Assembly, which has refused to recognise the power of the people, is dissolved. The Soviet Revolutionary Republic will triumph no matter what the cost.

Lenin, as quoted in Michael Lynch, *Reaction and Revolutions: Russia 1881–1924*, 2005, p. 105

Responding to the source

1. What did Lenin do with the Constituent Assembly?
2. How did he justify this action?
3. How was this likely to affect the Bolsheviks' relationship with the other parties, especially the Socialist Revolutionaries?
4. What does this action indicate about Lenin's view of his role as leader of Russia? What does it also indicate about the Bolsheviks' hold on power at that stage?
5. How might supporters of democratic change in Russia have viewed Lenin's actions?

Land reform

Lenin also moved quickly on the issue of land reform. Recognising the popularity of the Socialist Revolutionary Party's agrarian policies with the peasants, Lenin issued the Decree on Land in November 1917.

SOURCE 5.17 Lenin's Decree on Land, 8 November 1917

1. Private ownership of land shall be abolished for ever ... All land, whether state, crown, church, factory, private, public, peasant, etc. shall be confiscated without compensation and become the property of the whole people and pass into the use of those who cultivate it.
2. The right to use the land shall be accorded to all citizens of the Russian State (without distinction of sex) desiring to cultivate it by their own labour, with the help of their families, or in partnership, but only as long as they are able to cultivate it ... Peasants who, owing to old age or ill health, are permanently disabled and unable to cultivate the land personally, shall lose their rights to the use of it, but, in return, shall receive a pension from the State.

From Yuri Akhapkin (ed.), *First Decrees of Soviet Power*, 1970

Responding to the source

1. How does this land decree accord with Lenin's communist ideology?
2. What effect would this decree have on landowners? Would they get anything in return for having their lands taken?
3. How might some elements of the decree in paragraph two be regarded as socially progressive in a Western society at that time?

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4. What potential for chaos do you think the decree might create? Why?
5. Can you imagine living in a society in which all private ownership of land had been abolished? What (if any) might be the advantages and disadvantages for that society?

Ending the war with Germany

The major problem overriding any domestic reforms was the war with Germany. The human casualties and the economic drain on Russia's economy were causing great unrest and Lenin knew a peace treaty had to be signed if the Bolsheviks were to have any chance of gaining popular support. He also feared a German attack on Petrograd, and even that the Germans might form an unlikely alliance with Britain and France against the Bolsheviks to restore the monarchy (Nicholas and Alexandra, as well as the German Kaiser Wilhelm, were first cousins of Britain's King George V!). Lenin was prepared to accept the harsh terms proposed by Germany as a means of ending the war quickly, and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on 3 March 1918. As a result of this treaty Russia had to pay Germany three million roubles in reparations, and also gave up territory that contained:

- 17% of Russia's population (62 million people)
- 32% of its farm land
- 89% of its iron and coal reserves
- 54% of its industries
- 26% of its railways.

SOURCE 5.18 Map of Treaty of Brest-Litovsk



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Responding to the source

1. What would the losses of land and raw materials mean for Russia?
2. From the map, you can see the extent of the territory that Lenin gave up. However, some sources say that he wasn't too concerned at the time with losing them, as he was confident they would return to Russia later. As a communist revolutionary, how might he have been hoping to regain these territories in the longer term?
3. What consequence would Russia's withdrawal from the war against Germany have had for the British and the French? How might this affect their relationship with the new communist government in Russia?

As it turned out, the surrender of Germany in November 1918 and the Treaty of Versailles the following year meant that the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was revoked, although Russia did not regain its lost territory.

Social reforms

The Bolsheviks introduced a number of sweeping social changes in the first few months. These included:

- Women given full legal equality to men
- Complete separation of church and state, e.g. marriage was now to be a civil ceremony
- Divorce could be easily attained by either partner
- The state provided crèches and kindergartens, to make it easier for women with children to work
- Private banks and their funds were nationalised
- Education for all to be provided by the state
- Russia's Julian calendar, which was 13 days behind the Western Gregorian calendar, was abolished on 31 January 1918. The new day therefore became 14 February instead of 1 February.

Lenin's reforms reflected Marxist principles to varying degrees. Which of these reforms seem to reflect Marxist principles? What key principle of Marxism does not seem to be mentioned explicitly in this list? Could that principle be difficult to act upon in these early days?

SOURCE 5.19 A Soviet poster from 1925: 'Each kitchen maid should learn to rule the state'



This 1925 poster by Ilya Pavlovich Makarychev says: 'Don't stay at home in the kitchen. Get elected into the Soviets! The female worker used to be in the dark, now she's in the Soviet deciding things.'

Responding to the source

1. What is represented by the building that the woman is pointing to?
2. Why would this image and its message be socially progressive for its time?
3. In what two ways can the image of the woman in the poster and the accompanying slogan be seen to represent revolutionary ideals?

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ACTIVITY 5.6

Analyse the Bolshevik reforms

Copy the table below and complete it, listing the seven reforms and indicating the probable purpose of each reform, its likely supporters and its likely opponents. Then discuss which of these reforms from a century ago would not be out of place in modern societies including Australia.

	Bolshevik reform	Probable purpose	Likely supporters	Likely opponents
1	Women given full legal equality to men			
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				

Political repression

Along with these reforms, the regime also introduced repressive measures against political opposition. The Kadets were banned and a state police force, the **Cheka**, was set up. The following sources give an insight into how it operated:

Cheka the Bolsheviks' secret police; used to eliminate opposition

SOURCE 5.20 An order to all Soviets, 22 February 1918

... The [Cheka] asks the [local] Soviets to proceed at once to seek out, arrest, and shoot immediately all members ... connected in one form or another with counter-revolutionary organisations ... (1) agents of enemy spies, (2) counter-revolutionary agitators, (3) speculators, (4) organisers of revolts ... against the Soviet Government, (5) those going to the Don to join the Kaledin-Kornilov band and the Polish counter-revolutionary legions, (6) buyers and sellers of arms to be used by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. All these are to be shot on the spot ... when caught red-handed in the act.

From J. Bunyan and H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1918*, 1965

SOURCE 5.21 Statement from Felix Dzerzhinsky, Commander of the Cheka, July 1918

The Cheka is not a court. The Cheka is the defence of the revolution as the Red Army is; as in the civil war the Red Army cannot stop to ask whether it may harm particular individuals, but must take into account only one thing, the victory of the revolution over the bourgeoisie, so the Cheka must defend the revolution and conquer the enemy even if its sword falls occasionally on the heads of the innocent.

E.H. Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917–1923*, 1952

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Responding to the sources

1. What do these statements tell you about the nature of the Cheka?
2. To what previous Russian organisation might it be compared?
3. What does Dzerzhinsky claim is the purpose of the Cheka?
4. Note the list of six counter-revolutionary targets in the first source, and the action the Soviets are asked to take against them. Do you think there could be a danger of this order being abused by some Soviet members? Explain your response. Could Dzerzhinsky's words add to that danger? Explain your response.
5. According to Dzerzhinsky, how far was he prepared to go in pursuing the defence of the revolution?
6. You probably think these two sources describe extraordinary, unreasonable ideas and actions. Why, at the time, might Lenin have believed they were necessary? Do you think all members of the Soviets would have approved?

The Bolsheviks' concerns about counter-revolutionaries were added to by a fresh threat that emerged, this time from outside Russia.

Why did a civil war develop in Russia and what were its consequences?

Foreign intervention

Lenin was determined that the Bolsheviks were the only party that could lead Russia's revolutionary transition to a communist state, and then enable the international class struggle to sweep across the rest of Europe. This prospect terrified the capitalist governments of European countries, who, with victory over Germany now likely, turned their attention to the Bolshevik threat. Together with the anti-Bolshevik Russian groups that Lenin had banned or marginalised by abolishing the Constituent Assembly, they mounted a direct military challenge. Between March and December 1918, British, Czech, United States and French forces entered Russian territory to confront the Bolshevik Red Army. Some Australians were also involved.

ACTIVITY 5.7

Research the Australian troops in Russia

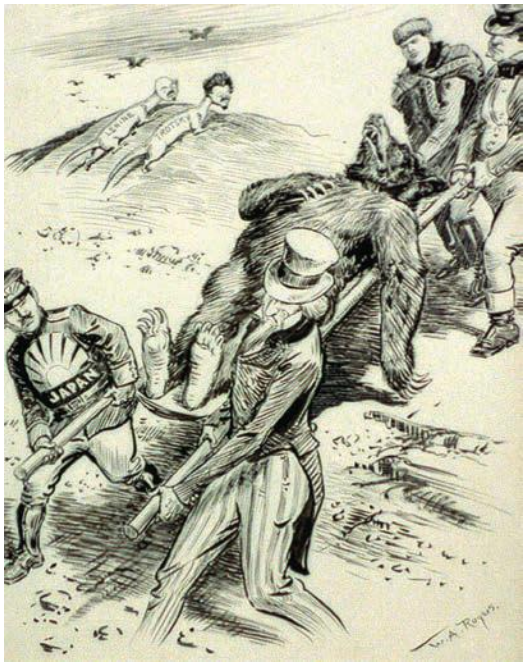
The Australian army was not involved in the Russian civil war, but in 1918–19 about 150 Australian troops volunteered to serve with the British forces who had gone to Russia to assist and train the anti-Bolshevik forces. This little-known involvement resulted in two Australians, Sergeant George Pearse and Corporal Arthur Sullivan, winning the Victoria Cross, the British army's highest award for bravery.

Find out more about these men and what they did to win their awards. What motivated them to become involved in this foreign intervention in Russia so soon after the end of World War I?

The following cartoon by the American W.A. Rogers was published in 1918. It makes a comment on why foreign intervention occurred in Russia at this time.

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SOURCE 5.22 A Hospital Case



Cartoon by W.A. Rogers, published in 1918. A higher resolution version of this cartoon is available in the Interactive Textbook.

GO

Responding to the cartoon

1. The two figures at the rear are Britain and Czechoslovakia. Who are the two at the front?
2. Which country is represented by the bear?
3. What is signified by the fact that these countries are carrying the bear on the stretcher? What are they trying to do?
4. Who are the two figures represented in the background, watching? Comment on how they are depicted in the cartoon.
5. How might this cartoon have influenced opinion of the Bolsheviks in the United States?

The cartoon highlighted Western attempts to 'rescue' Russia. But the Western nations had wider concerns. In May 1919, Zinoviev, a Bolshevik, had predicted that 'Old Europe is rushing towards revolution at breakneck speed. In a twelve-month, we shall have forgotten that there was ever a struggle for communism in Europe, for all of Europe will be communist'. Such predictions provoked a period of heightened fear in the West of communism in 1918–19. The military intervention in Russia was one reflection of that fear. Another was the following illustration by the artist Adrien Barrière, which appeared during the French elections in 1919.

SOURCE 5.23 Anti-communist election poster, France 1919



Anti-communist election poster, France 1919. The slogan says: 'How to vote against Bolshevism?'

Responding to the source

1. Explain three ways in which the colour red could be interpreted as having a particular meaning or significance in this poster.
2. What physical aspects of the Bolshevik figure help to depict him as wild and dangerous?
3. What does the depiction of the dagger between the teeth imply about the nature of the Bolshevik figure?
4. Do you think this poster would make people more likely to vote against socialist parties in the election? Is there any way it might be counter-productive?

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Reds v Whites

The foreign intervention was generally ineffective. Western nations were reluctant to commit to a full-scale offensive as the long war against Germany was drawing to a close. By 1919 most foreign forces had withdrawn and the conflict had become an internal one between the Bolsheviks and their opponents. At stake was the survival of the revolution. The Reds were the communist Red Army, led by Trotsky. The Whites comprised the traditional conservative forces in Russia, such as peasants, landowners and various middle- and upper-class groups, as well as political parties like the Socialist Revolutionaries who wanted to defeat the new Soviet Government. They were led by officers from the former Russian army. The Whites were supported by military forces of varying strength from many Western countries and Japan, although foreign intervention mainly took the form of financial aid and supplies.

SOURCE 5.24 A Bolshevik civil war poster



The capitalists unleashing their dogs. The names on the dogs are Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich, all White army generals.

Responding to the cartoon

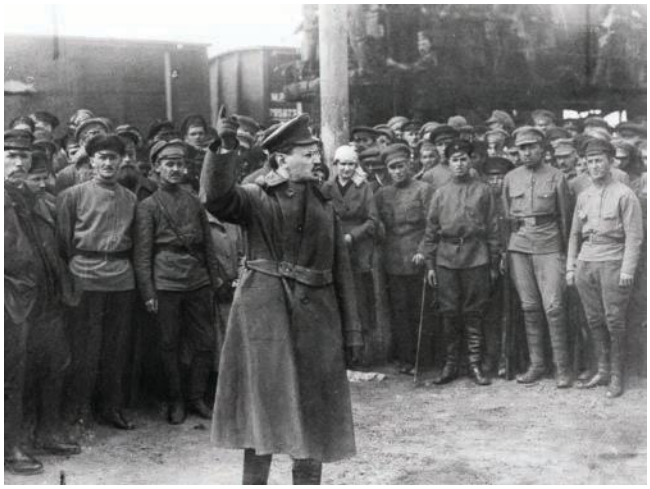
1. Who or what do the men on the right represent? How can you tell this?
2. What message is the cartoon trying to convey? Does this message make it an obviously Bolshevik poster?
3. How has the artist accentuated the character of the three men, and of the three dogs?
4. This type of poster art is an example of propaganda. Based on this example, what do you think the features are of propaganda art?
5. Who might be the intended audience for this poster? What do you think the Bolsheviks were trying to achieve through the publication of this poster, especially considering the circumstances at the time?
6. Suggest some artistic changes that could turn this poster into White/anti-Bolshevik propaganda. What new title would you then give the poster?

Against the threat from the Whites, Trotsky saw the very survival of the revolution at stake. He toured the front lines on an armoured train, constantly encouraging the troops with speeches and propaganda, and enforcing discipline. He became the figurehead of resistance for the Red Army, a vital role that helped win the war.

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SOURCES 5.25 A&B Trotsky and the Red Guards

A Photograph of Trotsky addressing Red Guards during the Civil War



B Silent film footage of Trotsky addressing members of the Red Guard in 1919



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:17) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the source

1. What impression do you get of Trotsky's leadership style from these sources? Is there any significance in his appearance and where he is standing in relation to the troops in the video?
2. Do the stances and expressions of the assembled people in the photograph give any sense of what they think and feel about Trotsky and his words? Explain your response.
3. Compare the uniforms of Trotsky himself, the officers (the men closest to Trotsky in the video) and the assembled soldiers. Unlike the uniforms of most countries in World War I there is little to tell the different ranks apart. Why would this be the case in the Red Army?
4. To enforce discipline, Trotsky had deserters executed and enforced other harsh punishments. Why do you think he still retained the support of the troops?

Execution of the Tsar

One problem Lenin had to confront was what to do with the Romanovs. After Tsar Nicholas's abdication, he and his family had been held under guard at various locations near Petrograd, but with the possible approach of the White forces Lenin had them moved to the town of Ekaterinburg, further inland. By July 1918 the Whites began to approach Ekaterinburg itself. The risk of the royal family being freed and becoming a rallying point for the anti-Bolshevik forces was too great. At 10:30 p.m. on 16 July the Tsar and his family were awakened and taken to the cellar of the building where they were being held captive, on the pretext of being moved to another location. There were 11 in the Tsar's group: himself, the Tsarina, their four daughters and their son, their family doctor, their cook, a servant and a maid. They were met in the room by an armed local detachment of Cheka, led by Yakov Yurovsky. In 1934, in a speech at a political reunion, Yurovsky recounted what happened next.

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SOURCE 5.26 Yurovsky's account of the execution of the Romanovs

I said to Nicholas approximately this: His royal and close relatives inside the country and abroad were trying to save him, but the Soviet of Workers' Deputies resolved to shoot them. He asked 'What?' and turned toward Alexei. At that moment I shot him and killed him outright. He did not get time to face us to get an answer. At that moment disorganised, not orderly firing began. The room was small, but everybody could come in and carry out the shooting according to the set order. But many shot through the doorway. Bullets began to ricochet because the wall was brick. Moreover, the firing intensified when the victims' shouts arose. I managed to stop the firing but with great difficulty.

... When the firing stopped, it turned out that the daughters, Alexandra and, it seems, Demidova and Alexei too, were alive. I think they had fallen from fear or maybe intentionally, and so they were alive. Then we proceeded to finish the shooting. (Previously I had suggested shooting at the heart to avoid a lot of blood). Alexei remained sitting petrified. I killed him. They shot the daughters but did not kill them. Then Yermakov resorted to a bayonet, but that did not work either. Finally they killed them by shooting them in the head.

Moshein, R. 2018, 'Murder of the Imperial Family – The executioner Yurovsky's account', Alexander Palace Time Machine

Responding to the source

1. Why would Lenin have been so concerned about the Tsar being freed during the civil war?
2. Give a reason why Lenin could have wanted the news of the Tsar's execution to be (a) made public and (b) kept quiet.
3. The execution of the Tsar's family ended up being chaotic. Could this indicate something about (a) the planning of the executions, (b) the room chosen for the executions, (c) the expertise of the Cheka who carried out the killings, (d) their extraordinary task – i.e. murdering the Tsar, his wife and their children, (e) any doubts, reluctance or fears on the part of the Cheka executioners?
4. Given the horror and brutality of this event, comment on the tone of the report given by Yurovsky. Could this suggest he had qualities valued in a Cheka officer? Explain. Can you imagine Yurovsky describing the scene quite differently to a close friend or family? Explain your response.
5. It turned out that there was an unexpected and extraordinary reason why the executioners had such difficulty killing the women of the royal family. Find out online at Alexander Palace Time Machine where you can read Yurovsky's complete account.

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Three years after the executions, the French artist Sarmat produced this dramatic painting of the event.

SOURCE 5.27 *Execution of the Tsar at Ekaterinburg*



Execution of the Tsar at Ekaterinburg by the French artist S. Sarmat, c. 1921

Responding to the source

1. What elements in this painting are corroborated by the account of the murders given by Yurovsky (in 1934) in the previous source?
2. Does the painting suggest where the artist's sympathies (if any) might lie? Explain your response.

News of the murder of Nicholas and his family caused outrage and shock around the world; most of the royal families of Europe were related to the Romanovs, and there were fears that similar events could happen in their countries. It increased the urgency of foreign intervention in Russia to help bring down the Bolshevik regime. In turn, that provoked an extreme reaction by the Bolsheviks.

Red Terror

The activities of the Cheka were given full rein after an assassination attempt on Lenin in August 1918 by a Socialist Revolutionary. This convinced Lenin that counter-revolutionary forces were still fully operational and dangerous, and needed to be repressed. A policy of Red Terror was implemented where any perceived enemy of the state could be arrested or executed without trial. A Bolshevik newspaper claimed there would be revenge for the attempt on Lenin's life: 'Without mercy, without sparing, we will kill our enemies in scores of hundreds. Let them be thousands; let them drown themselves in their own blood. For the blood of Lenin … let there be floods of the blood of the bourgeois – more blood, as much as possible.' (Malone, 2015:207).

The Red Terror was matched by the White Terror, as both sides in the civil war committed atrocities. Both soldiers and civilians were victims on both sides. Peasants in particular suffered as their food supplies were often taken. Execution without trial was routine. Prisoners were scalped, skinned, boiled, buried alive, rolled in spiked barrels, eaten alive by rats and otherwise tortured. Rapes, mass shootings and hangings were commonplace. Whole villages were sometimes wiped out. As the war progressed, the terror became more indiscriminate on both sides, and members of all classes were frequently targeted, often on the flimsiest of pretexts. The purpose of the Red Terror campaign was to eliminate possible counter-revolutionary groups, but its main effect was to terrify any potential opposition into submission. Hundreds of thousands died as a direct result.

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SOURCE 5.28 A Bolshevik propaganda poster from the civil war



The text says 'Retreating, the Whites are burning crops'.

Responding to the cartoon

1. Describe the contrast between the civilians on the left and the military personnel on the right. What do you think the artist intended his audience to think and feel about each group? Who do you think that audience would be?
2. Who is the person standing next to the White general? Why might he have been included in the poster?
3. What features make this image propaganda rather than just depiction?
4. Search online to find out whether a scene such as this could have occurred in Russia at that time.
5. In 1920, posters were an effective means of making public statements and communicating messages to influence a wide audience. How and why are posters used today in Australia? Do you think they can be effective? Do they use similar graphic techniques?

War Communism and the Reds' victory

Even greater loss of life resulted from the economic policies imposed by the Bolsheviks during the civil war. These policies were collectively known as **War Communism**. The disastrous losses of farmland and industry in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had created food shortages, a problem exacerbated by conscription of peasants and labourers and the forced confiscation of food as the civil war intensified. All production was directed towards the war effort. Private trade and business were banned, as the state took over all aspects of the economy. The result was an economic disaster, as food production collapsed, and famine set in. It is estimated that 95% of the 10 million deaths during the civil war were as a result of starvation and disease. There were reports of cannibalism from some areas, but these were supressed in the press.

War Communism policy that directed all economic production towards serving the revolution's survival during the civil war

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SOURCES 5.29 A–C Effects of War Communism

A Bodies of famine victims are carried away in carts, 1921



B The population of Petrograd, 1914–20

Year	City population in millions	Births per thousand of population	Deaths per thousand of population
1914	2.2	25	21
1917	2.5	18	25
1918	1.5	15	44
1919	0.8	15.5	81.5
1920	0.6	12	95

From L.A. and L.M. Vasilievski, *Kniga o golode*, 1922, pp. 64–5

C A historian comments on War Communism

There is no word of strong enough force to use when one comes to the situation in Russia in those years. Total industrial output fell to around 20 per cent of prewar levels ... Total output of finished products in 1921 was 16 per cent of 1912 levels. Production in key sectors was down to around 29 per cent in mining, 36 per cent in oil, less than 10 per cent in the metal industries, 7 per cent in cotton textiles, 34 per cent in wool. Transport [mainly rail and river] also collapsed to about 20 per cent of the pre-war level. Agricultural production ... surpluses became smaller and smaller. The grain harvest in 1921 was only 48 per cent of the 1913 figure.

Christopher Read, *From Tsar to Soviets: The Russian People and their Revolution 1917–1921*, 1996, p. 192

Responding to the sources

1. Photographs can have a much more powerful impact than written descriptions. What aspects of this photo make it a powerful image? What does this source indicate about the nature and extent of the famine of 1920–22?
2. Explain what Source 5.29B indicates about the main effect of war communism on the city of Petrograd from 1917 to 1920, compared with 1914.
3. Write a paragraph using these three sources to describe the effects of War Communism on Russia. Highlight any strengths and possible inadequacies of these particular sources.

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ACTIVITY 5.8

Discuss the morality of War Communism

The Bolshevik leaders considered War Communism both necessary and regrettable.
Discuss the questions below in small groups and then share as a class:

1. What Bolshevik goal would cause them to say that War Communism was necessary?
2. What might have happened to the Bolsheviks, to Russia and to the Russian people if the Bolsheviks had not enacted War Communism?
3. Could that make War Communism not just necessary, but morally defensible?
4. Can the Bolshevik goal of defeating enemies morally justify the consequent deaths of millions of Russians through privation and famine?
5. Could the alternative outcome – victory of the White forces – have been a more morally acceptable outcome?
6. Is it easier to make that decision with the benefit of hindsight, compared with at the time?
7. Does history suggest that political goals – including admirable ones – and moral outcomes can sometimes be in conflict?
8. How difficult is it to answer these questions? What further research might help you respond?

During 1920 the Reds progressively defeated the White armies, and foreign powers withdrew their support. By early 1921 the war was over.

SOURCES 5.30 A&B The Red victory

A A historian sums up the reason for the Reds' victory

> Much was due to the driving initiative, the disciplined order and the ruthlessness of the Bolsheviks themselves. They possessed in Lenin a leader of great strength and astuteness, and in Trotsky an organiser of extraordinary capacity. The policy of terror subdued opposition and aided their cause, but the victory was not due to terrorism. The Bolsheviks were faced by a motley array of oppositionists, who had little in common. It was difficult to maintain effective co-operation between socialist revolutionary leaders and army generals of the old regime. There was little co-operation of policy or strategy between the White leaders, and this lack of unity was to prove fatal to the counter-revolutionary cause.

Gordon Greenwood, *The Modern World*, 1973

B A propaganda poster from 1920



Comrade Lenin Cleanses the Earth of Filth

Responding to the sources

1. According to Greenwood, what factors on each of the Red and White sides contributed to the result of the war? What does he believe was the major reason for the Red victory?
2. With reference to details in the cartoon, what does this poster suggest about the role of Lenin in the war?

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3. Who or what do the four figures being swept away represent? How were these figures affected by the 1917 revolutions and their aftermath?
4. What might be the implication of Lenin's being depicted standing on a globe?
5. By 1920, when the poster was published, how much of the poster's message had come true?
6. What were the probable intended audiences and intentions of each of these two sources?

Despite the victory in the civil war, the communists still had many problems to overcome. The effects of War Communism had not been confined just to civilians; in March 1921, the sailors at the Kronstadt naval base near Petrograd mutinied, demanding an end to food shortages as well as a more democratic government. These sailors had previously fought for the Bolsheviks in the revolution; now they were challenging the communist state. The revolt was put down by the Red Army with the leaders executed or fleeing to Finland, but the Kronstadt uprising was symptomatic of dissatisfaction with Lenin's policies from within the party itself. The revolution was still far from universally popular.

The New Economic Policy

In March 1921, Lenin faced not only the Kronstadt mutiny but continued peasant revolts against grain requisitioning and unrest from urban workers dissatisfied with food shortages and lack of democracy.

SOURCE 5.31 A historian comments on the situation of 1921

As the urban food crisis deepened and more and more workers went on strike, it became clear that the Bolsheviks were facing a revolutionary situation. Lenin was thrown into panic: 'We are barely holding on,' he acknowledged in March. The peasant wars, he told the opening session of the Tenth Party Congress on 8 March, were 'far more dangerous than all of the Denikins, Yudeniches and Kolchaks put together.' Together with the strikes and the Kronstadt mutiny of March, they would force the Congress to abandon finally the widely hated policies of War Communism and restore free trade under the [**New Economic Policy (NEP)**]. Having defeated the Whites, who were backed by no fewer than eight Western powers, the Bolsheviks surrendered to the peasantry.

New Economic Policy (NEP) policy that allowed re-introduction of private enterprise after the civil war

Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy*, 1996, p. 758

Responding to the source

1. What tactics did Lenin unsuccessfully employ against the peasants?
2. Who were the 'Denikins, Yudeniches and Kolchaks' that he refers to (mentioned earlier)?
3. The New Economic Policy (NEP) restored some private ownership of farms and other enterprises. What might that mean in practical terms for the various sectors of the Russian population?

While the government kept control of the banks, transport systems and major heavy industries, under the NEP state control of the economy was relaxed and significant amounts of private enterprise were allowed. Grain requisitioning from peasants was ended; they were now taxed a small proportion of their crops but were allowed to sell the remainder on the open market. As a result, a new class of wealthy peasants appeared, known as **Kulaks**. Free market trade was permitted again and privately owned small businesses were permitted to make profits. Food rationing was also abolished. Despite the

Kulaks wealthier peasants who benefited from the New Economic Policy; later persecuted by Stalin as they resisted collectivisation

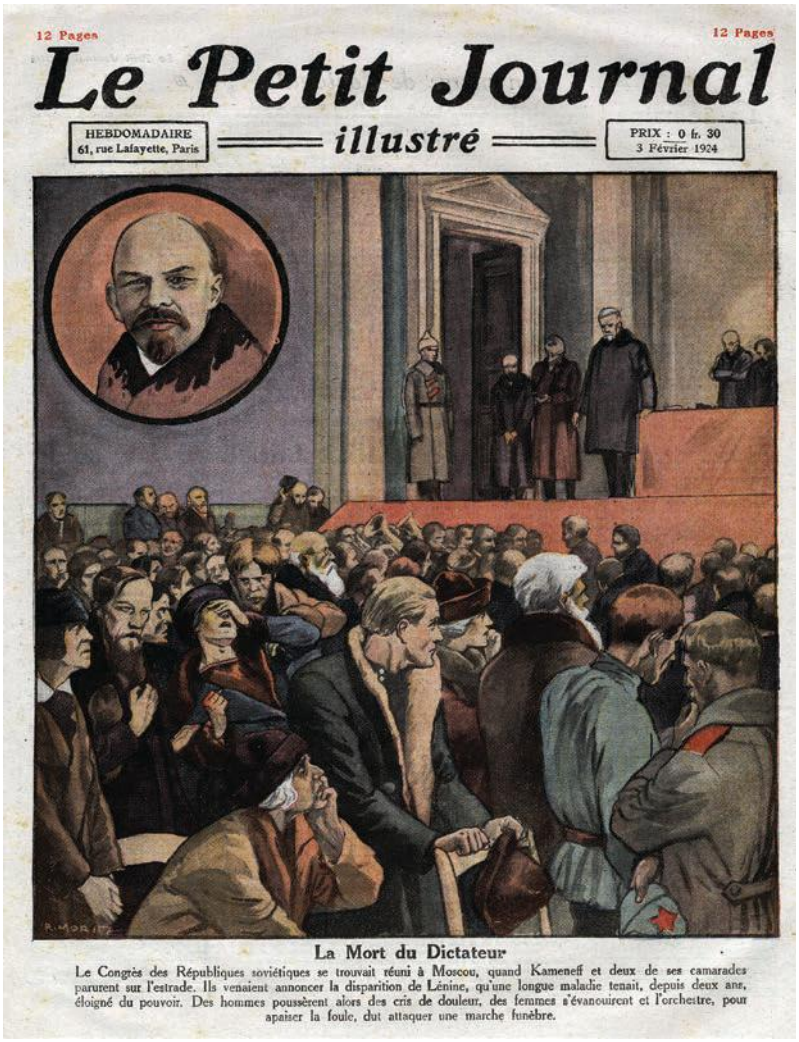
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improvement in the economy, many Bolsheviks opposed the NEP on ideological grounds; however, the policy remained until replaced by Stalin's first five-year plan in 1927.

How had Russia changed under Lenin by 1924?

In 1922, Lenin established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union), consisting of Russia and six former provinces of the Russian empire. By then, political opposition had been abolished, a massive centralised state bureaucracy was implementing Soviet policy, and the Cheka's successor, the OGPU, was enforcing control. Then, in January 1924, Lenin died following a stroke. The Communist Party was the unchallenged authority in the USSR. But Lenin's death ignited a struggle for leadership of the party between Trotsky, who was Lenin's choice as successor, and Josef Stalin.

SOURCE 5.32 A French newspaper reports *The dictator's death*


12 Pages — 12 Pages

Le Petit Journal

illustré

HEBDOMADAIRE
61, rue Lafayette, Paris

PRIX : 0 fr. 30
3 Février 1924

La Mort du Dictateur

Le Congrès des Républiques soviétiques se trouvait réuni à Moscou, quand Kameneff et deux de ses camarades parurent sur l'estrade. Ils venaient annoncer la disparition de Lénine, qu'une longue maladie tenait, depuis deux ans, éloigné du pouvoir. Des hommes poussèrent alors des cris de douleur, des femmes s'évanouirent et l'orchestre, pour apaiser la foule, dut attaquer une marche funèbre.

Front page of *Le Petit Journal*, 3 February 1924. The caption below the illustration reads: 'The Congress of Soviet Republics was meeting in Moscow, when Kamenev and two of his comrades appeared on the platform. They came to announce the passing of Lenin, who had been ill for the last two years, and away from power. Men screamed in anguish, women fainted and the orchestra, to settle the crowd, had to strike up a funeral march'.

Responding to the source

1. What impression does the French paper give of the reaction in Russia to Lenin's death? How might his death have been reported in the United States or Britain?
2. Note the term *Dictateur* (dictator). Given the appearance and tone of this source, do you think that word was used in the pejorative sense common today, or as a more neutral descriptor? Explain your response.
3. Why do you think there was such an apparent outpouring of grief in Russia at Lenin's death when his deeds had resulted in so much tragedy?
4. Might there have been a wide variety of reactions to the news of Lenin's death within the Russian population? Explain your response.

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It's interesting to ask what had been achieved by the time Lenin died. In Source 5.33A you can see a poster published in 1918, a year after the Bolshevik revolution. Also read a historian's description of the USSR in 1924 in Source 5.33B.

SOURCES 5.33 A&B After the revolution

A Soviet poster commemorating the first anniversary of the revolution



The inscription at the top says, 'Workers of the world, unite!' and the one at the bottom says 'The Year of Proletarian Dictatorship, October 1917 – October 1918'. A higher resolution version of this poster is available in the Interactive Textbook.

B A historian comments on Lenin's response to problems facing the new Russia

GO

The Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 was the new beginning for a Russia with the same old problems. Just because Lenin – a fresh, adaptable, reforming leader – had replaced the Tsar did not mean that the new society was as utopian as Marx's theory of communism predicted. In fact, Lenin inherited a nation under severe torment that also faced new problems restricting the success of the introduction of **socialism**. Certainly, the initial promise of social and political change by the Bolshevik Party was endangered by the democracy of socialism, civil war, economic breakdown and internal dissent. In these times of crisis, the new communist government's responses were unsurprisingly authoritarian, involving the introduction of stringent policies of social control.

socialism political and economic theory which proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

Richard Malone, *Analysing the Russian Revolution*, 3rd edn, 2015, p. 291

Responding to the two sources

1. In the poster, what is the significance of these features:
   - **a.** The two characters and their tools
   - **b.** The items lying scattered at their feet
   - **c.** The landscape, and the people and other features in it
   - **d.** The different uses of the colour red.

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2. Do you think this poster is a depiction of Russia in October 1918, a vision of a future Russia, or a combination of the two? Explain your response.
3. Who could have been the intended audience of this poster? What response might the artist have hoped for?
4. To what extent are Malone's terms 'the new beginning' and 'initial promise' reflected in the poster?
5. To what extent does the poster reflect Malone's list of dangers confronting the Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks' authoritarian responses?
6. During the years 1918–24, what might many Russians have thought when they looked again at the 1918 poster? Would their thoughts have been changing over that period? Explain your response.

ACTIVITY 5.9

Make a social media account documenting the Russian Revolution

Have a look at the websites *Project 1917* and *#1917LIVE* and then create your own (simulated) Facebook, Twitter or Instagram feed for an event of the Russian Revolution. You can work in pairs or small groups to create profiles for different real or fictional characters (e.g. peasants, revolutionaries).

5.9 How did Stalin transform Russia after Lenin's death?

Lenin wanted Trotsky to succeed him; he had a less favourable view of Stalin. This was clearly evident from letters Lenin wrote in 1922 assessing the qualities of the leadership contenders. Lenin wrote:

> Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary-General, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands – and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution. Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand ... has already proved [his] outstanding ability. He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee ... Stalin is too rude, and this defect ... becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Letter to the Congress of Soviets, 24 December 1922

Stalin v Trotsky

Stalin, a skilful and ruthless politician, emerged as the sole leader of the Communist Party after Lenin's death. Despite Trotsky's close association with Lenin during the revolution and his renowned leadership of the Red Army during the civil war, his outspoken criticism of some Party members made him unpopular.

Trotsky and Stalin differed ideologically on the future of the revolution. Trotsky's belief was that the USSR had a duty to push forward with spreading the communist ideal to workers around the world. Stalin, on the other hand, argued for a policy of 'socialism in one country'; that is, concentrating on building up the USSR's economy and military so that it was able to become a major world power able to withstand foreign aggression.

Stalin's talent for political manipulation saw Trotsky expelled from the Party in 1927, and eventually sent into exile in Europe and later to Mexico, where he was murdered by a Stalinist agent in 1940. By 1929 Stalin had effectively removed all his political opponents and was unchallenged as leader. Through the use of terror, censorship and propaganda Stalin created a totalitarian dictatorship, in which he was effectively worshipped as the saviour of the Soviet Union and Lenin's spiritual successor.

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SOURCES 5.34 A&B Rewriting history

The following two photographs show the same scene: Lenin addressing troops in Moscow in 1920. The original image shows Trotsky and Kamenev, both rivals of Stalin, standing on the steps at the lower right of the platform. The second photo was issued in 1927.

A Original photo of Lenin addressing troops in Moscow, 1920



B 1927 adjusted photo of Lenin addressing troops in Moscow, 1920



Responding to the sources

1. Compare the two photographs. What has changed?
2. How can you account for this difference? Who might have done this and why?
3. What lesson is there in this about using photographs as sources of historical evidence?
4. Historians know that Stalin was responsible for the doctored photograph. But could you make a case for the other photograph being the doctored one and, if so, who could be responsible?
5. If you search online for terms like 'Stalin doctored images', you will find many other examples of this sort of activity. It was a main theme in George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which described a Stalinist-like state in the fictitious country of Oceania, where the state was controlled by Big Brother. Is it more or less likely for history to be rewritten like this today? Can you think of any other examples of this happening? Can the current phenomenon of 'fake news' be compared with this Russian case from 1927?

Economic reforms

In order to increase Soviet industrial output and military strength while at the same time increasing agricultural output, Stalin implemented a series of five-year plans. The First Five-Year Plan from 1928 to 1932 marked the end of the NEP and private ownership and called for the collectivisation of peasant farms by the state. Opposition to this policy from the wealthier peasants, or Kulaks, resulted in Stalin having most of them arrested or executed. As a consequence from 1932 to 1934 a devastating famine resulted, with millions of deaths. However, by 1936 it was estimated that 90% of farms had been collectivised.

War with Germany

Other Five-Year Plans from 1933 to 1937 and in 1938–41 saw great increases in industrial output and electrification. The benefits of this industrialisation were proven when Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941, resulting in the bloodiest conflict of all of World War II. This conflict on the Eastern Front was known as the Great Patriotic War in the USSR, which reflected the fact that the very survival of the country was

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at stake. Hitler saw the conquest of the USSR as a priority, as he considered it populated by non-Aryan *untermenschen*, or sub-humans, such as Slavs and Jews. Communism, as a supposedly international class-based ideology, was also intrinsically opposed to the nationalist, race-based ideology of Fascism. However, despite rapid German initial gains, once winter set in, the Soviets fought back and eventually turned the tide of the war. Some of the worst atrocities of the war were committed by the Nazis on the Eastern Front. Ethnic cleansing was openly practised. The city of St Petersburg, by then known as Leningrad, was besieged for two and a half years in a deliberate effort to starve its inhabitants to death; over a million citizens died and cases of cannibalism were reported. Further south, the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in 1943 is often said to have been the turning point in the war. In one of history's greatest battles, the Germans lost over 800 000 men dead, wounded, missing, or captured, as well as large numbers of tanks and aircraft. Although Russian casualties were even higher, the successful defence of the city prevented the Germans from capturing vital Russian oilfields in the region, and was a great morale boost for the Allies as it was the first time in the war a German advance had been repulsed. The fighting at Stalingrad was savage, with hand-to-hand conflicts in city buildings, as well as large-scale air and tank battles. An example of the determination of the Russian defenders is illustrated below.

ACTIVITY 5.10

Research the story of 'Pavlov's House'



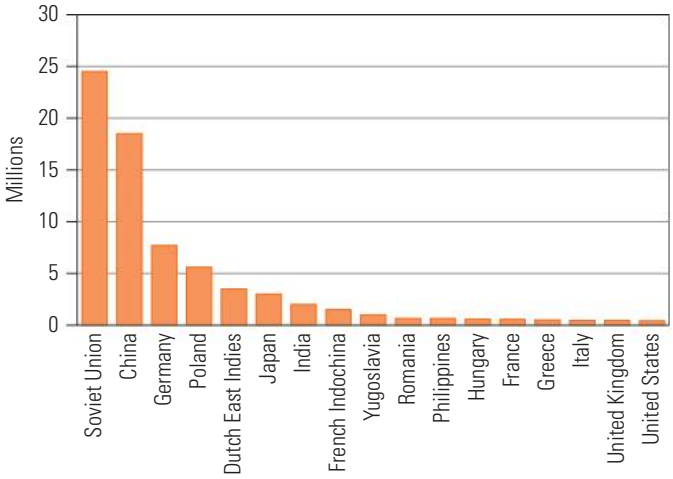
SOURCE 5.35 'Pavlov's House'

'Pavlov's House' was the name given to an apartment building in Stalingrad which was successfully defended by Soviet troops for two months against constant German attacks. Research the events of this story. Who was Pavlov? How was the house defended, and why was it so important? Who was in the house? What does this resistance indicate about the nature of the fighting at Stalingrad, and the attitude of the Soviet troops?

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Popular culture has largely ignored the role of the USSR in defeating Nazi Germany in World War II. While you see plenty of books and movies from the British and American perspectives, the importance of the conflict on the Eastern Front is often not appreciated. The graph in Source 5.36 shows just how disastrously the war affected the Soviet Union.

As a comparison, Australian war deaths were about 40 500.



SOURCE 5.36 Total military and civilian deaths in World War II, by country

Stalin's legacy

With the defeat of Germany in 1945, Stalin was now the leader of one of the world's two superpowers, the other being the United States. Over the next 50 years, these two nations would compete for world economic and political supremacy during the Cold War. On his death in 1953, Stalin was remembered as a national hero by millions of Russians, and as a tyrant by many others. His legacy of industrial development and wartime victory over Germany was tempered by the millions of deaths incurred by famine and repression during his rule. For many on the political left, Stalin was also responsible for ensuring that socialism itself was widely regarded as 'guilty by association' with totalitarian communism. Particularly in Western nations, socialism was regarded as not just an economic system which redistributed wealth in a democracy to alleviate inequality; it was now associated, especially by liberal and right-wing politicians, with political dictatorship and the repression of individual rights.

5.10 Depth study: summing up

There is no doubt that for most Russians their standard of living by 1953 had improved from 1917. The industrial development of the 1930s and the immediate post-war years ensured that consumer goods and the basics of modern living were more widely available, even if well below Western standards. Russia developed rapidly from a backward, semi-feudal economy with a predominantly illiterate population to one of the world's superpowers, with free public healthcare and education, and great advancements in science, including putting the first satellite into orbit in 1957 and the first human into space in 1961. Along the way, some elements of Marxist ideology were lost; the goal of a classless society based on genuine participatory decision-making was never attained. Instead, a strong, centralised one-party government, a tightly controlled society and a lack of individual rights became the foundations of the soviet state.

ACTIVITY 5.11

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: To what extent were the ideals of the Russian Revolution achieved?

Discuss or write responses to the following:

1. What do you consider were the ideals of the Russian Revolution? To what extent were they sustained through the period of Stalin's rule? What factors influenced the extent to which they were sustained?
2. Were the differences in the lives of the Russian people between Tsarist rule prior to 1917 and Communist government afterwards significant enough to justify the events of the revolutionary period?

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CONCLUDING STUDY

The legacy of the Russian Revolution

Today, more than a century after the Russian Revolution, it's worth asking why the revolution of 1917 is significant historically, and whether its impact is still felt in today's world. US author John Reed, in Russia in 1917, famously claimed that the Bolshevik revolution 'shook the world'. In the following pages, you'll examine whether that 'shaking' continued in the years and decades after 1917.

5.11 What was the Soviet Union's place in the world after 1945?

Already in this chapter you've seen the powerful outcomes of the Bolshevik revolution. Most dramatic was the creation by Stalin of a highly authoritarian dictatorship that used terror tactics to impose its political will, its economic programs and its social policies on the Russian people. However, after Germany's defeat in 1945 the Soviet Union was one of two world superpowers, along with the United States, with unprecedented influence over the rest of the world.

The Iron Curtain and the Cold War

In March 1946 former British prime minister Winston Churchill, describing post-war Europe, coined a memorable phrase: 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent'. In his speech, Churchill was describing a dramatic consequence of World War II. The 'iron curtain' referred to the division between Western Europe and the Soviet-controlled states to the east. It represented graphically the division and tension that became known as the Cold War. During the Cold War, from approximately 1947 to 1991, the Soviet Union and the USA competed for power and influence around the globe. This conflict is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 15 of this book; however, the map below shows how Europe was divided during the Cold War.

SOURCE 5.37 Map of Europe during the Cold War



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Responding to the map

1. Look at the scale of distances on this map. How would the proximity of the rival sides make the situation in Europe even more tense?
2. Where do you think the Soviet Union would be most concerned with keeping a strong occupying force? Why?
3. Yugoslavia, although communist, remained non-aligned during the Cold War, under its strong leader Josip Tito. Research Tito and see how and why he defied Stalin.
4. Some of the countries in the Eastern Bloc (Warsaw Pact) broke up into separate independent nations after the Cold War ended. Can you identify two countries on this map, other than the Soviet Union, that no longer exist? What countries replaced them?

Communism and Australia

The Cold War significantly affected Australia. Our foreign policy, which closely tied us to the United States under the ANZUS pact, reflected a singular obsession with the domino theory, which proposed that successive countries would fall to communism as it spread throughout South-East Asia, eventually reaching Australia. China, which became communist in 1949, replaced Japan as the source of the new 'yellow peril', combining a perceived political and racial threat to Australia. Under the prime ministership of Robert Menzies (1949–65) Australian forces fought communism in the Korean War (1950–53), the Malayan Emergency (1950–60) and the Vietnam War (1962–72). At home, an almost paranoid fear of communist espionage (or 'Reds under the bed') led to Menzies trying – unsuccessfully – to ban the Australian Communist Party in a referendum in 1951. Opposition to this by the Australian Labor Party and its leader H.V. Evatt led to accusations of the ALP being sympathetic to communists; this was reinforced by the presence of communists in some trade unions. In 1955 the ALP split over the issue of communism, and this kept it out of government federally until 1972.

ACTIVITY 5.12

Research the effects of communism on Australia during the Cold War

1. Research the ways in which Australia has been affected by communism in its foreign policy and in domestic politics.
   a. In foreign policy, what was Australia's role in the conflicts in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam? What were ANZUS and SEATO? What was our position on the Moscow Olympics boycott?
   b. Domestically, research the following: the 1951 referendum, the ALP split of 1955, the DLP, the Petrov Affair.

5.12 What caused the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991?

For much of the post-1945 period – while Cold War tensions waxed and waned – little changed politically within the USSR. After Stalin's death in 1953, successive Soviet leaders Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko had made little effort to alter the status quo. However, the ascension to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 saw momentous changes in the way the USSR was governed.

Gorbachev's reforms

By this time the Soviet Union was in economic crisis, with severe shortages of consumer goods resulting from high levels of spending on arms to match the United States under President Ronald Reagan. In 1985 Gorbachev introduced *perestroika*, a series of reforms that restructured the whole Soviet economy by encouraging private enterprises. He also instigated *glasnost*, which allowed open criticism of the government. Dramatically, in March 1990, Gorbachev allowed the formation of political parties other than the Communist Party for the first time since 1922.

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These radical moves by Gorbachev encouraged popular pressure for similar reforms in Eastern European countries under Soviet rule. In 1989 there was a series of revolutions which overthrew communist regimes in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, symbolised particularly by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany. Gorbachev's reforms also stirred independence movements among many national minorities within the USSR, such as in Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Chechnya and Ukraine, all of which declared their independence from the Soviet Union during 1990. Gorbachev, despite introducing political and economic freedoms, had set in motion a chain of events that had led to the end of the Soviet Union after 75 years. In December 1991 Gorbachev resigned, and the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist, breaking up into Russia and 15 separate independent countries.

Reaction in the West

The events of 1989–90 were as revolutionary in their own way as those of 1917; sudden and unexpected, they saw popular uprisings overthrowing repressive autocratic regimes in a quest for greater freedom and better living conditions. Many Westerners could hardly believe what they were seeing, as long-established checkpoints were opened and the Berlin Wall was literally torn down and broken up by cheering crowds on live television.

Remember the first page of this chapter, with the photo of the statue being pulled down in Ukraine. After the fall of the Soviet Union there were many such events in former Soviet territories, as newly independent populations celebrated the end of repressive totalitarian rule. Statues of Lenin were removed, decapitated, or derisively changed into representations of other figures, such as Darth Vader.

In March 2017, journalist Joshua Hammer followed the path Lenin took when returning to Russia 100 years earlier. Hammer commented on the approaches some cities are taking to wipe out the tributes to Lenin that are scattered throughout the former Soviet bloc. In the former East German city of Schwerin, a 13-foot-tall statue from 1985 still stood before an apartment block, despite protests to the authorities for the previous two years. The citizens of Krakow tore down their statue of Lenin in 1989; in 2014, as part of an arts festival, a bright green statue was erected, showing Lenin urinating. Hammer noted that approximately 100 Lenin statues have been removed from locations in the Ukraine, while a statue in central Moscow had recently had its head removed.

SOURCE 5.38 Statue of Lenin being toppled in Kharkov, Ukraine, on 29 September 2014



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:58) before answering the questions.

Responding to the video

1. How would you describe the reactions of the crowd after the statue fell?
2. What historical events might have contributed to this depth of emotion?
3. Interestingly, the following morning saw a starkly different scene in Freedom Square. Pro-Russian members of the public and others, offended by the way the statue had been torn down, began to scrub off graffiti and place flowers on the granite pedestal to show their respect for the former Soviet icon. Why might Lenin's legacy mean so much to these people?

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The end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union was seen by the USA as a victory, a vindication of the American way and the infallibility of capitalism. The role of Gorbachev's reforms and internal factors were generally ignored in favour of a simplistic belief in the triumph of good over evil. American President George Bush proclaimed in January 1991 that America had won the Cold War, and that a New World Order had emerged with the United States as the world's only superpower. American media proclaimed an ideological and moral victory. 'We Won!' exclaimed the editorial of *The Wall Street Journal* on 24 May 1989.

Even popular songs celebrated the events. In 1991, 'Right Here, Right Now', by the British group Jesus Jones, talked about how quickly the world had changed at the start of the decade.

Indeed, the world did seem to change 'at the blink of an eye' in 1989. It seemed clear that people across the Soviet Bloc had risen against the oppressive regimes that Stalin had imposed across the states of Eastern Europe. At a deeper level, there was a sense that the events of 1945–89 had discredited communism and given it a bad name, equating it with political dictatorship, social conformity, lack of freedom and violent suppression of dissent. Marx's vision of a socialist utopia, it seems, had transformed into George Orwell's 1949 dystopian *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where the smallest details of people's lives were monitored by Big Brother, and anyone who even had thoughts against the state quickly disappeared.

This bleak picture prompted a significant question: could socialism still have anything to offer, or was it now consigned to the ideological dustbin of history?

5.13 Russia today: the new tsar

After the breakup of the Soviet Union, Russia was led firstly by Boris Yeltsin (1991–99), whose leadership was compromised by ill-health and alcoholism, and then by Vladimir Putin (since 2000). Under Putin, Russia's economy has improved significantly, and the standard of living has risen for most Russians. However, Putin has been criticised for eroding human rights and freedom of expression, including controlling the media and repressing political opponents, and developing a personality cult glorifying his image as a man of action. Russia has also become strongly nationalistic, showing an increasing intent to stand up to what it sees as threats from the West, and also increasing its armed forces as a show of strength. In recent years Russia used military force to suppress independence movements in the state of Chechnya and to annexe the Crimean Peninsula from Ukraine. It also sent forces to support President Assad in the Syrian conflict.

Only Stalin ruled Russia for longer than Putin has. However, Putin has little in common with the Bolsheviks ideologically. He has encouraged a favourable view of the pre-revolutionary imperial era and, despite Western comparisons with Stalin, he has also drawn comparisons with other autocrats.



SOURCE 5.39 People walk past caricatures of Russian President Vladimir Putin at an open-air exhibition by Ukrainian cartoonist, architect and journalist Oleh Smal, in the centre of Kiev on 29 July 2014.

Choose one of the cartoons and explain what you think the cartoonist is saying about Putin. What imagery is the cartoonist using? This exhibition is in the Ukraine. Why could such an exhibition probably not be staged in Russia itself?

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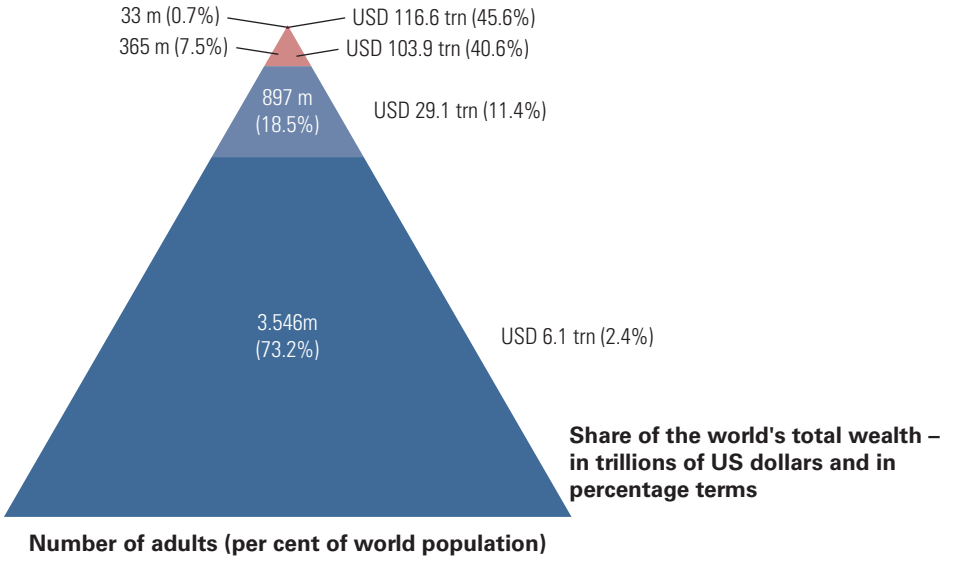
5.14 Are the ideals of the Russian Revolution still relevant in today's world?

Since the end of the Cold War, living standards in most Western democracies have generally risen enough to prevent serious questioning of the capitalist system. The discrediting of communism and socialism because of Stalin's dictatorship also significantly lessened the likelihood of socialist governments being elected in Western democracies. However, the attraction of socialism has not entirely disappeared.

Inequalities in wealth and power

The American academic Matthew S. Hirshberg believes that the causes of leftist revolutionary movements in the past have not been eliminated, and that 'even if the communist label goes entirely out of fashion (and it hasn't yet), there will be those who advocate socialist alternatives to liberal capitalism as long as there are vast inequalities in wealth and power'. The 'vast inequalities in wealth and power' that Hirshberg speaks of can be seen in the following wealth pyramid:

SOURCE 5.40 The Global Wealth Pyramid



This diagram is based on 2016 data from Credit Suisse Research. It shows how the world's total wealth is divided up among the population.

Responding to the source

1. According to this source, what percentage of the world's population has about 86% of the world's total wealth? What percentage of the world's population has less than 14% of the world's wealth?
2. Compare this source with Source 5.5A in the contextual study at the beginning of this chapter. Can you draw any comparisons?

Throughout the world, not just in the West, but also in the rising economies of China and India, extreme wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. As well, newly emerging middle classes (an estimated 200 million people in China) enjoy Western-style consumerism even while the bulk of the population lives very simply with many experiencing poverty.

In September 2011 a popular movement called Occupy Wall Street (a reference to the street along which most of the New York financial district is located) set up camps and held marches to protest about income inequality in the US. Their slogan 'We are the 99%' was specifically chosen to draw attention to

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the wealth gap between the wealthiest 1% and the rest of the population. The following report examined some aspects of the protest.

SOURCE 5.41 Occupy Wall Street

The Meaning of Occupy Wall Street

MATT SCHIAVENZA

The Occupy Wall Street movement has its base in Zuccotti Park, a small square dwarfed by the surrounding buildings of Lower Manhattan's financial district. I visited on Saturday evening, eager to see for myself what the *New York Times* has described as a 'diffuse and leaderless convocation of activists against greed, corporate influence, gross social inequality and other nasty by-products of wayward capitalism ...'

Almost immediately, I could tell Occupy Wall Street isn't a rigidly organized political movement. Amid signs criticizing ... Wall Street, the banks and capitalism in general, I spotted a smattering of other activists agitating for feminism, veganism and for the emancipation of Palestine. At first, the scene ... resembled a caricature of leftist activism, complete with long-haired, hirsute revellers dancing hypnotically to the sounds of a bongo drum.

Yet a closer look revealed that this was no ordinary protest crowd. Walking along the perimeter of the park, I spoke to Sean, a clean-cut man in his late thirties sitting quietly to one side.

'I'm a blue-collar guy, an electrician,' he told me, 'This is the first protest movement that I've ever been involved with.' He adjusted his sign, which in neat letters explained his situation. He was out of work and had two children. 'Things just aren't working,' he said. 'The system is broken.'

He wasn't the only one who thought so. Around the corner, a small group of recent University of Connecticut graduates had written their student loan debt amount on cardboard placards. Other signs cited the declining middle class. Still others mourned the American dream as an aspiration they felt only pertained to certain parts of the population.

What Occupy Wall Street signifies is this: for a significant chunk of the American population, life is not getting better and hasn't been for a long time. Over the past thirty years the American middle-class has been told that the wealth generated in the country would improve their lives, but this has not happened. Instead, the conspicuously rich have accrued the lion's share of the wealth, benefiting from friendly politicians who view them ... as the creators of the country's prosperity.

Matt Schiavenza, 'The Meaning of Occupy Wall Street', *The Morningside Post*, 10 December 2011

Responding to the source

1. The writer's first impression was that the protest seemed like 'a caricature of leftist activism'. What does he mean by that?
2. What made him realise that this was 'no ordinary protest crowd'? What sort of grievances were there that he hadn't expected?
3. How would you define the main concern of the Occupy Wall Street movement?
4. In what way can politicians be held responsible for many of the problems facing the American middle class?
5. What is the danger in having large numbers of people in financial stress feeling that the system has failed them? Politically, what may they be easily susceptible to? Can you think of any examples of this from past and recent history?

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In recent years some politicians on the left have begun to openly criticise income inequality and have even campaigned on the issue. Bernie Sanders in the US, Jeremy Corbyn in Britain, and Jacinda Ardern in New Zealand have all publicly condemned aspects of capitalism that produce economic disadvantage for the majority of people. Soon after becoming Prime Minister in 2017, Ardern indicated her concern with inequality in New Zealand, while in his address to the British Labour Party conference in September 2017, Labour leader Corbyn spoke of how he wanted his party to be 'a modern, progressive socialist party'.

SOURCES 5.42 A&B Politicians criticise income inequality

A 'Capitalism has failed': Jacinda Ardern signals a major economic policy shift, 22 October 2017

In her first televised interview [New Zealand Prime Minister] Jacinda Ardern said homelessness and poverty were proof that capitalism had failed New Zealanders on low incomes.

'If you have hundreds of thousands of children living in homes without enough to survive, that's a blatant failure. What else could you describe it as?' Ms Ardern told TV3's The Nation. 'When you have a market economy, it all comes down to whether or not you acknowledge where the market has failed and where intervention is required. Has it failed our people in recent times? Yes. Wages are not keeping up with inflation and how can you claim you've been successful when you have growth at roughly 3 per cent, but you have the worst homelessness in the developed world? ... My view is there is a role for us to play where we are being much more proactive and intervening where there are signs the market is failing our people.'

Ms Ardern's shift in economic policy may put further tension on the relationship between the Australian and New Zealand governments, given that the administration of Malcolm Turnbull is attempting to pursue a more classically free-market agenda.

Jackson Stiles, '"Capitalism has failed": Jacinda Ardern signals a major economic policy shift', *The New Daily*, 22 October 2017

B 'For the many, not the few': Jeremy Corbyn addresses the British Labour Party, 27 September 2017

Now is the time that government took a more active role in restructuring our economy. Now is the time that corporate boardrooms were held accountable for their actions. And now is the time that we developed a new model of economic management to replace the failed dogmas of neo-liberalism … That is why Labour is looking not just to repair the damage done by austerity but to transform our economy with a new and dynamic role for the public sector particularly where the private sector has evidently failed … This is central to our socialism for the twenty-first century, for the many not the few.

Jeremy Corbyn, keynote speech to the British Labour Party Conference, 27 September 2017

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Responding to the sources

1. What criticisms are being made of the capitalist system by both Ardern and Corbyn?
2. What do they propose is the solution to these failures?
3. Why might it be particularly difficult for political leaders to implement policies like these in modern Western capitalist societies?
4. Do you think statements like these are likely to have widespread appeal today? Explain your response.

Have we reached 'the end of history'?

In 1993, in the wake of the collapse of the USSR, Francis Fukuyama wrote his bestseller *The End of History and the Last Man*. He extended the Marxist/Hegelian concept of history as a 'dialectical struggle' between competing forces. Marx had predicted that the classless society that emerged from the struggle between exploitative capitalism and the oppressed proletariat would be the final stage in the dialectic. But Fukuyama claimed that an ensuing dialectic was between state communism (as in the USSR and China) and free market, democratic capitalism (as in the USA and similar countries). With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR, Fukuyama claimed that there was no longer a dialectical struggle – and therefore we had reached the end of history. He claimed that all states – including former Soviet states – were being incorporated within the free market, global economy, and would also become more democratic as time passed. Developments in Eastern Europe and even in China seemed to support that thesis. Fukuyama later revised his thesis, acknowledging that there were new dialectics emerging in the world – for example, between the people who benefit from the new globalised, free-market economy and those who are disadvantaged. More recently, the struggle between Western democracies and rising Islamist forces has been portrayed as a new dialectic. Samuel Huntington proposed a thesis along those lines in his controversial 1996 book *The Clash of Civilisations*.

- Do other items in this concluding study suggest the existence of a 'dialectical struggle' in today's world – for example, global wealth; Occupy Wall Street; the ideas of Jacinda Ardern and Jeremy Corbyn?

ACTIVITY 5.13

Read a book: *Animal Farm*

George Orwell's short novel *Animal Farm* is an allegorical account of the Russian Revolution. Read it and see if you can identify the characters and events that are represented in the story. Do you think these are accurate depictions? What were Orwell's political beliefs? What might have been Orwell's purpose in writing this story? Orwell also wrote the dystopian novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, in which the main character struggles to resist the oppression of a Stalinist-like state. Find out what it has to say and why it was important.

ACTIVITY 5.14

Research communism around the world

Since the Russian Revolution over 20 countries have had communist governments at some point, mostly since 1945. However, the only communist countries today (based on Marxist-Leninist ideas) are China, Laos, Vietnam and Cuba. North Korea is also a communist state, but it has its own ideology based on loyalty to its founder Kim Il-sung and his successors.

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ACTIVITY 5.14 continued

1. Locate these countries on a map.
2. Research how these countries became communist. What events were involved? What successes and struggles did they face? What roles did individuals play?

For decades after the Russian Revolution, governments in developed Western countries including the USA, Britain and Australia were afraid of communist revolutions occurring. Why did this never happen? To what extent were communist or socialist ideas adopted or influential in these countries?

ACTIVITY 5.15

Take a position on an attitude scale about equality of outcome

This chapter introduced the socialist concept of a society based on equality of outcome. That is quite different from modern societies around the world, including Australian society. Recently, as this chapter points out, socialist ideas have been put forward increasingly by some prominent politicians.

Look at the attitude scale found below and choose a point on the scale. Think about why you chose that point. Next, find a classmate who chose a quite different position. Discuss your choices and your reasons. Then join a class discussion of this topic.

The best society is one based on **equality of opportunity**, which values individual freedom, competition, attainment and reward. This results in different classes in terms of wealth, status, material well-being, access to services, and influence.				The best society is one based on **equality of outcome**, which values dignity, cooperation and community. All people are essentially the same in terms of wealth, status, material well-being, access to services, and influence.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The road to revolution

- For centuries Russia was ruled by strong autocratic rulers, known as Tsars.
- Living conditions for most people in Russia were very difficult.
- In January 1905 thousands of protesters in St Petersburg, organised by Father George Gapon, were fired upon by soldiers.
- In the October Manifesto of 1905, Nicholas II promised greater rights to citizens, but in the ensuing years the Tsar failed to change his autocratic approach significantly.

Depth study: To what extent were the ideals of the Russian Revolution achieved?

- There was initial Russian patriotism when World War I broke out.
- In February 1917, there were mutinies in the military, and riots in the civilian population.
- Nicholas II abdicated and the Provisional Government, formed by members of the Duma, was in charge.
- Soldiers and workers formed the Petrograd Soviet.
- In March 1917, Lenin and other Bolshevik revolutionaries returned to Russia.
- Lenin and Trotsky (chairman of Petrograd Soviet) led the October Revolution with a coup in Petrograd.
- Lenin introduced repressive measures against political opposition, led land and social reform, and withdrew Russia from World War I.
- Capitalist governments of other countries tried, unsuccessfully, to challenge the Bolshevik regime.
- There was conflict between the Reds (Trotsky's Red Army) and the Whites (traditional conservative forces).
- A policy of Red Terror was implemented, where any perceived enemy of the state could be arrested or executed without trial.
- War Communism was a policy that directed all economic production towards serving the revolution's survival in the civil war.
- In 1922, Lenin established the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union).
- Lenin died in 1924: he had wanted Trotsky to succeed him, but Stalin took over, creating a totalitarian dictatorship.
- Stalin introduced a series of Five-Year Plans, which saw the end of private ownership, the collectivisation of peasant farms, and increases in industrial output and electrification.
- The standard of living had improved from 1917, but the Marxist goal of a classless society was never attained.

Concluding study: The legacy of the Russian Revolution

- Iron Curtain referred to the division between Western Europe and the Soviet-controlled states to the east.
- In 1985 Gorbachev introduced *perestroika* (encouraging private enterprise) and *glasnost* (which allowed open criticism of the government).
- In 1989 communist regimes in many countries behind the Iron Curtain were overthrown in revolutions, symbolised particularly by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany.
- In December 1991 Gorbachev resigned, and the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist.
- Vladimir Putin has been the Russian leader since 2000. The economy and standard of living have improved, but Putin has been criticised on human rights grounds, and Russia has become strongly nationalistic.
- Since the end of the Cold War, living standards in most Western democracies have generally risen enough to prevent serious questioning of the capitalist system. However, the attraction of socialism has not entirely disappeared.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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UNIT 2
Movements in the Modern World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 2, students form their own knowledge and understanding about movements that have emerged in the Modern World. The movements examined include actions or activities on a local, national or international level that are directed towards a particular social purpose. Often the social purpose has been to make the world more inclusive, liberal, equitable, egalitarian or accessible through the removal of discrimination and exploitation based on some form of prejudice, e.g. ableism, anti-Semitism, classism, homophobia, Islamophobia, racism, sexism, transphobia or xenophobia. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these movements within selected historical contexts, e.g. movements for independence, civil rights or some other form of political and social change. (Modern History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues linked to movements in the Modern World
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research associated with movements in the Modern World
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about movements in the Modern World
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument associated with movements in the Modern World
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about movements in the Modern World
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose about movements in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 6 Australian Indigenous rights movement since 1967

- Contextual study: A history of invisibility and resistance
- Depth study: How successful has the Indigenous struggle for land rights in Australia been since 1967?
- Concluding study: Contemporary Indigenous rights

Chapter 7 Independence movement in India, 1857–1947 (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

- Contextual study: The complex origins of Indian independence
- Depth study: To what extent does the Partition of India challenge the popular narrative of India's successful, non-violent independence movement?
- Concluding study: Reflecting on imperialism

Chapter 8 Women's movement since 1893

- Contextual study: The beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement
- Depth study: How much did second wave feminism in Australia contribute to changes in women's rights and roles?
- Concluding study: Ongoing hurdles to equality and opportunity

Chapter 9 Environmental movement since the 1960s

- Contextual study: The emergence of environmental movements
- Depth study: Have anti-fracking campaigns broken new ground by engaging diverse people and interests in thinking environmentally?
- Concluding study: Thinking environmentally

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CHAPTER 6
Australian Indigenous rights movement since 1967
Focus: Land rights



SOURCE 6.1 Canberra, 9 May 1927. Jimmy Clements, known as King Billy, sits in front of Australia's first federal Parliament House.

On 9 May 1927, Wiradjuri man Jimmy Clements, also known as King Billy, appears a lone and isolated figure at the opening of the first federal Parliament House in Canberra. Sitting in the dust, alongside his three faithful dogs and swag, he holds a handmade flag. If you look closely you can see the Union Jack, a crown, large star and the Southern Cross. Despite his dishevelled appearance, he sits with quiet dignified composure; 'ruggedly picturesque' is how *The Argus* newspaper describes him. The *Canberra Times* refers to him as 'a lone representative of a fast vanishing race' who has come only to salute 'visiting Royalty'.

Jimmy Clements is not alone. Another Wiradjuri man, John 'Marvellous' Noble, is out of camera shot. Clements and Noble, both about 80, are the only two **Indigenous** people to attend the opening of Parliament House by the Duke and Duchess of York. To be in Canberra, Jimmy and John have spent a week walking barefoot 150 kilometres from Brungle Mission near Tumut in New South Wales.

Indigenous people or things belonging to the country in which they are found. In Australia the term is used to collectively refer to both Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander people. When referring to Indigenous Australian peoples, always use a capital I to differentiate from indigenous as a general term.

Clements is well known throughout NSW and the ACT. Non-Aboriginal people know him as King Billy, part of a settler tradition of conferring royal titles on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people they consider either compliant, useful, peaceful or important. While he is a showman with a boomerang and a spear, Clements is also a respected Elder and Lore man who performs Wiradjuri initiations. Today, he is making history.

Julie Hennessey

Reader advice: The following information, photos and clips contain images of deceased people. There is also some racist language used within the context of history.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

A history of invisibility and resistance

Jimmy Clements' presence at the opening of the first Parliament House in Canberra is just one of many forgotten events in the struggle for rights by Indigenous Australians. Also forgotten is the opposition they faced from authorities when seeking to assert these rights.

6.1 The significance of Jimmy Clements' story

The story continues ...

Clements, the respected Elder, is shown no respect by the policeman who tries to move him on after taking exception to his rough clothes and the dogs at his bare feet. Surprisingly, the crowd sides with Clements, encouraging him to hold his ground. A prominent member of the clergy declares that Clements has more right than any man to a place on the steps of Parliament House, and the gathered citizens shower him with coins. Even more surprisingly, the following day, May 10, Clements is among prominent citizens presented to the Duke and Duchess. As *The Argus* reports 'an ancient **Aborigine** who calls himself King Billy and who claims sovereign rights to the federal Territory walked slowly forward alone and saluted the Duke and Duchess. They cheerily acknowledged his greeting'.

Three months later, Clements again makes the news. This time it is the reporting of his death on 28 August 1927 in Queanbeyan, NSW, less than 20 kilometres from Canberra. The newspaper notes his burial in Queanbeyan cemetery 'outside consecrated ground'. Decades later, those words prompt historian Mark McKenna to comment, 'Even in death Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people were unable to share the same earth' (2004).

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

SOURCE 6.2 Jimmy Clements at Parliament House, May 1927



Responding to the photographs and the story

1. What makes the introductory photograph of Jimmy Clements outside Parliament House (Source 6.1) such a striking image? Explain with reference to the photograph and your own historical knowledge.
2. What might have been the purpose of the home-made flag that Jimmy Clements held in the photo?
3. What might have motivated two elderly Aboriginal men to walk such a long distance to attend the opening of the federal parliament in Canberra?
4. Consider the photograph opposite which shows Jimmy Clements on the steps of Parliament House. Based on the story above and the contextual clues in the photo, when might this picture have been taken? Justify your response.
5. Were you surprised by the actions of the policeman, the crowd, the Duke and Duchess towards Jimmy Clements? Explain your response.

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6. Find out what 'consecrated ground' is and why Indigenous Australians were apparently precluded from being buried in such ground.
7. Note Mark McKenna's comment that 'even in death Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people were unable to share the same earth'. What might that comment reveal about McKenna's perspective on race relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians?

Jimmy Clements held no protest banner and presented no petition, but his very presence at the opening of the first federal Parliament House was the substance and form of his protest. His presence asserted his sovereignty as described by *The Argus* newspaper. According to historian Clive Hamilton, 'For a people rendered invisible, one of the most powerful forms of protest at their disposal is simply to make themselves visible' (2016:98). Jimmy Clements' presence was a reminder of the existence of Indigenous Australians – 'We are still here'.

Eighty-one years later, on the day before then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd delivered the National Apology to the Stolen Generations, a protest rally, which began at Old Parliament House and ended in front of New Parliament House, was held. At the end of the rally two Aboriginal participants sat on the Aboriginal flag in front of New Parliament House, Canberra. (See Source 6.3).

- We will never know what went through the mind of Jimmy Clements or his friend John Noble but we can surmise. What are your thoughts? If Jimmy Clements had been able to explain to the crowd why he had come to Canberra for this occasion, what might he have said to express his thoughts and feelings?



SOURCE 6.3 Two Aboriginal people sit on the Aboriginal flag in front of New Parliament House, Canberra, on 12 February 2008, the day before the National Apology.

ACTIVITY 6.1

Compare two protest images

1. Compare Sources 6.1 and 6.3, drawing out differences and similarities. Consider such things as place, participants, action, flags, likely response from onlookers/authorities, and symbolism.

Differences	Similarities

2. Reflect on the question: how far have we come, or have we not come far at all?

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For most of Australia's modern history Aboriginal and **Torres Strait Islander** people (known collectively as Indigenous Australians) have been rendered largely invisible by white society. *Terra nullius* – 'land belonging to no one' – was the very foundation of the nation. During contact with white settlers, Aboriginal Australians were dispersed and driven from their lands. Most were eventually confined to reserves and missions or to the outskirts of towns as fringe dwellers so as to be out of sight, out of mind.

Distinctions were made by European authorities between 'pure blacks' and those known as **'half-castes'**, resulting in many fair-skinned Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children being taken from their families to be absorbed into white society. It was thought around the turn of the twentieth century that **'full-blooded'** Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples were a doomed race who would eventually become extinct and that it was the task of authorities to 'soothe the dying pillow'.

At Federation in 1901, the Australian Constitution denied Aboriginal Australians a presence and place in the new Commonwealth by not counting them in the census or allowing the federal government to make laws on their behalf. It wasn't until 40 years after Jimmy Clements' protest that these two aspects of the constitution were amended by the historic 1967 Referendum.

Initially, Indigenous Australians were written out of the history books as encapsulated by anthropologist Bill Stanner in his Great Australian Silence lecture of 1968, where he argued that there was a 'cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale' concerning many areas of Indigenous and non-Indigenous history in Australia. Later, when historians began documenting this brutal history, they were accused by some of writing **black armband** history which distorted Australia's history. This was in contrast to the traditional 'three cheers' (or celebratory) history of earlier generations which regarded nearly everything after the convict era to have been a glorious time of nation-building. The debate over how Australians see their past became known as the History Wars and continues to be a point of contention between commentators and some historians.

In this chapter you will investigate the struggle by Indigenous Australians to not only make themselves visible in white Australia but to also gain their rightful place in Australian society by achieving **civil rights** and land rights. However, before investigating this history, it needs to be put into a wider historical context.

Torres Strait Islanders Indigenous people of the Torres Strait Islands, Queensland. Each island community is a distinct people with its own culture and identity.

'half-caste' a person whose parents are of different races, considered a derogatory word today

'full-blood' of unmixed ancestry

black armband view of history a perjorative label given by critics to a historiographical approach to Australia's history that highlights the adverse effects of forces such as imperialism, racism and militarism, particularly on Australia's Indigenous populations

civil rights the rights of citizens to political and social freedom and equality

- Today, what one powerful piece of evidence would you select to demonstrate that there is no longer a total silence about Indigenous history and culture?
- What one powerful piece of evidence would you select to demonstrate that there are still issues of Indigenous disadvantage or discrimination?

6.2 Initial resistance: Frontier Wars

Since 1788 there has been Indigenous resistance in some form or another to European occupation. In the first 150 or so years this resistance largely took the form of guerrilla warfare on the fringes of white settlement.

Clashes between Aboriginal groups and Europeans were an inescapable feature of frontier life from the early months at Sydney Cove until the third decade of the twentieth century. Almost every district settled during this time has a history of conflict between local clans and encroaching settlers. However, while frontier conflict was apparent in almost every part of Australia, it varied in duration and intensity. The bloodiest fighting between Aboriginal people and settlers occurred in colonial Queensland over a period

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of approximately 40 years. The most recent scholarship in the area of frontier fatalities comes from the collaborative research work of Professor Raymond Evans and historian Orsted-Jensen in 2014. They arrived at a figure of no less than 65 180 Aboriginal people killed and, drawing on the earlier work of Orsted-Jensen, estimated the deaths of Europeans and their associates (including Chinese and Melanesian assistants) to be around 1500 in Queensland alone (these numbers are taken from a paper presented by Evans and Orsted-Jensen at the Australian Historical Association 'Conflict in History' Conference in 2014).

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

The last significant clash between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians occurred in the early 1930s in the Caledon Bay area of the Northern Territory. However, by this time the nature of Indigenous resistance was changing. Non-violent tactics such as meetings, petitions, public protests and strikes replaced frontier violence. While the tactics may have changed, the intensity of resistance remained constant throughout the twentieth century.

For a more detailed history of the Frontier Wars, see Chapter 2.

6.3 Indigenous struggle for rights – the big picture

Timelines are a useful means to capture the big picture quickly and comprehensively. This timeline activity, available in the Interactive Textbook, provides you with a summary of the key events, developments, groups and individuals who played a key role in the struggle for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights from 1924 to 2018, when this chapter was written.

ACTIVITY 6.2

GO

Use a timeline of the Indigenous struggle for rights

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

6.4 The Indigenous struggle for civil rights (1920s–1967)

The quest for civil rights dominated the Indigenous struggle for equality and justice from the mid-1920s until the late 1960s. Civil rights are shared legal, political and social rights of the citizen that are provided by national or state law. In short, they are shared equal rights that all citizens of a nation should possess.

Protection Acts legislation passed in all Australian states, except Tasmania, which gave governments extensive powers over the lives of Indigenous peoples, including regulation of residence, employment and marriage

human rights the rights you have simply because you are human

Under the **'Protection' Acts** of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indigenous people lost basic **human rights** such as freedom of movement and labour, custody of their children, and the control over personal property. In the 1920s and 1930s the first Aboriginal political organisations were founded in various states of Australia with a focus on regaining these rights. These rights were cast as citizenship rights. As a general principle, these early organisations sought the same political and legal rights, access to the same social services and educational opportunities as other Australians. They criticised the

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discriminatory protectionist policies and practices of state and territory governments which saw their lives controlled and regulated. They also called upon the federal government to take over control from the states and introduce uniform laws, which would allow Aboriginal people to take their place in society alongside other Australians.

The first national protest staged by Aboriginal people, on Australia Day 1938, called for a Day of Mourning and Protest to coincide with the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the First Fleet. At their one-day conference, held at the Australian Hall in Sydney, the 100-strong participants passed the following resolution:

> We, representing the Aborigines of Australia ... hereby make protest against the callous treatment of our people by the white-men during the past 150 years, and we appeal to the Australian nation ... to make new laws for the education and care of Aborigines, and we ask for a new policy which will raise our people to full citizen status and equality within the community.

While the event received wide publicity, it had very little impact. It was, nevertheless, the first of many protests on Australia Day (referred to by many as Invasion Day since 1988) that gave voice to the Indigenous cause.

Before the 1940s, racial discrimination was relatively unregulated in the Western world. However, this changed with the creation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This Declaration served to establish the principle of racial equality. It also gave Indigenous organisations and their supporters international leverage as they drew attention to the divergence between government domestic policy and its international obligations.

The founding of the first national organisation, the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement (FCAA) in 1958 – and later in 1964 the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI) – was a major development in advancing the civil rights of Indigenous Australians. As the pre-eminent Indigenous rights group, the Federal Council quickly became the most important voice in Indigenous politics at the time. Its broad aim was to work for equal citizenship rights which included equal wages, improved housing and the removal of discriminatory legislation. However, it is best known for its 10-year campaign seeking constitutional change. John Chesterman asserts that it was the extensive lobbying of FCAA/FCAATSI, along with state-based organisations and the attendant international attention received, which 'were crucial in pushing state governments and the federal government to repeal racially discriminatory laws' (2005:20).

While the Federal Council's campaigns drew attention to the plight of Indigenous Australians and successfully lobbied governments, no protest prior to the historic 1967 Referendum had as much impact on public perceptions of the treatment of Aboriginal people as the 1965 Freedom Ride. Influenced by the American civil rights movement, a group of students from Sydney University staged a bus trip over two weeks through country towns in New South Wales. They adopted the idea of non-violent direct action as a means of highlighting racial inequality in the towns that they visited. Led by Charles Perkins, one of two Aboriginal students on the tour, the actions of the students attracted extraordinary publicity. Their dramatic picketing of the Walgett RSL Club, where Aboriginal ex-servicemen were excluded, and the municipal swimming baths in Moree, where Aboriginal children out of school hours were banned, attracted widespread media coverage in regional and national newspapers, radio and television.

Not only did the Freedom Ride generate great media and public interest in the unjust treatment of Aboriginal people, it sparked a national debate on the state of Aboriginal affairs and welfare. According to historians Attwood and Markus, the Freedom Ride 'succeeded in pushing Aboriginal affairs onto the political stage as it had never been before' (1999:172).

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However, it is the 1967 Referendum that has come to symbolise the single historic moment where the long fought struggle for equal citizenship rights was finally achieved. The 1967 Referendum has been erroneously credited with delivering Aboriginal people everything from the vote to the repeal of racially discriminatory laws. It did neither of those things. Instead, it altered two sections of the Australian Constitution which referred to Aboriginal people: Section 127 was repealed so that Aboriginal people could be counted in the census, and Section 51 was amended (subsection xxvi), enabling the federal government to enact laws for Aboriginal people. However, given that the Referendum was endorsed by over 90% of electors, the highest ever achieved in any single referendum in Australia, it can legitimately be seen as some recognition that Indigenous people had been unjustly treated.

In the main, the 1967 Referendum serves as little more than a symbolic landmark in the struggle for Indigenous civil rights as Indigenous Australians had already acquired the formal rights of citizenship in most states and territories by this time. The table below summarises the civil rights gains by Indigenous Australians in each state and territory from the 1950s to the 1970s.



SOURCE 6.4 Moree, NSW, 17 February 1965. In this photo from *The Australian*, 19 February, leader of the Freedom Ride Charles Perkins swims with children in the Moree pool after the Freedom Riders had successfully broken the pool ban on Aboriginal children outside of school hours (Aboriginal children were permitted entry only on school swimming days). What features of this photograph make it an enduring and powerful image of the Freedom Ride? Compose a suitable alternative caption for this photograph.

SOURCE 6.5 Indigenous Australians' civil rights gains at a state and territory level

Civil right*	NSW	QLD	SA	TAS**	VIC	WA	ACT	NT
Vote	–	1965	–	–	–	1962	1962	1962
Liquor (outside reserves)	1963	1965	1965	–	1957	1971	1965	1964
Freedom of movement (no longer able to be forced to live on reserves)	1963	1971	1962	–	1957	1954	1965	1964
Control of property	1963	1975	1962	–	1957	1963	1965	1964

*Note that equal wages as a category is not included because the discriminatory rates of payment tended to depend on industry-wide rather than under state- or territory-wide regulations

**Officially Tasmania did not recognise the existence of any Aboriginal people in the state

J. Chesterman, *Civil Rights: How Indigenous Australians Won Formal Equality*, 2005, p. 110

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Responding to the table of Indigenous gains in Source 6.5

1. In what state/territory in Australia did Indigenous people gain civil rights the earliest? Where did they gain them the latest? How might you explain these outcomes? (You will need to think beyond the text.)
2. Can it be assumed that when formal restrictions were removed, Indigenous people could or did exercise their rights? Explain your response.
3. Where there is no date, this indicates that there was no discriminatory law impeding an Indigenous person's entitlement to this right. Would this likely mean that all Indigenous people had as equal access to this right as other Australians? Explain your response.
4. Are you surprised by the contents of this table? What questions would you like answered to explain the contents of this table?

ACTIVITY 6.3

Review events of the 1920s–1967

1. In this section (The Indigenous Struggle for Civil Rights 1920s–1967), what significant political developments and protests have been identified which were crucial in the advancement of civil rights for Indigenous Australians?
2. Could it be concluded that there were only occasional rather than concerted protests on civil rights issues throughout the period of the 1920s to 1967, given the emphasis on certain significant political developments and protests? Consult the digital timeline as well as the preceding text to inform your response.

6.5 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you've learned that since the occupation of Australia by Europeans, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been rendered largely invisible. Despite this they have continued to resist white Australia, first on the frontier, and later in the streets, courts, and houses of parliament, and on missions, reserves, and pastoral stations around the nation. You've seen different forms of protest used by Indigenous Australians and considered some of the key outcomes of this activism, those involved and the role played by government. You've discovered that in the early twentieth century the quest for civil rights dominated the struggle; however, from the 1960s land rights became the focus.

In 2012, Professor Larissa Behrendt, a Eualeyai/Kamillaroi woman, explained that '[d]ispossession and theft of traditional land has been a hallmark of the colonisation process, so it is little wonder that the focus for political movements by Aboriginal people would be on reclaiming that land.' At the time of the 1967 Referendum, Australia did not recognise Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander land rights. This was to change over the next three decades.

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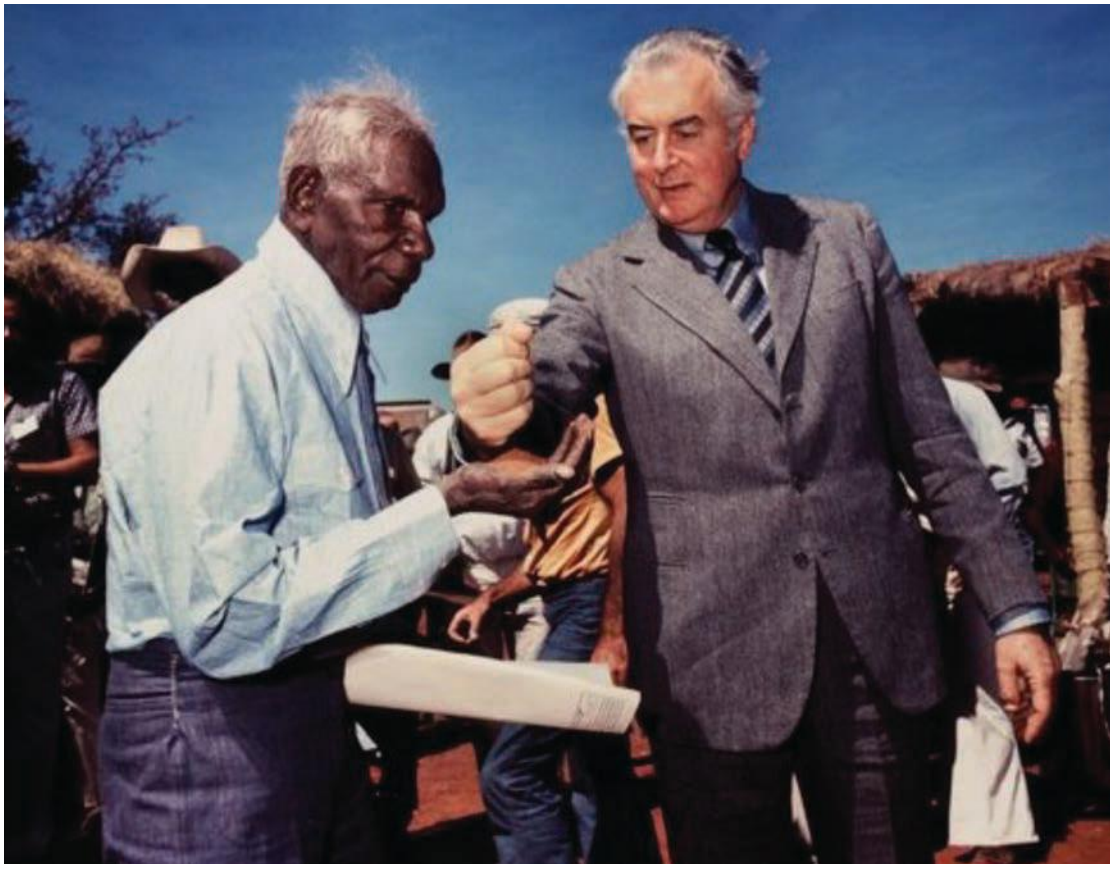
DEPTH STUDY

How successful has the Indigenous struggle for land rights in Australia been since 1967?

The following depth study traces the struggle for land rights since the late 1960s. It does so through three case studies: the Gurindji Walk-off (1966–75), the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (1972) and the Mabo High Court challenge (1982–92) and its aftermath.

6.6 A historic moment in the land rights movement

The photograph below is considered the most iconic image from the Indigenous land rights movement. It depicts Prime Minister Gough Whitlam pouring a handful of red soil into the cupped hand of Gurindji Elder Vincent Lingiari.



SOURCE 6.6 A historic moment in Australian history, 16 August 1975. Photo by Mervyn Bishop.
What do you think has made this particular photo so iconic? In answering this question, think about such aspects as: the physical setting; the way each man is presented; what each man is doing; who these two men represent; what Whitlam's gesture might symbolise; what might have been happening in the years before this event; what might have happened in the years following the event.

When Prime Minister Whitlam poured the red soil into the cupped hand of Vincent Lingiari, it followed his giving the Aboriginal Elder the title deeds to Gurindji lands. You can see that Lingiari is holding the deeds. This photo has been studied and interpreted by many people over the decades. They have suggested that the following aspects are significant: the striking backdrop of the bright blue sky and deep red earth gives the photograph a clear sense of place – remote outback Australia; that the two central, dominant

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figures of Gough Whitlam and Vincent Lingiari represent two different worlds – white authority and Indigenous society respectively; that Whitlam's gesture of pouring a handful of soil into the hand of Lingiari symbolises the legal transfer of land back to the traditional owners; and that a historic moment in Australian history has been captured when Indigenous Australians for the first time had land given back to them by the government.

ACTIVITY 6.4

Pair and share to discuss the photograph

Look more closely at the photograph. Do you notice how Lingiari holds the title deeds under his cupped hand in a possibly deliberate way? Do you notice the dynamic positioning of Whitlam's 'giving' and Lingiari's 'accepting'? Do you notice Lingiari's stitched-up pants and his formal shirt and tie, and Whitlam's full business suit? Do you notice the angle at which the photographer has taken this image? What comments or conclusions might you make about each of these details?

Work with a partner to discuss your responses to the above questions.

Central to this photograph is the pouring of red soil into the hand of Vincent Lingiari. The suggestion for this brilliant gesture came from H.C. ('Nugget') Coombs, Whitlam's Aboriginal Affairs adviser, on the very morning of the ceremony. He suggested that Whitlam might reverse the gesture made by the Wurundjeri Elders from Port Phillip Bay (near Melbourne) in 1835 when they formalised their people's land treaty with white settlers by placing soil into the hand of explorer John Batman. The gesture, while deeply appreciated, took Lingiari by surprise and created an awkward moment. He understood the symbolic importance of the soil he had received, but what was he to do with it after receiving it? Vestey pastoral inspector Cec Watts recalled 'Poor old bugger … He put it behind his back' and then quietly let it drift out of his hand before nervously responding to Whitlam. 'Let us live happily together as mates, let us not make it hard for each other ... We want to live in a better way together, Aboriginals and white men, let us not fight over anything, let us be mates.'

The iconic photograph of Whitlam and Lingiari is a re-enactment. The original ceremony had taken place in the shade of the bough shed that you can see in the background. The photographer, Mervyn Bishop, was not satisfied with the quality of the photograph he had taken, so requested a reshoot.

- Does it matter that this iconic photograph is a re-enactment of a historic moment in history? Explain your reasoning.
- Why do you think this photo has become a particularly powerful symbol of reconciliation? (Reconciliation involves bringing people together and building better relationships based on mutual respect.)
- How realistic were the sentiments expressed by Vincent Lingiari in his response to Gough Whitlam? Explain your response.

So, what's the story behind this iconic photograph? What were the events that led up to this historic moment?

6.7 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Gurindji Walk-off and strike, 1966–75

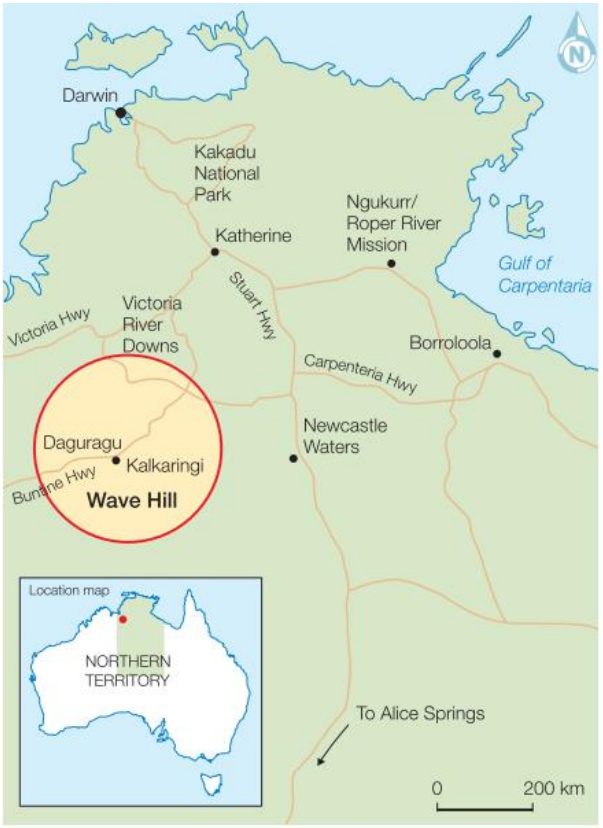
Nine years earlier on 23 August 1966, Vincent Lingiari led around 200 Aboriginal stockmen, house servants and their families in a walk-off from Wave Hill Station. Wave Hill was a cattle station, 600 kilometres south-west of Katherine in the Northern Territory, owned by the British Vestey group of companies. The Vestey Company was the largest employer of Indigenous labour in the Northern Territory.

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The immediate cause of the walk-off and subsequent strike was a dispute over pay and conditions. Vestey's manager at Wave Hill refused to meet Vincent Lingiari's request that Aboriginal stockmen be paid around $25 a week, the same wage as non-Aboriginal workers. Aboriginal stockmen endured poor working and living conditions on Wave Hill Station. Not only were their wages low (around $6 a week) and irregular but their rations were meagre, consisting of dry bread and salted beef. They lived in kennel-like housing, sanitation was inadequate and the women were subject to sexual abuse and coercion. Vincent Lingiari protested on behalf of the Aboriginal men at Wave Hill 'bin treat me fella all time like a dog'.

While the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission ruled in March 1966 that Indigenous workers in the cattle industry were to receive the same wages as their non-Indigenous counterparts, the implementation of this decision was to be delayed until 1968. This delay provoked enormous frustration and resentment among Aboriginal people, including the Gurindji people.

Cartoonist John Firth comments on the situation in July 1968.



SOURCE 6.7 Location of the Wave Hill area in the Northern Territory

SOURCE 6.8 From the rich man's table



Cartoon by John Frith, *The Herald*, July 1968

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Responding to the cartoon

1. How does the cartoonist highlight the very contrasting situations of the Gurindji people and the Europeans?
2. What do you think is the cartoonist's opinion of the situation at Wave Hill? What aspects of the cartoon indicate this?
3. Do you think the cartoon is a fair comment on the situation? Explain your answer.

The Gurindji move their camp to Wattie Creek

In April 1967 the Gurindji moved their camp to Wattie Creek, known to them as Daguragu, within the Wave Hill lease. This was a symbolic shift away from the cattle station and closer to the community's sacred sites. Lord Vestey offered inducements including wages to get them to return, but Vincent Lingiari told him 'you can keep your gold, we just want our land back'.

What began as an industrial dispute over appalling wage and living conditions soon developed into a demand by the Gurindji people for the return of their traditional lands. Frank Hardy, a well-known author at the time who became the primary adviser, publicist and confidante to the Gurindji, was told 'we want them Bestey* mob all go away from here. Wave Hill Aborigine native people bin called Gurindji. We bin here longa time before them Bestey mob. This is our country, alla this country bin Gurindji country. Wave Hill bin our country ... we bin want this ground' (1968).

Below is a photograph of Gurindji stockmen at Wattie Creek. Vincent Lingiari stands at the back closest to the sign behind the squatting stockmen.

SOURCE 6.9 Gurindji strikers claim their land at Wattie Creek (Daguragu)



Responding to the photograph

1. How have the various striking stockmen presented themselves to the camera, and what different attitudes do you think they are projecting?
2. Read the sign. What does it reveal about the strikers' intentions?

*As there is no 'v' sound in the Gurindji tongue, Bestey is the Gurindji transliteration of Vestey.

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Soon after the Gurindji occupied land at Wattie Creek they called upon Frank Hardy to draw up the sign pictured in Source 6.9. Here follows an account of that request and why the sign was so important to the Gurindji people.

SOURCE 6.10 The Gurindji sign

As Hardy was aware, Lingiari and the other leaders at Wave Hill understood that the written word was very important, and they saw it and its creators as the source of extraordinary power. This was evident when Nyurrmiyari and Lingiari asked Hardy to make a sign following their move to Wattie Creek. Nyurrmiyari explained to Hardy 'me and Tommy Bincent want 'em sign. All them mob hab sign outside. Besteys got 'em sign outside, policeman got 'em sign outside. Welfare got 'em sign outside. We want 'em sign for Wattie Creek homestead. Can you write 'em sign?'. Asked what they wanted the sign to say, Nyurrmiyari requested Hardy to 'put that Gurindji word there. We never bin see that word, only in we head'. As Hardy painted the words, Nyurrmiyari's 'eyes never left the sign' even though, as Hardy remarked, 'he could not read a letter of it'. When Lingiari saw what he called their 'own sign', he pronounced that they 'bin got everything now'.

B. Attwood, *Rights for Aborigines*, 2003, pp. 278–9

Responding to Attwood's account

1. What is the power of the written word that Lingiari and Nyurrmiyari, both illiterate men, understood?
2. What might Lingiari have meant when he said after seeing the sign, 'bin got everything now'?
3. Would you judge Lingiari's comment 'bin got everything now' to be realistic, optimistic, unrealistic or something else? Explain your response.

A petition to the Governor-General

In the same month that the Gurindji people moved to Wattie Creek they petitioned the Governor-General Lord Casey. This was one month before the 1967 Referendum. Below is an extract from that petition.

SOURCE 6.11 Extract of a petition from the Gurindji people to the Governor-General, 19 April 1967

May it Please Your Excellency

We, the leaders of the Gurindji people, write to you about our earnest desire to regain tenure of our tribal lands in the Wave Hill-Limbunya area of the Northern Territory, of which we were dispossessed in time past, and for which we received no recompense.

Our people have lived here from time immemorial and our culture, myths, dreaming and sacred places have evolved in this land. Many of our forefathers were killed in the early days while trying to retain it. Therefore we feel that morally the land is ours and should be returned to us. Our very name Aboriginal acknowledges our prior claim. We have never ceased to say amongst ourselves that Vesteys should go away and leave us to our land ...

We beg of you to hear our voices asking that the land marked on the map be returned to the Gurindji people: it is about 600 square miles [965 square kilometres] in area but this is only a

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very small fraction of the land leased by Vesteys in these parts. We are prepared to pay for our land the same annual rental that Vesteys now pay. If the question of compensation arises, we feel that we have already paid enough during fifty years or more, during which time, we and our fathers worked for no wages at all much of the time and for a mere pittance in recent years.

If you can grant this wish for which we humbly ask, we would show the rest of Australia and the whole world that we are capable of working and planning our own destiny as free citizens ...

These are our wishes, which have been written down for us by our undersigned white friends, as we have had no opportunity to learn to write English.

Yours

Vincent Lingiari. Pincher Manguari. Gerry Ngalgardji. Long-Johnny Kitgneari.
Transcribed, witnessed and transmitted by Frank J. Hardy and J. W. Jeffrey.

Gurindji petition to the Governor-General Lord Casey, 19 April 1967.

Responding to the petition

1. What do you notice about the type and style of language used in a petition to authorities? Quote words and phrases that characterise this type of language. Why might this type of language have been used in such petitions throughout history? What effect is it trying to have?
2. What arguments do the Gurindji put forward to support their land claim? How valid/meritorious are these arguments? Explain your answers.
3. How important would it have been for the Gurindji to have the support of public figures such as Frank Hardy? Explain your response.
4. In what way did the Gurindji petition represent a significant challenge to deeply entrenched beliefs and practices in Australia? How likely would it be for the Governor-General to accede to the Gurindji request for the return of their land? Explain.

On 20 June 1967 the Governor-General replied to the Gurindji request.

SOURCE 6.12 Governor-General's response to the Gurindji petition, 20 June 1967

The Land which you seek ... is Crown Land [owned by the Commonwealth of Australia] of which a **pastoral lease** is held by (the Vesteys) ... This lease has another 37 years to run ... You should be careful that you do not do anything to break the law ... or to interfere with the rights of the pastoral lessee (the Vesteys) ... in light of these facts ... (the Governor General) has not been pleased to grant the request in your petition.

Lord Casey's reply to Gurindji petition, 20 June 1967

pastoral lease crown (or state) land that is leased or rented by the government generally for the purpose of grazing livestock (e.g. sheep and cattle)

Responding to the Governor-General's response

1. What reasons are given by the Governor-General for rejecting the Gurindji petition? How valid/meritorious are these reasons? Explain your response.
2. The Gurindji response to the Governor-General's letter was to stuff it into a powdered-milk tin and ignore it. What does this indicate about the Gurindji's attitude to the Governor-General's letter? Explain your response.

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ACTIVITY 6.5

Explore the clash of assumptions

In 1967, the Gurindji position and the Governor-General's were diametrically opposed. However, it is possible to say that both were valid. The validity of both depends on what assumptions the positions were based on.

1. In the table below, record a) the basic position of each 'side' and b) what assumptions you think underlay those positions.

The Gurindji	The Governor-General
The Gurindji request:	The Governor-General's answer:
The Gurindji's assumptions:	The Governor-General's assumptions:

2. Do you think the Governor-General's decision was correct? On what assumptions do you base your decision?
3. What do you think would have been a just or moral decision? On what assumptions do you base your decision?
4. Do you think the Governor-General would have been wise to accept the Gurindji request? Explain your reasoning.

While the Governor-General rejected the Gurindji petition, a Committee of the Northern Territory Legislative Council wrote a favourable response to the Gurindji claim to part of the Wave Hill pastoral lease in November 1967. It stated that the 'Committee is most impressed with the strong moral claim that these people have to this small portion of a much larger area, that from time immemorial, they have considered to be theirs'. While morally supportive, this positive report did not translate into practical help as the Northern Territory Government at this time was administered by the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth Government, like the Governor-General, rejected the Gurindjis' claims.

◆ Note that the mention of 'moral claim' refers also to 'small portion' and 'time immemorial'. How could this demonstrate the politicians' wish to support the Gurindji but to also placate the other side?

Public support

When news of the Governor-General's stance emerged it backfired against Canberra and won great sympathy and support for the Gurindji among non-Aboriginal Australians. Indeed, throughout the nine-year strike, the Gurindji enjoyed considerable financial, material and political support from white Australia. Chief among their supporters were members of the Communist Party, politicians, trade unionists, university students and church groups. According to an article in the *Green Left Weekly* (1995) this support was critical to protecting the Gurindji 'from isolation and physical intimidation'. Earlier strikes had met with ruthless opposition, but the 'exposure and public attention that white supporters were able to mobilise' helped to prevent this in the case of the Gurindji strike.

Source 6.13 is a photograph of one of the land rights marches in support of the Gurindji. It was in response to federal cabinet's refusal to make tribal lands available to the Gurindji.

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SOURCE 6.13 Land rights march in Melbourne, 1968



Melbourne Sun, 13 July 1968

Responding to the photograph

1. Look closely at the people in this protest march. Would it be understandable if supporters labelled them a diverse gathering, while critics labelled them a fringe element?
2. How do the banners and posters reflect two of the Gurindji grievances and claims?
3. What features of this protest march would probably guarantee that it received media coverage?

Public support for the Gurindji cause continued to grow. Eye surgeon Fred Hollows was one of a number of well-known Australians who became a strong supporter of the protest.

The Gurindji cause was further boosted when in June 1971 RCA Records released two songs about land rights, *The Gurindji Blues* and *The Tribal Land*. Composer/singer Ted Egan – a white folk musician, public servant and later Administrator of the Northern Territory (2003 to 2007) – was accompanied by a young Yolngu man, Galarrwuy Yunupingu (later Australian of the Year, 1978, and lead vocalist of Yothu Yindi). Vincent Lingiari introduced the song *The Gurindji Blues* on the record briefly in English – 'My name be Vincent Lingiari, came from Daguragu, Wattie Creek Station' – before continuing in Gurindji. Below is a translation of what he said next.

SOURCE 6.14 Vincent Lingiari explains the reasons for his land rights claim, 1971

> I came down 'ere to ask all this [fella] here about the land right. What I got, story from my old father or grandpa, that land belong to me, belong to Aboriginal man before the horse and the cattle come over on that land, why I'm sittin' now. Well, that's what I bin keepin' on my mind. Now, I still got it on my mind. That's all the word I can tell you.

Vincent Lingiari, introduction to the song *The Gurindji Blues*, Ted Egan, 1971

Responding to Lingiari's words and the song *The Gurindji Blues*

1. What is the key point made by Lingiari to explain his land rights claim?
2. How might Lingiari's inclusion on the record advance the Gurindji cause?
3. A stanza in the song *The Gurindji Blues* is critical of the government response to the Gurindji and particularly the Commonwealth Minister for the Interior, Peter Nixon. Nixon is named in the song – 'Peter Nixon talk long we / Buy your own land Gurindji / Buy'im back from Lord Vestey'. This was a reference to Nixon saying that if the Gurindji wanted land they needed to save up and buy it like other Australians. Is this a fair comment by the minister Peter Nixon? Is it fair to criticise authorities through popular culture and the mass media? Justify your views.

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ACTIVITY 6.6

Seek out a copy of the lyrics and listen to or watch on YouTube a more well-known song about the Gurindji Strike, *From Little Things Big Things Grow* (1993) by Paul Kelly and Kevin Carmody.

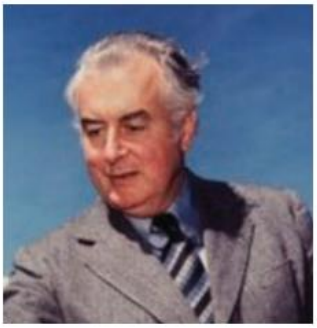
1. Annotate a copy of the lyrics, identifying key historical figures, key events and developments, including the cause and the effects of the strike.
2. The chorus of the song might be considered a truism – a statement of undisputed fact and truth. What do you consider to be the essential meaning behind this statement of truth?
3. Vincent Lingiari (1915–1988) is celebrated as one of the greatest Indigenous leaders of the twentieth century. In 1977, he was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia. In 1996 a lecture series, the Vincent Lingiari Memorial Lecture, was inaugurated in his honour and in 2001 the Lingiari Foundation was formed to advance Indigenous rights and promote the reconciliation process. Based on the information provided, what makes Lingiari such a great Australian and worthy of such tributes?

Government land transfer

By mid-1971, Vestey's image as the Gurindji's foreign oppressor was fading, and the federal government under Prime Minister William (Billy) McMahon became the main antagonist. Vestey's position was by now clear – it was prepared to accept a Commonwealth Government decision to lease a portion of Wave Hill station to the Gurindji people. The government however, remained intransigent on Indigenous land rights, and failed to act. In December 1972, the political landscape changed. Newly elected Labor Prime Minister Gough Whitlam announced that funds would be made available for the purchase of properties that were not on reserves in the Northern Territory. Lord Vestey offered to surrender 90 square kilometres to the Gurindji people.

On 16 August 1975, Whitlam transferred a lease for approximately 3300 square kilometres of land from Wave Hill station to the Gurindji. At a ceremony attended by white government officials alongside the Gurindji people and their supporters, Whitlam said the following words.

SOURCE 6.15 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam hands back land to the Gurindji, 16 August 1975



> I put into your hands this piece of the Earth itself as a sign that we restore them to you and your children forever.

Go to the Interactive Textbook and listen to an audio recording of Whitlam's speech (duration 2:52) before answering the questions below.

Responding to Whitlam's speech

1. Summarise the four key points made by Whitlam in his speech.
2. Which of these four points do you think is the most important? Explain your reasoning.
3. Lingiari replies in his own native tongue before making some brief comments in English. He concludes with the words 'we're all mates'. What appears to be Lingiari's intention in uttering these words?
4. Does listening to Whitlam's speech and Lingiari's reply enhance your understanding and appreciation of this historical source? Explain why or why not.

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ACTIVITY 6.7

Hold a discussion about the Gurindji people's land title

According to Charlie Ward, author of *A Handful of Sand: The Gurindji Struggle After the Walk-off* (2016), 'Whitlam had sold the Gurindji a pup'. The land deeds that Whitlam handed over to Lingiari were those of a pastoral lease. This meant that the Gurindji's land title was under the same conditions and rights as Vestey's and other pastoralists. Do you think this was fair? Did the Gurindji deserve full and free ownership of the land? Hold a discussion within the class to express and clarify your thoughts and views.

In May 1986, 20 years after the walk-off, the Hawke Labor government handed over 'inalienable' **freehold** title deeds to the Gurindji.

The Gurindji walk-off was not the first time that Indigenous Australians had demanded their lands back from the white colonisers in Australia. However, it was the Gurindji struggle that attracted broad public support for land rights both nationally and internationally, and it was the Gurindji who were the first Indigenous people to have land transferred to them by the Commonwealth Government.

freehold land literally 'free from hold' – the owner of such property enjoys free ownership of the land for perpetuity and can use the land for any purpose as long as it is within local regulations

- What do you think was the particular combination of circumstances, people and action that caused the Gurindji to be the first to gain their land rights?

6.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 1972

Less than three and a half years before Whitlam returned the land to the Gurindji people and almost six years after they had walked off Wave Hill station, another historic land rights protest occurred, this time in the nation's capital of Canberra. While the National Archives of Australia has described Jimmy Clements' actions in 1927 as 'possibly the first recorded instance of Aboriginal protest at Parliament House' (see photograph and story at the start of the contextual study), the most famous protest at this site is undoubtedly the Aboriginal Tent Embassy of 1972.

Below is a photograph of the initial protest, taken on the lawns in front of Parliament House, Canberra, in the early hours of 27 January 1972.

SOURCE 6.16 The original Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 27 January 1972



L to R: Aboriginal activists Michael (Mike) Anderson ('High Commissioner') and 'Embassy officials' Billie Craigie, Bertie Williams, Tony Coorey

Responding to the photograph

1. Read the hand-held signs. What are the demands of the protesters?
2. What evidence can you glean from the photograph that this protest began with a high degree of spontaneity?
3. According to Paul Coe, Aboriginal activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, the idea of calling the umbrella and tent erected outside Parliament House the Aboriginal Embassy 'started off as a joke, but it turned out to be perhaps one of the most brilliant symbolic terms of protest this country has ever seen'. What elements of the photograph make the demonstration seem a joke? What makes the idea of an Aboriginal embassy a 'brilliant symbolic' protest? (To answer this question, research to understand what an embassy is and its purpose.)

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Symbolism of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was full of symbolism, as historian Bain Attwood points out.

SOURCE 6.17 Bain Attwood on the symbolism of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 2003

What was different now was the broader sense of a shared Aboriginality, a consciousness of Aborigines as a national group with a shared history of colonisation. The very fact that the protest took place in the nation's capital indicates this. Embassy members, moreover, claimed the national capital as Aboriginal when they suggested that 'Canberra' was 'an Aboriginal word for meeting place'.

The Embassy deployed a range of symbols that represented these various dimensions of Aboriginality. The beach umbrella might be regarded as a form of flag, and perhaps the act of staking it in front of Parliament House was supposed to evoke the beach where Cook had begun the invasion by raising the British flag and claiming the land ... More startling was the name itself, 'Aboriginal embassy', soon the 'Aboriginal tent embassy'. This arguably had several dimensions. The tents stood for Aborigines' status as impoverished fringe dwellers across Australia, the Embassy for their status as aliens in their own land. Most importantly, it was an expression of the protesters' assertion of Aboriginal nationhood or sovereignty. This was more evident when, several months later, the black, red and yellow Aboriginal flag, which had been designed the previous year, replaced a red, black and green flag representing international black unity.

Bain Attwood, *Rights for Aborigines*, 2003, p. 345

Responding to the historian

1. Identify the symbolism associated with the Aboriginal Tent Embassy according to historian Bain Attwood.
2. Does symbolism make a protest (or a point) more powerful? Explain with reference to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy or any other examples.

Origins and establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was in response to Prime Minister McMahon's 1972 Australian Day speech which declared that his government had rejected the principle of land rights based on historical or traditional association, and instead proposed that Aboriginal people could lease land for economic and social purposes. Indigenous Australians were particularly offended by McMahon's proposal that if they wanted their land, they could lease it back from the new owners.

Among those Indigenous Australians who found McMahon's speech an affront and an obstacle to their struggle for land rights was a group of young activists from the Sydney Aboriginal community in Redfern. They had been arguing for 'black control of black affairs', which was also being promoted as the idea of Black Power. This idea had come to be associated with violence in the USA.

Below is an extract from one of the first newspaper reports about the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. It comes from a Melbourne newspaper, *The Age*. The headline reads 'Natives Open "Embassy" Of Their Own'.

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SOURCE 6.18 *The Age* newspaper report, 28 January 1972

Natives Open 'Embassy' Of Their Own

Canberra – Three young Aborigines have set up an 'Aboriginal Embassy' on the lawns opposite Parliament House to protest against the Government's decision not to grant tribal land rights. They hope about 100 Aborigines from all parts of Australia will join them in the next few weeks.

One of the Aborigines, Mike Anderson, 20, of Walgett, NSW, said yesterday the group planned to stay 'indefinitely'. He said: 'We mean business. We will stay until the Government listens to us.' ...

In his Australia Day statement on Aborigines the Prime Minister (Mr. McMahon) said the Government would not give Aborigines land rights on reserves based on traditional association.

Mike said the Aborigines would discuss a policy submission and put it to the Government. He predicted that the Government's decision on land rights would lead to violence.

'If we destroyed a church we'd be put in prison, but when white men destroy a spiritual place like Arnhem Land we can't put them into prison,' he said ...

Notices outside Aborigines' red tent said 'Why pay to use our own land?' and 'Which do you choose – land rights or bloodshed?' ...

'Natives Open "Embassy" Of Their Own', *The Age*, 28 January 1972

Responding to the newspaper report

1. The historical concept of cause and effect is evident in this newspaper extract. With reference to the source, explain how.
2. What part of this news article might non-Indigenous Australians find alarming? Use quotes from the article in your response.
3. What part of this news article might non-Indigenous Australians find fair and reasonable? Use quotes from the article in your response.
4. While the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest stopped short of physical violence, there were suggestions of violence in the early phases of the protest. Why might this threat of violence have been made by the protesters? Is this an effective tactic? Explain your response.
5. How useful is this source in helping you understand the intentions and motivations of the Aboriginal activists?

According to historian Scott Robinson (1993) the rhetoric of violence was used as a threat to illustrate the protesters' commitment to profound change and to gain media coverage for the cause. He claims that the 'development of a guiding ethic of a creative, non-violent action at the protest was not impaired by the use of certain symbols tinged with violence'.

In the early days of the protest (from its inception to May 1972), Michael Anderson was the most prominent figure at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. However, he was only one of a number of young men (and later women) who joined the protest. This was the first time that Aboriginal people in their twenties and early thirties had acted independently as spokespersons for their people. While young Aboriginal people had been involved in political action before, those in positions of authority had been middle-aged or older.

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Demands to the Commonwealth Government

On 6 February, during the second week of the protest, Anderson on behalf of the Tent Embassy issued a list of demands to the Commonwealth Government. Up until this time the demands of the protest had been vague and expressed more as slogans rather than a program. Below is a statement of the Embassy's five demands.

SOURCE 6.19 Embassy's five-point policy for Aboriginal land rights, 6 February 1972

We Demand

1. Full State rights to the Northern Territory under Aboriginal ownership and control with all titles to minerals, etc.
2. Ownership of all [Aboriginal] reserves and settlements throughout Australia with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
3. The preservation of all sacred lands not included in Points 1 and 2.
4. Ownership of certain areas of certain cities with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
5. As compensation, an initial payment of six billion dollars for all other land throughout Australia plus a percentage of the gross national income per annum.

Five-Point Policy as authorised by Aboriginal Embassy Cabinet Committee, February 1972

Responding to the five-point policy

1. On what basis might the Tent Embassy protesters justify these demands?
2. On what basis might the McMahon government reject these demands?
3. Compare the language and demands of this plan with the Gurindji petition (Source 6.11, p. 166). Identify the significant differences. What might account for these differences?
4. Might such strident and ambitious demands help or hinder the Aboriginal cause for land rights? Explain your response.
5. If politics is the art of the possible, how realistic or prudent are these demands? Explain. Alternatively, consider that these might be 'ambit claims' – a common political tactic that initially advances an extravagant demand with the expectation of an eventual counter-offer and compromise.
6. It is said that a policeman on duty at the time of the five-point policy's release asked the activists how long the Embassy would remain. When told it would be until Aboriginal Australians had land rights, he responded 'that could be forever'. What does this reveal about the protesters' determination? What does this reveal about the likely success of the protest? Explain your answers.

Criticism of these demands came not only from white Australia but also from Aboriginal Australia. Even radical Aboriginal activist Kevin Gilbert suggested that such extravagant claims merely handed the opponents of land rights an easy propaganda coup. 'One can only wish' he wrote, that the demands 'had been a little less of the stuff that dreams are made of and a little more capable of attracting serious consideration by the Australian nation' (1973).

Clarity and further explanation of these demands were provided by John Newfong, one of the emerging leaders of the Tent Embassy, in an article written in July 1972 entitled 'The Aboriginal Embassy: Its purpose and aims'.

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SOURCE 6.20 The Aboriginal Tent Embassy's five demands explained, July 1972

[Demand 1] The Aboriginal Embassy's claim for full State rights for the NT has been misunderstood in many quarters and its likelihood widely questioned ... However, nobody imagines for one moment that the NT can continue as at present, with the Minister for the Interior in Canberra able to **veto** all legislation from the Legislative Council in Darwin. Whenever the NT does become a State ... it must have the same rather extensive constitutional powers as the other States ... to ensure that mining developments benefit the people living there; to float loans overseas; to improve educational facilities and, above all, to arrest the spiralling infant mortality rate. Furthermore, as a State the NT would have a greater say in Federal Government in Australia. Most ... politicians, like those of the State Parliament in the NT, would be Aboriginal. There has never been any suggestion that the NT should be or could be an all-black **apartheid** State ...

veto literally 'I forbid'. An official power or right to refuse to accept or allow something.

apartheid literally translates to 'apartness'. A system of racial inequality, segregation and discrimination in South Africa, imposed by a white minority on a black majority, from 1948 to 1994

[Demand 2] Outside of the Northern Territory, Aboriginal reserve lands seem even more threatened. Except in South Australia, various State Governments have been fast resuming reserve lands in recent years – no doubt in anticipation of having to grant corporate title [i.e. freehold title granted to a company or a group] to the Aboriginal inhabitants. Mr Whitlam's promise of a 'complete reversal of the present government's land rights policy where it denies corporate title to reserve lands' is more than welcome, and in many ways very urgent. However, it makes no provision for mining rights to these areas ... Without mining rights, one would wish to be certain that the corporate title of which the Federal Opposition Leader speaks will guarantee Aborigines sole rights of access because, otherwise, that corporate title means nothing.

[Demand 3] The preservation of all sacred sites throughout Australia is a much simpler matter and should need no further qualification. How would white Australians feel if a black man went into one of their cathedrals and scribbled his name across the altar?

[Demand 4] The fourth of the Embassy's demands – title and mining rights to various metropolitan areas – has caused some dismay among white Australians who envisage us digging up their nondescript sprawls of suburbia. However, since the mining rights to most of suburban Brisbane are already owned by major oil companies and it is much the same in other capitals, the whole idea is not as outrageous as it may at first sound ...

[Demand 5] The last of the Embassy's demands has been the hardest of all to explain to most people, but this is only because the community at large has been completely conditioned against the fact that there are people in this land whose roots go back 30 000* years and that these people just might have some claim to it ... The figure of six billion dollars was chosen in order to establish in the minds of the white men and their governments not only this right of prior ownership but also our right to compensation ... For those who think this is far too much to ask for such a small percentage of the population, perhaps it should be pointed out that [t]he pastoral interests of this country ... get more than $400 million annually from the Federal purse. Last year, Black Australians, with no land, no education, and the highest infant mortality in the world, got $14 million.

* 30 000 years: The period of time it was thought that Aboriginal people had occupied the land at this time. Recent archaeological evidence suggests over 65 000 years.

John Newfong, 'The Aboriginal Embassy: Its purpose and aims', *Identity*, July, 1972, pp. 4–6

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Responding to John Newfong's explanation of the five demands

Task: Divide the five demands among the class. Working in small groups, answer the following questions and provide feedback on your designated demand in a round-table discussion.

1. Compare the original demand with the later explanation. Does the explanation provide greater clarity or raise further questions? Justify your response. Does the explanation make the demand more or less reasonable? Has your initial reaction to the demand changed? Explain your responses.
2. Which of Newfong's explanations do you judge the strongest? Which do you judge weakest? Justify your answers.
3. Compare the usefulness of the two sources in helping you to understand the intentions and motives of the Aboriginal activists.

Whitlam's visit to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

On 8 February, two days after the demands had been issued, and on the same day as the opening of parliament, Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam arrived to speak to the activists. In the photograph below Paul Coe (Aboriginal activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, who stands in the far left) questions Whitlam.

SOURCE 6.21 Gough Whitlam speaks to activists, 8 February 1972

Federal Opposition Leader Gough Whitlam addressing the crowd at the tent embassy on the opening of parliament, 8 February 1972



Responding to the photograph

1. Find evidence from the photograph to support or refute the following assertions:
   - In contrast to the initial protest (see Source 6.16) the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest has become a well-organised and politically savvy affair
   - The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest attracted a lot of media attention
   - The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest was supported by a diverse range of Aboriginal people
   - Gough Whitlam was a welcomed guest speaker at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy.

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2. What question(s) might Paul Coe (standing far left in the photograph) be asking of Whitlam?
3. Why might politicians, such as Gough Whitlam, be welcomed at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy site? What role might they play in advancing the aims of the protest?
4. Do you think Whitlam and his advisers would have thought carefully about whether the Opposition Leader should appear at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy? Explain your response.

According to John Newfong, Whitlam's visit to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy 'turned out to be one of the greatest coups ever for the Aboriginal advancement movement' (1972:4). This was because Whitlam promised that a Labor government would reverse current government policy and allow Aboriginal ownership of traditional land. Gary Foley, an Aboriginal activist and Aboriginal Tent Embassy participant, maintains that this was a 'significant moment in Australian history and would directly result in 1976 in the Northern Territory Land Rights Act' (2010).

Opening of parliament, 22 February 1972

Question Time time in parliament set aside for the opposition to ask the government questions

At the official opening of federal parliament on 22 February 1972, some 60 Aboriginal people packed the gallery for **Question Time**. Among them were members of the Gurindji, who were now in the sixth year of their strike. The physical presence of so many Aboriginal people from various parts of Australia, and the currency of the symbolic Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, made the Land Rights question an issue of national prominence, and one which was drawing support from a diverse range of people.

SOURCE 6.22 The Aboriginal Tent Embassy gains further attention

Rapidly gathering support, the Embassy grew by April to include at least eight tents. It attracted both Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people from across the country who joined in solidarity over the land rights movement.

Support shown by official representatives from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups, as well as diplomats from a number of countries including Canada and Russia, helped bolster the profile of the Embassy.

Support for the Embassy was also strong among the Canberra student population, with a number of Australian National University students assisting with billeting, joining the protest crowd and opening an Embassy bank account.

Gaining media attention across Australia and internationally, the Embassy site became a centre for protest, with a number of well-known Aboriginal activists spending time there. These included Gary Foley, Roberta Sykes, John Newfong, Chicka Dixon and Gordon Briscoe to name a few.

Groups from the Embassy went on protest marches, lobbied government representatives and spoke at community forums to continue to raise the issue of land rights in broader public settings.

While the Embassy enjoyed wide support, it also faced a large contingent of politicians and members of the general public who believed that the protest was nothing more than trespassing, and a blot on the Canberra landscape.

'Defining moments in Australian history: Aboriginal Tent Embassy', National Museum Australia website

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Responding to the account by the National Museum of Australia

1. What evidence is provided in the source to support the hypothesis that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy enjoyed wide support?
2. Of the support provided to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, which individuals or groups might have been particularly valuable? Explain your response.
3. What evidence is provided to support the hypothesis that the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was unpopular?
4. Why would the federal government find the Aboriginal Tent Embassy an embarrassment?
5. This account was produced by the government-funded National Museum of Australia. Do you think it has the tone you would expect of such a source? Would it help to know the date this was written – in particular how long after the events – and which party was in government then? Explain your response.

During the six months of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy's existence (January to July 1972) the settlement grew from a beach umbrella to a group of tents occupied by Aboriginal people from various states. In mid-May there were nine resident protesters in six tents. The numbers were always changing, and usually peaked on weekends when groups of Aboriginal people arrived from Sydney.

SOURCES 6.23 A&B Photographs of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy during 1972

A Aboriginal Tent Embassy meeting



B Resident protesters hang out their washing



Responding to the photographs

Imagine that you are compiling a pictorial history of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. You are evaluating these two photos for possible inclusion. What purposes (if any) can you see these photos serving in the book? To what extent could the photos prove anything? What additional sources might you need to assist you in interpreting these two photos? Can you think of an unwarranted generalisation that a careless person might make on the basis of one of these photos? If you had to choose one of these photos for its symbolic value, which would you choose and why?

To the older and more traditional Aboriginal leaders the methods used by the young militant activists seemed un-Aboriginal. However, in June the most influential of the older generation, who was now Australia's first Indigenous knight, Sir Douglas Nicholls, visited the Embassy to show his support. According to Margaret Franklin, writer of *Black and White Australians: An Inter-Racial History 1788–1975* (1976) 'It was a symbolic gesture to all Aborigines, for in traditional Aboriginal society, the young are led by the Elders'.

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First removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

Due to technical legal reasons, police were unable to evict the protesters or lawfully remove the Aboriginal Tent Embassy for nearly six months. However, on Thursday 20 July 1972, armed with the necessary removal ordinance (an authoritative order) about 60 police removed the tents and arrested eight people.

Telegrams from the Australian Council of Churches and the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union (that drew comparisons with the attitude of the South African Government to its Indigenous people under the Apartheid regime) protested the removal of the tents.

In *The Canberra Times* on 22 July 1972, nine of the 11 letters to the editor concerned the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. Eight of the nine letters were supportive of the Embassy and critical of the government's actions. The first letter published came from those directly involved in the events of 20 July.

SOURCE 6.24 Letter to the editor, 22 July 1972

Sir, – We were present at the forcible dismantling of the Aboriginal, 'embassy' opposite Parliament House on Thursday morning. ACT Police, acting within one hour of the gazetting of the ordinance authorising the 'embassy's' removal, carried out the operation. Some of us were among those who linked arms around one of the tents. Others of us addressed the bystanders. There was no violence until the police moved against those encircling the tent. We fully realise the predicament of the police. They were acting under the instructions of the Minister for the Interior who, with the rest of the Cabinet, is responsible for Thursday's final act of monstrous injustice. Their knowledge of the fact that the Government is behind them probably explains the use of violence to which they resorted in their attempt to get to the tent. The 'embassy' stood for the right of Aborigines to express their aspirations and claims for justice, including land rights, as a starting point for a dignified human life. It is our hope that all Australians will now unite in calling for immediate justice for Aborigines.

George Garnsey, Ecumenical Chaplain, ANU; Ambrose Brown, Canberra; Allan Sharpley, Canberra; Gary Foley, Sydney; Gary Williams, Sydney; Neville Williams, Sydney; Norma Williams, Sydney; Billie Craigie, Canberra; Billy Harrison, Canberra; A. Llew Morris, Acton; George Brown, Curtin; James S. Udy, Forrest; Gordon Bryant, MP, Carlton, Victoria; Kep Enderby, MP, Canberra.

Letter to the editor, *The Canberra Times*, 22 July 1972, p. 2

Responding to the letter to the editor

1. Three of the signatories to this letter to the editor were prominent non-Indigenous figures. Two of the three were federal ALP parliamentarians (Gordon Bryant and Kep Enderby) and one was a member of the clergy (George Garnsey). How might these three signatures affect the extent to which different readers treated the description of events as accurate and reliable?
2. What aspects of this account could strengthen or weaken the perception by readers of its accuracy and reliability? Explain your response.
3. In an editorial in *The Canberra Times* on 21 July 1972, the day before this letter to the editor, it was stated that 'The destruction of the "embassy" will win more sympathy for the Aboriginal cause … It may even prove to be a turning point, and that would be a good thing indeed'. How might the destruction of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy win more sympathy for the Aboriginal land rights cause? How might it prove a turning point? What words in this editorial signal clearly the standpoint of the newspaper in relation to this issue?

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Following is a photograph from the *Sydney Morning Herald* newspaper showing Australian Capital Territory police removing tents and bedding from the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 20 July 1972.

SOURCE 6.25 ACT police dismantle the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972



Photograph from the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1972. Labor Member of Parliament Gordon Bryant stands with his arms folded at the back of the photo on the right, next to Aboriginal activist Gary Foley with beard and cowboy hat.

Responding to the photograph

1. During what stage of the dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was this photograph most likely taken? To answer this question, refer to Source 6.24. Justify your answer by drawing on evidence from both sources.
2. Study the grouped activists and their use of tactics made famous by Gandhi – non-violent direct action and civil disobedience. Why are these tactics considered morally effective?
3. If you only had access to the photograph and no other sources on this subject, what impression would you have of the dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 20 July 1972 by the ACT police? How does this impact on the usefulness and reliability of this source? Explain your response.
4. What does this tell you about the limitations of historical sources?

SOURCE 6.26 The first dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 20 July 1972



ABC News footage from 20 July 1972. Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 04:47) before answering the questions below.

1. As you watch this video consider whether it corroborates or contradicts the previous sources studied. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event?

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Re-establishment and second removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

On Sunday 23 July, more drama followed when protesters sought to re-establish the Aboriginal Tent Embassy. The violence encountered was similar to that of the previous week, but the larger numbers on both sides made it more intense.

Following are two written accounts of this event. The first comes from *The Age* newspaper, dated 24 July, and the second is from the 1981 autobiography of an Aboriginal participant, Shirley Coleen Smith, better known as Mum Shirl.

SOURCES 6.27 A&B Accounts of the re-establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 23 July 1972

A Account in *The Age*, 24 July 1972

Tent Embassy Sparks Brawl

Yesterday morning [23 July] the demonstrators, including almost 100 Aborigines, marched from the Australian National University to Parliament House, where they were met by about 50 police. They sat down on the road outside and listened to speeches.

When the policemen walked behind the crowd, the demonstrators ran to the lawn where the embassy had stood. They erected a tent, and formed a human guard around it. About 200 police marched in from the gardens adjoining Parliament House and surrounded the demonstrators. As the police moved in on the crowd around the tent, there were violent scuffles and several policemen and demonstrators were bleeding from the face.

Five policemen and nine demonstrators were treated for injuries at the Canberra Hospital ...

The charges against the 18 people arrested include insulting language, hindering police, and obstructing and assaulting police ...

Two busloads of Aborigines – one from Sydney and one from Brisbane – travelled to Canberra to take part in the protest against moving the embassy ... The Aborigines are likely to hold another demonstration next weekend.

'Tent Embassy Sparks Brawl', *The Age*, 24 July 1972

B Aboriginal participant's account, 1981

The young Blacks were getting buses ready now to go up to Canberra to put the Embassy back up. I went up, too, to help if I could. I took some very young children with me, because I knew this would be a marvellous moment in history and I didn't want any Black kids to miss it.

What I saw up there would put a shock into anyone. The police came running over in hundreds ... and began beating up on the Black women who had grabbed each other's hands and were standing in a big circle around the tent and the men who were protecting the tent ...They punched them, knocked them to the ground then jumped on their guts. I couldn't believe my eyes. All this was taking place right outside Parliament House, that great white building where I was told the laws are made and the country is governed. The television cameras were everywhere but that didn't stop them ... I prayed that I would never see such a thing again in my life.

Account by Shirley Coleen Smith (Mum Shirl) to Bobbi Sykes (assistant), *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*, 1981, pp. 113–14

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Responding to the two written accounts about the re-establishment and second removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972.

1. Compare and contrast the two accounts by identifying similarities and differences. Note omissions as well as inclusions.
2. Why might these accounts be different? Consider authorship, date, type of source, and purpose.
3. Assess the likely reliability of each account. Consider authorship, date, type of source, purpose, mix of fact and opinion.
4. Now assess the usefulness of each account for a historian trying to establish what happened.

Here are two photographs recording events from 23 July 1972.

SOURCES 6.28 A&B Second attempt to re-erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972

A Photograph published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*



B Photograph published in the *Canberra Times*



Responding to the photographs

1. Study both photographs. Find one sentence in *The Age* newspaper report (Source 6.27A) that could refer to the particular action pictured in each photo.
2. Could there be a different explanation of what is happening in the second photograph (Source 6.28B), something that is not mentioned specifically, but which could fit logically into either *The Age* or Mum Shirl's accounts? Explain your response.
3. Why was the action of re-erecting the Aboriginal Tent Embassy seen to be a provocative one by the white authorities?
4. Why was this action seen to be justifiable and defensible by the Aboriginal protesters and their supporters? What would be the likely police reply to Aboriginal claims of justifiable and defensible?

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SOURCE 6.29 Second dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 23 July 1972

The YouTube video at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8050 shows footage of the second dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 23 July (note that the date on the first slide, 22 July 1972, is incorrect).

Responding to the online video

As you watch this video consider whether it corroborates or contradicts the previous sources studied. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event?

Re-establishment and third removal of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 30 July 1972

Almost immediately after the second clash with police, it was announced that another demonstration would be held on the following Sunday, 30 July 1972. Despite the High Court rejecting an application to re-erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on 25 July, Aboriginal activist Patricia (Pat) Eatock publicly announced that the Embassy would be re-erected. She warned that there was a possibility of the forthcoming protest turning into 'Australia's Sharpeville'. (In Sharpeville, South Africa in 1960, police opened fire on black protesters, killing 69 people). Aboriginal activist Kath Walker, later known as Oodgeroo Noonuccal, also 'foresaw bloodshed'. A final press release on Saturday night (29 July) revealed Police Commissioner R.A. Wilson was 'still hopeful that the Aboriginal demonstration ... would not be violent' (Robinson, 1993).

Michael Anderson later remembered the visual impact of over 2000 people gathered on the morning of 30 July. 'I never saw so many people in all my life', he said. These numbers represented a tenfold increase on those present on the previous Sunday. Gary Foley too recalled the 'huge crowd' but also expressed his concern that 'it was quite obvious that people were going to get hurt' if violent tactics were adopted by either the protesters or the authorities.

The protesters marched from the Australian National University campus and arrived at the lawns of Parliament House by mid-morning. They were met by a police presence of some 300, supported by two NSW police vehicles. The police faced the protesters from across the road. With the additional 1000 or more tourists and spectators, there were now 3000 people assembled at this public event. This was by far the largest of the demonstrations associated with the Aboriginal Tent Embassy.

SOURCES 6.30 A&B Third attempt to erect the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, 30 July 1972

A Protesters



B Police and protesters



Both photographs by Ken Middleton, 30 July 1972

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Responding to the photographs

1. Based on the first photograph, what appears to be the mood of the Aboriginal protesters?
2. The point was made earlier that 'Aboriginal people in their twenties and early thirties' came to the fore in the Aboriginal Tent Embassy campaign, and that they used different tactics from their elders. Does the photograph reflect that point about age? How might the age of participants increase police concerns?
3. The second photograph shows a stand-off between the police and protesters. Given the point made in question 2, might the police be apprehensive about what could happen next? Explain your answer.
4. What evidence is there in this second photograph to suggest that both sides were restrained in their actions at this stage of the protest?

In the presence of the police a tent was re-erected on the lawns of Parliament House, and the demonstrators formed three rings around it. Mum Shirl recalls what happened next.

SOURCE 6.31 Mum Shirl recalls the events of 30 July 1972

When the Blacks put the tent up, the police gave them half an hour to take it down, and then another half an hour, and then another half an hour, and so on until it was very late in the afternoon. After a while, when some of our people had left, thinking that they were going to let the tent stay up, the police just walked in, didn't punch anybody, and since the Blacks don't hit anybody first, there was no big blue. The police took the tent down and walked away.

But as they were walking away, they looked back, and saw yet another tent up, in the same place as the one they had just taken down. The police got mad and ran back to take it down, but when they got there, they found it was just a big piece of canvas being held up by lots of Blacks, held up in the air over their heads. The Blacks laughed and laughed, and carrying the piece of canvas still over their heads, they followed after the police who were running away, laughing in their ears all the way across the street to the steps of Parliament House. The Blacks said it was a political victory. The tents weren't there anymore, but they were still up in people's minds ... It was over, but it wasn't over.

Account by Shirley Coleen Smith (Mum Shirl) to Bobbi Sykes (assistant), *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*, 1981, pp. 114–15

Responding to Mum Shirl's account

1. What view of the police do you form from this account by Mum Shirl? Why do you think the police changed their approach to the Aboriginal people and their protest?
2. What significant claim does Mum Shirl make about 'the Blacks' and violence? If true, would that shed more light on the earlier photo of a policeman and protester fighting (Source 6.28B)? Is Mum Shirl's claim borne out by what you've studied so far in this chapter?
3. In what ways is Mum Shirl's account celebratory? Should celebratory texts be scrutinised particularly carefully as sources of evidence?
4. What do you think Mum Shirl meant when she said: 'It was over, but it wasn't over'?

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SOURCE 6.32 Third dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 30 July 1972



The YouTube video at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8306 (duration 01:05) shows footage of the third dismantlement of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy by police on 30 July.

Responding to the online video

As you watch this video consider whether it corroborates or contradicts the previous source studied. What extra information does this video provide to help you understand this event?

The end of the protest

At the end of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest, there had been no violence. This had been made possible through the restraint shown by both sides. According to Scott Robinson 'the idea of conducting symbolic action, through re-erecting the tent and allowing its removal' (1993) was one of the key ideals that prevented the recurrence of violence.

In December 1972, when the Whitlam government took office, charges were dropped against the people arrested at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy protests months earlier. Additionally, Whitlam's commitment to Aboriginal land rights was honoured with the appointment of the Aboriginal Land Rights Commission (also known as the Woodward Royal Commission) in early 1973. The purpose of this Commission was to inquire into appropriate ways to recognise Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory. The legislation that the Whitlam government introduced into federal parliament in October 1975 was based substantially on the recommendations of Justice Edward Woodward, who chaired the commission. This bill was the first time an Australian government attempted to legally recognise Aboriginal land ownership and put the concept of inalienable freehold title into law. When the Whitlam government was dismissed in the constitutional crisis of November 1975, the bill was still before the parliament. However, the Fraser government passed legislation based largely on the Whitlam government's bill the next year. *The Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1976* was significant because it established a procedure that transferred almost 50% of land in the Northern Territory to collective Indigenous ownership.

ACTIVITY 6.8

Create a storyboard of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy key events from 26 January to 30 July 1972

Draw up a storyboard outlining the key events from the initial erection of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy umbrella on 26 January 1972 to the final removal of the symbolic tent on 30 July 1972. Provide captions under your illustrations.

Twenty years later the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was re-established on the lawns of Old Parliament House in January 1992. This marked the twentieth anniversary of the original embassy. Bill Craigie, one of the original tent protesters, stated 'twenty years down the track we found we had to re-establish the embassy because Aboriginal affairs was starting to stagnate back to the position prior to '72 … we're now asking the politicians and the rest of white Australia to recognise us as a race of people and to recognise us as the sovereign owners of this country'. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy remains in place in Canberra. Source 6.33 shows a photograph of the Embassy in 1999.

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SOURCE 6.33 The Aboriginal Embassy on the lawns of Old Parliament House, 1999

ACTIVITY 6.9

Take a position in a four corner debate related to the Aboriginal Tent Embassy

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

The Aboriginal Tent Embassy is more of an eye-sore than an icon.

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

SOURCES 6.34 A–D What do academics say about the Aboriginal Tent Embassy?

A Professor (of Public Ethics) Clive Hamilton, 2016

> Like all of the most effective protests, the Tent Embassy was a piece of theatre – the scene was set over an extended period, various characters were developed, tension mounted, a climax was reached and a denouement [outcome] followed. As a spectacle, the media loved it.

Clive Hamilton, *What Do We Want? The Story of Protest in Australia*, 2016, p. 118

B Professor (of Law) Larissa Behrendt, 2014

> With the benefit of hindsight, it is easy to see why the Tent Embassy has become an iconic act of resistance and of sovereignty. Like many moments in history, few could have imagined the impact of the Tent Embassy or its enduring legacy when it was first established on the lawn of Parliament House in Canberra, Australia Day 1972.
>
> It was more than a mere act of political defiance born of frustration by the lack of change to people's lives as a result of the 1967 referendum. It was part of a political movement that had begun at the time a colony was first established in Sydney, shared a heart with freedom fighters like Pemulwuy, found momentum in the articulate and statesmanlike voices of William Cooper

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and Fred Maynard, and interacted with the political movements such as those for sovereignty, citizenship rights, black power, feminism, decolonisation and post-colonialism.

Larissa Behrendt, 'Foreword' in G. Foley, A. Schaap, and E. Howell, *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 2014, p. xxiii

C Dr Gordon Briscoe, 2014

It was generally accepted, when the rhetoric and dust settled, that the Embassy was a very creative Aboriginal protest that had made a significant impact on the psyche of Aboriginal identity. The Tent Embassy protest represented the theoretical as well as the human face of Aboriginal political consciousness ... The Aboriginal Embassy was in part the invention of many, including white supporters, before and after the event; and, it could not have been otherwise. What's so important here is the fact that it was an Aboriginal-created proposition. It was carried out in its origin, exclusively by Aborigines. It became the human face of their political consciousness.

Gordon Briscoe, 'The origins of the Aboriginal political consciousness and the Aboriginal Embassy, 1907–1972' in G. Foley, A. Schaap, and E. Howell, *The Aboriginal Tent Embassy*, 2014, p. 53

D Historian Scott Robinson, 1994

The Embassy was, in many ways, a success story. Although not necessarily an election issue, the Embassy highlighted the failing of the [McMahon] government on the eve of Whitlam's victory in [December] 1972. The Embassy assumed a mythology of historical and political significance amongst Aboriginal people. Despite the fact that its central demand for land rights was only partially fulfilled by the Northern Territory Act of 1976, the longevity of the demand for the return of land in other areas ... and more generally for Aboriginal sovereignty indicates its pivotal significance in the history of contemporary Aboriginal politics.

Scott Robinson, 'The Aboriginal Embassy: An Account of the Protests of 1972', *Aboriginal History 18*(1), 1994, pp. 62–3

Responding to the academics

Complete the following table.

Source	Credentials	Perspective(s) on the Aboriginal Tent Embassy
Clive Hamilton, 2016		
Larissa Behrendt, 2014		
Gordon Briscoe, 2014		
Scott Robinson, 1994		

6.9 The Mabo High Court Challenge (1982–92)

The Mabo High Court challenge, which commenced a decade after the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, shifted the fight for Indigenous land rights from the streets back into the courtroom. In the 1960s, there emerged two paths towards Indigenous land justice. The Gurindji, as you have seen, took a political course and lobbied government while the Yirrkala people of the Gove Peninsula (Northern Territory) took the judicial path and went through the courts. In 1970, the Yirrkala people, famous for their Bark Petition, set in place the first major milestone of the land rights movement by the case against the Nabalco mining company and the Commonwealth Government. Even though the Northern Territory Supreme Court decided against them, the case did much to place the land rights movement on the national political agenda.

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While Justice Blackburn's decision was a legal defeat for the Yirrkala people, it is now seen as a moral victory. According to political commentator Paul Kelly (*100 Years: The Australian Story*, 2001), 'Blackburn upheld the constitutional orthodoxy and, in so doing, revealed its flaws.'

The constitutional orthodoxy that Kelly refers to was the basis of colonial occupation. When the British occupied Australia in the late eighteenth century, they did so under the legal notion of *terra nullius*. This notion maintained that the continent was 'waste and unoccupied'. It was assumed that, as a nomadic people, Indigenous Australians had no claim on the land because they just wandered over it.

Indigenous Australians had been long aware of the absurdity of the doctrine of *terra nullius*; however, it was not until the Mabo High Court case (1982–92) that the doctrine of *terra nullius* was successfully challenged. While Mabo is a household name in Australia today, little is generally known about the man himself or the 10-year High Court struggle.

Eddie Mabo – the man

Eddie Koiki Mabo was born in 1936 on Mer (also known as Murray Island), the tiny island at the centre of the High Court dispute. At the time when Mabo was growing up on Mer, the Torres Strait Islands were administered by Queensland's Chief Protector of Aborigines and the Department of Native Affairs.

From a young age, Mabo displayed intelligence, determination and ambition. He also displayed stubbornness and refused to 'toe the line' or 'knuckle under'. At the age of 15, he was expelled from Mer for 12 months by the Murray Island Council for breaking customary island law. When he returned two years later, he only stayed for another two years, moving to the mainland in 1957. Sixteen years later, in 1973, when he tried to return the Murray Island Council refused him. This was despite the fact that his Uncle Benny, who had adopted him after birth, was ill. Ironically, the man who won native title for his homeland lived most of his life in the suburbs of Townsville, in exile from his island home.

During his life, Mabo worked as a deckhand, pearling diver, cane cutter, railway labourer, trade union organiser and gardener. A large part of his life was devoted to advancing the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Long before his involvement in the struggle for ownership of his ancestral lands, Mabo was politically active. He campaigned in support of the 1967 Referendum and in the 1970s was actively involved in Indigenous health and legal services, education (Director of the first Black Community School in Australia) and housing (President of Yumba Meta, an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander housing association).

Between 1967 and 1975 Mabo was employed as a gardener at James Cook University in Townsville. It was here, in the early 1970s, that he learned from historians Noel Loos and Henry Reynolds that he and his people did not have legal title to their land in the Murray Islands. Mabo was shocked but also determined that no one could take his land. However, it was not until a land rights conference at James Cook University in 1981 that the idea of mounting a High Court challenge was proposed.

ACTIVITY 6.10

Reflect on Eddie Mabo's life experiences and achievements

1. Our experiences shape us and inform the decisions we make throughout our life. What life experiences might have prepared Eddie Mabo for the High Court challenge, and helped to fortify and sustain him over a long 10-year period? Explain your response.
2. What life experiences might have made it difficult for Mabo to seek a land claim over the island of Mer? Explain your response.
3. Extension: Since his death Eddie Mabo has been recognised and honoured as a significant historical figure in Australian history. Find out how Mabo has been honoured and remembered.

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Mabo – the court case

Legal proceedings for the case began in May 1982 when Eddie Mabo and four other Meriam men (Sam Passi, David Passi, Celuia Mapo Salee, and James Rice) initiated legal action against the State of Queensland and the Commonwealth of Australia in the High Court claiming native title to the Murray Islands including Mer. Mabo became the leading party in this lawsuit which has come to be known as the Mabo case. According to Bryan Keon-Cohen, who was junior counsel for the plaintiffs for the duration of the Mabo case, 'without Eddie Mabo there was no case … [He] was the main driving force, the indispensable bridge between the Anglo-Australian legal system and the traditional system of land-holding on the Murray Islands … It was he who pushed on, despite formidable personal difficulties and political opposition' (2000).

It was a long journey to justice for the Murray Islanders and their legal team as they struggled for 10 long years in both the High Court and the Queensland Supreme Court seeking land rights. Over this period, 33 Meriam people, including the plaintiffs, generated 4000 pages of transcripts of evidence for their land claims. They faced strident opposition, particularly from the Queensland Bjelke-Petersen government, which sought to defeat the claims of the Murray Islanders through every means possible by its 'no compromise' approach. The passage of the *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985* was designed to pre-empt the Mabo case by retrospectively extinguishing the claimed rights of the Meriam people to the Murray Islands.

In response, the plaintiffs and their legal team brought a second case to the High Court challenging the constitutional validity of *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985*. This action resulted in two Mabo cases before the High Court. The original claim seeking native title over the Murray Islands and the second against the Queensland Government over the validity of its 1985 legislation.

In December 1988 the High Court found that the *Queensland Coast Islands Declaratory Act 1985* was invalid because it was in conflict with the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. This case is known as *Mabo v. Queensland (No. 1)*. The decision meant that now the original High Court case could continue.

Two and a half years later, on 3 June 1992, six of the seven High Court judges upheld the Merriam people's claim of native title over their lands. This case is known as *Mabo and others v. Queensland (No. 2)*. The High Court claimed that the Meriam people were 'entitled as against the rest of the world to the possession, occupation, use and enjoyment' of most of the land of the Murray Islands in the Torres Strait. In acknowledging the traditional rights of the Meriam people to their land, the Court also held that native title existed for all Indigenous people.

Native title is the term used to describe the common law rights and interests of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to their land according to their traditions, laws and customs. Native title wasn't a new type of land grant, but a common law right that predates the British occupation of Australia. So, the Mabo High Court decision did not invent native title, it merely applied to Australia that part of common law which had been applied elsewhere in the British Empire for hundreds of years. The 1992 decision for the first time recognised the common law rights in land of Australia's Indigenous peoples. Eddie Mabo never lived to hear the historic verdict. He had died of cancer five months earlier, on 21 January 1992. He was 55 years old.

ACTIVITY 6.11

Create a timeline of key events and developments in the Mabo case

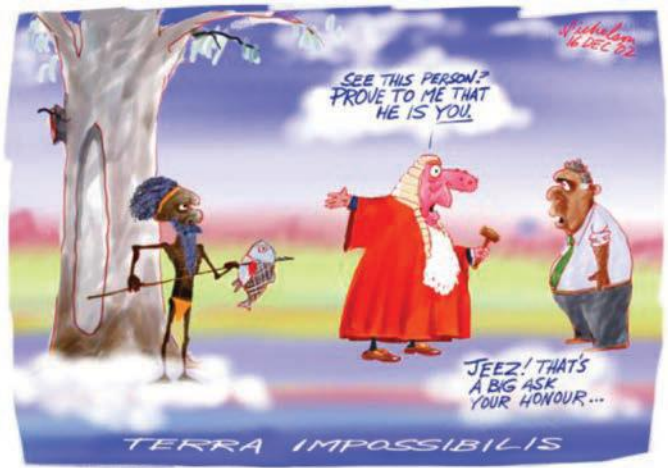
Create a timeline of key events and developments in the Mabo case from its beginnings in 1982 through to its end in 1992. Key dates include: 1982, 1985, 1988 and 1992.

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Outcomes of the Mabo decision

The *Mabo v Queensland (No. 2)* decision elicited a range of emotions that spanned from euphoria to deep anxiety. To Indigenous people and their supporters it promised justice and was a significant step towards reconciliation. To miners, pastoralists and others, the Mabo ruling seemed a threat to long-established status and income. Battle lines were drawn and expensive advertising campaigns were launched. Highly ambitious land claims were lodged in courts around the nation. People were panicked into thinking that their backyards might be in danger of native title claims.

Despite the 1992 Mabo High Court ruling and the 1993 *Native Title Act*, the reality is that native title has been extinguished over most of Australia by grants of freehold land (i.e. private land), commercial, agricultural and residential leases, and the construction of public works. Due to a history of dispossession and dispersal, there are very few Aboriginal communities that can provide the high standard of proof of continuous occupation or connection with their land. As a result, only a small percentage of Indigenous Australians are eligible to make claims. Furthermore, according to Nicole Watson, a member of the Birri-Gubba people, 'Aboriginal rights to land have been relegated to an inferior status' (2014). Perhaps this was best put by Keating's former Attorney-General, Michael Lavarch, when he conceded in 2006 'If you were constructing a totem pole of rights of land, native title is right down the bottom'.



SOURCE 6.35 Cartoon by Peter Nicholson, published in *The Australian*, 16 December 2002

Identify who each of the figures represents in the cartoon. What is Peter Nicholson's perspective on the High Court decision? Explain by referring to various aspects of the cartoon – speech bubbles, caption, figures. (Note that *terra* is a Latin word for earth or territory.)

In 1996, the High Court decision in *Wik v Queensland* further confirmed the low status of native title rights when it clarified existing Indigenous rights to the land in relation to pastoral leases. While it was found that native title co-existed on pastoral leases, in the event of a conflict between the legal rights of pastoralists and those of native title holders, those of the pastoralists prevailed. However, the Wik decision potentially applies to a much larger area of land; that is, the 40% of the country held in pastoral leases. By contrast, the Mabo decision applied only to unalienated Crown land (that is, public land whose ownership has not been transferred for other purposes). In response to the Wik judgement and with reference to the earlier Mabo decision, Prime Minister John Howard (1996–2007) expressed the view that the pendulum had swung too far in favour of Indigenous Australians. The Ten-Point Plan, which became the basis of the *Native Title Amendment Act 1998*, was his attempt to swing the pendulum back the other way.

In contrast to the *1993 Native Title Act*, the Ten-Point Plan and the resulting *Native Title Act Amendment Bill* were drawn up without the consent of, or consultation with, Indigenous people. Indeed, most of the amendments favoured non-Indigenous interests. The *Native Title Amendment Act 1998* was eventually passed in the Senate by only one vote, and after much heated debate. In March 1999, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) ruled that the amendments were in breach of Australia's human rights obligations. The Committee's advice was that the Australian Government should immediately suspend the amendments and should enter into negotiations with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to find a solution that was acceptable to both parties. The Australian Government did not accept these rulings.

On the tenth anniversary of the Mabo High Court decision in 2002, Source 6.35 shows how Australian cartoonist Peter Nicholson saw the situation facing Aboriginal Australians who sought native title claims.

Peter Nicholson's cartoon comments on the difficulties faced by Aboriginal Australians because of the high (nigh impossible) level of proof they are required to provide in order to claim native title. Viewed in terms of

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actual native title outcomes, Senator Aden Ridgeway, a member of the Gumbayyngirr people, claimed that the 31 successful native title determinations which had been achieved in the 10 years since the Mabo High Court ruling was a 'spectacular failure' (2002). In comparison, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Mabo decision in 2017 there were 408 successful native title determinations (National Native Title Tribunal website, 2017). Most of these determinations were by consent (321), where a decision is made by a recognised court or body that reflects an agreement reached by the parties involved, or unopposed (40), where the native title application is not contested and a recognised court or body is satisfied that native title exists. The remaining 47 determinations were achieved through litigation or a trial process.

- What evidence is there to support or refute the assertion that the Mabo High Court decision did not deliver on its promises?

ACTIVITY 6.12

Watch a documentary: *First Australians*

First Australians is an SBS documentary series of seven one-hour episodes about Indigenous history. The final episode, 'We are no longer shadows', focuses on Eddie Mabo, and is available online, via SBS On Demand or YouTube.

As you watch the video make notes to consolidate your understanding of Mabo the man and the court case.

6.10 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you have traced the struggle for land rights since the late 1960s by using primary and secondary sources to analyse and evaluate three case studies: the Gurindji Walk-off (1966–75), the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (1972), and the Mabo High Court challenge (1982–92) and its aftermath. You have also synthesised information from these sources to form historical arguments.

ACTIVITY 6.13

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: How successful has the Indigenous struggle for land rights in Australia been since 1967?

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

Land rights campaign	Form(s) of protest utilised	Cause(s)	Aim/goal	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Key events and developments	Effects/ outcomes
Gurindji						
Aboriginal Tent Embassy						
Mabo						

3. Which of the three land rights campaigns do you consider the most significant historically? Which campaign did you find the most inspiring/interesting? Explain your choices.

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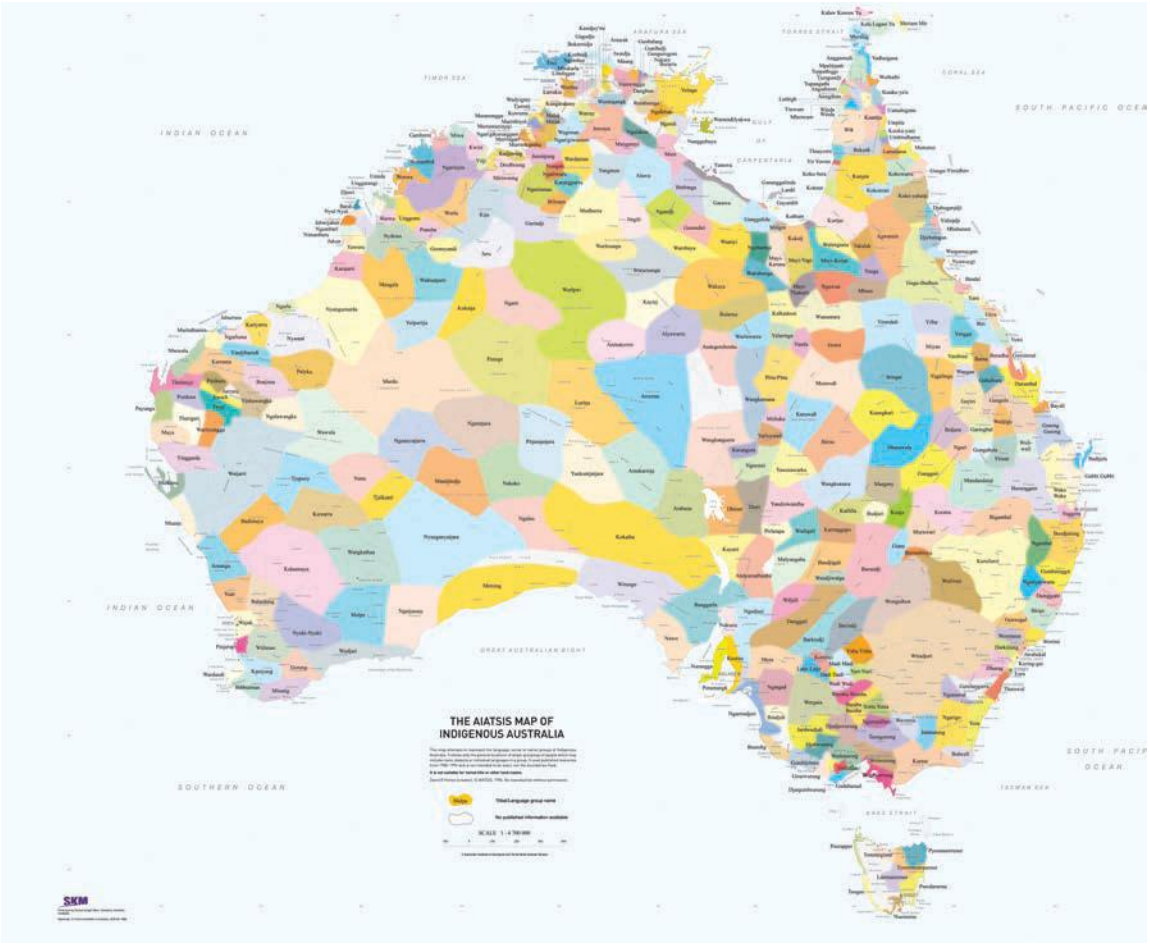
CONCLUDING STUDY

Contemporary Indigenous rights

The map below was published in 1996 from data collected by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS). The map displays the 250 main languages once spoken by Indigenous peoples across Australia. In 2013 the *Australian Geographic* reported that there were around 50 Aboriginal languages still spoken.

SOURCE 6.36 Map of Indigenous Australia

GO



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

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

Responding to the map

1. Could this map suggest that the principle of *terra nullius* was a legal fiction? If so, how?
2. What does it suggest about the extent, diversity and nature of Indigenous occupation of Australia?
3. Why might this map have only been created in 1996?

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4. Why might this map be contested by some Traditional Landowners?
5. This map prompts you to ask, whose land am I on? The Interactive Textbook contains a high resolution version of this map. Use it to identify the various language groups of important places in your life – where you were born, where you live, where your relatives live, where you go to school, where you holiday etc.

This map delivers some clear and important messages: this country, originally a mosaic of Indigenous territories, was inhabited by a great diversity of Indigenous people; these people inhabited the whole of the continent and adjacent islands for millennia; Australia with its six states and two territories is a recent invention, not yet far into its second century.

6.11 The importance of symbolism

Most Australians have come to know some of the names of the Indigenous groups identified on the map through the practice of **Welcome to Country** or **Acknowledgement of Country**. These rituals and protocols have become a common feature at official functions such as school assemblies and speech nights, academic conferences, arts festivals, and citizenship ceremonies. However, these practices are a recent development and trace their origin back to initiatives of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (1991) and Reconciliation Australia (2000).

It was not until 12 February 2008 that an Indigenous person presided over a traditional Welcome to Country ceremony before the opening of federal parliament in Canberra, a first in the nation's history. The photograph in Source 6.37 shows Ngambri Elder Matilda House-Williams, who delivered the Welcome to Country, joining hands with Prime Minister Kevin Rudd [left] and Opposition Leader Brendan Nelson [right] during the ceremony. It was a far cry from 1927 when no Indigenous people were invited to the opening of federal Parliament House in Canberra.

Welcome to Country a ritual performed by a Traditional Owner, who welcomes the audience onto Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander country

Acknowledgement of Country a non-Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person (or an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person who is not a Traditional Owner) acknowledges that the site where the audience is meeting is regarded as ancestral country for a particular Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander nation

SOURCE 6.37 Welcome to Country ceremony at the opening of federal parliament, 2008



Responding to the photograph

1. Return to the photograph of Jimmy Clements (Source 6.1) and compare it to this 2008 photo. Make notes on the striking differences.
2. Debate the value of Welcome to Country and Acknowledgement to Country practices. Critics like Indigenous scholar Victor Hart argue that they embody the 'iteration of *terra nullius* mythology where blackfellas can appear at the beginning of the event and then conveniently disappear' while proponents such as NSW Aboriginal Land Council Chairwoman Bev Manton argue 'by showing … respect for Traditional Owners and their ancestors passed, you are doing a great deal to help bridge the gulf between black and white in this country … It's symbolism, but it's essential symbolism'.

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The day after the historic Welcome to Country, on 13 February 2008, Kevin Rudd delivered the long-awaited apology to members of the Stolen Generations. While the national and international impact of the Apology eclipsed the significance of the Welcome to Country, it, like the Apology, 'represented the culmination of cultural and political changes nearly two decades in the making' (McKenna, 2014:477).

6.12 Indigenous rights in the twenty-first century

The year prior to the historic Welcome to Country, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. This was after over 20 years of negotiation by governments and Indigenous peoples from around the world, including Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. This declaration recognises that Indigenous people possess certain rights that do not pertain to other people.

The Declaration comprises 46 articles related to individual and collective rights of Indigenous peoples. Such rights include the right to language, culture and spiritual identity as well as rights to country, resources and self-governance. A Community Guide to the Declaration can be found on the Australian Human Rights Commission website.

In September 2007, when the vote on the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was taken in the UN General Assembly, 143 countries voted in favour, 4 against, and 11 abstained. The four member states that voted against the Declaration were Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States.

- Why might this have been the case?

In April 2009 the Rudd government reversed the decision of the Howard coalition government and formally supported the Declaration.

According to the Australian Human Rights Commission (2010) the Declaration is the 'most significant achievement in the protection of Indigenous peoples' rights at the international level'. Nevertheless, Indigenous rights have a controversial history.

ACTIVITY 6.14

Take a position in a four corner debate on Indigenous rights and true equality

Label each corner of your classroom with one of the following positons: 'Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree', 'Strongly disagree'. Then take a position on each of the following statements in a class debate. Debate each statement in turn. The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room which best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds you are able to move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

Statement 1: *Indigenous rights are a radical step as they are additional or special rights for certain groups in society.*

Statement 2: *True equality requires the accommodation of difference.*

The 'Uluru Statement from the Heart'

Following on from the land rights movement in the latter half of the twentieth century, Indigenous Australians continue to assert their right and connection to the land. This was clearly expressed in the 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' delivered on 26 May 2017, the eve of the 50th anniversary of the historic 1967 Referendum. The Uluru Statement proclaimed 'in 1967 we were counted, in 2017 we seek to be heard'. As you read the extract below, what do you hear Indigenous Australians saying?

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SOURCE 6.38 'Uluru Statement from the Heart', 26 May 2017

Our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander tribes were the first sovereign Nations of the Australian continent and its adjacent islands, and possessed it under our own laws and customs. This our ancestors did, according to the reckoning of our culture, from the Creation, according to the common law from 'time immemorial', and according to science more than 60 000 years ago.

This sovereignty is a spiritual notion: the ancestral tie between the land, or 'mother nature', and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were born therefrom, remain attached thereto, and must one day return thither to be united with our ancestors. This link is the basis of the ownership of the soil, or better, of sovereignty. It has never been ceded or extinguished, and co-exists with the sovereignty of the Crown.

How could it be otherwise? That peoples possessed a land for sixty millennia and this sacred link disappears from world history in merely the last two hundred years?

Extract from 'Uluru Statement from the Heart', 26 May 2017

Responding to the Uluru Statement

1. Explain the different layers of meaning in the document's title, 'Uluru Statement from the Heart'.
2. How do Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders justify sovereignty (i.e. authority) over the land, and what is the nature of this sovereignty?
3. According to the statement what is the relationship between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander sovereignty over the land and the sovereignty of the Crown (Nation-State)?
4. The final two questions in the extract from the Uluru Statement challenge the traditional principle of international law – the Right of Conquest. According to this principle the conqueror had the right to territory taken by force of arms. Since World War II this principle has been rejected. These questions also raise moral issues relating to the right of Traditional Owners to their land. It's a complex issue. What are your thoughts in relation to these matters?

ACTIVITY 6.15

Conduct research into petitions or statements by Indigenous Australians

The Uluru Statement is part of a long tradition of Indigenous Australians seeking redress for injustices through petitioning higher authorities. Earlier attempts include: Yorta Yorta Elder William Cooper's petition to King George VI (1937); the Yirrkala Bark Petitions to the Commonwealth Government (1963); the Larrakia Petition to Queen Elizabeth II (1972); and the Barunga Statement to Prime Minister Bob Hawke (1988). Form groups of four and each group member select a petition or statement and conduct internet research on your selection. Make notes on the purpose, contents and outcome of your chosen petition or statement. Share your finding with your group verbally or in written form.

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The one-page 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' was the outcome of the First Nations Regional Dialogues, which took place over months (from December 2016 to early May 2017) and engaged around 1200 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders throughout the nation, and the four days of talks (from 23 to 26 May 2017) between over 250 Indigenous delegates from across the country at a National Constitutional Convention held at Uluru. The purpose of the regional dialogues and the Uluru Convention was to decide whether and how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples might be recognised in the Australian Constitution. This was a significant response to the historical exclusion of Indigenous Australians from the original process that led to the Australian Constitution in 1901. In the end, those assembled at the Convention rejected outright the idea of mere recognition in the Constitution, and instead they sought two broad objectives for reform which were outlined in the 'Uluru Statement from the Heart': the establishment of a First Nations Indigenous representative body (First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution) and a Makarrata Commission to supervise a treaty-making process.

There was a range of views by commentators, constitutional observers, politicians and Indigenous leaders in response to the Uluru Statement. Here is one view expressed by cartoonist Fiona Katauskas, three days after the release of the Uluru Statement.

SOURCE 6.39 Cartoonist Fiona Katauskas comments on responses to the Uluru Statement, 29 May 2017



Cartoon by Fiona Katauskas, published in *Eureka Street*, 29 May 2017

Responding to Katauskas's cartoon

1. The cartoon relies on prior knowledge to understand it. In the speech bubble reference is made to 'these people', 'an apology' and 'us'. Explain each of these references.
2. How is white middle-class Australia depicted in this cartoon?
3. Is the cartoonist supportive or critical of Indigenous Australians and their expectations? The Uluru Statement? Explain how you arrived at your answers.
4. What might be the implications for white Australians of the two broad objectives for reform which were outlined in the Uluru Statement from the Heart? (The two objectives were the establishment of a First Nations Indigenous representative body (First Nations Voice enshrined in the Constitution) and a Makarrata Commission to supervise a treaty-making process.)

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Closing the gap

The cartoon in Source 6.39 suggests that white Australia has failed to deliver – that it's all talk and no action. In his National Apology to the Stolen Generations in 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd committed the federal government to a new national effort to close the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. This was to be achieved by setting 'concrete targets for the future' related to health, education and employment and reporting on the progress. The idea is based on the maxim that 'if you don't measure it, you can't improve it'. So, each year since the Apology, the Prime Minister of the day has delivered a Closing the Gap Statement in parliament and tabled a report card on progress.



SOURCE 6.40 Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull presents the tenth annual Closing the Gap report to parliament.

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video extract (duration 22:57) of this presentation. Prepare a summary of the progress reported.

Postscript

Controversially, the Liberal/National Coalition government in October 2017 failed to endorse the notion of an Indigenous representative assembly sought in the Uluru Statement from the Heart. Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull claimed that it was not 'desirable or capable of winning acceptance in a referendum'. He went on to say that the 'challenge remains to find a Constitutional amendment that will succeed, and which does not undermine the universal principles of unity, equality and "one person one vote". No mention was made about a treaty-process.

The CEO of the Darkinjung Aboriginal Land Council, Sean Gordon, retorted by stating that 'The genie is out of the bottle. We have identified the very source of our powerlessness. We have traced the cause of why we fail to close the gap. We have no voice in the decisions that impact on us. The Government's actions over the past 24 hours will not stuff that genie back in the bottle. We will regroup. We will be demanding our voices are heard.'

During 2018, the government continued to oppose the Uluru recommendations.

- Find out what, if anything, has happened since 2018 in response to the Uluru Statement from the Heart. Evaluate what you find in terms of whether it has progressed the rights of Indigenous Australians.

The words of Sean Gordon are a reminder that the struggle for Indigenous rights continues, and that the Uluru Statement from the Heart is just the latest step in this struggle.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: A history of invisibility and resistance

- For most of Australia's modern history Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been rendered largely invisible by white society.
- Since 1788 there has been Indigenous resistance in some form or another to European occupation.
- The quest for civil rights dominated the Indigenous struggle for equality and justice from the mid-1920s until the late 1960s, the most famous protest being the 1965 Freedom Ride.
- The 1967 Referendum, endorsed by over 90% of electors, meant that Aboriginal people would be counted in the census, and that the federal government could enact laws for them.

Depth study: How successful has the Indigenous struggle for land rights in Australia been since 1967?

- Land rights became the focus of the Indigenous struggle from the 1960s.
- In August 1966, Vincent Lingiari led a walk-off and strike by Aboriginal workers at Wave Hill Station.
- In April 1967 the Gurindji moved their camp to Wattie Creek (Daguragu), within the Wave Hill lease, and unsuccessfully petitioned the Governor-General to regain tenure of their tribal lands.
- Public support included land rights marches in Australian cities.
- On 16 August 1975, Whitlam transferred a lease for approximately 3300 square kilometres of land from Wave Hill station to the Gurindji.
- The Aboriginal Tent Embassy protest of 1972 was in response to Prime Minister McMahon's Australia Day speech which rejected the principle of land rights based on historical or traditional association.
- During the six months of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy's existence (January to July 1972) the settlement grew from a beach umbrella to a group of tents occupied by Aboriginal people from various states.
- In July 1972 the Aboriginal Tent Embassy was dismantled by police, and re-established, three times. It was re-established in 1992 and remains in place in Canberra.
- In December 1972, when the Whitlam government took office, a commitment to land rights was honoured.
- In May 1982, five Meriam men, including Eddie Mabo, initiated legal action against claiming native title to the Murray Islands including Mer.
- After a series of court challenges, on 3 June 1992 the claim was upheld by the High Court.
- Due to a history of dispossession and dispersal, there are very few Aboriginal communities that can provide the high standard of proof of continuous occupation or connection with their land.

Concluding study: Contemporary Indigenous rights

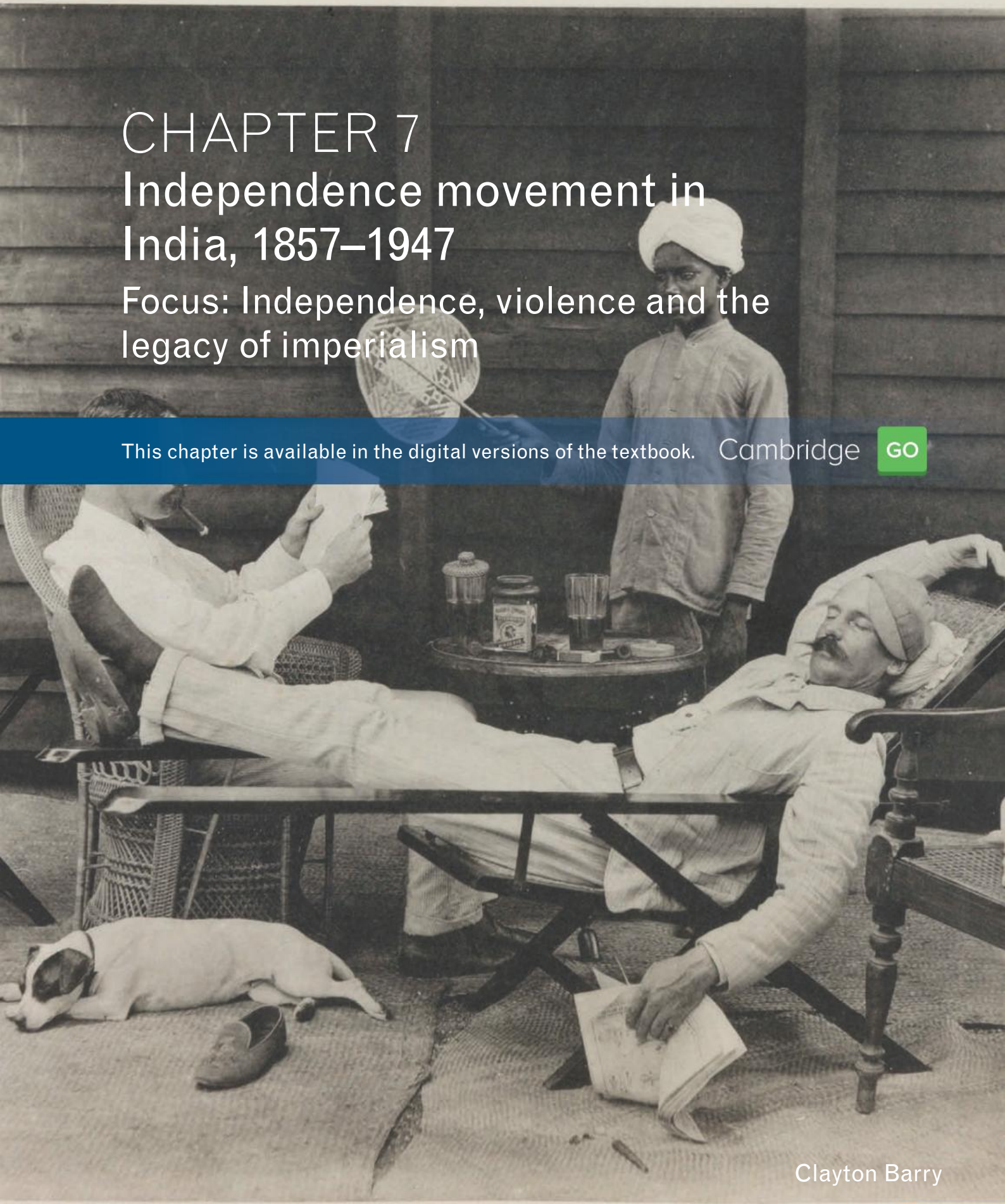
- Protocols such as Welcome to Country and Acknowledgement of Country have become common features at official functions.
- The United Nations General Assembly adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007.
- In his National Apology to the Stolen Generations in 2008, Prime Minister Kevin Rudd committed the federal government to closing the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians.
- In 2017, the 'Uluru Statement from the Heart' sought the establishment of a First Nations Indigenous representative body and a Makarrata Commission to supervise a treaty-making process.

GO **Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.**

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CHAPTER 7
Independence movement in India, 1857–1947
Focus: Independence, violence and the legacy of imperialism

This chapter is available in the digital versions of the textbook. Cambridge GO



Clayton Barry

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CHAPTER 8
Women's movement since 1893
Focus: The impact of second wave feminism



SOURCE 8.1 Annie Londonderry, 1894

In 1894, one woman held the shocked attention of the Western world's media. Annie 'Londonderry' Kopchovsky, an American 25-year-old mother of three, had set off to cycle around the world carrying only a change of underwear and a pearl-handled pistol. Newspapers followed her progress from America to France, Egypt, Sri Lanka, China and Japan. Travelling alone, she paid her way through advertising and speaking engagements. The media interest peaked after Annie swapped her long skirt, corset and high collar for outrageously masculine loose trousers. Annie was what the media of the time disparagingly described as a 'new woman' – one of many who were challenging social expectations of women and demanding the same basic human rights as men.

More than a century later, the media were again in a frenzy about a woman on a bicycle. In 2012, Australia celebrated unreservedly when cyclist Anna Meares won gold at the London Olympics. Meares' success was further recognised when she was Australia's flag-bearer at the 2016 Rio Olympics. Attitudes to women achieving in the public arena could not be more different, yet were these changes universal?

For some women, the bicycle remains as much a symbol of protest as it was for women in the 1890s. In 2017, tens of thousands of Turkish women calling themselves 'fancy women on bikes' took to the streets to protest government efforts to limit women's public freedoms – including the right to ride bicycles. Their resistance echoed protests in neighbouring Iran and Afghanistan where women continued to ride in defiance of laws, fatwas and death threats. In India and Kenya, programs which give free bicycles to teenage girls have increased high school enrolments by 30% and reduced kidnapping and sexual assault. The simple technology of the bicycle may again do '… more to emancipate women than anything else in the world …' (American suffrage leader, Susan B. Anthony in 1896), but it is the women daring to ride or write or protest who are at the heart of the Women's Rights Movement.

Kira Sampson

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement

The stories of Annie 'Londonderry' Kopchovsky and Anna Meares sit at either end of a dramatic century for Western women. Yet these two women's lives are separated by much more than machine technology and fashion. Annie thumbed her nose at beliefs, attitudes and practices that consigned most women to lives of limited aspirations and roles. Anna, by contrast, lives in a society where the severe constraints of 1894 have largely disappeared.

That change is the focus of this chapter. You'll begin your exploration back in Annie's day.

8.1 How did Enlightenment ideas influence the developing Women's Rights Movement?

The nineteenth-century movements for women's rights which emerged in New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain, the United States of America and parts of Europe in the 1840s and 1850s were built upon the ideas of reason and individual rights that had developed during the Enlightenment of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These ideas prompted dramatic social change and were expressed in key documents such as the *United States Declaration of Independence* (1776) that justified the American War of Independence against the British, and the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1789) published by the revolutionary French National Constituent Assembly to guarantee and protect individual rights. Despite the progressive ideas in these documents, it was taken for granted that men were the beneficiaries of these rights, while women, non-citizens and slaves were marginalised or missing from these entitlements.

In 1791, French activist, abolitionist and playwright Olympe de Gouges (born Marie Gouze), disenchanted when the *égalité* (equality) of the Revolution was not extended to women, modelled one of her many political pamphlets on France's *Declaration*, publishing the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*. The following year, in England, writer and philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft published *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, taking its inspiration from Thomas Paine's defence of the French Revolution, *The Rights of Man* (1791). Paine was an influential eighteenth-century American essayist and pamphleteer who wrote in favour of the French Revolution and American independence from Britain.

SOURCES 8.2 A–D Olympe de Gouges and Mary Wollstonecraft

A Olympe de Gouges



Portrait of Olympe de Gouges, Alexander Kucharsky, late eighteenth century

B Preamble to *The Declaration of the Rights of Women*, 1791

Mothers, daughters, sisters, female representatives of the nation ask to be constituted as a national assembly. Considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt for the rights of woman are the sole causes of public misfortunes and governmental corruption, they have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of woman: so that by being constantly present to all the members of the social body this declaration may always remind them of their rights and duties; ... and so that by being founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles the demands of the citizenesses may always tend toward maintaining the constitution, good morals, and the general welfare.

Extract from the preamble to Olympe de Gouges' *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman*, September 1791

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C Mary Wollstonecraft



Portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft, John Opie, c. 1797

D Mary Wollstonecraft's main argument from *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792

... Fighting for the rights of women, my main argument is built on this simple principle: If woman isn't fitted by education to become man's companion, she will stop the progress of knowledge, because truth must be common to all; if it isn't it won't be able to influence how people in general behave. And how can woman be expected to cooperate if she doesn't know why she ought to be virtuous? If freedom doesn't strengthen her reason until she understands her duty and sees how it is connected with her real good? If children are to be brought up to understand the true principle of patriotism, their mother must be a patriot; and the love of mankind, from which an orderly sequence of virtues arises, can be produced only by attending to the moral and civil interest of mankind; but the upbringing and situation of woman at present shuts her out from such investigations.

Dedication to M. Talleyrand-Perigord in Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792

Responding to de Gouges and Wollstonecraft

1. What key idea seems common to both de Gouges and Wollstonecraft?
2. What is a notable difference between the main way forward recommended by the two writers?
3. Which writer is more radical in her ideas and more strident in her expression? Explain with reference to one or more key sentences from each.
4. In the other writer's text, which statements suggest she has a more conventional sense of a woman's societal role?
5. Note the dates of the sources. How might the geographical location of one writer have led her to be the more radical?

8.2 What were the accepted roles and rights of women in nineteenth-century Britain, America and Australia?

Isabella Beeton was an English journalist, editor and author of *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, published in 1861 by her husband Samuel Orchart Beeton. Two million copies were sold by 1868 and it is still in print today.

SOURCE 8.3 *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management, 1861*

... Of all those acquirements, which more particularly belong to the feminine character, there are none which take a higher rank, in our estimation, than such as enter into a knowledge of household duties; for on these are perpetually dependent the happiness, comfort, and well-being of a family. In this opinion we are borne out by the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, who says: 'The modest virgin, the prudent wife, and the careful matron, are much more serviceable in life than petticoated philosophers, blustering heroines, or virago queens. She who makes

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her husband and her children happy, who reclaims the one from vice and trains up the other to virtue, is a much greater character than ladies described in romances, whose whole occupation is to murder mankind with shafts from their quiver, or their eyes.'

Isabella Beeton, excerpt from Chapter One, 'The Mistress', in *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management*, 1861

Responding to the source

1. According to Mrs Beeton, why is a knowledge of household duties so important?
2. Do you think that Mrs Beeton was aiming her advice at all British women, or only at those in particular situations in society? Explain your response.
3. Study the three approving labels given by Goldsmith's fictional character (*The Vicar of Wakefield*) to women, and the three disapproving labels given. Sum up the contrasting senses of womanhood that are conveyed. Try to reverse the judgements by suggesting positive replacements for 'petticoated', 'blustering' and 'virago'.
4. Note the expression 'reclaims the one from vice'. What (possibly stereotypical) notion of the female is suggested here?
5. Given the sales of this book, do you think it would be a valuable source of evidence about the roles many women were expected to play in nineteenth-century Britain?

In the early nineteenth century, British women and therefore women in the British colonies had limited rights. For example, women had no rights within marriage – they could not retain any property they brought to the marriage; any earnings during marriage went to their husbands; they could only gain a divorce if they could prove their husbands had repeatedly committed adultery and, upon divorce, a woman's access to her children was at the discretion of her former husband. British reformers succeeded in winning some basic rights for women – the *Marriage Property Act 1882* granted married women control of property they owned, acquired or bought with their own money, while the 1872 *Custody of Infants Act* made it possible for divorced women to access their children. However, most legislation still reflected the belief that a father or husband should have almost unquestioned control over a woman's life.

Eighteenth - and nineteenth-century Australian women lived under the same legislative restrictions as British women. The new colony's society not only had a strong gender imbalance (which peaked at 329.8 males for every 100 females in 1825), but also celebrated 'battler' masculinity through the popular stereotypes of the bushman and the larrikin. In the lead-up to Federation, particularly as the 1890s economic depression deepened, 'iconic' images of the (white) men who had battled to build Australia became increasingly important to a shared sense of identity among the colonists and to the desire to build a 'working man's paradise' once nationhood was achieved. Artists such as Arthur Streeton, Tom Roberts and Frederick McCubbin developed a new and highly nationalistic Australian impressionist movement. The National Gallery of Victoria website describes Frederick McCubbin's 1889 *Down on His Luck* as an exemplar of art of the time.



SOURCE 8.4 *Down on His Luck*, Frederick McCubbin, 1889
Find this painting on the National Gallery of Victoria website and read the interpretation of it. How does the interpretation highlight the predominantly male character of Australian identity in the nineteenth century?

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8.3 Early activities of the women's movements

It was in the 1850s that women's movements (inspired by the ideas of de Gouges and Wollstonecraft) arose to begin to challenge these assumptions and conventions and gradually to create a society in which it was possible for Annie 'Londonderry' Kopchovsky to set out on her bicycle to ride around the globe. This was the beginning of what is now referred to as **first wave feminism**.

The greatest and earliest success was in the area of women's education. By the early 1870s, women were admitted to universities in both the US and Britain, and high schools offering an academic education for women, and increasingly staffed by women graduates, were replacing the select seminaries of the first half of the century. In Australia, the first woman graduated from Melbourne University in 1872 and from Sydney University in 1879, and the first Australian woman doctor was registered in 1887.

Campaigners within the women's movement also argued that middle-class women should be trained for occupations and earn their own living before marriage. By the end of the century unmarried middle-class women were working in areas such as nursing, hairdressing and clerical work. The trend continued, though these occupations were less well paid than those of men, and offered fewer chances of promotion.

Campaigns were mounted against the laws which insisted that women's property and earnings became the property of their husbands on marriage, and against the different grounds for divorce for men and women. Acts dealing with these issues were passed in most Australian states in the 1880s and 1890s.

It was however the 'Votes for Women' struggle that has made the deepest impact on popular memory – and which was, although the most organised and public of the campaigns of first wave feminism, the last to achieve results.

first wave feminism feminist activism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western countries which focused on gaining the vote for women

suffragettes women seeking the right to vote through organised protest

suffrage the right to vote in political elections

8.4 The suffrage campaigns

The United States of America

The banner carried by the American **suffragettes** in Source 8.5 below reads 'Woman's cause is man's – they rise or fall together'.



SOURCE 8.5 Photograph of a **suffrage** parade 1913, kept in the US National Archives.
What can you hypothesise about these suffragettes' social status, their strategies and their arguments? What does this suggest about the role of men in the first wave suffrage movement?

In the US, the earliest demands for suffrage grew from the abolitionist movement when campaigners drew parallels between the legal position of enslaved African-American people and women. In 1848, two prominent abolitionists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, tired of being discounted and ignored, organised a public meeting in Seneca Falls, New York, where over 300 men and women approved a declaration modelled on the *Declaration of Independence*, but including the words 'and women' (the *Seneca Falls Declaration*), and passed 12 resolutions setting out how women's rights in America should be changed. Annual Women's Rights Conventions were then held every year until the 1860s, when, disappointed with

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the lack of progress, the National Woman Suffrage Association was formed in New York with the express purpose of raising the awareness of American women of their lack of rights and status. They would eventually succeed with the passing of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Great Britain

In 1866, author, liberal philosopher, economist and radical MP John Stuart Mill made an unsuccessful proposal to extend the vote to more working-class men, and also to give women the same political rights as men. In consequence, a group of middle-class women already concerned with improving women's social and legal conditions collected more than 22 000 signatures for petitions in favour of Mill's amendment. Although the petition failed, the campaign led to the founding of Women's Suffrage Societies all over the country, with members being referred to as **suffragists**. In 1903, a new group, the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), known as the suffragettes, began a career of increasingly violent militancy which continued until the outbreak of World War I. This campaign gave the world the lasting image of the suffragette chaining herself to the railings of public buildings.



SOURCE 8.6 This photo from the Museum of London shows three British suffragettes preparing to chain themselves to railings in 1909. The packages they are carrying hold the necessary padlocks and chains. What does their clothing suggest to you about the social status of these women? Why was chaining themselves to railings seen as an effective form of protest? How would it give them an opportunity to address a crowd?

suffragists people advocating the extension of the right to vote, particularly to women

Other more extreme acts of civil disobedience, particularly from 1910 onwards, included cutting telephone wires, destroying artwork, arson attacks and even the use of 'incendiary devices' (devices designed to cause fires).

ACTIVITY 8.1

Take a position on an attitude scale about property damage as a political campaign tactic

In the evening of 15 July 1910, at a pre-arranged time, many suffragettes suddenly smashed shop windows in famous London streets. They were drawing attention to the suffragist cause. Using the attitude scale below as a starting point, debate whether it is ever morally justified to damage property as a tactic in a political campaign.

1. To begin, choose your own point on the scale. Then find a classmate who has chosen a different point. Discuss your reasons for choosing differently. Does either of you shift as a result of your discussion?

It is never justifiable to damage property as a political campaign tactic				It can be justifiable to damage property as a political campaign tactic
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

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ACTIVITY 8.1 continued

2. Discuss what criteria should be applied to any such action to determine its justification.
3. In another case of forceful protest, find out why the famous painting *The Rokeby Venus* became embroiled in the suffrage movement in 1914.

The combination of political campaigning (suffragists) and radical action (suffragettes), plus the social impact of World War I, led to British women over 30 achieving the vote in 1918. In 1928 this was extended to those over 21.

The early changes to women's property and custody rights in Britain and the developing American movement inspired many Australian and New Zealand women.



SOURCE 8.7 Three women writing pro-suffragette graffiti on a wall in chalk, between 1900 and 1910. Image from the archives of Bessie Rischbieth.



SOURCE 8.8 Cartoon from 12 August 1893, showing former Premier Sir John Hall rolling out the great petition. Five hundred sheets glued into one huge roll were presented to the New Zealand Parliament. *New Zealand Graphic*, 12 August 1893. What new 'political pattern' could this petition produce? How could this 'rolling out the carpet' have a prophetic meaning? How would you interpret the expressions on the parliamentarians' faces? Find out what dramatic motion Hall moved in parliament, and why it had global historical significance.

New Zealand

An important early campaigner in New Zealand was Kate Sheppard, who joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) when it was established by a visiting American suffrage campaigner, Mary Leavitt, in 1885. In 1888, Kate Sheppard wrote a leaflet, *Ten Reasons Why the Women of New Zealand Should Vote*, which the WCTU sent to the members of the House of Representatives. Sheppard convinced MP Sir John Hall to present petitions (1887, 1888, 1891, 1892 and 1893) and support a campaign for women's suffrage. This campaigning was mirrored by Māori women: in 1893 Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia spoke to the autonomous Māori Kotahitanga parliament (which existed from 1892 to 1902) asking for Māori women to have the right to vote and stand for parliament.

In 1893, the Lower House passed electoral bills giving women the right to vote. On 19 September, by 20 votes to 18, the Upper House finally passed the *Electoral Act* into law, making New Zealand women the first in the world to be able to vote in national elections.

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Australian suffragists

In Australia, women were also beginning to mobilise.

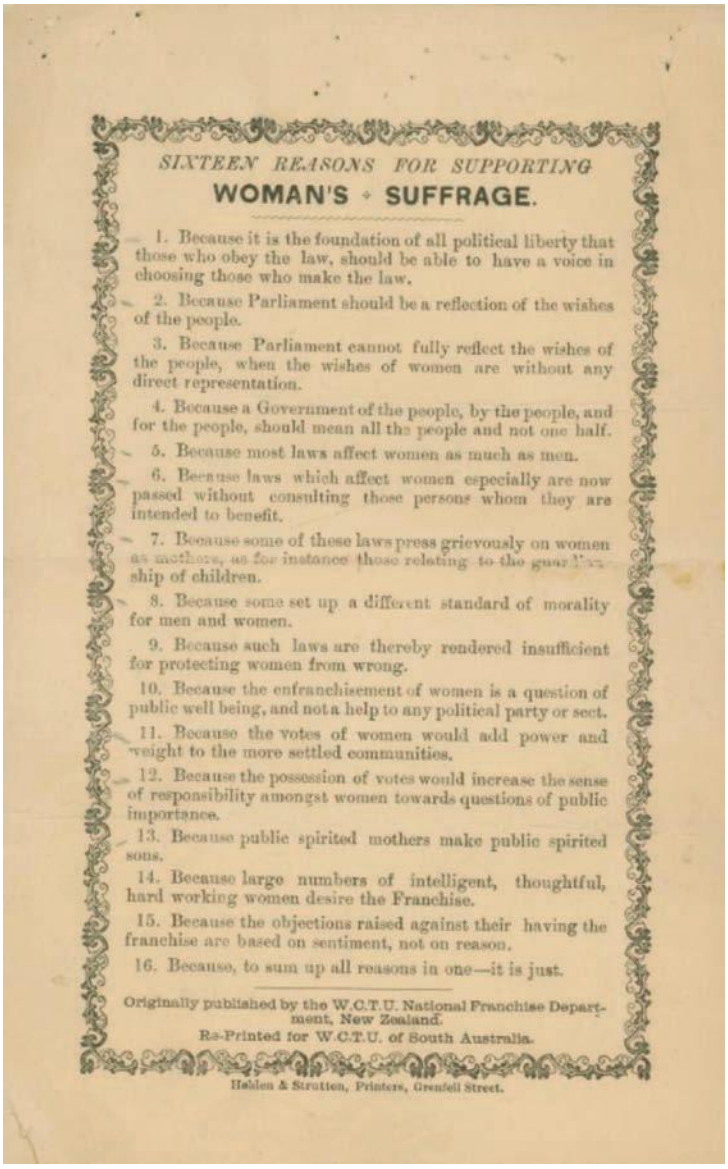
By the 1880s, suffrage societies were active in all Australian colonies. Their members gave public speeches, organised petitions, wrote letters to newspapers, published and distributed leaflets, published their own journals and lobbied members of parliament.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union, founded in 1885, became prominent in all states – reflecting the pre-existing religious campaigning against alcohol consumption, liquor outlets and trading hours of drinking establishments. Although movements such as this had previously been led by men, this new union provided women, including the wives of temperance campaigners, with an acceptable form of activism, including campaigning for the vote.

SOURCES 8.9 A–C Arguments of the suffrage movement

GO

A *Sixteen Reasons for Supporting Women's Suffrage*, 7 November 1888



SIXTEEN REASONS FOR SUPPORTING

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

1. Because it is the foundation of all political liberty that those who obey the law, should be able to have a voice in choosing those who make the law.
2. Because Parliament should be a reflection of the wishes of the people.
3. Because Parliament cannot fully reflect the wishes of the people, when the wishes of women are without any direct representation.
4. Because a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should mean all the people and not one half.
5. Because most laws affect women as much as men.
6. Because laws which affect women especially are now passed without consulting those persons whom they are intended to benefit.
7. Because some of these laws press grievously on women as mothers, as for instance those relating to the guardianship of children.
8. Because some set up a different standard of morality for men and women.
9. Because such laws are thereby rendered insufficient for protecting women from wrong.
10. Because the enfranchisement of women is a question of public well being, and not a help to any political party or sect.
11. Because the votes of women would add power and weight to the more settled communities.
12. Because the possession of votes would increase the sense of responsibility amongst women towards questions of public importance.
13. Because public spirited mothers make public spirited sons.
14. Because large numbers of intelligent, thoughtful, hard working women desire the Franchise.
15. Because the objections raised against their having the franchise are based on sentiment, not on reason.
16. Because, to sum up all reasons in one—it is just.

Originally published by the W.C.T.U. National Franchise Department, New Zealand.
Re-Printed for W.C.T.U. of South Australia.

Hoblen & Strutten, Printers, Grenfell Street.

This was a New Zealand pamphlet reprinted by the South Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union on 7 November 1888.

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B *The Australian Woman's Sphere*, 8 April 1903

ENJOY - - - A CUP OF RASAWATTE TEA!

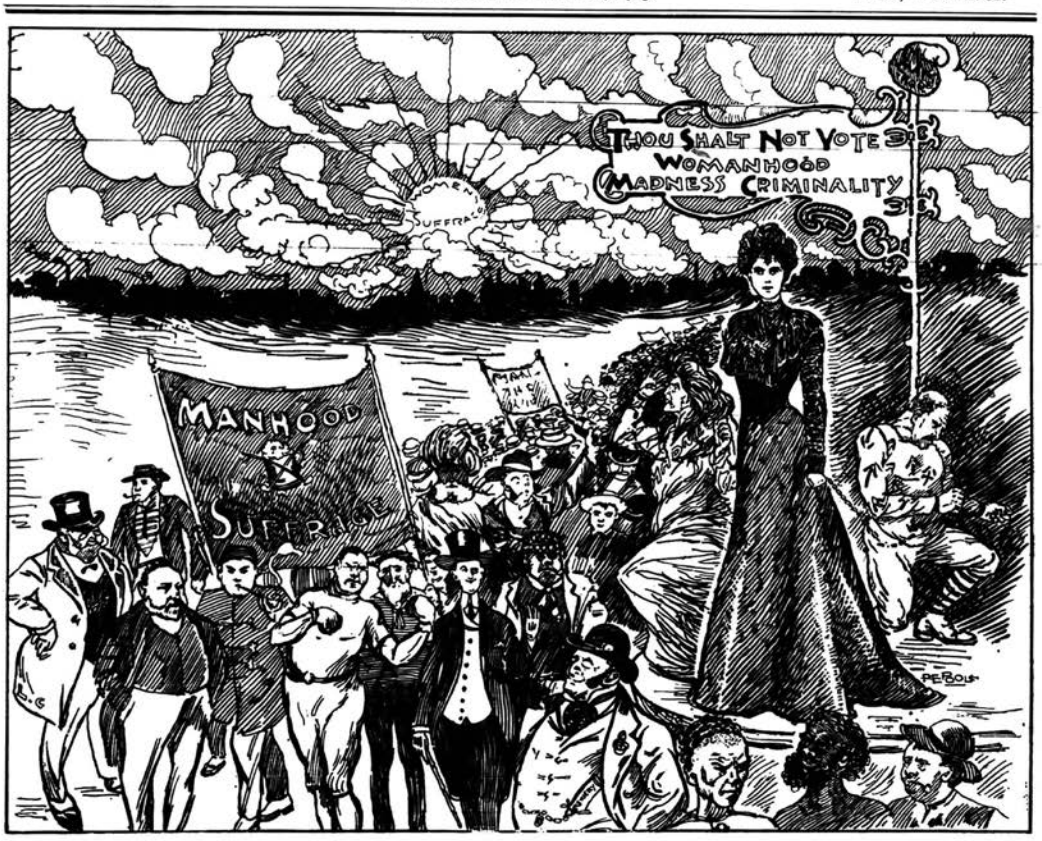
SINGER SEWING MACHINES

The Australian Woman's Sphere

I am a human being, and I believe nothing human is outside my sphere.—TERENCE.

Registered at the General Post Office, Melbourne, for Transmission by Post as a Newspaper.

VOL. III., NO. 32. MELBOURNE, APRIL 8, 1903. PRICE, TWO PENCE.



DON'T!
DON'T Throw Away Your Spoons, Forks, Cruets, Tea and Coffee Services, Salvers, Etc. Send them to
JOHN DANKS & SON,
Proprietary, Limited,
391 BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE,
To be Replated Equal to New.
The Best House for Gasaliers, Globes, Mantelpieces, Fenders, Ovens, Etc. Sole Agents for Boyle's Celebrated Ventilators and Chimney Cowls.

MRS. MOFFIT, Late Buyer and Manager Messrs. GEORGE & GEORGE Ltd.
ATHENÆUM BUILDINGS,
192 COLLINS STREET. NEXT COFFEE PALACE.
Mantles, Costumes, Blouses Raincloaks, Coats, Evening Coats, Children's Coats.
NEWEST AUTUMN GOODS. EVERY ARTICLE IS THE LATEST FASHION.

The picture shows editor and activist Vida Goldstein surrounded by men of all nationalities and social classes under the banner 'manhood suffrage'.

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C Speech by Rose Scott, 1892

> [C]ould a Government confer any greater honour on itself, any greater benefit to its children, than on bestowing on women equal rights with men?
>
> Can it be good for the boy of 21 to feel that he has a voice on the Government of the country and his mother has none? ... His father teaches him to be manly ... To battle, to fight and to carve for himself a place in the world ... His mother would teach him to cultivate his affections, to be unselfish, generous and moral. Is not hers the higher teaching? Yet, her influence in a practical way is solely confined to home, and too soon a boy is taught by his country's laws and the ways of other men to despise and look down upon the woman's teaching and influence ...
>
> In fact, gentlemen, to raise women is to raise yourselves ...
>
> Fellow Women ... it is our duty to obtain the vote in order to help all women – yes and men also – who earn their living who suffer thro' unjust laws or who dwell in misery and degradation ...
>
> It is against every Principle of Democratic Government that men should legislate entirely for women or that any class should legislate entirely for another class ...

A speech by suffragist Rose Scott in 1892 regarding the right to vote

Responding to the sources

Create a table to compare and contrast the three sources: for Sources A and B, refer to the Interactive Textbook for higher resolution versions. Focus your comparison and contrast on:

1. the key ideas of each source;
2. the perspective of each author;
3. the techniques used to appeal to both intellect and emotion – including style of language used, particular words employed, images included, graphic design;
4. whether the intended audience was likely to be the same for each source;
5. how effective you think each source would be;
6. whether the three sources reflect continuity and/or change over the period 1888–1903.
7. the extent to which the ideas of reason and rationalism that developed during the Enlightenment are evident in these sources.

Central to the arguments of the Australian suffragists was the idea (already being expounded by some feminists in Europe) that women were a moralising force and that their votes would improve and stabilise Australian society, as well as protect the most vulnerable. This strategy built upon rather than challenged the new, post-Industrial Revolution **paradigm** that women had a 'natural sphere' of domesticity and motherhood. While this argument may have undermined other goals including greater equity in legal rights and pay, this deliberate extension of the one aspect of women's roles that was already acknowledged and respected in Australian society was a powerful persuader at the time. Women were the carers in an ideal society, and thus deserved the right to vote in that society.

paradigm a widely accepted systematic way of thinking about a phenomenon

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The Vote and Federation

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, support for Federation was growing at the same time as the women's movement and many suffragists saw this political change as an opportunity. Women (unless excluded on racial grounds) could already vote in South Australia and Western Australia and so, following Federation in 1901, they were eligible to vote in federal elections under Section 41 of the new Australian Constitution. After the first federal election, there was a formal review of state electoral laws in order to create a uniform approach to suffrage. On 9 April 1902, Senator Richard O'Connor introduced the *Commonwealth Electoral Bill* into the Senate, and Minister for Home Affairs Sir William Lyne later introduced the bill to the House of Representatives. If passed, it would allow both women and many non-European migrants to vote.

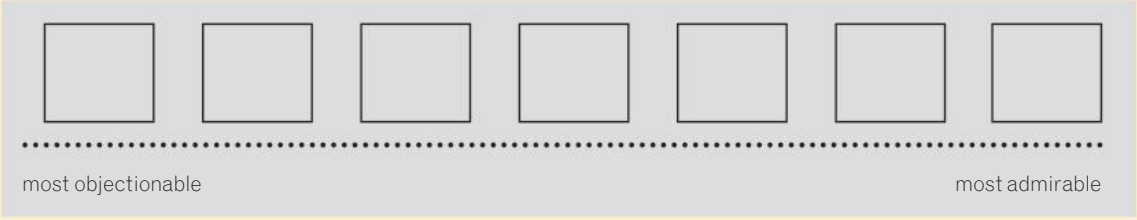
ACTIVITY 8.2

Rank the parliamentary debates

Sources 8.10 to 8.16 are the arguments of seven parliamentarians debating female suffrage in the Australian Parliament in April 1902.

For each source, sum up in a few words the key idea of the speaker. For example: Source 8.11: Pulsford argues that female suffrage will weigh women down with responsibilities.

1. Based on your own values, place the seven statements on a continuum from most admirable to most objectionable.



2. Compare your continuum with those of some classmates. Discuss similarities and differences. Extend this discussion to the whole class if practicable.
3. Now take on a persona from 1902 – perhaps a very conservative man, a traditional wife, a liberal-minded man, a female suffragist, a clergyman, a free-thinking young urban woman, a schoolgirl or schoolboy aged about 15. Repeat Steps 1 and 2, using your adopted values.
4. As a class, discuss:
   a. the extent to which values and attitudes seem to have changed since 1902
   b. whether all the 1902 attitudes and values, no matter what you think of them now, are understandable given the social norms of the day.

> I see no reason in the world why we should continue to impose laws which have to be obeyed by the women of the community without giving them some voice in the election of the members who make those laws ... My view is that the result will be infinitely to strengthen the means by which we shall get a true record of the real opinions of Australia upon all the different questions that will come up for settlement.

SOURCE 8.10 Richard O'Connor, NSW, Protectionist Party, Parliament of Australia Senate, 9 April 1902, pp. 11451–2

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ACTIVITY 8.2 continued

> ... both my heart and brain act together in antagonism to the principle of women's suffrage. I am not prepared to describe women's suffrage as a blessing. I would rather describe it as an attempt to throw a portion of the white man's burden upon the white woman. I do not think that the interests of the States or of the people will be promoted in any shape or form by the change which is suggested.

SOURCE 8.11 Edward Pulsford, NSW, Free Trade Party, Parliament of Australia Senate, 9 April 1902, p. 11464

> The very men who say that giving a woman a vote would degrade her, have not the slightest compunction about making her a drudge. They do not regard it as degrading for a woman to ... scrub a floor or ... to be put into a factory where she will have to work nine or ten hours a day for a wretched pittance. None of these things will degrade a woman, but to give her a voice in the government of the country will degrade her!

SOURCE 8.12 James Stewart, Qld, Australian Labor Party, Parliament of Australia Senate, 9 April 1902, p.11499

> ... in 99 cases out of every 100 the wife will vote with the husband, the daughter with the father, the sister with the brother, and the effect will be only to multiply the family vote. In my home I shall have ten votes under this system instead of one ...

SOURCE 8.13 Simon Fraser, Vic, Protectionist Party, Parliament of Australia Senate, 10 April 1902, p.11558

> We are, in my opinion, running counter to the intentions and to the design of the Great Creator, and we are reversing those conditions of life to which woman was ordained.

SOURCE 8.14 William Knox, Kooyong, Free Trade Party, Parliament of Australia House of Representatives, 23 April 1902, p. 1194

> I hold that womanhood suffrage in South Australia has improved the whole tone of politics there.

SOURCE 8.15 Alexander Poynton, South Australia, Free Trade Party, Parliament of Australia House of Representatives, 23 April 1902, p. 11939

> I am firmly of the opinion that the extension of the franchise to women will cause men to take more interest in political matters.

SOURCE 8.16 Sir William Lyne, Hume, Protectionist Party, Parliament of Australia House of Representatives, 23 April 1902, p. 11930

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The Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902 passed the House of Representatives and the Senate and was given Royal Assent on 12 June 1902. This act set out that 'subject to the disqualifications hereafter set out, all persons … whether male or female, married or unmarried … shall be entitled to vote at the election of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives'. However, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, Asian people, African people and Pacific Islander people (except Māori) were not allowed to vote in Australia, even if they were British subjects.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were entitled to vote in state elections, except in Queensland and Western Australia, but they were now barred from federal elections. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women campaigned for the vote as part of the first wave and beyond. This campaigning included a 1938 speech given by Pearl Gibbs, an Aboriginal activist who was also involved in organising the first Day of Mourning on 26 January 1938. This marked 150 years of colonisation.

SOURCE 8.17 Pearl Gibbs and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander citizenship rights, 1938

Ladies and Gentleman, I am an Australian, I have lived here all my Life. I love my country and I love its People. I wish something more for them than Riches and Prosperity. I wish for their greatness and nobility. A country must needs be great that is Just. A country must needs be Noble that believes in women and trusts them gladly with every Liberty …

We Aboriginal women are intelligent enough to ask for the same citizenship rights and conditions of life as our white sisters. Those of my race who understand our economic conditions have not a great faith in what the white man promises to do for us. We know we must carry on the fight ourselves.

… My white sisters, I am appealing to you on behalf of my people to raise your voices with ours and help us to a better deal in life … for practical humanity, for the opportunity to feed our children properly, to educate them; in a word to grant them all the rights and responsibilities of DEMOCRACY.

Pearl Gibbs' speech published in *Women Today*, April 1938

Responding to the source

1. What is the basis of Gibbs' arguments?
2. How does she appeal to other women?
3. Research women who went on to champion Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander causes, including Mary Bennett, Ada Bromham, Edith Jones, Constance Cooke and Jessie Street.

The Commonwealth franchise did not automatically grant women the vote in state elections. For example, in Queensland intensive campaigning continued until 1905 when the *Elections Act Amendment Act* was passed and until women were given the right to stand for the Queensland Parliament in 1915. Once state suffrage was achieved, women in Australia, like their counterparts in New Zealand, had gained, peacefully and through the democratic process, the franchise much earlier than their American or British counterparts. They had focused on arguments that women were better suited to improving the morality of society or protecting children, and they had won by using this argument. However,

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second wave feminists in the 1970s, the **Women's Liberation Movement**, would criticise these early feminists for not challenging the 'natural sphere' of women and for not doing anything with their vote. But how much did these first Australian feminists achieve? Historian Marilyn Lake argues that 'post-suffrage feminists articulated the idea of Australia as a welfare state and did much to bring it into being … an ethical state, one that would service human needs rather than maximise profit' (1999:11).

Women's Liberation Movement or **second wave feminism** feminist activism that began in America in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. It aimed to achieve equality and equal opportunity for women in every aspect of their lives, including revolutionising the way society thought about women and how women thought about themselves.

8.5 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you've learned about the Enlightenment ideas that influenced the developing Women's Rights Movement (first wave feminism) and the effect it had on the accepted roles of women in nineteenth-century Britain, the USA and Australia. You've also seen the development of women's suffrage movements in different countries, and how women in Australia achieved the vote.

While an enormous milestone, achieving the vote was only one step in the fight for equality. In the depth study that follows, you'll examine what happened in the 60 years between the gaining of suffrage and the rise of the movement known as second wave feminism, and you will consider the impact this movement had on the lives of women in Australia.

ACTIVITY 8.3

Write an extended response on first wave feminism

Using sources and other information from this section, write an extended answer to one of the following questions.

1. To what extent did Australian first wave feminists achieve the vote by extending their 'natural sphere' of domesticity and motherhood rather than challenging the status quo of Australian society?
2. How crucial was the idea of human rights and the argument that 'woman's cause is man's – they rise or fall together' to the first wave feminist argument for legislative and social change?

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DEPTH STUDY

How much did second wave feminism in Australia contribute to changes in women's rights and roles?

Second wave feminism emerged in the late 1960s. In this depth study you will explore this extraordinary movement, and decide whether it did indeed change the lives of women in Australia.

8.6 Why another 60+ years?

Following the 1902 *Commonwealth Franchise Act*, Australian women continued to campaign for reforms including the state franchise, women's pay and working conditions, maintenance of social benefits such as the Maternity Allowance, measures to protect children and more opportunities for women in Australian public life. Women's organisations continued to thrive and women's conferences were held.

Women also stood for political office, notably Vida Goldstein, who advocated for women's working rights and was a vocal pacifist during World War I. From 1903 to 1917 Goldstein ran unsuccessfully for federal and state parliament. Her campaign platforms always included: support for arbitration and conciliation processes; equal rights; equal pay; appointment of women to government positions and socialist-style protection for the rights of all workers. She opposed the emerging **White Australia Policy** but argued that immigration should be restricted until women had equal pay. While she was never elected, she continued to lobby politicians and was instrumental in various social reforms including the *Children's Court Act 1906*. The first woman elected to federal parliament was Edith Cowan in Western Australia in 1921. She succeeded in opening up opportunities for women in the legal progression, reforming regulations relating to women's inheritance laws and promoting sex education in schools.

White Australia Policy term used to describe all policy and legislation which acted to only allow white British immigration to Australia, starting with the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*

SOURCE 8.18 Vida Goldstein campaigns for federal parliament

Voting postcard supporting Vida Goldstein from the 1910 election



Responding to the source

1. What is the key argument in this postcard?
2. Vida Goldstein stood as an independent, not a party member. From 1910 to 1961, not one independent was elected to the Senate. Why might Goldstein have thought a woman candidate had a chance? Could she have believed she didn't have a chance, but that there was still value in being a candidate?
3. In the 1903 federal senate election referred to on this poster, Goldstein gained 16.8% of the vote. What does this suggest about responses to her candidacy and policies?
4. Which of her policies, listed above, indicate that she held progressive values beyond women's rights?

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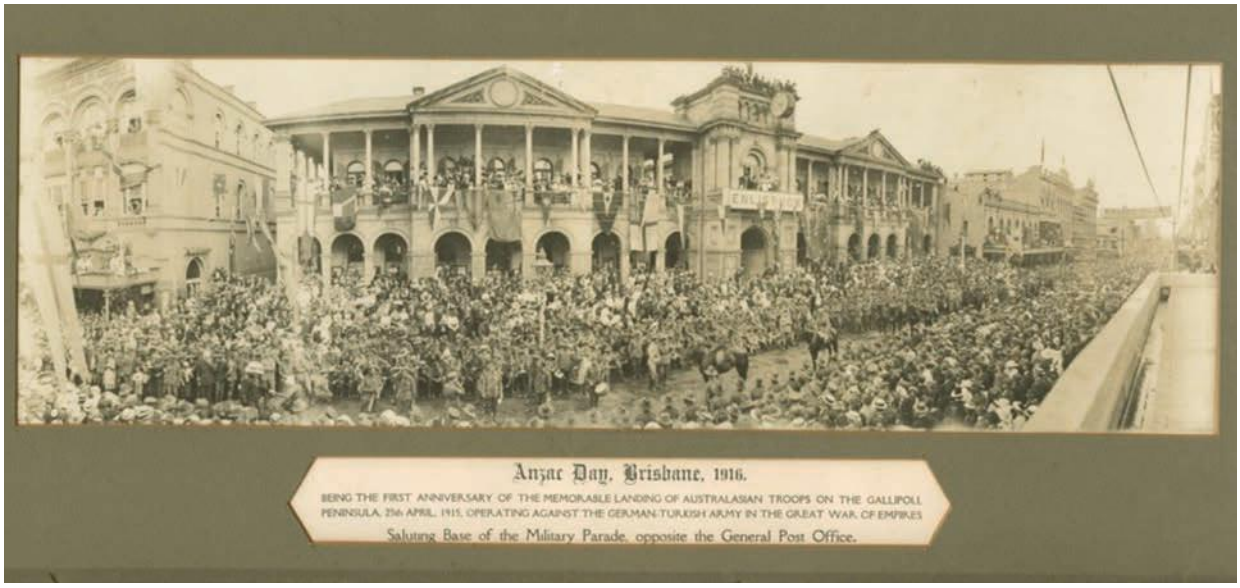
Australian women and World War I

During World War I, more than 3000 Australian civilian nurses volunteered for active service and many other women took on employment outside the home, although still in accepted women's roles. Women's organisations such as the conservative Australian Women's National League (52 000 members) worked voluntarily to fundraise and provide comfort packages for soldiers overseas.



SOURCE 8.19 The tent hospital at Lemnos – the nurses, led by Matron Grace Wilson, had to mend tents and manage guy ropes in difficult weather conditions. They treated 900 patients at a time from Gallipoli.
What does this image suggest about the contributions and experiences of Australian nurses in World War I?

However, as not many women engaged in paid war work, women's contributions and their experiences of trauma were largely ignored, particularly as commemoration of the Gallipoli Campaign and Anzac Day (first held in 1916) became increasingly important to the Australian sense of identity.



SOURCE 8.20 The first Anzac Day procession through the streets of Brisbane, 1916
Research the intent and outcome of this event. What did it reflect about changes occurring in Australian society?

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SOURCES 8.21 A–C The impact of WWI on the roles and positions of women

A Marilyn Lake, 1994

World War I had contradictory outcomes for gender relations. Women had won a measure of independence and had trodden new paths. A new woman had emerged, posing far-reaching challenges to relations between the sexes … Yet all agreed it was the men's status that had really been enhanced by the war.

Marilyn Lake, *Creating a Nation: 1788–1990*, 1994

B Carmel Shute, 1975

dichotomy division or contrast between two things that are, or are represented as being, opposed or entirely different

inviolability never to be broken

quintessential the most perfect or typical example

The mythology engendered by the Great War affirmed the **dichotomy** of the sexes and re-established and enshrined the **inviolability** of the traditional sexual stereotypes of man, 'the warrior and creator of history', and woman, the mother, the passive flesh at the mercy of fate (or rather man). The nature of womanhood was stripped of any remaining pretence of emancipation and reduced to its **quintessential** biological function, that of maternity.

Carmel Shute, 'Heroines and Heroes: Sexual Mythology in Australia 1914–1918', *Hecate*, 1, January 1975, p. 7

C Anne Summers, 2002

… many [soldiers during WWI] returned to poverty, permanent disability and social uselessness. But all were given access to a heroic status which was permanently enshrined, not just in war memorials all around the country, but in a national day of remembrance … Women were given nothing. They were prevented from fighting, or from doing more than extending their domestic skills from the home to the war effort and so there was supposedly nothing for them to remember or to celebrate. Their contribution to the war, and their sufferings – especially the agony of going through casualty lists – were not considered comparable to the efforts of enlisted men … Although Anzac Day is purportedly for servicewomen as well as men, the First World War did not allow Australian women to serve in the only way that was recognised as important, and so, for two decades, it was solely a male affair. In that time it accumulated a mystique that was so identified with what men did that even when, during the Second World War, thousands of women were mobilised into active service and hence theoretically received the right to regard Anzac Day as theirs too, they could never be seen as anything more than intruders – or else as irrelevant …

Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 1975, p. 538

Responding to the sources

1. What key point is made by all three historians above?
2. Based on these three sources, what was the impact of World War I and the developing Anzac legend on the roles and positions of women?
3. What other impacts might World War I – and particularly the huge numbers of dead and wounded Australian soldiers – have had on Australian women in both their home and working lives?

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4. What argument does Summers make about the long-term impact the masculinity of the Anzac legend would have on women?
5. The three quoted historians are all women. What might explain, and possibly justify, the decision to include only female historians here?
6. Critical historians are those who critique deeply held values, beliefs and practices in society. Do any or all of these historians deserve to be called critical? Explain your reasoning.
7. On balance, do you think it could have been better for women and their rights if World War I had never occurred?

The Great Depression

The Great Depression, beginning in 1929, also impacted women's work and lives. By 1933, one in three Australian men was unemployed and those still working had wages cut by at least 20%. The unemployed either competed for limited state government relief work or went 'waltzing Matilda' – travelling country areas looking for temporary work. Families who could no longer pay the rent moved to shanty towns or camped in the bush. With men away, women had to manage the finances of the household with limited resources. Some women benefited temporarily from a female's wage being set at only 54% of a male wage (the much lower wage for the same work appealed to employers) and were able to find work during the Depression. This continued – according to the 1935 Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia women working as the only financial support of a family had risen by 27.9% since 1921, whereas male breadwinners had risen by 15.4%. However, it was very difficult for women to qualify for sustenance payments (the 'susso') even if they were now the sole provider and there was a lot of opposition to women taking what were considered to rightfully be men's jobs.



SOURCE 8.22 Crowd gathered for free food outside the McWhirters' building, Fortitude Valley, Brisbane, on Christmas Day 1933
Why would a free Christmas lunch have been particularly popular in 1933?

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ACTIVITY 8.4

Research the Harvester Judgement

Research the Harvester Judgement of 1907, with respect to the notion that this enshrined the idea of the male breadwinner.

1. How did this case impact on women who became the sole providers for their families?
2. Can you identify circumstances in the first half of the twentieth century where women might have been left without a traditional male breadwinner?
3. In families where women took up the breadwinner role, what shifts in perceptions of the source of authority and the 'natural sphere' of women may have occurred?

World War II

In contrast to World War I, during World War II, Australian women made up nearly 7% of enlistments (66 000) in the army, navy and air force, often being trained for specialist roles in artillery, signals, intelligence and ordinance corps. They drove a wide range of vehicles, from cars through to gun carriers and amphibious vehicles. Women also worked as cooks, caterers, canteen workers and even butchers. Aboriginal women also worked for the services at the Australian General Hospital in Katherine. One hundred and thirty women died overseas and in Australia, including eight of the 32 nurses captured and held as POWs by the Japanese.

New opportunities for war-related employment outside the services included the Land Army with 2382 permanent and 1039 auxiliary members, and industrial work in munitions factories as well as more traditional food, clothing and printing industry jobs. In 1942, a Women's Employment Board was established to determine rates of pay. Work deemed as unskilled, routine or tedious was considered appropriate 'women's work' and left at the usual 54% of a male wage. However, in some specialised jobs and sometimes in response to industrial action (e.g. the 1943 Alexandria Spinning Mills walk-off), women received between 60% and 90% of the male wage – this applied to approximately 90 000 of the 805 000 women in employment. After 1942 women as well as men were liable to be 'manpowered' (ordered by the Manpower Directorate) into what were regarded as essential industries and occupations.

SOURCES 8.23 A&B Women in the military

A Captain Dorothea Skov, Australian Women's Army Service (AWAS)

> At first it was a total battle to get men to accept us as workers. They were very hostile … Articles in the press didn't help. 'Servicewomen keep their femininity' and 'Girls don't lose their femininity in barracks'. This type of article abounded. The soldiers saw us as playing at war. Women had gone into the services with such a load of enthusiasm; they'd go from dawn to next daylight. Soon officers said, 'The morale and behaviour of men have lifted since women joined the Service' … Every girl who enlisted expected to release a man for active service. The returned men appreciated this when they got used to seeing us around.

Captain Dorothea Skov, quoted in Patsy Adam-Smith, *Australian Women at War*, 1984, pp. 195–6. Dorothea Skov enlisted in 1941. She became part of the Officer's School and was appointed Assistant Commandant Northern Command and worked recruiting and interviewing candidates for the AWAS.

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B Political cartoon, 29 July 1942



Cartoon by M. Horseman, *The Bulletin*, 29 July 1942

Responding to the sources

1. What attitudes described by Captain Skov might have prevented women working in certain roles during WWII?
2. Is this cartoon ambiguous? Is it simply a comment on (or criticism of) women's superficial priorities? Is it a more subtle (backhanded) criticism of what men think of women in the army? Is it just slightly absurdist humour (of the type often found in wartime situations)? Discuss with a classmate. Add in the fact that it was drawn by Mollie Horseman, one of only two female cartoonists working then. Whatever you decide, discuss also whether you think it was an unfair image to circulate during the war.

Women contributed significantly to the war effort, but 40 years after Federation no woman had yet been elected to federal parliament. A 'Women for Canberra' campaign saw 19 female candidates contest the 1943 federal election. Two were elected – Enid Lyons (United Australia Party) and Dorothy Tangney (Labor). The 1943 Australian Women's Conference for Victory in War and Victory in Peace used the motto 'A war to win – a world to gain'. The convenor was Jessie Street, a prominent activist for international women's rights. After the war, she was the only female member of the Australian delegation to the 1945 United Nations Conference on International Organization, and played a role in drafting the United Nations Charter, helping to ensure that sex was added to the clause 'without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion'.

The 1943 conference in Australia had been attended by 90 different women's organisations from around Australia. It drew up a charter setting out 28 resolutions and detailed recommendations for implementation.

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These resolutions focused on a range of issues: women standing for election, equal pay for equal work, wages for mothers and home-makers, child-care, increasing birth-rates, and better living standards and prospects for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

ACTIVITY 8.5

Research the *Australian Women's Charter 1943*

Access the full text of the *Australian Woman's Charter 1943* through the State Library of Victoria's digitised collection. Compare the resolutions with the demands of the first wave women's movement and assess whether the priorities of the Women's Rights Movement had changed by 1943.

The situation at the end of World War II

Following the end of the war in September 1945, Australian society faced new challenges including new international relationships, new technologies and the government's recognition that increased immigration was needed to meet labour shortages and ensure Australia was capable of defending itself in the future.

SOURCES 8.24 A–D Covers of *The Australian Women's Weekly*

A 13 January 1945

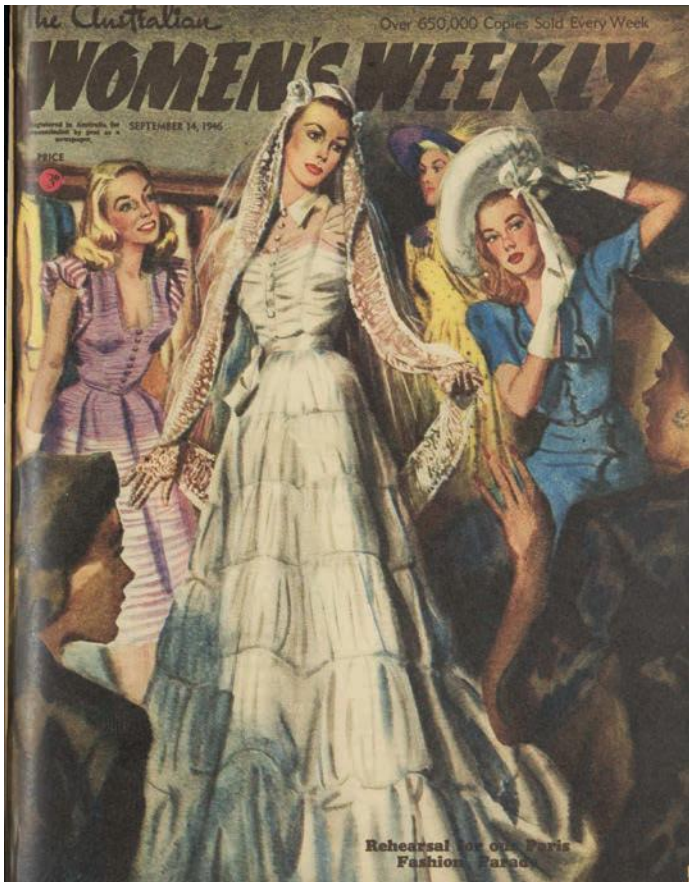


B 19 January 1946



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C 14 September 1946



D 11 January 1947



Responding to the sources

1. Based on the images in Sources 8.24 A–D, was there a dramatic change in expectations of women's roles following the end of World War II?
2. These are selected cover images from *The Australian Women's Weekly* – how representative do you think these images would be of societal expectations and pressures?
3. Also consider that these images have been selected to lead you to a certain conclusion. Visit the National Library of Australia's online archive, Trove, and analyse all covers from this era to check whether these images are representative of covers during these years.

As wartime work ended, women were expected to return to the home or to more traditional female work and rates of pay, freeing up jobs for returning servicemen. This included a return to the assumption that only men were breadwinners. In spite of this, however, the number of married women in the Australian workforce actually increased for some age groups (20–24 and 40–44) between 1947 and 1954. In Australia, women in the union movement were among the earliest to recognise this change.

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8.7 The continuing fight for equality

Equal pay for equal work

In 1950, the *Commonwealth Basic Wage Case* set a woman's wage at 75% of the male wage. However, the frustration of many women that Australian society continued to devalue their work continued, particularly as the International Labour Organization of the United Nations had released an *Equal Remuneration Convention* in 1951 which stated that male and female workers were entitled to equal remuneration for work of equal value. In the 1960s, trade unions finally took up the cause of 'equal pay for equal work' with an Equal Pay Committee and annual Equal Pay weeks.

Union activists such as Kath Thomas, Stella Nord (at Swifts Meatworks where women went on strike in the 1950s and gained 90% of the male wage) and Zelda D'Aprano worked throughout the 1950s to improve conditions (e.g. needing to ask for permission to go to the toilet or inadequate bathroom facilities) and to advocate for equal pay for women, but were often frustrated by a lack of support. In her autobiography, D'Aprano described a situation when she was chosen to represent the other women workers in asking for fairer conditions. When the bosses then approached the other women to ask if they supported D'Aprano's request, they all said 'no'.

SOURCE 8.25 D'Aprano describes a problem of socialisation

> I had no understanding why women were like this nor any idea what was responsible for making them like this. I had never given a thought to the processes of society which socialise women in to being feminine. I didn't understand that being feminine was to be passive, non-thinking, servile and manipulative. Almost all of these women were married and were put down by husbands who said things like, '... you bird-brained twit ...' That was what most women were accustomed to, so why should they stand up to a boss? ... and, what's more, they are paid for their labour which is more than what they receive for their work at home.

Zelda D'Aprano, *Zelda*, 1977, p. 86

Responding to the source

1. What is meant by 'the processes of society which socialise women in to being feminine'?
2. What characteristics does D'Aprano list as 'feminine'?
3. Why might being 'feminine' in this way be an obstacle to women gaining rights?
4. Do you think that Australian society today promotes a particular type of femininity and, if so, what would you list as its characteristics? Is 'socialisation … in to being feminine' still a problem? Explain your response.

D'Aprano went on to become a recognised leader of the early Women's Liberation Movement during a 1969 Equal Pay Case brought before the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission by the unions. Involved as a clerk for the Sausage Workers Union, she described her reaction to the entire case being run by men: 'The women sat there day after day as if mute, while the men presented evidence for and against our worth. It was humiliating to have to sit there and not say anything about our own worth' (D'Aprano, 1977).

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D'Aprano told the union that she would be prepared to chain herself to the Melbourne Commonwealth Building as part of the Victorian Employed Women's Organisation Council (VEWOC) protest. On 21 October 1969, D'Aprano followed through on her promise and chained herself to the building, gaining media attention before being cut free by the Commonwealth Police. D'Aprano was disappointed in the coverage:

> The press, radio and TV featured the event, however the press distorted what was said during the interview. I was convinced that genteel meetings at the city square would never achieve anything. Women would have to fight for what they wanted.

SOURCE 8.26 Zelda d'Aprano, *Zelda*, 1977, p. 166

Several women decided to join her in the next chain protest on 31 October 1969. Later attempts to get the unions to encourage their female members to participate in a march for equal pay failed and D'Aprano became even more determined that the unions were too conservative and that an organisation was needed that would 'be militant in the cause of women' (D'Aprano, 1977). She went on to found the Women's Action Committee (WAC) which engaged in public attention-raising protests, e.g. paying only 75% of a tram fare to reflect earning only 75% of a male wage.

The Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) granted women 'equal pay for equal work' in 1969, but only where women were working in the same job as men, e.g. teachers, and the changes were scheduled to occur over four years. An ACAC review found that this benefited only 18% of working women and did not impact on workplaces which were predominantly female as these remained classified as 'women's work'. It also did not remove the underlying assumption, established by the **Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration** in the 1907 Harvester Judgement, that as only men were breadwinners then only men needed to earn a wage sufficient to support a family. This assumption was not fully challenged until 1972 when the newly elected Whitlam government called upon the ACAC to review the decision and grant 'equal pay for work of equal value to men'. In 1973 the *Conciliation and Arbitration Act* (1904) was also amended to give the Commission power to determine an adult minimum wage rather than a male minimum wage.



SOURCE 8.27 Activist Zelda D'Aprano chained to the front doors of the Commonwealth Building, Melbourne, 16 April 1970
How does Zelda's poster encapsulate her main goal? What were the various obstacles (structural, attitudinal) that she encountered in her activism? What was the historical reference implicit in her chaining herself like this? What do you think she was hoping to achieve by this demonstration?

Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration originally established in 1904, the court was replaced in the 1950s by the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) and the Commonwealth Industrial Court. From 1988 to 2009 it was the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC). Some of the functions of this commission are now part of the Fair Work Commission, a federal industrial relations tribunal.

- What is problematic about the idea of 'work of equal value' in a society which has certain underlying paradigms about which types of work are more valuable to society, e.g. mining versus caring for elderly people?

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SOURCE 8.28 Rosalie Bognor and Merle Thornton chain themselves to the public bar of Brisbane's Regatta Hotel, 1965. At the time, why would this have been such an audacious and newsworthy action? How could some men claim that while the law benefited men it actually protected women? Is there any role in society for public places that are restricted to one sex?

Women challenged other restrictions in their lives as well. Hotel licensing laws restricted women to separate ladies' lounges where the same drinks were served, but at higher prices. On 13 March 1965, two women – Merle Thornton and Rosalie Bogner – staged a protest in the Brisbane Regatta Hotel by chaining themselves to the public bar. While they were chained to the bar, their husbands distributed leaflets calling for women to be allowed access to all public spaces. The protest followed an earlier failed request for the Minister for Justice Dr Peter Delamothe to alter the *Licensing Act* and drew attention to another situation where women in Australia were denied rights guaranteed by the United Nations Charter.

The law was changed in 1971. See contemporary news footage on the ABC Education site: 'Women "rattle the chains" in Public Bars' and 'Not a place for the gentler sex'.

The emergence of a different kind of feminism

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir – a French intellectual, teacher and writer – published her dramatic and influential history of women's oppression over time, *The Second Sex*. She argued that society and culture taught women from the cradle that being female was distinct from what is human, i.e. male. She argued that 'one is not born, but rather becomes a woman'.

Other books explored similar ideas; for example, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1970). These provided a theoretical justification for the emerging Women's Liberation Movement.

SOURCE 8.29 A strange discrepancy

> Gradually, without seeing it clearly for quite a while, I came to realize that something is very wrong with the way American women are trying to live their lives today. I sensed it first as a question mark in my own life, as a wife and mother of three small children, half-guiltily, and therefore half-heartedly, almost in spite of myself using my abilities and education in work that took me away from home. It was this personal question mark that led me, in 1957, to spend a great deal of time doing an intensive questionnaire of my college classmates, fifteen years after our graduation from Smith [a private, independent women's liberal arts college in Massachusetts]. The answers ... the problems and satisfactions of their lives, and mine, and the way our education had contributed to them, simply did not fit the image of the modern American woman as she was written about in women's magazines ... There was a strange discrepancy between the reality of our lives as women and the image to which we were trying to conform, the image that I came to call the feminine mystique. I wondered if other women faced this schizophrenic split, and what it meant.

Betty Friedan, from the preface to *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963

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Responding to the source

1. What were Friedan's motivations for investigating women's satisfaction with their lives, according to her preface?
2. What is the 'strange discrepancy' Friedan noted in women's magazines? Do you think a similar discrepancy still exists in today's magazines, and elsewhere?
3. Friedan's questionnaire was answered by her former college classmates. Do you think their 'problems and satisfactions' would be mirrored in the lives of women from less privileged situations?
4. The book's first printing sold 1.4 million copies, spending six weeks on *The Times* best-seller list. Why do you think it appealed to so many readers?
5. How do both Friedan and de Beauvoir reflect an emerging difference between the first wave and second wave feminists?

The 1960s

The sweeping and dramatic protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s that began with the American civil rights movement and led to activism ranging from anti-war demonstrations to the environmental movement both interacted with and inspired the Women's Liberation Movement. Opposition to the Vietnam War and to conscription (1964–72 in Australia) meant that campuses were increasingly centres of radical ideas and student activism. In the USA many female students found themselves marginalised within the organised student protest groups, and, turning to writers like de Beauvoir, Friedan and Millet for explanation, launched the Women's Liberation Movement.

Technological changes – from the development of more labour-saving devices for the home, to the establishment of fast food chains, to the military and aeronautic developments of the Cold War arms race – affected everyday lives. For example, in Australia the move to a more service-based economy meant more 'female-friendly' jobs and less work in industry and manufacturing.

Another change of the early 1960s which would have a dramatic impact on women was the development of the contraceptive pill. While attitudes to sex had been changing since the 1920s, sex outside of marriage still carried risks, both in terms of pregnancy, particularly with abortion being illegal, and societal acceptance, both for the mother and the 'illegitimate' child. The pill didn't just reduce the risks of pregnancy outside marriage, for married couples it also gave the opportunity to plan their lives and have two incomes until they were ready for parenthood. These practical changes would have far-reaching consequences, but perhaps not as much as the psychological implications. As Margaret Sanger, an American birth control activist, wrote in *Woman and the New Race*, 'no woman can call herself free who does not own and control her own body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether or not she will be a mother' (Sanger, 1920).

ACTIVITY 8.6

Watch an archival news report: *Oral contraceptive pill made available in Australia*

Watch a video about the Pill (duration 05:25) available online from the ABC: *Oral contraceptive pill made available in Australia.*

Discuss what the video reveals about the impact on the lives of Australians in the 1960s and how Australian society reacted to the changes it brought.

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8.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What was the Women's Liberation Movement?

The year 1970, described by Ann Curthoys as 'a starting point for a new kind of women's movement' (1992), marked a milestone in feminist activism in Australia.

SOURCE 8.30 *Don't be too Polite Girls!* (song)

We're really on the way, girls, really on the way,
Hooray for equal pay, girls, hooray for equal pay,
They're going to give it to most of us, in spite of all their fears
But do they really need to make us wait three years.

Chorus
Don't be too polite girls, don't be too polite,
Show a little fight girls, show a little fight,
Don't be fearful of offending, in case you get the sack
Just recognise your value and we won't look back.

I sew up shirts and trousers in the clothing trade,
Since men don't do the job I can't ask to be better paid
The people at the top rarely offer something more
Unless the people underneath are walking out the door.

They say a man needs more to feed his children and his wife, Well,
what are the needs of a woman who leads a double working life?
When the whistle blows for knock-off it's not her time for fun
She goes home to start the job that's not paid and never done.

Don't be too afraid girls, don't be too afraid,
We're clearly underpaid girls, clearly underpaid,
Tho' equal pay in principle is every woman's right
To turn that into practice, we must show a little fight.

We can't afford to pay you, say the masters in their wrath
But woman says 'Just cut your coat according to the cloth'
If the economy won't stand then here's the answer boys,
'Cut out the wild extravagance on the new war toys'.

All among the bull girls, all among the bull,
Keep your hearts full girls, keep your hearts full
What good is a man as a doormat, or following at heel?
It's not their balls we're after, it's a fair square deal.

Don't be too Polite Girls! written by Glen (Glenys) Tomasetti, a well-known Melbourne folk singer, writer and political activist in 1969. An audio recording of this song (duration 01:48) is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Responding to the song lyrics

1. What does this song reveal about some of the issues of the Women's Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s?
2. Why might this song have become the anthem of the equal pay protesters?

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3. Explain what the following lines refer to:
   a. 'Since men don't do the job I can't ask to be better paid.'
   b. ' … that's not paid and never done'
   c. 'They say a man needs more …'
   d. '… a double working life'
4. What does the song reveal about Women's Liberation tactics and the emotions that inspired them?

SOURCE 8.31 *Don't be too Polite Girls!* (student film)

Don't be too Polite Girls! is a 1975 student film named for the famous song.
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 13:55) before answering the questions below.



Responding to the video

1. What seem to be the students' hopes and fears as they approach moving into the workforce?
2. What sex are the crew, cast and audience?
3. Do the issues seem to resonate with the audience?
4. Why do you think they chose Tomasetti's song for their performance?
5. How useful do you think this source is as evidence of feminist activism in the 1970s?

In the USA

In America, a prohibition of gender discrimination had been included in the 1964 *Civil Rights Act (Title VII)* and an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was subsequently set up. However, it quickly became clear that the commission would not enforce this new law. In 1966, a group of feminists including provocative authors Betty Friedan and Kate Millett founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) to support women fighting discrimination and to lobby for further legislative change including the ratification of an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the American Constitution. In 1823, at the 75th Anniversary of the Seneca Falls Conference, a proposed amendment had been drafted and submitted to Congress. It had continued to be submitted to Congress every year until it was finally accepted in 1972 and sent to the individual states for ratification. The seven-year limit for ratification was due to pass in 1979, so in 1978 NOW organised a rally, attended by over 100 000 supporters to convince Congress to grant an extension.

In 2018, the ERA only required one more state's endorsement to be ratified and become part of the American Constitution.



SOURCE 8.32 Equal Rights Amendment March on Congress, July 1978. Thousands of exuberant backers of the Equal Rights Amendment marched on Congress to plea for extension of the ratification deadline.
Look at the people carrying the banner. What does this diversity suggest about support for the passing of the Equal Rights Amendment?

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- The current wording of the proposed amendment starts with 'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex'. Does it surprise you that this amendment, first proposed in 1923, had still not been ratified by 2018? Why or why not? Has it been passed since the publication of this text?

NOW was only one of many organisations. As feminist books and protests challenged women to respond to discrimination and derogatory practices, groups with different backgrounds and diverse goals formed across the country. Their actions could range from publications (e.g. *Ms.* magazine, 1972) to sit-ins (e.g. at the *Ladies' Home Journal* office in 1970) to strikes (e.g. 1970 Women's Strike for Equality) to dramatic protests – most famously the 1968 Miss America Pageant where feminists used overtly sexual messages and trashed purported symbols of feminine oppression (high heels, make-up and bras, which led to 'bra-burners' becoming for many years a derogatory title for feminists). Sometimes radical protests alienated more conservative feminists, but many women spoke of a sense of 'sisterhood' across the varied organisations.



SOURCE 8.33 Protesters outside the 1968 Miss America Pageant, Atlantic City
Do you think the metaphor of the Miss America contest as a 'cattle auction' was appropriate? Could the metaphor be applied validly today to any events that focus on female beauty? Explain your response.

Another key US organisation was the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) founded in 1971 as a multi-partisan training organisation for women seeking electoral office. Journalist and author Gloria Steinem spoke at the founding meeting. Active on women's issues since 1962, she had founded *Ms.* magazine and was a leading figure in the American Women's Liberation Movement. Steinem gave a speech still considered one of the defining speeches of the twentieth century.

SOURCES 8.34 A&B Revolution and reform

A Gloria Steinem's keynote speech

> ... This is no simple reform. It really is a revolution. Sex and race, because they are easy, visible differences, have been the primary ways of organizing human beings into superior and inferior groups, and into the cheap labor on which this system still depends. We are talking about a society in which there will be no roles other than those chosen, or those earned. We are really talking about humanism.

Gloria Steinem, keynote speech 'Address to the Women of America', 10 July 1971

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B Keynote speakers at the NWPC



Among the keynote speakers are (left to right) Betty Smith (a leading Republican Party official), Dorothy Haener (a leading trade unionist), Fannie Lou Hamer (a civil rights leader from Mississippi) and Gloria Steinem (journalist and feminist activist).

Responding to the sources

1. Steinem's comment that 'sex and race … have been the primary ways of organizing human beings into superior and inferior groups' is a powerful comment on human history. How have your earlier studies of history illustrated that comment? Is there a third category (beyond sex and race) that Steinem hasn't mentioned?
2. In history, how have many people not been able to 'choose or earn' their role in life, but have had their lives determined by others? How do two of the people in the photo remind you of that?
3. What might be the difference between feminist revolution and feminist reform? Can you propose one change that, in 1971, would have been revolutionary?
4. Might Steinem have thought that history was on her side – in other words, that in the past oppressed people had been able to use revolutionary action to liberate themselves from their oppression? Might her optimism have been tempered by the knowledge that, in history, such liberation had not always been achieved? Refer to your broader historical knowledge to inform your discussion of these questions.
5. What is humanism, and do Steinem's ideas deserve that label?
6. How does the photograph suggest links between feminism and other progressive ideas?

In Australia

The emerging American women's movement inspired Australian feminists. In January 1970, a group of women interested in the arguments of American feminists such as Betty Friedan and Kate Millett called a public meeting in Sydney to discuss women's liberation. As in America, the movement formed when groups and individuals with different ideas and backgrounds were inspired by these feminist texts to come together and find commonality in their desire for change.

Key organisations included Zelda D'Aprano's union-focused Women's Action Committee (WAV) and state branches of the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). In 1972 the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) was formed to increase women's awareness of political issues, particularly during elections, and to lobby politicians on issues important to women. Their advocacy was often highly influential, including their support for the election of the Labor Whitlam government in 1972 and the resulting creation of a role of Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister. However, the women's liberation movement was also a grassroots movement with a diversity of smaller groups who worked in their own local areas.

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Women established newsletters for these new groups and journals focused on feminism; for example, *MeJane* in March 1971, *Refractory Girl* in 1973 and *Hecate* in 1975. Women spoke on radio and in consciousness-raising groups about the conditioning of gender roles and how to change women's status in society. Conferences were held, such as the 1970 Women's Liberation Conference in Melbourne, leading to the publication of agendas and the initiation of marches on International Women's Day in 1972.

Women involved in the movement at the time describe the sense of hope and change as women's issues began to be on the public agenda.

SOURCES 8.35 A&B Working together and working it out

A Sue Jackson, interviewed in 2014, reflects on the thoughts and feelings of 1970s feminists

> I don't know if you've seen photographs of it ... all the women of that time, there's that look on the face. That wide-eyed sort of bright and hopeful look, and it was that feeling, you know. There was a feeling of incredible anger, of course, when you're understanding all the various ways ... in which women are oppressed. But at the same time, this sense of joy and power coming from this working together and working it out and the scales being taken from the eyes.

Interview with Sue Jackson from Melbourne, by S. Magarey, 'Women's Liberation was a Movement, Not an Organisation', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 29 (82), 2014, pp. 378–90

B Suzanne Fairbanks, in 2013, describes the strategies of 1970s feminists

> The energy of women's renewed campaigns was directed into strategies of which two stand out: work for equal civil rights through the courts and government; and actions for personal and social liberation through consciousness-raising, direct activism and alternative arenas for self-expression.

Suzanne Fairbanks, 'Women's Liberation', University of Melbourne Archives, 2013

Australian feminists adopted tactics from the women's liberation movements in other countries and other protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Involvement in radical protest against the Vietnam War sometimes prompted activism on women's issues as women reacted angrily to the assumption that 'men would lead and women would follow, that men would take the microphone while women made the tea or typed the minutes' (Sawer, 2008). In late 1970, feminist activist Sue Bellamy,in her article 'How Can We Get What We Want', described the new approach as 'liberation on our own terms' (quoted in Lake, 1999:232).

Responding to the sources and the text

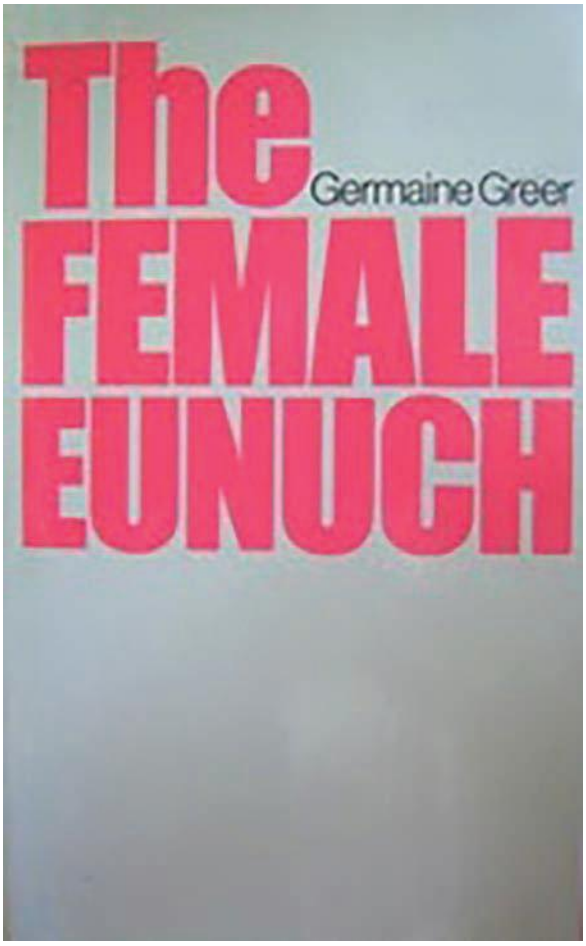
1. According to Sue Jackson, how important was the sense of women working together?
2. What does Sue Jackson mean by 'scales being taken from the eyes'?
3. What two main aspects of the Women's Liberation Movement does Fairbanks identify?
4. In the 1970s, how could these two strategies/goals have complemented each other?
5. What did Sue Bellamy mean by 'liberation on our own terms' and how would she perceive this to be different from the work of first wave feminism?
6. Revisit Tomasetti's song and the related video (Sources 8.30 and 8.31). Compare them with the words of Jackson, Sawer, Fairbanks and Bellamy. What key ideas and demands of the 1970s Women's Liberation movement in Australia are common to some or all of those?

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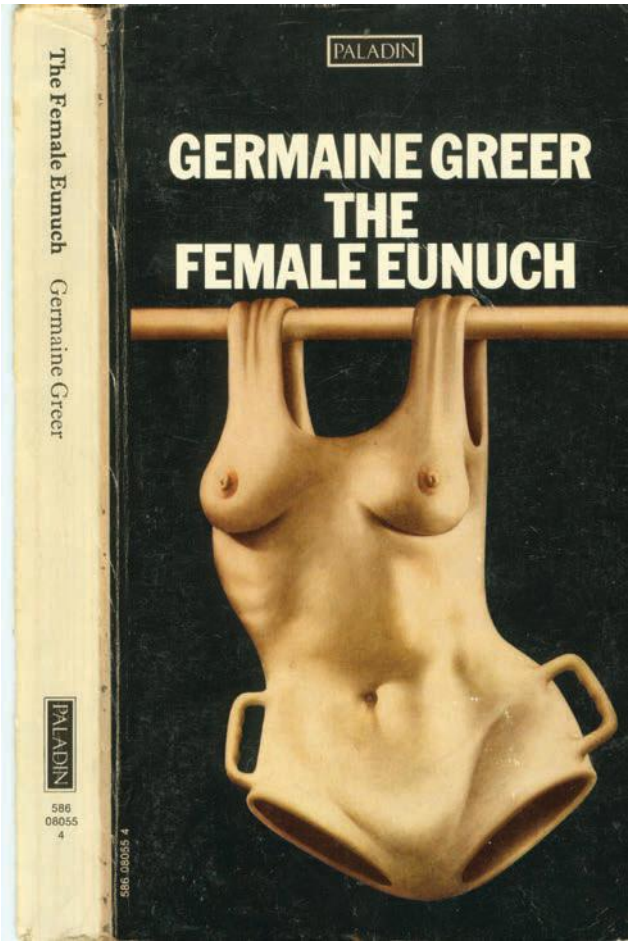
The publication of Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* in 1970 also contributed to the sense of revolutionary change occurring in Australia. Greer was an Australian academic who attended the University of Melbourne, but was working and writing in England at the time. She challenged societal paradigms including the acceptance of the necessity of marriage, the role of the nuclear family and the obligation of women to have children. Journalist Susan Mitchell, writing about the legacy of Greer's work in 1995, argued that 'she stripped away the cant, the hypocrisy, the sentimentality and the falsehoods that had cushioned women's lives' (1995). Greer also pointed out how different the emerging movement was from the first wave of feminism.

SOURCES 8.36 A–C *The Female Eunuch*

A Cover of the first edition of *The Female Eunuch*, 1970



B Cover of the Paladin Edition of *The Female Eunuch*, 1971 (art by John Holmes)



C Greer describes the new radical women's rights movement in the introduction to the 21st edition of *The Female Eunuch*, 2006

> This book is part of the second feminist wave. The old Suffragettes, who served their prison term and lived on through the years of gradual admission of women into professions which they declined to follow, into parliamentary freedoms which they declined to exercise, into academies which they used more and more as shops where they could take out degrees while waiting to get married ...

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The new emphasis is different. Then genteel middle-class ladies clamoured for reform, now ungenteel middle-class women are calling for revolution ... The difference is radical, for the faith that the suffragettes had in the existing political systems and their deep desire to participate in them have perished ...

The change is that suddenly everyone is interested in the subject of women ... among young women in universities the movement might be expected to find strong support. It is not surprising that exploited women workers might decide to hold the government to ransom at last. It is surprising that women who seem to have nothing to complain about have begun to murmur. ...

... We can only speculate about the causes of this new activity. Perhaps the sexual sell was oversell. Perhaps women have never really believed the account of themselves which they were forced to accept from psychologists, religious leaders, women's magazines and men. Perhaps the reforms which did happen eventually led them to the position from which they could at last see the whole perspective and begin to understand ...

... women must learn how to question the most basic assumptions about feminine normality in order to reopen the possibilities for development which have been successively locked off by conditioning.

... It is not a question of telling women what to do next, or even what to want to do next. The hope in which this book was written is that women will discover that they have a will; once that happens they will be able to tell us how and what they want.

... Hopefully, this book is subversive ...

Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, 2006 (21st edn), pp. 14–15

Responding to *The Female Eunuch*

1. The cover art for the first edition is very simple. Why might it still have had a dramatic effect?
2. The cover design of the Paladin 1971 edition by British artist John Holmes has been described as iconic. Analyse the symbolism in the image – what does it suggest about the book?
3. Why might 'women who have nothing to complain about' begin to 'murmur'?
4. What does Greer's description of the range of women becoming involved indicate about the scale and the scope of the second wave feminist critique of society?
5. Why does Greer hope the book is subversive?

SOURCES 8.37 A&B Women's Liberation agendas

A Resolutions from the first meeting of the Women's Action Committee, 1970

ECONOMIC EQUALITY
a. One rate of pay for the job performed. ...
b. Equal opportunity in employment
c. Credit given to women should be under the same conditions as men. No male guarantor should be required.
d. Maternity leave of one year with no loss of seniority or superannuation. Maternity allowance equal to the woman's full salary for six weeks
e. Child care, kindergarten and child minding facilities should be increased;
f. Part time work should be made available for women who require it;
g. Retraining centres should be set up for women returning to the workforce after rearing children.

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SOCIAL EQUALITY

a. Women should not be used or considered as sex symbols e.g. in advertisements ...
b. All business and political organisations, state functions and public places should be open to women
c. The attitude of society to women's role, and so called 'feminine behaviour' must be changed to allow women to develop their full potential.

EQUAL EDUCATION

a. No distinction should be made for girls and boys (Primary School)
b. No distinction should be made for girls and boys (Secondary School)
c. Girls to be made aware of the longevity of their working lives
d. Girls to be encouraged to undertake apprenticeships in all suitable trades.

ABORTION LAW REFORM

a. Abortion should be available at low cost to all women after consultation with their doctor
b. A substantial increase in family planning clinics. Partly used suburban Baby Health Centres should be used for this purpose
c. Liberal sex education should be provided for children.

The Women's Action Committee does not have any political affiliations. It is a pressure group working for the equality of women. As individuals, all members have the right to belong to any political organisation of their choosing. (D'Aprano 1977)

Resolutions from the first meeting of the Women's Action Committee, a pressure group with no political affiliations that emerged in 1970. This agenda would be used to change Australian Unions over the next decade.

B Excerpts from the 'Women's Liberation Agenda', March 1973

Women's Liberation believes that women in our society are oppressed. ...
We demand:
...
3. Freely Available Contraception – More education on contraception is needed at an early age and, for this to be effective, contraceptives should be easily available and free on social security ...
4. Free 24-hour Community Controlled Child Care ... Women should not have to bear individual responsibility for the care of children
...
7. Sexual bias in curricula should be eliminated. The education system must play a large part in undoing the conditioning of women to accept an inferior role, by encouraging women to assert themselves in all fields.

We believe that by united action we can achieve our aims.

Women's Liberation Newsletter, March 1973, pp. 5–6

The full text of both agendas is available in the Interactive Textbook.

GO

Responding to the sources

List the above demands in a table, and for each one identify:

- what the desired change is, and what it would mean if achieved
- whether it represents revolution or reform
- whether all feminists would support the change

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- whether it would help all women or not
- whether it is something that would be produced by government action/law, or by other institutions (e.g. workplaces, schools, clubs) or whether it would require a change in cultural values/attitudes/behaviours by men/women/children
- whether there could be flow-on effects (socially, economically, culturally, politically)
- the chances in 1977 of it being achieved
- whether the change eventually happened.

ACTIVITY 8.7

GO

Explore ideology and hegemony

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

International Women's Day Marches

The first International Women's Day was held in Europe in 1911. The date, 8 March, was chosen in honour of a mass protest of American women garment workers on that date in 1909. In Australia, marches had been held in 1928 and 1931. However, the International Women's Day March in Sydney on 11 March 1972 (pictured below in source 8.38A) was the first mass march since the 1930s.

SOURCES 8.38 A&B International Women's Day Marches in Australia

A Women's Liberation March, Sydney, 11 March 1972–led by Germaine Greer.



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B Women's Rights Demonstration in Melbourne to mark International Women's Day, 8 March 1975



Women's Rights Demonstration in Melbourne to mark International Women's Day, 8 March 1975. This was also International Women's Year. The march was preceded by an all-woman play depicting women putting up with drunk husbands and with an array of oppressions in the home.

Responding to the photos

1. Why might the early 1970s have been the start of a new wave of marches and mass protests?
2. The revived International Women's Day Committee was formed from a combination of groups including Women's Liberation, WEL, women's union groups and others who were invited to open consultation meetings. What does this desire for broad participation suggest about the goals and methods of the Women's Liberation Movement?
3. Germaine Greer attended the 1972 Sydney march, and the media described her as leading the march. Does the photo suggest the march was a 'celebrity-led' event?
4. Refer to the photograph of the 1975 march. What first impression of this demonstration is created by this photograph – particularly the raised arm and fist of both the woman and the effigy?
5. A raised fist had been used as a symbol of workers uniting against fascism since 1917 and was adopted by American feminists in 1968. It has been used to express both solidarity and resistance. Explain how each of these ideas might be powerful to the participants of this march.
6. Each of the marches pictured here (and many others) included an event – often a concert with street theatre, feminist songs and women's dance performances. The 1975 play was described as depicting women putting up with drunk husbands and with an array of oppressions in the home. Why do you think these protests included artistic or entertaining events?
7. Note the words on the placards and banners.
   a. Refer to the 1972 photograph – one of the signs says 'Sisterhood is Powerful'. This was considered one of the key slogans of the Women's Liberation movement across America, Britain, Australia and other countries. What does this slogan reveal about the core goals of the movement?
   b. Refer to the 1975 photograph – one sign says 'Feminism is alive and WEL'. Using your contextual knowledge from earlier in the chapter, explain why this sign might have been part of the march.
   c. Another prominent sign from the 1975 march (not pictured here) said 'Dress for Comfort not for style'. Why might women have considered this to be important? Does the crowd seem to be reflecting that sentiment in their appearance? Explain.
8. Both of these marches appear to be predominately, but not completely, female. Given the context of the day and the year, would a march like this be more powerful if it was all-female or if the women were joined by men? Explain your answer.
9. Do you think demonstrations like this can still help produce social change? Explain your response.

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Marches and smaller protests were used widely to draw women and wider society's attention to issues. For example, in 1973, a Mother's Day March was organised on May 12 by the Sydney Women's Liberation Movement to highlight issues such as child care, maternity and paternity leave, and flexible working hours. Grassroots protests included the group of Albury women who, along with their children, held placards demanding 'Help our Mum' and 'We Need a creche' during a visit by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam in 1973. In Queensland in 1974, girls and women, led by swimmer Shane Gould, protested their exclusion from Surf Lifesaving club membership (since the 1930s) by marching in formation, under club flags, and in swimwear during other sporting events. More controversial protests, which ended in arrests or police having to protect the women, were protests at ANZAC Day Marches in the late 1970s. In 1977 the women wore t-shirts which said 'In memory of the women raped in war' on the front and 'Women Against Rape' on the back.

SOURCE 8.39 Women's March, 20 January 2018



People participate in the Women's March in New York, USA, 20 January 2018.

Responding to the photo

1. What initially strikes you about the participants in this 2018 photograph?
2. Based on these signs, what are some of the issues being protested?
3. What changes and continuities can you see with the protests held between 1965 and 1985 and this protest in 2018?
4. Research the origins of this January protest march. Does this appear to be a revival of second wave feminist goals and activism? Explain your response.

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8.9 The quiet revolution in politics

In 1972 a Labor government, led by Gough Whitlam under the slogan 'it's time', came to power after 23 years of a Liberal Coalition government, perhaps due in part to support from women.

While the Whitlam government had no female MPs, women were deliberately appointed to senior positions in the public service and, in 1973, a Women's Advisor to the Prime Minister, Elizabeth Reid, was appointed. In 1974, an Office of Women's Affairs, established to support the position of Women's Advisor, was initially headed by Sara Dowse and later, in 1983 under the next Labor government, Anne Summers.



SOURCE 8.40 Prime Minister Gough Whitlam discusses International Women's Year with two members of the National Advisory Committee: Ms Elizabeth Reid and Mr James Oswin, 1974. This image is now kept in the Museum of Australian Democracy– do you think it is a significant image relating to democracy in Australia?

Their work has been described as a 'quiet revolution' as they introduced many significant services and benefits, or ensured funding for services that had been established on a volunteer basis by activist groups and worked to raise the status of women in Australian society; for example, the 1973 *Maternity Leave Act*, the 1975 *Family Law Act*, the 1977 *Anti-Discrimination Act* and the creation of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HROEC) in 1984. The Interactive Textbook has a list of examples of their work.

8.10 Other forms of activism and changing attitudes

Elsie House

Women's groups worked actively to address and support women in ways the government would not yet do – for example, opening childcare centres, women's legal advice centres, family planning centres and women's refuges. In 1974 a group of Sydney Women's Liberation Members led by Anne Summers broke into two adjacent vacant houses, changed the locks, declared squatter's rights and opened the Elsie Women's Refuge Night Shelter – a place for women and children fleeing domestic violence in the family home. They then called the media, with the dual goal of advertising the refuge and drawing attention to the fact that women experiencing abuse often had no choice but to stay with the abuser. Within six weeks of opening, Elsie House had provided shelter to 48 women and 35 children. By the end of the year, other women's groups had followed their example and established 11 refuges nationwide. Reliant on volunteers and donations, the activists then started lobbying the government to fund women's shelters. The Whitlam government provided some funding, but permanent funding was not achieved until 1985.



SOURCE 8.41 Elsie House in 1974. Previous shelters, such as those run by the Salvation Army, provided only beds for the night but not accommodation during the day or access to any health, legal or social services.
What does this photo of a woman and children in the front yard suggest about the differences in the way Elsie House was run? Discuss whether you think Elsie House was different because it was run by women for women.

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Women and Australian history

The questioning of the causes of women's subjugation and lower status in Australian society also led to a new perspective on Australian history. Key women's histories of Australia that were published in 1975 and opened up further debates on the place of women in Australian society included:

- *Damned Whores and God's Police* by Anne Summers
- *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann* by Beverley Kingston
- *The Real Matilda* by Miriam Dixon
- *Gentle Invaders* by Ann Conlon and Edna Ryan.

You can read comments on this new wave of publishing in Sources 8.42 A&B.

SOURCES 8.42 A&B Book reviews

A Review of *Damned Whores and God's Police*, 1976

Damned Whores and God's Police

MARGOT OLIVER

It's amazing to read a book with hunger, but that's the way I picked up Anne Summers' book: a book of the history of women in Australia. You mean women in Australia have a history? Never in my entire formal education was there a hint of it ...

Anne Summers has read voluminously and what she presents us with is essentially a review of several hundred different sources ... the idea around which she has chosen to hang her review is that Australian women have been regarded by Australian men as either sexual game (damned whores) or as asexual breeders and upholders of morals (god's police) ... This was (still is?) an expectation, a prescription for behaviour – if a woman wasn't in one group she was assumed/understood/expected to be in the other. Summers further asserts that Australian women have, by and large, accepted these mutually exclusive categories and understood themselves in the same way.

I find little to disagree with ...

Margot Oliver, 'Damned Whores and God's Police', *Tribune* (Sydney), 11 February 1976, p. 10

B Review of *Colonial Eve: Sources on Women in Australia 1788–1914*, 1978

Colonial Woman Observed

SARA DOWSE

One of the spinoffs of the movement to improve the lot of women in the future is the renewed interest in women's past ... one of the fastest growing fields of academic inquiry ...

... most of the new women's historians have paid particular attention to the role and status of the convict woman as a paradigm for the condition of women in Australia in later generations. Anne Summers offered them as the prototype of her 'damned whore' and Miriam Dixon found in convictism an important explanation for Australian women's 'much lower overall standing than women in other democracies'. Teal's chapter on convict women includes many contemporary accounts of their voyage out, landing in Sydney, the female factories, assignment, marriage and emancipation. The picture of these women and the lives they led is unrelievedly sordid. Since so many of her sources are reports from males of the governing class this is to be expected ...

It was from reports such as these that the portrait of the irreclaimable female convict has been built, but recently that image has been challenged. Beverley Kingston has pointed out

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that 'by and large, the women were among the least vicious of the convicts, and more likely to be transported because they were women and women were needed'. Though few were transported for prostitution or soliciting ... all convict women came to be regarded as prostitutes ... The double standard that applied to men and women meant that women who departed from the ideal of womanhood were held in great contempt ...

Sara Dowse, 'Colonial Woman Observed', *The Canberra Times*, 16 September 1978, p. 12

Responding to the book reviews

1. How does each of these reviewers feel about the publication of Australian histories written with a focus on women?
2. Summers identifies two broad historical groupings for women – what are these?
3. Summers argues that most women accept these two historical groupings – why?
4. Drawing upon several books, the reviewer Sara Dowse identifies a double standard that was applied to Australian women throughout history. What was this double standard and where did it originate?
5. Based on these reviews, how did new analyses of the history of women in Australia also contribute to the challenging of gender roles during the second wave feminist movement?
6. How representative of reactions to these new ideas might these reviewers be?
7. As a historian, how important do you think it is that histories are written or rewritten to include voices that were previously marginalised or excluded?

The arts

This demand for an end to stereotyped roles for women and a chance for women's ideas and responses to be heard extended to all aspects of the arts.

Increased funding for women's films – through the Experimental Film Fund, and by film co-operatives such as the Sydney Women's Film Group and Reel Women in Melbourne – created opportunities for women to tell stories usually ignored by the mainstream media; for example, women at home or objectification of women's bodies. A 1977 Women's Film Production workshop resulted in four filmmakers – Megan McMurchy, Margot Nash, Margot Oliver and Jeni Thornley – using archival footage to create a documentary which was both a comprehensive history of women working and a commentary on feminism and history. *For Love or Money: Women and Work in Australia* was released to wide acclaim in 1983.

Australian women also wrote and performed music as protest or for consciousness-raising. This music ranged from popular feminist anthems such as Helen Reddy's 1972 feminist anthem 'I am Woman, Hear me Roar' which became the theme song of the



SOURCE 8.43 Helen Reddy performing in 1975
Might there be debates about whether her physical presentation matches the key message of her hit song?

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United Nation's 'Decade of Women', to numerous Australian all-women bands who performed widely during the 1970s and 1980s. Some of these songs and excerpts from films are available online at the National Film and Sound Archive of Australia.

The education of girls and women

Changes in girls' education was not only a goal of the broader movement, but was strongly campaigned for by women involved in education in Australia. In 1970 the Australian Women's Education Coalition (AWEC) was formed and began publishing a newsletter called *Bluestocking*, and started organising national conferences. This network provided the basis for the 1973 formation of the Australian Schools Commission, which in 1975 completed an investigation into gendered schooling and produced a report called 'Girls, School and Society'.

This report found that girls were less likely than boys to remain in school beyond the compulsory age or to participate in the tertiary sector (less than 1/3 of university attendees were female in 1971). It also found that girls were less confident and ambitious than boys and less inclined to see themselves as being able to influence or change their lives. It concluded that both female and male attitudes were largely learned (rather than inherent) and that schools reinforced gender stereotypes by using biased teaching materials, excluding stories of the contribution of women, not having female role models in positions of authority and undervaluing interpersonal skills.

SOURCES 8.44 A&B University enrolments

A Degrees conferred by year and sex, 1945–80

Degrees conferred by year and sex						
	Doctorates		Masters		Bachelors	
Year	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %	Males %	Females %
1945	100	0	79.6	20.4	65.9	34.1
1950	93.3	6.7	86	14	82.6	17.4
1955	91.1	89	86.5	13.5	79.4	20.6
1960	931	6.9	87.8	12.2	77	23
1965	91.7	8.3	83	17	74.5	25.5
1970	91	9	85	15	71.9	28.1
1975	88.3	11.7	83.9	16.1	64	36
1980	81.3	18.7	74.4	25.6	58.8	41.2

Australian Bureau of Statistics (university statistics, staff and students, 1945–80)

B Female enrolments by faculty, 1950 and 1980

Female enrolments		
Faculty	1950: %	1980: %
Arts	38	63
Commerce	17.6	26
Education	21	65.6
Science	12.4	36

Adapted from figures in ABS University Statistics, 1950 and 1980

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Response to the sources

1. Referring to Source 8.44A, by what percentage do women's achievement of Bachelor, Masters and Doctorate degrees change between 1945 and 1980?
2. Referring to Source 8.44A, in what year were women least likely to achieve a Bachelor or a Masters degree? Suggest some reasons why.
3. By 1980, were women gaining degrees at equal rates to men? What does this suggest about the success of the Women's Liberation Movement?
4. Referring to Source 8.44B, in which fields were more than 50% of graduates women, by 1980?
5. Referring to Source 8.44B, in which field did the most dramatic change for women occur? Explain your reasoning.
6. How useful are these statistics in revealing changes for women in education?

ACTIVITY 8.8

GO

Analyse advertising to children

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

8.11 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you looked at a range of primary and secondary sources to develop an understanding of second wave feminism, particularly in Australia, up to the end of the 1970s.

ACTIVITY 8.9

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: How much did second wave feminism in Australia contribute to changes in women's rights and roles in the period 1965 to 1985?

1. Create a table listing the changes demanded by women at the beginning of the second wave and an assessment of whether or not each change was achieved.
2. Write a reflection on the successes of the Women's Liberation Movement, including an assessment of the tactics used – both protesting and working within the system. To what extent did women achieve 'liberation on our terms'?
3. In most sections of this study, it has been necessary to rely on female participants in the Women's Rights Movement's views on how and why change should or did occur. How powerful are these kinds of sources/perspectives and how can a historian use them carefully and effectively? Discuss your response.
4. Focusing on the topic of women and work, create a timeline which identifies key moments of change, and map (above and below the line) the high and low points in Australian women's pay parity and equal opportunity.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Ongoing hurdles to equality and opportunity

This concluding study gives you an opportunity to consider the decades since the second wave of feminism, and the issues that continue to exist today for women in countries such as Australia.

You will then look at international feminism, and finally consider issues that apply particularly to women in the developing world.

8.12 Backlash

By the 1990s, feminists began to identify that change was slowing down or reversing. This was described by American Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Susan Faludi in her bestselling and award-winning 1991 book *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* as being created largely by the media in response to the gains that women had made. Australian feminist and former women's adviser, Anne Summers, wrote similarly in her 2003 book *The End of Equality: Work, Babies and Women's Choices in 21st Century Australia*.

SOURCE 8.45 The end of equality

> Why, after almost 30 years of policies that promoted equal opportunities for women ... did our political leaders suddenly decide they could afford to ignore the needs of half the population? ... The roll-back in programs that safeguarded women's equality began in earnest in 1996 when John Howard became prime minister, but the disregard for women's special needs and interests had begun a few years earlier ... it was not long before other areas of society, such as the media, followed suit.

Anne Summers, *The End of Equality*, 2003, p. 121

Responding to the source

1. What does Summers identify as the start of a backlash against women's rights?
2. Summers also identified the Howard government's cutbacks of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC), an agency created to act on complaints of discrimination on the grounds of sex, race or disability, as an aspect of backlash against women. Research the current role of HREOC and their conclusions on the levels of discrimination in Australian society.

8.13 Third wave feminism

Third wave feminism is generally recognised as beginning with women who were in their 20s in the 1990s, women who had grown up with the second wave of feminism simply being part of history rather than something they experienced themselves. It also differentiated itself from second wave feminism by embracing individuality, pluralism and a diversity of forms of feminism.

third wave feminism
feminist activism founded by members of Generation X in the 1990s, it attempted to embrace individuality, pluralism and diversity

A key figure of the early third wave movement is American Naomi Wolf. Her 1991 best-selling book *The Beauty Myth* divided feminists when she argued that a new beauty ideal had supplanted earlier ideals of motherhood and domesticity and was being used to control women in similar ways. Wolf argued that the idea of beauty was socially constructed not just to profit the beauty industry, but also to control and weaken women psychologically.

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SOURCE 8.46 Naomi Wolf on dieting

A culture fixated on female thinness is not an obsession about female beauty, but an obsession about female obedience. Dieting is the most potent political sedative in women's history; a quietly mad population is a tractable one.

Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, 1991

Responding to the source

1. According to Wolf, how does a beauty myth which fixates on female thinness undermine women psychologically?
2. How well do you think current efforts to stress health over female thinness, and to teach girls to feel confident in their bodies, are succeeding?

Another facet of third wave feminism, dubbed 'lipstick feminism', was embraced by women who argued that females could embrace traditional concepts of femininity while holding and promoting feminist ideals. Lipstick feminism also seeks a reclamation of some derogatory words and attempts to reclaim some aspects of traditional femininity and turn them into empowering facets of womanhood. A key lipstick feminist event which drew attention to the third wave feminist movement was the first SlutWalk in Toronto in 2011, which was planned in response to a Toronto police officer's statement that women wouldn't get raped if they didn't dress like sluts. This march quickly became transnational with women in many countries dressing like 'sluts' in order to protest **rape culture**, victim blaming and slut shaming, marching with thousands of other women and men. Some feminists criticised the attention-grabbing strategy for using near nudity as a form of protest.



SOURCE 8.47 A woman holds a placard during the fifth annual SlutWalk, Hong Kong, 30 October 2016.

rape culture a society or environment in which rape is pervasive and normalised due to prevailing social attitudes about sexuality and gender

8.14 Other women's rights issues in the developed world

ACTIVITY 8.10

Discuss other women's rights issues in the developed world

- Working in groups, explore this topic further by choosing one of the following five issues and conducting research. As part of your analysis, consider whether it is a feminist issue, or more than a feminist issue.
- Present your findings, including a discussion starting point for the class.

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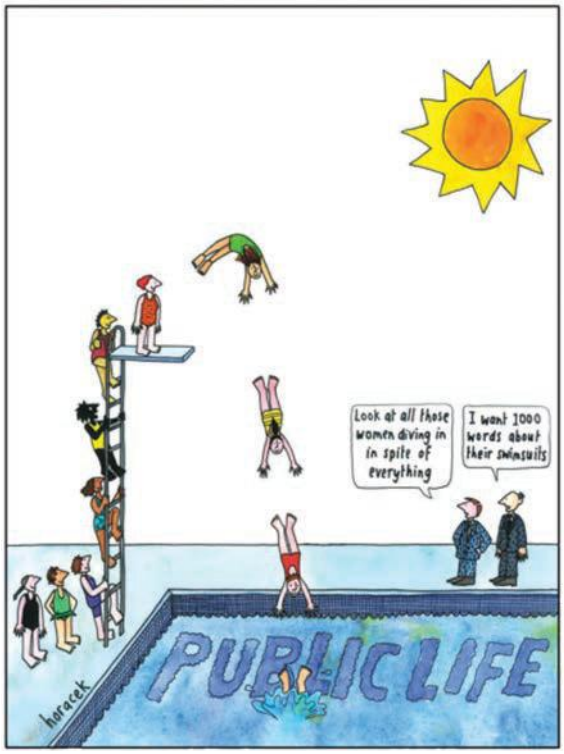


SOURCE 8.48 Julia Gillard's 'Misogyny Speech', 9 October 2012
A video of this speech (duration 15:01) is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Women in politics

On 9 October 2012, Australian Prime Minister Julia Gillard gave an address to parliament accusing the Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott, of sexism and describing an entrenched culture of misogyny in Australian politics. Gillard's speech, popularly known as the 'Misogyny Speech' won international support including from Hillary Clinton (then-US Secretary of State), who said that, in an era where most women subjected to sexism would either deflect it with humour or try not to let it bother them, she respected Gillard's open and honest response. She stated that sexism 'shouldn't be tolerated' and recognised that '… women in public life still face an unfair double standard' (Clinton, 2014).

- Research and present on the challenges that have affected and continue to affect women in political life in Australia, including whether or not this impacts on the underrepresentation of women in politics.



SOURCE 8.49 Judy Horacek cartoon on feminism, cover of *The Walkley Magazine*, December 2012

Women in the media

Cartoonist Judy Horacek wrote that she drew this cartoon for the cover of Australia and New Zealand's dedicated media journal *The Walkley Magazine* in response to '… the entrenched sexism and misogyny of the world … and women in the media' (2012) following Prime Minister Julia Gillard's 'Misogyny Speech' on 9 October 2012. What does the cartoon suggest about the way Australian women are portrayed in the media? Journalist Gaven Morris drew links between the critical or condescending reporting of women's achievements and the fact that 'white, middle-aged men continue to dominate in front of the cameras and microphones' (2016). His conclusions were in response to an internal ABC audit which discovered of the national broadcaster that 80% of interview time was with men.

- Research and present on how women are portrayed in the media in Australia and the impact this has on equality and opportunities.



SOURCE 8.50 Women at a rally to mark International Women's Day, 8 March 2018

Women and sexual harassment

In 2017, American actresses began speaking out about the long-entrenched misogyny and 'casting couch' culture of Hollywood, prompting the global #metoo social media campaign and revealing the extent of unreported sexual harassment and assault in every possible area of women's lives. So significant was this campaign that *TIME* magazine named the women

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who first stepped forward 'the Silence Breakers' and their 2017 Person of the Year.

- Research and present on what prompted the #metoo campaign and what it revealed about women's experiences of sexual harassment and assault.

Women and pay equity

In 2017, Serena Williams won the Women's Singles Final at the Australian Open. She won the same prize money as the Men's Singles winner, Roger Federer – A$3.85 million. Since 2007, the Australian, US and French Opens, Wimbledon and Masters events have paid equal prize money to men and women. However, this is quite unusual in professional sports and is certainly at odds with the overall reality of the pay of men and women in Australia. In 2018, the Australian Government's Workplace Gender Equality Agency recognised a national gender pay gap of 15.3%. It also identified that there were different gender pay gaps depending on the industry; for example, the lowest pay gap was in public administration and the highest pay gap was in financial and insurance services. In 2012, following a landmark equal pay case, Fair Work Australia decided to award all social and community services workers dramatic pay rises of between 19% and 41%, recognising that this sector had historically received lesser pay rises only because 'it is [work] predominately done by women' (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2012).



SOURCE 8.51 Serena Williams holding the Championship Trophy of the Australian Open, 28 January 2017

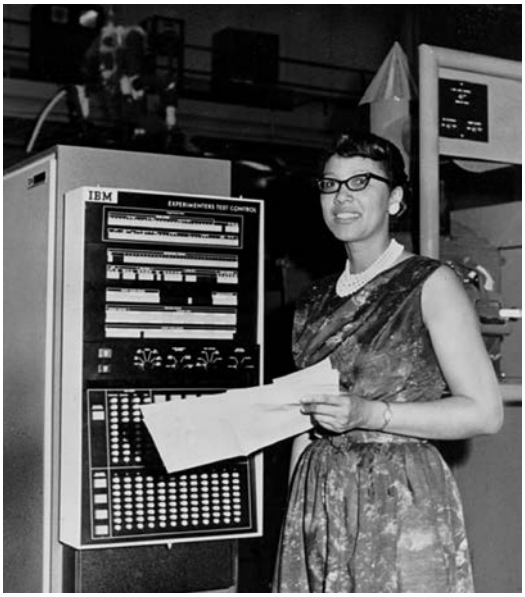
- Research and present on the gender pay gap in Australia and why this gap still exists.

Women, computers and the internet

The 2016 movie *Hidden Figures* drew attention to the previously unrecognised role that African-American women played at NASA during the 1960s. This was part of a new trend recognising that computing and the internet were not completely male-dominated – for example, Ada, Countess of Lovelace (1815–1852) is widely recognised as the first computer programmer, having worked on Charles Babbage's Analytical Engine. WikiProject Women also works to improve coverage of women's issues and topics online – in this case the under-representation of women on Wikipedia.

It is also widely recognised that women who work or post online are extensively subjected to hostile and uncensored harassment, including cyberbullying, trolling and death threats. In 2016, an Australian research paper commissioned by digital security firm Norton concluded that harassment of women online was becoming 'an established norm in our digital society' (Hunt, 2016) with 76% of women under 30 reporting online abuse or harassment.

- Research and present on women's experiences of the internet and what is being done to address online threats.



SOURCE 8.52 Melba Roy, who headed the group of NASA mathematicians known as 'computers' who tracked the Echo satellites in 1964

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ACTIVITY 8.11

Consider feminism today

1. One of the key slogans of the American first wave suffrage movement was that 'woman's cause is man's – they rise or fall together'. How relevant is this sentiment today?
2. Audre Lorde (1934–1992), an American poet, feminist, librarian and civil rights activist, argued in relation to non-**intersectional** feminism that 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us to temporarily beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change' (1984). Consider this argument in relation to the challenges to equality and opportunity facing women today.
3. Use the **Bechdel test** to explore whether popular culture (e.g. movies, television shows, books, comics) retains the same gender bias experienced by women prior to the second wave feminist movement.
4. In light of the third wave of feminism, revisit the key question 'how much did second wave feminism in Australia contribute to changes in women's rights and roles?' Explore this question through diagrams, timelines and debate.
5. Where would you place yourself on this attitude scale?

intersectional aspects of marginalisation in society, e.g. gender, ethnic background, sexual orientation, disability, that do not exist separately but are complex and interwoven

Bechdel test a test which asks if a work of fiction contains at least two named female characters who talk to each other about something other than a man. First used in a comic strip by Alison Bechdel.

Women's rights are an ongoing issue that needs further activism

Women's rights have been achieved – it is time to prioritise other issues

8.15 International feminism

In 1995, the United Nations organised the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality in Beijing. It was attended by representatives of 2100 non-governmental organisations, 5000 media representatives and over 30 000 individuals. At the conference, *The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action* were written and adopted, including measures for national and international actions for the advancement of women over the following five years.

Key to the goals set out at this conference was the idea that the advancement of women was crucial for the progress of society as a whole. Furthermore, that ending the deeply entrenched attitudes and practices that perpetuate inequality for women in public and private life and ensuring women's participation is 'fundamental to the achievement of equality, development and peace' (United Nations, 1996).

The five major issues affecting the world's women were identified as poverty, education, health, violence and war. Responses to these issues included that rape during armed conflict be recognised as a war crime, that there is a need for equal inheritance laws, that unpaid women's work be recognised, that female infanticide be eliminated and that girls' education be prioritised.

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SOURCE 8.53 Hillary Clinton's keynote speech

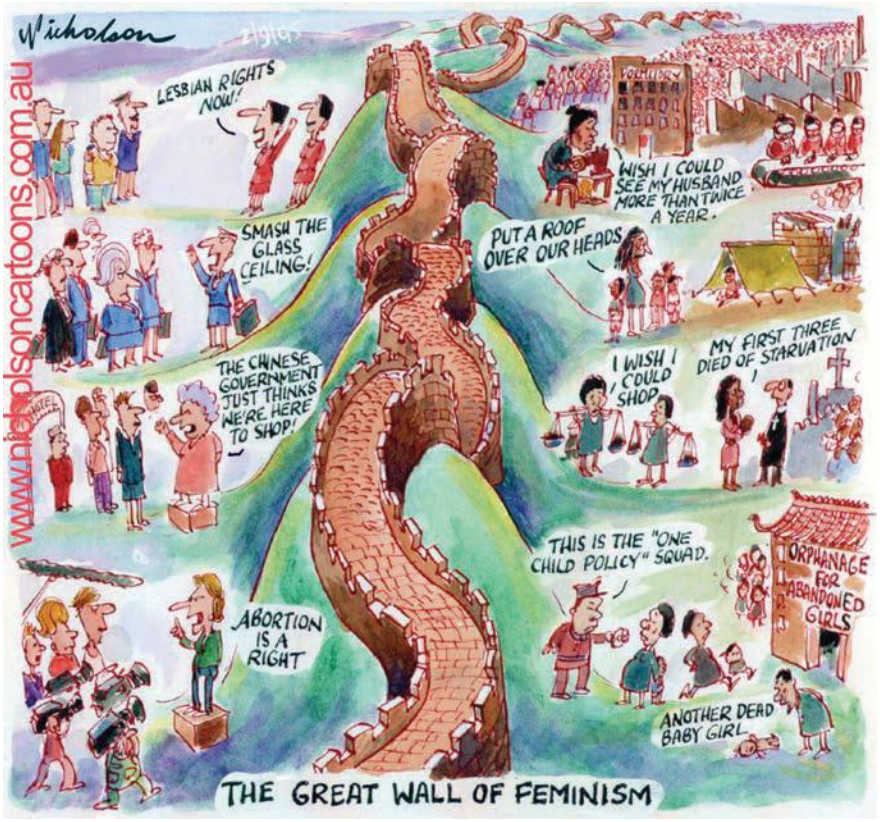
On 5 September 1995, then-First Lady Hillary Clinton spoke at the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality in Beijing.

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video of Hillary Clinton's speech (duration 20:19) before answering the questions below.



Responding to the video

1. How does Clinton describe the importance of the conference?
2. Describe one of the examples Clinton uses of how international programs can improve the lives of women and girls.
3. List some of the challenges that women, and usually just women, still face in many countries, according to Clinton.
4. What is Clinton's argument for why women's rights need to be seen as human rights?
5. Why do you think this was the last UN Women's Conference held? Is it time for another one?



SOURCE 8.54 Peter Nicholson, 'The Great Wall of Feminism', *Weekend Australian*, 2–3 September 1995

Identify and list the issues on both sides of the wall. Why do you think Nicholson used the image of the wall? Given that this cartoon was made for an Australian audience, what message do you think Nicholson was aiming to convey? Thinking about what you've learned, how valid does that message seem?

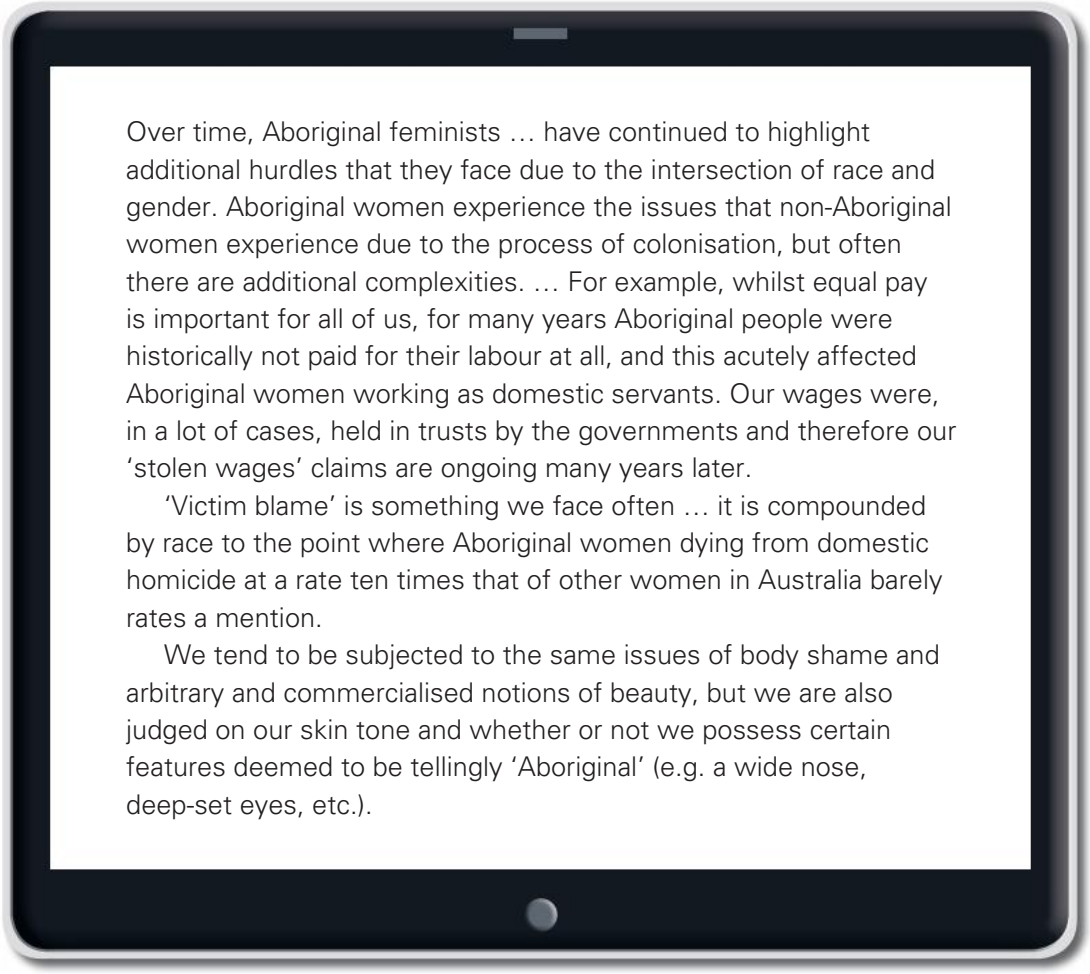
8.16 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander feminism

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples' perspectives on feminism also reveal the gaps between mainstream perspectives on feminism and an experience of gender that intersects with issues of race and racism.

Celeste Liddle, an Arrernte woman and union activist, argues in an article called 'Intersectionality and Indigenous Feminism' that Aboriginal women often feel excluded from the mainstream feminist movement, particularly when Aboriginal culture is misread by feminists seeking to apply existing models for change.

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SOURCE 8.55 Some of the additional hurdles faced by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander feminists



Over time, Aboriginal feminists … have continued to highlight additional hurdles that they face due to the intersection of race and gender. Aboriginal women experience the issues that non-Aboriginal women experience due to the process of colonisation, but often there are additional complexities. … For example, whilst equal pay is important for all of us, for many years Aboriginal people were historically not paid for their labour at all, and this acutely affected Aboriginal women working as domestic servants. Our wages were, in a lot of cases, held in trusts by the governments and therefore our 'stolen wages' claims are ongoing many years later.

'Victim blame' is something we face often … it is compounded by race to the point where Aboriginal women dying from domestic homicide at a rate ten times that of other women in Australia barely rates a mention.

We tend to be subjected to the same issues of body shame and arbitrary and commercialised notions of beauty, but we are also judged on our skin tone and whether or not we possess certain features deemed to be tellingly 'Aboriginal' (e.g. a wide nose, deep-set eyes, etc.).

Celeste Liddle, 'Intersectionality and Indigenous Feminism', *The Postcolonialist*, 25 June 2014

Responding to the source

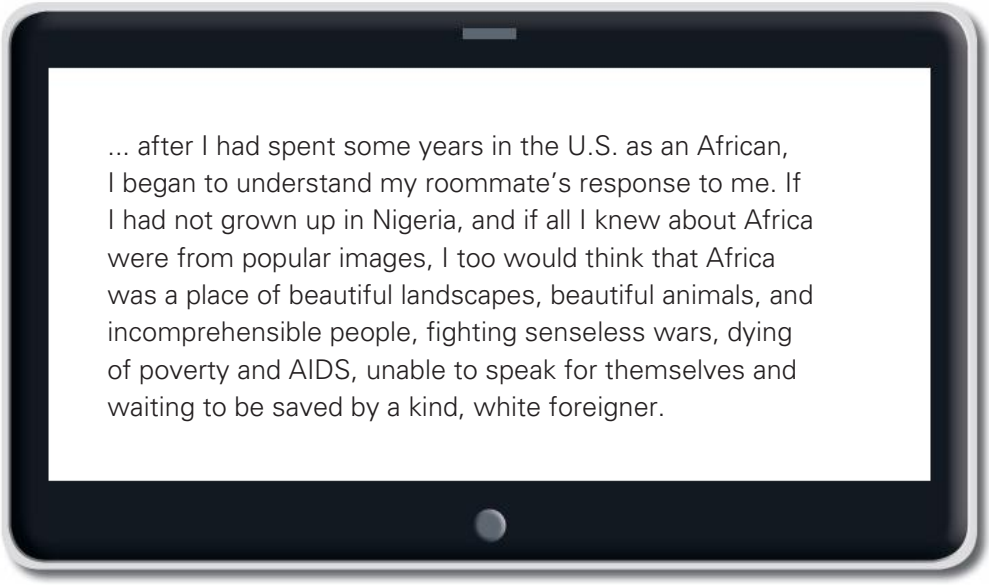
1. Liddle refers to the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women facing the same difficulties as a result of '… the process of colonisation'. Explain what this means.
2. Based on her description above, what is 'victim blaming'?
3. Liddle argues that there is little coverage of domestic homicide in Aboriginal communities. Discuss what factors might contribute to this failure to 'rate a mention'.
4. According to Liddle, why are body image issues even more problematic for Aboriginal women?

8.17 Feminism in the developing world

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is a Nigerian novelist. In her 2009 TEDGlobal talk, she talked about the danger of only knowing a single story about another place or another person or another culture. When she went to university in America she was shocked by her roommate's perceptions of Nigeria and Africa.

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Adichie describes this experience in Source 8.56:



SOURCE 8.56 Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, 'The danger of a single story', TEDGlobal, 2009. You can see this talk online.

This difference in perceptions had been raised earlier in relation to Western feminists' attempts to 'save' or 'educate' women in other countries. A key writer and transnational feminist is Chandra Talpade Mohanty, who graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in English from the University of Delhi, India, and is now Distinguished Professor of Women's and Gender Studies at Syracuse University, New York. In 1986 she wrote an essay 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses' where she argued that all 'first world' feminists saw all 'third world' women as belonging to a generic, victimised stereotype. Mohanty argued that while third wave feminism did seek to recognise the diversity of women's experiences, the models that these Western women developed were not helpful in understanding the issues of women in the developing world because of the vast differences in cultural and social context.

SOURCE 8.57 Mohanty talks about Western perceptions of women who wear veils

> The argument goes like this: the more the number of women who wear the veil, the more universal is the sexual segregation and control of women ... However, it is the analytical leap from the practice of veiling to an assertion of its general significance in controlling women that must be questioned. While there may be a physical similarity in the veils worn by women in Saudi Arabia and Iran, the specific meaning attached to this practice varies according to the cultural and ideological context. For example, Iranian middle-class women veiled themselves during the 1979 revolution to indicate solidarity with their veiled working-class sisters ... an oppositional and revolutionary gesture on the part of Iranian middle-class women

Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', *boundary 2* 12 (3), 1984, pp. 346–7

Responding to the source

1. Based on what you have read, how would you describe a transnational feminist?
2. What point is Mohanty making in her example of women wearing the veil in Islamic countries?
3. What change in perception are both Mohanty and Adichie promoting?

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ACTIVITY 8.12

Research and discuss the experiences of women in the developing world

Working in groups, explore the experiences of women in the developing world further by choosing one of the following four issues (on this page and the next) and conducting research.

- Consider Mohanty's argument that women's experiences and responses should be understood within the context of their own place, time and culture.
- Consider also whether the area you are researching is a feminist issue, or more than a feminist issue.
- Present your findings including a discussion starting point for the class.

Girls: the missing millions

In January 2017, *The Economist* reported it was estimated that in India there were 45 million fewer females than predicted. This was largely a result of a parental preference for sons. Females perish through selective abortion, infanticide and neglect.

- Research online why sons are preferred. Discuss the likely adverse consequences for a society with a significant male/female imbalance.

Girls and education

In her 2012 TED Talk, Kakenya Ntaiya tells her story of how she made a deal with her father. She would willingly attend the traditional Maasai rite of passage, female circumcision, therefore not shaming him in the eyes of the community, if he would then let her go to high school rather than being immediately married. Next she convinced the community to support her financially to go school in America even though they would have preferred to give the opportunity to a boy. After earning her PhD, she came back to her village and built a school for girls as well as working within the community to end harmful traditional practices.



SOURCE 8.58 Students at the Kakenya Center for Excellence, Kenya

- Research the experiences of girls and education in developing countries, including how a simple piece of technology like a bicycle can change their lives. What stops girls from attending school? What is the impact of having (or not having) community support for girls' education?

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Violence against women

The United Nations identifies domestic violence and violence against women as one of the main issues facing women today. In India, the Gulabi Gang (gulabi meaning pink) are groups of women, usually from the lowest caste, who watch for and punish violence against women or children in their community. They also distribute food in rural areas, provide pensions to elderly widows and teach women both self-defence and how to be economically self-sufficient.

- Research this and other responses to violence against women in the developing world. Why was the Gulabi Gang founded and have they had a positive impact?



SOURCE 8.59 The leader of the local village's Gulabi Gang poses for a picture with a bamboo stick in her hand, Uttar Pradesh, India, 2012.

Women in natural disasters

In 2004, an earthquake in the Indian Ocean caused a massive tsunami which had a devastating impact on the region, particularly on the small province of Aceh in Indonesia. Aceh was involved in a civil war at the time, but fighting stopped and both the resistance (the GAM) and the Indonesian army worked together to bury the 130 000 dead. The soldiers were horrified when they realised that there were three times more women than men among the casualties. Why? Because when women ran they stopped to grab their headscarves first … because girls aren't taught to climb trees … because the men took off on their motorbikes after the initial earthquake, leaving the women alone to look after children and the elderly, which made fleeing almost impossible. The United Nations also recognises that women were disadvantaged during the rebuilding process and that they were more likely than men to take the burden of emergency tasks, including being the primary caretakers for children, the injured, sick and elderly. This increased their emotional and physical workload and reduced their ability to find work.



SOURCE 8.60 A woman and her children return to their damaged home to pick up anything that can be rescued after the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami in 2004.

- Research the impact of natural disasters on women and how traditional gender roles can make them more vulnerable to extreme poverty. What are the consequences for the society as a whole?

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ACTIVITY 8.13

Discuss the situation of women in the developing world

1. One of the key slogans of the American first wave suffrage movement was that 'woman's cause is man's – they rise or fall together'. How relevant is this sentiment to the situation of women in the developing world?
2. Could Audre Lorde's argument that 'the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house' also be applied to the movements for women's rights in the developing world?
3. Where would you place yourself on this attitude scale:

Women's rights issues are, at their core, the same everywhere	Women's rights issues are specific to their cultural context



SOURCE 8.61 Schoolgirls riding bikes in Kochi, Kerala, India, 2015. For girls in the developing world today, a bicycle can mean something simple and fundamental – a chance to travel safely to school.
How might a bicycle, either in 2015 or all the way back in the 1890s, increase a girl's safety?

8.18 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter you read a comparison of intrepid nineteenth-century cyclist Annie 'Londonderry' and Anna Meares, arguably Australia's greatest cyclist. The comparison showed how dramatically Western women's lives have changed in a little over a century, due to the activism of other, remarkable women across three 'waves' of feminism. You have also explored some of the challenges for women in the developing world and for minority groups within Western countries. At the turn of the twentieth-century, Londonderry was ridiculed by the press, but in this century, women who speak up about violence and inequity are starting to be recognised and respected in a way that was never possible in the past.

What does this all mean for the women's rights movement and for women, in every part of the world, moving into the future? Anne Summers, in her 2002 conclusion to *Damned Whores and God's Police*, her seminal study of women in Australian history, argued that:

> ... the battles are not all won, and some ... need to be defended or fought for again. The really hard part still lies ahead of us and it will be up to the women who are young ... to find ways to make the progress of the past ... apply to all women.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement

- In the early nineteenth century, women in Britain and its colonies had limited rights.
- First wave feminism began in the nineteenth century and made gains in areas such as education, employment and property.
- Women's suffrage was the most organised and public campaign of first wave feminism. In Britain, the suffragists used political campaigning, while the suffragettes took more radical action.
- New Zealand granted women's suffrage in 1893, and Australia in 1902. British and American women did not achieve suffrage until after World War I.

Depth study: How much did second wave feminism in Australia contribute to changes in women's rights and roles?

- Women continued to campaign for reforms in the first half of the twentieth century, but the two world wars and the Great Depression offered other challenges to society.
- From the 1950s, unions became involved (for the first time) in the campaign for equal pay for women.
- The activism of the 1960s and 1970s both interacted with and inspired the Women's Liberation Movement (second wave feminism). Also key in the 1960s were technological and social changes, including the introduction of the contraceptive pill.
- The American Women's Liberation movement inspired Australian feminists, and organisations such as the Women's Action Committee (WAC), the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) and the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) emerged, as well as a diversity of smaller groups who worked in their own local areas.
- The publication of Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* in 1970 also contributed to the sense of revolutionary change occurring in Australia.
- There were many protest marches in the 1970s.
- Women's groups also worked actively to address and support women in other ways, such as centres for childcare, legal advice, family planning and refuge centres.
- Changes in girls' education were strongly campaigned for by women involved in education in Australia.
- In the 1970s, women were deliberately appointed to senior positions in the Australian public service.
- Key legislative changes provided the basis for women to gain equal opportunity.

Concluding study: Ongoing hurdles to equality and opportunity

- By the 1990s, feminists began to identify that change was slowing down or reversing.
- Third wave feminism began with women who were in their 20s in the 1990s, and embraced individuality, pluralism and a diversity of forms of feminism.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people's perspectives on feminism offer an experience of gender that intersects with issues of race and racism.
- Women in the developing world are addressing a range of issues, some of which are quite different from those experienced in Australia.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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CHAPTER 9
Environmental movement since the 1960s
Focus: Anti-fracking campaigns in Queensland



SOURCE 9.1 London, UK, May 1971. Ann Davidson outside the headquarters of Cadbury-Schweppes.

It's a balmy English spring in April 1971. The beverage company Cadbury-Schweppes announces that it is going to stop using returnable and reusable glass bottles that require a deposit, using instead modern disposable bottles. In May, Ann Davidson – a member of the newly formed environmental group Friends of the Earth (FOE) – travels from Scotland to return her 'non-returnable' bottles directly to the company at their London headquarters. FOE begins to collect and return thousands of non-returnable bottles that people had dumped in the countryside over the summer of 1971.

Initially Cadbury-Schweppes thinks FOE is worried only about litter. Over that summer FOE turns the debate to one about how society uses resources. This eye-catching campaign receives huge media coverage. It turns the newly formed organisation into environment heroes. Environmentalism has emerged as a new and fiercely debated issue between business, concerned scientists and activists.

Forty years later this photograph was chosen by readers of *The Guardian* newspaper as their favourite image from the history of the environmental movement.

Richard Leo

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The emergence of environmental movements

The imaginative campaign about disposable drink bottles was an early episode in the history of the modern environmental movement. Over the following decades, there would be countless other actions reflecting a wide range of issues and sparking a variety of responses. In this chapter you'll explore many of these. All of these actions were informed by dramatically new ways of thinking.

9.1 New ways of thinking

Towards the end of the twentieth century eco-philosopher Thomas Berry described humanity as living in between old and new stories. The 'old story', said Berry, was seeing humanity on a course of continuous improvement through scientific and technological advancement and organisation, or progress.

One way that progress has been seen in our society was described in a school textbook from the early twentieth century.

SOURCE 9.2 A geography textbook used in Australian schools pre-World War II

> [Man] is limited by the forces of nature: but he controls and directs those forces so that they become ever more obedient to his will. ...
>
> Gradually, ... the conflict between the giant plants and man is being decided in favour of man ... trees ... are being hewn down ultimately to become tables and chairs in distant lands. The forest gives place to grass that more readily answers man's purposes ... man's control over vegetation is so complete that he preserves in his parks ... remnants of the plant life that once dominated him.

W. Weston, *Transport and Trade*, 1929

Responding to the geography textbook

1. The author uses the verb 'control' to describe the human relationship to nature. What other words are used here to describe that relationship?
2. What specific type of control does the author describe?
3. Do you think this extract is simply describing the human–nature relationship, or is it implying that this interconnectivity is a good thing? Explain with reference to specific words.
4. Do you think this textbook would have had a powerful effect on school students' attitudes to the natural world? Explain your response.
5. How differently would you expect a modern school textbook to describe the human–nature relationship?

The ideas and values described in the geography textbook are vastly different from those of FOE. This difference is described and explained in the table in Source 9.3, contrasting an eco-centric/conserver position and an anthropocentric/instrumentalist position.

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ACTIVITY 9.1

Consider the extremes of thinking about society, economy and environment

Ecocentric/conserver		Anthropocentric/instrumentalist
Communitarian, cooperative, egalitarian, democratic	Society	Individualistic, competitive, aspirational, stratified by criteria such as wealth, success and influence
Productive activity to meet basic needs and wants. Work is guided by ethical principles socially and environmentally	Economy	Maximum productive activity to try to meet increasing needs and wants. Materialistic, consumerist
Environmental resources are used to meet basic human needs while aiming for minimal impact on the environment	Environment	Environmental resources can be used to the maximum level that does not produce immediate collapse

SOURCE 9.3 Brian Hoepper, Amy Cutter-Mackenzie and Rob Gilbert, 'Sustainability', in Gilbert and Hoepper, *Teaching Humanities and Social Sciences*, 6th edn, 2017, p. 431

1. Working in pairs, one of you creates an imaginary Australian with anthropocentric/instrumental values. Write a description of a typical day for that person in a way that highlights those values. The other does the same for someone with ecocentric/conserver values. Compare your descriptions, then probe further into each other's beliefs and actions through some interview questions.
2. Which of these two extremes more closely expresses the viewpoint in Source 9.2?
3. The Wilderness Society has posted a video of the Australian musician John Butler performing his song *Treat Yo Mama* in a tree-sit in Tasmania. Use your preferred search engine to find this video online, as well as the lyrics to the song. What type of thinking does the song reflect? Identify key lines that match the ideas in Source 9.3.

ACTIVITY 9.2

Self-assess your attitudes about natural environments

Conserver/ecocentric						Anthropocentric/instrumentalist
The natural environment is valuable in itself, regardless of what people think.	The natural environment has a 'right' to exist. It has *intrinsic* value.	People and nature can be connected in deep and meaningful ways.	People can care for natural environments and gain economic, social and emotional benefits from them.	People can use natural environments as fully as possible for economic benefits. Nature has *instrumental value*.	The natural environment is valuable because people can use it for their benefit.	

SOURCE 9.4 Brian Hoepper, 'Sustainability', in Gilbert and Hoepper, *Teaching Humanities and Social Sciences*, 6th edn, 2017, p. 439

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ACTIVITY 9.2 Continued

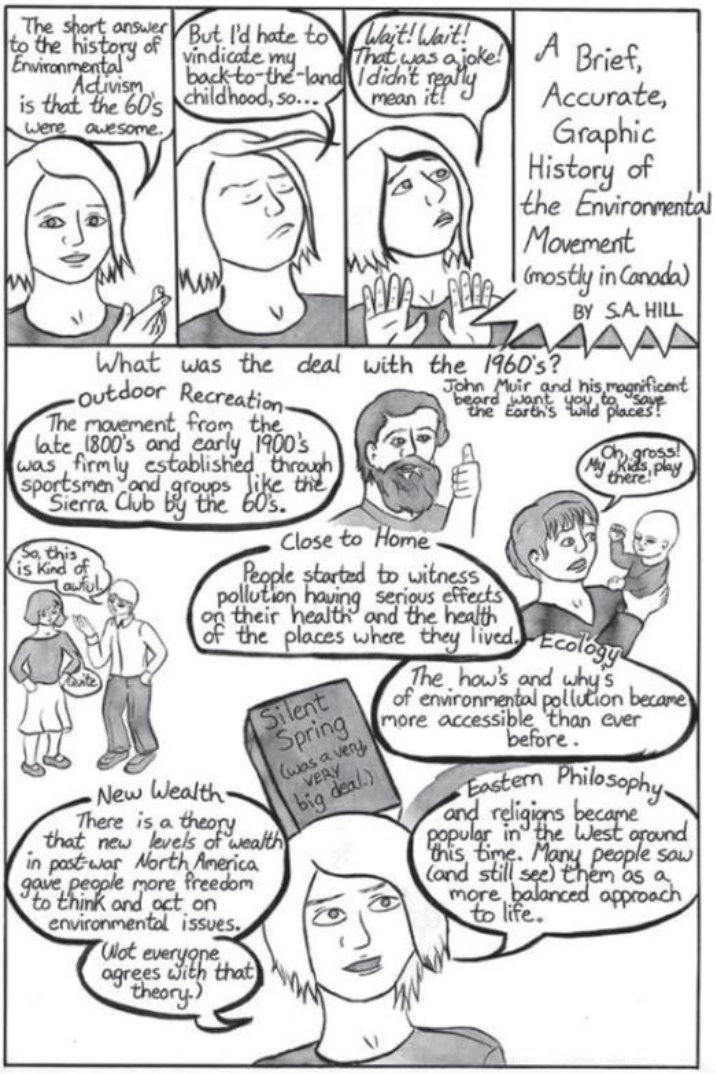
1. Read through the descriptors in Source 9.4. The attitudes in the two central columns are similar. What could be one significant difference between the two in terms of practical everyday activity?
2. Which of these six descriptors do you most identify with? What are you already doing in your life that reflects that way of thinking? What might you do in the years ahead to reflect it? Share your thoughts with a classmate. Do you agree with each other's self-assessment?

These two sources suggest that it's important to think about both the natural world *and* people's relationships with that world. That means that thinking environmentally usually means also thinking socially, politically and economically and invoking values and ethics in the process. This amalgamation of ideas is a key feature of modern environmental movements.

9.2 Environmental movements

Although this chapter's title refers to environmental 'movement' – echoing the usage in the Queensland modern history syllabus – many would argue that the plural 'movements' is more accurate. In her 2014 *Graphic History of the Environmental Movement (Mostly in Canada)*, Steph Hill hints at why movements is more accurate. Source 9.5 shows a frame from this graphic history text.

Given the new ways of thinking noted by Hill, and the awareness of different environmental threats, it's no wonder different environmental groups and movements developed. As you undertake this study, you'll recognise this diversity and plurality. Environmental movements have embraced people of various political persuasions, ethnicities, gender and generations. Although groups like the Sierra Club had been advocating for wilderness conservation since the late nineteenth century, modern environmental movements trace their origins to the 1960s. The 1962 publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* awakened many to the threat to the Earth by human actions. As Steph Hill says, *Silent Spring* 'was a very, VERY big deal'.



SOURCE 9.5 A frame from Steph Hill's (2014) *Graphic History of the Environmental Movement (Mostly in Canada)*
What factors does Hill say were influential in the growth of environmental thought in the 1960s? Access the entire book online and note what it says about the 1980s and 1990s. Hill points out that books were used to spread core environmental ideas in the early years. Research what each book mentioned in the narrative text says about humanity and how we use our resources. The entire book is available online.

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How did *Silent Spring* help to develop an ecological consciousness?

Rachel Carson was a respected marine biologist and author when she published *Silent Spring*. As a scientist and established writer, she used the new field of ecology to clearly communicate the broad ranging impacts that chemicals were having on ecosystems across the USA and how humans were intimately linked with larger environmental systems as ecologically embedded beings. Ecology studies how organisms, including humans, interact with, influence and live in their natural environments. Warning against the overuse of chemicals and the effect of pollution on modern lives, *Silent Spring* quickly became a popular and influential book. It opened with an imaginary 'Fable for Tomorrow' of small town America.

SOURCE 9.6 Excerpt from the opening chapter of Carson's *Silent Spring*

> The countryside was ... famous for the abundance and variety of its bird life ... Others came to fish the streams, which flowed clear and cold out of the hills ... Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle and sheep sickened and died. Everywhere was a shadow of death. The farmers spoke of much illness among their families. In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by new kinds of sickness appearing among their patients. There had been several sudden and unexplained deaths, not only among adults but even among children, who would be stricken suddenly while at play and die within a few hours ...
>
> This town does not actually exist ... Yet every one of these disasters has actually happened somewhere ... A grim specter has crept upon us almost unnoticed, and this imagined tragedy may easily become a stark reality we all shall know.

Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1962, p. 1

Responding to *Silent Spring*

1. How has Carson depicted the way of life that had existed in this small country town?
2. What events have upset that way of life?
3. Why might Carson have chosen *Silent Spring* as the book's title? How is the title both simple and ominous?
4. What words in the extract has Carson used to create a sense of mystery?
5. Do you think that Carson's use of a fictitious story would be a powerful technique in convincing readers, or could it backfire? Explain your response.
6. Does her final paragraph seem a clever way to try to get maximum impact? Explain your response.
7. Why might many Americans have not reacted to Carson's book in the way she had hoped?
8. Can you think of other books that use fables to critique society? Have some been famously successful? Can you see any of the features of these works in the excerpt above?
9. Search online to see the many different cover designs of *Silent Spring* used over the decades. Which do you think are most effective and why? Which later versions include words that suggest Carson's thesis had become accepted as valid?

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There was no evil spell. What Carson was describing was the probable impact of pesticide use in agriculture, particularly the chemical known as DDT. Its use had grown significantly over the previous several decades. These chemicals were seen as the solution to controlling pests and improving agricultural yields, but they also reached into the US family home.

SOURCES 9.7 A&B Two advertisements for DDT published in the post-war era

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Carson's book was so successful that she was called to testify before a Senate subcommittee on pesticides in June 1963. There she emphasised the interconnectedness of the natural world by explaining that DDT residue could be found in 'the oil of fish that live far out at sea' and that citizens had a right to know what the government was spraying into the air around their property without their permission.

Her opponents accused her of being a radical, fanatic or even a communist. Others claimed she was an amateur, not a professional scientist, and magazines like *Time* and *Life*, presented her as a stay-at-home mother, describing her arguments as hysterical or irrational. The chemical company Monsanto even published their own 'fable' in October 1962, called *The Desolate Year* that mocked Carson's work and argued that insects would overrun America and that food would be in short supply.

But Carson's message could not be silenced. Other influential books followed that helped shape the movement's ideas – *The Population Bomb* (1968), *Limits to Growth* (1972) and *Small is Beautiful* (1973). The birth of transnational groups such as Greenpeace (1971), Friends of the Earth International (1969) and the World Wildlife Fund (1961) helped propel a new ecological consciousness.

Despite significant opposition there were early environmental successes in the US. Laws to ensure clean air and water and the founding of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 were ascribed to the work of Rachel Carson. Her key success, however, was popularising the idea that humans are an ecologically embedded species; that we are part of, and not above, nature. Even so, change often came slowly. It wasn't until 2001 that the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants announced a worldwide ban on the agricultural use of DDT. Today, it is still permitted for controlling some diseases.

An emerging global focus

The famous 1968 *Earthrise* photograph heightened awareness that humanity was living on 'spaceship Earth' with limited resources. In 1970, the first Earth Day was held in the US. Ecological sensibilities were given further impetus in the 1970s when the NASA atmospheric scientist James Lovelock proposed his theory of Gaia, named after the Greek goddess of the Earth. Bruno Latour writes in *Facing Gaia* that Lovelock assured critics that he was not describing a 'goddess or … sentient being', but instead that the Earth is a giant 'superorganism' and 'self-regulating system' (2017: 94–5). Initially, Lovelock thought he heard his neighbour, the author William Golding, propose the name for his theory as 'Gyre' (gyre being a spiral or vortex that is part of a larger ocean or atmospheric system) and this mistake helps us see how Lovelock understood his theory. Gaia describes an Earth system that maintains conditions for life suitable for its own survival. His theory proposes that both the organic and inorganic parts of the Earth have evolved together as one single, self-regulating, living system that modulates and maintains the necessary living conditions for the survival of the planet.

By the 1980s, as groups from across Asia, Latin America and Africa connected with European and North American campaigners, so the movement began to integrate environmental issues with concerns over human rights, cultural diversity, and social or economic justice. Meanwhile, campaigns of natural conservation were seeing success. Greenpeace's anti-whaling campaign, started in 1975, achieved a worldwide moratorium on commercial whaling from 1986. A more global outlook also emerged during the 1980s. Concerns about nuclear power, acid rain or dumping toxic waste at sea took on greater visibility through grassroots actions or

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SOURCE 9.8 *Earthrise*, photograph taken from Apollo 8 on 24 December 1968. Black-and-white images had been previously captured in 1966 but this was the first time that humanity had seen their planet in colour. The wilderness photographer Galen Rowell described it as the 'most influential environmental photograph ever taken'.
What features (e.g. framing, coloration) of this image would encourage him to make this comment? How might this view of Earth have encouraged people to become more globally aware? In what ways could this image lend support to Lovelock's theory? Twenty-two years later, in 1990, the Voyager 1 space probe took another photograph that became known as the *Pale Blue Dot*. Search out this photograph and astronomer Carl Sagan's famous commentary inspired by this second photograph online. In what ways could these two images and Sagan's comments exemplify more globally aware characteristics of environmental perspectives?

from high-profile ecological disasters such as the meltdown of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in April 1986 or the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in the Prince William Sound, Alaska, in March 1989. The success in banning chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) that were destroying the protective ozone layer around the Earth was a high point for campaigners in this period as an awareness of sustainable development percolated throughout global society. The concept is best defined by the United Nations' Brundtland report, *Our Common Future* (1987), which stated that it is 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland, 1987).

GO

ACTIVITY 9.3

Research environmental organisations

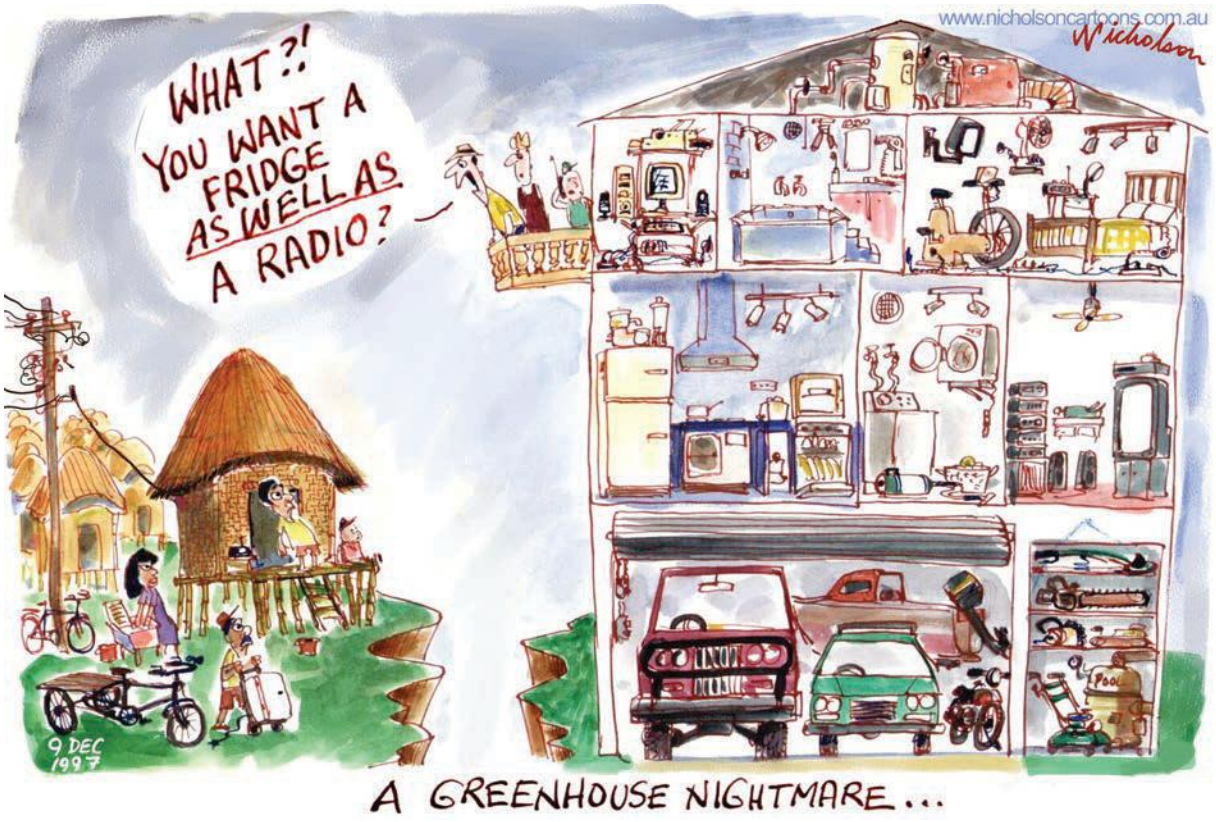
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The Brundtland report contributed to the United Nations Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in June 1992. It produced the 'Rio Declaration on Environment and Development' of 27 principles to guide sustainable development, which was signed by 170 countries. That declaration was built upon in 1997 with the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol – an international treaty by which countries agree to reduce their greenhouse emissions to combat climate change. These positive international moves proved controversial, particularly at the Rio conference. The cartoon here suggests the underlying issue.

SOURCE 9.9 Cartoonist Peter Nicholson comments on the global picture, 1997

Peter Nicholson, 'A Greenhouse Nightmare', *The Australian*, 8 December 1997



Responding to Peter Nicholson

1. What impression of a Western (minority world) family lifestyle has Nicholson created? How valid a depiction does that seem?
2. What impression of a non-Western (majority world) family lifestyle has he created? How valid a depiction does that seem?
3. What message do you think Nicholson is sending by the words he ascribes to the Western man?
4. Nicholson published this cartoon in 1997, five years after the Rio conference and the same year the Kyoto Protocol was initiated. How might this cartoon signal an underlying tension in the world as nations tried to agree on policies and strategies to create sustainable futures?
5. What change in thinking do you think Nicholson might have been trying to encourage through this cartoon?

The problem depicted by Nicholson – and one that had emerged in acrimonious debate at the Rio conference – can be expressed simply as: to pursue the goal of sustainability, the minority world (developed nations) wants to maintain its own unsustainable standard of living while expecting the majority world (developing

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nations) to give up its aspiration to achieve the minority world's standard of living. Since Rio, that tension has surfaced at every international meeting focused on sustainability.

Another Australian cartoonist, David Pope, commented on this situation from a slightly different perspective.

SOURCE 9.10 Cartoonist David Pope depicts the 'Earth Guzzle'



Responding to David Pope

1. In what ways could it be true that minority world citizens are consuming the Earth?
2. Given the details in the cartoon, what judgement do you think David Pope is making about that situation?
3. Pope suggests that three things are being tossed away as rubbish by the consumer. What are they? In what ways might Australian consumers be ignoring or abusing them?
4. Complete this sentence: 'While Nicholson's cartoon implies that minority world citizens are denying majority world citizens access to more affluent lifestyles, Pope's cartoon suggests that …'.
5. This image could be called extreme or grotesque. Do you think such a cartooning style is effective, or possibly counter-productive? Share your answer to see how diverse your classmates' views are.

The United Nations and development

The issues raised in the two cartoons can be discerned in two major sequential United Nations projects: the Millennium Development Goals (2000) and the Sustainable Development Goals (2015). Every member state agreed to try to achieve the eight initial goals (2000) by 2015.

GO

SOURCES 9.11 A&B United Nations Development Goals

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

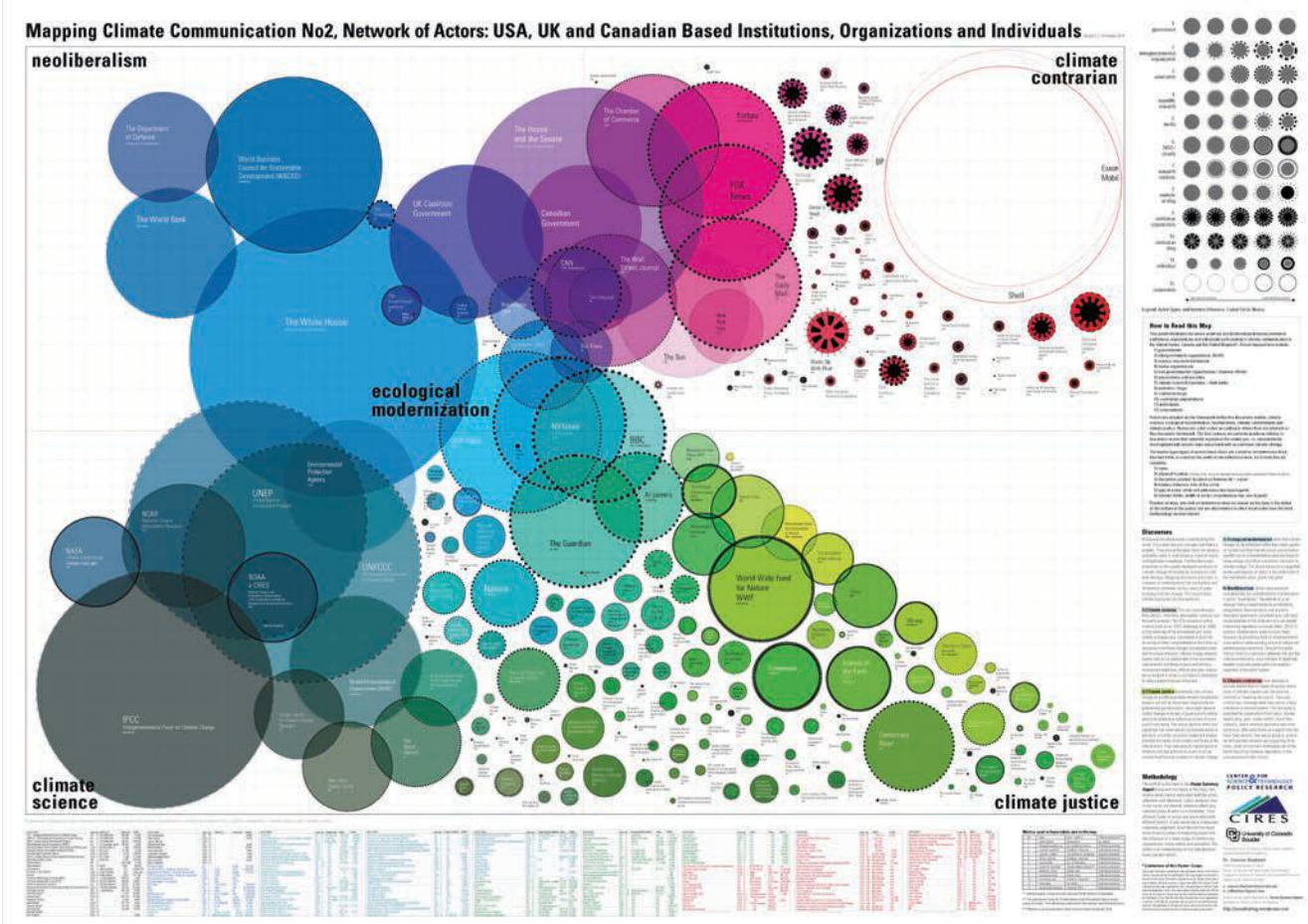
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9.3 The new challenge: climate change

Concerns about climate change had started to frame environmental concerns from the late 1980s.

In 1990, the United Nations convened the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) so that the world could obtain regular updates on the political and economic impacts of climate change based on peer-reviewed literature. The IPCC has issued five assessment reports, with the fourth (2007) and fifth reports (2014) being criticised for some of their conclusions. In the early 2000s, newer grassroots organisations such as 350.org emerged to help advocate for changes towards alternative energy and to develop more localised economies as part of the challenge to slow climate change.

The Copenhagen Climate Change conference in 2009 attempted to design an international framework to combat climate change. Largely for political reasons, the conference was not successful, with international media reporting the talks as being in disarray. More success occurred in Paris five years later. The Paris Agreement (2015) was a global attempt to respond to climate change – and in particular global warming – by limiting global temperature rises to below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. Countries are given freedom to determine how they will reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Critics noted that there was no way to force countries to announce or meet specific targets and dates.



SOURCE 9.12 A network map shows the relationships between organisations based on their underpinning ideologies and how they talk about climate change, by Joanna Boehnert in 2014. A higher resolution version of this image is available in the Interactive Textbook.

There are five key ideological positions that structure this map. What are these positions? Research what these terms mean. Organisations are colour-coded according to their ideological positions. Are there any organisations you recognise? Research any public statements these groups/organisations may have made on climate change. How do these statements help you understand their ideological position on the network map? Why might these organisations have been placed where they have been? What does the framework used here tell you about how individuals might understand the motivations of various environmental groups?

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The Anthropocene

Most recently, many scientists have recognised that humanity is entering a new geological age called the Anthropocene. Ethicist Clive Hamilton writes that the Anthropocene is the 'very recent rupture in Earth history arising from the impact of human activity on the Earth System as a whole' (2016). When the Anthropocene begins is debated, but 1945 is one suggestion. The post-World War II period is one where the direct influence of humans on the Earth System is clearly seen. It is when fertilisers were mass produced, CO_2 in the atmosphere surged, plastic pollution spread worldwide, global trade increased the spread of invasive flora and fauna between continents, and detonating and testing atomic weapons left a radiological signature in rocks around the world.

GO

SOURCES 9.13 A&B Forward-thinking people

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Making connections

In late 2017 a man named Benny Zable was protesting in Mackay about plans by Indian company Adani to develop a huge coal mine in the Galilee Basin in Central Queensland. Almost 40 years earlier, Zable had joined the anti-logging protests in northern New South Wales. In 2011, he had been in the US taking part in the Occupy Wall Street campaign. You can see here a photo of Zable's dramatic appearance in the US as the character 'Greedozer and Company'.

SOURCE 9.14 'Greedozer' at the Occupy Wall Street Protests, 16 October 2011

Benny Zable as 'Greedozer' at the Occupy Wall Street Protests, 16 October 2011



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Responding to the photograph of Greedozer

1. What is your first impression of Zable's appearance and possible messages?
2. To understand Greedozer's multi-faceted campaign, do an internet search of the following terms:
   a. 'campaign350'
   b. 'occupy wall street'
   c. 'nuclear free, carbon free'
3. What do your searches indicate are Zable's key issues?
4. What do you think the message is in Greedozer and Company's words 'Work, consume, be silent, die' and 'I rely on your apathy'?
5. Do you think Zable is (as stated earlier) 'thinking environmentally … (and) also thinking socially, politically and economically … and invoking values and ethics in the process'? Explain your response.
6. Does Greedozer and Company seem a clever name for Zable's protest character? Explain your response.
7. Does his radioactive gas mask seem an apt stage prop? Explain your response.
8. What types of reactions do you think Greedozer would evoke in people seeing the demonstration?
9. What is your personal reaction to Greedozer and Company, as presented here? Discuss this as a class.
10. Zable created his Greedozer character during the 1980 anti-logging protests. He envisaged a 'dark character with a skull head' that showed 'the ugly side of civilisation while meditating amidst the clear felled trees'. Imagine that scene. Could such a paradox or incongruity be a powerful image of protest? Explain your response.

Although Greedozer was born in the forests of northern NSW, Zable knew it was logical to take him to New York for the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protests. This might seem strange at first, as OWS started as a purely American campaign to highlight the economic disadvantage that existed in what the activists called the '1% vs the 99%', or the unequal wealth distribution between the wealthiest 1% and the rest of the population of the US. But the campaign became global in two ways. First, it spread to highlight similar inequality around the world. Second, it extended to integrate its original financial/economic issues with those of environment, society and politics. Global awareness of a deeper ecological consciousness that emphasised the relationship between environment, society, economy and politics is a key feature of modern environmental movements. The following depth study of anti-fracking environmental movements and a close study of the development of Australia's Lock the Gate Alliance will help you to understand these linkages in more detail.

9.4 Contextual study: summing up

The contextual study has traced the emergence and development of an 'ecological consciousness' – a new way of thinking about the relationships between people and their environments. A landmark event was the publication in 1962 of *Silent Spring*, which challenged people to begin thinking environmentally about their everyday lives. As issues of environmental damage became more prominent, environmental movements developed around the world. They highlighted the tension between ecocentric and anthropocentric ways of thinking. Initially, many groups focused purely on the environment, but later expanded their vision to identify the global relationship among environmental issues and those of poverty, inequality, conflict and lack of democracy. This global focus was addressed in various UN initiatives and international conferences. Today, societies continue to debate the challenge of shaping sustainable, prosperous and healthy communities at every level from the local to the global.

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DEPTH STUDY

Have anti-fracking campaigns broken new ground by engaging diverse people and interests in thinking environmentally?

The following depth study investigates how one environmental movement has influenced a variety of people with diverse social, political and economic interests to think environmentally and considers whether the environmental movement is entering a new stage that engages a broader section of society in thinking this way.

You will be looking at an anti-fracking and anti-coal mining organisation called Lock the Gate Alliance (LTG), in the region around Tara-Chinchilla in south-west Queensland.

9.5 'It's just not fair'

Anti-coal mining and fracking environmental movements such as Lock the Gate Alliance (LTG) in Australia emerged from grassroots campaigns against coal mining, as the boom of 2008–13 encouraged companies to move into areas of prime agricultural land or natural reserves. The following story describes one family caught up in this situation.

SOURCE 9.15 Narelle and Nood Nothdurft's story



'Narelle and Nood's story', *Lock the Gate Alliance*, 2014
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 05:10) before answering the questions below.

Responding to Narelle and Nood's story

1. Describe the Nothdurft family's motivations for moving to the Chinchilla region.
2. Outline how their property is being used as an industrial gas site.
3. According to both the video report and this recount, what issues do the Nothdurft family have to deal with on a regular basis?
4. Narelle describes the gas company's use of their property as an invasion. What clues in the written and/or the video account help you to understand her perspective?

As you turn your attention to the development of the group Lock the Gate Alliance in Australia, you will look at how the experiences of farmers such as the Nothdurfts contribute to creating an environmental movement in opposition to coal seam gas (CSG) extraction in Australia.

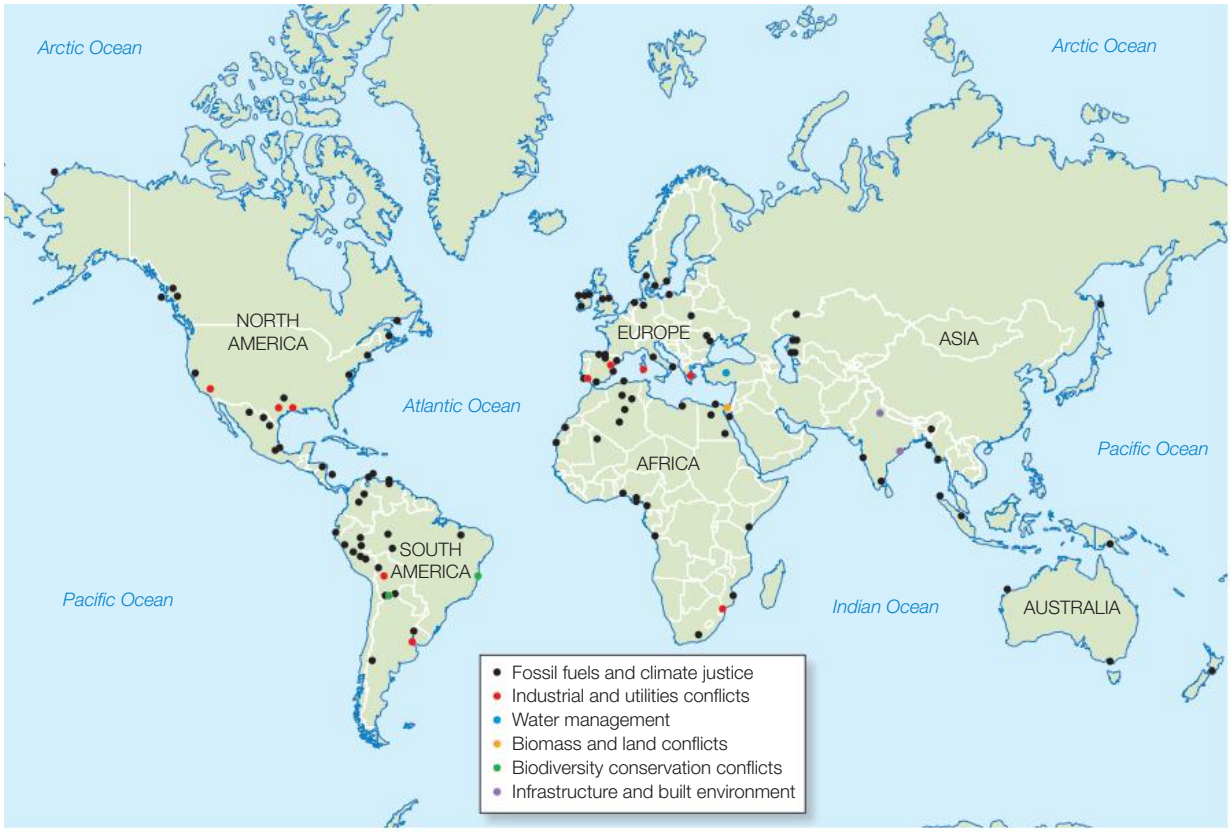
9.6 How did CSG mining become a controversial issue?

Coal seam gas (CSG) is also known as coal bed methane (CBM) gas, unconventional gas, or tight gas. It is extracted using a process called hydraulic fracturing, or fracking. To understand how fracking works in detail, undertake internet research to find various educational videos, such as those created by TED Talks (use search terms 'TED Ed Fracking').

Since around 2010, anti-fracking campaigns have increased in frequency around the world, coinciding with increased consumption of natural gas globally for electricity generation. As humanity moves to developing renewable energy sources, natural gas is touted as a 'transition energy' source given its lower

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carbon emissions when compared with oil or coal. However, it contributes significant greenhouse gas emissions and many environment campaigners have raised ethical questions about developing these new fossil fuel sources that contribute to climate change.



SOURCE 9.16 Environmental movements responding to natural gas mining in late 2017
This information comes from the Environmental Justice Atlas website, which has an interactive version of the map. Go to the online version of the map (use search terms 'environmental justice atlas') and compare the information of the interactive map with the details of the print map here. Has there been an increase or decrease? Scroll over the sites and read the information associated with each location. What overall impression are you left with of the main issues arising from these locations? How do the issues vary from location to location? Are the issues raised purely 'ecological' or are there other factors at play?

The transnational anti-fracking environmental movement came to many people's attention through key campaigns in locations such as Blackpool and Balcombe in the UK, across Romania from 2012 to 2014 and ongoing protests against the Marcellus Shale project in the US. In each location grassroots organisations emerged to co-ordinate local anti-fracking actions such as the 'Frack Off' campaign in the UK or Lock the Gate Alliance in Australia.

Concerns usually focus on environmental impacts, especially on underground water sources. There are also concerns that local communities or landholders are being aggressively overruled by energy companies seeking a quick profit and what they see as



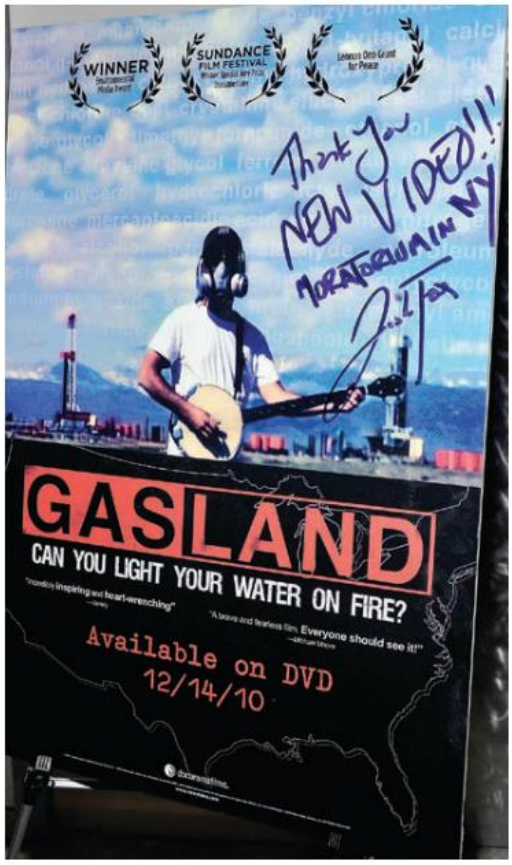
SOURCE 9.17 Protesters demonstrate outside Chevron's gas exploration well, Pungesti, Romania, on 8 April 2014.
How would you describe this demonstration in terms of its size and its actions? What does the photo suggest about the power of the protesters compared with the power of the company? Chevron is a major US company, and protesters appear to have tied ribbons – in the Romanian national colours – to the fence. What added dimension does this suggest about the situation here? Why might the Romanian Government be pleased to support this Chevron project?

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overly close relationships between politicians and energy companies. Violent clashes can occur, such as in the Revolt of Pungesti, Romania (2013), or in Ain Salah, Algeria (2015).

Director Josh Fox released the documentary film *Gasland* in 2010 and screenings popularised many anti-fracking campaigns. France halted fracking exploration in 2011 two months after the release of *Gasland* in national cinemas there, Bulgarian activists shared versions of the film on video sharing sites throughout 2011, and the film became part of an anti-mining campaign in Australia during the same period.

SOURCE 9.18 Marketing poster for *Gasland*, 2010



Marketing poster for the film *Gasland*

Responding to the marketing poster

1. The dominant image is Josh Fox playing his banjo in front of a natural gas plant while wearing a gas mask. Do you think this image was well chosen for this promotional poster? Explain your response.
2. The use of words is important in the poster.
   a. Words such as *ethylene glycol* and *benzyl chloride* overlay the clouds. What do these words refer to? What is the effect of juxtaposing clouds with these words?
   b. What message do you think Josh Fox is trying to convey by overlaying the title and tagline on an outline map of the US?
3. How could the tagline 'Can you light your water on fire?' encourage interest in the film? Conduct research into the events of Cuyahoga River in Ohio, 1969. How might the image of burning water contextualise concerns within the history of environmental movements in the US?
4. What expectations would you develop about the point of view expressed in the film after seeing this marketing poster?
5. In what ways are the concerns of Benny Zable – whom you met earlier in the chapter – reflected in the concerns of Josh Fox? Justify by drawing connections in the imagery between the poster and Zable's 'Greedozer' character.

ACTIVITY 9.4

Watch a documentary: *Gasland*

Documentaries are useful for learning about a historical or contemporary issue even though they, like all source material, can reflect a particular standpoint and project a certain perspective. Watch *Gasland* online and consider how Josh Fox has positioned you to understand (and possibly respond to) the issue. Some questions you could ask might include:

- What makes this documentary memorable?
- Where can the director's point of view be identified in the documentary?

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ACTIVITY 9.4 Continued

1. How are some, or all, of the following elements (listed a–h below) used to develop the narrative of the documentary? Which elements are particularly used to convey the filmmaker's point of view about the issue, as distinct from simply conveying undisputed information?
   - **a.** Clear-voiced commentator and their gender
   - **b.** Editing of images
   - **c.** Re-enactments
   - **d.** CGI
   - **e.** Interviews: living participants, historians, or both
   - **f.** Use of alternative views or those who disagree
   - **g.** Talking head experts with their names and affiliations in titles
   - **h.** Location filming.
2. Identify some of the key issues in *Gasland* and complete the following table to recount, explain or interpret, and provide the justification for each issue.

Issue or event in *Gasland*	**Recount** What happened?	**Explain or interpret** Why did it happen?	**Justification** How do individuals try to justify their actions?

9.7 How did opposition to the dominant development ethos grow in Australia in recent decades?

Environmentalist Jeff Angel, in his book *Green is Good*, describes how the wilderness 'battles [of the 1960s–1980s] to preserve the forests, beaches, rivers and wilderness areas' (2008:174) in Australia are what distinguish an earlier *conservationist* era from the later *environmental* era. These campaigns challenged the development ethos of Australian governments and business and promoted a 'moral refocus in our society about how it looks after the land'.

The wilderness campaigns that focused on preventing dams in south-west Tasmania and the Daintree Rainforest of Northern Queensland were key moments in that history. After failing to prevent the flooding of Lake Pedder in 1972, environmental activists were determined to block a proposed dam on the Gordon River that would flood the remarkable Franklin River. Over the summer of 1982–83, around 6000 people arrived in the Tasmanian west coast town of Strahan to conduct a tense and dramatic blockade. A national campaign and a federal election saw the new Labor government block the project in early 1983. In Queensland, another campaign during 1983–84 to prevent a road through the Daintree rainforest failed initially, but the Wet Tropics achieved World Heritage status in 1988.

While the wilderness campaigns of the early 1980s marked a watershed moment for environmental thinking in Australia, challenges to a development ethos in Australia had been occurring since the 1960s. In 1967, a proposal to mine the Great Barrier Reef for lime to use as cheap fertiliser was defeated in the local courts. In the 1970s a proposal to drill for oil on the reef sparked a 12-year international campaign

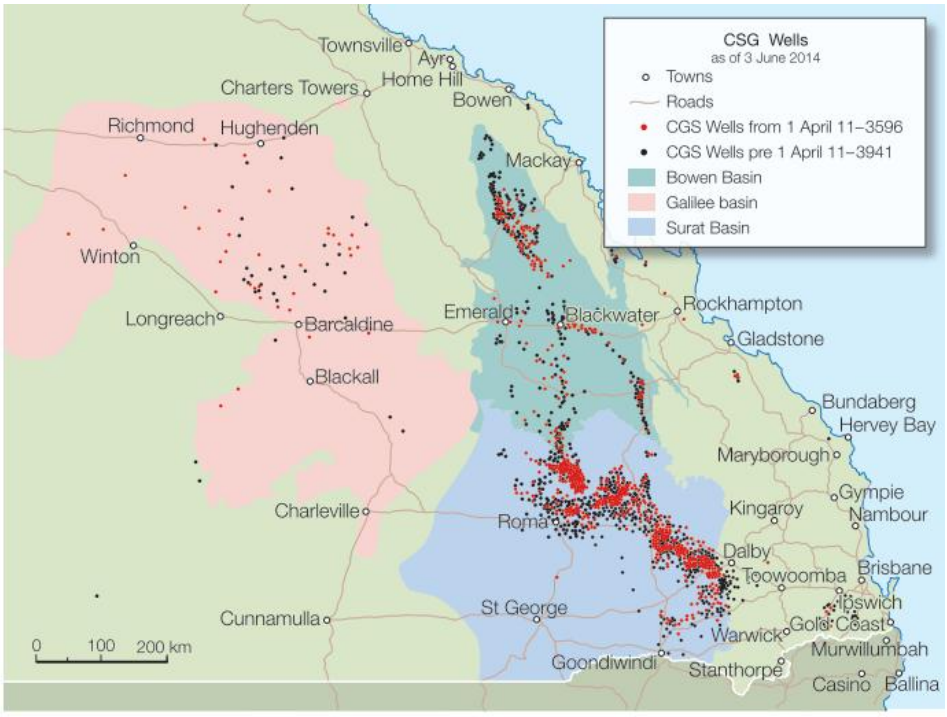
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that resulted in World Heritage Listing for the Great Barrier Reef in 1981. During the same decade, John Sinclair organised a campaign through the volunteer community organisation FIDO (Fraser Island Defenders Organisation) to halt sand mining on the now World Heritage listed Fraser Island. Sand mining ceased on the island in 1976 when the federal government cancelled export licences for minerals mined on the island. In 1983, the growing anti-nuclear movement campaigned to prevent the mining of the world's largest single deposit of uranium near Roxby Downs in South Australia. While that mine (the Olympic Dam mine) eventually opened, campaigners were more successful in 1998 when the Jabiluka uranium mine in Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, was halted.

In the 2000s, Australia experienced a 'once in a generation' mining boom. Historian David Lee, in his book *The Second Rush*, describes how this boom was led by a demand for Australia's coal from Asian countries, especially China, which increased its imports of Australian coal from four million tonnes per year in 2007 to 47 million tonnes in 2009, nearly a fifth of Australia's coal exports.

This rapid expansion of the coal industry saw coal mines encroaching on land already used for agriculture. As governments approved the increasingly intensive activities of mining companies, many in rural communities began to experience a sense of disenfranchisement from the political process. Some communities began to create protest groups, such as the Friends of Felton on Queensland's Darling Downs in 2008. These emerging anti-coal mining movements drew on familiar arguments of environmental degradation and inter-generational sustainability as they started another chapter in the history of Australian environmental movements. It was in this context that anti-fracking environmental movements also grew.

The CSG industry in Australia is mainly located in Queensland and provides around 90% of all CSG extracted in Australia. Conventional gas had been mined in Queensland since 1915, and CSG has been mined in Australia for nearly 30 years. A new policy released by the Queensland Government in 2000 designed to meet Australia's obligations under the Kyoto Protocol mandated that by 2005, 13% of



SOURCE 9.19 Map of CSG wells and high productivity aquifers in Eastern Australia, 3 June 2014
Identify the location of the Surat, Bowen and Galilee Basins. What differences in the number of wells in each basin do you see? If most gas were to be exported by ship, what infrastructure would need to exist already, or to be constructed?

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Queensland's electricity should be sourced from natural gas. By 2007, Queensland was producing 15 times more gas than it had in 1999 and by 2013 a $70 billion investment had established the world's first CSG to LNG export industry by linking production in the Surat and Bowen Basins to processing plants on Curtis Island near Gladstone.

Fracking technology had made these fields financially viable. By 2017, there were four main companies involved in producing CSG-LNG in Queensland, working predominantly in the Surat and Bowen Basins: QGC-BG Group (Queensland Gas Company), Arrow Energy, Origin Energy and Santos.

SOURCE 9.20 Tara-Chinchilla gasfields



An undated aerial photo of the gasfields in the Tara-Chinchilla region of Queensland. This photograph is often used by anti-CSG campaigners as evidence of the industrialisation of an agricultural landscape. It has been estimated that for each wellhead, around 1 kilometre of road has been created.

Responding to the image

1. What impact could these roads have on the local flora and fauna, and on maintaining local ecosystems?
2. The fracking of one CSG well requires, on average, 2–3 million litres of water in its lifetime. In the area framed in this photograph, how many litres of water could be extracted over the lifetime of the gasfield?
3. Compare this photograph with the map of the wells currently installed. What would the landscape probably look like if 40 000 wells were drilled across the Bowen and Surat Basins? What impacts on the local environment could that have?

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The CSG industry had grown rapidly alongside coal-mining. Grassroot anti-mining campaigns since the 1960s and the rapid expansion of coal-mining in the 2000s provided the context into which the anti-fracking movement in Australia first materialised. The CSG resources in the Surat Basin, when compared to the Bowen Basin, were located under a more closely settled agricultural district (the Darling Downs) which, according to the Gas Fields Commission of Queensland, 'set the stage for a rocky start to relationships between gas companies, landholders and rural communities' (June 2017:17).

9.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Why did Lock the Gate Alliance (LTG) emerge as an environmental movement?

In Australia, the various anti-fracking and anti-coal mining movements coalesced around an organisation called Lock the Gate Alliance (LTG).

The movement began when environmental activist Drew Hutton was invited by local farmers and anti-fracking and anti-coal mining groups to the region around Tara-Chinchilla in south-west Queensland. At its first meeting, an initial name suggestion was 'Shut the Gate' but Lee McNicholl, a well-known grazier from Dulacca, responded that everyone in the country already 'shuts the gate'. He suggested 'Lock the Gate' instead.

Origins of LTG

SOURCES 9.21 A&B Drew Hutton recounts the origins of LTG

A 'Lessons from Lock the Gate Movement', 2012

> I went from farmhouse to farmhouse. I found despair, bitterness, anger and depression. I was often met with resentment that someone with my background (an environmental activist) would be arriving at their door. Nevertheless, most saw the value of having a strategic alliance with environmentalists ... it was the Western Downs Alliance that persuaded me to drop all my roles in the Greens and take on coal seam gas. The WDA consists mostly of 'blockies' – often very poor people, many on disability pensions, who have moved out to live on lifestyle blocks on the western Darling Downs. They might be poor but some such as Dayne Pratzky, Michael Bretherick, Scott Collins and Debbi Orr have become key campaigners in Lock the Gate as a whole. All issues – good farm land, underground water and environmental values – are important, but the Tara 'blockies' represent a touchstone issue in the campaign. The company QGC plans to put a gas field right across their rural residential estate which is already surrounded by gas infrastructure. This will make their lives miserable and their blocks unsaleable. This is a major social justice issue and they deserve support.

Drew Hutton, 'Lessons from Lock the Gate Movement', *Social Alternatives, 31*(1), 2012, pp. 15–19

B *Mining: the Queensland Way*, 2013

> At first, many were cautious about me, because farmers and environmentalists had been on opposite sides of the fence on many contentious issues. At one farm on the Western Downs, I met Wayne Dennis who said, 'You're the bastard who caused all my problems in the first place' (meaning the tree clearing laws passed by the state government in 1999). However, when I

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asked if that meant he didn't want to talk to me, he said, 'No of course not. Come in. Have a cup of tea. Let me tell you about those bloody gas companies'.

Drew Hutton, *Mining: the Queensland Way*, 2013, p. 95

Responding to Drew Hutton's recollections

1. Review the Wikipedia pages for the region of the Darling Downs and the towns of Chinchilla and Tara. Based on the information available on these pages, what impression of the region do you get?
2. The 'blockies' are important figures in the early days of the movement. According to Hutton, who are they? What does Hutton say is the 'touchstone issue' in Tara? Explain whether, from its inception, LTG seemed to be focused on 'issues of the environment' or on 'issues of thinking environmentally'?
3. Research the conflict between 'greenies' and farmers over the land clearing laws in Queensland around 2000. Does that explain why Hutton was not liked initially by many he visited on farms?
4. Referring to the list of concerns from Sources 9.22 A–F (below), propose some reasons why farmers may have seen value in forming a 'strategic alliance with environmentalists'.

On 20 November 2010, representatives from eight farmers' and residents' organisations assembled at state parliament in Brisbane to officially launch the campaign. Gathered around the dramatic prop of a farm gate, they declared their opposition to new coal mines and the planned 40 000 CSG wells across the agricultural regions of Queensland.

SOURCES 9.22 A–F Official launch of the Lock the Gate movement, 20 November 2010

A Friends of the Earth spokesperson Drew Hutton

The whole weighting of environmental legislation, of impact assessments, of environmental approvals and of land access laws are weighted completely in favour of the mining industry and against farmers. This is the most radical transformation of rural Queensland since the nineteenth century.

B Dulacca farmer and community leader Lee McNichol

The scales of justice are seriously tilted against the farming community, the community in general, and against good environmental regulation. We have to make a stand now to address some of these issues.

C John Erbacher of Wandoan, referring to the expected development locally of Australia's largest coal mine and CSG exploration

For the generations of the future, we need food, [but] do we need coal?

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D Graham Clapham of the Save the Darling Downs group, commenting on landholders' thoughts and feelings about the CSG industry

> We're angry because the government has forced us to the drastic step of locking our farm gates and we're confused because we can't understand why our government is so keen to grant unlimited rights to foreign multinational mining companies that are not available to Queensland citizens.

E Dayne Pratzky of the Western Downs Alliance, referring to residents locking miners out of rural residential estates near Tara and Chinchilla, home to 3000 people

> If the government want to take us on ... they can try and bulldoze us, but they're going to need a lot more than a piece of paper and a bulldozer to get into our homes. They're our homes, it's where we live, it's not an industrial zone.

F Organic farmer Graham Beck in *The Courier Mail*

> Widespread mining activity would make it impossible for growers to access certificates as organic growers.

Responding to the statements

1. Identify the types of concerns raised by the various individuals.
2. List the different groups and interests represented. Conduct internet research to see what you can find out about these different groups or interests. Be aware that some groups have since closed down or merged into new entities but they still have a digital footprint which you can use to do this research.

Property and mining rights

Earlier in this chapter, the Nothdurfts described how they were threatened with going to the Land Court if they did not agree to further wells on their property. This threat illustrates how the issue of individual property rights engaged numerous landowners and others against the CSG industry. Many asked how it was possible that a gas company could have the right to enter onto their land and establish wellheads and other infrastructure without a landowner's permission.

Under Australian law, property rights and mining rights are considered separately. The state owns the mineral rights under all farmland and can give permission for exploration and mining to occur even if a landowner objects. In 1915, Queensland legislated for public ownership of petroleum, including gas, as a mineral resource. So, the question surrounding an individual's property rights is whether companies, with government permission, have the right to access land for exploration of and drilling for CSG because the industry will have economic benefits for the wider population, or whether farmers prevent access to private land to protect their own interests.

In Queensland, the *State Development and Public Works Organisation Act (11d) 1971* allows mining companies to enter a property because their work is approved as 'Infrastructure Facility of State Significance'. If a landholder wants to prevent access, the *Petroleum and Gas (Production and Safety) Act 2004* says that agreement must be reached within 20 business days. If there is no agreement, an additional 20 days are provided to allow further meetings between the landholder and the gas company. If there is still disagreement, the company can then file the case to the Land Court, and 10 days after filing, companies can commence activities on the land selected.

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These laws help to explain why the Nothdurfts were told they would be taken to the Land Court if they did not agree to more wells on their property.

Landowners were also concerned about how they were treated by representatives of the gas companies.

SOURCE 9.23 Accounts of attitudes held by gas company representatives

Daniel (Chinchilla): If you ask me the question, was the concern with water? My answer is no. It was really the case of how they [CSG industry] were and are treating the landowners, walking over the top of, lacking respect for and disregarding the rights of the landowner. It was that attitude which caused people to look at the wider picture. And the issue of water wouldn't have happened until people's [water] bores started to drop, but, because of their attitude, people started to look at the other issues.

Gilbert (Tara): They [CSG Company] don't say, 'Can we come in? Would you mind if we come in? Can we put a well here?' Or 'We are sorry our activities caused you trouble'. It's just, 'we are coming here and we will be putting wells here and there'.

Timothy (Tara): I wish they [CSG companies] would have worked with the people. We were not after big money, as in the past there never had been any big compensation. It was just the attitude of companies ... [they] walk over the landowner and will do whatever they like to them ... the bluffers. The more CSG started to ramp up there were more cases of companies' attitude towards the landholders. [The CSG company] almost had the attitude that we are the colonial masters. And that's what really started the landowners to resist.

Interviews conducted in 2013 by Muhammad Makki, *Coal Seam Gas Development and Community Conflict: a comparative study of community responses to coal seam gas development in Chinchilla and Tara, Queensland*, 2015, pp. 94, 99, 102

Responding to the accounts of landholders

1. What does Daniel's account indicate about the original concerns of many landowners who were in conflict with the CSG industry?
2. What do you think Daniel is referring to when he mentions the 'issue of water'?
3. How would you describe the attitudes of the gas company representatives portrayed here?
4. Timothy describes the attitude of the gas company as being like a 'colonial master'. What do you think he means by this comment? How might this help explain Narelle Nothdurft's assessment that she felt 'invaded'?
5. How do the landowners wish they were treated by the gas companies?
6. Refer to earlier sections on eco- and anthropocentric worldviews. Based on the evidence you have seen so far, where on this spectrum of viewpoints would you place the views of landowners who object to the CSG industry? What evidence could you point to that supports your decision?
7. Search online for any sources that provide CSG companies' descriptions of and comments on their encounters with landowners. If such sources conflict with the sources provided here, how might you evaluate the veracity of the conflicting sources?

Wider concerns

As landowners increased their opposition to the CSG industry they began to understand that an anti-fracking campaign was about more than individual property rights but also involved wider political, social, ethical and ecological concerns.

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SOURCE 9.24 Wordle image created from transcripts of interviews and surveys with CSG protesters in the Darling Downs

Bill Boyd, 'Postcolonial Times: Lock the Gate or Pull Down the Fences?', *Coolabah* (12), 2013, p. 160



Responding to the Wordle

1. Try to group the concerns of the protesters identified in the Wordle into different categories. What appear to be the main concerns of these CSG protesters?
2. Compare the concerns from the Wordle with the initial list of concerns from the first protest by LTG (Sources 9.22 A–F). What are the similarities between the two set of concerns? Where do they differ? What could account for this difference?
3. In what way do these concerns indicate that the issue of CSG fracking is an example of 'thinking environmentally', which you learned about earlier in this chapter?

The Darling Downs is regarded as a food bowl region sustaining a quarter of the state's agriculture. It is claimed that, during winter, the Lockyer Valley supplies up to 90% of Australia's fresh vegetables. The potential loss of this farmland – along with concerns about the overall ecological impacts on groundwater, chemical pollution of local waterways and aquifers, salinity, and stability of the underlying rock layers through fracking – focused the objections of anti-fracking campaigners. These issues became encapsulated in images of methane emissions bubbling up in the Condamine River. Some long-term locals argued that bubbling in the Condamine River was well known in local knowledge and in January 2013, the Queensland Government released a report stating that the bubbles posed 'no risk to the environment or to human and animal health'. The potential impact on the local environment and agriculture galvanised many to the point where *The Courier Mail* reported on 21 November 2010 that 'depression, frustration and anger are making conservative farmers … [turn] to the Greens' of the region.

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SOURCE 9.25 A CSG wellhead in an agricultural landscape



Photograph from a CSIRO fact sheet, 2011

Responding to the photograph of the CSIRO CSG wellhead

1. The title for this picture on the fact sheet is 'Coal seam gas developments are associated with a range of social, environmental and economic impacts'. What type of impacts, and what level of intensity of these impacts, are implied by the photograph supplied with the fact sheet?
2. Compare this photograph with the aerial photograph of wellheads around Tara-Chinchilla. How does this photograph give you a different understanding of the effect of wellheads on local communities and the environment? How might an anti-fracking organisation respond to the information about land use that is implied in this photograph?

LTG did not confine its focus only to the Darling Downs; it also highlighted that industrial expansion in the Port of Gladstone was damaging marine environments, while increased shipping in the area raised concerns about potential damage to the Great Barrier Reef. At a global scale, LTG emphasised that Australia was not acting as a responsible global citizen as it was contributing to climate change through exporting vast quantities of fossil fuels.

These issues galvanised a unique mix of individuals and groups across the Darling Downs and around Australia to form a strategic alliance under the banner of Lock the Gate. What is significant historically is whether LTG broke new ground as an environmental movement in terms of its aims, membership, strategies and campaigns.

ACTIVITY 9.5

Research the CSG environmental debate

The various components of the CSG environmental debate are complex. Working in small groups, undertake a group research project to identify information that may help you to understand this debate in more depth. As you do this, assess whether the information you find is supportive, not supportive or neutral in relation to the CSG industry. Use the following table and suggested research areas to assist you:

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ACTIVITY 9.5 Continued

Issue	Information	Source	Opinion on CSG extraction
Community issues – How does CSG extraction integrate with current industries in the region? – What are the various opinions of Indigenous Australians on the CSG industry for their communities? – What claims are being made about health? – How might local businesses be affected (positively or negatively) by the CSG industry? – How could local community infrastructure and/or groups be affected (positively or negatively) by the existence of the CSG industry in a region?			
Environmental issues – What issues exist around water usage and salinity? – How do scientists understand the issues around underground aquifers and the fracking process? – How is water treated at the surface? – What is the impact of multiple wells on a region's wildlife habitat, especially in ecologically sensitive areas? – Is the case of the 'burning' Condamine River a natural phenomenon or human-caused?			
Land-use issues – What are the concerns about CSG's impact on agricultural food bowl regions? – How does the CSG industry assist farmers to diversify the usage of their farmland? – What are the issues around property access? Can a landowner deny access? – Does the industrialisation of the landscape (e.g. noise levels) affect quality of life? – Is there any usage conflict between the areas known by the Queensland Government as 'strategic cropping land' and areas of accessible gas resources ('project tenements')?			

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ACTIVITY 9.5 continued

Issue	Information	Source	Opinion on CSG extraction
Larger regional issues – Is it reasonable to draw a connection between climate change and the CSG industry? – How would building gas infrastructure (port expansion, pipelines, wellheads, roads) benefit the economy of the region? – Are there any concerns for the Great Artesian Basin from fracking? – Has the CSG industry been observed to affect marine habitats? – Could increasing shipping in the Great Barrier Reef contribute to regional concerns (for example, research the events of the *Shen Neng 1* incident in 2010)? – How might international relations (e.g. with China) benefit from the LNG-CSG trade? – How would the Queensland economy benefit from the growth of the CSG industry? For how long would this benefit last?			

9.9 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Did LTG break new ground as a movement in terms of its aims, membership, strategies and campaigns?

Former mining executive Jim Cooney says companies require a 'two track approval process' for projects: a formal legal licence from governments and an informal 'social licence to operate' (Franks, 2015:43) by the communities who are affected by the project. A social licence to operate is the level of acceptance or approval by local communities of the operations of mining companies. Anti-fracking groups like LTG challenge that social licence in ways that demonstrate the complex and unexpected alliances they have formed.

Aims and objectives

The stated aims of LTG as an organisation offer a clear idea of what the group wants to achieve. By comparing LTG's aims with the aims of equivalent international groups, you'll begin to see how LTG interprets the 'social licence'.

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SOURCES 9.26 A–D Extracts from websites of various English language anti-fracking groups

A Australia: Lock the Gate Alliance website

Lock the Gate Alliance

The Lock the Gate Alliance is a national grassroots organisation made up of over 120 000 supporters and more than 450 local groups who are concerned about unsafe coal and gas mining. These groups are located in all parts of Australia and include farmers, traditional custodians, conservationists and urban residents.

Our vision is of healthy, empowered communities which have fair, democratic processes available to them to protect their land and water and deliver sustainable solutions to food and energy needs.

The mission of the Lock the Gate Alliance is to protect Australia's natural, cultural and agricultural resources from inappropriate mining and to educate and empower all Australians to demand sustainable solutions to food and energy production.

Lock the Gate was formed in 2010 following community meetings in New South Wales and Queensland. All over the eastern states, people were raising concerns about the rapid expansion of coal and coal seam gas development. A declaration was made: farmers would lock their gates to these rapacious industries. Five years on and the Alliance continues to gain momentum, with rural and urban communities all over Australia stepping up to defend our land, water, and future from the invasive coal and unconventional gas industries.

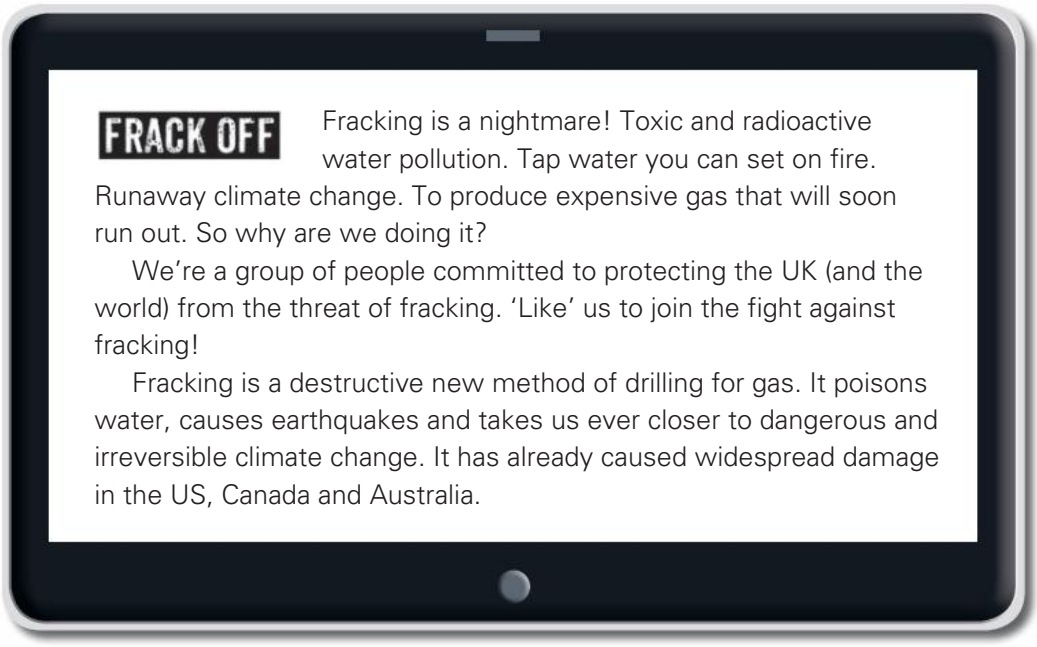
B USA: Americans Against Fracking website

Fracking and drilling associated with fracking pose a direct and immediate threat to the drinking water, air, climate, food, health and economies of communities across the United States. Americans Against Fracking is comprised of entities dedicated to banning drilling and fracking for oil and natural gas in order to protect our shared vital resources for future generations.

Our goal, quite simply, is to ban fracking. To that end, we support federal, state and local efforts to ban fracking, enact moratoriums and to stop practices that facilitate fracking like natural gas exports, frac sand mining and the construction of pipelines.

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C UK: Frack Off (UK) Facebook page



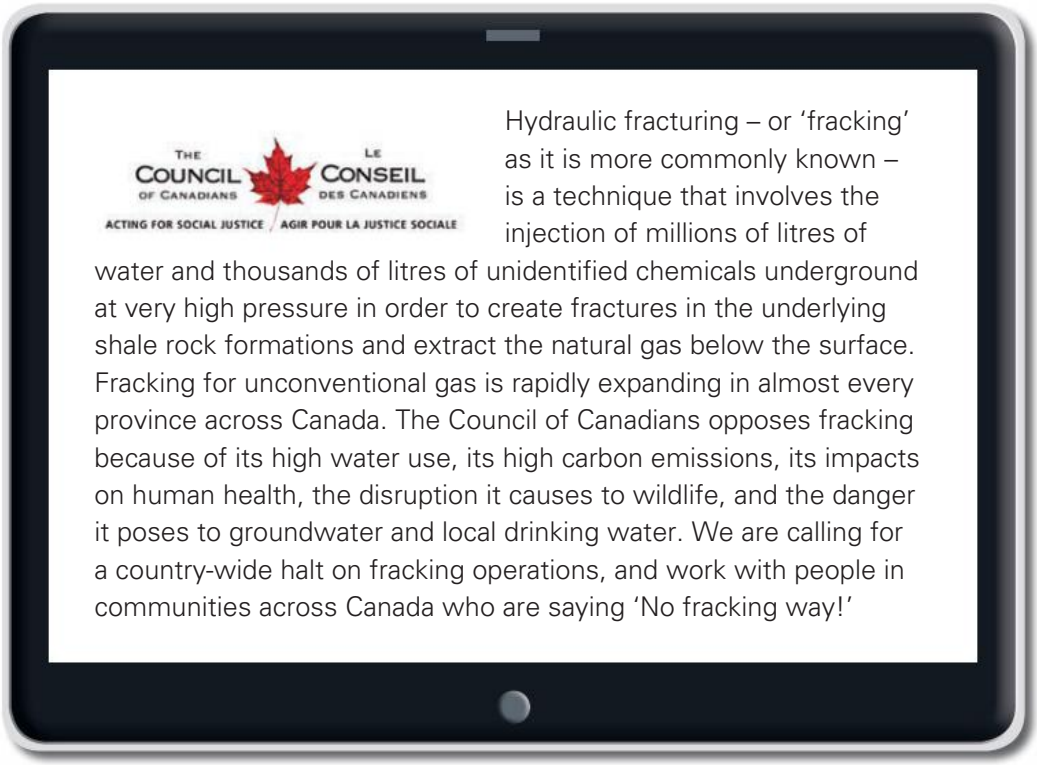
FRACK OFF

Fracking is a nightmare! Toxic and radioactive water pollution. Tap water you can set on fire. Runaway climate change. To produce expensive gas that will soon run out. So why are we doing it?

We're a group of people committed to protecting the UK (and the world) from the threat of fracking. 'Like' us to join the fight against fracking!

Fracking is a destructive new method of drilling for gas. It poisons water, causes earthquakes and takes us ever closer to dangerous and irreversible climate change. It has already caused widespread damage in the US, Canada and Australia.

D Canada: The Council of Canadians website



THE COUNCIL OF CANADIANS / LE CONSEIL DES CANADIENS

ACTING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE / AGIR POUR LA JUSTICE SOCIALE

Hydraulic fracturing – or 'fracking' as it is more commonly known – is a technique that involves the injection of millions of litres of water and thousands of litres of unidentified chemicals underground at very high pressure in order to create fractures in the underlying shale rock formations and extract the natural gas below the surface. Fracking for unconventional gas is rapidly expanding in almost every province across Canada. The Council of Canadians opposes fracking because of its high water use, its high carbon emissions, its impacts on human health, the disruption it causes to wildlife, and the danger it poses to groundwater and local drinking water. We are calling for a country-wide halt on fracking operations, and work with people in communities across Canada who are saying 'No fracking way!'

Responding to the webpages

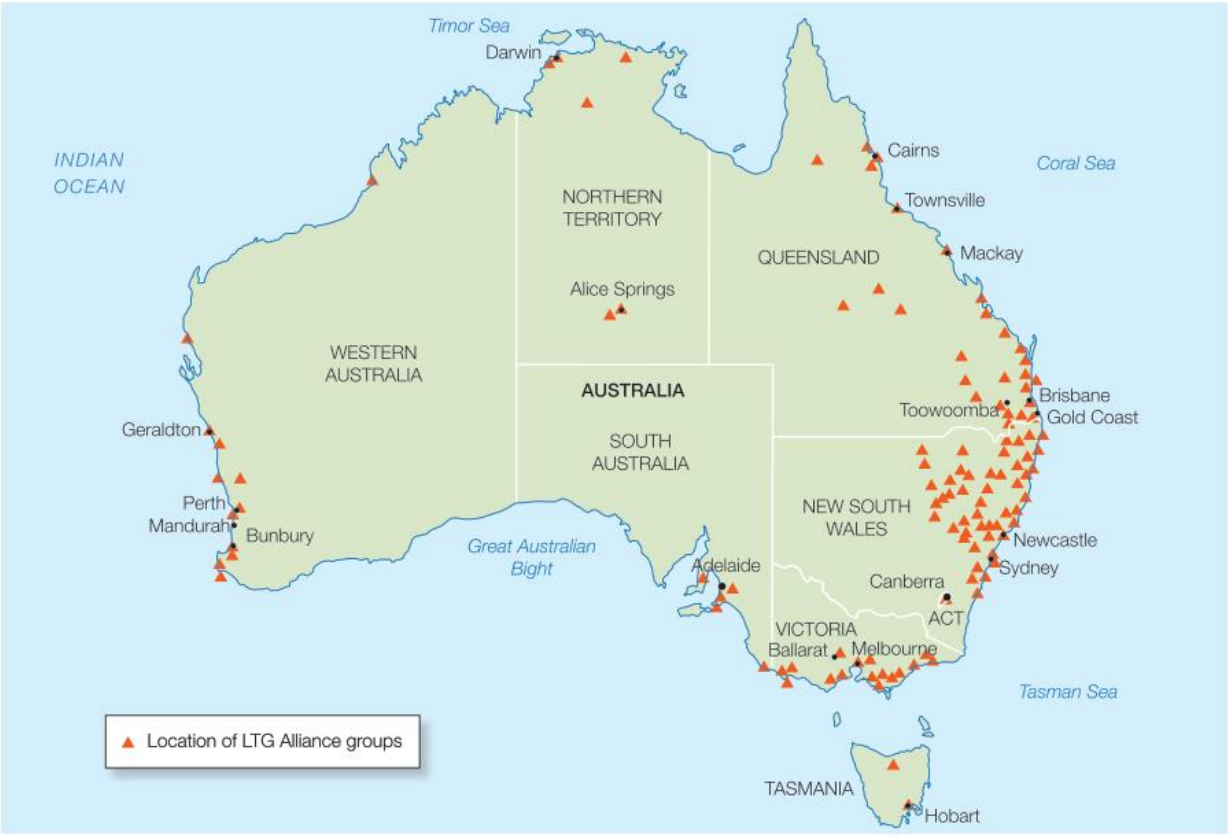
1. Identify the aims for each anti-fracking organisation shown here. There are many more around the world. The Global Frackdown webpage has a list of organisations. Peruse the organisations listed and add to your list of organisations and aims. Be aware that not every webpage will be in English. What are the common arguments by international organisations against a fracking operation's social licence?

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2. Go to LTG's 'About Us' section on their webpage. Summarise the 'Policy objectives' provided on the site. Do the same for the 'Principles and Aims' on the website. Where possible try to do the same for the international organisations provided here; you can find links to their sites through the website mentioned in Question 1.
3. Compare LTG's aims with the other fracking organisations. Where do they differ? Where are they similar? When compared with other international organisations, how would you describe what LTG is trying to achieve? How is LTG's understanding of the 'social licence to operate' different from that of other anti-fracking groups? Assess whether this makes LTG just 'another anti-fracking group' when compared with the aims and objectives of other international groups.

The structure of LTG emphasises the mutual interests between groups in the fight against the CSG industry. It is a formal alliance of connected groups that hold similar views and attitudes towards coal and CSG mining. LTG organises and brings together varied communities and groups that are opposed to coal-mining and fracking in their communities.

This strategy of affiliated decentralisation has been part of its organisational DNA since the beginning. When it launched in late 2010, it brought together various existing groups and individuals such as the Western Downs Alliance (WDA) that were working in the Tara-Chinchilla regions of the Darling Downs in Queensland.



SOURCE 9.27 Location of supporter groups around Australia, as at March 2018. The LTG Alliance website has a list of groups, and a regularly updated map.
What does this map indicate about where supporter groups are located in Australia? What might explain this distribution?

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SOURCE 9.28 Aims of WDA, now Western Downs Group Action

Philosophy

The right to have clean air.

The right to have clean water.

The right to lead our lifestyle free from interference.

Recognition of freehold [fee simple] land to its full interpretation.

To raise awareness about the dangers of hydraulic fracturing to our environment and human health.

To expose gas and oil companies who use unsafe and exploitive methods in their operations.

To hold our democratically elected representatives accountable for their actions in dealing with gas and oil companies.

'Philosophy', Western Downs Group Action website

Responding to the aims of the WDA

1. How are the objectives of WDA similar to and/or different from the aims of the international anti-fracking groups mentioned earlier in this chapter?
2. Compare the objectives of WDA with the aims of LTG. Where are they similar? Where are they different?
3. What do the aims of the WDA indicate to you about their understanding of the 'social licence'?
4. LTG's vision according to their website is one of 'healthy empowered communities'. Where can you see the roots of this idea in WDA's objectives?

A range of groups has emerged across Australia since LTG formed. These groups are community based, formed in response to locality-specific issues such as People for the Plains in Narrabri, NSW. Some groups have a national presence with local chapters such as the Knitting Nannas Against Gas. Combined, however, they provide a powerful presence behind the symbol of the yellow Lock the Gate triangle that challenges the social licence of mining companies to operate.



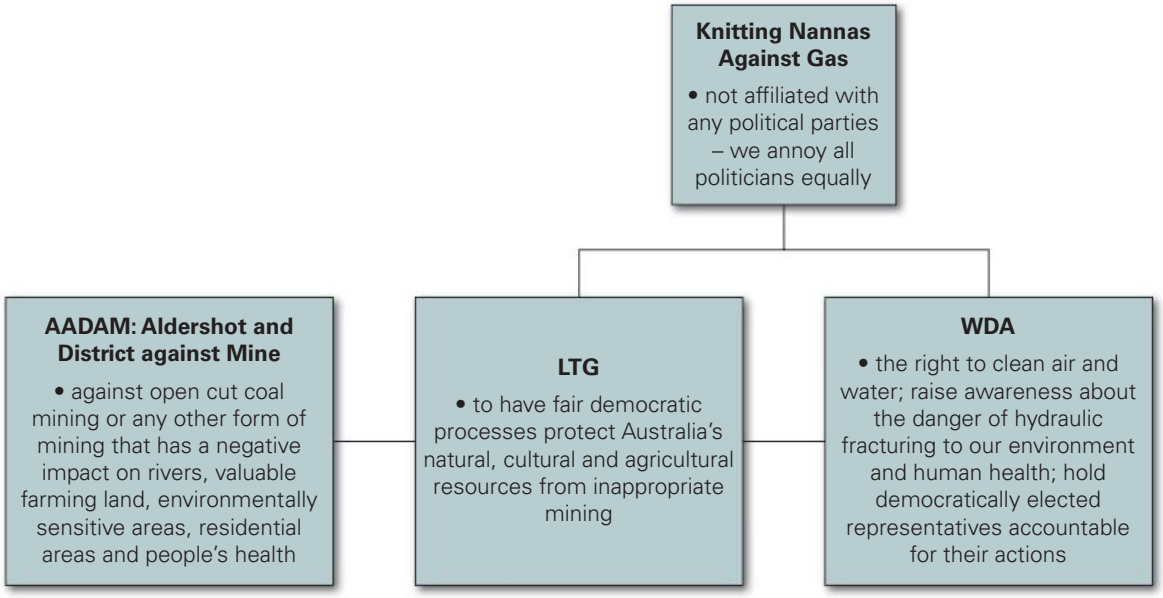
SOURCE 9.29 Lock the Gate sign on a fence in rural Australia. The symbol has become ubiquitous across communities opposed to coal and gas companies. The symbolism of the sign has its roots in the Franklin Dam campaign of the early 1980s.
Research the No Dams symbol and how it was used in that campaign. How would the symbol's history and imagery contribute to galvanising a community to remove the social licence of a company to operate?

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ACTIVITY 9.6

Conduct a goal chain analysis of anti-fracking and related groups in Australia

The technique of goal chain analysis compares the aims of various groups. These investigations can show how groups or organisations are linked to each other by association with other groups, even if on the surface they appear to be opposed. Goal chain diagrams can be as complex or as simple as the number of groups added into the diagram. Conduct a group chain analysis of anti-fracking and related groups in Australia. Visit the Lock the Gate Alliance website for a full list of groups you could include in your analysis. The example here is based on some of the groups available on the LTG website and shows the group and their key belief.



Social tensions

The emphasis that LTG places on community-focused alliances as a strategy can be traced to the division that existed in regions where it began.

University of Queensland researcher Kim de Rijke has found that the introduction of the CSG industry 'exacerbated … prior community tensions' and may have contributed to forming various anti-CSG groups in the Tara-Chinchilla area. He found sharp social divisions between 'town people' and farmers and also between multigenerational powerful farming families and more recent arrivals to the region (2013:9).

The tensions that existed between the residents of the Tara Estates and residents of the town of Tara is one example. The 'Tara Blockies', as they were known, lived on the Tara Estates, which is a subdivision of over 2000 lifestyle rural blocks developed in the early 1980s, several minutes' drive from the historical town of Tara. Today, there are around 3000 residents located on the outskirts of Tara town, a population larger than that of the traditional town of Tara. The residents of the estates have been called Blockies since the 1980s.

One Estates resident remembers an area without facilities that was all bush in 1981. Over time, the residents improved the properties but according to researcher Muhammad Makki locals still described Blockies as 'backward, whinging, uncivilized, and a bit grubby, with a baggage full of social diseases like violence, drugs, and gambling' who threatened the socio-cultural values of the community due to being

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'dole-bludgers and druggies' (2015:127). These attitudes extended beyond the local area. One resident describes how he was ashamed to tell nurses in a Brisbane hospital he was from Tara because he was afraid of the possible reaction. *The Courier Mail* also described Tara as a 'town full of misfits' (McCarthy, 2014).

SOURCE 9.30 Statements by Tara locals, 2013

Oliver: Don't tell me they represent Tara. I have been here forever. I've probably been here for 47 years and the people living here in the subdivisions were here for 30 years max. I know most of the people here. There was news about the Tara protest a few months ago, where they showed ten or fifteen people on the camera, but I have never seen one of them before. They are not from Tara and even if they are, then this is how well they are connected with the community.

Bruce: When the [CSG] industry came along, there were promises of thousands of jobs and wealth. But this is all for the townies ... Nobody gave them jobs, I mean to the Blockies, because of the tag they've got ... I know a nice bloke who got a security licence and was struggling to get a job with the gas people, but I told him to forget it. Companies aren't giving him jobs because he owns his property at the Estates. So for them [Blockies], there are no jobs.

Blake: I can tell you who is who. Country blokes are not hard to identify; they are different. You can tell who has lost their pride. [...] Many of them [Blockies] are in dirty, untidy clothes and are in need of a proper shower ... I think it's the way place claims the people.

Interviews conducted in 2013 by Muhammad Makki, *Coal Seam Gas Development and Community Conflict: a comparative study of community responses to coal seam gas development in Chinchilla and Tara, Queensland*, 2015, pp. 136, 132

Responding to the Tara locals

1. What type of attitudes towards the Tara Blockies are being expressed here?
2. How are the social divisions identified by Kim de Rijke expressed in these statements?
3. WDA is one of the original groups in LTG. Drew Hutton wrote in 1987 that there 'should be little reason for [green movements] to have a social base only in the professional and middle classes' and that they 'should take working-class concerns' into consideration as well (Hutton, *What is Green Politics?,* 1987, p. 27). How do these accounts of the social divisions in Tara contribute to your understanding of the membership of LTG?

One day early in 2011, a resident of the Tara Estates verbally abused an employee of the Queensland Gas Company who was working in the area. In response, an anonymous resident of Tara circulated a controversial public letter around the town. It focused on the Western Downs Alliance (WDA), an organisation with residents from the Estates among its membership.

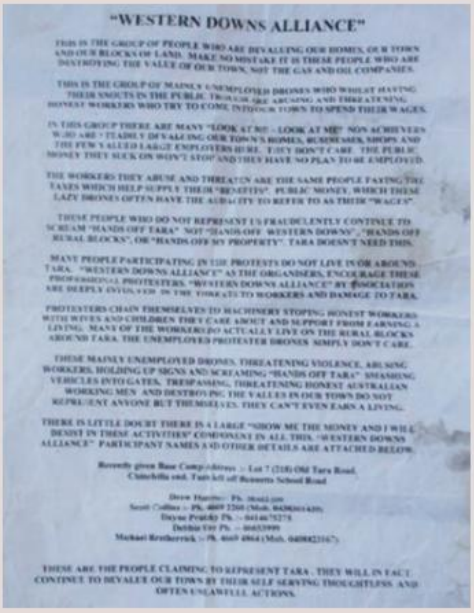
SOURCE 9.31 Letter circulated anonymously within the town of Tara in 2011

This is the group of people who are devaluing our homes, our town and our blocks of land. Make no mistake it is these people who are destroying the value of our town, not the gas and oil companies.

This is the group of mainly unemployed drones who whilst having their snouts in the public trough are abusing and threatening honest workers who try to come into our town to spend their wages.

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GO


"WESTERN DOWNS ALLIANCE"

In this group there are many 'Look at me – look at me' non achievers ... and they have no plan to be employed ... [relying on] public money, which these lazy drones often have the audacity to refer to as their 'wages'.

These people who do not represent us fraudulently continue to scream 'Hands off Tara' not 'Hands off Western Downs', 'Hands off rural blocks', or 'Hands off my property'. Tara doesn't need this.

Many people participating in the protests do not live in or around Tara ...

These mainly unemployed drones, threatening violence, abusing workers, holding up signs and screaming 'Hands off Tara' smashing vehicles into gates, trespassing, threatening honest Australian working men and destroying the values in our town do not represent anyone but themselves. They can't even earn a living ...

These are the people claiming to represent Tara. They will in fact continue to devalue our town by their self serving thoughtless and often unlawfull [*sic*] actions.

Letter circulated anonymously within the town of Tara in 2011.

For the full text, go to the Interactive Textbook, where you can zoom in on the image and read it.

Responding to the anonymous letter

1. According to the letter, what type of people are in the WDA?
2. Describe the concerns that the author has about the actions of the WDA. According to the anonymous author, what type of activities would a valuable citizen be involved in?
3. What do the quoted protest slogans allow you to infer about the issues that the WDA is concerned about?
4. Do the stated concerns of the WDA (Source 9.28) match the concerns identified by the anonymous letter writer in Source 9.31? How are they different and can you propose reasons for these differences?
5. LTG was formed in late 2010 with WDA as one of the founding organisations. This letter was circulated in 2011 around the time that LTG began a three-month blockade. What does this letter indicate to you about the social tensions in the town of Tara?
6. Assess, based on all the above, whether the mining companies have a 'social licence to operate' in the town of Tara.

ACTIVITY 9.7

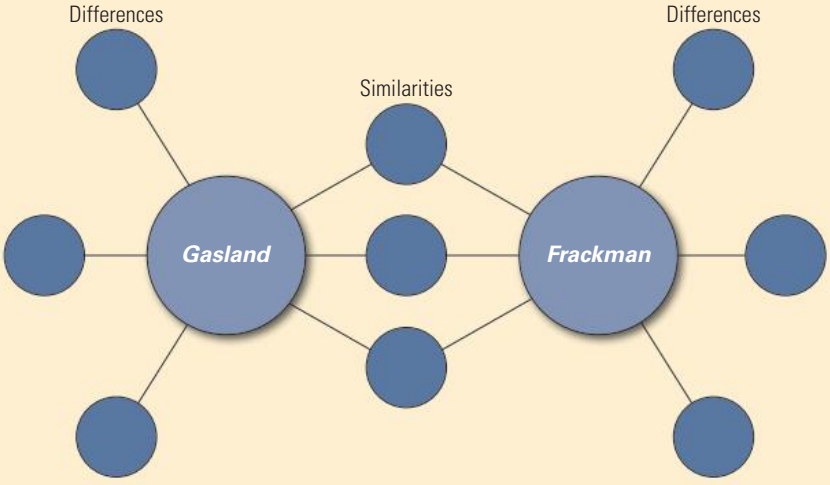
Watch a documentary: *Frackman*

Frackman (2015) tells the story of how Dayne Pratzky, a Tara 'Blockie', was mobilised from being a construction worker and 'roo shooter into becoming an 'accidental activist' for the environment. View the film (available on some TV streaming services and for independent purchase) while using the skills you practised with *Gasland.* When you have viewed both films conduct a 'double-bubble map' exercise to compare how both films present anti-fracking movements.

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ACTIVITY 9.7 continued

1. Conduct a brainstorming exercise identifying the various ways that *Gasland* presents the anti-fracking movement.
2. Do the same for *Frackman*.
3. Now on a separate page, identify the features that are common between the two films down the middle and then list the features that are different between the two around the outside. Your final product will look something like this:



The Tara Blockade of 2011

Part of LTG's early campaign success was built around the image of protecting the environment through defending the freehold rights of a landowner. This strategy was put to the test in a campaign beginning on 14 March 2011. LTG began what became a 95-day blockade against the Queensland Gas Company (QGC), who were attempting to connect five wells in the Tara Estates, a job that would normally take three weeks. Landholder Bryce Keating complained that QGC had breached their contract by clearing vegetation for a road wider than 20 metres as part of a planned 380-kilometre corridor through bushland for a gas pipeline from Tara to Gladstone. The *Courier Mail* had reported that tensions were already high when on 15 March 2011, 70-year-old June Norman became the first person arrested while blockading a bulldozer.



SOURCE 9.32 *Lock the Gate* is a video produced in 2011, in support of the Lock the Gate Alliance. This still from the video shows the clearing created for QGC's Tara-Gladstone pipeline on Bryce Keating's property: in the video, Drew Hutton explains why the clearance corridor is so wide.

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 09:07) before answering the questions. Describe the nature of the clearance that has occurred. Summarise the reasons given by QGC as to why a road corridor could be made up to 40 metres wide. Estimate the width of the corridor depicted in this image.

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The *Petroleum and Gas Act* in Queensland guarantees that mining and gas companies have access to private land to conduct their business and penalises anyone who obstructs a company 'without a reasonable excuse' with a potential $50 000 fine. During a blockade at Bryce Keating's property two weeks later, Drew Hutton decided to challenge these provisions.

On 29 March 2011, Hutton was arrested for blocking a bulldozer on Keating's property after being warned by a representative of QGC to move on.

SOURCES 9.33 A–C Drew Hutton arrested at gas pipeline blockade, March 2011

A Media release from Queensland Greens, 29 March 2011

Drew Hutton, spokesperson for Friends of the Earth and leading campaigner for the national Lock the Gate campaign, was arrested this afternoon.

In a heavy-handed police action, forty police moved on to private property to shut down the blockade camp on a landholder's property.

The landholder was unhappy with his treatment by the gas company and had invited the blockaders onto his land.

Drew Hutton has refused police bail conditions that he not return to the property or nearby public roads.

The arresting officer informed him that he could be held in custody for a month.

He has been arrested under Section 804 of the *Petroleum and Gas Act* which guarantees mining and gas companies access to private land and provides for $50 000 fines for hindering the companies' access.

'What we are clearly seeing here is the way that the gas companies – in this case a multinational company British Gas which owns QGC – are instructing the local police force.

'There were reports a fortnight ago of leaked memos from the company to the Queensland Government instructing the government of their legal powers,' Libby Connors, spokesperson for the Queensland Greens pointed out this afternoon.

'The state Labor government has meekly obliged their economic masters – sending in the police to override Queensland landholder rights.'

Media release from the Queensland Greens, 29 March 2011

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B Video of Drew Hutton's arrest, 29 March 2011

The YouTube video at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8280 (duration 00:54) shows footage of Drew Hutton's arrest.

C Video of Drew Hutton's post-hearing interview, 30 March 2011

The YouTube video at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8283 (duration 04:02) shows footage of Drew Hutton's post-hearing interview.

Responding to the media release and online videos

1. Why was Drew Hutton arrested? If Hutton was on private land at the behest of the landowner, explain why he was still arrested. What does this suggest about the nature of the power relationship between QGC and the landowner?
2. Historians often have to make judgements from limited evidence. View the online footage of Hutton's arrest. Is this footage useful in supporting the claims made in the media release from the Queensland Greens? How does the language of the media release present the nature of the conflict?
3. Throughout the blockade, LTG queried the nature of the relationship between the police and QGC. How does this media release indicate these concerns?
4. Supporters attended the Chinchilla courthouse for Hutton's hearing on 30 March 2011.
   a. The second video depicts a number of supporters exiting the courthouse. What impression of the supporters do you get?
   b. One of those interviewed is June Norman. What is her description of the outcome of the case?
   c. Outline Hutton's description of the bail conditions that had been placed upon him. What aspect of the decision was he particularly happy about?

Drew Hutton was found guilty and fined $2000. However, he argued that he was there with the landowner's permission and, on appeal, had his conviction overturned on 7 December 2011. LTG's ability to garner support from across the political spectrum was reinforced by the presence of federal politicians Bob Brown (Greens) and Bob Katter (Conservative Independent) in support at the courthouse in December.

As the weeks progressed, the blockade gained further media attention drawing in support from well-known community representatives. Popular ABC gardening presenter Costa Georgiadis filmed a documentary in support (you can see it on YouTube). Then in mid-April 2011 the wildlife campaigner Bob Irwin was arrested along with Greens spokeswoman Libby Connors.

The blockade eventually came to a conclusion after 95 days. Protests continued in the region over the next two years, culminating in 2013 with a rolling blockade of FIFO (fly in fly out) workers and a Rock-the-Gate concert. The *Courier Mail* reported in August 2014 that the properties of key individuals leading the protests from the Tara Estates had been bought out by QGC.

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SOURCE 9.34 Bob Irwin is led away by Queensland Police Officers, 12 April 2011



Responding to the photograph

1. Is Bob Irwin resisting arrest? How is the relationship between the police and Bob Irwin presented?
2. Would the presence of famous media personalities help or hinder the message of the campaign?
3. The Irwins are famous for spreading a particular image of Australia around the world. How would you describe that image?
4. Could it be important for the protesters to be seen to be aligned with that image of Australia?
5. How could the symbolism of a member of the Irwin family serve to generalise the CSG issue as an issue of 'Australian identity'?
6. On his release, Bob Irwin claimed that the habitat clearances would be in contravention of Queensland's land clearance laws if done by anyone other than a mining company. Do you think the blockade and the subsequent legal cases could have encouraged some landowners to side with environmentalists?

Following this campaign, LTG began supporting other campaigns such as Keep the Scenic Rim Scenic's 12-day blockade of an Arrow Energy CSG drill rig outside of Kerry, near Beaudesert, Queensland, in January 2012, and another at the loading facility for New Hope Coal's Acland mine in February 2012.

Complex and unexpected alliances

LTG's emphasis on protecting the environment through defending a property owner's rights unearthed several unexpected allies. Environmentalist Cam Walker identifies how LTG cut across these traditional divides of the left–right political spectrum.

SOURCE 9.35 Alliances created by the anti-fracking environment movement

There is no doubt that we are witnessing the rise of a new political force in Australia ...

These are new manifestations of political action and, in many ways, have a lot in common with the 'green bans' and socially engaged environmental politics of the 1970s: people join together and finding common cause in spite of their various differences. ... Lock the Gate and other parallel movements ... are more similar to the green bans than the professional 'insider' politics used by most environmental NGOs.

Whereas 'greens' and 'farmers' have often been pitted against each other, for instance in the campaign to end broad acre land clearing in Queensland, this new campaign starts with common ground: water, landscape, connection to place and Country, food production and security, the role of corporations ... and marks a shift in the 'framing' of environmental campaigns towards the traditional terrain of the Right: focusing on values and community.

Cam Walker, 'Coal, Gas & Coal Seam Gas', *Chain Reaction*, 2012, p. 12

Responding to Cam Walker

1. Cam Walker talks about a 'new political force'. Compared with traditional politics, how is LTG 'new'?
2. What values of the political right does Walker say LTG, as an environmental group, has embraced?

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3. He references the 'green bans' of the 1970s. Conduct research to find out about the fight to save Kelly's Bush. What do you think Cam Walker means by 'socially engaged environmental politics'? Is this an apt description for LTG and their affiliates?
4. You were introduced to the Nothdurft family at the beginning of this inquiry. How might their story support the assertion made by Cam Walker about reframing environmental ideas towards more politically conservative concerns of values and community?

When Hutton appealed his conviction of obstructing a CSG company without reasonable excuse, politicians from across the political spectrum were present at the court hearing.

SOURCE 9.36 Newspaper report on Drew Hutton's appeal, 7 December 2011

Brown and Katter back anti-CSG activist

Australian Greens leader Bob Brown and maverick independent MP Bob Katter have come together in an unlikely alliance at a southern Queensland court to support an anti-coal seam gas activist.

Both leaders were at the Dalby Magistrates Court on Wednesday to support Lock the Gate Alliance president Drew Hutton. Also there were Queensland Greens Senator Larissa Waters and Katter's Australian Party Queensland leader Aidan McLindon.

... Senator Brown and Mr Katter addressed a rally of about 50 farmers and supporters outside the court.

The Greens leader said it was a pivotal case in farming and mining history.

'What's important here is that there are incredibly brave and courageous people who will occasionally, when a cause comes along, make the stand and Drew Hutton's done that, and the farmers of this region are doing that and it's up to us in politics to stand behind them,' Senator Brown told reporters in Dalby.

'It's great to be with Bob Katter on this issue,' he said.

Katter's Australian Party president Rowell Walton said that, while there were some issues that his party and the Greens did not agree on, this was not one of them.

'This is essentially about the environment and property rights and in particular property rights for landholders,' he told AAP.

'For the people that we represent those rights are being trampled on by very large gas companies and we think that's very very unreasonable.'

'Brown and Katter back anti-CSG activist', *Financial Review*, 7 December 2011

Responding to the media release

1. What do these politicians say unites them?
2. Research the political views of the Greens and of Katter's Australian Party. Where on the political spectrum would you place these parties? Why do you think it is significant that representatives of these political parties were able to stand united?
3. Review the aims and objectives of LTG on their website. What is it about their aims that might encourage more right-leaning politicians to support the aims of LTG?
4. Why do you think Bob Brown called the case a 'pivotal case in farming and mining history'? Do you think the case demonstrates 'thinking environmentally'? If so, how?

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In the lead-up to the appeal, LTG had also garnered support from one of Australia's popular talkback radio hosts, Alan Jones. In October 2011, Jones gave an address to the National Press Club on the anti-CSG industry fight.

SOURCE 9.37 Alan Jones addresses the National Press Club, 19 October 2011

When Michael Caton argued in the movie, *The Castle*, that a man's home was his castle, we thought it was a comedy. Now it is a tragic and sad reality, when farmers at law have no right to stop mining interest entering their property. ... Drew Hutton, known to me for years, has formed ... a national movement. It's big. And it's fair dinkum. Surely farmers would have the support of all Australia in their argument to protect underground water resources. Surely farmers would have the support of all Australia in their bid to go about producing food and fibre for an exploding population. Surely farmers would have the support of all Australians who are serious about protecting our food supplies in the future. And safeguarding valuable agricultural land. ... Make no mistake about it, farmers now are organised and they are calling upon Australians to rally behind them. ... Right now it seems we have lost that promise of a fair go. And we have also lost our right to our basic democracy as well. ... Our politicians have forgotten that they are our servants and not our masters. They have forgotten that no politician, ... party and ... government has the right to allow the destruction of our land and water, both of which are the truth wealth of our nation.

Address by Alan Jones to the National Press Club, 19 October 2011

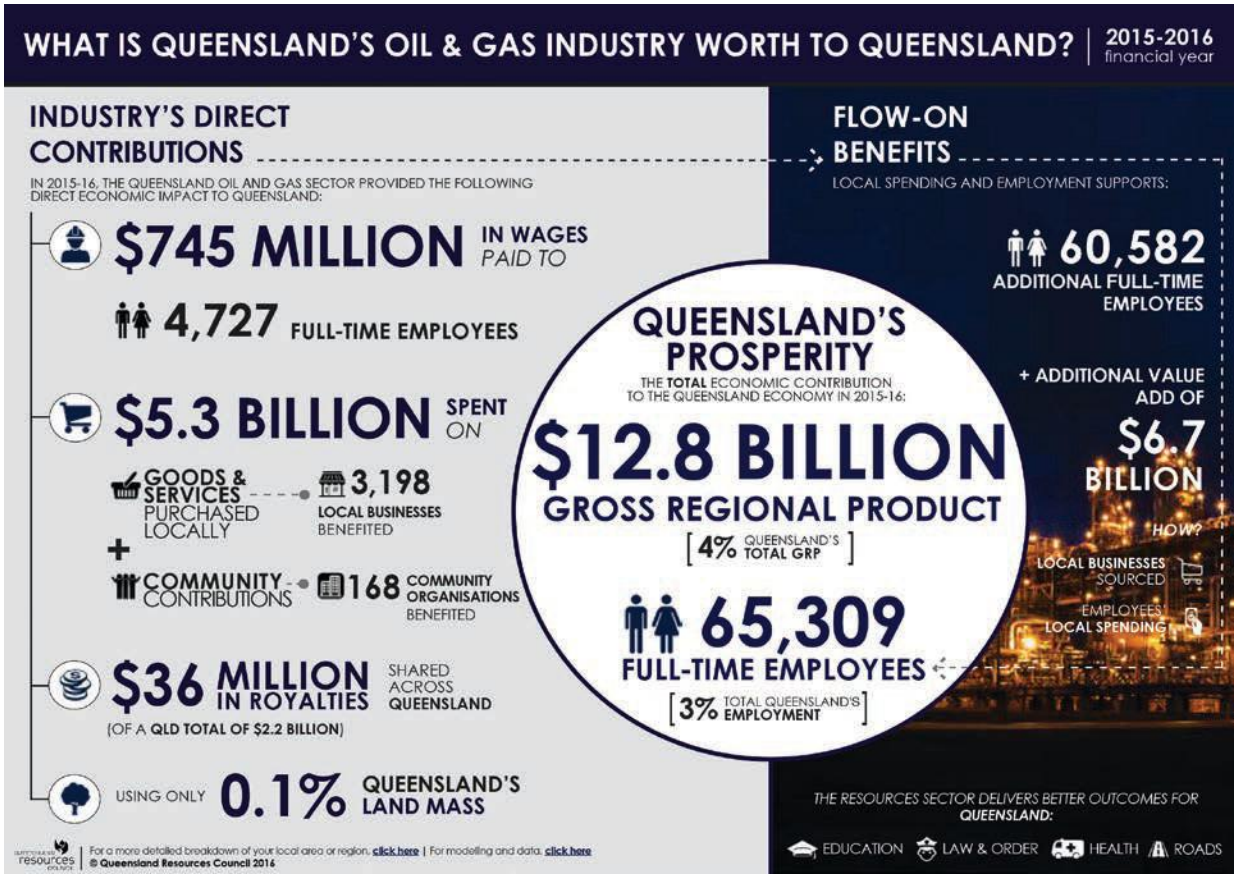
Responding to Alan Jones

1. Look up who has previously given speeches at the National Press Club. What does this list of speakers tell you about its reputation and influence?
2. Alan Jones starts by referring to a classic Australian film. If you haven't seen the film, find out what the film is about. What do you think are the cultural and legal reasons why Jones would reference this film?
3. Alan Jones first contacted Drew Hutton when his boyhood town of Acland on the Darling Downs was threatened by the New Hope Coal Mine. Research the story around Acland and the current state of affairs. Assess whether Jones's support is tinged by a case of NIMBY-ism.
4. How does Jones use traditional Australian bush identities and slang to reinforce the 'Australianness' of LTG concerns? How does framing the debate within this national identity imply that CSG mining is more than an environmental issue?
5. Jones questions the type of power relationship existing between governments and mining companies. Compile a list of the phrases Jones uses to describe these relationships. What can you detect about the type of political attitudes that Jones believes are 'Australian'?
6. What type of relationship does Alan Jones imply by the phrase 'Drew Hutton, known to me for years'? Alan Jones was once Drew Hutton's sports coach at school. How might Jones's comment assist Hutton to reach a demographic previously unsympathetic to his message?
7. Assess how closely Jones's vision of Australia aligns with LTG's vision for Australia. What does this assessment tell you about the nature of the alliance between the men? Why might this alliance have been a landmark event in the history of Australian environmental movements?

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Jones became crucial to spreading the message of LTG's vision but was criticised for this support over the years. On 25 July 2014, the editorial of the *Courier Mail* argued that it was 'abhorrent' that the 'spoutings of one man with a microphone' should negate the economic benefits of the CSG industry.

SOURCE 9.38 Economic benefits of CSG to Queensland



Queensland Government infographic of the economic benefits of the CSG industry to Queensland, June 2017. A higher resolution version of this image is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Responding to source

1. What is a Gross Regional Product (GRP)? What parts of the economy have contributed to the calculation of the GRP?
2. What is the difference between 'direct' and 'flow-on' benefits? What sort of benefits do you think are being implied through this graphic?
3. The graphic states the resource sector delivers 'better outcomes' for various areas in the bottom right corner of the graph. How could mining produce better outcomes for these four areas?
4. How is the idea of the 'greatest good for the greatest number' expressed through this graphic?

Hutton and LTG obtained unexpected financial support from business leaders as well. A prominent financial journalist, Paddy Manning, describes the relationship. Manning begins by describing a meeting between Ainsworth and the 'Frackman' activist Dayne Pratzky.

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SOURCE 9.39 *Sydney Morning Herald* reports on funding LTG, 22 October 2012

Son of pokies king funds anti-gas fight

PADDY MANNING

The Lock the Gate alliance between farmer and green groups opposing coal seam gas development was part-funded by Kjerulf Ainsworth, the son of billionaire pokies king Len. ... Mr Pratzky, ... recalls first meeting Mr Ainsworth and asking: 'Mate, I'm wanting to know what you're getting out of this?' He said: 'I wanted service stations to get in on this gas boom, but there's money and there's crime, and this is a crime. I don't want to make money off it. I want to help you.' Mr Ainsworth, who also paid for Mr Pratzky's defence when he was charged with public nuisance, said both his parents had turned up to Lock the Gate fund-raisers and his mother – with whom he co-owns a property near Bowral, an area threatened by coal seam gas development – had donated $20 000. Otherwise his activities were conducted independently of the family. 'We're still worth a couple of billion dollars and we're probably untouchable, unless we do something wrong,' Mr Ainsworth said ... 'But I guess you don't mess with people unless you feel they deserve it and I think the CSG industry deserves it'.

Ainsworth and Hutton have had their moments, too. During one confrontation, according to Ainsworth: 'I said to Drew, "Are you running a Green agenda behind the scenes?" and Drew said, "No, but I do talk to my Green friends". And I said, "Drew, if you're f---ing well running a Green agenda behind the scenes, I'm out of here, you'll never hear from me again, and that'll be the end of it". He said, "Are you threatening me?" and I said, "Drew, I'm not threatening you, I just want you to play it straight because I'm putting my heart and soul into this". Drew said, "I'm not, I give you my word I'm not"' ...

Hutton ... confirms the conversation, and was rattled enough to ask others in Lock the Gate to intervene on his behalf. He and Ainsworth have since become friends.

Paddy Manning, 'Son of pokies king funds anti-gas fight', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 October 2012

Responding to Paddy Manning's report

1. There is significant suspicion of motives among those described in Manning's report. Outline these suspicions.
2. Explain why Kjerulf Ainsworth's involvement seems counter-intuitive. He reasons that what he is witnessing is 'crime' and that 'people ... deserve it'. What do you think he might be referring to?
3. Manning later states that Hutton was quite 'rattled' by the exchange between Ainsworth and himself. What does this indicate to you about the nature of these unexpected alliances, especially in the early years of the movement?

Initially, the issue of individual property rights galvanised many to oppose the CSG industry. The slogan 'Lock the Gate' underscored the importance of a landowner's rights to determine land usage. As LTG expanded into new communities across Australia, overcoming social divisions informed the need for an expanded approach.

Even though they did not have legal recognition, communities in the Northern Rivers region of NSW introduced Gasfield Free Communities built around regionally connected groups (instead of individuals) refusing to accept the CSG industry in a region. An excerpt describing how to become a CSG free community follows.

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SOURCE 9.40 Guide for Gasfield Free Communities

GUIDE FOR GASFIELD FREE COMMUNITIES NORTHERN RIVERS

We want the whole Northern Rivers declared a coal seam gas (CSG), tight sands gas and unconventional gas mining free zone. We want all current licenses and leases that allow any such activity revoked, and no such new licenses or leases granted. One of our strategies is the Gasfield Free Communities initiative.

The legal system and governments have failed us. Gasfield Free Communities is an expression of people who recognise this failure, and who know they must stand together in solidarity to fight to protect their region.

This is a grass-roots participatory process whereby communities declare themselves Gasfield Free. After reaching majority decision, they present Declarations for their Gasfield Free roads to their Mayor. It's important to note that this is not a 'petition' asking for something. It's a community's declaration of intent to defend themselves from an invasive, reckless industry. The wording of the Road Declaration is:

WE PEOPLE OF …… ROAD

DECLARE THAT THIS ROAD IS GASFIELD FREE – PROTECTED BY THE WILL OF THE COMMUNITY

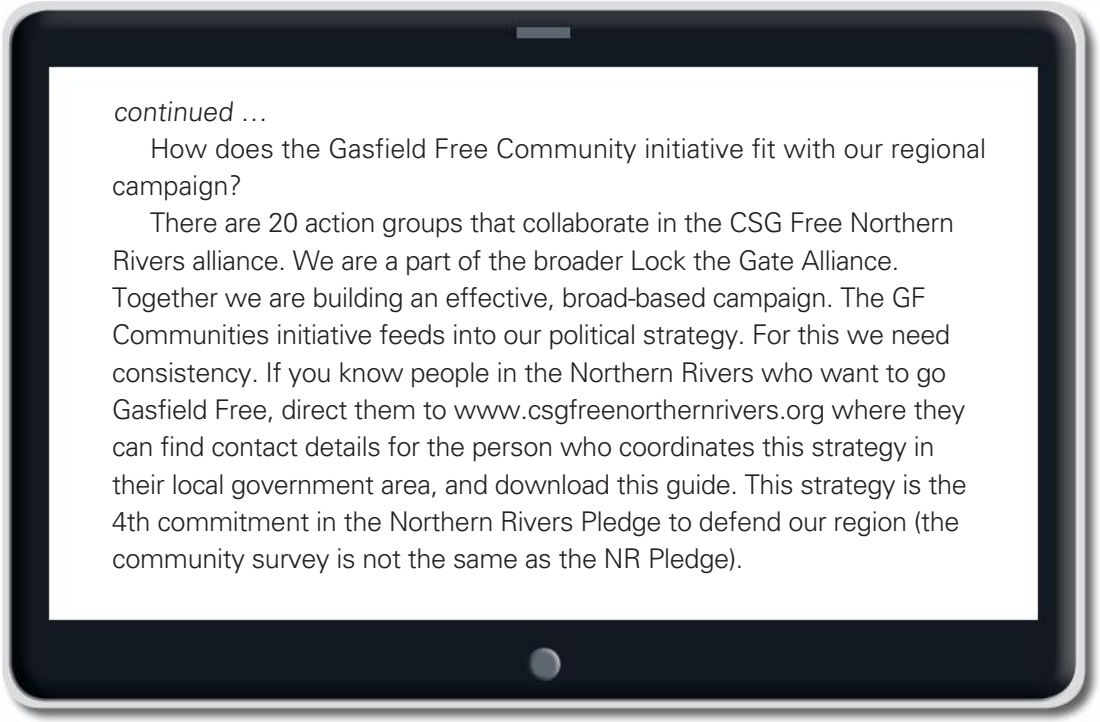
This decision was made through community consultation and engagement.

'We recognise that our best defence is by standing together. If we detect any activity by gas companies here, we will raise an alert and ask their representatives to leave. We are committed to stopping gasfield industrialisation. In doing this, we protect the water, soil and air. We will protect our community from the destructive impacts of the gasfield industry.'

When you describe this strategy to others, take care to say that *Gasfield Free Communities is a powerful political action taken by a community*. This is well beyond 'symbolic' (don't let it get reduced to this). While it does not have formal legal force, it is an authoritative statement from a community, backed up by action. After their Declaration, the community learns about, and organises for Non Violent Direct Action. They also write to key decision-makers to build the relentless political pressure we need to win back our region. Another How to guide describes this second part of the empowerment process (Stage Two).

continued …

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continued …

How does the Gasfield Free Community initiative fit with our regional campaign?

There are 20 action groups that collaborate in the CSG Free Northern Rivers alliance. We are a part of the broader Lock the Gate Alliance. Together we are building an effective, broad-based campaign. The GF Communities initiative feeds into our political strategy. For this we need consistency. If you know people in the Northern Rivers who want to go Gasfield Free, direct them to www.csgfreenorthernrivers.org where they can find contact details for the person who coordinates this strategy in their local government area, and download this guide. This strategy is the 4th commitment in the Northern Rivers Pledge to defend our region (the community survey is not the same as the NR Pledge).

'Guide for Gasfield Free Communities – Northern Rivers', 2012, p. 1

Responding to the 'how to' guide

1. In the preamble it states that the 'legal system and governments have failed us'. Why would this document make such a claim?
2. The Guide for Gasfield Free Communities document is a declaration of intent rather than a petition. What do you see is the difference between these two things? Given the history of the CSG industry in Queensland, why might a petition not be seen as a useful approach?
3. Earlier Cam Walker argued that anti-CSG movements have reframed environmental campaigns into the political terrain of values and community, more often associated with those on the right. Assess how this document helps you to understand Walker's argument.
4. The Guide for Gasfield Free Communities action declares that it is a 'powerful political action taken by a community' and that it is more than merely 'symbolic'. Why is it important that this action is not seen as being reduced to a symbolic status?
5. Read the full document online, and note the actions of the community of The Channon. You can also view the short video that the community called 'The People vs CSG: the birth of CSG free communities' on Vimeo.
   a. Describe the various ways that The Channon community illustrates its unity.
   b. How does this action show evidence of 'thinking environmentally?

The introduction of Gasfield Free Communities across northern NSW, argues activist Aidan Ricketts, marks a major shift in the strategy of resistance.

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SOURCE 9.41 Aidan Ricketts on the 'Power of Locking your Gate'

The first phase of community resistance took the form of the 'Lock the Gate' strategy in which individual landowners refused to negotiate access arrangements with gas companies during the exploration phase … [but] used in isolation has some shortcomings which are now being addressed by … the 'gasfield free community strategy'. This strategy [launched in the Northern Rivers region of NSW] deliberately takes the focus of resistance away from the issue of private property rights and locates it firmly on the footing of community solidarity and introduces a landscape-wide approach to resisting unconventional gas activities.

… If a single landowner refused access … a determined mining company could force access or … [gain] access to neighbouring properties. But when hundreds of landowners in a community [refuse] … then the mining company is faced with a rapidly diminishing return … The political and economic cost of launching numerous individual actions against landowners would inevitably cause a political backlash. Thus the real question is not what happens when one farmer locks the gate, but what happens when hundreds of farmers lock the gate?

… The strategy takes resistance from the farm gate to the whole of community level … to protect both private and public land and … resist all activities of miners, not just drilling and fracking.

… In a nutshell the problem for industry in breaking blockades is that even when they win on the ground they will lose in the court of public opinion.

Aidan Ricketts, 'The Power of Locking Your Gate', *Chain Reaction* 115, August 2012

Responding to Aidan Ricketts

1. Describe the 'first phase of community resistance' as outlined by Ricketts. Explain how this phase was practised in Tara. Why was this strategy flawed?
2. Explain how the second phase works. Why would it likely be more effective?
3. What does Ricketts mean by a 'landscape-wide approach' to resisting CSG activities? Assess whether this second phase is more akin to 'thinking environmentally' than the first phase.
4. Assess the effectiveness in each phase of removing a company's social licence to operate.
5. Ricketts says this newer approach protects 'both private and public land'. Investigate the anti-fracking campaign in the Pillaga State Forest in NSW. Determine if Ricketts' assessment is valid.

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9.10 Depth study: summing up

This depth study highlighted the emergence, role and effectiveness of Lock the Gate (LTG), an Australian movement focused on the environmental, social and economic impacts of the burgeoning coal seam gas (CSG) industry. LTG is credited with breaking new ground in environment movements by bringing together two groups traditionally seen as political foes – rural landholders and environmentalists. Through patient work led by long-term activist Drew Hutton, farmers and environmentalists recognised their common interest in safeguarding important environments, particularly valuable agricultural and pastoral land. This common interest acknowledged that protecting such land had important economic, social and environmental benefits. Thus, LTG reflected the broad sense of 'thinking environmentally' described earlier in the chapter. Notably, anti-CSG campaigns had been supported by politicians and public figures across the political spectrum. The depth study ended by describing how particular communities can act to declare themselves off limits to gasfield exploration and development – an example of 'thinking globally, acting locally'.

ACTIVITY 9.8

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: Have anti-fracking campaigns broken new ground by engaging diverse people and interests in thinking environmentally?

Write a short response to one or more of the following questions:

- Are anti-fracking campaigns in Australia solely environmental in their focus?
- In what ways could anti-fracking campaigns be described as social justice movements rather than environmental movements?
- How effective is the use of media (film, literature, art, digital) in promoting the views of anti-fracking movements?
- What unusual, unexpected and unprecedented alliances have been produced through the anti-fracking movement in Australia?

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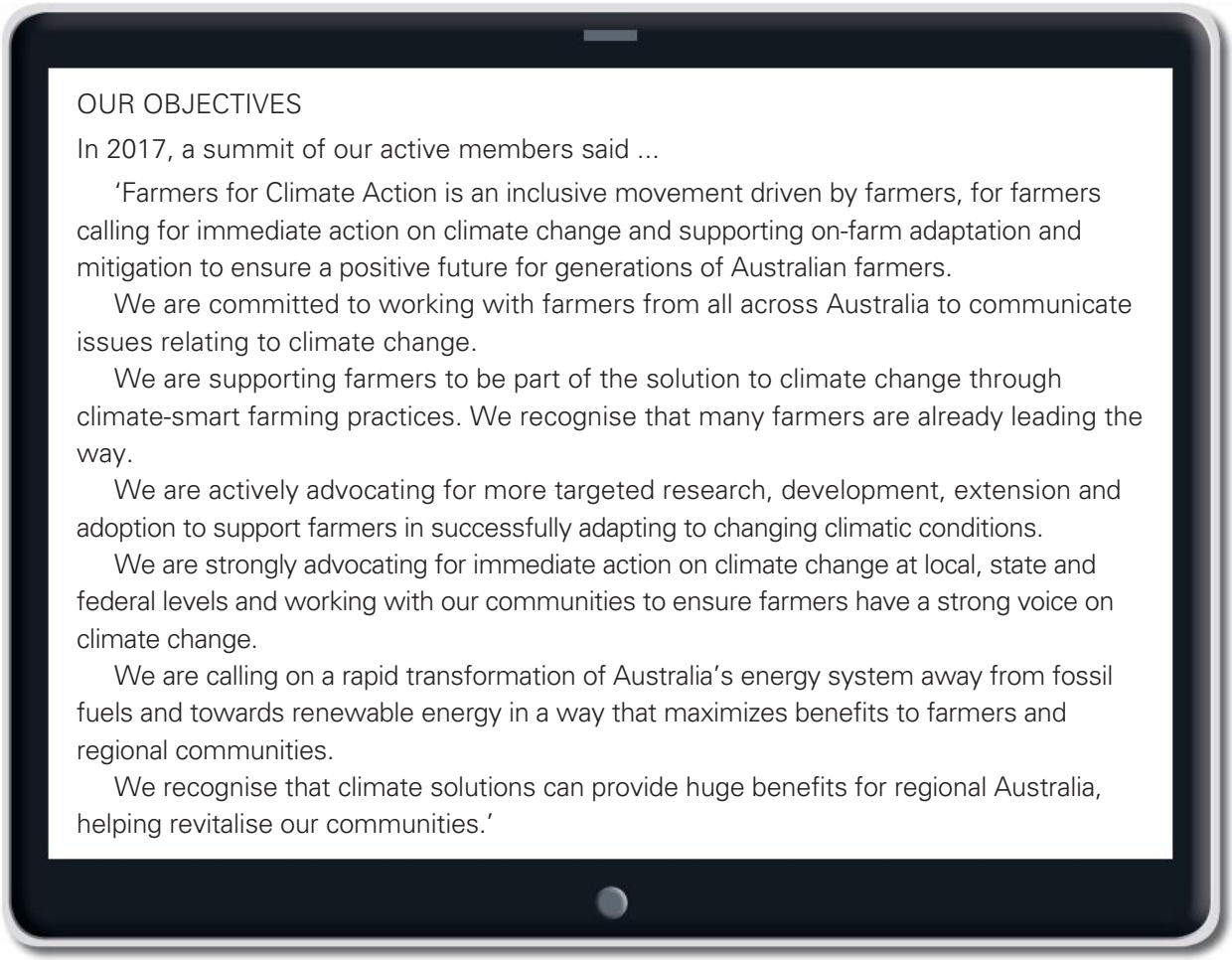
CONCLUDING STUDY
Thinking environmentally

In 2012, leading environmentalist David Suzuki caused controversy when he declared that environmentalism had failed. In his view, the crucial paradigm shift of seeing humans as ecologically embedded beings had not occurred in wider society (Suzuki, 2012).

9.11 Does the work of LTG advance the cause of thinking environmentally?

LTG has not been without its critics. When LTG tried to participate in the May Day celebrations at the Chinchilla Showgrounds in 2011 they were refused entry by the stewards. The organisation also drew criticism when it attempted to draw parallels between the CSG industry and the shale gas industry in the US in a submission to a Queensland Government inquiry into the industry in 2011.

However, by combining both a love of the land and environmental issues, LTG has assisted diverse people in the country to take up serious environmental issues. In some cases, traditionally conservative farmers have participated in acts of non-violent civil disobedience for the first time. Others have worked in less dramatic ways to bring about change. As its name implies 'Farmers for Climate Action' is part of this new alliance of farmers and environmentalists.



OUR OBJECTIVES

In 2017, a summit of our active members said ...

'Farmers for Climate Action is an inclusive movement driven by farmers, for farmers calling for immediate action on climate change and supporting on-farm adaptation and mitigation to ensure a positive future for generations of Australian farmers.

We are committed to working with farmers from all across Australia to communicate issues relating to climate change.

We are supporting farmers to be part of the solution to climate change through climate-smart farming practices. We recognise that many farmers are already leading the way.

We are actively advocating for more targeted research, development, extension and adoption to support farmers in successfully adapting to changing climatic conditions.

We are strongly advocating for immediate action on climate change at local, state and federal levels and working with our communities to ensure farmers have a strong voice on climate change.

We are calling on a rapid transformation of Australia's energy system away from fossil fuels and towards renewable energy in a way that maximizes benefits to farmers and regional communities.

We recognise that climate solutions can provide huge benefits for regional Australia, helping revitalise our communities.'

SOURCE 9.42 Farmers for Climate Action (FCA) website

FCA was formed in 2015 by a group of farmers. Summarise their objectives. In what ways do the FCA show evidence that they are 'thinking environmentally'? How do you think FCA would respond to David Suzuki's claim that environmentalism has failed?

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SOURCE 9.43 Drew Hutton reflects on the diversity of Lock the Gate Alliance, 2012

We can only achieve our objectives by forming strategic alliances with those who agree that irresponsible resource extraction represents a very serious threat to our land, our water and our communities …

The Lock the Gate movement is an alliance between progressives and conservatives, left and right, city and country, farmers and environmentalists …

[T]housands of hectares of native vegetation will be cleared to make way for the thousands of kilometres of pipeline corridors, fragmenting precious bushland corridors and endangering many plant and animal species. At the end of the export coal seam gas project – the port of Gladstone – the dredging of millions of cubic metres of soil is undoubtedly contributing to the ecosystem collapse currently being seen in the harbour while world heritage values of the Great Barrier Reef are being threatened by the building of up to five LNG plants on Curtis Island and the new or greatly expanded coal ports along the Queensland coastline and the tripling of the state's coal exports …

The politics of the twenty-first century and forms of social contestation will be more and more dominated by how we decide to use natural resources and traditional political loyalties will not be much of a guide to this.

Drew Hutton, 'Lock the Gate unites cockies, blockies, choppers and greenies', *Crikey*, 2012

Responding to Drew Hutton

1. For Hutton, LTG was always a landholder movement rather than an environmental one. How does 'thinking environmentally' help you to understand his perspective?
2. Hutton provides a list of issues that galvanise supporters of LTG. Compare that list with the issues raised by McLaren and Pett in the Interactive Textbook (Response 9.13 Forward-thinking people). In what ways could it be said that LTG is addressing core issues faced by humanity in Anthropocene? How might this explain why Hutton says the politics of the twenty-first century will be decided by questions of natural resource usage?

In 2017, an inquiry into the CSG industry was being considered by the Australian Government. Late that year, Queensland politician Bob Katter introduced a bill into the federal parliament to form a Commission of Inquiry into the CSG industry. It was expected to submit its findings in late 2019 or early 2020.

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SOURCE 9.44 Anti-CSG rally in Melbourne, Victoria, September 2015



Responding to the photograph

1. What are the issues raised by the people participating in this rally?
2. In what ways does the rally in Victoria show each phase (individual property rights to community rights) of this environmental movement?
3. Many signs have a number followed by the name of a place. What message is being sent through these signs?
4. Using what you have learned in this inquiry, predict how successful the campaigners in Victoria may be in preventing CSG mining. Conduct research to see if your prediction is justified.
5. Consider other anti-fracking campaigns internationally mentioned earlier in the Depth study. Could international anti-fracking campaigns be considered as part of the same movement?

9.12 Reflecting on the environmental movement as history

What is a history of the environment?

Environmental history studies the relationship between human societies and the natural world on which they depend. Historian John McNeill identifies three focus areas for historians of the environment. First, material environmental history, he describes as the 'frogs and forest … coal and cholera' type of history (2012:299) that researches the interaction of natural and human worlds over time periods ranging from years to millennia. A second area studies human effort to regulate natural and human relationships through politics and policies. The history of ecological thinking is a third, more philosophical, area that debates how we should think and act in natural and human world relationships.

Many debate if environmental history is real history, given its close ties to geography. Historians Peter Claus and John Marriot (2017) call it the only truly interdisciplinary form of history. German environmental historian Frank Uekötter (2014:170) critiques environmental history as being in 'mid-passage' without an overarching narrative. He suggests that 'justice' could become a key focus in the future. Other historians argue that it is too global in its focus to be of much use. Leading environmental historian William Cronon also says that it suffers from too much 'doom and gloom'. Others advocate that it relies on overt moralism and removes the place of human agency by being environmentally deterministic.

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ACTIVITY 9.9

Reflect on the environment as 'history'

The table below shows McNeill's three areas of inquiry in environmental history.

1. Use this table to identify where each area has been studied in this study. Be aware that this study may have emphasised some areas more than others. You might like to discuss with your class whether this is a strength or weakness of the study.

Area of inquiry in environmental history	Where you have studied this area in this inquiry
Material environmental history	
Political and policy-related history	
History of ecological thinking	

2. Of the three areas, where has your own learning been focused?
3. In what ways has your understanding of the relationship between human societies and nature been expanded? Refer to your learnings in the table to assist your answer.

How important is social activism for creating healthy democracies?

Academic and activist Aidan Ricketts writes that activism, advocating for social change and democratic practices are interlinked (2012). Ongoing participation in democracy can include involvement in actions (e.g. protest, referendum, court action, or strikes) that are not necessarily linked to the electoral cycle.

Recently there has been growing discussion around 'slacktivism'. The term was coined at a conference in Illinois, USA, in 1995 by Fred Clarke and Dwight Ozard and originally used to describe ways that people engaged in social causes for the feel-good factor. One example is changing views of protest marches. Micah White, the founder of the Occupy Wall Street movement, says that protest marches have become like going to a concert – a way to just connect with friends or have a 'beautiful experience' rather than deep engagement with the political process.

Slacktivism has also come to mean political or social actions using the internet requiring little time or involvement. Examples are where you can just click on an online petition or join a campaign group's social media website.

In contrast to this passive form of protest, one successful recent protest movement is Black Lives Matter (BLM) in the US. Nicholas Mirzoeff of New York University says its success is in combining both digital and physical campaigning into a form of visual activism that fights injustice. People are propelled to action through social media by highlighting targeted and defined issues.

ACTIVITY 9.10

Debate slacktivism

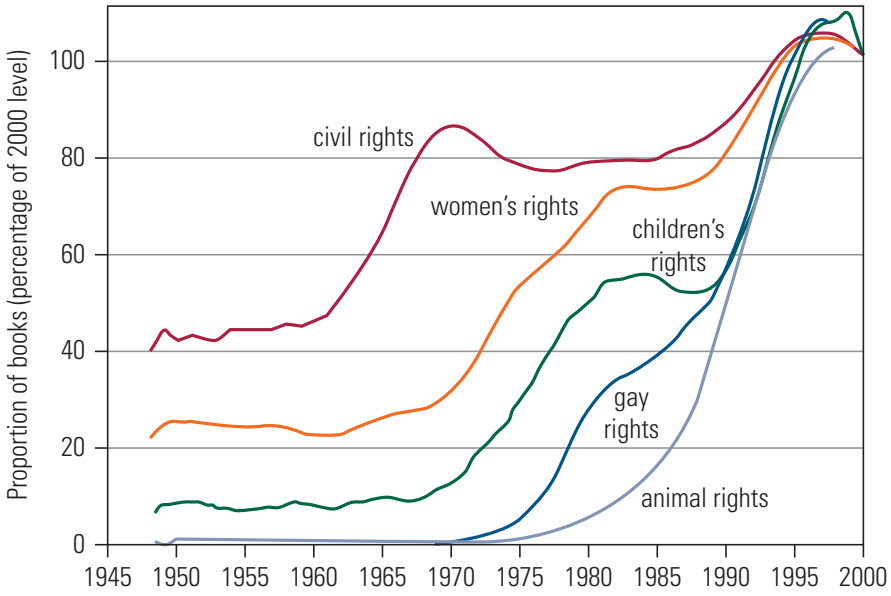
Some claim that slacktivism is a symptom of laziness when it comes to political engagement. Others claim it can be a powerful tool for change. Discuss any involvement you've had with slacktivism. Investigate newer forms such as the visual activism of the BLM. How do groups such as Get Up, Avaaz and Sum of Us build on these forms of democratic engagement? What evidence can you find about their effectiveness?

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Are the 'rights of nature' part of the twentieth century's rights revolution?

Learning to think environmentally raises a different set of ethical responses, as well as more familiar social, political, or economic understandings. Recognising the rights of nature can be seen as part of a growing 'rights revolution' since 1945 across global society.

SOURCE 9.45 Graph of terms used in digitised books



Graph showing the terms 'civil', 'women's', 'children's', 'gay' and 'animal' rights in five million English language books digitised by Google Books, 1948–2000

Responding to the graph

1. For each of the categories of rights in the graph, identify the period when rights awareness of each category began to be important.
2. Undertake research to determine what events may have contributed to this increasing awareness for each group.
3. The trajectories for each group meet in the 1990s. What significant global event(s) occurred at the beginning of that decade? How might that event(s) contribute to encouraging the blossoming of concerns for rights that is evidenced in this graph?

In March 2017, the Whanganui River in New Zealand was granted the same legal rights as a human being. Days later the Ganga and Yamuna Rivers in India were also legally given rights and in September 2017, in Victoria, Australia, legislation recognising the Yarra River as a living natural entity and its connectedness to the traditional owners the Wurundjeri people was passed. Giving rivers these rights does not turn rivers into people, but it helps lawyers give voice to things that cannot speak for themselves, the same as when corporations gain legal rights. It is a legal way of thinking that is more biocentric and recognises our place as ecologically embedded beings.

9.13 Auditing your own life

Refer to your work on eco- and anthropocentric positions at the beginning of this study. Using this work as a guide, reflect on your actions and conduct a reflective environmental audit of your daily activities.

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ACTIVITY 9.11

Conduct an environmental audit

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

9.14 Concluding study: summing up

In this chapter you have explored several big themes: the emergence of an ecological consciousness that challenged more anthropocentric thinking; the development of 'environmental movements' that eventually broadened their agendas to include a more global vision of justice, peace and sustainability; the particular significance of Lock the Gate (LTG) in forging an unprecedented alliance between farmers and environmentalists. This concluding study has taken the LTG story further, and then invited you to consider two other questions: how environmental history is written, and how effectively social media can be used by activists. Finally, you've been asked to audit and reflect on your own daily life, measured against the ideas you've encountered in this chapter.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The emergence of environmental movements

- Environmental movements have embraced people of various political persuasions, ethnicities, gender and generations.
- *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson, warned of the probable impact of pesticide use, particularly DDT, in agriculture.
- The famous 1968 *Earthrise* photograph heightened awareness that humanity was living on 'Spaceship Earth' with limited resources.
- By the 1980s, the movement began to integrate environmental issues with concerns over human rights, cultural diversity, and social or economic justice.
- Concerns about climate change had started to frame environmental concerns from the late 1980s.

Depth study: Have anti-fracking campaigns broken new ground by engaging diverse people and interests in thinking environmentally?

- Key Australian wilderness campaigns included the areas of the Daintree Rainforest of Northern Queensland and the Franklin River in Tasmania.
- Anti-coal mining and fracking environmental movements in Australia emerged from grassroots campaigns against coal mining.
- Lock the Gate Alliance (LTG) began in the Tara-Chinchilla area of south-west Queensland.
- A social licence to operate is the level of acceptance or approval by local communities of the operations of mining companies.
- LTG organises and brings together varied communities and groups that are opposed to coal-mining and fracking in their communities.
- A range of groups has emerged across Australia since LTG formed. These groups are community based, formed in response to locality-specific issues.
- In March 2011, LTG began a 95-day blockade against the Queensland Gas Company (QGC) that was attempting to connect five wells in the Tara Estates. Protests continued in the region over the next two years.
- LTG's emphasis on protecting the environment through defending a property owner's rights unearthed supporters from across the political spectrum, including Bob Brown, Bob Katter and Alan Jones.

Concluding study: Thinking environmentally

- LTG has assisted diverse people in the country to take up serious environmental issues and participate in acts of non-violent civil disobedience for the first time.
- Activism, advocating for social change and democratic practices are interlinked.
- Slacktivism has also become a common means of showing political or social action, though it often involves using the internet and requires little time or real involvement.
- Learning to think environmentally raises a different set of ethical responses, as well as more familiar social, political or economic understandings.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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UNIT 3
National experiences in the Modern World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 3, students form their own knowledge and understanding about national experiences that have emerged in the Modern World. The national experiences examined may include crises that have confronted nations, their responses to these crises, and the different paths nations have taken to fulfil their goals. These national experiences consist of, for example: civil wars, immigration policies, electoral campaigns and major economic events. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these national experiences within selected historical contexts.
(Modern History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues linked to national experiences in the Modern World
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research associated with national experiences in the Modern World
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about national experiences in the Modern World
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument associated with national experiences in the Modern World
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about national experiences in the Modern World
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose about national experiences in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 10 Germany, 1914–1945

- Contextual study: Conditions that led to the growth of the Nazi Party
- Depth study: How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?
- Concluding study: Reflecting on Nazism

Chapter 11 United States of America, 1917–1945 (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

- Contextual study: The USA 1917–32
- Depth study: How effective a response were the New Deal policies to the causes and consequences of the Great Depression?
- Concluding study: Is there a legacy of the New Deal today?

Chapter 12 China, 1931–1976 (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

- Contextual study: China: Forging a new identity
- Depth study: How did Mao's vision shape China's national experience after 1949?
- Concluding study: Did Mao Zedong create a firm national identity for modern Chinese leaders to project a Neo-Imperial China onto the twenty-first century?

Chapter 13 Israel, 1948–1993

- Contextual study: Israel and the Palestinian Territories
- Depth study: Did the creation of Israel intensify the conflict in the Middle East?
- Concluding study: Can justice and peace be achieved for the people of Israel and the Palestinian Territories?

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CHAPTER 10
Germany, 1914–1945
Focus: The Nazi transformation of Germany



SOURCE 10.1 Charlottesville, Virginia, 11 August 2017. Neo-Nazis, alt-right supporters and white supremacists hold torches and chant at a rally at the University of Virginia. Note the apparent gender, race and age of those depicted.

It is 11 August 2017. As night falls, hundreds of primarily young, Caucasian men holding fire torches march through the campus of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. The small town is noted for its sculptures of famous Confederate Civil War General Robert E. Lee and American Founding Father Thomas Jefferson.

Many of the men self-identify as white **nationalists** and members of the alt-right. They chant slogans such as 'you will not replace us' and 'Jews will not replace us'. The march ends in a clash with counter protesters, and members of both sides are arrested. The following day, a larger rally to 'unite the right' takes place in downtown Charlottesville. A young woman, Heather Heyer, is killed when a car is driven into a crowd of demonstrators protesting the rally. Virginia's governor declares a state of emergency.

Aaron Sloper

nationalists individuals who seek to exalt one nation above others and place primary emphasis on promoting that country's culture and interests

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Conditions that led to the growth of the Nazi Party

Almost 80 years before the Charlottesville clashes, in September 1938, another group of Caucasian men emerged in the night. They too bore lit torches and loudly espoused the ideals of white nationalism. They were members of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) or Nazi Party, marching through the streets of Nuremberg, Germany, as part of the tenth annual **Reich Party Congress**. In that final immense outward celebration of Nazism prior to the outbreak of World War II, over one million Germans spent a week bearing witness to **Aryan** nationalism, a key element of Nazi ideology.



SOURCE 10.2 Nuremberg, Germany, September 1938. A National Socialist torchlight parade marches through Nuremberg during the 1938 Reich Party Congress.
How does this image compare with the Charlottesville image in Source 10.1? What clues are there that this gathering might have a different status in this society? What impression do you think the organisers of this march were hoping for? What might German people today think about this photo?

Reich Party Congress also known as the Nuremberg Rallies after their location in central Germany, these massive National Socialist rallies were held regularly from 1923 to 1938. They were carefully choreographed propaganda events designed to reinforce party ideals and enthusiasm for Nazi ideology.

Aryan originally a name given to an Indo-European people group from Iran and Northern India, the term was used as a designation of racial superiority by National Socialists who equated the term with the 'white race' of whom the Nordic and Germanic peoples were thought to be the purest expression

A mere seven years later, World War II had ended the lives of over 60 million people globally. Of these, between six and eight million perished as a part of the Holocaust, Adolf Hitler's Final Solution in his attempt to exterminate the entirety of the European Jewish population.

Today, few people publicly support the words and attitudes displayed in Charlottesville and Nuremberg. So how did those attitudes gain popularity and, ultimately, become government policy in a major European nation? This chapter will examine how the roots of Nazism lay deep in Germany's history, and how Nazism flourished because of a unique set of historical circumstances.

10.1 Germany before World War I

The nation known as Germany did not exist until 1871. Like other ethnically and linguistically similar peoples across Europe, German-speaking peoples lived in multiple separate states and had no sense of **national identity**.

national identity sense of belonging to one state or one nation, represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics

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SOURCE 10.3 This map shows some of the various states in which German-speaking peoples lived in 1815.
Would the unification of these states into one nation seem a logical step? What factors (historical, cultural, economic, geographical, technological) might impede such unification? Note the way the German-speaking area is bordered by other significant states to both the east and west. Might unification change the dynamic among all the states on the map? Explain your response.

Prussia, the largest state, emerged as a military power in the nineteenth century, guided by leader Otto von Bismarck. Using his status as a military hero, Bismarck unified the German states into a single empire. The new German Empire was declared by Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1871.



SOURCE 10.4 Berlin, February, 1888. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck advocates forcefully for military spending in the German Reichstag (Parliament).
Why would Bismarck want high military spending? Could it have effects that go beyond military goals? What might you read into the faces of the men gathered around? Do you think Bismarck would be pleased with this painting?

The vision of Bismarck

Bismarck's next challenge was to ensure that the new nation survived. Germany needed to withstand any internal power struggles, and hold its own among the other great powers of Europe.

Bismarck's strategy was to use unprecedented industrial growth to fuel Germany's development as a global power. Increasing productivity and international prominence would bolster nationalist sentiment and unity among Germany's people.

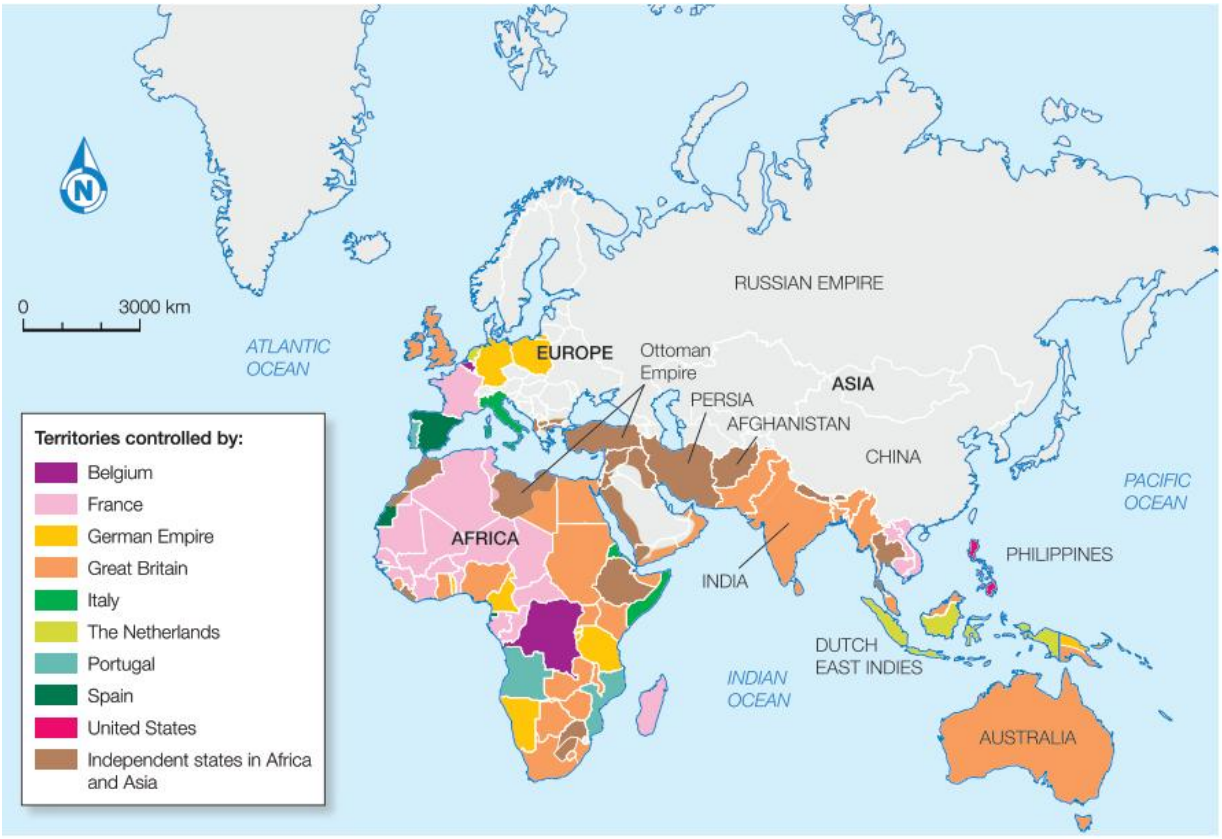
Bismarck also promoted the idea of a single Germany and German culture with a *Kulturkampf* or 'culture struggle'. Traditional ideas of German culture were encouraged, and beliefs which did not align were suppressed, most notably Catholicism (Bismarck himself was staunchly Protestant) and Polish nationalism. These first open signs of sectarian and ethnic persecution demonstrate clearly the substantial effect that nationalist sentiment was beginning to have on Germany.

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The vision of Wilhelm II

From 1888 onwards, the direction of Germany changed radically when Kaiser Wilhelm II became emperor. Wanting to make his own mark and avoid the passivity he saw in Wilhelm I's reign, Wilhelm II forced Bismarck to retire in 1890.

Wilhelm II was not content for Germany to merely develop its economic and military capacity. He insisted that Germany use that capacity for imperial expansion. Having unified so recently, Germany could not boast the large international empires of older powers.



SOURCE 10.5 Map showing European colonial claims, 1900. Notice that Britain, with its powerful navy, has substantially larger possessions than any other nation. Germany controls relatively small areas of Africa and the Pacific.
Why would this global situation have motivated the Kaiser to further his imperialist ambitions?

To Wilhelm, the comparatively small German colonial holdings in Africa and the Pacific were an embarrassment. Furthermore, while Germany had the largest standing army in Europe, it lacked a naval force to match it.

SOURCE 10.6 A speech by Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1901

> In spite of the fact that we have no such fleet as we should have, we have conquered for ourselves a place in the sun. It will now be my task to see to it that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession, in order that the sun's rays may fall fruitfully upon our activity and trade in foreign parts, that our industry and agriculture may develop within the state ...

Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany's speech to the North German Regatta Association, 1901

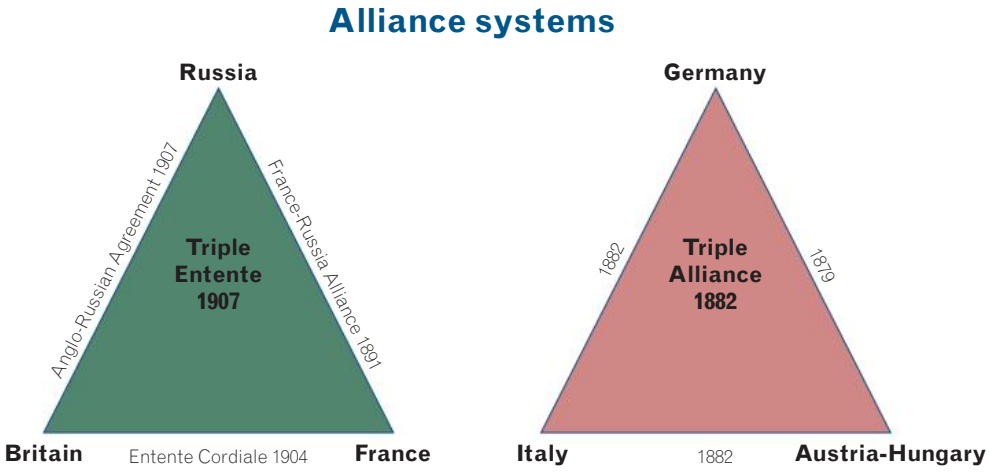
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Responding to the Kaiser's speech

1. What does the Kaiser mean by the expression 'place in the sun'? How is he suggesting Germany can maintain it?
2. The Kaiser refers to seeing that this 'place' remains Germany's 'undisputed possession'. What does this indicate about how Germany felt about its future place among the nations of the world?

The march towards conflict

Despite Bismarck's 'blood and iron' reputation, his diplomatic actions abroad had presented Germany as peaceful. Wilhelm II was less measured. Increasing apprehension about international security caused leading European nations to form alliances.



SOURCE 10.7 Europe's rival alliances by 1907. These alliances rivalled each other and reflected nationalistic, imperialist and militaristic motives.
How might the division of Europe into rival groups impact the direction of the continent? How might it potentially heighten the possibility of conflict?

ACTIVITY 10.1

Research events that led Germany to war

Research the following incidents, briefly describe each and explain how it contributed to growing international tension.

Events that led Germany to war		
Event	**Brief description of event**	**Contribution to international tension**
1882 Formation of the Triple Alliance		
1896 Kaiser's telegram to Paul Kruger		
1905 First Moroccan Crisis		
1911 Second Moroccan Crisis		
1912–13 The Balkan Crises		
1914 The 'Willy-Nicky' Telegrams		
1914 The July Crisis		

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These various international crises created a **war climate** in Europe. Such a climate meant that even small regional conflicts had the potential to implicate any number of European nations.

war climate geopolitical situation in which the potential for armed conflict between two or more states is created due to tensions that build through provocative actions



SOURCE 10.8 *The Vortex – Will the Powers Be Drawn In?* An editorial cartoon by British cartoonist David Wilson depicts the Balkan Crises of 1912–13.
Use your knowledge gained in the previous activity to interpret this cartoon. Who/what is the figure in the background (top right-hand corner)? Has the cartoonist drawn her in a way that suggests whether she might succeed? Do you think the whirlpool is a clever device for the cartoonist to use? Explain why.

By 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm II's steadfast sympathising with alliance partner Austria-Hungary and its desire to maintain control of the Balkans led to conflict with Serbia and its ally Russia. Russia, France and Great Britain were allies, thereby drawing in all of Europe's major powers. A crisis emerged when the Serbian 'Black Hand' nationalist movement assassinated Austro-Hungarian heir Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914. After a month of complicated diplomacy, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July.

Within a week, Germany was at war with Russia, France and Britain. This was welcomed by many Germans as a chance for Germany to prove itself as a truly great power.



SOURCE 10.9 Munich, 1 August 1914. A crowd of approximately 100 000 gather at the Odeonplatz square in Munich, following the news that Germany is at war. The photo seems to show a young Adolf Hitler in the crowd.
Is it possible to detect whether the crowd is celebrating, or expressing some different thoughts and feelings? What historical sources might exist that could confirm the crowd's sentiments? If the people are celebrating, what possible consequences might they be expecting?

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10.2 What effect did World War I have on Germany?

Initial success

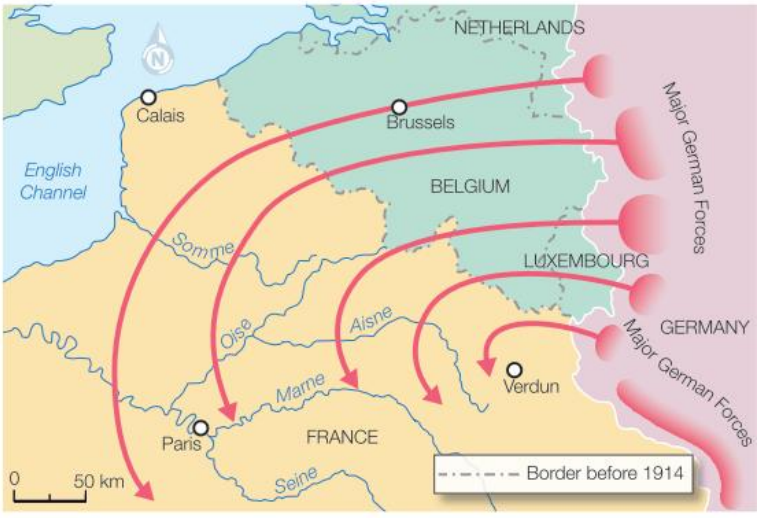
Despite the public's initial optimism, World War I brought great misery to Germany.

Many across Europe believed that the war would be rapid and decisive. After the war's outbreak, the Germans and their allies crushed the advancing Russian forces and expanded westward towards Paris. However, Germany had originally planned to defeat France before dealing with Russia, in order to avoid fighting on both Eastern and Western Fronts. This was known as the Schlieffen Plan. By using troops against Russia first, the plan could no longer succeed. Germany had also hoped to avoid drawing in Great Britain, but when German troops crossed through Belgium to attack France, Britain honoured its treaty obligations and came to Belgium's aid.

stalemate situation in a conflict where neither side can make progress

Stalemate and defeat

A **stalemate** paralysed the Western Front from 1915. For several years, troops were literally bogged down in muddy trench warfare. Hundreds of thousands died at battles such as Verdun and the Somme.



SOURCE 10.10 Map of the Schlieffen Plan and the stalemate



At the same time, Germany had been blockaded by the British Royal Navy, strangling Germany's supply chain. Then, in response to German attacks on shipping, the US declared war in April 1917. Facing an enemy bolstered by American reinforcements, German High Command eventually informed the Kaiser and his government that the war could not be won.

Germany began to issue overtures to the Allies for an armistice by July of 1918. US President Woodrow Wilson, the Allies' chief negotiator, demanded that the Kaiser abdicate. The Kaiser went into exile on 10 November, and the following day an armistice was agreed.

The Kaiser's departure left the nation without a functioning government, causing political chaos. While military defeat was complete, the full economic and social impact was yet to be felt.

SOURCE 10.11 Germany, 1918. Amid food shortages, German women and children queue for rations vouchers as the British blockade takes its toll on the home front. Could such hardship prompt mixed feelings among German civilians about the ongoing war? Do you think such a blockade is a fair tactic in wartime?

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10.3 Germany: the aftermath of war

In the year following the German surrender, the nation's future was determined at a peace conference held in Versailles, the same place the German empire had been declared less than 50 years earlier.

The Paris Peace Conference, 1919

Representatives of 32 nations gathered in January 1919 to discuss the peace settlement. Three men dictated the direction of the conference and its conclusions: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French President Georges Clemenceau and US President Woodrow Wilson.

After several months of negotiations, a treaty was presented to the Germans. They had no real power to challenge the terms. The Treaty of Versailles was formally signed on the 28 June 1919.



SOURCE 10.12 Paris, 1919. Prime Minister Lloyd George, President Clemenceau and President Wilson attend the Paris Peace Conference.
Why did these leaders in particular dictate the direction of the conference? Why would Wilson have had a say, given the USA's relatively limited role in the war? What might this suggest about the changing world order at this point?

ACTIVITY 10.2

Analyse the Treaty of Versailles, 1919

1. Use a library database or the internet to find a copy of the Treaty of Versailles.
2. Read each of the articles listed in the table below. Summarise each and determine what you think the motivation and intended result was for each article.

Treaty article	Summary	Motive	Intended result
Article 42			
Article 51			
Article 119			
Articles 159 and 160			
Article 231			
Article 232			

3. Consider what you have read in the Treaty of Versailles. To what extent does it seem a fair document? Is there evidence that its provisions were motivated by vengeance?
4. Why did Article 231 in particular become a source of controversy? What potential link can you see between this article and the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany?

The terms forced upon Germany were severe. Article 231 of the Treaty stated the Allies 'accepted the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage' from a war 'imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany'.

This statement of guilt provided a legal basis for **reparations**. When the Germans signed the Treaty in 1919 the Allies had not specified an amount of money owed.

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

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demilitarised the reduction of state armed forces, usually as a result of a peace treaty negotiated at the end of a conflict. Can be general in nature or applied to a specific area, known as a demilitarised zone.

This was not determined until 1921, when the Allies demanded an amount equivalent today to about one trillion Australian dollars. The heavy financial burden caused substantial damage to Germany's economy and morale.

Germany's territory was also affected, with its overseas possessions stripped and its own boundaries substantially reduced and redrawn. Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, Eupen and Malmedy were lost to Belgium and Northern Schleswig to Denmark. The area along the Rhine River bordering France (known as the Rhineland) was **demilitarised**, meaning Germany could not have a military presence along its most important border. Germany's army was restricted to no more than 100 000 men and its navy to 15 000, with accompanying military hardware severely limited and manufacture prohibited. The Treaty of Versailles meant national humiliation and punishment, likely to provoke both social unrest and economic turmoil.

10.4 The Weimar Republic

Defeat and the humiliating Treaty of Versailles were demoralising and would create ongoing substantial impacts on German society. Some viewed it as an opportunity for change.



SOURCE 10.13 Germany, 1919. German men stand in front of military equipment and supplies being destroyed as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. Almost 50 000 pieces of military hardware, including cannons, machine guns and aircraft, were demolished. What effect do you think this would have had on German morale? Was this a reasonable action by the victorious Allies?

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A new democratic Weimar Republic and accompanying constitution were declared on 11 August 1919.

SOURCE 10.14 Excerpts from the Weimar Constitution, 1919

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

The new constitution made promising reference to elements of American democracy, including freedom of expression and pursuit of general welfare. But, despite the promise of democratic rights and freedoms, it was also flawed. Some leading advocates of the constitution, such as inaugural President Friedrich Ebert, were also infamous for accepting the hated Treaty of Versailles.

As a result, members of both the political left and right were reluctant to embrace the constitution. Political unrest continued, with a left-wing Spartacist uprising of the Communist Party in Germany (KPD) in 1919, and an attempted coup by right-wing conservative and military elements in the 1920 *Kapp Putsch*.

Around this time of German discontent, another group also formed: The National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), better known as the Nazi Party.

Many ordinary Germans viewed liberal democracy as a foreign form of government that was being forced upon them. Beyond the political aspects of the Republic, its failures of economic management did little to reassure the German people. **Hyperinflation** took hold in the early 1920s. The Weimar government lacked revenue and the ability to implement economic reform. The German Treasury simply printed additional currency, which served only to devalue it. This left Germany even less able to service the debt imposed by the Treaty of Versailles.

hyperinflation economic situation in which monetary inflation is occurring at an exceptionally high rate, reducing the value of currency and usually resulting in economic hardship and depression

By 1923, one US dollar was worth 10 million German marks. Germans saw their investments and savings rendered worthless. Bank bills became more useful as rags or wallpaper than for making payments.



SOURCE 10.15 In post-war Germany, a housewife uses millions of Deutsch marks to light a stove during a period of hyperinflation.
What impression does this image give you of life during the Weimar Republic? Why can rampant inflation have devastating impacts on citizens' everyday lives? How could those impacts translate into political instability?

10.5 The emergence of the Nazi Party

While hyperinflation eased after 1923, relative economic stability lasted only six years. Large portions of the German populace remained angry and distrustful of the Weimar state. Even when the economy stabilised and art, culture and self-expression bloomed during the period's creative height, members of the middle and lower classes felt alienated. Traditionalists and conservative Germans also felt as if the values and ideals of their nation had abandoned them.

The Wall Street stock market collapse of 1929 eventually spiralled into a global Great Depression. Germany was hit hard. Unemployment and widespread social problems increased, with the unemployment rate ballooning to 30% in 1930. Social misery and economic uncertainty, combined with existing resentment of the Weimar political regime, provided an environment for new political players to rise.

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SOURCE 10.16 Braunschweig, 1929. At a Nazi rally, Nazi party members march carrying flags emblazoned with the swastika. Why do you think symbolism played such a crucial role in Nazi campaigning? How does the use of such imagery benefit a fledgling political movement? Given what you now know of German history, can you explain why this parade would appeal to many Germans?

anti-Semitism the strong dislike or cruel and unfair treatment of Jewish people

eugenics the idea that it is possible to improve humanity by allowing only some people to produce children

As in 1919–20, polarisation and political extremism increased, and both communists and right-wing parties became more prominent. Chief among these was Adolf Hitler's National Socialist Party (NSDAP, or Nazi Party).

A key part of the NSDAP platform was the scapegoating of Jews. Prejudice against the Jews (**anti-Semitism**) across Europe was not new. However, as noted by historian Ian Kershaw, a new 'language of bacteriology', was employed in the twentieth century to further denigrate Jewish people and to blame them for Germany's manifold problems. **Eugenics** and other pseudo-sciences, emerging during the 1920s and 1930s, used racial theories to justify the idea of a social hierarchy which positioned various races according to their supposed worth to society. To Adolf Hitler and the Nazis, the Jews occupied the lowest rung of any hierarchy and their existence in German society could not be tolerated. To endure their continued existence could only mean that Germany would persist in turmoil and never regain the strength of the former Reich.

These and other ideas were explained in the NSDAP's program in 1920.

GO

ACTIVITY 10.3

Undertake a 'jigsaw' group activity about Nazi plans

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

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Clearly, the pursuit of these plans had the potential for dramatic upheaval in Germany. Nationalistic elements of Nazi policy included its demand that territories lost in the aftermath of World War I be returned; that a stronger central government be formed; that non-ethnic Germans be barred from migrating to Germany; and that newspapers be owned and operated by Germans only. More disturbing still was the party's insistence on the importance of 'German blood' when considering who could be a citizen in a National Socialist Germany.

Ironically, **socialism** also featured prominently in Nazi ideology despite the Party's scare campaigns around Bolshevism and persecution of German communists. Among the 25 points of its program, the party proposed sharing profits among industry employees; generous pensions; educational assistance for children from poorer families; and banning passive income generation from investments.

socialism political and economic theory which proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

10.6 Contextual study: summing up

Germany did not emerge as a modern, unified nation until 1871, when its many principalities and states converged. Though separate, these states did exhibit strong cultural commonalities. The potential for Germany to be a disruptive force was clear: it possessed military might and industrial strength but, having missed the earlier 'grab for colonies' by other European powers, it lacked the prestige of an overseas empire. Combined with growing nationalism, these elements propelled Germany into the increasingly unstable European situation of the early 1900s. This culminated in Germany's significant role in sparking World War I.

You have witnessed that, despite individual military supremacy in Europe and a prolonged stalemate along the Western Front, the Germans could not resist the combined efforts of the Allies, particularly after the US joined in the latter days of the war. This defeat, along with the terms detailed in the Treaty of Versailles, left Germans humiliated and resentful. The subsequent Weimar Republic was not robust enough to withstand the instability arising from the punitive treaty, economic stagnation and a powerful new political force making attractive promises about the future.

This contextual study has demonstrated that, due to unique historical circumstances, Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist Party (or NSDAP) were able to take advantage of lingering post-World War I resentment by pledging to address Germany's woes.

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DEPTH STUDY

How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?

The photograph below is an extreme, but sadly not an isolated, example of the way the Nazi regime transformed Germany between 1933 and 1945. What happened in these years is the focus of this depth study.

10.7 How did Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party gain power in Germany?

This section will discuss a number of factors that led to the rise of National Socialism in Germany and the process by which Adolf Hitler was able to circumvent the democratic Weimar Republic.

Capitalising on internal discontent

Economic and social factors in Germany in the wake of World War I and the Treaty of Versailles left Germans bitter and dissatisfied with the democratic Weimar Republic. Hitler and his NSDAP soon rose as a viable political force, despite their extremist ideology. The period of Nazi dominance in Germany involved a great deal of suffering and acts of brutality so extreme that many people at the time (in Germany and abroad) dismissed the reports as exaggerated.

Hitler announced the Nazi Party Program when addressing a large rally in Munich in February 1920. The program articulated the tenets of **National Socialism**, in conjunction with Hitler's *Mein Kampf* ('my struggle'), published while he was imprisoned several years later.

After the initial proclamation of National Socialist ideas, the NSDAP attempted a coup against the local state government in Munich, Bavaria, on 8 November 1923. Hitler sought to capitalise on the discontent rife within the new German middle class due to hyperinflation. He also sought to draw on the feelings of the conservative elite who, as historian Eric Weitz writes, 'pined for a return to the ordered, authoritarian past of imperial Germany'. These

National Socialism political ideology of the NSDAP consisting of intense nationalism, dictatorial rule and totalitarianism, a prejudicial hatred of perceived national enemies (such as Jews and Slavs) and the desire to establish a people's community to dominate German political and civic life



SOURCE 10.17 A member of the SS prepares to shoot a Polish Jew kneeling before a mass grave during World War II.



SOURCE 10.18 Germany, 1938. Demonstration by NSDAP party members on the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

What impression do you gain of these party members? Do they seem to reflect particular demographics or groups? Might other photographs indicate that the Nazi Party had broader demographic support? Explain your answer. Why do you think the resentment about the Treaty had persisted for so long?

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diverse groups would be brought together by the political and economic crises of the Weimar Republic, combined with the personal dynamism of Hitler and his Nazi propaganda machine. Eventually, they would become the political base that supported Nazi power.

Hitler's initial attempt to seize power in Bavaria failed, resulting in his arrest and the deaths of 16 party members. However, this was a blessing in disguise for the fledgling movement. The resulting trial gave Hitler and his party nation-wide notoriety. His sentence, a surprisingly lenient five years, ended up lasting only from April until December 1924. It was marked by relative comfort and a constant flow of gifts from admirers.

His incarceration was long enough for Hitler to dictate his memoir *Mein Kampf* to his high-ranking colleague Rudolf Hess. It expanded the party platform and developed his ideas on racial purity, the right to additional German territory and justification for state-sponsored domestic terrorism. Hitler claimed that he was destined to be Germany's saviour in regaining its place in the world.

His time in jail convinced Hitler that using the democratic road to power under the Weimar constitution would be more effective than another coup. This would prove significant in the NSDAP's future strategy.

SOURCE 10.19 Extract from *Mein Kampf*, 1925

> It is idle to argue which race or races were the original representative of human culture and hence the real founders of all that we sum up under the word 'humanity.' It is simpler to raise this question with regard to the present, and here an easy, clear answer results. All the human culture, all the results of art, science, and technology that we see before us today, are almost exclusively the creative product of the Aryan ... He is the Prometheus of mankind from whose bright forehead the divine spark of genius has sprung at all times, forever kindling anew that fire of knowledge which illumined the night of silent mysteries and thus caused man to climb the path to mastery over the other beings of this earth. Exclude him – and perhaps after a few thousand years darkness will again descend on the earth, human culture will pass, and the world turn to a desert.

Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 1925

Responding to Hitler's ideas

1. What is the central theme of this extract?
2. Despite probable revulsion at these ideas today, what would have appealed to Germans at the time of publication? Why?
3. Compare this extract with the original Party Program (1920). What changes can you see?
4. How might Germans respond to Hitler's description of Aryans as the 'Prometheus of mankind'?
5. What does this extract suggest about Hitler's understanding of how language can move people? Might his literary style translate well to his oratory style?

Political legitimacy and exploiting a crisis

By 1925 the NSDAP had solidified its guiding philosophy and political platform. It had an enthusiastic minority of supporters within the German political right but needed to expand its appeal further. The NSDAP had been banned during Hitler's imprisonment but was legalised again after his release. Hitler re-emerged into a Germany which was regaining prosperity. Economic recovery was dangerous for the Nazi Party as it relied upon anger and dissatisfaction as the fuel for its ascendance.

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SOURCE 10.20 Berlin, May 1933. German President Paul von Hindenburg (L) and Chancellor Adolf Hitler travel to a youth rally in Lustgarten, Berlin. How do you think associating with established political figures increased Hitler's authority? At this youth rally, which of the two might have appealed more to the young people? Why is this? Which might older Germans relate to more – the ageing but militarily distinguished von Hindenburg or the younger, seemingly more dynamic Hitler?

The party began its new efforts by replenishing its base through grassroots political activity. By 1928, the party claimed it had over 100 000 members. Various sub-groups of the NSDAP which would later become notorious were also established at this time: the Hitler Youth, the ***Sturmabteilung*** (SA or brownshirts) paramilitary wing and the infamous ***Schutzstaffel*** **(SS)**.

The general public was still uninterested. Relative prosperity meant that centrist parties such as the Social Democrats gained support. However, in 1929, the US Stock Exchange crashed suddenly on 24 October, resulting in a worldwide economic downturn. This spelled the end for the Weimar Republic and German democracy. The effects on Germany's still-recovering economy were disastrous. Much of its newfound prosperity had been funded by American loans. Defaulting on loans became the norm, discouraging international trade and resulting in a downturn of production, collapsing businesses and vast unemployment.

The NSDAP swiftly took advantage in the elections of 1930, held due to Chancellor Heinrich Bruening's inability to establish support in the **Reichstag** for his economic plan. Disaffected voters across the nation turned to the Nazis, who increased their share of seats in parliament from 12 to 107, just behind the Social Democrats. The German Communist Party (KPD) was third with 77 seats, indicating that the German people had begun to question the political establishment and turn to political extremism on both the right and left.

Sturmabteilung paramilitary organisation within the NSDAP in Germany. Also known as the brownshirts, their use of violence and intimidation played a vital role in the rise of Adolf Hitler to power

Schutzstaffel **(SS)** originally founded as personal bodyguards for Hitler, became the elite corps of the NSDAP and participated in many of the worst excesses of the Nazi era including the mass murder of political opponents, Jews and prisoners of war

Reichstag meeting place of Germany's parliament or 'Imperial Diet' until 1933 when a fire in the building led to the political events that enabled Hitler to become dictator

10.8 German nationalism

The Nazis claim power

Hitler emerged as the victor in this new political world, captivating many with his message of economic salvation and German nationalism. This approach broadened the Nazis' appeal across religious, class and geographic lines and resulted in Hitler launching a bold (though unsuccessful) challenge for the presidency in 1932.

Hitler made a further bid for power later in the same year in the elections called after Bruening resigned as Chancellor. The Nazis won 230 out of the 608 Reichstag seats. Despite dubious tactics employed by the SA and SS, Hitler and his NSDAP were democratically elected as the largest party in the German parliament. Hitler demanded that he be made Chancellor. President Paul von Hindenburg refused to appoint him. Frustrated, Hitler instigated a vote of no confidence in Chancellor Fritz von Papen on 20 August 1932. Ironically, it was von Papen who later convinced von Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. He argued that appointing Hitler in coalition with the German Nationalists would temper the Nazis' extremism. Thus, on 30 January 1933, Hitler was installed as Chancellor with von Papen as his deputy.

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SOURCE 10.21 Hitler speaks at the Sportpalast, Berlin, February 1933



Hitler speaks at the Sportpalast, Berlin, February 1933.
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 01:29) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the video

1. What do you see in Hitler's presentation in this video that accounts for his appeal to the German people?
2. Does the impression you receive of Hitler's presentation in this video match how he is portrayed in popular culture? Explain your response.
3. Research current world leaders and find examples of them making speeches in a similar context. Do any of them employ a similar style of presentation? Why might they do so?

Further opportunity to take more power was to follow. Barely a month later, the week before further elections were to take place, the Reichstag building burned down on 27 February 1933. Hitler blamed his political rivals, the Communists. He drafted an Emergency Decree, issued by the President the next day, which took advantage of the situation by dramatically limiting political freedoms in order to 'protect' against further Communist violence. The Decree was unusual in being issued without the normal interpretation guidelines. This allowed considerable room for exploitation. Thousands of Communists were jailed and a climate of fear and suspicion began.

Hitler and the National Socialist Party were now the political kingpins of Germany. In less than a decade, Hitler had reinvented himself from failed coup leader to Chancellor, and his party from political fringe dwellers to a mainstream party, drawing followers from all walks of life. But the party line had not changed. The 25-point plan and the ideas of *Mein Kampf* would underpin the Nazi transformation of Germany over the next 12 years.

ACTIVITY 10.4

Create an infographic showing how the NSDAP gained power

To demonstrate your understanding of how the NSDAP gained power, create an infographic using relevant events and developments described in this section. You may like to use an online infographic generator like canva.com or Piktochart. Your infographic should include:

- an informative, interesting and clear sequence of information
- graphic representation of information (use of images, diagrams, graphs, icons)
- a precise and discerning use of written text (words).

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10.9 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Nazi regime change German politics, economy, society and foreign relations?

Hitler and the NSDAP immediately sought to consolidate their authority and transform Germany into the Third Reich state they envisaged (Reich is a German term for empire, and Hitler believed he was creating a third successor to the Holy Roman Empire and Bismarck's German empire). In order to do so several substantial actions needed to occur. Hitler was Chancellor, but the Nazi Party majority in the Reichstag relied upon a coalition with the German Nationalist Party. Not satisfied with this limit on NSDAP power, Hitler sought not just to enact a political agenda but to fundamentally change the German Republic itself.

How did the Nazis create a totalitarian state?

Having already increased restrictions on civil liberties with the Emergency Decree, the Nazis now sought to change German politics as a whole. They did so with the *Enabling Act*, also known as the 'Law to Remove the Distress of the People and the Reich', passed on 23 March 1933.

Such a law would ordinarily never have made it through the Reichstag. However, Hitler had managed to exploit the powers previously enacted under the Emergency Decree to block members of the Communist Party (KPD) and Social Democratic Party (SPD) from participating in the vote. Additionally, members of his SS and SA surrounded those in Germany's parliament as they voted, intimidating many and resulting in the two-thirds majority required to pass such a drastic piece of legislation. Only SPD leader Otto Wels dared speak against it: 'You can take our lives and our freedom but you cannot take our honour'.

SOURCE 10.22 The *Enabling Act*, 23 March 1933

Article 1. National laws can be enacted by the Reich Cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. This also applies to the laws referred to in Article 85, Paragraph 2, and in Article 87 of the Constitution.

Article 2. The national laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet may deviate from the Constitution as long as they do not affect the position of the Reichstag [lower house of parliament] and the Reichsrat [upper house]. The powers of the President remain undisturbed.

Article 3. The national laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet shall be prepared by the Chancellor and published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. They come into effect, unless otherwise specified, the day after their publication. Articles 68–77 of the Constitution do not apply to the laws enacted by the Reich Cabinet.

Article 4. Treaties of the Reich with foreign states which concern matters of national legislation do not require the consent of the bodies participating in legislation. The Reich Cabinet is empowered to issue the necessary provisions for the implementation of these treaties.

The first four articles of the *Enabling Act*, 23 March 1933

Considering the meaning of the extract

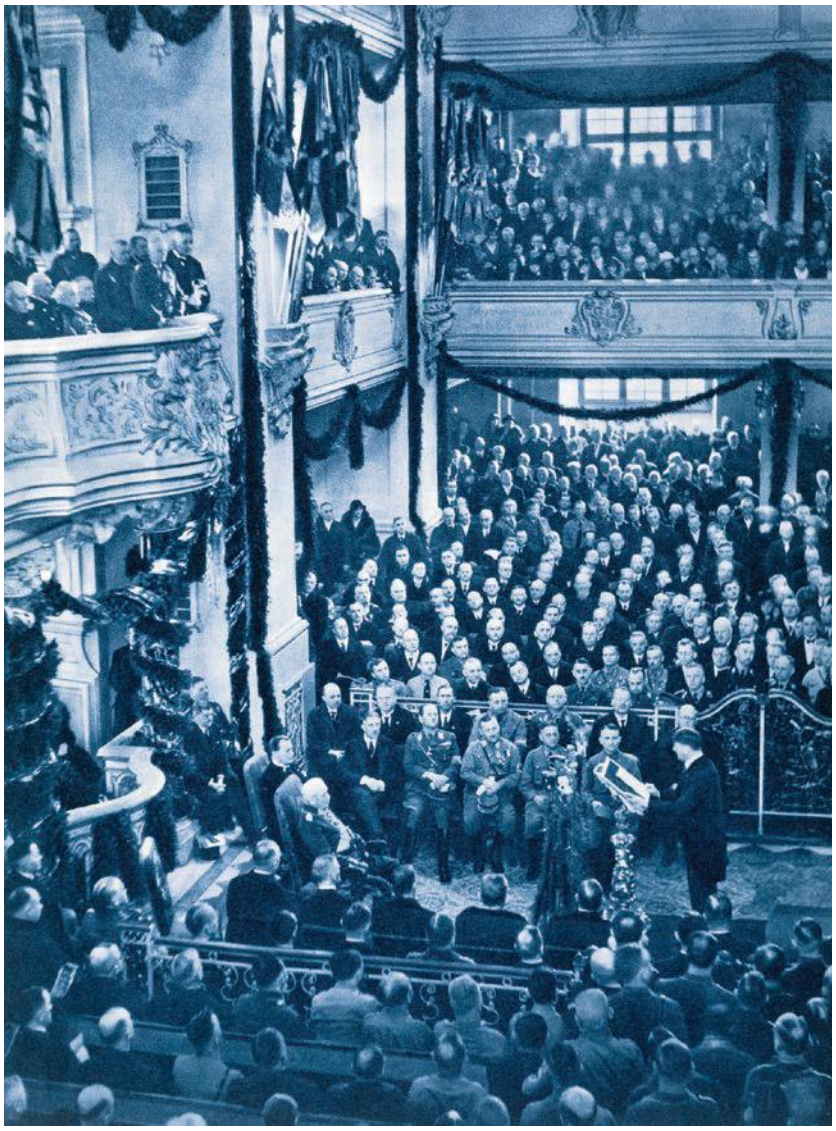
1. How do Articles 1 and 2 substantially alter Germany's political system? Think specifically around powers to make and enforce law.
2. What does Article 3 imply for the passing and implementation of national laws? What issues around personal and political freedoms can you imagine being an issue here?
3. Article 4 is careful to include consideration of treaties with other nations. Why do you think the Nazi Party included these considerations?

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The *Enabling Act* was the second step in transforming Germany from a democratic republic into a totalitarian state. It stripped the Reichstag of the power to make laws by the vote of elected members and placed this power exclusively in the hands of the cabinet (the Chancellor and his ministers). A law now became enshrined simply by being announced.

Hitler did not hesitate to make use of this authority. In April 1933, a new law was passed that stripped the various German states of their powers, leaving the national government as the sole political authority. Several months later, the third and final step in Germany's political transformation occurred. On 7 July 1933, the *Law Against the Establishment of New Parties* announced that the NSDAP was the only legal political entity in Germany. Establishing a rival party would be punishable by several years in prison. Hitler had created a dictatorship without breaking the law.

With a stranglehold on political power, the army was now the only pre-existing institution with the ability to threaten Hitler's authority. By the beginning of 1934, President von Hindenburg was in failing health. Hitler intended to abolish the position upon von Hindenburg's death and rule completely unopposed. However, such an audacious claim to power would require the support of the army.



SOURCE 10.23 Potsdam, 21 March 1933. Adolf Hitler reads the *Enabling Act* at the Garrison Church at Potsdam.

What was the significance of Hitler choosing this location to read out this Act? What kind of advantage could Hitler gain by associating himself with German traditions while positioning himself as a completely new and different authority?

The German Army (or *Wehrmacht*) was well established and numerous in personnel. By 1934, Hitler's own Stormtrooper force, the *Sturmabteilung* or SA (brownshirts), outnumbered the *Wehrmacht* at almost three million strong. The *Wehrmacht* resented the existence of the SA and their leader, Ernst Rohm. Rohm was openly calling to be made Minister of Defence and for the SA to be made Germany's main military force.

The SA leadership was radical even for the NSDAP. The SA had already been replaced as Party security and enforcement by the more controlled SS.

Hitler, knowing that he would need the army's loyalty after von Hindenburg's death, agreed to deal with the SA. The President had also threatened to declare martial law and hand power to the army if Hitler did not stabilise the situation. Hitler's solution was to arrest and murder the SA leadership in one move during the 'Night of the Long Knives', 30 June 1934.

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SOURCE 10.24 Night of the Long Knives, 1934



A cartoon published in a Swiss newspaper evoking 30 June 1934, the Night of the Long Knives. The caption below it reads 'And the **Führer** said: only death can drive us apart'.

Responding to the source

1. What impression do we gain of Hitler in this cartoon? Does it differ from what you see in contemporary representations today?
2. Who are the crosses referring to? What role did they play in the events of 30 June 1934?
3. If Hitler did say 'only death can drive us apart', do you think the words might have meant one thing when spoken but at least one different thing on 30 June 1934? Explain your response.

Führer originally a German word meaning 'leader' or 'guide', it has become synonymous with the political title given to Adolf Hitler when the roles of both Chancellor and President were combined in 1933 to make him sole leader of Germany

Between 150 and 200 men died that night, purging the former leadership and removing threats to Hitler's authority. English historian Ian Kershaw states that 'Hitler's position was strengthened remarkably by his sponsoring of mass murder "in defence of the state" '. The Nazi leader's actions demonstrated both his willingness to appease the military and his brutal decisiveness when eliminating dissent. This proved pivotal in setting the direction for Hitler's leadership over the next decade, in which ruthless reprisals became the norm.

SOURCE 10.25 SS Leader Heinrich Himmler speaks to officials, October 1934

> ... 30 June was not – as several believe – a day of victory or a day of triumph, but it was the hardest day that can be visited on a soldier in his lifetime. To have to shoot one's own comrades ... is the bitterest thing which can happen to a man. For everyone who knows the Jews, freemasons and Catholics, it was obvious that these forces ... were very much annoyed at the rout on 30 June. Because 30 June signified no more and no less than the detonation of the National Socialist state from within, blowing it up with its own people. There would have been chaos, and it would have given a foreign enemy the possibility of marching into Germany with the excuse that order had to be created in Germany.

Heinrich Himmler, speech to Gestapo officials, 11 October 1934

Responding to the source

1. What does this source suggest was the true tragedy of 30 June 1934?
2. Who does Himmler blame for having enacted this tragedy? What does this say about the exclusionary nature of the Nazi regime?
3. Why do you think Himmler is still having to speak about this event more than three months later? Does this indicate anything about division still being present in the ranks of the SS over these events?

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German President von Hindenburg did indeed die several months after the purge of the SA. He went to his grave opposing Hitler's wish to consolidate the positions of Chancellor and President into one role, but was unable to make such a statement publicly. Only in the aftermath of the Reich was this revealed by von Hindenburg's allies. Combining the roles of Chancellor and President into the new title of Führer meant that Hitler became not only the political leader of Germany, but also its head of state.

ACTIVITY 10.5

GO

Identify key features of the change from Weimar Republic democracy to the totalitarianism of the Third Reich

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

What was the *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'people's community'?

With unprecedented control, Hitler could now seek to mould Germany into the image set out in the original NSDAP Program and his own *Mein Kampf*. To achieve this, the Nazi State needed to establish a clear set of cultural ideas and demonstrate that these ideas would clearly benefit the nation and its people. Pairing these ideas with economic growth and prosperity would demonstrate the legitimacy of the Nazi ideology and the strength of the new Nazi state.

SOURCE 10.26 Nazi propaganda poster, 1938



Nazi propaganda poster, 1938. The text at the bottom says 'One people, one state, one leader!'.

Responding to the source

1. What impression do you gain of Hitler through this picture? Could his presentation of 'self' be read in different ways? Explain your response.
2. How does this poster foster the idea of a united Germany? Do the words (translated in the caption above) seem like an invitation, a command, a wish, a threat … or something else? Could they be cleverly, deliberately ambiguous? Explain your response.
3. How might the 'aura' surrounding Hitler have helped create a new sense of unity and purpose among German people?
4. Are there current world leaders who seem to present a 'cult of personality'?

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Hitler's ascendancy and broadening appeal made many Germans believe they were entering a new age of prosperity. This optimism was remarkable for the German people, considering the events of the previous few decades: they had been repeatedly beset by conflict and economic misery each time national fortunes seemed to be improving. The Nazis saw their rise to power not just as a new government, but as the creation of a new society. Many Germans were enthused by this, and impressed by the mythology around their new leader.

SOURCE 10.27 Speech by German politician Robert Ley, 1937

My fellow Germans! The second miracle: These people have received leadership! ... you may ask: Did not the people always have leadership? Certainly there have always been states and forms of government ... however, a true people's leadership is wholly new. Our people lacked it in the past two thousand years. Our people did establish governments, and had Kaisers, kings, counts, republics, and other forms of government. But a popular leadership, the feeling of the individual that someone cares for me, is personally concerned about me, that is unique. The feeling of the individual, whether high or low, that other people are responsible for them, that their problems are the problems of the leadership, this is unique. That is why we love Adolf Hitler so much. The German worker has the feeling that this man, our Führer, works on his problems day and night! This type of popular leadership is unique. We demand such leadership. We will not surrender it, we will not share it with anyone.

Robert Ley, 'Fate – I Believe', a speech given on 3 November 1936

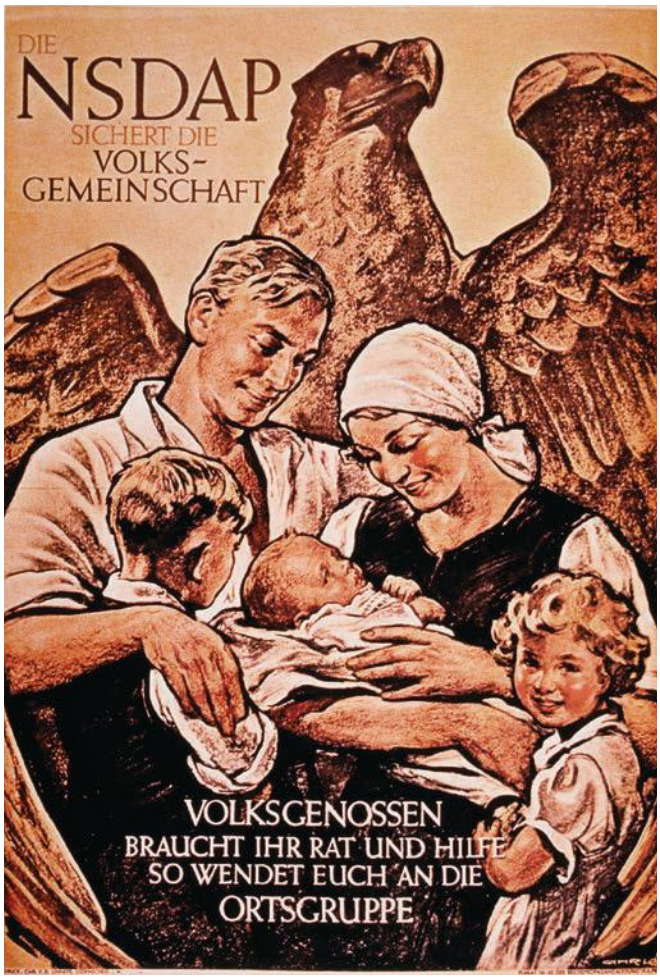
Responding to the speech

1. Identify two parts of this speech that seem designed to reassure the people they will be looked after.
2. Identify the words that seem designed to reassure the people that Hitler is committed to them.
3. Research the author Robert Ley and his role within the Nazi state. Decide whether that affects how you treat the source as evidence of Hitler's leadership style.
4. Have you seen any previous evidence that either contradicts or reinforces Ley's claim that Hitler had such personal concern for the people and their problems? Explain your response.

The Nazis tied their new state to the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* or 'people's community'. The concept of the German *volk* (folk) had been present within German culture throughout history. The Nazis used this familiar idea as a bridge from that past to the new society of the Third Reich. The key concept that the Nazis sought to imbue was that of racial purity. Rather than advocating class or social ranking, the *Volksgemeinschaft* philosophy insisted that all 'racially pure' Germans were equal and were entitled to a sense of belonging and shared prosperity in the new Reich. The original 25 points of the NSDAP clearly highlighted this through three related points – that 'all citizens must have equal rights and obligations', that 'only a member of the race can be a citizen' and that a member of the race 'can only be one who is of German blood'.

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SOURCE 10.28 Nazi Party poster, 1938



Germany, 1936. A Nazi election poster depicts a German family in front of an eagle. The captions on the poster states that 'The NSDAP secures the people's community' and 'the volk comrades need your advice and help, contact the local group'.

Responding to the image

1. What messages do you think the artist was trying to send to people viewing this poster?
2. What is common about the appearance of the individuals in this poster? What does this imply about racial hierarchy and the Nazi state?
3. How might people living in Germany who didn't feel included by this vision of German life have reacted to propaganda like this?
4. In what ways might this group of people be considered 'ideal'?
5. What message do you think is created by: the baby's central position in the image; the family members looking at the baby; the facial expressions; the young girl looking out from the image; the eagle's raised head and its wings encircling the family?
6. In today's Australia, what well-known brands use similar images of 'ideal' families to advertise goods and services? What makes these seemingly effective as a sales tool?

Considering the class hierarchy that had previously dominated Germany, the ideals of the *Volksgemeinschaft* held great appeal, especially among the working and middle classes. Given their history, this prioritisation of national identity held natural sway among the German people. However, while the Nazis expected loyalty from the people, they needed to create goodwill to achieve it. A logical way for this to happen, it seemed, was through fostering economic recovery and, later, military expansion.

How did the Nazis enact their economic plans?

By the time the Nazis took power in 1933, the economic effects of the Great Depression had been felt throughout the world. Some nations, like the United Kingdom and the United States of America, were beginning to recover. Others, such as France, were getting worse. Any existing international means of recovery (such as the World Economic Conference) were being abandoned and it rested largely on individual nations to make policy that would aid their economic development.

Germany was able to engineer the most complete recovery of any European nation, despite arguably feeling the Depression's effects most deeply.

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SOURCE 10.29 Hitler's 'Appeal to the German People', 1 February 1933

The National Government will carry out the great task of reorganising our national economy with two big Four-Year Plans: saving the German farmer so that the nation's food supply and thus the life of the nation shall be secured; saving the German worker by a massive and comprehensive attack on unemployment ... The National Government will combine this gigantic project of restoring our economy with the task of putting the administration and the finances of the Reich, the states, and the communes on a sound basis. Only by doing this can the idea of preserving the Reich as a federation acquire flesh and blood. The idea of labour service and of settlement policy are among the main pillars of this program. Our concern to provide daily bread will be equally a concern for the fulfilment of the responsibilities of society to those who are old and sick. The best safeguard against any experiment which might endanger the currency lies in economical administration, the promotion of work, and the preservation of agriculture, as well as in the use of individual initiative.

Adolf Hitler, 'Appeal to the German People', radio broadcast on 1 February 1933

Responding to Hitler's plan

1. What are the two key elements of Hitler's plan? Why has he chosen to focus on these two elements in particular?
2. Does Hitler disclose exactly how he plans to enact each of his Four-Year Plans? Do you think German citizens would have responded positively or negatively to this message?
3. Is your reading of this 1933 document influenced at all by your knowledge of what later happened in Germany? Would all or most of Hitler's promises and proposals seem appropriate if made today by a prime minister of Australia?

Hitler's plan for economic recovery was not detailed when initially provided to the German people. He largely saw economic management in the same way he saw most of Germany's challenges: an obstacle which could be overcome through sheer will and the persecution of supposed national enemies, namely so-called Bolsheviks (sympathisers to the communist Bolshevik Party in Russia) and the Jews. Even at this early stage, he viewed economic recovery not as a goal in itself but as a necessary step towards building Germany's strength to the point where it could re-arm and expand through military might. This was signposted in *Mein Kampf*. Discussing Germany's territorial restrictions, Hitler asserts as a priority 'gathering our people and their strength for an advance along the road … to new land and soil' (1925). Any ability to create an economic miracle could also be funnelled towards the building of Hitler's own **cult of personality** and the idea that Germans should follow him into any future conflict.

cult of personality presentation of a political leader or otherwise notable individual with a focus on substantial personal charisma and the use of mass media to promote adulation of them by the public

SOURCE 10.30 'Look what we have accomplished'

We have built the necessary foundation. We must depend on ourselves for foodstuffs. We have to import raw materials to keep our industry and workers occupied ... we are applying German inventiveness and technology to produce our own critical raw materials.

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The German economy, it is no longer a pile of ruins, no longer a playground for foreign speculators who get fat while our people, starving and desperate, tears itself apart ... no! Today the German economy is a fruitful field for cooperative labour, honest toil, and honestly earned success. We owe these successes to Adolf Hitler's leadership. We began with nothing but our labour and our confidence in him. We have accomplished more under three years of his leadership than we could have dared to hope. More, too, than hostile foreigners want to admit. There are still large economic challenges before us. We will meet them ... if the entire German people remains united in will, strong in deed, firm in discipline, and loyal to the Führer.

NSDAP flyer on German economic improvement, 1936

Responding to the source

1. According to the flyer, what factors have enabled German economic growth?
2. In what ways could Germany 'owe these successes to Adolf Hitler's leadership'? Could this be an inflated claim?
3. Why could the reference to 'a playground for foreign speculators' be an effective inclusion in this flyer?
4. Note the final sentence. Does it seem a well-crafted sentence with which to conclude the flyer?

SOURCE 10.31 Memo on economic policy: Adolf Hitler, 1936

We are overpopulated and cannot feed ourselves from our own resources. When our nation has 6 or 7 million unemployed, the food situation improves because these people lack purchasing power ... but if [a] rise in employment fails to take place, then a higher percentage of the people must gradually become valueless through malnourishment. It is, therefore, in spite of our difficult food situation, the highest priority of our economic policy to see that all Germans are incorporated into the economic process, to restore normal consumption ... The German army must be operational within four years. The German economy must be fit for war within four years.

Adolf Hitler, confidential memo, August 1936

Responding to the source

1. Compare this source with the one immediately prior. What stands out as different about their perspectives, despite being written at approximately the same time?
2. What does Hitler mean by 'valueless through malnourishment'?
3. Why is Hitler relating economic improvement to the army being operational and fit for war?
4. How would the difference between a flyer and a confidential memo cause the significant difference in the content and tone of the two sources? Which might be the more valuable source for a study of Hitler's ideas and actions?

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ACTIVITY 10.6

Investigate Germany's recovery

The table below lists a number of the work programs instituted by the NSDAP to stimulate German economic recovery. In small groups, investigate one or all of these programs and complete the table below to indicate their goals and level of success.

Program	Intended action and result	Level of success
Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD) or National Labour Service		
The *Autobahn*		
Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF) or German Labour Front		
Aufrustung (armament)		
Volkswagen		
Bilateral Trade		
Strength through Joy (KDF)		



SOURCE 10.32 Germany, 1938. German workers participate in a swimming competition as part of the 'Strength through Joy' movement. The movement was intended to occupy the non-work time of the German work force.
Why might the Nazi government have created a movement like this? Do you think a government-provided leisure program like this would work in today's diverse Australian society?

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Despite the lack of initial detail, NSDAP policies to boost the economy and employment were generally successful. At the outset of the Nazi state, the unemployment rate in Germany hovered around 30% or about six million potential workers. The overall level of unemployment reduced to around one million by 1937.

While the measures you researched in Activity 10.6 had a significant impact, the Nazis also manufactured some of this reduction by dismissing many female workers. Married couples were given a loan of 1000 German marks, with an extremely favourable repayment schedule, if the wife stopped working.

Directing the workforce towards armament production and reduction in unemployment restricted the ability of Nazi Germany to trade for food on the international market. By 1936, food shortages were becoming a substantial problem. Hitler was faced with a decision: scale back German rearmament and fully re-enter the global economy, or militarise with a view towards territorial expansion.

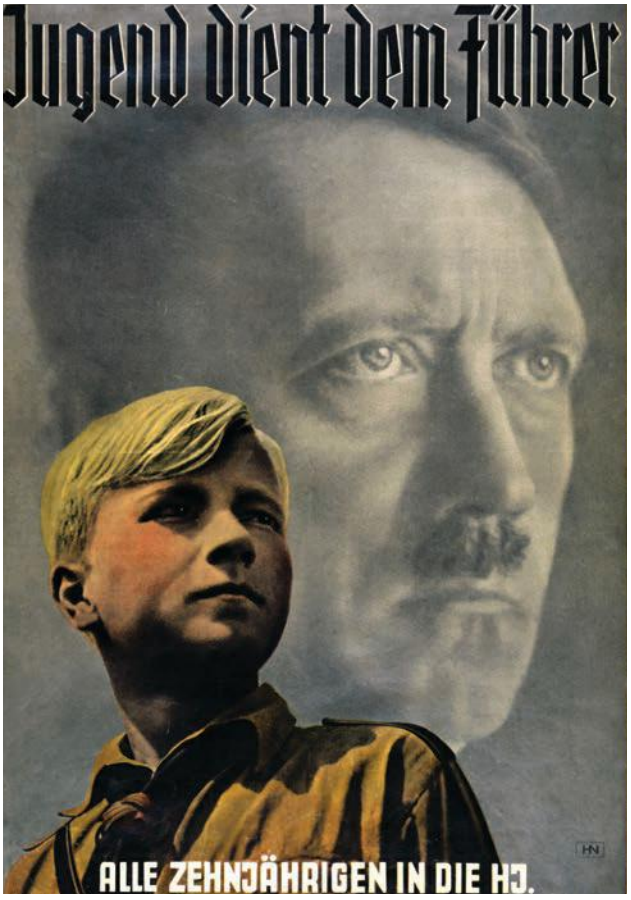
- Do you think that Hitler realised that, if he overcame people's economic and financial concerns, they were more likely to accept his political and social programs? In today's Australia, what concerns dominate popular conversation in the lead-up to elections? Are governments today judged mainly on their ability to manage the economy?

What impact did Nazi youth programs have?

Hitler was able to build a pseudo-religious ideal around himself among adult Germans. He exploited nationalistic sentiment and prejudice that had long been an undercurrent of German culture. His perceived success in rebuilding Germany's economy resulted in a largely grateful nation happy to live within the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Young people also were seen as highly important, representing the future of the Reich which was intended to last a thousand years. Hitler himself stated that '… a true community of the people is not produced overnight … but through many decades … the individual must be trained for this community'. Young Germans were considered a blank slate for Nazi influence, who would pass on this 'community training'. This influence was evident in two areas – the Hitler Youth and the education system.

Numerous groups for young people existed during the Nazi period. The NSDAP had targeted German youth since its inception and this intensified in the following years. The Hitler Youth, the most famous of these organisations, had only 50 000 members when Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, but by year's end it boasted about two million members. By 1936, there were five million. At the outbreak of war in 1939, membership was mandatory and competing organisations were dissolved.



SOURCE 10.33 Germany, c. 1936. A Hitler Youth recruitment poster states 'Youth serves the Führer' and 'All 10 year olds in the Hitler Youth'.
What design features might have made this poster effective at the time? Do you think equivalent propaganda could ever be effective in Australian society?

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SOURCE 10.34 Adolf Hitler speech on youth programs, 1938

These boys and girls enter our organisations [at] ten years of age, and often for the first time get a little fresh air; after four years of the Young Folk they go on to the Hitler Youth, where we have them for another four years ... And even if they are still not complete National Socialists, they go to Labour Service and are smoothed out there for another six, seven months ... And whatever class consciousness or social status might still be left ... the *Wehrmacht* [German armed forces] will take care of that.

Responding to the text

1. In your own words, describe the overall intent and progress of the indoctrination of young Germans as detailed here.
2. What do you think Hitler means by 'often for the first time get a little fresh air'? Could he be speaking literally, figuratively or both?
3. Why would the Nazis think it vital that 'class consciousness or social status' be removed? Has that goal been advocated by various political theorists and politicians over the centuries, and is it still advocated today? Which of the letters in the acronym NSDAP relates to this goal?

The Hitler Youth (*Hitler Jugend)* itself was designed for boys aged 14–18 who had previously been in the German Young People (*Deutsches Jungvolk*). Girls attended the League of German Maidens *(Bund Deutscher Madel*, or BDM*)* from 14–18 after previously having been in the League of Young Girls (*Jungendmadelbund)*. Regardless of gender, all groups were designed to ensure that the entirety of German youth supported the aims and philosophies of the Nazi state. Hitler himself made this perfectly clear when stating in 1933 that '… your child belongs to us already, you will pass on … they will know nothing else but this new community'.

SOURCE 10.35 A Hitler Youth prayer said before meals

Führer, my Führer given me by God,

Protect and preserve my life for long.

You rescued Germany from its deepest need.

I thank you for my daily bread.

Stay for a long time with me, leave me not.

Führer, my Führer, my faith, my light

Hail my Führer.

A Hitler Youth prayer said before meals, written by the Nazi Youth leader Baldur von Schirach who was later convicted of being a war criminal

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Responding to the source

1. What words have been appropriated from Christianity in creating this prayer? Why could that be a powerful device?
2. How does this prayer combine national interests and personal interests?
3. How does this prayer indicate Germany's move away from democracy? How does it echo beliefs from centuries before?
4. Why is it probably impossible to ever know the actual influence of this official prayer among young Germans?

SOURCE 10.36 Inge Scholl recalls her time in the Hitler Youth

> ... And Hitler, as we heard everywhere, Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to this Fatherland; he wanted to see to it that everyone had work and bread; he would not rest or relax until every single German was an independent, free and happy man in his Fatherland. We found this good, and in whatever might come to pass we were determined to help to the best of our ability. But there was yet one more thing that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship? Thus it was no wonder that all of us – Hans and Sophie and the rest of us – joined the Hitler Youth.

Inge Scholl, *The White Rose*, 1947, p. 6

Responding to the source

1. Who might be Inge's intended audience? What purpose might Inge have in writing a memoir about her days in the Hitler Youth? How might this purpose affect the honesty of her memoir?
2. By 1947, Nazism and the Hitler Youth had become infamous terms historically. Given that, how would you expect Inge to write about her membership of the Hitler Youth? Why?
3. Inge seems keen to describe the joy that Hitler Youth membership brought her, despite the Hitler Youth becoming infamous. Does this affect your decision about whether to believe what Inge has written, and your decision about how you treat this source in terms of its reliability as evidence?
4. Hans and Sophie were Inge's siblings. At university, they became anti-Nazi activists. After distributing an anti-Nazi leaflet Hans and Sophie were arrested, interrogated and executed. How does this information affect your decision about whether to believe what Inge has written?
5. Given all this, does the extract seem an extraordinary text? Would it be wise to discover the content and tone of the rest of the book?

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SOURCE 10.37 Nuremberg, 1938. Some 50 000 young people, all members of Hitler Youth organisations, gather and salute Adolf Hitler at the annual Nazi Party Congress. Such occasions were used to consolidate loyalty among those present and display more broadly Germany's growing affinity for the Führer.
How did these kinds of events encourage such loyalty? Where in the world do we see similar displays today? How similar are their purposes?

The indoctrination of young people was not restricted to just these organisations. Education was also seen by the Nazis as vital to directing Germany's future path.

How did education change in Nazi Germany?

Hitler himself had been educated only until the age of 15 and often exhibited some level of contempt for formal schooling. He saw education, much like economic recovery, as a means to an end.

Upon establishing their regime, the Nazis immediately set about reforming the school curriculum so that it supported the aims of the Nazi state. Free thought and intellectual inquiry, highly valued in the Weimar education system, were replaced by indoctrination.

Boys and girls were educated separately, with vastly different curricula. Girls were educated in basic science and history, enough to indoctrinate them in the values of the new state. They undertook domestic courses that reflected what the Nazi state saw as their future role in the Reich, that of *Kinder, Kuche und Kirche* (children, kitchen and church). Boys were given instruction in advanced mathematics and science, though science had become 'science of the races', focusing on supposed racial hierarchy, rather than genuine science.

SOURCE 10.38 An assignment from a Nazi-era biology textbook

Observe people whose special racial features have drawn your attention, also with respect to their bearing when moving or speaking. Observe their expressions and gestures.

Observe the Jew: his way of walking, his bearing, gestures, and movements when talking.

What strikes you about the way a Jew talks and sings?

What are the occupations engaged in by the Jews of your acquaintance?

What are the occupations in which Jews are not to be found? Explain this phenomenon on the basis of the character of the Jew's soul.

Jakob Graf, *Heredity and Racial Biology for Students*, 1935

Responding to the text

1. Does this text bear any resemblance to the science or biology you are accustomed to studying?
2. How does this source combine indoctrination and stereotyping?
3. What is extraordinary and potentially powerful about studying 'the Jew's soul' in a science class?

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Both genders were subjected to substantial physical education programs that took up to 15% of school time – reflecting Hitler's aim that they become, in Hitler's words, '… as swift as a greyhound, as tough as leather and as hard as Krupp's steel'.

The segregation did not stop at gender. Schools were among the first places where German Jews were openly ridiculed and persecuted. The introduction of the Nuremberg Laws in the mid-1930s excluded Jewish students from mainstream German schooling.

SOURCE 10.39 Guidelines for history teaching from the Nazi Teachers League

A new understanding of the German past has emerged from the faith of the National Socialist movement in the future of the German people. The teaching of history must come from this vital faith … the certainty of a great national existence is for us based on the clear recognition of the basic racial forces of the German nation, which are always active and indestructibly enduring. Insight into the permanence of hereditary characteristics and the merely contingent significance of environment facilitates a new and deep understanding of historical personalities and contexts … the course of history must not appear to our young people as a chronicle which strings events together indiscriminately, but, as in a play, only the important events, those which have a major impact on life, should be portrayed in history lessons … it must always show greatness because in greatness, even when it intimidates, the eternal law is visible. Only a sentient grasp of great deeds is the precondition for an understanding of historical contexts; the powerless and insignificant have no history.

Nazi Teachers League (*Nationalsozialistischer Lehererbund*), 1938

Responding to the source

1. Think of your own understanding of history. Is what is being described above really studying history? Explain your response.
2. What was the Nazi regime trying to achieve by having this type of ideology in its lessons?
3. This extract comes from a manual published by the Nazi Teachers League. Is this surprising to you at all? The date is 1938. Can you assume that all teachers actually agreed with these ideas?

ACTIVITY 10.7

Conduct a debate on education

This section indicates how education can be used as a means of indoctrinating students. Schools today often seek to use education to teach values, morals and other ideas as well as academic knowledge.

As a class, debate the following: *Should schools 'teach about ideologies' but not 'teach ideologies'? Does the same apply to teaching 'values'? How complicated are these questions?*

What effect did the Nazi state have on women in Germany?

One insight into the probable position of women in Nazi Germany comes from this statement by Emilie Müller-Zadow, head of the National Socialist Women's Organisation.

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SOURCE 10.40 Emilie Müller-Zadow describes the role of women in the New Germany, 1936

> The place that Adolf Hitler assigns to woman in the Third Reich corresponds to her natural and divine destiny. Limits are being set for her, which earlier she had frequently violated in a barren desire to adopt masculine traits. The value and sanctity of goals now being set for her have been unrecognised and forgotten for a long time; and due respect is now being offered to her vocation as mother of the people, in which she can and should develop her rich emotions and spiritual strengths according to eternal laws.

Emilie Müller-Zadow, 'Mothers Who Give Us the Future', 1936

Responding to the source

1. What is the central message of the text when it comes to women in the new German society?
2. How does Müller-Zadow draw on political, biological and spiritual arguments to justify her ideas?
3. The author refers to 'a barren desire to adopt masculine traits'. How might a feminist describe – in very different words – what the author is criticising?
4. After the experience of Weimar liberalism, why might German women be divided in their responses to Müller-Zadow's message?

Women in Nazi Germany had a prescribed role in society; namely, to remain in the home and raise children. This countered the many freedoms enjoyed during the Weimar era. Under the Nazis, women were discriminated against in the workplace and banned from certain occupations, such as law, and admission to university study was restricted. Service on juries was also banned due to what was seen as overly emotional female thinking.

Conclusion

It is clear the Nazi State was unlike any nation that had come before it. It initially gained popularity by recreating the way society was organised around a nationalistic, rather than class-based, social order. This appealed to Germans who had long yearned for a strong national identity. An idealised version of 'German-ness' gave great advantage to those who were seen as being of 'German blood'.

It is debatable how much Hitler's policies and actions reflected a genuine concern for the well-being of the German people, or an overriding aim to create a totalitarian state with expansionary militaristic ambitions, or a desire for personal power and aggrandisement. Regardless of Hitler's motives, the ultimate effects reflected the ideology of the 25 Point Program of the NSDAP and Hitler's own *Mein Kampf,* changing Germany dramatically and moving the nation inexorably towards war.

10.10 How did the Nazi regime provoke war and what effect did it have on Germany?

By 1935, Hitler and the NSDAP were firmly entrenched in power and had instituted many of the hallmarks of Nazi state policy. You saw already, in the previous section, how these policies affected Germany. However, the influence of the Nazi state was to be felt far beyond Germany's borders. National Socialism was expansionist by nature, with Hitler identifying in *Mein Kampf* his desire to broaden 'Greater Germany' and claim all of the land traditionally lived in by German-speaking peoples. Hitler's fixation on eliminating communism and claiming *Lebensraum* ('living space') led Germany towards an ambitious campaign to acquire vast European territory.

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By 1939, the world was at war again, this time at a cost of over 40 million lives.

Growing power, militarism and *Lebensraum*

One of the key beliefs of Nazism was that the life of the German nation was one of struggle. In the nineteenth century, this was a struggle for unity as one nation. In the early twentieth century, it was a struggle for recognition and a 'place in the sun', prompting the tensions that led to World War I. Adolf Hitler was not unique in seeing Germany's history as one of an extended righteous struggle.

The idea of *Lebensraum* had long been present within German culture, especially since unification in 1871. Previously, it had resulted in Germany seeking to expand its presence overseas in the form of a colonial empire. Hitler led a new interpretation of this long-standing ideal. He determined that Germany should look east for land and viewed the vast, **Slavic** dominated areas of Eastern Europe as natural additions to the Reich. Up to four million Germans were living in lands to the east, some of which, such as the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia and parts of Poland, had been part of Germany until 1918.



SOURCE 10.41 Schonwalde, Germany, 1937. German Air Force recruits swear their oath to the Führer at an air base in 1937. Scenes such as this demonstrate mass recruitment that became prevalent from the mid-1930s.
Does this photo suggest that Germany is breaching the terms of the Treaty of Versailles? Why might many Germans in 1937 be heartened by this photo? How does the swearing of an oath to Hitler personally symbolise a dramatic change in German politics since 1933?

Slavic members of the Slavs, an Indo-European ethnic group traditionally distributed throughout Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia and the Balkans

Nazi ideology positioned the Slavs – ethnic groups primarily inhabiting Eastern Europe, Russia and the Balkans – as inferior, fuelling the belief that their resource-rich lands should belong to Germans. Subjugating the Slavs could also serve to weaken the Bolshevism of the USSR, framed as a national enemy of Germany. This had long been an obsession for Hitler, who wrote in *Mein Kampf* a decade earlier that 'this colossal empire in the east is ripe for dissolution' (1925).

To initiate its expansionary campaign, Nazi Germany needed to re-arm itself. Doing so ignored Article 160 of the Versailles Treaty, which stipulated that 'the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry' and in total '… must not exceed 100 000 men'. Hitler announced rearmament as official policy in 1935 and conscripted over 500 000 men to the German armed forces. He founded a new Air Force, the *Luftwaffe*, which would go on to terrorise much of Europe during World War II, most notably Britain during the infamous Blitz of 1940–41. No rival power in Europe took any action, despite this being a clear violation of the Treaty.

The road to war

Hitler's first advance was into the Rhineland, an area traditionally accorded to Germany that had been demilitarised after World War I. In March of 1936, Hitler sent in a number of infantry battalions, gambling that the French would not react to the further violation of the Treaty of Versailles. When the French, as predicted, did not act on this, Hitler concluded that the Treaty of Versailles was effectively void.

German forces turned their attention towards Austria and Czechoslovakia, nations with substantial German-speaking populations. Two years after the Rhineland action, on 12 March 1938, the *Anschluss* or 'joining' took place in which Austria was annexed by Germany. In a subsequent referendum, 99% of Austrians agreed to be unified with the German Reich. Next, the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia was in

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appeasement a British and French policy in the 1930s that aimed to limit further German expansionism by agreeing to certain German demands, most notably the German occupation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia

German sights. As with Austria, its absorption into German territory came via negotiation. France and Britain gave in to Hitler's demands and allowed him to take this area, believing a policy of **appeasement** would prevent further aggression and another major war. However, in March 1939 Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia.

Appeasement had failed. With Hitler's eyes fixed on further expansion, suddenly the prospect of a Greater Germany had become a reality.

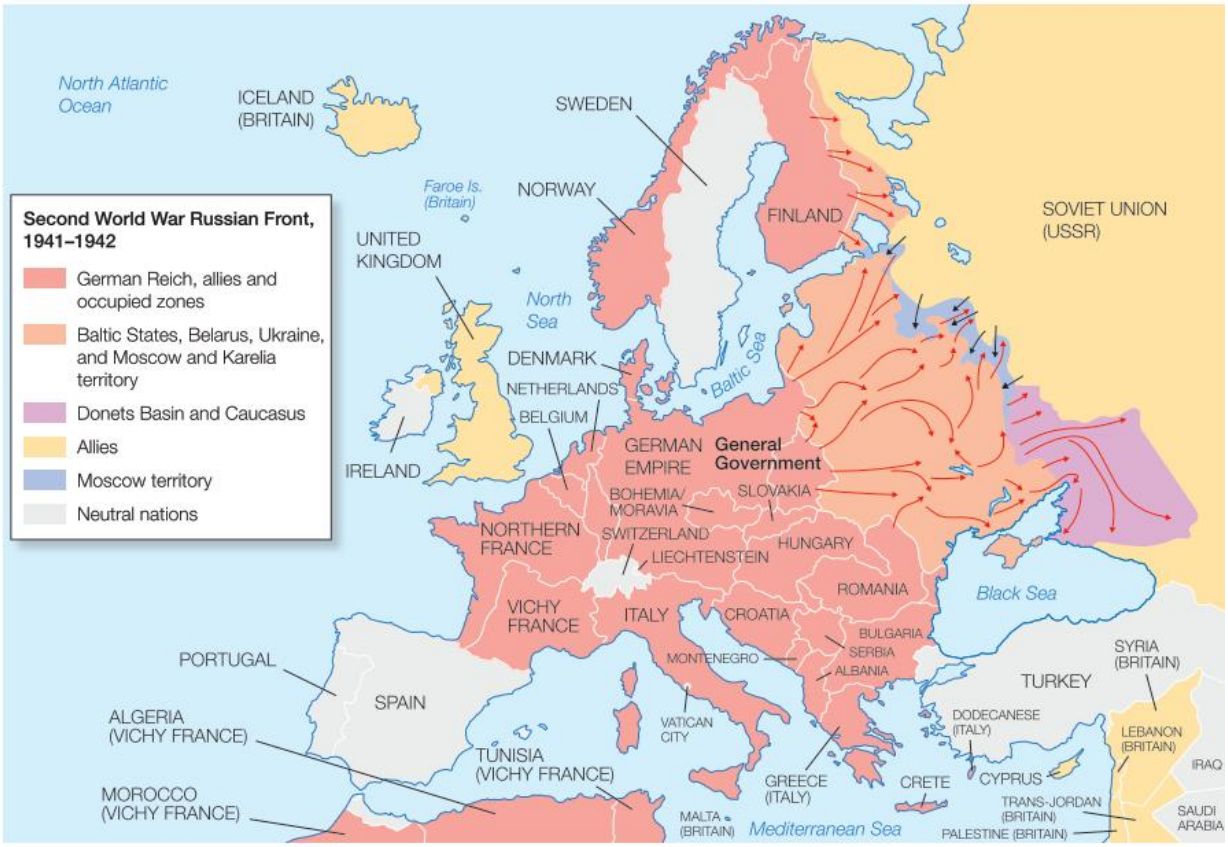
Finally, after securing a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviets, Hitler threw the full might of his forces against Poland on 1 September 1939. Two days later, Great Britain and France declared war against Germany.



SOURCE 10.42 River San, Poland, 1939. German troops cross through Polish territory during the German invasion.
Why, only 20 years after the Treaty of Versailles, was this such a remarkable event? How did the German takeover of Poland differ from the takeovers of Austria and Czechoslovakia?

Early successes and eventual failures

The initial period of the war was one of great success for Germany as its forces swept through Europe (see map in Source 10.43). The Germans were seemingly unstoppable, claiming victories throughout Western and Eastern Europe, North Africa and Greece. By 1941, most of continental Europe was in German hands and Hitler possessed perhaps more *Lebensraum* than he had ever dared hope for.



SOURCE 10.43 German military expansion during the initial stages of World War II

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Defeat and its consequences

Germany's gains did not last. In 1939, Germany had struck a Non-Aggression Pact with the USSR, in an effort to avoid repeating the dual-front disaster of World War I. However, in June 1941, Germany broke the Pact and attacked the Soviet Union, motivated by anti-communist sentiment and plans to exploit the vast Russian land and labour force. The massive attack – Operation Barbarossa – was a dramatic success initially, but stalled in 1942 at the Siege of Stalingrad. Away from the Eastern Front, the British were proving resurgent in North Africa. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the US entered the war in 1941 against both Japan and Germany. The next three years saw Germany's occupied territory shrinking progressively.

This was also the time that the Nazi government unleashed its greatest barbarity: Hitler's Final Solution to extinguish Europe's Jews. It accelerated over the latter years of the conflict and only ceased when the Reich was defeated, but not before millions died in the **Holocaust**.

Holocaust deliberate persecution and **genocide** of European Jews between 1933 and 1945 by the German Nazi state in which between six and eight million individuals died

genocide acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group

Despite optimistic beginnings, Germany was devastated by the war. Up to seven and a half million Germans had died. Allied bombing campaigns in the latter stages of the war ravaged German cities. Morale had generally remained strong throughout the conflict. Initially motivated by Hitler's personal charisma and the Nazi ideology that had spread throughout the nation, by the end of the war, Germans fought for self-preservation. They feared the reprisals of Allies, especially the USSR who they had betrayed, should Germany fall.

Finally, after the loss of some 40 million lives in Europe alone, the Third Reich effectively ended with one bullet. Hitler shot himself on 30 April 1945. One week later, Germany surrendered unconditionally.



SOURCE 10.44 Cologne, Germany, April 1945. Many cities suffered extreme damage from Allied bombing raids in the final months of the war. Britain's RAF Bomber Command created massive firestorms, devastating the cityscape and causing the horrific deaths of thousands of civilians. Over 400000 Germans died in these raids. Today, debates still rage about the morality of this tactic, with some claiming that it constitutes a war crime.

Discuss the various arguments that could be put forward on each side of this debate. In particular, discuss the proposition that Germans brought this upon themselves by supporting Hitler and his regime, and the proposition that the raids were justified because they brought the war to an earlier end, saving countless lives. Find out whether similar debates surround the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Research also whether these raids would today be judged war crimes.

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10.11 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did Nazism produce the Holocaust?

War inevitably brings about destruction and human misery. Non-combatants and civilians suffer in addition to enlisted personnel. During World War II, this suffering went far beyond what could have reasonably been expected as the result of armed conflict.

The Holocaust was the result of the program orchestrated by the Nazi state to annihilate European Jews within Germany and occupied Europe. It resulted in unprecedented mass slaughter and suffering so wretched that no words in the English language were considered adequate to describe it. Raphael Lemkin, a Polish jurist serving in the US State Department, created a new word in 1944: genocide. Combining Greek and Lain root terms for 'race' and 'killing', he defined it as 'a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups with the aim of annihilating the groups completely'.

SOURCE 10.45 Tattoo on the arm of a Holocaust survivor



London, 2014. Elsa Behar, a survivor of both Auschwitz and Belsen extermination camps, shows the numbered tattoo she was given during her time of internment. Auschwitz alone claimed the lives of over one million innocent people.

Responding to the source

1. Why did Nazi guards tattoo Elsa and other inmates in this way?
2. What does this classification system say about how the Nazi state regarded Jews, Slavs, Romani (derogatively known as 'Gypsies') and the other groups that were confined in the concentration camp network?

The Holocaust is the most enduringly bleak legacy of World War II, forever marring Germany's history. The following inquiry will consider how such extraordinary barbarity emerged as the outworking of the Nazis' racist ideology.

The beginning: propaganda, terror and repression

The NSDAP had a long record of using fear to uphold its authority. Even before Hitler became Führer, the party had used its *Schutzstaffel* (SS) and *Sturmabteilung* (SA) to assert power over Germany, most famously to pressure the Reichstag into passing the *Enabling Act* in March 1933.

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Once in power, the National Socialists' intimidation tactics began to morph into something even more sinister. Despite the majority of Germans accepting and supporting the Nazi state, there were those who opposed the new order. Communists, social democrats and others resisted the Reich due to political, religious and other ideological convictions.

Any actions perceived to represent resistance were dealt with by two organisations: the SS and the secret state police, known as the *Geheime Staatspolizei* or Gestapo. Both groups were overseen by Heinrich Himmler, the man who would later have ultimate responsibility for the concentration and extermination camps in which so many would perish.

The Gestapo was particularly implicated in the state terror that became everyday life in Nazi Germany. Created by decree in November 1933, it was responsible for security within the borders of the Reich and investigating all anti-state activities. Ruthless and efficient, the Gestapo used the *Enabling Act* as justification for imprisoning people without judicial process. Anyone they suspected could be summoned or forcibly taken, held indefinitely or sent to a concentration camp without ever being heard from again.

By 1939, some 40 000 Gestapo agents operated within Germany. Their numbers increased nearly fourfold as the war continued. Citizen spying became pervasive, with ordinary Germans encouraged to report neighbours who they suspected of activities that might undermine the state. This could include refusal to work, making defeatist statements, sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews, homosexual activity, or spreading religious propaganda. This resulted in a nation rife with terror and repression, and enslaved to Nazi ideology. Almost no one dared to act against the government for fear of retribution.

SOURCE 10.46 British report on Gestapo interrogation methods, 1941

They work by listening to rumours; when a rumour is connected with an individual, they look up his history and shadow him. They do not wait to produce a case against him before taking action, but satisfied that suspicions may be founded, they will make a domiciliary visit [visit to his home], examining all his rooms and effects and remove him at once.

They do not disclose where they are taking him or why he is being taken, and they allow no one to speak to him after he has been apprehended. If he has money it is confiscated and all papers, letters and books are impounded for examination. It is common practice when a case is incomplete to leave a prisoner in prison for many weeks, perhaps months, this is done deliberately to create fear in his mind and to weaken his resistance. Suddenly and unexpectedly they will examine him for from twelve to twenty hours without food or rest.

Report on Gestapo methods of interrogation used in Norway, 17 March 1941

Responding to the source

1. How do you feel, reading about this treatment of private citizens? Could a state security force ever be justified in using such methods?
2. Make a list of the rights in the UN Declaration of Human Rights being violated in this process. What does this say more broadly about the Nazi state and how life was lived during this time?
3. Do you think Gestapo methods would make most people wary of acting against the Nazi regime? Is it hard for you to imagine living under such a system?

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SOURCE 10.47 Anti-Semitic propaganda



Cover of *The Eternal Jew*, an anti-Semitic propaganda booklet, 1937. This visual volume consisting of pictures with brief captions was published by the NSDAP publishing house.

Responding to the source

1. Why do you think the publishers chose this design?
2. What reaction was it probably intended to elicit among German citizens?
3. How does this image create a negative impression of 'the Jew'? Does it use any Jewish stereotypes?
4. What makes this propaganda and not information?

Within the Reich, anyone was subject to persecution if they exhibited resistance to the Nazi regime. However, some groups were specially targeted because of characteristics far beyond their control: their nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical capacity. The Romani, Slavs, Afro-Germans, people living with disabilities or mental illness, Jehovah's Witnesses and homosexuals were particularly singled out for torment and annihilation.

Social Darwinism theory (since discredited) that human groups and races can be subject to the same laws of natural selection as put forward and applied to animals in nature by Charles Darwin in the late nineteenth century

As you read previously, the National Socialist regime promoted a racial hierarchy. Today, this idea is dismissed as unfounded. The Nazis justified their actions with reference to ideas prevalent at the time, including **Social Darwinism** and eugenics. These theories connected human heredity to worthiness, value and social acceptability, justifying exclusion and persecution of groups less worthy. One group stood out as priority victims: the Jewish people of Europe.

Hitler's idea of Jewish people was a crude adoption of traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes (see Source 10.47). In his view, documented at length in his autobiography *Mein Kampf*, Jews were not only vacuous capitalists who controlled the world's economies but were also an 'anti-race bent on worldwide domination' and 'the personification of the devil and the symbol of evil'.

Action against Jews began as soon as the Nazis gained power in 1933. Initially, much of the prejudice was economic in nature. Jewish businesses were subject to boycotts and Jewish government services workers (including at schools and universities) were sacked under the *Law for the Restoration of a Professional Public Service*. Jews were banned from owning farmland by the *Hereditary Farm Law*. The *Law against Overcrowding of German Schools* in April 1933 saw many Jewish students removed from schools under the pretence of overcrowding. All Jews were expelled from schools later in the decade. These laws seemed to gain popular support in rural areas, but were received more cautiously in the cities. However, state police were swift in crushing any dissent.

Exclusion soon became cultural, with the Reich Chamber of Culture established to reform German culture in accord with Nazi ideals. Aryan descent became a requirement to serve in the military as well as to participate in German sporting clubs. This discrimination would intensify in September 1935 with the passing of the Nuremberg Laws.

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SOURCE 10.48 The Nuremberg Laws, September 1935

Reich Citizenship Law

Article 2

1. A citizen of the Reich may be only one who is of German or kindred blood, and who, through his behaviour, shows that he is both desirous and personally fit to serve loyally the German people and the Reich.
2. Reich citizenship is acquired through the granting of a Reich citizenship certificate.
3. Only the citizen of the Reich may enjoy full political rights in consonance with the provisions of the laws.

Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour

1. Marriages between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law are void.
2. Relations outside marriage between Jews and nationals of German or kindred blood are forbidden.
3. Jews may not employ in their households female citizens of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.
4. Jews are forbidden to hoist the Reich and national flag and to present the colours of the Reich.

Extracts from the Nuremberg Laws, September 1935

Responding to the Nuremberg Laws

1. What were the Nazis specifically seeking to achieve with the drafting of these laws? Use evidence from the source in your response.
2. Why was citizenship so important? Why might everyday life be difficult for people stripped of their status as a citizen?
3. What might the Nazi regime have hoped to achieve by forbidding marriages and relationships between Jews and people of 'German and kindred blood'?

Later in 1935, the Nazi government amended the *Reich Citizenship Law,* specifying that 'a Jew is an individual who is descended from at least three grandparents who were, racially, full Jews'. This established clearly that Jews were being defined by race rather than religion – even though there was no such thing as a Jewish race. This reflects the regime's preoccupation with racial ideology.

Persecution continued to escalate in the lead-up to the outbreak of World War II. Nineteen-thirty-eight proved to be the year that Jews were conclusively excluded from German life. From April, all Jewish businesses and individuals having more than 5000 Reichsmarks (the currency of the Third Reich) were subject to mandatory registration. Jewish doctors could now treat only Jewish patients and Jewish lawyers had their right to work taken away entirely. Jews were now required to add 'Sarah' or 'Israel' to their names and have a red 'J' stamped on their passports. Public signage began to appear denouncing Jews as national enemies.

The campaign of oppression culminated in *Kristallnacht* or Night of Broken Glass. Initiated by Joseph Goebbels, chief propaganda minister and Reinhard Heydrich, Himmler's chief lieutenant in the SS, it authorised dramatic action by the military.

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SOURCE 10.49 The order for *Kristallnacht*

a. Only such measures may be taken which do not jeopardise German life or property (for instance, burning of synagogues only if there is no danger of fires for the neighbourhoods).

b. Business establishments and homes of Jews may be destroyed but not looted. The police have been instructed to supervise the execution of these directives and to arrest looters.

c. In business streets, special care is to be taken that non-Jewish establishments will be safeguarded at all cost against damage.

As soon as the events of this night permit the use of the designated officers, as many Jews, particularly wealthy ones, as the local jails will hold, are to be arrested in all districts. Initially only healthy male Jews, not too old, are to be arrested.

After the arrests have been carried out the appropriate concentration camp is to be contacted immediately with a view to a quick transfer of the Jews to the camps.

Reinhard Heydrich, 'Measures against Jews tonight', 10 November 1938

Responding to the source

1. What do you think Goebbels and Heydrich were trying to achieve through *Kristallnacht*?
2. What evidence do you see in this source that suggests Jews were no longer seen as citizens?
3. Why might Jews have felt helpless in the face of these events? Can you suggest any effective responses they could have made?

On 9 November 1938, SA and SS troops destroyed Jewish property across Germany, killing 90 people and ruining over a thousand shops. Twenty thousand people were arrested or interned in concentration camps.

The war against the Jews

SOURCE 10.50 Male concentration camp prisoners



Sachsenhausen, Germany 1938. Male homosexual prisoners are marched outdoors at a concentration camp. Inmates are identified with a pink triangle. This photograph shows that Nazi prejudice was not limited to the Jews and that many groups suffered during the Holocaust.

Responding to the source

1. Do you think the reason for persecuting homosexuals was the same as for persecuting the Jews?
2. Did the Nazis use homosexuals, Romani people and other groups as 'scapegoats' (objects of derision and hate) in a different way from how they treated Jews? Why?

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Many Jews sought to escape Germany in the 1930s. Until the outbreak of war in 1939, the Nazi regime encouraged them to go. Around a quarter of a million Jews left, mainly for the US, Palestine, Eastern Europe and even Australia. Australia allowed some 7000 Jews to settle on Victims of Oppression visas. Sadly, many migrated to areas of Eastern Europe subsequently taken by the Nazis, and did not evade the extermination camps.

Those Jews who didn't leave Germany endured persecution throughout the existence of the Reich. The Nazis had previously been concerned about international attitudes to overt mistreatment of a minority. World War II provided the ideal cover for Hitler's master plan to come to fruition.

Still standing as the worst example of genocide in human history, the Holocaust caused the deaths of over 60% of Europe's Jewish population. The Holocaust, or *Shoah* as Jewish people refer to it today, leaves a clear historical lesson that organised state persecution can be horrifically effective when targeting minority groups in a society.

In the initial stages of the war, Germany swiftly took over much of Europe. Members of 'inferior' races were transported to Germany and occupied territories for use as slave labour. **Concentration camps** were constructed within the Reich's new empire, along with **ghettos** to house Jews in major urban centres. Jews had been pushed to the social fringe with legislation and government mistreatment; now, in the first phase of the Holocaust, they were physically removed. The ghetto in Warsaw, Poland, alone held up to 400 000 residents. Malnutrition and disease were rife in the ghettos, and premature death was common. However, the Jews were not dying fast enough for the Nazis.

concentration camps internment or prison camp for members of a specific minority or political group, often accompanied by exploitation and/or punishment

ghetto segregated section of a city set apart for habitation and residence by a specific group

What was the Final Solution?

Once 1941 dawned and the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, a vastly larger number of Jews came under German control. This marked a clear turning point in the Holocaust from exclusion and forced detention to what American historian Lucy Dawidowicz called 'a war against the Jews' (1975). Mobile action units directed by the SS called *Einsatzgruppen* (mobile death squads) followed the conquering German army. These units existed purely to exterminate conquered citizens, especially Jews, via mass shooting. Collectively, the *Einsatzgruppen* murdered 90% of the Jews living in conquered areas of the Soviet Union. More than a million people died this way.

Some German leaders such as Himmler, Heydrich and Eichmann sought a new 'solution' that lessened the strain on German soldiers. They met at Wannsee near Berlin on 20 January 1942 and conceived a plan for large-scale murder.

SOURCE 10.51 Minutes from the Wannsee Conference, 1942

> Another possible solution of the problem has now taken the place of emigration, i.e. the evacuation of the Jews to the East, provided that the Führer gives the appropriate approval in advance ... approximately 11 million Jews will be involved in the final solution of the European Jewish question ... the Jews are to be allocated for appropriate labour in the East. Able-bodied Jews, separated according to sex, will be taken in large work columns to these areas for work on roads, in the course of which action doubtless a large portion will be eliminated by natural causes ... The possible final remnant will, since it will undoubtedly consist of the most resistant portion, have to be treated accordingly ... In the course of the practical execution of the final solution, Europe will be combed through from west to east.

Minutes from the Wannsee Conference, 1942

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Responding to the source

1. In your own words, what is being suggested here?
2. Why, in their own meeting, did Nazi officials feel the need to use coded language to describe the Final Solution?
3. To what extent were the Nazis able to achieve what is outlined here?

The Wannsee Conference suggested that Jews be deported en masse to designated camps, where they would be either killed through overwork or through poison gas group executions. These new extermination camps, such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno and Treblinka, were different from the concentration camps that had existed almost as long as Nazi power in Germany. Primarily located in occupied Poland, these camps existed only to extinguish life. The Nazis were familiar with mass euthanasia, having killed around 100 000 Germans with disabilities at the beginning of the war. However, death on such an unimaginable scale was new, and would claim millions before 1945.

ACTIVITY 10.8

Construct a personal response on the discovery of bodies at a Nazi extermination camp

Source 10.52 shows American troops discovering the bodies of those who did not survive their journey to a Nazi extermination camp. Place yourself in the role of these soldiers. Remember that much of what happened in the camps was only revealed at the end of the war. Construct a personal response where you compose a primary source detailing your reaction as one of these soldiers. What did you see? How did it affect you? What did it make you think about the war and the enemy?



SOURCE 10.52 Train carriages at Ludwiglust, 1945

What happened in the extermination camps?

The extermination camps used in the Holocaust were largely constructed in 1941 and 1942. The official policy of transportation and systematic extermination started after Wannsee. Soon, Jews were being transported in trains from across Nazi-occupied Europe, mostly to Poland, far from Allied eyes. The slaughter continued unabated until 1944 when advancing Soviet troops overran the camps.

The process upon arrival for victims of the camps was ruthless in its efficiency. Most victims believed they were being resettled in Eastern Europe. After a journey crammed into livestock trains without water, food or sanitation, sometimes for days, many had already died. Confused and often starving, the living were herded into lines on the camp railway platforms to be assessed by SS officers. New arrivals were separated into those who would be gassed to death immediately, and those deemed worthy of remaining temporarily alive.

The elderly, the sick, children and anyone unfit for labour, around three-quarters of all those who arrived, were sent to the gas chambers. Often told to expect a communal shower, they were instead locked in a sealed room where Zyklon-B gas, originally developed as a pesticide, suffocated them to death. Victims would, as historian Gerald Reitlinger recounts, 'feel the gas and crowd together … finally stampede towards the huge metal door … they piled up in one blood-spattered pyramid, clawing and mauling each other'(1953). SS doctors who oversaw the process testified to the shouting and screaming that emanated from the chamber. Those killed were often seen to have blood coming from their ears, discoloured skin and foam around their mouths.

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Once a whole group had been killed, current camp inmates were forced to remove anything of value from the bodies (including gold tooth fillings) and take them to the crematoria.

Arrivals left alive were arranged according to gender and tattooed with a unique code. Their heads were shaved and their possessions confiscated. Their deaths would be through forced labour, starvation, disease and horrendous living conditions.

The annihilation continued unabated until the very end of the war. Despite the massive investment of labour and resources which could have been useful to the war effort, Nazi racial ideology remained the priority. Even as the Soviets approached at the end of 1944, SS troops evacuated the camps on death marches back towards Germany itself. At least 200 000 further Jewish lives were lost this way, either through starvation and exhaustion, or by being shot by the SS for inability to keep up.

ACTIVITY 10.9

Construct a personal response to the testimony of a holocaust survivor

1. Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 01:12) before completing the activity.
2. Edith P. was taken to Auschwitz in June 1944, and remained there for over six months. How does she recount her experience? What effect does it have on you?

Edith's testimony is one of hundreds held by the Fortunoff Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, operated by Yale University in the United States. Several other testimonies are available on their website.



SOURCE 10.53 Edith P., a Czechoslovakian Jew, describes Auschwitz.

Conclusion

Nazi policies targeted Jews, Romani, Slavic peoples, the disabled, the mentally ill and homosexuals. What began as vilification developed into denial of citizenship, deprivation of rights, internment and – ultimately – the unprecedented horror of the Holocaust. At least six million Jews perished.

While most Germans did not actively participate in the Holocaust, they also did not generally concern themselves with what was happening. Historian Ian Kershaw notes that 'the road to Auschwitz was built by hatred but paved with indifference'.

10.12 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you developed an understanding of how the Nazi Party gained power in Germany and investigated the impact the Nazi regime had on Germany and the wider world. You have also analysed and evaluated a wide range of primary and secondary sources to examine how Germany was reshaped under the Nazi regime, and how Nazism produced the Holocaust.

ACTIVITY 10.10

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?

Create an annotated timeline. Name the key events from 1933 to 1945 that contributed to the transformation of Germany under Nazi rule. For each, write a brief note about the event's significance, and allocate a score of 1–5 (1 being the lowest and 5 the highest) to indicate the relative importance of that event.

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CONCLUDING STUDY
Reflecting on Nazism

No other period in Germany's history has been as traumatic or, arguably, as consequential as the Third Reich. In February 1945, with victory almost certain, the Allies agreed at the Yalta Conference to divide territorial influence in Germany in the aftermath of the war. The Race to Berlin ensued, with the Soviet Red Army entering from the east and taking Berlin, while US, British and French forces entered Germany from the south and west.

The Western Allies honoured the agreement made at Yalta and allowed East Germany and Berlin to be left to the Soviets. This singular act would lead to the partition of Germany. Berlin, the great world city and capital of Germany, was divided by a crudely fashioned wall manned constantly by armed guards. Germans on the two sides would be separated for four decades.

The two Germanies would follow drastically different paths in the post-war world. In the west, the democratic Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) benefited from the US-sponsored Marshall Plan that aided Western European economies and promoted democracy in the aftermath of World War II. West Germany gained influence in the international community as a member of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), remained behind the Iron Curtain through its alignment with the Soviets via the Warsaw Pact. It was ruled by a brutal, authoritarian regime with migration to the West a constant issue. Other tensions between the Germanies also arose, notably the Berlin Blockade and airlift, in which the Soviets attempted to block Western access to Berlin in 1948. Mass airlifts of cargo and supplies from a number of Western Air Forces forced the Soviets to call off the blockade in 1949.

The collapse of communism in Europe during the late 1980s resulted in a swift movement towards reunification and, with the tearing down of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Germany was again unified as one state by 1990. The Germany of today is a prosperous liberal democracy and a dominant force in the European Union (EU). Yet, it faces rising internal unrest. As with other historically ethnically homogeneous European countries experiencing increasing multiculturalism, Germany's active far-right political forces seek to end its generous refugee intake, homogenise the population, and resurrect German nationalism. Clearly, the legacy of the Nazi period and the questions it raises still linger.

10.13 Understanding the Nazi phenomenon

Historians

Nazism continues to fascinate historians and many books have been written on the subject. It remains a dynamic field of research and debate. As with many historical topics, it has produced several schools of thought that attempt to explain it.

Most have focused on how Nazi Germany took shape and how Adolf Hitler attained and used his power. 'Intentionalist' historians (including Daniel Goldhagen and Lucy Dawidowicz) argue that the Nazi state was based primarily on Hitler's own ideology and personal goals, as found in *Mein Kampf* and the 25 Point Program. They argue that there was always a master plan to enact both a war in Europe and the Holocaust. 'Functionalist' and 'Structuralist' historians (such as Ian Kershaw and Christopher Browning) believe that Hitler's influence has been over-emphasised and that the decisions to go to war and orchestrate the Holocaust were made opportunistically and with little forethought.

American historian Catherine Epstein argues that most historians in the twenty-first century engage with both positions, stating that 'no historian doubts the importance of Hitler and his ideological beliefs in determining Nazi policy … though, Hitler was not omnipotent … governmental disarray limited what he could achieve.'

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- Given what you have learned from this chapter, which (if any) of these interpretations of Hitler and Nazism do you think is most convincing? Discuss whether school-level history could ever prepare you to answer this question with any confidence.

Psychologists and sociologists

After World War II ended, psychologists and sociologists began trying to explain the extraordinary and barbaric events of the Third Reich. Some focused on Hitler himself. They noted his belief that 'those who do not want to fight in this world of eternal struggle do not deserve to live', echoing Friedrich Nietzsche's theory of the 'The Will to Power' whereby all living things 'strive to grow, spread, seize, become predominant'. In 1977, Robert Waite went further, publishing his famous *The Psychopathic God* explaining Hitler's behaviour in terms of Freudian psychoanalysis.

Others asked how so many ordinary Germans could have accepted and even participated in the Nazi atrocities. In 1974 Theodor Adorno described how some people find satisfaction through power and dominance over others. Even while the war was in progress, in 1942, Erich Fromm had written of the 'dominant-submissive personality'. He described how 'everyone has someone above him to submit to and somebody beneath him to feel power over' (1942:194). In the 1970s, Stanley Milgram conducted his famous (and debated) Obedience Experiments in the USA, in which some people were prepared to obey an order even though it could cause extreme pain or even death for others. His results echoed a startling claim by Hannah Arendt, who attended the trial of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in 1962. Arendt described the 'banality of evil', suggesting that Nazi leaders were ordinary people, and that anyone might be capable of extreme evil in certain circumstances.

- Research and discuss the ideas above, especially that 'ordinary people can do evil' in particular circumstances – including situations of hierarchy, power and dominance.

10.14 The complicity of German industry

The world often considers Germany to be synonymous with manufacturing and engineering, with companies such as Volkswagen, Mercedes-Benz, Bosch and Siemens famous the world over. This is the Germany we think of today: liberal, efficient and prosperous. However, Germany's manufacturing prowess also served the Nazi cause, including the invention of the Volkswagen, designed by Dr Ferdinand Porsche to meet Hitler's vision of a 'people's car'.



SOURCE 10.54 A World War II motorcycle made by BMW, with the swastika and the African Corps palm tree

Much of German society seemed to give tacit acceptance to Nazi activities. Some institutions, companies and many individuals helped sustain the excesses of the Nazi regime, including churches, banks, railways and manufacturers. Evidence presented in lawsuits in the twenty-first century has prompted ongoing discussion about wartime complicity in Germany.

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ACTIVITY 10.11

Investigate complicity

Research the institutions in the table. Find out what actions they engaged in between 1933 and 1945, the effects of the actions and any repercussions the institutions experienced after 1945.

Institution	Actions	Effects	Repercussions
IBM			
Bayer			
Volkswagen			
Hugo Boss			
Siemens			
German Rail (*Deustche Bahn*)			
General Motors			

10.15 The Nuremburg Trials and their ongoing implications

The extraordinary experience of the Holocaust produced a dramatic international response after the war. A decision was made to prosecute those responsible for the atrocities of the war. A tribunal was established – with judges from the victorious nations – to put on trial those considered war criminals. The trials were held in 1945 and 1946 in the German city of Nuremberg. Similar trials were held in Tokyo to prosecute Japanese wartime leaders. Some leading Nazis eluded justice: Hitler and Goebbels committed suicide; Martin Bormann (Hitler's private secretary) fled, probably to South America, as did Adolf Eichmann (a key architect of the Holocaust), who was famously kidnapped by Israeli agents in 1961 and returned to trial in Jerusalem. Twelve senior Nazis were sentenced to death for their role in what became known as war crimes.

In the Nuremberg Trials, two important terms became key – war crime and genocide. Previously, the horrors of war were understood as being inherent within human conflict. The Holocaust demanded that this be re-examined. It demonstrated the need to be able to hold individuals accountable for actions – both individual and state – taken during wartime. The Nuremberg Principles defined war crimes, which could include waging a deliberate war of aggression (crimes against peace), violating laws or customs of war, deliberate atrocities carried out against civilians (crimes against humanity) and the deliberate extermination of a group of people (genocide). Internationally accepted rules about the treatment of prisoners and the protection of civilians had existed for decades, but the idea of prosecuting people for wartime criminality was unprecedented.

The judges rejected the Nuremberg Defence that many Nazis argued – that acting in accordance with a superior's orders is a defence. The judges decided this was not an adequate defence when an order is so egregious that the individual would morally be expected to disobey. The influence of the Nuremberg court can be seen in today's international laws of conflict and concepts of human rights.

- Why was the Nuremberg Tribunal historic? How has the nature of today's warfare made the concepts of war crime and genocide increasingly relevant? This work is today continued by the International Criminal Commission (ICC), charged with 'trying individuals for genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression'. Visit the ICC website to research its achievements.

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10.16 Refugees, migrants and diversity

From around 2015, Germany experienced huge influxes of refugees from the Middle East and Africa. Their presence prompted memories of the Jewish refugees in Europe after the defeat of Germany in 1945.

ACTIVITY 10.12

Compare images from Berlin in 1945 and 2015

Look at the two images below. Construct a PNI (Positive, Negative, Interesting) chart that describes what these images show and the questions that they could prompt.



SOURCE 10.55 Berlin, 1945. This group of Polish refugee survivors of the Holocaust has walked from Lodz (Poland) to Berlin to find food and shelter. They are waiting by a railway track hoping that a passing British army train will provide assistance. What are the various ways in which people became refugees after the war? Why might the solutions to resettling refugees be difficult and slow? What might Germans have felt towards Polish refugees in their country in 1945?



SOURCE 10.56 Berlin, 2015. Volunteer tutors teach German to recent arrivals from Syria and Chechnya at a refugee shelter. These refugees were among the one million that came to Germany in 2015. Some commentators suggested that ongoing guilt about the Holocaust prompted the German Government's very generous acceptance of so many refugees.

Since the conclusion of World War II, Germany has held varying attitudes towards migration. For decades, Germans themselves sought to migrate or flee from the GDR to the FRG. Since reunification, Germany has been presented with a different kind of migration challenge from Africa and the Middle East.

The new far-right Alternative for Germany (AFD) party has loudly proclaimed that migration endangers 'the German way of life'. Leader Alexander Gauland has stated that 'a lot of political discussions that have

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nothing to do with history often end in the remembrance of Auschwitz … that is a problem in Germany' (2017). Meanwhile, the leftist Green Party labelled the AFD 'Nazis in parliament'.

10.17 Conclusion

After its defeat in 1945, a shell-shocked nation became a divided nation in the context of the developing Cold War. With massive aid from the US in particular, West Germany prospered, becoming an industrial powerhouse of the global economy. East Germany (GDR) languished economically under a harsh Soviet-aligned dictatorship, with a police state crushing any dissent. Since reunification – following the collapse of the GDR's authoritarian government, the dissolution of the USSR and the ending of the Warsaw Pact – Germany has undertaken the challenging process of reviving the economy of the East and building a sense of social unity. With Britain's exit from the EU, Germany has emerged as the undisputed leader of Western Europe with one of the strongest economies in the world. The memories of Nazism, weakening over the years since 1945, have been stirred on occasion, most notably in strong debates about the presence of East European workers, given an added dimension by the welcoming of over a million refugees around 2015 from the conflict zones of the Middle East and North Africa. A new century presents fresh challenges for Germans, while the Nazi past remains a preoccupation of scholars and an intriguing topic for people everywhere.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Conditions that led to the growth of the Nazi Party

- Following World War I, the Treaty of Versailles required Germany to pay reparations to the Allies. Germany's overseas territories were stripped and its own boundaries substantially reduced and redrawn.
- At the end of the war, the Allies forced the Kaiser to abdicate: a new democratic Weimar Republic was declared on 11 August 1919.
- Political unrest continued, with a number of groups emerging, including the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), or Nazi Party.
- Hyperinflation took hold in the early 1920s.

Depth study: How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?

- The NSDAP attempted a coup against the local state government in Munich, Bavaria, on 8 November 1923.
- Hitler was imprisoned for eight months in 1924 for leading the coup, during which time he wrote *Mein Kampf*. His time in jail convinced him that using the democratic road to power under the Weimar constitution would be more effective than another coup.
- In the 1930 election, the Nazis increased their share of seats in parliament from 12 to 107. In 1932 they won 230 seats and became the largest party in the German parliament.
- In 1933, the NSDP created a dictatorship, without breaking the law, by way of the *Emergency Decree, Enabling Act* and the *Law against the Establishment of New Parties*.
- On the Night of the Long Knives, 30 June 1934, Hitler arranged the arrest and murder of the SA leadership.
- Policies to boost the economy and employment were generally successful.
- There was a 'cult of personality' around Hitler.
- Numerous groups for young people existed during the Nazi period, and changes were made to the school curriculum to make education a tool of indoctrination for the Nazi way of life.
- Women in Nazi Germany were expected to remain in the home and raise children.
- Germany rearmed, and then advanced into the Rhineland, Austria and Czechoslovakia. France and Britain did not respond to these violations of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles.
- On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, and two days later Great Britain and France declared war against Germany.
- Despite optimistic beginnings, Germany was devastated by the war.
- On 30 April 1945, Hitler shot himself, and one week later Germany surrendered unconditionally.
- Action against Jews had begun as soon as the Nazis gained power in 1933, and continued to escalate in the lead-up to World War II, resulting in *Kristallnacht* or Night of Broken Glass, 9 November 1938.
- Still standing as the worst example of genocide in human history, the Holocaust caused the deaths of over 60% of Europe's Jewish population.

Concluding study: Reflecting on Nazism

- Historians, psychologists and sociologists have tried to explain the extraordinary and barbaric events of the Third Reich.
- In the Nuremberg trials, two important terms became key – war crime and genocide.
- Since the conclusion of World War II, Germany has held varying attitudes towards migration.

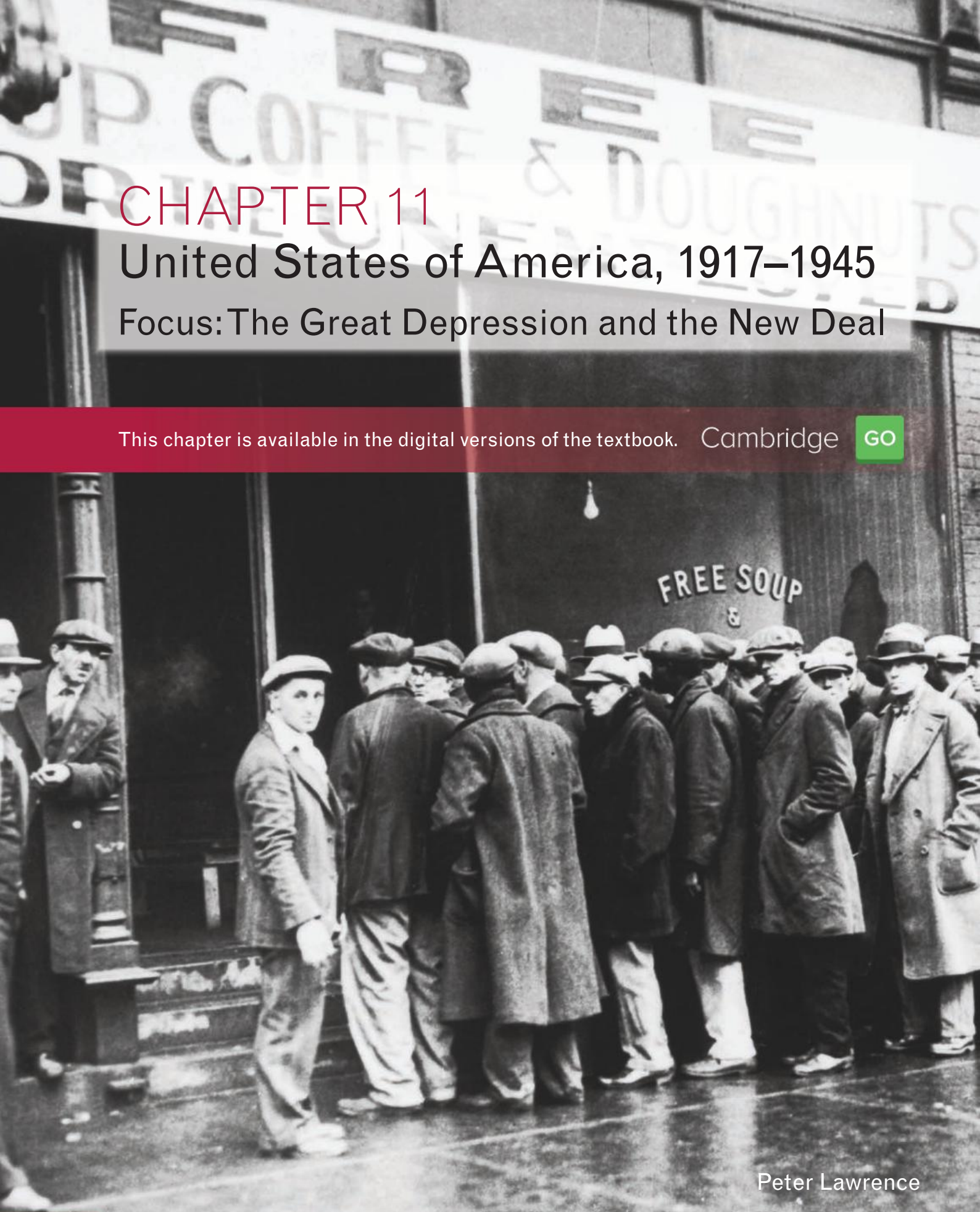
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Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

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CHAPTER 11
United States of America, 1917–1945
Focus: The Great Depression and the New Deal

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Peter Lawrence

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CHAPTER 12
China, 1931–1976
Focus: The impact of Mao's vision on China

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CHAPTER 13
Israel, 1948–1993
Focus: The impact of the creation of Israel



SOURCE 13.1 Jerusalem, 7 June 1967. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan walks the streets of Jerusalem during the Six-Day War, in which Israel defeated the armed forces of Syria, Egypt and Jordan.

With the acrid smell of gun-smoke still in his nostrils, Moshe Dayan pulls away from the others to walk through the city's oldest streets. It has been a momentous day and, before the sun sets upon it all, he wants to visit his prize, his war trophy. First he sees the gleaming gold dome perched up high but then, around the corner, his eyes light upon it. Though far less resplendent than the Dome of the Rock, it is Jerusalem's Western Wall that he has come to touch. As though in slow motion, he approaches the time-worn façade and, when he gets right up to it, he stretches out his hand to feel the uneven texture. Now the Israelis control the sacred city of Jerusalem, in its entirety. Moshe Dayan takes out paper and pen, wanting to capture his flurry of emotions. It comes out simply: a wish for peace. Keeping with tradition, he rolls the paper up and presses it into the crevices of the wall: Please let it be over now.

Three decades later, 14-year-old Faris Odeh climbs out the window of his Gaza home, careful not to make a noise and give himself away. Around the corner and down the street, he is with his friends, some as young as 12. He feels a familiar burning rage as he looks for the Israeli tanks which lumber through this narrow strip of land, ever-vigilant for trouble. And sure enough, the tanks are there and so are the scattered rocks. His rock pings off an armed vehicle, and another and another. Ten days later he is dead, shot in the neck by an Israeli soldier. What can his mother take away from all of this? The people have made a martyr of her boy, calling him 'Palestinian Everyman'. But he is dead nonetheless and more impassioned young men and women, trying to emulate his example, risk their lives too. On her knees with arms outstretched, she faces Mecca and her prayer floats: If you cannot return to me my son, give us peace. With justice.

Sonia Ackerman

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY
Israel and the Palestinian Territories

The above stories from the Six-Day War and the Second Intifada highlight the emotional intensity associated with the modern history of Israel and the Palestinian Territories. These events are just two of the armed conflicts which have marked this area during the past decades. They are symbols of the clash of peoples, of faiths, and of aspirations, making this land and the surrounding region an arena of conflict that still has serious global implications today. This tumult – and the search for solutions – is the focus of this chapter.

13.1 What are the ancient and medieval origins of Israel-Palestine?

The creation of Israel in 1948 continues to be one of the most contentious decisions of the twentieth century, not least because Israelis and Arabs continue to fight over who should own the land on which the state is founded. The Arab-Israeli and the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts are long-standing, stemming from competing nationalistic goals. Jewish Israelis and Muslim Arabs began their claims to the land – and to nationhood – with cultural and religious stories set in the ancient world.

Jewish origins and the Biblical promised land

Jewish ancestry and identity originate with the Israelites who were a Semitic tribe from what was called Canaan in ancient times, and is now Israel and the Palestinian Territories. From their earliest beginnings, the Jews distinguished themselves by being a very devout people through the practice of their religion, Judaism. Their Hebrew Bible introduces the figure of Abraham, who would eventually be regarded as the father of not merely Judaism, but also the two other great monotheistic religions of Christianity and Islam.

It is at the emergence of Abraham that we first read of the Israelites and the promised land. On several occasions in the Bible, God promises the land to the Jews. When referring to the Bible in a historical inquiry, it must be remembered that the text is not a work of history, but rather a mix of beliefs and historical records, as many other scriptures in history are. In the following excerpts, God is said to have stipulated what parts of the land were to be owned by the Israelites.

SOURCES 13.2 A–C The boundaries of Israel

A A biblical account of God's discussions with Abraham

> In that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates'.

Genesis 15:18, *The Hebrew Bible*

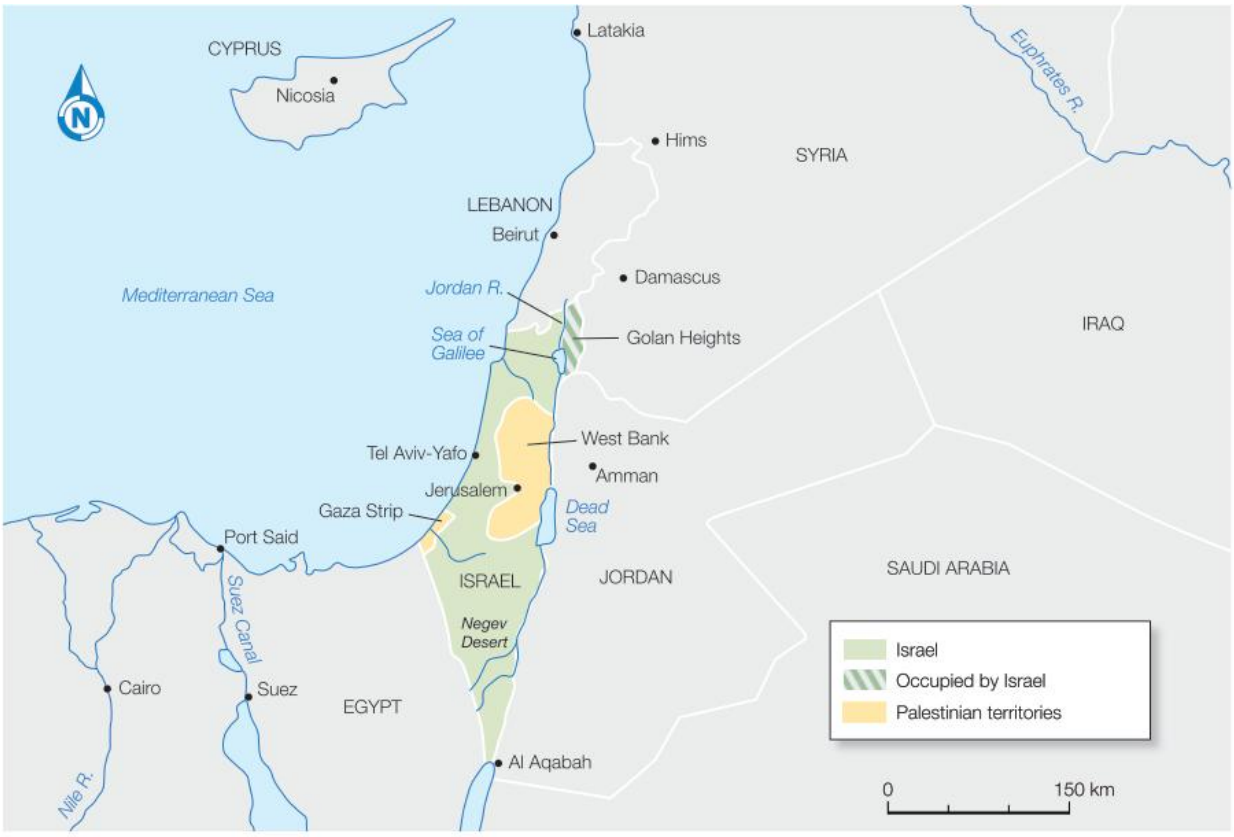
B A biblical account of God talking to Moses

> And I will set thy border from the Red Sea even unto the sea of the Philistines [Mediterranean Sea], and from the wilderness [desert] unto the [Euphrates] River; for I will deliver the inhabitants of the land into your hand; and thou shalt drive [existing tribes] out before thee.

Exodus 23:31, *The Hebrew Bible*

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C The modern boundaries of Israel and its neighbours



Responding to the text and the map

1. Consider the landmarks that God is said to have discussed with Abraham and Moses. Then compare these with the modern boundaries of Israel. What differences do you notice?
2. A right-wing minority still aspires to create an Israel based on these ancient proclamations. Which countries would be affected by this ambition and what emotions/responses might be invoked in those places?
3. Those who take a more moderate view, however, do not support literal, word-for-word interpretations of the Bible. Bearing in mind that the Bible was written within a historical context set several thousands of years ago, can you think of other instances when a literal interpretation would be out of step with modern ideas and morals?

The second biblical extract in Source 13.2B relates to events in about 1280 BCE, when the Jewish people – then called 'the sons of Israel' (Beni-Israel) – were subjugated in Egypt. At this time, Moses is said to have led his people back to Canaan. Among the most successful of the biblical kings of Israel was David who fought and conquered neighbouring tribes sometime between the early eleventh and late tenth centuries BCE. David made Jerusalem the Jewish capital and his son Solomon had the First Temple built near Mount Zion in the mid-tenth century BCE. About 930 BCE, the kingdom split in two, and one group dispersed and assimilated into the societies where they established themselves. By contrast, the Jews of the southern Kingdom of Judah strictly maintained their faith, refusing to abandon the practices which marked them as distinct.

Jewish dispossession of the land

In about 586 BCE, the Kingdom of Judah was conquered by the neo-Babylonians who destroyed the temple and sent the Jewish people into exile, causing a Jewish diaspora. In a Psalm, the Jews lamented the loss of their land.

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By the rivers of Babylon we sat and wept when we remembered Zion ... our captors asked us for songs ... How can we sing the songs of the Lord while in a foreign land? If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its skill.

SOURCE 13.3 Psalm 137: NIV

In 538 BCE, the Persian king Cyrus conquered Babylonia and gave the Jews permission to return home, but they did so as subjects of the Persian Kingdom, rather than as masters of their own destiny. Upon their return, the Jews built the Second Temple on the same site as the first. From 63 BCE, the area came under Roman rule. Senator Marcus Tullius Cicero said that the Jews were a people 'born for slavery'.

In their holy scripture, the Jews had been promised that their God would send a Messiah, or a saviour, for their people. Catherwood (2001:48) explains the Jews hoped this man would be a warrior-like figure and lead them in rebellion. However, the historical figure of Jesus Christ was a spiritual leader who seemed more concerned with preparing his followers for a promised afterlife in the Kingdom of Heaven than in improving their lives under Roman rule. In a world characterised by religious rivalry, Jesus was perceived – by the Romans and some Jewish leaders – as an unhelpful source of instability. Inspired by an angry mob, the Governor of Judaea, Pontius Pilate, is said to have handed over Jesus to the Romans to be crucified at Jerusalem. Later, this story would become one basis of **anti-Semitic** belief.

anti-Semitism the strong dislike or cruel and unfair treatment of Jewish people

While the Jews had been given some religious concessions by the Romans, dissatisfaction at being a conquered people boiled over in 66 CE and the Jews rebelled. In retaliation, the Romans destroyed the Second Temple in 70 CE.

The Jewish rebels fled south to the fortress at Masada where, after three years of being besieged, the inhabitants took their own lives rather than surrender or starve to death. Back in Jerusalem, all that remained of the temple was the Western Wall, long known as the Wailing Wall. Jews were thereafter banned from the city but, despite the Roman decree, a small Jewish presence remained in the Roman province of Palæstina, created after the rebellion was defeated. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 CE, Palestine became part of the Eastern Roman Empire ruled by the Christian Byzantines. Some Christians, such as the Evangelicals, came to believe that, in allowing the ruination of the Judaic temple, God had abandoned the Jews. About 636 CE, Palestine was conquered by the Islamic Empire.

Anti-Semitism

During the Middle Ages, to varying degrees across Europe, the persecution of Jews became pronounced. In such places, anti-Semitic propaganda grew with the aim of spreading a common fear and hatred of Jews.

From the 1500s until the rise of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi Party) in the 1930s, many European Jews were segregated from society in walled-off communities called ghettos. It was from the ghettos that the Nazis, under the direction of the most notorious anti-Semite Adolf Hitler, would round up Jews for transportation to concentration or death camps in World War II.



SOURCE 13.4 Wittenburg, Germany, 2016. This relief is on the thirteenth-century Stadkirche Sankt Marien church. The *Judensau* image was an obscene depiction of Jews in contact with pigs, an animal considered unclean by Jewish people. Such images were displayed widely in Germany and elsewhere from the 1300s onwards. This example is one of the few *Judensau* images still in public view in Europe.
What do such images reveal about the prevalence of anti-Jewish feeling in Europe?

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Muslim Arab origins

As already mentioned, Muslims too believe that Abraham was a founding father of their religion. Where Jews trace their religion from Abraham's son Isaac, Muslims acknowledge his first son, Ishmael, as an important prophet and patriarch of their religion. Traditionally it is told that, through Ishmael's second son's lineage, the Prophet Mohammed was born. Born in Saudi Arabia, Mohammed is said to have first heard the word of his God Allah in 610 CE and to have heard revelations for the next 22 years. In Mohammed's lifetime, Islam spread through Arabia, Persia and Egypt and, shortly after his death, to Palestine, Morocco and Spain. In about 636 CE, the Islamic Empire conquered Palestine. In 691 CE, the Dome of the Rock (recognisable by its gold dome) was built upon the site of the second Jewish temple. Jerusalem is the third most holy site for Muslims who believe that it is the place Mohammed flew to on his Night Journey. The Jews refer to this religious compound – which also includes the silver domed Al-Aqsa Mosque – as the Temple Mount whereas Muslims refer to it as the Noble Sanctuary.



SOURCE 13.5 Jerusalem, 2 June 2017. Palestinian worshippers attend the first Friday prayers of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan outside the Dome of the Rock.
Find out whether the worshippers who attend are all locals and, if not, from where else they come. Does this photo indicate why access to this site is so important to Muslims, and why denial of access could cause serious conflict?

In recent times, conflict between the Sunni and Shia sects of Islam has had serious consequences, particularly in the Middle East. The Sunni and Shia sects originated in the early days of Islam. The Shia sect believes that true Islam is carried through a hereditary line from Mohammed's daughter, while the Sunni sect believes that religious leaders called caliphs have the rightful authority to rule. The first three caliphs of the Sunni sect were friends of Mohammed. The Shias are ruled by imams (leaders of a mosque or community) who are thought to be blessed with a particularly close connection to Allah and are therefore thought to have the purest sense of what religious law is. The Sunni sect, which represents about 85% to 95% of the world's Muslim population, believes that matters of religious importance should be derived through consensus.

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The Quran is the holy book of Islam and is written in Arabic, a foreign language for most Muslims. Today, in the Gaza Strip, 99% of the Palestinians are Muslim and, in the West Bank, the figure is 75%. Muslim Palestinians are almost entirely Sunni, representing between 98% and 99% of that population. Therefore, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not a sectarian dispute, where the different sects fight one another. Rather, the conflict is between largely Muslim Palestinians and Jewish Israelis.

The issue of whether Palestinians are indigenous to Palestine is very contentious. Israeli sources deny it, while Palestinians affirm an ancestral claim to the land. It is in each side's current political interests to be the group which possessed the land first. Earlier, you learned that biblical sources speak of how the Israelites had to conquer tribes 'already there'. Whether the Palestinians originate from those tribes is the point in question. A 2001 study of the genetic profile of Gazan Palestinians argued that there is a link between today's people and the Canaanite tribe written of in the Bible. Given that the area was a great ancient thoroughfare, it is perhaps not surprising to read that Palestinians are also genetically related to people from Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Turkey.

ACTIVITY 13.1

Analyse the historical foundations of the claims to Palestine

1. What seem to be the specific historical foundations of the claims to Palestine by Jewish and Muslim peoples respectively?
2. Do you think that the fact that these competing claims are rooted deep in history makes it harder to find a solution to the conflict over ownership?
3. Control of Palestine passed from one conquering and/or occupying group to another at various times in history. How does this complicate the competing Jewish and Muslim claims to ownership?

13.2 Why is Zionism so significant?

Zionism, or the nationalist movement to create a Jewish state, was popularised by Austrian-born Theodor Herzl. Herzl became engaged in politics through his work as a Parisian journalist who was witnessing the social and legal persecution of Jews first-hand. The origins of modern Zionism are captured well in his pamphlet extracted below, written in 1896. Herzl wrote this pamphlet at the time of a key meeting – the first Zionist Congress – held in Basle (Switzerland) in 1897. That meeting saw the World Zionist Organization instituted with Herzl as its inaugural president.

SOURCES 13.6 A&B Herzl on Zionism

A Herzl explains his aims and concerns, 1896

> Everything tends, in fact, to one and the same conclusion, which is clearly enunciated in that classic Berlin phrase: 'Juden Raus' (Out with the Jews!) I shall now put the Question in the briefest possible form: Are we to 'get out' now and where to? ... I say that we cannot hope for a change in the current of feeling. And why not? The nations in whose midst Jews live are all either covertly or openly Anti-Semitic ...

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> Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation ... important experiments in colonisation have been made, though on the mistaken principle of a gradual infiltration of Jews. An infiltration is bound to end badly. It continues till the inevitable moment when the native population feels itself threatened, and forces the Government to stop a further influx of Jews. Immigration is consequently futile unless we have the sovereign right to continue such immigration. The Society of Jews will treat with the present masters of the land, putting itself under the protectorate of the European Powers, if they prove friendly to the plan.

Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 1896

B Herzl's diary entry following the conference, 1897

> Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word – which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly – it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty years, everyone will perceive it.

Theodor Herzl, diary entry, 1897

Responding to the sources

1. Why does Herzl say a Jewish nation is necessary?
2. Referring to Source 13.6A, what external assistance does Herzl say will be needed for the Jews to achieve a homeland?
3. Why does he suggest that the pace of immigration into Palestine will be a significant factor? What is he concerned will happen if the matter is not handled as he suggests?
4. Herzl didn't intend Source 13.6B to be read by the public. How might that affect its reliability as a reflection of Herzl's real thoughts and feelings, and thus its value to you as a historical source of evidence?

13.3 How did British and French diplomacy destabilise Palestine in the early twentieth century?

In 1878, Palestine's population was 87% Muslim, 10% Christian and 3% Jewish. At that time, Palestine was part of the large Ottoman Empire and had been since the early sixteenth century. Jews had been emigrating to Palestine in small numbers throughout the 1800s, but later that century, on account of Zionist publicity and worsening anti-Semitic persecution in Europe and Russia, the numbers grew markedly. These waves of migration to Palestine were called *aliyah* (ascendance).

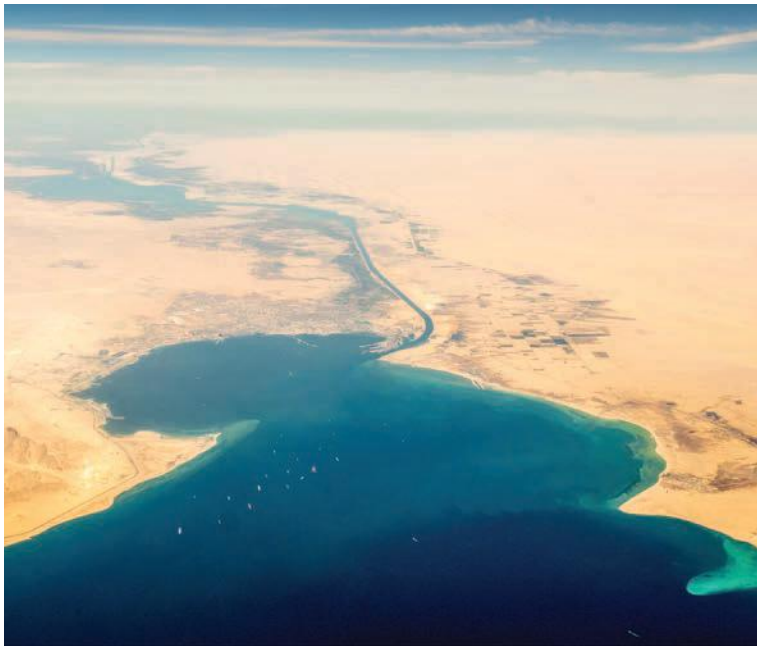
Palestine during World War I

In the first few days of World War I, the Ottoman Empire joined the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary against the Allies. This decision would have far-reaching implications. In aligning itself with those powers, which would ultimately lose the war, the Ottoman Empire risked its future survival. The main Middle Eastern battlefronts were in Mesopotamia, the Caucasus, Persia, Gallipoli and, most importantly for this inquiry, in Sinai and Palestine. In 1915 and again in 1916, the British (with their headquarters in Cairo) were on a defensive footing in the Sinai and Palestine campaign. Particularly, they had to defend the hugely important Suez Canal from Ottoman troops. It is significant to note that, in 1916, Britain and the Allies were far from assured of winning World War I. There was a stalemate on the Western Front, the German army was pushing into Russia, and the Allies had lost the Gallipoli campaign to the Ottomans.

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While Britain still thought that the war would be won or lost in Europe, Ottoman attacks on the Suez Canal highlighted the advantage of bringing the Arab tribes onto their side to fight.

SOURCE 13.7 The Suez Canal seen from the air



Suez Canal, Egypt, 2007. This aerial photo shows the southern entrance to the Suez Canal.

Responding to the source

1. Using a map, locate this entrance and then find out where ships eventually emerge after travelling through the canal. Think about how valuable the canal has been, given that the previous sea route to Asia took ships around the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa).
2. In 1914, who controlled the lands on either side of the canal?
3. Why might control of the canal have been important during World War I?
4. Today, who controls those lands?

Three British promises

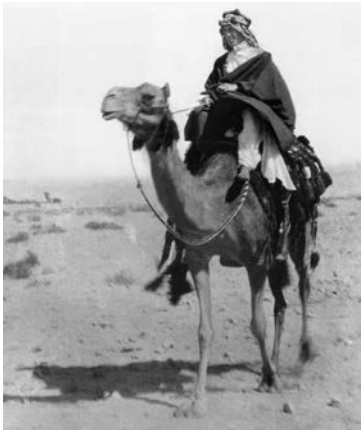
In 1915, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry McMahon, began negotiating with Sharif Hussein Ibn Ali of Mecca, in an effort to persuade him to turn upon his Ottoman rulers and fight for the British instead. In what has come to be known as the McMahon Pledge, he indicated that Great Britain was prepared to support Arab independence, to recognise the importance of Holy Places, and, where possible, to offer advice and assistance.

SOURCE 13.8 The McMahon Pledge

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Armed then with advice, weaponry and apparent promises of independence after the war, the Arabs used guerrilla warfare tactics to fight with the Allies against the Ottomans. British intelligence officer T.E. Lawrence, later to be known as Lawrence of Arabia, was sent to help coordinate and unite the disparate



SOURCE 13.9 Lawrence of Arabia during the Sinai and Palestine campaign, Jordan, circa 1916–18. It was not uncommon for Lawrence to fight side-by-side with the Arabs. He rode a camel into battle wearing the white robes Faisal had given to him as a gift.
What message might he have imparted to his fellow combatants with this choice of attire and behaviour? Why was Lawrence particularly suited to the role of negotiating with the Arabs?

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tribes. Lawrence spoke Arabic, understood something of the region's history and, importantly, believed that the Sinai-Palestine campaign could shape the final outcome of the war. He befriended Hussein's third son Faisal and told the Arabs that, by helping the British to win the war, they would earn themselves their land and their right to govern it.

From August of 1916, the Allies began to push the battle front back upon the Ottoman forces, in what would be a steady movement north-east along the coast of Palestine, all the while conquering and acquiring land.

However, while this was happening, British, French, Russian and Italian diplomats were engaged in secret talks. They were deciding what should happen if the Allies won the war. The British diplomat Mark Sykes and the French colonial official Georges Picot wielded their coloured pencils across a map of this part of the Ottoman Empire. France and Britain each designated for themselves separate 'protectorates' (denoted by the letters A and B on the map) as well as smaller adjacent areas where they could exercise exclusive control. A small area, which included Jerusalem, was to be administered internationally.

When Russia withdrew from the war in 1917, following the Bolshevik revolution, the secret agreement became public.

GO

SOURCES 13.10 A&B The Sykes-Picot Agreement

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Meanwhile, prominent British Zionist Lord Rothschild was in communication with British Foreign Secretary and Conservative MP Arthur Balfour, about the fate of Palestine. On 2 November 1917, the British Government issued a public statement, known as the Balfour Declaration, which endorsed 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'.

GO

SOURCE 13.11 The Balfour Declaration

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Lawrence, the Arabs and the Allies conquered the city of Damascus on 1 October 1918. In Lawrence's autobiographical *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (completed in 1922 and published in 1926), he attributes the victory to the Arabs but later admits to some exaggeration. In truth, once the fighting had ended, internal divisions among the Arabs surfaced almost immediately and Faisal missed his opportunity to show leadership. To what degree the British deliberately betrayed the Arabs is still debated. In his autobiography, Lawrence wrote: 'The [British] Cabinet raised the Arabs to fight for us by definite promises of self-government afterwards. It was evident from the beginning that if we won the war these promises would be dead paper, and had I been an honest adviser of the Arabs I would have advised them to go home … but I salved myself with the hope that, by leading these Arabs madly in the final victory I would establish them … [and secure] a fair settlement of their claims' (1926).

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

An **armistice** between the Ottoman Empire and the Western Allies was agreed to on 30 October 1918. As was the military custom of the time, the victors won the right to administer the conquered land as they saw fit. By the time World War I was over, the British had promised Palestine to the Arabs, to the Jews and also to themselves.

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ACTIVITY 13.2

Review and compare the three British promises

1. Given the promises and agreements made in the McMahon Pledge (1915), the Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916) and the Balfour Declaration (1917), does it seem almost inevitable that the aspirations of the Arabs and the Jews would not be met after World War I? Explain your response.
2. The movie *Lawrence of Arabia* won seven Oscars and was considered one of the greatest films of the century. However, it has also been criticised on historical grounds. Research some of the criticisms. Could these criticisms make the film even more interesting and valuable to you as a student of history? Explain your response.

13.4 Did the Versailles Conference provide a peaceful pathway for Jewish and Arab aspirations?

At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, America's president Woodrow Wilson said that peoples of the former Ottoman Empire should be assured an 'absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development'. Inspired by the promises made to them during the war and by the initial optimistic mood of the conference, Jews and Arabs were hopeful about their future. They both hoped the years ahead would see them realise their aspirations of an autonomous nation for their peoples. Even more promising, some Arab and Zionist leaders saw the benefit of working together to achieve their respective goals.



SOURCE 13.12 Faisal and Lawrence at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Faisal is photographed in the foreground with Lawrence standing third from the right.
Knowing what he did about the 'dead' promises that had been made, what might Lawrence be thinking and feeling as the peace conference began?

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SOURCES 13.13 A&B Faisal's correspondence

A Faisal's agreement with leading Zionist (and soon-to-be the Zionist organisation's president) Dr Chaim Weizmann, January 1919

> [Each group is] mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realising that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations is through the closest possible collaboration ... All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine, and as quickly as possible ... If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of 4 January addressed to the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement.

B Jewish-American lawyer Felix Frankfurter's correspondence with Faisal, March 1919

> [We have] already been gratified by the friendly and active cooperation maintained between you and the Zionist leaders, particularly Dr Weizmann. We knew it could not be otherwise; we knew that the aspirations of the Arab and the Jewish peoples were parallel, that each aspired to re-establish its nationality in its own homeland ...

Responding to the sources

1. What condition does Faisal set in giving his support to the Zionist movement? Is that an ominous condition, given what you know of the various negotiations during World War I?
2. Comparing the two excerpts, does either Faisal or Frankfurter seem more confident of achieving the desired goal? Explain your answer. Is there any reason why one group might be more confident than the other? Explain your response.
3. Ten years later, as King of Iraq, Faisal announced: 'His majesty does not remember having written anything of that kind with his knowledge'. Other than actual forgetfulness, what reasons might Faisal have had for making that announcement? Explain your answer with reference to the actual agreement. Revisit this question when you have read further in this chapter.

Wilson withdrew mid-way through the peace process on account of ill-health and, with that, the mood is said to have changed: negotiations became more about punishing Germany and carving up conquered territory than about national self-determination. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs would achieve autonomous nationality during the inter-war period. Rather, in 1922, the newly formed League of Nations confirmed Britain's responsibility for administering the area by creating the British Mandate of Palestine. At this time, Jews represented just over 10% of the population.

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ACTIVITY 13.3

Consider the feelings of people surrounding the Paris Peace Conference in 1919

1. Apart from the conflicting promises made during the war, what might have been preoccupying the delegates at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919? Why might the situation in Palestine not have been their priority?
2. What state of mind would you expect Lawrence to be in after the Paris Peace Conference? Search online for the extraordinary story of what Lawrence did after Paris and how it culminated in his tragic, early death.

13.5 Contextual study: summing up

For millennia before the Jews achieved statehood in 1948, the land on which the future Israel would be founded had been a source of controversy. The land was treasured as a God-given gift and a prize by a succession of ancient conquerors, and was the centre of intrigue by modern imperialists. But most of all it was – and continues to be – a deep-seated homeland for at least two distinct peoples. In the depth study which follows, you'll explore how diplomacy and historical events resulted in a complex outcome and further conflict.

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DEPTH STUDY

Did the creation of Israel intensify the conflict in the Middle East?

The Paris Peace Conference dashed the hopes of Arabs and Jews alike. In the end, it took another world war to lay the foundations for the creation of the state of Israel. That is the focus of the following depth study that takes up the story in the wake of the peace conference.

13.6 Why did the British relinquish control of their mandate in Israel-Palestine?

Tragically, the cooperation talked of by the Arabs and Jews at the peace conference was over before it even began. Relations between the two groups deteriorated quickly and the years of the British Mandate saw tensions hit an all-time high. Furthermore, both parties became hostile towards British rule.

Increasingly, Jews settled in Palestine, buying up land mostly from Arab owners who were either absent from their properties or otherwise unconcerned about how the land was to be used. Many of the Arab farmers, who were tenants working the land, were evicted, or left when they learned of properties being sold to Jews. Angered by the new arrivals and frustrated that their long-held ambition for self-determination was not progressing, Arabs in Palestine began protests. Hostility deteriorated to violence as early as 1920 when Arabs attacked and killed Jews in Jerusalem and the Galilee. In response, the leadership of the Jewish settlers in Palestine, headed by the Labour Zionist Party, formed the Haganah, an unofficial militia intended to protect the Jewish population. Tension continued throughout the decade. In August of 1929, with each side suspicious of the other, violence erupted over access to the Western Wall. The clashes spread beyond Jerusalem and ultimately would see several hundred Jews and Arabs killed or wounded.

Where there had long been mutual respect among Palestinian Jews and Muslims, the aftermath of the riots saw each community pull back into itself, harbouring a new sense of division and difference. It has been argued that the Arabs saw themselves as fighting a new threat: Zionist Jews who were colonising their land. For the British, the violence represented the fierce reality of the conflicting agreements they had struck during and after the war. The British became suspicious of the Arabs because of the riots and their policing of the area became stricter. At the same time, the Haganah was extended and strengthened. The majority of Jewish men became members, strategies to strengthen security were developed, and underground stores of weapons were established.

Despite British efforts, it was not long before further conflict occurred. As the German Nazi Party's anti-Semitic plans began to unfold in Europe, Jews began to emigrate in great numbers in search of safety. In what is called the Fifth Aliyah, a quarter of a million Jews migrated to Palestine between 1929 and 1939. In 1936, the Arabs responded by embarking upon a nationalist uprising, which began with a general strike and later followed with attacks upon Jewish settlements and British infrastructure. In this Arab Revolt, the Palestinian side was demanding independence from the British and an end to Jewish immigration. Jews were also increasingly frustrated with British Mandate rule. The revolt was crushed by the British and left the Palestinian Arabs in social, economic and political disarray. Their leadership, specifically under Haj Amin al-Husseini, became more extreme. Jews were also increasingly frustrated with British Mandate rule. The Jewish terrorist group Irgun was formed with the purpose of launching attacks upon both Arab and British targets. While Irgun called a self-imposed ceasefire for the duration of World War II, a second group called Lehi splintered off and continued its campaign. One of Lehi's members was Yitzhak Shamir, a future Israeli Prime Minister. Initially, the British tried to appease both the Jews and the Arabs.

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SOURCE 13.14 A&B British troops respond to violence in Jerusalem

A Jerusalem, September 1929, a group of Arabs being questioned at police headquarters in Palestine, following their arrest for looting and violence



B Jerusalem, November 1929, British troops securing a part of the city where they had found a bomb planted by Irgun



No one was harmed after troops conducted a controlled explosion.

Responding to the sources

1. These sources show that violence continued through the 1920s and 1930s in Palestine. How do the two images (and their descriptions) suggest that the ongoing violence was complex in terms of perpetrators, motives, targets and victims?

13.7 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Holocaust influence the creation of Israel?

The Holocaust, the genocide of the Jewish people by the German Nazis during World War II, was a historical tragedy of unprecedented magnitude, which continues to shock the world. There is no doubt that the Holocaust had an impact on the Jewish efforts to secure a homeland. In this inquiry, you will investigate that impact.

An excellent insight into the plight of European Jews before and during World War II can be gained from the following modern American video. The video was produced by the official US Holocaust Memorial Museum. The museum was founded by Jack Tramiel (born Idek Trzmiel), a Polish Holocaust survivor who was sent to the Łódź ghetto at age 11. Migrating to the US after the war, he became a very successful businessman. You can read more about the Holocaust on the museum's online encyclopaedia.

ACTIVITY 13.4

Watch an online documentary: *Confronting the Holocaust: American Responses*

Confronting the Holocaust: American Responses is a film made by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in 2014.
Watch it online at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8284 (duration 16:43) before answering the questions below.

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ACTIVITY 13.4 continued

Responding to the video

1. The content:
   - **a.** Why was there an urgent flight of Jewish refugees from Europe in the late 1930s?
   - **b.** Before the end of World War II, did the world know about the policies and practices of the Nazi Holocaust?
   - **c.** Why were there arguments in the US about whether to accept Jewish refugees before and during the war?
   - **d.** How did film of the liberation of the Nazi concentration camps affect popular opinion in the US and elsewhere?
   - **e.** How does the video suggest that the world has not learned the lessons of the Holocaust, particularly in relation to refugees?
2. The elements of the video:
   - **a.** Do you think the historical film used in the video was chosen for some or all of these purposes: (i) to convey important information, (ii) to stir the viewers' emotions, (iii) for entertainment, (iv) as background to the narration? Explain with examples.
   - **b.** How effective do you think the interviews were with the Holocaust survivors and the families of victims?
   - **c.** How important was it that the video included appearances by historians? Explain your response.
   - **d.** Did the tone and manner of the narrator seem appropriate and effective?
3. Thinking more deeply about the video:
   - **a.** Were there any statements in the video that you would like to check for accuracy?
   - **b.** Did you detect any evidence that the video was pro-Jewish, pro-American, pro-German or pro-British in the way the history was presented?
   - **c.** Was the narration factual and descriptive, or did it also offer value judgements about the events?
4. 'Big questions':
   - **a.** Did the video cause you to think about (i) what human beings are capable of in both the good sense and the bad, (ii) the danger of mass movements like Nazism, (iii) the power of discrimination, hatred and scapegoating, (iv) the importance of the question 'have we learned from history?'
   - **b.** Were you surprised by the way nations and politicians chose to act in some circumstances?
   - **c.** Does this video lend validity to the Jewish claims for a national homeland made after World War II? Explain your reasoning.
   - **d.** Is it a good thing that the history of the Holocaust is kept alive by institutions such as this museum?
   - **e.** Is there any aspect of the video that you disliked or disagreed with? Explain your response.
   - **f.** If time and interest permit, research the figure of Adolf Eichmann, who was referenced in the video. How did the Israelis enact the ultimate revenge upon him for his part in the death of 400 000 Hungarian Jews? Do you agree or disagree with the methods employed by Ben-Gurion?

In 1939, while the horror of the Holocaust was secretly gathering momentum, the British Government announced a new policy on Palestine. In a White Paper, the government announced that the current arrangements were 'impracticable'. Here you can read some key extracts from the White Paper. As you read, keep in mind what you have just learned from the video about the Jewish situation at the time.

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SOURCE 13.15 Britain's 1939 White Paper

... the framers of ... the Balfour Declaration ... could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country ... His Majesty's Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State ...

In the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon ... undertook to recognise and support Arab independence ... His Majesty's Government ... can only adhere ... to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge and they therefore cannot agree that the ... correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State.

His Majesty's Government are unable at present to foresee the exact constitutional forms which government in Palestine will eventually take, but their objective is self-government ... an independent Palestine State. It should be a State in which the two peoples in Palestine, Arabs and Jews, share authority in such a way that the essential interests of each are secured ...

His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into being in ten years ...

... the fear of the Arabs that this [immigration] influx will continue indefinitely until the Jewish population is in a position to dominate them has produced consequences which are extremely grave for Jews and Arabs alike and for the peace and prosperity of Palestine ...

Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if economic capacity permits, will bring the Jewish population up to approximately a third of the total population of the country ... this will allow the admission, as from the beginning of this year, of some 75 000 immigrants over the next five years ... [As] a contribution to the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25 000 refugees will be admitted [soon] ...

British Government, White Paper, 9 November 1939

Responding to the source

1. What has the British Government told the Arabs and the Jews about the previous agreements made with them? What might have motivated them to provide this clarification?
2. What else is contained in that source that would add to Jewish and Arab discontent?
3. What reasons do the British give for restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine?

SOURCE 13.16 The 1939 Jewish Agency for Palestine's response to the White Paper

The new policy for Palestine laid down by the Mandatory in the White Paper now issued denies to the Jewish people the right to rebuild their ancestral home ... The Jewish people regard this policy as a breach of faith and a surrender to Arab terrorism ... It seems only too probable that the Jews would fight rather than submit to Arab rule. And supressing a Jewish rebellion against British policy would be as unpleasant as the repression of the Arab rebellion has been ...

Jewish Agency, Zionist Reaction to the White Paper, 1939

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Responding to the source

1. Why might the Jewish response have been so strong?
2. How might the British have regarded the reference to Arab terrorism by the Jewish Agency?
3. What threat is embedded in the Agency's response to the White Paper?

SOURCE 13.17 Haifa, Mandate Palestine, 15 July 1945, Jewish refugees make it to Palestine after the war.
Some of the Jews standing on the deck of the refugee immigration ship *Mataroa* are still wearing the striped concentration camp uniform. What does that tell you about the nature of their departure from Eastern Europe? Assuming these people posed for this photo, what impression do you think they were wanting to convey through their posture? Would that be understandable? Explain your response.

SOURCE 13.18 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (recommendations on the Jewish refugee problem)

Recommendation No. 1. We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Palestine gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or impelled to leave Europe ...

Recommendation No. 2. ... the majority of those [Jews] in Germany and Austria are still living in assembly centres, the so-called 'camps' ... the centres should be closed and their camp life ended. Most of them have cogent reasons for wishing to leave Europe. Many are the sole survivors of their families and few have any ties binding them to the countries in which they used to live.

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 'Report to the United States Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom', 1946

Responding to the source

1. In 1946, why might nations outside Europe have offered 'no hope' for Jewish refugees from Europe (as reported in this source)?
2. Why does the Anglo-American report support the aspirations of those European refugees?
3. What one possibility of refugee resettlement outside Europe does the report mention?

SOURCE 13.19 The Arab Office restates its stance on immigration

... any solution of the problem created by the Zionist aspirations must ... accept the principle that the only way by which the will of the population can be expressed is through the establishment of responsible government. (The Arabs find something inconsistent in the attitude of the Zionists who demand the establishment of a free democratic commonwealth in Palestine and then hasten to add that this should not take place until the Jews are in a majority.)

The Arab Office, 'The Arab Case for Palestine', 1946

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Responding to the source

Why would the Arabs be concerned about a Jewish majority in a future nation governed as a representative democracy? In what ways are Herzl's concerns (Source 13.6A) being played out during this time?

ACTIVITY 13.5

Research the Dunera Boys

In late 1940, Australia had its own shameful chapter in the history of Jewish refugees. Using the rich online resources about the Dunera Affair, explore the voyage of HMT *Dunera*, its reception in Australia and the extraordinary lives of the Dunera Boys. What part did ignorance, prejudice and fear play in the affair? Does this story have anything in common with Australia's recent treatment of boat people?

After World War II, while international leaders were discussing what would happen to dispossessed European Jews, Irgun resumed its offensive against the British under the leadership of Menachem Begin, another future Israeli Prime Minister. It was Irgun that bombed the British military headquarters in Jerusalem in 1946 (as described in Chapter 16).

On 2 April 1947, frustrated by the ongoing violence, the British decided to end its mandate of the area and asked for the matter to be referred to the newly formed United Nations. After two months of discussion, United Nations representatives voted to have Palestine partitioned. This involved dividing Palestine into three parts: an Arab State, a Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem. Making Jerusalem a separate entity allowed for people of the three Abrahamic faiths to access their holy sites.

- How does this decision on Jerusalem make the first photo in this chapter a more intriguing historical source?

SOURCE 13.20 Why America voted in support of partition

Truman Adviser Recalls May 14, 1948 US Decision to Recognise Israel

RICHARD H CURTISS

Most people who knew the Middle East at first hand opposed the partition plan, adopted by the United Nations on November 29, 1947. Patently unfair, it awarded 56% of Palestine to its 650 000 Jewish inhabitants, and 44% to its 1 300 000 Muslim and Christian Arab inhabitants. Partition was adopted only after ruthless arm-twisting by the US government and by 26 pro-Zionist US senators who, in telegrams to a number of UN member states, warned that US goodwill in rebuilding their World War II-devastated economies might depend on a favorable vote for partition.

In a Nov. 10, 1945 meeting with American diplomats brought in from their posts in the Middle East to urge Truman not to heed Zionist urgings, Truman had bluntly explained his motivation: 'I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents'.

Richard H Curtiss (Retired American Foreign Service officer and executive editor of *The Washington Report*), 'Truman Adviser Recalls May 14,1948 US Decision to Recognise Israel' at *Daily News Headlines Digest*, 1991

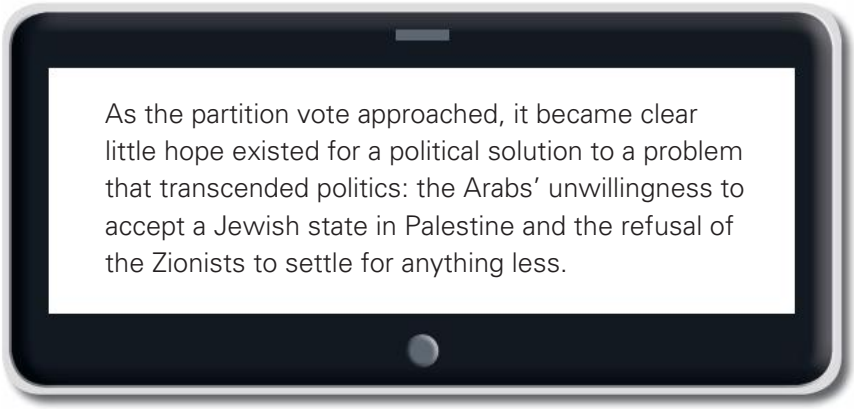
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Responding to the source

1. Why does Curtiss describe the partition plan as 'patently unfair'?
2. In what specific way, according to Curtiss, have pro-Zionist US senators been 'arm twisting'?
3. Why would such arm-twisting have been particularly effective in 1945? Do you think such arm-twisting is a justifiable tactic? Explain your reasoning.
4. What, according to Curtiss, was the basic reason that President Truman supported the partition plan? That reason was clearly political but is it possible that it was also a morally justifiable decision? Explain your reasoning.
5. Truman had become US president on 12 April 1945, following the death in office of Franklin Roosevelt. In the Holocaust Memorial Museum video, you learned something of Roosevelt's attitudes to the Holocaust and Jewish migration. Do you think Roosevelt might have taken a different approach from Truman to the partition issue, had he still been president? Explain your response.
6. Curtiss was an adviser to Truman. Could that lend credibility to his account? Explain your response.
7. Note that Curtiss published this memoir in 1991, many years after the event. Could that affect the likelihood that he would be honest in his account?
8. Does Curtiss seem to take sides at all in his account in terms of his comments on Arabs, Zionists and the USA? Explain. If so, do you think he would have taken the same 'side' at the time (1945–47), when he was Truman's adviser? Explain your response.
9. In what ways is the previous question a warning about using the statements of insiders as historical sources of evidence, and about the need to take note of any time lapse between an event and an insider's account of that event?
10. To add to your understanding of this source, research the social, financial and political significance and influence of the Jewish population of the US in the period around World War II.

An Israeli source cites the Arabs' refusal to accept any compromise on land as having forced the United Nations to partition Palestine.

SOURCE 13.21 An Israeli source describes an impasse over partition



As the partition vote approached, it became clear little hope existed for a political solution to a problem that transcended politics: the Arabs' unwillingness to accept a Jewish state in Palestine and the refusal of the Zionists to settle for anything less.

'The Partition Plan: Background & Overview', *Jewish Virtual Library*

Responding to the source

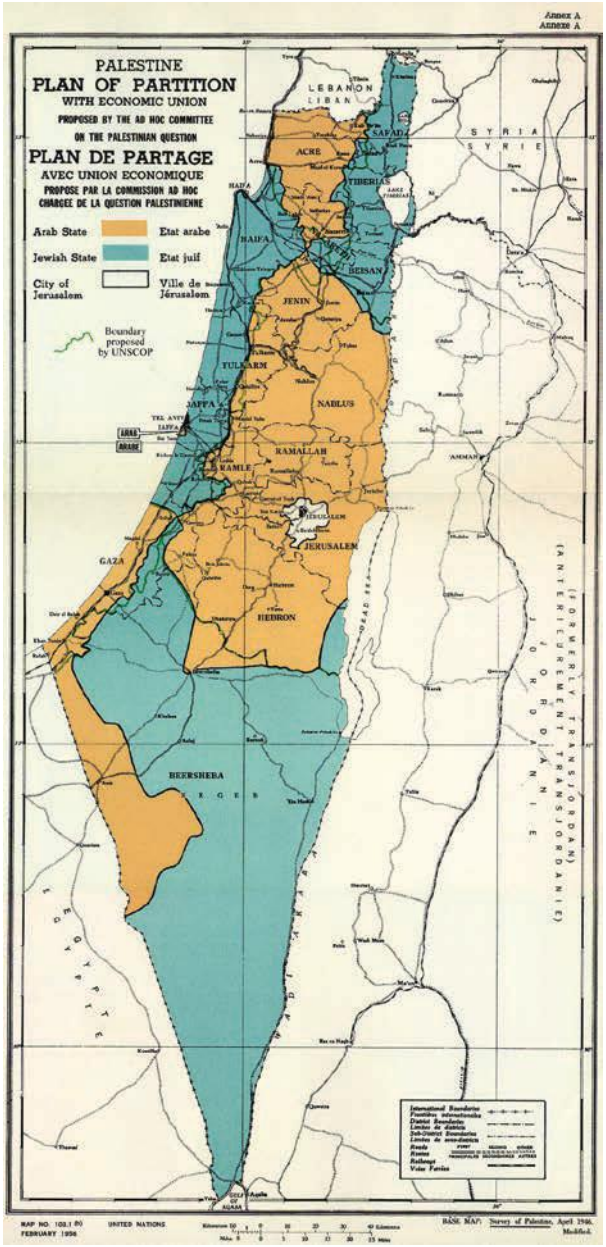
1. Why would Zionists believe that their 'refusal' was justifiable?
2. Why, despite the UN decision on partition, would Arab states believe that their 'unwillingness' was justifiable?
3. As you read further in the chapter, find out whether Arab 'unwillingness' has continued until today.

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On 29 November 1947, the United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine (Resolution 181) was ratified. The future-Israelis were pleased with the UN resolution, having finally acquired the right for a state of their own, but they regarded the land allocated to them as the 'irreducible minimum' that they would accept. Source 13.22 shows the map displaying the partition agreed to by the UN.

SOURCE 13.22 The Partition Plan

The United Nations partition, adopted 29 November 1947, provided for three distinct areas – an Arab state in yellow, a Jewish state in blue and an international zone in white. This map of the partition was drawn in 1956, based on a 1946 original.



Responding to the source

1. What does 'territorially contiguous' mean and how does the concept apply to the map in Source 13.22?
2. How might that produce future challenges and problems for Jews and Arabs alike?
3. How might it make security more difficult and military conflict more likely? Explain your response.

For the Arabs, the loss of any land was devastating. From a **secular** point of view, this was about Arabs not being able to control the land that they had been living upon for at least a thousand years. But the shock also had a religious dimension in that this same group of people were (and continue to be) predominantly Muslim. So Muslim Arabs viewed the partition of Palestine as Judaism having taken seed upon their sacred Muslim soil. This became the catalyst for some Arabic and Islamic nations to later refuse to recognise Israel as a legitimate state. Arab resentment of Western interference

secular unconnected with religion

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in the Middle East, which was already widespread since the middle of the nineteenth century, was entering a new phase.

While the UN had voted to approve partition, it did not come into effect immediately. One major reason for this is suggested in the cartoon shown in Source 13.23.

SOURCE 13.23 The UN casts a momentous vote, November 1947



Cartoon by Illingworth in *The Daily Mail*, 2 December 1947

Responding to the cartoon

1. What 'momentous vote' has the UN just taken?
2. How has the cartoonist highlighted the two conflicting responses to that decision?
3. Does the cartoonist seem to demonstrate any bias in his depiction of the characters? Explain your response.
4. This was published in a British newspaper. Does the cartoonist's message seem to reflect official British policy and aspirations at the time? Explain your response.
5. What is signified by the personified globe, the globe's facial expression, the headgear of the globe?
6. As in most cartoons, the cartoonist has used artistic licence. What (if any) of the action being portrayed do you think actually occurred?
7. How fair a comment do you think the cartoon was? After reading further, decide how prescient the cartoonist probably was.

After the UN vote for partition, the British continued their mandated administration of Palestine. But on the ground there was chaos and conflict – such that this period of time came to be considered as the civil war phase, the first phase of the 1947–49 war. Meanwhile, world leaders continued to consider possible solutions to the chaotic situation. The cartoon on the next page (Source 13.24) comments on that.

On 14 May 1948, with Britain's mandate due to expire at midnight, Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, declared national independence while standing in front of a portrait of Theodor Herzl. As auspicious as the day was, Ben-Gurion said later that he couldn't bask in the excitement because he knew that a war against the Arabs was now imminent. The events described in the next section confirmed his fears.

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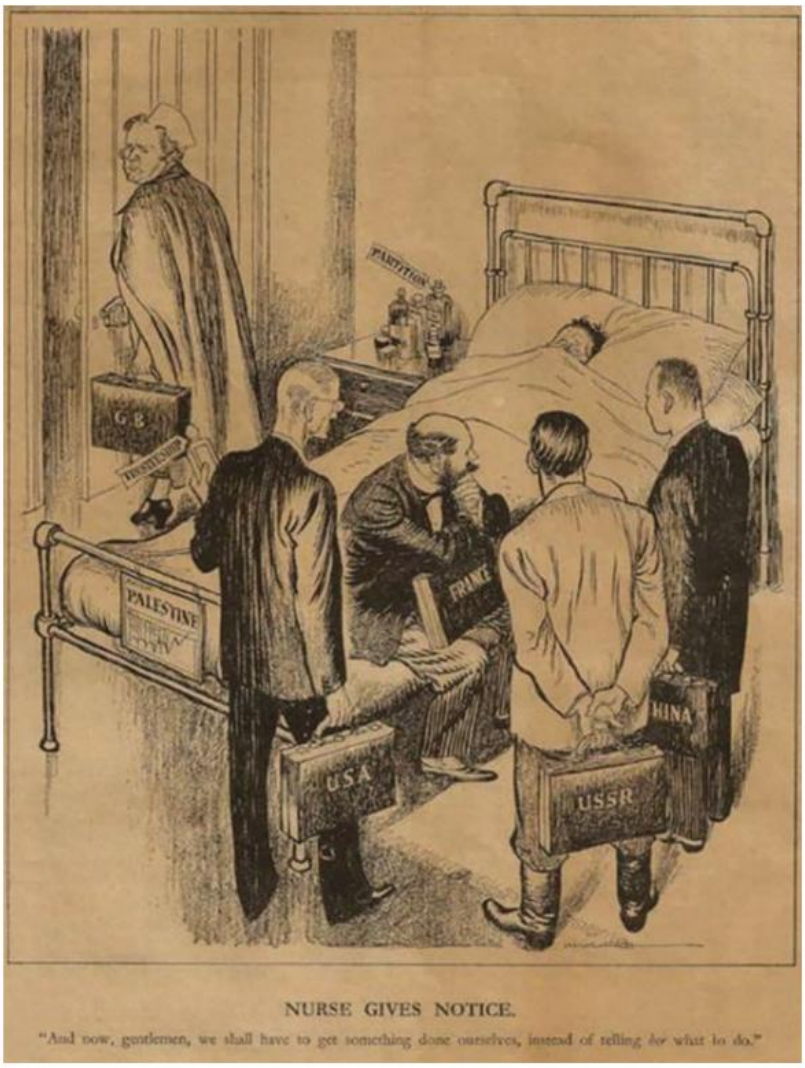
ACTIVITY 13.6

Construct a timeline from 1933 to 1938

Construct a timeline from 1933 (when the Nazis came to power in Germany) to 1948 (creation of the state of Israel). On the timeline, mark the events which affected Israel's path to nationhood, highlighting in particular how the Holocaust influenced the creation of Israel.

SOURCE 13.24 Palestine the patient, March 1948

Responding to the cartoon



NURSE GIVES NOTICE.

"And now, gentlemen, we shall have to get something done ourselves, instead of telling *her* what to do."

1. What could justify Palestine being depicted as a patient in March 1948?
2. Why, in 1948, had the five nations present become probably the most influential in the world?
3. According to the caption, what responsibility do four of the five think they now have?
4. Why would Britain be depicted as a departing nurse, and how does the cartoon's caption explain her departure?
5. What is the patient's current medication?
6. Given what you've read so far, how effective does that treatment seem to have been?
7. What alternative treatment (which would be authorised by the UN) does the USA seem to be proposing?
8. Why might the USA (and others) think it's a possible solution?
9. What might Jews and Arabs think of that proposed solution? Explain your response.
10. Does this cartoon seem a reasonable comment on the situation in Palestine in early 1948? Explain your response.
11. Could the cartoonist have misled his audience by portraying Palestine as a single patient for whom a single treatment could restore health? Explain your response.

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13.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What happened after Israel declared national independence?

The day after the announcement, Arab League nations (namely Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Syria) launched their attack upon the new state. In this First Arab-Israeli War, they sought to destroy the new state before it took root. Some of these nations also held ambitions about controlling parts of Palestine for themselves.

The Jews were prepared for war, however, having established the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), which were partly made up of conscripts together with Haganah, Irgun and LEHI militias. Lasting 10 months, the war ended in a convincing victory for the Israelis. In 1949, an armistice was signed, with each side withdrawing to agreed temporary boundaries. These boundaries resulted in the state of Israel then comprising 78% of the former British Mandate.

But the end of the war was by no means the end of the problem. In the midst of the fighting, over 700 000 Palestinian Arabs – half of the population – were displaced from their homes. What caused the Arabs to flee has been the source of much controversy over the years, though it was likely a combination of a number of factors. The Israelis asserted that the Arabs moved their own people out of harm's way. Reportedly, most of the Palestinian Arabs left of their own free will, thinking that the war would be over soon with an Arab victory and then they could return to their homes. A number of scholars have questioned that version of events, lending weight to what the Arabs have said: that they were expelled from their land under fear of violence from the IDF. Earlier in the conflict, Irgun and LEHI fighters are alleged to have massacred more than 100 Arab civilians at a small village called Deir Yassin and the thought of a repeat encounter is said to have sparked terror in the Palestinians. According to the historian Benny Morris, a third of the Palestinians became refugees out of fear of the Israeli army, yet only a small number were actually deported by the Israeli forces. Either way, those who fled from the conflict flooded into refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Palestinians call that mass dispersal *al-Nakba,* which translates to 'the disaster' or 'the catastrophe'.

In 1948 and 1949 respectively, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention ruled on how refugees of war ought to be treated. Specific UN instructions regarding the Palestinian refugees were set down in Resolution 194.

SOURCE 13.25 United Nations' Resolution 194

> Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.

United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194, 1948

Responding to the UN Resolution

1. Do any of the provisions seem both idealistic and potentially unworkable? Explain your response.
2. How would you expect Israel to respond to the resolution? Why?

Much of the conflict which flares up still between the opposing sides stems from the fact that there is disagreement about whether and how to implement this resolution.

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SOURCE 13.26 What happened after the announcement of independence by the Israelis



Israel-Palestine for Critical Thinkers provides a summary of events after the announcement of independence by the Israelis.
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 06:00) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the video

1. Create a table like the one below and then listen to the video to capture the contrasting perspectives held by the Israelis and Arabs.

Perspectives	Aims of the war	How the war came to be perceived	Responsibility for the refugee problem
Israeli			
Arab			

2. Using the information you've gathered, on what points do the Arabs and Israelis most differ when they contemplate this conflict?
3. Reflecting upon the video information, how does the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) define who ought to be considered eligible for refugee status?
4. How is this ruling for Palestine different from what applies elsewhere in the world?

Some scholars have labelled the 1948 dispersal of Arabs during the First Arab-Israeli War an act of ethnic cleansing by the Israelis.

SOURCE 13.27 The United Nations puts forward a definition of ethnic cleansing

> ... rendering an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation to remove persons of given groups from the area.

United Nations, 'Interim report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780', S/25274, 1992, p. 16

Responding to the source

1. What is meant by an 'ethnically homogeneous' area?
2. Why might a government (and its people) desire such a situation?
3. Could the pursuit of ethnic homogeneity prove dangerous? Explain your response.

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To be clear, of the land that had been allocated to the Arabs in the Partition Plan, the West Bank was controlled by Jordan and the Gaza Strip by Egypt. The Golan Heights, to Israel's north-east, became a demilitarised zone. In a similar fashion to the red and blue zones denoted by Sykes and Picot during World War I, Jerusalem was divided in two, along what became known as the Green Line after the green pen that was used on the map. West of the Green Line was Israeli territory and the eastern part of the city – the old city – was controlled by Jordan.



SOURCE 13.28 Israel after the armistice agreement, 1949
What changes do you discern in the locations and borders of the various states? Who seems to have benefited, and who lost?

ACTIVITY 13.7

Review key events leading up to 1949

1. What factors caused turmoil to follow Israel's declaration of independent nationhood?
2. Given what you've read so far, could that turmoil have been predicted? Explain your response.
3. What long-term problems were created by the events of 1947 to 1949?
4. Create a timeline to highlight the key events, decisions and developments of the period 1947–49. Annotate items where appropriate, indicating how they affected peace, stability and justice in Palestine. Note any contradictions, where Jews and Arabs were affected differently by the same event.
5. What prediction would you make for any continuation of the timeline beyond 1949? Explain your response.

13.9 Why was the Six-Day War significant?

In the mid-twentieth century, terrorism was not nearly as reported upon as it is today. But around this time, in Palestine, terrorism increasingly became seen as a viable strategy that could be 'used to sway the behaviour of the many by targeting the few' (Law, 2016:3). Disaffected groups, who felt as though they had exhausted other options, viewed terrorism favourably because they did not need to finance an army in order to fight their enemies. Terrorists gave up on traditional conventions on how to conduct war. Across the decades of the Arab-Israeli conflict, both sides have at times used tactics that can be labelled 'terrorism' in pursuing their political agendas.

Ethno-nationalistic terrorism in Palestine

After World War II, two intersecting phenomena caused great repercussions for Israel and the Palestinian Territories and beyond. Firstly, the devastation caused by the war saw European colonial powers distracted. In this post-colonial period, financially weakened imperialist nations (such as Britain) prioritised the restoration of homeland stability above the administration of their colonies. Meanwhile, inspired by

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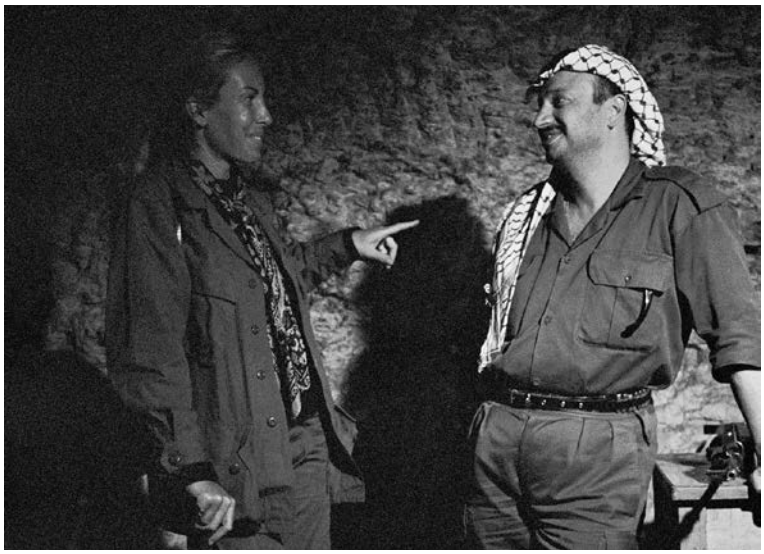
the United Nations and its principles 'of equal rights and self-determination of peoples', nationalistic movements in African, Asian, Latin American and Middle Eastern colonies emerged. So while the 1949 armistice had called for peace in Israel-Palestine, conflicting nationalistic tensions in the region seriously undermined those aims.

In the 1950s, some of those who had fled from Palestine in 1948 took up a nationalistic struggle, becoming militants called *fedayeen*. In an argument mirrored by many resistance movements across the world, these dispossessed people regarded themselves as freedom fighters while their victims perceived them as terrorists. After *al-Nakba, fedayeen* fighters began crossing over Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian borders into Israel, to conduct hit-and-run attacks upon military and civilian targets. A veteran of 1948 and a great believer in a united Arab presence in the Middle East, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein began sponsoring the fighters. In a trend which would continue to this day, Israel responded to such aggression with hard-hitting retaliation upon both the *fedayeen* and the wider Arab population. It was this cycle of attack and counter-attack which contributed to the Second Arab-Israeli War and the Third Arab-Israeli War (the Six-Day War).

In the second conflict between the Arabs and the Israelis, better known as the Suez Crisis, it was a pronounced expression of nationalism by President Nasser which ignited the conflict. In 1956, backed by the Soviets and aligned with Syria, Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal from the British and French. Though the details are unclear, it is widely thought that Israel, Great Britain and France had negotiated secretly to attack Egypt. For the Israelis, the invasion was in response to *fedayeen* aggression and out of a desire to re-open the canal to their shipping (which Egypt had been blocking). For the British and French, it was an attempt to reclaim the strategically important shipping thoroughfare, crucial in transporting oil out of the region. Israel invaded the Sinai desert and two days later, British and French troops were deployed in what the two nations claimed was a move to restore order. The international community, however, did not accept British and French explanations, with American President Dwight Eisenhower being particularly critical of what he perceived as an attempt to hold onto imperial infrastructure. In the end, the British and French had to withdraw troops and accept that the Suez Canal would thereafter be owned by the Egyptians. After the crisis, with Egypt's approval, UN troops were stationed in the region to 'help maintain quiet'.

Causes of the Six-Day War

Reflecting on the 50th anniversary of the Six-Day War, *BBC News* Middle Eastern editor Jeremy Bowen referenced the 1948 war when he said the 'Arabs could not get over the pain of defeat; the Israelis never forgot that their neighbours tried to destroy them. Both sides knew that another war would come, sooner or later' (2017). Certainly, the *fedayeen* had kept on with their attacks and the Israelis always fought back. In anticipation of future attacks, Israel had instituted compulsory conscription to sculpt a finely honed military force that was ever-vigilant to external threats. *Fedayeen* fighters in Egypt, Jordan and Syria remained the greatest of those



SOURCE 13.29 Yasser Arafat, 1969, in a cave that he used as a hiding place during his exile in Jordan. By then the Fatah organisation had been active for 10 years.

Why might Arafat, a fighter for the Palestinian cause and fervently anti-Israeli, have taken the extraordinary precaution of hiding in a cave, even in the Arab state of Jordan? Revisit this question after reading further.

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SOURCE 13.30 Palestinian *fedayeens* plant land mines in Jordan. PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) fighters set up an anti-tank mine near the border between Israel and Jordan.

threats. Among those fighting against the very existence of the state of Israel was a young Yasser Arafat. By 1959, Arafat had donned his trademark chequered head-dress and formed Fatah, a group whose goal it was to destroy Israel and liberate Palestinians through 'armed struggle'.

Increasingly, disillusioned Palestinians were beginning to look for different ways to express their frustration and anger; many looked to Egypt for Arab leadership. Others placed more faith in groups such as Fatah. Meanwhile, in southern Syria, despite it being marked as a demilitarised zone in 1949, fighting continued between the Israelis and Arabs. Syria's military was using the vantage point of the Golan Heights to fire upon Israeli targets while sheltering and supporting *fedayeen* fighters.

ACTIVITY 13.8

Take a position on an attitude scale about 'just' warfare

Rules of what constitutes 'just' warfare – warfare based on the principles of justice and fairness – were set down by seventeenth-century philosopher and political theorist Hugo Grotius. Use the attitude scale below to reflect upon whether any end result warrants the use of terrorist means to achieve it.

The injustice associated with terrorism tactics is warranted if it is done in the pursuit of just outcomes				The injustice associated with terrorism tactics is never warranted regardless if it is done in the pursuit of just outcomes
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree	strongly agree

The Six-Day War and its repercussions

On 19 May 1967, in what he says was meant to be a show of force, Nasser expelled the UN troops from the Suez, moved his own soldiers to the Israeli border, and blocked Israeli shipping. American President Lyndon B Johnson warned Israel against starting a war. But, with many Israeli men already deployed in readiness for battle, the pressure was on Israel to act rather than wait for diplomacy to play out.

For both sides, the stakes were higher than the shipping blockades and the Sinai Peninsula, with the real issues going right back to 1948. Fearing the Israelis wanted to take over his land in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and a revolt from his Palestinian constituents if he didn't support Nasser and his Arab uprising, Jordan's King Hussein was left with little choice. Rather than be seen as a traitor to the Arab cause, Hussein signed an alliance with Egypt at the end of May. He fatefully, and disastrously, placed his Jordanian soldiers under Egyptian command.

With an understanding that America would not stand in its way, on the morning of 5 June Israel launched its attack upon Egypt, wiping out its air force. Three times, Israel warned Jordan to stay out of the battle but, operating under false information that Arab forces were winning, the Jordanian campaign

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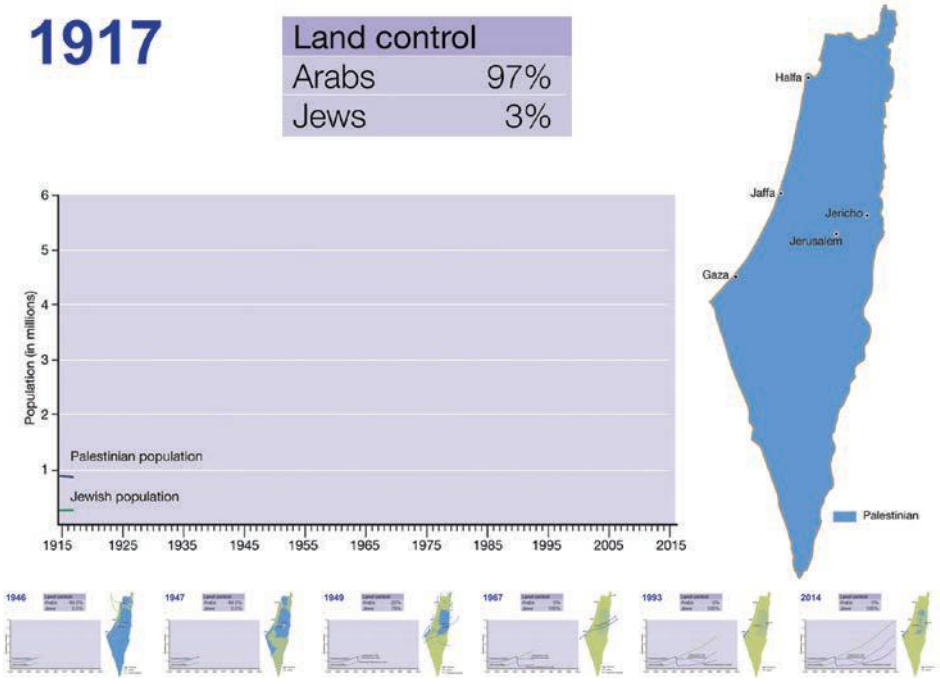
in West Jerusalem was launched. In response, Jordan's air force was attacked and defeated. By the end of the day, Syria's air force had also been defeated and the Israelis had taken a commanding position. In the days that followed, the armies of Egypt, Jordan and Syria were defeated and, in a repeat of the 1948 war, Israel took possession of still more land. On this occasion, Israel took over the Gaza Strip from the Egyptians, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from the Jordanians, and assumed control of the Golan Heights. The war was over in just six days and became known by its historic title.

In addition to those already dispossessed by the 1948 war, a further 200 000 Arabs fled at this time, exacerbating the refugee problem. It is important to note that, unlike in 1948 when the residents of the occupied territories were ruled by their fellow Arabs, now the occupying force was Israel, their sworn enemy. In Resolution 242, the United Nations ruled on the right of refugees to return home 'emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace … [and requiring] withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict …'(2017). Israel refused to comply and the Arabs refused to even negotiate with them, as part of their ongoing denial of the state's existence.

The following source and response highlights the significance of the Six-Day War by charting the changing demographic and territorial statistics in Israel-Palestine over the course of the twentieth century.

SOURCES 13.31 A–G The changing nature of Israel-Palestine

GO



The Interactive Textbook contains a gallery of maps and timelines of Israel-Palestine.

Go to the Interactive Textbook and use this to help you answer the following questions.

Responding to the widget

1. Create a table featuring the statistics at the following pause points: 1917, 1947, 1949 and 1967.

	1917	1947	1949	1967
Arab land control				
Jewish land control				

2. Considering the statistics, how significant was the Six-Day War?

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The importance of Jerusalem

In defeating the Jordanians, the Israelis joined the two separate sectors of Jerusalem and, for the first time in two millennia, Jews controlled their holy sites in the city.

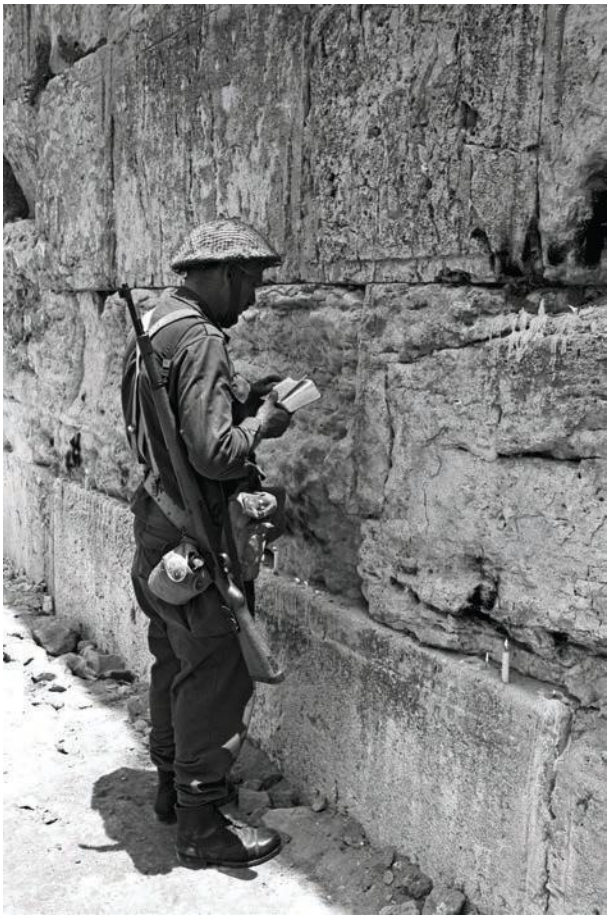
SOURCES 13.32 A&B The significance of Jerusalem

A A historian discusses the Jewish reaction to the capture of Jerusalem

> The capture of Jerusalem elated even the most secular of Jews. The craving for Zion was so deep, so ancient, so ingrained in song, prayer and myth, the exclusion from the Wall so longstanding and so painful, and the aura of holiness so powerful that even the most irreligious Jews ... experienced a sensation of exhilaration ... For religious Jews ... this was a sign, a deliverance, a redemption and the fulfilment of Biblical prophecies and the end of Exile ... the possession of the city was so intoxicating that giving her up became henceforth unbearable and unthinkable.

S.S. Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography*, 2012

B An Israeli soldier in Jerusalem



Jerusalem, 1967. Israeli soldier following the Six-Day War.

Responding to the sources

1. Revisit your understanding of the Jew's ancient connection to Jerusalem. Referring to both sources, discuss how historic events have embedded Jerusalem in Jewish religious identity.
2. Note the last sentence in the Montefiore source. How is it both passionate and ominous?
3. Find out online about Simon Montefiore. Think about how his family background and his academic qualifications might make him a passionate expert on Israel. Does his background mean you should treat him cautiously as a source?

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Recall the opening photograph of this chapter. When Israeli Minister for Defence Moshe Dayan walked through Jerusalem after having conquered the city, he decided that Muslims should retain control of the Noble Sanctuary (Temple Mount) with Jews continuing to only pray at the Western Wall. Some Israeli politicians realised that occupying so much of Palestine was contentious but the joyous mood of the people soon made giving the land back very unpopular.

While Israel's conquering all of Jerusalem meant the end of the Green Line as a political division between Israel and Jordan, that imaginary line on the land remains very important. The line denotes what part of Jerusalem remains the property of the Palestinians, who dream one day of making East Jerusalem the capital of their nation. In contravention of UN Resolution 242, Israel considers Jerusalem its capital but, until December 2017, no country recognised that assertion. Instead, nations established their embassies in Tel Aviv. More broadly, the United Nations has said that its preferred solution to the conflict is a 'Two-State Solution' whereby Israel and a Palestinian state can co-exist. The pre-1967 boundaries and UN Resolution 242 are considered the starting points for that solution.

13.10 How did the balance of power between the Arabs and the Israelis shift in the 1970s and 1980s?

The first three wars waged between the Arabs and the Jews resulted in convincing victories for Israel. With those victories came two waves of land acquisition for the new state. But the following two decades saw the balance of power shift somewhat. Though there are many factors which prompted people to rethink the developments in this part of the world, this section will look particularly at the effects of international terrorism, the Yom Kippur War, Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the First Intifada.

faction a sub-group, usually with slightly different views from the main group

International terrorism

Out of a predominant desire to help dispossessed Palestinians, but also because of ambitions about controlling parts of Palestine for themselves, Arab nations at an Arab League summit in Cairo in 1964 established the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Becoming the unofficial voice of the Palestinian people, the PLO was an umbrella association for **factional** nationalistic groups. By 1969, Fatah had become one such group, with Arafat taking over the PLO's leadership. Arafat ran his operations from Lebanon, after being expelled from Jordan in 1970. The second largest faction of the PLO was the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine led by George Habash. What held these groups together under the leadership of Arafat was their agreement to use armed struggle to pursue their stated aims. From the late 1960s onwards, the range and scale of terrorist attacks increased immensely, with each group seeking to outdo the other. Palestinian terrorists began to hijack planes to achieve publicity for their cause. Birmingham Southern College Professor of History Randall Law (2009) explained that attempts were made initially to spare the lives of the passengers so that they could be freed in exchange for captured Palestinian guerrillas. But later, hostages were killed.

In a dramatic acceleration of force, 11 Israeli athletes and coaches were murdered at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September. The following source shows America's television coverage of the event.



SOURCE 13.33 Jordan, 1969. Leila Khaled, one of two hijackers of an American T.W.A. jetliner in Damascus, smiles after returning to her guerrilla base.
How might the image of Leila Khaled have challenged stereotypes about terrorism? How might this photo have been editorialised in different ways in newspapers in Jordan, Israel and the USA?

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SOURCE 13.34 America's coverage of the event



On 6 September 1972, American ABC News reported on the Munich Massacre. This report (duration 07:37) is available on YouTube at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8307

Responding to the online video

Germany had previously hosted the Olympic Games in 1936. Reacquaint yourself with the historical context of Germany during those years and then research some of the famous imagery from the 1936 Berlin Games. Given this historical backdrop, Munich Games organisers were keen to create an entirely different mood.

1. Why were these deaths of Israelis upon German soil in 1972 doubly repugnant for the German people?
2. Why do the Israelis regard this terror attack as one of the worst ever perpetrated against them?

In some Arab nations, the attack was applauded for boldly taking the fight to an international stage. Indeed, some terrorists were content to shoulder broad condemnation, rationalising that any publicity was good publicity. That view was voiced by Black September terrorist Jamal al-Gashey who professed his pride for what he had done: 'Before Munich the world had no idea about our struggle, but on that day the name of Palestine was repeated all over the world' (1999). Again, the Israelis responded, this time by ruthlessly pursuing the perpetrators around the globe. Increasingly, Israel and the PLO engaged in attack-and-reprisal actions. In the months following the massacre, the number of Palestinian civilian casualties spiked, with some beginning to publicly counter-accuse Israel of terrorism. Law stated that, 'Israel has long-maintained a double-standard when identifying terrorism in its history … two pro-Zionist terrorists, Yitzhak Shamir and Menachem Begin became Israeli prime ministers and … to this day, Israeli towns are full of streets named after members and units of Irgun and LEHI. Stamps and medals have been issued honouring them' (2009).

In 1974, the Arab League recognised the PLO as the 'sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people'. Later that year, in a landmark speech to the UN General Assembly, Arafat defended his actions, accusing Israel of engaging in state-sponsored terrorism.

SOURCE 13.35 Arafat's inaugural address to the United Nations

> Those who call us terrorists wish to prevent world public opinion from discovering the truth about us … The difference between the revolutionary and the terrorist lies in the reason for which each fights. For whoever stands by a just cause and fights for the freedom and liberation of his land from the invaders, the settlers and the colonialists cannot possibly be called terrorist … This is actually a just and proper struggle consecrated by the United Nations Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As to those who fight against the just causes, those who wage war to occupy, colonise and oppress other people, those are the terrorists … I appeal to you to enable our people to establish national independent sovereignty over its own land. Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

Yasser Arafat, address to UN General Assembly, 1974

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Responding to the sources

1. The 'freedom fighter versus terrorist' debate is one that circles around many historical figures. Can you think of other fighters in other wars who have justified their tactics in a similar fashion to that above?
2. In what way does this speech mark a deviation from Arafat's previous position on relations with Israel?
3. What is the implied threat in the last sentence of the source?
4. There has been contemporary debate in America and Australia about which historical figures ought to be commemorated. In 2017 in the US, some monuments honouring Confederate personalities (who fought to uphold slavery in America) were vandalised. Others were removed or covered up following public pressure to do so. In Australia, a monument to James Cook was vandalised by those who assert he ushered in an era of violence against Australian Aboriginals. Do you agree or disagree with Law when he questions whom history ought to commemorate? And do moral judgements about some historical figures' pasts justify removing their monuments from our landscapes? If not, what other actions might be appropriate?

Yom Kippur War

A year after the Munich Games massacre, Egypt and Syria (and to a much-lesser degree Jordan) launched a surprise attack upon Israel on 6 October 1973. Nasser's presidential successor, Anwar Sadat, and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad timed the attack to occur on the Yom Kippur holiday. Yom Kippur is Israel's holiest day of the year and many Israelis spend it praying and fasting. The battle was fought within a Cold War setting where the USA and its allies were facing off against the Soviet Union and its allies. The war began with significant successes for Egypt and modest gains for Syria. While Israel won in the end, there is evidence to suggest that they wouldn't have without the military backing of the USA. An Israeli source stated that 'between October 14 and November 14, 22 000 tonnes of equipment were transported to Israel by air and sea. The airlift alone involved 566 flights' (American-Israeli Cooperative, 2017). Given the initial direction of the war, the Arab allies regarded themselves as having secured a symbolic win and to have somewhat restored their military pride that had been eroded over the past decades. The Israelis, also in acknowledgement of the pivotal part played by the USA, now knew themselves to be vulnerable in a region dominated by Arab nations.



SOURCE 13.36 Damas, 16 October 1973. Israeli prisoners captured by Syrian troops on the Golan front during the Yom Kippur War are presented to the press.
How might early Arab successes have been perceived by the IDF and Israelis in general? How might Israelis have responded to this image, especially given their victory in the Six-Day War?

The Yom Kippur War marked the beginning of the close relationship between Israel and the USA, a relationship that remains very strong to this day.

> Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of US foreign assistance since World War II. Since 1976, Israel has generally been the largest annual recipient of US foreign assistance, with occasional exceptions after 2004 by Iraq and Afghanistan. Since 1985, the United States has

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provided approximately $3 billion in grants annually to Israel. In the past, Israel received significant economic assistance, but now almost all US bilateral aid to Israel is in the form of Foreign Military Financing (FMF) ...

SOURCE 13.37 Statistics on American aid to Israel. J Zanotti, 'Israel: Background and U.S. Relations' in *Congressional Research Service*, 2016

Elsewhere in the above report, Zanotti explains that the two countries share common interests and aspirations in the region and that Israel should therefore be assisted to maintain a military edge over any potential enemies there. In retaliation against America's military intervention in the Yom Kippur War, oil-producing Arab nations decided to exert significant economic pressure. They raised the price of their exported oil by more than half and furthermore undertook to reduce production every month thereafter until their political concerns were taken seriously. *Guardian* journalist Terry Macalister explained that 'the price of petrol rocketed, making all transport more expensive … The Middle Eastern countries had been seen up until 1973 as reliable friends, but the UK and others in the West gave the region far more attention after the embargo …' (2011).



SOURCE 13.38 Americans feel the effect of the oil embargo, Suffolk County, NY, 1979. Americans line up with cans to buy gas at a Mobil station. In 1977 oil prices went up to more than $20 a barrel in response to increased demand and OPEC's policy of limiting supply. This caused long lines at gasoline stations, and for the first time in history gasoline prices exceeded $1 a gallon.

Write an imaginative piece which highlights how your daily routine would be disrupted if petroleum products were suddenly unattainable.



SOURCE 13.39 The response effort after the Sabra and Shatila Massacre, Lebanese refugee camp, 19 September 1982. Men recover the bodies of murdered Palestinian refugees.

The Yom Kippur War was one of the major factors which drove Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to commence peace talks in the late 1970s. Sadat flew to Jerusalem for talks and later he and Begin engaged in peace negotiations which were mediated by US President Jimmy Carter in his country home at Camp David. The peace agreement which followed involved Israel handing back the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. In 1979, the Egyptian and Israeli leaders signed a peace agreement in Washington, ending 30 years of war between the two nations. Two years later, Sadat was shot dead by an Arab fundamentalist.

Israel's invasion of Lebanon

As a consequence of the First Arab-Israeli War, by the 1960s about 400 000 Palestinians were living in Lebanese refugee camps. Arafat and his fighters joined these Palestinians after being forcibly deported from Jordan. In Lebanon the PLO established a 'state within a state' called Fatahland and used it as a base to launch attacks upon Israel. Terrorist attacks such as the Ma'alot Massacre in 1974, which killed 25 Israelis (mostly teenagers), and the Coastal Road Massacre of 1978, which killed 38 more (including 13 children), are cited as giving Israeli authorities the sense that Israel had to act in order to remove the threat from Lebanon.

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In 1982, when Israel invaded Lebanon, the country had already suffered through more than a decade of bloody civil war. The Lebanese Civil War would ultimately claim the lives of more than 200 000 people. The Israelis called their campaign 'Operation Peace for Galilee' as it represented their attempt to crush the PLO, install a pro-Israeli president in Lebanon and sever the country's ties to Syria. When their presidential candidate was assassinated and Arafat had fled to Tunisia, Israel curtailed its invasion of Lebanon but not before up to 3500 people – mostly Palestinian refugees and Shiíte Lebanese – were killed in the Sabra and Shatila Massacre. While it was the Lebanese Christian Phalangist militia who committed the massacres, Israel acknowledges that IDF soldiers facilitated these men's entry into the camp. To what degree the IDF soldiers knew what was planned, or were aware of the massacre as it transpired, is a source of contention. Either way, Israel accepted partial responsibility for the deaths and, in so doing, experienced much international criticism.

Controversial Israeli historian and Palestinian human rights activist Ilan Pappé names Israel's invasion of Lebanon as a light bulb moment for him. In the following source, he discusses his changed allegiances.

> For us who grew up in Israel, [the invasion of Lebanon] was the first non-consensus war, the first war that obviously was a war of choice: Israel was not attacked, Israel attacked. These events were eye-openers in many ways for people like myself who already had some doubts about Zionism, about the historical version we learned at school ... When you are brought up in a certain way and the policies and actions of your own government push the other side to take some violent actions as well ... It is very difficult for Israelis to separate between the violence and ... the reasons for that violence ... not to regard this violence as coming out of the blue ...

SOURCE 13.40 N. Chomsky & I. Pappé, *On Palestine*, 2015

ACTIVITY 13.9

Analyse terrorism

Look back upon the headlines and stories associated with terrorist attacks launched upon Western targets to answer the following questions. You might wish to consider some of these attacks, all of which occurred in 2017: Westminster Bridge attack (22 March); Manchester Arena bombing (22 May); London Bridge attack (3 June); the Barcelona attacks (18 August); and the Lower Manhattan Attack (31 October).

1. To what degree is terrorism a violence that 'comes out of the blue'? Or, put differently, to what degree is each terrorist attack random, unprovoked and/or unrelated to the next?
2. While some politicians might prefer to characterise the perpetrators as 'sick', what deeper common causes are mentioned in the media?
3. Is it useful to analyse terrorism in terms of trends, rather than as individual incidents? If so, why?

First Intifada

A grassroots movement erupted from the Palestinian people in the late 1980s. In 1987, believing that an Israeli checkpoint truck had deliberately swerved and killed four Palestinians, civilians in Gaza and the West Bank began their Intifada, their 'shaking off' protest. Without central political leadership, disillusioned Palestinians spontaneously staged enormous demonstrations, passive resistance and strikes. Then Palestinians – many of them youths – began throwing stones at Israeli soldiers and tanks.

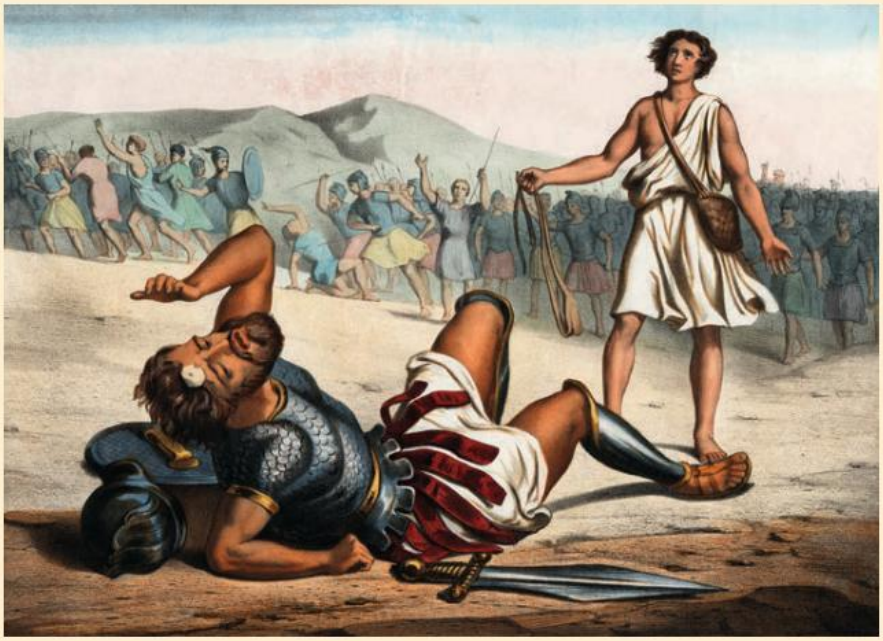
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ACTIVITY 13.10

Make comparisons between the First Intifada and the story of David and Goliath



SOURCE 13.41 West Bank, 1988. Palestinian demonstrators throw stones at Israeli soldiers during a protest in the streets of Beit Omar during the First Intifada.



SOURCE 13.42 A mid-nineteenth century picture shows King David as a youth who faced the Philistine giant of Goliath, armed with little more than stones.

The images emerging out of the First Intifada inspired comparisons with early biblical stories.

1. Research the biblical story of David and Goliath. What moral is taught by the story?
2. What might seem paradoxical when you compare the modern and ancient images here?
3. Might Palestinian demonstrators be encouraged by this ancient story?

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While the figures are contested, it is estimated about 1500 Palestinians were killed over the course of the Intifada, a fifth of these being under the age of 17. Government statistics say about 150 Israelis were killed over the same period. The Intifada generated unprecedented public sympathy for the Palestinian cause. Long-time Middle Eastern correspondent for the *Guardian* David Hirst said, 'the stones that youngsters hurled at Israeli soldiers were more potent than Kalashnikovs' (2004). Violence continued until the end of 1991, when the Madrid Peace Conference commenced its proceedings.

While the 1970s and 1980s did see the Palestinian cause receive international coverage, and some consequential sympathy, other developments were occurring in the background. In 1977, with the election of Menachem Begin as Prime Minister, the right-wing Likud Party came to power for the first time in Israel's history. With that change of political orientation came the increased construction of settlements. While it was initially stated that the land acquired in the Six-Day War would be used for military purposes, the Israeli Government began establishing civilian housing in East Jerusalem. In 1980, under Resolution 476, the United Nations stated that Israel was acting illegally by establishing these settlements because altering 'the character and status of the Holy City of Jerusalem [has] no legal validity and constitute[s] a flagrant violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention'. Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prohibits 'any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations'.

Israeli settlements on the land earmarked for a future Palestinian state create 'facts on the ground'. While then not a new term, this phrasing was said to have been employed by Moshe Dayan shortly after the Six-Day War. University of Leicester Emeritus Professor of International Politics and co-author of *The Palgrave Macmillan Dictionary of Diplomacy* G.R. Berridge defines the term as 'changes in human geography engineered by a state to strengthen a political claim … most likely to occur on territory over which a state does not possess sovereignty, but in which it can exert influence'. Facts on the ground in the Palestinian Territories are made possible by a broad series of Israeli policy initiatives and literally refer not merely to residential housing but also to roads, bridges and tunnels. Some of Israel's governmental and judicial offices have also been built within East Jerusalem. As the Berridge definition foreshadows, establishing Israeli housing in East Jerusalem also increases the ratio of Jewish residents living there. Critics claim having large expensive infrastructure and a significant Jewish population in place makes any potential future removal deliberately difficult (if not impossible) and, as intended, stamps Israeli authority over the land. Israel objects to the land being considered 'occupied' preferring to use the term 'disputed'. Furthermore, they counter suggestions that its settlements are illegal by pointing out that the Arabs aren't the sovereign owners of the land anyway: the Palestinians remain legally stateless.

13.11 What went wrong with the peace agreement struck in 1993?

Arafat's speech to the United Nations marked a turning point in his approach to achieving a Palestinian state. Primarily looking to diplomacy to address the protracted conflict, Arafat declared his renunciation of terrorism in 1988. Commentators note that Arafat's legitimacy as a diplomat and statesman was somewhat undermined by his use of terrorism; some allege that he continued to use violence even after having declared his abandonment of it. In another turning point, where the Arab policy had largely been to deny the right of Israel to exist, Arafat and the PLO began to acknowledge that the state of Israel would remain; that any peaceful future would have to recognise the other party's right to statehood. A Two-State Solution, where separate Jewish and Palestinian states would exist side-by-side and where the 'refugee question' was dealt with fairly, continued to be the pathway endorsed by the United Nations.

In August of 1990, Iraq's dictatorial President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, the small nation to his south. In what is called the First Gulf War, US forces (aided by a coalition of other willing nations) quickly responded to Kuwait's plight with the largest deployment of troops since World War II.

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America's response both pleased and confused the Arab world: they thought it good to see the US defend the borders of an Arab nation, but Palestinians wondered why that response hadn't applied equally well when Israel invaded their land in 1967. Arafat publicly supported Hussein's annexation of Kuwait because, to him, it represented the decisive action of a strong Arab nation. It was a flawed move for the PLO leader, however. In aligning himself with a brutal tyrant, who would ultimately be defeated, he lost some of the international sympathy gained for the Palestinian cause and undermined his own credibility among Arabs.

Later in 1990, the USA tried to build on the success of this involvement in the Middle East by tackling the thorny issue of Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Commencing on 30 October and lasting for three days, the Madrid Peace Conference was an attempt to begin dealing with the conflict. Palestine sent its representatives as part of a Jordanian delegation and talks among the various parties continued beyond the conference. The Madrid conference was significant because it was the first time that Palestinians and Israelis had officially met face-to-face to discuss peace.

Other channels of negotiation between the parties began in secret in 1993. Rather than merely aiming at the cessation of conflict, the Oslo Accords, which were the end result of these secret negotiations, tacitly set out to create a sense of justice for both parties by pursuing the Palestinians' long-held goal of autonomous independent statehood. This was to be achieved over a five-year transitional period where Palestine would exercise limited self-government of some parts of the West Bank and Gaza, while Israel was to incrementally withdraw. It was hoped that, by progressing in stages, trust would be built between the parties so that the more difficult final-status issues of Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements and borders could be discussed later.

By September 1993, Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin were communicating via letters. Arafat told Rabin that the PLO had 'renounced armed resistance, vowed to amend the Palestine National Charter to remove its call for the destruction of Israel and pledged to uphold UN Security Council Resolution 242' (2013). In return, Rabin recognised the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This process paused with the famous White House lawn handshake between Rabin and Arafat, watched on by the visibly pleased US President Bill Clinton. In the year after, Arafat, Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres had their efforts to bring peace to the Middle East recognised by being jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In expectation of further peace discussions, the Palestinian National Authority (with Arafat as its leader) was established as the interim self-governing body.



SOURCE 13.43 The media crowd in to cover the momentous Israeli-PLO Peace Accord, Washington DC, 1993. After the photo opportunity on the White House lawn, Palestinian National Authority President Yasser Arafat puts his hand on the back of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as they walk beside King Hussein of Jordan.

Search the web for the official handshake photos and then compare them to this candid image. Which photograph gives you the greatest confidence that the participants that day were acting sincerely? In your explanation, comment upon the varying reliability associated with our public and personal personas.

There are multiple and complex reasons why the peace process is considered to have failed. The peace process did not result in trust being built between the sides. From the outset, both the Palestinians and the Israelis breached the agreement. Palestinian terror continued, as did Israeli settlement building. The Palestinians did not feel the fruits of peace – their economy did not improve and the Israeli army was still present in their streets and at

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checkpoints. It is said that expectations on both sides of the conflict were unrealistic. Negotiations failed continually over core issues. The leaders involved displayed inflexibility.

In 1995, Rabin was shot dead by a Jewish extremist. King Hussein of Jordan died in 1999, Clinton's presidential term concluded in 2001 and Arafat died in 2004.

13.12 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you have looked at what happened to Israel in the wake of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. You have seen how the British came to relinquish control of their mandate, and you have analysed and evaluated sources to form arguments relating to the influence of the Holocaust, and the effects of Israel's declaration of national independence. You have also considered issues and concepts relating to the Six-Day War and the balance of power between the Arabs and the Israelis in the 1970s. Your study of ongoing conflict and of some promising peace initiatives has ended at a point where peace in the Israel and Palestinian Territories still remained elusive.

ACTIVITY 13.11

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: Did the creation of Israel intensify conflict in the Middle East?

Create an annotated timeline. Name the key events relating to Israel from 1948 to 1993. For each, write a brief note about the event's significance to the overall depth study question, and allocate a score of 1–5 to indicate the relative importance of that event.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Can justice and peace be achieved for the people of Israel and the Palestinian Territories?

Despite the progress made in the 1990s, Israel and the Palestinian Territories, and the Middle East broadly, have continued to experience conflict. The events of the new millennia were a particularly disappointing situation of violence begetting more violence.

13.13 Regional ramifications

This conflict has been simmering for so long that it has had significant regional ramifications. In addition to his much-enunciated hatred of the West, on the 60th anniversary of Israel's statehood, Bin Laden cited this conflict as his inspiration for the 9/11 attacks saying, 'I confirm here that the Palestinian issue is the first basic issue of my Ummah [community]. Thus, it was an important factor which motivated me since my childhood as well as the (19) freemen [911 terrorists] and created in us a great feeling to defend the oppressed and to punish the Jew aggressors and their supporters …' (2008). Subsequent to 9/11, George W. Bush controversially launched a war on terrorism, fighting perpetrators in Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Red Sea, further destabilising the region. It is also instructive to remember that a number of UN member states still do not exercise normal diplomatic relations with Israel, this number including all the nations of the Arabian Peninsula (excluding Jordan), much of northern Africa (notably excluding Egypt) as well as Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Syria. Jerusalem resident and Middle East analyst Jonathan Spyer explains that, '[the Israeli-Palestinian] conflict has an enormous symbolic significance for populations in the broader Arab and Muslim world and beyond, who have no tangible and practical involvement with it' (2017).

SOURCE 13.44 The West Bank, Palestine, graffiti with pro-Palestinian messages



Responding to the photograph:

1. What famous French painting does this graffiti reference, and why might that be appropriate?
2. Note the panel apparently painted by someone from Wheaton College. Look at the online presence of the two prominent Wheaton Colleges in the USA. From which college, given its history, values and goals, was the artist likely to have come? Justify your decision with evidence.
3. The graffiti shown here expresses revolutionary fervour and determination. Study some of the numerous examples of West Bank wall graffiti online, and compile a folio including at least one of each expressing hope, anger, love, suffering, hatred, solidarity and humour.
4. Could the wall art be important for the Palestinians living nearby? Explain your response.

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13.14 Domestic politics

At a domestic level in Israel, the Likud Party has been accused of further exacerbating the tensions between the opposing sides. Since winning the 1977 elections, Likud has remained in office for all except about 12 years. While a Likud prime minister is not bound by the ideologies of his party, it is interesting to note that the right-wing political association supports settlements in East Jerusalem, the Separation Barrier, and Jerusalem as the Israeli capital. Significantly, Likud party members have voiced opposition to Palestinian statehood. It was Likud presidential candidate Ariel Sharon's 2000 visit to the Temple Mount which sparked the more militant and deadly Second Intifada. In a staged move that critics say was about flaunting Israeli power, Sharon visited the holy precinct in the company of hundreds of riot police. Another Likud initiative was the construction of the Separation Barrier. In its simplest embodiment, the six-metre-high wall successfully protects Israelis from Palestinian attacks; however, it also segregates Muslims from their Jewish neighbours, earning itself the name 'the Apartheid Wall' by the Palestinians. Furthermore, while the barrier ostensibly follows the path of the Green Line, in truth, the wall actually deviates into East Jerusalem, roughly incorporating an additional 10% of UN-sanctioned Palestinian land. Since its construction, numerous Palestinian activists, artists and supporters have covered much of the Palestinian side with graffiti.

13.15 President Trump and Israel

In 2016, celebrity businessman, billionaire and the 45th President of the United States Donald Trump joined the ranks of his predecessors claiming he would be the one to broker peace in the Middle East. In the days shortly after his election he said 'that's the ultimate deal. As a deal maker, I'd like to do … the deal that can't be made' (2016). He went so far as to suggest that the long-standing dispute is 'frankly, maybe, not as difficult as people have thought over the years' (2017).

Then in 2017, in a move that seemed contrary to his purpose, Trump became the first international leader to recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Trump said Jerusalem as the capital was just a 'recognition of reality'. Palestinians responded with an announcement that they would carry out three days of protest across the West Bank. The Israeli military decided to increase forces, mainly at prominent friction spots where soldiers come into contact with Palestinians. Trump's announcement was a surprise and contradicted international consensus. Previously the US position on the status of Jerusalem was that it must be negotiated between the two sides. While Israel considers Jerusalem its capital, countries have avoided recognising it as such to avoid quashing hopes for a two-state solution. The Palestinians see the eastern sector of the city as the capital of their future state.

SOURCES 13.45 A&B Two responses to the announcement

A Jerusalem-born Palestinian National Initiative Secretary General Dr Mustafa Barghouti

> It's like anybody who would say I support the German occupation of Poland because it is a reality … Or I support the British control of the United States at one point of time, because it is a reality … He says don't ever talk about Jerusalem, this is not going to be negotiated … There is no negotiation about refugees or about borders. What is there left to negotiate about?

Dr Mustafa Barghouti, interviewed by Fran Kelly, *RN Breakfast*, 7 December 2017

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B Likud Member of Parliament Sharren Haskell

> Haskell: I believe the United States have a lot of leverage over the Palestinians. Don't forget that a lot of their funds is based on American contribution ...
>
> Cannane: Other countries you want to have onside ... they're all saying this is a bad move.
>
> Haskell: So throughout Israel's history a lot of the time the international community came to Israel and said, look, this is a bad move, this is dangerous. Even in the foundation of Israel, there were threats of war that is going to erupt. If we would have listened to every kind of threat like that, Israel wouldn't have existed ...

Sharren Haskell, interviewed by Steve Cannane, *The World Today*, 11 December 2017

Responding to the sources

1. Do you think Barghouti makes a compelling argument by his references to particular historical events?
2. What reasons does Haskell give for thinking that the peace process will continue? To what degree are these reasons based upon dealing with the Palestinians justly?
3. How has Israel's unique history shaped its international relations philosophy? Is that philosophy likely to be a help or a hindrance to future peace processes?

Just days before Christmas 2017, the UN General Assembly voted on a non-binding resolution which 'affirms any decisions which purport to have altered the status of the Holy City are null and void and must be rescinded'. The result was resounding, with 128 nations voting 'yes' to the resolution, thereby rejecting Trump's recognition of Jerusalem. Nine nations voted no and a further 35 abstained from voting at all (Australia being among that number). Israel labelled the UN a 'house of lies'. The sources below show how the Turkish and US representatives responded.

SOURCES 13.46 A&B Comments before and after the vote, 2017

A Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu comments before the vote

> We were all asked to vote no [to condemning Trump's announcement] or face the consequences ... Some even threatened to cut development aid. This is bullying. It is unethical to think that the votes and dignity of member states are for sale.

B US Ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley comments after the vote

> We have an obligation to demand more for our [UN] investment. And if our investment fails, we have an obligation to spend our resources in more productive ways.

Responding to the sources

1. How valid does it seem for Turkey to allege being bullied?
2. What does the US seem to believe it is owed in return for its generous UN contributions and are these expectations reasonable?

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ACTIVITY 13.12

Consider some big questions about current events

1. Israel has long continued to question whether enacting some UN resolutions is necessary and, in 2017, the Trump Administration questioned its continued funding of the UN given the rejection of its Jerusalem recognition. Is it appropriate for some nations to not comply with internationally derived decisions? Is it appropriate for some nations to apply pressure upon other nations in order to secure their own preferred outcome? In the history of this conflict, reflect upon whether these sorts of strongarm tactics by powerful nations have thus far produced positive outcomes.
2. Reflecting upon Australia's decision to abstain from voting for or against the December 2017 resolution, is it likely that Australia might be subject to pressure from powerful nations? Research how closely Australia's policies on (i) Israel and (ii) China align with those of America. Does such alignment necessarily mean that Australia has been 'pressured'?
3. Reflecting upon your own values, do these latest developments suggest that the United Nations has outlived its usefulness and become a 'toothless tiger' or is such an institution needed now more than ever?

13.16 BDS campaign

There are those who believe that Israel alone can't be trusted to advance the goal of a just peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Such people use the South African example to illustrate that Apartheid did not end on account of internal reform but because of pressure from Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and the international community. With that understanding, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement emerged in 2005, presenting itself as pursuing a peaceful way forward for Palestinian activism. However, Israel does not agree with this portrayal, with many stating that the BDS movement hinders peace.

In 2017, invoking a cultural boycott, New Zealand popstar Lorde cancelled her concert in Israel. By contrast, acclaimed Australian singer-songwriter Nick Cave denounced the movement's call for boycotting.

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ACTIVITY 13.13

Consider the role of individuals in national and international decision-making



SOURCE 13.47 Lorde announces the cancellation of her concert, 20 December 2017

> In a certain way, the BDS movement is responsible for my coming to Israel ... I didn't want to sign that petition [calling for boycotting performances in Israel]. I didn't connect to it, I don't like lists ... [Not having appeared in Israel for 20 years] ... made me feel like a coward, so as soon as I planned this tour, it was important for me to come out against this silencing of artists. I like Israel and Israelis and it was important for me to do something.

SOURCE 13.48 Cave comments upon his choice to perform in Tel Aviv (in November 2017)

1. What messages, if any, do you think Lorde's boycott conveyed to the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the world community, respectively?
2. What messages, if any, do you think Cave's decision to tour Israel conveyed to the BDS movement, the artistic community, Palestinians, Israelis, and the world community, respectively?
3. For each performer, comment upon whether you believe that individuals, working on their own or together, can play a meaningful role in national and international decision-making.

There are some who claim that the conflict in the Middle East is beyond a solution. Others believe that a solution will be found, whether through the efforts of world leaders, the strength of international sentiment or the efforts of individuals, groups and communities directly involved in the conflict. Any path to a peaceful and just solution will depend on people having a deep understanding of the historical origins and current trajectories of the conflict. The aim of this chapter has been to promote that deep understanding.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Israel and the Palestinian Territories

- Jewish ancestry and identity originate with the Israelites who were a Semitic tribe from ancient Canaan.
- Where Jews trace their religion from Abraham's son Isaac, Muslims acknowledge his first son, Ishmael, as an important prophet and patriarch of their religion.
- In 1878, Palestine's population was 87% Muslim, 10% Christian and 3% Jewish.
- During World War I, the British made three contradictory promises: the McMahon Pledge, the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour statement.
- Neither the Jews nor the Arabs achieved autonomous nationality during the inter-war period. In 1922 the League of Nations confirmed Britain's responsibility for the area by creating the British Mandate of Palestine.

Depth study: Did the creation of Israel intensify the conflict in the Middle East?

- In August of 1929, violence erupted over access to the Western Wall.
- The Holocaust impacted on the Jewish efforts to secure a homeland.
- In 1947, Britain decided to end its mandate of the area.
- The UN voted to divide Palestine into three parts: an Arab State, a Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem.
- Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, declared national independence.
- The next day, Arab League nations launched an attack upon the new state. Israel defeated them; many Palestinian Arabs fled their homes, becoming refugees.
- Under the Partition Plan, the West Bank was controlled by Jordan and the Gaza Strip by Egypt.
- In the 1950s, those who fled from Palestine in 1948 became nationalistic militants called *fedayeen*.
- In 1956, President Nasser seized control of the Suez Canal from the British. Israel invaded the Sinai desert and British and French troops were deployed.
- On 19 May 1967, Nasser expelled the UN troops from the Suez, moved his own soldiers to the Israeli border, and blocked Israeli shipping.
- In the Six-Day War (5–10 June 1967) Israel took over the Gaza Strip, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and assumed control of the Golan Heights.
- Arab nations formed the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964.
- Eleven Israeli athletes and coaches were killed at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September. Israel pursued the perpetrators around the globe.
- In October 1973, Egypt, Syria and Jordan attacked Israel, but Israel won, with the help of America.
- In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon.
- The First Intifada was a grassroots movement from the Palestinian people.
- The 1990 Madrid Peace Conference was the first time that Palestinians and Israelis had officially met face-to-face to discuss peace.

Concluding study: Can justice and peace be achieved for the people of Israel and the Palestinian Territories?

- Despite the progress made in the 1990s, Israel-Palestine, and the Middle East broadly, has arguably seen more conflict in the last two decades than at any other time during the past 120 years.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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UNIT 4
International experiences in the Modern World

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 4, students form their own knowledge and understanding about international experiences that have emerged in the Modern World. The international experiences examined may include responses to cultural, economic, ideological, political, religious, military or other challenges that have gone beyond national borders. They consist of situations where, for example, two or more nations or regional groups: come into conflict with each other (directly or via proxies); form a common union, treaty or commerce-based arrangement; engage with a subnational or transnational organisation; experience the effects of a global or regional trend. Students apply historical concepts and historical skills to explore the nature, origins, development, legacies and contemporary significance of these international experiences within selected historical contexts.
(Modern History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority.)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

Students will:

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues linked to international experiences in the Modern World
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research associated with international experiences in the Modern World
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about international experiences in the Modern World
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument associated with international experiences in the Modern World
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgments about international experiences in the Modern World
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose about international experiences in the Modern World.

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CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

Chapter 14 Australian engagement with Asia since 1945

- Contextual study: Vietnam War, memory, myth and history
- Depth study: Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?
- Concluding study: The legacy of the Vietnam War

Chapter 15 Cold War, 1945–1991

- Contextual study: Nuclear weapons and the Cold War
- Depth study: How was nuclear war avoided in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962?
- Concluding study: After Cuba

Chapter 16 Terrorism, anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism since 1984

- Contextual study: Defining and describing terrorism
- Depth study: What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?
- Concluding study: Reflecting on terrorism

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CHAPTER 14
Australian engagement with Asia since 1945
Focus: Australia and the Vietnam War



SOURCE 14.1 Disruption at a Welcome Home parade for Australian soldiers who served in Vietnam

It's a grand Welcome Home parade, Sydney, 8 June 1966. Members of the 1st Battalion, Royal Australian Regiment (1RAR), the first to fight in the Vietnam War, have just returned after completing a 12-month tour of duty: 23 killed and 130 wounded. They are greeted by an exuberant Sydney crowd of between 300 000 and 500 000 people. Onlookers cheer, clap, whistle and jostle for the best view. Telephone books torn into confetti shower down upon the marching soldiers, young girls throw streamers and an elderly woman kisses soldiers in the ranks. The Governor General, Lord Casey, on the steps of the Sydney Town Hall, takes the salute from Lieutenant Colonel Preece, the commanding officer of the 1RAR. At the same time, a young woman, Nadine Jensen, a 21-year-old secretary from Campbelltown, suddenly breaks from the crowd, rushes up and embraces Preece. She is covered in red paint and smears the front of his uniform. Preece is unfazed and, without breaking step, marches on. Nadine then takes her position in the centre of the road in front of the oncoming soldiers, but they too march on. In their wake they leave a swirl of surprise, indignation, pride and anger.

Julie Hennessey and Brian Hoepper

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Vietnam War, memory, myth and history

The famous photograph in Source 14.1 of an extraordinary event captures one of the key elements of the history of Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. The story continues below.

The story continues ...

Following her protest, Nadine Jensen is arrested. Two days later she tells a magistrate that she doesn't belong to a peace organisation or political party but rather is personally opposed to the war. She states that her lone action was 'directed against Australian complacency and apathy about Vietnam'. The magistrate reprimands her for not showing her feelings 'in a proper way', especially when aimed at gallant men returning from overseas. He queries whether a psychiatric examination is in order before imposing a small fine of $6.00 and a good behaviour bond for one year.

SOURCE 14.2 Nadine Jensen is restrained by a police officer, 8 June 1966



Responding to the photographs and the story

1. The first photograph of Nadine Jensen's anti-Vietnam protest by Noel Stubbs (Source 14.1) won the prestigious Walkley Award for the best picture in 1966. Walkley Awards recognise and reward excellence in journalism and cover all media. Finalists are chosen by an independent board of eminent journalists and photographers. Why might this picture have been chosen as the best picture of the year? Consider its composition, content and possible commentary about an issue of national importance.
2. Compose two contrasting headlines to accompany this photo, reflecting different editorial positions on the controversial Vietnam War.
3. What do you think the returning soldiers would have thought and felt about the photo receiving the award?
4. How does this photo and the accompanying story position you in terms of how you feel about the Vietnam War, the Australian soldiers who participated, and protester Nadine Jensen who demonstrated against it? Explain your responses.
5. Should such political protest actions be accepted as an essential right in a democratic society? What limits, if any, should be placed on that right?

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14.1 The significance of the photograph and the story

Military historian Jeffrey Grey, author of a chapter in *Zombie Myths of Australian Military History: The 10 Myths That Will Not Die*, posits that 'if truth is the first casualty of war, then accurate understanding of past events … is a close second' (2010:190). Noel Stubbs' iconic photograph of Nadine Jensen's anti-Vietnam protest is an example of how powerful images can skew or distort the memory of actual events. The majority of Australians supported the Vietnam War in its early years. Despite this, when recollections of the first Welcome Home parade (the first of many) are shared, what remains in the memory, especially of many veterans, is the act of a lone woman protester. As Australian writer, director and producer Michael Caulfield explains, 'every Vietnam veteran I have talked with remembers the woman and the red, the perceived insult to their uniform, to their service. But not one of them spoke of the half a million people, or the enthusiasm of the reception. One single action, one potent photograph has become the accepted truth' (2007:360).

Now compare Stubbs' photograph with this aerial view of the June 1966 Welcome Home march.

SOURCE 14.3 Welcome Home parade, Sydney, 8 June 1966



The Australian, 9 June 1966

Responding to the photograph of the 1966 Welcome Home parade

1. What different perspective does this photograph provide?
2. Does the photograph support this hypothesis: The 1966 Welcome Home march was an affirmation that Australians supported and commended the service of Australian soldiers in Vietnam. Draw on specific elements in the photo to support your answer.
3. What other historical evidence would you need to collect to support this hypothesis?
4. What different reasons could have brought so many people to this location? Might some of those reasons have been conflicting? Could this make the photo both rich and limited as evidence of popular attitudes to the war?
5. According to Michael Caulfield, 'which memory, which version you believe in, depends on who you were and what you saw' (2007). How can Caulfield's statement be applied to the 1966 Welcome Home march?
6. How are historians challenged if people's memories of an event are influenced by such factors as where they were positioned, what they saw and failed to see, the beliefs and attitudes they'd brought to the event, the reactions of people around them?

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Caulfield's assertion can be linked to how history is constructed. Any interpretation of a historical event or development depends on the perspective, expertise and/or belief system of the historian and on the range and quality of the historical sources studied. This can also describe your own historical inquiry in modern history. It will depend on the quality of the sources you use, but will also depend on your own inquiry skills and, often, your own attitude to topics being studied.

According to academic Mark Dapin, 'one of the most enduring myths about Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War holds that the returned men didn't receive a homecoming parade until 1987; another is that their welcome home marches were regularly disrupted by protesters' (2014:174). Some returning soldiers experienced outright hostility or cool indifference, and some of those who fought in the later years of the war felt especially disillusioned, being required to fight in a war that seemed to have lost the support of the government and people. However, despite popular belief, many veterans were welcomed home or had the opportunity to be welcomed home. Of the 16 battalions that served one-year tours, 15 received welcome-home marches. Mark Dapin maintains that 'the welcome was, in the main, riotously enthusiastic' (2014) and military historian Professor Peter Edwards states that 'the last [was] as welcoming as the first' (2014:278).

- What research might Dapin and Edwards have done to find that the parades were 'in the main, riotously enthusiastic' and that 'the last was as welcoming as the first'?

The two photographs suggest that military engagement was a feature of Australia's involvement in Asia after 1945. From 1950 until 1972, which is when Australia withdrew from the Vietnam War, the nation's engagement with Asia was characterised by ongoing involvement in Asian wars – the Korean War (1950–53), the Malayan Emergency (1950–60), the Indonesian Confrontation (1963–66) and the Vietnam War (1962–72). To understand why this was the case, read the following brief history of Australia's engagement with Asia. In this history you will look at Australia's perceptions of Asia and how these were affected by events such as World War II and the Cold War. This will form the basis of a closer study of Australia and the Vietnam War.

14.2 A history of Australia's engagement with Asia 1901 to 1970s

The term 'Asia' is a European concept unknown to the indigenous people and cultures of the region until modern times. It is misleading because it ignores the great diversity of the continent – politically, economically, geographically, ethnically, culturally and linguistically. 'Engagement with Asia' is often shorthand for engagement with a particular Asian country.

What was Australia's early relationship with Asia?

When Australia became a nation in 1901, it had few significant links with Asia, other than trade with some of the many European colonies in the region. But people from Asia had played important roles in Australia, most notably the thousands of Chinese who flocked to the goldfields in the mid-1800s and the many Afghan camel drivers who played a vital role in some outback areas. Prejudice against those immigrating from Asia was common, sometimes turning to violence, as in the goldfield riots at Buckland River (Victoria) in 1857 and Lambing Flat (New South Wales) in 1861. Newspapers were openly racist, with cartoons depicting the Chinese as vicious, immoral, disease-carrying aliens, and a threat to Australia's racial 'quality'. So taken-for-granted were the racist beliefs that, in 1901, Australia's first Prime Minister, Edmund Barton, confidently asserted – during the parliamentary debates on Australia's immigration policy – that 'the doctrine of the equality of man was never intended to apply to the equality of the Englishman and the Chinaman'.

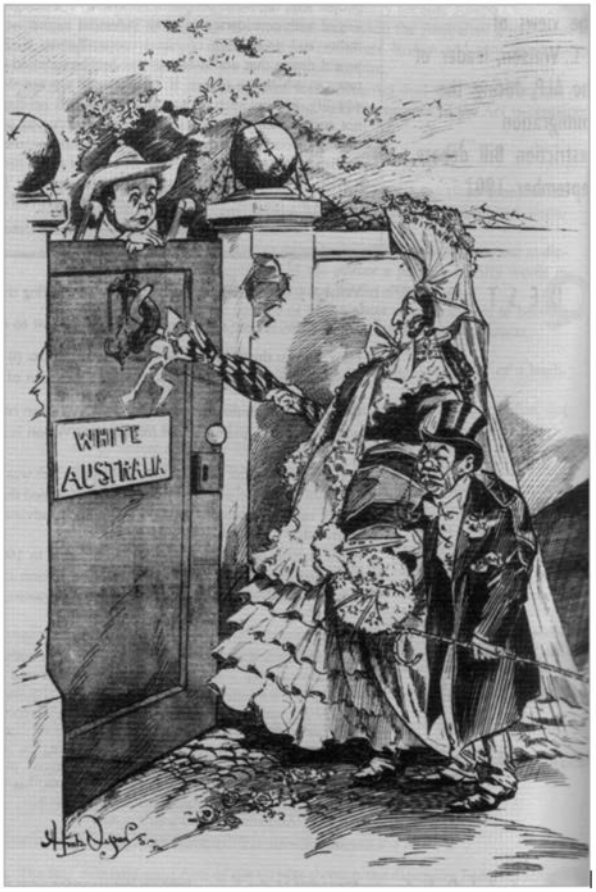
In the first half of the twentieth century, three national policies framed the relationship between Australia and Asian countries: the so-called 'White Australia' policy (designed to restrict non-European immigration

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to Australia), economic protectionism (tariffs which shielded manufacturing and agricultural sectors and their workers against foreign competition) and a foreign policy which relied on Britain for security. Author and academic David Goldsworthy notes that all three policies 'entailed a largely exclusionary attitude toward Asia' and that Asia was seen largely as 'a potential source of problems' (2001: 5, 6). These problems included non-white immigration, especially from China, economic competition and military threats, especially from Japan.

In 1901, Japan was the only modern independent state in Asia. Since dramatic upheaval and rapid reform after 1867, Japan had become a major naval and economic power and was 'observed with both wonder and trepidation in Australia' (Dutton, 2001:22). The 1902 Anglo-Japanese alliance, in which Britain and Japan agreed to assist one another by safeguarding their interests in China and Korea, had clear implications for Australia. This is how *The Bulletin* cartoonist Ambrose Dyson saw it.

SOURCE 14.4 The Motherland's Misalliance



Cartoon by Ambrose Dyson in *The Bulletin*, 1 March 1902

Britannica: Now my good little son. I've married again. This is your new father. You must be very fond of him.

Responding to the cartoon

1. Identify each figure in the cartoon.
2. Describe how each figure is depicted and explain why each might be pictured like this (note in particular Japan's attire).
3. What is symbolised by the gate and the barbed wire?
4. How do specific elements of the cartoon make a statement about the relationship between:
   a. Australia and Britain
   b. Australia and Japan
   c. Britain and Japan?
5. Explain what is meant by the caption *The Motherland's Misalliance*. What different caption could a British cartoonist have given to the same cartoon?
6. *The Bulletin*, the publication in which this cartoon featured, had a masthead slogan 'Australia for the White Man'. Does this cartoon reflect the magazine's masthead? Explain your response.

Early in the twentieth century there were relatively few opportunities and incentives to engage with many areas of Asia. However, two world wars, the Great Depression, decolonisation, communist revolution and the Cold War fundamentally changed this situation.

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What was the impact of World War II?

Australia's attitudes towards Asia were particularly affected by World War II. For many Australians, fears of the **'yellow peril'** became a reality in the first half of 1942 with the Japanese bombing of Darwin (19 February) and Japanese midget submarines attacking vessels in Sydney Harbour (1 June). These two posters (Sources 14.5 A&B) were produced at the time.

yellow peril a phrase that originated with the nineteenth century when the gold rush in the United States led to the immigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers. Historically, 'yellow' was a derogatory reference to the purported skin colour of people from East Asia. 'Peril' refers to the perceived threat that Western culture would be overpowered by a potential expansion of Asian populations.

SOURCES 14.5 A&B

A Poster 1: Ringed with menace!



B Poster 2: He's coming south



Australian propaganda posters, 1942. In 1941, Australian Prime Minister John Curtin said there was a need to awaken 'the somewhat **lackadaisical** Australian mind' and to 'place the nation on a war footing'. Note for Poster 1: A Beaufort was a World War II bomber plane built in Australia.

lackadaisical lacking interest and determination

Responding to the posters

1. Explain, with reference to specific details, how these posters reflect Curtin's intentions to awaken 'the somewhat lackadaisical Australian mind' or alternatively – as indicated above. Which one seems more effective? Explain your choice.

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Historians disagree about whether Australia faced a real threat of Japanese invasion in World War II, but agree that the war alerted Australians to the challenges and opportunities – security, trade, immigration – of the nation's location in the Asian region. As the Right Reverend E.H. Burgmann, the Anglican Bishop of Goulburn, said in 1947, 'we have to remind ourselves that geographically we are Oriental, we are not European. We are an island just off the south-east coast of Asia, and are part of the Oriental world … We are there geographically and there we will stay. We are not bound up with the fate of Europe, but with the fate of Asia'.

The Chifley government (1945–49) had demonstrated this new thinking two years earlier when it supported the bans placed by the Waterside Workers' Federation on Dutch shipping in Australian ports in late 1945. The bans were in support of the Indonesians' struggle for independence from their Dutch colonial masters – independence finally recognised by the Dutch in 1949. That year, Australian Prime Minister Chifley acknowledged that '80 million Indonesians could not continue to be governed by 10 million Europeans whose sole interest in Indonesia was to extract from the country as much wealth as they could and give in return as little as possible'.

Why did the Cold War change the focus to Asia?

During the 1950s and 1960s Australia's relationship with Asia was dominated by Cold War imperatives. The Cold War developed after World War II between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. While it had many features of a war, it stopped short of a 'hot war' between the two superpowers (a hot war involves actual military conflict between the two sides). The Cold War was waged on ideological, political, economic and propaganda fronts rather than physical fronts on the battlefield. Alliances were formed, an arms race developed and both sides sought diplomatic, economic and military advantages in various regions. Australia was firmly in the US camp. While the Cold War was depicted as the democratic/capitalist West against the authoritarian/communist East, the US and its allies sometimes supported political dictators and repressive regimes, provided they opposed communism. Similarly, the often-brutal authoritarian states of the Communist Bloc were a far cry from the classless utopia **Karl Marx** has envisaged. These inconsistencies on both sides did not prevent scare campaigns based on crude caricatures of both capitalism and communism. Communism is a political and economic belief system that advocates, among other things, the end of private property, the sharing of wealth equally among the people and revolution to achieve its ends. Such ideas were seen to be a threat to the USA's (and Australia's) way of life.

Russia, later known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) or Soviet Union, was the first country to become communist in 1917. The post-World War II period (1945–49) saw the countries of Eastern Europe – East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania – come under communist governments behind the **Iron Curtain**. In Asia, China became communist in 1949 after a long **civil war**. The following year, communist North Korea invaded anti-communist South Korea, sparking a three-year war that pitted a United Nations force – including troops from the USA, Australia and Britain – against North Korea, backed by China and the USSR. When an **armistice** ended the fighting in July 1953, Korea remained divided, with the communist North Korea proving a destabilising influence for decades after. From a Western perspective, it appeared that communists were seeking world domination. This prompted the emergence of a new theory – the domino theory.

The following diagram illustrates the domino theory.

Karl Marx German philosopher and political theorist (1818–1883) who is known as the Father of Communism. His best-known works are *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867).

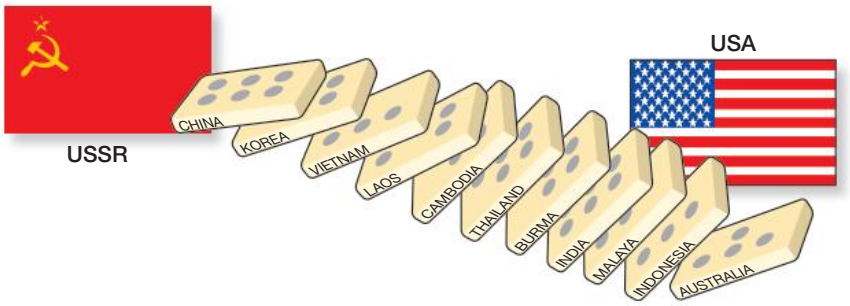
Iron Curtain term used in the West to refer to the boundary line that divided Europe during the Cold War into two separate areas of political influence – Eastern Communist Bloc and its Western capitalist counterpart

civil war a war fought between the citizens of the same country

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

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SOURCE 14.6 The domino theory



A depiction of the domino theory

Responding to the depiction of the domino theory

1. With reference to the diagram, explain the domino theory.
2. Why would Australia be particularly worried about the domino theory?
3. How could Western nations such as Australia and the United States try to prevent the dominoes falling and communism spreading?

The domino theory stated that if one nation fell to communism, the neighbouring nations would follow in a chain reaction. Fear of communism, and particularly of the People's Republic of China, meant that Australia became concerned about defence and security issues in Asia, as seen in the following cartoons.

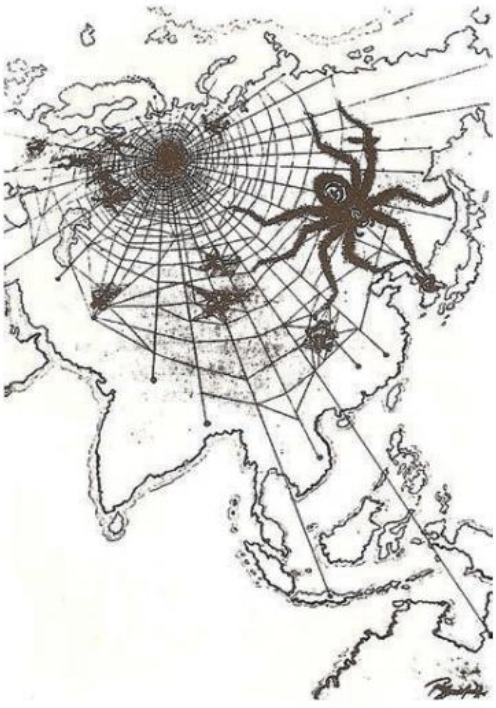
SOURCES 14.7 A–C 1950s cartoons depicting 'threat'

A Nearer, clearer, deadlier



Norman Lindsay, *The Bulletin*, 1950

B The spreading web



The Bulletin, July 1950

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C The red river



Scorfield, *The Bulletin*, 1954

Responding to the political cartoons

1. In two of the cartoons, what symbol clearly identifies the threat as communist?
2. How does the other cartoon signal the communist nature of the threat?
3. Which cartoon most clearly reflects the domino theory? How does it do this?
4. At the time, which of the three cartoons do you think would have alarmed or frightened Australian readers most? Explain your choice.
5. All three of the cartoons are unrealistic in what they actually show. How would you explain why they could produce real fear of a 'real' threat?
6. Do you think such cartoons could be effective in today's digital age?

The concern about threats from Asia propelled Australia into the defensive regional alliances of ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty) in 1951 and SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) in 1954. While security concerns and military conflicts in Korea, Malaya, Indonesia and Vietnam dominated Australia's relations with Asia from 1950 to 1972, genuine efforts were made to establish positive and constructive relations with Asian nations during this time. A centrepiece of those genuine efforts was the Colombo Plan of 1951. This provided Asian countries with Australian assistance – expertise, food, equipment and the education of Asian students in Australia. At the same time, Australia forged trade ties in Asia, particularly Japan. The Australia-Japan Agreement on Commerce in 1957 was the first major trade agreement with any Asian country, and became the cornerstone of bilateral relationships between the two countries. However, trade with South-East Asia was slow to develop right up until the mid-1970s, following the end of the Vietnam War.

From 1962 to 1972, Australia's support for US military intervention in Vietnam dominated Australia's engagement with Asia. That intervention failed and in 1975 Vietnam became a re-united nation under communist rule. The war has been much debated ever since.

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14.3 Contextual study: summing up

Fear was a dominant theme in Australia's engagement with Asia from the mid-nineteenth century until the early 1970s. An exclusionary attitude to Asia drove three national policies related to immigration, trade and security. After 1945, while wary and exclusionary, Australia also provided valuable aid, development and educational opportunities for Asian nations through the Colombo Plan. Still, Australia's controversial involvement in the Vietnam War intensified its already existing fear of communism, creating concern about the possible toppling of the states of South-East Asia all the way to Australia. While the domino theory portrayed China as the main villain, Vietnam became the actual field of battle in the anti-communist conflict called the Cold War.

ACTIVITY 14.1

Create a timeline from 1900 to 1972

Create a timeline from 1900 to 1972. On it, position the names of key events/developments in the changing relationship between Australia and Asia.

For each, ascribe a score 1 (low) to 5 (high) to indicate how significant it was. Justify your decisions.

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DEPTH STUDY

Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?

In this depth study you'll explore and debunk some of the myths about Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. These myths relate to why Australia became involved in Vietnam and why the government withdrew Australian troops before it had achieved its objectives.

14.4 Australian soldiers in Vietnam

On Anzac Day 1966 Australian soldiers marched through Sydney before leaving for Vietnam to relieve the 1st Battalion (1RAR). It had been almost a year to the day since Prime Minister Robert Menzies' announcement that Australia was committing ground troops to a war in Vietnam.

The soldiers pictured below, unlike the soldiers of 1st Battalion, were a mixture of regular soldiers and 'nashos' – national service conscripts, who were enlisted in the army with no choice. At age 20, these conscripts had been randomly selected by a ballot based on their birth date. Opponents of this ballot called it a blood lottery, or lottery of death. Of the approximately 60 000 military personnel to serve in Vietnam, some 15 000 were conscripts. However, from 1966 on, the main combat elements of the Australian Task Force comprised regulars and nashos in roughly 50/50 proportions. By war's end, nashos comprised 200 of the 521 Australians who had died in Vietnam.

SOURCE 14.8 Australian soldiers march through Sydney, 25 April 1966



Australian soldiers march through Sydney before leaving for Vietnam, 25 April 1966.

Responding to the photograph

1. What important function might this parade fulfil for the soldiers themselves?
2. For whom else would this parade probably be an important, meaningful event, and why?
3. Many of these troops are nashos – conscripted into the army by lottery. As they depart for a war zone, what range of thoughts and feelings might they have?
4. What would be the challenges in bonding the two types of soldiers shown here – the regular army troops and the conscripts?
5. Why do you think the army insisted that there be no conscript-only companies within the battalion?

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The average age of Australian soldiers in Vietnam was 20. Each soldier served a 12-month tour of duty before returning home for a further 12 months of military service. The experiences of many are encapsulated in a song by John Schumann from Redgum – *I was only nineteen*. It is based on the recollections of Vietnam veterans, particularly Schumann's brother-in-law Mick Storen and Frank Hunt.

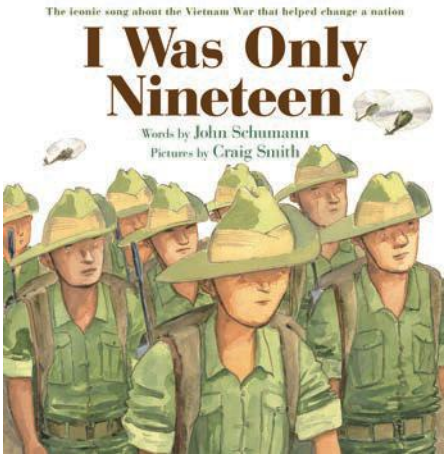
SOURCES 14.9 A&B I was only nineteen

A Music video of the song, using illustrations by Craig Smith



This music video is available on YouTube. Although designed for children, the images convey a poignant sense of the song's story.
Watch this or another video version, and also read the lyrics online, before answering the following questions.

B Cover of a 2015 children's book, using the text of the Redgum song, illustrated by Craig Smith



Responding to the song

1. Is the subject of this song a regular soldier or a conscript? How do you know?
2. Find evidence from the song that suggests many Australians reacted positively to the soldiers departing for Vietnam.
3. What does the song indicate about the nature of the Vietnam War and the conditions under which Australian soldiers fought?
4. According to the song what problems plague this Vietnam veteran?
5. Is it clear what the songwriter thinks and feels about: war; the Vietnam war; the Anzac legend; the Australian soldier? Do you think he made the song ambivalent or ambiguous and, if so, why? Could various Australians have different feelings about the song?
6. Would you be inclined to trust this song as useful evidence of an Australian's experience of the Vietnam War? How might you go about verifying the song's content?
7. The song was written 14 years after the event. Is that noteworthy when treating the song as evidence?

In the past, Australia has always fought alongside world powers, notably Britain and the USA. Because of this, critics have accused Australia of fighting other people's wars, right up to the latest war in Afghanistan and including Vietnam. This study will encourage you to explore that accusation.

One of the most important aspects of the study of history is to understand the context in which a given set of events occur. According to military historian Professor Jeffrey Grey, 'if we understood the context of Vietnam, we might be less ready to believe some of the untruths and half-truths propagated about it' (2010:191).

The following section provides a potted history of Vietnam to help explain the wider context of the war in Vietnam and how it came about.

14.5 The long road to the Vietnam War

The history of Vietnam is marked by the struggles of its people against foreign invaders – the Chinese (111 BCE–939 CE), French (1858–1940), Japanese (1940–45), French again (1946–54) and the Americans (1955–73).

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The French ruled Vietnam as an Indochinese colony for almost 100 years, thereby ending 900 years of Vietnamese independence. Paul Ham, in *Vietnam: The Australian War*, describes the French occupation of Vietnam as 'a bloody catalogue of French crimes against the Vietnamese people' (2007:16). The Vietnamese resisted the French frequently, but the resistance was unsuccessful until the 1930s when a communist wing of the nationalist movement developed. Communism came to be seen by many as a vehicle for nationalist hopes. In 1940, when Vietnam fell to Japan, the communists gained further popularity by leading the resistance against the Japanese. On 2 September 1945, Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the communist national resistance movement, proclaimed the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The constitution borrowed directly from the United States' Declaration of Independence: 'All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness'.

Independence was short lived, as in 1946 Ho Chi Minh agreed to French demands that Vietnam return to French control. This was a strategic decision to thwart Chinese aggression as France was seen as the lesser of two evils. Chinese rule of Vietnam had lasted for a thousand years and Ho Chi Minh knew that colonialism was on the wane. The French promised that Vietnam would become a free state within the French post-war empire; however, they broke this promise and took full possession of the territory. Within months, Vietnam was at war with France. This war, known as the First Indochina War (1946–54), was fought during the early years of the Cold War. Aid from the United States flowed in to help the French to oppose the Viet Minh – the name given to the communist national resistance movement. The United States' involvement was part of a strategy to contain communism and secure active French involvement in the defence of Western Europe as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) military alliance, formed in 1949 to combat the communist expansion of the USSR. Despite US military aid, the French were defeated by the Viet Minh at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in North Vietnam in 1954, effectively ending France's colonial presence. In Australia, the battle made front-page news and was received with a sense of crisis. Three days after the Viet Minh victory, *The Age* headlined its editorial 'Indo-China disaster is critical for the world', continuing 'with the fall of the French fortress of Dien Bien Phu, Asia and the Western world are again brought to a point of crisis'. Instead of seeing the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu as the end of colonialism, it was seen in Cold War terms as the encroachment of communism threatening the Western world.

The French defeat did not produce an independent Vietnam. Even before Dien Bien Phu fell, an international conference had convened in Geneva, Switzerland, to propose a way forward for Vietnam. Representatives attended from the USA, UK, France, the USSR, China, Laos, Cambodia, and from both North and South Vietnam. The conference recognised a dilemma – that while Ho Chi Minh and his supporters had strong support in the north of the country, there were populations opposed to the Viet Minh – and even supportive of French rule – in the south. From April to July 1954, the Geneva Accords were formulated. The most important decisions were that Vietnam would be divided temporarily by a demilitarised zone (DMZ) between north and south, and that democratic elections would be held by July 1956 to re-unify the country. The Accords emphasised that the partition line at the 17th parallel 'should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary'. The Accords were weakened from the outset. Within days of the Geneva meeting, the US National Security Council declared the Geneva decisions a disaster and, within weeks, determined 'to maintain a friendly non-Communist South Vietnam' and 'to prevent a Communist victory through all-Vietnam elections'. While most representatives pledged support for the Accords, the USA and South Vietnam declared they would not be bound by them. In the end, no one actually signed the Final Declaration.

As a consequence, the 1956 elections were never held. American President Eisenhower later conceded privately that if they had been staged, possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh. Thus the temporary division of Vietnam created at Geneva became more permanent. North and South became separate de facto states – the South supported by the USA and the North by communist China and the USSR. Both North and South Vietnam emerged as repressive regimes.

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In the South, a succession of political leaders failed to offer a model of democratic government. In November 1963, the USA actively encouraged a military coup that deposed and then assassinated South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem (1955–63). During his rule, there were protests against the government's authoritarian and repressive actions. Buddhists were prominent in this dissent, and horrific images of Buddhist monks self-immolating (setting themselves on fire) on Saigon streets highlighted this despotism. After the assassination of Diem, Vietnam was ruled by a series of military **juntas**.

At the beginning of Diem's rule in 1955, President Eisenhower had sent military advisers to assist the South Vietnamese Government. The Second Indochina War (or the American War) dates from this action. President Kennedy steadily increased the US presence and by 1963 there were 16 500 advisers in Vietnam. However, it was President Johnson who committed the US to an undeclared war in Vietnam after an incident in August 1964 when the American destroyer *Maddox* was allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin. In February 1965, the Viet Cong (southern-based communist successors of the Viet Minh) attacked the US base at Pleiku in South Vietnam and Johnson ordered Operation Rolling Thunder to begin – the large-scale bombing of targets in North Vietnam. This bombing, which lasted for three and a half years, was intended to reduce the capacity of the communists to wage war. In March 1965 a decision was made to send American ground forces to Vietnam. The US was thus committed to a large-scale war in Vietnam.

junta a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force

Australia's involvement in the political affairs of Vietnam began in mid-1962, when 30 advisers were sent to help train South Vietnamese soldiers. Aid in various other forms was also sent and by 1965 there were over 100 Australian advisers in Vietnam. In April 1965, the Menzies government decided to send an Australian infantry battalion. Like the US, Australia became committed to a large military involvement in Vietnam.

SOURCE 14.10 Map of Vietnam



Responding to the map

1. Copy the outline of the map and complete the following tasks to clarify and reinforce the basic facts about the history of Vietnam and foreign intervention.
2. By the 1890s **French Indochina** comprised Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Mark each of these countries on your map.
3. In 1954 the French were defeated by the Vietnamese communists at the **Battle of Dien Bien Phu**. Mark Dien Bien Phu on your map. What do you notice about its location?
4. Mark **China** on your map. What advantage does its location have in exerting influence over Vietnam?
5. Mark on the map the Demilitarised Zone that was formed under the terms of the **1954 Geneva Convention**, when Vietnam was temporarily divided into two parts. What do you notice about its position in Vietnam? Colour-code communist North Vietnam and non-communist pro-US South Vietnam.

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6. Mark on the map capitals of North Vietnam (**Hanoi**) and South Vietnam (**Saigon**). What do you notice about their locations?
7. Mark the **Gulf of Tonkin** where the American destroyer *Maddox* was allegedly attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats (August 1964). This event was used to justify the US's entry into the war. Mark the US base at **Pleiku** in South Vietnam that was attacked by the Viet Cong in February 1965.
8. Mark **Nui Dat** (military base for the Australian Task Force) and **Vung Tau** (major in-country R&R (rest and recreation) facility for the Australians.
9. Mark on the map **Da Nang,** the site where the first American ground troops landed in March 1965.

14.6 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Why did Australia commit troops to Vietnam in 1965?

Determining the cause of an event such as the decision by the Menzies government to send Australian military troops to Vietnam is the most complex and problematic aspect of history. Even when historians agree on the facts of history, they frequently disagree over causes. The problem is perplexing because many different factors can cause something to happen. What is probably most difficult for historians is identifying the motives of people whose actions are crucial.

In 1944 the British historian C.V. Wedgwood wrote 'history is lived forwards but is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was to know the beginning only'. In looking back at Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War we cannot exclude the knowledge that it ended in a disastrous commitment and, as a result, all developments tend to be seen in that light. It is therefore important to examine the evidence thinking about the context and challenges of the time.

Historians continue to argue about the reasons behind Menzies' decision to commit troops to Vietnam in 1965. Here's your chance to join the debate.

Perceived communist threats

The first piece of evidence comes from R.G. Casey, the Minister for External Affairs (1951–60). This speech was made in 1954, the same year that the French were defeated by the Viet Minh in Dien Bien Phu.

SOURCE 14.11 R.G. Casey identifies a serious threat to Australia in 1954

> It might be asked why Australia need concern itself with what happens in South-East Asia. Apart from the interest that the whole free world has in checking the growth of Communist tyranny wherever it may seek to make itself felt, the answer to this question can easily be seen from a study of the map. If the whole of Indochina fell to the Communists, Thailand would be gravely exposed. If Thailand were to fall, the road would be open to Malaya and Singapore. From the Malay Peninsula the Communists could dominate the northern approaches to Australia, and even cut our life-lines with Europe ...
>
> It is because of the Government's awareness of the reality of this danger that it took the historic step in August last when the Prime Minister announced that the Government was prepared to undertake, in peacetime, commitments extending beyond Australia's own borders. It is for this reason also that the Australian Government encouraged the idea that a system of collective defence should be established in South-East Asia, and has taken an energetic part in drawing up the Treaty which we are now considering and which it is hoped will bring such a system into being.

Hon. R.G. Casey, Minister for External Affairs, *Second Reading Speech on the Bill to Ratify the South-East Asia Collective Defence*, 27 October 1954

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Responding to Casey

1. According to Casey, why was South-East Asia an area of interest and concern for Australia?
2. Quote lines from Casey's speech that allude to the domino theory (see explanation of the theory on p. 411.)
3. What steps was the Australian Government prepared to take (or had taken) to ensure Australia's security?

By studying the map of our region, you will be able to see why Australian politicians have taken such a keen interest in wars involving countries to our north.

SOURCE 14.12 Australia and the region



Map showing Australia's position in relation to South-East Asia

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Responding to the map

1. Judging by the map, why does Australia need to concern itself with what happens in South-East Asia?
2. What is this map suggesting by the lines with distances on them?
3. Calculate the approximate distance between Australia and Vietnam.

The need for national and collective security

The distances shown on the map suggest that Australia's concerns were increasingly being shaped by geography more than history. This situation compelled the Australian Government to seek national security by uniting with other friendly countries in two defence pacts – ANZUS (1951) and SEATO (1954). These treaties, part of a series that the US formed in the 1949–55 era as part of the collective response to the threat of communism during the Cold War, provide some insight into why Australia became involved in Vietnam.

The first and more enduring treaty, signed on 1 September 1951, involved Australia, New Zealand and the US. It was Australia's first treaty with a major foreign country and the first explicit commitment to Australian defence by the US Government. It sought to protect the security of the Pacific against Cold War threats, such as the rise of communist China, as well as to appease Australia after the US signed a peace treaty with wartime enemy Japan in the very same year. Under the terms of ANZUS, if one of the three signatories was attacked by a foreign power, the others 'would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes' (Article IV of the ANZUS treaty).

The second treaty, SEATO, was signed by Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, the UK and the US on 8 September 1954, four months after the French defeat in Indochina. Its purpose was to present a defensive front to communist governments in Asia by creating an organisation which would watch over the interests not only of the signatories (those who signed it) but also of any other designated countries threatened by communist aggression. South Vietnam was one of these designated countries. The Australian Government was particularly pleased because the treaty committed the US Government to the security of Australia's neighbours against communist aggression, and enabled Australia to adopt a policy of forward defence.

The policy of forward defence took the view that Australia was largely indefensible, due to its long coasts and low population density. Therefore, forward defence meant the deployment of forces across the approaches to Australia, in order to prevent an enemy ever reaching Australia. In 1955 Prime Minister Menzies declared that Australia should be defended 'as far from our own shores as possible'.

The main provision of the SEATO alliance was as follows.

SOURCE 14.13 Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 1954

> Each Party recognises that aggression by means of armed attack in the Treaty Area* against any of the Parties or against any State or Territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate**, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

Article IV of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty, 8 September 1954

* The Treaty Area was the general area of South-East Asia, including the territories of the Asian Parties (i.e. Philippines and Thailand), and the general area of the South-West Pacific.
* South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were designated states under the treaty.

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Responding to the SEATO provision

1. What form did the aggression have to take before the parties involved would act?
2. What part of this article indicates that the signatory parties did not commit themselves to automatic and direct action against a perceived aggressor?
3. Do you think the name Southeast Asia Treaty Organization is an appropriate name for the particular group of nations that belong to it? Why/Why not?
4. Given the details above, do you think that SEATO obligations could have been responsible for Australia's entry into the Vietnam War?

SEATO and ANZUS provided Australia with collective security at a time when developments in South-East Asia were seen as a threat to its national interests – communist insurgents in Malaya, a growing communist presence in Indonesia and communist expansion in Vietnam. For the members of SEATO, it was the events in Vietnam in the early 1960s that were of greatest concern.

On 20 January 1964 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of North Vietnam adopted a secret resolution declaring all-out war on South Vietnam. It hoped to defeat the South Vietnamese Army (SVA), also known as the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) before the US could send large troop numbers into the conflict. This was the most important Communist Party decision since it agreed in 1954 to the temporary division of Vietnam. Southern-based Viet Cong guerrillas, supported by the North Vietnamese army (NVA), also known as the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN), intensified their operations. By March 1964, US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara estimated that up to 40% of South Vietnam was controlled by the Viet Cong.

Supporting the USA

At a SEATO council meeting in Manila in April 1964, members released a communique stating that, if necessary, they would be prepared to take action to support South Vietnam. Here is how New Zealand cartoonist Gordon Minhinnick saw the outcome of this meeting.

SOURCE 14.14 New Zealand perspective on the outcome of 1964 SEATO meeting



Cartoon by Gordon Minhinnick, *New Zealand Herald*, April 1964. Historical figures (L to R): Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies; New Zealand Prime Minister Keith Holyoake; Uncle Sam in military uniform (a personification of the USA).

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Responding to the cartoon

1. The text in the top left-hand corner is a quote from New Zealand Prime Minister Holyoake responding to the SEATO communique. What is the strong stand that Holyoake is referring to? Why might he be pleased about this strong stand?
2. How has Gordon Minhinnick interpreted this strong stand? Note that Prime Ministers Menzies and Holyoake are both depicted as 'showing the flag', an expression which means to stand up for or defend someone or something.

In May 1964, a month after the SEATO meeting, US President Johnson asked Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom to 'show their flags' in South Vietnam by providing a wide range of non-combat assistance. This included personnel, such as military advisers and pilots, and equipment, such as reconnaissance aircraft, to assist South Vietnam in its fight against the Viet Cong.

chargé d'affaires a subordinate diplomat who substitutes for an absent ambassador

Here's how Alan Renouf, the **chargé d'affaires** in the Australian embassy in Washington DC, advised the Australian Government to respond to Johnson's request.

SOURCE 14.15 Alan Renouf from the Washington Embassy advice, 1 May 1964

Although it is appreciated there are physical limitations upon what the Commonwealth can do to meet the request made by the United States it is recommended that we make a response which is both as positive and as prompt as possible ...

Our objective should be, it is suggested, to achieve such an habitual closeness of relations with the United States and sense of mutual alliance that in our time of need, after we have shown all reasonable restraint and good sense, the United States would have little option but to respond as we would want.

The problem of Vietnam is one, it seems, where we could without a disproportionate expenditure pick up a lot of credit with the United States for the problem is one to which the United States is deeply committed and in which it genuinely feels it is carrying too much of the load, not so much the physical load which the United States is prepared to bear, as the moral load.

So that the above can be properly assessed, you need to know that in this embassy's opinion United States' policy towards Indonesia/Malaysia remains by no means as clear-cut and as firm as would be desirable for Australia's standpoint.

Cablegram from Alan Renouf to Canberra, 1 May 1964

Responding to Alan Renouf

1. Which nations stood to benefit by the policy that Renouf recommended? How were they to benefit?
2. Why might the policy recommended by Renouf have been called the 'insurance policy' approach to the American alliance?
3. What do you think Renouf hoped would be the effect of this policy on the United States' attitudes to Indonesia/Malaysia?

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Australian initiatives

In his response, Alan Renouf made the link between Indonesia's confrontation of Malaysia (where Indonesia opposed the formation of the Malaysian nation) and the war in Vietnam. He argued that the question of whether the US would come to the aid of Australian forces defending Malaysia depended not so much on the terms of the ANZUS treaty as on the 'general state of relations between ourselves and the United States at the time'. He suggested that Australia should try to achieve such a close relationship with the US that it would respond to an Australian call for assistance at a time and in a manner best suited to Australian interests.

By late 1964 the North Vietnamese Army had moved into South Vietnam and had begun joint military operations with the Viet Cong. While Australia continued to be predominantly concerned about the security implications arising from the Indonesian Confrontation, it was moving towards a further commitment of military forces to Vietnam beyond military advisers.

On 10 November 1964 the Australian Government introduced conscription for military service. Announcing the introduction of this scheme on the floor of parliament, Prime Minister Menzies cited a defence emergency. Here is part of what he said:

SOURCE 14.16 Prime Minister Menzies on compulsory military service, 10 November 1964

> The range of likely military situations we must be prepared to face has increased as a result of recent Indonesian policies and actions and the growth of Communist influence and armed activity in Laos and South Vietnam.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 44. House of Representatives, 10 November 1964, p. 2715

Responding to Menzies' statement

1. What military threats faced Australia in 1964 according to Menzies?
2. How might the introduction of compulsory conscription for 20-year-olds for a period of two years help to address these military threats?
3. According to Professor Peter Edwards, who was appointed the official historian for the *Official History of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1948–75*, the Menzies government was 'determined to introduce and to maintain conscription, including a commitment for overseas service, for its own sake'. 'For its own sake' means that something is done for the value of the experience itself, rather than for any advantage it will bring. What intrinsic value might be derived from two years of compulsory military service for 20-year-old men?
4. Are you surprised by the fact that the majority of the Australian public, press and politicians favoured this system throughout the duration of the Vietnam War? (See Source 14.33.) Explain your response. Does Edwards' conclusion above help to explain this phenomenon?
5. Today most Australians do not support the idea of compulsory military training and conscription for overseas service. Why might this be the case?

While Australia was preparing for direct military involvement in South Vietnam, the US had other plans.

The following is a series of correspondence between Washington and Canberra from mid-December 1964 to mid-January 1965. The correspondence reveals the American position on Vietnam and Australia's response to this positon. The first correspondence is from American President Johnson to Australian Prime Minister Menzies on 14 December 1964. The next two pieces of correspondence are between Australia's Ambassador to Washington, Keith Waller, and the Foreign Minister, Paul Hasluck.

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SOURCES 14.17 A–C Correspondence between Washington and Canberra from mid-December 1964 to mid-January 1965

A American President Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies, 14 December 1964

> Down the road in the future, if the situation in Saigon should require and justify it, there may be a need for combat units, but that is not the immediate problem. What is needed now is additional support from our friends in the present campaign against the Communist … [Following was a list of urgent requirements including 200 combat advisers, mine sweepers, landing ships for tanks, hospital ships and a lengthy list of non-military equipment.]

B Keith Waller, Australian Ambassador to Washington, cablegram to Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck, 22 December 1964

> As seen from here [Washington DC], it is unfortunate that current American strategy in South Vietnam was not decided on immediately after the President's election [i.e. November 1964].
>
> The present low-key activity, the way in which every move seems closely tied to the political situation in Saigon* and the somewhat irresolute American attitude gives cause for increasing uneasiness.

* The US Government stated that until the South Vietnamese Government in Saigon was stabilised, no further military commitment would be forthcoming. After the assassination of the South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem in late 1963, the South Vietnamese Government was ruled by a military junta from November 1963 to September 1967. During this time, there were around six changes of government, with various military commanders vying for power.

C Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck, correspondence to Keith Waller, Australian Ambassador to Washington, 19 January 1965

> Cabinet is gravely concerned about the outlook. At the earliest opportunity you should try to see Rusk [American Secretary of State – equivalent to foreign minister] with a view both to obtaining as much further information as you can about American thinking and taking advantage of whatever opportunity may arise of helping to bring certainty to American policy and planning.

Responding to the correspondence

1. Quote lines from the correspondence that indicate that Australian officials were concerned at what they saw as American indecision in their policy in Vietnam.
2. Quote, and explain, lines that imply that the Americans were not being tough enough in Vietnam.
3. Quote lines that suggest Australia sought to influence US decision-making.
4. Quote lines that demonstrate that the US Government was not, at this point, considering direct military engagement in Vietnam.
5. How reliable might this series of private correspondence be in shedding light on the real intentions and opinions of American and Australian policy-makers/leaders? (Consider type of source, author, purpose, context, content.)

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6. Menzies replied to Johnson's request (in Source 14.17A) four days later, on 18 December, saying that Australia was unable to supply any significant number of military advisers or the other items requested. Menzies did say, however, that Australia was prepared to take part in military staff talks to discuss the possible positioning of allied troops in the northern area of South Vietnam. Might this response be seen as evidence that Australia wanted to widen or escalate the war in Vietnam? Explain your response.

Throughout early 1965 Australian ministers and diplomatic representatives in Washington continued to pressure the US Government to pursue more vigorous measures in Vietnam. While it is unlikely that the United States' decision to commit combat troops to South Vietnam in March 1965 was influenced by Australia's lobbying, it does illustrate, according to historian Michael Sexton, that 'Australia did all it could to have the war widened and was quite prepared to contribute to this result' (2002:116).

On 8 March 1965, 3500 US marines came ashore at Da Nang as the first wave of US combat troops into South Vietnam. They added to the 25 000 American military advisers already in place. Australia extended its full public and diplomatic support to the US decision.

Commitment of troops

Seven and a half weeks later, on 29 April 1965, Prime Minister Menzies announced in federal parliament that Australia too was committing ground troops to the war in Vietnam. Here is part of his speech.

SOURCE 14.18 Prime Minister Menzies' justification for committing troops to Vietnam

In the first half of 1962 the Government decided, following upon a request from the Government of South Vietnam, that Australia should contribute militarily to the defence of South Vietnam. We sent at that time a group of some 30 military instructors to provide military training assistance ...

The Australian Government is now in receipt of a request from the Government of South Vietnam for further military assistance. We have decided – and this has been after close consultation with the Government of the United States – to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam. In case there is any misunderstanding, I think I should say that we decided in principle some time ago ... that we would be willing to do this if we received the necessary request from the Government of South Vietnam and the necessary collaboration with the United States ...

We have not of course come to this decision without the closest attention to the question of defence priorities. We do not and must not overlook the point that our alliances, as well as providing guarantees and assurances for our security, make demands upon us ...

Assessing all this, it is our judgement that the decision to commit a battalion in South Vietnam represents the most useful additional contribution which we can make to the defence of the region at this time. The takeover of South Vietnam would be a direct military threat to Australia and to all the countries of South and South East Asia. It must be seen as part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Vol. 45, 29 April 1965

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Responding to Menzies' announcement

1. Explain how Menzies justified the decision in terms of:
   a. Australia's own security
   b. alliance responsibilities
   c. the needs of Vietnam.
2. Why might it be important for the Australian Government to emphasise that it had received a request for assistance from South Vietnam?
3. Is there any hint that the commitment was actually Australia's idea in the first place?
4. According to Menzies, which nation was behind the communist expansion in Vietnam?

After Menzies' speech, a letter from President Johnson was read to parliament.

SOURCE 14.19 Letter from American President Lyndon B. Johnson, 29 April 1965

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I am delighted at the decision of your Government to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam.

This action simply underscores the full co-operation and understanding that has existed between our two Governments ... in assisting South Vietnam to maintain its independence ...

More broadly, this action proves again the deep ties between our two countries in the cause of world peace and security. As you know, my personal experiences in association with Australians during World War II have made this a particularly deep and abiding feeling for me. I am confident that our two nations, working together, can continue to make great contributions to checking the spread of aggression and to bringing about the peace that South Vietnam and South-East Asia deserve.

Sincerely yours,
Lyndon B. Johnson

American President Lyndon B. Johnson, letter to Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies, 29 April 1965

Responding to Lyndon B. Johnson's letter

1. What reasons are suggested in Johnson's letter for Australia's involvement in Vietnam?
2. Why might Johnson have welcomed the announcement of Australia's infantry battalion in Vietnam?
3. Why might Menzies have been keen to receive and to publicise this letter?
4. What is the effect of the repetition of 'our two' in such phrases as 'our two Governments', 'our two countries' and 'our two nations'?
5. Might Johnson have sought Australian Government advice on what to actually write in his letter? Does the letter suggest this?

Responses to the commitment

The decision of the Menzies government to commit ground troops to the war in Vietnam was the leading news item of the day. Below are the responses of three major daily newspapers from the time (*Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Age* and *The Australian*) to Menzies' announcement.

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SOURCES 14.20 A–C Newspapers editorialise about Australia's Vietnam commitment, 1965

A *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April 1965

Australian Help to South Vietnam

The war against aggression in Vietnam is in a very real and direct sense Australia's war. For what is being defended there is not just one small country's right to decide its own destinies freed from armed aggression, it is, as Sir Robert Menzies pointed out, the security of all South-East Asia. It cannot be too often or too strongly emphasised that if South Vietnam is allowed to fall to Communism, then the extension of Communist influence down through the Malay Peninsula to the shores of Australia is inevitable.

From Australia's point of view, the definitive battle against Chinese Communist expansionism is being fought in Vietnam, and it is a battle in which national honour and national interest dictate that Australia should play a positive part.

B *The Age*, 30 April 1965

New Tasks in Vietnam

The decision by the Australian Government to send a battalion to South Vietnam is a grave one and commits Australia to a more direct role in this cockpit of war where the conflict of power between Communist China and the West in South-East Asia has been joined. It also extends our military commitments on more fronts in South-East Asia than any other Commonwealth country ...

These are inescapable obligations which fall on us because of our geographic position, our treaty commitments, and our friendships. They cannot be sidestepped if we are to give any meaning to our place in ANZUS, SEATO and the Commonwealth of Nations ... There is clearly a United States call to share, even in a small way, more of the burdens ... There was no alternative but to respond as we have.

C *The Australian*, 30 April 1965

The War That Can't Be Won

The Menzies Government has made a reckless decision on Vietnam which this nation may live to regret. It has decided to send Australian soldiers into a savage, revolutionary war in which the Americans are grievously involved ...

Their decision is wrong, at this time, whichever way we look at it. It is wrong because Australia's ... [troops] can have only insignificant military value, because ... [they] will be purely a political pawn in a situation for which Australia has no responsibility whatsoever ... It is wrong because it deliberately and coldly runs counter to the mounting wave of international anxiety about the shape of the Vietnam war and the justification and perils of America's military escalation ...

Neither of the Pacific defence treaties to which Australia subscribes can honestly be invoked to justify the Menzies Government's decision. ANZUS cannot apply, because the United States is not under attack. SEATO, more worthless than ever, certainly doesn't apply ...

But Australia has lined up her generations against the hatred and contempt of resurgent Asian peoples – without adding one iota of confidence or strength to the tragically embroiled American nation. It could be that our historians will recall this day with tears.

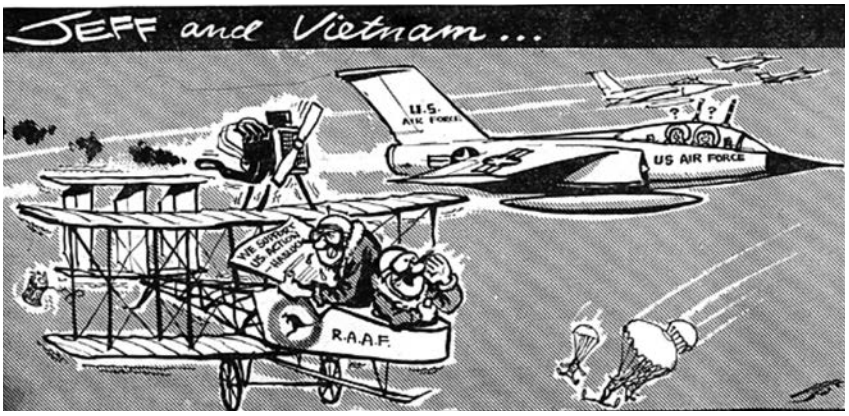
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Comparing and contrasting the newspapers

1. List the points made by Menzies that are echoed in either the *Sydney Morning Herald* or *The Age.*
2. List the points made by Menzies that are contradicted by *The Australian.*
3. *The Australian* uses the expressions 'revolutionary war' and 'hatred and contempt of resurgent Asian peoples'. How does this suggest that *The Australian* sees the Vietnam War as part of a major historical change in the post-1945 world? By contrast, what term might the two other papers use to describe the war?
4. Today these are still Australia's leading three newspapers, but their politics have been reversed. Have a look at them in print or online to see where they are now positioned in the political landscape by comparing their treatment of a single news item.

This is how political cartoonist Geoff Hook commented on Australia's early support for US involvement in the conflict in Vietnam.

SOURCE 14.21 Hook's perspective on Australia's involvement in Vietnam, 13 February 1965



Geoff Hook, 'We're right behind you!', *The Saturday Evening Mercury* (a newspaper in Tasmania – later Hook joined the *Herald Sun* in Melbourne), 13 February 1965. Historical figures: Australian Minister for Defence, Paul Hasluck, who held this office during the height of Australia's commitment to the Vietnam War, of which he was a passionate supporter. *Historical note:* at the time, concerns were raised about the equipment being used by the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF)

Responding to Hook's cartoon

1. What is the cartoonist implying by depicting the US Air Force and the RAAF in such contrasting ways?
2. If Australia's military ability was really so inferior to the USA's ability, how would the Australian promise 'if you need help we're right behind you' probably be perceived by the US military?
3. Could it be that the Australian promise – even if worth little in military terms – might have been valued highly in political terms by the US government? Explain.
4. What might the Australian government have expected from the US government in return for the promise to be 'right behind you'?
5. Is there any evidence that the cartoonist Hook was considering the issues in Questions 3 and 4 above?
6. Return to this cartoon source after you study the viewpoints of historians David Lee and Moreen Dee (2001) and Peter Edwards (2014) on p.435. How do their comments relate to this cartoon source and questions 3–4?

The Leader of the Opposition replies to Menzies

On 4 May, the ALP Leader of the Opposition, Arthur Calwell, replied to Menzies' speech on the floor of parliament. He began: 'I propose to show that the Government's decision rests on three false assumptions: An erroneous view of the nature of the war in Vietnam; a failure to understand the nature of the Communist challenge; and a false notion as to the interests of America and her allies'.

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ACTIVITY 14.2

Respond to the Opposition's reply to Menzies

Calwell went on to make a series of claims about the war. The table below lists a selection of these claims. Next to each, insert two responses:

a. How you think Menzies would respond to the claim?

b. What you think of the claim, given what you have learned so far?

When finished, compare your 'assessment' answers with those of classmates.

Discuss the possible consequences of Australia going into a war that was opposed by the major opposition party.

Calwell's claim	a. Menzies' likely response	b. My assessment of the claim
'The Government takes the grotesquely over-simplified position that this is a straightforward case of aggression from North Vietnam against an independent South Vietnam.'		
'The war in South Vietnam is a civil war, aided and abetted by the North Vietnamese Government, but neither created nor principally maintained by it.'		
'Our men … will be fighting at the request of, and in support, and presumably, under the direction of an unstable, inefficient, partially corrupt military regime which lacks even the semblance of being, or becoming, democratically based.'		
'To call [the war] simply "foreign aggression" as the Prime Minister does … is to misrepresent the facts.'		

In 1965, and continuing until 1968, the media (newspapers, radio and television) almost all supported the government and its policy on Vietnam. The only newspaper to oppose the government was *The Australian*.

Australia's ongoing support of the USA and the Vietnam War

As the war progressed the Australian Government continued to restate and remind both the Australian public and the international community of its reasons for involvement in Vietnam.

In June 1966, Prime Minister Harold Holt visited the US and promised President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) complete Australian support for the US escalation of the war. In 1966 the US Government escalated its involvement in Vietnam from 23 000 troops to 184 000. On the lawns of the White House, amid increasing international criticism of the US for its involvement in Vietnam, Holt reassured the president that Australia was an 'admiring friend, a staunch friend that will be all the way with LBJ'.

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This is how cartoonist Geoff Hook commented on the Holt government's Vietnam policy:

SOURCE 14.22 Hook comments on the Holt government's Vietnam policy, 1967



Geoff Hook, 'Johnson and Holt', *The Sun* (later became the *Herald Sun*), 18 July 1967. Historical figures: American President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ), Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt.

Responding to Hook's cartoon

1. What is implied by the cartoonist's depicting President Johnson offering Prime Minister Holt 'a bigger slice' of the 'Vietnam dish'?
2. Judging by the cartoonist's depiction of Holt, what does Holt think and feel about LBJ's offer? How can you tell?
3. What reasons could there have been for that response by Holt?
4. Note the 'internal trouble' motivating LBJ. He was facing a presidential election in 1968. Would that factor have made his internal troubles more serious for him?
5. This cartoon from July 1967 can be related to two later developments. Find out what Holt decided to do about Australia's Vietnam commitment in October 1967, and what shock announcement LBJ made in February 1968.
6. Can you make an overall connection between your answers to these questions and your answers about the previous Hook cartoon? Explain.
7. Does Hook seem to use a particular cartooning style or device in both cartoons? Explain. Does his style/device seem effective? Explain.

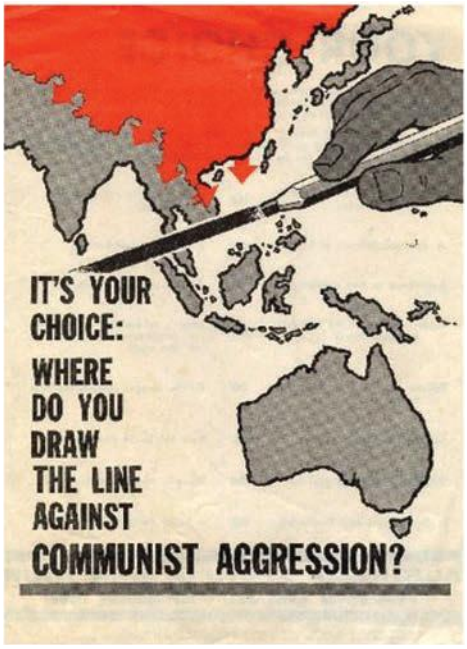
The catch phrase 'all the way with LBJ' was not a creation of Harold Holt but rather Johnson's 1964 presidential campaign slogan. While Holt was happy to identify himself unreservedly with American policy in Vietnam, Australia's support for its allies was always stronger in public rhetoric and diplomatic encouragement than military commitment. At its height in May 1969, the Australian Army's strength in Vietnam was 6917. By comparison, the US military forces in Vietnam peaked at 536 100 the year earlier.

From 1965 to 1968 the Vietnam War was widely supported by the general Australian public. The federal electoral victory of the Liberal-Country Party in 1966 was testimony to this. The Coalition won the election, recording the largest majority since Federation – 82 seats to Labor's 41. The ALP, under the leadership of Arthur Calwell, had been very critical of both Menzies' decision to commit forces to Vietnam and Holt's decision to increase forces. This anti-Vietnam War attitude probably caused the ALP electoral defeat in 1966.

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In November 1966, the Liberal Party's election campaign very much centred on Vietnam. Here is a sample of the electoral material used by the Liberal Party during that campaign.

SOURCE 14.23 Electoral campaign material of the Liberal Party, 1966



Campaign poster for Liberal Party in 1966 election

Responding to the campaign poster

1. How does the author of the electoral poster want voters to answer the question posed?
2. What emotions does the poster appeal to? How does it do this?
3. What is this election poster encouraging Australians to believe is the reason for Australia's continued presence in Vietnam?

Not only was the Australian public reminded as to why Australia remained involved in Vietnam, so too were the young men who were committed to fighting in the war. In a publication issued to all Australian servicemen, the Australian Army clearly stated the reasons for being in Vietnam. This rationale, which was updated in 1967, is outlined below.

SOURCE 14.24 Australian Army pocket handbook rationale, 1967

By helping the people of this proud nation repulse the aggression of the Communist Viet Cong, you will strike a telling blow for democracy and add greatly to the strength of freedom throughout the world.

The war in Vietnam is not a civil war as some people try to make out, but deliberate, sustained aggression started, controlled, directed and supported by North Vietnam against the South. In this type of conflict the standard communist tactics of subversion, terror, murder, attacks on women and children and the wanton killing of village administrators are being employed daily by the Viet Cong.

Australia, as you know, is a member of the SEATO Pact and, as such, we have undertaken to come to the aid of South Vietnam, a Protocol State under the Pact, should our assistance be requested. South Vietnam has sought our aid and for this reason alone we have an obligation to come to its assistance as we have done, apart from the moral compulsion to help it resist the unwarranted aggression by North Vietnam through the Viet Cong, its agents in South Vietnam.

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We should also remember that Australia is a responsible country in the same geographical region as South Vietnam. We have an obvious stake in helping to preserve stability in our area. And we should not forget that it would be immensely more difficult to defend Australia on our own soil alone. Our security is tied to that of all the countries of the region. Our strategic defence frontier must be as far forward as possible and in fact today it is in South Vietnam. Should we and the United States leave South Vietnam, before a just settlement has been reached, communism, acting through North Vietnam and China, would soon take over South Vietnam. Thailand and subsequently Malaya would then be in an intolerable position and we here in Australia could soon find ourselves facing aggressive communism close to our shores. Containment of the militant forces of communism in South Vietnam is therefore very important to Australia's future security. By helping the South Vietnamese to defeat the communists you are therefore directly assisting the long term Australian strategy of defence forward of our own shores.

Australian Military Forces, *Pocketbook: South Vietnam*, revised edition, June 1967, pp. 1, 10, 11

Responding to the rationale from the Australian Army

1. The Army pocketbook outlines both moral and practical reasons for Australia's involvement in Vietnam. Identify one moral argument and one practical argument and explain each.
2. Why might the Army give a copy of this rationale to every soldier in the force?
3. SEATO obligations are cited as an important reason for Australia's commitment of troops to Vietnam. However, there was increasing disunity among SEATO members in their response to events in Vietnam – only Thailand, the Philippines and New Zealand committed troops (and not to the extent of Australia). Does the knowledge that there was disunity among the SEATO members make you review Australia's reasoning for its involvement in Vietnam? Explain your answer.
4. How useful is this source in revealing the Australian Army's reasons for its involvement in the Vietnam War? Explain your response.
5. Hold a discussion: Part of the rationale seeks to provide a counter-rebuttal to the claim that the Vietnam War was a civil war. Why might it be important for the Army and government to rebut such an assertion? Who might the 'some people' be who are espousing such a view? Is there any historical evidence to support the view that the Vietnam War was a civil war?

Questioning Menzies' reasoning

In his parliamentary speech in April 1965, Menzies had claimed that one of the main reasons Australia became involved in the conflict in Vietnam was because it had received an official request from the South Vietnamese Government. While some questions were raised about this request at the time, doubts about its authenticity once again came to the fore after the leaking of the Pentagon Papers in June 1971. The Pentagon Papers were a classified study of the Vietnam War carried out by the US Department of Defense and were leaked by one of the officials working on the project, Daniel Ellsberg. The papers revealed that the government had been lying about the progress of the war. One of the documents discovered was pertinent to Australia. This document implied that the Americans had generated the request from the South Vietnamese Government for an Australian battalion. In order to disarm vocal critics and clarify the situation, on 19 August 1971 the Australian Government tabled in federal parliament two secret letters between the Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Phan Huy Quat, and the Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson.

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SOURCES 14.25 A&B Correspondence between Prime Minister of South Vietnam and Australian Ambassador to Saigon

A Letter from Australian Ambassador to Prime Minister of South Vietnam, 29 April 1965

Your Excellency,

I have the honour, with reference to our conversation yesterday, to confirm the Australian Government's offer to send to Viet Nam an Infantry battalion of 800 men, with some 100 personnel in logistic support, to serve with United States forces in assisting in the defence of the Republic of Viet Nam.

I have informed the Australian Government, following our conversation that Your Excellency has accepted this offer and has requested the despatch of this force to Viet Nam on the basis which we discussed.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

H.D. Anderson
Ambassador

Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson, letter to Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Rhan Huy Quat, 29 April 1965

B Letter from Prime Minister of South Vietnam to Australian Ambassador

Dear Mr Ambassador,

I have the honor to refer to your letter of today's date confirming the Australian Government's offer to send to Viet Nam an infantry battalion of 800 men, with some 100 personnel in logistic support to serve with United States forces in assisting in the defence of the Republic of Vietnam.

I wish to confirm my government's acceptance of this offer and to request the dispatch of this force to Viet Nam on the basis which we discussed.

Sincerely
Phan-Huay-Quat
29 April 1965

Prime Minister of South Vietnam, Dr Phan Huy Quat, letter to Australian Ambassador to Saigon, H.D. Anderson, 29 April 1965

Responding to the letters

1. According to these sources, who initiated Australia's commitment to the Vietnam conflict?
2. How does this version of events compare with Menzies' version of events? (See Source 14.18.)
3. Why might Menzies have used the South Vietnamese request as a reason for involvement in the war in April 1965?
4. Do these two letters make you reassess the reasons Australia committed itself to Vietnam? Explain your response.

According to Paul Ham, author of *Vietnam: The Australian War* (2007) the story surrounding the South Vietnamese request is not so simple. He explains:

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The events leading to the troop decision provoked claims that Menzies had deceived Parliament. Saigon had neither invited nor requested Australian ground troops – ran the charge – yet Menzies presented his decision as though he were answering a desperate plea for help. Menzies 'requested the request' ... Yet the story is not so simple; the truth, as always, was elusive, subtle, and as many layered as an onion. True, the Saigon Government of Prime Minister Phan Huy Quat in 1965 was reluctant to request Australian military help, with good reason. Quat was a member of the Dai Viet (the Vietnamese Nationalist Party), and had deep misgivings about using foreign soldiers; their presence handed the communist forces a propaganda dream: '[The South Vietnamese] were highly sensitive to VC propaganda ... portraying them as under US domination,' said one assessment. Nor did Quat have much faith in foreign troops' ability to 'winkle out terrorists among the 14 million people in South Viet-Nam' ... In short, Quat had to be coerced into accepting an Australian battalion. Yet Quat was merely one of a succession of leaders of the Republic of Vietnam, all of whom Canberra had dealt with. Tran Van Huong, Prime Minister from November 1964 to January 1965, *had* requested Australian ground troops; President Nguyen Khanh wrote to thirty-four countries on 25 July 1964 pleading for military help; and earlier [1961–62] President Ngo Dinh Diem had appealed to ninety-three non-communist countries, including Australia, for urgent military intervention.

SOURCE 14.26 Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 2007, p. 121

ACTIVITY 14.3

Take a position in a four corner debate on Menzies' parliamentary speech

Label each corner of your classroom with one of the following positions: 'Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree', 'Strongly disagree'. Then take a position on the following statement in a class debate. The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room which best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds, you are able to move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

Statement: *Prime Minister Robert Menzies misled parliament by claiming that the South Vietnamese Government requested military assistance.*

Historical interpretations as to why Australia became involved in Vietnam

According to American-born Israeli historian Michael Oren, 'great wars in history eventually become great wars about history' (2007). After the war is over, historians continue to rake over the evidence, testing accepted truths about the nature of the military conflict and the motivations for it. Following are three historical interpretations explaining why Australia became involved in the Vietnam War.

SOURCES 14.27 A–C Historical interpretations

A Military historians Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle, 1992

The idea that Australia became involved in Vietnam solely because of its relationship with the United States ought to be scotched. Just as the Australian experience in Vietnam was not identical to the American experience, so too the two nations' paths were also different. The American route to Vietnam lay through Europe and Northeast Asia, owing much to the

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perceived need to see both France and Japan* established as economically strong and politically stable partners. For obvious reasons, Australia was much less concerned about France or even Japan than it was about Malaya, Indonesia and the other countries of Southeast Asia. Australia's concern about the developments in the region were separate from, if often parallel to, those of the United States. Even if the United States had not existed, the Australian Government would have been deeply concerned over the perceived threat from communism in Southeast Asia. But equally it must be said that the Australian-American relationship was vitally important in shaping Australia's reactions to this perceived threat.

Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle, *Vietnam: War, Myth and Memory*, 1992, pp. 4–5

B Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee, 2001

From the early 1960s the Australian government encouraged US military intervention in Indochina. It supported US intervention firstly because it considered the projection of US power into the region would enhance Australia's security against Asian communism backed by China, and secondly in order to solidify Australian–US relations. The former consideration reflected the government's interpretation of the struggle in Vietnam, and the role of communism in that struggle, essentially as a manifestation of the global Cold War, rather than as a conflict having deep roots in Vietnam's own history; it reflected too the government's assessment of the possible consequences of a North Vietnamese victory ...

The Australian government understood the US strategic vision and broadly shared it. Thus South Vietnam came for both US and Australian policy-makers to be the point on which the West must make a stand. Australia's own intervention in Vietnam was primarily a product of these Cold War concerns. There can be no doubting the genuineness of these concerns in the minds of the political leaders of the time. But in retrospect it is clear enough that Australian policy reflected a greater emphasis on the threat posed by a supposedly monolithic communism than on the particular social and political history of Indochina.

David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'Southeast Asian Conflict' in D. Goldsworthy (Ed.), *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Volume 1 1901 to the 1970s*, 2001, pp. 282, 285

C Military historian Peter Edwards

Many assumed that Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War had been at the instigation of, and under pressure from, the United States. The idea that Australia had been pressing to become involved, that it had been 'looking for a way in and not a way out' as Menzies put it in April 1965, took some time to be recognised ... With the benefit of half a century's hindsight, some of the old arguments take on different nuances. Vietnam was not an example of fighting 'other people's wars'; in the minds of Menzies and his principal advisers, it was a matter of getting the United States to fight a war for Australia's security. Paying a premium for Australia's strategic insurance with the United States was not of itself wrong, but should have been handled with a great deal more care.

Peter Edwards, *Australia and the Vietnam War*, 2014, pp. 264, 287

* Japan, a former enemy during World War II, became a major Western ally in the emerging Cold War in Asia, and a major base for American troops in Asia. USA during its post-war occupation of Japan (1945–52) helped to build strong democratic institutions and a stable economy in the hope that the growing communist presence in Asia would not spread to this island nation.

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Responding to the historical interpretations

Outline the reasons advanced for Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War. You might organise your notes by drawing up a similar table to the one below.

Source	Reasons provided for Australia's involvement in Vietnam
Military historians Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle (1992)	
Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee (2001)	
Military historian Peter Edwards (2014)	

1. Which of these reasons are agreed upon by the authors?
2. Do these sources agree with the following assertion: *Australia's involvement in Vietnam was based on national self-interest*? Write a paragraphed response to this claim.
3. As classified documents are progressively released by the national archives, historians continually revisit and rewrite prevailing interpretations of history. Why might this be the case, and how might this apply to your study of Australia and the Vietnam War?

14.7 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Why did Australia withdraw from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

Six years after Menzies committed troops to Vietnam, Prime Minister John Gorton announced that the battalion due to be relieved in November 1970 would not be replaced. This decision jeopardised three important foreign policy objectives: win the war; secure Australia against communist aggression (preventing the domino effect); and secure a guarantee of continuing US protection of Australia and its presence in the Asian region.

The war becomes unwinnable

It's likely that the war became unwinnable in the popular consciousness before it became unwinnable on the ground. The following military actions described make up some of the most controversial actions committed by troops in the Vietnam War.

Tet Offensive

In late January 1968 during the lunar new year (or Tet) holiday, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese launched concentrated attacks against every major city and regional centre in South Vietnam. Americans and Australians alike were stunned to see, live on television, running gun battles in the grounds of the US embassy in Saigon, and images of wounded marines fighting to re-capture Hue, the ancient capital of Vietnam, overrun by Viet Cong. While the Tet Offensive was ultimately a tactical defeat for the communist forces, with up to 50 000 dead, it is widely seen as the turning point of the war, even though the war dragged on for years after.

Source 14.28 is the most well-known photograph from the Tet Offensive. It shows the South Vietnamese Chief of National Police summarily executing a Viet Cong prisoner on the streets of Saigon. Captured on film, the execution prompted questions about the morality of the Saigon regime.

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SOURCE 14.28 The execution of a Viet Cong prisoner during the Tet Offensive, February 1968

'Saigon Execution', photograph by Edward T. Adams, 1 February 1968



Responding to the photograph

1. How might photographs such as this turn the public against the war in Vietnam?
2. The Viet Cong captive admitted killing a South Vietnamese colonel and his family. Research the story of this event, the impact of the photo and the later life of the chief of police. Why is the story so morally and legally debatable?

My Lai massacre

While the killing of the Viet Cong prisoner was one of countless atrocities committed by both sides in the war, the most notorious act of barbarity was the My Lai massacre. This massacre carried out by American soldiers on 16 March 1968 was not revealed to the public until November 1969. Paul Ham maintains that the revelation of the My Lai massacre had 'the single most powerful influence' (2007:518) on the Australian protest movement of the early 1970s and Australian attitudes to the war. Here is a description of what happened and a photograph of massacred Vietnamese women and children.

SOURCES 14.29 A&B The My Lai massacre, 16 March 1968

A A historian's account of the My Lai massacre

On the morning of 16 March 1968 C Company, 1st Battalion, 11th Brigade, 23rd Infantry Division of the US Army entered the hamlet of My Lai, part of the village of Song My, in Quang Ngai province. Acting on the orders, the men said, of Lieutenant William Calley Jnr, they rounded up the villagers and shot or grenaded them: 347 unarmed people died, according to the criminal investigation; another ninety died in a neighbouring hamlet at the hands of a separate US company. The Vietnamese monument at Song My lists 504 civilians dead. Most were old men, women, boys, girls and babies: 182 women (of whom seventeen were pregnant); 173 children (of whom fifty-six were younger than five months old), and sixty men older than 60. One GI aimed his pistol three times at a baby and succeeded in shooting it on the third attempt, to the laughter of his fellow troops. They 'beat women with rifle butts and raped some and sodomized others before shooting them'. They broke for lunch, then resumed the massacre. Any survivors were picked off: a little boy wearing only a T-shirt ran over to clutch the hand of one of the dead. A US soldier, said a witness, 'dropped into a kneeling position 30 metres from this kid and killed him with a single shot'. The water buffaloes, pigs and chickens were shot and hurled into the wells, and all the families' homes burned. Calley dumped his victims in an irrigation ditch.

Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, Sydney, 2007, pp. 518–19

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B Photograph of massacred women and children, 16 March 1968



Responding to the account and photograph of the My Lai massacre

1. What information in Ham's description suggests that a large number of US soldiers participated in the actions at My Lai? Is there evidence that any soldiers refused to participate?
2. What actions described by Ham do you think can be labelled 'atrocities'? Do you think that those actions would be considered 'war crimes'?
3. Quote two specific details that could only have been known initially by someone who was present during the action.
4. Note the terms 'the men said', 'according to the criminal investigation', 'The Vietnamese monument at Song My', 'said a witness'. What do these indicate about:
   a. how details of the actions became known in the aftermath
   b. the reliability of this source as evidence of the events at My Lai?
5. What details in the photograph corroborate the description in Ham's account? Does the photograph intensify your own intellectual and/or emotional response to the massacre?
6. On the basis of 1–5 above, how useful and reliable do you think Paul Ham's account and Ron Haeberle's photograph are as evidence of what happened at My Lai on 16 March 1968? What further investigations would you want to carry out to answer that question with greater confidence?

ACTIVITY 14.4

Investigate further the My Lai massacre

1. Locate detailed accounts online of the massacre, its wider context, the eventual prosecution of a perpetrator, Lt. William Calley, and the debates within US society about what he and his men did. Also find out about the photographer Ron Haeberle and the complicated story of how the photos were eventually published.
2. Go to the Interactive Textbook to explore the ethical issues of wartime atrocities.

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Moratorium campaign

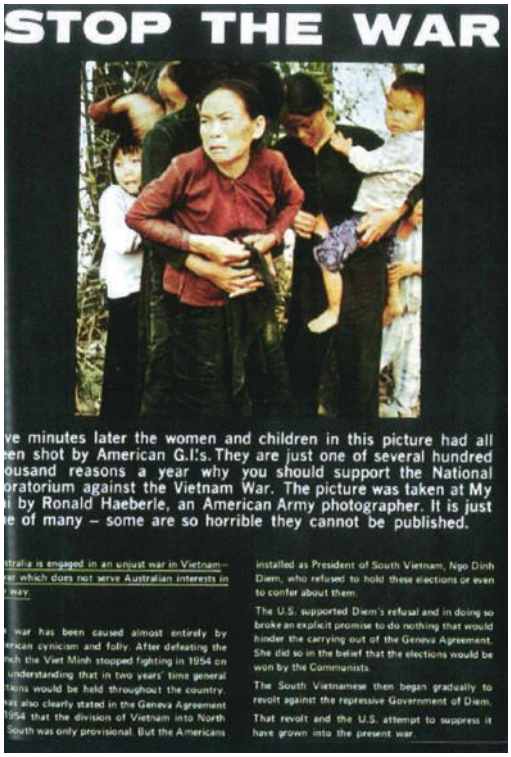
In 1970 and 1971, the anti-war movement reached its zenith in Australia in the Vietnam Moratorium campaign. The term moratorium – used a year earlier in the USA – signalled a refusal to accept 'business as usual'. This campaign remains the largest and most sustained public protest movement in Australian history. It mobilised a coalition of forces and interests – the left wing of the ALP, established peace and anti-conscription groups, some church groups, some radical unions, the Save Our Sons movement, the Communist Party of Australia and a broad middle-class constituency principally motivated by opposition to conscription. According to historians David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'the Vietnam moratorium campaign was a manifestation of the deepening division in Australian society caused by Australia's participation in the Vietnam War' (2001:301).

The Australian Moratorium organisers in their publicity materials extensively used photographs from the My Lai massacre. Here is one of those publications.

SOURCE 14.30 Moratorium poster featuring the My Lai massacre

GO

Go to the Interactive Textbook to read the text on a larger version of the poster, then answer the questions below.



Responding to the moratorium poster

In the first column of text on the poster, it is claimed that 'Australia is engaged in an unjust war in Vietnam'.

1. What arguments are advanced to support this assertion?
2. Based on your knowledge, how valid are these arguments? Explain your response. (You may need to revisit 14.5: The long road to the Vietnam War on p. 415 to help you here.)
3. In 1970, how might various people within Australian society have reacted to this poster? How might family or friends of the people shown react to this photo being used for this purpose?
4. Given that Australian soldiers were not involved in the My Lai massacre and had not committed any verifiable war crimes in Vietnam, is it fair to use this incident in anti-Vietnam War materials in Australia? How might this event affect the way the Australian public perceived the conduct of its soldiers in Vietnam? Explain your response.

In 2014, Margaret Frazer – a participant in the moratorium demonstrations and long-term peace activist – reflected on the moratorium, saying that it 'was like all our Christmases had come on one day. The peace movement had been around since the 1930s, and had failed to stop any war. But with Vietnam, we won' (Joliffe, 2014).

- What types of evidence would you need to gather to support or refute the assertion that the moratorium demonstrations stopped the Vietnam War?

The largest moratorium demonstration, numbering at least 70 000 and perhaps as many as 100 000, was held in Melbourne on 8 May 1970. To get a sense of the magnitude of this protest, consider the following two sources.

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SOURCES 14.31 A&B Melbourne Moratorium protest, 8 May 1970

A Report in *The Age*, 9 May 1970

> ... the great mass coming from Spring Street ... rivets everybody's attention. Banners and placards high, moving like some great outback river in flood down the grey deserted watercourse of Bourke Street. As they get to the intersection ... and meet their fellows coming from the opposite direction, there is this great roaring chant that echoes off the canyons of the city: Stop the War! Stop the War! Stop the War! ... All the way up to Spring Street is this vast crowd and like a slow ripple they all begin to sit down in the street. It is impossible for those at the back to see those in the front.

B Photograph of the protest, 8 May 1970



Responding to the sources on the Melbourne Moratorium protest

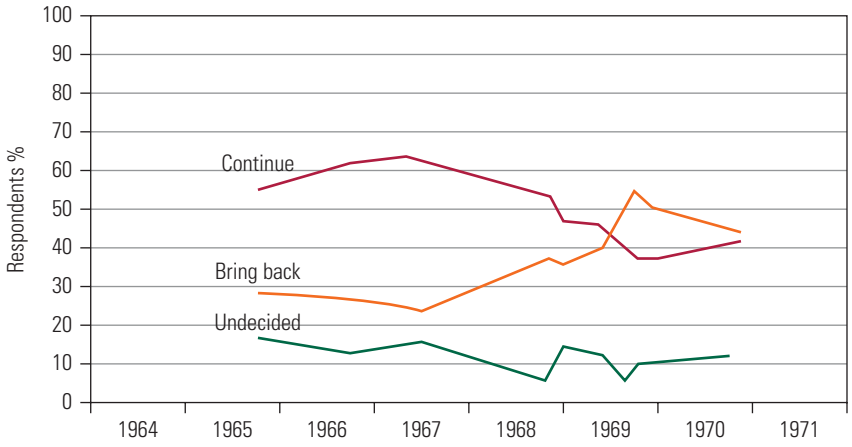
1. How do these sources reflect what you learned earlier about the growing unpopularity of the war?
2. Are these sources alone proof that the war was largely unpopular?
3. Would you expect the Australian Government to be influenced by the size of this demonstration? Explain your answer.

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Public opinion polls

Opinion polls taken during the course of the Vietnam War provide a snapshot of public attitudes to the war.

SOURCE 14.32 Opinion polls on the war



Graph showing opinion poll responses to the question 'Do you think we should continue to fight in Vietnam or bring our forces back to Australia?'

Responding to the graph

1. What is particularly significant about the data for mid-1967?
2. From that point, what was the trajectory of the three measures until the end of 1968?
3. At what point did:
   a. the 'continue' responses drop below 50%
   b. the 'bring back' responses equal the 'continue' responses
   c. the 'bring back' responses move above 50%?
4. Does the graph suggest that public opinion was affected by the Tet Offensive of January 1968; the media revelations of the My Lai massacre in November 1969; Australia's first moratorium demonstration in May 1970; the second moratorium demonstration in September 1970? Explain your responses.

Conscription was a major rallying point of the anti-war movement. The tabulated Gallup Polls below show changing public attitudes to conscription from late 1964, at the time of the introduction of the National Service Scheme, to late 1971, a month before the withdrawal of the last battalion from Vietnam.

SOURCE 14.33 Gallup Polls on conscription, 1964–71

Poll date	Favour/For/Continue conscription (%)	Oppose/Against/ End conscription (%)	Undecided (%)
Nov 1964	71	25	4
Sept 1965	69	23	8
Apr 1966	63	31	6
Jul 1966	68	26	6
Nov 1966	63	33	4

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Poll date	Favour/For/Continue conscription (%)	Oppose/Against/ End conscription (%)	Undecided (%)
Nov 1967	70	25	5
Dec 1968	65	29	6
Aug 1969	63	32	5
Oct 1969	58	32	10
Apr 1970	55	39	6
Oct 1970	58	34	8
Sept 1971	68	24.5	7.5

Table of Gallup Polls on conscription, from November 1964 to September 1971

Responding to the Gallup Polls on conscription

1. Which of the following assertions do the poll results support:
   - **a.** From 1964 to 1971 Gallup Polls consistently showed that the majority of those surveyed were in support of conscription.
   - **b.** The percentage of those polled who supported conscription in 1964 was double that of those supporting conscription in 1971.
   - **c.** From 1964 to 1971 Gallup Polls consistently showed that no more than a third of Australians were against conscription.
   - **d.** From 1964 to 1971 Gallup Polls consistently showed that those who were undecided about the issue of conscription never rose above 10%.
   - **e.** There were more undecided about the conscription issue in 1971 than there were in 1964.
   - **f.** The percentage of those opposing conscription in 1964 was similar to those opposing conscription in 1971.

Living in twenty-first century Australia, we tend to assume that the National Service Scheme was broadly unpopular, but this was clearly not the case given the evidence. Mark Dapin, author of *The Nashos' War* (2014), offers an explanation for this phenomenon:

> ... it was the actions of the national servicemen, in accepting discipline and following orders, which most closely reflected the values of the society that had produced them. Most of Australia was conservative, patriotic and law-abiding throughout the Vietnam period. Anti-war protesters, even at the peak of their numbers, were often thought of as deviants, ratbags, idiots and traitors.

SOURCE 14.34 Mark Dapin, *The Nashos' War: Australian National Servicemen and Vietnam*, 2014, p. 2

- To what extent do you think Dapin's description of Australian values and attitudes still holds true today?

While the figures show that Australians were not opposed to conscription itself, another story emerges when the issue of sending conscripts to fight overseas is raised.

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SOURCE 14.35 Gallup Polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam, 1965–67

Poll date	Send to Vietnam (%)	Keep in Australia (%)	Undecided (%)
Dec 1965	37	52	11
Feb 1966	32	57	11
Apr 1966	38	49	13
Jul 1966	38	52	11
Dec 1966	37	52	11
Aug 1967	42	49	9

Table of Gallup Polls on conscription, from December 1965 to August 1967

Responding to the Gallup Polls on sending conscripts to Vietnam

1. What is the overall trend in the polls from December 1965 to August 1967 for those in favour of sending conscripts to Vietnam, those in favour of keeping conscripts in Australia and those who were undecided?
2. What might explain these trends?
3. Do you think that these trends might continue after 1967? Explain why/why not.

The USA's policy revision

From the evidence provided so far, it is clear that the anti-Vietnam War movement, and particularly the moratorium demonstrations, were not instrumental in changing people's opinion against the war as the greatest drop in support for the war occurred prior to the mass rallies in 1969. What other factors then, might have caused the drop in public support for the war at this time? Gregory Pemberton offers an explanation.

SOURCE 14.36 Gregory Pemberton explains Australia's decision to withdraw from Vietnam

When President Nixon came to office in early 1969 he began to develop with his key adviser Henry Kissinger, a new set of policies in the US ... One strand of the policies involved phased withdrawals of US forces, the first of which were announced in June 1969 ... The USA sought simultaneously to bolster the position of the RVN [South Vietnam republic] ... by expanding the RVN's forces and giving them more resources and increased combat responsibilities; the catch phrase was 'Vietnamisation' ... Senior Australian officers in Vietnam were sceptical about the prospects for Vietnamisation from the start. The Australian Commander in 1969, General Hay ... 'thought they were being over optimistic about the ability of the Vietnamese Army to survive if the allied forces were withdrawn. This view was shared by his deputy Colonel Alan Stretton, who wrote later that 'everybody realised the futility of the whole war' and that Vietnamisation was a 'face saving device' ... The Australian forces, however, which had been committed to Vietnam as a contribution to the Australian government's pursuit of security thought the US alliance, were clearly going to follow along with American withdrawal programs.

Gregory Pemberton (Ed.), *Vietnam Remembered*, 1990, p. 103

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Responding to Pemberton's explanation for Australia's withdrawal

1. What reason does Pemberton suggest for the withdrawal?
2. Vietnamisation was the policy of the Nixon administration in the final stages of the war. It sought to expand, equip, and train South Vietnamese forces and assign to them an ever-increasing combat role, at the same time steadily reducing the number of American combat troops. How might this be seen as a face-saving device? Were the criticisms by Australian commanders valid? Explain your response.

Historians David Lee and Moreen Dee provide further details about Australia following the lead of the US.

SOURCE 14.37 Australia follows the USA in its phased withdrawal

> Nixon's announcement of the phased withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam [in June 1969] forced the Gorton government to follow suit. In April and May 1969 the Gorton government had announced that the Australian contingent would remain in South Vietnam until it was withdrawn *in toto* ... By the end of the year Gorton's government was persuaded to announce that, like US forces, Australian forces would be withdrawn by degrees. Following Nixon's [20 April 1970] announcement that 150 000 US troops would be withdrawn over the following twelve months, Gorton announced on 22 April 1970 the withdrawal of the first Australian battalion. The Australian government had little alternative but to follow the United States in withdrawing its forces piecemeal and hoping that Vietnamisation would build up the indigenous forces capable of resisting the enemy. In March and April 1971 Gorton's successor as Prime Minister, William McMahon, announced the withdrawal of a further 2000 personnel from South Vietnam. In August he declared that 'the circumstances are such that further effect can be given to our withdrawal policy' and that most combat forces 'will be home ... by Christmas 1971'.

David Lee and Moreen Dee, 'Southeast Asian Conflict', in D. Goldsworthy, *Facing North: A Century of Australian Engagement with Asia, Vol. 1 1901 to the 1970s*, 2001, pp. 301–2

Responding to Lee and Dee's account

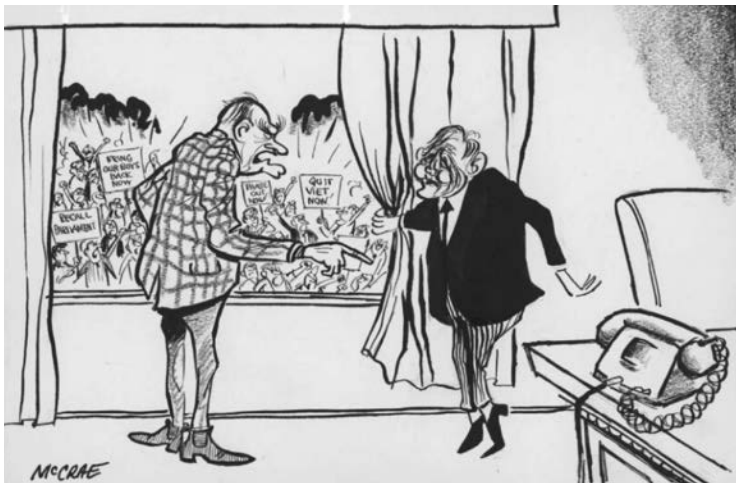
1. Why might the Gorton government have initially held the position that it would be best to withdraw Australian troops in total rather than in stages? Consider military as well as domestic arguments.
2. Why did the Australian Government have 'little alternative but to follow the United States in withdrawing its forces piecemeal'?

The following two political cartoons by Australian cartoonist Stewart McCrae comment on the motivations of the Gorton government for withdrawing troops from Vietnam.

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SOURCES 14.38 A&B Cartoonist Stewart McCrae comments on the government's motivation for withdrawing from Vietnam

A Let's take a risk for peace!



'Let's take a risk for peace! Ring the President for a definite date for our withdrawal!', Stewart McCrae, 1970. Historical figures (L to R): Deputy-Prime Minister John McEwen and Prime Minister John Gorton.

B We have our own strategic reasons for an early troop withdrawal



'Apart from Nixon's announcement, we have our own strategic reasons for an early troop withdrawal – the Senate elections!', Stewart McCrae, 1970. Historical figures (L to R): Andrew Peacock (Minister of the Army and Minister Assisting the Prime Minister 1969–71); Senator Tom Drake-Brockman (Minister for the Air 1969–71); Prime Minister John Gorton with pointer (1968–71).

Responding to the cartoons

1. What does the cartoonist suggest are the reasons being considered for Australia's withdrawal from Vietnam?
2. How do these reasons compare with the historical evidence provided so far?
3. How are the cartoons a critical comment on Australian foreign policy and Australian politics?

Historical interpretations of Australia's withdrawal from Vietnam

What have historians and other commentators said about why Australia withdrew from the Vietnam War?

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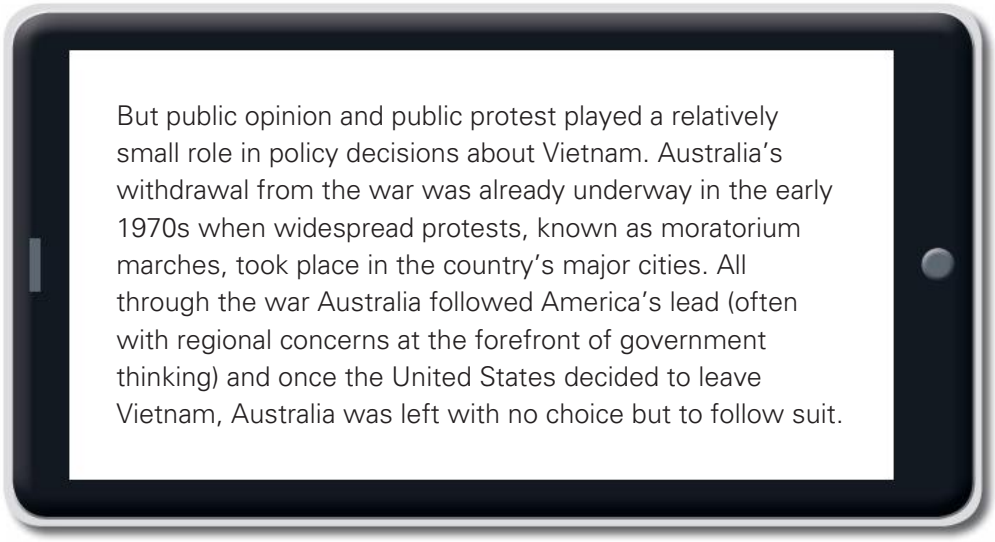
SOURCES 14.39 A–D Historians and other commentators on why Australia withdrew from the Vietnam War

A History writer Scott Brodie, 1987

The strength and determination of the moratorium demonstrations frightened a government already in disarray from internal factional-fighting and in an advanced state of decay. Pressure from the moratorium movement combined with the American policy of phased withdrawal, led to the Gorton government's announcement of a reduction in troop numbers serving with the Task Force in Vietnam.

Scott Brodie, *Tilting at Dominoes: Australia and the Vietnam War*, 1987, p. 150

B Department of Veterans' Affairs, undated



'Australia and the Vietnam War – Public opinion', Department of Veterans' Affairs website

C Historian Dr John Murphy, 1993

Before the Moratorium, the government had decided on a gradual and reluctant withdrawal, though not a result of 'the power of the streets' – the peace movement was still in a trough and the debate had stilled [in 1969]. The shift in public opinion may have been one consideration, but principally the conservatives were responding to pressure not from the streets but from the Americans, who were plainly – and unilaterally – changing the basis of foreign policy. The ... statement, on 22 April 1970, that a battalion would be withdrawn in November, gave substance to Gorton's earlier ambiguities. It, too, predated the Moratorium, though the timing – some two weeks before the first march – may have been a pre-emptive response to it. The conservatives had begun their retreat in the face of the inevitable just as the Moratorium mobilisation began.

Dr John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War*, 1993, pp. 243–4

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D Military history academic Mark Dapin, 2014

> As to the moratoriums, their effect on public opinion seems to have been misunderstood. They called for the end of the war and the return of the troops, and the war subsequently ended and the troops came home – but there was not necessarily a causal connection. There is no evidence the government altered the timing of Australian troop withdrawals in response to the protesters, rather than the actions of the US, nor that the protests won over public opinion, rather than reflecting changed sentiment. The first Australian moratorium had been followed by a second large national mobilisation in September [1970]. In the wake of both demonstrations, and almost a year of revelations about the US massacre in My Lai, the Australian population had become more stridently pro-war. By October 1970, 42 per cent of people agreed Australian troops should stay in Vietnam (the highest since August 1969) while only 50 per cent wanted them home (down 5 per cent since August 1969). If the moratoriums and the massacre had any effect on people's thinking, it was to turn the uncommitted against the anti-war movement.

Mark Dapin, *The Nashos' War: Australian National Servicemen and Vietnam*, 2014, pp. 351–2

Responding to the historical interpretations

Outline what each source says about the role of the moratorium protests and the role of the US in the Australian Government's decision to withdraw troops from the Vietnam War. You might organise your notes by drawing up a similar table to the one below.

Source	Role of the moratorium protests	Role of the US
History writer Scott Brodie (1987)		
Department of Veteran Affairs (not dated)		
Historian Dr John Murphy (1993)		
Military history academic Mark Dapin (2014)		

Based on the evidence provided, which argument(s) do you support? Explain your choice.

ACTIVITY 14.5

Take a position in a four corner debate on the moratorium demonstrations

Take a position ('Agree', 'Strongly agree', 'Disagree', 'Strongly disagree') on the following statement in a class debate. The debate begins with you moving to the part of the room which best reflects your position. If you are unsure, remain in the middle. As the debate proceeds you are able to move positions in keeping with how your views are being shaped by the debate.

Statement: *The moratorium demonstrations played no role in the Australian Government's decision to withdraw troops from Vietnam.*

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ACTIVITY 14.6

Write a response about the moratorium demonstrations

Using evidence from sources in the second part of this depth study, write a response to the statement in Activity 14.5.

The end of the war

The last Australian battalion to leave Vietnam, the 4RAR, departed in November 1971. However, it was not until 11 January 1973 that the Governor-General issued a proclamation formally declaring the war to be at an end. In the interim period, a platoon returned to guard the Australian embassy in Saigon, but it was disbanded in June 1973.

From the time of the arrival of the first Australian military advisers in 1962 almost 60 000 Australians, including ground troops and air force and navy personnel, served in Vietnam. Of these troops, 521 were killed and over 3000 were wounded (Australian War Memorial). By comparison, more than 2.5 million Americans served in Vietnam; 58 220 were killed and approximately 300 000 wounded. An estimated one and a half million Vietnamese lost their lives, and there were around four million casualties among Vietnamese civilians.

While the last US troops left Saigon in January 1973, the political provisions of the Paris Agreement (1973) which sought to resolve the Vietnam War were never implemented and fighting between communists and anti-communists continued. The early months of 1975 saw large-scale communist advances in the South. On 21 April 1975 the president of South Vietnam resigned. North and South Vietnam were formally joined under communist rule on 2 July 1976.

The American military withdrawal from Vietnam in 1973 was the culmination of a major shift in foreign policy that had been flagged in the Nixon Doctrine in July 1969. This doctrine proclaimed that although the US would honour its treaty commitments and provide military and economic assistance, it expected its allies to provide their own defence. This was widely interpreted to mean that the US would not again be drawn into a land war in South-East Asia. American bases in Thailand were closed and in 1977 SEATO was allowed to lapse. According to Karl Jackson from the Johns Hopkins University (2004:20) American policy in South-East Asia was characterised by 'benign neglect and missed opportunities'.

Despite this, a striking fact about the outcome of the Vietnam War was that no dominoes fell outside of Indochina. In many ways, anti-communist and neutralist forces were strengthened in the rest of South-East Asia during the decade 1965 to 1975. In these years the Malaysian Federation was consolidated; Thailand was secured; the Communist PKI Party was eliminated in Indonesia; and a new regional organisation, ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), committed to neutralism and non-interventionist principles, emerged.

- Does this information suggest that at least one of Australia's objectives in Vietnam was partially met? If so, which one and how? (Key objectives included: win the war, eliminate the threat of communism, secure US protection and its presence in Asia.) What information is provided to suggest that Australia's two other objectives were not achieved?

Reflecting on these outcomes after 1975, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser (1975–83) claimed that 'the cause was right', but that the strategy and tactics went 'hopelessly wrong'. In contrast, opponents of the war, such as former Labor minister Jim Cairns, fundamentally differed from this view by refusing to accept the rightness of the US and Australian intervention. This was largely because they interpreted

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the North Vietnamese cause not simply as communist but as also genuinely nationalist. In this vein, one American critic, Frances FitzGerald, argued that the West's war in Vietnam was always unwinnable, since the triumph of the revolution was assured by the forces of Vietnamese history. Renowned US critic Noam Chomsky took that analysis further, locating the Vietnam War in a broader context of post-1945 geopolitics. He stated:

> The US war in Indochina began as one of innumerable examples of counterrevolutionary intervention throughout the world. ... It was gradually transformed into one of the most destructive and murderous attacks on a civilian population in history.

SOURCE 14.40 Noam Chomsky, *The Political Economy of Human Rights, Volume II: After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology*, 1979, p. 1

14.8 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you have learned about the background to the Vietnam War, analysed a range of primary and secondary sources to closely examine why Australian troops were sent to fight in Vietnam and why they were subsequently withdrawn. You have evaluated historical interpretations on these questions and synthesised information to form historical arguments.

ACTIVITY 14.7

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?

Review the sources in each inquiry and complete the following tasks.

1. Why did Australia commit ground troops to the Vietnam War?

Point made in this section	Best source(s) and the evidence to support this point
Fear of communism	
Pressure from the US	
American alliance	
Strategic insurance	
Australian initiatives – seeking involvement	
Request by South Vietnam	

2. Why did Australia withdraw from Vietnam without achieving its objectives?

Point made in this section	Best source(s) and the evidence to support this point
Moratorium campaign	
US policy revision	
Shift in popular attitudes to the war	

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CONCLUDING STUDY
The legacy of the Vietnam War

14.9 Long Tan

No other object associated with the Vietnam War has the emotional importance of the Long Tan Cross to Australian veterans. After being erected at the site of Australia's most well-known battle almost 50 years ago, it was returned in secret to Australia in November 2017. Prior to its return, it was one of only two memorials to foreign forces that were officially allowed in Vietnam. (The other is the memorial to French forces at Dien Bien Phu.)

A photograph of the Long Tan Cross dedication in 1969, three years after the actual battle, is pictured in Source 14.41. The original cross can now be found in the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

SOURCE 14.41 The Long Tan Cross dedication, 1969



Responding to the photograph

1. Why might the Long Tan Cross be so important to Vietnam veterans? What might it symbolise?
2. Discuss the phenomenon of memorials being placed in countries where devastating wars have been fought.
3. Imagine the thoughts and feelings of the local people living near such a memorial, particularly in cases where the adversaries were considered invaders. Imagine why visiting such memorials might be so important for the foreign visitors. Discuss whether this practice could have both positive and negative effects.

According to Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull the return of the cross was a 'great act of generosity' by the Vietnamese Government. A condition of this goodwill gesture was that no publicity was to surround the handover of the cross.

For decades the annual commemoration of the 1966 battle by Australians has been a sensitive issue in Vietnam. Accordingly, visitors to the memorial were not allowed to wear uniforms, display medals or play music. The Vietnamese Government went further in 2017 when it controversially decided to ban access to the site for Australians wanting to visit for the annual commemorations.

ACTIVITY 14.8

Research the Battle of Long Tan

Find out why the Battle of Long Tan is such an important battle for Australians and such a sensitive one for the Vietnamese. An account of the battle can be found on the Australian Army's website.

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14.10 Vietnam veterans

A major legacy of the Vietnam War is the impact on those who served, and by extension their friends and family. Peter Edwards, in *Australia and the Vietnam War* (2014:277), maintains that while this story is a 'complex' one, there are three discernible strands: the reception given to veterans returning from the war; the impact of post-traumatic stress on the health of veterans; and the effect of toxic chemicals and herbicides (primarily Agent Orange).

ACTIVITY 14.9

Research the National Vietnam Veterans Museum

Explore the National Vietnam Veterans Museum website and read the stories of Vietnam vets to gain a personal perspective on the war and its impacts.

14.11 Conscription and anti-war protest

Protests against conscription and the wider war took many forms, and were a source of controversy. Paul Ham describes some dramatic incidents below.

SOURCE 14.42 Tactics of anti-conscription and anti-war activists

... five women chained themselves to the public gallery in the House of Representatives, in protest at the jailing of **draft resister** Louis Christofides, himself famous for sitting down on a railway line to stop a train carrying nashos ... a pirate radio station, voted on whether to resist a police siege peacefully or by throwing marbles down the stairs. Conscripts deliberately failed their psych tests with neurotic answers ... Others pretended to 'be gay' according to a booklet on how to avoid the draft ... 'wear white slacks, have your hair cut camp' ... Counterproductive tactics included daubing anti-war graffiti on shrines to the fallen in the world wars, sending soldiers' names and addresses to the Viet Cong, and even attending soldiers' funerals waving pro-Viet Cong banners. One group made a half-hearted attempt to firebomb the Australian offices of Honeywell, makers of **napalm**.

draft resister someone who evades compulsory military service

napalm a flammable liquid used in warfare

Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 2007, p. 584

Responding to the source

1. Which of these activists' tactics – all, some or none – do you think go too far?
2. Should a government have the right to conscript people for military service? If so, under what circumstances?
3. Should people have the right to conscientious objection to conscription? If so, on which of these grounds: (a) pacifist belief, (b) religious belief, (c) humanitarian belief, (d) belief in individual freedom, (e) objection to a specific war?
4. Can unlawful actions be justified in protesting against a perceived unjust law? If so, what limitations should apply?
5. Does Ham's extract suggest that he has a personal view on conscription and activism? Explain your response.
6. Peter Edwards claims that one major legacy of the Vietnam era is a total change in public attitudes to conscription. What does this tell you about the power of protest?

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14.12 Australia's first 'boat people'

The first boat people to arrive on Australian shores in 1976 were five young Vietnamese refugees escaping the aftermath of the war. This was the beginning of a surge in Vietnamese migration to Australia. Prior to 1975, there were about 700 Vietnam-born people in Australia; the 2011 census recorded approximately 185 000 (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2014). Many of these refugees and immigrants have made major contributions to Australian society.



SOURCE 14.43 Refugees from South Vietnam, flown to Sydney after arriving by boat on the Western Australian coast, 1977
Look into the faces of the various individuals in the photo and choose one word or phrase to describe how they might be feeling. Each word/phrase needs to be unique to that person.

ACTIVITY 14.10

Research Vietnamese Australians

Seek out the Wikipedia page on Vietnamese Australians to discover their history, demographics, and outstanding individuals. Scan the list of individuals, divvy up the list between the class, and research one. Share your findings with the class, noting the scope and diversity of the collective contribution of this group.

14.13 The paradox of the Vietnam War

The Geneva Accords laid the basis for democratic nationwide elections in 1956 to reunify Vietnam as an independent nation. If all parties had honoured that agreement, it is possible that Vietnam would have become a united country, albeit one with an authoritarian one-party government, implementing a mixture of nationalist and communist policies and programs. It is also possible that the Vietnam War could have been avoided.

ACTIVITY 14.11

Discuss a hypothetical about the Geneva agreement

What if the Geneva agreement had been implemented in 1956? Is it likely that the reunited Vietnam might have developed as suggested above, or might it have collapsed into instability and possibly a civil war or even a wider war?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Vietnam War, memory, myth and history

- In the first half of the twentieth century, three national policies framed the relationship between Australia and Asian countries: White Australia, economic protectionism and a foreign policy that relied on Britain for security.
- Australia's attitudes towards Asia were particularly affected by the experiences of World War II where fears of the 'yellow peril' became a reality with the bombing of Darwin and Japanese submarines in Sydney Harbour.
- During the 1950s and 1960s Australia's relationship with Asia was driven by Cold War imperatives and the domino theory.
- From 1962 to 1972, Australia's support for US military intervention in Vietnam dominated Australia's engagement with Asia.

Depth study: Why did Australia commit ground troops to a war in Vietnam and later withdraw those troops without achieving its objectives?

- ANZUS was Australia's first treaty with a major foreign country and the first explicit commitment to Australian defence by the US Government.
- SEATO committed the US Government to the security of Australia's neighbours against communist aggression.
- The policy of forward defence took the view that Australia, with its low population density and long coasts, was basically 'indefensible'.
- In 1964 Australia was more concerned about the security implications arising from the Indonesian Confrontation than events in South Vietnam.
- On 10 November 1964 the Australian Government introduced conscription, as a result of the Indonesian Confrontation, and the growing communist influence in Laos and South Vietnam.
- Throughout early 1965 Australia pressured the US Government to pursue more vigorous measures in Vietnam.
- On 8 March 1965, the first wave of American combat troops entered South Vietnam.
- On 29 April 1965, Prime Minister Menzies announced that Australia was committing ground troops to the war in Vietnam. He said Australia had received an official request from the South Vietnamese Government, but in 1971, the leaked Pentagon Papers suggested otherwise.
- From 1965 to 1968 the Vietnam War was widely supported by the media and the general Australian public.
- The Tet Offensive by the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese, in January 1968, was covered on US and Australian television. It is widely seen as the turning point of the war, though the war dragged on for years.
- The My Lai massacre was carried out by American soldiers on 16 March 1968, but not revealed to the public until November 1969. This massacre had a powerful influence on the Australian protest movement of the early 1970s and Australian attitudes to the war.
- In 1970 and 1971, the anti-war movement reached its zenith in Australia in the Vietnam Moratorium campaign.
- Australia's participation in the war was formally declared at an end when the Governor-General issued a proclamation on 11 January 1973.

Concluding study: The legacy of the Vietnam War

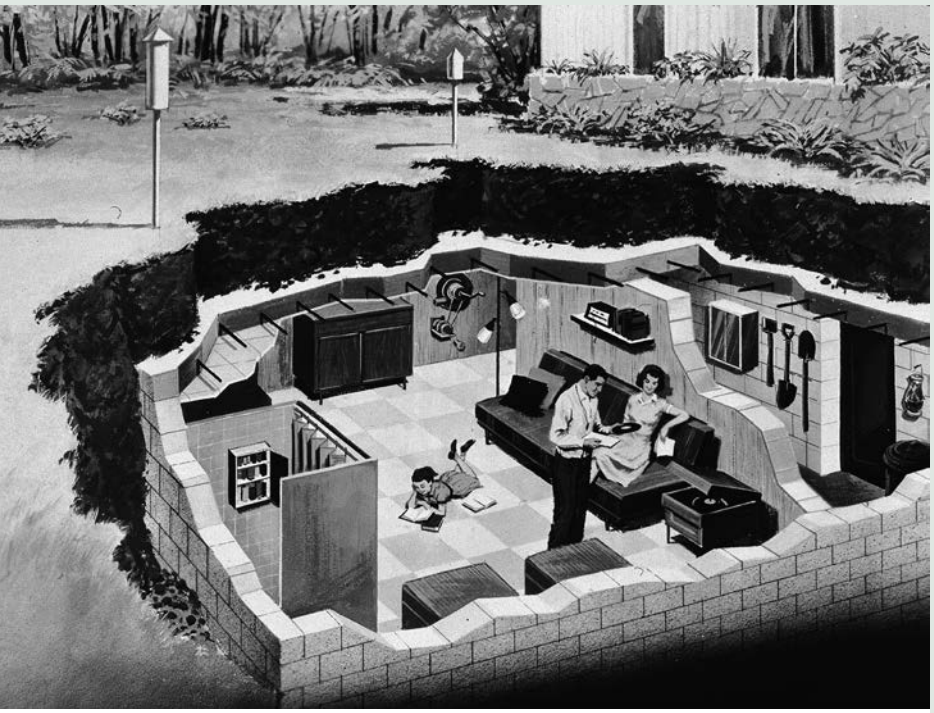
- The Long Tan Cross was returned in secret to Australia in November 2017.
- A major legacy of the Vietnam War is the impact on those who served. Three areas of impact relate to: the reception of war veterans returning home, health impacts of post-traumatic stress, and effects of toxic chemicals (primarily Agent Orange).
- 1976 saw the arrival of Australia's first boat people – Vietnamese people fleeing from the new communist regime. The Vietnamese migration that followed has shaped and contributed to Australian society.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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CHAPTER 15
Cold War, 1945–1991
Focus: The Cuban missile crisis, 1962



SOURCE 15.1 Can the American dream survive a nuclear attack? During the Cold War, American families were encouraged to build underground shelters that would protect against radioactive fallout from a nuclear assault.

Indiana, USA, 1953

At the surgery, six-year-old Marcia* is instructed by her mother, Cynthia, to sit still. A nurse hands Marcia a necklace affixed with a metal tag and warns her to never remove it. Marcia inspects the writing on the tag: Name: Marcia O'Reilly. Blood type: O–. Religion: Catholic. 'Close your eyes,' the nurse says, picking up a large needle-like instrument. A fierce pain explodes from Marcia's rib cage. She gasps and begins to cry. When Marcia gets home, she rushes to a mirror. Under her armpit, scorched in blue, is a symbol: O–. Cynthia wipes away her daughter's confused tears and tries to explain: 'That's a tattoo, dear. In case of an emergency it tells the hospital your blood type.' Exhausted, Marcia falls asleep on her mother's lap. 'The Russians are going to attack,' Cynthia sobs into Marcia's hair. 'You have to wear the necklace so that we can find your body.'

Indiana, USA, 1959

The holidays are approaching and Cynthia and Jeffrey are arguing about how to spend his annual bonus. Jeffrey wants to holiday in Cuba again. Their kids, Marcia and Daniel, loved it last time. Cynthia worries that Cuba's new oddball leader, Fidel Castro, will flip his lid and spoil their fun. Instead, Cynthia convinces Jeffrey to spend his entire holiday bonus – $725 – on one of those pre-fabricated nuclear fallout shelters. 'They protect you from nearly all radiation!' Cynthia says to Jeffrey. 'Plus,' she adds, 'they're very comfortable. I read in *Life* that a couple spent their honeymoon in one!'

Clayton Barry

* 'Marcia' is only partially based on a real person, but the events as described in this story are certainly supported by historical evidence.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Nuclear weapons and the Cold War

The Cold War defined the lives of millions around the globe. Since the brutal conclusion of World War II was punctuated by atomic bombing of Japan in 1945, the world came to realise and fear the destructive power of nuclear weapons, capable of destroying humankind many times over. The defeat of German and Japanese forces left two **superpowers**, the USA and the Soviet Union, to exert their influence around the world. As the USA was the first to develop and use atomic (and eventually thermonuclear) weapons, the Soviet Union engaged in a rapid arms race with the US that increased the size and strength of their respective arsenals. The threat nuclear weapons posed to the entire world was a key element of the Cold War.

superpower term used to describe the USA and the USSR after World War II, as both countries were more powerful than any previous nations in history

15.1 How powerful are nuclear weapons?

Building on advances in nuclear physics made in Germany and Britain, the United States first tested an atomic weapon in New Mexico in 1945. Only a few months later, two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, killing an estimated 200 000 people.

SOURCES 15.2 A–C The bombing of Hiroshima

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

A new fear arose as images of the destructive power of nuclear weapons entered the public consciousness, as both the USA and the USSR worked on developing their nuclear capabilities in the decades after the war. In the remote Marshall Islands in the Pacific Ocean, the USA conducted 23 test explosions in an area of the islands known as Bikini Atoll.

SOURCE 15.3 A thermonuclear explosion on Bikini Atoll, 1964

Responding to the photograph

1. Go online to research the Bikini Atoll tests. Why were these tests in particular so significant?
2. Considering that this image is real and not altered in any way, what does it tell you about the destructive power of nuclear weapons?
3. During the Cold War, many saw the development as an effective 'deterrent' against a nation's enemies. Why do you think this would be the case?
4. Do you think that idea of 'nuclear deterrence' seems wise and justifiable?



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SOURCE 15.4 'Doom Town', 1965

Responding to the photograph

1. How devastating does the nuclear blast appear to have been?
2. Is it probable that the impact closer to ground zero would have been much greater?
3. Why would the US Government have wanted to measure the impact of possible nuclear attacks on civilian populations? Note the helmeted observer inspecting the scene.

ground zero the exact point on the ground where a nuclear bomb explodes



A mannequin family at 'Doom Town', located 1.5 kilometres from **ground zero**

As the nuclear tests proceeded, the US Government measured the probable impacts of a nuclear attack by constructing mock settlements such as 'Doom Town' – populated by mannequins – within the target area of their nuclear tests.

The development of nuclear weapons in the Cold War reached its most dangerous point during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 when American president John F. Kennedy announced that the Soviet Union had placed nuclear weapons in striking distance of almost every American city. It was perhaps the most terrifying moment of the Cold War.

> I remember when the announcement happened and my family reacted with: The world is going to end, and it had something to do with Cuba. I was seven years old at the time ... I was very afraid. And then the adults in the house started wondering, well, maybe they'll hit New York first. And so, I didn't sleep for days.

SOURCE 15.5 Marta Darby, a Cuban-American student living in Miami, in 1962
What fears does Marta express in her quote? Does she share a hopeful or despairing view of the future?

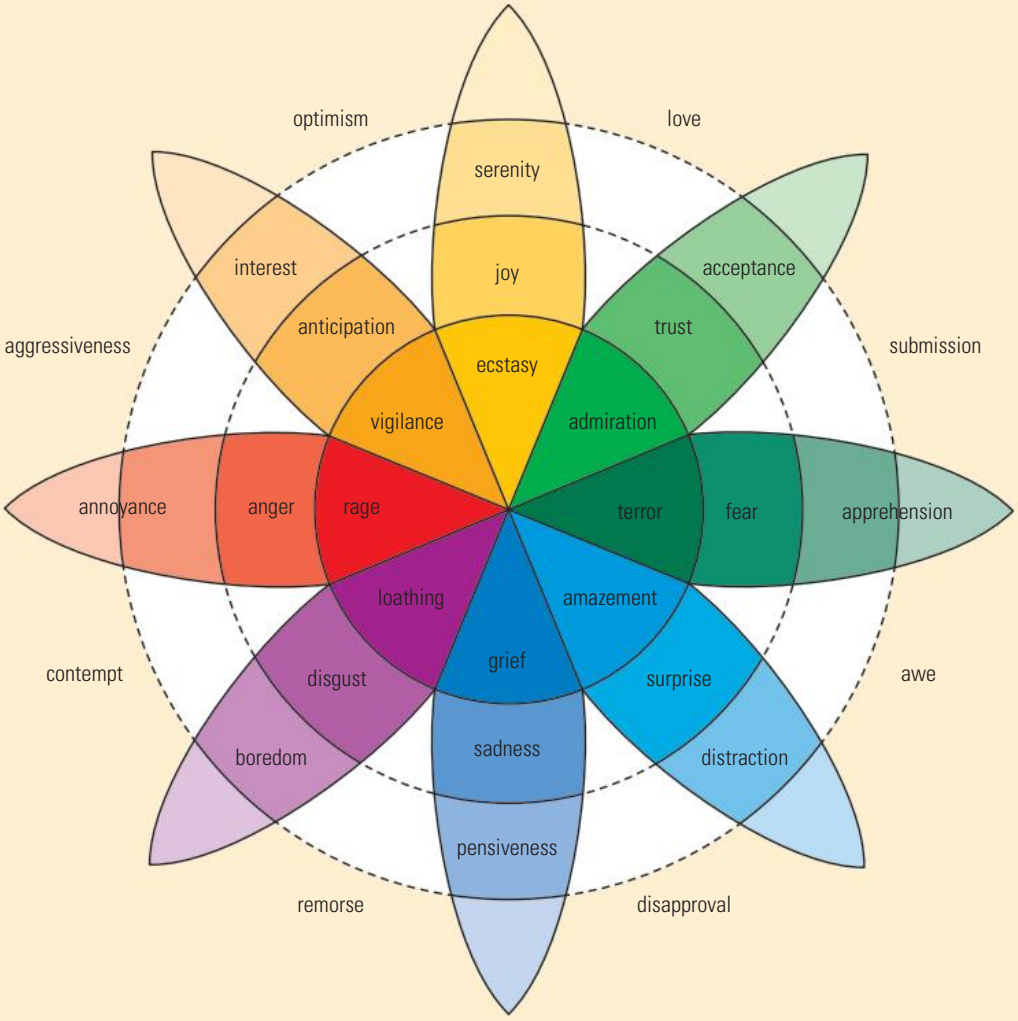
The Cold War was costly in terms of resources, technology and – at times – human lives. It also dominated the thoughts, clouded the futures and plagued the nightmares of entire generations of humans. As US President Ronald Reagan said in 1992, for 50 years the Cold War 'haunted the dreams of children everywhere'.

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ACTIVITY 15.1

Consider emotional responses to the Cold War

This chapter invites you to consider the emotions of those who experienced the Cold War, as well as your own emotions as you explore the conflict. Use psychologist Robert Plutchik's *Emotions Wheel* to respond to the questions below:



SOURCE 15.6 Robert Plutchik's *Emotions Wheel* catalogues universal human emotions.

1. Mannequin 'families' were often used to test how nuclear explosions would affect people living in everyday suburban homes. How does it make you feel to know that these sorts of experiments took place? What emotions do you think the observer in the 'Doom Town' photo (Source 15.4) was feeling as she inspected the effects of the nuclear explosion?
2. What emotions do you think Americans – young and old – would feel as they experienced tattooing (like Marcia) and discussed buying a fallout shelter (like Cynthia's family)?
3. Imagine yourself an eyewitness to the Bikini Atoll atomic test. Using your findings from the research task, how would you describe your reaction to the strength of the weapons tested?
4. Might children struggle to understand the idea of nuclear threat? Could that produce emotional problems?

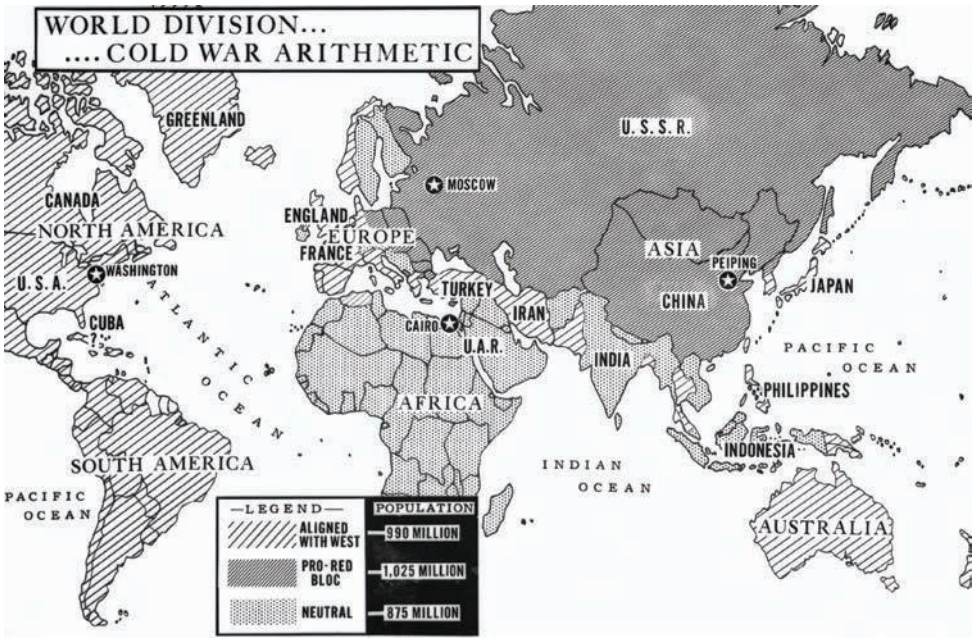
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15.2 How did the Cold War divide the world?

As the map in Source 15.7 shows, the Cold War grew to envelop a large proportion of the world's nations. The Cold War, so named because it stopped short of an all-out war or a hot war conducted on a battlefield, was characterised by covert conflicts 'pursued by indirect means' (Dockrill and Hopkins, 2006:1). In short, the superpowers used other nations, or proxies, to fight their battles for them.

This map shows a world divided into three blocs. Put simply, the Cold War was characterised by sharp political and economic differences between liberal, capitalist democracies like the United States (on the map these countries 'aligned with the West') and centralised, authoritarian communist countries like the Soviet Union (on the map these countries are called 'pro-red bloc' – a clue as to which side produced the map). A third category on the map is labelled 'neutral', countries that were aligned neither with the West nor with the Soviet Union.

SOURCE 15.7 A bipolar world



This 1960 map shows a divided Cold War world.

Responding to the map

1. What percentage of the world's population is in each category: West, Soviet and neutral? Which continents were dominated by capitalist countries and which were dominated by communist countries?
2. For both the communist and capitalist blocs, neutral territories became the battlefronts in the fight for either a capitalist-dominated or a communist-dominated world. Examine the map and name three regions or countries on the map that the Cold War superpowers might attempt to influence.
3. Locate Cuba on the map. Why do you think the cartographer represented Cuba as a question mark?

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru used different terms to describe three Cold War worlds: first world countries were capitalist democracies, like the US and its allies (including Australia); second world countries were communist countries, like the USSR and China; third world countries were those countries, like India, who were aligned with neither the USA nor USSR. Third world countries were 'developing' (poorer) economically, contrasted with the 'developed' (richer) first world countries. Nehru worried that these third world countries could be exploited and even controlled by the superpowers. He also believed

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the rival superpowers would compete to have third world countries – like Vietnam, India, and Cuba – join their respective camp or side in the Cold War struggle. You will see evidence of this in your study of Cuba.

Some 'first world' leaders agreed with US President Kennedy's 1963 depiction of the Cold War as conflict between 'the free world and the Communist world', while the Soviets labelled the West as 'capitalist imperialists'. In 1946, former British prime minister Winston Churchill labelled the first and second worlds – less pejoratively but somewhat inaccurately – as 'the West' and 'the East' respectively.

SOURCES 15.8 A&B Views on opposing ideas, 1946

A US diplomat George Kennan

> In this dogma, with its basic altruism of purpose, they found justification for their instinctive fear of outside world, for the dictatorship without which they did not know how to rule, for cruelties they did not dare not to inflict, for sacrifice they felt bound to demand. In the name of Marxism they sacrificed every single ethical value in their methods and tactics. Today they cannot dispense with it ... The USSR still lives in antagonistic 'capitalist encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence.

Extract from an 8000-word telegram sent in 1946 by US diplomat George Kennan to the US Government, explaining his view of the Russian Government and its Marxist ideology

B Soviet leader Joseph Stalin

> In essence Mr. Churchill and his friends in England and the USA have presented the non-English-speaking nations with something like an ultimatum: recognize our dominance voluntarily and then all will be in order; in the contrary case, war is inevitable ... It is wholly probable, therefore, that the non-English-speaking nations, which include the great majority of the population of the world, will not agree to accept a new slavery.

Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, 1946, responding to a speech made by former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill that warned of Russian aggression

Responding to the sources

1. How does each Cold War superpower depict the other? What specific allegations does each make about the other?
2. How antagonistic and irreconcilable do the two sides seem?
3. Does future 'peaceful coexistence' seem likely?

15.3 What ideological conflict underpinned the Cold War?

The term 'ideology' means a system of values, ideas, concepts and beliefs that explain how society should best work – politically, socially, culturally, economically. An ideology provides a blueprint or an action plan for a preferred future. So, ideologies have two components: a set of shared beliefs/values *and* some idea of action to bring about a preferred future. Not surprisingly, differences between ideologies can lead to conflict. One way to view the Cold War is to see it as an ideological conflict between the Soviets' belief in the ideologies of **socialism** and **communism** on the one hand,

socialism political and economic theory which proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

communism economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

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and the West's belief in the ideologies of democracy, liberalism and capitalism on the other. Examine the political cartoon in Source 15.9.

SOURCE 15.9 A propaganda poster, 1919



The ideological struggle after the Russian Revolution. This propaganda poster was produced during the civil war that followed the 1917 Bolshevik (communist) Revolution in Russia.

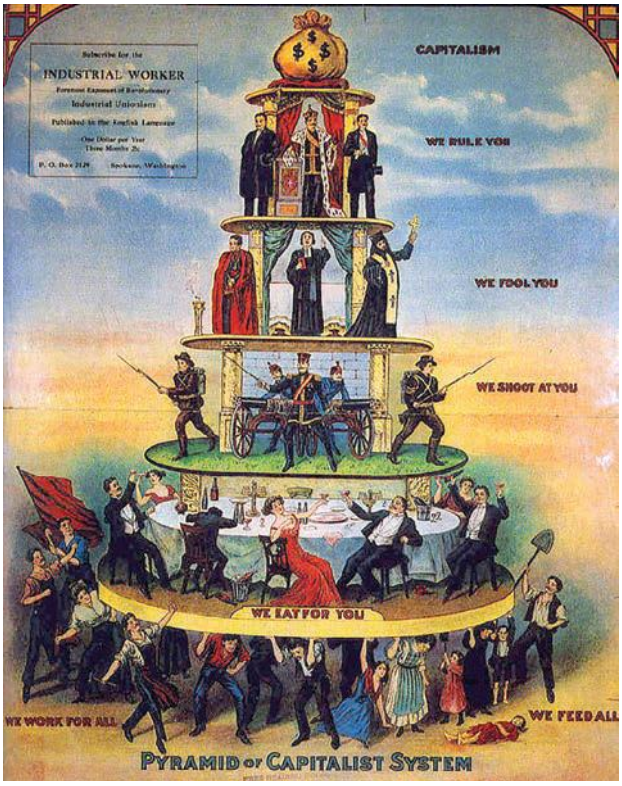
Responding to the cartoon

1. Judging by the cartoon figures alone, do you think this poster favours the capitalist or the communist side? Explain your answer.
2. The caption reads 'Either death to capitalism or death under the heels of capitalism'. Does that caption validate your decision in question 1?
3. Historically, could this be seen as an early image of the Cold War? Explain your response.
4. How might the following have responded to the poster: working-class Russians; Russian business owners; political leaders in Western Europe and the USA?

The historical origins of ideological conflict

The image in Source 15.10 is a 1911 American adaptation of a poster created by Russian Socialists in 1901. The poster is political and partisan, but it does highlight the basis of the ideological conflict that fuelled the Cold War.

The concepts of class, inequality, oppression, exploitation and suffering lie at the heart of powerful left-wing ideologies – socialism, Marxism and communism. Left-wing critiques of capitalism see those problems as natural consequences of the prevalent liberal, capitalist ideology that had dominated Europe for over a century, with its emphasis on individual freedom and aspiration, free-enterprise capitalism, material acquisition and competition.



SOURCE 15.10 Cartoon published in *Industrial Worker*, 1911, based on a socialist depiction of how capitalism works, c. 1900

Each group of people is given a statement (e.g. 'We rule you'). What label would you give to each group? Which of the groups would probably gain most under capitalism, and which the least? What aspects of the cartoon would you select to highlight the existence of: social class; inequality; power; oppression; exploitation; suffering? Explain each choice.

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◆ Discuss the possible benefits and the disadvantages of the liberal capitalist ideals of 'individual freedom and aspiration', 'free-enterprise capitalism', 'material acquisition' and 'competition'. Do you recognise those benefits and disadvantages in Australian society?

In 1848, the Germans Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, both of whom had lived in England, published their pamphlet *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Its final paragraph shook the very foundations of society. Communists, they declared, could achieve their aims 'only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution.' They went on, 'the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!'

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; seen by Marx and Lenin as oppressors of the workers

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Marx and Engels were living through the Industrial Revolution, a time when the capitalist economic system involved owners (**bourgeoisie**) establishing factories (the means of production) employing workers (the **proletariat**), and making profits, some of which they invested as capital in their businesses, and some of which financed very comfortable lifestyles. Marx and Engels' key criticism of this capitalist system was that workers did not receive a fair share of the surplus value of what they made – the difference between the cost of producing something and the price it was sold for. Marx and Engels criticised capitalists for denying workers their share of that profit, as well as for paying workers low wages, not providing safe and healthy workplaces, imposing long working hours and denying workers any rights. In a word, it was exploitation they were critiquing.



SOURCE 15.11 A late nineteenth century photo depicts Marx's proletariat factory workers.
Why might a factory system make the control and exploitation of workers easier and more effective?

Marx and Engels were not the first to make these criticisms. Earlier socialists had done so already. But Marx and Engels were different in claiming history was 'on their side' – specifically, that just as feudal lords had been replaced by the rise of the bourgeoisie, so too would the exploited industrial proletariat overthrow the bourgeoisie. A crucial element of the communist ideology was the rejection of religion as 'the opium of the people' that had been used by the ruling classes to oppress the poor. This would later become a key element of anti-communist Cold War propaganda.

Marx and Engels saw no likelihood of change happening peacefully, predicting instead that revolution would be needed. That revolution would lead to a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and eventually to a classless society based on social equality, the abolition of private property and the public ownership of the means of production. It was envisaged that this classless society would be a happier, safer world for everyone. The idea that communism could provide the template for a better society inspired Lenin, Trotsky and others to bring about the second Russian Revolution (the 'October Revolution') in 1917. This ushered in the world's first communist state. Their revolution would become instrumental in shaping the events of the twentieth century. Communist Russia, with an estimated population of around 130 million, proposed a very different future than that which was promised by the capitalists and provided the ideological contest that was at the heart of the Cold War.

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15.4 What were relations between Russia and the West like before World War II?

In the nineteenth century, monarchist (Tsarist) Russia engaged in a series of international conflicts which caused Western nations some disquiet. During this age of imperialism, Russia's territorial expansions sometimes butted up against the imperial manoeuvres of both the USA and Britain. Until 1867, Russia and the USA disputed the American state of Alaska. At times Russia proved an uneasy ally (for example, during the early nineteenth-century Napoleonic Wars and the 1899 Boxer Rebellion). At other times, Russia acted as a formidable foe (as in the 1853 Crimean War). In the Russo-Japanese War (1905), in which Russia was sorely beaten, US military attachés warily observed Russia's expansion into Asia.

In the same year there was a revolt against the authority of Nicholas II, culminating in a massacre of demonstrators on Bloody Sunday. Nicholas averted disaster by introducing some reforms, including reviving an assembly, the Duma. However, he soon reverted to authoritarian rule for another decade. Growing opposition, and anger at Russian losses in World War I, saw the Tsar forced to abdicate in March 1917 in the first Russian Revolution which produced a Provisional Government. Instability continued, and that government was overthrown in October 1917 in the Bolshevik Revolution that produced the world's first communist government, led by Vladimir Lenin.

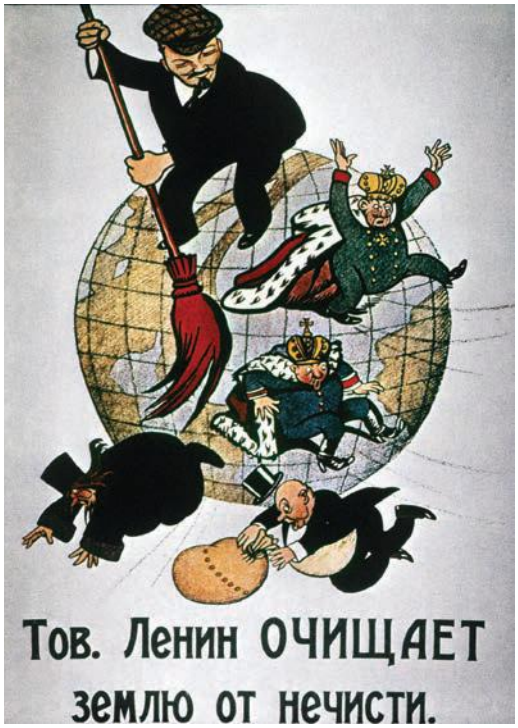
imperialist seeking, creating and maintaining direct or indirect control of territories beyond a nation's borders. Direct control takes the form of colonies within a empire. Indirect control can take the form of political, diplomatic, economic and/or cultural influence and pressure (for example, cultural imperialism).

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it signals that both sides are seeking peace.

The tensions between Russia and the West exploded following the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet leader (Lenin) claimed World War I was an **imperialist** and capitalist 'war of plunder' for the division of the world, and promptly announced an **armistice** (1917) with the Central Powers. Russia's allies – the capitalist democracies Britain and France – saw Russia's withdrawal from the war against Germany as a betrayal.

Relations between Russia and its former wartime allies deteriorated further in 1918. A civil war had broken out following the October 1917 revolution in Russia, pitting 'white' forces against the 'red' Bolshevik forces. Troops from a number of allied nations intervened in the civil war on the side of the white forces. The red forces eventually won the war, establishing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on 28 December 1922. By then, the seeds of distrust had been planted firmly between the USSR and its former allies. The 1920 poster in Source 15.12 suggests that distrust – and even conflict – were not surprising.

By the early 1930s, relations between the USSR and other national powers had mostly normalised following the fraught years of the Russian Revolution. In 1934, the USSR joined the League of Nations – the collective inter-governmental body established to 'safeguard the peace of nations' (Covenant of the League of Nations, 1924) – and in 1933 the US established diplomatic ties with the USSR. Strategically, Britain and the US regarded the USSR as a future counterforce to Hitler's growing German empire, which was making bold territorial demands on its neighbours. However, on 23 August 1939, just days before the outbreak of World War II, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was signed,



SOURCE 15.12 'Comrade Lenin cleans the Earth from impurities', a Soviet anti-capitalist propaganda poster from 1920

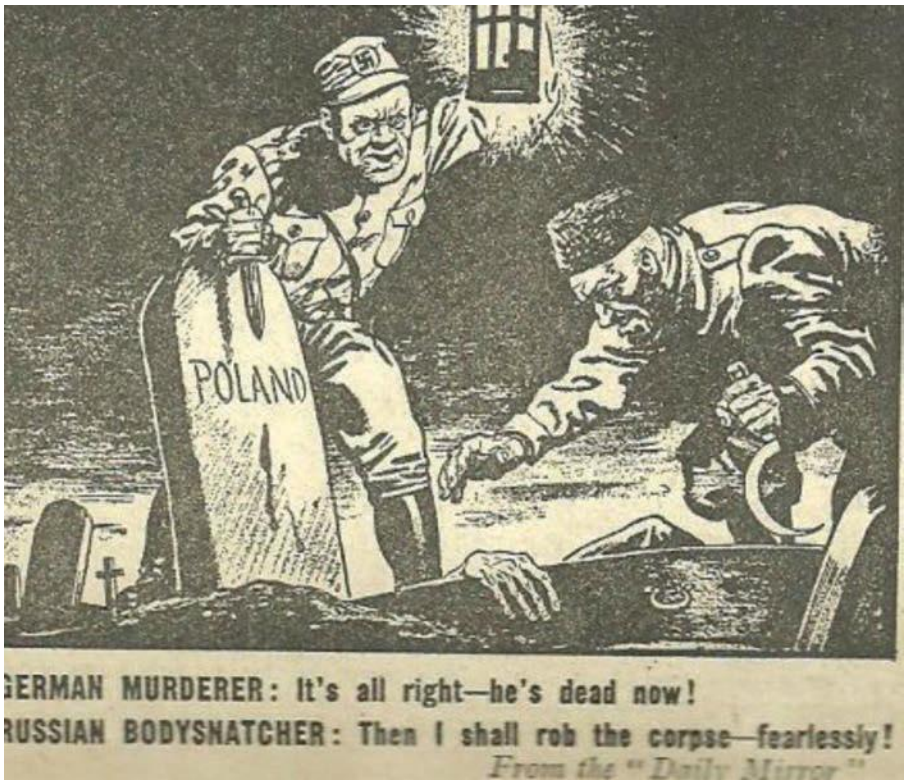
What three aspects of many European societies are being swept away by Lenin?

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a Russian treaty with Germany which obligated both countries to 'desist from any act of violence, any aggressive action, and any attack on each other'. More ominously, the pact included secret provisions for the later division of the Baltic States into German and Soviet spheres of influence. In short, the two sides agreed not to wage war on one another, so long as both got a share of neutral Poland.

15.5 What was the impact of World War II?

On 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland in a devastating blitzkrieg or 'lightning war' that devastated the Polish defences within weeks. Britain and France, who had pledged to protect Poland's independence, declared war on 3 September. On 17 September, the Soviets invaded from the east. This cartoon depicts the fate of Poland.



SOURCE 15.13 Political cartoon commenting on the invasion of Poland, 1939
In what way does this cartoon depict a consequence of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact? Why, in terms of historical chronology, would the artist depict the German as the murderer and the Russian as the bodysnatcher? The cartoon is metaphorical. What effect do you think the artist has aimed for through the following features: depicting Poland as a corpse; depicting both the German and the Russian as grave robbers; the inclusion of the bloody knife and the sickle; setting the scene in a graveyard at night-time? What is the overall message of the cartoon? Do you think the cartoon could influence the views of people reading it? In what ways can metaphorical cartoons like this one be more powerful than realistic depictions?

For a period of almost two years, the Nazis' pact with the Soviets held fast. This allowed Germany to successfully overrun most of Western Europe and wage a devastating aerial bombing blitz of Britain. In 1941, following these successes, Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa. In breach of the 1939 non-aggression pact, three million German troops invaded the USSR. Following the invasion of the USSR, the Allied Forces, which would later include the US, found themselves cautiously allied to their Soviet former idealogical adversary. Germany was now fighting on both an Eastern and a Western Front.

The devastation of war on Europe's Western Front has become the stuff of Hollywood legend. However, operations such as the D-Day invasion in France were dwarfed by the battle for the Soviet city of Stalingrad on the Eastern Front (1943) which claimed over one million Soviet casualties alone. At war's end (1945), between 10% and 20% of the total population of the Soviet Union had perished, perhaps around 20 million in total. For Stalin, the American and British D-Day invasion was a case of too little, too late. Indeed, the Allies' delay in opening a second front in the war deepened Soviet suspicions that the West was eager to see the Axis powers and the Soviet Union annihilate each other, extinguishing two threats at once: Germany's totalitarian dictatorship and the sweeping force of communism in Eastern Europe. The Allies' delay and the Soviet suspicions demonstrated the ongoing ambivalence and sometime contradictions of relations

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SOURCE 15.14 The race to Berlin – a Soviet soldier raises the flag over the German Reichstag building in Berlin on 30 April 1945.
How did the 'race to Berlin' shape the future of Germany and affect the development of a Cold War? How does this photo hint at the challenges facing post-war Germany?

between the USSR and Western powers who could be simultaneously ideological foes and wartime allies.

As World War II was drawing to a close, Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union met in a series of three conferences, Moscow (1944), Yalta (1945) and Potsdam (1945), to re-organise post-war Europe. At Moscow, a Percentages Agreement was informally reached between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Josef Stalin to divide Europe into Soviet and Western spheres of influence. In Yalta, the nations deliberated over the nature of free elections in Eastern Europe. In Potsdam, a tense agreement was reached to split Germany into four occupied zones: the Soviet zone and the closely allied French, British and US zones.

In 1945, Germany's defeat seemed inevitable. What ensued was a 'race to Berlin' between Soviet troops moving westward and the American-led troops advancing east. Soviet forces reached Berlin first, resulting in difficult negotiations among the victorious nations. Germany was, as decided at Potsdam, divided into Soviet and US/British/French zones and Berlin itself – inside the Soviet zone – was also divided into corresponding sectors.

The war with Japan continued. Following the sudden death of Roosevelt after Yalta, his replacement Harry Truman decided to use the atomic bomb in August 1945 to end the war with Japan. Thinking the destructive power of the two bombings would be a powerful bargaining tool with Stalin, the US President was surprised by his Soviet counterpart's indifference to the news. Stalin had had spies within the atomic bomb development, known as the Manhattan Project, since its beginning. His anger was reserved for his own military for not developing their own.

15.6 How did Soviet–West relations deteriorate following World War II?

By war's end in 1945, much of Europe and Asia was in physical and political ruin. The pre-war world order was no more. In its place stood two huge superpowers, the US and USSR, two nations with vastly different ideologies and economies and strikingly different experiences of World War II. The US had exited the war economically buoyant, with its homeland largely unscathed, and positioned as the world's leading military power. Much of the USSR was devastated. The Soviets were adamant that they would never again become so vulnerable to outside forces. Ideologically, there was a Soviet assumption that conflict between the USSR and the West was likely.

The likelihood of that conflict increased even before World War II was over. The race to Berlin was mirrored by Soviet and Allied advances around the rest of Europe. What eventuated was described in 1946 by Winston Churchill as an 'Iron Curtain' that had descended across Europe. On one side lay a number of countries under Soviet control or influence: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania. These eventually became linked through the Soviet's Warsaw Pact (1955). On the other side lay the democratic countries of Western Europe. Most of them, along with the US and Canada, eventually became linked within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO, 1949).

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SOURCE 15.15 The Iron Curtain division of central Europe after World War II

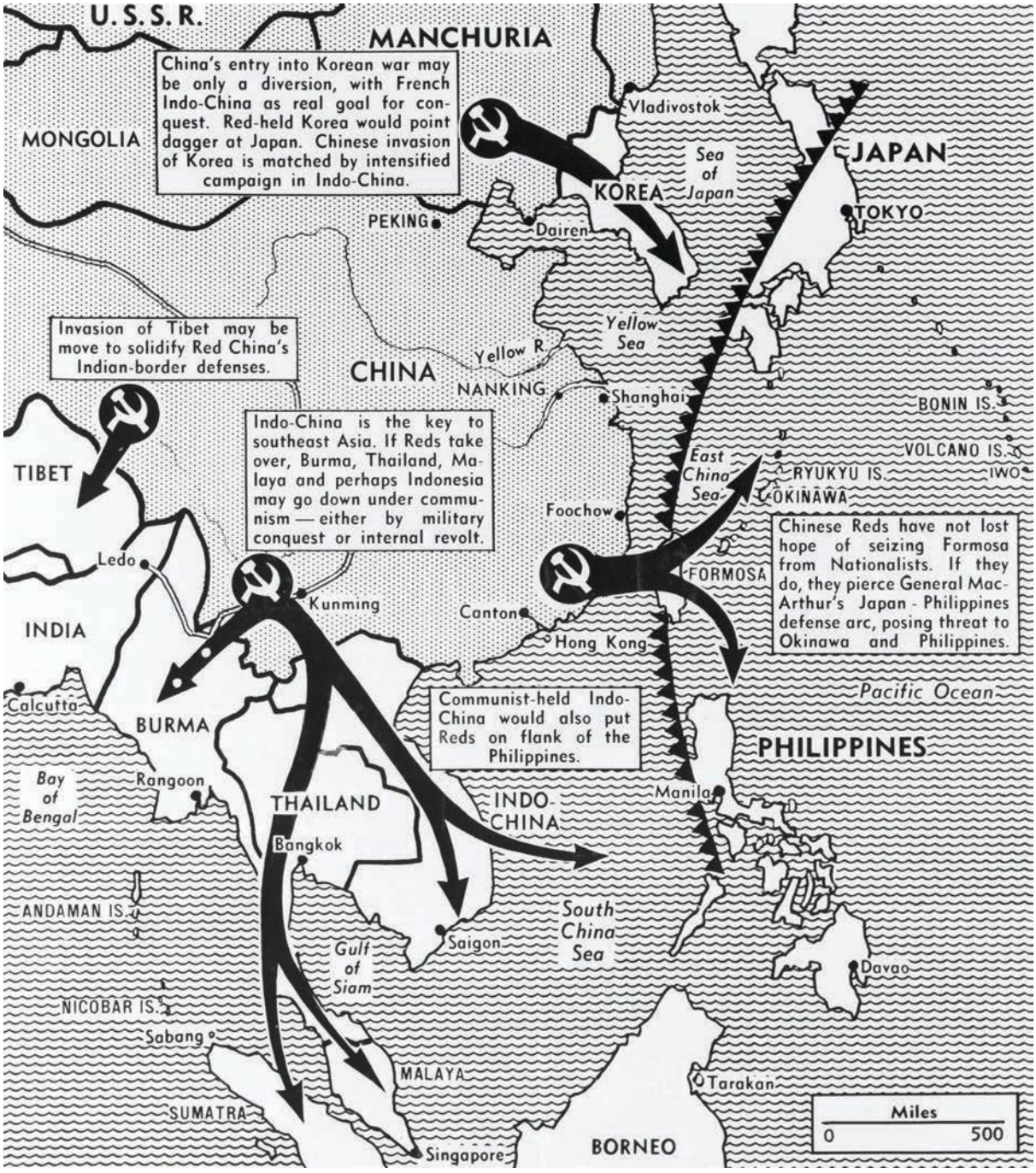
The divisions between the Soviets and the West were also shaped by economic means. The Truman Doctrine (1947), named after US President Harry S. Truman, offered financial aid to those countries at risk of 'falling under the spell' of communism. In launching the doctrine to his Congress, Truman claimed 'nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life … It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation … by outside pressure'. The Marshall Plan (1947) offered billions in aid to those countries ruined by the war, hoping to suppress rising communist movements. The Soviets rejected the Marshall Plan and instead established their own economic organisation, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) (1949), which tied together the economies of the communist nations of Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and later Albania.

15.7 How did the West respond to the advance of communism beyond Europe?

After World War II, communism was gaining traction in Asia and Africa. The US was worried that weak countries worldwide could fall to communist aggression and expansion – a fear encapsulated by the **domino theory**. Vietnam was at risk, as were Yemen and Somalia, to name a few countries seen as vulnerable. These fears were intensified in 1949, when a long civil war in China ended with a communist victory, meaning there were now two significant communist powers at play in the world. The ideas promoted by Marx a century earlier had spread across continents. Communism had become an ideology with international reach.

domino theory a term coined in 1954 by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, claiming that communist aggression and expansionism could lead to the fall of states (like a series of dominoes). In Asia, the theory envisaged the fall of states stretching from Vietnam through South-East Asia to Australia and the Indian sub-continent.

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SOURCE 15.16 Map from 1950, illustrating the domino theory. Note the places where Communist expansion is expected. How does this source reflect a major historical development a year earlier that is central to this map? Note the partisan language of the text. What could be the purpose and intended audiences of this map? Could this map be described as propaganda?

For many leaders of the so-called free world, the threat of communism was at its heart an existential threat. Communism, as an international force, threatened national boundaries, disrupted traditional economic systems, challenged religion, and upended centuries-long social hierarchies. Just as significantly for those politicians who led Western democracies, communism threatened to infiltrate the thinking of their very own constituents. How could Western democracies contain communism both from without (invasion) and from within (revolution)? In the US, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) from 1945 onwards began to root out suspected communists in public and private life. Politicians, writers, actors,

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film directors and musicians were all subjected to extraordinary scrutiny and public hearings. In Britain, significant resources were allocated to the security agency, MI5, to uncover large Soviet spy rings. In Australia, Prime Minister Robert Menzies tried unsuccessfully in 1950–51 to ban the Australian Communist Party.

SOURCES 15.17 A–D Communism portrayed through the decades

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

15.8 What were the hottest parts of the Cold War?

In the decade after World War II, four Cold War crises threatened to spill over into traditional conflict.

Berlin Blockade (1948–49)

In Berlin, the French, US and British agreed to merge their zones under a unified currency. In protest, the Soviets blockaded rail and road access to West Berlin, leading to fuel, energy and food shortages – an incident which very nearly ended in war.

Korean War (1950–53)

North Koreans, supplied by the Soviet Union, invaded South Korea. In response, NATO and a United Nations force joined the South Koreans, while the newly-communist China joined the North. Still, the war was fought by **proxy**, which meant that the major powers of the capitalist and communist world never faced each other in direct battle. The war ended in a stalemate that saw Korea divided in two.

proxy one person acting on behalf of another: in terms of the Cold War, a conflict in which the nations involved are supported directly or indirectly by one of the superpowers

Hungarian Uprising (1956)

Stalin died in 1953 and the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955. In October 1956 a new Hungarian Government, optimistic due to the demise of Stalin, announced that it would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. Hundreds of Soviet tanks entered Budapest, killing approximately 3000 people. Importantly, the West failed to intervene in the Hungarian uprising. With the uprising crushed, the Hungarian communist regime became one of the most authoritarian among the Warsaw Pact states.



SOURCE 15.18 Budapest, 30 October 1956. Here, Hungarian fighters have captured a Soviet tank and are preparing to use it in the Hungarian uprising. What does the Soviet invasion indicate about the relationship between the USSR and its Warsaw Pact partners? Why would the USSR fear Hungary's leaving the Warsaw Pact?

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Suez Crisis (1956)

In October 1956, British, French and Israeli forces invaded Egypt. The Egyptian Government had recently been purchasing Soviet-made tanks and aircraft from Czechoslovakia while also nationalising the strategically important Suez Canal. The US was outraged at the invasion, the United Nations brokered a ceasefire and Britain, once the world's greatest imperial power, was relegated to a support-player in the Cold War confrontation between the world's superpowers.

By 1960, the relationship between the USA and the USSR was severely strained. Those tensions would reach a terrifying height in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962.

ACTIVITY 15.2

Research a Cold War 'hot spot'

Research one of the following events using the guidelines below:

1940s onwards:	CIA and KGB spying activities
1945–50:	Soviet atomic spies
1945–57:	Arms/Space Race
1948:	Berlin Blockade and airlift
1950:	Korean War
1955:	Warsaw Pact
1955–75:	Vietnam War
1956:	Hungarian Uprising
1956:	Suez Crisis
1957:	First intercontinental ballistic missile
1961–74:	Wars of Liberation in Angola and Mozambique
1968:	Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia
1962:	U-2 incident

Determine the following:

- What caused the conflict or event?
- What were the major events that occurred?
- What were the consequences of the conflict or event?
- To what extent were the US and USSR directly involved?
- What impact did the event have more broadly on Cold War tensions?

Share your evidence with your peers. As a class, discuss the significance of each event for Cold War tensions.

15.9 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study, you've learned how ideologies can emerge to drive powerful historical forces that can change the shape of society. You've seen how differences between ideologies led to tensions between the Soviets and the West. You have practised analysing and evaluating sources to reveal how Western nations tried to contain the spread of Communism.

Perhaps most importantly, you have glimpsed the emotional states of people who lived through the Cold War, and how the nuclear threat consumed the thinking of leaders, military officials and civilians alike. Finally, you have completed an independent research activity that explored a second Cold War hot spot, creating further context for the following study of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

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DEPTH STUDY

How was nuclear war avoided in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962?

On 27 October 1962, Soviet submarine B-59 was covertly stationed near Cuba. The submarine's batteries were perilously low, the air conditioning had rattled to a halt, sailors were suffering under the 50°C heat, and an alarm shrieked, indicating dangerously high carbon dioxide levels. Most sailors sat cautiously still, trying to conserve their energy.

For several days, second-in-command officer Arkhipov had been trying to radio Moscow, but the line buzzed dead.

The quiet inside the claustrophobic vessel was interrupted by dull thuds of US navy depth charges. Submarine captain Valentin Savitsky thought it would only be a matter of time before the US warships made catastrophic impact. He pored over the last directive from Moscow: sail to Cuba, await further orders. That was days ago. Each failed communication with Moscow strengthened Savitsky's growing suspicion that nuclear war had already broken out between the US and the Soviets. It was time, he decided, to retaliate.



SOURCE 15.19 34-year-old Vasili Arkhipov, known as the 'man who saved the world', 1960

Ordering the arming of a nuclear-tipped torpedo, Savitsky called together his two other officers, Vasili Arkhipov and Ivan Maslennikov. He would need them both to consent before the torpedo launch. Savitsky rattled off the reasons for his plan: 1) there are 11 ships above us, this we know; 2) war has probably already started; 3) if we stay here we are sitting ducks; 4) regardless of our actions, death is inevitable; 5) before we die, we will launch our nuclear missile and sink them all; 6) our actions will ensure that we do not become the shame of the Soviet fleet.

Convinced, Maslennikov quickly agreed to the missile deployment. Savitsky just needed Arkhipov's consent. Arkhipov, however, presented another case. The depth charges, he argued, could have killed them by now. Not even the US navy was that bad a shot. The depth charges were warning them to surface. War had not started above them and they could not let their actions start World War III. Arkhipov took a deep breath of the stale submarine air: 'Disarm the missile,' he ordered. 'I do not give my consent.'

Arhkipov's bold decision was one of many made during a 13-day crisis that narrowly averted a nuclear war. While this moment was arguably the hottest of a long Cold War, it typified the conflict between the US and Soviet superpowers. Too powerful to engage each other in direct conflict, the Cold War was fought through smaller proxy nations like Cuba.

15.10 The colonial history of Cuba

Cuba is a tropical island nation located in the Caribbean Sea, only 165 kilometres from the US mainland. Cuba holds the dubious distinction of being one of the first islands that explorer Christopher Columbus visited in the so-called New World in 1492. Here began Cuba's long and brutal association with imperial powers, culminating with the Cuban Missile Crisis – the subject of this depth study.

Pre-Columbian Cuba was inhabited by the Taino and the Guanajatabey peoples, farmers and fishers who had occupied Cuba since at least the third century CE. Columbus describes how the Taino quickly fled when he arrived in their small villages on the nearby Bahamas, and how he had taken the indigenous people prisoner. In a letter to his Spanish superiors, Columbus reported that he had taken possession

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SOURCE 15.20 A Cuban memorial to Taino chief, Hatuey, one of the first indigenous Americans to resist European imperialism. Upon his capture by the Spanish, he was burned alive on 2 February 1512.
What does this memorial tell you about the nature of Cuba's history?

of Cuba 'by proclamation and by unfurling the royal standard'.

Four centuries of colonial rule

Cuba experienced four centuries of primarily Spanish rule, as the fertile land facilitated the planting of huge sugar and tobacco plantations. These were maintained by over a quarter of a million African slaves, nearly a third of Cuba's entire population. By the mid-nineteenth century, energised by independence movements in Latin America, Cuba tried to remove the yoke of imperialism through a series of wars. But not until 1898 was Spanish rule ended by a US intervention – part of the broader Spanish-American War (April–July 1898) that saw the end of Spanish rule in areas of the Caribbean and Western Pacific.

Independence?

The defeat of the Spanish in 1898 ushered in a four-year period of US military rule. This presented the US with a predicament. On the one hand, some American interests saw Cuba as open for commercial exploitation. As one *New York Times* correspondent wrote: 'Years ago the rush was to (California); now the tide has turned to Cuba. From appearances, many seem to think that they will find the streets paved with gold' (cited in Gott, p. 105). On the other hand, the USA felt some moral obligation to help Cubans achieve independence. For a start, the concept of independence was prized in the USA's own history. Added to the moral argument was the US's own abolition of slavery in 1865, which provided a model for the freeing of the African slaves who had helped make Cuba so rich under the Spanish. As well, the Monroe Doctrine proclaimed by the USA in 1823 had declared that 'The American continents … are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers'. These factors prevailed, and Cuba declared its independence on 20 May 1902.

The US treatment of Cuba at that time, however, also suggested self-interested motives. The US forced the Cubans to include in their new constitution the Platt Amendments. These banned Cuba from entering into any treaty with another foreign power. They also permitted the US 'to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence'. Finally, the constitution forced Cuba to 'sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations' to help them 'maintain the independence of Cuba'.

- In what way did the Platt Amendments limit Cuban independence, and what future problems were they likely to produce? To what extent were US actions at the time contradictory, or even hypocritical?

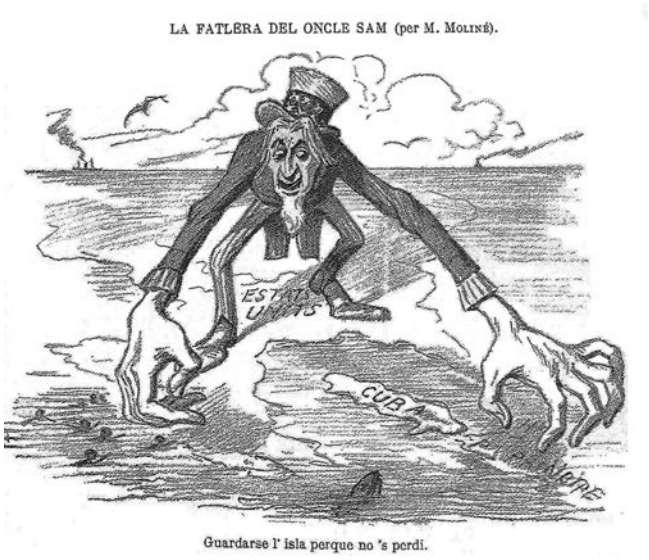
The Monroe Doctrine outlined clearly a new and combative foreign policy that signalled US perceptions of their own heightened standing in the world, and that would have significant ramifications for the entire globe.

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SOURCE 15.21 A Spanish propaganda poster, satirising the USA's intentions for Cuba

Responding to the cartoon

1. Judging by the image, what does the cartoonist seem to be implying about US motives and actions in relation to Cuba?
2. The cartoon title translates as 'Uncle Sam's craving'. Does that title match your answer to question 1? Explain your response.
3. The cartoon's original caption was '*Guardarse l'isla perque no's perdi*'. This translates as 'saving the island so it won't get lost'. Could this be interpreted as an ironic comment on US motives? Explain your response.
4. Could the USA argue that 'saving the island' was consistent with the Monroe Doctrine? Explain.
5. The cartoon was published in Spain in 1896, two years before the Spanish-American War. Given what happened as a result of the war, do you think the cartoonist was prescient about the developing situation? Explain.



Cuba: America's playground

At the turn of the twentieth century, the introduction of the US dollar saw the Cuban currency collapse. Many Cuban landowners defaulted on their loans and, consequently, land prices plummeted. Taking advantage of the crisis, US investors bought vast swathes of Cuban land and by 1920, 54% of Cuba's sugar was US-owned and 90% of Cuban sugar was being sent directly to the US. More than 200 000 hectares of productive land was in US hands, maintained by poor Cuban farmers who rented the land they tilled.

By the 1950s, under the rule of the pro-US dictator Fulgencio Batista, Cuba had become 'America's playground'. Its close proximity to the cruise terminals of Key West, Florida, and the rapid expansion of the commercial airline industry meant that Cuba's resort towns and casinos became a tourist destination for the American leisured-classes and a business destination of choice for the American mafia. But for the poorest of the Cuban population, their story was one of continued poverty and hardship. That hardship created the context for violent revolution.



SOURCE 15.22 Guantanamo, 3 February 1920. Cuban workers loading sugar.
Given the photo and the previous text, why might these workers feel that Spanish colonial exploitation had been replaced by something similar? What would you need to know about these workers to check the validity of your answer? Note the movie cameraman. What might he be doing, and why? The Standard American Diet (SAD) – a diet high in refined sugar (especially sugary drinks), salt, processed meats, and fried foods – grew immensely in popularity during the early twentieth century. How might the change in diet, promoted by US food manufacturers, have influenced American foreign policy towards Cuba and their sugar industry?

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SOURCE 15.23 The famed Kastillito Club in 1946, at Varadero, Cuba's most luxurious resort town
What are the key elements of this photograph? What does this image suggest about life in Cuba for the wealthy? How could this photo be used for different purposes by the following: a US travel agent; the Cuban Government; a revolutionary socialist; the Kastillito Club?

15.11 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did Cuba become the hottest spot of the Cold War?

In the late 1950s, American tourists were savouring the delights of Havana. Little could they have imagined that, within a few years, Cuba would dominate world headlines as a major crisis threatened the very continuation of the human race. It all began with a small band of Cuban revolutionaries who sought to correct what they saw as an imbalance between the rich and poor.

The Cuban Revolution

On 8 January 1959, after years of guerrilla warfare, Fidel Castro, the son of a wealthy Spanish sugarcane farmer and the revolutionary leader of the 26 July Movement, marched into the Cuban capital Havana. He declared the successful overthrow of the American-backed Batista regime. Fulgencio Batista had ruled Cuba as a dictator from 1952 to 1959. Historian Thomas G. Patterson argues that the US had underestimated the damage their 'friendly tyrant' had caused by his corrupt and oppressive rule. After a series of rebel victories, an anxious Batista had fled to the Dominican Republic with about $300 million. Castro was then faced with the challenge of establishing a new government and articulating a fresh agenda for Cuba.

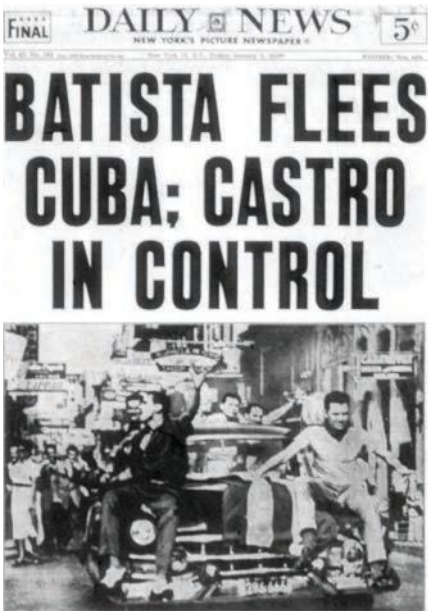
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SOURCE 15.24 Fidel Castro, January 1959. Castro is greeted during his armed march to the capital Havana. Why might Castro be greeted warmly when marching through rural communities? What could the people's apparent support for a violent revolution suggest about their lives and the situation in Cuba in 1959? Which Cubans would not have supported Castro's revolution? How might Castro use images like this to further his cause? Is there any indication that the photo is staged or atypical?

Castro was promising sweeping domestic reform: 'The children of the peasants will have schools, sports facilities, and medical attention' he declared. But what sent real shockwaves across the world was Castro's promise to export his revolution to other Latin American countries. In his independence speech, he claimed that the Cuban revolution 'through its heroic drama … has been a catalyst of the tremendous energies of the Latin American peoples … who desire liberty, development and progress for their countries'.

SOURCE 15.25 Batista flees Cuba, 1959


FINAL DAILY NEWS 5¢
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

BATISTA FLEES CUBA; CASTRO IN CONTROL

The front page of New York's *Daily News* on 2 January 1959

Responding to the photo

1. Castro's victory made the front page of many domestic US newspapers. What might this suggest about public interest in Cuba's affairs?
2. What impression of the revolution does this front page convey?
3. Does the page seem in any way to indicate an editorial attitude to the Cuban revolution?
4. How might the US Government have felt about such front page treatment of the Cuban revolution in US newspapers?

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In the wake of the revolution, Castro was concerned about Cuba's relationship with the US.

SOURCES 15.26 A&B Castro speaking to the people, 1959

A Castro speaks before a Havana rally, 21 January 1959

> At present the US Government [is not hostile] toward us, but we know what the mechanics are in the United States ... The interests that fear the revolution organise a campaign against the revolution; they shape public opinion, and then ask the U.S. Government to take action ...

B Crowds gather to hear Castro speak at a victory celebration in Cuba's Revolution Square, 26 July 1959



Responding to the photo and the text

1. What does the size of the crowd suggest about the level of support the Cuban revolution received?
2. What do you think Castro means when he talks of the 'mechanics' of the United States? What individuals or groups might he be referring to and why? In your response, refer to your understanding of the history of Cuba.
3. Who do you think Castro is alluding to when he says, 'they shape public opinion'?
4. How do you think Castro's words would have been interpreted by US leaders?
5. Who might have taken this photo, and for what purpose? In Cuba and internationally, why might particular people have reacted either enthusiastically or worriedly to this scene?

One of the first actions of Castro's Cuba was to implement a series of radical agrarian reforms as part of his broader goals of nationalisation. Large-scale farms were abolished and tenant farming was banned. Approximately one-third of the 4423 private plantations – mostly US owned – were confiscated by the Cuban Government and were handed back to the peasants. The rest were turned into state-owned farms. In retaliation, the US Government started to drastically reduce their quota of sugar imports from Cuba.

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Source 15.27 shows an unusual message the Cuban Government was sending to potential American tourists at this tense time.

The US, so often a target of Castro's tirades, were immediately suspicious of this new Cuba. When Castro visited the United Nations headquarters in the United States shortly after the revolution, then-US President Eisenhower took himself off to play golf instead of meeting the young Cuban ruler. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, however, also visiting the USA, did find time to meet this new revolutionary leader who had added a new complexity to the Cold War situation. At this stage, the Cuban Revolution was not a communist revolution, although CIA director Allen Dulles did note that communists appeared to 'have penetrated the Castro movement' (Gott, p. 179).



SOURCE 15.27 A sign at the Miami cruise terminal in 1960
Why might potential American tourists need this reassurance? What could the very existence of this sign indicate about Castro and his hopes for future US–Cuban relations? Would the US Government be willing to encourage US tourists to Cuba?

The deterioration in US–Cuba relations

In February 1960, the same year the Miami billboard in Source 15.27 was encouraging American tourists, a Soviet 'Exhibition of science, technology and culture' visited Cuba. Cuba and the USSR signed a five-year deal agreeing to exchange Russian oil for a million tons of Cuban sugar. When the first shipment of 300 000 tons of oil arrived, the Cuban Government requested the US-owned oil refineries on the island to refine it. Under pressure from the US Government, all three refineries refused. The Cuban Government promptly confiscated and **nationalised** all three oil refineries. Shortly after, the electricity and phone service was nationalised. Finally, and historically most significant, 36 US-owned sugar mills were also taken over by the Cuban Government.

nationalisation the transfer of an industry from private to state ownership

US President John F. Kennedy was quick to react to Castro's actions against US interests.

SOURCE 15.28 President Kennedy makes a dramatic announcement, 1962

Whereas the Congress of the United States ... has authorised the President to establish and maintain an embargo upon all trade between the United States and Cuba; and

Whereas the United States ... is prepared to take all necessary actions to promote ... security by isolating the present Government of Cuba and thereby reducing the threat posed by its alignment with the communist powers:

Now, therefore, I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America ... do

1. Hereby proclaim an embargo upon trade between the United States and Cuba ...
2. Hereby prohibit ... the importation into the United States of all goods of Cuban origin and all goods imported from or through Cuba ...

Proclamation 3447: Embargo on all trade with Cuba, 3 February 1962

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Responding to Kennedy's announcement

1. What reasons does Kennedy give for initiating an embargo?
2. Why do you think Kennedy took such a decisive action against Cuba?
3. How do you think the Soviets would have responded to the embargo decision?
4. What Cuban products do you think would be particularly affected by the embargo?
5. How could an embargo affect everyday Cubans? Consider a chain of events where the embargo leads to a complete reversal of Cuban relations with the US.
6. Do you consider the embargo a reasonable response to the Cuban nationalisation program? Explain your response.

The Cuban embargo, as it came to be known, would shape Cuba's existence for the next 50 years, and importantly, provide an entry way for Soviet influence into the Caribbean.

Soviet Chairman Khrushchev was encouraged by the events and opportunities in Cuba. Significantly, he declared that the Soviet Union no longer recognised the hegemony of the US over the Americas. The Monroe Doctrine, he claimed, had 'outlasted its time'. Following the embargo, Cuba's economy was on the edge of an abyss. The Soviets, sensing an opening, established far-reaching economic relationships with Cuba that would stretch until the 1990s. While Cuba did not formally declare itself communist until 1 May 1961, in Castro they had a leader who certainly shared the sentiments of the Soviets – a fact that would cause enormous concern in the USA.

Consider the source below, as Castro recalls Cuba's role in the wider Cold War.



SOURCE 15.29 Castro and Khrushchev at the United Nations, 20 September 1960
Why might this apparently close relationship between the Cuban and Soviet leaders be important to each of them, but in different ways? Why would the US view this photo, and the relationship it symbolised, with concern? Could the US's own actions in 1960 have driven Castro towards this relationship?

SOURCE 15.30 Castro comments on the Cold War

It was the ... US Administration that brought the Cold War to Cuba. When the revolution triumphed, we had no relations with the Soviet Union. There was no Soviet ambassador here and we had no trade with the Soviet Union ... Neither did the Soviet Union have anything to do with the Cuban Revolution.

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When we could not obtain weapons anywhere else and had no markets for our sugar – they began by limiting our sugar quotas in the United States – when we could no longer buy many things, it was then we decided to purchase weapons from the socialist bloc ... We had ... hundreds of thousands of rifles we bought in the socialist bloc, because the people had to be armed in order to defend the revolution. That's how we found ourselves involved in what was later called the Cold War.

Fidel Castro, *Cold War: Warnings for a Unipolar World*, 2003, pp. 10–12

Responding to the text

1. What evidence does Castro use to support his assertion that Cuba and the Soviet Union had no close ties in the early Cold War?
2. What justification does Castro give for the purchase of Soviet weapons?
3. Using your knowledge of the events leading up to the US embargo, evaluate Castro's statement. Does it provide a reliable explanation for the breakdown of the US–Cuban relationship? Provide evidence in your response.

At a university meeting in Chile in 1971, Castro reflected on how he had become attracted to communism.

SOURCE 15.31 Castro: Now then, was I a communist?

I was the son of a landowner – that was one reason for me to be a reactionary. I was educated in religious schools that were attended by the sons of the rich – another reason for being a reactionary.

I lived in Cuba, where all the films, publications, and mass media were 'Made in USA' – a third reason for being a reactionary. I studied in a university where out of fifteen thousand students, only thirty were anti-imperialists, and I was one of those thirty at the end. When I entered the university, it was as the son of a landowner – and to make matters worse, as a political illiterate!

... And mind you, no party member, no Communist, no socialist or extremist got hold of me and indoctrinated me. No. I was given a big, heavy, infernal, unreadable, unbearable textbook that tried to explain political economy from a bourgeois viewpoint – they called that political economy!

It explained how in Britain, when there was an abundance of coal there were workers who didn't have any ... When there's too much coal, workers will freeze and starve! So that landowner's son, who had been educated by bourgeois schools and Yankee propaganda, began to think that something was wrong with that system ... Then one day a copy of ... the famous Communist Manifesto fell into my hands and I read some things I'll never forget ... What phrases, what truths ...! Take a look now and see if Marx's ideas weren't just, correct, and inspiring. If we hadn't based our struggle on them, we wouldn't be here now!

Castro's responses in a question-and-answer period with students at the University of Concepción, Chile, 18 November 1971

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Responding to the text

1. Explain Castro's three reasons for being a reactionary in his younger days.
2. Research the origins and meaning of the terms 'bourgeois' and 'bourgeoisie'. Using some of his early reforms as evidence, explain why Castro would reject the 'bourgeois viewpoint'.
3. How does Castro's anecdote about coal workers in Britain relate to the views of Marx and Engels you learned about in the contextual study?

Fearful of an anti-imperialist and increasingly communist neighbour on their doorstep, the US Government commenced a series of mostly covert operations to overthrow the Cuban Government. Most spectacularly, the young US President John F. Kennedy – inaugurated on 20 January 1961 – authorised the Bay of Pigs invasion on 17 April.

The Bay of Pigs invasion

In this $13 million operation, nearly 1500 Cuban exiles (Brigade 2506), trained by CIA operatives, invaded Girón Beach in Cuba's Bay of Pigs. It was a disaster. The Cubans, who had inaccurate intelligence that the strike was a full-blown US invasion, mobilised all their troops and quickly captured or disposed of the counter-revolutionaries.

The fallout from the failed Bay of Pigs invasion further heightened tensions in the region and had implications that stretched to the other side of the world.

ACTIVITY 15.3

Research the Bay of Pigs invasion

In 2016, the CIA published a detailed account of the failed operation. Here is a brief extract.

> Brigade 2506's pleas for air and naval support were refused at the highest US Government levels ... Without direct air support ... and completely outnumbered by Castro's forces, members of the Brigade either surrendered or returned to the turquoise water from which they had come ... When all was said and done, more than seventy-five percent of Brigade 2506 ended up in Cuban prisons.

SOURCE 15.32 'The Bay of Pigs Invasion', Central Intelligence Agency, 18 April 2016

Go online and read the full report to complete the following activity.

1. Research and define the three phases of the US-backed invasion.
2. Make a timeline of the Bay of Pigs invasion, noting the key events for the US Government and the anti-communist Brigade.
3. Using the timeline you have created, explain how events and key decisions meant that the invasion was doomed before it began.
4. Analyse the account. Keep notes of all the statements in the account that seem to lay blame. Create categories for the statements – for example, the US Government; the US armed forces; the CIA – and allocate the statements accordingly.
5. In small groups, share and discuss your judgements about why the Bay of Pigs invasion failed.
6. The Bay of Pigs invasion can be interpreted as demonstrating the determination of the USA to uphold its ideals by fighting communism. Can you propose any alternative interpretation? If so, on what basis?

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SOURCE 15.33 A display of weapons captured along with the Bay of Pigs invaders
What does this photo suggest about the scale of the military invasion? How might this photo have been used by the Cuban Government both domestically and internationally? Explain how the construction of the photo (what is included, what is not) would emphasise the scale of the invasion.

SOURCE 15.34 Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev contacts President Kennedy

Mr President, I send you this message in an hour of alarm, fraught with danger for the peace of the whole world. Armed aggression has begun against Cuba. It is a secret to no one that the armed bands invading this country were trained, equipped and armed in the United States of America ... As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, there should be no mistake about our position: We will render the Cuban people and their government all necessary help to repel an armed attack on Cuba.

I approach you, Mr. President, with an urgent call to put an end to aggression against the Republic of Cuba. Military armament and the world political situation are such at this time that any so-called 'little war' can touch off a chain reaction in all parts of the globe.

Telegram from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev to US President Kennedy, 2:00 p.m. 18 April 1961

Responding to the text

1. What language does Khrushchev use to indicate his belief that the US was in the wrong when it came to the Bay of Pigs invasion?
2. What do you think Khrushchev means when he says the Bay of Pigs invasion threatened 'the peace of the whole world'?
3. How strong a commitment does Khrushchev make to the Cuban people?
4. What attempt does Khrushchev make to pursue peace?
5. At the time of the invasion, Kennedy had been US president for only three months. How might his inexperience as president influence his reaction to Khrushchev's telegram?

The human side of the Bay of Pigs episode involved the captured invaders. Months of negotiation ensued, finally achieving their release and repatriation to the US. In the following decades, they became part of the anti-Castro movement in Florida, consisting mainly of Cubans who had fled the revolution. They became a powerful lobbying group, exerting pressure on the Cuba policy of successive US administrations. The photo here suggests the personal impact of the invasion.

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SOURCE 15.35 Bay of Pigs captive returns to the US, 25 December 1962



A Bay of Pigs prisoner arrives home in Miami after 20 months' imprisonment.

Responding to the photo

1. What does this image suggest about the anti-Castro movement in Miami?
2. Would this event, particularly on this date, provide a publicity boost for the anti-Castro movement in the US?

Operation Mongoose

Undeterred by the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the US set up Operation Mongoose, a top secret government operation focused on the removal of Castro from power.

The minutes below of an Operation Mongoose meeting indicate its priorities. It was chaired by the US Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, the president's brother.

SOURCE 15.36 Minutes of an Operation Mongoose meeting, 1962

The Attorney-General opened the meeting by saying that higher authority is concerned about progress on the MONGOOSE program ...

It was agreed that four major points emerged from today's discussion:

a. We ought to go all out for increased intelligence.

b. There should be considerably more sabotage.

c. Restrictions on attributability can be relaxed so that training and other preparations can be subject to some short cuts.

d. All efforts should be made to develop new and imaginative approaches to the possibility of getting rid of the Castro regime.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Special Group (Augmented) on Operation MONGOOSE, 4 October 1962

Responding to the text

1. Who do you think the 'higher authority' might be that the US Attorney-General is referring to?
2. What influence do you think the Bay of Pigs fiasco had on the development of these meeting points?
3. The phrase 'restrictions on attributability' is quite complex. In essence, it means that the US Government would become more relaxed about people finding out they were helping Cuban counter-revolutionaries. Why do you think the US Government relaxed these restrictions?

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One imaginative approach by Operation Mongoose was revealed in a 1975 US Senate report entitled 'Alleged assassination plots involving foreign leaders'. It described how, on 16 August 1960, the CIA arranged for a box of Castro's favourite cigars to be impregnated with a toxin 'so potent that a person would die after putting one in his mouth' (1975:73). The report did not reveal whether the cigars were ever used. With a budget of over $50 million, and maintained by over 400 CIA operatives, Operation Mongoose (1961–64) involved plans for invasions, domestic revolts, and a series of assassination plots that used explosive conch shells and cyanide milkshakes. Other operations focused on discrediting the leader in the eyes of the Cuban public.

Operation Mongoose was one episode in a much bigger Cold War story that extended far beyond the Caribbean. But, within two years, that bigger story would develop in a way that drew Cuba dramatically back into the spotlight.



SOURCE 15.37 Castro reads of an assassination attempt, reported in the newspaper on 23 April 1959. An alleged 638 assassination attempts were made on Castro's life. What attitude does Castro seem to be displaying towards this assassination plot? Why might Castro want this photo to be seen by Cubans; by US citizens; by a world audience? In Cuba's autocratic society, how might this image have influenced his public image? Why, when the report was released in 1975, might Americans have been divided in their opinions on what their government had been plotting?

Nuclear arms race

The fraught conditions in the Caribbean mirrored broader tensions across the Cold War world. The Western and Eastern blocs were in the midst of an arms race that had accelerated following the Soviets' creation of their own nuclear weapon on 29 August 1949. In the 15 years since the atomic bombings in Japan, both superpowers raced to develop bigger and more effective nuclear weapons than their opponent. By 1960 there were some 30 000 nuclear warheads in existence, mostly in American hands.

Soviet missiles were on display in Source 15.38 taken in Moscow's Red Square on 1 May 1961.



SOURCE 15.38 Sandal ss-4 missiles at May Day parade in the Red Square, Moscow, 1961. 1 May is celebrated in many countries as May Day, often to mark the historical achievements of unions, socialism, communism and other left-wing ideas and movements. What message is probably intended by the Soviet display of these missiles on this particular day? How differently might this photo have been written about in Russian, Cuban and US newspapers?

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The Soviet Union had clear concerns about US capabilities. Unknown to the US public, American nuclear warheads had been placed in Turkey, well within striking distance of the Soviet Union. In 1962, Cuba and the Soviet Union, now firm friends, commenced the first clandestine movement of nuclear-tipped missiles to the Caribbean island. Less than 200 kilometres from the US mainland, the Soviets were building missile bases capable of deploying nuclear warheads all the way to the US capital. The justification? 'Since the Americans have already surrounded the Soviet Union with a ring of their military bases,' stated Khrushchev, 'we must pay them back in their own coin … so they will know what it feels like to live in the sights of nuclear weapons' (quoted in LaFeber, 2002:234).

This competitive missile strategy has been seen by orthodox historians as the greatest motivation for their placement of nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962. But some historians claim that there was another, perhaps even stronger Soviet motive for installing missiles in Cuba. Cold War historian John Lewis Gaddis (who would be termed a 'post-revisionist') explains.

SOURCE 15.39 Historian John Gaddis explains Soviet motives

When Khrushchev announced … that the Soviet Union would soon resume nuclear weapons testing with a 100-megaton blast … Kennedy had had enough … He called Khrushchev's bluff. He let it be known … 'We have a second-strike capability which is at least as extensive as what the Soviets can deliver by striking first …' Historians assumed, for many years, that (having) his … façade ripped away … drove Khrushchev into a desperate attempt to recover by sending intermediate- and medium-range missiles, which he did have in abundance, to Cuba in 1962: 'Why not throw a hedgehog at Uncle Sam's pants?' he asked in April …

It is clear now, though, that this was not Khrushchev's principal reason for acting as he did … Khrushchev intended his missile deployment chiefly as an effort to spread revolution throughout Latin America …

'The fate of Cuba and the maintenance of the Soviet prestige in that part of the world preoccupied me,' Khrushchev recalled … 'We had to establish a tangible and effective deterrent to American interference in the Caribbean. But what exactly? The logical answer was missiles.'

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*, 2005, pp. 74–6

Responding to the text

1. How does Gaddis believe Kennedy called Khrushchev's bluff?
2. What did Khrushchev mean by his 'hedgehog' phrase?
3. Read the second paragraph carefully. Does Gaddis's claim about spreading revolution throughout Latin America seem to match the reasons quoted in Khrushchev's own words? Explain your response.
4. Could this extract from Gaddis's book be misleading or confusing, in that there could be other text that justifies Gaddis's claim and/or quotes more of Khrushchev's words?

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As the missile crisis developed, accurate intelligence was essential if valid decisions were to be made. Flights over Cuba and the surrounding seas provided huge amounts of photographic material: CIA officials analysed over 480 kilometres of photography negatives during the Cuban Missile Crisis. The photos here show photographic evidence of a suspected missile site and a ship's suspected cargo of missiles.

SOURCES 15.40 A&B Surveillance photos, 1962

A Suspected missile site, October 1962



B Soviet ship purportedly carrying missiles to Cuba, 28 September 1962



Responding to the photos

1. How do these two photos highlight the need for expert interpretation of photos?
2. How would such photos be valuable in diplomatic negotiations between the US and the USSR?

If today's electronic surveillance techniques had been available in 1962, US authorities might have known about a conversation between a Soviet officer, Colonel General S.P. Ivanov, and premier Khrushchev in which the key terms 'Luna' and 'IL-28' were mentioned as being en route. These were nuclear-armed Soviet bomber aircraft, indicating that Cuba could have been the base for Soviet bomber raids on the US. This conversation was recorded in Ivanov's handwritten notes, eventually located in Soviet archives which are available online through the Wilson Center.

- The missiles destined for Cuba, it seems, were to be supported by a massive Soviet force of men and weaponry. Journalist Anatoly Zak has compiled a detailed list of those military resources. You can access it on his website Russian Space Web. When using the site, search for evidence that Zak's information is credible.

The willingness of the Soviet Union to support Cuba on such a scale has often been the source of historical debate. Khrushchev could have had more than one motive for providing that support – motives that went beyond the immediate interests of Cuba. Castro seemed to acknowledge this when he later said 'Besides serving the interests of Cuba, they served the interests of the socialist camp as a whole, and we evidently agreed with that'.

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ACTIVITY 15.4

Write an essay about the causes the Cuban Missile Crisis

Read the statement below by Svetlana Savranskaya, director of Russia programs at the National Security Archive, George Washington University and co-author with Sergo Mikoyan of *The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Missiles of November*.

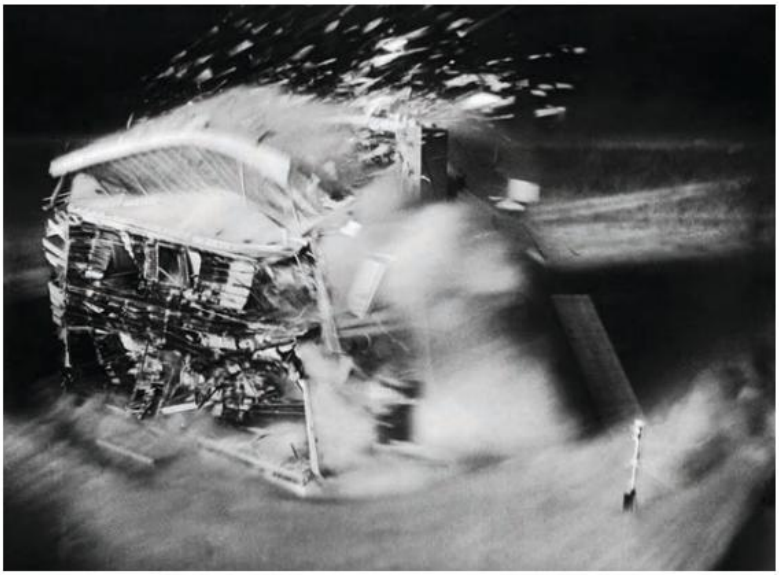
> The Soviet Union, by deploying missiles in Cuba, thought it was performing quite a legal act of assistance to Cuba, which was threatened by the United States. And for the Soviet Union and for Cuba, of course, the seriousness of that threat was shown in the Bay of Pigs invasion. So the cause was the US threat to Cuba ... Therefore, the act of putting the missiles in Cuba was seen as an act of legitimate assistance to an ally.

SOURCE 15.41 Svetlana Savranskaya, panel discussion 'Cuban Missile Crisis: A historical perspective', John F. Kennedy Library and Foundation, 6 October 2002

Write a brief essay, drawing on the previous section of this chapter, in response to this question: *How valid is Savranskaya's explanation of the causes of the Cuban Missile Crisis?*

15.12 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How was a nuclear apocalypse averted?

In the contextual study, you looked at the threat nuclear weapons posed to the whole world. To understand the enormity of the US discovery of nuclear missiles in Cuba, it is helpful to understand the threat nuclear weapons posed to the entire world. The bomb that destroyed the Japanese city of Hiroshima killed over 80 000 people instantly. At the height of the arms race, the Soviets had developed the Tsar Bomba, estimated to be 3000 times more powerful than the weapon used on Japan. This helps to explain the strong reaction when the US learned about the nuclear missiles in Cuba.



SOURCE 15.42 Atomic bomb effects on a house 1.5 kilometres from ground zero. At ground zero temperatures spike at over one million degrees Celsius and the fireball is five times brighter than the sun. Describe the effect depicted of a nuclear explosion on a residential house. What impact do you think images like this would have had on the psyche of everyday citizens in the 1950s?

Nuclear debates

The advent of nuclear weaponry prompted urgent attention by politicians, international relations specialists, scientists, philosophers, ethicists and, just as importantly, activist organisations. A key question was how humanity might navigate through a future clouded by the threat of nuclear annihilation. Evidence of the impact of nuclear testing further emphasised the urgency of this debate.

While many might have argued that banning nuclear weapons was the logical solution, in practice the challenge became increasingly complex in the ensuing decades. Here are three standpoints in the debate.

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Mutually Assured Destruction

In the 1960s, a theory of nuclear deterrence emerged. Referred to as Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), it argued that nuclear weapons had such devastating potential that no one would launch a nuclear strike for fear of catastrophic response. Paradoxically it seems huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons on both sides were recommended as the best guarantee that there would be no nuclear cataclysm.

The 'winnable' war

Perhaps the most extreme proposition in the nuclear debate came from Herman Kahn, author of *On Thermonuclear War* (1960). Kahn was a key figure in the RAND corporation, a high-powered research organisation that, among other roles, advised the US armed forces on military strategy. He produced statistical modelling suggesting that the survivors of a nuclear war would be able, over time, to rebuild a functioning economy. He further claimed that the radiation fallout from a nuclear war would produce only a small but tolerable increase in genetic abnormalities among human populations. Thus, using economic and medical forecasting, he asserted that the use of nuclear weapons in a 'winnable' war could be justified. Refer to the Interactive Textbook for some examples of Kahn's estimates (Source 15.43).

GO

Nuclear disarmament

At the other end of the spectrum of nuclear debate were those who argued and campaigned for complete nuclear disarmament. As early as 1957, the first Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was established in Britain, with philosopher Bertrand Russell as a key member. The intensity of anti-nuclear sentiment and activism has waxed and waned over the decades since, but has never disappeared. In 2017 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the International Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons.

ACTIVITY 15.5

Discuss the nuclear debate

Discuss the three proposals above. Start by weighing up these three 'devil's advocate' comments on the proposals, and expressing support for and/or objections to each.

For example:

1. Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)
   - A stockpiled nuclear weapon, at some point, is highly likely to be launched as a first strike intentionally, accidentally or through an international misunderstanding.
2. Kahn's theory of a winnable war
   - While economic recuperation that takes a hundred years might be theoretically possible, rebuilding society after such devastation would be impossible.
3. Nuclear disarmament
   - Removing the nuclear deterrent would increase the likelihood of catastrophic conventional warfare.

Those debates provide one context for the unfolding Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. In terms of a nuclear balance, in 1962 the US possessed about 27 000 nuclear warheads and the USSR about 3000. Both, however, were on a steep increase. The US stockpile peaked in 1965 at about 32 000, and the USSR in 1985 at about 41 000.

In the US, from the 1950s onwards people were being taught what to do in the event of an attack.

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SOURCE 15.44 Duck and cover



A Civil Defence poster from the 1950s, accompanying the 1951 short film *Duck and Cover*
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the first four minutes of the video (full duration 09:13) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the video

1. The video starts with a cartoon character and song, and then moves into voiceover and live demonstrations. Why do you think this combination was chosen? Compare it to more recent public service and safety videos, such as aeroplane safety demonstrations, or the *Dumb Ways to Die* video by Metro Trains in Melbourne.
2. How effective do you think it would be to 'duck and cover' in the event of a nuclear strike? You might like to consider Herman Kahn's research in your response.

The missile crisis unfolds

Following the discovery of Cuba's nuclear weapons bases, John F. Kennedy, faced with the greatest crisis of his presidency, called together a group of politicians and strategists called EXCOMM. He also sought the advice of three former presidents. Fortunately for historians, Kennedy installed secret high-tech recording equipment in his office which has allowed researchers to study verbatim transcripts of the decision-making process. Kennedy faced pressure from his advisers to deal militarily with Cuba, as can be seen by the exchange with Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, below.

SOURCE 15.45 Transcript of meeting on the day Kennedy learns of Soviet missiles in Cuba

JFK: Secretary Rusk?

Rusk: Yes. [Well?] Mr. President, this is a, of course, a [widely?] serious development ... Um, so I think we, we have to think very hard about two major, uh, courses of action as alternatives. One is the quick strike ... I don't think this in itself would require an invasion of Cuba ... Uh, or we're going to decide that this is the time to eliminate the Cuban problem by actually eliminating the island ...

Transcript of meeting on the day Kennedy learns of Soviet missiles in Cuba, 16 October 1962

Responding to the text

1. What words does Rusk use to characterise the two options?
2. Do you think the transcript provides clues as to Rusk's emotional state during the conversation? Would it help to know whether the dots (...) represent pauses by Rusk, or words omitted? Would it help also if you could hear the actual recorded conversation? Explain your answer.

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3. Rusk seems to indicate that a quick military strike and the total elimination of Cuba would both be acceptable actions by the US. What insight do you think this gives into his values and beliefs?

After much deliberation, the EXCOMM members had largely separated into two camps. The 'Hawks' called for an invasion or air strike. The 'Doves' called for a naval blockade of Cuba to stop any more Soviet ships delivering weapons or material.

SOURCE 15.46 Blockade or invasion?

Two big questions must be answered, and in conjunction with each other:

1. Which military action, if any:
   - Limited air strike: Rusk, probably Ball and Johnson, Acheson originally
   - Fuller air strike: McNamara and Taylor (who convinced Acheson), Bohlen's second choice
   - Blockade: Bohlen, Thompson, probably Martin, probably McNamara and Taylor second choice
   - Invasion: McCone, maybe Nitze
2. Should political action – in particular a letter of warning to Khrushchev – precede military action?
   - If blockade or invasion, everyone says yes
   - If air strike
   - Yes: Bohlen, Thompson (also K. O'Donnell)
   - No: Taylor, McNamara, presumably Acheson
   - Undecided: Rusk

These questions could be focussed upon by considering either the Rusk or the Bohlen approaches.

Rusk favours a limited or 'surgical' air strike without prior political action or warning. This is opposed by three groups.

- By the diplomats (Bohlen, Thompson, probably Martin) who insist that prior political action is essential and not harmful
- By the military (McNamara, Taylor, McCone) who insist that the air strike could not be limited
- By advocates of the blockade route

Bohlen favours a prompt letter to Khrushchev, deciding after the response whether we use air strike or blockade.

- All blockade advocates would support this, and some of the air strike advocates
- Taylor would oppose this, unless the decision had already been made to go the blockade route
- If you accept the Bohlen plan, we can then consider the nature of the letter to K.

Minutes of an EXCOMM meeting, 18 October 1962

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Responding to the text

1. How many people subscribed to the military option versus the blockade option?
2. What do you think is meant by the term 'surgical strike?'
3. How do the options reflect the divide between Hawks and Doves?
4. Among the considerations was the possibility of warning Khrushchev first. What would be the potential positive and negative outcomes of this?
5. How do you think this document would have impacted the decision-making of President Kennedy?

In the end, the Doves prevailed. A quarantine of Cuban waters would be established by the US navy and the Soviets would be called upon to dismantle their nuclear missile bases with utmost urgency.

When the US president went on national television to announce the blockade and the discovery of nuclear weapons in Cuba, he sent shockwaves around the nation.

SOURCE 15.47 The president's address to the nation



The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

President Kennedy's address to the nation, 22 October 1962

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch an extract from Kennedy's address (duration 09:13) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the text

1. Why, according to Kennedy, is the USSR preparing bases in Cuba?
2. What courses of action does Kennedy describe in this extract?
3. What language does Kennedy use to threaten nuclear war?
4. Describe Kennedy's demeanour and tone of voice. What emotions do you think he is trying to engender in viewers?
5. The video extract is a small fraction of the entire speech delivered by Kennedy. A full transcript is available in the Interactive Textbook. Consider (1) how Kennedy justified his decisions at great length to the US public, (2) the rest of the seven steps he authorised, (3) his appeal to Khrushchev, (4) his message to the 'captive people of Cuba'. Do these answers add depth to your understanding of the situation? Do you think Kennedy chose a wise course of action? Explain your response.

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What followed was a tense wait for a US naval blockade awaiting the arrival of Russian cargo ships.



SOURCE 15.48 US military plane flies over a Soviet freighter
What appears to be on the ship's deck? How might the design of the cargo ship have made US surveillance easier, particularly given what the spotters were looking for?

The course of the Russian cargo ships were closely monitored as they approached the blockade.

After Kennedy's address to the nation, there was an extraordinary days-long exchange between the two world leaders who clearly knew that on their decisions rested the fate of the world. In this first telegram, Khrushchev challenges Kennedy's statement.

SOURCE 15.49 Khrushchev's telegram to US Department of State, 23 October 1962, 5:00 p.m.

Begin Text. Mr. President. I have just ... acquainted myself with text of your speech ... Statement of ... United States America cannot be evaluated in any other way than as naked interference in domestic affairs of Cuban Republic (and) Soviet Union ...

We confirm that armaments now on Cuba ... are destined exclusively for defensive purposes ... I hope that ... United States will show prudence and renounce actions pursued by you, which could lead to catastrophic consequences for peace throughout world ... N. Khrushchev. *End Text.*

Original of letter being airpouched today.

Khrushchev's telegram to US Department of State, 23 October 1962, 5:00 p.m.

Responding to the text

1. Is Khrushchev's letter conciliatory or hostile? What evidence supports your answer?
2. What, according to Khrushchev, were being taken to Cuba?
3. Consider the language used within the letter. How might the Hawks and Doves of EXCOMM respond to this communication?

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People's responses to the unfolding crisis

It is easy when recording history to concentrate wholly on the actions and attitudes of the powerful. It is of course important to recall that the Cuban Missile Crisis threatened to have massive global consequences precisely because it threatened the existence of the human species. Kennedy's address to the nation shifted the consequences of the Cold War from a theoretical possibility to one that was visceral and raw, and humans across the world responded.

SOURCE 15.50 Americans listen to Kennedy's address in a department store



Responding to the image

1. What seems to be the prevailing mood of the people here?
2. Why might TV have been a particularly effective medium for delivering Kennedy's message to the US public, compared with radio or newspapers?
3. Who might have taken this unusually framed photograph, and for what purpose?

Once the news of the looming stand-off became public, the fear of nuclear war went from theoretical to a real possibility. Its impact was visible in public life around the world. In Florida, there was this paradoxical scene.



SOURCE 15.51 Anti-aircraft missiles facing Cuba on a Florida beach. Florida was (and still is) a famous holiday and retirement destination. Does that make this scene particularly paradoxical? Explain why. How could the presence of these missiles evoke two contrasting feelings in a local resident?

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As the crisis grew, there were demonstrations across the globe. The day after Kennedy's address, protesters in London used a well-known tactic.

SOURCE 15.52 London protesters staging a sit-in, 24 October 1962



Responding to the image

1. Do all four signs suggest that the protesters have a shared aim?
2. How do you think these protesters would respond to the question 'What should happen?'
3. These protesters are using a 'sit-in' tactic in an inner London street. How can such a protest be particularly effective in getting a message across?

Three days later, Muscovites gathered outside the US Embassy in Moscow.

SOURCE 15.53 Muscovites demonstrate at the height of the crisis, 27 October 1962



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Responding to the image

1. What sentiments are obvious here?
2. At what two audiences might the English-language signs be directed?
3. Given the Soviet regime, is there a difficulty in assessing whether this demonstration is genuine or officially orchestrated? Could it be both?
4. What are the similarities and differences between the messages of this event and of the London event above?
5. In terms of the bigger picture of Cold War tension, is it possible that ordinary Muscovites might be hoping for the same eventual resolution as their London counterparts, and even as the Americans on the Florida coast? Explain why this might be.

Important nuclear protest groups including Women for Peace and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) organised marches of tens of thousands of people around the USA. Prominent intellectuals also weighed in with messages to world leaders.

SOURCE 15.54 Telegram from Briton Bertrand Russell

YOUR ACTIONS DESPERATE. THREAT TO HUMAN SURVIVAL. NO CONCEIVABLE JUSTIFICATION. CIVILISED MAN CONDEMNS IT. WE WILL NOT HAVE MASS MURDER. ULTIMATUMS MEANS WAR. END THIS MADNESS

Bertrand Russell, telegram to President Kennedy, 23 October 1962

Responding to the source

1. Given what you know about the crisis, how appropriate do these words used by Bertrand Russell seem: 'actions desperate'; 'threat to human survival'; 'mass murder'; 'madness'. How do you think Kennedy would respond to these allegations?
2. Compare this telegram with the decision-making process of EXCOMM. Did Kennedy have 'no conceivable justification' for his actions? Might Russell and Kennedy define 'conceivable justification' differently? Explain why this might be.

In some US cities, panic buying occurred. One American adviser, James Newman, suggested somewhat facetiously that America's children should be relocated to the Southern Hemisphere. Perhaps most tragically of all, children all over the US (and possibly in the Soviet Union as well) practised 'duck and cover' bomb drills, donned gas masks, visited fallout shelters, and – in Indiana at least – clutched at the dog tags around their necks.

And what of the Cubans? Surprisingly little has been written about the attitudes of the everyday Cubans who were at the centre of this atomic maelstrom. Consider this literary account by a famous Cuban novelist.

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SOURCE 15.55 Edmundo Desnoes imagines what will happen to Cuba

> The island seems to be covered with missiles all over. They'll brush us away, put us out, they're going to sink this alligator island into the bottom of the Caribbean. The battleships will sail over us and say: 'This is where Cuba used to be ...' The Pentagon must already have a plan to destroy us. They'll crush us with the sheer weight of their arms and men. And if the Russians fire their missiles the Earth might split in two. All because of Cuba. Never have we been more important nor more miserable.

Edmundo Desnoes, *Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1965/2003, p. 549

Responding to the text

1. What are the dramatic exaggerations made by Desnoes? What is the possible reality that lies behind each exaggeration? Could the use of such exaggeration backfire, if the author has a serious message to convey; or could it be a clever literary tactic? Explain your response.
2. Given what you've learned, do you think the sentence 'Never have we been more important nor more miserable' would be an accurate description of Cubans in 1962?

ACTIVITY 15.6

Consider people's responses to the unfolding crisis

Use the sources in the preceding 'People's responses to the unfolding crisis' section.

1. How would you describe the reactions in different countries to the crisis?
2. In a crisis, what are the benefits and the dangers when the public's knowledge and feelings are influenced strongly by government statements?
3. Consider the family who saw the missiles on their beach and the *Duck and Cover* video (Source 15.44) at school. What options would these people be considering in the midst of the crisis?
4. How do these sources highlight the great responsibility placed in the hands of Kennedy and Khrushchev as Cold War leaders?

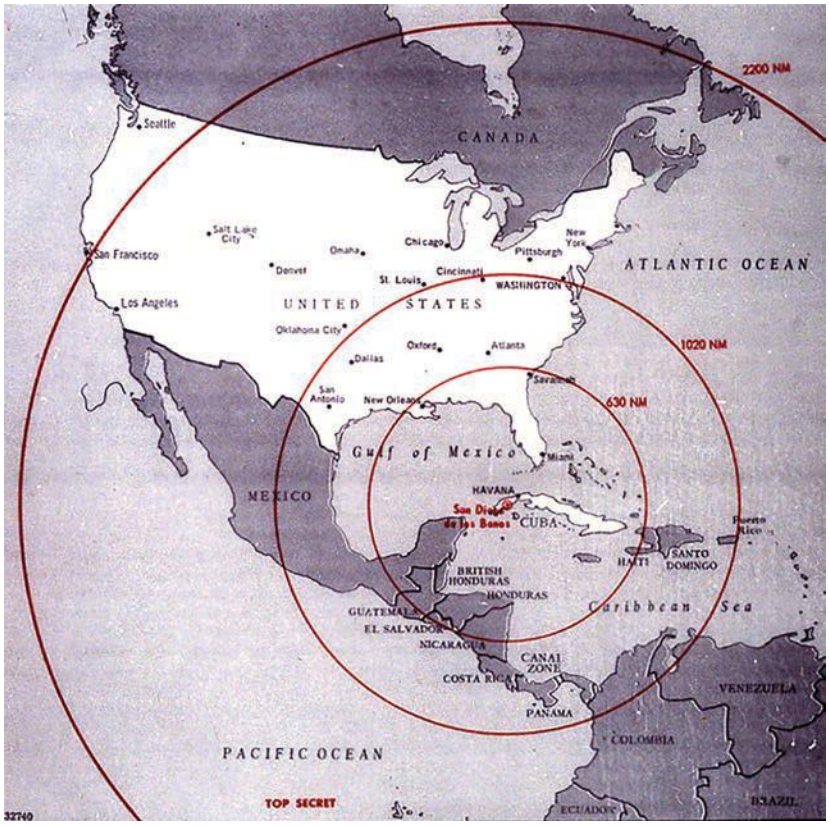
The missile crisis deepens

The Cuban Missile Crisis triggered massive military mobilisations across the world. In the Soviet Union, all leave was suspended and the military who supervised nuclear missiles were to remain on duty until further notice. Khrushchev slept in his clothes on his office couch 'ready for alarming news to come at any moment'. In Cuba, Castro mobilised all 350 000 troops. GRU, a Soviet intelligence agency, intercepted a directive placing the US on a DEFCON 2 alert condition for the first time in its history (DEFCON 5 was peace, DEFCON 1 was war). More worryingly, the US Government was directing hospitals to prepare for mass casualties.

The following map detailed the potential reach and scale of a nuclear strike from Cuba.

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SOURCE 15.56 Cuban missile range



Map used during the meetings on the Cuban Missile Crisis, 16 October 1962

Responding to the map

1. The SS-4 ballistic missiles that the USSR deployed to Cuba had a range of up to 2500 kilometres. Calculate how much of the US mainland would be vulnerable to strikes by those missiles. Note that the map measurements are in 'nautical miles' (NM).
2. What major cities would be in danger? Which would be beyond the reach of the missiles?
3. Given this information, would you expect authorities in 1962 to have strengthened the safety messages described in this chapter (e.g. 'duck and cover')?
4. The map is marked 'top secret'. Why might the US Government have not wanted the map made public?

Meanwhile, Kennedy and Khrushchev continued their terse and anxious correspondence. This series of letters lay at the heart of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

SOURCES 15.57 A–F Correspondence between Kennedy and Khrushchev

A Kennedy's letter to Khrushchev, 23 October 1962

Dear Mr Chairman: I have received your letter of October twenty-third. I think you will recognise that the steps which started the current chain of events was the action of your Government in secretly furnishing offensive weapons to Cuba ... I hope that you will issue immediately the necessary instructions to your ships to observe the terms of the quarantine ... which will go into effect at 1400 hours Greenwich time October twenty-four. Sincerely, JFK.

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B Khrushchev's letter to Kennedy, 24 October 1962

Dear Mr. President: I have received your letter of October 23 ... Just imagine, Mr. President, that we had presented you with the conditions of an ultimatum which you have presented us by your action ... In presenting us with these conditions, you ... have flung a challenge at us ... Consider what you are saying! And you want to persuade me to agree to this! ... No, Mr. President, I cannot agree to this ...

The Soviet Government considers that the violation of the freedom to use international waters ... is an act of aggression which pushes mankind toward the abyss of a world nuclear-missile war. Therefore, the Soviet Government cannot instruct the captains of Soviet vessels bound for Cuba to observe the orders of American naval forces blockading that Island ...

Respectfully, N. Khrushchev

C Kennedy's letter to Khrushchev, 25 October 1962

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I have received your letter of October 24, and I regret very much that you still do not appear to understand what it is that has moved us in this matter ...

... I learned beyond doubt what you have not denied ... that your military people had set out recently to establish a set of missile bases in Cuba. I ask you to recognise clearly, Mr. Chairman, that it was not I who issued the first challenge in this case, and that in the light of this record these activities in Cuba required the responses I have announced ... I hope that your Government will take the necessary action to permit a restoration of the earlier situation.

By 26 October, Khrushchev's next two letters finally offer a way forward.

D Khrushchev's letter to Kennedy, 26 October 1962

Dear Mr. President:

... From your letter, I got the feeling that you have some understanding of the situation which has developed and (some) sense of responsibility ... Everyone needs peace ... What would a war give you?

... Let us normalise relations ... If assurances were given by ... the United States that (you) would not participate in an attack on Cuba ..., if you would recall your fleet, this would immediately change everything ... 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 ...

E Khrushchev's letter to Kennedy, 27 October 1962

Dear Mr. President ...

You wish to ensure the security of your country ... But how are we ... to assess your actions which are expressed in the fact that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases ...? This is no secret ... Your missiles are located in Turkey.

You are disturbed over Cuba. You say that this disturbs you because it is 90 miles ... [from] the United States of America. But Turkey adjoins us ... You have placed destructive missile weapons ... literally next to us.

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I therefore make this proposal: We are willing to remove from Cuba the means which you regard as offensive ... The United States ... will remove its analogous means from Turkey ... [T]he Soviet Government gives a solemn promise ... not to invade Turkey ... The United States Government ... will pledge not to interfere in [Cuba's] internal affairs [or] invade Cuba itself ...

F Kennedy's letter to Khrushchev, 25 October 1962

Dear Mr. Chairman: ...

The first thing that needs to be done ... is for work to cease on offensive missile bases in Cuba ...

Assuming this is done promptly, I have given my representatives ... instructions that will permit them to work out ... an arrangement for a permanent solution to the Cuban problem ... As I read your letter, the key elements of your proposal ... are as follows:
1) You would agree to remove these weapons systems from Cuba ...
2) We, on our part, would agree ... (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect and (b) to give assurances against an invasion of Cuba ...

[T]here is no reason why we should not be able to complete these arrangements and announce them to the world within a couple of days. The effect of such a settlement on easing world tensions would enable us to work toward a more general arrangement regarding 'other armaments', as proposed in your second letter ...

The text of this letter was also released to the press.

Responding to the sources

1. In the table below, examine the language used in each message, the concerns and potential proposals offered by the author.

Letter date	Author	Tone of letter (e.g. aggressive, conciliatory, provocative, stern)	Major concerns (e.g. blockade, defence, Cuba)	Proposals (e.g. remove missiles, guarantee sovereignty)
23 October	Kennedy			
24 October	Khrushchev			
25 October	Kennedy			
26 October	Khrushchev			
27 October	Khrushchev			
27 October	Kennedy			

2. Review your findings across the table, explain how each leader used specific language to maintain an aggressive stance while still searching for a peaceful solution.
3. Examine the development of the negotiation. Which leader do you believe was willing to be reasonable earlier? Explain your response.
4. On 27 October, Khrushchev mentions the existence of US warheads in Turkey, a fact that was kept from the American people until much later. Why would the US not immediately agree to this proposal?
5. Who do you see as the side more responsible for averting nuclear disaster? Explain your response.

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Sensing his last chance, Khrushchev ignored the usual diplomatic channels and quickly broadcast Kennedy's response across *Radio Moscow* for the world to hear. On 27 October 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis, or the Caribbean Crisis or the October Crisis, as it has come to be called, came to an end. The world collectively let out its breath.

The end of the crisis

The source below comments on the outcome of the negotiations between Kennedy and Khrushchev.

SOURCE 15.58 A *Washington Post* political cartoon during the Cuban Missile Crisis



'Let's get a lock for this thing', cartoon by Herbert Block, published in the *Washington Post*, 1 November 1962

Responding to the cartoon

1. How is nuclear war depicted in this image?
2. Do you think this cartoon is critical or supportive of the two world leaders?
3. Do you think this cartoon is a valid representation of how people felt about the Cuban Missile Crisis?
4. Note the caption – words attributed by the cartoonist to Kennedy. What would it actually mean, do you think, to 'get a lock for this thing'?
5. Given what you've learned about Kennedy, would you see these words (if they'd been actually spoken by him) as genuine, insincere, naïve or something else? Similarly, how do you expect Khrushchev would respond to Kennedy's proposal? Explain your answer.
6. To what extent, in today's world, is nuclear war 'under lock and key'? Are there any signs of nuclear war 'breaking free' in the future? Explain your response.

Not long afterwards, Kennedy would secretly agree to Khrushchev's demand for the removal of the nuclear missiles from Turkey although this information was kept secret from the American people for over 30 years. Kennedy and Khrushchev would also agree in 1963 to the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which prohibited nuclear weapons being tested in the atmosphere, in space or underwater. This was the very first attempt at nuclear disarmament since the original atomic bomb was tested in New Mexico almost 20 years earlier.

The following White House document communicates the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis to the American people.

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SOURCE 15.59 White House press release signalling an end to the Cuban Missile Crisis

My fellow citizens: I want to take this opportunity to report on the conclusions which this Government has reached on the basis of yesterday's aerial photographs which will be made available tomorrow, as well as other indications, namely, that the Soviet missile bases in Cuba are being dismantled, their missiles and related equipment are being crated, and the fixed installations at these sites are being destroyed.

The United States intends to follow closely the completion of this work through a variety of means, including aerial surveillance, until such time as an equally satisfactory international means of verification is effected.

While the quarantine remains in effect, we are hopeful that adequate procedures can be developed for international inspection of Cuba-bound cargoes. The International Committee of the Red Cross, in our view, would be an appropriate agent in this matter.

The continuation of these measures in air and sea, until the threat to peace posed by these offensive weapons is gone, is in keeping with our pledge to secure their withdrawal or elimination from this hemisphere. It is in keeping with the resolution of the OAS, and it is in keeping with the exchange of letters with Chairman Khrushchev of October 27th and 28th.

Progress is now being made toward the restoration of peace in the Caribbean, and it is our firm hope and purpose that this progress shall go forward. We will continue to keep the American people informed on this vital matter.

White House press release signalling an end to the Cuban Missile Crisis, 2 November 1962

Responding to the press release

1. What evidence does Kennedy call upon to support his claim that the 'threat to peace' is gone?
2. What information about the conditions of the disarmament (as promised in the exchange of notes between the leaders) does Kennedy omit from his press release? Why do you think this information was omitted?
3. How does Kennedy try to assure the American people that the dismantling of missiles would continue unabated?
4. Why do you think Kennedy wanted to enlist the Red Cross's assistance?

ACTIVITY 15.7

Conduct an interview with someone who lived through the Cuban Missile Crisis

There are millions of Australians who lived through the Cuban Missile Crisis. Create a list of interview questions focusing on their recollections, their thoughts and their feelings from that time. You might use Plutchik's emotions wheel to help guide your interview.

Once the interview is complete, complete the following tasks:

1. Explain how the crisis has affected the course of their life.
2. Compare their responses to the effect of the crisis on ordinary citizens you examined in this chapter. Explain the similarities and differences you discovered. Propose explanations for this.
3. Has the interviewee's perception of the crisis changed over time? What explanations can you give for this?

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15.13 Depth study: summing up

Just one year after the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. And in Russia, the Soviets came to see Khrushchev's handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis as reckless. His career never recovered and he was removed from power in 1964. An increasingly isolated man, he was prescribed sleeping pills for depression. In 1971, Khrushchev, a Red Army lieutenant-general in World War II, received no mention for his war efforts in the 30-volume *Soviet Encyclopaedia*.

ACTIVITY 15.8

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: How was nuclear war avoided in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962?

This activity asks you to assess the roles of Kennedy and Khrushchev. Read these interpretations of their roles. Then, applying what you've learned from this chapter, write a brief response to this question:

Should either Kennedy or Khrushchev be judged a hero in the Cuban Missile Crisis?

> It was Kennedy's finest hour; he was neither hasty nor hesitant; he was neither reckless nor afraid ... He was not only a leader but also a hero ... According to the participants, President Kennedy's leadership in the crisis led to a reduction in the tensions of the Cold War ... The crisis thus helped promote peaceful coexistence and detente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

SOURCE 15.60 William J Medland, historian, 'The Cuban Missile Crisis: Evolving Historical Perspectives', *The History Teacher* 23 (4), August 1990

> Both leaders emerged with something from the crisis. Kennedy came out of the crisis with a greatly improved reputation in his own country and throughout the West. He had stood up to Khrushchev and had made him back down. Khrushchev was also able to claim a personal triumph. Cuba remained a useful ally in 'Uncle Sam's backyard'.

SOURCE 15.61 Ben Walsh, historian, *Modern World History*, 1996, p. 298

> It was luck that prevented nuclear war. We came that close to nuclear war at the end. Rational individuals: Kennedy was rational; Khrushchev was rational; Castro was rational. Rational individuals came that close to total destruction of their societies.

SOURCE 15.62 Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defence during the Cuban Missile Crisis, from the documentary *The Fog of War*, 2003

> What if the Russians had refused to back down and remove their missiles from Cuba? What if they had called our bluff and war had begun, and escalated? How would the historians of mankind, if a fragment survived, have regarded the events of October? ... Since this is the kind of bluff that can easily be played once too often, and that his successors may feel urged to imitate, it would be well to think it over carefully before canonizing Kennedy as an apostle of peace.

SOURCE 15.63 I.F. Stone, journalist, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, 9 December 1963

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CONCLUDING STUDY
After Cuba

15.14 Cuba: beyond the missile crisis

With the missile crisis ended, Cuba exited the world stage but was still beset by the poverty and hardship characteristic of Third World countries around the globe. Its problems were aggravated by the continuation of the US embargo on trade with Cuba. The embargo, in place since 1960, was not a single action but the combined effect of a number of US laws and policies. Its specific measures have changed over time, but it generally banned US companies from doing business with Cuba, and prevented US citizens visiting Cuba. The embargo did not prevent trade between Cuba and other countries, or even stop all US exports to the island nation.



SOURCE 15.64 Leonid Brezhnev and Fidel Castro at Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Centre, USSR, 14 June 1972
In what two ways does this scene reflect the Cold War?

Cuba's perilous economy combined with general US hostility drove Castro's Cuba, not unexpectedly, towards the USSR. Into the 1980s, Castro maintained close relations with the USSR under Khrushchev and his successor Leonid Brezhnev (1964–82).

GO

SOURCE 15.65 The CIA comments on Soviet influence

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Domestically, the Cuban Government pursued socialist policies to promote economic and social development, including making education and health services available in a society marked by high levels of poverty. Soviet aid and trade – especially in petroleum – remained essential. But in 1991, with the breakup of the USSR, that trade collapsed. Petroleum imports crashed to 10% of previous levels, causing economic chaos. This, coupled with crop failures, produced an economic crisis known as the 'Special Period in the Time of Peace'. It was marked by austerity, food rationing and a massive reduction in transportation services. Recovery took more than a decade.

Throughout these decades, the political system remained a highly centralised and authoritarian one-party state. Fidel Castro remained in office as President until 2008, when he was succeeded by his younger brother Raoul.

Cuba and the US

Since the missile crisis of 1962, there had been ongoing tension between Cuba and the US. Castro was an outspoken anti-imperialist and a supporter of left-wing revolutionary movements in South America and Africa, most notably sending Cuban troops to the Angolan civil war in 1975. Overall, the possibility of improved relations between Cuba and the US was hampered by a complicated mix of factors: Castro's pro-revolutionary stance; the US involvement in the Vietnam War; the suppression of democratic freedoms

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in Cuba; controversial US interventions in Chile (1973), Nicaragua (from 1979) and Grenada (1983); a strong anti-Castro lobby in the US; Cuba's close ties to the Soviet Union; the continuing US embargo.

There were signs of a thaw in the relationship at times, most notably during the US presidency of Jimmy Carter (1977–81). But it was not until the presidency of Barack Obama (2009–17) that significant change began. A 'normalisation' process began in 2014, facilitated by Pope Francis and the Canadian Government. It explored areas including diplomatic recognition, communications, travel restrictions and economic relations. On 20 July 2015, the two nations' embassies were re-opened. Most dramatically, on 20 March 2016, Obama became the first US president to visit Cuba since 1928, heading a delegation of over a thousand that included business leaders keen to develop investment and trade opportunities.

Donald Trump, inaugurated as US president in 2017, curtailed this normalisation process. Fidel Castro had died on 25 November 2016, just weeks after Donald Trump's election. Among the international responses – both laudatory and critical – was President-elect Trump's tweet 'The tyrant #Castro is dead'. Trump promised to review the US relationship with Cuba but, at the time this chapter was written, it was not clear what that would entail. Meanwhile, the US embargo remained formally in place, despite being condemned by an overwhelming United Nations vote each year.

ACTIVITY 15.9

Construct a timeline updating the Cuba–United States relationship

Using internet resources, construct a timeline identifying key developments in the Cuba–US relationship from the inauguration of President Obama (2009) to the present. Then assess whether the spectre of the Cold War is still discernible in the relationship.

15.15 The Cold War to 1991

The Cuban Missile Crisis marked a peak of Cold War tension, but the world continued to experience episodes of Cold War-inspired conflict.

Ongoing conflict

In 1965, Cold War tensions spilled over into Indochina (modern-day Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) when the domino theory (see Source 15.16) led the US to fear that Asian nations would progressively fall to communism, resulting in their proxy involvement in massive armed conflicts in both Vietnam and Cambodia.

In the 1970s, a concerted effort was made by US President Richard Nixon and his Soviet counterpart, Leonid Brezhnev, as well as China's Mao Zedong, to reduce Cold War pressures: Nixon's 1972 visits to China and Russia helped towards a thawing of relations. However, the two superpowers continued to involve themselves in elections, revolutions and conflicts around the globe in an attempt to preserve or even tip the balance of power in their favour.

For example, the US supported anti-communist activities in Latin American countries such as Chile (1970–73) and Nicaragua (1979–85), as well as Iran. In other parts of the world, such as Somalia (1969), Ethiopia (1977), Angola (1975), Afghanistan (1979), the Soviets either directly intervened, invaded or provided direct financial aid to nascent communist leaders.

The collapse of the Soviet Union

In the early 1980s, new US President Ronald Reagan approved the spending of nearly $2 trillion to re-arm America. Nuclear anxieties, only shallowly hidden beneath the American subconscious, rose to the surface once again.

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The new arms race initiated by Reagan forced the Soviet economy into freefall, with the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev admitting that food was 'economically and politically' the central problem facing the country. In 1985, new leader General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev instigated two reforms which, many historians argue, paved the way for the end of the Cold War. *Perestroika* (restructuring) resulted in the widespread reconstruction of the Soviet economy, introducing more market-based reforms which required a reduction in military spending. *Glasnost* (openness) sought to end corruption among officials and allow for open and honest appraisals of the problems facing the Soviet Union, including greater press freedoms.



SOURCE 15.66 In 1989, the Berlin Wall came down, in some cases, by hand. Here, young West German children peer through a gap in the wall without fear.
In what two ways does this scene reflect the Cold War?

In 1990, Communist East Germany and Democratic West Germany – separated since the end of World War II – were officially reunited: the wall dividing Berlin had begun to come down the year before. Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria all splintered from the Soviet Union or installed anti-communist leaders. In February 1991 the Warsaw Pact was declared disbanded, and December 1991 saw the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union: in its place stood the Russian Federation. The Russian Federation had been the largest and most economically productive of the USSR's 15 republics. Now, in a post-Cold War world, it assumed the former role of the Soviet Union, including its permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council.

ACTIVITY 15.10

GO

Research a Cold War event

This timeline and research activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

15.16 Perspectives on the Cold War

The historiography of the Cold War is hotly contested. There are a number of schools of thought in which different historians are grouped and labelled. Their main focus is on who was responsible for the Cold War. The main ideas of each school are as follows:

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Orthodox
The Cold War was initiated by the USSR through its aggressive expansion in Europe after World War II – creating the Warsaw Pact satellite states – and extended through its fostering of revolutionary movements globally. The US acted to protect Western interests, to contain communist expansion and to protect vulnerable states.

Soviet
The US had sought the demise of the USSR since the inception of the Soviet Union. The US and its allies had hoped that Germany and the USSR would devastate each other in World War II. In 1945, the USSR was determined to protect itself from Western aggression through firm control of the Warsaw Pact states. It also supported Third World states' resistance to US neo-imperialism.

Revisionist
US actions in Vietnam and elsewhere demonstrated that it was primarily interested in protecting and expanding its political and economic influence globally. American anti-communist rhetoric was an ideological cover for self-interest. To this end, the US sometimes subverted democratic movements while protecting compliant dictators. US policy was seen as heavily influenced by the military-industrial complex. Revisionists also challenged the orthodox claim that the USSR was aggressively expansionist.

Post-Revisionist
They see the Revisionists as too critical of the US and too uncritical of the USSR. Both the US and the USSR bear responsibility for the Cold War, but international and domestic circumstances made the conflict almost unavoidable. The conflict was not primarily ideological, but rather the understandable consequence of two rival superpowers pursuing their political and economic interests both at home and abroad, in the unstable post-war landscape.

ACTIVITY 15.11

Explore Cold War schools of thought

Each of the four schools above probably includes some elements of truth. Divide the class into four groups. Each group selects one of the schools. Identify information in the chapter (or online) that seems to support claims made by that school about the Cold War. As a group, discuss and organise what you have found. Each student prepares a case to present to other students. Regroup into new groups of four, with one student defending each school. Everyone presents their case and then responds to questions or comments from the others. Finally, regroup for a whole-class discussion.

15.17 Popular culture

Apocalyptic fiction emerged in the shadow of the atomic age. These novels reflect the attitudes of those who lived through the atomic age:

- *A Canticle for Lebowitz* (1957)
- *Alas, Babylon* (1959)
- *Level 7* (1959)
- *On the Beach* (1957)
- *Red Alert* (1958) – this book inspired the 1964 film *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb.*

The Cuban Missile Crisis has received the Hollywood treatment in these films:

- *Blast from the Past* (1999)
- *Matinee* (1993)

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- *The Missiles of October* (1974)
- *Thirteen Days* (2000)

◆ If possible, watch or read, and critically evaluate, one of these works.

15.18 Is the world still on the brink?

Cold War tensions, even two decades into the twenty-first century, continue to shape the world we live in.

GO

In August 2017, safety officials in Guam, a US territory located in the Pacific Ocean approximately 3400 kilometres from North Korea, released a two-page pamphlet to their citizens. The pamphlet, written in reassuring language, warned Guamanians what to do if North Korea fired a nuclear missile at their small island. If a nuclear missile strikes, the pamphlet advises, 'do not look at the flash or fireball – it can blind you' and 'remove your clothing to keep radioactive material from spreading'. In the Guam radio tower, Sergeant Daniel O'Reilly looks east towards America and thinks of his family back in Indiana.



SOURCE 15.67 Guam Joint Information Centre fact sheet, 2017
A higher resolution version of the fact sheet is available in the Interactive Textbook. Read it, and compare the instructions to those given in the 1950s *Duck and Cover* video (Source 15.44).

In November 2017, in Hawaii, a US state located approximately 7500 kilometres from North Korea, safety officials test their nuclear warning sirens for the first time since the 1980s. The sound, a ululating and mournful sigh, washes over the sunbakers on Waikiki Beach and pierces the concentration of the surfers at Waimea Bay. Marcia O'Reilly, sipping a celebratory retirement milkshake with her children and grandkids at Honolulu's famous Royal Hawaiian Hotel, hears the siren. Despite the balmy weather, Marcia breaks into a cold sweat.

At the start of this chapter, we met the fictionalised 'Marcia' as a six-year-old: in this continuation of her story, we see her as a mature woman celebrating her retirement, but still feeling the impact of world tensions.

Developments since 2010 have been interpreted as signalling a new Cold War. The focus is on a resurgent Russia and particularly on the Russian leader Vladimir Putin, described by some as the 'new Tsar' and by others as the 'new Stalin'. Critics point to Russia's increasingly authoritarian politics, its annexation of Crimea and its military role in the conflict in the Ukraine. Even more dramatic is the situation in the Syrian conflict, where Russia and the US have been involved in military actions in support of opposing sides.

A resurgent Russia is not the only modern legacy of the Cold War: other areas include expansionism by China, trade wars, and charges of US cultural imperialism, especially through global companies such as Facebook, Apple, Netflix and Google (FANG).

And Marcia's story illustrates another global tension that comes directly from the Cold War. As shown in the contextual study, the Korean War – a proxy war between communist and capitalist powers – left Korea divided into a capitalist South and a communist North. Since 2006, North Korea has been developing increasingly sophisticated nuclear weapons, and in 2018, perhaps for the first time since the Cold War, young people were having to contend not just with the spectre of war, but also with a war with potentially apocalyptic consequences for the Earth.

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Whereas the Cuban Missile Crisis was played out over postal mail and telegram, communication between world leaders can now occur in real time, and sometimes in full public view, across new technologies such as Twitter.

The Interactive Textbook contains a series of tweets made by US President Donald Trump during 2017 hostilities with North Korea (Source 15.68).

GO

- The Doomsday Clock – published by the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists – represents the likelihood of a human produced global catastrophe. In 2018, it was moved to 'two minutes to midnight', the closest it had been since 1953. Find out what it is currently set to.

ACTIVITY 15.12

Research a current global tension

Use the internet to research one of the following:

1. The current situation regarding Russia's role in global affairs.
2. Whether North Korea is currently a nuclear threat.
3. Another current global tension that can be considered a legacy of the Cold War.

A more peaceful world?

Despite the fear of nuclear devastation generated throughout the Cold War and the contemporary re-emergence of this tension, a group of thinkers called the New Optimists, led by the Canadian-American cognitive psychologist Steven Pinker, believe humans have never had it better. Others disagree: Burkeman (2017) says the New Optimists use a barrage of 'upbeat statistics' and 'upbeat factoids' to attempt to show that current liberal democracies are 'clearly working'.

SOURCE 15.69 The arguments of the New Optimists

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Are there still ideological tensions today?

Historically, the Cold War's ideological roots can be traced back to Marx and Engels in 1848.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a young American thinker, Francis Fukuyama, wrote:

> In watching the flow of events over the past decade or so, it is hard to avoid the feeling that something very fundamental has happened in world history ... The triumph of the West, of the Western idea is evident first of all in the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism ... What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War ... but the end of history as such; that is, the end point of man's ideological evolution and the universalisation of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.

SOURCE 15.70 Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man,* 1989, p. 15

However, Fukuyama later revised his view, expressing the feat that 'democracies can go backward', and acknowledging new clashes, such as between the globalised free-market economy and those who are disadvantaged.

The decade after 2010 saw a revival of debates about capitalism. The Occupy movement made a critique of capitalism its major focus. In 2017, newly elected New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern claimed

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that capitalism was failing many in society. Candidates with socialist policies polled well in the US (Bernie Sanders as a presidential candidate) and the UK (Jeremy Corbyn became leader of the Labour Party).

- Search online to see whether these debates are continuing. If so, discuss the arguments being raised.

Hope or despair for the future? Or somewhere in between?

In 2017, the Peace Nobel Prize was awarded to the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), which was first formed in Australia. In her acceptance speech, ICAN leader Beatrice Fihn (2017) worried that 'our mutual destruction is only one impulsive tantrum away'. She also called on the nations possessing nuclear weapons to adopt the 2017 United Nations Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, the first legally binding international treaty to prohibit nuclear weapons. Importantly, not one of the world's nuclear nations voted in favour of the treaty. Interestingly, however, North Korea did vote in favour of a draft of the treaty but was absent during the official vote. Australia, a non-nuclear nation (but one on whose soil 12 nuclear weapons were tested), voted against the treaty, arguing that without the support of the nuclear nations, the treaty 'would be premature'.



SOURCE 15.71 An ICAN-organised anti-nuclear rally in Melbourne, 2017. The symbol on the banner is treated as a universal 'peace' symbol. Research the origins of the symbol to decide whether it is particularly applicable to a 'ban the bomb' campaign.

When this chapter was written, Western democracies had experienced several years of extraordinary movements for social change, including marriage equality in Australia, the Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, the People's Climate March, the US March For Our Lives against gun violence, and the denouncing of sexual assault through the viral #metoo movement. It is not inconceivable that the next great social movement, led by young people like yourself, could be the sustained demand for a nuclear-free world. As Beatrice Fihn stated during her Nobel Prize address: 'The story of nuclear weapons will have an ending, and it's up to us what that ending will be'.

ACTIVITY 15.13

Debate big questions about the Cold War

As 'big questions' deal with issues of moral significance, they are usually subject to multiple interpretations and perspectives and the answers usually lead to other big questions.
In groups, debate the following big questions that arise from a study of the Cold War.

1. Can ideology ever justify war?
2. Should the search for peace be left in the hands of the powerful?
3. Does a world with nuclear weapons make for a safer world?
4. Can the people of Third World societies become prosperous if the people of First World societies do not limit their own prosperity?
5. Does what you experience through films, books and social media convey a view of the future that is mainly optimistic, mainly pessimistic or some mixture of the two?
6. Are Western liberal democracies the best form of government to cope with threats such as climate change?
7. Are you hopeful about the future? What are your sources of hope? What are your sources of despair? How can a study of history engender hope or despair for the future?
8. What other big questions do you think emerge from this chapter?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Nuclear weapons and the Cold War

- Tensions between Russia and the West had developed following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.
- After World War II, the world was dominated by two superpowers – the US and the USSR – who had sharp ideological, political and economic differences.
- The Cold War was characterised by covert conflicts, in which the two superpowers used other nations, or proxies, to fight their battles for them.
- The USA and the USSR engaged in an arms race that increased the size of their nuclear arsenals.
- After World War II, four Cold War crises threatened to spill over into traditional conflict: the Berlin Blockade (1948–49), the Korean War (1950–53), the Hungarian Uprising (1956) and the Suez Crisis (1956).

Depth study: How was nuclear war avoided in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962?

- Cuba experienced four centuries of primarily Spanish rule, which was ended by US intervention in 1898, followed by a four-year period of US military rule.
- In the early twentieth century, US investors bought land in Cuba, and it became a popular tourist destination.
- In 1959, Fidel Castro led an overthrow of the American-backed Fulgencio Batista, who had ruled Cuba as a dictator since 1952.
- The government confiscated and nationalised many private plantations and factories, some of which were US-owned.
- The US established an embargo on all trade with Cuba, and Cuba established stronger economic ties with the USSR. In May 1961, Cuba formally declared itself a communist country.
- The US Government commenced a series of mostly covert operations to overthrow the Cuban Government, such as the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion, and Operation Mongoose.
- The USSR's concerns about US nuclear capabilities increased when nuclear warheads were set in Turkey.
- In 1962, the USSR began clandestine movement of nuclear-tipped missiles to Cuba. This was discovered by US surveillance.
- In October 1962, President John F. Kennedy gathered a group of politicians and strategists called EXCOMM.
- EXCOMM was divided into two camps: the Hawks called for an invasion or air strike, while the Doves called for a naval blockade of Cuba. The doves prevailed.
- On 22 October 1962, Kennedy made a televised address to the US public, describing the seriousness of the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- As the crisis grew, there were demonstrations across the globe, worldwide military mobilisations, and the US was placed on DEFCON2 alert status.
- Following an extraordinary days-long exchange between Kennedy and Khrushchev, an agreement was reached on 27 October 1962.

Concluding study: After Cuba

- Cuba was still beset by poverty and hardship, partly due to the ongoing US trade embargo.
- Following the death of Castro, US President Trump promised to review the US relationship with Cuba.
- There were many more proxy conflicts in the Cold War.
- In 1991 the USSR disintegrated, which suggested the end of the Cold War.
- Developments since 2010 have been interpreted as perhaps signalling a new Cold War.
- Around 2017, questions about the effects of free-market capitalism emerged in political discourse in the USA, the UK and New Zealand.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

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CHAPTER 16
Terrorism, anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism since 1984
Focus: Radical Islamist terrorism



SOURCE 16.1 At the funeral of Olivia Campbell-Hardy, 15, victim of the Manchester bombing. *Don't Look Back in Anger* is the title of a 1995 hit song by the famous Manchester band Oasis. The song took on added meaning in the wake of the bombing, and was performed by Ariana Grande and Chris Martin at the 'One Love Manchester' concert on 4 June 2017.

It's 22 May 2017. At the end of a concert by US star Ariana Grande, teenagers spill out into the Manchester Stadium foyer. Many in the crowd are at their first concert. Some run excitedly to waiting parents. Close by, a young man, Salman Abedi, stands alone. Suddenly, he detonates his lethal homemade bomb. Twenty-three people die, including the bomber. The next day, Islamic State claims the bomber as a 'soldier of the Caliphate'. Newspapers report that he was angered by British and US military actions in the 'lands of the Muslims'. In an interview, his sister describes her brother's fervent feelings about the death of Syrian children. For days after, the people of Manchester come together in a heightened atmosphere of grief, love and solidarity.

Over 2000 years earlier – in 73 BCE – a dramatic revolt rocks the Roman Republic. Spartacus – at various times a Roman soldier, a deserter, a slave and a gladiator – leads an uprising against the Roman state. He rallies tens of thousands of rebels and slaves to his side. Surprisingly, they win fierce battles against Roman legions. After two years of turmoil, Spartacus is finally defeated in battle. But the killing doesn't stop. The Roman commander Crassus issues a stunning order: 6000 followers of Spartacus will be crucified. Crosses are erected along 200 kilometres of the Appian Way, the most important road in ancient Rome. In full view of passing travellers, the crucified men suffer long, agonising deaths. The body of Spartacus is never found.

Brian Hoepper and Ryan Slavin

Reader advice: Students should exercise caution when conducting internet research on this subject matter, as searches may lead to pages containing content that is distressing, and/or denied classification and thus illegal to access or download in Australia. In addition, certain search terms may be monitored by Australian police and intelligence agencies. Searches should be restricted to only reputable websites and a teacher should be consulted where a student is in doubt or has concerns.

Students should also be aware that this chapter deals with themes that may be confronting, such as suicide-bombing.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY
Defining and describing terrorism

In 2017, there was no hesitation in labelling the Manchester bomber a terrorist. But you might be surprised to learn that the ancient act of crucifixion – carried out in the name of the Roman state – has also been called an act of terrorism by some writers (Crossan, 2001; Mansfield, 2013). However, others would disagree: in fact, there is no universally agreed upon definition of terrorism. In this contextual study, you will look at a range of views, and start to develop your own definition.

16.1 How complex is terrorism?

In providing examples of what might be called 'terrorism', this chapter deliberately casts a very wide net. Along with Roman crucifixion, you will encounter other examples of actions that some would insist are not terrorism. There will no doubt be arguments in your own classroom about what constitutes an act of terrorism. Everything you study in this chapter will inform those arguments, right up to the final activity in the chapter.

To begin your investigations, you'll now look at two more dramatic historical events. As you read, consider their similarities and differences, and keep in mind the question 'is this terrorism?'

The Congo, 1900

In 1885, King Leopold II of Belgium established a colony, the Congo Free State, in Africa. As well as being the 'founder' of this state, Leopold was the owner of the colony and all its people. Leopold's private company set up rubber plantations to feed a huge demand from industries in Europe and the US. However, these plantations were places of terror. The photograph in Source 16.2 shows two Congolese workers forced to tap the rubber trees for their vital latex. Both workers are missing a hand, but not from an accident. Rather, a company official amputated their hands to send a message to other workers: work harder … or risk the same fate.

SOURCE 16.2 Workers on a rubber plantation in King Leopold II's Congo, c.1900



Responding to the image

1. How would you describe the mindset of the European company officials responsible for the amputations?
2. How do you think Belgian citizens in 1900 would have reacted if they had seen this photograph?
3. Do you think Belgian public attitudes to this photo would have changed between 1900 and now? If so, how and why?
4. This photo seems deliberately posed. Who might have taken it, and for what purpose? Can you think of two quite different answers to that question? Explain your response.
5. Based on the limited information you've encountered so far, do you think this severing of hands might justifiably be labelled 'terrorism'?

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Historian Victoria Brittain notes that 'some 10 million people' probably died in the forced labour system on plantations (1999:133). But at the time, most people in Belgium (and other countries) were unaware of this dark secret. In 1908, after pressure from the Belgian Government, Leopold's privately owned state possession became an official Belgian colony. In 1960 it became the independent Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Forty-five years later, this dark past was revealed to the Belgian public in a Brussels museum. In *The Times* of London, Anthony Browne reported how the museum exhibition highlighted 'forced labour, mass murder and the routine severing of hands'; he called the Congo 'probably the most bloody' of all European colonies (12 March 2005).

Browne noted also how Belgian citizens were painfully confronted by the exhibition, which challenged the glorious history they'd been taught about the 'civilisation' that Belgium brought to the Congo.

- Like Belgium, Australia too has aspects of its past which many are not proud of. However, do you think it is important for nations to acknowledge painful aspects of their history? Explain your response.

Palestine, 1946

On 22 July 1946, a massive blast destroyed the west wing of the luxurious King David Hotel in Jerusalem. Ninety-three people were killed. Most were members of the British Administration, the British Army and hotel staff.

In 1921, in the tumultuous aftermath of World War I, the League of Nations had given Great Britain a mandate to administer Palestine – the 'holy land' that, until the war, was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire.

For decades, Jewish people around the world had sought a homeland for themselves. Many preferred Palestine – the historic location of the ancient state of Israel – as the location. The tragedy of the Holocaust accelerated the efforts of **Zionists**, who sought to re-establish the ancient Jewish state.

Zionists supporters of Zionism, a movement that seeks the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state

Members of Irgun, a radical Zionist group, planted and detonated the bombs. It was part of their campaign to convince the British to quit Palestine and allow the creation of a Jewish state, Israel.

The day after the bombing, the British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, addressed parliament. He called the bombing a 'brutal and murderous crime' and an 'insane act of terrorism' against 'innocent people'. However, two days later, Atlee wrote confidentially to US President Harry Truman. Atlee referred to 'the inhuman crime' and the calls for 'the strongest action'. But he also mentioned 'the sufferings of the innocent Jewish victims of Nazism' and hoped for a way to bring peace to Palestine.



SOURCE 16.3 The bombed King David Hotel, Jerusalem, 22 July 1946
Does the photograph suggest that the Irgun bombers wanted to kill a substantial number of people? Why might many Jews, including Zionists, have criticised the bombing? How do you think the British population – both in Palestine and in Britain – would have reacted to the bombing? Might they have had a range of views? Explain your response. Does the image suggest that Irgun intended to gain great publicity with this act? Do you think the bombing would have advanced the campaign of Zionists for a Jewish homeland? Note that Irgun has always claimed that they made phone calls to warn of the bomb, and to prompt an evacuation of the building. Does that affect your answers above? Explain your response.

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In 1948, the members of Irgun achieved their aim when the independent state of Israel was established. It's impossible to know what effect the Jerusalem bombing had on that outcome. But, almost 30 years later, the leader of the Irgun bombers – Menachem Begin – became Prime Minister of Israel and a significant world leader.

- In 2006, the 60th anniversary of the bombing, a plaque was unveiled in the King David Hotel, where another plaque had already hung for many years. Read online to discover why the second plaque caused such controversy.

It is interesting to compare and contrast the events in the Congo and Palestine. Both were very violent, but the victims were very different. One was done by the agents of a European king; the other attacked a European government. In one, the motive was financial gain; in the other, political change. One was hushed up historically; the other made worldwide headlines. Both remain controversial today.

- Would you apply the label 'terrorism' to one, both or neither of the events in the Congo and Jerusalem? Share your answer and your reasons with a classmate.

16.2 How can events such as terrorism be analysed and understood?

When analysing complex historical events like those above, you can use 'comparative categorisation' to find patterns and trends in information. This broadens your understanding of phenomena such as terrorism. In the following activity, you will dig deeper into 'Manchester', 'Rome', 'the Congo' and 'Palestine' to see what patterns emerge.

ACTIVITY 16.1

Comparatively categorise the four events studied so far

Copy and complete the comparative table below.

	1. The Manchester concert bombing, 2017	2. Roman crucifixions of rebels, first century BCE	3. Belgian Congo amputations, c.1900	4. Jerusalem bombing, 1946
1. Perpetrators				
2. Action				
3. Target/victims				
4. Motives				
5. Immediate impact				
6. Wider audience/effect				
7. Long-term impact				
8. Additional notes				

1. What, if anything, do the four events have in common?
2. What are the key differences among them?

You probably noted that all four events involved violence and that they created fear or a sense of terror among particular people. As you'll see later, all definitions of terrorism refer to violence (actual and/or threatened) and to the creation of fear or a sense of terror.

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Next, you and your classmates will investigate twenty historical events. All twenty involve both violence and the creation of fear, but some critics would argue that not all of them should be called terrorism. You too might be surprised to see particular events included in this activity. Clearly, you'll be prompted to continue asking 'what is terrorism?'

16.3 How have violence and the creation of fear been linked over the centuries?

The previous examples suggest that the use of violence to send a message, to create fear and often to kill people, has a history stretching back over 2000 years. In the following activity you will individually research one such event, share your findings and discuss whether it deepens your understanding of terrorism.

ACTIVITY 16.2

Research an event in which violence created fear

Below you see a chronological list of twenty events characterised by violence (or the threat of violence) and the creation of fear. They belong to five categories A–E with four events in each category. Each category A–E highlights one particular type of violent action that has been prominent historically.

1. Organise the class into five equal groups (A, B, C, D, E). Within a group, take a number each (1, 2, 3, 4).
2. In the list, find the event that has your number (e.g. C4). Identify one or more likely search terms in the description and conduct an internet search. Your task is to complete a 'Perpetrators/Actions/Victims/Targets/Audience/Motives etc.' analysis, as in the previous activity. Your notes will be the basis of a report to your group.
3. When ready, share your findings with your group. Then discuss why you think your four events were grouped together. After that, go to step 4 below.

List of actions – chronological

Note that you're given a little detail of each event. That detail could indicate the perpetrator of the violence (or threat of violence) or the victim. Use that detail as a springboard into finding greater detail online in order to understand the context and significance of the action.

E1: Athens 399 BCE
Famous philosopher Socrates is sentenced to death, drinks poison as ordered, and dies.

D1: Italy 30 April 1633
Threatened with torture, Galileo recants his theory that the Earth revolves around the Sun.

A1: Russia 13 March 1881
A Narodnaya Volya revolutionary, hurling a powerful bomb, assassinates Tsar Alexander II and kills many bystanders.

C1: Bosnia 28 June 1914
Soon after a failed bomb attack in Sarajevo, a gunman shoots and kills the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne – Archduke Franz Ferdinand – and his wife Countess Sophie.

B1: USA 28 September 1919
In Omaha City, a huge crowd forcibly takes Will Brown from police custody and lynches him – one of thousands of such lynchings over decades in the USA.

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SOURCE 16.4 Columbia, South Carolina, 10 July 2015. Victor Garlington holds up a photo of the lynching of his great uncle Richard Putt in 1913. The Confederate flag has just been officially removed from the Statehouse building in the background.
Who carried out lynchings in the USA? Who were the victims? What 'messages' did lynchings send? Might they be viewed as acts of terrorism? Why would Victor make this statement at this particular event? Why might his old photograph make a powerful impression? What mixed responses might Victor have evoked?

D2: Germany 22 February 1943
Condemned to death for distributing leaflets at Munich University, young students Sophie and Hans Scholl are executed by guillotine.

D3: Kenya 1949
Hussein Onyango Obama, the grandfather of future US president Barack Obama, is imprisoned and tortured by British soldiers in Kamiti prison.

E2: Great Britain 7 June 1954
Brilliant cryptologist Alan Turing commits suicide after criminal prosecution and public persecution for his 'crime'.

D4: Chile 12–16 September 1973
Popular folk singer and theatre director Victor Jara is arrested, held in Chile Stadium, tortured, shot 44 times and his body dumped near a railway line.

E3: Saudi Arabia 15 July 1977
Princess Mishaal bint Fahd, a 19-year-old member of the royal family, is executed by pistol, and a co-accused is beheaded by sword.

A2: Germany 5 September 1977
Leading German industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer is kidnapped, held in captivity for over two months and finally executed by his captors.



SOURCE 16.5 Sri Lanka, 1 July 2006. Members of the Tamil Tigers home-guard patrol the street of Kilinochchi.
What in this picture suggests that the Tamil Tigers control this town? What does their appearance indicate about their military tactics? What might the passing people be feeling about this situation? Could the Tigers have used such images as positive propaganda? Explain your response.

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ACTIVITY 16.2 continued

C2: England 12 October 1984
In Brighton, a bomb destroys part of a major hotel, killing five but missing its major target.

A3: Peru 16 July 1992
'Shining Path' guerrillas detonate a bomb in Lima, the capital city of Peru, killing 25 men, women and children.

C3: Sri Lanka 1 May 1993
A Tamil Tiger suicide bomber assassinates the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Ranasinghe Premadasa.

B2: Rwanda April–July 1994
Rwandans slaughter up to a million of their fellow citizens.

A4: USA 19 April 1995
A bomb planted in a building in Oklahoma City by Timothy McVeigh explodes, destroying much of the building and killing 168 people, including 19 children.

B3: Bosnia 11–22 July 1995
At Srebrenica, over 8000 Bosnians – mainly men and boys – are killed in mass executions.

C4: Russia 1 September 2004
Over a thousand people, mostly children, are held hostage for three days in a school. Hundreds die in an attempt to free the hostages.

E4: USA 31 May 2009
Scott Roeder murders Dr George Tiller in a church in Wichita, Kansas.

B4: Myanmar August–September 2017
Over 430 000 Rohingya refugees flee to Bangladesh after deadly attacks by Myanmar army soldiers.

4. As a group, discuss whether your particular events match the category/purpose listed below for your group.
   - Group A Category: Political revolutionary
     Purpose: to attack and/or overthrow a political and/or economic system
   - Group B Category: Socio-cultural repressive
     Purpose: to attack people because of their religion, race and/or ethnicity
   - Group C Category: Anti-imperialist
     Purpose: to gain political independence for a national, ethnic, religious or other population
   - Group D Category: Political authoritarian
     Purpose: for a government or institution to maintain control and crush opponents and enemies
   - Group E Category: Moral punitive
     Purpose: to punish people for alleged immorality
5. Discuss whether both violence and the creation of fear were key features of the events.
6. Discuss whether your events could also belong to one of the other categories.
7. Regroup to form four new groups of five students, based on your own number (i.e.: all 2s in a group, etc.). Each group will include one event from each of the five categories.

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ACTIVITY 16.2 continued

8. In your new group, share your findings. Discuss similarities and differences among the actions.
9. In a whole-class setting, each student in turn reports briefly on (1) what their event was; (2) whether they think it was 'terrorism' and why. The class can then discuss issues and questions that emerged from the reports.
10. In the whole-class setting, students can describe anything that they found particularly interesting, surprising or shocking.
11. Reflect on the activity. In particular, discuss how useful the internet was as your research base. Did you find any excellent sites and information? Did you encounter any common pitfalls of internet research – for example, doubts about the expertise and authority of a site; lack of citations for key claims; information overly swayed by the author's standpoint?
12. Finally, prepare a report on what you researched and what you learned in the activity. Upload the report to the class Wiki or other sharing platform so that the whole class can review it.

This detailed activity looked at the long history of violence being used to create fear. You will have found out about vastly different perpetrators, with a range of motives and aims, targeting individuals, groups and institutions around the world. The activity probably highlighted why people argue about how terrorism should be defined.

- Using what you've now learned, write your own definition of 'terrorism'.

16.4 How has terrorism been defined?

So far, you've explored many actions that involved violence and that created fear. You debated whether they should be called terrorism and composed your own initial definition of terrorism. Now you will study how terrorism has been defined by various writers and others.

In a 2004 article, 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', Weinburg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler wrote that 'few terms or concepts in contemporary political discourse have proved as hard to define as terrorism' (2004:777).

SOURCES 16.6 A–E Five definitions of terrorism

Weinburg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler used survey instruments to determine whether they could create a consensus definition based on the ideas of academics working in the field of terrorism. They came up with this:

A Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004

> Terrorism is a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role.

Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsch-Hoefler, 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 16:4, 2004, p. 782

Sixteen years earlier, Alex Schmid had compiled his 'academic consensus definition' – a more complex antecedent of the definition above. A part of it is shown below.

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B Schmid and Jongman, 1988

> Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets.

Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman, *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature*, 1988, p. 28

Bruce Hoffman, author of *Inside Terrorism*, agreed that it was 'almost unrealistic to expect that there is going to be one totally agreed upon, completely acceptable definition of this phenomenon, and this lack of agreement therefore perpetually generates controversy and disagreement'. In a 2017 interview, he proposed this definition:

C Hoffman, 2017

> ... the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change ... terrorism is always political, and it is always about power.

Bruce Hoffman, 'All Terrorism is Revolutionary', *The Cipher Brief*, 29 October 2017

In 2004, philosopher Igor Primoratz restated a definition he first proposed in 1990:

D Primoratz, 2004

> ... for the purposes of philosophical discussion, terrorism is best defined as the deliberate use of violence, or threat of its use, against innocent people, with the aim of intimidating some other people into a course of action they otherwise would not take.

Igor Primoratz, 'State Terrorism and Counter-terrorism', in Primoratz [ed.] *Terrorism: The Philosophical Issues*, 2004, p. 114

It's notable that Primoratz added that 'criminal' acts – not just 'political' – could be labelled terrorism. Further, he declared that there was such a thing as state terrorism – committed by a state against its own people or abroad.

The United Nations has repeatedly failed to agree on a definition of terrorism, stating that 'the question of a definition of terrorism has haunted the debate among states for decades' (1992). However, on 14 December 2015 the UN adopted a resolution that reiterated an original declaration of 1994:

E United Nations General Assembly, 2015

> Reiterates that criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

United Nations General Assembly, '49/60. Measures to eliminate international terrorism', 84th plenary meeting, 14 December 2015, p. 4

However, within the UN, there have also been debates about whether state terrorism should be acknowledged and about whether violent anti-colonialist actions should be considered justifiable.

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Responding to the five definitions, Sources 16.6 A–E

1. What are the key differences between the 1988 and 2004 consensus definitions?
2. What elements, if any, are found in all five of the definitions?
3. Which definition, if any, best matches the particular event that you researched in Activity 16.2? Do these definitions change your previous decision about whether your event was actually terrorism?
4. Which definition, if any, do you think is broad enough to encompass all 20 events in Activity 16.2?
5. Which of the definitions above seems the most restrictive or limited in defining terrorism?
6. After studying all five definitions, and reflecting on the research activity, revise your own initial definition of terrorism. You'll revisit that definition again later.

As well as defining terrorism, experts have proposed ways of analysing and categorising terrorism, identifying common elements, differences and patterns. Here is one example.

Analysing terrorism: the four waves of modern rebel terrorism

In understanding how modern terrorism has changed over time, the work of US academic David Rapoport is useful. He detailed his work in the four-volume *Terrorism: Critical Concepts in Political Science* in 2006. Rapoport proposes that there have been four 'waves' of terrorism in modern times. He deals only with terrorism carried out by rebels, excluding for example the activities of a state, or criminal gangs. Rapoport says that a new form of terrorism emerged in the 1880s, sparked by the invention of dynamite and the development of more effective forms of modern communication – both useful tools for terrorists.

The four waves of terrorism are:

1. Anarchists: attacking governments and the state, particularly autocratic and repressive regimes.
2. Anti-colonial: attacking imperialist nations and their colonial administrations.
3. New left: attacking the capitalist status quo and the military-industrial complex in mainly Western nations.
4. Religious: various religion-based terrorist movements.

The waves overlap, with anarchists prominent in the late 1800s, anti-colonialists emerging around World War I and continuing after World War II, the new left emerging in the 1960s and religious terrorism gaining new notoriety after the 9/11 attacks in 2001.

- Go back to Activity 16.2. Look at items A2, E4, A1, E3, B4 and D3. Which two do not match any of Rapoport's four waves? Why?
- Match the four other items with the four waves. Explain why each fits in its particular wave.
- Decide whether the specific event you researched fits into one of Rapoport's waves.

16.5 What might terrorist targets reveal?

Might we better understand a terrorist organisation by examining evidence relating to its targets?

Terrorist groups have a range of reasons for choosing their targets. Some groups target places of symbolic value; for example a parliament, an army base, a bank, a church. Others aim for maximum disruption by targeting, for example, an oil pipeline or communications system. Yet others choose targets where maximum fear and hysteria will result, both at the site and later through widespread media coverage. This can motivate a suicide bomber to attack a sports stadium, shopping centre or concert hall.

- From the list of 20 actions studied earlier, select three that reflect, respectively, the three target categories of symbolic value, maximum disruption and maximum fear and hysteria.
- Can you find a terrorist action that reflects all three categories of target?

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There may also be deeper reasons underlying a terrorist's choice of target. These can reflect the aims, motives, objectives, worldview and particular set of grievances of a single terrorist or terrorist group. To study these factors, you'll now look closely at al-Qaeda.

16.6 What is al-Qaeda's agenda?

The terrorist organisation al-Qaeda sent shockwaves around the globe when it crashed four hijacked airliners into US sites on 11 September 2001 (9/11). Terrorism took on a new dimension. In New York, almost 3000 people perished when the famous Twin Towers of the World Trade Center were brought down.

SOURCE 16.7 The attack on the Twin Towers, 11 September 2001



Responding to the photograph

1. Does this image suggest why this event is still powerfully in the minds of many Americans?
2. What swirl of thoughts and emotions might this woman be experiencing?
3. Is empathy – the ability to imagine what she is thinking and feeling – difficult when the situation is so shocking?
4. If this photo had appeared in both a US newspaper and an al-Qaeda publication, how different might the two captions have been?
5. Which of the following motives do you think were involved in this event: symbolic value, causing maximum disruption, causing maximum fear and hysteria? Explain your response.

Through examining evidence relating to al-Qaeda's reported targets, we might infer more clearly the aims, motives, objectives or particular set of grievances that this terrorist organisation held.

In May 2005, Saudi security forces killed Abdul Azziz-al-Moqrin, commander of al-Qaeda's operation on the Arabian Peninsula. A year earlier, he had provided 'practical examples' of al-Qaeda terrorist targets in the online publication *Mu'askar al-Batar*. He recommended that his followers attack a hierarchy of targets that he listed.

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SOURCE 16.8 Al-Qaeda's hierarchy of targets

GO

This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

Al-Qaeda's aims are very ambitious. In 2012, US academic Mary Habeck analysed statements by al-Qaeda leaders and identified four major aims: liberating Muslim lands from foreign occupation and/or **apostate** Islamic leadership; imposing **sharia** law on those lands; creating an expanding Islamic **caliphate**; establishing sharia law across the whole world. For al-Qaeda, the question has been 'How best do we achieve our aims?'

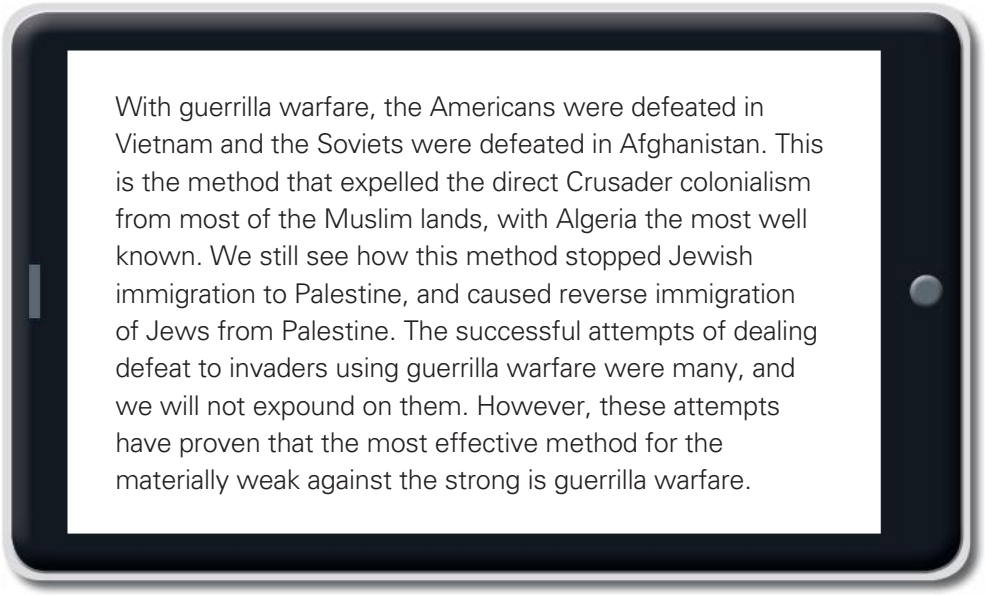
Saif al-Adel, an al-Qaeda commander and former Egyptian Army Special Forces officer, offered the following answer online: 'guerrilla warfare is the most powerful weapon Muslims have, and it is the best method to continue the conflict with the crusader enemy'. Read more of his online post in the following source.

apostate someone who abandons or renounces their religious beliefs, principles or allegiance

sharia an Islamic system of law based on the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet

caliphate an area under Islamic control and headed by a Caliph who claims to be the commander of the faithful and the successor to the prophet Mohammed

SOURCE 16.9 Online post appearing on one of *al-Qaeda's* websites on 9 April 2003



With guerrilla warfare, the Americans were defeated in Vietnam and the Soviets were defeated in Afghanistan. This is the method that expelled the direct Crusader colonialism from most of the Muslim lands, with Algeria the most well known. We still see how this method stopped Jewish immigration to Palestine, and caused reverse immigration of Jews from Palestine. The successful attempts of dealing defeat to invaders using guerrilla warfare were many, and we will not expound on them. However, these attempts have proven that the most effective method for the materially weak against the strong is guerrilla warfare.

Saif al-Adel, quoted in *Al-Qaida on the Fall of Baghdad: Guerilla Warfare Is the Most Powerful Weapon Muslims Have, and It Is the Best Method to Continue the Conflict with the Crusader Enemy*, The Middle East Media Research Institute Special Dispatch No. 493, 11 April 2003

Responding to the source

1. What is the key message of the source?
2. What does Saif al-Adel mean when he accuses America, Britain and others of 'Crusader colonialism'?
3. Why would al-Adel refer to the historical examples of Vietnam, Afghanistan and Algeria?
4. Why might guerrilla warfare be an effective method for the 'materially weak against the strong'?
5. Who do you think the intended audience for the source might be? Why do you think this?
6. Could al-Adel's previous career lend weight to his advice on fighting? Explain your response.

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SOURCE 16.10 US soldiers search a targeted house in Iskandariya, Iraq, 15 July 2017

Responding to the photograph

1. In a fight against guerrilla-style terrorists, why might the searching of family homes be an everyday occurrence?
2. What does this suggest about the difficulty of identifying, fighting and defeating guerrillas?
3. What difficulties might this present when trying to win the 'hearts and minds' of locals?



The soldiers are looking for suspected people and dangerous materials.

ACTIVITY 16.3

Explain al-Qaeda's agenda

1. Using evidence from the information that you have engaged with in this section, list six statements and/or actions that seem to offer insight into al-Qaeda's agenda.
2. Using the six items, write a well-structured and evidence-based paragraph addressing the question: *What is al-Qaeda's terrorist agenda?*
   You could begin your paragraph by finishing this topic sentence: *Al-Qaeda's agenda for conducting terrorist activity is …*

16.7 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you've learned that terrorism is a very complex phenomenon, taking many different shapes in different places at different times. You've practised some ways of analysing and categorising terrorism – using categories such as 'type of target'; 'aims/objectives, motives and grievances'; 'perpetrators, targets, victims and audience'.

Through internet research, you and fellow students have shared information about a wide range of terrorist actions. You've discovered that terrorism is usually violent and is designed to damage people, to create fear, to influence government policy and to change people's behaviour. Sometimes, the aims of terrorists are based on deep beliefs and commitments; sometimes they can be sparked by other circumstances in a terrorist's life.

This contextual study concluded with a section on al-Qaeda. That sets the scene for the following depth study focused on radical Islamist terrorism.

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DEPTH STUDY

What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?

Radical Islamist terrorism burst into popular consciousness on 11 September 2001. Within weeks, the US had launched a 'war on terror'. Now, so many years later, that war is still with us. Iraq and Syria are devastated and countless thousands have died in terrorist attacks around the globe. Millions have become refugees mired in hopelessness. Populations have become fearful, and their governments have responded with extraordinary 'security' measures. In schools there are controversial anti-radicalisation programs.

In this depth study you will investigate these extraordinary developments, beginning with the historical roots of radical Islamist terrorism.

16.8 How did radical Islamist terrorism become prominent and powerful?

Radical Islamist terrorism is not new. In 1966, Sayyid Qutb was hanged for plotting to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Qutb – a prominent academic and writer – is widely recognised as the philosophical and political father of today's radical Islamists. In the mid-twentieth century, he was calling for the overthrow of ignorance and ungodliness (*Jahiliyyah*) and the transformation of states and societies according to Islamic principles. Eventually, he advocated revolution as a necessary strategy. His execution sparked the formation of a number of radical Muslim groups in Egypt, including Islamic Jihad, which assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981.

Mujahideen Islamist guerrilla fighters combating non-Muslim forces. Were instrumental in defeating Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

By 1981, Afghanistan was another breeding ground for radical Islam. In 1979, the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan to prevent the overthrow of a Marxist-influenced government. The United Nations condemned the invasion. For nine years the Soviet forces waged war against Muslim guerrillas – the **Mujahideen**. The rebels' numbers were swollen by enthusiastic volunteers from the Middle East, and their fighting power was strengthened by armaments and supplies from the US. The whole situation was complicated: the Soviet Union wanted to prop up an unpopular government, while the US – keen to limit any Soviet influence in the region – armed the rebels trying to overthrow that government. The UN overwhelmingly condemned the



SOURCE 16.11 Jihad Museum, Herat Province, Afghanistan, 4 February 2015. Museum assistant Sheikh Abdullah (L) in front of a display depicting the Soviet invasion of 1979 and the Afghan resistance. Note the way the Russian forces and the Afghan people are portrayed.

What message do you think the museum intended to convey to visitors? Does the display suggest why the Russians failed to control Afghanistan and ultimately withdrew in 1989? Sheikh Abdullah was originally Soviet intelligence officer Khakimov Bakhrodin. He was captured in battle by the Mujahideen, converted to Islam and never returned to Russia. Why would he be a particularly valuable museum employee?

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fundamentalist having beliefs and behaviours that are based on the strict, literal interpretation of scripture

jihad traditionally jihad was a 'struggle' to live a good life in line with Islamic ideals. Today, the word is used more often to describe radical, armed conflict against perceived enemies of Islam.

Soviets as invaders, while the Soviets labelled the Mujahideen rebels as illegitimate terrorists. Finally in 1988, the humiliated Soviet forces withdrew. The government survived for three years, and the ensuing political and military chaos finally brought to power a radical, **fundamentalist** Islamic group – the Taliban.

Osama bin Laden fought with the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. A member of a prosperous Saudi Arabian family, he provided financial support for the Mujahideen. By the war's end he had established al-Qaeda (1988) and was shaping an ambitious Islamist agenda. Incensed by the presence of US military bases in his Saudi homeland, bin Laden fashioned al-Qaeda as a vanguard group to lead global **jihad** against the USA, which he accused of supporting oppressive and corrupt regimes around the world.

In 1993, an al-Qaeda bomb exploded under the World Trade Center in New York, but – inexpertly positioned – failed to bring the building down. In 1996, a truck bomb killed 19 US soldiers and wounded almost 400 at a base in Khobar, Saudi Arabia. Al-Qaeda truck bombs killed 224 at US embassies in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) in 1998. In 2000 al-Qaeda rammed an explosive-laden boat into the naval ship USS *Cole* in Aden. These attacks were a prelude to the dramatic and stunning attacks on 11 September 2001.

After 9/11

Soon after the 9/11 attacks, US President George W. Bush declared a 'war on terror'. Afghanistan became the first battleground, as the US sought to capture bin Laden and to punish the Islamic Taliban government which was providing sanctuary for him. In the years after 9/11, bin Laden's agenda of worldwide jihad seemed to grow even more powerful, even while the man himself was forced to hide in caves in the Afghan mountains, eluding US aerial bombardments and a relentless ground search for his hideaway. Emerging internet technologies meant he could still communicate with ally and enemy alike. In 2001, a Pakistani journalist reporting on al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan noted that every second fighter was 'carrying a laptop computer along with his Kalashnikov' (Atwan 2005:117). Bin Laden's digital messages resonated with radical Muslim groups around the world. Some had existed for years: for example, Abu Sayaaf was founded in the Philippines in 1991, and Jemaah Islamiyah formed in Indonesia in 1993. Others were newcomers on the global jihadist stage: Boko Haraam in Nigeria (2002) and Al Shabaab in Somalia (2006). These groups contributed to a list of terrorist atrocities. Jemaah Islamiyah, for example, bombed Bali nightclubs in 2002, killing 88 Australians and a total of 202 victims. In the Philippines in 2004, Abu Sayaaf terrorists bombed a large ferry in Manila Bay, killing 116.

ACTIVITY 16.4

Compare radical jihadist organisations

1. Form groups of four. Each member selects one of these organisations: Abu Sayaaf, Jemaah Islamiyah, Boko Haraam, Al Shabaab.
2. Use selected websites to research your chosen organisation: (1) the organisation's most significant/remarkable/controversial action, and why you chose it; (2) whether the organisation reflects al-Qaeda's four aims described earlier.
3. In your group, share your notes on step 2 above.

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There was another development in the wake of 9/11. In random, unpredictable acts of terror, individuals and small groups not connected directly with any Islamist organisation – but apparently picking up the strident call for 'global jihad' – used bombs, weapons and vehicles to produce carnage among everyday crowds in various nations. In 2004, 191 people were killed in Spain when a Madrid train was bombed. It was reported that Islamic terrorists were almost certainly responsible. A year later, 52 people perished in London when four young suicide bombers attacked three underground trains and a bus. In 2009, on a US Army base at Fort Hood in Texas, a radicalised army major shot and killed 13 soldiers. On 14 July 2016, a cargo truck was deliberately driven into crowds of people celebrating Bastille Day in Nice, France, killing 86 and injuring 458. On 24 November 2017, terrorists detonated a bomb and shot worshippers in an Egyptian mosque, killing at least 305.



SOURCE 16.12 London, 7 July 2005. Fifty-two people died when four British-born Islamic suicide bombers attacked three underground trains and a double-decker bus.
How might the bombing of city trains and buses be a particularly effective tactic by terrorists, with both immediate and longer-term impacts? Why might such attacks be difficult to prevent? What preventative steps could rail and bus authorities take?

There is a paradox that emerges from the landscape of terrorism described previously. Peter Preston (British journalist and author) hinted at the paradox when he reviewed a book on Osama bin Laden in 2005. On the one hand, Preston said, there is a popular depiction of bin Laden as a 'turbaned crackpot, a mad mullah, an evil monster'. But on the other hand, he describes how a close study of bin Laden's words suggest 'a charismatic man of action, an eloquent preacher, a teacher of literature and a resilient, cunning, wonderfully briefed politician'.

The paradox, then, is that radical Islamist terrorism is depicted widely as the deranged, barbaric and senseless slaughter of innocents, while a careful study of its leaders reveals detailed and rigorously debated vision and strategy.

Bin Laden and his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri were adamant that their terrorist activities not be seen as transgressing Islamic teachings. For example, al-Zawahiri wrote a treatise in the 1990s that provided an Islamic justification for suicide bombing. Thus, the 19 al-Qaeda terrorists of 9/11 flew willingly to their deaths, confident that their actions were justified by religion. Most of the world's Muslims firmly reject al-Zawahiri's treatise, but his ideas are reflected in many radical Islamist terrorist actions – particularly suicide bombings.

Al-Qaeda's process of developing jihadist aims, justifications and strategy took place against a backdrop of dramatic warfare in Afghanistan and Iraq. In the following pages, you will learn about those wars and will discover why – out of that turmoil – a potent new terrorist organisation grew.

ACTIVITY 16.5

Construct a timeline from 1966 to the present

To demonstrate your understanding of how radical Islamist terrorism became prominent and powerful, construct a timeline from 1966 to the present. On the timeline, insert the date(s) and title of each relevant event or development that you have encountered in this section of the chapter. For each, insert also a brief note highlighting its significance in the development of radical Islamist terrorism.

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16.9 Why was a 'war on terror' fought in Afghanistan and Iraq?

On the same day the twin towers in New York collapsed in a pall of smoke and ash, President George W. Bush declared a war on terrorism. He expressed 'disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger'. The president called on other nations to join the United States in a war to 'defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world'.

The 'war on terror' was a five-pronged strategy:

- Diplomatic: gaining support of like-minded allies, dissuading others from supporting terrorism
- Intelligence: finding terrorists and preventing attacks
- Law enforcement: detaining suspected terrorists
- Financial: freezing terrorist-related funds
- Military: striking terrorists and their supporting states.

On 20 September 2001, Bush named the enemy in the 'war on terror' – al-Qaeda. Bush accused the Islamic Taliban government in Afghanistan of harbouring al-Qaeda's leader Osama bin Laden and his supporters. On 7 October, after the Taliban refused US demands to hand over the terrorists, President Bush ordered air strikes on 'terrorist training camps and military installations'. The war in Afghanistan had begun. In a step that would become increasingly significant in the years ahead, Bush was careful to distinguish between Islamist terrorists and the 'almost a billion people worldwide who practice the Islamic faith'. On 29 January 2002, Bush foreshadowed a widening of the 'war on terror'. In his State of the Union Address, he named Iran, Iraq and North Korea 'and their terrorist allies' as an 'axis of evil arming to threaten the peace of the world'.

War in Afghanistan

There was a strange symmetry to the 'war on terror' being launched in Afghanistan. It was there that Osama bin Laden established al-Qaeda ('the base') in 1988. Thirteen years later, with al-Qaeda making headlines, bin Laden was back in Afghanistan.

Operation Enduring Freedom was endorsed by more than 40 countries including Australia. Initially, the US and Britain led the military campaign, using air strikes together with ground attacks that relied on a Northern Alliance of anti-Taliban clans. The Taliban government was highly authoritarian, repressive and widely unpopular. Its forces could not resist the combined power of relentless allied air strikes and ground offensives by the Northern Alliance. By October 2001, the Northern Alliance had overrun the capital Kabul, but bin Laden later escaped over the border into Pakistan.



SOURCE 16.13 *Leaving Afghan Issues*, 2013

According to the cartoonist, what three challenges are facing both the US forces and Afghanistan itself? Why does each of these make it hard for the US to 'exit' the conflict? What message is the cartoonist sending by depicting each challenge as a dark cave with a question mark? What is suggested by the way the cartoonist has depicted the US soldier's posture and expression? As you read the following paragraphs, match the text with the cartoon's details.

By 2002, a provisional government had been formed, led by Hamid Karzai, and the UN had authorised a 37-nation International Security and Assistance Force (ISAF), under the command of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization). Australia committed forces. However, the peace and stability promised by these developments did not eventuate. Instead, the war in Afghanistan lurched on into the following decade.

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In 2013, an India-based cartoonist, Paresh Nath, presented a pessimistic view of the situation in Afghanistan in his cartoon (Source 16.13).

infidel someone who has no religious beliefs, or whose beliefs are different from a majority

The cartoon highlights three factors that derailed the allied war in Afghanistan.

First, far from being defeated, the Taliban had gathered strength as the years passed. In the provinces, their forces were bolstered by an influx of enthusiastic Islamist fighters from Pakistan, the Middle East and elsewhere, keen to repel the **infidel** invaders. The eventual killing of Osama bin Laden by US SEAL forces in Pakistan in 2011 did nothing to bolster allied fortunes in Afghanistan. Rather, over the following few years, it brought the Taliban and al-Qaeda closer together. By 2018, terrorists were launching attacks in Kabul itself and a bomb outside the Australian Embassy in Kabul in March 2018 killed a child selling vegetables and injured 22 others.

Second, despite a new constitution and the holding of elections, the central government of Hamid Karzai was widely unpopular, perceived by much of the population as incompetent and corrupt. As well, there were traditional rivalries between clans in the provinces, keen to gain some influence in the unstable political situation.

Third, despite intensive training by allied specialists, the Afghan army was considered incapable of defending the country against the Taliban and terrorists. The loyalty of some soldiers was in doubt, as rogue Afghan soldiers periodically killed coalition troops in 'green on blue' attacks.

There was a fourth factor not canvassed in the cartoon. The allied forces – in an echo of the Vietnam War experience – had failed to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Afghan population, particularly outside the major cities. There were various reasons. To deny profits to the Taliban, the allies destroyed opium poppy crops, which many farmers depended on financially. As well, allied air strikes often killed innocent families. There was probably a deeper cultural reason also – an intensely independent spirit developed over centuries of resistance to invaders who by now had included Macedonians, Mongols, British and Russians.

By 2018, the future of Afghanistan seemed bleak. Various allied nations were withdrawing forces or, in the case of the US, switching between plans for withdrawal and proposals for increasing troop numbers. The Taliban was gaining control over larger areas of the country. Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks were causing chaos in major cities. Ominously, fighters from a new terrorist organisation, Islamic State, had started arriving in Afghanistan in 2015, and by 2017 were in control of some areas. Further complexity was added in January 2018 when US President Trump tweeted a message accusing Pakistan of 'lies & deceit' and providing 'safe haven to terrorists we hunt in Afghanistan'.

Increasingly, commentators were asking what had been achieved by the war in Afghanistan.

- Today, what is the situation in Afghanistan in terms of its place in the 'war on terror'?

A timeline history of Afghanistan from the nineteenth century to the present is available at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8084

War in Iraq

Iraq's Saddam Hussein had been in the sights of the US long before the war on terror. Paradoxically, the USA had helped engineer a 1960 coup that toppled the Iraqi Government and installed a regime of the Ba'ath party, which Saddam eventually led. He took Iraq into the long, inconclusive Iraq–Iran war (1979–88), and in 1990 he invaded Iraq's small, oil-rich neighbour Kuwait. By January 1991, a UN-sponsored and US-led force had defeated the Iraqi invaders, but did not remove Saddam from power. He continued a harsh and oppressive regime within Iraq, and was accused of possessing 'weapons of mass destruction' (WMD).

Even before 9/11, influential US conservatives were urging their government to remove Saddam from power. As early as 1993, the US had initiated air strikes on Iraqi targets, using a range of justifications. After 9/11, US leaders started linking Iraq with international terrorism, despite lack of firm evidence. International pressure mounted on Iraq to give up its WMD program. When Iraq did not meet UN demands, the US

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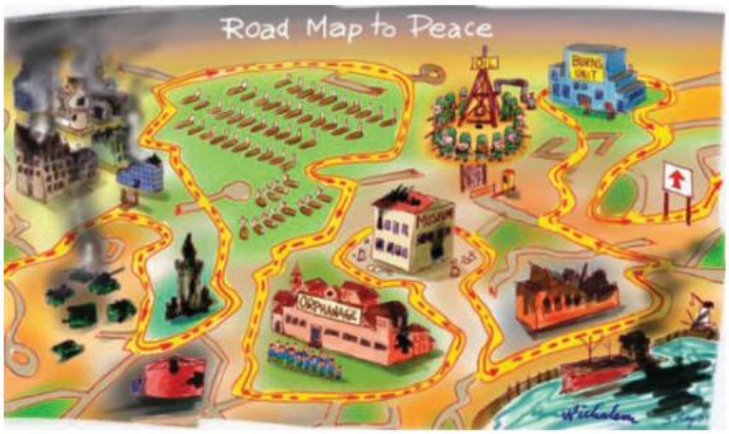
called on other nations to join a 'coalition of the willing' to strike against Iraq in Operation Iraqi Freedom. On 19 March 2003, they launched a 'shock and awe' attack on the Iraqi capital Baghdad. The UN, which had still been negotiating with Iraq, did not authorise the war.

The Iraqi regime collapsed quickly, leading US President George W. Bush to declare 'mission accomplished' on 1 May (this declaration appeared on a banner behind Bush during a speech he gave on that day from a Navy aircraft carrier). Two days later, Australian cartoonist Peter Nicholson produced this prediction of what the 'road map to peace' would involve.

SOURCE 16.14 Cartoon by Peter Nicholson, 3 May 2003

Responding to the cartoon

1. List the scenes that need to be passed when taking this trip. What does each predict will happen during the war in Iraq?
2. Does Nicholson suggest any motive for the war?
3. If all this happened, would it amount to 'mission accomplished'?
4. When you finish this section, return to this cartoon and decide whether Nicholson was indeed prescient.



Road Map to Peace, 3 May 2003. Note the 'entrance' on the far left to the road to peace and the 'exit' far right.

GO

ACTIVITY 16.6

Interpret video footage of the beginning of the Iraq War

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

As mentioned above, Bush declared 'mission accomplished' on 1 May 2003. Events soon proved him wrong.

The following years were chaotic, tragic and controversial. Saddam, who had fled after the US-led invasion, was located by US troops in December 2003, tried by the Iraqi Special Tribunal for crimes against humanity, sentenced to death and was hanged by Iraqi authorities in December 2006. By that time, the US-led 'coalition of the willing' had poured troops and money into stabilising the country and repairing infrastructure. In June 2004 an interim government was formed, and an Iraqi National Assembly was finally elected on 30 January 2005. But any sense of peace was illusory. Many around the world, especially in the Middle East, criticised the democratisation process and characterised it as US imperialism. The US Congress-appointed Iraq Study Group (ISG) reported in December 2006 that 'the situation in Iraq is grave and deteriorating … Violence is increasing in scope and lethality'.

This bleak picture suggests a host of errors that may have been made by the US-led forces, many of which are outlined below:

- Saddam's regime was dominated by the Sunni sect of Islam. The coalition replaced it with a Shia-led provisional government. This – and ongoing discrimination against Sunnis – stoked the fires of Sunni resentment and opposition.

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- The government elected in 2005 was seen by many as unrepresentative and ineffective.
- After Saddam's defeat, the Iraqi army was disbanded. Huge numbers of soldiers became unemployed and aggrieved.
- After the defeat in 2003, there were still many Iraqis who supported Saddam Hussein.
- Many Iraqis were angry and offended by the humiliating trial and execution of Saddam in 2006.
- US-led air strikes and ground offensives killed many innocent civilians, and US troops were accused of humiliating, inhumane treatment of Iraqi prisoners.
- The 'weapons of mass destruction' put forward as the major reason for Operation Iraqi Freedom could not be found by UN expert investigators, prompting charges of deception against the US and British governments in particular.



SOURCE 16.15 Baghdad, 3 December 2006. The day before, a triple car bomb killed more than 50 people here, many women. Terrorists used car bombs often in their conflict with the Iraqi Government and occupying coalition forces. The victims were often innocent civilians. How did this devastation emerge in the aftermath of 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'?

As well, there was a growing suspicion that the US was pursuing self-interested objectives in Iraq – as hinted at in Nicholson's cartoon – not only oil, but other profitable opportunities for US corporations. In her 2007 book *The Shock Doctrine* Naomi Klein (Canadian author, social activist and filmmaker) described Iraq as 'a very capitalist disaster, a nightmare of unfettered greed unleashed in the wake of war' (2007: 351).

The complexity of the conflict was described by the ISG in 2006 as 'fed by a Sunni Arab insurgency, Shiite militias and death squads, al-Qaeda, and widespread criminality'. Put simply, Iraqis were fighting other Iraqis, and many were also fighting the US and its allies. On 6 November 2005, the prominent blogger Riverbend asked 'what happened to the dream of … a united, stable, prosperous Iraq which has, over the last two years, gone up in the smoke of car bombs, military raids and a foreign occupation'.

For this chapter on terrorism, the war in Iraq has special significance. As early as 2003, Noam Chomsky (American historian, social critic and political activist) quoted US officials admitting the invasion of Iraq had caused 'a spike in recruitment for al-Qaeda' (2003:211). Abdel Bari Atwan (editor-in-chief of Arab world digital news and opinion website Rai al-Youm) claimed the war had produced 'the apparently bottomless pit of raw recruits presenting themselves for **'martyrdom'** in Iraq every day' (2006:203). Indeed, in the complex landscape of conflict in Iraq, al-Qaeda emerged as a fierce adversary of the Iraqi Government and its US sponsor. In 2010, the skilled strategist Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In 2013, however, in a dramatic development, he split from AQI and he formed Islamic State in the **Levant** (ISIL), now known more commonly as ISIS, IS or by its Arabic name Daesh. Iraq became the springboard for ongoing IS expansion.

martyrdom the death or self-sacrifice of a person for a particular cause, usually political or religious

Levant an area in the eastern Mediterranean, including countries such as Cyprus, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria

Islamic State transformed the face of global terrorism in terms of its vision, membership and tactics and its devastating impact on battlefields in the Middle East and on everyday life around the world.

◆ Today, what is the situation in Iraq in terms of its place in the 'war on terror'?

A timeline history of Iraq from 1917 to the present is available at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8309.

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16.10 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How effectively has Islamic State pursued its aims?

'In mid-2014 the Islamic State burst onto the global stage with a string of spectacular victories in Iraq, and a series of gruesome beheadings of journalists, aid workers and local civilians.'

This is how Australian terrorism expert David Kilcullen began his book *Blood Year* (2016:ix). Nowhere did Islamic State pursue its aims more gruesomely or fervently than in the Syrian city of Raqqa.



SOURCE 16.16 Raqqa, Syria, 15 February 2018. A Kurdish soldier demonstrates how people were tortured and executed in the Syrian city of Raqqa between 2014 and 2018. The structure seems designed for public displays of torture.
Why might terrorists use public torture in a city captured and controlled?

In 2011, the people of Syria had begun to protest against the authoritarian regime of President Bashar al-Assad, and this protestation developed into a violent civil war, which was continuing still in 2018. Al-Baghdadi sent Islamic State members to set up an organisation in Syria, and in 2013 they were part of a group that overthrew government loyalists in Raqqa. By January 2014, Islamic State was in full control of the city, and it retained this control until early 2018.

Raqqa: IS in action

Source 16.16 shows a dramatic event in Raqqa in 2018. It contains clues to Islamic State's aims and actions – a city in ruins and an instrument of public torture.

But in 2014 there was another side to Islamic State. Charles Lister, a Syria expert, described life in IS-controlled cities like Raqqa.

SOURCE 16.17 Charles Lister describes Islamic State in operation

> Civilian bus services are frequently established and normally offered for free. Electricity lines, roads, sidewalks, and other critical infrastructure are repaired; postal services are created; free healthcare and vaccinations for children are offered; soup kitchens are established for the poor; construction projects are offered loans; and Islam-oriented schools are opened for boys and girls. In Raqqa, IS even operates a consumer protection office, which has closed shops for selling poor quality products.

Charles Lister, 'Profiling the Islamic State', Brookings Doha Centre Analysis Paper, No. 13, November 2014, p. 28

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Responding to the description

1. What features of this society would not be out of place in Australian cities?
2. What does this description suggest about Islamic State's aims as an organisation?
3. Are you surprised to learn this about Islamic State? Explain your response.
4. The Brookings Institution is a leading US think tank. This brief extract provides a positive depiction of IS administration, but the report overall concludes with advice on how IS might be defeated. Does that help you decide whether to trust this description of IS 'in operation'?

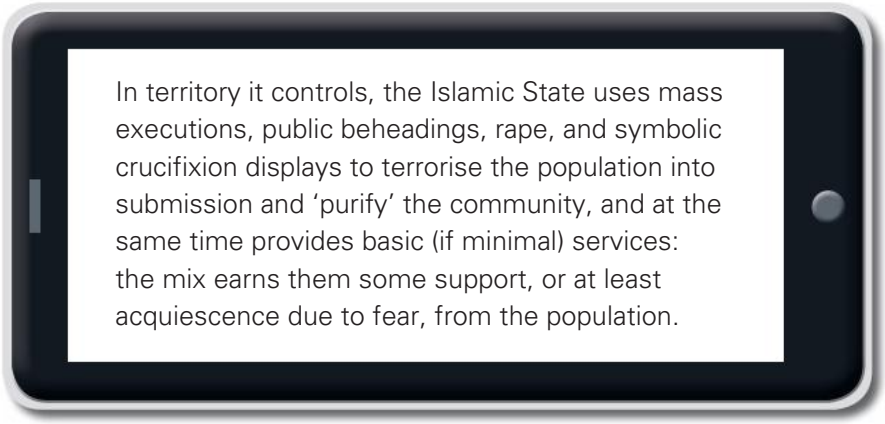
SOURCE 16.18 A video of street life in Raqqa under Islamic State control, 19 September 2014



This source response is available in the Interactive Textbook.

These sources might have left you confused. Commentators are divided on the question of whether Islamic State looked after the interests of people in cities it conquered. Here is a comment by another Brookings Institution expert.

SOURCE 16.19 Daniel L. Byman, an expert on Syria, describes how Islamic State exercises control



> In territory it controls, the Islamic State uses mass executions, public beheadings, rape, and symbolic crucifixion displays to terrorise the population into submission and 'purify' the community, and at the same time provides basic (if minimal) services: the mix earns them some support, or at least acquiescence due to fear, from the population.

Daniel L. Byman, 'Comparing al-Qaeda and ISIS: Different goals, different targets', Brookings Institute, 29 April 2015

Responding to Byman's description

1. What is Byman's key message?
2. How would you describe the relationship between Byman's and Lister's accounts? Do you think Byman contradicts, qualifies, confirms, and/or adds significantly to Lister's account? Explain your response.
3. Is it likely that both accounts could be accurate?
4. Byman's words are from lengthy testimony he gave to a US Congressional sub-committee. Does that likely lend weight to his credibility as a commentator?
5. The two sources are both brief extracts from lengthy texts. Are there any research risks in not accessing the entire texts?

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SOURCE 16.20 Video of the square in Raqqa where IS carried out public executions, 6 October 2017

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 01:19) before answering the questions below.

1. How does this video relate to Byman's description of IS control of cities?
2. Does the video convey a judgement of IS? Try to locate further information to verify the video.



Investigating IS in Iraq or Syria is challenging. The events are recent. Information flowing out from such tumultuous places is often hard to verify. But social media has transformed the information landscape in war-torn cities. Bloggers have been active in the most dangerous and insecure places.

Perhaps not surprisingly, both the conventional reporting and the social media posts have tended to highlight conflict, danger, hardship and elements of terror. In 2016, the BBC produced 'Inside "Islamic State": A Raqqa diary' – a compilation of blogs by a courageous (unnamed) Raqqa resident who risked execution if discovered. The diary included the headings 'The day IS first entered my beloved city'; 'Sentenced to death for missing a Sharia class'; 'I see a man who has been crucified and beheaded'.

- Why might a historian welcome but also question an anonymous blog from a city under IS control? How have modern technologies extended historians' abilities to produce a credible portrayal of IS activities? Do you think IS would be ambivalent about the extent of social media postings about its activities? Explain your response.

This chapter is too brief to describe and explain the complexities of IS rule; for example, IS's toleration of non-Muslim monotheistic residents of occupied cities – provided they adhere to strict rules of behaviour – and IS's persecution, enslavement and execution of people of some other faiths and of Muslims from rival sects, particularly Shia Muslims.

By early 2018, Islamic State had been driven out of Raqqa by the US-backed Syrian Defence Force (Kurdish and Arab militia). The city lay in ruins, largely the result of bombing by US planes.



SOURCE 16.21 View from a car driving through the streets of Raqqa, 13 November 2017
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:52). Given this devastation of Raqqa, discuss whether the means (destruction of Raqqa; deaths of hundreds of civilians) justifies the end (the defeat of IS)?

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Raqqa in 2014 symbolised a peak of IS achievement. But Raqqa in 2018 symbolised the possible end of IS. Understanding Raqqa is key to understanding Islamic State.

The aims of Islamic State

On 29 June 2014, Islamic State's leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi declared the establishment of a caliphate. When IS extended its military sweep into Syria, it declared Raqqa the capital of the caliphate. This had important symbolic value for, as David Byman explains in 'Comparing al-Qaeda and ISIS: Different goals, different targets' (prepared testimony before the US Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence of the House Committee on Homeland Security), 'thousands more foreign fighters, inspired by the stunning success of the Islamic State and the bold declaration of a caliphate, flocked to Syria and Iraq to join the fight' (2015).

Islamic State envisaged its caliphate bringing together all the areas that, at some time in history, had been under Islamic influence or control.

SOURCE 16.22 A map of the proposed Islamic caliphate

Responding to the cartoon

1. Find out the historical significance of the names given to the areas on the map.
2. What modern states are included in the purple-shaded area of the proposed caliphate?
3. What is the situation today in each of them?
4. In which of them is there terrorism-related activity today?
5. Is there any caliphate in existence?



In 2015, a CNN reporter, Peter Bergen, asked 'why does ISIS keep making enemies?' He pointed out that IS posts videos online of beheadings, stonings and other atrocities. He asked 'what could possibly be the point?'

IS itself provided an answer in a 2016 article titled 'Why we hate you and why we fight you' published in the IS online magazine *Dabiq*. The article explained that 'terrorism, warfare, ruthlessness, and brutality' were all logical elements of a campaign to convert the world to Islam and to kill those who resisted.

You'll now examine six reasons that IS has proclaimed publicly for why it hates and fights people, particularly in the West.

ACTIVITY 16.7

Analysing Islamic State's reasons for hating and fighting

Below is a paraphrase of the six reasons IS gave for 'hating and fighting' in a 2016 publication.

1. Read the six reasons given by Islamic State. Tick a column if you decide that:
   P: this reason would make you an IS target *personally*
   S: this reason would make many in Australian *society* IS targets
   A: this reason would make *Australia as a nation* an IS target

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ACTIVITY 16.7 continued

#	Reasons published by Islamic State for hating and fighting	P	S	A
1	... we hate and fight those who believe that Jesus Christ was the son of God.			
2	... we hate and fight Western societies that allow things that Allah forbids, including drugs and alcohol, gambling, money-lending for profit, sexual promiscuity and gay rights.			
3	... we hate and fight atheists who do not believe that God exists.			
4	... we hate and fight Western societies where people mock Islam, burn the Quran, and criticise our Shari'ah law.			
5	... we hate and fight the Western nations that support oppressive dictatorships in lands where Muslims live.			
6	... we hate and fight Western nations that send their armed forces to invade countries and kill many Muslim people.			

2. Compare your ticks with classmates. Discuss similarities and differences.

3. Given your ticks, what is the possibility that there could be a peaceful resolution of the conflict between Islamic State and countries like Australia?

Research online to learn about Reza Aslan's *How to Win a Cosmic War*. Do the six reasons you've studied above suggest that IS is engaged in a 'cosmic war'?

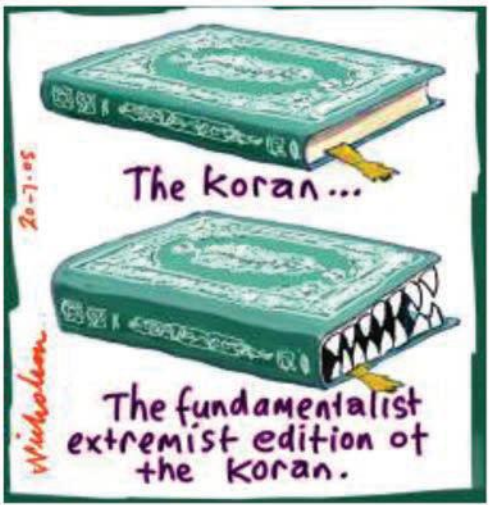
Is Islamic State really Islamic?

A common question asked about Islamic State, al-Qaeda and other radical jihadist groups is 'are they really Islamic?' US President George W. Bush, in the aftermath of 9/11, called the attackers 'barbaric criminals who profane a great religion by committing murder in its name', a view echoed in 2015 by Barack Obama, who referred to 'the warped ideologies espoused by … al-Qaeda and ISIL, especially their attempt to use Islam to justify their violence'.

Robert Manne (Emeritus Professor of politics at La Trobe University, Melbourne) in *The Mind of the Islamic State* (2016) describes how radical Islamists are keen to find justifications for their actions in the teachings of Islam. Manne identified the Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966) as a key influence on Islamic State, particularly his idea that violent jihad is fundamental to the mission of Islam to combat *Jahiliyyah* – 'ignorance and barbarism'. Qutb's ideas were taken up by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, members of the Salafist sect of Islam. Trevor Stanley (contributor to The Jamestown Foundation) says that Salafism 'rejected traditional teachings on Islam in favor of direct, "fundamentalist" reinterpretation' (2005). In his cartoon in Source 16.23, Peter Nicholson alludes to the above ideas.

Salafism became strong in Saudi Arabia (former home of Osama bin Laden) and its idea of violent jihad emerged again in Iraq in 2003. A book by the Islamist strategist Abu Bakr Naji, *The Management of Savagery*, aimed to provide a strategy that would enable al-Qaeda and other extremists to create a new Islamic caliphate. The work influenced Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the acknowledged founder of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), later known as Islamic State. Robert Manne states that 'it is Zarqawi's brutal spirit and worldview that shape the ideology of Islamic State' (2016). Thus, a line is traced from Qutb to Islamic State.

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SOURCE 16.23 Peter Nicholson cartoon *The Koran*, 2005. Nicholson is commenting on the way Muslims can interpret their holy book, the Koran or Qur'an. Given this cartoon, what messages do you think fundamentalists and extremists can find in the Koran? If so, what phrases used by Bush and Obama might be not wholly accurate? Stephen Pinker in his *The Better Angels of Our Nature* claimed that people could also interpret in a fundamentalist way the Bible's Old Testament, which he labelled 'one long celebration of violence' (2011:7).

The determination of IS leaders to justify their actions in Islamic terms is seen in their debate about the morality of suicide terrorism, described later in this chapter. However, what is less clear is what drives individual members of Islamic State, including those **lone wolf** terrorists who claim IS allegiance when carrying out random attacks in cities around the world. Does genuine Islamic faith lie behind their cries of *Allahu Akba* – 'God is most great'?

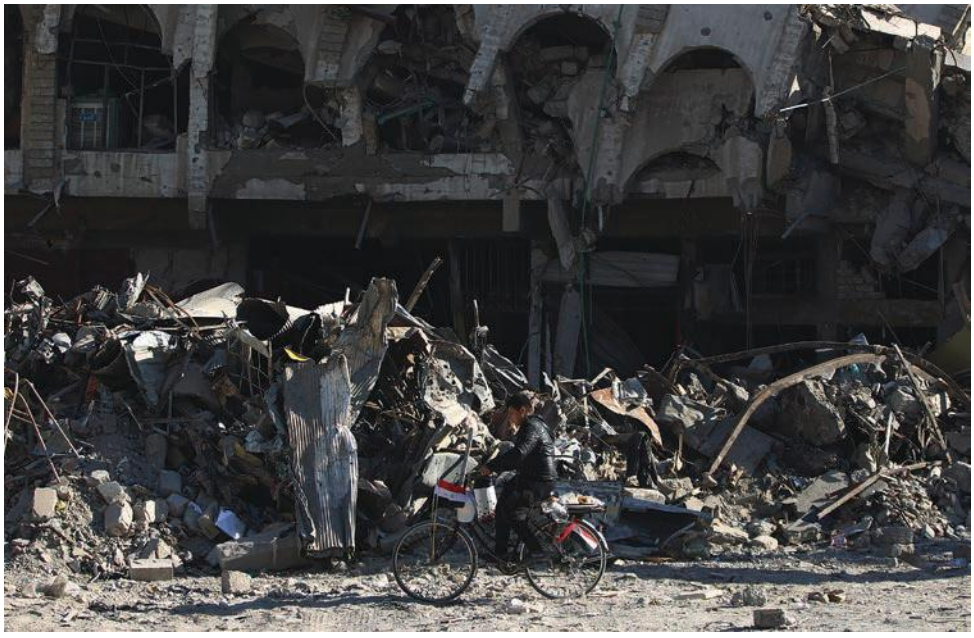
lone wolf in the context of terrorism, a person who prefers to conduct acts of terrorism alone

apocalyptic catastrophic, producing the apocalypse, often associated with the end of the world

Islamic State at war

Islamic State's vision is **apocalyptic**, destined to end in a massive battle against all who oppose or refuse to convert to Islam. In 2014, the world gained a sense of that battle. Islamic State made huge inroads into first Iraq and subsequently Syria, seizing cities and resources. IS's military capacity was surprising. Lister described '31 000 fighters … tanks, armoured personnel carriers, field artillery, self-propelled howitzers, and multiple-rocket launchers … anti-tank guided missiles (ATGMs), anti-aircraft guns' (2014: 16–17). Islamic State financed all this through taxes on people in captured cities, kidnapping and extortion, but mainly by the massive sale of Iraqi and Syrian oil – the 'prizes' of military success – on a global black market.

From 2014 to 2017, IS's ambitious plan for a caliphate seemed on track. But by 2018 the tide of war had turned. In both Iraq and Syria, various alliances of anti-IS forces began to win back conquered cities and territory. The names Mosul, Aleppo and Raqqa became synonymous with death, destruction, shattered lives and hopelessness.



SOURCE 16.24 Mosul, Iraq, 9 January 2018. An Iraqi boy cycles through his 'liberated town'. Islamic State was driven out six months earlier by Iraqi forces and US air strikes.
What could be the effects of living through months of destructive bombing raids? How could the US-led coalition justify bombings that killed thousands of innocent civilians? Is this a case of 'fighting terror with terror'? What would be the challenge of rebuilding a city and rebuilding people's lives?

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Mosul suffered catastrophically from IS conquest, IS rule and the US-supported battle to finally 'liberate' it. ABC reporter Sophie McNeill reported on the tragedies.

SOURCE 16.25 Sophie McNeill reports from Mosul, 17 March 2018

I met children forced to learn violent IS curriculum at school, attend public floggings and beheadings and encouraged to spy on their own parents if they saw them breaking the militants' fundamentalist rules.

There was also growing concern regarding the high civilian death toll from coalition airstrikes on Mosul. An investigation by the AP news agency in December 2017 found that between 9000 and 11 000 civilians died in the battle for Mosul, with about a third of the casualties killed in bombardments by the US-led coalition or Iraqi forces.

And then there was the case of eight-year-old Hashim Abdul Fattah Ali.

Local human rights monitors said on June 11, 2017 he was sitting with his family in their home in the town of Abu Kamal. That day a coalition plane carried out an air strike nearby, resulting in a huge explosion. Little Hashim lost his life. But there was no blood. He reportedly died of a heart attack.

He was literally scared to death.

Sophie McNeill, "Indescribable fear and suffering": Reflecting on three years covering the Middle East', *ABC News*, 17 March 2018

Responding to the report from Mosul

1. What is the overall impression created of IS control in Mosul?
2. In what ways could children suffer both physically and mentally in this situation? And what might this mean for both governmental and non-governmental agencies aiding in the redevelopment of Mosul after the war?
3. During the fighting, could the choice between staying in Mosul or fleeing as a refugee be a difficult one?
4. How important is the role of international media in revealing the tragedy of Mosul? Could this lead to greater understanding of the plight of refugees and of the treatment of asylum seekers in places like Australia?

Islamic State: defeated but dangerous?

The tragedy of Mosul alone would seem cause enough to welcome the military defeat of Islamic State. Indeed, by mid-2018, IS seemed in retreat on all fronts. And yet dangers lurked within that victory. Some reasons why are outlined below.

1. Whenever IS suffers military setbacks, it sends urgent messages over the internet to its global followers, urging them to wreak havoc in their own societies with lone wolf attacks.
2. The online radicalisation of young people as 'cyber-jihadists' is likely to increase as IS turns its attention away from battlefields and towards online recruitment.
3. IS fighters are returning to their original countries. In 2017, Robin Wright's alarming article in *The New Yorker* was titled 'ISIS jihadis have returned home by the thousands'.

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4. Radical jihadist groups are strong globally, including Abu-Sayyaf in the Philippines, Al-Shabab in Somalia, Jemaah Islamiyah in Indonesia, Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

For these reasons, some experts warned that the military defeat of IS would not end the threat of radical Islam. Rather, as David Kilcullen (author, strategist and counterinsurgency expert) had prophesied, 'we may be nowhere close to the end of the War on Terror' (2015:227).

- You can view an interactive timeline/map of the rise and fall of Islamic State on the Al Jazeera website, and a detailed timeline with useful links at the US think tank The Wilson Centre.

Summing up Islamic State

Islamic State transformed its initial focus on terrorism in Iraq in 2013 to its more ambitious declaration and development of a caliphate from 2014. IS became a military force and, controlling vast tracts of Syria and Iraq, went about the serious business of creating the apparatus of a state – government, economy, security forces, financial services, municipal infrastructure, schools, medical services, media and other cultural institutions. The seizure of oilfields and the black market sale of oil internationally financed this state-building. The darker side of the caliphate involved political and social repression and the persecution and killings of declared enemies, particularly Shia Muslims – an action justified by Islamic State's declared intention of waging an apocalyptic war against all who resisted its aims and actions. That vision also prompted IS's endorsement of targeted terrorist actions by supporters around the world, including lone wolf cyber-jihadists who, often with no direct link with IS, were radicalised online. Simultaneously, IS cultivated the allegiance of like-minded Islamist groups in Africa and Asia.

This coherent picture began to fracture by 2017, when IS suffered devastating defeats in Iraq and Syria. Its caliphate shrank dramatically, its armed forces were routed and its finances diminished. Defeated on the battlefield, IS intensified its calls for radical jihadists worldwide to carry out attacks on their own societies. By 2018, those attacks – and the larger-scale actions of IS's allied groups in Africa and Asia – were seen as greater threats than the previously powerful armed forces of IS in the Middle East. What remained unpredictable was whether IS could again become a potent military force, whether the intensity of cyber-jihad attacks would reduce and whether the like-minded organisations in Africa and Asia would be countered effectively.

ACTIVITY 16.8

GO

Construct an infographic to explain the causes of Islamic State's formation and progress until today

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

ACTIVITY 16.9

Assess the effectiveness of Islamic State

Using the sources that you have encountered in this source-based inquiry and your own historical knowledge and understanding of IS, write an essay of 1500–2000 words in response to the following question:

How effectively has Islamic State pursued its aims?

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16.11 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: Why have cyber, lone wolf and copycat jihadists become major threats?

Radicalisation that leads individuals to engage in acts of terrorism affects ordinary Australian suburbs and touches ordinary Australian lives, often without warning. But what might compel individuals to give up their lives to wreak destruction in a foreign land, or even in their own society?

To begin, you'll explore whether psychologists can offer explanations for terrorism generally, and for religious terrorism in particular.

The psychology of terrorism: Who becomes a religious terrorist?

A few hours after the first American airstrikes hit Afghanistan in October 2001 in response to 9/11, a pre-recorded videotape hit the world's computer screens. The message was markedly religious. In measured yet defiant language, the tall, scraggly bearded Osama bin Laden, wearing army camouflage, told the world, 'God almighty hit the United States at its most vulnerable spot. He destroyed its greatest buildings. Praise be to God'. Clearly, 9/11 was a shocking act of terrorism. But what added to the shock was that this wasn't some crazed fanatic. The man behind this message was a **pious**, astute son of a billionaire construction magnate with close ties to the Saudi royal family.

pious devout in religious belief, attitude and action

In their 2009 book *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*, Victoroff and Kruglanski posed the questions: 'Why do people become terrorists? Are terrorists crazy? Simply evil? Normal people driven to extremes? What social factors and tensions are most likely to provoke terrorist behaviours?' Over the past 40 years there have been attempts to explain terrorism in psychological terms. In the 1970s, psychoanalytic (Freudian) theorists posited that some terrorists were pathologically narcissistic – displaying an overvaluing of self and a devaluing of, and lack of empathy with, others. In 1976, Frederick Hacker proposed his 'terrorist typology' in *Crusaders, Criminals and Crazies*:

1. Crusaders: idealistic and acting in service of a higher cause
2. Criminals: using terrorism for personal gain
3. Crazies: often suffering from a mental illness which leads to false beliefs and perceptions.

Hacker added that the 'pure type' was rare and that terrorists tended to be a combination of these three types.

- Think back to the many examples of terrorism you encountered in the contextual study. Do some seem to fit Hacker's 'types'?

In *What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism*, Krueger referred to – but then refuted – a popular belief that 'economic deprivation and a lack of education cause people to adopt extreme views and turn to terrorism' (2007:1). While it's possible that disillusionment and alienation can often be identified among poorer people, Krueger's research indicated that poverty itself was not a key causal factor in alienation or radicalisation. As a study of radical Islamist terrorism suggests, the causes seem much more complex, with economic and educational disadvantage playing only a small part.

Hamas a Palestinian Sunni-Islamist fundamentalist organisation founded in 1987 with the aim of establishing an Islamic state in Palestine

Many terrorist groups with strong religious components cast their struggle in ethno-nationalist terms – for example, the Catholic IRA in Ireland, or the Islamist **Hamas** in Palestine. But al-Qaeda and IS cast their struggle in strong theological terms – as in bin Laden's videotaped message to the world. Bruce Hoffman in *Inside Terrorism* (2006) and religious scholar Reza Aslan in *How to Win a Cosmic War* (2010) conceptualise such terrorism as a violent, divine duty within a 'cosmic' battle. They argue that, because its proponents believe that religion legitimates and justifies their actions, religious terrorism causes greater death and destruction.

As the earlier cartoon suggests, the internet can provide terrorist organisations with often unrestricted access to impressionable people – especially youth. Experts agree that ordinary youth from all walks of life are susceptible to radicalisation and the allure of religious terrorist groups. In *Terror in the Mind*

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SOURCE 16.26 Anbar Province, Iraq, 14 April 2016. IS fighters execute an Iraqi Government official at a checkpoint.
Might Hacker's typology apply here? Why might IS publicise this action by posting this photo?

ACTIVITY 16.10

GO

Watch a documentary: *My friend the suicide bomber*

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

of God (2003), sociologist Mark Juergensmeyer offers insight into the appeal of these organisations. He points out that religious terrorists construct persuasive narratives based on the perception that the world has gone awry. In turn, impressionable youth are invited to identify with a marginalised group in society and are provided with a religious narrative that explains their suffering and despair. A belief is fostered that the system can't be restored and must be destroyed.

SOURCE 16.27 Nice Bastille Day attack 2016



Devastation in France. These roadside tributes mark where a radical jihadist plunged a rental truck through a crowd on the seaside Promenade des Anglais in Nice on 14 July 2016. The attack killed 86 and injured 458, including many in families celebrating Bastille Day.

Responding to the photograph

1. What sentiments seem expressed by the words and the objects?
2. How might the terrorist justify the death, injury and anguish of so many people unknown to him?
3. How does this event demonstrate the difficulty of preventing such terrorist attacks?

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One such young person was an Australian, Jake Bilardi. A well-educated Australian teen, he dreamed of becoming a political journalist. Instead, he was radicalised and became an IS fighter. The media dubbed him Jihadi Jake.

ACTIVITY 16.11

Interpret extracts from Jake Bilardi's blog

1. In the left-hand column of the table below are extracts taken from Jake Bilardi's blog. What significant insight do these provide into Jake's background, experiences, beliefs, motives and/or plans? Print or copy this table and make notes in the right-hand column.

Blog extract	What significant insight does this provide into Jake's background, experiences, beliefs, motives and/or plans?
With my martyrdom operation drawing closer, I want to tell you my story, how I came from being an Atheist school student in affluent Melbourne to a soldier of the Khilafah preparing to sacrifice my life for Islam in Ramadi, Iraq.	
My life in Melbourne's working-class suburbs was, despite having its ups and downs just like everyone else, very comfortable.	
I found myself excelling in my studies, just as my siblings had, and had dreamed of becoming a political journalist. I always dreamed that one day I would travel to countries such as Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan to cover the situations in these lands.	
It was from my investigations into the invasions and occupations of both Iraq and Afghanistan that gave birth to my disdain for the United States and its allies, including Australia. It was also the start of my respect for the mujahideen.	
I was growing tired of the corruption and filthiness of Australian society and yearned to live under the Islamic State with the Muslims. I now had the determination to finally remove myself from this land.	
Fearing possible attempts by the increasingly-intrusive authorities in Australia to prevent my departure [to the Middle East] I began drawing up a Plan B. This plan involved launching a string of bombings across Melbourne, targeting foreign consulates and political/military targets as well as grenade and knife attacks on shopping centres and cafes and culminating with myself detonating a belt of explosives among the **kuffar**.	

kuffar a highly derogatory Arabic term used to refer to non-Muslims or 'un-believers'

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ACTIVITY 16.11 continued

Blog extract	What significant insight does this provide into Jake's background, experiences, beliefs, motives and/or plans?
I remember in Baiji [Iraq] watching these missiles flying into the homes of innocent people, this was first-hand confirmation that they were targeting Muslims, not the mujahideen. I also watched as my emir in Baiji broke down in tears as he was informed on the phone that his wife had been injured and his three-month-old child killed in an American airstrike. The house was in a residential area and there were no soldiers nearby.	

2. Does Jake's blog match Mark Juergensmeyer's explanation of how young people are radicalised?
3. Rady Borum, Professor of Intelligence Studies at the University of South Florida, in his book *Psychology of Terrorism* (2004), summarised the research on the modern terrorist mindset. Here's what he found. A terrorist could:
   A. be motivated by a strong belief system
   B. want to eradicate a situation they think is unfair or evil
   C. believe violence is justified
   D. be seeking a sense of identity and belonging
   E. be encouraged by others to take action
   F. have a mental illness.

Use Borum's six points to audit Jake Bilardi's blog extracts. In the left-hand column, insert a letter A–F where you see a connection between Borum's theory and Jake's words.

SOURCE 16.28 Jake Bilardi posing with IS fighters

Photo posted on Twitter in December 2014



Responding to the image

1. At what stage of Jake's story do you think this photo was taken?
2. Why might IS particularly want to see this photo published online?
3. Given what you know from Jake's blog, what thoughts and feelings do you think would be going through his mind as he poses here? How difficult is it to empathise with someone in such an extraordinary situation?

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4. Do you sense any uncertainty in Jake's expression? If he did change his mind, he would be barred from returning to Australia because the government cancelled his passport. He would be stateless and legally trapped in Iraq. Why would the government have this policy on Australians fighting for IS and similar groups? Do you think it is a reasonable policy? Find out how other countries are dealing with returning jihadists.

Interestingly, before Jake joined IS, he was co-founder of Soccer for Hope Organisation (SHO), an NGO which takes youths off the streets of Uganda and uses soccer as a tool to improve their lives. Does this surprise you? Do you think there could be a logical link between Jake's SHO work and what you know of him from his blog?

Bilardi died in a suicide attack in Iraq on 11 March 2015. He reportedly detonated a car bomb in an attack on an Iraqi army unit in Anbar province west of Baghdad. The Iraqi Army stated Bilardi's attack was unsuccessful, killing only himself. Yet IS publicised this dramatic event online. Michael Bachelard (2015) in the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote that IS used his death as propaganda to recruit more young suicide bombers. It seems IS was using the new media – including social media (YouTube, Facebook and Twitter) – to disseminate its narrative globally.



SOURCE 16.29 Visitors to Marion Mosque in suburban Adelaide in 2017. This image was taken in the wake of a racist attack on one of its worshippers. In countering extremism, prejudice and violence, why might the two ideas on the placards work well together? Why might an open day – when a mosque invites the community to visit – be an effective initiative?

How do religious terrorist organisations like IS use the internet?

In recent years, some Australian mosques have been targeted by people who equate Islam and Muslims generally with terrorism. In rare cases, a mosque has been a meeting place for radicals planning violent action. However, those who attack mosques are mistaken in thinking that they are the major hub in the radicalisation of Australian Muslims. That role is filled much more effectively by the internet.

Muslim and religious scholar Reza Aslan puts forward the argument that 'at most, the mosque serves as a place where certain disaffected kids … can be identified' by modern jihadist networks (2010:148). Aslan states that modern jihadists don't tend to meet at mosques or other Islamic community locations. For example, in the planning of the 2001 9/11 attacks in the US, the bombings in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, none of the organisers had any connection to a particular mosque. Most Muslims reject the aims and actions of fundamentalist Islamic organisations such as IS or al-Qaeda. Aslan sees the mosque, conversely, as the best place to counter radicalisation using the intellectual power and persuasion of the traditional **ulama**.

ulama a Muslim scholar who is recognised as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology

Jake Bilardi, the Madrid bombers and the London bombers acted without direction from any specific organisation. In other words, they were lone wolf terrorists: individuals or an independent local group acting in sympathy with an extremist Islamic cause. Jake Bilardi was radicalised online and the 9/11, Madrid and London perpetrators were organised online. These examples suggest that the internet, and not the mosque, is the locus of radicalisation and, perhaps, the front line of anti-radicalisation.

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SOURCE 16.30 Cartoonist Peter Nicholson comments on the London bombings, 7 July 2005

Responding to the cartoon

1. What does Nicholson seem to be implying about the procession of people along the flag?
2. What is he suggesting about the lone figure taking a different route?
3. Why do you think many people globally might have been astonished to find out that the London bombers were young men who appeared to have lived normal lives in England before turning to terrorism?



The Australian reported in 2015 that 110 Australians were thought to be fighting in Syria for IS. One such Australian was red-haired teenager Abdullah Elmir, from Bankstown in Sydney. After radicalisation in Australia, Elmir fled to Syria to fight for IS, and was reportedly killed in the Syrian city of Raqqa by a bombing raid. Labelled the Ginger Jihadi by the media, he sensationally released a propaganda video for IS that went viral.

ACTIVITY 16.12

Watch a television current affairs program: *Runaway Australian becomes Islamic State poster boy*

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook.

GO

From the information you have encountered so far, you probably have noted that technology and new media have become tools in the arsenal of Islamic terrorists. Bruce Hoffman offers an explanation.

SOURCE 16.31 Bruce Hoffman on terrorism and insurgent use of the internet

Few technological innovations have had the impact of the internet and the World Wide Web. Beyond any doubt, in a comparatively short span of time, they have revolutionized communications, enabling the rapid (often in real time), pervasive, and – most important – inexpensive exchange of information worldwide. In terms of political activism, they have been something of a godsend, providing an effective way for groups to promote what some observers call a 'global dialectic,' a situation in which awakening, awareness, activism, and radicalism can be stimulated at a local level and then mobilized into a wider process of dissent and protest. 'Groups of any size, from two to millions,' Dorothy E. Denning of the Naval Postgraduate School, points out, 'can reach each other and use the Net to promote its agenda.

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Their members and followers can come from any geographical region on the Net, and they can attempt to influence foreign policy anywhere in the world.' That sort of reach is one dramatic advantage that the Internet provides; speed is another.

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism*, 2006, p. 201

Responding to the source

1. In what ways is the internet 'rapid', 'pervasive' and 'inexpensive'?
2. Does this make it unique as a communications medium?
3. Why might it be an ideal tool for terrorists?
4. Describe in your own words what Hoffman means by a 'global dialectic'.
5. Which particular words seem to describe precisely the process of Jake Bilardi's radicalisation?
6. How might the global dialectic represent a historical change that makes counter-terrorism more difficult than in the past?
7. Find out online about the author Bruce Hoffman. Would you consider him a particularly useful source in studying radicalisation and cyber-jihadism?

Peter Byrne (journalist) in an article for *New Scientist* points out that 'social networks ensure the message feeds back rapidly to disenfranchised sympathisers in the West' (2017). He goes on to explain that as US bombing of IS strongholds began in 2014 'tweets went international, calling for the destruction of Western governments and civilians'. As a result, IS-inspired lone wolves went on to target innocents in Brussels, Paris, Orlando, San Bernardino, Nice, Manchester and London.

Countering religious terrorist organisations' use of the internet in radicalisation and recruitment is complex. A key feature of jihadist groups is their utilisation of social networks to propagate their ideas. And traditional military responses, for example the 'war on terror', seem only to exacerbate and accelerate radicalisation online. Stanford University academic Martha Crenshaw in her 2017 book *Countering Terrorism* writes' 'Western military engagement has reinforced the jihadist narrative that Muslims everywhere are targeted. It may have made ISIS more determined to inspire rather than direct terrorism' (p. 199).

Journalist Laura Spinney (2017) explores this further in the following source.

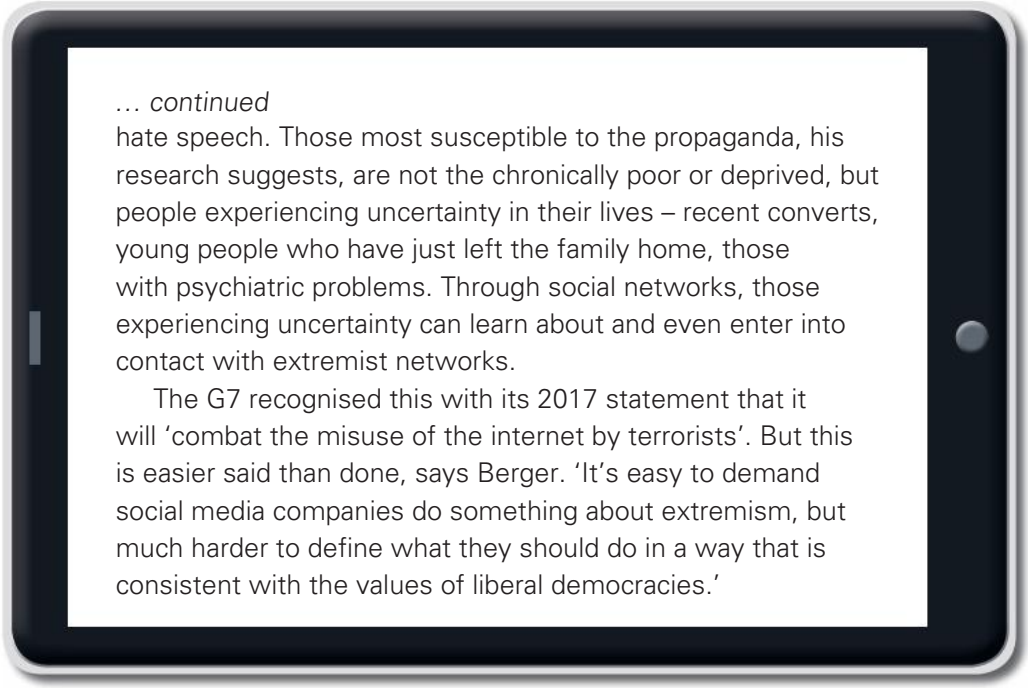
SOURCE 16.32 Network Effects

'If you can disrupt those connections, that's probably your best shot at stopping people from becoming terrorists,' says J. M. Berger at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism in The Hague and co-author of *ISIS: The State of Terror*.

He believes that the advent of social media has not only increased the number of people extremist groups can reach, but also the potency of their message, because it allows them to circumvent safeguards against revisionism and

continued …

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… continued

hate speech. Those most susceptible to the propaganda, his research suggests, are not the chronically poor or deprived, but people experiencing uncertainty in their lives – recent converts, young people who have just left the family home, those with psychiatric problems. Through social networks, those experiencing uncertainty can learn about and even enter into contact with extremist networks.

The G7 recognised this with its 2017 statement that it will 'combat the misuse of the internet by terrorists'. But this is easier said than done, says Berger. 'It's easy to demand social media companies do something about extremism, but much harder to define what they should do in a way that is consistent with the values of liberal democracies.'

Laura Spinney, 'Network Effects', in Peter Byrne, *Anatomy of Terror: What Makes Normal People Become Extremists?* New Scientist, 6 August 2017

Responding to the article

1. What does J.M. Berger suggest to combat cyber-jihadism? Why might his judgement be useful to consult in a study of cyber or lone wolf jihadism?
2. Which of Berger's ideas here particularly support the view of Hoffman in Source 16.32 (and perhaps corroborate other information you have encountered so far), and offer further insight into the impact of social media?
3. In 2017 the world's seven major industrialised nations (G7) met in Italy to discuss putting pressure on internet service providers and social media to increase efforts to purge extremist content. Tragically, four days later an Islamist suicide bomber killed 22 people in Manchester. How optimistic do you think Berger is about the G7's capacity to achieve this goal? Why?
4. Do you think Berger is implying that liberal democratic values are a hindrance in combating cyber-jihadism and extremism? Explain your response.

Radical Islamists – including cyber-jihadists and lone wolf terrorists – have carried out some of the most devastating actions since 9/11, in locations all around the globe.

ACTIVITY 16.13

Investigate radical jihadism and the 'global dialectic'

1. Distribute numbers i. to xviii. among the class. Find the event that has your number (e.g. v. Brussels, Belgium 2014):
   - **i.** Bali, Indonesia 2002
   - **ii.** Madrid, Spain 2004
   - **iii.** London, UK 2005
   - **iv.** Boston, USA 2013

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ACTIVITY 16.13 continued

v. Brussels, Belgium 2014
vi. Sydney, Australia (Lindt Café Siege) 2014
vii. Libya, 15 February 2015
viii. Tipo-Tipo, Philippines 9 April 2016
ix. Orlando, USA 2016
x. Nice, France 2016
xi. Djakana, Cameroon 29 June 2016
xii. Berlin, Germany 2016
xiii. Medina, Saudi Arabia 4 July 2016
xiv. Champs-Élysées, France 2017
xv. London, UK 2017
xvi. Barcelona, Spain 2017
xvii. Trèbes, France 2018
xviii. More recent event proposed by teacher or student

2. Conduct research online. Your task is to complete a 'Perpetrators/Actions/Victims/Targets/Audience/Motives, aims and inspiration' analysis. Use the table from Activity 16.1 as a guide.
3. When your research is completed, organise yourselves into groups of three or four. Share your findings with your group. Each of you makes a brief record of the information found by the others.
4. As a group, discuss to what degree Bruce Hoffman's 'global dialectic' is evident in your collective information.
5. Regroup to form new groups and discuss similarities and differences from your earlier group discussion. Also, discuss anything you have found or heard that is surprising or particularly shocking.
6. As a whole class, discuss what you have learned about cyber-jihadism.
7. Reflect on the activity. In particular, discuss how useful the internet was as your research base. Did you find any excellent sites and information? Did you encounter any common pitfalls of internet research – for example, doubts about the expertise and authority of a site, lack of citations for key claims, information overly swayed by the author's standpoint?
8. Finally, review and finalise a report in response to the question: What are some of the effects of cyber-jihadism and the 'global dialectic'? Upload and share online so that the whole class can review it.

An Australian research report released in 2018 challenged mainstream beliefs about the internet's role in radicalisation. It described a dramatic increase after 2014 in teenage Australians being radicalised, and did acknowledge that social media played some part in radicalisation. But the report's co-author Shandon Harris-Hogan claimed that 'significant others' – a family connection, a trusted peer, a school friend – had more influence on the teenagers who became radicalised.



SOURCE 16.33 Written tributes on a wall on London Bridge, 10 June 2017. These were left following the June 3 terror attack by three men who ploughed a van into pedestrians on London Bridge, then slashed and stabbed people in Borough Market before being shot dead by police.
Do these tributes suggest that the attackers failed to terrorise Londoners?

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Suicide terrorism and martyrdom: How prevalent is it and what motivates people to do it?

Throughout history, all forms of terrorism – from ancient Jewish Zealots, anarchists and anti-colonials to left-wing radicals and Islamists – have targeted innocent civilians for greater effect. Robert Pape (political scientist known for his work on international security affairs) in his 2005 book *Dying to Win*, points out that the contemporary forms of suicide terrorism that mostly concern us – drivers detonating cars laden with explosives near large, inhabited buildings, or people exploding suicide vests in busy marketplaces – were practically unknown before 1980. In fact, it was al-Qaeda's spectacular suicide attack on 11 September 2001 that signalled suicide terrorism's rapid acceleration.

ACTIVITY 16.14

Explore a suicide attack database

The *RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents* and the University of Chicago's *Suicide Attack Database (CPOST)* have indicated trends in suicide terror attacks since 9/11.

1. Locate the University of Chicago's Suicide Attack Database (CPOST) online.
2. In groups, manipulate the data to identify trends or patterns within the database. For example, does the frequency of suicide terror attacks continue to accelerate at the same rate as immediately after 9/11? In which years might it have spiked or bottomed out? Which regions or countries have been most affected and when? Why might this have been the case (motives)? Which groups have engaged most in this behaviour?
3. Share your responses and discuss any differences.

The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) at the University of Tel Aviv published statistics in a 2018 report on suicide bombing. The report's statistics demonstrated a spike in suicide bombing in 2014 (592 attacks) and a gradual decrease over the next three years (348 attacks in 2017). Interestingly, the Institute notes on its website that prior to 2017, IS was the leading source of suicide attacks.

One distressing statistic also reported from the INSS was an increase in women and children used as suicide bombers by IS. The Interactive Textbook contains a 2017 video (duration 00:37) by ITN offering further details (Source 16.34).



SOURCE 16.35 Mosul, Iraq, 19 July 2017. A trainee suicide bomber, Thomas, 11, had originally been kidnapped by IS and trained for suicide bombing using weapons, bombs and cars. As IS was driven from Mosul, he was rescued from an underground tunnel where four other children had already died from starvation and thirst.
Why might IS not care about the revulsion such stories stir around the world? How might Thomas be an extreme example of the suffering of children in Mosul and elsewhere? What challenges would lie ahead for such youngsters?

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What motivates people to take their own life in the pursuit of political or religious aims is a question that has intrigued researchers for decades. Aslan (2010:153) states that a potential suicide bomber needs to be convinced that (1) the existing social order is not legitimate; (2) the social order can be overturned; (3) their participation is crucial for the movement's success.

- Did you see this pattern in your previous studies of revolutions and movements?
- Does this offer insights into how to prevent or combat suicide terrorism?

The popular image of the suicide bomber focuses on evil, irrationality and desperation. This may apply to some, or many. But western suicide terror experts Hoffman (2006), Pape (2005) and Juergensmeyer (2000) agree that terrorists employ a strategic logic or calculated choice to commit suicide terrorism.



SOURCE 16.36 Suicide bomb attack on Ataturk International Airport in Istanbul, Turkey, 28 June 2016
Why would international airports in particular be preferred targets for suicide bombers? Think of both the bombing operation itself and its newsworthiness. Could this choice of target reflect the 'strategic logic' mentioned above? What is unique about the geographical location of Istanbul?

SOURCE 16.37 Why radical Islamists favour suicide terrorism

Suicide terrorism:

- can easily target those deemed to be 'enemy occupiers' of a country
- has become a traditional technique of radical Islamists
- is known to be potentially very deadly
- receives much media attention
- can be inexpensive to carry out
- can be carried out relatively simply.

Based on a lecture by Danny Cooper, 'Suicide Terrorism', Griffith University, 2011

Responding to the list

1. What might Danny Cooper mean when he says suicide terrorism 'can easily target those deemed to be enemy occupiers of a country?'
2. How might suicide terrorism be 'inexpensive' compared to other forms of terrorist attacks?

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3. For each of the six reasons, identify one radical Islamist suicide terrorist action that you know fits.
4. Can you suggest any further reasons for the upsurge in suicide terrorism?

The second causal factor for increasing suicide terrorism listed above is the relationship between suicide terrorism and radical Islam. Because the Qur'an forbids suicide, Muslims might be expected to refuse to participate in suicide terrorist attacks, therefore depriving al-Qaeda, IS and others of a deadly tactic. However, radical Islamists who support suicide terror distinguish between 'suicide' (undertaken for personal reasons) and 'martyrdom' (undertaken for altruistic reasons).

The martyr is an honoured person among Muslims. A person who dies for his or her faith is promised a celebrated place in the afterlife. In *The Mind of the Islamic State*, Robert Manne describes how, in the 1990s, Osama bin Laden and his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri debated the question of suicide bombings. Eventually, in his treatise *Jihad and the Superiority of Martyrdom*, Zawahiri developed a complicated argument to justify suicide bombing, insisting that such self-sacrificing acts should not be included in the definition of suicide. Zawahiri also provided a justification for another circumstance forbidden by Islamic teachings – the unintended killing of Muslim women and children in a martyr's attack.

Dr Abdel Aziz Rantissi, physician and former leader of the Sunni-Islamic fundamentalist organisation Hamas, took Zawahiri's justification one step further in an interview in 1998. Dr Rantissi objected to the term suicide bombing. He preferred the word *istishadi*, which means 'self-chosen martyrdom'. He went on to justify this within a framework of belief where all Muslims seek to be martyrs and the targeting of non-combatants is permissible because their death is occurring within the context of war (cited in Juergensmeyer 2017, p.313).

- Reread the opening paragraph about Osama bin Laden in this source-based inquiry. What insights can you draw now from that paragraph that you perhaps weren't able to the first time?

How to counter the radicalisation of young people

Anti-radicalisation has become a major focus of many countries, including Australia. Experts suggest that these programs must respond to the very factors that radicalise people, especially young people, in the first place. Writing about the 2005 London bombers, Abdel Bari Atwan noted that the young Muslim bombers 'appeared to have lived "normal" lives in England before turning to terrorism' but actually felt alienated from English society, and were radicalised through their cyber-Jihad online experiences. In a *Time* magazine article in 2013, journalist Ian Lloyd Neubar described 'the gulf that exists between the mainstream Australian public and at times vocal class of disaffected, ethnically Arab youth ... who consider themselves socially excluded from, and culturally at odds with, their new countries'. Rebecca Kay, a Sydney-based convert to Islam, added that 'you wouldn't believe how much hatred we receive through social media and Facebook pages like Ban the Burqa. And talkback radio is the worst'.

- If disaffection and alienation are key drivers of radicalisation, can you suggest some ways they could be reduced?
- For an interesting perspective on Islamophobia in Australia, search online for filmmaker Kamal Saleh's video *Muslim hate in Australia | Social experiment*.

Oxford University conflict expert Scot Atran proposes that community engagement is a powerful strategy, while Princeton University's Susan Fiske believes that engaging marginalised youth in purposeful and collaborative work to achieve a common goal can disrupt stereotypes and re-humanise such youth in the eyes of the wider public (in Byrne, 2017).

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Australian researcher Shandon Harris-Hogan, quoted earlier on 'radicalisation', has emphasised that de-radicalisation programs need to 'take into account the emotional and mental immaturity, the different decision-making process that young people go through'.

Anti-radicalisation programs can backfire if they 'criminalise or stigmatise communities, families or individuals' (Spinney 2017). In 2015, Britain established a 'prevent duty' – a legal obligation on schools to give 'due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism'. In 2017, a Coventry University (UK) study found general support for the duty, but also widespread concern that it could inadvertently increase the stigmatisation of Muslim students.

Denmark, a country which produced more IS fighters per head of its population than any other western European country bar Belgium, implemented the controversial Aarhus model of anti-radicalisation. The model assigned trained mentors to returning soldiers or radicals in the hope of building trust between authorities and the social circles in which they operated. According to psychology professor Preben Bertelsen at Aarhus University, this model supported returning fighters or radicals in reflecting on and evaluating their life decisions. However, critics in Denmark (especially the anti-immigration Danish People's Party) labelled the model as dangerously naïve and shortsighted. Some critics called for returning jihadists to be stripped of their citizenship and given six-year jail terms. It seems the issue of anti-radicalisation is as contentious as establishing the definitive causes of radicalisation itself.

ACTIVITY 16.15

Research anti-radicalisation in Australia

1. Find out:
   a. what types of anti-radicalisation programs exist in Australia
   b. what evidence there is of success
   c. whether there are strong debates in Australia about the anti-radicalisation issue.
2. In class, discuss ways that you, as a student, a community member and a citizen of Australia, might have any role in anti-radicalisation.

16.12 How to combat terrorism

This question matters to governments globally and to all of us going about our daily lives. Overall, experts continue to recommend five strategies to combat terrorism:

1. Military

Engaging organised terrorist groups in conventional warfare.
Example: fighting IS in the Middle East.

2. Geo-political

Addressing the issues that drive particular terrorists.
Examples: the 'Palestinian question'; the Kurdish people's desire for an independent homeland; Basque separatists' demands to be independent of Spain; Chechnyan aspiration for independence from Russia; the success of inclusive governance in Northern Ireland – giving former IRA terrorists a political voice.

3. Effective intelligence, surveillance and interception

Examples: from airport screening and the detection of bomb plotting on social media to increased policing powers of arrest and detention of terrorist suspects.

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4. Legislative-judicial
Examples: making laws that make particular activities illegal, such as publishing certain information, financially supporting radical groups, travelling overseas to become a fighter for a terrorist organisation; establishing severe penalties for such activities.

5. Anti-radicalisation
Examples: government programs, educational initiatives and community building to address alienation, prejudice, discrimination and hopelessness among vulnerable groups and individuals.

- How aware are you already of each of these strategies in Australia and elsewhere?

Already you have learned about some of these strategies. Others you'll encounter in the concluding study of this chapter. In the years to come, you will find out how effective these strategies have been. The evidence will be obvious around the world.

16.13 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study you have looked at the background of radical Islamist terrorism, and then analysed a range of primary and secondary sources to develop understanding of two key areas: how Islamic State has pursued its aims, and the radicalisation of individuals. You have synthesised information from these sources, and evaluated historical interpretations, to form your own historical arguments.

ACTIVITY 16.16

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?

Use a graphic organiser to present graphic and textual information that explains a linked sequence of cause and effect relationships beginning with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 and ending with the death of Olivia Campbell-Hardy in Manchester in May 2017.

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CONCLUDING STUDY
Reflecting on terrorism

The history of terrorism is being updated every day. In the first half of 2018, Islamic State was in retreat on the battlefield of Syria and Iraq. But, so frequently, IS-inspired terrorist attacks were devastating communities and spreading fear around the globe, even in Australia.

This concluding study leaves you an unfinished narrative and focuses on key issues that arise from your study of terrorism.

16.14 Can the state be a terrorist?

Daraa is in southern Syria. In March 2011, it saw the start of the Syrian Civil War, when a protest against President Bashar al-Assad was met with armed resistance. The city was besieged and bombed by the Syrian armed forces supported by Russian warships offshore. Daraa is the city on this book's cover.

ACTIVITY 16.17

Explore the question of 'state terrorism' through the Syrian conflict

This activity is available in the Interactive Textbook (includes Sources 16.38 A&B).

GO

16.15 Can we ever be totally safe?

Two years on from 9/11, Bruce Schneier in his 2003 book *Beyond Fear* described the challenges of protecting people and places from a terrorist attack. After detailed analysis of numerous scenarios and situations, he came to the rather pessimistic conclusion that prevention and mitigation were practically impossible. That said, his analysis indicated that most Australians would be 'more likely to die of a bee sting than a terrorist attack' (2003:241).

ACTIVITY 16.18

Consider the security of a music festival



SOURCE 16.39 Aerial footage of a music festival in the United Kingdom: Reading Festival, 2017. This is the world's oldest popular music festival still in existence, now attracting crowds of up to 100 000 people.
View this video (duration 04:05) in the Interactive Textbook.



SOURCE 16.40 Aerial photo of an Australian music festival: Byron Bay Bluesfest, 2007. Bluesfest has camping for up to 6000 people, and today attracts an audience of over 100 000.

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ACTIVITY 16.18 continued

Now look at the map of a typical outdoor music festival showing its layout, facilitates and features. Note that each symbol (e.g. camping tent) could represent a large number of such features. Imagine the security challenge of preventing any type of terrorist attack, particularly on a large-scale festival like Byron Bay Bluesfest (Source 16.40). Discuss:



SOURCE 16.41 Map of the layout and features of a typical music festival.

1. Why might sites such as this be vulnerable to terror attacks?
2. Why might total security and safety be impossible to achieve?
3. What do you think can be done to enhance security?
4. What inconvenience and restrictions of liberties might the festival-goers have to undergo in the interests of security?

16.16 Are liberties being destroyed in the pursuit of security from terrorism?



SOURCE 16.42 Monitoring of urban CCTV cameras. Increasingly, you can be under surveillance and recorded almost anywhere, anytime in a public space.
How can this surveillance produce a tension between individual rights and the need for security? Paradoxically, how might this technology be utilised by terrorists?

Since 9/11, the Australian Government has introduced more than 40 new counter-terrorism laws. With these laws come new detention and questioning powers for police and security agencies, and new ways to monitor and control the movement of people without criminal convictions.

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ACTIVITY 16.19

Assess the impact counter-terrorism laws can have on human rights

According to the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC):



Counter-terrorism laws can have a profound impact on fundamental human rights and freedoms, including:

1. the right to a fair trial
2. the right not to be subjected to arbitrary detention
3. freedom from torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
4. the right to freedom of expression
5. the right to freedom of movement
6. the right to privacy
7. the right to non-discrimination
8. the right to an effective remedy for a breach of human right.

SOURCE 16.43 'Counter-terrorism and human rights', Australian Human Rights Commission website, 2013

In column 1 of the table below, you can read Australian counter-terrorism expert David Kilcullen's list of strategies Western democracies are using – or considering using – to counter the threat of terrorist attacks. In column 2, list any positive purpose or benefit you see in these strategies. In column 3, where applicable, attribute one or more numbers from the AHRC list above, to indicate whether the suggested strategies might be in breach of your human rights. List your explanation in column 4.

1. Strategies described by Kilcullen	2. Possible positive purpose/benefits of the particular strategies	3. Possible AHRC liberty breach (No.)	4. Your explanation
Security walls			
Restrictions on public access to sites			
Extreme powers of search, arrest and seizure			
Large, heavily armed police forces			
Increased right of police to use lethal force			
Enhanced surveillance of citizens (including on social media)			

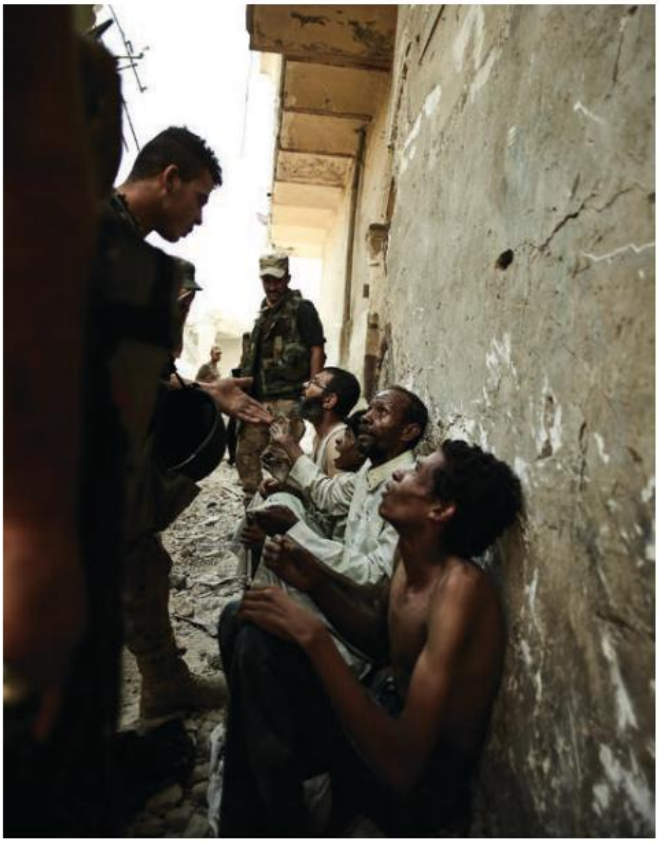
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ACTIVITY 16.19 continued

1. Strategies described by Kilcullen	2. Possible positive purpose/benefits of the particular strategies	3. Possible AHRC liberty breach (No.)	4. Your explanation
Limits on freedom of expression and assembly			
'Terrorism tax' to pay for all these measures			

Kilcullen warns that 'accepting these impositions as permanent … would amount to destroying society in order to save it' (2016:208). As a class discuss whether you agree with this view.

16.17 Is torture justifiable in the context of counter-terrorism?



SOURCE 16.44 Mosul, Iraq, 29 June 2017. Iraqi forces interrogate men they suspect of being affiliated with the Islamic State in al-Nuri mosque complex.
Do you think torture conducted within the context of war should be treated as less serious than in civil or peacetime societies?

The 9/11 attacks seemed to change the public debates about torture. The relentless hunt for perpetrators – and then the declaration of a 'war on terror' – led to an increase in the use of torture. Amnesty International (2016) says that governments around the world made claims that 'torture works', despite evidence to the contrary.

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ACTIVITY 16.20

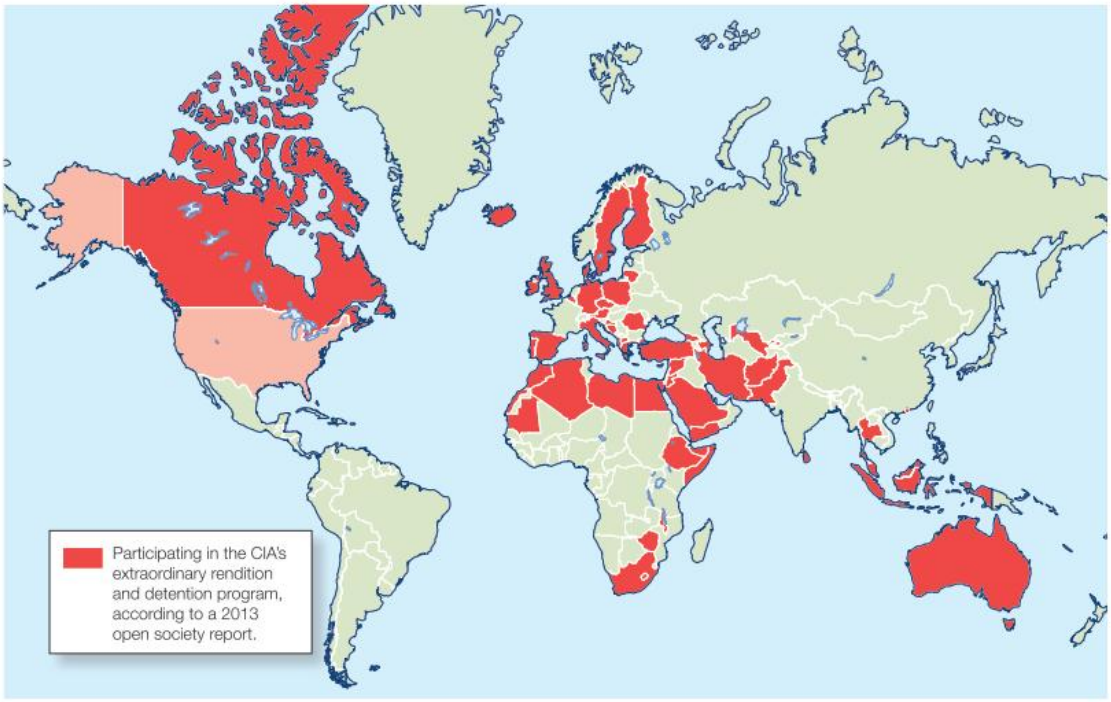
Analyse the UN's definition of torture

The UN's Convention against Torture is one of the most widely adopted treaties in international law with 158 ratifications.

- Locate a copy on the UN website.
- Use Articles 1–5 to complete the following, using the table to complete notes on the articles:

Article	Responsibilities and implications for consenting countries	Key words or terms
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

Another debate erupted in the post 9/11 climate when it was discovered that the USA's CIA was using 'extraordinary rendition'. This was a secret program that, without legal authorisation, transferred terrorist suspects to selected foreign governments for purposes of detention and interrogation. Numerous reports confirmed that torture was involved.



SOURCE 16.45 A map of 'extraordinary rendition'. Note the 54 countries, including Australia, which reportedly participated in the extraordinary rendition program.
What would the purpose of this rendition be? How might participating countries justify this breaking of the UN Convention against torture? Do you think these actions could be justified?

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- In Milan (Italy) in 2005, in the wake of the London bombings, U2 singer Bono introduced the song *Miss Sarajevo* with a wish that 'we don't become a monster in order to defeat a monster'. Could that wish apply to the 'extraordinary rendition' situation; to any other aspect of the 'war on terror'? You can view the U2 performance and read the song lyrics by searching online for 'U2 Miss Sarajevo live Milan'.

ACTIVITY 16.21

Debating torture

In late 2017, news broke globally that authorities foiled a plot to destroy an Etihad flight departing from Sydney. There would have been a high death toll on the plane and under the flight path. Crucial intelligence was extracted from a plotter under interrogation by Israeli authorities.

Take part in a class debate around these statements:

- To extract the information from a plotter who is refusing to tell, torture would be justifiable.
- The use of torture reduces the user to the same moral level as the terrorist.

Search online to try to verify the claim above that Australia was involved in extraordinary rendition.

16.18 How do historians and other academics continue to discuss terrorism?

Terrorism differs from conventional historical studies you usually encounter. Globally, the phenomenon of terrorism evolves every day. Similarly, interpretations of, and debates about terrorism are being developed and discussed among historians and other academic experts.

As you saw earlier, Reza Aslan frames Islamic terrorism within a cosmic war context – with radical Islamists as religiously motivated, often by a radical theological interpretation of the Qur'an. Importantly, Aslan doesn't see the great majority of Muslims as being part of this cosmic war, or of any 'clash of civilisations' as postulated by Samuel Huntington in his much-debated 1996 thesis.

Political scientist Robert Pape argues that terrorist groups like ISIS and al-Qaeda are not motivated by radical theology. He claims that religious fervour serves solely as a tool for recruiting suicide terrorists. Religion, he says, permits them to overcome their fear of death and to justify the killing of innocents. But more importantly, Pape sees IS and al-Qaeda as 'ethno nationalists' – determined to drive enemy invaders or occupiers out of their homelands. He describes how IS arose from the insurgency against the US occupation of Iraq while al-Qaeda (in all its forms) has its roots in the Afghan resistance to Soviet occupation and in Osama bin Laden's hatred of US military bases in his homeland Saudi Arabia.

In parallel with debates about Islamic motivation, there are debates about the motives for the 'war on terror'. President Bush depicted it as a war for democratic freedom against criminal fanatics. As early as 2003, Noam Chomsky proposed a radical alternative – that the 'war' was designed to enable the USA and other nations to extend their political, economic and military influence globally, and to justify imposing restrictions on their own populations in the name of 'security'.

Clearly, there is substantial contestability among the historians of terrorism. Your studies do not equip you to fully assess these competing theories. But you can discuss which of them seem to match the understandings you've developed in studying this chapter.

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16.19 Can terrorism be defined?

In the contextual study, you studied five definitions of terrorism, and found out that the United Nations members have consistently failed to agree on a definition.

You were asked, based upon the terror-related events you'd studied at that stage, to compose your own working definition of terrorism.

Now having completed your study of this chapter, look back at your definition and decide whether it seems appropriate.

ACTIVITY 16.22

Compose a consensus definition of terrorism

1. Look at the two following images. Decide whether what they show would match your definition.
2. As a class, discuss and debate whether the two images depict terrorism.
3. Finally, as a class, try to compose a consensus definition – one that every member of the class is prepared to accept.



SOURCE 16.46 A pig's head, crusader cross and paint left by attackers on an Islamic Studies Centre in Athens, Greece, 17 October 2014



SOURCE 16.47 In 2015, a visitor surveys a diorama of the German city of Dresden, bombed by Allied Bomber Command 70 years earlier in 1945. A firestorm engulfed the city, killing at least 25 000 civilians.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Defining and describing terrorism

- The use of violence to create fear and terror has a long history.
- There is no universally agreed upon definition of terrorism.
- Five different definitions were considered, some broader than others – many would not include all the events considered in this chapter.
- Historian David Rapoport suggested there have been four 'waves' of terrorism in modern times: anarchist, anti-colonial, new left and religious.
- Terrorist groups have a range of reasons for choosing their targets.
- Al-Qaeda, the group responsible for the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center, had very ambitious aims.

Depth study: What have been the causes and consequences of the rise of radical Islamist terrorism in the modern world?

- In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan and waged war against the Mujahideen.
- Osama bin Laden fought alongside the Mujahideen and by 1988 he had established al-Qaeda.
- After the 2001 al-Qaeda attack, US leaders linked Afghanistan, and later Iraq, with international terrorism, leading to wars against both countries. These wars were chaotic, tragic and controversial.
- Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, but in 2013 he left to form Islamic State in the Levant (ISIL – also known as ISIS, IS and Daesh).
- Islamic State envisaged its caliphate bringing together all the areas that had ever been under Islamic influence or control. They took control of various areas in Iraq and Syria.
- Most of the world's Muslims reject arguments providing an Islamic justification for suicide bombing.
- By 2018, various anti-IS forces had begun to win back conquered cities and territory in both Iraq and Syria.
- Some experts have warned that the military defeat of IS will probably increase the incidence of lone wolf attacks by IS supporters in nations around the world.
- Radicalisation can lead individuals to engage in acts of terrorism.
- Causes of radicalisation are complex; economic and educational disadvantage play only a small part.
- The internet can provide terrorist organisations with often unrestricted access to impressionable youth.
- Young Australians who have become radicalised include Jake Bilardi and Abdullah Elmir.
- Researchers continue to try to understand what motivates suicide attacks in the pursuit of political or religious aims.
- Anti-radicalisation has become a major focus of many countries, including Australia.
- Experts recommend five strategies to combat terrorism: military; geo-political; effective intelligence, surveillance and interception; legislative-judicial; and anti-radicalisation.

Concluding study: Reflecting on terrorism

- In 2011 people of Daraa, in southern Syria, rose up against the authoritarian regime, and the city was besieged and bombed by the Syrian armed forces. This could be argued to be state-based terrorism.
- In 2003, Bruce Schneier described the challenges of protecting people and places from terrorist attacks, and concluded that prevention and mitigation were practically impossible.
- Counter-terrorism laws and security measures have raised fears about the erosion of individual rights and freedoms.
- There have been debates about the morality of the 'war on terror', particularly regarding the use of torture and 'extraordinary rendition' by Western nations.
- Historians have debated the causes of terrorism and the motives behind the 'war on terror'.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

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Glossary

abdicate when a monarch resigns as leader of their country

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

absolute monarchy system of government where the king has complete power unrestricted by a constitution

Acknowledgement of Country a non-Indigenous person (or an Indigenous person who is not a Traditional Owner) acknowledges that the site where the audience is meeting is regarded as ancestral country for a particular Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander nation

anarchy political belief that no form of state authority is justified and should be resisted by any means necessary

Ancien Régime French term for an old order – the system of government before 1789

anti-Semitism the strong dislike or cruel and unfair treatment of Jewish people

apartheid literally translates to 'apartness'. A system of racial inequality, segregation and discrimination in South Africa, imposed by a white minority on a black majority, from 1948 to 1994.

apocalyptic catastrophic, producing the apocalypse often associated with the end of the world

apostate someone who abandons or renounces their religious beliefs, principles or allegiance

appeasement a British and French policy in the 1930s that aimed to limit further German expansionism by agreeing to certain German demands, most notably the German occupation of the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace.

Aryan originally a name given to an Indo-European people group from Iran and Northern India, the term was used as a designation of racial superiority by National Socialists who equated the term with the 'white race' of whom the Nordic and Germanic peoples were thought to be the purest expression

autocratic a political system such as a monarchy or dictatorship where the ruler is not restricted in any way by a parliament, constitution or elections

Bechdel test a test which asks if a work of fiction contains at least two named female characters who talk to each other about something other than a man. First used in a comic strip by Alison Bechdel.

black armband view of history a perjorative label given by critics to a historiographical approach to Australia's history that highlights the adverse effects of forces such as imperialism, racism and militarism, particularly on Australia's Indigenous populations

Bolsheviks more radical majority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the Industrial Revolution; in eighteenth-century France, a member of the middle class, part of the Third Estate; seen by Marx and Lenin as oppressors of the workers

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

caliphate an area under Islamic control and headed by a Caliph who claims to be the commander of the faithful and the successor to the prophet Mohammed

capitalism economic system that promotes the unrestricted growth of wealth in the hands of private individuals and companies based on market forces of supply and demand. Government intervention in the economy is disapproved of and extremes of wealth and poverty can occur.

chargé d'affaires a subordinate diplomat who substitutes for an absent ambassador

châteaux a manor house or residence of the lord of the manor, or a country house of the nobility

Cheka the Bolsheviks' secret police; used to eliminate opposition

civil rights the rights of citizens to political and social freedom and equality

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civil war a war fought between the citizens of the same country

cockade a tight knot of coloured ribbons that were pinned to a hat or tunic worn in the eighteenth century. The colours were chosen to display loyalty to a particular ruler, military leader or political group.

Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration originally established in 1904, the court was replaced in the 1950s by the Conciliation and Arbitration Commission (ACAC) and the Commonwealth Industrial Court. From 1988–2009 it was the Australian Industrial Relations Commission (AIRC). Some of the functions of this commission are now part of the Fair Work Commission, a Federal industrial relations tribunal.

communism economic system in which land, industry and other means of production are owned and controlled by the society as a whole and the total wealth of the society is distributed according to need

Communist Manifesto the 1848 book by Marx and Engels that outlined the basic ideas of how class struggle would lead to a communist society

concentration camps internment or prison camp for members of a specific minority or political group, often accompanied by exploitation and/or punishment

constitutional monarchy the rule of a kingdom by a monarch who must rule according to the laws and practices of the constitution. The monarch's role is mostly ceremonial.

corvée the service of unpaid labour on upkeep of roads

coup d'etat a violent or illegal overthrow of a government, often by the military

cult of personality presentation of a political leader or otherwise notable individual with a focus on substantial personal charisma and the use of mass media to promote adulation of them by the public

deficit an excess of expenditure, debt, the total amount of money spent is more than money received

demilitarised the reduction of state armed forces, usually as a result of peace treaty negotiated at the end of a conflict. Can be general in nature or applied to a specific area, known as a demilitarised zone.

dichotomy division or contrast between two things that are, or are represented as being, opposed or entirely different

Divine Right common belief among European monarchs that they were born to rule under God's will

Domino Theory a term coined in 1954 by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, claiming that communist aggression and expansionism could lead to the fall of states (like a series of dominoes). In Asia, the theory envisaged the fall of states stretching from Vietnam through South-East Asia to Australia and the Indian sub-continent.

draft resister someone who evades compulsory military service

Duma Russian parliament

Enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition

eugenics the idea that it is possible to improve humanity by allowing only some people to produce children

faction a sub-group, usually with slightly different views from the main group

feudal social system of Medieval Europe based on set relationships between sections of the population

feudal registers documents that recorded feudal relationships – which peasant 'belonged' to which lord and where they lived

feudal system a rigid class-based social system of medieval times where peasant farmers worked on lands owned by wealthy nobles

first wave feminism feminist activism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western countries which focused on gaining the vote for women

fiscal refers to government revenue, in particular taxes

freehold land literally 'free from hold' – the owner of such property enjoys 'free' ownership of the land for perpetuity and can use the land for any purpose as long as it is within local regulations

Führer originally a German word meaning 'leader' or 'guide', it has become synonymous with the political title given to Adolf Hitler when the roles of both Chancellor and President were combined in 1933 to make him sole leader of Germany

'full-blood' of unmixed ancestry

fundamentalist having beliefs and behaviours that are based on the strict, literal interpretation of scripture

genocide acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group

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ghetto segregated section of a city set apart for habitation and residence by a specific group

Girondins National Convention deputies who were more moderate during the French Revolution

ground zero the exact place where a nuclear bomb explodes

guillotine initially introduced as a means to eliminate unnecessary suffering during execution. During the Reign of Terror, the guillotine was seen as very efficient as a skilled team of executioners could kill one person every two to three minutes.

'half-caste' a person whose parents are of different races, considered a derogatory word today

Hamas a Palestinian Sunni-Islamist fundamentalist organisation founded in 1987 with the aim of establishing an Islamic state in Palestine

Holocaust deliberate persecution and **genocide** of European Jews between 1933 and 1945 by the German Nazi state in which between six and eight million individuals died

human rights the rights you have simply because you are human

hyperinflation economic situation in which monetary inflation is occurring at an exceptionally high rate, reducing the value of currency and usually resulting in economic hardship and depression

imperialist seeking, creating and maintaining direct or indirect control of territories beyond a nation's borders. Direct control takes the form of colonies within a empire. Indirect control can take the form of political, diplomatic, economic and/or cultural influence and pressure (for example, cultural imperialism).

Indigenous people or things belonging to the country in which they are found. In Australia the term is used to collectively refer to both Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander people. When referring to Indigenous Australian peoples, always use a capital I to differentiate from indigenous as a general term.

infidel someone who has no religious beliefs, or whose beliefs are different from a majority

intelligentsia the educated writers, artists and thinkers who were often responsible for new and progressive ideas

intersectional aspects of marginalisation in society (e.g. gender, ethnic background, sexual orientation, disability) that do not exist separately but are complex and interwoven

inviolability never to be broken

Iron Curtain term used in the West to refer to the boundary line that divided Europe during the Cold War into two separate areas of political influence – Eastern Communist Bloc and Western capitalist counterpart

Jacobins the more radical and ruthless of the political groups during the French Revolution and associated with Robespierre

jihad traditionally jihad was a 'struggle' to live a good life in line with Islamic ideals. Today, the word is used more often to describe radical, armed conflict against perceived enemies of Islam.

junta a military or political group that rules a country after taking power by force

Kanakas South Sea Islanders brought to Queensland, initially against their will, to work on sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century

Karl Marx German philosopher and political theorist (1818–1883) who is known as the Father of Communism. His best-known works are *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Das Kapital* (1867).

kuffar a highly derogatory Arabic term used to refer to non-Muslims or 'un-believers'

Kulaks wealthier peasants who benefited from the New Economic Policy; later persecuted by Stalin as they resisted collectivisation

lackadaisical lacking interest and determination

Leninism Lenin's adaptation of Marxism to suit Russian society lacking a politically aware proletariat; rather than allowing class-based revolution to occur naturally, the Bolsheviks would actively lead this process

Levant an area in the eastern Mediterranean, including countries such as Cyprus, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine and Syria

lone wolf in the context of terrorism, a person who prefers to conduct acts of terrorism alone

martyr a person who suffers very much or is killed because of their religious or political beliefs, and is often admired because of it

martyrdom the death or self-sacrifice of a person for a particular cause, usually political or religious

Mensheviks more conservative minority wing of the Social Democratic Workers' Party

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Mujahideen Islamist guerrilla fighters combating non-Muslim forces. Were instrumental in defeating Soviet forces in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

multicultural relating to or containing several cultural or ethnic groups within one society

napalm a flammable liquid used in warfare

National Assembly formed on 17 June and was recognised on 27 June 1789. After July 1789 they became known as the National Constituent Assembly, often referred to as the Assembly.

National Convention an assembly that governed France from 20 September 1792 to 26 October 1795

national identity sense of belonging to one state or one nation, represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics

National Socialism political ideology of the NSDAP consisting of intense nationalism, dictatorial rule and totalitarianism, a prejudicial hatred of perceived national enemies (such as Jews and Slavs) and the desire to establish a people's community to dominate German political and civic life

nationalisation the transfer of an industry from private to state ownership

nationalism a nation's wish to be politically independent and a sence of pride and love for one's country

nationalists individuals who seek to exalt one nation above others and place primary emphasis on promoting that country's culture and interests

Native Police a special police force, comprising Aboriginal troopers under the command of a white officer, used to reduce Aboriginal attacks and resistance against settlers on the frontier

New Economic Policy (NEP) policy that allowed re-introduction of private enterprise after the civil war

October Manifesto a series of reforms reluctantly proposed by Nicholas II in October 1905 in order to end unrest and opposition to his rule

Okhrana Tsar's secret police; used by the Tsar to eliminate opposition

paradigm a widely accepted systematic way of thinking about a phenomenon

parlements regional assemblies – in 1789 France had 13 *parlements*. They were the court of final appeal for the judicial system.

pastoral land used for keeping or grazing sheep or cattle

pastoral lease crown (or state) land that is leased or rented by the government generally for the purpose of grazing livestock (e.g. sheep and cattle)

pastoralist a sheep or cattle farmer

pious devout in religious belief, attitude and action

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

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Protection Acts legislation passed in all Australian states, except Tasmania, which gave governments extensive powers over the lives of Indigenous peoples, including regulation of residence, employment and marriage

Provisional Government the new government of Russia formed after the Tsar abdicated in February 1917. Never effective, it was overthrown by the Bolsheviks in October that year.

proxy one person acting on behalf of another: in terms of the Cold War, a conflict in which the nations involved are supported directly or indirectly by one of the superpowers

Question Time time in parliament set aside for the opposition to ask the government questions

quintessential the most perfect or typical example

rape culture a society or environment in which rape is pervasive and normalised due to prevailing social attitudes about sexuality and gender

Reich Party Congress also known as the Nuremberg Rallies after their location in central Germany, these massive National Socialist rallies were held regularly from 1923 to 1938. They were carefully choreographed propaganda events designed to reinforce party ideals and enthusiasm for Nazi ideology.

Reichstag meeting place of Germany's parliament or 'Imperial Diet' until 1933 when a fire in the building led to the political events that enabled Hitler to become dictator

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

republic a state in which there is no hereditary monarch and the head of state is elected

sans-culottes a group who were a major force in shaping the French Revolution

sawyer someone who saws wood

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***Schutzstaffel* (SS)** originally founded as personal bodyguards for Hitler, became the elite corps of the NSDAP and participated in many of the worst excesses of the Nazi era including the mass murder of political opponents, Jews and prisoners of war

second wave feminism feminist activism that began in America in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. Also known as the Women's Liberation Movement, it aimed to achieve equality and equal opportunity for women in every aspect of their lives, including revolutionising the way society thought about women and how women thought about themselves.

secular unconnected with religion

sharia an Islamic system of law based on the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet

Slavic members of the Slavs, an Indo-European ethnic group traditionally distributed throughout Eastern and Central Europe, including Russia and the Balkans

Social Darwinism theory (since discredited) that human groups and races can be subject to the same laws of natural selection as put forward and applied to animals in nature by Charles Darwin in the late nineteenth century

socialism political and economic theory which proposes that the means of producing, distributing and exchanging goods and services should be owned and regulated by the community or state

Soviets revolutionary workers' councils formed by the Bolsheviks in cities and towns all over Russia, the largest of which was the Petrograd Soviet

stalemate situation in a conflict where neither side can make progress

Sturmabteilung paramilitary organisation within the NSDAP in Germany. Also known as the brownshirts, their use of violence and intimidation played a vital role in the rise of Adolf Hitler to power.

suffrage the right to vote in political elections

suffragettes women seeking the right to vote through organised protest

suffragists people advocating the extension of the right to vote, particularly to women

superpower term used to describe the USA and the USSR after World War II, as both countries were more powerful than any previous nations in history

taille a direct land tax imposed on each household

third wave feminism feminist activism beginning in the 1990s, it differentiated itself from second wave feminism by embracing individuality, pluralism and diversity

tithe a tax payment to the church of one-tenth of annual produce or earnings

Torres Strait Islanders Indigenous people of the Torres Strait Islands, Queensland. Each island community is a distinct people with its own culture and identity.

Tree of Liberty tree decorated with the revolutionary colours and badges

Tsars autocratic hereditary rulers of Russia prior to the revolution

ulama a Muslim scholar who is recognised as having specialist knowledge of Islamic sacred law and theology

veto literally 'I forbid'. An official power or right to refuse to accept or allow something.

war climate geopolitical situation in which the potential for armed conflict between two or more states is created due to tensions that build through provocative actions

War Communism policy that directed all economic production towards serving the revolution's survival during the civil war

Welcome to Country a ritual performed by a Traditional Owner, who welcomes the audience onto Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander country

White Australia Policy term used to describe all policy and legislation which acted to only allow white British immigration to Australia, starting with the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*

Women's Liberation Movement feminist activism that began in America in the 1960s and intensified in the 1970s across the Western world. Also known as second wave feminism, it aimed to achieve equality and equal opportunity for women in every aspect of their lives, including revolutionising the way society thought about women and how women thought about themselves.

yellow peril a phrase that originated in the nineteenth century with immigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers to the United States in response to the gold rush. Historically, 'yellow' was a derogatory reference to the purported skin colour of people from East Asia. 'Peril' refers to the perceived threat that the potential expansion of Asian populations would overpower Western culture.

Zionists supporters of Zionism, a movement that seeks the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state

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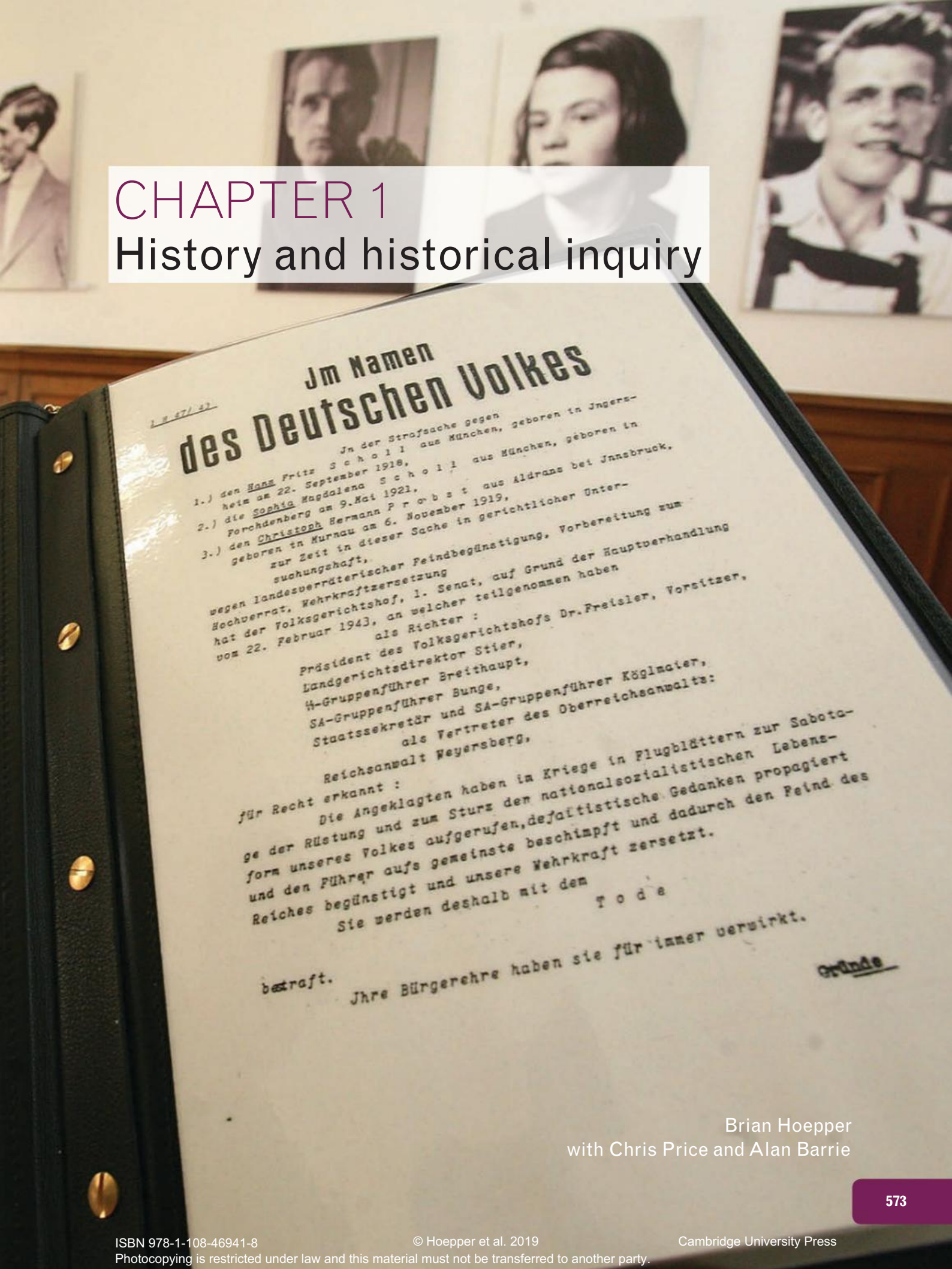
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CHAPTER 1
History and historical inquiry

Brian Hoepper
with Chris Price and Alan Barrie

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HISTORICAL INQUIRY

This section of the chapter was written by Brian Hoepper

1.1 What is history?

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

He was being provocative, but he was highlighting the most distinctive characteristic of the study of history: it is the study of something that no longer exists – the past. As the Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* points out, our knowledge of the past is 'contestable and tentative'. This is what makes history so intriguing and fascinating. And it also makes it challenging and sometimes frustrating. It's hoped that this book will intrigue, fascinate, challenge and (sometimes) frustrate you.

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

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



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

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

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Why is inquiry vital?

How can historical reconstruction and re-enactment happen? Historian Stephen Garton says that 'historians always construct larger worlds from the fragments that survive'. Those fragments are diverse in type and virtually limitless in number. They can range from the grandeur of a Tsarist palace to the simplicity of a political badge; from an elaborate political declaration to a few words of graffiti. All of these can help us to describe and understand the past. But they do not 'speak for themselves'. Rather, they must be interrogated to reveal their meaning and significance. Interrogation – careful, patient and clever probing and questioning – lies at the heart of studying the past. That is why 'inquiry' is the key process of historical study, and why this textbook will immerse you in historical inquiries.

This book's focus on historical inquiry matches the emphasis on inquiry in both the *Australian Curriculum: Modern History* (2012) and the Queensland *Modern History Syllabus* (2019) – two key documents that guide your teacher's planning and your own studies. The Australian document describes how 'students pose increasingly complex questions about the past and use their historical inquiry skills, analytical skills and interpretation of sources to formulate reasoned answers to those questions'. The Queensland document envisages students 'developing knowledge and understanding by posing questions about the past, and applying skills associated with locating, analysing, evaluating and using sources as evidence to develop an informed explanation, argument or interpretation about the past'. Those quotes are slightly different ways of making the same important point: that historical inquiry is central to studying Modern History.



SOURCE 1.2 Modern graffiti
A future historian might be baffled initially by this image of graffiti. Can you, through studying the image and conducting some targeted online searches, work out what the graffiti refers to; when it could have been produced; where it might be located; what message the artist(s) probably intended; what political allegiance the artist(s) probably had; whether there would have been local support for the graffiti's message? Decide which chapter in this book connects with this graffiti?

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

Why is history a 'discipline'?

The *Australian Curriculum: History* defines History as 'a disciplined process of inquiry into the past'. A 'discipline' is a field of human knowledge that helps us understand our world. Disciplines – such as history and physics – each have distinctive concepts and distinctive processes. In your studies of history, you'll develop an increasing understanding of those concepts and an increasing proficiency in those processes. There was a time – up until about fifty years ago – when school students spent most of their time in history lessons learning and memorising 'facts'. (For example, being able to recite the names and exploits of the major European explorers of Australia.) But since that time, school history has come to focus much more on the concepts and processes of historical study. This enables students to understand what motivated the explorers, why those explorers are important historically, how we are still finding out about their actions and why there are debates about their impacts on the Australian continent and its peoples.

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1.2 Historical concepts

There is no fixed set of key historical concepts. The Queensland syllabus adopted seven concepts from the national curriculum, which in turn adapted a set of six 'big historical thinking concepts' developed by leading Canadian academics Peter Seixas and Tom Morton.

What are the seven historical concepts?

The seven historical concepts are:

- evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy
- perspectives
- contestability.

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

Evidence

The Queensland syllabus in Modern History defines 'evidence' as 'the information obtained from sources that is useful for a particular inquiry'. In studying history, it's impossible to think about 'evidence' without also thinking about 'sources'. The term 'historical source of evidence' is one of the most important terms you'll use.

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

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

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

The phrase 'historical source of evidence' is important, but it usually needs to be followed by the word 'of' or 'about'. So, if interrogating the Hitler video mentioned above, you would need to be asking not the general question 'How useful or reliable is the video as a historical source of evidence?' but one or more questions such as 'How useful or reliable is the video as a historical source of evidence of Hitler's political strategy?' or 'How useful or reliable is the video as a historical source of evidence about modern historians' interpretations of Hitler's rise to power?'

In the chapters of this book, you will engage with hundreds of historical sources of evidence, both primary and secondary. You will recognise the concept of 'evidence' in the chapters when you encounter a

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question such as: 'What evidence is there to support the claim that initially the British had good intentions in their dealings with the Aboriginal people of Australia?' (Chapter 2)

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

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

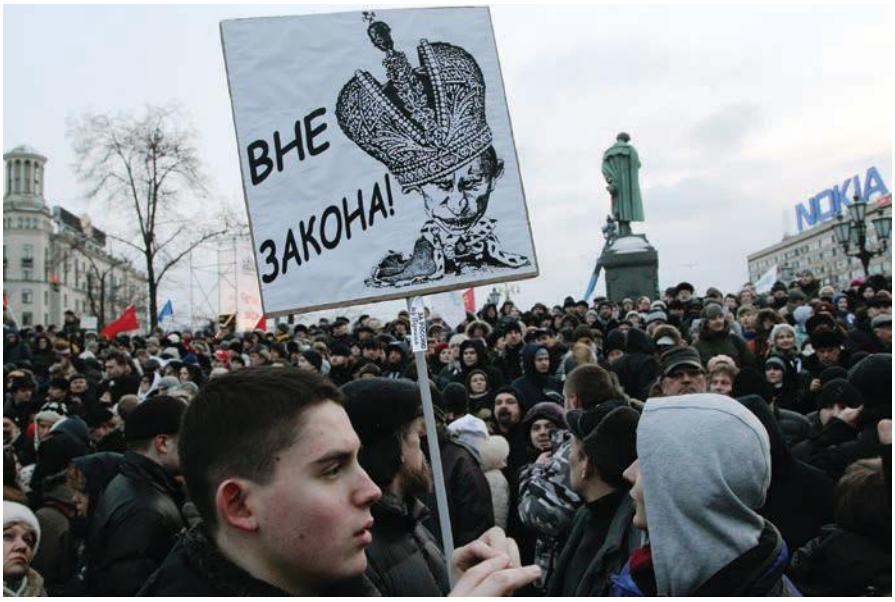
Continuity and change

Continuity and change are key 'dynamics' of history. The Queensland syllabus states that 'aspects of the past that remained the same over certain periods of time are referred to as continuities. Changes refer to aspects of the past that have varied over certain periods of time'. They are literally polar opposites. But, paradoxically, they seem to be inseparable. As the syllabus points out, 'continuity and change are evident in any given period of time'. In any society, at any time, continuities and changes occur simultaneously. At first glance, this might seem otherwise. The chapter on the Russian Revolution (Chapter 5), for example, describes how the Tsarist autocracy had been in place for centuries, a continuous reign of hereditary emperors presiding over an apparently stable, unchanging society. Yet, as the chapter points out, significant forces of change were underway behind that façade of stability, many years before the cataclysmic upheaval of the Russian Revolution of 1917. And, while the revolution brought immediate changes to the politics of Russia, there were many ordinary people scattered across the huge empire whose daily lives remained relatively unchanged for years afterwards.



SOURCE 1.3 Badges with messages, C20th
Identify four 'causes' represented by various badges. Could a person's badge collection be a rich source of evidence of that person's values, but also be potentially misleading?

In various chapters, you'll encounter the same phenomenon – the simultaneous processes of change and continuity. In some cases, continuity seems to be a matter of inertia, but in other cases there is active resistance to change. In the chapter on environmental movements (Chapter 9) you'll see how a protracted struggle developed between those seeking a change in ideas, attitudes and practices and those keen to maintain 'business as usual' in human uses of the



SOURCE 1.4 Demonstrators in Moscow, 12 March 2012
The poster depicts Russian president Vladimir Putin wearing the crown and robes of a Russian Tsar. The last Tsar was deposed by the Russian Revolution in 1917. What comment about change and continuity does this protestor seem to be making?

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environment. The chapter regarding women's movements (Chapter 8) points out that, despite significant changes in social attitudes and practices, 'white, middle-aged men *continue* to dominate in front of the cameras and microphones' of modern media.

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

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

Cause and effect

The Queensland syllabus defines 'cause and effect' as 'chains of events and developments over time, short term and long term; "cause" refers to the range of reasons for a historical events or development and "effect" to the range of subsequent outcomes or results'. You can use the concepts 'cause' and 'effect' to investigate continuity and change more deeply. Continuity and change are about 'what', 'who', 'when' and 'where' but cause and effect are about 'why' and 'with what consequences'. 'Why?' is probably the most important and the most challenging historical question. When you ask 'why?' you probe the big picture of causal factors and forces as well as the personal issues of motive and intention. (Remember Collingwood's 're-enactment of past thought'.)

Causes are often categorised as 'long-term' and 'short-term'. For example, historians claim that the long-term causes of World War I included imperial rivalry, an arms race and a tense context of rival alliances between nations. But historians also agree that there was a single event – the short-term cause – that 'lit the fuse' within this potentially explosive situation. That event was the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Archduke Franz Ferdinand) by a Serb (Gavrilo Princip) during a visit to Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia. Even so, this seemingly simple explanation belies the great debates about the causes and consequences of the war. Historians argue over key questions: were economic factors the key element in pre-1914 rivalries; which nations were most 'to blame' in stoking rivalry and conflict; what did the Sarajevo assassin hope to achieve by his action; did any nation actually want the complicated diplomatic negotiations after the assassination to result in a large-scale war; did any national leader imagine that the war could last four years and cause millions of deaths? Those questions indicate that the interplay of motives and causes is complex, and that actions can produce unexpected and unwanted consequences. Cause and effect are far from simple.



SOURCE 1.5 Serb Gavrilo Princip is arrested after assassinating Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, on 28 June 1914. This action precipitated a chain of diplomatic and military events that led to the outbreak of World War 1 a month later. This photo hints at a complex web of long-term and short-term causes, and highlights the potential for a single action to have enormous, unanticipated effects.

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

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on the nature and direction of historical change. Last century, a similar debate was stoked by historian Sidney Hook whose 1943 book *The Hero in History* distinguished between the 'event-making man' (who initiates historical change through purposeful action) and the 'eventful man' (who participates significantly in such change).

Cause and effect feature in every chapter of this book. You'll encounter them in the chapters focused on dramatic, sometimes revolutionary and violent change – including France in 1789, Japan in 1867 and Russia in 1917. In each case, the causes of change were complex and debatable ... and at least some of the consequences were unexpected.

- In 2016, the US Presidential election result was dramatic and largely unexpected. Find out why there are still debates about why so many voters chose Donald Trump, and about whether his presidency produced a mixture of expected, unexpected, welcome and deplored effects. Could Trump be called an 'event-making man'?



SOURCE 1.6 Supporters at President Donald J. Trump's 'Make America Great Again' rally on Tuesday 31 July 2018 at the Florida State Fair Grounds in Tampa, Florida.
What do the slogans 'Keep America Great', 'Promises made, promises kept' and We (Heart) Trump' suggest about the demonstrators' beliefs in the ability of an individual to cause historical change?

Significance

Initially, 'significance' would seem easy to define. The Queensland syllabus defines it as 'the importance that is assigned to particular aspects of the past, for example events, developments, and historical sites'. The syllabus goes on to pose questions that can help us determine whether something is significant: 'How did people in the past view the significance of an event? How important were the consequences of an event?

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What was the duration of the event? How relevant is it to the contemporary world?' These suggest that something is significant if people at the time thought so, if it had important consequences, if it lasted for a significant time and if it has influenced today's world. Given those criteria, there would little argument about whether the following are significant: the British occupation of Australia; World War I; the invention of the internal combustion engine.

Sometimes, a fairly unremarkable action can later become historically significant – for example, Indigenous people giving Christopher Columbus a gift of dried tobacco in 1492; Martin Luther posting a list of grievances on a church door in 1517; Rosa Parks taking a particular seat on a bus in 1955; the decision to use chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in spray cans in the mid-C20th. All four actions have had substantial, continuing and unexpected impacts on today's world.

Conversely, in the field of local history, countless actions and events have great significance for the people involved at the time and later, but little or no significance in the 'big scheme of things'. Those local actions and events could fit the syllabus definition of 'importance that is assigned to particular aspects of the past' but the term 'historically significant' is usually reserved for phenomena of substantial, widespread and enduring importance.

- Discuss whether the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 fits the Queensland syllabus criteria for 'historical significance'. Why might that particular event have become more significant than all other Australian actions in World War 1? Are there any debates among Australians about whether Gallipoli should be treated as so significant?

Empathy

'Empathy' is probably the most intriguing and challenging of the historical concepts. The simplest way to describe empathy is as 'standing in someone else's shoes' or 'seeing things through another's eyes'. The Queensland syllabus defines empathy as 'an understanding of the past from the point of view of a particular individual or group, including an appreciation of the circumstances they faced, and the motivations, values and attitudes behind their actions'.

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

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

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

- What do you think her mother would have written? Compare notes with a classmate.

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SOURCE 1.7 Suffragette Emily Wilding Davison is struck by the king's horse during the English Derby, 4 June 1913.
Why would there have been mixed reactions to Emily's action and her injuries? Why might people have found it difficult to achieve empathy – to understand Emily's motives and actions?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The lesson here is that developing historical empathy must be based on comprehensive understanding of the historical actor, the event and its context. In these chapters, you will be asked on many occasions to imagine the thoughts and feelings of historical actors. In the chapter regarding terrorism (Chapter 16), you'll find the following questions about a young Australian terrorist, Jake Bilardi:

> *Given what you know from Jake's blog, what thoughts and feelings do you think would be going through his mind as he poses here? How difficult is it to empathise with someone in such an extraordinary situation?*

Those questions highlight the knowledge you need (including 'Jake's blog') and the challenge of empathising when the historical phenomenon is so extraordinary.

- Australian students are sometimes asked to imagine they are an Australian soldier at Gallipoli in 2015, and to 'write a diary entry' for one day during the campaign. What types of contextual information would you need to produce an imagined diary entry that reflects some historical empathy?

Perspectives

One way to describe 'perspectives' is to think back to Emily Wilding Davison's mother. When you tried to empathise with her, you were trying to see things from her 'perspective' – in other words, in the particular way that this middle class Englishwoman experienced, thought about and responded to her world. A person's perspective is evident in the ways they think, for example, about the purpose of life, authority, freedom, government, conflict, law, justice and relations between humans and nature. In any society, there is likely to be a majority of people who think alike; who share perspectives. At the same time, in even the most conformist society, there will be people who demonstrate a different perspective on particular matters. These differences give rise to social debates and political differences.

When you study societies remote in time and/or place, you will realise that people in those societies experienced, thought and acted in ways that were often very different from your own. These can be termed the 'perspectives *of* people in the past'. The Queensland syllabus refers to these as 'the position from which [people] see and understand events going on around them'.

The syllabus goes on to acknowledge a second type of historical perspective – the perspectives *about* people in the past. These include the ways that we today think about the people in past societies. It can be easy to simply dismiss or ridicule past people, their ideas and practices as ignorant and primitive. But acknowledging those peoples' perspectives can help you understand why they lived the way they did, organised society as they did and established particular institutions, rituals and customs. Peter Seixas referred to this as 'taking a historical perspective' and said that it required 'comprehension of the vast differences between us in the present and those in the past' (http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8355).

You will encounter both types of 'perspective' in this book. Most starkly – in Chapters 2 and 6 – you'll identify the different perspectives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples and Europeans after 1788, particularly how Europeans saw the continent as 'terra nullius' while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples felt a deep spiritual connection to 'country' that reflected tens of thousands of years of occupation. That clash of perspective produced tragic consequences. In chapter 9 you'll study how Western beliefs, attitudes and actions in relation to their natural environments changed dramatically during the twentieth century, and how conflicting perspectives on the human use of environments still drive major debates.

- In recent years, there have been changes in – and debates about –the perspectives of modern Australians. Some very public social issues have highlighted that. As a class, identify and discuss one significant issue in which changing and competing perspectives have emerged in public discourse, media and politics.

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Debating 'perspectives *about* the past' – particularly by historians – underpins the last of the seven historical concepts – 'contestability'.

Contestability

In the 1990s, the 'History Wars' were the most famous example of contestability in Australian history. Eminent historians published dramatically different interpretations of the frontier conflict between Indigenous Australians and Europeans. 'Black Armband' history was pitted against 'Whitewash' history. Prime ministers, commentators and the general public entered the fray.

How was it possible, for example, that historian Keith Windschuttle could write the following in 2002 ...

> The British colonization of this continent ... did not meet any organized resistance. Conflict was sporadic rather than systematic. ... The notion of sustained 'frontier warfare' is fictional.

Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Vol. 1: Van Diemen's Land 1803–1847,* 2002, p.3.

... when, in 1988, historian Henry Reynolds had written:

> Almost every district settled during the nineteenth century has its history of conflict between local clans and encroaching settlers. A small-town pioneer explained that his community 'had its foundations cemented in blood' ... Black resistance in its many forms was an inescapable feature of life on the fringes of European settlement ...?

Henry Reynolds, 'White Man Came Took Everything; in Verity Burgmann & Jenny Lee, *A Most Valuable Acquisition: A People's History of Australia Since 1788,* 1988, p.5.

The answer to 'How was it possible ... ?' is elusive and complex. The two historians might have studied different historical sources of evidence. They could have interpreted the same sources differently. And, when looking for the differences between Windschuttle and Reynolds, you'd need to think about what they meant exactly when they used the words 'sporadic', 'organised', 'systematic', 'sustained', 'almost every' and 'inescapable'.

There is a deeper explanation. Historians – no matter how 'objective' they strive to be – bring to their work their own perspectives, their particular way of seeing, interpreting and valuing the world. It's likely that, when an historian comes to weigh up the evidence and to make a judgement about a historical event, their 'weighing up' and 'judging' are influenced by their perspective. As historian John Hirst noted, while historians write from the evidence, they are influenced by 'their understanding of how the world works and how they would like it to work'.

Because history is the study of a past that no longer exists, because we must reconstruct the past from 'fragments', because that involves interpretation and because our interpretations and judgements are influenced by our own perspectives, it is inevitable that history will be contested. You will encounter contestability in every chapter of this book – about, for example, the causes and consequences of revolutions; the achievements of various 'movements' related to race, gender, environments and national independence; why Australia participated in the Vietnam War; how young people are radicalised; what the Cold War was *really* about. All of those examples also prompt a deeper question and debate – namely whether the event, movement or change can be labeled 'progress'. That debate can highlight the different perspectives among the historical actors involved, the historians who've studied a particular event and you and your classmates.

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

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SOURCE 1.8 Protestors on Australia Day, 26 January 2018
How does this image demonstrate the historical concepts of perspectives and contestability?

Applying the seven historical concepts to a historical topic

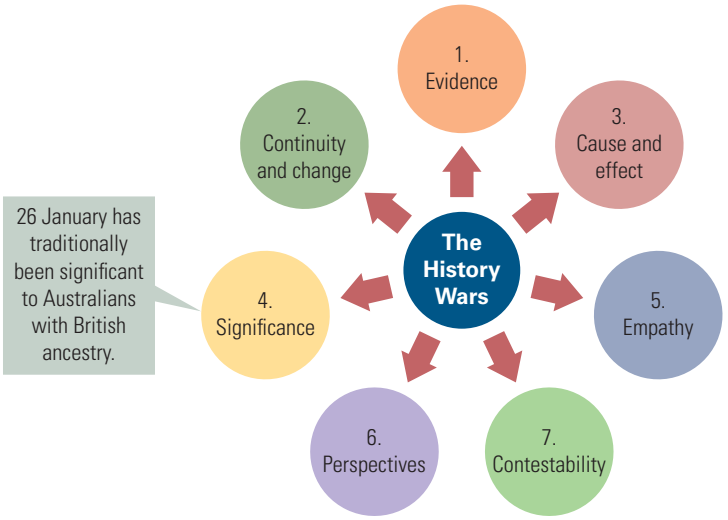
The image above demonstrates connections between two historical concepts – perspectives and contestability. In most historical topics you study, you'll see how all seven concepts apply, and how there are connections among them as well.

- Reproduce the following diagram in your notes. Complete the diagram by making a brief note abut how each concept applies to the topic 'The History Wars'. Compare your notes with a classmate's. Then discuss how two or more concepts are related. For example, how are 'significance' and 'contestability' connected? Try to compose a sentence that combines four of the concepts to explain why the History Wars developed.

Making connections among concepts and knowledge

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

The History Wars and the seven historical concepts



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

◆ To test your understanding of the table, select one of the four questions from column three. Try to make a direct connection between that question and at least one 'first-order' concept and at least one 'second-order' concept. Describe those connections in one or more sentences.

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

1.3 The process of historical inquiry

The *Queensland Senior Modern History Syllabus* defines the discipline of history as built on the seven historical concepts and a process of historical inquiry. That process is encapsulated in the syllabus's statement of objectives:

1. comprehend terms, concepts and issues
2. devise historical questions and conduct research
3. analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding
4. synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument
5. evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements
6. create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose.

The main purpose of the six objectives can be described as follows:

Syllabus objectives	Purpose of the objectives
1. comprehend terms, concepts and issues	Students acquire understanding of historical knowledge and information.
2. devise historical questions and conduct research 3. analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding 4. synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument 5. evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements	Students plan and undertake a systematic process of inquiry – using both primary and secondary sources – to construct an evidence-based response to a historical question.
6. create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose	Students communicate their developing understanding of historical knowledge and information, including in formal assessments.

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

Objective 1: 'Comprehend terms, concepts and issues'

Objective 1 – 'comprehend terms, concepts and issues' is described in the Queensland syllabus as 'acquire an understanding'. It's a broad objective that pervades every aspect of your historical studies, and your understanding can develop in a number of ways. For example, you could acquire a basic knowledge of the concept of 'contestability' by simply reading the syllabus glossary definition of the word; more details would come from reading the section on 'contestability' in the previous section of this chapter; but you'd develop a much deeper understanding by investigating a specific example of contestability – the 'History Wars' about frontier conflict in Chapter 2. Similarly, while a dictionary can provide a one-sentence definition of the term 'terrorist', you'll develop a sophisticated understanding of the issue 'terrorism' when your class pools its research on twenty events in Chapter 16. In that case, fellow students will present reports that enhance your knowledge. On other occasions, your understanding will come from your teacher by way of a formal expository lesson or a brief explanation. As well, films and videos will provide valuable ways of acquiring understanding. Perhaps the most important thing to remember is that your involvement in depth studies will be the richest way to 'acquire an understanding'. In depth studies, your comprehension and understanding of terms, concepts and issues will develop hand-in-hand with your development of the skills of historical inquiry described in Objectives 2-6.

Objectives 2-6 are the essence of historical inquiry – the process you will engage in throughout this book, most deeply in the depth study section of each chapter. A depth study challenges you to pursue an important question about a significant aspect of a topic. Objectives 2-6 describe the most important things you will do in that depth study – usually beginning with an historical question and leading eventually to your communicating an answer to that question. That answer will be based on your rigorous interrogation of historical sources – both primary and secondary – to produce valuable evidence that you can 'weigh up' to make a judgement. The following pages of this chapter explore Objectives 2-6.

Objective 2: 'Devise historical questions and conduct research'

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

- focus on an event, development, idea or individual/group that is historically significant
- refer to the causes and/or effects of continuity and/or change
- specify a time period and, if appropriate, geographical location
- be 'open' to different conclusions
- not be 'counterfactual' or speculative (for example: What might have happened if France, not Britain, had colonised Australia?).

◆ How many of the seven historical concepts are signaled or implied in those dot points?

While the historical concepts evidence, continuity, change, cause and effect will almost inevitably feature in your study of any topic, the topics you study in Senior Modern History will also deal with the other historical concepts – significance, perspectives, empathy and contestability – although they might not be mentioned in the key inquiry question.

◆ Given the above, what are the faults in this key inquiry question: 'What did Hitler do to Germany after 1933?' Devise a better question about that topic. Compare your question with a classmate's.

You might have devised a question like this: 'How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?'

◆ How well does that question match the dot points above? Would you suggest any improvements?

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There are various ways to proceed with an inquiry-based depth study once you have devised your key inquiry question. Your teacher will probably have a preferred approach. It could begin, for example, with framing a set of sub-questions that each focuses on a particular aspect of the question. For the question above, some sub-questions might be 'How did the Nazis change the political structures and operations of the German state?' and 'Under the Nazi regime, how and why was education transformed?'

Using the framework of your key inquiry question and sub-questions, you will plan and implement a research process. Your planning will take into account various factors – the specific format/genre stipulated for communicating your depth study response; the time provided for the depth study; the availability of relevant primary and secondary sources; any requirements for keeping a particular type of record of your research; key points at which you are required to submit evidence of your research progress. It's likely that your teacher will describe and explain the particular way in which you should handle all of the above.

It's important to note that – over your two years of Modern History studies – you will become more independent in historical inquiries. The Queensland syllabus describes three stages of inquiry – structured, guided and open. Early in your studies, your teacher is likely to provide substantial 'structure', perhaps selecting the specific focus of the inquiry, providing your key inquiry question, nominating the key historical sources you'll use and monitoring closely your progress. In the later stage of your studies – the 'open' stage – you are likely to be responsible for choosing your focus within a topic, devising your key inquiry question, planning your inquiry process and locating appropriate sources. Your teacher will play a more consultative and advisory role.

Objective 3: 'Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding'

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

The source used below comes from Chapter 10 of this textbook. Within the limits of a textbook, it is not possible to develop the interrogation of most sources to the extent shown below. But, when you and your classmates are studying the chapters of this book, you will be able to use the following example as a guide to probing a source more deeply, especially when it's a particularly rich, challenging source.

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

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

SOURCE 1.9 Inge Scholl recalls her teenage years

For we loved our homeland very much – the woods, the great river, and the old gray retaining walls that rose on the steep slopes between groves of fruit trees and vineyards. We were reminded of the smell of moss, of soft earth and spicy apples, when we thought of our homeland. And every square foot of it was well known and very dear to us. Fatherland – what else was it but the greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people! ... And Hitler, as we heard everywhere, Hitler wanted to bring greatness,

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> happiness and well-being to this Fatherland; he wanted to see to it that everyone had work and bread; he would not rest or relax until every single German was an independent, free, and happy man in his Fatherland. We found this good, and in whatever might come to pass we were determined to help to the best of our ability. But there was yet on more thing that attracted us with a mysterious force and pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of marching youths with waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship? Thus it was no wonder that all of us – Hans and Sophie and the rest of us – joined the Hitler Youth.

Inge Scholl 1947, *die Weiße Rose*, Verlag der Frankfurter Hefte.

To begin your interrogation, you would need to know what it is you are examining. Sometimes, the title or heading of the source will make that clear. At other times, your teacher will explain what the source is. Less commonly, there will be times when what the source actually is might not be obvious until you begin probing it. Regardless, you need to know quite early 'What am I actually looking at here?'. In the example above, you were provided with a clear description – that the text is a translated extract from Inge Scholl's 1947 book *die Weiße Rose* in which she recalls her life as a German teenager.

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

The Syllabus describes 'analysis' as 'dissect to ascertain and examine constituent parts and/or their relationships; ... identifying patterns, similarities and differences'. Put simply, analysis focuses on two key elements of a historical source: 'parts' and 'relationships'.

Analysing the constituent parts

To identify and examine 'parts' you could ask this question:

What are the main things that Inge focused on in this extract?

- Try answering that question.

Your answer is probably something like this: 'In this extract, Inge focused on four main things: the German environment; the German people; Hitler; the Hitler Youth'.

Taking the examination further, you could then ask:

What did Inge admire about each of those four things?

- Try answering that question.

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

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

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

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

You would already have noticed that Inge did not write anything critical. You'll see later how that becomes problematised.

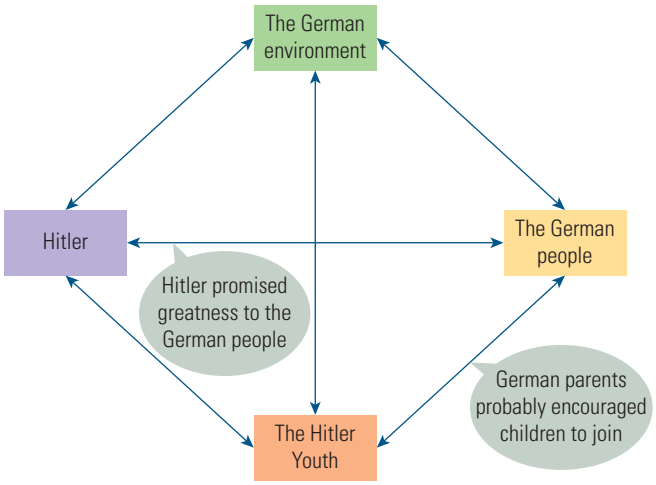
Having identified and examined the four aspects of German life that Inge described in the source, and having noted that Inge offered no criticism of anything, you'll already have produced some initial evidence about Germany in the interwar period, and about Inge's thoughts and feelings about Germany. But you can now go on to seek further evidence.

Analysing relationships among the constituent parts

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

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

Explicit and probable relationships among the parts of the source



Analysing the source – 'extrapolation'

The syllabus defines 'extrapolate' as 'infer or estimate by extending or projecting known information'. The second question above – about 'probably exist' - invites you to go beyond what is actually stated in a source. It asks you to ***extrapolate*** – to decide what is likely or probable, given what is in the source. The sample answer – 'German parents probably encouraged children to join' – is not stated explicitly in the source, but it could be a logical extrapolation. A more significant question of extrapolation would be 'How might the popularity of the Hitler Youth affect Germany's military preparedness in later years?' Note how terms such as 'probable' and 'might' become important when extrapolating.

Analysing the source – 'interpretation'

The syllabus statement 'to interpret and extrapolate meaning from a variety of sources to identify evidence' highlights the key role that ***interpretation*** plays in historical inquiry. The syllabus describes interpretation as to 'make clear or explicit' and 'bring out the meaning'. In other words – to bring out what you think is *implicit* (or implied) in the source, even though not stated *explicitly*. Clearly, interpretation and extrapolation are related processes.

Interpreting is probably the most distinctive process of historical inquiry. Again, this is a reminder of the key point made about the nature of history – that it is the study of something that no longer exists. Being unable to examine the past directly, historians and students must interpret the remains of the past.

You will practise interpretation in various ways in your history studies. Here are some examples.

Interpreting specific expressions

Often, textual sources will contain expressions that are not meant to be taken literally. Rather, they are symbolic or metaphorical or a 'shorthand' expression for something more complex or detailed. For example, when Inge Scholl wrote about her 'homeland' that 'every square foot of it was well known and very dear to us', this was clearly an exaggeration that emphasised how attached Inge and her peers were to their nation Germany. When she mentioned 'work and bread', by 'bread' she probably meant not just bread but

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'food and other material essentials of life'. In 1848, when Marx and Engels told the proletariat that they 'had nothing to lose but your chains', they did not mean physical chains. And when, on the eve of Britain's declaring war in 1914, Sir Edward Grey said 'The lamps are going out all over Europe, we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime', he didn't mean literally that all Europe's lamps would be extinguished for years to come. Interpreting such expressions in historical sources is essential if the sources are to yield valuable evidence.

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

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

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

- *What evidence is there that Inge was passionate and nationalistic?*
- *What four-word expression of Inge hints at the effective use of media and perhaps propaganda by the Nazi regime?*
- *Is there any hint that the German people would support imperialistic ambitions? Explain.*
- *Is there any hint in the source that German people might accept an authoritarian style of politics? Explain.*
- *Does the source suggest that many Germans would support the value of environmental conservation? Explain.*
- *Does it seem likely that the experiences of the Hitler Youth could pave the way for the growth of German militarism? Explain.*
- *Note Inge's words 'until every single German was an independent, free, and happy man'. What does that suggest about gender, language and power in 1930s Germany? (What was 'taken-for-granted' about 'gender' in that society, and in others at that time'?)*

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

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

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

When posing and answering the questions above, you will be producing evidence from the source. That is a vital historical skill. But there is another skill that goes hand-in-hand with interpretation – ***evaluation***.

Objective 4: 'Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements'

As the word suggests, 'evaluation' means deciding how 'valuable' a historical source is. The syllabus defines 'evaluate' in a number of ways: as 'examine and determine the merit, value or significance of something'; as 'to make judgements ... assess usefulness and reliability'; as 'evaluating texts for authority, reliability, relevance

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and accuracy'. Today, in a world of 24/7 social media posts, saturation advertising, political robocalls and 'fake news', you can probably see the importance of knowing whether something you see or hear is reliable, authoritative, relevant and accurate. So learning to evaluate historical sources is a very valuable skill for modern living.

There are debates about whether there is a single word that can sum up the aim of evaluation. Some propose 'reliable'. The syllabus (see above) uses both 'reliable' and 'useful'. The latter is as a very handy word. Here's a simple explanation: The word 'reliable' often carries with it the connotation of 'accurate' or 'true': e.g. I can rely on that website to give me accurate information. Usually, a valuable historical source *will* be accurate and true. But there are times when a source is inaccurate and/or untrue, but is still very useful.

For example, on page 139 in Chapter 5 you can see two almost-identical photographs. They both show Lenin making a public speech. But one of the photos has been 'doctored' to remove two important characters. As a historical source, that photo is neither accurate nor true. But in one way it is actually a more useful source than the original, because it is evidence of the way one political leader (Stalin) tried to erase a rival political leader (Trotsky) from the Soviet historical record, as part of a dramatic power struggle. Paradoxically, the doctored photo could be called reliable evidence – not of the actual event depicted, but of that power struggle. Thus, it is very useful. This, and similar examples, demonstrate why the word 'useful' is a valuable overall adjective to describe a historical source that can yield good evidence.

You'll now start to evaluate how 'useful' Inge Scholl's words are as historical evidence of aspects of Nazi Germany. You'll begin by evaluating a number of statements made by Inge. Note how each statement requires a slightly different approach.

Evaluating selected statements by Inge Scholl

For each of the statements below, attempt to answer the questions provided. (In each case, assume that the word 'Explain' is added to the question.)

(1) 'For we loved our homeland very much – the woods, the great river, and the old gray retaining walls that rose on the steep slopes between groves of fruit trees and vineyards.'

- Are you inclined to accept Inge's words as a true and honest expression of what she personally thought and felt at that time?
- Who could be the 'we' that Inge refers to? If 'we' were her close family and friends, do you think Inge would know their thoughts and feelings?
- If by 'we' Inge meant all or most other young Germans, would you expect Inge to be in a position to know how all those others thought and felt?
- How might you find out whether some, many or all young Germans shared Inge's thoughts and feelings about the German environment?

(2) 'Fatherland – what else was it but the greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people!'

- Are you inclined to accept Inge's words as a true and honest expression of what she personally thought and felt at that time?
- How might you find out whether some, many or all young Germans shared these thoughts and feelings about the 'Fatherland'?

(3) 'Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to this Fatherland'

- Are you inclined to accept that Inge honestly believed this?
- How might Inge have learned this about Hitler?
- What evidence could exist that these were Hitler's stated aims?

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- Given your knowledge of the Nazi regime, do you think that these were Hitler's actual aims?
- Hitler expressed his ideas in German, not English. And Inge's book was originally in German, later translated into the English that you see here. Could the words that are here translated as 'greatness, happiness and well-being' have different nuances or connotations in the original German language?

(4) 'Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship?'

- Inge says that she was 'overwhelmed' by the fellowship of the Hitler Youth. How might you find out whether this feeling was shared by some, many or all other young Germans?

The four questions above refer to Inge's statements about love of environment, pride in nation, the aims of Hitler and the emotional attraction of the Hitler Youth. The questions have prompted you to think about the following 'evaluative' aspects of the source:

- whether the author (Inge) actually held the views expressed (honesty, truth, reliability)
- how Inge might have formed those views
- how widely Inge's views were shared by other young Germans (representativeness)
- whether Hitler's stated aims matched his actual aims (truth, reliability)
- whether the fact that the source is an English translation of the original German presents challenges when studying this source (accuracy, reliability).

Summing up ... your evaluation has probed how 'useful' – accurate, reliable and representative – the source is as evidence of particular aspects of Nazi Germany.

- At this stage, compose a brief response to the question below.
  How useful do you think Inge's words are as evidence of one of the following:
  - the nationalistic sentiments of young Germans in the 1930s?
  - the aims of Adolf Hitler?
  - the attractiveness of the Hitler Youth to young Germans?

  Explain your decision.

You will probably agree that Inge Scholl's words are useful in providing evidence of her own thoughts and feelings about Germany, Hitler and the Hitler Youth – and possibly of the thoughts and feelings of her two siblings and close friends – but not necessarily reliable as evidence of the thoughts and feelings of most young Germans. In all your studies, you'll often find that a single source is of similarly limited value as evidence. One important way of deepening your evaluation of a source is to seek ***corroboration***.

Corroborating the source

The syllabus defines ***corroboration*** as 'to strengthen and/or support an assertion with evidence from a variety of sources to make more certain'. In its 'Reporting standards', the syllabus includes: 'The student demonstrates evaluation of evidence from historical sources to make discerning judgements that are well-reasoned and corroborated'.

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

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Evidence drawn from Inge's words	Possible type of corroborating or contradictory source	Specific examples you know of
Young Germans loved and enjoyed the countryside.		
Young Germans were proud of their nation and its culture		
Hitler wanted to bring greatness, happiness and well-being to Germany		
Hitler wanted every German to be independent, free and happy		
Young Germans were attracted by the pageantry and fellowship of the Hitler Youth.	Film footage of Hitler Youth rally	Leni Riefenstahl film: *Triumph of the Will. (see excerpt at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8356)*

A study of Nazi Germany produces some sources that corroborate some elements of Inge Scholl's source but other sources that complicate or contradict Inge's depiction of Nazi Germany. Of course, those sources – such as the Leni Riefenstahl film above – also need to be evaluated as part of the corroborating process. No source can be taken at face value.

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



SOURCE 1.10 Hitler Youth members set off on a 'route march' in the countryside near Nuremberg, 9 September 1937.
How does this image seem to corroborate some of Inge Scholl's statements? Does the image itself need to be evaluated in terms of authenticity and representativeness? Is there any hint that the photo was carefully staged and framed?

There is also much evidence that Hitler sought to make Germany great in political, military and territorially expansionist ways. (See, for example, Source 1.11, a video available in the Interactive Textbook.) As well, his regime certainly enacted some programs that increased the material well-being of many Germans. But the claim that he wanted every German to be 'independent, free and happy' is contradicted by copious evidence. In Chapter 10 you can find out about widespread persecution, restriction of rights, suppression of dissent and the dismantling of democratic politics in Germany after 1933.

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Once the corroborating and contradictory sources are taken into account, Inge Scholl's words about Hitler seem useful in two very different ways. On the one hand they seem to provide an accurate idea of some of Hitler's intentions. But on the other hand they suggest that Inge and many other Germans were also misled or deceived about other plans that Hitler had. Inge's comment 'as we heard everywhere' was possibly an unintended indication of how effective Nazi propaganda was in that deception.



SOURCE 1.11 Opening scenes of *Triumph of the Will* (1935), a Nazi propaganda film by Leni Riefenstahl.
This video (duration 10:25) is available in the Interactive Textbook.

- Go back now and – in light of 'corroboration' – revise what you wrote earlier in answer to the question 'How useful do you think Inge's words are as evidence of one of the following?'

As well as seeking corroborating sources of evidence, you can probe the Inge Scholl source more deeply by investigating the context in which it was produced.

Evaluating and corroborating: the importance of context

Once you've completed the following section, you might agree that the Inge Scholl source is in some ways quite extraordinary.

Exploring the context of Inge Scholl's *die Weiße Rose*

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

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

To pursue that question further, you need to know that most of Inge's book *die Weiße Rose* is very different from the brief extract you have studied. Overall, Inge is highly critical of the Nazi regime. Thus, while the extract might provide an accurate sense of Inge's thoughts in the 1930s, it is not representative of Inge's later thoughts, particularly when she was writing her book.

- Does that information cause you to change your previous answer? Explain.

There is more contextual information that could affect your evaluation. Inge refers to her siblings Hans and Sophie. They became students at Munich University in the early years of World War II. Both became active members of an anti-Nazi group 'die Weiße Rose'. On 18 February 1943 they were arrested after scattering political leaflets around the university. Tried and sentenced to death, they were executed by guillotine on 22 February. Hans was 24 and Sophie 21. At a mass meeting organised by the authorities at Munich University, students cheered enthusiastically when officials described Hans and Sophie's 'crimes', apprehension and execution.

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

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

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

There is one further insight into Inge's writing. It focuses on Inge's motive for writing her book. During World War II, Inge had refused to become involved in the White Rose group with her siblings. When she published her book in 1947, she intended it to be used in German schools by adolescents aged from thirteen to eighteen. In her later life, Inge was strongly committed to the global peace movement.

- Does this information suggest why Inge chose to be open and emphatic about how she had been impressed by Hitler's vision and how she had been attracted by a 'mysterious force' to join the Hitler Youth? What motive(s) do you think Inge had? What impact might she have hoped her book would have? Could Inge have intended die Weiße Rose to be a warning, not a celebration?

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

Objective 5: 'Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument'

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

For each source, including Inge's extract, you would have made a judgement about how useful (or valuable) this source is as evidence of how the Nazi regime transformed Germany. You are possibly close to making that judgement about Inge's words, although you haven't yet finished looking at the sources that can corroborate or contradict what Inge wrote. If you go on to study Chapter 10, you'll eventually be in a position to make that judgement about Inge's source – and also about all the historical sources you've studied. Then you'll be ready to synthesise all that evidence to help make a judgment about the key inquiry question itself – 'How did the Nazi regime transform Germany between 1933 and 1945?'

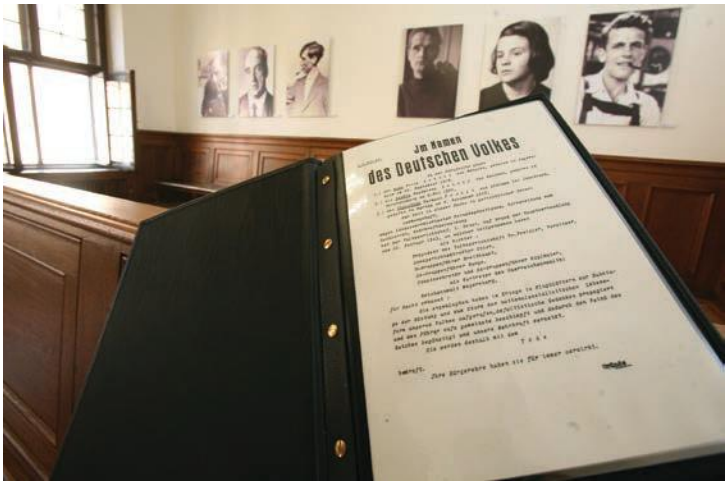
It's very appropriate that the syllabus uses the word 'judgement' to describe your decision-making. In a courtroom, there has to be a careful study of the available sources of evidence and a 'weighing up' of the evidence to produce a judgement. Often, doubts can remain, and court judgements can be challenged.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

- At this stage, what tentative judgement will you make about how useful Inge's words are as evidence of how the Nazi regime transformed Germany from 1939 to 1945?

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Update: Changing perspectives on 'The White Rose'.

Earlier you learned that students at Munich University in 1943 cheered enthusiastically when news of Hans and Sophie's execution was announced at a mass meeting. Contrast that information with the evidence provided by Source 1.12.



SOURCE 1.12 The 'White Rose memorial' established in 2007 in the same courtroom in Munich where Hans and Sophie Scholl were tried in 1943. The photos show (L-R) those convicted in relation to 'White Rose' activities: Willi Graf, Kurt Huber, Alexander Schmorell, Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst. The open folder shows the record of the death sentences.

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

Objective 6: 'Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose'

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

In a course that includes an external assessment requirement – and three other mandatory written tasks – it's inevitable that a lot of your focus will be on the written forms of communication. That's why the final section of this chapter focuses on assessment requirements.

When you communicate historical knowledge in written form, whether for assessment or as a part of everyday learning, your writing will have some special features. Echoing the theme of this chapter, those features will reflect the distinctive characteristics of history as a discipline. Remember: as a history student, you will try to 'reconstruct past events' and 're-enact past thought' in your inquiry – a task that requires patient analysis, interpretation, evaluation, corroboration and synthesis of historical sources. There will be certainty about some details (yes, we know for certain that the USA dropped two atomic bombs on Japanese cities in August 1945) but much of the knowledge that you construct through your historical inquiries – especially around the questions of 'why' – will be judgements. While based on strong evidence, judgements can still be open to debate and possibly revision.

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

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

On big issues of why major historical events occurred, or why historical figures acted as they did, or what the effects were of a historical phenomenon, you'll probably find yourself avoiding the words 'truth' and 'proves'.

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(Notice that, in that previous sentence, I used the word 'probably' because I can't be certain that you will avoid 'truth' and 'proves'!). Even when you draw on multiple sources that provide strong 'corroboration', you will probably avoid 'proves'. Rather, you might strengthen your statement with a sentence such as 'The combined weight of the five corroborating sources makes a compelling case that – from the outset – Hitler had no intention of honouring the non-aggression pact with the USSR'. The expression 'makes a compelling case' indicates your strong judgements about Hitler's intentions, but at the same time falls short of certainty and invites discussion, debate and contestation.

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

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

1.4. Postscript: Going beyond the key inquiry question

This 'Postscript' aims to open up some deeper dimensions of the previous sections. There is more to studying history than interrogating historical sources to produce well-informed judgements about historical questions. Every history topic will also invite you to think more widely about big issues that affect your own life, your society and the wider world. The syllabus encourages you to study 'links between an aspect of the topic and the current world ... for example ... recent and related ideas, actions, movements or other events'. A powerful and imaginative way to do this is to use the syllabus's twenty-first century skills of 'critical thinking', 'creative thinking' and 'ethical (and moral) understanding'.

Critical and creative thinking

A key aspect of critical and creative thinking is identifying and evaluating the most powerful ideas, values and practices in a society, a situation or an action. These ideas, values and practices usually reflect 'ideologies' – deep-seated assumptions about 'how the world should be'. When ideologies are deeply embedded in a society, they become 'hegemonic' – meaning that they seem 'natural', they are taken for granted, and the ways they regulate our lives are largely unquestioned.

Ideology, historical sources and historical situations

Ideological assumptions can be detected in Inge Scholl's source. For example, when Inge writes enthusiastically about the 'greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people', she is reflecting the deep-seated assumption that people should live in defined areas called 'nations' and the assumption that nations should be ethnically and linguistically homogenous. In 1930s Germany, those beliefs would have been considered natural and common sense. And, as events demonstrated, those beliefs had cataclysmic consequences in the context of Nazi Germany.

Critical thinking enables you to identify and analyse such assumptions, to evaluate them using ethical (and moral) understanding and – where appropriate – to use creative thinking to propose and evaluate alternatives. You can use the following questions to apply critical and creative thinking and ethical (and moral) understanding to historical situations:

- What are the underlying ideological assumptions (values, beliefs)?
- Who benefits from a situation based on those assumptions (in terms of policies, systems and practices)? How?

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- Who is disadvantaged by such a situation? How?
- What alternative ideological assumptions and arrangements might produce a better situation? How, why and for whom?
- How realistic is the possibility of achieving a change in those values, beliefs, policies, systems and practices?
- Could those changes also produce disadvantages? How, why, for whom?
- Given the above, should the existing situation be retained, or challenged?

You might think it is strange to be thinking critically about historical situations in which people thought and acted very differently from us today. It might seem even stranger to be proposing challenges and changes to those historical situations. After all, they are in the past, and you know already what eventually happened. But the aim is to develop your understanding of the power of ideological beliefs and values in both the past and the present, to think about significant historical challenges and changes in the past, and to think about the usefulness of critical and creative thinking in your own life.

In many of the chapters of this book, you will see powerful historical situations challenged by people who were, in essence, thinking critically. Some chapters describe successful challenges that eventually produced historically significant change.

For example, below you can read a report of a speech by William Cremer, a British member of parliament addressing the House of Commons in 1906. He was speaking about a proposal to give women the right to vote. Imagine that you were living at the time. Use the questions to think critically about Cremer's ideas.

SOURCE 1.13 Speech by William Cremer to the House of Commons

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

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

1. What does Cremer think about the proposal to enfranchise women?
2. What are his underlying ideological assumptions (beliefs, values)?
3. Who benefits from the situation based on those assumptions (in terms of policies, systems and practices)? How?
4. Who is disadvantaged by such a situation? How?
5. What alternative ideological assumptions and arrangements might produce a better situation? How, why and for whom?
6. How realistic is the possibility of achieving a change in those values, beliefs, policies, systems and practices?
7. Might those changes also produce disadvantages? How, why and for whom?
8. Given the above, should the existing situation be retained, or challenged?

What you have done above is identify powerful ideological beliefs about the 'nature' of women, their purported characteristics compared with men and the consequences of those beliefs for women's roles in the political life of Britain in 1906. When you study Chapter 8 on women's movements, you'll explore how those beliefs and practices were challenged and, at least in part, changed.

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If you look at the bigger picture of human history, you will see how – at particular points in the past – powerful ideological assumptions have been embedded in society, celebrated, questioned, challenged and sometimes abandoned. Such assumptions underpinned the following beliefs and practices:

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

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

◆ Discuss the dot point list of beliefs and practices. For each dot point, decide whether that belief/practice (a) is still a dominant belief/practice in Australia and/or elsewhere (b) has been totally abandoned in Australia and/or elsewhere (c) is hotly debated in Australia and/or elsewhere. In fifty years time, what current powerful belief/practice in Australia do you think might be challenged and possibly abandoned?

Debating the implications of the depth study: Democracy, dissent and young people

Hans and Sophie Scholl were executed for distributing leaflets critical of the Nazi regime. They were among many people punished for dissent in Germany after 1933.

◆ How important is the right to dissent in a democracy? Should there be any limitations on the right to dissent or on types of dissenting activities? Should young people have the same rights to dissent as older citizens?



SOURCE 1.14 Members of the 'Edelweiss Pirates', a group that rejected the regimentation of the Hitler Youth from 1938. Some members took violent action against the Nazi regime, and some were executed in official reprisals.
How does this image and information compare with Inge Scholl's depiction of young Germans?

Young Australians and democracy

In a 2018 survey, the Lowy Institute presented Australians with three statements about democracy and asked each respondent to indicate which statement came closest to 'their own personal views on democracy'. In the 18-29 age group, 49 per cent of the respondents chose 'Democracy is preferable to any other kind of

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government'; 26 per cent chose 'In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable'; 20 per cent chose 'For someone like me, it doesn't matter what type of government we have'. (In the 30–44 age group, 45 per cent of respondents chose 'Democracy is preferable …' and 35 per cent chose 'In some circumstances …'.) You can see the full results at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8357.

- If Inge Scholl had been asked this question, what choice do you think she would have made (a) in the 1930s, on the verge of joining the Hitler Youth; (b) in 1942, when Hans and Sophie were executed; (c) in 1947, when she finished writing her book?

- The Lowy Institute stated that the 2018 survey revealed a 'surprising ambivalence' about democracy among young Australians particularly. Discuss the Lowy Institute survey results as a class. Are you surprised by the results? Do you think Australians as a nation should be concerned about the results? Would you expect young people who have studied history to lean towards a particular statement? What more would you like to know about the survey to better inform your discussion?

The attraction of strong leaders

The Lowy Institute results above could be linked to another current phenomenon. In her 2018 *Quarterly Essay* titled *Follow the leader: Democracy and the rise of the strongman,* Laura Tingle described a 'deeper malaise afoot now' in politics in Australia and elsewhere. One dramatic aspect, she claimed, was 'the global return of the strongman in politics'. In various countries, political leaders have arisen who project themselves as strong leaders prepared to take decisive action in ways that make them popular among certain sectors of the population. In the USA, Donald Trump was elected president on a promise to 'Make America great again'. In Russia, Vladimir Putin has undermined democratic structures and acted in ways that led to critical comparisons with both the nineteenth-century Tsars and the twentieth-century Stalin. In the Philippines, President Rodrigo Duterte has encouraged the extra-judicial executions of drug dealers. In October 2018, the presidential election in Brazil was won by Jair Bolsonaro – a far-right politician who had expressed misogynistic and homophobic attitudes and stated his admiration for the brutal military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985. All four attracted popular support in their nations, while critics lamented the shift away from democratic principles and human rights.

- Discuss the extent to which today's global politics reflect increasing popularity for strong leaders taking decisive action. How do you respond to that idea of political leadership? Is there are sign of admiration for 'the strongman (or strongwoman)' in Australian politics?

Youth culture – then and now

Inge Scholl described the mysterious force and attraction of the Hitler Youth. That organisation emphasised qualities of fitness, discipline, cooperation, loyalty and national pride. Many young Germans responded enthusiastically to those emphases.

In 2017, an opinion piece in *The Digital Age* – a University of New South Wales blog – commented on a claim that 'Teenagers have a bad reputation for being moody, lazy, ungrateful and spoiled' (http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8358). Such criticisms have sparked proposals in Australia to introduce some type of 'national service' – either military or civilian – for young people. The Australian Defence Association, in a discussion paper, noted how some proposals aim at 'introducing resilience, self-discipline and goal-setting abilities into lives often popularly believed to be lacking in them' (http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8359).

- Discuss whether the above criticisms of young Australians are valid. Discuss the possible advantages and disadvantages of youth organisations and programs with the aims listed. Have such organisations existed previously in Australia? Does the historical example of the Hitler Youth signal any warning about extreme approaches to mobilising young people?

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Nation, race and security

Inge Scholl's words 'the greatest homeland of all who spoke the same language and belonged to the same people' suggest her belief in a racially and culturally homogenous nation. In Germany, a belief in 'racial purity' underpinned the horror of the 'final solution' and the Holocaust.

- To what extent are there strident debates in Australia today about race, ethnicity and nation – particularly in the context of concerns about terrorism, refugees and immigration? Do these debates influence Australian politics? What are the merits of the different perspectives within the debates? Where do you stand in the debates? Do these debates occur in other nations around the world and, if so, with what impact?

1.5 Summing up historical inquiry

So far, this chapter has described the nature of history, a set of key historical concepts and an intensive and detailed interrogation of one historical source of evidence. That interrogation combined an understanding of historical concepts with proficiency in historical skills. You will seldom get the opportunity to dig this deeply into a single source during your studies. However, the chapter provides you with an extensive repertoire of historical skills to draw upon whenever you encounter historical sources in your studies.

Your ability to pose historical questions, to plan research, to interrogate historical sources, to make judgements, to communicate your knowledge, to identify connections with today's world and to relate your studies to your own life all contributes to what Peter Seixas calls 'historical consciousness'. That special way of understanding the world provides – as the syllabus emphasises – an 'intellectual toolkit' to use as 'empathetic and critically-literate citizens who are equipped to embrace a multicultural, pluralistic, inclusive, democratic, compassionate and sustainable future'. That's the invitation and the challenge of Modern History for you.

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ASSESSMENT ADVICE

This section of the chapter was written by Chris Price and Alan Barrie

The aim of this section is to help you understand *what you can expect* in your assessment, and *what will be expected of you* in each of the four assessments. Put simply:

- What will your assessment ask you to do?
- What will you need to do to fulfil the tasks?

The QCAA provide detailed explanations of the conditions and requirements for each assessment item. Remember to refer to the syllabus for all specifications and conditions.

In this section we aim to distil that material and provide you with a summary of assessment in the Modern History syllabus.

This section of the chapter will first help you to understand the new assessment system (including the importance of syllabus objectives and the Instrument Specific Marking Guides) and then go through the four different types of assessment:

- IA1 – Essay exam in response to sources
- IA2 – Independent source investigation
- IA3 – Essay based on research
- EA – Short responses exam to historical sources

1.6 Understanding the new assessment system

The results you achieve across four summative pieces of assessment in history will contribute to your ATAR – the Australian Tertiary Admission Rank. Your ATAR score is the primary mechanism for entry into most undergraduate-entry university programs in Australia.

Your results in history are constructed from 4 pieces of assessment worth 25 marks each. There are 3 internal school assessment items (IA1, IA2, IA3) and an external examination (EA). The EA is a common assessment which every History student in the state will take. Thus, you should ***understand the style and requirements of each assessment type***.

The internal assessments, known as IAs, are developed by each school and will be pre-approved (ie: endorsed) by the QCAA before you undertake the assessment. This is a quality assurance system designed to maintain validity and accessibility of the task. It will ensure the assessment is aligned to syllabus content and objectives. Thus, you should ***understand the objectives in the IA and how they relate to content***.

Each IA will be marked according to the standards described in the Instrument Specific Marking Guide (ISMG) provided in the syllabus. Marks are allocated to specific criteria which align to the objectives. You will be given a numerical score for each criterion. The marks that a school allocates for the IA will be confirmed by the QCAA by a process of targeted sampling. In other words, every school will submit a selection of assessment items to confirm that marks allocated meet the required standards. Thus, you should ***understand the emphasis placed on objectives and skills in the ISMG***.

The EA will also use a specific marking guide based on each of the objectives to be assessed. This paper will be set by the QCAA and marked by accredited markers. Mock exam papers will be developed by the QCAA for you to practise.

The importance of objectives

There are six objectives in the History Syllabus. These objectives guide what we do with content and what you will be assessed on.

The objectives and what they mean in the process of historical inquiry have been dealt with earlier in this chapter. In this section we will look at their relation to assessment.

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Each of the six objectives contains a major cognition or thinking process which is applied to a historical skill, process or product that will be assessed. Here is a handy summary:

Objective	Cognition (thinking)	Application
1	Comprehend	To understand terms, concepts and issues
2	Devise and Conduct	To devise questions to conduct an historical inquiry
3	Analyse	To understand evidence and sources
4	Synthesise	To bring the evidence together to form an historical argument
5	Evaluate	To make judgements about evidence and historical problems
6	Create and Communicate	To present your findings in a meaningful way – the culmination of your inquiry.

The Syllabus has elaborations on these objectives which you should consult.

Each of your assessment instruments will be informed by these syllabus objectives. The objectives tell you what to do with the content of your inquiry and what you will need to demonstrate. For example, for the French Revolution:

> Comprehend concepts and terms and like *Absolute Monarchy* and *Estates General* Analyse evidence about *actions and events* of the French Revolution

The importance of Instrument Specific Marking Guides – ISMGs

The ISMG is the mechanism by which you are allocated marks for each objective. In History each criterion assessed relates to one specific objective (in some subjects more than one objective is assessed in an individual criterion).

1. Know the **allocation of marks** for each criterion/objective. This will help you understand the nature of the task and give you precise direction about the requirements of each assessment. (refer to the elaborations on each assessment type for some hints here)
2. Identify and understand the **descriptors** for each standard of the criteria. The descriptor identifies the characteristic that corresponds to the marks.
   a. Descriptors of the highest performance levels include words like:
   discerning, detailed, nuanced, succinct, informed and thorough
   b. Descriptors of lower performance levels include words like:
   partial, adequate, superficial, minimal

Refer to the QCAA syllabus for explanations of these words

Here is a summary of marks allocated in the ISMG to each criterion/objective for each assessment. Each assessment is worth 25 marks. NB: Not all assessment is the same.

Objective	1A1 (Exam) Essay response to sources	IA2 Source Interrogation	IA3 Research Essay	EA (Exam) Short Response to Sources
1. Comprehend	**6**	**–**	**4**	**25%**
2. Devise and Conduct	**–**	**6**	**3**	**–**
3. Analyse	**4**	**8**	**4**	**20%**
4. Synthesise	**4**	**–**	**4**	**20%**
5. Evaluate	**6**	**8**	**6**	**25%**
6. Create and Communicate	**5**	**3**	**4**	**10%**

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The allocated marks for each objective/criterion will depend on the type of each assessment. Understand what is being asked of you. There are differences – for example:

- Objective 2 is not assessed in IA1 and the EA, which are both examinations.
- Objective 4 is not assessed in the Independent Source Investigation (IA2) as there is no requirement to write a coherent argument in essay form
- Objective 2 is an important part of research, but more emphasis is placed on this in IA2 than in IA3

Notice that nearly half your marks in History come from Analysis and Evaluation, which shows you how important it is to engage effectively with source evidence in your inquiries.

1.7 The types of assessment

This table shows you a comparison of modes and conditions for the four assessments.

	Short response	Extended response
Examination	**EA**	**IA1**
Take-Home	**IA2**	**IA3**

IA1: Essay in response to sources
Examination set by school
Assesses Objectives 1 3 4 5 6 – not devising and conduct (2)
Requires you to create an argument and write a coherent essay in response to an unseen question using sources provided to you.

IA2: Independent source investigation
Work done in class time and home
Assesses Objectives 2 3 5 6 – not comprehend (1) or synthesise (4)
Requires you to devise a line of inquiry and select a range of sources to demonstrate your analysis and evaluation of historical sources through shorter written responses.

IA3: Essay based on research
Work done in class time and home
Assesses all 6 Objectives – the only assessment instrument to do so
Requires you to devise a line of research inquiry and argument to demonstrate the application of historical skills and concepts in an extended written response.

EA: Short responses to historical sources
Examination set by QCAA
Assesses Objectives 1 3 4 5 6 – not devising and conduct (2)
Requires you to respond to sources and specific cognitions (eg: analyse, evaluate)through a series of shorter written responses.

We will now attempt to summarise the key *features* of each type of assessment and draw your attention to some of the implications of the *conditions and requirements* and the *ISMG* that might help you complete the assessment. **This advice is based on Syllabus version 1.2.**

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IA1: Essay in response to historical sources. Examination.

Features: What will this task ask you to do?

An historical essay is an argument. You must engage with the ideas and issues in the question to develop a coherent argument. It brings together the key cognitions of inquiry. You will analyse and evaluate sources and synthesise the ideas, to support your hypothesis in response to the question. The question will emerge from the key features and issues raised in the topic and will likely have a point of contention to argue, rather than a simple description of features. Two key aspects of this type of test are worth noting:

1. Develop a clear and sophisticated argument response to the question demonstrated by a carefully worded introduction, logical sequence of paragraphs with topic sentences and clinchers, and a meaningful conclusion of the essay body paragraphs.
2. Select, analyse, and evaluate a range of seen and unseen sources that provide evidence for those arguments. While the analysis and evaluation of individual sources is always important, your ability to connect the evidence by corroboration or contrast *across* a range of sources is just as important in *building and proving* a convincing argument.

Conditions and requirements: What particular things do you need to do?

This task has a **set time frame**, an **unseen question** and some **seen and unseen sources** to deal with. Be systematic in your approach during the examination:

- Read the question straight away and determine what it is asking you to do. Identify the key cognitions involved and how they are to be applied.
- Read the unseen sources and annotate the page to identify key messages and quotes you will use. Re-read the seen sources (you should know these well).
- Read the context statements for all the sources. They contain brief information on author, date, and production of sources. Use these in your analysis and evaluation to consider things like perspective and reliability.
- Use your time to plan and prepare before you write the final essay.

Marking scheme: What will you be assessed on?

Because the question is provided, Objective 2 is not assessed in IA1. There is a relatively even distribution of marks across the five objectives assessed. This is because the essay is a single product that brings together a range of cognitions. Note that:

- Analysis is worth four marks – show your understanding of each source and how this helps to build your argument.
- Synthesis worth four marks – use a combination of a range of sources to justify your decisions and support your argument.
- Evaluation is worth six marks – make good judgements about usefulness and reliability, refer to different perspectives and corroborate the judgements.
- Comprehension is worth six marks – be thorough and accurate with your use of historical terms, provide detailed explanations and demonstrate an informed understanding of key concepts.
- Creation and communication is worth five marks – be succinct and logical in your writing, adhere to the prescribed features of an essay response and avoid errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar.

IA2: Independent source investigation.

Features: what will this task ask you to do?

An independent source investigation is an exercise in developing inquiry questions and conducting research to inform that inquiry.

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Using short paragraphs, you will demonstrate a range of historical skills and concepts through a series of defined stages:

1. First, you will set up a **key inquiry question** and **sub-questions** to guide your research. You will need to explain your choice of topic in a **rationale**. This rationale will explain your thinking behind this choice, the origin and purpose of your questions, a possible hypothesis and why you chose your sources.
2. Second, you will then **analyse** and **evaluate** these sources in a series of short responses to show how they inform your inquiry. Think about the origin, purpose and context of the evidence. Evaluate perspectives and interpretations as they relate to your inquiry.
3. Third, you will create a **critical summary** of the evidence reflecting on judgements and conclusions you have made.

In this IA your choice of topic to investigate should allow you to select, analyse and evaluate a range of sources. You need to include primary and secondary evidence offering a range of perspectives. You must identify key features of that evidence, judge its usefulness and reliability and corroborate information. Read the ISMG carefully to guide this work.

Conditions and requirements: What particular things do you need to do?

This task has an **extended time frame**, will allow you to use **class and home time** and provides suggested **word limits** for each of the three sections. Be systematic in your approach:

- The rationale is approximately 200–300 words. Be succinct and focus on the thinking behind your topic.
- The analysis and evaluation should include four to six sources, selected by you and is approximately 800–1200 word in total. Search for thought-provoking, relevant source material.
- The critical summary is approximately 300–500 words. This is not just a narrative summary of content, so reflect on the decisions and judgements you make.
- *Direct quotes are included in the word length (see syllabus advice).*

Marking scheme: What will you be assessed on?

Because you are devising your own inquiry and demonstrating your ability to use source evidence, most of the marks are allocated to three of the objectives.

- Devising and Conducting is worth six marks – twice the allocation of the IA3 task. You need to create nuanced historical questions and show discerning use them.
- Analysing is worth eight marks – be discerning, detailed and informed in your analysis of a range of primary and secondary sources. Identify and examine the features of each source and relate them to your inquiry.
- Evaluating is worth eight marks – be discerning in your judgements about usefulness and reliability. Make sure they are well-reasoned and corroborated with other sources.
- Creating and Communicating is worth three marks – be succinct, demonstrate ethical scholarship and avoid errors in spelling, grammar and punctuation.

IA3: Historical essay based on research

Features: What will this task ask you to do?

This assessment requires you to produce an historical essay based on your own research. The inquiry you undertake will relate to the Unit theme and topic as chosen by your school. You will undertake research and need to keep effective notes and reflections, but these are not directly assessed. It is the final extended essay response that is assessed and through which you will demonstrate the effectiveness of your research. All objectives are assessed in this task, representing the importance of bringing all aspects of historical inquiry together. As such you will need to:

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1. Generate your own key inquiry question to conduct the investigation.
2. Provide sustained and coherent analysis, evaluation and synthesis of a range of source material.
3. Structure your essay according to the conventions prescribed in the syllabus, providing: a clear introduction with hypothesis, logically developed paragraphs with topic sentences and effective integration of source evidence; a conclusion which draws together your main argument; a recognised system of referencing.

Conditions and requirements: What particular things do you need to do?

This task has an **extended time frame**, will allow you to use **class and home time** and provides a suggested **word limit** for the final essay. Be systematic in your approach:

- Time management is crucial. Develop a clear research focus to guide your note-taking and stay on track.
- Your response will be between 1500–2000 words *(excluding quotes)* so you will need to plan your essay and be prepared to draft your work.

Marking scheme: What will you be assessed on?

This **task** assesses **all** objectives and, as such marks are distributed quite evenly across all of the Objectives.

- Comprehending is worth four marks – across the essay be thorough and accurate in your use of terms, detailed in your explanations and show informed understanding of ideas as they relate to the question.
- Devising and Conducting is worth three marks – seen in your creation of discerning research and focus questions, a clear hypothesis, and detailed use of a range of sources.
- Analysing is worth four marks – shows your detailed understanding of the sources selected and used to support your hypothesis.
- Synthesising is worth four marks – shows your ability to combine and link information to form a sophisticated historical argument.
- Evaluating is worth six marks – you must demonstrate making judgements about usefulness and reliability of sources that show different perspectives. The judgements should be well-reasoned and corroborated.
- Creating and Communicating is worth four marks – like the IA1, be succinct and logical in your writing, adhere to the prescribed features of an essay response and avoid errors in spelling, punctuation and grammar.

EA: External assessment, short responses to historical sources. Examination.

Features: What will this task ask you to do?

This exam requires a number of paragraph responses to sources and evidence on a topic set by the QCAA for all History students in Queensland. The same exam is sat by all students under the same conditions, time and date. It is marked by teachers outside of your school.

Conditions and requirements: What particular things do you need to do?

This task has a **set time frame**, an **unseen question** and **unseen sources** to deal with.

The topic for the examination is released in advance and the sources and questions will be unseen.

- Up to 12 sources will be used across the paper with context statements for each source (such author information, time and details of production) being supplied in the paper.
- Three-to-five questions requiring a short response, with the overall length of the paper around 800–1000 words.
- Two hours of writing time, 15 minutes of planning time, so there is time to plan and prepare for carefully considered and quality responses.

Marking scheme: What will you be assessed on?

Because the questions are provided, Objective 2 is not assessed in EA. All other Objectives are assessed.

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1.8 Summing up assessment

The assessment described in this section will give you the opportunity to engage deeply with historical sources and think broadly to create meaningful responses. Your performance on the assessment tasks will provide you with your grades. The way you perform those tasks will help you to: develop your critical thinking; become disciplined in managing your time and meeting the demands of the task; understand your academic strengths and weaknesses; and thus grow as active citizens in our community. Embrace those opportunities for learning, test your ideas and stretch your understanding. Be curious about history, ask good questions and enjoy the intellectual challenge.

Good luck with your assessment and keep in mind the words of Australian historian Tom Griffiths:

> So here is our double historical quest: to be astonished as well to understand.

Tom Griffiths, *The Art of Time Travel: Historians and their Craft*, 2016, p. 5.

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CHAPTER 4
Meiji Restoration, 1868–1912
Focus: The Meiji modernisation of Japan

It's Monday, 28 March 2016, in Japan's capital city Tokyo. Travellers are bustling off their flights and into the terminal of one of the world's busiest international airports, Narita. People are welcomed as they disembark from their flight and make their way to immigration. However, this is no ordinary welcome. Today the greeting and the announcements that reach the ears of travellers are electronic and machine-like, and the gestures that guide the tourists towards immigration come from a shiny, white, plastic hand. The hand belongs to ASIMO*1, the bipedal humanoid robot developed by the famous Honda Motor Company. For travellers from around the world, ASIMO*1 is their first taste of ingenious, modern Japan. Online, Honda's CEO explains that the robot embodies the spirit of 'using technology to help people', whilst representing modern Japan.

Over 150 years earlier, in 1861, Dutch-American diplomat Henry Heusken is returning home from dinner on a bitterly cold Japanese winter evening. Making his way through the dark streets of Edo, Henry is accompanied by three mounted officers and four footmen bearing lanterns. As they approach Nakanohashi bridge and pull their collars up to ward off the cold, suddenly the party is ambushed by seven samurai. The samurai mutter the phrase '*sonojoi*' under their breaths as they close in around Heusken and his men. Swords are drawn and the tension is high. Heusken realises he is in mortal danger. But worse, he realises how diabolical the situation has become in Japan. The continued presence of foreigners is escalating tensions to the extent of brutal assassinations. Tonight, he is marked for death. As the first fierce strike bears down on his body, he mumbles a prayer to a god unrecognised in Japan before entering the fray. By the time the swords finish their gruesome work Heusken is left suffering mortal wounds to both sides of his body. He manages to mount a horse and gallop about 200 metres to the American legation. He is taken inside and treated. Early the following morning, he dies from his wounds.

Ryan Slavin



SOURCE 4.1 Tokyo, 22 August 2003. Japanese talking robot ASIMO lays a bunch of flowers from the Japanese prime minister at the bust of Czech writer Karel Capek at the Czech National Museum in Prague. Capek invented the word 'robot' in his 1921 play *RUR* (*Rossum's Universal Robots*) when he introduced the concept of human-like creations capable of doing dull repetitive tasks. Robot comes from the Czech word *robota*, which means drudgery.

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

Japan: the background to modernisation

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

4.1 Where did Japan's cultural values and religious traditions originate?

To understand Japan, it is essential to understand its cultural traditions and belief systems. Creation stories, mythology and folk traditions offer insight into the culture and belief systems of a country. You'll begin this chapter by examining Japanese mythology. How do Japanese believe they mythologically came to be?



SOURCE 4.2 Japanese cosmology, Kawanabe Kyosai (1831–1889), from *The Connoisseur*, 1925
What triggers your interest most in this image? What questions does it prompt? Who or what do these figures, looming over the landscape, represent? What evidence is there in the image that suggests that the artist is Japanese?

ACTIVITY 4.1

Consider Japanese mythology

1. Search online for a retelling of Japan's creation myth.
2. What does the creation story suggest about Japanese religious beliefs concerning the creation of all things?
3. Can you identify in the myth any evidence that suggests that Japanese spirituality might be heavily connected to nature?
4. In this creation tale, the sun and moon are female, and the storm-maker and emperor are male. Could this reflect a deep cultural belief that might have implications for later Japanese cultural norms? Explain your response.
5. How might a country's people be affected by the belief that all of creation, including themselves, is the work of gods?
6. What evidence is there that the image shown in Source 4.2 represents this creation myth?

You have just probed Japan's oldest record of its creation and its *Kami* (gods) – the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) – that dates back to the eighth century. This illustration of Japanese mythology suggests that the creation of all things was the responsibility of many gods, that Japan was in fact polytheistic. This tradition continues even today in modern Japanese society and forms the basis of Japan's indigenous religion - Shinto.

Over time Japan has adopted many foreign (mostly Chinese) cultural and religious influences. For example, the first Japanese writing system was introduced to Japan from China (via Korea) in the fifth century. Furthermore, calligraphy, some forms of literature, art, drama, architecture, the early calendar and tea

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all came from China. This significant pattern of adoption continues into modern times and is a key theme of this chapter. Start keeping your own record now of this pattern whenever you see a cultural adoption appear.

What is the significance of Shintoism?

Shinto ('the way of the gods') is Japan's traditional religion inspired by the beauty of nature held dearly by Japan's first inhabitants. It presents the idea of universal energy which is the source of existence and human life. Professor of Philosophy Philip Pecorino in his 2001 online text *Philosophy of Religion* describes the prehistoric religion as one without any fixed dogma, moral precepts, or sacred writings.

ACTIVITY 4.2

Watch a video about Shinto

1. Watch the following video (available in the Interactive Textbook) on the Shinto religion produced by Asian Art Museum (2009).
2. In the video, identify how the following key tenets of Shinto are illustrated:
   - Family: the tradition of placing importance on familial heritage and relationships. Hence, births and marriages are important Shinto events.
   - Nature: love and respect of nature as sacred – being in touch with nature means contact with the gods. For example, the celebration of the Cherry Blossom Festival is still important in Japan today.
   - Physical cleanliness: literally with bathing and metaphorically with the removal of shoes inside homes or shrines to keep the world's impurities out.
   - Festivals: to honour the spirits and bring people together.



SOURCE 4.3 An introduction to Shinto
This video (duration 03:46) is available in the Interactive Textbook.

In Shinto, humans become *kami* (spirits) after they die and are revered by their families as ancestral *kami*. This is why followers of Shinto are expected to do their best to respect the connections with their ancestors, self, descendants and nature, and achieve the ultimate goal of fulfilment of life on Earth.

Later in this chapter you will see that at times throughout Japan's later history, Shintoism has been formalised by Japanese rulers as a means to foster Japanese nationalism.

◆ To what extent are older people in Australian society respected or even revered? Could there be both advantages and disadvantages in such a tradition?

What is Confucianism? How has it influenced Japanese society?

Confucianism was introduced to Japan via Korea in the third century. Its secular teachings relate to the socio-political world of humanity: the individual and his/her pursuit of moral and intellectual perfection; the family and its pursuit of harmony and order; and society in its pursuit of peace and prosperity. Historian Herbert Varley (2000) explains that the Japanese adopted Confucian ideas as a means to structure society; it gave each individual a clear place within a social hierarchy.

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filial piety the important virtue and primary duty of respect, obedience, and care for one's parents and elderly family members

In accordance with Confucian thought, traditional Japanese families were patriarchal and placed importance on **filial piety**. Under the father's authority, each member of the family had a responsibility to obey and support him in all circumstances. Furthermore, family positions were determined by gender and age: male members were given priority over female members, and younger members were expected to show respect for elder ones.

Beyond the household, traditional Japanese society placed great importance on strict adherence to Confucian social behavioural norms. The aim was to maintain honour, or 'face', for the individual and their family. To 'lose face' meant to bring the family's honour under suspicion. The custom of 'saving face' reinforced the importance of social cohesion and the acceptance of the individual's position in relation to others. Interestingly, it continues to be a significant aspect of social behaviour in Japan today. The importance of saving face in Japanese society can be characterised by the terms *tatemae* and *honne*.

- Search online for definitions of the terms *tatemae* and *honne*. What do you think these terms might reflect about Japanese society and culture?
- To what degree are these social behaviors different from the norms of modern Australian society?
- Why would historians need to take these behaviours into account when explaining Japanese history?

What has been the role of Buddhism in Japan?

The role of Buddhism has been varied since its arrival in Japan via China and Korea in the fifth century CE. From its introduction, Buddhism was able to co-exist with Japan's native religion Shinto quite cohesively. In fact, over time the two religions came to complement each other in Japanese society by playing different roles.

Buddhism in Japan has long been associated with the sacredness of nature and the belief that enlightenment might be found through physical discipline and adherence to the Four Noble Truths:

1. All life involves suffering
2. Suffering is caused by desire
3. Desire can be overcome
4. The way to overcome desire is to follow the Noble Eightfold Path.



SOURCE 4.4 The Great Buddha (*Daibutsu*), an 800-year-old monumental outdoor bronze statue of Amida Buddha in the town of Kamakura, which was Japan's capital 1185–1333. Other *Daibutsu* have been built in temples of past capitals such as Nara.
Why might large monuments like this be erected in capital cities? What messages might they send to people in Japan over time? Why might school groups tour here? In Australia, what (if anything) would be the cultural equivalent of such statues?

- Find online a diagram of the Noble Eightfold Path. What does it reveal about how Japanese Buddhists understand life?

Zen Buddhism, a Japanese form of Buddhism adapted from Indian and Chinese influences, values intuition and mindfulness gained through long periods of meditation. Followers of Zen study the sacred texts of Mahayana Buddhism. From the thirteenth century CE, Zen increasingly became favoured by the warrior class. It was believed that through the disciplined study of Zen, a warrior could cultivate the intuition, acute focus and freedom from ego that would serve him well in the heat of battle. Through Zen, warriors also found a heightened beauty in, and an acceptance of, impermanence. This in turn aided warriors in coming to terms with their mortality.

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For many modern Japanese people, Buddhism plays a minimal role in everyday life. However, it is in understanding death and the world beyond that Buddhism offers Japanese spiritual guidance. Funeral practices are usually carried out following Buddhist traditions, and many households keep a small ancestral shrine in order to pay respect to past family members. Perhaps this association with death is a remnant of Japan's warrior past, a means of being reconciled with one's mortality.

4.2 What was life like in Japan before modernisation?

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

feudalism a social and political system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank, and worked and/or fought for them in return

How was feudal Japan ordered?

In feudal Japan (1185–1868 CE), the emperor was the divine sovereign. However, from the Heian period in 794 CE to the Meiji Restoration in 1868 CE, society was ordered strictly in accordance with Confucian beliefs and much of the emperor's power rested in the hands of his military commander under the title 'shogun'. In his 2010 book *The Samurai: A New History of the Warrior Elite*, Jonathan Clements describes the emperor as little more than a 'rubber stamp' of authority for the shogun's policies. The shogun came from the strongest of regional warlord clans or families. He and his close advisers became known as the *bakufu* or the 'tent government'. The shogun represented the centralised military power of the emperor. He ruled hereditarily. Often, he governed as regent in place of a very young or weak emperor. Importantly, he aimed to stifle civil war among rival warlords.

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

Security of the *han* was determined by the strength of the samurai (warrior class). The samurai were a class of male warriors in the service of the *daimyo*, under the watchful eye of the shogun, trained to protect their warlord and the peasants belonging to the clan. To understand how Japanese feudal society was ordered, it is essential to grasp the mind-set of the samurai. Yamamoto Tsunetomo was a seventeenth century samurai who renounced the world and retired in isolation to the mountains until his death in 1719 CE. After his retirement, here is how he described the samurai mind-set.

SOURCE 4.5 *Hagakure: The Book of the Samurai*

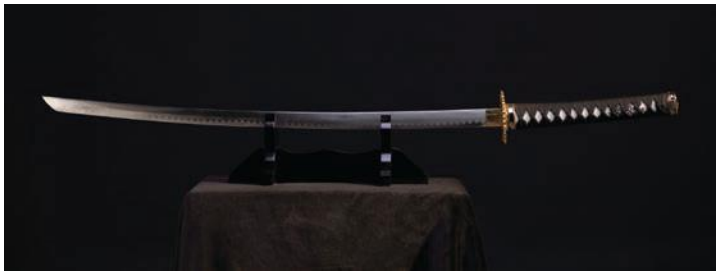
> If one were to say in a word what the condition of being a samurai is, its basis lies first in seriously devoting one's body and soul to his master. And if one is asked what to do beyond this, it would be to fit oneself inwardly with intelligence, humanity and courage.

Yamamoto Tsunetomo, *Hagakure: The Book of the Samurai*, 1716

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Responding to the quote

1. The samurai were warriors. Do you think each of the qualities described in the *Hagakure* would be essential for a warrior? Explain. What might it mean for a warrior to possess 'humanity'?
2. Do you think any of the qualities described in the *Hagakure* would be valued within Buddhism, Confucianism and/or Shinto? Explain your response.



SOURCE 4.6 Katana is a samurai sword. Feudal military experts say it is the perfect weapon.
What features of the sword might make it 'perfect'?

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

Fiercely loyal to their warlord, samurai were entrusted with enforcing their *daimyo's* laws. Historian Jonathon Clements (2010) notes that from the Middle Ages until the late nineteenth century CE, the samurai class regulated all aspects of Japanese society and provided protection to all classes within society. For this reason, and despite only making up 5% of the population, samurai were held in high regard by social classes of lesser status such as peasants, artisans and merchants.



SOURCE 4.7 Colour woodcut of a seaside market by Yoshitora from 1847
How might you distinguish between the samurai and other members of Japanese society here? Describe how the samurai are acting or interacting. What might this suggest about their role in society?

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

- Find out how similar or different *bushido* is to Western ideas of chivalry.
- Do you think modern Australians value people based on the jobs they hold?
- You might be surprised to learn that the samurai tradition lives on in Australia today. Michiharu Mori lives in Brisbane and devotes his life to *bushido*/*budo* (the martial way). Locate information online to decide whether Michiharu Mori could in fact be classed as a modern-day samurai.

What was life like for women in feudal Japan?

All the descriptions so far of Japanese society have focused on the status and roles of men. You will now focus on the status of Japanese women.

SOURCE 4.8 *Drowning Women* by Katsushika Hokusai, 1830



This woodblock print depicts women diving for abalone.

Responding to the woodblock print

1. Some historians interpret this scene as men watching as women drown while diving. What would this interpretation suggest about the status and value of these women?
2. Could there be different interpretations of this scene?
3. Might this scene not be typical or representative of the value of women? Explain your response.

Sei Shonagon, a court lady during the Heian period, left a journal of anecdotes, impressions, and commentary called *The Pillowbook*, covering the years 986–1000 CE. Her journal described life at the Japanese court as she served as a lady-in-waiting to Empress Teishi. Sei depicts this life as cultured in literature and music, and opulent in food and dress, yet powerless in political decision-making. She also contrasts court life with the life of everyday women and offers a highly critical and condescending description: 'When I make myself imagine what it is like to be one of those women who live at home, faithfully serving their husbands – women who have not a single exciting prospect in life yet who believe that they are perfectly happy – I am filled with scorn…' (translated by Morris, 1971).

As Sei's account and the image in Source 4.8 suggest, life for women in feudal Japan was not equal to that of men. Throughout the patriarchal society of feudal Japan, women were subservient to men. But how much has changed in just over a century of modernisation?

- Locate on YouTube the *Not This World* (2016) video titled 'What is Life Really Like for Women in Japan'. List information from both Sei's account above and the video that might demonstrate historical continuity.

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- Are there attributes of either account that make you question their accuracy?
- Discuss as a class how the status of Japanese women in both descriptions (feudal and modern) compare with that of women in modern Australian society.

ACTIVITY 4.3

Represent feudal Japanese society

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

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

4.3 How did the Tokugawa Shogunate change Japan?

In 1464 two brothers of the Ashikaga clan were embroiled in a dispute for power, with each wanting to be shogun. Different *daimyo* clans around Japan declared allegiance to one brother or the other. The shogunate was powerless to stop *daimyo* forming further alliances and engaging in open warfare to gain power and influence. As a result, the economy was seriously weakened and the country was in turmoil. This period of warring states, or Sengoku, would last for the next one hundred years.



SOURCE 4.9 Japanese screen depicting the Battle of Sekigahara. This 1854 replica recreates the original by Sadanobu Kanō from the 1620s
What interesting features do you notice about the battle in the image? Why might Japanese choose to depict this battle on a folding screen?

In October 1600, the civil war finally came to an end at the Battle of Sekigahara, Japan's largest ever gathering of samurai in battle. After a decisive victory, General Tokugawa Ieyasu gained military control of Japan and unified all

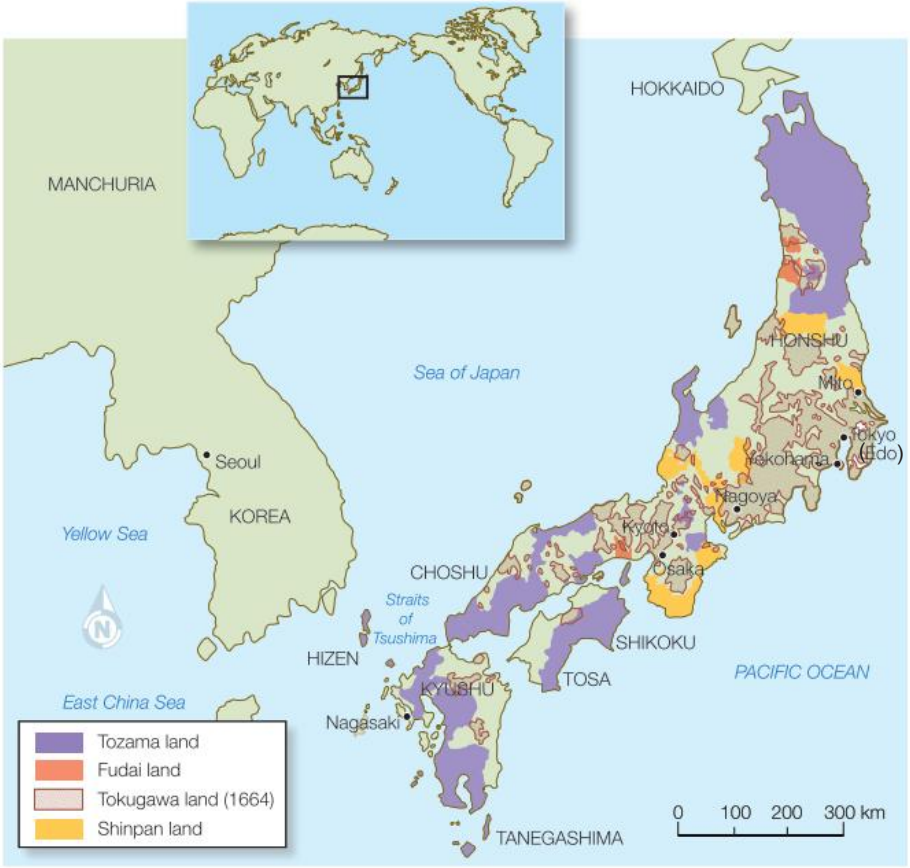
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daimyo under him. In 1603, as a reward, Tokugawa Ieyasu was made shogun by the emperor. As enduring unifiers, the Tokugawa family provided a line of shogun for the next 250 years. The Tokugawa Shogunate, also known as the Edo Period, would be the longest experience of peace in Japan's feudal history.

During the Tokugawa Shogunate, the emperor remained in his imperial palace in Kyoto, but the Tokugawa *bakufu* relocated its bureaucracy to Edo, modern-day Tokyo. The shogun and his direct followers controlled 1/4 of the land, while the remainder was divided into about 250 domains, each ruled by a *daimyo*. Not all *daimyo* supported the Tokugawa *bakufu*, even though it had brought peace to Japan. The *daimyo* opposed to Tokugawa rule were called *tozama daimyo* (outside *daimyo*) and were always treated with suspicion by the Tokugawa government. *Fudai daimyo* were trusted clans who were hereditary **vassals** of the Tokugawa in Edo-period Japan. It was primarily the *fudai* who filled the ranks of the Tokugawa administration.

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

SOURCE 4.10 Map of domains in Tokugawa Japan



Responding to the map

1. Look at the map above. Is it likely that governing Japan from Edo was difficult for the Tokugawa *bakufu*? Explain why.
2. Historically the Japanese have always been fierce defenders of their independence and racial purity. How might the geographical location of Japan have influenced these attitudes?

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

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

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

What was happening elsewhere in the world?

Feudalism under the Tokugawa shogunate is fascinating when compared to the events occurring in other parts of the world at the time. Feudalism began to wane in Europe by the sixteenth century CE. By the eighteenth century CE, Europe was embarking on a course towards technological advancement on a scale never seen before: the Industrial Revolution. Enlightened ideas about freedom of the individual, constitutional government, scientific progress, **franchise** and tolerance were spreading across the Western world. For example, the United States had been founded upon these ideas by 1776. Moreover, since the sixteenth century **mercantilism** had been driving Europeans out across the oceans in search of new markets to exploit. For the first time in history, the world seemed smaller and was rapidly becoming economically interconnected.

franchise the right to vote in elections

mercantilism economic theory and practice common in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century based on the idea that trade generates wealth and is stimulated by the accumulation of profitable balances, which a government should encourage by means of protectionism

◆ Search online for definitions of the 'Age of Enlightenment' and 'the Industrial Revolution'. How do these periods reflect or contrast with information about Japan you have read in this chapter so far?

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

Throughout the Middle Ages, Japan had traded guardedly with its neighbours in India, China and South-East Asia, but largely kept to itself. But in the 1500s, this seclusion was disrupted by the arrival of European traders and Christian missionaries.

This disruption caused samurai leaders at the time to produce what many historians describe as **xenophobic** laws. Japanese leaders were concerned that the foreign religion of Christianity would undermine traditional Shinto and Buddhist beliefs.

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



SOURCE 4.11 An engraving from 1628 of The 26 Martyrs of Japan. In a dramatic development in February 1597, 26 men and boys including foreign missionaries were crucified in Nagasaki. What followed was a bloody campaign of persecution that stretched into the early seventeenth century where countless Japanese Christians were executed.
Do you think the artist is Japanese or European? Why? Who might be the intended audience of this engraving? What emotions do you think the artist might have been trying to evoke? Explain your response.

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Between 1633–39, the Tokugawa government expressed its fear of growing European influence through strict laws known as ***sakoku*** or closed-country policy. These forbade all Japanese to travel abroad and prevented Roman Catholic Christians entry under 'pain of death'. They also restricted foreign trade to one port only: Nagasaki, on the southern-most island of Kyushu. Only Chinese and Protestant Dutch traders, regarded as less of a menace to Japan, could operate from this port.

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

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

- To what degree could modern Australian immigration laws be compared to the Japanese policy of *sakoku*? What might be the similarities and differences?

4.5 What motivated Japan to end its period of isolation?

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

SOURCE 4.12 Woodblock print of Perry's Black Ships



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

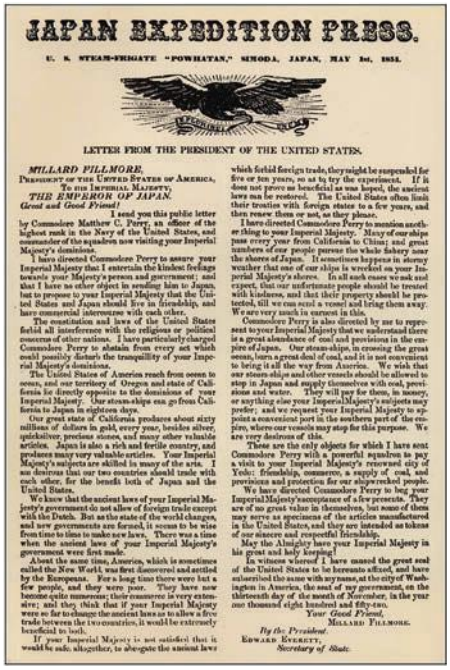
Responding to the print

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

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

SOURCE 4.13 President Fillmore's letter, 13 November 1852



JAPAN EXPEDITION PRESS.

U. S. STEAM-FRIGATE "POWHATAN," SIMODA, JAPAN, MAY 1st, 1853.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

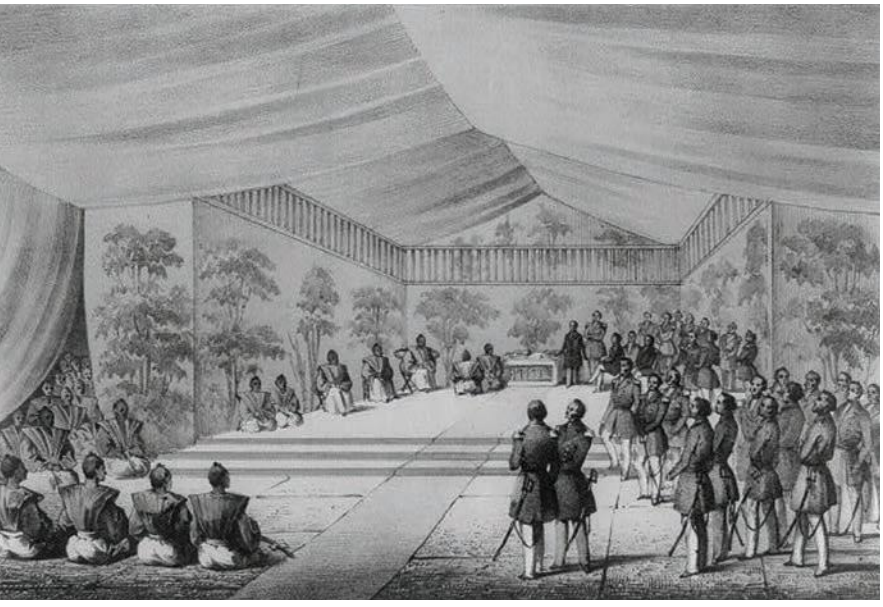
Your Good Friend,
MILLARD FILLMORE.

By the President.
EDWARD EVERETT,
Secretary of State.

The Interactive Textbook contains an audio reading of President Fillmore's letter, and the full text of the letter as a downloadable PDF. Either listen to or read the letter before completing the following questions.

Responding to the letter

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



SOURCE 4.14 *Delivery of the President's Letter*, lithograph, 1856
Describe how both countries' representatives have been depicted. Do you think the artist was American or Japanese? Explain your choice.

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

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

The shogun initially refused to accept the letter, and the leaders around the shogun wanted to reject the president's

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requests. However, Perry's gunboat diplomacy made it clear that rejection was not an option. The Japanese knew that they could not withstand the USA's superior modern weaponry. The shogun asked for time to consider the USA's requests. Perry responded with an ultimatum: he'd be back in six months for an answer.

Suspecting that the USA was prepared to use its modern weapons to force a Japanese agreement, the shogun leaned towards caution as opposed to active resistance. He consulted with the emperor and leading *daimyo* of the *fudai* clans. Despite many calls for increased defence, the shogun decided that resistance was futile.

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

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

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

- Why might historians use the term 'gunboat diplomacy' to describe the opening of Japan to the West? Do you think this is a strategy still employed by modern nations in their international relations?

4.6 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study, you've learned how many of the cultural and religious influences evident in pre-modern Japan were adopted from countries such as China and Korea. You have examined feudal Japanese society. You have seen that through a fusion of Confucian, Buddhist and native Shinto ideas Japan developed a strong military tradition, a sense of cultural exceptionalism and a xenophobic view of the world, and how these ideas set Japan on a 'cultural collision course' with the West.

Finally, this contextual study has described Japan's reasons for ending its 200 years of isolationist policy of *sakoku*. The winds of change were stirring, and with the arrival of Perry's Black Ships, the demonstration of the USA's military might threw Japan into turmoil. Thus, despite the relative peace and stability provided by the Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan had found itself technologically behind the rest of the world and unable to defend its isolation. This sets the scene for the following depth study that focuses on the dramatic changes that took place throughout the Meiji Restoration.

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DEPTH STUDY

What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?

The arrival of Perry's Black Ships in 1853 was the catalyst for the greatest and most tumultuous change in Japan's history. The Japan you are familiar with today did not come about without dramatic confrontation and turbulent social and political upheaval. The Meiji Restoration is a story of radical technological change that, despite beginning 150 years ago, continues today. The story begins with the end of a powerful military ruler and the beginning of one who was considered divine.

4.7 What led to the Meiji Restoration of 1868?

Internal discontent with Tokugawa rule

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

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

- the samurai, with high social status but living in debt, and
- the merchants, with low social status but with control of the economy.

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

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

◆ Do you think the social and economic changes that influenced discontent with the Tokugawa still cause discontent in modern societies today?

Rallying in support of the emperor

Growing dissatisfaction for the Tokugawa *bakufu* over foreign policy decisions after the arrival of Perry brought it under further question about its capacity and legitimacy to govern. Many Japanese supported a social movement to reinstate the emperor as the divine ruler of Japan. Shintoism was revived and its connection with the worship of ancient ancestors and traditions resonated with people. When Perry arrived in 1853, frustration with internal government policies experienced by all classes came head to head with *daimyo* disappointment that the Tokugawa couldn't assure Japan's security from external threats. The result

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was dissent among *daimyo* clans. Some *daimyo* wanted the Shogun's army to try to repel the foreigners at any cost, which more than likely would have resulted in the destruction of Japan and the loss of its independence to the West. Other *daimyo* understood Japan's predicament and accepted the need to adopt foreign technology and ideas as long as they favoured Japanese interests. This faction pushed for the Shogun to step down from governing Japan and hand over power to the emperor. They believed that this would 'make Japan great again', and as a result, a new sense of Japanese nationalism was born, focused on reverence for the emperor.

The nationalist anti-foreign sentiment known as **sonno joi** grew fervently in the decade following Perry's arrival. It seemed strongest, however, among the clans in the south-west in the Satsuma and Choshu domains. As the second of the opening stories in this chapter shows, an aggressive campaign against the foreigners resulted.

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

SOURCE 4.15 Colour woodblock of a sumo wrestler, 1861



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

Responding to the woodblock

1. Whom or what do the two main characters represent?
2. What contrasting adjectives could be applied to the two figures?
3. What reaction by the background figures is suggested?
4. What message do you think the artist was trying to send, and to whom?
5. Do you think the poster would have been effective?
6. What evidence suggests that the poster was aimed at a domestic audience?
7. What thoughts and emotions might the image have evoked?
8. How might foreigners feel about this image?

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

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

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

- Why might Shinto have been revived in opposition of the Tokugawa?
- Are there nationalist movements like *sonno joi* still evident in the world today? If so, where and why?

ACTIVITY 4.4

Take a position on an attitude scale about Japanese mobilisation

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

Japan should mobilise behind the shogun and militarily defeat the foreign powers and resist foreign influences.			Japan should mobilise behind the emperor, make peace with the foreigners and accept foreign contacts and influences.
strongly agree	agree	not sure	agree



Death of the shogun and restoration of an emperor

In 1866 Shogun Iemochi died suddenly. His successor Tokugawa Keiki understood the precariousness of the *bakufu*. The south-western domains sent him a letter – based on the ideas of Sakamoto Ryoma – asking him to resign for the sake of a strong and unified Japan. In November 1867, Keiki gave up his position of authority to the fourteen-year-old Emperor Mutsuhito and urged the Japanese people to rally behind the emperor. It seemed the *sonno joi* movement was gaining momentum. The south-western domains had convinced the shogun that Japan

SOURCE 4.16 Mutsuhito (1852–1912), Emperor of Japan from 1867. The date of this image is unknown.
How long after 1867 do you estimate this image was produced? What does the image suggest about what happened in Japan from 1867 onwards? The image is from a French magazine. What does the origin of the publication suggest?

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would survive the foreign threat only if the country took bold new steps under the symbolic leadership of the emperor. On 3 January 1868, the emperor made a formal declaration of the restoration of his power. This dramatic event came to be known as the Meiji Restoration – the restoration of power to the Meiji (meaning 'enlightened') Emperor Mutsuhito.

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

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

ACTIVITY 4.5

Create an infographic about the causes of the Meiji Restoration

To demonstrate your understanding of what you have just learned, create an infographic using relevant events and developments that you have encountered in this section of the chapter. Your infographic should address the question *what led to the Meiji Restoration of 1867* and also include:

- an informative, interesting and clear sequence of information that reflects the historical concepts of change/continuity and cause/effect
- graphic representation of information (use of images, diagrams, graphs, icons)
- a discerning use of written text (words).

You may like to use an online infographic generator like canva.com or Piktochart.

4.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What were the domestic consequences of the Meiji Restoration?

Japan is now one of the most technologically advanced and modern nations in the world. With a quick look around your home, you can undoubtedly see the many quality modern technological products designed and manufactured by Japanese companies and aimed at making your life easier or more enjoyable.

Therefore, Japan's modernisation since 1867 could be judged as successful based on the quality of its technologically advanced products and the large share of the global market that those products command. However, as you probably already know, there are criteria other than simple economic factors that can be applied to any assessment of successful modernisation. You will explore this complexity in the following pages.

In which direction did the emperor steer Japan upon restoration to power?

After his accession to power the emperor exerted his 'divine' authority in April 1868 by making one of the most famous statements in Japanese history: The Charter Oath.

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SOURCE 4.17 The Charter Oath, 1868

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national wealth on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.

The Charter Oath, 1868. Translation in W. Theodore de Bary, Ryusaku Tsunoda, and Donald Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 1964, p.137

Responding to the source

1. Study the introductory sentence and the five clauses. For each, explain why it might be essential for the transformation of Japan from a feudal state to an independent, progressive nation within the modern world.
2. How might different people in Japan have reacted to the oath?

The Charter Oath clearly pointed Japan in a new direction. The oath committed Japan to forming a parliament for governmental decision making. It pledged that modern Japan would do away with the feudal class system and that citizens would have the freedom to pursue their own vocations. Japan would adopt modern ideas based on the rule of law and the concept of justice. Importantly, the oath dedicated Japan to the pursuit of knowledge from whichever country had the expertise – in fact, it gave Japan a policy avenue to later implement compulsory education.

In what ways did Japan modernise industry?

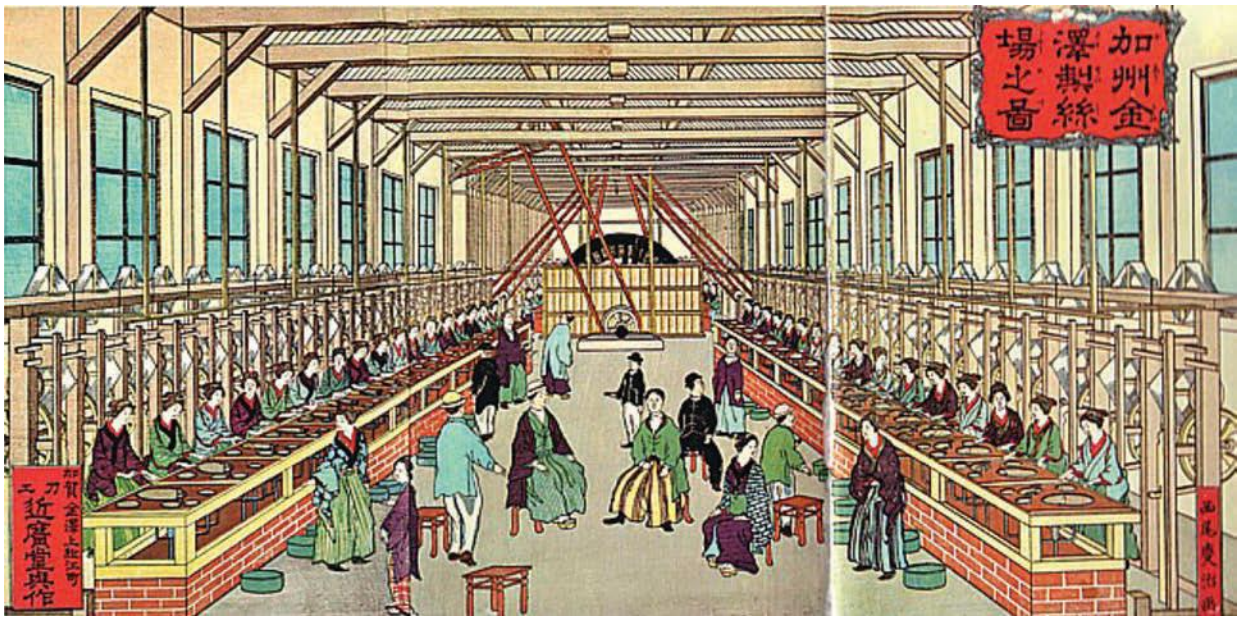
The plan to seek knowledge 'throughout the world' began rapidly. Once Japan had restored the emperor to power in 1868, it embarked on the most rapid industrialisation or Westernisation program in history. Historian John W. Dower (2008) claims that Japan was motivated to 'build a strong state and rich industrialized nation capable of resisting Western pressure and exploitation'.

Modernisation through industrialisation became a key objective in the Meiji period. In one sense, the Japanese were lucky to have come to it quite late – much of the Western world had been living through the Industrial Revolution and had already undergone significant modernisation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To capitalise on this existing knowledge, groups of promising young Japanese men were sent to Europe and the United States. They studied the government and banking systems of the United States, the education system and army of Prussia, and the navy of Great Britain. Furthermore, experts in mining, engineering, shipbuilding, textiles and weaponry were invited to Japan from Britain, France, Holland, Italy and Switzerland. These experts supervised new Japanese factories and mines and trained Japanese technicians.

Mechanisation of textile, cotton and wool production was supported heavily by Japanese government investment and its importation of spinning and mill equipment. This meant that the modernisation of the textile industry occurred rapidly. Heavy machinery was often paid for by the government and then sold to Japanese private companies at extremely reduced prices to speed up the modernising process. Source 4.19 shows how one artist represented a Meiji-era textile factory.

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SOURCE 4.18 Print of Japanese textile factory in the 1880s



Cited in Harold Marcuse, 2006, *Opium Wars in China: Imperialism in Japan*

Responding to the illustration

1. Can you identify in the illustration any Western-style heavy machinery/technology that could have been subsidised by the Meiji government?
2. How would you describe the representation of women in this illustration? How would you describe the representation of men? What might this suggest about Japanese society at the time? Are your conclusions similar or different to the Japanese gender roles discussed in the contextual study?
3. What might have been the artist's purpose for creating this print?

The National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (a graduate school in Tokyo) explains in a 2017 lecture published online that silk production was a traditional industry in Japan dating back to ancient times, but when Japan opened its ports and resumed foreign trade in the mid-nineteenth century, Japanese silk suddenly found an enormous overseas demand, especially in the US. Therefore, silk spinning became automated in big factories. Between 1870 and 1900, industrial production of silk more than doubled while artisanal production remained the same. In fact, industrially-produced silk became Japan's top export item for nearly a century, and the export of silk was a stable source of foreign exchange for Japan and contributed significantly to the industrialisation of the country.

Now take a look at a photograph taken in a flourishing Japanese silk factory at the turn of the century.

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SOURCE 4.19 Photograph of a flourishing silk factory in Japan

Responding to the photograph

1. Does this source support or contest your conclusions drawn from interpreting Source 4.18 (p. 627)?
2. Look online at a number of images of textile factories in Western countries during the Industrial Revolution. List the similarities and differences between this photograph and the images you locate.



Silk workers in a Japanese factory, 1907

You probably noticed in the previous sources that women were primarily involved in the manufacturing of textiles in Meiji Japanese factories. By 1893, as Oxford University's Saarang Narayan writes in her 2016 article *Women in Meiji Japan*, the silk industry had become Japan's largest export industry and women made up the majority of factory employees. Narayan further explains that by 1913 the industry was comprised of approximately 800 000 women workers, which were similar numbers to those of women working in the English textile industry at the same time. The following accounts are from two such woman who were amongst several hundred Meiji silk-reeling factory workers interviewed by local historian Yamamoto Shigemi.

SOURCES 4.20 A&B Interviews with Meiji silk-reeling factory workers

A Unnamed Japanese woman born in 1882 describes her life

> From morning, while it was still dark, we worked in the lamplit factory till ten at night. After work, we hardly had the strength to stand on our feet. When we worked late into the night, they occasionally gave us a roasted sweet potato. We then had to do our washing, fix our hair, and so on. By then it would be eleven o'clock. There was no heat even in the winter, and so we had to sleep huddled together ... I was told that the girls who went to work before my time had a harder time. We were not paid the first year. In the second year I got 35 yen, and the following year, 50 yen. I felt that it was not a place for a weak-willed person like me. If we didn't do the job right we were scolded, and, if we did it better than others, the others resented it. The life of a woman is really awful.

Yamamoto Shigemi, *Aa nomugi tōge*, 1977, p.176

B Sakanoue Jitsu recalls the autumn of 1907

> Soon after I went to work in the factory my younger sister Aki came to work there too. I think she worked for about two years, and then took to her bed because of illness. At that time there were about thirty sick people at the factory. Those who clearly had lung troubles were sent home right away. Everyone feared tuberculosis ... Aki was also sent home and died soon after. She was in her thirteenth year ... I can never forget her sad eyes as she left the factory sickly and pale.

Yamamoto Shigemi, *Aa nomugi tōge*, 1977, p. 149

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Responding to the interviews

1. List the conditions that made work difficult in these silk factories.
2. Consider the claim in Source 4.20A that women workers were not paid in the first year. Can you offer any possible explanations for this? How do you think this might have affected the women?
3. Why do you think women were scolded if they 'didn't do the right job' and resented by fellow workers if they 'did it better than others'?
4. Think about attitudes towards women in pre-modern Japan. What do these sources suggest about how modernisation changed some women's lives in Meiji Japan? (You may want to refer back to the contextual study to help you answer this question.)
5. Why do you think working conditions such as those mentioned above have been made illegal in many countries today? And why might conditions such as these still exist in others?
6. Conduct research online. Locate evidence of working conditions in textile factories in Britain, Europe or the United States in the nineteenth century during the Industrial Revolution. Use the table below to list any similarities or differences.

Japan vs Britain, Europe and the United States	Characteristics in common	Key differences

You will have found that many of the working conditions in Europe especially throughout the Industrial Revolution were quite similar to those described in Japan above. You may also have discovered that in Britain children too were a large source of labour for industrial factories and coal mines.

With Japanese industrialisation came the demand for coal. Coal mining was an important part of Meiji Japan's modernisation as it fuelled the booming transportation sector, particularly steamships and railways. San Jose State University economist Thayer Watkins (2018) demonstrates the scale of growth in these sectors by offering the following statistics for Japanese coal production and consumption:

Year	Coal production (in metric tonnes)	The size of the Japanese merchant fleet (no. of steamships)	Railroad mileage in Japan (track km)
1875	600 000	26	29
1885	1 200 000		386
1895	5 000 000	169	3380
1905	13 000 000	797	7564
1913	21 300 000	1514	
1914			11426

SOURCE 4.21 Thayer Watkins, 'Meiji Restoration/Revolution', San José State University Department of Economics
What trends, patterns or relationships do you see in these statistics? When might you expect working conditions within Meiji coal mines to have been at their most onerous?

To explore this growth further you will now investigate whether working conditions in Meiji Japan's coal mines were as harsh as those in Europe during the Industrial Revolution. Take a look at the following sources.

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Hashima Island, also known as Battleship Island, is in Nagasaki Prefecture. Now deserted and closed to the public, it was one of Japan's major coal mining centres from 1887 to 1974. This underwater coal mine owned by Mitsubishi reached its peak population of 5259 in 1959 but was closed and abandoned after depleting its coal reserves in 1974. During its time in use coal was excavated in mines with temperatures of 30°C and 95% humidity.

SOURCE 4.22 Aerial video footage of Hashima (Battleship) Island

Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 02:27) before answering the questions below.



Responding to the video

1. Why do you think this coal mine might have been given the name Battleship Island?
2. What might be some of the benefits for Mitsubishi in constructing a coal mine on an island?
3. Miners and their families lived 24/7 on this island. There was a school, a swimming pool, an open-air market, a hospital, a small jail and rooftop vegetable gardens. Do you think this lifestyle might appeal to a miner's child? Explain your response.

Justin McCurry explains in his 2015 article for *The Guardian* that under Japanese World War II mobilisation policies, Korean conscripted civilians and Chinese prisoners of war were forced to work under very harsh conditions and subjected to brutal treatment as forced labourers on Battleship Island. Furthermore, information from a 1999 report published by the International Labour Organization details these events in a similar fashion. Here is an extract from an article written by the *Japan Times* in 2017 about Battleship Island.

SOURCE 4.23 Extract from *Japan Times*, 18 February 2017

Ghosts continue to haunt Japan's battleship island

The haunting silhouette of Hashima Island, known in English as Battleship Island, rises up from the sea, an abandoned testament to what was once the most densely populated city on Earth. Known in Japanese as Gunkanjima, it was the villain's lair in the 2012 Bond film *Skyfall* and won UNESCO heritage status three years later, in 2015.

Not everyone, however, is happy about the attention being given to the sea-wall encircled island ... The former city's crumbling concrete walls, smashed windows and rusty iron support bars harbor a dark secret – Chinese and Korean workers were once forced to work here, slaves to their colonial master Japan.

'Gunkanjima is an evil place,' said Zhang Shan, vice president of the Chinese Forced Labor Association after the island achieved UNESCO status. '(The UNESCO status) was a desecration and a shock for the victims.' For others, the island holds different memories. Minoru Kinoshita, 63, who was born on the island,

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says, 'I've come here often and every time I see that my hometown is falling into an increasing state of decay.'

Four or more people lived together in tiny tatami-mat rooms. Residents boarded up windows when violent typhoons lashed the island, and the mines at which most worked operated 24 hours a day in rolling eight-hour shifts. Up to 1,000 meters below sea level, men toiled in cramped and stifling spaces where they had to defecate into small holes that they dug themselves. More than 200 workers died in accidents over the years. Others suffered from silicosis, a work-related lung disease.

Mitsubishi Materials, a descendant of the original operator on Battleship Island, has made an acknowledgment of the forced labor, and said it will place a memorial at some of its former mining sites to honor those laborers.

Responding to the source

1. What do you think the author means by the title 'Ghosts continue to haunt Japan's Battleship Island'?
2. According to the source, why might living conditions on the island have been difficult?
3. According to the article, Hashima 'won the UNESCO heritage status in 2015.' Being included on UNESCO's World Heritage List is a prestigious accolade. Why might Zhang Shan have described the UNESCO declaration as a 'desecration'?
4. Do you think Mitsubishi could operate a coal mine like this today? Give details why or why not.
5. There is mention of Chinese and Korean forced labour in the article. Why might this still be a sensitive subject today?

The wave of industrialisation occurring in Japan during the Meiji period established coal, copper, silver and gold mines, opened shipbuilding yards and built munitions factories. Initially the Japanese government was the key player in Japan's modernisation. As you learned previously with the textile industry, the Meiji government provided subsidies to a variety of commercial enterprises to fund innovation and expertise. But this changed with the Meiji government's introduction of the *Regulations on the Transfer of Factories* on 5 November 1880.

Canadian diplomat and historian E. Herbert Norman in his book *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (2000) explains that the policy allowed the government to sell certain industrial plants or factories to private **conglomerates** at a reasonable price. These influential conglomerates, still closely connected with the government, included Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Yasuda, Kawasaki, Furukawa, Okura and Asano. The first four of these groups were known in Japan as the *zaibatsu* (financial clique). Some of these groups you may recognise as brand names behind products still sold in Australia today. According to statistics provided by Hidemasa Morikawa in his 1992 book *Zaibatsu: The Rise and Fall of Family Enterprise Groups in Japan,* by 1895 Mitsubishi's annual income was more than that of the next top six *zaibatsu* put together. Its closest competitor was Mitsui with approximately half Mitsubishi's annual income.

conglomerate large corporation run as a single business, but made up of several firms (acquired through mergers or takeovers) supplying diverse goods and/or services

The *zaibatsu* were responsible for the manufacture of different products and large-scale infrastructure projects sponsored by the Meiji government. Over time they began to develop overlapping interests in industry, transportation and banking. For example, when the Meiji government needed military transport, Mitsubishi provided it. Another example of a major *zaibatsu* infrastructure project was the railway. Within just two decades of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853, Japan had built a railway approximately 40 kilometres long from Tokyo to Yokohama, allowing travel of a distance of 29 km in 53 minutes – much faster than on foot or horseback. Australian National University economist Dr John Tang explains that by

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1907 the Meiji government had nationalised the rail industry, and the domestic rail network had expanded from 29 to 7152 kilometres; the number of locomotives from 10 to 1924; and the annual passengers carried from 495 000 to 101 million. Here is how one artist depicted Japan's earliest railway at the time.

SOURCE 4.24 Japan's earliest railway



Illustration of a train departing Shinbashi Railway Station, Utagawa Kunisada III, 1873

Responding to the image

1. What are the several signs of modernisation and Westernisation in this illustration? How useful do you think this source is in assessing the rapidity of this change?
2. Note the date of the illustration. What does that suggest about the rate of change in Meiji Japan?
3. Why do you think this illustration might have been produced?

The rapidity of Japan's industrialisation throughout this period is a marvel of history. For example, the Meiji rail industry managed to produce domestically an impressive 75% of its railroad carriages within decades of its first train, and Meiji Japan produced five million pounds of cotton yarn in 1884 and had progressed to produce an astonishing 666 million pounds by 1914. By the beginning of the twentieth century Japan had adopted Western ideas and technology, it had progressed industries through mining, engineering, shipbuilding, textiles and weaponry to a standard equivalent to those of the European powers and the United States. The Industrial Revolution in Europe had taken 150 years, yet remarkably Japan had gone from rice paddies to factories in less than 40 years.

- List reasons why Japan's industrialisation was viewed as extraordinary by historians. Would you still class it as extraordinary if a country was industrialising in this manner today?

How was the economy affected by Japan's modernisation?

The ambitious modernisation Japan undertook in the Meiji period was funded largely by land tax. With the end of feudalism, in 1873 the government introduced a new land tax system. The new system now made landowners pay tax according to the value of their land rather than the quantity of crops produced as had been done in the past. This ensured that the government had a regular annual tax income that was not affected by agricultural yields. In other words, even in poor seasons, farmers had to pay the same level of tax

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determined by the government. But on the other hand, farmers for the first time could own their land, and understood that if they worked hard they could reap the fruits of their labour. Japanese commentators at the time labelled farmers as the 'fertilizers of the nation'.

Japan's currency was further reformed in this period. With the opening of trade with the West, there was a range of different currencies in circulation. In 1871 the Meiji government instituted decimal currency. This currency is still used today in Japan and is known as the yen.

The growth in industry, due largely to the relationship between the Meiji government and the *zaibatsu*, created **capital** that could be invested or lent for future projects. This meant that Japan was well on its way to creating a modern economy based on **capitalism**. However, the domestic investment generated by the *zaibatsu* meant Japan was less reliant on foreign investment from the West to modernise. It could finance its own transformation without borrowing heavily from the West. Through government subsidies to the *zaibatsu* or continued internal funding of industrial projects, the profitability and power of the *zaibatsu* increased. They played a significant role in the Japanese economy over the following century.

Professor Konosuke Odaka of Hosei University argues that Meiji industrialisation was achieved by appropriately combining existing traditional technology with imported Western technology. He calls this 'hybrid technology'. Interestingly, Takafusa Nakamura of Tokyo University proposes that indigenous Japanese industries were often modified by Western technology which led to a faster rate of industrial output. He terms this as 'new indigenous industry'. In the following activity you will explore this idea further.



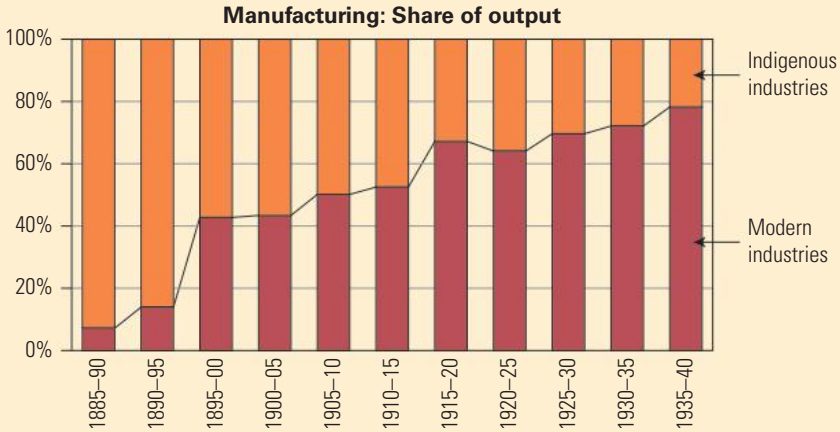
SOURCE 4.25 10000 Yen note. The figure on the note is Yukichi Fukuzawa, a Meiji-era writer, teacher, translator, entrepreneur and journalist. He founded Keio University, *Jiji-Shinpō* (a newspaper) and the Institute for Study of Infectious Diseases.
Why might Fukuzawa be viewed as a significant symbol to use on a bank note? Fukuzawa was quoted as saying 'Heaven creates no man above or below another man'. How might he represent a break from the past and the changing nature of Japanese society? Do you know the historical significance of the figures on Australian bank notes? What might they symbolise?

capital wealth in the form of money or other assets owned by a person or organisation or available for a purpose such as starting a company or investing

capitalism an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state. Australia functions under a capitalist system

ACTIVITY 4.6

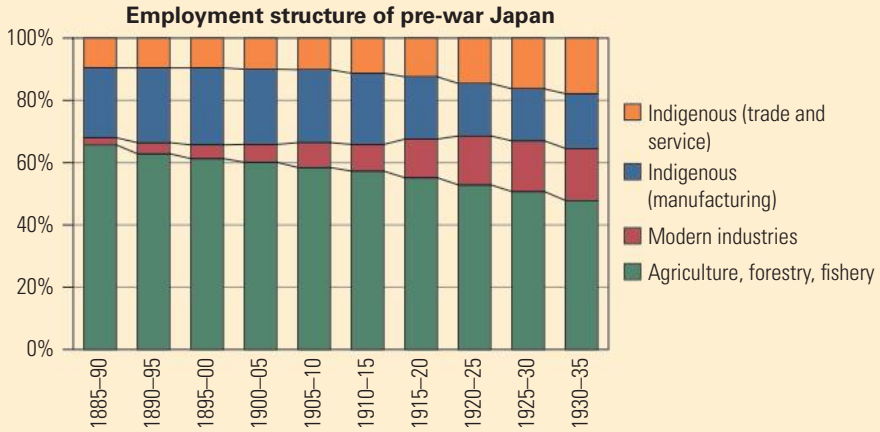
Work with Meiji economic statistics



SOURCE 4.26 Manufacturing share of input throughout and beyond Meiji-era Japan

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ACTIVITY 4.6 continued



SOURCE 4.27 Employment statistics throughout and beyond Meiji-era Japan. Takanori Matsumoto and Miyako Okuda, 'Nationwide Development of Indigenous Industries in Prewar Japan', in Nakamura (1997)

1. List the trends you see in each of the graphs and suggest possible reasons for these.
2. Note any peculiarities or anomalies within the data and suggest possible reasons. For example, why might modern industries have spiked in 1915 and then lessened after 1920? What was happening in the world at the time?

◆ How did Japanese economic behaviour differ from that of Western capitalist economies? Can you think of an answer why from your studies in the contextual study?

What role did the samurai play in Japan's modernisation?

Earlier in the contextual study you explored the significance of the samurai in feudal Japan. The rapidly industrialising Japan in the late nineteenth century was placed in a dilemma. What would become of a seemingly antiquated warrior class that didn't have the military capacity to protect the nation? Did it have a place in the modern world?

Adding to this, the Meiji government had assumed the financial commitment of paying samurai stipends. This was a hangover from the Tokugawa system where the warrior class was paid by the *bakufu* to ensure the loyalty of the *daimyo*. These payments were crippling Meiji Japan's new treasury. It seemed modern Japanese society now had a different 'parasite'. The Japanese Minister of the Right, Iwakura Tomomi, offered the following suggestion for the samurai's future.

SOURCE 4.28 Iwakura describes the samurai's potential role in industry

In trying to create employment for the samurai, we must give first importance to the development of industry ... With their strength of spirit nurtured through generations, the samurai are equal to any task ... Let those samurai with some capital be given financial aid by the government, those with ability be placed in charge of the new enterprises, those with physical strength be employed as workers, and within a few years production in different parts of the country will be sufficiently increased that all the samurai now idle will be useful producers.

Quoted in Jon Livingston, Felicia Oldfather, Joe Moore, *The Japan Reader 1: Imperial Japan 1800–1945*, 1973

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Responding to the source

1. What are the three categories of samurai that Iwakura describes?
2. What statement by Iwakura indicates that he has confidence in the qualities of the samurai?
3. Consider the dilemma put forward about the samurai in the opening paragraph of this section. Why do you think Iwakura was keen to find roles for the samurai in Japanese industry?



SOURCE 4.29 Portrait of Emperor Meiji, 1873

How would you describe Emperor Meiji in this depiction? List aspects within the portrait that might reflect the emperor's support for a professional Japanese military in the manner resembling the European powers of the time. Note how soon after the Meiji Restoration this portrait was painted. How would you expect this image to be viewed by the samurai?

As the samurai could no longer provide military protection, Japan had to look elsewhere to assure its security. With the focus on modernisation through the adoption of Western technology, Japan understood clearly the practical connection between wealth, power and security in the world of **realpolitik**. Therefore, in addition to industrial projects mentioned earlier, the Meiji government naturally sought a strong, professional military in the manner resembling the Western powers of the time. Japan's newly formed Imperial Army was notably modelled on that of Germany (in style, formation and the role of the military in government). The slogan, 'rich country, strong military' (*fukoku kyōhei*) became famous in the Meiji emperor's new Japan. However, this slogan did not include the samurai.

realpolitik a theory of political philosophy that attempts to explain, model, and prescribe political relations. It takes as its assumption that power is (or ought to be) the primary end of political action, whether in the domestic or international arena. In other words, internationally a nation who wields power doesn't have to consider the needs (in a moral sense) of a 'weaker' nation when interacting politically within the international system

In 1872, the Meiji government made an announcement which sent shock waves through the ranks of the samurai.

SOURCE 4.30 Imperial government announcement: On military conscription, 1872

... in our country in the ancient past everyone was a soldier. In an emergency the emperor became the Marshal, mobilizing the able-bodied youth for military service and thereby suppressing rebellion. When the campaign was over the men returned to their homes and their occupations, whether that of a farmer, artisan, or merchant. They differed from the soldiers of a later period who called themselves warriors, living presumptuously without working ...

[Because of the Meiji Restoration], warriors who lived without labour for generations have had their stipends reduced and have been stripped of their swords; on the other hand, the four classes of the people are about to receive their right to freedom. This is the way to restore the balance between the high and the low and to grant equal rights to all. It is, in short, the basis of uniting the farmer and the soldier into one. Thus, the soldier is not the soldier of former days. The people are not the people of former days. They are now equally the people of the empire ...

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When the State suffers disaster, the people cannot escape being affected. Thus, the people can ward off disaster to themselves by striving to ward off disaster to the State. And where there is a state, there is military defence; and if there is military defence there must be military service. It follows, therefore, that the law providing for a militia (civilian army) is the law of nature and not an accidental, man-made law.

(This announcement by the imperial government goes on to describe a system whereby all 20-year-old men – samurai and commoner alike – would serve a compulsory three years' military service and would then be entered into the reserves)

Quoted in W. Theodore de Bary, Ryusaku Tsunoda, and Donald Keene (eds), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* 1st ed., vol. 2, 1964, pp. 704–713

Responding to the source

1. How does the imperial government describe Japan's organisation of its defences in ancient times (prior to the samurai class)?
2. According to the source, how does the imperial government plan to organise Japan's defences in the future?
3. Does this source reflect ideas put forward in the Charter Oath (Source 4.17)?
4. How are certain expressions used to encourage 'the people' to support the idea of a militia?
5. How are certain expressions used implicitly to denigrate the samurai class? Why might this have been done?
6. How do you think members of the samurai class would have reacted to this announcement? Explain your response.



SOURCE 4.31 Surrender of the Satsuma Rebels, 1900

Do you think the artist's own thoughts and feelings about the two sides of this situation are evident in the painting? Explain why this might be. What might different classes in Japanese society think and feel about the event portrayed here? How might this illustration reflect a turning point in Japanese history? This illustration was created over 20 years after the event. Could this impact on its usefulness for historians studying the Satsuma Rebellion? Give details.

The introduction of universal and compulsory conscription elevated the status of former peasants. Now, for the first time in Japanese history, those once beneath the status of the samurai were considered to be of importance to the country's military and security. Interestingly for leaders such as Choshū reformer Yamada Kenji, conscription was viewed as being linked with universal education. Kenji stresses in 1873 the importance of surpassing 'the enemy through the knowledge and understanding of the people as a whole …

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the foundation of a strong army is not simply a matter of giving arms to soldiers but rather to provide an education to the people as a whole … without discrimination of class or rank' (Sakuzo, 1930, p. 17). Many samurai saw this as a threat to their existence. Some samurai reacted with force. There were four major rebellions by samurai between 1873 and 1877.

The final and most serious rebellions put down by the newly formed conscript Imperial Army was the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877 led by Saigo Takamori. Ironically, Saigo was a former imperialist samurai from Satsuma domain who led the toppling of the Tokugawa Shogunate. He was supportive of Japan's modernisation until the government abolished the samurai class' stipends. Historian Jonathon Clements (2010) notes that Saigo led 20 000 sympathisers against the government's 90 000 new conscript soldiers and was decisively defeated due to the army's modern weaponry.

ACTIVITY 4.7

Evaluate historical accuracy in a film

The Satsuma Rebellion marked the last stand for the way of the samurai. The 2003 Edward Zwick film *The Last Samurai* starring Tom Cruise is said to be based on this historical event.

1. Begin by viewing the following clip of an interview with Tom Cruise. Note down any information that might lead you to believe that the film could be historically accurate or inaccurate.

Watch, research and evaluate the accuracy of this film using the following table:



SOURCE 4.32 Interview with Tom Cruise, 6 January 2004
This video (duration 07:50) is available in the Interactive Textbook.

	Evidence from your research on the Satsuma Rebellion	Depiction in the film
i. Descriptions and actions of the Satsuma samurai		
ii. Actions of the imperial government and its conscript army		
iii. Attitudes towards samurai at the time (explicit and implied)		
iv. Other insights		

2. Publish a film review (magazine, podcast, vlog) on *The Last Samurai* that addresses the question: *To what extent does the film The Last Samurai accurately portray the Satsuma Rebellion?*

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The samurai were not the only group upset by the introduction of conscription. In Source 4.30 you undoubtedly noticed that the imperial government chose its words carefully in an attempt to stay popular with the people. After all, conscription was going to take fit, young men away from their usual jobs on farms and elsewhere. Thus, there were uprisings also by peasants in various parts of the country. Ironically, these too were overcome by conscripted troops, just as the samurai rebellions were.

enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by seventeenth-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke, and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith

By 1880, the power of the samurai was broken. With Saigo Takamori's death came the death of the samurai class and the end of feudalistic ideas. Samurai were forced to cut off the topknot – a symbol of feudal Japan – and adopt a more Western appearance. Songs at the time further cemented this change with lyrics such as, 'if you slap a barbered head, it sounds back civilization and **enlightenment**'. It seemed Japan had truly entered a new era. However, as Source 4.28 implies, some leaders considered the samurai too talented to simply disregard. The government took steps to involve samurai in industry and business as owners, operators, managers and workers. The spirit of the samurai (*bushido*) was not lost either. As Boye Lafayette de Mente in his 2004 book *The Japanese Samurai Code: Classic Strategies for Success* explains, *bushido* was adopted by Japanese business and government bureaucracy as a means to assure a collective commitment in service to the company or the modern Japanese nation-state. Thus, the samurai salaryman and bureaucrat that would serve Japan well into the next century was born.

- How did the Japanese Imperial Army signify a departure from the past and at the same time represent Meiji Restoration?

ACTIVITY 4.8

Conduct a class debate on conscription

List the benefits and disadvantages of conscription. Consider individual and governmental perspectives. Conduct a class debate that addresses whether conscription can ever be justified.

What was the role of education in Japan's rapid modernisation?

How necessary is compulsory education to your success in life? You're currently living in what many define as the Third Industrial Revolution – the Digital Age. What's more, many academics and commentators anticipate a fourth Industrial Revolution dawning in the coming decades, where a fusion of technologies is expected to blur the lines between the physical, digital and biological aspects of our life. *The Economist* (2012) predicted that digitisation will irreversibly transform the workforce and the way goods are made. You may have noticed this transformation already. Interestingly, the *The Economist* article also points out that the best thing governments can do in the midst of this revolutionary change is to provide better schools.

Compulsory education was crucial to the success of the Meiji Restoration. As the Charter Oath of 1868 decreed, Japan was to 'seek knowledge throughout the world', which in practical terms meant Japan was to adopt ideas and practices from leading Western nations and teach them in Japanese schools. It also set its sights on eliminating illiteracy. However, in 1878 the emperor visited schools throughout Japan and noticed dramatic changes. Here's how he reacted.

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SOURCE 4.33 An Imperial Rescript: The Great Principles of Education

The essence of education, our traditional national aim, and a watchword for all men, is to make clear the ways of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety, and to master knowledge and skill and through these to pursue the Way of Man. In recent days, people have been going to extremes. They take unto themselves a foreign civilization whose only values are fact-gathering and technique, thus violating the rules of good manners and bringing harm to our customary ways. Although we set out to take in the best features of the West and bring in new things in order to achieve the high aims of the Meiji Restoration – abandonment of the undesirable practices of the past and learning from the outside world – this procedure had a serious defect: It reduced benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety to a secondary position. The danger of indiscriminate emulation of Western ways is that in the end our people will forget the great principles governing the relations between ruler and subject, and father and son. Our aim, based on our ancestral teachings, is solely the clarification of benevolence, justice, loyalty, and filial piety.

For morality, the study of Confucianism is the best guide. People should cultivate sincerity and moral conduct, and after that they should turn to the cultivation of the various subjects of learning in accordance with their ability. In this way, morality and technical knowledge will fall into their proper places. When our education comes to be grounded on Justice and the Doctrine of the Mean, we shall be able to show ourselves proudly throughout the world as a nation of independent spirit ...

Since the practice has developed recently of displaying pictures in classrooms, we must see to it that portraits of loyal subjects, righteous warriors, filial children, and virtuous women are utilized, so that when the pupils enter the school, they will immediately feel in their hearts the significance of loyalty and filial piety. Only if this is done first and then other subjects taught later will they develop in the spirit of loyalty and filial piety and not mistake the means for the end of other studies.

Motoda Eifu, 'Imperial Rescript: The Great Principles of Education, [Official Document]', 1879

Responding to the source

1. What does the emperor say is the feature of foreign (Western) civilisation and education?
2. Why does he see the adoption of that foreign feature as a 'serious defect'?
3. What qualities does he hope will be encouraged by the display of certain portraits?
4. What do you think he means by the expression 'mistake the means for the end'?
5. To what degree do you think the emperor is upholding the ideals of the Charter Oath here? Give details.

Clearly the emperor was alarmed by what he saw in Japanese schools during his trip around the nation. The form of education he observed was focussed on scientific and technical knowledge that would foster modernisation – what we call today STEM.

Eleven years after his trip, in 1890, the emperor issued another Imperial Rescript on Education. In this he called for the reinforcement of Japanese tradition, reverence for the emperor, and loyalty to the state and to the family. You might recognise these values from the contextual study as Confucian-like. In essence, the two rescripts on education suggest that the emperor (and perhaps other Japanese) was ambivalent about the Meiji modernisation. He was concerned about a moral degradation in Japan. While the benefits of modernisation were obvious, the rescripts indicate that the emperor was asking students to develop Western scientific and technical knowledge whilst maintaining traditional Japanese values and beliefs.

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SOURCE 4.34 School children visiting the Meiji Shrine for the anniversary of the death of the last empress, 1900
What does this show about the role of Shinto in a Japanese child's education at the time? To what degree do you think the state should prescribe religious education for children? Explain your response.

Among the many reforms that took place during the Meiji period, those regarding education contributed the most to the enlightenment of the Japanese people. By 1906, school attendance was as high as 95%, and Japan boasted one of the highest literacy rates in the world. With universal education came the desire for democratic participation for many Japanese citizenry. Some historians link the introduction of state education to Japan's democratisation over time.

ACTIVITY 4.9

Debate the value of modern education

In Source 4.33, the emperor lamented the way in which schools taught 'technique' without reference to or inclusion of morality. You live now in a time of dramatic technological change like that of Meiji Japan. Debate the following:

Do you think that your school provides you with both the essential knowledge and skills for a productive life in the digital age AND the values and ethical understanding necessary to use your knowledge and skills responsibly, sustainably and in a rewarding way?

How did Japan reform its political and judicial system by 1890?

Meiji modernisation also involved changes to Japan's political system. While the Charter Oath outlined the direction in which the emperor would progress Japan, it didn't provide the political structure necessary to govern modern Japan. By 1881 calls for a representative government could not be ignored by the emperor and his closest advisers (government officials mostly from the domains of Choshu and Satsuma). As a result, the emperor promised a new constitution for Japan. On 11 February 1889, the new constitution was endorsed.

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SOURCE 4.35 *The Ceremony Promulgating the Constitution*, illustration, artist unknown, 1890
How does this scene reflect the following: i) the Meiji Constitution of 1890 was 'bestowed' on the government by the emperor, and established a constitutional monarchy strongly influenced by German legal models, and ii) the constitution declared the emperor to be 'sacred and inviolable'?

Ito Hirobumi, a well-respected government official from Choshu, was tasked with the challenge of drafting the new constitution. In many ways, Ito symbolised the Meiji period. As a young man he was strongly anti-foreigner and had taken part in a bombing raid on the British Legation in Edo. However, he also realised that Japan's survival depended on Western-style modernisation. He travelled to England in 1863 before the Restoration and was impressed with the industrial progress he saw. After the Restoration, Ito became one of the *genro* (influential Privy Councillors surrounding the emperor at his court). When looking for inspiration in drafting Japan's constitution, he rejected the United States Constitution as too **liberal**, but was impressed with the British and German constitutional monarchies. What remained to be seen was how democratic modern Japan's political system would become. You will examine this point in the activity below.

liberalism a political view based on liberty and equality. Liberals generally support civil rights, democracy, secularism, gender equality, internationalism and the freedoms of speech, the press, religion and markets

ACTIVITY 4.10

Hypothesise about the Meiji political system

Consider what you have learnt so far about Meiji modernisation. In particular, think about the points mentioned in the Charter Oath earlier and the sentiments implied by the emperor about modernisation in his imperial rescripts on education in the preceding section.

1. How would you expect the emperor and the *genro* to create Japan's new political system? Hypothesise on this after making decisions on the following points. For each, decide whether you **agree** that it would probably happen, or **disagree**.

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ACTIVITY 4.10 continued

Statement	Agree or disagree
i. A position of prime minister and office of a cabinet are created	
ii. Ito Hirobumi is made Japan's first prime minister	
iii. All adult Japanese can vote	
iv. All adult Japanese can stand for election	
v. There is a House of Representatives elected by all voters	
vi. The House of Representatives can initiate bills and make laws	
vii. There is a House of Peers representing royalty and royal nominees	
viii. The House of Peers can veto any decision of the House of Representatives	
ix. The emperor's decisions cannot be vetoed	
x. The emperor needs Diet (parliament) approval to declare war	
xi. The emperor can make or negotiate treaties with foreign powers	
xii. The emperor is able to dismiss the Diet	
xiii. The emperor can follow advice of his Privy or Judicial Council to make legislative decisions	

2. Combine your answers to the statements above to create a cohesive hypothesis in response to the question: *How did Japan reform its political system by 1890?*
3. Conduct research online to test your hypothesis. Remember to reflect on the research as you go. In particular, consider how useful the internet is as your research base.
4. Rewrite your hypothesis in light of the new information you have found (if needed).
5. Share your hypothesis with the class. Discuss similarities and differences in your hypotheses.
6. As a class, formatively assess your knowledge of the Meiji political system using the game-based online learning platform Kahoot. Use numbers i–xiii as your guide.

In many ways the Constitution of 1890 took Japan towards **bicameral** parliamentary democracy (similar to that of the Australian Federal Parliament), but there were significant limitations. For example, it excluded most men and all women from the electoral process. Only wealthy male property owners could vote (about 1% of the population) and the Diet was effectively answerable to the power of the emperor. Historian Louis Cullen (2003:221) explains that Japan took two key steps to cope with what they perceived as 'the risks inherent in introducing parliamentary democracy':

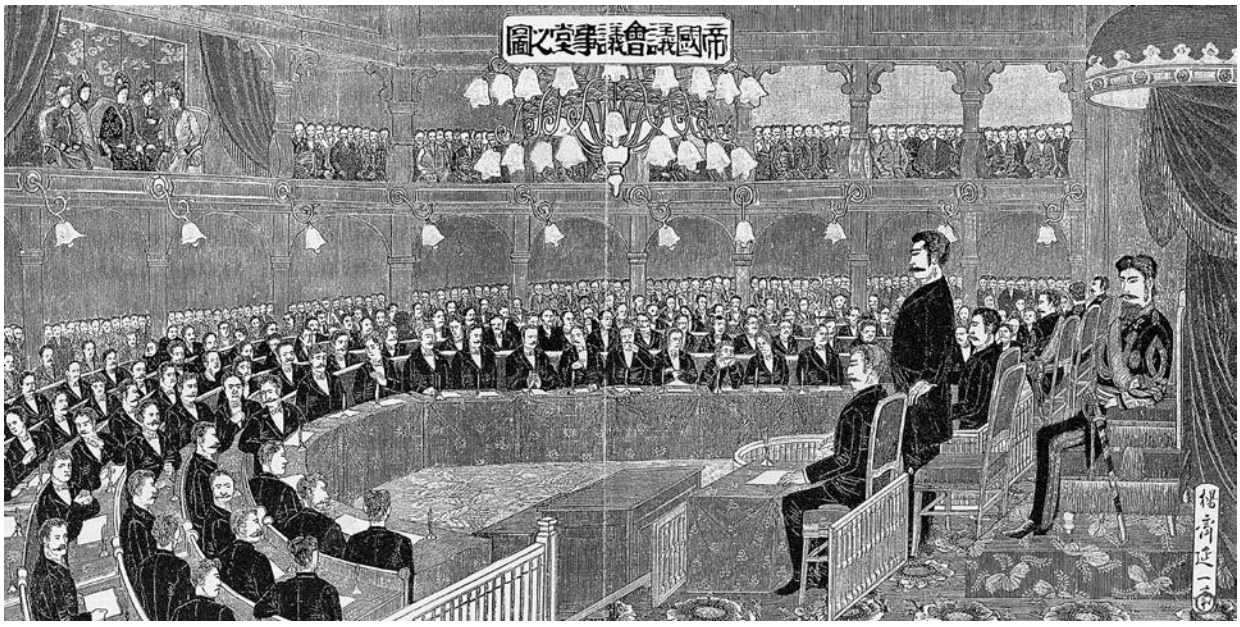
- Emphasise the authority of the emperor (necessary to maintain Japanese traditional values and avoid adoption of liberal ideas)
- Protect the ruling interests of the *genro* or Privy Council.

bicameral a legislative body that has two chambers (houses of parliament)

oligarchy a country or organisation controlled by a small group of people

In essence, the system was an **oligarchy**. The Meiji leaders weren't ready in 1890 to completely hand over control to the people by way of an indirect representative democracy similar to that which you experience in Australia today. Therefore, greater power was placed in the hands of the emperor and cabinet ministers compared with that of the two houses of parliament.

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SOURCE 4.36 *Interior of the New Japanese Parliament House*, illustration, *The Graphic*, 1891
In what ways are 'Westernising' influences evident in the scene? Are there stylistic signs of whether the artist was Japanese or European? This illustration was published in *The Graphic* – a British magazine – on January 24, 1891. How do think a British audience would have reacted to this illustration?

Additionally, one of the main reasons for the introduction of the constitution was the reform of the judicial system. The Tokugawa *bakufu's* justice system was seen as unjust and too inconsistent. Therefore, in 1890 a new legal system was drafted based on the French penal code. A commercial and civil code was also introduced based on both French and German models.

In a significant development in 1894 that symbolised just how far Japan had progressed, Britain acknowledged the regulated and just approach to the rule of law and agreed to forgo its extra-territoriality clause. By 1899 many other Western nations followed suit. Through the sufficient adoption of modern ideas in government and the rule of law, it seemed Japan had effectively broken free of the unequal treaties.



SOURCE 4.37 The former Ministry of Justice Building in Chiyoda is a classic red-brick style designed in 1895 by German architects
Why might have Japan chosen to follow German architectural influences for this particular building? Have you seen evidence of other European cultural influences elsewhere in this chapter?

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Summing up the domestic consequences of the Meiji Restoration

By the turn of the twentieth century, Japan was a vastly different place to what it had been only four decades earlier. It had developed modern political and judicial systems, become focussed heavily on industrialisation, and managed to do away with the unequal treaties of the past. For the first time in history an Asian nation was interacting on equal terms with the West. All Japan seemed to need now was an empire to validate its status among powerful nations. In the next section of this depth study, you'll investigate how the world reacted to the powerful rise of an Asian nation for the first time in modern history.

4.9 Why did Japan become imperialistic?

At the turn of the twentieth century, European imperialism was well entrenched in a scramble to gain new colonies and territories around the world. Africa was carved up primarily amongst the French, the British, Belgians and the Germans; India was occupied by the British; South-East Asia had French, Spanish and Dutch colonies. China, once perceived as the jewel of Asian civilisation, was constrained by unequal treaties at the hands of the British. In this context, Japan saw two possible futures – become an imperialist itself or be subject to an eventual European takeover.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology's John Dower (2008) characterises the international system at the turn of the twentieth century as a 'dog eat dog world'. He argues that 'the bedrock of international stature was empire and clearly defined spheres of influence; diplomacy was never absent the warships'. In other words, Japan came to realise that *fukoku* (a rich country) always possessed *kyōhei* (a strong military).



SOURCE 4.38 French political cartoon, 'China – the cake of kings and ... of emperors', from *Le Petit Journal*, 16 January 1898
What is happening in this cartoon? What might the cake represent? Who do the six figures represent? For each figure, write one phrase or sentence that describes their interest, attitude and/or action. How would you describe Japan's place at the table?

In 1885, prominent Meiji leader Fukuzawa Yukichi (from the 10 000-yen banknote) described Japan's road ahead in an influential essay titled *On Throwing Off Asia*. Fukuzawa pointed out that Japan 'must not wait for neighbouring countries to become civilized'. He believed that Japan needed to 'join forces with the civilized countries of the West' and 'deal with [China and Korea] as Western people do.' In the same year, Japanese Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru declared 'in my opinion what we must do is transform our empire and our people, make the empire like the countries of Europe and our people like the people of Europe. To put it differently, we have to establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia'. These words perhaps offer historians and students of history insight into the roots of the Meiji government's expansionist tendencies. It seemed to Meiji leaders that an imperial takeover (militaristically if necessary) and subsequent modernisation of China and Korea were necessary to assure Japan's power in East Asia. A modern military (an army formed from a German model and a navy based on the British naval system) was the key to making this happen.

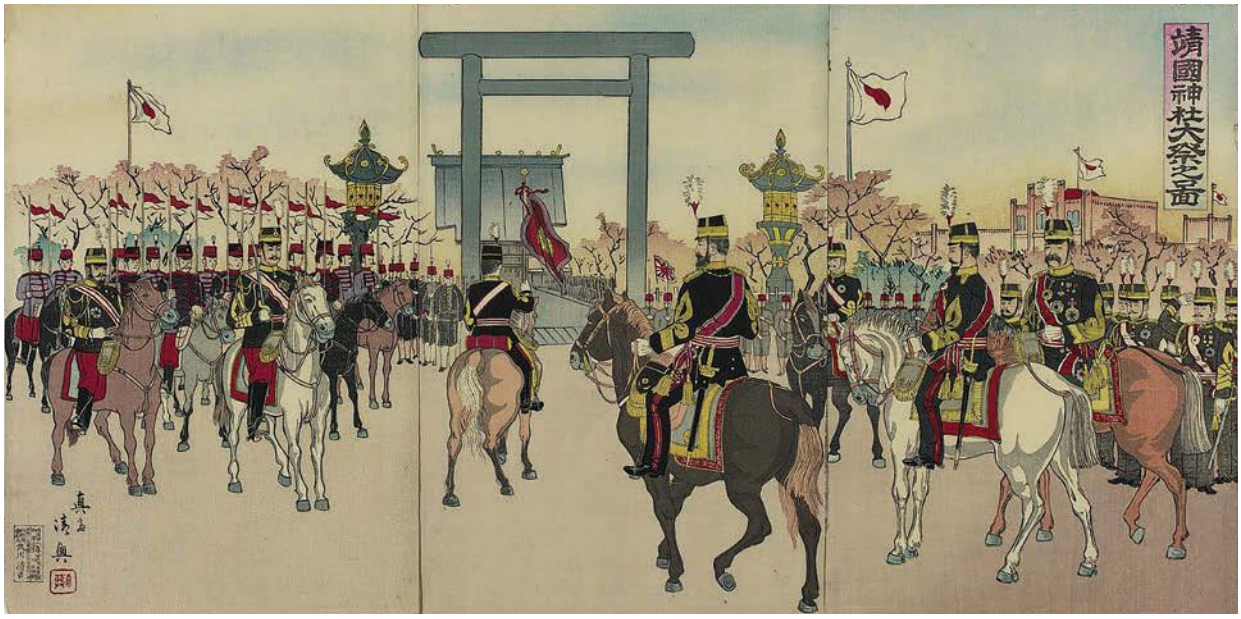
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SOURCE 4.39 *Observance by His Imperial Majesty of the Military Manoeuvres of Combined Army and Navy Forces*, illustration, Toyohara Chikanobu, 1890

Who do you think the figure is standing above all others? What seems notably modern about this scene? Why would a country with imperial ambitions be expected to practise 'combined army and navy' manoeuvres? How does the artist portray the impressiveness of the Japanese forces? How would you expect Japanese people might have felt in 1890 when viewing this illustration?

Even though Japan had not gone to war with foreign powers, the emperor was frequently portrayed as the great supreme commander overseeing military manoeuvres as shown in Source 4.39. At the same time, other artwork produced throughout the Meiji period often depicted the emperor engaged in everyday recreational or civilian activities dressed in military uniform and adorned with sashes and medals.



SOURCE 4.40 *Grand Festival at Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo*, illustration, Shinohara Kiyooki, 1895

The shrine was founded by Emperor Meiji in June 1869 and houses the souls of those who died fighting for the imperial cause in the 1850s. How might shrines like this generate public support for the military? This shrine was established to promote a sense of spiritual glory in dying for the emperor. Does Australia have an equivalent memorial? How might the combination of military and religious elements make a ceremony very powerful? Do you think religion has a place in military remembrance?

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SOURCE 4.41 Nationalist group members gather in front of Yasukuni Shrine to commemorate and honour the souls of those who have died in the service of Japan, February, 2017

How might this be viewed as an offensive commemoration? Who might take offence to this?

The Yasukuni Shrine (Source 4.40) remains today a focus for commemorating and paying respect to Japanese who died in World War II. However, among the 2.4 million enshrined there, about 1000 are war criminals convicted by Allied war tribunals.

Watch the following three videos relating to the Yasukuni Shrine before starting the next activity:

SOURCE 4.42 (available in the Interactive Textbook) A virtual tour of the Shrine from 2017

SOURCE 4.43 (available in the Interactive Textbook) A recording from 1934 of Japanese troops and civilians paying homage to war dead

A 2016 news report about a Japanese minister visiting the Shrine can be viewed at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8326.

ACTIVITY 4.11

Hold a class discussion on the controversial nature of history

Before engaging in the following discussions, you may choose to conduct some further research on the Yasukuni Shrine, especially in regard to the often controversial nature of Japanese prime ministers visiting it.

1. How ethical do you think the continued reverence paid to war criminals by Japanese leaders at the Yasukuni Shrine might be?
2. How might Koreans, Chinese, British, American or Australians who suffered horrendous treatment by Japanese during wartime view this shrine?
3. Is it possible to sensitively commemorate those who have given their lives in service of their country without offending other nations?

nationalism an extreme form of patriotism marked by a feeling of superiority over other countries

militarism belief that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests

By 1890, one-third of Japan's budget was devoted to military preparations in pursuit of empire. Queensland historian Russell Cowie in *Imperialism, Racism and Reassessments* stresses the importance of Japan's national unity fostered by a 'cult of Shintoism' and 'the inculcation of patriotism under a semi-divine emperor' (1994:125). John Dower (2008) refers to this as a 'potent emperor-centred **nationalistic** ideology' and aligns this closely with a strong sense of **militarism**. Cowie further explains that this ideology cultivated within the people an 'aggressive and vigorous national spirit' under the emperor, expressed in a 'determined drive for supremacy'. He sees this as a key feature in Japan's motive for empire.

Also at the heart of Japan's imperialist thirst, according to the University of California's Steven Vogel (2002:66-68), was the pursuit of wealth (*fukoku*) and great power status equal to the West (*kyōhei*). For Japan to become rich though, it needed both raw materials (rubber and metals) and markets. Foreign expansion and the establishment of overseas colonies would satisfy this need and Japan's newly formed imperial military was the tool to achieve it.

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4.10 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did a country closed to the world embark on a path to empire?

Around 1880, a popular song emerged in Meiji society. It went like this.

SOURCE 4.44 Popular Japanese song, 1880, translated by historian George Sansom

In the West there is England,
In the North, Russia.
My countrymen, be careful!
Outwardly they make treaties,
But you cannot tell
What is at the bottom of their hearts.
There is a Law of Nations, it is true,
But when the moment comes, remember,
The Strong eat up the Weak.

Responding to the source

1. Who do you think might be the target audience of this song? Why do you think this?
2. What do you think the author means by the lyrics: 'Outwardly they make treaties / But you cannot tell / What is at the bottom of their hearts'?
3. Do you think the author is making any reference to the Charter Oath in the song? Explain.
4. How might this source suggest that Japan subscribed to the Social Darwinist idea of 'survival of the fittest'? Give details.
5. In the last section you learned the definition of realpolitik or political realism. How might this song reflect this political theory?
6. What does the song suggest was Japan's view of the world in 1880?

As the song in Source 4.46 reveals, despite Japan's rapid program of Westernisation, some Japanese were clearly sceptical of Western imperialist motives. By the late 1800s many Meiji leaders equated Japan's rising industrial power with the need to flex its militaristic might. As the above song's realpolitik sentiment suggests, leaders saw this as necessary to prevent 'The Strong eating up the Weak'. Under the guidance of *genro* such as Yamagata Aritomo (an ex-samurai from Choshu serving as War Minister in 1873, Prime Minister in 1889 and Field Marshall in 1898), the emperor was set to lead Imperial Japan on the expansion of its sphere of influence in Asia. By the 1890s modern Japan was ready to flex its imperial muscle, and its eyes were trained on China.

How did modern Japan first test its militarist might?

Japan's response to the West was markedly different from that of China. Perhaps China's fate after the **Opium Wars** had served as a warning to Japan. Whatever the reason, Japan was a highly unified, modernising nation by 1890, whilst China was not. Earlier in the chapter you read about Fukuzawa Yukichi's sentiments towards China. To further understand what Japanese leaders thought about China during the years following the Meiji Restoration, examine the following statement by Field Marshall Yamagata Aritomo. He made this statement in 1910 reflecting on the events of 1883, the year in which Japan greatly increased its military conscription program.

Opium Wars two nineteenth century wars between China and Britain over control of the opium trade. These wars, and the British victory, weakened the Qing dynasty and forced China to trade with other parts of the world.

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SOURCE 4.45 Yamagata reflects on China

> ... The high-handed attitude of the Chinese towards Korea, which was antagonistic to the interests of Japan, showed our officers that a great war was to be expected sooner or later on the continent, and made them eager to acquire knowledge, for they were as yet quite unfitted for a continental war.

Yamagata Aritomo, 'The Japanese Army', in *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol 1, edited by Okuma Shi-genobu, 1910, p. 208

Responding to the source

1. What does Yamagata say is likely to be the flashpoint that will lead to conflict between Japan and China?
2. According to Yamagata, how did the Japanese military officers feel about the possibility of war with China?
3. What was Yamagata's estimate of whether Japan was prepared for war against China in 1883?
4. Evaluate to what degree Yamagata's assessment might be a trustworthy and accurate estimate for historians to gauge Japan's preparedness for war in 1883. Explain your response.

As Yamagata accurately foresaw, it was Korea that became the spark for conflict between Japan and China. In 1894, there was an internal rebellion against the government of the king of Korea. China sent troops to support its neighbouring king in order to secure stability. Japan objected, and sent 200 000 troops into Korea to protect its zones of influence. War was officially declared on 31 July 1894, six days after the Japanese attacked and sank a Chinese troopship. Debate still exists about Japan's motives. Was it simply resisting what it saw as a Chinese move into Korea? Or was Korea used as an excuse for the Japanese leaders to wage war on the continent and begin to flex its imperialist muscle?

The war lasted nine months, on land and sea, and Japan forced a decisive victory over Chinese forces. In early 1895, the Chinese asked for an armistice – a virtual admission of defeat. The Sino-Japanese War was over. Here's how one British cartoonist saw the Japanese victory.

SOURCE 4.46 A British cartoonist's view of Japan's defeat of China in 1895

Responding to the image

1. How has the cartoonist conveyed the outcome and significance of Japan's war with China?
2. What attitude towards Japan's victory do you think the cartoonist has intended? How have they shown this attitude?



Cartoon in *Punch*, 29 September 1894

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As a result of the conflict, China and Japan signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which Japan received **reparations** amounting to $170 million of gold from China. Here is a further summary of the main provisions of the treaty.

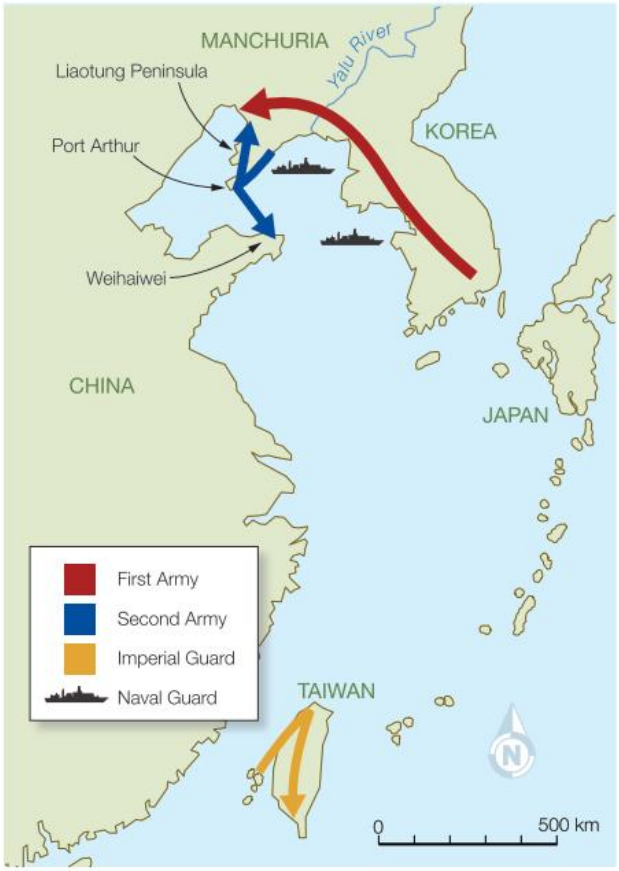
reparations action of making amends for a wrong one has done, by providing payment or other assistance to those who have been wronged

SOURCE 4.47 Summary of major provisions of the Treaty of Shimonoseki

- China handed over control of Formosa (modern Taiwan) and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.
- China was required to grant Japan the same 'most-favoured-nation' status as it had granted to certain European nations.
- Japanese forces were to periodically occupy the city of Weihaiwei in the Chinese province of Shantung.

Responding to the source

1. How might each of the three provisions benefit Japan? Why might they humiliate China?
2. What is ironic about Japan receiving 'most-favoured-nation status' from China?



SOURCE 4.48 A map of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–5
Korea was the site of Sino-Japanese conflict over many years. How does the map help you understand why? Why might Japan have wanted to control Taiwan (formerly Formosa)?

The Treaty of Shimonoseki was significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it demonstrated that Japan's modernisation had been successful – that it could now defeat its larger and traditionally more powerful rival in China. Secondly, the treaty was ironic in that Japan imposed on China the same unequal treaty that the Japanese themselves resented after Perry forced open the doors only four decades earlier. Lastly, the treaty increased the West's concern about Japan's power, and the way the West reacted reflected that concern.

In a triple intervention, Russia, France and Germany shocked the Japanese government when they protested to the terms of the treaty. Japan felt powerless to rebuke the protest and was forced to give up control of the Liaodong Peninsula (including the important town of Port Arthur). The intervention caused great resentment in Japan against the foreign powers. It appeared to Japan that despite 'throwing off Asia' and defeating China, Japan was still not seen as an equal by the West.

The situation was made worse just five years later. Hypocritically, Germany, France, Britain and Russia all seized, occupied and leased crucial territories in China. Worst of all in the Japanese eyes was Russia's occupation of the territories won by Japan in the

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Sino-Japanese War: the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur. This was a major factor in increasing tensions between Russia and Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century setting the stage for further conflict.

- What conjecture exists around the cause of the Sino-Japanese War? Do you think it is necessary to clarify the historical record on this? Why? How might it be done or what might be needed?
- How would you describe Japan's geo-political situation at the end of the Sino-Japanese War?

How was Japanese power finally acknowledged by the West?

Lover of traditional Japan Lafcadio Hearn wrote in 1896 that the 'real birthday of the new Japan … began with the conquest of China'. The question now for Japanese leaders was, what next? Yamagata Aritomo believed that the victory over China would be hollow if Japan didn't take the lead in East Asia. He urged Japan 'to extend the line of advantage'. But first Japan needed to be accepted by the Western powers.

Japan's first opportunity for acceptance by the West came in 1902. In that year, Japan signed its first 'equal' treaty of modern times – the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. But what might have motivated Japan to sign a treaty with Britain? And how might the other European powers have felt about the treaty? You'll begin to explore these questions by taking a look at a political cartoon from the French *Le Petit Journal* from 1902.

SOURCE 4.49 Cover of *Le Petit Journal*, 1902

Responding to the cartoon

1. In this allegorical cartoon, how has the artist depicted the new alliance between Japan and Britain, the reaction of Russia and France and, possibly, Japan's reaction to them?
2. Does the French cartoonist seem to take sides in his portrayal? Explain your response with reference to whose opinion(s) is represented in the cartoon.



After suffering the humiliation of giving back the territories won in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan was keen to find a European ally to lessen the chances of this happening again. Britain, with its superior navy, was a natural fit. Moreover, the treaty was intended to counter the apparent threat to Britain and Japan by Russia. Russia can be seen in the cartoon above in allegorical form together with France watching the alliance being concluded.

The signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in 1902 was a momentous event in Japanese history. It signalled membership into the international club of powerful nations. In less than fifty years since Japan was humiliated into ending centuries of isolation after the arrival of Commodore Perry, it was accepted

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as an equal to a Western nation. But just two years later in 1904, Japan again would have its mettle tested. Only this time, it would stand toe-to-toe with a major world power: Russia.

How did the world react to Japan's war against Russia?

The Russo-Japanese War followed years of Japanese opposition to Russian activities in northern China. After gaining control of Liaoyang Peninsula and Port Arthur through the Triple Intervention of 23 April 1895, Russia declared that it had exclusive control of the economic resources of the area. Russia also later argued that Japan should give up its influence over, and interests in, part of Korea. When diplomatic negotiations broke down in 1904, Japan launched a surprise attack on the Russian fleet anchored in Port Arthur. War was declared soon after on 8 February 1904.

SOURCE 4.50 Naval Battle of Port Arthur, 10 March 1904

Responding to the source

1. What signs in the source show that the Japanese navy in 1904 was modern and well-equipped?
2. This is a Japanese painting. What impression do you think the artist has tried to convey?
3. In what ways does the illustration reflect the two major themes of Meiji Japan in this chapter?
4. You'll notice that the artist and date are unknown. How might you verify this source as a depiction of the Russo Japanese War and, as a result, validate your responses to questions 1–3 above?



Japanese Navy's Artillery, artist and date unknown

The modern and well-equipped Japanese military was quick to record early victories in the war. There was mixed reaction to Japan's actions around the world at the time. Here is how an editorial from *The Times* newspaper in London describes the events of early 1904.

SOURCE 4.51 *The Times* in London comments on the Russo-Japanese War

> The story of the last ten days must have fallen on the Western world with the rapidity of a tropical thunderstorm ... That is the trouble at the root of the present situation – the past inability of the West to take Japan seriously ... All this is due to the superficial study of Japan which has characterised Western contact with it. We as a nation alone appear to have formed a shrewder estimate... But for the rest, they ... thought of the nation as a people of pretty dolls dressed in flowered silks and dwelling in paper houses of the capacity of matchboxes.

The Times, London, 11 February 1904

Responding to the source

1. According to *The Times*, why was the Western world shocked at Japan's rise to power?
2. What stereotypes are mentioned in the article?
3. Which event could the author be alluding to when claiming 'We as a nation alone appear to have formed a shrewder estimate'?
4. What broader lesson from history is implied in the statement 'All this is due to the superficial study of Japan which has characterised Western contact with it'? How might this apply to the world today?

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In France, the writer Rene Pinon described popular reaction to the war.

SOURCE 4.52 Rene Pinon describes French reaction to Japan's victories, May 1904

yellow peril an offensive phrase that originated in the nineteenth century with immigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers to the United States in response to the gold rush. Historically, 'yellow' was a derogatory reference to the purported skin colour of people from East Asia. 'Peril' refers to the perceived threat that the potential expansion of Asian populations would overpower Western culture.

Whether one likes it or not, the '**yellow peril**' has entered already into the imagination of the people ... in a setting of conflagration and carnage, Japanese and Chinese hordes spread out all over Europe, crushing under their feet the ruins of our capital cities and destroying our civilizations, grown anaemic due to the enjoyment of luxuries and corrupted by vanity of spirit.

R. Pinon, 'La Guerre Russo-Japanaise et l'Opinion Europeéne', *Revue des Deux Mondes,* vol. XXI, May 1904

Responding to the source

1. According to Pinon, what do Europeans fear will happen?
2. What, according to Pinon, has made European civilisations vulnerable? Could this criticism be applied to Australian society today?
3. Pinon wrote this in 1904. How do you think he would have felt a year later, after Japan's crushing defeat of Russia?
4. Locate the Wikipedia page on *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Is this a perspective of Japan you would expect from this publication? Explain your response.

The war lasted nineteen months. Both sides recorded exceptional casualty rates. At the Battle of Mukden alone (a site on the railway line Russia had built across Manchuria) Russian casualties and losses were estimated at 89 000 soldiers and the Japanese 71 000. The event that seemed to most shock European nations and people was the Battle of Tsushima in May 1905, when the Japanese fleet crushed the Russian fleet that had sailed from the Black Sea in Europe. You might like to locate and watch on YouTube the dramatic re-enactments of this battle to get a greater sense of the its scale and significance.

Japan's defeat of Russia led to the Treaty of Portsmouth. The treaty was administered by US President Theodore Roosevelt and



SOURCE 4.53 A map of the area of conflict in the Russo-Japanese War 1904–5. Port Arthur, Liaoyang and Mukden are linked by a railway that then continues north into Manchuria.
Why might railways have been a key target of Japanese attacks in the war? Why do you think China would have been worried about the outcome of the war?

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signed by representatives of Russia and Japan on 5 September 1905 at a meeting in Portsmouth in the United States.

Upon signing of the treaty, Russia acknowledged Japanese influence in Korea and transferred territorial control in northern China to the Japanese. By 1910, Korea was formally handed over to the Emperor of Japan and became part of the Japanese empire.

The signing of the treaty was an extraordinary event because an Asian force had defeated a Western power for the first time in modern history. Here's how one Japanese historian described the significance of the victory.



SOURCE 4.54 American political magazine *Harper's Weekly*, 24 June 1905
The cartoon is titled 'Good Offices'. What does that phrase mean, why is it applicable here, and what does it suggest about how the USA saw its role in the world in 1905? Does the cartoon suggest how likely an amicable settlement is?

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SOURCE 4.55 Daikichi Irokawa describes the significance of the Russo-Japanese War, 1992

> It was the first time Japan had gone to war against a Western power. Japanese leaders believed that if we lose this war, all the successes of the Meiji Restoration would have been for nothing. About a million Japanese soldiers went to war, and when you look at the diaries they kept and the letters they sent home, they thought of this as their own war, and that they were fighting it for themselves as well as Japan.

'The Meiji Revolution', Episode 2 of PBS documentary *The Pacific Century*, 1992

Responding to the source

1. According to Irokawa, why did Meiji leaders place such importance on winning the Russo-Japanese War?
2. Why might the ideals and spirit developed during the Meiji period have caused Japanese soldiers to feel that they were 'fighting it for themselves as well as Japan'? Explain.

Irokawa went on to explain that there was dancing in the streets of Tokyo when victory was declared by Japan. People came out in the thousands to demonstrate their support for the new Japanese Imperial Military and celebrate Admiral Heihashima Togo's triumphant return to Tokyo. Japanese nationalism and militarism were on full display. Irokawa adds that the people of Japan felt they had won a personal achievement as much as a collective one.

- In two or three sentences, describe why you think the Russo-Japanese War might be regarded as such a significant historical event in Japanese as well as world history.

Summing up Japan's path to empire

On 30 July 1912, Emperor Meiji died in Tokyo. By this time Japan, following the Western model, had become an imperialist power in Asia. The West finally took notice of Japanese power, albeit with apprehension for what might be yet to come. At this same time, Asian countries like Vietnam and India suffering under the colonial yoke of these same Western powers saw Japan's rise as a hopeful symbol of independence. For them, Japan's successes throughout the Meiji period were an amazing and optimistic phenomenon.

Historian Russell Cowie perhaps best sums up the significance of what you have seen so far in this depth study. He writes that 'within forty years the Meiji modernisation had achieved significant results. Revisions on the 'unequal treaties' had been accomplished, the modernised army and navy had achieved successes, and Japan had staked out a clearly defined sphere of influence in North-East Asia. National dignity had been restored' (1994:128). Ironically though, you have learned that the imperialist inequities bitterly experienced by Japan at the hands of the Western powers in the earlier years of the Meiji period were in turn imposed by Japan on its East Asian neighbours. While other Asian nations looked to Japan to provide a model of modernisation and freedom from Western domination, Japan invaded the continent and embarked on a program of imperial expansionism from 1894. This set the scene for what would become the greatest defeat and resulting devastation in Japan's history: World War II.

4.11 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you have looked at what happened in Japan following the arrival of Perry's Black Ships in 1853. You have considered the causes of the tumultuous changes known as the Meiji Restoration, and used a range of primary and secondary sources to examine both the domestic changes, and Japan's embarkation on a path to empire.

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ACTIVITY 4.12

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?

1. Begin reviewing the subject matter of this depth study by watching the clip by Feature History, titled 'Meiji Restoration' at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8327.
2. Create a table like the one below and in a small group complete each aspect for ***one*** of the foci in the left-hand column.
3. Share your group's summary with the rest of the class, using an electronic application such as Google Docs or the collaborative space on One Note.

Depth study foci of the Meiji Restoration	Cause(s)	Aim/goal	Key players (individuals and/or groups)	Key events and developments	Effects / outcomes	Best source(s) and the evidence to support this point
Internal discontent with Tokugawa rule						
Rallying support behind the emperor						
Death of the shogun and restoration of power in the emperor						
Modernisation of industry						
Modernisation of the economy						
Changing role of the samurai						
Meiji educational reform						
Modernisation of political and judicial system						
Japanese imperialist sentiments						
Japanese militaristic power						
World reaction to Japanese militarism						

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Reflecting on the Meiji experience

By the time of Emperor Meiji's Death in 1912, Japan was well on its way to achieving what Foreign Minister Inoue had envisioned in 1885: a European-style empire on the edge of Asia. Just two years later the world was thrust into world war. Both of these situations had consequences for Japan.

4.12 The impact of World War I and World War II on Japanese imperialism

After war broke out in 1914, Japan sided with the Allies but did not get involved directly in the conflict. Interestingly, many Australian soldiers were transported to the conflict in the Middle East on Japanese ships. Japan was in an advantageous position in the war due to its geographical location. As many European nations became bogged down in the war, their trade links were cut and it became increasingly difficult to deal with their colonies in Asia. Fortuitously for them, Japan had become the most industrialised country in Asia and could export its manufactured goods into the vacuum left by the European nations. As a result of these changes to supply lines, Japanese factories soon sprang up in South-East Asia and the Japanese economy prospered.



SOURCE 4.56 Emperor Hirohito inspects a Guard of Honour of World War I heroes in London, May 1921
What does this image suggest about Anglo-Japanese relations at the time? What does the Emperor's uniform suggest about the Japanese nation at that time?

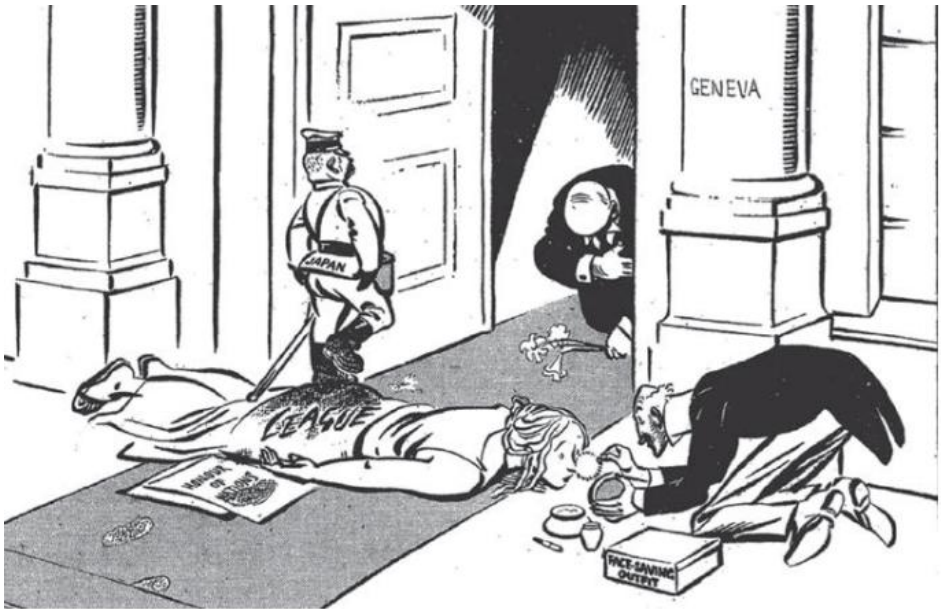
In the decade after World War I, Japanese industry continued to grow. But the global financial crash of 1929 and the consequent Great Depression eventually hit Japan's economy. By 1930, Japanese industry was also seeking new sources of coal, oil and iron ore. The outcome, it seems, was a Japanese plan to gain control of Manchuria. What happened was complicated and the facts are still debated. In September 1931, Japan probably staged the 'Mukden incident' – a purported Russian bombing of a Japanese railway station in Manchuria. The Japanese military leaders used it as a pretext for military action, probably against the wishes of the Japanese civilian government. The response by the League of Nations was slow and hesitant. In 1933, when after a lengthy inquiry and report the League demanded that Japan give up control of Manchuria, Japan's response was dramatic.

On 24 February 1933, a United Press headline read, 'Japan stuns world, withdraws from League'. Japan's message was clear, and later that year it invaded further into China. British cartoonist David Low commented on the situation in the cartoon in Source 4.57, over the page.

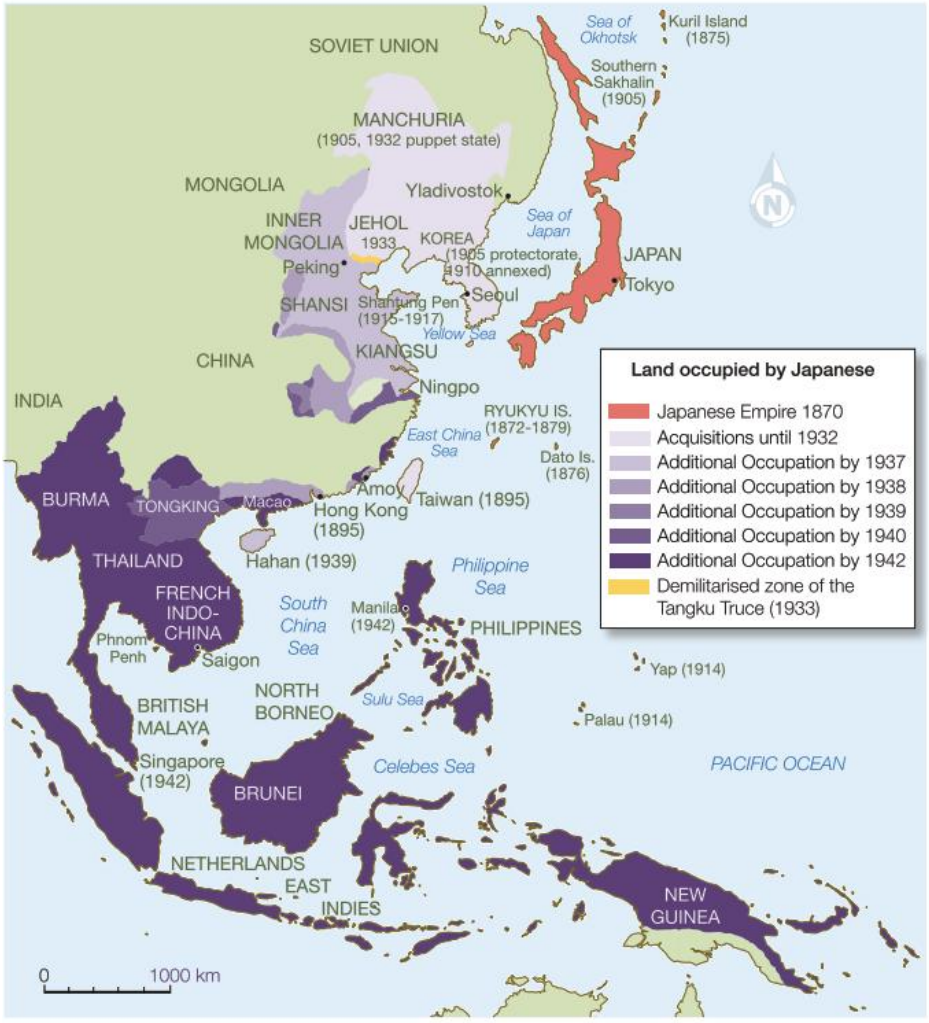
By 1937 Japan had embarked on a full-scale invasion of China. Some historians mark this date as the beginning of World War II. At the same time, on the other side of the world, Adolf Hitler had withdrawn Germany from the League, and by 1937 was just two years from invading Poland, the extraordinary event which sparked the beginning of World War II in Europe.

By 1940, Japan had allied itself with Germany in the hope that, upon victory, it could claim British, Dutch and French colonies in Asia as the spoils of war. Japan embarked on an ambitious program of imperial expansion from 1941 into the Asia-Pacific, and by mid-1941 it controlled much of China as well as Indo-China (today known as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos). Then, on 7 December 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the US base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. This brought the USA into World War II. Throughout 1942, Japan extended its military offensive into most of South-East Asia, Indonesia, islands of the West Pacific and New Guinea.

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SOURCE 4.57 *The Doormat*, British political cartoonist David Low, 1933
The cartoon is a clever combination of elements. Study the following: (i) how the four figures (including the kneeling British Foreign Secretary) relate to each other; (ii) the words 'Geneva', 'League', 'Honour of Nations', 'Face-saving Outfit', 'The Doormat'. (iii) the flowers. What message is created by these combined elements? Do you think the cartoonist had strong feelings about the situation? Explain your response.



SOURCE 4.58 Map of Japanese imperialism and the war in the Pacific
Make a list of the nations and territories controlled by Japan at the height of Japanese imperial expansion. Note the site of Pearl Harbor (not shown on the map), where the Japanese attack on the US base sparked the USA's declaration of war on Japan. Do you think the map lends support to the theory held by many historians that Japan over-extended its forces in the Pacific during World War II, thus contributing to its eventual defeat?

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By 1943, Japanese expansion faltered and in the following two years it was driven back by US-led Allied forces. Finally on 15 August 1945 – after experiencing the devastation of two atomic bombs earlier in the month – Japan surrendered, signing the formal instrument of surrender on 2 September aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Harbour. This marked the end of Japan's imperialist expansionism begun almost a century earlier with the successes of the Meiji Restoration.

- Why might Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations be viewed as a defining moment or turning point in history?
- There are historiographical debates about two key episodes above – why Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941; why the USA dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in 1945. For each, there is an 'orthodox' historical explanation, but also a challenging 'revisionist' explanation. Explore these two debates online.

This concluding study now leaves you with a finished narrative and focuses on key issues that arise from your study of Meiji modernisation.

4.13 Japan and China

The Meiji modernisation of Japan is fascinating historically. Some commentators have speculated about whether China today is following a similar trajectory as the one Japan tracked a century and more earlier. In particular, they ask whether, as with Japan, China's modernisation might lead to militaristic and imperialistic expansion.



SOURCE 4.59 China holds a military parade on a public holiday to commemorate the end of World War II in Asia, September 2015
Does it seem appropriate, or perhaps paradoxical, to use a massive military parade to commemorate the end of a huge, tragic war? Can a nation be strong militarily without being 'militaristic'? Explain. Could this scene raise fears of imperialistic expansion? Explain.

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On 26 October 2017, an ABC News headline read 'Chinese President Xi Jinping takes absolute control of armed forces in military shake-up'. Only a month earlier Reuters reported a headline stating that China had formally opened its first overseas military base. And on 4 January 2018 the Financial Times published the headline 'China land grab on Lake Baikal raises Russian ire'. In another dramatic turn of events, on 11 March 2018, China's National People's Congress voted to change the constitution to enable Xi Jinping to become 'president for life'.

Two leading US political scientists have debated China's intentions and actions. Professor John Mearsheimer proposes a theory of 'offensive realism' in global politics. He believes that the ultimate goal of every powerful nation is to maximize its share of world power and eventually dominate their region of the world while also ensuring that no rival power dominates another area. In an interview for *The Diplomat* (an online international news magazine covering politics, society, and culture in the Asia-Pacific region) in 2015, he pointed out that, 'whenever China has had opportunity to expand, it has invariably taken advantage of those [opportunities] … As China becomes more powerful economically, it will translate that economic might into military might and it will try to dominate Asia'. In response to the question 'can China rise peacefully?', Mearsheimer claims that 'if China continues growing rapidly, the US will once again face a potential peer competitor', and conflict is highly probable.

Professor Joseph Nye disagrees. He proposes a theory of **liberal internationalism** and believes that international trade with China (the world's second largest economy) is the best policy to avoid conflict. In other words, mutual economic benefit through trade would outweigh the desire for war. He uses the term '**soft power**' to explain how China (and other strong nations) exert influence in and over smaller countries for strategic and economic advantages – for example through financial aid.

liberal internationalism a foreign policy doctrine that argues that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states in order to pursue liberal objectives. Such intervention can include both military invasion and humanitarian aid. It is a contrasting political philosophy to realism.

soft power a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence rather than 'hard' military intervention

ACTIVITY 4.13

Undertake a media search about China

Undertake a media search for stories about China and the world that seem to illustrate either of the theories of Mearsheimer and Nye. On the evidence found, which theory seems the more convincing in explaining China's current role in the world? Does it matter which theory turns out to be 'true'? Explain. Start your media search by viewing the short documentary 'Mearsheimer vs Nye on the Rise of China' by Bill Callahan, available via the Interactive Textbook.

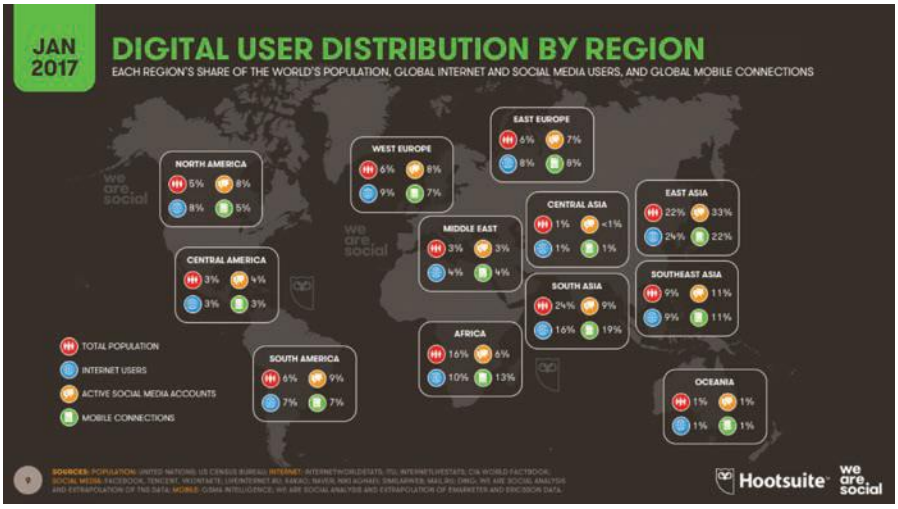
4.14 Connections between digital technology and the Meiji experience

Can today's digital society be traced back to Meiji?

In 1994, historian Frank Gibney claimed that the Meiji Restoration was a phenomenal transformation that 'set in motion forces, economic forces, political forces and cultural forces that are still working amongst us today'.

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SOURCE 4.60 Digital user distribution by region, January 2017



'We Are Social' map of the world showing internet and social media use and mobile connectivity in 2017

1. All these figures are 'percentage of world total, 2017'. For example, the Middle East has 3% of the world population, 4% of the world's internet users, 3% of active social media accounts in the world and 4% of the world's mobile connections. On a per person basis, which regions seem to have the highest usage in the world and which the lowest in terms of digital media? Propose an explanation for these outcomes.
2. In which region is Japan? Note that region's statistics. Note the statistics for South Asia. Which hugely populated nation in South Asia would you expect to experience rapid growth in digital usage in the coming years? Explain your response.
3. Do you think that the global digital usage depicted in the graphic could be traced back to the Meiji modernisation of Japan? Explain your response.
4. Do you think that digital use (internet use; social media use; mobile phone use) is a valid indicator of standard of living? Explain. Is it a valid indicator of quality of life? Explain. Is there an important difference between these two terms? Discuss.
5. Are there possible weaknesses in this graphic representation of global digital use? For example, is each region homogenous? How might the four types of data have been collected?

Technology and ethics



In the 2015 scene in Source 4.61, a soldier is controlling a robot through her own brainwaves. This is taking place in China at the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Information Engineering University. In other countries, scientists are developing robots capable of making battlefield decisions using Artificial Intelligence (AI). Acting independently, the robots would be capable of identifying targets and attacking them. Driverless cars are also being programmed to make decisions in dangerous situations.

SOURCE 4.61 Brain-controlled robot in Zhengzhou, China, 2015
What does this image suggest about the level of China's modernisation? How might this technology be used in warfare? What ethical questions might this raise?

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ACTIVITY 4.14

Discuss a change in ethical dilemmas

In 2017, Associated Press journalist Matt O'Brien proposed this scenario: 'Imagine you're behind the wheel when your brakes fail. As you speed toward a crowded crossing, you're confronted with an impossible choice: veer right and mow down a large group of elderly people, or veer left into a woman pushing a stroller.' This is a classic ethical dilemma, challenging a person to make a decision.

O'Brien then added: 'Now imagine you're riding in the back of a self-driving car. How would it decide?' The report then described how researchers are wrestling with this challenge, the details of which are available in the Interactive Textbook.

1. In a group, discuss your responses to the dilemma posed.
2. Then discuss how technological developments in robotics, virtual reality and artificial intelligence (AI) might produce new ethical dilemmas. Inform your discussion by searching online for these debates about 'appropriate technology' and 'appropriate use of technology'. In particular, discuss the mantra that 'if it can be done, it will be done' – that there should be virtually no moral limits on what can be done if it is technologically possible.

Two extreme examples: being enabled technologically to read other people's thoughts; or to transplant one person's brain/consciousness into another person's head (an extreme extension of a heart transplant) or 'downloaded' and saved electronically. Contrast this mantra with the ethically-based 'if it can be done, it will be done'.

Technology and alienation in modern Japan

The term *hikikomori* is being used to describe a worrying phenomenon among young Japanese today.



SOURCE 4.62 Bedroom of a *hikikomori*

List the ways in which this youth is connected to technology. What clues are there about the lifestyle of this youth? In what ways (if any) does this bedroom resemble yours? Discuss.

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ACTIVITY 4.15

Discuss *hikikomori*

Here is a narrative of an event involving a seventeen-year-old Japanese youth.

> On the 4th May 2000, after years of self-imposed isolation solely watching TV, immersed in the Web, and playing the latest video games, literally having never left his parents' house, a seventeen-year-old kid in Japan finally 'unplugs' and walks outside. He is known to the legendary Japanese Internet forum 2channel as 'Neomugicha'.
>
> Neomugicha hops on a bus in the town of Saga on the island of Kyushu. After forty minutes on the bus, he stands up, pulls knives out of his jacket and hijacks the bus holding twenty people hostage for fifteen hours. He kills a passenger and stabs three women in the neck. The Japanese government, left panicking about what might have motivated this terrible episode, discovers there may be up to a million more kids just like him: he is Hikikomori.

SOURCE 4.63 Flavio Rizo, 'Hikikomori: The Postmodern Hermits of Japan', *Warscapes*, 14 June 2016

1. Find a definition of *hikikomori*.
2. Discuss the possible causes of the *hikikomori* phenomenon. Think about technological change and social modernisation, and also about Japanese cultural values and practices. Also, consider anyone you know who is socially reclusive and reliant on technology to supplement social interaction.
3. Continue researching and discussing the earlier focus on 'appropriate technology' and 'appropriate use of technology', including the mantra 'if it can be done, it will be done'. Reflect on whether you think your own use of technology is 'appropriate'.

4.15 Connections between economics and the Meiji experience

The free market and trade protectionism

While governments around the world increasingly embrace free market economics, there are some calls for trade protectionism (much the same as the way Japanese leaders acted in establishing the Meiji economy). Put simply, this means that the Australian government should protect the nation's industries by either paying subsidies to industries or by imposing **tariffs** on the imported goods that compete with Australian-made goods.

tariff a tax or duty to be paid on a particular class or category of imports or exports

That debate is represented in the following attitude scale activity.

ACTIVITY 4.16

Take a position on an attitude scale about protecting Australian industries

1. Choose your own point on the scale. Then find a classmate who's chosen a different point. Discuss your reasons for choosing differently. Does either of you shift as a result of discussion?

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ACTIVITY 4.16 continued

The Australian government should use import tariffs and/or subsidies to protect Australian industries when those industries can't compete with foreign imports in a global free market economy (Trade Protectionism).

The Australian government should take a 'hands off' approach to Australian industry so that those manufacturers who can compete in a global free market survive and prosper, and those who can't do not (Free Market).



2. Discuss whether you feel knowledgeable enough to be taking a position on this attitude scale. Explain your views. Do you think it is a debate you should get involved in?

Comparing the samurai and Australian car workers

Earlier, you learned how the traditional lives of the samurai class were disrupted by the Meiji modernisation. You learned of initial reactions, some violent, and of the way many samurai took up positions with the new world of modern business.

ACTIVITY 4.17

Research, debate and discuss the Australian car industry

In Australia, all four major car manufacturers ceased operations in the period up to 2017. The closures were blamed on an inability to compete in a global marketplace, the high cost of labour in Australia and the failure to design and build the types of vehicles increasingly preferred by Australians.

1. **Research**: What similarities can you identify in these two situations (the samurai at the end of their power and the car workers)? What differences? How is that Australian challenge being responded to?
2. **Debate**: Is it plausible for the solution to the challenge of 'redundant' samurai after 1867 offered by Iwakura (Source 4.28) to be applied to the challenge of redundant Australian car workers after 2017?
3. **Discuss**: How can the demise of the Australian car industry be attributed partly to the success of Japanese modernisation?

4.16 Meiji modernisation

In this section of the chapter you have reflected on how Meiji modernisation is relevant to you today. You've done this by wrestling with big ideas relating to rapid modernisation, and you've used insights and ideas formed from your study of the Meiji Restoration to inform your thinking here.

Perhaps you've been surprised to see just how many connections can be made. Perhaps this study has prompted you to think differently about issues relating to your modern life – issues such as the ethical or appropriate use of technology and its role in your life, or Australia's place in this increasingly globalised and technologically interconnected world. As you know, living within what's said to be the Third Industrial Revolution and soon embarking on a highly anticipated fourth, technology won't cease to advance, but our intersection with it and within it will continue to need reassessment. And this is where your study of history will continue to serve you well as it will have armed you with the appropriate tools of assessment to continually appraise the changes in the world around you.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: Japan: the background to modernisation

- To understand Japan, it is essential to understand its cultural traditions and belief systems. Three religious traditions are Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.
- From 794 to 1868 CE, much of the emperor's power rested in the hands of his military commander under the title 'shogun'.
- Regional power was vested in the local warlords known as *daimyo*.
- The samurai were a class of male warriors in the service of the *daimyo*.
- Life for women in feudal Japan was not equal to that of men.
- The Tokugawa Shogunate, known as the Edo Period, was the longest period of peace in Japan's feudal history.
- In 1853, a fleet of US ships under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry entered Edo harbour. Perry carried with him a letter written by the US president, Fillmore, addressed to the Japanese emperor.
- By March 1854, the shogun had signed the Treaty of Kanagawa with the US.

Depth study: What were the causes and consequences of Japanese modernisation in the Meiji period?

- Dissatisfaction with the Tokugawa Shogunate grew due to its domestic and foreign policy decisions, and there were questions about its capacity and legitimacy to govern.
- In 1867, Shogun Tokugawa Keiki gave up his position of authority to the fourteen-year-old Meiji ('enlightened') Emperor Mutsuhito.
- In April 1868 the emperor made the Charter Oath.
- Modernisation through industrialisation became a key objective, and was achieved by combining existing traditional technology and imported Western technology in an appropriate manner.
- Compulsory education was crucial to the success of the Meiji Restoration.
- With Saigo Takamori's death in 1877 came the death of the samurai class and the end of feudalistic ideas.
- The Constitution of 1890 took Japan towards bicameral parliamentary democracy, but there were significant limitations.
- By 1890, one-third of Japan's budget was devoted to military preparations in pursuit of empire.
- Japan was victorious in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1905), and in 1902 it signed the Anglo-Japanese Treaty.
- By the time Emperor Meiji died in 1912, Japan had become an imperialist power in Asia.

Concluding study: Reflecting on the Meiji experience

- Japan was not directly involved in the conflict during World War I, but its economy suffered during the Great Depression.
- Japan invaded China in 1937, and in 1940 allied with Germany in the hope of claiming British, Dutch and French colonies in Asia as the spoils of war.
- On 7 December 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the US base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, bringing the USA into World War II.
- On 15 August 1945 – after experiencing the devastation of two atomic bombs earlier in the month – Japan surrendered, marking the end of its imperialist expansionism.
- In 1994, historian Frank Gibney argued that the Meiji Restoration was a phenomenal transformation that 'set in motion forces, economic forces, political forces and cultural forces that are still working amongst us today'.

GO **Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.**

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CHAPTER 7
Independence movement in India, 1857–1947
Focus: Independence, violence and the legacy of imperialism

The excited Indian *chowkidar* – the town watchman – comes to a stop outside Mathura's only grocery shop. From his veranda, British magistrate Mark Thornhill and his subordinate, a man called Smith, witness the *chowkidar* hand the grocer four chapattis, a type of Indian flatbread. The grocer looks around furtively before concealing the chapattis. 'A most mysterious affair,' Thornhill muses to Smith. Just two days ago, perplexingly, somebody had left chapattis on *his* doorstop too.

'They're being left all over India,' Smith informs Thornhill. 'I'll wager two shillings these Hindoos are passing secret messages. Watch your back, guv'nor. Remember, there are only nine hundred British civil servants in India and some three hundred million natives. Put it another way, if all these Indians chose to spit at the same moment, us Britishers in India would all be drowned'.



SOURCE 7.1 A *punkawallah* fans his British *sahib* (master) in British India, 1892

'Something *is* afoot,' admits Thornhill. Lately his sepoy (Indian soldier) guards have been looking at him with something akin to resentment in their eyes and his deaf *punkawallah* had ceased fanning him the other day for no apparent reason.

'They're writing messages on the walls', adds Smith. ''Everything has become red', whatever that means. Protective charms are on sale everywhere and I heard some of those Bengal sepoys in Dum Dum are refusing to use those new rifle cartridges just because they contain a little cow or pig fat. A superstitious and seditious lot. The sooner they find God the better, I say.' Smith sighs. 'I can't wait to get back home.'

In the distance, Thornhill spies the *chowkidar* dashing for the next village. Under his arm are more freshly baked chapattis.

Twenty-seven years later, in his memoir, Thornhill recognises this as one of the earliest moments of the 1857 Indian Mutiny, where members of the Indian population rebelled against the rule of the British East India Company. Violence continues for over a year, and ultimately the British government takes direct control of India.

In 1892, thirty-five years after the chapatti incident, the photograph in Source 7.1 is taken. Come back to this photo at the end of the contextual study. Judging from the photo, do you think Britain heeded the message of the Indian Mutiny?

Clayton Barry

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

The complex origins of Indian independence

The 1857 Indian Mutiny is perhaps the earliest example of a percolating anti-imperialist sentiment which would see India push for independence from British rule. However it was not until 1947 that the Indians were finally able to eject the imperial power which had for centuries, according to many historians, put Indian interests second to British. The Indian's struggle, which is the focus of this chapter, led to perhaps the world's greatest independence movement: a movement which has continued to inspire activists and protestors who agitate for a better world.

One way of looking at these events is to view those who fought for India's independence – people like Mohandas Gandhi – as people who were on the 'right side' of history. But behind the Gandhi-inspired memes that show up in your social media feeds, there are other histories of India, which are not so celebratory. The 1947 independence of India resulted in a split into two countries – the Muslim-dominated Pakistan and the Hindu-dominated India – known as the Partition. Following the Partition, around 15 million people migrated from their original homelands to settle in either Pakistan or India; this migration cost up to two million people their lives.

As you explore the sources in this chapter, you will see that it is possible to view the history of India's struggle for independence in a number of different ways. Finally, you will explore some current perceptions of what British rule in India meant for the Indian people.

SOURCES 7.2 A–D Four photos depicting various stages of India's independence movement

A A 1930 raid on the Wadala Salt Depot



People collecting natural salt as a protest against the British monopoly on the collection, manufacture and taxing of this basic foodstuff.

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B Indian independence leader Mohandas Gandhi arriving in Britain in 1931



C Indians celebrating independence in 1947



D An unidentified Indian woman shortly after independence is declared, during the Partition when India was split from Pakistan



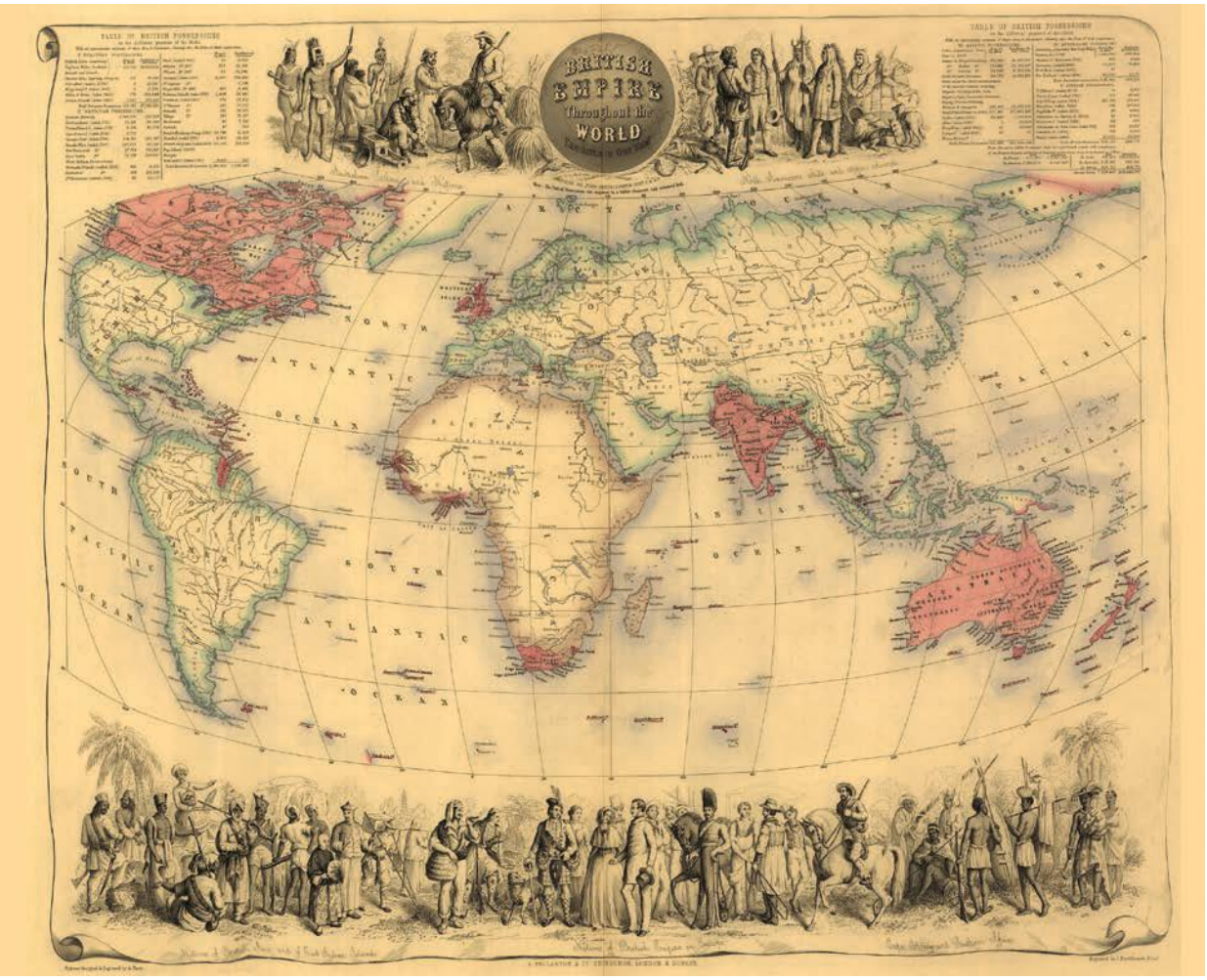
Responding to the photos

1. What questions occur to you about the Indian independence movement after examining the photos above?
2. Think of some words you might use to describe a widespread movement – e.g. peaceful, violent, popular, etc. What words would you apply to each of the photos?

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7.1 How did the British come to rule India?

SOURCE 7.3 British Empire throughout the world



An 1850 map of the British Empire

Responding to the image

1. Name some of today's countries that once formed part of the British Empire (shown in pink).
2. What impression do you think the mapmaker wanted to achieve? How have they tried to realise this impression? Consider the illustrations as well as the map itself.
3. How might such a map have been used by British authorities?
4. How and why might various modern-day readers of this map see it in different ways from what was originally intended?

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Pax Britannica?

Between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, Britain – the name for a small chain of Atlantic Ocean islands – ruled the destinies of 400 million people, a quarter of the world's population at the time. The British Empire spanned almost a quarter of the Earth's landmass and incorporated territories from as far afield as Australia, Canada, Kenya, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Egypt, New Zealand, Malaya, and Fiji. By the mid-1850s, the British Empire, having won wars against adversaries such as France and Russia, was said to have ushered in *Pax Britannica*, Latin for 'British peace'. Britain was indisputably world hegemon – the supreme world power – and its future, and the future of its colonies, looked assured. But, as the narrative vignette that introduced this chapter suggests, Britain's imperial ambitions were not welcomed by those people it subdued.

SOURCE 7.4 British imperialism



An 1882 American cartoon vision of the British Empire

Responding to the cartoon

1. Which countries/territories does the image show as held by the British Empire?
2. Why do you think the illustrator has used an octopus as the inspiration for this depiction of the British Empire?

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The British East India Company and the spice motive

Beyond a brief incursion by Alexander the Great almost 2000 years prior, Europeans did not have any lasting impact in India until the late fifteenth century when Portuguese explorer Vasco de Gama arrived on the Malabar Coast in 1498 CE. De Gama paved the way for a series of Portuguese trading posts, to be followed by Dutch and British trading posts in the early seventeenth century. After a series of skirmishes fought amongst these European powers (via their trading companies), in 1612 the British East India Company (BEIC), an independent corporation supported by the British Crown, secured trading rights with the Muslim dynasty called the Moghuls who ruled India at that time.

The BEIC had been established in 1600 to exploit the lucrative South-East Asian ('East Indies') spice trade. Spices like salt, pepper, cardamom, ginger and turmeric were important food seasonings. Perhaps more importantly, spices helped preserve food against decay, and were considered to have important spiritual and medicinal properties. Since ancient times, European states and societies had no choice but to pay the high prices charged for spices by Arabian traders plying their wares on the Silk Road between Asia and Europe. These traders kept secret the exact locations of their spices, inventing fantastical stories of bat-winged creatures and poisonous snakes, to cause any would-be explorer to pause before setting out for the 'Spice Islands' themselves. More practically, by the end of the medieval period, a few powerful European trading houses and the Muslim Ottoman Empire ensured that all spices entered Europe at premium prices. This gave European powers a great motivation to deal directly with the spice growers in Asia and helped trigger the so-called Age of Exploration, which began in the fifteenth century and which ushered in the Age of Imperialism from the 1760s.

India: the 'Jewel in the Crown'

The decision by the BEIC to centre its attention on India was easily justified. In the fifteenth century, pepper exports from the Malabar Coast alone had reached around two million kilograms per year. To add riches to riches, the BEIC was assured that India's population of over 300 million people would probably become an important market for British goods, such as cotton and linen. India's extensive coastline, centred as it was between Europe and the 'Far East', ensured India would become the centre of international sea trade, further adding to Britain's geopolitical standing in the world. Just as significantly, India's millions of labourers could toil on behalf of the British Empire.



SOURCE 7.5 *Officers of the British East India Company Gathered in Founder's Hall*, Maurice Greiffenhagen, 1903. The British East India Company had been born from a meeting of London merchants in Founder's Hall, after Dutch ships started bringing spices back from Java in 1599.
Think creatively about the image. Who do you think the man in cape and leggings pointing at the map might represent? Who might the other men in black represent? What do you imagine is the substance of their conversation?

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SOURCE 7.6 Moghul Jahangir writes to King James I of England

When your Majesty shall open this letter let your royal heart be as fresh as a sweet garden ...

The letter of love and friendship which you sent and the presents, tokens of your good affections toward me, I have received ... and have accepted them with great joy and delight.

Upon which assurance of your royal love I have given my general command to all the kingdoms and ports of my dominions to receive all the merchants of the English nation ... that neither Portugal nor any other shall dare to molest their quiet; and in what city soever they shall have residence, I have commanded all my governors ... to give them freedom ... to sell, buy, and to transport into their country at their pleasure.

For confirmation of our love and friendship, I desire your Majesty to command your merchants to bring in their ships of all sorts of rarities and rich goods fit for my palace ...

Letter from the Moghul Jahangir to King James I of England, 1617 CE

Responding to the source

1. How would you describe the Moghul emperor's attitude towards the British?
2. What concessions does the emperor offer the British and what does he seek in return?

The declining Moghul empire

By the early eighteenth century, the Moghul dynasty was fracturing. Local Muslim leaders were rebelling and establishing their own princedoms. Externally, the Moghuls were threatened by European powers. In exchange for trading rights, the BEIC promised the dwindling Moghul dynasty military support. By the nineteenth century, the BEIC – a company with only 35 head office staff – raised a force of around 260 000 soldiers in India; a force that outnumbered the official British army. This company army, comprising mostly of Indian soldiers (sepoys), initially secured Moghul lands against hostile forces, although later it extended its control to almost two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent. Through the BEIC, Britain was able to satisfy two concerns: the drive for profit and the need to maintain power.

7.2 How did the British justify their involvement in India?

A tale of two Indias: feast or famine

From the mid-1800s, despite the introduction of railways, British bureaucracy, and Western medicine, Indian life expectancy actually decreased, reaching a low of 19.4 years in 1911 (compare this with today's life expectancy in Australia of 82.5 years), and there was no measurable growth in individual incomes. Meanwhile generations of BEIC administrators plundered centuries worth of ancient treasures from the Moghul lords. The diary of a Moghul official in Bengal records 'Indians were tortured to disclose their treasures' (Dalrymple, 1993). BEIC administrators lived grossly opulent lifestyles (the BEIC administrator Robert Clive was at one time the richest man in Europe) while Indians worked in other British colonies to replace the slaves who Britain had emancipated in 1843. In addition, the Indian sub-continent has always been subject to famines. During the nineteenth century, approximately 25 million Indians are thought to have died of starvation.

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ACTIVITY 7.1

Research the history of the British East India Company

The British East India Company was dissolved in 1874, but in 2010 a new East India Company was launched, using an historic connection as part of its branding.

1. Read through the narrative of the history of the British East India Company at http://cambridge.edu.au/redirect/8328.
2. What similarities and differences are there between the modern day company's own version of the history of the BEIC, as presented through the website, and the historical account presented on the previous pages?
3. The modern-day East India Company claims it is 'building the brand on the basis of compassion, not aggression.' Can you find any other examples on their website which seek to address other issues in the history of the BEIC?

A change in the imperial mind-set

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the BEIC's fortunes were wavering and the company's debt ballooned. The BEIC had to accept government support which lost them the favour of the British Crown back home. In India, a new generation of British administrators became increasingly embarrassed about the activities of the BEIC. There was also a growing realisation about just how isolated the British were in India – there was only one British soldier for every 4000 Indian sepoys. In the eighteenth century, the British referred to the Indians as 'natives': in the late nineteenth century, common usage changed to 'coolies', and in the early twentieth century to 'niggers'* (Tunzelmann, 2007). A greater emphasis was placed on 'civilising' the 'backward classes'. As British civil servants became increasingly alienated from their subjects, they defended their presence in India more strongly, asserting that their absence would lead to India's disintegration.

SOURCES 7.7 A&B 'The White Man's Burden'

A Extract from a poem by Rudyard Kipling, February 1899

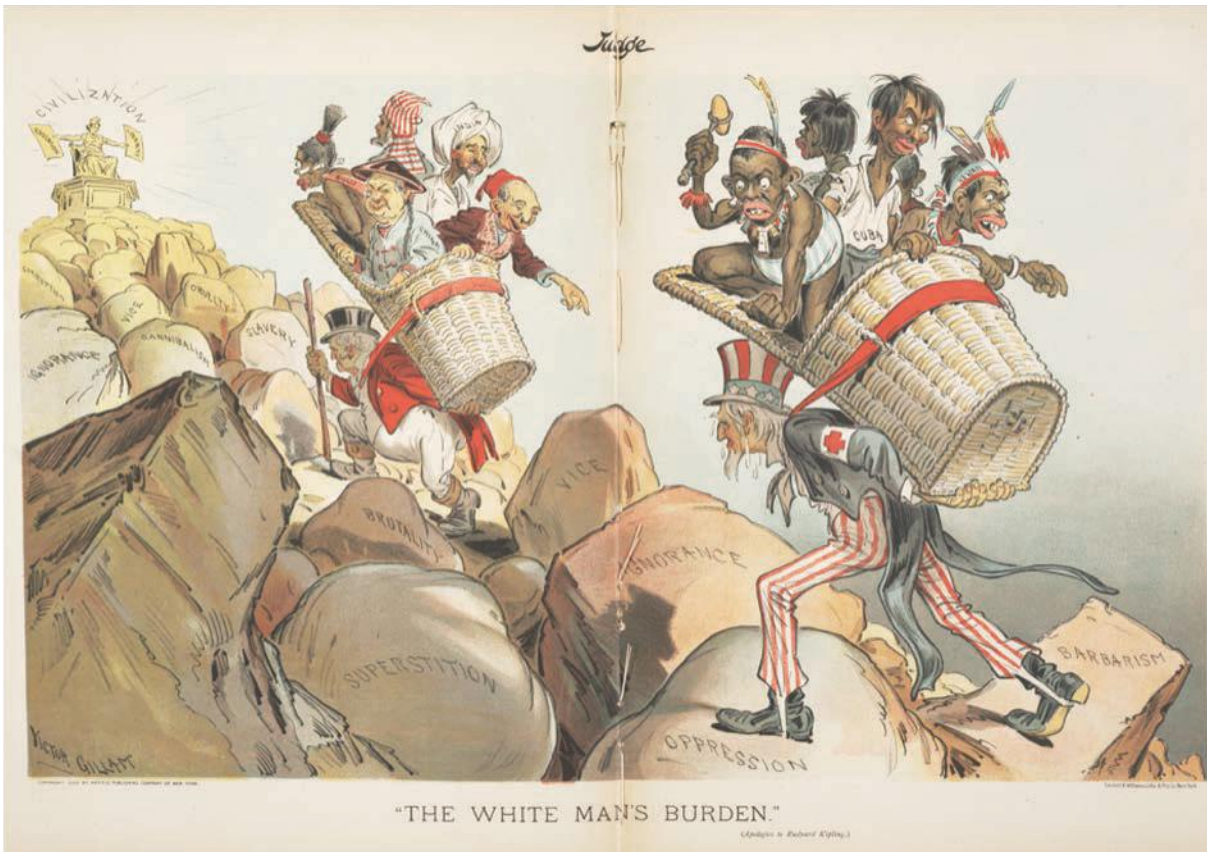
Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go send your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child

Rudyard Kipling, 'The White Man's Burden', 1899

*this is a highly derogatory and offensive term that has been used here only for historical context

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B Cartoon by Victor Gillam, April 1899



Published in US satirical magazine *Judge*, 1 April 1899

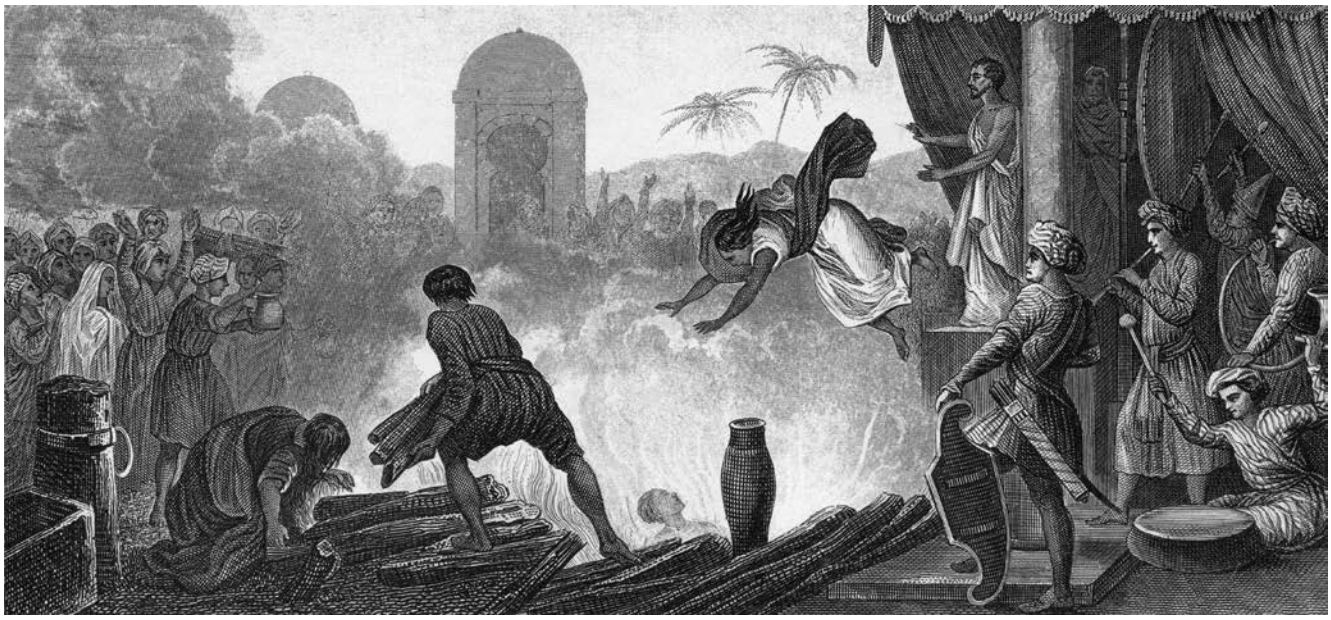
Responding to the sources

1. What do you think is meant by the term 'white man's burden'?
2. Who do the two men carrying the baskets, and the people within them, represent?
3. Look at the words on the rocks. What do they suggest about why the two men are carrying the others?
4. Consider the perspective of British public servants who worked in India. Why might they consider the Indian people 'sullen' or 'half devil and half child'?

The imperial mind-set in action

From 1813, the British Crown required the BEIC to open up India to Christian missionaries. Laws were introduced that many Indians believed were designed to destroy the Hindu religion, which the British thought of as a riotous polytheistic belief system dramatically at odds with their sober Christianity. Female infanticide was outlawed and in 1829, Britain banned the practice of sati, the self-immolation of a widow following her husband's death. There was also talk of banning funeral rites on the sacred Ganges River and of allowing inter-caste marriages (eventually introduced in 1879), disrupting the centuries-long practice of fragmenting Indian society into castes. Such policy shifts reveal the 'civilising' turn in British India. Not content to just extract the maximum profit from their colony, the British were now intent on taking up 'the White Man's Burden' to civilise India, conveniently ignoring the physical evidence all around them of an ancient, sophisticated and complex society.

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SOURCE 7.8 A nineteenth-century engraving showing a Hindu woman committing sati after the death of her husband
The British argued that sati was not in fact a voluntary act committed by the widow, even suggesting that it was committed under the influence of opium. How does the person who made this engraving seem to be depicting it?

SOURCES 7.9 A–E British opinions of Indians

A Lord Clive, Commander-in-Chief of British India, 1772

> Indostan was always an absolute despotic government. The inhabitants, especially of Bengal, in inferior stations, are servile, mean, submissive, and humble. In superior stations, they are luxurious, effeminate, tyrannical, treacherous, venal, cruel.

Lord Clive, House of Commons Parliamentary Debates, March 1772

B Edmund Burke, Member of the House of Commons, 1783

> This multitude of men does not consist of an abject and barbarous populace; much less of gangs of savages, like the Guaranies and Chiquitos, who wander on the waste borders of the river of Amazons, or the Plate; but a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods. There have been (and still the skeletons remain) princes once of great dignity, authority, and opulence. There are to be found the chiefs of tribes and nations. There is to be found an ancient and venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning, and history, the guides of the people whilst living, and their consolation in death; a nobility of great antiquity and renown; a multitude of cities, not exceeded in population and trade by those of the first class in Europe; merchants and bankers, individual houses of whom have once vied in capital with the Bank of England; whose credit had often supported a tottering state, and preserved their governments in the midst of war and desolation; millions of ingenious manufacturers and mechanics; millions of the most diligent, and not the least intelligent, tillers of the earth.

Edmund Burke, Speech to Parliament on the East India Bill, 1 December 1783

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C Lord Macaulay, president of the Council on Education in India, 1835

> No Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. [We will create] a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect.

Lord Macaulay, 'Minute on Indian Education', 1835

D British officer Hugh Chichester, 1857

> There are several mosques in the city most beautiful to look at. But I should like to see them all destroyed ... I do not think we should have any regard for their stinking religion.

Hugh Chichester, letter to his father written at the time of the Indian mutiny, 1857

E Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, former member of the Colonial Council in India, 1883

> The introduction of the essential parts of European civilisation into a country densely peopled, grossly ignorant, steeped in idolatrous superstition, unenergetic, fatalistic, [and] indifferent to most of what we regard as the evils of life.

Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, 'The Foundations of the Government of India', *The Nineteenth Century*, October 1883

Copy and complete the table below

Source	Attitude towards Indian people (e.g. hostile, superior, inferior, supportive)	Evidence to support
7.9 A		
7.9 B		
7.9 C		
7.9 D		
7.9 E		

How representative are these statements likely to be, taking into account what is known of the speakers? Might some Britons have had views quite different from these?

7.3 How did Indians respond to the imperial mind-set?

Culture clash

British veterans in India worried about the consequences of the change in the imperial mind-set. In 1828, a Lieutenant-Colonel warned the British to prepare for 'open rebellion' following the banning of the sati. Another Briton warned in 1838 that the Indians would 'gladly rise and shake off the yoke of the *feringees* [foreigners]' if given half a chance. Their fears were not unfounded: in the previous century, in 1765, a Moghul official had asked 'What honour is left to us when we have to take orders from a handful of traders who have not yet learned to wash their bottoms?' The flashpoint came with the introduction of a new paper-covered rifle cartridge which was rumoured to be greased in pig and cow fat – offensive to Muslims and Hindus respectively, who would be forced to bite off the tip of the cartridge before loading their rifles. In 1856 greased

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cartridges started being produced in India, and rumours spread like wildfire about the fat used. The mysterious chapatti breads – whose purpose to this day has not been uncovered – began to appear in Indian villages alongside vaguely prophetic graffiti on shop walls. Across India, poorly-paid sepoys agitated at their posts.

The Indian Mutiny

The event which has come to be known as the Indian Mutiny found its catalyst on 29 March 1857, when a drug-addled sepoy, Mangal Pandey, worried that the cartridge would turn him into an infidel, shot his commanding officer in protest. His fellow sepoy soldiers refused to arrest him, leading to the first unplanned act of mutiny which would come to define the year 1857. Pandey and his officer-in-charge were hanged and his unit was disbanded. Pandey's actions set off a chain reaction which resulted in widespread mutinies across much of India.

SOURCES 7.10 A&B Images of the Indian Mutiny

A Miss Wheeler Defending Herself Against the Sepoys at Cawnpore in 1857



Engraving from 1858

B William Stephen Raikes Hodson's Death While Storming the Begum's Palace in Lucknow, 11 March 1858



Undated illustration by W. B. Wollen (1857–1936)

Responding to the sources

1. What are the similarities between the images in the depiction of the Indian Mutiny?
2. How are the two 'sides' portrayed in both images? How are they romanticised or stylised? Are the artist's values implied?
3. Using a search engine, can you find similar stylised images depicting the conflict between the British and Indians during the 1857 Mutiny?

At first the British underestimated the Mutiny, blaming interfering Hindu priests for stirring up trouble and even suggesting Russia was financing the rebellion. However, after a series of brutal murders of British men, women and children, the declaration of an elderly Moghul leader as the new King of Delhi, and the involvement of civilians in the unrest, the British soon saw the Mutiny for what it was: an unplanned, indiscriminate, but extremely dangerous threat to their continued rule of India. What followed then was a succession of battles fought mostly by Indians loyal to or opposing the BEIC. As 1857 drew to a close, BEIC troops were enhanced by Sikh, Gurkha and British regiments, who gradually overcame the mutineers. Peace was officially declared on 8 July 1859, but the Indian Mutiny would change the tone of British-Indian relations forever.

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Raj, retribution and reconciliation

During the Indian Mutiny, the British government lost all faith in the BEIC's ability to administer the crown's most lucrative colony. In 1858, the British government took direct control of India. A new era – the British Raj (British rule) – had commenced. According to Queen Victoria – now also titled Empress of India – this new state of affairs meant her subjects were 'happy under My rule and loyal to My throne'. Perhaps more importantly to the British, India's natural wealth – tea, spices indigo, and opium – would come to fill the imperial coffers to overflowing. To help repair the wounds of the Mutiny, the Queen ordered her officials to stop interfering with Indian customs, but not before a series of vicious reprisals that reflected the damage the rebellion had caused to the British psyche.

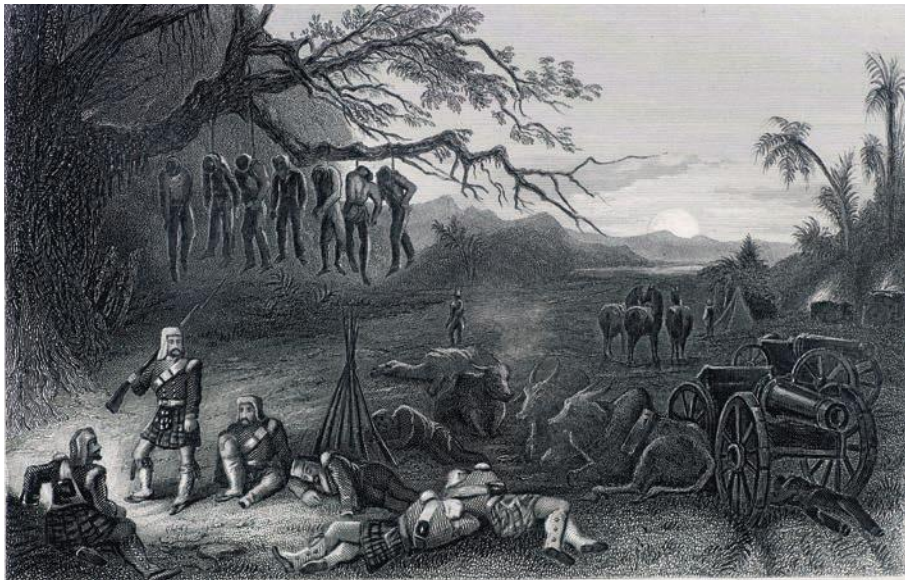
SOURCES 7.11 A&B Reprisals after the retaking of Delhi in September 1857

A Historian William Dalrymple's description, 1993

> Three thousand Delhi (mutineers) were tried and executed ... on the flimsiest evidence. British soldiers bribed the hangman to keep the condemned men 'a long time hanging ...' The inhabitants of the city were turned out of the gates to starve in the countryside outside; and even after the city's Hindus were allowed to return, Muslims remain banned for two whole years. The finest mosques were sold off to Hindu bankers for use as bakeries and stables.

William Dalrymple, *City of Djinns: A Year in Delhi*, 1993, p. 147

B 1858 engraving



1858 engraving of a British army camp of Highland soldiers, with Indian rebels hanging from a tree

Responding to the sources

1. Why do you think British reprisals were so violent against the Indians?
2. How do you think these reprisals may have changed the power balance between Muslims and Hindus?
3. How representative do you think this engraving might be? Does the description by Dalrymple add weight to this image?
4. Who might the audience for the engraving have been, and how might they have responded to it?
5. How might the engraving be viewed differently in later times, including today?

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With the Moghul empire now a memory, the British also brokered agreements with some 500 princely states which made up the Indian sub-continent. Perhaps most importantly, Muslims – being mostly blamed for the Mutiny – in general were cut out of leadership roles in India altogether and had their properties confiscated. After 600 years of Muslim rule over the Hindus, a political revolution in India occurred. The British, fearing another mutiny, speculated for the first time that the country would be better split into two – a Muslim India and a Hindu India. The British introduced policies which separated Hindus from Muslims at every opportunity and which emphasised the differences between them. The Muslims – outnumbered by Hindus and Sikhs by about 15 to 1 – were left feeling isolated and defensive.

7.4 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you have seen how the British presence in India stretches back to 1601, with the arrival of the British East India Company. The 1857 Indian Mutiny was a significant act of rebellion by the local population, and it was in the wake of this that the British government took direct control over India.

The Indian Mutiny took on a special significance to the British. It became a heroic myth that reinforced the values that supposedly kept them in India in the first place – sacrifice, duty, law and order. 'Avenge O Lord Thy Slaughtered Saints', requested one popular poem of the period. All over the subcontinent, plaques and memorials were built and British tourists made pilgrimages to pay their respects. The Mutiny had come as a terrible shock to the British. They had underestimated the depth of Indian feeling against them. But eventually they saw the Mutiny as a widespread, if disorganised, call for a fundamental shift in British-India relations – perhaps even a call for independence. Following the Mutiny, the Raj increasingly made policy decisions with a siege-like mentality. Their once-trusted Indian subjects could revolt at any minute. While their faith in their imperial cause was unwavering, the British faith in the Indian people was shaken.

For the Indians, there was another way to remember the Indian Mutiny. To those future independence leaders like Mohandas Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Mutiny took on a legendary quality which helped to inspire their cause. When the first independence pamphlets started to be produced in the early twentieth century, the Indian Mutiny was rebranded the 'First War of Independence'. The Indians had participated in the largest anti-imperial revolt against any European empire anywhere in the world. The seed of independence was sown.

SOURCE 7.12 The New Year's Gift

Responding to the source

1. Why do you think the prime minister is reluctant to take on India?
2. What does this cartoon suggest about the British attitude towards India?
3. Why might India be depicted as a tiger chained by Campbell?
4. What does the tiger's expression suggest about post-Mutiny India?
5. How is Palmerston's reluctance signalled?
6. The text along the bottom of the cartoon is spoken by Palmerston, and reads: 'Well – upon my word – eh! I'm really extremely obliged to you – but – eh! How about keeping the brute?' What might he mean by 'how about keeping the brute?'?



A cartoon published in *Punch* on 2 January 1858, showing British Prime Minister Henry Temple, Lord Palmerston, receiving India from his Indian commander-in-chief General Sir Colin Campbell, who had lifted the siege of Lucknow.

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DEPTH STUDY

To what extent does the history of the Partition of India challenge the narrative of India's successful, non-violent independence movement?

In this depth study, you will look at how India gained independence from Britain. Ninety years passed between the Mutiny and independence, but the effects of the Mutiny would have profound implications for independence, in two important ways. First, the Mutiny eroded British trust in the Indian people and subsequently alienated the British from their Indian subjects. Second, following the Mutiny, the British introduced a series of policies which would come to more strictly divide their Indian subjects on religious grounds: Hindu or Muslim.

Partition of India the division of British India into two separate countries, both of which were independent of Britain

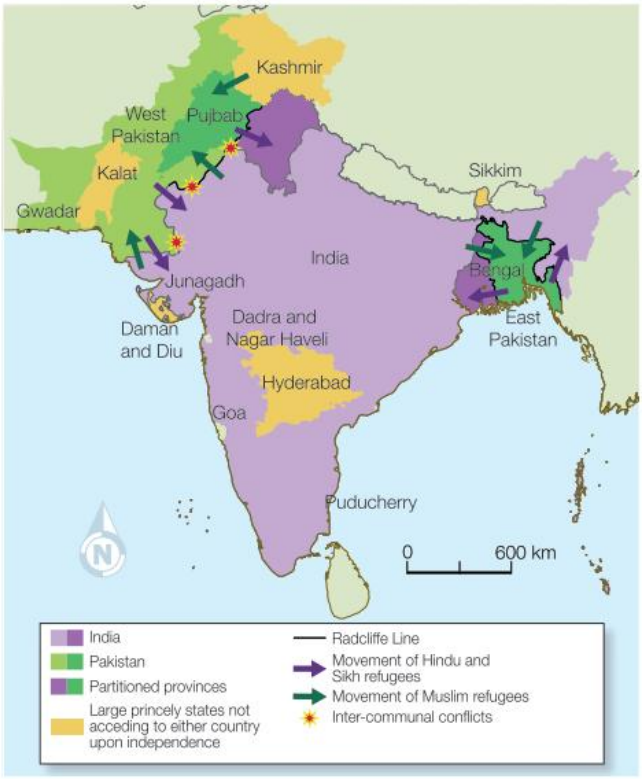
It was due to this division that, when the time came for independence, a decision was taken to split India into two countries, India and Pakistan. The aim was to draw the borders so that, as far as possible, Hindus and Sikhs would be in India, and Muslims in Pakistan. This was known as the **Partition of India**.

In June 1947, Lord Mountbatten, Viceroy of India, decided that British civil servant Cyril Radcliffe was the man to decide the new borders. Although Radcliffe had never been to India, Mountbatten said he would have access to everything he needed: the latest maps, census data, and four advisers – two Muslims, one Hindu and a Sikh. However, with independence set for 15 August, Radcliffe only had 40 days to complete the task.

Knowing little about maps, census data or India, Radcliffe travelled to the subcontinent, and, working with outdated maps and biased advisers, hurriedly carved the country in two.

The map in Source 7.13 shows the division Radcliffe made, and also one of the outcomes – movement of peoples from one area to another.

SOURCE 7.13 The partition of India, 1947, and some subsequent changes



The partition of British India into the Dominions of Pakistan and India

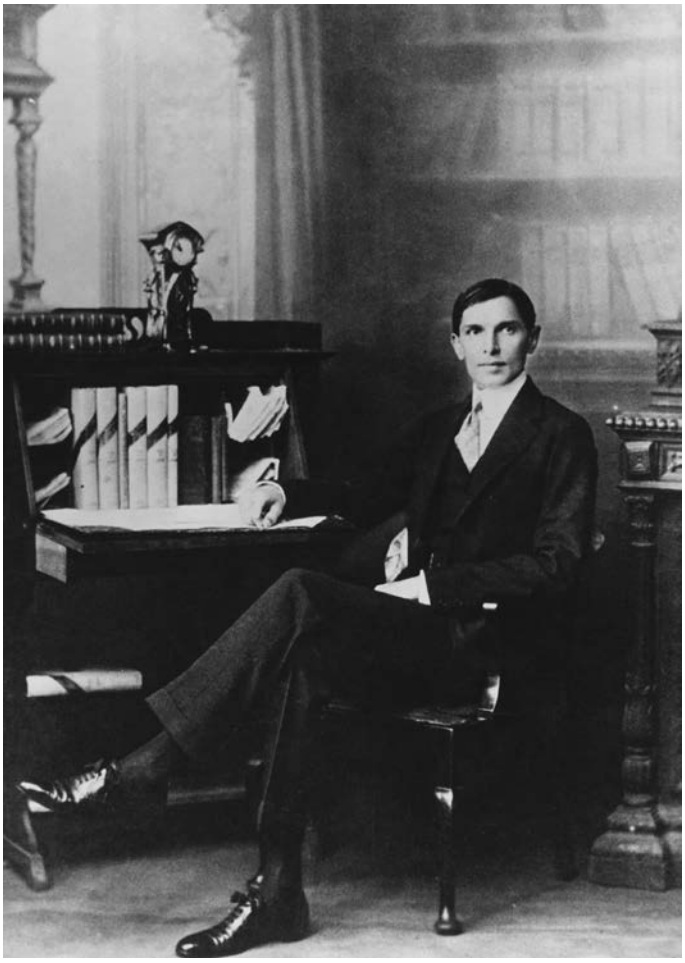
Responding to the map

1. Note the way India and Pakistan have been defined on the map by 'Radcliffe's Line'. Why would the drawing of any such line, to divide a previously single country, be a difficult and risky act?
2. How do the two sets of arrows indicate a major consequence of the Partition of India in August 1947?
3. If the numbers of movements of refugees was very large, what problems would probably ensue?

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7.5 The key background to India's independence

Radcliffe's carving up of India came after a century of turmoil on the sub-continent. In this section, you will learn about the key themes of that century – the British approach to ruling India, the character of Indian society, the emergence of key individuals and the impact of some specific, dramatic events.



SOURCE 7.14 Muhammad Ali Jinnah, or *Baba-i-Qaum* ('Father of the Nation'). Considered a genius barrister, Jinnah studied law in London before returning to India to lead the call to create Pakistan. He wore exclusively Western attire and owned 200 suits!
As a lawyer and as a politician, what advantage might Jinnah have gained by dressing in Western clothes?

The rise of the Western-educated Indian

The 'civilising turn' the British Raj took to India saw a significant increase in Western-educated Indians. Privileged Indians were given opportunities to continue their university education in England. Once they were ensconced in places like Cambridge University, Indians began to see first-hand the benefits of Western democracy while studying the mechanics of law and government administration. Ironically, many leaders of India's independence movement – including the qualified lawyers Mohandas Gandhi, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and Jawaharlal Nehru – exploited their intimate understanding of British law, learned while studying in England, to propel the independence movement in their homeland.

Indian National Congress

Many of these Western-educated Indians helped launch India's first independence party, the **Indian National Congress** (INC) in 1885. The INC arose to support the British Raj, not oppose it – it was founded by a Scotsman, Alan Hume, and supported by the Viceroy. In 1883, the introduction of the Ilbert Bill allowed suitably qualified Indian barristers to preside over trials of British subjects. This caused an uproar amongst some British who promised their own 'white mutiny'. The INC supported such reforms in favour of all Indians: Hindu, Sikh or Muslim. Following Hume's death, however, Muslim participation in the INC declined because of suspicions that the INC was not effectively representing Muslim interests. Indeed, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a member of the INC until it adopted the radical strategies of Mohandas Gandhi in 1919. Jinnah claimed Gandhi's 'pseudo-religious' strategies would create political anarchy, and from this moment centred his energies on the emerging All-India Muslim League.

Indian National Congress (INC) India's first independence party, formed in 1885. Initially there was participation from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members, but later Muslim participation declined

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7.6 The emergence of Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, in the state of Gujarat. Gandhi went by many names, but the one above was given to him by his parents. Later he would become known as Mahatma (Sanskrit for 'great soul') both in India and abroad, Gandhiji (-ji to show respect) or *Bapu* (Gujarat for 'father'). The name Gandhi means 'grocer', indicating that Gandhi was not a high caste Indian. However, his father and grandfather were both prime ministers to the Prince of Porbandar. Gandhi's childhood, while not notable for wealth, came with the family privileges not available to most Indians. At the age of 13, it was arranged for Gandhi to wed Kasturba, a 14-year-old illiterate teenager of whom Gandhi was 'passionately fond'. They would be married for 62 years.



SOURCE 7.15 A gathering of the Indian National Congress, 1922. By 1922, the INC had become a fully-fledged political party whose central aim was *Swaraj* (home rule) for Indians.
Is there any evidence in this photo that the INC was an organisation welcoming of a range of India's cultural or religious groups? Explain your response.

ACTIVITY 7.2

Research Kasturba Gandhi

Given Gandhi's huge footprint on India's independence movement, it is common to overlook Kasturba's own activism.

1. Go to the following website (link available via the Interactive Textbook): South African History Online
2. List the various activities that Kasturba participated in to fight for justice for South African Indians.



SOURCE 7.16 Mohandas and Kasturba Gandhi in 1910, following 27 years of marriage

At eighteen, in a story increasingly familiar to the sons of privileged Indians of the time, Gandhi left for England to study law, but not before experimenting as a teenager in things his Hindu parents would have frowned upon: smoking, stealing, skipping physical education classes, lustful exchanges with his wife, and eating meat (to become strong like the British). In London, a shy Gandhi played the English gentleman, learned to dance, pined for Kasturba (whom he had left at home), and experimented with his diet after promising his mother he would abstain from eating meat. Upon graduating as a barrister, Gandhi and Kasturba went to South Africa, another British colony. It is there that Gandhi developed a radical interest in justice, the stirrings of an independence sentiment and the formation of a philosophical platform – ***satyagraha*** – that would serve him for the rest of his life.

satyagraha the non-violent search for truth, a philosophical platform espoused by Gandhi

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In 1885, in South Africa a 'special law for Asiatics' was introduced which included the rule that 'Indians might not walk on public footpaths'. Gandhi wrote about 'what it is like to be a coolie' in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*.

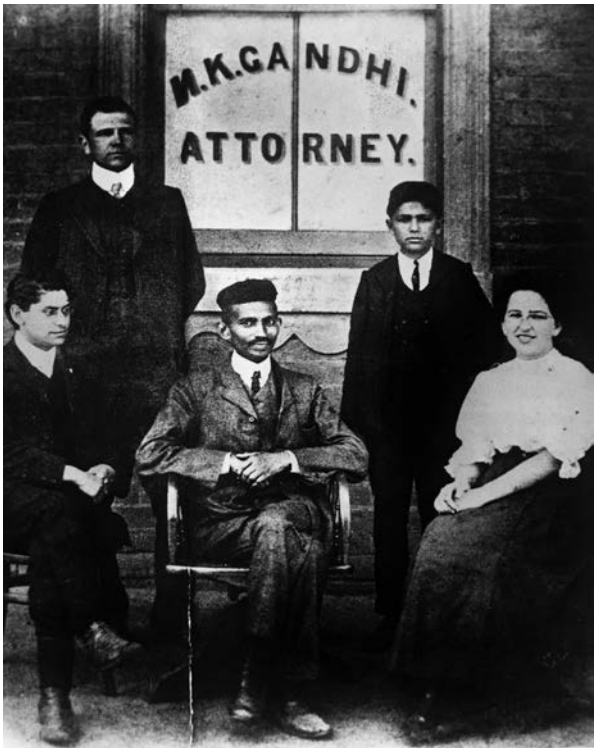
SOURCES 7.17 A&B Gandhi in South Africa

A Gandhi reflects on his experience, 1927

> Once (a police patrolman), without giving me the slightest warning, without even asking me to leave the footpath, pushed and kicked me into the street... This incident deepened my feeling for the Indian settlers... I saw that South Africa was no country for a self-respecting Indian, and my mind became more and more occupied with the question as to how this state of things might be improved.

Mohandas Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, 1927, pp. 106–107

B The attorney Gandhi with his staff



Gandhi and members of his staff, in front of an office window bearing his name

Responding to the sources

1. Given Gandhi's caste, education and professional role, what might he have both felt and thought about the experience described in Source 7.17A?
2. How could his experience of discrimination, coupled with his legal expertise, have made Gandhi an effective activist?
3. How might the plight of some legal clients have strengthened his determination?
4. Consider the details of the photo in Source 7.17B, for instance, the positions of the people, the advertising, the furniture, and the clothes. What evidence is there to suggest that Gandhi was still enamoured with the trappings of European society during his early years in South Africa?

Gandhi spent the next twenty years in South Africa involving himself in a variety of justice campaigns which helped to improve the lot of Indians, from helping striking workers, protesting against the requirement for all Asians to carry passes, and petitioning government leaders to improve the rights of Indians. South Africa was where Gandhi was first imprisoned (four times; Kasturba was also imprisoned), where he penned his first book, *Hind Swaraj*, published his first newspaper, and where he developed the key philosophical frameworks – *satyagraha*, *swadeshi*, *ahimsa* – which would deeply penetrate India's independence movement once he returned to his homeland in 1915.

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SOURCE 7.18 Gandhi's farewell from South Africa, 1914. 'Mahatma' was first applied to Gandhi around this time. Gandhi's activism in South Africa was well-known in India although he was yet to become 'the most famous and popular Indian since Buddha' (Tunzelmann, 2007, p. 2).
What does this image suggest about the influence Gandhi had in South Africa? What might British authorities in India have thought upon hearing that Gandhi would be returning to his homeland?

The philosophy of Mohandas Gandhi

> While the Montgomery boycott was going on, India's Gandhi was the guiding light of our technique of non-violent social change. We spoke of him often. (King, 1959)

The quote above is from the famous US civil rights activist, Dr Martin Luther King Jnr. King highlights one of Gandhi's most important legacies: the ability to enact social change without the use of violence. Gandhi called this philosophy *satyagraha* (satya = truth, graha = firmness), a word curiously enough that was invented through a magazine competition. So, what exactly is *satyagraha* and how did it shape India's growing independence movement? *Satyagraha* was heavily influenced by one of the key tenets of the Indian religions of Jainism, Hinduism, and Buddhism. This tenet is called *ahimsa* and quite literally means a dedication to not injure another living being.



SOURCE 7.19 Jain nuns dabbing themselves with holy water. Jain nuns wear masks to ensure they don't inadvertently swallow and kill insects.
How might a person with extraordinarily strong commitment to a particular belief be valuable in a society? What could be some disadvantages for that person or for the society itself?

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Gandhi took the tenet of *ahimsa* and applied it to his own developing philosophy. Simply put, *satyagraha* could be described as the non-violent search for truth. Let's look at how Gandhi saw *satyagraha* playing out in action in both his personal and political life.

Non-violence and World Crisis

I learnt the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will, on the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidity involved, on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and cured me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her and, in the end, she became my teacher in non-violence.

SOURCE 7.20 Gandhi's discussion with distinguished guests from the International Missionary Conference, reported in 'Non-violence and World Crisis', *Harijan*, 24 December 1938, p. 394

...The government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence, I force the government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed Body-Force. If I do not obey the law, and accept the penalty for the breach, I use Soul-Force. It involves sacrifice of self. [If] this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes... Real suffering bravely born melts even a heart of stone. Such is the potency of suffering ... there lies the key to *Satyagraha*.

SOURCE 7.21 Mohandas Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, 1909, pp. 71–2

Gandhi believed that, following a series of non-violent acts of resistance, the British would eventually see that they should leave India. Gandhi's commitment to *satyagraha* never wavered and this is one of the most important reasons why eventually the INC side-lined him as independence approached. Other INC leaders, like Jawaharlal Nehru, entertained the need for a more violent independence campaign, which Gandhi would never permit.

Consider Gandhi's claim that 'real suffering bravely born melts even a heart of stone' and Nehru's belief that the independence campaign would need to be violent. What do you think of each position in terms of its moral strength and the likelihood of its being effective politically in an independence struggle?

ACTIVITY 7.3

Reflect on Gandhi, *satyagraha* and modern ethics

As part of his commitment to *satyagraha*, Gandhi did not believe that women should resist rape, that the British should turn their country over to the Axis Powers in World War II and, perhaps most controversially, that the Jews in Nazi Germany should offer 'themselves to the butcher's knife.'

1. What is your first reaction when hearing of Gandhi's *satyagraha* examples above? Do you think his belief in non-violence could be ethical as well as practical in the modern world?
2. How might Gandhi's extreme views on *satyagraha* have frightened off or fortified the INC's belief in *Swaraj*?

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7.7 Gandhi's ideas in action

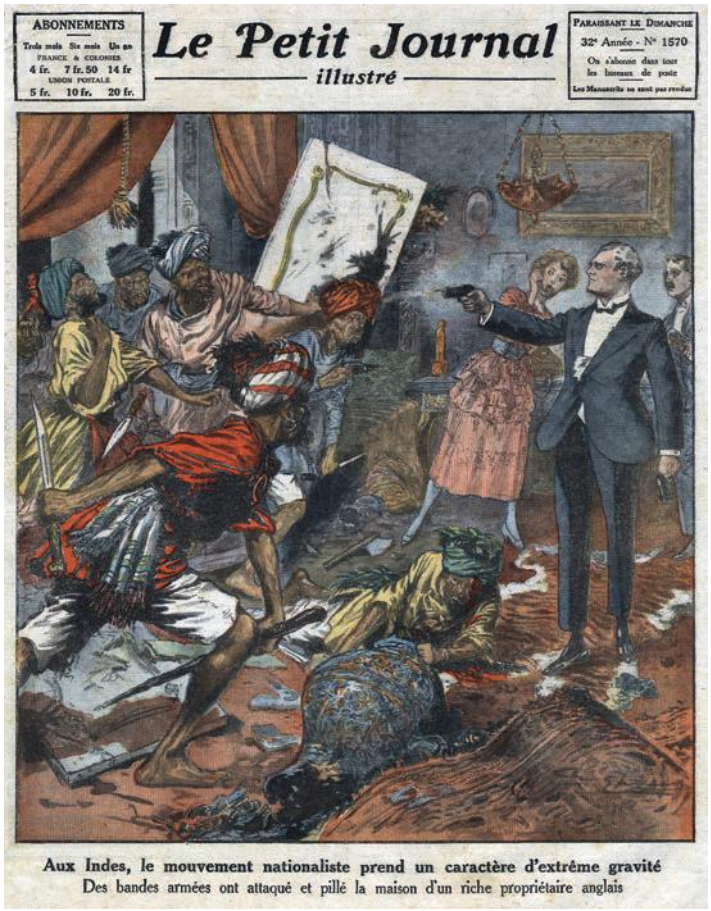
Gandhi's return to India was met with widespread hopes that his actions in South Africa could be up-scaled and used to give the *Swaraj* movement momentum. As early as 1917, he found opportunities to put his idea of *satyagraha* into practice. The first was in support of oppressed farmers.

Satyagraha test case: Champaran indigo workers

Gandhi was invited in 1917 to visit Champaran to complete his first *satyagraha* in India. Travelling by elephant in Bihar, followed at all times by swarms of peasants, Gandhi spoke to thousands of farmers who were being forced to grow indigo (for use as a dye) on their tenanted land while living in squalid conditions. Soon after his arrival, Gandhi was arrested for causing unrest, which was exactly what he had assumed would happen. As Gandhi stated 'According to the law, I was to be on my trial, but truly speaking, Government was to be on its trial' (1927).

Following Gandhi's imprisonment, thousands of people collected outside his jail. According to Gandhi, the British were 'at a loss to know what to do'. The Bihari government quickly withdrew their charges against Gandhi, who was now lovingly called Bapu, and consequently relaxed the requirements on indigo farmers. *Satyagraha* had its first success in India and was quickly followed by other successful *satyagrahas* in Ahmedabad and Kheda. These acts of resistance rocked the British administration. Memories of the Indian Mutiny were never far from the British government's collective consciousness and Gandhi was promising more trouble to come.

SOURCE 7.22 Front page of a French newspaper, 1921


ABONNEMENTS
Trois mois Six mois Un an
FRANCE & COLONIES
4 fr. 7 fr. 50 14 fr
UNION POSTALE
5 fr. 10 fr. 20 fr.

Le Petit Journal
illustré

PARAISSANT LE DIMANCHE
32e Année - N° 1570
On s'abonne dans tous les bureaux de poste
Les Manuscrits ne sont pas rendus

Aux Indes, le mouvement nationaliste prend un caractère d'extrême gravité
Des bandes armées ont attaqué et pillé la maison d'un riche propriétaire anglais

Le petit journal, 21 January 1921, showing nationalists attacking an English property owner. Gandhi became increasingly influential in the INC (becoming their president in 1924) who grew more assertive in their calls for *Swaraj*.

Responding to the newspaper front page

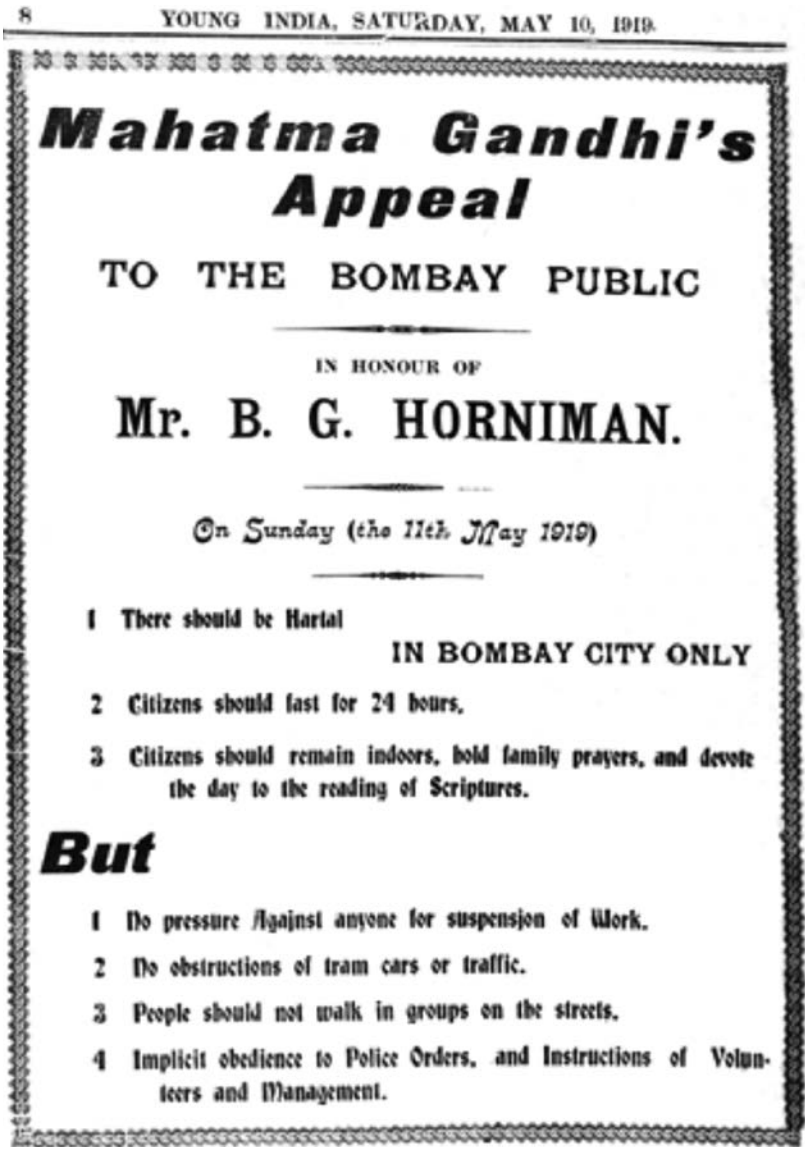
1. Why do you think the French may have been interested in the rising independence movement in India?
2. Consider how the English and Indian characters are presented in this image: what impression might the readers of the newspaper have taken from this?

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Jallianwala Bagh massacre

How were the British to respond to this growing movement of Indian non-cooperation? In response, the British introduced the Rowlatt Act in 1919. In essence, the act extended the extreme powers of the government which had been in operation during World War I. Indians were able to be jailed without trial and the accused could be tried without the presence of a jury. In protest, Gandhi organised a series of *hartals* (strikes), which would lead to the voluntary shutdown of all the wheels of a functioning society – shops, schools, courthouses, and government offices.

Significantly, these *hartals* were the first interfaith and nation-wide protests against the British since the Mutiny. Despite Gandhi's pleading for peaceful protesting, some of these *hartals* ended in violence and riots. One such *hartal* was organised in the Sikh holy capital of Amritsar. There, five Europeans were murdered, buildings were destroyed and in response the British banned all public demonstrations.



8 YOUNG INDIA, SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1919.

Mahatma Gandhi's Appeal

TO THE BOMBAY PUBLIC

IN HONOUR OF

Mr. B. G. HORNIMAN.

On Sunday (the 11th May 1919)

1 There should be Hartal
IN BOMBAY CITY ONLY

2 Citizens should fast for 24 hours.

3 Citizens should remain indoors, hold family prayers, and devote the day to the reading of Scriptures.

But

1 No pressure Against anyone for suspension of Work.

2 No obstructions of tram cars or traffic.

3 People should not walk in groups on the streets.

4 Implicit obedience to Police Orders, and Instructions of Volunteers and Management.

SOURCE 7.23 Poster appealing for non-cooperation, Bombay, 1919.
Does Gandhi's appeal above conform to your understanding of *satyagraha* and *ahimsa*? What evidence supports your response?

On the 13 April 1919, a *hartal* coincided with the Baisakhi religious festival which saw thousands of villagers enter Amritsar and make their way to a walled public garden called Jallianwala Bagh. Here, without provocation, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer and his soldiers surrounded the Bagh and fired 1650 rounds into the crowd. In a panic, the throng rushed to the Bagh's few narrow exits, whereby Dyer changed aim and, as he later admitted during his official testimony to an inquiry into the incident, 'directed it to places where the crowds were thickest'. Over 300 people died and over a thousand were injured. Following the massacre, Dyer imposed a crawling order – no Indian was allowed to pass through certain streets between 6 am and 8 pm unless they were on all fours. Those held responsible for the gathering – 50 Indian lawyers – were made to dig ditches to clean the city. A flogging post was erected and supposed perpetrators were publicly whipped. Finally, an order was introduced that required all vehicles and public transport to stop, for Indians to alight from their vehicles and for them to salute whenever a British officer happened past.

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SOURCE 7.24 Children studying a painting of the Jallianwala Bagh 'martyrs', located at the Jallianwala Bagh memorial
What feelings do you think the children in the photo would be experiencing while studying the painting? How might the presence of these feelings influence the way they look back on the time of the British Raj?

The Jallianwala Bagh massacre helped push many who were still ambivalent about British rule in India towards a strident belief in *Swaraj*. The INC received a huge surge of support. Indians were 'humiliated and bitter' (Bell, 2009:20). India's famous poet Rabindranath Tagore renounced his British knighthood, and a few years later would claim that Europe's moral prestige in Asia was over. From 1919–1922 a huge INC-led non-cooperation movement saw over 30 000 people arrested, including Gandhi. In England, future Prime Minister Winston Churchill would shock dinner party guests by wishing out loud that Gandhi be trampled by an elephant. Gandhi eventually called off the non-cooperation campaign following violence in Chauri Chaura in 1922.

Dandi Salt March

Following Chauri Chaura, Gandhi was jailed until 1924. Upon his release Gandhi retreated back to his ashram and involved himself in the struggles of India's 'Untouchable' class, a group we now call the Dalit. This frustrated the leaders of the INC who considered this a side issue to the push for independence. During Gandhi's absence, the INC began to stray from its commitment to non-violence. A popular new leader had emerged, Subhas Chandra Bose, who was ambivalent about Gandhi's methods and increasingly strident about achieving independence (later he would title one of his speeches 'Give me blood and I will give you freedom' and allied with the Japanese during World War II to fight the British on India's home soil). Jawaharlal Nehru, a hugely popular lawyer and later first prime minister of India, who by 1929 was President of the INC, was more supportive of Gandhi's methods and became central to the independence movement.

By the late 1920s, at the start of the Great Depression, Gandhi refocussed his attention on *Swaraj* and returned to the INC fold. The INC, with Gandhi as its spiritual and symbolic spokesman, warned the British that if they had not awarded India freedom by 31 December 1929, then a war of independence would be carried out. By December 1929, Gandhi declared that '*Swaraj* is now meant to mean complete independence'. The Congress sanctioned widespread civil disobedience and awaited Gandhi's orders for the greatest *satyagraha* the British had ever seen. It took Gandhi six weeks to decide the next move.

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On 12 March 1930, Gandhi began what would become known as the Salt March, walking from his ashram with his followers some 380 kilometres to the beach, a journey that took 26 days. Upon reaching the beach, Ghandi scooped up salt, an old practice that had been made illegal nearly a hundred years earlier, when the British were establishing their monopoly on the trade and increasing taxation on salt. Because Gandhi had always held that 'any secrecy hinders the real spirit of democracy', he wrote current Viceroy Lord Irwin a letter informing him of his plans before setting off on the march.

SOURCE 7.25 Gandhi writes to Lord Irwin, 2 March 1930

Dear Friend,

Before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all three years, I would again approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives ... Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India ...

... On the 11th of [March], I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me ...

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a civil resister ...

I remain

Your sincere friend

(Sd.) M.K. Gandhi

Responding to the letter

1. Having read the letter, why do you think Gandhi's biographer Louis Fischer (1953, p. 104) would have called this 'the strangest letter ever received by the Head of a government'?
2. Lord Irwin never replied to this letter although his office acknowledged he received it. Can you suggest anything about Gandhi and the British Raj's relationship by his non-reply?

As 11 March approached, India boiled with tension and excited newspaper editors worldwide wrote urgent cablegrams ordering their journalists to the sub-continent. On 12 March, following the singing of prayers, 61-year-old Gandhi, iron-tipped staff in hand, and 78 male followers departed on the 388-kilometre march to the town of Dandi on the Arabian Sea. Upon their arrival, 50 000 people rushed to the shores, and in an act of legal defiance that spread from coast to coast, scooped salty sand from the beaches into their hands. Hundreds of thousands of supporters marched in Bombay. Gandhi urged people to 'withdraw their cooperation in all or as many ways as possible'. Government employees should quit their jobs, he declared, people should stop paying taxes, children should abscond from school, lawyers should give up their practices, and consumers should picket foreign cloth shops. *Satyagrahis* willingly succumbed to the *lathi* – the cruel Indian bamboo stick used by police instead of a baton – at the Dharasana Salt Works and 25 000 people, including Gandhi and Nehru, were imprisoned. This was the greatest *satyagraha* the British had ever seen.

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SOURCES 7.26 A&B The salt march

A Video footage of Gandhi and his followers marching to Dandi



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:45) before answering the questions below.

B Scooping up salt from the beach



The salt that Gandhi scooped from the beach was later auctioned for 1600 rupees (US$500).

Responding to the sources

1. How do you think footage such as that shown in the video could increase British anxieties about Gandhi's methods?
2. In the United States, sympathisers started to wear 'Gandhi caps' (more usually seen on Nehru) in support of the Salt March. Gandhi was also named *Time Magazine's* Man of the Year. Why do you think the Salt March inspired so much interest in nations like the United States? Consider their own contentious history with the British Empire following the 1776 American Revolution.

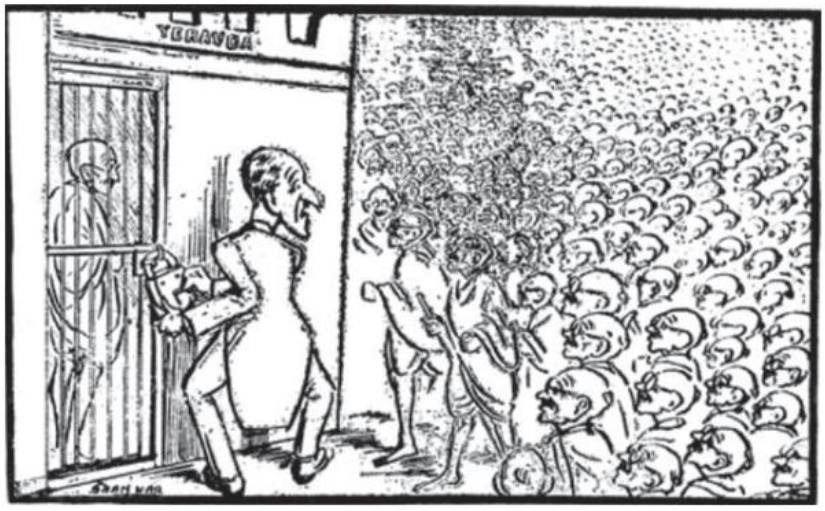
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The British struggled for a way forward. With no obvious end to the disobedience, Gandhi was released from jail and invited to Britain to discuss India's independence. In March 1931, a year after the Salt March, Gandhi and Lord Irwin signed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, bringing some resolution to the events of the preceding year. To celebrate, Lord Irwin proposed tea. Asking Gandhi how he would like it, Gandhi allegedly replied, 'water, lemon…and a pinch of salt.'

SOURCE 7.27 British response to Gandhi

Responding to the cartoon

1. Lord Willingdon (shown in the cartoon holding the lock to Ghandi's cell) was India's 22nd Viceroy. What dilemma does the cartoonist think Willingdon is facing?
2. Why do you think the cartoonist has chosen to show each crowd member with a likeness of Gandhi?



Cartoon from *Hindustan Times*, 1932

To some Indians, the Pact – which released political prisoners, allowed Indians to manufacture their own salt, and gave Indians some equality in their negotiations with the British – was considered a success. To others, like Nehru, the Pact – which also retained British control over Indian defence and foreign policy and which ignored police brutalities – was considered a betrayal. The Dandi Salt March would be the zenith of Gandhi's influence on the independence movement. From the late 1930s onwards, the aging Gandhi's influence would wane while more pragmatic politicians like Jinnah and Nehru would lead on.

ACTIVITY 7.4

Create a timeline of events from 1883 to 1930

Create a timeline to illustrate the key events and developments from 1883 through to 1930. Highlight two or three events that you think are the most important. Compare your timeline with that of a classmate.

7.8 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did acts of civil disobedience advance India's claim for independence?

The INC-led civil disobedience which had so stirred the world was officially called off in the mid-1930s. Gandhi had again turned his attention to the Dalit and had committed to fast until death for their cause. In the end, critics of the *satyagraha* pointed to the watered-down Government of India Act which was ratified in 1935 as evidence of the ineffectiveness of the *satyagraha*. It seemed that more than non-violent resistance was needed to achieve Indian independence. Indeed, some new forces – internal and external – would come to shape the independence movement from the late 1930s until independence was finally achieved in 1947.

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The first of these was the crystallisation of a Muslim political identity in India which led to the belief in the necessity of the creation of a Muslim state in Pakistan. The second was the commencement of World War II, which by its end left Britain bankrupt.

The emergence of a Muslim identity

During the Moghul era and the first half of British rule in India, Muslims and Hindus had lived side by side, aware, but mostly accepting of, the vast differences in their religions.

SOURCE 7.28 Harmoniously mingled

> Us Hindus and Muslims, we have always known and respected each other's beliefs ... Both religious communities have happily made amendments to their own taboos and our lives are harmoniously mingled. We quietly pass each other coveted dishes, forbidden in traditional interaction, over the backyard fence. We attend each other's weddings with pleasure and enjoyment.

Sudha Koul, *The Tiger Ladies*, 2002, p. 32

Responding to the text

1. What evidence does Koul give to indicate a harmonious relationship between India's Muslim and Hindus?
2. Is there any suggestion that either Muslim or Hindus ignored traditional divides between each religious community?
3. This quote is taken from Sudha Koul's memoir about growing up in Kashmir. She calls her memoir the story of a 'charmed childhood'. How reliable do you think Koul's reminiscences are and can we trust adult memories of childhood to draw historical conclusions?

The British reaction to the Indian Mutiny is seen as a catalyst for a change in relations between Hindus and Muslims. As Pritchett states, 'the rebellion of 1857 … marked the real end of aristocratic Muslim culture in North India' (1994:28). The British, worried about a growing political consciousness amongst the Hindus, enforced separation between the two groups.

SOURCE 7.29 Indian diplomat J.N. Dixit talks about the divide between Hindus and Muslims

> A conscious decision was taken to exploit the existing divide between Hindus and Muslims ... to acknowledge and encourage a separate social, religious and cultural Muslim identity, neglecting the synthesis that had occurred from the 10th century AD onwards ... The policy of divide and rule commenced.

J. N. Dixit, *India-Pakistan in War and Peace*, 2002, p. 93

Responding to the text

1. How would it serve British interests to 'exploit the existing divide between Hindus and Muslims'?
2. Why do you think the British didn't encourage this separation before the Indian Mutiny?
3. What do you think Dixit means by talking of a policy of 'divide and rule'? How might creating divisions between the two Indian groups weaken calls for independence?

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The rise of the Muslim League

The creation of the **All-India Muslim League** reflected the increasing importance of defining a Muslim identity in India. Emerging in the late 1880s as a literary society, in 1906 it had re-formed as a political party, with 58 founding members from across India. In 1907 a constitution was developed, and a headquarters set up at Lahore. Its focus was on protecting Muslim rights within India, and on developing understanding between the Muslim and other Indian communities. It supported education and opposed violence. However, initially it had very little influence, and was not always viewed as representative of the Muslim community.

All-India Muslim League political party formed in 1906 with a focus on protecting Muslim rights within India and developing understanding between the Muslim and other Indian communities

In 1913, Mohammad Ali Jinnah – already a member of the INC – joined the Muslim League, although his primary interest was in the push for an independent India, something not part of the League's agenda. He worked to bring the INC and League together, and was a key figure behind the Lucknow Pact of 1916, in which the two groups agreed to pressure the British government to give the Indian people greater autonomy.

In 1920, Jinnah resigned from the INC, believing it falsely represented itself as the sole voice of India's independence movement and worked to have the Muslim League promote the interests of India's Muslims. In the 1920s, however, the Muslim League continued to share the INC's belief in *Swaraj* – provided guarantees were made to protect India's Muslim minority.

Jinnah was president of the Muslim League in 1916, and again in 1924. In 1929, holding the office for the third time, he presented to the council a 14-point plan for the reformation of India's constitution.

SOURCE 7.30 Jinnah's proposals, 1929 (extract)

4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation shall not be less than one third.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 'Fourteen points', presented to council meeting of the All-India Muslim League, 9 March 1929

Responding to the text

1. What does Jinnah's plan reveal about his concerns for Muslims in India?
2. How does Jinnah attempt to ensure the maintenance of Muslim culture in a Hindu-dominated India?
3. How reasonable do you consider Jinnah's plan to be? Why might Hindus like Nehru have called Jinnah's plan 'ridiculous'?
4. Is there any evidence in this plan that suggests Jinnah might be considering proposing a separate Muslim nation following independence?
5. Jinnah's commitment to Islam has often been called into question (he drank alcohol and ate pork, for instance). Given this, why do you think he still would have given his campaign such a strong Muslim emphasis?

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Jinnah's plan was rejected by the Congress Party. Meanwhile, the relationship between the Muslim League and the INC continued to deteriorate. Gandhi's influence on the INC and the growing independence movement unnerved the Muslim League who worried that, come independence, they would be replacing a British master with a Hindu one. In the 1930s, Jinnah and the Muslim League, increasingly concerned about their minority status in India, began entertaining the notion of an independence characterised by the creation of two countries: a Muslim-dominated nation and a Hindu-dominated one.

The nation Jinnah was interested in founding would be called 'Pakistan'. The name was significant. In Urdu, the language of the Muslim elites, Pakistan means 'the land of the pure.' More politically, Pakistan was also an abbreviation referring to the five Muslim-dominated regions of northern India: Punjab, Afghania, Kashmir, and Sind. 'Tan' comes from Baluchistan. The acronym had first been used as 'Pakstan' in a pamphlet published in March 1933 by nationalist Chaudhry Rehmat Ali – the 'i' was added in later, probably to ease pronunciation.

On a personal level, the relationship between India's two great independence leaders – Jinnah and Gandhi – was weakening alongside the bonds between their organisations. Gandhi considered any 'vivisection' of India as a sin and was philosophically opposed to the idea until his death.

ACTIVITY 7.5

Apply an informed imagination to a photograph

1. This photo was taken outside Jinnah's home in 1939 when he and Gandhi were en route to the Viceroy's Lodge. Given what you already know, imagine what each might be saying to the other, and thinking about the other.
2. To stretch your imagination further, try to interpret the stance, gesture and expression of each.



SOURCE 7.31 Jinnah and Gandhi in 1939

In 1940, Jinnah as leader of the Muslim League, officially called for the creation of a separate Pakistan nation in what has become known as his Lahore address.

SOURCE 7.32 Jinnah's Lahore address, 1940

The only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states...'

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders; and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality ... The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies ... They neither intermarry nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions ...

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> To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent, and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Presidential address to the Muslim League, March 1940

Responding to the text

1. What sort of India does Jinnah propose following independence? Quote to support your response.
2. What could Jinnah mean when he states that Islam and Hinduism 'are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are ... different and distinct social orders'?
3. What does Jinnah see as the inevitable result of a United India?
4. Do you find Jinnah's reasoning convincing? Justify your response.

From 1937 onwards, and especially after Jinnah's Lahore address in 1940, the popularity of the League extended to the broader Muslim population in India. Large crowds gathered for processions and strikes in support.

Some years later, Hindu-born Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, founder of the Independent Labour Party, wrote about the socio-economic divide between the Hindus and Muslims in India.

SOURCE 7.33 A Muslim case for partition

> Is it unnatural, ask the Muslims, if they seek an escape from so intolerable a position by the creation of separate national States, in which the Muslims can find a peaceful home and in which the conflicts between a ruling race and a subject race can find no place to plague their lives?

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, *Pakistan or The Partition of India*, 1945

Responding to the text

1. What argument does Ambedkar give for proposing a separate Muslim state?
2. Who do you think Ambedkar is referring to when he says a 'ruling race' and a 'subject race'?
3. Ambedkar was actually an influential member of the Dalit (Untouchable) caste. How might this have influenced his views on the plight of Muslims during independence?
4. What arguments could you put forward in support or in rejection of Ambedkar's position?

The Atlantic Charter

Meanwhile, the British had other distractions. In September 1939, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain declared war on Germany following its invasion of Poland. Significantly, he also declared war on India's behalf, without their knowledge. Two years later, war-time Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter, a document which set out an ethical platform for their continued wars against the Axis Powers. On one front, this noble document would help undermine the validity of the British Raj in India. It also revealed Britain's growing reliance on the US. As the war continued, Britain would be forced to borrow $5 billion from the US. Significantly, it also owed its colonies approximately $3 billion, of which over $1 billion was owed to India. Here are key elements of the Atlantic Charter.

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SOURCE 7.34 Elements of the Atlantic Charter, 1941

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, The Atlantic Charter, 14 August 1941

Responding to the text

1. Summarise the three major principles of the Atlantic Charter.
2. How could such a document undermine British actions and motivations in India?
3. How might India's independence advocates have used this document to further their cause?

Quit India

In 1942, sensing a weakness in Britain's imperial armour, the INC organised the **Quit India** campaign. Like the salt *satyagraha* and the Rowlatt-era *hartals* before it, the Quit India campaign was to be peaceful. However, violence soon broke out with railways sabotaged and police stations bombed. Study the following photo and view the Quit India video (available in the Interactive Textbook).

Quit India movement organised by the INC and Mahatma Gandhi, seeking the end of British Rule in India: it was intended to be peaceful, but violence broke out

SOURCES 7.35 A&B Quit India campaign

A Tear gas used on India protestors in Gowalia Tank Maiden, a park in Bombay (Mumbai), August 1942



B Video of demonstrators being chased by Indian and British police, 1942



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:28) before answering the questions on the following page.

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Responding to the photo and video

1. Quit India occurred in 1942 and was characterised by particularly brutal British reprisals. Why do you think the British were so extreme in their response to the Quit India campaign versus other *satyagrahas*?
2. Does the video support or refute the view that the Quit India campaign was non-violent?
3. How do you think the international community might have reacted to the publication of photos or film footage like that in Sources 7.35 A and B?
4. How do you think Muslims not participating in the Quit India campaign might have felt about these sorts of British reprisals?

Sensing 'the most serious rebellion since 1857', the British retaliated with brute force, killing between 1000 and 25 000 civilians. Gandhi, Nehru and hundreds of independence leaders were imprisoned for the remainder of World War II. This opened up new possibilities for the Muslim League. In India's 1945 general election, the Muslim League won 75% of all Muslim votes, well up from the 5% of the previous election. However, it is important to remember that at this time most Muslims were still disenfranchised, and therefore unable to vote.

Now read what two modern historians had to say about the INC and the League at this time.

SOURCE 7.36 Two historians talk about Quit India

A John Keay, 2000

> The arrest of its leaders meant that the party was unable to direct the movement or to profit from it, and the detention for most of what remained of the war meant that the party would be singularly ill-prepared for the post-war endgame. The League on the other hand, unchallenged by either the British or the Congress, continued to proselytise, organise and mobilise.

John Keay, *India: A History*, 2000, p. 499

B Stanley Wolpert, 2009

> In August 1942, Congress Party leaders launched their brutally smothered 'Quit India' campaign, giving Viceroy Linlithgow the opportunity ... to lock all of them up ... Jinnah, the League's permanent president, took advantage of his wartime freedom to enhance the prestige of his Muslim constituency. Jinnah kept demanding nothing less than a sovereign Muslim nation of *Pakistan* ('Land of the Pure'), as Muslim India's post-war reward for the service of its loyal Muslim troops on all fronts and for the support Muslim leaders like himself gave the viceroy and his governors.

Stanley Wolpert, *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India*, 2009, p. 9

Responding to the texts

1. What do the two historians agree on about the INC and about the Muslim League?
2. What added information does Wolpert provide about the Muslim League?
3. Do you think the British would have anticipated, and later regretted, this consequence of the jailing of Congress leaders? Explain your response.

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Direct Day of Action

At the war's end, Britain was weakened economically. It also recognised the strength of anti-colonialism that had emerged from the war. Finally, after over 50 years of agitation, India's independence was on the horizon.

In 1946, a committee was established by the British to set out the transition of power. This heightened Muslim fears of a Hindu-dominated independent India. In response, Jinnah and the Muslim League announced that 16 August 1946 would be a Direct Day of Action, with meetings across the country to present the League's views. In some cities, mass rallies and general strikes were to be held. Jinnah had said he was going to 'make trouble', but, as journalist H. V. Hodson later pointed out, it was 'manifestly the central League leaders' intention' that the meetings and rallies would cause no more than 'commonplace and limited disturbances'. For the most part this was the case, but there was one exception. The below photo is from the Direct Day of Action in Calcutta.

SOURCE 7.37 Direct Day of Action in Calcutta, Bengal, August 1946

A Calcutta street



Responding to the photo

1. Who do you think the men are walking down the street? Who do you think the men are watching from the footpath?
2. Where do you imagine the men in the photo were heading to? What emotions were they possibly feeling at the time?
3. What do you think the bystanders were possibly feeling as they watched the mob?
4. What evidence can be found in the photo to suggest that the Direct Day of Action could turn violent?
5. What outcome do you think Jinnah wanted to see by organising the Direct Day of Action?

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In Calcutta, the Day of Direct Action quickly turned violent as pent up anxieties spewed onto the streets. The first major bloodshed of India's independence movement between Hindus and Muslims erupted, in what is now called the Great Calcutta Killing. Exact numbers are not known, but thousands of people on both sides were killed, and many more injured, before British officials called in the army to take control.

SOURCES 7.38 A-D Riots in Calcutta, August 1946

A Calcutta policemen using tear gas bombs, 24 August 1946



B The vultures of Calcutta, 9 September 1946



This photograph by Margaret Bourke-White was published by *Life* magazine on 9 September 1946, along with several others, under the title 'The Vultures of Calcutta'. It is not recorded whether the bodies on the ground were Hindu, Muslim or both.

C Telegram from the East Bengali District Congress Office, 15 October, 1946

HOUSES BURNT ON MASS SCALE HUNDREDS BURNT TO DEATH HUNDREDS KILLED OTHERWISE LARGE NUMBER HINDU GIRLS FORCIBLY MARRIED TO MOSLEMS AND ABDUCTED ALL HINDU TEMPLES AND IMAGES DESECRATED HELPLESS REFUGEES COMING TO TIPPERA DISTRICT ...

D Recollections of William Phillips Talbot, 2007

Watching a great city feed on its own flesh is a disturbing experience ... After four days of uncontrolled fury a shattered city remained ... Dazed, suspicious survivors showed none of the camaraderie and mutual sympathy which tends to spring up among victims of a severe bombing, instead, their eyes revealed hatred, bitterness, distrust, and fright ...

Burnt-out automobiles stood across traffic lanes. A pall of smoke hung over many blocks, and buzzards sailed in great, leisurely circles. Most overwhelming, however, were the neglected human casualties: fresh bodies, bodies grotesquely pleated in the tropical heat, slashed bodies, bodies bludgeoned to death, bodies piled on pushcarts, bodies caught in drains, bodies stacked high in vacant lots, bodies, bodies.

Phillips Talbot, *An American Witness to India's Partition*, 2007, p. 192

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Responding to the sources

1. What do the eyewitnesses and the photos show to be the outcomes of the Direct Day of Action as it played out in Calcutta?
2. Why do you think Hindu girls were forced to marry Muslims? What does this tell you about the relations between Hindus and Muslims prior to independence?
3. Why was Talbot particularly concerned about the reaction of Calcutta survivors?
4. How could Talbot, and the writer of the telegram, gain a comprehensive and detailed picture of what was happening in this chaos? Would they be working with hearsay much of the time?
5. How do you think eyewitness reports, telegrams and photos like these may have influenced leaders like Nehru and Jinnah and Mountbatten in their independence negotiations?

The Partition of India

For the tired Congress members, the Calcutta killings seemed an omen of worse to come. In June 1947, they voted 153 to 29 in favour of the Partition of India. British India was to be split into two. To his death, Gandhi opposed Congress's decision: in May 1947 he wrote 'But what can I do? The only thing I can do is dissociate myself from such a scheme'.

SOURCE 7.39 All-India Congress Committee President J.B. Kripalani talks about the vote in favour of Partition

> Some members have accused us that we have taken this decision out of fear. I must admit to the charge, but not in the sense in which it was made. The fear is not for the lives lost or the widows' wail or the orphans' cry or the many houses burned. The fear is that if we go on like this, retaliating and heaping indignities on each other, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a state of cannibalism or worse ...
>
> I have been with Gandhiji for the last thirty years. I joined him in Champaran. I have never swayed in my loyalty to him ... Even when I have differed with him I have considered his political instinct to be more correct than my elaborately reasoned attitudes. Today I also feel that he is with his supreme fearlessness correct and my stand is defective.
>
> Why then am I not with him? It is because he has not yet found a way of tackling the problem on a mass basis.

J. B. Kripalani, cited in Louis Fischer, *Gandhi: His Life and Message for the World*, 1954, p. 191

Responding to the text

1. What fear does INC leader Kripalani hold if a decision on independence is deferred?
2. Is Kripalani strong in his belief in the current independence plan?
3. How does Kripalani try to establish his credentials as someone heavily invested in India's independence?
4. How does Kripalani explain his rejection of Gandhi's position on the partition of India?

On 15 August 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, declared a 'tryst with destiny' and at midnight welcomed the free Dominion of India in New Delhi. 'Freedom and power bring responsibility', Nehru declared. In Karachi, Pakistan's first Governor-General, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, declared the birthday

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of the 'sovereign State of Pakistan'. 'Our object should be peace within and peace without', he continued. Meanwhile, Gandhi was in Calcutta suppressing riots. He declined the invitation to attend India's official inauguration. He sent no message to his country and spent his day fasting and praying.

ACTIVITY 7.6

Create a timeline of events from 1930 to 1947

Create a timeline to illustrate the key events and developments after 1930 that culminated in Partition on 15 August 1947. Highlight two or three events that you think most important. Compare your timeline with that of a classmate.

7.9 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What were the effects of Partition?

Both India and Pakistan declared independence without knowing the extent of their national boundaries. India's last Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, had decided to keep secret the exact boundaries that divided the two countries – the Radcliffe Line – for fear of communal violence. On 17 August, the Radcliffe Line was finally published. Here's how popular historians Collins and Lapierre describe Cyril Radcliffe's experience working on the map that would partition India.

SOURCE 7.40 Radcliffe's 'terrible haste'

> Never would he walk a rice paddy or study a jute field that his pencil was going to mutilate. He would not be able to visit a single one of the hundreds of villages through which his line would run, to contemplate its effect on the hapless peasants it might isolate from their fields, their wells or their roads. Not once would he be able to soften the human tragedies that his boundary line was certain to produce by following its trace upon the surface of the land he was dividing. Communities would be severed from the lands they tilled, factories from their freight depots, power plants from their grids, all because of the terrible haste that the Indian leadership had imposed on Radcliffe, compelling him to demarcate, on an average of 30 miles of frontier every day of this land he had not had time to see, and about whose economy, agriculture and, above all, people he was almost wholly ignorant.

Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, 1973, pp. 216–251

Responding to the text

1. What examples do Collins and Lapierre use to indicate how ill-prepared Radcliffe was in making his decision?
2. What do the authors consider to be the practical consequences of the Partition?
3. Do you think the authors take a sympathetic approach to Radcliffe? What evidence supports your view?
4. Collins and Lapierre have been criticised for their overly emotive narrative history. Is there any evidence in this extract to support this criticism?

Lord Mountbatten's timeline

The British government was using Mountbatten to channel their intentions. Here are two minutes (messages) that would have informed Mountbatten's decision.

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SOURCES 7.41 A&B British government intentions

A Secret British cabinet paper, 31 December 1946

> It was also necessary to consider the effect of such an announcement [of a transition date] on other parts of the Empire and on world opinion in general. Some ministers felt that an announcement ... might be regarded as the beginning of the liquidation of the British Empire: and it would be bound to have serious repercussions in Burma, Malaya and elsewhere.

B British Prime Minister Atlee, minute to Lord Mountbatten, 18 March 1947

> It is the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a unitary Government for British India and the Indian states, if possible within the British Commonwealth ... The date fixed for the transfer of power is a flexible one to within one month; but you should aim at June 1, 1948.

Responding to the texts

1. What anxieties did the British have when deciding on the date of Partition?
2. What do you think the 'liquidation of the British Empire' means?
3. To what extent was Mountbatten allowed to determine the date of Partition?
4. What two aspirations did the British government have for a post-British India?

Despite the messages above, Mountbatten moved independence forward by ten months: August 1947. Why did Lord Mountbatten choose to ignore the directives of his prime minister, Clement Atlee, in bringing forward India's independence and what were the consequences of his decision? Here are Collins and Lapierre again:

SOURCE 7.42 Mountbatten sets the date for independence

> 'Sir,' the (journalist) said, 'if all agree that there is most urgent need for speed between today and the transfer of power, surely you should have a date in mind?'
>
> 'Yes, indeed,' replied Mountbatten.
>
> 'And if you have chosen a date, sire, what is that date?' the questioner asked.
>
> A number of rapid calculations went whirring through the Viceroy's mind as he listened to those questions. He had not, in fact, selected a date. But he was convinced it had to be very soon...
>
> His voice constricted with sudden emotion ... announced: 'The final transfer of power to Indian hands will take place on August 15, 1947.'
>
> Mountbatten's spontaneous decision to announce the date of Indian independence on his own initiative was a bombshell ... No one, not even Atlee himself, had suspected that Mountbatten was ready to ring down the curtain on Britain's Indian adventure so precipitously. In Delhi, the Viceroy's most intimate collaborators had had no inkling of what Mountbatten was about

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to do. Not even the Indian leaders with whom he had spent so many hours ... had received a hint that he would act with such decisive haste ...

Mountbatten had committed the unpardonable fault of announcing this choice without first consulting the representatives of the most powerful occult body in India, the astrologers. No people in the world were as subservient to the authority and rulings of astrologers as were the Indians ... Millions of Indians wouldn't dream of setting out on a trip, receiving a guest, signing a contract, going hunting, putting on a new suit, buying a new jewel, cutting a moustache, marrying a daughter, or even having their funerals arranged, without prior consultation with an astrologer ...

In Calcutta, Swami Madananand rushed to his celestial charts as soon as he heard the date announced in a radio broadcast ... As he did, he sat up aghast. His calculations foretold a disaster.

Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, 1973, pp. 201–204

Responding to the text

1. Why do you think there was a perceived 'urgent need for speed' in declaring India's independence?
2. Which groups had Mountbatten left out of his decision to move independence forward by ten months?
3. What ramifications do you think this decision would have had on Hindus and Muslims anxious about their futures?
4. Can we tell anything about Mountbatten's perspective by his failure to consult with India's astrologers?
5. How might their foretelling of a disaster have played into existing anxieties among both British and Indians about independence?

Lord Mountbatten was appointed British India's last Viceroy in February of 1947. He would leave India only 18 months later. When asked 18 years after Partition to reflect on his decision making at that time, Mountbatten admitted he had 'got things wrong'. About his time as India's last Viceroy he told a reporter, 'I f*cked it up'. In 1979, at the age of 79, Mountbatten would be assassinated while on a fishing trip. The Irish Republican Army, whose goal was to free Northern Ireland from British rule, claimed 'responsibility for the execution of Lord Louis Mountbatten. This operation is one of the discriminate ways we can bring to the attention of the English people the continuing occupation of our country'.

The largest human migration in history

The publication of the Radcliffe Line precipitated the largest human migration in history and the deaths of hundreds of thousands if not millions of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims.

Historian Yasmin Khan states that 'violence must sit at the core of any history of the partition' (2017: 129). In New Delhi, Muslim students were ripped from their examinations and butchered. Sikh men were urged to cut their long hair to avoid roving bands of Muslim *gundas*, while entire trains of Hindus were murdered en route to their new nation. Compare Khan's imagery on the following page with her fellow historian, Alex Von Tunzelmann.



SOURCE 7.43 Partition refugees, October 1947

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SOURCES 7.44 A&B Two historians describe the violence of Partition

A Yasmin Khan, 2017

> Children watched as their parents were dismembered or burned alive, women were brutally raped and had their breasts and genitals mutilated and the entire populations of villages were summarily executed ...
>
> Others killed members of their own family and community, or committed suicide, preferring an 'honourable' death to the shame of rape or conversion of their loved ones, while it is impossible to know how many people eliminated romantic rivals or murdered long-standing adversaries with impunity while disguising their actions behind the façade of Partition's carnage.

Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, 2017, p. 129

B Alex VonTunzelmann, 2007

> The figure of one million dead has now been repeated so often that it is accepted as historical fact. 'What is the basis for this acceptance?' asked the historian Gyanendra Pandey. 'That it appears like something of a median?' Unfortunately so, for the truth is that no one knows how many people were killed, nor how many were raped, mutilated or traumatized. The numbers anyone chooses say more about their political inclination than about the facts. Fewer than four hundred thousand suggests an apologia for British rule; four hundred thousand to one million moderation; a million or more usually indicates that the person intends to blame the deaths on a specific party, the most usual culprits being one or more of Mountbatten, Patel, Jinnah or the Sikhs.
>
> Beyond the dead, there were more numbers, too, plucked from the extrapolations and imaginations of regional officials, army, police and historians. Refugees on the move by the beginning of September: five hundred thousand, or perhaps one million. Women abducted and raped: 75 000, or perhaps 125 000. Total who would migrate from one dominion to the other between 1947 and 1948: ten million, or perhaps twelve million, or perhaps fifteen million.

Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire*, 2007

Responding to the texts

1. What approaches do Khan and Tunzelmann take in their attempt to establish the nature of of Partition violence?
2. According to Khan, why does suicide feature in the histories of Partition?
3. According to Tunzelmann, what are the lower and upper limits of the death toll of the Partition?
4. What does Tunzelmann see as the reasons for higher, median and lower estimates of the Partition death toll?
5. Why does neither Khan nor Tunzelmann propose a fixed figure for deaths, rapes and migrations? Do you think a fixed figure could ever be possible? Explain your response.

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One argument put forward for the vast disparity in Partition statistics is the fact that most of those involved in the migration were illiterate peasants. Indeed, for many villagers the first they heard of the Partition was when marauders entered their towns and murdered them. Another argument put forward by Saikia (2004) is the notion of perpetrator silence. There are now thousands of Partition histories that are almost exclusively written from the perspective of the victim as opposed to the perpetrator of murders and rape. The plight of women and children during the Partition is particularly harrowing, as evidenced by the three sources below.

SOURCES 7.45 A–C The plight of women and children

A Writer and foreign affairs analyst Nisid Hajari describes the brutalities

> Gangs of killers set whole villages aflame, hacking to death men and children and the aged while carrying off young women to be raped. Some British soldiers and journalists who had witnessed the Nazi death camps claimed Partition's brutalities were worse: pregnant women had their breasts cut off and babies hacked out of their bellies; infants were found literally roasted on spits.

Nisid Hajari, *Midnight's Furies*, 2015, p. xviii

B A nurse with two orphaned children in Amritsar, March 1947



The children's mother was stabbed to death in the riots and they were rescued by a British military patrol and taken to the hospital for safety.

C Historian Yasmin Khan talks about the experience of women

> Of all the horrors of 1947, the experience of the women who were raped is the most difficult to write about. It is a history of broken bodies and broken lives. Rape was used as a weapon, as a sport and as a punishment. Armed gangs had started to use rape as a tool of violence in Bengal and Bihar in 1946 but this now took on a new ubiquity and savagery in Punjab. It sparked the deepest feelings of revenge, dishonour and shame. Many women were silent about what had happened to them: 'in most households the woman said no, no, I was hiding in the jungle or I was hiding in the pond, or I was hiding in a neighbour's house,' recalled Ashoka Gupta, a volunteer who worked with distraught women in the aftermath of attacks in Noakhali; 'they will not declare, or they will not confess, that they have been raped or molested ... because it will be a confession of shame, and once confessed there will be quite a possibility that they will not be taken back in their own homes'.

Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, 2017, p. 133

Responding to the sources

1. How would you summarise the treatment of women as described in the two written sources? How reliable and representative would you consider these sources to be?
2. What cultural beliefs of and about women complicated their plight and perhaps led to an underestimation of statistics related to female victims of Partition violence?
3. What elements of the photograph might the photographer have felt would make it a powerful statement about the plight of children during the riots?

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Allocating blame

Many people have argued that Mountbatten should be held responsible for this tragedy.

SOURCE 7.46 Blaming Mountbatten

For his management of the situation, according to his fiercest critic Andrew Roberts 'Mountbatten deserved to be court-martialled on his return to London.' This is a serious accusation and worth examining in some detail. The criticism has been aimed from three angles. First, Mountbatten is accused of ignoring the specific problem of the Sikhs, who were particularly disgruntled by their lot under his plan ... Second, he is accused of failing to use British troops to stop the trouble once it started. Third, he is accused of having rushed through the whole transfer of power so fast that preparations made for the effects of partition were either inadequate or absent.

Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire*, 2007, p. 252

Responding to the text

1. Tunzelmann lists three accusations made against Mountbatten. Based on the work you have done in this depth study, what weighting would you give to each of these criticisms?
2. Andrew Roberts is a British historian who has called himself extremely right-wing, and his criticism of Mountbatten is in a collection of essays described by one reviewer as a 'defiantly revisionist' approach to history. In light of these points, draw some conclusions about Roberts' perspective on the matter, and possible reasons for expressing himself so vehemently.

However, as history students know, the interrelationship between multiple causes and effects often precludes allocating entire responsibility for events to a single individual. The sources below highlight complementary and conflicting nuances of history that must be examined before any historical judgements can be made. As you have seen Jinnah is held up for particular scrutiny considering the force of his call for the creation of Pakistan. Some of Nehru's attitudes have also been called into question, such as his statement (shown on the following page) about the British army. Likewise, the British indifference to rising Partition violence and in particular the plight of the Sikhs has been debated. Look now at some of this evidence below.

SOURCE 7.47 The situation of the Sikhs

While making up only a minority of Punjab's population (13%), the Sikhs added a complication to the partition of Punjab. They were a forceful and prominent presence in the Punjab as evidenced by the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Sikhs had a long history of distrust of both Hindus and Muslims and could remember their oppression at the hands of the [Moghuls] before the arrival of the British in the 16th century. With India's impending independence, the increasingly martial Sikhs felt a deep distrust for their future. As one Sikh leader announced, 'O Sikhs! Be ready for self-destruction ... Our lands are about to be overrun, our women dishonoured!'

Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight*, 1973, p. 231

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Responding to the text

1. Why do you think Sikhs distrusted both Muslims and Hindus during independence negotiations?
2. What do you think the authors mean when they call the Sikhs 'increasingly martial'? How could this contribute to Partition tensions?

In the lead up to Partition, the British needed to make arrangements for the withdrawal of their troops from India. Field Marshal Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief of the (British) Indian Army, suggested they should stay in place until 1 January 1948, to 'safeguard British lives'. Britain decided to let the future governments of India and Pakistan make the decision on whether the forces would withdraw immediately after Partition, or remain for another six months. The future prime minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, was open to the British troops remaining. Nehru, set to become first prime minister of India, was not.

SOURCE 7.48 Nehru and the British troops

> I would rather have every village in India go up in flames than keep a single British soldier in India a moment longer than necessary.

Jawaharlal Nehru, cited in Alex Von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire*, 2007, p. 254

Responding to the text

1. Why do you think Nehru held such animosity towards the British soldiers?
2. Given the force of Nehru's comment above, why do you think Mountbatten has had most of the blame for the tragedy of Partition laid at his feet, instead of India's first prime minister?

Ultimately, Nehru agreed that while the troop withdrawal should start on 15 August, the process could continue through until the end of February 1948. However, during this period, the position of the British command seemed to be that they had no responsibility for protecting non-British nationals.

SOURCE 7.49 Evacuation of British troops

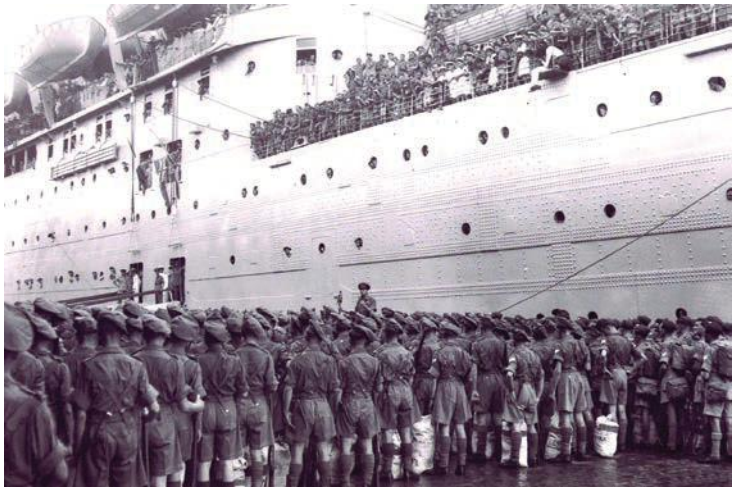
A Historian Khan describes the withdrawal period

> Instead of using these troops to quell the trouble, the British command confined them to barracks and evacuated the men as quickly as they possibly could. Mountbatten's instructions stated confidentially that British army units had no operational functions whatsoever, could not be used for internal security purposes and would not be used on the frontier or in the states. There was only one exception: they could be used in an emergency to save British lives.

Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan*, 2017, pp. 128–129

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B British troops leaving India



Responding to the text and photo

1. Immediately prior to independence, in what circumstances might British troops be used?
2. Why do you think the British sought to evacuate their troops 'as quickly as they could'?
3. How do you think scenes like the one photographed may have affected Partition tensions?
4. Do you think Mountbatten's confidential instructions reinforce the popular argument that he greatly contributed to Partition violence?

Finally, there is the view that the division of India brought to the surface hundreds of years of religious distrust which the British Raj had successfully contained.

In her novel *Ice-Candy Man* (also known as *Cracking India*), Pakistani writer Bapsi Sidhwa shows the Partition through the point of view of a young girl, Lenny.

SOURCE 7.50 They are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian

I am Pakistani. In a snap. Just like that ... And I become aware of religious differences. It is sudden. One day everybody is themselves – and the next day they are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian. People shrink, dwindling into symbols. Ayah is no longer just my all-encompassing Ayah – she is also a token. A Hindu. Carried away by a renewed devotional fervour she expends a small fortune in joss-sticks, flowers and sweets on the gods and goddesses in the temples. Imam Din and Yousaf, turning into religious zealots, warn Mother they will take Friday afternoons off for the Jumha prayers.

Bapsi Sidhwa, *Ice-Candy Man*, 1988, pp. 178–179 and 261

Responding to the text

1. What do you think Sidhwa means when she says 'I am Pakistani. In a snap. Just like that'?
2. How did Hindus and Muslims react when their religious differences were made clearer following the publication of the Radcliffe Line?
3. Why do you think they reacted the way they did? Do you think this was a rational reaction given the circumstances?
4. How might increased religious fervour have contributed to Partition violence?

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7.10 What is the legacy of India's independence?

The legacy of India's independence continues to affect India today in interesting but, for the historian at least, probably not surprising ways. The urgent hostilities of the Partition have settled into a more conventional conflict between India and Pakistan, although much of it still centres on the hastily drawn line which separates India and Pakistan.



SOURCE 7.51 The Indian subcontinent in 2017
Compare this to Radcliffe's division (Source 7.13). What has changed?

Kashmir

The Kashmir region has been the focus of heated debate and sometimes armed conflict between the two countries. In Radcliffe's original map (Source 7.13), Kashmir was one of the areas marked as a princely state, with the option to join one of the countries or remain independent. Given its location and its mostly Muslim constituents, many had assumed that Kashmir would become part of Pakistan (Kashmir being the K in the Pakistan acronym). However, Kashmir's Hindu prince eventually chose to join India.

In October 1947, the Pakistan army supported an attack by tribal forces on parts of Kashmir. Following UN involvement, a ceasefire was declared in January 1949: by this time, Pakistan had control of about one third of the area, and India the remaining two-thirds.

In 1965, Pakistan attempted to infiltrate forces in Indian-controlled Kashmir, with the hope of initiating a rebellion. India responded with an attack against West Pakistan, which lasted for seventeen days before diplomatic intervention by the Soviet Union and the USA led to a ceasefire. There was a third conflict over the area in 1999: again, it was halted by external forces, with Pakistan receiving diplomatic pressure from the international community to withdraw.

A 740 km long barbed wire fence, known as the Line of Control, divides Kashmir between Pakistan and India.

Further complicating the matter, in 1962 the Sino-Indian war resulted in China annexing part of the Indian section of the Kashmir region. This area is now marked off by the Line of Actual Control.

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Nuclear weapons

The conflict took a more serious turn following India's development and 1974 testing of a nuclear weapon (code-named 'Smiling Buddha'). A few weeks after India's second nuclear weapons test in 1998, Pakistan tested its own nuclear weapons, revealing to the world its nuclear capabilities. In 2002, Pakistan warned India that it would use nuclear weapon if any of the following events transpired:

1. India conquers a large part of Pakistan.
2. India destroys large parts of Pakistan's army or air force.
3. India tries to strangle Pakistan economically.
4. India tries destabilising Pakistan politically by creating large-scale internal subversion.

In July 2015, Pakistan's Defence Minister Khawaja Asif said there was evidence India was supporting Pakistani separatist groups inside Pakistan. He told Geo TV News: 'we should pray that such an option never arises, but if we need to use (nuclear weapons) for our survival we will'.

The Bangladeshi Liberation War

In 1971, East Pakistan, the homeland of the Muslim Bengalis, fought a bloody war against West Pakistan. Indian troops supported the Bengali nationalists. Following what has been called a genocide of Bengalis, the new nation of Bangladesh was created, and Jinnah's Pakistan was no more.

Joseph Stalin, the Soviet dictator, reportedly said once: 'If only one man dies of hunger, that is a tragedy. If millions die, that's only statistics'. Despite its recent occurrence (only 45 years ago), the true cost of the Bangladesh genocide is still contested by historians.



SOURCE 7.52 A nuclear missile is paraded past spectators on Pakistan's National Day parade in Islamabad, 23 March 2005. Many Pakistan nuclear missiles are named after Muslim conquerors of India. India's nuclear weapons are named after Sanskrit symbols of power (cobra, destroyer of enemies, archer's bow).
What messages might this parading of missiles have been intended to send? How might an image such as this be read by the governments of other countries, such as India and the USA?

ACTIVITY 7.7

Research the Bangladeshi Liberation War

1. Search online for journalist David Bergman's *New York Times* article 'The Politics of Bangladesh's Genocide Debate', which details some of the debates about the Liberation War casualties (also note Bergman's personal investment in this debate!).
2. Why do you think historians, journalists and politicians are so eager to establish an exact figure for the tragedies that occurred in Bangladesh? How could this statistic be used by these groups in the present?

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ACTIVITY 7.7 continued

3. Visit the Women's Media Centre's 'Women Under Siege' page on Bangladesh (link available via the Interactive Textbook). Citing Susan Brownmiller's self-described 'rape classic' *Against Our Will*, the Women's Media Centre claims that Bangladeshi captive women and girls were raped between two and eighty times per night, which led to some 25000 pregnancies and almost all women later testing positive for sexually transmitted infections. What reasons does the Women's Media Centre give for rape being used as a strategy of war? What was the fallout of the mass rape of Bangladeshi women?



SOURCE 7.53 This photo, taken around 1971, shows the treatment of captured Razakar informants by Bangladeshi liberation freedom fighters. The Razakar was a pro-Pakistan paramilitary force in Bangladesh, organised by the Pakistan army.
Do you think this photo was likely posed? What effect might the photographer have been trying to achieve, and for what intended audience?

Democracy in Pakistan

Despite its democratic foundation, Pakistan has spent almost half of its history under military, not democratic, rule. Democracy's grip in Pakistan has been weakened by a series of assassinations, violent and bloodless coups and more recently political association with terrorist organisations.

ACTIVITY 7.8

Research Pakistan's deposed leaders

Research the assassinations of Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan (1951) and Pakistan's 12th Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto (2007). What roles did these two prime ministers play in establishing or maintaining Pakistan's democracy? For what reasons were they targeted for assassination? What impact did their assassinations have on the stability of Pakistan?

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SOURCE 7.54 Liaquat Ali Khan



SOURCE 7.55 Benazir Bhutto

Democracy in India

In January 1948, 78-year-old Mohandas K. Gandhi, on his way to prayer, was shot dead by Hindu extremist Nathuram Godse. Godse testified before his execution that Gandhi had 'acted very treacherously to the nation by his consenting to the partitioning of it'.



SOURCE 7.56 Gandhi's cremated remains being lowered into the sacred Ganges, 7 February 1948

India's post-independence democracy has been constantly challenged by a series of political assassinations, a period where it stumbled on the brink of dictatorship, the rise of Hindu extremists and continued problematic treatment of India's most powerless groups – women and the Dalit. Despite this, it remains the world's largest democracy. In 2014, 800 million Indians were eligible to vote.

ACTIVITY 7.9

Research challenges to India's democracy

1. Research the assassinations of India's second-longest serving prime minister, Indira Gandhi, and her son Rajiv Gandhi, who succeeded her. To what extent did both prime ministers maintain India's democratic principles (consider especially Indira's role in the 1975 State of Emergency)? For what reasons were they targeted for assassination?

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ACTIVITY 7.9 continued

2. Research India's largest slum, Dharavi. What is the demographic makeup of the slum? What role do the Dalit play in Dharavi? How do the slum dwellers contribute to India's economy?
3. Research what has been called India's 'rape crisis'. To what extent does the concept of *Izzat* contribute to or explain India's problematic history of sexual violence? See the Interactive Textbook for a powerful example.

7.11 Depth study: summing up

In this depth study, you have learned about the background to and effects of the Partition of India, by analysing a range of primary and secondary sources to closely examine the acts of civil disobedience initiated by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, as well as the enormous and often tragic human migration that followed Partition. You have also used sources to synthesise information and form historical arguments.

ACTIVITY 7.10

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: To what extent does the history of the Partition of India challenge the narrative of India's successful, non-violent independence movement?

1. Review the sources in each inquiry and complete the following tasks. How did Muslim and Hindu acts of civil disobedience advance India's claim for independence?

Key groups/campaigns/ legislation to explore this question	Brief summary of the aims of this group/campaign/ legislation	Best source(s) and the evidence to support that this group/campaign/legislation advanced independence
The Indian National Congress		
The Muslim League		
The Atlantic Charter		
The Quit India campaign		
The Direct Day of Action		

2. What were the effects of Partition?

Main events of Partition	Brief summary of the effect of this event	Best source(s) and the evidence to show the effect of Partition
The timeline		
The migration		
Allocating blame		

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CONCLUDING STUDY
Reflecting on imperialism



SOURCE 7.57 India commemorates the 150th anniversary of the Indian Mutiny
Why do you think the Indians have chosen to represent Britain this way? What does this choice suggest about their memories of the Indian Mutiny and the British Raj in general?

7.12 Attitudes towards imperialism

1880s – 1947: Questioning imperialism during its apogee

In 1887, the 'Grand Old Man of India', Dadabhai Naoroji, created a ledger of sorts weighing up the pros and cons of British rule in India. On the credit side, he argued, the British Raj abolished infanticide and sati while establishing British education for both males and females. On the debit side was Britain's 'utter disregard of the feelings and views of the natives' and his view that Britain was economically draining India dry. Look at Naoroji's summary below, and also the views of several others – Henry Labouchére (English politician and writer), John Hobson (English economist) and Vladimir Lenin (Russian communist revolutionary). They reveal that imperialism was being called into question for many years before its end in India.

SOURCES 7.58 A–D Criticising imperialism

A Indian political and social leader, and British MP, Dadabhai Naoroji, 1887

> The British rule has been: *morally*, a great blessing; *politically*, peace and order on one hand, blunders on the other; *materially*, impoverishment ... The natives call the British system 'Sakar ki Churi,' the knife of sugar. That is to say, there is no oppression, it is all smooth and sweet, but it is the knife, notwithstanding ... Our great misfortune is that you do not know our wants.

Dadabhai Naoroji, 'The Benefits of British Rule, 1871', *Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings*, 1887, pp. 131–136

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B English politician and writer Henry Labouchére, 1889

> Pile on the brown man's burden,
> And through the world proclaim
> That ye are Freedom's agent–
> There's no more paying game!
> And, should your own past history
> Straight in your teeth be thrown,
> Retort that independence
> Is good for whites alone.

Henry Labouchére, 'Brown Man's Burden', *Star* 4648, 1899. This is a response to Kipling's 'White Man's Burden' (see Source 7.7A)

C English economist John Hobson, 1902

> The condition of the white rulers of these lower races is distinctively parasitic; they live upon these natives, their chief work being that of organizing native labour for their support ... they do not identify themselves with the interests of the country or its people, but remain an alien body of sojourners, a 'parasite upon the carcass of its host', destined to extract wealth from the country and retiring to consume it at home.

John Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*, 1902, p. 282. Hobson is looking at imperialism from an economist's perspective.

D Russian Communist revolutionary Vladimir Lenin, 1919

> Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries. And this 'booty' is shared between two or three powerful world marauders armed to the teeth.

Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, 1916, p. 5. Lenin was influenced by the work of Hobson.

Responding to the sources

1. Compare the major criticisms of imperialism that each author outlines, and interpret their ideological perspectives.
2. Which of their phrases do you think are applicable to India specifically?

Decolonisation: Challenging imperialism during its twilight

By the second half of the twentieth century, in part due to the success of India's independence, a new movement was crystallising called decolonisation, which sought to not only draw attention to the perceived evils of the imperial mind-set but to also undo imperialism in those countries that were still living with it or in its shadow. Here's how one influential anti-imperialist thinker considered imperialism.

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SOURCE 7.59 Algerian poet Aimé Cesairé reflects on possibilities wiped out, 1955

They talk to me about progress, about 'achievements,' diseases cured, improved standards of living. *I* am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary *possibilities* wiped out.

They throw facts at my head, statistics, mileages of roads, canals, and railroad tracks. *I* am talking about thousands of men sacrificed to the Congo-Ocean. I am talking about those who, as I write this, are digging the harbour of Abidjan by hand. I am talking about millions of men torn from their gods, their land, their habits, their life-from life, from the dance, from wisdom. I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair, and behave like flunkeys.

They dazzle me with the tonnage of cotton or cocoa that has been exported, the acreage that has been planted with olive trees or grapevines. *I* am talking about natural *economies* that have been disrupted – harmonious and viable economies adapted to the indigenous population – about food crops destroyed, malnutrition permanently introduced, agricultural development oriented solely toward the benefit of the metropolitan countries, about the looting of products, the looting of raw materials.

Aimé Cesairé, *Discourse on Colonialism,* 1955, pp. 42–43

Responding to the quote

1. Who do you think is the 'they' that Cesairé is referring to?
2. Does the fact that Cesairé was a subject of imperial rule (French Algeria) legitimise his argument against imperialism? Justify your response.
3. Cesairé's text juxtaposes supposed benefits with negative consequences of imperialism. Use the table below to list these.

Supposed benefits of imperialism	Supposed negative consequences

Debating imperialism following its demise

By 1980, the British Empire had officially come to an end when its last colony, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), was finally recognised as an independent nation. Historians, philosophers, economists and, perhaps most importantly, politicians, had confined imperialism to the dustbin – as indefensible a concept

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as Nazi-era eugenics or American slavery. More recently, however, a new host of historians and thinkers have begun debating its legitimacy and consequences, as well as its significance and legacy.

SOURCES 7.60 A–D Differing views on imperialism

A British historian, John Bowle, 1974

> Far from being proud of the greatest sea-borne empire in world history, of having founded great nations of European stock in other continents, of having often set standards of fair dealing and justice over ancient civilisations and barbaric peoples accustomed to regimes of arbitrary and capricious power, many of the post-imperial British feel a retrospective guilt ... As empires go, the British has been relatively humane.

John Bowle, *The Imperial Achievement: The Rise and Transformation of the British Empire*, 1974, p. 1

B English historian Clive Ponting, 1991

> The story of the natives under the impact of Europe is one of soaring death rates brought about by disease, alcohol, and exploitation together with social disruption and the decline of native cultures, especially under the influence of the missionaries. The Europeans showed little or no interest in native beliefs or customs until anthropologists in the last hundred years tried to investigate the remains of the shattered societies.

Clive Ponting, *A Green History of the World: The Environment and the Collapse of Great Civilizations*, 1991, p. 130

C British historian Niall Ferguson, 2003

> The fact remains that no organisation in history has done more to promote the free movements of goods, capital and labour than the British Empire ... And no organisation has done more to impose Western norms of law, order and governance around the world ... The difficulty with the achievements of empire is that they are much more likely to be taken for granted than the sins of empire.

Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, 2003, p. xxii

D English politician Shashi Tharoor, 2016

> The India that succumbed to British rule enjoyed an enormous financial surplus, deployed a skilled artisan class, exported high-quality goods in great global demand, disposed of plenty of arable land, had a thriving agricultural base, and supported some 100 to 150 million without either poverty or landlessness. All of this was destroyed by British rule.

Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*, 2016, p. 460

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Responding to the quotes

1. Complete the following table:

Author	Supporter or critic of imperialism?	Key points in support of position
Bowle		
Ponting		
Ferguson		
Tharoor		

2. Why do you think historians became so engaged in debating the pros and cons of the British Empire after its demise?

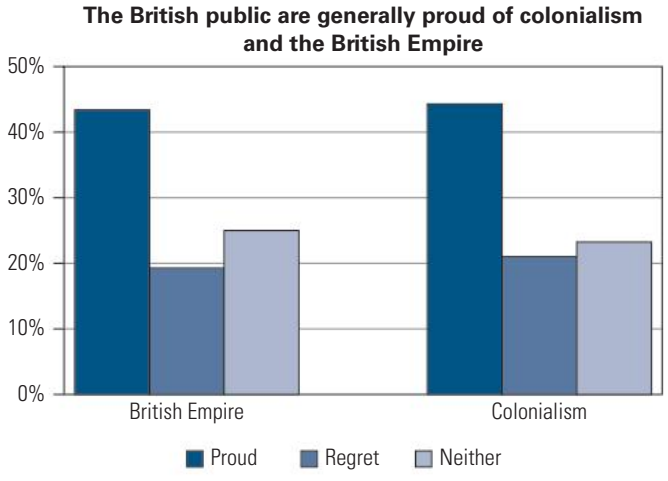
7.13 How does Britain remember its imperial past?

To what extent has Britain come to terms with its imperial past both in India and across the rest of its former empire? This is an important question and while it is difficult to answer, there are some clues that tell us how contemporary Britain chooses to remember its past. Have a look at the survey results published by UK market research firm YouGov below, which were published in *The Independent* newspaper.

ACTIVITY 7.11

Survey popular opinion about Britain's imperial past

… 44 per cent were proud of Britain's history of colonialism while only 21 per cent regretted that it happened. 23 per cent held neither view. The same poll also asked about whether the British Empire was a good thing or a bad thing: 43 per cent said it was good, while only 19 per cent said it was bad. 25 per cent responded that it was neither.



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ACTIVITY 7.11 continued



Jon Stone, and online commenters, 'British people are proud of colonialism and the British Empire, poll finds', *The Independent*, 19 January 2016, comments from 2017.

1. Write your own comment either supporting or refuting the comments of Christopher, Liberal_metalhead, l.c, or NK.
2. Create a survey to administer to your class, which attempts to discover your class's thoughts on 1) whether they are proud of Australia's European history and 2) whether they consider the British colonisation of Australia a 'good thing'.

The case for remorse

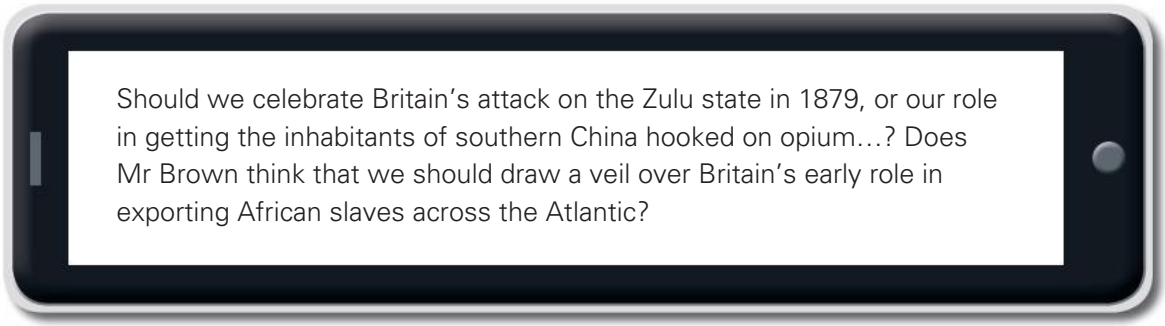
Without engaging in corroboration, we should be cautious in using just one survey to draw conclusions about how Britain chooses to remember its imperial past. Politicians, as representatives of the people, might give us an insight into what Britain has chosen to value about its past. Here is what former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown thinks:

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I think we should celebrate much of our past rather than apologise for it ... The days of Britain having to apologise for its colonial history are over.

SOURCE 7.61 Gordon Brown, interview on *Newsnight*, 14 March 2005

Brown's comments provoked the following editorial response by 'proudly liberal newspaper' *The Independent*:



SOURCE 7.62 'An imperial history lesson for Mr Brown', *The Independent*, 16 March 2005

One of the first things the British Labour Opposition Leader Jeremy Corbyn did when elected to lead the Labour Party in 2015 was call for a change to the way the British Empire is taught in schools:

Perhaps we could do a little bit more about how history is taught in our schools ... Of course, the history of European expansion is important, but there are two other things that need to be added to that ... One is the expansion of one empire at the expense of people where that empire is expanding ... You need to get the story from the people where that empire is expanding into rather than those that came there to take control of it.

SOURCE 7.63 Jeremy Corbyn, speech to Young Labour supporters, 28 September 2015

Thirteen years earlier (and two years before Gordon Brown's interview) conservative MP and then-editor of *The Spectator* Boris Johnson made the following comment about Africa:

The continent may be a blot, but it is not a blot upon our conscience. The problem is not that we were once in charge, but that we are not in charge anymore.

SOURCE 7.64 Boris Johnson, 'The Boris archive: Africa is a mess, but we can't blame colonialism', *The Spectator*, 2 February 2002

ACTIVITY 7.12

Research imperialism in other countries

The British political debate about the legacy of imperialism has also played out in other Western countries like Australia, the United States, and Canada.

1. Research one of the following issues and present the key points of the issue to the class:
   - The Australian Parliament apologising to the Stolen Generations (2008)
   - The debate around the date of Australia Day (2016 to present)
   - Vandalism of Captain Cook statues in Australia (2017 to present)
   - The debate around the celebration of Columbus Day in the United States (1990s to present)

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ACTIVITY 7.12 continued

- The debate around the use of Native American mascots and names (e.g. Redskins, Indians) in American football and baseball (1960s to present)
- Canada's apology to Indian Reservation School students (2008, 2017).

2. How does the event in question link to imperialism or reveal the imperial mind-set?
3. What are the arguments for and against the event/issue?
4. How do you think the event/issue should be resolved? Do you agree with the actions that were taken by the government or can you propose a solution to the debate?

The case for reparations

Britain, like much of the rest of the world, continues to grapple with its imperial history and will inevitably continue to do so into the future. You might consider historiographical debates irrelevant for the practical realities of the modern world. But these debates *do* have practical applications. Let's have a look at the case of British reparations which gives us another clue as to how Britain is coming to terms with its imperial past.

The legal precedent for companies, institutions and governments paying for the negative impacts of their actions is well established. In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to accept responsibility both for causing World War I and the damage the war caused. Germany was expected to compensate the Allied nations of Europe with about US$50 billion in reparations. In 2015, Japan agreed to compensate the South Korean 'comfort women' victims of World War II with US$8.3 million. In Ireland, religious institutions have currently contributed €209 million of the proposed €1.2 billion set aside to compensate victims of child sexual abuse. In the United States, BP has been ordered to pay US$5.5 billion over 16 years as compensation for the 2010 Deepwater Horizon oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico.



SOURCE 7.65 Pelicans covered in oil following the Deepwater Horizon spill

A question which concerns historians, legislators, victims, and politicians is whether such compensation should be made available to victims of imperialism. A broader question, one which Nehru himself asked in 1936, is whether it is even possible to measure the impact – negative or positive – of imperialism on those who were colonised.

In fact, plans are afoot in a variety of countries for just this occurrence. In 1999, the African World Reparations and Repatriation Truth Commission released the Accra Declaration which claimed 'the root causes of Africa's problems today are the enslavement and colonisation of African people over a 400-year period' and called for US$777 trillion in compensation (the combined wealth of every person in the world is purported to be US$241 trillion) from nations 'who participated and benefited from the slave trade and colonialism'. A more recent proposal by 15 Caribbean nations, encouraged by Britain's 2006 apology for slavery, seeks more practical assistance from imperial countries, such as medical assistance for Type 2 diabetes 'that the CARICOM reparations commission links to the fallout from slavery'.

The Caribbean proposal was rejected by former British Prime Minister David Cameron. Interestingly, in 2013 Cameron was the first British Prime Minister to visit the site of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. He described it as a 'deeply shameful event' but refused to apologise.

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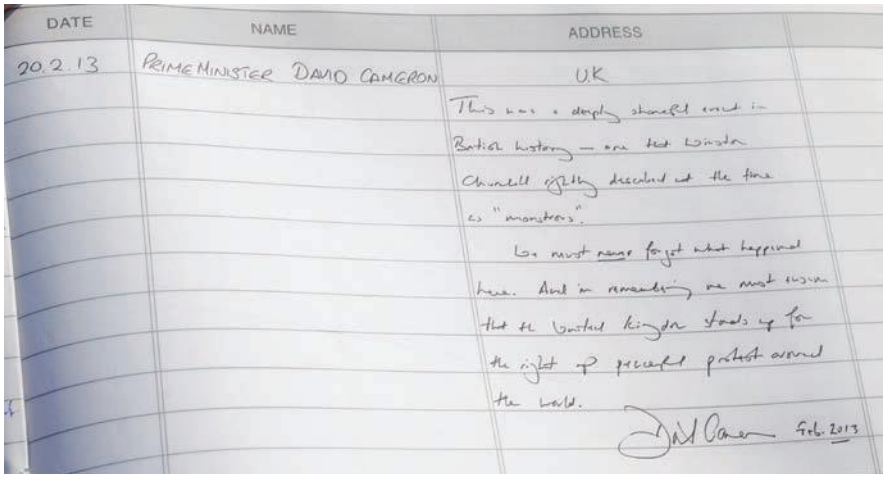
SOURCES 7.66 A–C British Prime Minister David Cameron visits the site of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 20 February 2013

A Speech by David Cameron after visiting the site

> We are dealing with something here that happened a good 40 years before I was even born, and which ... the British government rightly condemned at the time. So, I don't think the right thing is to reach back into history and to seek out things you can apologise for. I think the right thing is to acknowledge what happened, to recall what happened, to show respect and understanding for what happened. That is why the words I used are right: to pay respect to those who lost their lives, to remember what happened, to learn the lessons, to reflect on the fact that those who were responsible were rightly criticised at the time, to learn from the bad and to cherish the good.

David Cameron, from a speech after visiting the site of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, 20 February 2013

B David Cameron's quote in Jallianwala Bagh memorial book



C Television news report about David Cameron's visit



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:42) before answering the questions below.

Responding to Cameron's text, video, and image

1. Cameron suggests that the length of time (40 years before he was born) has in some way informed his response to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Do you think there should be a statute of limitations on imperial nations' responsibilities for their actions in the past? Explain your response.
2. How does the video explain the significance of Cameron's visit?
3. What argument does Cameron put forward to explain the benefits of history?

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However, in 2013 the British government did indeed compensate victims of colonial violence. In the 1950s, the Kikuyu people of Kenya rebelled against the now rapidly diminishing British Empire in what is now commonly referred to as the Mau-Mau Uprising. Following a series of massacres, the British and their Kenyan infantry instigated a series of reprisals. A former member of the Mau, in a statement to the High Court seeking compensation, explained what happened when he was arrested in 1957 and taken to a detention camp:

> They tied both of my legs with chains and Kwatanehi pinned down both of my hands. Luvai then approached me with a large pair of pliers which were more than a foot long and castrated me. There is nothing I can do, the only thing I can do is to forgive.

SOURCE 7.67 Paulo Nzili, statement to the High Court, 2013

Under the reparations agreement, Britain agreed to pay £19.9 million to over 5000 Kenyan victims, with the Foreign Secretary William Hague stating that:

> The British government recognises that Kenyans were subjected to torture and other forms of ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial administration ... The British government sincerely regrets that these abuses took place and that they marred Kenya's progress to independence.

SOURCE 7.68 William Hague, statement to the House of Commons, 6 June 2013



SOURCE 7.69 Paulo Nzili (second from right) and fellow claimants Wambugu Wa Nyingi, Jane Muthoni and Ndiku Mutua stand outside the British High Court on 7 April 2011

Despite the significance of the Mau-Mau reparations, William Hague and the British government continue to deny liability for the consequences of the imperial past, arguing that 'we do not believe that this settlement establishes a precedent in relation to any other former British colonial administration' (6 June 2013). With the present mind-set, at least, it seems unlikely that India will receive any form of compensation for the negative impacts of imperialism, despite the claims of Indian journalist Minhaz Merchant that a figure of US$3 trillion would be fair compensation (again, this is much more than Britain could afford to pay).

ACTIVITY 7.13

Research the reparations movement

1. Go to the website Islah Reparations Project (link available via the Interactive Textbook).
2. Read through the 'History of Reparations' page. Which countries have been involved in reparations cases?
3. Which of these cases would you say are directly connected to imperialism?
4. Do you think it's possible to pay reparations, like the British did to the Kenyans, without admitting liability for your actions? If not, why would the British have agreed to pay the Kenyans?
5. Do you think a case should be made for Britain to pay reparations for their colonisation of India?

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A case for repatriation

'Loot' was one of the first Hindu words to make its way into English. Indeed, historian William Dalrymple calls the BEIC the 'original corporate raiders.'

ACTIVITY 7.14

Write an essay on the case for repatriation

Read *The Conversation* article 'Britain, India and the Koh-i-Noor diamond – don't expect the jewel to be prised out of the crown' (a link is available via the Interactive Textbook) about India's Koh-i-Noor diamond which now forms part of the Britain's US$12 billion Crown Jewels. Follow the links through the article to establish the arguments for and against the repatriation of India's most famous diamond. Using internet research, compare this example with other famous repatriation demands such as the Elgin Marbles, Mungo Man, the Benin Bronzes, or China's Summer Palace. In a short essay, respond to the following thesis:

Treasures gained through imperialism, such as the Koh-i-Noor Diamond, the Elgin Marbles, and the Benin Bronzes should be returned to their homelands.

A case for forgetting

According to Shashi Tharoor, there are only six million octogenarians left in India out of a population of 1.3 billion. To put it another way, only 0.5% of the population were teenagers or adults during India's independence and Partition. For the history student who knows full well the value of primary sources, it is significant that after the next decade or so, very little eyewitness source material will likely be uncovered. Perhaps this accounts for the increase in historiographical debate about the nature of the British Empire. It could also account for the concerns by Indian politician and author Shashi Tharoor that modern Britons are suffering a type of 'imperial amnesia' and are at risk of forgetting their colonial past (2016:487).



SOURCE 7.70 The British dumped over 250 bodies in a well in Ajnala during the Indian Mutiny (1857). In 2014, these remains were exhumed and given proper funeral rites

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ACTIVITY 7.15

Conduct a debate about forgetting the past



SOURCE 7.71 Shashi Tharoor interviewed on British television
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 04:09) before embarking on the activity.

In 2013, journalist David Rieff wrote a book called *In Praise of Forgetting*. Unlike Tharoor, Rieff suggests that we would be better off forgetting the past because, despite popular belief, we rarely learn from the mistakes of history. Here's his example:

> I mean, the mass murder of the Jews … did not prevent the near genocide in East Pakistan ... As far as I can see, we don't learn much of anything from the past … What is really going on is: How does the society want to think about its own past…? It seems to me, you have every right to say, well, perhaps societies should emphasise the present and not the past. And for that, a certain amount of forgetting can be a very good thing.

SOURCE 7.72 David Rieff, interviewed by Rebecca Onion, 'Does Forgetting the Past Really Condemn Us to Repeat It? Don't We End Up Repeating It Anyway?', *Slate*, 13 May 2016

Contrast Rieff's view with that of Tharoor:

> There is a statute of limitations on colonial wrongdoings, but none on human memory ... History belongs in the past; but understanding it is the duty of the present.

SOURCE 7.73 Sashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India*, 2016, p. 487

1. Engage in a class debate where one side will adopt Rieff's contention (that we are better off forgetting the past), while another will adopt Tharoor's contention (that we should remember it), which is an adaptation of an aphorism by American philosopher George Santayana that 'those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it'.
2. Use a range of historical examples to support your arguments.
3. Consider modern day examples where ignoring/knowing the past has contributed to present day misunderstandings.

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7.14 The future: imperialism from the ashes?

In 2012, historian Stuart Laycock made the startling claim that Britain 'invaded, had some control over or fought conflicts in the territory of something like 171 out of the 193 UN member states in the world today'. Given the extent of Britain's imperial legacy, it seems difficult to imagine a time when Britain's imperial history, and the history of imperialism more generally, does not cast a shadow over the contemporary world and just as importantly follows us into the future.

A hint of that future might be seen in the recent suggestion by American political scientist, Bruce Gilley. His incendiary 2017 academic paper titled 'The Case for Colonialism' in the journal *Third World Quarterly* argued that the time had come to question the contemporary belief that imperialism was objectively bad for those who fell under its spell. A quick search of the internet will reveal thousands of mostly anonymous commentators who espouse opinions just like Gilley's. As history students, it wouldn't take you long to pick apart most of these arguments citing their lack of evidence, their propensity to generalise and the inherent biases of their thinking.

But Gilley's paper was different. It written by a published academic ensconced at a reputable US university. This meant it had the weight of the academic establishment behind it, giving it momentum and a level of authority. And Gilley went further again. He claimed that anti-colonial movements actually impeded the development of colonised countries like India. Such a position was enough to provoke the ire of scores of historians and academics. However, it was Gilley's final contention which sparked outrage: that the reintroduction of Western colonies into unstable nations should be a legitimate path forward.

Not only was Gilley highlighting what he saw as the benefits of imperialism, like Bowles and Ferguson before him, he was also arguing for its *reintroduction* in the future. Gilley's article spurred a huge response. A www.change.org petition signed by some 11 000 petitioners was established to demand a retraction of the article because it '(lacked) empirical evidence, contains historical accuracies, and includes spiteful fallacies'. In response *Third World Quarterly* withdrew the article from circulation. The majority of the journal's Editorial Board also resigned citing mishandling of the peer-review process by the journal's publisher. In the most recent news, petitioners have since reported receiving death threats and being threatened with being professionally blacklisted for their condemnation of the Gilley paper. As of July 2018, the National Association of Scholars, a non-profit conservatively-minded free-speech organisation, has re-published Gilley's article in full, and academic conferences around the world are debating the merits of his paper and the validity of a re-examination of the imperial past more generally.

How we choose to remember India's independence, and the imperial era more generally, tells us something important about the values, beliefs, and attitudes we hold today. History can be used to 'legitimise the present' (Hobsbawm, 1997:6) but, as the anxiety of the petitioners above makes clear, it can also be used as a blueprint for the future.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The complex origins of Indian independence

- In 1612 the British East India Company (BEIC) secured trading rights with the Muslim dynasty called the Moghuls that ruled India at that time.
- By the nineteenth century, the BEIC had developed a force of around 260 000 mostly Indian soldiers: this outnumbered the official British army, and was used in part to support the failing Moghul empire.
- The Indian Mutiny ran from 29 March 1857 to 8 July 1859, and was sparked by the BEIC introduction of paper-covered rifle cartridges which were rumoured to be greased in pig and cow fat.
- In 1858, the British government took direct control of India.
- Muslims – being mostly blamed for the Mutiny – were in general were cut out of leadership roles in India altogether and had their properties confiscated.
- To future Indian independence leaders, the Mutiny held a legendary quality which inspired their cause.

Depth study: To what extent does the history of the Partition of India challenge the narrative of India's successful, non-violent independence movement?

- The Indian National Congress (INC), India's first independence party, formed in 1885.
- The All-India Muslim League, 1906, reflected the growing importance of defining a Muslim identity in India.
- Gandhi, a prominent member of the INC, developed a form of non-violent resistance, called *satyagraha*, which was used in protests such as the Dandi Salt March.
- Members of the Muslim League became concerned about their minority status in India, and what this might mean when India gained independence.
- In 1940 Jinnah, as leader of the Muslim League, made his Lahore address, in which he officially called for the creation of a separate Pakistan nation. The INC opposed this.
- The INC's Quit India campaign, which began in 1942, was intended to be peaceful, but violence broke out.
- In 1946, the Muslim League announced a Direct Day of Action, with meetings, mass rallies and general strikes. In Calcutta, the Day of Direct Action led to violence between Hindus and Muslims, and thousands were killed before British officials called in the army to take control.
- In June 1947, the INC voted in favour of the Partition of India, although Gandhi remained opposed.
- The Radcliffe Line, dividing India and Pakistan, was drawn up in haste, and published on 17 August 1947.
- Publication of the Radcliffe Line precipitated the largest human migration in history and the deaths of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims.
- The urgent hostilities of the Partition have settled into a more conventional conflict between India and Pakistan, although much of it still centres on the hastily drawn line which separates India and Pakistan – particularly in areas such as Kashmir and East Pakistan.
- Both India and Pakistan have had struggles with democracy.

Concluding study: Reflecting on imperialism

- The second half of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a movement called decolonisation, which sought to draw attention to the perceived evils of the imperial mind-set.
- The British people have shown a range of attitudes towards their colonial past, with arguments for remorse, reparations, repatriation and forgetting.
- Even today, the question of imperialism can raise strong, and contradictory, responses, as shown by the reactions to a pro-imperialism article written by Bruce Gilley.

GO **Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.**

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CHAPTER 11
United States of America, 1917–1945
Focus: The Great Depression and the New Deal

It's a bleak winter's day in Chicago, in February 1931. There's a long queue of people – all men – waiting expectantly outside the door of a shop. If you study the signage, you'll see that it's an unusual place – a café offering free coffee, doughnuts and soup for 'the unemployed'. What the signs don't tell you is that the shop was opened by the most notorious gangster in America – Al Capone.



SOURCE 11.1 Unemployed men outside a Depression-era soup kitchen in Chicago, February 1931

Go back a couple of years. It's certain that almost all these men would have held jobs. They would be living the American Dream that, for so long, has attracted people from around the world. But that dream falls apart on an autumn day in New York – 29 October 1929, a date that goes down in history as **Black Tuesday**. The shock of that day reverberates across the country, and eventually around the globe. Queues of unemployed people swell in many countries. This is the **Great Depression**.

Black Tuesday the term used for 29 October 1929, which saw a sharp fall in the stock market, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DJIA) especially hard hit in high trading volume.

Great Depression a severe worldwide economic depression that took place mostly during the 1930s, beginning in the United States and spreading throughout most of the world. Its impacts were only fully stopped by military expenditure for World War II.

Seventy-nine years later, on 15 September 2008, a similar shockwave spreads out from New York, from the very same building on Wall Street. Inside the New York Stock Exchange, the astounding news comes of the collapse of Lehmann Brothers – one of the largest banks in the USA. As in 1929, the impact is felt worldwide by individuals, organisations and governments. It becomes known as the Great Recession or Global Financial Crisis (GFC).

In 2008, experts compare 1929 and 2008, and detect startling similarities between the crash of 1929 and that of 2008. History, perhaps, does repeat itself.

Peter Lawrence

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY
The USA 1917–1932

New Deal a group of government programs and policies established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s; the New Deal was designed to improve conditions for persons suffering in the Great Depression

The financial crashes of 1929 and 2008 were dramatic events that derailed the lives of countless millions around the world. In 1929, Black Tuesday sparked the Great Depression of the 1930s. Presented with this unprecedented challenge, US politicians furiously debated possible solutions. Eventually, the government responded with an ambitious and experimental strategy: the **New Deal**.

In this chapter, you'll investigate the New Deal, assessing how well it overcame the enormous disruption of the Depression, and how it challenged the way that America had done business in the past. You'll also have the opportunity to follow up the comparison between 1929 and 2008, and think about the sometimes elusive lessons of history. But first, you'll go back to the historical roots of this story, beginning with World War I.

11.1 What role did the US play in ending World War I?

The impact that World War I had on America cannot be underestimated, as the Great War dramatically changed the USA into a world leader. Even though the US was already equal to Germany in terms of industrial output by 1900, at the beginning of World War I it was still a debtor nation. Change started on 31 July 1914, when US officials closed their stock exchange in order to stop the British selling $3 billion in US bonds. These bonds would have been transferred to cash and then to gold, which the British could have used to fund their war effort (Britain was preparing to declare war on Germany, which they did soon after on 4 August). Had this happened, the US banks would have become indirect financiers of the war, but at the same time, the US would have still been in debt. By closing the stock exchange, now the US would be the lenders. Although the USA was officially neutral at this time, many Americans argued that the US should join the efforts of the British and French to 'safeguard democracy'. The US lent $3.6 billion to the French and $4 billion to the British. Eventually the fear arose that if Germany won the war, Britain and France might be forced to pay **reparations** to Germany for the costs of the war. If this happened, the US government and banks would have lost the billions they had lent them. Given that scenario, the US government realised that a German victory would be financially disastrous for the USA.

reparations the action of making amends by providing payment or rendering assistance to those who have been wronged

The USA enters the war

While the financial situation was a major motive, the official reason for the US entry into World War I in 1917 (three years after the war had started) was the unrestricted warfare that the German government had launched against shipping in the Atlantic. US anger was kindled when, on 7 May 1915, over 120 US citizens died in the ocean liner *Lusitania*, which was sunk by a German submarine, and re-ignited in August when another transatlantic liner, *Arabic*, was also torpedoed. Finally, in 1917, Germany's attacks on American ships and its attempts to interfere in US-Mexican relations drew the U.S. into the war on the side of the Allies. This was confirmed by the existence of the Zimmerman telegram; a German message sent to the Mexican government to urge them to enter the war on their side if the US entered the war on the Allies' side. The German government knew that continued unrestricted submarine warfare would push the US into the war. The confirmation of the telegram in March accelerated this entry. On 6 April 1917, **Congress** agreed with Woodrow Wilson's argument to support 'a war to end all wars' that would 'make the world safe for democracy', and voted to declare war on Germany. A year later in 1918, 10 000 US troops were arriving daily in Europe

Congress the two houses of US government, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate

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to replace those killed by the German pushes on the Western Front. These attacks had started after the Russians withdrew from the war in early 1918 which had left Germany free to focus on the Western Front. However, with the USA now on their side, the Allies had physical and financial superiority over the Germans and their Central Power partners. Faced with defeat, Germany agreed to an **armistice** on 11 November 1918.

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace

Kaiser the title of the Emperor of Imperial Germany from 1871 to 1918

The post-war settlement

Two days before the armistice, the German **Kaiser** Wilhelm II had gone into exile. On 28 November 1918 he formally abdicated. A new German government, known as the Weimar Republic, had formed when the Kaiser left Germany. It was the Weimar government that formally ended Germany's involvement in the war. This government believed that the subsequent peace negotiations would reflect the spirit of the Fourteen Points announced by the Democrat US President Woodrow Wilson in early 1918. The Fourteen Points called for 'as much as possible' the removal of economic barriers to trade – for example, taxes on imported goods and removing the secretive nature of treaties or alliances that had been a key cause of World War I. A number of points referred to the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. This thrust the concept of national self-determination into the negotiations of post-war politics. In a visionary move, Wilson proposed an international organisation to keep the peace once the terrible war had ended. This organisation would be called the League of Nations.



SOURCE 11.2 Returning US soldiers, 1918
What might these American soldiers feel when returning home after victory? What challenges would the nation face upon the post-war return of huge numbers of troops?

However, the peace treaty finally negotiated at the Versailles Conference in 1919 emphasised Germany's 'guilt' in starting the war, and punished the nation in harsh ways. Germany had to pay reparations of 291 billion marks (the German currency at the time) for the damage caused by war. It was to have no air force and only a coastal navy. Germany lost its overseas territories and the German state of East Prussia was divided by a **Polish Corridor** to provide the reconstituted state of Poland with access to the sea. While it was accepted that other nations could establish themselves on the basis of language and culture, the treaty forbade the unification of Germany and (German-speaking) Austria. Germany could have a standing army of only 100 000 troops (compared with its previous 700 000). Many Germans felt terribly aggrieved by these conditions of peace. The Treaty of Versailles also had immediate and medium-term impacts on the economic and political climate of the USA during the 1920s.

Polish Corridor a territory located in the region of Pomerelia which provided the Second Republic of Poland (1920–1939) with access to the Baltic Sea, dividing much of Germany from the province of East Prussia



SOURCE 11.3 Germans at a Berlin soup kitchen in 1918
What does this image suggest about problems in Germany following defeat in World War I? What mixed feelings might the onlooking soldiers have?

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11.2 The impact of World War I on the United States

In the aftermath of World War I, the USA, with its status as a victor, had many choices to make. Under the Democrat President Wilson, the USA had promoted an international intervention in world affairs, not isolation. Wilson saw the US as not just the banker for the war effort against Germany, but as a leader in international diplomacy. Internationally, he promoted the ideals of parliamentary democracy, a just peace, freer trade and government regulation of banks. But in 1919 Woodrow Wilson had a stroke, and due to his ill-health and decline in popularity Wilson was not the Democratic Party nominee for the 1920 presidential election. The vision that he had of a world of peace after 'the war to end all wars' was threatened. In 1919, a leading Republican Party politician outlined his vision of the USA's role in the world after World War I.

SOURCE 11.4 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge comments on American destiny

> The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her powerful good, and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come, as in the years that have gone. Strong, generous, and confident, she has nobly served mankind. Beware how you trifle with your marvelous inheritance; this great land of ordered liberty. For if we stumble and fall, freedom and civilization everywhere will go down in ruin.

Henry Cabot Lodge, 'The League of Nations Must Be Revised', speech to Congress, 12 August 1919

Responding to the source

1. Write down the key words or phrases that you believe the author is using to convey his message.
2. Circle the words that imply values that can be identified as relating solely to the US and try to explain three of these in relation to World War I, the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations.
3. Is this author suggesting intervention or isolation? Quote evidence and explain.
4. Research: What was Article X of the League of Nations? Is this a problem for this author? Why?

The Republican candidate Warren G. Harding won the presidential election in 1920. In contrast to Wilson, the Republicans focused on 'business at home' and isolation from world affairs. President Harding died in office in 1923 and was succeeded by Calvin Coolidge.

In the 1920s and 1930s there was widely-held acceptance of the 'free market' (also called laissez-faire) economic theories derived from Adam Smith, who had argued in 1776 that the evidence demonstrated that a nation's wealth increased most rapidly if its citizens were allowed to pursue their own self-interest with minimal government regulation and interference. Coolidge accepted the view that governments should not interfere in the capitalist economy, and so was opposed to regulation. He reduced taxation and government expenditure. Read the extracts from a speech from Coolidge to the Society of American Newspaper Editors in 1925 to gain further insight into Coolidge's ideas.

SOURCE 11.5 President Calvin Coolidge speaks about the press, 1925

> There does not seem to be cause for alarm in the dual relationship of the press to the public, whereby it is on one side a purveyor of information and opinion and on the other side a purely business enterprise. Rather, it is probable that a press which maintains an intimate touch with the business currents of the nation, is likely to be more reliable than it would be if it were a stranger to these influences.

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After all, the chief business of the American people is business. They are profoundly concerned with producing, buying, selling, investing and prospering in the world. I am strongly of the opinion that the great majority of people will always find these the moving impulses of our life.

President Coolidge, 'The Press Under a Free Government', speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, 17 January 1925

Responding to the source

1. Coolidge suggests that a press aligned to business interests would be more reliable than otherwise. Is the role of the press in a democracy to align itself to particular group in society?
2. What do you think Coolidge means when he states 'the chief business of the American people is business'? Which groups within American society might not benefit from such a close relationship between business and the media?
3. Which words of Coolidge suggest that a free market economy is natural for Americans?

Contemporary scholars, including those who focus on the economic and social history of nations, continue to study this time period between the World Wars to try to learn lessons from the past. Internationally, the payments system after World War I continued to operate until the late 1920s. Read the following secondary source about the international economy between the two World Wars.

SOURCE 11.6 Historian A.J.P. Taylor (1961) writes about the German war debt

...reparations sprang from the sensible demand that the Germans should pay for the damage they had caused. The French, however, retarded any settlement in the hope of remaining on the Rhine. [See **Ruhr Crisis**] War debts between the Allies added a further cause of confusion. When the British were called upon to repay their debt to the United States, they declared in 1922 that they would claim from their Allies only enough to meet the American obligation. The Allies in their turn proposed to pay their debt to Great Britain with what they received from Germany as reparations.

Ruhr Crisis a period of military occupation of the German Ruhr valley by France and Belgium between 1923 and 1925 in response to the failure of Germany to meet its second reparation payment of the £6.6 billion that was dictated in the Treaty of Versailles

...

Though the United States failed to confirm the treaty of Versailles, Americans wanted a peaceful Europe and a stable economic order...The two schemes for the payment of German reparations, the Dawes plan and the Young plan, were both devised under American guidance; each bore the name of an American chairman. American loans restored German economy—for good or ill; American insistence on the payment of allied war debts complicated the problem of reparations... Americans indeed constituted the 'world opinion' for whose benefit these discussions, economic and political, were largely conducted; and American historians made the campaign against Germany's 'war guilt' more effective than if it had been left solely in German hands. The United States could not dissociate themselves from Europe merely by rejecting the treaty of Versailles. America's participation in the war had largely determined the defeat of Germany; equally American policy after the war largely determined her recovery.

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> Americans were misled by their own strength. They started from the correct assumption that Germany, after defeat, was no danger to themselves; they went on from this to the mistaken assumption that she could not be a danger to the countries of Europe.

A.J.P Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, 1961, pp 15&17

Responding to the secondary source

1. Draw a diagram or infographic of the flow of funds that resulted from the outcomes of World War I. Give your work a title that interprets this flow of funds.
2. Suggest reasons why the US government decided to support its former enemy in 1924 and 1929.
3. Even at this early stage in your inquiry it is necessary to start a KWHL chart to track your understanding of this time period using the template below.

What I know	What I want to find out	How I can learn more	What I have learned

11.3 What precipitated the financial crisis of 1929 and the ensuing depression?

In 1928 Republican candidate Herbert Hoover was elected President of the USA. His term in office would be clouded by human catastrophe. The Stock Market Crash of Black Tuesday – 29 October 1929 – saw stock prices plummet and people lose their entire savings. Thousands of articles and books have been written about the 1929 financial crisis and the economic depression that followed. The crash was not predicted or expected by most observers. One of the stated reasons of studying history is to not repeat events which have a terrible impact on society. To understand Black Tuesday, historians have tried to track key changes that occurred before 1929 in order to identify the origins of the crash. The primary cause was speculation as US$8.5 billion had been used to buy shares on credit. Many ordinary people had become speculators. They bought shares using only a small deposit, and hoped to sell them at a profit when the share prices rose on the stock market. This type of speculating was wildly popular, but also very risky. In addition to this, prominent investors ran pools where they drove up stocks with purchases and false advertising, and then sold their stocks for a profit. Thousands of investors borrowed funds as prices continued to spiral upwards. The funds lent were more than the entire currency in circulation in the US at the time. Many people made so much money they thought that the wealth would never end. However the demand for shares far outweighed their actual earnings or value. When all of this was finally realised, and people began to hurriedly sell their shares, the catastrophe that occurred in response – the Great Depression – led to a crisis of confidence in capitalism and the banking system.

Read the sources on the following pages to gain an understanding of the historical context of late 1929.

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SOURCE 11.7 Headlines in the *Washington Post*



Washington Post.

WASHINGTON: WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1929. THREE CENTS

ROVER BEGINS PADLOCK WAR ON GAMBLERS

Letters to 60 Landlords Warn Them to Oust Undesirables.

ALL MANNER OF VICE COVERED IN CAMPAIGN

Speak-Easies Also Held Within Category of Disorderly House.

POLICE SURVEY SHOWS 150 "NUISANCES" OPEN

Camalier to Handle Drive, but Refuses to Make Statement Yet.

DIZZY STOCK PLUNGE HALTS AS STRONG INTERESTS BUY; KLEIN, ON RADIO, REASSURES

Country's Basic Buying Power Is Declared to Be Unimpaired.

ECHOES HOOVER'S FAITH IN BUSINESS

Commerce Official Talks Through Network of Columbia System.

NATIONAL INCOME HARDLY AFFECTED

Market Is "Held Not to Be Major Barometer of Economic Situation.

Money Kings to Keep Strength in Market

Lamont Asserts Bankers Will Continue to Aid; Assemble Again.

THOMAS W. LAMONT.

LOST PLANE BEATS WESTERN AIR RECORD

BRIGHT FUTURE SEEN BY 98 BUSINESS MEN

16,410,000-Share Market Shatters All Trading Records on Street.

SUPPORT ANNOUNCED BY MORGAN PARTNER

Orderly Market Held Aim of Banking Group Aid by T. W. Lamont.

BIG CORPORATIONS START PURCHASING

Midafternoon Rally Cuts Some Losses and Credit Stress Is Eased.

Washington Post, Wednesday 30 October, 1929: the day after Black Tuesday

Responding to the source

1. Read the main and lesser headlines of the *Washington Post*. How would you sum up the mood and message of these headlines that appeared the day after the Black Tuesday stock market crash?
2. Select the four headlines that best reflect that mood and message.
3. Is there any headline that seems to offer a quite different view? Explain your response.

There was an overwhelming message of calm, confidence and reassurance on the front page of the *Washington Post* on 30 October 1929. But other papers reported the events differently.

SOURCES 11.8 A & B Two more newspaper articles

A *The New York Times*, 26 October 1929

REALTY MAN MISSING AFTER STOCK CRASH

Wife Says Germansky Was Seen Last Near Exchange Tearing Ticker Tape to Bits

Bernard H. Sandler, attorney, of 225 Broadway, was asked yesterday morning by Mrs. Abraham Germansky of Mount Vernon to help find her husband, missing since Thursday morning. Germansky, who is 50 years old and an East Side real estate operator, was said by Sandler to be known as a millionaire and to have invested heavily in stocks.

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B ***The New York Times*, 30 October 1929**

FALLS DEAD AT TICKER AS STOCKS DECLINE

Providence Merchant Worried Over His Holdings

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, October 29

David Korn, 57, proprietor of a coal firm and prominent in charitable activities here, dropped dead in a broker's office in Providence this afternoon as he was watching the ticker. Witnesses said Mr. Korn had appeared worried as news of the stock market crash came late into the office.

The brokers said, however, that Mr. Korn's holdings were in no especial danger.

Responding to the sources

1. What cause and effect relationship seems to have been involved in these two reported episodes?
2. What significant difference in the financial situation of the two men is indicated in the reports?
3. Given that difference, which man's fate seems unexpected?
4. What impact might the two newspaper stories have had when read by American people in various walks of life? Explain your response.

The two newspaper reports above hint at terrible personal tragedies in the wake of Black Tuesday. In the following source, a bank worker looks back on the way his life was changed by the crash of 1929.

SOURCE 11.9 A bank worker describes how the crash affected his life

One morning we three were at the breakfast table when the phone rang. It was one of the fellows who worked at the bank. 'Tarver', he said, 'have you heard the news?'

'What news? No, I haven't heard any news,' said I. 'What's it all about?' 'Well,' he said, 'hurry on down and see.'...

The bank was closed and a notice to that effect on the door. We stood there just looking at each other until finally one said, 'Well, boys, guess we had better go on the inside and see if we can find out what it's all about. I guess there goes our jobs'....

The sad part was, this was the strongest bank in this town. In fact, there had already been several failures, so this was almost the only bank open for business. It was a national bank too, so everybody thought their money was safe. We worked on awhile. To be frank, I didn't worry so much about my losses. I was so concerned about the other fellows. People were losing their homes and some their savings of a lifetime. The saddest part of it was to see widows who probably had been left a little insurance and had put it all in the bank.

. . . I haven't told you yet how the depression affected me personally. We worked on at the bank trying to get things in shape, with no hopes deep down in our hearts of ever opening up again ... One by one they began laying off employees and I knew, sooner or later, my time would come. I didn't worry very much right then because I was young and, with my experience and standing in the town, I just knew I would not have any trouble getting work. I soon found out, though, I was mistaken in that.

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Well, my turn came to be laid off. On my desk one morning I found a letter to that effect. Of course it read, 'With appreciation for my valuable service, deep regret, best wishes, etc.' But that didn't help my feelings much. My job was gone and my savings too. Except for the time I served during the war, that was the first day I was without a job since I was just a boy. I went on home to break the news to Louise. She was not surprised, for we had both been expecting it ...

I got a temporary job in the office at the ice plant. That didn't pay much but it helped a lot. We counted our nickels too. Fall came on and business fell off at the plant. I wasn't laid off, but I realized they didn't need me but were just letting me stay on out of sympathy and I couldn't stand that so I simply quit. Just as I was getting in the dumps about a regular job, I was notified to report at once, to act as assistant receiver for a defunct bank in Florida. They were feeling the depression there even more than we were in Georgia, and banks were closing every day.

Mr Raymond Tarver, interviewed by Mr W. W. Tarpley, Library of Congress Collection *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940*, 1940

Responding to Mr Tarver's story

1. Create a vertical timeline of events in Mr Tarver's life, listing key events and, for each, what his emotional state was, or was likely to have been. The first entry has been completed below, along with the final event.

Event	Mr Tarver's likely emotional state
Receives a phone call from a fellow worker	Surprise and curiosity
Contacted by a Florida bank	

2. At the time Mr Tarver made this statement, how would you assess how well he had survived the crash?
3. Is there any clue that his situation might get worse at some time in the future? Explain your response.
4. How is this one source both valuable and limited in your study of the human effects of the crash and the ensuing depression? How might the time elapsed between the occurrence of events and this recording affect the mood and attitude of Mr Tarver concerning the Great Depression?

Not all Americans felt the impacts of the crash and the subsequent Great Depression equally. Using known voices to record history can have unintended biases. However, it can also reveal the effects of key economic changes such as regulation.

Historical sources such as the *1936 to 1940 Federal Writers Project* offer insights into the lives of a few Americans affected by the crash. Yet they also hint at deeper causes and wider effects. In the following activity, you'll investigate how different commentators have explained the causes of the 1929 crash and the Great Depression.

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ACTIVITY 11.1

Analyse, interpret, evaluate and compare sources about the causes of the Great Depression

The following activity allows you to examine a number of major causes as described in the selection of secondary sources below. Your task is to write a paragraph to answer the following question:
What range of causal factors has been proposed for the 1929 crash and the Great Depression?

Secondly you need to reflect on the following:

Given what you have learned so far which caue(s) seems most likely? Why? How tentative is your answer? Use the table below to collect your notes on each source. Use these notes as a basis for your response to the question.

Source	Identify the underlying cause	Explain key reasons provided for Great Depression by each source	Strengths/ limitations/ significance/ usefulness of source	Does the source corroborate, contradict or propose a different cause from the other sources?
Source 11.10				
Source 11.11				
Source 11.12				
Source 11.13				
Source 11.14				

SOURCE 11.10 Robert Reich, former Secretary of Labor, explains financial crashes (2013)

Between 1913 and 1928, the ratio of private credit to the total national economy nearly doubled. Total mortgage debt was almost three times higher in 1929 than in 1920. Eventually, in 1929, as in 2008, there were 'no more poker chips to be loaned on credit,' in [former Federal Reserve Board chairman Mariner] Eccles' words. And 'when their credit ran out, the game stopped.'

Dow Jones a stock market index that shows how 30 large, publicly-owned companies based in the US have traded during a standard trading session in the stock market

In the 1920s, richer Americans created stock and real estate bubbles that foreshadowed those of the late 1990s and 2000s. The **Dow Jones** Stock Index ballooned from 63.9 in mid-1921 to a peak of 381.2 eight years later, before it plunged. There was also frantic speculation in land. The Florida real estate boom lured thousands of investors into the Everglades, from where many never returned, at least financially.

Robert Reich, *After Shock*, 2013, pp. 23–24

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SOURCE 11.11 Cartoon from *St Paul Daily News*, April 1930



SOURCE 11.12 A 2012 website considers the impact of government policy

American Policies

Another reason the new depression started was due to the government's own policies regarding taxes on income and imports. For example, the tax rate on America's wealthiest individuals was reduced to 25 percent in 1927. Additionally, the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 raised import taxes on some 20 000 foreign goods. The taxes were some of the highest ever levied by the US government, and foreign nations began to take retaliatory measures. The amount of US imports and exports was cut in half.

In 1929, the government began to increase interest rates. Interest rates rose from 3.5 percent to 5 percent, leading some historians to claim this as a reason for the recession of August 1929. The government also did not stabilize or increase the money supply during the Great Depression. The money supply fell by 30 percent between 1929 and 1933.

'Cause of The Depression', *Great Depression Facts*, 28 October 2012

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SOURCE 11.13 Academics Collins and Goldberg (2015) discuss investor attitudes before the Great Depression

With $100 down and a $900 loan from one's broker, a buyer could purchase 100 shares of a company such as Commercial Solvents at $10 apiece. Assuming that the company's share price rose to $20 in half a year – something that happened frequently in the booming market of 1928–1929 – the investor could reap a profit of $1000 on his [sic] $100 investment, minus interest payments on the loan and commission fees. Spectacular gains in stock prices made it increasingly difficult for investors to resist margin buying. Buying on margin became so popular that commercial banks began to loan money to brokers, and corporations, too, pumped their own money into brokers' loans. By October 1929, brokers owed $6.6 billion to lenders such as Bethlehem Steel, Standard Oil, and the Chrysler Corporation, as well as $1.8 billion to regular banks.

Many economic indicators … suggested that stock prices were increasing for good reasons. GNP and per capita income were growing steadily, productivity was increasing, and corporations were reporting profits. But after 1927, the stock market surge was driven by fantasy and speculation rather than by economic facts. Floor traders on Wall Street designed pools – schemes to artificially inflate prices by selling shares back and forth amongst each other, thus creating the illusion of intense market activity around an attractive stock. When buyers outside the pool bought the stock and their demand drove the price higher still, members of the scheme sold quickly and made handsome profits while the manipulated stock fell into a slump. Investors who wanted to make informed decisions had only limited access to information, since Wall Street required very little disclosure from listed companies, and investment bankers produced brochures good for advertising rather than careful assessments of the value of securities. Amidst the general exuberance, voices of caution dissipated.

Sheila D. Collins and Gertrude Goldberg, *When Government Helped: Learning from the Successes and Failures of the New Deal*, 2015, pp. 35–36

SOURCE 11.14 Business and economic journalist Robert J. Samuelson (2002) writes about blame for the Great Depression

Why could no one stop this spiral? In the United States there were waves of bank failures in 1931 and 1932. Friedman and Schwartz maintain that the Federal Reserve could have prevented them by lending directly to weak banks and by aggressive 'open market' operations (that is, by buying U.S. Treasury securities and thereby injecting new funds into banks and the economy). This action would have halted the depression, they argue. They blame the Federal Reserve's timidity on the 1928 death of Benjamin Strong, the president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Strong had dominated the Federal Reserve System, which consists of twelve regional banks and a board of governors in Washington. He firmly believed that the Federal Reserve had to prevent banking panics and sustain economic growth. When he died, power in the Federal Reserve passed to officials in Washington, whose ideas were murkier. Had Strong lived, Friedman and Schwartz contend, he would have averted the banking collapse.

Robert J. Samuelson, 'Great Depression' in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, David R. Henderson (ed.), 2002

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11.4 How did the US government respond to the Great Depression?

Two successive but very different administrations tried to solve the problems caused after the Stock Market Crash in 1929. The first was the Republican administration of Herbert Hoover which struggled with the Depression from 1929 until early 1933. By 1933 GNP (Gross National Product) had dropped to $56.0 billion in comparison to the height of $104.4 billion before the crash. Nearly a quarter of the labour force was unemployed in 1932–1933. Yet these figures or contrasting policies don't convey the spectrum of deprivation and loss that occurred in the US populace or their endeavors to survive.

Read the following primary source, published as part of the *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940*.



SOURCE 11.15 A family on their porch during the American Great Depression,1936
What aspects of the photo suggest this family has been affected by the Great Depression? Is it valid to accept this single photo as credible evidence of this family's poverty, or of the extent of poverty nationally? If it were possible, what questions would you put to the family to help decide the photo's worth as evidence?

SOURCE 11.16 Afternoon in a Pushcart Peddler's Colony, 1938

It was snowing and, shortly after noontime, the snow changed to sleet and beat a tattoo against the rocks and board shacks that had been carelessly thrown together on the west bank of the Harlem. It was windy too and the cold blasts that came in from the river sent the men shivering for cover behind their shacks where some of them had built huge bonfires to ward off the icy chills that swept down from the hills above.

Some of them, unable to stand it any longer, went below into the crudely furnished cabins that were located in the holds of some old abandoned barges that lay half in, half out of the water. But the men did not seem to mind. Even the rotting barges afforded them some kind of shelter. It was certainly better than nothing, not to mention the fact that it was their home; address, the foot of 133rd Street at Park Avenue on the west bank of the Harlem River; depression residence of a little band of part-time pushcart peddlers whose cooperative colony is one of the most unique in the history of New York City.

These men earn their living by cruising the streets long before daylight, collecting old automobile parts, pasteboard, paper, rags, rubber, magazines, brass, iron, steel, old clothes or anything they can find that is saleable as junk. They wheel their little pushcarts around exploring cellars, garbage cans and refuse heaps. When they have a load, they turn their footsteps in the direction of the American Junk Dealers, Inc., whose site of wholesale and retail operations is located directly opposite the pushcart colony at 134th Street and Park Avenue. Of the fifty odd colonists, many are ex-carpenters, painters, brick-masons, auto-mechanics, upholsterers, plumbers and even an artist or two.

'Boys,' I ventured, 'how is it that none of you ever got on Home Relief? You can get a little grub out of it, at least, and that would take a little of the load off you, wouldn't it?'

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At this they all rose up in unanimous protest.... 'We is all able-bodied mens an' can take it. We can make our own livin's.'

This, apparently, was the attitude of every man there. They seemed to take fierce pride in the fact that every member of Joe Elder's National Negro Civil Association (it used to be called the National Negro Boat Terminal) was entirely self-supporting. They even had their own unemployment insurance fund that provided an income for any member of the group who was ill and unable to work. Each week the men give a small part of their earnings toward this common fund and automatically agree to allow a certain amount to any temporarily incapacitated member. In addition to that, they divide among themselves their ill brother's work and provide a day and night attendant near his shack if his illness is at all serious.

Frank Byrd (author), Drake Evans (interviewer) and 'Oliver' (interviewee), 'Afternoon in a Pushcart Peddlers' Colony', Library of Congress Collection *American Life Histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936–1940*, 1938

Responding to the source

1. During the Depression how have these men maintained a self-supporting living? What types of products do they use and what exchanges have they developed as a group to survive?
2. Who are the men depicted in this description?
3. What values do the men seem to hold, and how are these values reflected in their actions and words?
4. What seems to be the attitude of the writer to these men and what they do? What evidence have you used to deduce this?
5. Who might the audience have been for this writing, and for what intended purpose?

Another element of the Great Depression for thousands of Americans was homelessness. Shanty towns known as 'Hoovervilles' (named for President Hoover who many blamed for the Great Depression) sprang up all over America and some, for example in Chicago, were burned down, as they were seen as an affront to civic pride.

SOURCE 11.17 A Hooverville near Central Park, New York

Responding to the photograph of a Hooverville



1. Describe the main features depicted in this photograph.
2. Which symbol of the USA is shown? What might its presence suggest?
3. How do the images in the foreground contrast with those in the background?
4. What sentiments might the people of this Hooverville, gazing at the city skyline, feel? For example, hope, desperation, comfort, resentment, anger? Explain your response.
5. Might other Hooverville's have looked quite different from this one? If so, in what possible ways?
6. What do you think would have been the US government's attitude to publication of images such as this one in newspapers and magazines? Explain your response.

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During this time, Hoover was willing to take some action to respond to the worsening economic situation. Early in 1930, he urged state governors to speed up public works projects in their states. He recommended to Congress a doubling of spending on public works, including dams, highways and harbours. He also called for tax cuts and tried to encourage home building. He formed an Emergency Committee for Employment which urged Americans to join a 'Spruce up Your Home' campaign.

Hoover's attitude to the US banks however was different. They had been weakened by the Depression, and many had failed. Hoover, however, thought the Depression was the fault of the bankers' policies and practices. He believed that the fundamentals of American industry were still strong. His administration's key belief was symbolised by his Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon, who believed in the morality of letting banks fail as he thought this would make people work harder, resulting in the banks rebounding.

For many, the abject poverty created by loss of savings, closures of factories and loss of residence provoked exceptional responses. In July 1932 the Bonus Army marched on Washington. An estimated 17 000 desperate ex-World War I soldiers, plus their families and supporters, called for their bonus payment for war services to be paid early. In total 43 000 people were involved in the march. Hoover ordered them removed by the army when police intervention failed. These men and their families were attacked by General MacArthur with infantry and tanks. Their belongings were burnt even after they had been removed from the downtown area. MacArthur called a press conference and suggested that they were communist agitators and that few were ex-soldiers. The soldiers rejected both allegations. This controversial action, in a democratic nation, suggests how extraordinary the situation was in Depression-era America.

SOURCE 11.18 Conflict with the Bonus Army, 1932



Soldiers in gas masks advance on World War I Bonus March demonstrators in Washington, DC, July 1932. The Bonus Marchers were unemployed World War I veterans waiting for a monetary bonus promised by the US government but not delivered.

Responding to the source

1. Why, in a democracy that had participated in a World War, might this scene cause surprise and regret?
2. On the basis of this photo alone, does Hoover's action in sending in troops seem reasonable and justified?
3. How might the 'bigger picture' of the demonstrators be different from this scene in various ways?
4. Why might the soldiers in uniform have mixed feelings about doing their duty in this situation?
5. How might the American public have reacted to this photo and story?
6. Might the government's refusal to pay the veteran's bonuses reflect the economic situation at the time?

Amongst this turmoil, the Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt (often referred to as FDR) was elected President in 1932 and inaugurated in March 1933. Hoover and Roosevelt's policies for responding to the economic crisis reveal philosophical and ideological differences.

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The photograph in Source 11.9 shows Roosevelt on the campaign trail in West Virginia. It was published in the *New York Times* on 19 October 1932, two weeks before the election.



SOURCE 11.19 Roosevelt shakes hand with a poor miner
Considering the media technologies available in 1932, why would such personal campaigning around the nation be vital, politically? In 1932, why would candidates be focusing on industrial states like West Virginia? Why was this probably a very effective campaign photo? What campaigning technique is Roosevelt using here?

Initially, Roosevelt seemed to echo some of Hoover's basic beliefs. Between the election in November 1932 and his inauguration in March 1933, Roosevelt refused to make any changes to Hoover's programs. While this might be seen as a callous refusal to start work immediately on the nation's greatest problems it is likely that Roosevelt desired a fresh start. Roosevelt firmly believed that the Great Depression had been caused by industrial overproduction coupled with a lack of purchasing power among the less well-off in US society. He recognised that economic inequality underscored the problem. He also acknowledged the failure of his own (privileged) class to manage stock market speculation as an immediate cause of the financial crash that sparked the Depression.

Coolidge's low taxation, low intervention policy was based on the idea of a free market. Like his economic mentors, he believed that the economy would right itself if left to itself. Roosevelt supported a more moderate view: that in normal times the free market would provide the best outcomes but that in times of economic crisis the government should intervene – as was, according to the theory, appropriate in cases like flood, plague and famine – and he listened to the explanations and advice offered by economists challenging the accepted view. To explain the Depression, the economic theorist Maynard Keynes in 1936 argued that a disastrous cycle had begun to operate. The stock market collapse lead to the failure of many businesses, unemployment increased and less money was available for consumer spending. Thus, a shrinkage in size of the goods and services industries meant fewer jobs available for the unemployed. This cycle could be broken by the government creating and funding more jobs to create an increase in consumer spending. This would in turn create more jobs in goods and services, leading to a decline in unemployment. However, as Roosevelt was not a Keynesian either he did not understand the theory or didn't agree with deficits.

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ACTIVITY 11.2

Review the evidence for the causes of the Great Depression

Look at the following statements. Decide which source you have previously encountered in this chapter has the best evidence to support or contradict each statement. Decide also whether you think there is sufficient evidence given in this contextual study to evaluate each statement fully.

Statement	Source	What evidence, if any, supports this statement?	What evidence, if any, contradicts this statement?	Is there sufficient evidence to make a decision?
Economic downturns are part of the market system				
World War I made the US a global economic power				
Due to World War I the 1920s was an economically unstable time				
A lack of regulation was a cause of the 1929 collapse				
Self-reliance was accentuated in American society during the Great Depression				

11.5 Contextual study: summing up

In this contextual study you have learned about US involvement in World War I and how it changed America's standing in the world. You have also looked at America's response to the Great Depression. This was a time when the US began to emerge as the dominant financial player that the world knows today. The causes of the Great Depression are present within the economics and the societal values that are embodied in parts of the market ideology. You have now also learned, through personal histories, of the immeasurable tragedy many Americans in this time period experienced. Finally, at least two central sets of ideas dealing with the crisis emerged from 1929 to 1932, and these competing viewpoints still impact on how this time period is viewed by historians.

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DEPTH STUDY

How effective a response were the New Deal policies to the causes and consequences of the Great Depression?

The following depth study focuses on the New Deal, which was Roosevelt's response to what was seen as a failure of both market economics and leadership. The New Deal covers a vast array of policies, actions, and statements – some in stark contrast to those of the previous decade. You'll both learn about and evaluate Roosevelt's New Deal.

By the start of 1933 the Great Depression was heading into its fourth year. Americans who were growing increasingly dismayed by the ramifications of the continuing Depression wondered, would the inauguration of a new president and a change in policy direction resolve the situation? To begin this depth study you will learn about one particular family caught up in the Great Depression.

In March 1936 Dorothea Lange, a photographer, was out and about in California capturing images of the Great Depression. On this day she was having difficulty finding suitable subjects. The weather was bad. The itinerant workers she saw couldn't pick the peas because they had frozen. The people were living on what little money they had saved.

In a roadside outdoor camp, Dorothea Lange came upon Florence Owens. Owens was camped precariously on the side of the road. Her older son and husband had gone to find something to fix their car radiator so they might move on to another farm. Migrant labourers such as Florence's family were extremely unpopular in California. They disrupted the existing picking arrangements for most crops. And anyway, the local people did not want these people camped in their towns, on their roads or with their children at their schools.



SOURCE 11.20 Mother and two children, California, 1936. The mother, Florence Owens, aged 32, and her husband Jim have seven hungry children

Why might this image have come to represent the effects of the Great Depression? What ethical problems are raised by a photographer taking such a photo of people in distress?

The majority of these migrant labourers were dustbowl 'Okies' from Oklahoma who had suffered terribly due to overcropping and the drought. Florence was a Cherokee Indian from Oklahoma and Jim Hill, from California, was her second husband. Police were hired to clear people like Florence and her family out. Dorothea took her photograph – the image later becoming known iconically as Migrant Mother – to represent the stark poverty in the USA during the Great Depression. Later, Florence commented that she had never wanted to be photographed and had never received a cent for becoming the symbol of a disastrous decade.

11.6 What were the ideas and actions that characterised the New Deal?

The year 1932 saw a presidential election in stark contrast in style and substance to its predecessors. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was able to distill ideas for the American public into phrases such as his famous campaign slogan 'a new deal for the American people', whereas the incumbent Hoover was a man of vast knowledge who could not seem to communicate his ideas.

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It was said people voted against Hoover rather than for Roosevelt. In the November 1932 election Roosevelt overwhelmed Hoover, winning 42 out of the 48 states. People clearly desired change. Dramatically, the promise of change was nearly obliterated when, in February 1933, gunman Giuseppe Zangara almost assassinated Roosevelt, missing and instead killing the mayor of Chicago, Anton Cermak.

Following his inauguration on 4 March 1933, Roosevelt promised that the American people would have more equitable access to the national wealth. Many, including newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, called for Roosevelt to assume the powers of a dictator and force change. Democracy and capitalism were being questioned. Roosevelt, in his inauguration speech, told the American people 'that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself'. Yet while the rich feared a further loss of wealth, for many starvation was the real fear. Roosevelt was aware that actions would speak louder than words. His main priorities were putting people to work, increasing farm prices, boosting purchasing power, stopping foreclosures, promoting national planning and reducing speculation. Yet before any of this could be achieved he had to solve the banking crisis enveloping the nation.



SOURCE 11.21 Roosevelt on the campaign trail in Indianapolis, 30 October 1932

How does the placard reflect the situation in 1932? Why might that situation give the challenger Roosevelt an advantage over the incumbent President Hoover? How did Roosevelt's campaign slogan reinforce that advantage?

The US Constitution is based on the separation of powers between the three arms of government: executive, legislature and judiciary. Roosevelt as the elected president administered the executive branch of government. In the US the legislative branch, called Congress, is made up of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the judiciary is the Federal Court system. There are checks and balances to prevent any one arm gaining too much power: for example, Congress can block laws proposed by the President, and the President can veto legislation passed by Congress, while the highest courts can overrule legislation or policies that violate the Constitution. For more information, see the link in the Interactive Textbook for a further account of this system.

Roosevelt had a small majority in the House of Representatives but did not control the Senate in early 1932. The US banking system was a product of the past with many local and regional banks under-financed. Initially Roosevelt declared a Federal Bank Holiday on Monday 6 March. The words used were important, they did not create fear. Most banks had already been closed by states to stop withdrawals. This gave Roosevelt time to consider various proposals. Some favored nationalisation of all banking, however Roosevelt believed that banks should be in private hands. He eventually adopted the plan of Hoover Secretary of Treasury Odgen Mills and his officials. Congress passed the Emergency Banking Act on 9 March as the legislation passed the House of Representatives after only 38 minutes of debate, and the Senate, which Roosevelt did not control, passed it unamended 73 to 7.

Congress gave Roosevelt almost total control over credit, foreign exchange and gold purchases. The plan classified all banks as A, B or C. A banks were healthy and would reopen quickly. B banks were unstable but with federal funding would reopen in the weeks ahead. C banks were insolvent and would remain closed unless they were reorganised. Depositors in C banks were to receive on average 85 percent of their savings. The receivers of banks were to be called 'conservers', in the hope that a less threatening name would help ward off future rushes. From 1933, bank failures fell dramatically.

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Roosevelt initiated a series of steps to protect the financial system and to restore public confidence. Currency was stabilised by issuing new Federal Reserve banknotes. Threatened with public shaming, people who had withdrawn large quantities of gold bullion and coins at the height of the financial crash were persuaded to re-deposit them. Within two days of this request, by 10 February, hundreds of millions of dollars in gold had been returned. Determined to avoid a federal deficit and to produce a balanced budget, Roosevelt used an Economy Act to reduce the wages of public employees – including all politicians – by 15%. The Glass-Steagall Act established a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) that protected people's bank deposits – a move Roosevelt did not favour. Meanwhile, a Securities Act regulated the share market. A Securities and Exchange Commission followed, headed by renowned stock trader Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the future US president John F. Kennedy. In 1939, looking back to this flurry of activity, Kennedy's adviser Ray Moley remarked that 'Capitalism had been saved in eight days'.

Fireside Chats a series of evening radio broadcasts between 1933 and 1934, in which Roosevelt spoke informally about a number of matters, explaining his policies to the American people, and quelling rumours.

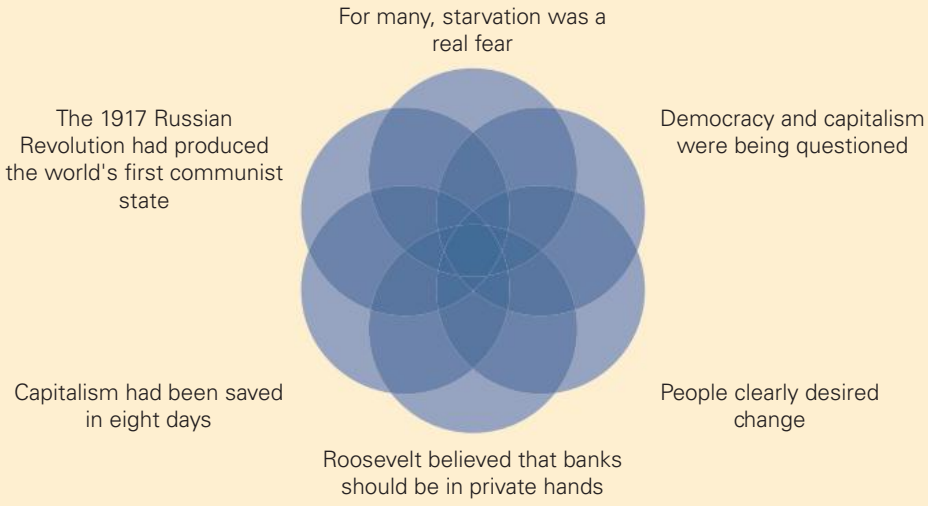
On 12 March, Roosevelt gave a radio address to the American people, his first '**Fireside Chat**', explaining in straightforward terms what had been done, and why. You can listen to this address (duration 13:09) in the Interactive Textbook.

Roosevelt's actions to save the US financial system and banking sector were controversial, as were his programs. In the wake of the 1917 Russian Revolution, the spectre of communism loomed in Europe and even in the USA. Through the activity below, you might sense whether Roosevelt wanted to change the USA dramatically or to solve the crisis while retaining the key values and institutions of the nation.

ACTIVITY 11.3

Review the financial crisis

1. List the steps Roosevelt's administration took to deal with the financial crisis.
2. Demonstrate your understanding of the issues involved by explaining the connections among the following situations:



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On 22 October 1933, Roosevelt gave another Fireside Chat, reviewing progress on the banking crisis and other matters. In the next section, you will investigate the initial strategies that Roosevelt implemented in response to the economic collapse of the Great Depression, some of which he referred to in this Fireside Chat.

SOURCE 11.22 Newsreel presentation of Roosevelt's third Fireside Chat, 22 October 1933
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 03:44). What are the key aspects of recovery that Roosevelt concentrates on during this speech?

11.7 SOURCE BASED INQUIRY: What were the effects of the initial acts of government in the first New Deal?

The economic collapse had had a massive impact on business and this had led to extensive unemployment. Many New Dealers believed that this was caused by market instability and that government intervention could restore stability to the system.

The National Industry Recovery Act (NIRA), National Recovery Agency (NRA) and the Public Works (PW)

The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) was passed by Congress in June 1933. It proposed minimum hours and wages, and codes for business to follow to reduce unconstrained competition. The second element of the Act would be public works. In the source below President Roosevelt explains the purpose of the NIRA 16 June 1933. He outlines two of its key components – the NRA (National Recovery Agency) and the PWA (Public Works).

SOURCE 11.23 President Roosevelt comments on the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933

The law I have just signed was passed to put people back to work – to let them buy more of the products of farms and factories and start our business at a living rate again. This task is in two stages – first, to get many hundreds of thousands of the unemployed back on the pay roll by snowfall and second, to plan for a better future for the longer pull ....

The second part of the act gives employment by a vast program of public works ... Our first purpose is to create employment as fast as we can, but we should not pour money into unproved projects ...

It seems to me to be equally plain that no business which depends for existence on paying less than living wages to its workers has any right to continue in this country. By 'business' I mean the whole of commerce as well as the whole of industry; by workers I mean all workers – the white-collar as well as the men in overalls; and by living wages I mean more than a bare subsistence level – I mean the wages of decent living ...

It is greatly in their interest to do this because decent living, widely spread among our 125 000 000 people, eventually means the opening up to industry of the richest market which the world has known. It is the only way to utilize the so-called excess capacity of our industrial plants ...The idea is simply for employers to hire more men to do the existing work by reducing the work-hours of each man's week and at the same time paying a living wage for the shorter week.

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No employer and no group of less than all employers in a single trade could do this alone and continue to live in business competition. But if all employers in each trade now band themselves faithfully in these modern guilds – without exception – and agree to act together and at once, none will be hurt and millions of workers, so long deprived of the right to earn their bread in the sweat of their labor, can raise their heads again. The challenge of this law is whether we can sink selfish interest and present a solid front against a common peril.

This law is also a challenge to labor ... This is not a law to foment discord and it will not be executed as such. This is a time of mutual confidence and help and we can safely rely on the sense of fair play among all Americans to assure every industry which now moves forward promptly in this united drive against depression that its workers will be with it to a man.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 'Statement on NIRA', 16 June 1933

Responding to the source

1. Why is the first sentence of this statement a clever tactical statement?
2. Roosevelt is asking both business and labour to 'sink selfish interest' by each giving up a basic right that they usually claim to have. What are those two rights? What does Roosevelt claim would be the benefit for both groups?
3. Why would some critics see Roosevelt's plan as threatening one of the ideological foundations of the US economy?
4. In 1982, the Labor government of Australia introduced an Accord. What did it have in common with Roosevelt's plan, and how did it differ?

Below is the symbol of the NRA, produced by the American government and displayed by participating businesses.

SOURCE 11.24 National Recovery Agency poster, 1933



Responding to the source

1. What message is conveyed by the symbols in this poster??
2. What might have motivated businesses, large and small, to display this symbol?
3. Why might many everyday Americans have been likely to support NRA-member businesses?

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The following extract is historian Jonathan Alter's evaluation of the NRA's effectiveness.

SOURCE 11.25 Jonathan Alter describes the NRA

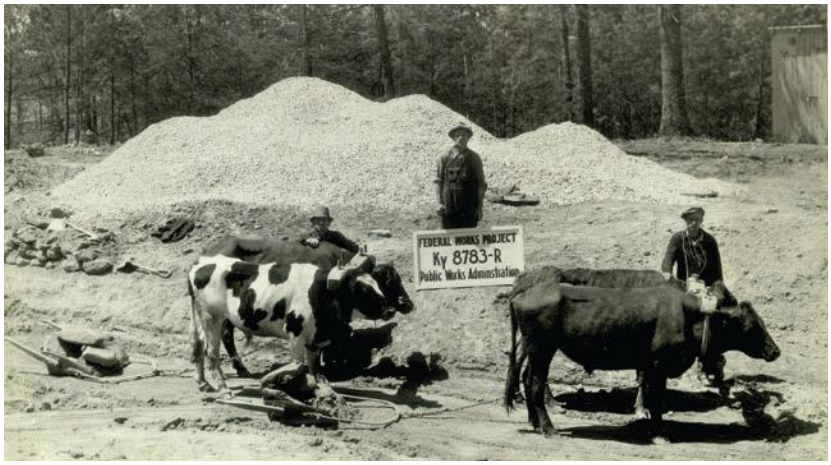
> At first, big business embraced the idea because the elaborate code-making process (meetings of industry representatives and bureaucrats) encouraged them to collude with their competitors to fix prices and drive out competition. Small business liked the protection afforded by official government affiliation. And the public loved the program because it symbolized forward motion against the Depression. Pro-NRA marches were the largest in American history, with 250 000 marching down New York's Fifth Avenue ...
>
> Over time, the NRA led indirectly to the widespread adoption of humane working conditions and new safety standards. These advances grew partly out of the codes but were mostly in the unanticipated result of a last-minute and little-noticed concession to unions in the form of vague language inserted by Senator Robert Wagner of New York into the omnibus bill that officially recognised for the first time the right of workers 'to organise and bargain collectively'. After more than a half century of struggle, the American labor movement finally had the backing of Washington ...

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, pp. 302–303

Responding to Alter's account

1. According to Alter what were the advantages and disadvantages of the NRA?
2. In what ways does Alter's account suggest that Roosevelt's plan succeeded and/or failed?
3. Does the viewpoint suggest that some positive outcomes of the NRA were unintended by Roosevelt?

The NRA had some successes, such as ending child labour in the textile industry, but many people argued that the way it interpreted labour laws favoured employers. This may not have been the case with another component of the NIRA – the PWA or Public Works Administration. It focused on employing older workers using federal funds. The PWA reflected Roosevelt's key ideas of taking action and getting people working again. Private companies were enlisted to build infrastructure, and the PWA awarded contracts totaling over $3.3 billion. Schools, hospitals, roads and other infrastructure were built, but the construction of the Hoover Dam in Arizona and the Triborough Bridge in New York are the most well-known. Many were more humble.



SOURCE 11.26 A PWA project. This image shows that some PWA projects were far from grand dam building. These men, using very basic technologies, are laying foundations for a small public school.
Why might a proliferation of such local projects increase public enthusiasm for the New Deal, as well as having important local benefits?

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The Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA)

Roosevelt was particularly interested in providing relief for the rural community. In May 1933 Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The act created the Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA) to increase prices for agricultural products by reducing supply. The AAA used a system of targets, setting total output of corn, cotton, dairy products, hogs, rice, tobacco and wheat. The farmers through their representatives, together with government, set these targets and therefore set farm income. The AAA paid farmers subsidies for leaving some of their land unused with monies provided by a new tax on food processing. In the early stages of its administration some crops were ploughed in and animals killed.

Roosevelt established the idea that government was responsible for farm prices and that it should assist farmers in creating scarcity. These were new and controversial ideas in 1933 and aroused opposition. Here is one cartoonist's depiction of the AAA.

SOURCE 11.27 A cartoon comments on the Agricultural Adjustment Agency, 1935



Responding to the cartoon

1. Is this allegorical depiction of the AAA an effective one?
2. Could the idea of the New Deal being a new coat of paint be interpreted in both a positive and negative way? Explain your reasoning.
3. What do you think is the cartoonist's own standpoint on the New Deal and AAA?

Roosevelt sought to use the AAA and other New Deal agencies to boost purchasing power and prices where the market had failed to do so in the preceding years. In 1935 Roosevelt commented on three years of the AAA and its impacts.

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SOURCE 11.28 Roosevelt reflects on the AAA, 14 May 1935

We are now at the beginning of the third year of carrying out this policy. You know the results thus far attained. You know the present price of cotton, of wheat, of tobacco, of corn, of hogs ... [and] other farm products today. Further comment on the successful attainment of our objective up to this time is unnecessary on my part. You know.

... I was speaking to you about that word adjustment. I think it is your duty and mine to continue to educate the people of this country to the fact that adjustment means not only adjustment downward but adjustment upward. If you and I agree on a correct figure for a normal carryover in a basic crop, it means that if we have a bumper crop one year we will, by mutual consent, reduce the next year's crop in order to even up that carryover. At the same time, if we get a short crop in a given year, you and I agree to increase the next year's crop to make up the shortage. That is exactly what we are doing in the case of wheat this year. ... not a single program of the AAA contemplated the destruction of an acre of food crops in the United States, in spite of what you may read or what you have been told by people ... we only ploughed some of it under in 1933 because the Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed by that Congress at that famous Special Session after a huge crop of cotton was already in the ground.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Remarks to Farm Groups, 14 May 1935

Responding to Roosevelt's words

1. Why is the passage beginning 'Further comment on ...' and ending 'You know' a clever tactical statement?
2. What appear to be some farmers' complaints that Roosevelt is responding to in this statement?
3. Note Roosevelt's use of 'I', 'you' and 'we'. What is the effect of his using those terms so consistently throughout the statement?

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)

The aims of the NRA and the AAA were questioned. However, one program during this intense period of action against the Depression was received positively. It was also one of Roosevelt's favourite policies and was entirely his own idea. It brought together two of Roosevelt's resolutely held ideas: environmental conservation and the value of work to people. The Civilian Conservation Corps or CCC was focused on the young unemployed. While the PWA concentrated on middle-aged workers with private contracts, the CCC was entirely different. Roosevelt, ever practical, realised that large projects would take many months to organise but the hiring of 250 000 young men to work planting trees could begin very quickly. Roosevelt also extended the age requirement to enlist thousands of Bonus Army Marchers (often impoverished World War I veterans) into the CCC ranks. Not all democratic supporters wanted this to occur. The head of the American Federation of Labor, William Green, said that it 'smacked of Fascism, Hitlerism and Sovietism'.



SOURCE 11.29 Dr New Deal – a 1934 cartoon
Is this allegorical representation of the New Deal an effective way to depict it? Explain your response. Do you think the cartoonist intended to praise the New Deal, criticise it or simply describe it? Given what you have read so far, do you think the 'New Deal remedies' worked? Explain your response.

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To counter this, Roosevelt hired union Vice President Robert Fechner to head the CCC, but in reality Louise Howe, the Army, Forestry Service and advisor, organised the venture. By 1 July 1933, 275 000 men were in camps across the USA. They supported their families, replanted forests and worked on many other projects. The projects, which continued into 1942, have been criticised as being militaristic or of short-term importance. This may be the result of looking back on the 1930s with a modern gaze. Many of the skills were significant for the time. Even though some young men left the CCC due to its discipline, most re-enlisted due to the steady work.

Perhaps these critiques fail to uncover the human achievements that this project provided. Read Source 11.30 to make your own assessment of the extent of the extent of the human and other impacts of the CCC.

SOURCE 11.30 A brother remembers a CCC worker

My older brother, John Clyde Arnold was also in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Clyde enrolled probably when the CCC Camps first opened in 1933, or I think that was the date. He left from Madison County, Fl. with a group of other young men, who like himself didn't have a job. My father died of Haemorrhagic Fever in 1929, just ahead of the Crash of the Stock Market that same year. He had a small insurance policy, and fortunately it paid off. With that little bit, Mama bought the old boxy frame house where we lived, for a thousand dollars, so we had a place to stay. But she had no income. Papa had just bought a new Model A Ford Truck to haul fruit and vegetables to and from Central and South Florida, and since Mama couldn't meet the payments, it was repossessed. But his old Model T Truck was paid for, and parked in the old tin barn out back. Since Mama needed stove wood to cook with, she traded it for a few loads of pine wood, which was soon burned up. And I've grieved over the loss of it for years. I wish I had it back.

… They sent him to West Florida to a camp near Youngstown, if I remember right, and he stayed the whole 2 years, which was as long as they'd let him … I never knew just what kind of work Clyde did, but he worked with Mr. Capus M. Young, the Forestry Foreman, and was a big buddy to him. So my brother may have had the rank of Asst. Leader, or Leader. But if he did, he never said anything to us about it.

As I remember, the pay was 30 dollars a month, with a few bucks given to him, and the rest sent home to Mama. You'll never know how much that money meant to Mama, and the rest of us. It fed us during some pretty tough times. There were 8 kids in all, and I was one of the younger ones. 'I may have to put you in an Orphans Home,' Mama told me one time. But thanks to FDR, the CCCs, and my older brother Clyde, she never had to. So we owe a debt of gratitude that we can never repay, and I imagine the same could be said of lots of boys and girls my age all over the country, who had a member of the family in the CCCs.

Thomas F. Arnold, 'Biography of John Clyde Arnold', James F. Justin Civilian Conservation Corps Museum website, 1 August 2001

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Responding to the source

1. List the troubles that John Clyde Arnold and his family faced in 1933.
2. How did the CCC help the family survive?
3. Given what you know of the times, do you think the author is probably correct in assuming that 'the same could be said of lots of boys and girls my age all over the country'?
4. Does the text suggest that the author is a valuable source on the benefits of the CCC, but probably not on the actual programs of the CCC?

The CCC provided men with a sense of purpose and camaraderie that had been removed with the loss of their various occupations during the Great Depression. In nine years, its three million men reforested the nation with about three billion trees, along with 814 000 acres of pasture. The CCC reduced the impacts of overgrazing and soil erosion, restocked 972 million fish, built 125 000 miles of roads and developed 800 state parks. The men often spent their day together in back breaking labour and the CCC became known as the 'Colossal College of Callouses'. During the years of its operation, 7793 men died while working for the CCC. Below is an image of young men from the CCC's Camp F-24 clearing rocks from a truck trail in Snoqualmie National Forest, Washington.

SOURCE 11.31 CCC workers clearing rocks



CCC workers clearing rocks from a truck trail in Snoqualmie National Forest, Washington

Responding to the image

1. What immediate benefits could such work bring to the workers and their families?
2. Could clearing these rocks in this situation be seen as valuable work, beyond providing employment for young men?
3. Does this scene suggest that, in tumultuous times, people will willingly undertake work they might normally shun?
4. Might some Americans have criticised this works program on principle? Explain your response.

While the CCC brought undoubted benefits to men and their families, the concept of a huge government-recruited and organised workforce toiling on public projects challenged the traditional American ideal of the self-reliant rugged individual that could be traced back to the early history of the American frontier.

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SOURCE 11.32 Jonathan Alter comments on the ideas of Roosevelt

... Roosevelt's point was plain: Government counts, and in the right hands, it can be made to work. Strong federal action, not just private voluntary efforts and the invisible hand of the marketplace, was required to help those stricken in an emergency. The American people expected and deserved leadership in addressing their hardships, not just from state and local authorities but from the White House. This fundamental insight would guide politicians and help millions of people in the years ahead, but it was lost on others, who ignored the lessons of Franklin Roosevelt at their peril.

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, p. 299

Responding to the source

1. Alter's comment about 'the invisible hand of the marketplace' is a reference to the economic theories of Adam Smith. How does this comment signal the way the New Deal challenged the underpinning economic ideology of the USA?
2. How did Roosevelt change the role of the presidency and the federal government in American life?

11.8 SOURCE BASED INQUIRY: Why was social security part of the New Deal?

Over time, the New Deal reached into other aspects of American life. Social security offered old-age benefits and a first ever nationwide process for people to access support during unemployment. While free-market economists only believed in relief or charity during unexpected widespread events (such as earthquake, famine or the Depression) so as not to impact market forces, Roosevelt differed. He and others believed in a system similar to those in Germany where contributions were made by employees and employers. These would be kept distinct from other government revenue and this would continue after the disastrous Depression. Eventual payments would not be specifically related to the amount contributed. Roosevelt's Social Security Act of 1935 introduced a scheme of this sort.

Examine the image below and watch the video available in the Interactive Textbook.

SOURCES 11.33 A & B Roosevelt signs the Social Security Act, 14 August 1935

A Photograph of Roosevelt signing the Social Security Act



B Roosevelt's statement on signing the Social Security Act, 14 August



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:23) before answering the following questions.

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Responding to the sources

1. Given the information provided, why might the photograph in Source 11.33A be still considered historically significant today?
2. Only one woman appears in this photograph. What might that indicate about politics at the time?
3. How would you describe the tone of the language used by Roosevelt when he talks about the signing of this momentous bill?

During the Depression, over 50% of over 65-year-olds were unemployed: they were willing to work because there was often no option. Only half the states offered state pensions and these were woefully inadequate. Pensions paid by companies were devastated by the crash. Roosevelt appointed Frances Perkins as Secretary of Labor to promote social insurance, and she remained working with Roosevelt until the president's death in 1945. In an early speech, she talked about the question of what to do about unemployment.



SOURCE 11.34 Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, talks about unemployment
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:30). What is the purpose of unemployment according to Perkins?

Roosevelt was interested in insurance, not charity. Nor was he interested in relief, as it could be removed when times improved. In May 1935, elements of the NRA were declared unconstitutional by the High Court. This pushed Roosevelt to challenge the conservatives and also use the taxing power of the federal government to impose an initial one per cent tax on employees to fund unemployment benefits and an old age pension. (By comparison, elderly Australians received an aged pension from 1908.) However, Roosevelt thought a more extensive plan concerning social security might mean that the five conservative judges on the Supreme Court could intervene on this and other planned initiatives.

In the source below Perkins outlines policy considerations taken into account by herself and Roosevelt.

SOURCE 11.35 Frances Perkins comments on Roosevelt, 1946

> I indicated to him that there were sound arguments, advanced by many thinkers, that since we were in the midst of deflation the collection of any money for reserves, no matter by what method, would be further deflationary.
>
> 'We can't help that,' he replied. 'We have to get it started or it never will start'. He was aware that 1936 was not too far away, that there might be a change of administration, and that this program, which, in his own mind, was his program, would never be accomplished, or at least not for many years, if it were not put through immediately.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1946, p. 281

Responding to the source

1. Does this evidence indicate Roosevelt was a Keynesian thinker?
2. How did Roosevelt combine political and practical concerns?
3. Why was timing important?
4. Why would Perkins be considered a valuable source of evidence of Roosevelt's presidency? Why would her views also need to be evaluated carefully?

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SOURCE 11.36 Frances Perkins wades through mud to meet workers, 30 March 1941. Perkins also appears in the previous photo of Roosevelt signing the Social Security Act. She was the first female US cabinet member in history. Along with strong-minded Eleanor Roosevelt – the president's wife – she advanced the cause of women's rights and opportunities during Roosevelt's presidency.
Could this appointment have had symbolic value at a time of hardship for many women in impoverished families?

The system was not without flaws. It did not apply to domestic servants, farm hands and businesses with fewer than ten workers. It therefore discriminated heavily against African-Americans whose employment was predominantly in these areas, but this was probably due to coverage being limited to commerce and industry as 27% of the white population was also excluded. The case for Roosevelt doing this to gain Southern support has been overstated, even though, since the Civil War, whites in the south tended to oppose policies that improved the lot of African Americans.

The section below from Perkin's *The Roosevelt I Knew* (1946) highlights the debate concerning the ideas of an aged pension and unemployment benefits.

SOURCE 11.37 Perkins explains the development of social security

It was not that I did not admire his bold conception of universal coverage, but I felt that it was impractical to try to develop and administer so broad a system before we had some experience and machinery for the preliminary and most pressing steps. Moreover, I felt sure that the political climate was not right for such a universal approach. I may have been wrong. Having the administrative responsibility, I was more alarmed than he about how we were going to swing it. The question of financing was in the forefront of my mind, and Roosevelt, because he was looking at the broad picture, could skip over that difficult problem ... It was Harry Hopkins who recommended seriously that relief and social insurance be lumped together, that relief payments should be called unemployment and old-age insurance, and that payments should be made as a matter of right and not as a matter of need. This, of

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course, was a pretty extreme point of view for a country which had not had a social insurance system or a relief program before. When we took it to the President, only Hopkins and I went. Although Hopkins was eloquent, the President at once saw that this would be the very thing he had been saying he was against for years – the dole. This prejudice served as a guidepost to warn him against unsystematic and unrelated distribution of funds from the Treasury. He insisted that the two systems (relief and unemployment), however much they might apply to the same people, should be kept separate because relief appropriations should be curtailed and cancelled as soon as there was a revival of business and employment opportunities. The systems of unemployment and old-age insurance ought to continue as a permanent part of our economy.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1946, p. 283

Responding to the source

1. On what issue did Roosevelt's opinion differ with that of Hopkins' and Perkins'?
2. What is significant about labelling relief payments 'a matter of right and not a matter of need'?
3. How does this extract signal a debate about a long-held philosophical belief in the United States?
4. Do you see similar debates over welfare and relief in Australian politics and society today?

The legislation passed Congress and was made law in August 1935. The next year, Republican presidential candidate Alf Landon described social security as 'a fraud on the workingman' and 'a cruel hoax', but the scheme had considerable public support. In the 1936 election, Roosevelt won every state except Maine and Vermont.

Payments were not scheduled to begin until 1940. However, this was pragmatically revised in 1939 to make payments earlier. Essentially, social security was collected from the employees' pay and then the employer made an equal contribution which was sent to the Department of Treasury.

Social security was the last grand policy legislation that Roosevelt was able to propose and pass successfully without rancour. From early days, Roosevelt had been challenged by both Republicans and former supporters. In the next section you will examine the criticisms and the administration's response.



SOURCE 11.38 Social security advertisement 1934
Which elements of this advertisement are used to appeal to the US public? What is the purpose of the background image? How accessible was the program?

ACTIVITY 11.4

Construct an infographic about social security

Using this section on social security and possibly other sources, construct an infographic to either promote or argue against this policy. You may like to use an online infographic generator like canva.com or Piktochart.

Before you start, consider the following success criteria:

- Informative, interesting and clear sequence of information
- Graphic representation of information (use of images, graphs, icons, and limited use of words to get your point across)
- Inclusion and discerning use of statistics.

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11.9 SOURCE BASED INQUIRY: How and why was the New Deal challenged?

For some, initial enthusiasm for the New Deal and for President Roosevelt subsided and turned to criticism. Roosevelt faced criticism from the wealthy elite, former advisers, political enemies and newspapers.

The first real challenge to the New Deal came from the courts. In 1935, the Supreme Court found the NRA to be unconstitutional because it interfered with interstate trade by fixing prices and wages. The AAA was also declared to be unconstitutional in January 1936 as the Republican-dominated Supreme Court ruled that the Federal government could not force this program on the states. That would be remedied in 1938. Roosevelt reacted by passing large tax increases on the wealthy, labour legislation to protect workers (Wagner Act 1935) and a new inheritance tax. Some suggest that this campaign was in part to counter the influence of left-leaning political movements such as that led by populist Huey Long who called for the liquidation of wealth totaling over $3 million to reduce inequality. Whatever his motives, Roosevelt was validated by the passage of the Social Security Bill – which remains largely intact today – and the previously mentioned electoral crushing of the Republicans in 1936, which suggested that the majority of Americans supported the President.

However, there were further legal challenges, including a case for minimum wages in New York. Roosevelt did not want his reforms blocked by Supreme Court judgements, and he attempted to pass the Judicial Procedures Reform Bill of 1937. This would have enabled Roosevelt to appoint an additional Justice to the Supreme Court for every member over the age of 70 years and six months – up to a limit of six. However, many saw this action as court-packing and it was defeated. Even his Vice President John Nance Garner broke with Roosevelt over this issue. Joe Kennedy would also eventually break with Roosevelt as the decade ended. Roosevelt actively campaigned against conservative Democrats in the 1938 mid-term elections and lost. In the following section you will find sources that will allow you to identify other reasons why the New Deal was challenged and by whom.

Ray Moley had been one of Roosevelt's closet advisors. He had been a major architect of Roosevelt's first inauguration speech, but later became a critic. Here in his 1939 publication *After Seven Years* he describes his attempts to stop Roosevelt reorganising the Supreme Court from February 1937 onwards.

SOURCE 11.39 Ray Moley comments on the proposed changes to the Supreme Court

> The President's bare attempt to pack the Court was not at all concealed by his arguments that the Court needed enlargement because it was inefficient, because age was related to inefficiency, and because age and conservatism went hand in hand. It was recognized at once for what it was – a plan to provide in advance for Supreme Court approval of whatever legislative reforms Roosevelt happened to espouse, a plan to enable Roosevelt to control the Court.
>
> As such, a number of citizens, like myself, were compelled to fight it with all the resources at command, although we felt no less strongly than the President that the majority of the Court had arbitrarily held too narrow a view of the powers the Constitution confers upon Congress. In editorials, speeches, and in testimony given to the Senate Judiciary Committee, I opposed it as a palpable makeshift that would remove only temporarily the evil it was designed to remedy, as an impairment of those democratic institutions and traditions that make progressive evolution possible, as a fundamental change which the citizens alone had the right to authorize. My opposition was open, wholehearted, complete, despite a suggestion from Tom Corcoran that I'd better not stick my neck out, because my 'side' was going to lose anyhow.

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There's no need to review the complicated and fascinating history of the six months' battle over Court packing. As everyone knows, it ended well, and will doubtless insure the people of the United States against any similar presidential attempt so long as our democratic republic lasts.

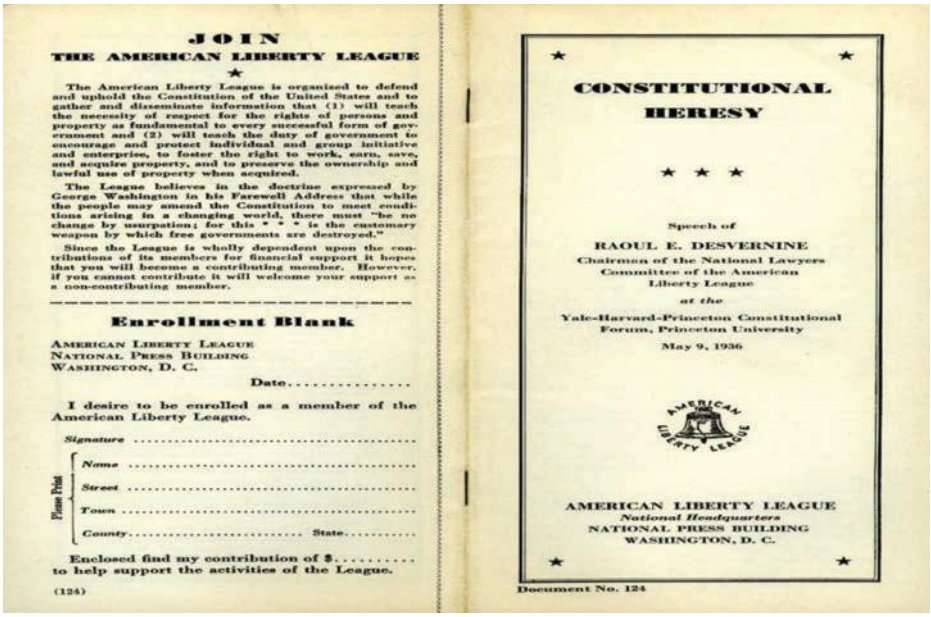
Ray Moley, *After Seven Years*, 1939, pp. 356–357

Responding to the source

1. Ray Moley admits that he believed, 'no less strongly than the President' that the Supreme Court held too narrow a view of Constitutional matters. But he refused to support Roosevelt's remedy. How does he explain this?
2. Moley's position indicates that he believes in the 'separation of powers'. Find out what that principle is and how it applies to the Roosevelt 'remedy'.
3. Why is it important in a democracy that courts be free of political interference and influence?

Another prominent person to challenge Roosevelt was Al Smith. He was the Governor of New York before Roosevelt but had been defeated by him for the Democratic nomination in 1932. Al Smith was a conservative Democratic member of the American Liberty League, which was an organisation that also included a number of wealthy individuals. The League was concerned that the New Deal interfered with individual rights and that it sought too much control over private property. Here is a pamphlet for the League from 1936. (By 1940 when the domestic agenda had been replaced with international concerns, the influence of the League was effectively over.)

SOURCE 11.40 American Liberty League pamphlet and enrolment form



JOIN
THE AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE

The American Liberty League is organized to defend and uphold the Constitution of the United States and to gather and disseminate information that (1) will teach the necessity of respect for the rights of persons and property as fundamental to every successful form of government and (2) will teach the duty of government to encourage and protect individual and group initiative and enterprise, to foster the right to work, earn, save, and acquire property, and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired.

The League believes in the doctrine expressed by George Washington in his Farewell Address that while the people may amend the Constitution to meet conditions arising in a changing world, there must "be no change by usurpation; for this * * * is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

Since the League is wholly dependent upon the contributions of its members for financial support it hopes that you will become a contributing member. However, if you cannot contribute it will welcome your support as a non-contributing member.

Enrollment Blank

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Date.....

I desire to be enrolled as a member of the American Liberty League.

Signature .....

Please Print
Name .....
Street .....
Town .....
County..... State.....

Enclosed find my contribution of $.....
to help support the activities of the League.

(124)

CONSTITUTIONAL HERESY

Speech of
RAOUL E. DESVERNINE
Chairman of the National Lawyers Committee of the American Liberty League
at the
Yale-Harvard-Princeton Constitutional Forum, Princeton University
May 9, 1936

AMERICAN LIBERTY LEAGUE
National Headquarters
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Document No. 124

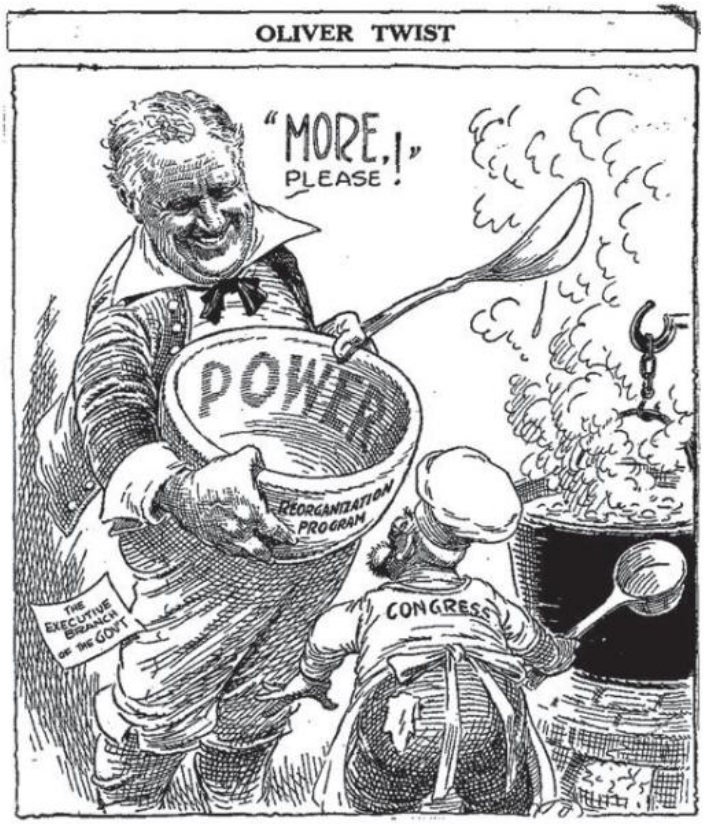
Responding to the source

1. What values does the pamphlet espouse?
2. Which historical figures and symbols does it link its campaign with and why?
3. Is it possible that, at the time, the speech on 'Constitutional Heresy' could have referred to Roosevelt? Explain your response.

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Roosevelt's attempts to maintain his program of change, and the perception that he was seeking to override democracy, attracted media coverage. In January 1937 this cartoon was published in the Chicago Tribune.

SOURCE 11.41 A cartoonist's response, 1937



'Oliver Twist', by Joseph L. Parrish. Published in the *Chicago Tribune*, 16 January 1937

Responding to the source

1. How does the cartoonist convey a political message through this allegorical cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon match the opinions expressed by others in this section?
3. What evidence, if any, have you seen that could justify this view of Roosevelt?
4. Do you think that cartoons like this can be more powerful and influential than lengthy texts in swaying public opinion? Is that true today? Are there new media forms today that can have similar impacts?

ACTIVITY 11.5

Create a PMI table about the New Deal

Did Roosevelt's New Deal deserve the criticism and opposition it encountered? Use the following table to record the positives, negatives and interesting points from the sources and text above to summarise the later period of the New Deal.

Source/text	Positive	Negative	Interesting

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11.10 Depth study: summing up

The Great Depression and the New Deal policies have been debated for over 80 years. The policy responses continue to arouse both admiration and criticism. This is especially the case as the impacts of the 2008 Great Recession, or Global Financial Crisis (GFC), are still felt across the globe.

ACTIVITY 11.6

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: Were the New Deal policies and programmes an effective response to the causes and effects of the Great Depression?

In this activity you'll read the voices of historians, politicians and others who have evaluated the New Deal and you'll try to decide which viewpoints match the understanding of the New Deal that you have developed through this chapter.

The following five sources offer a variety of viewpoints on Roosevelt and the New Deal. Using the table below, start an evaluation of each author's viewpoint.

Author / Point	Alter	Perkins	Smith	Harman	Moore
What main point(s) does this writer make about the actual nature and effects of the New Deal?					
Does the writer seem to embrace a particular ideological position? Explain.					
What evidence in this chapter, if any, seems to support the position of this writer?					
What evidence in this chapter, if any, seems to contradict the position of this writer?					
Do any of the writers of the other extracts support or contradict this writer?					
What is one statement or claim made by this writer that you would like to assess for accuracy?					

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SOURCE 11.42 Jonathan Alter (2007) evaluates the benefits of the New Deal

liberalism twentieth century liberalism calls for a more egalitarian, reformist side of pursuing freedom and individual rights. It uses government in pursuit of prosperity, security, and the public good. This reformist liberalism abandons market economics

FDR's second term was his least successful, though **liberalism** was embedding itself in American life at the very moment that actual reform diminished ...

But to argue that the shortcomings of the New Deal undermine FDR's achievements reflects a narrow view ... The results of FDR's efforts were a new social contract that has informally bound his successors to confront major domestic and international problems, rather than leave them entirely to the marketplace or to other nations ...

The greatest of these obligations remains to the less fortunate, an idea that cleaves American politics to this day. 'The test of our progress is not whether we add to the abundance of those who have much', FDR said in his second Inaugural Address, perhaps his clearest statement of principle in domestic affairs. 'It is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.'

If that living 'New Deal' was to be FDR's enduring legacy, his greatest accomplishment was more immediate. During the 1930s, he succeeded in keeping a fractious country from giving up on its ideals and offered a world darkened by fascism and communism an alternative vision of the future ... Especially at the beginning, when hope was a dying ember, he succeeded brilliantly in restoring the faith in democratic institutions and establishing a legacy of innovation. Eventually, the same flexibility that allowed Roosevelt to confront that crisis led him to scrap most of his domestic program in order to face another historic challenge.

Jonathan Alter, *The Defining Moment: FDR's Hundred Days and the Triumph of Hope*, 2007, pp. 331–3

SOURCE 11.43 Frances Perkins (1946) comments on Roosevelt's political viewpoint

I knew Roosevelt long enough and under enough circumstances to be quite sure that he was no political or economic radical. I take it that the essence of economic radicalism is to believe that the best system is the one in which private ownership of the means of production is abolished in favour of public ownership. But Roosevelt took the status quo in our economic system as much for granted as his family. They were part of his life, and so was our system, he was content with it. He felt that it ought to be humane, fair, and honest, and that adjustments ought to be made so that the people would not suffer from poverty and neglect, and so that all would share.

... He thought the test ought to be whether or not business is conducted partly for the welfare of the community. He could not accept the idea that the sole purpose of business was to make more and more money. He thought business should make and distribute goods with enough profit to give the owners a comfortable living and enable them to save something to invest in other productive enterprises. Yes, he felt that stockholders had a place and right and that a business ought to be conducted so that they would earn

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modest interest, while the workers got good wages and the community profited by the low prices and steady work.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1946, p. 328

SOURCE 11.44 Jason Scott Smith (2006) referencing Barton Bernstein

Other revisionist accounts of the New Deal come to similar conclusions regarding public works. Relying on the assumptions that underwrite most 'corporate liberal' interpretations of U.S. history, historian Barton Berstein argues that 'the liberal reforms of the New Deal did not transform the American system; they conserved and protected American capitalism, occasionally by absorbing part of threatening programs.' Bernstein treats the public works organizations solely as welfare programs, faulting the government for spending too slowly and cautiously, tersely noting that after six years of the New Deal, 'In most of America starvation was no longer possible. Perhaps that was the most humane achievement of the New Deal.' Because the New Deal's achievements were ultimately so limited, people who joined the New Deal political coalition were evidence of 'one of the crueler ironies of liberal politics, that the marginal men trapped in hopelessness were seduced by the rhetoric, by the style and movement, by the symbolism of efforts seldom reaching beyond words'. To the extent that public works programs achieved anything, in Bernstein's view, they were part of a larger enterprise that created a sort of false consciousness, capable only of duping the masses into voting for FDR.

Jason Scott Smith, *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956*, 2006, p. 13

SOURCE 11.45 Chris Harman (2008) evaluates the New Deal

... Roosevelt's measures were neither as innovative nor as effective as many people thought. Roosevelt remained highly orthodox in one respect – he did not use government spending to break out of the crisis. In fact he cut veterans' pensions and public employment. As Kindelberger writes, 'Fiscal means to expand employment remained limited, since the Democratic administration under Roosevelt remained committed to a balanced budget'. He also suggests investment was bound to start rising at some point from the incredibly low level to which it had fallen (from $16 billion in 1929 to $1 billion in 1932), and it began to do so once the level of bank failures had peaked. In any case, Roosevelt got the credit for a rise in production from 59 percent of the level of the mid-1920s in March 1933 to 100 percent in July, and a fall in unemployment from 13.7 million in 1933 to 12.4 million in 1934 and 12 million in 1935. Many people believed his 'New Deal' had worked miracles – a myth that remains prevalent today. Yet one person in seven was still jobless in 1937 when output finally reached the level of eight years earlier. Then in August 1937 there was 'the steepest economic decline in the history of the US', steel output fell by more than two thirds in four months, cotton textile output by about 40 percent, and farm prices by a quarter. The economic recovery had been short lived.

Chris Harman, *A People's History of the World*, 2008, pp. 513–4

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SOURCE 11.46 Economist Stephen Moore writes about the Great Depression

What really ended the Great Depression?

STEPHEN MOORE

I've written before about the historical lie that President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs ended the Great Depression. After seven years of New Deal-era explosions in federal debt and spending, the U.S. economy was still flat on its back, and misery could be seen on the street corners. By 1940, unemployment still averaged 14.6 percent. That's some recovery ...

... Most history books credit the government spending to mobilize for World War II after the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941.

It is true that, as the war started, economic output surged, and unemployment fell. But periods of all-out war are very different than peacetime. Is it any surprise that unemployment fell dramatically when nearly 12 million Americans joined the military? ... From 1942–45, America was not a free market economy; we were an all-out wartime economy – with the normal laws of economics suspended.

But a war is no way to fix an economy ... During World War II, when we built ships, tanks, aircraft, dropped bombs and sent our troops into harm's way, we weren't creating wealth ... War in self-defense might be necessary to protect our families, but any economic growth derived from it is far less beneficial than growth derived from free people making individual decisions on what to consume and in what to invest.

In the 1940s, government spending did, indeed, surge. The federal share of GDP rose from under 12 percent in 1941 to over 40 percent in 1943–45. In other words, almost half of everything that was produced in the nation was to fight the war. Domestic spending on many FDR New Deal programs in education, training and social services dropped more than 90 percent.

The real issue is what caused the economy to surge after the war was over.

... Shortly after his third reelection in 1944, and at a time when the outcome of the war was no longer in question, FDR and his domestic advisers plotted a new New Deal with such spending items as national health insurance. The Keynesians were sure that the massive postwar drop in government spending would catastrophically tank the economy.

... Here's what happened: Government spending collapsed, from 41 percent of GDP in 1945 to 24 percent in 1946, then to under 15 percent by 1947. And there was no 'new' New Deal. This was by far the biggest cut in government spending in U.S. history. Tax rates were cut, and wartime price controls were lifted. There was a very short eight-month recession, but then the private economy surged.

Personal consumption grew by 6.2 percent in 1945 and 12.4 percent in 1946, even as government spending crashed. Private investment spending grew by 28.6 percent.

The less the feds spent, the more people spent and invested. Keynesianism was turned on its head. Milton Friedman's free-market advocacy was validated.

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ACTIVITY 11.6 continued

In 1946, the unemployment rate averaged below 4 percent and stayed that low for the better part of a decade. This all happened during the biggest reduction in government spending in U.S. history, under President Harry Truman.

In sum, it wasn't government spending, but the shrinkage of government, that finally ended the Great Depression. That's what should be, but isn't, in every history book.

Stephen Moore, 'What really ended the Great Depression?', *The Orange County Register*, 12 October 2014.

In the late 1930s, due to domestic constraints and international factors, the impetus of the New Deal declined. This next section outlines the impacts of World War II on the USA.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Is there a legacy of the New Deal today?

11.11 What was the effect of World War II on the New Deal?

At the beginning of this chapter you read about the terrible human impacts of World War I. Another consequence was that the US became international creditors in an unstable international environment. It eventually led to reform of the financial system that some former investors such as Jesse Livermore could no longer manipulate. The US had essentially resumed its position of isolation as the Congress had refused to join the League of Nations. As the 1930s concluded and another World War threatened, the core ideas of the American Dream – such as democracy and freedom – and the role the US played within the international community were challenged.

From domestic to international

From as early as 1937, Roosevelt was criticising Nazism and calling for action to 'quarantine the aggressors' in Europe. However, he faced an isolationist American public and Congress. As well, in the Asia-Pacific, relations with Japan were becoming worse, particularly after 1931 when Japan invaded Manchuria. The Japanese were challenging US dominance in the Asia-Pacific region where the US had long-held imperial possessions, such as the Philippines and Hawaii. Diplomatic relations with the Japanese were further strained when the US supported and supplied the Chinese from 1937 onwards in the Second Sino-Japanese war. Yet in Europe the US made it known it would not intervene against Germany when it annexed parts of Czechoslovakia in 1938. After the Munich Agreement, which permitted this annexation, and the mounting persecution of the Jewish population, however, US public opinion gradually began to change, and Roosevelt was already in contact with Britain's future leader Winston Churchill. Domestically, the 1938 mid-term congressional elections meant a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats blocked the vast majority of Roosevelt's proposals. As a separate power within the government, Congress had the constitutional power to refuse to pass legislation proposed by the president.

However, some proposals were passed, including the Housing Act of 1937, a second Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) of 1938. In addition, this conservative coalition supported Roosevelt when World War II began.

From isolation to war

In September 1939, World War II began in Europe when Germany invaded Poland. Great Britain and France responded to the invasion by declaring war on Germany. Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact and divided up Poland between them. At first Roosevelt was limited by the USA's Neutrality Act (1936), but in 1939 he had it replaced with a 'Cash and Carry' policy that enabled the US to supply arms to Britain and its allies. By May 1941 the German occupation of Norway, Holland and Belgium, and the defeat of the French, further weakened the case of the isolationists in America. Then in July 1940, a group of congressmen introduced a bill for a peacetime military draft whereby men could be compelled to enlist to fight for the USA. With Roosevelt's support, the Selective Training and Service Act was passed in September. The army increased in size from 189 000 men at the end of 1939 to 1.4 million men in 1941. The act meant that over 900 000 were in training at any given time.

Ever the pragmatist, in July 1940 Roosevelt made two important appointments of interventionist Republican leaders: Henry L. Stimson as Secretary of War, and Frank Knox as Secretary of the Navy. Both political parties supported his plans to strengthen the military. However those in the isolationist

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camp were still concerned about war. Roosevelt continued to push boundaries. The September 1940 Destroyers for Bases Agreement saw 50 World War I American destroyers transferred to the British Navy, in return for the right to establish military bases in the British Caribbean Islands. This action breached the Neutrality Acts, which Congress had passed in the 1930s, but led to a rapid increase in support for Roosevelt. Eventually he won the 1940 election. After 1940, Roosevelt took his support for Britain and China further with the Lend Lease program. Despite its name it did not require direct repayment after the war. In September 1940, Japan became part of the Axis alliance with Germany and Italy. In 1941, in response to the Japanese thrust southward, the US provided China with $100 million, and in July cut off all oil supplies to the Japanese when they occupied Indo-China. On 7 December 1941, the Japanese launched a devastating surprise attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. It put most of the US Pacific Fleet's battleships out of action and killed 2403 American servicemen and civilians. Shown below is an image from the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

SOURCES 11.47A–C The attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941

A Video footage of the bombing of the USS Arizona



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:32) before answering the questions that follow.

B Photograph showing the USS West Virginia on fire and the upper part of the USS Tennessee, already under the water



C Roosevelt speaks to Congress on 8 December 1941



> Yesterday, December 7, 1941 – a date which will live in infamy – the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

Go to the Interactive Textbook listen to the speech (duration 08:41) before answering the questions.

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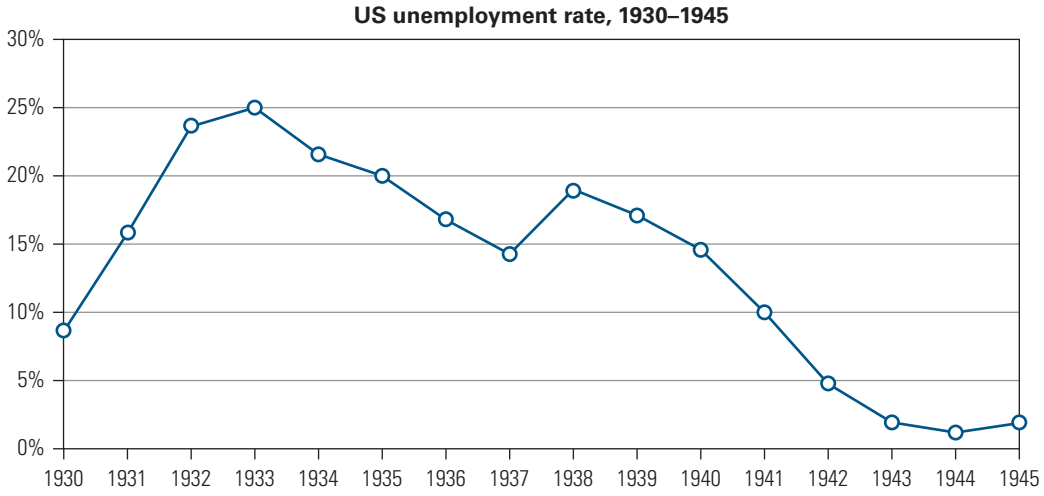
Responding to the sources

1. How does the voiceover of the video describe the actual bombing of the vessel?
2. What are the motives in describing the actions of the Japanese in this fashion?
3. What is the evidence of devastation in the photograph shown in Source 11.47B?
4. What emotions might the sailors in the smaller vessel be experiencing as they venture towards the USS West Virginia?
5. War had not been declared at this stage. Do you think this attack deserves Roosevelt's description as a 'day of infamy'?
6. Why do you think the photograph in Source 11.47C made such a strong impact at the time and also became an iconic image of US history?

In his speech, Roosevelt asked the Congress to support his call for a declaration of war on Japan, and the vast majority did so. Four days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the USA. The attack on Pearl Harbor had propelled the USA into World War II, and the war would come to have dramatic economic effects on the USA.

Impacts on the US economy

The graph below shows the unemployment rate before and during Roosevelt's presidency.



SOURCE 11.48 US unemployment rate, 1930–1945, Department of Labor Statistics
What was the economic trend leading up to the election of Roosevelt in late 1932? What might account for the anomaly during the 1937 to 1938 period? When was unemployment at its lowest?

The fall in unemployment numbers from 1939 onwards can be attributed largely to World War II. The USA, with its mainland unaffected by enemy attacks, became an industrial powerhouse for the Allied war effort – first providing Lend Lease aid to Britain and other allies, and then resourcing its own massive war effort after Pearl Harbor in 1941.

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Two iconic US brands were prominent across the landscapes of World War II.



SOURCE 11.49 The Jeep: Willys and Ford produced 640 000 Jeeps in World War II. Here, a Jeep is central in this historic photo of US and Russian troops meeting – on 25 April 1945 – for the first time in the 'race to Berlin' which became the basis for the Cold War division of Germany.



SOURCE 11.50 Harley-Davidson: 90 000 Harleys were built for the armed forces in World War II and were sent worldwide. In 1945, many were still in unopened crates in Australia, eventually becoming prized possessions of local enthusiasts.

The staggering production figures for Jeep and Harley-Davidson were only the tip of the iceberg of wartime industrial production in the US. Wars demand enormous investment in materials ranging from aircraft and tanks to water bottles and mosquito nets.

The PBS Network's website describes the impact on the automobile industry:

SOURCE 11.51 The wartime transformation of the US car industry

War production profoundly changed American industry. Companies already engaged in defense work expanded. Others, like the automobile industry, were transformed completely. In 1941, more than three million cars were manufactured in the United States. Only 139 more were made during the entire war. Instead, Chrysler made fuselages. General Motors made airplane engines, guns, trucks and tanks. Packard made Rolls-Royce engines for the British air force. And at its vast Willow Run plant in Ypsilanti, Michigan, the Ford Motor Company performed something like a miracle 24-hours a day. The average Ford car had some 15,000 parts. The B-24 Liberator long-range bomber had 1,550,000. One came off the line every 63 minutes.

'War Production', website of PBS series *The War*, September 2007

Responding to the source

1. What does this indicate about the impact of the war on US industry?
2. How did the war affect the direction in which Roosevelt was steering the US before 1939?
3. Millions of Americans worked in industry and served in the armed forces. What challenges would you have expected to arise when the war ended?

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In 1944, Roosevelt asked congress to impose a tax on all 'unreasonable' profits, both corporate and individual. He declared a need for over $10 billion in revenue for the war and other government measures. Congress overrode this, but eventually passed a bill that provided $2 billion.

The course of World War II effectively did what the New Deal programme, stifled mainly by Congress, could not fully achieve. Unemployment dropped from nearly 15% in 1940 to less than 2% by 1945. This was not only amongst those who had lost jobs during the Depression: African-American unemployment decreased and rates of women working in the public sphere increased dramatically. American companies also benefitted greatly from the capital investment in their factory systems which would set them up successfully for post-war production. The statistics below show the details of expenditure during World War II specifically.

SOURCE 11.52 Federal spending and military spending during World War II

	Nominal GDP		Federal spending			Defense spending			
Year	total $	% increase	total $	% increase	% of GDP	total $	% increase	% of GDP	% of federal spending
1940	101.4		9.47		9.34%	1.66		1.64%	17.53%
1941	120.67	19.00%	13.00	37.28%	10.77%	6.13	269.28%	5.08%	47.15%
1942	139.06	15.24%	30.18	132.15%	21.70%	22.05	259.71%	15.86%	73.06%
1943	136.44	-1.88%	63.57	110.64%	46.59%	43.98	99.46%	32.23%	69.18%
1944	174.84	28.14%	72.62	14.24%	41.54%	62.95	43.13%	36.00%	86.68%
1945	173.52	-0.75%	72.11	-0.70%	41.56%	64.53	2.51%	37.19%	89.49%

($ values in billions of 1940 dollars)

Data from the Economic History Association

Responding to the source

1. How much did federal spending increase during the 1940 to 1945 time period?
2. What does the percentage of federal spending spent on defense indicate?
3. What does GDP measure and why did it dip in 1945?

The course of the war and its end

In June 1942 the war in the Pacific turned in favour of the Allies, with a series of naval victories and the pushing back of Japanese troops by Australian and US troops in Papua New Guinea. Gradually the US and its allies defeated the Japanese in the Pacific. After the Nazi invasion of the USSR in 1941, the US extended the Lend Lease program to the Soviets. In Europe, major invasions were launched into Italy in 1943 and into France on D-Day in 1944. Roosevelt won the 1944 election, campaigning for a strong United Nations, and for the idea of basic economic rights. The Germans were gradually defeated by the Allies in the West, while the Russians conquered the East.

The photograph in Source 11.53 is from the Yalta Conference, where the leaders of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union met to discuss the postwar reorganisation of Europe. They demanded an unconditional surrender by Germany, and agreed that the country would be divided into four

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occupied zones: one for each of the three combatant nations, plus a fourth for France. Stalin promised free elections in the Eastern European nations occupied by Soviet forces.



SOURCE 11.53 The three Allied leaders at Yalta in February 1945: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, with their respective military staffs. This photo has become iconic. It reflects the uneasy wartime alliance between nations that would, within months, be divided along Cold War lines.
What descriptive words could be used to describe Roosevelt in this image? How does this picture of him compare to Source 11.33?

Tragically, Roosevelt would not see the end of the war. His health deteriorated terribly after the Yalta conference, and he died on 12 April 1945 from a massive cerebral hemorrhage.

VE Day on 8 May when the Nazis surrendered in Berlin was dedicated to Roosevelt. The war in the Pacific ended with the Japanese Emperor surrendering on 15 August, after two nuclear bombs were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima under the authorisation of US President Harry S. Truman, Roosevelt's successor.

An era had effectively ended with a war that killed over 60 million people and during which the American political landscape had lost its long-term leader. One response to the loss of the president is shown in the photograph in Source 11.54.



SOURCE 11.54 Navy CPO Graham Jackson weeps while he plays 'Goin' Home' as Roosevelt's body is carried from the Warm Springs Foundation.
Amid the national grief, why would there still be some differences of opinion about Roosevelt's New Deal and even about the USA's commitment to World War II?

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ACTIVITY 11.7

Write a paragraph about the effect of World War II

1. Using knowledge gained from this section and any additional research required, write a paragraph explaining how World War II affected the trajectory of the US economy and society created by the New Deal.

   Write a brief response to each of the following questions:

   a. What was the state of the US economy and society in early 1939?

   b. What were the impacts of the war on the US economy both before and after Pearl Harbor?

   c. At the war's end in 1945, what was the state of the US economy and society?

Beyond World War II

Due to massive spending on the war the Great Depression ended, but the war also saw the federal government, private companies and organisations ready to co-ordinate a level of post-war prosperity. The US was economically dominant over its allies and former enemies. Under the Marshall Plan during 1947–1951, $13 billion worth of American aid to Europe guaranteed access to markets. Aid to Japan ($1.8 billion, 1946–1952) was tied to export opportunities. In 1944 the US held an international monetary conference, the Bretton Woods Conference, at which standards for currency convertibility were established, and institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the precursor of the World Bank were created. The USA was in a much stronger position than it had been in 1945 as most of its competitors had suffered such heavy losses during the war. The post-war period up until the 1960s saw the highest levels of material progress by older Americans, whilst working class and African-Americans were proportionally worse off than others.

ACTIVITY 11.8

Research another element

This section has included only an outline of Roosevelt's foreign policy initiatives during the war. Choose an element to research further, such as the Yalta Conference or Roosevelt's interactions with the leaders Churchill and Stalin, and write an extended paragraph as revision for your IA1 Essay for Summative Assessment.

11.12 Inventive policy solutions

If there is a legacy of the New Deal today it may have come from the inventiveness that inspired Roosevelt to try different policy solutions for various challenges. In the section that follows you will encounter a number of more recent responses to what are broadly seen as challenges to, or reforms of, the dominant system of free-enterprise capitalism.

This chapter described several innovative changes initiated by Roosevelt, including regulation of share trading, a social security system, public works and a national parks works program. In the following sources you will encounter similar inventiveness.

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Public works: when 'Big Government' plays its role

ADAM COHEN

At the dedication of the Triborough Bridge in 1936, Franklin Roosevelt made an impassioned case for public works. There was a time when no one complained, he said, 'that our schoolhouses were badly ventilated and lighted' or that 'there were no playgrounds for children in crowded tenement areas.' But times had changed. 'People are demanding up-to-date government in place of antiquated government,' he declared, 'just as they are requiring and demanding Triborough Bridges in place of ancient ferries.'

The story of the 1930s public works programs is timely again, because much of America is falling apart. The deadly collapse of a Minnesota highway bridge in August shined a light on the poor state of the nation's bridges, many thousands of which are 'structurally deficient' by federal standards ... We should be thinking today about replicating some of the successes of the Depression-era programs.

The PWA and the Civilian Conservation Corps were primarily undertaken to put people to work at a time when the unemployment rate approached 25 percent, and to restart a woeful economy. Forward-looking officials like Harry Hopkins, the relief administrator, and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins argued, however, that public works should be directed to socially useful programs.

Not all of it was. But the vast majority were enormously valuable. Great institutions were built, including the Bay Bridge, the Hoover Dam and Washington's National Airport — now named for Ronald Reagan, Mr. Leighninger notes, even though it is 'a product of the type of 'big government' program that he spent most of his political career opposing.' ... The New Deal public works programs have largely faded into history. Most people who use their handiwork, like the millions who travel over the Triborough or visit San Antonio's River Walk, are unaware of how they came to be built. People rarely think about viaducts or sewage lines.

It is a legacy, though, that is worth recalling. There is a reason we are reading about bridges collapsing, water systems being overburdened and other system failures – like the 2003 blackout, which left 50 million people in the Northeast and Canada without power. Physical capital investment as a percentage of gross domestic product, the measure of how much the nation is investing in itself, is dismally low today by historic standards – and the $600 billion-plus being directed to the Iraq War is not helping.

... The nation is unlikely to embark on public works programs like those launched during the Great Depression, unless there is another economic crisis of that scale. But Roosevelt's basic idea – that the government should employ idle hands to upgrade the nation – should never have gone out of fashion.

SOURCE 11.55 Adam Cohen, 'Public Works: When 'Big Government' Plays Its Role', *The New York Times*, 13 November 2007

Perhaps the idea of the redemptive power of work is one aspect of the New Deal and Roosevelt's legacy that bears much closer scrutiny. With the outsourcing of jobs, de-industrialisation of much of the Western world and the decline of the middle class in the US, more creative and vibrant responses are required.

After reading the final source of this chapter you will question whether a New Deal is required for the American people.

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A journey through a land of extreme poverty: welcome to America

ED PILKINGTON

... It began on the day that Republicans in the US Senate voted for sweeping tax cuts that will deliver a bonanza for the super wealthy while in time raising taxes on many lower-income families. The changes will exacerbate wealth inequality that is already the most extreme in any industrialized nation, with three men – Bill Gates, Jeff Bezos and Warren Buffett – owning as much as half of the entire American people.

A few days into the UN visit, Republican leaders took a giant leap further. They announced plans to slash key social programs in what amounts to an assault on the already threadbare welfare state.

'Look up! Look at those banks, the cranes, the luxury condos going up,' exclaimed General Dogon, who used to be homeless on Skid Row and now works as a local activist with Lacan. 'Down here, there's nothing. You see the tents back to back, there's no place for folks to go.'

California made a suitable starting point for the UN visit. It epitomizes both the vast wealth generated in the tech boom for the 0.001%, and the resulting surge in housing costs that has sent homelessness soaring. Los Angeles, the city with by far the largest population of street dwellers in the country, is grappling with crisis numbers that increased 25% this past year to 55,000.

Ressy Finley, 41 ... was busy sterilizing the white bucket she uses to slop out in her tent in which she has lived on and off for more than a decade. She keeps her living area, a mass of worn mattresses and blankets and a few motley possessions, as clean as she can in a losing battle against rats and cockroaches. She also endures waves of bed bugs, and has large welts on her shoulder to prove it.

She receives no formal income, and what she makes on recycling bottles and cans is no way enough to afford the average rents of $1,400 a month for a tiny one-bedroom. A friend brings her food every couple of days, the rest of the time she relies on nearby missions.

Given all that, it's remarkable how positive Finley remains. What does she think of the American Dream, the idea that everyone can make it if they try hard enough? She replies instantly: 'I know I'm going to make it.'

A 41-year-old woman living on the sidewalk in Skid Row going to make it?

'Sure I will, so long as I keep the faith.'

What does 'making it' mean to her?

'I want to be a writer, a poet, an entrepreneur, a therapist.'

SOURCE 11.56 Ed Pilkington, 'A journey through a land of extreme poverty: welcome to America', *The Guardian*, 15 December 2017

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ACTIVITY 11.9

Identify evidence for points related to the New Deal

From these two secondary sources select one or more details that provides the best evidence for each of the following points.

Point made in this section	Best evidence to support this point
1. The US is a highly unequal society.	
2. Modern America is privately wealthy but publicly poor.	
3. Political will is crucial to making changes to society.	
4. Creative ways of conceptualising income, work and wealth are required.	
5. Economic change has left behind a large segment of modern societies.	
6. The American dream of being successful has always been linked to individualism.	

11.13 Contemporary issues in the US

The contemporary issues in the US are a stark reminder that while the Stock Market Crash was nearly 90 years ago, the history of that time and the subsequent innovative policy decisions could provide an insight into possible solutions for today. The history of the USA is a contested field, with competing perspectives and interpretations, particularly around the controversial phenomenon of the New Deal.

In terms of a historical legacy, Roosevelt's efforts to transform the US, when market economics had failed, was created in a context of despair and was a threat to both democracy and capitalism, as other models for social organisation in other nations, such as fascism and communism, developed. Some of Roosevelt's policies such as social security still exist today, and a belief in a government role in the economics and society continued into the 1950's via who would now be considered moderate Republicans.

In the 1960s John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson were both pushed by popular movements to work for greater racial and economic equality via struggles such as the Civil Rights Movement. Kennedy called his domestic program the New Frontier. It promised federal funding for education, elderly medical care, economic aid to rural regions, and government intervention to reduce the recession. He also wanted to end racial discrimination. Johnson's attempts at reducing gross poverty was called the Great Society. It was akin to a 1960s New Deal. New major spending programs focused on education, medical care, urban problems, rural poverty, and transport. Some policies were from the New Frontier policies that had not been fully activated. Roosevelt, Kennedy and Johnson all pursed liberal policies that tried to address societies issues with the use of government spending. All three leaders pursued these initiatives after major political victories which meant that they had the support of Congress.

After 1970, with recurring financial crises, liberal politics and ideas of government intervention in the economy were challenged throughout the Western world. This was generally called Reganomics or economic rationalism. It advocated free-market economics with a reduction in the role of government. This competitive capitalism dominated economic debates, challenging notions of state ownership of enterprise

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and state provision of welfare. People were urged to be more self-reliant, and governments began a program of privatising previously state-owned enterprises, particularly in the transport and energy sectors. The debates on the pros and cons of this approach continue today.

Perhaps the last words in this historical study should go to Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1930 Roosevelt declared that 'progressive government by its very terms, must be a living and growing thing, that the battle for it is never ending and that if we let up for one single moment or one single year, not merely do we stand still but we fall back in the march of civilization'.

ACTIVITY 11.10

Consider a historical issue

Prepare: To revise this unit prepare in groups a key question and 3 to 5 sub-questions to present to the class. Discuss as a class the questions proposed as a way of synthesizing this unit and revising for an essay question.

Create a timeline: Prepare a timeline of the major events, policy decisions and actions of the USA 1917–1945. This could be done collaboratively in small groups, with each member focusing on a specific section of the chapter.

Discuss: How should the actions of Roosevelt and his administration be judged in relation to the Great Depression? Provide evidence with explanation.

Update: In 2018 the Republican Party tried to repeal some aspects of social security in the USA. Research the reason for wanting to remove a policy that has existed since 1935 and the final outcome.

Apply: You have studied the USA 1917 to 1945. You have encountered different ways in which nations deal with national crises. This chapter has touched on one major debate in modern history – the challenging of powerful values of free market capitalism and individualism. You'll encounter this and other debates in the different chapters of this book.

ACTIVITY 11.11

Research the Global Financial Crisis of 2008

Many commentators have suggested a link between the FDR response to the Great Depression and that of Obama in 2008 when the GFC hit the world.

How did Barack Obama respond to this crisis and are these parallels with the time period of the New Deal founded on historical evidence?

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: The USA 1917–1932

- World War I dramatically changed the USA into a world leader.
- The stock market crash of Black Tuesday – 29 October 1929 – saw stock prices plummet.
- The stock market crash saw people lose their entire savings, and led to an increase in homelessness.
- Republican President Hoover called for tax cuts, recommended increased spending on public works and tried to encourage home building; but he did not support the banking industry.
- In July 1932, 17000 ex-World War I soldiers and their families marched on Washington, calling for their bonus payment for war services to be paid early. Hoover ordered them removed by the army when police intervention failed.
- Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932 and was inaugurated in March 1933.

Depth study: How effective a response were the New Deal policies to the causes and consequences of the Great Depression?

- In 1933 Roosevelt initiated steps to protect the financial system and to restore public confidence.
- The National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) proposed minimum hours and wages, and codes for business to follow to reduce unconstrained competition.
- The Public Works Administration (PWA) focused on employing older workers using federal funds.
- The Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA) increased prices for agricultural products by reducing supply.
- The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was focused on the young unemployed, setting them up in camps across the USA to work on projects such as replanting forests.
- The Social Security Act of 1935 offered old-age benefits and a first ever nationwide process for people to access support during unemployment.
- In 1935–6, elements of the NRA and AAA faced constitutional challenges in the High and Supreme Courts.
- The American Liberty League, which included Democrat Al Smith, was concerned that the New Deal interfered with individual rights and that it sought too much control over private property.

Concluding study: Is there a legacy of the New Deal today?

- The USA initially held back from involvement in World War II, but this changed with the December 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.
- The war caused an increase in industrial production, which resulted in unemployment dropping from nearly 15% in 1940 to less than 2% by 1945.
- American companies also benefitted greatly from the capital investment in their factory systems which was to set them up successfully for post-war production.
- Roosevelt won the 1944 election, but died on 12 April 1945 from a massive cerebral hemorrhage.
- Due to massive spending on the war, the Great Depression ended, but the war also saw the federal government, private companies and organisations ready to co-ordinate a level of post-war prosperity. The US was economically dominant over its allies and former enemies.
- If there is a legacy of the New Deal today it may come from the inventiveness that inspired Roosevelt to try different policy solutions for various challenges.
- The contemporary issues in the US are a reminder that while the Stock Market Crash was nearly 90 years ago, the history of that time and the subsequent innovative policy decisions could provide an insight into possible solutions for today.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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CHAPTER 12
China, 1931–1976
Focus: The impact of Mao's vision on China



SOURCE 12.1 A Chinese performer dresses in the Communist revolutionary 'Red Guard' uniform and points a mock gun at a statue of a prisoner wearing a placard that says 'Beat down the landlord group'.

It's 1966. Mo Bo Gao, a 14-year-old Chinese peasant boy, understands the pecking order in his school community: when the senior boys do something interesting like putting up posters, you demonstrate admiration. Like other boys his age he wants to be part of the in-crowd, so he has joined the local chapter of a rapidly growing youth gang. Being part of the group gives him status amongst his peers, it gives him respectability, and it reinforces his growing self-identity.

Mo Bo's gang is, like many other youth gangs throughout the world and throughout history, anti-authoritarian – that is, they express distaste and displeasure for those in authority whom they consider to be holding them back. The gang sets itself against things like old-fashioned thinking, old habits, old customs, and old culture. This mindset is not in any way new for youths of the world.

But this is no ordinary gang. It is the Red Guard – the revolutionary youth and urban workers of China bent on creating a new Chinese society. A generation of youth has taken up Mao Zedong's call for a Cultural Revolution. Many of the gangs have quickly turned violent. Mo Bo's is not nearly one of the most extreme gangs: 'The farthest we went was when the most unpopular teacher was made to kneel down and confess his "crimes" to the students. One student hit the teacher's heels with a brick – I couldn't bear to look. This student was one of the rough boys who would call their fathers 'bastard' and perform badly in exams. Chairman Mao gave them the chance to get their own back – at least that was how I understood it…' (1987)

Forty-three years later, at a theme village depicting a Cultural Revolution rehabilitation camp, the photo in Source 12.1 is taken. This 'Red Tourism' photo depicts a dramatic – but not atypical – moment in the Cultural Revolution. Clearly, that revolution is still remembered in China today. But with what thoughts and feelings? Do you think that Mo Bo would approve of the Red Tourism depicted in the photo?

Mark Avery

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CONTEXTUAL STUDY

China: Forging a new identity

The Cultural Revolution was the culminating period of Mao's fight for a new national identity. The Cultural Revolution had roots much deeper than Mo Bo Gao's experiences of it; it reached back to the fall of the Imperial Dynasty, the warlords, nationalists, communists, idealists, civil wars, ideological change and attempts to modernise the Chinese nation. Mo Bo Gao's experiences would also have a legacy.

Decades before the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people experienced a very different revolution. It began in 1911, and it is key to your understanding of modern Chinese history. It raised a fundamental question for the Chinese people: who controls our destiny?

12.1 How significant was the 1911 Xinhai Revolution?

Imperial China in the last decades of its existence was rapidly destabilised by the 'imperial intrusions' from European colonial powers, the US, and Japan. The imperial court was unable to match the rate of change brought about by the industrial revolutions in other parts of the world, and was eclipsed in trade and military strength. This situation led to humiliating concessions being made to nations that China had once believed to be beneath the dignity and respect of the Middle Kingdom. Coastal regions and cities were brought under nominal legal control of foreign powers, allowing entry of foreign goods, people, and ideas that challenged the fabric of imperial control.

In 1911, a multitude of uprisings occurred across China, which became collectively known as the Xinhai Revolution. A driving force behind the uprisings was underground resistance movement the Tongmenghui, led mainly by career-revolutionary Sun Yat-sen. On 1 January 1912, Sun was officially inaugurated as President of the proto-democratic Republic of China. However, he did not have the military strength to overthrow the Qing government, so an agreement was reached with Yuan Shikai, a general and statesman of the imperial regime. In exchange for removing the emperor, Yuan would be given the presidency.

In 1912 the emperor was forced to abdicate, and in 1913 Yuan was officially elected President of the Republic of China. In the meantime, in August 1912, the Tongmenghui and other revolutionary groups had formed a nationalist political party, the **Kuomintang** (KMT). Sun was chosen as Chairman, and in the elections of December 1912, the party won an overwhelming majority.

Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese nationalist political party formed in 1912 from the Tongmenghui and five smaller pro-revolution groups

Yuan Shikai's reign as president was short, and increasingly monarchical: in 1915, he declared himself Emperor of China. He grudgingly submitted to pressure to accept new foreign concessions from Japan, known as the Twenty-One Demands: this acceptance fuelled strikes, and boycotts of foreign goods. Discontent was on the rise in China when Yuan died in June 1916, and this led to what has been called the Warlord Period. China fractured into numerous fiefdoms led by local warlords with whatever military forces they could command. This was the melting pot that forged the Chinese Communist Party (CCP): a chaotic backdrop of factions, attempts at democracy and despotism, and new ideas brought to the mainland by foreigners.



SOURCE 12.2 Inauguration of Yuan Shikai, 10 March 1912
What does the attire of the newly inaugurated leadership suggest about the nature of the Yuan Shikai government?

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12.2 How did ideology shape China's future?

The KMT and the CCP both developed out of the intellectual milieu of two movements occurring during the 1910s and 1920s: the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement. New Culture was typified by the use of vernacular (everyday) Chinese language for literature, protest against the traditional position of women in society, protest against foreign intrusions (particularly Yuan Shikai's acceptance of Japan's Twenty-One Demands) and a systematic attack on traditional **Confucian** belief systems. The May Fourth Movement originated with a student protest, on 4 May 1919, against the Versailles Treaty at the end of World War I. The Treaty of Versailles saw Japan gain the former German concession territory of Shandong Province, which China had expected to be returned to them. Students and intellectual leaders joined in sometimes violent demonstrations. The May Fourth Movement escalated these issues, and came to symbolise the nationalist sentiment of China, acting as a youthful experience for later significant figures in Chinese history.

Confucianism a complex philosophy based on defined hierarchical roles with mutual obligations reinforcing the status of participants

What was the basis of Kuomintang ideology?

Sun Yat-Sen espoused three guiding ideological principles that would be the foundation for continued revolution and reunification: the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of Livelihood. These three ideas can be respectively interpreted as 'anti-imperial national unity', 'popular sovereignty through constitutional government', and 'economic stability'. He also put forward an explanation of how change should be achieved through Three Stages of Revolution.

SOURCE 12.3 Sun Yat-sen and the Three Stages of Revolution, 1918

> ... as for the work of revolutionary reconstruction, I have based my ideas on the current of world progress and followed the precedents in other countries. I have studied their respective advantages and disadvantages, their accomplishments and failures. It is only after mature deliberation and thorough preparation that I have decided upon the Program of Revolution and defined the procedure of the revolution in three stages. The first is the period of military government; the second, the period of political tutelage; and the third, the period of constitutional government.

Sun Yat-sen's *Selections from a Program of National Reconstruction: Three Stages of Revolution*, 1918

Responding to the text

1. What are the 'three stages' and what do you think would be the purpose of each?
2. Why might Sun Yat-sen, a believer in democracy, think that military government was a necessary first stage of political change?
3. What do you think is meant by a 'period of political tutelage'? Given what you know of China to this point, why might such 'tutelage' be essential?
4. In the first half of this source, how does Sun Yat-sen try to legitimise his plans? Why would he have thought that those words were necessary?
5. What thoughts and feelings might various Chinese people have had when hearing Sun's words? Might some have been ambivalent? Explain your response.
6. In particular, might Sun's plan to follow 'the precedents of other countries' have upset many Chinese?
7. Sun put these ideas forward in 1918. At that time, what might European powers have thought about Sun's ideas and plans? Why? What might Japan have thought? Why?

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What is the basis of communist ideology?

Sun proclaimed his Three Stages of Revolution in the year after the Russian Revolution of 1917 led to a takeover of the Russian state by the Bolsheviks pursuing a communist vision. The collapse of Tsarist Russia – a leading European power, but one in decline – sent danger signals through the Western European states, who were already bogged down in the unprecedented horror of World War I. With the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, hopes seemed dashed for a stable and peaceful Europe when the war eventually ended. As Karl Marx had declared in 1848, 'A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism'.

Communist ideology was based initially on the 1848 publication of Marx and Friedrich Engels' *The Communist Manifesto*. The authors argued that historical change reflects a series of 'dialectical struggles' between competing forces in society. Just as the feudal system of pre-modern Europe had been overthrown by the rising power of an industrial and business-oriented **bourgeoisie**, so the new class of **proletariat** of this liberal capitalist society would inevitably rise up against those who profited from industry and exploited the proletariat. The eventual result would be a classless society based on communal ownership of production, and participation in genuinely democratic politics.

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the industrial revolution; seen as oppressors of the workers

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Chinese people encountered these ideas while being educated abroad, often by Western intellectuals, but it was the founding of the USSR and the Communist International (Comintern) out of the post-revolutionary turmoil of Russia that brought Marxism to China. Ironically, the Comintern supported and even coordinated efforts for national unity through both the KMT and the CCP. The Comintern, directed in action at global communist revolution, did not care how the revolution began as long as it did begin. Any group that looked able to become the vehicle of revolution was approached and supported by agents of the Comintern.

During the transition period, the Communist Party took the tactical approach of calling on the proletariat to engage in and lead the bourgeois democratic movement. A militant and disciplined party of the proletariat was demanded, and a central task of the Communist Party was felt to be the development of the trade union movement. After initial rejection of alliance with other nationalist elements, the CCP were convinced to accept cooperation as a tactic in order to progress their revolution.

Here, China's future leader Mao Zedong describes his 'communist education'.

SOURCES 12.4 A&B Mao Zedong's communist education

A Mao describes his education in a 1936 interview

In the winter of 1920, I organised workers politically, for the first time, and began to be guided in this by the influence of Marxist theory and the history of the Russian Revolution. During my second visit to Peking I had read much about the events in Russia, and had eagerly sought out what little Communist literature was then available in Chinese. Three books especially deeply carved my mind, and built up in me a faith in Marxism, from which, once I had accepted it as the correct interpretation of history, I did not afterwards waver. These books were *The Communist Manifesto*, translated by Chen Wang-tao, and the first Marxist book ever published in Chinese; *Class Struggle*, by Kautsky; and *A History of Socialism*, by Kirkup. By the summer of 1920 I had become, in theory and to some extent in action, a Marxist, and from this time on I considered myself a Marxist ...

... In May of 1921, I went to Shanghai to attend the foundation meeting of the Communist Party. In its organisation, the leading roles were played by Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, both of whom were among the most brilliant intellectual leaders of China. Under Li Ta-chao, as assistant librarian at Peking National University, I had rapidly developed towards Marxism,

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and Ch'en Tu-hsiu had been instrumental in my interests in that direction too. I had discussed with Ch'en, on my second visit to Shanghai, the Marxist books that I had read, and Ch'en's own assertions of belief had deeply impressed me at what was probably a critical period in my life.

Interview published in Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 1938 (2017 edition)

B Delegates' summary of discussions at the first CCP Congress Meeting 1921

... in general a critical attitude must be adopted toward the teachings of Sun Yat-sen, but his various practical and progressive actions should be supported, by adopting forms of non-Party collaboration.

Responding to the texts

1. In Source 12.4A what literature shaped Mao's understanding of Communism?
2. Investigate the provenance (origins) of Source 12.4A; who is Edgar Snow and what is the purpose of this interview?
3. To what extent do you believe Edgar Snow to be sympathetic to Mao's agenda?
4. Who and what can be said to have shaped Chinese communism in 1920–21?
5. In Source 12.4B what was the attitude of the CCP towards the KMT? Justify your response.
6. How would the CCP get around conflicts with the KMT?
7. What aspects of Source 12.4B might suggest an outside influence?
8. Which external forces have a stake in the formation of the CCP?
9. If there are external pressure groups guiding the founding tactics of the CCP, what are the implications for cohesion of leadership?

Communist Party members were well-represented throughout the governing bodies of the KMT. However, as can be inferred from Source 12.4B, the early CCP had only grudgingly allied itself with the KMT from 1922: this was known as the First United Front. This situation arose from the Comintern's support for both the KMT and CCP, though it was clear that the KMT was the dominant partner and vehicle for Chinese reunification, as CCP membership was still small.



SOURCE 12.5 Marx, Lenin, Mao. This poster is from the period after 1949.
How does this poster reflect the first three sentences of Source 12.4A from 1936, 'Mao Zedong's communist education'? Does this poster indicate that Mao 'did not afterwards waver'? How do the background figures reinforce the message of the poster? What do you think the poster's slogan could be?

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12.3 How did the Kuomintang achieve ascendency prior to 1937?

From 1925, Sun Yat-sen's leadership of the KMT had a recognised (though not uncontested) heir in Chiang Kai-shek. In 1926, Sun had appointed Chiang as the commander of the Whampoa (Huangpu) Military Academy, which had been set up to modernise the training for the military of the KMT in Guangdong Province with the aid of Soviet Russian advisers. From 1926 to 1927, Chiang used a solid core of personally trained officers, within a much larger army, to lead an expedition against the local warlords who had sprung up following Yuan Shikai's death. The aim was to reunify significant urban centres of China. This became known as the Northern Expedition.

SOURCE 12.6 Map of the Northern Expedition, 1926



Responding to the map

1. Describe the strategy that underpinned the Northern Expedition based on the map.
2. What problems can you foresee in this strategy in terms of factional divisions?
3. Given China's history of imperial intrusions and economic exploitation, what differences might be expected between coastal cities and rural cities on this map?
4. Why would it be important to move troops along railway lines? What benefits would the railways produce after control is established?
5. The western thrust of the Northern Expedition was successful prior to the other routes. What would you expect to be happening in these cities after KMT and CCP successes here?

The Northern Expedition stalled in April 1927 and was followed by the collapse of the alliance between the CCP and the KMT. During the advance northward, the left-leaning faction of the KMT, which was most closely linked with the CCP, maintained control of governance from Wuhan in Hupei Province. Chiang Kai-shek became increasingly suspicious of communist actions and motives being influenced by the Soviet adviser Mikhail Borodin. In April 1927, upon capturing Shanghai (against the advice of Borodin in Wuhan), Chiang launched the White Terror, or Shanghai Massacre. On his orders, hundreds of Communists and union workers were arrested or killed, and their organisations eliminated.

At first the government in Wuhan continued to tolerate the Communists who more or less disavowed Chiang Kai-shek for his actions. However, by June, revolutionary action urged by the Comintern had made

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the KMT political leaders so nervous that they met with Chiang to reaffirm their collective commitment to each other. Borodin then fled back to the USSR in late July when the KMT ejected CCP members from government and party posts. From late 1927 onwards the CCP fought a civil war with the KMT, whose leader was increasingly obsessed with the final destruction of the Communists.

SOURCE 12.7 Dead and wounded after a street battle between Communists and KMT in Canton during a Communist uprising in December 1927



Responding to the photograph

1. Is it possible to know exactly what is happening here?
2. What do you think these people are actually doing in this situation?
3. How would you expect people to be behaving?
4. What impact do you think these sorts of scenes would have on those who witnessed the violence and its aftermath?
5. Why do you think this photograph might have been taken?

12.4 How did the Communists survive their political winter?

Qu Quibai led the Party briefly from 1927–1928, followed by Li Lisan up to 1930; this was followed by a group known as the 28 Bolsheviks, a group of Chinese students who had studied in the USSR and returned to China, and who were recognised as nominally in charge by the Communist Party from late 1930 onwards. That said, there continued to be dissent and disagreement over leadership and tactics. This included urban/proletariat-focused activity versus rural/peasant-focused activity, land reform methods and military strategies, all of which were the subject of intense debate.

Between 1928 and 1934, approximately 15 Communist bases existed across China, with Mao Zedong's being the largest and foremost of these bases. With the party so dispersed, the various leaders became key to developing the important ideas that would propel the eventual revival of the CCP.

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The largest and foremost of these bases was run by Mao Zedong, with the military support of General Zhu De, a former warlord and member of the Kuomintang who in 1928 had brought his forces to Mao's base in Jiangxi. They developed Marxism in a new direction – a direction with particularly Chinese characteristics. As previously mentioned, Marxism was firmly focused on revolution led by the industrial proletariat. However, only about one per cent of the population of China fitted that category. Mao shifted the focus of revolution to the peasants, who by far made up the bulk of the Chinese population. This was a radical shift, and not overly popular with the Marxist traditionalists within the Party, nor with the Soviet-educated comrades – the 28 Bolsheviks. In the following source, Mao explains the importance of the peasants.

SOURCE 12.8 Mao's 1927 Hunan Report on the Peasant Movement

This great mass of poor peasants, or altogether 70% of the rural population, are the backbone of the peasant associations, the vanguard in the overthrow of the feudal forces and the heroes who have performed the great revolutionary task which for long years was left undone. Without the poor peasant class (the 'riffraff', as the gentry call them), it would have been impossible to bring about the present revolutionary situation in the countryside, or to overthrow the local tyrants and evil gentry and complete the democratic revolution. The poor peasants, being the most revolutionary group, have gained the leadership of the peasant associations. In both the first and second periods almost all the chairmen and committee members in the peasant associations at the lowest level were poor peasants (of the officials in the township associations in Hengshan County the utterly destitute comprise 50%, the less destitute 40%, and poverty-stricken intellectuals 10%). Leadership by the poor peasants is absolutely necessary. Without the poor peasants there would be no revolution. To deny their role is to deny the revolution. To attack them is to attack the revolution. They have never been wrong on the general direction of the revolution. They have discredited the local tyrants and evil gentry. They have beaten down the local tyrants and evil gentry, big and small, and kept them underfoot.

Mao Zedong, report on an investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan, March 1927. This report was made to the Party after Mao spent 32 days investigating the peasant movement in Hunan Province.

Responding to the text

1. According to Mao's report, what did the peasants achieve for the revolution?
2. What is Mao's opinion of the peasant class?
3. What factors do you think led Mao to shift Marxism to a peasant-focused rather than a proletariat-focused revolution?
4. Who might have been Mao's intended audience for this report and how has that shaped his message?
5. To what extent would Chinese peasants be in a position to access Mao's message? How do you think they would respond to it?

Another important factor that helped to secure the future of the CCP was the regulation of their military forces. The Red Army, as it was known, behaved in a manner that was clearly different from warlord groups and even the KMT military units. In many areas of rural and urban China, the presence of military units often meant rape, pillage, looting, and destruction. In 1928, Mao Zedong and Zhu De set up a new set of rules to govern their units, as the following source shows.

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SOURCE 12.9 Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention

[An official 1947 update of the 1928 original version]

The **Three Main Rules of Discipline** are as follows:

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses.
3. Turn in everything captured.

The **Eight Points for Attention** are as follows:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Don't hit or swear at people.
6. Don't damage crops.
7. Don't take liberties with women.
8. Don't ill treat captives.

Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention, Mao Zedong and Zhu De, 1947 revision of 1928

Responding to the text

1. What is the main concern of the three rules?
2. What is the main concern of the eight points?
3. What do these rules suggest about how armies had behaved in previous times in their dealings with local people?
4. What effect might this document have on the behaviour of the military?
5. How might the peasants react to the military who followed these rules and points?
6. What would good relations with local peasants allow the Red Army to do in terms of tactics?
7. How do these rules and points demonstrate the significance of Mao's thought regarding peasants?

Tight military discipline and proper behaviour by soldiers was not, however, enough to guarantee an easy success for Mao and his supporters. Indeed, the years following the 1928 publication of Three Rules and Eight Points were bleak and challenging. Eventually, their very survival came to depend on a remarkable feat of human endurance – the Long March.

How did the Long March reshape the CCP leadership?

Mao proclaimed an independent Chinese Soviet Republic in 1931, ignoring the 28 Bolsheviks in Shanghai for the most part and resisting the KMT independently with Zhu De's help. But in 1932 the Bolsheviks moved to Mao's base in Jiangxi, curtailing Mao's rural efforts and eventually removing him from all but the presidency of the Chinese Soviet Republic in 1934. During these three years, Chiang Kai-shek maintained pressure on the CCP through encirclement campaigns designed to box in and then exterminate Communist forces. These campaigns were largely successful because the Red Army made itself a sitting target under Bolshevik leadership. Mao's fraught relationship with the Bolsheviks led to his house arrest for dissent.

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This situation culminated in the near destruction of the CCP. In October 1934, the Communists engaged in a desperate, poorly organised evacuation and withdrawal from the mountainous regions of Jiangxi. It became known famously as the Long March. In January 1935, during the early stages of the march, the leadership of the CCP met at the Zunyi Conference. The result of this saw the 28 Bolsheviks deposed and Mao installed as Party Leader, though infighting amongst the leadership continued. The march took a year in all, as CCP forces moved into China's western regions and then advanced north, eventually arriving in Shaanxi Province with only one in ten surviving of those who began the march.

SOURCES 12.10 A–C The Long March 1934–35

A A depiction of the Long March, artist and date unknown



B Red Army soldiers during the Long March, 1934



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C Video footage of the Long March, with voiceover reading Mao's words



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:20) before answering the questions below.

Responding to the images and video

1. How would you characterise the Red Army's appearance in Source 12.10B?
2. Why do you think this photograph was taken?
3. To what extent does the undated poster in Source 12.10A corroborate or challenge your interpretation of the Red Army?
4. How would you rate the reliability and usefulness of the three sources for understanding the Long March?
5. What do you think was the motive for the creation of the three sources?
6. Hypothesise why the portrayal of the Long March had morphed between 1934 and the undated image in Source 12.10A.
7. Does the video corroborate your characterisation of the photograph?
8. To what extent does video footage change your interpretation of the events as opposed to still photography or artistic representation?

Despite the massive loss of life, Mao Zedong emerged as the hero of the Long March. Zhou Enlai, who had previously replaced Mao as political commissar of the Red Army when the 28 Bolsheviks deposed Mao in Jiangxi, became one of Mao's closest allies for the next 40 years. Other commanders from the Long March would also go on to lead the CCP throughout the rest of the twentieth century, including Lin Biao, Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping.

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SOURCE 12.11 Routes of the Long March

Examine the map closely. What factors seem to have determined the route of the Long March? How do the locations of the Communist strongholds correlate with the advances of the Northern Expedition? Compare this map with a topographical map (you can find one online): what are the benefits and drawbacks of Yan'an as the final destination of the Long March?

12.5 How did the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) impact on the survival of the CCP?

In 1936, with the impending threat of aggression from Japan and with only nominal control of rural China, Chiang Kai-shek was forced into a Second United Front with the Communists. The event was known as the Xi'an Incident. Chiang Kai-shek was detained by his subordinates Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng and forced to take a stand with the CCP against the foreign threat of Japan. It took two weeks of negotiation between the CCP (led by Zhou Enlai) and the KMT (led by Chiang's kidnapper subordinates) to establish the Second United Front, but it came none too soon.

The Japanese invasion via Manchuria, rapidly became a large-scale occupation that stretched Japan's resources. As much as the Japanese were already hated, the infamous **Rape of Nanjing** hardened Chinese attitudes further towards Japan, with animosity that for some exists even up to the present day. China became fragmented again with three main areas of control: the KMT in Sichuan, the CCP in Shaanxi and Japanese forces along the coast and in Manchuria. Successive military defeats demoralised the KMT. Then, in desperation, they made unwise choices that upset the Chinese peasants, including breaking the levees of the Yellow River and allowing it to flood thousands of villages to slow down the Japanese advance. This sort of incident undermined the KMT 'brand', while at the same time the CCP gained success through guerrilla warfare.

Rape of Nanjing the rape, murder and looting of the civilian population and surrendered military forces in Nanjing by the invading Japanese forces in December 1937–January 1938. Estimated deaths range from tens to hundreds of thousands.

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SOURCE 12.12 Rape of Nanjing, December 1937. The executed bodies of Chinese civilians and soldiers are visible in the foreground while in the background Japanese soldiers are looting.
How do you think the Chinese survivors of this event would view the Japanese? To what extent do you think anger at an external threat would galvanise support for resistance?

ACTIVITY 12.1

Take a position on an attitude scale about laws related to war crimes

After World War II, the idea of war crimes was debated. The Rape of Nanjing provokes similar debates. Think about the proposals below. Choose your own point on the scale. Then find a classmate who's chosen a different point and discuss your reasons for choosing differently. As a class, discuss how complicated this issue might be. Search online to find out how 'war crimes' were defined after World War II.

There is no need for laws related to atrocities committed in wartime.

Those who commit atrocities in wartime should be identified, prosecuted and punished.

strongly agree | agree | not sure | agree | strongly agree

While the events of the war are of interest, the development of Mao's leadership during this intense period of conflict is also important. Mao articulated a new form of Marxist-Leninist revolution in his philosophical thesis *On New Democracy*, building on his experience of peasant uprisings. In this writing, Mao represents the peasant class, composed largely of rural farmers, as the proletariat, contrary to strict Marxist doctrine. This reinterpretation broadened the base of CCP appeal, particularly in rural China. Mao developed the idea of the Mass Line campaign. Mao stressed Rousseau's idea of the General Will as the basis of the Mass Line, whereby vague ideas and desires of the sovereign people can be given clarified thought and action by the government. The first important Mass Line was the Rectification Campaign from 1942. This involved strong-arm tactics, including torture, being used to force confessions of past errors in judgement or action from political opponents, and an acknowledgement of **Mao Zedong Thought** as correct thought. Similar tactics had been used by Mao during the Encirclement Campaigns, when he was ferreting out KMT moles in Jiangxi. Some significant leaders like Zhou Enlai remained in top positions through submission to confession and rehabilitation. Through this Mass Line methodology of leadership Mao Zedong was made Party Chairman – the undisputed leader – of the CCP by the end of World War II.

Mao Zedong Thought the official interpretations of Marxism-Leninism according to Mao Zedong, specifically deviating from the USSR-led interpretations

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How did the CCP achieve victory after the defeat of Japan?

After the Japanese were forced to surrender following the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, it was not long before the KMT and the CCP returned China to a state of civil war. However, although the KMT outnumbered the Communists, Mao's policies during the war had brought vast sections of the peasant class to the Communist cause. In 1937 the CCP numbered 40 000 members, in April 1945 1.2 million, and it continued to grow throughout the civil war of October 1949 to 4.44 million. KMT military failures and neglect of governance during the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) served to broaden the appeal of the Communists across all social classes. This, combined with the military successes of the CCP and temporary practical concessions against revolutionary zeal in land reform, bolstered positive perceptions of the Communists. Chiang Kai-shek was eventually driven into exile in Taiwan, along with the remaining KMT forces and the monetary reserves of the Republic of China.

Chairman Mao Zedong declared the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949.

SOURCE 12.13 Chairman Mao Zedong declares the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949



At this moment history records that Mao stated: 'The Chinese people have stood up', but an eyewitness claims that he in fact stated: 'the Central Government of the People's Republic of China was founded today'. (*South China Morning Post, 2009*)

Responding to the source

1. What was the purpose of the original recording of Mao's declaration?
2. If eyewitness accounts are correct, and Mao's words were altered, why do you think the words 'the Chinese people have stood up' were reported instead?
3. Who do you think might have disseminated the historic wording?
4. Why do you think the words that Mao uttered at this moment in history create such controversy?

12.6 Contextual study: summing up

You are about to delve into a depth study that will explore the triumph and anguish involved in Mao's development of the PRC. In the contextual study, you have had the opportunity to examine the embryonic stages of Mao's career and the Communist struggle for survival and eventual victory over competing ideological and personal motives for control of China's destiny. It is essential to acknowledge the chaos of the years between the 1911 Xinhai Revolution and the 1949 proclamation of the PRC, to understand the significance of the vast changes that would occur during the next phase of Mao Zedong's pre-eminence. The period was marked, very literally, by a fight for identity.

Ideas of national unity, revolutionary zeal, modified-Marxism, and fighting against foreign imperialism underpinned the formation of a new China. The identity of this new China is what you will now endeavour to unmask.

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DEPTH STUDY

How did Mao's vision shape China's national experience after 1949?



SOURCE 12.14 April 1967, soldiers and civilians celebrate the establishment of the Beijing revolutionary committee
What items of ideology are the soldiers carrying? What do you think was the purpose of this photograph? To what extent is this a valuable historical document?

Uncertainty and chaos seemed to subside in the early years of the PRC, probably on account of the end of open warfare and the euphoria of a single ideological direction. You can see in the image that begins this depth study, militancy and ideological authority were to continue to play a central role in China's destiny under a victorious Mao Zedong.

ACTIVITY 12.2

Create a biographical reference

When researching complex time periods that involve many people and events, it is worth creating a glossary. Create a table like the one below to help you keep track of significant individuals as you read and develop your understanding.

Name	Immediate significance to reading	Background notes
e.g. Mao Zedong	Instigator and leader of the Cultural Revolution. Chairman of the CCP and the PRC.	

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12.7 What was the first Five Year Plan?

The Five Year Plan was a Stalinist method for increasing output – particularly industrial output – by the state. It was introduced in China seemingly because of the 1950 Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the USSR. This treaty provided massive loans to China and the services of up to 10 000 Soviet experts. China's first Five Year Plan was to cover the period 1953–1957. But before the plan could be initiated, preparations and significant logistical planning were needed.

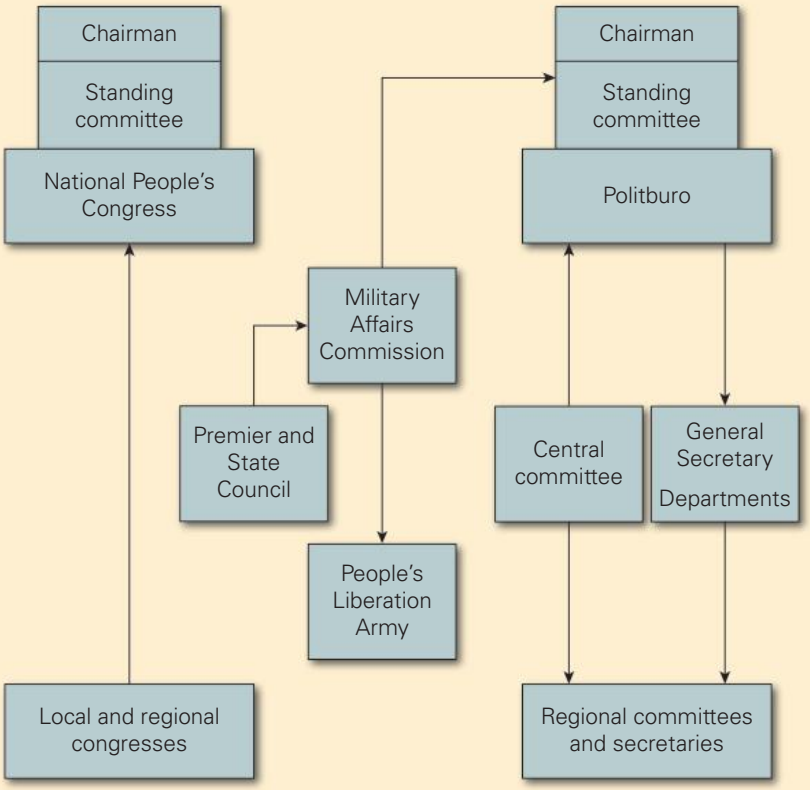
Preparing for the Five Year Plan

For the first few years after the announcement of the PRC, the Communist Party experienced a honeymoon period of administrative reorganisation and social reform. Mao outlined the basis of his reforms in June 1949, declaring the need of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, led by the working class in a democratic dictatorship.

The new PRC government structure was a parallel of the CCP structure, which connected at all levels. The diagram in Activity 12.3 outlines the basic interconnections of government and party bodies.

ACTIVITY 12.3

Examine the CCP and government structures



SOURCE 12.15 Chinese government structure

Study the diagram and explain how this structure reflects a. the fact that the PRC was created by a Communist-led armed revolution, and b. the fact that the PRC was a one-party state.

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rectification use of public 'struggle sessions' and confessions of politically incorrect thoughts and actions to 'correct' the individual

class consciousness a social awareness of an individual's position within broader society specifically in relation to class struggle

Mao also needed a period of social reconstruction to establish firm control over the Chinese mainland. He believed that **rectification** for individuals was an essential part of the process of preparing for socialism – a firm departure from Marxism-Leninism which focused on **class consciousness**.

Mao also used the Mass Line method of social re-education, whereby the Party would consult with the masses, analyse the results for Party interests, and feed policy back to the people, while establishing a popular belief that policy derived from the masses. Public confessions or 'struggle sessions' were used to forcefully encourage correct thought and to prevent and correct 'mistakes' by Party members and officials. These methods were first used in the Rectification Campaigns in Yan'an. Mao used campaigns to establish control and root out dissent, first via the 1951 Three Antis Campaign that targeted corruption, waste and delay in Party members and bureaucrats, then through the 1952 Five Antis Campaign aimed at business to end bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating, and industrial espionage.

Agrarian reform was a significant precursory goal for restructuring China for an industrialised economy – an agricultural surplus would allow the population to switch focus to massive industrial output. The first phase of agrarian reform focused on land redistribution, particularly aiming at class equality between the richer and poorer peasants through confiscation of landlord holdings. Peasant associations were created in localities and Party teams were set up to administer land redistribution – but not before poorer peasants had engaged in a short period of brutal revenge seizures.

Alongside the agrarian reforms, the government prepared the way for the first Five Year Plan by reducing inflation, limiting budget expenditure, and introducing a new central currency. These were all successful in part because of the peasant contribution of grain to the government that allowed urban centres to be fed while wages were kept low.

Consider the source below and the relationship between agriculture and industry.

SOURCE 12.16 Implementing socialism in the *People's Daily*, 1953

> ... Numerous facts have proved that it is futile to attempt the enforcement of socialism on the foundations of small agriculture or small handicrafts. Industry must first be developed to provide possibilities of collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture, for the socialist reform of agriculture. At the same time, only with industrialisation of the state may we guarantee our economic independence and non-reliance on imperialism.

Ji Yun, 'How China Proceeds with the Task of Industrialisation', *People's Daily*, 1953

Responding to the source

1. Why might people engaged in 'small agriculture or small handicrafts' resist the enforcement of 'socialism'? What would those people lose, given the basic tenets of socialism?
2. How would the 'collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture' change the nature of farming and the way farmers live and work?
3. Given the above, why might the government be wise to move slowly and cautiously towards a socialist re-organisation of Chinese agriculture?
4. Why, however, was the government under pressure to introduce socialist-style collectivised agriculture quickly?

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Implementing the Five Year Plan

The main aim of the 1953–1957 Five Year Plan was rapid industrialisation to achieve ambitious production targets and quotas. A key role of agriculture was to produce food for export, particularly to the USSR, to thus provide capital for setting up new industries.

Caught between a need for a cautious approach and the demand for rapid change, the government introduced a series of reforms to the agricultural sector. One potential obstacle was the fact that, in the immediate wake of the revolution, many peasants had gained their own tracts of farmland – either through unofficial confiscation of land from wealthy landowners or through official redistribution of such lands. The second phase of agrarian reform, therefore, started with the promoting of **mutual-aid teams**. Mutual-aid teams allowed for the collaboration of several families in sharing farming equipment and labour. Initially this was a practical seasonal approach to managing crop production, but the system was eventually formalised by the government. A second step involved **cooperatives**. Cooperatives took the mutual-aid system to a new level, encouraging larger groups of families to also share their individual land allocations. These were categorised into lower and higher staged cooperatives. The lower stage cooperatives grouped farmers who contributed differing quantities of land and labour to the cooperative's production. By 1957, over 80% of farming families were engaged in these new forms of organised agriculture.

mutual-aid teams teams that allowed for the collaboration of several families to share farming equipment and labour as a basic economic unit of collectivisation

cooperatives larger groups of families share their individual land allocations in addition to farming equipment and labour

- How might the introduction of mutual-aid and lower level cooperatives increase production without unduly antagonising peasants who valued their individual land holdings?
- Explain why the government – on both economic and ideological grounds – would want to take the agricultural reforms further.

SOURCES 12.17 A&B Five Year Plan

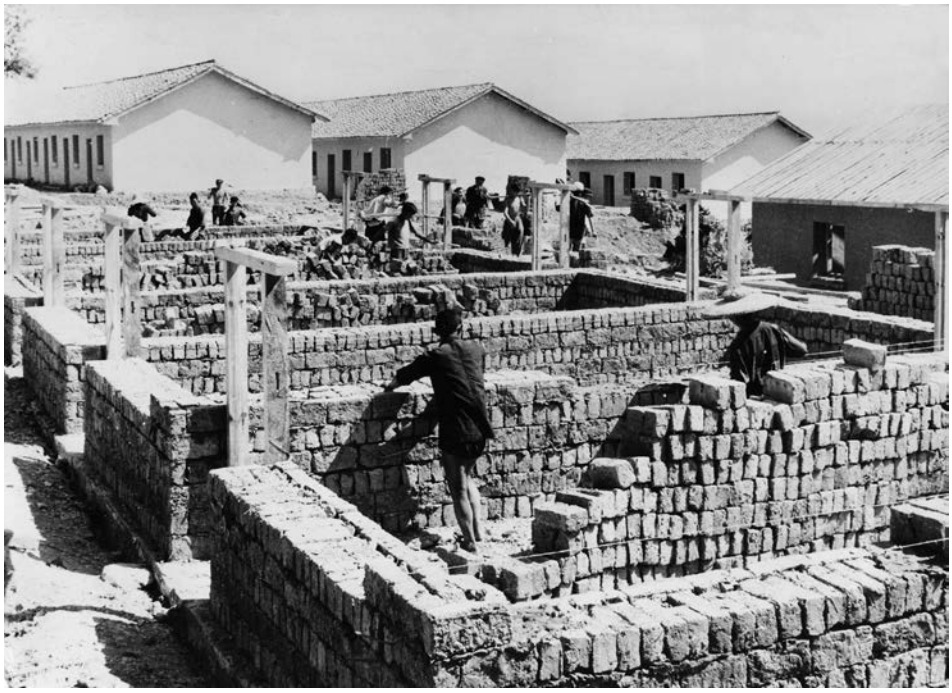
A Rice farming by a cooperative, 18 October 1955



Members of the Minpai Agricultural Producers' Cooperative of Taiping Hsiang of Hsintsin County in Western Szechwan Province winnow and dry their rice crop, 18 October 1955

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B Construction of residential buildings, 1957



Residential buildings are constructed in Yunnan, 1957

Responding to the images

1. How does Source 12.17A reflect the productive advantages of collectivisation?
2. How does Source 12.17B reflect changes in social organisation?
3. What appears to be a significant social outcome of the first Five Year Plan?
4. Is that outcome in line with Communist ideals?
5. How do these two photos together demonstrate some key elements of Mao's ideological and political ideas?
6. In what way does agricultural activity make industrial activity possible?
7. How do both photos symbolise key outcomes of the first Five Year Plan?

The question remains for you to consider the extent of success or failure of the new government's first significant industrial plan.

SOURCES 12.18 A&B Data on outcomes of the Five Year Plan

A The gross output of the first Five Year Plan 1953–1957

Indicator (gross output value in millions 1952 yuan)	1952 Data	1957 Plan	1957 Actual	1957 Actual as percentage of plan
Industry (excluding handicrafts)	27 010	53 560	65 020	121.4
Producer sector (less machinery and chemicals)	8462	18 562	23 862	128.5
Machinery	1404	3470	6177	178.0
Chemicals	864	2271	4291	188.9

Abridged from Rawski, T. *China's Transition to Industrialism: Producer Goods and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, 1980

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B Percentage share of peasant households in different types of ownership units 1952–1957

Year	Mutual-aid teams	Lower stage cooperatives	Higher stage cooperatives
1952	39.9	0.1	n/a
1953	39.3	0.2	n/a
1954	58.3	1.9	n/a
1955 (end of autumn)	50.7	14.2	0.03
1955 (year end)	32.7	63.3	4.00
1956 (end of January)	19.7	49.6	30.7
1956 (end of July)	7.6	29.0	63.4
1956 (year end)	3.7	8.5	87.8
1957	0	n/a	93.5

Abridged and modified from Eckstein, A., *China's Economic Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p.71

Responding to the data

1. Explain how you might characterise the success or failure of the first Five Year Plan based on the data provided in sources 12.18A and 12.18B.
2. How would you describe the rate of increase in higher stage cooperatives? Would you expect there to be any resistance to this change?
3. What do you think are the benefits and limitations of statistical data as historical evidence?
4. Consider how historians approach argument construction and your own answers to question 2. What other sources would you search for to support your categorisation?

To what extent did the Five Year Plan resolve China's identity crisis?

The period from 1949–1957 was a first flush of success in terms of reunifying China. More importantly it established a new system of ideological government, political thought, economic industrialisation, and social cooperation, which had been missing during the 1911–1949 era. Questions of what type of government China should engage in were forcefully answered through the victory of Mao and the parallel Party-Government democratic dictatorship that was installed. Confucian structures were largely displaced by the new methods of social organisation through mutual-aid teams and collectives.

12.8 What was the significance of the Hundred Flowers Campaign?

In 1957, the short-lived Hundred Flowers Campaign was launched. It encouraged a relaxing of government controls over censorship. Presumably, Mao and the CCP believed that the success of the first Five Year Plan and the results of the first seven years of the PRC spoke for themselves – the Marxist identity was entrenched. They were wrong. Intellectuals, who had previously remained quiet for fear of reprisals, were encouraged by the Campaign's assurances of 'gentle treatment'; they engaged in strident criticism of CCP policy and methods, particularly Soviet-style planning. Before long the Campaign was wound up, and policy reverted to hardline censorship while an 'anti-rightist' campaign was launched to 're-educate' the critics. Thousands of artists, scholars, and scientists became social and political pariahs and were subjected to struggle sessions, lost their jobs, were sent into exile or were even killed. This anti-rightist campaign was led by Deng Xiaoping.

- To what extent do you believe the reaction to the Hundred Flowers Movement would instil an understanding of China as an authoritarian state?

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ACTIVITY 12.4

Investigate the Hundred Flowers Campaign

The Hundred Flowers Campaign, like all history, is contestable, meaning scholars differ in their interpretations of the evidence and in the subsequent explanations they construct. Divide the class into two groups. Use the internet to investigate the Hundred Flowers Campaign; search for a range of scholarly interpretations and explanations and the reasons for each. One question for each group has been provided below to guide your research into different aspects of the campaign. Once both groups have had time to research, form pairs (one person from each group) and share your findings.

1. Was the Hundred Flowers Campaign a ruse by Mao to lure critics of the CCP into the open to suppress dissent, or was it a genuine attempt to seek feedback?
2. The question of who initiated the anti-rightist campaign to suppress criticism is heavily contested; was it Mao, or was it his rivals in the CCP leadership?

12.9 What was the Great Leap Forward?

The chaos of the Hundred Flowers Campaign resulted in an initiative by Mao to re-establish stability and direction. This was Mao's second Five Year Plan, which ran from 1958 to 1962, and became known as the Great Leap Forward (GLF).

command economy style of economy where decisions are initiated and controlled centrally by the government

collectives large scale amalgamations of collectives into groups of several hundred families to collectivise labour

The impetus was to capitalise on earlier progress in agriculture and industry to make extraordinary gains in economic advancement. The oft-quoted phrase by Mao, that 'now we must start a technological revolution so that we may overtake Britain in fifteen or more years' clearly identifies the ambitions intended for the GLF. Headlong pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth was intended to return China to the forefront of world nations. This would be achieved through a **command economy**.

The first Five Year Plan had moved from mutual-aid teams through to cooperatives. In 1958, the government took the reforms further, making **collectives** the focus. Collectives involved two major changes – amalgamating cooperatives into large-scale enterprises, and transforming individual or cooperatively-minded farmers into a collectivised agricultural workforce. This system mirrored the system created for industrial production, whereby individual and small-scale craft workers were transformed to an industrial proletariat working in large-scale government-owned factories, workshops and mills. The approach to collectivisation was a standard theory of Marxism-Leninism, where the masses were mobilised in vast numbers to complete the productive tasks essential for national prosperity. The USSR in the period after 1928 provided a model for this transformation, albeit a bloody one involving the forced collectivisation of farms and the killing of thousands of kulaks – independent farmers who resisted collectivisation.

Collectivisation mobilised massive sections of the rural and urban populations in China, but not always effectively, and the GLF is generally considered to have been a failure. Industrial output – particularly steel production through backyard furnaces run in communes and neighbourhoods – was often of poor quality. Changes to traditional agricultural methods created a number of problems. During 1960, Soviet expertise and aid was withdrawn because of increasingly hostile exchanges between Mao and the USSR president Khrushchev. And from 1959 to 1961, China was in the grip of a famine – later known as the **Great Famine** – which caused widespread suffering and deaths.

Great Famine a famine that affected China from 1959 to 1961, resulting in millions of deaths

Throughout this period, Mao was also under attack by his political rivals in the CCP.

In the next section, you will examine the effects and consequences of the GLF more closely through the examination of primary and secondary sources.

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12.10 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: What were the effects of the Great Leap Forward?

In this source-based inquiry you will encounter a range of evidence and interpretation that will help you to understand aspects of the issue. By the end of the inquiry, you will be able to formulate your own informed response to the topic question.

To what extent did the Great Leap Forward succeed in its economic intentions?

Answering this question depends largely on statistical evidence. Statistics relating to the GLF are notoriously unreliable, both in the Chinese and Western historical traditions. Politics, lack of bureaucratic competence, and fear led contemporary officials to inflate output figures for agricultural basics like grain, which in turn led others to inflate the amount of grain that could be procured for central government sale as surplus on foreign markets. Frank Dikötter, in his book *Mao's Great Famine*, explains the difficulties of assessing the records for the period 1958–1962 and provides a synthesised table of output and procurement.

SOURCE 12.19 Dikötter discusses problems of statistical records, 2010

> Every archive has a series of competing figures, put together in different ways by different agencies at different times. As a result of political pressure the statistical work of the Bureau for Grain disintegrated from 1958–1962, to such an extent that the state itself could no longer calculate a realistic level of grain production. And the distortion was at its greatest at the top, as false reporting and inflated claims accumulated on their way up the hierarchy ... between 1962–1965 local statistical bureaus tried to rebuild their credibility and often went back to the years of famine to find out what had happened.

Different estimates for grain output and grain procurements in Hunan (million tonnes)

	Total estimated crop output in Hunan		Total estimated procurements in Hunan	
	Bureau for Grain	Office for Statistics	Bureau for Grain	Office for Statistics
1956	n/a	10.36	n/a	2.39 (23.1%)
1957	11.30	11.32	2.29 (20.2%)	2.74 (24.2%)
1958	12.27	12.25	2.66 (21.7%)	3.50 (28.5%)
1959	11.09	11.09	2.99 (26.9%)	3.89 (35.1%)
1960	8.00	8.02	1.75 (21.9%)	2.50 (31.2%)
1961	8.00	8.00	1.55 (19.4%)	2.21 (27.6%)

Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 2010, p.130

Responding to the data

1. Identify pattern/s in the **Total estimated crop output** columns.
2. Identify pattern/s in the **Total estimated procurements** columns.
3. Evaluate the significance of the pattern/s found for questions 1 and 2.
4. Create a two-column table that could be added onto the right of Dikötter's. Analyse the data by calculating the grain remaining for each year after procurement and record the data in your new table: the left column based on the Bureau for Grain's figures, the right for the Office of Statistics.

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5. Generate a hypothesis concerning the effects of a command economy on Chinese welfare based on your analysis of the grain supply data.
6. To what extent does the use of statistical data, such as this used by Dikötter, lend validity to a historical argument?

What were the social and political implications of the GLF?

Social upheaval was experienced on a massive scale during the GLF. The growth of collectivisation involved population redistribution, prompting a form of urbanisation as well as industrialisation.

SOURCES 12.20 A&B Collectivised activity

A Construction of a dam, 1958



Mass participation in industrial construction projects represented by construction of a dam in China

B Agricultural activity, September 1958



Collectivised agricultural activity: peasants in a rice field, September 1958

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Responding to the images

Work with a partner to complete the following questions for Source 12.20A and then try the same questions for Source 12.20B individually.

1. What is the image representing?
2. Consider your prior knowledge of CCP collectivisation methods: why do you think this photograph was taken?
3. What does the photograph suggest about social organisation?
4. How might peasants react to changes in their labour organisation?

Collectivised activity, as seen in the photographs in Sources 12.20A and 12.20B, perhaps suggests success and productivity in the rural population. In the next source you can see how the CCP described life in collectivised communities.

SOURCES 12.21 A&B CCP Central Committee Statement, August 1958

A CCP Central Committee Statement, August 1958

> The people have taken to organising themselves along military lines, working with militancy, and leading a collective life, and this has raised the political consciousness of the 500 million peasants still further. Community dining rooms, kindergartens, nurseries, sewing groups, barber shops, public baths, happy homes for the aged, agricultural middle schools, 'red and expert' schools, are leading the peasants toward a happier collective life and further fostering ideas of collectivism among the peasant masses.

B Chinese produced cultural survey of 1962 China



There were many cultural survey videos produced during the GLF: this one looks at the soybean harvest. Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 01:05) before answering the questions that follow.

Responding to the sources

1. What explicit actions did the CCP claim were undertaken by 'the people'?
2. What explicit factors did the CCP claim were fostering happiness and collectivism among the peasants?
3. What implied messages can you identify in the CCP statement?
4. In what way could this report be seen as a mixture of factual description and official propaganda?
5. Could it still be considered a valuable source of historical evidence? If so, evidence about what?
6. The video has an English voiceover. What messages about China is it trying to disseminate to the West?

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Collectives across China were encouraged to develop small-scale backyard industry, particularly focused on steel production. Hundreds of thousands of backyard furnaces were the collectivised vision, supposedly made possible by the agricultural surplus created by the agricultural revolution.

SOURCE 12.22 Weising Commune steel smelting, late 1950s



Members of Weising Commune in rural China smelting steel, late 1950s during the GLF

Responding to the source

1. What details are presented explicitly in this photograph?
2. Why do you think this photograph was taken?
3. Does backyard steel production reflect Mao's ideological vision for China's identity? Explain your response.

ACTIVITY 12.5

Formulate a response about the success of the Great Leap Forward

You have been provided with six potential sources of evidence (Sources 12.19–12.22) for inquiry into the sub-question: *To what extent did the Great Leap Forward succeed in its intentions?*

Formulate a paragraph response to the question, making explicit reference to the sources. You will use this response in the concluding activity for the source-based inquiry, so you will be referring back to it.

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Images of productivity in agriculture and industry gave an impression of successful organisation and implementation of CCP policy. However, Mao's own doctor suggested that the GLF was not what it seemed – particularly in agricultural production.

SOURCE 12.23 From the memoir of Mao's doctor, Zhisui Li

In Hubei, party secretary Wang Renzhong had ordered the peasants to remove rice plants from far-away fields and transplant them along Mao's route, to give the impression of a wildly abundant crop. The rice was planted so closely together that electric fans had to be set up around the fields to circulate air in order to prevent the plants from rotting. All of China was a stage, all the people performers in an extravaganza for Mao.

Zhisui Li, *Private Life of Chairman Mao: The Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*, 1994, p. 278

Responding to the source

1. Zhisui Li recalled his experiences 30–40 years after the events. Evaluate the reliability and accuracy of his account.
2. Zhisui Li states in his work that he consulted his notes from the time to write his memoir. To what extent does this change your evaluation of his recollections?
3. How would you characterise the actions of Party members described in the memoir?
4. What do you think motivated Wang Renzhong to 'give the impression of a wildly abundant crop'?
5. If Wang Renzhong's actions were repeated in many places in various provinces, what could be the consequences?

In the following activity you will investigate a foreign perspective on the GLF. Consider how Zhisui Li's comments are corroborated or challenged.

SOURCE 12.24 Sir Percy Cradock reflects on the GLF

Sycophantic provincial leaders cooked the books; immense increases, two or three fold, were reported; and, in obedience to bogus figures, an impoverished province such as Anhui delivered grain it desperately needed itself to the state, or even for export abroad as surplus. On his inspection tours Mao saw the close-planted fields that he wanted to see; the local officials moved in extra shoots from other fields and moved them back when he had gone.

Sir Percy Cradock, British Ambassador in China in the late 1960s, quoted in Michael Lynch, *Access to History: The People's Republic of China 1949–76*, 2008, p.60

Responding to the source

Use the internet and conduct a search for information about Sir Percy Cradock's career until 1970 before answering the questions below.

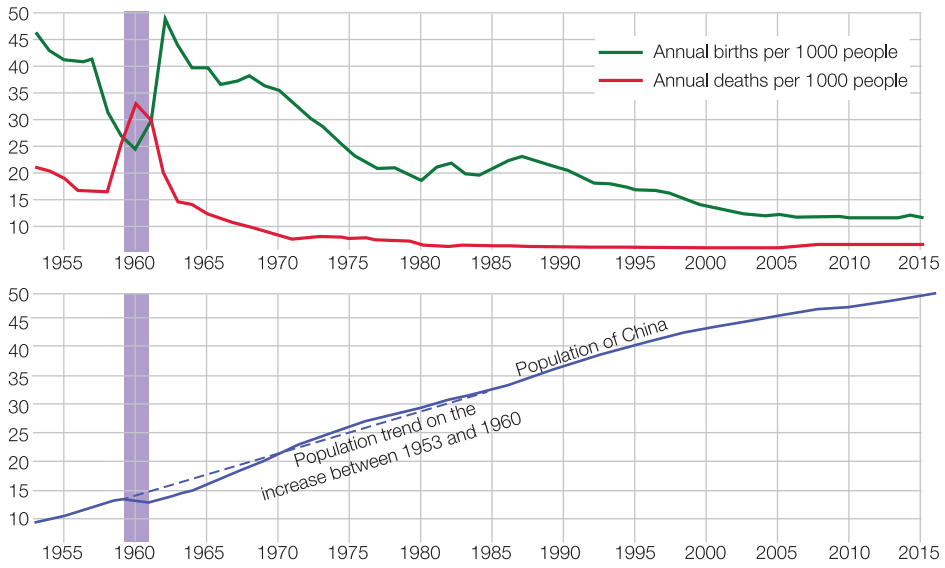
1. What are the two main messages present in this source excerpt?
2. What elements of Cradock's career and experience do you think have influenced his statement?
3. Based on your prior knowledge, what aspects of this statement could be verified by other evidence?

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It was not only agriculture that proved to be problematic. Mass-producing steel through backyard furnaces resulted in poor quality steel that was unfit for industrial or military use.

Written and visual perspectives provide a wealth of understanding about opinions and possible perspectives, but what about the data trends? The next source is focused on the broader demographic impacts of the GLF, by looking at data from the decades that followed.

SOURCE 12.25 Demography



Joe Hasell and Max Roser, 'Famines', OurWorldInData.org, 2018

Responding to the source

1. What patterns in this graph indicate a significant event?
2. How might you describe the trajectory of deaths per 1000 people?
3. How many deaths occurred per 1000 people at the peak of the famine in 1960?
4. Given that Mao's influence remained until his death in 1976, what comments could you make regarding his leadership based on this graph?
5. What difficulties do you encounter in understanding the GLF from this graphic representation?

The demographic model above could suggest that the impact of the Mao's activities was beginning to be felt from sometime in 1958, at the very start of the GLF. Historically the following source (Source 12.26) from the records of a plenary session of the CCP, has been used to suggest or demonstrate that Mao's political opponents were outmanoeuvring him because he was mishandling the GLF. However, consider the timing and the broader issues of political struggle.

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SOURCE 12.26 Mao given permission to step down, 1958

Following full and all-round consideration, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee has decided to approve this proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, and not to nominate him again as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China at the First Session of the Second National People's Congress. The Plenary Session of the Central Committee deems this to be a completely positive proposal, because, relinquishing his duties as Chairman of the State and working solely as Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Mao will be enabled all the better to concentrate his energies on dealing with questions of the direction, policy and line of the Party and the state; he may also be enabled to set aside more time for Marxist-Leninist theoretical work, without affecting his continued leading role in the work of the state. This will be in the better interests of the whole Party and of all the people of the country.

'Decision approving Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal not to stand as candidate for Chairman of the People's Republic of China for the next term', Sixth plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 10 December 1958

Responding to the source

1. What position does Mao retain?
2. To what extent does Mao's remaining position change his authority?
3. Given that this announcement was made at the beginning of the GLF, did Mao 'step down' or was he pushed out of his role? Explain your response.
4. Does this event suggest a limit to personal power, or does it speak to Mao's personal character and beliefs?
5. To what extent can this source be used to prove that the GLF was a catastrophe?
6. How could Mao's change in circumstance in this source impact his legacy regarding the GLF?

ACTIVITY 12.6

Formulate a response about the social and political repercussions of the Great Leap Forward

You have been provided with several potential sources (12.20–12.26) of evidence for inquiry into the sub-question: *What were the social and political repercussions of the Great Leap Forward?*

Formulate an extended paragraph response to the question, making explicit reference to multiple sources. You will use this response in the concluding activity for the source-based inquiry so you will need to refer back to it.

What do historians say about the Great Leap Forward?

The historiographical tradition of the GLF is diverse on account of wide variations in source availability, analytical and evaluative accuracy, temporal and geographical distance from events, and ideological and political perspectives. The next three sources are a sample of differing interpretations of the GLF, from historians Jonathan Spence and Michael Lynch, and political scientist Kenneth Lieberthal.

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SOURCE 12.27 Spence on the Great Leap Forward

The grain-production figures had been disastrously overinflated. The announced total for 1958 of 375 million tons of grain had to be revised down to 250 million tons (Western economists later guessed that actual production was around 215 million tons). Not only had no cadres dared to report shortfalls of the procurement quotas they had been given out of fear of being labeled 'rightists' or 'defeatists,' but many of the best-trained statisticians from state bureaus, having been removed in the 1957 anti-rightist campaign (along with most able demographers), were no longer around to issue words of caution even had they dared. Furthermore, the diversion of resources into local backyard steel furnaces – 1 million had been scattered across the face of China – did not pay off, since the furnaces were not able to produce a high-standard product.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p.550

Responding to the source

1. According to Spence, what were the main reasons why the grain production figures had been overinflated?
2. What was the secondary reason given for the failure of grain production?
3. To what extent does this excerpt place the blame for the failure of the GLF on groups or individuals?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Spence's interpretation?

Mao blamed three factors for the famine during the GLF: hoarding of grain, mistakes or incompetence of local officials, and exceptionally bad weather producing floods and droughts that destroyed crops. Examine the next source to see how Mao's explanations have been received.

SOURCE 12.28 Lynch on Mao's explanations of the Great Leap Forward

There was no truth in the first of Mao's explanations, some in the second, and little in the third. But poor weather does not explain the famine. It is true that 1958 was a bad year, although not particularly exceptional by Chinese standards. However, the weather the following three years was notably mild. Whatever Mao might claim, the famine was not a misfortune of nature; it was a direct and fatal consequence of the decisions he took. It may well be true that some of the officials made mistakes when implementing the policies they were given. Yet, no matter how blameworthy those lower down in the Communist hierarchy may have been, the responsibility lay with Mao Zedong. It was in pursuit of his instructions regarding the collectivisation of the Chinese peasantry and in accordance with his mistaken notions of science that his officials had set in motion a process that culminated in the horrific deaths of millions of his people.

Lynch, M., *Access to History: The People's Republic of China 1949–76*, 2008, p. 69

Responding to the source

1. According to this source, who is to blame for the famine and failure of the GLF?
2. Why does Lynch blame this person?
3. What do you think is Lynch's opinion of Mao; how can you tell this?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Lynch's interpretation?
5. In what way does Lynch differ from Spence in his conclusions?

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Multiple sources of evidence are necessary to form a comprehensive argument, but multiple interpretations of that evidence must also be considered. Variant interpretations can be used to question source validity, and to confirm or challenge a potential hypothesis. They can also be used to help us understand which are the accepted scholarly interpretations of evidence. With this in mind, consider Lieberthal's interpretation in Source 12.29.

SOURCE 12.29 Lieberthal on the Great Leap Forward

> The Great Leap thus failed because of flaws in its basic policies and the inherent dynamics of China's political system, including incentives to falsify information from the grass roots. The withdrawal of Soviet aid and three years (1959–1961) of particularly inclement weather deepened the failure. As a result, the Communist party, which had previously proved itself rough, violent, but above all successful, had now demonstrated that it could err catastrophically. Mao Zedong himself, moreover, bore a large part of the responsibility for the disaster.

Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*, 1995, p. 108

Responding to the source

1. What are the main reasons for the failure of the GLF according to Lieberthal?
2. Investigate when Soviet aid was withdrawn. Does this fit with Lieberthal's assertion? Explain your response.
3. What do you think Lieberthal means by the 'inherent dynamics of China's political system'?
4. What evaluative terminology would you use to characterise Lieberthal's conclusions in relation to those of Lynch and Spence?

So far you have explored later scholarly interpretations of the GLF, but historical analysis often changes over time, based on the available evidence, and societal influences of the historian's contemporary world. This next interpretation by economists Wheelwright and McFarlane presents you with a valuable lesson in historiography.

SOURCE 12.30 Wheelwright and McFarlane's 1973 conclusions

> In agriculture, 1958 was certainly a good year, though not as good as had been thought. The three succeeding years were extremely bad. In 1959, almost half the cultivated area was affected by heavy floods or serious drought. In 1960, drought, typhoons, floods and pests struck 800 million mou [.0667 hectares per mou], more than half the cultivated area, and seriously affected another 30 to 360 million mou, some of which bore no crop at all. The Yellow River practically dried up for a month in Shandong, an almost unheard-of event. A serious food shortage developed, but famine was avoided by rationing and collective effort. The commune system, by its ability to mobilise large numbers of people, undoubtedly helped in avoiding famine in these difficult years.

E. L. Wheelwright and Bruce McFarlane, *The Chinese Road to Socialism*, 1973, p. 55

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Responding to the source

1. According to this source, what were the explicit causes of poor agricultural conditions during the GLF?
2. What feature of social organisation helped in 'avoiding famine' during the GLF, and how?
3. Considering what you have learned about the GLF, what significant factual inaccuracy is stated in the source?
4. Do you think that correcting this inaccuracy would have changed the way that the authors interpreted events? Explain your response.

ACTIVITY 12.7

Formulate a response about historians' views of the Great Leap Forward

You have been provided with four potential sources of evidence (12.27–30) for inquiry into the sub-question: *What do historians say about the Great Leap Forward?*

Formulate a paragraph response to the question, making explicit reference to the sources. You will use this response in the concluding activity for the source-based inquiry so you will need to refer back to it.

How did the Great Leap Forward impact the unity of China as a state?

Via the GLF, Mao and the CCP demonstrated their ability to mobilise the vast population of Chinese peasants in aid of grand socialist experiments. The extent to which the peasants were happy with this mobilisation is highly questionable but, at least in perception, China maintained unity. At its outset, the advent of the Hundred Flowers Campaign was seen as a positive, liberalising development, but soon relapsed into accusations and fear. In spite of this, the PRC did not immediately fall into a state of anarchy following the GLF.

There is little doubt that the GLF was an unmitigated disaster. However, as you have seen, reinterpretations abound. The response to the Hundred Flowers Campaign scared anyone critical of policy back into silence. Some of the most significant effects of the GLF were rapid collectivisation, mass infrastructure projects, poor quality steel production from backyard furnaces, and the Great Famine. The famine is a particularly contested issue, in the extent to which its causes were natural or a result of the GLF, as well as its effects.

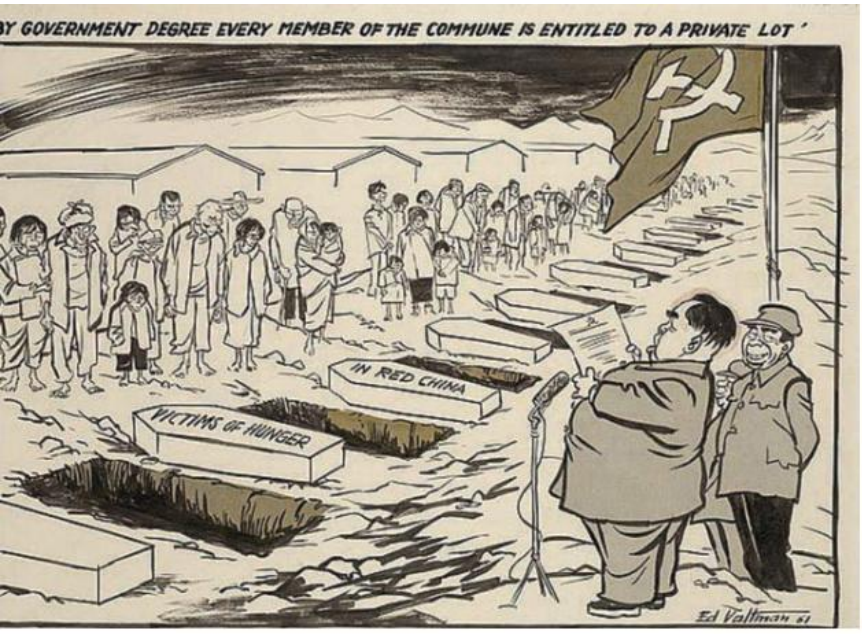
ACTIVITY 12.8

Question interpretations of the Great Leap Forward

You have been presented with numerous pieces of evidence and interpretation regarding the Great Leap Forward. Use your three paragraphs from Activities 12.5, 12.6 and 12.7 to create a cohesive response to the following question: *To what extent would you consider the Great Leap Forward a unifying experience for the Chinese nation?*

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12.11 If the Great Leap Forward was such a catastrophic failure, how did Mao survive as leader of the CCP?



SOURCE 12.31 Edmund Valtman, 'By Government Decree Every Member of the Commune is Entitled to a Private Lot', *The Hartford Times*, 9 March 1961

What is the artist's opinion of the GLF? Once you have completed the source-based inquiry come back and answer the question: *To what extent is Valtman's US perspective valid?*

How was leadership contested following the Great Leap Forward?

The GLF was catastrophic for both individuals and the nation. It is fascinating that the leadership of China did not collapse as a result of this disaster.

The causes of failure and famine in the GLF were contentious even at the time. The extent to which the disaster was natural or man-made became the questioning linchpin of leadership. The only direct attack on Mao's leadership of the GLF was made by Peng Dehuai, the leading General of the **People's Liberation Army (PLA)** and Minister of Defence. At the Lushan Conference in July 1959, a meeting of the leaders of the CCP, Peng suggested that crop production was not as high as was being reported, and that increasing hardship was developing the GLF into a man-made disaster. While Peng was fairly diplomatic in his criticism – he had raised his concerns in a private letter to Mao – they clearly hit a nerve with the Chairman, who circulated the missive and aggressively attacked Peng in various meetings, calling him a 'revisionist' or 'rightist'. Mao blamed grain hoarding, local incompetence and bad weather for the rapidly worsening situation of the peasants. This view was unsurprisingly accepted by the other leaders when he insisted that he would raise a new Red Army to overthrow the government if the government were to blame for their plight. Peng Dehuai was promptly supplanted in his leadership of the PLA by Lin Biao, a close supporter of Mao, as the new Minister for Defence. The GLF continued more aggressively after Peng's removal.

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the name given to the military forces of the Communist Party from 1945. It was the official army of the PRC and was heavily guided by the Party itself.

What did people believe to be the causes of the famine?

The masses appear to have accepted the initial explanations that the famine's causes were largely natural, bolstered by personal experience of either flood or drought in their environment. While bureaucratic failure was an overriding part of the disaster, Frank Dikötter's chapter on the interaction between people and nature in his work *Mao's Great Famine* is convincing in its conclusions.

ACTIVITY 12.9

Work with a mindmap showing causes of the Great Famine

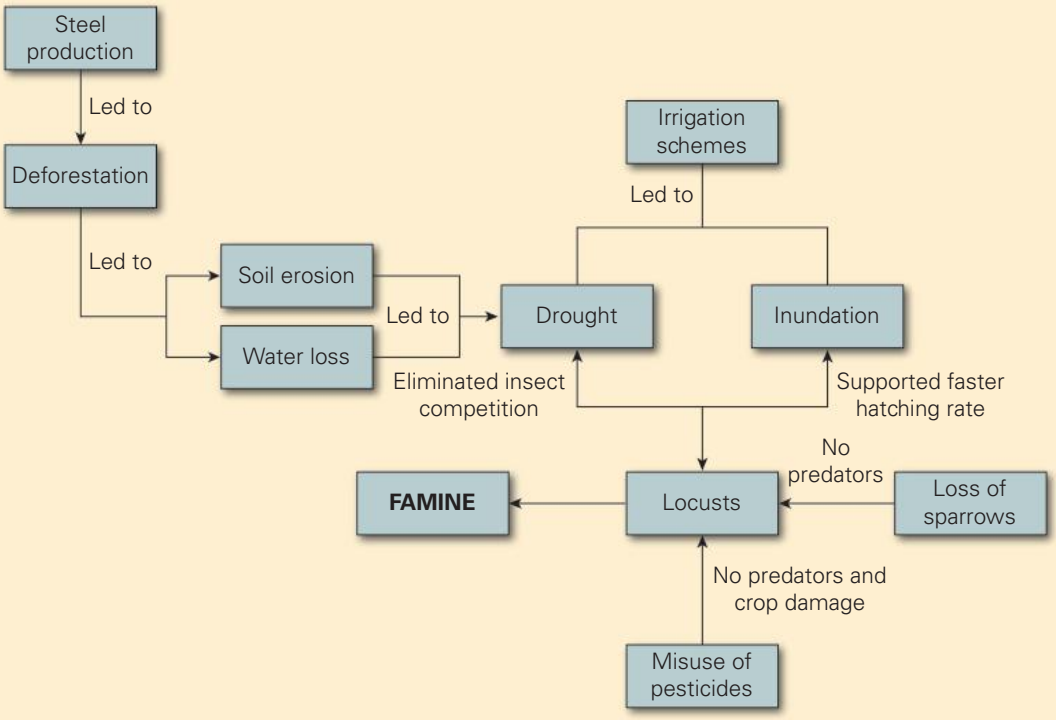
The mindmap that follows is a visual interpretation of Dikötter's conclusions regarding the causes of the famine in China.

1. Make a copy of the mindmap on your digital device or on a piece of paper, leaving plenty of room for expansion.

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ACTIVITY 12.9 continued

2. Research the elements not previously covered in this chapter (e.g. loss of sparrows).
3. Use the sources from the previous source-based inquiry to expand the mindmap by creating new branches that lead to famine.
4. Does the new mindmap lead you to new ideas or conclusions, or does it confirm or undermine any of the existing interpretations of events?



SOURCE 12.32 Mindmap based on Dikötter, F., *Mao's Great Famine*, 2010, p.188

How did Mao remain relevant?

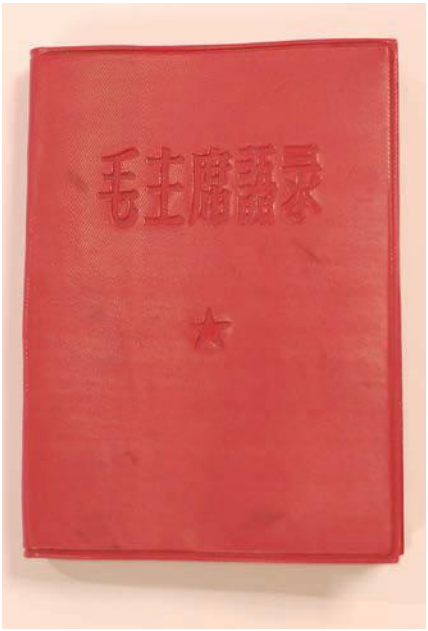
Mao's reputation as the heroic revolutionary leader was preserved mostly by his proposal at the plenary session in December 1958 that he would not stand as candidate for Chairman of the State for the next term (see Source 12.26). When Mao stepped down he was succeeded by his long-time ally Liu Shaoqi, supported by Deng Xiaoping as his deputy. 1959–1966 was an era of two Chairmen in China. Mao retained his position as Chairman of the CCP, and Liu as Chairman of the State (PRC) apparatus. Ideologically Mao was still powerful but in practical implementation of policy Liu Shaoqi was now at the helm. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping spent their time in power attempting to recover the worsening situation in the provinces. They scaled back collectivisation, and allowed private land to re-emerge in an effort to provide basic subsistence. They also issued practical bureaucratic policies that focused on expertise, modernisation, and quality that went against the ideals of Mao.

Despite being sidelined in the practical running of the state, Mao was not a spent political force, and not without allies. Lin Biao helped to strengthen Mao's reputation within the PLA by compiling and issuing a collection of Mao's teachings called *Quotations from Chairman Mao* in 1963, better known in the West as *The Little Red Book*.

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SOURCES 12.33 A&B Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong

A Cover of *Quotations of Chairman Mao Zedong*, also known as *The Little Red Book*



B Opening line of the foreword to the second edition, Lin Biao, 1966

> Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage.

Responding to the source

1. *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* measures 10cm x 7.5cm x1cm, smaller than many mobile phones of today. Why might it have been made so small?
2. What does Lin Biao's statement reveal about him?
3. Who was the intended audience for this book?
4. How would Lin Biao's foreword position the reader in regard to Mao Zedong?

Publication of *Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong* helped to indoctrinate the PLA in Mao Zedong Thought. According to Jonathan Spence, similar publications earlier in 1962 for Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yun were shelved, leading to the suggestion that the influence of Mao remained strong. Mao also remained effective in developing CCP propaganda through a series of 'Learn from ...' campaigns that championed groups or individuals as examples of exemplary communists. Once again it was Lin Biao who assisted Mao in these campaigns, particularly the 'Learn from Lei Feng' campaign that focused on the *Diary of Lei Feng*. Lei was a posthumous hero of the PLA who had dedicated himself to his comrades rather than military elitism. Similarly, the Dazhai community in the remote province of Shanxi, which had significantly increased its agricultural yields after collectivisation, was used as an exemplar of the commune system. The Dazhai commune became one among many contentious issues for Mao and Liu. Liu's work teams investigating the commune found that much of the success could be attributed to corruption in the manner of the Great Leap officials, but Mao's repeated declarations of support and calls to 'Learn from Dazhai' undermined any move against the commune leadership – Liu's investigative team stopped their work.

In 1963 the CCP launched the Socialist Education Movement. The purpose and motives for the movement have been interpreted in different ways, but it seems to have been brought about by a fear that the masses needed a stronger socialist understanding in order to become more dedicated to the cause.

In addition to the use of evidence, historians must engage with competing interpretations of that evidence to assess the credibility and validity of alternate competing historical narratives. In this activity you are presented with two interpretive statements concerning the Socialist Education Movement. When reading these sources, consider the differences in language that the authors use to describe individuals and their motives. Answer the questions that follow the sources and then discuss your responses as a group.

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SOURCES 12.34 A&B Two historians comment on the Socialist Education Movement

A Dillon, 2010

> The radicals around Mao Zedong decided to launch another campaign, the Socialist Education Movement, to advance their agenda and to counter the bureaucratic style of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. As with many of China's political campaigns, the name is misleading and unhelpful: it had nothing to do with education in the conventional sense. The initial aim of the Socialist Education Movement was to restore the impetus of the drive for collectivisation in the rural areas and to reverse the decision to decentralise commune management that had followed the famines, but it rapidly became refocused on what was seen as a growing problem, grassroots corruption in the countryside.

Michael Dillon, *China: A Modern History*, 2010, p. 320

B Spence, 1999

> So serious were these problems that a range of leaders including Mao, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Deng Xiaoping seem to have agreed on a comprehensive new program to reintroduce socialist values into Chinese society. Under the Socialist Education Campaign, class struggle was to be re-emphasised across the land as all joined in the fight for 'four cleanups': in the spheres of accounting procedures, granary supplies, property accumulation, and in the system of allocation of compensatory work points in return for hours and types of labour performed in the communes ...

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p.561

Responding to the sources

1. Who instigated the Socialist Education Movement in each account?
2. What were the motives of the instigators according to each author?
3. What was the aim of the movement according to each author?
4. What objective elements appear in each author's accounts?
5. How do Dillon and Spence differ in the way they position the reader in relation to Mao, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping?

What triggered Mao's retur n to pre-eminence?

Alongside the currents of political change that were circulating between 1959 and 1965, intellectuals and artists were making their mark on the cultural stage. Through art, some intellectuals began to voice thinly-veiled social commentary. In 1961 Beijing Deputy-Mayor Wu Han, a historian and writer, created an allegorical play about Minister of Defence Peng Dehuai's dismissal. Wu had written articles for the *People's Daily* that not-so-subtly criticised the management of the GLF; and he continued with a regular satirical piece up to 1965. Coinciding with his continued policy development, Mao also had an eye on cultural output, effectively assisted by his wife Jiang Qing, a particularly strident activist for Chinese artistic cultural change. In late 1965 Yao Wenyuan, a pro-Maoist, wrote a scathing response to Wu's play in a Shanghai newspaper and subsequently circulated around the country. Academic and political debate on Wu's work swiftly followed.

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Two main groups criticised Wu in February of 1966, but the growing antipathy between their respective ringleaders, and conflict over their methods, escalated tensions. The **Group of Five** was a conservative group in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping led by Peng Zhen (veteran party leader and Mayor of Beijing). This group urged cautious criticism and stringent academic debate of the works. A more radical group known as the **Gang of Four** led by Jiang Qing was more fundamental in its attacks on Wu as anti-socialist. They declared that Mao's writings on culture were a 'new development of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook' and also announced a desire to revolutionise culture in China. Competing visions of China's future trajectory would result in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: a movement launched by Mao with the aim of removing the traditional and capitalist aspects of Chinese society, and maintaining 'true' Communist ideology.

Group of Five a conservative group in favour of moderate cultural change in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, led by Peng Zhen

Gang of Four a radical group formed to initiate and carry out aggressive cultural change, led by Mao's wife Jiang Qing

In this next activity, consider how Mao was positioning himself at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

SOURCES 12.35 A–C Airbrushing history

A Mao Zedong on the construction site of the reservoir at the Ming Tombs near Beijing on May 25, 1958. This is the original photo.



B A later airbrushed version of the same photograph



Responding to the photographs

1. Who would have a motive to change the photograph?
2. The central figure missing in Source 12.35B is Peng Zhen, Mayor of Beijing. The image was created in 1958 during the GLF. Do you think that it was modified at that time or perhaps later? Explain your response.
3. Source 12.35C shows a detail from Source 12.35B – a single figure in the crowd behind Mao's head. He is the only figure whose hat has been doctored: why do you think this was done? What does that suggest about the overall message of the photograph?
4. Look closely at Mao's hands and face. What effect has been created by the airbrushing?

C Detail from Source 12.35B



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SOURCE 12.36 Mao Zedong swimming in the River Yangtze. This photograph is largely symbolic, with Mao in the foreground and the Yangtze River taking up the rest of the frame.
Use the internet to investigate Mao's swim in the Yangtze River in 1966 and then explain the symbolism of this photograph.

How did the Cultural Revolution progress?

Jonathan Spence provides a fairly comprehensive summary of the factional chaos of the early stages of the Cultural Revolution.

SOURCE 13.37 Spence summarises the factional chaos

So were the lines at last drawn, beyond effective mediation, for the cataclysmic central phase of what Mao and his supporters called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This movement defies simple classification, for embedded within it were many impulses at once feeding and impeding each other. There was Mao Zedong's view that the Chinese revolution was losing impetus because of party conservativism and the lethargy of the huge and cumbrous bureaucracy, which had lost its ability to make speedy or innovative decisions. Mao declared that many party bureaucrats 'were taking the capitalist road' even as they mouthed the slogans of socialism. There were, too, Mao's sense of his advancing age – he was now seventy-three – and his concern that his senior colleagues were seeking to shunt him aside. There were straightforward elements of factional struggle pitting Jiang Qing and the Shanghai radicals against those in the Peking cultural bureaucracy who wanted to maintain their own power bases. There were the political strategies of those who diverged sharply with Mao over the pace and direction of change, among whom were such veteran Communists at the apex of the government as Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and Peng Zhen. There were the personal political ambitions of Lin Biao and those who supported him in his efforts to expand the role of the army into politics, and make the PLA a centrepiece of cultural change.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, pp. 572–3

Responding to the summary

1. What impression does Spence give the reader about the nature of the cultural revolution?

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On a wider scale it would be the students, dislocated urban youth, and industrial workers that became the weapons of the Cultural Revolution. Restricted in career change and mobility, they were all disgruntled by the early policies of the PRC government, led by Liu Shaoqi. This was a revolution characterised by the use of the younger generation against the older cadres.

A Central Cultural Revolution Group was created in May 1966 by the Central Committee and was incorporated within the CCP structure by mid-May. This group was set up by the Maoist Gang of Four to steer aggressive cultural reforms. In the same meetings, Peng Zhen, the Mayor of Beijing and Minister for Culture, was denounced and the competing Group of Five was disbanded. On 25 May a **big-character poster** appeared in Beijing University attacking the education system for deviating from the revolutionary agenda. Initial efforts to suppress the poster by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping proved ineffective, as Chen Boda, Mao's political secretary installed as editor of the *People's Daily* by a coup, republished the poster on 2 June. Students took up the cause at Beijing University with the aid of pro-Mao work teams. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping sent similar teams to other universities, according to Michael Dillon, 'attempting to wrest the initiative away from Mao's group and to retain control of the movement themselves' (2010:330), but according to Jonathan Spence, 'to quell disturbances' (1999:574). Whatever the case, the student movements grew dramatically, and began forming radicalised brigades wearing red armbands – the **Red Guard**.

big-character poster propaganda posters written in large Chinese characters, they directed revolutionary action and communication throughout the Cultural Revolution

Red Guard radicalised workers and students, often identified by red armbands, who carried out the most aggressive elements of the Cultural Revolution, including destruction of property, struggle sessions, beatings, and executions



SOURCE 12.38 1966 American newsreel about the Red Guard
Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 00:49).

On 5 August, Mao published his own big-character poster titled 'Bombard the Headquarters', attacking the work teams of his adversaries Liu and Deng for being reactionary and bourgeois. By 8 August, at Mao's instigation, the CCP adopted a new policy: the 'Decision concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution', also known as the Sixteen Points – a new manifesto for a renewed revolution.

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SOURCE 12.39 Big-character poster in Beijing, 1966. Big-character posters were used by the Red Guard in particular as a form of communication to encourage direct action.
What would be the benefit of large characters? Might hand-written posters have had more impact than professionally printed posters?

12.12 SOURCE-BASED INQUIRY: How did the Cultural Revolution affect the unity of China?

In this second source-based inquiry you are provided with a broad topic question and sub-questions. You will encounter a range of sources of evidence and interpretations that will help you understand aspects of the Cultural Revolution. By the end of the inquiry, you will be able to formulate your own response to the topic question, solidifying your knowledge and understanding of the significance of the Cultural Revolution.

On 18 August 1966, a mass rally of approximately one million Red Guards descended from across the country to Tiananmen Square, where they were greeted by Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, Zhao Enlai, Chen Boda, and Deng Xiaoping. The Red Guard were charged to attack the Four Olds – old ideas, customs, culture, and habits – in a new revolution to sweep away non-socialist remnants within society. To drive home this message, *Quotations from Chairman Mao* were distributed beyond the ranks of the PLA, ensuring Mao Zedong Thought could educate the masses.

SOURCES 12.40 A&B 1966 rally in Tian'anman Square

A Mao, Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai greet the Red Guard



B Crowds come together to listen to Mao



Go to the Interactive Textbook and watch the video (duration 01:19) before answering the following questions.

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Responding to the photograph and video

1. Consider the airbrushed image in Source 12.35B and compare the clothing of Mao in Source 12.40A. What statement is he making to his audience through his choice of dress?
2. What are Lin Biao, Zhou Enlai and the hand to the left of Mao holding? What signal is intending to send to the audience?
3. Whether deliberately or not, what effect was created by taking this photo from below the subjects?
4. In the video, how would you interpret the emotion generated by Mao's presence?
5. To what extent is the mass rally well-ordered?

By the end of December, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping had both been purged from the party and subjected to classic mass criticism and humiliation. While Liu Shaoqi would die in prison a few years later, Deng Xiaoping's fate would be entirely different, as you will discover later in this chapter.

To what extent did the Cultural Revolution reshape Chinese culture?

As a starting point for understanding the Cultural Revolution, it is important to investigate what the official motivations and intentions were. Sources 12.41–12.45 provide a representative and broadly chronological outline of significant features of the Cultural Revolution.

SOURCE 12.41 Sixteen Points issued by the CCP, 8 August 1966

> Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, and customs, and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds, and endeavour to stage a comeback. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs, and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic 'authorities' and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and transform education, literature, and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the socialist system.

11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP, 'Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' (later known as Sixteen Points), 8 August 1966

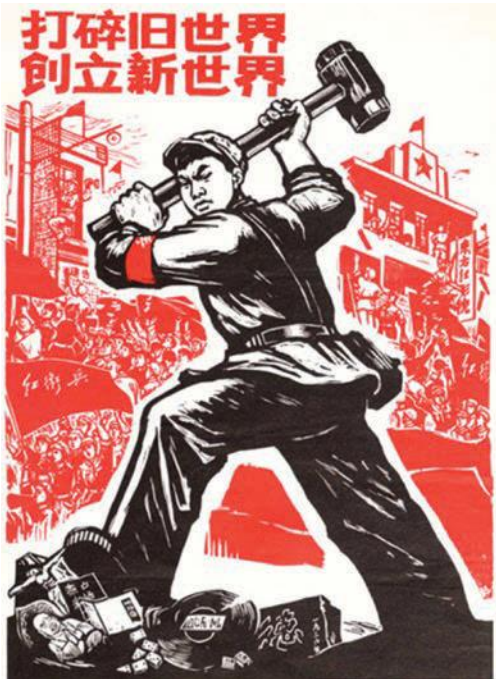
Responding to the source

1. What does this source identify as the most important elements of the Cultural Revolution?
2. Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were both still nominally in power when this statement was circulated, how do you think they would have felt about this statement?
3. How might this statement serve to solidify Mao's grip on power?
4. What implications might this statement have with regard to the influence of the CCP versus the government of the PRC?
5. What implications might this statement have regarding national unity?

Next, consider the main aspects of the Cultural Revolution by looking at the major chronological elements. Here are five pieces of potential evidence that illustrate significant aspects of the development of the revolution. This first source exemplifies a particularly common theme throughout the Cultural Revolution.

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SOURCE 12.42 Poster attacking the Four Olds, c. 1967



Poster from around 1967. The red text at the top says 'Scatter the old world, build the new'.

Responding to the source

1. What is represented by the various items depicted in black? How do they relate to the title of the poster and to the caption?
2. How does the large figure also relate to the title and caption?
3. Study the red background action. How does it represent the aims and actions of the Red Guards and the Cultural Revolution?
4. What institutions, groups, or individuals might be enthused by or fearful of the poster's message? Why would they feel this way?

The ferocity of Red Guard attacks on the Four Olds became legendary. The revolutionary zeal of the younger generation was dangerous for many. Everyone was at risk, and so everyone took precautions to be seen as revolutionary.

SOURCE 12.43 Spence discusses the height of the attack on the Four Olds

> The result was a bewildering situation in which varieties of radical groups, not coordinated by any central leadership, struggled with party leaders and with each other. The battles at the provincial level show this the best. One seizure attempt in Heilongjiang province, northern Manchuria, was led by a former opponent of the Great Leap Forward who now tried to prove his loyalty to Mao by showing his revolutionary fervor. In Shanxi, the vice-governor of the province joined with Red Guards to oust the other party leaders. In Shandong, the secondary secretary of the Tianjin municipal committee worked with a member of the Shandong party committee to found a Provincial Revolutionary Committee. In Guizhou, it was the deputy political commissar of the province who allied with the Red Guards.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 577

Responding to the text

1. Based on this interpretation of events, how would you characterise the situation that emerged in the provinces?
2. Why were the various individuals joining with Red Guard factions?
3. What was the key target of the Red Guards mentioned in this source?
4. To what extent do you think the actions described in the source reflect the intentions of Mao and his faction?

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Factionalism, brought about by increasingly competitive revolutionaries, caused warfare to break out amongst those who claimed to speak for the true revolution. This situation enabled anti-Maoist elements to wage a covert war against the Party while mouthing pledges to the cause, thereby increasing the destruction and the chaos. In the next source, the Committee chaired by Mao has called in the ringleaders of Beijing Red Guard factions. Earlier in the dialogue Mao had indicated that he was recording the session. The speakers in this extract are Mao, Lin Biao, Han A'i-ching (one of the six Red Guard leaders in the room) and Kang Sheng (a CCP official involved in security and propaganda).

SOURCE 12.44 Dialogues with Responsible Persons of Capital Red Guards Congress, 28 July 1968

Lin Biao: You have isolated yourselves from the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Chairman [Mao]: Some people say that public notices issued in Kwangsi are applicable only in Kwangsi, and public notices issued in Shensi are applicable only in Shensi. Now, I am issuing a nation-wide notice. If anyone continues to oppose, fight the Liberation Army, destroy means of transportation, kill people, or set fires, he is committing crimes. Those few who turn a deaf ear to persuasion and persist in their behaviour are bandits, or Kuomintang elements, subject to capture. If they continue to resist, they will be annihilated.

Lin Biao: There are real rebel groups. Some of them are bandits and Kuomintang elements who are using our flag for rebellion. In Kwangsi, 1000 houses have been burned down.

Chairman: Make it clear in the notice and explain clearly to the students that if they persist and do not change, they are subject to arrest. This is for light cases. In serious cases, they are subject to capture and elimination.

Lin Biao: In Kwangsi 1000 houses were burned down, and nobody was allowed to put out the fire.

Chairman: Wasn't the Kuomintang just like this? This is the kind of desperate struggle on the part of the class enemy before his death. Burning houses is a grave error.

Lin Biao: On my expedition in Kwangsi, I fought with Pai Ch'ung-hsi. He used this tactic. He set fire to houses and tried to make believe that it was the Communists who set fire to them. The same old tactic is being used again.

Han A'i-ching: K'uai Ta-fu [a Red Guard leader] is riding on the back of a tiger from which he cannot get down.

Kang Sheng: It is not the kind of situation as you say.

Chairman: If he cannot get off the back of the tiger, then let me kill the tiger.

Dialogues with Responsible Persons of Capital Red Guards Congress, 28 July 1968

Responding to the interview transcript

1. What sort of excesses have the Red Guard been engaged in according to Mao and Lin Biao?
2. Based on this source, to what extent has Mao been in control of the actions of the Red Guard?
3. What has Mao been doing to control the situation?
4. What is the implication in Mao's final words in this extract?
5. Why do you think that Mao tape-recorded this meeting with Red Guard faction leaders? (After answering, check the full transcript of the recording online to see what Mao actually said about this.)

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In Mao's opinion, the Red Guards themselves were not immune from the necessity of a Cultural Revolution. The youth, after all, did need a proper education. The Up to the Mountains and Down to the Countryside Movement involved sending urban youths to countryside areas.

SOURCE 12.45 Mao on the educated youth, 1968

A Mao quoted in *People's Daily*, 13 September 1968

> Most of the students educated in old schools are able to integrate with workers, peasants, and soldiers ... but they should be led under the right direction and re-educated by workers, peasants, and soldiers, and thus completely change their old mind-set. This kind of intellectual is welcomed by workers, peasants, and soldiers.

B Mao quoted in *People's Daily*, 22 December 1968

> It is necessary for Zhiqing [educated youth] to go to the countryside and get re-educated by poor and lower-middle class peasants. We should persuade urban cadres and other people to send their children who are graduates of junior and senior high schools and universities to the countryside, to carry out the mobilisation. Comrades in various rural areas should welcome them.

Responding to the newspaper excerpts

1. What is the explicit message of the two statements?
2. To what extent do you think that Mao is correct in his statement that workers, peasants, and soldiers would welcome 'this kind of intellectual'?
3. Given that the Red Guards were frequently made up from millions of urban intellectual youth, what do you think is his true intention in sending the youth 'up to the mountains and down to the countryside'?
4. Why do you think these quotes were published in the *People's Daily*?

How did the Cultural Revolution come to an end?

By the early 1970s the Red Guard factions had been disbanded and scattered, and the most violent part of the Cultural Revolution had subsided.

As a consequence, the PLA took up the reigns of revolution, ostensibly to control the violence. However, according to Michael Lynch, in 1969–1971 'the PLA squads who replaced the Red Guards were if anything even more vicious in their persecution of 'counter-revolutionaries' (2008:96).

Lin Biao, Mao's newly named successor and strongest supporter, seems to have come under suspicion of ambitious disloyalty. Lin Biao's position as head of the PLA gave him increasing influence and genuine strength to usurp power, if he so wished. Mao began to initiate reforms in the CCP that clearly undercut Lin's personal authority in the PLA, culminating in demands for public self-criticisms and attacks on poor management within the military. Jonathan Spence provides a dramatic interpretation of events.

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SOURCE 12.46 The death of Lin Biao

According to documents later released by the CCP, Lin Biao, driven to desperation by the collapse of his high political ambitions, sought support among his closest friends for an assassination attempt on Mao. Unable to implement this plan, Lin panicked and fled China, along with his wife and son, in a Trident jet. The party documents added that the plane was making for the Soviet Union but was inadequately fuelled for such a trip; it also had on board neither navigator nor radio operator. It crashed in Mongolia on September 13, 1971, burning to death all on board. This story is essentially beyond verification, since the photographs later released by the Chinese authorities are of dubious authenticity, and details of Lin's exact plans and of the other plotters are blurred.

Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 1999, p. 585

Responding to the source

1. What evidence does Spence use for his interpretation of events?
2. How reliable would you judge Spence's evidence to be?
3. To what extent does Spence trust his evidence?
4. Why does Spence use this evidence, given the evaluation he presents at the end of the extract?
5. How does Spence's text highlight a challenge faced by historians in interpreting and explaining past events?

Lin Biao's death helped to bolster the position of the longest survivor of the Chinese leadership other than Mao – Zhou Enlai. By being a voice of support and wary moderation, Zhou had survived the various political purges, including those by the Red Guard. Zhou continued to maintain the practical running of the state throughout the period of the Cultural Revolution as Premier of the PRC, and also managed to rehabilitate some of the more important political targets of the movement. The most important rehabilitation was that of Deng Xiaoping, who returned to government in 1973. By 1975 Mao and Zhou were both too fragile to manage China's government effectively, and it fell to Deng to take up the slack. However, when Zhou Enlai died in January 1976, it was not Deng Xiaoping who would take his place. Instead Deng was subjected to attacks for being a 'Capitalist Roader' and revisionist by the Gang of Four led by Jiang Qing. Hua Guofeng, a rising star from Mao's home province, was named as acting Premier. In April, public outpourings of grief for Zhou Enlai in Tiananmen Square turned into demonstrations against the regime. The demonstrations were put down by security forces, causing a deepening of the campaign against Deng. The same old political infighting in the highest ranks of Chinese leadership continued throughout the year and barely paused for the end of an era – the death of Mao Zedong, on 9 September 1976.

With Mao's death, there were the expected official mourning and mass gatherings to mark the passing of the Chairman. Though the Gang of Four, the clique instigating the Cultural Revolution, were present at proceedings, Hua Guofeng had them arrested before a month had passed and consolidated his own position as Mao's successor, being named Chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission and Premier of the PRC. The Cultural Revolution was over. Deng Xiaoping, both a critic and victim of the Cultural Revolution, took refuge in the south of China in self-imposed exile.

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12.13 To what extent did Mao Zedong exert control over processes and outcomes of the Cultural Revolution?

You have now engaged with a variety of sources of evidence and scholarly interpretation regarding the Cultural Revolution (Sources 12.37–12.46). In this next activity you will practise some of the essential skills and cognitions employed by historians.

ACTIVITY 12.10

Interrogate sources about the Cultural Revolution

For this activity you are provided with both a key inquiry question, and a set of sub-questions to guide your inquiry.

Key inquiry question: *To what extent did Mao Zedong exert control over process and outcomes of the Cultural Revolution?*

Sub-questions:

a. Why did the Red Guard go on a rampage during the Cultural Revolution?

b. How did Mao seek to control events?

c. In what ways did the Red Guard act on their own impulses?

d. Were there other actors that influenced the Red Guard beyond Mao Zedong?

e. How consistent are interpretations of the Cultural Revolution?

In preparation for engaging in source interrogations you will need to make yourself familiar with a variety of historical interpretations and sources of evidence in order to make discerning judgements that will inform your conclusions.

Step 1: Read through the following Sources 12.47–12.50 in order to become familiar with a variety of scholarly interpretations of the Cultural Revolution in addition to previous sources already encountered.

Step 2: Choose two to three sources from 12.37 to 12.46 and two to three sources from 12.47 to 12.50 and make a record of your choices (a total of five to six sources is required).

Step 3: You should now be familiar enough with the sources for the Cultural Revolution, the key inquiry question, and sub-questions to be able to answer some important questions regarding the direction of your interrogation; the answer to these questions will form a rationale for the interrogation. Answer the following questions in a clear and succinct manner.

a. Why is the key inquiry question significant for historical research?

b. How will each of the sub-questions assist in responding to the key inquiry question?

c. In what ways do the sources you have chosen demonstrate a range of perspectives on the issues?

Step 4: Now that you have completed a rationale for interrogation it is time to begin in earnest. For each of the sources that you have chosen, write summary dot points that make explicit reference to the following analysis elements:

- Origin of the source (who/what produced it)
- Motive for production
- Intended audience
- Historical context of the production of the source
- Discerning significant details from the source's perspective that respond to the sub-questions.

Step 5: For each of the sources that you have chosen, write summary dot points in response to the following evaluation questions:

- To what extent do you trust the reliability of the source?
- In what way is the source useful to help respond to relevant sub-questions?

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ACTIVITY 12.10 continued

- What makes the source's perspective valuable?
- What factors or beliefs held by the source's author might colour the interpretation of this source?
- Is the interpretation corroborated by other sources?

Step 6: For each source that you have chosen, write a 100–150 word summary that weaves together your analysis and evaluation of the evidence and scholarly interpretation.

Step 7: Now that each source has been interrogated, you need to summarise your findings in relation to the key inquiry question. Using your source interrogation summaries, write a 400–500 word critical response to the key inquiry question that makes discerning reference to the sources. Ensure that you use correct in-text referencing conventions.

Step 8: To complete the activity, collate the rationale, source summaries, and the critical response. Compile a reference list and include it at the end.

SOURCE 12.47 Deng Xiaoping comments on questions of official historical interpretation, 1980

> And, in the 'Cultural Revolution', Comrade Mao Zedong did not intend to overthrow all the veteran cadres. For instance, from the very beginning Lin Biao was bent on persecuting Comrade He Long, but Comrade Mao Zedong wanted to protect him. Despite the fact that Comrade Mao wanted to 'rectify' anyone who disobeyed him, he still gave some consideration to how far he should go. We cannot say that he bore no responsibility for the intensified persecution of veteran cadres that occurred later, but he was not the only one to blame. In some instances, persecutions had already been carried out by Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, while in others they took place behind Comrade Mao's back. This notwithstanding, it must be said that the overthrow of a large number of cadres was one of the biggest tragedies of Comrade Mao Zedong's later years.
>
> In those years, Comrade Mao Zedong was in fact not so consistent in his thinking as he previously had been, and some of his statements were mutually contradictory ... We should unequivocally criticize mistakes, including those by Comrade Mao Zedong ... When we write about his mistakes, we should not exaggerate, for otherwise we shall be discrediting Comrade Mao Zedong, and this would mean discrediting our Party and state. Any exaggeration of his mistakes would be at variance with the historical facts.

Deng Xiaoping, Remarks on successive drafts of the 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China', 25 October 1980

SOURCE 12.48 Weigelin-Schwiedrzik questions Chinese master narrative production, 2006

> The only solution all authors come up with (and which surpasses the fragmentation) is to focus on the role of Mao Zedong and implicitly repel that CCP leadership's idea of continuity with the Maoist era. No matter what the Party resolution says, recent discussions reveal how complicity is re-interpreted into victimisation. By now, everybody is Mao's victim, no matter whether beaten, thrown into prison, criticised or re-educated, no matter whether once an ardent supporter, a fellow-traveller or an observer. Everybody is assumed to have gone through an initial phase of admiring Mao and his idea of launching a Cultural Revolution followed by disillusionment as a common experience

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related to the second phase. Through the experience of disillusionment even those who were not victimised in the literal sense can be regarded as deceived, if not trapped, by Mao Zedong. They are victims of their own idealism and hope and disillusion can be found in all the different genres of publications on the Cultural Revolution ... Even official Party history accounts cannot do without it, and internet publications which speak in favour of a more positive assessment of the Cultural Revolution reiterate the idea that it was Mao who destroyed it when he turned against his own intentions and all those who had supported him.

Susanne Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, 'In Search of a Master Narrative for 20th-Century Chinese History' in *The China Quarterly, No.188, The History of the PRC (1949–1976)*, December 2006, pp.1085–6

SOURCE 12.49 Moise's interpretation, 2008

At the time the Cultural Revolution was going on, some people puzzled that it seemed to be so much the personal creation of Mao Zedong. His name was repeated endlessly in the documents of the Cultural Revolution ... Great historic movements do not normally spring from the head of an individual; they arise from the logic of a situation. It seemed incredible that the social, economic, and political structure of the largest nation on earth was being drastically revised because one man willed it. Today, after the failure of the movement, the pattern of events makes more sense. While Mao was able to find a certain natural base of support for the Cultural Revolution in Chinese society, this natural base was weak enough so that nothing remotely resembling the Cultural Revolution would have been likely to occur if Mao had not decided to make it occur. That is why it ended in failure.

Edwin E. Moise, *Modern China*, 2008, p. 169

SOURCE 12.50 Mitter's interpretation, 2004

The Cultural Revolution in China was largely caused by the obsessions of one man concerned both with the purity of his revolution and his own personal position. However, the patterns of thought that defined the path he took were largely ones that had shaped him in May Fourth. Mao's Cultural Revolution is an explicable end-point of the darkest side of May Fourth – obsession with youth, destruction of the past, arrogance about the superiority of one's own chosen system of thought – without the enlightenment that tempered the original – cosmopolitanism, critical enquiry, and universalism.

Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*, 2004, p. 208

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12.14 Depth study: summing up

Mao Zedong waged wars that led to the creation of the PRC, and the ultimate victory of the CCP made him an incomparable hero to his nation. The first Five Year Plan (1953–1957) was characterised by measured and logical growth of the fledgling nation. Despite this early heroism and success, disasters followed – particularly the Great Leap Forward (1958–1962) and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Controversy and debate still surround these dramatic events, with some blaming Mao alone for the disasters and others pointing to the complexity and intrigue of the historical context and its many players. In this chapter, you have engaged with some of these debates.

In the Western world, Mao's legacy is increasingly that of a mass murderer comparable with Stalin or Hitler; however, a death toll is not the only thing he left behind. He left a monolithic government under the iron control of a Communist Party. He left a united nation, as opposed to the chaos of 1911–1949. He left a nation firmly re-educated in socialist philosophy, with a particularly Chinese flavour, ready to re-engage with the international community.

ACTIVITY 12.11

Revisit the overall depth study inquiry question: How did Mao's vision shape China's national experience after 1949?

How did Mao's vision shape China's national experience after 1949?

For each of the movements covered in this depth study (the first Five Year plan, the Hundred Flowers Campaign, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution):

- Explain the vision/aim of the movement
- List some of the key effects/outcomes
- Identify whether the outcome was consistent with the vision
- Give the outcome a score of 1 to 5 to indicate the extent to which it may have shaped China's national experience.

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CONCLUDING STUDY

Did Mao Zedong create a firm national identity for modern Chinese leaders such as Xi Jinping to project a Neo-Imperial China onto the twenty-first century?

The question that lies before you now is whether Mao Zedong's leadership in generating a new national identity had a lasting impact into the twenty-first century. While his successors made important changes, and certainly employed both similar and divergent methods of social and political change, it is still contestable whether Mao's influence remains in any substantive form.

Do not simply follow the conclusions that are presented in this concluding study. All of what follows should be questioned, debated, accepted, or refuted based on your own interpretations of evidence and critique of scholarly work – that is the mark of a true historian.



SOURCE 12.51 US President Donald Trump and China's President Xi Jinping hold bilateral meetings at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, China on 9 November 2017, during Trump's 10-day trip to Asia.
What does this photograph suggest about the strength of China's identity? What does this photograph suggest about the position of China on the world stage?

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12.15 What aspects of Mao's China remained in place after his death in 1976?

ACTIVITY 12.12

Cooperatively research 1976 to the present day

Split the class into four groups. Each group researches one of the four significant figures of the post-Mao era:

- Deng Xiaoping
- Jiang Zemin
- Hu Jintao
- Xi Jinping.

Your goal is to create a detailed summary of the significant achievements of each of the four individuals. Once your group has created a summary, re-form into new groups – each with a representative from each of the four significant figures. Share your findings with your peers then cooperatively create a response to the question: *What aspects of Mao's China remained in place after his death in 1976?*
As a class, discuss (or debate) your responses to the question.

China has seen many changes, largely in the economic and foreign policy spheres in the decades following Mao's death. But there are several continuities that might point to the underlying influence of Mao on China's long-term identity.

Foremost is the Marxist-Leninist basis of China's national ideology. Socialism 'with Chinese characteristics' is how the modern socio-political identity is described by China's contemporary leadership. This idea speaks to the long tradition of a particularly Chinese version of ideology born during the Sino-Soviet split under Mao; Marxism-Leninism was reinterpreted and updated, and continues to be modified by necessity. This is not to say that Mao is the only one that had a hand in shaping the socialist identity – far from it – but he was its strongest mentor.

The political structures of the government and party are largely based on the original structures built into the 1954 constitution, with the CCP and the PRC inextricably entwined. While some individual organs and positions of the structure have gained or lost relative power, the fundamental symbiosis of party and state remains. The Maoist idea of a democratic dictatorship is also still enshrined in the Constitution of the People's Republic, harking back to the lessons learned from the crisis years of 1911–1949. Party membership still forms a basis of social status and identity, and is a gateway to respectability and recognition in state systems. Deng Xiaoping's political (as opposed to economic) conservatism meant that few significant reforms were made to the system. His main aim seems to have been a more pragmatic approach to leadership through an attempt to prevent future leaders from gaining the top position in the main three pillars of the system, namely the party, the state, and the military.

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12.16 Modern perspectives on Chinese politics, economy and society

In this next source, consider how a modern think-tank views Chinese power in the post-Mao era.

SOURCE 12.52 Peter Cai talks about China in 2016

China's soft power spurs need to be alert to Beijing links

PETER CAI

The Chinese Communist Party has more than 80 million members, more than three times the Australian population. If you take an uncharitable view, the law of two degrees of social separation means everyone in China has a Communist Party connection. The party is, for want of a better term, a broad church, which include diehard Maoists to the country's richest real estate and tech tycoons. China is the only place in the world where you can find billionaire communists thanks to doctrinal innovation by former president Jiang Zeming. Nearly 1.63 million private companies in China have Communist Party committees, which represents more than half of the country's private businesses. This is not CIA intel, but figures from China's own state-owned media Xinhua. Foreign multinationals in China have party cells too. For example, General Motors' joint-venture company in Shanghai has a party committee. Yes, that is right, the most iconic all-American company has a party cell too. This probably means, all large Chinese companies operating in Australia have party connection one way or another.

Peter Cai, 'China's soft power spurs need to be alert to Beijing links', *The Australian*, 19 September 2016

Responding to the source

1. To what extent does this source support the idea that some version of a Maoist China still exists?
2. Does the economic change in China, as represented in this source, contradict socialist ideology? Explain your position.
3. How would you characterise the national identity of China based on this evidence?

The biggest changes to China since Mao have been in the realm of economic development, with private industry and commerce now accepted under state-controlled circumstances. It is often suggested that China has been moving away from the ideals of Mao's communist dream, but it could also be argued that all that has changed is the pace and style of change, not its intent. Economic reform was important because China had been so poor. The setback of the Great Leap Forward and the chaotic attempt at a deep Cultural Revolution did not help. Deng Xiaoping is well known for his Four Modernisations in the areas of industry, science and technology, defence and agriculture. These modernisations have transformed China's economy and turned the nation into an economic powerhouse that was the second largest economy in the world in 2017. However, even these are a reiteration of ideas and goals that had been espoused in a variety of forms by the CCP since the 1920s.

Democratic changes to mirror economic ones were not to be forthcoming. In 1989, pro-democracy demonstrations were militarily suppressed in what came to be known in the Western world as the Tiananmen Square Massacre. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of protesters are estimated to have been killed in the crackdown – the exact figure is unknown due to Chinese censorship. This event effectively set the limits of political expression for the Chinese people and confirmed the iron control of the CCP. The actions of the Chinese government drew the vehement condemnation of the international community and resulted in economic sanctions. The following source is the most famous image in the aftermath of the military intervention – an insistently defiant man inhibiting the movement of tanks.

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SOURCE 12.53 Stopping the tanks in Tiananmen Square, 5 June 1989



A lone man stops a convoy of tanks during the Tiananmen Square protests in Beijing.

Responding to the photograph

1. Why do you think the man in the photo risked his life?
2. To what extent was this an effective protest?
3. Why do you think that the tank-driver tolerated the protester?

Another important change was stylistic. Mao's preference for mass-militaristic, even autocratic, direction of the revolutionary process had been largely abandoned, along with – at least officially – cults of personality. That was, until Xi Jinping's constitutional amendment in 2018 that saw him become a Mao-esque figure with presidential tenure for life. The lessons learned by the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the chaos of the Cultural Revolution, namely that none of the political leaders were able to properly control, have had their impact on leadership style. But the end goal is the same. Mao wanted a strong, modernised communist China; his successors have wanted the same thing and have worked towards the same end. Marxism-Leninism is still the fundamental basis for societal change but, as under the leadership of Mao, it has developed with the times to possess characteristics particular to the circumstances of the contemporary Chinese nation.

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SOURCE 12.54 Contemporary Australian thinking on China

While China is usually quick to respond to statements and actions supportive of separatist movements, many websites that have listed the Chinese regions [Tibet and Taiwan] as countries for years are only recently being rebuked. Merriden Varrall, director of the East Asia Program at the Lowy Institute, attributed the strong reaction to Chinese President Xi Jinping's emphasis on the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, which was creating a sense of confidence and intolerance of being insulted. 'For some time, [there has been] this perceived injustice and narrative of persecution in China, and this idea that westerners are trying to keep China down and trying to insult China,' she said. 'They feel like now they have the strength and will to resist from their point of view what seems like being pushed around and being bullied. And they've had that sense of being bullied for a long time, but now they feel like 'we're coming back, we're rejuvenating and we're not putting up with it anymore'.

Christina Zhou, Xiaoning Mo, 'Qantas admits 'oversight' in listing some Chinese territories as countries on its website', *ABC News*, 15 January 2018

Responding to the source

1. What does Merriden Varrall believe regarding China's self-image?
2. What implications could this have for relations between China and the international community?

ACTIVITY 12.13

Make a judgment about significant changes to the Chinese nation post-Mao

Your goal is twofold: investigate the significant changes to the Chinese nation post-Mao, and decide whether those changes were fundamental departures from Mao's vision, or simply stylistic. Create a PowerPoint presentation to share your judgement with your class.

12.17 How does China's twentieth century national experience impact the contemporary world?

The ideological statements made by President Xi Jinping at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of China (October 2017), broadly summarised by ideas of national unity, Communist Party control, military loyalty, international stability, environmental management and socialist ideology with Chinese characteristics, are not coincidental. They are the historical themes of twentieth century Chinese history and they underpin Xi Jinping Thought in the twenty-first century. They are the experience of the Chinese State and people that have continued to impact Chinese development. These ideas have a strong contextual relevance to Australian interaction with East Asia and are crucial to remember. While white Australians of the early-to-mid twentieth century were preoccupied with a fear of Japanese imperialism, so also was China. While white Australians of the mid-century were attempting to assert a new nationalist identity, so

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also was China. And while white Australians were creating a society that claimed to give everyone a 'fair go' through hard work and social welfare, China was immersed in a socialist experiment of unprecedented scale, with a gigantic population and little expertise.

The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China returned Xi Jinping for a second term as General-Secretary of the Communist Party. The Congress also enshrined 'Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era' into the Party constitution, raising the prestige of Xi Jinping near to that of Mao Zedong. Xi Jinping Thought is the latest in a series of ideological manifestos created by the political leaders of China to guide the development of the nation. A particularly interesting development in twenty-first century China is Xi Jinping's role as head of the state apparatus, the party, and the military, a situation – mirroring that of Mao – that Deng Xiaoping had tried to prevent through constitutional change. President Xi's consolidation of power and extension of influence, both within China and internationally, are based on a history that has been interpreted and repeatedly reinterpreted in light of political developments throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The photograph (Source 12.50) at the beginning of this concluding study aptly demonstrates China's new position in the world. The image appears to show a meeting of equals, with both the Chinese and US flags in the background, and equal space at the negotiating table. This is a far cry from China's position one hundred years earlier. China is now clearly a world power with a strong Communist identity; but how much of this was the outcome of Mao Zedong's ambitious leadership?

ACTIVITY 12.14

Research China today

Use the internet to investigate China's contemporary activities to answer the following inquiry question: *To what extent is contemporary China consistent with the identity of a strong modernised Communist nation-state?*

Your response should consider themes of economics, foreign relations, domestic politics, and human rights.

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CHAPTER SUMMARY

Contextual study: China: Forging a new identity

- In 1911, a multitude of uprisings, collectively known as the Xinhai Revolution, occurred across imperial China.
- The Kuomintang (KMT) was a party based on the Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of Democracy, and the Principle of Livelihood.
- The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was initially allied with the KMT, but this alliance collapsed in 1927, with the KMT being the dominant political group.
- Mao Zedong was elected Party Leader of the CCP in January 1935, during the Long March.
- Following World War II, membership of the CCP grew, and the KMT were overthrown. On 1 October 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong declared the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Depth study: How did Mao's vision shape China's national experience after 1949?

- The period from 1949–1957 established a new system of ideological government, political thought, economic industrialisation, and social cooperation.
- The main aim of the first Five Year Plan (1953–1957) was rapid industrialisation to achieve ambitious production targets and quotas.
- Mutual aid teams and cooperatives allowed for the collaboration of several families in sharing land allocations, farming equipment and labour.
- In 1957, the Hundred Flowers Campaign relaxed government controls over censorship, but it was quickly brought to an end.
- The second Five Year Plan (1958–1962) became known as the Great Leap Forward (GLF), and is generally considered to have been a failure.
- Collectivisation mobilised massive sections of the rural and urban populations in China, but not always effectively.
- In December 1958, Mao resigned as Chairman of the State, but retained his position as Chairman of the CCP.
- The Great Famine of 1959–1961 caused widespread suffering and deaths.
- *Quotations from Chairman Mao*, better known in the West as *The Little Red Book*, was published in 1963.
- In 1966, Mao launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, with the aim of removing the traditional and capitalist aspects of Chinese society, and maintaining 'true' Communist ideology.
- The Red Guard – radicalised workers and students – were charged to attack the Four Olds – old ideas, customs, culture, and habits – in a new revolution to sweep away non-socialist remnants within society.
- By the early 1970s the most violent part of the Cultural Revolution had subsided.
- Zhou Enlai maintained the practical running of the state throughout the period of the Cultural Revolution as Premier of the PRC.
- Both Zhou Enlai and Mao Zedong died 1976, and Hua Guofeng was named Chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission and Premier of the PRC. The Cultural Revolution was over.

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Concluding study: Did Mao Zedong create a firm national identity for modern Chinese leaders such as Xi Jinping to project a Neo-Imperial China onto the twenty-first century?

- Socialism 'with Chinese characteristics' is how the modern socio-political identity is described by China's contemporary leadership.
- Private industry and commerce are now accepted under state-controlled circumstances.
- Democratic changes to mirror economic ones have not been forthcoming.
- A particularly interesting development in twenty-first century China is Xi Jinping's role as head of the state apparatus, the party, and the military, a situation – mirroring that of Mao – that Deng Xiaoping had tried to prevent through constitutional change.

Review questions, QCAA-style assessments and recommended reading are available as downloadable Word files.

GO

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Glossary (digital-only chapters)

All-India Muslim League political party formed in 1906 with a focus on protecting Muslim rights within India and developing understanding between the Muslim and other Indian communities

armistice an agreement made by opposing sides in a war to stop fighting. It is not permanent but it suggests that both sides are seeking peace

bicameral a legislative body that has two chambers (houses of parliament)

big-character poster propaganda posters written in large Chinese characters, they directed revolutionary action and communication throughout the Cultural Revolution

Black Tuesday the term used for 29 October 1929, which saw a sharp fall in the stock market, with the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DJIA) especially hard hit in high trading volume.

bourgeoisie the wealthy middle class that emerged in the cities and towns after the industrial revolution; seen as oppressors of the workers

capital wealth in the form of money or other assets owned by a person or organization or available for a purpose such as starting a company or investing

capitalism an economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state. Australia functions under a capitalist system

class consciousness a social awareness of an individual's position within broader society specifically in relation to class struggle

collectives large scale amalgamations of collectives into groups of several hundred families to collectivise labour

command economy style of economy where decisions are initiated and controlled centrally by the government

Confucianism a complex philosophy based on defined hierarchical roles with mutual obligations reinforcing the status of participants

conglomerate large corporation run as a single business, but made up of several firms (acquired through mergers or takeovers) supplying diverse goods and/or services

Congress the two houses of US government, consisting of the House of Representatives and the Senate

cooperatives larger groups of families share their individual land allocations in addition to farming equipment and labour

Dow Jones a stock market index that shows how 30 large, publicly-owned companies based in the US have traded during a standard trading session in the stock market

enlightenment a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasising reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by seventeenth-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke, and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith

feudalism a social and political system in which people were given land and protection by people of higher rank, and worked and/or fought for them in return

filial piety the important virtue and primary duty of respect, obedience, and care for one's parents and elderly family members

Fireside Chats a series of evening radio broadcasts between 1933 and 1934, in which Roosevelt spoke informally about a number of matters, explaining his policies to the American people, and quelling rumours.

franchise the right to vote in elections

Gang of Four a radical group formed to initiate and carry out aggressive cultural change, led by Mao's wife Jiang Qing

Great Depression a severe worldwide economic depression that took place mostly during the 1930s, beginning in the United States and spreading throughout most of the world. Its impacts were only fully stopped by military expenditure for World War II.

Great Famine a famine that affected China from 1959 to 1961, resulting in millions of deaths

Group of Five a conservative group in favour of moderate cultural change in support of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, led by Peng Zhen

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Indian National Congress (INC) India's first independence party, formed in 1885. Initially there was participation from Hindu, Sikh and Muslim members, but later Muslim participation declined

Kaiser the title of the Emperor of Imperial Germany from 1871 to 1918

Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese nationalist political party formed in 1912 from the Tongmenghui and five smaller pro-revolution groups

liberal internationalism a foreign policy doctrine that argues that liberal states should intervene in other sovereign states in order to pursue liberal objectives. Such intervention can include both military invasion and humanitarian aid. It is a contrasting political philosophy to realism.

liberalism a political view based on liberty and equality. Liberals generally support civil rights, democracy, secularism, gender equality, internationalism and the freedoms of speech, the press, religion and markets

Mao Zedong Thought the official interpretations of Marxism-Leninism according to Mao Zedong, specifically deviating from the USSR-led interpretations

mercantilism economic theory and practice common in Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century based on the idea that trade generates wealth and is stimulated by the accumulation of profitable balances, which a government should encourage by means of protectionism

militarism belief that a country should maintain a strong military capability and be prepared to use it aggressively to defend or promote national interests

mutual-aid teams teams that allowed for the collaboration of several families to share farming equipment and labour as a basic economic unit of collectivisation

nationalism an extreme form of patriotism marked by a feeling of superiority over other countries

New Deal a group of government programs and policies established under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s; the New Deal was designed to improve conditions for persons suffering in the Great Depression

oligarchy a country or organisation controlled by a small group of people

Opium Wars two nineteenth century wars between China and Britain over control of the opium trade. These wars, and the British victory, weakened the Qing dynasty and forced China to trade with other parts of the world.

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the name given to the military forces of the Communist Party from 1945. It was the official army of the PRC and was heavily guided by the Party itself.

Polish Corridor a territory located in the region of Pomerelia which provided the Second Republic of Poland (1920–1939) with access to the Baltic Sea, dividing much of Germany from the province of East Prussia

proletariat urban working class mainly consisting of factory and industrial workers

Quit India movement organised by the INC and Mahatma Gandhi, seeking the end of British Rule in India: it was intended to be peaceful, but violence broke out

Rape of Nanjing the rape, murder and looting of the civilian population and surrendered military forces in Nanjing by the invading Japanese forces in December 1937–January 1938. Estimated deaths range from tens to hundreds of thousands.

Red Guard radicalised workers and students, often identified by red armbands, who carried out the most aggressive elements of the Cultural Revolution, including destruction of property, struggle sessions, beatings, and executions

realpolitik a theory of political philosophy that attempts to explain, model, and prescribe political relations. It takes as its assumption that power is (or ought to be) the primary end of political action, whether in the domestic or international arena. In other words, internationally a nation who wields power doesn't have to consider the needs (in a moral sense) of a 'weaker' nation when interacting politically within the international system

rectification use of public 'struggle sessions' and confessions of politically incorrect thoughts and actions to 'correct' the individual

reparations action of making amends for a wrong one has done, by providing payment or other assistance to those who have been wronged

Ruhr Crisis a period of military occupation of the German Ruhr valley by France and Belgium between 1923 and 1925 in response to the failure of Germany to meet its second reparation payment of the £6.6 billion that was dictated in the Treaty of Versailles

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

satyagraha the nonviolent search for truth, a philosophical platform espoused by Gandhi

soft power a persuasive approach to international relations, typically involving the use of economic or cultural influence rather than 'hard' military intervention

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

tariff a tax or duty to be paid on a particular class or category of imports or exports

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

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

yellow peril an offensive phrase that originated in the nineteenth century with immigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers to the United States in response to the gold rush. Historically, 'yellow' was a derogatory reference to the purported skin colour of people from East Asia. 'Peril' refers to the perceived threat that the potential expansion of Asian populations would overpower Western culture.

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