

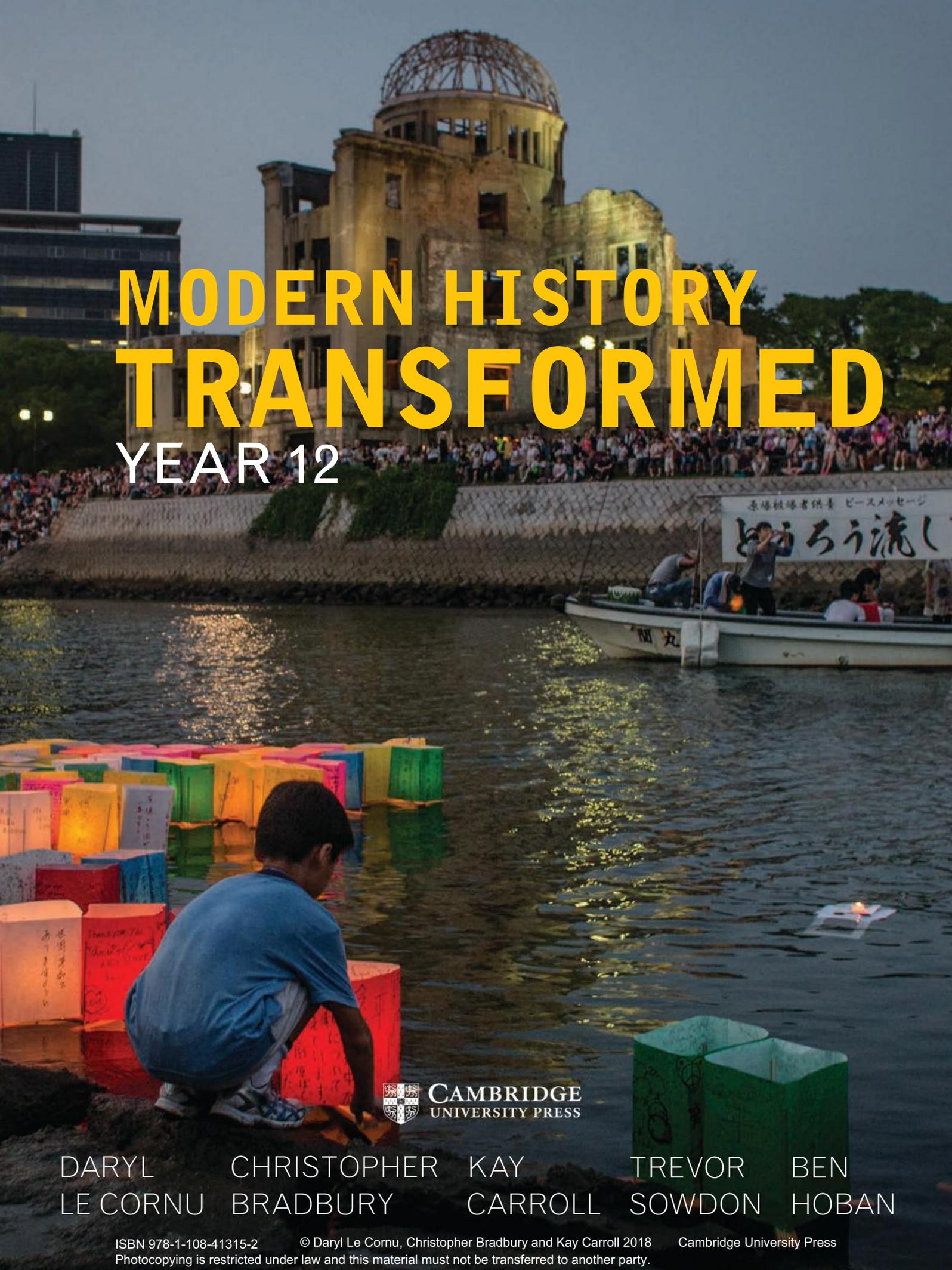
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MODERN HISTORY TRANSFORMED

YEAR 12

DARYL LE CORNU CHRISTOPHER BRADBURY KAY CARROLL



MODERN HISTORY TRANSFORMED

YEAR 12



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

DARYL LE CORNU CHRISTOPHER BRADBURY KAY CARROLL TREVOR SOWDON BEN HOBAN

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About the cover



A boy floats a candle-lit paper lantern on the river in front of the Atomic Bomb Dome, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, on 6 August 2015, during the 70th anniversary activities commemorating the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The bomb instantly killed an estimated 70 000 people and thousands more died in the coming years from radiation effects. Three days after dropping the bomb on Hiroshima, the United States dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki, thus ending World War II.

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In memory of Dr Bill Williams, co-founder of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN).

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Kay Carroll

I dedicate this text to students who are interested in questioning and understanding the contemporary world. It is a delight to write for those critically engaged in politics, social change and history. My thanks to my family for supporting me in the long nights to finish the writing.

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Introduction

Never has the integration and examination of historical issues been more important in our classrooms in developing understanding of our contemporary society. As we continue to explore opportunities to develop students as problem solvers and critical thinkers, History is an effective means to achieve this outcome.

Modern History Transformed Year 12 provides a detailed account of the syllabus's events, personalities and themes, but more importantly draws distinctive parallels between the syllabus content and real world scenarios to engage students in their development as global citizens. Such deliberate intention in teaching and learning allows students to develop the necessary skills as historians and foster the necessary values to be an agent of positive change. Students will have the capacity to build knowledge of where, why, and how events occurred, allowing them to take action towards positive change and develop independence for taking effective actions in resolving problems.

Today, global challenges such as the protection of democracy, the crisis in the Middle East, the growth of nationalism in Europe and hostilities in North Korea require students to do more than just think about solutions, but to understand the importance of the past in understanding the world we live in. *Modern History Transformed Year 12* develops global citizenship as a means to help young historians develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes to engage in collective and individual action, while excelling in meeting the challenges of the HSC examinations. This book deliberately provides students with both primary and secondary sources, activities, concept definitions and engagement in historical debates for sound preparation in forming sophisticated historical judgements for the exams.

Modern History also helps to foster a sense of belonging to a common humanity, to empower learners to become active citizens in crafting a more peaceful, tolerant and secure world. We begin our study exploring the Core Study: Power and Authority in the Modern World 1919–1946, where we look at the rise of dictatorships, the machinations of the Nazi Party and the search for peace and security in the world. This dark period of history illustrates the dangers of discrimination, unchecked prejudice and dehumanisation. It highlights the nature of human responses to these complex events, raising important considerations on the motivations and pressures people face and how they react to them.

Our National Studies focus on Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–1941, the USA 1919–1941 and China 1927–1949, investigating the key features, individuals, groups, events and developments that shaped the history of these distinctive nations. We only have to look at our contemporary world to recognise that an understanding of the history of these nations will allow students to acknowledge the importance of democracy and the threat of communism to fundamental human rights and civil liberties.

In the Peace and Conflict component, *Modern History Transformed Year 12* focuses on the Conflict in Europe 1935–1945, Conflict in Indochina 1954–1979 and the Cold War 1945–1991. And for Change in the Modern World, the focus is on political and social change, and the role of individuals and groups in The Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square 1966–1989, Civil Rights in the USA 1945–1968, and the Nuclear Age 1945–2011. Each topic will challenge students in developing the key competencies such as empathy, the ability to communicate and examine conflict resolution and the role of international security. *Modern History Transformed Year 12* will also allow the History classroom to move from the local to the global, incorporating opportunities for digital literacy and fluency in the development of essay writing.

To provide extensive depth and detail in the content delivered covering the syllabus requirements, students are encouraged to use the Interactive Textbook edition, where we have some additional digital content for certain chapters, three additional digital chapters, and a source-based practice exam for the Core. Such information will allow students to appreciate the differing interpretations and perspectives within the respective historical periods.

The strategic imperative of *Modern History Transformed Year 12* is that education has an important role in being truly transformative and bringing shared values to life in order to prepare students to think critically and lead/engage with opportunities to create a peaceful and inclusive society.

PART 1

Power and authority in the modern world: 1919–46

CHAPTER



Chapter 1 The peace treaties



Chapter 2 The rise of dictatorships after World War I



Chapter 3 The Nazi regime to 1939



Chapter 4 The search for peace and security in the world 1919–46



By naming Hitler as Reichschancellor, you have delivered up our holy Fatherland to one of the greatest [rabble-rousers] of all time. I solemnly [predict] that this accursed man will plunge our Reich into the abyss and bring our nation into inconceivable misery.

Erich Ludendorff, German World War I General,
in a letter to President Hindenburg, 1 February 1933

PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

Post-war uncertainty

The peace settlements after World War I attempted to settle the issues that led to the war and to create a just and stable peace.

Power and authority

Understanding the legacy of the traumas of World War I in the growth of fascism, totalitarianism and militarism across Europe and Asia.

Empire-building

Understanding the reasons for the rise of Nazism and its social, cultural and political impact on the population. The study of Nazi Germany allows students to recognise how the destruction of key democratic freedoms (such as human rights, civil liberties and the freedom of association) can lead to a totalitarian state.

The struggle for peace

The international community struggled to deal with the 'scourge of war' during the twentieth century.

PICTURED: Adolf Hitler, the dictator of Germany, shakes hands with Benito Mussolini, the fascist leader of Italy, circa 1930.

CHAPTER 1

The peace treaties

This International Congress of Women expresses its deep regret that the terms of peace proposed at Versailles should so seriously violate the principles upon which alone a just and lasting peace can be secured, and which the democracies of the world had come to accept.

By guaranteeing the fruits of the secret treaties to the conquerors, the terms of peace tacitly sanction secret diplomacy, deny the principles of self-determination, recognize the right of the victors to the spoils of war, and create all over Europe discords and animosities, which can only lead to future wars ... [By unanimous vote of the Congress, this Resolution was telegraphed to the Powers in Paris].

International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP),
Second Congress Zurich, Switzerland, 19 May 1919





Europe and the Middle East after the peace treaties, circa 1923



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS You will investigate key features and the consequences of the peace treaties resulting from World War I.

- KEY ISSUES** You will explore:
- the peacemaking process
 - the various peace treaties
 - the reactions to the peace treaties
 - the ongoing political debate about the Treaty of Versailles
 - the consequences of the peace settlements for the global political order.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
11 November 1918	Armistice signed by German and Allied delegations
13 December 1918	US President Wilson receives a hero's welcome in Paris
3 February 1919	League of Nations negotiations start
7 May 1919	Germany presented with the Treaty of Versailles
28 June 1919	Treaty of Versailles signed by Germany
10 September 1919	Treaty of Saint-Germain signed by Austria
27 November 1919	Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine signed by Bulgaria
5 June 1920	Treaty of Trianon signed by Hungary
10 August 1920	Treaty of Sèvres signed by Turkey
5 May 1921	Reparations announcement
6 February 1922	Washington Conference
16 April 1922	Treaty of Rapallo signed by Germany and Russia
16 October 1925	Treaty of Locarno signed



SOURCE 1.2 German delegates about to sign the Treaty of Versailles



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 1.3 Allied women plead for international suffrage at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 1 Overview

KEY IDEA

The peace settlements after World War I attempted to settle the issues that led to the war and to create a just and stable peace.

INQUIRY QUESTION

To what extent did the peace treaties of World War I succeed in their aim to create a stable international peace?

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Promoting and sustaining peace between nations and within nations is one of the most important issues today. It is important to learn from previous attempts to achieve a stable peace through multilateral cooperation.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- World War I
- peace treaties
- multilateral
- reparations
- indemnities
- mandate
- Treaty of Versailles
- the Big Four
- Woodrow Wilson
- David Lloyd George
- Georges Clemenceau
- Vittorio Orlando
- League of Nations
- Covenant of the League of Nations

Painting the picture

Making the peace after World War I

One hundred years after the end of World War I, what relevance do the peace treaties of 1919–20s have for us today? How does looking at these treaties help us to make sense of the world in the twenty-first century? The

peacemakers at the end of that war were dealing with many of the same issues that we, as an international community, are dealing with today. Issues such as maintaining international peace and security, solving disputes between nation states, upholding the rights of minorities, and strengthening international law. How the peacemakers fared in this undertaking has been debated from before the ink was dry on the treaties and has continued over the course of the last century. Indeed, between 1914 and 1918, the nature and terms of the final peace settlement were hotly debated within the governing elites and the peace groups in all the belligerent countries.

Right from the beginning of World War I, peace groups like the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) in Britain had advocated that the peace settlement (when it finally came time to be written) should not be a peace of vengeance, as this would lead to further wars. Rather, it should be a just settlement that dealt with the root causes of the war. However, during the war, the belligerent governments were preoccupied with their own geopolitical interests and were intent on using the war to further these interests. To this end, the belligerent governments had framed their own war aims. These war aims, and the accompanying treaties signed between belligerent governments during the war, were secret because these were not the same war aims promoted to their own populations and the international community. The secret war aims and the accompanying treaties



SOURCE 1.4 A painting depicting the German delegation arriving at the Paris Peace Conference

were, by and large, shopping lists of what each government wanted to gain from the war. They were often at odds with the high-minded public declarations of what these nations were fighting for.

One of the problems the peacemakers had was to juggle the expectations arising from the grubby deals in the secret treaties signed during the course of the war by the Allied governments with the idealistic statements of principle in public declarations, such as US President Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points' speech. As well as trying to create the conditions that would ensure international peace and security, each of the 32 diplomatic delegations was also looking out for their own nation's geopolitical interest. Though there was much agreement at the Paris Peace Conference, many things were hotly contested and there were perceived winners and losers. Some participants received nothing and went away bitter, while others had their dreams fulfilled, such as the Polish people who gained an independent nation of their own.

Another reason that understanding the peace treaties is important is their historical significance. This was the biggest international conference in history up to that time. The 32 diplomatic delegations, comprising over 500 diplomats, represented 75 per cent of the world's total population. The next biggest conference had been the 1648 **Treaty of Westphalia**, which established the modern political concept of state sovereignty and the coexistence of sovereign states. The 1815 Congress of Vienna, on the other hand, was a much smaller affair involving only the leaders of the Great Powers of Europe. The post-World War I peace treaties are significant because of their global impact and their influence on developments over the 1920s and 1930s, on the post-World War II settlement, and on many nations to this day.

In the twenty-first century, it is hoped that a balanced assessment of the peace treaties can now be made. To do so involves looking anew at what happened in Paris about a hundred years ago. It involves recognising the **propaganda** spruiked by the various interest groups at the time and being able to separate myth from reality. Finally, we need to consider what lessons can be learned from that peacemaking process and those peace treaties and how those lessons can be applied to intractable disputes today.

Treaty of Westphalia

otherwise known as the Peace of Westphalia; this refers to a treaty in 1648 that ended 30 years of warfare in Europe. It is widely regarded as the beginning of the modern era and the origin of the modern concept of the nation-state.

propaganda information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view

1.1 Peacemaking

The peace treaties

Treaty	Signed	Concerning
Versailles	28 June 1919	Germany
Saint-Germain	10 September 1919	Austria
Neuilly-sur-Seine	27 November 1919	Bulgaria
Trianon	4 June 1920	Hungary
Sèvres	10 August 1920	Turkey

The Big Four

Most of the big decisions were made by the leaders of the four biggest victorious powers, the United States, Britain, France and Italy. Initially, a Council of Ten had met from 18 January through to late March 1919. This consisted of the four leaders, accompanied by their foreign ministers, along with two Japanese



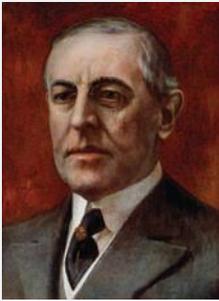
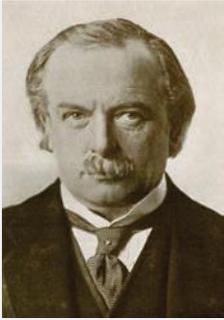
SOURCE 1.5 The castle of Madrid in France, where the Treaty of Neuilly was signed in November 1919 between the Allies and Bulgaria



SOURCE 1.6 The Big Four at Versailles in 1919. From the left, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau and US President Woodrow Wilson.

representatives. The Council met 72 times and established 58 subcommittees to consider the various issues. However, real progress was slow and the really big questions were yet to be resolved. So, in late March, the group was pared down to just four people – British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau and US President Woodrow Wilson. This group became known as the Big Four, and they achieved a massive amount of work in a hectic six-week period.

The Big Four

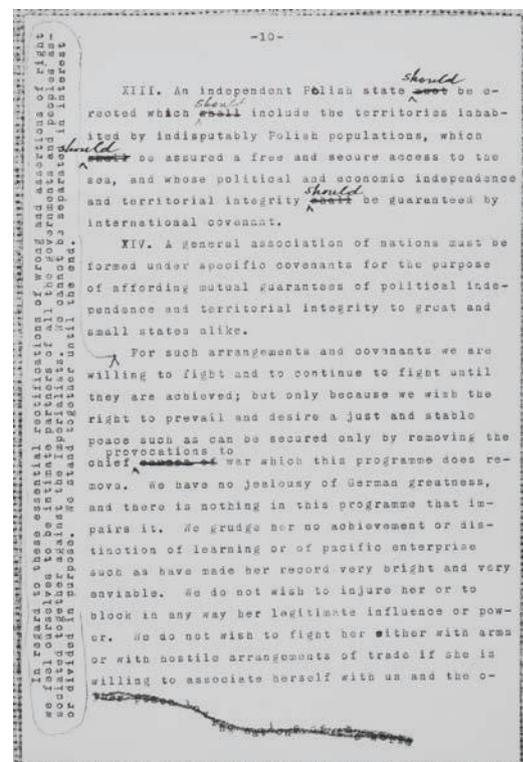
	Leader	Country	Contribution
 <p>SOURCE 1.7 President Woodrow Wilson</p>	President Woodrow Wilson	United States	The US President came to the Paris Peace Conference with the greatest moral authority of the Big Four. After years of slaughter, Wilson seemed to offer a vision for the future that included the League of Nations. Wilson also held the United States aloof from the other leaders by calling his country an Associated Power, rather than being one of the Allies.
 <p>SOURCE 1.8 Prime Minister David Lloyd George</p>	Prime Minister David Lloyd George	Britain	Lloyd George became the British Prime Minister at the head of a right-wing coalition government (known as the 'Knock-Out Blow' coalition) in December 1916, due to its determination to make the war a fight to the finish and to shun all talk of an early peace. Lloyd George was under pressure from the hard-right factions of his party not to show leniency towards the Germans, though this went against his own instincts.

	Leader	Country	Contribution
 <p>SOURCE 1.9 Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau</p>	Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau	France	The French Prime Minister had a tough no-nonsense reputation. His main aim was to ensure France's future security. This involved imposing limitations on Germany, which due to its natural advantages in terms of population size, industrial production and geopolitical position in Europe, was seen as posing a future threat.
 <p>SOURCE 1.10 Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando</p>	Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando	Italy	Italy had stayed neutral in the war until the Allies enticed them to enter the war in 1915 with the promise of territorial rewards detailed in a secret treaty. However, the war was a near-disaster for the Italians. Their territorial gains were modest compared to the massive loss of life. They looked to the Paris Peace Conference to receive the territorial compensation that they believed was due to them.

The League of Nations

One of the main reasons for President Wilson's decision to join the war in April 1917 as a combatant on the Allied side was to create a 'league of nations'. Since 1915 the 'league of nations' had become the popular name given to the concept of a 'general association of nations' promoted by progressive groups in Europe and America as a way of preventing future wars. In the November 1916 presidential election campaign Woodrow Wilson had committed his own political party, the Democrats, to the creation of the 'league' at the end of the war. On 8 January 1918, in a speech delivered to the US Congress, President Wilson signalled his intention to follow through on this revolutionary proposal by including the creation of a 'general association of nations' in his landmark Fourteen Points speech. From this point on, the Fourteen Points became the de facto war aims of the Allied and Associated Powers.

SOURCE 1.11 One page of a draft of Woodrow Wilson's 'Fourteen Points Address', delivered before a joint session of the US Congress on 8 January 1918, in which he set forth his ideas for a peace treaty. The 14th point, advocating a 'general association of nations', is shown on this page.



On his arrival at the 1919 Paris peace talks, Wilson was determined to force the issue and make the discussions about the creation of an international organisation the first thing on the agenda. A committee to create the 'league' was set up on 25 January 1919. They met first on 3 February and produced a draft covenant 11 days later. President Wilson also insisted that the Covenant of the League of Nations be written into the Treaty of Versailles. The Covenant is detailed in 26 articles in Part 1 of the Treaty of Versailles. There had been many plans and proposals for a League of Nations in the last few years of World War I, but the Covenant that was negotiated at the Paris peace talks was very much determined by the ideas of the US President with some input from the British delegation.

President Wilson had achieved one of his major objectives at the beginning of the peacemaking process in Paris. The rest of the peacemaking process would not be as easy.

RESEARCH TASK 1.1

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Go to the Yale Law School website and locate Part 1 of the Treaty of Versailles, which contains the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Questions

Skim-read the 26 articles of this document, locate the relevant articles and find answers to the following questions.

- 1 Describe your first impressions of this League.
- 2 Analyse the basic structure of the League.
- 3 Clarify which powers will form the Council.
- 4 Identify the location of the League's headquarters.
- 5 Identify who will summon the first meeting of the League.

The Treaty of Versailles, 28 June 1919

On 7 May 1919, the German delegation was presented with the Treaty of Versailles as a *fait accompli* and were expected to sign. They refused and the head of the first democratically elected government of

Germany, Phillip Scheidemann, resigned. The Allies refused to listen to German complaints and refused to compromise the terms of the Treaty. The blockade of Germany by the British and US navies continued, preventing the importation of vital materials and food. The Germans were given a deadline to sign, with the Allies threatening an invasion from the west if they continued to refuse. The German President, Freidrich Ebert, checked with his generals to see whether the army could stop an Allied invasion and when informed that they could not, he had General Groener inform the German Government of this fact. The German National Assembly then voted 237–138 in favour of signing the Treaty. Two ministers of the German Government,

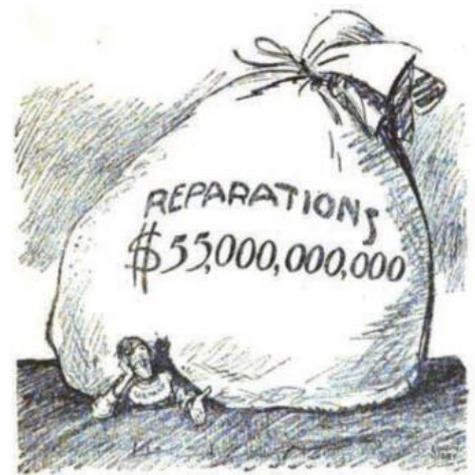


SOURCE 1.12 Mass demonstration outside the Reichstag in Berlin against the Treaty of Versailles, 15 May 1919

Hermann Müller and Johannes Bell, went to Versailles and signed the Treaty on behalf of Germany on 28 June 1919.

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles were:

- The loss of 13 per cent of German territory to the east, the north and the west (see Source 1.14)
- The Rhineland was demilitarised and an Allied occupation army was to remain there for 15 years
- Germany was forbidden from joining with Austria
- The loss of all overseas German colonies
- The limitation of the German Army to 100 000 volunteers; conscription was forbidden
- German ownership of tanks, submarines or aircraft was forbidden
- The German Navy was allowed to have only six battleships
- The payment of **reparations** to be determined by the Reparations Commission at a later date.



SOURCE 1.13 Cartoon about the burden of reparations on Germany

RESEARCH TASK 1.2

The Treaty of Versailles

Go to the Yale Law School website and locate Parts II to XV of the Treaty of Versailles.

Draw up a table like the one below, with 15 rows – one for each Part. Look up each Part of the Treaty and write down the topic it covers, then make an observation about at least one aspect of each Part. The first two rows have been partially completed as an example for you.

Part	Title	Comment	Rating
Part II	Boundaries of Germany	Germany's losses to the east were complex and significant	
Part III	Germany's obligations in regard to Belgium	There will be some transfer of territory to Belgium; Germany will have financial liabilities to pay	

Tasks

- 1 Give a rating of 1–3 in the right-hand column for each clause. 1 = harsh/unreasonable, 2 = fair/reasonable, 3 = practical/non-controversial
- 2 Discuss your ratings with a classmate. Where do you agree/disagree?
- 3 If you were at the negotiating table with the Big Four in 1919, would you have advocated any changes to this Treaty? If so, which ones?
- 4 Discuss: To what extent was this a fair, reasonable and practical treaty for putting an end to conflict with Germany?
- 5 Discuss: Do you think this Treaty provide a basis for a just and lasting peace? Give your reasons.

reparations payments made by a defeated nation after a war to pay for damages or expenses it caused to another nation

Reparations

Due to the sensitivity of the reparations issue, and the fact the Big Four (at Lloyd George's suggestion) was considering a very substantial final figure to be paid by Germany to the Allies, it was agreed to delay the calculation and announcement of reparations. When the Treaty of Versailles was presented on 7 May 1919, the German delegation was informed in Article 231 of the fact that they would be paying reparations, but not how much.

On 5 May 1921, the Reparations Commission announced the figure for reparations would be 132 billion gold marks (about US\$33 billion). All sections of the German populace were outraged, and right-wing political groups experienced a resurgence. The announcement also led to the fall of yet another German coalition government. Hastily, a new coalition government was formed and the German Government agreed to yet another humiliation at the hands of the Allied governments. The first humiliation was the Treaty of Versailles. Reparations was the second. They were humiliated on both occasions because they had no say in these decisions. If they didn't sign they would be invaded. It was not surprising when there was foot-dragging on behalf of the German Government when it came to the annual reparation payments. The German Government made its first payment, but in late 1921 asked for a moratorium to ease its domestic financial situation.

Other peace treaties, 1919–20

The Treaty of Versailles is the one that has grabbed all of the attention over the years and it is the one that has generated the bulk of the political argument and historical debate. However, Versailles was part of a package of treaties.

The Treaty of St Germain, 10 September 1919

This peace treaty with Austria recognised that Austria and Hungary would now be separate nations. Austria was forced to give up territory to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Italy. This reduced Austria to a small and barely viable nation, yet they were forbidden to unite with their fellow Germans next door. The Austrian armed forces were reduced in number, and they were forced to pay reparations to the Allied nations.

mandate the name of an area of land given to a country by the League of Nations, following or as part of a peace agreement

The Treaty of Sèvres, 10 August 1920

This peace treaty with Turkey confiscated most of its European-held territory, and the Ottoman Empire was broken up, with most of it going to Britain and France to be governed as **mandates** of the League of Nations. The Dardenelles Strait was put under control of the League of Nations, and French, British and Italian troops were to occupy Turkey itself.

The Treaty of Trianon, 14 June 1920

This treaty with Hungary confiscated parts of its territory to give to neighbouring Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Hungary was forced to pay reparations to the Allied nations and its army was limited to 35 000 personnel.

The Treaty of Neuilly, 27 November 1920

This treaty with Bulgaria confiscated parts of its territory to give to neighbouring Yugoslavia and Greece. The Bulgarian army was limited to 20 000 personnel and Bulgaria was forced to pay reparations to the Allied nations.

ANALYSING SOURCES 1.3



SOURCE 1.14 By the end of the peacemaking process in the 1920s, the map of Europe had changed significantly.

- 1 Identify each of the territorial changes from all of the peace treaties on the map. Rank each of the Central Powers according to the territorial losses that the treaties imposed on them.
- 2 Comment on the wisdom of these territorial changes. Did the peacemakers get it right or did these territorial adjustments create more problems than they solved?

1.2 Reaction to the peace treaties

The key questions that need to be considered are:

- To what extent did the victorious powers make real gains from years of sacrifice? In other words, was it all worth it?
- To what extent did the peace treaties have a negative impact on the defeated nations?

The United States

When President Wilson returned to the United States, a 'League Fight' ensued in which Wilson waged a public campaign for the League of Nations. Tragically, President Wilson was struck down by a stroke on 25 September 1919, and was effectively an invalid in the White House for the remainder of his presidency (which lasted until March 1921). On 19 November 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was defeated in the US Senate (which refused to allow the United States to become a party to the Treaty). As a result, the United States never signed the Treaty of Versailles. However, in 1921 the US Congress passed resolutions that formally ended hostilities with Germany and Austria, which marked the official end of World War I between the United States and Germany. The other Allied nations officially ended their hostilities with Germany in 1919.

Sadly, the President was not able to comply with Article 5 of the Treaty of Versailles, which stated that the first meeting of the League of Nations 'shall be summoned by the President of the United States'. Thus, the 'League Fight' as it has become known in US history, resulted in the United States, by then the most powerful nation in the world, playing no part whatsoever in the newly minted League of Nations which its own president had fought so hard to make a reality.

Britain

Though British Prime Minister Lloyd George had been instrumental in shaping the Treaty of Versailles, he later had misgivings that its terms had been too harsh on Germany. Though he had won a 'khaki election' in December 1918 (by advocating for severe treatment of Germany), Lloyd George showed little enthusiasm for enforcing the provisions of the Treaty and he failed to support France when it did so. British public opinion eventually came to question the wisdom of what they increasingly saw as a 'harsh peace'.

France

Though Prime Minister Clemenceau succeeded in getting much of what he wanted in the peace settlement with Germany, the French were left with a nagging doubt as to whether the security guarantees in the Treaty would be enough to keep them safe from a resurgent Germany at some point in the future. In the 1920s, France saw their financial and physical security gradually dissipate.

Italy

Though Prime Minister Orlando was one of the Big Four involved in making many of the key decisions, he suddenly left the conference on 20 April 1919. On departing a Big Four meeting being held in Wilson's rented house in Paris, Orlando was overcome with emotion and began to sob. He had failed to get his fellow peacemakers to agree to his demand that Italy be given the Adriatic port of Fiume. He left Paris with his delegation and returned to Rome. The Italian delegation returned to Paris in May having failed to negotiate any further concessions for Italy. Italy's failure to secure many of its demands for territory led to political instability in Italy for the next few years. This was a factor in Benito Mussolini and his National Fascist Party seizing power in Italy in October 1922.

Germany

The Germans thought that the 'diktat' or 'dictated peace' was extremely unfair. Their biggest complaints were:

- that the Treaty was worked out in secret and presented to the Germans as a *fait accompli*
- they believed that they were being forced to accept full responsibility for the war
- the territorial losses were unfair – they estimated that they had lost 13.5 per cent of their territory, which accounted for about 7 million people
- their colonies were confiscated and distributed among the Allies
- that the Allies were trying to bankrupt them with their inflated reparations claims
- that the disarmament provisions would leave Germany defenceless.

However, a number of historians point out that Germany got off more lightly than its alliance partners. For instance, Turkey lost its entire territory in the Middle East, and the Austro-Hungarian multinational state was dismembered. Though Germany lost some territory, it was not dismembered and was basically left intact.

Turkey's reaction to the peace treaties

Turkey had more reason to be discontented with the peace settlement. Their response was to refuse to accept the Treaty of Sèvres and the presence of foreign troops on their soil, especially Greek ones, fuelled nationalist fervour. In 1921, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the general who had led the Turkish defence of

Gallipoli, overthrew the Sultan of Turkey and seized power. He led an army which expelled the Greek troops from Smyrna. In 1922 the Allies agreed to renegotiate the peace treaty and in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. This treaty returned the territory that had been given to Greece, returned the Straits to full Turkish control and ordered all foreign troops to leave Turkey. The Turkish Republic was founded on 29 October 1923 with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its first President. Turkish nationalism under the guidance of Atatürk saw the development of a confident modern secular Turkish state.

A MATTER OF FACT

The Water Diviner

In this 2014 film starring Russell Crowe as an Australian farmer returning to Gallipoli in 1919 to find the bodies of his sons, he finds a Turkish population seething in nationalist fervour as they seek to expel foreign troops from their homeland. This film gives a Turkish perspective on Gallipoli and post-war Turkey's struggle against the impositions of the Treaty of Sèvres.



SOURCE 1.15 Australian Oscar-winning actor Russell Crowe and actress Olga Kurylenko attend a press conference to promote the movie *The Water Diviner* in Istanbul, Turkey, on 5 December 2014.



SOURCE 1.16 Faisal, son of Hussain of Mecca, with his delegates and advisers at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Behind him (to his right) is Col. T.E. Lawrence 'of Arabia'.

The Arab reaction to the peace treaties

The Arab peoples of the Middle East were shocked to learn that they would not be able to rule themselves in one united nation. Instead the territories of the former Ottoman Empire mostly were to be ruled by the British and the French as part of League of Nations mandates. This was in accordance with Allied secret treaties agreed to during the war. Also, the British had agreed to Jewish settlement in Palestine under the Balfour Agreement of 1917. The political borders of the Middle East today were largely determined by World War I treaties. Many of these borders were decided in the most arbitrary manner.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent were popular views about the peace treaties in the victorious nations in line with their governments? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compare the impact of the peace treaties on each of the defeated nations. Did some suffer more than others? |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> As a class discuss the following: To what extent did the nature of the post-war settlement, achieved by the victorious nations, justify the years of slaughter and sacrifice? | |

The reaction of subject peoples of the imperial powers

Nationalism had been a strong force in China since the end of the Chinese Revolution in 1911. China was incensed by the fact that Japan had been awarded Shandong province. After the news of the failure of the Peace Conference to resolve the Shandong question reached Beijing, on 4 May 1919, over 2000 students organised a demonstration in Tiananmen Square and demanded that Shandong be returned to China. There were demonstrations in other cities across China, and 7000 telegrams were sent to Paris. In Paris, the Chinese delegation refused to sign the treaty. The situation was the same for every Asian, African or Pacific Islander ruled by a colonial power. There would be no talk of self-determination for non-white peoples. The idealistic principles uttered by the US President would not apply to them. However, the world war had awakened nationalism in the colonial empires and it was only a matter of time before every colonial power faced strong demands from home-grown nationalist groups for the right to determine their own destinies.

1.3 The historical debate

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional content.



1.4 The Centenary – An assessment of the peace treaties

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional content.



CHAPTER 1 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

PEACEMAKING

- Negotiations between the Big Four determined the shape of the Treaty of Versailles.
- President Wilson was determined to get a League of Nations established at the Peace Conference.
- The Treaty of Versailles was seen by many to have been harsh on Germany.
- Making reparations to the Allied nations was seen as being another humiliation to the German people.

REACTIONS TO THE PEACE TREATIES

- The United States failed to sign the Treaty of Versailles or join the League of Nations.
- British opinion eventually came to see the Treaty of Versailles as being too harsh on Germany.
- France felt insecure and feared a future German resurgence.
- Turkey had a surge of nationalism and renegotiated its peace settlement.
- World War I initiated nationalist feeling in the colonies of imperial powers, in the Arab world and in China.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- 1) the Big Four
- 2) diktat
- 3) the Treaty of Versailles
- 4) the Treaty of Sèvres
- 5) the Treaty of Trianon

Historical concepts

Causation

- Assess the claim that the post-World War I peace treaties share some responsibility for the rise of Hitler.

Continuity and change

- Identify the aspects of US policy towards peacemaking that were consistent with the principles enunciated in the Fourteen Points. Distinguish those that changed during the negotiating process.

Perspectives

- Outline the German perspective of the Treaty of Versailles.

Significance

- Explain the significance of the opposition of the US Senate to ratifying the Treaty of Versailles.

Contestability

- Assess the French view that German payment of reparations was fair and just compensation for the destruction caused to French territory, agriculture and industry during the German occupation of northern France in World War I.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Explain why the United States never joined the League of Nations, despite the fact that President Wilson had championed the idea from 1916.

2 Historical interpretation



SOURCE 1.17 Alexander Knox as Woodrow Wilson in the 1944 movie, *Wilson*.

- Find the 1944 film *Wilson* on YouTube and watch the excerpt from timestamp 2:05:20 to 2:10:00. Describe the interpretation given in the film of Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson and the German delegation in the following scenes:
 - The Big Four negotiation
 - The signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

3 Analysis and use of sources

Refer to the sources below to answer the following questions.

- Referring to Source A, summarise the significance of this occasion. Assess if the headline was justified.
- Referring to Source B, outline the claim being made.
- Referring to Source C, interpret the message of the cartoon.
- Referring to Source D, explain the significance of this headline.
- Referring to all of the sources, and your own knowledge, to what extent was the lack of

American engagement in Europe after the peacemaking process a critical factor in the ultimate breakdown of the international order in the late 1930s?

SOURCE A



Newspaper front page, 28 June 1919. Dignitaries gathered in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, France, to sign the peace treaty ending World War I.

SOURCE B

In this quote, Garrison Villard is referring to President Wilson's 'Peace Without Victory' speech of 22 January 1917.

Had Wilson lived up to these words the whole world today would be a happy and prosperous orb; there would be no Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Instead, we have a Treaty of Peace resting 'not permanently, but upon quicksand' – actually disappearing in the quicksand which Woodrow Wilson saw in his mind's eye.

Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years, Memoirs of a Liberal Editor*, January 1940, pp. 320–1

SOURCE C



'The Accuser': an American cartoon from 1920 by Rollin Kirby, published after the US Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles

4 Historical investigation and research

Locate the following webpage: 'Resolutions presented to the Peace Conference of the Power in Paris,' WILPF Resolutions, Second Congress, Zurich, 1919 and answer the following question.

- Evaluate the 1919 Resolutions' critique of the peace treaties, the League of Nations, democracy, the role of women and other recommendations for a just and lasting peace. To what extent could addressing any of these concerns have made for a more just and stable peace?

In order to help you answer this question, conduct historical research in your school or local library or online (from educational websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:

- a list of mini-questions you want to answer in your response (to break down the question into smaller parts)
- a research plan (identify where you will conduct research and how many sources you want to consider)

Please see Cambridge GO to access a practice examination paper and source booklet for the Core topic Power and Authority in the Modern World.



SOURCE D



The *New York Times* reports on the US Congress refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

- evidence from a range of sources (try to include some quotes from each source; be sure to use quotation marks)
- acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs, and a conclusion.

5 Further essay questions

- To what extent did the peacemaking at Versailles in 1919 align with the principles stated in President Wilson's Fourteen Points speech of January 1918?
- Compare how Germany was treated in the peace settled with the other defeated powers. Was Germany's claim to unfair treatment a valid one, when compared to how the other defeated powers were treated?
- Assess the claim that none of the Allied and Associated Powers were totally satisfied with the peace treaties. Distinguish which of the Allied and Associated Powers had the greatest reason for being dissatisfied with the peace settlement.

CHAPTER 2

The rise of dictatorships after World War I

Democracy is a kingless regime infested by many kings who are sometimes more exclusive, tyrannical and destructive than one, even if he be a tyrant.

Benito Mussolini



The rise of dictatorships in the interwar period



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate the nature of power and authority 1919–46, and a broader transnational perspective that looks at the rise of fascist, totalitarian and militarist movements after World War I and what drew people to these movements.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore:

- the conditions that enabled dictators to rise to power in the interwar period
- an overview of the features of the dictatorships that emerged in Russia, Italy, Japan.



TIMELINE

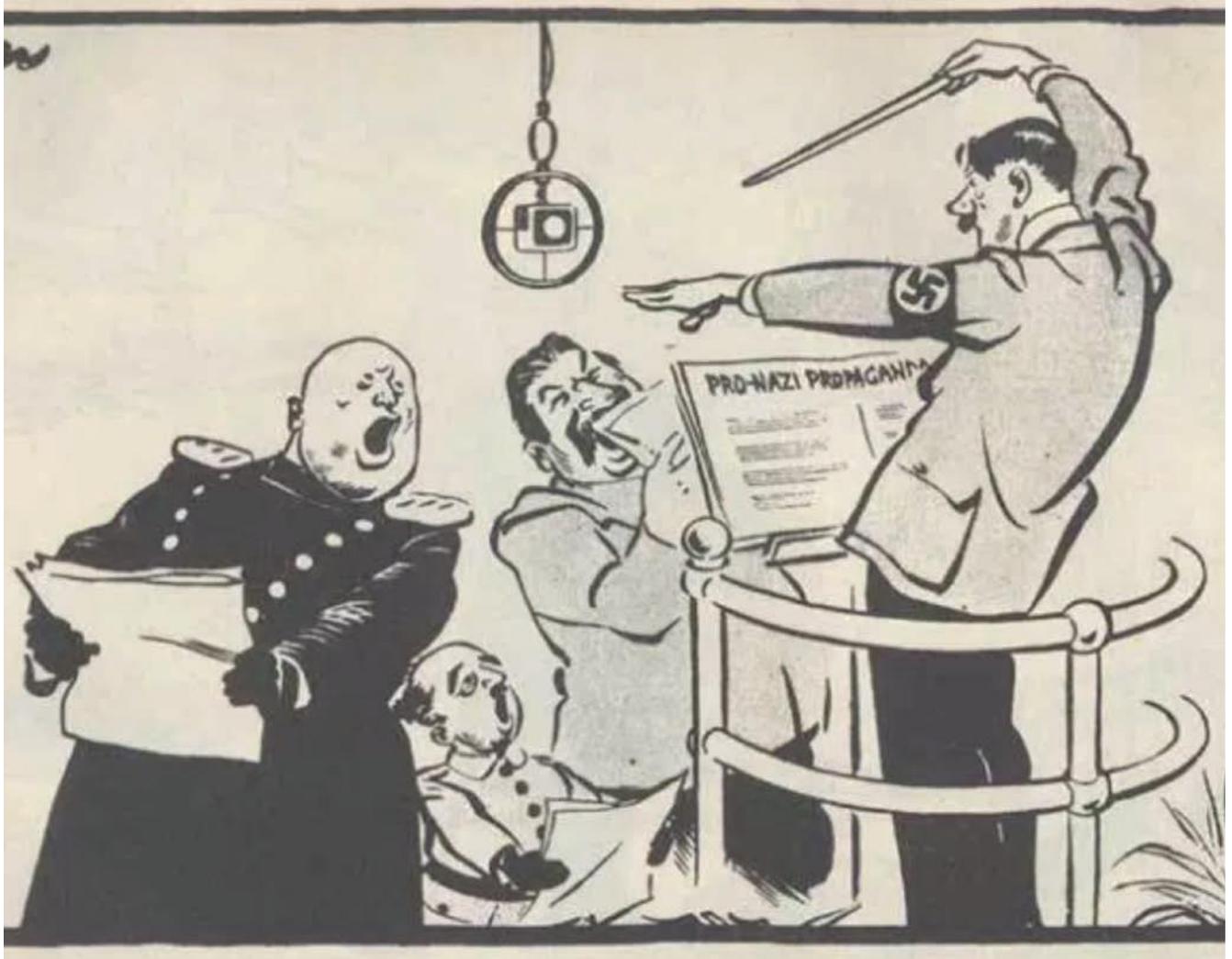
DATE	KEY EVENT
1918	Germany forces Russia to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
1918–21	Russian Civil War.
1919	Fascist movement founded in Italy.
1919	Treaty of Versailles written. Germany signs Treaty of Versailles under protest. Radical socialist revolt in Germany suppressed.
1921	Hitler becomes leader of the Nazi Party in Germany.
1922	Mussolini becomes Prime Minister of Italy, after the March on Rome.
1923	Hitler's Beer Hall <i>Putsch</i> fails.
1927	Stalin dominates the government in the Soviet Union.
1928	First Soviet five-year plan launched.
1929	Stalin orders collectivisation. Great Depression begins to take effect worldwide.
1930	Breakthrough election for the Nazi Party in Germany.
1933	Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany on 30 January.
1935	Mussolini invades Abyssinia.
1936–38	Stalin's Great Purge in the Soviet Union.
1936–39	Spanish Civil War.
1937	Rape of Nanking by Japanese troops.



SOURCE 2.2 German and Japanese generals plan their world domination, 1941.



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 2.3 'The Harmony Boys' by David Low, a cartoon depicting the four main dictators in European politics during the 1930s; first published May 1940

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 2 Overview

KEY IDEA

Understanding the legacy of the traumas of World War I in relation to the growth of fascism, totalitarianism and militarism across Europe and Asia.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Contemporary issues of social, economic and political upheaval throughout the world remind us of the dramatic events that unfolded in Europe and Asia after World War I, which led to the erosion of democracy and the rise of dictatorships.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- collectivisation
- industrialisation
- paramilitary groups
- constitution
- Comintern
- uprising
- fascism
- Bolsheviks
- famine
- Marxism
- purges
- propaganda
- *zaibatsu*
- democracy
- dictatorship

INQUIRY QUESTION

To what extent was the growth of dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Russia responsible for the growth of European tensions?

fascism a political system based on having a very powerful leader, state control and extreme pride in country and race; political opposition is not allowed

collectivisation the process by which, in the period 1929–37, the Russian peasants were organised into collective farms under state supervision

industrialisation a massive program undertaken by Stalin to develop industries within the country under a series of five-year plans; the first five-year plan was introduced in 1928

Painting the picture

Background

Out of the trauma and dislocations of World War I grew **fascism**, a new ideology that first appeared in post-war Italy. Renouncing liberalism and parliamentary democracy, in addition to communism and socialism, the Italian and former socialist, Benito Mussolini, established the 'Blackshirts'. These were paramilitary squads of organised thugs that suppressed political opposition in the streets, declaring their aspirations of a rejuvenated national community. The Fascists, under Mussolini, came to power in 1922 through the infamous March on Rome, where Fascists violently attacked and brutalised their political opposition, chanting slogans of '*Credere, obbedire, combattere!*' ('Believe, obey and fight!') in order to mobilise society to form a 'total state'. The way in which Mussolini, who was also known as 'Il Duce', came to power and reformed Italy was copied by dictators across the world, a result of the dramatically eroded fortunes of democratic principles.

In the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, who was referred to as the 'Man of Steel', emerged as leader and successor to Lenin. His growing cult of personality enabled him to dominate Soviet politics and he set about 'Stalinising' the society through **collectivisation** and **industrialisation** at a terrible cost to human life. The system that Stalin established has been termed

'totalitarian' because of its grandiose vision of 'total control'. Under the dictatorship, a series of campaigns were initiated to transform the Soviet Union's structure involving the mobilisation of the masses, construction of new machinery and the use of police terror.

In the 1920s Japan, like Germany, laboured under a weak parliamentary government against mounting social and economic difficulties. At the same time, strong nationalist and militarist elements were establishing themselves among the Japanese ruling classes. This became obvious at the time of the Manchurian crisis which occurred towards the end of 1931.



SOURCE 2.4 Benito Mussolini inspects the fully armed police 'shock troops' of the Fascist militia during celebrations, in Rome, of the 17-year anniversary of their foundation, 7 February 1940.

2.1 The conditions that enabled dictators to rise to power in the interwar period

Though World War I ended in 1918, the conflict's aftershocks continued. Indeed, far from ensuring lasting tranquillity, the Treaty of Versailles created the conditions for new conflicts that inevitably arose. Intense hopes for worldwide democracy evaporated, replaced by the surge of radical revolutionaries and reactions to revolts in the form of **paramilitary groups** and veterans who called to reorganise society along military lines. The recently ended war had militarised much of political life; this model of 'politics as war' would mark the brief interwar period.

World War I had an intellectual and cultural impact on Europe, creating the conditions that subsequently enabled dictators (like Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin) to rise to power. The war brutalised European societies, producing militarised politics. Wartime expansion of government power damaged liberal ideals of limited states and individual rights.

European borders underwent major changes. With the defeat of Germany in World War I and the subsequent breakup of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires, the borderlines of Europe were remade, with new independent states emerging, such as Czechoslovakia and Poland. There was also an influx of refugees fleeing from continuing conflict, particularly from the collapsed Russian Empire. These stateless people had no clearly defined rights. With the consolidation of new frontiers, 20 million people became ethnic minorities across Central and Eastern Europe. 🗝️

The growth of Italian nationalism

Fascism was a reaction to the destabilising influence of World War I, and to the damage that total war wrought on the certainties, order and ideas of the nineteenth century. Fascist ideas would acquire a wide influence. They would be spread and imitated in many countries, but they would rarely become as dominant as they did in Italy. The German Nazis drew inspiration from Italian fascism. Paradoxically, victory in World War I brought with it disappointment for the Italians, and that disappointment had major consequences. Given the historical record, we tend to think that it is defeat in wartime that unleashes crisis. For example, defeat in World War I helped to usher in the Nazi movement in Germany. However, the case of Italy proved that victory could also initiate a political crisis.

At the Paris peace negotiations, Italy felt that it had been cheated. Though it was officially on the side of the victors, Italy was denied the territorial gains that had been promised by the Western Allies. When the Italians left the negotiations, nationalists within Italy denounced what they called the 'mutilated peace' of Versailles. It seemed like the sacrifice of so many Italian lives in the war may have been for nothing.

The aftermath of World War I would bring post-war turmoil for Italy. This turmoil included workers' strikes, rural unrest, unstable governments and the growth of a communist movement that alarmed the established elites. Veteran paramilitary groups, organised to resemble similar groups in Germany, took to the streets in order to do battle in a virtual civil war.



SOURCE 2.5 The railway carriage in which the Armistice was signed at Versailles, 1 May 1921

paramilitary groups semi-militarised forces that are not part of a state's formal armed forces; they have a similar organisational structure to a professional military group

KEY QUESTIONS

Summarising



What were the conditions that gave rise to dictatorships in the interwar years?

Forming opinions

Why do you think World War I had such a significant psychological impact on nations?

The growth of German nationalism

As Germany faced defeat in November 1918, it was disintegrating. Sailors mutinied in the ports of Wilhelmshaven, Kiel and Hamburg; workers and ex-soldiers set up 'revolutionary soviets' (revolutionary councils, named after those recently established in Communist Russia) in Berlin and other cities. The German Emperor – Kaiser Wilhelm II – fled to Holland and a new democratic government replaced him. This was a moderate socialist government, led by the leader of the German Social Democratic Party (the SPD), Friedrich Ebert. The first meeting of the new German National Assembly took place in the quiet town of Weimar on 6 February 1919, well away from the violence in Berlin some 200 kilometres to the north. On 11 February 1919, Ebert was elected as the first president of the new German Republic.

In the early stages of the Republic, a struggle developed between the Majority Socialists, who believed the revolution to be complete, and the Independent Socialists, who called for the socialisation of major industries, land reform, the democratisation of the army and the judiciary. They believed such reforms were necessary if democratic reforms were to be secure from counter-revolution.

To a great many Germans, it seemed as if somehow defeat in World War I had been snatched from the jaws of victory – the German newspapers all said so, day in and day out. However, the war was over, and they had lost. The US president, Woodrow Wilson, had already indicated that he wouldn't negotiate with a representative from the old Reich. And now, revolution was breaking out all over Germany.

There is no exaggerating the impact of World War I on German political and social life. Germany suffered almost 2 million dead, with over a million more missing in action. Only Russia lost more soldiers during the war. There was hardly any family in Germany that was left untouched, and there was enormous bitterness and disappointment at the outcome of the conflict. The social tensions in Germany had grown during the war; in fact, they reached revolutionary proportions. The soldiers at the front had seen a classless society; soldier-by-soldier, it didn't matter whether you were Protestant or Catholic or Jewish at the front. You were a soldier; you fought for the greater good of Germany. In fact, there were a large group of veterans who simply could not demobilise psychologically when the fighting was over; fighting the war was all they knew. And one of those soldiers was a young Austrian who had enlisted in the German army in 1914. His name was Adolf Hitler.

freikorps the Free Corps; German military units formed in 1918 and made up mainly of ex-soldiers; they engaged in street violence and were opposed to left-wing extremists

Spartacist uprising an attempted communist takeover of Berlin in January 1919. Under orders from the new Weimar Government, *freikorps* troops crushed the uprising.

Ebert's new government faced massive unrest. Armed workers and soldiers – inspired by the Russian Revolution – attempted communist uprisings in various parts of Germany. These were bloodily put down by the army and groups of nationalist and right-wing ex-soldiers known as the **freikorps**. By 1919, there were nearly 200 of these groups in Germany. While they were used by the new government to crush revolts by communists, they had no love for democracy either.

In January 1919, a group of communists attempted to seize power in Berlin. These were members of the *Spartakusbund* (Spartacist League), led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who shortly before this revolt had set up the

German Communist Party (KPD). The '**Spartacist uprising**' was crushed by the *freikorps*; 156 insurgents and 17 *freikorps* troops died during the fighting, and Luxemburg and Liebknecht were beaten and executed. The *freikorps* were prepared to help Ebert's government because they hated communism even more than they hated the Social Democrats. As a result, the government of Ebert survived, but this led to a bitter split between the moderate socialists of the SPD and the KPD. This meant that left-wing political parties in Germany hated each other as much as they hated their nationalist opponents.

While Germany was in the middle of this unrest, a new democratic constitution was drafted with the first line 'The German people, united in all their racial elements and inspired by the will to renew and strengthen their Reich in liberty and justice, to preserve peace at home and abroad, and to promote social progress'. The Weimar Constitution instituted universal suffrage; German women were one of the first within Europe to have the right to vote. The Weimar Republic would be Europe's first welfare state. A radical system of

proportional representation was instituted. The new government would find itself beset from the very beginning with a set of crises from which it didn't look like it would recover. Political assassinations took place against people on the left by right-wing extremists. This was largely due to the association between Germany's wartime surrender with liberal and socialist parties. For instance, Ezberger, who had signed the armistice, was assassinated in 1921. The Weimar years also featured coups from the left and right, and government instability on a large scale. The new republic was born from a legacy of war and defeat.

In 1919, the new Weimar Government would be forced to sign the hated Treaty of

Versailles – a document that was reviled by all political parties in Germany. Under the terms of the Treaty, Germany was forced to accept a loss of territory. Alsace-Lorraine went back to France; territories were also lost in the east. Germany was forced to pay reparations for all the devastation caused in Belgium and France, and also to the British. A 'war guilt clause' in the Treaty said that the justification for Germany paying reparations is that Germany alone was responsible for the outbreak of the war. Germany's military forces were reduced to just 100 000 troops. As historian Margaret McMillian argues, 'the victorious Allies (most notably Britain, France and the United States) imposed a very harsh set of demands on Germany in order to weaken it so that it would never again threaten the peace of Europe'. Consequently, democracy and the new Weimar Republic would be associated with defeat and humiliation and this would assist those more extreme groups who hoped to undermine it in the 1920s. To them the politicians who had led Germany out of the war in 1918 were the '**November Criminals**' and the 'criminals' had compounded their guilt by signing the humiliating Treaty of Versailles.



SOURCE 2.6 Putschists and crowds in the government district in Berlin

November Criminals the democratic politicians of the Weimar Republic who were branded as traitors of Germany by signing the armistice who had 'stabbed Germany in the back'

ANALYSING SOURCES 2.1

Words cannot suffice to explain the indignation and the grief ... the great edifice (structure) for which our fathers fought with their blood – wiped out by treason in the ranks of our own people. Germany yesterday still unconquered, now left at the mercy of her enemies by men bearing the name of Germans, forced to her knees in disgrace by crime in her own ranks!

The German socialists knew that peace was in the offing and that it was merely a matter of facing the enemy for a few weeks with a firm front to extract tolerable conditions from him. In this situation they hoisted the white flag. This is an evil that can never and shall never be forgiven. It is an act of treason towards the German people.

SOURCE 2.7 *Deutsch Tagezeitung*, a newspaper editorial, 10 November 1918

- 1 Evaluate how the editorial explains the political context in Germany.
- 2 Identify who the newspaper blames for the collapse of Imperial Germany.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 Account for the reasons in the growth of nationalism in Italy and Germany in the interwar years.
- 2 Explain the key events in Germany after World War I that challenged the new democracy.

Comintern an international agency set up by the Russians in 1919 to coordinate the activities of Communist parties throughout the world; otherwise known as the 'Third International'

Bolsheviks the wing of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin, that seized control of the government in Russia in October 1917; they became the dominant political power in the early years of the Soviet Union

Instability in other European countries

There was a surge in radical revolution throughout Europe at this time. Inspired by the example of the Soviets, and also invigorated by the **Comintern**, conflict against authority broke out across Europe. The opposing Red and White military forces faced each other in Finland's 1918 Civil War, which ended in a defeat of the communist forces. Meanwhile, in March 1920 there was another attempted coup in Germany, this time by right-wing forces in an event known as the Kapp *Putsch*. On this occasion the *Reichswehr* (army) refused to fire on the putschists and support the government, arguing '*Reichswehr* do not fire upon *Reichswehr*'. The putschists held Berlin for five days but were driven out following a general strike. While unsuccessful, these revolts stirred the fears of the European middle classes due to the economic and political ramifications of the violence.

Europe experienced a period of stabilisation in 1924–29, an economic recovery that belied the fact that Europe ultimately rested on unstable foundations. Following the initial calls for democracy after World War I, the principles of democracy were becoming less popular. The global Great Depression, starting in 1929, offered a chance for extremist movements to gain further popularity, as people were more inclined to vote for political parties that provided an alternative to the government in power. 

2.2 The dictatorships that emerged in Russia, Italy and Japan

The interwar years were a gathering of political storm clouds and were a dark portent for the coming times. They were a dark time marked by deepening economic crisis, the failure of democracies and a global clash of ideologies that superseded liberal ideas. As a result, dictatorships emerged across the world. These were largely defined by terror and repression, totalitarianism, propaganda and the cult of personality of the all-powerful dictator.

Russia

The 'cult of personality' proved to be remarkably effective in portraying Stalin as Lenin's heir apparent. Stalin's posthumous honouring of Lenin was an important first step towards developing a leadership cult around himself. These acts included renaming Petrograd as Leningrad and constructing a granite mausoleum in 1930 to house Lenin's mummified body. Loyalty was guaranteed to Stalin on the part of newer party members, who understood that they owed their position not necessarily to long careers, or established service within the Bolshevik party, but rather, because Stalin provided them with opportunities. Stalin's removal and marginalisation of older **Bolsheviks**, the older revolutionaries, opened up career paths to the new men of the regime. At the same time, by being seen as a remote dictator, Stalin would often not be blamed by the ordinary people for the shortcomings of life in the Soviet Union. It was often assumed that if only the great leader knew about the increasingly dire conditions, he would do something about them.



SOURCE 2.8 Russian communist leader Vladimir Lenin, who led Soviet Russia between 1917 and 1924

Soviet society was being increasingly Stalinised. The system that Stalin established has been called *totalitarian* by historians of the present day, because of its seeming ambitions for total control. These ambitions don't have to be totally realised or put into practice; they are forms of total control because of how far reaching they are.

After coming to power, Stalin turned on his earlier allies who had smoothed his rise in the party ranks. By 1929, the personality cult surrounding Stalin became a supreme force. A series of campaigns were mounted by Stalin to transform the Soviet Union's structure. These campaigns involved the mobilisation of masses of people, the construction of new machinery, and the deliberate use of finely calibrated police terror as an apparatus of control.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Joseph Stalin (1878–1953), dictator of the Soviet Union (1929–53)

Stalin transformed the Soviet Union from a peasant society to a military and industrial superpower. However, his reign was defined by terror and the death of millions of citizens. When Lenin died in 1924, he didn't endorse anyone as his successor. This meant that the Bolshevik leadership had to settle this problem. The two leading contenders for the top position were Leon Trotsky and the bureaucrat Joseph Stalin. Trotsky's assets were clear. He had personal charisma; he was a great and fierce orator. He had a fiery intelligence, a great sharpness and acuity. He had played an active role in the revolution and was a prime mover of the seizure of power in Red October. By contrast, Stalin was very different. He had a lacklustre personality, very little talent for rhetoric or oratory, but he did have the asset of a certain genius for bureaucratic and organisational activity behind the scenes. This talent meant that, as general secretary of the Communist Party since 1922, he had done much to place supporters of his own in key party positions and to win their loyalty. While Trotsky was out giving fiery speeches, Stalin worked behind the scenes. He seemed less radical than Trotsky. Stalin advanced the slogan 'Socialism in one country', urging the building, consolidation and strengthening of the Soviet state at home as the first priority. The outcome was ultimately a clear one. Through astute manoeuvring, Stalin engineered Trotsky's marginalisation and then his expulsion from the political party he had helped establish in 1927. Trotsky was exiled first to central Asia, and then expelled from the Soviet Union itself. He was later assassinated in 1940 in Mexico by one of Stalin's agents.



SOURCE 2.9 Joseph Stalin

By 1927, Stalin was in a dominant position in the Soviet Government and party apparatus. In the following years, he would reshape the regime, as well as Soviet society, in his own image.

One of the first measures undertaken was the reorganisation of the economy, from a largely agrarian system to a system of collectivisation. To gain firm control, from 1928 onwards, Stalin called for the collectivisation of agriculture. What collectivisation meant was that agriculture was organised on an entirely new basis, consolidating the central authority of the food supply.

Collectivisation aimed at replacing independent, small farms owned and worked by individual farmers with large-scale, state-owned collective farms. Peasants would now work like factory labourers, not on their own land, but as part of a collective in an agriculturally rational and scientific way.

In November 1929, Stalin upped the pace. He demanded forced collectivisation. More prosperous peasants, who were now labelled *kulaks*, were to be eliminated as a class. Their property, and the property of others, was to be taken away. Those defined as *kulaks* were arrested in the hundreds of thousands and deported to an uncertain fate in Siberia. Predictably enough, given this upheaval in the agricultural sector, agricultural production plummeted due to peasant resistance. Ordinary farmers desired, above all, to keep their land and to be left alone. In the absence of those minimal demands being met, they resisted by refusing to produce or give their produce to the regime.

By March 1930, as Stalin came to understand the enormous disruptions that the collectivisation drive was producing, he called it to a (temporary) halt. By the end of the year, however, he resumed the drive once again, because it was an important priority in the government taking control of the rural sector. The measures that were now enacted were even more severe than those of 1929. Food was declared to be state property; it was no longer the property of individual peasants. A 1932 law provided the death penalty for anyone who stole food (even for desperate peasants), because food was now the property of the state. Peasants were, however, allowed to retain some small, private garden plots.

It was a bitter irony, however, that in the most prosperous agricultural heartland of the Soviet Union the collectivisation policies would cause the most bitter harvest of all. The so-called ‘breadbasket of the Soviet Union’ – the Ukraine – bore the full brunt of the Terror Famine of 1932–33. This was not a natural disaster; it was a human-made disaster, a political famine, which had political purposes. As farmers in the Ukraine resisted giving up their hard-earned produce, Soviet troops moved in to seize the grain. This happened

even in areas where smaller-than-usual harvests were already causing increased hunger. Estimates of the casualties caused by this human-made disaster are still difficult to specify precisely, but it has been suggested that 5–7 million people starved in the Ukraine at this time. **Famine** also struck in other parts of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government, however, responded by using a term in its propaganda that would later become ubiquitous in the twentieth century: the ‘big lie’. It simply refused to acknowledge that such an event had taken place at all. Foreign reporters were studiously kept away from the areas in which famine struck by the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police). The NKVD controlled prisons, police, frontier guards and all aspects of the state security.

If these were the plans for the transformation of agriculture, there were also dramatic plans for the transformation of industry. These were known as the five-year plans. The first five-year plan was put into effect in October 1929. It involved the industrialisation

of the Soviet Union, to turn it (virtually overnight) into an industrial powerhouse. It aimed to move the country’s development forward at a radical pace, to force progress through sheer feats of will. The plan’s emphasis on the power of will, as embodied by the leader, the party and committed workers, to overcome physical obstacles, in many ways diverged from classical **Marxism**.

While this move away from agrarianism did not (in actuality) happen overnight, industry did expand at a phenomenal rate – at enormous human cost. Specific targets for production, quotas or norms were demanded by the government to show the dramatic increases that the plan called for.



SOURCE 2.10 The policy of collectivisation in the Soviet Union forced the peasantry to give up their individual farms and join large collective farms. The process was administered with the policy of industrialisation. Note the image of Stalin on the tractor.

famine widespread scarcity of food that can be caused by factors such as inflation, war or government policies

Marxism a set of political and economic theories developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels; Marxism later formed the basis of communism

The first five-year plan was completed in 1932, far ahead of schedule. The second five-year plan, which was to take place from 1933 to 1937, was also completed early.

Driving these transformations were the purges of the Great Terror. Historians still continue to debate the nature and magnitude of the Great Terror. Between 1936 and 1938 the Soviet Union was subjected to the spectacle of a series of giant 'show trials'. From behind his desk puffing his pipe, with a smile playing on his lips, Stalin oversaw the elimination of suspected, or even potential, resistance in what became his own massive campaign of terror against the Soviet people.

Historians estimate that for the Stalinist era, 1929–53, the number of those killed was in the multi-millions. In the current historical literature, a death toll of 20 million people is often cited, but a final result will have to await closer archival research. It is estimated that during the Great Purge of 1936–38, some 600 000 people were executed. In 1934, the secret police was renamed the NKVD, and sent into more energetic action. **Purges** began with the mysterious murder of Stalin's potential rival Sergei Kirov in December 1934. A massive number of arrests followed, including the specialty arrests of party officials, old Bolsheviks who had been with the Communist Party from the beginning, and ordinary citizens. The great show trials were a dramatic propaganda event. In three successive public trials (which took place in 1936, 1937 and 1938), prominent communists were accused of plotting against Stalin in wave after wave of terror.

The army was also purged. In September 1937, Stalin had tens of thousands of officers purged. This included nine of the 10 Soviet generals, including the hero of the Civil War, General Tukhachevsky. The military staff was ravaged. Crucially, this left the Soviet Union ill-prepared for World War II. The secret police devised an elaborate structure to make this system of terror work. They turned terror into a finely tuned, scientific system. Quotas of the number of people to be arrested were sent out to the police in separate regions. Denunciations would lead to the proverbial 'knock on the door in the middle of the night'.

Stalin, however, clearly pursued specific purposes with the terror. He effected massive social change within the party, consolidating his power by putting his supporters in key positions, as well as transforming the country as a whole. The party's structure was transformed. By the time of the 1939 Party Congress, most of the delegates who had attended the 1934 congress had been purged and replaced.

There was one institution in particular that seemed to encapsulate the sort of terror that Stalin enacted: the *gulag*. This was the extensive prison and labour camp system established within the Soviet Union. Recent archival evidence suggests that by the end of the 1930s, there were some 1.5 million prisoners in the *gulag*. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were 2–2.5 million prisoners. The *gulag* and its system of forced labour, according to some historians, accounted for 12–15 per cent of the Soviet economy in the 1930s. It is important to keep in mind that the *gulag* was only a part of a much larger spectrum of forms of forced labour within the Soviet Union. According to Soviet propaganda of the times, the camps were intended to rehabilitate prisoners and were supposedly a form of 're-educational,' corrective labor, but the reality was a far harsher one. Mortality and mistreatment were endemic. 🚫

Italy

As World War I concluded, the dislocations and traumas of the post-war period led to the creation of a new ideology, fascism, which would first emerge in post-war Italy. Later, fascism would spread across Europe. Led by Benito Mussolini, the Fascists came

purges the Communist Party removed those members who were considered corrupt, inefficient or considered 'undesirable'



SOURCE 2.11 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin addressing the Extraordinary 8th All Union Congress of Soviets in 1936

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



Did the purges serve any rational purpose? Or were they only a part of Stalin's attempt to maintain power?



SOURCE 2.12 Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler watch a Nazi parade staged for the Italian dictator's visit to Germany in 1936.

to power in Italy in 1922. They partially rose to power through the false mythologising of Mussolini's March on Rome, in which the Fascists abused and violently attacked their opponents, preparing to remould society into a 'total state', while chanting propaganda-inspired slogans. The reality was that Mussolini and most of his Black-Shirted followers travelled to Rome from Milan on a train. Mussolini deliberately inflated the number of men involved in the March on Rome to a mythical 300 000 fascists on horseback.

Italian fascism originally lacked some elements that later played a very important role in Nazism, such as the explicit racism and anti-Semitism of the Nazis. Later, under Hitler's influence, the Italian Fascists would also adopt these principles. Fascists were opposed to socialism and communism, hated parliamentary government and democracy and saw liberal ideas as being 'weak'. Instead, fascists championed certain ideas that they felt World War I had brought to the fore. They championed order and the power of a centralised state over individuals, not

one that serviced them. They also celebrated an ethos of brutal heroism, to be realised through dynamic revolution and violence.

Fascism would ultimately be identified with the man who brought it to the forefront in Italy: Benito Mussolini. As a socialist, Mussolini was convinced that World War I could be an opportunity for revolution and change. Mussolini sought to use the post-war turmoil in Italy as the staging ground for his new political movement, which fused nationalism, which had been revealed as such a potent force in World War I, with some revolutionary ideas and some relics of his socialist career. The fascist movement presented itself as a safeguard, above all, against communist revolution, and thus could win adherents from more conservative idle classes, or the aristocracy and other established elites.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Benito Mussolini (1883–1945)

Mussolini was born in 1883 and, like his father before him, started his political career as a socialist. After World War I, he created the Fascist Party and eventually made himself dictator of Italy, taking the title 'Il Duce' in 1925. His domestic policies proved to be successful in establishing an extensive public works program and reducing unemployment, which made him a popular leader. However, Mussolini overextended his forces during World War II. He was murdered by Italian partisans – his own people – on 28 April 1945.

Mussolini, was, in his appearance, somewhat unlikely as a dominator of the masses. He was not very tall: in fact, he was just a little bit under average height at five feet six inches. He would seek to accentuate his height by speaking with his chin thrust upwards, to make it appear that he was being viewed from below. Mussolini's characteristic oratory and bombast seemed to produce results, as seen in the cheering of crowds that he addressed.



SOURCE 2.13 Benito Mussolini

Mussolini had a potent symbol for his fascist movement, the Blackshirt squads. The fascist movement officially began in Milan in March 1919. It took its name from the particular combat squads Mussolini had gathered post-war, known as the *Fasci di Combattimento*. They adopted black shirts as part of their uniforms. They used the classical Roman salute of the outstretched right arm, as a sign of their belonging. In the Italian city streets, these Blackshirt squads brutalised and murdered their political opponents. They also broke up strikes, claiming that they were restoring order.

Mussolini felt that after stirring up disorder, he was ready to begin the movement that would enable him to seize power. In the autumn of 1922, the Fascists claimed that a communist takeover was imminent, one that they aimed to pre-empt by taking action first. In October 1922, Fascist leaders organised their squads from different parts of Italy into a mass demonstration. This deliberately staged action became known as the March on Rome. The Fascists announced that if they weren't given power, they would take power by force.

Behind the scenes, Mussolini had received word that King Victor Emmanuel III had refused to order martial law on the Fascists' March on Rome. While the Fascist squads continued on their way towards Rome, Mussolini understood that he had already achieved power, by means short of revolutionary violence. In coming to power, Mussolini and his Fascist followers promised order, discipline and above all dynamism, getting things done by the swiftest means and dealing ruthlessly with any opposition. By consolidating his power in slow stages, Mussolini was in the position of a strong dictator by 1929, about the same time as Stalin was in full power.

These consolidation stages were carefully enacted. Once he became Prime Minister, Mussolini made the Blackshirt squads a government body – essentially, they became the militia. In 1926, having weathered this crisis, the OVRA secret police were formed, Italian elections were suspended and government by decree followed. In 1929, Mussolini pulled off a diplomatic masterstroke. He signed the Lateran Treaties with the Vatican, which earlier had been alienated from Italian statehood. This guaranteed that the Catholic Church had made its peace with this regime, at least for the time being. Vigorous action and violence were at the heart of the Fascist ideology, reflected in their slogan of '*Credere, obbedire, combattere!*' ('Believe, obey and fight!'). These were the cardinal virtues of the fascist movement.

Fascism was also identified with the authority of the state, and its personification of the leader, Mussolini – Il Duce – himself. Moreover, the Fascists claimed to be inaugurating a new world era. The March on Rome was designated to be 'year zero' of a new fascist calendar. Nostalgia for the glories of ancient Rome permeated fascist propaganda, in a cult of what was called *Romanita*, or 'revival of the ancient Roman glories'. Mussolini ordered public work projects to be created on a gigantic scale. The Fascists also tried to regiment young people. They tried to project an image of their own youthfulness, breaking with the old and the traditional, to produce a new man. Italian youth were inducted into organisations, which wore black neckerchiefs. The styles of rule and potent symbols of the Fascists would be imitated worldwide, in a deliberate way, with the rise of dictatorships: youth organisations in the Soviet Union would wear red neckerchiefs and the Nazi Brownshirts (SA) functioned as a paramilitary wing for the Nazi Party.

In foreign policy, Mussolini took a firm line. After Italy's disappointment with the size of its gains in the peace settlement, he was anxious to put his country back on the map. He had vast ambitions, wanted to make the Mediterranean an Italian lake and to build up a second Roman Empire, but above all he wanted Europe to take him seriously. He had an eye on a number of weaker Balkan neighbours such as Albania and Greece, and made his territorial ambitions clear to all European leaders.



SOURCE 2.14 Benito Mussolini (shown on the left) during the 1922 March on Rome, surrounded by his Blackshirt forces

The League is an organism for the maintenance of peace: i.e. of the territorial integrity of all states, in their present limits, 'while Italy is suffocated in its narrow and poor country ... It is only natural that England and France should seek to defend the League, standing as they do at the climax of their fortunes. It is equally natural that Italy, deprived as she is of fruits of her great victory, should regard the League as an international instrument of her own repression'.

SOURCE 2.15 The British Ambassador to Rome, in a letter to the Foreign Office, 19 October 1923



SOURCE 2.16 Benito Mussolini reviews troops as Italy expands its military might.

A MATTER OF FACT

Characteristics of fascism:

- basic principles – authoritarian, state is more important than the individual, charismatic leader, action-oriented party
- political – nationalist, one-party rule, supreme leader
- cultural – censorship, indoctrination, secret police
- social – supported the middle class, industrialists and the military.

Mussolini's fascist-style image of the 'strong man' influenced dictatorships worldwide, especially in Central and Eastern Europe. After an initial burst of democratic enthusiasm after World War I, dictatorships proliferated in the post-war period. In many countries, especially the Western democracies, the state didn't always appear, especially in an economic crisis, to be stable. Initially, fascist movements gained some popularity, but remained largely on the fringes. But their appeal grew stronger with the advent of the Great Depression in 1929. Fascist movements, or Fascist-style movements, arose in Spain, Austria and Greece.

It seemed that democracy was incapable, in the minds of many contemporaries, to deal with the challenges of economic freefall. By 1939, three-fifths of European countries were run by authoritarian governments. The democratic post-war wave had given way to a surging tide of dictatorships. The Italian Fascists would also inspire the German Nazis, who would build a far stronger, more efficient and more violent regime. The 1930s would herald a wave of dictatorships, see democracy fade and become a very dark decade indeed. 🗝️

Japan

During World War I, the Japanese economy remained strong, as their allies relied on Japan's natural resources. Japan was able to consolidate its political position in East Asia during this time, while the Europeans were preoccupied with the war. The **zaibatsu** started to increase their influence on the Japanese political environment as they were making substantial financial contributions to political parties. They wanted to expand international trade for their own personal interests. This coincided with Japan limiting the size of its navy through a deal with Great Britain and the United States. The Japanese economic prosperity of the 1920s was coming to an end as rural

workers started to favour a socialist government in response to the prosperity of the urban dwellers. A feature of the influence of the West taking hold in Japan was the granting of the vote to the Japanese people, which meant more rural workers supported the election of socialists into the Japanese Parliament.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 What types of people are/were drawn to fascism, and why?
- 2 Why did fascism come to power in Italy?

zaibatsu 'financial clique'; Japanese business conglomerates that were influential up to the end of World War II

For most of the 1920s, Japanese leaders were strong supporters of economic liberalism; however, their endeavours to integrate the Japanese economy into a liberal world order were frustrated by the effects of the Great Depression. In order to protect their own colonial markers, Western countries placed barriers on Japanese trade. Japan believed that the structure of international peace favoured Western nations through the League of Nations which allowed the West to control the world's resources. Japan also resented the West for blocking Japanese emigration in the 1920s through anti-Asian immigration legislation.

In dealing with the problems of the Depression, unemployed Japanese people looked to the strength of the military to deal with the economic problems as the civilian government looked weak. The Japanese military argued that Japan needed to launch a campaign abroad to win new colonies, so they could control industry for Japan's economic benefit. This echoed the key feature of dictatorships that were emerging elsewhere during this period.

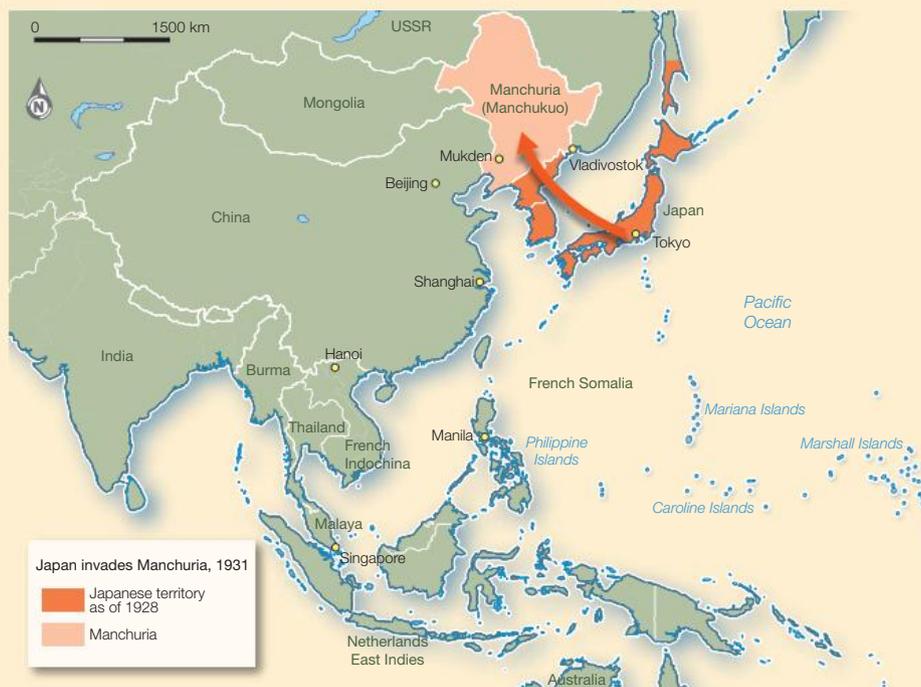


SOURCE 2.17 Japan occupies Manchuria following the Mukden (*Shenjang*) Incident on 18 September 1931. This photo shows Japanese officers in a Manchurian city wearing traditional swords (the one on the right is wearing a samurai sword).

FLASHPOINT!

The Manchurian Crisis, 1931

Strong Japanese nationalist and militarist elements became obvious at the time of the Manchurian crisis towards the end of 1931. Manchuria was part of China; however, the Japanese made huge investments in the territory and effectively won control of the South Manchurian Railway and other industrial undertakings. Furthermore, power in Manchuria was wielded by the Japanese army, which was not always firmly controlled by the government in Tokyo. The officers of the General Staff had been



SOURCE 2.18 Map of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria

Kwantung Army the largest and most prestigious command of the Imperial Japanese Army

demanding big increases in the army budget so that Japan's position in Manchuria could be protected by increasing the size of the garrison. The civil government, whose policy was cooperation with China, refused the request and even cut military spending, an action which irritated the officers of the **Kwantung Army**. In September 1931, therefore, the Army took the ambitious step of acting on its own initiative to achieve occupation of Manchuria. To avenge the sabotage of the South Manchurian Railway, the Kwantung Army seized the city of Mukden (known as the Mukden Incident) and by the beginning of 1932 went on to occupy the whole of Manchuria.

China appealed to the League of Nations and the League sent a commission of enquiry to investigate the situation. After a lengthy process the report acknowledged China's sovereign rights over the whole area and recognised Japan's special interests in the area. Nevertheless, the Commission went on to condemn Japan's aggression, demanding that it should give up the territory and withdraw its forces. In response, Japan gave notice of its intended withdrawal from the League of Nations and set up its own puppet government in Manchuria under Pu Yi, China's last Emperor, who had been deposed in 1912. Manchuria, now called Manchukuo, had become in effect a part of the Japanese Empire.

The episode marked not only a significant stage in the decline of the League of Nations in the face of determined political and military aggression, but was a major step leading to the establishment of powerful dictatorships in Europe and the rest of the world.



SOURCE 2.19 The Rape of Nanking is the name given to the Japanese invasion and occupation of Nanjing (which was then the capital of China) in 1937–38. Up to 300 000 Chinese civilians were massacred in this period and atrocities (including the systemic gang-rape of Manchurian women) were committed by Japanese forces. In this photo, a Japanese soldier stands over the bodies of slaughtered Manchurian people.

The events of Manchuria signalled an upsurge in fundamentalist nationalism in Japan and the growth of right-wing groups agitating for a stronger voice in the international context. Although these nationalistic elements were not as radical as the fascist elements in Europe, Japan did witness a growth in the climate of assassinations, propaganda and intimidation. This contributed significantly to the dismantling of the Japanese party government. It also signalled the end of international liberalism. In Japan, the combination of international events and domestic politics was a lethal cocktail. In November 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, which Italy signed in 1936. In 1940, when the Tripartite Pact was signed by Japan, Germany and Italy, Japan was recognised as the leader of a new order. From this date onwards, Japan, Italy and Germany became formerly known as the 'Axis powers'.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What were some of the significant policies that defined Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union?
- What was Italian fascism and how did Mussolini build his reputation in Italy?

As a class discuss the following: What were the key features of the dictatorships in the Soviet Union, Italy and Japan in the interwar years?

CHAPTER 2 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

THE CONDITIONS THAT ENABLED DICTATORS TO RISE TO POWER IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

- After World War I, intense hopes for worldwide democracy evaporated, replaced by the surge of radical revolutionaries and reactions to revolts in the form of paramilitary groups and veterans who called to reorganise society along military lines.
- The recently ended war militarised much of political life; this model of 'politics as war' would mark the brief interwar period.
- The war had an intellectual and cultural impact on Europe, creating the conditions that enabled dictators to rise to power.
- World War I brutalised European societies, producing post-war militarised politics.
- Wartime expansion of government power damaged liberal ideals of limited states and individual rights.
- Fascism was a reaction to the destabilising influence of World War I, and to the damage that the war wrought on the certainties, order and ideas of the nineteenth century.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE FEATURES OF THE DICTATORSHIPS THAT EMERGED IN RUSSIA, ITALY AND JAPAN

- The system that Joseph Stalin established in the Soviet Union was called *totalitarianism*, because of its seeming ambitions for total control.
- Fascism was a new ideology growing out of the traumas of World War I. It first appeared in post-war Italy. Rejecting parliamentary democracy, liberalism, socialism and communism, Benito Mussolini organised paramilitary squads of 'Blackshirt' thugs to wage political war in the streets of Italy, announcing the Fascists' aim of a rejuvenated national community.
- As a result of the economic and political problems stemming from the Great Depression, Japan moved towards militarism. Unemployed Japanese people looked to the strength of the military to deal with economic problems as the civilian government looked weak in these areas. The Japanese military looked to launch a campaign abroad to win new colonies so they could control their industry for Japan's economic benefit.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1) fascism | 6) Weimar Republic |
| 2) dictatorship | 7) Spartacist uprising |
| 3) totalitarianism | 8) Kapp <i>Putsch</i> |
| 4) democracy | 9) Bolshevik |
| 5) militarism | 10) purge |

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Explain how the Treaty of Versailles contributed to the rise of Hitler.

2 Continuity and change

- Explain how Mussolini invoked Italian history in his rise to power.

3 Perspectives

- Contrast the differences between fascism and communism using a Venn diagram.

4 Significance

- Outline the key features of Japanese militarism.
- Define the key features of Italian fascism.

5 Contestability

- Describe the similarities between the ambitions of Germany in Europe and Japan in the Asia-Pacific.

Historical skills

1 Historical investigation and research

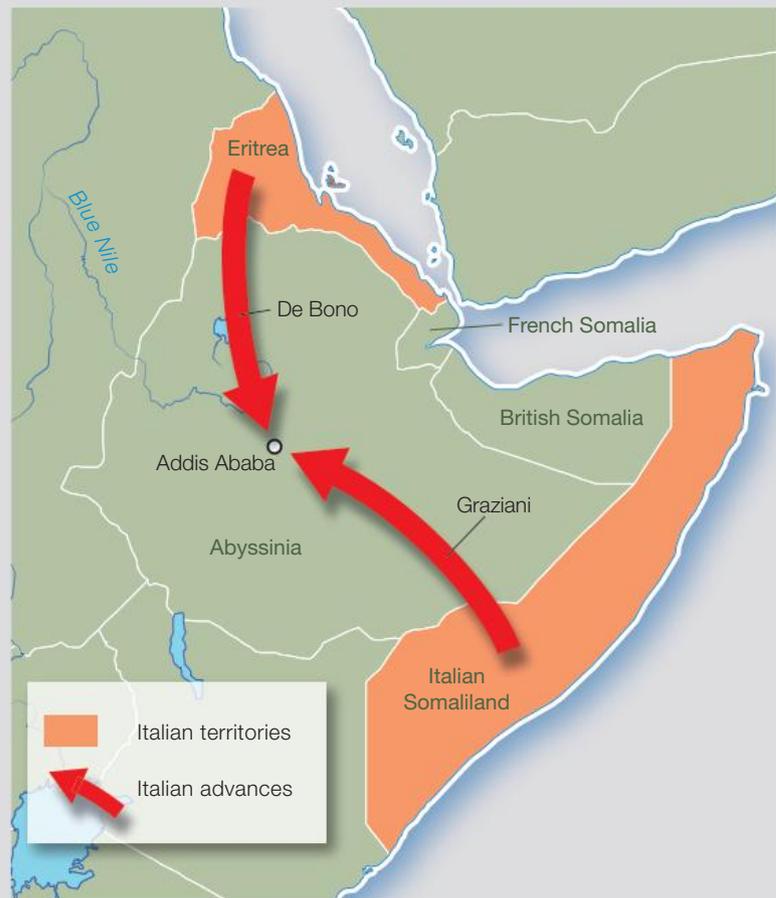
- Research Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, and present your findings as a timeline.
- From a military perspective, explain how Italy defeated Ethiopia.

2 Analysis and use of sources

- Using Source A, outline the features of the statement from the Japanese Government that reflect exaggerated propaganda and political self-justification.
- Using Source B, explain whether Japan or China would have had more reason to be satisfied

with the conclusions of the League of Nations Commission of Enquiry.

- Using Source C, evaluate the view that the failure to preserve peace in Europe in the 1930s derived mainly from the failure to secure the economic wellbeing of Europe in the 1920s.



SOURCE 2.20 Italy invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935 from both Eritrea and Italian Somaliland

SOURCE A

Japanese Government statement on the Manchurian Crisis

For years past ... unpleasant incidents have taken place in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, in which Japan is interested in a special degree ... Amidst the atmosphere of anxiety a detachment of Chinese troops destroyed the tracks of the South Manchurian Railway in the vicinity of Mukden, and attacked our railway guards, at midnight on 18 September. A clash between Japanese and Chinese troops then took place ... Hundreds of thousands of Japanese residents were placed in jeopardy. In order to forestall an imminent disaster, the Japanese army had to act swiftly ... The endeavours of the Japanese Government to guard the SMR against wanton attacks should be viewed in no other light ... It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese Government harbours no territorial designs on Manchuria.

Japanese Government statement, 24 September 1931

SOURCE B

The Commission has come to the following conclusion:

The Chinese had no plan of attacking Japanese troops, or of endangering the lives or property of Japanese nationals at a time or place. They made no concerted or authorised attack on Japanese forces and were surprised by the Japanese attack. An explosion undoubtedly occurred on or near the railroad between 10 and 10:30pm on 18 September, but the damage, if any, to the railroad did not prevent the punctual arrival of the south bound train from Changchun, and was not in itself sufficient to justify military action. The military operations of the Japanese during this night ... cannot be regarded as measures of legitimate self-defence.

League of Nations Commission of Enquiry

SOURCE C

The 1920s in the Soviet Union, Weimar Republic and the western democracies too, witnessed savage economic readjustment, with turbulent markets, disinvestment, labour unrest, strikes, civil disturbances, sometimes inflation or hyperinflation and well-meaning though often misguided efforts on the parts of governments to deal with these problems. These factors produced unemployment, poverty and dissatisfaction on a large scale, for which the bulk of people at the time tended to blame their governments; and these governments, in attempting to solve their problems, compounded them by resorting to protectionist and nationalist policies which set the scene for the developments of the next decade. Some of these governments did not survive at all, but were replaced by popular dictatorships whose policies involved a wholesale rejection of contemporary thinking in favour of novel, untried and often quite erroneous policies whose failure was then attributed to predictable and convenient scapegoats who were duly hunted down and punished. Hence, the 1930s produced authoritarian regimes which rejected rationalist, bourgeois and liberal modes of thought in favour of a variety of radical dogmas including class solidarity, racial purity and the need for imperial aggrandisement. The Soviet Union was one example of such a regime; Germany, Japan and Italy were other much more threatening examples. Fascist Italy menaced the peace of Europe on several occasions, but was never strong enough to be a major danger and was generally capable of being accommodated; but Nazi Germany under Hitler, exploiting both the economic crisis and the political dissatisfaction with the Versailles settlement, was a much more serious danger in the unrelenting pursuit of Aryan purity, military supremacy and territorial expansion. Nazi racial theories were romantic nonsense; but Germany was nevertheless led into territorial expansion; Nazi economics (referred to by one historian as 'the economics of the madhouse') were unworkable, and so Germany progressed from trading with their neighbours to exploiting them, and finally to conquering them. Hitler was unable to compromise on any of these matters without betraying the ideals fundamental to the whole Nazi philosophy.

EG Rayner, *The Great Dictators: International Relations 1918–39*

Please see Cambridge GO to access a practice examination paper and source booklet for the Core topic Power and Authority in the Modern World.



CHAPTER 3

The Nazi regime to 1939

The rapid, unopposed extinction of all political forces from Left to Right remains the most striking feature of the Nazi takeover. If anything could have demonstrated the sapped vitality of the Weimar Republic, it was the ease with which the institutions that had sustained it let themselves be overwhelmed.

J Fest, *Hitler*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973, p. 145





The expansion of Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1939



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will examine the effects of Nazism upon German society between 1920 and 1939, including its role in the collapse of democracy and the elimination of individual freedoms. This work will help you to gain a critical awareness of power and authority in the contemporary world.

KEY ISSUES

You will investigate:

- the ascendance of the Nazi Party and its consolidation of power from 1933 to 1934
- the failure of the Weimar Republic
- the character of Nazi ideology
- the role played by prominent individuals in the Nazi state
- the various methods used by the Nazi regime to exercise control, including censorship, repression, terror and propaganda
- the impact of the Nazi regime on life in Germany, including on cultural and religious expression
- opposition to the Nazi state.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1914	Outbreak of World War I. Germany is the leading nation of the Central Powers.
1918	Armistice ends fighting in World War I. Germany is defeated, despite the fact that no foreign troops are on its soil. Left and centrist 'outside' parties take over German Government from the abdicated Kaiser Wilhelm, creating the Weimar Republic.
1919	The Treaty of Versailles is signed. League of Nations is established; Germany is not allowed to join.
1920	The NSDAP issues the '25 Points of 1920' broadening its constituency, although it is still a minuscule and localised political entity centred in Munich.
1923	France and Belgium invade and occupy the industrial Ruhr Valley to extract reparation payments. The German Government prints money to pay workers, leading to hyperinflation. Hitler's Beer Hall <i>Putsch</i> fails.
1924–28	Period of relative economic stability, but harsh stabilisation measures create undercurrent of social and political resentment that the Nazis will later exploit.
1929	Great Depression strikes with full force, causing a drop in industrial production and an increase in unemployment.
1930	Nazi electoral gains; rule by emergency decree becomes the norm in Germany. Heinrich Brüning becomes the Chancellor of Germany.
1930–32	Economy worsens, NSDAP continues to build its electoral success. Franz von Papen replaces Brüning. Kurt von Schleicher replaces von Papen.
1933	Schleicher resigns. Hitler is named Chancellor of Germany. Reichstag building catches on fire; Hitler blames the Communists. The Enabling Act gives Hitler full dictatorial power.
1934	SA 'Blood Purge' ('the Night of the Long Knives') ensures Hitler has eradicated his enemies. President Hindenburg dies. Hitler assumes the offices of Chancellor and President; is given the title <i>Führer</i> .
1935	'Nuremberg Laws' deprive German Jews of their civil rights by stripping them of citizenship, prohibiting intermarriage with non-Jews and barring Jews from certain professions.
1938	<i>Kristallnacht</i> ('Night of Broken Glass'), state-sponsored anti-Jewish thuggery; hundreds of Jews are killed or injured and thousands of homes, businesses and synagogues are damaged.



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 3.2 A Nazi election propaganda poster: title translates as 'We are building!'. Each of the blocks indicates 'Bread, freedom, land'. The poster presents a contrast in values between the Nazis and their opponents. The poster was published in 1932.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 3 Overview

KEY IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS TODAY	KEY TERMS AND NAMES
The study of Nazi Germany equips us to recognise how the destruction of key democratic freedoms (such as human rights, civil liberties and the freedom of association) can lead to the creation of a totalitarian state.	The study will enable you to develop a critical perspective on power and authority in the contemporary world. The important lessons of the past assist students to develop their capabilities in global citizenship and engage in contemporary international political issues.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Twenty-five-point Program• <i>Kampfbund</i>• <i>Mein Kampf</i>• hyperinflation• perpetual campaigning• Article 48• <i>Volksgemeinschaft</i>• <i>Gleichschaltung</i>• SA (<i>Sturmabteilung</i>)• <i>Führerprinzip</i>• anti-Semitism• <i>Lebensraum</i>• Hitler Youth• <i>Kristallnacht</i>• <i>Einzelaktionen</i>• <i>Entjudung</i>• boycott• <i>Edelweisspiraten</i> (Edelweiss Pirates)

INQUIRY QUESTION

How effective was the Nazi Party up to 1939 in dealing with the political, economic and social issues arising from the Weimar Republic?

NOTE THIS DOWN

Analysing causes

As you work through the chapter, take notes using an outline like this to identify the various causes for the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany.

Causes for the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany

Political

-

-

Economic

-

-

Social

-

-

Painting the picture

A case study of fascism

The Third Reich remains one of the most striking episodes of twentieth-century world history. The genocide of the Jews, the launching of World War II, the multiple abuses of power, the cruelty and suffering that were imposed on millions were central features of Hitler's Nazi regime. However, the Nazis were also highly successful in manipulating images and information: they mobilised and engaged vast numbers of people; they caught the imagination of the young and they appeared remarkably modern to contemporary observers. Within the life of one generation, the German people had endured the defeat of war, the experiment of democracy which collapsed into a brutal dictatorship and the devastating effects of a second world war. This chapter, spanning the years 1919–1939, will look closely at Nazi Germany as a case study of a fascist dictatorship.

3.1 The rise of the Nazi Party and Hitler in Germany and the collapse of the Weimar Republic

The rise of the Nazi Party

It was in an atmosphere of post-war social and political uncertainty and radicalism that Anton Drexler started the German Workers' Party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* or DAP) in 1919. This quasi-party was formed not so much as a political party but as a way to complain about the Weimar Republic. It was only when Drexler decided to hold an open meeting that he had to register the party with the Army. This was a requirement for all such organisations: an official Army representative would attend the meeting to record the attendance, what the speakers said, the number of working-class/middle-class people and other details. Originally seen as a 'glorified debating society', the party held their meetings in a Beer Hall in Munich. The Army sent a young corporal named Adolf Hitler, who was stationed in Munich, to review the meeting.

Hitler went to the meeting. While he was not terribly impressed, he did see potential in the party and decided to join. There was nothing in Hitler's background to suggest he had the talent or skills to be a masterful politician. Hitler had been born in Austria, and mostly raised there aside from a brief period in Passau, Germany. In 1907, at the age of 18, he moved to Vienna intending to study fine art, but his application to the Academy of Fine Arts was rejected. In December he suffered a further personal blow, when his mother – to whom he was very close – died of cancer. He remained in Vienna, pursuing interests in music and architecture. One of the central themes of Viennese politics at the time was anti-Semitism: this would have a significant impact on his future political platform. In 1913 he moved to Munich, and at the outbreak of World War I he enlisted in the Bavarian Army, where he continued after the war.



SOURCE 3.3 Corporal Hitler with a group of German soldiers during World War I. Hitler is seated on the far right.

Hitler was a skilful orator, and achieved a reputation as a street-corner speaker. In 1919, he established the **DAP Program**, which was nationalistic, anti-Semitic and anti-Marxist. He appealed to the middle class, but he also wanted to attract working-class people. In 1920, he created the **Twenty-five-point Program**. The Nazi Party was popular in Munich and the outskirts of Bavaria, but it was not a national movement at this stage. It was seen by many as a 'minor phenomenon on the lunatic fringes of German politics'. This would change in 1923, resulting in the dramatic ascent of both the Nazi Party and Adolf Hitler.

The 1923 occupation of the Ruhr and hyperinflation

Germany experienced a year of chaos in 1923. During World War I, the German Government inflated the economy and paid for the huge expenses of the war effort. All wartime economies were inflationary. But when the war ended, Britain, France and the United States took a period of readjustment as they suffered from unemployment, recession and all things that came with a peacetime economy. However, the Weimar Republic didn't think they could afford to do this, so they continued the wartime policy of inflation. 'Inflation' in the short term is a progressive policy where money is spent on programs, such as welfare and day care centres. At some point, there needs to be an economic reckoning, and for Germany that time came in 1922.

During 1921–22, there were a number of international conferences to try to determine just how much Germany owed in reparations. During the Paris Peace Conference, the Germans were forced to agree to pay reparations, but they didn't know how much that bill would be. By 1922, there still was no agreement on the total amount to be paid and the German Government tried all sorts of things to get out of paying reparations. At one stage, they attempted to pay Belgium and France in paper currency, which Belgium and France refused to accept. By January 1923, the French, in particular, had had enough.

DAP Program the German Workers' Party (DAP) was a short-lived political party established in Weimar Germany after World War I; it was the precursor of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

Twenty-five-point Program the political manifesto issued by the NSDAP on 24 February 1920 by Adolf Hitler, the manifesto outlined the Nazi Party's political philosophy and mission



SOURCE 3.4 Banknotes stored in a Berlin bank vault at the time of hyperinflation in Germany in the 1920s



SOURCE 3.5 French troops in Germany during the occupation of the Ruhr, 1923

Value of the German mark against the US\$	
1914	US\$1 = 5 marks
1919	US\$1 = 14 marks
1921	US\$1 = 64 marks
1922	US\$1 = 191 marks
January 1923	US\$1 = 17972 marks
August 1923	US\$1 = 109996 marks

hyperinflation an economic term that means when a country experiences very high, and usually accelerating, rates of inflation, it rapidly devalues the local currency

prices would have risen dramatically by dinnertime. The same procedure would follow a further two times. At the end of the day, the stock market would close and everyone was relatively safe for at least that evening. People started to buy things using pounds sterling or dollars. Shopkeepers were reluctant to sell goods for marks, because if they sold something today the paper mark could be valueless when it was banked tomorrow. Big businesses knew how to operate during these times – they had access to foreign currency. But for the average German person, it was a nightmare.

In the middle of this economic chaos, the political fabric of the Weimar Republic began to unravel. Political disturbances were common in major German cities and the Army was called in to maintain order in some circumstances.

ANALYSING SOURCES 3.1

The Weimar Republic ... had hardly ever been faced with a genuine opposition – only, or almost only, with fanatical enemies. An opposition keeps within the framework of the State ... The enemies of the Republic refused to accept the State as such from the outset. They professed to stand outside it while enjoying every advantage conferred by a democratic constitution.

SOURCE 3.6 H Mau and H Krausnick, *German History 1933–1945*, Oswald Wolf, London, 1959, p. 13

1 Using the source, what argument is being addressed to explain the failure of German democracy?

The Beer Hall *Putsch*

He told the ... court that, despite the failure of the November Putsch, they must honour him as the future power in Germany. For it was destined that the Army and those who supported the ideals of the Putschists would be reconciled.

SOURCE 3.7 J Toland, *Adolf Hitler*, Doubleday, New York, 1976, p. 191

The situation had convinced Adolf Hitler that it was time to act. He had been wary of making alliances with other right-wing organisations because he wanted his own party to stand out in Munich. But now he judged the situation was ripe to consolidate the power base of the right. He and the NSDAP banded together with other right-wing organisations to form the **Kampfbund** ('battle league'). Apart from the NSDAP, this new group also included monarchists, right-wing radicals, and other groups, each one more bizarre than the other. They conspired to overthrow the Bavarian Government. Hitler also enlisted Eric Ludendorff (1865–1937), the great hero of World War I. Ludendorff was a great military man, but in politics he was seen to be an unstable force.

Kampfbund a league of patriotic fighting societies, which included the NSDAP, in Bavaria during the 1920s

The coalition of right-wing forces planned to overthrow the Bavarian Government and then march onto Red Berlin. The event would come to be called the Beer Hall *Putsch* (or the Munich *Putsch*). It took place on 8–9 November 1923. The *putsch* was modelled on Mussolini's 1920 March on Rome. However, the German revolutionary coup never got off the ground. The revolutionaries met in Munich during the evening in a Beer Hall. Overnight the scene was wild: at one point, in order to restore calm and order to the proceedings, Hitler jumped to the top of a table and fired a pistol into the ceiling. Finally, after daybreak, they proceeded to march towards the centre of Munich, past the *Rathaus* (town hall), down a very narrow street, and into a large open plaza around the *Feldernhalle*, where they encountered a barricade that had been set up by the German Army. The Army called for the marchers to stop. Hitler was in the frontline, along with General Ludendorff who was wearing his World War I dress uniform. When the marchers refused to stop, the Army opened fire. Some of the marchers were killed, a number of them were wounded, while others escaped. The whole episode was a fiasco, a public relations disaster for the *Kampfbund*. They looked ridiculous – their first encounter with their opposition ended with the collapse of their planned revolution.

However, Hitler would turn this disaster into a political victory. The trial of the *Kampfbund* conspirators was to be held in Munich during February and March 1924. Hitler, Ludendorff and the others were tried for treason (attempting to overthrow the government). All except Hitler pleaded 'not guilty'. Ludendorff was acquitted – another example of the problems from the Weimar Republic not purging the judiciary.

Hitler used the trial as an opportunity to demonstrate his skills as an orator. He argued that he wanted to restore the honour of the Army and he wanted the November Criminals to be made accountable for signing Germany over to the Allies. Even the state prosecutor praised the nationalist motives of Hitler and the NSDAP. Hitler was convicted of the charges – because



SOURCE 3.8 Defendants in the Beer Hall *Putsch* Trial in 1923. Hitler – by now sporting his trademark moustache and wearing civilian clothes – is fourth from the right. Ludendorff is next to him on the left.

NSDAP *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party); often shortened to 'Nazi Party'

Mein Kampf Hitler's 1925 autobiographical book, written during his time in prison after the Beer Hall *Putsch*; it outlines his anti-Semitic views, political ideology and his future plans for Germany



SOURCE 3.9 A cover of Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*

he pleaded guilty. However, he was only given five years' imprisonment for attempting to overthrow a legitimate government – a significantly soft penalty for treason. The court rejected the idea of deporting him to his native Austria, despite the fact he was not formally a German citizen. The reason for the leniency in the sentence was a mixture of sympathy for Hitler's anti-Weimar beliefs and the fact the Bavarian Government had been keen to cover up its own treasonable actions against the Berlin government.

The Beer Hall *Putsch* saw the emergence of the **NSDAP** from the wilderness to the periphery of German politics. The Beer Hall *Putsch* had made it clear to Hitler that to achieve power he would have to do so through democratic means and gain the support of the German Army.

The Weimar years: a period of relative stability

Hitler was sent to a minimum-security prison. In his cell, he was allowed visitors and during this time he dictated his autobiography **Mein Kampf** ('*My Struggle*') outlining his political agenda. His five-year prison sentence was reduced to one year. When he was released, in December 1924, people within the Nazi Party noticed that he had distanced himself from his previous position. From this point, Hitler declared himself to be *der Führer* ('the Leader') of the NSDAP, and close Party members, like second-in-command Gregor Strasser (1892–1934), noticed Hitler had taken on the aura of the mystical leader.

The Party was banned in 1924. However, it fought in the May 1924 election under another name, achieving a poor result. It performed even worse at the next election in December 1924. This was due to the factionalism within the NSDAP, with a lot of senior people within the Party lacking direction. Eventually, the Party ceded to Hitler being the ultimate authority in the Party. In 1925, following his release from prison, Hitler attempted to reinvigorate the Party. Less than a year after the Party had been banned for attempting to overthrow the legitimate government, Hitler's goal was

to destroy the democratic government of Germany. He was interested in two things: organisation and propaganda. Personally, Hitler wanted to remain above ideological conflict. He didn't want to have to decide on a stance; he preferred to be vague, allowing his lieutenants to fight it out. What he was interested in was cementing his position as *Führer*.

Hitler argued that the Party had failed to overthrow the government by force, therefore the Nazi Party now had to follow the path of 'legitimacy'. The Party decided that they wanted to enter parliament – not because they believed in democracy but because they wanted to destroy it. Their main agenda was to recruit voters. Hitler had a vision of propaganda cells existing all across Germany: there would be mechanisms of propaganda in every town, city and region. Party affiliates would be assigned to go into pubs, barber shops and beauty parlours to listen to what people had to say. This would be reported back to the Nazi headquarters in Munich. It was a survey research system. It was about understanding what was making various people (such as farmers, civil servants, white-collar workers) unhappy. However, this propaganda network did not prove to be successful: the Party didn't have the money (it wasn't a big party at this stage), lines of communication were not good and there was no synchronisation of activities.

There was a lot of dissatisfaction in Germany during this period. Even though hyperinflation was resolved in late 1923, tough measures were implemented to achieve a successful stabilisation of the economy. The government cut off credit, quadrupled interest rates, laid off 150 000 permanent civil servants and a further 750 000 white-collar workers.

Economically, the period of 1924–28 was a period of relative economic recovery, stability and tranquillity. It became known as the German ‘Golden Twenties’ (the same period became known as the ‘Roaring Twenties’ in the United States). Germany accepted a financial plan known as the Dawes Plan, under which Germany’s reparations payments were reduced, and the United States invested a huge amount of money in Germany. This would allow Germany to get its economic house in order. They started to make their reparations payments to Britain, France and Belgium. Germany was readmitted into the League of Nations; it signed a number of international agreements. But there were significant economic problems beneath the surface, as Germany was relying heavily on short-term US loans.



SOURCE 3.10 Gustav Stresemann after the outcome of the Locarno agreements. The Locarno Treaty in 1925 saw Germany accepted as an equal by its former enemies.

In 1928, the Party entered a national election for the first time since 1924. It achieved 2.8 per cent of the vote, which was a dismal effort. Despite the great enthusiasm and energy of the Party and its members, it was going nowhere. The Nazis believed they needed to find an issue that would thrust them into the political sphere. In 1929–30, Dr Joseph Goebbels (a young leader in the NSDAP) became the head of propaganda. He believed in concentrating energy into ‘propaganda action’, which meant finding an area that looked like it had good prospects for the Nazi Party, and then throwing all available resources at it. He also felt that rallying people in the countryside was more effective than rallying those in the big cities. However, even with this plan, the Nazis still didn’t have an issue ... until the Great Depression arrived. 🔑

The Great Depression

More than any other party the NSDAP depended on the crisis for its successful growth ... (party membership increased) from 129 000 in 1930 to 849 000 by the end of January 1933 ... the SA ... reached nearly 300 000 men.

SOURCE 3.11 J Hiden, *The Weimar Republic*, Longman, Harlow, 1974, p. 66

The German economy was linked strongly to that of the United States. When the Wall Street stock market collapsed in 1929, this had a devastating effect on Germany. German industrial production dropped by 31 per cent and unemployment catapulted by 200 per cent. As unemployment went up, so too did the deficit. The Coalition government collapsed in 1930, which led to the appointment of Heinrich Brüning (1865–1948) as Chancellor. His solution to the crisis was to ‘tighten the belt’: balance the budget by cutting government expenditure and getting rid of unemployment insurance. This meant cutting back on expansive Weimar social welfare programs and raising taxes.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 How successful were the Weimar Governments in dealing with Germany’s problems in the period 1924–29?
- 2 Assess the view that although by 1928, the Weimar Republic had achieved a measure of stability, there were nonetheless ‘issues’ that may have compromised its long-term future.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Heinrich Brüning (1885–1970)

Heinrich Brüning was Chancellor of the Weimar Republic for two years (1930–32). He was appointed by President Hindenburg to deal with the severe economic problems besetting Germany during the Great Depression. Brüning failed to gain political or popular support for his harsh fiscal policies, but he served until 1932, when he was replaced by Franz von Papen.



SOURCE 3.12 Heinrich Brüning

During this time, **Article 48** of the German Constitution would become an important instrument used to resolve political matters. It was an important clause because, during periods of grave national crisis when the nation was at risk, the Reich President had the authority to grant Emergency Decree Powers to the Chancellor. The distinguished Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) was the President of Germany at this time, having been elected in 1925. He took his constitutional authority very seriously, and didn't want to give the Emergency Decree Powers to Brüning. However, eventually he did so, and as a result, Brüning dissolved the German Parliament in 1930 and called an election. It was a catastrophic mistake on Brüning's part.

Article 48 article in the German Constitution known as 'Emergency Decree Powers'; under this article, the German Government could allow the President, under certain circumstances, to take emergency measures without the prior consent of the Reichstag

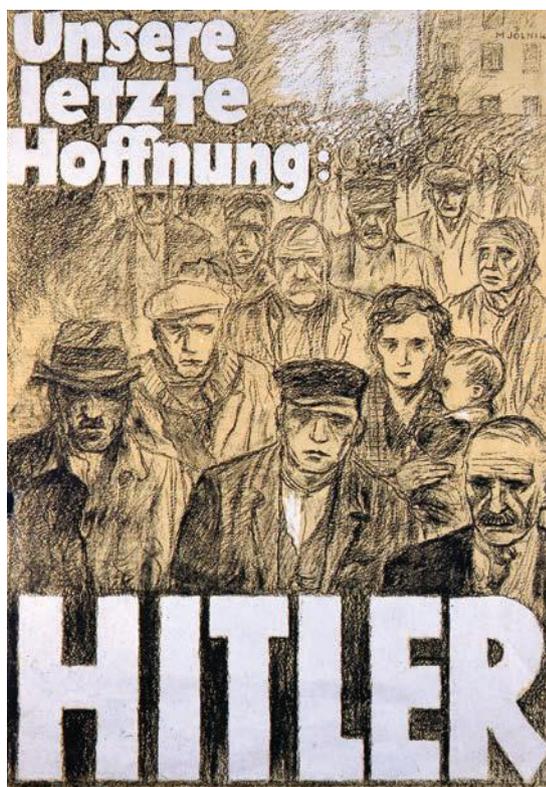
All the (predominantly middle-class) parties who had had a hand in creating the previous government policies were in disarray. However, the Nazi Party, having never been in power, didn't take any responsibility for the failed policies of the Republic. They played on the dissatisfaction of the people with the other parties. Goebbels ran a successful propaganda campaign, which was organised through centralised control. Party membership began to rise. The Party mobilised across Germany through coordinated events that were designed to appeal to farmers, workers and the middle class. They were the only party to appeal to people across the entire social spectrum.

The 1930 mid-September elections saw the Nazi Party achieve 18.3 per cent of the vote. It made them the second-biggest party in the Reichstag after the Social Democrats.

In the aftermath, the Weimar Republic continued to struggle. Regardless of the election results, Brüning refused to alter his unpopular policies. He continued to introduce unpopular legislation through Article 48 (five pieces of legislation in 1930, 40 in 1931, 37 by mid-1932), highlighting the inability of this democracy to function effectively without the emergency powers



SOURCE 3.13 On 20 September 1930, Adolf Hitler (on the far right) and his Chief of Staff, Dr Joseph Goebbels (to the left of Hitler) acknowledge the cheers of the frantic crowd in Nuremberg, Germany, after they achieved second place in the German political elections.



SOURCE 3.14 Nazi Party (NSDAP) election poster, 'Our Last Hope: Hitler', January 1932

of the President. The electoral success of the Nazis encouraged them to adopt the new tactic of **'perpetual campaigning'**: even when there were no elections on the horizon, the Nazis would continue to campaign as if there was one coming up. They would appear everywhere across Germany, making dramatic public appearances.

The tactic of perpetual campaigning would become very effective. In 1932, which would prove to be the defining year in the sad and turbulent history of the Weimar Republic, a series of elections were held. These would see the Nazi Party become the largest party in mainstream German politics. The Nazis started 1932 in high spirits; part of their appeal to voters was to promote an air of inevitability about the Nazi march to power. Each election brought them more votes; the momentum that would carry Hitler and the Nazis into power was building.

perpetual campaigning
after Nazi success in the 1930 election, the NSDAP decided to continuously campaign in 1931 (a non-election year), so they would be in a prime position to win in 1932

Historian views on the collapse of the Weimar Republic

Historian	Argument
Bullock <i>Hitler: A Study of Tyranny</i>	Hitler's personality was crucial in undermining the popularity of the Weimar Republic. The significant factor was the influence of Hitler over the structural weaknesses of the Weimar Republic, such as proportional representation and Article 48.
Taylor <i>The Origins of the Second World War</i>	The critical factor in the fall of the Weimar Republic was the Great Depression. Hitler represented the discontent of the German people suffering from the economic crises: 'the Great Depression put the wind in Hitler's sails'.
Bracher <i>The German Dictatorship</i>	The Weimar Republic was established on a weak foundation and easily undermined by being held responsible for the defeat of World War I. Lacking the support from the German military and the judiciary, the revolution of 1918 was incomplete.
Kolb <i>The Weimar Republic</i>	Fundamental errors, such as failing to destroy the power of the old elites, proved fatal for the Weimar Republic. This meant that nationalist and authoritarian enemies of the Republic could conspire to bring its downfall.

SOURCE 3.15 Selected historical interpretations

The presidential election, March 1932

In 1932, the great challenge for the Nazis was how they would handle the upcoming presidential elections. Brüning was keen not to have the incumbent 'Old Gentleman' Hindenburg campaign, as the elections were being carried out against a backdrop of violence and mayhem. The *Sturmabteilung* (also known as the **SA** or Brownshirts)

SA (*Sturmabteilung*) the paramilitary group associated with the NSDAP, led by Ernst Rohm

were battling it out on the streets with the Communist ‘Red Front’. To put this 85-year-old man through a campaign under these circumstances seemed too much.

Therefore, Brüning decided to have the Reichstag name Hindenburg as President-for-life. Hindenburg seemed to stand above all parties; he was the most respected man in German politics. It made sense to Brüning to do this as Hindenburg had given him the Emergency Decree Powers under Article 48 in order to introduce his very unpopular economic measures. Brüning canvassed the support of all parties represented in the German Parliament, but his main concern was with the second-largest party, the Nazis. Hitler agreed to the proposal, with two conditions. First, Brüning had to resign as Chancellor; second, there would be new elections. Brüning didn’t accept Hitler’s conditions. Therefore, the presidential elections would need to go ahead.

The big question for the Nazis was whether or not to challenge Hindenburg. Would contesting the election put Hitler’s new-found prestige on the line? In January 1932, Hitler decided to run against Hindenburg. The election campaign started in February, and the Nazis were well-prepared. They initiated a mass media blitz – something that was unheralded in German history. Goebbels and his propaganda staff showed what they were capable of. The Party had raised a lot of money and had many members join over the previous two years. They held over 30 000 rallies, meetings and demonstrations. Millions of leaflets were distributed. It was an event- and print-driven campaign. The SA played an important role during the campaign. They protected the speakers and would ‘mix it up’ with anyone who caused trouble. They were critical in organising marches and handing out leaflets. Members of the SA would even attend church together to present a united ‘Christian’ image. They wanted to project the idea that it was possible to be a Nazi and a Christian at the same time.

The Nazis never attacked Hindenburg directly. Their campaign argued that if you believed in the unpopular policies and leadership of Brüning, you would vote for Hindenburg. They argued Hindenburg was a great serviceman, but it was time for generational change.

In order to win the presidential election, the candidate had to achieve 50 per cent of the vote. There were several candidates. At the end of the campaign, Hindenburg received 49.6 per cent of the vote. Hitler achieved 30 per cent of the vote. This meant that another round of votes needed to take place. In the second round, Hitler gained 36 per cent of vote, losing to Hindenburg’s 53 per cent. Hindenburg’s victory was not a surprise, but the result separated Hitler from the other anti-system candidates. He was now able to stand on the same stage as Hindenburg.



SOURCE 3.16 1932 presidential candidate posters for both Hindenburg and Hitler. Berlin, Potsdamer Platz.



SOURCE 3.17 German President Paul von Hindenburg leaving a polling station in Berlin, 8 November 1932

Hitler emerged as the most visible figure in German politics. People began taking the Nazis seriously. It was at this point that the Nazis started receiving money from big business. Industrialists liked the anti-communist rhetoric they were hearing from the Nazis. 🗝️

The end of Brüning's rule, May 1932

By May 1932, the Brüning government was in charge of a failing economy and a nation plagued by violence. Germany was no closer to resolving the Great Depression, in spite of its unpopular economic policies such as raising taxes, cutting benefits and enforcing a 'tighten your belt and take the bitter medicine' strategy. The Weimar Government was in free-fall and was unable to handle the worsening situation.

Kurt von Schleicher was an influential man in the military. He couldn't understand why Brüning couldn't make a deal with the Nazis. He believed the time had come to establish an authoritarian regime and scrap the Weimar Government and the Constitution it had created in 1919. He believed he could use the Nazis, work with business leaders and conservatives to establish a stronger government. Von Schleicher used his influence with President Hindenburg to convince him to oust Brüning and establish a government above the influences of party politics. An authoritarian style of government would be the result – and von Schleicher handpicked the man to lead it.

Franz von Papen, a Centre Party politician, emerged out of obscurity to be appointed as Chancellor by Hindenburg on Schleicher's recommendation. However, the Centre Party didn't continue to support Papen, while the conservatives were reluctantly drawn to him. His Cabinet became known as the 'Cabinet of Barons'. It was filled with bank executives, industrialists and German nobles. They were going to do what Brüning didn't, by scrapping the Weimar welfare system. Von Papen also hinted that he wanted to get rid of parliamentary democracy.

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions

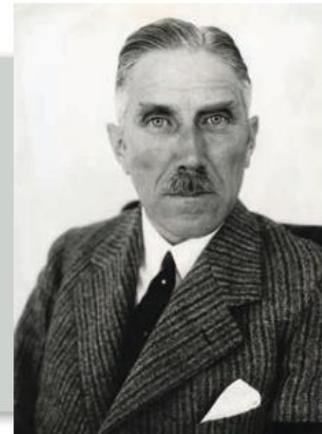


Assess how the problems faced by the Weimar Republic contributed to the rise and the success of the Nazi movement.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Franz von Papen (1879–1969)

An obscure Center Party politician, von Papen was appointed by President Hindenburg to serve as German Chancellor, succeeding Heinrich Brüning, in June 1932. During his brief tenure, he attempted to undermine the political and social foundations of the Weimar Republic, unintentionally abetting the Nazi cause. He was replaced by Kurt von Schleicher in November 1932. He was instrumental in bringing about Hitler's appointment as Chancellor in 1933.



SOURCE 3.18 Franz von Papen

The July 1932 election

New parliamentary elections were held on 31 July 1932. Von Papen believed he could win over the Nazis and the conservatives. It was as big a miscalculation as the one Brüning made in 1930. The Nazi Party attacked von Papen outright, calling him 'reactionary' and conducting an aggressive campaign. Their tactics worked: the Nazis achieved 38 per cent of the vote. This officially made them the largest party in the Reichstag.

The problem for the Nazis, however, was that they envisaged attaining a majority in the Reichstag and they were disappointed in the results. The SA were bitterly unhappy. Hitler had promised the party this would be the last election, as the hard work through perpetual campaigning would allow the NSDAP



SOURCE 3.19 Hitler making an election speech on 5 April 1932

to gain the necessary majority control of the Reichstag. The July 1932 election had confirmed the NSDAP as the largest party; however, they did not get the majority they so desperately needed. Hindenburg, who totally despised Hitler and referred to him as ‘that bohemian corporal’, was never going to grant Hitler’s wish to be Chancellor. Hitler wanted to be Chancellor with presidential powers granted under Article 48. The Nazis had 38 per cent of the vote, and the Communists had 15 per cent, meaning the Reichstag was dominated by the most vocal critics of the Republic. Ultimately, parliamentary democracy had become a farce.

Party	1930 election, percentage of the vote	1930 seats	July 1932, percentage of the vote	July 1932 seats
KPD	13.1	77	14.3	89
SPD	24.5	143	21.6	133
DDP	3.8	20	1.0	4
NSDAP	18.3	107	37.3	230

ANALYSING SOURCES 3.2

For the thirteen million Germans who voted Nazi in 1932, Hitler symbolised the various facets of Nazism which they found appealing. In his public portrayal, he was a man of the people, his humble origins emphasising the rejection of privilege and the sterile old order in favour of a new, vigorous, upwardly-mobile society built upon strength, merit and achievement. He was seen as strong, uncompromising, ruthless. He embodied the triumph of true Germanic virtues – courage, manliness, integrity, loyalty, devotion to the cause over the decadence, corruption and effeminate weakness of Weimar society.

SOURCE 3.20 | Kershaw, ‘The Hitler Myth’, *History Today*, November 1985

Using the source, explain why Hitler and Nazism was appealing to the people in 1932.

The November 1932 election

In the November 1932 elections, the Nazi vote dropped to 33 per cent. The protest vote against the Weimar Republic was running out of steam. The Nazi Party was still the largest party in the German Parliament, but a real crisis emerged for them. In a top-secret memorandum drawn up by Goebbels he wrote ‘We’ve blown it’.

The Nazis themselves saw their popularity as being very tenuous. They had strong, stable support among certain elements of the German middle class. However, as Hitler and Goebbels both realised, the election result made it clear that many of the people who had been voting for the party were making a crisis-related vote of protest against the Weimar Republic rather than having a commitment to National Socialist ideology.

The outcome of the November 1932 elections revealed that Nazi popularity in the free elections could not necessarily be maintained at the July 1932 levels. Goebbels argued strongly that the Party had to come to power soon; it would not have the resources to keep financing elections. The NSDAP's constituency was too diverse, its promises were too contradictory and its appeal was too negative, meaning its effectiveness only had a short life span. Although the Nazis did hold a positive vision of a classless society, a **Volksgemeinschaft**, the basis of their popularity was based on negative campaigning. They focused on what was wrong with the system, what was wrong with the Weimar system, arguing that it was corrupt and it couldn't solve the economic problems. However, as the German economy started to improve, Germans were less inclined to follow the rhetoric of the negative campaigning.



SOURCE 3.21 A German 1932 election poster appealing to women to vote for Hitler for the benefit of their families

It would be convenient to look no further for the cause of Germany's and Europe's calamity than the person of Adolf Hitler himself. But of all of Hitler's prime moral responsibility for what took place under the authoritarian (totalitarian) regime, a personalised explanation would be a gross short-circuiting of the truth.

Volksgemeinschaft the German expression for 'people's community'

SOURCE 3.22 | Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936*, Hubris, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, London, 1998, p. xxi

A vote for the NSDAP in 1932 was to a very large extent a protest against a failed system, and not necessarily an endorsement of Nazi ideology. There were plenty of people in Germany who were enthusiastic Nazis. However, these weren't the people who transformed the NSDAP from a small splinter party on the fringes of German politics; they'd been there all the time. Contrary to the image

of an irresistible political movement being swept into power by grassroots support – an image that the Nazis had tried to portray – the real truth was that the NSDAPs electoral support was highly unstable and could only be maintained for a limited period of time and under severe economic conditions. This reality in the decline of Nazi support was exposed when, in November 1932, the NSDAP seemed to be coming apart in regional areas. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Forming opinions



How significant was the performance of the Heinrich Brüning government (1930–32) in contributing to the popularity of the Nazi Party?

Party	July 1932 election, percentage of votes	July 1932 seats	November 1932 election, percentage of votes	November 1932 seats
KPD	14.3	89	16.9	100
SPD	21.6	133	20.4	121
DDP	1.8	4	1.0	2
NSDAP	37.3	230	33.1	196

Chancellor von Schleicher: December 1932–January 1933

The answer to the question how Hitler came to power is therefore to be found more in the actions of those German politicians who were not National Socialists than in those of Hitler himself. He waited, they decided.

SOURCE 3.23 AJP Taylor, *From Boer War to the Cold War*, Penguin, London, 1996, p. 345

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Kurt von Schleicher (1882–1934)



SOURCE 3.24 Kurt von Schleicher

After the November 1932 elections, Papen was unceremoniously removed as German Chancellor. He had no support, now that the Communists and the Nazis had the majority in the parliament. Hindenburg reluctantly turned power over to General Kurt von Schleicher, a military man who had been prominent in the post-World War I **Reichswehr**, and had served as Papen's Minister of Defence. Von Schleicher believed that he could 'woo' the Nazis, and bring them into the government somehow, or coax rebellious Nazi parliamentary members – those who were becoming disillusioned with the party – to support him.

However, von Schleicher was unable to generate any sort of enthusiasm in the population at all. By January 1933, it was clear that he had failed in his attempt to form a new government. Papen had been kicked out of office, but he hadn't gone away. He had remained as an adviser to Hindenburg, for reasons that have never really been explained.

Von Papen had decided that the thing to do was to plot against von Schleicher. Papen, working behind the scenes, engineered a meeting between Hitler and various conservative leaders. On 4 January 1933, Hitler agreed to meet with Papen in Cologne in a secret meeting that

Reichswehr the military organisation of Germany from 1919 until 1935, when it was united with the new *Wehrmacht*



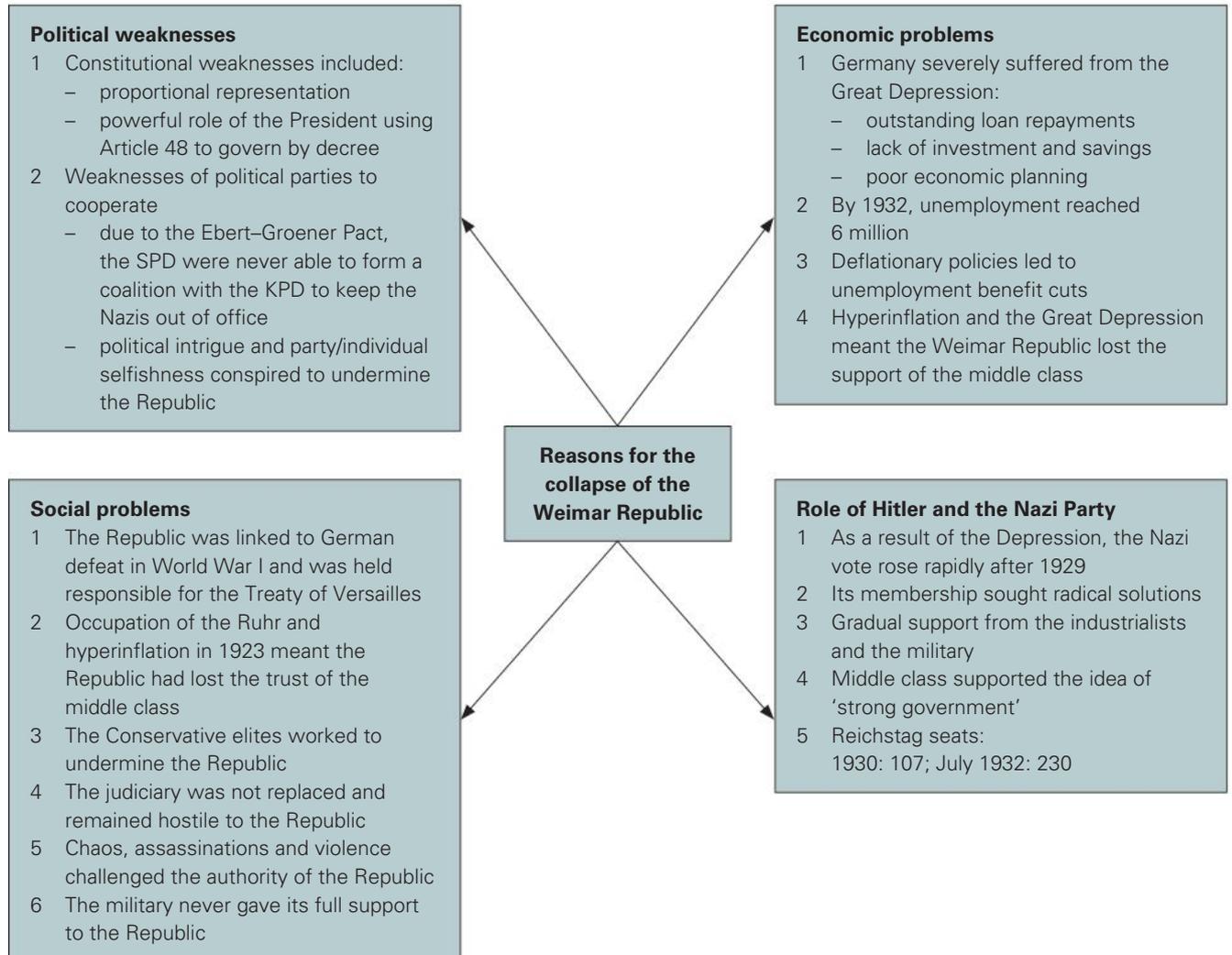
also included Oskar von Hindenburg, President Hindenburg's son. Hitler was now more malleable following his loss of parliamentary numbers in the December 1932 election. He agreed to form a Coalition government with Papen. Hitler would supply the rank-and-file and popular support; Papen would supply Hindenburg. On 28 January, Hindenburg dismissed Schleicher as Chancellor stating, 'I already have one foot in the grave and I am not sure that I shall not regret this action in heaven later on'.

KEY QUESTIONS

Forming opinions

What role did von Papen play in the 1932–33 destruction of the Weimar Republic?

SOURCE 3.25 Franz von Papen and General von Schleicher at the Grunewald race course in Berlin for the Saint Ledger race on 17 July 1932



EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Account for the opposition that existed in Germany to a democratic republic in the period up to 1933.
- To what extent was Hitler's rise to power due to the successive failures of the Weimar governments?

As a class discuss the following: Did the Weimar Government survive longer than expected, considering the number of crises it faced until 1933?

3.2 The initial consolidation of Nazi power, 1933–34

Many Germans turned to the Nazis and selected from their policies what appealed to them. The Nazi movement was accepted by many because it seemed to provide the answer to personal and national frustration.

SOURCE 3.26 G Greenwood, *The Modern World*, Sydney, 1964, p. 516

On 30 January, the impossible seemed to have happened: a political party that had garnered less than 3 per cent of the vote in the spring of 1928 had now managed to manoeuvre itself into power. The appointment of Hitler as Chancellor set off wild jubilation among the Nazis. A lot of people who had left the Party began to return. The SA held torchlight parades all over the Germany. There were only three Nazis in the new Cabinet: Hitler as Chancellor, Hermann Goering and Wilhelm Frick. Frick was made Minister of the Interior: this meant he had control of the

police, the political police for Germany as a whole. Hermann Goering was named Reich Commissar for the Ministry of the Interior of Prussia. Papen was named as Vice-Chancellor. 🔑



SOURCE 3.27 Hitler's first Cabinet meeting in Berlin, on 30 January 1933. Hitler is seated in the middle with Hermann Goering on his left and Franz von Papen on his right. Wilhelm Frick is standing directly behind Hitler.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



How would you evaluate Hitler's appointment as Chancellor?

To what extent was it the reflection of the will of the German people?

Gleichschaltung the process of Nazification by which Hitler successively established a system of totalitarian control and coordination over all aspects of German society

Gleichschaltung

Now that the Nazis were in power, they sought to Nazify German society through their policy of **Gleichschaltung**. This word can be translated as 'coordination' or 'consolidation' of control. What this really meant, as the Nazis used it, was the Nazification of German politics and society. Their aim was to create a situation where the whole German society would respond to the instructions of the Nazi leadership embodied by Hitler. The process of 'coordination' and of 'bringing Germany into line' would not just be something imposed from above. Instead, all over Germany, enthusiastic Nazis set about infiltrating and taking over their local communities.

At first, Hitler didn't want to cause any trouble in the Cabinet. He didn't want anyone to get the impression that a Nazi coup had taken place. He was afraid that Hindenburg would change his mind, and he was careful in his dealings with the members of the new Cabinet. Von Papen and the conservatives believed that he



SOURCE 3.28 Ernst Rohm, leader of the SA, shown here with the Brownshirts. He played an important role in eliminating political opposition to the Nazis. However, as Hitler needed to ensure he had respectability in his office, he realised he had to eliminate both Rohm and the SA. Rohm was murdered on the Night of the Long Knives (30 June 1934), which was organised by the Nazis on the pretext of an SA *putsch*.

would drum up support for the regime as the leader of the largest party in the Reichstag, but it would be von Papen who would be making the important political decisions. Hitler was incredibly compliant when he assumed the position of Chancellor; however, he was committed to two political decisions. He wanted the Reichstag to be dissolved and he wanted new elections. Although von Papen was reluctant to agree to new elections with Hitler in power, because this opened up the opportunity for the NSDAP to gain a majority in the Reichstag and govern in their own right, he did eventually give in. New elections were called for 5 March 1933.

Before the campaign could get under way, however, the Nazis seized an opportunity to restrict the influence of their most significant political opposition, the Communist Party (KPD). The tension in Germany was thick and there was a sense that there may have been a civil war, with the Communists rising against the Nazis. The Communists called for a general strike on 31 January, the day after Hitler's appointment. Hitler used this as a pretext to have Hindenburg allow him to issue an emergency decree that would go into effect on 4 February for 'the protection of the German people'. The decree gave Hitler the power to ban political meetings and the newspapers of his political rivals, particularly the Communists.

On 5 February 1933, an emergency decree dissolved all elected bodies in Prussia (a state in Germany from 1918 to 1933), and all power was shifted to the new government. This was important because it placed the new government in charge of all judiciary as well as police matters in the state of Prussia. Fourteen police chiefs in Prussia were forced to resign and were replaced by Nazi conservatives, and whole groups of local and regional officials were gradually forced out as a result. The government had, in effect, banned political activity by the left, whether the Social Democrats or the Communists – their papers were banned – and SA terror against the left was given the green light. The SA bully boys who had been fighting the Communists and the Social Democrats in the streets for years, now were in effect told it was open season against the Communists.

Then, on the evening of 27–28 February, an event occurred which dramatically altered the course of events. In the middle of the night, the Reichstag building in Berlin caught fire. The Nazis were absolutely convinced this was the first shot in the Communist revolution; the Communist uprising had arrived. But the police could only find one person running around in the Reichstag building smelling heavily of kerosene: a Dutchman



SOURCE 3.29 28 February 1933, the Reichstag's assembly room, or what was left of it, with the broken glass dome in the centre



SOURCE 3.30 The German Chancellor Adolf Hitler inspecting his assault battalions with Ernst Rohm, the Chief of Staff of the SA, in the city of Kiel on 9 May 1933

In the election of 5 March, which occurred two days later, the Nazis were running against a left that was greatly weakened by arrests and by the harassment of their party members and leaders. Yet on 5 March, the NSDAP failed to get a majority, gaining only 44 per cent of the vote. The conservatives, a party now associated with Papen, achieved 8 per cent of the vote. Together, the Nazis and the conservatives had a coalition majority. Although the NSDAP still didn't achieve a majority in the Reichstag, it did successfully ban the Communist Party. The Nazis were gradually consolidating their power base in the decision-making process.

On 21 March 1933, Hitler was sworn in as Chancellor in a great ceremony at the Garrison Church in Potsdam. Hindenburg was invited to come and wear his military uniform from the war, representing the

named Martinus van der Lubbe, who was mentally deficient. He had some tenuous connections to the Dutch Communist Party, but investigators couldn't find any links to the Communists in Germany. In the middle of the night, the Nazis drafted what was called the 'Reichstag Fire Decree' for the protection of the people and the state, 'to guard against Communist acts of violence endangering the state'. The decree basically ended all civil rights guaranteed by the Weimar Constitution, including freedom of the press, freedom of expression, freedom of association and the secrecy of the mail and telephone. This Reichstag Fire Decree would become the constitutional basis for Nazi actions. It gave the government all the authority they needed to destroy their enemies.

On 2 March, Goering, Germany's chief law enforcement officer, made his objective quite clear: 'to expunge the pestilence of communism, and all along the line, we are moving on to the attack'. The Communists didn't expect that, 48 hours after the Reichstag fire, hundreds of their top people would be sitting behind bars. The police were to move against the Communists. In other words, anybody that the police wanted, anybody they thought might be connected, could be arrested for indirectly having furthered the goals of the Communists. Social Democrats were also being arrested – not the top leaders, but mid-level bureaucrats of the Party. As Goering said, 'We'll cut them all off at the knees'.

high command of the German Army. This was an important symbolic gesture as Hitler deliberately wanted to convey the message to Hindenburg and the German people that he wanted to restore the old German honour, and that the NSDAP was not a party of radical revolutionaries, but rather a representation of German traditional values.

Source 3.31 shows Hitler meeting Hindenburg on the steps before being sworn in as Chancellor. Hitler wears civilian clothes and bows respectfully. The occasion was extremely important in demonstrating Hitler's respect for Hindenburg.

In the speech that Hitler delivered in accepting his position as Chancellor, he called for a new law called the **Enabling Act**, that would give the new government the power to enact legislation for a five-year period without having to get Hindenburg's permission, as required by Article 48. With the banning of the Communists, Hitler had a two-thirds majority in the Reichstag, which allowed him to pass the Enabling Act on 21 March. This is sometimes called the 'suicide note of the German Parliament'. It effectively gave Hitler control of all the legal authority in Germany. This impression of legality would be important in the Nazis' consolidation of power. In the following six months, the Nazis pursued their policy of *Gleichschaltung*. They purged the civil service, outlawed other political parties, shut down labour unions and relentlessly terrorised their political opponents.

The Nazis declared May Day to be a national holiday to celebrate German labour. That night, the storm troopers moved in and seized union offices all over the country. Goering used this as an opportunity to argue that Germany needed greater protection, and it currently didn't have enough manpower or police to deal with the turmoil. To deal with these problems, the Nazis believed they needed an auxiliary police force to assist. This meant the SA would play a more active role in dealing with those perceived enemies of the state. As a result, all over Germany, the SA were sworn in as an auxiliary police force. In addition to wearing their swastika armband on their left arm, they wore a white armband on the right to show that they were now the police.

On 14 July, the Nazis introduced a law banning all political parties other than the NSDAP. The **Gestapo** would ultimately be brought under Himmler's control. The press, the radio, the schools and the universities one by one fell under National Socialist control. In a real coup, the NSDAP signed a concordant with the Vatican. This was extremely important, as Catholics still remained the largest potential opponents of the regime. In the concordant, the Nazis promised to leave the Church alone, not to infiltrate or ban its organisations. In return, the Church would drop its ban on the NSDAP.

By the end of 1933, only the Army and Hindenburg himself remained potential threats to the Nazis. For Hitler to consolidate power, he needed the support of the Army and big business, who both despised the SA and their rough talk about social revolution. The SA had over a million members, while the Army only had 100 000 members. Hitler showed a readiness to use ruthless violence to achieve his ends, beyond the bloodthirsty rhetoric so common in his speeches. He was further persuaded to act when Hindenburg indicated he was considering putting the country under military rule, and removing Hitler, if the crisis over the SA was not swiftly resolved.



SOURCE 3.31 Hitler made sure he established a positive relationship with the German Field Marshall, respecting his place in German imperial history.

Enabling Act the Enabling Act was a 1933 Weimar Constitution amendment that gave the German Cabinet – in effect, Chancellor Adolf Hitler – the power to enact laws without the involvement of the Reichstag

Gestapo Nazi secret police established in November 1933 and influential in propagating terror in Germany and maintaining Nazi power

These threats were removed in June 1934, when Rohm, the head of the SA, was arrested and killed by Hitler's order. The power of the SA was broken. The Nazis, Hitler decided, didn't need the SA any more to deal with the political opposition. The revolution, Hitler said, was over. The Nazis now had complete power.

FLASHPOINT!

The Night of the Long Knives

On 30 June 1934, Hitler organised the **Schutzstaffel** (SS, also known as 'Blackshirts') to murder the SA leaders and other political opponents. This came to be called the Night of the Long Knives. Hitler recognised that the SA had accomplished their political role in helping the NSDAP come to power, but now the time had come to end this era of disorder and chaos, as it was becoming a liability for the regime. This event saw the destruction of power of the brutal, disorderly and scandal-dogged SA, and its replacement by Hitler's bodyguard organisation, the black-uniformed SS.

The official death toll stood at 74, but over 1000 people were arrested. The final number killed remains a matter of debate. The killing across Berlin and Germany had the code-name 'Hummingbird'. In Berlin, the killing targeted conservative rivals, and

both von Papen's secretary and his speech writer were murdered. Von Papen himself was considered too high-profile to kill. General von Schleicher (who had become Chancellor before Hitler and who had opposed Hitler's appointment) was gunned down along with his wife. Hitler explained to the Cabinet and to the Reichstag that his actions had been necessary to foil a treasonable plot. Public reactions to the purge were initially mixed. There were expressions of concern as many members of the public struggled to understand what the bloodletting meant. Over time, though, this seems to have been replaced by general approval of the events. The SA violence had been unpopular and their disorderly conduct had alarmed many ordinary Germans as well as the Army. Their destruction seemed to promise a greater stability. And it was this, after all, that had been the reason for many Germans voting for the Nazi Party in the first place.

Schutzstaffel 'SS' for short; a major paramilitary organisation operating in Nazi Germany, and later throughout German-occupied Europe, during World War II

On 2 August 1934, Hindenburg died. At his death, Hitler assumed the offices of both President and Chancellor, and the Army swore an oath of allegiance, not to the Constitution but to Adolf Hitler personally. Hitler was now officially *der Führer* of all Germany. By the summer of 1934, the Nazis had achieved the basis of totalitarian state, a state that would have a claim on the complete individual. No sources of opposition were out there. The NSDAP, a party with totalitarian aspirations, now had total control. 🗝️

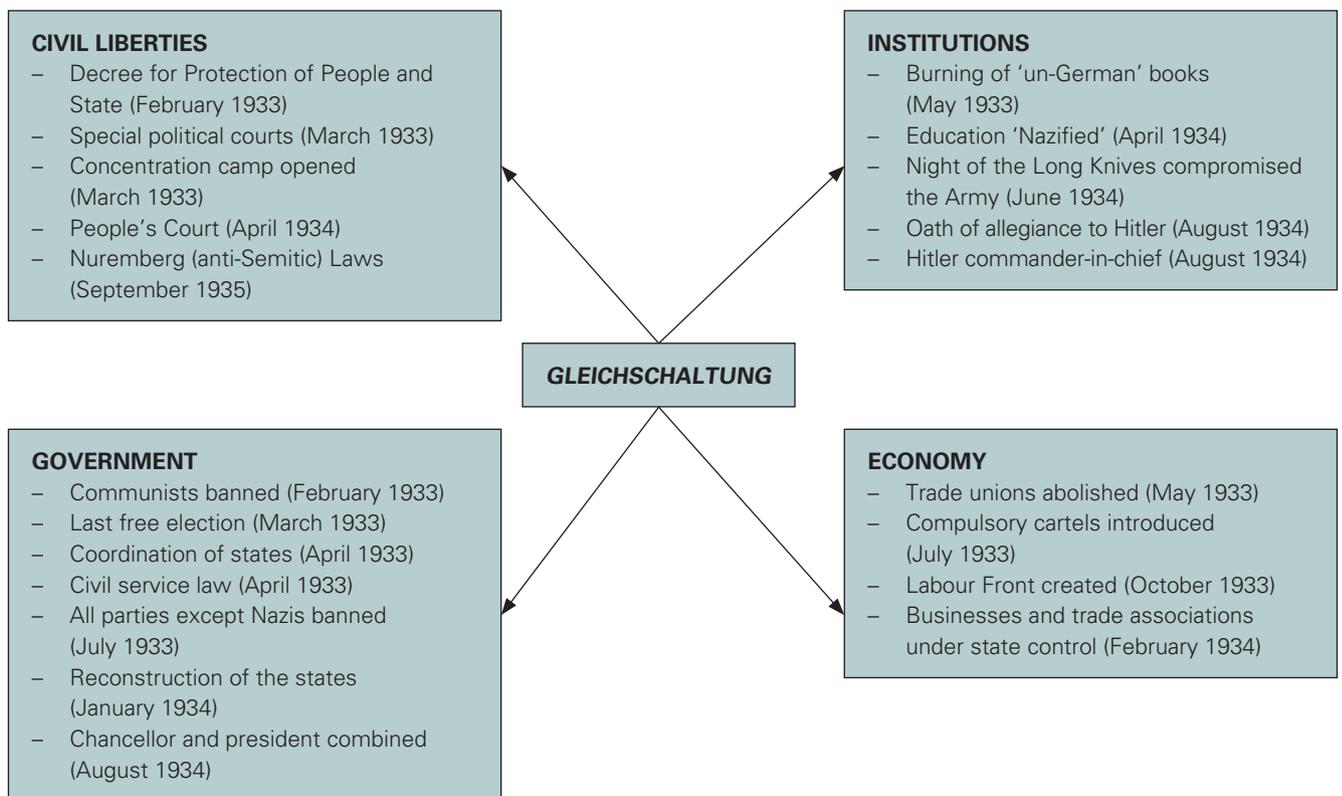
KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences

🗝️ Assess which aspects of *Gleichshaltung* had the greatest impact and explain why.

SOURCE 3.32 Death of President Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934), Prussian–German Field Marshall, statesman and politician, who served as the second President of Germany 1925–34





3.3 The nature of Nazi ideology

There were a number of key principles that the Nazis championed. At its ideological core were the ideas of racism and **anti-Semitism**. Hitler had a brutal **social Darwinist** worldview that looked out on the world and saw a reality of constant struggle. He saw a constant racial war, pitting peoples against peoples, races against races, in a struggle for survival. It was a struggle in part for **Lebensraum**, or 'living space', in which a people could expand and grow.

Thus, the applications for the Nazis were obvious. One needed to consciously seek racial strategies, to embrace the natural conflict that they understood as the key to history, in order to win a triumph for the German people. The Nazis posited the existence of a superior 'Aryan' race, which they aimed to recreate. The Aryans, of which the Germans were supposed to be the finest surviving exemplars, were supposedly blond, tall, honest, good, and the embodiment of all that was creative and healthy. Of necessity, they were juxtaposed with the demonic stereotype of their exact opposite. For the Nazis, the opposite of the Aryan ideal were the Jews. The Nazis depicted the Jews as being parasites, incapable of creating culture on their own, eternally contaminating their influences upon other peoples, and the eternal enemies of all that the Aryan race stood for.



SOURCE 3.33 The **Hitler Youth** Movement reflected the key features of the *Volkgemeinschaft* as leaders sought to integrate boys into the Nazi national community and to prepare them to lead the Third Reich.

anti-Semitism discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews

social Darwinism nineteenth-century social theory that applied Charles Darwin's ideas about evolution and natural selection in plants and animals in nature to humans

Lebensraum 'living space', a term employed by Hitler to describe Germany's need for expansion to the east in order to claim land for the Reich's swelling population

Hitler Youth a movement based on the idea that the future of Germany lay in the development, training and education of German children

The Nazis promised the creation within Germany of a true racial unity. The term that they used for this idea was *Volksgemeinschaft*, the ‘people’s community’. This was to be a racial utopia of rough egalitarianism among those who belonged to this racial unity. This racial utopia would be achieved by the purification and consolidation of the German people within the country, the elimination of the Jewish minority, followed by aggressive expansion abroad.

According to National Socialist ideology the *Volksgemeinschaft* would result from the creative activities of the German Volk ... the Volk community was a national union in which each individual knew their place within the larger whole and in which every aspect of life furthered the good of the community. The notion of Volk had a mystical tone. It was at once the people, the nation and the race ... the mission of National Socialism was to re-establish the Volk community by bringing an awareness of race, blood and soil among the Germans.

SOURCE 3.34 B Sax and D Kuntz, *Inside Hitler's Germany: A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich*, Heath, London, p. 178

Other elements of the Nazi ideology included opposition: opposition to democracy (which was considered weak and individualistic); opposition to Marxism (though the Nazis claimed to represent a truer German socialism not based on materialism); opposition to pacifism; opposition to individualism (which was considered self-serving); opposition to capitalism; opposition to what was called the ‘soulless rationality’ and opposition to the intellectual life. The Nazis valued a strong state (which stood above individuals), military mobilisation and war (which they considered would guarantee the health of the nation).

ANALYSING SOURCES 3.3

The Nazi state and the emerging Nazi society were not centred around production and maintaining its conditions, but around the ability to prey on other people and whole societies, much as industry preys on nature.

SOURCE 3.35 M Geyer, ‘The Nazi State Machine or Morass?’, *History Today*, vol. 36, January 1986, p. 36

- 1 Evaluate what the Nazi state was based on.
- 2 Discuss how this system reflects Nazi ideology.

3.4 The role of prominent individuals in the Nazi state

As the Nazi Party grew, there were several personalities who became an integral part of the movement. When the Nazis came to power, these individuals were rewarded with important portfolios where they played an integral role within the totalitarian regime.

Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945)

A brilliant propagandist, Joseph Goebbels emerged in 1930 as the head of the NSDAP’s Propaganda Department and was responsible for planning and executing the Nazi campaigns of 1930–32. When

Hitler was appointed as Chancellor, Goebbels began the Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment. He designed Nazi propaganda for the remainder of the Third Reich. Goebbels was the prime organiser of *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass), the first coordinated nationwide act of public violence against the German Jewish community.

Kristallnacht state-endorsed violence (or pogrom) against Jewish businesses and synagogues throughout Germany, 9–10 November 1938



SOURCE 3.36 Joseph Goebbels



SOURCE 3.37 Hermann Goering

Hermann Goering (1893–1946)

Hermann Goering was an early follower of Hitler, taking part in the abortive Beer Hall *Putsch* in November 1923. Like Hitler, he was a World War I veteran, having served as a combat flyer. When Hitler came to power, Goering was given the task of building up the Gestapo (1933–34), the **Luftwaffe** (beginning in 1935), and the Office of the Four-Year Plan (1936). He was designated **Reichmarschall** in 1939 and was second in succession to Hitler (although Heinrich Himmler actually had more power). Goering’s record as a head of the *Luftwaffe* was inconsistent and his influence waned as the war went on.

Luftwaffe the aerial warfare branch of the combined German *Wehrmacht* military forces during World War II

Reichmarschall ‘Marshal of the Reich’; this was the highest rank in the *Wehrmacht* of Nazi Germany during World War II



SOURCE 3.38 Heinrich Himmler

Heinrich Himmler (1900–45)

An early political associate of Hitler’s who took part in the Beer Hall *Putsch*, Heinrich Himmler rose to become the second most powerful man in the Nazi hierarchy. In 1929, he became Head of the SS, and was instrumental in the ruthless suppression of the rival SA in the blood purge of 30 June 1934, which saw the liquidation of Ernst Rohm and other SA leaders. As head of the SS, Himmler was responsible for carrying out Hitler’s anti-Semitic policies in occupied Poland and Russia.



SOURCE 3.39 Albert Speer

Albert Speer (1905–81)

Much admired by Hitler, as a young architect Albert Speer designed numerous building projects for the regime, including the much-photographed stadium at Nuremberg, where the NSDAP held its annual rally. During the war, Speer emerged as Hitler's Minister of Armaments and Munitions. He is credited with having brought the war economy under control and dramatically increasing German munition production.

RESEARCH TASK 3.4

Research ONE of the above prominent individuals in the Nazi state and:

- 1 Assess his early life and reasons for joining the Nazi Party.
- 2 Examine the role he played in the Nazi State and his contribution to Nazi policy.
- 3 Evaluate his significance and influence in Nazi Germany.

3.5 The various methods used by the Nazi regime to exercise control

By the end of 1934, the Nazis no longer had to deal with trouble on the streets, the Communists were gone and the unemployed were slowly disappearing. The last restraints on their power – the Army and the presence of Hindenburg – had also been removed. The Nazis were now standing on the verge of being able to realise their plans and unfold their ideology. Indeed, for the first year or so of Nazi reign, their concentration was focused on seizing and consolidating power. This created an environment in which the Nazis could introduce other policies which would be much more controversial.

Gradually, but more rapidly after the summer of 1934, the real core of Nazi ideology would emerge in increasingly crystalline fashion, particularly with regard to racial policy. It was a regime that had a particular ideology. The Nazis believed, as would become clear in the course of the 1930s, that race was the key to understanding human history. The Nazis would attempt to make a racial ideology and translate that into policy. These extraordinary goals required extraordinary measures through laws and citizenship, terror, repression and propaganda.

Laws and citizenship

In April 1933, the so-called 'Aryan Clause' became law. This led to the dismissal of Jewish civil servants, academics and teachers. An insight into the faltering steps of these early policies can be seen in the reaction of President Hindenburg, who insisted on the exemption of Jewish war veterans and relatives of war dead. This was not due to a sense of compassion, but rather it was a wish to honour the veterans of World War I who were closely associated with traditional German nationalism.

In 1933, there were about 60 000 Jewish children up to the age of 14 years. While the exclusion of Jewish adults from society took several years to implement, these children faced a faster deterioration in their treatment at school and by non-Jewish friends. The 'Law Against the Overcrowding of German Schools' of April 1933 fixed a general limit of 1.5 per cent of a school's population for Jews. However, in places where Jews made up more than 5 per cent of the local population, the ceiling could go as high as 5 per cent.

In 1935, the Nuremberg Laws organised racial discrimination through two pieces of legislation. The 'Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour' banned marriages and extra-marital intercourse between 'Jews' and 'Germans'. The distinction represented the idea that no true German could be a Jew. It was also made illegal for a Jew to employ a 'German woman' aged younger than 45. The sexual obsession of the Nazis with Jewish men seducing Aryan women and the protection of so-called 'German blood' from adulteration was central to these regulations.

A second law, 'The Reich Citizenship Law', stripped those no longer considered to be truly German of their citizenship. Henceforth, there would be two categories of Germans: 'Reich citizens' (Aryans with full rights) and 'nationals' (who were subject to the racial discrimination of Nazi policy). In the 12 years of Nazi rule, the Reichstag only passed four laws: the Nuremberg Laws constituted two of these.

The resulting laws were hastily put together in time for presentation before the Nazi Party at its annual Nuremberg Rally. The first law was written overnight by officials hurriedly flown in from Berlin. The Reich Citizenship Law was later drafted in half an hour and was scribbled on the back of a hotel menu card, due to the lack of available paper.

After the Nuremberg Laws, the SS would become the major agency dealing with the 'Jewish issue'. Their policy was called **Entjudung**. The legislation created by the Nazis was designed to encourage the Jews to leave Germany by making life so unpleasant that they would seek a haven elsewhere. German harassment of Jews (known as **Einzalaktionen**) was encouraged. This was the SS policy, and the policy that Germany would pursue down to the critical year of 1938, where the Party began attempting to identify Jewish assets in order to eventually seize them. The intensification of laws against the Jews would lead to *Kristallnacht* in November 1938.



SOURCE 3.40 The Nazis used the media as a tool for spreading their racist ideology to the German people. Pictured is the front page of a May 1934 edition of the notorious weekly Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*. This edition shows the alleged ritual killing of Christian children by Jews. The lower headline reads: 'Die Juden sind unser Unglück' ('The Jews are our misfortune').

Entjudung 'de-Jewification'
Einzalaktionen Germans engaging in the local harassment of Jews

The role of terror and repression

Within the Nazi state, the employed elements of propaganda and terror played significant roles in maintaining power between 1933 and 1939. The radical changes imposed by the Nazis would require the work of Joseph Goebbels and his all-encompassing use of propaganda as a tool to persuade German citizens to accept the

Führerprinzip (German for 'leader principle') was the power structure in Nazi Germany. Ultimate authority flowed downwards from the Führer.

new regime. Moreover, the promotion of the **Führerprinzip**, projecting Hitler to near-mythical status, allowed for the continuation of Nazi control. Similarly, propaganda played on nationalistic tendencies to propose a 'National Community' within Germany that would ensure strict adherence to the state. Subsequently, any remaining opposition to the regime was quickly silenced by the use of terror, through organisations such as the SS and the Gestapo, and through the use of concentration camps.

The Gestapo

The operation of the *Geheime Staats Polizei* ('Gestapo') was influential in propagating terror in Germany, and hence maintaining Nazi power. The Gestapo, established in November 1933 and governed by Heinrich Himmler from 1934, was primarily responsible for the internal security of the Reich. It quickly gained a reputation for ruthlessness and efficiency while carrying out mass surveillance. Recent research by Robert Gellately suggests that this appearance was somewhat superficial: contrary to the perception of an SS man on every corner, most towns only had 40 Gestapo officers. Similarly, he argues that the Gestapo relied



SOURCE 3.41 Heinrich Himmler inspects Gestapo Units in Vienna in 1938.

heavily upon public denunciations, yet it should be noted that this illusion was enough to terrorise the population. Evans argues that public belief in the presence of terror and the fear of arrest was enough to allow the Nazi terror machine to reach even the smallest units of everyday life. Evidently the operation of the Gestapo was not concealed: rather its exploits were used to reaffirm the prevalence of the illusion of strength and to promote denunciations. The Gestapo as an instrument of terror was effective in maintaining public adherence to Nazism by inducing a notion of fear within the population.

The SS

The terror inspired by the existence of the SS (also known as 'Blackshirts') was greatly effective in controlling any remaining German opposition, enabling the persistence of the Reich. Under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler, the organisation initially served as Hitler's bodyguard. By 1935, there were 200 000 Blackshirts operating in Germany. Strict intellectual, physical and racial requirements for membership ensured the SS stood out as ideal Aryan Germans, a notion commonly promoted in propaganda. The SS publicly proved its brutality and loyalty to Hitler during 'the Night of the Long Knives', eliminating Ernst Rohm and the existing SA leadership in the consolidation of Nazi power. During the 1930s, the SS operated primarily as a police force to discover and remove secret opponents of the state. However, it quickly moved to silence opposition in a variety of other means, including execution and forced labour. Historian Shirer argued that the SS under Himmler was greatly feared – particularly the intelligence branch, which was capable of mass surveillance. The work of the SS as an organ of terror in both its

reputation and actions was significant in removing opposition to the regime and ensuring continued Nazi rule. 🔑

Like monks or priests there was a lengthy novitiate (period of training) for the SS involving ideological instruction, labour and military service, and the acquisition of sporting prowess. Initiation rites added to the solemnity of being admitted to a privileged group, a sort of secular (non-religious) priesthood. The midnight oath-swearing ceremony was emotional. According to one eyewitness, “Tears came to my eyes when in the light of the torches, thousands of voices repeated the oath in chorus. It was like a prayer. The questions and responses included “Why do we believe in Germany and the Führer? Because we believe in God, we believe in Germany which He created in His word and in the Führer, Adolf Hitler, whom He has sent us”’. Like all sects and totalitarian organisations, the SS recognised no departures and no separate private sphere. The individual was in for life.

SOURCE 3.42 M Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History*, Macmillan, London, 2000, p. 194

Concentration camps

The German people were well-acquainted with what was happening in concentration camps, and it was well known that the fate of anyone too actively opposed to any part of the Nazi programme was likely to be one of great suffering. Indeed, before the Hitler regime was many months old, almost every family in Germany had received first-hand accounts of the brutalities inflicted in the concentration camps ... and consequently the fear of such camps was a very effective brake on any possible opposition.

SOURCE 3.43 Raymond Geist, quoted in *Trial of Major War Criminals*, vol. 2, HMSO, London, 1946, p. 194

The use of concentration camps from 1933 further extended aspects of terror in Nazi Germany. Initially established to detain political opponents, including Communists and socialists, the camps were expanded into a centralised system to remove further undesirables from threatening the state, thereby cementing Nazi rule. The operation of the camps was passed onto the SS after the purge of the SA in 1934. Between 1934 and 1939, 200 000 people passed through the camps. This number continued to rise to as the list of opponents was expanded to include homosexuals, gypsies and other minority groups. Furthermore, the experiences of



SOURCE 3.44 On 22 March 1933, Adolf Hitler set up a concentration camp for political prisoners in Dachau. This camp served as a model for all later concentration camps and as a ‘school of violence’ for the SS men under whose command it stood.

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



Discuss the development and use of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), then the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) and *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo). In what ways were they similar? How were they different? Why did Hitler decide to choose the Army over the SA in 1934?

individuals detained within the camps were allowed to leak out into the public sphere. Stories of brutality and horrific conditions added to the growing terror in society, and this was often enough to ensure citizens pledged loyalty to the state, regardless of their political stance. The intent of the camps can be seen in the words of Hitler himself, naming them the *'most effective instrument'* which must remain ruthless to support the regime. Hence concentration camps were influential in deterring any opponents to Nazism and by fostering fear in the public.

Propaganda and censorship

There is probably no one on the planet who does not know him as a statesman and as a remarkable popular leader ... One cannot imagine him putting on a front ... His daily meals are the simplest, most modest imaginable ... [he] avoids medals and decorations ... His cabinet approves no law that he has not studied ... He has sacrificed his personal happiness and private life. He knows nothing other than the work he does as the truest servant of the Reich.

SOURCE 3.45 Joseph Goebbels' radio broadcast to the German people on Hitler's birthday, 20 April 1935

Under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels, propaganda was seen as a powerful tool of indoctrination by the Nazis, capable of silencing opposition and bringing the population in line with their ideology. All aspects of expression would be brought under party control, in order to promote the powerful themes of Nazi strength and unity. Through the Editorial Law of October 1933, newspaper editors were required to follow government policy, only printing news approved by Goebbels' organisation. Similarly, the radio was seen as an effective medium for easy communication and manipulation of public opinion. Cheap 'people's radios' were produced, allowing Hitler's speeches, and other approved indirect methods of propaganda (such as music), to enter the home. Propaganda also entered the cinema through such films as *Hitlerjunge Quex*, promoting valiant tales of German honour to the unsuspecting public. Furthermore, through the establishment of the *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Chamber of Culture), aspects of the Arts were censored and controlled, including literature, paintings and music. The magnitude of the Nazi propaganda effort clearly indicates the



SOURCE 3.46 Adolf Hitler speaking at a Nazi rally in 1938

role it played in Nazi Germany, notably the shaping of public opinion in the wake of the Great Depression and the Reichstag fire. As suggested by Evans, such promotion of Nazism served to influence even neutral Germans to 'swim with the tide of popular opinion'. Hence propaganda was significant in the maintenance of Nazi power, silencing all opposition and promoting allegiance to the regime in a variety of mediums.

The broad reaches of the propaganda machine were utilised by the Nazis to promote their project of national binding, *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community), and to remove

political opposition. The 'community' envisioned was to be a harmonious and classless society of racially pure Germans serving the common goals of the state. This notion was compounded by the construction of the Führer Myth, projecting Hitler as the saviour of the German people, therefore alleviating uncertainty over the party's leadership. The effectiveness of both notions is characterised in Nazi slogans such as '*Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Führer*' ('One nation, One people, One leader'). Unyielding belief in the Führer, and by extension the state, was the primary goal of Goebbels' ministry. As Ian Kershaw argues, this could only be reached by 'blindly following the Führer'. Hence, expert construction of the Führer myth and accompanying propaganda was significant in maintaining power as it sought to remove opponents through the indoctrination of the German population.

ANALYSING SOURCES 3.5

Since propaganda consists in attracting the attention of the crowd ... its effect for the most part must be aimed at the emotions and only to a very limited degree at the so-called intellect ... The receptivity of the great masses is very limited; their intelligence is small but their power of forgetting is enormous. In consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points and must harp on these ... this spiritual weapon can succeed only if it is applied on a tremendous scale, but that scale amply covers all costs.

SOURCE 3.47 A Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Radius/Hutchinson, London, 1972, p. 164

- 1 What is Hitler's view of the intellectual abilities of the masses?
- 2 How does this view affect the nature of propaganda?



SOURCE 3.48 'Glorifying the Führer', a 1941 cartoon by Russian satirical artist, Kukrinisky

The cult of personality

The very figure of Hitler would be crucial in this context of the totalitarian regime. Both Hitler himself and the propaganda of the Nazi Party presented him as the 'unknown soldier', who had emerged from the trenches of the Great War, transformed by that experience, carrying a message of renewed greatness to a humiliated nation.

After President Hindenberg died in August 1934, Hitler successfully abolished the title of Reich President and took the presidential powers. He wished to be referred to as the Führer, and as part of the *Führerprinzip*, assumed the identity of the all-embracing ruler of Germany who had total authority. Joseph Goebbels played an instrumental role in deliberately structuring images and controlling the mass media in projecting Hitler as an all-powerful leader who would resolve the divisive and weak democratic structures of the Weimar Republic.



SOURCE 3.49 Crowds cheering and saluting Adolf Hitler during an appearance in Germany in the mid-1930s

The 'Führer myth' was a term used by Joseph Goebbels to describe the 'heroic' leader image he created and which he claimed (in 1941) as his greatest propaganda achievement. The German people were attracted to this image and Hitler was a contrast to the leadership they experienced during the Weimar years. Hitler represented a strongly authoritarian regime that embodied the imperialistic ideology based on national superiority, whereas the Weimar Republic years were recognised as a period of political splintering that resulted from the growth of social divisions. Hitler was able to create an ethnically pure and socially pure *Volksgemeinschaft* based on achievement and merit.

Furthermore, his exceptional oratory skills allowed Hitler to present himself to the German people as a strong leader. What was indisputable was that Hitler knew his audience. He was able to speak to their deepest fears and desires. He explained that he saw himself as channelling his audience's innermost feelings and convictions. He was careful to take the pulse of his crowd and tell them what they wanted to hear. This was the reality of his oratorical skills.

Unquestionably, the adulation of Hitler by millions of Germans ... was a crucial element of political integration in the Third Reich ... Without the degree of popular backing which Hitler was able to command, the drive, the dynamism, and the momentum of Nazi rule could hardly have been sustained ... Nor could Hitler himself have remained impervious to the extraordinary cult which had been created around him and which came to envelop him. His own person gradually became inseparable from the myth ... the more he succumbed to the allure of his own Führer cult, and came to believe in his own myth, the more his judgement became impaired by faith in his own infallibility.

SOURCE 3.50 Ian Kershaw, 'The Hitler Myth', *History Today*, November 1985

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Assess the importance of Hitler's role in the Nazi state after 1933.
- What role did ideology play in Nazi domestic affairs between 1933 and 1939?

As a class discuss the following: 'Unlike most politicians, Hitler kept his policies.' To what extent is this statement true?

3.6 The impact of the Nazi regime on life in Germany

The Nazi state radically altered the nature of social and cultural life in Germany between 1933 and 1939 to fulfil Hitler's ideological beliefs and aims in order to successfully Nazify society and achieve his '1000-year Reich'. As such, German cultural life was shaped to act as a propaganda tool to indoctrinate the German population. The Nazi regime was able to implement a *Volksgemeinschaft*, adapting all individuals to the Nazi ideology and way of life by 1939.

Cultural expression

Almost immediately after the Nazis' achievement of autocratic rule in March 1933, they began to dismantle the progressive cultural landscape that characterised the Weimar years. Indeed, any aspects of culture that were deemed 'unGerman' by the Nazi state were removed, such as bohemian culture (which the Party deemed 'degenerate'). Furthermore, the Nazis established the Reich Chamber for Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*) in 1933 in order to restrict and control artistic output. All artists were forced to register at the *Reichskulturkammer* if they wanted to continue to practise, thus allowing the Nazis to maintain their desired cultural landscape. This landscape placed a great emphasis on themes of 'blood and soil', revealing how the Nazi state radically altered the composition of German culture. Similarly, the abstract art movement was abandoned in favour of Nazi Realism, placing a greater emphasis on the Aryan body and German natural landscape, emphasising the transformation of German culture into an ideological tool. The Nazi state dictated what culture was not acceptable, banning all Jewish composers (such as Mendelssohn) and jazz music (due to its black origins), further reflecting how the Nazis changed cultural life to highlight Hitler's ideological views. As such, it can be seen that the Nazi regime not only impacted cultural life by rejecting the liberal Arts scene of the Weimar years, but further transformed it into a narrow, ideologically driven cultural landscape.

However, the Nazi state did not only impact the content of the Arts, it also changed the very position of culture within society. Joseph Goebbels saw the benefits and potential of using the Arts as a propaganda tool. As such, the previously highbrow nature of German cultural landscape was replaced with 'popular art' in order to make it more accessible to the working classes. This rather radical change is evident in the holding of 120 art exhibitions in factories during 1935, revealing how Goebbels used art as an indoctrination tool. Furthermore, Robert Ley's *Strength Through Joy* movement provided travelling troupes of performers and subsidised theatre tickets for



SOURCE 3.51 Much debate has centred around the work of Leni Riefenstahl on whether she was a Nazi propagandist or feminist pioneer. She directed *The Victory of Faith* and *Triumph of the Will*, which were filmed at the Nazi Party rallies of 1933 and 1934.

the working classes, changing German cultural life by making it more accessible. This change was also seen in the rise and promotion of cinema in Nazi society, with films such as *The Triumph of the Will* (1935) used to promote German nationalism and Nazi strength, while Nazi ideology principles (such as anti-Semitism) were visible in films like *The Eternal Jew* (1939). The Nazis developed a new cultural landscape as a means to alter social life within Germany.

Social life

The ability to alter German social life was greatly aided by the immediate political changes made, particularly in the process of *Gleichshaltung* in 1933. Indeed, with the establishment of the Third Reich, all democratic processes were also abolished. As such, the Nazi state was able to impose great terror among the population through organisations such as the SS, in order to consolidate power and radicalise German society. This process had a direct impact on civilians' social life as the Nazi state began to increase controls over employment. Jews were banned from the civil service and the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* was established in May 1933 as a tool to impose greater control over employment.

FLASHPOINT!

The Nazi impact on education

The school and university system gave the Nazis an opportunity to manipulate the formative learning experiences of young people, countering the influences of the home and giving young people a Nazi outlook.

- From July 1933, the central government laid down guidelines on history textbooks, which ensured that in the future they would stress the role of heroism and leadership.
- Secondary-school subjects were all affected by a Nazi angle. Biology became focused on matters of race; physics became occupied with military themes such as the study of ballistics; arithmetic included calculating the proportion of blonde-haired people in Aryan society.
- In order to achieve the Nazi goals for education it was necessary to control the teaching profession and to purge it of any teachers who opposed the new Nazi state. In April 1933, the Reich Law for the Re-Establishment of a Professional Civil Service led to the investigative committees to drive 'unreliable' teachers out of the profession.

The role of women

Intelligence, in a woman, is not an essential thing. My mother would have cut a poor figure in the society of our cultivated women. She lived strictly for her husband and her children. They were her entire universe. But she gave a son to Germany.

SOURCE 3.52 H Trevor-Roper, ed., *Hitler's Table Talk 1941–1944*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1953, p. 359

Volksgemeinschaft marked one of the greatest impacts of the Nazi state on German society, coordinating all individuals to the Nazi ideology and will. Hitler believed individuals found fulfilment by identifying with the nation and as such all people were given a clear role in the Nazi state, facilitated by consistent propaganda and terror which allowed the Nazi Party to reform German society's mindset to a belief in the 'collective need over individualistic greed'. This change was clearly evident in the diminished role of women in German social life.

While the Nazis had a very traditional idea of the role of women, they still saw them as extremely important. For the Nazis, the ideal woman should recognise 'matrimony and motherhood as the singular goal of fascist maidenhood'. Hitler commented that the German woman should recognise that her 'world is her husband, her family, her children, and her home'. In what was the unofficial 'First Family' of the Reich, Magda Goebbels played a dutifully discreet role although still one in the public eye, unlike the invisible Eva Braun. Even the leading ladies of the Third Reich highlighted the view that women should be seen but not heard.



SOURCE 3.53 Magda Goebbels was a powerful icon in Nazi Germany in reflecting the role of women in society.

The Nazi state imposed discriminatory laws such as banning women from the civil service and forcing all married women from the workforce in order to achieve such an evolution. Women were forced out of higher positions in the public service and allowed only limited entry to universities. Furthermore, the provision of financial and social incentives such as Mothering Day and the *Muttrkruz* program encouraged childbirth and homemaking in women, proliferating the central slogan of 'Children, Church, Kitchen'. Financial incentives were offered to women to stay home and have children. The successful impact of such policies on social life can be seen in the rise of the childbirth rate from below 15 per cent to above 20 per cent between 1933 and 1936. While these may seem like radical alterations in the present day, such changes were accepted by most German women as a reasonable return to traditional German values, reflecting the effect of Nazi policy and indoctrination on the nation's social life.

Religion

The role and influence of religion was also radically altered as part of the Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft*. As Hitler believed that National Socialism was itself a religion, it was understood that other churches provided a rivalry of beliefs. As such, the Nazi state consolidated the various Protestant churches into the one Reich Church in 1935, and despite a concordant signed with the Catholic Church in 1933, still attempted to curtail its influence on society. Such actions clearly had a significant impact on the population as church youth groups were abandoned in favour of the Hitler Youth, and attendance in religious schools dropped from 65 per cent in 1933 to 5 per cent by 1939. As such, the Nazi state's aggressive policies almost entirely eradicated the presence of religion in German social life, emphasising the Party's great impact. Ultimately, Nazism attacked organised religion as it demanded loyalty in competition with Nazism.

Youth

In our eyes the German youth of the future must be slim and slender, swift as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel. We must educate a new type of man ...

SOURCE 3.54 Hitler speaking at the Nuremberg Rally in 1935, quoted in J Noakes and G Pridham, *Nazism 1919–1945, Vol. II, State, Economy and Society, 1933–1939*, University of Exeter Press, 2nd edn, 2000, pp. 222–3

There had been a youth wing of the Nazi Party since Hitler came to power. But in the years up to 1933 it was comparatively small and faced competition from a range of other organisations in Germany. In 1930, there were only 18 000 in the Hitler Youth and by the end of 1932 it had grown no larger than 20 000. But all this changed after Hitler came to power in January 1933. Pressure then mounted on all young people to join the Hitler Youth and those who did so realised that they were now part of the tidal wave of 'Bringing Germany into line', which gave them added encouragement to ostracise and bully those who refused. This immediate pressure soon had the force of law behind it.

From July 1936, only the Hitler Youth could organise sporting activities for those under 14. This was soon extended to encompass those aged up to 18. Membership was still not compulsory, but it had a tremendous impact. By early 1934, there were 2.3 million members aged between the ages of 10 and 18 in the Hitler Youth; by 1936, this figure hit 4 million; by early 1939, it reached 8.7 million young people. This covered 98 per cent of all those aged between 10 and 18 years of age. After 1939, membership was finally made compulsory for children aged 10 and above. Parents who did not register their children could be fined up to 150 **Reichsmarks**, or even imprisoned. The law introduced the so-called 'duty of youth service'. According to details of Article 1. (2), this duty involved:

Reichsmark German
currency from 1924 to 1948

- boys aged 10 to 14 in the German Young People (*Deutsches Jungvolk*, or DJ)
- boys aged 14 to 18 in the Hitler Youth (*Hitlerjugend*, or HJ)
- girls aged 10 to 14 in the Young Girls' League (*Jungmädelsbund*, or JM)
- girls aged 14 to 18 in the League of German Girls (*Bund Deutscher Mädel*, or BDM).

Within each group of the movement, there was a set syllabus of indoctrination into Nazi ideas, accompanied by fitness training and, eventually, military training. For girls, the program included exercises



SOURCE 3.55 A Nazi Rally with Hitler Youth Movement in the foreground, 1936

to turn them into fit and healthy bearers of the next generation of German babies. In this they were part of the drive for 'racial hygiene'. However, the impact of the Nazi youth program had a greater effect on the mind than on the body. The indoctrination was carefully designed to replace all family and religious loyalties, and to bind children completely to the Nazi ideology and develop personal devotion to the Führer. Images of power and violence had captured the attention of the community of young people. Young people were also inspired by a manipulated enthusiasm that the new Germany in the Third Reich would create lasting peace.

Racial policy

The Jew, in Nazi ideology, was the embodiment of all enemies rolled into one. He was the 'November Criminal' and the traitor; he was both a Marxist and an international capitalist ... above all he was the debaser of the purity of the German race ... all civilisations of the past, according to Nazi doctrine, decayed and disappeared because of race mixture. The cultivation of racial purity was, according to Hitler, the real end and purpose of the state.

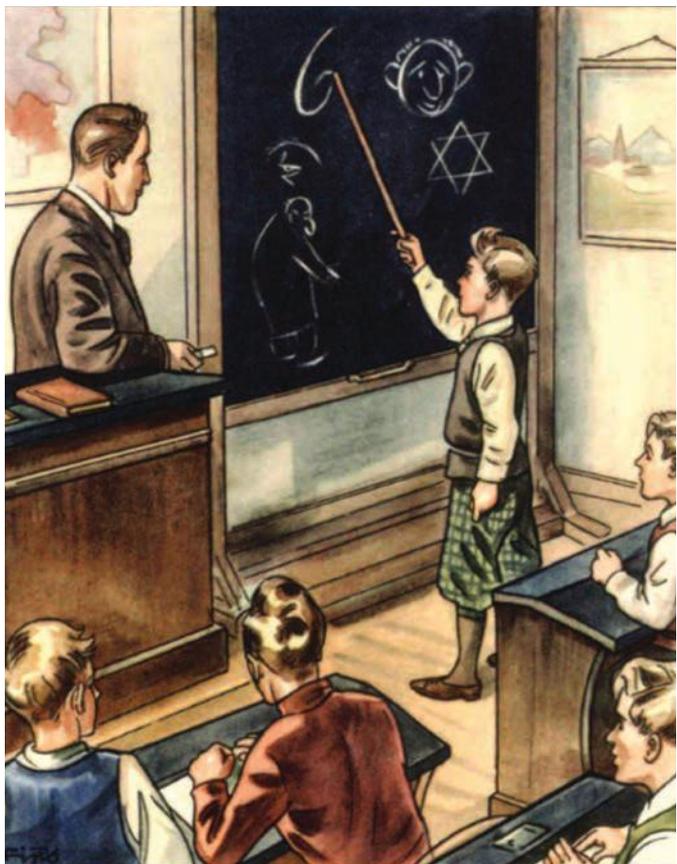
SOURCE 3.56 K Pinson, *Modern Germany*, MacMillan, London, 1966, p. 494

Arguably, the greatest impact of the Nazi state on social life was the growth of anti-Semitism within German society. Nazi anti-Semitism impacted on Jewish people's lives in many ways. The Nazis were an unshamedly racist party and their ultimate aims for Germany were based on this racism. The struggle against the Jews was always the core component of Hitler's worldview and the outlook of the Nazi Party. This is not to say that Hitler had a blueprint for how Jews were to be neutralised or removed from German society. But there was, from the mid-1920s, an unshakeable commitment to removing Jews from Germany, a war of conquest to gain *Lebensraum* (living space) for the German people in an eastern empire and to populate that empire with 'racially pure' Germans. However, although anti-Semitism was an obvious feature of National Socialism, it was nonetheless the one area of Nazi propaganda that people took less seriously than they did the appeals on the social and economic issues or on the negative campaigning against democracy. This was largely because there were so few Jewish people living in Germany. In 1933, there were only about 500 000 Jews in Germany, or 0.55 per cent of the total population. Within German society there seems to have been a fairly common low-level sense of antagonism towards Jewish people, but it was not a high priority for most German voters.

Despite the hatred of Jews, the Nazis did not put together a program of what they intended to do once they achieved power. Clearly, they wished to exclude Jews from German society, but little thought had been given to how to achieve this. In the first phase, from 1933 to 1935, there was an initial burst of legislation putting racism into practice. There was an attempt to **boycott** Jewish businesses on 1 April 1933, which was called off abruptly as many Germans seemed to have objected to the disruption of their shopping routines, and the action was condemned by the international press. Laws in April 1933 introduced the so-called 'Aryan Clause', which led to the dismissal of Jewish civil servants, academics and teachers. Slowly, Jews were squeezed out of the economy. When the Nazis came to power, about 100 000 businesses were



SOURCE 3.57 During the Nazi Germany 1933 persecution of the Jews, a Jewish boy is forced to cut his father's beard while German soldiers jeer as they watch on.



SOURCE 3.58 'The Jewish nose is bent. It looks like the number six ...' The illustration comes from the book *Der Giftpilz*, published in 1938. The book aimed to increase anti-Semitism by teaching youngsters negative myths about Jewish people.

boycott withdrawal from commercial or social relations as a punishment or protest



SOURCE 3.59 Jewish women in Linz Austria are exhibited in public with a cardboard sign.



SOURCE 3.60 Image of the destruction of Jewish shops after the Night of Broken Glass

owned by Jews. While some were large, most were very small-scale enterprises. By June 1935, the number had fallen by 25 per cent, and by mid-1938, the original figure had collapsed by almost 70 per cent.

In 1935, the Nazis would introduce a series of laws called the 'Nuremberg Laws', which would in effect make Jews non-citizens in Germany. This was the segregation: Jews losing their civil rights and being treated not as citizens, but as subjects, of the Third Reich. Hitler, in a rare speech to the Reichstag, justified the new laws with the bizarre assertion that they had been prompted by provocative behaviour by Jews. The laws, he claimed, were designed to contain 'a problem' and to create a basis from which Germans could have a 'tolerable relationship with the Jews'. In the mid-1930s, Nazi Racial Policy openly encouraged Jews to leave Germany. Official Nazi policy was to encourage them to depart, albeit leaving all of their belongings, property and money behind.

The year 1938 saw a steady radicalisation of Nazi Jewish policy. It accompanied a period of risk-taking by the regime, and increased confidence as each gamble was successfully achieved. On the night of 9–10 November 1938, the most radical and brutal attack on the Jews since Hitler came to power occurred. It is known as *Kristallnacht*. The evening saw every synagogue (some 400) set alight and 7500 businesses still in Jewish ownership

ransacked, along with many Jewish homes. About 25 000 Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Around 100 Jews were killed in the violence of the night, with hundreds badly injured. The aftermath of the November attacks saw the final and complete exclusion of Jews from the German economy. They had barely maintained a significant economic presence there by 1938, but even this was now ended. All remaining businesses were either closed or Aryanised – transferred to state-approved owners. In addition, a collective fine of 1 billion Reichsmarks was levied on the Jewish community. Those Jews who remained in Germany survived on the edge of society, relying on what funds survived in the hands of Jewish community organisations or was supplied by individuals.

Between 1933 and 1939, the Nazi regime succeeded in totally isolating the Jewish population in the territories under its control. Through a torrent of propaganda and through discriminatory laws, this once vibrant and assimilated community was reduced to poverty and desperation.

Europe cannot find peace until the Jewish question has been solved ... In course of my life I have very often been a prophet and have usually been ridiculed for it. During the time of my struggle for power it was in the first instance only the Jewish race that received my prophecies with laughter when I said that I would one day take over the leadership of the State and with it that of the whole nation, and that I would then, among other things, settle the Jewish problem. Their laughter was uproarious, but I think that for some time now they have been laughing on the other side of their face ... Today I will once more be a prophet; if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevizing of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!

Extract from a speech by Adolf Hitler in the Reichstag, 30 January 1939

SOURCE 3.61 J Noakes and G Pridlam, eds., *Nazism 1919–1945: A Documentary Reader*, vol. 3, University of Exeter, 1988, p. 1049 

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 Create a timeline of the history of anti-Jewish laws in Germany following Hitler's assumption of power illustrating the intensification of Nazi Racial Policy from 1933 to 1939.
- 2 What was the international reaction to the Nuremberg Laws and *Kristallnacht*?
- 3 In his speech, which two key groups does Hitler suggest are long-term targets for his regime?

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Why was the Nazi Party able to consolidate and extend its power after 1933?

- What role did ideology play in Nazi domestic affairs between 1933 and 1939?

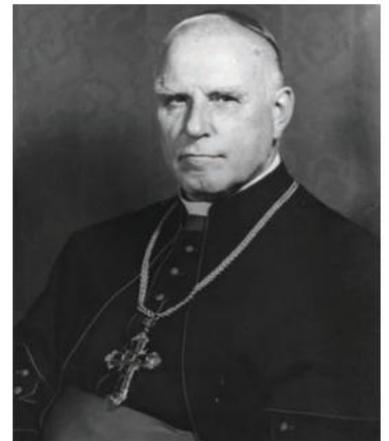
As a class discuss the following: To what extent did the Nazis reshape German family and community life between 1933 and 1939?

3.7 Opposition to the Nazi regime

Overview

Opposing the Nazi regime was a difficult task in light of the expansive Nazi police state and extensive powers granted to the Gestapo. Nonetheless, there was evidence of Nazi criticism, resistance and dissent that took place in Germany between 1933 and 1939. Most Germans supported the regime because of the decisive leadership and the economic successes after the disaster of the Great Depression.

The initial policies of the Nazi Party between 1933 and 1934 sought to eliminate the influence of trade unions, industrial workers and political parties in their attempt to consolidate power. These groups voiced their opposition in university halls and campuses, in conjunction with urban youth groups. Many Christian churches denounced the imposition of the Nazi ideology on German life, even though this clashed with the Concordat signed by the Catholic Church. In some cases, churches provided shelter to those who were the target of persecution in Germany. In addition, the military had arranged occasional



SOURCE 3.62 Cardinal Clemens August Graf von Galen was the Catholic Archbishop of Munster who voiced opposition to the Nazi euthanasia program.

plots and established discussions in removing Hitler from power in their frustration with Germany's aggressive foreign policy.

Political parties

The largest source of resistance came from the Social Democratic Party (SPD). In 1933, the Nazi Party declared the SPD illegal and robbed it of its funds. The SPD continued to operate in exile when the Party leadership relocated to Prague. Other Party members decided to stay in Germany and formed an underground resistance group called *Roter Strosstrupp* ('Red Strike Troops'). By early 1934, the movement had around 3000 members. They highlighted the abuses of the Nazi Party and called for a workers' uprising to overthrow the regime, producing a fortnightly newspaper to spread their message. Unfortunately, the Gestapo located and arrested the leaders of the *Roter Strosstrupp*, highlighting the strength of the Nazi Party by mid-1934 and the difficulty to incite a counter-revolution. In the mid-1930s, another SPD-led movement

emerged called 'New Beginnings'. However, the Gestapo was again highly effective in ensuring the group had little impact on encouraging opposition to the regime.

The German Communist Party (KPD) was another political party that opposed the Nazi regime. Before the Nazi Party came to power, the KPD had 350 000 members and was the largest Communist Party outside of Russia. The Reichstag fire proved to be a defining moment for its future, as it had to shoulder the blame for the attack. The Nazi Party was quick to raid KPD party offices, confiscate property and had thousands of party members arrested and detained at Dachau Concentration Camp. Nonetheless, there were still more than 30 000 KPD members who formed the *Die Rote Kapelle*



SOURCE 3.63 A postage stamp honouring Arvid Harnack, Harro Schulze-Boysen and John Sieg, leaders of *Die Rote Kapelle*, from the German Democratic Republic, 1983



SOURCE 3.64 Factory worker Georg Elser, who attempted to blow up Hitler in Munich in 1939

('The Red Orchestra'), which was an underground resistance movement. The KPD underground continued to produce their official newspaper and published millions of anti-Nazi pamphlets and leaflets between 1933 and 1935, highlighting poor working conditions and treatment of workers. The literature was effective in highlighting opposition to the Nazi regime in many workplaces, beer halls and factories.

German workers

German workers organised resistance campaigns in the form of strikes and go-slows as they were not affiliated to political parties. Their opposition was motivated by rising food prices and deteriorating working conditions, rather than being directly against Nazism. The Gestapo responded by arresting organisers and holding them in concentration camps. Other forms of worker opposition included not turning up to work, sabotaging factory machinery or refusing to give the Nazi salute. In 1939, a factory worker named Georg Elser, protesting the erosion of workers' rights, planted a bomb in a Munich beer hall where the Führer was scheduled to address an audience. However, Hitler finished his speech early, which meant he had avoided the time the bomb was meant to detonate.



SOURCE 3.65 Bartholomäus Schink (1927–44) was a member of the youth group the Edelweiss Pirates, active in the Ehrenfeld Group in Cologne, which resisted the Nazi regime. He was among 12 members of that group who were publicly hanged in Cologne by the Gestapo on 10 November 1944.



SOURCE 3.66 (Left) Ludwig Beck would have taken charge of Germany had the 20 July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler succeeded. (Right) Claus von Stauffenberg was one of the leading members of the failed plot; he was executed that day for his part in the plot.

known as *Operation Valkyrie*. The underlying desire of many of the high-ranking *Wehrmacht* officers involved, including Henning von Tresckow and Friedrich Olbricht, was to show the world that not all Germans were like Hitler and the Nazi Party. Beck would have taken charge of Germany as Regent had the plot been a success.

Claus von Stauffenberg was a key figure of the assassination plot. He secretly planted a bomb in a briefcase near Hitler in a meeting: the bomb exploded and injured Hitler, but did not kill him.

Youth groups

Younger Germans who shunned conformity had set up their own movement called the **Edelweisspiraten** ('Edelweiss Pirates'). The Pirates were an independent group that was not organised by adults. The group involved males and females aged 12–18 who opposed the formality of the Nazi movement. The Pirates were dressed flashily, opposed the uniforms of the Nazis and had chapters in Berlin, Dusseldorf and Cologne. They were involved in petty resistance, which included telling dirty jokes and antagonising the Hitler Youth and its members. They would taunt and sometimes beat up members as well as engage in vandalism of Nazi buildings and propaganda.

Edelweisspiraten

'Edelweiss Pirates', an association of a number of youth movements that had developed in Germany as a protest against Nazi regimentation

The military

There was a sizable group within the Army that distrusted Hitler and the ambitious territorial expansion initiatives of the 1930s. Although there were some who were impressed with the rearmament and expansion policies, many saw them as placing Germany in a dangerous position. Throughout the 1930s, there were a number of abortive plots to either remove Hitler with a military-led *putsch* or assassinate him. Ludwig Beck was Chief of Staff of the German

Army between 1935 and 1938, and an opponent of Hitler. He tried to convince his fellow generals to ignore the orders to invade Austria in 1938. Beck argued that such action would ignite a confrontation between the *Wehrmacht* (military) and the Nazis that would result in the overthrow of Hitler.

The July Plot

Please note - this incident goes beyond the Core topic syllabus end date of 1939, but is provided for further historical context.

Beck was also part of the famous 20 July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler and remove the Nazi Party from power. This was

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences

Why was opposition to the Nazi regime ineffective?

The plan essentially failed because Beck could not organise enough support among the generals. The failure of the assassination attempt, and the intended military coup d'état that was to follow, led to the arrest of at least 7000 people by the Gestapo, of whom 4980 were executed.



SOURCE 3.67 A soldier holding the trousers Hitler was wearing when the bomb went off

CHAPTER 3 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

THE RISE OF THE NAZI PARTY AND HITLER IN GERMANY AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

- There were three important elites that worked against the Republic: the Army, the industrialists and the agrarian elites. There was a drift to the right in the republican parties that excluded the SPD from government.
- The constitution contained important weaknesses linked to Article 48 and proportional representation. The Army played a significant role in undermining the Republic.
- The Nazis became the largest party in the Reichstag. Large numbers of Germans voted for the NSDAP and Hitler took advantage of the move to the right.
- The Great Depression provided the economic and social conditions for the Nazi Party to emerge as the most significant political force in Germany. Their membership grew with a higher proportion of professionals and members of the middle class supporting Hitler. Members sought action and radical solutions to the problems facing Germany. Nazi voters sought security, not revolution.

THE INITIAL CONSOLIDATION OF NAZI POWER 1933–34

- Hitler acquired by vote the powers of a dictator in March 1933.
- He used his power to eliminate the republican structures, political opposition and independent national, sporting and cultural organisations.
- He received support from the Army and the conservatives.
- The process of *Gleichshaltung* was almost complete by August 1934.

THE NATURE OF NAZI IDEOLOGY

- Nazi ideology's main themes included anti-Semitism, racism, *Lebensraum* and the glorification of Hitler.
- *Mein Kampf* contains Hitler's philosophy. He believed there were three foundations of authority: popularity, force and tradition.
- Racism was linked to both the racial struggle and *Lebensraum*.
- The leader principle was the key to political structure. The role of the party and the state was to preserve racial purity.

THE ROLE OF PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS IN THE NAZI STATE

- As the Nazi Party grew, there were several personalities who became an integral part of the movement. When the Nazis came to power, these individuals were rewarded with important portfolios where they played an integral role within the totalitarian regime.
- Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945) was a brilliant propagandist and emerged in 1930 as the head of the NSDAP's Propaganda Department. With Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, Goebbels became Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment. He designed Nazi propaganda for the remainder of the Third Reich.
- When Hitler came to power, Hermann Goering (1893–1946) was given the task of building up the Gestapo (1933–34), the *Luftwaffe* (beginning in 1935), and the Office of the Four-Year Plan (1936). He was

designated *Reichmarschall* in 1939 and was second in succession to Hitler (although Himmler actually had more power).

- Heinrich Himmler rose to become the second most powerful man in the Nazi hierarchy. In 1929, he became Head of the *Schutzstaffel*, or SS, and was instrumental in the ruthless suppression of the rival SA in the blood purge of 30 June 1934, which saw the liquidation of Ernst Rohm and other SA leaders.

THE VARIOUS METHODS USED BY THE NAZI REGIME TO EXERCISE CONTROL, INCLUDING LAWS, CENSORSHIP, REPRESSION, TERROR, PROPAGANDA, AND THE CULT OF PERSONALITY

- Terror was a vital part of the regime. Many Germans supported its use to restore 'order' and it was openly publicised to create a climate of fear.
- The SA was recruited from ex-soldiers and provided the Nazis with protection at rallies and meetings. The SS developed as a branch of the SA.
- Concentration camps were established in 1933. Members of the opposition were imprisoned either without trial or after trial in special courts. Deliberate mistreatment of prisoners was part of the system of terror.
- The aim of propaganda was to mobilise the people.
- The 'Führer myth' was based on an image of the heroic leader created by Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels. It was based on established social and political values.

THE IMPACT OF THE NAZI REGIME ON LIFE IN GERMANY, INCLUDING CULTURAL EXPRESSION, RELIGION, WORKERS, YOUTH, WOMEN AND MINORITIES INCLUDING JEWS

- In Nazi ideology, a woman's place was in the home. Women were forced out of higher positions in the public service and allowed only limited entry to university. Financial inducements were offered to women to stay home and have children.
- Education was 'Nazified' and was anti-intellectual. Hitler Youth organisations extended Nazi control over the youth and emphasised physical and martial skills.
- Nazism promised religious freedom. The Nazis attacked organised religion as it demanded a loyalty in competition with Nazism. The Catholic Church signed a Concordat, but the Nazis broke it and persecuted priests and nuns.
- Hitler's key idea concerned race. His entire philosophy was based on a racist view of humanity. The Aryan race was the master race and all other races were inferior, particularly the Jews, whom he believed were the mortal enemies of the Aryans.

OPPOSITION TO THE NAZI REGIME

- The use of terror, and conservative support, made opposition very difficult. Left-wing resistance was fragmented and went underground.
- Church resistance was limited to issues of doctrine, but it did help end the euthanasia programme.
- Youth opposition formed subcultures including the working-class Edelweiss Pirates.
- The 20 July 1944 assassination attempt on Hitler by members of the military was a famous example of an attempted coup by key opponents of the regime.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- *Volksgemeinschaft*
- *gleichshaltung*
- *Lebensraum*
- Gestapo
- aryanism
- Night of the Long Knives
- anti-Semitism
- *Kristallnacht*
- *Führerprinzip*
- Edelweiss Pirates

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Create a mind map showing how the Treaty of Versailles helped to influence the rise of the Nazi Party from 1918 to 1933.

2 Continuity and change

- Explain how cause and effect operate in the events of Hitler's drive towards one-party dictatorship after January 1933.

3 Perspectives

- 'Hitler did not seize power: he was jobbed into office by backstairs intrigue' (Alan Bullock). Discuss.

4 Significance

- For each topic below, briefly explain its impact and influence on the rise of the Nazi Party from 1918 to 1933.
 - The Ruhr crisis and hyperinflation
 - The Brüning government
 - Article 48 and the Weimar Constitution
 - The Great Depression.

5 Contestability and historical debates

- 'That the victory of Nazism in Germany owed more to the errors of republicans than the talents of the Nazis.'
- 'Nazi economic policy from 1933 to 1939 was an outstanding success.'
- 'The Nazi "social revolution" was ultimately a fraud.'

Historical skills

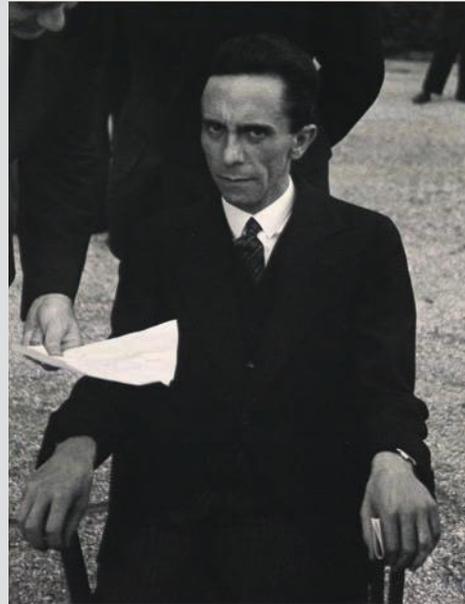
1 Explanation and communication

- Explain the main challenges facing the Weimar Republic in the early years of 1919–23.

2 Historical interpretation

Study the image below and answer the questions.

- 1) Describe what you see.
- 2) Explain whether you think this image could be of historical significance.
- 3) Identify and explain how the caption text assists in your understanding.



SOURCE 3.68 Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, in the garden of the Carlton Hotel during a League of Nations conference. He had just learnt that the photographer, Alfred Eisenstaedt, was Jewish.

3 Analysis and use of sources

- Using Source A, evaluate the reasons for the rise of Adolf Hitler in 1933.
- Compare Sources B and C as evidence about the propaganda used by the Nazi Party in the 1932 elections.
- Study Source D. Account for the perspective provided by the source.
- Study Source E. To what extent was Nazi Germany a 'dictatorship by consent'?
- Study Source F. What are the two key elements of Hitler's plan? Assess why he has chosen to focus on them in particular.
- Does Hitler disclose exactly how he plans to enact each of his four-year plans? Could his message be reassuring, even though short on detail? Or might citizens be cynical about such promises that lack detail? Discuss.

4 Historical investigation and research

Research the history of the autobahn and the Volkswagen. Compare the purpose of each project for Germany under Hitler.

5 Further essay questions

- Evaluate the claim that democracy 'failed to take root' in Germany in 1919–23.
- Assess the role the German Army played in the collapse of the Weimar Republic in the years 1919 to 1933.
- To what extent was Nazi Germany a totalitarian regime?
- Assess how the Führerprinzip affected the way in which Germany was governed by the Nazi Party.
- Evaluate the claim that Hitler created a Nazi dictatorship in Germany in 1933–34 by violence and terror.
- In what way was 'economic recovery' assisted by the dictatorial methods of the Nazis in 1933 to 1939? Discuss.
- How effective was Nazi social policy in pursuit of its own objectives during the years of peace in 1933–39? Discuss.
- Account for the nature and impact of Nazi Racial Policy from 1933 to 1939.

SOURCE A

Against all odds, Hitler's aggressive obstinacy – born out of lack of alternatives – had paid off. What he had been unable to achieve himself, his 'friends' in high places had achieved for him. The nobody of Vienna, 'unknown soldier', Beerhall demagogue, head of what was for years no more than a party on the lunatic fringe of politics ... had now been placed in charge of one of the leading states in Europe ... There was no inevitability about Hitler's accession to power. Hitler's rise from humble beginnings to 'seize' power by 'triumph of the will' was the stuff of Nazi legend. In fact, political miscalculation by those with regular access to the corridors of power rather than any actions on the part of the Nazi leader played a larger role in placing him in the Chancellor's seat.

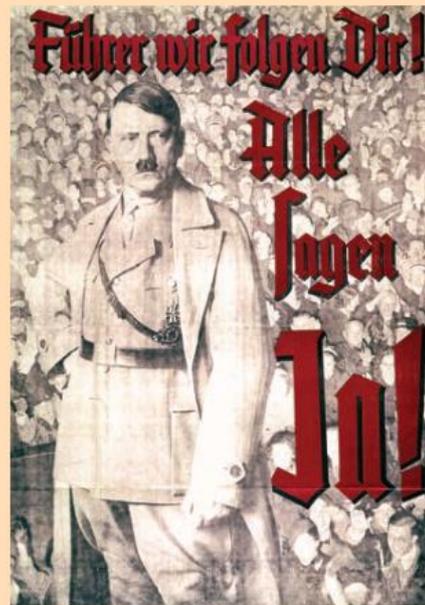
SOURCE 3.69 Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936: Hubris*, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, London, 1998, p. 424

SOURCE B



Nazi election poster from 1932. The text translates as 'The worker chooses the soldier – Hitler!'

SOURCE C



Nazi election poster from 1932. The text translates as 'Führer we are following you! Everyone was lying!'

SOURCE D

After the Nazi takeover Hitler was both presented and seen by the party and by millions of Germans outside as the embodiment of Volksgemeinschaft or 'national community', standing over all sectional interests; the architect of Germany's recovery, personally incorruptible; a fanatical defender of German honour ... a man of the people, a corporal who had won the Iron Cross First Class and shared the experiences of the common soldier on the Front ... His appeal cut across class and religious boundaries, affecting both young and old, men and women.

SOURCE 3.70 A Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives*, Harper Collins, London, 1991, pp. 410–11

SOURCE E

Most Germans accepted the legitimacy of Hitler's Government and were willing to comply and obey. There is little doubt that many welcomed the restoration of 'law and order', the destruction of the 'communist threat', the elimination of unemployment and establishment of the economy on a better footing ... given these and other legitimate successes; it has to be said that many people did not need to be terrorised or coerced as much as tempted and enticed into offering their support for the regime.

SOURCE 3.71 Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933–1945*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995

SOURCE F

... 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.

SOURCE 3.72 SS leader Heinrich Himmler, speech to Gestapo officials, 11 October 1934

Please see Cambridge GO to access a practice examination paper and source booklet for the Core topic Power and Authority in the Modern World.

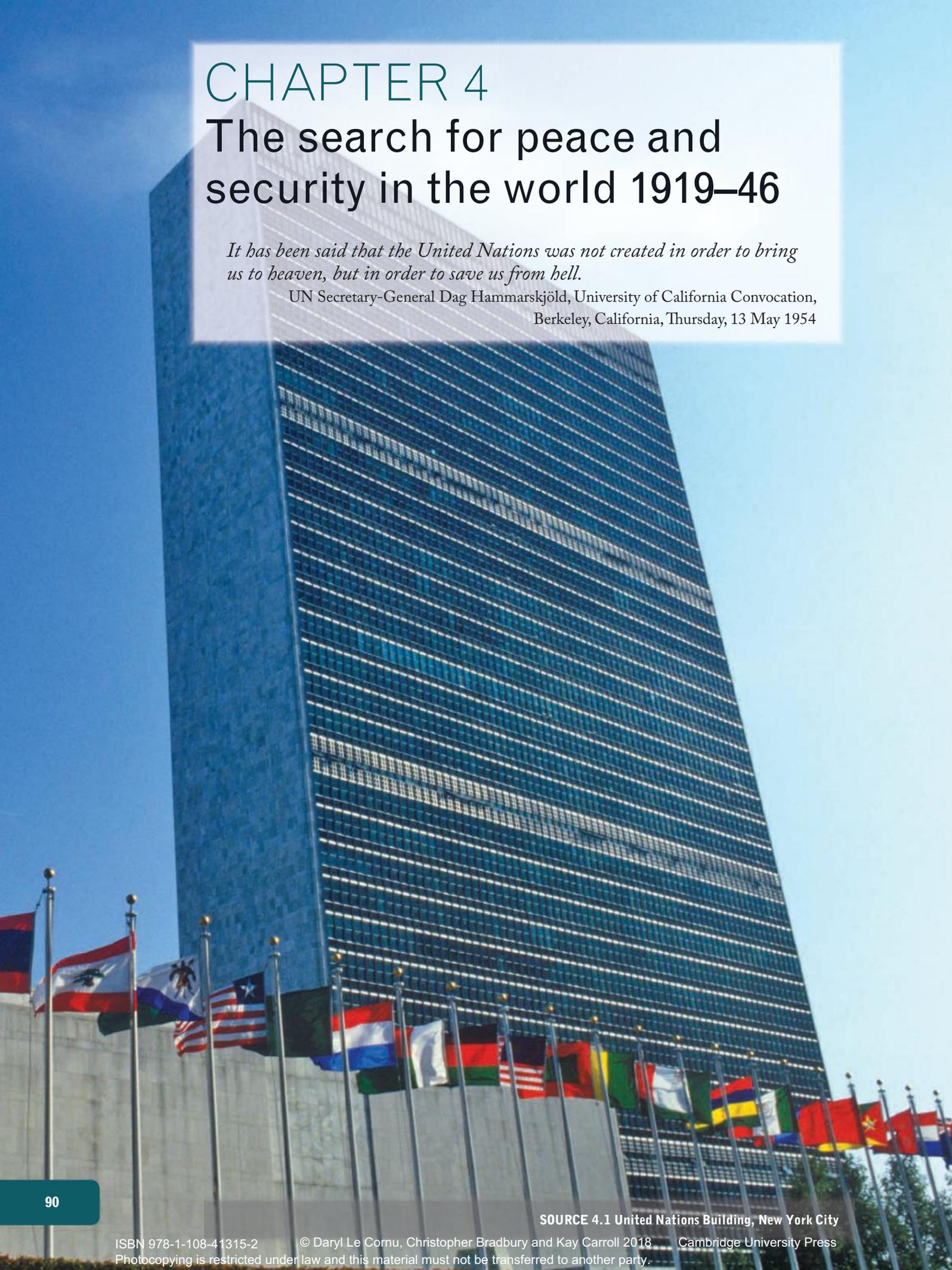


CHAPTER 4

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

It has been said that the United Nations was not created in order to bring us to heaven, but in order to save us from hell.

UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, University of California Convocation, Berkeley, California, Thursday, 13 May 1954





Founding member states of the United Nations in 1945



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate the quest to restrain geopolitical rivalry and to promote the rule of law globally.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore:

- the League of Nations and other attempts at multilateral cooperation
- the struggle against the Axis Powers' quest for world domination
- the creation of the United Nations and the establishment of the post-war liberal internationalist order.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
28 June 1919	Covenant of the League of Nations adopted as Part I of the Treaty of Versailles
10 January 1920	League of Nations' birth
6 February 1922	Conclusion of the Washington Conference
16 October 1925	Locarno Pact signed
27 August 1928	Kellogg–Briand Pact signed
29 October 1929	Wall Street crash, starting the Great Depression
18 September 1931	Japan occupies Manchuria
February 1932	Disarmament Conference commences, lasting 2½ years
1 September 1939	Germany invades Poland; World War II begins
6 August 1945	Atomic bombing of Hiroshima; World War II ends
24 October 1945	United Nations' birth
8 April 1946	League of Nations ends



SOURCE 4.2 UN peacekeepers in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The UN today acts to maintain peace and security around the world.



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 4.3 A sculpture of a gun with a tied barrel, in front of the UN Head Office in New York

Based on the image provided, as a class, consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 4 Overview

KEY IDEA

The international community has struggled to deal with the 'scourge of war' for the last century.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

War today not only threatens regional stability but also the global social, political and economic order.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- international community
- rule of law
- League of Nations
- United Nations
- self-determination
- international anarchy
- multilateralism
- League of Nations

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did the international community seek to tame war and promote the international rule of law after World War I?

Painting the picture

The failure of the peace treaties after World War I

The peace treaties of 1919–20 did not fully resolve all of the issues that had brought about the conflict of 1914–18. One reason is that there was not universal agreement of what the root causes of World War I were. Instead, the focus was very much on who was to blame, from the Allied perspective. The peace treaties had focused on a number of issues to the detriment of others, some of which were placed in the proverbial too-hard basket. The solutions to the problem of international peace and

security, such as placing a brake on a future German resurgence and giving the newly minted League of Nations the task of policing the new order, were both unrealistic. The preoccupation at the 1919 peace conference on national self-determination left little room for discussion of more important issues, such as the economic regeneration of Europe. The most important issue that was not addressed in 1919 was the impact of five years of violence, hatred and mechanised slaughter on the fabric of European society, culture, and most importantly, on politics.

The patched-up peace of 1919–20 began unravelling even before the ink was dry on the treaties. Over the next few years, the deficiencies of the peace settlement were patched up by a number of treaties and

the League did some good. However, economic forces dealt a crushing blow with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. With the League's failure to deal with blatant Japanese aggression in 1931, the international order began to unravel. Astonishingly, the world was at war again in 1939. When all seemed doomed, hope emerged from an unlikely place. The United States began to display moral leadership in a world that was dominated by political extremism and violence. President Roosevelt's alternative vision for the world gave hope to millions around the world who despaired at the Axis New Order. The United States had given the world hope in World War I, then went missing when it ended. This time the United States, led by President Roosevelt, signalled its intention to not only lead the world out of this crisis but to play its role after the war in establishing lasting international peace and security.



SOURCE 4.4 British soldiers going over the top during the Battle of the Somme, July 1916

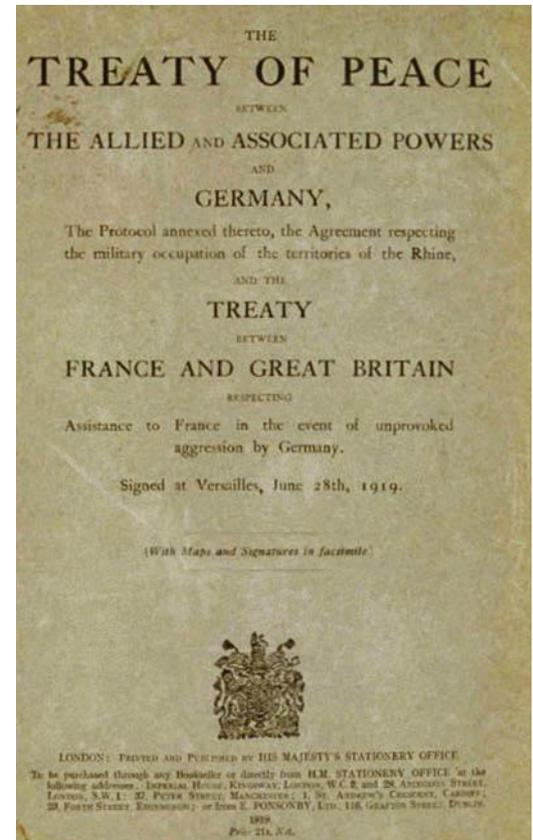
4.1 Shaping the post-war world

The post-war challenges to international peace and security

The peace settlement of 1919–20 created the following challenges to international peace and security:

- **Nationalism and self-determination** – A great deal of attention was paid to meeting this principle. The boundaries of many nations were adjusted, and new nations were formed in compliance to this principle. However, as there were quite often competing nationalisms at play and it proved impossible to have all nations containing just one ethnicity, the end results often created more problems than they solved. Important issues such as economics, law and geopolitics were neglected in this narrow focus on nationalism.
- **Nationalism among non-European peoples** – However, the principle of self-determination was not extended to the non-European peoples of the world, many of whom were subjects of the colonial powers. Nationalism and the desire for self-determination burned like a slow-burning fuse in the empires of the victorious Allies, only to explode in the future. This also applied to China, which had a new sense of nationalism since the 1911 revolution but was humiliated in Paris over Japanese claims to Chinese territory. This humiliation at the hands of the Japanese, and betrayal by the European powers, would increase in the 1930s.
- **The humiliation of Germany** – Right from the outset of the war, the peace groups had warned about the consequences of enforcing a peace of humiliation and vengeance. President Wilson even made this warning in his January 1917 ‘Peace Without Victory’ speech. In retrospect, it seems very unwise to have simply issued the peace terms to the German delegation at Versailles without any discussion or input. This was particularly the case considering that the representatives of the new democratic Weimar Government were committed democrats opposed to the militarism of their former leaders. The victorious powers had little regard for the impact of any of their decisions on the fledgling Weimar democracy. Germany was treated as a pariah state and was not allowed to be a member of the League of Nations.
- **The League of Nations was token multilateralism** – The new international organisation was created with the main aim of being able to prevent war; however, it was simply too weak to deal effectively with threats to international peace and security. Added to this was the fact that the defeated nations, particularly Germany, were not initially allowed to join.
- **The sudden collapse of Allied unity** – It is ironic that the Allied and associated powers had kept firm in their commitment to keep the alliance united and pursue the war to achieve total victory; but as soon as the Paris Peace Conference was over, that unity quickly evaporated. The United States retreated and then turned its back on Europe, while Britain turned its attention to its empire and its new acquisitions in the Middle East, leaving France feeling insecure and fearing a German resurgence at some point in the future.
- **Secret treaties** – The Allied secret treaties fuelled resentment as Britain and France seemed to get their fair share of the spoils of victory, while denying the same to Italy and Japan (both of which became

self-determination the concept that people living in a particular country should have the political authority to choose their leaders and form independent states in their own right



SOURCE 4.5 The cover of an English-language version of the Treaty of Versailles

multilateralism a situation in which several countries work together to achieve something or deal with a problem

disgruntled powers who sought to revise the international order to their own advantage in the 1930s). For non-European colonial peoples, the secret treaties condemned them to ongoing rule by Europeans. The secret treaties that were honoured at Paris rewarded the imperial greed of the victorious powers and exposed their hypocrisy.

- **A divided and discontented Middle East** – The Allies had promised the Arab peoples of the Middle East that they could form their own Arab state at the end of the war. The British also promised Jewish people that they could settle in Palestine. The modern borders of the Middle East were largely determined in the 1919 peace settlement, with Britain and France securing control over large sections of the Arab world. This would become the source of ongoing instability in the international system well into the future.
- **Disarmament** – Disarmament was never really taken seriously at the peace settlement. The only disarmament that occurred was that of the defeated powers, particularly Germany.
- **No reconciliation** – There was no attempt at reconciliation between the victorious and the defeated powers. There were no measures to deal with the toll that the years of organised killing and hatred had on the people of Europe and how this would play out in politics and society in general. Everyone was expected to get back to life as normal, but for many returning veterans and grieving relatives of the dead, this transition to peacetime was a nightmare.

4.2 The League of Nations as a guarantor of peace

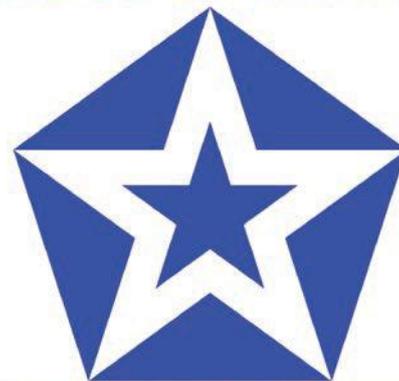
An association of nations had long been the dream of various international peace groups such as the:

- Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) founded in 1889
- International Peace Bureau (IPB) founded in 1891
- Union of Democratic Control (UDC) in Britain
- International Women's Congress at The Hague (1915)
- League to Enforce Peace (LEP) in the United States (1915)
- League of Nations Society (1915) and
- League of Nations Union (1918) in Britain.

However, the idea of a 'league' started to take hold in 1916, when British and German leaders conducted a limited public discourse in favour of a 'league' when the war ended. However, the idea really took off when US President Woodrow Wilson gave a speech to the LEP in May 1916, and then made it a key element of his foreign policy pronouncements in the 1916 US elections. In fact, President Wilson's main aim in entering World War I as an 'Associated Power' of the Allies was to create a League of Nations. Wilson believed that only such an international organisation could ensure international peace and security and prevent another world war. Therefore, Wilson made the creation of 'League of Nations' an integral part of US war aims by including it at the 14th point in his famous Fourteen Points speech in January 1918.

At the Paris Peace Conference, President Wilson made the planning for a League of Nations his first priority and insisted that the draft document for the League of Nations was written before the rest of the peace treaty. Intense discussions commenced on 3 February 1919 and the League Covenant was largely written over the following 10 days. On 29 April 1919, the final version of the Covenant of the League of Nations was adopted as Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS



SOCIETE DES NATIONS

SOURCE 4.6 Logo of the League of Nations, 1920–46



SOURCE 4.7 President Wilson receives a hero's welcome to Paris in 1919.

Covenant

The League of Nations was created to deal with international peace and security, as is clearly stated in the introduction to the League Covenant. Preventing war was its main task, along with promoting good relations between nations and respect for international law and treaties. The Covenant then consisted of 26 articles outlining how its aims were to be carried out.

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES

In order to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,
by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,
by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and
by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,
Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

SOURCE 4.8 The preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations which is located in Part I of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919

RESEARCH TASK 4.1

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Using the Yale Law School website, locate Part 1 of the Treaty of Versailles that contains the Covenant of the League of Nations.

NOTE THIS DOWN

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Draw up a table like the one below and make notes in the blank sections.

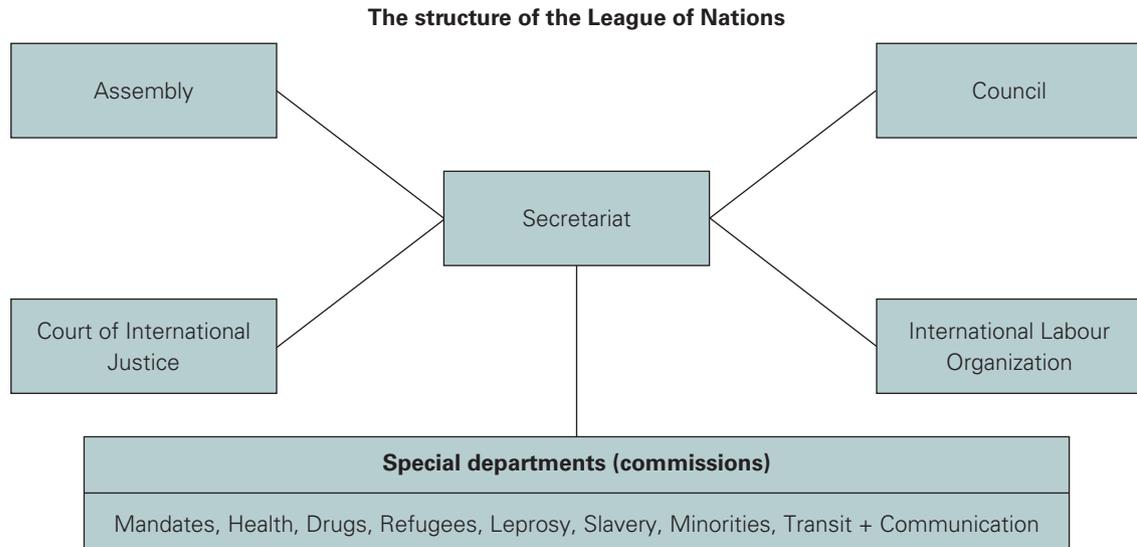
Articles	Topics	Comment
Article 1	Membership and withdrawal	Lists the original members, outlines how to become a member and how to withdraw from the League
Articles 2–5	The Assembly and Council	Assembly - - Council - -
Articles 6–7	The Secretary-General and the location of the Secretariat	
Articles 8–9	Disarmament	
Articles 10–21	Obligations in regard of members in regard to settling disputes	Disputes are to be settled in the following ways: - - -
Articles 22–23	The mandatory system	
Articles 24–25		Existing international bureaus are to be placed under the League's control and the League is to work with the Red Cross to promote health
Article 26		Explains how this process works

RESEARCH TASK 4.2

Referring to the Covenant of the League of Nations, locate the relevant articles and answer the following questions:

- 1 Describe your first impressions.
- 2 Explain the organisational structure of the League.
- 3 Identify the membership of the Council.
- 4 Outline the role of the Council.
- 5 Explain why you think President Wilson called Article 10 the 'heart of the League'.
- 6 Explain the role of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- 7 Identify the proposed location of the League's headquarters.
- 8 Identify who would summon the first meeting of the League.

Organisation



SOURCE 4.9 This diagram shows the basic structure of the League of Nations, with its five main organs, as outlined in the Covenant. Over its history, this structure evolved with many other commissions added to fulfil specific functions.

The Assembly

All nations that were member nations could have three delegates, but with one vote in the Assembly, which met in September each year. The Assembly dealt with matters such as discussing issues relating to peace and security, the admission of new members, electing non-permanent members to the Council, determining the budget and making amendments to the Covenant.

The Council

The Council's most important task was to settle international disputes. It met three times a year and reported back to the Assembly annually. The Council consisted of four permanent members – Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The United States was meant to be the fifth member, but the US Senate blocked the United States from becoming a member of the League. Germany was admitted as a member when it was finally allowed to join the League in 1926 (though it left in 1935). The Soviet Union joined in 1934 (but left in 1937). There were 10 non-permanent members who were elected for three-year terms. Australia served as a non-permanent member between 1933 and 1936.



SOURCE 4.10 Interrupting Assembly 1920: Members of the League of Nations looking over their shoulders during an Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland

Germany was admitted as a member when it was finally allowed to join the League in 1926 (though it left in 1935). The Soviet Union joined in 1934 (but left in 1937). There were 10 non-permanent members who were elected for three-year terms. Australia served as a non-permanent member between 1933 and 1936.

The Secretariat

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations was given the task of setting up the mechanisms to encourage international corporation. The Secretariat consisted of a large staff, which evolved into an internationally minded civil service that conducted the day-to-day business of the League. The Secretariat was responsible for the administrative work of the League in the publication of its activities. Much of its work was divided into 11 specialised commissions that dealt with:

- politics
- data collection
- law
- economics and finance
- transport
- the rights of minorities
- the oversight of the mandates
- disarmament
- health
- social problems
- international associations.



SOURCE 4.11 Exterior of League of Nations building in Geneva, dedicated to Woodrow Wilson



SOURCE 4.12 An unidentified woman sitting in a chair and writing in a book on a table during the League of Nations Conference in Geneva, 1933

The 'spirit of Geneva'

In her 2007 article, 'Back to the League of Nations' (published in *The American Historical Review*), historian Susan Pedersen wrote that the League was a training ground for a whole generation of international civil servants where they learnt the skills to 'craft fragile networks of norms and agreements by which our world is regulated'. These civil servants fought to 'sustain that particular blend of pragmatism and hope that became known as "the spirit of Geneva"'. Furthermore, internationalism was 'enacted, institutionalised and performed' in Geneva, according to Pedersen. This internationalism had as its holy text a Covenant, and its 'high priest and prophets'. Pushing the religion analogy further, Pedersen noted:

There was an annual pilgrimage each September, when a polyglot collection of national delegates, claimants, lobbyists and journalists descending on this once placid bourgeois town. But for all its religious overtones, interwar internationalism depended more on structure than on faith: a genuinely transnational officialdom, and not visionaries or even statesmen, was its beating heart.

SOURCE 4.13 Susan Pedersen, 'Back to the League of Nations', *The American Historical Review*, vol. 1112, no. 4 (Oct 2007), pp. 1091–1117

Diplomacy, treaties and economic recovery

The peace treaties of 1919–20 failed to resolve a number of major issues. One of these was security. The League was supposed to provide international peace and security. However, without the United States, Soviet Union and Germany, this was going to be difficult. France in particular, felt vulnerable to a future resurgent Germany. Meanwhile, both Britain and the United States were concerned about a rising Japan. As a result, a number of important international treaties were signed with the aim of bolstering international peace and security.

Washington Conference, 1921–22

The world's largest gathering of naval powers convened in Washington between 1921 and 1922 to conclude three major treaties. In the Five-Power Treaty, it was agreed that the United States, British and Japanese navies should be in the ratio of 5:5:3. The Washington Conference was regarded as a success and had the effect of upholding the status quo in Europe.

The Locarno Pact, 1925

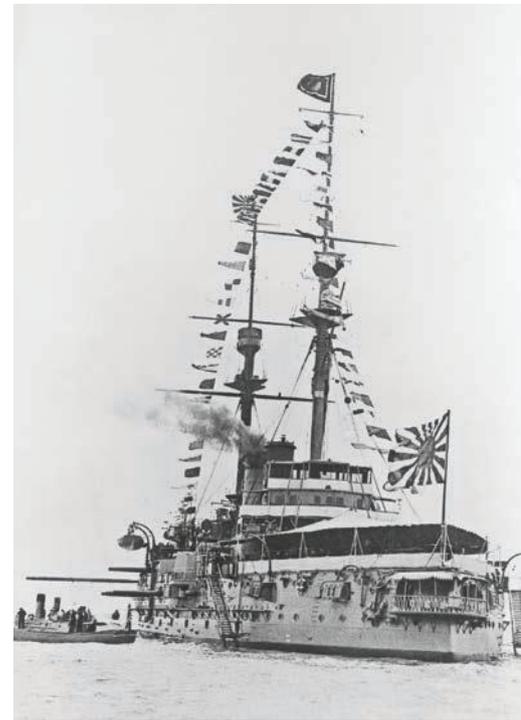


SOURCE 4.15 Delegates at the Locarno Conference, 16 October 1925, Switzerland

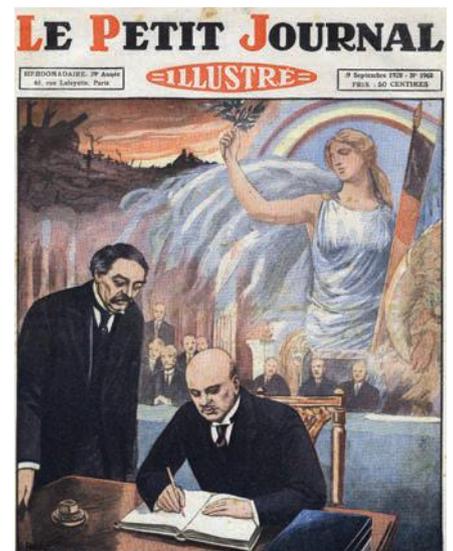
German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann pursued a liberal policy and was willing to cooperate with the League. In October 1925, the Locarno Pact was signed by Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and Germany. This pact confirmed the existing frontiers and Germany reaffirmed the demilitarisation of the Rhineland. Germany was admitted to the League of Nations in 1926.

The Kellogg–Briand Pact, 1928

The Kellogg–Briand Pact is also known as the Pact of Paris. The idea for the pact originated with peace advocates in the United States connected to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, an organisation that was established in 1910. It was strongly supported by French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, who initially proposed a bilateral agreement between the United States and France to outlaw war between them.



SOURCE 4.14 The *Katori*, a battleship of the Imperial Japanese Navy, in Portsmouth harbor, 1922. The Crown Prince of Japan, future Emperor Hirohito, was on board, during his six-month tour of Europe. Britain and the United States were concerned about the expanding Japanese Navy in the Pacific.



SOURCE 4.16 The Kellogg–Briand Pact, signed by 67 countries on 27 August 1928, was intended to outlaw war and resolve international disputes peacefully.



SOURCE 4.17 Palais des Nations, Main building, Building A, Geneva, Switzerland, built between 1929 and 1936

However, US President Calvin Coolidge and US Secretary of State Frank Kellogg suggested inviting other nations to join. On 27 August 1928, 15 nations signed the treaty, including Australia. They were later joined by another 47 nations, so that it was signed by most of the countries in the world at that time. The two clauses agreed to were:

- outlaw war as an instrument of national policy
- settle disputes by peaceful means.

The Kellogg–Briand Pact was of great symbolic importance. However, there were no actual mechanisms to ensure that nations kept their word. In a time of

relative global prosperity in 1928, many people believed that the world had now finally shaken off the effects of World War I and looked forward to international peace and security in the future.

League successes

It is useful to consider how the League was viewed at the time. In 1932, in an article for *Foreign Affairs*, Czech Foreign Minister, Eduard Beneš (who was a strong supporter of the League) made the following assessment:

It is not possible even now, after several years, to pass a definite verdict on the League. All that is possible is to point out what has been achieved, the stages through which the struggle between old and new political methods is passing, and how this struggle is reflected in the League's successes and failures. Any estimate of the League can still have only a provisional and relative character.

SOURCE 4.18 Czech Foreign Minister Eduard Beneš

Given that any view of the League could only be provisional, Beneš summed up what he thought were League successes up to 1932:

- 1 **The Permanent Court of International Justice** – in Beneš' words, the World Court had 'achieved wonders' and it had become a 'living factor for peace'.
- 2 **Disputes solved** – disputes over the Aland Islands, Vilna, Upper Silesia, Albania and Memel were settled, as well as more serious conflicts between Greece and Italy (1923) and Greece and Bulgaria (1925). These were settled either by the Court or by arbitration.
- 3 **Humanitarian work** – Beneš believed that the League had made great progress in the care of refugees, dealing with epidemics, fighting drugs (especially opium), and the protection of children.

SOURCE 4.19 Eduard Beneš was the foreign minister of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1935, and a strong supporter of the League in the interwar period.



- 4 **Economic and financial cooperation** – Beneš believed that the League had achieved ‘remarkable success’ in fostering international cooperation in this area.
- 5 **Disarmament** – Beneš believed that the International Disarmament Conference, which had just commenced at the time of writing in 1932, had ‘achieved a partial yet important success’.

Historians today by and large would agree with the first three of the items that Beneš offered as successes. However, they would only partially agree with Beneš’ assessment of the League’s achievements in the area of economics and finance. The League did what it could in this area but was unable to counter the economic nationalism of the age. It was the international community’s failure (not just the League’s) that began the unravelling of the international order. On the Disarmament Conference of 1932, historians today would concede that at the time the Conference looked impressive, with 60 countries convening in Geneva in February 1932 and meeting for two-and-a-half years. Today, the Disarmament Conference can be seen as the beginning of a downward spiral for both the League and for international peace and security.



SOURCE 4.20 Joseph Goebbels (centre), Minister of Propaganda in the new Nazi government of Germany, at the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, 2 October 1933

HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH

The Geneva Disarmament Conference 1932

Go to the website of the World Digital Library and answer the following questions.

- 1 Explain what was discussed by delegates at the Conference.
- 2 Discuss what the delegates failed to agree on.
- 3 Describe which dramatic event occurred near the end of the Conference in October 1933.
- 4 To what extent can the Disarmament Conference be viewed as a turning point for the League and the international system?

League failures

Beneš, also pointed out the weaknesses of the League that were apparent in 1932, though he qualified that stating the weaknesses of the League was not to condemn it, and that in most cases the weaknesses were not due to the League itself but due to the policies of the member nations.

Some of the weaknesses identified by Beneš were:

- 6 **The absence of the United States and the Soviet Union** – the fact that the two most powerful nations were not members was a great handicap on the functions of the League. Historians today would agree that this was a major weakness of the League. The Soviet Union did join the League in September 1934, though it was expelled in December 1939. The United States never joined. In the midst of World War II, American public opinion came to see this as a grave error. The reputation of President Wilson was rehabilitated and by 1944 there was overwhelming support for the creation of the United Nations.
- 7 **The domestic politics of a number of the Great Powers** – Great Powers such as Germany and Italy used the League to pursue their own interests. Historians today would agree with this statement.

Please see *Modern History Transformed Year 11*, pages 326–9, for additional information on this topic.

Please see *Modern History Transformed Year 11*, pages 336–7 for additional information on this topic.

However, it must be pointed out that Britain and France used the League to their own advantage. The whole mandate system enabled them to carry on with a ‘benevolent imperialism’. According to Susan Pedersen in her 2015 book, *The Guardians*, the League supported the paternalistic policies in the mandate territories. The League of Nations was, claims Pedersen, a ‘League of Empires’. Surprisingly, she said that when Germany joined the League in 1926, it played a very positive role in trying to improve the welfare of the populations in the mandates.

8 **Japan’s occupation of Manchuria in 1931** – this was seen as a serious event that was a real test of the League’s peace and security functions.

However, on this last point, on the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, Eduard Beneš sounded the alarm:

The conflict between China and Japan, brought to Geneva on September 18, 1931, and still under consideration, is without doubt the most serious matter with which the League of Nations has yet been confronted. There is no use in denying that it represents a certain crisis for the League ... In other words, the League is confronted with a problem of truly world significance.

NOTE THIS DOWN

Major crises – Manchuria and Ethiopia

Search online for the Historical overview of the League of Nations document from the UNOG Library, Registry, Records and Archives Unit.

Draw up the following table and make notes in each section.

	The problem	Response	Final outcome
Manchuria			
Ethiopia			

- 1 Compare these two challenges to the League.
- 2 Discuss whether there were any other options that the League could have pursued in these two crises to achieve a better outcome.

International peace and security by 1932

The year 1932 saw the commencement of a downward spiral leading to the unravelling of the fragile international order. The Manchurian crisis which led to Japan’s exit from the League in February 1933, taken together with Germany’s dramatic exit from the Disarmament Conference in 1933 and its exit from the League, did not bode well. Hitler and the Nazis came to power in Germany in January 1933, and in November, Germany withdrew from the League. Germany and Japan were no longer in the Council of the League. This left Britain and France with the main responsibility of maintaining



SOURCE 4.21 Ethiopian leader Haile Selassie speaking at the League of Nations

international peace and security. Italy was still in the Council, but it too would leave in 1937 after the League condemned its invasion of Ethiopia. The Soviet Union joined the League and the Council in 1934, but was to be expelled in 1939 over its attack of Finland. Meanwhile, the United States sat on the sidelines, constrained by its own isolationist policies that not even its new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (who took office in March 1933), could reverse. Meanwhile, the Great Depression added fuel to the global firestorm that was developing.

4.3 International anarchy and the ambitions of Germany in Europe and Japan in the Asia-Pacific

The Great Depression

By 1932, the international order was looking increasingly like **international anarchy**. Many historians tend to agree that the impact of the Great Depression on the global economy was a major contributing factor to the breakdown of the international order in the 1930s. However, the signs of an impending economic catastrophe were evident in the 1920s.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional text about the economic dysfunction of the 1920s.



SOURCE 4.22 'Manchuria 1931', a cartoon by American Edward Cesare about Japan's seizure of Manchuria and disregard for international law

international anarchy a situation in which there is lawlessness in the international community characterised by a lack of regard for treaties and norms of accepted behaviour between nations

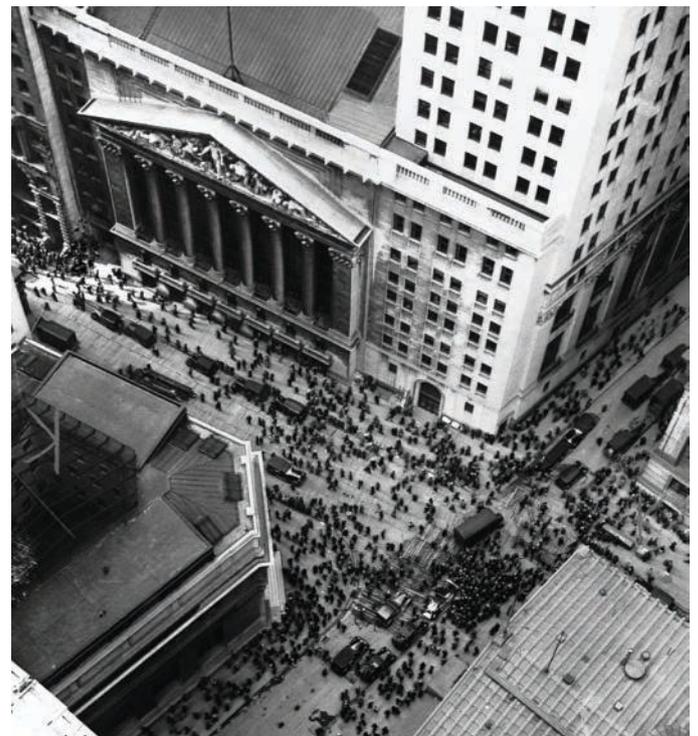
The October 1929 Wall Street crash

Once the American engine of world prosperity faltered and proceeded to burn out between 1929 and 1932, all of these ominous symptoms of economic instability, which had been either discounted or ignored during the boom years, developed into a full-blown crisis of the international economic order.

SOURCE 4.23 William Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World: An International History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996, pp. 128–29

The impact on the United States of the Wall Street Crash was dramatic. Both national income and industrial production fell by 50 per cent; Gross

SOURCE 4.24 The New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street during the 1929 stock market crash





SOURCE 4.25 An artist's depiction of the turmoil in the New York Stock Exchange following the 1929 stock market crash

Please see Chapter 9 for additional information on the Great Power rivalry of the 1930s. This provides a strong background for looking at the failure of the League and the eventual creation of the United Nations. The relevant sections in Chapter 9 are:

- the growth of European tensions
- German foreign policy.

was owed. This increased political extremism across Europe, particularly in Germany, which had been heavily dependent on US loans.

4.4 The origins of the United Nations

The moral turning point?

Personalities do make a difference in history. Just as Adolf Hitler played a major role in the outbreak of World War II, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt played a large role in promoting a vision for the world that gave hope and direction in the struggle against the Axis Powers and in creating the moral foundation for the post-war international order.

From the 'Four Freedoms' to the Atlantic Charter

The critical role of Franklin D Roosevelt

In 1941, Franklin D Roosevelt (FDR) outlined his vision for global peace when he delivered his Four Freedoms speech to a cheering Congress. Roosevelt maintained that there were four essential freedoms:

- freedom of speech and freedom of expression
- freedom of religion
- freedom from want
- freedom from fear.

Domestic Product (GDP) was reduced by one-third; one-third of US banks shut down, while unemployment hit 25 per cent. However, the international impact of this dramatic economic downturn in the United States was devastating. American international loans dropped by 68 per cent between 1929 and 1933 and then stopped altogether for the rest of the decade. This had an immediate impact on the economies around the world, but particularly in Europe. Added to this, US purchasing declined dramatically, making it difficult for the United States to pay for imports from Europe and elsewhere. By 1931, Europe was plunged into a full-scale financial crisis with the failure of large banks. The economic crisis was exacerbated by the introduction of even more severe economic protectionist policies than had been commonplace in the 1920s. On top of this, the United States refused to change its policy on Allied war debt it

Roosevelt argued that these freedoms were achievable in the current generation and not for a 'distant millennium'. A newspaper editor, William Allen White, proclaimed that Roosevelt had given the world 'a new Magna Carta of democracy' and predicted that Roosevelt was starting a long march towards a new global architecture of some sort. The United Nations historian, Stephen Schlesinger, observed in his 2003 book, *Act of Creation*, that Roosevelt was 'unmistakenly summoning his people to a full-bodied crusade that embodied a Wilsonian vision'.

The Atlantic Charter

The eight-point Atlantic Charter that emanated from the meeting was virtually a restatement of the progressive internationalist program found in the speeches of Woodrow Wilson during World War I. The Atlantic Charter was an attempt to avoid the mistakes of the past, place on the record early in the war exactly what the Allies were fighting for and bring about the just and lasting peace that had eluded the peacemakers at Versailles in 1919. The Atlantic Charter was indeed a visionary statement.



SOURCE 4.26 Franklin D Roosevelt in 1937

The Allies were fighting for and bring about the just and lasting peace that had eluded the peacemakers at Versailles in 1919. The Atlantic Charter was indeed a visionary statement.

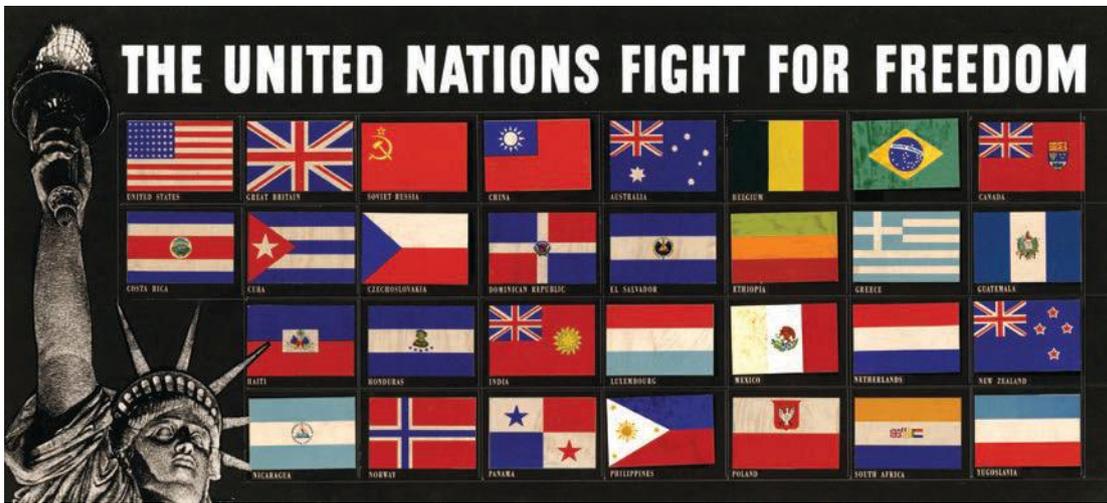
Pearl Harbor and the resurrection of Wilsonianism, December 1941

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 did what all FDR's speeches and declarations could not do: change American public opinion. Overnight, FDR's policy of doing all that he could to resist the aggression of the Axis Powers was seen to be the right one. Most remarkable from this time, however, was the political resurrection of Woodrow Wilson's reputation, which now soared to new heights out from the depths of the 1920s and 1930s. There was a revival in interest in President Wilson and his internationalist program. Scores of books and magazines were written over the war years about the World War I President. However, the highlight was the film *Wilson*, which was released in 1944. This was the most expensive Hollywood production made to that time, even more expensive than *Gone With the Wind*. It popularised the view that Wilson had been right in setting up the League in 1919 and that he was right in proposing that the United States join the League and play an active role in world affairs. Similarly, American public opinion began a turn-around with pressure building to carry out the Wilsonian program. The isolationists now fell silent and the public discussion of foreign policy was gradually taken over by neo-Wilsonians. By the end of World War II, it seemed to many neo-Wilsonians that they had achieved a happy ending to the **League Fight** of 1919 with a total victory over the Axis Powers, the popular deification of President Wilson and an easy approval of the United Nations.

League Fight the political battle in the United States in 1919–20 over whether the United States should join the League of Nations

The wartime United Nations and the defeat of the Axis Powers

The Atlantic Charter of 14 August 1941 was the first official step in the process of the creation of an international organisation to guarantee peace and security. On 1 January 1942, little more than three weeks after Pearl Harbor, the Atlantic Charter was endorsed in the 'Declaration of the United Nations' by the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and 22 other nations that had joined the war against Hitler and



SOURCE 4.27 'The United Nations Fight for Freedom', a 1942 American propaganda poster from the US Army. The flags of the Allies are united against Japan, Germany and Italy.

the Axis Powers. This Declaration pledged the signatory countries to use their full resources against the Axis Powers and to agree not to make a separate peace.

Wartime planning for a permanent United Nations

In November 1943 in Tehran (capital of Iran), Roosevelt met with Stalin and proposed an international organisation consisting of all nations as member states with a 10-member executive committee to discuss social and economic issues. He also proposed the concept of the United States, Soviet Union, Britain and China enforcing the peace in the post-war world as the 'four policemen'.

From August to September 1944 in Dumbarton Oaks (Washington DC), representatives from the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China met and wrote a draft of a Charter for a post-war organisation based on the principle of collective security. The draft included a plan for a General Assembly of all member states and a Security Council consisting of the Big Four as permanent members and six temporary members voted for by the General Assembly. Then, finally at the Yalta Conference in 1945, the voting procedures and the veto power of permanent members of the Security Council were finalised when, after much argument, Roosevelt and Stalin agreed that the veto would not prevent discussions by the Security Council.



SOURCE 4.28 The Charter of the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco, at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on International Organization. It came into force on 24 October 1945.

4.5 The creation of a permanent United Nations

The San Francisco Conference, 1945

Meeting in the San Francisco Opera House, 250 representatives from 50 nations attended the San Francisco Conference. They were joined by representatives of more than 40 non-government organisations (NGOs) and the spokespersons of all the intergovernmental organisations that had survived the war, who all had observer status. News

of the discussions at the Conference was broadcast by more than 2500 press and radio correspondents. Though each governmental delegate had an equal vote, everyone was fully aware that without the unanimous approval of the Great Powers there would be no United Nations. The extensive preparation over the previous years and the earlier agreements at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta had been essential to success at San Francisco.

The Conference agreed to a General Assembly consisting of all member states, a Security Council of five permanent members and six non-permanent members, an 18-member Economic and Social Council, an International Court of Justice, a Trusteeship Council to oversee ex-colonial territories, and a Secretariat headed by a Secretary-General.

The Charter for the United Nations was signed on 26 June 1945 by the representatives of 50 countries. On 28 July 1945, the US Senate approved the UN Charter with only two dissenting votes (a vote of 89–2). The United Nations officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, when the Charter was ratified by the United States, Britain, China, France and the Soviet Union and a majority of other signatories. This last date is the official birthday of the United Nations. The new General Assembly had its first meeting in London on 10 January 1946, where it was joined for the first time by the 51st member, Poland.

The Charter of the United Nations, 1945

The Charter of the United Nations begins with the words:

We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind.

SOURCE 4.29 The opening of the United Nations Charter

Clearly, the United Nations was set up as a security organisation.

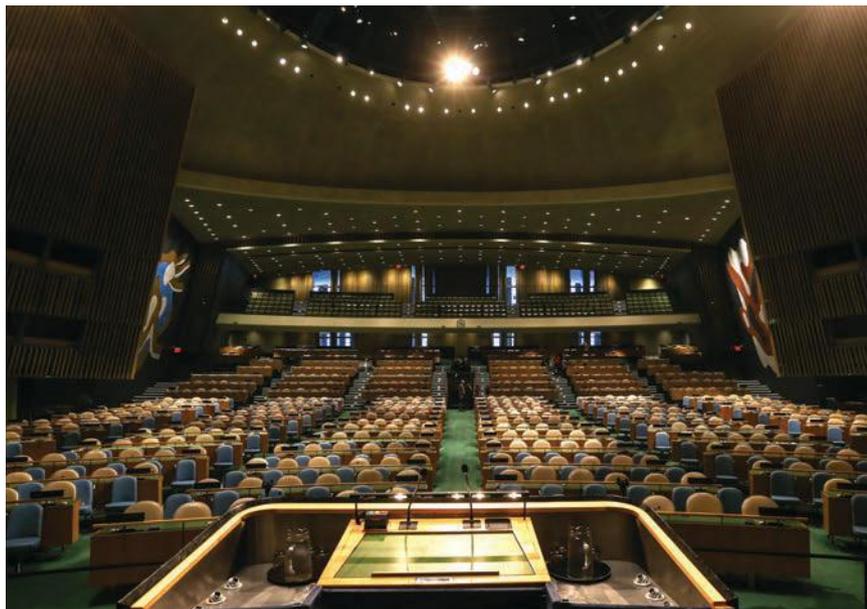
The UN Charter is like a constitution, outlining the rights and obligations of the members of the United Nations. The purposes of the United Nations, as stated in the Charter are:

- To maintain international peace and security.
- To develop friendly relations between nations.
- To cooperate in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature.
- To promote respect for human rights.

The Charter also states that the United Nations act in accordance with the following principles:

- The full sovereignty of its members.
- The peaceful settlement of international disputes.
- To refrain from the threat or use of force against any other state.
- Not intervening in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

The Charter can only be amended by a two-thirds vote in the General Assembly and the five permanent members of the Security Council. It was signed by 50 countries in San



SOURCE 4.30 The conference room of the UN General Assembly in New York City

Francisco on 26 June 1945. Poland was not represented at the Conference but signed it later and became one of the original states. The Charter laid out the main functions and structure of the world body. The United Nations then officially came into existence on 24 October 1945, when the Charter was ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and a majority of the other members.

RESEARCH TASK 4.3

The Charter of the United Nations

Search online for a copy of the United Nations Charter and answer the following questions.

- 1 List the number of articles and chapters in the UN Charter.
- 2 Explain the broad aims of the United Nations according to the Preamble.
- 3 Summarise the contents of Chapter 1.
- 4 Identify the chapters that deal with the organisation of the United Nations.
- 5 Identify the chapter that outlines membership criteria.
- 6 Identify the chapters that deal with security and enforcement powers.
- 7 Identify the chapter that gives the most power to the Security Council.
- 8 Identify the chapter that outlines the powers of the International Court of Justice.
- 9 Identify the chapter that outlines the responsibilities and powers of the Secretary-General.
- 10 Investigate whether it is possible to amend the Charter, and if so, identify the chapter that covers this situation.
- 11 Explain the purposes of the United Nations as outlined in the Charter.
- 12 Explain how the UN Charter can be changed.

'A Magna Carta for the World' – The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins with the following statement:

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights ... Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

SOURCE 4.32 The opening lines of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are divided into three sections:

- physical and spiritual integrity
- civil and political rights and
- social, economic and cultural rights.



SOURCE 4.31 Eleanor Roosevelt holding the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1949. She was chair of the UN Human Rights Committee that wrote this historic document.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) consists of 30 articles which enshrine 60 rights. This historic document went to the General Assembly straight after the Genocide Convention (1948) and was adopted the following day, 10 December 1948, by the General Assembly. The two committees working on the UDHR and the Genocide Convention worked independently from each other and from different starting points: the Genocide Convention worked from a basis of legal experience in prosecuting international crimes, the UDHR worked through all the world's historic documents and traditions throughout history that contain implied or stated human rights. The passing of the UDHR (1948) was a tremendous achievement, particularly at a time when the Cold War was well under way. Without the cooperation of the Soviet Union and goodwill between the delegates of the Committee chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt, this document would not have been written. Even though the 1948 UDHR is a declaration and therefore not legally binding in the same way a treaty or covenant is, it is one of the most important international documents in history, and all of the human rights treaties over the next 70 years were built on the foundation of the 1948 UDHR. The passing of both the Genocide Convention and the UDHR in 1948 was a massive achievement for the newly formed United Nations.

Influence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Despite the fact the UDHR was not legally binding, it has set a common standard for all people. It has led to the establishment of legal norms to govern behaviour on human rights. Furthermore, it has ensured that the role of the United Nations goes far beyond that of its predecessor, the League of Nations. The UDHR brought about a seismic shift in the emphasis of international law. It has inspired a myriad of subsequent multilateral treaties and conventions that have placed legal obligations on human rights. The League of Nations



SOURCE 4.33 The Human Rights Council is now located in Geneva, the old headquarters for the League of Nations. Australia has been elected to the Human Rights Council from 2018 for a three-year term.

had only been concerned with the relations between states, but the United Nations (through the Declaration) placed the welfare of the individual on the global stage and ensured that concern for human rights would permeate nearly every aspect of the new world organisation's work. The UDHR has also inspired the thinking of others in the area of human rights, particularly private groups and NGOs. In addition, it has become a model for countries wishing to give their own constitutional protection for human rights. Also significant is that the world's two most successful multilateral organisations, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, have built their charters on the precepts laid down in the United Nations Charter and the UDHR.

The UDHR has stood the test of time. For the first time in human history, the world has a universally recognised benchmark for human rights. As the authors of a book on the United Nations put it:

The rights set forth in the Declaration have such deep attractiveness everywhere in the world that few political leaders would admit simply to disregarding them.

SOURCE 4.34 Peter Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations: Reality and Ideal*

CHAPTER 4 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

SHAPING THE POST-WAR WORLD

- There were many post-war challenges and the peacemakers were preoccupied with a few at the expense of others.
- The League of Nations was designed to guarantee the peace.
- Later treaties made up for the shortcomings in the peace settlement.
- The League had some significant successes in the 1920s, but by 1932 it was failing in its main task of securing international peace and security.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY

- The Great Depression had a dramatic and adverse impact on the world.
- The revisionist powers began to work to improve their geopolitical positions and combined in an Axis power block in 1937.

THE MORAL TURNING POINT

- FDR's Four Freedoms and Atlantic Charter laid the moral foundations for the United Nations and the post-war order.
- The wartime United Nations alliance defeated the Axis Powers.

THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT UNITED NATIONS

- The UN Charter built on the League, with some key improvements.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) laid the foundation for all international human rights law since.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- 1) self-determination
- 2) international anarchy
- 3) the Charter of the United Nations
- 4) the Universal Declaration on Human Rights

Historical concepts

1 Causation

Evaluate the role of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in President Roosevelt overcoming isolationist opposition to the revival of Wilsonianism.

2 Continuity and change

- Define those aspects of the United Nations that represented a continuation of the League. Distinguish the main changes in the newer organisation.

3 Perspectives

- Outline the Japanese perspective on their occupation of Manchuria in 1931.

4 Significance

- Explain the significance of:
 - the Four Freedoms speech
 - the Atlantic Charter.

5 Contestability

- Evaluate the following view of the United Nations: *The first line of the Charter of the United Nations states, 'We the peoples of the United Nations ...' However, the rest of the Charter placed the emphasis on nation states and gave no attention to 'the people' having an input into the organisation.*

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Explain the significance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2 Historical interpretation

- Assess the view that the Great Depression was a major factor in the rise of Nazism.

3 Analysis and use of sources

Refer to the sources below to answer the following questions.

- Referring to Source A, summarise Eduard Beneš' assessment of the League of Nations in 1932.
- Referring to Source B, interpret how the League and Hitler are portrayed in this cartoon.
- Using your own knowledge, outline the events since 1932 that may have contributed to Source B's commentary in 1935.
- Referring to Source C, analyse how the *Stars and Stripes* military newspaper viewed the birth of the United Nations.
- Identify how long the United Nations had lasted by the time Source C was written.
- Account for the apparent success of the United Nations compared to the League of Nations. Refer to all of the sources and your own knowledge.

SOURCE A

In 1932, in an article for *Foreign Affairs*, Czech Foreign Minister, Eduard Beneš, who was a strong supporter of the League, made the following assessment:

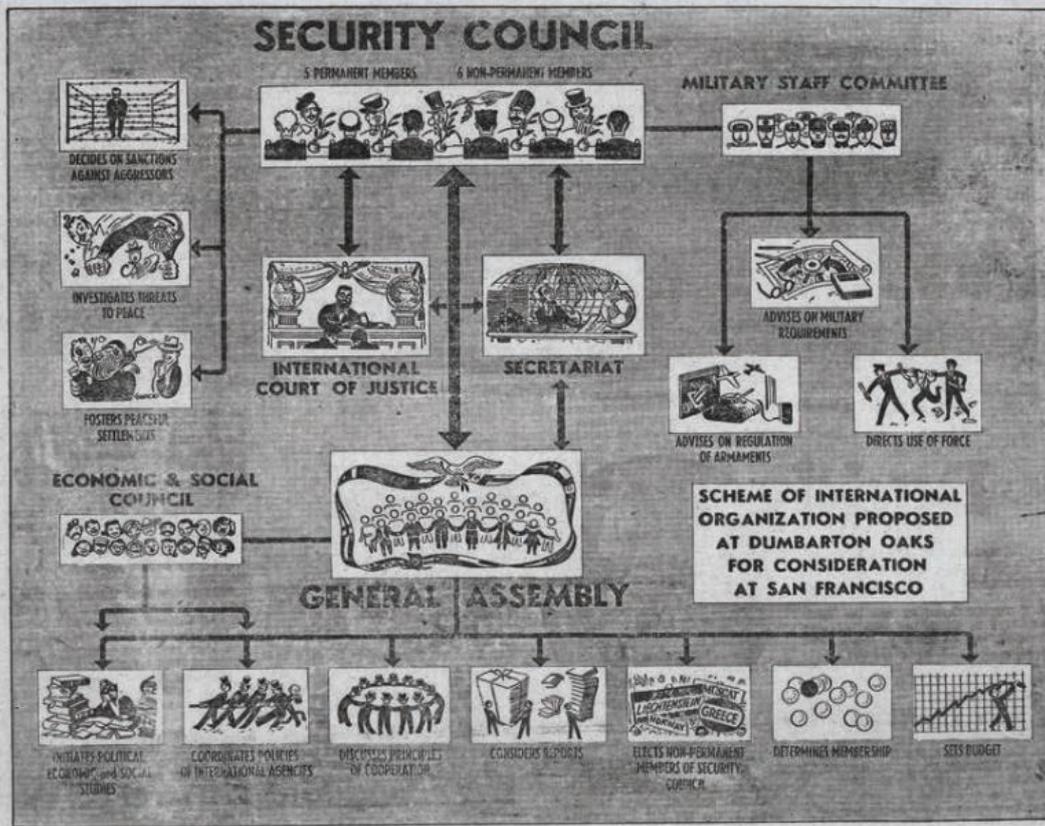
It is not possible even now, after several years, to pass a definite verdict on the League. All that is possible is to point out what has been achieved, the stages through which the struggle between old and new political methods is passing, and how this struggle is reflected in the League's successes and failures. Any estimate of the League can still have only a provisional and relative character.

Eduard Beneš, 'The League of Nations: Successes and Failures,' *Foreign Affairs*, 66, 80, 1932, p. 69

SOURCE B



'Hitler and the League of Nations,' a cartoon by Paul Iribé published in the French newspaper *Le Témoin* on 10 March 1935



Golden Gate To Lasting Peace

By Sgt. WILLIAM HOGAN
Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO

WHEN THE Spaniards came north, they named this place for St. Francis of Assisi, patron saint of gentleness and peace. Far removed until recently from the rest of America, San Francisco has always been more familiar with Siam and Manila, with Tahiti and Siberia than with Boston, Charleston or the world of Europe. She has a thick layer of the Orient in her, and a hamper of Russian, and Spanish and Polynesian influences, and she's the business of the American frontier as well.

Now she is hostess to all the nations who long for a peaceful world. By air, by ship and transcontinental rails, the vanguard of more than a thousand delegates of 46 nations, together with the host of people accompanying them in this Atlantic production are descending upon San Francisco with the hope of setting together as neighbors to lay the foundations for a world community of peaceful living.

THE IMPORTANT thing to remember is that this gathering April 25th is not a peace conference. It is designed essentially to draw up the rules by which all those problems that might cause future wars can be solved. The conference at Dumbarton Oaks drafted the broad outlines of these rules whereby a new international organization would take the place of the old League of Nations. It is the job of the delegates to form an organization that will be free from the weaknesses of the League.

The task of San Francisco will not be to fix new borders or to decide who is going to occupy what sections of conquered Germany or what Pacific Islands will fly the American flag.

Delegates Of 46 Nations Gathering At Frisco To Plan World Security

There will be problems for the postwar peace conference. This meeting has been called to provide a set of rules proposed by the big powers under which the whole world, large nations and small, can live together in the future without becoming involved in another catastrophe. World War III would mean, perhaps, the utter destruction of western civilization, and that's why this meeting in San Francisco is probably the most important world gathering ever held.

THERE ARE five principal parts in the proposed machinery of this meeting—The General Assembly, the World Security Council, an International Court of Justice, an Economic and Social Council, and a Secretariat. Each will have lesser divisions in it, and the whole thing adds up to a complex organization.

It will be a difficult task to design and difficult to understand for a while. As Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. has said, it will be a task as difficult as writing our own Constitution in 1787. The conference in San Francisco will be like the convention at Philadelphia. It will be pioneering in a new way.

It cannot be expected that the plan to be developed at San Francisco will remain unchanged. Changing world conditions unquestionably will require amendments in the years to come even as changing national conditions in the United States have produced more than a score of amendments since the Constitution first was drawn.

Concern has been expressed over the

prospects of the conference because of delays which have arisen over the establishment of the new Polish Provisional Government; because of the questions raised by the Soviets for separate memberships in the Assembly of the world organization for two of the Soviet republics, and because of the many other difficulties with which we are inevitably surrounded as we approach the war's end.

But Mr. Stettinius has assured the nation that if we base our course of action on that line of reasoning we'd never have a conference, or a world organization. New problems of this nature will continue to arise in the coming months and years and will be, in fact, a continuous challenge to our good sense and our will to master the difficulties of peace.

IN THE ceremonial beginning the conference Secretary of State Stettinius will preside as temporary chairman. Then the conference must elect its own officers and more important, four commissions which will thrash out the terms to be presented to the full conference.

The first of these commissions will prepare a slate of conference officers; the second will handle the problems of official credentials; the third will draft conference rules and the last will prepare the conference agenda.

If past performances are a criterion, the nominating committee will propose that Secretary of State Stettinius be named permanent chairman of the conference.

The rules committee will determine

the conference language—probably English, with French and Spanish as secondary languages.

In the matter of voting, each delegation, regardless of its size or the power of the nation it represents, will have one vote at the conference. This means Liberia votes in equality with Russia. Nations that do not approve the charter as finally agreed upon by the majority of delegations are free to decline to sign.

THE PROCESSES of building a peace structure probably will be slow at San Francisco and the people will have to be patient, particularly (says columnist Marquis Childs writing from Washington) the nation's press. The State Department is now talking in terms of four to six weeks for the duration of the conference. Delegates of the smaller nations believe it will last considerably longer—eight to ten weeks at least. Examining the way in which the conference will proceed, it becomes obvious that it may be prolonged through many weeks of discussion.

But before discussions begin, before the curtain rises on this attempt by free men to guide the course of the world in a babel of tongues but with a central belief, preparations continue. For example, this will probably be the best guarded pre-announced conference of all time. Army, Navy, FBI, Secret Service and many other agencies are working out details of protection, but few of them have been announced publicly. The keynote of this meeting is work. And the carnival atmosphere is continually discouraged. Discouraged too are elaborate social affairs although the city's hostesses are trying desperately to be the most eligible guests. Anthony Eden, for instance. There are no formal plans to entertain the delegates. But the city will hold its normal gates. But the city will hold its normal gates. (Please turn to page eleven)

PAGE THREE

Diagram and headline from *Stars and Stripes*, the US military newspaper, April 1945, reporting on the Conference on the United Nations Charter being held in San Francisco

SOURCE D

The UN and its labours are, in fact, the background noise of our global age – sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always emitting a hum. One cannot pick up any major newspaper or watch any newscast or listen to any radio news show or consult any media website in the United States and not hear or see the name of the UN invoked regularly by a broadcaster or written down in a daily report by a journalist. The name of the UN has become as commonplace for us as that of the White House or Congress. Yet people forget that just over a half-century ago there was no UN – just a creaky and faltering institution called the League of Nations universally derided for its incompetence and ineffectiveness. Today, the UN is regarded as a resilient, if ageing organism, despite its dearth of financial resources and the brickbats tossed at it by American politicians.

Stephen C Schlesinger, *Act of Creation – The Founding of the United Nations: A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies and Their Quest for a Peaceful World*, 2003, pp. xv–xvi

4 Historical investigation and research

- Research the role of Eleanor Roosevelt in the creation and adoption by the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. How critical was her leadership in this achievement?

5 Further essay questions

- To what extent did the League of Nations meet the challenges to international security up to 1932?
- Account for the ultimate failure of the League of Nations to meet the challenges to international security after 1932.
- Identify how the League of Nations advanced internationalism.
- Assess the role of treaties and diplomacy in making up for the deficiencies in the peace treaties and the League.
- To what extent was the Great Depression responsible for the breakdown in the international order in the 1930s?
- Assess the role of President Roosevelt in building support for the creation of a United Nations.
- Distinguish the key differences between the United Nations and the League and assess the impact that these had on the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Please see Cambridge GO to access a practice examination paper and source booklet for the Core topic Power and Authority in the Modern World.



PART 2

National studies

CHAPTER



Chapter 5 Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–41



Chapter 6 The United States 1919–41



Chapter 7 China 1927–49 – Digital version only



Surely one of the most visible lessons taught by the twentieth century has been the existence, not so much of a number of different realities, but of a number of different lenses with which to see the same reality.

Michael Arlen, 1974

PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

Power and authority

It is crucial to understand the legacy of the rise of communism in Russia, the formation of the Soviet Union and Stalin's totalitarian reign. These events had a significant impact on European and world politics and led to the Cold War, as well as ongoing strained relations between Russia and the Western democracies.

Interwar years of a democracy

Social, economic and political factors that shaped America as a nation and defined it as a modern industrial power.

Quest for political stability

Internal and external factors prevented democracy taking root in China and allowed the struggling Chinese Communist Party to successfully fill the breach.

PICTURED: This section of the text focuses on the histories of different nations.

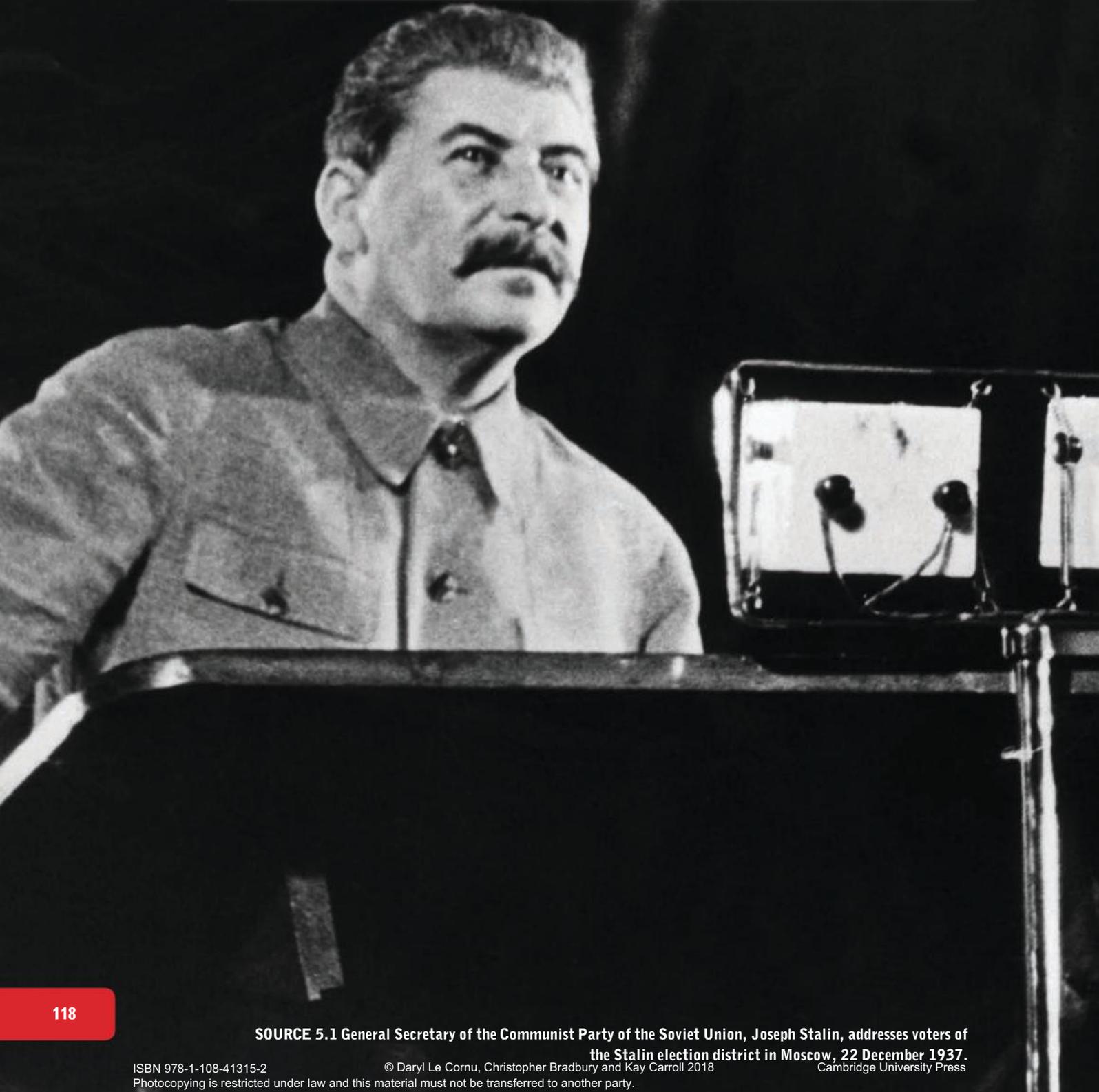
CHAPTER 5

Russia and the Soviet Union

1917–41

Stalin is today's Lenin! Stalin is the brain and heart of the party! Stalin is a banner of millions of people in their fight for a better life.

Pravda, 19 December 1939, on Stalin's 60th birthday





The extent of the Soviet Union by 1941



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate key features of the history of Russia and the Soviet Union 1917–41.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore:

- The strengthening of Bolshevik power, including:
 - an examination of Bolshevik ideology, early Soviet Government and the October Coup of 1917
 - the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the Civil War and the commencement of the New Economic Policy
- The repercussions of Lenin's death for the Bolsheviks, including:
 - the creation of the USSR
 - conflict among Stalin, Trotsky and other prominent Bolshevik leaders in the 1920s
 - the emergence of Stalin in the late 1920s as the head of the USSR
- The Soviet state under Stalin, including:
 - the changing nature of politics indicated by the growth of the Party, the use of show trials, *gulag*, propaganda and censorship
 - the economic transformation of the USSR under Stalin, including collectivisation and the five-year plans
 - the transformation of the sociocultural appearance of the USSR under Stalin
- The Soviet state's foreign policy, including:
 - the character of Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1941



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1917	February Revolution; establishment of Provisional Government and Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies; abdication of Nicholas II; Bolsheviks seize power in October and establish a one-party government
1917–24	Vladimir Lenin rules as Chairman of Council of People's Commissars and de facto leader of Politburo of Communist Party
1918	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk removes Russia from World War I
1918–21	Civil war; independence of Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, and Armenia
1921	Anti-Bolshevik revolt at Kronstadt naval base near Petrograd
1921	Tenth Party Congress and promulgation of New Economic Policy
1921–22	Famine
1922	New Economic Policy introduced
1924	Death of Lenin; Petrograd renamed Leningrad in his honour
1920s	Debates and power struggles, out of which Stalin emerges as supreme party leader
1922–53	Joseph Stalin rules as General Secretary of the Community Party
1928–33	Beginning of Stalin's first five-year plan
1930	Mass collectivisation of agriculture begins
1932–33	Famine
1934	Murder of Stalin's ally Kirov, paving the way for the Great Terror
1936–39	Purges, show trials, and the Great Terror
1939	Nazi–Soviet pact
1940	Annexation of Baltic states and war with Finland
1941	Nazi Germany invades USSR



SOURCE 5.2 (Left) An illustrator's depiction of Lenin's speech at Finland Station in April 1917; (right) the storming of the Winter Palace by Bolshevik Red Guards (soldiers) during the October Revolution

CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 5.3 An example of socialist realism art in 1930s Stalinist Russia

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 5 Overview

KEY IDEA

It is crucial to understand the legacy of the rise of communism in Russia, the formation of the Soviet Union, and Stalin's totalitarian reign. These events had a significant impact on European and world politics and led to the Cold War, as well as ongoing strained relations between Russia and the Western democracies.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

History remembers the October Revolution as one of the most dramatic events in 1917. The takeover is a fascinating topic given the amount of historical debate that has been rekindled since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the centenary has come and gone. Understanding the rise of Bolshevism and Joseph Stalin as the leader of the Soviet Union is vital in understanding the context of modern Russia under Vladimir Putin.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- Bolsheviks
- Lenin
- revolution
- Trotsky
- coup
- Kerensky
- communism
- Dzerhinsky
- Sovnarkom
- Civil War
- Comintern
- Red Army
- Soviet Union
- White Armies
- CHEKA
- Stalin
- Marxism
- Bukharin
- proletariat
- Zinoviev
- bourgeoisie
- show trial
- Red Guards
- *gulag*
- Provisional Government
- purge
- Stalinism
- Soviet
- Stakhanovite

INQUIRY QUESTION

How had the Soviet system evolved into Stalinist totalitarianism by the end of the 1930s?

Provisional Government

the democratic parliamentary body which governed the Russian Empire from 2 March 1917, after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II, and the end of the Romanov Dynasty

Petrograd Soviet a council established in March 1917, after the February Revolution, as a representative body of the city's workers and soldiers; during 1917, the body was a rival to the Provisional Government, creating a system of dual power. Its committees played key roles during the Russian Revolution, including the armed revolt of the October Revolution.

Bolshevik a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which seized power in the 1917 October Revolution

Painting the picture

From the Romanovs to the Bolsheviks

The 304-year-old Romanov Dynasty fell after Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne due to the various pressures of the February Revolution of 1917. From February onwards, the **Provisional Government** and **Petrograd Soviet** of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies held a dual system of power in Russia. This uncertain environment allowed the radical **Bolsheviks**, led by Vladimir Lenin and his deputy Leon Trotsky, to gain in popularity with the Russian people, in particular through its influence



SOURCE 5.4 A painting of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia by Boris Kustodiyev, 1915

of the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin was in exile from Russia throughout early 1917. His dramatic return and speech to followers on a train at Finland Station in Petrograd, and the publication of his revolutionary political theories in his *April Theses* helped to consolidate the power of Lenin's leadership. When the opportunity arose to seize power from the Provisional Government in October 1917, Lenin pushed the Bolsheviks to do so and went on to establish a one-party government – which still exists today.

5.1 The Bolshevik consolidation of power

An overview of Bolshevik ideology

The origins of Bolshevik ideology with the intention of passing power to the industrial working class goes back to the work of Karl Marx. In the 1840s, Marx outlined that the working class was being exploited by the owners of capital and they were becoming progressively poorer. The end result for Marx was a violent struggle in which the **proletariat** would be victorious over the owners of capital. The workers would then own the means of production and it would eventually be shared equally. Over time the people would appreciate the benefits of the new system and the increased knowledge of all state institutions disappearing. The possibility of creating such a revolution in a peasant society would be small; Marx did not believe this could occur in Russia, (whose peasantry made up 80% of the total population) and thought it was more likely to happen in industrialised nations like England or Germany.

In 1917, while in Finland, Lenin produced the treatise *State and Revolution* in which he outlined Bolshevik tactics for the coming struggle. In it, he highlighted the elimination of the bureaucracy, the continuation of repression through 'the state' and the destruction of the old state machinery and institutions. The plan was to destroy the **bourgeois** parliamentarianism. To gain the popular support against the Provisional Government, Lenin promised the people reforms in the form of peace, land and the confiscation of scandalous profits. Unlike Marx, Lenin strongly believed that a revolution could occur in a Russian context. He argued that once a revolutionary party had been formed to lead the masses, then the need for parliamentary democracy would disappear. Over time, the party-state would itself be replaced by the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and then the state would wither away. The state would be needed to maintain order and discipline in the transitional stage. From the time of the 1905 Revolution, Lenin expressed a recognition of the need for a cooperation between workers and peasants if this was to occur. As a consequence, he was prepared to be flexible with his movement's ideological demands.

proletariat 'working class'; for Marx and Engels, it was a technical term meaning all those people who do not own any of the means of production in the economy

bourgeois 'middle class'; for Marx and Engels, it meant all those people who control the means of production in the economy

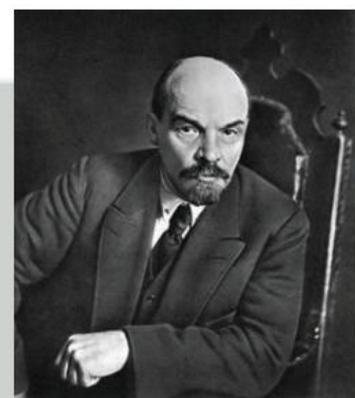


SOURCE 5.5 A forged passport with picture of himself in disguise enabled Lenin to escape to Finland in the autumn of 1917. A warrant for his arrest had been issued in Russia in July of that same year.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924)

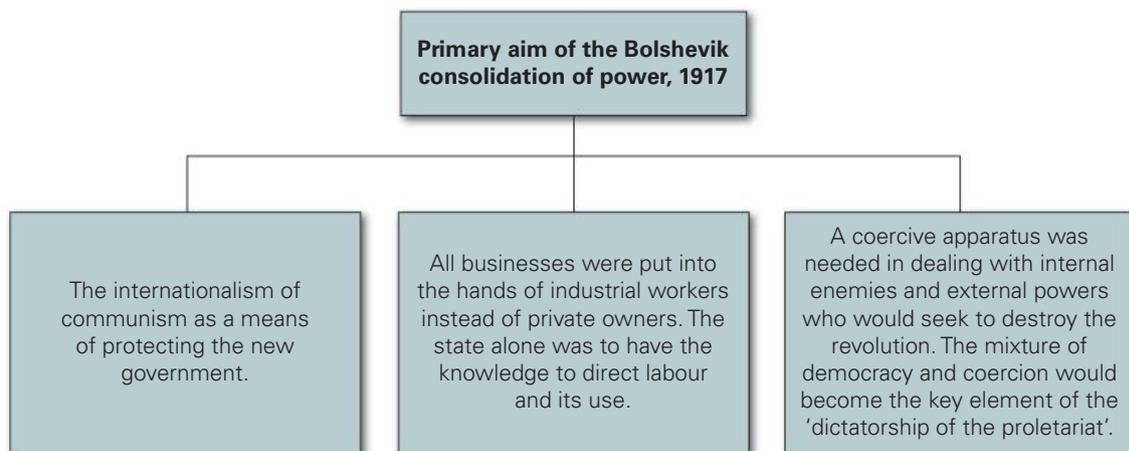
Lenin's real name was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. He was the leader of the Bolshevik Party 1903–24, chairman of the Sovnarkom [Soviet Government] 1917–24, revolutionary, political writer, leader of the Bolshevik Party and, later, of the Soviet Government. Lenin was born into a middle-class family in Simbirsk, a small town on the Volga River. Following the execution of his older brother for the attempted assassination of Tsar Alexander III, Lenin became involved in revolutionary activities. In 1895, he helped establish the St Petersburg



SOURCE 5.6 Vladimir Lenin

Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class. Lenin mainly lived abroad in Munich, London, Geneva and Paris. At a meeting of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1903, when the Party split into two factions (Mensheviks and Bolsheviks) over questions of organisation and strategy, Lenin led the Bolshevik faction. A prolific writer, Lenin was the leading advocate of a vision of revolution led by professional revolutionaries who dared to seize the opportunities history provided. After the February Revolution, Lenin received permission from Russia's wartime enemy Germany to travel across its land in a sealed train to return to Russia. He successfully led the Bolsheviks to seize power from the Provisional Government in October 1917 and became the leader of the Soviet Government. He died in 1924, two years after a stroke left him incapacitated. His embalmed body was placed in a mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square.

The principles of Bolshevik ideology



The 1917 October Coup

A MATTER OF FACT

Russia used the Julian or Old Style calendar until 24 January 1918, when this system was replaced by the Gregorian or New Style calendar. To convert Old Style dates to New Style dates, add 13 days. For example, 26 October 1917 OS becomes 8 November NS.

October Revolution the Bolshevik Revolution saw Lenin and the Bolsheviks seize power from the Provisional Government in 1917

July Days spontaneous uprising of the Russian people in July 1917, motivated by the Provisional Government's decision to escalate the war effort as well as by the influence of Bolshevik propaganda

Kornilov Affair an attempted military coup led by the then Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army against the Provisional Government in August 1917; its failure ultimately weakened the Provisional Government but strengthened the position of the Bolsheviks

Russian historians refer to the Bolshevik seizure of power as the **October Revolution**, though the Western calendar documents it as happening in early November. The decision to seize power was taken by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership (even though he was still based in Finland at the time). On 23 October 1917, they voted in favour of a revolution. The detailed organisation of the revolution was carried out by Lenin's deputy, Leon Trotsky, and the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Trotsky, who had been imprisoned for a short time in mid-1917 during the **July Days** (and released during the **Kornilov Affair**), had

joined the Bolshevik Party and played a leading role as President of the Petrograd Soviet. While Lenin was still in hiding, it was Trotsky who persuaded the garrison of the **Peter and Paul Fortress** in Petrograd to hand over weapons in their arsenal to the Red Guards. From his office in the **Smolny Institute**, Trotsky laid plans for the seizure of the important government buildings.

The rising had been planned to coincide with the opening of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, a conference of elected representatives from Soviets throughout Russia. Kerensky's Provisional Government knew that a Bolshevik uprising was inevitable but could do little to stop them.

Peter and Paul Fortress an old military installation in the heart of Petrograd. In 1917, the Provisional Government used it as a jail for Tsarist officials arrested after the February Revolution. On 25 October, the fortress fell quickly into Bolshevik hands. After the revolution, it was used as a prison and place of execution by the Bolsheviks.

Smolny Institute an educational building used by Lenin as Bolshevik headquarters during the October Revolution; he lived there for several months, until moving the national government to the Moscow Kremlin in March 1918

KEY EVENTS OF THE BOLSHEVIK OCTOBER REVOLUTION

1917 JULIAN DATE (GREGORIAN DATE)	EVENTS
24 October (6 November)	During the night, the Red Guards began to take over all important locations in Petrograd, such as the telephone exchange, railway stations and government buildings.
25 October (7 November)	<p>Kerensky left the city, intending to go to the battlefield and raise a force of loyal troops with whose support he hoped to regain control of Petrograd.</p> <p>By the evening, when the All-Russian Congress of Soviets were meeting, the Red Guards had control of most of the city. Lenin returns from exile.</p>
26 October (8 November)	<p>In the early hours of the morning, the Provisional Government were meeting in the Winter Palace when a contingent of Red Guards made their way into the Palace and arrested them.</p> <p>Eighteen hours after seizing power, Lenin issues the Decree on Peace, urging an immediate ceasefire and treaty, and the Decree on Land, calling for the abolition of private ownership.</p>



SOURCE 5.7 Alexander Kerensky



SOURCE 5.8 Painting of Red Guards storming the Winter Palace by Pavel Petrovich

1917 JULIAN DATE (GREGORIAN DATE)	EVENTS
27 October (9 November)	The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets debated the validity of the Bolshevik Revolution and whether they had acted without first gaining approval. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries condemned the Bolsheviks' actions but were outnumbered. Lenin was greeted with wild enthusiasm from the Congress. The Bolsheviks had successfully seized control of Petrograd.
November 3 (16 November)	Bolsheviks have taken control of Moscow.



SOURCE 5.9 Lenin addressing a crowd in Red Square, Moscow, November 1917

RESEARCH TASK 5.1

Historian interpretations and perspectives on the revolution

The events of 1917 in Russia have been the subject of enormous historical debate. Research and summarise each of the following interpretations of the revolution to develop a greater understanding of the differing perspectives on its impact.

- 1 The Soviet interpretation
- 2 Liberal Western interpretation
- 3 Revisionist interpretation

Sovnarkom the Council of People's Commissars, which was the cabinet of the USSR

Constituent Assembly democratically elected parliament whose job was to draft a new republican constitution for Russia after the abdication of the Tsar; it met briefly in January 1918, but was closed down by the Bolsheviks

The early Soviet Government

Few expected the Bolsheviks to remain in power for very long, considering the challenges they confronted. At the end of 1917, the Bolsheviks controlled only a small part of Russia, including Moscow (which they had seized after fierce fighting on 15 November). They had established a government with Lenin at its head and Trotsky as Commissar (Minister) of Foreign Affairs. The cabinet was called the **Sovnarkom** (short for the Council of People's Commissars). It included some members of the left wing of the Socialist Revolutionaries. Lenin did not intend to share power with them for long but he needed their support in dealing with the **Constituent Assembly**. For this government to survive, it would have to do what it had promised, which included getting Russia out of the war, restoring the economy and establishing effective political rule.

The likelihood of the Bolshevik Government's failure was widely predicted. A common opinion among socialists was that only a broad conglomerate of all revolutionary groups would be able to defend Soviet power from its opposition, 'the propertied classes'. Many also suggested that Bolshevik power would be only a short respite in Russia's ongoing suffering. To quell these concerns, the Bolsheviks had two seemingly contradictory responses:

- The first was that socialists should view their actions as inspiring a global socialist revolution that would bring assistance from the West
- The second regarded an idealised faith in the heroic power of the individual to effect change.

Nonetheless, Bolshevik leaders remained unsure as to how to rule the country due to the tenuous way they saw power itself. On one hand, the **libertarian** ideal of Bolshevism favoured the principles of creativity and power, while on the other hand, the **authoritarian** strain of Bolshevism believed in the necessary use of control, discipline, dictatorship, and even the application of coercive violence. While it is true that different individuals held different models of thought, it remains valid that these differing approaches represented the two factions of individual Bolshevik thought (including Lenin's). The first acts of the government reflected libertarian ideals:

- 1 The Decree on Peace, passed on 26 October, proclaimed a new method in international affairs, free of private diplomacy and founded on an ideal of peace without annexations and indemnities.
- 2 The Decree on Land, passed on 26 October, removed without compensation all land held by the gentry and transferred these lands to the peasant land committee and the Soviet state.
- 3 The Decree on Workers' Control, passed in early November 1917, allowed workers to supervise their own managers.
- 4 National minorities were given the right to complete self-determination.
- 5 All existing legal courts were dismissed for new judges to be elected.
- 6 By recruiting thousands of soldiers and workers into the bureaucracy and advocating for extensive local control, the administrative system was effectively democratised.

Many saw the advocacy of democracy and these early laws as disingenuous and deceptive. At best, they were seen as attempts to undermine the previous order before instating a new form of dictatorship, and at their worst, such actions symbolised Lenin's work to hide a true authoritarian agenda behind a libertarian public front. However, most historians argue that these principles of popular democracy and elite authoritarianism were constantly contested in the mind of Bolsheviks and that it was due to the circumstances following Lenin's death that authoritarianism came to the fore.

Prior to his rise to power, Lenin argued for the place of coercion and discipline within society. In the period after his rise to power, this discourse became far more common as was reflected in the early policies enacted by the new government:

- 1 Among the first laws passed by the new government on 27 October was a Press Law, which asserted the closure of most 'bourgeois' papers, and even some socialist papers.
- 2 On 5 December, the **CHEKA** (a public commission established to fight counter-revolution and sabotage) were instated to control disunity, rise against economic crime, and suppress any opposing claims to Soviet power.
- 3 Opponents of the Bolshevik regime were imprisoned and some Bolshevik leaders, such as Leon Trotsky, warned that a greater threat against enemies was emerging.

libertarian the belief that people should be free to think and behave as they want and should not have limits put on them by governments

authoritarian system of government that enforces strict obedience to authority at the expense of freedom of opinion and public interests



SOURCE 5.10 Lenin haranguing deputies of the Second Soviet Congress, Smolny Palace, St Petersburg, 1917. This meeting on 26 October 1917, the day after the storming of the Winter Palace, saw the establishment of the Bolshevik-dominated Soviet Government, with Lenin as chairman.

CHEKA the original name of the Communist Secret Police in Russia

- 4 Dramatic moves were being made to centralise economic and industrial control of a nation that was in decline due to years of war, revolution and economic backwardness under the Tsar and then the Provisional Government. Under the Bolshevik Party, industry and labour would have greater discipline and output.
- 5 Unwilling to relinquish power and leadership of the Soviet state, the Bolsheviks decided to disband the long-awaited Constituent Assembly on 5 January, 1918.

This is no time for speech-making. Our revolution is in serious danger ... Do not think that I am on the lookout for forms of revolutionary justice. We have no need for justice now. Now we have need of a battle to the death! I propose, I demand the initiation of the Revolutionary sword which will put an end to all counter-revolutionists. We must act not tomorrow, but today at once.

SOURCE 5.11 Extract from Felix Dzerzhinsky's first address as Chief of the Secret Police in 1917, quoted in D Shub, *Lenin*, p. 347



SOURCE 5.12 Prominent Bolshevik revolutionaries of the new Soviet state: (top row, left to right) Rykov, Radek, Pokrevsky, Kamenev; (middle row, left to right) Trotsky, Lenin, Sverdlov; (bottom row, left to right) Bukharin, Zinoviev, Krylenko, Kollontai, Lunacharsky. Conspicuous by his absence is Stalin, who eventually executed a number of these people, including Rykov, Radek, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Felix Dzerzhinsky (1877–1926)

Felix Dzerzhinsky was a fanatical Polish communist who spent 15 years in Tsarist prisons and was released from exile in Siberia following the February/March Revolutions. He was appointed by Lenin to head the CHEKA, the organisation charged with maintaining the security of the Bolshevik state and with preserving the revolution. He was completely ruthless and 'incorruptible'. He was quoted as saying, 'We don't want justice, we want to settle accounts'.



SOURCE 5.13 Felix Dzerzhinsky

In the first few months following their rise to power, the authority of the Bolshevik Party was still tenuous. The Russian economy began to suffer, public disorder was a pervasive threat to the Bolsheviks, while alternative parties on the left continued to be active and began to be critical of Bolshevik failures and betrayals. By the spring of 1918, anti-Bolshevik forces would begin to move against the Soviet regime. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying

- 1 What methods were used by the Bolsheviks to establish control of the Russian state?
- 2 How did Lenin succeed in securing the position of the Bolshevik Party in Russia by early 1918?

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

It was impossible to forget the terrible losses inflicted on Russia in the war and at Brest-Litovsk. Moreover, Germany appeared such an unpredictable power, ready in its struggle against the Allies to abandon or destroy either or both Russian sides.

SOURCE 5.14 J Bradley, *Civil War in Russia 1917–1920*, 1965, p. 540

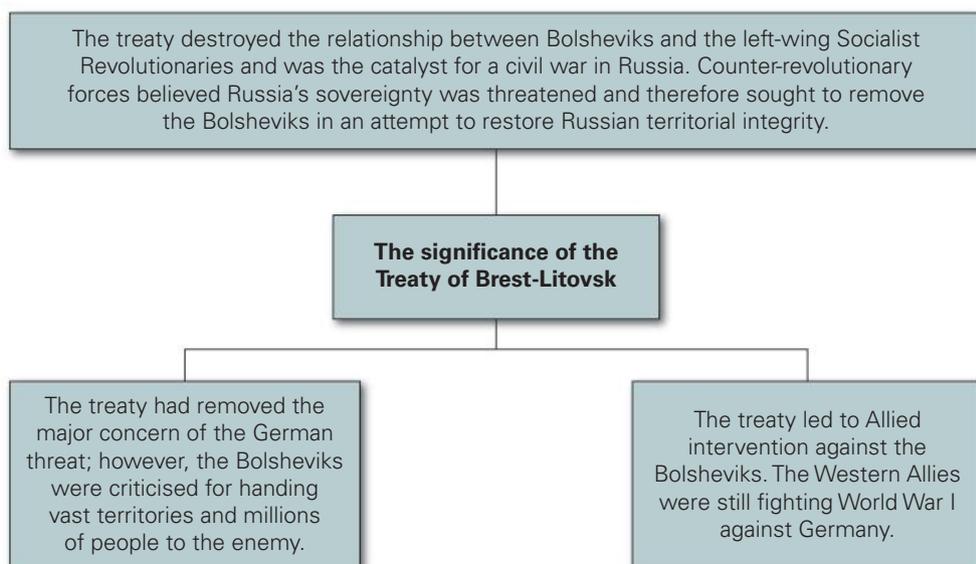
Most of the early Bolshevik propaganda was based on the need to end the war with Germany. Lenin was determined to have peace at all cost, and thereby save his revolution. The Decree on Peace of 1917 contributed towards fulfilling this promise, but the formal peace treaty with Germany was not signed until March 1918. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk imposed upon the Russians a number of conditions which were universally rejected and denounced. These included:

- Russia had to give up Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Bessarabia
- the Soviet Government agreed to honour its economic debts to the Central Powers, plus interest
- the economic losses were significant. Russia lost 62 million of its people, 32 per cent of its arable land, 25 per cent of its industry and 90 per cent of its coal mines.



SOURCE 5.15 The negotiating delegation from the Soviet Union at Brest-Litovsk, headed by Leon Trotsky (back row, second from the right)

Anti-German and anti-Bolshevik feeling ran high after the signing of the treaty. In July 1918, the German Ambassador to Russia was assassinated by members of the left-wing Social Revolutionary Party. Street fighting broke out in some centres between disgruntled workers and squads of the **Red Army**. The legacy of the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** was to haunt the Bolsheviks for years to come and it provided the impetus for the real attempt to remove the Bolsheviks from power. A protracted civil war was looming.



Red Army the military force of the Soviet Union formed in 1918 to defend the new regime, especially against White Armies during the Civil War

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk the peace treaty signed with Germany on 3 March 1918; the terms were even harsher than those that the Germans had offered before, but the treaty needed to be signed to ensure the Bolsheviks, promise for peace



SOURCE 5.16 Russian territorial losses in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

The Russian Civil War

The Russian Civil War began in the spring of 1918 and lasted until the end of 1920. During its final stages, a war broke out between Russia and the newly independent state of Poland. The Bolsheviks were opposed by an array of opponents in the Civil War, the most famous of which were the **White Armies**, who were organised and led by former Tsarist military officers:

- The Volunteer Army was based in the south and led, at the height of its powers, by General Anton Denikin and at one stage also by General Kornilov.
- Admiral Alexander Kolchak formed an army opposing the Bolsheviks in Siberia in November 1918.
- General Nikolai Yudenich created and consolidated a fighting force out of Estonia.
- General Miller led a force from the north-west of Russia.

White Armies forces that fought against the Bolshevik Red Army during the Civil War

Cossacks a group of people in Russia with a history of fighting and bravery from the region on the Don River (near the Black Sea)

By Autumn 1919, a victory for the White Armies was a real possibility. The Bolsheviks were politically opposed by the organised opposition of parties on the left, such as the Mensheviks, and the liberal Cadets who formed anti-Communist governments in numerous cities. Even the Left Socialist Revolutionaries rose against the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1918. In the southern regions of Russia, local **Cossacks** had also established anti-communist governments (though at times they also opposed



SOURCE 5.17 Map of the Civil War 1918–20: internal and external threats to the Bolsheviks

the White forces). In the borders of the Soviet region, various independence movements resulted in the loss of large parts of the former Russian empire. A significant portion of western territory was occupied by German troops as part of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. This treaty took Soviet Russia out of the war, leading to dozens of nations sending troops and money to oppose the Bolsheviks. Against these opponents and challenges, however, the Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the Civil War.

FLASHPOINT!

War Communism

To ensure that the factories produced sufficient war **matériel**, Lenin adopted a tough practical policy known as 'War Communism'. War Communism paved the way for the bureaucratisation of the nation and the Party. A number of extreme features in dealing with the military and economic situation of the war included:

matériel military supplies such as equipment

- Military discipline was applied to factories, including the death penalty for workers who went on strike or for persistent absenteeism.
- The ruthless treatment of peasants as the Red Army seized resources for soldiers and urban workers. Those who refused were shot. The result was an acute food shortage in 1920 and a terrible famine in 1921.
- The abandonment of the old inflation-ridden currency with wages being paid in food and fuel, and trade being conducted on a barter system. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences

🗝️ Were the Bolsheviks as their critics said, 'destroyers of freedom'?

Can one justify their efforts as necessary to create a viable order that could ensure the realisation of the main demands of 1917: bread, peace and land?



SOURCE 5.18 Famine-stricken refugee children in Russia during the Russian Civil War

FLASHPOINT!

How did the Bolsheviks manage to win the Civil War?

One of the contributing factors to the Bolshevik victory was the failure of their opponents to form a coordinated, united opposition. The opposition was politically divided and ranged from moderate socialists to ardent monarchists. They were equally divided militarily, as they lacked a central command structure to match the Red Army commanded by Leon Trotsky.

The Communists enjoyed logistical advantages. The Whites forces were located around the peripheries (see the map in Source 5.17). The Soviet Government controlled the Russian heartlands, which allowed them control of the railways throughout the war.

The Soviet Government was more efficient than the White forces in organising the resources needed to wage war (through the policy of War Communism). Not long after the Civil War started, the government nationalised all of its industries. Forced labour and strict labour discipline were instituted.

By creating a policy for the forced **requisitioning** of grain, the government established adequate food supplies for the industrial labour forces and the Army.

In the areas they had enjoyed victory in, or maintained control over, the Communists re-established political order. They restored a functioning state apparatus. The Soviet state used unrelenting tactics of controlling dissent and stifling the opposition, introducing the now infamous, '**Red Terror**' campaign of September 1918.

This brutality might have worked against the Communists, but the Whites were scarcely less ruthless. The Whites also requisitioned grain by force (though less systematically). The Whites also used terror and even torture against their enemies.

The dominant historical account of the Communist victory is that they had more support among the majority of the Russian population. Comparatively, the Bolsheviks did a more effective job at presenting their vision to the people and communicating what Bolshevik power could represent. The message used by the Bolshevik propaganda – that a White victory would result in the restoration of capitalists and the landlords – was very effective and resonated with the majority of the population. The Whites unintentionally supported this Bolshevik message, as the leaders of the White forces were themselves former Tsarist officers and large landowners. Following their victories, the Whites at times expropriated land to its previous owner. 🗝️

requisitioning the confiscation of goods, often foodstuffs such as grain, usually with a high degree of force

Red Terror early in the Civil War, the Bolsheviks carried out a deadly campaign of political repression. Anyone suspected to have links to the Whites were captured and executed by the CHEKA, as were deserters from the Red Army. Between 100 000 and 200 000 people were killed.

KEY QUESTIONS

Research

🗝️ Research the Bolsheviks' Red Terror campaign. Compare and contrast the views of two historians on its significance.

While the Bolsheviks had emerged victorious and regained a political foothold, the ideology of Bolshevism was profoundly changed by their involvement in the Civil War. Originally opposed to the idea of an 'armed working class' fighting an envisioned guerrilla war, the Red Army became more or less a traditional standing army of working-class, peasant draftees, with the democratic principles they had fought for increasingly being set aside. To mobilise the population and develop a wartime economy, the state had become centralised.



SOURCE 5.19 Leon Trotsky transformed the Red Army into an effective fighting force. Travelling on his personal armoured train, Trotsky appeared to be everywhere, inspiring his men on the spot.

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



What might the opponents of Bolshevism have done differently to win the Civil War? Why did they not do these things?

The Civil War experiences and the mode of government used in the war led to what is now called the 'militarisation' of Bolshevik political ideology. The Bolsheviks were used to this militarised mode of ruling, whereby using force and violence, and supplying summary justice became commonplace methods of Soviet power. The idealised vision of Bolshevism as an emancipatory ideology was also heightened by the Civil War. Radical attempts were made to change the personal sphere, especially that of the relations between a man and a woman. For example, laws were put into place mandating unconditional equal rights for women. A special branch of the Bolshevik Party (Zhenotdel) was created in order to inspire women to act independently. Campaigns were also introduced based on the changes needed in everyday culture,

among the lower classes of society:

- campaigns were introduced in opposition to religious beliefs, seeking to 'demystify' religion
- a nation-wide literacy campaign was instituted
- campaigns were undertaken against swearing, drinking and fighting
- campaigns were launched asking that peasants adopt more civilised habits in their everyday lives. 

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.2

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.

SOURCE 5.20 Gordon Greenwood, *The Modern World*, 1973

- 1 List three reasons why the White forces were unsuccessful in the Civil War.
- 2 Using the source and your own knowledge, outline the use of terror as a Bolshevik/Communist tactic in the period 1918–21.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy

The close of the Civil War was a period of crisis for the Bolsheviks. The economy was collapsing, there was widespread famine, and trade and industries had come to an impasse. Peasants and workers started to voice their anger over these economic conditions, as well as their resentment of Bolshevik authoritarianism. Widespread peasant rebellions erupted across Soviet Russia. Among workers in urban areas, the years of 1920–21 were a time for political activism, protest meetings, public demonstrations and strikes. There were increasing calls among workers' groups in Petrograd for a change in economic policy and for a freeing up of political debate and discussion. War Communism and the use of coercion had failed to meet the needs of the people as expressed in the following extract, from a proclamation of striking Petrograd workers in 1921:

A complete change is necessary in the policies of the Government. First of all, the workers and peasants need freedom. They don't want to live by the decrees of Bolsheviks; they want to control their own destinies. Comrades, preserve revolutionary order! Determinedly and in an organised manner demand: liberation of all the arrested socialist and non-partisan working-men; abolition of martial law; freedom of speech, press and assembly for all who labour.

SOURCE 5.21 Proclamation by striking Petrograd workers, quoted in M Lynch, *Reaction and Revolutions: Russia 1881–1924*, p. 122

A notable event in this period was the rebellion at the Kronstadt naval base, near Petrograd. The workers and sailors of Kronstadt had been great supporters of the Bolsheviks in 1917 and Trotsky had once called them 'the heroes of the Revolution'. Now they called for the Bolshevik Party to finally make good on the promises of the October Revolution. Thousands of workers of Petrograd joined the armed sailors and dockyard workers in their demonstration against the Bolshevik regime. Lenin had the mutiny brutally crushed by 60 000 Red Army and CHEKA forces. Afterwards, a contemplative Lenin claimed that the Kronstadt rebellion had 'lit up reality like a lightning flash' and admitted that drastic policy changes needed to be made to save the reputation of the Bolsheviks.

In March 1921, the Party embarked on a major program of concessions to popular discontent, a policy that became known (because of the centrality of economics to it) as the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**. This meant, first of all, conceding to the demand everybody made to end forced grain requisitioning. Instead, the Party announced, there would be a free market in grain. Peasants could grow what they wanted, sell what they wanted, and that's how grain would get to the city; not by forced requisitioning, where peasants were coerced to hand grain over at low state prices. They also agreed to denationalise a part of industry. During the Civil War, everything became state industry; however, the Bolsheviks now decided to re-allow mostly small-scale private industry. The government kept control of what they liked to call the 'commanding heights of the economy', such as big factories, the banking system and foreign trade, but small-scale industry was now legal and so was private trade, essential in order to get the goods from various producers, private and state, to consumers.

The effect of these changes were quite impressive. By the mid-1920s, the major cities of Russia and the Soviet Union were well provided with grain and food and people were able to move back to the cities as the famine had ended. There were, in fact, shops everywhere. A major restoration of pre-revolutionary life took place



SOURCE 5.22 A Red Army artillery battalion suppressing the Kronstadt mutiny

RESEARCH TASK 5.3

The Kronstadt mutiny

Research and analyse the demands of the Kronstadt sailors and workers.

- 1 Outline their reasons for the mutiny.
- 2 Describe whether they were justified.
- 3 Assess how the Bolsheviks resolved the crisis, including the actions of Lenin and Trotsky.

New Economic Policy (NEP) the Bolshevik economic policy that represented a significant shift away from War Communism, representing a temporary move to capitalism that allowed business to flourish and stabilise the Russian economy



SOURCE 5.23 Images highlighting social changes during the NEP suggesting greater wealth. (Left) *NEPmen*, a 1920s painting by Dmitri Nikolayevich Kardovsky; (right) a 1920s painting of a young couple by Ivan Alexeyevich Vladimirov.

as cafes and shops filled with various consumer goods made a return. In fact, by 1926, this recovery had been so extensive that the economy had reached pre-war levels, which is a quite dramatic achievement when you recognise that in 1921 the economy was only one-fifth of its pre-war level of 1913.

However, one of the most serious problems was the feeling that the NEP represented a betrayal of the revolution and should soon be ended. The NEP shocked many communists because it appeared the Bolsheviks were moving back towards capitalism. In response, Lenin communicated to the people

that Russia badly needed breathing space to recover from the Civil War and did not have enough troops or officials to run the whole country themselves.

FLASHPOINT!

Ideological reality versus political reality: 1917–24

In assessing Bolshevik ideology, it can be argued that within a short time the ideological reality gave way to the political reality. In its original conception, the Party had been an open and democratic organisation, with regional cells having autonomy and little central control. However, this soon changed and the resulting political reality was quite different.

- Under the pressures of the Civil War, the Bolshevik Party was dominated by the Central Executive Committee. The leaders of the 1917 revolution became the guardians of the state.
- By the time the NEP was introduced, the Sovnarkom was only a rubber stamp for the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Those who sat in the Central Committee were the elite of a very hierarchical organisation.
- Systematised terrorism through the CHEKA meant that all opposition was crushed.
- In 1919, the Party bureaucracy known as the People's Commissariat (headed by Stalin) was designed to keep members in line, so rather than withering the state away, the state was in fact becoming more intrusive.

In terms of ideology, the Bolsheviks initially took a hard line in economic policy through the implementation of War Communism. However, its failure had Lenin rethinking the economic response, leading to the creation of the NEP and the return of pre-war practices of individual enterprise in agriculture and small industries, and the opening up of international trade.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What evidence is there to suggest that the Civil War was 'lost' by the Whites rather than 'won' by the Reds?
- How can one reconcile the evidence for emancipatory, democratic, and even libertarian ideals in Bolshevism alongside Bolshevik authoritarianism in both word and deed?

As a class discuss the following: How consistently was Lenin actually putting his ideas into practice in the years 1917–21?

5.2 The Bolsheviks and the power struggle following the death of Lenin

The impact of the Bolshevik consolidation of power, including the creation of the USSR

Lenin began a purge of members of opposing political parties who were critical of the Bolshevik leadership. While the Tenth Party Congress in March 1921 requested unity, Lenin now enforced compliance. This process was known as eliminating 'radishes' – those who were red on the outside but really white on the inside. The CHEKA was given unquestioned authority and, by 1922, about one-quarter of the Party membership had been expelled. Bureaucrats now controlled the Party. This was the type of revolutionary party that Lenin had been advocating since the split of the Mensheviks in 1903: stern, disciplined, devoted and organised. Hence, a new system of bureaucratic centralism developed as the main form of government. This political shift allowed Party members like Joseph Stalin to become entrenched in the functioning of the Party when he became General Secretary in April 1922.

Key consequences of the Bolshevik consolidation of power

1922: Formation of the USSR

Lenin had promised that the various nationalities of the Tsar's former empire would be allowed to choose whether they wished to be part of a communist state in Russia or to be independent. Joseph Stalin, a Georgian rather than a Russian, had been appointed Commissar of Nationalities. He and Lenin hoped that the nationalities would throw in their support with the Communists and that the Empire would become a federation of Communist states, in which nationalities would be allowed local self-government but major issues such as economic planning and foreign affairs would be handled by a central government in Moscow. As Petrograd was too close to the frontline, Moscow had become the capital during the Civil War.

In practice, the wishes of the nationalities were ignored as the Communists were not willing to let economically valuable parts of the Empire opt for independence. As they captured land during the Civil War, they imposed communist governments and turned them into Soviet Socialist Republics. At the beginning of 1924, a new constitution came into force in Russia, replacing the one that the Bolsheviks had introduced in 1918. Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Each republic had its own government and in matters such as education, health and justice could decide policy without interference from Moscow. In areas such as economic affairs and the activities of the CHEKA, the republics had local Commissars who acted under the instructions of a Union Commissar in Moscow. Foreign and Defence policy were entirely in the hands of All-Union Commissars in Moscow.

Key features of the USSR

Constitution

- Outlined basic rights and freedoms of the people and the system of electing local, Republican and All-Union Soviets
- All adults given the vote (except monks, lunatics and private traders)
- Guaranteed freedom of conscience and religion for all (although the USSR was an atheist state)

Parliament

- The All-Union Congress of Soviets which only met for a few days each year
- It elected the Central Executive Committee, a smaller body which met more regularly and had more power
- The Central Executive Committee appointed the members of the SOVNARKOM, the cabinet of the USSR

The Communist Party

- A large All-Union Congress elected by Party members, and a smaller more powerful Central Committee
- At the top of the Party structure was the Politburo, a small group of senior Communists who decided Party policy
- The USSR was a one-party state and many members of the Politburo were members of the SOVNARKOM

1924: Secret police

The CHEKA was abolished in February 1922 and replaced by the GPU (State Political Organisation). In turn, the GPU was replaced in 1924 by the OGPU (Unified State Political Organisation). Felix Dzerzhinsky was the head of each of these secret police organisations.

FLASHPOINT!

Achievements of the Bolshevik Government

- Introduced a socialist society
- World War I peace treaty, March 1918
- Decree on Land, November 1917
- Social transformation (education, judicial equality and relative freedoms for women)
- Defeated counter-revolution in Civil War
- Defeated foreign intervention in Civil War
- Created unity by dismissing Constituent Assembly (1918), crushed Kronstadt sailors (1921) and abolished all political parties (1922)
- Stabilised the economy by replacing failed War Communism with the NEP (1921).



SOURCE 5.24 VIII Congress of Russian Communist Party taken on 17 March 1919. Seated second from the left is Joseph Stalin with Lenin to his right.

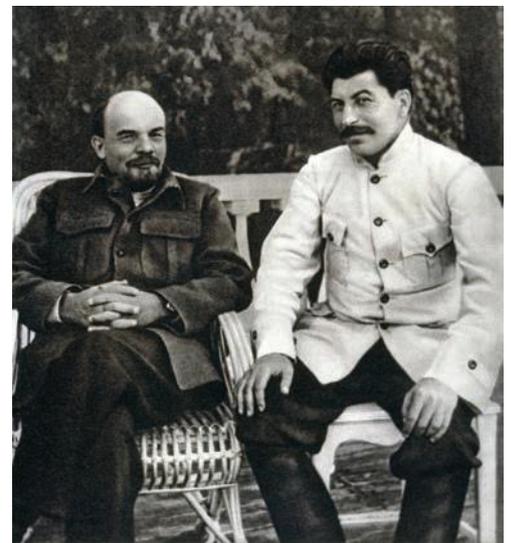
The death of Lenin

Lenin suffered gunshot wounds at the hands of a would-be assassin in 1918. That and the pressures of the Civil War undermined his health. From 1922 onwards, Lenin suffered a series of strokes which left him partially paralysed and unable to rule the USSR. He died on 21 January 1924. His body was embalmed and displayed in a glass case in a mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square, becoming a place of pilgrimage for communists. The city of Petrograd was renamed Leningrad in his honour.

After his first series of strokes, and against his doctors' wishes, Lenin dictated his *Political Will* in December 1922. Despite being one of the last documents he produced, it was not openly published. Its contents were a summary of Lenin's reflections on the key leaders of the Party and recommendations with regard to their appropriateness to succeed him. Lenin commented that Leon Trotsky was 'too much possessed by self-confidence' and Joseph Stalin 'has accumulated enormous power into his hands, but I am not sure whether he will always use this power carefully enough'. Stalin's lust for power, which was evident during the Civil War, and the abrasive way in which he dealt with Party colleagues alarmed Lenin, who added in his postscript:

Stalin is too rude and this defect, although quite tolerable in our midst and dealings amongst us communists, becomes intolerable in a General Secretary. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from the post and appointing another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious etc. This circumstance may appear to be a negligible detail. But I think that from the standpoint of safeguards against a split and from the standpoint of what I wrote about the relationship between Stalin and Trotsky is not a detail, or it is a detail which can assume decisive importance.

SOURCE 5.26 4 January 1923, *Lenin, Collected Works*, vol. 36, pp. 594–6



SOURCE 5.25 Stalin and Lenin in 1922



SOURCE 5.27 *Lenin's Funeral Ceremony*, Ivan Goryushkin-Sorokopudov, 1924

Power struggle between Stalin, Trotsky and other leading Bolshevik figures in the 1920s

The NEP, introduced to appease popular discontent, had a dramatic impact on the economy. However, economic challenges such as the amount of capital available was inadequate to expand the economy beyond pre-war levels, thus, it was not possible to overcome backwardness and poverty. Much of the old bourgeois culture had returned, with expensive restaurants, cafés, casinos and nightclubs; however, living conditions in the cities were terrible. Social problems persisted, workers were still a subordinate class and crime was rampant. In addition, one of the most serious problems was the feeling that the NEP represented a betrayal of the ideals of the revolution, or at least a temporary and necessary retreat that had to be ended soon.

These conditions were the background to the significant debates in the 1920s. There were two major challenges that Russia faced:

- 1 How to overcome the backwardness and build socialism
- 2 With the death of Lenin, who would guide Russia in the future? Who would be its new leader?

Two influential individuals defined the outlines of this debate and competed to decide which group would be in power: Leon Trotsky and Nikolai Bukharin.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Leon Trotsky (1879–1940)

Leon Trotsky's real name was Lev Davidovich Bronstein. A political revolutionary, exiled dissident and eventual leader of the Soviets, Trotsky was born into a Russified Jewish family near Ukraine where he attended school, and briefly studied at the University of Odessa. As a student, he was introduced to the socialist underground and to Marxist ideology. In 1898, Trotsky was arrested for revolutionary activity and sent in exile to Siberia, only to escape abroad in 1902. The next year, at the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, Trotsky sided briefly with the Mensheviks. During the 1905 revolution, he became a leader of the St Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, a political crime for which he was again exiled to Siberia, a place he would once again escape to go abroad. Trotsky returned to Russia in May 1917, where he gained leadership of an autonomous left-wing faction. After the unsuccessful July uprising, Trotsky was detained by the state. He then joined the Bolshevik Party and became elected to its Central Committee. He was also elected to be the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. The next month, Trotsky was one of the prominent members in planning and leading the Bolshevik seizure of power.

In the new Soviet Government, Trotsky was elected to become the Commissar of Foreign Affairs (1917–18), and led the delegations discussing peace with Germany at the Brest-Litovsk meetings in 1918. After this, he was named the Commissar of War (1918–25), a role which led him to found and lead the Red Army. Trotsky was a central member of the Politburo from 1919 to 1926. In the decade to come, Trotsky would apply his beliefs regarding the value of coercion and the need to establish a vanguard in national socioeconomic programs, where he called for a state-directed industrialisation to remedy Russia's inefficiency and backwardness. At the same time, however, he was one of the more prominent voices criticising the trends of authoritarianism and bureaucratisation, which he claimed to be harmful to the development of socialism. Defeated in the contest for power in the mid-1920s, Trotsky was politically alienated and dismissed from his role as War Commissar and as a member of the Politburo. In 1927, he was expelled from the Party. As a political outsider, Trotsky was exiled to Alma Ata in Central Asia in 1928, and subsequently expelled from the country. Famously, in 1940, a man who was said to be a Soviet security police agent assassinated him with an ice pick in his home in Mexico City.



SOURCE 5.28 (Left) Trotsky; (right) Trotsky on top of his armoured train circa 1920; this was the way he travelled around Russia, especially during the Civil War.

Trotsky was a very important figure and member of the Politburo, the leading body of the Party itself, and a member of the government as Commissar of War, Member of the People's Commissary and the Council of People's Commissars. Trotsky had been only introduced to the Party in mid-1917, but as a public convert to Bolshevism, he became its most ardent figure. During the Civil War, as the commander of the Red Army, Trotsky was the head of a campaign calling for the use of force, coercion and even terror to suppress any opposition. To persuade his peers, Trotsky expressed a utilitarian logic in defence of terror, suggesting that in times of unrest, whatever means are expedient are just. Trotsky additionally argued that not only could the 'end justify the means', but that the end ennobles the means and makes them moral.

During the 1920s, Trotsky's arguments were shaped by two key beliefs shared with many Communists, including Lenin. The first was that Russia's abysmal backwardness was its greatest problem and the greatest obstacle to building socialism. This meant not just economic backwardness, but also what he described as Russia's fundamental and deep cultural backwardness. The lack of good working habits among workers, the excessive drinking, swearing and too much ignorance of the world of ideas, including a superstitious belief in religion, were all signs of how backward the Russian nation still was. The second idea was related to the central importance of a vanguard. Since the people were too backward to take charge to emancipate themselves, the vanguard (the state, party and its leaders) had to take the lead. These ideas about backwardness, leadership and coercion shaped his criticisms of the mainstream party policies during the NEP – the same arguments made by other Bolsheviks who became known collectively as the Left within the movement.

In order to overcome Russia's economic backwardness, industrialisation had to be put at the top of the agenda. This required long-term economic planning and capital investment that had to be accumulated by the state in order to build up the economy. To get the money to invest and build up industry, it required squeezing the private sector through high taxes, high industrial prices set by the state, low wages controlled by the state and low investment in consumer goods in order to invest in industry. Trotsky's belief was that the only way to overcome Russia's backwardness and create a foundation for building a happy, free socialist society was through an activist, intrusive economic policy by the state.

In addition Trotsky felt, as many others did, that the Party's authoritarianism and bureaucratisation within itself was harmful to socialism. He complained about the tendency developed during the Civil War to appoint Party leaders at the local level, where Party secretaries became local dictators. He called for Party members to change their style and culture and develop a better habit of being free to express their views of independent thought. He reminded Party members that the Bolshevik was not just a disciplined person, but a person 'who forges a firm opinion of his own and defends it courageously and independently'. His ideal was for a forceful state leading the way in transforming Russia and he believed the way to do that was by developing the leadership to be free and vital within itself. In particular, he worried a great deal about Stalin's role in limiting this vital free life within the Party. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Many ordinary Russians who believed in the promises of the revolution felt that NEP policies and social conditions were leading the country in the wrong direction. What troubled them about the NEP and the society it enabled?

... he was the only Marxist who had possessed literary genius. Time and again the force of genius posed problems that were still unperceived by others and even pointed to solutions that were unwelcome to Trotsky himself. Immediately after the revolution of 1905, when he was still in prison, he discovered the central dilemma which a Russian revolution would face and which indeed the Soviet Union still faces. How was revolutionary Russia to maintain itself in a hostile world? Backwardness made revolution easy, but survival difficult. Trotsky gave already the answer to which he adhered all his life: permanent revolution ... It was in this belief that Trotsky led the revolution of 1917, defied the German empire at Brest-Litovsk, and composed the most ringing phrases in the foundation manifesto of the Communist International.

SOURCE 5.29 A view on Trotsky by historian AJP Taylor, *Europe: Grandeur and Decline*, 1967, p. 177

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin (1888–1938)

A Bolshevik, Marxist theoretician and economist, as well as a prominent Party leader, Nikolai Bukharin was introduced to the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1906. Following the February 1917 uprising, Bukharin came back to Russia and was elected to the Bolshevik Central Committee. After the Bolsheviks successfully took power, he became the editor of *Pravda*. In 1918, Bukharin was chosen to lead an opposition group, the Left Communists, which among other things, was opposed to the offerings of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and had called for an extended revolutionary war to spread communism throughout Europe. After the death of Lenin in 1924, Bukharin was elected to become a full member of the Politburo. As a strong advocate for the NEP as a method for developing socialism without violence and in accordance with the organic strengthening of the market, Bukharin was first allied with Stalin and against Trotsky and the Left. In 1928, however, Stalin accused Bukharin and his supporters as a 'Right Deviation' and chose to expel him from the Politburo. Forced to recant his views, Bukharin was then partly rehabilitated in status. Eventually, in 1937, Bukharin was driven out of the Party and was put on trial in the last of the Great Purge Trials in 1938. In the trial, he was coerced into confessing, and was subsequently executed. On the 50th anniversary of his death in 1988, he was posthumously reinstated as a leading member of the Communist Party.



SOURCE 5.30 Nikolai Bukharin

Trotsky's major opponent in these debates was a man named Nikolai Bukharin, who (at this stage) was a major ally of Stalin. In every account, Trotsky was self-confident to the point of absolute arrogance, an individualist to the extreme and brutal in polemics. By contrast, Bukharin was one of the best-liked leaders of the Party. Lenin, in one of his last writings in December 1922, called him 'the beloved of the whole Party'. He called Trotsky, by contrast, 'the most-able man in the whole Party'. In fact, even Bukharin's opponents in ideology agreed that he was a nice guy, sensitive and good-natured. His appearance was gentle and unlike most Bolsheviks, who liked to dress in military uniform to remind them of that Civil War tough-style approach, Bukharin insisted on dressing like an old Bohemian intellectual. These personal characteristics reflected his deeper convictions and values.

Above all, Bukharin opposed the economic arguments of Trotsky and the Left; he felt they were economically flawed. While he agreed with the Left, and virtually everyone else in Soviet Russia, that Russia's backwardness was a serious obstacle to everything the communists wanted to achieve, he drew different conclusions from this backwardness. He was very sceptical about the stated economic ideals of the Left, such as planning, forced accumulation and development. He feared these strategies would create a massive apparatus in order to bring about the planned development of the economy, which he argued would not work. A big planning apparatus would simply impede economic growth as it was inefficient and impractical. He agreed industrialisation was necessary and that resources would have to come from the largest part of the free economy – the peasant economy. However, he favoured a plan based on consumption rather than forced production. He argued that investment capital would grow naturally out of the market if the focus was on consumer goods rather than big machine plants. If Russia could produce more consumption, then people would buy more. As people bought more, more money would go back into industry and this natural cycle would develop the economy more effectively, even if more slowly.

At the heart of the thinking of Bukharin and the Right during the 1920s was a fundamental political need to maintain peasant acceptance of Bolshevism. Bukharin argued, as Lenin did, that one must teach the peasants why socialism is a good thing. Effective persuasion rather than coercion was critical in the success of implementing industrialisation. As he stated, ‘one should approach the peasant with love, not hate’. He feared Trotsky’s program would alienate peasants and lead to peasant rebellions similar to those experienced in 1920–21.

His vision was of a gradual evolutionary road to socialism; not the road to a violent class struggle or a road of coercion by the state. Instead, as he said in 1925, he believed in ‘a road to socialism that would be peaceful and bloodless, without the clanging of metal weapons’. Added to the economic and political considerations, Bukharin also argued there was a moral and ethical consideration. Bukharin believed that socialism – this emancipatory ideal – could not be built with the same tools as capitalism. Socialism was to be transformative and uplifting; different ends, therefore, requiring different means. 



SOURCE 5.31 From left to right, Joseph Stalin, Nikolai Bukharin, Grigory Ordzhonikidze and Janis Rudzutaks in the reviewing stand in Red Square, Moscow, circa 1930

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



Which plan, Trotsky's or Bukharin's, would seem most likely to have been able, if given the chance, to overcome Russian economic backwardness and create a viable and more just society?

THE POWER STRUGGLE IN THE 1920s

Stalin attacks the Left

The Left opposition

Key personalities:

Trotsky
Zinoviev
Kamenev

- Strongly disagreed with the continuation of the NEP
- Urged rapid and immediate industrialisation
- Collectivisation of farms and use of force to ensure peasants produced enough food
- Money to be obtained by taxing peasants
- Use of ‘shock brigades’ to build factories, power stations and railways

TIMELINE

- 1923** Stalin purged Party membership of 'lukewarm members'
- 1924** Influx of new members through the 'Lenin Enrolment', meaning Stalin-admitted members outnumbered the Old Bolsheviks
Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev formed a **troika** to block Trotsky
Lenin was 'deified', meaning any criticism of Party policy was denounced as heresy and led to expulsion
Trotsky made a number of fatal mistakes that led to his expulsion from the Party, he:
- criticised the cult of Lenin
 - criticised Stalin
 - failed to attend Lenin's funeral.
- His support was undermined and Stalin reminded the Party that Trotsky had been a Bolshevik only since 1917
- 1925** Zinoviev and Kamenev sided with Trotsky regarding the NEP.
Stalin moved to support the moderate Rightists.
At the Party Congress all left-wing motions were defeated. Zinoviev and Kamenev were removed from Moscow and Leningrad Soviets. Stalin increased the size of the Politburo
- 1927** Zinoviev and Kamenev denounced as 'traitors to the revolution' and, along with Trotsky, expelled from the Party

troika the Russian word for triumvirate; Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev formed a troika against Trotsky after Lenin's death

Stalin attacks the Right

The Rightists

Key personalities:

Bukharin
Rykov
Tomsky

- Urged continuation of the NEP as a means to encourage peasants to produce more food that could be sold to towns for profit
- Growth of town population and move into factories to produce consumer goods for peasants to buy
- Achieve prosperity for both peasants and townspeople

TIMELINE

- 1925** Stalin and Bukharin together controlled the Politburo after the demise of Zinoviev and Kamenev
- 1927** Stalin abandoned Bukharin's economic policy, arguing that industrialisation should take precedence over agriculture

kulaks a 'capitalist' class of peasant invented by the Bolsheviks

'Extraordinary Measures' introduced to keep **kulaks** in line:

- Article 107 of Criminal Code concealing grain a crime
- All grain hoards liable to confiscation
- Soldiers sent into the countryside to find grain.

Stalin declares war on 'internal enemies' as a result of the sabotage at Shakty Mines on the Don River. Bukharin denounced Stalin as a tyrant.

1928

Purge of the Moscow branch of the Party

Bukharin resigns as editor of *Pravda*. Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky expelled from Politburo by 1929

In the years following Lenin's death, Stalin played a waiting game, leaving it to the other side to move first, and then exploiting its mistakes. Even when the split between them was open, and despite many early threats and warnings, it was not until the end of 1927 that he moved to expel Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Party. In the final phase, when he had destroyed the Left Opposition and turned against Bukharin and the Right, he took great care to keep the quarrel confined within the inner circle until he was sure, after more than a year, that he had isolated Bukharin and only then moved against him in public. Stalin's persistence was phenomenal; so, in the period, was his patience and caution.

SOURCE 5.32 Alan Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives*, 1991, p. 200

Reasons for the emergence of Stalin as leader of the USSR by the late 1920s

Stalin was moderate and methodical, not to say pedestrian, but he was the only one skilled at building tactical alliances and this put him head and shoulders above the rest.

SOURCE 5.33 M McCauley, *The Soviet Union since 1917*, 1981, p. 70

In examining how Stalin was able to acquire so much influence and power in the 1920s, it is important to understand the changing nature of the Party as well as Stalin's individual place in this new structure. Until the Civil War, the Communist Party was governed by a rather small Central Committee led by Lenin. Other members included Trotsky, Bukharin, Stalin and 11 others.

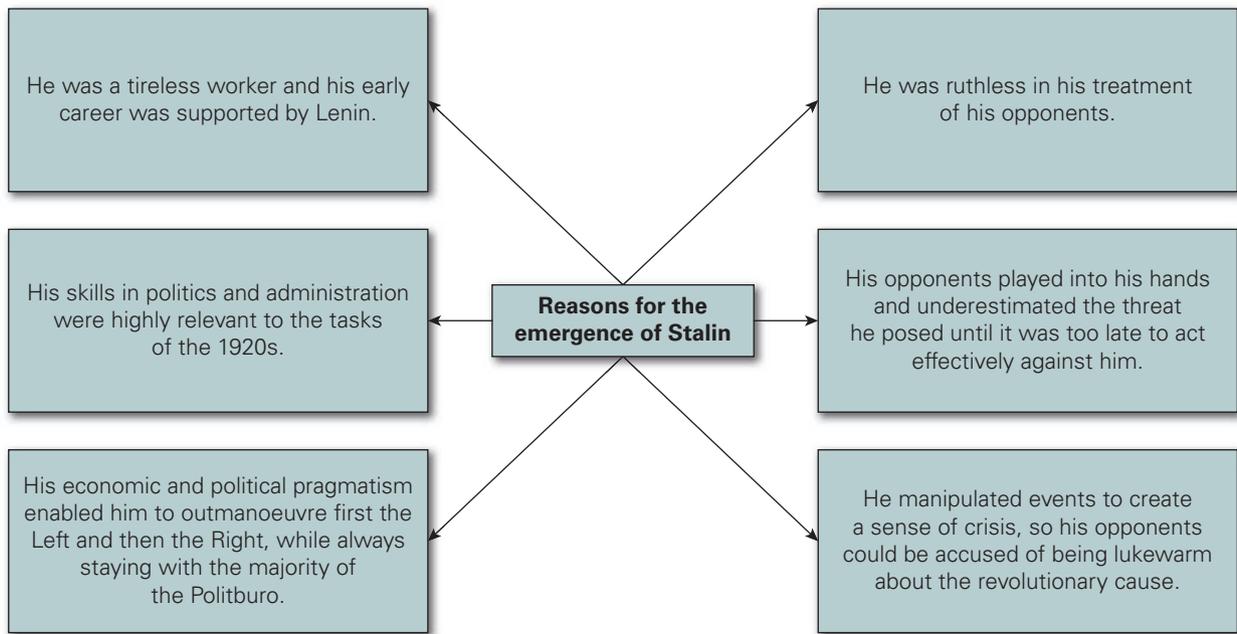
In 1919, Lenin realised that he needed to have a greater apparatus to advance the revolution and run the Civil War. The whole structure changed. Stalin chaired the Organisational Bureau, the **Orgburo**, which recruited members, made appointments, handled assignments of Party members around the country and took care of purges when Party members were seen to not be doing their jobs properly. He was also a member of the government as the Commissar of Nationalities. A very powerful Secretariat was created to handle all paperwork for both the Politburo and Orgburo. Very quickly, the Secretariat grew in power and became increasingly important. By 1921, the Secretariat had usurped most of the everyday work of the Orgburo, handled membership and appointments to various positions, reassignments and purges. At this stage, Stalin was viewed as a good organisational man, loyal to Lenin. As he wasn't an intellectual, the Party didn't want to give him a major policy-making position, instead making him the General Secretary of the Communist Party, the head of the Secretariat in 1922. He also remained on the Politburo and the Orgburo. In the hands of Stalin, these powers proved to be very impressive tools for strengthening his own influence within the Party. It provided him with the means to fill various positions with his supporters and he developed considerable control over the local secretaries.



SOURCE 5.34 Lenin and Stalin propaganda painting; an example of Soviet **agitprop** art

agitprop abbreviated from 'agitation propaganda', this is strongly political ideas or arguments expressed through plays, art, books and other artworks

Orgburo the Organisational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1952



Lenin Enrolment the Bolshevik Party effort to enrol more of the Proletariat into the Communist Party to be active members from 1923 to 1925

The impact of Lenin's death

The death of Lenin in 1924 allowed Stalin to exploit the **Lenin Enrolment**. Half a million workers were brought into the Party, virtually doubling membership. This was described as the worker democracy many people had been asking for, when in fact most of these members joined the Party as a means of upward mobility. Party

membership gave you influence and opportunity for better jobs in society and the result was to create a vast reservoir of essentially grateful and submissive members. The Lenin Enrolment paradoxically undermined democracy in the Party and weakened the criticism and debate that had been the Party's tradition. Stalin could make use of this obedience, for he controlled the Party apparatus. As a result, he built networks of loyal supporters, and kept track of critics, which meant that he could reassign them. This administrative power played a critical role in Stalin's ability to defeat various opponents in the 1920s.

The critical moment in the emergence of Stalin in the 1920s came when Lenin's will and testament was read out in May 1924. As Lenin was particularly critical of Stalin, this was the moment that could have destroyed Stalin's rise to power. He



SOURCE 5.35 A crowd of thousands in Red Square, Moscow, at Lenin's funeral

He was saved by Zinoviev, who addressed the Central Committee and spoke in defence of Stalin, arguing that he had proven that Lenin's fears were unfounded and that Stalin could work harmoniously with Party members. There was enough support in the Party room to agree that the will would not be distributed. At this particular stage, Zinoviev regarded Trotsky as the real threat to power, and this incident was an excellent example of how Stalin was grossly underestimated by his peers.

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.4

In the eyes of Lenin, Stalin's value was wholly in the sphere of Party administration and machine manoeuvring. But even here Lenin had substantial reservations ... Stalin meanwhile was more and more broadly and indiscriminately using the possibilities of the revolutionary dictatorship for the recruiting of people personally obligated and devoted to him. In his position as General Secretary he became the dispenser of favour and fortune ...

SOURCE 5.36 Leon Trotsky, 'On the Suppressed Testament of Lenin', 1932

- 1 Recall what was the position held by Stalin that gave him such a great influence over the Party.
- 2 Using the source and your own knowledge, outline the positions held by Stalin which gave him advantage in the struggle over power.

Abuse of the cult of Lenin

Stalin raised Lenin to almost divine status in consolidating his position within the Party. There were a number of traits that Stalin admired in Lenin and that he used to manipulate the memory of Lenin for political advantage. Stalin was impressed by Lenin's fundamental idea of the vanguard party of professional revolutionaries. This was a heroic ideal that appealed to Stalin for its focus on the best individuals heroically leading the way. He was also attracted to the Bolshevik reputation for toughness and greater militancy. These core traits were embodied in Lenin personally, in his particular heroic persona, his powerful will, his self-confidence and his charismatic power as a leader of the Party. Stalin capitalised on the death of Lenin by being a pall bearer at the funeral and having Lenin's body embalmed and placed in a tomb in Red Square, Moscow.

He also used Lenin as a means of criticising Trotsky, accusing him of lacking the sufficient heroism, optimism and faith that Lenin had. In particular, he claimed that one of Trotsky's leading theories, the idea of permanent revolution (which assumed the final success of socialism in Russia) depending on worldwide socialism, was a theory of permanent hopelessness and showed a lack of faith in what the Russian people could achieve. In further discrediting Trotsky, Stalin convinced him to miss Lenin's funeral. The failure of Trotsky to attend the funeral led to criticism and highlighted his 'arrogance' and lack of respect towards Lenin. 

Political skills: manipulation and opportunism

Stalin was able to single-handedly eliminate his political opposition throughout the 1920s. First, he used his control to get rid of Trotsky and his allies in 1923 and 1924. Then, he used it to get rid of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who took Trotsky's position in 1925. Later, when Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and their followers united into what was called the Left Opposition (all still arguing the positions of industrialisation and democracy within the Party), Stalin could also throw their members out of the Party and



SOURCE 5.37 Lenin's mausoleum in Moscow, Russia, as it looks today

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



- 1 Why was Lenin deified?
- 2 What was the effect of this deification?

Making inferences

Who or what was most responsible for Stalin's victories over his opponents in the Politburo?

defeat them. And finally, when in 1928 Stalin turned against Bukharin and the so-called Right Opposition, he could also use his power within the Party to remove their members, to defeat them in debates and to have them voted out of the leadership. Once Stalin succeeded in becoming the dominant leader in the Party, largely engineered through his own political influence within the Party, he made his heroic and wilful political cultural style the hallmark of the times themselves. He understood the mood of the people and touched a nerve with Communists, as well as many workers and others in society regarding the NEP. He spoke to the dissatisfactions of many Soviet Russians in the 1920s. There were many things about the NEP that concerned Russians and young Communist workers, including inequality and the rise of the new rich in the cities, such as the NEP men (wealthy traders) or the richer peasants in the countryside (kulaks). As a result, Stalin effectively developed the concept of ‘**Socialism in One Country**’ to develop patriotism within Russian society and so that Russia could develop into an industrial force on its own.

Socialism in One Country

Stalin's aim to build the industrial base and military might of the Soviet Union before exporting revolution abroad



SOURCE 5.38 An example of anti-Trotsky propaganda, *Destroy the enemy of the people, Trotsky!*, Viktor Deni, 1937

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- How would you characterise Stalin's political outlook in comparison to Trotsky's and Bukharin's?
- What were the beliefs of the various factions that made up the Politburo at the time of Lenin's death?

As a class discuss the following: To what extent did Stalin already hold the reins of power at the time of Lenin's death in 1924?

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional historical interpretations and activities on why Stalin won the struggle for power in 1924–28.



5.3 The Soviet state under Stalin

The nature of the USSR under Stalin, including dictatorship and totalitarianism

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

SOURCE 5.39 Extract from a speech by Stalin, February 1931

The issue of **totalitarianism** is one of crucial importance to any analysis of the Soviet state under Stalin. The term was first used in the 1920s by the Italian fascist leader Mussolini to describe his corporate state, but its meaning has been subject of much debate. In understanding the nature of Stalinist Russia as a totalitarian state, it is important to begin with some observations made by the American Carl Friedrich in the 1950s, who acknowledged parallels in the wickedness between the Nazi regime and the existing Soviet system. Carl Friedrich identified six characteristics of ‘totalitarianism’ that are outlined in the table below.

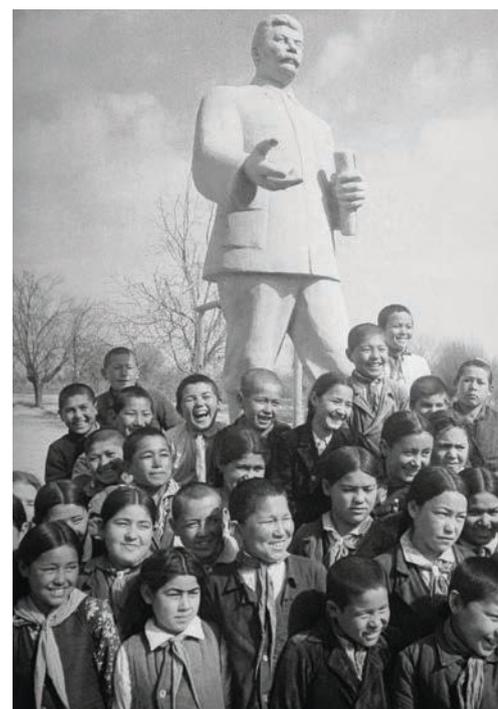
totalitarianism a system of government that is centralised and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state

Carl Friedrich's Characteristics of totalitarianism	Stalinist Russia
An elaborate ideology that covered the beliefs and manifesto of the regime	Officially socialism (but in reality Stalinism) guided all aspects of Soviet life
A single mass party , led by one person, and political power is held within that one party	A single-party government with the one leader in Joseph Stalin The interconnectedness of the Party and the state
A system of terror , integral to the structure of the regime, is a full apparatus of state terror to maintain control	A number of examples including <i>dekulakisation</i> (collectivisation), the purges, eliminating both real and imagined enemies and <i>gulags</i>
A monopolistic control of the mass media , controlling all forms of communication and public opinion	The cult of Stalin was achieved through propaganda, the role of education and denunciations, control and elimination of enemies
A near monopoly of weapons , the armed forces subservient to the regime and staffed by supporters of the regime	The purges and monopoly of control over the armed forces
Central control of the economy	Centralisation of control, collectivisation and industrialisation

The Stalinist 1930s could be seen as the most enigmatic time in Soviet history, and the period has continued to generate divisive campaigns among scholars. The tendency among historians is to focus on the totalitarian nature of these years, illustrating the themes of indoctrination, terror and victimisation. It is clear then, that Russia in the 1930s could be characterised as an era epitomising complete authoritarian rule. What was said to be a cultural ‘iron curtain’ had descended on the borders of the country. To travel abroad was impossible and cultural forms of expression were strictly censored. Another element designating this totalitarian style of rule was the efforts made to symbolise a cult worship of the leader, Stalin. There were large pictures of Stalin and Lenin throughout the Soviet Union, and their words were repetitively quoted in the media. It became commonplace to stage huge ceremonies where the citizens could express their devotion to Stalin. Economically, the 1930s were also a time of constant mobilisation, as if the Soviet Union was preparing for war against internal and external enemies.

Part of the totalitarian regime was the process of ‘Stalinising society’. After coming to power, Stalin turned on his earlier allies and by 1929,

SOURCE 5.40 Hero worship of Stalin and Lenin was commonplace through the USSR. Here we see a group of children at a monument to Stalin in Uzbekistan, circa 1940.





SOURCE 5.41 Attendees at a show trial in the 1930s

he was reigning supreme. A series of campaigns to transform the Soviet Union's structure involved the mobilisation of the masses, construction of new industrial machinery and the use of police terror. At its most climactic point, the 1930s saw violent suppression practised on a national scale. The face of the 'terror' most prominently shown to the international community was a series of publicised show trials of prominent Communists in the period from August 1936 to March 1938. In these events, those on trial (the 'Old Bolsheviks') were accused of seemingly implausible

political crimes. They were then coerced to confessing these crimes. This result was met by a frenzy of political denunciations of these figures. Meetings were constantly held in which Party members were anticipated to denounce the Old Bolsheviks as 'enemies of the regime'. Those who were caught in this frenzy of denunciations could be then thrown out of the Party, imprisoned, exiled to labour camps, or shot. The victims of this practice were not only Party members. Innumerable officials, military officers, scientists, engineers and others identified for trial were arrested and then sent to the camps (known as **gulags**). A great many other groups were intentionally targeted for this practice, groups ranging from non-Russian nationalities and ethnicities, to foreign communists who had retreated from Hitler and Mussolini. Even the children of the victims were forced to denounce their parents publicly if they had criticised the regime.

The massive scale of the Great Terror is hard to fathom or even measure. Communists suffered the worst and were targeted extensively, especially among the Party's top ranks. Other institutions, such as the officer corps of the Red Army, were also targeted. The total numbers of those who suffered these punishments are ultimately unknown, but are said to have included several million arrested and a million killed.

gulag Stalin-era 'Corrective Labor Camps', where political prisoners and foreign enemies performed hard labour for the state; mainly located in Siberia

Assessment on Stalinism	
Positive arguments	Negative arguments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Its links to Bolshevik history and the past The desire to create a 'classless society' The industrial success of the five-year plans Improvements in education and the status of women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The growth of a one-party state Massive dislocation of the population Severe effects of collectivisation The social effects of industrialisation The use of institutionalised terror The purges, show trials and the annihilation of opposition The loss of individuality and the legacy of fear and suspicion.



SOURCE 5.42 'Raise high the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!' by Gustav Klutsis, 1936

Economic transformation under Stalin and its impact on Soviet society, including collectivisation and the five-year plans

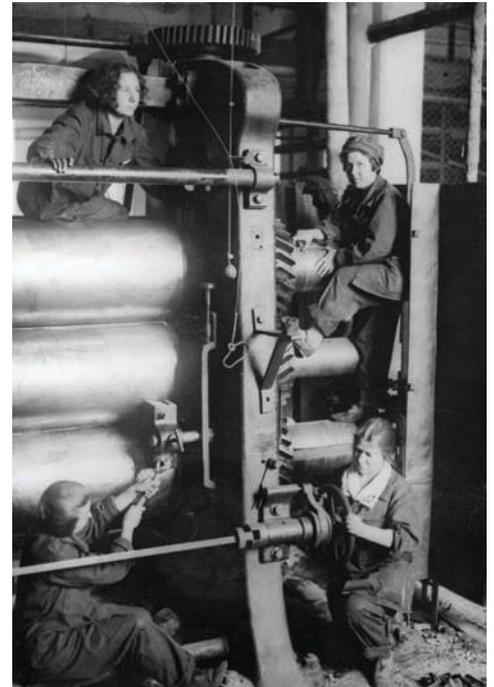
We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall be crushed.

SOURCE 5.43 Peter Oxley, *Russia 1855–1991: From Tsars to Commissars*, 2001, p. 161

Industrialisation and the five-year plans

In 1928, Stalin decided to distance himself from his ally, Bukharin, and the natural-market ideas of the NEP. Following this shift, Bukharin gave the most cynical account of this change in focus, describing Stalin as an 'unprincipled intriguer' who changes his allies and enemies on a whim in the service of maintaining personal power. Another account stated that Stalin had previously favoured an aggressive industrialisation strategy, but that he had decided to avoid moving on these principles in order to defeat Trotsky and the Left. It should be asserted, however, that it is possible that Stalin's economic thinking could have gradually developed in response to the economic, social and political pressures of the late 1920s.

Stalin's policy now seemed to resemble the beginnings of a new revolution, a new civil war. This new militant approach to politics was evident, for example as he announced the drafts of the first five-year plan for 1928–32. At the time of the plan being crafted, there was strong political pressure to be more ambitious, leading the final draft to be set on accomplishing nigh-on-mythical targets. In fact, most economic historians looking at these written plans agree that the targets of the first five-year plan were completely impractical. From the point of view of enthusiasts of this industrial revolution, including Stalin, though, this plan was not ambitious enough.



SOURCE 5.44 Female factory workers in the Soviet Union during the 1930s



SOURCE 5.45 Stalinist propaganda from the time of the first five-year plan: 'Work in the USSR is a matter of honour, glory, sacrifice and heroism', Gustav Klutsis, 1931

The first five-year plan, 1928–32

Stalin's first five-year plan set targets for Russian industry for the period 1928–32. Based on Western models, the plan involved funding large-scale government projects. He also wished to reduce the threat of Western invasion by building up Soviet armaments. Essentially, the plan was a series of demands to increase production by almost impossible margins. When output in some industries looked to be on target after a few months, the targets were increased further. The whole atmosphere of the first five-year plan reflected this politicisation (which meant militarisation) of economics. It was a call to heroic struggle, designed to inspire people to greater accomplishments. The press characterised industry as a battlefield. To meet, or over-accomplish goals, 'shock troops' of workers were mobilised into action and sent to production sites. Young people put up their hands to volunteer to work on enormous, grandiose projects, such as the Magnitogorsk metallurgical factories in the Ural region. Those who proposed that the Soviet Union adopt more rational, practical policies, along with those who had failed in meeting their tasks, were identified as traitors in wartime. These approaches produced a series of unbalanced economic results, such as:

- heavy industry was strengthened, but at the cost to consumer goods
- heavy industry was then weakened by an imbalance of growth
- overall production did increase considerably.

These efforts led to the creation of more feasible, and sustained growth in the five-year plans to come.

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.5

Industrial output 1927–33

Item	1927 output	1932–33 target	1932–33 output
Gross industrial production (100 million roubles)	18.3	43.2	43.3
Gross agricultural production (100 million roubles)	13.1	25.8	16.6
Electricity (100 million Kw)	5.05	22	13.4
Coal (million tons)	35.4	75	64.3
Oil (million tons)	11.7	22	21.4
Iron ore (million tons)	5.7	19	12.1
Pig iron (million tons)	3.3	10	6.2
Steel (million tons)	4	10.4	5.9
Total employed labour force (million)	11.3	15.8	22.8

SOURCE 5.46 Based on Bernard Barker, *Stalin's Russia 1924–41*, 1979, p. 8

- 1 According to the table, what item had the greatest increase over the period, in percentage terms?
- 2 What were the achievements of the first five-year plan?

The second five-year plan, 1933–37

During the second five-year plan, Stalin sought to make national heroes of those who produced more than their share of goods. This push became known as the **Stakhanovite movement**, named after Alexei Stakhanov, who allegedly extracted more than 14 times the amount of coal during one shift in 1935.

Stakhanovite movement a movement that celebrated a worker's willingness to produce more than the required work norm; it was named after Alexei Stakhanov, who was a coal miner who broke records in the 1930s and emerged as a national hero who encouraged other workers to copy him



SOURCE 5.47 Images of Russian coal miner Alexei Stakhanov (1906–77), circa 1935. He was held up as a socialist example for his dedication to his work.

‘Stakhanovites’ were heavily rewarded by the Party, but they were often resented by fellow workers as their achievements invariably resulted in higher quotas being imposed on all workers. In December 1935, output targets were raised to Stakhanovite levels across the country. Furthermore, during this period heavy industry was preferred and transportation was given a higher priority. The Soviet Union experienced an expansion in the chemical industry and there were major increases in metals and machines. This proved to be a period of consolidation as the targets were far more reasonable than the previous plan and the excessive excitement of the first five-year plan had been overcome.

The proper assessment of living standards at this time is rendered almost impossible not only by the existence of rationing, price differences, and shortages, but also of queues, decline in quality, neglect of consumer requirements ... Therefore, any figures comparing wages and prices are bound greatly to understate the decline in living standards ...

In order to facilitate the mobilisation of the working class for the ‘great tasks of building socialism’, and so as to avoid any organised protest against living standards or working conditions, the trade unions ... were instructed to act primarily as organisers and mobilisers in the interests of plan fulfilment ... The protective role of the unions was greatly reduced ... The inclusion in the picture of the peasants would certainly make it worse, in particular in the period 1928–34 ... 1933 was the culmination of the most precipitous decline in living standards known in recorded history.

SOURCE 5.48 Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR*, 1969

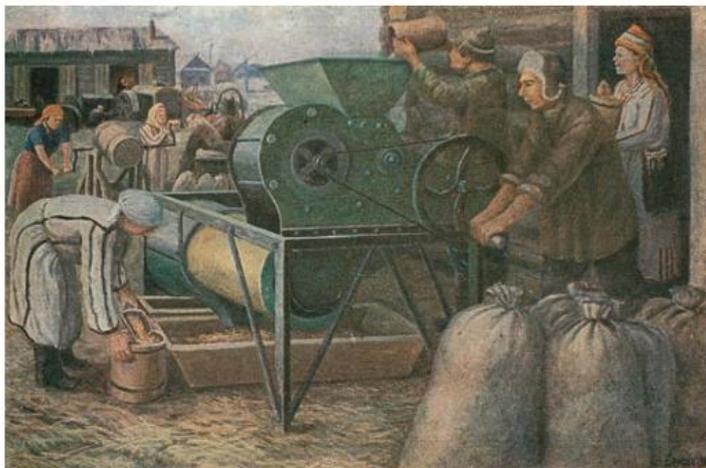
KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



In interpreting the era of the first five-year plan, how would you balance the mixture of brutality and idealism and explain their interrelationship? To what extent were the five-year plans successful in creating industrial development in the Soviet Union?

agrarian the cultivation of land



SOURCE 5.50 'The Fight for the Harvest', a Russian postcard showing the sorting of seeds on a Mordva collective farm, 1933

collectivisation the process by which, in the period 1929–37, the Russian peasants were organised into collective farms under state supervision

The third five-year plan, 1938–41

Due to the June 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union, the third five-year plan did not go to its full term. The fear of European powers led to building armaments becoming a strong consideration, as did the emphasis on heavy industry. Significantly, the third five-year plan coincided with the terror and the purges. A number of managers and specialists were caught up in the purges and this severely affected the leadership in the factories in meeting the targets. Another economic impact included the suffering of consumer industries.

Collectivisation

Stalin knew, and told the Central Committee in a speech which was secret at the time, that the peasants would have to pay a tribute for the requirements of industrialisation.

SOURCE 5.49 M Lewin, *The Immediate Background of Soviet Collectivisation*, 1965

The changes to industry brought about by Stalin's revolution through the five-year plans was considerable; however, there were even more dramatic changes made in agriculture. Like industrialisation, **agrarian** development was created as a political and

military campaign. In the language of the times, this was 'class war against exploiters', against the kulaks (the richer peasants). And on the side of the state in the class war against the kulaks were the poor peasants who, allied with the proletariat, meant the state and the Party. The reality of this was a class war of the proletarian state who saw itself against the entire peasantry as a class. This was a gradually intensifying attack against peasants, which started in 1927 and reached its pinnacle in 1930. It began in the winter of 1927–28 with the resumption of forced grain requisition. The problem of grain not being delivered in sufficient quantities became so severe that the state sent battalions (mainly workers and Communists from the countryside) to insist, as happened during the Civil War, that peasants hand

grain over at low prices set by the state. This would happen again in the autumn of 1928, and again in 1929.

The immediate result of these campaigns that resumed forced grain requisitioning was in a certain sense positive. A large amount of additional grain turned out to be in the hands of peasants and was subsequently collected. But the long-term effects were less promising. Peasants responded to the resumption of forced grain requisition

by sowing less land. They wanted to make sure there was nothing extra beyond what they needed to eat that would be collected, resulting in less grain to collect, and as a result, the threat of starvation once again returned to the city.

In response the campaign was intensified. Kulaks were to be 'liquidated as a class', and **collectivisation** of agriculture was decreed in 1930. Stalin's violent campaign of rapid collectivisation was intense and dramatic. Hundreds of thousands of kulaks were evicted from their homes and (by the same squads of Communist

workers) had their property confiscated. More than half of all remaining peasants were forced into collective farms within a matter of months; the rest were forced into collectives in the next year.

The extent of collectivisation was extreme. Virtually everything was declared property of this new collective farm known as a *kolkhoz*. Land, houses, tools, animals, even private possessions like furniture and clothing were now said to belong to the collective farm. In addition, collectivisers from the city beat up and arrested various ‘class enemies’, such as priests or schoolteachers. It was common practice to witness drunken fighting, stealing clothes for personal use, taking icons (religious images) out of peasants’ homes and smearing food on them (the icons), and even rape and murder.



SOURCE 5.51 Sowing on a collective farm in the Ukraine in the 1930s

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.6

Statistics on collectivisation from a Soviet source

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Grain harvest (million tons)	73.3	71.7	83.5	69.5	69.6	68.4	67.6	75
Cattle (million head)	70.5	67.1	52.5	47.9	40.7	38.4	42.4	49.3
Pigs (million head)	26	20.4	13.6	14.4	11.6	12.1	17.4	22.6
Sheep/goats (million head)	146.7	147	108.8	77.7	52.1	50.2	51.9	61.1

SOURCE 5.52 Based on D Thomas & P Laurence, *Russia & Soviet Union 1917–1941*, 2nd edition, 2018, p. 152

- 1 Evaluate the impact of collectivisation upon the agricultural production levels from 1928 to 1935.
- 2 Using the table, explain how and why the lives of the rural population changed as a result of Stalin’s policies.

The peasants resisted these measures in different ways, including:

- Some peasants resisted actively, with officials and volunteers from the city occasionally met on the road by peasants and beaten up, stoned, shot at and even killed.
- Most peasants engaged in more passive resistance, such as abandoning the countryside. So severe was the outflow of peasants that in 1931 the state had to institute an internal passport system that prevented people from moving anywhere in the country without approval.
- Many peasants simply remained and accepted their fate, but before they gave in, engaged in one last gesture of resistance. Rather than hand their animals over to the collective farm, they slaughtered vast numbers of horses, cows, pigs and chickens. They ate as much as they could in huge banquets of overindulgence, but most of the carcasses were simply left to rot in the fields all around the Soviet Union as a tangible symbol of how much peasants resented this action. 🗝️

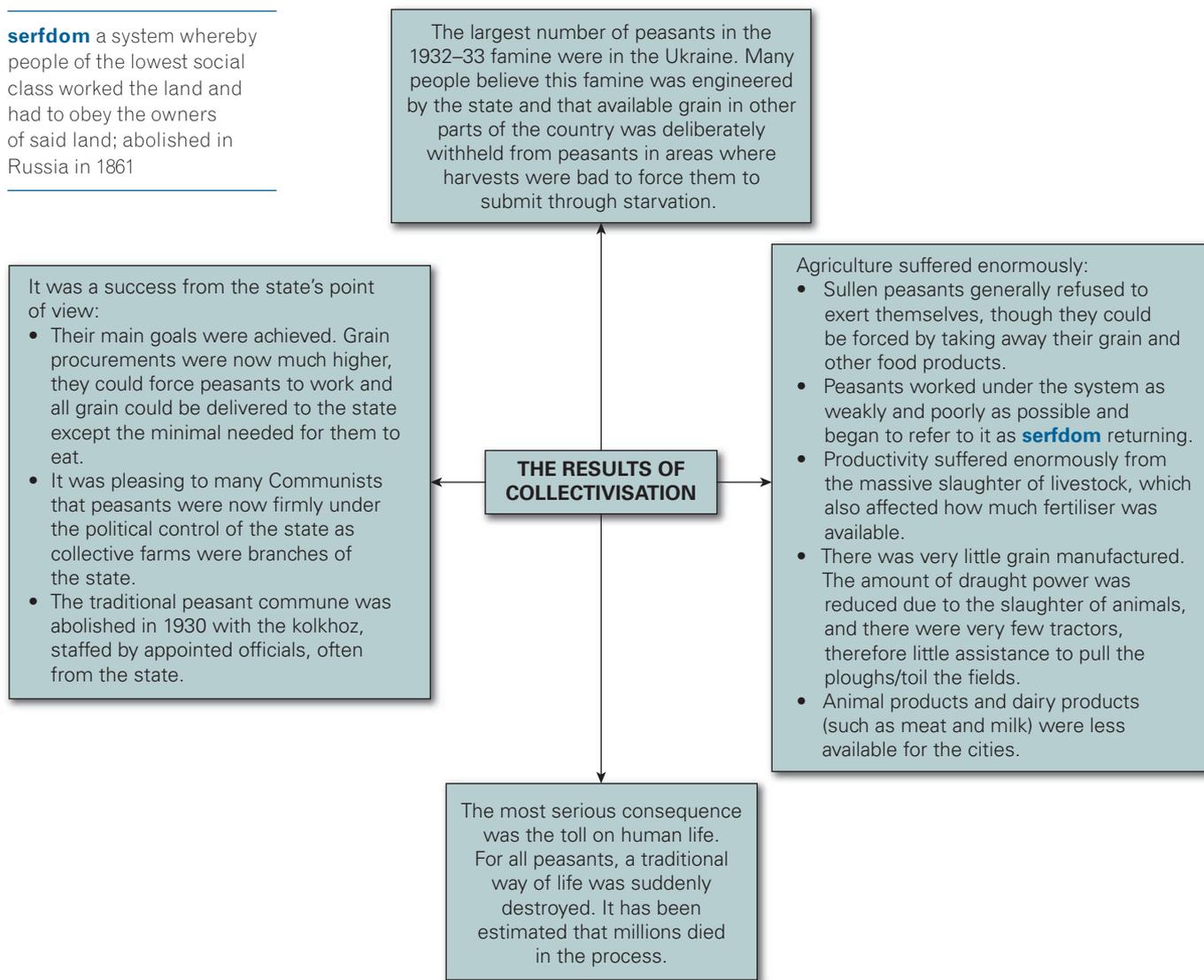
KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



Why were the peasants forced into collective farms in 1930? Was it for economic or political reasons, or both?

serfdom a system whereby people of the lowest social class worked the land and had to obey the owners of said land; abolished in Russia in 1861



Political transformation under Stalin

Stalin becomes the father of the nation, he is above the party, indeed he is above everyone. In this new guise, he is acclaimed as the fount of all wisdom ... he is the most learned of men.

SOURCE 5.53 M McCauley, *The Soviet Union since 1917*, 1981, p. 103

Growth of the Party

The system of government under Stalin was manipulated so that he could achieve power for himself. By the 1920s, as a member of the Orgburo, Politburo and Secretariat, he had established an unassailable power base from which to institute his revolution. While the coercive power of the regime at the peripheries of society was marginal and loose, Stalin's control at the centre was absolute. The Stalinist revolution of the late 1920s and 1930s sought to achieve socialism in a backward country. The revolution emerged in a series of phases including the revolutionary economic, cultural and social changes began in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as well as the political changes that came with the purges and the terror of the mid-1930s.

For Lenin, the notion of ‘party’ had never been important. His emphasis, along with Trotsky, had been governing Russia and securing power. With Lenin’s death and Trotsky’s expulsion a major shift took place headed by the General Secretary. Stalin took on an increasing role in the life of the Soviet state and came to subsume the bureaucratic structures which maintained the day-to-day functioning of the nation. Lenin’s 1918 Constitution made no mention of the Bolshevik/Communist Party; Stalin’s 1936 Constitution stressed the Party’s primacy. Between 1934 and 1953, there were only two Party Congresses held, reflecting the self-serving and controlling influence of Stalin over the Party and its processes.

What were the major features of the 1936 Constitution?

One aim of the Stalinist revolution was to represent to the outside world the victory of socialism. This found its expression in the 1936 Constitution, which was based on the assumption that defeat of the kulaks meant the internal struggle was over and the true socialist order could now be constructed. The key features of the Constitution included:

- the power of the central federal government was greatly expanded
- Moscow took control of the administration of defence, foreign policy and the budget
- the old representative body, the All-Union of Congress of Soviets, was replaced as the chief legislative body of the Supreme Soviet. The new body was a two-chamber assembly made up of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of the Nationalities
- direct elections, using secret ballots, of Soviets were held every four years; citizens over the age of 18 could vote
- former ‘class enemies’ (such as clergy, ex-Tsarist officialdom and kulaks) were granted full civil rights so long as they exercised them in accordance with the interests of the working class.

Ultimately, the 1936 Constitution was designed to legitimise the position of the Communist Party; however, all power remained in the hands of the Politburo.

Use of terror and the show trials

Terror was used to drive the political transformations, in particular the purges of the Great Terror. From behind his desk, puffing his pipe and with a smile on his lips, Stalin oversaw the elimination of suspected, or even potential, resistance in what became his own massive campaign of terror against the Soviets. The secret police had already been created by Lenin; however, Stalin oversaw its expansion. In 1934, the secret police were named the NKVD and sent into more energetic action. Historians estimate that for the entire Stalinist era, from 1929 to 1953, the number of those killed was in the millions; the figure of 20 million is often cited. Stalin is said to have once remarked that ‘one death is a tragedy, but a million deaths is a statistic’. It is estimated that during the Great Purge of 1936 to 1938, over 600 000 people were executed.



SOURCE 5.54 Joseph Stalin casts his ballot in the Lenin election district of Moscow, 30 December 1937; with Stalin are members of the Soviet Central Committee, including Molotov and Yezhov.



SOURCE 5.55 Sergei Kirov, whose mysterious death was the catalyst for the Great Purges

The purges began with the mysterious murder of Stalin's potential rival, Sergei Kirov, in December 1934. The date of his death was probably not accidental. His death, which many historians believe Stalin ordered himself, was used as a pretext to launch the purges and find those responsible for Kirov's assassination. Massive arrests followed, including the arrests of Party officials, Old Bolsheviks (who had been with the Party from the beginning) and ordinary citizens.

A MATTER OF FACT

Out of these state-driven purges grew a period in Soviet history known as the Yezhovshchina. During this period a climate of fear, suspicion and denunciation gripped the Soviet Union from 1937 onwards.

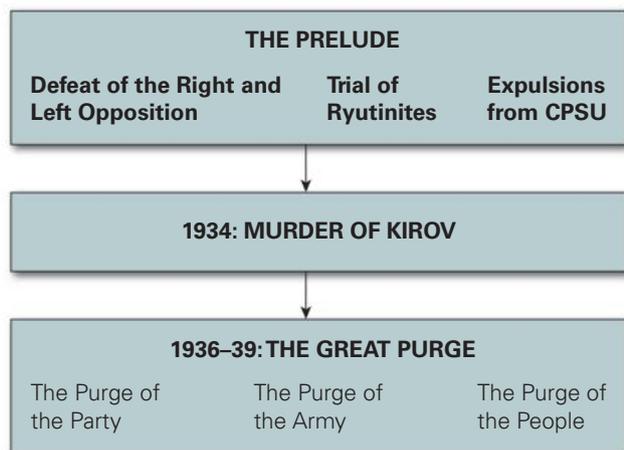
The Moscow show trials were a dramatic propaganda event. In three successive public trials in 1936, 1937 and 1938, and in wave after wave of terror, prominent Communists were accused of plotting against Stalin. Many of the individuals gave improbable confessions in which they admitted to being in places where they supposedly plotted against Stalin, when they demonstrably could not have been. After their confessions they were convicted and executed. Among those convicted and executed was Yagoda, the former secret police chief.

The Army was also purged. In September 1937, Stalin had tens of thousands of officers purged. This included nine of the 10 generals, as well as the hero of the Civil War, General Tukhachevsky. The military staff were ravaged. Crucially it left the Soviet Union ill-prepared for World War II.

The secret police had an elaborate structure to make this terror work. Quotas of people to be arrested were sent out to the police in separate regions. They too, tried to overproduce or over-fulfil their production norms. Family members of those arrested or accused were also arrested and drawn into the net as so-called 'enemies of the people'. Denunciations would lead to the 'knock on the door in the middle of the night'. The secret police turned terror into a finely tuned, scientific system, even maintaining a social science research unit to study the population's state of mind.

Stalin pursued specific purposes with the terror, effecting massive social change within the Party, bringing in his own cronies, as well as transforming the country as a whole. The Party's structure was transformed and by the time of the 1939 Party Congress, most of the delegates who had attended the 1934 Congress five years earlier had been purged and replaced.

Stages of the Great Purges



SOURCE 5.56 The Dynamo plant workers, led by Grigori Zinoviev, vote for the execution of Trotskyists.

FLASHPOINT!

The effects of the purges

In 1988 the KGB allowed certain of its archives recording the work of its forerunner, the NKVD, to be opened. An examination by Soviet historians of the relevant files produced the following calculations in regard to the Stalinist period:

- in 1934, 1 million people were arrested and executed in the first major purge, mainly in Moscow and Leningrad
- by 1937, 17–18 million people had been transported to labour camps; 10 million of these people died
- by 1939, another 5–7 million people had been 'repressed'; 1 million of these people were shot, another 1–2 million people died in the camps
- in 1940, the occupation of the Baltic states (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia), Bukovina and Bessarabia resulted in 2 million people being deported, most of whom died. 

The gulag

There was one institution in particular that seemed to encapsulate the terror that Stalin enacted: the *gulag*. This was the extensive prison and labour camp system established within the Soviet Union. 'Gulag' is an acronym of *Glavnoe Upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovyykh LAGerei* ('the Main Administration of Corrective Labour Camps'. Thousands of camps were located throughout the country and on remote islands throughout the Soviet Union, later to be called 'the Gulag Archipelago'. Notorious *gulags* included Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kolyma, Chelyabinsk, Karaganda. Many more existed, but are not as widely known in the West. The use of *gulags* showed the importance that was placed on prisoner labour within the planned economy.

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



What role did the purges play in the Stalinist revolution? Were they successful?



SOURCE 5.57 (Left) The Vorkuta Gulag was one of the major Soviet era labour camps, established in 1932 to exploit the coal resources in the region; (right) an example of *gulag*-era art from a museum in Uzbekistan by N Borovaya, showing prisoners at mealtime.

Recent archival evidence suggests that by the end of the 1930s, there were 1.5 million prisoners in *gulags*. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were 2–2.5 million prisoners. The *gulag* and its use of forced labour, according to some historians, had accounted for 12–15 per cent of the entire economy in the 1930s. It is

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences

 'The real puzzle is not why Stalin conducted a policy of terror, but why the Soviet Union accepted it.' Discuss.

industrialisation a massive program undertaken by Stalin to develop industries within the country; the first five-year plan was introduced in 1928

important to keep in mind that the *gulags* were only part of a much larger spectrum of forms of forced labour within the Soviet Union. According to propaganda, the camps were intended to rehabilitate prisoners through 're-educational' corrective labour, but the reality was a far harsher one. Mortality and mistreatment were endemic. Significant numbers of inmates died every year. 

Propaganda and censorship

Cult of personality

The manipulation of popular culture was most evident in the development of the 'cult of Stalin'. The deification of Stalin as the ultimate leader, with reference to the terms 'Granite Bolshevik', 'Shining Sun of Humanity', 'Universal Genius' and 'Man of Steel', emphasised his control over the nation. He had gained his position through his control of the Party and its membership and through his leadership of **industrialisation** and collectivisation of Russia. He was praised for his achievements and sacrifices for the good of the Russian people. All of his actions and words were honoured through plays,

novels and poems. The Soviet people were left in no doubt as to whom they should thank for the emerging greatness of the nation. Stalin became the keystone of the entire social, economic and political revolution. Without him, the changes would never have happened. Unfortunately, the reality was that the whole Stalinist revolution was based on repression and terror.

Stalin's falsification of photographs

Stalin sought to rewrite history by falsifying and distorting photographs between 1929 and 1953. During the 1930s, the process reached frightening heights. The role of falsifiers was to remove images, ideas and words that may be negative of the government. Photographs were retouched and cropped, with new backgrounds being inserted in



СЛУБИМЫЙ СТАЛИН-СЧАСТЬЕ НАРОДНОЕ!

SOURCE 5.58 Propaganda poster of Stalin being cheered by the people in front of the Kremlin, circa 1936



SOURCE 5.59 (Left) The original image of Voroshilov, Molotov, Stalin and Yezhov walking along the bank of the Moscow-Volga canal. (Right) After Stalin turned on Yezhov (who was Head of the NKVD during the height of the Great Purges and who was arrested and shot), falsifiers removed Yezhov from the photo and touched up the canal in the background.

some cases. Soviet artists were instructed to insert images of Stalin in pictures of significant national events. Painters and sculptors were asked to emphasise in their work the closeness between Lenin and Stalin by showing them together. This tactic ensured that Stalin was presented as a key figure in the history of the Bolshevik, when in fact he had limited influence prior to 1922. David King researched the falsification of Soviet photos, and in 1997 he published his renowned book *The Commissar Vanishes: The Falsification of Photographs and Art in Stalinist Russia*.

Social and cultural change in the USSR under Stalin

Social and cultural changes were part of a wider revolution instituted by Stalin in the late 1920s. The entire Soviet state was altered so that no one could claim to have escaped the touch of 'Stalinism'. Russian culture was made more uniform than ever before in Russian history. 'Discipline' and 'conformity' were the catchcries of the period. The social and cultural changes confirmed Stalin's vision to have the individual completely subsumed by service to the state. Free will and personal expression gave way to collective action for the common good.

Religion

- Churches and organised religions were condemned. By a decree in 1929, Stalin forbade the churches to engage in any other activity than worship.
- Stalin believed that education would eradicate religious belief, but compulsory lessons of atheism in Russian schools, the arrest of many clergymen and the persecution of those who persisted in attending church did not produce the rapid results he was hoping for.
- By 1929, there were only a few hundred functioning churches in the USSR. These were allowed to operate so the government could claim that the 'freedom of conscience' was being honoured.

Education

- The 1935 Education Law made classrooms and the curriculum more disciplined.
- There was an emphasis on subjects such as chemistry, physics and mathematics.
- The conservative approach to education extended to the universities.
- There was a rewriting of revolutionary history by banning all of Trotsky's historical work and John Reed's book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, because it made no references to Stalin.

Family policies

- Abortion was made illegal unless it was deemed to be necessary for the health of the mother.
- Divorce was made difficult to obtain and was deliberately made more expensive.
- The government increased child support benefits, which encouraged families to have more children.
- Homosexuality and prostitution were made illegal.

Socialist realism

- The relative freedom and diversity in art and literature in the 1920s was ended. The orthodoxy was, in many ways, quite conservative.
- Stalin reshaped Soviet culture in order to promote and reinforce the Soviet advance. Culture and entertainment had to be happy, productive and utilitarian.
- Visual artworks were dominated by images of workers, planners and the benevolent visage of Stalin.
- Composers, such as Shostakovich and Prokofiev, were instructed to write music that would be accessible to the masses.
- Other changes in public life included privilege and inequality, increasing wage differentials and material incentives becoming the rule rather than the exception.

Socialist Realism a style and content in books, poetry and visual arts favoured by Stalin and Zhdanov, who wanted the Arts to reflect Communist progress, and to deal with the social and political lives of ordinary people



'Life has become more joyful'

Another way of describing the narrative of the 1930s was the spirit of public joy said to be pervading the Soviet Union. In 1936 Stalin epitomised this spirit with a slogan to guide the people, 'Life has become more joyful.' The sense that life had become more joyful was expressed again and again in the 1930s, intending to portray Stalin in a positive light and to give the people an idea of prosperity and happiness.

SOURCE 5.60 An example of Socialist Realism art depicting Stalin with children in Gorky Park

Popular entertainment

- In Moscow, the area of Gorky Park was transformed into a fantasy escape park.
- The 1930s were accompanied by great jazz revivals and widespread public concerts.
- Most cities chose to sponsor nighttime dances over the summer.
- Life in the Soviet Union was characterised by light, or romantic popular music.
- Cinema was equally shaped to emphasise not only the ideology of the state, but the thrill of adventure, romance and fun.

Architecture

- The designing of cityscapes was also intended to reinforce the notion that life had become more joyful.
- The 1930s were a time of constant construction, especially in Moscow, for the benefit of the government and the elites.
- Public spaces were designed across the Soviet Union to foster an idea that the state cared for its people. A typical example of this is the Moscow Metro.
- City planners and architects presented idealised, transformative ideas. Various proposals were put forward that advocated for a new kind of city. These plans typically combined a modernist love of technology and progress with a desire to disrupt a traditional city-space, as well as the state itself. An interesting example of this vision was the idea of sociologist Okhitovich and the architects Sokolov and Ginzburg, who thought of a world devoid of permanent settlements where people could live in single-person cells. These visionaries perceived that their innovation would then liberate the 'inner person'.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional historical interpretations and activities on social life under Stalin.



How is one to interpret this emphasis on 'joy' even amidst 'terror'?

While some historians argue that the emphasis on joy was a concession to the desires and tastes of the people, others put forward that the functions of joy and terror worked interchangeably in the functioning of an authoritarian system. Ultimately, the relationship of the state to its people was contradictory and complex, as reflected by the years of Stalin's revolution. The centralisation of control, the implementation of tyrannical state power and murderous violence suppressing all opposition were commonplace, and yet, the idealism, enthusiasm and almost fanatic optimism of a new world was also evident. It is no wonder that historians and scholars alike have fiercely debated the significance of Stalin's time.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Despite the enormous problems facing the Soviet Union in 1929, it was industrialised by 1941. How had this industrialisation taken place?
- In what ways was Stalin's nickname, which meant 'Man of Steel', revealing about his political personality and values?

As a class discuss the following: How do you interpret the seemingly contradictory faces of Stalinist political culture in the 1930s; that is, conservatism, ideological mobilisation, terror, and a culture of happiness? Can these be reconciled as part of a consistent political strategy?

5.4 Soviet foreign policy

The nature of Soviet foreign policy 1917–41

TIMELINE

1919 The Russian Communists' success in staging a revolution gave them considerable authority over Communist parties in other countries.

Russia established a worldwide organisation of Communist parties called the Third International or **Comintern**.

Key principles of Comintern included:

- Russians insisted Communist parties in other countries follow their instructions
- They would work for worldwide revolution by organising and financing strikes and protest movements
- If Russia wished to establish friendly relations with a country, they would order the Communists to abandon their subversive behaviour.

Comintern an international agency set up by the Russians in 1919 to coordinate the activities of Communist parties throughout the world; otherwise known as the 'Third International'

1920 Russia desperately needed money, machinery and skills with which to rebuild its shattered industries.

Friendship treaties were signed with neighbours such as Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania and Finland.

1921 Further treaties were signed with neighbours such as Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey.

The Foreign Ministry's first significant success was a Trade Agreement with Britain.

1922 The Russians and the Germans signed the **Rapallo Pact**, which established normal relations between the two countries, and opened up trading and investment links between them. Secretly, the Russians agreed to allow the Germans to manufacture in the USSR and to train airmen and tank crews (all forbidden under the Treaty of Versailles).

Rapallo Pact an agreement signed in 1922 between Russia and Germany, where each renounced all territorial and financial claims against the other resulting from previous treaties

1924	The British Government officially recognised the Communist Government of the USSR, though the US Government withheld recognition until 1933.
1932	Treaty of Friendship with Italy signed; however, the agreement survived for only four years.
1933	The Soviet Union's valued relationship with Germany was turning sour. The rise of the Nazi Party and the aggressively anti-Communist and anti-Russian views of Adolf Hitler alarmed Stalin, especially Hitler's treatment of the German Communist Party. The Soviet Union and the United States formally establish diplomatic relations.
1934	Soviet Union joins the League of Nations.
1935	Soviet Union signs an agreement with France and Czechoslovakia under which the Soviet Union and France promise to support the Czechs against German aggression.
1936–39	Through Comintern, Stalin instructed the Communist parties in Europe to co-operate with other socialist parties and form Popular Front governments to combat the spread of fascism. The Russians gave military aid and advice to Republicans in the Spanish Civil War, though this did not prevent the victory of General Franco and the Spanish fascists.
1938	Stalin was anxious to persuade the nations of Western Europe that the USSR was not a sinister power bent on world revolution and would be a valuable ally against Germany. However, Britain and France were incredibly suspicious of communism. The Munich Conference demonstrated the lengths to which Britain and France would go to avoid a war with Germany. Neither country was prepared to support the Czechs when Hitler demanded the Sudetenland. Stalin was not invited to the conference and the betrayal of Czechoslovakia by Britain and France confirmed Stalin's belief that the British and French wanted to encourage Hitler to move east and eventually attack the USSR.
1939	It was clear Poland would be Hitler's next target and Stalin did not believe that Britain and France would try to stop him. In August 1939, Russia's Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov had talks with the German Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop, in Moscow. The result of these talks was the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, which was announced on 23 August. The published part of the Pact said that Germany and Russia would remain neutral towards each other, but there were secret clauses in which Russia and Germany agreed to divide Poland between them. The Germans also gave the Russians a free hand to conquer Bessarabia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and part of Finland – all the territories that the Russians had lost at Brest-Litovsk. Both the Soviet Union and Germany benefited from the Pact. The Germans invaded Poland in September without any doubts about Russia's reactions. They were confident that they would soon over-run Russian-occupied East Poland in a future war. Stalin knew that the Soviet Union was not ready for war with Germany. The pact gave him valuable time in which to continue his armaments program.
1940	In November 1939, the Russians offered the Finns certain territories in exchange for Finnish territory that was of strategic importance in the defence of Leningrad and Murmansk. The Finns rejected the offer. At the end of November, Soviet troops invaded Finland. At first Finnish resistance was very effective, but the Russian offensive in February 1940 forced the Finns to ask for peace. The Treaty of Moscow, signed in March, gained the Russians more territory than they had originally asked for. Russia was expelled from the League of Nations for attacking Finland. Bessarabia was occupied by Soviet forces in June 1940.

1941 In the early hours of the morning of Sunday, 22 June, German forces launched a large-scale offensive against the Soviet Union. The Russians were taken by surprise. The morale of the Red Army was low and many of its best officers had been murdered in the purges. By late 1941, the Germans had advanced to within a few miles of Moscow. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying

🗝️ How consistent was Soviet foreign policy in the period 1924 to 1939?

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.7

- 1 Identify which European country is represented by the car and its occupants. Can you name the occupants in the car?
- 2 Discuss why the policemen are trying to direct the car down the right-hand road. Which Western policy, greatly resented by the Russians, does the cartoon illustrate?
- 3 Predict when the cartoon was published.



SOURCE 5.61 'On the Great European Road'

The role of ideology in Soviet foreign policy, 1917–41

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional extensive content and activities on the role of ideology in Soviet foreign policy 1917–41.



SOURCE 5.62 Cartoon depicting Germany breaking the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact with the invasion of the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa

CHAPTER 5 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

BOLSHEVIK CONSOLIDATION OF POWER

- The Provisional Government fell with little resistance in November 1917. The new Bolshevik Government passed various reforms and used force to establish and maintain their control. The election results for the Constituent Assembly showed a lack of widespread support for the Bolsheviks, so they created a structure of government which ensured that the Bolshevik Party was dominant.
- Civil war broke out in mid-1918 between the Bolsheviks and internal opponents. The Allied powers sent forces into Russia to try to remove the Communists. The Red Army was successful because they were more committed, had stronger leadership, due to the brutality of their leaders and they could exploit the material and human capital of Greater Russia. On the other hand, the White forces were disorganised, had conflicting interests and lacked popular support.
- War Communism was introduced to meet the economic and military crises of the Civil War and involved the centralisation of economic control and the removal of the traditional features of a market economy where possible. By 1921, due to the economic and military devastation of the Civil War, Lenin introduced the NEP, which included some capitalist features, with the state retaining control of the major economic institutions.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE POWER STRUGGLE FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF LENIN

- Stalin's rise to power in the Soviet Union was a complex process and the result of a number of factors: he was a tireless worker and his early career had been supported by Lenin; he had exceptional organisational skills in politics, which became highly relevant in the 1920s; his position of General Secretary of the Communist Party enabled him to promote his own supporters and control crucial votes.
- Stalin's political and economic pragmatism enabled him to outmanoeuvre the Left and the Right, while always maintaining the majority in the Politburo. He was ruthless in his treatment of opponents such as Trotsky and Bukharin.
- Stalin was underestimated by the opponents and they played into his hands. It was too late before they could effectively fight against him. He manipulated events to create a sense of crisis so that opponents could be accused of being weak about the revolutionary cause.

THE SOVIET STATE UNDER STALIN

- Industrialisation marked a return to a militant revolutionary enthusiasm of War Communism. Stalin saw the process of industrialisation as being critical to the development of a secure socialist state. The emphasis on industrial development was upon material production levels and the human element was primarily as the means by which industrialisation could be achieved. The human cost of industrialisation was extraordinarily high.
- Collectivisation of agriculture was established to provide a revenue source for industrialisation and a more reliable food supply for urban areas. Opponents of the process were known as kulaks and they were dealt with brutally. The result of collectivisation was a fall in the agricultural production of the Soviet Union and human loss.

- The Stalinist revolution was a social revolution. The social revolution was initially marked by social mobility for the working and peasant classes. Culturally, all sections of society were brought to serve the political aims of the leadership.
- The Soviet Union under Stalin was highly centralised and developed into a dictatorship based on terror. Institutionalised terror took the form of the purges and show trials of the 1930s and the establishment of *gulags*. The terror brought all aspects of Soviet life under the influence of the state and its leadership.
- The 1936 Constitution was used to legitimise the position of the Communist Party; however, all power resided firmly in the hands of the Communist Party.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

- Soviet foreign policy from 1918 to 1941 was motivated by the desire to protect the Communist revolution against external enemies. During the 1920s, Germany was the Soviet Union's main ally, based on the premise that both nations were isolated by the Western nations. Although initially opposed to the League of Nations, the Soviet Union became the strongest supporter of the League of Nations and its philosophy. The Soviet Union tried desperately to form an alliance with France and Britain, as it feared possible invasion from Nazi Germany.
- The Communists were prepared to adopt a pragmatic attitude towards foreign affairs in order to protect and preserve their own interests. However, the existence of communism worked against the possibility of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the West.
- The Munich Conference proved to be a turning point in European politics, as Russia felt betrayed by Britain and France for not allowing them to participate in the conference and represent the interests of Czechoslovakia. The Soviet Union believed the decision made only confirmed that the Western powers were prepared to support German interests over Russian ones. Therefore, in an agreement of convenience, Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.
- The study of Soviet foreign policy from 1918 to 1941 explains the ambiguity in its approach to diplomatic relations. At the heart of Soviet foreign policy was the desire to spread communism worldwide, which was in direct contrast to Western democracy. However, when the Soviet Union needed the support of the Western powers, such as during the 1930s, they would move away from their ideological beliefs in an attempt to ally with the West and confirm their national security against threats such as Nazi Germany.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- 1) Sovnarkom
- 2) Comintern
- 3) War Communism
- 4) CHEKA
- 5) Politburo

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Create a timeline of the events surrounding the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

2 Continuity and change

- Discuss which aspects of War Communism were consistent with the principles enunciated by Lenin before taking power in October 1917.

3 Perspectives

- Research some accounts of life in the *gulags*.

4 Significance

- For each topic below, explain its impact and importance in relation to Russia 1917–41.
 - the Civil War
 - the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
 - the New Economic Policy
 - the struggle for leadership
 - the nature of the Soviet Constitution
 - collectivisation and industrialisation
 - the Great Purges and Show Trials
 - Stalin's cult of personality
 - the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact
 - the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941

5 Contestability

- Debate the following topic in class, with speakers for and against both sides of the argument: 'That desperate times justified the desperate measures of Bolshevik policy during the period 1918–21.'

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Create a presentation on why the murder of Sergei Kirov was significant.

2 Historical interpretation

- Research the following historical debates and document the key arguments of each side of the debate with reference to historiography to support your judgements.
 - 'That desperate times justified the desperate measures of Bolshevik policy during the period 1918–21.'
 - 'Military crisis shaped the nature of the revolutionary regime more than any other factor during 1917–24.'
 - 'By 1924, life under the Soviet regime resembled life under the tsars.'

- 'Stalin's domination of the Party structure was the principal reason for his ultimate success in the post-Lenin struggle for power.'
- 'Collectivisation was Stalin's attempt to make Soviet agriculture more efficient.'
- 'Stalin's control of the Soviet state was the result of the use of terror.'

3 Analysis and use of sources

Referring to Source A, explain the purpose of the poster. In your opinion, would it have been effective as propaganda? Why/why not?

Referring to Source B, explain the purpose of the poster. In your opinion, would it have been effective as propaganda? Why/why not?

Referring to Sources A and B, explain how the artist has used text and imagery to support the leadership cult of Stalin.

SOURCE A



'By the end of a five-year plan collectivisation should be finished', Gustav Klutssis, 1932

SOURCE B



'Long live Stalin's generation of Stakhanov Heroes!', Gustav Klutsis, 1936

4 Historical investigation and research

Choose one of the following questions to investigate:

- Account for the Bolshevik victory in the Civil War.
- To what extent was communist ideology being put into practice by the Bolsheviks as they consolidated their position between 1917 and 1924?
- Explain why Stalin was successful in achieving the leadership of the Soviet Union by 1928.
- To what extent was Stalin's rise to power based on popular support?
- Assess the methods Stalin used to remain in power in the Soviet Union during the 1930s.

5 Further essay questions

- Examine the successes and failures of Stalin's domestic policies between 1928 and 1939.
- Evaluate the successes and failures of industrialisation and collectivisation.
- To what extent was Stalinist Russia a totalitarian state?
- Assess the impact of Stalinism on Soviet society in the period to 1941.
- To what extent was Soviet foreign policy in the period 1917–41 determined by the changing ideological debate inside the Soviet Union?

CHAPTER 6

The United States 1919–41

Progressive reformers mobilized press, pulpit and politics to address social problems arising from industrialization, urban growth and unregulated corporate power ... Yet these early twentieth century reformers mostly white, native born and middle class shared many of their era's prejudices and blind spots.

PS Boyer, *American History: A Short Introduction*, 2012, p. 75.



SOURCE 6.1 A group of young men carrying placards during a 4 July anti-Prohibition parade in New York, circa 1925



The United States of America in 1917



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

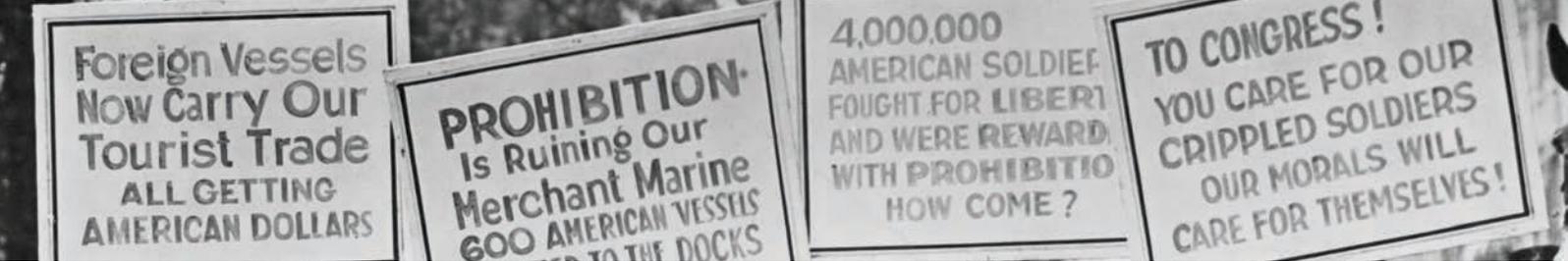
FOCUS

You will explore the rise of the United States as an economic and industrial power and how urbanisation, racism and migration shaped the society.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore the rise of the United States as a modern industrial nation.

- The impact of urbanisation and increased migration into areas of production.
- The diversity and segregation of society.
- Racism and religious intolerance in American society.
- Prohibition and the failure of the US Government to restrict crime and limit gangsters and violence during the 1920s.
- The Great Depression and effects on government policy, unemployment, housing, poverty, family life and opportunity.
- US foreign policy and isolationism and the pressures for engagement.
- The presidencies of Wilson, Hoover and Roosevelt at times of economic and political challenges.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1919	The United States negotiates peace treaties using the 14-point plan but fails to fully support the new League of Nations.
1920	US Congress vetoes joining the League of Nations.
1920	President Harding is voted in and endorses American isolationism.
1920	Prohibition is introduced with the Volstead Act, which makes it illegal to supply, transport or imbibe liquor.
1920	The Nineteenth Amendment to the US Constitution granted American women the right to vote.
1921	Consumerism and technology is advanced when Henry Ford creates new methods of production for the Ford Model T automobiles. Model Ts are only offered in the standard black colour.
1924	Immigration restriction quotas introduced under Harding's presidency.
1928–29	Doctrine of 'American Individualism', setting out capitalist and consumer policy, promoted by Herbert Hoover. Hoover is voted in as the president in 1929.
1929	29 October — the Wall Street stock market crashes, sending the world into the Great Depression.
1931	Al Capone indicted for tax invasion.
1932	Franklin D Roosevelt elected president and promotes the views of the Wets.
1933	Prohibition is repealed.
1933	Roosevelt's New Deal is introduced.
1941	Bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States enters World War II.



SOURCE 6.2 In February 1931, unemployed men queue outside a Chicago soup kitchen owned by gangster Al Capone.



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 6.3 'Lunch atop a Skyscraper', a famous photograph of blue-collar workers during the construction of the Rockefeller Center, Manhattan, 1932. This period saw the growth of urbanisation, migration and manufacturing in the United States.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 6 Overview

KEY IDEA

A range of powerful social, economic and political factors shaped the United States as a nation and defined it as a modern industrial power.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The United States' current pre-occupation with consumerism and material culture was born in the early twentieth century. The technological and manufacturing production from around the 1920s onwards was staggering and created the impetus and the means for the United States' rise as a modern industrial power. American isolationism after World War I has been rejected with an active foreign policy that has led to involvement in wars on foreign soil and participation in peacekeeping initiatives globally. However, the consequences of the policy of isolationism threaten to reemerge today.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- Great Depression
- New Deal
- Prohibition
- gangsters
- segregation
- Ku Klux Klan
- Progressives
- Drys
- Wets
- Hoover
- FDR
- Wilson
- Pearl Harbor
- consumerism
- urbanisation
- extremism
- Eleanor Roosevelt

A MATTER OF FACT

The term 'Black Americans' has been used to refer to Afro-American peoples in this chapter and time period. The rise of Black power and terms such as 'African-American' became more popular with the civil rights movements from the 1950s onwards. In this period leading up to World War II, racist terms (such as 'Colored') were often used. The use of italics indicates that this term is used in a historical context.

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did the United States become a modern nation?

Puritan groups that fled England and settled in America; they espoused hard work and morality as the way to enrichment

isolationism a period of US foreign policy, where governments chose to remove or distance themselves from international conflicts or affairs to concentrate on domestic developments

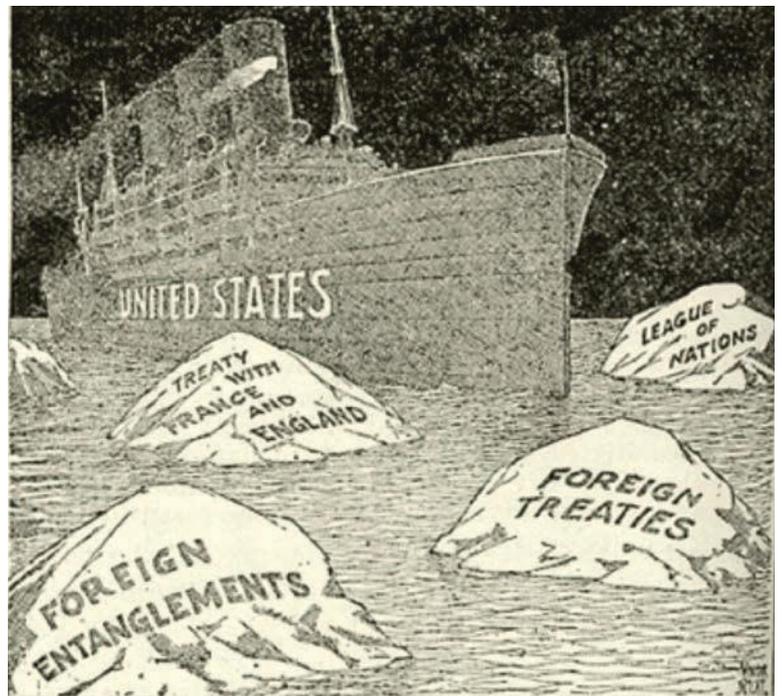
Painting the picture

Background context to the United States' rise as a superpower

The United States' development into an industrial superpower in the modern era results from the massive migration, urbanisation and consumerism that propelled it into the new century. 'Americanism' was defined during this period and was perpetuated as a Christian, conservative, patriotic, **Puritan**, white ideal. Yet this was a diverse and segregated society that provided opportunities based on wealth, race and religion. During this period, the United States became increasingly **isolationist** and introspective. Domestic crises, such as the Great Depression and devastating droughts, made Americans reluctant to engage in world political matters. This isolationism made them vulnerable to the devastating attack on Pearl Harbor.

This chapter explores the United States' modernity, rise as a super-economic power, conservatism, experiment in socialist government intervention and extreme racism. It considers how the United States emerged from World War I and its failure to endorse the League of Nations; the defeat of President Wilson and the subsequent progressivism that led to the Volstead Act and Prohibition; and the rise of the

New Deal and the federalist intervention of Franklin D Roosevelt (FDR). The chapter examines the causes of progressivism and presents the duality of the 1920s with clashes between outright hedonism and social restriction. We discuss the manufacturing boom and avid consumerism that saw America embrace modern automobiles, hire-purchase televisions, radios, washing machines and fridge boxes. Aspects of the materialism and cultural history are presented. We look at how, with the stock market crash of 1929, America is plunged into the Great Depression with massive unemployment, poverty, homelessness and drought. The speculation of the early period is undone, and a new America is formed. Racism and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan (the Klan or the KKK) are rampant in this newly formed nation. Alongside Christian Temperance, the Knights of the Klan intimidate and promote ultra-white supremacist ideology as a form of American patriotism. Through public rallies, pageants and political campaigns, the Klan gain political power and influence. Growing migration from the rural southern states continues during this dark time. American foreign policy becomes increasingly isolationist, so by 1941 America is caught unaware as Japan launches a definitive strike at Pearl Harbor.



SOURCE 6.4 'Better keep to the old channel', a cartoon by Winsor McCay about the US policy of isolationism, published in *The American* in 1919

6.1 The United States in the aftermath of World War I and 1920s politics

Context for the national study

In the period 1919–41, the United States rose to superpower status, creating a powerful economy and nationalist ideology based on consumerism and individualism. The recent modern political success of Republican President Trump, using populist politics and the conflation of self-determination with American greatness, is reflective of the historical discourse of the nation. Ironically, the nation born out of military conflict with the British, French and Mexicans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries chose deliberately to intervene in world events during the early part of the twentieth century. It turned its attention to domestic policy under the presidency of Franklin D Roosevelt, promising a 'New Deal' for workers to use government funds and resources to support unemployed workers in the **Great Depression** and farmers affected by record droughts and depressed agrarian prices. President Franklin Roosevelt, a Democrat, shaped a new destiny for America post-World War I, which continued 'isolationism' and saw the emergence of soft 'socialism'.

In the build-up towards World War II, the United States remained diplomatically absent. Despite President Wilson's influence in suing for peace to end World War I

New Deal a political promise made by the US President Franklin D Roosevelt to end the Depression with government intervention from 1933 to 1939; these acts guaranteed savings, provided emergency relief, limited agricultural production and exempted the government from repaying loans in gold currency

Great Depression started with the stock market crash in 1929 and sent reverberations around the world as America called in foreign loans; it also sent shockwaves through America, which had never seen such unemployment and poverty

socialism an ideology that promoted the needs of the overall society through the equitable allocation of resources such as employment, education, health and housing; socialism had ignited the Russian Revolution and was a powerful manifesto to combat widespread poverty of the Great Depression



SOURCE 6.5 The automobile is a symbol of American mass industrialisation in the early twentieth century; pictured is a Model T Ford, circa 1908.

Treaty of Versailles the Paris Peace Treaty that ensured (among other conditions) that Germany had to pay war reparations and costs to the Allies

Manifest Destiny a nineteenth-century idea that the United States of America offered limitless opportunities for wealth and liberty to its citizens. By this logic, Americans kept expanding westward across North America towards the Pacific Ocean. Many Hollywood 'Westerns' demonstrated this belief.

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did consumerism affect America?

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Describe the key ideas of American nationalism.

How was wealth and consumption viewed by Americans in this time?

INQUIRY QUESTION

What were the key ideas of the Progressives?

and contributions to the **Treaty of Versailles**, the United States failed to join the League of Nations and refused to intervene in European affairs, following Hitler's expansion into Czechoslovakia and Austria. It is only the symbolic and dramatic escalation of war on America with the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941 that stirs the United States from its diplomatic isolationism. The Japanese attack challenges America's foreign policy and propels the United States into world politics and conflicts.

The rise of progressivism prior to 1919 American ideology

Children across American schools are indoctrinated with the mantra of US greatness. 'In the history of our great nation' is a clichéd

and common beginning for that schoolbook narrative. The narrative commences with the taking up of arms against the British colonists in the American War of Independence (1776) and continues to include the Declaration of Independence written by Thomas Jefferson about the equality and liberty of all mankind (except for those who are Black or Native Americans – this was controversial at the time, and remains so today for many Americans). The discourse is powerful and divisive. The United States had become a federation of states against other colonial and indigenous powers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There had been wars with the Mexicans in 1846 and the Spanish in 1898, resulting in expanded US control in Cuba and the

Philippines and purchases of land in Louisiana from the French. The expanding and shifting frontier of the United States became a popular myth that cemented the need for Americans to take up arms against would-be aggressors who challenged the 'free'. The frontier myth was closely connected with the unifying belief that for such a great nation, a '**Manifest Destiny**' was promised of immeasurable opportunity and liberty. To achieve such a grandiose destiny, one would be hardworking, espousing a Puritan work ethic, determined and undeterred by misfortune. This nationalistic belief did not necessarily include those who were black, impoverished, indigenous, working-class or female. Such beliefs in Manifest Destiny venerated those who had triumphed with hard work and now trod the 'gilded streets' of capitalism and rapid industrialisation. Entrepreneurs such as Henry Ford (who produced a means of mass production on the assembly line for the new automobile) and William Randolph Hearst (who was known for his capital investment and consumerism) were revered for their modern technologies and wealth. 

The Progressive Age, 1902–19

Despite the influence during the Victorian age of the Progressives, who were concerned with regulating the industrialists and ensuring more protection for the working classes and safe labour laws, the American psyche was fundamentally shaped by these inherent beliefs in the Puritan work ethic, universal entitlement and self-determination and

opportunism. When President Woodrow Wilson was elected in 1912, two years prior to World War I, the United States embarked on an impressive period of federal reform modernising banking, trade and labour laws. The entry into World War I changed the course of US foreign and domestic policy. When Wilson was defeated by Harding, his successor reversed the new social gains and a more conservative and isolationist government withdrew from world leadership and politics.

The US President Woodrow Wilson, elected in 1912, was a Democrat dedicated to progressive reform. This progressive reform or **progressivism** had created more open trade, lowering tariffs, protecting child workers and delivering a form of compensation for workers injured in the rapid industrialisation of the nation.

President Wilson had been instrumental in America's entry into World War I in 1917 and had sued for peace using a Fourteen Point plan that Germany had agreed to to end the war. Wilson's eloquent Fourteen Points offered a war-weary world an opportunity for future peace and protection from the possibility or threat of another Great War. The plan called for a new body, the League of Nations (the forerunner to the United Nations), to be created to protect against future aggression and conflict. Yet Wilson's vision of a united world order was undermined by America's refusal to join and add its collective military, economic and political weight to the newly formed diplomatic body. His campaign for America to join the League of Nations ended badly when he suffered a stroke and had to continue his presidency paralysed on one side. His wife acting as 'steward' propelled the presidency forward, acting as an adviser and unofficial proxy on many matters of state. His death in 1924 changed the course of world history in that America had reneged on its commitment to the League of Nations and allowed for the likelihood of war to occur again within one generation. The refusal of the United States to embroil itself in another European conflict in 1939 was characteristic of its isolationist foreign policy. Only in 1941, with the devastating attacks on **Pearl Harbor** in its newest US state of Hawaii, did the United States actively re-engage with all the might of modern industrial power. The year 1941 was a turning point that had seen the greatest, most economically advanced society attacked on home soil by a new Asiatic power who had less than 100 years earlier been humiliated by America's Unequal Treaties and gunboat diplomacy. 🗝

progressivism an idea that developed in response to collective problems of poverty, inequality, injustice and inadequate housing, education and employment for the masses in the period of rapid industrial growth from the 1890s to the 1920s; progressive ideology recognised that education and social policy could assist the collective masses and wanted the government to ensure the welfare and survival of all classes and peoples

Pearl Harbor Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor (located in the Pacific) in 1941, provoking the United States to declare war and join World War II



SOURCE 6.6 Political cartoon of American President Woodrow Wilson spinning out of control, published by Bronstrup in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, circa 1919.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying

🗝 How did American technologies and industries benefit from World War I?

6.2 US society

The Jazz Age and the 1920s

The 1920s was a period of rapid social transformation in the arts, sciences, technology and culture. Jazz music, the Charleston and femme flappers revolutionised America. Resisting such hedonistic pursuits was the rise of Prohibition and polarising racism from the **Ku Klux Klan**. The tides of **conservatism** and intolerance were fuelled during the 1920s by a rural decline in prices, poor wage growth and increasing inequality between the very rich and the working classes. Jazz and covert speakeasy clubs, where one could purchase moonshine brewed from illegal gins and stills, were demonised by the ruling right-wing faction. **Prohibition** was instituted in 1920 and attempted to reign in the liquor trade by criminal gangs and promote Christian Temperance values. The influence of right-wing Christian groups was powerful and Prohibition remained intact until the early 1930s. In some

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



What are the main events of the 1920s in America?

Ku Klux Klan a white extremist group founded after the US Civil War in 1866 that promoted violent racist and intolerant attitudes; it was heavily influential in southern states in America and actively infiltrated the highest levels of government in America in this period; they were a secret but popular group who used a secret language, code and practices. This right-wing extremist group continues to exert influence in American society today.

conservatism a political belief that asserts tradition and caution should be applied to most challenges

Prohibition instituted in the United States in 1920; it attempted to reign in the liquor trade by criminal gangs and promote Christian Temperance values; it was enforced via the Volstead Act

states, such as Oklahoma, it was not abolished until 1959.

With modernisation of industries, such as the production of the automobile, urbanisation increased dramatically. Populations in cities like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia grew into the millions. New centres of production, such as Detroit (with the automobile industry), grew from less than 100 000 people in the pre-war years to over 1.5 million people by 1929. As the means of production became more efficient, the



SOURCE 6.7 A 1919 photograph by ET Lewis of the storefront of the Jefferson Liquor Company, Baltimore, prior to the Wartime Prohibition Act taking effect on 1 July 1919

price of consumer goods fell, driving both supply and an expanding pool of would-be consumers. The advances in technology during the war years were now focused on making modern life easier, more efficient and labour saving. Technologies such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, stoves and washing machines created more leisure time. Demand for entertainment grew. The US film industry, which had been slow to emerge by the end of the 1920s, soon dominated the then-main players (such as the Australian cinema industry) through commercial production and licensing rights. Radio stations hosted serials, music and news. Listening to the radio became a popular pastime for families, with over 500 stations broadcasting across the United States during this period.



SOURCE 6.8 A man kneeling on the pavement, next to a sign showing the way to a speakeasy, during the Prohibition in America

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.1

- 1 Analyse how this source represents American manufacturing systems and products.
- 2 The Model T Fords were all painted one colour. Investigate which colour and assess its significance.
- 3 Describe how manufacturing systems were changed by these methods of mass production.
- 4 Explain how this system of manufacturing assisted American industrialisation.



SOURCE 6.9 Workers clean a car in the space of five minutes at a car plant in 1925.

Prohibition

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution banned the sale, production and transportation of intoxicating liquor from 1920 to 1933. This Prohibition era was considered an important social, economic and moral experiment in curbing drinking and anti-social behaviours in working classes, minorities, foreigners and non-white Americans. The movement aimed to decrease poorhouse populations, tax burdens on the federalist government and improve the moral character, public health and hygiene of America.

This 'noble experiment' was supported by the Christian Temperance Movement, which wanted to rebuild family, Puritan values and work ethics at a time when traditional 'American' values and ways of life seemed threatened by increased urbanisation, migration from Europe and social changes resulting from World War I. It had developed in response to anti-foreign sentiment that associated the drinking cultures of migrants from Ireland, Italy and Germany and the demonisation of drinking as a source of family breakdown and

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did Prohibition change American society?



SOURCE 6.10 Inspector sniffing liquors in New York after a police raid that uncovered an 'elite rum ring' in 1929



SOURCE 6.11 14 April 1929, members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union crack open barrels of alcohol after police seized 100 000 gallons in raids in New York.

KEY QUESTIONS

Summarising



What was Prohibition?

Who influenced the movement towards Prohibition?

Drys a movement that supported Prohibition and wanted to rid America of alcohol; the term 'Dry' was used to show support for Prohibition and political groups were often seen as 'Dry or Wet' depending on their stance on Prohibition

moral decline. The Christian Temperance arguments provided organisations such as the KKK with a legitimate platform to enact racism against the Blacks. These ideas suggested that Blacks had to be banned from indulging in drink and conflated racism and persecution with temperance movements. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the supply of alcohol was the culmination of a number of different state laws that had already banned the production, supply and transportation of liquor.

Proponents of Prohibition were aptly called the 'Drys' and used dramatic displays and rhetoric to lobby the government at a federal level. These advocates rallied and destroyed bars as a sign of their determination to make America **dry**. The American entry into World War I precipitated Prohibition. Consuming German beer was unpatriotic and such practices combined with the so-called need for wartime austerity resulted in the Prohibition Amendment. Initially, such arguments gained traction as American soldiers were not allowed to drink while serving their country, so on the homefront, the same sacrifice was imbued with a nationalistic fervour. Others argued that the banning of beer made predominantly from barley would enable the grain to be used for bread and other more essential food products. The Drys campaigned

effectively to bring about the Amendment. Historian Daniel Okrent suggests that Prohibition was a powerful political tool exploited by different groups to achieve social change. Prohibition divided the nation and radicalised a number of powerful groups. Migrants, Catholics and Jews were resistant to Prohibition and seen as distinctly un-American and divisive. 

Somebody said at the time of Prohibition that the difference between the pro-Prohibition and the anti-Prohibition groups in the years leading up to the passage of the 21st Amendment was that the pro-Prohibition people were out there marching and organizing and voting and the anti-Prohibition people were too busy drinking to do any of those things

SOURCE 6.12 Daniel Okrent, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, 2010

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.2

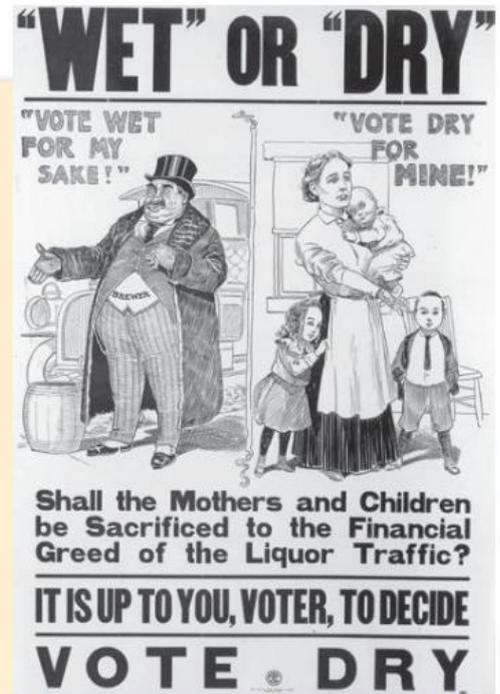
- 1 Identify the pro-Prohibition issues presented in Source A.
- 2 Summarise what the sources reveal about the tactics used by both the Wets and Drys in the Prohibition era in America.
- 3 Explain how these sources reveal the conflict and schisms resulting from Prohibition.
- 4 Evaluate the usefulness of these sources for historians considering the social cohesion at this time of Prohibition.

Source A

This US cartoon by the Temperance Movement depicts a mother and her children alongside a brewer, circa 1910s.

Source B

Workers demonstrating against Prohibition in the streets of New York, circa 1933



Impact of Prohibition on America

The Eighteenth Amendment had ratified a series of bans that occurred from 1917 onwards. The origins of Prohibition can be traced to the 1893 Anti-Saloon League and the Christian Temperance Union.

Prohibition resulted in a rise of illegal stills, moonshine manufacture and speakeasies, violence and organised **gangster** criminal activities. **Speakeasies** replaced the legal bars and saloons and very quickly outnumbered the regular licensed premises that had existed prior to 1920.

gangster a criminal who used violent means and exhortation during the 1920s in America

speakeasy a bar or lounge where alcohol was secretly served during Prohibition

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.3

- 1 Describe a speakeasy in the time of Prohibition.
- 2 Summarise what this photograph demonstrates about speakeasies.
- 3 Evaluate the type of people who visited speakeasies.
- 4 Discuss how speakeasies normalised the violation of Prohibition for American society.



SOURCE 6.13 Couples enjoying drinks at a speakeasy in 1933

Chief proponents of Prohibition were the Christian and Protestant churches and the Ku Klux Klan, trying to restore 'American' values. In opposition to Prohibition were the organised gangsters who ran stills, breweries and smuggled alcohol across state borders from Canada. Rival gangs fought viciously for control of the lucrative Prohibition trade.

Gangsters, guns and gin

In Chicago, Al Capone waged a war on federal agents such as Elliot Ness, who had been tasked with prosecuting Prohibition criminals. Al Capone and his contemporaries have been associated with the violent deaths of over 400 people during this era. The most brutal of these campaigns involved a turf war with a rival gang on St Valentine's Day in 1929, when seven men were machine-gunned to death.



SOURCE 6.14 Liquor being poured in a speakeasy, circa 1925



SOURCE 6.15 Al Capone on the day of his release, in Miami, Florida, April 1930

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.4

In the Valentine's Day Massacre, seven members of the Bugs Moran gang were trapped in a garage, lined up against the wall, and shot with machine guns by Al Capone's men. According to the Chicago Police authorities, the cause of the murders was the illicit gangster-controlled liquor traffic in Chicago during Prohibition.



SOURCE 6.16 Valentine's Day Massacre, the 1929 murder of seven men of the Bugs Moran gang in Chicago during the Prohibition era

7 CHICAGO GANGSTERS SLAIN BY FIRING SQUAD OF RIVALS, SOME IN POLICE UNIFORMS

Chicago, Feb. 14 – Chicago gangland leaders observed Valentine's Day with machine guns and a stream of bullets and as a result seven members of the George (Bugs) Moran-Dean O'Banion, North Side Gang are dead in the most cold-blooded gang massacre in the history of this city's underworld.

The seven gang warriors were trapped in a beer-distributors' rendezvous at 2,122 North Clark Street, lined up against the wall by four men, two of whom were in police uniforms, and executed with the precision of a firing squad.

The killings have stunned the citizenry of Chicago as well as the Police Department, and while tonight there was no solution, the one outstanding cause was illicit liquor traffic.

VICTIMS LINED UP IN ROW

Hands Up, Faces to Wall of Garage Rendezvous, They Are Mowed Down

ALL TOOK IT FOR A RAID

Four Machine Gun Executioners, Wearing Badges, Made Swift Escape in Automobile

MORAN'S STAFF WIPED OUT

Liquor Gang Head 'Missing' – Police Chief, Roused by 'Challenge,' Declares 'War.'

SOURCE 6.17 *New York Times* report, 14 February 1929

- 1 Using the source, outline what happened on Valentine's Day 1929.
- 2 Describe how the massacre occurred.
- 3 Extrapolate why the assassins were wearing police uniforms.
- 4 Describe how the news of the massacre was reported.
- 5 Outline the report's suggested cause of the massacre.
- 6 Assess the report's perspective on the effects of Prohibition.
- 7 Deduce what may have been omitted from the report.
- 8 Evaluate the source's usefulness in explaining gangster crime during the Prohibition.
- 9 Write your own headline for this event.
- 10 Evaluate how Modern History is constructed through the media today.
- 11 Describe how this presentism affects your understanding of these events.

Construction of Al Capone in history

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.5

Thinking critically

Examine the photograph that shows the bricks reassembled from the garage where seven men from Bugs Moran gang were machine-gunned by Al Capone's men. These bricks were collected when the garage was demolished in 1967 and restored to the Mob Museum to commemorate the event. The bullet holes are evident, but the paint has been added to produce the effect of blood.



SOURCE 6.18 The bricks reassembled from the garage where seven men from the Bugs Moran gang were machine-gunned by Al Capone's men

- 1 To what extent has the historical significance of the site of the massacre been negated by the assemblage?
- 2 Discuss the necessity, if any, of these displays.
- 3 Identify and explain the ethical implications of displaying these artefacts.

Al Capone bribed and implicated key authorities, government officials and politicians to maintain his empire, and funnelled over US\$100 million into his criminal networks.

The lack of effective trade union laws and poor rates of pay made officials easily susceptible to bribery. Ironically, Al Capone was indicted over tax evasion rather than murder and extortion.

Despite the strict federal laws, American rates of alcohol consumption continued. As a result the US Government continued to lose revenue from taxes and tariffs on alcohol manufacture and transportation. In contrast, the profits from the illegal supply of liquor have been estimated to be over US\$2 billion by the time of the repeal under the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933.

The corruption and exhortation by illegal gangs involved in running bootleg liquor was catastrophic for American institutions and the practice of democracy.

According to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Lincoln C Andrews:

'Conspiracies are nation-wide in extent, in great numbers, organized, well-financed and cleverly conducted'. The Commissioner of Prohibition Henry Anderson suggested that 'the fruitless efforts at enforcement are creating public disregard not only for this law but for all laws'. Public corruption through the purchase of official protection for this illegal traffic is widespread and notorious. The courts are cluttered with Prohibition cases to an extent which seriously affects the entire administration of justice.

(Prohibition enforcement. Letter from the secretary of the Treasury transmitting in response to Senate resolution no. 325, the report of Lincoln C. Andrews, assistant secretary of the Treasury, and David H. Blair, commissioner of internal revenue, 1927.)

SOURCE 6.19 Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Lincoln C Andrews

Prohibition had a disproportionate effect on crime rates in America. During the nineteenth century, crime rates had declined. However, during Prohibition, crime rates (especially homicides) increased. The homicide rate in large cities increased from 5.6 per 100 000 population during the first decade of the century, to 8.4 per 100 000. This meant that the national average rate of homicides increased to 10 per cent per 100 000 people.



SOURCE 6.20 Pouring away illegal liquor into the drains

Prohibition in America was enforced with the **Volstead Act**. Under this Act, Prohibition laws were strictly enforced, with arrests for violating the laws increasing by 102 per cent. However, the most notable increases during this time were for theft,

Volstead Act US legislation that made alcohol illegal under Prohibition

homicides and black-market racketeering. Drunkenness and disorderly conduct rates increased to 41 per cent. These rates reveal how ineffective both Prohibition and the Volstead Act were.

Crime, law enforcement and Prohibition

The sale, manufacture, and transportation of alcohol for consumption were banned in the United States under the Eighteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, passed by Congress in 1919. The ban remained in force until the Amendment was repealed in 1933. During the Prohibition era, the illicit trade in alcoholic drinks was rampant, and intimately linked with organised crime.

Impacts on society

Prison populations during the time also increased dramatically. Prior to Prohibition, there were approximately 3000 federal prisoners. During Prohibition, the prison population increased to over 26 000 inmates, who were crowded into places like the notorious Sing Sing. The number of violations in this period increased by over 1000 per cent. By 1930, over two-thirds of prisoners in federal prisons were incarcerated over alcohol and drug violations.

Prohibition laws had a number of exemptions that allowed home-brewing or bootlegging to continue. The first exemption was for farmers who could legally preserve their fruit. Apple cider emerged into a new industry as a result of removing the fruit after fermentation, making it into a 'hard cider'. The second exemption was the common use of alcohol for medicinal purposes. Labelling on 'Glenmore' bottles indicated it was historically for medicinal purposes only. Finally, wine for sacramental purposes was exempt under the Amendment. This meant that priests, ministers and rabbis could supply up to 10 gallons of wine per person per annum. Interestingly, the recorded numbers at congregations increased dramatically over this time.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.6



SOURCE 6.21 'What, are you my offspring?', a US political cartoon circa 1930s

- 1 Clarify what the eagle represents in the cartoon.
- 2 Explain what is the supposed offspring of the eagle.
- 3 Explain what perspective the cartoon reveals about Prohibition.
- 4 Discuss how the cartoon suggests some of the unintended consequences of Prohibition.

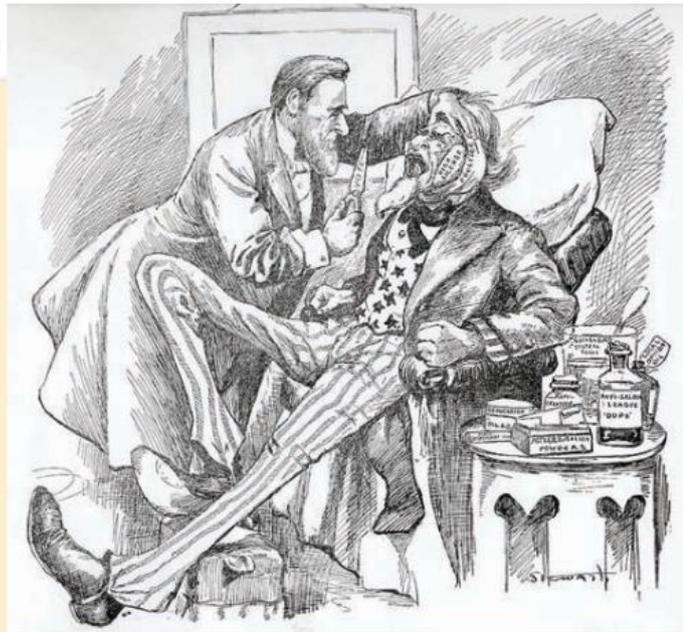


SOURCE 6.22 Police officers look over distilling equipment and guns confiscated during a Prohibition raid.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.7

Perspectives

- 1 Identify the figure in the chair.
- 2 Describe the remedies that the patient is consuming.
- 3 Deduce what could be happening in the United States at this time, as suggested by the caption and the cartoon.
- 4 Describe the perspective of Prohibition shown in the cartoon.
- 5 Evaluate the usefulness of this source in understanding the impacts of Prohibition on American society in the 1920s to 1933.

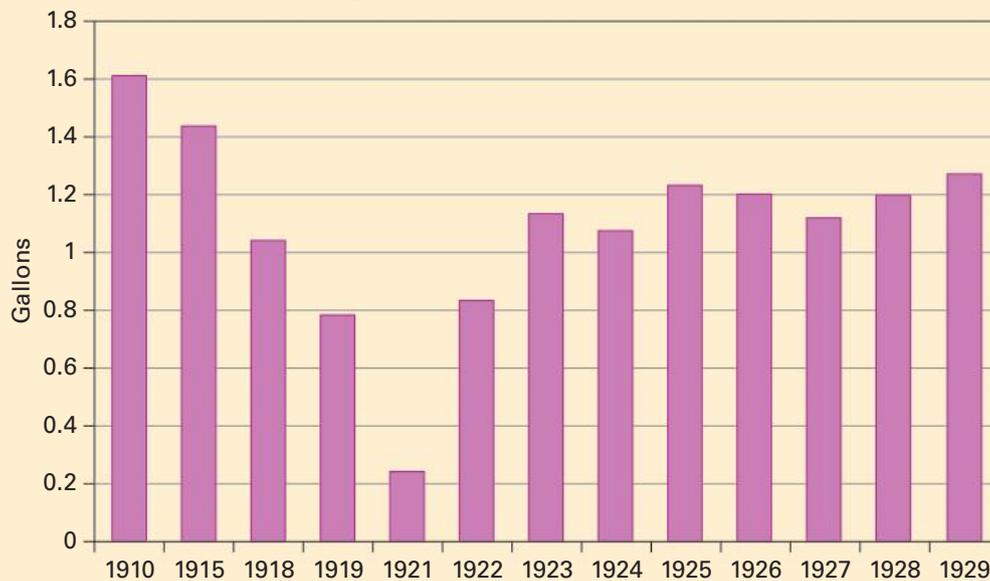


SOURCE 6.23 'Yank the saloon tooth out', a political cartoon regarding Prohibition

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.8

- 1 Explain what happened to alcohol consumption in 1921 when Prohibition was introduced.
- 2 Analyse how consumption was affected by Prohibition.
- 3 Describe the trend of alcohol consumption over the Prohibition period from 1920 to 1933.
- 4 Using this evidence, analyse if Prohibition was successful.

Per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages
(gallons of pure alcohol) 1910–1929.



SOURCE 6.24 Per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages (gallons of pure alcohol) 1910–29

The failure of Prohibition, according to economists, suggests mutual exchange of goods and benefits is critical to development. Removal or intervention of these benefits will distort the market.

According to Mark Thornton (Assistant Professor at Auburn University):

Although consumption of alcohol fell at the beginning of Prohibition, it subsequently increased. Alcohol became more dangerous to consume; crime increased and became 'organized'; the court and prison systems were stretched to the breaking point; and corruption of public officials was rampant. No measurable gains were made in productivity or reduced absenteeism. Prohibition removed a significant source of tax revenue and greatly increased government spending. It led many drinkers to switch to opium, marijuana, patent medicines, cocaine and other dangerous substances that they would have been unlikely to encounter in the absence of Prohibition.

SOURCE 6.25 Mark Thornton, 1991, in *Alcohol Prohibition Was a Failure*, *Cato Institute Policy Analysis*, no. 157

The economic and social effects of Prohibition were counterproductive and actually cost American society a great deal more than just the costs involved in regulating the alcohol industry. It is suggested that the government department established to police this – the **Bureau of Prohibition** – spent over US\$13.4 million in the 1920s. The Coast Guard, who were tasked with intercepting the transportation of liquor, spent an additional \$13 million per annum during this period. These effects are described by Richard Cowan in economic theory as the 'Iron Law of Prohibition'. This Iron Law suggests that austere

restriction and policing of an illegal substance results in greater risk and potency in the production of the substance illicitly. In the United States, the anti-foreign sentiment associated with beer made spirits more attractive to both produce and consume. The potency and toxicity of spirits increased along with their consumption.

Bureau of Prohibition the government agency tasked with policing Prohibition

A MATTER OF FACT

Some economists argue that retail alcohol prices during Prohibition increased and supply decreased, making it a highly successful economic approach. However, evidence over time shows how the Iron Law of Prohibition was working. The price of beer during Prohibition increased by more than 700 per cent, and that of brandies increased by 433 per cent, but spirit prices increased by only 270 per cent, which led to an absolute increase in the consumption of spirits over pre-Prohibition levels. The result was an increased consumption of spirits that were far more intoxicating than other forms of alcohol.



SOURCE 6.26 Jersey Central Railroad Terminal: two carloads of beer are being poured into the Hudson River, 17 June 1929.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.9

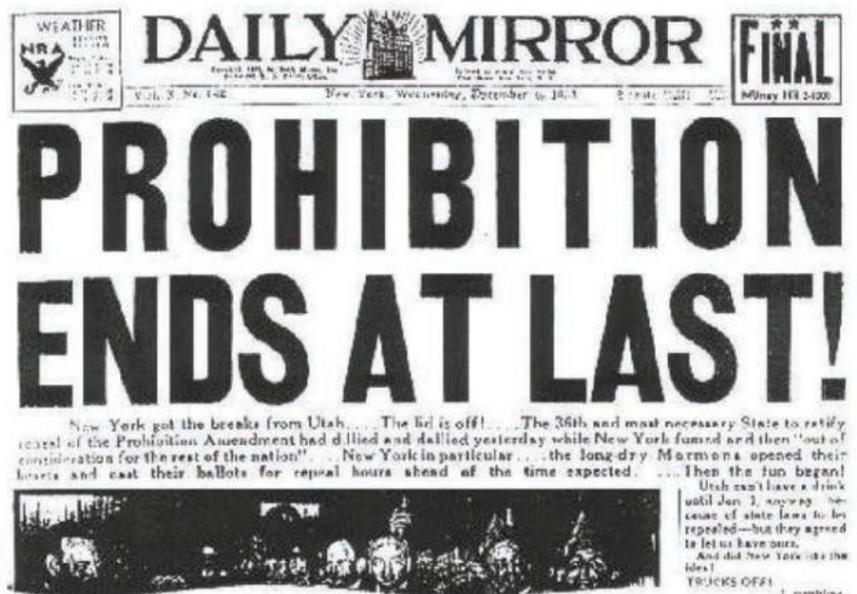
I am credibly informed that a very conservative reckoning would set the poisonous effects of bootleg beverages as compared with medicinal liquors at ten to one; that is, it requires only a tenth as much bootleg liquor as of pre-Prohibition liquor to produce a given degree of drunkenness. The reason, of course, is that bootleg liquor is so concentrated and almost invariably contains other and more deadly poisons than mere ethyl alcohol.

SOURCE 6.27 An unknown source remarking on the effects of drinking bootleg liquor

- 1 Describe the effects of bootleg liquor, according to the source.
- 2 Compare bootleg liquor with medicinal liquors.
- 3 Identify the possible components of bootleg liquor.
- 4 Explain why this could be a problem during the years from 1920 to 1933.
- 5 Evaluate how this source relates to Prohibition issues today.

The repeal of Prohibition was the result of political pressure of the 'Wets', who were predominantly aligned with the successful Democratic government elected when President **Franklin D Roosevelt** came to office in 1932. The effect of Prohibition on the United States is important to consider. Socially, the Eighteenth Amendment altered important fundamental principles of the Constitution. The American Declaration of Independence and the First to the Fifth Amendments are based on the right of all Americans to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The Eighteenth Amendment, in contrast, effectively limits the rights of the individual and their democratic

right to choose. It privileges the government to set limits on individuality and the exercise of democracy. This conservative approach sets a precedent for government intervention and the curtailment of personal liberty. Ironically, Prohibition was used as a tool for both social and political change and reactionary restrictions. The Suffragettes were able to successfully lobby for franchise following World War I, using Prohibition as leverage. Prohibition was conflated with **xenophobia**. Racism organisations such as the Klan effectively aligned with temperance movements to restrict individual freedoms for many Black and poor Americans. The Klan promoted '**Americanism**' as a virtuous cause and identified this with Prohibition and good Protestant temperance.



SOURCE 6.28 A newspaper celebrating the end of Prohibition, which was repealed with the passage of the Twenty-first Amendment in December 1933

Franklin D Roosevelt the 32nd US President, who served from 1933 until 1945

xenophobia extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.

Americanism a belief in American white nationalism



SOURCE 6.29 Major Emmett T Smith (on platform) with Ku Klux Klansmen in full regalia at the Church of Christ, 10 October 1927



SOURCE 6.30 Ku Klux Klan holding a march in Washington DC in 1925

Jim Crow Laws laws that allowed separate but equal treatment for Black Americans that were unjust and enabled discrimination after the Civil War

Ku Klux Klan a white extremist group founded after the US Civil War in 1866 that promoted violent racist and intolerant attitudes

as being heroic, virtuous and all-American and critical to America's salvation. William Simmons (from Georgia in the southern states of America) capitalised on the cultural values of the film. He became the first 'Imperial Wizard' of the 'Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan'.

The revival of the Ku Klux Klan following the Reconstruction period was the result of American prosperity, increased urbanisation, migration and industrialisation. The early twentieth century marked a massive increase in migration to the states. Foreigners during World War I were treated with suspicion in the xenophobic national consciousness. The accents, beliefs and cultural practices of alien nationals were resented and feared by the Klan. The increased urbanisation and consumerism of the period led to mass labour shifts and demographic changes. During this period

Black Afro-Americans moved from low agrarian labour in the South to the highly industrialised factories building automobiles and washing machines. Chicago and Detroit in the North swelled in the number of migrant and Black workers. Demographic changes and traditional fears and antagonisms resulted in escalating race riots in the North.

Racism and the Ku Klux Klan

Universal rights to the pursuit of liberty and happiness applied to all American citizens – except those who were black. Women had succeeded in gaining the vote in 1921. Despite the Emancipation Act, declared by Abraham Lincoln in 1862, Black Afro-Americans were excluded and segregated under the **Jim Crow Laws**. These laws had been in place since the 1890s and segregated the employment, housing, schooling and opportunities of 'Black' Americans. The terrifying ultra-right white supremacist group the **Ku Klux Klan** had emerged towards the end of the Civil War in 1865 and became highly influential during the 1920s. Klaverns published white supremacist propaganda targeting minority groups (especially Black Americans). The Klan was a secret society that initiated many into hate crimes and reigned terror throughout the South and rural parts of America. In some states, such as in Indiana, the Klan had over 350 000 members. While the Klan had been officially outlawed in 1869 during the Reconstruction period, in the early twentieth century, populist patriotism had resurfaced due to cultural, political and social forces. The inaugural US silent film, *Birth of a Nation*, released in 1915 and directed by DW Griffith, was originally entitled *The Clansmen*. It depicted the Klan

The rise of the Klan

The Klan was a popular and polarising organisation that conflated racial prejudices and ignorance with American traditional values. The tactics and the rhetoric were virulently anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, homophobic and yet disturbingly patriotic. Membership drives and regular activities were listed in community notices alongside sewing classes, baseball games, wedding and death notices. It is estimated that by 1925, the Klan had over 4 million members. There were Klan basketball teams, public marches, sponsored corn-roasts, fireworks, parades, picnics and public gatherings of people hooded and draped in white robes. This was a white supremacist group that infiltrated many agencies and levels of American society. It was even reported that Congress and the President were under the influence of the Klan: the rumour was that President Warren Harding had been allegedly secretly sworn in as a Klansmen in the White House in the 1920s. In Indiana and Texas, the popularity of the Klan reached a massive groundswell with influential **Klansmen** Hiram Evans and David Stephenson. In 1922, Evans succeeded Williams as **Imperial Wizard**. Evans promoted more extreme white supremacist dogma against Blacks, Jews and immigrants. Evans pushed government officials to restrict migration, while local Klans persecuted Blacks and other minority groups with violence and intimidation. Such actions resulted in the **Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act)** in 1924. This limited the number of immigrants to 2 per cent of the overall number of people of each nationality, as per the 1890 national census, and completely excluded Asian immigration. The 1924 Immigration Act was the product of increasing fear. Following America's entry into World War I in 1917, President Coolidge had endorsed migration restrictions that excluded people from the 'Asiatic Barred Zone' (except migrants from the Philippines and Japan), introduced a literacy test for those over 16 years and increased taxation for those newly arrived in America. By 1922, President Harding had endorsed further restrictive quotas on migration that effectively limited migrant numbers to 3 per cent of nationalities represented in the 1910 national census or no more than 350 000 people. The 1924 Immigration Act further restricted citizenship to those from Asiatic ancestry. Despite the large numbers of Japanese migrants living in the United States since the Meiji Restoration and **Unequal Treaty Period**, those with Japanese heritage could not claim citizenship. These issues antagonised foreign nations; while at home the Klan grew in popularity and perpetrated unmitigated violence on minority groups.

Klaverns became unauthorised vigilantes, morally policing the lives of minority groups. Catholics, Jews, migrants and Black Americans were frequently the victims of tar-and-feather attacks, violent abuse and public **lynchings**. The public face of the Klan 'blurred the fascist message of the Klan', making their antics

Klansman a member of the Ku Klux Klan

Imperial Wizard the head of the Ku Klux Klan

Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act) a restrictive and racist US immigration policy in force from 1924

Unequal Treaty Period a time when the United States had unfair treaties with other nations, such as Japan

lynching a hanging or execution



SOURCE 6.31 A political cartoon referencing the 1924 Immigration Act

palatable to the American public. It promoted an ideal of Southern White 'Americanism', reminiscent of the Reconstruction Era following the American Civil War. In Indiana, the Klan grew to record levels in the 1920s. The following source describes the pageantry of the Klan and its supremacist overtones and attempts to cower Black Americans in Montgomery.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.10

BACK TO LIFE AND VERY ACTIVE AFTER FORTY YEARS! This is the thrilling story that one hears today in various parts of the South. The old Klan with its white-robed citizens going out to maintain the supremacy of the white race, as depicted by Thomas Dixon and his satellite, D. W. Griffith, has again come to life. Read this article printed in a daily in Montgomery, Ala.: – **KU KLUX KLANSMEN SUGGEST SILENT PARADE!** –

The city of Montgomery was visited last night by a Ku Klux Klan that bore all the earmarks of the ancient honorable order that placed white supremacy back in the saddle after a reign of terror for several years by Negroes and scalawags.

About one hundred white-robed figures silently paraded through the town and, as the paper specially mentioned, went into that section where the Negroes lived. The Klan, according to the paper from which we quote, is the only authorized organization of its kind in existence, having a charter from the state and the governor ...

... the Ku Klux will not succeed because they have a new Negro to threaten and terrify. When the white-robed figures went through the woods and the back places of the South shortly after the Civil War, they found a recently emancipated people, unlettered [uneducated] for the most part, without organization. Today the 'Majestic Viceroy,' or whatever they may call themselves, will fail to terrify men who have trained at camp, who have stood sentinel in the French forests, who have met and battled with a magnificently trained and relentless foe. And they will not be able to terrify those who have followed the exploits of their men at the front. It is a new Negro who inhabits the South today, especially it is a new Negro youth—a youth that will not be cowed by silly superstition or fear.

SOURCE 6.33 WEB Du Bois, 'The Ku Klux Are Riding Again!', *The Crisis*, March 1919

- 1 Describe the presence of the Klan in Montgomery.
- 2 Identify how the legitimacy of the Klan was presented.
- 3 Distinguish the differences between the past Reconstruction Era and 1919 as presented in the article.
- 4 Outline the perspective of the Klan shown in the article.



SOURCE 6.32 White supremacists march with torches in Charlottesville, USA, 11 August 2017. Peter Cvjetanovic (on the right) is pictured along with neo-Nazis, alt-right, and white supremacists who encircle and chant at counter-protesters at the base of a statue of Thomas Jefferson after marching through the University of Virginia campus. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



Discuss why these people were protesting, and how it relates to American history.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.11

The following two perspectives reveal the extent of the Klan and its ideology. These two perspectives were printed in *The Forum*. This was a magazine published in New York City that published invited essays on controversial issues of the day. In September 1925, it published two defining essays on the Klan by the Klan's national leaders and by a Maine anti-Klan statesman.

Source A

The fundamental wrong is in the Klan idea of what makes Americanism. It assumes that this quality can only be born in a man or woman who happens to see the light first on American soil, that it is born in all such, and that no one else can achieve it. It adds the charge that no Catholic or Jew can consistently be a good American, because his religious loyalties come first and are hostile. This hardly needs more than to be stated to be proved false. Test it by the teachings of Washington, of Jefferson, of Lincoln, of Roosevelt, or Wilson and it fails. Test it by the words of our Savior, and it fails still more completely. The whole idea is not only opposed to our traditional national spirit, but to the whole spirit of true Christianity. It is a reversion to the old, cruel, religious hatreds. Americanism, of course, is really an ideal and a spirit—a faith in freedom, tolerance, humanity. It cannot discriminate because of color, birthplace or creed; nor can it tolerate caste, class or religious distinctions in politics, social life or legal standing; especially it

continued ...

... continued

cannot for a moment endure the breeding and exploitation of hatred and prejudice as a means to sway public opinion and win political power. The Klan, on its own statement, does just these things and makes a virtue of doing them ... Equally un-American is its practice of attempting secret and threatening influence on the Government. No one has shown how great this evil is more clearly than the Klan speakers themselves; then they turn about and try to do the same thing, not merely as a reprisal, but as a permanent method in American politics. The Klan seeks a secret hold on legislators, judges and other officials. It uses that hold to enforce its own demands, abandoning completely the American principle of rule by and for all. It maintains expensive lobbies, it acts secretly in both parties, it tries constantly for control – secret control – of elections, legislatures and government. And again it has the effrontery to advertise all this as a great principle.

William Robinson Pattangall, Democrat, former legislator and Attorney-General, Maine, 'Is the Ku Klux Un-American?' *The Forum*, September 1925

Source B

We of the Klan believe that we can prove our case to all who will agree with us on one fundamental thing. It is this: We believe that the pioneers who built America bequeathed to their own children a priority right to it, the control of it and of its future, and that no one on earth can claim any part of this inheritance except through our generosity. We believe, too, that the mission of America under Almighty God is to perpetuate and develop just the kind of nation and just the kind of civilization which our forefathers created. This is said without offense to other civilizations, but we do believe that ours, through all possible growth and expansion, should remain the same kind that was 'brought forth upon this continent.' Also, we believe that races of men are as distinct as breeds of animals; that any mixture between races of any great divergence is evil; that the American stock, which was bred under highly selective surroundings, has proved its value and should not be mongrelized ... Finally, we believe that all foreigners were admitted with the idea, and on the basis of at least an implied understanding, that they would become a part of us, adopt our ideas and ideals, and help in fulfilling our destiny along those lines, but never that they should be permitted to force us to change into anything else. This is the basic idea of the Klan. There is, perhaps, much to be said for the liberal idea of making America a mongrel nation, but that involves the two points which, as I have pointed out, the Klan will not debate. We hold firmly that America belongs to Americans, and should be kept American ... The whole purpose of the Klan is to bring this belief to fulfillment. We make many mistakes, but we are doing this one thing, and no one else is even trying to do it. Within a few years the America of our fathers will either be saved or lost, and unless some other way is found, all who wish to see it saved must work with us.

Hiram Wesley Evans, Imperial Wizard, Ku Klux Klan, 'The Klan: Defender of Americanism', *The Forum*, December 1925

- 1 Outline the view of the Klan as presented in Source A.
- 2 Summarise the arguments about Americanism that challenge the ideas of the Klan in Source A.
- 3 Describe how Source B uses the appeal of 'Manifest Destiny' and Americanism to promote the doctrine of the Klan.

- 4 Compare how both sources use Christian and democratic references to support their views.
- 5 Classify the perspective of the Klan that is presented in Source B.
- 6 Deduce what may have been omitted from Source B when describing the Klan and their tactics.
- 7 Identify the social and political forces in the 1920s that added to the appeal of the Klan in America.

Source C



Map of Klaverns and Klan activity, 1915–40

Referring to Source C:

- 1 Assess what the map of Klan activity reveals about the popularity and extent of the membership in the 1920s.
- 2 Identify where most Klan activity was concentrated.
- 3 To what extent was the KKK a national movement? Use evidence to support your viewpoint.

The Klan appealed to predominantly mid-western and southern states, yet its political activity and violence stretched into the northern industrial states and towns. Following the Civil War and the ongoing fight of Black Americans for civil rights, many Black Americans had fled the South and settled into cities that were in need of an expanded workforce. American consumerism fuelled the growth of the North and cheap migrant and black labour were needed to supply the manufacturing industries. Many of the tactics and violent activities of the Klan were aimed at psychologically threatening these Black minorities. As the numbers of the Klan grew, it became more powerful, and it reached out to a number of different audiences, including women. The following source reveals many of the values and beliefs of the Klan.

Creed of the Klanswomen

CREED OF KLANSWOMEN America for Americans, As Interpreted by the Women of the Ku Klux Klan Little Rock, Arkansas from A Fundamental Klan Doctrine, 1924.

WE BELIEVE in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of Jesus Christ, and the eternal tenets of the Christian religion as practiced by enlightened Protestant churches.

WE BELIEVE that church and state should continue separate in administration and organization, although united in their mission and purpose to serve mankind unselfishly.

WE BELIEVE in the American home as the foundation upon which rests secure the American Republic, the future of its institutions, and the liberties of its citizens.

WE BELIEVE in the mission of emancipated womanhood, freed from the shackles of old-world traditions, and standing unafraid in the full effulgence of equality and enlightenment.

WE BELIEVE in the equality of men and women in political, religious, fraternal, civic and social affairs, wherein there should be no distinction of sex.

WE BELIEVE in the free public schools where our children are trained in the principles and ideals that make America the greatest of all nations.

WE BELIEVE the Stars and Stripes the most beautiful flag on the earth, symbolizing the purity of race, the blood of martyrs and the fidelity of patriots.

WE BELIEVE in the supremacy of the Constitution of the United States and the several states, and consecrate ourselves to its preservation against all enemies at home and abroad.

WE BELIEVE that the freedom of speech, of press, and of worship is an inalienable right of all citizens whose allegiance and loyalty to our country are unquestioned.

WE BELIEVE that principle comes before party, that justice should be firm but impartial, and that partisanship must yield to intelligent cooperation.

WE BELIEVE that the current of pure American blood must be kept uncontaminated by mongrel strains and protected from racial pollution.

WE BELIEVE that the government of the United States must be kept inviolate from the control or domination or alien races and the baleful influence of inferior peoples.

WE BELIEVE that the people are greater than any foreign power or potentate, prince, or prelate and that no other allegiance in America should be tolerated.

WE BELIEVE that the perpetuity of our nation rests upon the solidarity and purity of our native-born, white, Gentile, Protestant men and women.

WE BELIEVE that under God, the Women of the Ku Klux Klan is a militant body of American free-women by whom these principles shall be maintained, our racial purity preserved, our homes and children protected, our happiness insured and the prosperity of our community, our state and our nation guaranteed against usurpation, disloyalty and selfish exploitation.

SOURCE 6.34 The Creed, recited by Klanswomen

Tactics and propaganda of the Klan

The propaganda of the Klan was quasi-intellectual, thoroughly capitalistic and intoxicating for Americans clinging to dreams of Manifest Destiny. 'Kleagles', or paid lecturers, would actively recruit new members through public lectures and speeches. These Kleagles were paid US\$10 for every new member they signed

up to join the Klan. Capitalism was a powerful motivation for many influential Klugles. The parade and pageantry of the Klan appealed to the public, curious about the regalia and the ritual. Masked Klansmen, or 'Knights', were sent to funeral homes, hospitals and churches to inspire both fear and compliance. Public character assassination was also employed on local officials to ensure the continuation and viability of the Klan. Political hatred and persecution was moulded to shape state and local concerns. Anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic sentiment was sparked in southern Texas. In California, anti-Asian racism was peddled. In the Dry states, the Klan was associated with the temperance movements. The chameleon nature of the Klan made it highly successful throughout the 1920s. However, opponents of the Klan satirised and spoke out publicly against the organisation. The following political cartoons reveal such attitudes. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Identify the nature, propaganda and tactics used by white supremacist groups in the 1920s to the 1940s.

Account for the popularity and influence of the Klan in America.

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.12

Source A



'The Answer', a political cartoon by Charles Henry Sykes, published in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, October 1921

Source B



'One Must be Extinguished', a cartoon by Leslie Rogers published in the African-American newspaper *The Chicago Defender*, 31 March 1923. It shows the Statue of Liberty; one arm, labelled Liberty, holds the torch of Democracy. The other arm, labelled KKK, holds the fiery cross of racial hatred.

Source C



'The Missing Sheet and Pillowcase has turned up!', a cartoon by Edmund Gale published in the *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1922

Copy and complete the following source analysis table.

Question	Source A	Source B	Source C
Identify the title/ caption of the cartoon.			
Identify where the cartoon was published.			
Describe the main figures or symbols in the cartoon.			
Interpret the message about the Klan that is presented in the cartoon.			
Describe the perspective of 1920s America that these cartoons reveal.			
Evaluate the reliability and usefulness of this source in revealing the popularity of the Klan in 1920s.			

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.13

Historical empathy

- 1 Consider what perspective of the Klan is depicted in this cartoon. Identify the comments and criticism of the Klan that this source presents.
- 2 Describe how you think such an image would have been received by an American audience at the time.
- 3 Account for changes in attitudes and racism in modern times. Support your response with historic and current evidence from media, texts and social sources.

SOURCE 6.35 'Their Christmas Tree', a cartoon published in *Judge*, 16 December 1922, reprinted in *The Afro-American*, Baltimore, 29 December 1922



CREATIVE TASK 6.14

Write an extended article for the *Los Angeles Times* on the Klan. In your article include the different arguments for and against the Klan and explain how each argument aligns or rejects American ideologies of the times in the 1920s.



SOURCE 6.36 A 1926 march in Washington DC, led by Grand Wizard David Curtis Stephenson



SOURCE 6.37 Madge Oberholtzer

Demise of the Klan

The Klan's popularity in the mid-1920s was unprecedented. Grand Wizard David Curtis Stephenson led an organisation with over 350 000 members in Indiana, and over 4 million members nationally. He preached Americanism and a war on anti-Prohibition vices such as drinking, prostitution and gambling.

Yet Stephenson was ultimately brought down by his own hubris and misuse of power. He led a violent and prolonged attack on a 28-year-old woman, Madge Oberholtzer. Klansmen had kidnapped the young woman from Indianapolis, raped and viciously beat her in a small nearby town of Hammond. She was released the next morning and in desperation fled to a pharmacist and begged for a fatal dose of mercury tablets ('mercuric chloride'). Madge consumed the six mercury tablets and died an agonising

and horrific death, allegedly from an infection caused by the vicious bite wounds that occurred during the attack, particularly on her breast, combined with the effects of the mercury poisoning.

Stephenson and his Klansmen were indicted on charges of second-degree murder. They were unremorseful and were convinced their political allies would save them from a guilty verdict. Stephenson's political alliances included the Governor of Indiana, Ed Jackson. Despite Stephenson's protestations of innocence, he was convicted. His political friend, Ed Jackson, refused to pardon him.

CLOSING ARGUMENT FOR THE PROSECUTION: WILLIAM REMY

We have had a fair trial and these defendants have had a fair trial. No one in the history of jurisprudence ever had a fairer trial.

Gentlemen of the jury. . . Madge Oberholtzer is dead.

She would be alive today if it was not for the unlawful acts of David C. Stephenson, Earl Klinck and Earl Gentry. They destroyed her body. They tried to destroy her soul. And here in the past few days they have attempted to befoul her character. It's easy to understand that any man who had stooped to the crimes charged against the defendants would not hesitate to assassinate a character.

Madge Oberholtzer was looking into the face of eternity when she made her statement. All the means that were employed by the defense couldn't break it down. And so, they tried to make you think that Madge Oberholtzer was a bad girl! That is the most shameful page of the history of this case. They put their gang on the stand – I say gang advisedly, for these witnesses were part of the little coterie or organization of men who worked for or under Stephenson – some of whom were paid by him and who associated with him. They were put on the stand because they couldn't get anyone else! Her character still shines untarnished!

But they were unable to break down her story. Through their maze of lies and artifices, her statement stands forth as the truth ... He said he was the law in Indiana, and gentlemen, sometimes I think he was not far from being the law in Indiana. Thank God he can't say he is the law in Hamilton County ...

SOURCE 6.38 Trial notes, 12–14 November 1925

The conviction resulted in a dramatic exposé of Indiana's corruption and political intrigue with the Klan and led to its demise in popularity and influence. Attempts to restore the Klan to its pre-1925 membership failed. Marches and parades did little to attract the former members. In Indiana, membership declined by 300 000 immediately following the dramatic trial of Stephenson and his Klansmen. Nationally, the decline of the Klan was exponential, with the loss of over 3 million members in the period 1925–30. A Klan resurgence in the 1930s was short-lived, when its support for the presidential candidate, Franklin D Roosevelt, dissipated due to Roosevelt's sympathy and progressive attitude towards Catholics and Jews. 

6.3 The Great Depression and its impact

The catalyst for the American economy was the Wall Street stock market crash on Black Friday, 29 October 1929. The booming production and manufacturing sector that had escalated in the 1920s shuddered to a sudden and catastrophic halt. The increased production rates during the 1920s of 5.5–6.5 per cent, and the low unemployment rates, had propelled the American dream of self-made wealth, consumption and choice. These nationalistic characteristics resonated with the ideals of the 'self-made man' and 'self-destiny'. Idleness, unemployment and under-consumption were associated with anti-democratic principles.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Discuss why and how a majority of Americans were indoctrinated by the Klan.

Explain the short-term and long-term factors behind the demise of the Klan.

INQUIRY QUESTION

What was the impact of the Depression?

President Harding, who was elected in an overwhelming majority in 1920, desired to return America to normalcy and decency. Government and foreign policy intervention were rejected and the absolute quest for liberal democracy unbridled by regulation and interference was unleashed. According to Harding, governments were burdensome and ungainly and meddlesome government actions were to be legislated against.

I speak for administrative efficiency, for lightened tax burdens ... for the omission of unnecessary interference of government with business, for an end to government's experiment in business, and for more efficient business in government administration.

SOURCE 6.39 President Warren Harding, Inaugural Address, 4 March 1921

In the years following Harding's presidency, the US Gross National Product increased by 59 per cent and personal income increased by 38 per cent. Wages had increased generally by over 4 per cent in the period 1923–29; yet farmers (who had experienced a short-lived prosperity in the war years)

Federal Reserve Act the system that created the American Federal Reserve Bank in 1913

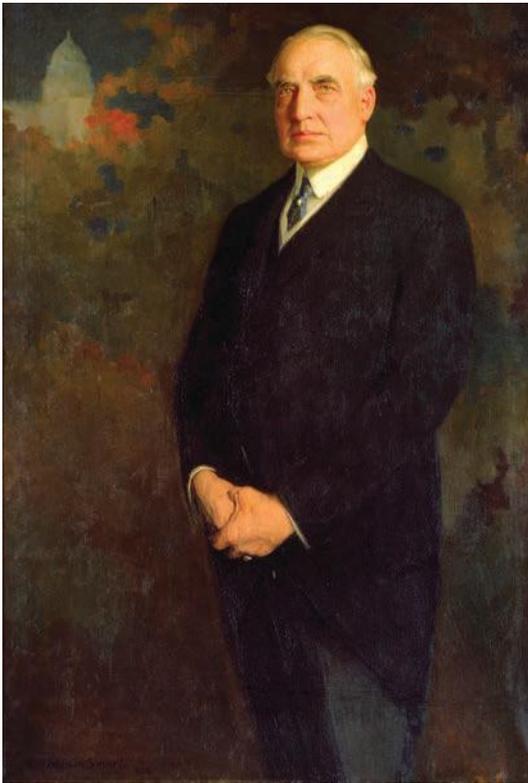
laissez-faire an economic system in which transactions between private parties are free from government intervention (such as regulation, privileges, tariffs and subsidies)

dropped their prices by 9 per cent. Specifically farming produce such as wool fell from 80 cents to 20 cents per pound. This decline in American farming prices was compounded by the resumption of the European farming markets after the early war years. In comparison American farming produce was highly priced and international demand fell.

The federalism that had influenced the architecture of America continued to shape the economy. Fears of monopolies and centralised federal government power had led to the creation in 1913 of the **Federal Reserve Act**. This meant that smaller and often rural banks, that were individually owned in different state jurisdictions, continued to expand, offering credit and hire-purchase loans for new technologies and consumer

goods. Such banks had no federal cash or reserves backing them up. They offered loans to the new members of the middle classes during the 1920s. This resulted in the expansion of debt from 1921 to 1927 from US\$560 million to US\$2.9 billion. Meanwhile, according to economic historians, bank deposits decreased and the number of private banks failed (Witcher & Horton, 2013, p. 80).

The fundamental Puritan narrative of the US democratic state had failed to provide for the rural farm workers and the urban manufacturing classes. Agricultural prices had fallen, manufacturing (using new technologies and systems introduced by industrial capitalists such as Henry Ford) had exponentially increased the levels of production of new materials and new technologies. Speculative investment on the stocks had resulted in price rises of stocks of 99 per cent by the end of the Roaring Twenties and a Gross Domestic Profit (GDP) of 9 per cent between 1929 and 1930, yet by 1931 these gains had shrunk. Essentially, the means of production had accelerated, but the **laissez-faire** federalism of America had restricted the means that ordinary and working-class people had to consume and purchase these products. Investors, realising that the market could not sustain increased prices without the economic basis to absorb production, panicked and sold shares quickly. New technologies, such as automobiles and radios, were driving increased production



SOURCE 6.40 President Warren Harding

targets. Such industries created the demand for secondary materials and manufacturing such as rubber, leather, glass and civil road works and infrastructure. The widespread use of exorbitant hire-purchase schemes to fund the purchase of these consumer goods meant that over 50 per cent of automobiles and 70 per cent of radio crystal sets were paid for on credit. Agricultural technologies were simultaneously improved, increasing the produce available in the market. Yet the end of World War I had seen the protectionism on farming produce lifted, leading to falling agricultural prices and an excess of supply. The US economic policy had increased tariffs to protect newly emergent manufacturing industries with the **Smoot–Hawley Tariffs**, subsequently disengaging European nations from American imports.



SOURCE 6.41 Men looking for work during the Great Depression, wearing signs 'Decent Jobs Wanted', 1931

The background to the Great Depression and the birth of Hooverism

The slide towards American economic disaster dragged Europe and the rest of the world into the Great Depression as America recalled loans from World War I as its fiscal resources dwindled. Coupled with these economic realities was the American belief about individualism as the main determinant of success and entitlement. Social and public welfare, unemployment benefits and industry regulation were not part of the American dream. Some of the main issues and causes for the Great Depression occurred due to the American class system, the lack of social welfare and the prevailing belief that poverty was a sign of moral weakness and laziness rather than economic structures. These causes included the following aspects:

- The wealthy in America owned both the means of production and were creditors for the vast majority of Americans. Over 20 per cent of Americans owned cars through hire-purchase schemes, yet 67 per cent of Americans were classified below the poverty line.
- In 1932, unemployment had reached astoundingly high levels of 22.5 per cent across the states. Automobile accidents and mortality that had grown increasingly high during the pre-Depression years had fallen dramatically as people returned cars bought on extraordinarily high interest rates.
- The dream of consumption, fuelled by technological expansion, was synonymous with American success and greatness.
- The decline of income by over 40 per cent between 1929 and 1932 shocked America.
- The national narrative elevated material wealth with personal and moral fortitude and work ethic. Unemployment, destitution, homelessness and bankruptcy were un-American. Suddenly, the US President Herbert Hoover was associated with soup kitchens, skid rows and shanty towns filled with cardboard housing and disenfranchised working classes.

Smoot–Hawley Tariff

also known as the Hawley–Smoot Tariff, this was a tax or policy introduced in 1930 that protected American industries by raising a tax on over 20 000 imported goods

Great Depression started with the stock market crash in 1929 and sent reverberations around the world as America called in foreign loans; it also sent shockwaves through America, which had never seen such unemployment and poverty

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Research the causes of the Great Depression.

Why was America deeply affected by the Great Depression?

Effects of the Great Depression

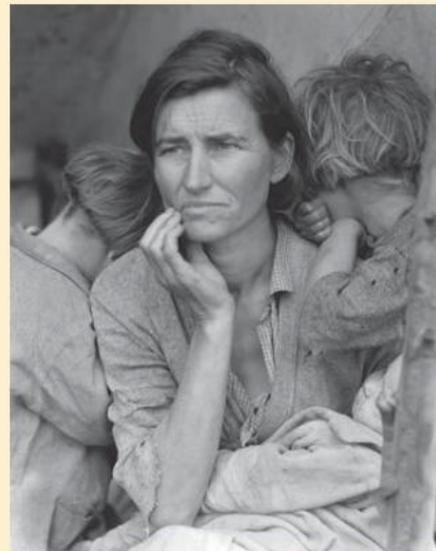
The regional and rural centres in the mid-west and southern states were affected more severely in the **Great Depression**. A devastating drought had reduced the land to a 'Dust Bowl', with falling agricultural prices domestically and internationally compounding a desperate situation. Sharecroppers and tenants were significantly affected, with many American families on the starvation line during lean years. Their precarious existence was exasperated by deserting spouses heading westward for work and traditional gender roles being questioned. The infamous photograph of the *Migrant Mother* (1936) reveals the effects and the devastation of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression on the United States. This historic photograph has been depicted as an authentic source revealing the hardships of the time. 

ANALYSING SOURCES 6.15

- 1 Describe the source image.
- 2 Assess how you respond to this image.
- 3 Explain why you think this is a powerful image of the United States in the 1930s.
- 4 Evaluate why you think migrant workers and families were more affected by the Great Depression.
- 5 Identify what could be omitted or biased about this source.



SOURCE 6.43 Sharecropper family in the Great Depression, photographed by Walker Evans at Hale County, Alabama, circa 1936



SOURCE 6.42 *Migrant Mother*, Dorothea Lange, 1936

- 1 Describe the evidence of the Great Depression shown in this photograph.
- 2 Discuss how you imagine life for such a family was during the worst years of the Depression, 1929–32.
- 3 Describe how you think the Great Depression impacted upon family and ordinary life in this period.



SOURCE 6.44 A Black American family leaving Florida for the North during the Great Depression. The mass movement of Black Americans from the rural South to the urban north-east and mid-west between 1916 and 1970 was known as the Great Migration.

- 1 Outline what this image suggests about the effect of the Great Depression on people in the United States.
- 2 Describe how you think race relations were affected by the Great Depression in America.
- 3 Explain what this source suggests about the opportunities in the United States prior to the Great Depression for different races and classes.

The experience of the Great Depression

During this time, record numbers of Americans were unemployed; housing, manufacturing and consumption levels fell and the shallow emptiness of American idealism and capitalism was revealed. The average American family annual income dropped by 40 per cent: from US\$2300 to US\$1500. The effect on society was significant. Marriage rates declined, children were placed in care, people lost their jobs and unemployment increased by 50 per cent from 1929 to 1931. Over a quarter of a million people migrated to the western states such as California for work; 90 000 businesses had closed. Wages in the early 1930s had decreased by 50 per cent. Over 13 000 000 workers lost their jobs. Families were challenged by the traditional gender interdependence, with boys and young girls performing small jobs and domestic chores to assist the family. Homelessness and hunger deprivation were a constant source of social uneasiness and discord. Over 20 000 Americans committed suicide. Death from starvation, which was unheard of in a modern industrialised twentieth-century nation, occurred increasingly frequently. Sources describe how newspapers became the sustenance of a nation, acting as ‘Hoover blankets’ (named after the failed American President) sheltering the cold and needy. The experience of the Great Depression was intensified by the lack of social and economic welfare of the American capitalist government. To this point, anti-interventionist, laissez-faire and capitalistic American governments were unfamiliar with socialist policy and provisions. While Australia and Germany suffered much worse hyperinflation, unemployment and poverty, the American experience undermined the very foundations of the US Constitution and threatened to implode the relatively young nation. Historically, this period is often described as a shaking of the immutable and inevitable American Manifest Destiny. Yet more recent scholarship and colour photographs of the time reveal more about American resilience and

Hoover blankets old newspapers being used as blankets during the Great Depression; the term was devised in response to the President’s provisions during the early years of the Great Depression

adaptability. The popular game of 'Monopoly' was designed in the 1930s, along with some classic American literature and films (*Gone with the Wind*, *Frankenstein*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Of Mice and Men*). These aspects of popular culture present a different message about hope, survival and a return to American greatness. These artefacts of popular culture reveal an America that was still clinging to ideals of hope and prosperity. Despite the economic decline and the reduction of consumption, American escapism and commentary survived and the cinema and moving pictures industry continued with lavish productions that referenced more noble times, self-sacrifice and traditional values.

RESEARCH TASK 6.16

Select a text or movie written or produced at this time and interpret any historical references to this period. Describe the comment made in the text.

The Hoover presidency

Herbert Hoover was the 31st US president, serving from 1929 to 1933, during the Great Depression.

He is often described as being a noble and dignified leader who had played a prominent role in managing the humanitarian crisis in Europe after World War I. He was an engineer who had served as head of the American Relief Administration. He was elected as president at a time of hopefulness and speculation prior to the Depression.

During his time as president, he cut taxes and tried to stimulate the economy with large-scale projects, including the commencement of construction of the Hoover Dam. Yet, historians write of his dry, humble and boring speeches as causing Americans to protest and decry their president. The White House archives reveal that he was a hardworking president, who often gave very human and empathetic responses to crises, yet failed to capitalise or sensationalise these to the media at a time when many people were destitute, homeless and jobless. According to historians Smith and Walch, Hoover was frequently blamed for all that was rotten and hopeless at the time and many undesirable and makeshift aspects of the Depression such as impermanent housing, materials and resources were given the Hooverisms.



SOURCE 6.45 President Herbert Hoover



SOURCE 6.46 A young Hoover supporter in 1932 campaigning for Hoover's potential second term. He eventually lost to Franklin D Roosevelt.

Desperate encampments of tin and cardboard shacks were dubbed 'Hoovervilles.' There were 'Hoover hogs' (armadillos fit for eating), 'Hoover flags' (empty pockets turned inside out), 'Hoover blankets' (newspapers barely covering the destitute forced to sleep outdoors), and 'Hoover Pullmans' (empty boxcars used by an army of vagabonds escaping from their roots).

SOURCE 6.47 Smith and Walch, 2004

Hoover was deeply affected by the plight of many Americans and evidence suggests this took a personal and professional toll on him. His hair turned white, he lost weight and eventually he lost office to Franklin D Roosevelt, who promoted an anti-individualist socialist platform. Hoover commented on the Depression that 'No sooner is one leak plugged up than it is necessary to dash over and stop another that has broken out. There is no end to it.'

An incident during the 1932 Presidential campaign where 62 000 World War I veterans demanded a bonus and set up camp near the White House during the height of the Depression, when the government could least afford to meet these demands, was a flashpoint in Hoover's presidency. He secretly provided the veterans with tents, medical supplies and food. When their demands were defeated in Congress, Hoover offered them free train-rides home. Most of the veterans disbanded quietly, but some pro-Communist militants remained. These groups staged a further protest at a site due for demolition and local police shot two of the protesters. Hoover reluctantly agreed to allow General Macarthur to disband the protest and escort these men from the site. Macarthur did so with a show of force that completely mocked Hoover's authority and could be interpreted as a form of *coup d'état*, or exhibition of militaristic power, at a time when America was socially depressed but not at war. According to Smith and Walch, Roosevelt realised 'Well, this elects me.'

Hoover was defeated in the 1932 presidential elections by Roosevelt, and was to become a scapegoat for the Depression. In response, Hoover claimed 'democracy is a harsh employer'. He continued to raise philanthropic funds and write on this period. Later, he became firm friends with President Truman and served his country by lowering costs on resource expenditure during the war years as US Food Administrator. In this role he lowered European reliance on American food aid, supported populations in Belgium with critical food rationing and proved to be a wonderful humanitarian leader. The Boulder Dam, which had been completed by Roosevelt, was once again renamed as the Hoover Dam, to honour the man who had commenced its construction as a way of combating the Great Depression in 1946.



SOURCE 6.48 Economic collapse and the hard times that followed led to the creation of shanty towns by impoverished families. Since many people blamed Hoover and the government for their continued suffering, these shanties were often referred to as 'Hoovervilles'.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

As a class discuss the perspectives of Hoover's presidency and evaluate his role in the Great Depression.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR)

In 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), a Democrat, was elected as president on a platform of pragmatism and socialism. His inaugural address reveals the issues faced by Americans in the throes of the Great Depression.

The withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return.

SOURCE 6.49 President Franklin D Roosevelt's 1932 inauguration speech



SOURCE 6.50 Franklin D Roosevelt

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- Who was FDR?
- Outline the presidency of FDR.

As a class discuss the following: was FDR an effective leader of America at this time? Consider his actions, strengths and weaknesses in regard to domestic and foreign policy.

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did America use government intervention in the 1930s?

The impact of the New Deal

Roosevelt's '**New Deal**' was a raft of social and economic policies that provided government support for those affected in the Great Depression. Highly controversial, these policies implemented government intervention and regulation, controlled the banks and interfered with public spending and infrastructure. Roosevelt refused to continue the international practice of linking the currency to the **Gold Standard** and embarked on a period of social and economic engineering. Critics and historians discuss the New Deal as a pragmatic step to overcome the poverty and misery of the Great Depression, yet its socialist tendencies are very apparent. Bills passed rapidly through Congress, legislating civil works, communications, housing securities and farm credit. These policies boosted GDP by 10.8 per cent by 1934. These increases to public expenditure continued to 1938 when public debt was mounting and public pressure and resistance to government centralisation was rising.

New Deal the social and economic policies of the Roosevelt administration in the 1930s, employed to help America recover from the effects of the Great Depression

Gold Standard a standard where the currency value is linked to gold prices; a country using the Gold Standard must have gold reserves to cover any currency it prints

The New Deal resulted in the construction of major infrastructure including the Hoover Dam, the San Francisco Golden Gate Bridge, the Chrysler Building, the Rockefeller Centre and the Dealey Plaza in Dallas. Prohibition was reversed, and the government collected tax on alcohol sales. The government also poured millions into regulating and controlling inflationary prices, providing relief to farming and other industries, as well as regulating the banks and other essential industries and financing capital works.

In rural states, the New Deal was an overwhelming success with large majorities voting for the FDR in 1936. Farm recovery was evident by as early as 1932, with growth exceeding US\$4.6 billion. The recovery of the farming sector was the result of direct government support. Such direct support was unprecedented in American history and opened up new opportunities for those who had previously been heavily disadvantaged by the new forms of production and labour.

With new migrants at the mercy of economic changes FDR did well and secured a new populist base who wanted labour and welfare provisions. Labour unions supported the changes which offered new opportunities for the working classes. Yet despite these economic and social successes the impact and legacy of the New Deal is contested by historians.

A prominent historian, David M Kennedy, suggests:

By any standard, the achievements of the Hundred Days were impressive. The New Deal had decisively halted the banking panic. It had invented wholly new institutions to restructure vast tracts of the nation's economy, from banking to agriculture to industry to labor relations. It had authorized the biggest public works program in American history. It had earmarked billions of dollars for federal relief to the unemployed. It had designated the great Tennessee watershed as the site of an unprecedented experiment in comprehensive, planned regional development. No less important, the spirit of the country, so discouraged by four years of economic devastation, had been infused with Roosevelt's own contagious optimism and hope ... But for all of the excitement about the Hundred Days ... the Depression still hung darkly over the land ...

SOURCE 6.52 David M Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945*, 1999, pp. 153–4

Other historians, such as Anthony Badger, argue that:

[C]elebration of the Hundred Days and the subsequent New Deal has been challenged. Critics on the right, ranging from Herbert Hoover to economic historians of the 1980s and 1990s, have argued that Roosevelt artificially created a crisis in 1933, used the analogy of the wartime emergency, and foisted economic regimentation and government control onto the American people. For them, 1933 was a decisive wrong turn in American history, one that set the nation firmly on the road to collectivism and the creation of a Leviathan that is the modern insatiable, bureaucratic state. As a result, conservative critics argue, the commitment of both ordinary Americans and their leaders to individualism, the free market and limited government suffered a blow from which the nation has never fully recovered.

SOURCE 6.53 Anthony Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days*, 2008, pp. xv–xvi



SOURCE 6.51 Workers on their way to fill a gully with wheelbarrows of earth during the construction of a major road, under President Roosevelt's New Deal, San Francisco, California, 1934

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Explain the influence of FDR and the New Deal on alleviating the effects of the Great Depression. To what extent was America influenced by socialist policies and ideas during the 1930s?

At the heart of the dissension was FDR's co-opting of American capitalists under the mandate of the **National Recovery Act**. This Act was the ultimate in government interference: fixing both prices and supplies. Price inflation or market provisions were actively resisted, punitive restrictions and convictions were made against any person or group that raised prices. Some historians likened the New Deal to a form of medieval fiefdom (Powell, 2003) or modern-day Marxism. 

National Recovery Act

this legislated the US President to regulate wages and directly control labour and wages

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 6.17

Contestability

Consider the different historians' interpretations on the New Deal. Justify using evidence for your support for one historian's view.

... here I was, in a country where a right to say how the country should be governed was restricted to six persons in each thousand of its population ... I was become a stockholder in a corporation where nine hundred and ninety-four of the members furnished all the money and did all the work, and the other six elected themselves a permanent board of direction and took all the dividends. It seemed to me that what the nine hundred and ninety-four dupes needed was a new deal.



SOURCE 6.55 'It IS a New Deal', a political cartoon by Talburt, published in the *Pittsburgh Press*, 11 November 1933, in response to Roosevelt's New Deal programs

SOURCE 6.54 Mark Twain, *A New Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What were the key factors leading to the New Deal?
- Outline the reforms made in the New Deal.

As a class discuss if government intervention was necessary in America at this time, and how effective it was.

Eleanor Roosevelt

Eleanor Roosevelt, the wife of FDR, is credited with providing the women's vote in support of the New Deal and her husband's presidency in both 1933 and 1936. A mother of six, she was an outspoken civil and human rights advocate and served as delegate and chair to the United Nations that drafted the Human Rights Declaration in 1946. Eleanor Roosevelt is an important historical personality whose personal influence should be acknowledged in the socially progressive policies of the United States during the 1930s. Her stance against racial discrimination at a time when tensions stretched the social fabric



SOURCE 6.56 Eleanor Roosevelt

during the Great Depression reveal that she was a significant driving force behind some of the interventions of the 1930s. Her radio promotions advertising a range of products made her a popular figure at the time. She also wrote magazine columns and was seen to be politically progressive. She supported FDR during the 12-year period of his presidency, which included such tumultuous events as the Great Depression and the commencement of World War II. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Debating



Was Eleanor Roosevelt a significant historical leader during this period, and should her achievements be studied today?

6.4 US foreign policy 1930–41

In the 1930s, following the devastation of World War I, US foreign policy retreated to focus on domestic issues and growth. ‘Isolationism’ or strategic and nuanced foreign policy was preferred to sending soldiers overseas and commemorating their deaths.

American casualties in World War I	
Total US service members (worldwide)	16 112 566
Battle deaths	53 402
Other deaths in service (non-theatre)	63 114
Non-mortal woundings	204 002

Source: US Department of Veterans Affairs website

INQUIRY QUESTION

Debate the reasons for and against American isolationism.

Key actions in US foreign policy and isolationism

The following actions reveal the depth of US isolationism:

- Expansion by the neo-imperialist Japanese in Manchuria in 1931 saw a deliberate refusal by the United States to recognise territorial squabbles.
- The Stimson Doctrine both condemned territorial expansion and forbade US interference in such international affairs.
- In 1934, the Johnson Debt Default Act made it incumbent on any foreign nations to repay their US debts.
- The loans the United States had extended to Germany (following the Treaty of Versailles and legislated for in the Dawes Act) were recalled, sending prices in the Weimar Republic into hyperinflation.
- FDR’s refusal to tie US currency to the Gold Standard at a time of deteriorating international relations is also viewed as a sign that the United States at this time was in a state of domestic myopia.
- A series of Neutrality Acts were passed by Congress in response to the growing threat of the European War, further limiting US involvement in the war against fascism, despite FDR’s distaste for such blatant apathy over what was threatening European interests.

Some historians have argued that such isolationism was not absolute and there were varying interests and parties of dissent about this action. Yet such ideas of the time may be seen as biased and intent on redressing the impotency of the US response prior to December 1941.

Isolationists undeniably played some role in the politics of the era, but they hardly dominated the political scene; they can best be described as ‘a voluble and vehement minority which on occasion could make its influence effective’.

SOURCE 6.57 Whitney, et al., 1939

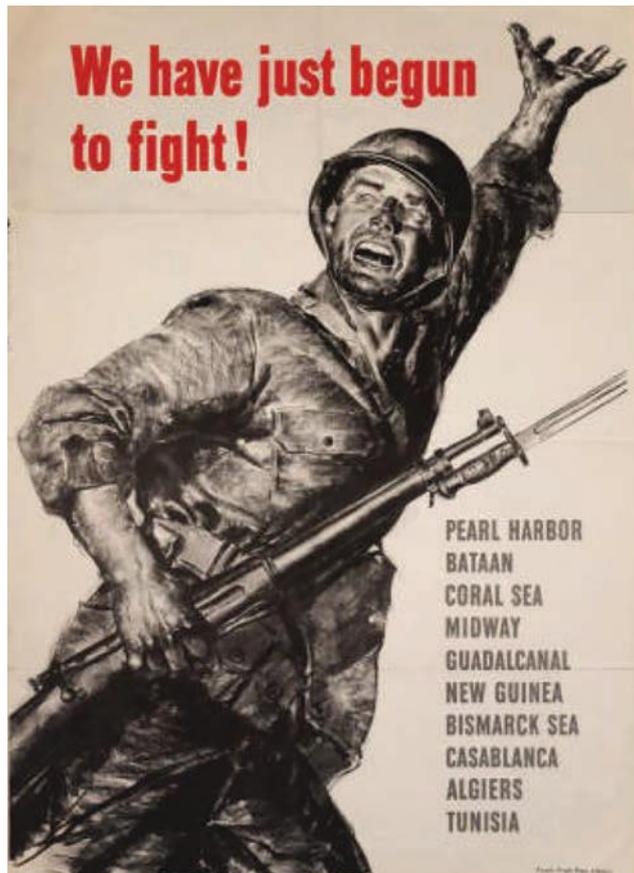
Pearl Harbor



SOURCE 6.58 Smoke rises from the battleship USS *Arizona* as it sinks during the attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941.



SOURCE 6.59 A newspaper informing Americans of the attack on Pearl Harbor, *San Antonio Express*, 8 December 1941



The Great Depression saw a fundamental change and shift from American individualism to American collectivism. Yet in the early hours of 7 December 1941, American nationalism and patriotism was provoked by the attack in Hawaii at Pearl Harbor. The Japanese destroyed the USS *Arizona* and sank 12 ships, with a further nine warships damaged. Over 160 aircraft were targeted in the attack. Word of the attack was understated. It said simply: **AIR RAID ON PEARL HARBOR X THIS IS NOT DRILL.**

Over 30 American destroyers, submarines and cruisers were devastated by the Japanese aerial attack. Over 2400 US soldiers were killed and over 1000 more were injured. Such an attack struck at American power, nationalism and military dominance in 1941. Previous US administrations had been enticed reluctantly into World War I, attempted to sidestep their international obligations with the League of Nations and prevaricated with their foreign isolationism during the Great Depression. During this attack American interests had been directly attacked and

SOURCE 6.60 A 1943 World War II recruitment poster. The battles listed beside the soldier include combat action from 1941 to 1943, beginning with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

the United States was forced to enter the War in the Pacific and defend its interests. This reversed the policy of isolationism and propelled the United States into flexing its technological might with devastating effects.

The War in the Pacific continued until the devastating events on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 with over 160 000 dead as a result of the Manhattan Project and the dropping of the atomic bomb. 🔑

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



How did Pearl Harbor change US foreign policy?



SOURCE 6.61 (Left) The atomic bomb, nicknamed 'Little Boy', in 1945 before it was dropped on Hiroshima. (Right) The Atomic Dome in Hiroshima, today. This was the only building left standing after the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima.

Conclusion

Most historians believe that US interests were **protectionist** and domestically centred at the time, and that they were focused on wanting to improve the lives of Americans following the legacy and impact of World War I and changes in American industry in the 1920s. The films and literature of the period reference a grand narrative of a bygone era where past success and tradition could be easily recaptured. The acclaimed novel of John Steinbeck *'The Grapes of Wrath'* is a satirical indictment of a country too preoccupied with the self and individual suffering to recognise the plight of those minority groups who were deeply affected by the lack of social welfare during this period. American industrialisation, consumerism, nationalism, capitalism and liberalism competed for pre-eminence during this interwar period. It was both an era of self-interest and hedonism, avid fascination with domestic affairs and foreign restraint and a time of brief flirtation with government regulation and quasi-socialist policies.

This chapter has traced the development of the American nation in the early part of the twentieth century. The American obsession with individualism is contested during this time. In the early years of the twentieth century, the Progressives challenged the social order and fabric of this ultra-conservative and Puritan society. The Progressives demanded collective benefits and support for underprivileged groups and advocated for education, government support and fairer working conditions. The Great Depression threatened the wealth of America and forced the nation to consider heightened levels of federalist intervention in social

protectionist laws or methods intended to help a country's trade or industry by putting taxes on goods bought from other countries or by limiting the amount of goods that can be imported



SOURCE 6.62 Poster for the movie and book of John Steinbeck's Depression-era classic story *The Grapes of Wrath*. The novel was released in 1939 and the film adaptation a year later.

and fiscal policy. During this period, increased urbanisation and migration made America diverse, although it segregated itself into the extremes of ghettos and social cliques. Cities expanded, and a mass exodus of people fled to new centres of wealth such as Detroit and Chicago. Racial tensions were escalating during this time, with lynching and reprisals against migrants and Black Americans. Foreign policy became introspective and isolationist. The direct attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 changed this mindset, and saw America use its wealth and power to engage in the Pacific and European spheres of World War II. It was an era of intense social and economic turmoil, with cultural changes in the attitudes towards women, migrants and minority groups challenged. The arts, music, dance, fashion and literature reflected these societal changes.

CHAPTER 6 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CONSUMERISM AND INDUSTRIALISATION

- American consumerism flourished after World War I, with the advent of new technologies and industries developed in and after the war.
- These technologies made daily life easier and the comparative wealth of America in comparison to war-torn Europe made Americans hungry for more consumer products, films, music, the arts, fashion and automobiles.
- With modernisation of industries, such as automobile production, urbanisation increased dramatically.

URBANISATION AND MIGRATION

- The population of cities like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia grew into the millions and new centres of production such as Detroit (with the automobile industry) grew from less than 100 000 people in the pre-war years to over 1.5 million by 1929.
- Chicago and Detroit swelled in their number of migrant and Black workers.
- Internal migration from southern rural states such as Mississippi into places like Chicago was high, but it also led to ghettos and cultural intolerance.
- Restrictions on immigration were implemented in 1924 to prevent large numbers of foreigners arriving.
- Class and cultural inequities divided people in urban areas in different zones and housing in the cities.
- Demographic changes and traditional fears and antagonisms resulted in escalating race riots in the North of America.

THE PROGRESSIVES, WETS AND DRYS

- The Eighteenth Amendment to the US Constitution banned the sale, production and transportation of intoxicating liquor from 1920 to 1933.
- This Prohibition era was considered an important social, economic and moral experiment in curbing drinking and anti-social behaviours in working classes, minorities, foreigners and non-white Americans.
- The movement aimed to decrease poorhouse populations, tax burdens on the federalist government and improve the moral character, public health and hygiene of America.
- Prohibition divided the nation and radicalised a number of powerful groups. Migrants, Catholics and Jews were resistant to Prohibition and became seen as being distinctly un-American and divisive.
- The Wets wanted to remove the Volstead Act and were vehemently opposed by the Drys, who campaigned against the violence and unlawfulness of importing, selling and drinking liquor.
- American exhortation, gangsters and corruption were rife in this period.

THE RISE, TACTICS AND PROPAGANDA OF RACISM AND SUPREMACIST GROUPS

- The Ku Klux Klan used violence and intimidation against minority groups and Black Americans.
- These tactics included infiltration of local community organisations, elected officials and even political office.

- These methods resulted in public lynchings and beatings, mass public rallies and marches, and aligned themselves with conservative and Christian beliefs and motifs.
- It is estimated that by 1925 the Klan had over 4 million members.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

- The Great Depression, commencing in 1929 with the stock market crash, affected over 67 per cent of Americans due to unemployment, marriage breakdown, homelessness and destitution.
- The average American family annual income dropped by 40 per cent from US\$2300 to US\$1500.
- A devastating drought had reduced the land to a 'Dust Bowl', which led to falling agricultural prices domestically, compounding a desperate situation internationally.
- Herbert Hoover was elected as president in 1929 and had to contend with the effects of the Great Depression.
- Hoover initiated large-scale infrastructure projects that were later completed by President Franklin D Roosevelt.
- Hoover was blamed for the Great Depression and many idioms of the time used 'Hooverisms' to depict how he had caused the Depression.

FRANKLIN D ROOSEVELT (FDR) AND THE NEW DEAL

- The New Deal was a range of social and economic policies implemented by FDR giving government support for those affected in the Depression.
- This included regulating and controlling inflationary prices, providing relief to farm and other industries and regulating banks and other essential industries and capital works.
- The New Deal was controversial, with many seeing this as socialist and anti-American.

US FOREIGN POLICY AND ISOLATIONISM

- US isolationism meant that domestic policies were pre-eminent, and America did not actively intervene in the escalation of World War II.
- This period of isolationism ended with the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.
- American rhetoric and policy has shifted dramatically since 1941.

Key terms and names

Write a definition for each of the following historical terms, individuals and groups:

- 1) Progressives
- 2) New Deal
- 3) FDR
- 4) Great Depression
- 5) Prohibition

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Create a timeline of the main social and political events impacting America in the period 1919–41.
- Explain which of these events had the most impact on American society.

2 Continuity and change

- Summarise how America was affected by urbanisation, migration and consumerism in the period 1919–36.

3 Perspectives

The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it comes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is fascism – ownership of government by an individual, by a group.

President Franklin D Roosevelt, 1933

- Discuss this statement from FDR. In what ways was America a ‘fascist state’ in 1933?

4 Significance

- Evaluate the historical significance of the Great Depression in changing the national character of American society.
- Assess how historically significant the Klan was in shaping American society in the 1920s and 1930s.

5 Contestability

Isolationists undeniably played some role in the politics of the era, but they hardly dominated the political scene.

Whitney et al., 1939

- To what extent was the failure of US foreign policy a result of isolationism or narcissistic domestic fanaticism?

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Explain the changes to US foreign policy in the period 1919–41.
- Explain the influence of FDR and the New Deal on alleviating the effects of the Great Depression.

- To what extent was America influenced by socialist policies and ideas during the 1930s?
- Assess the impact of World War I on different groups in American society.
- Justify how mass manufacturing shaped American society and class structures in the 1920s.
- Demonstrate historical evidence of American economic growth in the period 1917 to 1925.
- Describe social and economic changes in the 1920s in America.
- Identify the historical causes of Prohibition.
- Explain how the Drys gained such influence in the Prohibition era.
- Account for the influence of American Christian beliefs and Puritan ideology on attitudes towards Prohibition and the Volstead Act.
- Assess the impact of Prohibition on American social stability, economic production and politics.
- Outline the main social, political, economic and cultural changes of United States. Select one of these changes and consider its impact on the development of the American national character and domestic policy.
- Describe the conservative influence on American domestic policy in the years 1918 to 1930.
- To what extent is American capitalism significant in the early twentieth century?
- Analyse how equitable and democratic American capitalism is in this period.
- Investigate how capitalism influenced American domestic and foreign policy in this period.

2 Historical interpretation

- Assess the different historical interpretations of American isolationism and consider how this concept defined and shaped the nation.

3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Source A and your own knowledge, explain the irony of this image.

SOURCE A



Black American flood victims lining up to get food and clothing from a relief station in front of a billboard ironically proclaiming 'World's highest standard of living/There's no way like the American way', circa 1937

4 Historical investigation and research

- Investigate the influence of conservatism on America in the period 1919–41.
- Explain how American conservatism undermined the American ideologies of Manifest Destiny and democracy.

5 Further essay questions

- Analyse the role of urbanisation and industrialisation in shaping American society in this period.
- Evaluate the success of government intervention programs in the 1930s in American society.
- To what extent was American isolationism a failure of US foreign policy in the period 1919–41?
- Account for the rise, tactics and impact of the Ku Klux Klan in the period from 1919 to the 1930s.
- Consider and discuss the impact of the Progressives on American society in the period from 1920 to 1936.

CHAPTER 7

China 1927–49

This chapter is available in the digital version of the textbook.

Cambridge



PART 3

Peace and conflict

CHAPTER



Chapter 8 Conflict in Indochina 1954–79



Chapter 9 Conflict in Europe 1935–45



Chapter 10 The Cold War 1945–91

Older men declare war, it is the youth that must fight and die.
Herbert Hoover, 31st President of the United States

PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

A 'hot' conflict of the Cold War

Political, social and strategic reasons drew the United States into a war against a peasant nation of nationalists.

The good war?

World War II was born out of the legacy of the traumas of World War I in the growth of fascism, totalitarianism and militarism across Europe and Asia.

Superpowers face off

The Cold War was a protracted and dangerous period in recent history that fostered global instability.



PICTURED: Crosses for American soldiers of World War II at Normandy American Cemetery and Memorial, Colleville-sur-Mer, Normandy, France

CHAPTER 8

Conflict in Indochina 1954–79

You can kill 10 of my men for every one of yours I kill, but even at those odds you will lose.

Ho Chi Minh, speaking to the French, 1946





The war in Vietnam 1954–79



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate key features of the history of conflict in Indochina 1954–79.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore decolonisation in Indochina, including:

- The First Indochina War (1946–54) and Vietnamese victory against the French
- The legacy of the 1954 Geneva Conference
- Conflict in Vietnam, 1954–64, including:
 - Key military and political developments in North and South Vietnam
- The Second Indochina War, including:
 - Changes in US foreign policy towards Vietnam dating from 1964
 - The nature and efficacy of the strategies used by the North Vietnamese Army, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, the National Liberation Front and the United States
 - The repercussions of the 1968 Tet Offensive
 - The effects of the war on civilians across Indochina
 - The anti-war movements in United States and Australia
 - The logic behind the United States' withdrawal from Vietnam
- The spread of the conflict to Cambodia and Laos



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1954	US President Eisenhower's 'Domino Theory' speech First Indochina War ends Geneva Conference
1955	Second Indochina War begins Ngo Dinh Diem becomes President of the Republic of Vietnam
1960	NLF formed in South Vietnam
1961	US President John F Kennedy approves Vietnam counterinsurgency plan
1962	Major US military build-up begins in Vietnam Strategic Hamlet program begins
1963	South Vietnamese troops attack Buddhist pagodas Military coup removes Ngo Dinh Diem from power Diem and his brother assassinated
1964	Gulf of Tonkin incident US Congress passes Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
1965	Operation Rolling Thunder starts
1967	Anti-war protests begin in the United States
1968	Tet Offensive Attack on Khe Sahn Operation Rolling Thunder ends
1969	Ho Chi Minh dies My Lai massacre
1970	Lon Nol stages coup in Cambodia United States invades Cambodia US Congress prohibits military force in Cambodia and Laos
1971	Pentagon Papers published
1972	Paris peace talks
1973	All US military operations cease in Indochina
1974	Major fighting begins between PAVN and ARVN
1975	North Vietnamese forces invade South Vietnam Khmer Rouge seize power in Cambodia US President Ford declares an end to 'the Vietnam era'
1976	North and South Vietnam officially reunified
1977	Vietnam becomes a member of the United Nations (UN)
1978	The United States, South and North Vietnam sign a peace treaty Vietnam invades Cambodia
1979	Vietnamese troops occupy Phnom Penh Pol Pot ousted from Cambodia





CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 8.2 A young student in San Francisco campaigns against American involvement in the Vietnam War.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 8 Overview

KEY IDEA

Political, social and strategic reasons drew the United States into a war against a peasant nation of nationalists

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

It signifies the pitfalls of politically motivated wars that are fought to preserve ideas

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- communism
- nationalism
- Ho Chi Minh
- French colonialism
- Dien Bien Phu
- John F Kennedy
- Lyndon B Johnson
- Richard Nixon
- Ngo Dinh Diem
- guerrilla warfare
- search and destroy
- Rolling Thunder
- Tet Offensive
- anti-war protests
- Cambodia
- Khmer Rouge

INQUIRY QUESTION

Was American defeat in Vietnam an inevitable consequence of its strategy?

Painting the picture

Approaching the study of conflict in Indochina

As World War II reached its conclusion, two world powers emerged: the Soviet Union (which had suffered millions of deaths in its pursuit to defeat Nazi Germany) and the United States (which had put the entire planet on notice with its use of the atomic bomb to settle the conflict with Japan). As each superpower looked to assert its power

and influence, the 'Cold War' of American and Soviet ideologies spread to nations in the Americas, Europe and Asia. A battle of ideas inspired nations looking to assert their own independence in the post-war world. Who was right, and who was wrong was a matter of perspective.

The study of conflict in Indochina is complex. In simple terms, it follows the desire of Vietnamese nationalists to unify a nation divided by global conflict and colonisation; a force that was consistently misunderstood and underestimated.

In more complex terms, the study follows the misguided attempt that the superpowers, the French and then the United States made to re-establish their empires and for the United States to preserve the identity of Western dominance and democracy. The conflict proved so damaging that Robert Buzzanco argued that 'the spectre of Vietnam has continued to haunt American political and cultural life to this day'.

However, you approach this study, it is essential that it is through more than one set of eyes and experiences. You must examine the identities and factors that shaped the conflict in Indochina. You must

understand the role **nationalism** played in the struggle of the Vietnamese against colonial forces, as well as the role **communism** played in a nation of peasants. From a Cold War perspective, it is vital to view the role of ideology played in drawing America and its allies into a war with North Vietnam and its communist allies, and the devastating consequences modern warfare brought to Vietnam for both combatants and civilians alike.

You should examine the way modern media brought the war to the homes of millions around the world and evaluate the power of media images and social action in swinging popular support away from the conflict.

This study of Indochina will reveal lessons that were so often never learned.

nationalism a nation's wish and attempt to be politically independent

communism the system in a society without different social classes in which the methods of production are owned and controlled by all its members and everyone works as much as they can and receives what they need

8.1 Decolonisation in Indochina

In 1859, the French Empire captured the city of Saigon and thus controlled Indochina, a region that encompasses modern-day Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. As early as 1847, the French colonial forces that had occupied the region of Vietnam claimed to protect converts to Catholicism. In turn, the French used Vietnam

and the surrounding Indochinese regions (known at the time as Cochinchina) for the resources of raw materials so crucial to developing an empire to compete with the British Empire.

By 1887, the independent states of Vietnam had ceased to exist and the Union of French Indochina was formed. The French authorities saw their mission as one of civilising 'poorer', less-developed nations, called the *mission civilisatrice* (or 'civilising mission'). It reflected a common attitude of European imperialism of the nineteenth century that the world outside Europe could only benefit from a civilised, European influence.



SOURCE 8.3 A French woman is helped ashore in Vietnam.

The nature of French rule

Modern-day Vietnam has seen imperial powers come and go. For much of its history, and for the better part of a millennium, Vietnam (as well as its neighbours, Laos and Cambodia) had been under the influence of the powerful Chinese empire. Ruling mostly from a distance, China and the Vietnamese royalty preferred to allow an educated 'Mandarin' class to rule the nation of peasant farmers via a bureaucratic system of privilege.

American journalist and historian David Halberstam noted that even prior to the French arrival Vietnam was 'a rotting society that was becoming increasingly ready for an upheaval'. Once the French arrived, the problems began to rise to the surface.

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.1

If the anti-French, anti-white feeling was submerged, it existed nonetheless, deep and powerful, awaiting only the proper catalyst at the proper time to bring it to the surface and turn it into a political force. The French thought they were helping the Vietnamese, by building roads and improving communications – it was true that in many ways, they were hastening Vietnam's jarring entry into the modern world. Yet their very presence created severe problems. In precolonial Vietnamese society taxes had been low, landholdings had been small and there had been few rich people. Those who were rich had heavy obligations – they were expected to give large parties and banquets – and they did not necessarily stay rich for very long.

... The French changed that; they set heavy taxes and there was the growth of loans and usury, and some Vietnamese became very rich ... who began to accumulate massive properties at the expense of peasants. By the beginning of the French Indochina war, in the Tonkin area (North Vietnam) 62 percent of the peasantry owned less than one-ninth of an acre and 30 percent owned less than one-fourth of an acre.

SOURCE 8.4 David Halberstam, 'Ho', 1971, p. 10

- 1 Explain how the concept of *mission civilisatrice* was carried out by the French.
- 2 Explain how the restructure of Vietnamese society created problems.

Australian historian Michael Caulfield explains the impact of French rule more succinctly.

Pursuing wealth at speed, the French upended Vietnamese traditions, agriculture and society. They built rail and road links and a system of canals and dykes, but they also took control of rice cultivation, introducing landlords and tenants, manipulating the market and, in the process, destroying 100 years of village ownership and harmony. They turned village culture into a Western-style class system with the French at the top and the Vietnamese at the bottom.

SOURCE 8.5 Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 46

- 1 Explain how the French used Indochina for the generation of wealth.
- 2 Using both Caulfield and Halberstam, explain the methods used by the French to establish economic and social control of Vietnam.

The French influence on Indochina was extensive – from food, to architecture to language; however, education was to prove to have the most effective impact. Like most colonial powers, French authorities in Indochina encouraged the development of an educated class of Vietnamese citizens that would assist the French authorities. A by-product, of course, was the invitation of many Vietnamese nationals to study and join the French service class.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969)

Born in Kimlien, 19 May 1890, Ngyuen Tat Thanh was immersed in the Vietnamese nationalist struggle as a child. His father was a scholar; however, Ngyuen Tat Thanh was not immediately destined for resistance to French rule. Rather, he enrolled in the French Colonial School in preparation for service in the French administration. In 1911, he took a job as a cook on a French steamship and travelled the world for six years. After a six-month stint as a resident of New York City, Ngyuen Tat Thanh settled in France in the midst of World War I.

Incensed that the Vietnamese contribution to the defence of France was going unnoticed, Ngyuen Tat Thanh became a revolutionary amidst the rise of communism in Europe after 1917. Angered again when his call for recognition for his homeland at the Paris Peace Conference went ignored, he changed his name to Ngyuen Ai Quoc (Ngyuen the Patriot). Marx's ideology spoke to him, as it was highly critical of European colonialism and exploitation of peasant nations. A founding member of the French Communist Party, he was invited to Moscow to study Marx. In 1924, at the tail end of the Russian Civil War, he headed to Guangzhou, China, to form a group of Vietnamese exiles sympathetic to a communist revolution.

Ngyuen Ai Quoc began to draw other nationalists in exile to his cause. In order to evade capture from a growing list of opponents, he changed his name again, using the identity papers of a deceased Chinese man: Ho Chi Minh.



SOURCE 8.6 Ngyuen Tat Thanh, who later took the name Ho Chi Minh

RESEARCH TASK 8.2

Living through and experiencing some of the most cataclysmic events of the twentieth century, Ho Chi Minh saw much of the world at its best and worst. Consider the impact of the following events on Ho's thinking about his homeland, Vietnam:

- 1 World War I
- 2 The Paris Peace Conference
- 3 Communist revolution in Russia
- 4 The Russian Civil War.

World War II

As the rising tide of fascism threatened Europe and Russia itself, Ho travelled from Moscow to China, which was also under threat from Japanese imperialism. However, when France surrendered to Germany in 1940, it presented an opportunity for Ho to return to Vietnam for the first time in 30 years. There, he would face the new foreign conqueror, Japan, and form 'The Revolutionary League for the Independence of Vietnam', better known as the Viet Minh.

Ho and the United States, an unlikely alliance

As the Japanese swept through Asia, expelling the French from Vietnam in 1944, US President Franklin D Roosevelt needed an intelligence network within Indochina. The Office of Strategic Services (OSS – the precursor to the CIA) met with Ho to gain the support of the Viet Minh forces that were gathering in the jungle. Each side needed intelligence to expel the Japanese. Soon enough, the OSS officers were supplying the Viet Minh with weapons and ammunition. In the interests of winning the war, the OSS played down Ho's communist intentions when communicating with Washington, referring to him as a 'patriot'. As Halberstam writes, 'the Americans found Ho very helpful and charming indeed'.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

General Giap

Employing guerrilla tactics learned from their Chinese Communist counterparts, the Viet Minh would launch sabotage attacks on Japanese supply lines in an attempt to frustrate their efforts. Ho chose to appoint the former school teacher and ardent communist Vo Ngyuen Giap to lead the Viet Minh forces. Despite his limited military experience, Giap would use his experience in the jungle against the Japanese to forge a reputation as one of the greatest military strategists of the twentieth century. He would also serve as one of the most ardent Vietnamese nationalists, as his wife had died in prison at the hands of the French, and was soon able to turn Ho's political strategy into a military force that would defeat two global superpowers.



SOURCE 8.7 General Vo Ngyuen Giap

In the closing days of World War II, few European powers had the capacity to govern or control their own colonies. When the Japanese finally surrendered in August 1945, Ho recognised a window of opportunity to leap into a power vacuum left by the Japanese and a depleted French Government. With the

active encouragement of his OSS allies, Ho and the Viet Minh marched on the city of Hanoi and captured the city with little resistance. The 'August Revolution' quickly spread across Vietnam and nationalist groups soon declared their allegiance to the Viet Minh.

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.3

On 2 September 1945, Ho declared the 'Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam' in front of a band playing the *Star Spangled Banner*, the US national anthem, to a crowd of 500 000 people.

'All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among them are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.'

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: 'All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights.'

... for more than eighty years, the French imperialists ... have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens.

In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty.

They have enforced inhuman laws; They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood.

... In the field of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests and our raw materials.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty.

... our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese.

The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries.

SOURCE 8.8 Ho Chi Minh's Declaration of Independence, Hanoi, 2 September 1945

Carefully analyse Ho's speech. It serves as an excellent source of Vietnamese nationalism and Ho's own political manoeuvring.

- 1 Recall what speech Ho is referencing in the first sentence of his speech.
- 2 Identify what reasons he gives for the rejection of the French.
- 3 Justify how Ho then claims French rule to be illegitimate.
- 4 In a group, research the similarities between Ho's reasons for Vietnamese independence and the American War of Independence. Why would Ho look to make this connection?
- 5 Explain why Ho would be attempting to gain the favour of the Americans.
- 6 Describe whether this document reveals a nationalist or communist intent.

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.4

There in the hills, the Americans helped Ho plan raids to free American and French internees ... helped him get in touch with French negotiators and helped him frame the Declaration of Independence. Typically, Ho knew more about the American Declaration than the young American did and he was deadly serious about it.

SOURCE 8.9 In this extract, Halberstam outlines the relationship Ho had built with one OSS officer, Robert Shaplan

Dear Lt. I feel weaker since you left. Maybe I should follow your advice – move to some other place where food is easier to get and improve my health. I have sent you a bottle of wine. I hope you like it ... send your HQ to following wires: We were fighting the Japs on the side of the United Nations. Now Japs surrendered we beg United Nations to realize their solemn promise that all nationalities be given democracy and independence. If United Nations forget their promise and do not grant Indo China full independence we will keep on fighting until we get it ...

Sorry for all the troubles I have caused you.
best greetings,
yours sincerely ... Ho.

SOURCE 8.10 Halberstam highlights the often eloquent and friendly correspondence that continued between the pair in 1945.

- 1 In the first extract, describe how Ho's nationalism is explained.
- 2 In the second extract, how does Ho define his path towards Vietnamese independence?
- 3 Explain why you think Ho cultivated this relationship with the US OSS officer.
- 4 Using quotes from both sources, define the nature of Ho's nationalism.

Conflict in Vietnam 1946–54

The following is an extract from the Pentagon Papers – a top-secret Department of Defense study of US political and military involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967.

President Roosevelt was determined 'to eliminate the French from Indochina at all costs,' and had pressured the Allies to establish an international trusteeship to administer Indochina until the nations there were ready to assume full independence. This obdurate anti-colonialism ... led to cold refusal of American aid for French resistance fighters, and to a policy of promoting Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh as the alternative to restoring the French bonds. But, the argument goes, Roosevelt died and principle faded; by late 1946, anti-colonialism mutated into neutrality.

SOURCE 8.11 The Pentagon Papers, June 1971

For all the bonds that Ho had built with the Americans, they disappeared when Theodore Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945. Despite all of the support he had shown the Viet Minh, the US President did not live to hear Ho's speech. Roosevelt was replaced by Harry S Truman, who had to deal with a far more complex world. The realities of being a nuclear world and a looming Cold War with Russia meant that America's attention in Indochina faded. The French soon returned.

The nature of Vietnamese victory against the French in 1954

On 22 September, French soldiers rioted in Saigon, shooting Vietnamese civilians in an attempt to take control of the city. The Viet Minh responded by killing 150 people, both citizens and French military personnel, in a French area of the city. A protracted conflict led to negotiations between the Viet Minh and the French in 1946. Chaos in the post-World War II French Government meant that negotiations broke down and a more aggressive French approach in October led to a nation divided between north and south, with Chinese nationalist troops controlling the north and the south under French control with the promise of elections in the future. The Viet Minh were reduced to the role of an insurgent force. Tensions spilled over when the French attacked the Viet Minh-held city of Haiphong, killing 6000 people. Ho, Giap and the Viet Minh escaped to their caves in the north to plan the war against the French.



SOURCE 8.12 French armour moving along narrow roads between the rice fields of Indochina

A guerrilla war

French General Jacques Phillipe Leclerc understood the fighting style of the Viet Minh, and had earlier in the negotiations warned against fighting them as it would be like ‘ridding a dog of its fleas. We can pick them and poison them, but they will be back in a few days’.

The Viet Minh used the techniques honed against the Japanese to frustrate the French. Convinced their firepower would be enough to subdue the Viet Minh, however, the French were stretched across a large country, and isolated outposts made easy targets for **guerrilla** sabotage. Giap realised too, that he did not have the resources to defeat the French in the open, and planned for a long, protracted war of movement around the French.

Three key events turned the tide of the war in favour of the Viet Minh:

- 1 The 1949 Chinese Communist Revolution meant supplies and training could be provided directly from the northern border to the Viet Minh forces.
- 2 The French failure to win the war led to an attempted settlement called the Elysse agreement with the pro-French, anti-communist nationalist movement. It failed as the peasant fear of communism paled into comparison to their hatred of the French.
- 3 The Chinese Communist Army had entered the Korean War, another Cold War conflict, and in 1950 had turned the tide of the Korean War in favour of the communists.



SOURCE 8.13 Ho Chi Minh meeting with Viet Minh leaders in the mountains of North Vietnam, 1948

guerrilla a member of an unofficial military group that is trying to change the government by making sudden, unexpected attacks on the official army forces

Dien Bien Phu

With the new US administration supplying the French with arms, a last-ditch attempt was made by the French command to draw the Viet Minh into the open by creating a large base in the **Dien Bein Phu** Valley. French Lieutenant General Henri Navarre was sent to Vietnam in 1953 to take over a situation spiralling out of control. The war against the Viet Minh was becoming costly. Most French business interests had left Vietnam, due to the conflict and the Viet Minh controlling two-thirds of the nation. The war was costing the French Government more than it could take from its colony. As such, Navarre believed the Viet Minh needed to be defeated quickly, as by 1953 the Korean War had concluded, which could mean Chinese supplies could come to the Viet Minh's aid. A base was built in the remote valley with an airstrip to allow resupply. The mountains surrounding the base were shrouded in dense jungle, making it seemingly impossible for the Viet Minh to use artillery against the base (which was itself heavily defended). Colonel Charles Piroth, commander of the artillery at Dien Bien Phu, bragged that 'no Viet Minh cannon will be able to fire three rounds before being destroyed by my artillery'. Just 13 000 French paratroopers defended the base.

Vo Ngyuen Giap saw an opportunity to potentially strike a decisive blow. Giap began building a force to attack the base, hidden by the jungle canopy. With the news that international talks would soon be held on the future of Indochina, both sides at Dien Bien Phu were hoping to be in a strong position when these talks happened. By March 1954, Giap had brought a force of 50 000 soldiers and 200 000 support workers to the mountains around the French. In addition to this, they had dismantled 200 cannons into smaller pieces and these were carried by foot through the jungle to be reassembled in position above the French base.

On 12 March, to the great surprise of the French artillery commander Piroth, the Viet Minh artillery rained down on the base, followed by thousands of Viet Minh soldiers assaulting Dien Bien Phu. In a few short days, the French had lost almost all of its artillery and Piroth took his own life. Despite their success, Giap's forces suffered huge losses and dug in for a longer siege. After 55 days and 8000 casualties, French forces at Dien Bien Phu surrendered on 7 May 1954. Giap had won the greatest military victory in Vietnamese history.



SOURCE 8.14 The Viet Minh moving artillery into the hills of Dien Bien Phu, 1954

Dien Bien Phu a battle won by Vietnamese nationalists against the French in 1954



SOURCE 8.15 French forces observing paratroopers landing at Dien Bien Phu in 1954

The significance of the Geneva Conference for Indochina in 1954

The victory at Dien Bien Phu put Ho Chi Minh in a powerful negotiating position at the Geneva Conference of April–July 1954. However, the Chinese were weary from the Korean War and were unwilling to become involved in Vietnam's fate. While the French empire's time in Vietnam was coming to an end, the increasing interest of the United States in halting the spread of communism in Asia meant that negotiations ended in another division of Vietnam along the **17th parallel**. The communists established a government in the North, backed by China, while the

17th parallel the geographic location of 17th latitudinal line around the globe

French and Americans backed an independent and democratic South. Ho Chi Minh's goal of a unified and free Vietnam was put on hold.

The Geneva Conference established peace between the Viet Minh and France; however, it divided the nation and drew the United States further into Vietnam.



SOURCE 8.16 Vietnam circa 1954, split in two halves along the 17th parallel, after the Geneva Conference

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional historical interpretations and activities on the significance of Dien Bien Phu.



8.2 Conflict in Vietnam 1954–64

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 8.5

Reasons for US involvement in Vietnam

It was a suitable gesture (Ho's Declaration of Independence of 1945) but it was doomed to fail. If the Americans had taken their chance to foster their relationship with Ho, it's likely the Vietnam War would never have happened. But other agendas and bigger egos were in play elsewhere in the world, and as a result, millions of people would die.

SOURCE 8.17 Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 51

I cannot conceive of a greater tragedy for America than to get heavily involved now in an all-out war in any of those regions.

SOURCE 8.18 US President Dwight D Eisenhower, speaking on Indochina, February 1954

My mother was captured and killed by the Viet Minh. They were still called the Viet Minh then, even though we knew that behind them were the communists. She was executed because she was the wife of a mandarin and her sons had left the Viet Minh ... The Viet Minh accused my brothers of being traitors but because they could not capture them, they caught and killed my mother instead.

SOURCE 8.19 Colonel Vo Dai Ton, South Vietnamese Army, quoted in Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 55

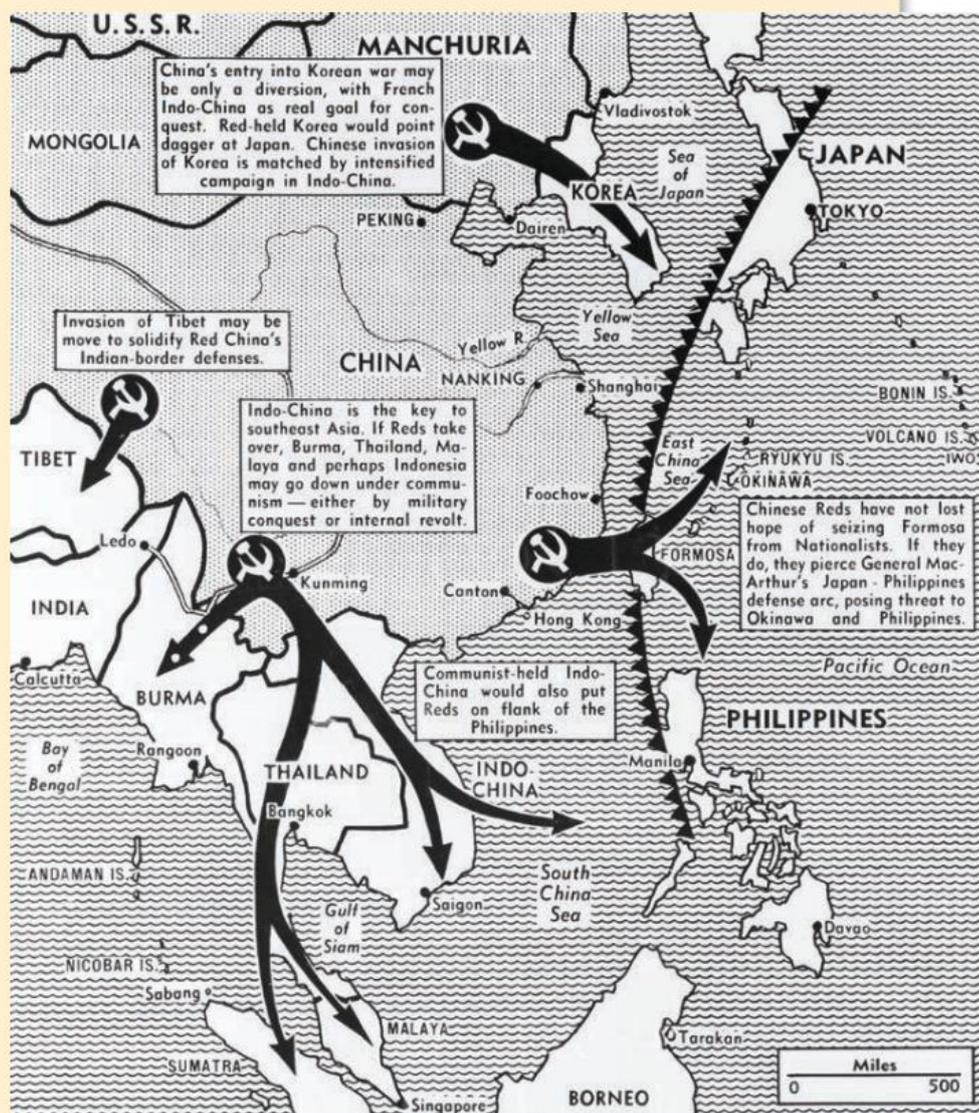
You have a row of dominoes set up. You knock over the first one, and what will happen is that the last one will go over very quickly.

SOURCE 8.20 US President Dwight D Eisenhower, April 1954

- 1 Eisenhower's 'Domino Theory' underpinned US foreign policy towards communism in Asia. Research and explain the origins of this theory.
- 2 Using the Domino Theory and the map below, explain why some US politicians would be willing to involve the United States in a conflict in Vietnam.
- 3 Using a timeline of key events between 1944 and 1954, explain how key events around the globe may have explained the unwillingness of some Americans to become involved heavily in Vietnam.
- 4 Using the sources and the events of Dien Bien Phu and the Korean War, explain why President Eisenhower's attitude towards conflicts like those in Vietnam drew an increase in American involvement.



SOURCE 8.21 US President Dwight D Eisenhower



SOURCE 8.22 An American map made in 1950 depicts the 'Domino Theory' – the idea that one nation 'going communist' would start a chain reaction of governmental change in the region. The map also depicts military threats to US interests in East Asia by the Communist Chinese.

RESEARCH TASK 8.6

Criticisms of the American involvement in Vietnam by 1975 often centre around a lack of understanding of Vietnam, its people and the power of nationalism.

Imagine you are a departing French official in 1955, writing a letter to an American colleague who set up office in Saigon in the early 1950s. Explain the lessons that the French learned from their occupation of Vietnam.

In your response, you should consider:

- the strength of Vietnamese nationalism
- the appeal of communist ideals in a peasant nation
- the political and military ability of Ho and Giap
- the difficulty involved in controlling the geography of Vietnam.



SOURCE 8.23 US President John F Kennedy and wife, Jacqueline

US foreign policy towards Vietnam to 1964

John F Kennedy (JFK) became the US president in 1961. A young, handsome and charismatic leader, JFK promised a new dawn for the American people. While pledging to be tough on communists, he embodied a spirit of collective optimism in the statement he made at his inauguration speech, 'Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country'. Since the conclusion of World War II, the United States had found itself embroiled in a Cold War with Russia, usually centred at the flashpoint city of Berlin, Germany. Three US presidents had worked to balance these demands. JFK's role was no different and his attention on Vietnam was often limited, to the detriment of the US interests in Indochina.

Firstly, the rising civil rights movement within the United States drew national attention towards protests and violence on the streets of US cities. Secondly, continued tension with the communist state of Cuba began with the embarrassing Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 and the 13 days in 1962 when Kennedy faced off with his Russian counterpart Nikita Khrushchev, with US and Soviet nuclear missiles within striking distance of each other. By avoiding a catastrophic nuclear war, Kennedy and his administration quickly determined that they and the Soviets should never find themselves in such direct confrontation again. They were best served in fighting conflicts through proxy nations like Korea ... or Vietnam.

RESEARCH TASK 8.7

- 1 Create a key events timeline for JFK between 1960 and 1963. Include all of the events in Europe, Asia, Central and South America, as well as the United States itself, that would have demanded his attention.
- 2 Determine which of these events would have demanded most of his attention. Explain your response.
- 3 Explain why JFK's attention to the evolving situation in Vietnam would have been limited.

Since the departure of the French from South Vietnam after the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the United States was left to support and maintain the South Vietnamese **democracy** and protect it from communist influence from the north.

democracy a country in which power is held by elected representatives

JFK was reluctant to involve the United States in Vietnam, yet the trend of US aid was against him. By 1951, US military aid to the French had reached \$450 million. By 1953, it was up to \$785 million. By the time the French left in 1954, the United States had invested almost \$3 billion in the fight against communism in Indochina.

In 1960, Vietnam was still a country divided in two. For JFK, the survival of a democratic South Vietnam depended on two crucial factors:

- 1 the inability of the Communist North to inspire revolution in the South
- 2 the success of the US-backed leader of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem.

Political, social, economic and military developments within North and South Vietnam

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Ngo Dinh Diem

An ardent Catholic, Ngo Dinh Diem became the leader of South Vietnam after the Geneva Accords of 1954. He was a fierce anti-communist and was well known to the United States as he fled there after the Viet Minh targeted his family during the Japanese occupation. From an aristocratic family, he was a peripheral figure in Vietnamese politics but became the ideal candidate for the US authorities because he was the only one they knew. Even though the United States had maintained a presence in Vietnam since World War II, very little was known about the country. As JFK's replacement President Lyndon Johnson stated, Diem was 'the only boy we got out there'. Diem was made Prime Minister in 1954 by the French-appointed Emperor Bao Dai. He soon revealed his unwillingness to represent the democratic ideals the United States were paying handsomely to promote.

Early warning signs emerged when Diem held an election to declare himself President of the Republic of South Vietnam in 1955. In a highly questionable campaign and count, Diem won 98 per cent of the vote. Later, in 1956, he refused to hold the elections promised at Geneva. This decision was supported by the United States. 🗝️



SOURCE 8.24 US-backed South Vietnamese leader, Ngo Dinh Diem

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Explain why Diem was seen by some as a representation of Vietnam's past.

Explain why he was seen as an appealing option to the US Government.

Diem worked to consolidate power in a complex state. A flow of Catholic refugees from the North gave him legitimacy; however, he was faced with a predominantly Buddhist, peasant population to whom he represented the past, not the future. In addition to this, the Viet Minh had not really left the South. While their Army had returned north beyond the 17th parallel, thousands stayed behind, blending into the population as communist agitators.



SOURCE 8.25 Le Duan became the North Vietnamese leader. The ageing Ho Chi Minh only played a symbolic role in the 1960s.



SOURCE 8.26 Viet Cong soldiers on a river patrol, 1966

Growth of the Viet Cong

The Northern Communist Government, led by the aggressive Le Duan, a colleague of Ho Chi Minh, encouraged violent resistance to the regime in the South. Hatred towards Diem was developing in the 1950s, and he was successful in identifying and killing almost 90 per cent of the Communist Party members still in the South by 1959. Le Duan chose to change course and find a new way to supply propaganda and resource to the remaining communists in the South. As North and South Vietnam was divided by a Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that was heavily guarded on both sides, he chose to develop a secret path through Laos and Cambodia that simply walked around the DMZ. This network of jungle paths and roads came to be known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

In 1960, over 20 political, religious and ethnic groups opposed to Diem met and formed the National Liberation Front, a guerrilla organisation determined to ‘overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the American imperialists and the dictatorial power of Ngo Dinh Diem’. This new group of guerrilla fighters and agitators earned the slang nickname of ‘Vietnamese Commies’, or more simply, ‘the Viet Cong’. Fed with weapons and supplies from the Ho Chi Minh Trail, they soon took up violent struggle against the South Vietnamese Army, also known as the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN), using the techniques of the Viet Minh.

Diem versus the peasants, the Buddhists and the Viet Cong

Diem’s authoritarian streak alienated many in South Vietnam and generated hatred towards its US backers. His brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, a quasi-fascist and engineer of Diem’s reprisals against his opponents, designed the Strategic Hamlet Program in 1962.

In order to protect the southern peasants from the growing influence of the Viet Cong, Nhu’s US-backed hamlet program dragged thousands of village communities away from their ancestral lands and into fortified communities protected by barbed wire. The intention of the program was to ‘pacify’ the southern peasants with hamlets, roads, facilities and economic support from the United States. However, Diem’s regime was rife with corruption and the program never realised its intention of pacification; rather, it had the opposite effect.

Stanley Karnow, a journalist working in Vietnam at the time, later wrote in his book *Vietnam: A History* that the Strategic Hamlet Program was an abject failure. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



What was the purpose of the Strategic Hamlet Program?

What does the program’s purpose tell you about the situation in the South Vietnamese countryside by 1962?

Compare this practice to the behaviour of the French during colonisation. Could you predict the response of those South Vietnamese farmers?

Explain why the Viet Cong would be able to recruit supporters from this program.

In reality, the program often converted peasants into Viet Cong sympathisers. In many places they resented working without pay to dig moats, implant bamboo spikes and erect fences against an enemy that did not threaten them, but directed its sights at government officials.

SOURCE 8.27 Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History*, 1983

Diem had begun to lose the battle against the Viet Cong. Responsible mostly for political assassinations and small-scale skirmishes, the Viet Cong were considered no match for the ARVN, the 500 Green Berets and 15 000 US military advisers that now occupied South Vietnam. In January 1963, 1500 ARVN troops, supported by US helicopters and armoured personnel carriers (APCs), were ambushed at the hamlet of Ap Bac.

A Viet Cong force of no more than 300 were able to inflict over 200 ARVN casualties for a loss of only 18 on their own side. They shot down four helicopters and forced the APCs to retreat from small-arms and rocket fire. The myth of US technological power had been shattered by a band of well-trained peasant farmers.

The battle failure led to the US adviser Lieutenant Colonel John Paul Vann to seek out a US journalist, Neil Sheehan, to complain 'It was a miserable ... performance. These people (the ARVN) won't listen. They make the same ... mistakes over and over again in the same way.'

Vann's complaints were published in the US media. This began a reporting trend that was to be followed by Sheehan, Stanley Karnow and David Halberstam. The reporters would serve as a conduit between the American people and what was really happening in Vietnam.

Another of Diem's enemies were the powerful Buddhist and criminal groups who were large enough to wield their own personal armies. In a predominantly Buddhist nation, Diem's anti-Buddhist policies drew the ire of the Thich Quang Duc, a Buddhist monk who, on 11 June 1963, walked into the centre of a busy Saigon intersection, doused himself with petrol and set himself alight. The act was accompanied by another monk chanting, in English and Vietnamese, 'a Buddhist becomes a martyr'.



SOURCE 8.28 US adviser Colonel John Paul Vann tried to involve the US media in the developing conflict in Vietnam.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Explain what Vann's comments suggest about the fighting spirit of the ARVN under Diem's leadership. What then does it also say about the role of the United States in South Vietnam in 1963?



SOURCE 8.29 The image of a burning monk, Thich Quang Duc, found its way to newspapers around the world.



SOURCE 8.30 Madam Nhu was notorious for her aggressive attitude towards opposition to Diem's regime.



SOURCE 8.31 A solitary photograph shows the executed bodies of Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother, Nhu.

to take them to safety. One soon arrived; however, once South Vietnam's leaders were safely inside, both were shot in the head by the ARVN soldiers in charge of the APC.

Personally, JFK was horrified by the way Diem was killed. However, he was still adamant that the United States would reduce its commitment to Vietnam. His two goals in South Vietnam had so far failed. Diem was not a suitable leader and the US Government could not halt the growth of the Viet Cong. Kennedy was beginning to reconsider the US commitment to Vietnam and was looking for a long-term exit strategy. However, he would never get the chance to find one – he too was assassinated as he toured the US city of Dallas on 23 November 1963.

The photograph of the incident taken by US photographer Malcom Browne was seen on the cover of newspapers around the world. It had a significant impact in the White House. President Kennedy was to later state that 'no news picture in history has generated so much emotion around the world as that one'. The photograph created an image of chaos in Vietnam that brought America's involvement into both public and private question.

The response of Madam Nhu, wife of Diem – herself the architect of a number of her husband's laws that enforced Catholic morality on Buddhist Vietnam – was damning. She said 'If the Buddhists wish to have another barbecue, I will be glad to supply the gasoline and a match'.

By 1963, when ARVN forces launched attacks on Buddhist pagodas across the countryside, Diem had become a liability to the Kennedy administration. After agitating ARVN generals demanded a coup, Kennedy authorised the withdrawal of aid to South Vietnam if Diem did not change course. The US Ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, was instructed to announce JFK's decision to 'enhance the chances of a coup'.

On the morning of 1 November 1963, ARVN forces attacked Diem's palace. Fighting broke out across Saigon as the coup was launched. Fearing for his safety, Diem and his brother Nhu called for loyal forces to send an APC

RESEARCH TASK 8.8

Assessing JFK and Diem

- 1 Create a timeline of Ngo Dinh Diem's key contributions as leader of Vietnam.
- 2 Using this timeline and your own research, explain how Diem alienated the South Vietnamese population socially, politically and economically.
- 3 Identify why JFK and the US administration began to distance themselves from Diem. In your response, consider the consequences of this action. It may help to revisit the timeline you created of JFK's three years as president.
- 4 Explain why the Viet Cong were able to gain a foothold in South Vietnam.
- 5 Considering your response to the previous question, do you think the rise in Viet Cong popularity was from communist or nationalist intentions? Explain your response with evidence.
- 6 Explain why the United States allowed the coup against Diem.
- 7 Evaluate the US role in the escalation of the Vietnam War by 1963.

8.3 The Second Indochina War

The situation in South Vietnam has continued to deteriorate. A new coup led by disgruntled ARVN officers could occur at any time. South Vietnam is almost leaderless ... There are strong signs that the Viet Cong have played a major role in promoting civil disorder through the countryside and especially in Saigon.

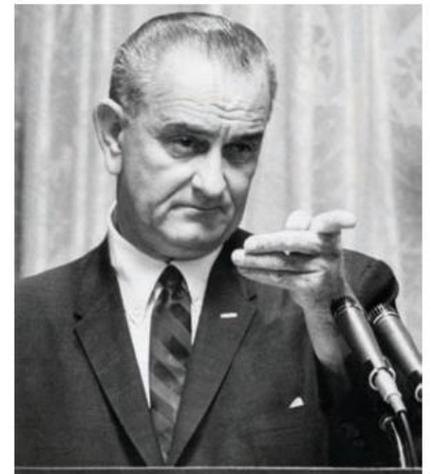
SOURCE 8.32 CIA memorandum, October 1964

US foreign policy towards Vietnam from 1964

Vice-President Lyndon B Johnson (LBJ) was sworn in the day after JFK's assassination. Johnson was to take a new approach to the conflict in Vietnam. Historian Robert Shuzlinger indicated that LBJ had few options when faced with the Vietnam dilemma: 'doing more, doing less or doing the same all had enormous risks'. Johnson could not be seen to be weak on communism, but he was well aware of JFK's reluctance to get involved in an increasingly chaotic conflict in Vietnam.

Despite US advisers in Vietnam now numbering 16 000, and the United States introducing conscription to train and prepare young men for any potential future role in the conflict, US soldiers were banned by the Geneva accords from participating in battle (although many did). The ARVN were unable, by 1964, to assert control in South Vietnam.

Johnson had two choices: abandon the mission and allow a communist victory, or ask US Congress to permit the use of US force in Vietnam. Neither option seemed possible. However, Johnson was adamant on one thing: 'I am not going to lose Vietnam. I am not going to be the president who saw South-east Asia go the way China went.' Johnson had inherited a country in the grip of a social crisis and his immediate hurdle was the 1964 election. He did not want to push US soldiers into the Vietnamese conflict and risk public disapproval; yet, he would lose popularity if he was soft on communism.



SOURCE 8.33 US President Lyndon B Johnson

The Gulf of Tonkin incident

In 1964, South Vietnamese navy ships had begun to attack North Vietnamese ports in the Gulf of Tonkin. While their response was limited, the North Vietnamese retaliated on 2 August by firing torpedoes at the US Naval destroyer, USS *Maddox*. The destroyer was stationed just outside of North Vietnam's waters. The *Maddox* was not damaged, but it was the first moment of recognisable contact between the North and American forces. The existence of this first event has never been disputed by either side.

On 4 August, the USS *Turner Joy*, sent to support the *Maddox*, reported coming under fire from North Vietnamese vessels. While it was later proved that this second attack certainly did not take place, Johnson immediately ordered air strikes on targets in North Vietnam in retaliation. After convincing testimony that the United States had indeed been attacked from McNamara and Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, LBJ won a vote in Congress, which came to be called the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. This vote authorised the use of US force in Vietnam. Only two senators opposed LBJ's proposal.



SOURCE 8.34 The USS *Maddox*, pictured in the 1960s

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 8.9

The Tonkin Gulf incident and resolution that followed caused considerable debate over what LBJ and his Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, actually knew about the attack on the US destroyers, or more importantly, what they were using it for:

Presidents usually rush into decisions without waiting for details and Johnson was no different ... Speculating on the potential domestic effect of the crisis, they (Johnson and his aids) agreed that Johnson was being tested and he would have to respond firmly ... They felt that Johnson must not allow them (his political opponents) to accuse him of vacillating or being an indecisive leader.

SOURCE 8.35 Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History*, 1983



SOURCE 8.36 United States Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, used visual displays to inform the US press and in many ways, educate a population who knew little about the Indochinese region.

It was just confusion, and events afterwards showed that our judgment that we'd been attacked that day (the 4th) was wrong. It didn't happen.

Ultimately, President Johnson authorised bombing in response to what he thought had been the second attack. It hadn't occurred but that's irrelevant ... He authorised the attack on the assumption it had occurred, and his belief that it was a conscious decision on the part of the North Vietnamese political and military leaders to escalate the conflict and an indication they would not stop short of winning.

SOURCE 8.37 Robert McNamara, US Secretary of Defense 1960–68, *The Fog of War*, 2003

Did US leaders engineer the crisis in the Tonkin Gulf? Did they, in other words seek to provoke a North Vietnamese reaction ... A two-destroyer force to sail in close proximity to the North Vietnamese coast for 96 hours? Rationalise as you may, it was provoking Hanoi.

SOURCE 8.38 Frederik Logevall, *Choosing War*, 1999, p. 199

- 1 As a class, consider all of the reasons for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Consider too, its potential implications. Write your responses on a whiteboard or in a shared document.
- 2 As an individual respond to the following practice essay question using the sources and your own knowledge: 'The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was based on a lie to justify American force.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

The nature and effectiveness of the strategy and tactics employed by the United States and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnamese)



SOURCE 8.39 US bombers on a bombing campaign during Rolling Thunder

search and destroy a military tactic developed in part for the Vietnam War and its abundance of helicopter action; the idea was to insert ground forces into hostile territory, search out the enemy, destroy them and withdraw immediately afterward

Rolling Thunder a gradual and sustained aerial bombardment campaign conducted by the US 2nd Air Division, US Navy and Republic of Vietnam Air Force against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

The US mission in Vietnam had a range of goals. It aimed to:

- 1 **search and destroy** communist forces in South Vietnam
- 2 convince the North Vietnamese that US forces were not worth fighting
- 3 win over the 'hearts and minds' of the South Vietnamese people.

From the outset, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army (NVA) were considered no match for the might of US military power that, as yet, had not lost a war. Johnson began a bombing campaign of North Vietnam, code-named '**Rolling Thunder**'.

American combat troops began to arrive in Vietnam in 1965. Their role was to support the ARVN and actively seek out the Viet Cong in order to remove them from South Vietnam. Importantly, it was never the intention of the Americans to invade the North, only ever to defend the South. This decision was to critically handicap the American effort for 10 years. However, Rolling Thunder saw an intensive aerial bombing campaign of critical targets throughout North Vietnam on a daily basis for almost three years.

It is estimated that anywhere between 80 000 and 120 000 North Vietnamese people were killed during this campaign, many of them civilians. A technique that was effective on the industrial European cities of World War II, Rolling Thunder had little effect on agricultural North Vietnam. Despite the 300 000 individual missions flown by the US Air Force in this campaign, it was eventually abandoned in early 1968 as it was decided that it had not broken the resolve of the communist forces.



SOURCE 8.40 The damage to North Vietnam as a result of Rolling Thunder had little impact beyond the damage to rice fields.

North Vietnam began actively sending its own soldiers (NVA) into the South to fight the Americans in 1965. Both they and the Viet Cong used the jungle to hide their numbers. In response, the US Air Force used chemical defoliants, known as 'Agent Orange', that planes would drop over the jungles. Nicknamed so for the orange stripe used to identify the steel drum it was stored in, Agent Orange was sprayed over jungle canopies to destroy vegetation, stripping trees of leaves and coverage for the NVA and Viet Cong to hide in. The defoliant would also inadvertently destroy crops and fields used by South Vietnamese farmers.



SOURCE 8.41 A US plane spreads the defoliant Agent Orange over Vietnam.

Napalm, a flammable jelly-like substance that sticks to anything it contacts and burns for at least 10 minutes, had been in use in conflicts since World War II. Once detonated, napalm could generate flames and heat that exceeded 2000° Fahrenheit. Over the course of the Vietnam conflict, US Air Force bombers dropped 8 million tonnes of napalm on Vietnam, three times that used in the Korean War. While enormously effective, napalm was indiscriminate and was symptomatic of the American response to skirmishes with the enemy.

The US forces in Vietnam were the most technologically advanced for their time. This was to be the first real helicopter war, where soldiers could be lifted in and out of combat zones with great speed. Once in the air, the helicopters could be used to provide aerial support for troops who, once injured, were never more than 15 minutes from a field hospital.

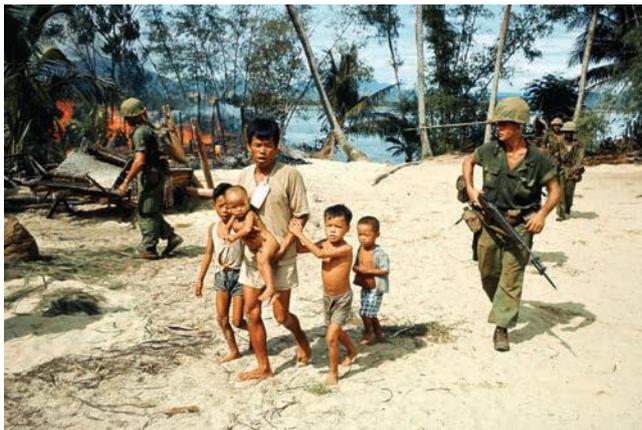
On the ground, US Marines and an increasing number of conscripted soldiers were sent on 'search-and-destroy' missions. Which meant exactly that: search for the enemy in the South and destroy them. As both the Viet Cong and the NVA employed guerrilla tactics and rarely engaged the ARVN or the Americans in open battle, they preferred to hide in the jungle. Or, in the case of the Viet Cong, in plain sight: by day, South Vietnamese villagers could be seen as the very people the Americans sought to defend, and by night those same villagers were terrorising the American forces. It was impossible for the Americans to determine who was the enemy and who was not.



SOURCE 8.42 A fleet of helicopters land to evacuate US soldiers from the battlefields of Bong Son Plain and the An Lao Valley in South Vietnam.

Who is the enemy? How can you distinguish between the civilians and the non-civilians? The same people who come and work in the bases at daytime, they just want to shoot and kill you at nighttime. So how can you distinguish between the two? The good or the bad? All of them look the same.

SOURCE 8.43 Vanardo Simpson, US soldier, in Tim Callahan, *Come Home, Joe*, 2010



SOURCE 8.44 Search-and-destroy missions created an air of distrust between peasant farmers and the US soldiers.



SOURCE 8.45 Search-and-destroy missions often resulted in the destruction of long-standing villages.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



Define the challenges that faced the US soldier in Vietnam. Explain the overall strategy of Rolling Thunder. Why did it fail? How did the use of napalm and Agent Orange contradict the goal of winning 'hearts and minds'? How would American morale be affected by search-and-destroy raids against the Viet Cong? Evaluate the effectiveness of American tactics in the years 1965–68. Why did the Americans believe they were capable of victory? What reasons can you think of that explain why it would not work?

As a result, American soldiers were instructed to search villages and hamlets for weapons, Viet Cong sympathisers and what could be perceived as 'too much' rice for one village. If the Americans suspected that the village was supplying this rice to the Viet Cong, their instructions were simple. Destroy the weapons and rice, interrogate the villagers and burn the village down.

For many American soldiers, the early years of the conflict were marked with frustration. Not only were the enemy hard to identify or to draw into open battle, they were difficult to find and all the technological power of the United States seemed to be having little impact. Despite the positive reports of 'kill ratios' that Army Generals would use to indicate that the United States was killing the enemy in increasing numbers, it seemed to do little to dent the spirit of the communist forces.

Above all of this was tropical weather. For many American and Australian soldiers (who were now also committed to the conflict), the intense heat and humidity made for crippling fighting conditions. The heat of the day, when the American forces usually operated, was stifling. At night, when the wildlife of the jungle came to life, the Viet Cong were able to use their knowledge of the landscape to take advantage of a nervous enemy.

Many of the American soldiers were conscripted and had been unable to avoid the national draft that drew them into the Army. To avoid military service, a young man needed to be a college student, able to leave the country, married with children or in an 'essential occupation'. As a result, many of those who were conscripted were poor and uneducated. They tended to come from big cities like New York and Chicago or from small Southern towns. Few had ever left the United States before, let alone experienced conditions like the ones they faced in combat in a tropical environment.

These soldiers would complete a one-year tour of duty. Those who were lucky enough to survive the whole 12 months would complete their tour and head home. This meant that any soldier with experience and the capacity to survive in a hostile environment against an even more hostile enemy would be lost to the US forces. 

The nature and effectiveness of the strategy and tactics employed by the North Vietnamese Army (Communist) and the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong)

The VC and the NVA fought outside the usual game, outside the usual rules. Rarely would they fight a full on pitched battle. They accepted that their enemy could pretty much go where they wanted to, bombing and killing as they pleased. So they did not defend territory, but hit, run and sometimes hide in the civilian population. Their strategy was to render South Vietnam ungovernable.

SOURCE 8.46 Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 144

Green Beret a member of the US Army Special Forces, colloquially known as the Green Berets due to their distinctive service headgear

The Viet Cong drove much of the war against the Americans in the South. Organised from the ashes of the Viet Minh, they were an underground organisation that took direction and received funding from North Vietnam. Their goal was the overthrow of the South Vietnamese Government and the removal of the Americans from Vietnam. Peasant farmers by day, they became saboteurs and guerrilla fighters at night. The Viet Cong soldier could be young, old, man or woman. The fighting spirit of the Viet Cong can be explained by former US **Green Beret** Gordon L Rottman:

The reasons a man or woman joined the VC are as varied and complex as individuals themselves. The most common was simply disillusionment with the government in Saigon, and acceptance of the constant barrage of NLF (Communist) propaganda. Often the only contact villagers had with the government was through heavy-handed tax collectors and ARVN soldiers. Saigon was a place they had only heard of. The peasant's real loyalties were to his or her family and village. Beyond that, district, province and national government had no meaning ... After 1965, ARVN and US troops were to blame for many turning to the VC.

SOURCE 8.47 Gordon L Rottman, *Vietnam Infantry Tactics*, 2001, p. 62

The Viet Cong could be anywhere. As they had no uniform, they could not be easily identified by US or ARVN soldiers. For many, their role was to slow and frustrate US forces. A common tactic was their use of booby traps laid in the jungle. For the forces fighting the communists, these booby traps created chaos. Booby traps came in several forms:

- 1 Fishing wire tied between trees at ankle height to trigger a hand grenade could easily blow a soldier's legs away.
- 2 Punji traps made of sharpened bamboo spikes (often smeared with animal or human faeces to maximise infection) that were hidden in pits covered by the dense jungle foliage could pierce a soldier's boot.
- 3 A single bullet pointed upwards, half buried with a nail underneath as a firing pin, could create a hole in a soldier's foot. For those wearing boots reinforced by steel, it sent shrapnel into the resulting wound.
- 4 Souvenirs of war, like Viet Cong flags in an abandoned village, were often attached to hand grenades, thus wounding a greedy soldier.



SOURCE 8.48 Tripwires were nearly impossible to detect.



SOURCE 8.49 Spikes and traps laid by the Viet Cong were designed to incapacitate their victims.

The aim of these traps was not to kill, but to wound. A soldier with a foot blown off by a tripwire would require another four soldiers to carry him out of the jungle; so, there were five fewer soldiers to fight. If the wounded soldier were to be picked up by helicopter, for the communist fighters, it meant that the enemy could easily be located and ambushed. According to the Ken Burns 2017 documentary *The Vietnam War*, booby traps accounted for a third of all US casualties before 1968. Beyond statistics, booby traps had an immense impact on the fighting morale of US troops.



SOURCE 8.50 The Viet Cong tunnels were tight and cramped spaces.



SOURCE 8.51 Exhausted US soldiers at the conclusion of the Battle for Hill 875



SOURCE 8.52 US forces at the peak of the Battle for Hill 875 soon abandoned their position.

In addition to these dangers in the jungle, the Viet Cong and NVA used underground tunnels. One of the greatest frustrations the communist fighting style wrought on their enemies was their ability to completely disappear after a firefight. On many occasions, the communists would retreat into the jungle via a vast network of tunnels. These tunnels could also provide ammunition, hospitals, command posts, food, rest and respite from US bombing campaigns. The tunnels provided firing points from ground level that allowed for ambushes against US soldiers, who were easy to detect for those Vietnamese soldiers used to fighting in the jungle.

Almost 120 kilometres of tunnels occupied the area known as the 'Iron Triangle', which surrounded dense jungle only a few driving hours from Saigon itself. In 1966, 8000 American and ARVN troops patrolled the area of Cu Chi, 30 kilometres from Saigon, looking for tunnels. Their search came to nothing. The United States built a base in the area, totally unaware that the Cu Chi tunnel network was so extensive that the tunnel headquarters were underground the actual US base. Some of the tunnels had exit points inside the walls of the US base.

The NVA were a much more frightening proposition for the US forces than the Viet Cong. They were well-trained, well-equipped and committed soldiers seeking to expel the Americans from South Vietnam. They were more willing to take on larger battles than the Viet Cong. They moved down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to infiltrate the Central Highlands area north of Vietnam. They harassed US bases along the northern border of the DMZ. Using the motto 'Born in the North to die in the South', which was tattooed on many NVA arms, the men and women of the NVA were used to draw the US forces into much larger battles. In doing so, they made the US air power advantage redundant as they stuck as close as possible to their enemy's position. If the Americans were to use any form of air strike, it would immediately endanger their own soldiers. The commitment of these NVA units debilitated the American fighting spirit.

Hill 875

The greatest frustration the NVA brought upon the Americans was to make their hard-fought victories irrelevant. Whenever the Americans won, it meant little as the NVA could regroup and attack them somewhere else. Winning and holding 'real estate' was not important to the NVA: ruining the American fighting spirit was.

In 1967, US forces were drawn into the jungle in the area of Dak To and were ordered to attack NVA forces who had dug in on Hill 875. The US commanders thought that capturing the Hill would prove to be an important victory for US morale. The

Hill itself held very little strategic importance. The NVA had been on the Hill for a month, creating firing positions specifically designed to draw the Americans in. At the conclusion of a vicious battle that cost 107 American lives and wounded 284, the NVA quietly slipped away from Hill 875 and across the border into Cambodia. Given that the NVA always dragged their dead away to hide numbers (making the kill ratios hard to calculate), the Americans were left to stand on a hill that nobody really needed or wanted to own.

To take triple canopy mountain tops ... accomplished nothing of any importance. The Battle for Hill 875 was a microcosm of what we were doing and what went wrong in Vietnam. There was no reason to take that hill. We literally got to the top of the hill on November 23rd and sat there for half an hour or an hour ... Chinooks (helicopters) came in and took us off the hill and I doubt there has been an American on Hill 875 since ... We accomplished nothing.

SOURCE 8.53 Matt Harrison in Ken Burns, *The Vietnam War*, 2017

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.10

Using both images from the Battle for Hill 875, explain how the NVA's tactics had a cumulative effect on American fighting morale.

Life on the Ho Chi Minh Trail

The Ho Chi Minh Trail stretched from North Vietnam, through the neutral countries of Laos and Cambodia and into the southern regions of the Mekong Delta. Using the jungle coverage and land the US forces were not able to enter, the communist forces were able to sneak into South Vietnam. In use since 1959, the journey down the trail took around two months by foot. Many people travelling on the trail endured great hardship as food was scarce, and they were unable to cook what little food they had (as using a fire would attract US air strikes). For almost every year of the conflict, 60 000 soldiers moved from North to South Vietnam. The logistical achievement of the trail was immense. The bulk of the traffic of supplies, ammunition and fighters was completed on foot or by bicycle. As Stanley Karnow explains:

When I frequently scanned the region from helicopters in the 1960s, nothing was discernable, even from low altitudes ... They (the communists) travelled by foot, sweating as they plodded through damp forests and shivering as they forded icy mountain streams. They were plagued by mosquitoes and leeches and other insects they could not even identify and some came down with malaria. They carried socks of rice wrapped around their torsos, and each bore a knapsack with thirty or forty pounds of food, medicine, extra clothes, a hammock and a waterproof sheet.

SOURCE 8.55 Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History*, 1983, p. 347



SOURCE 8.54 Supplies travelling along the Ho Chi Minh Trail

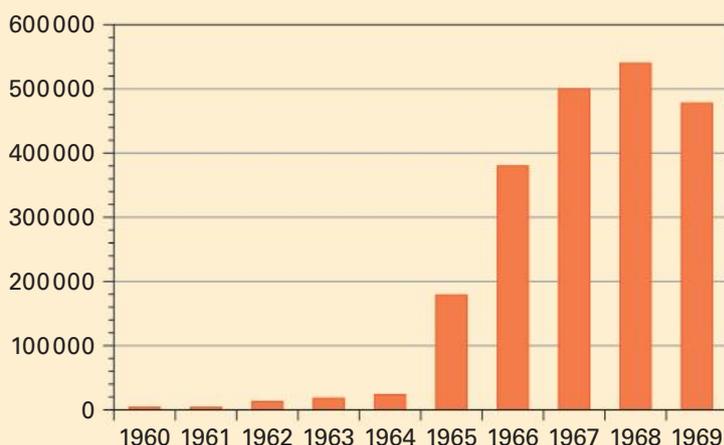


SOURCE 8.56 A communist propaganda photo of life on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, 1972

The trail was built with such secrecy in 1959 that canvas sheets were even used to hide footprints in the mud. Once the Americans came, life on the trail was filled with hardship. The trail was a constant target for the American bombers.

By 1967, over 14000 US soldiers had died fighting the communist forces. Despite the repeated statements of President Lyndon Johnson and the US military leader in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, that the war was being won, the reality on the ground was clearly different. Consider the following statistical information, which consumed the US leadership in the early years of the war.

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.11



SOURCE 8.57 US military involvement on the ground in Vietnam through the 1960s

William De Puey, Westmoreland's chief of operations ... was regarded as one of the best thinkers in the US Army. Yet he held the same skewed perspective on World War II that all a general needed to win was to build a killing machine and turn it loose on his opponent. He gave his 'We are going to stomp them to death' prediction in a conversation with Keyes Beech of the Chicago Daily News as the build up was getting underway in 1965. He added ... 'I don't know any other way'.

SOURCE 8.58 Neil Sheehan, journalist

You can kill 10 of my men for every one of yours I kill, but even at those odds you will lose.

SOURCE 8.59 Ho Chi Minh, speaking to his French counterparts in 1946

- 1 Using the graph, determine how effective Rolling Thunder and the tactic of search and destroy would have appeared to US leaders.
- 2 Explain the fighting purpose of the communist forces. Why do you think they rarely engaged in open battle?
- 3 Consider the two views on the tactics employed by both sides. How do they explain the course of the war between 1965–68?
- 4 Examine the image of this Viet Cong prisoner of war. It was published on the front cover of the highly influential *Life* magazine. In it, a Viet Cong soldier has his eyes and ears taped over – and yet still cranes his neck in defiance.
- 5 Using this image and your own knowledge, respond to the following essay question:
By 1967, superior morale was winning the Vietnam War. To what extent do you agree? Justify your answer.



SOURCE 8.60 A Viet Cong prisoner is prepared for interrogation.

Impact of the 1968 Tet Offensive

In the closing stages of 1967, the American public were being told by both their politicians and the majority of the media that they were winning the war and there was 'light at the end of the tunnel'. They provided statistics to prove it.

By the end of the year, there were over 485 000 US personnel in Vietnam and over 16 000 had been killed. Conversely, in the United States, over 150 000 people had attended a growing trend of anti-war protests. Whatever the public were being told, a narrative was developing, especially among young people, that the war was immoral. Images of burning peasant villages and American soldiers in body bags were having a cumulative effect on the American public's desire to fight the war.

1968 saw a series of catastrophic events both in Vietnam and the United States that would firmly divide the United States in two and end the political career of President Johnson. It cemented the growing influence of the media in reporting and influencing public views of the conflict and radicalised a generation of American and Australian students. Significantly, it would force the United States to the negotiating table with North Vietnam to bring forward a possible exit from the conflict that, by the end of 1968, was widely understood as unwinnable.



SOURCE 8.61 Supplies being airlifted into Khe Sanh

Khe Sanh

The year began with an open-field NVA attack on the US base at Khe Sanh. It was both a surprising and exciting development for the American military and leaders as they had always been able to sweep the communists away in an open battle. This looked to be a great opportunity to deal a decisive blow in the war.

However, the NVA force was much larger than usual, and the assault lasted for longer than expected. The NVA pounded the US base for five months. The fighting was so fierce that leaders inside and outside of Vietnam became sceptical that the highly trained US Marines could withstand the siege. President Johnson however, determined that the base would be saved at all costs as he did not want ‘another Dien Bien Phu’.

However, the initial attack on Khe Sanh was merely a smokescreen for a much larger and more shocking move that was to change the course of the war. North Vietnamese leader Le Duan was about to launch an all-out offensive on South Vietnam to hopefully drive the US forces out for good. The Viet Cong and NVA planned to use the national Tet holiday to change the course of the war.

The Tet Offensive

On 31 January 1968, communist forces appeared (seemingly from nowhere) and attacked 44 of the 64 southern capitals, including Saigon itself. Using weapons that were hidden inside trucks and buried in sites around the city, the Viet Cong swept into Saigon on the assumption that residents would rise up to support them. With the bulk of the ARVN forces at home for the holiday, the Americans were caught by surprise. In the chaos of the battle, old scores were settled as countless Saigon officials were executed by the Viet Cong. A suicide squad of fighters managed to fight their way inside the grounds of the US Embassy, before being killed by US military police. Across the South, over 3000 public officials connected with either the South Vietnamese Government or the US Army were executed. To the surprise of the

communists, not only did the populace not join them in what Le Duan hoped would be a 'general uprising', but the US and ARVN response was swift and much stronger than he expected.

While the attack on Saigon was halted in a matter of days, the entire **Tet Offensive** took almost a month to suppress. It ended when the old capital of Hue was finally recaptured from communist forces.

From a military perspective, Tet was a disaster for the communist forces. Of 84 000 soldiers who took part in the wider offensive, they suffered 45 000 casualties. The US and ARVN forces combined suffered 3500 casualties. (The assault on Khe Sahn itself cost 10 000 NVA lives.) In the years that followed, the Viet Cong and NVA operations were severely limited as they recovered from the disaster of Tet. However, the true victory lay in the media reporting of the event.

Tet Offensive the surprise, communist attack on 13 cities in central South Vietnam that started on 30 January 1968

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.12

- 1 Examine each image below and describe what you think is happening.
- 2 Explain what impression of the war in Vietnam these images would give to the untrained eye watching television and reading the newspaper in the United States.
- 3 Predict how the US media would report this event.



SOURCE 8.63 US soldiers battle across Saigon streets.



SOURCE 8.62 US soldiers take cover behind a tank in Saigon, 1968.



SOURCE 8.64 Wounded troops are rushed to military hospitals.



SOURCE 8.65 Dead Viet Cong guerrillas lie in the courtyard of the US Embassy.

The media and the Tet Offensive

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional extensive content and activities on the media and the Tet Offensive.



The nature and significance of the anti-war movements

In the United States, opposition to the war had existed long before 1968. It took a range of forms. Some people were protesting violence in the context of a nuclear cold war. Others were resisting conscription to fight in a war that they believed to be immoral. Throughout the 1960s, as the size and scale of the anti-war movement grew, Johnson's administration became convinced that subversive communist forces were driving the movement. The FBI even began compiling files on over 7000 American anti-war campaigners.

Visibly, the anti-war movement was led by college students across America. For many working-class and military families across America, these students increased a sense of alienation felt by those who still believed in the war and the fight against communism. In addition, the returning soldiers and families of those killed were shunned by a population increasingly influenced by the radical student movement. A divide was forming in America between these college students (many who had avoided the draft) and those whose sons had fought and died as their country had asked.

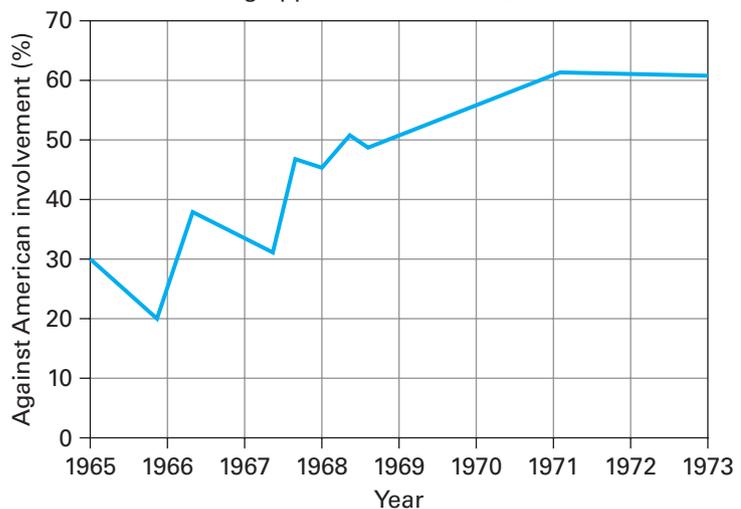
US political assassinations

In April 1968, the heart of the black community and the civil rights movement was torn out when Martin Luther King Jr (MLK) was assassinated by James Earl Ray, a petty criminal and suspected racist. After a decade of struggle in the civil



SOURCE 8.66 The 1968 execution of this Viet Cong fighter by South Vietnamese National Police Chief, Nguyễn Ngọc Loan, made international headlines in both print and television footage.

Growing opposition to the war, 1965–1973



SOURCE 8.67 The rising scale of anti-war sentiment in the United States, based on polling data



SOURCE 8.68 Martin Luther King waves to a crowd, numbering in the hundreds of thousands, moments after giving his historic 'I have a dream' speech at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington DC, 1963.

rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s, MLK had turned his attention to the immorality of the Vietnam War.

Just weeks before his death, MLK delivered a blistering speech where he recommended that all young men confronting the military draft declare themselves conscientious objectors, and he called for the United States to halt all bombing and announce a unilateral ceasefire while preparing to 'make what reparations we can for the damage we have done'.

King's death sparked riots in black communities across America.

Robert 'Bobby' Kennedy, JFK's younger brother, was gaining great momentum in his presidential campaign. It looked like he was going to become the next US president. He had been a key adviser to his brother JFK throughout the Cuban Missile Crisis and was seen as representing a great hope for a peaceful future. He, too, was assassinated on 5 June 1968. His death, at the hands of Sirhan Sirhan (a Palestinian protesting American support for Israel), shocked America. The Kennedy family, the closest thing the United States had to 'royalty', were beset with yet another tragedy.

A 'police riot'

In August 1968, the Democratic National Congress (DNC) was held to choose the candidate for the upcoming election. Thousands of people turned out to protest the Vietnam War, and the city of Chicago descended into chaos.

In what was officially termed a 'police riot', a 12 000-strong force of Chicago police faced the 10 000 anti-war protesters in an inner-city park. When the US flag was lowered from the park's flagpole by a protester, the police attacked the crowd with tear gas and batons. The violence on the street was broadcast to millions of homes across America. Debate within the DNC convention itself was bitter. What many saw was a breakdown of both the Democratic Party and law and order itself over the issue of the Vietnam War.

Vietnam and popular culture

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional content and activities on Vietnam and popular culture.



SOURCE 8.69 Robert 'Bobby' Kennedy launches his presidential campaign in 1968.



SOURCE 8.70 Angry crowds gather in a Chicago park before the DNC in 1968.

1968: Summing it all up

For the conflict in Indochina, 1968 was a defining year. The military disaster of the Tet Offensive set the communist forces back and the Viet Cong never regained the strength it lost in the failed uprising. And yet, it was a bigger disaster for America. While they had dealt a near mortal blow to their enemies in Vietnam, it was seen as a loss as television cameras broadcast suicide squads raiding the US Embassy in Saigon. Protests against the war, fed by increasingly negative media reporting of the war in general, were increasing in size and intensity and attacked the government on its morals, its conscription of young men and its defence of an unwinnable war.

Republican candidate Richard Nixon won the 1968 election on the promise of ending the Vietnam War and bringing law and order to the streets of America. Paradoxically, the war and chaos on American streets and college campuses would continue for another seven years.

At the close of the tumultuous 1968, there were 536 000 Americans in Vietnam and over 30 000 had been killed.

The reasons for and nature of the US withdrawal

By the end of 1968, peace talks in Paris that aimed to end the Vietnam War had broken down and no progress had been made. For the new US President Richard Nixon, two struggles would determine his fate. One was the ability to stave off domestic anger at the war and the second, more private, was to save face against his communist enemies. The desire to achieve both would lead to further disaster.

Ho Chi Minh died on 2 September 1969, from a heart attack, aged 79. A symbol of the revolution, he finally succumbed to the ill health that had plagued him since the 1930s. He played an advisory role to Le Duan and General Giap during the conflict; however, he remained the spiritual leader and a key feature of communist propaganda. Ho was embalmed and placed in a glass case. To this day, visiting Ho's body is a national ritual in Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese hardened their position. They had survived the worst of the war so far. After the failure of the Tet Offensive, they had returned to their guerrilla war methods. They refused to compromise at the negotiating table while the military dictatorship still ruled South Vietnam and the US forces were still in the country.



SOURCE 8.71 US President Richard Nixon



SOURCE 8.72 Ho Chi Minh's preserved body lies in state in Hanoi, 1969.

For Nixon, the United States needed to leave Vietnam 'with honor'. This meant US forces needed to withdraw with their pride intact. Gallup Poll numbers at the time indicated that the majority of Americans believed the Vietnam War was 'a mistake'. It was a difficult task that tried the patience of the American people. In October, millions of Americans around the nation protested the continuation of the war.

The first US Vietnam Moratorium Day was held on 15 October 1969. Protest numbers in Boston and New York reached 250 000, at a time when over 540 000 US personnel were in Vietnam. This time, the protests were not led by college students, but by middle-class Americans of all ages.

The My Lai Massacre, 1969

In 1968, 100 US soldiers stormed a strategic hamlet known as My Lai 4, on the north-eastern coast of South Vietnam. Frustrated by their inability to locate one of the deadliest Viet Cong units in the entire country, the soldiers descended on the hamlet in a rage. There were no Viet Cong in sight, only old men, women and children were in the village. Regardless, the US soldiers herded the villagers into groups, and began shooting them and dumping their bodies into a ditch. According to a hidden military report, the troops' actions included 'individual and group acts of murder, rape, sodomy, maiming and assault on non-combatants'. The massacre only stopped when a US helicopter gunner opened fire on the US soldiers. News of the atrocity was published in the United States in the 16 November 1969 edition of the influential *Life* magazine.

I walked up and saw these guys doing strange things ... Setting fire to the hootches and huts and waiting for people to come out and then shooting them ... going into the hootches and shooting them up ... gathering people in groups and shooting them. As I walked in you could see piles of people all through the village ... all over. They were gathered up into large groups.

I saw them shoot an M79 (grenade launcher) into a group of people who were still alive. But it was mostly done with a machine gun. They were shooting women and children just like anybody else. We met no resistance and I only saw three captured weapons. We had no casualties. It was just like any other Vietnamese village – old Papa-Sans, women and kids. As a matter of fact, I don't remember seeing one military-age male in the entire place, dead or alive.

SOURCE 8.73 Sergeant Michael Bernhardt, 23, in Seymour Hirsch, 'Eyewitness Accounts of the My Lai Massacre', *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 20 November, 1969



SOURCE 8.74 The bodies of villagers murdered in the village of My Lai. These images were circulated in the US media and further damaged public confidence in the war.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



What contribution do you think the following had to the public's view of the Vietnam War?

- The My Lai Massacre
- The US military cover-up of the massacre itself.

The massacre made headlines around the world. People were outraged by not only the horrific nature of the atrocity (many suspecting it was not the only one) but also by the initial cover-up of the incident by the US military. Eventually only one American, Lieutenant William L Calley Jr, was charged over the incident. He was convicted of the murder of 109 Vietnamese civilians.

Operation Menu – the secret bombing of Cambodia, 1969

In March 1969, Nixon authorised the secret bombing of Cambodia, code-named Operation Menu. Despite the Ho Chi Minh Trail (and thus North Vietnamese forces) venturing into Cambodia, the United States had not thus far engaged in attacks against a country whose government was friendly to US interests. Operation Menu signalled a change of heart. Using destructive

B-52 bombers, more bombs were dropped on Cambodia during this campaign than were used on Germany and Japan in all of World War II. Operation Menu would lead to the violent and catastrophic revolution in Cambodia just a year later in 1970.

Nixon's Vietnamisation strategy, 1969

Nixon's public strategy was to reduce US involvement in the war and hand responsibility back to the South Vietnamese Army. Nixon was a newly elected US president, and he needed to create the perception that he was keeping his election promises. In an attempt to change the public discussion of the US purpose in Vietnam, Nixon stated:

The nations of Asia can and must increasingly shoulder the responsibility for achieving peace and progress in the area with whatever cooperation we can provide. Asian countries must seek their own destiny, for if domination by the aggressor can destroy the freedom of a nation, too much dependence on a protector can eventually erode its dignity. But it is not just a matter of dignity, for dependence on foreign aid destroys the incentive to mobilise domestic resources – human, financial, material. In the absence of this, no government is capable of dealing effectively with its problems and adversaries.

SOURCE 8.75 US President Richard Nixon, 'Silent majority' speech, 3 November 1969

Vietnamisation Nixon administration policy to make South Vietnam militarily self-sufficient and enable the United States to pull out of the war

However, historian Thomas Paterson has argued that the process of '**Vietnamisation**' – funding the South Vietnamese to fight their own battles – was a failure.

The multi-faced scheme did not work. Although US ships, planes, rifles and helicopters poured in, South Vietnam became dependent on US aid to keep its Army in the field. As the ranks of the ARVN swelled to more than one million, some Vietnamese groups complained that 'Vietnamisation is only the change in the colour of the dead'. 'We're no longer here to win', said one US military officer, 'We're merely campaigning to keep the [American] casualties down'.

SOURCE 8.76 Thomas Paterson, J Garry Clifford, Shane J Maddock, Deborah Kisatsky, Kenneth Hagan, *American Foreign Relations: A History, Volume 2*, 2010, p. 390

Nixon's madman theory, 1969

Privately, Nixon was determined to present an aura of strength to his communist enemies in Vietnam, and more importantly, in the Soviet Union. In escalating the bombing in Cambodia and North Vietnam, he wanted the North Vietnamese to believe that he was 'mad' enough to escalate the war again if needed – even if that meant a nuclear solution. While he publicly called for patience among the 'silent majority' of peaceful Americans to support their efforts to end the war, he privately threatened his enemies with chaos.

No country has ever experienced such concentrated bombing. On this, perhaps the most gentle and graceful land in all of Asia, President Nixon and Mr Kissinger unleashed 100,000 tons of bombs, the equivalent of five Hiroshimas. The bombing was their personal decision, made illegally and secretly. They bombed Cambodia, a neutral country, back to the Stone Age. And I mean Stone Age in its literal sense.

SOURCE 8.77 John Pilger, *Year Zero: The Silent Death of Cambodia*, 1979

A March 1969 memorandum from Nixon to his new Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, stated the need to make the Soviets see the risks in not helping Washington in the Vietnam negotiations: 'We must worry the Soviets about the possibility that we are losing our patience and may get out of control.'

Deterioration of US soldier morale, 1969

In a time when US forces were beginning to leave Vietnam, the government were pledging to de-escalate the conflict and millions of Americans were marching in opposition to the war, the fighting morale of men conscripted to the conflict was at an all-time low. Few soldiers wanted to invite conflict if there was little left to fight for. Rumours of heroin addiction among US soldiers were surfacing and some soldiers were becoming unwilling to follow the orders of 'gung-ho' officers who were looking to make a name for themselves in the military.

As such, the ordinary soldier, a 'grunt' became a volatile force.

Mostly from what I've heard, if an officer messes with a grunt too much, they get shot out there.

SOURCE 8.78 Anonymous, in Ken Burns, *The Vietnam War*, 2017



SOURCE 8.79 An exhausted US soldier rests between battles in Vietnam, 1969.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- Explain how the US public were led to believe the war was ending.
- Explain how Nixon had, in fact, escalated the war against communism.
- Evaluate the possibility for Nixon's 'madman theory' to succeed.
- Analyse the factors that led to the slow disintegration of the US Army in Vietnam.

In late 1969, the US Army would come to investigate over 800 cases of US soldiers attempting to hurt or kill their superior officers. These incidents were known as 'fragging' after the fragmentation grenades that were often used. Most of these incidents took place in the safety of army bases and were based around drugs or racial tensions. In 1969, there were 96 cases of fragging. By 1971, this number would increase to 542.

The invasion of Cambodia, 1970

Facing the visibly deteriorating situation in Vietnam, the US public welcomed the news that Nixon had begun the process of withdrawing US troops. However, he shocked the world when he declared that he would be expanding the war into Cambodia.

The bombing of Cambodia was still a secret operation. However, military strategy suggested that the North Vietnamese could be contained and hopefully forced into a tougher negotiating position if the Ho Chi Minh Trail was cut.

American policy has been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people. North Vietnam, however, has not respected that neutrality ... For the past five years, North Vietnam has occupied military sanctuaries all along the Cambodian frontier with South Vietnam. Thousands of soldiers (NVA) are invading South Vietnam from these sanctuaries ... Tonight American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam ... This is not an invasion of Cambodia ... Our purpose is not to occupy these areas. The action I have taken tonight is essential to winning the war in Vietnam and securing the peace we all desire.



NIXON SENDS GIs INTO CAMBODIA

Washington, April 30 (NEWS Bureau)—Several thousand American troops crossed the Vietnam-Cambodian border on orders from President Nixon tonight to attack the Communist main headquarters 25 miles inside Cambodia. The U.S. force is expected to stay in Cambodia for six to eight weeks. "This is not an invasion of Cambodia," Nixon declared in a nationally televised address from the White House. Earlier story on page 2.



On Guard in Ohio. Unflinching, militant demonstrators at campus of Ohio State University in Columbus stand their ground as national guardsmen hold fixed bayonets to their throats. A force of 1,200 troops and police clashed with students before tear gas dispersed them. Scores were arrested and dozens were injured. —Garry p. 2; other pics. counterfield

SOURCE 8.80 The cover of the *New York Daily News*, 1 May 1970. National guard soldiers hold bayoneted rifles at student protesters at Ohio State University.

SOURCE 8.81 President Nixon, in a televised address, 30 April 1970

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional historical interpretations and activities on the significance of Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia.



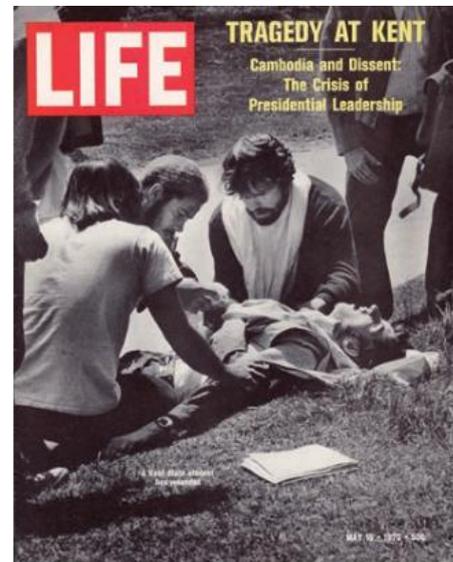
The Vietnam moratoriums

Within days of Nixon's speech, the anti-war movement exploded in strikes and demonstrations across the United States and soon spread across the world, including to Australia (see RESEARCH TASK 8.13).

The Kent State shootings

On 4 May 1970, at the college campus of Kent State University in Ohio, the National Guard (part-time soldiers) were called to the campus to keep the peace. During a student anti-war protest, a campus building had been burnt down. The students were protesting that they had been lied to by Nixon about Vietnamisation. Without warning or orders, a small group of Guardsmen opened fire on the students, killing four people and injuring nine others. One of the most iconic images of the Vietnam conflict shows the anguish of a female student crouched over the body of a felled student.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional content and activities on the significance of the Kent State shootings.



SOURCE 8.82 The cover of *Life* magazine, showing an image of the Kent State shooting

RESEARCH TASK 8.13

The Vietnam Moratoriums in Australia

These anti-war demonstrations were held throughout 1970 across Australia, and were, at the time, the largest protests in our history.

Research these protests online, and prepare a short presentation (or report) explaining:

- what were the aims of the Vietnam Moratoriums?
- where and when did they take place and how many people attended them?
- who was involved in organising them?
- what were the political and social effects of the Moratoriums?

Try to read or watch video of three eyewitness reports of the marches.

- what did each eyewitness observe, and how did they feel?

If possible, interview a person who attended the marches or remembers the events.

- what do they recall about the Moratoriums?

Try to include images and even video clips in your presentation.

Release of the Pentagon Papers, 1971

By May 1971, a Gallup Poll found that 61 per cent of Americans agreed that America's involvement in Vietnam was wrong. In June, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* began publishing elements of a 7000-page document leaked by Daniel Ellsberg, a disillusioned former military analyst for the RAND Corporation who had access to classified documents. A secret report, which came to be known to the public as the 'Pentagon Papers' contained a complete and thorough history of the Vietnam conflict and the military decisions that had taken place behind closed doors. They revealed that, from the beginning of the conflict, the US political and military leaders never had any clear goals for the Vietnam War. The papers revealed that important details of the war had been kept from the public.

The Pentagon Papers revealed that:

- President Truman had been secretly funding the French fight against the Viet Minh
- Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy actively tried to undermine the North Vietnamese Government
- President Johnson knew in advance that Operation Rolling Thunder would not work.

The Pentagon Papers totally undermined the public perception that Vietnam was a war of defence against the agitations of the communist North. Instead, it appeared that the United States Government had been looking for a war, but they didn't know what to do when they found one. The Pentagon Papers were a portrait of the depths of deception used by four different US presidents since the Vietnam conflict began in 1954. Every major event and decision from the Gulf of Tonkin incident to the response to the Tet Offensive was brought into question. Even though Nixon's presidency was not discussed in the papers, the public's faith in the US Government was shattered.

Watergate and the hope of peace, 1972

In 1972 the Nixon administration was rocked by the media allegations that the president had authorised an extensive spying and hotel break in against his political opponents, the Democrats, while Kissinger had kept 'back channels' of communication with the North Vietnamese open since 1969, without the knowledge of the South Vietnamese Government.

While American soldiers were still dying in a war of defence and bombs still rained down on North Vietnam, Nixon had greater domestic problems as the Watergate Scandal, broken by two reporters at the *Washington Post*, revealed the criminal activity of an already controversial president.



SOURCE 8.83 Anger against Nixon's presidency began in 1971 – pictured is a protest outside the White House in Washington DC.

RESEARCH TASK 8.14



SOURCE 8.84 The image of Phan Thi Kim Phuc running from a napalm attack brought the distress of South Vietnamese children into the homes of US families.

The above photo shows a South Vietnamese villager, Phan Thi Kim Phuc, a 9-year-old girl, running in terror as her village had just been napalmed by the South Vietnamese air force. Her clothes had been burnt by the napalm.

Research the background of this image. Explain how it added to the public resentment towards the Vietnam War.

The reasons for and nature of the Communist victory in Vietnam

On 27 January 1973, the United States, South and North Vietnam signed a peace treaty. Negotiations had not been easy and had stuttered and started since 1968. Nixon announced that all US troops would leave Indochina in 60 days. However, a few would remain to protect the embassy in Saigon, which was fortunate, as the US Congress had voted to cut all funding to the conflict. In return for this withdrawal, the North Vietnamese would release all American prisoners of war (PoWs). Among these returned PoWs were the future US Senator (and 2008 presidential candidate) John McCain. The United States ceased hostilities in Vietnam in 1973 facing the same questions the French had in 1954.

By 1974, however, the Watergate Scandal engulfed Nixon and he was forced to resign. His replacement was President Gerald Ford.

The Fall of Saigon, 1975

The North Vietnamese launched their final offensive on the now isolated ARVN in 1974. In the hope that US air strikes may keep the North Vietnamese at bay, the ARVN prepared for their last desperate fight for survival. The air strikes never came, and the defence of the South was a catastrophic failure. The chaos of the South Vietnamese Government, which had seen one corrupt government after another since Diem, meant they were unable to coordinate a defence. Hundreds of thousands of civilians and soldiers fled the advancing communists.

On 31 March 1975, the NVA launched the final assault on Saigon. In the surrounding areas, the ‘Ho Chi Minh Campaign’ was launched to sweep up the remaining ARVN resistance.

In the last days of Saigon, the city’s population had swelled beyond capacity with refugees. Those who had collaborated with the US forces or the South Vietnamese Government (particularly the ARVN) feared for their lives. Many South Vietnamese people tried desperately to escape with the evacuating US forces. Tens of thousands of these people were left to fend for themselves. As the first great ‘television war’ was coming to an end, news footage showed US helicopters evacuating the last of its staff from the roof of the US Embassy. The helicopters took off to meet with aircraft carriers that were stationed off the coast of Vietnam. Desperate Vietnamese people who had fought against the communists were shown desperately reaching into the air for salvation.

Inside the embassy they were burning money, four million dollars worth. They were shredding reams of paper, lists of names, secret files, records of spies, collaborators and assassins ... all while the tanks got closer.

SOURCE 8.85 Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 432

On 30 April 1975, a Soviet-made North Vietnamese tank burst through the gates of the Independence Palace and roared across the lawn. It had taken 55 days for the North Vietnamese offensive to capture Saigon, bringing an end to the war and forming a united Vietnam. But the bloodshed was not yet over.

‘The first thing I thought of was my family, my home village, my wife and children,’ he said.
‘Then I thought of how, from now on, my people and fellow soldiers wouldn’t have to spill their blood any more.’

SOURCE 8.86 Vo Dang Toan, Tank Commander, in Ken Burns, *The Vietnam War*, 2017



SOURCE 8.87 Hundreds of US Embassy workers and Saigon citizens try to board helicopters on the roof of the US Embassy.

Van Nhung Tran, a former ARVN officer who surrendered to the NVA, explained the future for those who did not escape:

There were about 200 of us, all captains. We were given a little rice, a few vegetables and a very small piece of fish ... They said 'Tomorrow, we will give you your first lesson'. And the lecturer came in. His first lesson was, 'The Imperialist Americans invaded our country. They are the number one enemy!'

SOURCE 8.88 Van Nhung Tran in Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 436

Tran was sent to 're-education' camp where he was forced to confess his 'crimes' during the war. He saw many of the 200 internees he stayed with lose their battle with depression. Those who tried to escape were shot. He was finally released after several years of captivity.

I walked out in just my clothes, back to the city, back to my parents' home. They cried. They did not know where I was for three years.

SOURCE 8.89 Van Nhung Tran in Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years*, 2007, p. 457

ANALYSING SOURCES 8.15

- 1 Examine the image of the evacuation of ARVN personnel outside of Saigon.
- 2 Research the final days of the ARVN in 1975. Explain why the end of US support brought an end to the war. In your response, explain the impact on the South Vietnamese population.



SOURCE 8.90 Two US Chinook helicopters hover above a road as they assist in evacuating supplies and soldiers of the South Vietnamese (ARVN) 18th Division and their families from Xuan Loc, outside Saigon, mid-April 1975.

8.4 The spread of the conflict to Cambodia and Laos

The Cambodian genocide is the forgotten story of the Indochinese conflict. In his 1979 documentary, *Year Zero: The Silent Death of Cambodia*, Australian John Pilger described Cambodia as ‘perhaps the most gentle and graceful land in all of Asia’, which had withstood the French, CIA meddling and North Vietnamese exploitation of its eastern borders throughout the Vietnam War. It stood as a neutral player in the conflict. However, Nixon’s secret bombing campaign opened a psychological wound within the rural Cambodian population that led to one of the most horrific and unimaginable periods in human history. The Cambodian genocide of 1970–75 exists as one of humanity’s greatest ever tragedies, sitting alongside the Holocaust, the Armenian genocide or the Rwandan civil war.



SOURCE 8.91 Human remains at the killing fields of Cambodia

Please see the Interactive Textbook for extensive additional content and activities on the conflict in Cambodia and Laos.



CHAPTER 8 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM

- Vietnamese nationalism had grown under the rule of French colonialism.
- Ho Chi Minh emerged as a prominent leader of Vietnamese independence.
- Working with the United States to defeat Japan, Ho declared independence from the French for Vietnam in 1945.

THE NATURE OF VIETNAMESE VICTORY AGAINST THE FRENCH IN 1954

- The French attempt to reoccupy Vietnam after World War II failed.
- The victory of the Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu proved a decisive strike for Vietnamese nationalism.

THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF US POLICY TOWARDS INDOCHINA TO 1964

- The United States was determined to support South Vietnam after the Geneva Conference in 1954.
- The leadership of Ngo Dinh Diem led to the alienation of South Vietnamese peasants.

US FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS VIETNAM FROM 1964

- The US-sanctioned assassination of Diem led to chaos in the South.
- The Gulf of Tonkin incident drew the United States into the Vietnam War.

THE NATURE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE UNITED STATES

- Rolling Thunder had limited impact on the North's fighting ability.
- Search-and-destroy tactics further alienated the Americans from South Vietnamese peasants and affected the morale of US troops.

THE NATURE AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE COMMUNIST FORCES

- The Ho Chi Minh Trail allowed the communist forces to outmanoeuvre the American and ARVN forces.

IMPACT OF THE 1968 TET OFFENSIVE

- A strategic failure for the communist forces that stunted their fighting ability for years to come.
- A public relations failure for the United States as the news media began to oppose the war.

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ANTI-WAR MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

- Large-scale protests across the United States and Australia highlighted public opposition to the war.

THE REASONS FOR AND THE NATURE OF THE US WITHDRAWAL

- By 1970, the war had become deeply unpopular with the American public.
- From 1971, the US Government withdrew American troops, allowing the North to conquer the South.

THE REASONS FOR THE COMMUNIST VICTORY IN VIETNAM

- Superior morale and fighting spirit allowed the NVA and Viet Cong to endure catastrophic losses.
- A gradual wearing down of the Americans led to the North's final offensive of the war.

IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON CIVILIANS IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS

- US bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail led to huge civilian casualties in Cambodia.

THE REASONS FOR THE COMMUNIST VICTORIES IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS

- Thousands of fighters joined the communist forces in Cambodia and Laos after their homes were destroyed by US bombing.

Key terms and names

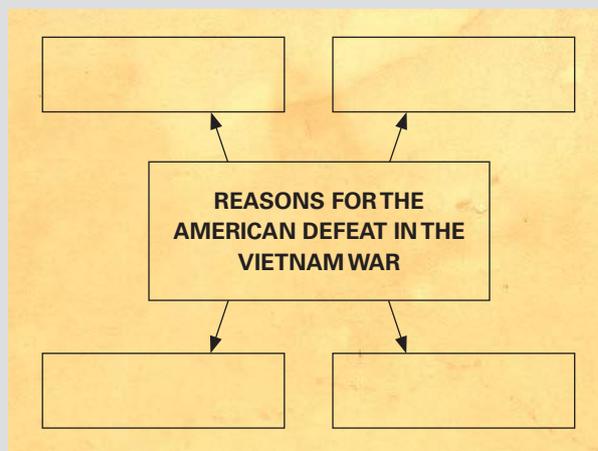
Write a definition in your own words for each key term below.

- 1) Ho Chi Minh
- 2) Ngo Dinh Diem
- 3) Lyndon B Johnson
- 4) communism
- 5) nationalism
- 6) French colonialism
- 7) Dien Bien Phu
- 8) John F Kennedy
- 9) Richard Nixon
- 10) guerrilla warfare
- 11) search and destroy
- 12) Rolling Thunder
- 13) Tet Offensive
- 14) anti-war protests
- 15) Cambodia
- 16) Khmer Rouge

Historical concepts

1 Causation

Create a mind map illustrating the various reasons for America's defeat in the Vietnam War.



2 Continuity and change

- Suggest how the Vietnamese Communists had resisted foreign powers between 1954 and 1975.

3 Perspectives

- List the desires of South Vietnamese peasants prior to US intervention in Vietnam.
- Explain the goals of the North Vietnamese Communist leaders and soldiers.
- Explain the goals of US politicians over the course of the conflict.
- List the grievances of American and Australian civilians after the 1968 Tet Offensive.

4 Significance

For each point below, briefly explain its connection to the defeat of American forces in Vietnam.

- The leadership of Ho Chi Minh.
- The defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu.
- US strategy in the war.
- Communist strategy in the war.
- The Tet Offensive.
- The media and the anti-war movement.
- President Nixon and the invasion of Cambodia.

5 Contestability

To what extent was American military and political strategy to blame for their withdrawal from Vietnam by 1975? In your answer, refer to the views of at least two historians included in this chapter.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- In a short paragraph, briefly explain:
 - 1) how the battle of Dien Bien Phu changed the course of Indochina
 - 2) the challenges facing the US Government in Vietnam between 1955 and 1964
 - 3) how US strategy failed to make significant inroads in the conflict by 1968
 - 4) how the Ho Chi Minh Trail was used to frustrate US forces
 - 5) how the Tet Offensive was both a success and catastrophic failure for the communist forces
 - 6) how growing public discontent with the war was fed by media coverage
 - 7) how US strategy created conflict in Cambodia.

2 Historical interpretation

The orthodox view: politicians and the military were to blame

A group of US historians, who were mainly left-wing radicals known as 'New Leftists', argue that the United States was morally wrong to fight the war in Vietnam. They view America as an imperialist power that was intent on dominating the third world, mainly for economic reasons. The United States, they argue, was the aggressor, injecting itself into a civil war, slaughtering innocent people and behaving like an imperial bully. The most enduring New Left Vietnam War historian is Gabriel Kolko.

There were people within the government who thought Vietnam was a futile war ... Which was why Ellsberg leaked the Pentagon Papers to the public ... The Communists were scarcely supermen and they did not so much win the war as the Americans had lost it ... The United States miscalculated. The Vietnamese were tired of Colonial rule. First, the French took away land from the peasants. The Communists won the peasants' loyalty by promising more land.

SOURCE 8.92 Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience*, 1987

The revisionist view: politicians are to blame

This group agrees that the war was wrong, but on practical, not moral, grounds. They argue that from the start, the war wasn't winnable for the United States. The United States, they believe, fought a good fight against communism, but would have been better served expending its resources elsewhere in more vital areas of the world. To the revisionists, Vietnam was not worth the loss of so much American life and resources. The most prominent revisionists are George Herring, Neal Sheehan and Stanley Karnow.

'What did we learn from Vietnam?' We learned that we shouldn't have been there in the first place.

SOURCE 8.93 Stanley Karnow in an interview with the Associated Press

The American government considered the Vietnam initiative more as an 'exercise' than as a real war. These factors had been reinforced with other reasons leading to failure: lack of clear strategy from the top; lack of imagination in conducting the war.

SOURCE 8.94 George Herring, *LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War*, 1994

No president can commit the American armed forces with the freedom Johnson and Kennedy could because the credibility of the president to do that has been damaged, it's been changed. He's not the ultimate wisdom anymore.

SOURCE 8.95 Neal Sheehan in Harry Kresler, *Remembering the Vietnam War: Conversations with Neil Sheehan*, 1986

The post-revisionist view: the government and media are to blame

This group of historians believe that the war was morally right, a noble crusade against ruthless communism, but that American political and military leaders committed terrible blunders. They maintain that the war was quite winnable but that the limited war policy prevented the soldiers from securing victory. Many of these historians even argue that the US side was winning in the early 1970s, only to be undone by anti-war politicians here at home. Lewis Sorley, Bruce Palmer and Andrew Krepinevich are examples of post-revisionists.

(General) Westmoreland's strengths propelled him to a level beyond his understanding and abilities. The results were tragic, not just for him, but for the Army and the nation he served.

SOURCE 8.96 Lewis Sorley, *Westmoreland*, 2011, p. xix

From the beginning, our leaders realised that South Vietnam was not vital to US interests. Yet for other reasons the nation became committed to the war ... Legitimate questions were raised as to whether our goals in South East Asia were worth the high cost.

SOURCE 8.97 General Bruce Palmer, *The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam*, p. 189

Tet was a tactical victory for the United States, the American public and President Johnson, who later decided not to seek reelection, disagreed about the outcome as it illustrated that the Army's war of attrition was not.

SOURCE 8.98 Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 1986

Instructions

- 1) In your groups, read, research and compile detailed notes on the events and views of the event assigned to you by your teacher. You will have just under a lesson to complete this work.
- 2) Agree on the five key points, quotes and contribution your event made to the American loss in Vietnam.
- 3) Once complete, you will move into expert groups to share your findings.
- 4) In those groups, you will complete your jigsaw research sheet.
- 5) Use the information you have gathered to fill in the categories for:
 - lessons from the French
 - American involvement
 - tactics and attitudes
 - the Tet Offensive
 - My Lai Massacre
 - Kent State shooting
 - Pentagon Papers
 - Vietnamisation and madman theory
 - Fall of Saigon
 - Cambodia.

Research tips

- Google your event with the words 'impact', 'importance' or 'significance'.
- Go beyond the first page of Google.
- YouTube – take care to use professional sources only.
- Look for direct quotes.

3 Analysis and use of sources

- Referring to Sources A and B, identify the success and failure of US military strategy up to 1968.

- Examine the impact images like Source A would have on a civilian population both inside and outside of Vietnam.
- Explain what Sources A, B and C explain about the declining support for the Vietnam War by 1969 in Western nations.
- Evaluate the strategy of three US presidents in their attempts to solve the conflict in Indochina, evaluating the effectiveness of the use of force.

SOURCE A



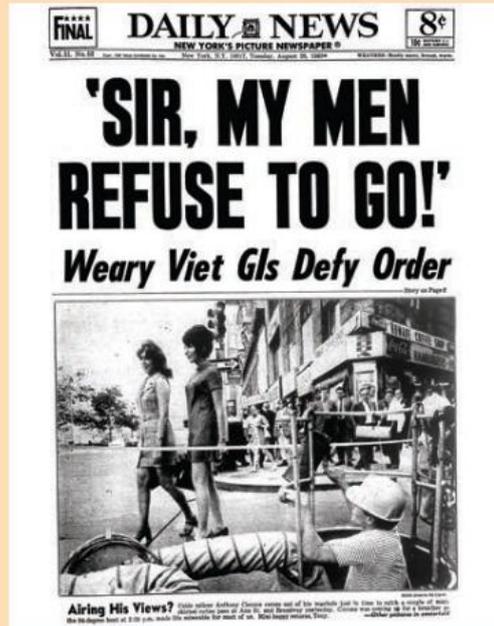
A Vietnamese civilian with a gun pointed at the side of her head

SOURCE B

The Battle for Hill 875 was a microcosm of what we were doing and what went wrong in Vietnam. There was no reason to take that hill. We literally got to the top of the hill on November 23rd and sat there for half an hour or an hour ... Chinooks (helicopters) came in and took us off the hill and I doubt there has been an American on Hill 875 since ... We accomplished nothing.

SOURCE 8.99 Matt Harrison in Ken Burns, *The Vietnam War*, 2017

SOURCE C



Daily News front page August 26, 1969

4 Historical investigation and research

Vietnam was lost in the living rooms of America — not on the battlefields of Vietnam.

SOURCE 8.100 Marshall McLuhan, 'Marshall McLuhan', *Montreal Gazette*, 16 May 1975

To what extent do you agree? Use evidence and refer to historians' views in your response.

Some questions you must ask yourself ... and ideas to consider:

- 1) Is the media totally to blame?
- 2) Who or what else could be blamed?
- 3) You must consider the political, military and social (media) perspectives.
- 4) What about three presidents who lied to the public?
- 5) What about military strategy?
- 6) Were the media just doing their job?
- 7) Were the media misreporting the truth?
- 8) Consider the historians and identities who have attacked the media (Westmoreland, Nixon etc). What bias would convince them of this argument?

Some questions you must ask yourself ...

... about the social impact of the media:

- 1) Why did the media report Tet as a failure?
- 2) What influence did Cronkite have?
- 3) Why were students protesting at Kent State?
- 4) What influence would the Tet Execution photo or the Napalm Girl photo have on ordinary people?
- 5) Was the media right to report on the Pentagon Papers, My Lai and other acts of the US Army?
- 6) Did the Media deliberately turn against Vietnam or just tell the truth?

Some questions you must ask yourself ...

... about the impact of political decisions:

- 7) Why were the lessons of the French not learned?
- 8) Why did the Americans trust Diem?
- 9) Was the Gulf of Tonkin a lie used to start a war?
- 10) Did Johnson act out of self-interest?
- 11) Did the politicians misunderstand their enemy?
- 12) Johnson resigned. What is the significance of this?
- 13) Nixon decided to escalate the war into Cambodia. Did he not understand public opinion?
- 14) The war eventually lasted longer than four presidents. What does that suggest?

Some questions you must ask yourself ...

... about the impact of military strategy:

- 15) What lessons of Dien Bien Phu did America not learn?
- 16) What was the outcome of Operation Rolling Thunder? Why did it not work?
- 17) Why did the morale of US soldiers suffer?
- 18) How did Tet humiliate the army?
- 19) What impact did My Lai have on the image of the military and public attitudes towards it?
- 20) Was the military just doing the job the politicians asked for?
- 21) How did the invasion of Cambodia contribute to the disintegration of army morale?

5 Further essay questions

Leaders: Ho Chi Minh

'Ho Chi Minh was a nationalist before he was a communist.' To what extent do you agree?

'Circumstance, rather than careful planning, paved the way for Ho's Declaration of Independence by 1945.' To what extent do you agree?

Leaders: JFK

Vietnam represents a test of American responsibility and determination in Asia. If we are not the parents of little Vietnam, then surely we are the godparents. We presided at its birth, we gave assistance to its life, we have helped to shape its future ... And if it falls victim to any of the perils that threaten its existence – communism political anarchy, poverty and the rest – then the United States, with some justification, will be held responsible; and our prestige in Asia will sink to a new low.

SOURCE 8.101 John F Kennedy, 'America's Stake in Vietnam' speech, 1 June 1956

I don't think that unless a greater effort is made by the [South Vietnamese] government to win popular support that the war can be won ... In the final analysis it is their war. They are the ones who have to win or lose it. We can help them, we can give them equipment, we can send our men out there as advisers, but they have to win it, the people of Vietnam.

SOURCE 8.102 John F Kennedy, CBS interview, 2 September 1963

Using evidence and your own knowledge, respond to the following question: 'Had JFK lived to see a 1964 election, the United States may never have entered the Vietnam War'. To what extent do you agree?

Events: the Tet Offensive

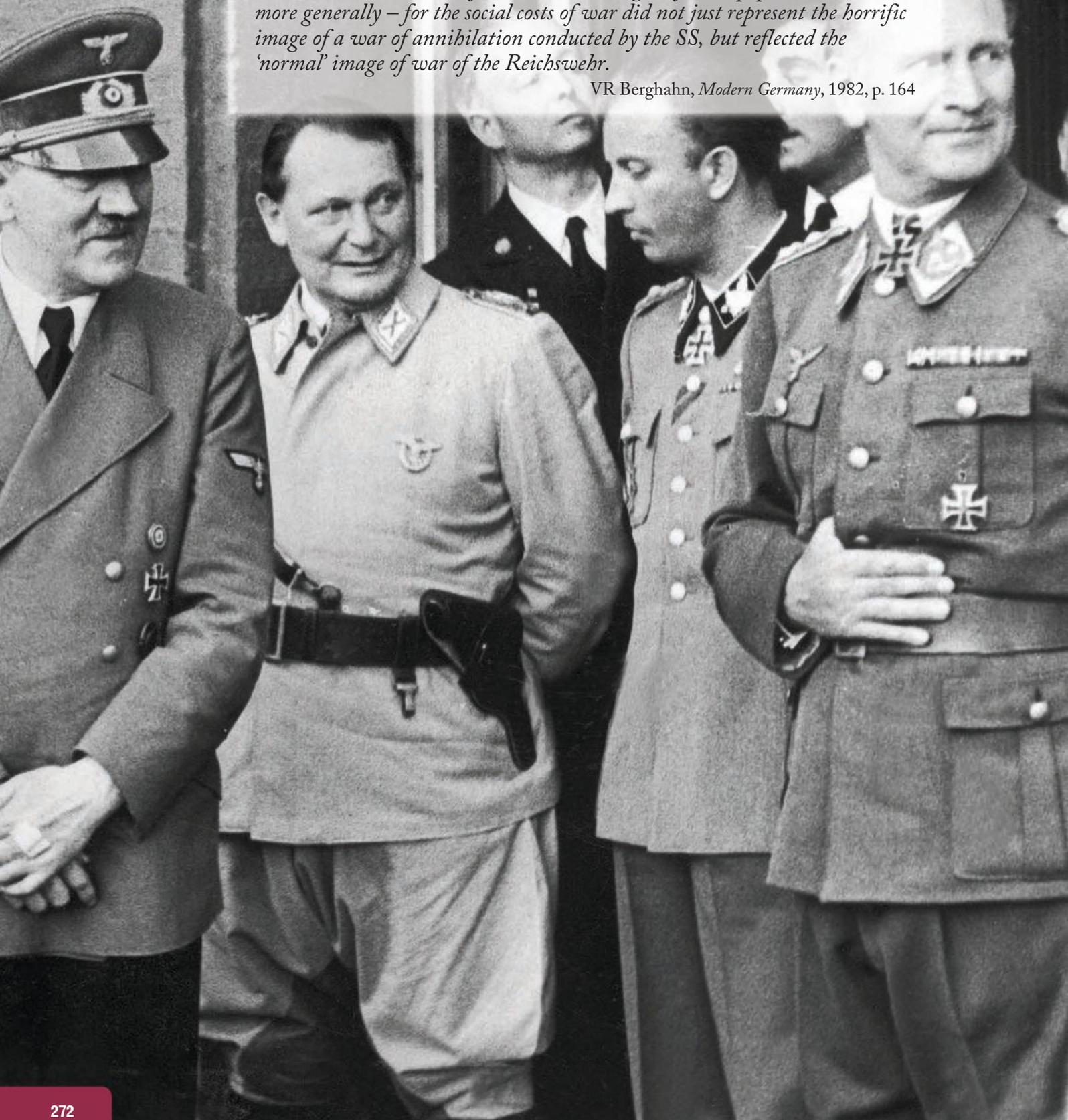
- 1) Tet was a major turning point in the Vietnam War. To what extent do you agree?
- 2) How did the media influence American support for Vietnam in 1968?
- 3) The American disaster of 1968 was a long time in the making. To what extent do you agree?
- 4) Despite its immediate failure, Le Duan's Tet Offensive ultimately achieved its aims. To what extent do you agree?

CHAPTER 9

Conflict in Europe 1935–45

Total and terroristic warfare ... without regard for the population or – more generally – for the social costs of war did not just represent the horrific image of a war of annihilation conducted by the SS, but reflected the ‘normal’ image of war of the Reichswehr.

VR Berghahn, *Modern Germany*, 1982, p. 164





The European Theatre of World War II



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate key features of the conflict of Europe 1935–45.

KEY ISSUES

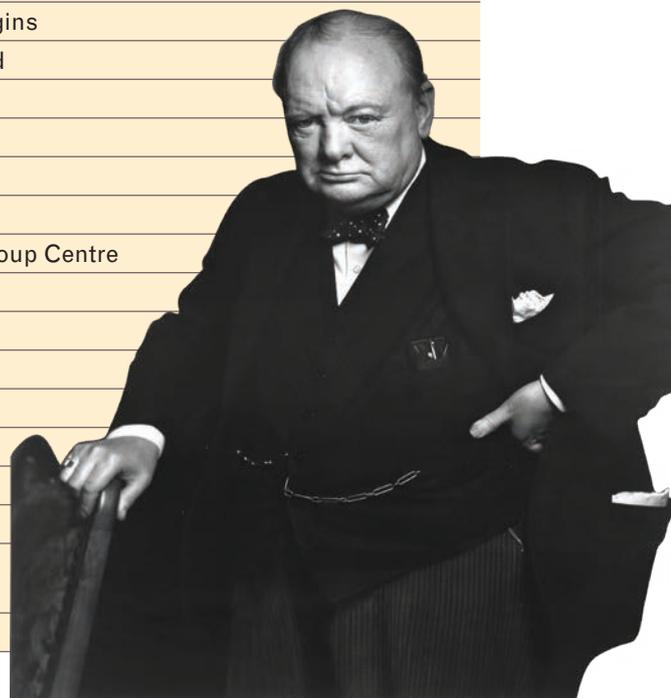
You will investigate:

- Growing European turmoil, including:
 - the undermining of collective security in the Abyssinia Crisis and the Spanish Civil War
 - the policy of appeasement used by Britain and France
 - the legacy of the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact
- The influence of Nazi ideology on German foreign policy up to September 1939
- The course of World War II, including:
 - the fall of Poland, the Low Countries and France to Germany
 - the role of aerial warfare: the Battle of Britain, the Blitz and the bombing of Berlin
 - Operation Barbarossa, the Battle of Stalingrad and the repercussions of the Russian campaign
 - the importance of the fighting in North Africa to the European War, such as the Battle of El Alamein
- Civilians at war, including:
 - the socioeconomic cost of the war on civilians in Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union
 - the progression and legacy of the Holocaust in Nazi-occupied areas
- The end of World War II, including:
 - D-Day and the liberation of France
 - the 1944 Russian counter-offensives
 - the final defeat of Germany in 1944–45
 - the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
March 1936	German militarisation of the Rhineland
July 1936	Beginning of Spanish Civil War
March 1938	The Austrian crisis and the <i>Anschluss</i>
September 1938	The Sudetenland crisis The Munich Conference
August 1939	The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact
September 1939	Germany invades Poland; Britain, France and Poland declare war
April 1940	Germany invades Norway
May 1940	Germany invades Holland, Belgium and France
May–June 1940	British and French troops evacuated from Dunkirk
June 1940	Italy declares war on Britain and France
July– November 1940	Battle of Britain
September 1940	Axis Powers are formed when the Tripartite Pact is signed by Germany, Italy and Japan in Berlin
June 1941	Germans launch Operation Barbarossa
September 1941	German siege of Leningrad begins
December 1941	Russian counterattack before Moscow Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor pushes the United States to enter the war Hitler declares war on the US; the US will now join the Allies in the Pacific and Europe
January 1942	Wannsee Conference in Berlin
July 1942	New German offensive in Soviet Union
August 1942	Battle of Stalingrad begins
September 1942	Soviet forces counterattack, begin the encirclement of Stalingrad
November 1942	Allied invasion of French North Africa begins
February 1943	German 6th Army surrenders at Stalingrad
February 1943	Battle of Kursk
May 1943	End of German resistance in North Africa
July 1943	Mussolini forced to resign
September 1943	Allied invasion of Italy
June–August 1944	Soviet offensive against German Army Group Centre
June 1944	D-Day: the invasion of France
July 1944	The Warsaw uprising
August 1944	The liberation of Paris
September 1944	Operation Market Garden fails
December 1944	The Battle of the Bulge
January 1945	Russians take Warsaw
April 1945	Hitler commits suicide in his bunker
May 1945	Battle of Berlin begins; German surrender to Western Allies at Reims VE Day
November 1945	The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials





CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 9.2 A young boy walks along a dirt road lined with the corpses of hundreds of Jewish prisoners who died at the Nazis' Bergen-Belsen extermination camp, Germany, 20 April 1945. Please note that this image was edited at the time it first appeared in *Life* magazine to obscure nudity.

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 9 Overview

KEY IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS TODAY	KEY TERMS AND NAMES
World War II began due to the legacy of the traumas of World War I, which gave rise to fascism, totalitarianism and militarism across Europe and Asia.	It is difficult to understand today's big international issues without knowing about World War II. The conflict in Europe shaped much of the modern world and taught us about the need for international cooperation, as well as the impact of technological advancement.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Blitzkrieg</i>• <i>Lebensraum</i>• <i>Anschluss</i>• appeasement• diplomacy• invasion• Holocaust• liberation• Hitler• Churchill• Stalin• Chamberlain• mobilisation• <i>Luftwaffe</i>• Stalingrad• Judeo-Bolshevism

INQUIRY QUESTION

Why is World War II regarded as 'The Good War'?

Painting the picture

Background

World War II was unleashed by Adolf Hitler in 1939, with some help from an unlikely newfound friend: the Soviet Union's ruler, Joseph Stalin. These two dictators aimed to bring about fundamental change in the world by coming to an agreement with the Nazi–Soviet Pact. World War II was very clearly Hitler's war. Historians have now been debating for nearly a century the reasons for the causes of World War I, but they debate far less the origins of World War II. Those origins have to do with Hitler's will, his desire for a great conflict and what he hoped to gain from it. Forces had already been gathering for war with Hitler's early alliance with fascist Italy, and later with his approach towards Japan. Hitler and his associates viewed Western democracies, such as France and Britain, as weak. They were convinced that in all likelihood, their aggression and invasion of weaker nations would not be met with decisive resistance. After Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia without opposition, he was convinced of the strategy, and resolved to attack Poland, disregarding the security guarantees that had been given by Britain and France. This provoked World War II.

There was one fear, however, that Hitler needed to deal with – German anxiety about the position the Soviet Union would take in another global conflict. Hitler aimed to avoid a two-front war (the perennial nightmare of German politicians and diplomats) through a diplomatic resolution. As a result, he sought the cooperation of Stalin. This was an unlikely alliance because the Communists and the Nazis had been ideological enemies. The two dictators therefore cooperated in facilitating the outbreak of World War II. They believed that the conflict would push in a new epoch, reordering Europe, maybe even the world, and bringing about the demise of their common enemy, democracy.



SOURCE 9.3 (Left) Nazi Germany's *Führer*, Adolf Hitler; (right) the Soviet Union's dictator, Joseph Stalin

9.1 Growth of European tensions

The collapse of collective security



The Abyssinia Crisis

Italy's 1935 invasion of Ethiopia (it was then called Abyssinia) in Africa was an important milestone of the decade. It showed not just the aggression of Mussolini's Fascists, which had been clear for many years, but it also revealed the weakness of **collective security**, international opinion, and the international community as a whole. Mussolini aimed to carve out an African empire for Italy, based on the model of the Ancient Romans, as well as to redeem the remarkable defeat of an Italian Army in Ethiopia in 1896.

The Italian forces made destructive use of technological advancements in weaponry in the way they conducted warfare. The Italian Army used aeroplanes and poison mustard gas. The Ethiopian forces were showered by artillery shells and hunted like animals by aeroplane. Their population centres were bombed from the air, in a sign of the greater bombardments from the air yet to come in World War II. The Italians followed what they quite deliberately called 'the policy of terror' and conducted tenfold retribution in atrocities for resistance on the part of Ethiopians, who were also rounded up and put into concentration camps. The Ethiopians' valiant defence of their homeland was ultimately quelled. In 1936, the country was annexed to Italy as part of its empire. The Italian king was declared emperor of Ethiopia.

The international reaction was weak. The League of Nations condemned the act in the strongest of diplomatic language. However, when it actually came to taking action, it only mustered weak sanctions against Italy and was careful not to include a strategic economic effect, such as an oil embargo against that state, fearing that it was too provocative. This helpless response on the part of the League of Nations to what was an act of clear aggression discredited that institution, and led it to soon fade away. Speaking to the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, the Ethiopian emperor prophetically told the assembled delegates: 'First it was us, next it will be you.'

collective security a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore commits to a collective response to threats, and breaches to peace

The German dictator, Adolf Hitler, praised Mussolini's action. There had once been tension between these dictators, competing as they were to pronounce their own brand of fascism and view of the world. Now Italy and Germany became fast friends, leading to the formation of an alliance, the **Rome–Berlin Axis** in October 1936. This was another milestone on the road towards World War II.

The Spanish Civil War

Relations between Italy and Germany had been strained in the early summer 1936 primarily because of their rivalry over Austria. Nevertheless, their aid to nationalist Spain was to prove the forging of the 'Rome–Berlin axis', a phrase first used by Mussolini on 1 November 1936.

A Beevor, *The Battle for Spain: The Spanish Civil War 1936–1939*, 2006, p. 153

Rome–Berlin Axis the coalition between Italy and Germany, formed in 1936

Comintern an international agency set up by the Russians in 1919 to coordinate the activities of communist parties throughout the world; otherwise known as the 'Third International'

Soviet satellite communist nations of the Soviet Union, besides Russia

The Spanish Civil War, 1936–39, represented a 'dress rehearsal' for World War II. In July 1936, General Francisco Franco led a military revolt against the Spanish republic, supported by the Fascist *Phalange* and nationalist forces. They opposed the popular front, a force made up of democrats, socialists, anarchists and communists who supported the republic. The civil war soon developed an international dimension, as Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany intervened with supplies, troops, and aeroplanes, in favour of Franco. For their part, pursuing the anti-fascist strategy of the **Comintern**, the Soviet Union supplied republican forces. Brigades of volunteers from other nations also joined the fight against fascism in Spain. At the same time, however, communist forces within the republican camp were pursuing another agenda as well. They purged their own

anarchist allies in the popular front, jockeyed for a position in a future Spain that they hoped might become a **Soviet satellite**, and fatally undermined the process of the Republican war effort.

The Spanish Civil War took over 500 000 lives and was marked by atrocities, such as the April 1937 terror-bombing attack on the town of Guernica from the air by the German Condor Legion. This attack, which lasted three hours, was considered to be a preview of the end of the world and how it would appear to its victims. It was an experiment, in some senses, in how to destroy civilian populations



SOURCE 9.4 A 1930s British political cartoon about the Abyssinia Crisis, criticising the reaction by key League of Nations members, France and Britain



SOURCE 9.5 General Francisco Franco (right), the leader of the nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War, 1936–39

from the air. This tactic would be perfected during the course of aerial bombardment in World War II. The bombing of Guernica was later immortalised in a famous painting by Pablo Picasso. Franco used propaganda and the technique of ‘the big lie’ to simply deny the bombing outright. The nationalist forces under Franco created the myth that it was the people of Guernica themselves who had destroyed their city. The victims would be blamed for these atrocities, as a way of shedding responsibility.

Franco had won the civil war by 1939. He established harsh, **authoritarian** rule, and opponents of the regime were either interned in concentration camps or killed. In its sheer brutality and the clash of opposing ideological camps, the Spanish Civil War would appear to be a ‘proxy war in advance’. Among the various international crises of the 1930s, it would eventually be the actions of Hitler and his Nazi Party that would lead to World War II.

authoritarian system of government that enforces strict obedience to authority at the expense of freedom of opinion and public interests

FLASHPOINT!

How did the failure of collective security contribute to the outbreak of conflict in Europe?

The League never reflected the true reality of the global balance of power and didn’t challenge the German and Italian right-wing nationalist agendas:

- The world’s greatest power, the United States, never joined the League; Germany was only a member from 1926 to 1933; Japan left in 1933; Italy left in 1937 and the Soviet Union was only a member from 1939.
- Nazi and fascist ideology was largely based on self-determination, and both dictators challenged the League of Nations with great success. This was reflected in the events in Abyssinia, the Rhineland and Spain.

The League of Nations lacked a military force:

- The League only had a moral force, not a military force.
- Abyssinia 1935–36 was the death blow to the League. Britain was left embarrassed at its handling of the situation. This led to the end of the **Stresa Front** and meant Britain had to rely on the policy of appeasement.
- The Spanish Civil War 1936–39 was a rehearsal for World War II. It strengthened the relationship between Hitler and Mussolini and highlighted the failure of collective security.

The League relied too heavily on Britain and France:

- After World War I, both Britain and France became second-rate powers in economic and military terms.
- Anglo-French cooperation was always dependent on differing ideas.
- France wanted a strong League to ensure security in Europe and to use the League to enforce the treaty; Britain wanted a flexible League with fewer commitments as its interests were outside of Europe.
- The events in Abyssinia, the Rhineland and Spain highlighted the weaknesses of Britain and France.



SOURCE 9.6 (Left to right) Foreign Minister Pierre Laval of France, Prime Minister Benito Mussolini of Italy, Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of Britain and French Prime Minister Pierre Etienne Flandin at the Stresa Conference, 11 April 1935, where they offered a united front against Germany

Stresa Front Britain, France and Italy met at Stresa, Italy, in April 1935, forming a common ‘front’ to stand up to any possible future German aggression

Britain, France and the policy of appeasement

Key considerations about the policy of appeasement

The origins of appeasement

- The policy of appeasement was largely based on avoiding war. Unlike the 1920s, the international realities of the 1930s were more complex and varied. They included global economic depression, guilt among Allied nations for the harshness of the Treaty of Versailles and the growth of dictatorships.
- The above factors created an environment in which appeasement was the logical policy option.
- Appeasement was a response to the failure of collective security.

Appeasement emboldened Hitler

- Hitler's confidence increased and he was able to systematically destroy the Treaty of Versailles.
- Hitler grew to despise British and French leaders. He saw them as being incredibly weak. Examples of their weakness for Hitler included:
 - German rearmament
 - Anglo-German Naval Agreement
 - Remilitarisation of the Rhineland
 - **Anschluss**.

Appeasement allowed Hitler to have a significant domestic impact

- Nazi propaganda perpetuated the idea that Hitler was a man of peace and was able to acquire land without war.
- The growth of the Fuhrer Myth and the idea of restoring German nationalism and its rightful place in Europe.
- It allowed Hitler to dominate his generals and to assume more power and control in Germany.

Anschluss the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany on 12 March 1938

plebiscite the direct vote of all the members of an electorate on an important public question

Anschluss, March 1938

On 12 March 1938, Adolf Hitler announced an '*Anschluss*' (union) between Germany and Austria, after German troops had marched across the Austrian border. Austrian-born Hitler was, in fact, annexing (basically swallowing) the smaller nation into a greater Germany. After a **plebiscite** vote of the Austrian people confirmed their rule, the Nazis soon began their ruthless policy of persecuting political dissidents and, especially, Jewish citizens.

The Czechoslovak crisis, September 1938

After the *Anschluss* with Austria, Czechoslovakia moved to the forefront of Nazi attention. In Czechoslovakia, the Sudeten German Party was a pro-Nazi group whose stated goal was the cessation of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia to Germany. The Sudetenland was the name for the northern, southern and western areas of Czechoslovakia, which were inhabited primarily by people of German origin. After the *Anschluss*, so great was the concern about Nazi invasion in the Czech capital of Prague, that Hitler felt it necessary to send a reassuring telegram to the Czech president, Beneš. Hitler reassured him that Germany had no territorial desire in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, however, he gave his military men orders to 'smash Czechoslovakia in the foreseeable future'. Indeed, the date was already set for 1 October 1938.

The Sudeten Germans were encouraged by Berlin to make impossible demands, to provoke incidents, and to make the Czech authorities seem to the outside world to be oppressing the German minority in Czechoslovakia (and in the Sudetenland in particular). Tensions rose throughout 1938, and in May the Czechs even partially mobilised their armed forces due to rumours of a German invasion. By the summer, a diplomatic struggle began. Czechoslovakia had treaties with two major European states, one with France and one with the Soviet Union. If Germany moved into the Sudetenland and the Czechs resisted, it would be the tripwire that would start a second European-wide war.

The agreement between France, Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia was that the Soviets would come to Czechoslovakia's aid if France did first. Stalin did not trust the West, and he did not want to be provoked into a war against Germany. He always thought that the West was trying to encourage German expansion

to the east at his expense, so for Stalin the treaty made sense. If France honoured its obligation to Czechoslovakia, so too would the Soviet Union. Hitler publicly called for the Sudetenland to come *heimist Reich* – to come home to the Reich. Nazi propaganda also accused the Czech Government of oppressing the German minority. At this point, the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain decided to engage in what was known as **summit diplomacy**. Chamberlain visited Hitler in **Berchtesgaden** on 15 September 1938, and they agreed that Chamberlain would convince both his own and the French Government that there would be a plebiscite to determine whether the Sudetenland really wanted to become part of Germany or remain in Czechoslovakia.

Although Chamberlain convinced the British Cabinet and Eduard Daladier, the Prime Minister of France (who was cautious and concerned at the political developments) to agree to Hitler's terms, the German Chancellor ignored the agreement. He argued that it wasn't good enough, that the Czechs were persecuting Germans in the Sudetenland and he simply could not hold back the wrath of the German people towards these atrocities committed against the German minority. Hitler demanded agreement on the new terms he had put forward, which included immediate German entry into Czechoslovakia. He demanded an agreement within 48 hours. This prompted Britain and France to prepare the mobilisation of their troops – and the matter was to be resolved by 1 October. The Czechs rejected Hitler's demands, and Europe stood perched on the precipice of war. However, the situation would be saved by Italy's Benito Mussolini, who suggested that he would use his 'good offices' (influence) and bring about a conference to settle the crisis, which Chamberlain agreed to. On 29 September 1938, Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, and Hitler met in the *Führerbau*, the Führer's offices in Munich, for a conference that has lived in infamy ever since.

The Munich Conference

Though the purpose of the Munich Conference was to discuss the fate of Czechoslovakia, the Czechs themselves were absent. Their delegation literally had to stand outside the building, waiting to hear the fate of their country. The other party not invited to the conference was the Soviet Union, who still was stating that it would honour its obligations to Czechoslovakia. The Munich Conference gave the Nazis what they wanted and German troops were permitted to immediately move into Czechoslovakia. The Sudetenland became part of Germany without a bullet fired. The bad news was brought to the Czech delegates with great embarrassment by Britain and France.

Hitler got exactly what he wanted, and without war. His popularity in Germany soared after this great victory. Not only had Germany brought more Germans into this *Gross Deutsche Reich*; Britain, France and Italy had all bowed down to Germany. Germany, under Hitler, had forged its own fate. Back in England, Chamberlain returned and waved the agreement – not the actual Munich Agreement, but another agreement made at the time – famously declaring: 'I believe it is peace for our time.'

summit diplomacy a form of conference negotiation used by international governments in which the heads of state meet for face-to-face negotiations

Berchtesgaden Hitler's 'Eagle's Nest' retreat near the German town in the Bavarian Alps on the Austrian border



SOURCE 9.7 Key players at the Munich Conference; Chamberlain is shown talking to Hitler.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.1



SOURCE 9.8 A satirical 1938 British cartoon by David Low. The original caption was: *What, no chair for me?*

- 1 Examine the image and identify and list each figure.
- 2 Explain the meaning behind the caption.

What were the implications of the Munich Conference?

- 1 There had been an opposition forming within the German Army under General Ludwig Beck. Beck and the military conspirators, who had begun to think it may be time to remove Hitler, were shocked that the West would go along with the Munich Agreement. Just as in 1936, when Hitler had moved into the Rhineland over military objections, now Hitler had gambled again, and he had been proven right and the Army had been proven wrong.
- 2 It drove the Soviet Union away from the West. It convinced Stalin of Western weakness, that France and England were anti-communist states, who were not interested in really holding back the Nazis, but only in channelling Nazi aggression to the east.
- 3 Hitler was further emboldened by the concessions made by the West. He saw Britain and France as being weak, vacillating and not standing up to their treaty obligations. A year later, Munich would encourage Hitler in his belief that the West would not intervene when he planned to invade Poland.

self-determination the concept that people living in a particular country should have political autonomy to choose their own leaders and form independent states in their own right

Three weeks after the Munich Conference, German military plans were already under way for the invasion of what was left of Czechoslovakia. In March 1939, Germany invaded Czechoslovakia. Up until this point, all of Hitler's foreign policy moves could be justified under the principle of the national **self-determination** of peoples. But all that changed when German troops moved across the frontier in March 1939. The Czech Government was in an impossible position and there was no real



SOURCE 9.9 Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain waves to the crowd at Heston Airport on 30 September 1938 and declaims 'Peace for our time' after signing the Munich Agreement.

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



In 1938 Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was seen by most in Europe as a great hero, a saviour of peace. How did Chamberlain justify the Munich Agreement and the policy of appeasement?

resistance. The French did not begin to think about honouring their obligations to Czechoslovakia and neither did the Russians, and like the *Anschluss* of Austria, the Czech state was absorbed by the expanding German nation. 🗝️

Significance of the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact

From Stalin's perspective, it [the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact] provided a respite and opened up the enticing prospect of Europe's capitalist powers, Germany, France and Britain, fighting a war of mutual destruction between themselves ... in the longer run, the boundary (the pact) drew in Poland ... was to prove permanent.

SOURCE 9.10 R Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 2005, p. 693

The creation of the Nazi–Soviet Pact was born out of the events at the Munich Conference. Hitler drew the conclusion from his encounter with Chamberlain, Daladier and company at Munich that the West was weak, that it would not fight and that when push came to shove, Britain would not intervene on the continent to challenge German actions. Stalin, watching the events in Munich in isolation from Moscow, was furious. He was angry that the Soviet Union had not been included in any talks throughout the crisis – the run-up to the agreement and the Munich Conference itself. Munich convinced Stalin that the Western powers were driving Germany eastwards towards the Soviet Union.

Poland

Poland, situated between Germany to the west and Soviet Russia to the east, was in a vulnerable position by the late 1930s. France and Britain made guarantees to protect Poland, under the guises of another attempt at a collective security structure. However, they had already once abandoned this policy with the policy of appeasement and the carving up of Czechoslovakia. In their desire for collective security to protect

Poland, Chamberlain and Daladier preferred the Soviet Union to be involved in order to create a credible counterweight to the Germans in the east. However, both Britain and France miscalculated the situation and ultimately decided not to engage with the Soviet Union for a number of reasons:

- Chamberlain argued that it was inconceivable that the Soviet Union and Germany would partner due to their ideological differences.
- Chamberlain and the policy-making circles in Great Britain at this point were very mistrustful of the communist regime.
- There was a general sense in the West that the Soviet Union was weak. Though it had a huge army, it was riddled with political corruption, blinded by ideology, and its heart and soul had been torn out by Stalin's purges of the 1930s.



SOURCE 9.11 German Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim Von Ribbentrop, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin and his Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov signing the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on 23 August 1939

Why did Hitler sign the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact?

Hitler desperately wanted Poland. A two-front war was dangerous and a deal with the Soviet Union would lead to Poland's quick defeat, allowing Nazi Germany to then deal with the Western nations. Hitler believed the Soviet Union could next be dealt with – and neutralising the Soviet Union would avoid getting into the mess Germany had found itself in July and August 1914 (and avoid having to fight a war on multiple fronts again).

There was a growing sense in Europe, as the last days of summer arrived, that a real crisis was imminent. In late August, a thunderbolt sent shock waves throughout the diplomatic community.

On 23 August 1939, the Germans and Soviets announced that they had signed a non-aggression pact. The two sworn ideological enemies had come together, even though over the years each had created vast amounts of propaganda attacking the other. However, in the context of international politics at this time, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact made a great deal of sense. For Hitler, a pact with the Soviet Union in the summer 1939 ended the prospect of a two-front war. He was now determined to attack Poland.

Why did Stalin sign the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact?

Stalin was an opportunist. Through his vast intelligence network, Stalin knew all there was to know about Hitler's ideological leanings and intentions. This agreement made very little ideological sense to either party. However, within the context of the circumstances of 1939, it was extremely important that Stalin sign the agreement with the Nazis. For one thing, it would buy the Soviets time to consolidate and strengthen their forces. The Soviet Union was still recovering after Stalin's purges and the rapid pace of industrialisation. Also, Stalin did not trust the West, and he believed that the Franco-British security guarantee to Poland made war in Europe a certainty. From a Soviet perspective, it was hoped that Nazi Germany would exhaust itself against France and Britain. Ultimately, a deal with Hitler would give Stalin a share of Poland and provide a security buffer between Germany and Russia.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.2



SOURCE 9.12 A 1939 political cartoon from the British *Evening Standard* about the Nazi–Soviet Pact. Hitler says ‘The scum of the earth, I believe?’ Stalin replies ‘The bloody assassin of the workers, I presume?’

- 1 Identify each figure and describe what they are doing.
- 2 Explain how the cartoon comments on the Nazi–Soviet Pact. How do you think the illustrator viewed the deal?

The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact (named after the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Germany) made war in Europe inevitable. To Hitler, the pact ensured that Germany would acquire Polish territory. He counted on it to deter Britain and France from intervening and he did not believe they would honour their guarantee to Poland. He also expected Italy’s Mussolini to sign on. In May 1939, Hitler and Mussolini had signed what was called the **Pact of Steel**, in which they both pledged full assistance to each other in the event of war, regardless of the circumstances, regardless of the situation. But in the last days before Hitler’s planned attack on Poland, when he informed Mussolini that there had been no coordination of policy between the two, it was an alliance largely in name only. 📌

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions

Why was the Soviet Union so mistrustful of the West? Why did Stalin sign the Non-Aggression Pact with Nazi Germany?

Pact of Steel an alliance signed in May 1939 by Italy and Germany; however, it did not commit Italy to fight with Germany

9.2 German foreign policy

Aims and strategy of German foreign policy to September 1939

The Nazis had come to power with their program of restoring lost German grandeur, and undoing the conditions of the hated Treaty of Versailles (including restoring the German military to a position of prominence). The Nazis promised that Germany would once again take its place among the powerful nations of the world.

Many people equate Nazi foreign policy to the idea of Hitler being maniacally determined to achieve his ideological goals – goals that would drive Germany towards war. This is not the picture that Hitler presented to the German public. Hitler instead operated on the basis of his own notion of the international system. His conception of foreign policy and his aims and strategy were essentially laid out in the NSDAP Twenty-five-point Program in 1920.



SOURCE 9.13 Regent Prince Paul of Yugoslavia (right) inspecting German sailors in Berlin with Hitler and the Commander-in-Chief of the German Armed Forces, Johann Scheifert, 1 June 1939

RESEARCH TASK 9.3

Mein Kampf Hitler's 1925 autobiographical book, written during his time in prison after the Beer Hall *Putsch*; it outlines his anti-Semitic views, political ideology and his future plans for Germany

The Nazi Twenty-five-point Program was a plan written by Adolf Hitler and Anton Drexler for the National Socialist German Workers' Party when it was founded in 1920. In **Mein Kampf**, Hitler argued that the 25 points concisely summed up the Nazi movement for the average person.

- 1 Research the NSDAP Twenty-five-point Program online, and closely examine the first five points.
- 2 Discuss how these five points might have been viewed by foreign powers in the interwar period.
- 3 Explain what you think the military implications of these five points may have been, from a foreign policy perspective.

Arguably the main aim of German foreign policy was to secure **Lebensraum** (living space) in the east. Traditionally, Germans had looked eastward, somewhat like the way that Americans historically looked to conquer the west. The east was there to be colonised, especially after World War I, when new states were created. Nations such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia all seemed to a great many people not quite legitimate states. The Nazis certainly didn't see them as legitimate and *Lebensraum* was to be gained in the east. Beyond those states lay the real prize, the Soviet Union – the great agricultural potentialities of Russia and the Ukraine.

Linked to the pursuit of living space were Hitler's racial aims in foreign policy, where 'inferior' Eastern Europeans would be a slave force and the Jews would be eliminated to ensure Germany's racial purity. Nazi ideology was racial in nature:

By the end of September 1939, Himmler had proposed and Hitler had approved a grandiose program of demographic engineering based on racial principles that would uproot millions of people. These policies were fully consonant with Hitler's underlying ideological assumptions: a need for lebensraum in the east, a contempt for the Slavic populations of eastern Europe, and a determination to rid the expanding German Reich of Jews. These policies were very much in tune with widely held views and hopes in much of German society. There was no shortage of those who now eagerly sought to contribute to this historic opportunity for a triumph of German racial imperialism.

SOURCE 9.14 Christopher Browning, 'From "Ethnic Cleansing" to Genocide to the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, 1939–1941', in *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, 2000, pp. 1–25

Hitler wanted to create an **autarchic** greater German Reich; that is, an economically independent German Reich, one that could withstand blockades such as those England had imposed on Germany during World War I (which had led to the starvation of tens of thousands). An autarchic German Reich could be achieved through the seizure of territory in the east combined with an ideological element. For Hitler, the great objective (from the beginning of his career to the end) was the showdown with the Soviet Union. Russia wasn't just Russia any longer; it was now the centre of **Judeo-Bolshevism**. His view of Germany was that Germany's historical and rightful position would be as the hegemonic power on the continent of Europe – the dominant power on the continent. All of this meant, in practical terms, not only the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, but its absolute destruction.

If we had at our disposal the Urals, with their incalculable wealth of raw materials, and the forests of Siberia, and if the unending wheatfields of the Ukraine lay within Germany, our country would swim in plenty.

SOURCE 9.15 Hitler referring to the economic benefits of conquering the Soviet Union, quoted in the Nazis' *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper, 13 September 1936

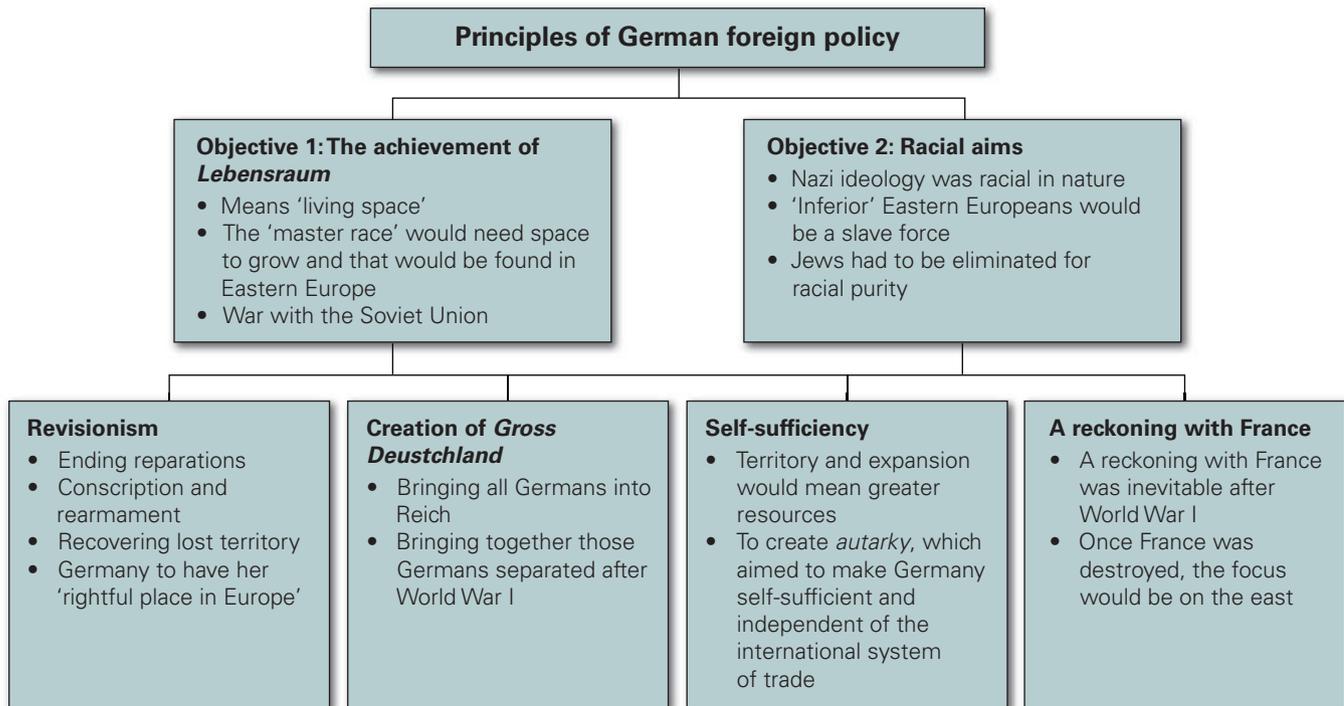
Publicly, Hitler talked about equality. In all of his public statements, from the moment he became Chancellor down to when the first shots were fired in 1939, it was always about equality. According to Hitler, Germany had been denied its rightful position by the Treaty of Versailles, and now all Germany wanted to do was to restore its rightful position in Europe. Other countries had armies: the Czechs, the

Lebensraum 'living space', a term employed by Hitler to describe Germany's need for expansion to the east in order to claim land for the Reich's swelling population

autarchic the quality of being self-sufficient

Judeo-Bolshevism a pejorative term that conflates what Nazi ideology considered two evils: Jews and Bolsheviks; Hitler and the Nazis propagated the myth that the Russian Revolution was a Jewish conspiracy from the 1920s

Poles, the Austrians; but not Germany. So equality, the ability for Germany to defend itself and peace were key arguments in Hitler's speeches. In Germany, the Treaty of Versailles was widely hated and deemed unfair; therefore, Hitler's approach would be to emphasise his determination to revise the treaty.



Impact of Nazi ideology on German foreign policy to September 1939

Between 1933 and 1938, Hitler would register a series of extremely impressive foreign policy victories that, in many ways, overcame the reservations that some had about his government and particularly its domestic policy. In 1935, the **Saar** – a region southwest of Germany that had been put under the control of the League of Nations at the end of World War I and had been administered by the League – was now given the opportunity to hold a plebiscite. Did it wish to maintain the status quo, or did it wish to become part of Germany? The vote in the Saar in 1935 was overwhelmingly to come back to Germany, which the Nazis trumpeted as a great success.

On 1 March 1935, Hitler announced his determination to build an air force, a **Luftwaffe**. This was specifically banned by the Treaty of Versailles. Hitler argued, in typical fashion, that as the British were modernising their air force to give it more striking power, Germany needed to be able to defend itself. There was protest from the predictable sources, the French in particular, but no real concerted action against this German decision. So, two weeks later, on 15 March, Hitler announced that he was going to introduce conscription. He was going to build up the armed forces (**Wehrmacht**), with an army that, within a year, would be half a million men in size, and would grow after that. Hitler also announced, just to make explicit what he'd done, that he was renouncing the Versailles clauses on rearmament. The League of Nations lodged a protest, but it fell on deaf ears.

Then, on 7 March 1936, Hitler moved German troops into the Rhineland. The West Bank of the Rhine close to Cologne was still part of Germany; it had been part of the Third Reich. But according to the Treaty, that area of the Rhineland was to be demilitarised. This was an extremely important small piece of real estate, and was

Saar a region of Germany occupied and governed by Britain and France from 1920 to 1935 under a League of Nations mandate

Luftwaffe the aerial warfare branch of the combined German *Wehrmacht* military forces during World War II

Wehrmacht the unified armed forces of Nazi Germany from 1935 to 1946 consisting of the *Heer* (Army), the *Kriegsmarine* (Navy) and the *Luftwaffe* (Air Force)



SOURCE 9.16 German soldiers cross the Cologne Bridge during Germany's reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936.

strategically important because if German troops threatened to enter the Rhineland, French troops could simply march across the Franco–German border to access the Rhineland, just as they did in 1923. (This was known as the **Occupation of the Ruhr**.) The decision to **remilitarise the Rhineland** meant that France was going to be deprived of its one bit of military leverage in dealing with the Germans. All of Hitler's generals argued against this move. Hitler overrode their objections and rolled the dice – and not for the last time. Once again, objections were lodged with the League, but no real action was taken. The British didn't even really protest.

This was a worrisome matter to the French, but it shouldn't have been because the British had already made a deal with the Germans in the **Anglo–German Navy Agreement**. The British allowed Germany to rebuild their fleet so long as it was only 35 per cent the size of Britain's. The French felt that the British had sold them out and instead of enforcing the Treaty of Versailles, they cut their own deal with Hitler. The French now believed they couldn't trust the British.

In 1936, Hitler also sent troops and equipment to help Franco forces fight against the Republic of Spain. Mussolini (in many ways, Hitler's model in Italy) had done the same by sending Italian troops. This positioned Hitler to draw closer to Mussolini – to find an ally in Europe – and also helped drive the wedge between Mussolini and Britain and France. Mussolini enjoyed very good publicity and stood in very good standing, with Britain in particular. The Spanish Civil War would be a problem, and Hitler was quick to take advantage of it.

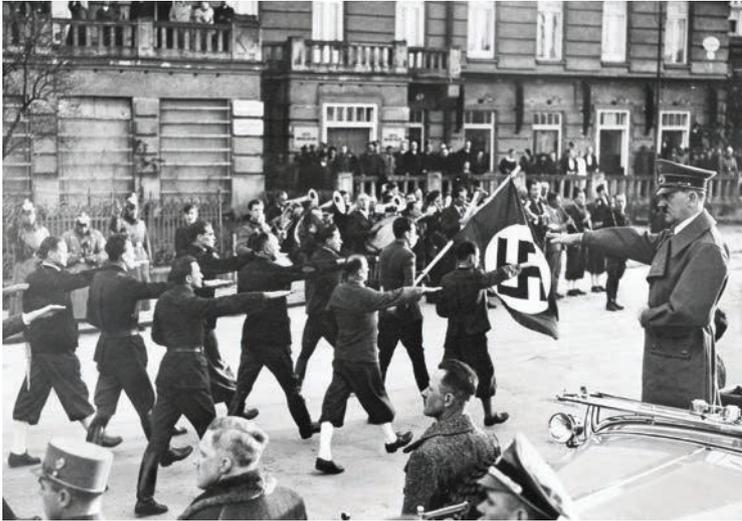
In 1937, a year when there wouldn't be a dramatic foreign policy victory for the Nazis, there was a very famous and controversial meeting between Hitler, his foreign policy advisers and his top military people. No official notes were to be taken at the meeting, but a Colonel by the name of Hossbach, did take personal notes, which have become known as the **Hossbach Memorandum**. In that memorandum, Hitler's foreign policy and military goals for the foreseeable future are recorded. Hitler believed that Germany needed and would achieve *Lebensraum* somewhere between 1943 and 1945. This would call for probably the annexation of both Austria and Czechoslovakia. There was no mention of Poland or the Soviet Union; however, it

Occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, as a show of force, French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley in the Rhineland after the Weimar Republic defaulted in its reparation payments

Remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936, Hitler ordered the German military into the Rhineland in western Germany; this was the first time since the end of World War I that German troops had been in this region, making it possible for Germany to pursue a policy of aggression into Eastern Europe in violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles

Anglo–German Navy Agreement in June 1935, Germany and Britain signed an agreement that states Germany could have a navy of 35 per cent the size of Britain's and an equal number of submarines

Hossbach Memorandum a personal set of notes recording a meeting held on 5 November 1937 between Hitler and his military and foreign policy leadership, where he outlined his future expansionist policies



SOURCE 9.17 The annexation or *Anschluss* of Austria, 12 March 1938

has been interpreted as a blueprint or a typical kind of Hitler oration, in which he was talking in very general terms.

What would follow in 1938 would be the high point of Hitler's foreign policy achievements for the war and the pinnacle of Hitler's popularity at home. In early 1938, Austria was very nervous about German foreign policy designs. There was a Nazi Party in Austria and although it had been officially banned in 1934, it was still in existence four years later. The Nazis argued that such action demonstrated a lack of faith by the Austrians in an agreement made between Austria and Germany in 1934, in which Germany and Austria tried to talk about coordinating their

policies. The tense diplomatic situation came to a head when Hitler invited Kurt Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, to *Kehlsteinhaus* (the Eagles Nest) as an opportunity to resolve the issue. Schuschnigg was deeply opposed to the idea of Austria becoming a part of Germany and providing political freedom to the Austrian Nazi Party. Schuschnigg left the meeting a broken man. He returned to Austria to arrange for a plebiscite to be conducted on the issue of Austria being incorporated into Germany. However, Hitler was not prepared to take the chance for the annexation of Austria to be decided by a vote. Therefore, on the morning of the 12 March, Hitler moved his military troops into Austria with great crowds cheering him on his way to Vienna. He announced, to everybody's surprise, that Austria had now become a part of Germany.

As soon as that was done, Czechoslovakia moved from the back burner to the front, and Europe began a slide towards the outbreak of war as events in 1938 came to a close.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What were Hitler's basic goals in foreign policy?
- Why was France unable to play a more aggressive role in dealing with the threat of Hitler's Germany?

As a class discuss the following: To what extent were Hitler's moves in foreign policy determined by ideology?

Blitzkrieg 'lightning war'; a military tactic calculated to create psychological shock and resultant disorganisation in enemy forces through the employment of surprise, speed, and superiority in matériel or firepower; first used by Nazi Germany in World War II

Please see the Interactive Textbook for historical interpretation debates and activities surrounding Hitler's intentions for conflict in Europe.



9.3 Course of the European war

German advances

The term **Blitzkrieg** – meaning 'lightning war' in German – describes the way the Nazis were able to sweep through Europe during World War II. However, *Blitzkrieg* was not simply a military policy, but was part of a general approach of the Nazis – especially Hitler – to political and economic problems. The idea of fighting quick wars against diplomatically isolated states was key to Hitler's thinking: knock out opponents before they had time to properly mobilise their forces.

Hitler wanted to be able to go to war, but against an opponent that he had carefully selected. This opponent would be diplomatically isolated, so they could be knocked out in rapid fashion. This would allow Germany to conduct military operations without the effects of moving from a peacetime to a wartime economy – which had crippled Germany in World War I. The mind-set of *Blitzkrieg* allowed Hitler to pursue a very rapid military build-up. It is important to remember that Germany was a country that in 1935 had basically no armed forces, but by 1939 it had an extraordinarily well-trained and well-equipped military. Though Hitler wanted Germany to be economically independent by 1940, it was certainly not prepared for any sort of protracted conflict in September 1939.

Though Germany couldn't launch a major war against powerful enemies like France or Britain in the autumn of 1939, it could launch (Hitler believed) a surgical attack against a smaller opponent like Poland. Poland had agreements with both Britain and France, though Hitler was absolutely convinced that his agreement with the Soviet Union would act to deter British intervention and that France would follow Britain's lead. Therefore, Hitler would have his war against Poland, which would mean no drastic mobilisation of the German economy or big international repercussions.



SOURCE 9.18 The German *Blitzkrieg* strategy involved attack by multiple means, including air and ground forces.

FLASHPOINT!

What was Hitler's *Blitzkrieg* strategy?

- It was to take advantage of powerful armoured forces. *Panzers* (tanks) were used to smash border defences and encircle large concentrations of enemy troops. Then the tanks would be used to motorise infantry, travelling in trucks and personnel carriers on tracks. These highly mobile infantry forces would consolidate the gains made by armour, while the tanks would then move on deeper into enemy territory.
- Next on the scene would come the mass of traditional infantry, who would free up the motorised units to pursue the advancing armours.
- All the while, these manoeuvres would be supported by a massive application of tactical air power. The *Luftwaffe* was to be employed for close support of ground operations.
- The emphasis would be on movement, speed and flexibility – all the things that one does not associate with the terribly slow trench warfare of World War I.
- As the war began, Germany was operating with this *Blitzkrieg* strategy at these different levels – political, economic and military – all based on the presumption of conducting quick wars, with no full mobilisation, and then they would move on to the next diplomatically isolated opponent – one after the other.

The fall of Poland, September 1939

The Polish regime will not resist pressure from Russia. Poland sees danger in a German victory over the West and will try and deprive us of our victory. There is therefore no question of sparing Poland, and the decision remains to attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity.

SOURCE 9.19 Hitler speaks to his generals, 23 May 1939

KEY QUESTIONS

Researching

- 1 Research this event, which is also known as the *Gleiwitz* incident.
- 2 Outline what took place and identify the sources on which historians have based their accounts of the event.
- 3 Explain the significance of this event.

pincer movement a type of attack in which two parts of an army follow curved paths towards each other in an attempt to surround and then defeat the enemy

The events of September 1939 highlighted that although Britain and France surprised Hitler by honouring their obligations to Poland, there was nothing practical that Britain or France was in a position to do to help Poland at that time. British and French strategic thinking was still very much mired in defensive conceptions. There were no real plans for an attack on Germany, which would have relieved the pressure on Poland, therefore the Poles were left to fend for themselves. The period during which Germany is technically at war with Britain and France, from September 1939 to April 1940, is known as the ‘Phoney War’, because there was no actual combat between those three major powers in Western Europe. Poland, however, was fighting for its survival.

Germans awoke on the morning of 1 September 1939 to a radio news bulletin in which they were being told that Polish forces had attacked a radio station on the German–Polish frontier. Since daybreak, German forces had been responding with force. There was considerable disappointment in Germany at this news. Great convoys of troops began moving through the centre of Berlin. Crowds gathered along the busy street *Unter den Linden* to watch the troops moving eastward; however, it was not a replay of the summer of 1914, when cheering throngs had tossed flowers at the departing troops. There was instead a sense of enormous depression.

Hitler’s popularity had been based, to a very large extent, on the fact that he had made great foreign policy victories, and he had done so peacefully. He had so far managed to not only revise, but also destroy the Treaty of Versailles without a drop of blood being spilled. Hitler himself commented later in that day how disappointed he was that the crowd in Berlin watching the convoy of troops had stood not applauding, not cheering, but in stony silence.

The days of easy diplomatic victories were now over.

The campaign in Poland was a terrific success. It was called ‘Case White’. It was the first *Blitzkrieg* and it worked according to Hitler’s blueprint. From the very beginning, the Poles were frightfully outmatched. The Germans possessed a great advantage in armour – 1500 German tanks to only 310 Polish tanks. The plan was to smash into Poland in two great **pincer movements**, trap the Polish Army west of Warsaw, and annihilate it. The goal wasn’t to take territory; it was to



SOURCE 9.20 A German motorised convoy passes through a Polish village, September 1939.

destroy the Polish Army in western Poland. The Polish capital of Warsaw was reached by 8 September, a week after hostilities began. The city resisted – although the Germans had hoped that the Poles would surrender Warsaw.

On 17 September, the Soviet forces moved across the eastern frontier of Poland to occupy their own slice of territory based on the Nazi–Soviet Pact. Attacking from the east, this Soviet onslaught sealed Poland’s doom. By the end of September, Poland had been devastated and forced out of the war. Calls by the Poles for help from the British or the French to launch an offensive into the unguarded frontier of western Germany went unheeded. The British were not ready to mobilise, while the French were focused on their own defence. By the end of September, Germany and the Soviet Union had completed yet another partition of Poland.



SOURCE 9.21 The Polish cavalry during the invasion by Germany in 1939

The Russo–Finnish War

In November 1939, the Russo–Finnish War (or Winter War) began. It would go on to the middle of March 1940. Stalin was concerned that Finland would fall under German influence, and Finland was only 20 miles from Leningrad (formerly Petrograd), the Soviet Union’s second-largest city.

In all of the history of overmatched opponents in warfare, it would be difficult to find a better example than the Russo–Finnish War. The Soviet Red Army outnumbered the Finns by 50 to one and had enormous advantages in equipment. The Soviet Union was confident that the Finns would be utterly unprepared and unable to deal with the Red Army. However, under Field Marshal von Mannerheim, the Finns fought with great skill and courage. The Finns were able to use the cold weather to great advantage by wearing white uniforms, outmanoeuvring the Russians, and fighting extremely well in the heavy weather.

The Red Army were quickly bogged down and suffered humiliating defeats and heavy casualties all the way through this campaign, which was covered with great delight in the West. However, in the end, the Soviets would prevail. In hindsight, one of the most important ramifications of the Russo–Finnish War was that it seemed to seal the bad reputation of the Red Army internationally. When the Germans attacked Russia in 1941, they would underestimate Soviet military preparations and the status of the Red Army. 🔑



SOURCE 9.22 A Russian casualty in the Russo–Finnish War after a battle near Salla, northern Finland

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



Why was the Red Army’s bad reputation at this time significant?



SOURCE 9.23 A street in Narvik, Norway, after it was struck by German incendiary bombs

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



How important were German victories in Scandinavia and the Low Countries in strategically positioning themselves for success in Western Europe?

The fall of Scandinavia and the Low Countries

By 1940, the Germans had so far focused their advances to Germany's East. Up to this point, the British showed no inclination to negotiate with Germany. And so, as the weather began to improve in the west, enabling further German advances, campaigning for war made its appearance in Britain in anticipation of a new offensive in Western Europe. That would come in April 1940, as the Germans launched an attack in Scandinavia. The Germans had become convinced through their intelligence reports that Britain and France were preparing to seize ports in

Norway, and Hitler ordered a pre-emptive strike. The Germans launched an invasion of Norway's neighbour Denmark on 9 April 1940. They quickly overran that nation with virtually no opposition. Next, an invasion force of only 10 000 German troops seized Norway and its strategic ports. These would remain part of the Nazi empire for the duration of the war.

From Scandinavia, German forces attacked the Low Countries as part of Operation Fall Gelb on 10 May 1940. The Army of the Netherlands numbered 400 000 men. However, as with Denmark the previous month, the Germans quickly cut through the Dutch forces. On 14 May, the city of Rotterdam was bombed to almost nothing and within days the Netherlands had surrendered. On 10 May, the *Luftwaffe* bombed Belgian airfields. The Belgian fort of Eben Emael, which was positioned at the northern defence line against the Germans, was captured by 'glider troops'. The Belgian Army surrendered a few weeks later. 

The fall of France

The real key to the fall of France in 1940 lay in its military and political leadership. There were failures of military strategy, tactics and organisation on the part of the French that were key to understanding their

failure to deal with the Germans. British and French military thinking during the interwar years continued to be dominated by defensive considerations drawn largely from their experiences in World War I. In addition, another problem for the French was related to their strategic thinking. With a population of 42 million people, France had suffered the highest per capita losses in World War I. France could not afford casualties on that scale again. This had led in part to the construction of the **Magnot Line** – a series of defensive fortifications that would allow the French to maintain the defence of their country without the kind of mass slaughter they had suffered in the previous war.

The British, also in the interwar years, began to develop their own fighter defences. They developed new kinds of fighter planes – high-tech fighter aircraft – such as the Hurricane, and the Spitfire. These planes would certainly make their presence felt during the Battle of Britain in the late summer 1940. In the 1930s, the British had also developed ideas surrounding **strategic bombing**; that is, the use of air power not

Magnot Line a line of concrete fortifications, obstacles, and weapon installations built by France in the 1930s to deter invasion by Germany and force them to move around the fortifications

strategic bombing a military strategy designed to defeat the enemy by destroying its morale or ability to produce materials for the theatres of military operations

for close support of military operations, but to strike at the industrial capacity of adversaries to make war. The role of these aircraft was to attack the enemies' energy sources, factories, transportation systems and any infrastructure vital to the conduct of war.

Previously, in September 1939, the British Expeditionary Force (BEF, or British Army) had departed for the European continent to take up their positions in north-western France in readiness for the Germans. Numerically and technologically, the British and French position was not too bad. For example, the French had the largest army in Western Europe. The real problems for the Allies surfaced in relation to their command and control, and their organisation. The most obvious point was a lack of unified command within the French Army, which was particularly damaging, and communication between their headquarters was poor. This lack of command/control and unity of command was also reflected in a lack of political cohesion within the Third Republic of France. Daladier had resigned in March 1940. He was succeeded by Paul Reynaud who, like new UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, had been a critic of appeasement and an advocate of serious military preparations for war for years on end.

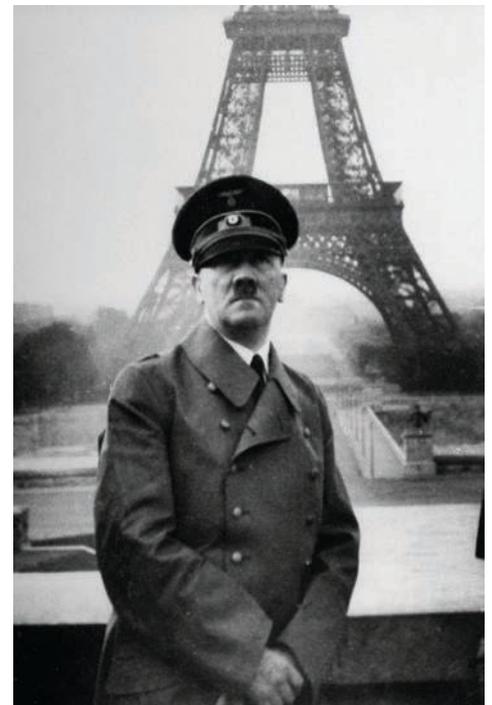
The German General von Bock advanced through Belgium with a massive force towards France. Allied commanders could see a repeat 1914, and the Supreme Allied Commander, French General Gamelin, ordered half their forces to deal with this threat. However, von Bock's move was a diversion. On 11 May, General von Leeb started attacks along the Maginot Line, which tied down Anglo-French forces.

The Battle of France would be an 11-day campaign and von Rundstedt's thrust into France would be executed through a dramatic and decisive plan known as *sichelschnitt* ('sickle cut'). The German advance was so rapid that forward German units were in danger of being cut off and running out of fuel. German panzer units now pushed deeper into France and towards the English Channel on France's western side. By 24 May, Hitler had ordered his forces to halt in order to consolidate their positions. The Germans entered Paris on 14 June 1940.

On 22 June 1940, barely a month after the hostilities had begun, France surrendered. It was a shock of enormous proportions, and probably the biggest surprise of the war. Globally, military and intelligence experts, political figures and the public had all counted on the French Army providing heroic resistance against the German onslaught as France had done in World War I. Instead, the nation which had fought for four-plus years in 1914–18 had collapsed within a month.



SOURCE 9.24 German parade on the Champs-Élysées, Paris, during the fall of France, 1940



SOURCE 9.25 Hitler in occupied France, posing in front of the Eiffel Tower, 1940

Operation Dynamo

By late May 1940, the Germans had won the Battle of France. The Western Allies (the French, Belgian and British land forces) had collapsed under the onslaught of the Germans' *Blitzkrieg* strategy. Between 28 May and 4 June, there was a tremendous evacuation of Allied forces off the beaches at Dunkirk in northern France. This was, in many ways, a military miracle. About 300 000 troops were able to escape across the English Channel to England even though they were virtually surrounded by

the Germans. Under Operation Dynamo, Churchill gave the order to evacuate all Allied troops to England. Some 850 sea-going vessels of all kinds, ranging from British navy warships to small fishing boats skippered by civilians, were used to rescue almost 340 000 Allied troops, including 85 per cent of the BEF, and 139 067 French and Belgian soldiers and civilians. The operation was also

assisted from the air by the fighters and bombers of the Royal Air Force (RAF).

The British had escaped with the 'Miracle at Dunkirk', but there was no disguising the fact that Hitler and his allies completely dominated all of Europe. It was also the high watermark of Hitler's popularity at home. Within Germany, the news of the victory over France was met with a sense of euphoria. This was, finally, the complete reversal of fortunes that the Germans in the interwar years had sought. The scene of German troops in Paris, something they had been denied for four years during World War I, had now been accomplished in 35 days. At the end of June 1940, Adolf Hitler was the master of the European continent. 🗝️



SOURCE 9.26 French and British soldiers leaving the beaches of Dunkirk, France, June 1940

KEY QUESTIONS

Researching

🗝️ Research the German occupation of France.

- 1 Identify key individuals involved, and the roles they played. Start with Charles de Gaulle.
- 2 Define the terms 'Vichy France' and 'French Resistance' in your own words.
- 3 Create a timeline of key events for occupied France.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What objectives did the *Blitzkrieg* strategy serve for Nazi Germany? What were its main military components?

- Why were the Allies militarily unprepared for the German offensive of spring 1940?

As a class discuss the following: Why did Hitler not press his advantage against the British forces in France following the success of his Ardennes offensive?

The air war and its effects

Now that Germany had become the dominant power in Europe, Britain faced the real prospect of a German invasion of the British Isles. In June–August 1940, there was no aid to be expected. Britain, as Churchill suggested, now stood alone to confront the 'German menace'. The British Chiefs of Staff, in this situation, were in utter agreement that Britain could not win the war; indeed, could not even continue the war, without considerable support from its powerful ally across the Atlantic Ocean – the United States. At this point in time, it should be noted that America was focused on domestic issues and had not even entered the war. For now, Britain would have to fend for itself.

In 1940 the British Army was still extraordinarily weak, especially after Dunkirk, to consider any sort of offensive operations. However, they did have three clear tactics that could be utilised in their defence against Germany.

- 1 The strategic use of air power, such as bombing runs. Bombing targets were vital to the war infrastructure and it was one way to bring the war home to the Germans. The policy of strategic bombing was recognised as the only practical way for the British to fight back for the foreseeable future. Fortunately, the RAF had been independent from the British Government since 1918 and had already begun planning for such a campaign. The construction of heavy bombers – large, four-engine planes capable of taking significant bomb loads as far as Berlin – was already under way and some were operational.
- 2 Another British strategy was what Churchill had called ‘**insurrection**’, setting Europe ablaze. In 1940 he would organise what was called SOE, the Special Operations Executive. This was to be a covert operation, and would send secret agents into all of occupied Europe. These agents would help develop **resistance forces** to carry out sabotage, espionage and assassinations to cause trouble for the Germans.
- 3 The British strategy of a naval blockade. The British navy was still very strong and Germany’s was quite weak. In July 1940, the British took the extraordinary step of issuing the French with a call to send their ships to British ports, including those in French-controlled North Africa away from the Germans. Churchill did not want the French fleet to fall into German hands. When the French, in July, wavered on this, an ultimatum was issued to the French fleet at Mers-El-Kebir in North Africa, with the British saying, ‘sail these ships out, or scuttle them yourselves, or we’re going to have to take drastic action’. And indeed, in July 1940, British planes attacked the French fleet outside Oran, Mers-El-Kebir, killing over 1500 French sailors. 🔑

More pressing than ways that Britain might win the war in 1940 was the stark problem of how Britain was going to survive. In July 1940, the Germans seemed poised for a cross-Channel invasion and Britain was woefully unprepared. Although 300 000 British troops had managed to escape from Dunkirk, all of the heavy equipment, including the tanks and vehicles, had been left behind. Britain had no real fighting force that could challenge the *Wehrmacht*. In fact, the British Government had already begun dealing with the very real prospect that the Germans could launch a successful invasion. Privately, the British Government began shipping Britain’s gold, foreign exchange reserves, and negotiable foreign securities to Canada, in case the war had to be continued from abroad. Meanwhile, feverish work was done along the British coast. Beaches were mined, tank traps set, all sorts of civil defence arrangements made, including **paramilitary** training for civilians.

insurrection a violent uprising against an authority or government

resistance forces groups that operate in secret to bring down an occupying government or force

paramilitary connected with and helping the official armed forces



SOURCE 9.27 An air observer in London during the Battle of Britain, 16 July 1940

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



- 1 Discuss how you imagine a French person reading about the attack on Mers-El-Kebir would have reacted at the time.
- 2 Explain whether you think the British actions were justified.

It was clear to everyone in the summer of 1940 that the future of Britain would be decided in the next few weeks, possibly months, and it would largely be decided in the air. The key would be the ability of the RAF to deny German superiority over the Channel and the beaches that would be the landing point of any German invasion.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.4

We shall defend our island home, if necessary for years, if necessary alone ... we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight them on the beaches, we shall fight them on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

SOURCE 9.28 Winston Churchill to the House of Commons, 4 June 1940. Reproduced with permission of Curtis Brown, London, on behalf of the Estate of Sir Winston Churchill.

- 1 Identify the key messages argued by Winston Churchill in this speech.
- 2 Explain what some of the challenges and considerations would have been for Britain at this stage of the war.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Winston Churchill (1874–1965)

The wartime leader of Great Britain, Winston Churchill became Prime Minister on 10 May 1940, the day Germany launched its invasion of Western Europe. He was an inspiring orator whose leadership during Britain's dark days of 1940 and 1941 held the nation together. He worked tirelessly to create and maintain the anti-Nazi alliance and cemented a particularly close relationship with the United States.



SOURCE 9.29 Winston Churchill

After the fall of France, Hitler had assured his High Command that Britain would finally see the light and make a deal. When this did not happen, the High Command was given the responsibility of planning an invasion of Great Britain. For the first time the Germans confronted the realities of what it would mean to make an invasion across such a body of water. Operation Sea Lion, as the German plan for the invasion of Britain would be called, was an improvisation from the very beginning. Not even the most rudimentary plan for an invasion of Britain had been drafted when France fell in June 1940.

All agreed that in order for the Germans to invade Britain, they were going to have to establish and maintain air superiority, something they had been unable to do at Dunkirk due to the efforts of the RAF.

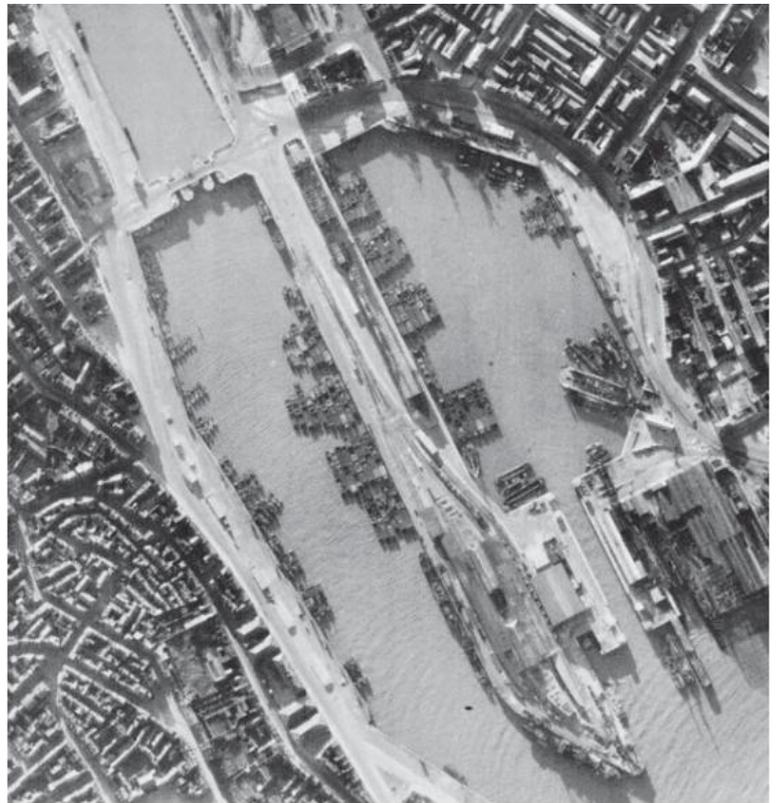
Goering's *Luftwaffe* would be charged with driving the Royal Navy from the scene and destroying the RAF. Goering, with his usual bluster, was quite confident, but the reality was that the *Luftwaffe* was going to confront many operational and tactical problems.

The eventual plan for Operation Sea Lion was drawn up by the Army and called for 500 000 German troops to land along a 200-mile coastal front in the south and south-eastern parts of England. This plan revealed the Army completely lacked faith in the *Luftwaffe*. They had no real desire for a more compact landing area because they were afraid that the air force would not be able to achieve the necessary air superiority, and the wide dispersal of forces would protect them more from the RAF. When this plan was presented to Admiral Raeder, the head of the German Navy, he was mortified. First of all, he pointed out that he lacked adequate naval forces to deal with the Royal Navy. Secondly, he lacked the ships necessary to transport troops – desperately suggesting the use of tugboats to literally pull German troops across the Channel.

When one considers the amount of detailed planning that went on for months and months by the Allied forces for the cross-Channel invasion going in the other direction in 1943–44, one understands how improvised Operation Sea Lion was. Hitler had never really intended to invade Britain (compared to his desire for Soviet territory). In Britain's favour was that assets such as geography (the Channel was a very big natural barrier between England and France), military training and technology could be used against the Germans. For the Germans, the operational realities of an invasion of Britain were daunting and would prove to be impossible to overcome. 🗝️

The Battle of Britain

The Battle of Britain took place from July to October 1940. As the Germans and British both confronted problems with a cross-Channel invasion, the British held some



SOURCE 9.30 A British spy plane photograph from 1940 of German barges in a French harbour in readiness for Operation Sea Lion

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences



- 1 Describe Britain's strategic position in the summer of 1940. How did Britain hope to hold out against the expected German assault?
- 2 What do you imagine would have happened if Britain had surrendered in June 1940 after the fall of France?



SOURCE 9.31 Churchill's statement of 18 June 1940 went on to be known as the 'Finest Hour Speech'.

significant advantages in their preparation for the battle. British Fighter Command was led by Air Marshal Hugh Dowding, who had significant experience with the RAF. The Fighter Command possessed two excellent fighters, Dowding had helped to develop – the Spitfire and the Hurricane, which both flew at speeds in excess of 300 miles per hour. They were well-armed and highly effective aircraft that could match the Germans. Aircraft production for fighters had jumped dramatically in the summer of 1940. In the crucial months of 1940, when aircraft would be at such a premium, the British would actually produce more fighters than Germany, by a ratio of almost four to one. The British produced aircraft 24 hours a day at this time. Incidentally, this was something the Germans never resorted to doing during the entire course of the war; running factories on a 24-hour basis. The British were driven by desperation and fear of an imminent German invasion, producing fighters at an extraordinary rate throughout the summer of 1940.



SOURCE 9.32 The heroes of the British defence: RAF pilots and their aircraft; the pictured plane is a Spitfire.

A MATTER OF FACT

The RAF pilots did not just come from Britain. Out of about 2300 pilots, more than 500 came from other parts of the world.

In radar, Britain possessed a technological asset of inestimable value. The strategic use of radar for air defence was quickly perceived before the war, and by 1937, a series of some 50 radar installations covered the British east coast to the north, providing early warning against approaching aircraft from the continent. Using the early warning provided by radar, Fighter Command could vector squadrons to the anticipated target area to intercept the enemy planes or to reinforce the sector under attack. The Germans never quite appreciated the role of radar when it mattered during the Battle of Britain. And, extraordinarily, the Germans never actually launched a systematic attack on the radar installations.

Also of value to the British defence was **Ultra**, the group of secret code-breakers with the ability to read German coded communications. Ultra was able to determine the location of German airfields in France and in Holland, and also provide some sense of *Luftwaffe* strength.

Ultra the name British intelligence gave their wartime signals intelligence obtained by breaking high-level encrypted enemy radio communications, such as the German Enigma code

The first phase of the long-anticipated German air offensive against England would come in July. German bombers began to appear over coastal England on 10 July, attacking several port cities including Plymouth, Dover and Portsmouth. For almost three weeks, German planes attacked coastal defences and shipping, sinking over 40 000 tons of British supplies. However, they never really dented the Royal Navy's strength in the Channel. Attacks on RAF airfields began on 8 August, but there was surprisingly little contact between the *Luftwaffe* and the RAF in this initial phase of the Battle of Britain.



SOURCE 9.33 Wartime British radar operators in action. Radar (radio detection and ranging) revolutionised British offensive and defensive capability in World War II, playing a vital role in locating incoming German bomber formations during the Battle of Britain in 1940. It worked by bouncing powerful, ultra-short radio waves (microwaves) off distant objects.

With the invasion of Britain set for 15 September, the Germans launched Operation Eagle on 13 August, with the objective of 'breaking the English Air Force', as the order read, in the shortest possible time. The Germans inflicted heavy casualties on the British, shooting down over 100 British planes, but they also absorbed great casualties themselves.

On 24 August, with the losses mounting on both sides, the *Luftwaffe* shifted its objective to the airfields themselves. This would be the crucial phase of the Battle of Britain. During the last week of August, the RAF lost so many planes and pilots that replacements could not keep pace. Concentrated German attacks, for the first time, left Fighter Command in a desperate position and alarm swept the government. Fighter Command lost almost 300 aircraft between 24 August and 6 September; far more than German fighter losses in the same period.

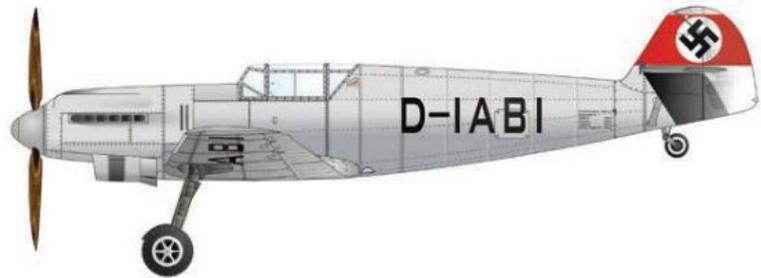
However, on 7 September, the *Luftwaffe* (miraculously, from the British point of view) shifted its priorities once again, redirecting its attacks away from airfields to focus on the city of London. It was a drastic change in targets and its timing was absolutely critical. This shift in German priorities was a critical moment in the Battle of Britain, favoured by Goering and approved by Hitler. At the moment when the British seemed to be down and out and the war lost, the RAF launched an air raid on Berlin. The first British raid on Berlin coincided with a visit to the German capital by the Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. It was a somewhat embarrassing moment for the Germans.

Asked after the war what the hardest thing had been for civilians in Germany to put up with, 91 per cent said the bombing; and more than a third said that it had lowered people's morale, including their own. It did even more than defeats at Stalingrad and in North Africa to spread popular disillusion about the Nazi Party.

SOURCE 9.34 R Evans, *The Third Reich at War*, 2008, p. 463

London was heavily defended. For 10 days in mid-September, the skies over south-eastern England were filled with formations of black German bombers droning towards London, where 2000 antiaircraft

guns awaited them. By mid-September, however, the result was clear. The Germans had failed to attain their strategic objectives. The RAF had not been broken, British morale had not cracked, and the *Luftwaffe* had been unable to secure the necessary air superiority for a cross-Channel invasion. On 17 September, Hitler ordered the postponement of Operation Sea Lion. Referring to the RAF pilots who had done such a remarkable job in defending Britain during the German onslaught, Churchill said: ‘Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few.’



SOURCE 9.35 (Left) A German Heinkel He 111 bomber during a bombing run over London in September 1940; (right) a Messerschmitt fighter of the *Luftwaffe*

A MATTER OF FACT

After Churchill’s famous speech the RAF pilots gained the nickname ‘Few’.

A MATTER OF FACT

Battle of Britain statistics

	Britain	Germany
Total planes destroyed	1250	1700
Total aircrew fatalities	1420	2662

Source: The archives of the New Zealand Government, NZ History website

The Battle of Britain was over, but the German attacks continued. There was no longer the danger of a German invasion, but this didn’t mean that Britain was out of trouble. In September, the Germans shifted to night-time raids. Up to this point, all of these air operations had taken place in the daytime. The availability of any sort of sophisticated aiming devices for aircraft was non-existent. Bombing techniques were crude, air crews had to be able to see what they were aiming at. And daylight operations were enormously costly in terms of aircraft losses. The raids became largely terror raids, either to break British morale or simply to continue pressure on Britain. In November, Germany expanded the raids to other cities including the Coventry Raid, which destroyed the old fourteenth-century gothic cathedral in Coventry. This period after the Battle of Britain, when the night-time raids began, is referred to as ‘the Blitz’.

The Blitz

The idea that the Germans could break British morale with bombing would still linger. It is one of the great, unlearned lessons of World War I: you don't break civilian morale with bombing. The British morale would not be broken during the Battle of Britain or during the Blitz that followed. During the Blitz, London would endure German bombing attacks for 57 consecutive nights, running from the beginning of autumn in September 1940 to the end of that season in November. After a lull in the winter, the attacks resumed in the spring of 1941 in the months of March and April, as the Germans again began a series of terror attacks on the centre of London and other cities. It was to become a regular feature of British life and it was a preview of what the air war would bring, not simply to England, but with far greater impact to the cities of Germany and, later on, to Japan as well. In late April 1941, and into early May, the air attacks on Britain began to subside. And then, at the end of May, they stopped altogether.

Hitler had given up on any sort of sustained attack on Britain and was preparing now for what was to be the main event. The largest military operation in human history was being planned by the Germans. It was not Operation Sea Lion, but Operation Barbarossa: the invasion of the Soviet Union. This is where the German aircraft had gone. At the end of both the Battle of Britain and the Blitz, Britain had stood alone and survived. It was a major turning point in World War II. 🔑



SOURCE 9.36 Coventry's Cathedral, destroyed during the Blitz in 1940



SOURCE 9.37 A bus lies in a bomb crater in a London street during the Blitz.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.5

- 1 Explain what the image suggests about British morale during the Blitz.
- 2 Evaluate how useful this image is as a historical source.

SOURCE 9.38 The library at Holland House in Kensington, London, extensively damaged by a Molotov 'Breadbasket' fire bomb, 23 October 1940



KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



What considerations led the Germans to switch from daytime precision bombing of Britain to night-time terror bombing?

A MATTER OF FACT

World War II was fought between the Axis and Allied powers. At the start of the war, the Allies consisted of France, Poland and Great Britain (including the nations of the British Empire, such as Australia). The Axis powers formally took their name after the Tripartite Pact that was signed by Germany, Italy and Japan on 27 September 1940 in Berlin. Both sides had other nations join them during the course of the war; notably the Soviet Union joined the Allies in June 1941 and the United States in December 1941.

Allied bombing of Germany

Compared to the Blitz, Allied bombing had a massive influence upon the morale and social life of Germany. Throughout the war massive strategic bombing operations were conducted, originally intended for military targets. As the war continued, Allied strategy changed and carpet bombing and firebombing saw the near-destruction of entire cities.

RESEARCH TASK 9.6

Research the Allied bombing of key German cities during the war.

- 1 Outline what sort of destruction occurred at locations such as Hamburg, Frankfurt and Dresden.
- 2 Identify how many casualties were reported.

Operation Barbarossa, the Battle of Stalingrad and the significance of the Russian campaign



SOURCE 9.40 The ruins of Dresden after Allied firebombing, 1945

We had underestimated the Russian giant ... at the start of the war we reckoned on 200 enemy divisions ... Time favours them, they are near their own resources. We are moving farther and farther away from ours. Our troops sprawled over an immense line are subjected to the enemy's incessant attacks ... in these enormous spaces too many gaps have to be left open.

SOURCE 9.39 General Halder's diary, quoted by JA Cloake, *Nazi Germany*, 1989, p. 70

In December 1940, the High Command of the German Army began very serious preparations for Operation Barbarossa, named after the German emperor of the Middle Ages who had driven into the east to establish territory for the German empire. For Hitler, the war against the Soviet Union had always been the main event. Nazi ideology argued that the Soviet Union was the centre of a global Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy. Thus, war against the Soviets would not only have geopolitical advantages – the seizing of territory, providing the German nation *Lebensraum* – but major ideological advantages as well.

At this stage of the conflict, Hitler was also convinced of two things.

- 1 Although Germany had been unable to invade Great Britain, he nonetheless believed Britain was eliminated as a power factor in Europe. Therefore, a turn to the east wouldn't commit the sin of a two-front war.
- 2 Like his military men, he believed that the Red Army of the Soviet Union was weak. The purges of the Red Army in the 1930s had devastated their command structure, while the Soviet performance in the Russo–Finnish War, 1939–40, proved that the Red Army was not a serious military force.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.7

Hitler's conviction that the Soviet Union was a 'rotten structure' that would come 'crashing down' was shared by many foreign observers and intelligence services. Stalin's purges of the Red Army, which had begun in 1937, was fuelled by an inimitable mixture of paranoia, sadistic megalomania and a vindictiveness for old slights dating back in the Russian civil war and the Russo–Polish war. Altogether 36,671 officers were executed, imprisoned or dismissed, and out of the 706 officers of the rank of brigade commander and above, only 303 remained untouched. Cases against arrested officers were usually grotesque inventions. Colonel K.K. Rokossovsky, later the commander who delivered the coup de grace at Stalingrad, faced evidence purportedly provided by a man who had died nearly twenty years before.

SOURCE 9.41 A Beevor, *Stalingrad*, 1999, p. 23

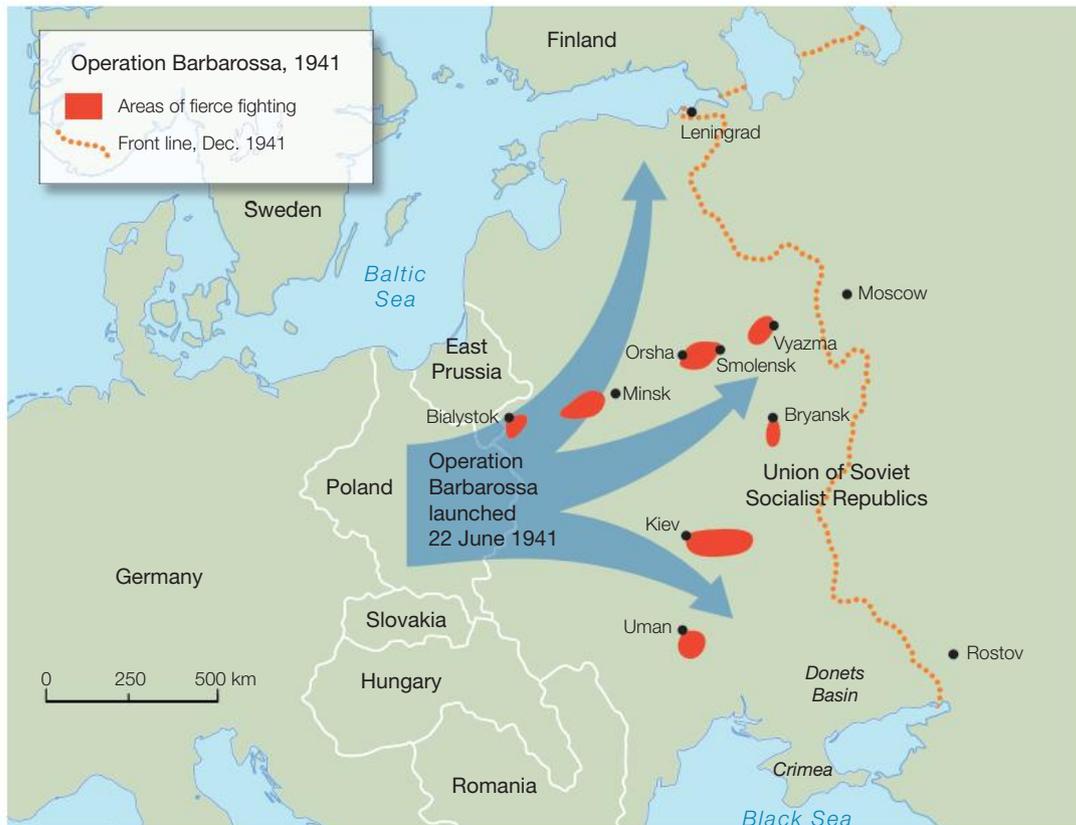
- 1 Describe what the source tells you about the problems faced by the Red Army during World War II.
- 2 Explain whether Hitler underestimated the Red Army or was his opinion of the Soviet Union justified?

In late summer 1940, Hitler shifted his attention to the east. Despite the Non-Aggression Pact, he began planning for an invasion of the Soviet Union. Hitler warned his generals that this was not going to be a war like the war against France or against Britain; this was a war to be fought with unusual rules beyond the traditional practices of warfare. His top military commanders were issued an order, which came to be known as the '**Commissar Order**'. The most essential aim 'against the Jewish Bolshevik system' was 'the complete crushing of its means of power and the extermination of Asiatic influences in the European region'. This was an instruction for the troops to be ruthless and go beyond the norms of warfare in the eastern region.

In addition to Hitler's 'Commissar Order', special SS commando units – the **Einsatzgruppen** – would accompany standard German troops into the Soviet Union and would be given 'special tasks'. The *Einsatzgruppen* had been given similar special tasks during the invasion of Poland in September 1939, where they rounded up members of the Jewish community and committed all sorts of atrocities, to the shock of German military commanders and troops. Before the invasion of the Soviet Union, the Army was told in no uncertain terms that the *Einsatzgruppen* had been given their orders from the highest level of the Nazi government; meaning Hitler himself. German troops began moving across Europe in the summer and spring of 1941, involving millions of men and thousands of horses, tanks, planes and artillery pieces.

Commissar Order an order issued by the German High Command on 6 June 1941 before Operation Barbarossa

Einsatzgruppen special SS commando units that conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern Front against the Jews



SOURCE 9.42 Map of Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union: Operation Barbarossa, 1941

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical research

Research the Italian invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece in 1940 and answer the following:

1. Why did Italy invade Yugoslavia and Greece in 1940?
2. What problems did Mussolini face in Yugoslavia and Greece?
3. How did the Italian invasion impact the Nazi campaign in the Soviet Union?
4. To what extent was Italy's decision to invade Greece 'one of the worst mistakes in the war'?

It was one of the wettest springs in twentieth-century European history, which made the terrain in eastern Poland and in the Soviet Union very difficult to negotiate, especially for tanks. Due to the weather, the military thought about the possibility of postponing the attack. However, Mussolini's misadventures in Greece and Yugoslavia meant that Germany sent troops to the south, into Yugoslavia and ultimately into Greece, postponing the invasion date for Operation Barbarossa until late June. It would be a costly postponement. 🗝️

On 22 June 1941, the Germans launched the largest military operation in human history. Operation Barbarossa started exactly 129 years after Napoleon's armies invaded Russia in 1812. In the first 48 hours, the Germans enjoyed unparalleled success. They caught the Russian troops completely unprepared and overran the initial Red Army positions. The entire Soviet air force was destroyed (most of it was on the ground), so that the Red Army operated without any sort of significant air cover in these operations. Within a matter of days, the Germans drove deep into the Soviet Union. There were three army groups: the Northern Group, pressing towards Leningrad; Army Group Centre, pressing towards Moscow; and Army Group South, which was headed in the direction of Kiev (see Source 9.42).

The real objective of Operation Barbarossa was to destroy the Red Army in western Russia within 3–6 weeks. Then the move on Moscow would take place against very little resistance. Hitler was convinced, as were his military people, that the Soviet Union would simply crumble and that the Germans would be able then to move on. The Soviets in these first weeks of Operation

Barbarossa – indeed, in the first months, June, into July, into August, into September – suffered staggering casualties. Hundreds of thousands of people died in a number of huge battles. There were chaotic scenes for the Red Army; in several battles being encircled by the German *Blitzkrieg* tactics as if they were being imagined up on the boards back at German military headquarters. 300 000 prisoners of war were taken as the Red Army seemed to be on the verge of collapse. As an example of the German confidence at the situation, General Halder, the commander in charge of the whole operation, wrote in his diary, ‘It would not be too much to say that the Soviet Union lost the war in the first 48 hours of the conflict’. A month into the invasion he again wrote, ‘The Soviets have lost; it’s only a matter of time,’ and went on to talk about the possibilities of pacification of the countryside.

In a bold move in early October 1941, Hitler ordered the German economy back on a peacetime footing. Although the Germans achieved significant successes in the early stages of the campaign, the Red Army, though suffering unbelievable casualties and giving up terrain by several miles per day, refused to give up. In fact, huge pockets of resistance remained behind German lines, causing the Germans to suffer casualties themselves. German soldiers were staggered at the level of resistance demonstrated by the Soviet armies.

As German lines moved deeper into the Soviet Union, it became more difficult to have their supplies reach them. The roads on the German maps of the Soviet Union that appeared to be good roads turned out to be barely paved, narrow roadways. Germany now found itself, in the autumn of 1941, trying to determine what its objective should be. It had already failed in its first objective – the destruction of the Red Army and western Russia within six weeks – and October brought the first frosts.

Germany decided to engage in an all-out push towards Moscow. This push began in the autumn, but by this time, the Germans had lost about half of the 3500 tanks they had begun the campaign with. The tanks were not lost simply to Russian resistance, but also because they had maintenance problems. At the start of the campaign, which was intended to last six weeks from late June 1941, the decision was made by Hitler to issue no winter gear to his forces. Hitler had been afraid that if he issued an order for the requisition of winter gear, the decision would send a signal to the German population that the war in the Soviet Union was not going to be over in a short period of time at all; that victory wasn’t within sight. So, he refused. German troops were wearing summer denim uniforms, lightweight uniforms, in near-freezing temperatures. Winter uniforms were finally issued in November when it was clear that the fighting would continue for some time. By early December 1941, temperatures on the Eastern Front dropped below 0° Fahrenheit and German military vehicles froze. The tank



SOURCE 9.43 A German soldier guarding captured Soviet soldiers after the Battle of Ulam on 1 August 1941



SOURCE 9.44 Operation Barbarossa – a *Wehrmacht* soldier is guarding a village under the snow in 1941.

treads wouldn't function in the cold and many machines began to break down. In these circumstances, on 5–6 December, the Russians launched a massive counterattack outside Moscow and caught the Germans completely by surprise. For Hitler, the Soviet counter-offensive halted the *Blitzkrieg* phase of the war, making it clear that a long war of attrition, which his High Command had so greatly feared, was upon them.

FLASHPOINT!

Germany declaring war on the United States – strategic or complete madness?

One of the strangest decisions made by Hitler during World War II was declaring war on the United States. On 7 December 1941, all the way across the world, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the conflict. Four days later, Hitler declared war on the United States. This solved President Franklin D Roosevelt

(FDR)'s problem of wanting to formally join the fight against Nazi Germany to help Allies like Britain (the United States had until then been secretly providing war **matériel** and money). In terms of domestic politics, the United States had until then been kept out of the war due to its great unpopularity with the public. Pearl Harbor changed public opinion towards war and the United States was set to mobilise against Japan. Hitler's declaration of war allowed the United States to split its forces between the Pacific and European **theatres of war**. This would prove to be catastrophic for Germany.

matériel military supplies such as equipment

theatre of war an area or place in which important military events happen; in World War II, this was the European and Pacific theatres



SOURCE 9.45 The 32nd US President Franklin D Roosevelt (1882–45) signs the declaration of war against Germany and Italy on 22 December 1941.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.8

- 1 Identify the figures in the cartoon.
- 2 Explain the historical significance of this source in understanding the key events of World War II.



SOURCE 9.46 A 1941 US cartoon from the time after Hitler declared war on the United States; the inscription reads 'Just wait until the little fella grows up'.

Stalingrad, the turning point of the Eastern Front

Everyone knew that the Russians were taking the brunt of the German onslaught, and that the Eastern Front was bleeding the Wehrmacht to death far more surely than any western theatre. The Red Army would push on, as the officer had shouted at the prisoners of war, until Berlin looked like the ruined city of Stalingrad.

SOURCE 9.47 A Beevor, *Stalingrad*, 1999, p. 405



SOURCE 9.48 The battlefield at Stalingrad, 1942

The titanic struggle for Stalingrad between August 1942 and March 1943 marked the turning point of the war on the Eastern Front. In the spring of 1942, the Germans launched a new offensive against Stalingrad. Having abandoned earlier efforts to capture Leningrad and Moscow, Hitler adopted new objectives. German forces would drive to the south of Kiev, seize the valuable Caucasus oil fields, and take Stalingrad. The Soviets appeared highly vulnerable as they had fewer tanks in 1942 than they had possessed in 1941. The Red Army was absolutely exhausted, and its best units remained positioned in front of Moscow. At first, the German offensive was highly successful. The Germans defeated the Soviets at Kharkov in May. The main German offensive began on 28 June 1942 and Stalin remained convinced that Moscow was the Germans' main target, while German forces reached Sebastopol by July.

Although Stalingrad was not yet secure, Hitler ordered a drive into the Caucasus. The drive by Germany's first panzer division proceeded with great speed into September. The Germans penetrated deep into Russia; the invasion force split, with part heading towards the Grozny oil field and the other towards the Black Sea. However, the euphoric Germans underestimated the Soviets. The German drive slowed in late September and October as resistance by Russian defenders and local forces (e.g. the Chechens) stiffened. The Germans faced mounting problems as their front was now more than 500 miles long and their supply lines were 1300 miles long. Resistance activities behind the German lines were still mounting. Concerned about the slow pace of the offensive, Hitler fired General Halder as Chief of Staff in November 1942.



SOURCE 9.49 Soviet troops at Stalingrad, with haunted expressions

The Germans and Soviets fought a ferocious battle in Stalingrad. The Germans had to take Stalingrad in order to block Soviet troop movements to the south. The task was left to German General von Paulus's 6th Army. German troops entered the northern suburbs and reached the Volga River on 22 August. The next day the Germans launched a terror air raid on Stalingrad with incendiary bombs. The Russians appeared to be trapped, but Soviet resistance was fierce as the battle acquired enormous symbolic significance. The Germans were determined to take the city and the Russians to hold it at all costs. The two sides waged a momentous battle of attrition. The fighting proceeded block to block, street to street, and house to house. The city was reduced to rubble, and movement was measured in metres. By early November, the Germans held 90 per cent of the city.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Georgi Zhukov (1896–74)

Deputy supreme commander and chief of the Red Army during virtually all of World War II, Georgi Zhukov earned his reputation with a successful action against the Japanese in Mongolia in 1939. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, he held a series of important command positions in defence of Smolensk, Leningrad, and finally Moscow in the autumn of 1941. The 'Saviour of Moscow', he went on to become the 'Saviour of



SOURCE 9.50 Georgi Zhukov

Stalingrad', as well, commanding the Soviet defence and counterattack against Paulus's 6th Army. Zhukov would lead the great sweep of the Russian forces into Ukraine, Poland, and finally Germany. His troops entered Berlin on 2 May 1945, and the Germans surrendered to him on 8 May.

General Zhukov, the saviour of Moscow, took command in the south and planned a counterattack. Zhukov deliberately kept reinforcements of the city to a minimum as he massed Russian troops to the north and south of Stalingrad. All preparations for the counterattack were kept under tight security. Zhukov unleashed the counterattack on 19 November. The attack came on the northern and southern flanks, catching the Germans off guard. On 23 November, the two Russian spearheads linked up 45 miles away from Stalingrad, encircling the entire German 6th Army and one corps of the 4th Panzer Army. Hitler refused Paulus's request for permission to break out of Stalingrad. He ordered General Manstein to fight through to Stalingrad, but the effort failed. Doomed, Paulus's 6th Army was ordered to fight to the last man. Paulus held out until 2 February 1943, and then surrendered.

The battle of Stalingrad had important implications. It was a catastrophic defeat for the Germans with 200 000 troops lost and 90 000 captured. The summer offensive of 1942, concluding at Stalingrad, marked the end of the German initiative on the Eastern Front. After Stalingrad, Germany remained on the defensive.

Desperate to correct the humiliation of Stalingrad, Hitler planned an attack at Kursk through Operation Citadel. This led to another crushing defeat for Hitler and will be remembered as one of the greatest tank battles in history. On 5 July 1943, 1 million soldiers and 2700 tanks attacked the Russian-held positions at Kursk. The Russians were fully prepared for the attack and the Germans were unable to gain air superiority, and were defeated within seven days. German defeats at Stalingrad and Kursk put an end to any hopes of victory against the Soviet Union. 🔑



SOURCE 9.51 A Russian sniper at Stalingrad

The struggle for Kursk tore the heart out of the German Army ... Soviet success at Kursk, with so much at stake, was the most important single victory of the war ... It was the point at which the initiative passed to the Soviet side.

SOURCE 9.52 R Overy, *Why the Allies Won*, 1995, pp. 99–100

The Battle of El Alamein and the significance of the conflict in North Africa to the European War

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional extensive content, analysis and activities surrounding the Battle of El Alamein.



KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



- 1 Which German miscalculations contributed to the defeat of Hitler's Stalingrad offensive?
- 2 What were the consequences and significance of the Battle of Stalingrad?

9.4 Civilians at war

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional extensive content, and activities on the social and economic effects of the war on civilians in Britain, Germany and Russia.



The nature and effects of the Holocaust in the Nazi-occupied territories

The Jews and the Slavic peoples were the Untermenschen – subhumans. To Hitler they had no right to live, except as some of them, among the Slavs, might be needed to toil in the fields and the mines as slaves of their German masters.

SOURCE 9.53 W Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 1964, p. 116

Background

Hitler portrayed the global Jewish community as the carrier of the concepts of internationalism, democracy and pacifism, which German historian Max Domarus described as the 'three plagues of humanity ... that had killed the nations' race value'. The struggle against these three principles became, in Hitler's hands, the foundation and motivational force of his political programs, both internal and

anti-Semitism

discrimination, prejudice
or hostility towards Jews

external. Traditional **anti-Semitism** served as an ideological nucleus for Nazi racial doctrine. Through this doctrine, he portrayed his ideological and political enemies in a harmful, mighty, flesh-and-blood image – the image of the blemished Jew – that perverted the character of nature itself.

The Nazi revolution was an anti-Jewish revolution. It did not invent hatred for Jews, but radicalised and activated an anti-Semitism that was already existent – an anti-Semitism that was, in fact, dominant and continuous in German history. The innovation in Nazi anti-Jewish policy was that anti-Semitism became political. It turned theory and ideology into practice.

More specifically, that between September 1939 and July 1941, Nazi Jewish policy, as one component of a broader racial imperialism in the east, evolved through three distinct plans for ethnic cleansing to a transitional phase of implicit genocide in connection with preparations for the war of destruction against the Soviet Union. Hitler was both the key ideological legitimiser and decision maker in this evolutionary process, which also depended upon the initiatives and responses elicited from below. For Hitler the historical contexts for his key decisions were the euphoria of victory in Poland and France and the galvanizing anticipation of a territorial conquest of *lebensraum* and an ideological and racial crusade against 'Judeo-Bolshevism' in the Soviet Union. Additionally, for regional and local authorities, key factors were not only their identification with Hitler's goals and personal ambition to make a career but also frustration over the impasse created by the ideological imperatives of the regime and their failure to implement the previous policies of ethnic cleansing.

SOURCE 9.54 Christopher R Browning, 'From "Ethnic Cleansing" to Genocide to the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, 1939–1941', in *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, 2000, pp. 1–25

The war in the Soviet Union

The war against the Soviet Union had both ideological and geopolitical objectives, as well as being a crusade against Judeo-Bolshevism. It was the onset of a racial war against the Jews. On 30 January 1939, Hitler had made a statement on the sixth anniversary of his seizure of power:

Today I will be a prophet again. If international financed Jewry within Europe and abroad should succeed once more in plunging the peoples into a world war, then the consequences will be, not the Bolshevisation of the world, and therefore victory of Jewry, but on the contrary, the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe!

SOURCE 9.55 Hitler's speech, 30 January 1939

The invasion of Poland in 1939, and the Soviet Union two years later, put Germany in control of Europe's largest Jewish communities. In October 1939, Heinrich Himmler was named Reich Commissar for the strengthening of German *volkdom*, a new title that gave him responsibility for National Socialist racial policy in the occupied territories. Himmler delegated that authority to Reinhard Heydrich in the Reich Security Central Office, where SS specialists were already at work on finding a solution to the so-called 'Jewish question'. The policy of pre-war Germany of immigration had now become expulsion. In a memorandum drafted on 19 September 1939, entitled *The Jewish Question in the Occupied Territories*, Heydrich laid out the foundations of National Socialist policy. In those territories annexed to Germany, which included Czechoslovakia and Poland, it would be outright annexation to become part of the *Gross Deutsche Reich*. All non-Germans were to be expelled; those territories would be cleansed of all non-Aryan elements in

preparation for future settlement by Germans. Moreover, all Jews were to be rounded up and concentrated in a few selected urban areas of the **General Government** – the name for the Polish territory occupied by German forces.

Responsibility for executing this policy was placed in the hands of special SS units, the *Einsatzgruppen*, who had been created for the invasion of Poland. These were men with special training, including indoctrination of Nazi racial policy. They numbered about 3000. It is estimated that approximately 1 million people were rounded up and forced into the ghettos in the General Government in 1939–40. By October 1939, the SS began the deportation of Jews from Austria and Czechoslovakia to the General Government, and in a signal of radical National Socialist racial thinking, Aryan children were selected for resettlement in Germany. At this time, Jews were being deported from Western Europe to the General Government. It was at this point that Himmler ordered the construction of a camp at **Auschwitz** to handle the overflow of Jews being brought into the General Government.

The Nazis then started to consider some sort of ‘final solution’ for the Jews and other **untermenschen**. During the summer of 1941, when the Nazis thought they were winning the war in the Soviet Union and the horizon of possibility seemed limitless, Himmler received a direct order from Hitler. Not a written order – to enable post-war deniability – but a nod.

The Final Solution

The Wannsee Conference was held on 20 January 1942. The conference was presided over by Heydrich and it was made clear that ‘resettlement’ meant physical extermination. This meeting lasted just a little bit over an hour and it was attended by just over a dozen people. It was decided that there would be special concentration camps created, **vernichtungslager**, or death camps. In distinction from the camps in Germany, the sole purpose of these camps was to be the extermination of the Jews. These camps were to be created in Poland and others, beyond Poland, were to be expanded. The ‘final solution’ would literally mean the roundup and transport of all European Jews to these death camps in the east. The need for secrecy was emphasised, because the German public simply was not prepared for the decision and even some Nazi officials were shocked at the radical nature of this decision. It also had to be kept a secret from the Allies, who could make great propaganda out of it.

During World War I, the Allies had made great propaganda out of a number of incidents in Belgium, creating stories that the Germans were bayoneting babies and that ‘the Hun’ was loose in Europe. Heydrich and Hitler were concerned about this. If the Jews were going to be rounded up, Heydrich believed, it would depend to a certain extent on the ignorance of the victims. They would be required to come to the train stations – escorted by Gestapo or SS – but it was important for those people to believe that they were off on a journey; that they were going to be resettled. They might have heard rumours about what awaited them at the end of the train line, but they certainly shouldn’t have any sort of hard information. This had to be kept secret if this whole diabolical scheme was to succeed.



SOURCE 9.56 The Wannsee Conference Haus

General Government a German zone of occupation established after the joint invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939

Auschwitz a Nazi concentration and extermination camp which operated in annexed Poland from 1940 to 1945

untermenschen a German term to describe non-Aryan ‘inferior people’

vernichtungslager a German term for extermination camp

It was in the spring of 1942, in this atmosphere of secrecy, that the Germans began the construction of the camps in the east. Belzec, a camp near Lublin, opened in March 1942; Treblinka, 50 miles from Warsaw, in July 1942; and of course, Auschwitz, which already existed but housed primarily Russian prisoners of war. Indeed, the first experiments with the new gas installations would be conducted on 300 to 400 Russian prisoners who were already at Auschwitz. This camp was to be expanded and turned into a massive killing machine. On 22 July 1942, deportations from the Warsaw ghetto began; the destination was Treblinka. The death camps would operate roughly with the same principles. The trains would arrive, many of the people stuffed in cattle cars, originating from various locations in Europe. On the platform, they would be separated. Those who were capable of work would be sent off in one direction; those who were deemed unfit for work another.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.9



SOURCE 9.57 Key locations of the Holocaust

- 1 Account for the location of the Nazi death camps.
- 2 Explain why the death camps originated in the early 1940s.

Between 1942 and early 1945, when the camps would cease their killing, about 4 million Jews would die. Two million had already died in the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen* in Poland and Russia, bringing the total to 6 million. Along with the Jews, Russians, Poles, gypsies, homosexuals and disabled people would vanish into the gas chambers and then into the ovens. What one saw was the true racial essence of National Socialism which was at the core of Nazi ideology.



SOURCE 9.58 The main gate at Auschwitz concentration camp, the slogan 'Arbeit macht frei' meant 'Work makes you free'.

Jews killed under Nazi rule*			
	Original Jewish population	Jews killed	Percentage surviving
Poland	3 300 000	2 800 000	15%
Soviet Union (area occupied by Germans)	2 100 000	1 500 000	29%
Hungary	404 000	200 000	49%
Romania	850 000	425 000	50%
Germany/Austria	270 000	210 000	22%

*Estimates

SOURCE 9.59 Hannah Vogt, *The Burden of Guilt*

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- What role did the Nazi regime's 'final solution to the Jewish problem' play in Hitler's larger ideological program?
- What considerations discouraged the Allies from responding aggressively to the Holocaust? Was their restraint justified?

As a class discuss the following: What was the nature and impact of the Holocaust in occupied territories?

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 9.10

Key debate: The Holocaust – long-term planning or response to radicalisation?

Hitler's role in the launching of the Nazi genocide is still being debated, as historians trace his precise actions in the available documentation. Hitler's aversion, both to regular bureaucratic functioning, as well as written orders, were due to his caution about leaving a paper trail that could be traced back to him. Clearly, however, Hitler's role was pivotal, as he established the long-term goals of the regime and endorsed programs of growing radicalism in the racial sphere. It is crucial to note that a program of this scope and this magnitude, involving the planned murder of millions, involved more than just Hitler himself, more than a small circle of planners, such as at the Wannsee Conference. In fact, enormous numbers of officials at both the highest and lowest levels of the state, the party, from generals, to mayors of towns, to station masters, to ordinary guards, were implicated and were needed to make the Final Solution happen. Wherever the Nazis gained power in the occupied countries of Europe, they found collaborators who turned up in every country to help them in this program.

Argument 1: The intentionalist perspective: Long term planning

The intentionalist school argues that extermination of the Jews and the invasion of the Soviet Union were planned by Hitler. Historians such as Hillgruber and Jackel suggest that Hitler's decision to set up the camps in the summer of 1941 was in anticipation of the defeat of the Soviet Union. This is referenced with Goring's order to Heydrich on 31 July 1941 to prepare a plan to 'bring about a complete solution to the Jewish question within the German sphere of influence in Europe'. They also argue that Hitler was the most significant figure in bringing the Final Solution into being and had always intended to see the mass extermination of the Jews. Historian Saul Friedlander argues that Hitler has always followed a policy of 'eliminationist anti-semitism' which naturally progressed to authorising the extermination of the Jews.



SOURCE 9.60 Jews from Vinnitsa, Ukraine, executed by an unknown *Einsatzgruppen* soldier, 1941

Hitler alone had the imagination – however twisted – to come up with such a plan ... and if there was one year in which he was capable of making the leap from imagination such a ‘solution’ as fantasy to imagining it as fact, it was in 1941. This was the year in which he had shown his terrifying capacity to turn into fact another part of his ‘world war’. The fantasy of Lebensraum in the east, by assembling the most powerful army in history and launching it against the Soviet Union ... Hitler has neither the ability nor interest to organise the execution of the Final Solution himself; that he left to Himmler and Heydrich, to the Eichmanns and Hosses [the commandant of Auschwitz] as he left the organising of the invasion of Russia to the army General Staff. But if there had not been a Hitler to conceive of such projects and to convince others that they could actually take place neither would have occurred.

SOURCE 9.61 A Bullock, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives*, HarperCollins, London, 1991, p. 844

Argument 2: The structuralist perspective that the Holocaust was the product of ‘spiralling radicalisation’

The structuralist historians claim extermination camps developed to deal with a deteriorating situation and they were not part of a long-term plan. Historians such as Mommsen and Broszat support the view that Hitler had considerable influence in the direction of events regarding racial policy; however, it was not his written order that led to the Holocaust. Like most areas of Nazism, the Holocaust was a product of ‘spiralling radicalisation’ including anti-Semitism that led to mass murders. Due to the significant problems experienced by the Nazis in the campaign in the Soviet Union, it is argued that the Final Solution simply evolved rather than being deliberately planned. This is supported by dealing with the activities of the *Einsatzgruppen* and dealing with the violence of the Jews in Poland. As a result, Nazi leaders simply established a solution to Hitler’s ‘Jewish problem’ as a means to consolidate their power and control within the party. In the following extract, Goldhagen argues that the culture established by Hitler meant that ordinary troops were less complicit than specialised units.

Before the invasion, the *Einsatzgruppen* were not given explicit orders for the total extermination of Jews in Soviet territory. Along with the general incitement to an ideological and racial war, however, they were given the general task of liquidating ‘potential’ enemies. Heydrich’s much debated directive on 2 July 1941 was a minimal list of those who had to be liquidated immediately, including all Jews in state and party positions. It is very likely, moreover, that the *Einsatzgruppen* leaders were told of the future goal of a *Judenfrei* [Jew-free] Russia through systematic mass murder.

SOURCE 9.62 Christopher R Browning, *Fateful Months: Essays on the emergence of the final solution, 1941–42*, Holmes & Meier, New York, 1985

- 1 What are the main arguments of the intentionalist and structuralist historians regarding the Holocaust?
- 2 Who was responsible for the decision to liquidate European Jewry during the Second World War?

9.5 End of the conflict

D-Day and the liberation of France

Operation Overlord

In the early months of 1943, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill made a dangerous transatlantic wartime journey to the United States. On 19 May 1943, he addressed a joint session of Congress, and pushed for an early and massive attack on the ‘underbelly of the Axis’. To ‘speed’ things up, Churchill and President Roosevelt set a date for a cross-Channel invasion of France on 1 May 1944, regardless of the problems presented by the Allied invasion of Italy, which was also under way. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Researching the Allied invasion of Italy, 1943



Research the Allied invasion of Italy in 1943 and answer the following questions:

- 1 What were the reasons for the Allied invasion of Italy?
- 2 Examine the significance of the invasion in the context of World War II.
- 3 What happened in Italy after the Allies invaded?

By early 1944, Allied invasion of north-western Europe was expected. Allied planners faced many difficult choices as they prepared the cross-Channel invasion, which was to be known as Operation Overlord. Roosevelt chose General Dwight Eisenhower to be supreme commander. The British and Soviets had preferred General George C Marshall, and Marshall himself had wanted the assignment. But Roosevelt decided that he could not spare Marshall’s presence in Washington. So British General Bernard Montgomery was chosen to be ground commander and be in charge of the actual operational planning of the invasion.

The Allies decided that the invasion force would land in Normandy, France. The Germans knew that the invasion was afoot, but they did not know where and when it would take place. Although Calais offered the shortest route to the Ruhr, which was the Allies’ ultimate target, the Normandy ports would better accommodate the invasion force. An American force, under General Omar Bradley, would land on the eastern end of the Normandy coast and advance on Cherbourg, while a British force would seize the town of Caen. Paratroopers from the 82nd and 101st airborne divisions would land the night before, and seaborne troops would land at daybreak.

Although Hitler expected the landing to occur in Normandy, both Rommel and Rundstedt expected the invasion force to land at Calais. The Allies tried to convince the Germans that the main landing would come at Calais. A ‘dummy’ camp under the command of General George Patton was constructed near the English town of Dover, directly across the Channel from Calais. Deceptive Allied radio traffic suggested that the landing would occur in Norway. The Allies learned through Ultra that the Germans had believed the deception. Weather conditions dictated that the invasion would have to occur in late spring or early summer. Eisenhower chose 4 June 1944 as D-Day. The Allied Expeditionary Force (AEF) assault waves were loaded up on the evening of 3 June. However, a storm developed on 4 June and the weather on 5 June was terrible. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



Why did the Allies choose Normandy as the landing point for the cross-Channel invasion?

Eisenhower faced a tremendously difficult decision about whether to proceed. If he decided to postpone the invasion, the tide and light conditions would not be right again until 19 June. In addition, air support was questionable if the weather was bad. Eisenhower also had to consider the morale of his troops, who had already boarded the ships, and postponement might also risk the surprise element. At 21:30 on 4 June, Eisenhower’s weather officer predicted a 36-hour break in the storm on 5–6 June. Eisenhower decided to proceed.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Dwight Eisenhower (1890–1969)

Dwight Eisenhower was the American and Allied Supreme Commander in North Africa, Sicily and northwest Europe. He was in charge of Operation Overlord and commanded the Allied military forces in Europe. Known mainly for his remarkable personal political skills, he was desperately needed in managing a coalition military force. Eisenhower determined the overall military strategy during the Western drive into Germany, advocating a broad-front approach rather than a dash for Berlin.

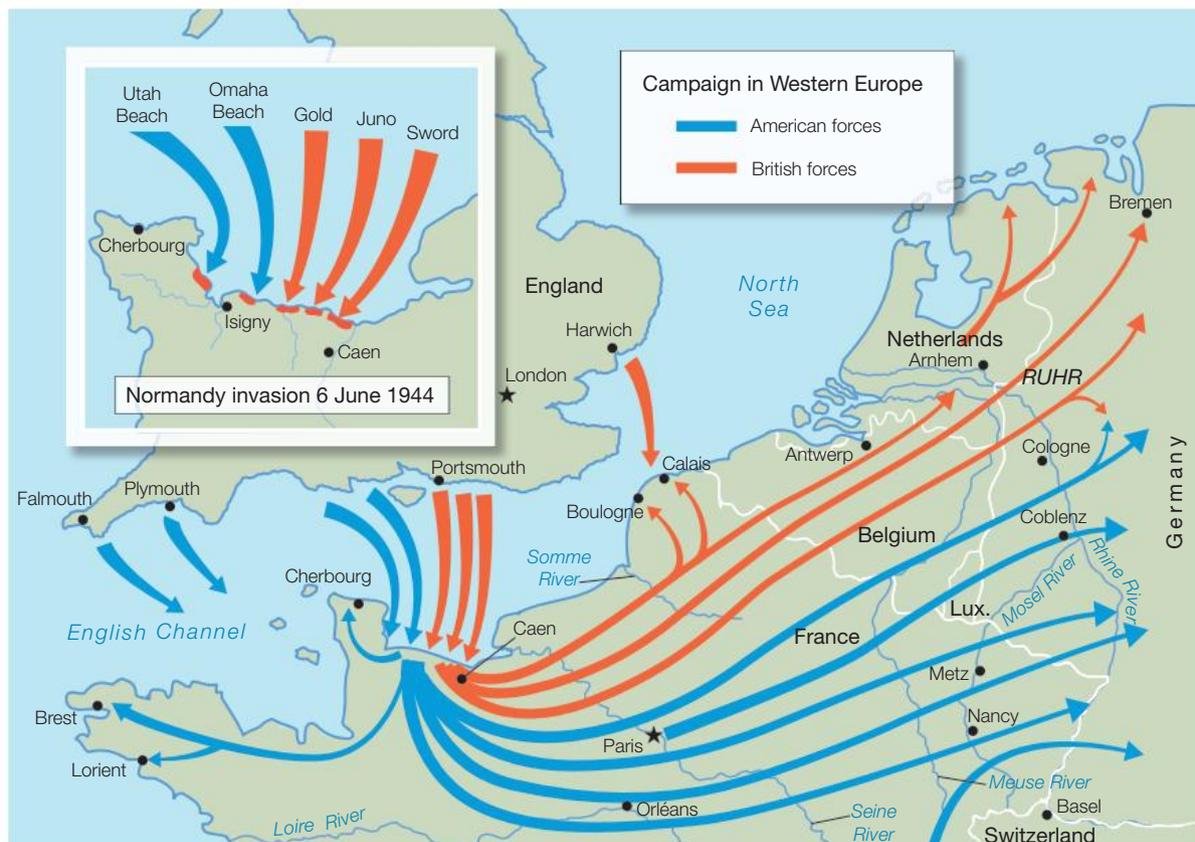


SOURCE 9.63 Dwight Eisenhower

D-Day

Erwin Rommel, the German commander in charge of defending north-western Europe, argued that the key to German victory was to defeat the Allies at the beaches, and that the first 24 hours of the invasion would be decisive. It would be, as he put it, ‘the longest day’.

The seaborne invasion force was preceded by Allied paratroopers who dropped into France the previous night. On 5 June, Eisenhower visited troops of the 101st Airborne, of whom some 80 per cent were expected to become casualties. These troops carried a daunting amount of equipment. Most pilots of the C-47s were going into combat for the first time; their planes were neither armoured nor armed. The planes formed a



SOURCE 9.64 Map of the D-Day invasion, 6 June 1944

300-mile long 'V' formation. At first, they maintained an extremely tight formation while crossing the Channel, despite no radio communications. They dispersed, however, after they hit a cloud bank. Very few paratroopers of the 82nd and 101st units were actually dropped where they should have been. Some were mistakenly dropped at sea; some were dropped at a too-low altitude; some were dropped into flooded fields and drowned. Due to this dispersal, the Germans received reports of invading paratroopers from all across Normandy. Meanwhile, the French Resistance began to cut German communications. Both factors caused the German response to be slow.

The seaborne invasion force landed in Normandy early on 6 June. Strategic surprise was achieved due to the poor weather. Rundstedt and the German High Command were still convinced that the Normandy landing was a diversion and that the main invasion would come at Calais. Key Panzer units were delayed for several hours because Hitler was not awakened with the news. The German response was slowed by a combination of poor intelligence, the role of the French Resistance, and the inability to move troops and armour rapidly to the front. The Allied landings at Juno, Sword, Gold and Utah beaches were successful. US troops were pinned down for hours on Omaha Beach and they broke out and moved inland only late in the day. The success of the D-Day landings had not been a foregone conclusion. The Normandy landings were merely the prelude to a protracted and deadly campaign in Normandy and the rest of France.



SOURCE 9.65 (Left) US troops in an amphibious landing craft preparing to storm the beaches of Normandy, France, on D-Day, 6 June 1944. (Right) Troops from the 48th Royal Marines at Saint Aubin-surmer land at Juno Beach.

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.11

What Hitler regarded as the greatest German assets – the leadership principle of the Third Reich, the unquestioning obedience expected of Wehrmacht personnel from field marshal down to private – all worked against the Germans on D-Day. The truth is that desperate individual acts of great bravery and fanaticism of some Wehrmacht troops, the High Command, middle ranking officers, and junior officers was just pathetic. The cause is put simply: They were afraid to take the initiative. They allowed themselves to be paralysed by stupid orders coming from far away that bore no relation to the situation on the battlefield.

SOURCE 9.66 S Ambrose, *The Victors: The Men of World War II*, 1998, p. 183

- 1 Describe the German leadership issues that are outlined in this source.
- 2 In light of D-Day, the North African campaign and the Eastern Front, evaluate how significant leadership was in determining the result of the conflict.

The liberation of France

Despite the success of the Battle of Normandy, it was assumed that whether or not the Allies could liberate the rest of France would determine the outcome of the conflict. By 1 July, almost 1 million Allied troops had landed at Normandy, and the Allies commenced their 'breakout'. This went very slowly as the terrain, such as the impenetrable hedgerows (trees and bushes), made fighting particularly difficult. Montgomery was slowed by tenacious German defences at Caen, which did not fall until 18 July. The breakout of Patton's Third Army in July allowed Allied forces to continue their push into France.

On 25 July, Operation Cobra was launched with the intention to take advantage of the distractions of the Germans in Caen and to break through the German defences. French Resistance groups gained control of the Brittany peninsula, while Allied forces trapped an entire German Army group in the Falaise Pocket, where the fighting and destruction were particularly intense. The landing of a second Allied invasion force in mid-August 1944 presaged a debate among Allied commanders over the liberation of Paris. Eisenhower wanted to bypass the city, which had little strategic importance and would only slow the Allied advance. However, Charles De Gaulle wanted his Free French forces to liberate Paris before the communist Parisian Resistance did. After a revolt from French workers and policemen against their German oppressors on 15 August, US and French troops invaded southern France in Operation Anvil. On 22 August, Eisenhower ordered French General Leclerc to advance on Paris. Parisians became aware of the close proximity of their liberators, and the Parisian Resistance rose against the Nazis. Hitler ordered the city's destruction. The city was surrendered on 25 August and de Gaulle arrived on 26 August.

The liberation of Paris was the final chapter in the battle for France. Within six weeks of pushing out of Normandy in late July, Paris had been liberated and the Allies had reached Belgium. By September 1944, Allied armies were advancing on Germany. Historian Basil Liddel Hart contends that 'the Allies' break-out ensured them a clear path through France', successfully allowing for an easy road to victory. Andrew Roberts argues that 'the timing of Normandy could not have been more perfect', contending that it was 'Churchill's most important single contribution in the Allied victory'. However, despite these outward successes, this could only have happened as a result of preceding events, as a landing at Dieppe was attempted and failed in 1942 (a colossal defeat for the Allies). The difference, however, was not only the scale and planning of the D-Day invasion, but the great lessons the Allies learned from previous successes and failures. 🔑

Overall, though the campaign to take France had been incredibly quick by military standards, the human cost was astounding. Germany had lost 400 000 men and the Allies had lost 200 000. The liberation of France also ensured that the decline in German power in 1943 was converted to a military defeat the following year. The war on three fronts also meant that the Russian advance was considerably stronger. The war in Europe was clearly entering its final stages following the liberation of France and it was all but certain the Allies would win. 🔑

KEY QUESTIONS

Researching



- 1 Outline the events that took place at Dieppe in 1942.
- 2 Compare and contrast Dieppe to D-Day.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 What explains the failure of the German forces in France to contain and defeat the Allied invasion force?
- 2 Evaluate the debate among Allied leaders over whether to liberate or bypass Paris.



SOURCE 9.67 American soldiers capture and liberate the French capital, Paris; Nazi soldiers surrender by the hundreds and are taken prisoner.

Russian counter-offensives, 1944

The certainty of German defeat on the Eastern Front became clear as their forces crumbled before three great waves of Soviet advances. First, in the summer and autumn of 1944, the southern sector of the Eastern Front witnessed a catastrophic collapse. The Soviet Army liberated vast stretches of Soviet territory and then swept on, chasing German troops from the nations of south-east Europe. Romania was liberated in August, Bulgaria in September, Yugoslavia in October and Hungary in the new year.

Operation Bagration

Operation Bagration was a vital Soviet offensive that led to the destruction of the German Army Group Centre. It was launched just after the Allied landing in Normandy in June 1944 and, although it does not receive the same level of attention as D-Day, the scope of the fighting was much larger. The German Army Group Centre was the anchor for the German front and the Russian victory allowed them to secure the shortest path to Berlin. In terms of scale, there were three times as many Germans that were fighting to defend the Atlantic Wall from the Soviet advance as there was to defend Normandy and northern France. And there were 10 times as many Russians involved in Operation Bagration as there were Allied troops who landed on D-Day.

KEY DATES IN OPERATION BAGRATION

19 June 1944	Red Army partisan units were operating behind German lines and attacked the
21 June 1944	<i>Wehrmacht</i> supply lines and transport.
23 June 1944	The Soviets launched massive air attacks.
3 July 1944	The Soviet technique of ' maskirovka ' was employed, where the Red Army caught the Germans by surprise and moved forward under cover of darkness. Hitler made the disastrous decision of ordering the soldiers of Army Group Centre to stand firm and not change their positions despite any Soviet advances. This proved fatal as the Soviets left enemy units isolated behind them as they pushed forward in powerful spearheads. Hitler's orders reflected his poor leadership and his distrust of the German general staff. He wanted to control everything and his refusal to allow flexibility was contrary to the established norms of combat.

Operation Bagration proved to be an extraordinary victory for the Red Army. Minsk, capital of Belorussia, which the Germans had gained three years earlier, had now been captured by the Soviet forces. And by the end of July, the Red Army had moved into Polish territory, taking the city of Lvov, the major cultural centre of eastern Poland. Military successes like Operation Bagration had emboldened Stalin as the expansive land the Soviets had gained through the counter-offensives would not be relinquished easily at the conclusion of the war.

partisan a member of a secret armed force whose aim is to fight against an enemy that is controlling the country

maskirovka a Russian word meaning 'disguise'; the name for the Soviet military technique of deception in World War II

The Warsaw uprising

On 1 August 1944, the Polish resistance planned an uprising to take control of Warsaw. If the capital of Warsaw could be liberated by them, rather than by Stalin or his protégées, Poland's independence could not be denied to the victors. The uprising began just as the Red Army was approaching Warsaw, nearing the Vistula River. The Home Army's calculation and expectation was that in a day or two they could beat back the Germans, who were already retreating, and take control of the city in the interval before the Red Army entered the capital. Yet, crucially, when the revolt began, the Red Army stopped short. They stopped at the Vistula River and waited, claiming that the army needed to rest. The Western armies asked to use

Soviet air bases to refuel transport planes to drop supplies to the Home Army, but Stalin refused this. The Nazis now moved forces in to crush the revolt, which lasted 63 agonising days. More than 200 000 inhabitants of Warsaw died, and at the end the German Army dynamited the city to leave it in total ruin. After destroying Warsaw, the Nazis retreated, and then the Red Army once again resumed its advance westward.

As the Red Army pushed into Finland in September 1944, Germany's satellite states began to desert the Axis. Hitler refused requests from his military commanders to withdraw German troops from the Baltic states and form a new defensive line against the Soviets. In January 1945, the Soviets moved from Poland and German forces were heavily outmatched. By February, the Red Army was just 65 miles from Berlin. 🗝️

Final defeat 1944–45

Operation Market Garden and the Battle of the Bulge

After the fall of Paris in August 1944, the Allies were poised for their final assault on Germany. The Allies debated the best way to break into Germany and bring the war to a conclusion. Montgomery urged a single-thrust strategy aimed at taking the Ruhr, but Eisenhower advocated a broad-front strategy. The Allied armies still confronted a number of problems in concluding the war:



SOURCE 9.68 The Soviet Red Army enters Bucharest, Romania, 31 August 1944.



SOURCE 9.69 Soldiers of the Red Army in front of the Elizabeth Bridge in Budapest in February 1945

A MATTER OF FACT

As the Red Army closed in on Berlin, its advance was often not experienced as liberation. Red Army soldiers engaged in mass rapes as they moved through Poland, Hungary and into Germany. Even in Yugoslavia, a communist ally of the Soviets, rapes were still common. When Yugoslav partisan leader, Milovan Dilas, complained to Stalin about this, he recalled that Stalin merely disregarded these abuses, saying that Soviet soldiers were just having fun. The Soviet advance would long remain a traumatic memory for many people.

KEY QUESTIONS

Making inferences

🗝️ Assess the role of the 1944 Russian counter-offensives in bringing about the end of the conflict in Europe.

- 1 They faced a troop shortage. The British were at the limit of their manpower reserves, and the United States was stretched by the demands of a two-theatre war.
- 2 Also, in late 1944, the Allies suffered from overconfidence and faulty intelligence. They were convinced that Germany was on the brink of defeat; however, Allied intelligence underestimated German strength in the west.
- 3 The Allied armies also faced enormous logistical problems. Advancing troops were outrunning their supplies. A port closer to the front, Antwerp was desperately needed. Although Antwerp fell in September, Hitler remained in control of the Scheldt estuary, which made the port useless.

Siegfried Line also known as the West Wall, it was a defensive system of pillboxes and strongpoints built along the German western frontier in the 1930s; in 1944, it protected German troops retreating from France

V-2 rocket the world's first long-range guided ballistic missile, developed by the Nazis during the war to attack Allied cities as retaliation for the Allied bombing of German cities

Operation Market Garden was planned for September 1944. Montgomery advanced a daring plan to jump the Rhine in Holland, thereby outflanking the **Siegfried Line** to the north. The goals of the operation were to cross the last river barrier that guarded Germany, outflank the northernmost fortifications of the West Wall, and threaten Germany's **V-2 rocket** launching sites in Holland. The Allies faced formidable problems. They had to cross numerous rivers and canals and seize many bridges. They suffered again from overconfidence, expecting to brush aside two defending German armoured divisions. And the Allied forces moved very slowly.

Thus, Operation Market Garden ended as an abysmal failure. The defeat of the Allies meant no Rhine crossing in 1944. Meanwhile, Patton and the Americans were bogged down in Lorraine. Though the First Army took Aachen on 21 October, Allied progress was slow in late 1944 and victory remained elusive.

Hitler struck back with the Ardennes offensive in December 1944. He hoped that one last dramatic stroke in the west would split the Allies between Montgomery in the north and the Americans further south. The German High Command, meanwhile, sought to find defensible positions behind the Rhine. They worried that Hitler's plan would weaken Germany's position in the east and consume its last troop reserves. The plan called for smashing the Allies in the Ardennes Forest, then making a massive armoured drive for Antwerp, to drive a wedge between the Allied armies and destroy them piecemeal. The Allies assumed that the Ardennes was impenetrable, especially in winter. German radio silence meant that Ultra was of little use to the Allies. Despite tell-tale German troop movements, the Allies were still caught off guard and they continued to exhibit fatal overconfidence.

Hitler's Operation Autumn Fog commenced on 16 December 1944. It caught the outmatched Americans completely by surprise and unprepared. Allied air power was neutralised by bad weather for more than a week. The German drive created a huge bulge in the American lines and American prisoners were massacred at Malmedy. Despite being surrounded by Germans, isolated American units held out at the key road junctions of Saint Vith and Bastogne. Patton's Army finally broke the Siege of Bastogne on 26 December. When the weather cleared, the Americans rallied their air power and halted the German offensive by the end of January. The Battle of the Bulge further weakened the German Army. Hitler had sacrificed his last reserves and best armour on an essentially doomed enterprise. German troops were caught west of the Rhine. The battle gravely weakened the German position in the east on the eve of a massive Russian offensive in Poland in January 1945. The failure of the Ardennes offensive represented the last gasp of the Third Reich.



SOURCE 9.70 A V-2 rocket on display in France today

The race to Berlin

British and American forces drove towards Germany from the west. The invasion of Germany began when Anglo-American forces crossed the Rhine. The Allied plan called for a three-pronged advance to clear the Rhineland. The British and Canadian forces proceeded slowly against bitter German resistance and they did not reach the Rhine until 21 February 1945. Montgomery understood that his troops would have priority to cross the Rhine first. Cologne fell to the US First Army on 5 March and two days later, the US Third Army crossed the Rhine at Remagen.

On 23 March, Montgomery launched what was to have been the main offensive across the Rhine. By 25 March, all organised resistance west of the Rhine had ceased. By 27 March, all seven Allied armies had crossed the Rhine. The Anglo-American forces then raced towards Berlin. The next objective was the Ruhr, which was encircled by April. German forces resisted fiercely, even though they had already effectively lost the war. On 11 April, Simpson's 9th Army reached the Elbe, where Eisenhower ordered him to halt. Simpson was overextended and short of supplies. The Germans were planning a last-ditch offensive action. By 16 April, the Russians were poised at the Oder River. The **'Big Three'** had agreed at the **Yalta Conference** that Berlin would be part of the Soviet zone of occupation. The Allies were unsure of Hitler's whereabouts and they were fooled by German plans to construct an 'Alpine redoubt'. Eisenhower directed the main thrust of the Allied assault at Bavaria.

The final Soviet drive for Berlin took place on 16 April 1945. They unleashed a huge artillery barrage against the city and Russian units linked up west of Berlin on 25 April invading the city. The war in Europe concluded with Hitler committing suicide in his bunker on 30 April. VE Day (Victory in Europe) was declared in the West on 8 May 1945.



SOURCE 9.71 The destruction of Berlin

Big Three a group comprising US President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill and Soviet dictator Stalin

Yalta Conference the conference was held in February 1945 in the Crimea between Allied leaders to discuss Germany's unconditional surrender and plans for a post-war world

FLASHPOINT!

The great evil of National Socialism had been defeated, but at absolutely staggering costs

It is estimated that more than 55 million people perished across the world during World War II. The casualties in Germany included 1 800 000 military dead; a million plus missing; 500 000 civilians dead; 4 million who simply vanished in the trek from Eastern Europe to the West. In Great Britain, 390 000 fatalities; in France, 810 000; the United States, 259 000. Japan would lose 1 800 000; Poland, 4.5 million (over 4 million of whom were civilians). The Soviet Union had the most dramatic losses of all with over 22 million dead, including 11 million soldier deaths (2.5 million who died in German captivity) and 7 million civilians, a tenth of the entire population of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, 6 million people perished during the Holocaust. This was death on a scale never before imagined.



SOURCE 9.72 Celebrations broke out in the streets of Allied nations on VE Day with the news that Nazi Germany had surrendered.

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

In the closing stages of the war, people were gathering thoughts on the sort of international efforts that might pool the resources of an international community to assure human rights and ground hopes for peace. The United Nations was held up as one such international institution, a successor to the League of

Katyn Massacre a series of mass executions of Polish nationals carried out by the Soviet security agency NKVD in April and May 1940

Nations which might finally work.

The other question that needed to be answered was: what should be done with defeated Nazi Germany? Hitler's Third Reich – which he thought would last 1000 years – had collapsed. What was to be done about the crimes committed by the regime?

Contemporary observers such as Hannah Arendt documented that when one travelled in post-war Germany, one could note a bizarre phenomenon. It seemed as if all the Nazis had disappeared. People now presented themselves as either having been active resisters or passive inward objectors to the Nazi regime, and that it was difficult to find publicly professed Nazis in the aftermath of the war. It seemed that the collapse of the regime had been total, and the regime's ideology had been discredited. Which therefore complicated the question about how the crimes of the Nazis should be dealt with. This question was in part answered at the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials. In the city of Nuremberg, in southern Germany, from 1945 to 1947, prominent Nazi leaders were tried by the Allied judges for 'crimes against humanity'. This term was significant, because it emphasised the new stress on human rights, which was at the forefront of people's minds in the immediate post-war period.

One of the main critics of the war crimes trials pointed out the irony of Soviet judges passing verdicts against their ideological Allies from the time of the Nazi–Soviet Pact – who were now defeated enemies – while Soviet crimes like the **Katyn Massacre** were, in fact, not even considered. However, it was perfectly clear that the sentences levelled against the surviving Nazi leaders were richly deserved.



SOURCE 9.73 Leading Nazis in the dock in the courtroom at Nuremberg during the final stages of the trials

The Nuremberg trials also accomplished something far larger than holding individuals accountable. They were important in setting down the historical facts of the Nazi regime and its crimes. This would be of enormous significance in spreading common knowledge of these events for future generations. Ultimately, the finality of Germany's defeat in World War II and the registering of a public record of events at Nuremberg, made it clear that no such 'stab in the back' myth was tenable in Germany during the post-war period, like what had occurred at the conclusion of World War I. History wouldn't repeat itself. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



- 1 To what extent did the Nuremberg trials achieve just and fair outcomes?
- 2 Evaluate the significance of the Nuremberg trials in establishing a precedent in dealing with future international crimes against humanity.

The Nuremberg sentences

Name	Position	Sentence
Martin Bormann	Hitler's Secretary (tried in absentia)	Death
Karl Doenitz	Admiral and Hitler's successor	10 years' imprisonment
Herman Goering	Head of <i>Luftwaffe</i> (committed suicide in his cell)	Death
Wilhelm Keitel	Chief of <i>Wehrmacht</i>	Death
Joachim von Ribbentrop	Foreign minister	Death
Hans Frank	Governor of occupied territories	Death
Wilhelm Frick	Author of Nuremberg Laws	Death
Julius Streicher	Regional leader, publisher of virulent anti-Semitic literature	Death
Alfred Jodl	Hitler's chief military adviser	Death
Ernst Kaltenbrunner	SS commander, deputy to Himmler	Death
Rudolf Hess	Hitler's former deputy	Life imprisonment
Baldur von Schirach	Head of Hitler Youth	20 years' imprisonment
Alfred Rosenberg	Governor of occupied territories	Death
Fritz Sauckel	Organiser of forced labour	Death
Arthur Seyss-Inquart	Governor of occupied territories	Death
Franz von Papen	Former Chancellor and Nazi diplomat	Acquitted
Walther Func	Economics minister	Life imprisonment
Hjalmar Schacht	Former banker to the Nazi regime	Acquitted
Erich Raeder	Head of navy	Life imprisonment
Hans Fritzche	Former Army High Command	Acquitted
Albert Speer	Armaments minister	20 years' imprisonment
Constantin von Neurath	Former foreign minister	15 years' imprisonment

SOURCE 9.74 Nuremberg sentences for Nazi war criminals who survived the war

Reasons for the Allied victory

The dynamic nature and sheer scale of the conflict in Europe make it hard to identify singular reasons among many as to how the Allies attained victory, as a combination of a few key factors account for the most rational explanation on the matter. Prior to his execution at Nuremberg, the Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop identified the unexpected resistance of the Red Army, the extensive resources of the United States and Allied dominance in the air war as the primary factors in the Allied victory in Europe from 1939 to 1945. While these aspects of Allied strength were particularly decisive in the outcome of the war, their effectiveness was further accentuated by the political and economic shortcomings of the Nazi Regime, as highlighted by US economist John Galbraith. While Allied strength in such key areas accounted for their victory to an extent, these strengths were enhanced through the incompetency of the Nazi regime itself.



SOURCE 9.75 The Yalta Conference – Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin in 1945

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional analysis of how the Allies won World War II.



CHAPTER 9 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

GROWTH OF EUROPEAN TENSIONS

- By 1935, collective security was dead due to its fundamental flaws, meaning the growth of dictatorships in Germany and Italy.
- Events such as the Abyssinia Crisis and the Spanish Civil War exposed the weakness of the West and were dress rehearsals for future conflict in Europe.
- The impact of the policy of appeasement emboldened Hitler and increased his confidence to revise the Treaty of Versailles.
- The Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact allowed Hitler to take Poland without USSR interference and avoid a two-front war.

THE AIMS AND STRATEGIES OF GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY AND ITS IMPACT ON NAZI IDEOLOGY TO SEPTEMBER 1939

- Ideologically, German foreign policy included *Lebensraum*, ultimately leading to a war with the Soviet Union.
- Nazi ideology was racial in nature, that inferior Eastern Europeans would be a slave force for the master race and that the Jews had to be eliminated for racial purity.
- German foreign policy included the revisionism of the Treaty of Versailles as Hitler sought to end reparations, conscription, introduced rearmament and recovered lost territory in the quest to achieve Germany's 'rightful place in Europe'.

COURSE OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

- Hitler was not planning for a long, drawn-out war. Germany's early victories were the result of the *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war) tactic.
- In September 1939, the Polish forces were no match for the invading *Wehrmacht*.
- By May 1940, Nazi Germany had conquered Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and Belgium.
- The fall of France was a significant moment in the conflict and was the result of German superiority in manpower, air power, leadership and fighting spirit. However, the evacuation of British troops at Dunkirk is seen as one of the greatest naval rescues of its kind in history.
- The Battle of Britain (June–October 1940) was the German attempt to defeat the RAF and establish air superiority prior to the invasion of Britain, codenamed Operation Sea Lion. British victory in the air put an end to German invasion plans.
- German attack switched to British cities in order to damage both economy and morale in the Blitz. Despite great damage and loss of life, morale was sustained and the British remained undefeated. The aim of destroying Britain's economic capability and terrorising the British into submission failed.
- The purpose of strategic bombing was to destroy the enemy's capacity to wage war. Between 1939 and 1945, Bomber Command attacked 61 German cities containing up to 25 million civilians. It was estimated that 300 000 Germans were killed and over 800 000 were wounded. Strategic bombing was very influential in harming the German war effort.
- On 22 June 1941, Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa on the Soviet Union. Operation Barbarossa failed for various reasons, including the fact that Germany was fighting a war on two fronts.

- A significant turning point in the war was the Battle of Stalingrad. It was a great Soviet victory and the balance of power in the east had shifted to the Soviet Union.
- Although the North Africa campaign was far smaller than the Eastern Front it was still a turning point. Victory at El Alamein by Anglo-American forces paved the way for a direct attack upon Italy and the victory was a morale boost for the Allies.

CIVILIANS AT WAR

- Britain was socially and economically affected by the conflict, largely through the Blitz. However, despite killing 40000 civilians and destroying over a million homes, it effectively increased morale.
- Strategic bombing had a significant impact on Germany. Compared to the Blitz, Allied bombing had a massive influence upon the morale and social life of Germany, and many cities were destroyed.
- The Soviet Union's economic resources were totally directed to the war effort. Russians responded enthusiastically to the war effort. There was genuine nationalism as the people viewed Stalin as a symbol of resistance against foreign invaders.
- There was no rational organisation of Germany's occupied territories, as all territories were exploited and stripped of resources. Seizures were linked to ideology, not economic plans, and enormous wastage of resources occurred.
- The 'final solution' began in Poland in 1941. 'Structuralist' historians argue that extermination camps developed to deal with the deteriorating situation; they were not part of a long-term plan. 'Intentionalist' historians argue that extermination of the Jews and the invasion of Russia were planned by Hitler.

END OF THE CONFLICT

- Although the catastrophe of Stalingrad and the fall of North Africa signalled 'turning points' in the war against the Nazis, D-Day and the subsequent Allied liberation of France signified the beginning of the end for the Nazis.
- The certainty of German defeat in the east became clear as German forces collapsed before great waves of Soviet advances. Operation Bagration was a significant victory for the Soviet Union in providing them with the momentum to progress to Berlin.
- The Battle of the Bulge gravely weakened the German position in the east on the eve of a massive Russian offensive in Poland in January 1945. The failure of the Ardennes offensive represented the last gasp of the Third Reich.
- The Nuremberg trials opened on 18 October 1945. The surviving Nazi leaders were accused of a number of international crimes including crimes against humanity, and many were sentenced to death.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- 1) *Einsatzgruppen*
- 2) *Wehrmacht*
- 3) *Hossbach Memorandum*

4) *Anschluss*

5) *Blitzkrieg*

Historical concepts

1 Causation

Evaluate how each of the following battles was a significant turning point in Allied victory.

Battle	Outcome
Battle of Britain	
Battle of Stalingrad	
D-Day invasion	

2 Continuity and change

- Explain whether you agree or not with this statement: 'War between Germany and Poland during 1939 was virtually certain.'

3 Perspectives

- Explain how the Battle of El Alamein influenced the course of the war in Europe.

4 Significance

- For each topic below, explain its impact and importance in relation to the conflict in Europe from 1935 to 1945.
 - The Spanish Civil War
 - The Munich Conference
 - Battle of Britain
 - Battle of Stalingrad
 - The Wannsee Conference
 - D-Day
 - Operation Bagration
 - Battle of the Bulge
 - The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials

5 Contestability

Research historical debates surrounding the following questions:

- 'That Britain and France would have been right to declare war against Germany in 1938 in order to resist Nazi demands for the Sudetenland.'
- 'Was the Munich Agreement a "compromise" or a "betrayal"?'
- 'That the victories won by German arms in the early stages of World War II were more the product of good luck than good generalship.'

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- What does the fact that German armies were unprepared for the Russian winter indicate about Hitler's expectations for the Soviet campaign?

2 Historical interpretation

- Debate the following topic: 'The German people did all that could be expected of them in offering resistance to the ruthless Nazi dictatorship.'

3 Analysis and use of sources

- Analyse and explain how Source A on page 332 comments upon the effectiveness of the policy of appeasement.
- With reference to Source B on page 332, assess the significance of the Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact on the outbreak of war in 1939. Identify the three nations depicted and explain the use of symbolism in the cartoon.

4 Historical investigation and research

- Conduct further research on one of these questions and present your findings in an appropriate format negotiated with your teacher.
- Account for the effectiveness of German tactics and strategy during the first two years of World War II.
- To what extent was Stalingrad the turning point of World War II?
- Evaluate the significance of D-Day and the liberation of France in bringing about the end of the conflict in Europe by 1945.
- Assess the significance of the conflict in North Africa to Allied victory in the European War.

5 Further essay questions

- How significant was the war in the air in shaping the course of the European war?
- How important was D-Day and the liberation of France to the final defeat of Germany?
- Assess the role of the 1944 Russian counter-offensives in bringing about the end of the conflict in Europe.
- To what extent did the aims and strategies of the Axis powers shape the course of the European War?
- Why was Nazi Germany unable to achieve victory in World War II?

SOURCE A



'Would you oblige me with a match, please?' Cartoon by David Low, Britain, 1938

SOURCE B



'The Crucifixion', cartoon published in *British Match* magazine, 28 September 1939

CHAPTER 10

The Cold War 1945–91

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



PART 4

Change in the modern world

CHAPTER



Chapter 11 Civil rights in the United States 1945–68



Chapter 12 The Nuclear Age 1945–2011



Chapter 13 The Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square 1966–89
Digital version only

Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective.

Dr Martin Luther King Jr

PREVIEWING KEY IDEAS

The fight for change

The civil rights movement was a fight against institutionalised racism in the name of equality and human rights.

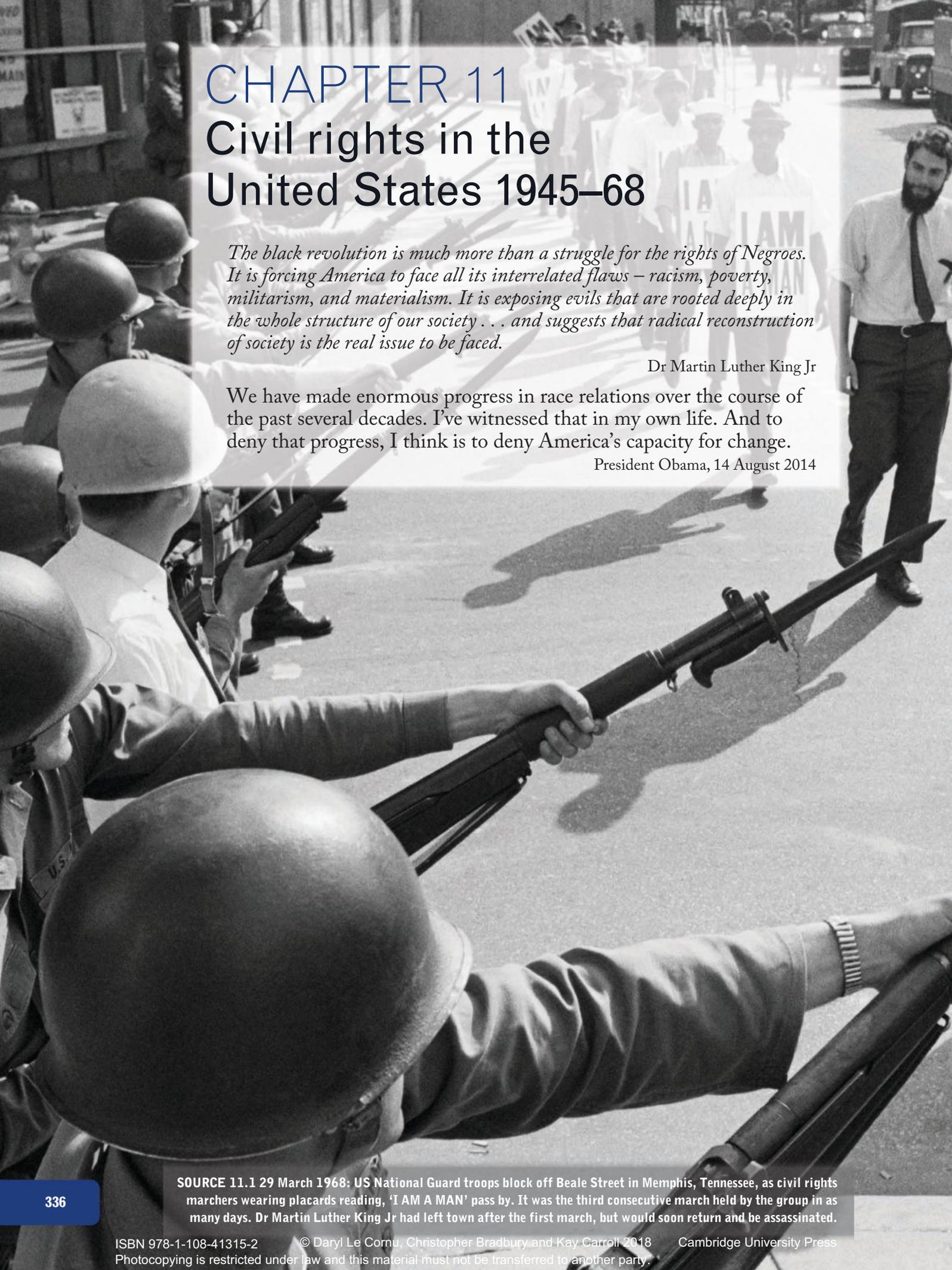
Science and technology

The advent of nuclear weapons in 1945 has shaped history in profound ways ever since.

Power and authority

How did the Communist Party of China exert its rule over the people during these years?

PICTURED: 'I have a dream': The Dr Martin Luther King Jr monument in Washington DC



CHAPTER 11

Civil rights in the United States 1945–68

The black revolution is much more than a struggle for the rights of Negroes. It is forcing America to face all its interrelated flaws – racism, poverty, militarism, and materialism. It is exposing evils that are rooted deeply in the whole structure of our society . . . and suggests that radical reconstruction of society is the real issue to be faced.

Dr Martin Luther King Jr

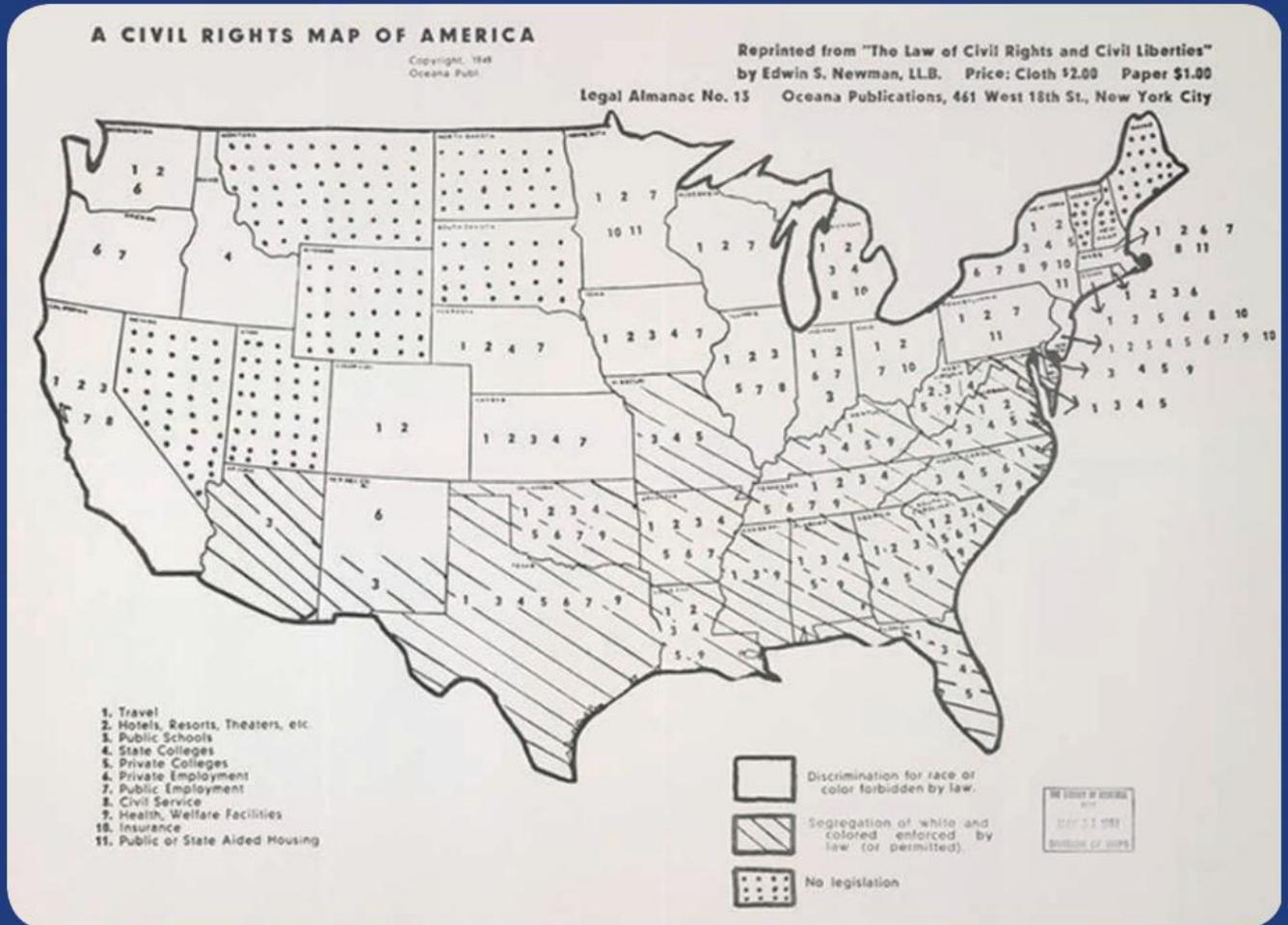
We have made enormous progress in race relations over the course of the past several decades. I've witnessed that in my own life. And to deny that progress, I think is to deny America's capacity for change.

President Obama, 14 August 2014

SOURCE 11.1 29 March 1968: US National Guard troops block off Beale Street in Memphis, Tennessee, as civil rights marchers wearing placards reading, 'I AM A MAN' pass by. It was the third consecutive march held by the group in as many days. Dr Martin Luther King Jr had left town after the first march, but would soon return and be assassinated.



United States of America, showing discrimination in 1949



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will explore civil rights and issues of racism, segregation and activism. This chapter considers the entrenched values and prejudices that existed in the United States following the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. It analyses how the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution were enacted with personal struggles, mass mobilisation and reactive violence. The domestic context and internationalisation of civil rights activism are addressed.

KEY ISSUES

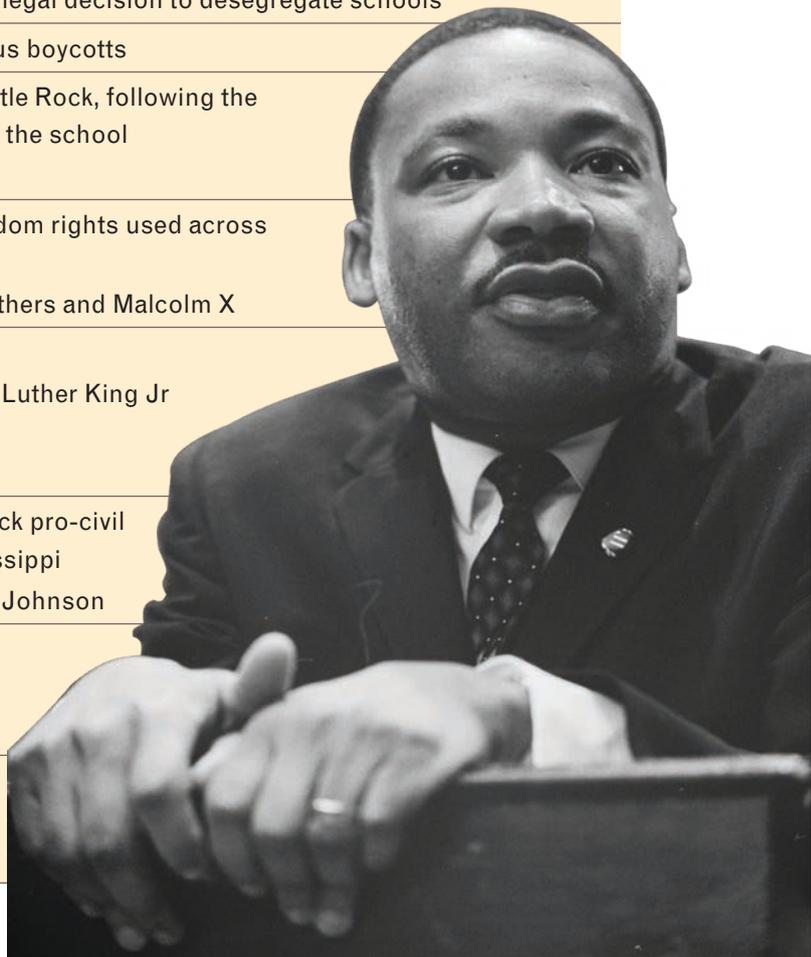
You will explore:

- the historic forces and social attitudes towards race, equality and opportunity
- narratives of oppression and separatism
- challenges to the doctrine of separate but equal
- movements for change, bus boycotts, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, Freedom Schools and the Freedom Summer
- 'I have a dream' speech and the use of the media, marches and mass protests
- key individuals: Dr Martin Luther King Jr, Malcolm X, Rosa Parks, John and Robert Kennedy, Dwight Eisenhower and Lyndon B Johnson
- the *Civil Rights Act 1964* and the *Voting Rights Act 1965*



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1863	Emancipation Declaration, made after the US Civil War by President Lincoln, officially freeing the slaves
1865	The Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution abolished slavery; however, Southern states denied citizenship rights to Black Americans on the basis of their former slavery
1868	The Fourteenth Amendment granted due process and equal protection under the law to Black Americans granting them aspects of citizenship; yet due to the federalist government, state rights often denied the exercise of the Fourteenth Amendment
1870	The Fifteenth Amendment granted Black Americans the right to vote, including former slaves. Yet registration to vote was often difficult, denied and resisted and took over a 100 years and considerable protest and violence to achieve.
1896	The case of <i>Plessey vs Ferguson</i> declared that 'separate but equal' facilities upheld the Fourteenth Amendment. This made the inequality and segregation of all aspects of life continue for most Black Americans.
1954	<i>Brown v Board of Education of Topeka</i> legal decision to desegregate schools
1955–56	Rosa Parks leads the Montgomery bus boycotts
1957	Desegregation of Central School, Little Rock, following the stalemate and threat of violence at the school The Eisenhower Civil Rights Act
1960–61	Civil rights tactics of sit-ins and freedom rights used across the South Rise of militarism with the Black Panthers and Malcolm X
1963	Birmingham protests and riots 'I have a dream' speech by Dr Martin Luther King Jr and the March on Washington Assassination of President Kennedy
1964	Freedom Summer with white and black pro-civil rights activists murdered in Mississippi Civil Rights Bill passed by President Johnson
1965	Bloody Sunday Voting Rights Act passed Assassination of Malcolm X
1968	Dr Martin Luther King Jr assassinated Robert Kennedy assassinated





CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 11.2 An African-American girl at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 28 August 1963. The event included Dr Martin Luther King Jr's famous 'I have a dream' speech.

Based on the image provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 11 Overview

KEY IDEA

The civil rights movement was a fight against institutionalised racism in the name of equality and human rights.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

Racism, inequality and the denial of human and civil rights generates violence and intolerance today in America and internationally. The issues explored in this period resonant with our world now and provide opportunities to consider human dignity and diversity.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- racism
- segregation
- emancipation
- CORE
- NAACP
- Dr Martin Luther King Jr
- Malcolm X
- Rosa Parks
- boycott
- sit-in
- Freedom Rides
- franchise
- Civil Rights Bill
- Bloody Sunday

A MATTER OF FACT

The term 'Black Americans' has been used to refer to Afro-American peoples in this chapter and time period. The rise of Black Power and terms such as 'African-American' became more popular with the civil rights movements from the 1950s onwards. In the period leading up to World War II, racist terms (such as '*colored*') were often used. The use of italics indicates that this term is used in a historical context.

INQUIRY QUESTION

What are civil rights?

civil rights enable people to participate freely and without retribution or fear in everyday life within their nation and community. These rights include economic, employment and education rights, the right to associate, speak and vote and share in the collective benefits of a society.

or gain access to power, economic and social progress. In 1963, it was a 'dream' to be judged sometime in the near future by the content of one's character and not by the colour of one's skin. Yet from 2008 to 2016 America had a black President, embodying the very core of this 'dream'. The United States is a deeply fractured society. The abject and persistent resistance of many people challenged the norms and discourse of the nation. It was a revolution from below, involving children, students, Christians, Muslims

Painting the picture

A dream about equality

America's struggle for human and **civil rights** is ongoing today. Barack Obama was the first Black American President, symbolising the dream that once beguiled a nation. In August 1963, racism was overt, historic and entrenched. Its defeat was not without violence, struggle, persecution and abhorrent reprisals by reactionary and xenophobic militant groups and by ordinary white people. America, despite its constitutional commitment to and rhetoric about being the land of the free, was not equal nor liberal to a vast majority of its citizens. Many were denied their right to vote, attend school or access further education, drink from a water fountain, share a meal or see a film with their fellow citizens



SOURCE 11.3 US President Obama (front) and first lady Michelle Obama (back) help paint a mural depicting Dr Martin Luther King Jr at the Jobs Have Priority Naylor Road Family Shelter, 16 January 2017, in Washington on Martin Luther King Day.

and ordinary men and women. It was a struggle for dignity, equality and freedom from oppression in a modern and industrialised nation. It had global consequences that still influence citizenship and human rights campaigns today.

11.1 The position of Black Americans at the start of the civil rights period

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.1



SOURCE 11.4 African-American children look through the fence at a playground legally forbidden from them in Alabama, 1956.



SOURCE 11.5 The spring of 1963 brought protest against police brutality and discrimination to Birmingham, Alabama. Police chief Bull Connor famously turned fire hoses on protesters, and used attack dogs and his own fists to physically beat unarmed people – including women and children.



SOURCE 11.6 Benny Oliver, former Jackson, Mississippi policeman, viciously kicks Memphis Norman, an African-American student from nearby Wiggins who had been waiting along with two other students to be served at a segregated lunch counter. The rumour of possible civil rights actions in the town caused onlookers to cheer the beating. 28 May 1963.



SOURCE 11.7 'Despite a court ruling on desegregating buses, whites and blacks continue to be divided by their own choice.' Texas, 1956.



SOURCE 11.8 The March on Washington, 1963, with a procession of Black Americans carrying signs for equal rights

Emancipation Act of 1863 this proclamation was made in January 1863 by Lincoln during the Civil War and it freed slaves across America; it was an important turning point in the Civil War and within civil rights history. It was the precedent for the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution

Reconstruction the period following the Civil War where America attempted to rebuild economically, socially and politically; there was a rise of resistance in the South to many of the gains achieved by former slaves, such as the introduction of grandfather clauses making it hard to vote if your grandparents were slaves and Black Codes which treated Black Americans with prejudice and enforced segregation

INQUIRY QUESTION

Why was America divided – separate and unequal?

- 1 Describe what you see in these images.
- 2 Evaluate what is being done or denied in each photograph.
- 3 Discuss how you would feel if this was happening to you.
- 4 Identify what rights are being denied in these images.
- 5 Discuss the rights you have today in your society.
- 6 Consider in groups which rights are the most important to you.
- 7 Discuss what would happen if these rights were not provided.
- 8 Imagine how you would feel, what you would think and how you would act if these rights were taken from you.
- 9 How are human rights and civil rights the same? How are they different?

11.2 Background to the civil rights movement

The abolishment of slavery with President Lincoln's **Emancipation Act of 1863** theoretically created the opportunity for Black Americans to overcome their economic, political and social oppression. Yet, in reality, poverty, cultural segregation and injustice prevailed. In 1865–69, Black Americans were granted universal male suffrage, freedom from slavery and the right to vote. In reality, the economic and social climate of the period following the Civil War (which is known as the **Reconstruction**) meant that most former slaves in the South were without financial means to support themselves and their families and took to sharecropping to survive. This practice of sharecropping meant they borrowed money for equipment, stock and land use from the wealthy landowners or former slave masters. This made them economic slaves within

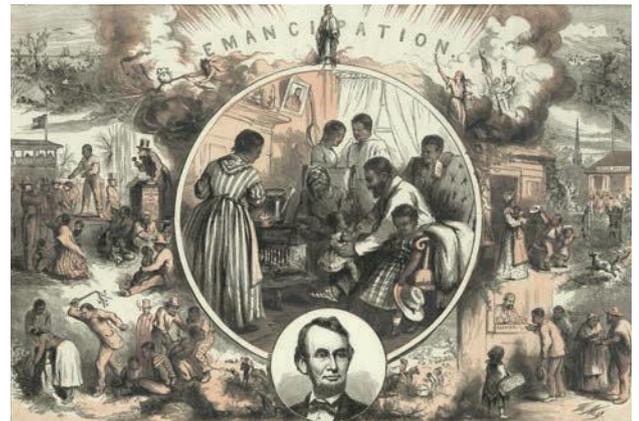
the new system. In the more progressive North, urbanised former slaves were able to gain low-skilled jobs in factories but were frequently denied an equal education and other employment opportunities. During this time, the **Ku Klux Klan** (the Klan or the KKK) proliferated in an attempt to reassert white supremacy and rain fear upon Black Americans. In the South in the 1920s, this culminated in mass public rallies and the KKK had a membership of over 5 million Americans. This also resulted in public executions and the brutal murders of over 200 Black and sympathetic White Americans. Southern states pushed for Black Codes and grandfather clauses to segregate education, transport, employment and voting registration. In 1896, the legal case of *Plessey vs Ferguson* declared that 'separate and equal' facilities were fair and just and did not contravene the amendments to the Constitution. These became known as the **Jim Crow Laws**. This made the separate provision of any service, facility or resource compliant with the law. Yet the equity of these resources was often not provided. Each state recorded less expenditure on the health and education of their Black Americans than on their white population. Schools and other public amenities were often unequal.

Defiance and challenges to the Jim Crow Laws occurred sporadically in different states. By 1942, James Framer established an organisation to advocate for equality. The **Congress for Racial Equality (CORE)** used non-violent tactics that would later become the modus operandi of Dr Martin Luther King Jr (Dr King) and other leading

Ku Klux Klan a white extremist group founded after the US Civil War in 1866 that promoted violent racist and intolerant attitudes; it was heavily influential in Southern states in America and actively infiltrated the highest levels of government in America in this period; they were a secret but popular group who used a secret language, code and practices. This right-wing extremist group continues to exert influence in American society today.

Jim Crow Laws laws that allowed separate but equal treatment for Black Americans that were unjust and enabled discrimination after the Civil War

Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) established in 1942, CORE used non-violent tactics to achieve civil rights and influenced key leaders such as Dr King



SOURCE 11.9 In 1863, Abraham Lincoln abolished slavery with his Emancipation Proclamation – a momentous event in the history of African-American civil rights.



SOURCE 11.10 Signs such as 'Colored Waiting Room' constantly reminded people of the enforced racial order in the United States of the 1940s.



SOURCE 11.11 Singer Paul Robeson with Civil Rights Congress demonstrators picketing against the Jim Crow Laws at the White House, Washington DC in 1948

Freedom Riders students and activists travelled in buses to segregated and often racist states and counties to bring attention to the civil rights cause and attempt to remove segregation and prejudice; the activists were often attacked, brutally beaten and sometimes murdered

Cold War the period after World War II where nations such as the United States, the Soviet Union and China were engaged in than an ideological battle (rather than an all-out, direct 'Hot' war) of escalating tensions, conflicts and brinkmanship; this period was intensified by the threat of nuclear weapons and proliferation

INQUIRY QUESTION

Why were domestic and international civil rights changes difficult in the post-war period?

civil rights activists and groups. It used Christian beliefs about the dignity of each individual and followed the precedent of other peaceful revolutionary leaders, such as Mohandas Gandhi, who had led the Indian people to gain independence from Great Britain. CORE was based in the highly urbanised and wealthy car manufacturing city of Chicago. In 1947, following the end of World War II, CORE led a peaceful journey to reconciliation with black and white leaders travelling together on bus trips into the Deep South. They planned to break down segregation in these heavily stratified communities controlled by Jim Crow Laws where people were terrified into submission by coercive and populist Klan and white supremacist groups. The action achieved limited success as media coverage was poor and unsympathetic to the cause. These early CORE **Freedom Riders** were acting indirectly on behalf of others as they had not been able to mobilise vast numbers from the Southern states affected. According to historians, successful revolutionary action is more likely to occur when direct action is enacted by those most deeply aggrieved or affected by unjust laws or other breaches of human rights. The importance of the media, television and newspaper reporting was heightened in this post-war era and these lessons were used far more effectively in the bus boycotts and later actions of the mid-1950s and 1960s.

The civil rights campaigns of the post-World War II period were influenced by other domestic and international agendas. The **Cold War** saw tensions rise against Stalin's USSR and Mao Zedong's pro-communist China. It struck fear in US leaders who wanted to protect America from future threats after the fallout of Pearl Harbor and the European and Pacific Wars. Groups such as the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) formed in the northern state of Michigan where large numbers of urbanised Black Americans worked in the factories and other car-related manufacturing industries. These Americans were often geographically, racially and socially segregated within their own communities. The discontent within Detroit led to the CRC partnering with the Communist Party of the United States, the International Labor Defense and the National Negro Congress. The CRC provided legal defence and support for

victims of the state; those unfortunates who challenged the national American dream regardless of the issue. Communists and civil rights activists were indelibly linked together as the archetypical enemy of the American dream. Subsequent administrations were suspicious of civil rights activism in this context and they wanted to suppress domestic threats quickly and direct their focus to external threats posed by the Cold War.

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.2



SOURCE 11.12 A pro-segregation rally at the Arkansas state capitol in Little Rock, protesting the integration of schools like Little Rock's Central High School



SOURCE 11.13 Another angle of the pro-segregation rally in Little Rock

Closely analyse Sources 11.12 and 11.13.

- 1 Describe what is happening in each scene.
- 2 How are people protesting?
- 3 Identify two events/issues that seem linked in this protest.
- 4 Explain what the images indicate about American values and attitudes at this time.
- 5 Propose why communism and civil rights were opposed by so many Americans at this time.
- 6 Evaluate what is the significance of the flag in the background of the image in Source 11.13.

11.3 'Separate but equal': The struggle for civil rights

In 1950, Linda Brown was an eight-year-old child who wanted to attend the better equipped 'Whites-only' school in Kansas. The 'Whites-only' school was within walking distance for Linda, whereas the Black American school in Monroe was more than six blocks away and was poorly equipped. The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** mounted a legal case that was raised by her father, the Reverend Oliver Brown, when the Sumner School principal refused her enrolment. The case of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*, with a legal defence presented by the NAACP, resulted in the Supreme Court overturning state laws on the basis that separate was not equal in education.

There was a series of five cases presented to the Supreme Court to argue against these issues leading up to the case of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*. These cases relied on evidence from social science experiments from the 1940s that were conducted by Kenneth Bancroft Clark and his wife, Mamie Phipps Clark. These experiments were carried out on 3–7-year-old children with white and black baby dolls to see which doll the children preferred. Children as young as four, including black children, showed preference for the white dolls. In a similar experiment, the children drew themselves as white and associated positive aspects with their white-person drawings. The conclusions of these experiments were influential in the court's decisions, as they indicated that race segregation damaged the self-concept and outcomes of all children, especially black American children. Comments from Dr Kenneth Clark indicated that the study

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) an organisation formed in 1909 in response to Jim Crow Laws; it advocated legal means to defeat racism and inequality. The organisation opposed lynching and used the Constitution to launch action against states and individuals. This resulted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*, which declared the doctrine of 'separate but equal' to be unconstitutional.



SOURCE 11.14 Linda Brown with her parents and sister in front of their house



SOURCE 11.15 Linda Brown standing in front of the 'Whites-only' Sumner School which she was forbidden to attend

was not manufactured for the purposes of the NAACP but was the product of many years of study at a time when behavioural science was making new discoveries in terms of education and the influence of environment in determining social outcomes.

The Dolls Test was an attempt on the part of my wife and me to study the development of the sense of self-esteem in children. We worked with Negro children – I'll call them black children – to see the extent to which their color, their sense of their own race and status, influenced their judgment about themselves, self-esteem.



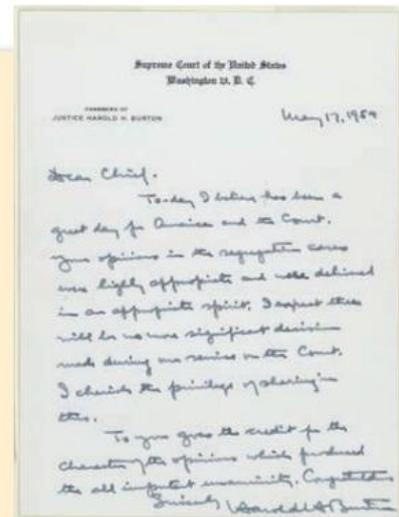
SOURCE 11.16 Interview with Dr Clark

SOURCE 11.17 The dolls test being performed by Dr Clark

Chief Justice Warren declared that ‘the “doctrine of separate but equal” in schooling has no place ... Separate educational facilities are unequal’. This historic judgment upheld the citizenship rights of the Fourteenth Amendment and changed civil rights in America.

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.3

- 1 Why does Justice Burton believe this is a great day for America and for the court?
- 2 How does Justice Burton imply that it was a difficult decision that Justice Earl Warren has made?
- 3 Why do you think the Supreme Court had to rule on these matters given the provisions made by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments?
- 4 To what extent do you think decisions made in the Federal Courts affected the lives of ordinary black children?



SOURCE 11.18 (Right) The original letter from Justice Harold H Burton to Justice Earl Warren, 17 May 1954. (Below) The text of the letter.

Dear Chief,
 Today I believe has been a great day for America and the Court.
 Your opinions in the segregation cases were highly appropriate and were defined in an appropriate spirit. I expect there will be for us some significant decisions made during our sessions in the Court.
 I cherish the privilege of sharing in this.
 To you goes the credit for the character of the opinions which produced the all-important unanimity. Congratulations.
 Sincerely
 Harold H Burton

Brown v Board of Education of Topeka resulted in widespread opposition to the forced desegregation. The KKK mounted considerable resistance throughout the Southern states, including Mississippi and Alabama. Opposition prevented the NAACP from establishing offices in the South. In Mississippi, racial tensions were escalating into random and terrifying attacks.

INQUIRY QUESTION

How was schooling desegregated?



SOURCE 11.19 A desegregated classroom in the late 1950s



SOURCE 11.20 A white woman spews racist invective towards a Black American person in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957.

In 1955, all schools were officially desegregated. However, throughout some Southern states, the decision by the Supreme Court had little support and was vehemently denied in many counties and communities. This situation was problematic when President Eisenhower refused to endorse the outcome of the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* court ruling on the basis that the Supreme Court verdict had used the evidence of Clark and Clark to morally condemn the separate and equal doctrine on the grounds it was damaging to black American children. Eisenhower was heavily influenced by FBI Director J Edgar Hoover's position on communism and civil rights. Hoover saw the two concepts as dangerous threats to American stability and democracy. The conflation of communism with civil rights campaigns was a common tactic to discredit the domestic challenges and their proponents. In an era of Cold War fear and anti-communist propaganda, aligning civil rights groups such as CORE and the NAACP with national threats to America was a powerful deterrent for conservative groups. Despite Eisenhower's general in principle support for civil rights, this decision made it more complex for states to implement the ruling and revealed the schisms of the American federalist system and the inherent prejudice of society, especially in Southern and mid-western states that had strong links to the KKK and white conservatism.

In 1957, the decision of the Supreme Court was tested by nine Black Americans, known as the Little Rock Nine, who wanted to attend their local school in Little Rock, Arkansas. Little Rock Central High School had refused to admit the children, and there were violent threats to deter the children from attending. The situation was tense, with people lining the streets to prevent and jeer the children as they attempted to get to the school. The Governor brought in the National Guard to 'preserve order'. This led to acts of rioting and vicious attacks on black people and their properties. Eisenhower felt forced to bring in 1000 US troops to control the escalating situation and declare martial law. In 1957, the Little Rock Nine declared victory and were escorted to the school under US guard. One of those children, Elizabeth Eckford (who was 14 years old at the time), later wrote that she thought the National Guards would protect her. Instead, bayonets were raised as the National Guard blocked her entry. It was an extraordinary moment in American history, when small children and individuals redefined the nation's trajectory and used democratic rights to pursue the First Amendment about the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This occurrence is indicative of the civil rights phenomenon.



SOURCE 11.21 President Eisenhower sitting in front of the American flag

Yet while the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* decision upheld the moral and legal precedent of equal and integrated education, it left the steps to achieve this in the hands of local school boards and county elected authorities. These school boards and officials were white and often reactionary. The precedent established by the Supreme Court enabled local officials and individual states to integrate schools as required. However, with entrenched values and prejudices, it is estimated that 10 years after the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* decision, less than 1 per cent of ‘White-only’ schools were attended by black children, and an overwhelming majority of these schools had not been successfully desegregated. By 1965, only 27 per cent of Black Americans had graduated from high school (predominantly in northern states); only 5 per cent had graduated from college. In contrast, 51 per cent of White Americans had graduated from high school and a further 10 per cent graduated from college. Historians are critical of the remedy applied by the Supreme Court and failure to apply federalist legislation. Dr King declared that civil change could only be ‘written in the streets’, implying that change could not occur in lofty courts with all male and

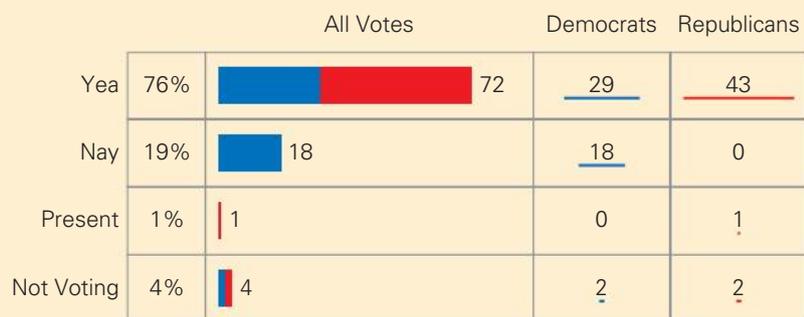
white judges. His actions show how he pursued such fundamental reforms.

These issues of desegregation and voting franchise had propelled civil rights to the forefront of American domestic policy. Eisenhower in 1957 introduced the first Civil Rights Bill and attempted to gain increasing black voter registration. The Democrat Senator Lyndon B Johnson attempted to negotiate and get concessions through the Congress for the first Civil Rights Bill. The Bill was complex and only partially successful, especially when voter registration was still very difficult to encourage, police and legislate effectively for. Those found guilty of obstructing voter registration would face a court trial, but as juries could only comprise white members, the likelihood of abuses and violations of voter registration ending in a court conviction were most unlikely. Eisenhower, while supporting aspects of civil rights campaigns, did not necessarily agree with them nor would he morally challenge people’s convictions and ideas. Some historians perceive Eisenhower as a pragmatic rather than idealistic leader, predominantly interested in political stability and control.

Look at the Senate’s vote for the 1957 Civil Rights Bill, which made it illegal to intimidate, coerce or interfere with the registration and right to vote.

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.4

- Using the diagram, identify which party was more supportive of the 1957 Civil Rights Bill.
- Identify which party was more split on the Bill. Why do you think this happened?
- Discuss why you think this Bill passed.
- Assess how these voting results in the Senate reveal Eisenhower’s skill as a pragmatic leader.



SOURCE 11.22 Diagram of how Congress voted for the 1957 Civil Rights Bill

NOTE THIS DOWN

Analysing perspectives

Consider the actions of Eisenhower in 1957 and complete the following table.

Actions that advanced civil rights campaigns under Eisenhower	Actions that regressed the civil rights campaigns under Eisenhower

Assess Eisenhower's actions and Civil Rights Bill in 1957. To what extent did Eisenhower progress or regress American civil rights?

11.4 Key events of the civil rights movement

The murder of Emmett Till

In 1955, a 14-year-old boy named Emmett Till was kidnapped, viciously assaulted, shot in the head and then his mutilated remains were cast into the Tallahatchie River. His killing was in response to his allegedly whistling at or touching the hand of Carolyn Bryant, the white cashier and wife of the grocery store owner. Emmett Till was the only child of former US Army Private Louis Till and the intelligent high-school graduate Mamie Till. He was raised in the deeply culturally and geographically segregated and urbanised city of Chicago. According to historian Timothy Tyson, Emmett Till's tragic and violent death was reminiscent of countless other experiences of black American youth who were needlessly and brutally murdered due to racial and cultural tensions. In Chicago, these battles raged over urban spaces and condemned many Black Americans and other ethnic minorities into ghettos, segmented services and housing. Chicago was seen as a progressive city, but it had suffered since the New Deal with many rural workers and migrants pouring in from the nearby Southern delta of Mississippi. The booming automobile, steel and glass factories had created new opportunities and reignited class and cultural differences. Since the 1930s, Chicago was a melting pot of discontent and division. Since the great urban migration that occurred from 1910 and during the Depression, many new homes were built in the South Side (a region of Chicago). These homes were limited in space and light with one-room studies and a kitchenette. In Chicago in 1950, there were 21 different minority groups relegated to different spaces (or ghettos) in the city. The Black Americans took up the South Side. In 1953, when the aspiring Donald Howard family attempted to buy a bungalow in an all-white area, race riots ensued. Over 2000 white people converged and attacked Howard's apartment with bricks and firebombs. Children like Emmett would have seen that black children could not play on white-only basketball courts or move freely through white areas.

Emmett Till had wanted to visit his uncle and his cousin in Money, Mississippi. He left for this adventure on 19 August on the train. He was, by all accounts, filled with determination to go. He was a boy who had earlier overcome polio at the age of six and he had a slight stutter. On this day, he travelled, and met up with, several boys along the way. Upon arriving in Money, the boys picked cotton and hung out. Emmett walked into Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market on that fateful hot summer's day on 24 August. Reports from courthouse transcripts that were revealed in 2007 state that Emmett bought bubble-gum and (according to the female cashier and wife of the proprietor of the store) he either touched her hand, propositioned her or whistled at her. Carolyn Bryant was 21 years old and had been described in various news reports as an attractive brunette akin to Marilyn Monroe of the backwaters.

Yet recent oral history collected by Duke University historian Timothy Tyson in *Blood of Emmett Till* revealed that she did not recall such transgressions. Emmett Till's mother Mamie Till, in her memoir

INQUIRY QUESTIONS

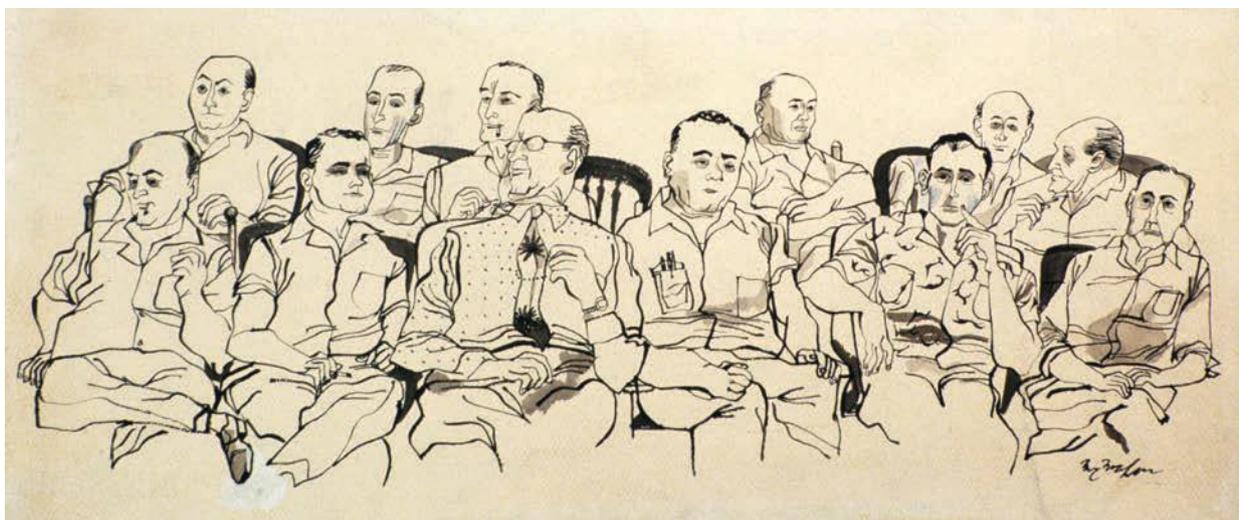
- What were the consequences of the civil rights campaigns?
- What happened to Emmett Till?



SOURCE 11.23 Carolyn Bryant in 1955

Death of Innocence, argues that her son was not guilty of the accusation. The events of the day are difficult to determine, but the facts show that four days after the incident in the grocery store, Emmett Till was kidnapped by Roy Bryant, Carolyn's husband, and his half-brother, JW Milam. These two men beat the boy senselessly, shot him in the head and then tied him with barbed wire to a mechanical metal wheel that mutilated his face and body. They then discarded his body in the river. When his body was discovered, the mutilations made Emmett unrecognisable – except for the fact he was wearing his father's signet ring engraved with the initials 'L.T.' that Mamie had given him upon his trip to Mississippi on 19 August.

Mamie publicly rallied the community by hosting the funeral with an open basket-weaved coffin, allowing the media and the public to decry the horrific violence perpetrated on her son.



SOURCE 11.24 'Jury at the Emmett Till Trial' by Franklin McMahon 1955. What does this courtroom sketch suggest about the trial?

Such cases fuelled American literature in books such as *To Kill a Mockingbird* by Harper Lee and propelled America to see the bigotry that existed throughout the nation. Historians dispute the significance of the death and the accounts of the more recent denial of Carolyn Bryant of the incident. However, it was a pervasive and disturbing image of America that sat uncomfortably alongside the version of Christian America that believed in individual freedom and liberty. This ugliness, and Mamie's bravery in condemning the atrocity despite the acquittal of the two perpetrators, makes this a significant action in civil rights history.



SOURCE 11.25 Emmett Till was only 14 years old when he was murdered.

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.5

- 1 Discuss how this incident impacted America at this time.
- 2 Discuss why these culprits were acquitted.
- 3 Propose why Mamie used her son's open casket as a statement on civil rights.
- 4 Evaluate how effective this tactic was.
- 5 What does this incident reveal about racism and violence during this time?
- 6 Identify what perspective of the civil rights struggle is provided in this incident.



SOURCE 11.26 A visitor looks at the painting 'Open Casket' by artist Dana Schutz in the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, 29 March 2017. The painting was inspired by a photograph of Emmett Till's disfigured corpse.

CREATIVE TASK 11.6

Empathetic understanding

Reflect on the Emmett Till case and write a statement about its importance and how it changed the civil rights history. You can kickstart your statement by filling in the rest of this sentence: 'This is important and significant to history because ...'

The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the role of Rosa Parks

On 1 December 1955, a single action of civil disobedience by an unassuming woman, Rosa Parks, accelerated the civil rights campaign and used tactics that have become synonymous with this era. In Montgomery, Alabama, Jim Crow Laws physically segregated bus seats, so that white people were allocated the seats at the front and

INQUIRY QUESTIONS

- What happened in Montgomery?
- Who was Rosa Parks?



SOURCE 11.27 Rosa Parks re-enacting her bus protest in the Whites-only section



SOURCE 11.28 Rosa Parks was arrested on 1 December 1955 for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white passenger.



SOURCE 11.29 Rosa Parks played an important role in the civil rights movement.

black people were relegated to the back of the bus, having (under the law) to make additional room and give up their seats if the whites-only section was crowded. This was an occasion when Jim Crow-style discrimination was visible to all. It often led to seething discontent when black people were forced to stand, even though there were vacant seats in the whites-only sections. In 1953, a 10-day bus boycott of routes that mainly went through black communities in Louisiana had resulted in four seats being allocated to white passengers, the back row allocated to black people and the rest to be given on a first come, first served basis. The pressure of losing 60 per cent of daily revenue for 10 days resulted in this capitulation by the bus company. This precedent was tested again in Rosa Parks' actions in December.

As Rosa Parks boarded the Cleveland Avenue bus, she sat in a seat that was one row back from the whites-only section. When this whites-only section was full, she was ordered by the bus driver to move out of her seat. She refused. As a result, she was charged with civil disobedience under the state's segregation and ordinance laws. Dr King defended Rosa's civil disobedience as an act of fairness against clear injustice. Dr King spoke of her 'impeccable character' and 'deep-rooted dedication' to human dignity and freedom and used this action to launch an organised attack or boycott on the buses as a way of demonstrating the principles of fairness and equality. The boycott resulted in a 360 campaign from 5 December 1955. Black Americans, who predominantly used the bus, carpooled, walked or hitchhiked to work and back again. Over 42 000 Black Americans participated in the boycott. Rosa's appeal for fairness resulted in the effective mobilisation of the community. Through non-violence and sustained civil disobedience, civil rights causes were catapulted into American homes across television, newspaper and news reports in cinemas. Eventually, in the 55th week of the campaign following Rosa's arrest, Dr King and Glenn Smiley, a white Texan Christian minister, boarded the bus together in a show of solidarity and peace to end the boycott.

The boycott was a pivotal point in the civil rights campaigns. It had reasserted the fundamental principles of fairness, equity and justice within a discordant and prejudiced society. The boycott had succeeded when passive resistance or high-profile legal cases and decisions

had universally failed, as it used economic and social weapons that damaged public interests and capitalism. Ironically, the doctrine of manifest destiny and equality so enmeshed within American society was sharpened only when capitalistic and democratic interests were threatened. The scale and media attention of the boycott were also important in its success as a political tactic.

Some historians argue that the boycott was an important device in achieving the 1964 civil rights law, as it derived its power from popular and sustained action of those who had the most to gain, those who were oppressed and those who these changes would make the most impact upon.

This became the motif for the civil rights campaigns and was used overwhelmingly to achieve great equity in education, employment and political franchise and opportunity. However, such actions (despite being popular and well subscribed to amongst black communities) were met with unprecedented and frequently vicious violence and reprisals.



SOURCE 11.30 African-Americans walking during the boycott

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.7

- 1 Discuss what this source reveals about opposition to the Montgomery bus boycotts.
- 2 Interpret why Dr King used this incident to launch the campaign.
- 3 Interpret what perspective of the civil rights campaign this image reveals.
- 4 Explain how useful this source is in showing the tension that existed in America at this time.

SOURCE 11.31 Dr King, after his arrest in February 1956, at the age of 27. He had been arrested during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The mug shot was found in July 2004, during the cleaning out of a storage room at the Montgomery County Sheriff's Department. Someone had written 'DEAD' twice on the picture, as well as '4-4-68', the date Dr King was killed, though it is not known who wrote it.



The role of groups supporting the civil rights movement

A cultural tsunami was affecting America by the 1960s. Inspired by the powerful words of Dr King, young people, students, workers and people from different cultures



SOURCE 11.32 Picketers outside the Woolworth store in Harlem, NY, in support of desegregation in the South

protested with sit-ins at segregated lunch counters, wade-ins at segregated pools and stand-ins at segregated cinemas. These extended to active boycotts of businesses such as Woolworths in the Northern states. These boycotts and protests gained widespread support and media coverage. The actions raised the profile and made painfully visible the ugliness and unfairness of segregation. It was a transformative popular movement that gained a platform for leaders and activists to lobby their case.

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INQUIRY QUESTION

What methods and tactics were used by groups and organisations in the civil rights campaigns?

NOTE THIS DOWN

Analysing perspectives

- 1 Summarise the following information about key tactics and organisations or turning points/events during the civil rights movement.
- 2 What role did these individuals play in the sit-in campaign?
- 3 Describe the tactics used by the students in the sit-ins.
- 4 Explain why the sit-ins were successful.

Date	Group/individual involved	Cause of the action	Action/consequence	Result of the protest for the civil rights movement
31 January 1960				
	SNCC is formed			
			Stores are picketed Read-ins in libraries occur Wade-ins occur in public pools	
March 1960	Thurgood Marshall			
				Lunch counters in Nashville and Greensboro begin serving Black Americans

CREATIVE TASK 11.8

Empathetic understanding

Imagine you are a student member of the SNCC in the early 1960s. Create either a song, poster or pamphlet for the general public that describes the aims and tactics of the sit-ins. Consider your audience and purpose. Use appropriate language, graphics or lyrics to communicate your message.

INQUIRY QUESTION

What were the Freedom Rides?

The Freedom Rides

The non-violent tactics had proven to be spectacularly successful in confronting racial prejudice at the grassroots level. In North Carolina, students in the 1960s hosted the first sit-ins at the Woolworths cafeteria lunch counters. Organisations such as the NAACP (who had mounted the legal case in the *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*) were seen as less relevant and effective. Students came together to form new vanguards of the movement, including the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The sit-ins at Greensboro, North Carolina, were imitated across America. The civil rights movement used the energy, impatience and idealistic commitment of Black American and white pro-civil rights students and youth to highlight daily injustices and acts of racism. In 1961, the Freedom Rides from Washington commenced, aiming to desegregate interstate buses and terminals. The resistance to such movements was ferocious. One bus filled with Freedom Riders was firebombed and as a result, President Kennedy sent in the federal troops and the Governor, ousting both the Freedom Riders and the troops. Following this, Attorney-General

Robert Kennedy had the riders arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, to stop the violence and appease the Southern states. Historians criticise the Kennedy administration for failing to recognise the core racism adulterating American society and latent political power of the civil rights movement. Two deaths and over 400 incidents of violence occurred at the University of Mississippi – Ole Miss – before the Kennedy administration responded and ended the conflicts occurring on campus.

The Freedom Rides were reattempted in 1961 by CORE, following the Supreme Court ruling that bus lines should be desegregated. These Freedom Riders were brutally shunned, slurred and physically attacked with metal bars, shotguns and other missiles. The Klan were instrumental in leading these vicious attacks and often had infiltrated elected officials and sheriffs, so they carried out these devastating attacks without fear of retribution or prosecution. Attorney-General Robert Kennedy's response to send in the federal troops was met with resistance.



SOURCE 11.33 Federal marshals monitor a group of white students arrested for protesting against the civil rights movement at Ole Miss, Mississippi, in 1962.

'I have a dream': The March on Washington

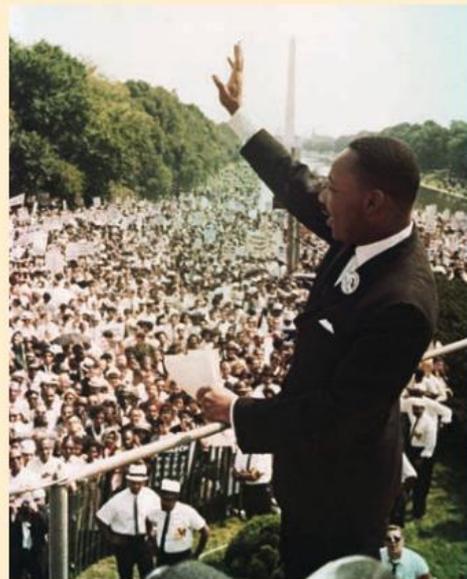


SOURCE 11.34 Scene from the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 28 August 1963

INQUIRY QUESTION

Why was the March on Washington significant?

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.9



SOURCE 11.35 Dr King during his 'I have a dream' speech

- 1 Identify what evidence of the march's success the photo reveals.
- 2 Discuss what perspective of the event this photo provides.
- 3 Propose why the march was planned for Washington.
- 4 Summarise why this event was historically significant.

An Appeal to You from

**MATHEW AHMANN
EUGENE CARSON BLAKE
JAMES FARMER
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
JOHN LEWIS**

**ISAIAH MINKOFF
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
WALTER REUTHER
ROY WILKINS
WHITNEY YOUNG**

**to MARCH on
WASHINGTON
WEDNESDAY AUGUST 28, 1963**

**America faces a crisis . . .
Millions of Negroes are denied freedom . . .
Millions of citizens, black and white, are unemployed . . .**

- We demand:*
- Meaningful Civil Rights Laws
 - Full and Fair Employment
 - Massive Federal Works Program
 - Decent Housing
 - The Right to Vote
 - Adequate Integrated Education

In your community, groups are mobilizing for the March. You can get information on how to go to Washington by calling civil rights organizations, religious organizations, trade unions, fraternal organizations and youth groups.

National Office—

**MARCH ON WASHINGTON
FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM**

**170 West 130 Street • New York 27 • FI 8-1900
Cleveland Robinson Bayard Rustin
Chairman, Administrative Committee Deputy Director**

SOURCE 11.36 A flyer for the March on Washington, 1963

The speeches on 28 August (the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Declaration) were held aptly at the Lincoln Memorial and paid tribute to Rosa Parks as well as protesting for employment and equal economic and political rights. The famous and eloquent ‘I have a dream’ speech made by Dr King captured the historical significance and potency of the event. Over 200 000 people crammed into the Lincoln Memorial to hear this and other speeches and they were transfixed by the events. Dr King presented an alternative narrative of American equality to the public, using the language of Abraham Lincoln to inspire global support and a universal commitment to civil rights. He referred to the American Declaration of Independence (see Chapter 6) and America’s preoccupation with Manifest Destiny (see Chapter 6), and he challenged the discourse of oppression. He spoke of Southern discrimination and used references to slavery and freedom. The speech defined the dream of all Black Americans and used overtly Christian images to present the plurality of the vision. It was evocative, persuasive and inspirational. The symbolic significance of this event, conducted peacefully without violence, was a critical moment in civil rights history. It happened at a time when the movement was starting to fragment, with the rise of Black Power and the militarism promoted by the Black Brotherhood and Malcolm X. Despite President Kennedy’s opposition to the march, its peaceful character restored support for his civil rights push and made heroes of both President Kennedy and Dr King, who were both assassinated within five years of each other.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the influential activist A Philip Randolph and Dr King planned a united and strategic public rally and march to provoke strong support in Congress for the Democratic administration’s proposed civil rights Bills. This was despite President Kennedy’s initial resistance to the mass public protest. Kennedy had announced the Bill promoting federal government desegregation of schools, anti-discrimination programs, bans on federal funding to organisations that continued discriminatory practices and the establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Dr King, the SCLC, the NAACP, CORE, the SNCC and the National Urban League worked together to stage the protest march. The threat of violence and mass rioting seemed inevitable given the historic context. J Edgar Hoover, then head of the FBI, attempted to sabotage and resist the public action and warned the Kennedy administration of the imminent threat. The FBI launched a brutal covert character assassination of Dr King, while police were trained in riot action and 4000 Army troops and 15 000 paratroopers were on standby ready for mass public anarchy. The media coverage of the event was ironically broadcast around the world via one of President Kennedy’s successful satellite programs.

The public support of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Marlon Brando, Sidney Poitier and Charlton Heston for the march created a rock star-style spectacle. Their support was influential in combining the cultural arts movements with civil rights advocacy.

Extract from the 'I have a dream' speech**Source A**

There will be neither rest nor tranquillity in America until the colored citizen is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges We cannot be satisfied as long as the colored person's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one ... We cannot be satisfied as long as a colored person in Mississippi cannot vote and a colored person in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by storms of persecutions and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive ...

I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed . . .

I have a dream that one day out in the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; that one day right down in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

Source B**Other speeches from the March on Washington, 28 August 1963****Whitney M Young, Jr, Executive Director, National Urban League**

'That we meet here today, in common cause, not as black or white people, nor as members of any particular group, is a tribute to those Americans who dare to live up to and practise our democratic ideals and our religious heritage. That we meet here today is a tribute also to all black Americans who for 100 years have continued, in peaceful and orderly protest, to bear witness to our deep faith in America; and, in this method of protest, to effect change.'

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President of the American Jewish Congress

'When I lived under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important is that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful problem is silence. A great people had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hatred, brutality and murder.

'America must not become a nation of onlookers. It must not be silent. Not merely black America, but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, but for the sake of America.'

Source C

Kennedy statement on civil rights rally

The following is the text of President Kennedy's statement after his meeting with leaders of the civil rights rally in Washington.

'We have witnessed today in Washington tens of thousands of Americans – both white and Negro – exercising their right to assemble peaceably and direct the widest possible attention to a great national issue. Efforts to secure equal treatment and equal opportunity for all without regard to race, colour, creed or nationality are neither novel nor difficult to understand. What is different today is the intensified and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives – objectives which are older than this nation.

'Although this summer has seen remarkable progress in translating civil rights from principles into practices, we have a very long way yet to travel. One cannot help but be impressed with the deep fervour and the quiet dignity that characterises the thousands who have gathered in the nation's capital from across the country to demonstrate their faith and confidence in our democratic form of government.'

- 1 Describe the main arguments used by Dr King in Source A.
- 2 What is the purpose of Source A?
- 3 How useful is the source in explaining the conditions experienced by 'colored citizens' in the 1960s?
- 4 Explain what perspective of the civil rights movement is presented in the sources.
- 5 Why do you think Dr King used the language and devices of the American Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation in his speech?
- 6 To what extent is this speech historically significant?
- 7 Using Source B, how do these speeches appeal for change?
- 8 Why do you think the reference to Hitler was made by the Rabbi in Source B?
- 9 How do these other sources provide another perspective of the event?
- 10 Consider Source C. How does President Kennedy describe the event?
- 11 How useful is this source in presenting President Kennedy's views on the civil rights movement?
- 12 How important were the non-violent tactics in changing the narrative of the Kennedy administration?

INQUIRY QUESTION

What happened in the Freedom Summer?

The 'Mississippi Freedom Summer' of 1964

Black Americans lacked the political franchise to vote, as they were frequently banned and physically intimidated when they attempted to register on the electoral roll. It is important to note that in the US system, the electoral or voter's roll enables members to elect local, state and federal officials. Inaccessibility to the electoral roll defeated the gains won by Lincoln's Emancipation Act and had prevented changes to American society and politics for over 100 years. The voter registration movement was initiated by the SNCC when black and white activists joined together to travel into Southern states to enable voter registration for the black communities. This Freedom Summer of 1964 resulted in over 35 shootings, 15 murders and 1000 arrests for civil disobedience.

Notoriously in Mississippi, three young voter registration workers – Andrew Goodman, James Earl Chaney and Michael Henry Schwerner – were brutally murdered on 21 June 1964. Schwerner and Chaney were organising campaigns for voter education and registration, trying to establish a Freedom School in the church of Mount Zion, Longdale. On 16 June 1964, the Klan attacked the church members and destroyed the church with an arson attempt. According to testimony made in 2005, the order for Schwerner's execution had previously been issued and the fact that both Schwerner and Chaney were away in Ohio on 16 June had foiled the attempts of the Klan. Following the news of the burning of the Freedom School, Schwerner and Chaney and a new enthusiastic recruit, Andrew Goodman, returned to Mississippi to investigate



SOURCE 11.37 Attorney-General Robert Kennedy speaks to civil rights activists.

the destruction of the church. The Neshoba Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price intercepted these CORE members and arrested them on suspicion of arson. They were held in a Philadelphia jail until the Klan had time to organise and attack the group upon their release. At 10 pm on 21 June, the three men were released from jail and were ambushed by local Klan members under the direction of Klan organiser Edgar Ray Killen. The three men were forced off the road by at least 31 Klansmen. Schwerner and Goodman (who were white men) were executed at a remote property with shots to the head. Chaney (who was a black man) was then tortured and violently beaten for hours before being killed. All three bodies disappeared into the dam on a Klan member's property.

The case went unsolved for over three years. Eventually, the FBI gathered evidence that led to a successful prosecution of the perpetrators including the Neshoba County Deputy Sheriff, Cecil Price. Yet the trial could only be carried out by federal authorities on the ground that such actions defied the civil rights of these three men. This was significant as the Civil Rights Act that was made law during Lyndon B Johnson's presidency had determined that civil rights were universal to all. The FBI indicted 18 men for these actions. The all-white jury found seven men guilty, and acquitted five men. Those acquitted included one of the Klan's key organisers, Edgar Ray Killen. However, importantly, the Grand Imperial Wizard of the Klan, Sam Bowers, was convicted. The trial judge (according to the evidence) stated 'They killed one nigger, one Jew and one white man. I gave them what I thought they deserved'. These perpetrators served 3–10 years for their crimes.

This case was significant in the way that federal laws had been used to further the civil rights movement. The deaths and plights of these civil rights CORE activists have been immortalised in the popular 1987 film *Mississippi Burning*. While the events are based on the historical case, primary sources and historical



SOURCE 11.38 Klan members at a meeting in the 1960s

MISSING CALL FBI

THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

	ANDREW GOODMAN	JAMES EARL CHANEY	MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER
PHOTO			
RACE	White	Black	White
SEX	Male	Male	Male
DOB	November 23, 1942	May 25, 1943	November 8, 1939
POB	New York City	Medford, New Jersey	New York City
AGE	21 years	21 years	24 years
HEIGHT	5'10"	5'7"	5'9" to 5'10"
WEIGHT	150 pounds	125 to 140 pounds	170 to 180 pounds
HAIR	Dark brown, wavy	Black	Brown
EYES	Blue	Brown	Light Blue
TEETH	None	None, lower missing	None
SCARS AND MARKS	None	1 neck cut, scar of father's knife on left arm.	Four mark center of forehead, slight scar on bridge of nose, insect bite scar, broken leg scar.

SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI. TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

June 25, 1964

SOURCE 11.39 A 1964 FBI bulletin for the missing men from Philadelphia

interpretations differ on several aspects of evidence. This historically derived text is important to understand the cultural and political context of the Freedom Summer, yet it needs to be interpreted within the popular narrative of the civil rights movement.

As a result of the public's ongoing interest in these events, in 2005, Edgar Ray Killen was tried for multiple counts of manslaughter and received three consecutive 20-year sentences, overturning his earlier acquittal.

The Freedom Summer and the horrific deaths created political franchise for increasing numbers of Black Americans. In Mississippi, this resulted in the establishment of a political party to represent Black Americans – the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Yet each state was a turf war: Alabama and some other states still continued to resist the enfranchisement of the black community. Despite the residents of Selma, Alabama, being mostly Black Americans, only 3 per cent were enrolled to vote by 1964. Following another two horrific deaths of civil rights workers in Selma, Dr King and the SCLC led a march from Selma to Montgomery that was ruthlessly condemned by the police, who resorted to tear gas and batoning

civilians. The media broadcast horrendous images of the marchers under direct physical attack and then retreating into a church for shelter. The activists could not be deterred and they organised another protest on 10 March, commencing with 300 people. This march swelled to include over 50 000 protesters. Such a strong political message activated President Johnson to push Congress to approve the Voting Rights Act 1965. This Act resulted in improved access to voting with numbers of registered and eligible voters increasing by 50 per cent in the Southern states from 1965 to 1975. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 What happened during the Freedom Summer?
- 2 How did this case show growing support for the civil rights movement?
- 3 Why were students involved in civil rights actions?
- 4 How does this incident reveal the strength of the Klan in America?

11.5 Achievements of the civil rights movement

The Civil Rights Bill 1964

President Kennedy had promised that segregation and discrimination would end as a result of the March on Washington. He had spoken publicly for schools to be desegregated, for bans on discrimination and for voting rights to be universal. These dreams were left unfinished. His assassination immortalised the words and vision and were a powerful mandate for the new President, Lyndon B Johnson, to enact. The Civil Rights Bill, introduced by Lyndon B Johnson, was a historic act that committed action and advocacy to the civil rights cause. It passed through the Senate, despite attempts to thwart it and with some support from the Republicans. It banned discrimination in all aspects of social and civil life from swimming pool, public theatre and school access to employment and education opportunities.

The repercussions of the Bill challenged other areas of society where discrimination existed. This legal precedent was tested numerous times in challenges by universities, restaurants, public facilities and employers in a series of legal cases following the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Each time the Supreme Court or lower court upheld the Act and reinforced the constitutional amendments and the rights of citizenship conferred by the latest Civil Rights Bill. This is essentially what made this Civil Rights Act historically and politically significant. The previous Eisenhower Civil Rights Bills had challenged the segregation of schools but each state had continued these practices until tested, often with force and threats of violence. The Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–56 had desegregated sections and routes but across America 'colored sections' were more often the norm in public transportation. This Civil Rights Bill stopped the discrimination against Black Americans by political and legislative means. Federal funding was blocked to organisations, lucrative universities and employers who did not uphold the Civil Rights Bill. There were several parts or titles to this Bill that made it more comprehensive and coherent to enforce. These included the following titles or provisions:

Title I: Voting Rights

Barred unequal application of state voter registration requirements for federal elections.

Title II: Public Accommodations

Prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in certain places of public accommodation, such as hotels, restaurants, and places of entertainment.

Title III: Desegregation of Public Facilities

Permitted the US Justice Department to sue to secure desegregation of certain public facilities owned, operated, or managed by any state or subdivision of a state.

Title IV: Desegregation of Public Schools

Authorized the US Attorney-General to receive complaints alleging denials of equal protection, to investigate those complaints, and to file suit in US District Court to seek desegregation of the school. Also authorized the Secretary of Education to provide funds to school boards to assist their desegregation efforts.

Title V: The Civil Rights Commission

Addressed procedures for the Civil Rights Commission, broadened its duties, and extended its life through January 1968. Its duties included investigating allegations that citizens were deprived of their right to vote or to have their vote properly counted. It also studied legal developments related to a denial of equal protection of the law, particularly in the domains of voting, education, housing, employment, public accommodations, transportation, and the administration of justice.

Title VI: Non-Discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs

Prohibited discrimination by recipients of federal funds on the basis of race, color, and national origin.

Title VII: Equal Employment Opportunity

Outlawed employment discrimination by businesses affecting commerce with at least 25 employees on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Title VIII: Registration and Voting Statistics

Directed the Census Bureau to collect registration and voting statistics based on race, color, and national origin but provided that individuals could not be compelled to disclose such information.

Title IX: Intervention into Court Cases

Permitted the United States to intervene in pending suits alleging a denial of equal protection of law under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Title X: Community Relations Service

Created the Community Relations Service to aid communities in resolving disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin.

Title XI: Court Proceedings and Legalities

In any proceeding for criminal contempt arising under Title II, III, IV, V, VI, or VII of this Act, the accused, upon demand therefore, shall be entitled to a trial by jury.

SOURCE 11.40 Excerpt from the Civil Rights Bill

- 1 Identify what actions or changes the civil rights Bill brought about.
- 2 Propose why so many changes were needed in America.
- 3 Discuss to what extent President Kennedy's death was important in securing these rights.
- 4 Recall how the March on Washington resulted in such changes.
- 5 Propose why this Bill succeeded in producing more change than previous amendments and Civil Rights Bill.

Implications of the Civil Rights Act

The Voting Rights Bill 1965

In 1965, the Voting Rights Bill made it unlawful to block registration to vote. Voting was a political tool and right that had long been promised (yet frequently denied) to Black Americans through racism, violence and state-sanctioned Jim Crow Laws. These new laws were extended to protect Black Americans from housing restrictions and discrimination and initiated discussions about the structural inequalities that existed in America. It banned employment discrimination on the basis of colour, creed and culture. Some historians argue it opened the doors for gender equity. Movements such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) went on to use this platform to establish a voice calling for the end of gender discrimination.

ANALYSING SOURCES 11.12

- 1 Describe what you see in the image.
- 2 Interpret the meaning of the title – how does it relate to politics of the day?
- 3 Explain the message of the cartoon, with reference to images and text.



SOURCE 11.41 'A Letter from the Front', by Paul Conrad, published in the *Los Angeles Times* in March 1965 in reference to 'Bloody Sunday' in Selma, Alabama

11.6 Assessment of the role of Dr King and Malcolm X

Dr Martin Luther King Jr

Dr Martin Luther King Jr was a Baptist Minister who spoke publicly and demonstrated for the advancement, dignity and equality of Black Americans. Born on 15 January 1929 (the year of the stock market crash) in the Southern state of Georgia, Dr King was exposed early on to racism and inequality. His father, Michael King Sr, was the minister for the Ebenezer Baptist Church. He had adopted the name of the Reformation religious leader, Martin Luther Sr, as a way of identifying his struggles for change. The future Dr King followed his father's political stance and changed his name also. As a child, Dr King was described as a gifted and highly sensitive child who left Booker T Washington High School (a blacks-only school) to attend Morehouse College in Atlanta when he was 15 years old. He questioned religious beliefs early on but followed in his father's footsteps. After achieving a degree in sociology, he continued his studies at the Crozer Theological Seminary in the northern state of Pennsylvania. Despite the decision to enter church life, Dr King had a relationship with a white woman and was known to drink and socialise with his classmates. His time at the College brought him into contact with the College President, Benjamin Mays, who influenced Martin to see the prejudice that was in action around him and to use Christian theology as a force to decry racism and intolerance. Martin continued to work towards doctoral studies and met his future wife, Coretta, in Boston. They married in 1954 and had four children. He completed his PhD in 1955 when he was only 25 years old and became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery. Dr King was aware that racism was at the heart of the desegregation campaigns that unfolded in Montgomery. When Rosa Parks boarded the Cleveland Avenue bus on 1 December 1955, Dr King's destiny and mission was formed. On the night of Rosa Park's arrest, Dr King met with local civil rights leaders to plan the bus boycott. He spoke to his constituents and to the black community with passion, eloquence and an awareness of their struggle. The violence directed against Dr King and other leaders from those who opposed them meant that their families and homes were the targets of firebombs and attacks.

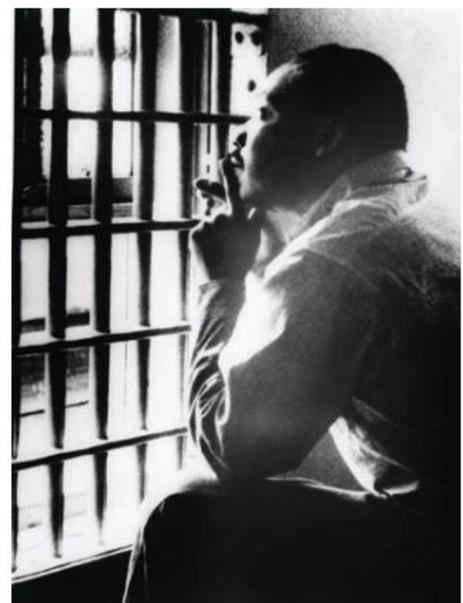
The historic public campaign to defeat the bus segregation in Montgomery led to Dr King formally joining with others to form the SCLC in January 1957. This national organisation used Christian arguments and values to further the cause of the civil rights agenda. It provided a powerful political platform for change. Its initial work targeted the bans on voting registration and initiated public meetings and rallies.

INQUIRY QUESTION

How significant was Dr King in making civil rights changes for the United States?



SOURCE 11.42 Dr King speaking at a rally



SOURCE 11.43 Dr King in jail



SOURCE 11.44 A Black American man breaks down during a protest against segregation organised by Dr King and Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth in May 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama.

Dr King's tactics were deeply influenced by the non-violent approaches used by Gandhi in India to achieve independence from the British. Dr King visited India to learn more of these teachings and was said to have been deeply moved by the experience. Dr King was advised by a close associate, Bayard Rustin, who promoted Gandhi-like methods and was the main organiser of the 1963 March on Washington. However, Rustin's influence was attacked by Dr King's opponents, including J Edgar Hoover, who criticised him for being a gay man and painted him as an alleged pro-communist sympathiser.

In 1960, Dr King returned to Montgomery to work as a co-minister with his father. He was involved in another protest when he supported 75 students who entered a local department store and sat waiting at the lunch counters. The sit-in resulted in Dr King's arrest and he was released only after intervention from the Atlanta mayor. Dr King was released, only to be arrested while on probation for a minor traffic incident which led to his imprisonment in 1960. Kennedy, who was presidential-elect at the time, intervened to have Dr King released.

In 1963, Dr King organised a mass protest in Birmingham, Alabama. The city intervened with fire hoses and police dogs. Dr King and others were arrested and jailed. However, the events in Birmingham were publicly attacked by white and black religious leaders for endangering the lives of youth and children. Regardless, Dr King remained resolute about the actions and continued both the political rhetoric and massive public campaigns and marches. This event resulted in the planning of a larger-scale march to coincide with the 100 year anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. This became known as the March on Washington and it was a historic turning point that ultimately resulted in the Civil Rights Bill initiated by President Kennedy and signed in 1964 by President Johnson. This achievement led to Dr King receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

Yet despite this significant victory, violence continued. A planned march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965 was met with police opposition, batons and tear gas. Marchers were wounded in the resistance. The horrifying and bloody images of 17 activists led to a crisis in civil rights leadership and campaign. This event, known as 'Bloody Sunday', resulted in a third march led by Dr King. With Dr King at the vanguard the marchers attempted to cross the same bridge they tried to cross in the previous march – Pettus Bridge – and were met with the same menacing police dogs and barriers. Dr King asked his followers to kneel in prayer and then retreat. This powerful show of community peace had a resounding impact on civil rights history – possibly more than any other action, it demonstrates the effectiveness of Dr King's non-violent tactics. A further march was planned for 21 March 1965, despite the Governor of Alabama wanting to stop it. President Johnson offered the support of the US Army for the march. By 25 March, over 25 000 marchers had walked from Selma to Montgomery where Dr King addressed the crowd. This protest applied further pressure on the Johnson administration and resulted in the Voting Rights Act 1965, which enabled voter registration and finally overturned the political barriers to democratic change.

From 1965 to 1967, Dr King faced mounting pressure and criticism. Historians comment that the non-violent and passive strategies competed with the rise of new black militarism. Dr King appealed not only to Black Americans, but to a growing number of white, educated middle-class people who had been caught up in the age of protest and were appalled at America's anti-democratic treatment of the youth and minorities. Dr King extended the protests to include the anti-Vietnam War campaign. This showed his commitment to freedom and injustice but also made his popularity and ideologies seem less likable, especially to the growing numbers of Black Americans who identified with the Black Power movements.

RESEARCH TASK 11.13

Research and find evidence about the following events and assess Dr King's contribution to civil rights.

- Include the key changes that occurred as a result of King's speeches and tactics.
- Outline the events that led to his assassination.
- List the main strengths and weaknesses of Dr King's life and his contribution to the civil rights movement.

Assassination of Dr King

By 1968, Dr King's influence on the civil rights campaigns had dissipated. He planned another march in Washington in 1968. His response to a labour strike in Memphis in his 'I have been to the mountaintop' speech drew strong criticism. To the striking workers, he prophetically alluded to the fact that he might not get there with them, but that he would stand firm in his commitment to reach the so-called 'promised land' of freedom and democracy. Tragically, on 4 April 1968, Dr King – who had survived being jailed, death threats, public criticism, investigation and mudslinging by the FBI – was



SOURCE 11.45 4 April 1968, Memphis, Tennessee: Civil rights leader Andrew Young (left) and others on balcony of Lorraine Motel pointing in direction of the assailant after assassination of Dr King, with his body lying at their feet



SOURCE 11.46 Dr King's widow, Coretta Scott King, and their daughter, Yolanda, in the funeral car



SOURCE 11.47 Dr King's family views his body.

KEY QUESTIONS



- 1 Describe the achievements of Dr King.
- 2 Outline the methods used by Dr King to achieve civil rights.

INQUIRY QUESTION

Who was Malcolm X and what contributions to civil rights did he make internationally?

assassinated while outside his room on a balcony at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis. James Earl Ray, the assassin, was captured after two months of searching. Dr King's assassination resulted in riots and protests throughout America. Ray was sentenced to 99 years in prison; he died in 1998 in jail.

The legacy of Dr Martin Luther King Jr is part of the fabric of American history and education. His speeches, non-violent actions and ability to mobilise divergent groups have resulted in a national holiday, public monuments and awards. Regardless, there is a range of sources released by the FBI that discredit Dr King as a pro-communist womaniser. These sources contest the heroism of Dr King. His significance and his ability to use the media, political and cultural figures to mobilise people throughout America cannot be easily dismissed. Civil rights history is synonymous with the actions and the legacy of Dr King. 

Malcolm X

The media's the most powerful entity on Earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power. Because they control the minds of the masses.

SOURCE 11.48 Malcolm X

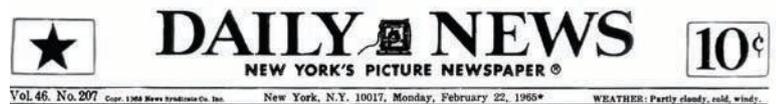
Malcolm X was a contemporary of Dr King. He was born in 1925 in Nebraska and his birth name was Malcolm Little. Like Dr King, Malcolm X was brought up in a Baptist family; his father Earl Little was a minister who supported the civil rights actions. His family followed the black Nationalist leader Marcus

Garvey. They were regularly threatened by white supremacists (known as the 'Black Legion') that forced the family to move several times into new communities. Their family home was firebombed and destroyed when Malcolm was only 4 years old. His father suffered a brutal death in 1931, with his body left on the tram tracks. The Black Legion were blamed for the death, but no one was arrested. Malcolm's mother suffered a complete mental breakdown as a result of the death and her eight children were fostered out. Malcolm had a number of homes and by just after World War II, he had fallen into a life of crime and destitution. He was arrested in 1946 for burglary and sentenced to 10 years in prison. After serving seven years, Malcolm reinvented himself and drew on the teachings about Islam that his brother had introduced to him. His brother, Reginald, had converted to the Nation of Islam (NOI) and followed the spiritual and political teachings of Elijah Muhammed. The NOI promoted anti-racism and a separate state for all black people. In 1952, Malcolm converted to Islam and chose to disown his family name 'Little' as a slave name that he no longer wanted or needed. The symbol 'X' now signified his own destiny.

Despite Malcolm's difficult youth and imprisonment, he was articulate and charismatic. He became the spokesman and newly appointed minister for the NOI. He set up new mosques in Detroit and Harlem. Membership of the NOI grew rapidly in this time. Like Dr King, he exploited the media and the power of television, thus drawing the FBI's attention. Like Dr King, Malcolm was under surveillance and was seen as a threat to national stability. Malcolm X was shocked when his mentor, Elijah Muhammad, was exposed in a sex scandal involving six women from the NOI. This led to disillusionment and eventually the establishment of a rival organisation – Muslim Mosque Inc. The strong criticism he made of Kennedy's assassination had



SOURCE 11.49 Malcolm X speaking at a rally



MALCOLM X MURDERED



Gunned Down at Rally

Malcolm X, 39, is carried from Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, after he was shot while addressing a rally of his followers yesterday afternoon. He was declared dead at the Vanderbilt Clinic of Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center within 15 minutes of the attack. Two men were taken by force from a howling mob of Malcolm's followers who were pummeling them on the street after the assassination. The slim Negro leader had been charging the Black Muslims with plotting to kill him ever since he defected from the group a year ago.

Story on page 3

SOURCE 11.50 Newspaper headline reporting the murder of Malcolm X

made Malcolm a target and after a spiritual journey to Mecca, he returned with a new inclusive message to defeat racism through tolerance. Malcolm X had renounced his affiliation with NOI and had become a target for the fragmenting NOI. Malcolm received threats against his life and there was supposedly an internal bomb attempt organised by the NOI uncovered by the FBI. His family were firebombed on

14 February 1965, just like Malcolm had experienced as a child. Everyone escaped unharmed from the attack. A mere week later, three assassins shot Malcolm X 15 times while he was on stage speaking about civil rights. It was a brutal, brazen assassination by members of the NOI. Talmadge Hayer, Norman 3X Butler and Thomas 15X Johnson were found guilty of his murder.

At 39 years of age, Malcolm X had been threatened, firebombed, disillusioned and finally murdered. His views inflamed the civil rights movements and caused a schism with the non-violent tactics promoted by Dr King. His political stance had created the possibility of a separate black state. The religious discourse was different and the ideology more progressive, yet the central dissatisfaction with the present state of inequality and injustice was the same.

KEY QUESTIONS



- 1 Describe the achievements of Malcolm X.
- 2 Outline the methods used by Malcolm X to achieve civil rights in America.

The legacy of the civil rights movement

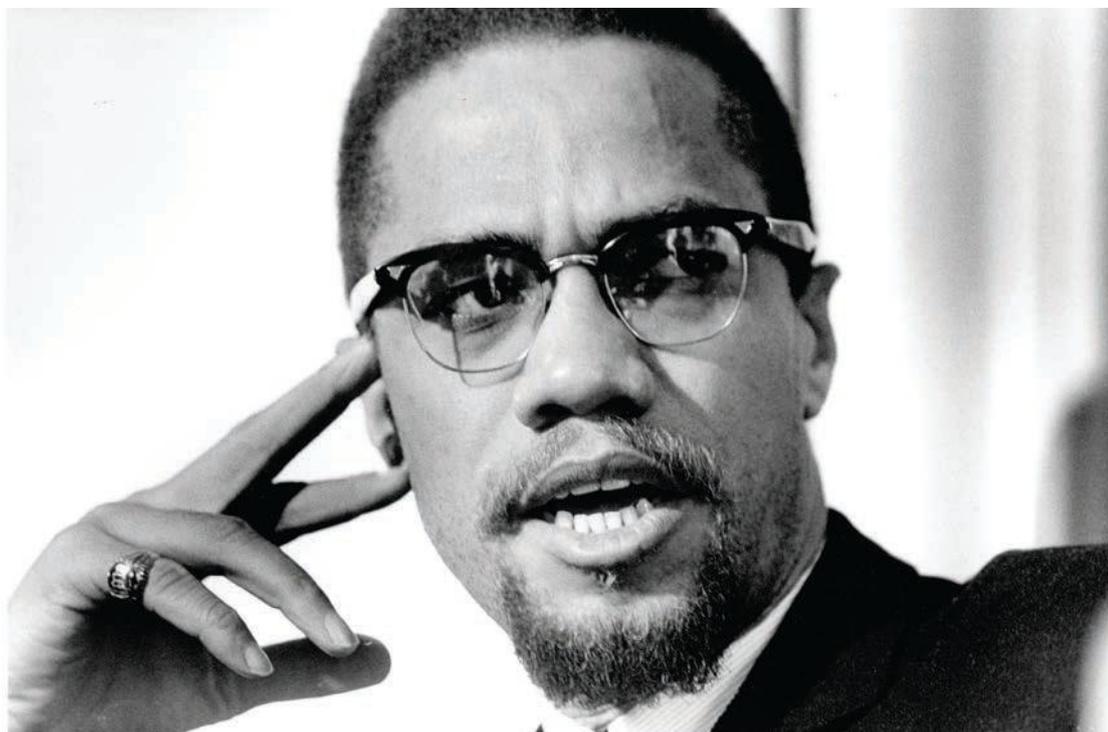
The civil rights movement circulates through American memory in forms and through channels that are at once powerful, dangerous, and hotly contested ... Images of the movement appear and reappear each year on Martin Luther King Jr Day and during Black History Month. Yet remembrance is always a form of forgetting, and the dominant narrative of the civil rights movement – distilled from history and memory, twisted by ideology and political contestation, and embedded in heritage tours, museums, public rituals, textbooks, and various artifacts of mass culture – distorts and suppresses as much as it reveals.

SOURCE 11.51 Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Journal of American History*, 2005



SOURCE 11.52 Dr Martin Luther King Jr

The civil rights campaign in the United States divided the nation socially, politically, culturally and geographically. It radicalised the heart of America and culminated in bitter sit-ins, violent freedom rights, bus boycotts, brutal murders and lynching, and political assassinations. It unleashed Black Power and militancy with the rise of Malcolm X and the NOI. It challenged the fundamental rights bestowed by the American Declaration of Independence. Dr King provided an alternative narrative for Black Americans, challenged the inherent racism and prejudice and delivered hope and optimism for millions of oppressed people from the South and into the more industrial and urbanised North. The segregation and structural disadvantage of Black Americans gave them an inheritance of limited education, poor employment prospects, daily discrimination and regular slights and racial slurs. The Jim Crow Laws had made every aspect of daily life 'separate but equal' for White and Black Americans. Yet the reality of these laws meant that the majority of Black Americans were under-employed, unrecognised and had limited access to universal education. These conditions were the legacy of American Civil War and were arbitrarily imposed throughout the different states and counties.



SOURCE 11.53 Malcolm X

In the 1950s and 1960s, the media, popular and political support, the nationalist narrative and the laws dramatically changed with the American Civil Rights Bill in 1964 and Voting Rights Bill in 1965. Yet the struggle for civil rights resulted in the assassination of Dr King, Malcolm X and countless deaths at the hands of the Klan. John F Kennedy and Robert Kennedy (who were pro-civil rights) both died in office without being able to truly enact the changes they had drafted or approved. The civil rights movement revolutionised America, regardless of class, colour or creed. It was a triumph of ordinary people who had been systematically marginalised – Linda Brown, Elizabeth Eckford, Rosa Parks, James Earl Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner. The methods and tactics of these individuals and the civil rights campaigns were often unexpected, typically non-violent and shockingly potent, delivering public sympathy and support for civil rights amendments in a new era of television and moving pictures.

Historians today suggest that Dr King's vision and achievements have become a dominant and pervasive narrative that absolves the nation from its institutionalised and systematic racism. The commemoration of civil rights as an inclusive story that all Americans share in and that equality has been delivered is very much disputed. The issues of racism and inequality according to Dr King were 'evils deeply rooted in the whole structure of our society' and some historians suggest that incarceration and poverty rates for Black Americans indicate that the evil is still perpetuated, despite the national celebration of Martin Luther King Day. Other historians assert that the success of this narrative is apparent in the rise of the neo-right today and the continued marginalisation of different groups in society. They assert that as Black Americans have gained a degree of economic and political power, white groups have felt increasingly dissatisfied and that racism and disadvantage are still evident in the legacy of American society. The election of President Trump immediately following the historic two-term presidency of Barack Obama (the first US black President) is offered as evidence of this theory. Dr King once spoke of being cautious, that in order to continue and realise the dream, constant vigilance was needed. The significance of the American civil rights movement is important as it redefined a nation, challenged concepts of citizenship, refuted blind patronage to democracy, freedom and equality, and created opportunities for global minority groups to advocate for change.

CHAPTER 11 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

BACKGROUND TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

- The abolishment of slavery through Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Act 1863 theoretically created the opportunity for Black Americans to overcome their economic, political and social oppression; yet in reality poverty, cultural segregation and injustice prevailed.
- In 1865–69 with the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the US Constitution, Black Americans were granted universal male suffrage, freedom from slavery and the right to vote.
- The Ku Klux Klan rose to prominence and killed and intimidated many Black Americans.
- Black Codes that segregated and affected Black Americans' right to education, transport, housing, employment and voting were introduced across many states.

'SEPARATE BUT EQUAL': STRUGGLES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

- In 1896, the case of *Plessey v Ferguson* declared that 'separate and equal' facilities were fair and just and did not contravene the Amendments to the Constitution. These became known as the 'Jim Crow Laws'.
- This made the separate provision of any service, facility or resource compliant with the law.
- Yet the equity of these resources was often not provided. Each state recorded less expenditure on health and education of their Black Americans.
- Schools and other public amenities were often unequal.

KEY EVENTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

- The NAACP was established in 1909 to legally attack lynching and use the Constitution to promote equality and fairness for Black Americans.
- CORE was established in 1942 to promote peaceful ways and boycotts to progress American civil rights.
- In 1954, the NAACP mounted the case of *Brown v Board of Education Topeka* over a number of cases where schooling was not equal in resourcing or access. This case results in federal desegregation of schools.
- In 1955, a 14-year-old boy named Emmett Till was kidnapped, viciously assaulted, shot in the head and his mutilated remains were dumped in the Tallahatchie River in response to his allegedly whistling at or touching the hand of Carolyn Bryant, the white cashier and wife of a grocery store owner. National outrage over this murder promotes the civil rights cause.
- Rosa Parks, in 1955, is charged over refusing to move out of her seat in the *colored* section of a bus in Montgomery, and the bus boycott that follows lasts nearly a year. This non-violent action is supported by Dr King and results in the desegregation of the buses.
- The boycott resulted in a campaign that started on 5 December 1955 and finished on 20 December 1956. Black Americans who predominantly used the bus carpooled, walked or hitchhiked to work and back again.
- Over 42000 Black Americans participated in the boycott. Rosa's appeal for fairness resulted in the effective mobilisation of the community.
- Through non-violence and sustained civil disobedience civil rights causes were catapulted into American homes across television, newspaper and news reports in cinemas.

- In 1957 at the Little Rock Central High School, the National Guard is called to escort Black American children into the school.
- Hostilities and rising tensions result in the Army being called in and result in President Eisenhower's 1957 Civil Rights Bill.
- The voter registration movement was initiated by the SNCC when black and white activists joined together to travel into Southern states to enable voter registration for the Black American communities.
- The SCLC, the NAACP, CORE, the SNCC and the National Urban League worked together to stage the March on Washington in 1963, on the 100-year anniversary of the Emancipation Declaration. There is no violence, only solidarity and support for civil rights at this event.
- Over 200000 people crammed into the Lincoln Memorial to hear these speeches and were overwhelmed by Dr King's 'I have a dream' speech.
- It attracted media attention and the support of the Arts community.
- The 1964 Freedom Summer resulted in over 35 shootings, 15 murders and 1000 arrests for civil disobedience.
- In Mississippi, three young voter registration workers – Andrew Goodman, James Earl Chaney and Michael Henry Schwerner – were brutally murdered on 21 June 1964.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

- President Kennedy pledges to progress civil rights and escalates the impact of civil rights activism to a global platform.
- In 1964, following Kennedy's assassination, the new President, Lyndon B Johnson, signs the Civil Rights Bill banning segregation, discrimination and promoting equality.
- This is followed in 1965 by the Voting Act, making it unlawful for Black Americans to be denied the right to register to vote.

ASSESSMENT OF THE ROLE OF DR MARTIN LUTHER KING JR AND MALCOLM X

- In 1963–68, civil rights are elevated to a global platform and new ideas and methods attract a range of followers.
- Malcolm X uses the language and beliefs of Islam to promote the cause.
- Dr King promotes non-violent methods and continues to organise public marches and campaigns. This results in the Birmingham and Bloody Sunday incidents and ongoing tensions between the white and black communities.
- In 1965, Malcolm X is assassinated by members of the Nation of Islam (NOI) over party differences, and this divides the civil rights movement.
- In 1968, Dr King is assassinated, leaving a legacy of non-violence and civil action that Americans now honour with public holidays, memorials, institutions and commemoration.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term below.

- 1) assassination
- 2) Black power

- 3) boycott
- 4) civil rights
- 5) segregation
- 6) propaganda
- 7) separate and equal doctrine

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Create a timeline of the main social and political events of the civil rights period 1863–1968.

Date	Event

- Select which of these events had the most impact on changing the rights, opportunities and liberties of Black Americans and justify your decision with historical evidence.
- ### 2 Continuity and change
- How was the United States historically affected by the separate and equal doctrine?
 - To what extent were civil rights achieved for Black Americans in 1964 with the Civil Rights Bill?
 - Why do you think racism and inequality continued in America after the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution?
 - To what extent were the rhetoric and tactics of Dr King instrumental in achieving civil rights?

3 Perspectives

Remembrance is always a form of forgetting ... the dominant narrative of the Civil Rights movement – distilled from history and memory, twisted by ideology and contestation and embedded in heritage tours, museums, public rituals, textbooks and various artefacts of mass culture – distorts and suppresses as much as it reveals.

Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Journal of American History*, 2005

- Discuss the dominant narrative of the civil rights period and analyse whose perspective has been suppressed or distorted.

4 Significance

- Evaluate the historical significance of accidental activists and victims of the civil rights campaigns and reprisals. To what extent was the success of civil rights in the United States a product of a mass revolution of ordinary people?
- How historically significant were cultural and social ideologies and prejudices in America from 1896 to 1968?

5 Contestability

Anti-fascism and anti-colonialism had already internationalised the race issue linking the fate of African-Americans to oppressed people everywhere ...

Dowd Hall, 2017

- Discuss the international phenomenon of civil rights during the 1950s and 1960s. Consider if the American civil rights movement was a domestic or international one.
- Some historians consider that civil rights leaders who were soft on Cold War rhetoric and American foreign policy failures gained considerable momentum with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Evaluate this perspective in relation to Dr Martin Luther King Jr.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Describe how the Ku Klux Klan developed.
- Outline the tactics used by the Klan.
- Assess the effectiveness of the Klan in opposing the civil rights movement.

2 Historical interpretation

- Discuss what conditions and ideologies prevented America from enacting the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in the first half of the twentieth century.
- Discuss if civil rights is singularly 'one man's dream'.
- Assess the role of key American Presidents in the outcome, methods and impact of the civil rights movement.

3 Analysis and use of sources

With reference to Source A, answer the following questions:

- Explain how Dr King explains the historical inequality and experience of Black Americans.
- Describe the perspective of slavery and segregation presented in this source.
- Justify how useful this source is in showing historians the effects of racism and segregation on American society.

SOURCE A

MLK explains why black Americans face more obstacles than white European immigrants

NBC News interview with Martin Luther King Jr., Atlanta, Georgia, May 8 1967

NBC NEWS REPORTER SANDER VANOCUR: What is it about the negro? I mean, every other group that came as an immigrant, somehow, not easily, but somehow, got around it. Is it just the fact ... that negroes are black?

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.: White America must see that no other ethnic group has been a slave on American soil. That is one thing that other immigrant groups haven't had to face. The other thing is that the colour became a stigma. American society made the negroes' colour a stigma. America freed the slaves in 1863 through the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln ... but gave the slaves no land or nothing in reality ... to get started on. At the same time, America was giving away millions of acres of land in the West and the Midwest. Which meant that there was a willingness to give the white peasants from Europe an economic base. And yet it refused to give its black peasants from Africa who came here involuntarily, in chains, and had worked free for 244 years ... any kind of economic base. And so emancipation for the negro was really freedom to hunger. It was freedom to the winds and rains of heaven. It was freedom without food to eat or land to cultivate and therefore it was freedom and famine at the same time.

And when white Americans tell the negro to lift himself by his own bootstraps ... they don't look over the legacy of slavery and segregation. Now, I believe we ought to do all we can and seek to lift ourselves by our own bootstraps ... but it's a cruel jest to say to a bootless man that he ought to lift himself by his own bootstraps. And many negroes, by the thousands and millions, have been left bootless as a result of all these years of oppression and as a result of a society that deliberately made his colour a stigma, and something worthless and degrading.

4 Historical investigation and research

- Evaluate the global phenomenon of civil rights movements around the world. To what extent was the dream of Dr King critical in world activism?

5 Further essay questions

- To what extent had America become an equal and democratic nation by 1964?
- Assess the contribution of Dr King to the civil rights movement.
- Assess the contribution of Malcolm X to the civil rights movement both domestically and internationally.
- Evaluate the importance of ordinary people and groups in the struggle for civil rights. To what extent was civil rights a mass popular movement?
- Consider the impact of commemoration on civil rights history in America. To what extent has the narrative of the civil rights movement been mythologised?

CHAPTER 12

The Nuclear Age 1945–2011

The story of nuclear weapons will have an ending, and it is up to us what that ending will be. Will it be the end of nuclear weapons, or will it be the end of us? One of these things will happen. The only rational course of action is to cease living under the conditions where our mutual destruction is only one impulsive tantrum away.

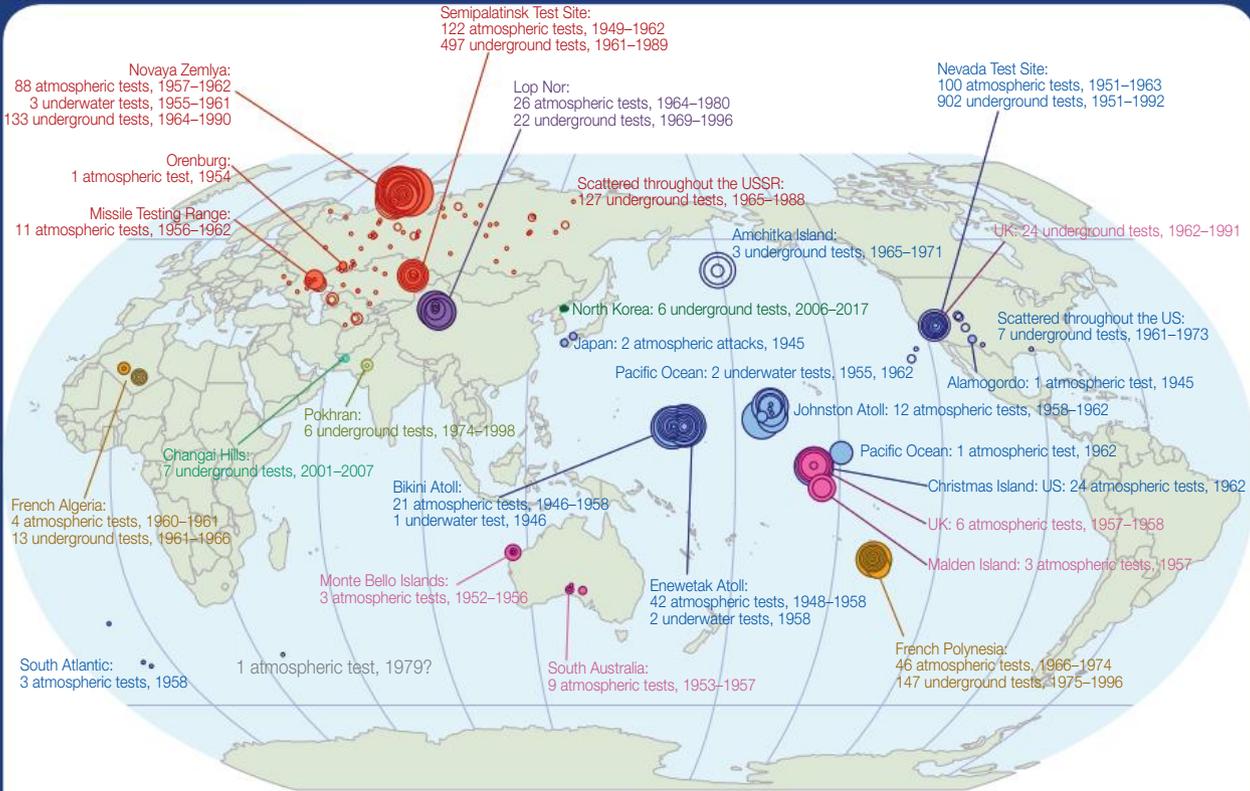
Beatrice Fihn, accepting the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of ICAN, 10 December 2017



SOURCE 12.1: A boy floats a candle-lit paper lantern on the river in front of the Atomic Bomb Dome, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park, during the 70th anniversary activities commemorating the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, 6 August 2015.



Nuclear explosions since 1945



Country:	Year of first detonation:	Number of detonations:		
		Atmospheric	Underground	Underwater
United States	1945	206	912	5
USSR	1949	223	756	3
United Kingdom	1952	21	24	
France	1960	50	160	
China	1964	22	26	
Israel?	1967?			
India	1974		6	
South Africa?	1979?	1?		
Pakistan	1998		7	
North Korea	2006		6	

Each explosion is represented by a circle
Many of these circles overlap.

Filled circles are atmospheric detonations
 Hollow circles are underground or underwater tests

The size of each circle represents the yield of the blast.
The scale is not linear:

- more than 20 megatons
- 2.5–5.1 megatons
- 160–320 kilotons
- less than 15 kilotons

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate key features in the history of the Nuclear Age and its relevance for the contemporary world.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore:

- the development and use of nuclear weapons in war and peace
- the dangers of the nuclear arms race during the Cold War
- the doctrines of nuclear deterrence and extended deterrence
- the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons
- the role of diplomacy and multilateral initiatives to reduce the nuclear threat
- the impact of changing attitudes towards the threat of nuclear war
- issues relating to nuclear industries (mining, energy and weapons)
- nuclear disasters and potential disasters
- the continuing threat of nuclear weapons to all life on the planet
- the problems of proliferation and the prospects for disarmament.



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
December 1938	Uranium atom split by Lise Meitner and Otto Frisch
2 August 1939	Albert Einstein writes letter to President Roosevelt
19 January 1942	President Roosevelt authorises Manhattan Project
16 July 1945	Trinity Test: United States tests first-ever nuclear weapon
6 August 1945	Atomic attack on Hiroshima
24 January 1946	United Nations calls for nuclear weapons to be banned
29 August 1949	Soviet Union explodes atomic bomb
3 October 1952	United States tests first hydrogen bomb
1 March 1954	US Bravo test in Marshall Islands
26 September 1956	British nuclear tests in Maralinga
30 October 1961	Soviet Union conducts largest bomb test
16–29 October 1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
5 August 1963	Partial test ban treaty
1 July 1968	Non-proliferation treaty is signed
6–26 October 1973	Yom Kippur War
12 June 1982	A million people march in New York
2–12 November 1983	Abel Archer NATO exercise
10 July 1985	<i>Rainbow Warrior</i> sunk
30 September 1986	Mordecai Vanunu reveals Israel's nuclear program
8 December 1987	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty eliminates class of weapons
1 June 1996	Ukraine abandons nuclear weapons
8 July 1996	International Court of Justice (ICJ) declares nuclear weapons illegal
9 October 2006	North Korea explodes first nuclear weapon
3–28 May 2010	Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review conference
26 November 2011	Red Cross resolution – humanitarian impact
8–9 December 2014	Humanitarian conference – Vienna
7 July 2017	United Nations adopts Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons
3 September 2017	North Korea conducts hydrogen bomb test
6 October 2017	International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) receives Nobel Peace Prize





CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 12.2 (Left) 13-year-old Setsuko Thurlow with her mother in Hiroshima, Japan, 1945, before the nuclear bomb blast. Photo supplied by Setsuko Thurlow. (Right) Hiroshima survivor Setsuko Thurlow, now 85, accepts the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Oslo, Norway, 10 December 2017.

Based on the images provided, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 12 Overview

KEY IDEA

The advent of nuclear weapons in 1945 has shaped history in profound ways.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The possibility for a nuclear catastrophe is higher now than any time since the height of the Cold War. Nuclear weapons still pose an existential threat to all life on the planet.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- Nuclear Weapons States (NWS)
- nuclear fission
- nuclear fusion
- uranium
- Hiroshima
- Manhattan Project
- madman theory
- military-industrial complex
- nuclear deterrence
- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)
- nuclear triad
- Doomsday Clock
- nuclear winter
- nuclear proliferation
- nuclear power complex

INQUIRY QUESTION

What role have nuclear weapons and nuclear energy played in shaping the world since 1945?

Painting the picture

What is the Nuclear Age?

The Nuclear Age began at 5:30 am on Monday, 16 July 1945, when scientists in the United States successfully tested the world's first nuclear weapon. The quest to build this weapon began in earnest in 1942 with



SOURCE 12.3 Atomic tests in Nevada, United States, in the 1950s

the Manhattan Project in the United States. This year was the critical point in World War II, when the war could have gone either way. Since 1939, the Axis Powers had won all the victories. Meanwhile, there had been a small but growing group of scientists in Europe and the United States concerned that the new discoveries in atomic theory might lead to the Axis Powers producing a bomb using the power unleashed by splitting the atom. This was a real fear in regard to Germany, as much atomic research had been done in Germany before the war. For this reason, once President Roosevelt was made aware of this potential threat, he decided to commit his country to a massive secret program to make an atomic bomb. As it turned out, Germany did not succeed in producing an atomic bomb, but after Germany was defeated, the United States decided to use the bomb anyway, on a non-nuclear power, Japan.

There was no debate about whether the United States would use the atomic bomb on Japan. After spending billions of dollars and expending massive resources on getting this bomb, no US president could avoid using it if it promised to bring the war against Japan to an early end. However, once the war was over, President Truman was faced with the next big decision – whether to place atomic

power under international control or preserve the US monopoly over nuclear technology. In deciding on the latter course, Truman gave little heed to warnings from a number of the scientists who had worked on the atomic bomb that this would lead to a nuclear arms race that could end in a global catastrophe. Truman had thought that it would be many years before the Soviet Union would get the bomb. On this, he was very wrong. From this point, further critical decisions were made about how the United States would use this enormous power.

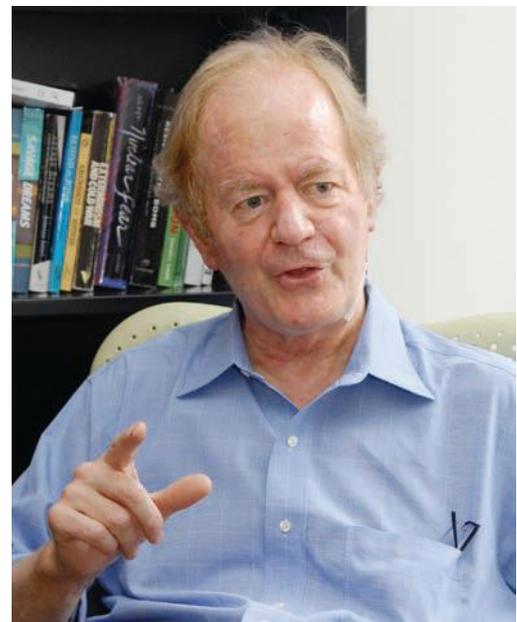
The nuclear arms race was to grow to insane proportions, with enough nuclear warheads being amassed by the two superpowers to destroy all life on the planet a number of times over. Added to this was the fact that more nations eventually joined the nuclear club, the latest being North Korea in 2006. This has made a total of nine

Nuclear Weapons States (NWS): the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea. If it were not for the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, there would probably be up to 40 nations with nuclear weapons today, including Australia. The greatest problem that the human race faces now is what to do with these weapons. Many Cold War veterans who were in leadership positions believe that we were lucky to survive the Cold War. The threat of nuclear war has receded from public consciousness today. However, according to the Doomsday Clock, the threat of a nuclear catastrophe is greater today than at any time in the Cold War.

Today the world is faced with another fateful choice. In 1945, the choice was made to take the road that led to a nuclear arms race. The world has been lucky to survive for over 70 years with no more than two nuclear weapons being used in anger, those used against the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The choice we face today is do we persist in relying on these weapons of genocide, supposedly for the self-defence of the nations that possess them and their allies? Do we spend trillions of dollars modernising these weapons so that they can destroy the planet more efficiently? Or, do we seek the road not taken in 1945? The alternative in 1945 was to secure international control over nuclear technology and to ban the possession and use of these weapons. With the United Nations adoption in 2017 of the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Nuclear Weapons (TPNW 2017), there is now a clear path to take if we choose to. The alternative is to have a lot faith in the status quo. Faith in the command and control systems of the nine NWS, faith that terrorists won't get hold of a nuclear weapon, faith that there won't be machine failure or computer glitch, faith that a false alarm won't trigger a nuclear war, faith that there won't be a miscalculation in a crisis, faith that the nine leaders of these NWS will always remain cool under pressure and not threaten other nations with destruction, and most of all, that not one of these nine leaders will be the first to launch a nuclear attack unleashing a humanitarian catastrophe on a scale never witnessed before in human history.

Eventually, there will be an end to the Nuclear Age. Either it will end with enlightened political leadership, responding to a global grassroots concern, that sets plans in motion to gradually decommission all nuclear weapons and bring nuclear technology under international control, or it will end with a charred, blackened lifeless planet. It is up to the citizens of planet Earth to decide on which path to take. It is hoped that studying the history of the Nuclear Age will provide the knowledge and wisdom on making the best choice for the future.

Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) nations that currently possess nuclear weapons



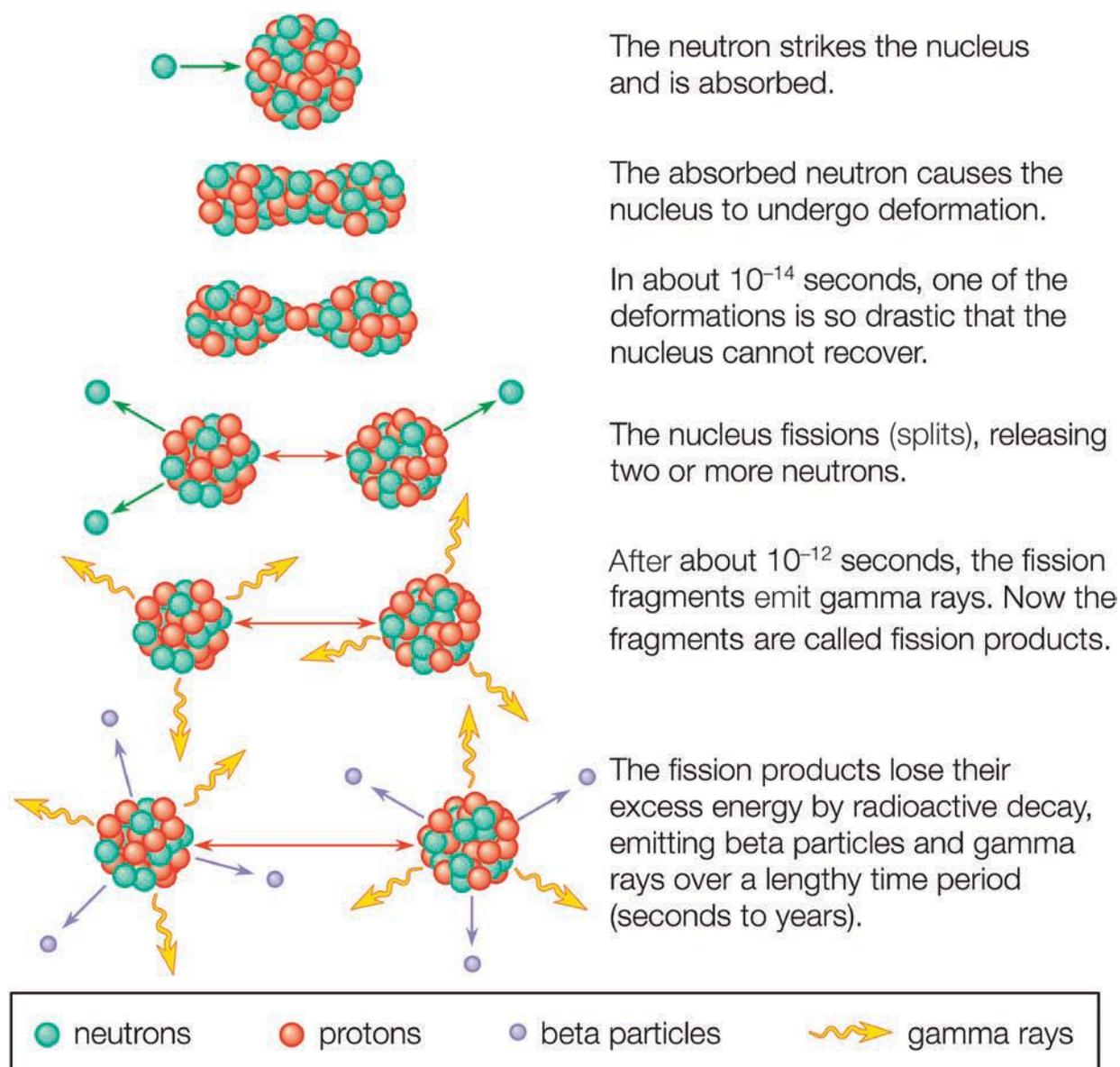
SOURCE 12.4 Jonathan Schell, journalist, nuclear arms analyst and a leader in the fight against nuclear weapons ever since writing the nuclear war classic, *The Fate of the Earth*, in 1982

The birth of nuclear weapons in 1945 opened a wide, unobstructed pathway to the end of the world. Along that route was an end to cities, an end to countries, an end to continents, an end to human life itself. Sometimes one of these perils has moved to the fore, sometimes another, but all have continuously cast their shadows over the Earth. After the end of the Cold War, the world's nuclear arsenals seemed to have been tamed to a certain extent, but now they are growling and baring their teeth again. Indeed, the bomb is staging her revival, as if to declare: the twenty-first century, like the one before it, belongs to me.

SOURCE 12.5 Jonathan Schell, *The Seventh Decade*, 2007, pp. 3–4

12.1 The dawn of the Nuclear Age

Nuclear fission: the key discovery



SOURCE 12.6 The sequence of events in the fission of a uranium nucleus by a neutron

The Nuclear Age had its origins in the science lab. There was much scientific research and many discoveries about the structure and properties of the atom that gradually led to the development of atomic science. In the early 1800s, scientists began investigating the structure of matter. From 1911, Ernest Rutherford did research that led him to develop a model of the atom, and he is widely credited with being the ‘father of nuclear physics’. In 1932, the existence of the neutron within the atom was discovered, followed in 1934 by the discovery that new elements could be created by bombarding atoms with neutrons. In December 1938, Austrians Lise Meitner and Otto Frisch, in collaboration with the German scientists, Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman, discovered that it was possible to split a uranium atom in two. Frisch called the new process ‘**nuclear fission**’, as he thought it looked like a process called binary fission that biologists used to describe cell division. Frisch told the Danish physicist, Niels Bohr, about the discoveries. Bohr then received a lot of attention from the scientific community in the United States when he travelled there.

nuclear fission a type of nuclear reaction, causing release of energy, that occurs when the nucleus of an atom splits on impact with another particle

Einstein and his letter to President Roosevelt

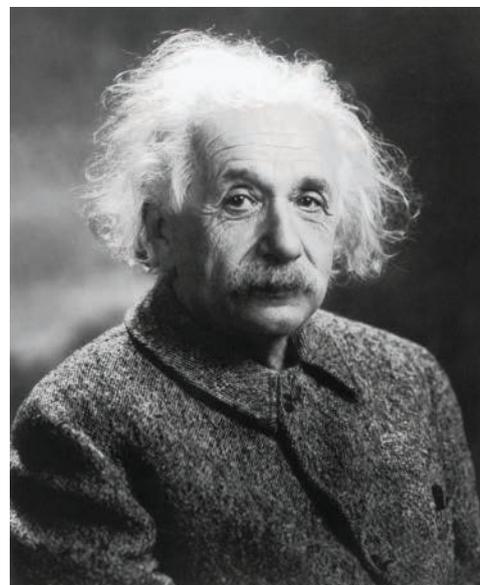
Leo Szilard was a Hungarian-born American scientist who had worked with Enrico Fermi in 1934 when he did his pioneering work on the uranium atom. Szilard was concerned that the Nazis might be the first to develop an atomic weapon. He enlisted the support of German-born physicist Albert Einstein – famous for developing the Theory of Relativity – to sign a letter to President Roosevelt urging that he take action. Einstein’s letter also recommended the construction of an American atomic bomb. Einstein had moved to Princeton, New Jersey, in 1933, when Hitler came to power.

The letter was hand-delivered by an intermediary to the Oval Office in the White House. Roosevelt read the letter and ordered that a committee be established to look into the matter. The Uranium Committee was established in October 1939, and soon began recruiting scientists to work on various aspects of the theory. The Americans were finally pushed into a more determined program when, in late 1941, they heard about the MAUD Committee’s report from British scientists which showed that an atomic bomb based on uranium fission was feasible. It was based on a memorandum written by Otto Frisch and German-born Rudolf Peierls, both now working in Britain, that first outlined how an atomic bomb could work. Finally, on 18 December 1941, a more powerful committee was established: the S-1 Executive Committee. On 19 January 1942, Roosevelt gave formal approval for the development of an atomic bomb.

SOURCE 12.8 Albert Einstein (1879–1955) urged President Roosevelt to build a nuclear bomb before Nazi Germany did. However, US Army intelligence did not allow anyone in the Manhattan Project to consult with Einstein, as he was deemed to be a potential security risk due to his left-leaning political activism.



SOURCE 12.7 Lise Meitner, the first scientist to explain the theory behind the splitting of the uranium atom in 1938



RESEARCH TASK 12.1

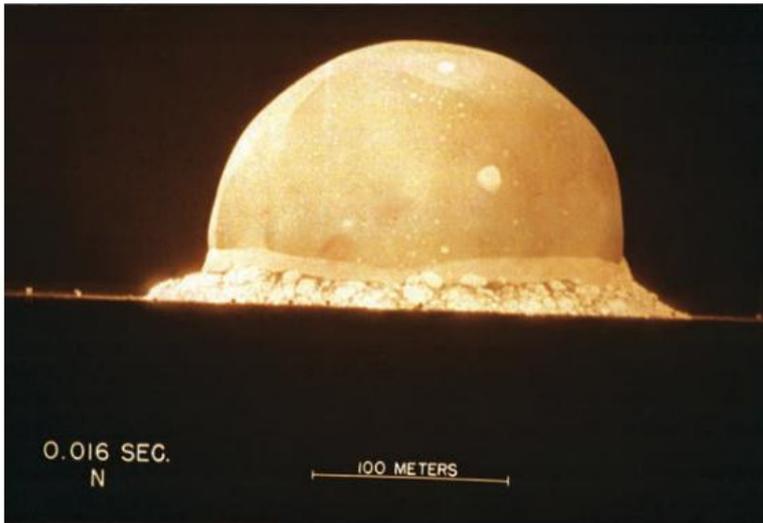
The MAUD Report

Find a copy of the MAUD Report online.

- 1 Outline the MAUD Report.
- 2 Using the report, interpret British thinking about the development of the atomic bomb.
- 3 Analyse the report for any concerns regarding US action to develop the atomic bomb.



SOURCE 12.9 The Manhattan Project's massive K-25 gaseous uranium enrichment plant at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, in August 1945



SOURCE 12.10 The Trinity Test, conducted at 5:29 am on 16 July 1945. This photo shows the scale of the blast within about a sixtieth of a second, the equivalent of 5000 truckloads of dynamite being detonated.

fissile material material capable of sustaining a nuclear fission chain reaction

The Manhattan Project

What became known in 1942 by its secret code name, the 'Manhattan Project,' developed into a sprawling organisation with different sections spread over the United States. Massive facilities were built in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Hanford, Washington State, and Los Alamos, New Mexico. The Oak Ridge plant and, indeed, the entire city of Oak Ridge, was established in 1942 to house the employees (and their families) of the uranium-enrichment facility of the Manhattan Project, the US project to develop the atomic bomb. The Los Alamos Laboratory in New Mexico became the site for assembling the bomb. By 1945, four nuclear bombs were produced at Los Alamos before the Manhattan Project officially ended in 1946. Two of these bombs, nicknamed, 'Little Boy' and 'Fat Man', were dropped on Japan in August 1945.

The Trinity Test

The Trinity Test occurred just before 5:30 am on Monday, 16 July 1945, when scientists in the United States successfully tested the world's first nuclear weapon. The bomb was the product of the Manhattan Project, which employed over 130 000 people between 1942 and 1946 and cost the equivalent of about US\$30 billion in today's currency. Only 10 per cent of the cost was spent on personnel. The rest was for the construction of buildings and facilities and to produce **fissile material**. The Manhattan Project was so secret that not even Vice-President Truman knew of its existence. The scientists who witnessed this first atomic explosion were elated that their hard work had paid off. However, they were also awed.

Lead scientist at Los Alamos, Robert Oppenheimer, said the explosion brought to mind a sentence from the Hindu scripture, the Bhagavad Gita: 'Now I am become Death, the destroyer of souls.'

ANALYSING SOURCES 12.2

The Trinity Test

Go to the Nuclear Files.org website. Read the official report of the atomic test, and choose three of the eyewitness reports to read.

- 1 Identify the key statistics for the Trinity Test, such as the size of the blast, the impact on the environment, the preparations, and any recommendations.
- 2 Read three eyewitness reports of the blast. Summarise what each eyewitness observed about the power of the blast, its physical impact, and their emotional response to it.



SOURCE 12.11 Robert Oppenheimer (left), pictured with Brigadier General Leslie Groves at the site of the Trinity atomic bomb test explosion at Alamogordo, New Mexico, in July 1945

The Potsdam Conference, 17 July–2 August 1945

President Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945. His Vice-President, Harry Truman, was sworn in as president. Truman knew that there something called the Manhattan Project that was chewing up a lot of the war budget. However, he did not know it was for developing an atomic bomb. The war against the Axis Powers in Europe ended on 8 May 1945, possibly doing away with the need to use the bomb at all, since the reason for its development was to make sure that the Germans did not get it first. The atomic bomb was successfully tested on 16 July 1945. Much to the concern of many of the scientists who had worked on the Manhattan Project, it seemed clear to them that the US Government intended to use the weapon against Japan, which was close to defeat in the war.

President Truman also had a problem – how to break the news to Joseph Stalin. The Americans and the British had kept each other fully informed about the progress of research to develop the bomb. In fact, as the MAUD Report shows, British scientists had at one point been ahead of the Americans in their research, but they now had their scientists working with their American and European compatriots in the Manhattan Project. The fact that they had not briefed Stalin on what they had been doing could have caused a problem for the alliance against the Axis Powers. The Big Three leaders were scheduled to meet in Potsdam, a city in defeated Germany, not far from Berlin.



SOURCE 12.12 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, US President Harry Truman and Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin at the Potsdam Conference, July 1945

During the Potsdam Conference, President Truman received word that the atomic bomb test had been a resounding success. According to Truman's account, in a quiet moment on 24 July, Truman sought out Stalin and spoke to him alone. He told the Soviet dictator that he now had a new weapon of immense destructive force. Stalin appeared to show little interest. All he said was that he hoped they would make 'good use of it against the Japanese'. Truman's concern that this might cause a big problem with his Soviet ally did not eventuate. However, what we now know is that Stalin was very well aware of the US advances with the atomic bomb through his spies.

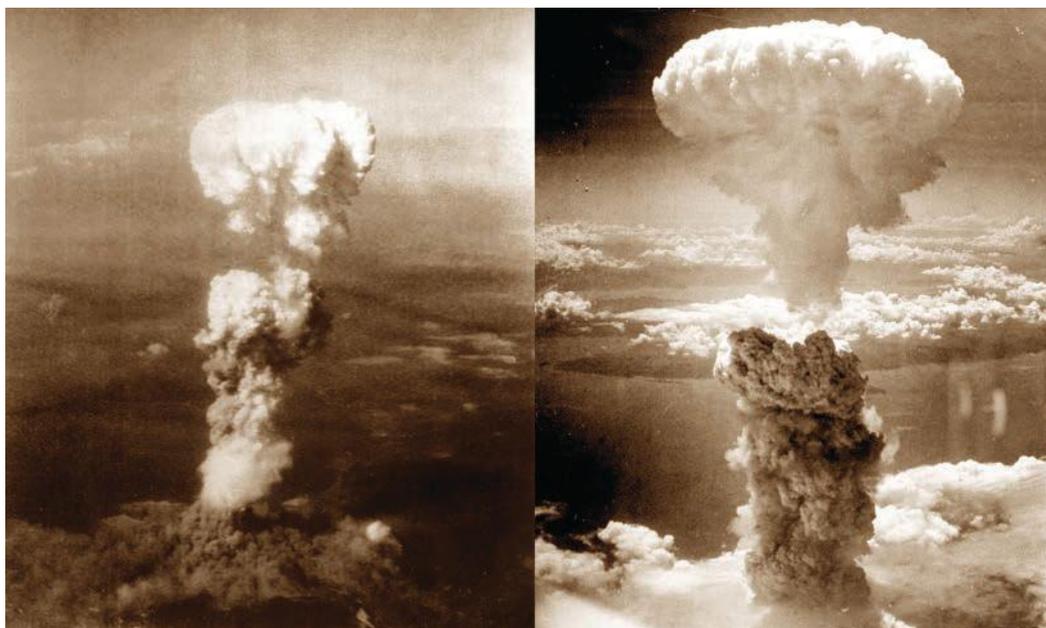
On 27 July 1945, the Allied leaders at the Potsdam Conference issued the 'Potsdam Declaration' to Japan over the radio. The Allied leaders called on Tokyo to 'proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces and to provide adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is utter destruction.' The short statement made no mention of the means that would be used to bring about that destruction. The US military command had just ordered that the atomic bombs be made ready for use.

12.2 First use of atomic weapons

Hiroshima and Nagasaki, their impact and legacy

Hiroshima, 6 August 1945

In August 1945, Hiroshima had a population of about 290 000 and an additional 43 000 soldiers were stationed there. For months, the inhabitants of Hiroshima had watched massed formations of B-29 bombers fly over Hiroshima heading for the major cities of Tokyo to the north. The bomber pilots used a dam to the west of Hiroshima as a navigation point from which they would turn north. The people were used to the American bombers. However, they expected that one day their turn would come. The US Air Force had been firebombing the cities to the north. In the first raid on Tokyo, 300 B-29 bombers dropped 2000 tonnes of napalm. This created a massive firestorm that obliterated 16 square miles of the city, killing 100 000 people and rendering 1 million people homeless. In preparation for such an attack, the people of Hiroshima had tens of thousands of people, many of them schoolchildren, demolishing buildings in the city to create firebreaks so that any firestorm could be contained within a number of blocks of the city. On the morning of 6 August, there were thousands of children at work in the centre of Hiroshima.



SOURCE 12.13 Atomic bomb mushroom cloud over Hiroshima (left) and Nagasaki (right), August 1945, Japan



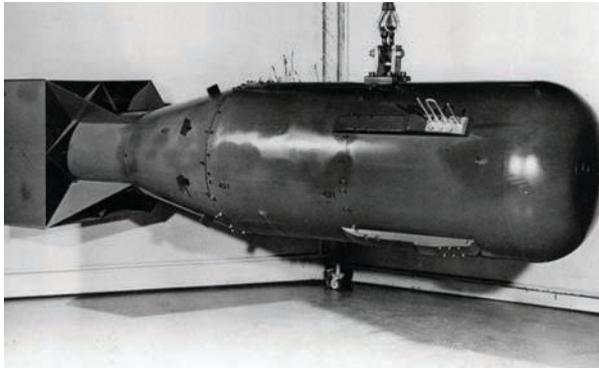
SOURCE 12.15 Hiroshima reduced to rubble and ruins by the atomic bomb. This photo was taken in March 1946 by the US Air Force.



SOURCE 12.16 (Left) In 1946, John Hersey wrote the book *Hiroshima*. His description of the horrors of Hiroshima played a significant role in the worldwide revulsion towards the atomic bomb. (Right) The photo of this mother and child at Hiroshima was used for the front cover of his book.

Hiroshima: Day of fire	
Impact of the bombing	
Ground temperatures	3871° Celsius
Hurricane force winds	1577 kilometres per hour
Energy released	20000 tons of TNT
Buildings destroyed	62000
Number of people killed immediately	70000
Number of people dead by the end of 1945	140000
Total deaths related to the A-bomb	237000

Nagasaki, 9 August 1945



SOURCE 12.17 (Left) The 'Little Boy' atom bomb, which was dropped on Hiroshima by the United States on 6 August 1945; (right) the 'Fat Man' plutonium bomb, which was dropped on Nagasaki by the United States on 9 August 1945

There were two types of atomic bombs developed in 1945. The Hiroshima bomb was a simple uranium gun-type assembly, whereas the Nagasaki bomb was an implosion-type weapon, called the Mark III. It used plutonium, which was far more efficient as only a tiny amount of plutonium was needed. The bomb was nicknamed 'Fat Man' because of its wide round shape. This was the same type of bomb as the 'Gadget', which had been detonated at Alamogordo in New Mexico in July.

Truman and the debate on the use of the bomb

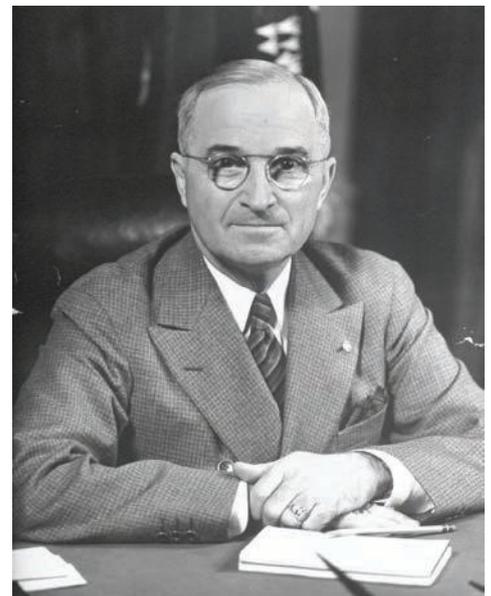
Truman's role in the decision to bomb Japan

In his memoirs, Truman said that there was 'unanimous, automatic, unquestioned agreement around our table' about the use of the atomic bomb; '...nor did I hear the slightest suggestion that I do otherwise,' he wrote. Meanwhile, in Britain, there was a casually initialled minute that Churchill signed, telling his officials to go along with whatever the Americans decided in their use of the bomb.

In his speech on 6 August after the atomic attack on Hiroshima, Truman vowed: 'We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely every productive enterprise the Japanese have above ground in any city. We shall destroy their docks, their factories, and their communications. Let there be no mistake; we shall completely destroy Japan's power to make war.' What Truman did not admit was that the overwhelming victims of the two atomic bombings and the earlier 61 fire-bombings of cities were civilians. In his 9 August speech, delivered on radio, Truman said that Hiroshima was a military base. This claim was repeated in later US propaganda statements.

Truman also said in his 9 August speech that 'we have won the race of discovery against the Germans' and 'having found the bomb, we have used it'. He said that it was 'an awful responsibility which has come to us. We thank God that it has come to us instead of to our enemies'.

As Jonathan Schell points out in his 2007 book, *The Seventh Decade*, 'the historical record contains no specific order' for the use of the atomic bomb signed by Truman. Truman's 6 August statement conveys the sense that the use of the bomb would be part of an existing process of attacking 'many cities'. Furthermore, the timing would depend on the speed of production. There was no mention of any weighing of the pros or cons or the exploring of alternatives. In his 9 August statement, Truman said, 'having found the bomb, we have used it'. There was no actual decision to use the bomb. General Groves, who was in charge of the Manhattan Project, said that he did not have to consult with the President on 'pressing the button'.



SOURCE 12.18 President Harry Truman, 1945

Of course, there were alternatives to using the atomic bombs on Japan, including:

- allowing the Japanese Emperor to stay on the throne – this was a major sticking point for Japan agreeing to surrender
- persisting in the naval blockade and the conventional bombing campaign, as any land invasion would have to wait until early 1946
- waiting for the Soviet invasion of Manchuria in August. Japan's last hope was that the Soviet Union would stay neutral and help broker a more favourable peace with the Americans. Once the Soviets declared war, this Japanese idea would be seen as the fantasy it was. In fact, some historians believe that the Soviet entry into the war was more influential on the Japanese surrendering than the use of atomic bombs.

Jonathan Schell suggested that Truman took care to avoid alternatives to using the bomb. Instead of waiting to see the consequences of the Soviet invasion, Truman used the bomb as soon as possible.

RESEARCH TASK 12.3

The Myth of Hiroshima

On YouTube, find the video 'Ward Wilson: The Myth of Hiroshima,' dated 6 August 2014.

- 1 Outline the reasons that Wilson gave to back up his claim that the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not the reason for Japan's surrender.
- 2 Identify any evidence suggesting that the United States was not expecting Japan to surrender until 1946.
- 3 Summarise Wilson's statement regarding a moral argument not to use the bomb.

Debate about the need to use the atomic bomb

Ward Wilson argued in his 2013 book, *Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons*, that the myth grew up that Japan surrendered because of the dropping of the two atomic bombs on Japanese cities. He argued that it was the Soviet declaration of war that was the final factor which made the Japanese Imperial War Cabinet decide to surrender. In his 2015 *Foreign Policy* article 'The Bomb didn't beat Japan ... Stalin did', Wilson concludes that 'the story that we have been telling ourselves seems pretty far removed from the facts'. Furthermore, 'what are we to think about nuclear weapons if this first accomplishment – the miracle of Japan's surrender – turns out to be a myth?'

RESEARCH TASK 12.4

Hiroshima and Nagasaki – What people think now

Access the page on the website of the History News Network that has well over 100 articles on the atomic bombings in 1945.

There has been a mountain of historical debate about a number of aspects of the use of atomic bombs against Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

- the morality of the use of the atomic bomb
- whether the atomic bombings did cause Japan to surrender
- the historical significance of the atomic bombings.

Choose one of the three topics above and find five articles on that topic. Summarise their main points. Compare where they agree and disagree. To what extent is there a consensus on the issue, or is there a bitterly divided debate on it?

Hiroshima: the historical significance

The moral taboo

On one thing, there is little debate. The atomic bombings on Japan in 1945 have shaped our thinking about nuclear weapons. In 2015, Zak Beauchamp wrote an article in *Vox* titled, 'Did Hiroshima and Nagasaki ensure 70 years without a nuclear bombing?' In this article, he said that these two atomic attacks on Japanese cities have defined nuclear weapons in our imaginations ever since. Without these there would never have been a nuclear taboo. The idea of a nuclear taboo has been put forward strongly by Nina Tannenwald in her 2007 book, *The Nuclear Taboo*. She argued that nuclear weapons have not been used in anger since Nagasaki because the 'demonstration effect' of their use in 1945 contributed to shock, horror and a sense of revulsion.



SOURCE 12.19 Hiroshima: burned-out buses amid flattened neighbourhood buildings. These were reduced to complete rubble a few months after the US bomb blast.

She argued that nuclear weapons have not been used in anger since Nagasaki because the 'demonstration effect' of their use in 1945 contributed to shock, horror and a sense of revulsion.

President Truman never regretted the decision he made to drop atomic bombs on Japan. However, Beauchamp says that Truman balked at using nuclear weapons in the Korean War, and Eisenhower considered using nuclear weapons in Korea but pulled back from the idea, believing that global public opinion was too hostile to the idea of again using the bomb. By the time of the Vietnam War, the nuclear taboo was entrenched. President Johnson rejected using nuclear weapons in Vietnam because of considerations of global public opinion rather than the threat of a Soviet retaliation on Vietnam's behalf. Using his '**madman theory**' tactic, President Nixon threatened to use nuclear weapons a number of times, but never did, again mainly out of concerns for public opinion. Beauchamp speculated that had the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki not been so horrific, the United States would have used nuclear weapons in the Korean War and possibly also in Vietnam. Beauchamp concludes that:

without nuclear weapons' terrible first uses at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this stigma might never have been attached. Perhaps the only good thing that can be definitely said about Hiroshima and Nagasaki is that they have never happened again.

Every US president since Truman has had the power to use nuclear weapons, but none have exercised that power. However, many people were shocked in 2017 when President Trump threatened to be the first to break this **nuclear taboo** with his threats to 'totally destroy North Korea'.

The tradition of non-use

Despite the tradition of non-use of nuclear weapons that has developed since 1945, Jonathan Schell argues in *The Seventh Decade* that this tradition has lulled the world into a false sense of security. Throughout the Nuclear Age, the awful facts about the nuclear threat have been taught and learned, only to be forgotten again. 🔑

madman theory the attempt to convince your rival that you are unpredictable and impulsive, but consistent; this was a strategy used by President Nixon to keep his adversaries guessing and wary of provoking him

nuclear taboo the use of nuclear weapons for any purpose has become practically unthinkable

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability (forming opinions)



How appropriate is it for leaders of NWS today to threaten the use of nuclear weapons on a country that they are at odds with?



SOURCE 12.20 (Left) US President Donald Trump threatened to 'totally destroy' North Korea in his first speech at the UN General Assembly on 19 September 2017. President Truman's threat to visit a 'rain of ruin' on Japan after the Hiroshima bombing was the first explicit nuclear threat made. (Right) North Korean leader Kim Jong-Un.

12.3 The choice: international control or an arms race?

After the nuclear attacks on Japan, there was a wide recognition that this new technology would pose a massive threat to the international community if it was not subject to international oversight and control. It did not take much imagination to see that an arms race involving these weapons would imperil the human race. In the first few years after the end of World War II, there were some very serious attempts to achieve international control over nuclear technology and so prevent a future arms race.

The rebel scientists

Many scientists worked on the Manhattan Project on the understanding that they were working to beat Germany to the development of the atomic bomb. With Germany defeated, the threat no longer existed and a minority of scientists were dismayed when Japan, which had no nuclear weapons, was subjected to

nuclear attack. This small group of disgruntled scientists grew into a large group after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Overnight, scientists' associations appeared at numerous Manhattan Project worksites. In November 1945, the scientists from Oak Ridge, Chicago, Los Alamos and New York got together and launched a new organisation, the 'Federation of Atomic Scientists'. The group renamed itself in December to the Federation of American Scientists in an attempt to appeal to all citizens and not just scientists. Its aim was to reduce the risks to humanity from global catastrophes. The organisation had 3000 members by early 1946. They began a journal, the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, and were soon distributing 20 000 copies. The journal had the Doomsday Clock logo on the front cover. In 1947, it was set at 7 minutes to midnight.

Leo Szilard created the Emergency Committee of American Scientists in 1946. Its aim was to educate people about the potential uses and misuses of atomic energy, work for nuclear arms control and for world government. In May 1946, Albert Einstein became its chairman. In a fund-raising telegram, he proclaimed: 'The unleashing of the power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking.'



SOURCE 12.21 The Doomsday Clock was set at 7 minutes to midnight when it was devised by the Federation of American Scientists in 1947. Midnight on the clock symbolises some sort of global catastrophe, most probably a nuclear one. The clock moved one minute closer in 1949 when the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb.

However, with the onset of the Cold War, they gave up hope of getting international control over atomic energy and the group dissolved in 1951, though Einstein also pursued his passion for world government in other forums.

Einstein really disliked the publicity in 1946 that connected him to the development of the atomic bomb, especially how he was portrayed on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. Despite signing the critical letter to President Roosevelt in 1939, he had no involvement with the Manhattan Project. In fact, he was deemed to be a security risk because of his left-leaning views, so he was kept at a distance from the program and knew little of what was going on. He was opposed to it being used on Japan and now he warned about the consequences of a world with nuclear weapons.

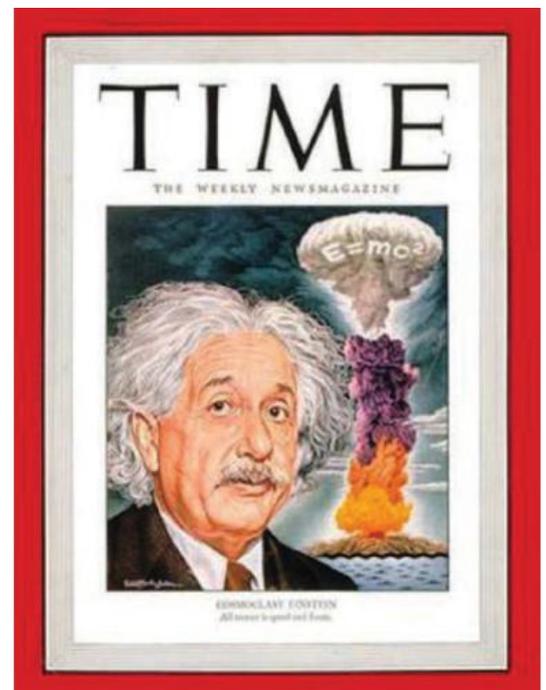
From 1946, and for the remaining decade of his life, Einstein dedicated himself to promoting the idea that only an empowered world government would be able to prevent a nuclear arms race. With his fellow scientist activist colleagues, he declared that it's 'One world or none'. According to Walter Isaacson in his 2007 book, *Einstein: His Life and Universe*, with his work in science, Einstein sought a 'unified set of principles that could create order out of anarchy' and he did not regard world government as a utopian dream, but a realistic and practical necessity. According to Isaacson: 'The world federalism that Einstein – and indeed many sober and established political leaders – advocated during the early years of America's atomic monopoly was not unthinkable.' 🔑

The sudden appearance of world federalism

Whatever may have been the efficacy of the United Nations Organization for the maintenance of international peace before Aug. 6, 1945, the events of that day tragically revealed the inadequacy of that organization thereafter so to do.

SOURCE 12.23 The 'Dublin Declaration', Dublin Conference (in Dublin, New Hampshire), 16 October 1945. This declaration was made by a group of 50 influential politicians, thinkers, business people, lawyers and writers.

The sense of outrage and revulsion about atomic weapons, and a conviction that the United Nations was not up to the task of dealing with this new existential threat, led to a flowering of world federation movements. Many people believed that the United Nations would be far too weak to deal with the threat posed by this weapon and that only a world government would be capable of such a task. The world federalists' fears were well-founded. Hiroshima gave an enormous impetus to the world federalist movement. In the words of one proponent, 'the survival of mankind demands a world community, a world government and a world state'. In the years after Hiroshima, world federalist organisations blossomed in the United States. The United World Federalists had a total membership of about 40 000 people and boasted 659 chapters. In a joint statement published on 10 October 1945 by 20 prominent figures (including Einstein, Thomas Mann and a Supreme Court judge), the ability of the United Nations to survive a generation was questioned: 'We must aim at a federal constitution of the world, a working worldwide legal order, if we hope to prevent atomic war.' Einstein was also a strong supporter of the World Federalist Movement, which was established in Montreux, Switzerland, in August 1947.



SOURCE 12.22 Albert Einstein on the cover of *Time* magazine, 1 July 1946, which he disliked

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

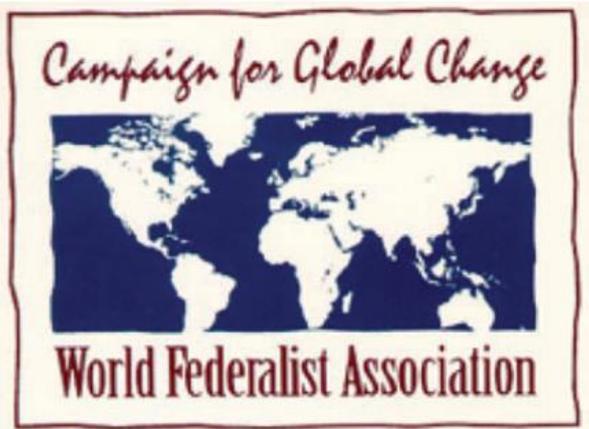
🔑 Research Einstein's political views and political activism throughout his career. Was he as capable a political theorist as he was a scientific thinker?

RESEARCH TASK 12.5

World federalism and the nuclear threat

Go to the World Federalist Movement website. Search for the Montreux Declaration of 23 August 1947.

- 1 Identify Montreux and the groups that attended the meeting.
- 2 Describe the view of the League and the United Nations.
- 3 Explain what was proposed at Montreux.
- 4 Identify what references there were to nuclear weapons in the declaration.



SOURCE 12.24 An early poster for one of the world federalism organisations

World federalist groups blossomed and pursued a number of pathways to a world government. One way was to push for a UN review conference in 1947 to consider strengthening it by measures such as weighted voting in the General Assembly and creating a parliamentary assembly within the United Nations (using Article 22 of the Charter). Other world federalist groups drew up a draft world constitution in 1948, which contained concrete proposals for a federal world government with responsibility for peacekeeping, protection of human rights, a global currency and taxation system. Another book, *World Peace Through World Law*, called for international law to be replaced by world law, which was to be created by a reformed General Assembly which would be given the power to create binding world laws in the areas of nuclear weapons, disarmament and the enforcement of peace. The Security Council was to be made into an Executive Council with no power of veto. Critically, this supercharged United Nations was to have a supranational armed force with a shared command and a monopoly of the use of force.

All of this activity in regard to world government was due to the shock of the atomic bomb and the determination to do something to prevent what the world federalists believed would be an inevitable arms race and eventually global catastrophe. However, the onset of the Cold War led to a decline in the popularity of world government between 1950 and 1951. The world government pathway to dealing with the threat of nuclear weapons was now shut off and was not to open again until the 1980s.

The United Nations First Committee

The first resolution adopted by the United Nations, on 24 January 1946, was concerning nuclear weapons. The UN General Assembly called for, among other things, 'the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons of mass destruction' and a commission of the UN Security Council to 'control atomic energy to ensure its use only for peaceful purpose'.



SOURCE 12.25 During the first session of the United Nations General Assembly on 24 January 1946, the first resolution passed concerned the nuclear issue.

The United Nations had placed nuclear weapons in its sights from its inception. The First Committee of the General Assembly, on 'Disarmament and International Security', was formed and nuclear weapons took up a significant part of its agenda. Today, it remains the world forum for open discussion of issues concerning the safety and security of the world.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for additional extensive content, analysis and activities surrounding the United Nations and the 'Baruch Plan'.



12.4 US–Soviet nuclear arms race

After the sidelining of the United Nations on the issue of nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union embarked on an all-out nuclear arms race.

The nuclear arms race started with the commitment by the US and Soviet leadership to embark on a nuclear weapons program followed by a harnessing of scientific know-how and the acquisition of fissile material (through uranium mining), the building of infrastructure (such as nuclear power plants), the building of nuclear bombs and the testing of the warheads to make sure they work. Dropping bombs from bomber planes was the first delivery method, but many others were developed. The main method became the nuclear missile, which could be fired from a number of places including a silo, a mobile launcher (such as a lorry), a fighter plane or a submarine.

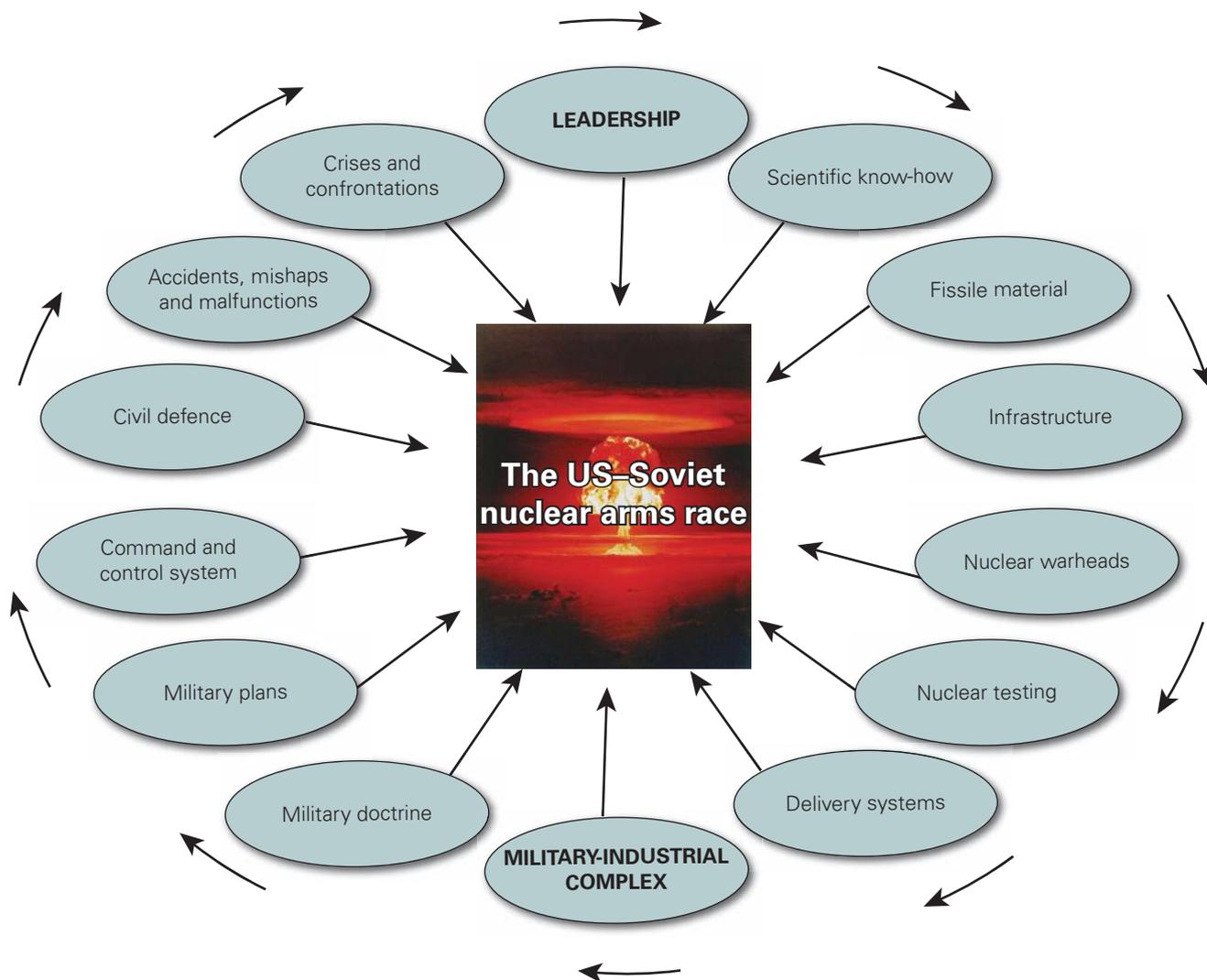
In both the United States and Soviet Union, a **military-industrial complex** developed. This was a powerful alliance between military personnel and arms producers that exerted immense political influence on the leadership of both superpowers. The main concern of this group was to continue the build-up of more weapons and military hardware. New military doctrines were developed, along with a range of war plans to deal with every possible scenario for nuclear conflict. The entire structure was woven together in the command and control system that could efficiently and reliably unleash the thousands of nuclear weapons according to the predetermined military plans. The military-industrial complex developed a momentum of its own.

Civil defence plans and educational programs were developed to deal with the prospect of a nuclear war being unleashed on the populations of the United States and the Soviet Union. However, these civil defence schemes had more to do with reassuring the public than ensuring their survival. Accidents, mishaps and malfunctions (most of which were unknown to the public at the time) threatened catastrophe on many occasions. Public concern about nuclear weapons increased dramatically with nuclear testing, particularly testing in the atmosphere of massive hydrogen bombs. The destructive power of these bombs led many people to question the civil defence propaganda that a nuclear war was survivable.



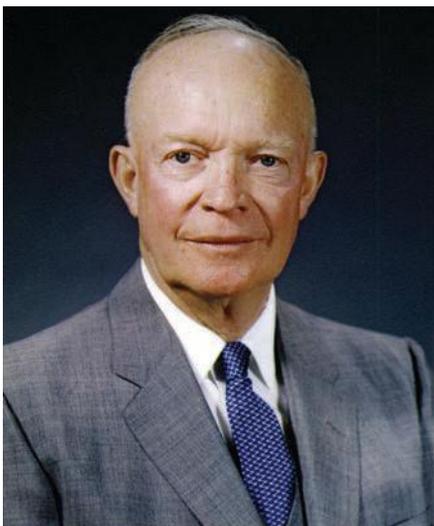
SOURCE 12.26 In 1949, newspapers around the world spread the news that the Soviet Union had developed a nuclear bomb.

military-industrial complex the network of individuals in the military and in the arms producing industries that operates as a powerful vested interest that influences public policy



SOURCE 12.27 Read clockwise, this diagram shows how the nuclear arms race developed and took hold in both the United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War.

There was also the question of the radioactive fallout in the atmosphere from hundreds of nuclear tests and its impact on peoples' health.



It was very public confrontations between the two superpowers at various points during the Cold War that really frightened the populations of not just the United States and the Soviet Union, but of the whole world. In the end, the decision on whether to go to war using nuclear weapons ultimately lay with just two men, the US president and the Soviet leader. A different decision made by one of these leaders during the Cold War could have caused a massive nuclear war destroying all life on the planet. Many Cold War commentators believe that it was either through luck or divine providence that we avoided nuclear weapons being used in the Cold War.

SOURCE 12.28 Dwight D Eisenhower was the 34th president of the United States. In his farewell address on 17 January 1961, he warned that the nation needed to guard against the military-industrial complex.

Nuclear warheads and delivery systems

By the time that the Trinity Test was conducted in July 1945, the United States had built a massive network of industrial facilities and scientific laboratories. These continued to function seamlessly to produce more atomic bombs of the Mark III (Fat Man) type, and further expansion occurred in multiple areas such as in new types of bombs, new delivery systems and new plans for operational use.

US scientists believed that a more powerful bomb, what they called the ‘Super’, was theoretically possible. Since the Soviet Union had tested its first atomic bomb on 29 August 1949, President Truman was convinced by scientists such as Edward Teller that the United States must stay a step ahead. He ordered the development of this bomb, which came to be known as a hydrogen or thermonuclear bomb. Some commentators view the development of the hydrogen bomb as the second great step of the Nuclear Age. A hydrogen bomb uses a nuclear reaction based on fusion, while an atomic bomb uses fission. More energy is released in fusion and so it creates a much bigger blast. This means that hydrogen bombs can be much bigger than atomic bombs. The United States detonated its first hydrogen bomb on 1 November 1952. The Soviets followed suit and exploded their first hydrogen bomb on 12 August 1953 at Semipalatinsk in the Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan. This bomb had a yield of 400 **kilotons**, which was 20 times bigger than the 20-kiloton Nagasaki explosion. However, it wasn’t a true hydrogen bomb and was much smaller than the American test, which had been 10 megatons. On 22 November 1955, however, the Soviets detonated their first ‘true’ hydrogen bomb with a yield of 1.6 megatons. From this point, there were large numbers of nuclear tests carried out by both superpowers where they experimented with different explosive yields and types of nuclear weapons

kiloton the destructive force of a nuclear bomb equal to 1000 tonnes/metric tons of TNT (a megaton is 1000 kilotons)

RESEARCH TASK 12.6

The debate about developing the hydrogen bomb

Search for websites that outline the debate about developing the hydrogen bomb.

- 1 Identify and discuss the arguments about developing the hydrogen bomb.
- 2 Assess the necessity for taking this step of developing this new bomb.
- 3 Evaluate the impact that this had on the Cold War and the nuclear arms race. Explain.



SOURCE 12.29 A recreation of the *Enola Gay* B-29 Superfortress Bomber flying away from the mushroom cloud caused by dropping an atomic bomb over Hiroshima on 6 August 1945



SOURCE 12.30 An F-4E Phantom II aircraft drops a GBU-15 modular glide bomb during exercise Team Spirit 1985 in South Korea.



SOURCE 12.31 An SLBM fired from a submerged Trident submarine in a military exercise in June 2014. Trident submarines replaced Polaris submarines in 1980 and are still in service.

The nuclear warhead is the actual explosive part of the bomb, but there can be many different delivery systems, or ways of getting the warhead to the target. These developed over time. The first method was dropping a gravity bomb from a bomber plane. The atomic bombs dropped on Japan came from the B-29 Superfortress. Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s, new varieties of gravity bombs were developed for use by both strategic bombers and tactical fighter bombers. The United States had whole fleets of B-52 Stratofortress bombers on 24/7 alert, in flight, loaded and ready to fly to enemy territory.

The use of ballistic missiles was the real game changer. Both the United States and the Soviets had been developing missiles based on the German V2 rocket, which they had captured at the end of World War II. The Soviets conducted the first successful test of an **Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM)** on 21 August 1957. On 4 October, the same rocket launched the first satellite, called Sputnik, in space. The American people were quite alarmed at the thought of the Soviet Union being able to easily reach their cities with missiles capable of being fired between continents. The United States would never again feel that the two great oceans to their east and west would insulate them from overseas threats. They went to work on their own missile program and soon caught up, with the Atlas D missile being accepted into service on 1 September 1957.

Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) a missile that can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM) a missile that can be fired from a submarine while still submerged

Both superpowers now expanded their nuclear forces with a variety of missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (IRBM) for shorter ranges were developed in large numbers with many being deployed in Europe. From 1970, missiles with Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) capability started to come into service. This was a ballistic missile that had a number of different warheads in it which would split off on route and head for separate targets. **Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBM)** were developed and deployed to new classes of submarines like the Polaris, which came into service in 1960. These missiles could be fired even while the submarine was submerged. The Polaris submarine carried 16 SLBMs, with MIRV capability, each with three warheads, making a total of 48 warheads per submarine. Each warhead has a yield of 200 kilotons – 10 times the size of the Hiroshima bomb. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs are ‘baby nukes’ compared to the massive-sized hydrogen bombs that were now being built.

Another type of missile was the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM). This missile was a defensive missile designed to bring down incoming enemy missiles. In the 1960s, the Soviets were the first to deploy ABM

missiles to defend Moscow. They used the nuclear-armed Galosh missile as an interceptor, which meant that ABM missiles stopped the incoming missiles by detonating their warheads in the atmosphere. Though the Soviet system had 200 interceptors by 1972, they realised that they could only cope with an enemy attack of 6–8 ICBMs. The United States had their own ABM system. However, both sides were happy to sign the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in 1972, which saved them both from spending vast amounts of money on a system that did not work.

The first operational cruise missile was the German V1 flying bomb, deployed in 1944 to hit London. A cruise missile is basically a small, pilotless aircraft that carries an explosive warhead, which could be either conventional or nuclear. In the 1970s the US developed a revolutionary type that cruised at a low height, closely following the terrain so it could evade radar. It was the perfect weapon for a first-strike nuclear attack. Its deployment in Europe by NATO in 1983, along with the deployment of the new highly accurate Pershing missiles, made the Soviet leadership very concerned that the United States was planning a **decapitation strike** on the Soviet Union.

Military doctrine

Over the course of the Cold War, a set of beliefs or doctrines about nuclear weapons and their use was developed. The problem with the development of military doctrine, military strategy and military plans about fighting a nuclear war is that these cannot be based on experience from nuclear war because none have been fought. The nuclear attacks on Japan don't help in developing nuclear war-fighting theory, because the enemy could not retaliate with nuclear weapons. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are only useful in studying the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons, something that military planners had little interest in. So, over the Cold War, there was a lot of serious theoretical thinking about nuclear war with some dominant ideas and myths emerging.

The doctrine of nuclear deterrence

One dominant belief of the US–Soviet nuclear arms race was the idea of **nuclear deterrence**. Deterrence is the ability to dissuade an adversary that the cost of their intended hostile action will outweigh the benefits. Deterrence works by persuading decision makers that costs will be greater than the benefits. In everyday situations, we know that deterrence does not always work. However, when it came to nuclear weapons, it was presumed to be different. As Ward Wilson pointed out in his 2013 book, *Five Myths about Nuclear Weapons*, the history of nuclear deterrence had been distorted. However, the theory of nuclear deterrence has been one of the most 'enormously important in shaping the thinking of people who make decisions about foreign policy'. Ward Wilson argues that a study of the Cold War crises shows that 'nuclear deterrence is not fool proof,' and that this is serious, because if we rely on nuclear deterrence, it has to be perfect'. Essentially, for us to rely on nuclear deterrence it needed to work 100 per cent of the time. Furthermore, Ward Wilson says, 'If nuclear deterrence can easily fail, the decision to rely on nuclear deterrence for safety and security is a reckless, foolish crime'. As journalist Eric Schlosser said: 'Nuclear deterrence works until it doesn't, and when it doesn't there won't be anyone left to find out why.' The belief in the doctrine of nuclear deterrence survived the end of the Cold War. Each of the nine countries that possess nuclear weapons today justify their possession by saying that they need them for deterrence.



SOURCE 12.32 A US Air Force cruise missile, 1977

decapitation strike a surprise attack on the enemy targeting their leadership and command and control system

nuclear deterrence the ability to persuade an adversary that the cost of their intended hostile action will outweigh the benefits, and that a country is willing to use a massive nuclear force in retaliation in the event of being attacked

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability (analysing issues)



Nuclear deterrence is still accepted today by many military strategists and is the basis for the nine NWS retaining their nuclear weapons.

- 1 Identify episodes in the Cold War in which nuclear deterrence has not worked.
- 2 Explain how nuclear deterrence operated in the recent nuclear dispute between North Korea and the United States.
- 3 Can a case be made for the nuclear taboo being a stronger factor in preventing the use of nuclear weapons than nuclear deterrence?

Extended Nuclear Deterrence (END) the extension of the principle of nuclear deterrence to a country's allies, so that if an ally is attacked, a nuclear attack will be launched in retaliation; it is also called 'extending a nuclear umbrella to allies'

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) having a large enough nuclear arsenal so that in the event of an enemy attack there is enough firepower to strike back with a response so massive that the enemy would suffer assured destruction



Extended Nuclear Deterrence (END)

A by-product of the doctrine of nuclear deterrence is the doctrine of **Extended Nuclear Deterrence (END)**. This meant extending the protection of a country's nuclear arsenal to its allies. During the Cold War, the NATO alliance played a crucial role in deterring a Soviet attack on Western Europe. Every US president since Eisenhower has made it clear that any invasion or attack on one of its NATO allies would be considered as if it were an attack on the United States itself, and that they would retaliate with nuclear weapons. John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, made this very clear in a speech he gave on 12 January 1954 when he said that the United States would protect its allies through the 'deterrent of massive retaliatory power'. During his presidency, Eisenhower relied more and more on nuclear weapons for the defence of allies of the United States, as nuclear weapons were cheaper than conventional forces.

Extended Nuclear Deterrence has also continued since the end of the Cold War. The United States today extends the protection of its nuclear umbrella to the other 28 member-nations of NATO, plus its allies in Asia (such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Australia). The United States has pledged consistently to defend its allies, and has implied that this could mean with nuclear weapons. Since 1994, Australia has had its reliance on END written into its Defence White Papers. The 2016 Defence White Paper stated that: 'Only the nuclear and conventional capabilities of the United States can offer effective deterrence against the possibility of nuclear threats against Australia.' 

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)

Another doctrine that has come to symbolise the futility of the whole nuclear arms race was the concept of **Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD)**. This doctrine was first spelt out by US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara in 1962. In essence, any attack by the Soviet Union would result in such a forceful retaliation by the United States and its NATO allies that the destruction of both sides would be 'assured'. In other words, the Soviet Union should be deterred from contemplating a first-strike attack on the United States or its allies because it would be destroyed too.

Eight months after McNamara publicly explained MAD, it was put to test in the Cuban Missile Crisis. President Kennedy promised a 'full retaliatory response' on the Soviet Union if there was any attack on the United States.

SOURCE 12.33 Robert McNamara, US Defense Secretary, during the NATO Council meeting at La Porte Dauphine Palace, 15 December 1965

Eventually, many people started to think that the acronym MAD accurately reflected the real implications of such a doctrine. The MAD doctrine intensified the public's fear of nuclear war for the rest of the Cold War, particularly in the 1980s. By the 1980s, there was a global restlessness regarding official military doctrine on nuclear weapons. The propaganda regarding being able to survive a nuclear war was no longer accepted by many people.

Military plans

Nuclear weapons are the dominant military fact of our era, and yet we know practically nothing about how they would actually work in war when we use the large numbers ... Strategists discussing nuclear war ... have theories and hypotheses and even doctrines about nuclear war, but they do not know how it would work, except that it would be very bad.

SOURCE 12.34 Gwynne Dyer, *War: The Lethal Custom*, 2004, p. 293

Canadian historian Gwynne Dyer observed that we know little about the arguments that took place on the Soviet side about military strategy. As for the United States, there was a running argument over the course of the Cold War between two camps:

- those who believed that nuclear weapons should never again be used and should be reserved only for deterring the other side from using nuclear weapons
- those who continually sought ways to make nuclear weapons usable in war.

In the 1960s, US military strategy on nuclear weapons settled on the idea of one integrated military plan to use in the event of war. It was called the **Single Integrated Operations Plan (SIOP)**. The SIOP coordinated all of the nuclear weapons from the Army, Air Force and Navy into one plan. McNamara refined SIOP-63, so that it included five categories which the US president could choose from in the event of war. Only the president had the authority to authorise a nuclear attack. Communication protocols were set up to ensure that any message from the president was authorised and real. The launch codes were carried in a briefcase, called the 'football', by an aide who was always near the president. If the United States was under attack, the president would be given a very short briefing by his generals. If the president decided they needed to act, then the generals would ask which category of targets they would like to destroy in the Soviet Union and/or in China. The president would then issue an order with the codes and the nuclear missiles would be launched. This system operated from 1961 to 2003.

There were two main divisions of nuclear weapons, tactical and strategic. **Strategic nuclear weapons** were usually bigger and targeted cities and industrial areas, while **tactical nuclear weapons** were usually smaller and designed for battlefield use. These two types of nuclear weapons would be integrated into SIOP.

Single Integrated Operations Plan (SIOP)

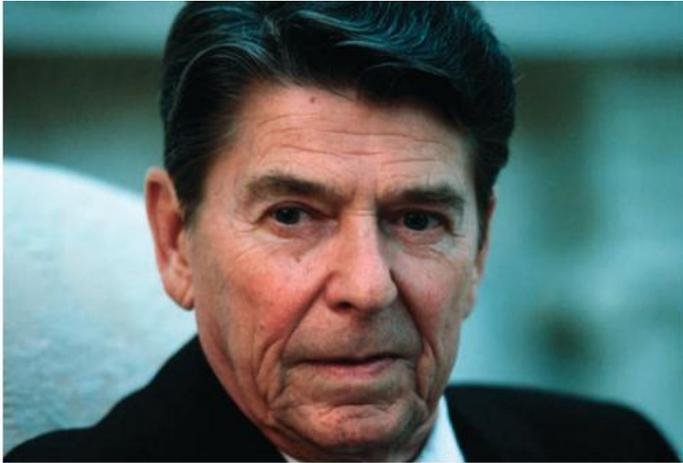
a plan giving the US president a range of targeting options for launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union or any other enemy

strategic nuclear weapon a larger nuclear weapon designed for the destruction of cities

tactical nuclear weapon a small nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use



SOURCE 12.35 An aide to President George H Bush carrying the nuclear football in 1990



SOURCE 12.36 President Reagan was shocked after receiving his first SIOPI briefing in October 1983.

Joint Chiefs of Staff the heads of the US Army, Navy and Air Force, who advise the US president on national security matters

Each new incoming US president has had to take part in a role-play of a SIOPI with his **Joint Chiefs of Staff**. This means the president is presented with various scenarios and asked, ‘Mr President, which targets would you like to choose?’ It is common for a president to come out of a SIOPI briefing in a state of shock. President Eisenhower was reported to have said ‘You can’t have this kind of war. There just aren’t enough bulldozers to scrape the bodies off the streets.’

In the 1980s, President Reagan had put off attending a SIOPI briefing. He reluctantly agreed to do so in October 1983. According to Beth Fischer in her 2000 book, *The Reagan Reversal*, President Reagan was ‘chastened’ by what he witnessed. He called the meeting ‘a most sobering experience’ and likened it to the film *The Day After*, which he had recently watched. In his diary, he wrote ‘There are some people at the Pentagon who claim a nuclear war is winnable. I thought they were crazy’.

A MATTER OF FACT

The nuclear triad



SOURCE 12.37 The nuclear triad

nuclear triad the delivery of a strategic nuclear arsenal consisting of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)

Both of the superpowers had created nuclear arsenals based on three methods of delivery – the **nuclear triad** of land, air and sea. This means that the nuclear arsenals of both sides were designed to retain a second-strike capability, to be able to absorb an attack and to retaliate with massive force. Some theorists have argued that a nation only needed the submarine force as a minimum deterrence against attacks, as it is nearly impossible to destroy all nuclear submarines in a surprise attack. In fact, McNamara liked this idea, but there was no way that he could convince all of the Army and Air Force and the other stakeholders in the military-industrial complex to agree. Britain today relies solely on nuclear-armed

Trident submarines for its defence. Since 2018, the United States has been pushing ahead with plans to modernise all three legs of its triad at a cost of US\$1.2 trillion.

The development of global strike

The end of the Cold War should have seen the end of a need for the use of nuclear deterrence. However, during the 1990s, while Russia was preoccupied with its own massive political, social and economic problems in its rebirth as a fledgling democracy, the United States political and military establishment was in state of drift with the loss of their old Cold War adversary. At this time, the Clinton administration failed to push hard for global military disarmament and justifications crept back in for keeping their military arsenal. In the 1990s, the US military started looking at targeting non-nuclear states and political leaders started making a big noise about 'rogue states' and terrorists getting nuclear weapons.

In the George W Bush administration, from 2001 to 2009, the United States developed the global strike policy. The idea was to use overwhelming US conventional and nuclear superiority to deter any nation or group from attacking the United States or its allies – in other words, be ready to target anywhere on the planet. The SIOP was replaced by two plans:

- OPLAN 8044, which targeted the Russian nuclear arsenal
- OPLAN 8022-02, a flexible plan covering the rest of the globe.

On 18 November 2005, Global Strike Command became operational.



SOURCE 12.38 A US F/A 18 Super Hornet on patrol from an aircraft carrier. Since 2005, the United States has the ability to strike anywhere on the planet with its more flexible military plans.

Cold War balance of terror, dictated by fear of retaliation, has been thrown off, and, in a grand return of the nuclear war-fighting doctrine, superiority has been declared over all adversaries and even all conceivable future adversaries. The Cold War principles of nuclear stalemate and comparative inaction have been superseded by principles of superiority and action.

SOURCE 12.39 Jonathan Schell, *The Seventh Decade*, 2007, p. 127

Command and control systems

Everything in a country's nuclear war-fighting capacity was dependent on its command and control system. Each of the superpower's command control systems had to:

- coordinate early warning systems and ensure that alerts were analysed quickly and passed on to military command
- ensure that all the mobile missiles (IRBMs), missiles in silos (ICBMs) and submarines (SLBMs), and all of the gravity bombs or cruise missiles carried in bomber and fighter planes were ready for use
- ensure that there were sound and secure communications between all people in the system
- ensure the safety of all weapons and fissile material in the system from accident, mistake or terrorist attack.

In his 2013 book, *Command and Control*, Eric Schlosser did a detailed study of the history of the United States' command and control system. Using declassified documents, he found many accidents, mishaps, malfunctions and mistakes that could have ended in a nuclear catastrophe, but fortunately none of them did. There has been no equivalent of a Chernobyl or a Fukushima with a nuclear weapon – yet! Schlosser maintains that nuclear weapons are the greatest threat to the nations that possess them, because every one of them is an accident waiting to happen. Schlosser is only speaking about the US command and control system. He suspects that command and control systems in other countries may be far riskier, and suspects that Pakistan's nuclear weapons are the least secure.

Schlosser says that the threat did not disappear with the end of the Cold War, and that the command and control systems of the nine countries that have nuclear weapons today are still a threat. He concluded

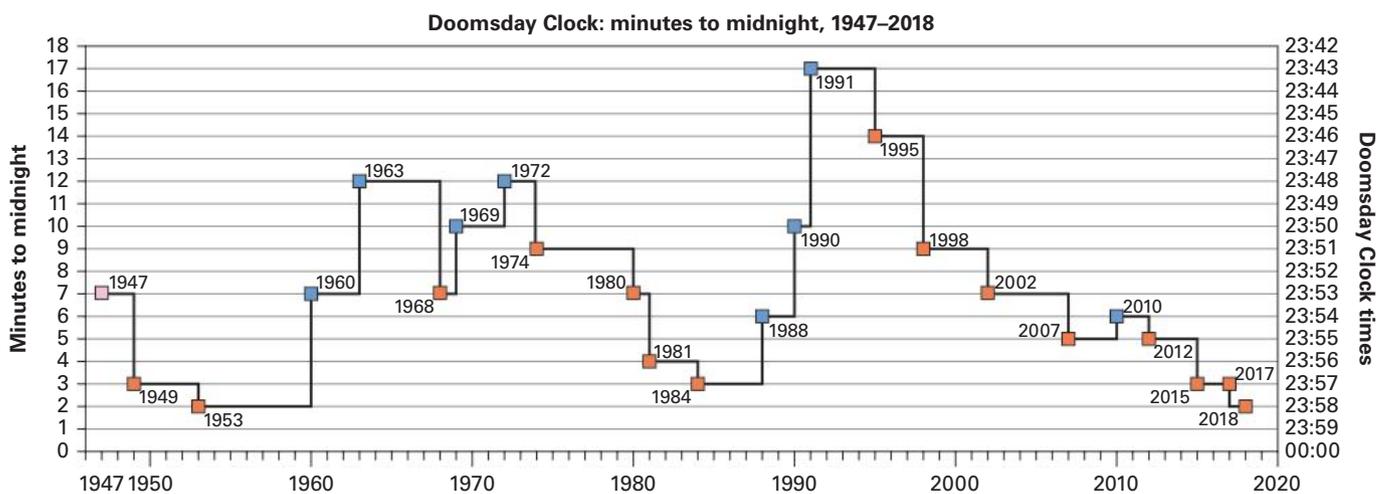
his book with the following statement: ‘Right now, thousands of missiles are hidden away, literally out of sight, topped with warheads and ready to go, awaiting the right electrical signal. They are a collective death-wish, barely suppressed. Every one is an accident waiting to happen, a potential act of mass murder. They are out there, waiting, soulless and mechanical, sustained by our denial – and they work.’

RESEARCH TASK 12.7

Accidents and near misses

Access the following website: www.9websites.com/airforce/nucacc.htm. Read through the lists related to the five categories. Identify two from each category that you think were potentially the most dangerous. Draw up a table like the one below, and make notes on the details of the two incidents from each category. In the cause column, identify whether the incident was due to human error (HE), machine error (ME) or system error (SE). Compare the whole list and rank the top five incidents in terms of not just the outcome, but by potentially what could have happened.

Category	Details	Cause	Ranking
Explosion, burning			
Weapons lost/missing			
False warnings			
Accidents resulting in fatalities			
High explosive detonation			
Other minor incidents			



SOURCE 12.40 This graph of the Doomsday Clock times spanning the Nuclear Age shows us the times of greatest tension and uncertainty and the times when tensions have been eased. The numbers closest to midnight represent the greatest danger; so in this, the lower the position on the graph, the closer the Doomsday Clock indicated the potential for catastrophe.

Nuclear Age tensions

The **Doomsday Clock**, which was created by the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) in 1947, is a measure of how close FAS's board of experts thinks we are to the end of human civilisation. The board meets twice yearly to discuss the current state of the world in terms of global threats. Since 2007, climate change and other global threats have been included in their deliberations. The history of the Doomsday Clock settings since 1947 gives a useful snapshot of the level of danger present at various points through the Nuclear Age. However, the Doomsday Clock does not give a complete picture. As the Doomsday Clock is set at two fixed times each year, the clock is set according to what the immediate threat level is, not what it has been. This means that often there are dramatic events which occur but, because they are resolved before the clock is due to be set, they do not affect the clock setting. For example, the Cuban Missile Crisis, which many historians regard as the closest we have come to nuclear war, reached its climax and resolution before the clock was set. Other historians would argue that two events in 1983 brought the world even closer to nuclear war. However, the public did not know about these events till many years later.

Doomsday Clock a process set up by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1947 to assess the likelihood of a global catastrophe caused by human means; the closer to midnight the minute hand is on the clock, the closer the world is to catastrophe

RESEARCH TASK 12.8

The Cold War and the Doomsday Clock

Go to the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists' website. Explore and study the setting of the clock over the Nuclear Age, starting with 1947.

- 1 Identify three times over the Nuclear Age when there were the biggest shifts away from midnight. What things were occurring in the world at these times that accounted for these clock settings?
- 2 Identify the times or periods in the Nuclear Age that were designated by the board to be the times of greatest threat to humanity. What reasons were given by the board for their decisions?

None of the crises listed below are indicated on the Doomsday Clock for the reasons listed above. Research and make notes on each of these Cold War crises.

Draw up a table like the one below.

Crisis	Details	Clock setting	Reason
Korean War 1950–53			
Cuban Missile Crisis 16–28 October 1962			
Yom Kippur War 6–29 October 1973			
Incident at Serpukhov 15–26 September 1983			
Able Archer NATO exercise 2–12 November 1983			

- 1 Analyse how close the world came to a nuclear catastrophe on each of these occasions.
- 2 Evaluate the role that leadership or decisions by individuals had in a catastrophe being averted on each of these occasions.

- 3 Construct your own Doomsday Clock setting for each of these events and enter it into the third column. Give reasons for your choice.
- 4 Evaluate the importance of the actions, words and policies of the leaders of the nine NWS today in averting nuclear crises.
- 5 Compare recent nuclear crises with these Cold War crises for both similarities and differences.

A MATTER OF FACT

Colonel Stanislav Petrov was on duty on the night of 26 September 1983 at the Serpukhov Early Warning Command Centre when a false missile signal showed that US missiles were headed for Russia. The 2014 documentary *The Man Who Saved the World* was based on this event and the impact on Petrov's life. Petrov passed away in May 2017.



SOURCE 12.41 Colonel Stanislav Petrov

The cost of the nuclear arms race

The decisions taken by political leaders in 1945 and 1946 led to a nuclear arms race between the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union that lasted for 46 years. The other choice that could have been pursued more vigorously by both the United States and the Soviet Union would have been international control of nuclear technology. This was the road not taken. Instead, the two superpowers embarked on a nuclear arms race that put the whole of the planet at risk. The nuclear arms race also inflicted an enormous cost on the economies and societies of both of the superpowers.

In his 2007 book, *Arsenals of Folly*, Richard Rhodes says that it is estimated for the United States alone, the cost of the nuclear arms race, in money terms, was at least US\$5.5 trillion and perhaps as high as US\$10 trillion. The 'overkill' in spending by the US military-industrial complex led to an inability to deal



SOURCE 12.42 Richard Rhodes says the United States paid a price for the nuclear arms race in its crumbling infrastructure.

with all the problems of American cities (such as crime, poverty, riots, pollution, and basic infrastructure decay). The American war economy devoured the civilian economy, and at least US\$1.6 trillion would need to be injected into infrastructure alone to 'correct the pervasive deficiencies it found'.

... the superpower nuclear arms race and the corresponding militarisation of the American economy gave us ramshackle cities, broken bridges, failing schools, entrenched poverty, impeded life expectancy, and a menacing and secretive national security state that held the entire human world hostage.

SOURCE 12.43 Richard Rhodes, *Arsenals of Folly*, 2007, p. 308

If the United States paid a heavy price for 'winning' the Cold War, the Soviet Union paid a heavier price for no gain whatsoever. In fact, the nuclear arms race, along with other dysfunctional economic policies, virtually bankrupted the communist superpower. By the time that Mikhail Gorbachev was negotiating with Ronald Reagan at Reykjavík in 1986, he knew that he had to get a nuclear arms agreement, and an end to the arms race, to save the Soviet economy. Since the end of the Cold War, the Russian Federation has struggled with a dysfunctional and corrupt capitalist economy that strains to meet its people's basic needs while the rich oligarchs get richer.

Finally, the rest of the world paid a price for the nuclear arms race. As well as 46 years of fear, there was a price paid in the humanitarian impact of 2056 nuclear weapons tests conducted as of the end of 2017 in many locations around the world. Two hundred and nineteen of these tests were done in the atmosphere, thus spreading radioactive dust around the globe. Of course, added to this are the victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. However, the two superpowers were not the only culprits in causing an adverse humanitarian and environmental impact. There are seven other NWS who have had a part to play. 🗝

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation



Assess the proposition that the nuclear arms race contributed to the problems of poverty, health, education and infrastructure in the United States.

12.5 Living with the bomb

Civil defence

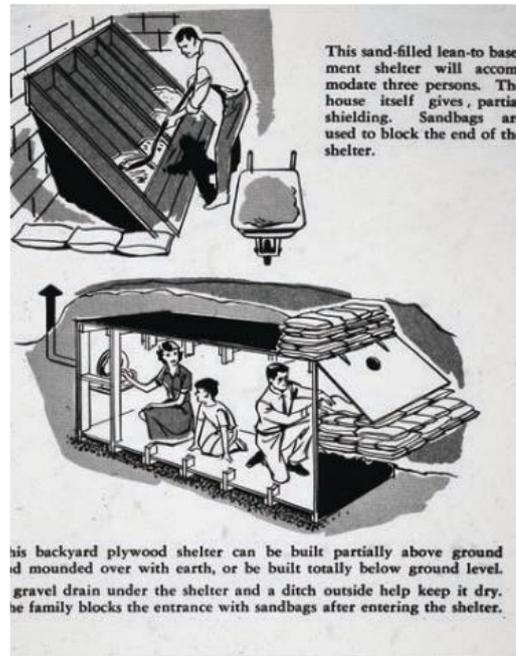
While world leaders embarked on a nuclear arms race, the people of the world had to learn to 'live with the bomb'. The growing fear of nuclear weapons in the 1950s generated by the revulsion towards Hiroshima and the gigantic hydrogen bomb tests conducted in the atmosphere in the Pacific and over Kazakhstan convinced successive US presidents that a civil defence program was needed to ease concern. As a result, massive amounts of money were expended on civil defence plans and educational programs. In schools, regular civil defence drills were conducted, while communities were educated on how to build makeshift fallout shelters, instructed to stockpile supplies and given tips to survive in a post-nuclear attack world.



SOURCE 12.44 A US nuclear weapons test at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands in 1946. Credit: US Government.



SOURCE 12.45 This poster is from 1961. The US Federal Civil Defense Administration distributed these posters across the country with the blank area at the bottom overprinted with the names of local businesses that were supporting regional civil defence initiatives.



SOURCE 12.46 (Left) Illustrations depicting two makeshift family bomb shelters during the Cold War. From a US Department of Defense publication, 30 December 1961. (Right) Students 'duck and cover' their heads in the hallway of their school during an atomic bomb drill in 1965.



RESEARCH TASK 12.9

Civil defence films

Locate and watch the following YouTube clips:

- 'Survival under atomic attack'
- 'Protect and survive'
- 'Should disaster strike'.

Construct a table like the one below. Watch each video clip and make notes in the 'Survival advice' column on the various tips and advice given on surviving a nuclear war.

Find two more US video clips, one from the 1950s and one from the 1960s. Make notes like you did with the other clips. For all of the clips, comment in the right-hand column on the usefulness of the advice given in each of the films.

Film	Date	Country	Survival advice	Comment
Survival under atomic attack	1951	US		
		US		
		US		
Protect and Survive	1976	UK		
Should Disaster Strike	1987	UK		

- 1 Outline the common advice that was given over the five film clips.
- 2 Explain why some of the films would be more effective than others.
- 3 Distinguish any differences in the way the topic is handled:
 - a) across the four decades
 - b) between the United States and Britain.

Locate the 1983 film, *The Day After*. Watch it from the 58-minute mark.

- 1 Identify any survival advice from the civil defence films that you see referenced in *The Day After*.
- 2 Explain how *The Day After* demonstrates the effectiveness, or lack of, of such advice.

Films from the 1980s, like the US *The Day After* (1983) and the UK *Threads* (1984), and documentaries like *Atomic Café* (1982), effectively killed off nuclear civil defence plans and educational programs, and any notion that a nuclear war could be survived, or would be worth surviving. The old civil defence plans and educational material seemed absurd now that people had a much clearer picture of what a nuclear war would really be like. For instance, the general public had not heard about **nuclear winter** until it was mentioned by Carl Sagan in a panel discussion after the national screening of *The Day After*. As a result of this more realistic view, civil defence plans in countries around the world gathered dust. By the end of the 1980s governments were hard-pressed to develop credible civil defence plans and educational material about them that would not be torn to shreds by the experts and by anyone with just a rudimentary knowledge of nuclear weapons. Governments no longer identify underground levels of certain buildings in the CBD suitable to use as shelters in the event of a nuclear attack.

Nuclear proliferation

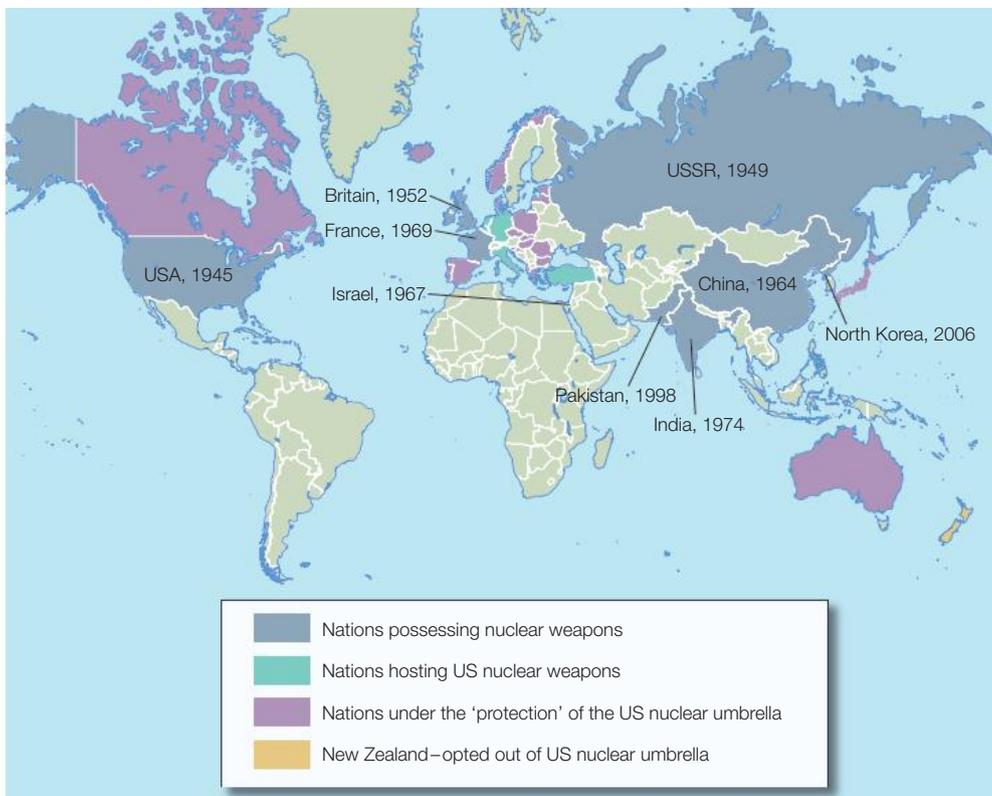
The nuclear arms race was not just between the United States and the Soviet Union. The two superpowers were gradually joined by seven other nations that joined the nuclear club. The number of nuclear-armed states could have been much higher if it weren't for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968. Every nation that has decided to possess nuclear weapons has done so with the motivation of deterring other countries from attacking. The United States decided to build the bomb in World War II to deter Germany, who they thought may soon get it, from attacking them. The Soviets got the bomb to deter the United States from attacking them. Britain got the bomb to deter Moscow; Israel got the bomb to deter its Arab neighbours; India and Pakistan sought to deter each other, and France wanted to deter everyone (from 1960 the French developed nuclear weapons as part of its Force de dissuasion program of nuclear deterrence). More recently, North Korea has acquired the bomb to deter the United States from attacking it. As Jonathan Schell observed, 'every deterrer was once a proliferator, and every proliferator has become a deterrer'. No country has ever been invited to this nuclear club, says Schell, 'all have entered by breaking down the door'. According to Schell: 'It is above all fear – or, to use the proper word in context, terror – that links one arsenal to another, creating the chain that connects them all.'

nuclear winter the scientific theory that all of the firestorms created by even just 100 cities hit with nuclear bombs will send so much soot and debris into the atmosphere that the sun will be blocked out for months, resulting in plummeting temperatures, which in turn would destroy all agricultural production



SOURCE 12.47 A fallout shelter sign still hangs near the entrance to a school in Washington DC. In the early 1960s, Washington was at the centre of civil defence preparations in case of a nuclear blast, with over 1000 dedicated public fallout shelters in schools, churches and government buildings.

nuclear proliferation the spread of nuclear information, technology and weapons to new countries that had not possessed them



SOURCE 12.48 This map shows the nine NWS and the years that they became nuclear. Also shown are the states that are under the protection of the US nuclear umbrella.

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

 Research Mordechai Vanunu and the Israeli nuclear arsenal and answer the following questions.

- 1 What did Mordechai Vanunu reveal about Israeli nuclear weapons?
- 2 What was Vanunu's Sydney connection?
- 3 How was Vanunu captured?
- 4 What has happened to Vanunu since then?
- 5 Israel never signed the NPT. Why hasn't this been a problem for Israel?

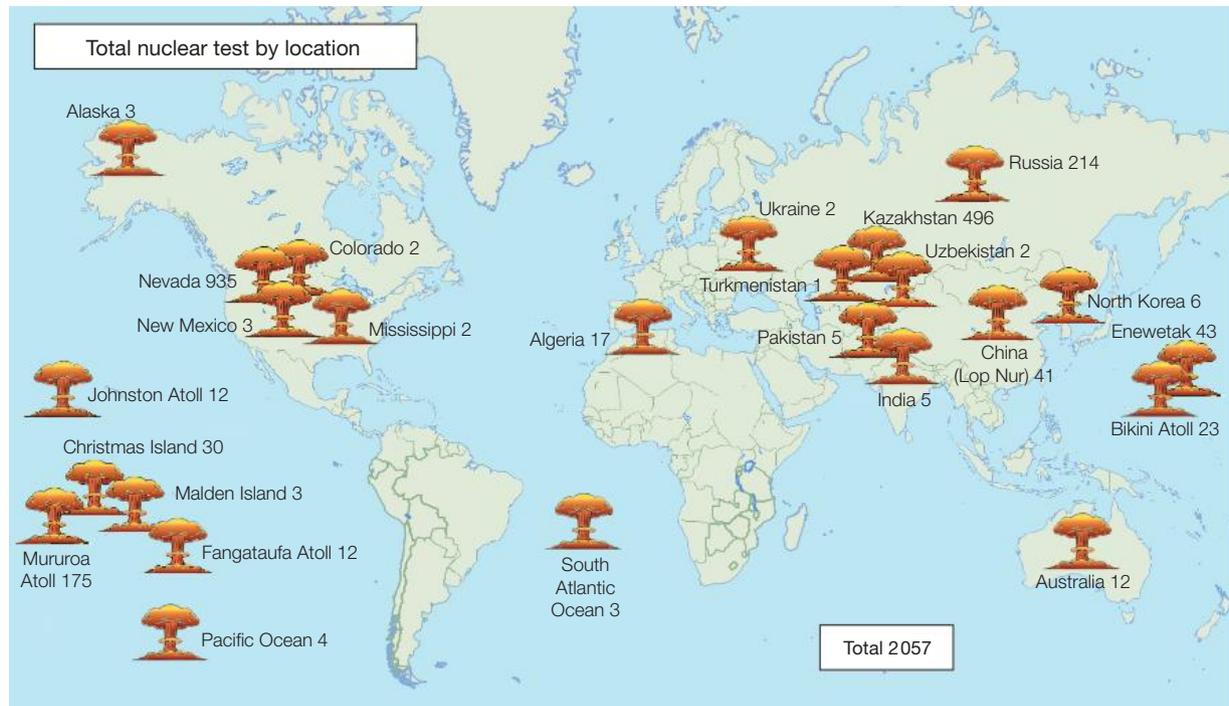


SOURCE 12.49 Mordechai Vanunu, a technician jailed for revealing secrets of Israel's nuclear weapons program, 24 March 1988

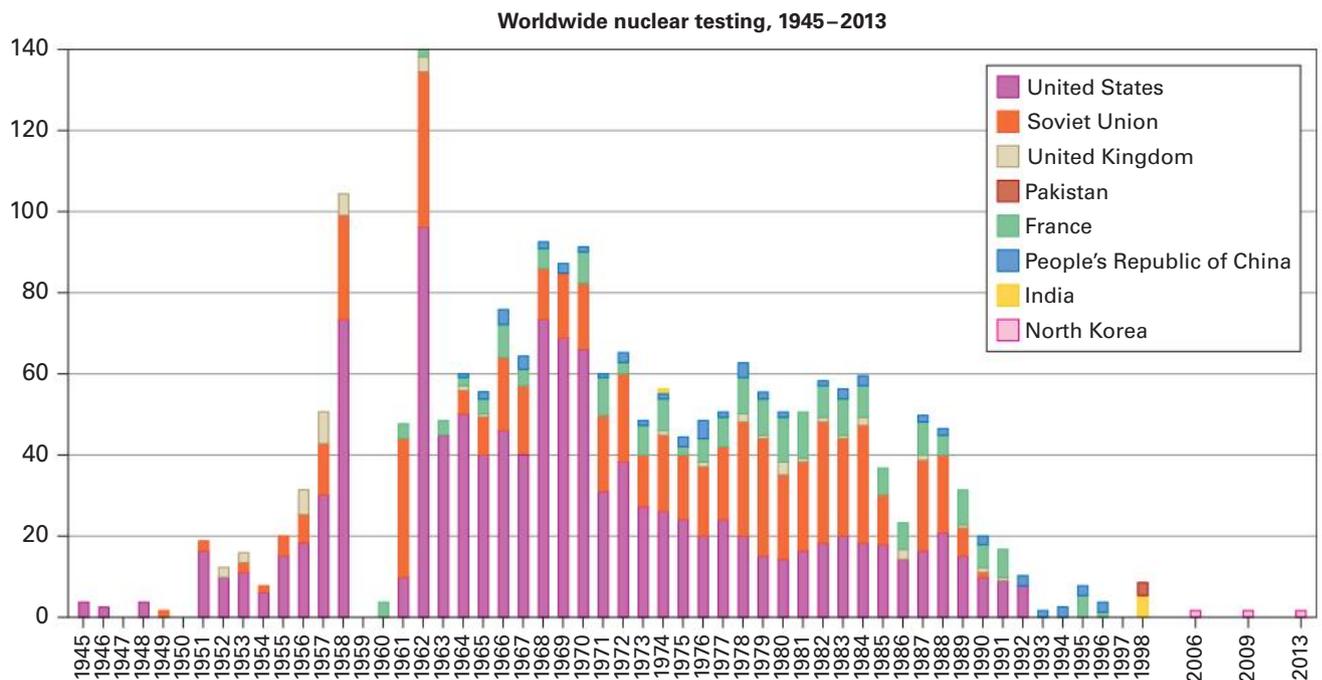
From World War II, the United States sought to prevent its closest allies, Britain and Canada, from developing their own atomic weapons despite the fact that both countries had scientists doing advanced nuclear work on the US Manhattan Project. After the war, Canada expressed no interest in acquiring their own nuclear weapons, but Britain was absolutely determined to get their own despite the US opposition and refusal to assist them. Britain finally got their own bomb in 1952, which they exploded in Australia. The United States then reluctantly accepted Britain into the nuclear club. However, the United States did not assist Britain with their bomb program until 1958, when both countries signed the US–UK Mutual Defence Agreement. This cooperation enabled Britain to conduct their tests more cheaply.

However, when China got the bomb in 1964, the US President Johnson was concerned that more and more countries would develop nuclear weapons and that this proliferation would make the world more unstable. The United States found that the Soviet Union was in agreement and in 1968 they joined with the other three nations that had nuclear weapons to sign the NPT. 

Nuclear testing



SOURCE 12.50 Map of locations of nuclear tests, 1945–2017



SOURCE 12.51 From the first nuclear test in 1945 until tests by Pakistan in 1998, there was never a period of more than 22 months without nuclear testing. June 1998–October 2006 was the longest period since 1945 with no acknowledged nuclear tests.

US and Soviet testing

During the nuclear arms race, both superpowers conducted nuclear weapons tests in various locations. The nuclear tests had a severe humanitarian and environmental impact on these locations. Many local people are still suffering the effect of these nuclear tests. The effects of the worldwide spread of radioactive dust

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

 Locate the website for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban (CTBT) Treaty Organization.

- 1 How many nuclear tests have been undertaken by:
 - the United States
 - the Soviet Union
 - Britain
 - France
 - China
 - India
 - Pakistan
 - North Korea?
- 2 Rank the main test sites in terms of numbers of tests.
- 3 What was the biggest nuclear test ever conducted? Where?
- 4 How many tests were conducted in Australia? Where?
- 5 How many nuclear tests were conducted above ground?
- 6 What has happened to nuclear testing since 1996? Why?
- 7 What will it take for the CTBT to enter into force and ban all testing?

from all the above-ground atmospheric testing that occurred up to 1963 is indeterminate. One of the first major successes of the nuclear disarmament movement was the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, which partly allayed this fear. 



SOURCE 12.52 The ATOM Project's Honorary Ambassador Karipbek Kuyukov, speaking at an ICAN event in Vienna in 2014. Kuyukov was born without arms as a result of his parent's exposure to nuclear testing at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union exploded 450 nuclear bombs in Kazakhstan between 1949 and 1989. The ATOM Project is among 486 partners of ICAN.

British nuclear testing in Australia and the Pacific



SOURCE 12.53 (Left) A typical mushroom cloud rises over the atomic testing range at Maralinga in South Australia in 1956. Many Aboriginal people who lived near the site knew nothing of the tests or their dangers. (Right) British nuclear tests occurred between 1956 and 1963 at the Maralinga site, part of the Woomera Prohibited Area in South Australia and about 800 kilometres north-west of Adelaide.

British nuclear testing in Australia

Australia was to become drawn into the Nuclear Age in a number of ways. The first and perhaps most dramatic was having nuclear bombs exploded on Australian soil. The main reason for this stunning development was that the British wanted to develop their own atomic bomb. Though British and Australian scientists had worked on the Manhattan Project in the United States during World War II, the US Congress passed the McMahon Act on 1 August 1946. A provision in the McMahon Act was that the United States would retain a monopoly over nuclear technology, meaning that it would not share this technology even with Britain, its closest ally in World War II. The reason for this was the suspicion that there were active Soviet spies in Britain.

However, ever since the British MAUD Report (1941) which finally propelled the United States to go all out in the development of the atomic bomb, the British were determined to build their own atomic bomb regardless of whether Germany developed one or not. However, after World War II, Britain was on its own. Canada was the first choice for a British test, but the Canadians did not like the idea of their wilderness areas being contaminated with radioactive materials. So, the British turned to Australia as a location for nuclear tests. It only took a telegram to Prime Minister Menzies to secure Australian permission to use our land and our uranium for the British nuclear program. The rationale that the British used was of 'Empire Defence'. This was the idea that a British nuclear weapons arsenal and a British fleet of jet bombers would be located in bases in British Commonwealth countries around the world and be on call to 'deliver' nuclear weapons to the Soviet Union in the event of a Soviet nuclear attack. However, the idea of Empire Defence died out when the United States and Britain resumed cooperation on nuclear matters with the Mutual Defence Agreement of 1958.

The impact of nuclear testing on Indigenous people and service personnel

RESEARCH TASK 12.10

Black Mist Burnt Country

Locate and explore the Black Mist Burnt Country website.

Draw a table like the one below of the atomic tests in Australia. Use it to summarise each of the 12 nuclear tests conducted in Australia.

Test	Date	Location	Details	Significance

- 1 Describe the significance of the October 1952 test.
- 2 Explain the reasons for three locations being used.
- 3 Identify the number of Australian personnel that worked at Maralinga.
- 4 Evaluate the effect of the 1959 agreement and the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty on the British nuclear weapons program in Australia.
- 5 Calculate the number of 'minor trials' that were carried out and summarise the issues involved with these.
- 6 Describe the impact of the nuclear testing on the environment.
- 7 Summarise the achievements of the 1984 Royal Commission.
- 8 Describe the impact of nuclear testing on the Indigenous people.
- 9 Identify Yami Lester and assess his significance to the testing program.
- 10 Interpret 'Maralinga' from the language of the Garik people into English.

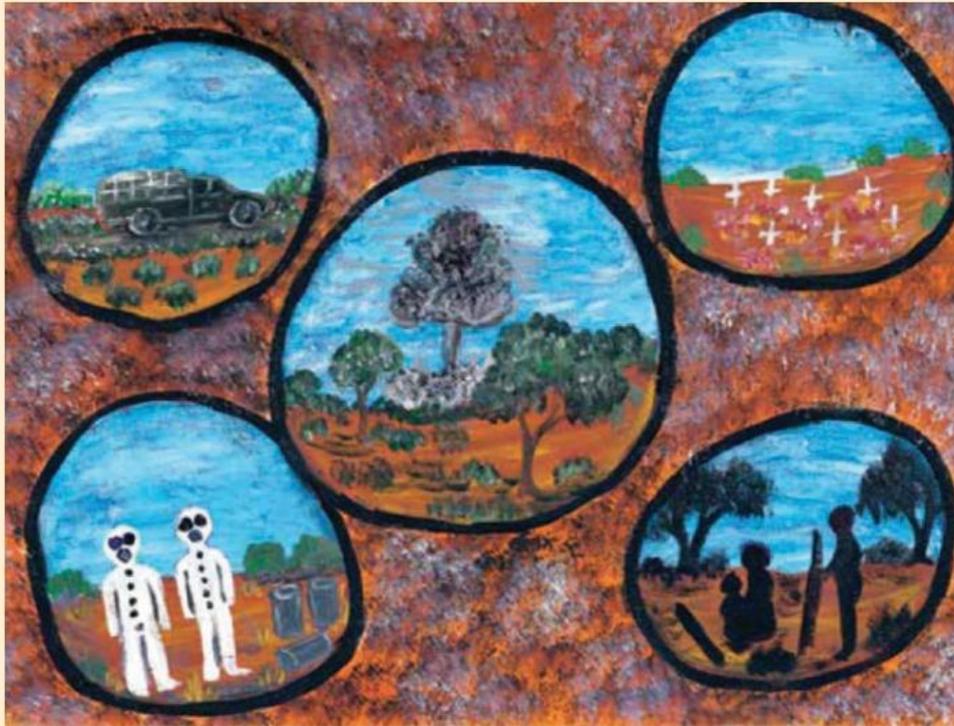
RESEARCH TASK 12.11

Locate and explore the Black Mist White Rain: Nuclear Testing in our Region website.



SOURCE 12.54 6 April 2016, Black Mist White Rain Tour in Melbourne. Three Indigenous women with ICAN Asia-Pacific Director Tim Wright, spoke about the impact of nuclear testing on their people and environment. Sue Coleman-Haseldine (left) and Karina Lester (right) spoke about the British nuclear testing on Australian Indigenous communities, and Abaca Anjain-Maddison spoke about US nuclear testing on the Marshall Islanders.

- 1 Identify the various impacts that nuclear testing had on:
 - each of the women personally
 - the communities in Australia
 - the Marshall Islanders.
- 2 Describe the ongoing environmental and health issues in these two locations.
- 3 Compare the responses of the British/Australia and US governments to the concerns of these indigenous peoples.



SOURCE 12.55 Yvonne Edwards (Pitjantjatjara, 1950–2012) *Maralinga* 2009 acrylic on canvas, 30 x 40 cm. Produced for *Maralinga, The Anangu Story* by Yalata and Oak Valley Communities with Christobel Mattingley, Allen & Unwin, 2009 © Maralinga Tjarutja Inc. representing the Oak Valley and Yalata Communities, 2009.

- 1 Explain what is happening in each of the five circles.
- 2 Classify the circles into chronological order.

French testing in the Pacific and the international response

The French conducted a total of 201 nuclear tests; 17 of these were in the desert in Algeria and the remaining 193 were in the south-west Pacific in French Polynesia. France had argued over decades of testing that the tests were ‘clean’. However, newly declassified military documents released and published by *La Parisen* newspaper on 17 July 2017 revealed that the Tahitians were exposed to plutonium fallout that was 500 times over what was officially allowed. This now explains why the levels of thyroid cancer and leukaemia have been so high among the 23 000 veterans and civilians who were employed on the tests, and among the 127 000 people of French Polynesia. Only 11 out of the 800 people who have lodged applications have received any compensation.

There was widespread opposition to French nuclear testing over the decades. Both Australia and New Zealand took the French Government



SOURCE 12.56 French ‘Licome’ test of a thermonuclear weapon at Mururoa Atoll in the Pacific. The yield was 914 kilotons, more than 40 times bigger than the bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

KEY QUESTIONS

New Zealand and nuclear disarmament



New Zealand has taken an active and courageous position regarding nuclear disarmament. How do you account for this?

to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). On 23 June 1973, the ICJ condemned French atmospheric nuclear testing. Though France ignored the ruling at first, mounting international pressure forced it to cease testing in the atmosphere in 1974, and to carry out its tests underground. However, reports in the press in 2014 warned that Mururoa Atoll was on the verge of collapse due to the many holes ripped into it by underground testing from 1974 on. 



SOURCE 12.57 (Left) Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior II* on a visit to Sydney in 1986; (right) its predecessor, *Rainbow Warrior I*, was blown up in a terrorist act by French agents.

By 1985, Greenpeace was at the forefront of the activist campaigns in the Pacific. On the night of 10 July 1985, the Greenpeace flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior*, was moored in Auckland Harbour. Two explosions ripped through the hull, killing a crew member. The *Rainbow Warrior* had been protesting the continued French nuclear testing in the Pacific. Two French agents were caught and charged with murder and subsequently sentenced to 10 years jail. This led to a deterioration in relations between France and New Zealand, with France blocking access to the European Economic Community and New Zealand boycotting France. Finally, a deal was worked out in which New Zealand was paid compensation and the two French terrorists were to serve out their sentences in Tahiti. However, the pair were given early releases. The failure of the United States and Britain to condemn an act of French terrorism contributed to New Zealand's pursuit of a fiercely independent foreign policy.

After years of heated debate and protests in New Zealand over the issue of US nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed naval ships visiting New Zealand ports, the Labour government passed the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act in 1987. This prevented such visits to New Zealand ports. The United States retaliated by downgrading New Zealand's status as an ally in the ANZUS treaty. Prime Minister David Lange said that 'it is the price we are prepared to pay'. To this day, New Zealand has been on the forefront of global efforts for nuclear disarmament.

12.6 The 'Trojan horse' of nuclear power: the benefits and risks of the Nuclear Age

'Atoms for Peace' — the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

In an atmosphere of rising fear around the world about the possibility of a nuclear war and of the massive number of above-ground nuclear tests, President Eisenhower gave a speech at the United Nations General Assembly on 8 December 1953. In this speech, he launched his 'Atoms for Peace' proposal. This proposal entailed disseminating the peaceful use of nuclear technology while guarding against other nations acquiring nuclear weapons.

The US president's proposal eventually saw the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as a part of the United Nations in 1957. Its mandate was to work with member states to promote safe, secure and peaceful nuclear technologies. The idea was that there were great benefits to be had from harnessing nuclear energy and that there should be an international mechanism to allow countries to share nuclear technology, as long as they promised not to develop atomic weapons. 🔑

However, critics argued that the IAEA has served to lay the foundations for nuclear proliferation. The mission of the IAEA was included in the 1968 NPT in which Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) were given full access to nuclear technology provided they promised not to acquire nuclear weapons, while the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) promised under Article VI of the NPT to get rid of their nuclear weapons eventually. According to Jonathan Schell, that deal was a 'Trojan horse written into the text of a treaty'. Today, continued possession of nuclear weapons by the NWS has meant that the many NNWS question why they should refrain from building their own nuclear weapons. This was the reason for Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons and for North Korea's achievement of this aim.

Despite the questionable wisdom of spreading nuclear technology to many countries in the hope that the NNWS would refrain from making weapons with that technology, the IAEA has been recognised as doing a tremendous job of monitoring nuclear technology around the world. In 2005, the then Director of the IAEA and its chairman received the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear power

In 2018, there were about 449 nuclear reactors around the world involved in electricity generation, located in 30 countries. In addition, 60 nuclear reactors are under construction. It is estimated that nuclear power plants are responsible for about 11 per cent of electricity generation globally. However, electricity generation using nuclear power remains controversial due to the:

- cost of construction and of maintenance of aging structures
- problem of safe long-term nuclear waste storage
- risk of serious accidents
- fear that they enable nations to produce nuclear weapons, as was the case with North Korea, and Iran's attempted nuclear weapons development.



SOURCE 12.60

Grafenrheinfeld nuclear power plant in Germany operated from 1981. It was closed in 2015, due to Germany's decision to withdraw from reliance on nuclear energy and increase its capacity for using renewable energy sources.



SOURCE 12.58 A US 3-cent stamp commemorating 'Atoms for Peace' was first released on 28 July 1955.

KEY QUESTIONS

Eisenhower and Atoms for Peace

- 🔑 Evaluate Eisenhower's decision to make nuclear technology widely available. What do you think his motives were? In retrospect, was this a wise decision?



SOURCE 12.59 IAEA and its director general Mohamed ElBaradei received the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to halt the spread of nuclear weapons.

RESEARCH TASK 12.13

Locate and explore the websites of the Nuclear Energy Institute and Ecowatch. Construct a table like the one below. Identify reasons for and against the use of nuclear energy based on what you discover on these two websites.

Nuclear energy	
For	Against

During the Nuclear Age, there has been a lot of heated debate about the pros and cons of nuclear energy. However, over the course of the last 70 years, nuclear energy has been subject to a boom-and-bust pattern, due to a number of factors, one of which has been the serious nuclear accidents that have occurred. Most notable of these have been Chernobyl in 1986 and Fukushima in 2011. The last decade has seen another bust period, in which nuclear power is in decline. Only time will tell whether this is a long-term trend or whether there will be another boom period for nuclear power.

RESEARCH TASK 12.14

Locate the following article online: Mark Cooper, 'A dozen reasons for the economic failure of nuclear power,' *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 17 October 2017.

- 1 Summarise the problems that this article identifies for nuclear power.
- 2 Identify its three main conclusions.



SOURCE 12.61 An abandoned children's bedroom, taken in Pripjat, Ukraine, in April 2017. The city was abandoned immediately after the Chernobyl disaster and will never be occupied again.

Chernobyl

On 27 April 1986, there was a catastrophic accident at the nuclear plant in Chernobyl. The nearby city of Pripjat was abandoned on the same day. This city used to have a population of 50 000 people. On 26 April 1986, technicians at Chernobyl conducting a test inadvertently caused reactor number four, which contained over 200 tons of uranium, to explode, flipping the 1200-ton lid of the reactor into the air and sending plumes of highly radioactive particles and debris into the atmosphere in a deadly cloud that reached as far as Western Europe. Thirty-two people, many of them firemen who were sent to extinguish the blaze, died within days of the accident. Estimates of the deaths of 4000 to 200 000 people since then can be attributed to

illnesses resulting from Chernobyl's radioactive contamination. Today, large portions of the inner and outer Chernobyl Exclusion Zone that together cover 2600 square kilometres remain contaminated.



SOURCE 12.62 Nadia, in a Ukrainian orphanage. In the years following the explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, there was an increase in malformations of newly born children in the Ukraine and Belarus. Many of these children were subsequently abandoned by their parents and left in special-care institutions.



SOURCE 12.63 Chernobyl in 2015, 29 years since the 1986 nuclear accident. Cranes stand in the same position as they were nearly 30 years ago over the abandoned construction site of reactors five and six of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. A consortium of Ukrainian and Western companies has built a movable enclosure called the New Safe Confinement that covers the reactor remains and its fragile sarcophagus in order to prevent further contamination.

Fukushima

An earthquake occurring off the east coast of Japan on 11 March 2011 generated a tsunami which flooded the Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in Ōkuma, Fukushima, causing a nuclear meltdown. Eventually the reactors shut down and ever since, the main concern has been to contain the radioactive material and to cool the damaged reactors to prevent another meltdown or leakage.



SOURCE 12.64 The closing down and clean-up under way at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in north-eastern Japan, following a powerful earthquake and tsunami on 11 March 2011. The tanks in the foreground are some of more than 900 that have been built to store water contaminated with radioactive material. This includes both water used to cool the reactors and groundwater contaminated by leaks from the reactors. The clean-up is estimated to take 30 to 40 years.



SOURCE 12.65 The spent fuel pool of the No. 4 reactor unit at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station, 26 August 2013. Around 300 tons of highly radioactive water was found earlier in the month to have leaked from a storage tank at the plant.

RESEARCH TASK 12.15

Locate and explore the webpages of the World Nuclear Association that discuss the accidents at Chernobyl and Fukushima. Fill out the table below.

	Chernobyl	Fukushima
Basic facts of the accident		
Initial damage		
Impact on environment		
On-going management issues		
Costs of initial damage and long-term management		
Problems this accident has revealed about this nuclear plant		
Problems this accident has revealed about nuclear power in general		

- 1 Compare the two disasters. Identify similarities and differences.
- 2 Assess whether these disasters raise safety concerns and questions about the long-term viability of nuclear power, or whether similar disasters will be preventable in the future.
- 3 Calculate whether the benefits of nuclear energy outweigh the risks.

12.7 Towards nuclear disarmament

Please see the Interactive Textbook for extensive additional content on the work of nuclear disarmament groups.



12.8 Since 2011 – progress and danger

Please see the Interactive Textbook for extensive additional content on recent progress in the Nuclear Age.



CHAPTER 12 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

THE DAWN OF THE NUCLEAR AGE

- The scientific breakthroughs and pre-World War II international research.
- Einstein's appeal to President Roosevelt.

FIRST USE AND NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

- The US nuclear attack on Japan.
- The impact of the atomic bomb attacks and their legacy.
- The decision to drop the bomb, the moral taboo and the historical significance.

THE CHOICE – INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OR ARMS RACE?

- The rebel scientists, the Federation of American Scientists and the Doomsday Clock.
- Responses to the atomic bombs – world federalism, the Baruch Plan and the UN First Committee.

THE US–SOVIET ARMS RACE

- Evolving types of warheads and delivery systems.
- The development of nuclear doctrine including nuclear deterrence and Mutually Assured Destruction.
- Military plans, the SIOP, global strike and instability of concerns about command and control systems.
- Nuclear Age tensions in 1953, 1962, 1973 and 1983.

LIVING WITH THE BOMB

- Civil defence plans and programs and their demise in the 1980s.
- Nuclear proliferation and the arms race with many players.
- Nuclear testing and the ongoing environmental and humanitarian impacts.
- British nuclear testing in Australia.
- The debate over nuclear power and the impact of nuclear power plant disasters.

TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

- The impact of nuclear disarmament groups on governments.
- The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty since 1968 and its current problems.
- Nuclear Weapons Free Zones of the 1980s and the impact of the global nuclear disarmament movement.

SINCE 2011 – PROGRESS AND DANGER

- The humanitarian impact initiative.
- The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons 2017.

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term below.

- 1) Doomsday Clock
- 2) SIOP
- 3) Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

Historical concepts

1 Causation

- Examine the impact of Chernobyl and Fukushima on the viability of nuclear power generation for the rest of the twenty-first century.

2 Continuity and change

- Indigenous peoples in the Pacific and in Australia were treated appallingly by the NWS in the past.
- To what extent, if any, has there been a change in the attitudes of the NWS towards the people affected by their nuclear programs?

3 Perspectives

Find and watch the 'History Project' video clip by Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner (filmed at Southbank Centre for London 2012 Poetry Parnassus) on YouTube. Describe the effects on the environment and people of the Marshall Island that are referred to in this video clip.

4 Significance

Find the following article online: 'Eric Schlosser: Why Hiroshima now matters more than ever,' *The Telegraph*, 2 August 2015.

- Outline the significance of John Hersey's book, according to Eric Schlosser.
- Identify the reasons that Schlosser gives for Hiroshima being one of the most significant events in human history.

5 Contestability

Find and read a copy of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, 2017.

- Find two recent media reports arguing for and two recent media reports arguing against the Treaty and note down the key points for each.
- Assess the potential for this treaty to achieve significant progress towards nuclear disarmament.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

- Explain the concept of nuclear deterrence and the arguments for and against its usefulness for military thinking in the past and today.

2 Historical interpretation

- Find and read a copy of the article by Lawrence Wittner, 'How Disarmament Activists Saved the World from Nuclear War,' *Peace Magazine*, Oct–Dec 2013. Evaluate Wittner's argument that the nuclear disarmament movement saved the world from nuclear war.

3 Analysis and use of sources

Answer the following questions, referring to the following sources in your explanations.

- What does Source A identify as a serious danger for society?
- Explain the symbolism in Source B.
- What does Source C identify as a major requirement in the Nuclear Age?
- According to Source D, identify the three US presidents who made the most progress in reducing the number of nuclear weapons.
- Both Eisenhower and Obama were president for eight years each. To what extent did their policies and actions reflect their concerns raised in Sources A and C? Refer to Sources A and C and your own knowledge.

SOURCE A

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence – economic, political, even spiritual – is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

President Dwight Eisenhower, 'Farewell Address,' 17 January 1961, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University

SOURCE B



US President Obama (right) delivers remarks after laying a wreath at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park as Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (left) looks on, Hiroshima, 27 May 2016.

SOURCE C

Science allows us to communicate across the seas and fly above the clouds, to cure disease and understand the cosmos, but those same discoveries can be turned into ever more efficient killing machines. The wars of the modern age teach us this truth. Hiroshima teaches this truth. Technological progress without an equivalent progress in human institutions can doom us. The scientific revolution that led to the splitting of an atom requires a moral revolution as well.

The world was forever changed here, but today the children of this city will go through their day in peace. What a precious thing that is. It is worth protecting, and then extending to every child. That is a future we can choose, a future in which Hiroshima and Nagasaki are known not as the dawn of atomic warfare but as the start of our own moral awakening.

President Obama, Hiroshima Speech, 27 May 2017; he was the first sitting US president to visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial.

SOURCE D

Under the Obama presidency, contrary to perceptions, the pace of nuclear warhead dismantlement has slowed, not hastened. Indeed, the two presidents Bush and Bill Clinton each made greater gains in downsizing the colossal US nuclear stockpile amassed during the Cold War.

But more alarming than this failure to destroy old nuclear weapons has been the Obama administration's aggressive pursuit of new, 'smaller' ones, for which the threshold of use would be lower, according to former military commanders.

At great expense, the president has bolstered all three components of the nation's 'nuclear triad': the strategic bombers, intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched missiles. This was the price paid for securing Republican support in 2010 for the ratification of a modest bilateral arms reduction treaty with Russia.

Obama's much-publicised 'nuclear security summits' largely ignored the greatest source of nuclear insecurity in the world today: 15,000 nuclear weapons, including 1,800 on hair-trigger alert. Instead, they focused on measures to keep 'vulnerable nuclear material' out of terrorists' hands – a vital endeavour, certainly, but for all the fanfare the results were small.

Tim Wright, 'Hope and hype of Hiroshima can't conceal Obama's dismal record on nuclear disarmament', *The Guardian*, 27 May 2016

4 Historical investigation and research

Research the 'military-industrial complex' using a variety of sources including media reports, academics and political leaders.

- To what extent was the military-industrial complex a driving force in the Cold War?
- To what extent is the military-industrial complex a concern today?
- To what extent do you think that the military-industrial complex could be a factor in President Obama's failure to live up to pronouncements on nuclear weapons in 2009?

5 Further essay questions

- Evaluate the various options put forward for international control of nuclear weapons. What would it have taken for any of these plans to succeed?
- Explain how military doctrine tried to keep pace with new developments in nuclear weapons and delivery systems.
- Compare and contrast the nuclear crises of 1962 and 1983. Which year was the more dangerous?
- Examine the roles of Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in ending the Cold War arms race. Did it require both of these men to greatly reduce the threat of nuclear war?
- Examine the many roles that Australia has played and continues to play in the Nuclear Age.

CHAPTER 13

The Cultural Revolution to Tiananmen Square 1966–89

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



Glossary

17th parallel the geographic location of 17th latitudinal line around the globe

agitprop abbreviated from 'agitation propaganda', this is strongly political ideas or arguments expressed through plays, art, books and other artworks

agrarian the cultivation of land

Americanism a belief in American white nationalism

Anglo-German Navy Agreement in June 1935, Germany and Britain signed an agreement that states Germany could have a navy of 35 per cent the size of Britain's and an equal number of submarines

Anschluss the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany on 12 March 1938

anti-Semitism discrimination, prejudice or hostility towards Jews

Article 48 article in the German Constitution known as 'Emergency Decree Powers'; under this article, the German Government could allow the President, under certain circumstances, to take emergency measures without the prior consent of the Reichstag

Auschwitz a Nazi concentration and extermination camp which operated in annexed Poland from 1940 to 1945

autarchic the quality of being self-sufficient

authoritarian system of government that enforces strict obedience to authority at the expense of freedom of opinion and public interests

B-52 Lin Biao's code for Mao, named after the American long-range bomber

Beiping to help people accept the new capital of Nanjing ('southern capital'), Jiang changed the name from Beijing ('northern capital') to Beiping ('northern peace')

Berchtesgaden Hitler's 'Eagle's Nest' retreat near the German town in the Bavarian Alps on the Austrian border

Big Three a group comprising US President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Churchill and Soviet dictator Stalin

bipolar world the world was largely divided into two camps led by the superpowers

Blitzkrieg 'lightning war'; a military tactic calculated to create psychological shock and resultant disorganisation in enemy forces through the employment of surprise, speed, and superiority in matériel or firepower; first used by Nazi Germany in World War II

Bolshevik a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party, which seized power in the 1917 October Revolution

Bolsheviks the wing of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, led by Lenin, that seized control of the government in Russia in October 1917; they became the dominant political power in the early years of the Soviet Union

Bombard the headquarters Mao's call to attack his own party and leaders in general

bourgeois 'middle class'; for Marx and Engels, it meant all those people who control the means of production in the economy

boycott withdrawal from commercial or social relations as a punishment or protest

Brezhnev Doctrine the belief that the Soviet Union had the right to use military force in neighbouring countries in order to maintain communist rule

Bureau of Prohibition the government agency tasked with policing Prohibition

cadres CCP-appointed officials.

capitalist also known as the bourgeoisie', the Marxist term for one who lives on investments

CHEKA the original name of the Communist Secret Police in Russia

civil rights enable people to participate freely and without retribution or fear in everyday life within their nation and community; these rights include economic, employment and education rights, the right to associate, speak and vote and share in the collective benefits of a society.

Cold War the period after World War II where nations such as the United States, the Soviet Union and China were engaged in an ideological battle (rather than an all-out, direct 'Hot' war) of escalating tensions, conflicts and brinkmanship; this period was intensified by the threat of nuclear weapons and proliferation

collectives large-scale cooperatives

collective security a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system accepts that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore commits to a collective response to threats to, and breaches to peace

collectivisation the process by which, in the period 1929–37, the Russian peasants were organised into collective farms under state supervision

Comintern an international agency set up by the Russians in 1919 to coordinate the activities of Communist parties throughout the world; otherwise known as the 'Third International'

Commissar Order an order issued by the German High Command on 6 June 1941 before Operation Barbarossa

communes amalgamation of collectives, often involving several villages

communism the belief in a society without different social classes in which the methods of production are owned and controlled by all its members and everyone works as much as they can and receives what they need

Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) established in 1942, CORE used non-violent tactics to achieve civil rights and influenced key leaders such as Dr King

conservatism a political belief that asserts tradition and caution should be applied to most challenges

Constituent Assembly democratically elected parliament whose job was to draft a new republican constitution for Russia after the abdication of the Tsar; it met briefly in January 1918, but was closed down by the Bolsheviks

cooperatives a voluntary sharing of resources and labour by multiple families

Cossacks a group of people in Russia with a history of fighting and courage from the region on the Don River (near the Black Sea)

containment the US policy for preventing the spread of communism around the world

counter-revolutionary Dissenters against the revolution sweeping China. Used in a derogatory sense.

DAP Program the German Workers' Party (DAP) was a short-lived political party established in Weimar Germany after World War I; it was the precursor of the National Socialist German Workers' Party

dazibao 'Big Character Posters', designed to criticise a supposed enemy.

decapitation attack a surprise attack on an enemy, targeting their leadership and command and control system

decapitation strike a surprise attack on the enemy targeting their leadership and command and control system

détente an improvement in the relationship between two countries that in the past were not friendly and did not trust each other

democracy a country in which power is held by elected representatives

Dien Bien Phu a battle won by Vietnamese nationalists against the French in 1954

Doomsday Clock a process set up by the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in 1947 to assess the likelihood of a global catastrophe caused by human means; the closer to midnight the minute hand is on the clock, the closer the world is to catastrophe

Drys a movement that supported Prohibition and wanted to rid America of alcohol; the term 'Dry' was used to show support for Prohibition and political groups were often seen as 'Dry or Wet' depending on their stance on Prohibition

Edelweisspiraten 'Edelweiss Pirates', an association of a number of youth movements that had developed in Germany as a protest against Nazi regimentation

Eighth Route and Fourth Route Armies communist units nominally under GMD command

Einsatzgruppen special SS commando units that conducted a bloodbath on the Eastern Front against the Jews

Einzelaktionen Germans engaging in the local harassment of Jews

Emancipation Act of 1863 this proclamation was made in January 1863 by Lincoln during the Civil War and it freed slaves across America; it was an important turning point in the Civil War and within civil rights history; it was the precedent for the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution

Enabling Act the Enabling Act was a 1933 Weimar Constitution amendment that gave the German Cabinet – in effect, Chancellor Adolf Hitler – the power to enact laws without the involvement of the Reichstag

encirclement campaigns Jiang's efforts to surround and eliminate communist soviets

Entjudung 'de-Jewification'

Extended Nuclear Deterrence (END) the extension of the principle of nuclear deterrence to a country's allies, so that if an ally is attacked, a nuclear attack will be launched in retaliation; it is also called 'extending a nuclear umbrella to allies'

famine widespread scarcity of food that can be caused by factors such as inflation, war or government policies

fanshen a reversal of the previous order; peasants now persecuted landlords

fascism a political system based on having a very powerful leader, state control and extreme pride in country and race; political opposition is not allowed

Federal Reserve Act the system that created the American Federal Reserve Bank in 1913

First United Front the cooperation between the GMD and CCP during 1922–27.

First World the 'free world' of democratic and industrialised nations, including the United States, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan

fissile material material capable of sustaining a nuclear fission chain reaction

Four Olds the concept of old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits that Lin Biao first denounced at a Red Guard rally

footbinding the painful process of binding, and thereby deforming, a girl's feet to make her more 'attractive' as a woman

Franklin D Roosevelt the 32nd US President, who served from 1933 until 1945

Freedom Riders students and activists travelled in buses to segregated and often racist states and counties to bring attention to the civil rights cause and attempt to remove segregation and prejudice; the activists were often attacked, brutally beaten and sometimes murdered

freikorps the Free Corps; German military units formed in 1918 and made up mainly of ex-soldiers; they engaged in street violence and were opposed to left-wing extremists

Führerprinzip (German for 'leader principle') was the power structure in Nazi Germany. Ultimate authority flowed downwards from the Führer.

gangster a criminal who used violent means and exhortation during the 1920s in America

General Government a German zone of occupation established after the joint invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939

Generalissimo Supreme General – a title given to Jiang

Gestapo Nazi secret police established in November 1933 and influential in propagating terror in Germany and maintaining Nazi power

glasnost a policy of openness in discussing economic and political issues

Gleichschaltung the process of Nazification by which Hitler successively established a system of totalitarian control and coordination over all aspects of German society

Gold Standard a standard where the currency value is linked to gold prices; a country using the Gold Standard must have gold reserves to cover any currency it prints

Great Depression started with the stock market crash in 1929 and sent reverberations around the world as America called in foreign loans; it also sent shockwaves through America, which had never seen such unemployment and poverty

Great Helmsman a nickname for Mao, as he steered the ship of state

Green Beret a member of the US Army Special Forces, colloquially known as the Green Berets due to their distinctive service headgear

Green Gang the powerful Shanghai criminal unit led by Big-eared Du (Du Yuesheng), used by Jiang in 1927 to purge the communists

Guandong Army the jingoistic Japanese Army unit based in Manchuria

guerrilla a member of an unofficial military group that is trying to change the government by making sudden, unexpected attacks on the official army forces

gulag Stalin-era 'Corrective Labor Camps', where political prisoners and foreign enemies performed hard labour for the state; mainly located in Siberia

Hitler Youth a movement based on the idea that the future of Germany lay in the development, training and education of German children

Hoover blankets old newspapers being used as blankets during the Great Depression; the term was devised in response to the President's provisions during the early years of the Great Depression

Hossbach Memorandum a personal set of notes recording a meeting held on 5 November 1937 between Hitler and his military and foreign policy leadership, where he outlined his future expansionist policies

Huangpu Military Academy the military training establishment set on a river island near Guangzhou

hyperinflation an economic term that means when a country experiences very high, and usually accelerating, rates of inflation, it rapidly devalues the local currency

Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act) a restrictive and racist US immigration policy in force from 1924

Imperial Wizard the head of the Ku Klux Klan

industrialisation a massive program undertaken by Stalin to develop industries within the country under a series of five-year plans; the first five-year plan was introduced in 1928

insurrection a violent uprising against an authority or government

Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) a missile that can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

international anarchy a situation in which there is lawlessness in the international community characterised by a lack of regard for treaties and norms of accepted behaviour between nations

isolationism a period of US foreign policy, where governments chose to remove or distance themselves from international conflicts or affairs to concentrate on domestic developments

Jim Crow Laws laws that allowed separate but equal treatment for Black Americans that were unjust and enabled discrimination after the Civil War

Joint Chiefs of Staff the heads of the US Army, Navy and Air Force, who advise the US president on national security matters

joint venture in partnership with foreign companies

joint ventures Chinese companies working with overseas investments on a 50–50 basis

Judeo-Bolshevism a pejorative term that conflates what Nazi ideology considered two evils: Jews and Bolsheviks; Hitler and the Nazis propagated the myth that the Russian Revolution was a Jewish conspiracy from the 1920s

July Days spontaneous uprising of the Russian people in July 1917, motivated by the Provisional Government's decision to escalate the war effort and the influence of Bolshevik propaganda

Kampfbund a league of patriotic fighting societies, which included the NSDAP, in Bavaria during the 1920s

Katyn Massacre a series of mass executions of Polish nationals carried out by the Soviet security agency NKVD in April and May 1940

kiloton the destructive force of a nuclear bomb equal to 1000 tonnes/metric tons of TNT (a megaton is 1000 kilotons)

Klansman a member of the Ku Klux Klan

Kornilov Affair an attempted military coup led by the then Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army against the Provisional Government in August 1917; its failure ultimately weakened the Provisional Government but strengthened the position of the Bolsheviks

Kristallnacht state-endorsed violence (or pogrom) against Jewish businesses and synagogues throughout Germany, 9–10 November 1938

Ku Klux Klan a white extremist group founded after the US Civil War in 1866 that promoted violent racist and intolerant attitudes; it was heavily influential in Southern states in America and actively infiltrated the highest levels of government in America in this period; they were a secret but popular group who used a secret language, code and practices. This right-wing extremist group continues to exert influence in American society today.

kulaks a 'capitalist' class of peasant invented by the Bolsheviks

Kwantung Army the largest and most prestigious command of the Imperial Japanese Army

laissez-faire an economic system in which transactions between private parties are free from government intervention (such as regulation, privileges, tariffs and subsidies)

League Fight the political battle in the United States in 1919–20 over whether the United States should join the League of Nations

Lebensraum 'living space', a term employed by Hitler to describe Germany's need for expansion to the east in order to claim land for the Reich's swelling population

Left the CCP use this as a label for one with extreme ideas or those which differ to the Party's

Lenin Enrolment the Bolshevik Party effort to enrol more of the Proletariat into the Communist Party to be active members from 1923 to 1925

libertarian the belief that people should be free to think and behave as they want and should not have limits put on them by governments

Link-ups large-scale events where Red Guards travelled to Beijing to see Mao

Luftwaffe the aerial warfare branch of the combined German *Wehrmacht* military forces during World War II

lynching a hanging or execution

madman theory the attempt to convince one's rival that you are unpredictable and impulsive, but consistent; this was a strategy used by President Nixon to keep his adversaries guessing and wary of provoking him

Maginot Line a line of concrete fortifications, obstacles, and weapon installations built by France in the 1930s to deter invasion by Germany and force them to move around the fortifications

mandate the name of an area of land given to a country by the League of Nations, following or as part of a peace agreement

Manifest Destiny a nineteenth-century idea that the United States of America offered limitless opportunities for wealth and liberty to its citizens. By this logic, Americans kept expanding westward across North America towards the Pacific Ocean. Many Hollywood 'Westerns' demonstrated this belief.

Marxism a set of political and economic theories developed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels; Marxism later formed the basis of communism

mass line Mao's theory that the CCP listens to the masses before policy making

Marxist one who follows Marx's theories on communism

maskirovka a Russian word meaning 'disguise'; the name for the Soviet military technique of deception in World War II

matériel military supplies, such as equipment

Mein Kampf Hitler's 1925 autobiographical book, written during his time in prison after the Beer Hall Putsch; it outlines his anti-Semitic views, political ideology and his future plans for Germany

military-industrial complex the network of individuals in the military and in the arms producing industries that operates as a powerful vested interest that influences public policy

Monroe Doctrine President Monroe's 1823 declaration that there should be no interference by European nations in North or South America, effectively laying down that the Western hemisphere was an American sphere of interest

multilateralism a situation in which several countries work together to achieve something or deal with a problem

mutual aid teams early form of cooperative for peasants

Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) having a large enough nuclear arsenal so that in the event of an enemy attack there is enough firepower to strike back with a response so massive that the enemy would suffer assured destruction

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) an organisation formed in 1909 in response to Jim Crow Laws; it advocated legal means to defeat racism and inequality. The organisation opposed lynching and used the Constitution to launch action against states and individuals. This resulted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*, which declared the doctrine of 'separate but equal' to be unconstitutional.

nationalism a nation's wish and attempt to be politically independent

National Recovery Act this legislated the US President to regulate wages and directly control labour and wages

New Deal a political promise made by the US President Franklin D Roosevelt to end the Depression with government intervention from 1933 to 1939; these acts guaranteed savings, provided emergency relief, limited agricultural production and exempted the government from repaying loans in gold currency

New Economic Policy (NEP) the Bolshevik economic policy that represented a significant shift away from War Communism, representing a temporary move to capitalism that allowed business to flourish and stabilise the Russian economy

No.1 and No. 2 Capitalist Roaders derogatory nicknames for Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, respectively

November Criminals the democratic politicians of the Weimar Republic who were branded as traitors of Germany by signing the armistice

NSDAP *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party); often shortened to 'Nazi Party'

nuclear deterrence the ability to persuade an adversary that the cost of their intended hostile action will outweigh the benefits, and that a country is willing to use a massive nuclear force in retaliation in the event of being attacked

nuclear fission a type of nuclear reaction, causing release of energy, that occurs when the nucleus of an atom splits on impact with another particle

nuclear proliferation the spread of nuclear information, technology and weapons to new countries that had not possessed them

nuclear taboo the use of nuclear weapons for any purpose has become practically unthinkable

nuclear triad the delivery of a strategic nuclear arsenal consisting of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic bombers and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)

Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) nations that currently possess nuclear weapons

nuclear winter the scientific theory that all of the firestorms created by even just 100 cities hit with nuclear bombs will send so much soot and debris into the atmosphere that the sun will be blocked out for months, resulting in plummeting temperatures, which in turn would destroy all agricultural production

Occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, as a show of force, French troops occupied the Ruhr Valley in the Rhineland after the Weimar Republic defaulted in its reparation payments

October Revolution the Bolshevik Revolution saw Lenin and the Bolsheviks seize power from the Provisional Government in 1917

one-child policy with some exceptions, families were officially encouraged to only have one child

Operation RYAN a Soviet intelligence operation, initiated by Yuri Andropov in 1981, to collect information about US plans for a first-strike decapitation attack against the Soviet Union; the acronym means 'Nuclear Missiles Attack' in Russian

Orgburo the Organisational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party from 1919 to 1952

Pact of Steel an alliance signed in May 1939 by Italy and Germany; however, it did not commit Italy to fight with Germany

paramilitary connected with and helping the official armed forces

paramilitary groups semi-militarised forces that are not part of a state's formal armed forces; they have a similar organisational structure to a professional military group

partisan a member of a secret armed force whose aim is to fight against an enemy that is controlling the country

Pearl Harbor Japan attacked the US naval base at Pearl Harbor (located in the Pacific) in 1941, provoking the United States to declare war and join World War II

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the new name for the Red Army

People's Republic of China (PRC) the official name of Communist China since 1949

perestroika the restructuring of the political and economic system

perpetual campaigning after Nazi success in the 1930 election, the NSDAP decided to continuously campaign in 1931 (a non-election year), so they would be in a prime position to win in 1932

Peter and Paul Fortress an old military installation in the heart of Petrograd. In 1917, the Provisional Government used it as a jail for Tsarist officials arrested after the February Revolution. On 25 October, the fortress fell quickly into Bolshevik hands. After the revolution, it was used as a prison and place of execution by the Bolsheviks.

Petrograd Soviet a council established in March 1917 after the February Revolution as a representative body of the city's workers and soldiers. During 1917, the body was a rival to the Provisional Government, creating a system of dual power. Its committees played key roles during the Russian Revolution, including the armed revolt of the October Revolution.

pincer movement a type of attack in which two parts of an army follow curved paths towards each other in an attempt to surround and then defeat the enemy

plebiscite the direct vote of all the members of an electorate on an important public question

progressivism an idea that developed in response to collective problems of poverty, inequality, injustice and inadequate housing, education and employment for the masses in the period of rapid industrial growth from the 1890s to the 1920s; progressive ideology recognised that education and social policy could assist the collective masses and wanted the government to ensure the welfare and survival of all classes and peoples

Prohibition instituted in the United States in 1920; it attempted to reign in the liquor trade by criminal gangs and promote Christian Temperance values; it was enforced via the Volstead Act

Project 571 Lin Biao's code to for the plot to overthrow Mao

proletariat 'working class'; for Marx and Engels, it was a technical term meaning all those people who do not own any of the means of production in the economy

propaganda information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view

protectionist laws or methods intended to help a country's trade or industry by putting taxes on goods bought from other countries or by limiting the amount of goods that can be imported

proxy war when the two countries use smaller client states to further their own objectives by using by fight each other

Provisional Government the democratic parliamentary body which governed the Russian Empire from 2 March 1917, after the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II and the end of the Romanov Dynasty

puppet emperor a ruler with no power of their own; a figurehead

purges the Communist Party removed those members who were considered corrupt, inefficient or considered 'undesirable'

Puritan groups that fled England and settled in America; they espoused hard work and morality as the way to enrichment

Rapallo Pact an agreement signed in 1922 between Russia and Germany, where each renounced all territorial and financial claims against the other resulting from previous treaties

Reconstruction the period following the Civil War where America attempted to rebuild economically, socially and politically; there was a rise of resistance in the South to many of the gains achieved by former slaves, such as the introduction of grandfather clauses making it hard to vote if your grandparents were slaves and Black Codes which treated Black Americans with prejudice and enforced segregation

Red Army the military force of the Soviet Union formed in 1918 to defend the new regime, especially against White Armies during the Civil War

Red Army the Communist Army under Zhu De

Red Guards Mao's 'Little Generals', whose devotion brought him back to power

Red Terror early in the Civil War, the Bolsheviks carried out a deadly campaign of political repression. Anyone suspected to have links to the Whites were captured and executed by the CHEKA, as were deserters from the Red Army. Between 100 000 and 200 000 people were killed.

Reichmarschall 'Marshal of the Reich'; this was the highest rank in the *Wehrmacht* of Nazi Germany during World War II

Reichsmark German currency from 1924 to 1948

Reichswehr the military organisation of Germany from 1919 until 1935, when it was united with the new *Wehrmacht*

rollback the doctrine of actively attempting to push back another nation's political power from territory under its control, without actually going to war with them

Remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936, Hitler ordered the German military into the Rhineland in western Germany; this was the first time since the end of World War I that German troops had been in this region, making it possible for Germany to pursue a policy of aggression into Eastern Europe in violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles

reparations payments made by a defeated nation after a war to pay for damages or expenses it caused to another nation

requisitioning the confiscation of goods, often foodstuffs such as grain, usually with a high degree of force

resistance forces groups that operate in secret to bring down an occupying government or force

Rolling Thunder a gradual and sustained aerial bombardment campaign conducted by the US 2nd Air Division, US Navy and Republic of Vietnam Air Force against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Rome–Berlin Axis the coalition between Italy and Germany, formed in 1936

SA (*Sturmabteilung*) the paramilitary group associated with the NSDAP, led by Ernst Rohm

Saar a region of Germany occupied and governed by Britain and France from 1920 to 1935 under a League of Nations mandate

Schutzstaffel 'SS' for short; a major paramilitary organisation operating in Nazi Germany, and later throughout German-occupied Europe, during World War II

search and destroy a military tactic developed in part for the Vietnam War and its abundance of helicopter action; the idea was to insert ground forces into hostile territory, search out the enemy, destroy them and withdraw immediately afterward

Second World the industrialised communist bloc countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

self-determination the concept that people living in a particular country should have political autonomy to choose their own leaders and form independent states in their own right

sent down *shangshan xiexiang*, young urban people were sent to villages to learn about grassroots politics; the term literally translates to 'up the hills and down to the villages'

serfdom a system whereby people of the lowest social class worked the land and had to obey the owners of said land; abolished in Russia in 1861

Siegfried Line also known as the West Wall, it was a defensive system of pillboxes and strongpoints built along the German western frontier in the 1930s; in 1944, it protected German troops retreating from France

Single Integrated Operations Plan (SIOP) a plan giving the US president a range of targeting options for launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union or any other enemy

Smolny Institute an educational building used by Lenin as Bolshevik headquarters during the October Revolution; he lived there for several months, until moving the national government to the Moscow Kremlin in March 1918

Smoot–Hawley Tariff also known as the Hawley–Smoot Tariff, this was a tax or policy introduced in 1930 that protected American industries by raising a tax on over 20 000 imported goods

social Darwinism nineteenth-century social theory that applied Charles Darwin's ideas about evolution and natural selection in plants and animals in nature to humans

socialism an ideology that promoted the needs of the overall society through the equitable allocation of resources such as employment, education, health and housing; socialism had ignited the Russian Revolution and was a powerful manifesto to combat widespread poverty of the Great Depression

Socialism in One Country Stalin's aim to build the industrial base and military might of the Soviet Union before exporting revolution abroad

Socialist Realism a style and content in books, poetry and visual arts favoured by Stalin and Zhdanov, who wanted the Arts to reflect Communist progress, and to deal with the social and political lives of ordinary people

Solidarity an independent labour union in communist Poland, with over 9 million members, and the first ever in a Soviet-bloc country

soft power the use of country's cultural and economic influence to influence other countries. The exercise of this power is often independent of government direction.

Soviet Russian for 'council' – in China, a rural area ruled by the CCP

Soviet satellite communist nations of the Soviet Union, besides Russia

Sovnarkom the Council of People's Commissars, which was the cabinet of the USSR

Spartacist uprising an attempted communist takeover of Berlin in January 1919. Under orders from the new Weimar Government, *freikorps* troops crushed the uprising.

speak bitterness the policy of peasants criticising former landlords after liberation

speakeasy a bar or lounge where alcohol was secretly served during Prohibition

Special Economic Zones special areas run along capitalist lines

Stakhanovite movement a movement that celebrated a worker's willingness to produce more than the required work norm; it was named after Alexei Stakhanov, who was a coal miner who broke records in the 1930s and emerged as a national hero who encouraged other workers to copy him

strategic bombing a military strategy designed to defeat the enemy by destroying its morale or ability to produce materials for the theatres of military operations

strategic nuclear weapon a larger nuclear weapon designed for the destruction of cities

Stresa Front Britain, France and Italy met at Stresa, Italy, in April 1935, forming a common 'front' to stand up to any possible future German aggression

Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM) a missile that can be fired from a submarine while still submerged

summit diplomacy a form of conference negotiation used by international governments in which the heads of state meet for face-to-face negotiations

tactical nuclear weapon a small nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use

tael a Chinese 'ounce' of silver, but the exact weight varied throughout the country

Tet Offensive the surprise, communist attack on 13 cities in central South Vietnam that started on 30 January 1968

theatre of war an area or place in which important military events happen; in World War II, this was the European and Pacific theatres

tiefanwan ('iron rice bowl') 'the rice bowl cannot be broken'; guaranteed employment and wages

Third World the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and South America, many of which had been ruled by colonial powers in the past

totalitarianism a system of government that is centralised and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk the peace treaty signed with Germany on 3 March 1918; the terms were even harsher than those that the Germans had offered before, but the treaty needed to be signed to ensure the Bolsheviks' promise for peace

Treaty of Versailles the Paris Peace Treaty that ensured (among other conditions) that Germany had to pay war reparations and costs to the Allies

Treaty of Westphalia otherwise known as the Peace of Westphalia; this refers to a treaty in 1648 that ended 30 years of warfare in Europe. It is widely regarded as the beginning of the modern era and the origin of the modern concept of the nation-state.

troika the Russian word for triumvirate; Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev formed a troika against Trotsky after Lenin's death

Twenty-five-point Program the political manifesto issued by the NSDAP on 24 February 1920 by Adolf Hitler; the manifesto outlined the Nazi Party's political philosophy and mission

Ultra the name British intelligence gave their wartime signals intelligence obtained by breaking high-level encrypted enemy radio communications, such as the German Enigma code

Unequal Treaty Period a time when the United States had unfair treaties with other nations, such as Japan

untersmenschen a German term to describe non-Aryan 'inferior people'

V-2 rocket the world's first long-range guided ballistic missile, developed by the Nazis during the war to attack Allied cities as retaliation for the Allied bombing of German cities

Vietnamisation Nixon administration policy to make South Vietnam militarily self-sufficient and enable the United States to pull out of the war

vernichtungslager a German term for extermination camp

Volksgemeinschaft the German expression for 'people's community'

Volstead Act US legislation that made alcohol illegal under Prohibition

Wehrmacht the unified armed forces of Nazi Germany from 1935 to 1946 consisting of the *Heer* (Army), the *Kriegsmarine* (Navy) and the *Luftwaffe* (Air Force)

White Armies forces that fought against the Bolshevik Red Army during the Civil War

xenophobia extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.

Yalta Conference the conference was held in February 1945 in the Crimea between Allied leaders to discuss Germany's unconditional surrender and plans for a post-war world

Young Pioneers a return to a program that was a like a cross between Scouts and Young Communists, where youngsters with the red scarves lived up to duty and expectations

zaibatsu 'financial clique'; Japanese business conglomerates that were influential up to the end of World War II

zhengfeng/rectification Mao's means of removing dissent in Yan'an

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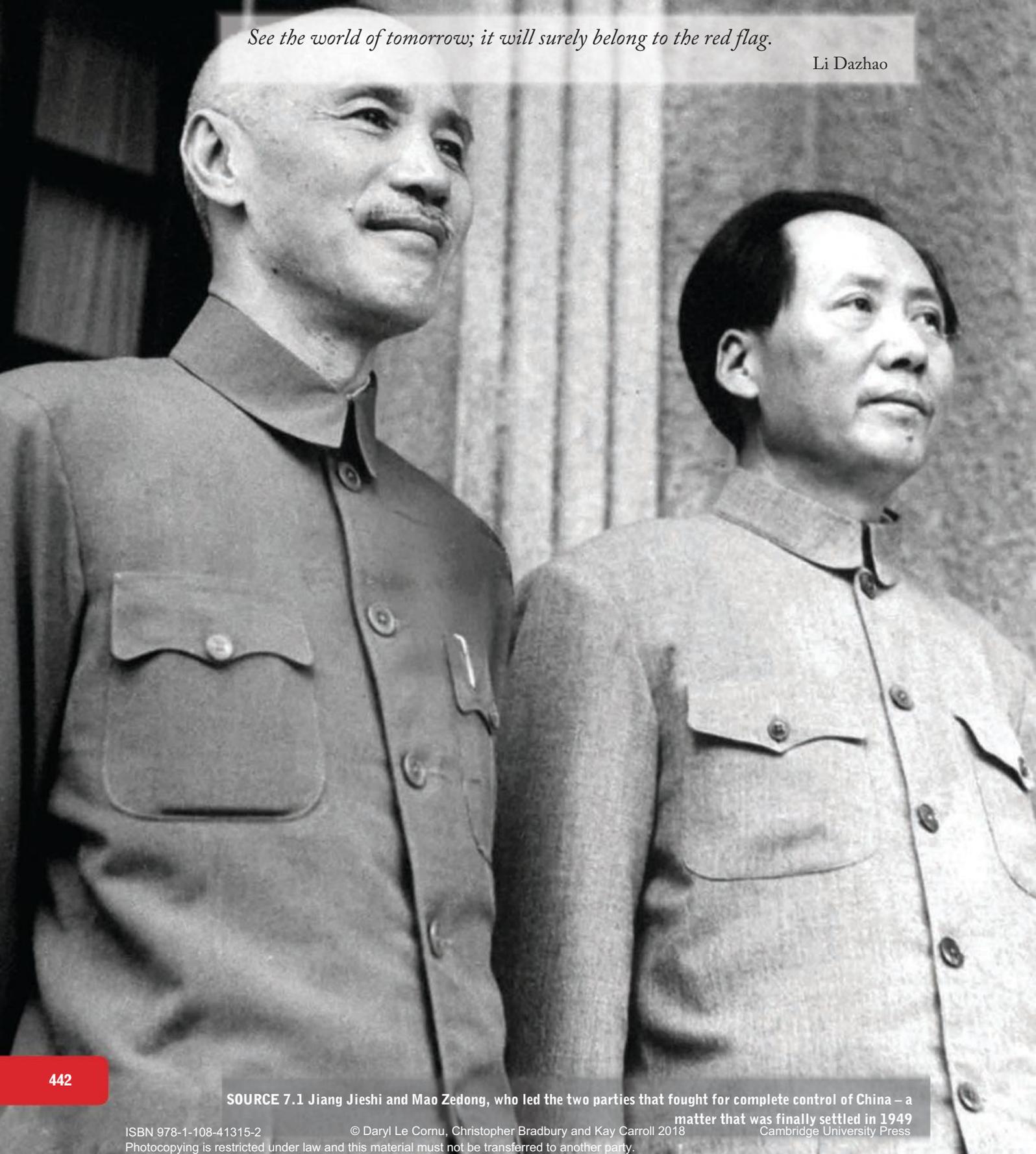
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Digital-only chapter
CHAPTER 7
China 1927–49

See the world of tomorrow; it will surely belong to the red flag.

Li Dazhao





China 1927–36



WHERE ARE WE HEADING?

FOCUS

You will investigate the events in China between 1927 and 1949.

KEY ISSUES

Students will investigate:

- the Nationalist decade, 1927–37
- the rise of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
- the role of Mao Zedong
- CCP ideology
- the rise and consolidation of Maoism
- the Long March and its political and social consequences
- resistance to Japanese aggression
- the military, social & economic impact of Japanese invasions from 1931
- differing aims and strategies of the GMD and CCP towards the Japanese
- role and impact of Mao and Jiang (Chiang)
- political and social impact of the Yan'an period
- triumph of the CCP
- civil war and military success
- reasons for CCP victory



TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
10 October 1911	Wuhan Wuchang uprising sparks revolts around the nation
12 February 1912	Child emperor abdicates Yuan Shikai becomes provisional president
4 November 1913	Yuan Shikai orders dissolution of Nationalist Party
26 April 1915	Yuan accepts a Japanese list of 21 demands
6 June 1916	Yuan dies Warlords are unrestricted
1917	With Soviet Russian finances, Dr Sun Yixian set up a military government and academy in Guangzhou
4 May 1919	May Fourth Movement begins as a protest against Japan, spurring nationalism
1922	Sun Yixian begins organising a Northern Expedition to unite China
1924	Sun Yixian appoints Jiang Jieshi as Commander of Huangpu Military Academy
12 March 1925	Sun Yixian dies and is mourned by nation Jiang Jieshi assumes control of GMD
9 July 1926	Northern Expedition begins
12 April 1927	Shanghai is captured; massacre of communists begins
10 February 1929	Mao and Zhu leave Jinggangshan Soviet and set up Ruijin Soviet
November 1930–January 1931	First Encirclement campaign against Jiangxi Soviet fails
May & September 1931	Second and Third Encirclements abandoned
January 1933	CCP Central Committee abandons cities for Ruijin
16 October 1934	Long March begins
15–17 January 1935	Zunyi meeting
19 October 1935	Mao leads marchers into Yanan (Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet)
12–25 December 1936	Jiang Jieshi arrested in Xian Incident and released GMD and CCP combine
7 July 1937	Japanese forces openly attack China
1941	Mao's Rectification Campaign begins United States joins war against Japan
1945	Japan surrenders
1945–1949	Civil war between GMD and CCP
March 1947	GMD captures Yanan
1949	CCP occupies Beijing Mao declares People's Republic of China
1949	Jiang Jieshi and GMD flee to the island of Taiwan

CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 7.2 A photograph taken by invading Japanese forces during the capture of the then Chinese capital of Nanjing in December 1937

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 7 Overview

KEY IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS TODAY	KEY TERMS AND NAMES
Internal and external factors prevented democracy taking root in China and allowed the fledgling Chinese Communist Party to successfully fill the breach.	A Communist Party victory in 1949 shocked the world and made the most populous nation in the world today a force that cannot be ignored.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Jiang Jieshi• Joseph Stalin• Zhu De• Zhou Enlai• Mao Zedong• Guomindang (GMD)• Chinese Communist Party (CCP)• Marxism• Soviets• Long March• Yanan Way• anti-Japanese war• civil war

Painting the picture

An evolving China

To wrest control of China from the hands of local warlords who ruled various regions, the Guomindang (Chinese Nationalist Party; GMD) founder, Dr Sun Yixian, established a political base in the south (Guangdong) alongside a military academy at Huangpu. Its commandant was Jiang Jieshi.

Finance came from the leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, who insisted they work with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1926, a combined GMD/CCP Northern Expedition swept north, defeating or converting warlord armies along the way. In 1927, they reached Shanghai, where the new leader (Jiang Jieshi) turned on the communists and massacred them. Communism was then only able to survive in rural pockets of China – these were called ‘**soviets**’.

Soviet Russian for ‘council’ – in China, a rural area ruled by the CCP

INQUIRY QUESTION

Was there any moment in twentieth-century China where democracy might have flourished?

The GMD then tried to eliminate these havens of communism, precipitating the famous 1934 Long March. The survivors of the Long March scrambled to a soviet in Yanan, which became the key foothold of the CCP. Jiang Jieshi was constantly distracted by Japanese incursions into Chinese territory. This culminated in open war with Japan in 1937. Both the GMD and the CCP claimed to be taking on the Japanese armies which inflicted incalculable suffering in China. After Japan’s surrender in 1945, the peace talks between the two parties broke down and in 1946, civil war erupted. After initial successes, the GMD lost the advantage and in 1949 its leaders fled to Taiwan. The victorious CCP leader, Mao Zedong, declared the People’s Republic of China in 1949.

Advice on Chinese names and places

Chinese is written in characters which are only partly phonetic. When they first came into contact with China, foreigners needed a roman script to pronounce the names and places they encountered. As they were initially restricted to the south of China, they were heavily influenced by local dialects. The first comprehensive romanisation is known as Wade-Giles, after its inventors. Pinyin is the phonetic guide devised by China in the late 1950s and is mainly used by this chapter and throughout China. The list below also includes some of the dialect pronunciations and spellings that have lingered, and are more commonly used today than the particular Wade-Giles equivalent. Note: Chinese surnames come first.

Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Dialect
People		
Dr Sun Yixian		Dr Sun Yat-sen
Jiang Jieshi		Chiang Kai-shek
Mao Zedong	Mao Tse-tung	
Zhu De	Chu Te	
Zhang Guotao	Chang Kuo-t'ao	
Zhou Enlai	Chou En-lai	
Zhang Xueliang	Chang Hsueh-liang	
Places		
Beijing		Peking
Guangzhou	Kwangchow	
Jiangxi		Kiangsi
Zunyi	Tsunyi	
Yanan	Yenan	
Shaanxi	Shensi	
Xian	Sian	
Jinggangshan	Ching kangshan	
Huangpu		Whampoa

Who's who?

Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) (1866–1925)

Founder of the GMD. Provisional president of the Republic of China and known as the 'Father of the Chinese Revolution' (1911). His 'Three People's Principles' were highly regarded by all parties. His **Huangpu Academy** was the basis for the Northern Expedition. Sun died in 1925.



Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) (1887–1975)

Born in Zhejiang and trained in Japan and Russia. After establishing connections with the Shanghai gangs, he became a follower of Dr Sun and later commander of Huangpu Military Academy. He divorced his first wife to marry Song Meiling. After Sun's death, Jiang won control of the GMD and led the Northern Expedition. In 1927, in Shanghai, he ordered the massacre of hundreds (possibly thousands) of Communists. He established Nanjing as the capital. Until 1949 he fought both the Japanese (from Chongqing) and the CCP, as well as dealing with difficult warlords. He was captured by his own general, Zhang Xueliang, in the Xi'an Incident of 1936. He lost the Civil War to the CCP and established his republic in Taiwan in 1949 where he ruled until his death.





Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) (1893–1976)

Born in Hunan. Assistant to Li Dazhao. Married Yang Kaihui who bore him two sons. Saw peasants as revolutionaries. Set up the Jiangxi Soviets. During the Long March became Chairman of the CCP. Won the Civil War from Yanan. Became Chairman of PRC in 1949.

Zhu De (Chu Teh) (1886–1976)

Born in Hunan from a poor family, he joined the 1911 Revolution and later became a warlord's general. He cured himself of opium dependency. In Germany he met Zhou Enlai and joined the CCP. After the Nanchang uprising he joined Mao

at Jinggangshan Soviet. He became head of the Red Army and was military leader of the Long March.



Yang Kaihui (Yang K'ai-hui) (1901–1930)

Born in Hunan, she was the well-educated daughter of one of Mao's teachers. She married Mao in 1920. She bore Mao three sons. In 1930 she was arrested by the local warlord following a CCP attack, and refusing to repudiate her beliefs, she was executed in Changsha.



Li Lisan (Li Li-san) (1900–1967)

Born in Hunan, he met Zhou Enlai in France. In 1921 he organised labour unions in Shanghai. Became CCP leader in 1928. In 1930 removed from this post upon his insistence on the **Comintern** line that revolution would be led by the proletariat and

not peasants. Worked in Russia under duress until Mao secured his release and rehabilitation in 1945.



Snow, Edgar (1905–1972)

Born in Kansas, he was a journalist who visited Yanan in 1936. His book *Red Star Over China* (1937) was a bestseller and opened the eyes of the Chinese and the world to the fact that the CCP was thriving. His account of the CCP was strongly influenced by Mao and Zhu De.



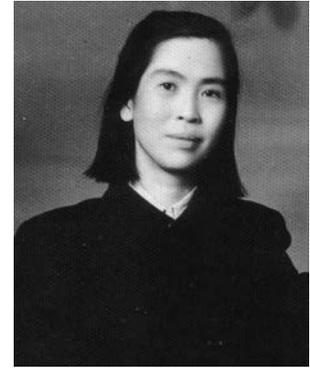
Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) (1898–1976)

Born in Jiangsu, he was educated at a mission school and undertook further studies in Japan. He was caught up in the May 4th Movement. In 1920 he went to France and set up a branch of the CCP there in 1922. He only just survived the 1927 Shanghai Massacre. He was one of the '28 Bolsheviks' who deposed Mao in Jiangxi. At Zunyi he backed Mao.



He Zizhen (Ho Tzu-chen) (1909–1984)

Mao's second wife. She was the daughter of a Jiangxi landlord. She joined the CCP in 1926 and married Mao in 1928. She had to leave children behind when the Long March began and had to abandon one born on the journey. Only the daughter (Li Min) born in Yanan stayed with her. In 1937 she went to the USSR for treatment for shrapnel wounds from the Long March. While she was away Mao married Jiang Qing.



Zhang Guotao (Chang Kuo-t'ao) (1897–1979)

Born in Jiangxi to a rich landlord family. At Beijing University he met Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu. He joined the CCP and entered the Central Committee. After participating in the Nanchang uprising he went to the USSR until 1931. Upon his return he was a chief commissar in central border areas. In 1932 he set up a Shaanxi-Sichuan Soviet and then was forced by the GMD to western Sichuan. When his army met Mao's they were split up while Mao went to Yanan and he, with Zhu De, headed west. A year later he entered the Shaanxi Soviet. After criticism he left and joined the GMD. In 1949 he settled in Hong Kong.



Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang) (1901–2001)

The son of a Manchurian warlord (Zhang Zuolin) he became a general in the GMD after being expelled from Manchuria in 1931. In 1936 he kidnapped Jiang Jieshi in the Xi'an Incident and after Jiang's release remained under house arrest, even in Taiwan, until 1990. He then moved to Hawaii where he was buried.

7.1 Background context

Two major obstacles prevented China from being united. One was the control of whole provinces by warlords. The other was the presence and domination of foreign powers. Following Germany's defeat in World War I, the European powers transferred its 'sphere of influence' (Shandong Province) to Japan. The resultant riots and protests in China provoked a resurgence of nationalist spirit which benefited two parties in particular – the GMD and the emerging CCP.

In 1921, the **Comintern** sent a Dutch agent, H Maring, to negotiate with Sun Yixian. He was impressed and recommended the newly formed CCP work with, and even join, the GMD. This suited Sun, as this would strengthen his support base. Soon, an agreement was signed whereby the GMD accepted communists as individual members and agreed to accept Russian aid. This cooperation between the GMD and CCP later became known as the First United Front. Russia sent Mikhail Borodin to help reorganise the GMD and General Galen (real name, Vasily Blyukher) to train its army. Sun sent a young general, Jiang Jieshi, to Russia to seek military assistance and then return and run the **Huangpu Military Academy**.

The academy was run with tight discipline. Communists joined in vast numbers, and many of them worked in the field of propaganda. Soon the GMD was in control of the two southern provinces of Guangdong and Guangxi.

Comintern an international agency set up by the Russians in 1919 to coordinate the activities of Communist parties throughout the world; otherwise known as the 'Third International'

Huangpu Military Academy the military training establishment set on a river island near Guangzhou



SOURCE 7.3 Jiang Jieshi

villages as they passed through. This, as well as the promise of land reform, encouraged peasant support for the GMD.

The Huangpu soldiers and leaders soon proved their worth by defeating a local warlord who had harassed them. Now that Guangdong Province was secure, the next stage was to unite China under the GMD flag.

Jiang Jieshi succeeds Sun Yixian as leader

On the last day of 1924, Sun Yixian arrived in Beijing, as he had been invited to mediate in a dispute between warlords from the north-east of China. In the interests of promoting unity, he went to Beijing – despite being ill with cancer of the liver. Within weeks his condition worsened, and he died on 12 March 1925. Back in Guangzhou, there was a battle to wrest complete control of Guangdong from the warlords as well as decide who would be the heir to Sun Yixian's leadership of the GMD. There were three main contenders: Jiang Jieshi, Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin. Through his ability to be both decisive and ruthless, Jiang out-manoeuvred the other two.

7.2 The Nationalist decade, 1927–37

Political, social and economic issues of the Republic of China in 1927

The Northern Expedition united China under the GMD, and so the Republic of China became a reality at last. Its leader was the militarist, Jiang Jieshi, who had used his military position, links to Sun Yixian and his marriage to Sun's sister-in-law to grab power. Some of the warlords were defeated outright or they decided to serve the republic; others paid lip-service to the government but remained relatively independent.

Further dividing China were Japanese encroachments on the borders and demands on Chinese territory. The CCP had been seriously weakened by the government-ordered massacres, but they were to soon re-emerge in some of the remote villages in the mountains and provincial border areas.

Socially, in the cities at least, Chinese entrepreneurs were increasingly engaged in Western-style businesses such as transport and banking. The urban Chinese lived in a mix of modern Western and

traditional Chinese customs. In the rural areas, the peasants still bore the burdens of renting land from powerful landlords and paying exorbitant fees and taxes. This social group would benefit least from the new government, with the exception of the abolition of **footbinding**. Otherwise, peasant women were trapped by the cruel tradition, while many of their urban sisters experienced greater freedoms.

footbinding the painful process of binding, and thereby deforming, a girl's feet to make her more 'attractive' as a woman

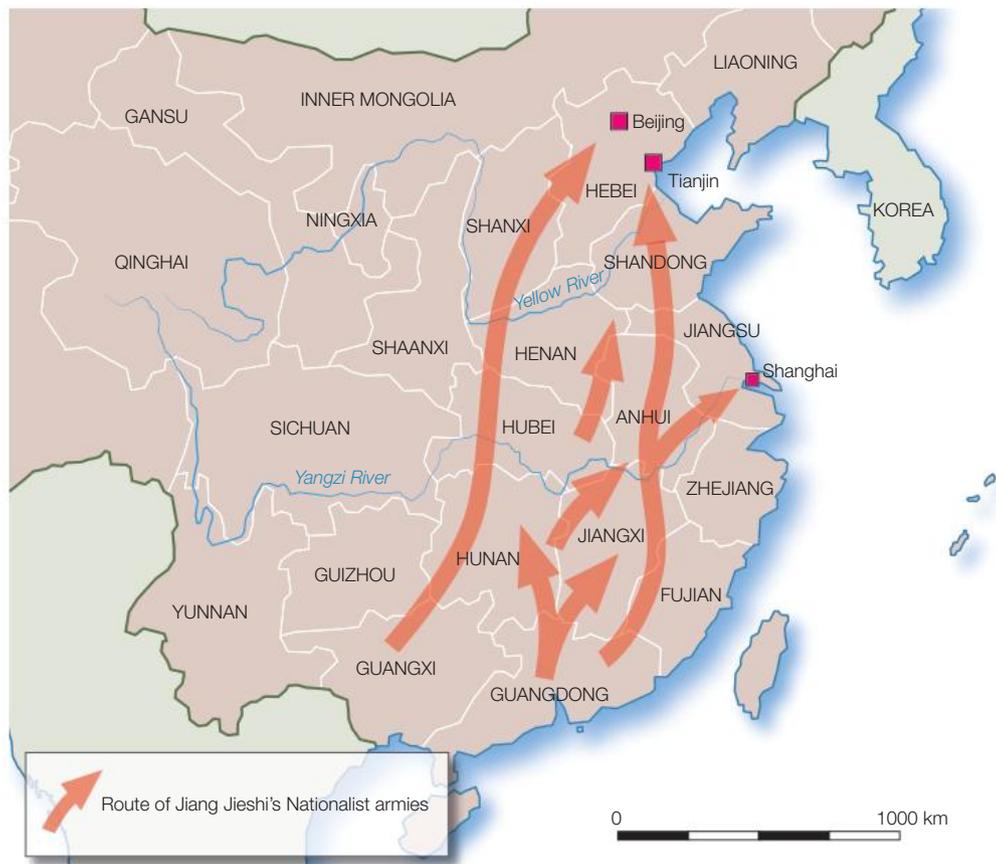


SOURCE 7.4 Examples of footbinding

Economically, China was poised to benefit from Western technology, particularly in regard to public transport. Shanghai had become the focus of trade and manufacture, a position it retains.

The Northern Expedition and its impact

In 1926, Jiang Jieshi's Army left from Guangzhou Railway Station to take on the warlords in what was to become known as the Northern Expedition. With 6000 Huangpu cadets (in training) and 85 000 regular troops, the Northern Expedition advanced with the aim of defeating the warlords one at a time. The Northern



SOURCE 7.5 A map of the Northern Expedition



SOURCE 7.6 This propaganda poster was drawn up for the Northern Expedition by the GMD and communists to rally support for a military campaign that would wrest control of China from regional warlords. The face at the top belongs to the late Dr Sun Yixian, who founded the GMD. The man on horseback is Jiang Jieshi, the leader of the military force, as well as the new leader of the GMD. The poster depicts the military discipline and weapons which will bring military success (but not necessarily unity).

While the warlords combined had greater numbers, the Northern Expedition had several factors in its favour:

- the rivalry among the warlords prevented them from uniting against the GMD
- the Northern Expedition advanced with Sun Yixian's Three Principles as its philosophy
- the GMD had supporters in all provinces
- the GMD troops were well-trained and led by experienced professionals
- the CCP paved the way with propaganda and by working through trade unions in each city.

The right wing of the GMD, including Jiang Jieshi, was becoming increasingly conservative. Jiang was critical of the influence of the Russian-inspired CCP; he was looking to recruit allies from the conservative classes. This also made him more palatable to the Western powers, who at first regarded the GMD as a dangerous revolutionary party. Jiang announced the new capital of China would be Nanjing. He later changed the name Beijing ('Northern Capital') to Beiping ('Northern Peace'). The left wing of the GMD and the CCP did not want to leave Wuhan and join Jiang in Nanjing.

Jiang Jieshi unleashes the Shanghai Massacre

On 26 March 1927, Jiang Jieshi and his troops entered Shanghai to find the city ready to welcome him. The CCP-inspired unions had revolted and handed over control to Jiang and the GMD Army. It was a concern to Jiang that the CCP and the unions were able to achieve so much success so easily.

On 6 April, troops that belonged to the warlord Zhang Zuolin (who was loyal to Jiang) raided the Soviet Embassy in Beijing, arrested CCP members, captured communist documents and executed Li Dazhao, the founder of the CCP. Back in Shanghai, Jiang decided to act with the aid of Big-Eared Du, the leader of a Shanghai gang called the **Green Gang**. On 12 April, armed members of the Green Gang (acting on Jiang's signal) raided CCP cells, union offices and private homes. Communists were rounded up and executed in the streets. Thus the White Terror – or Shanghai Spring – had

Expedition became a three-pronged attack. The western prong advanced rapidly through Hunan Province until it captured the Triple City of Wuhan (significantly, the site of the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution). The other two prongs, directly under Jiang's control, travelled through Jiangxi Province and up the Yangzi River to Nanjing and also through the Fujian Province to capture the city of Hangzhou. Within months, the Northern Expedition had captured the eastern and central provinces south of the Yangzi River.

However, as the expedition progressed, the GMD began to divide. The left wing, with the support of the communists, established a government in Wuhan (which included Song Qingling, Sun Yixian's widow) and implemented radical reforms which worried landlords, cooperative warlords, businessmen, and even Jiang Jieshi himself. In fact, the British Concessions in Jiujiang and Hankou had been occupied and Britain agreed to forfeit them, a great moral victory for the left wing of the GMD.

Green Gang the powerful Shanghai criminal unit led by Big-Eared Du (Du Yuesheng), used by Jiang in 1927 to purge the communists

broken the back of the CCP in Shanghai. A few leaders, including Zhou Enlai, managed to escape to Hankou. Soon, communists in cities already conquered by the Northern Expedition were suffering similar massacres.

A Nationalist China

After the Shanghai Massacre of the communists, Jiang completed the unification of China and set about ruling from Nanjing and exterminating the CCP. In 1931, he made a humiliating peace with Japan (which had occupied Manchuria) in order to wipe out the communist base in Jiangxi Province. This eventually forced the famous Long March by the CCP as they fled the GMD armies. As Jiang seemed more preoccupied with the communists than the Japanese, he was arrested by one of his own warlord generals in the 1936 Xi'an Incident. He was released on condition that he work with the communists to fight the Japanese.

Maintaining power requires different abilities and tactics to those needed to gain power. Jiang was tested by the problems facing the new **regime**. The Northern Expedition had created the appearance of unity, but Jiang had many obstacles to overcome before China could be united under a single political system. There were four major areas of dissent. While the warlords had been beaten or subdued, many still held considerable power within their provinces. Despite the purges of the communists in the cities, the CCP still had control of significant rural bases, particularly in the south-east. There was **factional** division within the GMD as not all members saw Jiang as the best leader for the country. Finally, and most importantly, Japanese designs on Chinese territory were destabilising GMD control. Beyond the political problems, there was an economy to be revived, the ongoing peasant unrest and a destabilised society.

regime a period of rulership
factional defined groups within an organisation with different agendas

Political problems beset GMD control

While the warlords had either been defeated by the Northern Expedition or had agreed to support the GMD Government, the loyalty of the latter was often just lip-service by those who were willing to obey if their own interests were not compromised. In an attempt to reduce the warlord armies, Jiang proposed that the combined number of warlord and GMD soldiers be reduced from about 2 000 000 to 800 000. This never eventuated, and the aim of a unified central army was put on hold. In 1929, there was a series of revolts – encouraged by warlords – in the provinces of Hunan, then Henan and, finally, Hebei. Again, in 1930, the warlords Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang revolted against the GMD Government. Ironically, this was put down with the valuable assistance of the ‘patriotic warlord’, Zhang Xueliang.

A sense of unity and nationalist feeling was invoked when Jiang had Sun Yixian’s body brought ceremoniously from **Beiping** to Nanjing. After much ceremony, the body was placed in a white marble mausoleum with a cobalt blue roof, where it remains undisturbed today.

While Jiang gave honour to Sun Yixian’s Three Principles, the GMD Government was more of a dictatorship than a democracy. Using war and unrest as justification, Jiang extended the ‘period of tutelage’ beyond Sun’s intentions. In June 1936, there was another warlord revolt in the ‘two Guangs’: Guangdong (Chen Zhitang) and Guangxi (Li Zongren). ‘The Young Marshall’, Zhang Xueliang, was vital in their suppression. However, in using his Manchurian troops to suppress revolts further south, Manchuria was exposed to the Japanese military.

While Jiang was obsessed with the communist menace, a very real danger was factionalism within the GMD. In fact, some of the warlord revolts had been encouraged by dissident left-wing members of the



SOURCE 7.7 Zhang Xueliang

Beiping to help people accept the new capital of Nanjing (‘southern capital’), Jiang changed the name from Beijing (‘northern capital’) to Beiping (‘northern peace’)

Generalissimo Supreme General – a title given to Jiang

party. Even though Jiang had won over some of the Wuhan splinter group, there remained a faction which was clearly against the **Generalissimo**. This left-wing group was led by Wang Jingwei, and was a constant thorn in Jiang's side, especially since it had the backing of Sun Yixian's widow (and Jiang's sister-in-law) Song Qingling. The right-wing faction was led by Hu Hanmin. In his ever-shifting move to conservatism, Jiang gave more support to this factional group.

Attempts at social change

Two initial changes of the new GMD Government were the official abolition of footbinding and the replacement of the Chinese lunar calendar with the more universal solar calendar. Jiang Jieshi's wife, Song Meiling, had been educated in the United States. She had been brought up a Christian and, with her help, Jiang converted to Methodism. They both pushed for a cleaner and more courteous China. Nevertheless, Jiang still held to reformed Confucian values. So, a strange amalgam of Western practices and traditional ideas was put to Jiang by his wife, and he readily adopted them in 1934. This became known as the New Life Movement.

With the New Life Movement, Song Meiling was apparently trying to bring China into line with Western standards of hygiene and courtesy. The Chinese public were encouraged to wash their hands daily, brush their teeth and not to smoke or spit in public. Girls could be humiliated for wearing lipstick and many restaurateurs served brandy from teapots rather than risk the ire of the New Life boy scouts. Big character posters were pasted on walls promoting the four neo-Confucian virtues of *Li* (decorum), *Yi* (righteousness), *Lian* (integrity) and *Chi* (self-respect). Mass marriages were conducted to discourage the very expensive traditional weddings. Funerals were simplified. There was even some improvement to sewerage and water supplies.

For Jiang, the New Life Movement represented an opportunity for more social cohesion and obedience. If it created honest public officials and zealous military leaders, it would serve his fascist-like rule. Like Hitler's Brown shirts and Mussolini's Black shirts, Jiang encouraged a following of Blue shirts, even though he officially denied their existence. Like their European fascist counterparts, the Blue shirts were generally thugs who were prepared to do Jiang's secretive and dirty assignments, including the murder of his perceived enemies. The New Life Movement had a limited appeal to some of the Christian missionaries, but the foreigners and the general Chinese population did not take it too seriously.

Tackling the economy

In 1928, the GMD Government assumed total tariff control which had, in the past, been run by foreign governments and warlords. It also started reclaiming inland concessions that had been given to foreign interests after the opium wars. In the same year, a Ministry of Railways was set up to compete with those controlled by foreign interests. From 1928 to 1937, the length of national lines went from 8000 to 13 000 kilometres. With the advent of the motor car, highways were in greater demand. China went from having 1 000 kilometres of road in 1921 to having 115 703 kilometres in 1936. Three **joint venture** airlines were instituted. To further enhance the infrastructure, there was significant increases in the rollout of telegraph lines and postal services.

With bankers as in-laws, it was not surprising that reforms in banking and finance were on Jiang's list of reforms. On 4 April 1934, the government eliminated the **tael** and replaced it with a national silver dollar, as well as introducing paper currency. The proliferation of Chinese banks was restructured into four major banks: the Central Bank, the Bank of China (to handle foreign exchange), the Bank of Communications (for domestic industries), and the Farmer's Bank (for farm credit and mortgages). Interestingly, a similar system still operates in China today.

joint venture in partnership with foreign companies

tael a Chinese 'ounce' of silver, but the exact weight varied throughout the country

There was a determination to import heavy machinery to build up industry (as well as defences). Between 1927 and 1937, 500 million Chinese dollars were spent on such imports. Despite political unrest and Japanese aggression, lighter industries grew even quicker.

Financially, growth and expenditure were not backed up by solid income. In the period 1928–35, 42 per cent of income came from customs revenues; 17.13 per cent came from the salt tax and 19.16 per cent came from commodity taxes. Income only covered 80 per cent of expenditure. The rest was covered by loans and increasing debt, which gave the economy shaky foundations. One source of income not available to the national government was land taxes, both peasant and landlord, as these were administered by local governments. While the national government tried in its 1930 resolution to limit peasant land rents to 37.5 per cent of the main crops, it was not implemented. This failure to relieve the peasants (who were 80 per cent of the population) of their insurmountable debt and misery was to later prove disastrous for the GMD Government.

Excerpts of life under the GMD

In a vivid description of the perilous political climate, Jung Chang recounts the story of her mother's friend:

“At the teacher training department my mother struck up a close friendship with a beautiful, vivacious seventeen-year-old girl called Bai. My mother admired her and looked up to her. When she told Bai about her disenchantment with the Kuomintang [Guomintang], Bai told her to ‘look at the forest, not the individual trees’; any force was bound to have some shortcomings, she said. Bai was passionately pro-Kuomintang, so much so that she had joined one of the intelligence services. In a training course it was made clear to her that she was expected to report on her fellow students. She refused. A few nights later her colleagues in the course heard a shot from her bedroom. When they opened the door they, saw her lying on the bed, gasping, her face deathly white. There was blood on her pillow. She died without being able to say a word. The newspapers published the story as what was called a ‘peach-colored case,’ meaning a crime of passion...My mother heard that she had been killed because she had tried to pull out.”

SOURCE 7.8 Jung Chang 1992, *Wild Swans*, HarperCollins, London p.116.

In a story which shows that life had not improved for the ordinary labourer, Li Chunying tells of his aunt who suffered from a feudal custom, while his mother had the spirit of the times when she refused to comply – and succeeded:

“Her older sister had her feet bound and cried bitterly during the day but mostly during the night. But she dared not touch the bandages; she just suffered. Warnings such as ‘if you have large feet you will not get married, for no man likes to marry a girl with large feet,’ frightened her. However, my mother was different. When my grandmother bound her feet, she tore off the bandages and cut them into tiny pieces. ‘Nobody will marry you if you don’t bind your feet!’ my grandmother scolded her. ‘If nobody wants to marry me, I will not marry anybody,’ my mother answered back. She teased her older sister when she tottered about the house or yard. Her older sister would be in tears but she never dared to touch the bandages; she envied my mother when she ran freely about the yard, but never dared to liberate her own feet.”

SOURCE 7.9 Li Chunying 2003, *Jade Eye*, New Holland, Sydney PP.16, 19.

7.3 The rise of the CCP

At much the same time as the GMD was in revival, the CCP was born and began to grow. While the CCP was initially successful and benefited from support from the Soviet Union and Sun Yixian, it was soon to run into violent and unrelenting opposition. Following the collapse of the brief **First United Front** with the GMD and massacres in the cities, some elements of the CCP took refuge in the mountainous rural areas and set up soviets (Russian for 'council'). The most famous of these was the Jiangxi Soviet established by Mao Zedong. The Central Committee of the CCP eventually moved to the Jiangxi Soviet and displaced Mao as leader.

First United Front the cooperation between the GMD and CCP during 1922–27.

TIMELINE: RISE OF THE CCP 1918–28

15 October 1918	Li Dazhao publishes 'Victory of Bolshevism' in <i>New Youth</i> magazine
May–December 1919	Li Dazhao publishes 'My Marxist Views' in <i>New Youth</i> magazine Society for the Study of Socialism is set up at Beijing University
May 1920	Chen Duxiu and others form the CCP
July 1921	Reported first Congress of the CCP
July 1922	CCP votes to work with the GMD
June 1923	Mao is elected to CCP Central Committee
6 October 1923	Borodin arrives from Comintern to assist Sun Yixian
12 April 1927	Jiang turns on, and massacres, communists in Shanghai
28 April 1928	Li Dazhao is executed in Beijing

The CCP ideology

The theory behind communism is found in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1848. This text argued that all history is the story of class struggle and that a series of revolutions (past and future) will bring a classless society – a utopia. The final stages of this process were:

- 1 The **Capitalist** Revolution. Here the middle classes (capitalists or the bourgeoisie) overthrow the aristocracy. They would create and exploit the urban working classes (or proletariat, formerly peasants) through their factories, mines, shops and banks.
- 2 The Socialist Revolution. In this stage, the working classes overthrow the capitalists and the government would run industry on behalf of the workers.
- 3 The Communist Revolution. In the final stage, the workers overthrow the government and a classless, communal society emerges.

Marx and Engels argued that the French Revolution of 1789 was a capitalist revolution and that the failed revolutions of 1848 were an attempt at the next stage. **Marxist** theory taught that the socialist revolutions were inevitable, would be led spontaneously by the urban working classes and would envelop the world.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, also a Russian, altered the formula by accelerating the revolution and using a professional vanguard of revolutionaries to bring it on. Neither Marx nor Engels lived to see this first socialist revolution in 1917 in Russia. Later, Stalin brought in the concept of 'Socialism in One Country', the consolidation of socialism in the Soviet Union, while patiently 'exporting' revolution. To this equation, Mao Zedong added the variation of peasants, not urban workers (proletariat), as the revolutionary class.

capitalist also known as the bourgeoisie', the **Marxist** term for one who lives on investments

Marxist one who follows Marx's theories on communism

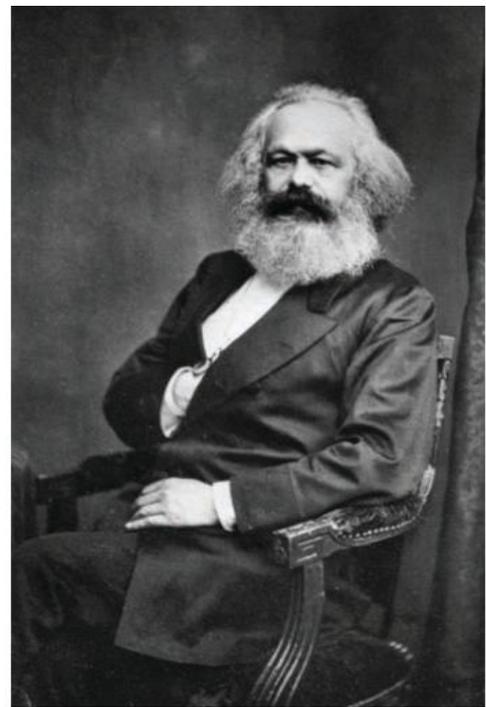
How did Marxism enter China?

The 1911 Revolution and the May Fourth Movement of 1919 encouraged new ideas, especially from Western sources. The writings of Marx and Engels had been translated into Chinese. In addition, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and Lenin's establishment of the Comintern helped promote Marxism in China. These factors proved inspirational for certain academics at Beijing University, which had become a receptacle for new ideas.

The librarian at Beijing University, Li Dazhao, began a Marxist study group in 1918. His assistant, Mao Zedong, and Chen Duxiu were converted. With the help of Comintern agent, Grigori Voitinsky, Li and Chen established the CCP which, it is believed, held its first meeting of 12 or 13 delegates in Shanghai in 1921 in the French Concession. The party was not strongly united. Li's base was in Beijing while Chen's was in Guangzhou. The expression, 'Nan Chen, Bei Li' ('Southern Chen, Northern Li') summed up the geographical divide. More crucial was Chen's orthodox view of Marxism, that the proletariat would lead the revolution, and Li's view that the peasants could be the vanguard. While Chen's orthodox view dominated the party, Li's view greatly influenced his assistant – Mao Zedong.

Many of the men who later rose to prominence in the CCP were either studying in Paris and became converts to communism (such as Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping) or were existing members who went to the Soviet Union for training (such as Liu Shaoqi).

No minutes of the meeting founding the CCP exist, and so there is some controversy about whether 1921 was indeed the first meeting. Jung Chang and her husband, Jon Halliday, believe the initial meeting was in 1920. They wrote, in a footnote: 



SOURCE 7.10 Karl Marx

KEY QUESTION

Contrasting



Although both were Marxists, how did Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao differ in their views on Marxism?

This has been a delicate point for Mao and his successors, and as a result official history dates the founding of the Party to 1921, as that was the first time Mao could be verifiably located at a Party conclave, the 1st Congress. This is duly commemorated with a museum in Shanghai which enshrines the myth that Mao was a founding member of the Party. That the Party was founded in 1920, not 1921, is confirmed both by the official magazine of the Comintern and by one of the Moscow emissaries who organised the 1st Congress.

SOURCE 7.11 Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*, 2005, p. 19

How did the CCP ally itself with the GMD?

Under orders from the Russian Comintern, the newly founded CCP was ordered to cooperate with the re-emerging GMD, which was also receiving assistance from the Soviet Union. This was a direct result of negotiations between Comintern agent Adolf Joffe and Sun Yixian in 1922. Sun held firm on two matters: first, the CCP members were to join the GMD and not vice versa, and second, his Three Principles were not to be replaced by 'communism'. Sun hoped that the CCP would soon be absorbed into the GMD while Moscow was hoping the CCP would, like a parasite, eventually dominate its host.



SOURCE 7.12 Chen Duxiu

The most powerful body in the new GMD was the Central Executive Committee. Three of its 24 regular members were communists. Communists were well represented in other key bodies of the GMD. In particular, the deputy head of the Huangpu Military Academy's Political Education Department was – significantly – Zhou Enlai. The communists stayed within the GMD until the Shanghai Massacre of 1927.

The CCP after the Shanghai Massacre

With Jiang Jieshi severing ties with the CCP in a brutal fashion, the communists became increasingly reliant on the Russian Comintern for direction. While they briefly allied with the left wing of the GMD in Wuhan, they eventually split and set up headquarters in Jiujiang in Jiangxi Province. Back in Russia, Stalin (anxious to prove his strategic skills to his rival, Trotsky) ordered a series of communist uprisings in key Chinese cities. The Nanchang uprising of 1 August 1927 was to prove that the CCP could not hold onto the cities. The CCP soldiers fled to the border areas for safety, setting up soviets or mini-communist governments. Chen Duxiu, who led the CCP at that time, had to shoulder the blame. The task of organising the revolts fell to the new CCP leader, Li Lisan. The Red Army was put under the command of Peng Dehuai and in 1930 he was ordered to take the capital of Hunan Province, Changsha. He succeeded but was only able to hold it for three days before fleeing with the remnants to the Jinggang Mountains (Jinggangshan) in Jiangxi.

KEY QUESTION

Clarifying



What lessons would the CCP have learnt up to 1931?

The role of Mao Zedong

Influenced by Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong was quick to embrace the idea of a peasant-led revolution. In September 1927, he had been directed by the party to lead the uprising in Hunan Province – this became known as the Autumn Harvest Uprising. It was initially successful, but was soon crushed. However, Mao was inspired by the ferocity of the Hunanese peasants. 🚩

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.1

The importance of the peasant problem

During my recent visit to Hunan, I made a firsthand investigation of conditions in the five counties of Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan, Liling and Changsha. In the thirty-two days from January 4 to February 5, I called together fact-finding conferences in villages and county towns, which were attended by experienced peasants and by comrades working in the peasant movement, and I listened attentively to their reports and collected a great deal of material. Many of the hows and whys of the peasant movement were the exact opposite of what the gentry in Hankow and Changsha are saying. I saw and heard of many strange things of which I had hitherto been unaware. I believe the same is true of many other places, too. All talk

continued...

...continued

directed against the peasant movement must be speedily set right. All the wrong measures taken by the revolutionary authorities concerning the peasant movement must be speedily changed. Only thus can the future of the revolution be benefited. For the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticising? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.

SOURCE 7.13 Mao Zedong's 'Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan', 1927, available from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1927mao.html>

- 1 Identify who might the report be directed to.
- 2 Examine the attitude to peasants that Mao is countering in his report.
- 3 Examine what it is about the peasants that appeals to Mao.
- 4 Evaluate whether Mao's being born in a Hunan village might affect his perspective.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

MAO ZEDONG (Mao Tse-tung) (1893–1976) **Theorist, revolutionary leader, and Chairman of the CCP**

Born in Shaoshan, in Hunan Province, Mao Zedong was the son of a wealthy peasant. Unlike his future revolutionary colleagues, Mao did not study abroad. During his time as a library assistant in Beijing University, he was influenced by Li Dazhao and his idea of a peasant-led revolution. In 1921, both men became members of the CCP under the leadership of Chen Duxiu. Soon after, the CCP co-operated with the GMD. Working in Hunan, Mao wrote his *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movements in Hunan*, which was to outline his diversion from orthodox Marxism – putting peasants and not the proletariat as the revolutionary vanguard.

After the failure of an uprising in Changsha, Mao established a soviet in the Jinggang Mountains in



SOURCE 7.14 Mao Zedong in the 1930s

Jiangxi Province. His wife (Yang Kaihui) and her sister had been living in Changsha at the time of the uprising and were imprisoned following its failure. Mao had made no effort to extricate them prior to the uprising. In 1930, the women were executed by the local warlord.

The Stalinist CCP sent Zhu De to Jinggangshan to discipline Mao, but Zhu instead joined him. Under GMD pressure, the soviet shifted south-east to Ruijin. The CCP, having failed in the cities, joined Mao in the Jiangxi Soviet, but denied him a role in the Bolshevik-trained Central Committee, possibly because of the infamous Futian massacre.

In 1934, facing defeat by the GMD, the Long March began with uncertain goals and encountered huge losses. Mao, suffering malaria, was lucky to be included. By the time they reached Zunyi, Zhou Enlai and others shifted their allegiance from the Stalinist faction and included Mao in the Central Committee. With careful manoeuvring, Mao became Chairman of the CCP, a post he retained until his death.

Mao instituted an erratic route with the goals of reaching Shaanxi, being closer to Soviet Union support and (he claimed retrospectively) taking on the encroaching Japanese. With Yan'an as the new headquarters, Mao and the CCP won the propaganda war, attracting young patriots to his cause. This included the Shanghai actress, Jiang Qing, who soon replaced Mao's second wife, He Zizhen, who had suffered shrapnel wounds in the Long March.

Following Japan's defeat in 1945, the CCP and GMD ended their truce and civil war ensued – which Mao's armies won in 1949.

On 1 October 1949, Mao declared the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

The rise of Maoism

The Jiangxi Soviets

After the failed uprising, Mao and his soldiers escaped and established a soviet in Jinggangshan (Jiangxi Province). They struck a bargain with the local bandits, who then joined his Red Army. He was joined by Zhu De in January 1928, as he retreated from the Changsha failure. Together, they became a formidable pair, fused under the collective name of Zhu-Mao. Their combined force of 10 000 soldiers became the Fourth Red Army. Mao was the political leader, while Zhu was the military commander. By July, they were under GMD pressure, so they moved to south-east Jiangxi where they re-established the Jiangxi Soviet in the mountains near the Fujian border. Ruijin became the new capital.

Stalin's policy in China was failing and a scapegoat was needed. First, it was Chen Duxiu, who was removed as leader. After Peng Dehuai's failure at Changsha, Li Lisan was criticised and then removed. This left leadership of the CCP to the 28 Bolsheviks (those trained by Moscow) under the guidance of Wang Ming and Bo Gu.

Meanwhile the only places where communism was thriving or surviving was in the rural soviets, of which the Jiangxi Soviet was predominant. By virtue of this soviet's remoteness, and the fact that it had its own army, it was able to survive when party cells in the cities suffered. Even Moscow was forced to recognise the achievements of the Jiangxi Soviet while still criticising Mao's deviant line.

Here, Mao and Zhu had implemented radical land reforms and changes. The Red Army was put under political control and the soldiers were educated in communist politics. Part of that training was for them to consider themselves as an army for the people. Traditionally, armies in China looted and ransacked any villages they passed through. So, their commander, Zhu De, drew up the Red Army Rules of Conduct. These began with three rules in Jinggangshan:

- 1 Prompt obedience to orders.
- 2 No confiscations from poor peasants.
- 3 Prompt delivery directly to the government, for its disposal, of all goods confiscated from the landlords.

In 1928, according to Edgar Snow, the following rules were added:

- 4 Replace all doors when you leave a house. (These doors had been unhinged and laid flat for beds.)
- 5 Return and roll up straw matting on which you sleep.
- 6 Be courteous and polite to the people and help them when you can.
- 7 Return all borrowed articles.
- 8 Replace all damaged articles.
- 9 Be honest in all transactions with the peasants.
- 10 Pay for all articles purchased.
- 11 Be sanitary, and, especially, establish latrines (toilets) a safe distance from people's houses.

To this list were added three duties:

- 12 Struggle to the death against the enemy.
- 13 Arm the masses.
- 14 Raise money to support the struggle.



SOURCE 7.15 Mao with Zhu

Zhu's tactics were summed up with:

When the enemy advances, we retreat.
 When the enemy halts and encamps, we harass them.
 When the enemy seeks to avoid battle, we attack.
 When the enemy retreats, we pursue.

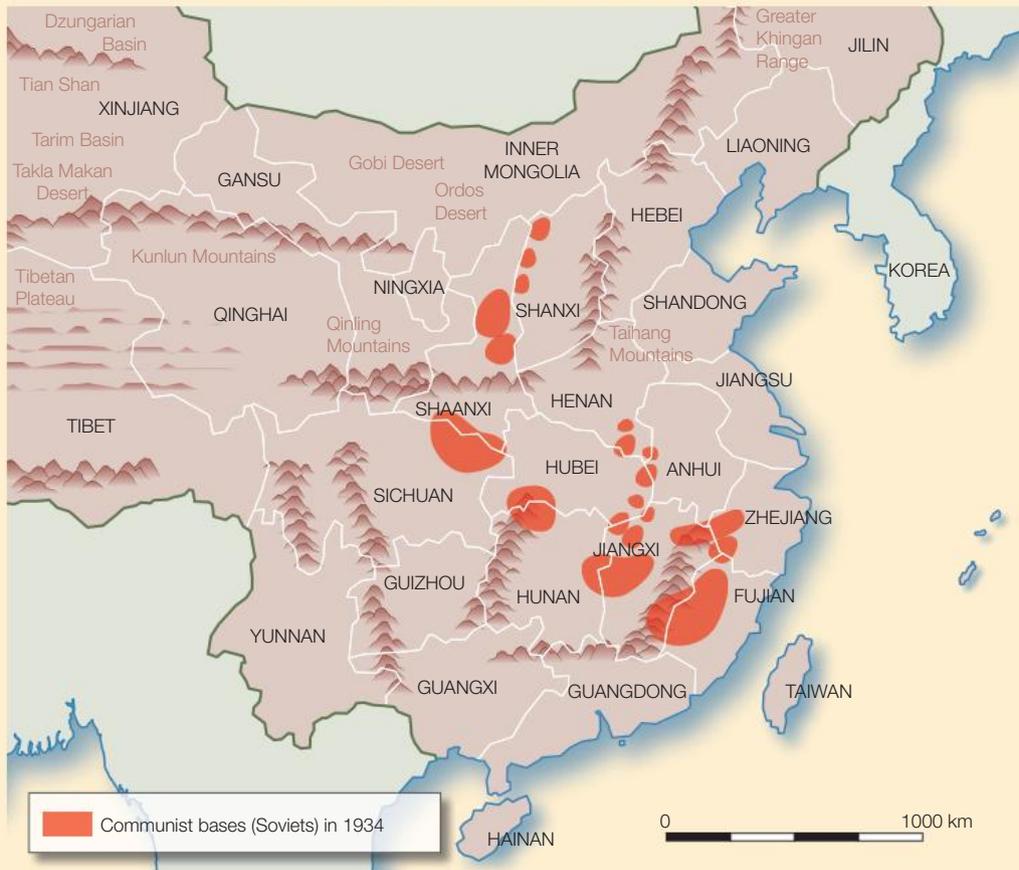
Mao and Zhu also began a land redistribution program. At first, it was severe on landlords and other land owners but, after a while, it was moderated, to avoid scaring off poorer peasants as well. Mao was later to be criticised for this more moderate view. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Forming opinions

- 1 How had the soviet experiment helped support Mao's unorthodox views?
- 2 What policies won support for Mao and the Red Army?

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.2



SOURCE 7.16 A map of CCP Soviets

- 1 Identify, from the map, common factors in the location of the Soviets.
- 2 Using the map and your understanding, explain the difficulties the GMD would have in dislodging a soviet.

Why was Mao moved aside?

Following the massacre of CCP members in Shanghai in 1927, and the failure of CCP uprisings in various cities, the Communist Party executive (the '28 Bolsheviks') were forced to retreat to Mao's Jiangxi Soviet to take stock and work out how to rebuild the party's program.

While Mao retained his title as Chairman of the Soviet Republic, he was not, by 1934, included in the Politburo (the chief policy-making body of the CCP) and was replaced by Zhou Enlai as political head of the Red Army. Zhou took military advice from the Comintern representative, Otto Braun (who was given the Chinese name of Li De). Mao was now only a figurehead and, by July 1934, was confined to a house in the town of Yudu where he spent his time recovering from malaria and calculating how he could be included in the approaching Long March.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 7.3

Dispute over Mao's removal

Western historians have tended to agree with the Maoist view that Mao was removed because the Moscow, or Li Lisan, line was unable to see the importance of peasants in a Chinese Marxist revolution. Chinese history books later worded it along these lines:

The 'Left' deviationists ...underestimated the decisive role of the peasants' anti-feudal struggle in the Chinese revolution...

SOURCE 7.17 Liu Po-Cheng et al., *Recalling the Long March*, 1978, p. 2

The view here is that Moscow and the Moscow-trained CCP leaders could not see Mao's interpretation was superior to theirs. Their more orthodox view of Marxism is then given the negative label of that of 'deviationists'.

However, another view has been put forward which focuses on Mao's style of leadership rather than just his political theories. Sun Shuyun made a personal pilgrimage to Jiangxi and made a startling observation in her account. When Mao and his soviet moved from the Jinggang Mountains to Ruijin, there was a communist cell already operating with its headquarters in Futian Village. They did not like Mao's style and remained separate. In June 1931, after a period of tension, Mao invited 200 officers from the Futian Army to a meeting. They were arrested and shot. A purge then followed. Sun Shuyun observed:

At Futian, in front of that dilapidated hall, I began to understand why Mao lost his power – he had himself destroyed the very source of it.

SOURCE 7.18 Sun Shuyun, *The Long March*, 2006, p. 63

In other words, Sun Shuyun implies, the Politburo removed Mao because of the untold damage he had done to the party.

The Long March and its political and social consequences, 1934–36

We are the fish and the people are the water through which we move.

Long March saying

The famous Long March, where the CCP were fleeing the GMD armies, has been seen by the CCP and many historians as an example of a military loss being converted into victory. It was certainly a victory for Mao, as it enabled him to regain control of the CCP. The first author to tell the world about this epic event was Edgar Snow in his book *Red Star Over China*. This is the version that has dominated perceptions of the Long March. It portrayed Mao as the hero and mastermind of the Long March. However, lately, some aspects of the 'myth' of the Long March have been challenged.

TIMELINE: THE LONG MARCH

14 January 1929	Mao and Zhu De abandon Jinggangshan Soviet
10 February 1930	Mao establishes Ruijin Soviet (also in Jiangxi Province)
26 February 1930	Li Lisan 'line' set for CCP
8 March 1930	Hunan Soviet is established
1–2 August 1930	Mao and Zhu fail to capture and hold Nanchang
November 1930	First Encirclement campaign
8 December 1930	Futian Incident, where Mao executes Futian dissidents
May 1931	Second Encirclement campaign
1 July 1931	Third Encirclement campaign (abandoned due to Japanese actions)
18 June 1932	Start of Fourth Encirclement campaign.
11 October 1932	Zhang Guotao driven out of Hebei-Hunan-Anhui Soviet to Sichuan
January 1933	CCP Central Committee flees Shanghai to Ruijin
6 October 1933	Fifth Encirclement campaign begins
16 October 1934	Long March begins
January 1935	Zunyi meeting
30 May 1935	Red Army crosses Luding Bridge over the Dadu River
16 June 1935	First Route Army meets Zhang Guotao's forces
26 October 1935	Mao's forces reach Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet
22 October 1936	Zhang Guotao and He Long's forces arrive at Gansu
December 1936	Yan'an becomes capital of Shaanxi Soviet

What were the Encirclement Campaigns?

Jiang Jieshi turned his back on the growing menace of the Japanese armies in the north and was determined to extinguish, once and for all, the CCP. In particular, he was determined to destroy the Jiangxi Soviet.

The first four campaigns, 1930–33

The initial three campaigns were launched against the soviets, especially the key one based in Jiangxi. The first two campaigns were military failures, as they could not cope with the communist guerrilla tactics. The third campaign, in July 1931, was led by Jiang himself with 130 000 soldiers, but the invasion of Manchuria by Japan forced Jiang to halt the attack. The fourth campaign in 1933 saw Jiang launch a force of 153 000 against the soviets. Unfortunately for the GMD, its forces were split by Japanese encroachment to the Great Wall, some units defected to the communists, and the tactics of the Red Army sorely tested the remaining forces.

The Fifth Encirclement Campaign, 1934

With the help of German military advisers, von Falkenhausen and von Seeckt, an army of 700 000 men, aircraft, and using a blockade or siege approach, the Fifth **Encirclement Campaign** strangled and starved the soviets. The key target this time was the Ruijin Soviet.

encirclement campaigns

Jiang's efforts to surround and eliminate communist soviets

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.4



SOURCE 7.19 Helen and Edgar Snow

Nanking believed that its efforts at annihilation were about to succeed. The enemy was caged and could not escape. Thousands had supposedly been killed in the daily bombing and machine gunning from the air, as well as by 'purgations' in districts reoccupied by the Kuomintang [GMD]. The Red Army itself, according to Chou En-lai [Zhou Enlai], suffered over 60 000 casualties in this one siege. Whole areas were depopulated, sometimes by forced mass migrations, sometimes by the simpler expedient of mass executions. Kuomintang press releases estimated that about 1 000 000 people were killed or starved to death in the process of recovering Soviet Kiangsi [Jiangxi].

SOURCE 7.20 Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 1978, p. 216

Note that Snow used the Wade-Giles romanisation spelling popular at the time. 'Nanking' is 'Nanjing', and it is mentioned because it was Jiang's capital (and therefore refers to his government).

- 1 Identify Jiang's goal in this campaign.
- 2 To what extent were his methods ruthless?
- 3 Explain what Snow means by 'purgations'.

The Fifth Encirclement Campaign succeeds

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 7.5

Why did the Fifth Encirclement Campaign succeed?

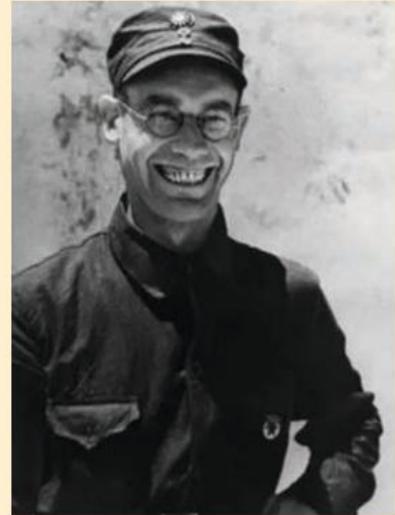
The Maoist view of the need to abandon the soviets was that there was a change of defence tactics. Further, Otto Braun abandoned Mao's guerrilla tactics for trench fighting, and thereby allowed the Fifth Encirclement to succeed.

An article by Liu Bocheng, published in China in 1978 asserts:

During the fifth counter-campaign against 'encirclement and suppression' the 'Left' opportunists began with adventurism in attack and, on the ground of a chance victory in the encounter at Hsunkou, dispatched

troops into enemy areas and followed the erroneous policy of 'engaging the enemy outside the gates'.

Left the CCP use this as a label for one with extreme ideas or those which differ to the Party's



SOURCE 7.21 Otto Braun

SOURCE 7.22 Liu Po-Cheng et al., *Recalling The Long March*, 1978, p. 4

Mao's biographer, Ross Terrill, observed:

The dream of 'halting the enemy at the gate' could easily turn into a nightmare if the enemy were to get through the gate. That is what happened. It showed the folly of positional warfare. Braun valued territory above troops. He lost both.

SOURCE 7.23 Ross Terrill, *Mao: A Biography*, 1980, p. 119

A different perspective is given by Soldier Huang, a veteran of the Long March:

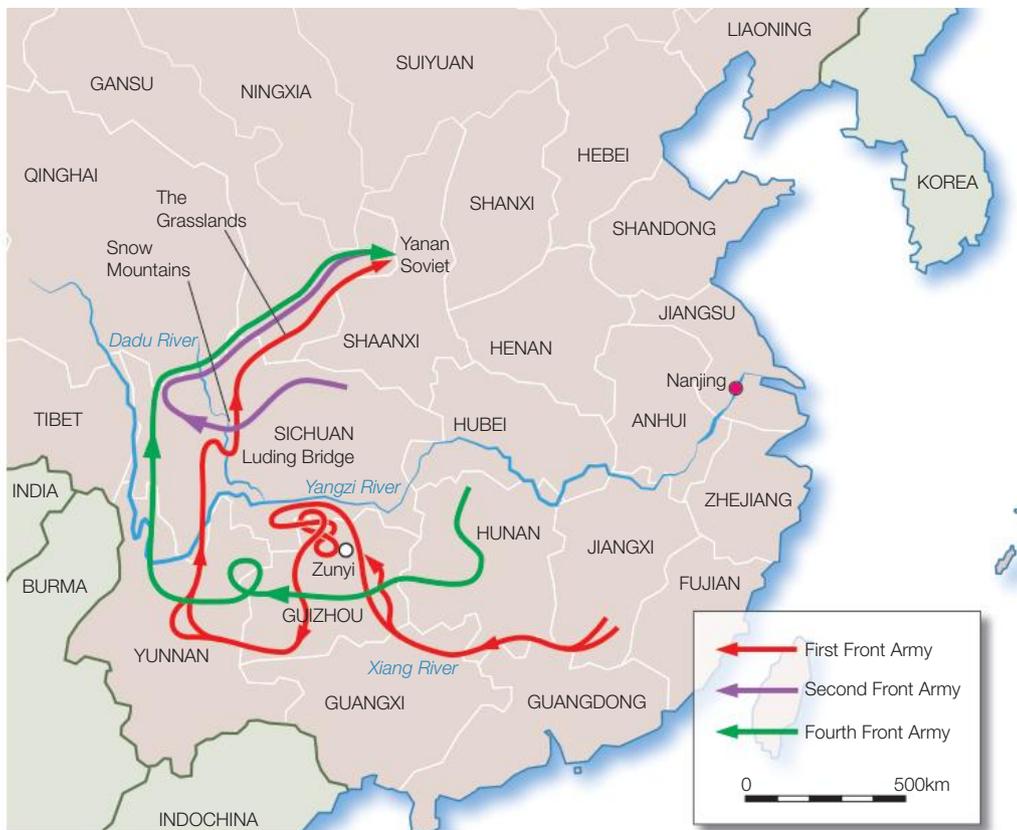
He [Braun] was not to blame for the Red Army's failures. He did not insist on trench warfare as people are always told, but guerrilla tactics and mobile attacks couldn't work any more. We were trapped, like flies in a spider's web.

SOURCE 7.24 Sun Shuyun, *The Long March*, 2006, p. 43

- 1 Contrast these views.
- 2 Examine whether or not they can be reconciled.
- 3 Evaluate whether Braun be seen as a scapegoat.

Who went on the break out?

The decision was made to break out of the Jiangxi Soviet. The decision was not made by Mao, but there is a view he was consulted on tactics by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De. So, in October 1934, the First Route Army broke through the GMD lines and headed west towards Hunan Province. The destination at the time was unclear.



SOURCE 7.25 A map of the Long March

What was clear was that not everyone could go. Except for a remnant of soldiers to ‘defend’ the soviet, the Red Army went. The leaders went. Boys who were mobile also went. Of the 80–100 000 marchers, only 30–35 women went. Most were wives of officials, and 11 other women were included to make the ‘wife factor’ less blatant. Women, children and the wounded stayed behind to suffer the retribution of the GMD troops. Mao’s brother, Mao Zetan, was left behind and was killed.

Meanwhile, each evacuating soldier carried a rifle, a quilt, a mug, chopsticks, 10 days’ rations of rice, spare sandals and a needle and thread placed in his cap. In two columns which joined at the rear, they broke through the triple encirclement and headed for the Xiang River. 🔑

KEY QUESTION

Clarifying

Who did *not* go on the Long March?

What happened at the Xiang River crossing?

After 500 kilometres and ten battles the Red Army reached the Guizhou border with only 45 000 men left. Crossing the Xiang River had been costly. Mao had blamed Otto Braun’s straight line retreat as being too predictable but Harrison Salisbury points out that Jiang’s Army had units sitting on both flanks.

SOURCE 7.26 Harrison Salisbury, *China: 100 Years of Revolution*, 1983, p. 153

It was also obvious that the Long Marchers were carrying too much equipment, such as printing presses, which had to be ditched. But none of this explains the great depletion of numbers in two days of fighting at the Xiang River. The best estimations give a figure of 15 000 killed at this time, leaving 30 000 absences unexplained. Sun Shuyun, following an interview with a survivor, wrote:

KEY QUESTION

Analysing motives

 Why would the CCP be quick to deny any desertions at the Xiang River crossing?

Nobody wants to admit it but the majority almost certainly deserted.

SOURCE 7.27 Sun Shuyun, *The Long March*, 2006, p. 87

This is heresy to the CCP view of dedicated Red Army soldiers. However, it does make sense as these men did not know they were going so far away from their families (who they had left behind at extreme risk). 

A MATTER OF FACT

Otto Braun was not the only European on the Long March. A Swiss-born missionary, Alfred Bosshardt, was captured by the Second Front marchers under General He Long and travelled with them for about 4 000 kilometres until they reached a place near Kunming, where he was released. He proved valuable in interpreting captured maps with non-Chinese inscriptions.

FLASHPOINT!

Mao rises from the ashes

What happened at Zunyi?

In Guizhou Province, the Red Army approached Zunyi. Red Army soldiers, disguised as GMD, entered the city and captured it easily. If you check the map of the journey after Zunyi (see source 7.25), you will notice the route doubles upon itself, goes back to Zunyi, and then heads south before resuming a westerly direction. This has been touted as an illustration of a change of tactics reflecting a change of leadership.

Liu Bocheng expressed the Maoist line in 1978 when he wrote:

The Tsunyi [Zunyi] Meeting triumphantly put an end to the domination of the 'Left' line in the central leading body of the Party and inaugurated a new central leadership with Comrade Mao Tse-tung [Zedong] at its head. This change saved the Party and the Red Army at a most critical time.

SOURCE 7.28 Liu Po-Cheng et al., *Recalling The Long March*, 1978, p. 9



SOURCE 7.29 The site of the Zunyi Meeting

This view states that Mao, with the support of Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and others, resumed leadership of the party. Then, using unpredictable routes, he was able to make it more difficult for Jiang's armies to catch them. Interestingly, Edgar Snow's account in *Red Star Over China*, which was basically dictated to him, makes no mention of this transformation.

Jung Chang and her husband, Jon Halliday, in their controversial biography, *Mao: The Unknown Story* wrote:

It is commonly claimed that Mao became the leader of the Party and the army at the Zunyi meeting – and by majority mandate. In fact, Mao was not made chief of either the Party or the army at Zunyi... However, Mao did achieve one critical breakthrough at Zunyi: he became a member of the Secretariat, the decision-making core.

SOURCE 7.30 Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao: The Unknown Story*, 2005, p. 145

In a recent biography of Mao, the Russian writer Alexander Pantsov cites Mao telling his daughter, Li Min, about the Zunyi meeting:

The meeting figured that a Buddha like me might still prove useful, therefore, they dragged me onto the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee.

SOURCE 7.31 Alexander Pantsov, *Mao The Real Story*, 2012, p. 280

Either way, Zunyi did see Otto Braun removed from command and it did mark the resurrection of Mao as a political force. 

KEY QUESTION

Analysing motives



What would be the purpose of using Otto Braun as a scapegoat?

The Luding Bridge crossing

The next stages consisted of victories for the Red Army at Loushan Pass in Guizhou, ferrying thousands across the Jinsha (Golden Sands) River into Sichuan Province, and the treaty with the fearsome Lolo people of the Yi nationality (where the military envoy, Liu Bocheng had to drink fresh chicken blood with the chief).

Perhaps the most vivid image of the Long March is that of the crossing of the Dadu River over the Luding Bridge. The Luding Bridge was constructed from 13 huge chains strung 100 metres across the Dadu gorge. A stone slab at the bridge declared:

Towering mountains flank Luding Bridge
Piercing the endless floating clouds.

Chinese film versions show 22 volunteer Red Army soldiers led by Commander Liao, crawling across chains and through fire while under heavy machine gun fire. Some are seen falling a great distance into the river valley below. The legend is not just based on the heroism of these men, but on the vital nature of their task. A failure to cross the bridge would have meant that the Red Army would have been bottled up and consequently annihilated south of the Dadu River, a fate suffered by the last of the Taiping rebel armies in 1863.

Edgar Snow's account encouraged this version of events:

Hand grenades and Mausers were strapped to their backs, and soon they were swinging out above the boiling river, moving hand over hand, clinging to the iron chains...The first warrior was hit, and dropped into the current below; a second fell, and then a third.

SOURCE 7.32 Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, 1978, p. 229



SOURCE 7.33 Propaganda painting of the valiant crossing of Luding Bridge

However, two accounts written by Long Marchers are less dramatic. Commander Yang Cheng-wu wrote:

KEY QUESTION

Making inferences



No doubt the men who crossed that bridge were the 'Heroes of Dadu' but were the accounts glamorised? If so, for what purpose?

With the clarion call of bugles, our assault party swiftly plunged into the flames. Commander Liao's cap caught fire. He threw it away and fought on. The others also dashed through the flames, closely behind Liao. In the street fighting that followed...

SOURCE 7.34 Yang Cheng-Wu, 'Lightning Attack On Luding Bridge' in Liu Po-Cheng et al 1978, *Recalling The Long March*, Foreign Language Press, Beijing, p. 99

Note what is missing from this account, and that of Wei Guolu, one of Zhou Enlai's bodyguards: 🔑

On hearing that a horse had fallen in [to the river], Vice-Chairman Chou [Zhou] asked urgently, 'Have any people been lost?' He was only put at ease when the reply was in the negative.

SOURCE 7.35 Wei Kuo-Lu, *On the Long March as Guard to Chou En-Lai*, 1978, p. 37

On the mountains and in the marshes

After the Dadu River, the obstacles encountered were more likely to be geographical than military. Ahead of the Red Army were the Snow Mountain Ranges. They were within 150 kilometres of their comrades in the Fourth Route Army led by Zhang Guotao, but it would take them seven weeks to traverse the mountains. Many of these soldiers grew up in semi-tropical Jiangxi and their sandals and clothing would prove woefully inadequate for the task ahead of them. They had seven ranges to cross, with the highest peak at 4800 metres. Mao wrote:

The Red Army fears not the trials of the Long March,
Holding light ten thousand crags and torrents.

This was a light-hearted approach from a leader who was carried on a stretcher at one stage due to malaria and had a horse at other times.

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.6



SOURCE 7.36 A painting of Zhou, Mao and Zhu De on the Snow Mountains

- 1 Evaluate whether this picture of Mao gives an accurate idea of the Long March.
- 2 Discuss how the image may have differed from the reality.



SOURCE 7.37 A realistic depiction of the crossing of the marshlands

Heavily depleted in numbers, the First Route Army eventually met up with the Fourth Route Army. The latter were greater in numbers and were fresher, due to their shorter journey from their base in Sichuan. There was a falling out between Mao and Zhang Guotao. Zhang headed west, while Mao continued north to Shaanxi.

However, the route chosen by Mao meant crossing the high-altitude grasslands on the eastern border of Tibet. Before even reaching the grasslands, they were often ambushed by the nomadic herdsmen who were not interested in making peace with any Chinese – CCP or GMD. The grasslands were, in fact, marshes with no inhabitants, no perceptible paths and almost no food supply. Furthermore, the evenings were freezing cold. Soldiers often had to sleep sitting back-to-back to avoid sinking to their deaths. In the

mornings, some soldiers would not stir as they had frozen to death. For many Long Marchers, this was the worst stage of the journey.

They emerged from the grasslands and continued towards the Shaanxi Soviet (which is often called the Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet, as it encompassed the Provinces of Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia). The final obstacle was a battle at Lazikou, a narrow pass in the mountains. The enemy division waiting there was outflanked by soldiers led by Commander Yang Cheng-wu.

In late October 1935, Mao's weary remnant of the First Route Army straggled into Shaanxi to be welcomed by local Soviet leaders. It was a year before the Second Route Army under He Long and the Fourth Route Army led by Zhang Guotao joined the others in Shaanxi. In 1936, the Long March concluded and a new base was established in the town of Yan'an (Yenan). Soon, Zhang Guotao realised he could not suffer Mao being the leader and defected to the Nationalists (GMD). 

KEY QUESTION

Clarifying and identifying problems



- 1 Identify the natural obstacles faced in the final phase of the Long March.
- 2 Evaluate the human obstacles that the Long Marchers faced.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 7.7

What is the verdict on the Long March?

Mao's verdict on the Long March was that:

The Long March is also a seeding-machine. In the eleven provinces it has sown many seeds which will sprout, leaf, blossom and bear fruit, and will yield a harvest in the future. In a word, the Long March has ended in victory for us and defeat for the enemy.

SOURCE 7.38 Mao reflecting on the Long March

How can it be a victory, when they were removed from southern China, almost wiped out, and ended in the desolate and remote yellow loess-covered north-west? The best estimate of those who set out from Jiangxi is 80 000–100 000 people. Only 10 000 straggled into Shaanxi under Mao. Perhaps one-third of these were recruited along the way. So, about one soldier in 10 finished the journey. Historian Dick Wilson notes in *The Long March* (1971) that of the original roll call of 300 000 people for all soviets before the Long March, only 30 000 were left after it. Surely, it was a colossal defeat.

Jiang Jieshi thought he had squashed the CCP. Yet, he lived to rue the fact that the Long Marchers reached Shaanxi. The positives for Mao's CCP were:

- They survived.
- Mao now was undisputed leader of the CCP.
- The Long March created a myth of invincibility for the survivors, no doubt helped by the publication of Edgar Snow's *Red Flag Over China*.
- Yan'an was to prove strategically important as a base from which to later challenge the GMD Government.

- 1 To what extent was the Long March a colossal defeat?
- 2 To what extent was the Long March a victory?

The consolidation of Maoism

Russia's Lenin modified Marxism by not waiting for the capitalist phase to be fully installed and not waiting for a spontaneous revolution. Similarly, China's Mao replaced the proletariat with the peasants as the revolutionary vanguard while also not waiting for the capitalist revolution. The Russian Comintern was critical of Mao's unorthodox Marxism. Consequently, the CCP, under Li Lisan, also saw him as being heretical. However, following the failure of the CCP in the cities and the Central Committee's retreat to Mao's Jiangxi Soviet, there was a tacit admission of his correct view. It was not until after Zunyi that Mao gained control of the Long March and the Party. However, it was in the Yanan Soviet that Mao established himself and his philosophy as beyond challenge. Key to this consolidation were his three policies on the relationship between the CCP and the people. Mao's three policies were:

- 1 On New Democracy
- 2 The Mass Line
- 3 The Rectification Campaign.

On New Democracy

Mao needed to explain the political process for future expansion and eventual government. He also needed to garner broader support for his style of government. In his *On New Democracy* (1940), he seemed to offer a broader involvement in politics (at the lower levels at least) where Lenin's 'dictatorship of the proletariat'

was converted to 'dictatorship of the people'. The contradictory term 'democratic dictatorship' reflects the position that there was a democratic-like process in the lower levels but not further up the ladder. This is the situation still today, where the Party has complete control and the people do not directly elect anyone to key positions of power.

The Mass Line

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.8

mass line Mao's theory that the CCP listens to the masses before policy making

In a similar vein, the 'mass line' is democratic in theory, but authoritarian in practice. In theory, it involved the Party listening to the masses and then incorporating their wishes into Party policy. Mao wrote:

It [the Party] should teach every comrade to love the people and listen attentively to the voice of the masses; to identify himself with the masses wherever he goes and, instead of standing above them, to immerse himself among them; and, according to their present level, to awaken them or raise their political consciousness.

SOURCE 7.39 Wm Theodore De Bary et al., *Sources of Chinese Tradition Vol. II*, 1964, pp.265–66

- 1 Evaluate what is admirable and democratic in this statement.
- 2 Identify the 'escape clause' that allows the Party to not listen to the masses.

rectification/zhengfeng
Mao's means of removing dissent in Yan'an

The Rectification Campaign

Not everything went smoothly in the Yan'an Soviet. In a foreshadowing of what was to come, in 1941, Mao launched a campaign of 'rectification'. This lasted until 1944. In Chinese this is called **zhengfeng** (literally 'correct the style' – although the character for 'correct' can also mean 'punish').

ANALYSING SOURCES 7.9

Finally, in opposing subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped Party writing we must have in mind two purposes: first, 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones', and second, 'cure the sickness to save the patient'. The mistakes of the past must be exposed without sparing anyone's sensibilities; it is necessary to analyse and criticise what was bad in the past with a scientific attitude so that work in the future will be done more carefully and done better. This is what is meant by 'learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones'. But our aim in exposing errors and criticising shortcomings, like that of a doctor curing a sickness, is solely to save the patient and not to doctor him to death. A person with appendicitis is saved when the surgeon removes his appendix. So long as a person who has made mistakes does not hide his sickness for fear of treatment or persist in his mistakes until he is beyond cure, so long as he honestly and sincerely wishes to be cured and to mend his ways, we should welcome him and cure his sickness

continued...

...continued

so that he can become a good comrade. We can never succeed if we just let ourselves go, and lash out at him. In treating an ideological or a political malady, one must never be rough and rash but must adopt the approach of 'curing the sickness to save the patient', which is the only correct and effective method.

SOURCE 7.40 Mao Zedong, 'Rectify the Party's Style of Work', 1942

- 1 Identify the three basic errors according to Mao.
- 2 Identify Mao's solution to the problem.
- 3 Evaluate how such a harmless speech can be the source of pain for so many Party members.

Historians vary in their assessment of the aims of this campaign. They range from:

- 1 converting Marxist theory to practical reality (pragmatism)
- 2 applying Marxism to Chinese conditions (Sinification)
- 3 attempting to unite the growing numbers with a consistent ideology
- 4 humiliating and/or removing anyone who would challenge Mao's authority or policies
- 5 installing 'Mao Zedong thought' as the sole philosophy of the CCP.

Stuart Schram, a biographer of Mao, expressed it this way:

Thus began the shift from the adaptation of Marxism to the language, mentality, and conditions of the Chinese people (Mao's original definition of Sinification) to the replacement of all other forms of Marxism (including that of Marx himself) by the infallible thought of the leader [Mao].



SOURCE 7.41 Stuart Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-Tung*, 1969, p. 72

SOURCE 7.42 Kang Sheng

Whatever the aims of zhengfeng, the effects were pretty obvious. While it began mildly as self-criticism and group study sessions (of selected works), it soon degenerated into 'struggle sessions' (humiliation, sometimes painful, in front of a crowd), the writing of confessions, isolation, and, informing on colleagues. Some were driven to suicide and some tortured and executed by the infamous head of the secret police, Kang Sheng. It was an echo of what was happening in Stalin's Russia.

Mao called it to a halt with tears in his eyes, admitting it had gone too far (an admission he was never to make again). However, he had achieved a personal victory. He was undisputed leader of the soviet – and those who might challenge him received a clear warning not to do so. 🔑

KEY QUESTION

Analysing sources



Which of the aims for rectification did the quotation from Schram include?

7.4 Resistance to Japan

The Japanese are only a disease of the skin, the Communists are a malady of the heart.

Jiang Jieshi, employing a proverb

Japanese aggression

Sometimes a threat from a foreign power can unite a country. However, in the face of continued Japanese encroachment, Chinese politics remained divided. As a result of the Opium Wars, Japan had a concession in Shanghai. Following the Russo–Japanese War of 1904, Japan had gained influence in Korea and Manchuria. From the Sino–Japanese War of 1894, Japan gained the island of Taiwan, which it called Formosa. With the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, Japan replaced Germany in the Shandong ‘sphere of influence’.

In the 1930s, the Japanese military gained increasing control over the Japanese government and a greater influence over the emperor. The Japanese war machine believed that to conquer the world, they must first conquer China, and to conquer China they must first take Manchuria. One obstacle in controlling Manchuria was the Manchurian warlord Zhang Zuolin, who supported a united China and was anti-Japanese expansion. In 1928, he was killed when his train was bombed under orders of the Japanese local military. The Japanese generals tried to bribe his son, Zhang Xueliang, who responded on 29 December 1928 by flying the Chinese National flag throughout Manchuria.

The Japanese military presence in Manchuria was known as the **Guandong Army** (a renaming of the former Russian-held areas and not to be confused with the Chinese province of Guangdong). This Army was already impatient with the reluctance of the Japanese government to let them off their leash. Some Guandong soldiers, disguised as railway guards, ‘attacked’ Japanese railway lines in Mukden, causing minimal damage. Thus, the Mukden Incident of 18 September 1931 was the pretext for a military takeover of Manchuria. The Japanese government had little choice but to ratify their actions. Not for the last time, the tail had wagged the dog.

To distract Chinese and international attention from what was happening in Manchuria, another pretext was drummed up in Shanghai. In January 1932, a group of thugs were hired by Japanese officials. They beat up a small group of Japanese monks in Shanghai, with one monk dying of his wounds. This was regarded as sufficient excuse for soldiers to attack the Chinese quarters of the city. When they met resistance, the Japanese air force was brought in to indiscriminately bomb Chinese residences. Resistance to this onslaught was the task of the 19th Route Army operationally led by Cai Tingkai. Their bravery rallied workers, warlords, the Green Gang and even the Song Sisters to their cause. Jiang was reluctant to commit his elite 5th Route Army to the defence of Shanghai as he feared an all-out war with Japan.

However, under pressure, he secretly inserted some of them into the 19th Route forces. Eventually, Japanese forces withdrew to their normal boundaries but tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians had been killed: the counts ranging from 6 000 to 35 000 people. However, Japan had used the distraction to complete its subjugation of Manchuria in five months. On 1 March 1934, the farce was complete when the last emperor of China, Henry Puyi, was made a **puppet emperor** of Manzhouguo (Manchukuo).

Jiang Jieshi’s military reaction to the Japanese threat seemed to be to turn a blind eye to their aggression coupled with a determination to wipe out the Shaanxi Soviet. As a result, two of his own marshals arrested Jiang and the subsequent negotiations produced an uneasy alliance between the GMD and CCP. This became known as the Second United Front. In 1937, Japan abandoned its piecemeal encroachments into Chinese territory and declared all-out war against the Republic of China. Meanwhile, Mao’s soviet won the propaganda war by inspiring patriots, especially women, to become part of the ‘Yanan Way’.

Guandong Army the jingoistic Japanese Army unit based in Manchuria

puppet emperor a ruler with no power of their own; a figurehead

The Xi'an Incident's effect on the CCP and GMD

Determined to finish the communists who survived the Long March, Jiang Jieshi decided not to trust the locally based warlord-marshals, Yang Yucheng and Zhang Xueliang. Instead, he went to Xi'an to personally oversee the campaign. Yang and Zhang were not happy that 'Chinese were fighting Chinese'. Because of the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, Zhang was ousted from his original home base. Also, he had been in communication with the communists. Consequently, on 12 December 1936, when Jiang had been bathing at the local hot springs, Zhang's troops came and arrested him.

Zhou Enlai came to negotiate on behalf of the communists. There were calls for Jiang's execution. Jiang's wife, Song Meiling, flew in from Nanjing. With encouragement from Moscow it was decided that only Jiang could lead a united China against Japan. Jiang returned to Nanjing a national and worldwide hero, with a promise to end the blockade of the Yan'an Soviet and to enter a second alliance with the CCP (the first was from 1922–27). In turn, the Reds agreed to subordinate the **Red Army** to the GMD military command. The Red Army was renamed the **Eighth Route Army and New Fourth Route Army** accordingly, and their headquarters were switched to Xi'an. 🗝️



SOURCE 7.43 Eighth Route Army

Red Army the Communist Army under Zhu De

Eighth Route and Fourth Route Armies communist units nominally under GMD command

A MATTER OF FACT

When the troops came to arrest Jiang at the Xian hot springs, he fled outside and hid between some boulders until he was discovered and arrested. The irony of all this is that his given name, 'Jieshi', means 'between rocks'.

KEY QUESTION

Recognising effects

🗝️ How did the Xi'an Incident change the Chinese political scene?

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Zhang Xueliang (1901–2001)

Zhang Xueliang's father was a Manchurian warlord, Zhang Zuolin, who ruled Manchuria until his assassination in 1928 (with suspicion for his death pointing to a Japanese plot). Zhang Xueliang, known as 'The Young Marshal', after ridding himself of opium addiction, ruled Manchuria until forced out by the Japanese in 1931. He then became a marshal in the GMD forces and was situated near Xi'an when Jiang Jieshi ordered him to attack the Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet in 1936. After the Xi'an Incident, he accompanied Jiang back to Chongqing and remained under house arrest which continued, after accompanying Jiang to Taiwan, until 1961.



SOURCE 7.44 Zhang Xueliang

How did the second Sino–Japanese War begin?

Japan had gained a strong foothold in northern China. The Army, supposedly maintaining the peace in occupied Manchuria, was the Guandong (Kwantung or North East) Army. Its young officers were keen to have Japan further expand its empire and were impatient with the more moderate politicians. They were also concerned by the Second United Front. Back in Japan, the militarists were gaining greater influence than the civil administration, encouraged by the rise of fascism and Nazism in Europe.

On 7 July 1937, a Japanese detachment of the Guandong Army knocked on the closed gates of the town Wanping, demanding they search for a missing soldier. They were refused entry. The Japanese opened fire and the local soldiers fired back. As this took place near a marble bridge mentioned by Marco Polo – this has become known outside of China as ‘the Marco Polo Bridge Incident’. The Chinese know it as the Lugouqiao (Lukouch’iao or Reed Channel Bridge) Incident. It became an example of ‘the tail wagging the dog’ and Japan was committed to full-scale conquest.

Despite some fierce resistance by some GMD armies, Japanese technological supremacy and preparedness meant that the east coast of China was quickly occupied by the Japanese. Beiping (as Jiang Jieshi had renamed Beijing) fell quickly, as did Tianjin. Then Hangzhou and Shanghai were taken. Taiyuan held

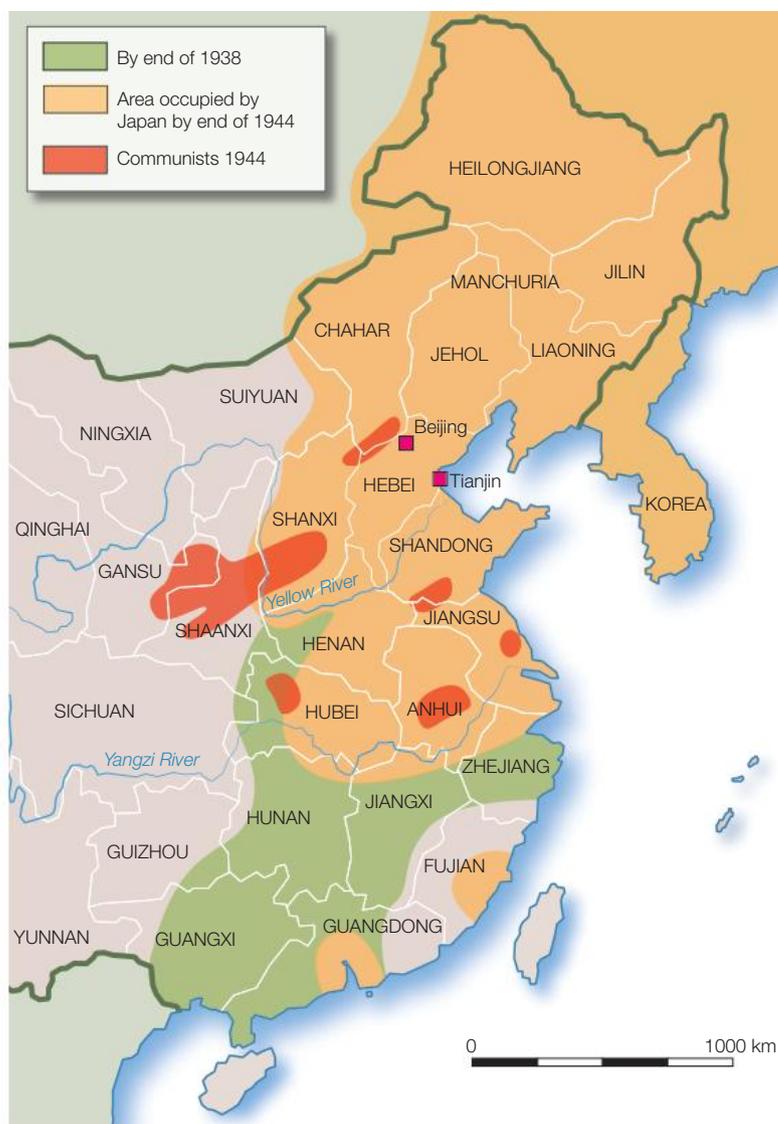
out longer. The behaviour of many of the Japanese troops towards the Chinese soldiers and civilians is a period of great shame in Japanese history and is still a sore point today. The Chinese can tell many stories of murder, rape, mutilation and burial alive by the Japanese Imperial Army.

The Rape of Nanjing

The most infamous account of brutality to the Chinese followed the Japanese capture of the GMD capital, Nanjing (Nanking) in mid-December 1937. The ancient walled city of Nanjing was captured, and many Japanese soldiers went on a killing spree. It is estimated that 20 000 women were raped then killed. In all, at least 200 000 people were murdered. Some soldiers had a bet as to who could decapitate the most Chinese in one day. Patients in hospitals were murdered. The only refuge was in the foreign compounds.

What were Jiang's tactics against the Japanese?

The main GMD forces regrouped at Wuhan. With the help of aircraft and pilots supplied by Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union, Wuhan was stoutly defended by the GMD forces. In June 1938, Jiang gave orders to blow the dams that held back the mighty Yellow River (Huang He). This slowed the Japanese advance somewhat, but it also killed many Chinese peasants in the process.



SOURCE 7.45 A map showing the Japanese occupation of China

All this provided time for the government to move the capital to Chongqing in Sichuan, in the upper reaches of the Yangzi River.

The Japanese established a puppet government in Manzuguo (Manchukuo or Manchu nation), with Puyi installed as puppet emperor. They also established a puppet regime in Nanjing to legitimise their control of China. However, in December 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Jiang was pleased to now have the support of the United States. He believed it was only a matter of time before Japan was defeated and he would be returned to power. Meanwhile, he and his wife, Song Meiling, were regarded as heroes. When Song Meiling visited the US Congress to appeal for arms and money, her charm, good looks and perfect English won them over.

How did the CCP fare in Yan'an?

After the Xi'an Incident, the communists had a period of respite and were able to build up their soviet. Mao and the other leaders seemed to have developed a better working relationship with the local peasants, even sending the Army into the fields to boost the food supply. The Long Marchers had to switch from a rice diet to one of wheat and sorghum. They also learnt to live in the cave-like homes dug into the sides of the yellow cliffs.

There was a sense of egalitarianism made easier by the mutual poverty of the local population and the absence of rich landlords. Mao lived in a cave-like home with a vegetable garden out the front, as did everyone else. Schools were set up to cope with the 95 per cent illiteracy rate of the peasants and to disseminate political doctrine. Music and dance were adapted to teach the communist perspective. They established an anti-Japan University in Yan'an, which was good propaganda. The soviet even overprinted GMD stamps for its own postal service.

They did originally try to seriously hurt the Japanese forces with their 'One Hundred Regiments Offensive', but the Japanese reprisals were severe, especially on any villages associated with an attack. The Eighth Route Army then settled more on harassment rather than open warfare.

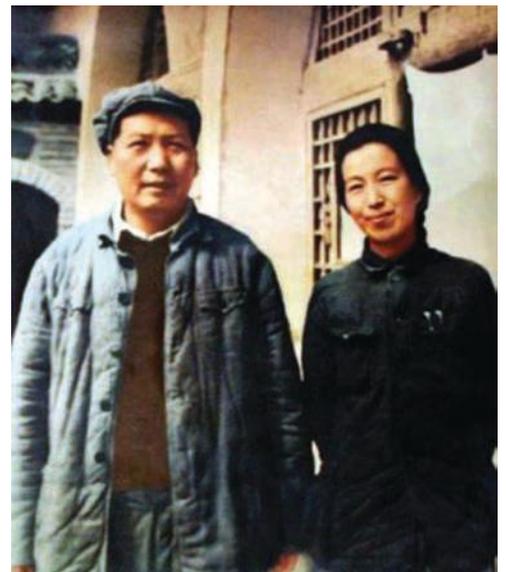
Soon young people, especially women, travelled to the soviet. Some came to aid the fight against the Japanese troops, feeling that the GMD was insincere in its defensive measures. Some women came to assert their independence by avoiding or escaping arranged marriages. The cruelty of some mothers-in-law in China was legendary and the selection of the previously unseen future husband was often arbitrary.

Once caught in a bad marriage, there was no escape, except for death or Yan'an. This influx of young, attractive women proved too tempting for some of the older comrades, who ditched their wives and married the young, and sometimes sophisticated, newcomers.

It is widely believed that Mao had an affair with Lily Wu, an attractive Shanghai actor. A scandal erupted, and she was sent packing. However, Mao's wife, He Zizhen, was sent off to Moscow for 'medical' reasons. This allowed Mao to team up with another young Shanghai actor called Lan Ping. She changed her name to Jiang Qing and eventually she and Mao married. However, the Party did insist that she remain out of political decisions – which she did until 1966.



SOURCE 7.46 Manzuguo Emperor Puyi



SOURCE 7.47 Jiang Qing with Mao in 1946

Arguably the most influential foreign visitor to Yan'an was Edgar Snow, who wrote his first account of life there, *Red Star Over China*. Much of the world had assumed the Reds had disappeared after the Long March. Most Chinese did not know there was a Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet. Consequently, Snow's glowing account of the Long March and the soviet drew positive attention to Mao's little kingdom both within China and overseas.

US support – Chongqing or Yan'an?

With Stalin's mind and troops occupied with Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, hope for China seemed to lie with the United States after 1941. In 1942, President Roosevelt sent General Joseph Stilwell to Chongqing to advise and organise the Chinese forces there. Stilwell was shocked by the corruption, lack of training and lack of equipment in the GMD forces. He tried to assume military command, but was

blocked by Jiang. Stilwell complained to President Roosevelt, as did Jiang, and the President took the expedient path of replacing Stilwell.

In contrast, a visit to Yan'an led by Colonel David Barrett in 1944 (which became known as the Dixie Mission, possibly because the communists were comparable to the Civil War rebels), was impressed by what they saw. Mao, of course, laid on the best of communist propaganda presentations. Roosevelt's special emissary, Patrick Hurley, arrived not long after and he also praised the policies of the soviet.

However, none of the US officials could convince Jiang to cooperate completely with the communist military or to change his approach to the war.



SOURCE 7.48 The Dixie Mission in Yan'an, featuring Mao and Colonel David Barrett

7.5 Triumph of the CCP

Xian fa zhi ren
(Offence is the best defence)

Chinese proverb

TIMELINE: CIVIL WAR TO RED VICTORY	
14 August 1945	Japan surrenders
12 July 1946	Civil war begins between GMD and CCP
19 March 1947	GMD captures Yan'an
13 May 1947	Major PLA offensive in Manchuria
September 1948	Jiang's new gold yuan note collapses
13 January 1949	CCP armies occupy Beijing
1 October 1949	People's Republic of China declared
10 December 1949	Jiang and GMD leave for Taiwan

In the early 1940s, Japan reached a stalemate in China. It had seized the industrial and fertile areas on the eastern seaboard and further expansion was costly, especially when they started facing losses in the Pacific. In 1945, after the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered. The United States tried to broker a peace between the GMD and CCP, but it soon broke down. Civil war began. The GMD had early success, but the CCP was stronger than it was a decade before. In 1949, Mao claimed victory in Beijing. Jiang and the GMD fled to Taiwan – creating two Chinas.

Who took on the Japanese forces?

While some Chinese histories claim China defeated Japan, the reality is that Japan's losses in the Pacific and the United States' use of the atomic bomb in 1945 were the key reasons for its surrender. This immediately meant that Japan no longer had any claims on Taiwan, Manchuria, Korea or the other occupied territories. With Western countries driven out by the war, there was a free and unsegmented China up for grabs.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 7.10

Who really took on the Japanese – the Nationalists or Communists?

Jiang's retreat from the Japanese forces to Chongqing did not endear him to young patriotic Chinese who were sickened by reports of atrocities. While he may have been correct in judging the communists as the greater enemy, his pursuit of them lost him the propaganda war. Finally, the corruption of those around him meant that of the millions of dollars sent by the United States as war aid, very little saw its way to the front. Consequently, there was a perception that Mao was quick to promote: that the communists alone took on the Japanese. Stuart Schram summed it up this way:

The Nationalist headquarters moved to Chungking [Chongqing], and behind the Japanese lines the Communist-led guerrillas remained virtually alone as an effective political force.

SOURCE 7.49 Stuart Schram, *Mao Tse-Tung*, 1967, p. 210

However, it may not be as clear cut as that. There were notable and heroic encounters by the GMD forces against the Japanese. In capturing the Yangzi River area, the Japanese lost 62000 soldiers. GMD losses were even greater. Jack Gray explains why the GMD efforts seemed to pale against the role of the communist troops:

The course of the war put Chiang at a disadvantage before public opinion. The Japanese sought to take over the coastal cities and the main communication routes, especially the railways. To do this they had to defeat mainly Nationalist, not Communist forces...On the other hand, the Japanese had neither the means nor the desire to establish power throughout the rural areas where the Communists were established; these areas were subject to only occasional attacks...Thus although the Nationalist armies bore almost the whole brunt of the attacks, it was the Communist armies which impressed the Chinese public.

SOURCE 7.50 Jack Gray, *Rebellions and Revolutions: China from the 1800s to the 1980s*, 1990, p. 275

- 1 Compare these two views. How do they differ?
- 2 Evaluate whether they can both be correct assessments.
- 3 Schram's comment is from a 1967 publication, whereas Gray's was published in 1990. To what extent would the difference in publication dates affect their stances.
- 4 Identify what further evidence would you need to resolve the problem.



SOURCE 7.51 Jiang greeting General George C Marshall

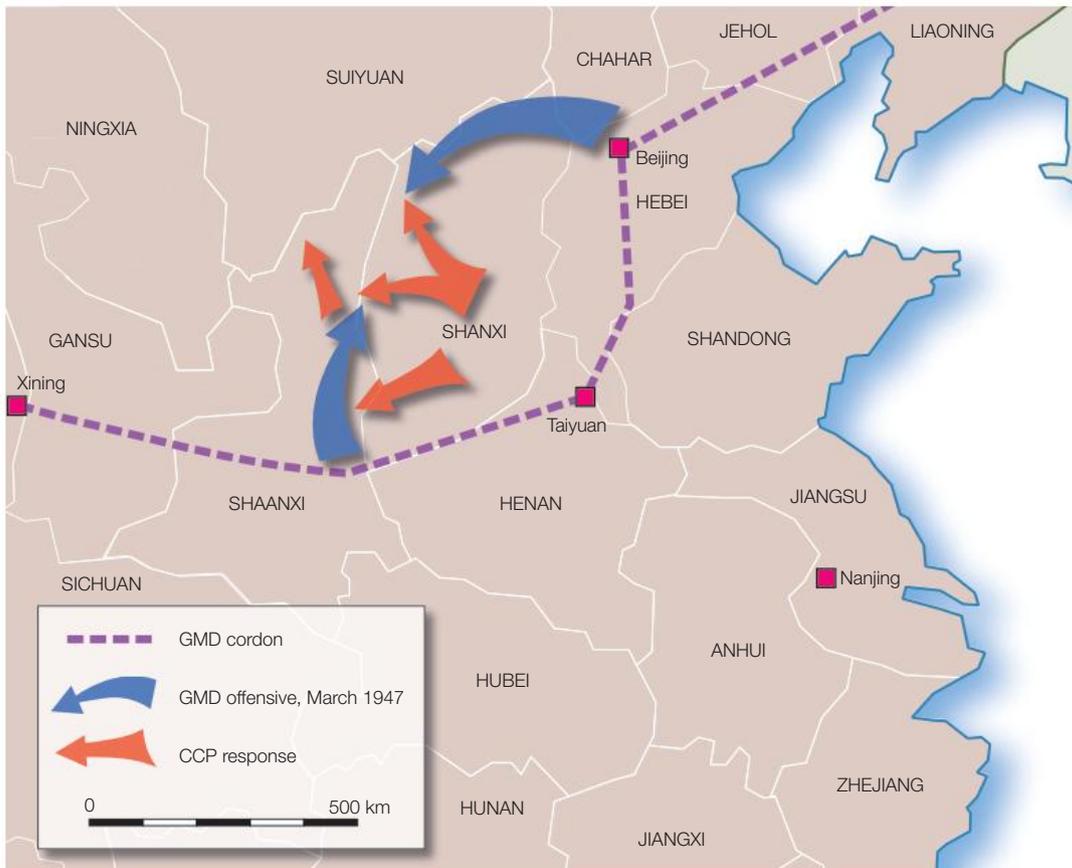
What attempts were made to avoid civil war?

With the end of the anti-Japanese War, there was jostling on both sides to claim the advantage. General Douglas MacArthur flew Jiang and several representatives to the major coastal centres to accept the Japanese surrender. The communists, for their part, infiltrated the areas in north-east China that the Japanese had occupied, and confiscated weapons and vehicles as well as recruiting Manzhouguo and GMD soldiers. Strangely, Stalin had offered Jiang the support of Russia, including holding Manchuria until the GMD were able to resume control, totally snubbing Mao.

In 1945, General George C Marshall arrived from the United States to negotiate a peaceful sharing of power in post-war China. In January 1946, he arranged a ceasefire between the GMD and CCP. As part of the negotiations, Mao went to Chongqing, met with Jiang and posed with him for photographs. Zhou Enlai remained behind as the chief communist representative.

The Civil War and military success of the CCP

In June 1946, full-scale civil war broke out. General Marshall blamed both sides for the conflict. The GMD forces were superior in number and equipment (thanks to the support of the United States) but the CCP used equipment captured from the Japanese and, later, from the GMD itself. Jiang's Army was calculated at



SOURCE 7.52 Map of GMD advances on the Red Army

4 000 000 regulars, while Mao had 1 200 000, but many of the GMD forces had been conscripted and it also had a high desertion rate.

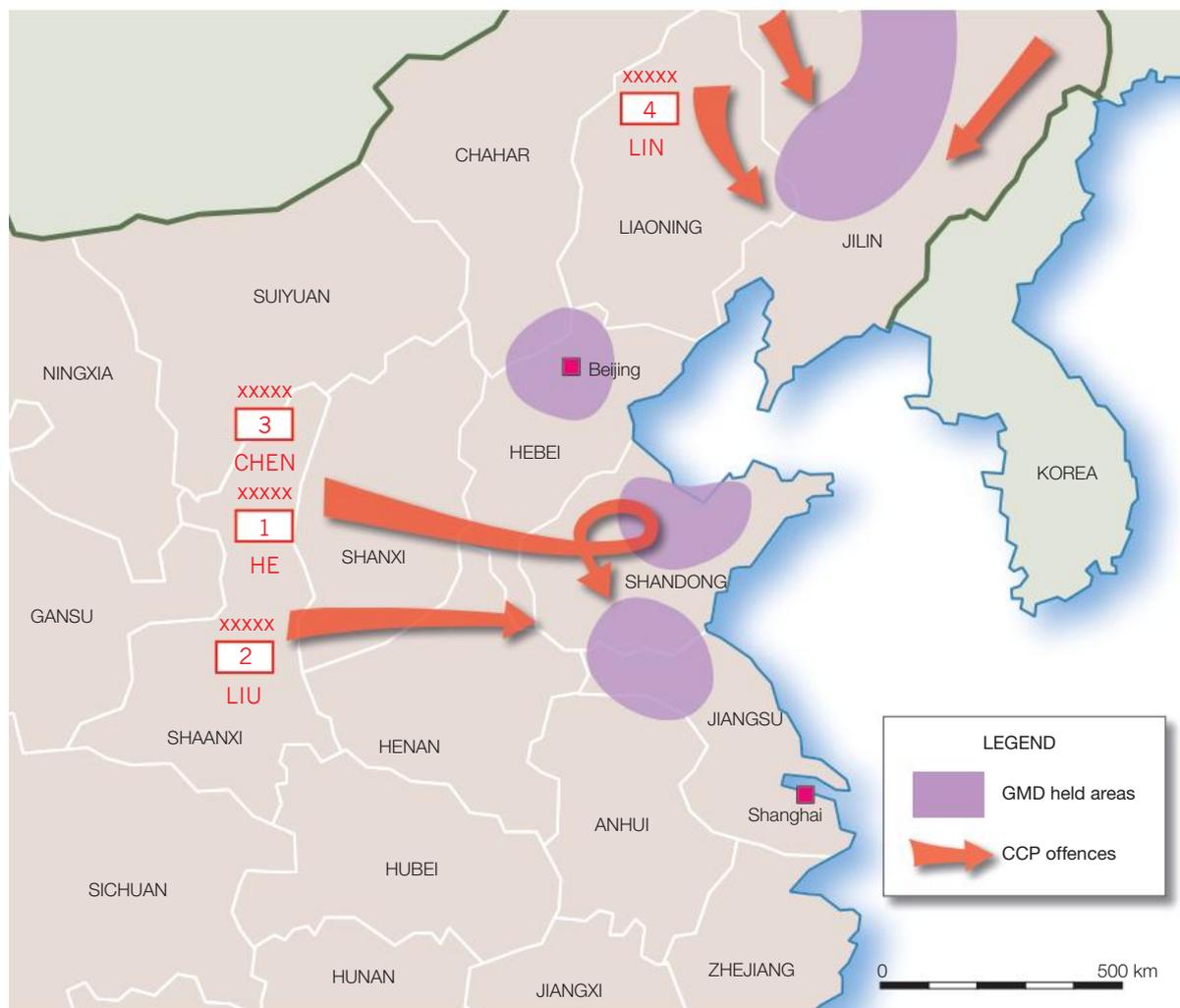
From 1946–47, the GMD armies made all the advances, capturing major centres in the north and even capturing Yan'an. The communist forces were largely prepared to give up cities, but maintained their influence in the countryside where their peasant support and guerrilla tactics were most effective.

The Red Tide: Reasons for the CCP victory

By 1947, the tide was turning. The CCP were capturing much of Manchuria as well as making successful raids south of the Yellow River (Huang He). In 1948, key cities fell to the CCP. Changchun fell to the armies of Lin Biao. In October, the city of Mukden fell. Hundreds of thousands of out-maneuvred GMD soldiers died or surrendered. Generals switched sides and joined the communists. In January 1949, Suzhou, only 180 kilometres from Nanjing, fell to Generals Chen Yi and Liu Bocheng. On January 31, the CCP took Beijing without any resistance. In April, the Red Army – now called the **People's Liberation Army (PLA)** – took Nanjing. After that, Wuhan, Xi'an and Shanghai quickly followed. The GMD campaign was collapsing.

On 10 December 1949, Jiang and his family boarded a DC-4 plane and flew to the island of Taiwan, off the coast of Fujian Province, where he was to prepare his campaign to retake the mainland. He died in 1975 in Taiwan, but it was another 20 years before his casket was buried, as the intention was that he be buried on the mainland.

People's Liberation Army (PLA) the new name for the Red Army



SOURCE 7.53 CCP advances on the GMD.

Jiang took hundreds of thousands of soldiers to Taiwan, as well as treasures and bullion. His navy, backed by the US Seventh Fleet, patrolled the Taiwan Strait, preventing a CCP invasion. His escape to Taiwan had been planned in advance. The local islanders were not happy with the GMD invasion, but resistance was met with death. The Taiwanese had led a relatively peaceful existence under the Japanese since 1898, when China ceded the island to the victor nation. Even today, political debate in Taiwan revolves around whether to win back the mainland or continue to develop Taiwan independently.

After some delay, on 1 October 1949, Mao and leading members of the Party and special guests, stood on the rostrum above Tiananmen (Heavenly Peace Gate) on the south wall of the Forbidden City in Beijing (which was once again the capital of China) and announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China (Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo).



SOURCE 7.54 The PLA 'liberates' Beiping in 1949

Historical debate: Did Jiang lose the civil war or did the CCP steal China from him?

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 7.10A

Did Jiang lose the civil war or did the CCP steal China from him?

The first element to this debate is: What did the GMD do for the people of China? While Jiang was using Sun Yixian's 'period of tutelage' as an excuse, Jiang ruled as a dictator with no real attempt to involve the people in government. While there was an initial period of economic growth in China under Jiang, two costly wars led to a dwindled supply of food, starvation, and uncontrolled inflation. On top of this, while Jiang lived a rather austere life his government and generals were very corrupt. Much of the money the USA gave for the war effort ended up in private hands, including those of his wife's brother-in-law, HH Kung. Unlike the CCP there was no real attempt to implement Sun Yixian's policy of 'People's Livelihood' with its 'equalisation of property ownership'.

Jiang Jieshi, explaining the Communist victory, wrote in 1957:

When the war ended [Second World War] the Communists resorted to armed insurrection. They did everything to nullify all reconstruction projects, to hinder the Government's program of demilitarization, to disrupt the nation's economic life and to upset its social order. They spread national defeatism at a time when the people were weary after the long war. Finally, the general public became so confused and bewildered that all they had asked was peace at any cost, however transient it might turn out to be. This was the basic reason for the tragic reverses which China suffered in her war against Communism.

SOURCE 7.55 Pichon Py Loh (Ed.) 1965, *The Kuomintang Debacle of 1949: Conquest or Collapse?*, Dc Heath and Company, Lexington, P.75.

Professor A Doak Barnett provides an alternative perspective:

The relative ease of the final Communist takeover was a result in part, of course, of the strength of the Chinese Communist revolutionary movement forged during the previous two decades of armed struggle, but the speed of the takeover was also the result of the completeness of the demoralisation, disintegration, and collapse of the Nationalist regime on the mainland.

SOURCE 7.56 Pichon P Y Loh (Ed.) 1965, *The Kuomintang Debacle of 1949: Conquest or Collapse?*, D C Heath and Company, Lexington, P.6.

- 1 Examine whether you can identify any agreement between these two excerpts.
- 2 Discuss whether they disagree.
- 3 Assess what possible reasons has Jiang **not** given. Why not?

A MATTER OF FACT

General Yang Hucheng, who, with Zhang Xueliang, arrested Jiang in 1936, was under house arrest in Chongqing as the communist armies approached in 1949. Secret police agents, acting on orders from Jiang, went to Yang's home and killed his family and staff, then burnt the bodies. Another son later exhumed the bodies and took them to Xi'an for burial, 13 years after the Xi'an Incident which had so angered Jiang.

Despite the greater resources, aid from the United States and initial military successes, the GMD lost the civil war because they did not appeal to the hundreds of millions of peasants. The CPP offered them land and promised to lift the taxation burden. The CCP won the propaganda war and convinced the people and media that they alone took on the Japanese. Furthermore, GMD morale was low, and many officers surrendered themselves and their units to the CCP who promised not to kill the 'little Jiangs'.

CHAPTER 7 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

NATIONALIST DECADE

- Following the Northern Expedition, Jiang Jieshi turns on the Chinese Communist Party killing members in the streets of Shanghai, and other major cities.
- The Republic of China's capital is moved from Beijing (renamed Beiping) to Nanjing.
- Without elections the Guomindang rules via force and the support of certain warlords.
- There are improvements to the economy and transport but peasants and workers are neglected.
- The New Life Movement and Blue Shirts have a fascist tone.
- Japan increases control over Manchuria after 1931

RISE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

- Initially the CCP is controlled by Moscow through its Comintern.
- Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu are replaced by Li Lisan then Wang Min and Bogu and the '28 Bolsheviks'.
- Mao establishes the Jiangxi Soviet in line with his view of peasants as the agents of revolution. Others spring up elsewhere.
- CCP Central Committee retreats from GMD crackdowns to Jiangxi Soviet.
- Mao removed as Soviet leader.
- Jiang's Fifth Encirclement Campaign succeeds, leading to the Long March.
- After great losses Otto Braun is removed as military leader at Zunyi and Mao reassumes control. Comintern influence is much reduced.
- After further obstacles the marchers reach the Shaan-Gan-Ning Soviet and establish its capital at Yan'an.
- Through his policies of New Democracy, Rectification and The Mass Line, Mao and Maoism become unchallenged.

RESISTANCE TO JAPAN

- Japan uses the Mukden Incident to attack Shanghai as a feint to control all of Manchuria and establish a puppet government. Jiang reluctant to commit best troops.
- Xi'an Incident of 1938 forces GMD and CCP to form Second United Front.
- July 1937, after the Reed Moat Bridge Incident, the Guandong army forces Japan to commit to the Second Sino-Japanese War.
- Jiang establishes a wartime capital in Chongqing and keeps in reserve his best troops.
- CCP propaganda suggests it is really taking on the Japanese.
- Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* paints the Yan'an Soviet as utopian.
- Japan surrenders in 1945 after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings.

TRIUMPH OF THE CCP

- Negotiations between GMD and CCP to create a government break down.
- Civil war ensues and GMD, with aid from USA, is initially successful.
- GMD controls cities while CCP, with its land policy, controls the villages.
- USSR helps with supplies in Manchuria.
- GMD forces are demoralised. Defections to CCP.
- 1949 the CCP captures Beijing and on October 1 declares the People's Republic of China.

Key terms and names

Write a definition of:

- 1) Guomindang
- 2) The Northern Expedition
- 3) Warlords
- 4) Marxism
- 5) Maoism
- 6) Soviets
- 7) The Long March
- 8) The Yanan Spirit
- 9) Puppet emperor

Historical concepts

1 Continuity and change

- How did rule by the CCP compare to the rule by Jiang and the GMD?
- To what extent did Mao alter orthodox Marxist theory?
- Compare the approaches of the CCP and GMD to Japanese aggression.

2 Perspectives

- Account for how a Chinese business person would view the CCP and the GMD in the 1930s.
- Account for how a peasant would view the CCP and the GMD in the 1930s.
- Discuss whether the Long March was a success or a failure.

3 Significance

- Evaluate the role of Mao in the establishment of the People's Republic of China.
- Identify the reasons the GMD lost its mandate to rule China.
- Assess the role of Japan in the Communist victory over the Guomindang.

4 Contestability

- Discuss whether Mao was really a Marxist.
- Identify how traditional Maoist views of the Long March been challenged.
- Did the GMD lose the Civil War or did the CCP win? Discuss.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

Write a short explanatory paragraph for each of:

- Jiang Jieshi's leadership qualities.
- Zhu De's abilities as a military leader.
- The role of the Comintern in the CCP.
- The failure of the Jiangxi Soviet to defeat the Fifth Encirclement campaign.
- Mao's leadership qualities.

2 Historical interpretation

‘The Long March was ... one of the great exploits of military history.’

Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, Penguin (first published 1938).

‘Or is it merely the stuff of superheated Maoist legend, with a rabble of a cast performing in an undignified shambles that has since been rendered truly fantastic by the skills of Chinese storytellers?’

Simon Winchester, ‘The Truth About Mao's Long March’, *The Australian* (1986).

- 1) Identify the criteria by which one should judge the Long March.
- 2) On the basis of such criteria, was it a success? Discuss.

3 Analysis and use of sources

SOURCE A

'... and the people looked to our Party to shoulder the heavy task of fighting the Japanese aggressors.'

Liu Po-Cheng, et al. 1978, *Recalling the Long March*, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, China, (p.19)

SOURCE B

'Official sources claim that Mao's intention in marching to northern China was to fight the Japanese, but realistically his sole aim at that stage must have been to avoid extermination at the hands of the KMT [GMD].'

Lily Xiao Hong Lee & Sue Giles, 1999, *Women of the Long March*, Allen & Unwin, Australia, p.33

- 1) Explain how Sources A and B differ.
- 2) Does the fact that the first author was on the Long March and the second wrote much later on from outside China help explain the differences?
- 3) Discuss which source would better help you to assess the aims of the Long March.

4 Historical investigation and research.

'Finally, the "Left" opportunists rejected Chairman Mao's correct proposition....'

Liu Po-Cheng et al, *Recalling the Long March* (p.5).

This quotation blames those who no longer listened to Mao for the need to desert the Jiangxi Soviet. Discuss and evaluate reasons given for the success of the Fifth Encirclement campaign.

Consider the roles of the GMD, Japan, Otto Braun and the Comintern, changing tactics and the role of propaganda.

In order to help you answer this question, conduct historical research in a library or online (from reliable websites). In your investigation, be sure to include:

- a list of key questions you want to answer in your response
- a research
- evidence / quotations from a range of sources. Acknowledge your sources appropriately (after a quote, list the source's author, title, date published, page number).

Present your research in the form of a page-long essay, including an introduction, at least three body paragraphs (with topic sentences, discussion and evidence), and a conclusion.

5 Further essay questions:

- To what extent did the CCP win the propaganda war against the GMD?
- What factors allowed the Shaanxi (Yan'an) Soviet to survive and even prosper? Discuss.
- Explain the significance of the Long March.
- Evaluate the extent to which Jiang Jieshi failed to rule China well.

Digital-only chapter

CHAPTER 10

The Cold War 1945–91

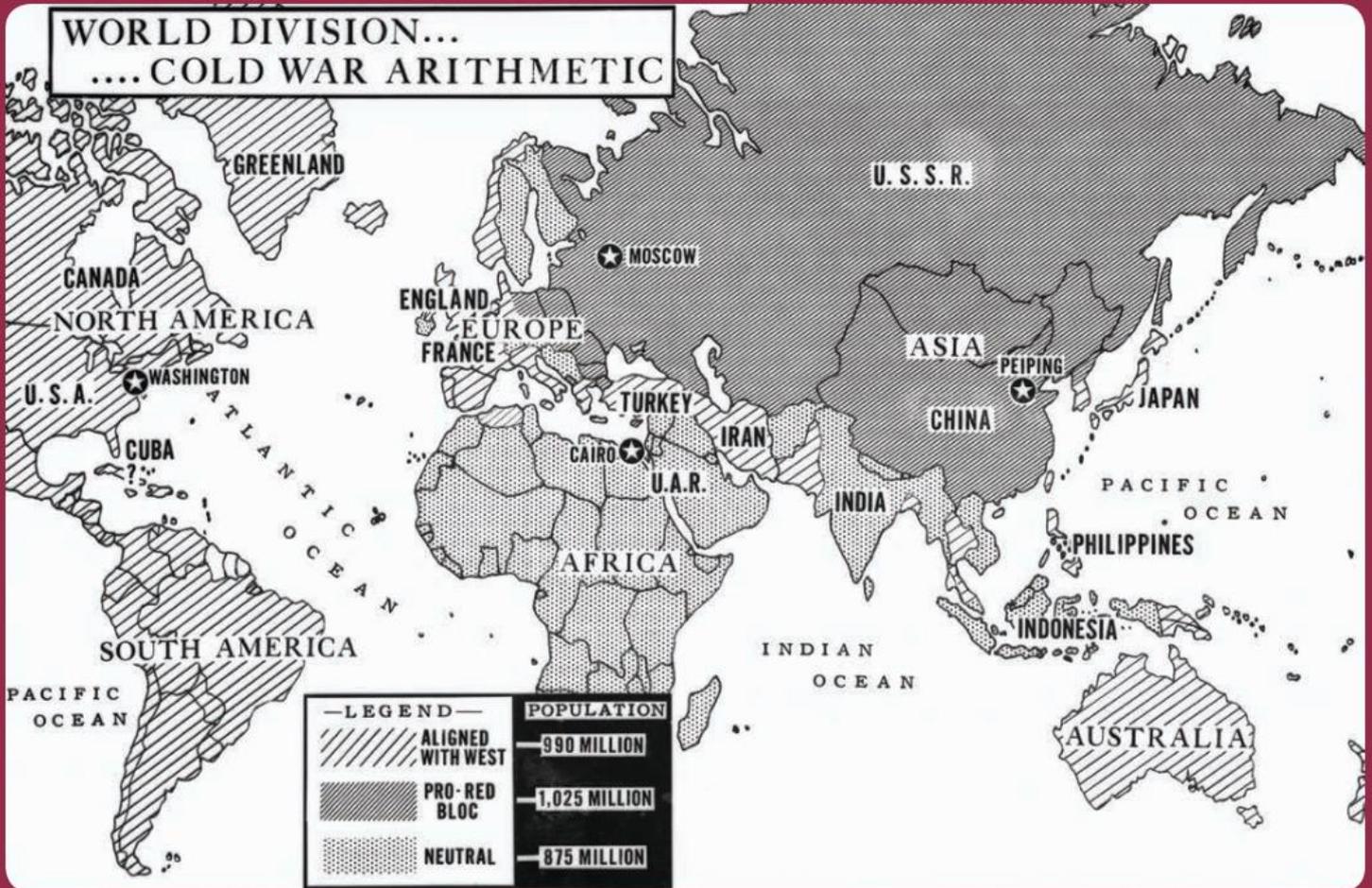
We escaped the Cold War without a nuclear holocaust by some combination of skill, luck, and divine intervention, and I suspect the latter in greatest proportion.

General George Lee Butler, Head of the US Strategic Command 1991–94





Cold War Alliances



WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate key features of the Cold War 1945–91 and its relevance for the contemporary world.

KEY ISSUES

You will explore:

- how the Cold War started
- the nature of communism and capitalism
- the scope of ideological rivalry in the Cold War
- the various efforts to ease Cold War tensions, including détente
- the changing policies and strategies of the leadership of the superpowers
- international crises and their impact on superpower relations
- the nuclear arms race
- the impact of the nuclear disarmament movement on public opinion and political leaders
- the reasons for the surprising quick end to the Cold War



TIMELINE

DATE	EVENT
12 March 1947	Truman Doctrine
1 October 1949	China becomes a communist state
29 August 1949	Soviet Union explodes an atomic bomb
25 June 1950	Korean War starts
3 October 1952	United States test first hydrogen bomb
25 July 1959	Cuban Revolution
16–29 October 1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
8 March 1965	US forces arrive in Vietnam
1 July 1968	Non-Proliferation Treaty is signed
26 May 1972	SALT and ABM Treaties signed
21 February 1972	President Nixon meets with Mao Zedong
6–26 October 1973	Yom Kippur War
30 April 1975	Vietnam War ends
24 December 1979	Soviets invade Afghanistan
12 June 1982	Disarmament march: 1 million people march in New York
11–12 October 1986	Reykjavik summit
15 February 1989	Soviet forces leave Afghanistan
9 November 1989	Berlin Wall comes down
18 August 1991	Yeltsin rallied Russian against military coup
25 March 1991	Dissolution of the Soviet Union



CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 10.2 The historic Brandenburg Gate and the Berlin Wall, separating East and West Berlin

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 10 Overview

KEY IDEA

The Cold War was a protracted and dangerous period in recent history that fostered global instability.

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

The Cold War shaped the world in profound ways that still impact the contemporary world.

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- Cold War
- Armageddon
- Soviet Union
- geopolitics
- diplomacy
- containment
- totalitarian
- soft power
- glasnost
- perestroika

INQUIRY QUESTION

How did ideology, geopolitics, diplomacy and mass movements shape the world during the Cold War?

Painting the picture

Overview of the battle between global superpowers

We were lucky to survive the Cold War

Many veteran politicians, diplomats, scientists and military figures believe that we were lucky to survive the Cold War. For most of the second half of the 20th century the world was divided into two opposing geopolitical blocs – the ‘free world’ and the Communist world. At the head of the two rival blocs were the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). These two countries were both more powerful than any other countries in history and were aptly called ‘superpowers’. Both superpowers had large and competing geopolitical footprints and exercised an enormous influence in world affairs. As well as the massive size of their military machines both superpowers on their own possessed the power to destroy all life on the planet with the massive arsenals of nuclear weapons that they kept adding to over the decades. On a number of occasions during the Cold War the world came close, not just to a nuclear catastrophe, but to an **Armageddon** and the destruction of all life on the planet. Some of these occasions were known about at the time, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, while others were not known until years later, such as the dramatic events in September and November of 1983. Then there were potential catastrophes of a failure in the nuclear command control system, a rogue commander, a terrorist attack, an accident, or a miscalculation, all of which could have led to a nuclear catastrophe.

Armageddon originally a Biblical term to describe a final war between good and evil at the end of the world, now used secularly to mean an event of great destruction

A potential World War III?

So, the question needs to be asked. How, after fighting after fighting an ideological struggle in World War II against the Nazi-Fascist-Militarist New Order, and then creating a post-war settlement that was far superior to what happened after World War I, the world was faced immediately with another ideological struggle that threatened to plunge us into another war, in fact, a third World War. The simple answer is that the ideological struggle of World War II not only saved democracy but communism as well. Both communism and democracy were struggling by mid-1941. To destroy one totalitarian dictatorship, ruled by the Nazis, the international community needed the assistance of another totalitarian dictatorship, the communist one, ruled by Joseph Stalin. In his 2012 book, *Bloodlands*, historian Timothy Snyder points out that between them, Hitler and Stalin murdered 14 million civilians in Eastern Europe between 1933 and 1945. It is ironic then that the Allies in World War II with their progressive war aims laid out in the Atlantic Charter and the 1942 ‘Declaration of the United Nations’ included in their number the murderous regime ruled by Joseph Stalin. The reason that the Soviet Union joined the alliance and signed up to progressive war aims was simple. They were fighting for their very survival against the Nazi onslaught that commenced in June 1941 with Operation Barbarossa, the biggest invasion in history. This brought to a dramatic end the two-year alliance between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, an alliance in which



SOURCE 10.3 During Operation Barbarossa, Wehrmacht soldiers use a flamethrower to attack a bunker on the Eastern Front in Russia, 1941

both benefitted enormously in terms of the territory that they grabbed and the economic partnership in which the Soviet Union supplied raw materials to the expanding German Reich and in return they received manufactured goods.

The postwar US nuclear monopoly

The strength of the multilateral Allied alliance in World War II (consisting of 26 nations in 1942), with the relationship between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at its core, was a major factor in the defeat of the Axis Powers which had nowhere near the same level of coordination. However, the relationship between the ‘**Big Three**’ was never smooth and often tense. As the war neared a conclusion the negotiations at the Yalta conference in February 1945 and then in Potsdam, with a new US President, Harry Truman, took on greater significance. After the war, President Truman took a tougher stance towards the Soviets and what he saw as blatant Soviet expansionism. This led in 1947 to a decisive end to US-Soviet cooperation with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Also, decisive at this time was Truman’s decision not to share knowledge of the atomic bomb or to allow the UN control of atomic matters. Truman had thought that it would be many years before the Soviets had the knowhow to develop an atomic weapon on their own. As a result, the US administration used their atomic monopoly as a veiled threat in their confrontations with the Soviets, particularly during the 1948 Berlin Blockade and the Korean War. However, the Soviet’s detonation of their own atomic bomb in 1949 was a game changer. The US nuclear monopoly was broken and the two superpowers embarked on a highly dangerous nuclear arms race that did not end until 1987.

Big Three The wartime leaders of the Allies in World War II – Franklin Roosevelt (USA), Winston Churchill (UK) and Joseph Stalin (USSR)

Origins of the nuclear arms race

The nuclear arms race dominated the period between 1947 and 1991 that commentators from the outset called the ‘Cold War’ during which the two superpowers did everything they could to achieve a geopolitical advantage against each other without actually going to war directly. With the build-up of massive nuclear arsenals, any direct confrontation between the superpowers could quickly develop into a nuclear war. These nuclear arsenals led to what some historians have described as a ‘**balance of terror**’ which made war between the USA and USSR unthinkable. Military thinkers on both sides soon came to the conclusion that ‘winning’ a nuclear war was not possible and the idea that massive destruction would be guaranteed to occur on both sides, no matter which struck first or had some advantage, in any nuclear war. Widespread acceptance of this fact led to the ‘Mutually Assured Destruction’ doctrine which stated simply that utter destruction on both sides would be assured if one side attacked the other. Therefore, throughout the many confrontations, the leaders on both sides were highly aware of the folly of letting events get out of control



SOURCE 10.4 Near the end of the Cold War, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev (left) and US President Ronald Reagan (right) sign the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). Washington, White House, December 8, 1987.

and to spiral into a nuclear conflagration. This did not stop the superpowers coming perilously close to nuclear war on a number of occasions due to direct confrontation (as with the Cuban Crisis), miscalculation, malfunction in the system of command and control, or accident. If different choices had have been made at several points during the Cold War, the history of human civilisation would have taken another path, albeit a catastrophic one.

The USA and USSR waged this ‘cold war’ by every means short of a ‘hot war’ between them: extending the scope of nuclear arsenals and delivery systems, building up their conventional military forces, alliances, espionage, diplomacy, aid, and the use of proxy states to fight on their behalf. The international community held its collective breath during the Berlin Blockade (1948), Korean War (1950–53), and Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), the invasions of Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968), and was sickened by the long-drawn out war in Indochina (1965–1975). There had been some respite with the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 and some thawing of relations with **Détente** from the late 1960s and into the 1970s, as well as key multilateral bilateral treaties, such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which came into force in 1970 and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) of 1972.

By the 1980s the tensions between the two superpowers ramped up significantly with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and the election of Ronald Reagan as US President who was intent on pursuing a hawkish foreign policy. The nuclear arms race was also rekindled with Soviet deployment of large Intermediate Range Ballistic Missiles (**IRBM**’s) facing western Europe, while the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) deployed new Pershing missiles in Europe and the US embarked on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), better known as ‘Star Wars’. In 1983, the two superpowers came close to nuclear war twice without the public ever being aware of the specific incidents. However, during the 1980s the public was aware of the heightened danger of a nuclear Armageddon. For many people, there was a general sense of foreboding and fatalism that gripped many. On the other hand, there were people in many countries around the world who were determined to do something about this state of affairs. The nuclear disarmament movement, which had gone through many phases since the detonation of the first atomic bombs in 1945, now shifted into its most powerful phase as the world witnessed the biggest mass protest movement in history. Across western Europe, the United States, Canada, the Pacific, New Zealand, and many other countries, there were massive protest marches. The biggest occurred in June 1982 when one million people marched in New York. In Australia, 350 000 people marched in the capital cities on Palm Sunday 1985 and the protests remained in the hundreds of thousands on the same day for much of the decade.

By the mid-1980s no one dreamed that by the end of the decade, not only would the Cold War be over, the nuclear arms race ended, and communism vanished from Eastern Europe and the USSR, but that also the USSR itself would cease to exist. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was the dramatic symbol of the end of the Cold War but it is a symptom of the end of the Cold War, not a cause. How the Cold War ended is easy to chart. Determining why the Cold War ended is another matter, and one that historians have debated ever since.

10.1 Origins of the Cold War, 1945–53

World War II alliances

From 1942, the United States and the Soviet Union (full name: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or USSR) worked in a successful alliance to defeat Nazi Germany. Along with the United Kingdom, they were known as the ‘Big Three’. They led a multilateral coalition of 26 nations against the Rome–Berlin–Tokyo Axis. This alliance was called the ‘United Nations’, and its members were committed to the defeat of the Axis Powers and progressive war aims, as laid down in the Declaration of the United Nations of 1 January 1942. This Declaration looked to the post-war future.

In the last years of the war, the leaders of the Big Three – US President Franklin Roosevelt, UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin – demonstrated a remarkable degree of cooperation as they each focused on the destruction of Hitler and Nazism. There were some significant meetings of the Big Three, in which they laid out plans for winning the war and planning for the future. However, tensions between the Big Three were always bubbling to the surface, especially as their thoughts turned to their hopes and visions for the post-war world. Essentially, the Cold War was about these competing visions for the post-war international order. The question to consider, however, is the extent to which the Cold War was inevitable or whether it could have been avoided and a more cooperative international order could have been established.

There were three significant conferences held during World War II:

- Quebec and Hyde Park meetings held in 1943
- Teheran Conference held in 1943
- Yalta Conference held from 4 to 11 February 1945.

World War II conferences

Quebec and Hyde Park meetings, 1943

Churchill and Roosevelt met in Quebec in Canada between 17–24 August 1943. Stalin had been invited but was unable to attend. The two leaders discussed strategic matters such as Palestine, Poland and China, and communicated their deliberations with Stalin. Most importantly, they also held secret discussions on British, American and Canadian cooperation on the development of the atomic bomb. Churchill and Roosevelt held further private discussions on this at Hyde Park, Roosevelt’s private estate in New York State.



SOURCE 10.5 18 August 1943 - Allied Conference 1943 in Quebec. Canadian PM Mackenzie King (left), Winston Churchill (right, back), President Roosevelt (front left, the Governor-General of Canada (right front).



SOURCE 10.6 World War II. The Tehran Conference. pic: November / December 1943. The 'Big Three' L-R: Russia's Joseph Stalin, US President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill.

Teheran Conference, 1943

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met in Teheran, the capital of Iran, between 28 November and 1 December 1943. At the time, it was hailed a success. Among other things discussed, Roosevelt's promise that the British and Americans were committed to launching an invasion of Nazi-occupied France by May 1944 and Stalin's promise that the Soviets would join the war against Japan, were significant. Also, Roosevelt was able to have a long one-on-one conversation with Stalin. Roosevelt outlined his vision for the proposed international organisation and that the security aspects of the United Nations would be controlled by what he called the 'four policemen,' (USA, Britain, China, and the USSR). Roosevelt came away optimistic believing that he could work with the Soviet dictator.

Yalta, 4–11 February 1945

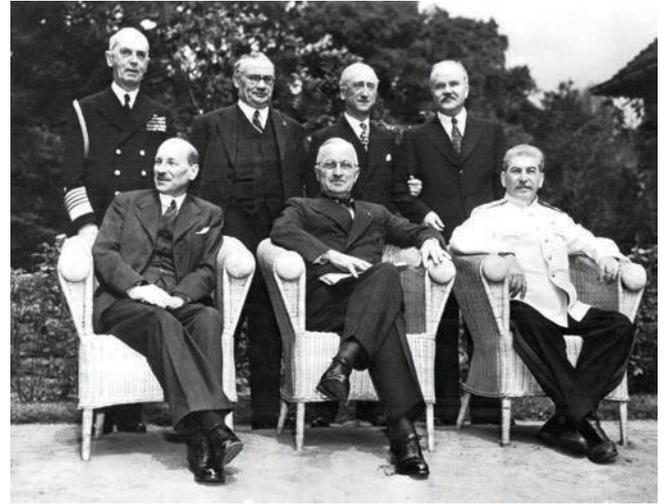
The Big Three met in a place called Yalta in Crimea on the Black Sea. Although there were some tensions between the Big Three they did manage to secure some significant agreements. They agreed to split Germany into four zones to be occupied by British, American, French and Soviet forces. Berlin itself, which was located within the Soviet-occupied East German zone, was similarly to be split into four zones. Stalin also agreed to allow free elections on Eastern European countries. The Soviet Union also agreed to join the war against Japan and was willing to join the permanent United Nations that was being planned.

Outwardly, the tone at the Yalta Conference had been one of cooperation and optimism. Stalin had been in a charming mood. He was very conscious of the fact that the Soviet army had 'torn the guts' out of the Nazi war machine which gave him great leverage in getting his way in negotiations about what was to happen in Eastern



SOURCE 10.7 The 'Big Three' conference, February 1945 at Yalta in Iran. From right to left, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, US President Franklin Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill e 'Big Three' conference.

Europe after the war. However, he went out of his way to, as historian Robert Dallek put it, 'lull his allies into believing that he shared their concern with establishing an ideal structure of peace', particularly as he was hoping to secure a massive post-war loan from the US. Churchill and Roosevelt, for their part, were not willing to share their program for the development of an atomic bomb. However, unbeknown to both Churchill and Roosevelt, Stalin, through his extensive espionage network, had gained intelligence about the British atomic bomb program from 1940 and of the American program, known as the Manhattan Project, from when it started in 1941.



SOURCE 10.8 (Left) The UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the US President Harry Truman and the Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin at the beginning of the Potsdam Conference (near the end of July). (Right) Seated are the UK Prime Minister Clement Attlee, the US President Harry Truman, and the Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin near the end of the Potsdam conference (August 1945).

Potsdam, July 1945

The Potsdam Conference was the last of the wartime conferences between the Big Three, and it was different to all the previous ones. Firstly, President Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945 and was replaced by Harry S Truman. Also, the UK election results (which were held on 5 July) came and Churchill had lost; he was replaced by the new UK Prime Minister, Clement Attlee. At Yalta, the Big Three had agreed to meet again once Germany was defeated, mainly to determine the borders of post-war Europe and other matters.

The conference finished with the two new members of the Big Three, Truman and Attlee, having come to an agreement with Stalin on the division of Germany into four zones – the British, French, American and Soviet zones. Berlin would also be similarly divided. They also agreed that Germany would pay reparations. However, they had not resolved issues such as:

- working out a peace treaty with Germany
- working out the final border between Russia and Poland
- confirming the promise made at Yalta to allow free elections.

Meanwhile, on the evening of 16 July, Truman received news at the conference that there had been a successful test of the atomic bomb. Since Roosevelt and Churchill had kept Stalin out of the loop on their program to develop the atomic bomb, Truman was not sure how Stalin would react. Hoping that telling Stalin this news might make the Soviet dictator more accommodating in his dealings with his alliance partners, Truman took Stalin aside at one point to tell him the news. To Truman's surprise, Stalin barely reacted, except to say that he hoped they would use it on the Japanese soon. We now know that Stalin had been kept well briefed on the Manhattan Project by his spies.

Historian Robert Dallek believed that not telling the Soviets about their atomic bomb program was bad judgment, so much so that it could be described as the beginning of the Cold War:

How could they not understand how secretiveness about such a revolutionary weapon would revive post-war tensions? ...Rather than believing that Stalin's bland reaction signalled his ignorance of Anglo-American nuclear research, they should have been convinced that he knew of their work on a bomb and was posturing for political reasons.

SOURCE 10.9 Robert Dallek, *The Lost Peace: Leadership in a Time of Horror and Hope, 1945–1953*, 2010, pp. 122–123

According to Dallek, Truman and Churchill should have taken the long-term view:

How much better might it have been if Truman and Churchill had invited Stalin to a confidential meeting with only translators present and told him not only about the bomb but also of their eagerness to prevent a future nuclear arms race by strictly limiting scientific and technical information about the bomb.

SOURCE 10.10 Robert Dallek, *The Lost Peace: Leadership in a Time of Horror and Hope, 1945–1953*, 2010, pp. 122–123

KEY QUESTIONS

Significance/Drawing conclusions



- 1 How important was the issue of the atomic bomb for the relationship between Stalin and his two wartime allies?
- 2 Could the atomic bomb issue have been handled any better?
- 3 Would it have made any difference in preventing the Cold War?

Dallek saw the seeds for future conflict sown in this critical period near the end of the war. Both sides appeared to be making commitments that could have altered, but it was ‘rhetoric devoid of firm conviction’ and that both sides placed the ‘security of their respective nations’ the highest priority, not ‘world peace’.

The atomic bombing of Japan and its impact on superpower relations

The final decision to use the atomic bomb was a military one, and there were certainly no moral qualms in the Truman administration about its use. As long as Japan was in the war, the US military was on track to use the atomic bomb. In terms of moral qualms, the United States had already crossed this line in the low-level firebombing of Tokyo in March 1945, when 300 B-29 bombers dropped 2000 tonnes of napalm. This caused a massive firestorm



SOURCE 10.11 Hiroshima after the dropping of the atom bomb in August 1945

that obliterated 16 square miles of the city, killing 100 000 people, and rendering one million people homeless. More civilians were killed in this single bombing raid than in Hiroshima. Up till August 1945, the US Air Force conducted similar mass firebombing raids on about 60 Japanese cities and urban areas.

In his statement of 6 August, after the destruction of Hiroshima, President Truman conveyed the sense that this was just beginning of ‘many cities’ being attacked. In reality, there were few targets left in Japan, unless they chose to attack already bombed-out cities. In his 9 August statement, Truman said, ‘having found the bomb, we used it’. The Soviets suspected that the United States was determined to use the atomic bomb to end the war quickly in order to limit Soviet territorial gains once they entered the war and to deny them any say in the occupation of Japan. This is, in fact, what happened. The Soviet Union declared war on Japan and then invaded and occupied Manchuria (which they later gave back to China) and North Korea, while the United States occupied all of Japan and South Korea.

Stalin believed that the use of the bomb, was an act of ‘super-barbarity’ and that Japan was already doomed. At a meeting with Beria (head of Soviet secret police) and his chief scientists, Stalin said, ‘Hiroshima has shaken the whole world. The balance had been destroyed. That cannot be.’ He instructed Beria to push ahead with ‘Task Number One’ and to develop their own atomic bomb as soon as possible. Stalin believed that ‘A-Bomb blackmail is American policy’.

According to Dallek:

In Stalin's view, Washington's acquisition of atom bombs changed the power balance in Europe and intensified his determination to match America's new-found power by pressing the case for the Soviet nuclear program.

SOURCE 10.12 Robert Dallek, *The Lost Peace: Leadership in a Time of Horror and Hope, 1945–1953*, 2010, p. 131

After Japan's surrender in September, President Truman was faced with the option of shared international control of atomic technology aimed at preventing any further proliferation. The US Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, made a strong representation to Truman to this effect. In his memorandum of 11 September 1945, Stimson said that, 'our satisfactory relations with Russia as not merely connected with but as virtually dominated by the problem of the atomic bomb'. This was because the atomic bomb was 'too revolutionary [a] weapon and too dangerous to fit into the old concepts'. He argued that it was best that the proposal for international control be made directly from the United States and that they and the Soviet Union should come to an agreement of all aspects relating to the atomic technology before bringing in other nations. Stimson argued against a group of smaller nations making this proposal, and this would imply the UN too. Stimson said it was only a matter of time before civilisation demanded a 'satisfactory international arrangement respecting the control of this new force'. So, the question became 'How long we can afford to enjoy our momentary superiority?'



SOURCE 10.13 President Truman and the US Secretary of War, Henry Stimson, in 1945

Stimson argued against a group of smaller nations making this proposal, and this would imply the UN too. Stimson said it was only a matter of time before civilisation demanded a 'satisfactory international arrangement respecting the control of this new force'. So, the question became 'How long we can afford to enjoy our momentary superiority?'

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability/Forming opinions



Locate the following article online: Henry Stimson's 'Memorandum on the Effects of Atomic Bomb'.

- 1 What arguments did Stimson make for Truman to pursue an understanding with Stalin to get an international agreement on nuclear technology?
- 2 Do you think that Truman should have followed Stimson's proposals?
- 3 What would be the best-case scenario if Stimson's advice were followed?
- 4 What obstacles do you think Truman would have faced if he went down this path?

The Baruch Plan

Truman understood that one nation's possession of the bomb would lead to proliferation, that is, other countries getting the atomic bomb as well. So, simultaneously to the US military going full steam ahead in enlarging their nuclear arsenal, Truman approved a plan to work toward international control of nuclear weapons through a United Nations created agency. Truman enlisted Bernard Baruch to take a plan to the United Nations. The Baruch Plan had its origins in the Acheson-Lilienthal report which



SOURCE 10.14 17 June 1946: US financier and statesman, Bernard Baruch (1870–1965), a delegate at an Atomic Energy Committee meeting in the Bronx, offers on behalf of the United States to give up the country's atomic secrets and to destroy all bombs.



SOURCE 10.15 Colorised image of the Baker nuclear test at Bikini Atoll. The nuclear bomb was detonated at 90 feet underwater on July 25th, 1946 as part of Operation Crossroads. The purpose of Operation Crossroads nuclear weapon tests was to investigate the effect of nuclear energy.

was mostly written by Robert Oppenheimer. Along with his co-authors he believed that America's monopoly could not last. The plan called for the establishment of an Atomic Development Authority to operate all uranium mining and all nuclear facilities capable of producing nuclear weapons. Under the plan, nations would give up their ability to build nuclear bombs but would be allowed to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

On 14 June 1946, Bernard Baruch made an historic speech at the UN Atomic Energy Commission. The Soviets engaged in the negotiation and submitted counterproposals on 19 June. However, while the Atomic Energy Commission at the UN worked on how to reconcile the US and Soviet proposals, atomic tests were begun at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands on 1 July. This was the first use of an atomic bomb since Hiroshima. The bomb was a 20 kiloton bomb, the same size as the one

dropped on Hiroshima. The Soviets objected strongly and after the second Bikini test on 25 July the negotiations lost urgency. Eventually, the Soviets totally rejected the Baruch Plan. 🗝️

Emerging differences between the superpowers

Stalin did not have a master plan for Europe. However, since Potsdam, he was convinced that he faced a different attitude in the Americans now that Roosevelt had gone. He was shocked by Truman's sudden termination of the Lend-Lease agreement as soon as the war in Europe was over, but Stalin was on his best behaviour at Potsdam on this issue. Stalin fell back on what his Marxist ideology told him about capitalist adversaries.

KEY QUESTIONS

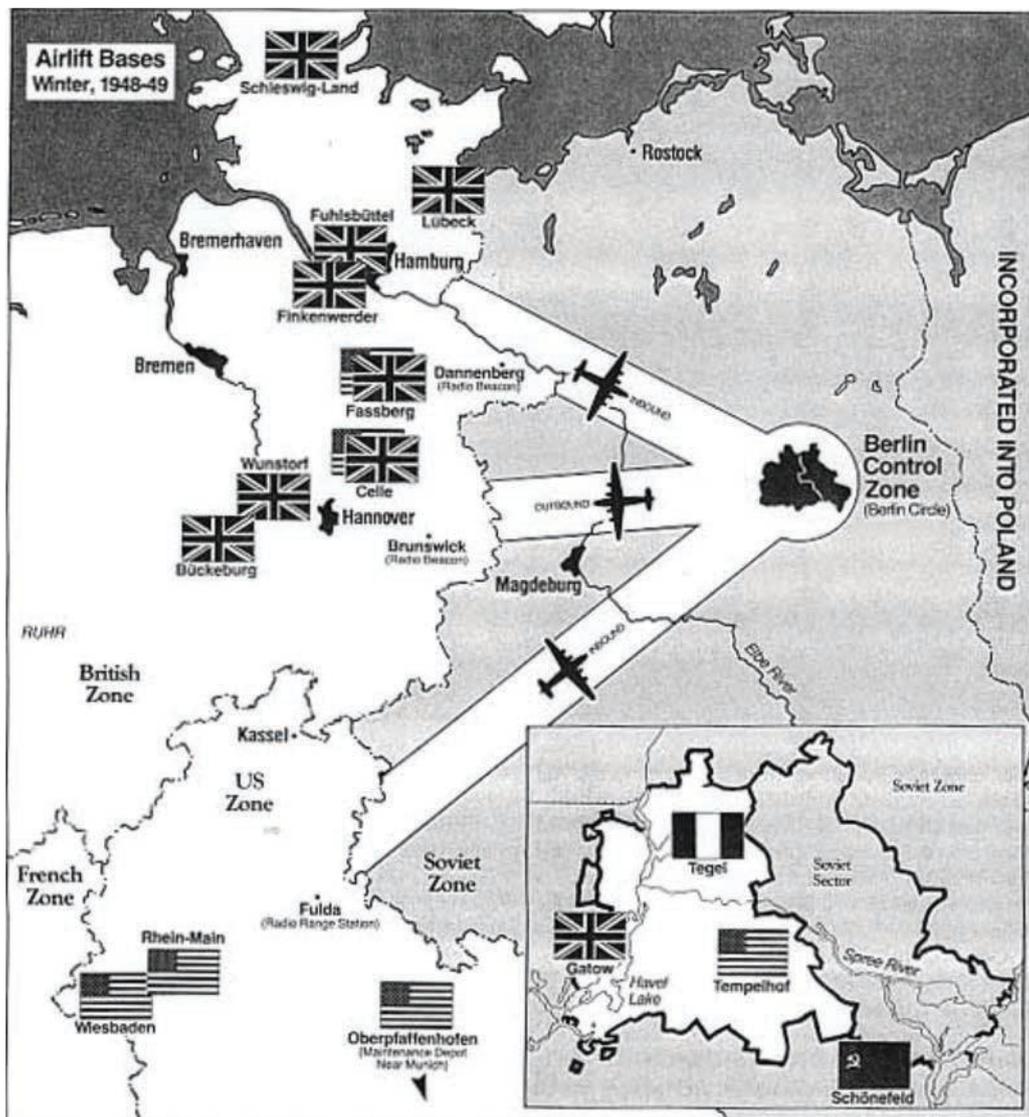
Contestability (forming opinions)

The Baruch Plan for international control of nuclear weapons



Some commentators wonder whether Truman was at all serious about the idea of international control on control of nuclear weapons, particularly as the US continued testing of nuclear weapons while the UN negotiations on the Baruch Plan were at a critical stage. Some commentators also wonder whether the US should have destroyed their small arsenal of nuclear weapons (12 at the time) and suspended all nuclear tests as an act of good faith.

- 1 Was President Truman serious about international control of nuclear weapons?
- 2 Should Truman have pursued international control of nuclear weapons more effectively?



SOURCE 10.16 Stalin sought Soviet control over all of the areas that the Red Army had conquered in World War II as a buffer against future security threats from Europe

Stalin gradually imposed communist governments on Eastern Europe. Initially, he had allowed coalition governments to be established, though with communists in charge of key positions. However, gradually Soviet agents ensured that non-communists were excluded and the governments of Eastern Europe fell under Soviet influence. This occurred gradually from 1946:

- 1946 – Bulgaria and Albania
- 1947 – Poland and Romania
- 1948 – Czechoslovakia
- 1949 – Hungary.

Stalin also sought to extend his influence beyond Eastern Europe. The Soviet leader pressured Turkey into agreeing to joint control of the Dardanelles to guarantee the right of passage of Soviet ships from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean Sea. Stalin also appeared to be backing communist revolutionaries in Greece.

Of course, there was a significant ideological divide between United States and the Soviet Union. High level diplomacy between Stalin and Roosevelt during the war had kept ideological divisions to one side. It was definitely Roosevelt's belief that the two superpowers could cooperate in the post-war world.



SOURCE 10.17 The ideological divide between the United States and the Soviet Union was a significant factor in the Cold War – but probably not its main cause.

More recently, relations between the United States and Russia have become embittered to the point where some commentaries say that this is Cold War 2.0. Though twenty-first-century Russia is no longer communist, its security concerns are very similar to the communist Soviet Union. So, while the ideological rivalry was of major importance in shaping the entire Cold War, it is questionable whether it was the cause of the Cold War.



SOURCE 10.18 MOSCOW, USSR. Joseph Stalin talks at The Bolshoi Theatre pre-election meeting, 1946.

‘Great Patriotic War’ due to socialism’s ‘great leap forward’ in building up the economy before the war and supplying the needs of military. Furthermore, the two world wars were the result of the inevitable competition of monopoly capitalism. Stalin was obviously trying to stimulate a resurgence of national solidarity with the Communist Party leading the way forward, and squash any talk of changing the Soviet system. Only by taking this proactive approach could Stalin explain away the USA’s superior economic and military power. ‘Stalin saw anti-communist talk [especially by the foreign press] as essential to internal Soviet stability,’ according to historian Robert Dallek.

The response in the US of Stalin’s belligerent speech was one of disbelief and concern. Many wondered whether Stalin was now preparing for war with the United States. This led to fears that the Soviet Union would look for the first opportunity to strike out against the West. Robert Dallek speculated how much better off the Soviet Union would have been if Stalin had taken a softer line with the West but the ‘unyielding ideologues in the Kremlin’ could only think in terms of class struggle and the long-term advantages of socialism over capitalism.

The Long Telegram, 22 February 1946

George Kennan, an Embassy official who had lived in Moscow, was asked for an analysis of Soviet policy. Kennan responded with an 8000-word telegram later given the title of the ‘Long Telegram.’ Kennan

However, once the relationship started breaking down at the end of war, the ideological component came the fore. The Cold War ended simultaneously with the end of communism, leading historians in the immediate post-Cold War years to believe that the ideological divide was more significant as the cause of the Cold War than it was. More

‘The Long Telegram’

Stalin’s Bolshoi Speech, 9 February 1946

Security concerns were always paramount for Stalin, both his country’s geopolitical security and his own security. While the war was in progress the people of the Soviet Union were united in fighting a common cause. However, Stalin viewed the emergence of the United States as a prosperous and powerful nation as a threat because this seemed to refute communist propaganda that the Soviet Union had a superior economic and social system. Stalin decided to go on the ideological offensive in a speech he gave at the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow on 9 February 1946.

In the speech Stalin depicted victory in the

characterised Stalin's foreign policy as aggressive and said that the Russians would do everything they could to oppose America and were determined to destroy the American way of life. Furthermore, this was the greatest threat the US has ever faced.

Kennan later published his Long Telegram in the *Foreign Affairs* journal in 1947 under the pseudonym of 'Mr X.' His main recommendation was that the United States needed a long-term but vigilant containment of Soviet expansionist tendencies. Containment ended up becoming the basic strategy of the United States, pursued by all presidents throughout the Cold War. 🔑

In March 1946 Winston Churchill got to speak at Westminster College, in Fulton Missouri, on the invitation of President Truman. Though no longer British Prime Minister, Churchill felt bound to speak out about where events were heading. He essentially called out what he saw as blatant Soviet aggression:

'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.'



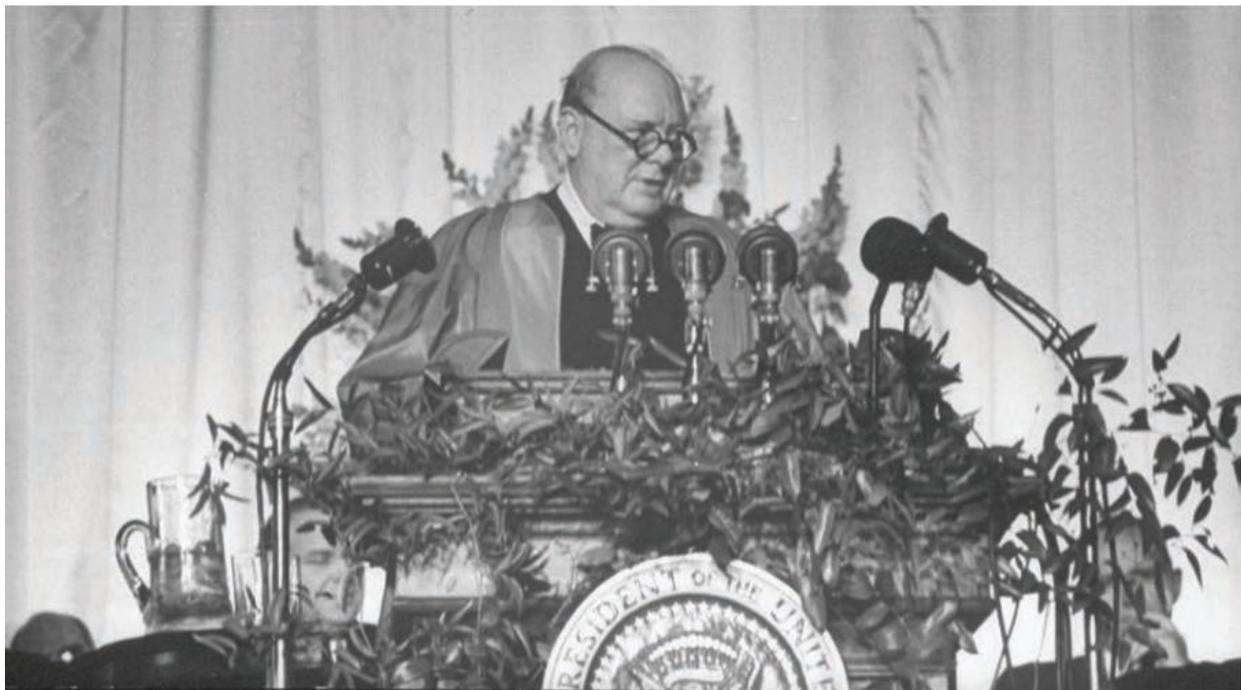
SOURCE 10.19 US diplomat and historian George F Kennan.

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

George Kennan

🔑 Research George Kennan's evolving views of US policy throughout the Cold War. What were his major criticisms?



SOURCE 10.20 March 1946: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, wearing his academic robes and making a speech regarding the Communist threat.

Churchill spoke of the 'special relationship' between the UK and USA and he urged the two democracies to work together to counter the Soviet threat. Also, there was to be no question now of sharing nuclear technology with the Soviets:

'It would nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organization, while still in its infancy.'

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation

Iron Curtain speech



Identify the Soviet actions and rhetoric that motivated Churchill's speech.

This speech marked a significant shift in American relations towards the Soviet Union. This was quite a shock to the American public as they had been used to the Soviet Union being portrayed in war propaganda as their staunch anti-Nazi ally and also there seemed to be many reasons to be optimistic about the creation of international organisations and in finding international solutions to common problems. Now they were being told that the Soviet Union was the number one problem.



SOURCE 10.21 President Truman advocates his military advisers to make the Mediterranean countries bulwarks against the spread of Communism

The Truman Doctrine and its consequences

By 1946, President Truman and his advisers were hardening their attitudes towards the Soviet Union. Three events in 1946 indicated a hardening of attitudes between the superpowers:

- Stalin's Bolshoi Speech on 9 February 1946
- The Long Telegram on 22 February 1946
- Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech on 5 March 1946.

In 1947, Truman gave a landmark speech in a joint session of the US Congress which led to a dramatic reorientation in US foreign policy. The catalyst was a fear that the Soviet Union was meddling in the affairs of Greece and Turkey, but other issues had contributed, such as the Soviet's failure to withdraw from Iran as they had promised. Truman's immediate response was to ask Congress for \$400 million worth of aid to Greece and Turkey.

In justifying his request to Congress, Truman said that the United States was compelled to assist 'free people' from '**totalitarian** regimes'. Otherwise, he warned, the spread of authoritarian regimes would 'undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States'. This was a revolutionary break from the US tradition of avoiding foreign commitments. Instead, Truman argued that American security now depended on the success of democratic nations around the world. In this speech, Truman really threw down the gauntlet to the Soviet Union, signalling that the United States would now be vigilant in countering any Soviet actions which it believed to be expansionist.

totalitarian a system of government that is centralised and dictatorial and requires complete subservience to the state

The Marshall Plan, 5 June 1947

George C Marshall was Secretary of State in Truman's administration from 1947 to 1949 and had been the Chief of Staff of the US Army in World War II. The rapid deterioration in European economies in the winter of 1946–1947, along with rising fears of communist expansion, prompted George Marshall's call on 5 June 1947, for a comprehensive economic program to rebuild Europe. The Marshall Plan led to a resurgence of industrialisation in Western Europe, and despite the sacrifices in US taxes required to fund it, actually stimulated the US economy by creating new markets for American goods. Though the Eastern European countries weren't locked out of the Marshall Plan, Soviet concern over potential US economic influence in its satellites scuttled the idea of communist bloc participation. This actually then made more funds available for Western Europe.

The Marshall Plan turned things around dramatically for Europe. Churchill was so impressed that he hailed the Marshall Plan as 'the turning point in the history of the world.' Historians have recognised the Marshall Plan as not only being a great humanitarian effort, but also one that had long-term benefits for the United States, Europe and the world.

In his 2006 book, *Winning the Peace*, Historian Nicolaus Mills said that 'Western Europe got a post-war version of the New Deal,' and therefore avoided the social and economic unrest after World War II that would have held Europe back. According to Mills: 

'The Marshall Plan had done what the end of World War II could not do: laid the groundwork for a stable, post-war Western Europe that would have room at its economic center for a changed Germany, helped to its feet by \$3 billion in aid that the Marshall Plan had provided for German reconstruction.'

SOURCE 10.23 Mao Zedong, Chinese communist revolutionary and leader

The impact of the early crises

The establishment of the United Nations under US leadership generated hope that the post-1945 era would not be like the 20 years after World War I. But political differences with Moscow over postwar Europe, as well as developments in Korea, Indochina, China and Japan collapsed, raised doubts about peace anywhere in the world.

SOURCE 10.24 Robert Dallek, *The Lost Peace: Leadership in a Time of Horror and Hope, 1945–1953*, 2010, p. 158



SOURCE 10.22 German poster for the European Recovery Program. Freie Bahn means 'the way is clear.'

KEY QUESTIONS

Significance (drawing conclusions)

The Marshall Plan



Assess the wisdom of the US decision to embark on the Marshall Plan. Was it a worthwhile investment?



SOURCE 10.25 American C-47 Skytrain transport planes have their cargoes of food unloaded at Tempelhof Airport during the Berlin Airlift

The Berlin Blockade and airlift

The Soviet response to the Marshall Plan was to label it as part of America's imperialist ambitions. In 1949, the Soviet bloc formed COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), which effectively tied all trade to the Soviet Union. In all of this economic help for Western Europe, Stalin was concerned about Germany. The Soviet Union refused to consider any plans for the eventual reunification of the zones of occupation in Germany. When Britain, France and Britain began uniting their occupation zones in 1948, the Soviets feared that this was a prelude to a united Western Germany which would become the cornerstone of a 'US imperialist camp' in Europe. Stalin could do nothing to stop this, but he thought he could end the West's toehold in Berlin in the Eastern zone of Germany. To force the Western allies to give up West Berlin, Stalin decided to blockade the city on 24 June 1948.

Stalin's blockade of the three road and rail corridors into West Berlin immediately led to a crisis, cutting off all food and fuel supplies. However, the British, French and the Americans were determined not to allow West Berlin to be taken, otherwise they feared West Germany would be the target. For the United States, this was a test for their new **containment** policy. The United States did not want to mount a direct military challenge to the Soviets, so they came up with an imaginative solution to airlift all supplies into West Berlin. The Berlin Airlift commenced and continued for eight months, ending in 12 May 1949, when Stalin ordered that the blockade be lifted.

containment the US policy for preventing the spread of communism around the world



SOURCE 10.27 The NATO flag

The aftermath of the Berlin Blockade

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

The United States joined with Britain, France, Canada and a number of West European countries to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This was a defensive military alliance designed to protect Western Europe from Soviet expansionism. The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on 4 April 1949.



SOURCE 10.26 The Berlin Blockade. The Western-occupied zone of Berlin was in a vulnerable position inside the Soviet-occupied Eastern zone of Germany, with three road and rail corridors going through the Soviet zone to West Berlin. Stalin closed these rail and road links, creating a crisis in West Berlin.



SOURCE 10.28 Europe was divided by the two rival alliance systems by 1955

On 24 August 1949, President Truman said ‘By this treaty, we are not only seeking to establish freedom from aggression and from the use of force in the North Atlantic community, but we are also actively striving to promote and preserve peace throughout the world.’

The Soviet responded in 1955 with their own security alliance, the Warsaw Pact. By this time, there were two clearly identifiable camps in the world – the free capitalist world and the communist world.

East and West Germany

In September 1949, the country of Western Germany was created by joining together the British, French and American zones with a common currency. The Soviets responded by creating the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Berlin remained divided between East and West, with the latter being part of West Germany.

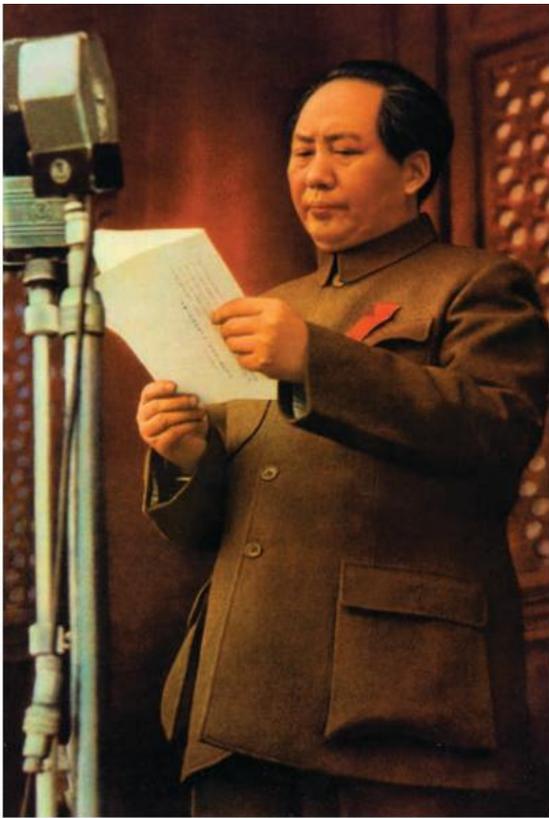


SOURCE 10.29 The division of Germany into East and West

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation

What was the impact of the Berlin Blockade in creating the geopolitical structures that would last for the rest of the Cold War?



SOURCE 10.30 Mao Zedong, Chinese Communist revolutionary and leader, proclaimed the People's Republic of China on 1 October 1949.

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

US domestic politics



Investigate the impact of 'losing China' on the domestic political debate in the United States. How did China's loss feed into McCarthyism in the United States?

Communist victory in China, 1949

During World War II China was on the Allied side. President Roosevelt insisted that China be included in all discussions by the Allied leaders of plans for after the war. These discussions included plans for the creation of the United Nations. Furthermore, Roosevelt insisted throughout the war that China be considered one of the great powers after the war that would help maintain world peace. This was in line with Roosevelt's view that, as well as a United Nations, there was a need for the 'four policemen', namely, the USA, USSR, Britain and China to maintain world peace. Though in WWII China's military power and military effort was very small compared to that of the USA and USSR, Roosevelt looked to the future believing that China would emerge over time as a great power and thus should be given a position in the United Nations that reflected this. Therefore, in the decisions about the composition of the Security Council, China was designated to be one of the Permanent 5 members with the power of veto.

At the time China was ruled by Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and his Nationalist Party. However, after the end of WWII and the surrender of Japanese forces in Asia, China was plunged into civil war between the National government led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist revolutionary forces led by Mao Ze-dong (Mao Tse-tung). The Americans backed the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek. After four years of civil war, the Communists emerged victorious in October 1949. However, the United States navy was able to rescue Chiang Kai-shek and a large part of his army and transfer them to the island of Taiwan off the coast of China. Here Chiang Kai-shek re-established his Nationalist government and claimed to be the official government of China calling itself the Republic of China (ROC). Meanwhile, Mao Ze-dong proclaimed the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) on the mainland.

Naturally, Mao's Communist government on the mainland believed that it was the rightful government of China and demanded that it be given a seat in the United Nations including a seat on the Security Council replacing Chiang's Republic of China ROC. However, the United States which had been on a crusade to prevent the spread of communism since the beginning of the Cold War in 1947 used their majority in the General Assembly (a majority of the 59 members in 1949 regularly voted with the USA) and the threat of veto in the Security Council to keep Communist China out of the United Nations. 🚫

The Korean War, 1950–51

Late in the evening of 24 June 1950, communist North Korea invaded South Korea. The United Nations had been in the Korean Peninsula since 1948, trying to organise elections for the two halves of Korea which had been under Russian and American occupation forces since the end of World War II. The UN Secretary-General believed that this invasion was an act of blatant aggression that the United Nations must stand up to in order to shake off the stigma of impotence which still lingered on the League. However,

the North Korean Army numbered over 400 000 troops, and it achieved surprising and quick success as it swept down over South Korea, forcing US troops that were stationed there to the south-east corner of the Korean Peninsula. President Truman also believed that North Korean aggression had to be stood up to, and he worked towards creating a strong United Nations. He intended to act with UN approval and under the UN umbrella to deal with this case of aggression.

UN Security Council authorises US-led force

Getting UN Security Council backing for a UN-sponsored force to repel this act of communist aggression was made easy, due to the absence of the Soviet Union's representative on the Security Council. The Soviets had been boycotting the Security Council for the past six months over the dispute over the membership of their ally, Communist China. A Security Council resolution was passed, authorising a US-led coalition to fight the North Korean Army and free South Korea.

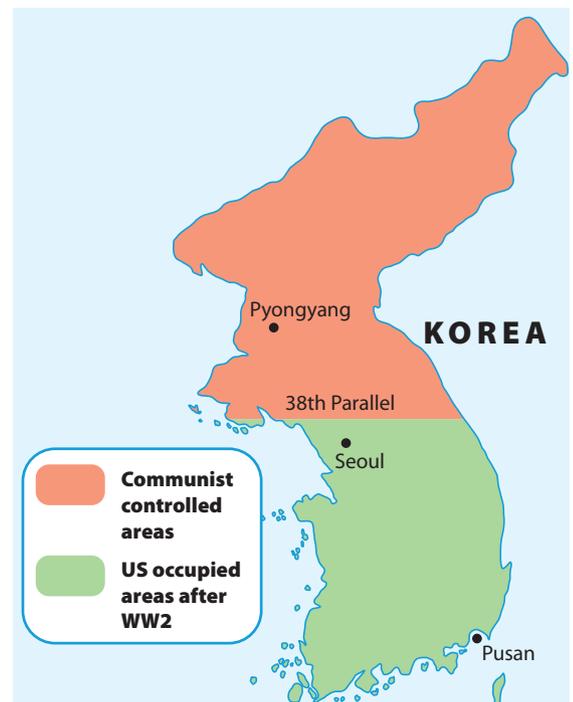
On 7 July 1950, the Security Council passed a resolution setting up a unified UN command in Korea under US leadership. The vote was 7–0, with abstentions from India, Egypt and Yugoslavia. On 8 July, Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur (who was the commander of the occupation forces in Japan) to lead the UN force.

MacArthur launches UN counter-attack

Within weeks, the US and South Korean forces in the Korean Peninsula had been forced back to the south-eastern corner at Pusan, where they held out. In mid-September 1950, MacArthur took a gamble and landed his force of 70 000 US troops at Inchon, near Seoul, the capital of South Korea. This caught the North Korean forces by surprise. Seoul was captured within a week. Meanwhile, the US forces in Pusan broke out and joined with the US forces that had gone inland from Inchon, thus cutting off about half the entire North Korean invasion force. By 1 October, two weeks later, the UN forces had regained all of South Korea up to the 38th parallel, the original border between North and South Korea.

The 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution

The Soviets realised their error in being absent from the Security Council and re-joined by the end of July. The Soviets then used their veto power to prevent any more resolutions condemning North Korea. The Security Council was now paralysed by the Soviet Union's use of their veto. To get around this, the Americans put a resolution to the General Assembly called the 'Uniting for Peace' plan and getting it adopted by 52 votes to 5 with two abstentions. The resolution stated that seven members of the Security Council, or a majority



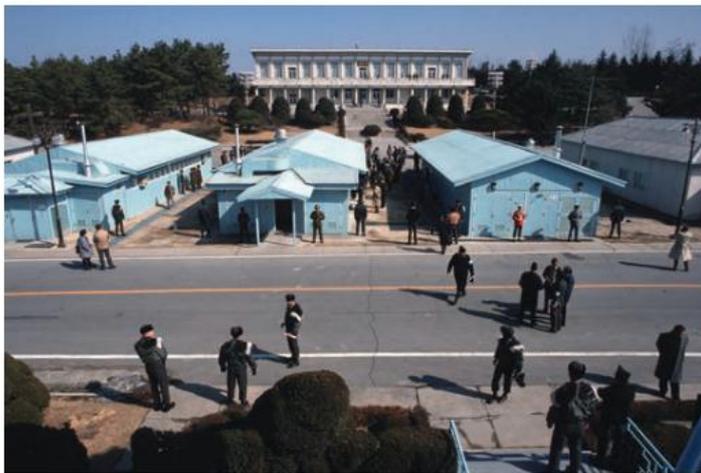
SOURCE 10.31 In 1945, US forces occupied South Korea and Soviet forces occupied North Korea



SOURCE 10.32 US soldiers in 1952 digging in to a hill in Korea during the Korean War



SOURCE 10.33 US Air Force B-29 Super-fortresses dropping bombs on a strategic target during the Korean War



SOURCE 10.34 American soldiers in Panmunjom, South Korea, on the 38th parallel in the DMZ

KEY QUESTIONS

Significance/Drawing conclusions



- 1 Did the fact that the South Korean side in the Korean War was fought under the banner of the United Nations make any difference?
- 2 Did this help the United States side at all?
- 3 Did it give the United States the moral high ground in the conflict?
- 4 How was the Vietnam War different in this regard?

million soldiers in North Korea, the world's fifth-largest fighting force. Two-thirds of those soldiers are stationed within 60 miles of the DMZ. Today, there are 28 500 US soldiers stationed in South Korea. The recent disputes between North Korea and the United States are a legacy of the Cold War. 🗝️

of the members of the General Assembly, could call an emergency meeting whenever a veto blocked the Security Council. Under the UN Charter, a General Assembly resolution is not binding on all members. But the Americans did not worry, because at this time they could always be guaranteed that two-thirds of the General Assembly members would vote for them.

UN forces cross into North Korea

The Americans made a fateful decision – to go into North Korea to unify the country. The initial stages of the war were mixed:

- Initially, the UN forces had great success. Then, on 30 November, the Chinese entered the war on the North Korean side. Over 260 000 Chinese troops streamed across the Yalu River and attacked the UN forces. Gradually, the UN forces retreated to the 38th parallel, where they were determined to hold out.
- By early 1951, President Truman was ready to seek a negotiated settlement. However, General MacArthur was advocating that the war be expanded and even that nuclear weapons be used against China. While Truman negotiated with the North Koreans, MacArthur made threats to them, sabotaging the negotiations. Truman had had enough and fired General MacArthur. It was to take another two years before a settlement was reached to end the war.
- An armistice was finally agreed to on 27 July 1953.

It is important to note that only an armistice was signed in 1953. At the time of writing, there has been no official end to the Korean War and no peace treaty. There is a dividing line between North and South Korea, which is a four kilometre-wide, 250-kilometre-long no-man's land known as the Demilitarised Zone, or simply the DMZ. The ceasefire village of Panmunjom was founded on 27 July 1953, and is where the Korean War armistice agreement was signed. This location is always very tense, with soldiers on both sides fully armed and on full alert. Today there are an estimated 1.2

The Korean War nearly went nuclear

In 2017 the Korean peninsula became a flashpoint for nuclear war. So much of the dispute that went into crisis mode in 2017 was a legacy of the Cold War. North Korea was the first country after Japan that had been specifically targeted for a nuclear attack. Truman brought back fleets of B-29 planes that had been mothballed at the end of World War II and unleashed massive conventional bombing of North Korea that destroyed much of the country's infrastructure and particularly their hydro-electric power generation. This included the use of firebombing (that is, the use of napalm), as they had done against Japan in World War II. Truman used a nuclear bluff by placing a fleet of B-29s in Britain within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union. Each plane had a fully assembled Mark IV atomic bomb, though the fissile cores were left in the US.

When the Chinese entered the Korean War, General MacArthur insisted that he be given the sole right to use 50 atomic bombs. He wanted to create a radioactive wasteland that would last for 60 years and would intimidate the Russians. Truman fired MacArthur for his insubordination but in his 11 April 1951 speech Truman said that he would use whatever means necessary to win in Korea, including use of the atomic bomb.

In April 1951, Truman allowed nine nuclear bombs with their fissile cores to be transferred to Air Force custody and sent to the US base in Okinawa, along with a deployment of B-29s. In October, the US Air Force practiced atomic bomb runs with dummy atomic bombs or conventional bombs over North Korean targets. However, with the fighting finished, the B-29s were sent back to the US with their A-Bombs.

President Eisenhower became US President on 20 January 1953, inheriting the Korean War. The fighting had effectively stopped but the negotiations dragged on. In his frustration over the dragged-out negotiations he considered the nuclear option. In a meeting on 27 March with Defense Secretary Dulles, he said 'that somehow or other the taboo which surrounds the use of atomic weapons would have to be destroyed.' Eisenhower let it be known to his communist adversaries that he was somewhat trigger-happy and much more willing to use atomic bombs than his predecessor. There is some historical debate over whether Eisenhower's views made any difference in ending the Korean War. However, Richard Nixon, Vice President at the time, believed it did, and based his later 'madman theory' on the fact that it did make a difference.



SOURCE 10.35 An activist with a mask of Kim Jong-un, and another with a mask of US President Donald Trump, march with a model of a nuclear rocket during a demonstration against nuclear weapons on 18 November 2017 in Berlin, Germany. About 700 demonstrators protested against the current escalation of threat of nuclear attack between the United States of America and North Korea. The event was organised by peace advocacy organisations including the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN).

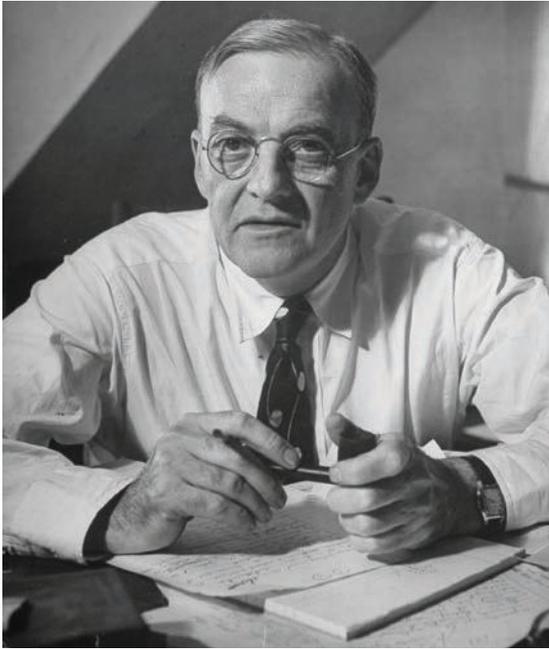


SOURCE 10.36 President Eisenhower

10.2 The development of the Cold War to 1968

Containment

George Kennan's analysis of the motivation and aims of the Soviet Union provide a rationale for what came to be known as a policy of 'containment'. Kennan argued that in 1947, in response to Soviet attempts to



SOURCE 10.37 John Foster Dulles, who was Secretary of State for President Eisenhower from 1953 to 1959

enlarge its sphere of influence in Europe and Asia, the main focus of US foreign policy needed to be a 'long-term patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies'. In the following few years, a number of US foreign policy initiatives seemed to confirm the wisdom of the containment policy, with the success of the Berlin Airlift, aid to Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan, and the creation of NATO. Truman's strong stand in Korea was seen in the framework of containment, and despite Korea being an unpopular and drawn-out war, it served the purpose of containing communist expansion in Asia and thus further confirmation of the wisdom of the policy.

Containment became the dominant US foreign policy framework for the rest of the Cold War with all US presidents drawing on it as a rationale for various foreign policy approaches. For instance, President Johnson used containment as the justification for US intervention in Vietnam. However, at times, US presidents flirted with the opposite policy of 'rollback'. In the 1952 election campaign, the Republican Party promoted a rollback of communism. Once in power, President Eisenhower toyed with the idea of rollback. He allowed the CIA to engineer a coup in Iran, which led to the establishment of a pro-Western government in 1953. He also allowed a CIA operation to overthrow the government in Guatemala. However, these were not within the Soviet orbit. Yet when the chance came to initiate rollback in the 1956 revolution in Hungary, Eisenhower did not risk it.

rollback the doctrine of actively attempting to push back another nation's political power from territory under its control, without actually going to war with them

Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, based his foreign policy around the belief that international peace and security could be achieved with the containment of communism. The United States constructed a network of bilateral and multilateral treaties designed to encircle the Soviet Union and its allies, especially Communist China. The bilateral treaties were with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and the Republic of China (Nationalist China/Taiwan). Dulles gave strong support to Nationalist China when threatened by Communist China in 1954 and 1958. In 1955, Dulles began to channel aid to South Vietnam after the French withdrew from Indochina. Eventually, the foreign policy crafted by Dulles, based on the idea of containment and international mutual security agreements, became known as the 'Eisenhower Doctrine'.

Both Truman and Eisenhower had managed a seismic shift from America's default position of isolationism. This was maintained by succeeding presidents for the rest of the Cold War.

The National Security Council (NSC)

In July 1947 Congress passed the National Security Act which established the National Security Council or NSC. There were to be six permanent members, the Secretaries of State, Defense, Army, Navy, Air Force. The President was to act as chairman. The NSC was to be a mechanism for ensuring all aspects of American involvement in the world were directed towards common goals. Regarding the rise of Communism in China in 1949 a paper was prepared by the NSC called simply NSC-68. This document provided a

clear set of overall strategies that drove American foreign policy for much of the Cold War. NSC-68 fleshed out the containment policy recently adopted by the Truman administration.

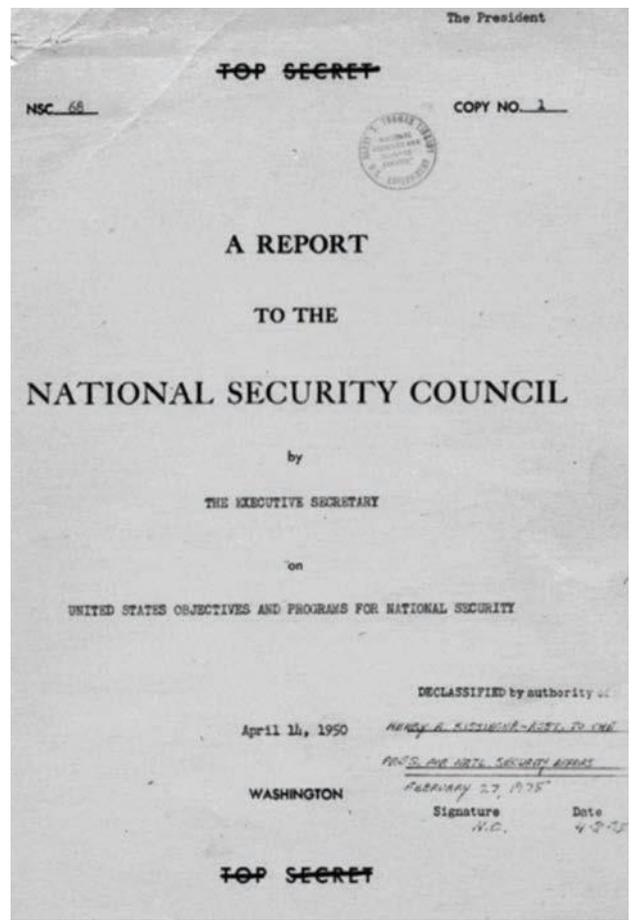
The NSC-68 and Containment

National Security Council Paper NSC-68, of 7 April 1950, was subtitled, 'United States Objectives and Programs for National Security'. This was a secret document that informed US foreign policy for the next 20 years of the Cold War, and was not declassified until 1975. NSC-68 outlined the 'rapid building up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world' to enable the United States to attain sufficient strength to deter Soviet expansionism. The secret document states that the Soviet threat would likely dramatically increase in the future as they increased their military forces and particularly their nuclear arsenal. Therefore, the report writers urged that the US needed to respond by beefing up its conventional and nuclear forces. This would ensure that in the event of an armed confrontation with the Communists, the United States could successfully defend the homeland and its overseas interests.

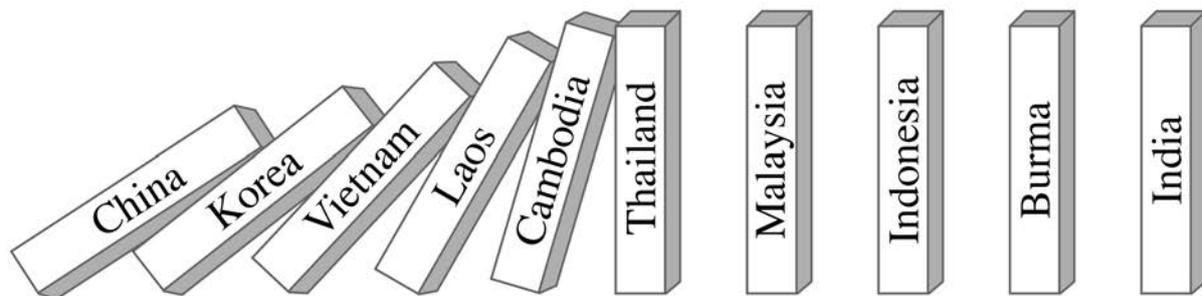
In giving flesh to the bones of the Containment policy, NSC-68 called for a dramatic increase in US defence spending. As a result, the Truman administration tripled US military expenditure from 5 per cent to 14.2 per cent of GDP between 1950 and 1953, paid for by large tax increases. This unpalatable aspect was made easier as the outbreak of the Korean War made domestic opinion more resigned to the prospect of higher taxes. Many of the policies in the NSC-68 had started to be implemented by the time Eisenhower became President. However, to implement many of its proposals would be unpopular domestically, prompting the new President to revise military funding. Eisenhower reduced spending on conventional forces and increased spending on nuclear forces which were less costly.

The Domino Theory

On 7 April 1954 President Eisenhower gave an historic press conference. The reason was what the President saw as the deteriorating security situation in South-East Asia. The French were failing miserably in their attempt to re-establish colonial control over Indochina. The Viet Minh, a Vietnamese national group led by



SOURCE 10.38 NSC-68 – the National Security Council document which laid out US foreign policy during the Cold War



SOURCE 10.39 The Domino Theory

Ho Chi Minh was on the verge of winning a stunning victory over French forces at Dien Bien Phu, and a peace conference to resolve the conflict in Indochina was scheduled for a few weeks. The French had wanted the Americans to come to their aid, but Eisenhower decided against it. The French army surrendered in May. However, despite deciding against saving the French, the President was concerned that Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam would be taken over by Chinese-influenced communists.

In his press conference on 7 April, Eisenhower said that all of the resources 'that the world needs' would be gobbled up by the communists in this part of the world. 'Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world,' the President explained. Then Eisenhower used a phrase which would become a byword for the American view of the global communist threat:

'Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the *falling domino principle*. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So, you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.'

SOURCE 10.40 Dwight D Eisenhower, Presidential Press Conference, 7 April 1954

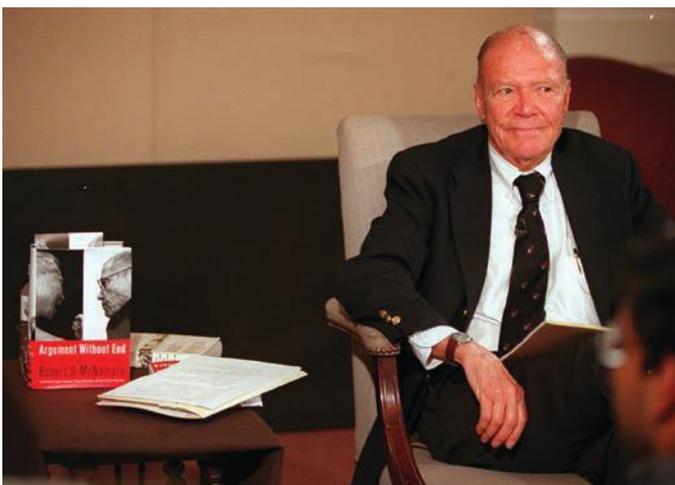


SOURCE 10.41 US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara speaking during a press conference in Washington DC on 26 April 1964. Behind him is a map of Vietnam that shows various military installations.

In other words, the 'domino principle' is a warning of what would happen if the free world was not vigilant with containment. So, the 'domino theory' was a simple rationale for the US policy of containment. The appeal of the domino theory came from the fact it was a graphic way of explaining what was actually happening, that is, the spread of Communism to China, Korea, Indochina and Southeast Asia. The implication was that if one country fell to communism in Asia that there would be a chain reaction that would be felt in Asia and beyond. 'So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world,' concluded Eisenhower.

Eisenhower's domino theory lay the foundations for both President Kennedy and President Johnson to get more deeply involved in Vietnam. In March 1964, Defence Secretary Robert McNamara hyped up the domino theory further, stating that unless the US could secure a non-communist South Vietnam almost all of Southeast Asia would probably fall to the communist domination, and may even threaten Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. By this time the domino theory had become an obsession that blinded the US to understanding reality leading to a tragedy of gigantic proportions.

SOURCE 10.42 Providence, Rhode Island, 23 April 1999. Former Secretary of Defense Robert S McNamara promoting his book, *Argument Without End*, speaking at Brown University with co-author James Blight. In the book McNamara said the US was wrong in their application of domino theory thinking to Vietnam.



The fall of South Vietnam and Cambodia to Communist forces in April 1975 marked an absolute failure of 20 years of US effort to prevent Communist domination of Southeast Asia. In 1994 former Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara regretted the policy that he had pursued in the sixties in Vietnam believing now that Vietnam going Communist would not necessarily have been a disaster. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Perspectives

Learning the lesson of history



Robert McNamara is an example of someone who has been a key player in history but has concluded that many of his deeply-held beliefs were wrong.

Find the *Fog of War* documentary on YouTube by using the title:

'The Fog of War Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S McNamara full movie'

- 1 What lessons has McNamara learned about war in general?
- 2 What lessons did McNamara learn about Vietnam and the US government's policies at the time?

Peaceful coexistence

In 1953, Joseph Stalin's death and the end of the Korean War offered an opportunity for tensions to be reduced between the superpowers. The new Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, sought to make the most of these events by pursuing a more conciliatory approach to foreign policy.

'Peaceful coexistence' refers to this period from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s, in which there was a thaw in relations between the United States and Soviet Union. This thaw in relations between the superpowers was due to Nikita Khrushchev's foreign policy and marked a dramatic change in attitude by the Soviet leadership. Khrushchev articulated this policy a number of times, including:

- at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1953
- at the Albanian Embassy speech in 1957
- in a *Foreign Affairs* article in 1959
- in a UN speech in 1960.

Khrushchev outlined his concept of peaceful coextensive repeatedly, and sought to show his commitment to this policy through holding summit meetings with world leaders and going on a number of overseas trips. He argued that the two superpowers could keep on competing in many areas, but that they should avoid direct confrontation and respect each other's sphere of interest.

Khrushchev had come to power as part of a collective leadership in 1953 after Stalin's death. With death of Stalin, the Soviet leadership embarked on a 'New Course' foreign policy in an attempt to reduce tensions. In 1956, Khrushchev won a struggle for power against Malenkov and became Premier of the Soviet Union. The world sat up and took notice at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, when Khrushchev delivered a speech denouncing the excesses of Joseph Stalin's dictatorial rule.

ANALYSING SOURCES 10.1

Khrushchev's secret speech

Search online for Nikita Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech Delivered by First Party Secretary at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'.

- 1 What criticisms did Khrushchev level at Stalin's leadership during the Cold War?
- 2 How did Khrushchev propose that the Soviet Union should move forward?



SOURCE 10.43 On 14 February 1956, at the Twentieth Soviet Union Communist Party Congress, Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin for his totalitarian methods and the purges



SOURCE 10.44 Khrushchev's Red Army crushing the Hungarian Revolution in 1956



SOURCE 10.45 President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev exchange gifts during Khrushchev's US trip, 15 September 1959

Khrushchev did a number of things to show that his words were met with action, including:

- In October 1954, Khrushchev visited China to improve relations with Mao Zedong
- In 1955, Khrushchev met with Eisenhower in Geneva
- In 1955, Khrushchev agreed to remove Soviet troops from Austria after signing the Austrian Peace Treaty
- In 1955, Khrushchev created the Warsaw Pact and withdrew Soviet troops from neutral Finland.

However, Khrushchev was merciless in dealing with Hungary in 1956, when its leader, Imre Nagy announced that Hungary was going to leave the Warsaw Pact. In response to the Hungarian revolution, Khrushchev sent in tanks to crush it.

The high point of Khrushchev's 'peaceful coexistence' policy came with his visit to the United States on 15–27 September 1959 which fostered expectations at the time of improving the hostile US–Soviet relationship. There was immense curiosity surrounding Khrushchev and his family in their tour of the United States. Khrushchev himself believed that his visit was an historic event and that he was taking the necessary steps to diffuse the tensions of the Cold War. On returning to Moscow, Khrushchev gave a speech in which he said he believed that a thaw in the Cold War had begun and that Eisenhower was willing to cooperate with the Soviet Union. Khrushchev had certainly set a calmer tone in international relations which was welcomed by populations in the United States and the Soviet Union. If only for a short time, both countries could breathe easier.



SOURCE 10.46 Captured U2 pilot Garry Powers, as portrayed in the 2015 film *Bridge of Spies*.

However, within six months of Khrushchev's trip to the United States, the optimism that grew from the trip evaporated on 1 May 1960, with the shooting down of a U2 spy plane over Soviet territory. Eisenhower had endorsed this U2 flight, despite denying to the Soviets that they were carrying them out. Khrushchev felt betrayed. Everything returned to the old Cold War mindset. Though peaceful existence did not disappear altogether it received some massive setbacks in the following few years. 🔑

Khrushchev received another setback around this time that would have enormous implications down the track. Relations with China took a turn for the worse when Khrushchev visited in 1959 for the 10th anniversary of the Peoples Republic of China (on his way back from his US trip). Mao had not been impressed with Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956 and was annoyed by the Soviet's lack of economic assistance and becoming suspicious during 1958 that the Soviets wanted to control the Pacific coast. There was a war of words from 1960, with Khrushchev calling Mao a 'left revisionist'. 🔑



SOURCE 10.47 Tensions flare between Nikita Khrushchev, Mao Tse-Tung, and Ho Chi Minh at a banquet in Beijing (Peking) marking the 10th anniversary of People's Republic of China in October 1959.

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation

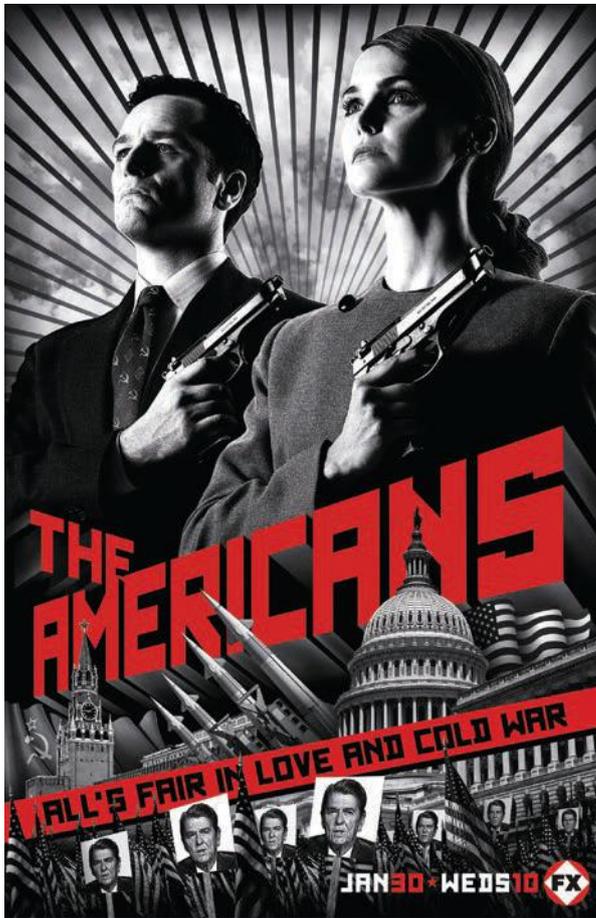
🔑 To what extent was the U2 Spy Flight Incident responsible for embittering relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability/Forming opinions

🔑 Both Eisenhower and Khrushchev genuinely wanted peace, but by the end of the 1950s they were no closer to achieving it.

Assess the approaches of Eisenhower and Khrushchev during the 1950s. Did both leaders make the most of the opportunities they had to bring the Cold War to an early end?



SOURCE 10.48 *The Americans*, a TV series which started in 2013, is about a husband-and-wife pair of Soviet spies living as a normal American family in Washington DC in the 1980s. The TV series showed the variety of espionage techniques used by Soviet spies.

proxy war when the two countries use smaller client states to further their own objectives by using by fight each other

bipolar world the world was largely divided into two camps led by the superpowers

First World the 'free world' of democratic and industrialised nations, including the United States, Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Japan

Second World the industrialised communist bloc countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

Third World the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and South America, many of which had been ruled by colonial powers in the past

soft power the use of country's cultural and economic influence to influence other countries. The exercise of this power is often independent of government direction.



SOURCE 10.49 Superpower rivalry was like a global geopolitical chess game, in which each superpower used a combination of softpower and hardpower to achieve their objectives.

Superpower rivalry

Despite Khrushchev's wish for 'peaceful coexistence' with the United States in the 1950s, rivalry between the two superpowers continued in multiple areas. Both sides appeared to have put the idea of rollback on the backburner, avoiding overt attempts to meddle in each other's sphere of interest. However, both superpowers regarded competition for influence in the non-aligned world as legitimate and did whatever it took to secure both minor and significant gains in a global chess game. Both superpowers were willing to prop up unsavoury regimes, make alliances, use espionage, give arms and weaponry, and use client states to fight **proxy wars**. In terms of keeping out of each other's sphere of interest, both superpowers were inconsistent – and this led to a crisis that brought the world close to Armageddon.

During the 1950s, a **bipolar world** developed in which many nations lined up behind one of the two camps led by the superpowers. Those countries that lined up behind the United States were known as the **First World** while those that lined up behind the Soviet Union were known as the **Second World**. Many of the remaining nations that were not aligned were less developed countries in Asia, Africa and South America. These were often referred to as the **Third World**. The superpowers used a combination of **soft power** and ruthless force in the Third World and in the Middle East in a global geopolitical chess game to extend their influence.

How the Cold War was fought

Fighting the Cold War	
ideology	Both superpowers promoted their ideologies to the world. Aspects of the communist ideology struck a real chord with many people in the Third World, who were pursuing national liberation and who wanted an instant transformation of the society and the economy. Others feared the totalitarian aspects of communism and wanted the freedom and economic benefits that the Western world offered.
domestic politics	Within both superpowers, there were long-running bitter political debates about how the Cold War should be prosecuted. There were two main groups: the 'hawks' who advocated an aggressive foreign policy and the 'doves' who tried to resolve problems without resorting to force.
economic aid	The United States used the Marshall Plan in Europe to strengthen their West European democratic friends. Meanwhile, COMECON was used by the Soviet Union to bind them closely in trade pacts. Many Third World countries were swayed to join one of the rival blocs, with economic aid and technical support (especially for big infrastructure projects like dams, roads, railways and bridges).
military aid	Military aid was offered in terms of experts to train local forces as well as various types of modern weapons from small arms (like machine guns) to big ticket items (like defensive missiles, tanks or jets fighters).
soft power	The United States had a real advantage in its soft power, which was mostly spontaneously generated and had little to do with governments. Its companies, foundations, universities, churches, and civil society organisations projected American ideals and values. This power was quite diffuse and was not used to achieve specific outcomes.
culture	American culture was exported to the rest of the world through its movies, music, fashion, and consumer products. The fact that these things were highly sought after behind the Iron Curtain made it a significant aspect of the Cold War.
espionage	Both superpowers used their spy agencies extensively for spying, sabotage and assassinations. The United States had the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Soviets had the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (literally Committee of State Security) or KGB.
space race	Both nations used what they had learned from the Nazi V2 rocket program to build rockets to put satellites and, eventually, men in space. They competed to be the first in each aspect of the space race as well as use space technology for spying on each other.
arms race	The superpowers competed in the arms race by building up both conventional and nuclear forces.
propaganda	Both sides used propaganda to sell their ideologies to their own people and the world. It was often in the form of slogans, posters, radio and TV programs and films.
alliances	Alliances were used to reassure friendly nations, share intelligence, pool military forces and deter enemy attack. NATO is regarded as one of the most successful alliances in history, in that it signalled the determination of all the nations of Western Europe, Canada and the United States to stand together to resist any communist attack on any member country.
sport	Both superpowers competed in sport, particularly in the Olympic Games.
proxy wars	Often Third World or Middle Eastern nations were used to fight a proxy war on behalf of the superpowers—as in the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Angola Civil War and the Yom Kippur War.

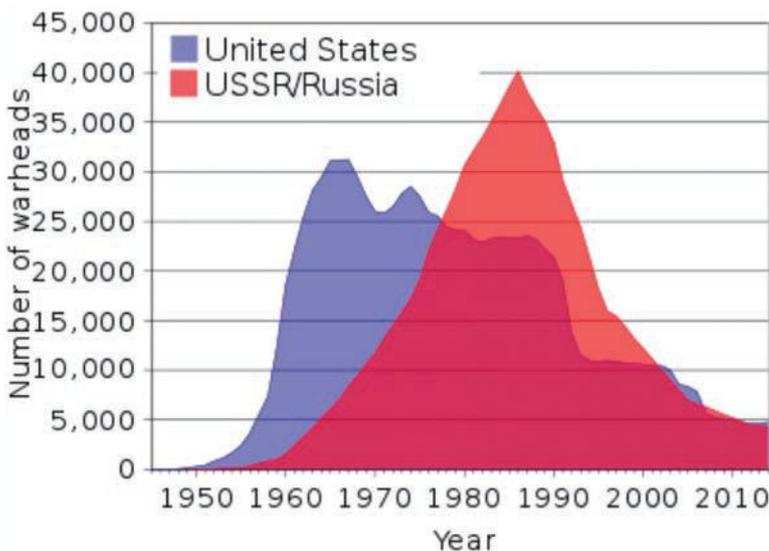


SOURCE 10.50 The 2015 TV series *Deutschland 83* contrasts life in the two Germanys. The young East German spy in the series is overwhelmed by the consumer goods available everywhere in West Germany.



SOURCE 10.51 An example of Cold War spy tactics – an East German spy was caught with this pipe with a hidden gun – on display at the Espionage Museum in Berlin.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for an extensive gallery of images of spy craft during the Cold War.



SOURCE 10.52 This graph compares the growth of the US and Soviet nuclear arsenals over the course of the Cold War and beyond. Measuring superpower strength using the total number of nuclear weapons may be misleading because the actual use of these came to be seen as morally repugnant and suicidal. Having an edge in nuclear weapons in the end made little difference if they could not be used. A successful first-strike by one side would spell doom for both and probably all life on earth. Any use due to political blunder, miscalculation or accident would have been catastrophic.

the technological edge. However, the arms race was immensely complicated due to the interrelationship between nuclear and conventional arms. The idea that nuclear weapons were just another weapon and could be used in conjunction with a nation's overall armed forces became increasingly harder to accept over the two decades following Hiroshima. However, despite the fact that most leaders and military experts eventually

The arms race

During the fifties and sixties, the two superpowers came to accept the idea of co-existence, and, by and large, eschewed meddling in each other's sphere of interest. However, they competed in every other conceivable way, and any part of the world not already within either's sphere of interest was fair game. The superpowers would even wage deadly proxy wars and export their weapons and arms all over planet, while still not upsetting their overall approach of co-existence. In addition, the cost of keeping the status quo between the two superpowers was eternal vigilance, as any weakness or lack of resolve by one side threatened a major upheaval in the geopolitical balance.

In this context, the arms race became an area of intense competition in the make-up of, and the quantity and quality of, their arsenals. Each side was always on the lookout for the latest innovation or new weapon to give them

came to the same conclusion, that is, that nuclear weapons cannot actually be used, they remained an integral part of the entire Cold War.

The idea of launching a first strike on one's enemy was certainly flirted with by the United States, especially in the late 1940s and 1950s, when it had nuclear supremacy. However, the United States balked when it had the opportunity in the Korean War. The US military concluded that there were no useful military targets left in North Korea (after widespread conventional bombing). But there was something else at work, the **nuclear taboo**.

Despite the desire of a number of Cold War leaders to use nuclear weapons to resolve particular situations or to deal with potential future threats, they soon came to see nuclear weapons as being in a class of their own. From the time of the atomic use by the US in attacks on Japan in 1945, a nuclear taboo had developed around this weapon. Nuclear weapons had come to be viewed with horror by the general public from the time of Hiroshima, but this idea was strengthened by the massive size of the H-Bomb nuclear tests of the fifties. So, the idea developed that the Bomb was in a special class and that there was a clear distinction between 'conventional' and 'nuclear' forces. To use nuclear weapons would mean breaking the taboo that surrounded its use and that once that threshold was crossed there may be no turning back from an all-out nuclear war. However, even without the threat of retaliation, the nuclear taboo remained. Truman could have used atomic bombs in Korea without Soviet retaliation, as they were two years away from having an operational nuclear strike capability. President Johnson refused to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam not because of feared Soviet retaliation but because of the moral taboo and a likely backlash from the American public. (However, Johnson had no qualms about throwing every conceivable type of conventional weaponry that the US possessed into the Vietnam War.)

Even though the actual use of nuclear weapons was unthinkable due to the moral taboo and the threat of retaliation, they nevertheless remained the central focus throughout the Cold War. Despite the ongoing realisation over the Cold War that any significant use of nuclear weapons would have a devastating impact on the entire planet, the nuclear forces of both sides grew to outlandish proportions, fueling existing fears which led to further additions and expansions of their nuclear arsenals. Elaborate plans were also developed to wage war using a combination of conventional and nuclear forces and these plans would be implemented by command and control systems with one leader at the head of each superpower making the ultimate decision on whether to unleash Nuclear Armageddon.

Nuclear war thinking

At first, President Truman sought to maximise the psychological impact of nuclear weapons in his dealings with the Soviets after the war. In his 9 August radio address, President Truman talked about the 'awful responsibility which has come to us' but that we 'thank God that it has come to us, instead of to our

nuclear taboo the use of nuclear weapons for any purpose has become practically unthinkable

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation

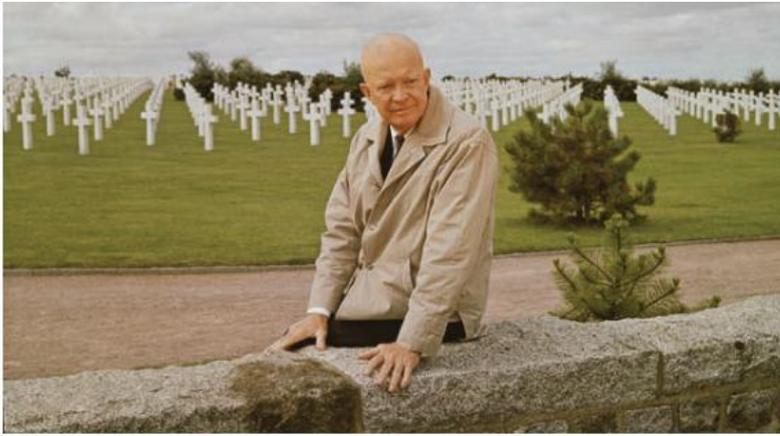
The nuclear taboo



To what extent was the moral taboo surrounding nuclear weapons a significant factor in US and Soviet leaders of the fifties and sixties refusing to use them?



SOURCE 10.53 Secretary of State Dean Rusk, President Lyndon B. Johnson and Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara sit together during a meeting on the Vietnam War. President Johnson refused to consider the use of nuclear weapons in the Vietnam due to the backlash he feared from the public rather than Soviet retaliation.



SOURCE 10.54 In 1964, former President Eisenhower visited Omaha Beach for the 20th anniversary of the D-Day landings. Eisenhower's 'overwhelming single, fixed preoccupation' was 'the avoidance of war' according to historian Evan Thomas in *Ike's Bluff*.

enemies.' Despite flirting with the idea of international control of nuclear weapons Truman set the United States on a path to use their nuclear monopoly to their advantage in post-war negotiations with the Soviets, believing that a Soviet-produced atomic bomb would be many years off. However, this had the opposite effect on Stalin who from the end of 1945 adopted a policy of 'tenacity and steadfastness' in which the Soviets took a tough stand on all issues out of fear of seeming weak and encouraging the Americans to exert more pressure. Truman also hoped to use the atomic bomb to make up for Soviet superiority in conventional forces.

In the 1950s, though the USSR had nuclear weapons, the United States still had clear superiority. President Eisenhower did not believe that the US could sustain the vastly increased military budget that Truman administration had implemented. So, Eisenhower cut back on conventional forces and placed a greater emphasis on nuclear forces, which were cheaper. The President knew that the Soviet's superiority in conventional forces meant that Western Europe could be overwhelmed quickly by the Red Army led by their massive tank regiments. Eisenhower therefore threatened 'massive retaliation' with nuclear weapons in response to any Soviet attack using nuclear or conventional forces. In his 2012 book, *Ike's Bluff: President Eisenhower's Secret Battle to Save the World*, Evan Thomas admired how Eisenhower handled his role at the head of a massive nuclear arsenal: 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Forming opinions



Assess historian Evan Thomas' praise of President Eisenhower's management of the US nuclear weapons arsenal.

- 1 Was Evan Thomas right to praise President Eisenhower for using the threat of massive nuclear retaliation to bluff the Soviets? What would President Eisenhower have done if Khrushchev had called his bluff, for example over Berlin?
- 2 President Eisenhower allowed the US nuclear arsenal to quadruple in the 8 years of his presidency. Was this a wise thing to do?
- 3 President Eisenhower warned about the 'military industrial complex' and the danger it presented to American society, but he did this at the end of his 8-year term. He had been responsible for allowing the 'military industrial complex' to take such a hold on American policy. Was Eisenhower's inaction in curtailing the 'military industrial complex' a real failure of his administration?

'Eisenhower managed cleverness, indirection, subtlety, and downright deviousness – and by embracing the very thing he could never use – to safeguard his country and possibly the rest of mankind from annihilation.' (p.15) 'It is easy to forget that Eisenhower was the first person in history to have the means to wreck civilisation. Eisenhower did not shy from power. He used it. But he did so in a way that is still little understood. (p.16)

SOURCE 10.55 Evan Thomas, *Ike's Bluff: President Eisenhower's Secret Battle to Save the World*, 2012.

In the 1960s, Soviet missile technology improved. However, the United States developed the **nuclear triad**, which was the ability to deliver a nuclear attack from B-52 bombers, **ICBMs** from land-based silos, and **SLBMs** from submarines. Defence Secretary Robert McNamara talked of 'assured destruction' if the Soviets did launch a first-strike attack because there was no way they could destroy all of the US nuclear forces, especially the submarines, so they could be 'assured' that the Soviet's own destruction would surely follow if they tried a surprise nuclear attack.

By the late sixties, it became apparent that 'assured destruction' could work the other way due to the massive increase in the Soviet ICBM arsenal. So, if the US was to attack the USSR they could be assured of massive retaliatory attack. One nuclear analyst put an 'M' in front 'assured destruction' so that it was now 'Mutual Assured Destruction,' or MAD for short, to make for a more apt description of the situation. Also, by the late sixties, the '**balance of terror**' led the two superpowers to explore avenues of cooperation. This evolved into an interest in treaties and the policy known as **détente**. Another factor at play was the fact that they were no longer alone in the nuclear arms race. Britain had developed the atomic bomb in 1952, followed by France in 1960 and China in 1964. More nations would follow if the USA and USSR failed to act. Though this led to a series of treaties, the Mutual Assured Destruction doctrine survived.

Nuclear triad the nuclear weapons delivery of a strategic nuclear arsenal which consists of three components: land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), strategic bombers, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)

ICBM an Intercontinental Ballistic Missile that can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

SLBM a Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile that could be fired from a submarine while still submerged

balance of terror the fear of mutual destruction when two nuclear powers are equipped with nuclear arsenals that threaten absolute and total destruction of both nations

détente an improvement in the relationship between two countries that in the past were not friendly and did not trust each other

RESEARCH TASK 10.1A

Joining the nuclear club

Research the basic facts about how the UK, France and China came to develop the atomic bomb.

- 1 To what extent were the motivations of UK, France and China getting the Bomb similar to the USA's and USSR's?
- 2 Describe how the USA and USSR reacted to having new members to the nuclear club.

Fighting a nuclear war

Both sides drew up plans for fighting a war using a mix of conventional and nuclear weapons. Due to the superiority in conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact, NATO made it abundantly clear that any conventional attack would be countered with nuclear weapons. There were many types of nuclear weapons, but two main classes, strategic and tactical. **Tactical nuclear weapons** were smaller and designed to be used on the battlefield against enemy military formations. NATO made it clear that any conventional attack may be met with tactical nuclear weapons and this was made clear in all of their military plans up into the 1980s. Of course, any war in Europe, even if it started as a conventional one, could turn global once the nuclear threshold was crossed. This would mean that **strategic nuclear weapons** would also be used. These are larger warheads designed for destroying cities or large urban or industrial areas.

The vast array of tactical nuclear weapons available for NATO to use to repel a Soviet conventional attack is quite astounding. Also astounding is that none of these weapons went astray, went off by accident, or were taken over by a terrorist group or rogue commander. During the 1960s Permissive Action Links, or

Tactical nuclear weapon

a small nuclear weapon designed for battlefield use

Strategic nuclear weapon

a larger nuclear weapon designed for the destruction of cities



SOURCE 10.56 Soviet tanks in Prague in 1968. The Warsaw Pact had an overwhelming superiority of conventional forces in Europe, and particularly in tanks.

PALs, were installed on tactical nuclear weapons to prevent unauthorised use. PALs were originally created to guard against the possibility of a rogue US commander.

The main problem with tactical nuclear weapons was that, even though they were smaller and designed for the battlefield, the use of just one of these would involve crossing the nuclear threshold, which would mean all nuclear weapons could be used. So in the end, the effort to make nuclear weapons more useful, by making smaller tactical weapons for use on the battlefield, was futile. In the ‘use or lose it’ mindset of the time, any use of a nuclear weapon was likely to trigger a massive response from the enemy. Fortunately, no

NATO’s tactical nuclear stockpile in Europe

	2250 artillery shells	<p>In the late 1950s, faced with the Soviet Union’s massive conventional power threatening Western Europe and with the technical ability perfected to pack a nuclear warhead into something the size of an artillery shell, the United States developed and deployed a whole range of ‘battlefield’ nuclear weapons to deter a conventional attack and to force the tactical dispersion of Soviet armour. Now the Warsaw Pact has caught up and produced a stalemate at tactical as well as strategic level, but first use of these short-range weapons remains NATO policy today in response to a conventional attack that could not be checked by Conventional means. A new generation of precision-guided munitions holds out the promise of allowing the replacement of these systems but the expense has first to be considered. Meanwhile, an unofficial breakdown of NATO’s tactical stockpile in Europe is given here—all warheads are in US custody while many of the launch platforms are in host-nation control, under the so-called ‘dual key’ arrangement. Atomic landmines and Nike Hercules SAM warheads, together with a proportion of artillery shells, are being withdrawn after a long NATO review but the United States has very significant plans for the development and manufacture of new tactical warheads, including enhanced radiation for 8-in. and 155-mm artillery shells and Lance missiles.</p>
	1850 free-fall bombs	
	700 Nike Hercules SAMs	
	300 Atomic demolition munitions (mines)	
	400 ASW weapons	
	180 Pershing 1a (108 US, Pershing II to replace, 72 German airforce)	
	90 Honest John (Greece, Turkey)	
	97 Lance (36 US, 61 with UK, Bel, FRG, Italy, Netherlands)	
Total	6000	
	(note all warheads in US custody)	
France		
	42 Pluton	
	110 Nuclear capable tactical aircraft	

‘NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Force Comparisons,’ NATO Information Service, Brussels, 1984.

SOURCE 10.57 This shows the range of tactical nuclear weapons at the disposal of NATO forces in Europe in 1984. The array of different weapons and the numbers of each is astonishing. NATO was committed to drawing from this arsenal of short-range tactical weapons in response to a Soviet conventional attack if NATO conventional forces proved incapable of preventing their advance. All of these weapons were under US military control and guarded by PALs.

tactical nuclear weapons was ever used in anger throughout the entire Cold War, though on a few occasions they came close to doing so. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Analysing issues



To what extent did the incorporation of tactical nuclear weapons in the military forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact make a nuclear catastrophe more likely?



SOURCE 10.58 A Permissive Action Link (PAL) is a security device for a nuclear weapon designed to prevent unauthorised arming or detonation.

RESEARCH TASK 10.1B

Find the following document from NATO's website titled: 'NATO and the Warsaw Pact: Force Comparisons,' *NATO Information Service*, Brussels, 1984.

Read pages 1 to 4 in the Introduction.

- 1 Outline the aims of NATO. (paragraphs 1 and 2)
- 2 Describe NATO's view of 'unilateral disarmament'. (paragraph 5)
- 3 NATO is a defensive alliance, according to this document. How is this explained? (paragraph 6)
- 4 Describe how the Warsaw Pact was viewed. (paragraphs 7 and 8)

View the maps and diagrams in the rest of the document.

- 1 What conclusions can be drawn about the balance in conventional forces and also in nuclear forces?
- 2 How important do you think NATO's nuclear forces are in deterring an attack by the Warsaw Pact?

The space race

One aspect of superpower rivalry that was not so dangerous was the space race, though what was achieved in space could have worrying military applications. The USSR tested their first ICBM on 21 August 1957 and followed this on 4 October with a rocket that placed the first satellite in space, Sputnik 1. This marked the official beginning of the space race. These represented great propaganda victories for the Soviet leader



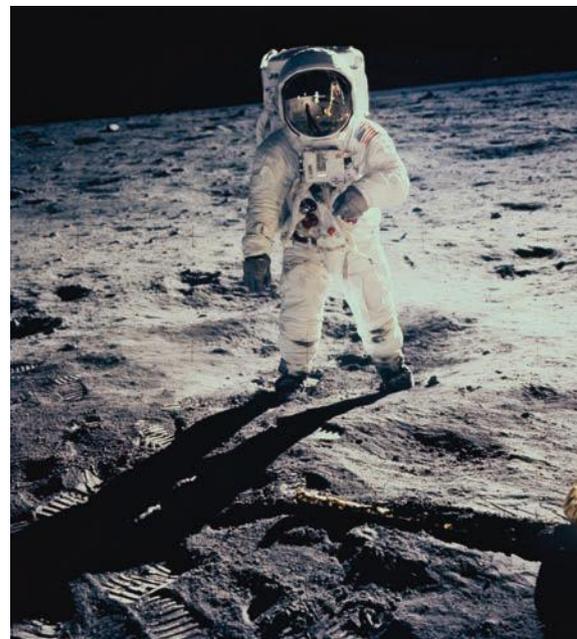
SOURCE 10.59 (Left) Postcard commemorating satellite launches of Sputnik I and II in 1957. (Right) Soviet space program propaganda poster, 1959.

Nikita Khrushchev, who in 1956 had said of the West, ‘We will bury you’. These two achievements were greeted with concern in the United States because they indicated that the Soviet Union was edging ahead of the United States technologically, and their rocket/missile technology had obvious military applications.

On 31 January 1958, the US responded with its first satellite, Explorer 1, then in October Congress passed legislation creating the National Space and Aeronautics program, or NASA for short. In 1959 the Soviets were again first to take a spacecraft beyond Earth’s orbit and then to reach the Moon. This was followed by the



SOURCE 10.60 Earth rising over curvature of the moon as seen from Apollo 8 in December 1968. This was the first colour photo of an Earthrise from the horizon of the Moon. This was dubbed ‘Earthrise’ and has been used by many since to reflect on the fragility of the home of the human race.



SOURCE 10.61 20 July 1969 Apollo 11 astronaut Buzz Aldrin standing on the moon with astronaut Neil Armstrong during the first walk on lunar surface.

first man in space – Yuri Gagarin, on 12 April 1961. This time the US was not so far behind with Alan Shepard becoming the first American in space. Most significant though was President Kennedy’s commitment to land the first man on the Moon by the end of the decade. The next two years saw firsts for both nations with John Glenn of the USA making the first manned orbit of Earth in 1962, and in 1963 the Soviets placed the first woman in space. In the following few years the USA took the lead in the space race with a number of achievements and despite some setbacks finally landed two men on the moon on 20 July 1969. This was the highpoint of the space race and a clear win for the United States.



SOURCE 10.62 On 18 July 1975, US astronauts meet a Soviet cosmonaut after the docking of the US Apollo spacecraft with the Soviet Soyuz spacecraft. This was a four-day symbolic Russian-American joint spaceflight, agreed in 1972 as part of the detente package. The crews, each consisting of three men, move from one spacecraft to the other to carry out joint experiments and share meals.

The efforts of both superpowers continued in space. In 1971 the Soviets were the first to place an orbital space station in space and in the same year the US Mariner 9 orbited Mars, and then in 1973 the US established the Skylab space station. Then in 1975, events in space followed those on Earth with a joint Russian-American four-day joint spaceflight, reflecting détente back on Earth. The Apollo-Soyuz Joint Project was a product of years of discussions and negotiations. Despite the rivalry of the space race, there had been informal cooperation in regard to space between the two superpowers. They also managed to conclude some significant agreements such as:

- Outer Space Treaty 1967 – this provided the basic framework in international space law based on a series of principles such as not placing nuclear weapons in space and that the moon should only be used for peaceful purposes.
- Agreement on the Rescue and Return of Astronauts, 1968
- Moon Agreement 1979

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability (analysing issues)

Space cooperation



If the USA and USSR could cooperate in space why couldn't they extend this cooperation to every sphere?

RESEARCH TASK 10.1C

The Outer Space Treaty

Visit the website for the United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs online.

- 1 Explain how UNOOSA was established.
- 2 Outline the stipulations in the Outer Space Treaty and other treaties.
- 3 Predict the aspects of these agreements you think may be contested in the future as the space race to Mars intensifies.

The nature and impact of crises

Despite the fact that some normalcy had returned to relations between the superpowers with the 1955 Vienna summit between Khrushchev and Eisenhower, there were a number of serious crises in the 1960s that brought both superpowers close to the brink of war. A combination of levelheaded decision making at crucial times along with a lot of pure luck meant that the world avoided Armageddon.

The Berlin Wall, 1961



SOURCE 10.63 (Left) In August 1961, East German soldiers began constructing the Berlin Wall in order to stem the flow of refugees from communist East Germany into democratic West Germany, via Berlin. (Right) The Berlin Wall in front of the Brandenburg Gate in the winter 1968. The sign reads: 'Attention! You are now leaving West Berlin.'

On 13 August 1961, residents of Berlin woke up to find barbed wire fences being erected in the middle of their city under the watchful eyes of armed East German soldiers. This was replaced four days later by a wall of brick and concrete that gradually encircled West Berlin. For extra security, there were 300 watch towers, 20 bunkers at intervals along the Wall, along with thousands of soldiers, guard dogs, and alarms. Divided Berlin came to symbolise the Cold War from its beginning, from the Berlin Blockade (1948) to the breaking down of the Wall (1989). The erection of the Wall made Berlin even more important for the Cold War. Over its history, around 260 people were killed trying to flee from East to West.

Please see the Interactive Textbook for an extensive gallery of images charting the history of the Berlin Wall.



Berlin had been an ongoing issue in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union from the end of World War II. The original idea at the end of the war was that the zones of occupation in Germany would be united and a peace treaty was signed with the four Allied powers. However, this was derailed with Britain, France and the United States' decision to unite their three zones and create a common currency. Stalin feared that West Germany would be strengthened and made part of an anti-Soviet alliance. Over the course of the Cold War, the only way that the Soviet Union could have accepted a unified Germany was if it was weak and not part of a Western alliance.

Khrushchev wanted to resolve the German question by getting control of West Berlin, which he saw as an annoyance in the middle of East Germany. Many people were fleeing East Germany and having West Berlin situated in the middle of East Germany made this easy. Khrushchev also believed West Berlin was a nest of spies and had become a propaganda symbol for the West. During the June 1961 Vienna summit between Khrushchev and the new US President, John F Kennedy, tensions rose between the two leaders

over the issue of Berlin. The Soviet leader threatened to solve the Berlin question unilaterally. As a result, Kennedy gave an address on 25 July, in which he stated that the United States may have to defend the rights of West Berlin with military force. To back this up, Kennedy increased the US ICBM force and added five new army reserves. Privately, Kennedy did not want to have more options in defending West Berlin than threatening 'massive retaliation' as Eisenhower had implicitly warned during crises he had faced.

In the end, the existence of the Berlin Wall relieved tensions somewhat as it stemmed the flow of refugees to the West and it demonstrated the two superpowers sphere of influence. During the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, one of Kennedy's concerns was that Berlin would be the first place that the Soviets would capture in the event of an all-out war. However, with the Cuban Crisis and tensions with Khrushchev eased, President Kennedy visited Berlin in June 1963. He received a rapturous welcome from the people of West Berlin. The situation with Berlin stabilised after this. However, both sides knew that in the event of an all-out war between the superpowers, Berlin would be on the front line. The Berlin Wall remained a chilling symbol of the Cold War and became its most enduring iconic symbol. 🔑



SOURCE 10.64 On 26 June 1963, President Kennedy visited Berlin where he gave his famous speech in which he proclaimed (in German) 'I am a Berliner.'

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical interpretation

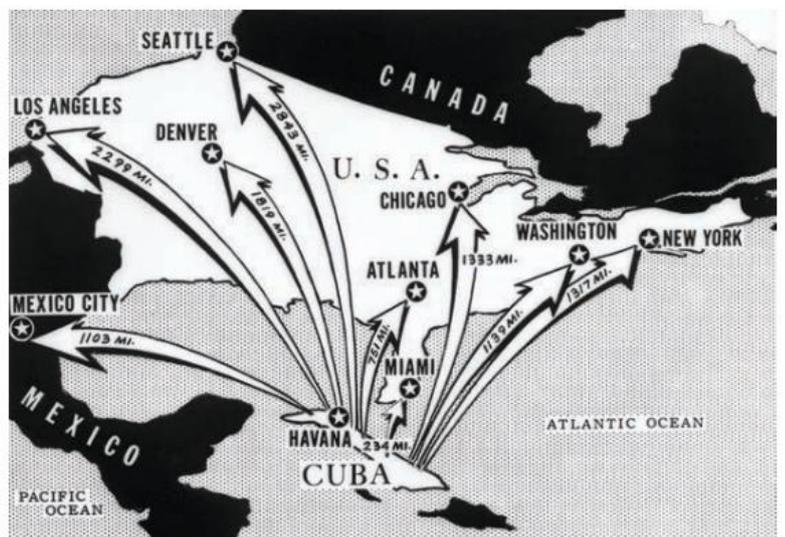
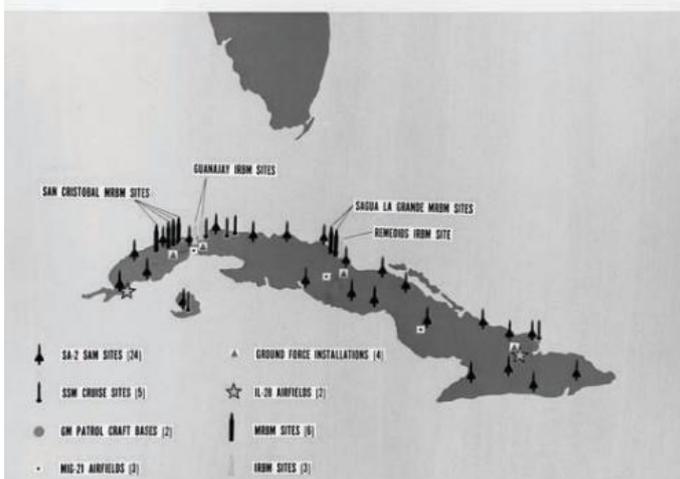


To what extent did the Berlin Wall actually ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?

Cuba, 1962

The Cuban Crisis of October 1962 is considered by many historians to be the closest that the world has come to a global nuclear war of catastrophic proportions. It officially started on 16 October 1962, when a US U2 spy plane flying over Cuba took photos of what appeared to be nuclear missile launching sites. However, the crisis had deeper roots.

SOVIET MILITARY BUILD UP IN CUBA



SOURCE 10.65 (Left) A map of Cuba, based on photos from U2 flights, shows the location of Soviet missile sites. (Right) The distances missiles could fly to reach US targets.

Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM)

a missile that can travel over continents and oceans in a very short time

Monroe Doctrine President Monroe's 1823 declaration that there should be no interference by European nations in North or South America, effectively laying down that the Western hemisphere was an American sphere of interest

KEY QUESTIONS

Causation



To what extent were the anti-Castro policies of the Kennedy administration responsible for the Soviet Union's placement of missiles in Cuba?

After the failure of the 1961 Vienna Summit, both superpowers increased their military spending and resumed nuclear testing. Testing had been suspended since 1958, but with testing being resumed in August 1961, both leaders were sending a message. Khrushchev aimed to send the biggest message – by detonating a 57-megaton hydrogen bomb called the Tsar Bomba on 30 October. Meanwhile, the United States publicly announced that its nuclear forces were vastly superior to the those of the Soviet Union. This speech undermined Khrushchev's strategy of peaceful coexistence, as it looked like US hardliners were pushing for a first-strike against the Soviet Union. To bolster his stocks at home, Khrushchev decided on a bold plan to secretly place **Intermediate Range Ballistic Missile (IRBM)** on Cuba and reveal this to the world after the 1962 US congressional elections. This would place the United States under the same pressure that the Soviet Union was under with US Jupiter missiles stationed in Turkey and Italy. This would reduce budgetary pressures on the Soviet economy, as this was a cheaper option than building more ICBMs. Khrushchev could also dress this up as the need to defend Cuba from American invasion after the failed Bay of Pigs invasion.

Meanwhile in Cuba, Fidel Castro was willing to host Soviet missiles and troops to ward off any further American attempts to invade. In January 1959, Fidel Castro had ousted the dictator, Batista, and established a revolutionary government. After Castro nationalised American-owned property, allied himself with the Communist Party and established close relations with the Soviet Union, the United States cut off diplomatic ties with Cuba and established a trade and travel ban. Then, in April 1961, the CIA engineered an invasion of Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs in an attempt to topple the Castro regime. This was a disaster, and President Kennedy was humiliated. Undeterred, the United States continued covert operations, called Operation Mongoose, to topple Castro from November 1961 up until October 1962.

The Cuban Missile Crisis lasted 13 days, from 16 October 1962, when President Kennedy received the news of Soviet missiles on Cuba, to 28 October, when Khrushchev announced that the missiles would be removed. From the American point of view, the placing of Soviet missiles on Cuba struck at the heart of the **Monroe Doctrine**. On 16 October, President Kennedy convened a meeting of the Executive Committee,

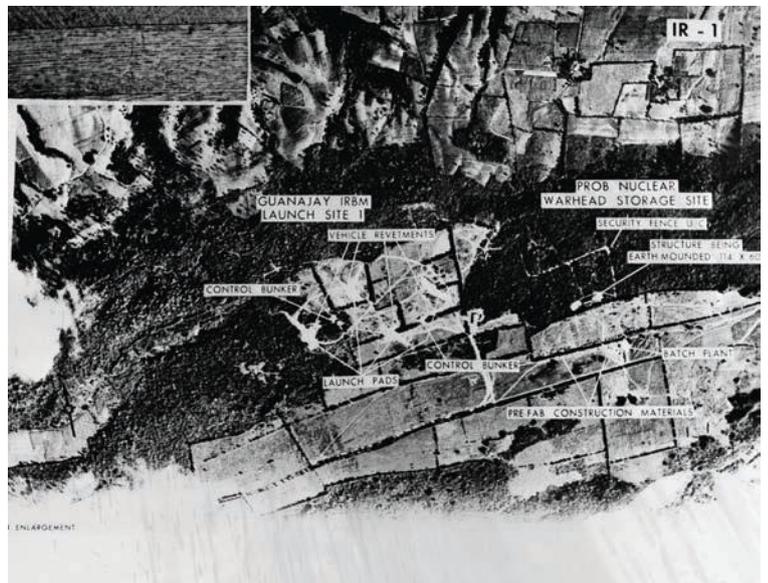
DAILY NEWS 5¢
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER
Vol. 10, No. 100
New York, N.Y., Tuesday, October 22, 1962
400 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

WE BLOCKADE CUBA ARMS

Red Ships Face Search or Sinking



SOURCE 10.66 (Left) On 22 October, in a televised address, President Kennedy announced that he would blockade Cuba. (Right) A US naval ship intercepts a missile carrying Soviet freighter.



SOURCE 10.67 25 October 1962. (Left) Adlai Stevenson addressed the UN Security Council and accused the Soviets of having placed missiles in Cuba. (Right) When the Soviets denied the claim, Stevenson displayed the U2 flight photos showing missile sites.

known as the ExCom, to consider his options. On 18 October, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko denied that there were missiles in Cuba. Over the following few days the various options were debated by the ExCom. The military pushed hard for an air bombardment of Cuba followed by a land invasion. However, President Kennedy decided on a naval blockade of Cuba to stop any missiles or nuclear material from being taken to Cuba. On 22 October, President Kennedy announced in a televised address his plans for a ‘quarantine’ of Cuba (because the term ‘blockade’ could be seen as an act of war). In his speech, Kennedy urged Khrushchev to remove the missiles from Cuba and threatened the Soviet Union with a ‘full retaliatory response’ if any missile was launched from Cuba. This threat implied that it would not just be Cuba that would be attacked, but the Soviet Union as well. Kennedy was now using the same bluff of ‘massive retaliation’ that Eisenhower had got away with doing over the eight years of his presidency. However, Eisenhower never had Soviet missiles on his doorstep.

Over the following few days, there was a tense stand-off as Soviet freighters approached the quarantine line. Meanwhile, at the UN Security Council, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, confronted the Soviets over the issue of the missiles. After the Soviet ambassador’s denial, Stevenson displayed big photos from the U2 flights showing missile sites in Cuba. After a few tense days of serious incidents (any of which could have led to war), and communications between Khrushchev and Kennedy, the Soviet leader finally agreed to dismantle the missiles and remove them from Cuba. In return, Kennedy had agreed (in a secret deal) to remove US Jupiter missiles from Turkey and Italy six months later.

Consequences

It is clear that Kennedy appeared to have won the confrontation. However, he did not rub it in or gloat about it, and he ordered his Executive against any displays of triumphalism. In his 2013 book, *To Move the World: JFK’s Quest for Peace*, Jeffrey Sachs praised both leaders:

Kennedy could see things from the Soviet perspective, and was prepared to act symmetrically. Khrushchev had indeed blinked, but Kennedy had demonstrated the constructive flexibility that would further the working relationship between the two leaders.

SOURCE 10.68 Jeffrey Sachs, *To Move the World: JFK’s Quest for Peace*, 2013, p. 34

Both leaders were changed by the events of October 1962. According to Sachs:

Both leaders were changed and sobered by events. Both realized how the world was on a hair trigger, how misunderstanding could lead to utter disaster, and how fragile their positions had been during the crisis. For those 13 days, local commanders on both sides could easily have sparked a global war by disobeying or misunderstanding orders from above, or by acting on the prerogatives that they were granted as a result of the heightened military alert status. And despite all efforts by both sides to avoid calamitous accidents, such calamities nevertheless nearly occurred multiple times. 🗝️

SOURCE 10.69 Jeffrey Sachs, *To Move the World: JFK's Quest for Peace*, 2013, p. 36



SOURCE 10.70 President Kennedy's speech at the American University on 10 June 1963 marked a turning point in the Cold War.

back-channel unofficial methods of communication between political rivals, especially those used by the US and USSR during the Cold War

back from the abyss, 'saved the world and left a legacy, a blueprint, and an inspiration for those who would follow,' and 'found a path back from the brink and towards the peaceful resolution of the Cold War.' They were 'determined to expand the peaceful resolution of the crisis into longer-lasting diplomatic results.'

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy pursued a peace campaign, which reached its climax on 10 June 1963. President Kennedy's speech at the American University in

Washington DC, titled 'Strategy of Peace,' gave an accurate analysis of the situation the world now faced in the Cold War:

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

🗝️ Find online a timeline of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

- 1 Identify events on the timeline that you think could have caused the crisis to spiral out of control.
- 2 Research five of these instances. How did the response by personnel involved prevent events spiralling out of control? To what extent was luck a factor, if at all?

Kennedy and Khrushchev realised that they had something in common. They both had the shared ability to destroy the world and a responsibility to prevent this from happening. They established a strong rapport and exchanged up to 100 letters via a **back-channel**. Both realised that they had resisted the pressure from hardliners (who urged the use of military force) in each of their countries. Kennedy's distrust of the military was much stronger after the Crisis and it strengthened his confidence in his own approach to foreign policy. Furthermore, both leaders recognised that they both had a genuine desire to avoid war.

According to Sachs, this was a 'great turning-point the Cold War' in which both leaders turned

Today, should total war ever break out again – no matter how – our two countries would become the primary targets. It is an ironic but accurate fact that the two strongest powers are the two in the most danger of devastation. All we have built, all we have worked for, would be destroyed in the first 24 hours. We are both devoting massive sums of money to weapons that could be better devoted to combating ignorance, poverty, and disease. We are both caught up in a vicious and dangerous cycle in which suspicion on one side breeds suspicion on the other, and new weapons beget counter-weapons.

SOURCE 10.71 President Kennedy, 'Strategy of Peace,' American University, 10 June 1963

Khrushchev commented that Kennedy's American University speech was 'the greatest speech by an American President since Roosevelt'. Ten days after this speech, a hotline was set up for direct communication between the Kremlin and the White House. Furthermore, just over a month later on 25 July, the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom agreed to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which banned testing in the atmosphere, underwater or in outer space. The treaty was formally signed on 5 August 1963. The great tragedy, however, was that Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963 and Khrushchev was removed from power in 1964.

Czechoslovakia, 1968

Alexander Dubcek, the leader of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, attempted extensive economic and social reforms. He aimed to implement 'Communism with the Human Face' characterised by civil liberties and free elections. Many people took to the streets demanding these reforms: the 'Prague Spring' led to a heightened sense of optimism. Meanwhile, the Soviet leadership was concerned that if the reforms went too far, other Eastern European states might follow, and this could lead to a collapse of the Eastern bloc. After much debate, the Soviets decided to intervene.

On 20 August 1968, Warsaw Pact forces entered Czechoslovakia – catching the people by surprise and shocking the Western world. They swiftly took control of Prague and other cities, taking control of communications and transport links. Despite widespread protests, the invasion was swift and successful. Dubcek was forced from power and an authoritarian leadership was re-established with harsh censorship and restrictions on freedom of movement.



SOURCE 10.72 (Left) On 20 August 1968, the Red Army and the troops of four Warsaw Pact countries (Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany) invaded Czechoslovakia and progressively put an end to the popular demonstrations of the Prague Spring. (Middle) Soviet troops march through Prague. (Right) Protesters try to prevent Soviet troops from getting to the Radio Station.

Brezhnev Doctrine the belief that the Soviet Union had the right to use military force in neighbouring countries in order to maintain communist rule

détente an improvement in the relationship between two countries that in the past were not friendly and did not trust each other

Though the invasion was condemned by the United States and the Western world, no action was taken because it was considered to be within the Soviet Union's sphere of interest. It did temporarily derail progress towards **détente**. Brezhnev expected this would be the case – but for him, it was a much greater priority to keep Soviet control in the Eastern bloc. The Soviet Union justified their action in Czechoslovakia with the **Brezhnev Doctrine**, which was the stated belief that the

Soviet Union had the right to intervene in the Communist bloc countries in Eastern Europe to maintain communist rule. Though deploring the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the United States did not challenge it. The United States was not concerned about the Brezhnev Doctrine, because it was only about defending existing Soviet-controlled territory, not expanding it.



SOURCE 10.73 General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, 1968

10.3 Détente

Economic and political reasons for détente



SOURCE 10.74 Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev (left) with US President Gerald Ford (right) in Helsinki, 1975

ANALYSING SOURCES 10.2

Brezhnev and Ford

Search online for the following article: Jan Lodal, 'Brezhnev's Secret Pledge to "Do Everything We Can" to Re-elect Gerald Ford,' *The Atlantic*, 26 July 2017.

- 1 What does this historian claim?
- 2 Who else knew about this source?
- 3 Why did this historian think that this was of relevance today?
- 4 What does this incident in Helsinki in 1975 reveal about détente at this time?

For nearly a quarter of a century, the Soviet and American peoples had become used to Cold War tensions. At the leadership level, an easing of tensions started to occur after the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, US involvement ratcheted up tensions again. Yet, near end of the 1960s, tensions eased significantly due to several factors:

- The arms race was getting very expensive, and there were now new members of the ‘nuclear club’ – Britain, France and China – which the two superpowers weren’t too happy about.
- The Sino-Soviet split made improved relations with the United States an attractive proposition.
- The United States was having a difficult time bringing the Vietnam War to a close; closer relations with the Soviet Union might help them in Vietnam.
- The Soviet Union needed to increase its international trade to keep up with the rest of the world.

The first significant achievement of détente was the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was signed in 1968 and came into force in 1970. Through this treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union aimed to limit the number of countries that had nuclear weapons to the existing five – the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) cut ICBMs, and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) banned defensive missiles. A second SALT treaty was negotiated, but not ratified. The Helsinki Final Act was negotiated in 1975, which recognised existing political borders, created opportunities for cultural exchange and trade and (most important of all) promoted human rights. However, the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan put an end to cooperation and the two superpowers entered a new and more dangerous time in the Cold War. 🔑



SOURCE 10.75 A map showing the division of Vietnam into North and South, which occurred at the 1956 Geneva Conference. The communist regime in the North used the Ho Chi Minh Trail to bring men and supplies into the South to fight the American-backed regime.

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research



Research the 1975 Helsinki Conference.

- 1 Who was involved in the conference?
- 2 What was discussed?
- 3 What was the legacy of the conference, particularly in regard to human rights?

Vietnam

It was rigid Cold War thinking, US domestic politics, American arrogance and poor leadership that got the United States deeply mired in the Vietnam War from 1965 to 1975. Containment and the Domino Theory directed US strategic thinking in the 1950s and into the 1960s. Eisenhower sought to prevent the spread of communism into Asia beyond North Vietnam, but he did so largely by covert means, relying heavily on the CIA. President Kennedy was wary of military intervention anywhere, and was always up against the military who wanted to commit forces to a host of trouble spots. Kennedy was still weighing his options on the matter of further US intervention in Vietnam (or indeed whether to leave Vietnam altogether) when he was assassinated on 22 November 1963. His successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ) had no doubt about intervention. Driven by both a genuine belief about stopping communist expansion and the need to be seen as being tough on communism to win the 1964 elections, LBJ increased the pressure on

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research



Research the anti-Vietnam War peace movement.

To what extent was the peace movement responsible for President Johnson deciding not to contest the 1968 election?

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical interpretation



To what extent was domestic politics a factor in President Johnson's decision for military intervention in Vietnam?

North Vietnam. The questionable 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident led to Johnson getting the 'Gulf of Tonkin Resolution' through Congress. This gave him the go-ahead to use whatever force was necessary in Vietnam.

From 1965, the United States got more deeply involved in Vietnam. American arrogance fed a belief that American military might and overwhelming superiority would ensure victory in Vietnam and thus secure a viable non-communist and democratic South Vietnam. The nuclear taboo may have prevented successive presidents from making use of US nuclear weapons, but there was no taboo when it came to conventional weapons. Therefore, over the decade of the Vietnam War, the US military threw everything they had into the conflict. They even reverted to using napalm, something they hadn't done since the bombing of Japan in 1945. However, this use of massive force was seen as morally repugnant by many people around the world, and led to a massive anti-war peace movement that made itself felt on the Johnson Administration.

By 1968, US forces in Vietnam had increased to 600 000 troops. Over the following years, the US military were blinded by a lack of objective strategic information about the war. Many commentators believed that the 1968 communist Tet Offensive demonstrated that the United States had failed to win hearts and minds in Vietnam. With self-doubt gripping the Johnson Administration in the lead-up to the 1968 presidential elections, President Johnson (who was worn down by the Vietnam conflict) announced that he would not contest the 1968 elections. At the same time, he offered to negotiate peace with North Vietnam.

In 1968, presidential candidate Richard Nixon promised to a war-weary American public that he would end the war in Vietnam, but that it would be a

'peace with honor'. Once he was elected president, however, the Vietnam War continued. Nixon did eventually start bringing some American troops home as he implemented a 'Vietnamization' policy which turned more of the fighting over to the South Vietnamese. However, to compensate for fewer troops, Nixon increased the use of firepower, which mainly meant massive bombing. Nixon expanded the war into Cambodia in 1970 with a land invasion and then continued massive secret B-52 bombing raids of Laos and Cambodia. By 1972, Nixon knew that in the long-run that South Vietnam would not survive without being propped up by the United States. However, he wanted to make South Vietnam strong enough that the United States could leave South Vietnam without the country immediately collapsing, so that America wouldn't lose face.



SOURCE 10.76 US B-52 bombers attacking positions of the Vietcong west of Hue (South Vietnam), October 1965.

Nixon conducted peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese, but he was frustrated with their unwillingness to compromise. Therefore, he ordered a massive attack on North Vietnam in the 'Christmas bombings' of December 1972. Over 20 000 tons of bombs were dropped on North Vietnam over a two-week period. On 29 December, the North Vietnamese resumed the Paris Peace Talks. On 27 January 1973, the Paris Peace Accords were signed and US troops were withdrawn from Vietnam. In March 1975, almost three years after US troops had left, the North Vietnamese resumed war. In April 1975, the North



SOURCE 10.77 President Lyndon B Johnson appeals to the Communist Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh for peace in Vietnam, and announces he will not seek re-election in a televised speech, 31 March 1968

Vietnamese Army entered Saigon and the South Vietnamese regime came to an end – as did the war. President Nixon had got what he wanted, an exit from Vietnam that saved face for America. However, it was achieved at a cost (since 1969) of 22 000 American lives, plus a massive cost in Vietnamese lives.

After over a decade of intervention in Indochina, the United States had failed to contain communism. The dominos fell – South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, but no further! However, by this time it didn't seem to matter anymore. Détente and the geopolitical landscape were changing the old certainties. 🗝️

The Sino-Soviet split

By the late 1950s, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union became tense. Mao had never got along with Stalin and treated him coolly. However, he did respect him. When Stalin died, Mao felt that he was not really respected by the new leadership. When Khrushchev denounced Stalin in 1956, Mao was privately furious.



SOURCE 10.78 During the 1968 Election campaign, Richard Nixon flashed a V-sign at the National Convention.

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability/forming opinions



Locate the following article online: Peter Baker, 'Nixon Tried to Spoil Johnson's Vietnam Peace Talks in '68, Notes Show,' *New York Times*, 2 January 2017.

- 1 What evidence does historian John Farrell give for his claim that Nixon tried to undermine the Paris Peace Talks?
- 2 Who are the other historians mentioned in the article and how do they line up regarding Farrell's claims?



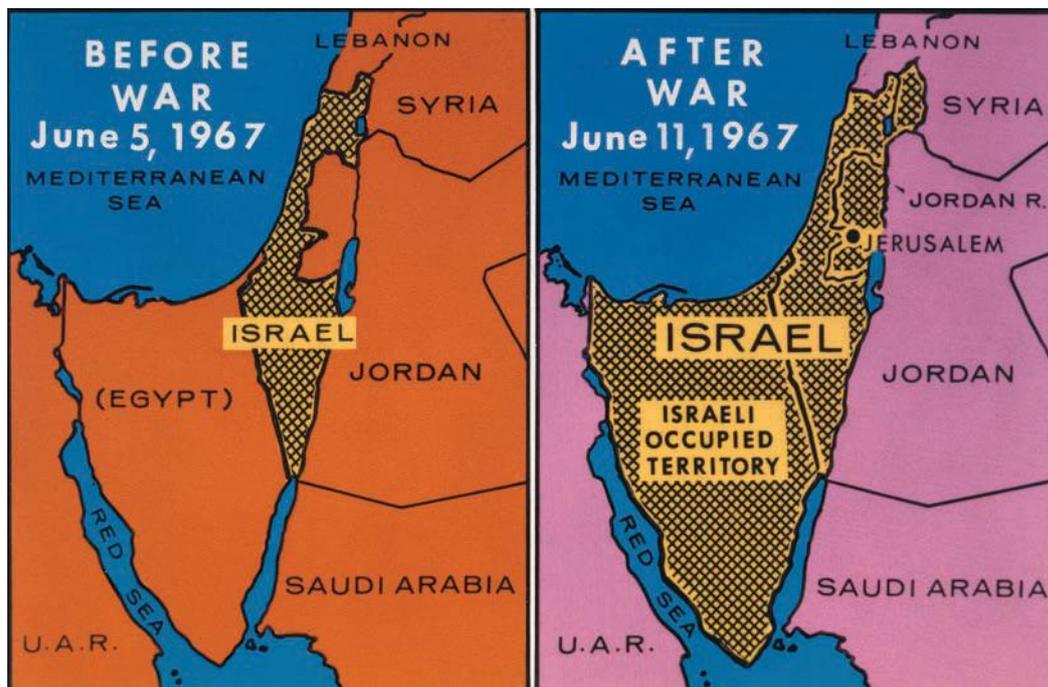
SOURCE 10.79 Mao Zedong welcomes President Nixon to his house in Beijing, February 1972

Mao was also annoyed that the Soviets had not honoured their promises to give aid assistance. When Khrushchev visited China on his way back from his 1959 tour of the United States, Mao was infuriated because Khrushchev had been so accommodating to US demands but couldn't accommodate China's demands (such as providing assistance in building an atomic bomb). The split became public in June 1960, and it escalated when Mao criticised Khrushchev for showing weakness in the Cuban Missile Crisis. By 1965, the Sino-Soviet split reached the point of no return, as Mao severed all contact with the Soviet Union during the Cultural Revolution.

From 1969, China saw the Soviet Union as a major threat, particularly after a two-week border war in March 1969. This brought them to the brink of all-out war. The Chinese built an underground network of tunnels and bunkers in Beijing in case there was a nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. By 1970, Mao was open to approaches being made by the Americans for a dialogue. In July 1971, Foreign Minister Henry Kissinger made a secret visit to China and arranged for a visit by President Nixon. In February 1972, Nixon made an historic trip to China. This was of enormous geopolitical significance and it made Nixon confident to keep pursuing his policy of triangulation. Triangulation was based on the fact that the Communist world was led by two rival powers, the Soviet Union and China, and due to the history of animosity, the United States could play one communist power against the other to win advantages. Nixon was now simultaneously pursuing improved relations with two communist rivals.

The Middle East

Not being part of either superpower's sphere of influence, the Middle East became a prime location for superpower rivalry, including deadly proxy wars. The 1956 Suez Crisis marked the introduction of the Cold War into the Middle East. It also resulted in the exit of the two colonial powers – Britain and France – and thus created a power vacuum which the superpowers sought to fill. Initially, the more Western-oriented states, Lebanon and Jordan, supported the United States, while the more revolutionary states (such as Egypt and Syria) and Palestinian groups supported the Soviet Union. Israel joined the Western camp in 1962 and received its first US aid. After the 1967 Six-Day War, the relationship between the United States and Israel deepened.



SOURCE 10.80 The Middle East before and after the 1967 Six-Day War

The Six-Day War, 1967

The Six-Day War may have been short, but the impact felt in the Middle East lasts to this day. Soviet sales of arms to its Arab allies prompted President Johnson to sell tanks and fighter jets to Israel in 1965 and 1966. In May 1967, false Soviet intelligence reported that Israeli forces were massing on Syria's border. This led Egypt's President Nasser to request that UN peacekeeping troops be withdrawn from the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip (where they had been since 1957). Fearing that Israel would soon be attacked by its Arab neighbours, Israel launched a pre-emptive attack on 5 June. It defeated the forces of Egypt, Jordan and Syria in six days. Israel was left in control of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan river, Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. The United States pressured Israel to agree to a ceasefire, as they didn't want to alienate the pro-US Arab nations.

There was admiration at first for the stunning Israeli victory, and the United States became even more committed to Israel, while the Soviet Union armed its Arab allies (particularly Egypt and Syria) with more weapons. The UN Security Council passed Resolution 242, which called for the occupied territories to be returned in exchange for Israel's right to live in peace. 🗝️

The Yom Kippur War, 1973

The Yom Kippur War started on Saturday 6 October 1973, on Yom Kippur (a Jewish holy day). On this day, Egyptian and Syrian forces launched a surprise attack on the Golan Heights, catching Israeli forces off guard. The Syrians sent a force of 1400 tanks against an Israeli force of 150 tanks. In the Sinai, 500 Israeli soldiers faced a force of 80 000 Egyptians. Other Arab nations also sent forces against Israel. The Israeli forces were initially overwhelmed, but on 8 October, the Israelis launched a surprise attack on the Sinai using their reserves. They smashed through



SOURCE 10.81 Israeli tanks advance toward Egyptian positions in the Sinai during the Six-Day War, 4 June 1967

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research



Locate the following article online: 'History of Nuclear Weapons – Israel', *Federation of American Scientists*.

- 1 How did Israel acquire nuclear weapons?
- 2 Which nations assisted Israel?
- 3 How did the US government react, particularly as the Johnson Administration was promoting the Nuclear Non-Proliferations Treaty?



SOURCE 10.82 The Israel Defence Minister, Moshe Dayan, in Syria, 11 October 1973

the Egyptian lines and advanced through the Sinai Peninsula, getting to within 100 kilometres of the Egyptian capital, Cairo. The Israeli counter-attack in the Golan Heights also had spectacular success, advancing to within 56 kilometres of the Syrian capital, Damascus.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union threatened to become militarily involved and put airborne divisions on high alert. In response, on 25 October, the United States put their entire military forces on a DEFCON 3 alert, bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war. Both nation mobilised air and naval forces. Eventually,

the Soviets backed down from taking military action and were convinced by the United States to use the UN Security Council to resolve the problem. The Yom Kippur War was seen as so important to the superpowers that they were willing to risk nuclear war over it. This was the closest the two superpowers had been to nuclear confrontation since the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. The Yom Kippur War ended in an Israeli victory – but it could have ended in disaster for the world.

In the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War, Soviet influence declined in the Middle East. This was due to the failure of the Soviet Union to assist its allies in defeating the Israelis in the 1967 and the 1973 wars. The Arab countries rejected Soviet communism, and as the Soviet Union could not help them in their disputes with Israel, they lost interest in maintaining Soviet ties. Significantly, the 1978 Camp David Peace Agreement between Israel and Egypt had no Soviet involvement. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

 Locate the following articles online: Warner Farr, 'The third temple's holy of holies: Israel's nuclear weapons', *The Counter-proliferation Papers*, September 1999; Avner Cohen, 'The Last Nuclear Moment,' *New York Times*, 6 October 2003.

- 1 Who proposed that Israel use its own nuclear weapons in the Yom Kippur War? How did the Israeli Prime Minister react?
- 2 Why was this option considered?
- 3 How would the weapons have been used?
- 4 According to the *New York Times* article, what US action gave the Israelis an alternative?

Camp David Peace Agreement, 1979



SOURCE 10.83 (Left) Camp David, 6 September 1978. Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin (right) chats informally with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (left) and US President Jimmy Carter during their peace talks at the presidential retreat of Camp David in Maryland. (Right) US President Jimmy Carter (centre) congratulates Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat (left) and Israeli Premier Menachem Begin (right) in three-way handshake on 26 March 1979, on the north lawn of the White House, Washington DC, after signing the historic US-sponsored peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

In March 1979, Israel and Egypt sealed a historic agreement promising peace and security to people in the Middle East. This became known as the Camp David Accords. This was negotiated at President Carter's Camp David retreat in September 1978. It was a stunning foreign policy achievement by President Carter, achieved through his wise management of the two-week negotiations. In March 1979, to have the leaders of

two implacable enemies, Israel and Egypt, embrace each other and shake hands and make such an historic agreement was amazing. In terms of the Cold War, Egypt scrapped its alliance with the Soviet Union and became a US ally. From this point, Soviet influence in the Middle East was seriously weakened.

10.4 Renewal and end of the Cold War



SOURCE 10.84 (Left) At the high point of détente, President Richard Nixon and Russian leader Leonid Brezhnev sign a treaty on 26 May 1972 in the Kremlin. Brezhnev and Nixon signed the SALT treaty, freezing certain US and Soviet weapons systems. (Right) Ronald Reagan became president with a confrontational approach to the Soviet Union, though things had deteriorated for his predecessor, President Carter, from 1979.

Détente had certainly been more fruitful than the earlier periods of peaceful cooperation, but nuclear conflagration had almost occurred with the Cuba Missile Crisis and the Yom Kippur War. However, at least during these periods, the leadership of both superpowers kept talking to each other. This was not the case in the early 1980s. Many historians view this as the most dangerous period during the Cold War. 1983 contained two incidents that could have ended life as we know it. Yet, at time, the public were totally unaware of what transpired. Only the political leadership were fully aware of one of those events.

The event that ended détente was the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Though the Soviets saw this as a defensive action, the rest of the world didn't. President Carter was enraged. However, when Reagan became president in 1981, he promised to be much tougher and pursued 'peace through strength'. By the end of the 1980s, the Cold War had miraculously ended. This is something the none of the experts of commentators had predicted. Both President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev had a role to play in writing the final chapter of the Cold War.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

In December 1979, the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan to prop up a pro-Soviet government. Like the Americans, the Soviets had been shaken by the Islamic Revolution in Iran and they feared that if the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan fell to Islamic insurgents then this could cause instability



SOURCE 10.85 1979. Three armed Soviet Army soldiers serving in Afghanistan.



SOURCE 10.86 December 1988. Osama Bin Laden interviewed in Afghanistan. Osama Bin Laden and his Islamic militant group fought in the war against the Soviets and it is speculated that they were given CIA funding. In August 1988 Bin Laden held a meeting in Pakistan and formed Al-Qaeda.

in the Muslim populated soviet Republic in Central Asia. In Soviet eyes this was defensive action but the rest of the world saw this as a blatant act of aggression and feared that the Soviets might engage in further adventurism and threaten oil supplies in the Middle East.

The USA and the western world condemned this as an invasion. This was the only time in the Cold War that the Soviet Union had invaded a country outside the Eastern bloc, and outside their traditional sphere of influence. President Jimmy Carter was outraged. Carter was decisive and took the following action:

- Sent a sharply worded letter to Brezhnev denouncing the invasion
- In his State of the Union Address he pledged to protect the oil supplies in the Middle East from Soviet invasion
- Imposed economic sanctions on the USSR
- Boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics
- Gave military aid to Afghan rebels

Only after ten years of bloody warfare did the Soviets finally withdraw by February 1989, while Gorbachev was General Secretary.

President Carter's foreign policy

In the second half of the 1970s, détente started to look shaky. In the 1976 US presidential election campaign, President Ford dropped any reference to détente mainly to blunt attacks in the Republican Party primaries from his right-wing challenger, Ronald Reagan. Though Jimmy Carter won the 1976 election and pursued détente until 1979, the Republican opposition had lurched to the right.

President Carter was a breath of fresh air for the American public, who were sick of the years of the Watergate scandal concerning President Nixon. Carter started with high hopes for his foreign policy and



SOURCE 10.87 President Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev shake hands after signing the SALT II treaty (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) in Vienna, 1979

was very cautious about deploying military force, while also being a 'flamethrower of soft power'. He placed a heavy emphasis on promoting human rights, believing that a nation's foreign policy should reflect its highest moral principles. This was a distinct break from the Nixon administration. Carter normalised relations with Communist China and achieved peace between Egypt and Israel. He also signed SALT II with Brezhnev, though the Soviet leader was annoyed with Carter's promotion of human rights (particularly as it involved of the track record of the Soviet Union in regard to human rights).

The relationship soon soured. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter went into Cold War warrior mode. Not only did he take action against the Soviets, but he gave serious consideration for developing new nuclear weapons (such as the neutron bomb), using the MX missile and deploying Pershing

missiles and cruise missiles to Europe. By the end of Carter's presidency, the United States had 24 000 nuclear weapons, while the Soviets had 32 000.

Carter's remaining time as president came to be dominated by another event in the Middle East: the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In November 1979, the US Embassy was attacked, and 52 US Embassy staff were taken hostage. They were held for 444 days. The Carter Administration engaged in protracted negotiations to get their release. This made the United States look impotent, according to historian Nancy Mitchell:



SOURCE 10.88 52 US Embassy staff were taken hostage in the American Embassy in Teheran, Iran, on 4 November 1979 by a group of Islamist students who supported the Iranian revolution

It led Carter, in his final year as president, to adopt the muscular rhetoric of the Cold War and put into motion an exploding defense budget. The policy, which Regan would embrace, appealed to the American. It made them feel strong again. The irony is that, in the Cold War during the Carter years, Americans were much stronger than they, or their president knew.

SOURCE 10.89 Nancy Mitchell, 'The Cold War and Jimmy Carter,' in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol 3, 2010, p. 88

The end of the 1970s

From the American perspective, the end of the 1970s was a bleak time. The United States had been wearied by the war in Vietnam which lasted until 1975. Even despite détente, there was still Cold War rivalry in Africa and other places. In 1979, the Soviets were in Afghanistan. From the American perspective, things were viewed with doom and gloom. However, although this was not appreciated at the time, the reality was actually the opposite. The United States may well have been competing against the Soviets in Angola, the Horn of Africa and other places, but these conflicts were at the periphery and of little geopolitical significance. The United States was in a much stronger position economically, while the Soviet Union economy had stagnated. They were falling behind the West, which was also experiencing the beginnings of an information revolution. The Soviet Union was in a much weaker position geopolitically, though with nuclear missiles they were intent on catching up and seeking parity with the United States. Brezhnev, though committed to détente, also believed that 'defence is sacrosanct'. Brezhnev was part of the World War II generation who saw Soviet forces crushed by the Nazi onslaught and were determined to never be in that position again. Also, Brezhnev all too easily gave into the demands of the military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union and granted the requests of the generals.

President Reagan hypes up the Cold War

The new US President, Ronald Reagan, immediately embarked on policies and rhetoric that had the effect of hyping up the Cold War. Détente was now dead. The United States, under Reagan, pursued an aggressive foreign policy based on a 'peace through strength' approach. Dubbed the 'great communicator', President Reagan was a very capable exponent of America's tough new stance towards its Soviet adversary. Reagan seemed to relish in the hard-line rhetoric that he employed, such as labelling the Soviet the 'evil empire'. Reagan objected to the moral equivalency implied in détente, and in his speeches insisted on the superiority of democracy, free enterprise, freedom of conscience and American values. On the other hand, he viewed the Soviets as godless, collectivist communists. This confrontational approach became known



SOURCE 10.90 The Inauguration of Ronald Reagan as President of the United States, 20 January 1981



SOURCE 10.91 President Reagan delivers his 'Evil Empire' speech at the Annual Convention of the National Evangelical Association, 8 March 1982

as the 'Reagan Doctrine'. He advocated to communist regimes, wherever they existed in this clash between good and evil, against the 'enemies of freedom'. According to Reagan, containment was now out. Instead, the West wouldn't contain communism but would transcend it (which was code for 'rollback').

The Reagan Administration pursued a number of hard-line initiatives to put pressure on the Soviet Union by:

- increasing defence spending substantially to pursue a 'peace through strength' strategy
- increasing the size of the navy
- supporting resistance fighters among the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan, and against communist forces in Angola and Nicaragua

- invading Grenada, to stop a leftist regime taking power
- planning to build and deploy a range of new nuclear weapons and delivery systems that included the B-1 Bomber, the Trident submarine and the MX missile
- proposing to implement the Strategic Defence Initiative, a plan for a space-based system to shoot down incoming missiles.

One of the most controversial proposals championed by Reagan was the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, or 'Star Wars'). This was a rather fanciful plan for a space-based system to shoot down incoming missiles. However, it concerned the Soviets greatly. Despite the fact that Reagan described SDI as a 'defensive policy', the Soviets believed that SDI had offensive implications. It would free the United States from worrying about a retaliatory strike, therefore allowing them to launch a first-strike against the Soviet Union. In February 1983, the Soviet leader Yuri Andropov attacked the SDI plans as 'not just irresponsible but insane'.

Reagan's hard-line policies had a galvanising effect on the Soviet Union. Of course, during the Carter years, the Soviets had themselves partly to blame by deploying a new generation of ICBMs with MIRVed warheads as well as introducing longer range SLBMs. Though Brezhnev had a personal revulsion of nuclear weapons, his fear of US aggression, and the pressure from the military-industrial complex in the Soviet Union, led to a military build-up. This looked very aggressive from the US standpoint, particularly when Soviet adventurism in the Third World was added to the mix. The Reagan Administration thought that its hard-line and aggressive 'peace through strength' approach would lead to the Soviets backing down. Instead, the ageing Soviet leadership became paranoid.

The Reagan 'get tough' approach led to what historians refer to as the 'Soviet war scare'. From 1981 to 1985, the Soviet leadership believed that the United States was intent on their destruction and that Reagan's harsh rhetoric signalled US intent for a first-strike nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. In fact, the Soviet KGB and the Stasi (East German security) conducted a global intelligence gathering operation called **Operation RYAN** as an early-warning system of an imminent first-strike **decapitation attack** by the United States. Two years after the beginning of the war scare, nuclear disaster threatened.

KAL-007, 1 September 1983

The hard-line US approach made it hard for reformers in the Soviet Union, who were advocating a more conciliatory policy, and boosted Soviet hardliners, who were arguing for a more antagonistic approach to the United States. By the second half of 1983, the relationship between the superpowers was the worst it had ever been. Then, on 1 September 1983, the Soviets shot down a Korean passenger airliner, KAL 007, killing all 269 passengers. Initially, the Soviets denied it happened. They then changed their story to say it was a military plane that they shot down. President Reagan called the 'Korean Airline massacre' a 'crime against humanity



SOURCE 10.92 Yuri Andropov was Chairman of the KGB from 1967 to 1982. From November 1982 until his death in February 1984, he was General Secretary of the Communist Party.

Operation RYAN a Soviet intelligence operation, initiated by Yuri Andropov in 1981, to collect information about US plans for a first-strike decapitation attack against the Soviet Union; the acronym means 'Nuclear Missiles Attack' in Russian

decapitation attack a surprise attack on an enemy, targeting their leadership and command and control system



SOURCE 10.93 A Japanese TV simulation of KAL Flight 007 being shot down by a Russian jet for spying; the plane had strayed into Soviet air space

that must never be forgotten' and an 'act of barbarism and inhuman brutality'. On 29 September 1983, General Secretary Andropov issued a bitter statement in *Pravda*: 'If anyone ever had any illusions about the possibility of an evolution to the better in the policy of the present American administration, these illusions are completely dispelled now.' After the KAL-007 incident, the Soviet Politburo gave up any ideas of cooperating with the Reagan Administration. Furthermore, Soviet paranoia about a US first-strike attack reached new levels. To make things worse, the Soviets ceased all communications with the United States.



SOURCE 10.94 Former Soviet Colonel Stanislav Petrov sits at home in Moscow in 2004. Petrov was in charge of Soviet nuclear early warning systems on the night of September 26, 1983, when a false 'missile attack' signal appeared to show a US nuclear launch and he decided not to retaliate. He is feted by nuclear activists as the man who 'saved the world' by determining that the Soviet system had been spoofed by a reflection off the earth.

superiors that they would launch a massive nuclear attack against the United States. So, Petrov reported that it was a false alarm, even though he had nothing to confirm that. They then had to wait 15 minutes to confirm whether he was right. If he was wrong that would be the end of all of them. As it turned out, it was a computer error. The satellites had picked up flashes of lights on the horizon that turned out not to be missile launches but the sun rising and sunlight reflecting off the horizon. The computer had interpreted these flashes of light as missiles being launched. Obviously, Petrov was well aware of Soviet military and civilian leadership paranoia about a US first-strike decapitation attack and this weighed heavily on his mind so he decided to call it a false alarm.

President Reagan never learned of this incident. The Serpukhov-15 incident remained buried in the archives. Petrov was reprimanded by his commanding officer for not following protocol. The incident was forgotten until 1998 when Petrov's commanding officer, Yury Votintsev, revealed details of the incident in his memoir. Journalists eventually tracked down Petrov and he was later flown to the United Nations in New York in 2006 to receive an award from The Association of World Citizens for being 'the man who saved the world.' In 2014 a documentary film was released on Petrov and this incident, called *The Man Who Saved the World*.

The Reagan reversal

From the end of 1983, there was a significant shift in Reagan's foreign policy. However, it was barely noticed at the time and historians have tended to gloss over it. The first event that led to change began when Reagan received intelligence that the shooting down of KAL-007 was not deliberate, but a miscalculation due to human error on the part of the Soviets. Reagan wondered what would have happened if the Soviets had a human (or computer) error with their nuclear weapons. From that point on, Reagan began to seriously contemplate the possibility that a human error could cause a launch of nuclear missiles.

The incident at Serpukhov-15, 26 September 1983

Only a few weeks after KAL-007, an incident occurred that illustrated the level of Soviet paranoia at the time. On 26 September 1983 Colonel Stanislav Petrov was on duty at Serpukhov-15, a Soviet top-secret early warning command centre, where computers analysed data from satellites to detect a pre-emptive nuclear first strike from the United States. In the early hours of the morning the alarm went off and red lights flashed warnings that US missiles were heading for the Soviet Union. The alarms went off several more times as it picked up new missiles. The atmosphere in the facility was tense. Everyone knew that if this was the real thing, the full-scale nuclear war that everyone had been dreading for decades would be a reality. Petrov's job was to report enemy missile launches to the Soviet command. Petrov knew that if he informed his

The Day After

The second event that had an impact on Reagan was the TV movie, *The Day After*. It was screened by the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and watched by 100 million Americans on the night of 20 November 1983. President Reagan was given an advance copy, and he watched it on the morning of 10 October 1983, while staying at Camp David. In his diary, Reagan admitted to feeling very depressed after watching the movie – and it was rare for him to reveal any emotions. Reagan was averse to reading books, but he could be powerfully affected by watching films. This film obviously had as he began to dwell on impact it had on him. He started to dwell more on the prospect aftermath of nuclear war.

The SIOP briefing

The third incident occurred two weeks later. Reagan received a full Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP) briefing. The SIOP was the US military's secret nuclear war plan. The briefing involved a role-play of presidential decision making in such a crisis. Reagan was shaken by this briefing and wrote in his diary: 'In several ways the sequence of events described in the briefings paralleled those in the ABC movie. Yet there were still some people at the pentagon who claimed a nuclear war was "winnable." I thought they were crazy.'

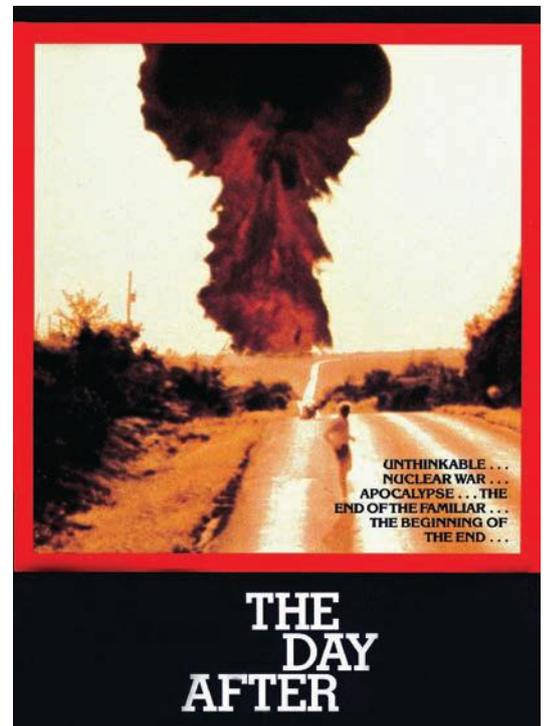
The Able Archer-83 NATO military exercises

The fourth event happened in November 1983. The Soviets had recently placed all their forces on high alert, fearing an imminent US first-strike. The October 1983 SIOP briefing had been in preparation for Reagan's role in the Able Archer-83 NATO military exercises that were to occur between 2 and 11 November. On 18 November 1983, after the exercises had been completed, Reagan received a secret briefing that the Soviet Union had placed their nuclear forces on high alert during the Able Archer military exercises. Reagan could barely believe it. Apparently, Soviet leader Andropov believed that the United States was really planning a first-strike on the Soviet Union. Andropov had learned from KGB spies that the Able Archer exercise was going to include a full-scale simulated release of nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union. The paranoid Soviet leadership believed that Able Archer was a cover for an actual nuclear attack on the Soviet Union, a first-strike. Therefore, the Soviets had placed their forces on high alert from 2 to 11 November 1983.

Reagan wrote in his diary on 18 November 1983:

I feel the Soviets are so defense minded, so paranoid about being attacked that without being in any way soft on them, we ought to tell them no one here has any intention of doing anything like that. What the hell have they got that anyone would want?

SOURCE 10.97 President Reagan's personal diary entry, 18 November 1983



SOURCE 10.95 A poster for the TV movie, *The Day After*



SOURCE 10.96 The TV miniseries, *Deutschland 83* is based around East German spies trying to get intelligence on NATO war plans, and its climax is the fear of nuclear war in the Able Archer exercise.

Reagan now thought that the United States needed to set up a back-channel with the Soviet leadership to inform them that they had no intention of launching a first-strike. In addition to these events, Reagan was also influenced by his wife, Nancy, to do something on nuclear disarmament. All of these things influenced Reagan's thinking and he became determined to do something about nuclear weapons.

The reversal, January 1984

On 16 January 1984, in his Address to the Nations and Other Countries on United States–Soviet Union Relations, President Reagan made three major points:

- 'Reducing the chances for dangerous misunderstandings and miscalculations'
- 'Eliminating the risk of nuclear war' and
- Working with the Soviet Union to fight the 'common enemies of poverty, disease, and above all, war'.

According to nuclear historian, Lawrence Wittner, this was a 'remarkable public address calling for peace with the Soviet Union and a nuclear-free world'. It was followed up on 25 January 1984 in the State of the Union address, where President Reagan again called for peace with the Soviet Union and for a nuclear-free world.

Tonight, I want to speak to the people of the Soviet Union, to tell them it's true that our governments have had serious differences, but our sons and daughters have never fought each other in war. And if we Americans have our way, they never will.

People of the Soviet Union, there is only one sane policy, for your country and mine, to preserve our civilisation in this modern age: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. The only value in our two nations possessing nuclear weapons is to make sure they will never be used. But then would it not be better to do away with them entirely?

SOURCE 10.98 President Reagan, 'Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union', 25 January 1984

These speeches appeared to have been a sincere gesture. From this point on, Reagan dropped his inflammatory rhetoric about the Soviet Union and continued raising the possibility of nuclear disarmament negotiations. In her 2000 book, *The Reagan Reversal*, Beth Fischer argued that Reagan started to pursue a more conciliatory policy with the Soviet leadership after these two speeches. Fischer claimed that this January 1984 reversal could be interpreted as being the 'beginning of the end of the Cold War'. However, at the time, the Soviets made no response. The Soviet leadership was no longer listening.

It would not be until 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became Soviet leader, that the Soviets responded to Reagan's attempts to reach out on the issue of nuclear disarmament. Beth Fischer pondered 'whether the progress that was made during the Reagan–Gorbachev years would have occurred in the absence of the previous reversal in US policy'.

The impact of the nuclear disarmament movement

Earlier in the Cold War the nuclear disarmament movement had an impact with the global campaign to end nuclear testing in the atmosphere. In 1963, they had a victory with the Partial Test Treaty. However, from the mid 1960s the focus of the peace movement turned to the Vietnam War. The nuclear disarmament movement shrank and détente took the urgency out of nuclear concerns, everywhere except in the Pacific where feelings over French nuclear testing ran high. This all began to gradually change between 1975 and 1978 as anti-nuclear groups began to revive. Activism escalated from 1979 with a number of developments: 

- The dramatic revival and growth in membership of the *Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament* (CND)
- The formation of *Physicians for Social Responsibility* (PSR) in the USA by Australian paediatrician Helen Caldicott. The PSR enrolled 10 000 medical professionals as members and Caldicott gave speeches all over the United States.



SOURCE 10.99 27 March 1978. Members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) end their two-day Easter march from Northolt with a rally in Trafalgar Square, London.

- In December 1980, three American and three Soviet scientists met in Geneva and formed the *International Physicians for the Prevention of War* (IPPNW).
- *Europeans for Nuclear Disarmament* (END) was formed on 28 April 1980 with an ‘Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament’ drafted by British historian EP Thompson.
- The establishment of the *Nuclear Freeze* movement in United States by Randall Forsberg in 1980, which held its first national conference for the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, at Georgetown University in March 1981. 🔑

The factors that led to sudden proliferation of nuclear disarmament movements by 1980 were the end of *détente*, the deterioration in superpower relations, and the emergence of new types of nuclear weapons. Once Reagan became President his aggressive rhetoric galvanised many people. There were now more weapons in existence than ever – more than 50 000, making the world a more dangerous place. In Europe, the US and many other countries around the world the nuclear disarmament movement experienced a massive boost. In Europe, a new movement emerged called ‘Europeans for Nuclear Disarmament,’ or simply, END. The counterpart in the United States was the ‘Nuclear Freeze’. There were a host of other anti-nuclear movements around the world, including Australia and the Pacific.

‘Nuclear Freeze’ was a movement that suddenly appeared at the end of 1981. It was centred on a simple proposition, put forward by Randall Forsberg, that the United States and Soviet Union should freeze production and deployment of any new nuclear weapons and reverse the arms race. Nuclear Freeze was

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

E.P. Thompson and European Nuclear Disarmament (END)



Search for the following article online.

Peter Baehr, E P Thompson and European Nuclear Disarmament (END): A Critical Perspective,’ *OJPCR: The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*, Issue 3.1, March 2000

- 1 What were the aims of END?
- 2 When was END founded?
- 3 Who were the founding members of END?
- 4 Outline E P Thompson’s theory on the Cold War.
- 5 What was the significance of END? (last section)

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research

IPPNW wins the Nobel Peace Prize

 Search for the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize address online.

- 1 What did the IPPNW receive the Nobel Peace Prize for?
- 2 Which two IPPNW leaders gave the speeches? Why do you think these two people were chosen? (research elsewhere)
- 3 What existing treaty did the IPPNW advocate amending? Has this happened since 1985? (research elsewhere)
- 4 How long had the IPPNW campaigned up to this point?
- 5 What had the membership grown to by 1985?
- 6 In your opinion, what is the most memorable section from the two speeches?

initially linked to local initiatives in a decentralised way but by the end of 1982 it had turned into a national campaign with 20 000 activists in 40 states. All American peace and disarmament movements eventually focused their efforts on the Freeze. Simultaneously, there were massive anti-nuclear movements hitting the headlines in Europe and many other countries around the world, including Australia.

On 12 June 1982, one million people turned out for a march in New York, in what was the largest political rally ever held in American history, under the banner 'Freeze the Arms Race – Fund Human Need.' Senator Ted Kennedy was one of the politicians who led the Freeze campaign in the Congress, sponsoring Freeze motions. The Freeze delivered petitions of 2.3 million people to the US and Soviet mission at the United Nations. By November 1983 the Freeze was endorsed by 370 city councils and 71 county councils. Over 60 per cent of voters supported the Freeze, and in opinion polls over 1983 the Freeze achieved an average of 72 per cent in support and 20 per cent in opposition. One reason for the massive support for the Nuclear Freeze movement were the hawkish policies and rhetoric of the new Republican President, Ronald Reagan. The Nuclear Freeze soon became a target to Reagan who struck out at the movement saying that it was 'a very dangerous fraud' that was weakening America. He accused the Freeze leaders of being communist sympathisers, and some he said were 'foreign agents'.

The opposition by, and persecution of, nuclear disarmament movements by governments around the world in the early 1980s further served to expand the massive grassroots anti-nuclear movement around the world, even in some Communist bloc countries. This was reflected in massive protests in Western European countries against the deployment of Pershing missiles and cruise missiles in Europe. As a result, governments were forced to alter their policies. Reagan's promotion of his 'Star Wars' program for instance, was an attempt to make it look like he was doing something to address the threat of nuclear weapons. In Europe, Reagan offered the 'zero option' which was a proposal to forestall the installation of any IRBMs in



SOURCE 10.100 Boston, 12 May 1985. Wearing the annual Helen Caldicott Leadership Award Medals, Academy award winner Sally Field, (left), and comedian Lily Tomlin, (right), were honoured for their fight to halt the arms race and pledged to use their celebrity status to promote disarmament. Helen Caldicott, (center), for whom the award was named, was an Australian doctor and founder of Physicians for Social Responsibility. 



SOURCE 10.101 Nuclear Disarmament Rally. Demonstrators march hand in hand toward Central Park under a large banner reading 'Freeze the Arms Race' during a massive Nuclear Disarmament Rally, where about one million people gathered to rally for a nuclear arms freeze, New York City, New York, 12 June 1982.

Europe if the Soviet Union got rid of all of theirs. This offer was made to dampen anti-nuclear protest, though they were sure the Soviets would reject it.

Globally, the nuclear disarmament movement raised public awareness of the existential threat of nuclear weapons to all life on the planet and it put politicians on notice that they had better ensure that their policies deal with this reality.

The Gorbachev revolution

Mikhail Gorbachev was a convert to the nuclear disarmament movement. Back in December 1984, Gorbachev had visited the United Kingdom as a member of the politburo. He gave a speech to British parliamentarians, in which he said that the most urgent problem facing the human race was the 'prevention of nuclear war'. He said the nuclear age needs 'new political thinking'.

With the death of the ailing Yuri Andropov in February 1984, the Soviet leadership was thrown into turmoil. As a former KGB leader, Andropov had been seen as hard-liner in the Party. However, oddly, he had argued against the Soviet Union invading



SOURCE 10.102 Peter Garrett from Midnight Oil stood in the 1984 elections in New South Wales as a candidate for the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP). In the 1980s the nuclear disarmament movement made its presence felt. There was a mushrooming of anti-nuclear organisations and protest marches were common. In 1982, 100000 people marched for nuclear disarmament, and this increased each year and reached 350000 in 1985.

Poland in 1980 after the emergence of the **Solidarity** movement. The other surprising thing he did was appoint reform-minded people to the Secretariat.

Solidarity an independent labour union in communist Poland, with over 9 million members, and the first ever in a Soviet-bloc country

On his death, Andropov was succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko, who was also afflicted with life-threatening health issues. Chernenko lasted 15 months; he died in

March 1985. Mikhail Gorbachev succeeded him and became General Secretary of the Communist Party on 11 March 1985.

As explained earlier, President Reagan reversed his hard-line rhetoric and started to reach out to the Soviet leadership from January 1984. The problem was, there was no one listening in the Kremlin. It would be 14 months before there was a response. That response came in March 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became leader of the Soviet Union. Once in power, Gorbachev's main aim was to end the Cold War and to develop economic reform. Economic reform of the Soviet Union would be helped by the ending the Cold War.



SOURCE 10.104 US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev meet at the historic 1986 Reagan–Gorbachev summit, 11 October 1986 in Reykjavik, Iceland

leaders connected in their common determination to abolish nuclear weapons and they discussed a range of other issues.

- **Washington DC, 8 December 1987.** The two leaders signed the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF). This involved cutting out the whole class of IRBMs based in Europe, 1752 Soviet ones and 859 American ones. Both leaders saw this as the first step to a bigger treaty cutting all ICBMs. Gorbachev had dropped his demand that Reagan abandoned SDI and decided to cut IRBMs regardless, in order to build trust. This agreement in effect was the beginning of a reversal of the nuclear arms race.



SOURCE 10.103 The CPSU Secretary-General Mikhail Gorbachev meeting American cardiologist Dr Bernard Lown at the 7th Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), Moscow, 1987. The IPPNW won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985 for its efforts towards nuclear disarmament.

The Reagan–Gorbachev Summits

A series of summits, which were attended by the United States and the Soviet Union, occurred between 1985 and 1991.

- **Geneva, 19 November 1985.** This was the first meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev and the first between an American and Soviet leader in eight years. Nothing of substance was achieved, but they established warm personal relations.
- **Reykjavik, Iceland, 11 October 1986.** Gorbachev offered a plan to abolish all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. However, Reagan's SDI program became the sticking point. Gorbachev would not make an agreement unless Reagan abandoned SDI. Despite not making any significant agreement, this meeting signalled the beginning of the thaw in the Cold War. The two

- **Moscow, 31 May 1988.** This summit was more one of style than substance. Reagan tried to push human rights issues, which Gorbachev did not appreciate. No arms agreements were made. However, Reagan charmed the Soviet public, especially with his reply to a reporter. When asked if he thought that the Soviet Union was still the ‘evil empire’, Reagan said, ‘No, I was talking about another time, another era’.
- **Malta, 3 December 1989.** George H Bush won the US presidential election in November 1988. President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev had their first meeting in Malta. Both issued a statement saying that Cold War animosities might be coming to an end. Gorbachev was keen to get rid of all the last vestiges of the Cold War including the arms race, alliances, the ideological struggle and the mistrust. Bush was more cautious and non-committal. However, both agreed to work on another treaty to cut ICBMs.
- **Washington, 30 May 1990.** Mikhail Gorbachev and George H Bush discussed the position of Germany. Leaders in East and West Germany planned to unify Germany. The United States supported unification and Germany’s admission to NATO. Gorbachev opposed these developments, as Russia feared that a pro-Western Germany would be a security threat in the future. The summit ended with no resolution.
- **Moscow, 31 July 1991.** The United States and the Soviet Union agreed to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). This treaty committed the two nations to reduce each side’s nuclear weapons by 35 per cent over seven years. George H Bush described the START Treaty ‘a significant step forward in dispelling half a century of mistrust’. Mikhail Gorbachev said this promised to be the start of ‘an irreversible process’ of arms reduction, but he said that there was ‘still a lot to do’.



SOURCE 10.105 Bush and Gorbachev posing in New York Harbour, 7 December 1988. This photo shows how far the former Cold War adversaries had come.

ANALYSING SOURCES 10.3

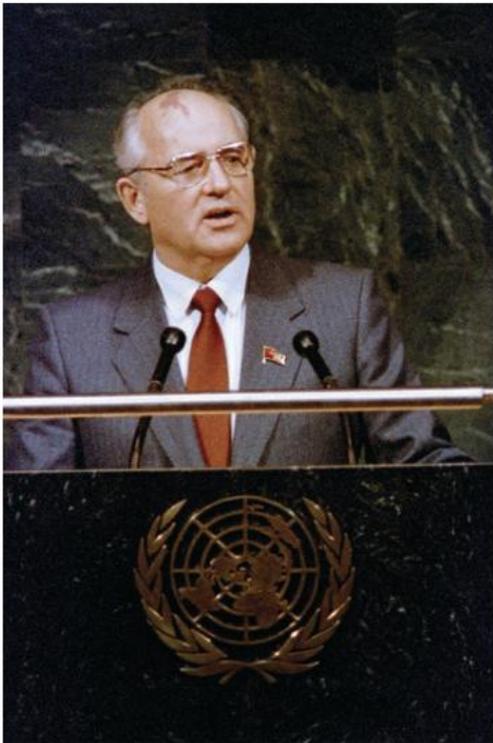
The START Treaty

Search online for the following article: ‘Summit in Moscow; Bush and Gorbachev sign pact to curtail nuclear arsenals; Join in call for Mideast Talks’, *New York Times*, 1 August 1991.

- 1 Summarise what Gorbachev said about the START Treaty.
- 2 Outline what START was intended to achieve.
- 3 How did both men reply when asked why they had not agreed to scrap all nuclear weapons? Account for any differences in views that are apparent in their responses.
- 4 Identify what actual cuts to the arsenals will be made by the START Treaty.
- 5 Will the START Treaty be sufficient to remove the threat of nuclear weapons to all life on the planet?

Gorbachev’s address to the United Nations, 7 December 1988

On 7 December 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev addressed the UN General Assembly. This speech marked the ideological end to the Cold War. In his speech, Gorbachev declared ‘the de-ideologization of interstate relations has become a demand of the new stage’. He made a number of points regarding the Soviet Union’s participation with the United Nations, as well announcing a unilateral reduction in Soviet armed forces, the



SOURCE 10.106 Mikhail Gorbachev addresses the UN General Assembly in New York, 7 December 1988

KEY QUESTIONS

Significance

- Locate the following article online: Lawrence Wittner, 'How Disarmament Activists Saved the World from Nuclear War,' *Peace Magazine*, Oct–Dec 2013.
- 1 Why does Wittner assert that Gorbachev was a 'true believer' and a 'convert' to the nuclear disarmament movement?
- 2 How was Gorbachev influenced by the nuclear disarmament movement?
- 3 How did Gorbachev call the United States 's bluff on the zero option'?
- 4 What significant treaty did Gorbachev sign with Reagan?

withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern European countries, and a commitment to significant reductions in strategic nuclear weapons. He wanted the world to learn 'the lessons of the past and the realities of the present' and particularly 'that force and the threat of force can no longer be, and should not be instruments of foreign policy'.

Disarmament agreements, 1968–1991

There were a number of nuclear weapons treaties negotiated during the Cold War. These treaties can be divided into two categories – bilateral and multilateral. Bilateral treaties are treaties between two nations. Quite a few of the treaties were just between the United States and the Soviet Union, and were brought about through diplomacy and negotiations between the superpowers. For this reason, these bilateral treaties have a self-serving nature, with the superpowers deciding on the terms without input from any other nations, even though nuclear weapons constituted a threat to everyone on the planet. The bilateral treaties were also largely ineffective in slowing down the arms race. For instance, after SALT I, both the United States and the Soviet Union kept increasing the size of their nuclear arsenals. Most of these treaties only modified the nuclear arms race to suit the two superpowers. Only the INF and START I reversed the arms race, quite significantly in numbers, but nowhere near enough to remove the threat of nuclear weapons for the world.

Removing the threat of nuclear weapons should have been an outcome of the end of the Cold War. Gorbachev wanted it, but neither Reagan nor George H Bush would go that far. This explains why today nuclear weapons remain as great a threat as ever.

Bilateral treaties	
Date	Treaty
1 July 1968	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)
26 May 1972	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)
3 July 1974	Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT)
18 June 1979	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks II (SALT II)
8 December 1987	Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)
31 July 1991	Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty I (START I)

Multilateral treaties are treaties signed between a number of nations. These can be divided into those that were initiated by the Nuclear Weapons States and to a large degree served their interest, and those that had a broad-based origin and were designed with the interests of large numbers of nations in mind. The most significant multilateral treaty was the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968, which entered into force in 1970. Its main aim was to prevent the spread, or proliferation, of nuclear weapons to more countries. If it were not for this treaty, there may be up to 40 nations with nuclear weapons today, instead of just nine. It was designed to serve the interests of the five Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) at that time – the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China. It was essentially a bargain between the five NWS and the Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS), which were all the other countries in the world. The bargain was that if the NNWS promised not to develop their own nuclear weapons, the NWS would embark on a path to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. This was spelled out in Article VI of the NPT:

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

SOURCE 10.107 Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968

Unfortunately, the NWS ignore this part of the NPT, and focused only on the prohibition against any NNWS seeking their own nuclear weapons. Also, once it was signed in 1968, the NWS kept expanding their nuclear arsenals. The NPT still exists today, and the NWS use it to deny others from getting nuclear weapons while refusing to get rid of their own. 

KEY QUESTIONS

Historical investigation and research



Locate the Arms Control Association website.

- 1 What weapons of mass destruction were outlawed before the end of the Cold War?
- 2 What was the legal status of nuclear weapons by the end of the Cold War?
- 3 What significant multilateral nuclear weapons treaties have been signed since the end of the Cold War? What is their status?
- 4 To what extent, if any, have nuclear weapons treaties made the world safer since the end of the Cold War?

Multilateral treaties	
Date	Treaty
1 July 1968	Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT)
14 February 1967	Latin America Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Tlatelolco)
11 February 1971	Seabed Arms Control Treaty
10 April 1972	Biological Weapons Convention (BWC)
6 August 1985	South Pacific Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Rarotonga)

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe

Mikhail Gorbachev gave the green light to the revolutions in Eastern Europe that led to the collapse of communism there, while he aimed to stand firm on the Soviet Union and keep it united with a reformed political and economic system. He succeeded in the first and failed in the second.

Gorbachev never wavered from his belief that the countries of the Eastern bloc should be allowed to determine their own form of government and their own destiny, even if this meant the collapse of communism in those countries. As far as the Soviet Union was concerned, Gorbachev wanted major economic political and economic reforms. He was aiming for a form of social democracy similar to what existed in Europe,



SOURCE 10.108 East Germans entering West Germany after the opening of the Berlin Wall, 10 November 1989

and he certainly did not want to see the Soviet Union dismantled.

From 1985, Gorbachev made it clear to the leaders of the Eastern bloc countries that the Brezhnev Doctrine was dead; that is, there would be no further military interventions into their countries (as had happened with Hungary and Czechoslovakia). However, he was not believed by the Eastern European leaders at the time. Only gradually did these countries discover the scope of Soviet tolerance. On 7 July 1987, Gorbachev gave a speech at the Council of Europe and again explicitly repudiated the Brezhnev Doctrine. Gradually, revolutions occurred in each country:

- **Poland, June 1989.** Solidarity won the elections, taking all the seats in parliament. A Solidarity government was formed.
- **East Germany, November 1989.** On 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall is first opened, then taken down. The first signs of the East German Government crumbling accelerated developments in the rest of the Eastern bloc. In March 1990, there were free elections in both Germanys. Germany was then reunified, which made it an automatic member of NATO (since West Germany had been a member).
- **Czechoslovakia, 24 November 1989.** The Communist Party stood down after massive demonstrations.
- **Hungary, 25 March 1990.** After mass demonstrations, free elections in Hungary brought the democratic opposition to power.
- **Romania, 22–25 December 1989.** The Communist leader, Nicolae Ceausescu, was executed after a popular revolt and the National Salvation Front government was formed.
- **Bulgaria, 2 February 1990.** The Communist Government resigns after mass protests.

Gorbachev had hoped that allowing the countries of Eastern bloc the freedom to choose their governments might lead to new forms of democratic socialism emerging in these countries. In turn, he hoped that they would be favourably disposed to their old master, the Soviet Union, thus ensuring continued Soviet influence through a transformed Warsaw Pact. However, this was not to be. Once freed from Soviet restraint, the Eastern European nations withdrew from the Warsaw Pact and some started knocking on NATO's door. To make things worse for Gorbachev, he was eventually persuaded to allow German reunification within the NATO alliance. In the years after the end of the Cold War, NATO expanded its membership eastwards to the borders of Russia, which turned out to be a most unwise development.

The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union

When Gorbachev came to power, he was determined to reform foreign policy, the political system and the economy. Though his revolutionary foreign policy ended the Cold War and changed the world, his political reforms careered out of control and his economic reforms were too painful. They unleashed far more chaos than Gorbachev could possibly have imagined.

From 1985 to 1991, Gorbachev embarked on massive reforms that radically changed both the political structures and the economy of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader hoped to transform the Soviet Union into a more modern social democracy by freeing it from censorship and by relaxing state controls. **Glasnost** was the term Gorbachev

glasnost a policy of openness in discussing economic and political issues

used to describe this opening up of political and social life. The policy received wide praise from around the world. However, his **perestroika** policies of restructuring the political and economic systems led to widespread chaos and

perestroika the restructuring of the political and economic system

confusion. His reforms led to the disruption of the centralised

planning system before there were viable real market mechanisms to take over. This resulted in reduced production, shortages and social discontent, and these in turn led to strikes and protests. Now with the new openness, discontent could be expressed very strongly.

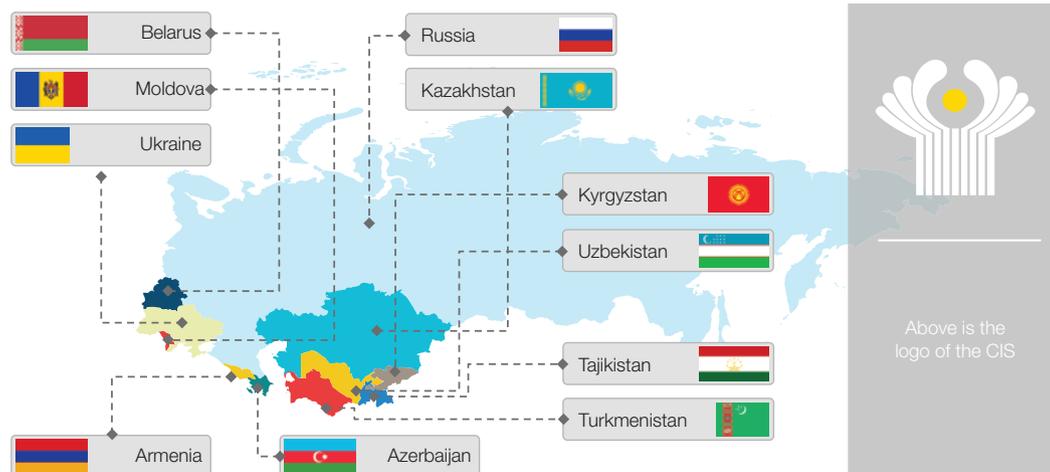
Gorbachev came to realise that the Soviet Union's economic reforms were far deeper than he had imagined. He therefore agreed to further radical reforms recommended by more radical voices.

The momentous political changes led to push back from Soviet hardliners. This culminated in a coup by hard-line elements in the government and the military on 18 August 1991. Gorbachev was put under house arrest and urged to resign, but he refused. Eventually, massive demonstrations urged on by the new Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, led to the failure of the coup. Though Gorbachev was freed, the power had now shifted to Yeltsin. In December 1991, without consulting Gorbachev, Yeltsin signed a treaty with the leaders of the other Soviet republics to dissolve the Soviet Union and create 12 independent nations to be loosely connected in the Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS. Now that his country, the Soviet Union, had ceased to exist, Gorbachev resigned from his post of President and passed the nuclear codes to President Yeltsin, the leader of Russia.



SOURCE 10.109 Gorbachev meets metallurgy workers at a Metallurgy Combine, 29 April 1990

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) Regions



SOURCE 10.110 In December 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist and the Soviet republics each became separate nations

What actually ended?

The confusing aspect about the end of the Cold War is that a number of things came to an end at around the same time. There were five things that ended:

- **The Cold War.** When he came to power in 1985, Gorbachev's first priority was to end the Cold War. After Gorbachev and Reagan had finished their discussions at Reykjavik on 11 October 1986, the Cold War began to thaw. By the Gorbachev gave his speech at the United Nations on 7 December 1988, the Cold War was over.
- **The fear of nuclear war.** When Gorbachev decided to sign the INF on 8 December 1987, even without getting Reagan to abandon SDI, the nuclear arms race began reversing, and the fear of nuclear weapons gradually evaporate over the following few years. However, the arms race did not end. It merely stalled.
- **The communist Eastern bloc and the Warsaw Pact.** When Gorbachev said that the Brezhnev Doctrine was dead in July 1987, the communist states of Eastern Europe, one by one, threw off their communist rulers and embraced Western-style democratic systems. In the process, communism died in Eastern Europe and the Warsaw Pact vanished.
- **Communism.** When Gorbachev embarked on his policies of glasnost and perestroika from 1985, he set in motion forces that led to the transformation of the political system and the end of the Communist Party's monopoly of the political life in the Soviet Union.
- **The Soviet Union.** When Yeltsin negotiated with the leaders of the other Soviet republic in December 1991 to dissolve the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union ceased to exist as a country.

The one thing that should have ended, but did not, was the nuclear arms race. For over 50 years, nuclear weapons had dominated the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. It was the fear of global catastrophe from a nuclear war that led to both to the arms race and a host of treaties were designed to limit and control it. Despite their many differences, the one thing that both Reagan and Gorbachev had in common was the fear of nuclear weapons and a determination to abolish them. Yet in the end, only one of these two men was willing to go the extra step and to proceed on a path to abolish all nuclear weapons on the planet. History will show us which one of these men was right.

CHAPTER 10 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

- The conferences between the Big Three towards the end of World War II set the scene for many of the post-war issues that fractured the wartime alliance and began the Cold War
- The atomic bomb became a crucial factor in the souring of relations between the United States and Soviet Union
- The Berlin Blockade had many far-reaching effects such as the creation of two Germanys and the NATO alliance
- The Cold War spread to Asia with China becoming communist in 1949 and then turned hot in 1950 with the Korean War

DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR TO 1968

- Containment and the Domino Theory dominated US thinking in the Cold War up to 1975
- Peaceful co-existence in the fifties and sixties demonstrated a desire by the superpowers to cooperate where they could but this did not stop intense rivalry and some dangerous confrontations
- The Cold War was fought with economic aid, ideology, propaganda, military aid, proxy wars, espionage, sport and culture
- The nuclear arms race accelerated and expanded in the fifties and sixties but the nuclear taboo kept the weapons from being used
- The space race involved intense competition to be first in making new breakthroughs but also involved significant cooperation between the superpowers

DETENTE

- Détente marked a new era of cooperation that involved the negotiation for significant arms treaties
- US intervention in Vietnam was caused by American preoccupation with the inflexible containment and domino theory along with arrogance and the belief in US military superiority
- The Sino-Soviet split was to have major ramifications for the Cold War in the seventies
- Superpower rivalry in the Middle East eventually brought the USA and USSR close to a serious nuclear confrontation

RENEWAL AND END OF THE COLD WAR

- The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan marked the beginning of a dangerous new phase in the Cold War. The hawkish policies of the Reagan administration and Soviet leadership paranoia brought the world dangerously close to global nuclear war on at least two occasions
- Reagan's reversal of policy towards the Soviet Union combined with Gorbachev becoming Soviet leader opened up new opportunities for superpower dialogue
- Gorbachev's determination to end the Cold War and the threat of nuclear weapons led to the end of communism, the Eastern bloc, and the dissolution of the USSR

Key terms and names

Write a definition in your own words for each key term or name below.

- Containment
- The Truman Doctrine
- Peaceful co-existence
- The Nuclear Triad
- The SIOF
- Détente
- The Brezhnev Doctrine
- Peace through Strength
- Glasnost and Perestroika

Historical concepts

1 Causation

1980s Key events in the ending of the Cold War

Refer to the timeline below to answer the following questions

Questions

- 1) Identify three events in the timeline that made the Cold War more dangerous. Explain.
- 2) Identify what you think are the three critical events in bringing the Cold War to an end. Explain your choice.
- 3) Which events involved other nuclear powers? Were these positive or negative in their impact?
- 4) Identify three events in this period that did not directly involve either of the superpowers but created momentum towards nuclear disarmament. Explain your choice.
- 5) Identify events that involved Australia in this period. What do these reveal about Australia at that time?
- 6) Identify the two most dangerous events in this period. Explain your choice.
- 7) Identify three speeches by political leaders that marked a real shift towards ending the Cold War. Explain your choice.

1980S TIMELINE	
December 1979	NATO decides to deploy Pershing II missiles in Europe
20 January 1981	Ronald Reagan becomes US President
5 September 1981	Greenham Common protest – 30000 women set up camp
12 June 1982	Million people march in New York
25 March 1982	100000 people in Palm Sunday marches in Australia
8 March 1983	Reagan's 'evil empire' speech
23 March 1983	Reagan announces SDI ('Star Wars') program
27 March 1983	150000 Palm Sunday marches in Australia (Sydney 60000; Melbourne 70000; Perth 15000; Adelaide 10000)
1 September 1983	Shooting down of KAL passenger liner by Soviet fighters
26 September 1983	Incident at Serpukhov-15 bunker
10 October 1983	Reagan's impact of private viewing of The Day After
Late October 1983	Reagan shaken by SIOF Briefing
November 1983	NATO's Able Archer military exercise
20 November 1983	The Day After is watched by 100 million in USA. 'Nuclear Winter' mentioned publicly by Carl Sagan for the first time
16 January 1984	President Reagan's 'Address to the Nations and Other Countries on US-Soviet Relations'
25 January 1984	President Reagan's 'State of the Union Address' in which he says that 'a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.'

1980S TIMELINE

15 April 1984	Palm Sunday marches in Australia – 250 000
9 March 1985	Reagan promotes new MX Peacekeeper missile
11 March 1985	Gorbachev becomes General Secretary of the Soviet Union
10 July 1985	Rainbow Warrior attack in New Zealand
6 August 1985	Treaty of Raratoga came into force
21 November 1985	Geneva Summit
10 December 1985	IPPNW receives Nobel Peace Prize
30 March 1985	350 000 people in Palm Sunday protest marches in Australia
15 January 1986	Gorbachev announces plan for total nuclear disarmament by 2000
26 April 1986	Chernobyl reactor meltdown
10 September 1986	Mordecai Vanunu reveals secret Israel nuclear weapons
11-12 October 1986	Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik Summit
8 June 1987	New Zealand bans all nuclear ships from its ports
8 December 1987	Immediate-range missiles in Europe banned
7 December 1989	Gorbachev's UN speech
19 October 1989	Final Soviet underground nuclear test
9 November 1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall. End of the Cold War

2 Continuity and change

- Compare the two periods, 'Peaceful co-existence' and Détente.
- Discuss the extent to which there was continuity from 'Peaceful co-existence' to Détente, and to what extent there was change.

3 Perspectives

- Read the quote from Helen Caldicott, then find the Washington Post article online, and then answer the questions.

Questions

- 1) From your own knowledge, who was Helen Caldicott and what view of Reagan would she have already had before meeting him in December 1982?
- 2) From your own knowledge, what momentous event had happened in the US in the previous June?
- 3) From your own knowledge, what was Reagan's view of the nuclear disarmament movement?

- 4) After Caldicott's meeting with Reagan did her view of Reagan change for the better or the worse?
- 5) In the newspaper article, what references were made to the interview?
- 6) Did it seem that the meeting with Caldicott had made any impression on Reagan's views about the nuclear disarmament movement?

'It had been the most disconcerting hour and a quarter of my life. Regan reminded me of the Peter Sellers role of Chauncey Gardner in the movie *Being There*, the character whose entire life experience came from watching TV and films. Certainly, President Reagan had been unfailingly pleasant and courteous to me, but the last thing the world needed was a nice but totally uninformed old guy who might just decide to commit it to radioactive dust.'

Australian paediatrician and PSR leader, Helen Caldicott, on her interview with President Reagan in December 1982, in Helen Caldicott, *Dr Helen Caldicott: A Passionate Life*, 1996, p. 292

Joanne Omang, 'Reagan Again Says Soviet Union Influences Anti-Nuclear Group,' *Washington Post*, 11 December 1982

Please search for this article online.

4 Significance

Explain the historical significance of the following events:

- The shooting down of the U2 spy plane on 1 May 1960
- The 1975 Apollo-Soyuz Joint Project
- The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968
- The Yom Kippur War in 1973
- The incident at Serpukhov-15 on 26 September 1983
- Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations on 7 December 1988

5 Contestability

Question

To what extent do the facts support the claim made that America 'won' the Cold War?

'The biggest thing that has happened in the world in my life, in our lives, is this: By the grace of God, America won the Cold War.'

President George H Bush, 'State of the Union Address,' 28 January 1992

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

Explain the reasoning behind why both superpowers supported the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) from 1968 till the end of the Cold War. Explain why the NPT survives today and is still supported by both Russia and the United States.

2 Historical interpretation

Identify five causes of the Cold War. Organise them according to their importance.

3 Analysis and use of sources

Refer to the sources below, and your own knowledge, to answer the questions.

Questions

- 1) According to Source A, how did the Cold War affect everyone?
- 2) What is the nature of the nuclear threat implied in Source B?

- 3) What is the main point made by Richard Tanter in Source C?
- 4) What does the 33 minutes refer to in Source D?
- 5) Referring to all the sources, outline the nature of the nuclear threat today.
- 6) Referring to Source C, assess the reason given for there still being a nuclear threat today.

SOURCE A

'The most important reason why the Cold War affected everyone in the world was the threat of nuclear destruction that it implied. In this sense, nobody was safe from the Cold War. The greatest victory of Gorbachev's generation was that a nuclear war was avoided. Historically, most great power rivalries end in cataclysm. The Cold War did not. Even so, there is no doubt that the nuclear arms race was profoundly dangerous. On a couple of occasions, we were much closer to nuclear devastation than anyone but a few people realised. Nuclear war could have broken out by accident, or as a result of intelligence failures.'

Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History*, 2017, p. 628

SOURCE B



16 September 2017. North Korean leader Kim Jong Un inspecting a launching drill of the medium-and-long range strategic ballistic rocket Hwasong-12 at an undisclosed location. Kim vowed to complete North Korea's nuclear force despite sanctions, saying the final goal of his country's weapons development is 'equilibrium of real force' with the United States, state media reported.

SOURCE C

'Mr [Richard] Tanter said the spectre of the Cold War was stronger than it had ever been.

"I think we're back at a very dangerous time in the world. Many of us who are old enough to remember the Cold War thought that it was all over when the Berlin Wall fell. Nuclear weapons are still with us," he said.

"Every country with nuclear weapons is modernising their arsenal. And more importantly we've seen on the Korean peninsula the rise of the extraordinary threatening rhetoric between North Korea and the United States.

"I think there is a consensus building around the world that the nuclear weapon states have been dominating this discussion for more 70 years."

Biwa Kwan, Nobel Peace Prize winner ICAN urges Australia to sign treaty and avoid nuclear disaster, *SBS News*, 12 November 2017

SOURCE D

'The Heritage Foundation's documentary "33 Minutes" may not be the most cheerful holiday season film, but its warning to the American public about the risk of nuclear attack could not be more timely...

In recent months, North Korea's missiles have grown in range and capability. The most recent missile it tested, the Hwasong-15, can reach anywhere in the continental United States. This is a deeply alarming development.

The documentary's title, "33 Minutes," refers to the maximum amount of time the U.S. government would have to respond to an incoming intercontinental ballistic missile from anywhere in the world. Beyond showing this short response time, the film vividly depicts the threat of a nuclear attack and its destructive consequences.'

Thomas Wilson and Michaela Dodge, 'Sobering film on nuclear attack shows need for more nuclear defence spending,' *The Daily Signal*, 7 December 2017

4 Historical investigation and research

The nuclear arms race

Questions

- 1) What happened to the nuclear arms race in the years after the Cold War and up to the present time?
- 2) Explain the significance of the Doomsday Clock, and identify what it says about the likelihood of a nuclear catastrophe today. Compare the danger today to the most dangerous episodes of the Cold War.

5 Further essay questions

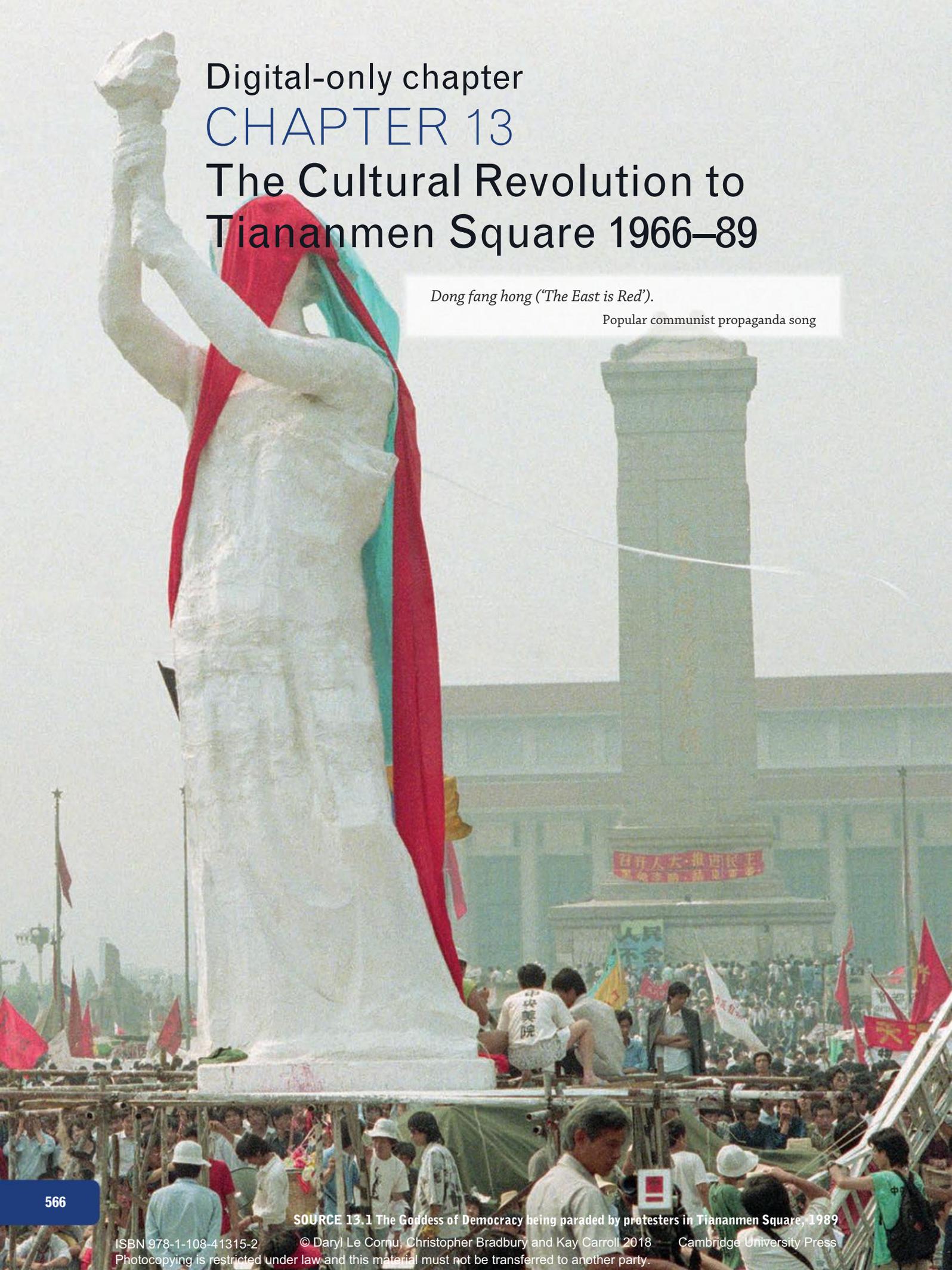
- 1) To what extent were the policies of Britain and the United States regarding the atomic bomb a major factor in the post-war rift with the Soviet Union?
- 2) Explain how the United States relied on Containment and the domino theory to justify intervention in Vietnam. Why did the Vietnam War shake American confidence in these theories?

- 3) What impact did the Berlin Blockade and the Korean War have in deepening the Cold War in the early 1950s?
- 4) Describe three proxy wars and their significance for the Cold War.
- 5) Explain how the Cuban Missile Crisis could have escalated to a global nuclear war. What lessons did Kennedy and Khrushchev learn from the crisis and how did it influence their policies from 1963?
- 6) Describe the factors that enabled détente to succeed as long as it did. Why did it end?
- 7) Evaluate whether the Reagan administration's policies between 1981 and 1983 contributed to heightened tensions between the superpowers.
- 8) To what extent can Gorbachev be given most of the credit for ending the Cold War?
- 9) Evaluate the idea that it was the nuclear taboo which prevented nuclear weapons from being used in anger since 1945.
- 10) Discuss the role that nuclear treaties played during the Cold War. Which nuclear treaties are in effect today and what role do they play?

Digital-only chapter
CHAPTER 13
The Cultural Revolution to
Tiananmen Square 1966–89

Dong fang hong ('The East is Red').

Popular communist propaganda song





Unified Communist China, circa 1950



China was largely unified by 1950, having regained Manchuria and evicted foreign powers. Tibet would be forcibly annexed by 1958. Hong Kong and Macao would return in 1997. Taiwan remains separate today.

WHERE ARE WE HEADED?

FOCUS

You will investigate the events in China between 1966 and 1989.

KEY ISSUES

You will investigate:

- the political and social conditions in China at the start of this period
- the tensions between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and Mao Zedong leading up to the Cultural Revolution
- the Cultural Revolution
- Deng Xiaoping and the modernising of China
- the Tiananmen Square protests

TIMELINE

DATE	KEY EVENT
1 October 1949	People's Republic of China proclaimed
May 1950	Marriage law allows women to divorce husbands
June 1950	Agrarian Reform Law gives land ownership to peasants
1951/1952	Three Antis/Five Antis persecution campaigns
1953	First five-year plan
March 1957	Hundred Flowers campaign asks people to speak out
May 1957	Party launches anti-rightist movement against those who spoke out
12 December 1957	National Economic Planning Conference announces China will catch up to Britain in 15 years
29 April 1958	Sputnik Commune, China's first commune, begins
5 May 1958	Eighth Party Congress launches the Great Leap Forward
August 1958	Politburo approves people's communes
27 April 1959	Liu Shaoqi appointed Chairman of People's Republic of China (PRC)
August 1959	August Plenum Peng Dehuai sacked as Minister of Defence
17 September 1959	Lin Biao replaces Peng Dehuai
16 July 1960	Soviet Union withdraws its technicians
16 May 1966	Politburo sets up Cultural Revolution Group
16 July 1967	Mao Zedong's famous swim in Yangzi River announces his return
5 August 1967	Mao's 'Bombard the Headquarters' poster is published
18 August 1967	First rally of Red Guards at Tiananmen Square
September 1967	Quotations of Chairman Mao available for public use
31 October 1968	Liu Shaoqi expelled from the Party
13 September 1971	Lin Biao dies in plane crash after failing to kill Mao
21 February 1972	US President Nixon visits China
5 April 1975	Death of Jiang Jieshi in Taiwan
8 January 1976	Premier Zhou Enlai dies
9 September 1976	Mao dies Hua Guofeng succeeds Mao
6 October 1976	Gang of Four arrested
21 July 1977	Deng Xiaoping restored to Politburo
31 January 1979	Deng and US President Carter agree to technical cooperation
29 September 1979	Cultural Revolution condemned as a disaster
30 August 1980	One-child policy implemented
20 November 1980	Gang of Four trial begins

TIMELINE (continued)

DATE	KEY EVENT
October 1981	Responsibility System added to collective system
1982	Deng proposes 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'
1984	Britain agrees to return Hong Kong to China
1987	Deng resigns from Central Committee Zhao Ziyang elected General Secretary
3–4 June 1989	Hu Yaobang's death sparks calls for democracy Tiananmen Square focus for student protests Hardliners Li Peng and Deng order Tiananmen Massacre Zhao Ziyang removed and Jiang Zemin ascends
1992	Zhu Rongji and Hu Jintao enter Politburo Standing Committee
19 February 1997	Deng Xiaoping dies
1 July 1997	Hong Kong is returned to China
August 2008	Beijing hosts the Olympic Games

CRITICALLY SEE, THINK, WONDER



SOURCE 13.2 Red Guards walking through the cold and snow from the northern city of Changchun to Beijing to link up to other Red Guards and to spread Mao Zedong Thought in 1967; such hero worship was unprecedented in Chinese history

Based on the image above, as a class consider the following questions for discussion.

WHAT DO YOU SEE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

WHAT DO YOU WONDER?

CHAPTER 13 Overview

KEY IDEA

How has China shaped the world of today?
What was the role of individuals, ideas and mass movements?
What are some of the differing views on recent Chinese history?

WHY IT MATTERS TODAY

China is today a capitalist country run by an unelected Communist Party. It was a bold socialist experiment that failed to achieve its goal. How does a government survive after being responsible for the death of millions of its own citizens? Why did democracy not get a decent foothold in China?

KEY TERMS AND NAMES

- nationalism
- Marxism
- socialism
- Guomindang (GMD)
- Jiang Jieshi
- Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
- Mao Zedong
- Zhou Enlai
- Deng Xiaoping
- Jiang Zemin

INQUIRY QUESTION

Was there any moment in twentieth-century China where democracy might have flourished?

Painting the picture

China at the start of the period

After struggling to survive and then to overthrow the Guomindang government, Mao's CCP now had the opportunity to put into practice the promises it had made, particularly to the peasants. The Party had the advantage of a united China, a humiliated Japan, and an almost total withdrawal of foreign intervention and influence. Despite this China was not a clean slate and the Party had an unexpected military conflict in Korea, in addition to contending with old customs and traditions, as well as dealing with the political ego of its undisputed leader – Chairman Mao



SOURCE 13.3 Mao Zedong, Chairman of the CCP, pictured in the 1960s

Advice on Chinese names and places

Chinese is written in characters which are only partly phonetic. Foreigners needed a roman script to pronounce the names and places they encountered. As they were initially restricted to the south of China, they were heavily influenced by local dialects. The first comprehensive Romanisation is known as Wade-Giles after its inventors. Pinyin is the phonetic guide devised by China in the late 1950s and is mainly used by

For further background information on Chairman Mao, see his Significant Individual profile in Chapter 7.

this chapter and throughout China. The list below also includes some of the dialect pronunciations and spellings that have lingered, and are more commonly used today than the particular Wade-Giles equivalent. Note: Chinese surnames come first.

Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Dialect
People		
Mao Zedong	Mao Tse-tung	
Jiang Jieshi		Chiang Kai-shek
Deng Xiaoping	Teng Hsiao-p'ing	
Jiang Qing	Chiang Ch'ing	
Song Qingling	Sung Ch'ingling	Soong Chingling
Zhou Enlai	Chou En-lai	
Lin Biao	Lin Piao	
Hua Guofeng	Hua Kuo-feng	
Liu Shaoqi	Liu Hsao-ch'i	
Zhao Ziyang		
Jiang Zemin		
Places		
Beijing	Peiching	Peking
Guangzhou	Kwangchow	Canton
Zhongguo (China)	Chungkuo	(Middle Kingdom)
Shanghai	Shanghai	
Yanan	Yenan	
Tiananmen	T'ienanmen	
Taiwan		Formosa (Japanese name)
Zhongnanhai	Chungnanhai	

Who's who

Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) (1893 – 1976). Born in Hunan. Assistant to Li Dazhao. Married Yang Kaihui who bore him two sons. Saw peasants as revolutionaries. Set up the Jiangxi Soviet. During the Long March became Chairman of the CCP. Won the Civil War from Yanan. Became Chairman of PRC in 1949. He, and therefore China, was caught up in the Korean War. His First Five Year Plan was successful but the second (The Great Leap Forward) was disastrous and millions starved. After the Lushan Plenum Mao was removed as head of state and chafed until 1966 when the Cultural Revolution was successfully launched. Using his Red Guards, Mao took revenge on his former comrades and chaos was unleashed. In 1972 the US president, Richard Nixon, visited China. In 1976 Mao died and handed the reins to Hua Guofeng, a relative nobody.





Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing) (1904–1997). Born in Sichuan, he worked and studied in France. He joined the CCP in 1924 and was a private in the Long March but supported Mao at Zunyi. As a political commissar in the civil war, he won the respect of the generals with his organisational ability. He was Vice-Premier in 1952 and member of the Politburo Standing Committee in 1956. He assisted Liu Shaoqi to revive China 1959–66, but was purged at the beginning of the GPCR as 'No. 2 Capitalist Roader'. In 1976, he was again purged after crowds defied the Gang of Four to mourn Zhou Enlai. With the help of Marshal Ye Jianying, he gradually assumed control in the period 1977–81. He was behind the Tian'anmen Massacre of 1989.

Lin Biao (Lin Piao) (1907–1971). Born in Hubei. A graduate of Huangpu, he led breakthrough forces in the Long March and supported Mao at Zunyi. Lin distinguished himself during the war against the Japanese and against the GMD in Manchuria. Appointed Minister of Defence instead of Peng Dehuai in 1959, he published *Quotations of Chairman Mao* for the PLA. Became Mao's successor, but died in 1971 after a failed plot to assassinate Mao.



Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) (1898–1976). Born in Jiangsu, he studied in a mission school and then in Japan. He was caught up in the May Fourth Movement. In 1920, he went to France, where he set up a branch of the CCP in 1922. He only just survived the 1927 Shanghai Massacre. He was one of the '28 Bolsheviks' who deposed Mao in Jiangxi. At Zunyi, he backed Mao. He was a moderate who tried to limit the effects of Mao's outrage. He pushed for the return of Deng Xiaoping in 1973 and friendship with the United States. The Gang of Four continued to target him. He died of cancer in 1976, and people defied the government to mourn him.



Hua Guofeng (1921–2008). He was a politician who served as Chairman of the CCP and Premier of the People's Republic of China. Hua held the top offices of the government, party, and the military after Mao's death, but was forced from power by more established party figures in 1978.



Jiang Zemin (1926 –). He was a CCP official who was promoted to Minister for Electronics in 1983. In 1985 he became mayor of Shanghai as well as First Secretary of the Shanghai Communist Party. A protégé of Deng Xiaoping, Jiang became General Secretary of the CCP in 1989. Following Zhao Ziyang's soft line on the Tiananmen protests, Jiang's willingness to violently end the protests saw him become President of the PRC in 1993.



Zhao Ziyang (1918–2005). A CCP official in Guangdong Province in the sixties he, like so many, was purged in the Cultural Revolution, but was 'rehabilitated' and was first secretary of Sichuan Province. Under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping, he became Premier of China and then general Secretary of the CCP 1987–1989. He was the first Chinese leader to wear a western suit



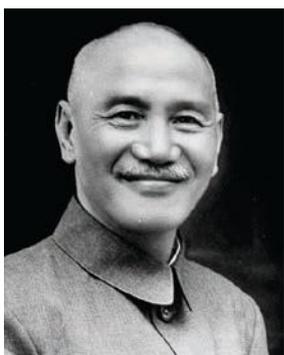
overseas instead of the Mao jacket. Zhao was removed from power when he showed sympathy for the Tiananmen protesters and chose not to attack them.



Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-ch'i) (1896–1969). Born in Hunan, he assisted Mao in organising miners. He studied in Moscow where he joined the CCP. He joined the Jiangxi Soviet in 1932 but missed the Long March due to tuberculosis. He went to Yan'an in 1937, where he became a political commissar and theoretician. He was influential in the civil war. In 1958 he replaced Mao as chairman of the PRC, but was attacked in 1966 for taking the 'capitalist road'. He died in Kaifeng prison from medical and general neglect.

himself on the Long March. Peng was a deputy commander in the north-west during the civil war. He led the Chinese 'volunteers' in the Korean War. For his criticism of Mao's Great Leap Forward, he was dismissed as Minister for Defence in 1959 and purged. In 1966, he was imprisoned and suffered a long period of beatings, during which he was unrepentant. He died in 1974.

Peng Dehuai (P'eng Te-huai) (1898–1974). Born in Hunan, he became a soldier for a warlord. He joined the CCP and the Jiangxi Soviet. He distinguished



Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) (1887–1975). Born in Zhejiang and trained in Japan and Russia. After connections with the Shanghai gangs, he became a follower of Dr Sun and later commander of Huangpu Military Academy. He divorced his first wife to marry Song Meiling. After Sun's death, Jiang won control of the GMD and led the Northern Expedition. In 1927, in Shanghai, he massacred the Communists. He established Nanjing as the capital. Until 1949, he fought both the Japanese (from Chongqing) and the CCP, as well as dealing with difficult warlords. He was captured by his own general, Zhang Xueliang, in the Xi'an Incident of 1936. He lost the civil war to the CCP and established his republic in Taiwan in 1949, where he ruled until his death.



Krushchev, Nikita Sergeevich (1894–1973). Joined the Russian Communist Party in 1918. He slowly rose through the ranks. In WW2 he was premier of the Ukraine and a lieutenant-general fighting the German occupation. In 1939 he joined the Russian Politburo and denounced anti-Stalinists. Ironically, soon after Stalin died in 1953, he launched an attack on Stalin's 'capricious and despotic rule' (which did not endear him to Mao). In 1958 he became premier of the USSR and was responsible for the withdrawal of Russian experts from China in 1960.

under the name of Lan Ping. She went to Yan'an in 1938 and soon replaced He Zizhen as Mao's wife. The CCP had her banned from politics, but in 1966 she found power by supporting Mao in the GPCR, and through the Cultural Revolution Group, which transformed into her Gang of Four. She was arrested in 1976 and suicided in prison in 1991.

Jiang Qing (Chiang Ch'ing) (1914–1991). Born in Shandong, she became a B-grade actor in Shanghai





Chen Boda (Ch'en Po-ta) (1904–1989). Arrived in Yan'an in 1937, and in 1942 became Mao's political secretary. Rose to prominence during the GPCR, when he edited *Red Flag* (CCP paper) and may have helped compile *Quotations of Chairman Mao*. Became a member of the Central Committee and Politburo and was a figure behind the Big Character posters. Chen was one of the cruellest figures of the GPCR. He fell from power in 1970.

Kang Sheng (K'ang Sheng) (1898–1975). Born in Shandong, he met Jiang Qing in 1918. In 1924, he joined CCP. He led the 1945 Rectification

Campaign in Yan'an and became Mao's chief of the secret police. Active in the Great Leap Forward and the GPCR, he led attacks on key Party members. He died of bladder cancer.



People's Republic of China (PRC) the official name of Communist China since 1949

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying and evaluating

How democratic is this government model?

13.1 Political and social conditions in China at the start of the period

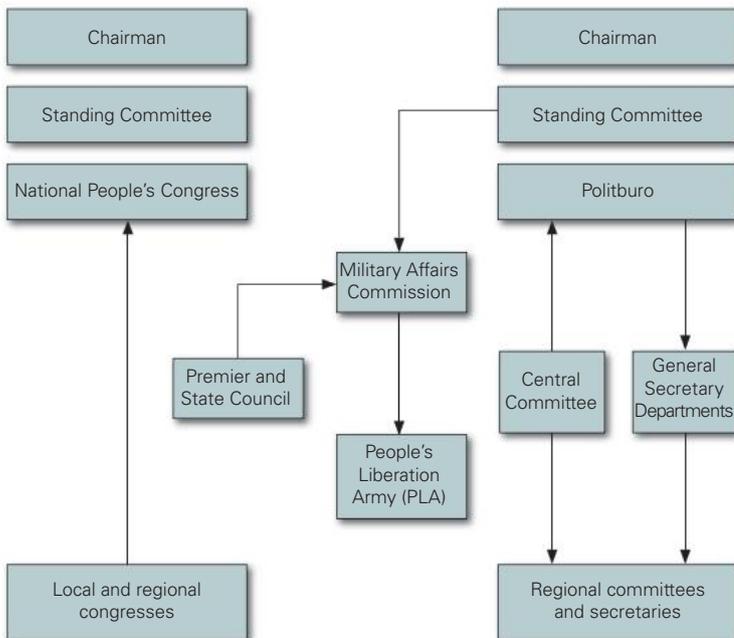
The legacy of the 1949 revolution and the Great Leap Forward

In October 1949, after securing most of China and claiming 'China has stood up', Mao Zedong needed to establish his new government. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) established the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference – by invitation only. Mao was elected as Chairman of both the **People's Republic of China (PRC)** and of the CCP. This made him the most powerful man in China. The number two position of Vice-Chairman was held by Liu Shaoqi while, as Premier, Zhou Enlai was in position number three.

The political structure consisted of three vertical and parallel tiers. These consisted of the government, the Party and the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The CCP was the dominant force in all three; however, lesser parties, such as left-wing Guomindang (GMD), featured but not significantly. Elections were rather indirect in that people voted representatives who would then vote for the next level up, and so on. Whoever controlled the Party controlled the other two political areas, and therefore the country.

Land

One group the CCP had relied on to win the civil war was the peasantry. As PLA 'liberated' towns and villages, peasants initially took it upon themselves to seize the landlords' lands and mete out punishment. This reversal of the traditional order was called **fanshen** ('turn the body over'). There was no consistency until the new government established village associations to redistribute the land and to deal with the landlords. Up to half



SOURCE 13.4 Diagram of the new government structure

fanshen a reversal of the previous order; peasants now persecuted landlords

and mete out punishment. This reversal of the traditional order was called **fanshen** ('turn the body over'). There was no consistency until the new government established village associations to redistribute the land and to deal with the landlords. Up to half

the arable land changed hands. Landlords often faced ‘**speak bitterness**’ meetings where peasants aired their grievances. The landlord might be humiliated and then given lowly chores to do or, if feelings ran high, be executed. The government at first encouraged a non-violent approach but, after the Korean War, a fear of **counter-revolutionaries** led to the policy of encouraging greater violence.

While the peasants were content to own their own land, the government wanted to advance socialism. It first suggested **mutual aid teams**, which formalised how families (often 10 at a time) had learnt to work together on a short-term basis. Then it encouraged **cooperatives** (of 20 or more families), where they pooled resources but still owned their own land. Many in the CCP were happy with the pace of change, but Mao signalled with his ‘High Tide’ speech that he wanted to advance to the next stage of **collectives** (which were made up of 100–200 households). There was greater resistance to this, as the peasants did not want to give up their personal control and then not directly benefit from their own labour. They had waited a long time for unhindered ownership of the land they tilled.

Women

The other section of society that Mao had appealed to was the group that he stated ‘held up half the sky’ – women. To reward them, on 1 May 1950, the Marriage Law was enacted. In one bold stroke (legally at least) women were set free. The key provisions of these changes were:

- women could freely choose their partners
- polygamy and concubinage were banned
- there were equal rights and ownership for both sexes
- child betrothal was banned – a woman had to be 18 before she could marry
- payments for brides were prohibited
- a woman had free choice of employment
- widows were free to remarry
- divorce was much easier to obtain
- prostitution was prohibited
- foot binding was banned
- infanticide (common with female babies) was prohibited.

While educated women in the cities were quicker to embrace the new opportunities, it was more difficult for the peasant girls in the villages where the family clans were still important. The peasants were more likely to have fought for land than for gender equality.

How did the Korean War affect the new society?

After the Japanese surrender at the end of World War II, the Soviet Union secured northern Korea above the 38th Parallel, while the United States maintained the southern section. The two halves were to be reunited, but Stalin had installed his leader – Kim Il-Sung – in the north. On 25 June 1950, North Korea unexpectedly invaded South Korea and occupied most of the peninsula. The United States, with the agreement of the United Nations and 15 other countries (including Australia), led the counter-attack. This split the North Korean forces and then they eventually approached the Yalu River, the border with China.

speak bitterness the policy of peasants criticising former landlords after liberation

counter-revolutionary a derogatory term for any communist who does not agree with you

mutual aid teams early form of cooperative for peasants

cooperatives a voluntary sharing of resources and labour by multiple families

collectives large-scale cooperatives



SOURCE 13.5 A young Chinese woman models her new bike – an example of the new opportunities the revolution brought with it

While the United States blamed China for the attack, Mao was just as surprised. Suspicion pointed to Stalin. However, the imminent defeat of the Communist North and a fear of the United States entering China led Mao to place Peng Dehuai in charge of 1 200 000 PLA 'volunteers' to push the US-led troops back. At first, sheer weight of numbers worked for the Chinese, but soon US technology and their better-equipped soldiers held them up. The war proved very costly for China, which suffered an estimated 900 000 casualties, including Mao's son from his first marriage, Mao Anying.

The sides stalemated at the 38th Parallel. Negotiations began in July 1951, but it took Stalin's death and a US threat to continue the war before the armistice was signed in 1953. Despite the high casualties, the Korean War was hailed as a victory for the PRC. After a century of humiliating defeats by foreign powers, China had held off the United States and its allies. The war united the people of China behind the new regime through the wave of patriotism it produced. However, the war produced two negative effects. The chance for China and the United States to cooperate vanished, leading to the latter becoming the protector of Taiwan and refusing to recognise the PRC. Also, fearing a US-sponsored invasion from Taiwan, the Chinese Government became more repressive in its search for counter-revolutionaries.

What were San Fan (1951) and Wu Fan (1952)?

The resentment against the USA and fears of an invasion provoked an internal reaction as well. Mao's campaign of the Three Antis (**San Fan Yundong**), against graft, waste and bureaucracy in the government was transferred to anyone with former connections with Western institutions, unsuitable backgrounds or deemed to be resisting change. Those accused on the flimsiest of reasons were subject to Mass Struggle and Self-Criticism. For tens of thousands this resulted in quick trials and execution. This was an extension of Mao's Rectification Campaign of the 1940s and the Chinese corollary of the McCarthyism (anti-communist witch hunt) of the USA.

In 1952 this program was extended to the Five Antis (**Wu Fan Yundong**): bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing of economic information (industrial espionage). This campaign was far-reaching and, in its efforts to find scapegoats, ruined many innocent lives.

San Fan the Three antis (graft, waste, bureaucracy)

Wu Fan the Five antis (bribery, tax evasion, theft from the state, cheating on government contracts, industrial espionage)

The first five-year plan

Following Stalin's example in the Soviet Union, Mao decided on a five-year plan to encourage economic and industrial growth. This required setting targets to be achieved by the end of the five-year period. The emphasis was on heavy industry (particularly steel production) to help drive industrialisation and advance the Chinese economy. This would allow China to become more powerful, as well as help pay off Russian loans. Generally, the first five-year plan was a success and most targets were met. Steel production went from 1.3 million tonnes in 1952 to 5.2 million in 1957, beating the target of 4.7 million. However, Mao was impatient for greater growth.

KEY QUESTION



Analysing effects

Identify the future consequences of Mao's crackdown on criticism by 'Rightists'.

One Hundred Flowers

After the success of the first five-year plan and the suppression of many intellectuals, Mao believed that controls could be relaxed. So, he drew on the classic expression known as 'One Hundred Flowers' to open discussion and to avoid a situation in China such as the 1956 Hungarian revolt against Soviet control and Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin. Following widespread criticism of the Party, and even Mao himself, there was a crackdown on those who spoke up. This came to be known as the Anti-Rightist Campaign. 

The Great Leap Forward

Mao was impatient with the rate of progress of the Chinese economy, despite the first five-year plan exceeding most of its targets. Deciding not to continue following the Soviet model, Mao chose to follow a

path which he thought utilised the PRC's greatest asset – its population. So, the second five-year plan began. It was to become known as the Great Leap Forward. Unfortunately, Mao's crackdowns on intellectuals and within his own party meant that people were afraid to speak up and tell the truth about his Great Leap Forward and a huge famine that swept through parts of China. While Mao refused to take the blame, he was eventually moved aside –but not for long.

A MATTER OF FACT

A theory invoked by Mao for his Great Leap Forward was 'permanent revolution'. Originally a concept used by Marx and Engels, it explained where the French Revolution went wrong. Trotsky initially used the term to explain why Russia did not have to pass through the Marxist stage of 'bourgeois revolution'. He then used it to criticise Stalin's failure to promote world-wide revolution. Mao used the term to basically cover his lack of planning, the chaos he would create and to keep his opponents off balance.

A key feature of the Great Leap Forward was convincing peasants to move from cooperatives (often involving a whole village) to establish the even-bigger **communes**. Communes could involve as many as 5000 families. Twelve families would constitute a 'work team' while 12 'work teams' made up a 'brigade'. Appointed Party members (**cadres**) would administer the commune.

In August 1958, Mao was reading a collection of journalists' documents awaiting his approval when he spied the term 'renmin gongshe' ('people's communes'), which pleased him greatly. Later, when visiting a commune, he spied the term on a red banner and was obviously delighted with it. A New China News Agency reported this – and soon Mao's approval became a national edict. Of course, communes were the acceleration of production that Mao had been impatient for. By the end of 1958, there were over 26 000 communes in operation.

Taking a leaf from the communal life of the Red Army (which evolved into the PLA), Mao encouraged communal kitchens to free labourers for work in the fields. Some communes even had communal dormitories – segregated, of course.

The first problem with communes is what the Chinese called the '**tiefanwan**' ('**iron rice bowl**') a reference to the food source is never to be broken. This highlights the fact that everyone shares from

communes amalgamation of collectives, often involving several villages

cadres CCP-appointed officials.

tiefanwan ('iron rice bowl') 'the rice bowl cannot be broken'; guaranteed employment and wages



SOURCE 13.6 (Left) Cadres learning Marxist-Leninist ideology and Maoist Thought at May Seventh Cadre School; (Right) Graduate cadres travelling to their designated communes



SOURCE 13.7 People working tirelessly on the unproductive backyard smelters in Beijing, 1958



SOURCE 13.8 Peasants working on a communal project

idea behind the project was to decentralise steel-making and lessen reliance on the expensive steel foundries. By having every commune and town run their own furnaces and recycle scrap metal, the idea was to use the huge population to catch up to the output of a country such as Britain. One of the slogans used was to make bombs to be used against Jiang Jieshi in Taiwan. Unfortunately, the failure of these furnaces to achieve high-enough temperatures and the low quality of the metal fed into them meant that the 'steel' they produced was decidedly inferior. When Party dignitaries came to visit such sites, the local Party cadres would substitute commercial steel from a foundry to impress them. A further problem was that agricultural implements needed to produce crops were often fed into the backyard furnaces. Very little of the backyard

the labour of the commune, regardless of the amount of work completed by an individual. Consequently, there is a lack of incentive to work hard if you are not going to personally benefit from your extra labour. While this was not a problem at first, due to the enthusiasm of all involved, it did eventually emerge as a real concern.

Another problem was that the Great Leap Forward drew farmers away from the fields to work on large-scale communal projects, such as dams and road-making. These projects took able-bodied workers great distances from their homes, often during the sowing and harvesting season. As a result, crops were not productively maintained or harvested. Thus, inadvertently, the policy of communal projects undermined the success of the commune program.

Having Party cadres set policy on the communes meant that the agricultural wisdom of the peasants, built up over thousands of years, was ignored. For example, someone decided that sprinkling chemical fertiliser was too slow

and told the peasants to dig a pit, place all the fertiliser in it and sow the crop on top. Naturally, the fertiliser burnt the roots. Others suggested planting crops closer together. Of course, peasants had long ago worked out the minimum distance that produced useful results, but they were ignored. There is a famous photo of children greeting visitors to a commune who were supposedly standing on the thick crop. In fact, extra plants were brought in for show and they hid the table that the children were perched on. With all this deception, a disaster was waiting to happen. However, the people had recently learnt the dangers of speaking up in Mao's China.

Problems with steel

One of the communal projects for both rural and urban populations was the setting up of backyard steel furnaces. The

steel produced was really useful or of immediate value for the factories. Vehicles, weapons and tractors made from this steel were unreliable and often broke down.

Problems with crops

By 1959, the harvests were insufficient for China's needs as the experimental methods had failed, farmers were absent from their fields and there had been poor weather. Add to this the government requisitioning (taxes) of grain was based on false figures and a huge famine was unavoidable. It was only on his second visit to his home town of Shaoshan that Mao was finally told the truth by the local peasants – that the bumper harvests did not exist and many people were starving. Despite this, the state took (through tax and compulsory purchase) an increasing percentage of the harvest.

While 1960 was the worst harvest year, the government still took a damaging percentage and even continued to export grain. In 1961, the government finally changed tack and imported grain.

Tensions between Mao and the CCP

Mao turns defence into attack at Lushan

Lushan, or the Lu Mountains, is a mountain resort just south of Jiujiang in Jiangxi Province. It had been a favourite of poets, and of Jiang Jieshi. Mao chose that location for the Plenum of the CCP Politburo, which was to be the showdown for the dispute over the failure of the Great Leap Forward. By now, the CCP was aware of the extent of the Leap's failure and it was time to apportion blame.

Mao set what he thought would be a positive tone to the meetings, but as the Plenum broke into regional groups to discuss matters, there was grumbling. On the eighth day, hearing of these complaints, Mao gathered the leaders and told them to remember the great gains made. This was a warning to cease criticism. On 14 July 1959, Peng Dehuai delivered a handwritten note to Mao which began with an account of the positives of the Great Leap Forward but concluded with his criticisms. However, he did not directly blame Mao. Nevertheless, it was a brave act from this straight-talking soldier of peasant background.

The consequences of the Great Leap Forward

Mao had argued that the problems with the Great Leap Forward were 70 per cent from natural causes (floods and drought) and 30 per cent from human causes (himself). Peng argued the reverse of that. Some members of the Lushan conference agreed with Peng. However, Mao threatened the Standing Committee of the Politburo, stating that he would go to the peasants and set up a new revolutionary party if he was not supported. They chose to back Mao and leave Peng out in the cold.

The state newspapers did not report the starvation and deaths that were the result of the Great Leap Forward. Many citizens (and overseas journalists) were unaware of the tragedies. We can only estimate the number of deaths, as the disasters of the Great Leap Forward were not officially recognised until after Mao's death. At first, a figure of 30 million deaths was the estimation. We can safely assume that this was a very conservative estimation and the true figure may be the 38 million deaths (as estimated by Chinese demographers) or even as high as 45 million deaths. Edgar Snow in his 1972 book, *The Long Revolution*, merely refers to 'heavy losses' – but never explains what this entailed.

Harvest results			
1957	17.4%	1958	20.9%
1959	28%	1960	21.5%

SOURCE 13.9 Results of harvests under the GLF



SOURCE 13.10 Peng Dehuai, pictured in the 1950s

Han Suyin, usually an apologist for Mao, wrote about the exaggerated harvest figures but suggested Mao tried to put a brake on this unbridled enthusiasm. She mentioned no death figures but optimistically wrote:

Admiration goes to the Chinese working people, who gave all of themselves, in an unbelievable maelstrom of activity, to break the chains of stagnation, misery and ignorance. Without the Leap today's China would not be.

SOURCE 13.11 Han Suyin, *The Wind in the Tower: Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Revolution 1949–1975*, 1976, p. 142

Harrison Salisbury noted that Mao made no apology or public show of compassion. Privately, he gave up pork for a while.

China was starving, and Mao went on a private diet.

SOURCE 13.12 Harrison Salisbury, *The New Emperors: Mao & Deng*, 1992, p. 168



SOURCE 13.13 Mao at Lushan, 1961

ANALYSING SOURCES 13.1

Wilfred Burchett, in a 1976 article on the Great Leap Forward, made the following startling observation:

the master ... strategic mainspring was the Great Leap Forward. This probably comes as a surprise, because in the outside world there was a general impression that it was one of Mao's failures – a viewpoint which was discreetly encouraged by leaks to journalists from official Chinese sources, not to mention those by diplomatic contacts in Peking [Beijing] who had obvious axes to grind.

According to our own on-the-spot observations at the time and follow-up investigations ever since, the Great Leap Forward was an epoch-making success, the full dimensions of which are only dimly being realized in the outside world... virtually all major irrigation and road-building projects, all key economic developments...had their genesis in this imaginative movement. Mao, in keeping with his style, said nothing publicly to rebut his critics, preferring to let history record the final verdict.

SOURCE 13.14 Wilfred Burchett, 'The Great Leap Forward 1958' in *Red And Expert*, 1984, pp.101–2

- 1 Outline Burchett's assessment of the Great Leap Forward.
- 2 Deduce from this extract whether Burchett was living in China at the time.
- 3 Distinguish what is missing from Burchett's judgement of the Great Leap Forward compared to what you have read so far.
- 4 Evaluate whether Burchett living in China, and the date he wrote it, affects his assessment.
- 5 Clarify why the final sentence of the passage is ironic.

Lushan aftermath

Mao did not have it all his own way. The moderates in the Party managed to have Mao resign his chairmanship of the country while he retained the chairmanship of the CCP. The new Chairman was Liu Shaoqi, with Deng Xiaoping serving as his deputy. Mao had given up day-to-day power, and the Party became deaf to his programs but his reputation – as far as the people of China were concerned – was intact.

Mao also retained some important allies. Most ominously, as criticisms were being levelled at him, his estranged wife, Jiang Qing, had rushed to Lushan to defend him. Lin Biao, who was also a late arrival, lined up to become the most vocal critic of Peng Dehuai. This combination of allies was vital for the upcoming Cultural Revolution that was to rock China. From 1959 to 1966, Mao worked relentlessly to regain his dominance.

The state of Sino-Soviet relations

Much has been made of tensions between the Soviet Union and the CCP. While the Comintern did criticise Mao's deviations from orthodox Marxism, Stalin did send supplies to Yanan and handed Manchuria over to the CCP in 1945. Stalin was a little cool towards Mao's delegation when it visited Moscow, but the Soviet Union did send experts to help China develop (although this came at a price).

Relations between China and the Soviet Union became strained due to:

- brief clashes over disputed borders between the two nations
- the Soviet Union supporting India in its border clashes with China
- the Soviet Union was critical of China's shelling of two Taiwan-held islands
- Krushchev's denunciation of the late Stalin, with whom Mao identified
- Krushchev's criticisms of the Great Leap Forward
- the Soviet Union's softening approach to the West.

In August 1960, the Soviet Union withdrew its 'experts', thus forcing China to complete major works independently – which it did.



SOURCE 13.15 Russian Premier Nikita Khrushchev meets with Mao and Liu Shaoqi

13.2 The Cultural Revolution

The aims and methods of Mao

To rebel is justified.

Mao Zedong

Wu Han's play and the Cultural Revolution

The deputy mayor of Beijing, Wu Han, wrote a play called 'The Dismissal of Hai Rui'. It was based on the story of a Qing minister, Hai Rui, who was dismissed from office (and arrested) for being critical of the emperor, Jiaqing. While he was in jail, Hai Rui was served an excellent meal, which he assumed would be his last. The jailer informed him that the meal was due to the death of the emperor and that Hai Rui could expect to be released soon. Hai Rui rejected the meal and went into mourning for the emperor.



SOURCE 13.16 Mao and wife Jiang Qing, 1965

Gang of Four term used to describe four radical politicians who came to prominence during the Cultural Revolution: Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen and Mao's wife Jiang Qing

Bombard the headquarters Mao's call to attack his own party and leaders in general

Mao went to see this play in the early 1960s and had enjoyed it, particularly because of Hai Rui's continued loyalty to the emperor. Mao may have seen himself as an emperor, but he had no idea that the play really referred to his dismissal of Minister for Defence, Peng Dehuai.

This was unusual as China has a long tradition of using allegory to make political criticisms and help playwrights escape punishment. Perhaps Mao's ego did not allow him to see the point. However, others did see the play as a criticism and informed Mao. Mao then used a crony to launch an attack on Wu Han's play, even though it had long ceased its short season of performance. Yao Wenyuan (soon to be a member of the **Gang of Four**) was chosen to write the attack on Wu Han in the Shanghai literary magazine, *Wen Hui Bao*. It was republished in Beijing publications. Mao then called on the Five-Man Group of the Cultural Revolution, formed in 1964, to debate the article. Presenting the article as an academic debate were Peng Zhen, Mayor of Beijing and mentor of Wu Han, and Lu Dingyi, head of propaganda. Leading the attack was Mao's notorious henchman

Kang Sheng (Head of State Security) who labelled the playwright as 'anti-Party' and 'anti-socialist'. Mao allowed Peng to publish an intra-Party circular, the February Outline Report, stressing the committee's view that discussion of the play was to be on an academic basis. Peng Zhen had walked into Mao's trap from which would emerge the *Wuchan jieji Wenhua Dageming* – the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the Cultural Revolution or GPCR).

Mao asked the Politburo to abolish the Five-Man Group. In its stead, a new group – the Central Cultural Revolution Small Group – was formed with Chen Boda, Kang Sheng, Jiang Qing and other pro-Mao leftists. Jiang Qing was finally free of the restrictions which had kept her out of politics since her marriage to Mao in Yan'an.

She revelled in her newly acquired status and her hypochondria of recent years vanished. Now she was free to seek revenge on those she felt had held her back or had treated her with contempt.

Why did Mao swim the Yangzi River?

Mao loved to swim at every opportunity, but when he swam in the Yangzi River on 16 July 1966, he was making a political statement. Mao was announcing to China that he was still fit and determined enough to lead the country and to bring on the Cultural Revolution. Newspapers around the world featured Mao's large head and frame bobbing out of the water, acknowledging that they also knew the significance of the event. Chinese newspapers reported a swimming speed to beat all swimming records – which would be correct if one didn't allow for the fast current of the river.

'Bombard the headquarters'

As he had done in Yan'an and with One Hundred Flowers, Mao turned on his Party. When his article '**Bombard the headquarters**' appeared in August, he gave students the invitation to attack CCP cadres. Peng Zhen, who had tried to protect Wu Han, came under attack. Luo Ruiqing, who had been ousted by Lin Biao, was forced to make a self-criticism and later survived a fall from a building that may have been a suicide attempt. After that, he was unable to use his legs and was humiliatingly presented to rallies in a basket. Lu Dingyi, who had sided with Peng Zhen, was also forced to endure humiliation at rallies.



SOURCE 13.17 Images of Mao's famous swim in the Yangtze River, announcing his fitness to rule again

The worst aspect of such vengeful tactics was that the families were often targeted too. This was a modern version of the imperial punishment to the third degree (punishment meted out to three generations).



SOURCE 13.18 At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, there was the first of the great rallies of Mao's Red Guards in Beijing. One Red Guard presented Mao with a Red Guard armband. When Mao discovered her name was Song Binbin ('refined') Mao suggested she call herself 'Be Militant'. It was assumed that she heeded Mao's advice – but when she was tracked down in 2008 she revealed that she did not in fact change her name.

To try and rein in the growing chaos which was most obvious in the two key universities – Beijing University and Qinghua University – the moderates in the Party decided to use the tactic of sending in work teams to redirect or subdue the student agitations. Largely, the agitation had gone too far for these work teams to have much effect. By the time they arrived, the university students and radical teachers had removed or imprisoned the administration and the walls were littered with **dazibao** ('Big Character Posters'). While such posters were supposedly free expression of student grievances and views, the hand of Mao was often behind their content. Leaders, such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, must have seen that they would be next in the firing line. Ironically, many of the students rallying to 'defend' Mao were the children of cadres. Echoing Orwell's novel *1984*, Mao was using his perceived enemies' own children against them.

dazibao 'Big Character Posters', designed to criticise a supposed enemy.

The role of Mao's Red Guards

When Mao called on Chinese youth to defend him, the university students were first to respond. He justified their actions with the slogan 'To rebel is justified'. Then came the high school students. Later, workers were encouraged

to join in. These coalescing groups picked up the name *Hong Weibing* ('Red Guards') and began wearing red armbands emblazoned with that name. To be a Red Guard, a person was required to be of suitable revolutionary background – the child of a Party official, peasant, worker or soldier.

In August 1966, the first big rally of Red Guards was held in Mao's enlarged Tiananmen Square. There were about a million Red Guards from all over the country. They stood there for six hours, listening to speeches by Lin Biao and others. The highlight of the event was when some of the guards were personally presented to Mao. He received them in what was to become his typical outfit – his worn green military uniform. The Red Guards – men and women alike – saw this as a cue for them to dress in this nondescript and sexless manner.

The destruction of the Four Olds

In his address to the Red Guards, Lin Biao launched the attack on the **Four Olds**. These were: Old Ideas, Old Customs, Old Culture, Old Habits. With such a broad agenda, the Red Guards were empowered to attack almost any target they wished. This they did. The chaos and trauma of this time later inspired a whole genre of personal accounts by surviving victims, called 'scar literature' or 'literature of the wounded'. Jung Chang's book *Wild Swans* is the most famous of these accounts.

Such rallies became common for a while. They were called '**Link-ups**'. Students armed with copies of Mao's *Little Red Book* would march to Beijing or travel there free on the trains. They would quote Mao, sing revolutionary songs or trade Mao badges for their collection. In Beijing, they were transported by the PLA to dormitories until

Red Guards Mao's 'Little Generals', whose devotion brought him back to power

Four Olds the concept of old ideas, old customs, old culture and old habits that Lin Biao first denounced at a Red Guard rally

Link-ups large-scale events where Red Guards travelled to Beijing to see Mao



SOURCE 13.19 Mao overlooking the Red Guard rally, August 1966



SOURCE 13.20 Images of the 1966 Red Guard rallies, with Mao's *Little Red Book* being prominently displayed

it was time for them to assemble in Tiananmen Square. There, they endured long hours waiting for Mao's appearance, which was often so fleeting, or he was so far away, that many missed actually seeing the **Great Helmsman**.

Mao had the men who had presided over China in his sights, but he did not rush to play his hand. He allowed Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping to try and use work teams to calm the students. They could not avoid appearing by Mao's side holding up his *Little Red Book* and wishing Mao a long life.

In 1967, the Red Guards turned on the Party elite at their headquarters in Zhongnanhai, located in the south-west corner of the Forbidden City. Among their targets were the famous generals Chen Yi, Liu Bocheng, and He Long. Spurred on by Jiang Qing, the Red Guards were keenest to punish Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, whom Mao had publicly labelled as '**No. 1 and No. 2 Capitalist Roaders**'. Initially, the Red Guards laid siege to the compound, but Zhou Enlai talked them out of entering the compound. At one stage, Liu and his wife, Wang Guangmei, were tricked into thinking their daughter, Ping, was seriously ill in the hospital. Wang Guangmei surrendered and was held by Red Guards at the entrance. Again, Zhou Enlai came to the rescue.

Great Helmsman a nickname for Mao, as he steered the ship of state

No. 1 and No. 2 Capitalist Roaders derogatory nicknames for Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, respectively

ANALYSING SOURCES 13.2



SOURCE 13.21 Anti-'capitalist roader' propaganda poster pasted onto a wall in the 1960s



SOURCE 13.22 PLA recruitment image, 1971

- 1 Discuss the occupation or sub-class of the figures depicted in each poster.
- 2 Discuss the intended purpose of each image.
- 3 Explain how each image demonstrates the return to power of Mao.

By July, the Zhongnanhai Compound was no longer a haven. Big Character Posters, attacking Liu Shaoqi in particular, now appeared inside the compound, obviously with Mao's permission. Mao and Lin Biao then conveniently left for a holiday in Hangzhou. Soon, the Red Guards were inside the compound. Zhou had used up his dwindling influence while the compound guards merely stood aside. Liu and his wife, Wang Gaugmei, were 'struggled', beaten and then isolated in their own home. Liu was deprived of his sleeping pills and medicine for his diabetes. The punishments continued. In October, Jiang Qing had Liu expelled from the Party. By then, he was barely able to move or speak. A year later, Lin Biao had him sent to Kaifeng City, where Liu died naked on a cold prison floor. Liu's eldest son was 'suicided' (killed) and his other children were exiled to remote areas.



SOURCE 13.23 Liu Shaoqi, 1966



SOURCE 13.24 Mao and Deng Xiaoping pictured in the 1960s, before Deng was purged

A MATTER OF FACT

Liu's wife, Wang Gaugmei, had accompanied him on an official trip to Indonesia where they were hosted by the president and his wife. Wang Guangmei wore a pearl necklace for the occasion. Later, during a struggle session, she was forced to wear a 'necklace' of ping-pong balls as a humiliation. Even later, Wang Guangmei's name was on the top of a list prepared by Lin Biao for execution. Prior to signing it, Mao inexplicably removed her name.

Deng Xiaoping was to suffer similarly but was allowed to live. After three rounds of humiliation and beatings, Deng and his wife were sent to Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province, where they were isolated in an old military compound and later made to work in a tractor repair shop. Their children were also sent to remote areas, except for their oldest son who survived a 'suicide' from a Beijing University building, only to become a paraplegic.

Mao, Jiang Qing, Lin Biao and Kang Sheng had, between them, gained revenge. Mao was restored to supreme command, and he continued to eliminate any opposing voices. As with the French Revolution and Stalin's Russia, the 'revolution had devoured its children'. Those comrades of the Jiangxi Soviet, the Long March, Yan'an and the civil war (please see Chapter 7 for more on these events) were insignificant compared to Mao's lust for power. The Red Guards had done their work well – and now it was time for Mao to dispense with them too.

Youth 'sent down' to the countryside

Now that Mao was in control, he did not want rampaging Red Guards and rebel Red Guards disturbing his plans to rebuild Chinese socialism. Already, in October 1967, the CCP had ordered classes to be resumed. However, many of these classes and students did little but study Mao Zedong Thought. The schools did not operate well as the best teachers had been killed, suicided or moved out. Discipline had been totally undermined. Finally, many Red Guards realised that once they were back in school, they would become unimportant again.

In July 1968, Mao organised 'Capital Mao Zedong Thought Work Propaganda Teams' (the same tactic that Liu was maligned for using) to enter Beijing campuses and encourage cooperation rather than conflict. At Qinghua University, in July, such a work team was attacked by Red Guards and five people were killed. Mao called the key Red Guard leaders to a meeting in the Great Hall of the People and told them bluntly that they were to stop their warfare, pointing out that he could send more workers or PLA than they could counter with students. The Red Guard movement was dealt a death blow. The PLA moved into the campuses and leading Red Guard gangs were dispersed elsewhere.

So, under the pretext of having them learn from the peasants, these students were **sent down** to remote villages to learn the grassroots politics. While the Red Guards were prepared to have others suffer, they knew that at the end of each 'struggle session' they could go to their homes in the cities, often to comparative comfort. To forsake the conveniences of city life for a rustic lifestyle among uneducated and crude peasants was devastating, especially when there was no guarantee of ever returning. For the remainder of the Cultural Revolution, over 12 million urban youth were sent to the villages.

How did Lin Biao promote the cult of Mao?

Lin Biao had been one of the Red Army's greatest generals in the civil war or 'War of Liberation', having won Manchuria for the CCP. Following his rise to Defence Minister after Peng Dehuai's dismissal, he realised that his rise was linked to Mao's restoration to power. He agreed with Mao that the PLA must be politically aware. He also removed the rank insignia on uniforms introduced by Peng. With the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, he started to remove defence officials loyal to Peng and replace them with his own cronies. This action later became a matter of concern to Mao.

It was Lin, in September 1966, who assembled and published (originally for the PLA) the book, *Quotations of Chairman Mao* – which is also known as Mao's *Little Red Book*. However, even before then, Lin was exhorting the PLA and the people to follow the wisdom of 'Mao Zedong Thought'.

It was Lin who encouraged the crowds of Red Guards at Tiananmen Square rallies to switch from calling out 'Mao Zhuxi wan sui' ('Ten thousand years to Chairman Mao'), which was the greeting for the emperors, to 'Mao Zhuxi wan shou wu jiang' ('Ten thousand long lifetimes without limit to Chairman Mao') that is, eternal life. In this one change of greeting, Mao had surpassed the emperors.

Each morning in homes, schools and workplaces people bowed towards a portrait of Mao with the *Little Red Book* in hand and wished him long life. This was called 'Zao qingshi' or 'Requesting morning instructions'. In the evening, the ritual was repeated, but it was called 'Wan huibao' or 'Evening report'. Up to now, such obeisance to a portrait was only reserved for deceased ancestors. Mao had gone from political leader to being something much greater. Even inadvertently making a mark on a photo of Mao in a newspaper would bring on painful retribution.



SOURCE 13.25 Beijing educated youth sews clothes, while other two women make dumplings with children doing homework, Jilin province, 1970

sent down *shangshan xiexiang*, young urban people were sent to villages to learn about grassroots politics; the term literally translates to 'up the hills and down to the villages'



SOURCE 13.26 Mao and Lin Biao



SOURCE 13.27 The wreckage of the plane in which Lin Biao and his family were killed in September 1971

Project 571 Lin Biao's code to for the plot to overthrow Mao

B-52 Lin Biao's code for Mao, named after the American long-range bomber

Lushan in 1959. As the new Defence Minister, Lin was there when Mao launched his comeback in 1966. In April 1969, Lin was announced as Mao's successor. Such success brought with it the seeds of failure. Mao was aware that the emperors of the past were very watchful of those next in line in case they wished to accelerate the succession. Lin's attempt to have Mao enshrined as a figurehead at the Lushan conference of April 1970 was a trap which Mao rejected.

By now Lin knew his days were numbered. He prepared a coup which he called '**Project 571**' (in Chinese this is '*wu qi yi*' – which sounds like 'armed uprising'). He referred to Mao as '**B-52**' (after the American long-range bomber). According to Harrison Salisbury, Lin planned several assassination scenarios with his wife and his son, Lin Ligu, an air force official. The final choice was to attack Mao's train but, due to Mao's change of plans, they missed the opportunity. On 12 September 1971, after fleeing to the seaside resort of Beidaihe, they boarded a Trident plane and flew towards Russia, but the plane crashed in Mongolia. All on board died.

This veracity of this version of Lin's death has been challenged – but it is backed up by Dr Li, Mao's personal physician. It also has specific details, and there is no accepted alternative theory.

What were the consequences of the failed coup?

The coup attempt orchestrated by his most public admirer came as a shock to Mao. Lin Biao – the man who had extolled the greatness of Mao and the importance of Mao Zedong Thought – had turned against him. Mao's credibility as China's salvation was shaken badly. By this time, Mao was suffering from Parkinson's disease. He took to his bed and developed pneumonia. The annual 1 October parade in Beijing was called off because Mao was unable to attend. However, the public were ignorant of his ill health.

Lin Biao's betrayal and death were kept quiet, and it was not until 1972 that it was announced to China and the world. Until then, Lin's books and portraits were slowly being removed without explanation.

Jiang Qing, who had common cause with Lin, was lessened by this connection. This left Zhou Enlai, who was succeeding in negotiations with the United States, as the man of the moment. While Jiang Qing admired the charm and intellect of Zhou, who had always treated her with courtesy, she knew that Zhou stood in the way of her extreme policies. The betrayal and death of Lin Biao, the man whom he had so richly rewarded, led Mao to reconsider those whom he had considered disloyal. Deng Xiaoping was revealed as someone Mao could rely on. The time was right to start 'rehabilitating' some of the survivors of Mao's campaigns.

The rise and fall of Lin Biao

Lin Biao was not an obvious candidate to be Mao's successor. Unlike most top Party officials, he chose not to live in the Zhongnanhai compound, choosing a nearby mansion instead. When the Korean War broke out it was Lin, not Peng Dehuai, who Mao wanted to lead the 'volunteers' against the United States and its allies. Lin pleaded illness and flew to Moscow for treatment. (This plea of illness had been used by imperial officials to avoid carrying out orders from the emperors.)

Lin was also a morphine addict, a habit he probably picked up during the Long March. Mao was aware of this addiction. However, Mao found it difficult to turn down Lin's support at

Not long after Lin Biao's abortive coup, Mao fell unconscious and stopped breathing. He was revived but he was not in vigorous health. He seldom appeared in public after this. When he shook hands with President Nixon in February 1972, the Chinese press commented on his good health while the American press thought he must have had a stroke. In fact, Mao was suffering from congestive heart problems and was bloated at the time. Despite a period of recovery, he deteriorated and became dependent on his personal attendant Zhang Yufeng (who became the unofficial means for communication with Mao). Even Jiang Qing would pander to Zhang Yufeng to obtain Mao's approval for any ventures. To make it worse for Mao's doctors, he refused most tests and medical procedures (both for himself and for others). Mao even refused to allow Zhou Enlai to have treatment for his bladder cancer, which would likely to have been successful.



SOURCE 13.28 Mao, Lin Biao and Zhou Enlai

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

LIN BIAO (Lin Piao) (1907–1971)

Lin Biao was born in the city of Wuhan in Hubei Province. His father was the owner of a small factory. Lin joined the Socialist Youth League in 1925, the same year he enrolled in the Huangpu Military Academy. He took part as a colonel in the northern Expedition in 1927 but, following the CCP/GMD split in Shanghai, he went to join Mao's Jiangxi Soviet.

In 1928 he became a commander and in 1934 a corps commander in the Red Army. Lin led the Long March forces which broke through Jiang Jieshi's Fifth Encirclement. His support for Mao at Zunyi allowed him to become a divisional commander in the Eighth Route Army from 1937 to 1938. The next three years he spent in Russia recovering from a minor wound after being mistakenly shot when he wore a GMD uniform for a prank. Back in China he married Ye Qun, his second wife. Ye Qun was criticised during the Rectification Campaign for comments she made when under GMD rule. She had been outed by a former friend, the wife of He Long. (He Long later paid for this with his life during the Cultural Revolution.)



SOURCE 13.29 Lin Biao with Mao in 1966 during the Cultural Revolution

Lin Biao distinguished himself in the fighting against Japanese forces and was decisive in the civil war, winning Manchuria for the communists. Later, even his critics regarded him as an excellent military commander.

With the 1949 communist victory, when most leaders settled into the Zhongnanhai complex in Beijing, Lin lived separately in the Maojiawan area. In 1950 Lin pleaded illness to avoid leading the Chinese 'volunteers' in the Korean conflict. In fact, he was a morphine addict which may have caused his fear of water, loud noise, light and wind. According to Mao's personal physician, Li Zhisui, Lin would use a bed pan under the cover of a quilt to avoid using a toilet. Lin's doctor, Nelson Fu, informed an unsurprised Mao of Lin's morphine habit and was to become another victim of Lin's in the Cultural Revolution.

In 1954 Lin Biao became Vice-Premier of the State Council. In 1959 he came to Mao's defence at the Lushan conference and was given Peng Dehuai's position as Minister of Defence. He reorganised the PLA along the old Red Army lines with political consciousness a priority. This included issuing every soldier with a copy of *Quotations of Chairman Mao*, which he had commissioned. He also retired some of the old marshals who had served the revolution and replaced them with his cronies. In 1969 Lin became Vice-Chairman of the CCP and Mao's designated successor.

Leaders such as Mao quickly become suspicious of successors in case they wish to speed up the succession. Mao started to distance himself from him, and Lin was aware of his peril. He decided to strike first and, using his son and favoured generals launched Project 571, a homophonic code for 'armed uprising' against Mao whom he labelled B52 after an American bomber plane. Zhou Enlai got wind of the plot, possibly through Lin's daughter, Lin Doudou. In haste, Lin, his son and wife fled in a partially-fuelled Trident plane which crashed in Outer Mongolia, killing all on board. Conspiracy theorists offer other views of what happened but the reliable accounts of those close to Mao offer the same story. For the people of China the real story was not Lin's death, but how could the very man who promoted the cult of Mao turn against him?

A MATTER OF FACT

On 23 July 1975, Mao did undergo a successful operation on his left eye. To maximise the likelihood of success, the ophthalmologists practised on 40 old men beforehand.

The impact of the Gang of Four

The 'Criticise Lin Biao and Confucius' campaign

After Lin Biao's death, the Gang of Four initiated a series of 'Criticise Lin Biao and Confucius' posters. The hatred towards Lin is obvious – but why Confucius, who was not seen as a threat? The answer lies in the Chinese tradition of allegory. Confucius, the quiet and venerated sage, must have been seen as a reference to Zhou Enlai, whose quiet and diplomatic manner made the Gang of Four seem raucous and savage. The Gang of Four was not in a position to openly attack Zhou, so the references to Confucius were a roundabout means of attacking the Premier. However, Mao was also happy to keep the Premier on a knife's edge, just to remind Zhou who was boss.

ANALYSING SOURCES 13.3

- 1 Identify the industry depicted in this image and explain its significance.
- 2 Discuss the role of the person depicted on the top right of the poster.

SOURCE 13.30 A 'Criticise Lin and Confucius' poster, urging increased industrial production



The impact of the Cultural Revolution

Economy

While communes were still the basis of rural development, there was no attempt to bring back the Great Leap Forward. Zhou Enlai had promoted stable growth based on normal factory methods and production. Former factory managers were 'rehabilitated' to revive the economy. A more stable political environment encouraged steady economic growth which was aided by schools returning to normal. Zhou Enlai set the goal of Four Modernisations – agriculture, industry, technology and science, and defence.

Culture

As one might expect, the Gang of Four (especially Jiang Qing) did its best to remould culture. Traditional Beijing Opera was divorced from the 'Four Olds' and were (re)scripted to serve Marxist/Maoist principles. Operas such as *The Red Detachment of Women* depicted working-class heroes and martyrs inspired by the writings of Mao. There were only eight approved operas. Films also served this purpose. Anchee Min wrote an autobiography, *Red Azalea*, about being selected to play Jiang Qing in an aborted film of the latter's career. Li Cunxin, in his autobiography, *Mao's Last Dancer*, writes about being whisked from a small rural school to train and then dance in propaganda ballet. The selection of poor and untrained peasant children was part of the new cultural shift. Culture had become the handmaiden of Party propaganda.

Education

Education was greatly disrupted by the Cultural Revolution. Children did not attend school, except to study Mao's writings, victimise teachers or use classrooms as Red Guard headquarters. While the children of cadres had easy access to good schools, the universities were now open to those from worker backgrounds more than those with academic qualifications. The slogan 'Better red than expert' meant that schools, hospitals and communes were no longer run by those with expertise. After the death of the Red Guard movement, schools slowly returned to their real purpose.



SOURCE 13.31 Chinese peasants from a commune catch a ride to the fields in the 1960s

The nature of political disruption and impact on CCP

The PLA

Under Lin Biao, the PLA had become a political force. With the *Little Red Book*, the PLA was brought on to the political stage to 'rescue' Mao and organise the mass rallies in Beijing. The PLA was eventually engulfed in the conflicts between Red Guard factions. Then, Mao used them to suppress the Red Guards. Generals in the PLA were soon torn in their loyalty to either Lin or Mao, with the older generals supporting Mao and Lin's appointees supporting him. Some of the generals complicit in Lin's attempt to overthrow Mao were purged. This led to the restoration of many of the old guard who had survived Red Guard torment. The CCP had resumed control over the PLA.

Politics

Lin Biao was a huge contradiction in that the man who deified Mao had also tried to assassinate him. How could this be explained? Propaganda was used to turn this 'leftist' into a scheming 'rightist', through a fictional (and revisionist) retrospective of Lin Biao's career. However, the people of China were not all duped by this. Disillusionment with the Cultural Revolution and personality politics set in. Even Mao was prepared to tone down the cult of personality which he blamed Lin Biao for creating. The victor in all this was the Party itself, which had been targeted in the Cultural Revolution. It was now enshrined in a new constitution as the supreme authority. While it took three rehabilitations, Deng Xiaoping survived the Cultural Revolution and, when he took power in 1981, avoided having himself as the focus of a personality cult. Meanwhile, the Gang of Four became the scapegoats for all the ills of the Cultural Revolution. Mao's image, however, was largely left unscathed.



SOURCE 13.32 A statue of Mao being cleaned and painted in the 1980s. While these statues once existed in their thousands, this was one of the few to escape demolition at the end of the Cultural Revolution.

Foreign policy

Following Zhou Enlai's goal, China was to continue opening up to the West and separate itself from the Communist bloc of nations (those largely under the control of the Soviet Union). It occasionally took the side of conservative governments. It had even reacted moderately to US President Nixon's bombings of North Vietnam. With its seat in the United Nations from 1971, China aligned itself more with the developing countries than with the socialist countries.

The people

The Chinese masses were not to receive an apology from those who fostered the Cultural Revolution. So many had been harmed by their government, their workmates, neighbours and sometimes even their family. They could not start to seek redress for their grievances – and so had to be content with blaming the Gang of Four, repairing their lives and hoping for a better future.

13.3 Deng Xiaoping and the modernisation of China

It does not matter whether a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice.

Deng Xiaoping

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

ZHOU ENLAI (Chou En-lai) 1898–1976

Zhou Enlai was born in Huai'an in Jiangsu Province to a declining Mandarin family. Zhou's grandfather, who had failed the provincial examinations for entry into the civil service, gave him the classical name Enlai meaning 'benevolence comes'. Zhou's uncle and aunt had no children of their own so he was given to them as a son and he grew up regarding them as his parents. He followed an uncle to Tianjin where he entered the Nankai Middle School run along Western lines and where classes were conducted in English.

Zhou lived and studied in Tokyo between 1917 and 1918. In 1920 he travelled to Paris where he studied until 1924 and supplemented his income by working in a Renault factory. By now he was fluent in English and French, as well as speaking an educated Mandarin Chinese.

However, studies soon took a back seat to politics. In 1922 Zhou became a founding member of the Overseas Chinese Communist Party. On his return to China in 1925 he married a fellow revolutionary, Deng Yingchao. Zhou then became active in Guangzhou and soon found himself as the political commissar for the Huangpu Military Academy, a co-operative effort of the Guomindang and Chinese Communist Party.

After the massacre of the communists in Shanghai in 1927, Zhou barely escaped as he now had a price on his head. He led the CCP and defecting GMD generals on its short-lived takeover of the city of Nanchang. While others fled to Jinggangshan, Zhou went to Guangzhou. When other city uprisings also failed, Zhou and the rest of the '28 Bolsheviks' Central Committee journeyed to the Ruijin Soviet in Jiangxi. Mao was included in the new leadership which included Comintern agent Otto Braun.

It was when the Long March reached the city of Zunyi that Zhou switched allegiances and supported Mao's promotion to the Central Committee. By the time Mao had grabbed the Long March leadership, Zhou was subordinate to Mao, but still a leader.

After the Xi'an Incident Zhou became the official liaison (1937–1946) between the CCP and GMD, necessitating prolonged stays in Xi'an (Eighth Route Army headquarters) and Chongqing (Jiang Jieshi's wartime capital). He was recalled to Yanan during Mao's Rectification Movement and feared he would become Mao's victim. By then he was cowed and unable to stand up to Mao.

With the CCP victory in 1949 Zhou was appointed premier (a position he held until his death). He remained a member of the Politburo. He was also Foreign Minister from 1949 to 1958. While Zhou supported Mao with his various policies up to the Lushan Conference of 1959, he also supported Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping in their attempts to revitalise the economy and bring in Zhou's 'Four Modernisations'.

However, when Mao resumed power in 1966 with the Cultural Revolution, Zhou was again supporting Mao. For the next ten years he tried his best to mitigate its effects. He tried to protect victims such as Liu and Deng. He declared certain national treasures such as the Forbidden City off limits to Red Guard destruction. He vainly tried to obtain good medical treatment for the ailing ex-emperor, Puyi. After the death of Lin Biao, Zhou was able to push through better relations with the USA and was able to



SOURCE 13.33 Zhou Enlai as Chinese Premier, pictured in 1973

'rehabilitate' Deng and some former generals. The Gang of Four resented his calm prestige and attacked Zhou under the guise of 'Confucius' in the 'Attack Lin Biao and Confucius' posters. Yet, in the end, Zhou was unable to protect himself when Mao forbade him to seek medical attention for his bladder cancer. He died as he had lived, working hard and trying to arrange for a better future for China.

Following Zhou's death on 30 January 1976, the Gang of Four and Mao planned a low-key funeral. Mao chose not to attend. The people felt cheated and, on the Qingming festival for the dead (April 5), they flooded Tian'anmen Square with flowers to honour him, defying troops sent to prevent them. Zhou's biographer (Gao Wenqian) has stated that his death 'announced the bankruptcy of the communist myth'.



SOURCE 13.34 Zhou Enlai

Responses to the death of Zhou Enlai

Zhou Enlai, as Premier, worked long hours to run the government – especially as Mao had removed many of the competent officials during the Cultural Revolution. He had spent much of the Cultural Revolution trying to protect national monuments, old comrades and even the dying Pu Yi (the last Emperor of China) in 1967. However, Zhou's health was deteriorating and by November 1975, he was too weak to shake hands. He died in January 1976, survived by his wife Deng Yingchao. Mao appointed a political lightweight, Hua Guofeng, as Premier. Hua had joined the Party after the Long March. Hua replaced Deng Xiaoping, who was again demoted by Mao and the Gang of Four.

The funeral for Zhou was, thanks to Mao and Jiang Qing, low key and not befitting his office or devotion to the Party and China. As Qingming (the annual festival to honour the dead) approached, people came to lay wreaths to honour Zhou at the Monument to Revolutionary Martyrs in Tiananmen Square. Thousands of wreaths were laid, flags were waved and speeches denouncing Jiang Qing were given. The Politburo met and,

with Mao's approval, the wreaths were removed on the night of the actual festival and people were arrested. On 5 April 1976, the crowd turned violent and 10 000 militia, 3000 police and five battalions of security police surrounded the square. They beat and arrested the 'counter-revolutionaries' inside it. Jiang Qing was delighted with the suppression. Mao believed Deng Xiaoping was behind the protests. Deng was yet again purged, while Hua Guofeng was made Zhou's permanent replacement, thus making him Mao's successor.

The death of Zhu De

Just as other leaders had been targeted by the Red Guards, so was Zhu De. Called a 'warlord' the 'war horse' and the 'black general', Zhu's brilliant leadership of the Red Army and his complete

loyalty to Mao meant nothing. Mao did not lift a finger to help his old comrade. Zhu survived the struggle sessions. In 1976, at the age of 90, he too died. The Year of the Dragon had claimed another Long Marcher.



SOURCE 13.35 The monument to revolutionary martyrs, where people gathered to honour Zhou

The Tangshan earthquake

Tangshan is coal-mining town, 180 kilometres east of Beijing. In the early hours of 26 July 1976, Tangshan was hit by an earthquake measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale. A total of 242 000 people died in the area, and as many again died in surrounding areas (including Beijing). The PLA supplied basic assistance. However, because of the Cultural Revolution, emergency services were inadequate. Jiang Qing insisted that China not accept offers of aid from overseas. As well as being a humanitarian and economic disaster, the earthquake was a sign that the Mandate of Heaven had been removed and that there should be a change of regime. Jiang Qing knew that it would be read that way and tried to have the media downplay the earthquake – a callous, politically motivated move.



SOURCE 13.36 PLA soldiers and officers attend a memorial for Mao in Tiananmen Square, 18 September 1976

The death of Mao and the end of the Cultural Revolution

By June 1976, Mao had suffered two heart attacks. He had a medical team constantly attending him at his villa at Zhongnanhai. The chief of Mao's security staff, two members of the Gang of Four and Hua Guofeng took it in turn to check on the medical team. Jiang Qing often came in to criticise the medical treatment or to ask Mao to read documents. In July, Mao's kidney function was poor and he was blind in his left eye – but he was alert enough to give instructions. When Mao's bed was shaken by the Tangshan earthquake, he was moved to a more secure building. On 2 September 1976, Mao suffered a third heart attack. Seven days later, he was dead. The Chairman who was wished 'eternal life' by the masses died just short of the age of 83. 🗝️

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing conclusions



- 1 What series of events 'foreshadowed' Mao's death?
- 2 Why was Zhou's death so critical for China?

The role of Hua Guofeng in the arrest of the Gang of Four

Mao's body was taken to the Great Hall of the People, where it lay in state for official mourning. Meanwhile, the Gang of Four was moving to secure military support in Shanghai and to eliminate Deng Xiaoping, who was being protected by Marshall Ye near Guangzhou. Marshall Ye had the support of Wang Xiaodong, Mao's



SOURCE 13.37 The Gang of Four on trial, November 1980. (Left to right): Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, and Jiang Qing. Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao received death sentences that were later commuted to life imprisonment, while Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan were given life and 20 years in prison respectively. All members of the Gang of Four have since died.

Chief of Security, and eventually convinced Hua Guofeng to arrest Jiang Qing and the rest of the Gang of Four. By a ruse, three of the Gang were invited to attend a meeting in Huairan Hall in Zhongnanhai. As Zhang Chunqiao, Wang Hongwen and Yao Wenyuan entered the building, they were read an indictment issued by the Politburo and arrested. A group was sent to Jiang Qing's quarters where she was arrested without incident (as her security guards had withdrawn). The only resistance came from Mao's nephew, Mao Yuanxin, who had sided with the Gang of Four. He fled to a military airport and wounded two security guards before being arrested. He was eventually sentenced to 17 years in jail.

Mao was mourned by the nation. While many genuinely wept for the Great Helmsman, others were secretly pleased with his passing. Jung Chang wrote:

The news filled me with such a euphoria that for an instant I was numb. My ingrained self-censorship immediately started working: I registered the fact that there was an orgy of weeping going on around me, and I had to come up with some suitable performance. There seemed nowhere to hide my lack of correct emotion except the shoulder of the woman in front of me.

SOURCE 13.38 Jung Chang, *Wild Swans*, 1991, p. 658

Xu Meihong in her biography, co-written by Larry Engelmann, had a different response:

With the death of Mao an old world died for all of us and a new age began. At the time we believed the sun had died and that the new age would be one of darkness for China.

SOURCE 13.39 Xu Meihong and Larry Engelmann, *Daughter of China*, 1999, p. 267



SOURCE 13.40 Mao's Mausoleum in Tiananmen Square

southwards towards his own mausoleum. On either side of his portrait hang two signs. One says 'Long live the Chinese Communist Party' and the other says 'Long live the united peoples of the world'.

Certainly, the man who controlled the CCP for 41 years and the nation for 27 years was gone. There was a huge gap, left not only by his own death but also by the deaths of those comrades who had gone

In the event of his death, Russia's Lenin did not want a mausoleum or to have his body preserved – but that is what happened. Similarly, a mausoleum for Mao was built in the centre of his Tiananmen Square and his body was preserved, although not very successfully (it is occasionally replaced by a wax model when his body undergoes repairs). The CCP obviously felt it necessary to keep Mao's image alive. Were these acts of self-preservation on their part? A large portrait of Mao hangs on the Gate of Heavenly Peace and gazes

before him. The Cultural Revolution, which had dragged on for 10 years, was officially over with the death of the man who had brought it all into being and who, alone, knew why it was necessary.

Deng Xiaoping replaces Hua Guofeng

Hua Guofeng was a political lightweight and he was soon moved aside to allow Deng Xiaoping to reshape China. Deng then began to build the Chinese economy along the lines he had employed with Liu Shaoqi in the early 1960s. Such a radical shift required a reassessment of Mao as well as a dismantling of the commune system. His policies required an attempt to remove from power those Party members whose political appointments were due to the Cultural Revolution. While the political structure, especially the dominance of the CCP, remained largely unchallenged, the economic changes created the economic superpower that is China today.

Hua Guofeng, plucked from obscurity, did not wish to remain obscure. Knowing that his position as leader of China was due to Mao's selection, he took full advantage of that connection. Posters often depicted Mao saying to Hua: 'With you in charge I am at ease'. His policy was based on the Two Whatevers: 'Whatever Mao had decided must be carried on' and 'Whatever Mao had said must be upheld'. This alliance to the memory of Mao and the use of songs and posters to tie him to the cult figure of Mao was not enough. China was looking for a change. In particular, the military leaders and Mao's economist, Chen Yun, backed Deng Xiaoping as the man China needed.

Quickly rehabilitated, yet again, Deng became Vice-Premier, Chief of Staff to the PLA, and member of the Politburo in 1977. In any assembly of politicians and international visitors, it was Deng who held the floor. The use of the Democracy Wall and the *dazibao* to undermine Mao, and by association Hua, allowed a gentle progression by Deng until Hua was eased out of power in a bloodless coup.

How was Mao reassessed?

Mao had devastated China in his efforts to regain power. His Great Leap Forward had brought death to tens of millions of Chinese people. His cult of personality and his Red Guards had also resulted in the further deaths of millions of people. Yet the Party that now ruled China, unelected, was his Party. To completely dismantle the image of Mao would be to undermine the CCP. Deng, who had personally suffered during the Cultural Revolution, had little love for Mao. However, he realised that he had to balance preserving the image of Mao, yet dismantle it enough to allow his non-Maoist policies to succeed. The reassessment of Mao took the form of reaffirming his great leadership of the Party but admitting he made mistakes in his later years.

Posters of Mao often included other Party members as well. Great Helmsman and Red Sun images disappeared. Many public statues of Mao were quietly dismantled overnight without explanation. Newspapers began to feature reassessments.



SOURCE 13.41 Hua Guofeng, Mao's successor, pictured in the late 1970s; note the similarity in his clothing to Mao



SOURCE 13.42 Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang, 1981

ANALYSING SOURCES 13.4

Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, described the late Chairman Mao Zedong as 'China's greatest and most outstanding figure' of the past century. He wrote a 'Tribute to Mao on his 90th birthday'.

Like many other great figures in past history, Comrade Mao Zedong also made mistakes. The serious mistakes he made in his later years put our Party in a very difficult situation for a time, Hu noted

Confronted with the question of how to appraise this prestigious and great leader who had just passed away, some people in the Party, in particular in certain leading positions, attempted to follow the wrong policies Mao Zedong had adopted in his later years. Some worried that open exposure of his mistakes would throw the Party into confusion and cause a crisis of confidence. Some went to the other extreme, wanting to throw out all the great contributions made by Mao Zedong along with his errors in his later years, and this would lead the Party astray....

Comrade Mao Zedong's monumental contributions in hacking a path through difficulties over past decades will always be a source of admiration and encouragement for us and inspire us in our courageous advance to accomplish the cause he left unfinished.

SOURCE 13.43 Hu Yaobang, 'Xinhua Report', *China Daily*, 26 December 1983

- 1 Analyse the ways this report reduces, but does not destroy, Mao's legacy.
- 2 Identify who you think Hu Yaobang is referring to in 'following the wrong policies'.
- 3 Examine how Mao's name and title have been downgraded as this article progresses.

The nature of Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms

The urgent need was to build on the improvements in agriculture and to relieve those areas which were still poor. Then, Deng believed, industry would follow. To do this meant dismantling aspects of socialism. To justify this approach (for which he and Liu Shaoqi had been previously punished), Deng brought back the saying 'It does not matter whether a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice'. To develop his 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' (that is, a form of capitalism) Deng needed to throw away the 'iron rice bowl'. Under the collective system in agriculture and industry, the lazy worker would still collect a wage and had no fear of being sacked. People needed an incentive to work harder – they needed to directly benefit from their own labour.

Agriculture and the Responsibility System

While keeping the communes and state ownership of land, the 'Responsibility System' was introduced. As a trial, Deng sent a trusted official, Wan Li, into the poorest parts of the poorest province, Anhui, where begging to survive was still rife. The peasants were allocated land on a family basis. They then grew their crops and sold a predetermined percentage to the state. The remainder could be sold on the open market for greater profit. The household plot could be used for personal growing of vegetables or for raising small animals.

The system worked, and by 1982 it was widespread and officially approved by the Party. Some peasants became comparatively rich, able to afford a tractor or a truck to transport their goods to market. The first class to benefit from the new economy was the peasant class, whose newfound wealth was the envy of many city dwellers.

Industry and commerce

Previously, with the 'iron rice bowl' policy, service in department stores was often lackadaisical with shop assistants taking time to file their nails between serving a long line of customers wanting to purchase items. State-run enterprises were now told to make profits and, if necessary, fire staff who did not work. People were encouraged to set up shops to supply competition and a better variety of goods and service to customers.

Factories were encouraged to modernise production and to use some profits, after taxes, for reinvestment. Trade fairs were set up to allow companies to import quality equipment from overseas. Overseas companies were encouraged to invest in China in **joint ventures**, where the Chinese company went 50/50 with the international company. This not only brought more profit (due to overseas access to markets) but resulted in better quality products and quality control for the domestic market. Japan was very quick to take advantage of the cheap labour market that joint ventures supplied.

Deng set up **Special Economic Zones** in the south-east with investment capital, so they could conduct business along more capitalist lines. These areas were highly prized by employees, who received significantly better wages and conditions than their counterparts. One such zone was Shenzhen, set up across the border from Hong Kong in anticipation of Hong Kong's return to mainland control.

The major drawback to this system was that the Chinese people were no longer guaranteed employment. While some could increasingly make their own choices and advance themselves, others found themselves unemployed (without a social security or dole system). 🗝️

What happened to education?

In a reverse of the 'Better Red than expert' philosophy, China needed experts to run its industry. Deng's policy of the Four Modernisations required high-quality education. Exams became the key means of entry to good schools. The government recognised certain schools and universities as 'key' schools, which meant that they received the best funding and staffing. Competition to enter these institutions, through exams, was keen. While political education and military training continued in the universities, the emphasis was now on the academic.

The government encouraged students to study at overseas universities so they could bring back their acquired skills. Teachers, or 'foreign experts', were brought in from overseas to improve the quality of English and, to a lesser extent, Japanese. These were the languages needed for the new technologies. Those who had studied Russian needed to switch to improve their opportunities to travel overseas.

In the schools, the **Young Pioneers** movement was revived (having been killed off by the Red Guard movement). This was a combination of a scouting-like movement and traineeship for Party membership. The Young Pioneers were easily recognised by the red scarves around their necks.



SOURCE 13.44 1980s department store with a Seiko (watch/technology company) advertisement with the characters 'Socialism is good' on top

joint ventures Chinese companies working with overseas investments on a 50–50 basis

Special Economic Zones special areas run along capitalist lines

KEY QUESTIONS

Hypothesising



Consider what Mao's reaction would be to such enterprises.

Young Pioneers a return to a program that was a like a cross between Scouts and Young Communists, where youngsters with the red scarves lived up to duty and expectations

The one-child policy

The government soon recognised that economic growth and prosperity depended on being able to feed, and therefore control, the population of China. Mao had always seen a large population as an asset, but the demographers pointed out the difficulty of sustaining a rapidly increasing population of over one billion people.

one-child policy with some exceptions, families were officially encouraged to only have one child

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying



- 1 What measures were taken to promote education?
- 2 Why was the one-child policy necessary?
- 3 What were the drawbacks of the one-child policy?

So the **one-child policy** was born. This involved a three-pronged attack. A propaganda campaign extolling the advantages of having just one child (a healthier and better-cared-for child) was launched, mainly through posters. Economic penalties for having a second child, including a withdrawal of free education and medical treatment, were brought in. The danwei ('work unit'), and especially its clinic, was responsible for meeting a quota of birth control. Both birth control and late marriages were strongly encouraged.

There were unfortunate consequences of this policy. An unpopular image of this policy is that of women having their pregnancies forcibly terminated to prevent the birth of a second child. Gender also became a contentious issue. While many educated city dwellers were content to have only one child, even a female one, this was not often the case in the rural areas. The peasants still saw a boy as being a means of looking after them in their retirement and praying for their spirits after their deaths. As a girl traditionally became part of her husband's family, girls were often considered a liability. Sadly, the illegal practices of infanticide and abandonment of females are still practised in rural areas.



SOURCE 13.45 Poster extolling the virtues of having only one child



SOURCE 13.46 Fujian poster urging population of the province not to exceed 32 million

ANALYSING SOURCES 13.5

When Pan Xiaoyan was conceived, her mother (who lived in a rural county in Fujian Province) faced a problem. As she already had a daughter, a second daughter would be an economic liability. She wanted a son. Secretly, she went to stay with her brother in Fuzhou until the birth. If a son was born, she would proudly bring him back with her. She gave birth to a girl – Pan Xiaoyan (Chinese for 'Little and gorgeous').

Pan's uncle helped his sister locate a childless couple in the city who paid the usual sum of money for the girl. They informed the government that they had found the child abandoned in the long-distance bus station and would raise her as their own. Her name became Huang Ying ('Oriole'). Two incidents

changed this arrangement. First, the foster father was stabbed in the head when he came to the rescue of a neighbour attacked by youths. Second, his wife became pregnant. They were too poor to raise two children. They offered Huang Ying back to her biological parents, who declined. They then offered her to the government as an orphan.

At this time, the Fujian government had promised to find a girl for an Australian couple teaching in that city. Huang Ying was renamed Hannah, and she became the first child from the PRC to be adopted by Australians. She is today employed as a lawyer.

- 1 Summarise why Pan Xiaoyan was given up the first time.
- 2 Explain why, as Huang Ying, she was given up a second time.



SOURCE 13.47 Pan Xiaoyan

13.4 The Tiananmen Square protests

Events leading up to the 4 June 1989 Incident

During the time of Mao's rule, the people of China were taught that the proletariat of Western countries lived in Dickensian poverty, as portrayed in the story of *The Little Match Girl*, which featured in many Chinese textbooks. They had been told that people in China were better off. After their country began opening up and they started watching Western films and television, as well as observing international exchanges, the people of China quickly realised what they had missed out on.

Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms had created wealth for certain sections of the community. However, those with *guanxi* – political connections – were best able to break through the political red tape. They could invest in joint enterprises with foreign companies, import goods from overseas and set up their own businesses. As the Chinese proverb went: 'When a man becomes an official, his wife, children, dogs, cats and even chickens fly.' At the bottom of the scale were the youth who no longer had the 'iron rice bowl' (guaranteed employment). They were called 'job-awaiting youth'.

What irked many Chinese people was the wealth being built up by the Deng family itself. The eldest son, Deng Pufang, built a large company known as Kang Hua, which traded in imports, dominated the Beijing taxi industry and attracted the children of the ruling elite. However, Kang Hua's corruption was becoming common knowledge. Deng Xiaoping would have been aware that the conclusion of the Chinese proverb was: 'When he falls, they all fall with him.'

The elderly Deng (now aged 83) decided to officially retire from the Central Committee but not from being influential. He also dragged into retirement a number of contemporary Long Marchers who resisted economic reform. In 1987, a younger official, Zhao Ziyang (aged 68), was elected General Secretary. The 13th Congress in Beijing had seen an unusual lack of unity in the Party, but Deng's candidate had won through. Ready to move in just below him was Li Peng (aged 59), a Moscow-trained official who had been adopted and raised by Zhou Enlai.

Zhao Ziyang presented a new image to the world. Instead of the traditional Mao jacket, he wore a Western-style suit and tie. He belonged to the reformist faction of the CCP, which aimed at some democratic reforms. However, he was still supportive of the crackdown on the Tibetan uprising that year.

This dissension within the Party would be instrumental in the 1989 Tiananmen Incident.



SOURCE 13.48 Zhao Ziyang, 1987



SOURCE 13.49 Student demonstrators at Tiananmen Square, 1989

The demand for political, social and economic reform

There was a growing activism among students and intellectuals. They had three main concerns. The first issue was that they wanted democracy, rather than Party dictatorship. The students at one art school built an image of the ‘Goddess of Democracy’, which they brought to the movement’s focus – Tiananmen Square. The 4 May 1989 was the 70th anniversary of the May Fourth protests and this stirred them on. The second issue was corruption by Party officials around the country, who abused their unchallenged positions. This was, and still is, a legitimate concern. The third issue was the death in April of Hu Yaobang, who had been removed from the position of Secretary-General as a scapegoat for those who were critical of Deng’s policies. Hu was replaced by a younger man, Zhao Ziyang.

The students saw Hu as a progressive in favour of reform and democracy and chose to remember him at Tiananmen Square – much as Zhou Enlai had been 13 years earlier. Factory workers, artists and other sectors lent their support to the students.

Two key leaders of the movement were an astrophysicist, Fang Lizhi, and a poster writer, Wei Jingsheng (who was jailed for his criticisms). Other students took up the call for reform. In May, Tiananmen Square became the stage for



SOURCE 13.50 The Goddess of Democracy being paraded by protesters in Tiananmen Square, 1989

KEY QUESTIONS

Evaluating

- 1 Identify the grievances of the students.
- 2 Evaluate what the crackdown at Tiananmen Square indicates about China’s rulers of the time.
- 3 Explain the significance of Source 13.50.



SOURCE 13.51 The famous one-man protest following the Tiananmen Massacre

students to camp on and protest. Some held hunger strikes. Attempts were made to move the students out using the PLA, but the soldiers did not want to use force against these comrades. To add to Deng's embarrassment, the leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, paid a visit and witnessed this protest against the government. Zhao Ziyang visited the students and was visibly moved by the state of the hunger strikers. He was soon removed by the hardliners. Deng and Li Peng called the shots.

The military and political response to the protest

On 4 June 1989, the government brought in outside troops – the 27th Army, who had no connection or sympathy with the students. The crackdown was brutal and bloody. Tanks and tracer bullets were responsible for most of the deaths. After clearing Tiananmen Square, the Army then entered the universities to arrest protesters. The final number of people killed are unknown, as the government hid the figures and disposed of bodies from what was euphemistically called the 'Tiananmen Incident'.

Officially, 200–300 'counter-revolutionaries' died. The Red Cross has estimated that the true figure is about 3000 people. The mother of one victim, Ding Zilin, devoted herself to discovering the facts. She estimated 2600 people died. Thousands were arrested around the country, and some were executed. Even today, many citizens of China are unaware of what actually occurred.

A MATTER OF FACT

Following the Tiananmen crackdown, students at one university began to throw bottles from their dormitory windows in protest. The Chinese for 'little bottle' is *xiao ping* – which is a pun on Deng's name, Xiaoping ('Little Peace'). This is another example of the Chinese ability to use allegory to protest against restrictive regimes.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 13.6

According to journalist Peter Ellingsen, the crackdown:

was totally predictable and unremarkable for a regime that had already killed about 40 million of its people in two misguided ideological adventures, the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward.

SOURCE 13.52 Peter Ellington, 'The Truth Will Out', *The Age*, 21 April 2001

Jiang Zemin's verdict was:

A bad thing has been turned into a good. As a result our program of reform and opening has forged ahead, with steadier, better and even quicker steps, and our advantages have been brought into even fuller play. History shows that anything conducive to our national stability is good.

SOURCE 13.53 Jiang Zemin, quoted in Tony Walker, 'China Squares Off', *The Weekend Australian*, 4–5 June 2004

- 1 Peter Wellington's verdict 'in hindsight' glosses over any essential difference between the Tiananmen massacre and the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward. Discuss the differences.
- 2 Identify Jiang Zemin's 'sleight of hand' in logic.



SOURCE 13.54 Jiang Zemin with US President Bill Clinton, 1994

The impact on China and its standing in the world

Jiang Zemin's rise to power

The immediate result of the Tiananmen Incident was the strengthened position of political hardliners such as Li Peng and the fall of moderates such as Zhao Ziyang (who was consigned to house arrest and political oblivion). Shanghai Party leader Jiang Zemin (one of the third generation of communists) was plucked from political obscurity to replace Zhang as General Secretary.

Jiang had been mayor of Shanghai during its period of immense growth. (Some of his critics gave the credit to Zhu Rongji.) As mayor, Jiang became an automatic appointee to the Politburo.

However, it was his closure of a Shanghai newspaper which was sympathetic to the student protesters that recommended him to the hardliners. He had a small power base, and many considered his appointment as Secretary-General to be transitional. Jiang's initial reluctance to push Deng's economic reforms was unwise. He had even criticised the previous period as being 'hard on the economy and soft on politics'. To strengthen his position, he continued the hard political line while pushing Deng's economic reforms. At the 14th Party Congress in 1992, he pushed through the goal of 'socialist market economy' and promoted his supporters Zhu Rongji and Hu Jintao (the future leaders of China) to the Politburo Standing Committee. He later removed the recalcitrant Qiao Shi and Liu Huaqing to push his overhaul of the state sector.

Internally, the Tiananmen massacre was kept out of the media, except to denigrate the participants. It was still euphemistically called an 'incident'. Protest leaders were hunted down and imprisoned. Soon, other matters took precedence: unemployment was up to 40 per cent in some areas; coastal areas were surpassing rural areas in growth; corruption was rife; and the many state-owned enterprises were failing. There was great incentive for people to avoid politics and concentrate on participating in the economic growth, or to escape overseas.

China's standing in the world

Initially, the world condemned the 4 July massacre. Overseas reporters and camera crews were already on the scene covering the student protests. The photos of crushed students were horrific. The photo of a lone man with his shopping holding up a line of tanks with his body was a rare moment of humanity and hope.

However, after the initial shock, the world and its media succumbed to pragmatism. China was emerging as the economic superpower and shunning it was financially unwise. In an editorial in *The Age*, the newspaper commented on leaked Chinese documents about what had happened:

Western leaders always knew that what they witnessed at Tiananmen Square was a brutal use of state power. But the pragmatic response, once the initial sense of revulsion had waned, was to move ahead cautiously with the imperative of ending China's isolation. For all the edginess in relations between Beijing and Washington, the truth is that America, as much as Australia and Europe, acknowledges that the Asian giant must play an increasingly important role in global affairs, especially as it opens its markets to the world.

SOURCE 13.55 Editorial, *The Age*, 11 January 2001

On 1 May 1991, Taiwan ended Jiang Jieshi's 43-year-old Period of Communist Rebellion (a state of emergency) and opened the way for greater dialogue between the island state and the mainland.

Perhaps the last word belongs to Deng Xiaoping, the man behind the crackdown: 'The West has a short memory'.

Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan

In 1997, Britain's lease on Hong Kong ran out. Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, tried to renegotiate the situation but Deng Xiaoping played 'hardball' to the 'Iron Maiden'. What Deng did offer was 'one country, two systems', which was a promise of 50 years wherein Hong Kong was to be left basically undisturbed. Deng did not want investors to flee Hong Kong

and take the glitter out of this valuable acquisition. This promise has been kept and the people in Hong Kong still have freedoms denied their mainland counterparts. They do not have democracy – but as a Crown colony of Britain, they didn't have it before 1997 either. Macao rejoined the motherland shortly after.

Taiwan is no closer to joining mainland China, but tensions have eased. Bombardments have stopped. There are now flights between the two entities. Taiwan can only compete in the Olympics as 'Chinese Taipei' ('the capital'). It is only when a non-GMD Party takes control and talks about Taiwan being separate that the sabre-rattling returns. China is using posters, cultural links with South Fujian, and literature ('Falling leaves return to their roots') to woo Taiwan back to the motherland. It is largely due to Jiang Jieshi's insistence that there was only one China that he, too, is being rehabilitated on the mainland. At a Lushan restaurant, one can dine on replicas of his personal plates, with the character for 'Jiang' in the centre.



SOURCE 13.56 A 1997 commemorative stamp issue celebrating the return of Hong Kong from British control to China. 'Hong Kong returns to the Motherland'. The stamp features Deng Xiaoping the leader who strongly negotiated the return. He died months before the event.



SOURCE 13.57 (Left) 1980s peace poster inviting Taiwan back to the motherland; (Right) Jiang Jieshi's plates at the Lushan restaurant

The story continues...

Even though it is more than two decades since his death, it is still Deng's China – politically conservative and dominated by the CCP, but also an economic superpower. Many citizens are content to chase Deng's dictum, 'To be rich is glorious', rather than seek political reforms. It is possible that as the second generation of communists passes away, political reform will follow the economic miracle.

CHAPTER 13 ASSESSMENT

CHAPTER SUMMARY

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS AT THE START OF THIS PERIOD

- Reforms following the 1949 Revolution
- One Hundred Flowers and Anti-Rightist movement
- The Great Leap Forward and the Great Famine
- Sino-Soviet relations
- Tensions between the CCP and Mao

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

- Mao's launch of the GPCR
- Role of the Gang of Four and Red Guards in the destruction of the 'four olds'
- Removal of Deng Xiaoping and the flight of Lin Biao
- Impact of the Cultural Revolution on society
- The nature of the disruption and its impact on the CCP

DENG XIAOPING AND THE MODERNISING OF CHINA

- Responses to the death of Zhou Enlai
- The changing political standing of Deng and Mao
- Death of Mao and end of the Cultural Revolution
- Role of Hua Guofeng. The arrest of the Gang of Four
- Rehabilitation of Deng, the nature of his reforms

THE TIAN'ANMEN SQUARE PROTESTS

- Demands for political, social and economic reforms
- Events leading up to the June 4 (1989) Incident
- Military and political responses to the protests
- Fall of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang and the rise of Jiang Zemin

Key terms and names

Provide a definition for:

- The Great Leap Forward
- Communes
- The Lushan Plenum (Conference)
- Cultural Revolution
- Capitalist roader

- Red guards
- Special Economic Zones
- The One Child Policy

Historical concepts

1 Continuity and change

- Consider the early CCP policies that won favour with the people.

- Why did Mao not approve of the changes by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping?
- Discuss the extent to which Deng changed China.

2 Perspectives

- Why did Red Guards feel the Chairman needed protection?
- Why did Mao attack his own Party?
- How would a CCP official view the 'Tian'anmen Incident'?

3 Significance

- Why did the Great Leap famine not destroy Mao's career?
- Evaluate the importance of Lin Biao's attempt to assassinate Mao.
- Evaluate the significance of Deng's economic reforms.

4 Contestability

- Should the CCP have broadcast the failures of Mao's Great Leap?
- Discuss Mao's purpose for the Cultural Revolution.
- Identify who is to blame for the Cultural Revolution.

Historical skills

1 Explanation and communication

Explain the following in a short paragraph each:

- Causes of the Cultural Revolution
- Red Guards
- The aims and means of the One Child Policy
- Sino-Soviet relations
- The personality cult of Mao

2 Historical interpretation

"The next thing that happened was I became a loyal member of the Red Guard. At the time it was very fashionable for us to go to Beijing to see Chairman Mao. Well I also decided ... maybe you can't believe it but if you went to Beijing during these days you needn't pay for a train ticket. The train tickets were provided for you.

continued...

...continued

You needn't pay for anything on board, the rooms where you lived and the meals. Everything was free as we were followers of Chairman Mao. At the time we thought China was becoming a revisionist country and that it was time for us to do something and we thought Chairman Mao was right to start the Cultural Revolution. We became faithful followers of the movement. We went to Beijing to see Chairman Mao – I didn't see him because one million people were assembled in The People's Square. So I had to stand several hundred metres from the Tian'anmen rostrum and I could just see a very vague figure of Chairman Mao at the time but we were very excited. We thought we had achieved the goal of our lives because we saw the great leader. We were really faithful followers of the movement at the time."

SOURCE 13.58 An account told to the author by Professor Deng Dehua.

- 1) Identify the aspects of this account that convey the enthusiasm of the time.
- 2) What were the goals of the Red Guards at that moment?
- 3) Discuss the extent that the Red Guards were ignorant of recent history.

3 Analysis and use of sources

SOURCE A



1980s One Child poster: 'I am an only child.'

- 1) What is the message of Source A to Chinese parents?
- 2) How does this source convey this message?
- 3) Using your knowledge, explain what prejudices and traditional thinking the poster needs to overcome.

4 Historical investigation and research

- Mao said, 'To rebel is justified'. A popular slogan of the time went, 'Father is close, Mother is close, but neither is as close as Chairman Mao.'
- Essay topic: Discuss the motivations of the Red Guards.
 - Read various accounts of Red Guards, (called 'scar' literature) including Jung Chang in her book *Wild Swans*.
 - List the various reasons, both personal and political, that young Chinese became Red Guards.

- Select key quotations to support your points.
- Plan an essay with your introduction, key points and evidence split into paragraphs, and a conclusion.
- Do not forget to acknowledge sources and include a bibliography of sources consulted.

5 Further essay questions

- Discuss the aims and success of the One Child Policy.
- Discuss the extent to which Deng Xiaoping was China's saviour.
- Evaluate Mao's role in the development of the People's Republic of China.
- What was Mao's purpose in launching the Great Proletarian Revolution?



Digital-only resource

CHAPTER 1

The peace treaties

1.3 The historical debate

The World War I peace treaties have been hotly debated from before the ink was dry on the documents. Below is a selection of views from some more recent accounts by historians.



SOURCE 1.18 Australian author, Dr Douglas Newton.

Douglas Newton

In his 1997 book, *British Policy and the Weimar Republic, 1918–1919*, Douglas Newton focused on the failure on the part of peacemakers at Versailles to ensure that Germany's wholehearted conversion to democracy flourished rather than floundered. Newton pointed out that Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George believed that Germany's natural advantages meant that no military reversal would be permanent. However, he argued that this was all the more reason for ensuring Germany's transition to a strong democracy. The hard-line attitude of Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George to Germany at the Peace Conference had the effect that, by mid-1919, German democracy was being discredited domestically as the 'November heroes' who signed the Armistice were now known as the 'November criminals'. On the part of the British government, Newton asserts that their dislike of German socialism was a factor, despite the fact that socialism in Germany had shunned dictatorship and was committed to pursuing a democratic path. The British political elite, Newton contends, had advocated a fight to the bitter end, a 'knock-out blow', with the destruction of Prussian militarism and the transformation of Germany into a democracy. In 1918, when they had achieved these aims, they discarded their own rhetoric and refused to deal with Germany in a way that would sustain their democracy. It is ironic, because the proponents of the 'knock-out blow,' Lloyd George included, became the appeasers of the 1930s.



SOURCE 1.19 Canadian academic and historian Margaret MacMillan.

Margaret MacMillan

In her 2001 book, *Peacemakers*, and in her 2014 article, 'Making War, Making Peace', Margaret MacMillan wrote that it was an oversimplification to say that the failure of the peace treaties led to World War II. Hitler did not go to war because of the Treaty of Versailles, but he made good propaganda use out of the treaty that was universally maligned in Germany. To blame the Treaty of Versailles for World War II is to ignore everyone else's actions over the next 20 years. World War II was the result of 20 years' worth of decisions, not just one treaty.

The peacemakers were aware that they were under pressure and that they had to move quickly to set the framework for a better international order,

otherwise 'Europe and perhaps the wider world would be plunged into anarchy, revolution and misery'. However, she noted there was an 'intractable force', nationalism, that confronted the peacemakers. Added to this, many decisions were being made on the ground and the ability of the peacemakers to influence these decisions was diminishing as rapid demobilisation shrunk the Allied armed forces. So, despite the bad press, the peacemakers did achieve a lot even though their achievements did not last. The peacemakers thought that they had done well but were under no illusions that they had solved all the problems. In fact, the peacemakers dealt with many of the big questions that we are still trying to deal with today. Finally, the Treaty of Versailles might have worked if there had been the will to enforce it properly, but there was not. After the Peace Conference the USA drew away from involvement in Europe, and Britain focused its attention on the Empire.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 1.4

- 1 Identify the most important thing that the Allied leaders failed to do in crafting the peace settlement with Germany, according to Douglas Newton.
- 2 'If the Allies had a more conciliatory attitude towards Germany this may have improved the peace settlement'. Discuss to what extent you agree with this statement.
- 3 Explain what Margaret MacMillan believes the peacemakers achieved in 1919.
- 4 Describe what MacMillan thinks about the idea that the Treaty of Versailles led to the rise of Hitler.
- 5 Where did MacMillan fault the Allies? Explain.



SOURCE 1.20 Co-author of *Wilson's Ghost*, former American Secretary of Defence and Nobel Prize winner Robert McNamara, in 2005.

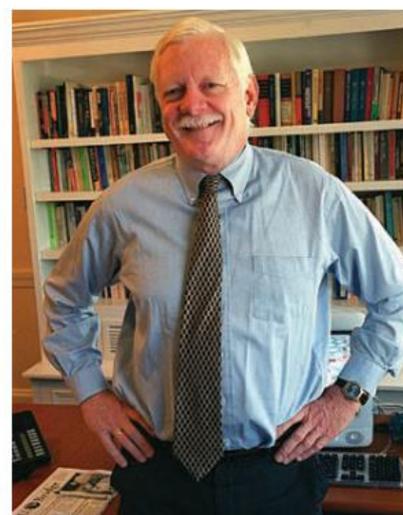
Robert McNamara and James Blight

In their 2001 book, *Wilson's Ghost*, Robert McNamara and James Blight argued that the peacemakers of 1919 failed to deal with the root causes of the war because there was no consensus on what these root causes were, and there were contradictory forces at play. The peacemakers shunned the warnings about pursuing a vindictive peace. What was really missing at Versailles was a spirit of reconciliation, and for this to happen there needed to be an attempt to empathise with the enemy. Of course, there were high ideals expressed in the lead-up to the conference in President Wilson's statements, and his determination to

get the League of Nations negotiated before the treaty was commendable. However, the League was just 'token multilateralism', asserted McNamara and Blight. The real driving force at the Peace Conference was nationalism and the pursuit of self-determination, and Wilson's dream of a conflict-free world governed by the principles of self-determination and nationalism was a 'fantasy'.

William Keylor

In his 2011 book, *The Twentieth-Century World and Beyond: An International History since 1900*, Professor William Keylor argued that it was the post-war disunity between the victorious powers, Britain, France and the USA, that was the major factor in the ultimate failure of the Treaty of Versailles. The USA's



SOURCE 1.21 William Keylor, Professor of International Relations and History at Boston University.

abrupt withdrawal from Europe after the Conference, along with British misgivings about the harshness of the settlement that they had helped bring about, hamstrung efforts to enforce the peace settlement. Only a continuation of the wartime alliance and the ongoing presence of troops in Rhineland would have been an effective deterrent to Germany. Instead, France was left with the burden of enforcing the Treaty of Versailles. Keylor is sympathetic to France's need for reparations in light of the fact that neither the USA nor the UK was offering financial assistance to France, and that French security concerns were legitimate.

On Article 231, he pointed out that though the word 'guilt' does not appear in the clause, the accusation that Article 231 was a 'war-guilt clause' was repeated by every German government in the 1920s and then to good effect by Hitler. Though he acknowledges that Article 231 became as great a source of resentment in Germany as the actual reparation amount, he calls it the 'myth' of war guilt.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 1.5

- 1 Describe what Robert McNamara and James Blight see as the failing of the peacemakers in 1919.
- 2 Identify which of the Allied nations William Keylor has the greatest sympathy for.
- 3 Explain Keylor's view of Article 231.
- 4 Explain what Keylor thinks the Allies' greatest failings were.

Sally Marks

In her 2013 article, 'Mistakes and Myths' in the *Journal of Modern History*, diplomatic historian Sally Marks noted that the condemnation of the Versailles Treaty 'continues without cease'. While conceding that the peacemakers made many mistakes, and the Treaty was a 'bundle of compromises', the German campaign against the Versailles settlement was primarily a propaganda exercise. The reality of the Treaty was that the resulting text was 'too gentle to restrict Germany for long but severe enough to enrage it permanently, creating a potentially explosive situation frightening France and Weimar's new weak neighbours'. The Treaty never functioned as it was designed to.

William Mulligan

William Mulligan, in his 2014 book *The Great War for Peace*, argued that a patchwork of settlements compensated for the shortcomings of the World War I peace treaties and improved the international mood. In 1922 and 1925 there were significant adjustments to international relations. Firstly, the Washington Conference, which concluded in February 1922, provided a framework to manage international relations. Three years later, the Locarno Conference of 1925 was an opportunity to find a way into the international order based on an arbitration. By 1925, war came to be viewed as a tragedy rather than a crime, and the concept of war guilt receded while the emphasis was now placed on the common suffering experienced in World War I. This negotiated approach to dealing with the international problems led to a more optimistic mood than existed in 1919. The increasing optimism, along with the economic improvement of the late 1920s, culminated in the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Pact. Signed by 47 countries, this treaty renounced war as an instrument of national policy. However, this new spirit in the international order collapsed with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.

Jürgen Tampke

In his 2017 book, *A Perfidious Distortion of History*, Jürgen Tampke argued that to claim that the Treaty of Versailles crippled the economy of post-war Germany, and led to the collapse of Weimar democracy and the rise of Nazism, is 'bad history.' He agrees that there were problems with the Versailles Peace Treaty but that these were not the fault of the peacemakers. He argued that the Germans wilfully misinterpreted the

Fourteen Points and used reparations and Article 231 as part of the long propaganda campaign against the Treaty of Versailles. Article 231 could be used by German politicians to blame everything that went wrong on Weimar. The reparations issue was a political one rather than an economic one. In reality, argued Tampke, Germany's treatment was not so harsh. The reparations amount that was actually required was only 50 billion of the 132 billion gold marks announced in May 1921, and even this was nominal. In the end, Tampke asserts that France was one of the losers out the Treaty of Versailles. 'The French saw the dividends of the Versailles Peace dissipate one by one' and 'having won the war they lost the peace'. Tampke concluded by predicting that those willing to blame the Treaty of Versailles for the Nazis will 'become a torrent in 2019, in the centenary of the Paris peacemaking'.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 1.6

- 1 Do you think that Sally Marks would agree with the assessment that the Versailles Treaty led to the rise of Hitler? Explain and give reasons why/why not.
- 2 According to William Mulligan, how did later international agreements make up for the shortcomings of the peace treaties?
- 3 Explain Jürgen Tampke's view of the German reactions to the Versailles Treaty.
- 4 What does Tampke think about the view that the Treaty of Versailles led to the rise of Hitler? Identify which other historians would agree with him on this.

1.4 The Centenary - An assessment of the peace treaties

One hundred years after the peace treaties that ended World War I, it is time to take stock and make an informed assessment of their historical significance.

What did the peacemakers get right?

- The creation of a 'league of nations' was made a priority by President Wilson, who insisted that the Covenant of the League of Nations be designed first.
- The peacemakers tried to protect the rights of minorities in the newly created nations of Europe by having their governments sign treaties to guarantee the rights of minorities.
- They worked against time as forces on the ground began to shape new nations and borders, while threat to anarchy and Bolshevism loomed large. Considering this, the peacemakers did a reasonable job.

Where did the peacemakers fail?

- Imperialism was seen as wrong in the defeated powers but right for the victors. German colonies, labelled as League mandates, were distributed among the victorious powers.
- The Allied powers failed to support the fledgling Weimar democracy. Their repeated humiliation of the Weimar government weakened domestic support for democracy in Germany and saw the swift resurgence of far-right nationalist groups.
- The Allied powers took the spoils of war for themselves often at the expense of denying the reasonable requests of others.
- The Allied powers conflated the upheavals occurring in the East with the unresolved Russian Civil War.
- Allied disunity after the completion of the peace treaties meant that the French were left to enforce the treaty on their own. As a result, it could be argued that the Treaty of Versailles was never fully implemented.

What sort of peace would have been preferable?

The mixed outcomes of the peace treaties that ended World War I raise the question as to whether the 'fight to the finish' approach, pursued by the Allies, was worth it. Many questions in Europe and internationally remained unresolved. A League of Nations now existed but was it strong enough to deal with the threats to international peace and security that were bound to come? Perhaps an earlier negotiated peace on the basis of the 'peace without victory' principles advocated by various peace groups throughout the war, and even by Woodrow Wilson himself up until US entry in April 1917, would have been preferable. Such an approach to peacemaking may have had more chance of creating a just and lasting peace by dealing more effectively with the root causes of the war. Some notable plans were put forward by:

- the UDC in 1914
- the International Women's Congress at The Hague in 1915
- Pope Benedict XV in 1917

A negotiated peace in 1917 may have saved the Provisional Government in Russia and there may have been no Bolshevik Revolution and possibly no right-wing resurgence in Germany. One hundred years later, the important question to be answered is what lessons can be learnt from the peace treaties of World War I and what are the most effective ways of promoting international peace and security in the twenty-first Century?

RESEARCH TASK 1.7

The Historical Debate Today

Research recent articles on the World War I peace treaties.

- 1 Was Jürgen Tampke correct in predicting back in 2017 that those willing to blame the Treaty of Versailles for the Nazis will 'become a torrent in 2019'?
- 2 Which evaluations of the peace treaties correspond with each of the historians mentioned in Section 1.3?
- 3 Discuss why the peace treaties of World War I are still debated while there seems to be virtually no debate about the peace treaties that ended World War II.



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CHAPTER 4

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

4.3 International anarchy and the ambitions of Germany in Europe and Japan in the Asia-Pacific

Economic dysfunction in the 1920s

The peace settlement at the end of World War I combined with economic nationalism over the following 20 years created a dysfunctional international economy. The peace treaties redrew the borders of Europe, and in the process, created many smaller nations. The number of economic units in Europe increased from 20 in 1914, to 27 in 1920. Many of the traditional market trade routes in Europe were disrupted, and as a result much of Europe no longer benefited from economies of scale. On top of all this, most European nations adopted policies of economic nationalism as the leaders of these nations sort to nurture the infant industries using tariffs, import quotas and government subsidies. This had the effect of inhibiting European wide trading commerce after the war. Further, all trade towards Russia was no longer possible as the Bolshevik government disengaged from the capitalist economies of the West.

On a global scale this trend was repeated as a commercial crisis ripped apart the world economy in the first half of the 1920s. Many countries such as Japan, India, Canada and Australia, as well as countries in Latin America, now had highly developed industrial sectors and could produce goods in direct competition to traditional European exporters. European nations had difficulty breaking back into the global markets and there was a shift in trade surpluses to the USA and Japan, and Europe gradually lost its dominant position in world trade.

Meanwhile, after World War I, the USA had retreated into political isolation after rejecting the 1919 settlement. The USA also refused to join many international organisations in the 1920s designed to enforce these treaties and preserve collective security. This also had the effect of reducing the USA's effectiveness in coordinating its economic policies with those of other major industrial nations. Despite the fact that the USA's banking and commerce expanded to make it the world's undisputed financial and commercial powerhouse, the economic decisions it made ultimately damaged and unravelled the global economic order. This was because the USA gave large loans to European countries whose exports directly competed with American products, making it difficult for these European countries to earn enough foreign-exchange to pay their debts to US bankers. Domestically, the USA was not interested in receiving large quantities of war materials or industrial products. In fact, foreign trade accounted for less than 10% of gross national product in 1929. The US government responded to domestic pressures twice to protect US domestic markets from foreign competition while also expanding the volume of American exports. As international historian William Keylor noted: 'This combination of import protectionism and export expansionism violated an elementary principle of international economics.' (p.97 Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World*).

Meanwhile, Wall Street replaced London as the bank of the world, transforming foreign investment. However, US loans often went to unproductive long-term projects in Europe. The hard-nosed American attitude to Allied debts from World War I contributed to the global financial dysfunction in the 1920s. The Allied governments used the same arguments as the German government used to protest their inability to pay reparations. Some recent historical studies have shown that the economic impact of reparations on Germany was not as bad as the Germans had argued at the time. According to historian William Keylor: 'The political passions that this issue engendered on all sides played a major role in the underlying structure of European security that had been fashioned at the Paris peace conference.' (p.103 Keylor, *The Twentieth Century World*). The French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 further poisoned the political atmosphere in Europe. The Dawes Plan of 1924 made a fundamental change to the reparations system by allowing private American investors to loan billions of dollars to Germany to assist with their economic recovery on the condition that they make all the reparations payments to the Allied nations. In this way, the economic recovery of Europe became directly dependent on American banks continuing the flow of private funds to Germany. At the time, this greatly assisted European economic recovery and a period of prosperity was enjoyed from 1924 to 1929. However, this prosperity was fragile because a global fall in prices for agricultural products made it increasingly difficult for the industrialised nations of Western Europe to sell their agricultural products. The price of key resources such as metals like silver also dropped. As silver was used by nations such as China and India to back their currency, they had to cease trading with other nations. Therefore, global falls in demand for agricultural products and key resources led to the collapse of international trading and the global economy. In the words of historian William Keylor: 'The illusion of Western prosperity'. 🗝

KEY QUESTION

Clarifying



- 1 What foreign affairs policy did the US retreat towards after WWI?
- 2 In the 1920s, where did global financial power shift from and to?
- 3 Why was the Dawes Plan flawed?



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CHAPTER 5

Russia and the soviet union 1917–41

5.2 The Bolsheviks and the power struggle following the death of Lenin

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 5.4A

Key Debate: Why did Stalin win the struggle over power in the period 1924–28?

Argument 1: Stalin's ability to control the political nature of the power struggle

Stalin proved to be the instrumental catalyst in his rise to power of the Soviet Union. The positions he held within the Party hierarchy provided him with the opportunities to successfully manipulate the membership and those around him. His exceptional political skills were reinforced by the deification of Lenin and his presentation of himself as Lenin's disciple. Stalin essentially was a political opportunist and his ruthless and tireless pursuit of power ensured that he was too clever for his political rivals, hence attaining the leadership of the Soviet Union.

“Stalin employed the time-honoured methods of ‘divide and rule’ against his rivals. The question is: why did these methods succeed? ... it is Trotsky who suggests that answer: ‘Stalin’s first qualification was a contemptuous attitude towards ideas’ ... they [the party leaders] all expected Lenin’s successor to be a theoretician – the Revolution demanded it – and in this respect Stalin was clearly not a threat ... [but] the negative side of Marxist thinking is the insistence that since all thought is a manifestation of the class struggle opposing opinions must represent hostile class struggles. This completely blinded the oligarchs to the fact that their differences were minimal in comparison to their common interests”.

SOURCE 5.63 From L. Kochan and A. Abraham, *The Making of Modern Russia*, 1962, pp. 348–50

Argument 2: Personalities and fortune played into the hands of Stalin

Although a masterful politician, Stalin effectively manipulated the political and social conditions to gain power. In particular, the embargo placed on Lenin's Testament was in many respects the defining point of the power struggle because had Lenin's views on Stalin been publicly released his political future would have been ruined. His political opponents Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Rykov and Tomsky grossly underestimated Stalin, and as a result allowed him to defeat each of them one by one. In addition, their failure to cooperate with each other meant that Stalin could successfully oppose each of

them at opportune times. Stalin's fortune was also evident in the nature of the Communist Party and the rules governing Party unity and controlling debate.

“Although intellectually Trotsky’s inferior, Stalin was by far the cleverer politician. He had out-manoeuvred his arch rival on every possible front, not least through his skilful manipulation of the ‘cult’ of Leninism which was established immediately after the Bolshevik leader’s death and in which Stalin, the ex-seminarist, appeared in the role of high priest. In death Lenin was immortalised, almost deified, and a whole idolatrous cult built around his name, with all the ritual trappings, ceremonial, sacred texts and symbols, mythology and hagiology of a major religion.”

SOURCE 5.64 Alan Wood, *Stalin and Stalinism*, 1990, pp. 28–29

- 1 Explain why the Right Bolsheviks were unable to mount an effective challenge to Stalin in the power struggle of the 1920s.
- 2 How did Stalin manipulate developments in the Politburo between 1924 and 1928?
- 3 Do you think the role of Stalin during the power struggle between 1924 and 1928 was the defining reason for his ultimate success?

5.3 The Soviet state under Stalin

Social life under stalin

ANALYSING SOURCES 5.4B

Artists and writers joined the struggle for Russia’s industrial revolution. Artists painted Stakhanovites exceeding their production norms and happy collective farmers at harvest festivals. They drew posters which urged workers to ever greater productive efforts. For a time, it was fashionable to paint ‘Fighting Art’. This is art which helped to fight the class war.

Writers were expected to produce work which would help the industrial effort. They wrote simple stories explaining Stalin’s economic policies or novels about model workers. One slogan said ‘For Coal! For Iron! For Machines! Every Literary Group Should Work for These!’ Some writers worked in factories for a while to learn more about workers.

Fantasy and emotional writing such as poetry was disapproved. It was considered escapist and self-indulgent. The style required was called ‘socialist realism’ – writing about real things and ordinary people in an encouraging way. But writing about real problems and difficulties was not allowed. A poet who wrote a poem called ‘Get Off the Stove’ urging workers to stop being lazy was first praised for encouraging production; then Stalin said the poem unfairly criticised Soviet workers, and it was banned. ‘Socialist realism’ was not an easy style to master.

SOURCE 5.65 Extract from Paul Baker and Judith Bassett, *Stalin’s Revolution: The USSR 1924–57*, published in 1988

- 1 What were the major cultural changes which took place during the Soviet Union in the 1930s?
- 2 Using the source, to what extent did Stalinism represent a social and cultural change for the people of the Soviet Union?

5.4 Soviet foreign policy

The role of ideology in Soviet foreign policy 1917–1941

In evaluating Soviet foreign policy 1917–1941, it can be argued that national state interest combined with the desire for survival were the main driving factors influencing foreign policy under Lenin and Stalin.

Throughout the inter-war period, the guiding principle in all Soviet policy decisions was the survival of the revolution. Initially, this was founded upon the notion of a permanent world revolution, which was the cornerstone of the Bolshevik seizure of power. However, as time passed, it became more obvious that a world revolution of communism would be unlikely and the focus was on the survival of the Soviet Union itself. The Soviet leadership under both Lenin and Stalin was prepared to put aside strict ideological considerations in order to avoid war at all costs until the Soviet Union was strong and self-reliant enough to defend itself.

During the interwar years, Soviet foreign policy was dominated by a desire to stand aside from the conflicts of the capitalist world, to become, in Lenin's memorably mixed metaphor, an 'oasis of Soviet power in the middle of the raging imperialist seas'.

SOURCE 5.66 R Overy and A Wheatcroft, *The Road to War*, 1989, p.184

The Battle of Warsaw in August 1920 proved to be a defining moment in the ideological approach to foreign policy. The six Red Armies failed, during the Polish–Soviet War, to defeat the Polish legionnaires in the Battle of Warsaw and this marked the end of the Bolshevik's desire to extend their revolution across Europe. Bolshevik ideology had always subscribed to the belief that their revolution would unleash a social revolution that would sweep across Europe. Lenin even argued that the survival of communism in Russia was largely dependent on the support of the international proletariat. This led to a dramatic ideological shift in foreign policy, one from advancement and expansion to internal consolidation and defence against threats. This led to a move from 'world revolution' to 'world isolation'.

After the victory in the Civil War, the Bolsheviks used the period as an opportunity for a 'breathing space', and the Soviet Union would stand for peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation with the capitalist powers. However, at the same time, they would exploit situations to gain whatever they could during this time. As a result, during this period the Soviet Union feared Great Britain as its biggest threat. This was because Britain was the major promoter of the Allied intervention during the Civil War, and British imperial power was viewed as the greatest threat to a possible world revolution. Out of suspicion of the British, the Soviet Union would forge a friendship with Germany, as they both shared the status of being world outcasts in Europe during that time. This relationship was typical of the Soviet ideological approach to foreign policy during 1917–1941. By forging such an alliance with a possible aggressor, the Soviet Union kept its potential enemies from forming their own agreements. The approach to foreign policy was firmly committed to the pursuit of survival. During this period, they even drew heavily on the technological resources of the USA who, as capitalists, were ideologically opposed to communism.

The Great Depression was a turning point for the fortunes of the Soviet Union, as capitalist nations were plunged into economic crisis and the Soviet Union's industrialisation became a readily accepted market for Western resources. Germany and Britain became major trading partners with the Soviets during this period. Originally, Stalin saw the Depression as the opportunity for communism to spread abroad due to the social conditions created by the economic crisis. However, the Depression also created uncertainties for the Soviet Union's survival because Western nations were abandoning collective action through organisations such as the League of Nations and seeking national security through rearmament. Stalin argued that the Soviet Union would be the target of these capitalist weapons, an argument strengthened by the Japanese occupation



SOURCE 5.67 Russian delegates at the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo between the Soviet Union and Germany, 16 April 1922.



SOURCE 5.68 Joseph Stalin with German foreign minister Ribbentrop and Soviet foreign minister Molotov after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in August 1939



SOURCE 5.69 German soldiers attacking Russian forces during Operation Barbarossa.

of Manchuria in 1931 and the anxieties created by Nazis coming to power in 1933. This prompted Stalin to again shift in his ideological approach to foreign policy and give strong support to the Western powers of collective security through active participation in the League of Nations as a means of protection against the emergence of Japan and Germany.

During the 1930s there was a period of goodwill between the Soviet Union and the Western powers, however there was still enormous suspicion regarding the leadership of Stalin. The Western powers could never completely trust the Soviet Union. This was evident when after the Italian attack on Abyssinia, Stalin argued for the strict imposition of collective action yet Britain and France compromised. Similarly, with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, both Britain and France did little to support the Popular Front government. The Soviet Union became completely isolated and the threat of Japan and Germany was highlighted in the Anti-Comintern Pact between Japan, Germany and Italy in 1936–37.

The international ramifications of the purges were catastrophic for relations between the Soviet Union and the West. France became increasingly reluctant to cooperate with the Soviets, fearing that its own secrets would be passed on to the Germans. Britain and France also believed that the Soviet Union was no match for Japanese and German expansionism, as the nation had essentially eliminated its major military figures in the purges. In 1937, when the Yezhovshchina was unleashed, it was estimated that 90 per cent of its victims were generals and 80 per cent of all colonels were murdered. Stalin viewed the actions of Britain and France as strengthening Germany in order to unleash a war to destroy the Soviet Union.

The real test of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the West came over Czechoslovakia in 1938. Like France, the Soviet Union had a mutual assistance treaty with Czechoslovakia, but with the important proviso that Soviet action would occur only if France honoured its pact. However, the West decided to exclude the Soviets from the Munich negotiations, and this measure simply reinforced Stalin's view that the capitalist states were acting in cooperation against the Soviet Union.

FLASHPOINT!

Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact 1939

As a result, the Soviet Union decided that in order to prevent a war, they would make a deal with Germany. In August 1939, the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was signed, in which both countries agreed not to attack one another (or at least not to be the first to attack). The announcement of the agreement completely shocked Britain and France; however, when one looks at the fact that Germany and the Soviet Union had been cooperating for twelve of the preceding seventeen months, it should not have been that surprising. Stalin had been left with no other alternative, given the real threat that Germany presented and the indifference of London and Paris to his offers of a Soviet defence alliance. He had acted on the axiom 'if you can't beat them, join them' and attempted to nullify the danger from Germany by the only move that international circumstances still allowed.

This moment in history again highlighted that the Soviet Union's ideological beliefs could always be sidelined for national state interest. There were a number of benefits for the Soviet Union:

- It gave the USSR critical space and critical time to prepare for the threat of war;
- It gave them space in the sense of a buffer zone of newly occupied Western territories, including much of Poland and the whole Baltic region, which was part of a secret agreement connected to the Non-Aggression Pact;
- It allowed the Soviets to move into these lands, to give them a buffer zone;
- It also gave the Soviet Union important time. Now that the Germans would inevitably—as it was clear once Germany took their part of Poland—be engaged in a war with the Western powers, this would allow more time for the Soviet Union to prepare for a war.

And yet, despite all the talk about war, despite all of these efforts to give them space and time, when Germany finally invaded the USSR two years later, the Soviet leadership and the army and the economy were shockingly unprepared.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• What were Hitler's basic goals in foreign policy? | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Did Stalin and Hitler give up their respective ideologies to bring about the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact? |
|---|---|

As a class discuss the following: Could the Nazi-Soviet Pact have been prevented, and if so, how?



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CHAPTER 8

Conflict in Indochina 1954–79

8.1 Decolonisation in Indochina

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 8.4A

The significance of Dien Bien Phu

It is not surprising that the French Expeditionary Force failed to achieve decisive results. Its efforts were fruitless. The French had no overall strategy based on a firm policy, no plan of operations, and no cause worthy of the struggle ... By sowing more and more ruin and hatred, and by constantly increasing the burden of the war upon the people, such actions turned the peasant masses against the French and greatly simplified the ... tasks of the People's Army [Viet Minh].

SOURCE 8.103 Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture, French historians, writing in 1969.

'Victory was impossible and too far away from us. The aircraft were not able to give us relief. The French Government changed 19 times in nine years and that messed everything up. General Navarre did not know anything about the battlefield in Vietnam. After the Na San battle, the French commanders thought they could win and decided to attack at Dien Bien Phu, but they were wrong. It was Vietnamese soldiers who owned the hills, because it was their country', he added.

'I respect my own enemies, who fought hard for national independence. I know many soldiers of King Bao Dai's army (anti-communist forces); they did not have any motivation and determination, they did not represent the wishes of the people of Vietnam and did not sacrifice their lives for the country. Meanwhile, Vietnam Minh soldiers were true soldiers with the will, courage and morality.'

SOURCE 8.104 French Colonel Jacques Allaire, a lieutenant at the battle of Dien Bien Phu.

The garrison at Dien Bien Phu was overwhelmed on 7 May 1954. *La sale guerre*, 'the dirty war' was over and 100 years of French colonial rule came to an end. The methods of the Viet Minh were as detestable as the French, but to their own people, they appeared to have the noblest of aims – freedom for their country. ... they had begun the war with no transport, no heavy guns, not a plane or a tank ... Yet they had defeated the army of one of the great Western Empires and brought another Communist state into the world.

SOURCE 8.105 Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years: From the Jungle to the Australian Suburbs*, 2011.

- 1 Identify quotes that explain why the French lost at Dien Bien Phu.
- 2 Identify quotes that explain why the Viet Minh were successful.
- 3 How does the military victory at Dien Bien Phu define the rise of Vietnamese nationalism? Use the sources and your own knowledge to explain how Vietnamese nationalism had defeated the French in 1954.

8.3 The Second Indochina War

The media and the Tet Offensive

Throughout the war, the media were given free access to American forces in Vietnam. They could follow them into combat and report directly via the medium of television to American families in their living rooms. Since the American escalation of the conflict in 1964, nightly news images of the war brought the conflict a new title – ‘The First Television War’. While the coverage began primarily using the positive commentary of President Lyndon Johnson, Secretary of State Robert McNamara and General Westmoreland, journalists began to seek out more stories from behind the press conferences. Speaking with American soldiers and broadcasting scenes from battle, after 1968 the media was accused of spreading a predominantly negative view of the war to the American public. The role of the media in Vietnam is hotly contested to this

day, however two events at Tet can be isolated for their significant impact.

News footage and a photograph of South Vietnamese General Ngyuen Ngoc Loan, Chief of the South Vietnamese Police Force, marching a Viet Cong prisoner and executing him on the spot shocked audiences the world over. The horror of war had been made real for many and the idea that Vietnamese people were being executed in the street infuriated American audiences. Many began to question why America was fighting to defend a nation that executed people in the street.

What was not explained to the audience was that this Viet Cong captive was caught executing Saigon police and their family members, some of whom were known to General Loan. In the context of battle, his reaction may be understandable, however on the limited mediums of newspapers and television, this was not communicated to audiences at home. All they saw was a murderer that American boys were dying to defend.



SOURCE 8.106 Walter Cronkite reporting from the battlefield in Vietnam.

For much of the 1960s, television audiences were used to sitting down at 6 p.m. to watch the daily news. By 1968, the war was taking up 90% of television news coverage in this timeslot. The news was presented by an anchor who was to introduce each story, and as was often the case, present their opinion on key topics at the close of the broadcast, known as 'editorialising'.

The best-known news anchor of the day was Walter Cronkite. Trusted and reliable, Cronkite was a popular presence on American news media and was well respected.

Cronkite had witnessed many of the events around the Tet Offensive first hand and had returned to report his findings on the progress of the war to American audiences. His editorial was not positive.



SOURCE 8.107 Cronkite, back in a US television studio, gave a damning assessment of the Vietnam War's progress.

'Tonight, back in more familiar surroundings in New York, we'd like to sum up our findings in Vietnam, an analysis that must be speculative, personal, subjective...

'We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and Washington, to have faith any longer in the silver linings they find in the darkest clouds.

'To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. To suggest we are on the edge of defeat is to yield to unreasonable pessimism. To say that we are mired in stalemate seems the only realistic, yet unsatisfactory, conclusion.'

SOURCE 8.108 Walter Cronkite, NBC News.

The impact of this single broadcast was devastating for America's leadership. Lyndon B Johnson was quoted as saying that "If I've lost Walter (Cronkite), then I've lost Mr Average Citizen."

In 1967, President Johnson had enjoyed strong approval ratings and looked certain to secure a second term as President. Tet changed that. Johnson did not seek re-election for his second term, one of the few US presidents ever who did not. General Westmoreland was stood down as the head of US forces in Vietnam shortly after.

Earlier, at the conclusion of the Tet Offensive in March, Robert Kennedy, brother of the assassinated JFK, had announced he would challenge his Democratic party colleague LBJ for the US presidency. His goals were clear: America needed to get out of Vietnam. He stated that:

'At stake is not simply the leadership of our party and even our country, it is our right to the moral leadership of this planet.'

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying

- 1 Why was the Tet Offensive a military disaster for North Vietnam?
- 2 Why was the Tet Offensive a disaster for America?
- 3 Explain, using evidence, why the concept of a military victory at Tet was not as broadly understood by American audiences.
- 4 How did Le Duan use the history of Dien Bien Phu to his advantage?
- 5 Analyse why the positive commentary of American leadership up to 1968 had made the impact of Tet more dramatic.
- 6 Define the role of the media in changing the public perception of America's role in the Vietnam war.

In May, peace negotiations between North Vietnam and the United States began in Paris. The United States leadership was now firmly looking for a way out of Vietnam. 🗝️

Vietnam and popular culture



SOURCE 8.109 A student burning his 'draft card' to protest his conscription to the Vietnam War.

Resistance to the draft and the growing conflict was gaining momentum. Thousands of young men burned their draft cards in protest, facing jail as punishment. Many more fled to Canada, faked illnesses or did whatever they could to avoid going to war.

In 1967, one of America's greatest ever athletes, boxer Muhammad Ali, refused to enlist for the war. An outspoken personality in and outside of his sport, Ali had become a strong advocate for civil rights and had begun to resent the war. At the news that he had been drafted to fight, the reigning world champion of boxing stated:



'Why should they ask me to put on a uniform and go 10 000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam after so-called Negro people in Louisville are treated like dogs and denied simple human rights?'

SOURCE 8.110 Muhammad Ali became an influential leader within the anti-Vietnam and civil rights movements.

Speaking to reporters after he was convicted of refusing to enlist, Ali stated:

'I ain't got no quarrel with no Viet Cong. No Viet Cong ever called me nigger.'

In addition to his \$10 000 fine, he was stripped of his world titles and denied the right to box. Instead of seeing his career ruined, Ali became a prominent and highly visible speaker in the anti-war movement until a court was forced to reinstate his title and boxing license.

RESEARCH TASK 8.12A

- 1 Research the key events in Ali's boxing career. Explain his position within America's sporting history.
- 2 Define the significance of Ali's refusal to go to Vietnam.

Protest Music

Music was a cultural cornerstone of the 1960s and popular songs began to reflect anger towards the Vietnam War. Folk artists like Bob Dylan, Donovan and Bob Seger wrote songs that lamented the impact of war on young people. Seger's song 'Waist Deep in the Big Muddy', about a World War II soldier acted as an allegory for the Vietnam conflict with LBJ playing the 'Big fool' as the final line sung: "Every time I read the paper / those old feelings come on / We are waist deep in the Big Muddy and the big fool says to push on." After 1968, protest music against Vietnam exploded in popularity when bands like Creedence Clearwater Revival (and their song like 'Fortunate Son') screamed the anguish of the poor young men sent to die in Vietnam.

RESEARCH TASK 8.12B

In groups, research the lyrics and meaning behind the following anti-war songs and complete the task below.

- 'Draft Resister' – Steppenwolf
- 'Bring them Home' – Bob Seger
- 'Eve of Destruction' – Barry Macguire
- 'Give Peace a Chance' – John Lennon
- 'Fortunate Son' – Creedence Clearwater Revival
- 'Vietnam' – Jimmy Cliff
- 'Vietnam Song' – Country Joe and Fish
- 'War' – Edwin Starr
- 'What's Going On?' – Marvin Gaye
- 'Volunteers' – Jefferson Airplane

- 1 For each song, find the lyrics and read them closely with the music.
- 2 Identify phrases, lines and choruses that directly protest Vietnam.
- 3 Create a table that draws links between each of the lyrics you have identified and the events leading up to and during 1968.
- 4 Explain the issue each song was specifically protesting.
- 5 Analyse how each song provides insight into the mood and concerns of the anti-war movement.

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 8.12C

Nixon sounded like a desperate coach at half-time, beseeching his badly losing team to fight harder, if only for dignity.

SOURCE 8.111 Christian G Appy, historian.

Something approaching a wave of pandemonium swept across the country, even up to the National Security Council itself. Three of Kissinger's top aids resigned almost immediately.

SOURCE 8.112 Robert Buzzanco, historian.

Statesmen must be judged for the consequences of their actions. Whatever Nixon and Kissinger intended for Cambodia, their efforts created catastrophe.

SOURCE 8.113 William Shawcross, historian.

Nixon realized his decision would be divisive and that he would be criticized from many sides. But, he said, he rejected the popular and easy path of unilateral withdrawal 'I know that the peace of humiliation for the United States would lead to a bigger war or surrender later'. If this was to make him a one term president, he was prepared to pay the price as it was.

SOURCE 8.114 David F Schmitz, historian.

- 1 Read and compare the views of each historian about Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia.
- 2 Using the quotes, the path of the Vietnam War after 1968, and your understanding of Nixon's presidency to 1970, fill in the following table and evaluate Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia.

Consider the following arguments:

For: Nixon was making a decision that US leaders should have made in 1965. The attack on the Ho Chi Minh trail would have won America the war, he was simply trying to get America out with its dignity intact.

Against: The decision was the wrong one at the absolute worst time. The public understood the war to be lost and were quietly withdrawing. The decision to attack a neutral country was immorality upon an already immoral war.

Events, ideas and views that support Nixon's decision	Events, ideas and views that are critical of Nixon's decision

3 Evaluate Nixon's decision by responding to the following essay question:

'The decision to invade Cambodia was the right decision at the wrong time.' To what extent do you agree?

Kent State

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 8.12D

Consider the following views:

Using Michael Caulfield's and David F Schmitz's views and the image below, respond to the question below:

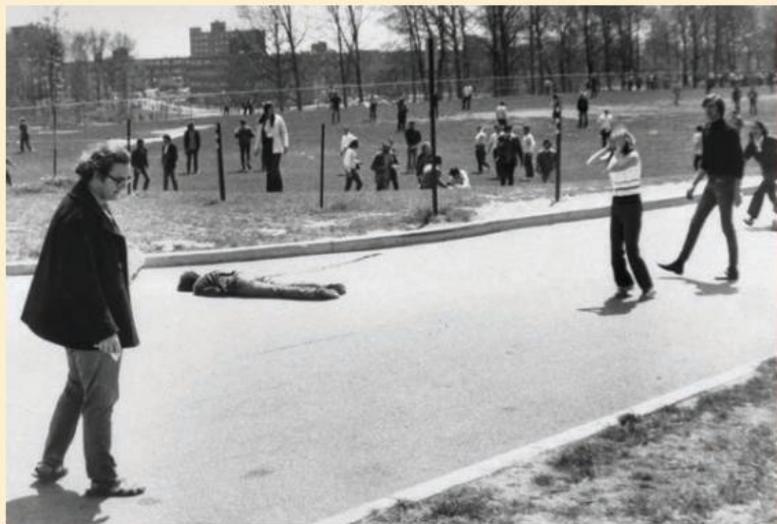
Four students were gunned down. The unwarranted killing of their own children produced the most traumatic time of the war in America and, for a while the country hovered between grief and rage.

SOURCE 8.115 Michael Caulfield.

Visiting the Pentagon for a military meeting, Nixon stopped to talk to civilian employees and compared American troops to college students. As reported in the *New York Times*, he called the soldiers 'the greatest'. 'They stand tall and they are proud. You see these 'bums' you know, blowing up the campuses, they are fortunate to be in college Here they are, burning up the books, storming around about this issue. You name it.'

SOURCE 8.116 David F Schmitz, historian.

The image below made the front page of newspapers the world over. Carefully examine the image and explain how this would have informed the public's opinion of Nixon and the 'Cambodia decision'. In your response to the essay question below, carefully consider the differing opinions of both military families who had lost sons in the war, and the parents of young, educated college students who were protesting the war.



SOURCE 8.117 The image of a distressed student asking for help was one of the most widely remembered images of the Kent State killings.

Essay Question:

1 'The Kent State massacre articulated the divide that existed between the American population and its president in 1970.' To what extent do you agree?

8.4 The spread of the conflict to Cambodia and Laos

The reasons for the Communist victory in Cambodia

During the 1950s and 60s, Cambodia was left untouched by the conflict with the Viet Minh and the American war. Led by the gregarious Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia straddled a safe line of neutrality with the rising forces of communism and influence from the United States. As a domino in Eisenhower's theory, Cambodia was closely monitored by the CIA and US government. Despite accepting US aid for some



SOURCE 8.118 Cambodian Chief of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk leans out limousine window as he leaves Khemarin Palace, November 7th, 1967.

years, Sihanouk was a Cambodian nationalist first, and sensing the direction of the conflict, denounced the US as 'imperialists' in 1965. Well aware of the North Vietnamese use of Cambodia for the Ho Chi Minh Trail, he turned another blind eye when Johnson and then Nixon, authorised secret raids on his eastern border. His method to keep Cambodia out of the war meant appeasing both sides. On one hand, he authorised the bombing of the Ho Chi Minh trail, on the other, he allowed the communists to use Cambodian ports to ship supplies to that very trail.

In March 1970, a pro-American military coup deposed Sihanouk, and Cambodian Army General Lol Nol assumed leadership of Cambodia while Sihanouk was out of the country. Despite significant backing from the CIA and America, Lol Nol was to find out about the American invasion of Cambodia only after Nixon announced it on national television.

In the midst of the wider Vietnamese conflict, the **Khmer Rouge** (French for 'Red Cambodians') arose as a communist opposition group, backed by the Chinese government. For much of the 1950s and 1960s it was not considered a genuine threat to Sihanouk; it was a force of little more than a few thousand guerrilla fighters. That was of course, until Operation Menu began carpet bombing eastern Cambodia in search of Vietnamese communists.



SOURCE 8.119 President of the Khmer Republic (Cambodia) Lon Nol (1913–1985) as he reviews troops, 1973.

Khmer Rouge the name given to Cambodian communists (French for 'Red Communists'), later operated as the armed wing of the Communist Party of Kampuchea

Impact of the conflict on civilians in Cambodia

The US Air Force raids dropped over 380 000 tons of bombs, usually indiscriminately, killing thousands of civilians. It made fertile ground for the recruitment of fighters to the Khmer Rouge cause as thousands of rural peasants were made homeless by the bombing. On 9 August 1973, the accidental bombing

of the US-friendly town Neak Luong, by a lone American B-52, created around 400 casualties. American journalist, Sydney Schanberg reported that:

The atmosphere in Neak Luong ... is silent and sad – and bewildered at being bombed by an ally. Everyone has lost either relatives or friends. In some cases, entire large families have been wiped out.

He continued to stress that the nature of Cambodian culture, forgiving and empathetic, had been stretched by the bombing campaign:

‘I do not understand why it happened’ said Chea Salan, a 21-year-old soldier who lost relatives and army buddies. ‘Before, every time we saw the planes coming we were happy because we knew the planes came to help us. Now I have lost heart.’

SOURCE 8.130 Sydney Schanberg, journalist.



SOURCE 8.121 An American B-52 bomber dropping a payload in Indochina in the early 1970s

Resistance to the Lon Nol regime was intensified by the bombing:

In October 1970 Lon Nol abolished the monarchy and proclaimed a republic, but in effect he became the dictator of Cambodia. His administration was marked by extraordinary corruption and ineptitude, the Khmer Rouge made steady gains in the countryside. [They] assumed a heroic stance among millions of Cambodians.

SOURCE 8.122 James Stuart Olson, historian.



SOURCE 8.123 8 August 1973, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: The town of Neak Luong turned to ruins because of the US B-52 bombing error early Monday morning 6 August that caused the deaths of 137 soldiers and their dependants and 268 injuries.



SOURCE 8.124 'Brother Number One': Pol Pot leads Khmer Rouge troops towards Phenom Penh, 1975

Democratic Kampuchea under Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge: aims and impact of the regime and foreign policy

Fighting from the north-eastern corner of Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge grew steadily in number between 1970 and 1973. The steady campaign of US bombing and corruption in the Lol Nol government saw their numbers swell to over 100 000. These volunteers were mostly peasant farmers – many of whom were children – who were angered and displaced by the Vietnamese conflict and civil war with the Lol Nol government. These events saw them drive towards the capital Phnom Penh.

Lead by the elusive Pol Pot, or 'Brother Number One', the initial goals were to simply overthrow the American backed regime.

In 1975, the Khmer Rouge marched into the capital, now swelling with over 2 million refugees

from the war and began one of the most bizarre and brutal social experiments of human history. Convinced by the need to turn Cambodia back to the 'year zero', Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge ordered the entire city to be emptied. Using an extreme version of Marxist thought, Cambodia was to be turned into a completely self-sufficient agrarian society. To do this, all Western thought had to be banished. The entire country would be wound back to its beginning and started again. This meant anyone linked with the old regime,



SOURCE 8.125 Victorious Khmer Rouge soldiers celebrate entering Phnom Penh in 1975.

with an education, with private wealth or even Western haircuts were considered the enemy and were marched to **killing fields** or re-education camps. Their goal was to create a truly classless society that demolished the old traditions of village life and even family structure.

The emptying of Phnom Penh by the Khmer Rouge was observed by Australian journalist John Pilger:

killing fields sites in Cambodia where thousands of Cambodians were killed by the Khmer Rouge and buried in mass graves

They wore black and were mostly teenagers, and the people cheered them nervously The horror began almost immediately. Phnom Penh was forcibly emptied within hours of their coming. All of them (the civilians) being marched at gunpoint into the country side to start a totally new society ... The new rulers of Cambodia called 1975 'Year Zero' the dawn of an age in which there would be no families, no sentiment, no expressions of love or grief, no medicines, no hospitals, no schools, no books, no learning, no holidays, no music, no song, no post, no money, only work and death.

SOURCE 8.126 John Pilger

For the citizens of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge began as they intended to continue:

After two hours we reached the market place called Phsar Doeum Kor, where there were two piles of bodies in civilian clothes, as if two whole families had been killed, babies and all. Two pieces of hardboard stuck out of the pile and [on them] someone had scrawled in charcoal 'For refusing to leave as they were told'. From here on, both sides of the road were covered with dead bodies, some soldiers, some not.

SOURCE 8.127 Someth May, Cambodian teenager



SOURCE 8.128 The forced evacuation of Phnom Penh in 1975 emptied the city of its 2 million residents.

In her book, *First They Killed My Father*, Luong Ung, a child when the Khmer Rouge came to Phnom Penh was separated from her family and forced to work with hundreds of other children. She described life under Pol Pot's regime:

I am alone here, even though I eat the same food and sleep in the same hut with eighty girls. Besides our obligatory discussions about the power of Pol Pot and his army, we live together in silence. We keep to ourselves because we are all hiding secrets. My secret is our lives in Phnom Penh. For another girl, it may be that she has a handicapped brother, has stolen food, possesses a pair of red pants, is near-sighted and used to wear glasses or has tasted chocolate. If she is found out, she can be punished.

SOURCE 8.129 Luong Ung, *First They Killed My Father*

The Killing Fields

Forced to work on Khmer Rouge farms, millions of Cambodians were 're-educated'. Anyone suspected of having pro-Western tendencies was brutally tortured and killed, usually by hand. In an effort to legitimise the new Republic of Kampuchea's standing with his only ally, China, Pol Pot sent the bulk of the nation's harvest to China, leading to the deaths of 2 million people from starvation and famine. Regional differences were enough to attract the death squads. An unknown number of eastern Khmer Rouge were killed by their western allies as they were suspected to have had links with the hated Vietnamese. Almost 1 million were taken into a number of sites known as 'killing fields' and murdered and dumped in mass graves.



SOURCE 8.130 An artist's rendition of the Khmer Rouge killing fields.

The systematic murder only came to an end when the Vietnamese invaded in 1979 and forced Pol Pot's regime into the jungles for two decades where, before their eventual decline, they surrounded themselves with millions of land mines that still plague the rural population of Cambodia to this day.

RESEARCH TASK 8.15A

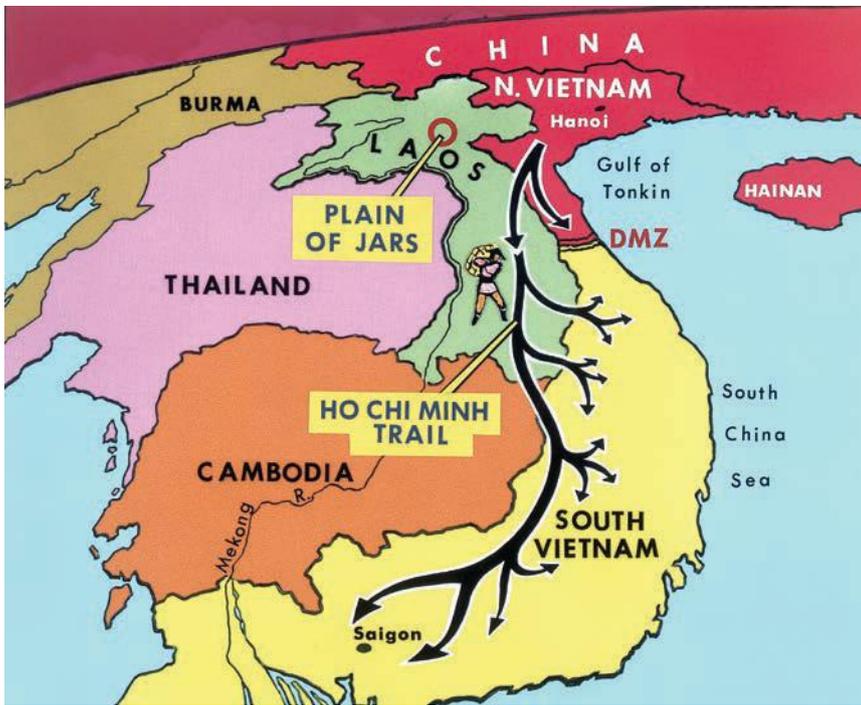
- 1 Research and explain the course of the Cambodian revolution.
- 2 Explain the failures of the Cambodian government.
- 3 Evaluate the role US bombing played in the development of the revolution.
- 4 Research the events that took place at Tuol Sleng (S21) and Choeung Ek. Why do you think so little was done to halt the Cambodian genocide?



SOURCE 8.131 Skulls showing signs of trauma at The Killing Fields memorial, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The 'Killing Fields' refers to a number of sites where mass graves were discovered, with over a million bodies. The Khmer Rouge executed its political enemies using poison, spades or sharpened bamboo sticks in order to save ammunition. In some cases, children and infants of adult victims were killed by having their heads bashed against the trunks of large trees, and then were thrown into the pits alongside their parents.



SOURCE 8.132 Meticulous records were kept of the citizens captured and tortured at the Phnom Penh high school that was re-purposed as Prison S-21.



SOURCE 8.133 An American map of Indochina including Laos in the 1960s. Notice how the Ho Chi Minh Trail cuts through Laos.



SOURCE 8.134 Prince Souphanouvong (Left), leader of communist Pathet Lao forces, talks to villagers in January, 1970, telling them of the importance of constructing a water transportation dam in the village of Napha, north-east of the Plain of Jars.

Hmong an ethnic group of people who live in China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.

As you have read earlier in this chapter, the exit of the French meant the growth of American influence in the region. The entry of the CIA to Laos in 1954 marked the beginning of America's first covert war.

In the following six years, the United States spent \$300 million in weapons supply, training and support for anti-communist forces and **Hmong** tribe fighters in an effort to evict the communist Pathet Lao from Laos.

The reasons for the communist victory in Laos

The small nation of Laos was a quiet but vital player in the Indochinese conflict. Despite the catastrophic impact on thousands of peasant farmers and ethnic tribes of Laos, comparatively little was ever acknowledged or written about it by the outside world. To the Laotian people, it was devastating. To the American actors in Laos, it has often been referred to as 'the secret war'.

Geographically sandwiched between China, the Kingdom of Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia, Laos was an often neglected member of the French colony. The landlocked mountainous nation lacked the natural resources of Vietnam and Cambodia and yet despite the apparent lack of interest for their French masters, Laotians also gravitated toward ideas of nationalism and communism.

Before the First Indochinese War, two factions vied for control of Laos in a civil war that was to last from 1953 to 1975. One side, led by Souvanna Phouma, focused on royal and nationalist goals. The other, communist players, were known as the Pathet Lao (Lao Nation). Led by Phouma's half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao worked with the Viet Minh to evict the French and were forced into a coalition government with the nationalists in 1954. However, the power vacuum only served to increase the conflict between the two sides.

So concerned with the growth of communism in Laos, departing US President Dwight D Eisenhower pressed his replacement John F Kennedy to focus on Laos, before Vietnam. In Eisenhower's view, Laos was the next domino in his 'Domino Theory' to fall as it shared a border with the most populous communist nation on earth; China. If Laos could be stopped, he pleaded with JFK, communism itself could be halted in Indochina.

Domino Theory Eisenhower's 'falling domino principle' whereby a communist government in one nation would inevitably lead to communist takeovers in neighbouring countries, much like toppling a row of dominos.

The day before Kennedy's inauguration, Eisenhower organised a foreign policy briefing for the president elect. Laos came first – and only after Laos was discussed was the president elect briefed on the looming US-Soviet standoff in Berlin, on Cuba and on the global strategic arms race.

SOURCE 8.135 J Kurlantzik, *A Great Place to have a War*, Simon and Schuster, p.15.

RESEARCH TASK 8.15B

- 1 Explain why Eisenhower was so adamant about stopping communism in Laos.
- 2 Research what other events took place between 1950 and 1959. What would have diverted the attention of JFK toward Vietnam?
- 3 Consider the ways in which future events may have unfolded had JFK not ignored Laos by focusing his attention on removing the Pathet Lao. Would this have affected events in his favour? Explain the reasons for your response.

In 1960, the Hmong tribes revealed themselves to the CIA as the most determined to fight the Pathet Lao and their North Vietnamese allies. Operation Momentum was launched by CIA agents based in Laos to arm, train and fight with the Hmong Tribes to subvert the efforts of the communist forces. Ironically, the Hmong and CIA were to use guerrilla tactics to destabilise the efforts of the communists.

The entire operation was kept mostly secret to avoid aggravating Laos' neighbour, China, and to avoid telling the American public that the CIA was waging war on a nation neutral to the conflict in Vietnam. The remote nation of Laos provided the newly-formed CIA their first opportunity to wage a proxy war, and in such secrecy, that the Deputy Directory of the CIA, Robert Armory stated 'Laos was a great place to have a war'.

Operation Momentum would eventually cost \$500 million a year by 1970. Working in the jungles with the Hmong tribes, the CIA agents fought a war faithful with Eisenhower's Domino Theory.



SOURCE 8.136 March 25, 1961. US President Kennedy holding a press conference to discuss the situation in Laos.



SOURCE 8.137 A Pathet Lao soldier guarding school house in the village of Ban Namone, where peace talks are taking place

The focus of Operation Momentum changed with US fortunes in Vietnam. The Hmong tribes hated the communist ideals of the Pathet Lao almost as much as they hated the Vietnamese themselves. As such, Operation Momentum focused more on attacking the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

Operation Rolling Thunder was to have the most devastating effect on Laos. As it did in Cambodia, the campaign indiscriminately bombed Laos in search of the supply lines of the Vietnamese Communist fighters.

Impact of the conflict on civilians in Laos

Bigger than the bombing campaigns unleashed on Germany and Japan, Operation Rolling Thunder became a central element of the CIA operation in Laos. With one attack every eight minutes for a decade, Operation Rolling Thunder killed more Laotian civilians than actual combatants. Over 200 000 fighters and civilians (one tenth of the population) died and it created 750 000 refugees. By 1975, in the strategic plateau region of Laos known as the Plain of Jars, only 9000 civilians remained from an original population of 150 000 in 1960. Perhaps even more catastrophically, one third of the bombs dropped by the US remained unexploded and continued to kill and wound Laotians

long after the war. The victory of the communist forces in 1975 mirrored the patterns set in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

For the most part, the outside world was kept in the dark about the scale of the conflict in Laos. When it became clear that Vietnam could not be won and when the bombing missions stopped, the Pathet Lao overwhelmed the nationalist forces and took control of Laos. US President Nixon sought peace negotiations with Vietnam prompting many Hmong who fought with the CIA to attempt to flee to Thailand and seek asylum in the US. For many, their pleas were ignored. For those left behind, their fate was sealed: 🚫

KEY QUESTIONS

Summarising



- 1 Consider what you have learned about the evacuation of Saigon in 1975. Explain how the US Government may have justified abandoning their allies in Laos in 1975.

At least four hundred thousand Hmong were left in Laos in 1976 ... (and) were treated horrifically by the new regime. The Hmong were singled out so severely for imprisonment, summary execution and other abuses that some specialists on Laos called the post war policy genocide.

SOURCE 8.138 J Kurlantzik, *A Great Place to have a War*, Simon and Schuster, p.492.



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CHAPTER 9

Conflict in Europe 1935–45

9.2 Aims and strategy of German foreign policy to September 1939

ANALYSING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS 9.3A

Key Debate: To what extent had Hitler always planned the conflict in Europe?

Argument 1: The intentionalist perspective: A traditional view of the origins of the war

The intentionalist school argues that Hitler had always planned the world war from the start. Trevor-Roper believed that there was 'a fundamental consistency in Hitler's ideas' that could be traced from his writings and speeches. It was believed that Hitler's pursuit for war was clearly articulated in *Mein Kampf* where Hitler outlined his desire to dismantle the Treaty of Versailles, acquire vast European territories in eastern Europe through *Lebensraum* and was clear and deliberate on his attitudes towards *judeo-bolshevism*. Bullock is another historian who argues that Hitler's ideology and willpower are crucial to any explanation on the origins of the war.

None of the great powers comes out well of the history of the 1930s, but responsibility, even when it runs to appeasement for Britain and France or complicity in the case of Russia, is still recognisably different from that of a country [Germany] which deliberately creates the threat of war and sets out to exploit it. In the Europe of the 1930s there were several leaders who would have liked to follow such a policy, but lacked the toughness of will and the means to carry it through. Hitler alone possessed the will and had provided himself with the means. Not only did he create the threat of war and exploit it, but when it came to the point he was prepared to take the risk and go to war. For this reason, despite all we have learned since of the irresolution and shabbiness of other governments' policies, Hitler and the nation which followed him still bear the primary responsibility for the war which began in 1939.

SOURCE 9.76 A Bullock, *Hitler and the Origins of the War*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 1967, p. 53

Argument 2: The structuralist perspective that Hitler was an opportunist

The structuralist school argues that although Hitler played a role in the outbreak of war, it was rather the economic and political landscape of the 1930s that allowed Hitler to become more radical in his foreign policy. Tim Mason indicates that the increasing economic problems within Germany in 1938 caused the acceleration to rearm, forcing the pace of Nazi aggression. In short, the German economy under the Nazis was enormously abnormal. By the end of the 1930s, it reached a point where a series of

wars were almost inevitable, in order to meet the needs of the imbalanced German economic system through theft and control of European resources, markets and populations particularly in the East. Martyn Whittock argues that 'Hitler would solve the economic problems by invasion and plunder'. The view is further reinforced by the fact that most of Hitler's responses during the 1930s were improvisations rather than consistent planning.

In my opinion statesmen are too absorbed by events to follow a preconceived plan. They take one step and the next follows from it ... Hitler's aim was change, the overthrow of the existing European order, his method was patience. Despite his bluster and violent talk, he was a master of the game in waiting. Like Joshua before the walls of Jericho he preferred to wait until the forces opposing him had been sapped by their own confusion ... Hitler did not make plans for world conquest or anything else. He assumed others would provide opportunities and that he would seize them ... The war of 1939 far from being premeditated was a mistake, the result on both sides of diplomatic blunders.

SOURCE 9.77 AJP Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Penguin Books, London, 1964, pp. 98, 100, 172

- 1 Was the conflict in Europe caused by the aims of Hitler, or do its causes lie in the European situation created after 1919, which left Germany with a determination to revise the peace settlement?
- 2 To what extent was Hitler looking for war?
- 3 Do you think Germany could have been stopped, and if so why did the Western powers not oppose the German actions until it was too late?

9.3 Course of the European War

Battle of El Alamein and the significance of the conflict in North Africa to the European War

It [North Africa] made possible the next steps – an attack upon the Balkans and upon Italy, and immediately it exposed those areas to bombing attack. Above all, it was complete testing and vindication in action of the Atlantic Alliance.

SOURCE 9.78 David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon*, Pelican, Harmondson, 1957, p. 783

Hitler's original strategy after the fall of France had been to bring pressure on Britain from a number of different angles. He had hoped that he would be able to lure Franco's Spain, Vichy's France, and Italy into a firm alliance which could then put pressure on the British in the Mediterranean. Hitler certainly tried to craft some sort of workable strategic alliance with these Mediterranean powers, but without success. Franco was a great source of frustration to Hitler. Hitler would later say, 'It was like chewing rocks to deal with Franco'. Franco would agree with everything in principle, but then raise so many practical objections that Hitler was completely frustrated. Mussolini was surprisingly uncooperative when it came to the details. He had the unpleasant habit of springing surprises on his alliance partner, something that Hitler reciprocated with far greater implications. But the Mussolini-Hitler alliance was more a public relations partnership rather than a strong, well-crafted, military alliance.

Mussolini would ultimately draw Hitler into the Mediterranean, not to achieve German objectives, but rather to help Mussolini achieve his in the area. In the end, the Germans committed far more energy

in Africa than Hitler ever anticipated, but it still would fall short of strategic decisiveness. Mussolini was determined in 1940 to take advantage of what he perceived to be British weakness. He believed, as did Hitler, that Britain was finished, so he decided to conquer both Egypt and Greece.

His Egyptian campaign was launched in 1940. Mussolini was enthusiastic about it, trying to drum up support domestically for it. His military high command was not at all enthusiastic about going to war in 1940 against Great Britain. And the British caught the Italians by surprise in December of 1940 and disaster would follow disaster for Italy. The British took 45 000 prisoners in one operation in December. In January, in another, they took 45 000 Italian prisoners. Later in the month, they encircled Tobruk, an important port city, and another 30 000 Italians surrendered. Twenty thousand more followed in February. Over 130 000 Italians surrendered while Great Britain suffered fewer than 2000 casualties in the course of 1940 and into 1941 in their operations against the Italians.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL

Erwin Rommel (1891–1944)

Excellent German commander chosen by Hitler to lead the Afrika Korps where he established his reputation as 'the Desert Fox'. He was placed in charge of preparing German defences for the anticipated Allied landing in north-west Europe. Wounded after D-Day, he was implicated in the plot to overthrow Hitler on 20 July 1944, and was offered the choice of suicide or standing trial. Hitler gave him a hero's funeral, claiming that he had died of his combat wounds.



SOURCE 9.79 Erwin Rommel

By the end of May 1941, Britain controlled virtually all of Italian East Africa, while reconquering French and British Somaliland. Hitler decided to intervene and dispatched Erwin Rommel in February 1941 to save the situation. He was reluctant to throw significant resources into North Africa, but the Italian fiasco had to be brought under control. Rommel was sent to Libya in charge of a small armoured force, called the **Afrika Korps**, and this would dramatically change the complexion of the North African campaign. Rommel had barely arrived and his troops weren't yet in place when he lashed out at the British, forcing them all the way back into Egypt, and actually capturing the British General O'Connor. He was unable to dislodge the British from Tobruk, whose port he needed for supplies, and so by late May the offensive had ground to a halt. A deadlock now existed along the Egyptian frontier, and there was a pause in the hostilities.

The dilemma for German strategy was that, for Hitler, the Mediterranean had always been intended to be a sideshow. The main preparations being made militarily were for the invasion of the Soviet Union. He was not interested in North Africa or in the Mediterranean. This is where one sees Hitler's limitations as he simply never fully appreciated the strategic implications of the Middle East and was very reluctant to seize the opportunities presented to him. One of the debates raised frequently by German generals after the war, was could Germany have prevailed if Hitler had been willing to devote the necessary forces to North Africa? If they were to seize the Suez Canal, for example, or take the Middle Eastern oil fields? In the end Germany would be desperate to secure sources of oil which meant a successful North Africa campaign could have aided their fortunes. This would have cut the British off from their links to the empire, made the linkages between the war in Asia and Europe tenuous at best for the British, and so these were real possible opportunities.

Afrika Korps the German expeditionary force in Africa during the North African Campaign of World War II



SOURCE 9.80 An infantry unit in an airfield waiting for a plane to El Alamein. Italy.

In 1941–42, there would be a major swing of fortune in the Middle East. It would be the British ability to resupply their forces in Egypt that ultimately would turn the tide in North Africa and the coast during the course of 1942. Rommel had initiated a new round of fighting in May of 1942, when he unleashed a new offensive. He followed the usual pattern until late in the month, when German troops took Tobruk, the important port city, inflicting terrible casualties on the British. In the process, they captured vast quantities of fuel, food and drinking water. They also took 35 000 British prisoners. It was a tremendous victory for Rommel. He renewed the offensive again, and by late June, the Afrika Korps had thrust deeply into Egypt. By June 30, German troops had reached El Alamein, only 60 miles west of Alexandria. Victory seemed within Rommel's grasp, and Hitler rewarded him by promoting him to the position of field marshal.

The first battle of El Alamein, the gateway to Alexandria, in July, ended with the British holding firm but unable to push the Germans back, and so the old pattern returned, supplies being the key. The Germans simply couldn't sustain the offensive; they couldn't continue to push. The British at this point began to receive supplies. Supplies began to pour into Egypt, including American Sherman tanks, which began to arrive in large numbers for the British forces.



SOURCE 9.81 Lieutenant General BL Montgomery, General Officer commanding Eighth Army, watches the beginning of the German retreat from El Alamein from the turret of his tank 5 November 1942.

The logistical problems make it doubtful whether any sort of German strategy in the Middle East would have been successful. Tripoli, the only major Axis port in North Africa, was 1300 miles from Alexandria in Egypt, over twice the distance from the pre-war Polish border to Moscow. Tripoli also had a limited capacity as a port. It couldn't have supported a major effort. In addition, as one visualises this combat across North Africa, there aren't huge flanking movements; this is a war of movement in a very narrow band. The problems of supply so hampered both armies (Axis and Allied) in 1940–41 that they operated essentially as expeditionary forces.

Churchill decided to shake up the staff after the embarrassments of the previous month. In mid-August, he relieved his commander in North Africa and replaced him with General Harold Alexander, who would become a major figure for the British military during the rest of the course of the war. He was to command the entire theatre.

Another more important appointment that was made at this time was that General Bernard Montgomery was chosen to lead the British Eighth Army. He would be the master of the so-called set piece, never wanting to move until he had all of his ducks in a row. He was tremendously popular with his troops. Montgomery attacked with overwhelming force in October of

1942 in the Second Battle of El Alamein, on 23 October 1942. When he did, his forces outnumbered Rommel's 230 000 to 80 000. The British had 1500 tanks, many of them American, to 500 German tanks; air superiority; and the role of Ultra, the intelligence intercepts so that the British were able to determine when supplies were coming across from Italy.

In the Second Battle of El Alamein in October 1942, a battle that would mark an important turning point, the British suffered terrible casualties, losing four times the number of tanks as the Germans, but Rommel couldn't take even these losses. Hitler, meanwhile, refused significant reinforcements. Rommel was constantly pressing for help and there was very little coming from Germany at this time, in part because of the German involvement in the Soviet Union. By November, Rommel was in retreat. That retreat proved to be a masterpiece and, combined with Montgomery's caution, allowed the Germans to escape back into Libya. The question now remained: would the British take the initiative and drive the Germans out of North Africa?

ANALYSING SOURCES 9.8A

For all the undoubted tactical brilliance, Rommel failed to understand what Wavell knew: that modern warfare is a matter of administration, and that unlike tactics – certainly in the desert – administration is the art of the possible. Thus Alamein, like Stalingrad and the Marne, would become, in the words of the American Brigadier-General S.L.A. Marshall, a 'monument of the supreme folly of over extension'. Rommel's administrative weakness, coupled with a failure to husband his armour for a concerted blow meant that he was never able to threaten Montgomery's precious 'balance', although the English army manoeuvre that really made him dance was the series of blows struck by the Australians against 164th Division towards the coast. But such criticisms are the matter of the military professional, and not strictly relevant to the wider importance of the victory. Certainly [they] were not relevant to the people of Britain, for whom Alamein was the first permanent victory. Churchill, with an unrivalled ability to coin a phrase, in a speech at the Mansion House on 10 November said, 'Now this is not the end, it is not even the beginning of the end. But it is perhaps the end of the beginning'.

SOURCE 9.82 J Latimer, *Alamein*, Bookmarque Ltd, 2003 p. 319

- 1 What are the problems identified about the leadership of Rommel?
- 2 Using the source, evaluate the significance of Alamein in the context of the Second World War.

Rommel's position would be made worse when Operation Torch was launched, which would be the first Allied joint venture. The man chosen to lead Operation Torch was Dwight Eisenhower. The plan was for Allied landings at Casablanca in Morocco, Oran and Algiers in Algeria, then to sweep eastward toward Tunisia. The German response to Operation Torch was to pour troops into Tunisia. The Allies, having made a successful landing in November, found themselves bogged down in Tunisia. By March 1943, Great Britain and the United States had amassed great strength and began the final push toward victory. Rommel was unable to get resupplied. Hitler refused to the very end to see the potential of the Afrika Korps and attempted to reinforce it too late. Only after the Allies had already established a dominant position did Hitler attempt to reverse the situation.



SOURCE 9.83 Map of the German and Allied advances in North Africa and the Middle East.

KEY QUESTIONS

Clarifying

- 1 Why did North Africa and the Middle East represent a missed opportunity for Hitler? What factors militated against German military success in that region?

The Germans had failed to hold North Africa. Operation Torch had succeeded. And from the American perspective, the very success of Operation Torch meant that there would not be a cross-channel invasion in 1942, but also, they feared, none in 1943 either. 🗝️

9.4 Civilians at war

Social and economic effects of the war on civilians in Britain, Germany and Russia

The effects of war on Britain	
Social effects	Economic effects
<p>Preparations for war</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Britain went to war with a sense of 'weary resignation', no celebration only hopes to 'get the job done'. • Conscription introduced April 1939. • Practice of blackouts, 1.5 million children evacuated to the countryside and fear of gas affected social life greatly. <p>Effect of the Blitz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the key aims of the Blitz upon London from September 1940 to May 1941 was to drain the morale of the British. • However, despite killing 40 000 civilians and destroying over a million homes, it effectively increased morale. 	<p>Preparations for war</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investments into preparation for war were extensive, ranging from the construction of 'Anderson' and 'Morrison' shelters, to widespread distribution of gas masks, to barrage balloons to reduce the impact of bombing. • Britain understood the importance of Total War and quickly mobilised economically to achieve this. • Churchill outlined that Britain's successes in the war were largely due to the 'blood and sweat' given on the home front. <p>Effect of the Blitz</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British economic production was never seriously threatened.

The effects of war on Britain

Social effects

- The 'we can take it attitude' and the 'Dunkirk Spirit' was strong during this period, uniting the nation greatly. Touring the devastation, King George VI and Churchill were well received in ruins of East End, especially after Buckingham Palace was hit.
- Liddell Hart argued that the Blitz did not succeed in destroying the British people's morale.

Propaganda and control

- Ministry of Information established under John Reith.
- Censorship, although evident, never developed to extent evident in Germany.
- BBC Television closed down, radio the main means of information.
- Entertainment utilised such as 'Music while you work' and artists such as Vera Lynn greatly helped to unite the nation and keep up morale.

Health

- This period actually saw an improvement in the health of the nation, with infant mortality during the war falling by 10 per cent and maternal mortality falling by 40 per cent.
- Diphtheria immunisation introduced, reducing mortality from this disease by 75 per cent during the war period.
- From 1941 all school children received free milk.
- By 1945 half of all school children received school meals.

Cole and Postgate:

- Delineate that socially, Britain approached the tasks of war in a united manner

Economic effects

- The Essential Works Order 1941 introduced under the Minister of Labour to ensure production was maintained and under government control, such as railway employees.
- The Emergency Powers Act was implemented to give the government power to direct workers, including women, in order to maintain economic stability.

Rationing

- Threats to shipping by the **U-Boat** campaign saw Britain facing the threat of starvation.
- Britain united in its effort to save food and methods were well received.
- Involved rationing of foods such as butter, bacon and sugar, and extended to a 'point system' issued in December 1941, with 16 points to 'spend' at any store for supplies.
- Victory Gardens at home and the Kitchen Front also encouraged to saving and growing your own food for the war effort.
- Clothes were less extravagant and instead focused on practicality; high prices promoted recycling.

Women

- Greatly utilised during this period, experiencing a growth in social and economic rights.
- Played a key role in the munitions industry with over two million women working in various forms of industrial jobs.
- 80000 served in the Women's Land Army, doing basic farming work to feed the nation and freeing men to go fight at the front.
- Worked in transport industry, serving as drivers, conductors and canal operators.
- By June 1944, 7.1 million women aged 14–49 were in war work including the auxiliary service.
- The war brought on an economic and social revolution for Britain.

U boat German submarines



SOURCE 9.84 Firefighters struggle to put out a fire after a German bombing run during the Blitz, 1940.

The Effects of the war on Germany

Social effects

Preparations for war

- Early Blitzkrieg success welcomed in Germany, with Hitler's popularity reaching its zenith in July 1940, although was mainly a sign of relief.
- Hitler believed in the '*Dolstoschlegende*' and believed they lost World War I due to a collapse on the home front. He was determined to maintain this morale and promote a 'business as usual' mentality.

Effect of Allied bombing

- Compared to the Blitz, Allied bombing had a massive influence upon the morale and social life of Germany.
- Throughout the war, massive strategic bombing operations were conducted, with carpet bombing and firebombing seeing the destruction of nearly entire cities, seen in Hamburg with 40000 killed alone, as many as the Blitz, as well as Dresden and Frankfurt.
- Studies show over 90 per cent of German civilians during the war reported that the bombing was the worst factor of life on the home front.

Economic effects

Preparations for war

- Hitler believed in a 'business as usual' mentality, desired to maintain the home front's peacetime way of life.
- Movements to Total War, such as utilising women in labour, Government control of industry and mass-production not utilised early in the War, dependent on Blitzkrieg victories instead. This changed as Germany's success begun to dwindle.
- Women in Germany played a major part in keeping the war effort going.

Movements to Total War

- Movements to Total War were described by AJP Taylor to be "much too late".
- 18 February 1943, Goebbels announced the need for total war in his speech at the Berlin Sportpalast stating, "Total War means a shorter war".
- Speer as Armaments Minister in 1942 extended the war by two years.

The Effects of the war on Germany

Social effects

Propaganda and repression

- Goebbels created an incredibly efficient propaganda machine that expanded to all realms of German life, such as newspapers, radio, film, speeches, parades and even sport.
- This was easy initially with quick victories, such as France, however, became more difficult as the hardship continued, becoming completely distrusted by the general population from 1944 to the end of the war.

Terror and repression

- Terror state maintained by the SS and the Gestapo under Hydreich Himmler.
- Night and Fog Decree 1939 introduced, power to arrest and detain people without trial.
- Concentration camps not hidden, and over 3 million Germans spent some time in one.
- People kept in order as a result of this terror and fear of the police state, greatly shaping the social life for civilians in Germany.
- Due legal process totally disappeared inside Germany during the war, allowing the SS to control the German public.
- The impact of terror led to an almost complete breakdown of the German family system.

Economic effects

- Utilised organisation to use slave and PoW labour, often working them to death; reduced number of models in trucks, planes and weapons, such as going from 42 aircraft types to five; and used underground factories to protect production from Allied strategic bombing.
- Utilised women for labour within the factories, although never to the same extent as in Britain, due to belief and promotion by Goebbels that they would cause 'unrest' and should focus on "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche". (Children, Church, Kitchen.)

Effect of Allied strategic bombing

- Allied bombing had a devastating impact upon production.
- Economic activity had to be dispersed or forced underground, limiting potential output for the war effort.
- Oil reached critically low levels, chemical production drastically reduced and railway system greatly disrupted, working to prevent the German war machine from supporting the war effort greatly.
- Resulted in the total collapse of the economy and Germany's ability to effectively wage war towards the end of the conflict.



SOURCE 9.85 The destroyed German city of Dresden after the war.

The Effects of war on Russia

Social effects

Total war

- The Soviet Union was a disciplined political system where the people were under the tight control of the NKPD (secret police).
- Labour camps and the secret police meant that the Soviet Union could handle the pressures of war and demanding exceptional human effort.
- All economic resources and loyalties were directed to the war effort.
- Russians responded enthusiastically to the war effort. There was genuine nationalism as the people viewed Stalin as a symbol of resistance against foreign invaders.
- It was known as the 'Great Patriotic War', the people would defend 'Mother Russia'.

Propaganda

- References were made for the Russian people to become brothers, sisters and children of 'mother Russia'.
- Historical references to heroism of the past including Peter the Great and General Kutuzov who saved Russia from Napoleon.
- Propaganda has a strongly anti-German tone and embraced patriotism.
- Poems and plays promoted an emotional response of hatred and revenge towards Germany.

Religion and church

- Church schools were opened and there was an openness of training priests.
- Muslims were encouraged to support Russia to weaken their support for German efforts.
- Anti-religious propaganda essentially came to end.

Economic effects

Economic impact of the war

- The Soviet Union suffered the most out of any other nation in World War II with 20 million Russians losing their lives.
- The war destroyed towns, factories, villages, railway tracks, schools and livestock. Many Russians had to live in wooden huts.
- The losses in the first few months of the war were astoundingly high with an estimated 5 million Russians losing their lives.

The economy

- The Soviet Union was in a critical state at the time of the German invasion of Operation Barbarossa. Industrial areas were in danger of being destroyed by future German attacks.
- Stalin arranged a mass migration of industry which included plants, machines and factories.
- Workers moved further to the east and factories were completely stripped and rebuilt.
- Working conditions significantly impacted workers with cold temperatures and food shortages; however, the level of production in the face of human suffering was extraordinary.
- Significant production took place in terms of aircraft, guns, tanks and new industrial enterprises.
- United States Lend Lease Aid proved to be significantly helpful in developing industry from 1942. The Russians would pay back the United States once the war was over.
- The Soviet Union was clinical in its simplicity and rationalisation of industry. They produced T34 and KV tanks and aircraft. 🚩

KEY QUESTIONS

Drawing Conclusions



- 1 Compare and contrast the economic and social effects of the war on Britain, Germany and the Soviet Union.



SOURCE 9.86 Russian soldiers and women in 1942.

9.5 End of the conflict

How the Allies won World War II

1 Preparedness for War

- Germany's declaration of war in 1939 was premature as the nation was not prepared for a long war and the country was surprised by the decision. Germany had always prepared for war in the 1940s, however Hitler was emboldened by the territorial gains made during the 1930s without conflict. When Germany invaded Poland, Hitler was surprised that the British declared war.
- The perception of the British as unprepared for war was a myth. The British built 'shadow factories' in the midlands that were not used for anything other than in preparation for potential war. When the war did break out, they moved their armaments industry into these areas.

What Hitler regarded as the greatest German assets – the leadership principle of the Third Reich, the unquestioning obedience expected of Wehrmacht personnel from field marshal down to private – all worked against the Germans on D-Day. The truth is that desperate individual acts of great bravery and fanaticism of some Wehrmacht troops, the high command, middle ranking officers, and junior officers was just pathetic. The cause is put simply: They were afraid to take the initiative. They allowed themselves to be paralysed by stupid orders coming from far away that bore no relation to the situation on the battlefield.

SOURCE 9.87 S Ambrose, *The Victors: The Men of World War II*, Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 1998, p. 183

2 Strategy

- American military strategy was able to effectively overturn and repel German and Japanese forces, by destroying the Nazis first using 85 per cent of US forces while destroying the Japanese with the remaining 15 per cent.
- Germany went into the war without a viable military strategy. The Nazi war machine was based on an irrational approach to the problems being presented and Hitler would not meet the demands of the military strategists. Every move made by Hitler built a coalition against Germany which was too strong to overcome.
- Anglo-American forces destroyed German naval power, air power and war economy, as seen in the Battle of Britain, Battle of the Atlantic, and development of industry.

3 Tactics

- Tactical innovation initially hid Germany's lack of viable military strategy. Although German tactics resulted in early successes in the low countries and France, Germany could never win after December 1941 following Hitler's declaration of war on the United States.
- The German Stuka dive bomber was a weapon to support *Blitzkrieg* and represented the tactical airpower of the Germans early in the war. The Allies would use this tactic adapting their fighting methods throughout the conflict. Hitler, however, refused to adapt to the changing nature of the war.
- The Allies had the capability to achieve their strategic objectives and to block German expansion. The Americans had the capabilities of waging war across the Atlantic Ocean, as opposed to the Germans. In the end, German limitations meant they could not do the same as their enemies.
- The Allied armies were fully motorised and mechanised as opposed to the German Army. Before the United States' entry into war, Britain saw landing in Europe as beyond their capabilities. The British favoured indirect strategy which favoured calculated attrition to wear the Germans down.

4 Production

- The Allies mobilised their resources efficiently, whereas the Germans did not. Germany fought a war of scarcity, as opposed to the Allies who fought a war of abundance. The Allies out-produced the Germans in all categories.
- Russians evacuated factories to the east and achieved an industrial revival. Russia literally unbolted factories from one space where Germans were likely to advance, to behind the Ural Mountains, to redevelop. Factories were quickly up and running, maintaining industrial output. Russian production exceeded that of Germany with fewer resources.
- The United States Victory program Produced two-thirds of all Allied production. US industrial production, the world's biggest, doubled in four years. In out-producing the Axis powers, the US aircraft production joined with Ford Motor company for mass production. The strength and involvement of the United States proved to be significant in the outcome of the war
- The German Army was 'demodernised' during the war and by 1944 only 10 per cent of the German Army was mechanised, whereas the US army was a fully mechanised force.

5 Technology

- The Allies modernised their weapons. It is important to separate the reality of German weapons from fiction: V1 and V2 rockets were effective, however had no impact in war, and the German jet engine fighter planes arrived too late into the war.
- The T-34 Soviet tank was an effective war-fighting platform. They used American suspension, better armour, and wider tank tracks suited for snow and marshland assaults. The German Army could not counter this weapon effectively. Hitler refused to 'rebuild' the tank, due to the belief in the inferiority of Soviet people.

6 Sea Power

- Germany could not defeat Britain in terms of sea power and they could not prevent the build up of US forces.
- D-Day Landing was only possible by maritime powers.
- Significant developments during the war such as improved convoy systems, the development of long-range aerial surveillance and centimetric radar all helped to turn the tide. It was the Allied powers' ability to control the sea that made possible the significant contribution to the defeat of Germany.

7 The war was won on the Eastern Front

- Germany's inability to defeat the Soviet Union dragged the German Army into a long drawn out war on the Eastern Front culminating in their eventual defeat. Stalingrad proved to be a turning point once the Germans surrendered.
- Germany was furthered humiliated in the Battle of Kursk which resulted in the end of German offensive operations from that point in the war. The Russians gained air superiority with the support of Allied supplies and the road opened for the Red Army to advance on Germany. Kursk was another important turning point on the Eastern Front.
- Russians destroyed the German Army; fighting the main 'land war' on the Eastern Front.

8 Leadership

- The Allies maintained and established a strong alliance and had effective leadership. For the Allies, the committee system reduced the element of arbitrary will or personal misjudgements, unlike the Germans where Hitler was the ultimate decision maker;
- Hitler took personal command of the military, but was incompetent in military command.
- Germany had weak allies. Italy proved to be incredibly problematic in the conflict and hindered the Germans in combating the efficiency of the Allies.



SOURCE 9.88 Roosevelt and Churchill.

MATTER OF FACT

Roosevelt and Churchill were extraordinary individuals and leaders. Churchill had the wisdom to listen to military advisers and Roosevelt – who was ill during the war – trusted his military leaders and team. However, tensions between the two leaders did exist over their relationship with Russia.



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CHAPTER 12

The nuclear age 1945–2011

12.3 The choice: international control or an arms race?

The Baruch Plan

Though many historians tend to be dismissive of the Baruch Plan, Joseph Preston Baratta, in his 2004 book, *The Politics of World Federation: United Nations, UN Reform, Atomic Control*, argues that this



SOURCE 12.66 Dr Robert Oppenheimer, chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission (1946–1952).

was the closest the United States came to making a world government proposal. Baratta reminds us of how receptive people were to the idea of creating new international institutions in the last year of World War II and a year or so after, and world leaders were willing to bring their nations into an international security organisation. After all, it was quite amazing that the USA and USSR could have cooperated in creating a new international institution, the United Nations, without rejection by either the US Senate or Soviet Communist Party. This was a time when multilateralism was held in high esteem. After all, it was multilateral cooperation of the twenty-six Allied countries that beat the Axis Powers. Surely, they could now cooperate to solve global problems; or at least that's what most people thought at the time.

The Baruch Plan had its origins in the Acheson-Lilienthal report, which was mostly written by Robert Oppenheimer. Along with his co-authors, he believed that America's monopoly could not last. The plan called for the establishment of an Atomic Development Authority to operate all uranium mining and all nuclear facilities capable of producing nuclear weapons. Nations would give up their ability to build nuclear bombs but would be allowed to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The 100-page report was released on 28 March 1946.

President Truman chose the much-respected Bernard Baruch to take the plan to the United Nations. For three weeks Baruch engaged in debate with the US State Department about the details of the Acheson-Lilienthal report. According to Joseph Baratta, at this time Baruch was very sincere about developing an international atomic energy control system while guarding American security. Also, he and his team took internationalism seriously, including the idea of world government.

On 14 June 1946, Bernard Baruch made an historic speech at the UN Atomic Energy Commission. Baruch outlined the plan in detail including how it would strip all UN Security members of the veto concerning the use of sanctions against countries that tried to develop atomic weapons. The US would begin to destroy its nuclear arsenal once the plan was fully implemented. Public opinion was 2 to 1 in

favour of Baruch's proposal. There was much worldwide support for abolishing the veto. The Soviets did some negotiation and submitted counterproposals on 19 June. While the Atomic Energy Commission at the UN worked on how to reconcile the US and Soviet proposals, atomic tests were begun at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands on 1 July. This was the first use of an atomic bomb since Hiroshima. The bomb was a 20-kiloton bomb, the same size as the one dropped on Hiroshima.

The Soviets objected strongly to the idea of the US maintaining its nuclear monopoly for any amount of time and absolutely opposed any international inspections of Soviet nuclear facilities. Negotiations at the UN continued, but after the second Bikini test on 25 July they noticeably cooled. Eventually, the Soviets totally rejected the Baruch Plan. The plan was voted on 30 December 1946, with 10 of the Atomic Energy Commission's members in favour with the USDR and Poland abstaining.

In 1961, there was another attempt by the UN General Assembly to make progress with Resolution 1653, which declared the use of nuclear weapons to be 'contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations'. Furthermore, the use of these weapons is 'a war directed not against an enemy or enemies alone but also against mankind in general'. Also, such use was 'contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity'. Though it passed with a majority of only one vote it did not serve to push the issue forward at the United Nations. 🗝️



SOURCE 12.67 October 1946: (L to R front) Soviet diplomat Andrei A. Gromyko (1909–1989), British diplomat Alexander Cadogan, and American financier and economic adviser Bernard Baruch during the Atomic Energy meeting.

KEY QUESTIONS

Contestability (forming opinions)

World Federalism – the road not taken



Review the Baruch Plan of 1946 and the Montreux Declaration of 1947.

Neither of these plans for international control of nuclear weapons came to fruition. Assess the arguments put forward for international control of nuclear weapons. Do you think that this option will need to be revisited in the future to finally deal with the threat that nuclear weapons still pose?

12.7 Towards nuclear disarmament

Nuclear disarmament groups impact on government policy

Concern over nuclear testing in the 1950s grew and led to a resurgence of the peace movement. In the United States, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (known simply as SANE) was formed by peace activist Norman Cousins. SANE called for a halt to nuclear testing to prevent the global spread of radioactive contamination. Similar anti-nuclear organisations sprang up around the world. This growing public concern led to a US-British-Soviet agreement on a moratorium on nuclear testing. However, this collapsed with the resumption of nuclear testing, firstly by the Soviet Union and then by the United States. Then the world stood on the edge of the abyss for thirteen days during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. Both President Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev realised how close they had come to losing control of events even after they reached the point in the crisis when they both wanted to resolve the crisis diplomatically.



SOURCE 12.68 Norman Cousins was an outspoken critic of atmospheric nuclear testing. Photo taken on 15 September 1963.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

(NPT) a treaty created in 1968 and came into force in 1970 that aimed to stop the spread of nuclear weapons to countries other than the five that already had them.

Peace activist Norman Cousins returned to play a crucial role in bringing both Kennedy and Khrushchev to the point of agreeing to a treaty banning nuclear testing. The thawing of relations between the two leaders was dramatically signalled by President Kennedy's American University speech on 10 June 1963 in which he uttered those famous words: 'For in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's futures. And we are all mortal.' Kennedy then announced that the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union were negotiating a treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons. The Partial Test Ban Treaty, otherwise known as the Limited Test Ban Treaty, was signed on 5 August 1963 and entered into force on 10 October 1963. The treaty prohibited nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, or in any manner to cause radioactive debris to drift out of the borders of the nation that carries out the nuclear test.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)** was adopted by the General Assembly on 1 July 1968 and came into force on 5 March 1970. The text of the treaty stated that 'the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war'. The ultimate aim of the NPT was to 'to facilitate the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their existing stockpiles, and the elimination from national arsenals of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery pursuant to a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control'; that is, universal and complete nuclear disarmament. This was made abundantly clear in Article VI of the NPT.

The NPT has since been signed by 190 countries, with the exceptions being India, Pakistan and Israel. Each of those nations has acquired nuclear weapons since the treaty has been in force. In brief, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) was a bargain between the five nations which had nuclear weapons at the time – the USA, the UK, France, the USSR and China – with all other nations that promised not to acquire nuclear weapons. However, the advent of this treaty did not stop the five nuclear powers who signed the NPT nearly doubling their collective nuclear stockpiles from 38 153 nuclear weapons in 1970 to 65 056 nuclear weapons in



SOURCE 12.69 On 6 March 1970, the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed at a ceremony in London. Similar ceremonies took place in Moscow and Washington.

1986, clearly going against Article VI of the treaty. On the other hand, the only non-nuclear signatory to the NPT to develop nuclear weapons was North Korea. North Korea signed the NPT in 1985 but then withdrew from the NPT in 2003 citing a history of aggressive policy of the United States towards it.

The fact that the NPT has stopped many nations from developing nuclear weapons means that the commitment of so many nations has been successful in limiting nuclear weapons proliferation and maintaining a remarkable degree of global stability. Many nations, such as Australia, discarded their nuclear ambitions with the advent of the NPT. As a result of pressure from the United States and other countries, Australia eventually signed the NPT on 27 February 1970, though it delayed ratification until December 1972 when Gough Whitlam did so. The NPT has undoubtedly fostered a certain degree of global stability, but with the failure of the nuclear weapons states (like the USA, the UK and China) to move to abolition of their nuclear arsenals, the NPT is now criticised by many for serving the interests of the nuclear weapons states to the detriment of all the other nations who are signatories to the NPT. After much debate, on 11 May 1995 it was decided to continue the treaty indefinitely.

Nuclear Weapons Free Zones

Working in tandem with the NPT has been the gradual creation of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZ). Article VII of the NPT supports the establishment of the NWFZs as they support the non-proliferation at the regional level. There are now five NWFZs, the first being the 1967 Treaty of Tlatelolco that established a NWFZ in Latin America. The other NWFZs are in the South Pacific (Treaty of Rarotoga, 1985), South-East Asia, Africa and Central Asia. Each of these treaties has entered into force. The states that have ratified these treaties have committed themselves to not accepting nuclear weapons on their territory. NWFZs have provided a complementary legal regime for non-proliferation and disarmament. However, one major sticking point in the NWFZ regime has been the failure of attempts to create an NWFZ for the Middle East. The first proposals were put forward in 1962. The NPT Review Conference called for a NWFZ in the Middle East but nothing has come of this. Other treaties have been signed over the years which prohibit nuclear weapons being placed or used in the Antarctic (Antarctic Treaty 1959), outer space (Outer Space Treaty 1967), and in the oceans (Seabed Treaty 1971).

The NWFZs made an important contribution to the stigmatisation of nuclear weapons, as well as promoting protection of the environment, non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament, but ultimately they can be violated by the Nuclear Weapons States with impunity. This was in fact done when on 13 June 1995 the newly elected French President, Jacques Chirac, announced the resumption of French nuclear testing in French Polynesia. This outraged public opinion around the world, while public opinion in Australia asked why we still sold uranium to France.

SALT and START – The role of bilateral arms agreements

Around the same time as the creation of the multilateral NPT the USA and USSR began negotiating a series of treaties during and after the Cold War. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) that began in 1968 led to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) and an agreement capping ICBM and SLBM forces in 1972. SALT II followed in 1979 but the process stalled later that year with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.



SOURCE 12.70 Protests against the resumption of nuclear testing in French Polynesia, August 1995.

Nuclear disarmament movements – 1950s to the 1980s

The most dramatic reductions to nuclear weapons were made from the second half of the 1980s, and two men responsible for initiating these reductions were US President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Yet these two men did not take their dramatic steps to nuclear weapons in a vacuum. In his 2009 book, *Confronting the Bomb*, Lawrence Wittner has reminded us of the impact of the nuclear disarmament movement in the 1980s. Wittner stated that:

‘... with nuclear weapons enthusiasts controlling major governments and talking glibly of nuclear war, a nuclear conflagration was becoming more likely. In response, millions of people around the world mobilized against the policies of their rulers. Peace and disarmament groups burgeoned into mass movements of unprecedented size and intensity.’

SOURCE 12.71 Lawrence Wittner, *Confronting the Bomb*, 2009

Both Reagan and Gorbachev were profoundly influenced by the global nuclear disarmament movement. This movement begun in 1980 with the ‘Nuclear Freeze’ movement in the United States and the END (European Nuclear Disarmament) movement in Europe.

The main target of these peace movements was the proposed deployment of a new generation of deadly intermediate range missiles in Europe by both the United States and Soviet Union. Over the first half of the 1980s nuclear disarmament became an important issue for the world, resulting in a huge increase in anti-nuclear sentiment in public opinion globally. Lawrence Wittner outlined the ways in which President Reagan changed his hawkish policies on nuclear weapons, leading to his extraordinary public address on 16 January 1984 calling for peace with the Soviet Union and a nuclear-free world. This was before Gorbachev came to power! Meanwhile, Gorbachev had been profoundly influenced by the western nuclear disarmament movement, and particularly Einstein’s anti-nuclear statement of 1956 and the Russell-Einstein appeal of 1955. In the 1980s Gorbachev frequently met with leaders of the nuclear disarmament movement. When Gorbachev became Soviet leader in March 1985, nuclear disarmament was on the top of his agenda.

Meanwhile, the early 1980s were the high point of the Cold War, with the combined US and Soviet nuclear arsenals reaching a peak of over 65 000 warheads. On 12 June 1982, two days before the United Nations Special Session Disarmament (SSOD-II), one million people marched in New York City from the



SOURCE 12.72 Demonstrators march hand-in-hand toward Central Park under a large banner reading ‘Freeze the Arms Race’ during a massive nuclear disarmament rally. One million people gathered to rally for a nuclear arms freeze, New York City, New York, 12 June 1982.

UN building to Central Park. The theme of the rally was 'Freeze the Arms Race – Fund Human Needs'. It was the largest political rally in American history. The upsurge in popular protest was repeated in mass rallies around the world. Despite all the popular protest, in 1983 the world came the closest to an all-out nuclear war since the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, not once, but twice. On 26 November 1983 Stanislav Petrov refused to give the go-ahead for massive Soviet retaliation against a perceived US missile attack. Then during NATO's 'Able Archer' military exercise Soviet forces were placed on high alert as the Soviet leadership was convinced that this exercise was a cover to launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike on the Soviet Union. Though the world could have ended at the time, on two separate occasions, no-one actually realised it until later.

The unexpected end to the Cold War arms race

The rise of Mikhail Gorbachev to the Soviet leadership became a game changer for nuclear disarmament. The Reagan-Gorbachev Reykjavik Summit held between 11–12 October 1986 led to deep reductions in US and Soviet nuclear forces, commencing with the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty in 1987 followed by the Strategic Offensive Arms reductions (START I) in 1991. Despite the enormous breakthrough made by these two leaders, there was a great missed opportunity as both Gorbachev and the Americans (Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger) put forward separate proposals for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. The sticking point for going further was the

Americans' unwillingness to agree not to withdraw from the 1972 ABM Treaty because it interfered with Reagan's plans for his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), otherwise known as 'Star Wars'. Nevertheless in 1986 the two leaders, Reagan and Gorbachev, had put their nations on a path to deep reductions in nuclear weapons that continued for the next twenty years. The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 signalled the end of the Cold War and saw further significant treaties between the USA and the new democratic Russia with START II in 1992, and then SORT with Vladimir Putin in 2002; and finally New START in 2010, which entered into force in 2011. These bilateral treaties have significantly reduced the total number of nuclear weapons in the world from the Cold War high of 65 000 to less than 15 000 today.

1990s Optimism

The end of the Cold War led to an upsurge in optimism regarding nuclear disarmament. The USA and the Soviet Union, now Russia, made significant cuts in their nuclear weapons. The general public, confident that reduced numbers meant freedom from the threat of nuclear armageddon relaxed; and the nuclear issue disappeared from sight. This sense of optimism led to the NPT Review Conference of 1995 agreeing to an indefinite extension of the NPT, though not without strenuous arguments on many aspects of the treaty. Another positive development in the 1990s was that Gorbachev announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, followed by President Bill Clinton reciprocating for the US in 1993. Over the following few years many nations began negotiating a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), which was designed to prohibit all nuclear weapons testing. The USA was the first nation to sign the CTBT on 24 September 1996, but the US Senate refused to ratify the treaty in 1999.



SOURCE 12.73 The Reykjavik Summit was a meeting between US President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev, in Reykjavik, Iceland, 11–12 October 1986.



SOURCE 12.74 North Korea is a rogue state with nuclear ambitions.

Despite the American attitude, today there is significant international support for the CTBT, with 183 countries having signed it and 164 having ratified it. However, the treaty has not come into force because it requires the signature and ratification by eight out of the 44 specific nuclear technology nations listed in Annex 2 of the treaty. These countries are China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, North Korea, Pakistan and the USA. Though President Obama said on 5 April 2009 that his administration would pursue a nuclear-weapons ban he was not able to achieve this. Despite this, an organisation has been created based on the treaty, called the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO). The CTBTO has built up a verification regime so that it is operational when the Treaty enters into force. There has been a de facto moratorium on nuclear testing in place for the last 18 years, broken only by North Korea's explosion of nuclear devices in 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016.

ICJ Ruling – 1996

A ray of hope appeared in 1996. It was an historic opinion on the question of the legality of nuclear weapons under international humanitarian law, delivered by the International Court of Justice on 8 July 1996. The ICJ ruled that the threat or use of nuclear weapons is generally illegal under international law, and that states have an obligation to conclude negotiations on their elimination. The case had been brought to the ICJ in a formal request from the UN General Assembly, though behind this request was the World Court Project. This was an NGO campaign led by the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy (LCNP), the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA), the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW).



SOURCE 12.75 The International Court of Justice (ICJ) at The Hague, the Netherlands.

The NPT falters

Though the USA and Russia had made very large cuts in their nuclear weapons arsenals, by the late 1990s their cuts slowed, particularly as there was now little public pressure. The general public had assumed that the nuclear threat had gone away with the end of the Cold War. When the NPT came up for review in 2000, the New Agenda Coalition, a group of states led by Ireland and Brazil, put pressure on the nuclear weapons states to continue the disarmament process. As a result, 'Thirteen Practical Steps' were agreed to and the review conference ended on a high note. However, when George W Bush became US President in January 2001 the euphoria generated by the NPT Review of 2000 disappeared. President Bush

repudiated support for the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, dispensed with the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and totally ignored the ‘Thirteen Practical Steps’ for the eight years of his presidency. The next NPT Review Conference in 2005 was described by Canadian anti-nuclear campaigner Douglas Roche as a ‘ritualistic facade’ and a ‘fiasco’. ‘Not only was no progress made, but the 2005 meeting even took a backward step when the US refused to acknowledge commitments it had made in 1995 and 2000.’ It was the failure of the 2005 NPT Review that started a small group of Australians thinking about what they could do. The result was the creation of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear weapons in 2007.

In 2009 signs of hope emerged again that there might be real action on nuclear weapons. President Obama gave a speech in Prague on 5 April 2009 in which he said:

‘The United States will take concrete steps towards a world without nuclear weapons. To put an end to Cold War thinking, we will reduce the role of nuclear weapons in our nation’s security strategy and urge others to do the same.’

Obama continued his statements on nuclear disarmament at the UN Security Council, attended by 13 other heads of state. Together they passed Resolution 1887 (2009), in which all the members of the Security Council reaffirmed their commitment to the NPT in the lead-up to the next NPT Review Conference scheduled for 2010. At the 2010 Review Conference the 125 member states of the Non-Aligned Movement pushed for the nuclear weapons states to re-commit to the ‘19 Practical Steps’ (from the 1995 NPT Review) and to give undertakings to eliminate their nuclear arsenals. The Final Draft came up with a 64-point Action Plan on nuclear disarmament (based on the ‘19 Practical Steps’) and the nuclear weapons states gave their commitment to eliminate nuclear weapons.

Many regarded the 2010 conference as a success, yet a sizeable number of the non-nuclear states and veteran NGO activists were frustrated with the endless process that saw verbal commitments by the nuclear weapons states but no action. There was now a great deal of scepticism that the NPT Review conferences could achieve anything on nuclear disarmament. Yet the Final Document of the 2010 NPT did see the inclusion of a statement that for the first time noted ‘the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all States at all



SOURCE 12.76 Nuclear Fools Day, Melbourne 2007. ICAN's Dr Bill Williams speaking at the Sidney Myer Music Bowl just prior to the launch of ICAN. Bill Williams was co-founder and Chairman of ICAN. Bill sadly passed away on 12 September before seeing the results of his efforts. Photo: Adam Dempsey.



SOURCE 12.77 President Barack Obama promised to work towards ‘a world without nuclear weapons’ in a landmark speech in Prague on 5 April 2009.

times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law'. This left the door open to a return to international humanitarian law in addressing the threat of nuclear weapons. Many non-nuclear weapons states (NNWS) now looked for a new approach outside the NPT system.

12.8 Since 2011 – progress and danger

The Humanitarian Impact Initiative

In 2011 the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement signalled a new approach. The Australian delegation of the Red Cross put forward community views about nuclear weapons (which were collected from their recent 'Make nuclear weapons the target' campaign), and from these the conference developed a resolution called 'Working towards the elimination of nuclear weapons'.

In 2012 this led to the Red Cross making appeals to nation states to pursue negotiations to develop a treaty aimed at the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. The role of Australian Red Cross' CEO, Robert Tickner, was important in achieving this. This marks the beginning of the newest phase of anti-nuclear campaigning and has become known as the Humanitarian Impact Initiative. In March 2013, the first of three groundbreaking conferences on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons was held in Oslo, and Robert Tickner addressed this conference on behalf of the Red Cross. One-hundred and twenty-eight countries attended the conference. This sparked a host of initiatives both in the UN and in regional groupings.

Obama Speech – Hiroshima, 27 May 2015

On 27 May 2015 President Obama became the first sitting US President to visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. Obama was in Hiroshima to attend the G7 Summit. There was much speculation over whether he would attend or not. This year was significant because it was the seventieth anniversary of the nuclear attack on Hiroshima (on 6 August 1945). This was a landmark speech. In his speech, he expressed a vague desire about the need for a moral awakening to deal with the threat. Sadly though, in the two terms of his presidency he had made little, if any, progress towards such a 'moral revolution' and a 'moral awakening' despite raising high hopes with his Prague Speech in 2009 and his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010. On Obama's watch the United States



SOURCE 12.78 Vienna, 8 December 2014. Austrian Foreign Minister Sebastian Kurz (centre) and Hiroshima survivor Setsuko Thurlow (right) at the 'Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons' conference that was attended by diplomatic representatives from 160 countries. The Austrian Pledge made here led to these nuclear disarmament discussions being taken up at the United Nations in 2015 and 2016.



SOURCE 12.79 US President Barack Obama delivers remarks after laying a wreath at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park as Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe (L) looks on, in Hiroshima on 27 May 2016.

squandered one opportunity of working towards a 'moral revolution' with his government's forthright opposition to the Humanitarian Impact Initiative in the campaign for a treaty banning nuclear weapons.

The NWS vs the NNWS

Since the failure of the 2015 NPT Review Conference to make any progress towards reducing the threat that existing nuclear weapons arsenals pose to the world, the division between the Nuclear Weapons States (NWS) and the Non-Nuclear Weapons States (NNWS) has become more pronounced. The situation today has been likened to 'nuclear apartheid' in which a select few countries are allowed to possess nuclear weapons, and another 40 or so (including Australia) are allowed protection from the 'nuclear umbrellas' of the USA and Russia, while the rest of the world is absolutely forbidden to similar nuclear 'protection'. This is a blatant double standard. The NWS interpret the NPT as forbidding proliferation, which is correct, but Article VI of the NPT stipulates that the NWS must embark on disarmament. The NWS have consistently ignored Article VI. Since the Humanitarian Impact Initiative conferences of 2013–2014, and the failure of the NPT Review conference, the remaining three quarters of the member states of the United Nations were motivated to initiate a treaty to outlaw nuclear weapons, since the NWS were unwilling to do so.



SOURCE 12.80 NEW YORK, 28 June 2017. 'Ban the Bomb'. Protesters at the 2017 United Nations conference negotiations on the nuclear ban treaty dressed up as the leaders of the nine Nuclear Weapons States. Photo: Ralf Schlesener.

Article VI

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to *nuclear disarmament*, and on a *treaty on general and complete disarmament* under strict and effective international control.

SOURCE 12.80 The Treaty on The Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), 1968

A MATTER OF FACT

Further information

Nuclear Weapons: Who Has What at a Glance

See the *Arms Control Association* website for the latest information on the current state of nuclear weapons in the world today.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, 2017

The Humanitarian Impact Initiative which had originated in 2011, the international campaign by ICAN and its 486 partner organisations in 121 countries, finally got its long sought-after conference at the United Nations. The first round of the conference in March 2017 produced a draft treaty, and the second round of negotiations led to a vote. The treaty became international law with a vote of 122 nations for, one against and one abstention. From this point on the focus of the global nuclear disarmament movement turned to securing ratifications to the treaty, of which there were 53 by the end of 2017, and putting pressure on the Nuclear Weapons States, as well as those states under the nuclear umbrella (including Australia) to sign the treaty and begin the process of abolishing nuclear weapons and setting up international safeguards to prevent any nation from building nuclear bombs in the future. This path to ending the Nuclear Age is much preferable to the alternative.

The campaign to delegitimise nuclear weapons and to further the cause of nuclear abolition was given a boost on 6 October 2017 when ICAN was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.



SOURCE 12.81 The moment of the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons at the United Nations on 7 July 2017. One-hundred and twenty-two nations voted in favour (left), delegates applauded (centre), and President of the Negotiating Conference, Elayne Whyte with Hiroshima survivor Setsuko Thurlow. Photo: Kathleen Sullivan.



SOURCE 12.82 ICAN Asia-Pacific Director Tim Wright, left, and ICAN Steering Group member Ray Acheson, right, look on as ICAN Executive Director Beatrice Fihn speaks during the press conference by the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) at the United Nations on 9 October 2017 in New York City. The organisation won the Nobel Peace Prize for its work to abolish weapons of mass destruction.

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