

TWENTIETH CENTURY **2**

GERALDINE CARRODUS / LUKE CASHMAN
KATRINA DAVEY / LUCA FINANZIO
HUW LEWIS / PHILLIP O'BRIEN
NATALIE SHEPHARD / RACHEL TOWNS

POST-WAR CHALLENGES



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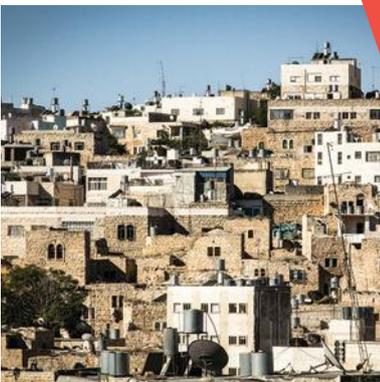
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HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

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SOURCE ANALYSIS tasks for primary and secondary sources (both written and visual)

WEB RESOURCES identified with different icons in the margins. Follow the instructions at the URL below to access these and other web resources on twentieth century history and historical thinking skills.

To access web resources for this title, go to historyed.com.au/course/view.php?id=25



Weblink



Video



Audio



Interactive



Activity sheet /
More info



Quiz

Colourful **MAPS** and **DIAGRAMS**

The study of Twentieth Century History at the senior level is guided by historical thinking concepts developed by Seixas, van Drie and van Boxtel, Levesque and others.

Historical knowledge comprises both **substantive knowledge**, which refers to historical content or subject matter (i.e. what happened in the past?) and **procedural knowledge**, which refers to the process or skills involved in understanding that subject matter (i.e. what do the sources of evidence say and what should I conclude from them?). Together, substantive and procedural knowledge give students the depth of understanding required to excel in history.

Historical inquiry begins with **historical questions**. Students ask and are asked substantial questions about people and events from the past, including their **significance** and contribution to what came later. Students assess **continuity and change** and the different types of change that occurred. They examine the relationship between **cause and consequence** and consider the **ethical dimensions** of history. As they do this, students should be aware that they bring a twenty-first-century perspective to their studies and that their values and beliefs are not necessarily the same as those who lived in the past.

The key part of historical thinking and practice is **analysing sources** – primary and secondary – to reach conclusions and **construct arguments**. Generally speaking, primary sources indicate the **historical perspectives** or viewpoints of people at the time, while secondary sources indicate the **historical interpretations** of historians or commentators who are looking back at past events.

Historical perspectives are a reminder that people rarely share the same experience or opinions at a given point in history, while historical interpretations show how historians have different views on the importance or meaning of past events. Understanding these contrasting experiences and viewpoints is an important part of appreciating the complexity and contestability of history – one should approach the evidence with an open mind and 'listen' to what a source is communicating before forming a conclusion.

In this book we have included many activities designed to develop and enhance students' substantive and procedural knowledge in history. But above all, we hope students will get swept up by the events of the Twentieth Century, as it is story-telling that lies at the heart of history.

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COMPETING IDEOLOGIES

What were the causes of the Cold War?

What were the key characteristics of the ideologies of communism in the USSR and democracy and capitalism in the USA?

What was the impact of the Cold War on nations and people?

What led to the end of the Cold War?

WORLD WAR II

George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff: 'We are determined that before the sun sets on this terrible struggle our flag will be recognized throughout the world as a symbol of freedom on the one hand, of overwhelming power on the other.'



KEY POINTS

- World War II began in September 1939 when Germany (under Adolf Hitler) invaded Poland.
- It was fought between the Axis Powers (including Germany, Italy, and Japan) and the Allies (including Britain, France, Australia, the Soviet Union and the United States).
- Over 50 countries were involved, but most of the fighting was conducted across Europe, North Africa, Asia and the Pacific Islands.
- Up to 75 million people died in World War II, 40 million of whom were civilians. This included 6 million Jews killed by the Nazis in the Holocaust.
- The war ended in September 1945, after Japan surrendered following the dropping of US atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

◀ German soldiers invade Poland in September 1939. It was the beginning of World War II.

INTRODUCTION

On 1 September 1939, Hitler's invasion of Poland prompted Britain and France to declare war on Germany. The world held its breath, but for six months nothing further happened; this was known as the 'phoney war'. The following spring, however, saw the defeat of the Western countries of mainland Europe in little over six weeks. Using the *Blitzkrieg* tactics they had tested during the Spanish Civil War, German troops rapidly conquered Europe, starting with the invasion of Denmark and Norway on

9 April 1940. By 22 June, France had surrendered and Germany occupied Western Europe.

THE WAR IN EUROPE

DUNKIRK, JUNE 1940

When war broke out in September 1939, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain sent the British Expeditionary Force to France. By May 1940, over 300 000 soldiers were present but surrounded and facing defeat. The rapid advance of the German army pushed the Allied troops back to the beaches

surrounding the port of Dunkirk. In May–June 1940, about 330 000 British and nearly 100 000 French troops were evacuated from Dunkirk, partly due to the efforts of volunteers in hundreds of boats who transferred the troops waiting near the shore to larger navy vessels. Although the new British prime minister Winston Churchill urged the French to continue fighting, they had lost forty per cent of their army and declined. Germany occupied France for the remainder of the war but was opposed by the French resistance movement.

BATTLE OF BRITAIN, JULY 1940

Winston Churchill: *'Never before, in the field of human conflict, has so much been owed to so many, by so few.'*

The Battle of Britain was a series of battles that took place in the summer of 1940 as German forces attempted to destroy the Royal Air Force (RAF) before invasion. The RAF was successful in defeating the German bombers sent to destroy targets in Britain. It was Hitler's first real defeat and demonstrated that the German armed forces were not as effective in longer confrontations as they were in short ones. From September 1940, the *Luftwaffe* (German air force) turned its attention to London and began a sustained eight-month bombing campaign of civilian targets, known as the Blitz.

THE EASTERN FRONT

Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. By September 1941, the German armed forces' overwhelming use of *blitzkrieg* had resulted in the destruction of 7000 Soviet aircraft and 20000 tanks. The Red Army had suffered about four million casualties. The civilian population was subjected to brutality as the Nazi regime sought to eradicate an 'inferior' race (Jewish people) and communism. During the Battle of Stalingrad in 1942–1943, Soviet air power cut off German supplies, tanks were unusable and fighting degenerated into hand-to-hand combat in the streets. By 1943, Soviet factories were at maximum production and in August 1943 had four times as many tanks as the Nazis. The turning point on the Eastern Front came at Kursk in 1943, when the

📌 SOURCE 1

The first mass German air raid on London during World War II. The Tower Bridge can be seen against a background of smoke and fires.



📌 SOURCE 2

Battle for Stalingrad. Russian soldiers prepare to cross river at Stalingrad.



USSR utilised vast numbers of T-34 tanks. From then on the German army began to retreat, pursued by the Red Army, until it finally reached Berlin in April 1945. Faced with certain defeat, Adolf Hitler retreated to his 'Führerbunker' and committed suicide.

ACTIVITY

RESEARCH TASK: SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

Compare the aims, objectives and attitudes of Joseph Stalin and Winston Churchill in World War II.

NORTH AFRICA

The North Africa campaign lasted from June 1940 to May 1943, when the Germans were forced to surrender after the Second Battle of El Alamein. The campaign was pivotal in the war—the Allies were reliant upon supplies through the Suez Canal, and the loss of the waterway would have given Germany access to oil in the Middle East. Allied forces attacked German units in north Africa and changed the course of the battle. Churchill famously said, 'Before Alamein, we had no victories. After Alamein, we had no defeats ...' When 14 000 Australian soldiers defended the Libyan port of Tobruk during a siege that lasted nearly eight months, the Germans gave them the derogatory name of 'rats of Tobruk'—the term was adopted by the Australians with pride.

D-DAY LANDINGS

From 1942, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin demanded that a second front be opened in Europe against Germany and the Axis Powers. However, Britain's Winston Churchill believed that the US forces lacked experience and numbers. With the successes in North Africa and the surrender of Italy in September 1943, the liberation of France could now be undertaken. D-Day, 6 June 1944, involved the largest invasion force in history. At 6.30 in the morning, a combination of air, sea and land forces landed in Normandy, France. Allied planes and warships bombarded German coastal positions, while airborne infantry were dropped behind German lines to secure important bridges

and roads. Within a day, 156 000 troops had been put ashore and there were 10 000 Allied casualties.

THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA

PEARL HARBOR

On 7 December 1941, over 300 Japanese planes bombed the American base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in a surprise attack. The aim was to knock out the US Pacific fleet, giving Japan time to establish an empire in the region. Eight US battleships were destroyed and there were over 3000 American casualties. The attack resulted in the United States, who to this point had remained neutral, joining World War II.

ATTACKS ON AUSTRALIA

On 19 February 1942, mainland Australia was attacked for the first time. Two Japanese bombing raids on Darwin resulted in the deaths of 243 people and the loss of eight ships. Over the next year, the Japanese continued to bomb Darwin, along with attacks on other towns in northern Australia,

including Townsville, Katherine, Broome and Port Hedland.

HIROSHIMA, NAGASAKI AND THE MANHATTAN PROJECT

The Japanese fought determinedly throughout the war, believing that surrender was dishonourable. When the Japanese-held island of Okinawa was finally taken by British and American troops in 1945, 100 000 Japanese soldiers were killed or captured as they refused to surrender. In the United States, scientists had been developing an atomic bomb since 1942 (known as the Manhattan Project). Following Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in April 1945, new president, Harry S. Truman, made the decision to drop two bombs and force the surrender of Japan (avoiding the estimated 220 000 US casualties if the United States were to invade instead).

On 6 August 1945, the *Enola Gay*, a B-29 bomber, flew over the city of Hiroshima and dropped the first atomic bomb, killing approximately 80 000 people. Three days later, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, killing 40 000–80 000 people.

↓ SOURCE 3

Attack on Pearl Harbor.



↓ SOURCE 4

Attack on Hiroshima.



The decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan is still debated by historians today. Some believe it was necessary in order to get Japan to surrender and, therefore, save hundreds of thousands of US lives. Others believe the horrific suffering and high civilian casualties inflicted on Japan were immoral or criminal.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

What was the significance of the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan for relations between the USSR and the US?

WAR'S END AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE SUPERPOWERS

After World War II, tensions began to emerge between nations that had worked together to defeat the Axis Powers. Once the Nazi, fascist and militaristic forces had been curbed, intense competition over territories and spheres of influences began in Europe. The Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin was particularly keen to entrench its power in Eastern Europe and to ensure that Germany paid dearly for its aggression in World War II.



THE FALLEN OF WWII

THE COSTS OF WORLD WAR II

SOURCE 5

TOTAL DEATHS PER COUNTRY

Note: not all combatant countries are represented in the table below.

COUNTRY	MILITARY DEATHS	TOTAL CIVILIAN AND MILITARY DEATHS
Soviet Union	8 800 000–10 700 000	24 000 000
China	3–4 000 000	20 000 000
Germany	5 533 000	6 600 000–8 800 000
Poland	240 000	5 600 000
Japan	2 120 000	2 600 000–3 100 000
Yugoslavia	446 000	1 000 000
France	217 600	567 600
Italy	301 400	457 000
United Kingdom	383 600	450 700
United States	416 800	418 500
Australia	39 800	40 500
New Zealand	11 900	11 900

Figures from National WWII Museum, <http://www.nationalww2museum.org/learn/education/for-students/ww2-history/ww2-by-the-numbers/world-wide-deaths.html>

SOURCE 6

THE COST OF WWII

History is full of wars that were bloodier than the second world war. As a proportion of the population, more people were killed during the An Lushan rebellion in eighth-century China, for example, or by the Thirty Years War in 17th-century central Europe. But the sheer magnitude of the human tragedy of the second world war puts it in a class of its own, and its relative closeness to the present day makes claims on the collective memory that more remote horrors cannot.

The statistics of the war are almost mind-numbing. Estimates differ, but up to 70m people died as a direct consequence of the fighting between 1939 and 1945, about two-thirds of them non-combatants, making it in absolute terms the deadliest conflict ever. Nearly one in ten Germans died and 30% of their army. About 15m Chinese perished and 27m Soviets. Squeezed between two totalitarian neighbours, Poland lost 16% of its population, about half of them Jews who were part of Hitler's final solution. On average, nearly 30,000 people were being killed every day.

'Counting the Cost', The Economist, 9 June 2012.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- Using Source 5, identify which three countries had the highest number of total deaths in World War II. Then identify which three had the highest proportion of civilian deaths, citing possible explanations.
- Give a possible explanation for the apparent difference between Source 5 and Source 6 in regard to the number of deaths. (Compare, for example, the China and Soviet Union figures in both sources). What questions need to be asked when interpreting statistics?
- In your own words (not figures), describe the human cost of World War II, based on your reading of the two sources.

ACTIVITY

THE SUPERPOWERS AFTER WORLD WAR II

Foreign Affairs journal, 1953: 'We may be likened to two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at the risk of his own life.'

	<u>KEY IDEAS</u>	<u>LEADERSHIP</u>
USA	<p><i>Individual rights and freedoms are paramount</i></p> <p>CAPITALISM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals control the property and industry that they own • A free and open market promotes economic growth <p>DEMOCRACY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two or more political parties • Government power comes from the people (via free and regular elections) • Free speech • Rights and responsibilities of citizenship 	<p>HARRY S. TRUMAN</p>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Became president on 12 April 1945, after the sudden death of Franklin Roosevelt • Had no prior experience with foreign policy and had received no briefing about the growing tensions with the Soviet Union • More suspicious of the USSR than Roosevelt, and disliked Stalin. He wrote: 'The personal meeting with Stalin enabled me to see what the West had to face in the future. Force is the only thing the Russians understand. Stalin showed what he was after ... the Russians were planning world conquest.'
USSR	<p><i>The interests of the group or nation are paramount</i></p> <p>COMMUNISM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common ownership of the means of production (i.e. state-controlled industry) <p>TOTALITARIANISM/DICTATORSHIP</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One party, strong leader • People's lives are controlled by the government • Secret police • Censorship • Limited or no voting rights 	<p>JOSEPH STALIN</p>  <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established himself as Lenin's successor and the Soviet Union's only leader by 1929 • Suppressed any resistance to his rule with purges and discrediting of opponents • After WWII the Soviet Union was faced with an impending famine and many factories had been destroyed. Stalin sought massive reparation payments from Germany at the meeting at Potsdam in July 1945 • Felt there was a threat of invasion from the west, so he set up communist regimes along the USSR's western border.

<u>POSITION POST-WWII</u>	<u>AIMS</u>	<u>GRIEVANCES</u>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atomic bomb • Economic boom • Low unemployment • Confidence from success in the war • Baby boom • Growth of suburban living • Middle-class living with 'mod cons' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To help Germany recover from the war so they could become a trading partner • To stop the spread of communism • In 1947, President Truman granted federal bodies the power to fire employees if 'reasonable grounds' existed that they were disloyal to the US—evidence of disloyalty could be shown if the person had a 'sympathetic association' with an organisation believed to be 'communist, fascist or totalitarian' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resented the Nazi-Soviet Pact signed in 1939 • Truman unhappy with Stalin's demand for harsh German reparations • Fear of Germany becoming a drain on Western Europe • Fear of communism in the US led to the McCarthy 'witch hunt' era • William O. Douglas, 1952: 'The Communist threat inside the country has been magnified and exalted far beyond its realities. Irresponsible talk by irresponsible people has fanned the flames of fear... Suspicion has taken the place of goodwill' 	USA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic strain • Agricultural and industrial decline: output in 1945 fell far short of pre-war levels • Refusal of US offer for economic assistance under the Marshall Plan • Heavy population loss from war • Stalin proved a strong negotiator at Potsdam Conference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To extract large reparation payments from Germany • To protect the Soviet Union from invasion by creating a 'buffer zone' of satellite states • Stalin aimed to show the superiority of socialism over capitalism by attacking writers, artists, historians and scientists who were supposedly influenced by Western thinking and culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resented the Western support of the anti-Bolshevik White Army in the Russian Civil War • Believed the United States had delayed D-Day in the hope that Germany and Russia would destroy each other • Stalin believed his country had made the biggest sacrifice during World War II 	USSR

IDEOLOGIES AND ‘ISMS’

Victor Hugo, 1877: ‘There is one thing stronger than all the armies in the world, and that is an idea whose time has come.’

THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

COMMUNISM

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

LIBERALISM

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

- Freedom and equality of individuals and their inherent right to pursue happiness
- People vote for representatives to make political decisions
- Governments protect and assure civil liberties and individual rights through laws by ‘the consent of the governed’
- Reform and change occurs through nonviolent methods
- Economic freedom is assured and economic decisions are made based upon self-regulating markets and competition.

Left

EXTREME

GROUP FOCUS

SOCIALISM

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

DEMOCRACY

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

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

KEY POINTS

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

INTRODUCTION

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

CAPITALISM

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

CONSERVATISM

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

- Belief in established political institutions
- Favouring traditions and dislike of change
- Limited government intervention in economy
- Individuals are responsible for their own financial needs

FASCISM

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

Features of fascism:

- One leader
- Military state – fear and terror used to control population
- Censorship and propaganda
- Nationalistic symbols – flags, rallies and uniforms
- Few individual freedoms
- Economy controlled by the state

Right

INDIVIDUAL FOCUS

EXTREME

NATIONALISM

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

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

In the Middle East, the key expression of nationalism in the twentieth century was the movement spearheaded by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) against what it saw as unlawful occupation of its land by the Israelis. In South-east Asia, Vietnamese nationalists resisted French colonialism in the Indochina Wars, and these tensions led into the Vietnam War (1955-75).

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

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

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

'When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete and final military victory over Germany, there were other problems of vital political consequence. Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together. Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.'

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON THE
YALTA CONFERENCE, 1 MARCH 1945

INTRODUCTION

On 8 May 1945 celebrations broke out across Europe as the Allied forces officially announced Germany's surrender of its armed forces. Victory in Europe Day (or VE Day) was a public holiday notable for massed crowds cheering and dancing in some of the world's most famous streets, including the Champs-Élysées in Paris, Piccadilly in London (where sailors and young girls formed a conga line), and Times Square in New York, where a model of the Statue of Liberty was erected. Music,

flags, fireworks, hugs and kisses unified society after six years of war, devastation and loss. Peace had been achieved in Europe.

This chapter explores the changing dynamic of international relations in the two years following the end of World War II. During this time, the post-war negotiations made by the Allied Powers would shape the lives of all in Europe and create a division in territory and ideology, which would come to dominate world politics for 50 years.





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

OVERVIEW

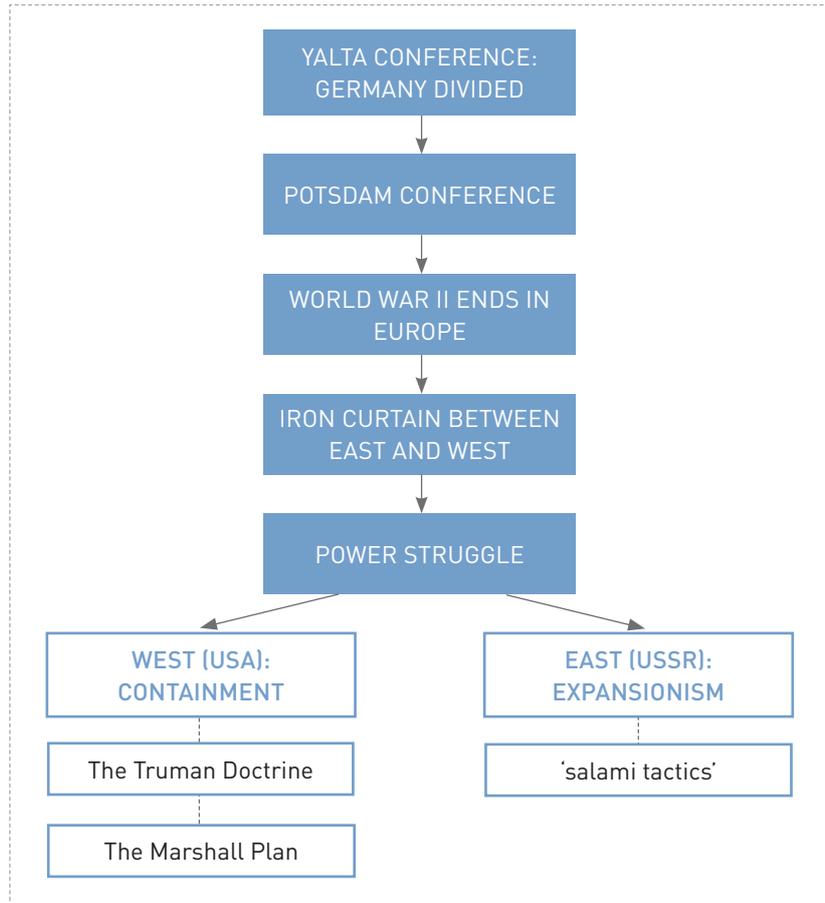
KEY QUESTIONS

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

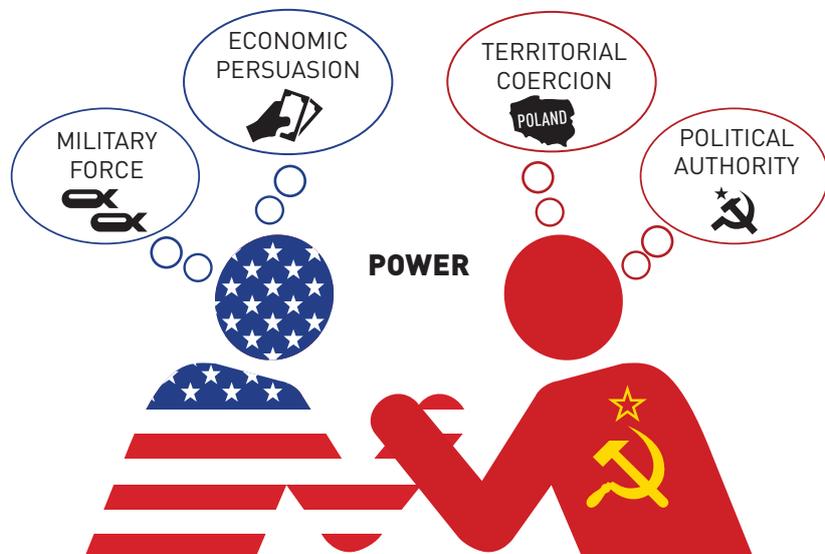
KEY EVENTS

- 1945** — **4-11 FEBRUARY**
Yalta Conference
- 8 MAY**
Victory in Europe Day (VE Day) after Germany surrenders
- 17 JULY-2 AUGUST**
Potsdam Conference
- AUGUST**
Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan
- 1946** — **5 MARCH**
Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech
- 1947** — **12 MARCH**
Truman Doctrine announced
- 5 JUNE**
Marshall Plan announced

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY CONCEPTS



KEY PLAYERS

JOSEPH STALIN

- Leader of the USSR after Lenin died in 1924
- During World War II he successfully captured Berlin from the Axis Powers
- Stalin's expansionist intentions caused tensions during post-war negotiations
- Over 1945–1950 he secured most of Eastern Europe, an area considered to be behind the 'Iron Curtain'
- Died in 1953, leaving the USSR as a powerful military power.



WINSTON CHURCHILL

- British prime minister during World War II, who was known for his iconic speeches
- Took part in negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam
- Replaced by Clement Atlee in July 1945, but later re-elected
- Suspicious about Stalin's actions; in 1946 he warned the world about the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe in his famous 'Iron Curtain' speech.



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

- President of the United States 1933–April 1945
- In December 1941 he declared war on Japan and joined the war in Europe
- His diplomacy was fundamental in post-war negotiations at Yalta; his greatest legacy was his push for the United Nations to be established in order to improve international cooperation.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

- Became US president after Roosevelt's death
- Used atomic weapons against Japan, which brought about the end of the war in the Pacific
- Had a power struggle with Stalin, leading to new strategic policies and alliances as both leaders tried to extend their spheres of influence
- The Truman Doctrine outlined a containment policy towards the USSR, provoking subsequent actions between the two superpowers, and firmly establishing the Cold War.



KEY TERMS

CONTAINMENT POLICY

A policy adopted by the USA to prevent communism spreading to other nations. Its defensive strategies aimed to secure US military and economic power.

DIPLOMACY

The ability to negotiate and discuss international relations with tact and sensitivity.

EXPANSIONISM

A policy or practice that aims to increase the size of a country by expanding its territory.

SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

When one nation exercises political and economic control over the territory of other nations.

SATELLITE STATE

A previously independent country under occupation or heavy political, economic and military control by another country.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

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

1. To what extent were the origins of the Cold War due to territorial matters?
2. How important were the personal attributes of key world leaders in determining the origins of the Cold War?

YALTA CONFERENCE

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

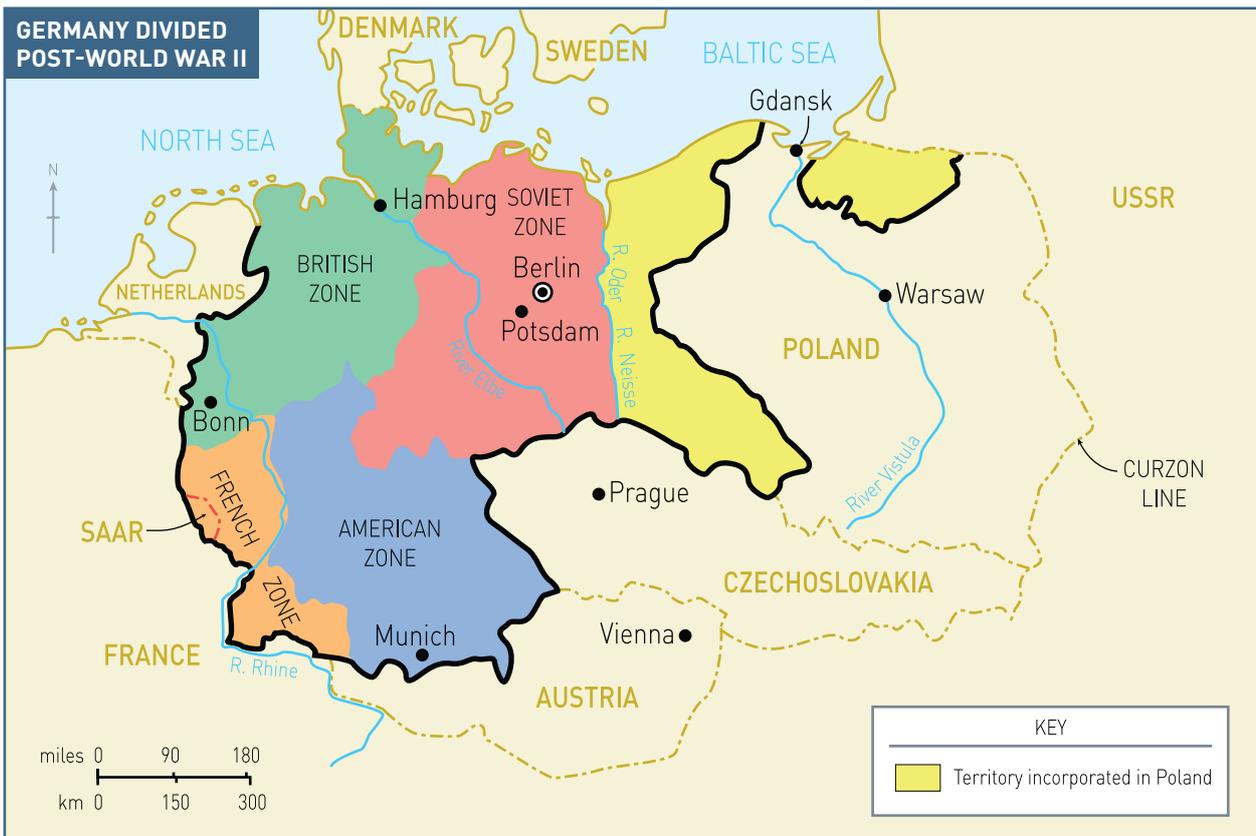
Similar to the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, the Yalta Conference was established to discuss the future of Europe after World War II. This landmark meeting of the 'Big Three' Allied leaders took place 4–11 February 1945. The location of Yalta, in the Crimea, was chosen because Stalin refused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

In discussion with Churchill and Roosevelt, several important matters were raised regarding territorial boundaries and political agreements, as outlined below:

- **SURRENDER:** The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany was the first priority for all leaders. This was signed three months after the conference, on 7 May 1945.
- **ZONES:** They agreed on the need to de-Nazify and demilitarise Germany, and decided to divide the country into four zones: US, French, British and Soviet. The German capital Berlin, situated within the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four zones. Austria was also split into the same four zones.
- **UNITED NATIONS:** The creation of a United Nations (UN). This was a key aim for Roosevelt, and membership of the Security Council was finalised

SOURCE 1.01

MAP SHOWING CHANGES TO EUROPEAN TERRITORIES DECIDED AT YALTA CONFERENCE



at Yalta. Stalin agreed to the idea of a veto vote within the Security Council, along with France, Great Britain, USA and China. The UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945.

- **REPARATIONS:** German reparations were to be established, with Stalin demanding US\$20 billion, of which half would be for the Soviet Union. While not agreeing on this figure during the conference, the leaders did agree that part of the reparations would include the forced labour of Germans to repair damage, as well as the removal of national industrial assets such as machinery, ships and shares in German enterprises. New phrases emerged in Germany to describe those who removed the debris, such as 'rubble women'.
- **JAPAN:** Stalin agreed to enter the war in the Pacific against Japan once victory had been achieved in Europe. In return, he sought parts of Manchuria and some islands off the eastern coast of the Soviet Union.
- **JUSTICE:** Nazi war criminals were to be brought to justice.
- **DEMOCRACY:** Democratic and free elections were to be held in all countries previously under German rule, according to a 'Declaration on Liberated Europe' proposed by Roosevelt. He believed this would assist the formation of temporary governments. Most importantly, it was hoped that Poland would be able to complete this process as their government was currently in exile in London. However, the Soviet Union had already created a communist government in Poland. Stalin agreed to allow Poland universal suffrage in the form of a secret ballot within one month of the conference, based on the advice of Churchill and Roosevelt. (This election never took place, and led to the breaking of trust between the nations.) By 1 April 1945, Roosevelt documented his thoughts to Stalin, stating that the lack of progress would lead the 'people of the United States to regard the Yalta agreement as having failed.'
- **POLAND:** The Polish borders also changed significantly because of Stalin's insistence on a 'friendly' Poland. With the borders moving westwards, Poland would now occupy part of Germany, and Soviet territory expanded to the agreed Curzon Line. Stalin believed that access through Poland had always been the main method of attack on the Soviet Union, hence it was necessary to establish a communist government. Despite suspecting Stalin's motives, Churchill reluctantly agreed to this change of borders. In Britain, his agreement was criticised harshly, especially as it was Hitler's invasion of Poland that originally sparked Britain's declaration of war.

DID YOU KNOW?

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

STALIN'S TOAST AT THE START OF THE YALTA CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 1945

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

➤ SOURCE 1.02

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

➤ SOURCE 1.03

Photo of the Big Three taken on 4 February 1945. Left to right: Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin.



➤ SOURCE 1.04

Photo of the Big Three taken on 9 February 1945.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

Answer the following questions:

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

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

3. Explain which condition you believe had the greatest impact on:
 - Germany
 - Europe
 - the world.
4. By referring to sources 1.02, 1.03 and 1.04, explain how communication among the Big Three might have affected the dynamics of the Yalta Conference.

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

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

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

STUNDE NULL (ZERO HOUR)

While most of Europe celebrated VE Day on 8 May 1945, Germans witnessed the arrest of the Reich government and the beginning of *Stunde Null*, or zero hour. This term, often used in the military, described the massive and catastrophic turning point in the everyday lives of the population. Germans were desperately fleeing westwards from Eastern Europe to avoid Soviet occupation. Those who did not flee were either expelled or deported to labour camps. By 1950, this figure reached over 11 million people, and it was believed that almost 15 000 people a day were being expelled from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania. With so many people displaced and flooding into the newly formed zones in Germany, security became a major issue. The Big Three therefore ordered the arrest of anyone considered a threat, with each country arresting between 90 000–120 000 suspects. They also established non-fraternisation policies, which prevented the interaction of Allies with German citizens.

Stunde Null was a time of famine, inflation and massive unemployment in Germany. In 1945 the French zone only produced enough food for half the population. This was due to extremely cold weather affecting the harvest, which Germans labelled 'the miserable winter'. A member of the Catholic Church in Cologne even suggested that stealing food or coal for your family was acceptable, sparking robberies called *fringsen*, meaning 'to steal to survive'. The food supply

➔ SOURCE 1.05

A bombed-out building in Wittenberg Platz, Berlin. Many of the signs posted give directions to merchants' new locations.



for the city of Königsberg, for example, had been destroyed, and some people resorted to eating human flesh in the form of fried meatballs. Malnutrition affected the economy, as the starving workers were unable to work hard. The destruction of transport systems during World War II prevented the movement of coal for industry, creating mass unemployment, and the black market became prominent as people paid for goods with cigarettes or by bartering. De-industrialisation caused the further loss of over 3500 factories in Germany; these factories were dismantled and shipped to the various allied countries as war reparations. With such a devastating loss of infrastructure, almost 5 million jobs were wiped out. Berlin's population was reduced to 65 per cent of its pre-war size, and there were sixteen women to every ten men. A quarter of the population was over sixty years old, and there were over 50 000 orphans who had no recollection of who they were.

POTSDAM CONFERENCE



QUIZ: YALTA
AND POTSDAM
CONFERENCES

JOSEF STALIN: 'If any foreign minister begins to defend to the death a peace conference, you can be sure his government has already placed its orders for new battleships and airplanes.'

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

The following issues were agreed upon by the Big Three:

- The division of Germany and subsequent demilitarisation of its factories, as discussed at Yalta.
- The Japanese government would be called upon to proclaim an unconditional surrender. Japan would then be occupied by Allied forces until the complete disarmament of their military forces and the establishment of a peaceful and responsible government.
- Nazi war criminals would be prosecuted swiftly, with the first list of defendants published before 1 September 1945.

SOURCE 1.06

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



DID YOU KNOW?

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trials began in November 1945, and twenty-four members of the Nazi party were charged. Eleven were sentenced to death for crimes against humanity, three received life sentences, four received fixed-term sentences and three were acquitted. The trials lasted over 200 days.

- The 'humane and orderly' transfer of all ethnic German populations living in Eastern Europe to Germany. This led to 10 million people being forcibly moved, and it is believed that 500 000 expelled people died due to starvation, hypothermia and violence.

The following issues were considered controversial:

- **POLAND:** While the changing borders of Poland were ratified at Potsdam, there was much suspicion over the political situation in the country. Both the United States and Great Britain were aware that Stalin's Red Army currently occupied Poland after removing the Nazi forces from the region. The Potsdam protocols acknowledged the desire to protect the Polish provisional government and restated the need for free elections; however, in reality both Churchill and Truman knew that Stalin had already swiftly organised a communist government.

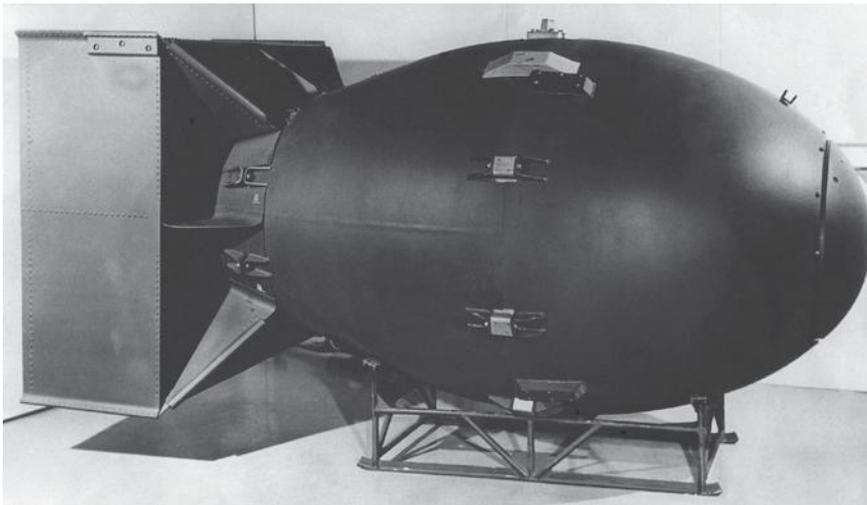


SUMMARY
VIDEO ABOUT
CONFERENCES

- **REPARATIONS:** Disagreements arose over reparations. Truman was determined not to repeat the mistakes of the Treaty of Versailles, whereas Stalin wanted to cripple Germany because of the devastation it had caused the Soviet Union, which lost up to 27 million people during World War II. However, a monetary figure, as Stalin put forward during Yalta, was never agreed upon. Eventually the Potsdam Agreement settled on the following terms:
 - Reparations should not impinge on the German people’s right to subsist independently and free from the need of foreign assistance.
 - Claims for the Soviet Union should be met from the removal of assets within their own occupied Eastern Zone. The Soviet Union will also settle the reparation claims of Poland.
 - Claims for all other entitled countries should be recovered from the Western Zones.
 - The Soviet Union can remove 10 per cent of all industrial equipment within the Western Zone, if it is not considered necessary for the German economy.
 - All countries agreed to not interfere in the claiming of shares for German enterprises within each other’s zone.

▼ **SOURCE 1.07**

A replica of the atomic bomb named ‘Fat Man’ that would be dropped on Japan in August 1945.



- **ATOMIC BOMB:** The issue of the atomic bomb also heightened suspicion during the conference. One day before the Potsdam Conference began, the United States successfully tested an atomic bomb, known as ‘the Manhattan

Project’. While it is believed that Stalin knew about this from Soviet intelligence, it was not until a week later, on 24 July 1945, that Truman personally told Stalin that the US had ‘a new weapon of unusual destructive force’. Without specifically mentioning its true potential, there was much speculation about what Stalin must have been thinking and whether he understood the magnitude of the information.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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

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

AT POTSDAM: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONVERSATION ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

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

🔍 SOURCE 1.08

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

WINSTON CHURCHILL

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

🔍 SOURCE 1.09

Winston Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953), 669–70.

SOVIET MARSHAL GEORGII ZHUKOV:

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

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

🔍 SOURCE 1.10

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

CHARLES BOHLEN (TRUMAN'S INTERPRETER):

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

🔍 SOURCE 1.11

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

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. Why is it important for a historian to always research more than one perspective when gathering evidence? Think about how each perspective above shaped or changed your opinion as you read them.
2. How have the memoirs of the individuals above ensured that this short moment in history has remained a contestable topic?
3. What is your final opinion regarding this debate about Stalin's possible understanding, or lack thereof, of the atomic bomb? What evidence or perspective is missing above that would further help to clarify your opinion?

ANALYSING A SOURCE

➔ SOURCE 1.12

A British cartoon showing reactions to Truman's secret weapon.

SOURCE ANALYSIS QUESTION:

By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain how trust was significant in shaping the decisions made at the Potsdam Conference.



How to structure your answer

This question requires you to correctly identify the context of the source and communicate your historical knowledge of the situation or event. There are three important elements to any answer.

Strong Topic Sentence: Your first sentence must make a statement. There are two possible methods suggested:

- Is there a common theme among all the reasons supplied? e.g. 'The lack of trust among the Big Three turned the diplomatic intentions of Potsdam into an international power struggle.' In this case, lack of trust is the theme.
- Or can you list the reasons you will discuss in order, e.g. 'New leadership, secretive communications and competitive rivalry all greatly affected the decisions made at Potsdam.'

Body of Paragraph: You should aim to outline three reasons in your answer. In some cases reasons can be classified, e.g. political, social, economic. In general, make sure each reason satisfies the following criteria:

- Begins with a linking phrase to clearly signpost the start of a new reason, e.g. firstly, secondly, thirdly, another, furthermore or additionally.
- Provides specific historical details such as:
 - dates
 - key terms
 - statistics
 - events
 - names
 - places.
- Explicitly outlines how it is significant or important in relation to the question.

Referring to the Source: In order to satisfy the question, you must provide a quote or refer to a symbol in the source. For images you may also refer to the caption. It is best to incorporate your reference within one of the reasons outlined as then the source is given a context. Make it obvious to the reader by using phrases like:

- as shown in the extract by the statement
- as depicted in the visual by...

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



EVALUATING THE RELIABILITY OF A SOURCE

SAMPLE RESPONSE

By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain how trust was significant in shaping the decisions made at the Potsdam Conference.

At Potsdam the Big Three struggled to build mutual trust due to the new leaders involved,¹ perceived territorial ambitions² and indirect communications.³

Firstly, the Potsdam Conference witnessed the introduction of two new leaders to the negotiation table. President Truman replaced Roosevelt, after his death on 12 April 1945 and Churchill was replaced by Clement Atlee midway through the conference after losing the British General Election. The mutual respect and common ground established at Yalta was lost and new relationships had to be formed. **Until personal characteristics were understood, each leader was cautious about confirming any decision, *as portrayed in the image by the posture of Stalin and the frown on Atlee's face.***

Additionally, the presence of Stalin's Red Army in Poland, despite the push for elections during Yalta in February 1945, caused a lack of trust. This was heightened by Stalin's determination to receive reparations from the Eastern zone of Germany and 10 per cent of industrial equipment from the Western zone. Both Truman and Atlee were concerned that Stalin's true intentions were to occupy these areas and instil a communist government, **defying any agreements made during the conference.**

Furthermore, the subtle and secretive communications regarding the Manhattan Project's successful testing of an atomic bomb only increased the suspicion and tension between the Big Three. ***As depicted in the source, the bomb was Truman's secret weapon, which he used as a power tactic against Stalin.*** **For these reasons, the Big Three found it hard to work together in confidence with many decisions being formed by competitive bargaining rather than diplomatic discussion.**

Signposting three reasons in topic sentence

Specific knowledge (underlined)

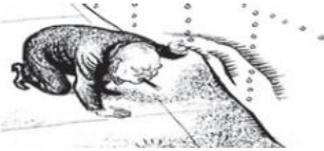
Referring to the source (in *italics*)

Introducing each new reason (highlighted)

Analysis of question (in **bold**)

COLD WAR SYMBOLS

Common Cold War symbols seen in political cartoons and posters

	USA	USSR	OTHER
LEADERS	<p>Truman — round glasses, big grin and often wearing a suit</p> 	<p>Stalin — large thick moustache, smoking a pipe and wearing a military jacket</p>  <p>Molotov — small moustache, fierce eyebrows and round glasses</p> 	<p>Winston Churchill — often smoking a cigar</p> 
NATIONAL SYMBOLS	<p>Stars and stripes of US flag</p>  <p>Uncle Sam or an eagle</p> 	<p>Hammer and sickle of the Soviet Union</p>  <p>Brown bear</p> 	
IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS	<p>Dollar symbol to show economic strength or capitalism</p> 	<p>Red star or red flag to symbolise unity under communism</p> 	<p>Barriers to symbolise the Iron Curtain or division, such as fences, tennis court net, and walls. Usually someone spying or peering over them</p> 
			<p>Bombs to highlight military strength and power</p> 
SOCIETY	<p>Capitalist</p> <p>Often wearing a top hat, striped pants, and overweight</p> 	<p>Worker/Proletariat</p> <p>Often holding a tool and wearing an apron</p> 	<p>Fists or arm wrestles to show strength or a power struggle</p> 

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY

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

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

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



ARCHIVE OF COLD
WAR SOURCES

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S RADIO REPORT ON THE USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB IN JAPAN, 9 AUGUST 1945

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

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

I realize the tragic significance of the atomic bomb.

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

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

← SOURCE 1.13

Harry S. Truman Library
and Museum, [http://
www.trumanlibrary.org/
publicpapers/?pid=104](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/?pid=104)



VIDEO OF TRUMAN'S
SPEECH

DID YOU KNOW?

VP Day (Victory in the Pacific) or VJ Day (Victory over Japan) is celebrated on 15 August in Australia. In 1945, the Australian government declared a public holiday and the capital cities witnessed the biggest crowds to have ever assembled. It was time to celebrate the ending of a war that took 34 000 Australian lives. In New York, VJ day has been symbolised by several photos of a sailor and a nurse kissing in Times Square. It has become one of the most iconic images of the twentieth century. For the 65th anniversary of VJ day, an eight-metre tall sculpture of the kissing couple was placed in Times Square and a lookalike competition was held.



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



VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC DAY

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

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

26
JULY
1945

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

27
JULY
1945

Japan's Supreme War Council discusses the demands and decides to gain clarification of the terms through the Soviet Union. At this stage, they do not reject the terms. The Japanese government fears that the Allies might make the terms known to the public. Therefore they release a censored version of the Potsdam terms.

28
JULY
1945

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

30
JULY
1945

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

1-2
AUGUST
1945



The first use of an atomic bomb as a weapon takes place at Hiroshima at 8:15 am. Little Boy is released from the Enola Gay B-29 bomber and kills 80 000 people instantly. The blast is equal to roughly 15 000 tonnes of TNT, and wipes out 90 per cent of the city. Japan does not surrender.

6
AUGUST
1945

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

8
AUGUST
1945



Another atomic bomb, called Fat Man, is dropped over Nagasaki at 11:02 am. It is estimated that 75 000 people are killed instantly. Truman holds a radio broadcast announcing that the bombings have taken place.

9
AUGUST
1945

14
AUGUST
1945

Japan unconditionally surrenders to the Allies.



SOURCE 1.14

Hiroshima, Japan, after the atomic bomb was dropped.

JAPANESE OCCUPATION

After World War II ended, Japan was occupied by the USA. All major Japanese cities except Kyoto had been destroyed during the war, including their industries and transport infrastructure. War crimes trials took place. In 1947, a new constitution was formed, removing all political and military power from the emperor, who was reduced to being a figurehead. Universal suffrage was granted to the Japanese people, and Article 9 of the constitution outlined the abandonment of the use of war as a way to settle international disputes. Despite these new political freedoms, Japan was in a critical situation economically. During 1947–48 there was a severe shortage of food, as well as a shortage of the raw materials needed to stimulate markets and industry. Rehabilitating the Japanese economy was the highest priority for the USA, as they feared that a communist takeover could occur in East Asia if Japan were weak. The US occupation of Japan ended on 8 September 1951, when forty-eight nations signed the Treaty of San Francisco. From this point, Japan was once again a sovereign nation.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Explain what the phrase ‘atomic diplomacy’ means.
2. How many days passed from the start of the Potsdam Conference to the ending of World War II? Would you consider this a fast end to World War II, as Truman had hoped?
3. After reading Source 1.13, discuss why Truman might have felt so confident in explaining the use of the atomic bomb and threatening to use it again in the future. Compare his tone to the dialogue of world leaders in the twenty-first century.

SKILLS: ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

Hindsight allows us to assess the humanity of those before us. Hold a class discussion about the actions of the US government towards Japan. To what extent was the use of the bomb justified? Remember to include reasons that support and oppose each question raised.

- Do you think the use of the atomic bomb resulted in fewer war casualties than the alternative of continuing invasions and battles?
- How did dropping the atomic bombs compare to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?
- Did dropping atomic bombs on Japan ultimately bring peace to the world?
- Do you believe that the post-war occupation of Japan was successful in re-establishing a country devastated by war? Provide evidence to support your answer.

IRON CURTAIN

WINSTON CHURCHILL: 'The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future.'

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

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

➔ SOURCE 1.15

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

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. How is Churchill portrayed in this cartoon?
2. What is the possible motive for creating this cartoon?
3. To what extent does this image provide an accurate depiction of Churchill's speech?



Stalin commented in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* that Churchill was a ‘warmonger’ and compared him to Hitler. (Churchill’s ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech was not published in the USSR until 1998.) Over 1946–47, as more information was released about the international relations between the USA and the USSR, people came to accept the ‘Iron Curtain’ metaphor as a reference to the division occurring within Europe. In hindsight, many would consider Churchill’s speech a prophecy of the Cold War.

THE ‘LONG TELEGRAM’

Despite the US government conveying an alarmed response to Churchill’s speech, they were well aware of the growing polarisation between the West and the Soviet Union. On 9 February 1946, Stalin had given an election speech stating that World War II was caused by capitalism because it promoted uneven and unequal economic development. He stated that ‘the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps and war follows’ and then declared the Soviet social system victorious, having emerged successful after World War II and

proven its ‘complete vitality’.¹ Following Stalin’s speech, the US government contacted the US embassy in Moscow, asking for an analysis of the Soviet position. George Kennan, a US embassy diplomat, replied on 22 February with an 8000-word telegram stating his views on the Soviet Union and suggesting policies that should be implemented. His message was very strong, and it shaped the future policy of containment. Source 1.16 contains extracts from Kennan’s telegram.



↑ George Kennan in 1947.

↓ SOURCE 1.16

The George Washington University National Security Archive, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>

THE ‘LONG’ TELEGRAM, SENT BY GEORGE KENNAN

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

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Many historians have contested the views of Kennan’s telegram. Research and summarise two perspectives in relation to the ‘Long Telegram’. They can support or oppose Kennan’s message, or offer a different viewpoint.

SOURCE 1.17

Winston Churchill, 'The Sinews of Peace' (speech, Missouri, 5 March 1946), NATO On-line Library, http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1946/s460305a_e.htm



CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH



Winston Churchill, 1941.

CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH, 5 MARCH 1946

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

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

ACTIVITIES

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. How has Churchill portrayed diplomacy in the first paragraph? Include an example in your answer.
2. How does his message change in the second paragraph? Support your answer with two specific quotes.
3. Make a list of the various countries mentioned in Churchill's speech and outline what happened to two of them.
4. What is the tone of the speech? Does it change within this extract?
5. By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain the significance of free elections in Europe after World War II.

ROLE PLAY: EMPATHY

In groups of three, create a role play that communicates one perspective held about Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech. It is important to convey empathy for those involved. Divide the following perspectives among the class to ensure all perspectives are covered:

- General public perspective.
- Winston Churchill's perspective (possibly portray his feelings the next day and one year later).
- US government perspective.
- Joseph Stalin's perspective.
- Media perspective.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did Churchill believe unity was needed among the Western countries?
2. Why did Churchill regard the USA as an important country in establishing such unity?
3. Why might the US government have preferred that Churchill not discuss the Iron Curtain?

'SALAMI' TACTICS

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

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

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



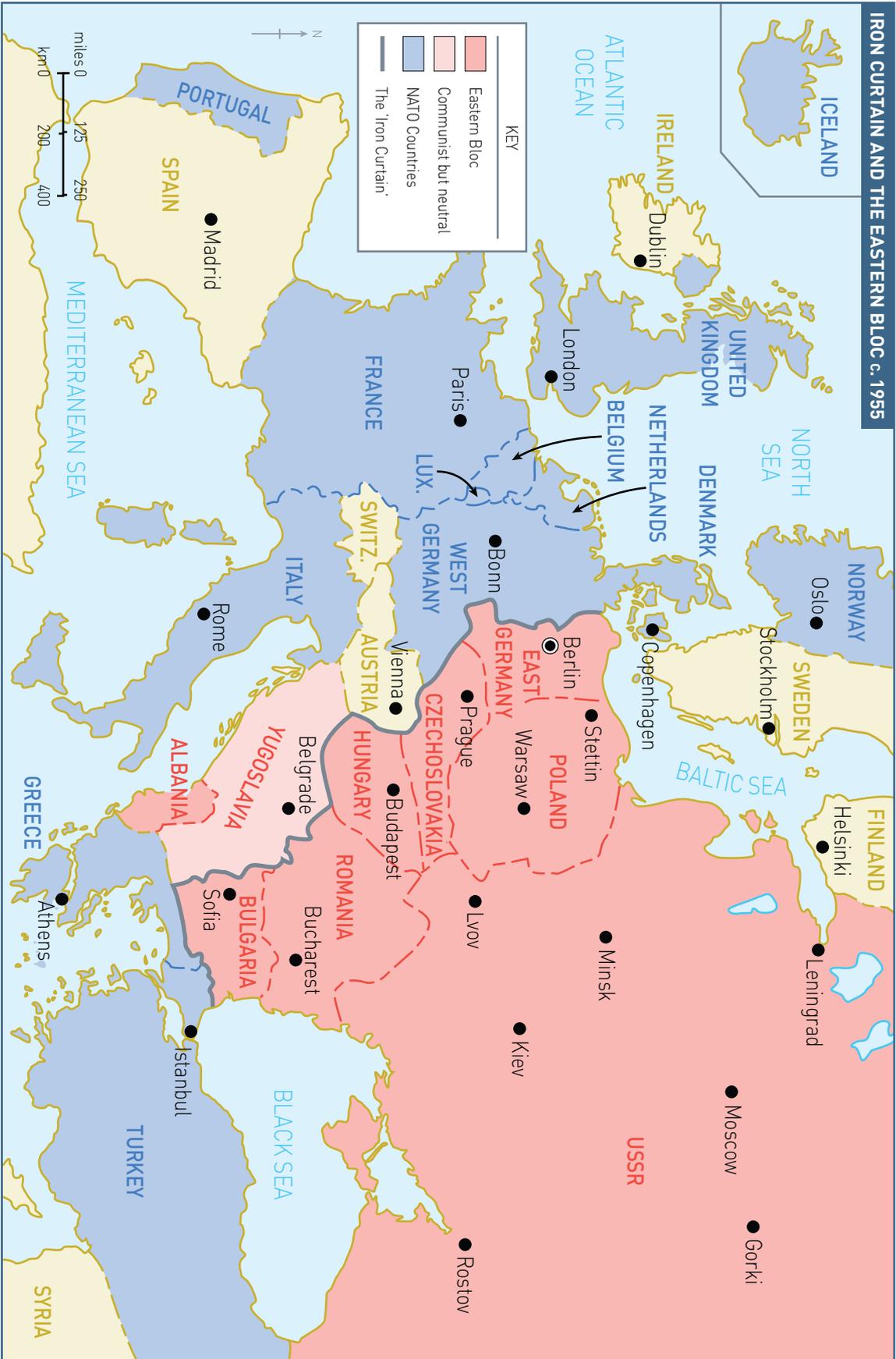
SOVIET PROPAGANDA POSTERS

DID YOU KNOW?

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

SOURCE 1.18

MAP SHOWING THE IRON CURTAIN AND THE SATELLITE STATES THAT FORMED THE EASTERN BLOC UNDER STALIN'S CONTROL c. 1955



SKILLS: HISTORICAL INQUIRY**ACTIVITY**

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

Possible methods of presentation include the following:

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

DID YOU KNOW?

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

BLOC HEADS

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

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

SOURCE 1.19

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

TRUMAN DOCTRINE

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

The Truman Doctrine was the US response to George Kennan's 'Long Telegram' and Stalin's expansionist 'salami tactics'. It was designed to combat the spread of communism in Europe. Most of the countries that were vulnerable to communism were poor countries with unstable economies. By pouring aid into these countries, Truman hoped to strengthen their economies and make them less susceptible to the appeal of communism. Aware of the Iron Curtain



MAKE MINE FREEDOM: US LIFE VS THE 'ISMS'.



↑ SOURCE 1.20

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

↓ SOURCE 1.21

A 1948 Soviet image showing Truman as an hysterical war drummer.



that had developed during 1946, Truman decided that a policy of containment was vital once Greece and Turkey became Stalin's next potential targets. On 21 February 1947, Britain announced it could no longer support Greece and Turkey financially or militarily. Both were in a poor political state with weak governments and crumbling economies. In Greece, a communist-led insurgency known as the National Liberation Front was on the rise and the country was in a state of civil war. In Turkey, the Dardanelle Straits were considered a strategic vantage point for the USSR. To prevent further expansion, Truman considered it was the duty of the USA to continue to aid Greece and Turkey to prevent communism from spreading into the Middle East or around the Mediterranean. It was decided that President Truman must address the US Congress about the situation and emphasise its seriousness with a public broadcast over the radio.

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

USA was unified with the government's political stance.

Truman's speech had international significance. It established a division between countries in Europe and their sphere of influence, and marked the solid involvement by the USA in European affairs, possibly fulfilling the obligation mentioned by Churchill in 1946. This was a fundamental change to the US foreign policy previously maintained by President Roosevelt. In France, the French Communist Party had become the biggest single political party, with 26 per cent of the vote in the post-war elections. A similar case was reported in Italy, where the Communist Party had over 1.17 million members. However, after Truman's address both parties were expelled in May 1947.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO CONGRESS, 12 MARCH 1947

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARSHALL PLAN

After World War II the industrial and agricultural output of most European countries had been severely disrupted, leaving the population on the brink of famine. The recently formed United Nations was providing some humanitarian assistance, but by June 1947 the USA decided that it would have to extend the assistance offered in the Truman Doctrine to more countries in Western Europe. Earlier in the year Truman had appointed George Marshall as the US Secretary of State, believing him to be the 'the greatest military man America ever produced.'² Marshall realised that the USA was the only major power not significantly damaged by the war and, in conjunction with State Department officials including George Kennan, developed the Marshall Plan. On 5 June 1947, Marshall announced this plan, officially known as the European Recovery Program (ERP), which aimed to rebuild the economies of Europe and ultimately ensure the future political stability of these countries. By strengthening European countries

SOURCE 1.22

Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2189&st=&st1=>

SOURCE ANALYSIS

ACTIVITY

1. Identify and list four differences in the two lifestyles described by Truman.
2. Why were both Greece and Turkey considered important countries to assist?

ACTIVITY

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points, explain how political uncertainty led to the announcement of the 1945–1947 Truman Doctrine.

This question requires an extended response. Use the points below to structure your answer:

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

SOURCE 1.23

SUMMARY OF MARSHALL PLAN FUNDING PROVIDED TO EACH COUNTRY, 1948–1952

George C Marshall Foundation.

<http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2014/04/funding.jpg>

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Calculate the percentage of funding allocated to each of the four countries that received the most money.
2. Why do you think some countries received more money than others?
3. What do you think might have happened regarding the Netherlands and Indonesia in 1949? Explain your reasoning.

"Marshall Plan" Assistance
Grants and Loans by Country, April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1952

(Millions of Dollars)

COUNTRY	Total	Grants	Loans
GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL MARSHALL PLAN COUNTRIES (Obligations Basis)	\$13,325.8	\$11,820.7	\$1,505.1
Europe			
Austria	677.8	677.8	-
Belgium-Luxembourg	559.3 ^{a/}	491.3	68.0
Denmark	273.0	239.7	33.3
France	2,713.6	2,488.0	225.6
Germany, Federal Republic	1,390.6	1,173.7	216.9 ^{b/}
Iceland	29.3	24.0	5.3
Ireland	147.5	19.3	128.2
Italy (Including Trieste)	1,508.8	1,413.2	95.6
Netherlands (Excluding Indonesia)	982.1	832.6	149.5
Norway	255.3	216.1	39.2
Portugal	51.2	15.1	36.1
Sweden	107.3	86.9	20.4
United Kingdom	3,189.8	2,805.0	384.8
Regional	407.0 ^{c/}	407.0 ^{c/}	-
Other			
Greece	706.7	706.7	-
Turkey	225.1	140.1	85.0
Indonesia (Netherlands East Indies) ^{d/}	101.4	84.2	17.2

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

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

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

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

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

economically and promoting the benefits of capitalism, Marshall was convinced that any communist ambitions would be overturned. Despite this, the invitation to take part was extended to the Soviet Union, as Marshall believed that excluding them would be perceived as distrust. Marshall’s speech outlined the need for Europeans to cooperate and asked all leaders to develop their own plans, which could then receive US funding.

By July 1947, negotiations over the Marshall Plan were underway in Paris. After several days, Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov ended discussion, stating that the Soviet government ‘rejects this plan as totally unsatisfactory.’ Following Molotov, the majority of Eastern European countries also rejected the offer, although Poland and Czechoslovakia agreed to attend. This, however, did not eventuate as both countries were prevented from attending, demonstrating the power of Stalin’s sphere of influence. Altogether, sixteen nations received funding through the Marshall Plan, which totalled US\$13 billion in aid, disseminated as either loans or grants. This was substantially less than the requested US\$22 billion drafted by delegates in Paris. The type of aid initially



QUIZ: TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND MARSHALL PLAN

provided by the USA included food, fuel, other staples and machinery. All shipments were to be clearly marked 'For European Recovery—supplied by the United States of America.' There were set conditions and directives to be fulfilled by each recipient, and the USA established its own administrative organisation to oversee all developments in order to avoid corruption or skimming. Due to the huge impact this aid would have on US taxpayers, the media was not informed of Marshall's speech. In fact 51 per cent of Americans had not ever heard of ERP even as negotiations were taking place in Paris. Over time, the US government began investing in European industries, maintaining that all raw materials must be supplied by US companies. This displeased many US businesses, who felt that they were only assisting the growth of their future market competition. Despite this, the US economy flourished during the years of the Marshall Plan, providing many jobs and strong trade deals because of Europe's reliance on American products.

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

▼ SOURCE 1.24

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



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the two groups depicted in this image.
2. Identify two differing perceptions towards the Marshall Plan conveyed in this image.
3. By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain the significance of the Marshall Plan on economies worldwide.
4. To what extent is the image an accurate depiction of the views held towards the Marshall Plan? When evaluating its reliability, consider which views are shown in the image and which views are not.

CONCLUSION



As World War II concluded, the Big Three were determined not to repeat the mistakes made when forming the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. They had all witnessed the horrid effects of imposing heavy reparations on a country, and hoped to negotiate a more sustainable outcome this time around. While diplomacy seemed the key to achieving a more unified world, it could be suggested that diplomacy was merely used to mask the many threats and power plays that were taking place during post-war discussions. As this chapter has revealed, many prominent speeches of the twentieth century were made during the two years following World War II and, while this form of communication may be considered diplomatic, the motives and messages being conveyed did not meet the definition 'to act with tact and sensitivity.' The decision to use the atomic bomb; the decision to prevent free elections in Eastern Europe; the decision to force emigration based on nationality; the decision to only fund countries if they agreed to a certain political model; and the decision to separate a country into zones instead of keeping it united: all of these decisions reveal

the actions of power-hungry leaders desperate to outdo each other by acquiring more money, territory and allies. And what was the cost of all these actions? It was the loss of innocent lives and personal liberties throughout Europe and Japan. People had already endured a war, yet were still deprived freedom of choice.

Unfortunately, despite establishing the United Nations, such divisive political actions decided upon by the two superpowers—the USA and the USSR—appeared to only further polarise international society, greatly contradicting Roosevelt's optimistic statement, 'Never before have the major Allies been more closely united' that is outlined in the opening spread of this chapter. As the two superpowers' spheres of influence grew larger, the second half of the twentieth century was set to be dominated by political suspicion, threats and more civil conflict. Only the mutual fear of the advancing atomic weaponry would prevent armed military conflict (or 'hot war') from occurring, so the term 'Cold War' came to be used to describe the international relations between the USA and the USSR.

CHAPTER REVIEW

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

EXAM PRACTICE

Use three or four points to answer these:

1. Explain how the USSR developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.
2. Explain how the USA developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- John Lewis Gaddis states, regarding the origins of the Cold War, 'Geography, demography, and tradition contributed to this outcome but did not determine it. It took men, responding unpredictably to circumstances, to forge the chain of causation.'³ To what extent do you believe that territorial ambitions, competing ideologies and political leaders shaped the actions and agreements formed in the two years following World War II?
- Evaluate the differences and similarities between Stalin's expansionist policies and Truman's containment policies.

EXTENSION

Use the internet to collect four to six political cartoons or posters from the early Cold War period that convey different perspectives (i.e. Soviet, US and UK). For each cartoon, complete the following:

- Outline the context of the cartoon, noting its date, setting and the circumstances at the time.
- What message is implied by the cartoon or poster?
- What common symbols are used in the cartoon or poster?
- How does the cartoon help you to understand more about the time period? Briefly evaluate its usefulness.
- What is missing from the cartoon or poster?

Once complete, synthesise the common strengths and shortcomings of each perspective.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 1

FURTHER READING

Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to use the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Vintage, 1996).

This book outlines the reasons why the atomic bomb did not need to be used by the USA. The author is critical of US military reasoning, believing it was mainly used as a political statement to the Soviet Union. A technical read.

Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1945–1956* (London: Allen Lane, 2012).

Drawing on recently released archives and personal accounts, the author conveys what daily life was like in Eastern Europe under the communist regime.

Michael Dobbs, *Six Months in 1945: FDR, Stalin, Churchill, and Truman—from World War to Cold War* (New York: Knopf, 2012).

This is the final book in a Cold War trilogy by the author. It describes the roles of the political leaders in dividing Europe into separate spheres of influence. It captures the fierce competition as each leader was determined to maintain their national interests.

Thomas Fleming, *Truman* (New York: New Word City ebook publishers, 2014).

This ebook provides a detailed biography of President Truman, highlighting his staunch determination and patriotism.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

The author examines foreign policy between the USA and the USSR at the end of World War II, emphasising how domestic policy, bureaucracy, perceptions and personalities influenced the key decisions made in Washington during this era.

← Churchill, Truman and Stalin shake hands after the Potsdam Conference.

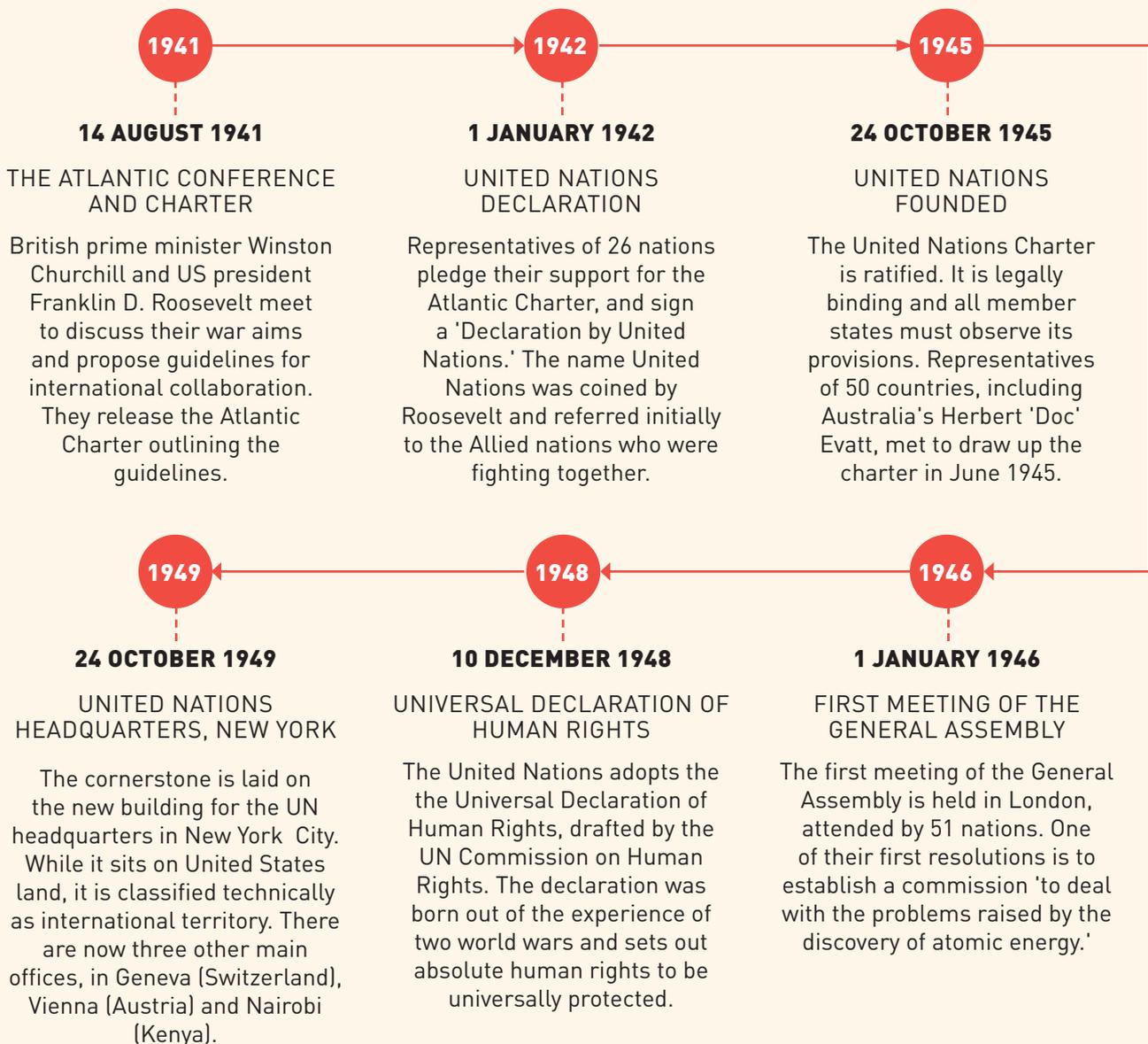
THE UNITED NATIONS

United Nations Charter (preamble): 'We the peoples of the United Nations determined ... to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom ... have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.'¹

KEY POINTS

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

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS



SOURCE 1

EXTRACT FROM THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, 1945

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED

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

ARTICLE I

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

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

United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, <http://www.un.org/en/charter-united-nations/>



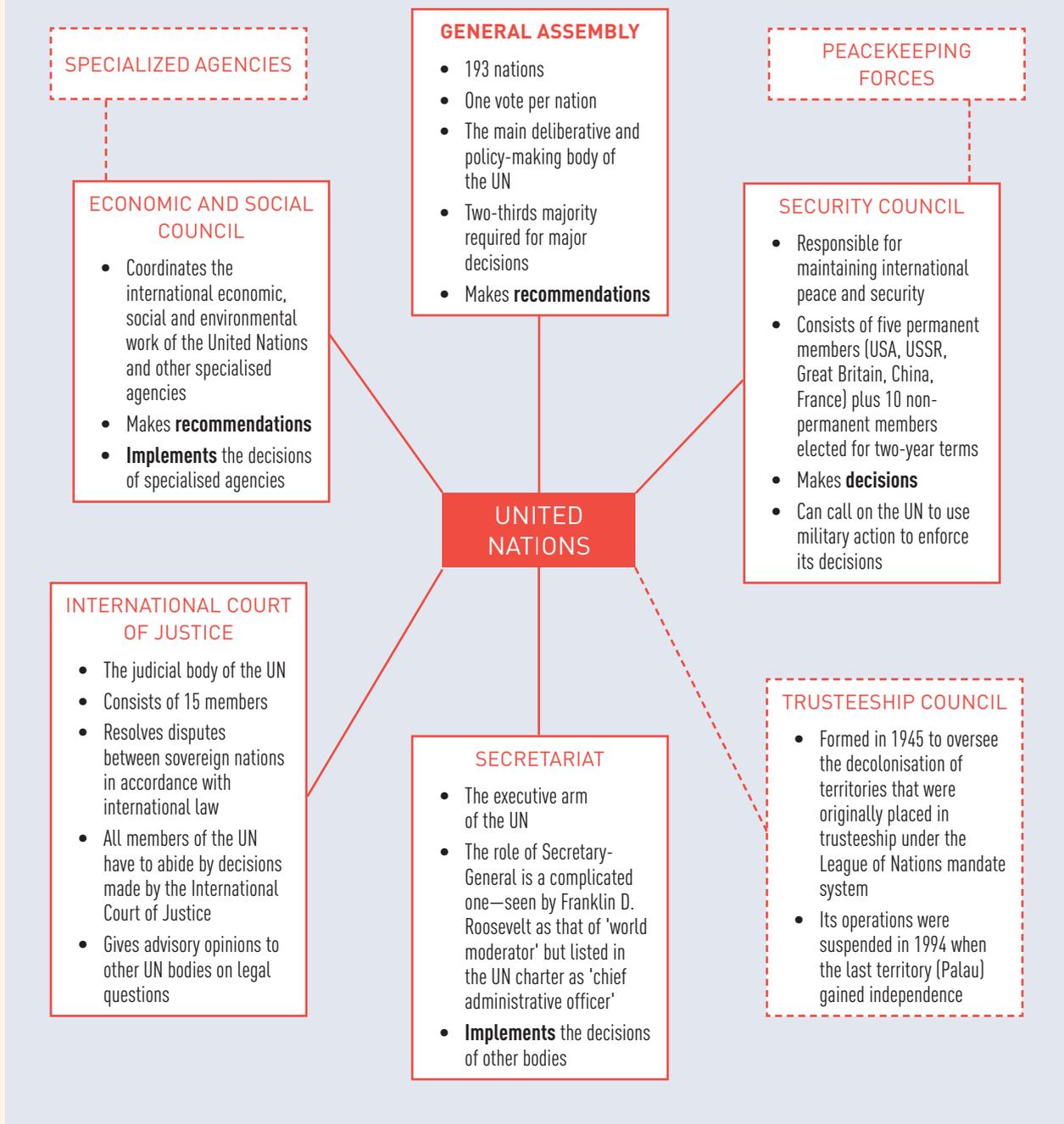
United Nations headquarters, New York.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, FUNDS AND PROGRAMS

WHO	UNICEF	IMF	UNESCO	UNHCR
World Health Organization	UN Children's Fund	International Monetary Fund	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation	UN High Commission for Refugees
Works to solve health problems to improve life expectancy and quality of life. Their programs include providing essential drugs and health education.	Works specifically to help children and mothers to overcome poverty, violence, disease and discrimination.	Provides international monetary cooperation and helps to work towards financial stability by providing a forum for consultation, advice and support on financial issues.	Works to protect the world's natural and cultural heritage by promoting education for all and cultural development. It also provides international cooperation in science, press freedom and communication.	The UN's refugee agency helps people who have been displaced by war have suffered persecution or human rights abuses.

SNAPSHOT

STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED NATIONS



ACTIVITY

EXTENSION

The position of UN Secretary-General has been described as being 'world moderator' and 'chief administrative officer.' To what extent are the two roles compatible?

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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

KEY UNITED NATIONS INVOLVEMENT

YEAR	LOCATION / NAME	
1947–1949	GREECE	The UN set up a Special Committee to investigate claims that communist Balkan states were helping the Greek Communists in their attempt to overthrow the government there. The UN was unsuccessful in preventing the fighting which only ceased when Yugoslavia stopped supplying weapons to the Greeks.
1950–1953	KOREA	In the absence of the USSR, the UN decided to send troops into Korea in 1950 to push North Korean forces out of South Korea. The UN was accused of being under the influence of the US and Trygve Lie resigned in 1952 following the USSR's refusal to extend his term of office due to his sanctioning of UN involvement in Korea. 
1956	SUEZ CANAL CRISIS	First UN Emergency Force (UNEF) sent to police the Egyptian-Israeli border in autumn 1956 following the invasion of Israel, Britain and France to regain control of the Suez Canal and remove President Nasser from power. UN troops remained until 1967.
1956	HUNGARY	The USSR vetoed the Security Council's resolution to withdraw its troops from Hungary following its invasion in October 1956. The UN was powerless to do anything. A subsequent Special Committees findings were disputed by the new Hungarian government.
1960–1964	THE CONGO	The UN adopted resolution 143 to facilitate the withdrawal of Belgian forces following Congolese independence in 1960, when the Congo army mutinied following the refusal of white officers to hand over control of the army to them. The UN was also tasked with maintaining law and order and to help legitimize the post-colonial government. About 20 000 men and officers were sent to the Congo.
1975–2002	EAST TIMOR	Indonesian occupation of East Timor resulted in its population being subjected to numerous human rights abuses which included extrajudicial executions, systematic torture and starvation. The UN was unable to enforce a resolution calling for Indonesian withdrawal until Indonesia granted East Timor independence in 2002 following international pressure.
1992–1995	UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE	Following the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the resulting wars in the former Yugoslavia, the UN sent peacekeeping forces to serve in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.
1993–1996	RWANDA	The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda was mandated with aiding the peace process between the Hutu dominated government and the Tutsi rebels (known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front). It was unable to stop the 1994 genocide perpetrated by the Hutus against the Tutsis. 

The UN cemetery in South Korea.

A memorial to ten UN soldiers killed in Rwanda.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What are two goals of the United Nations?
2. What are two problems the United Nations initially aimed to solve?
3. What feature of the UN structure (see above) is significantly different to the League of Nations?

ACTIVITY

COLD WAR TENSIONS

'... looking at the world as a whole, the drift for many decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the reimposition of slavery. We may be heading not for general breakdown but for an epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity ... that is, the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once unconquerable and in a permanent state of 'cold war' with its neighbours ... If, as seems to be the case, it [the atomic bomb] is a rare and costly object, it is likelier to put an end to large-scale wars at the cost of prolonging indefinitely a 'peace that is no peace.'

GEORGE ORWELL, 1945.

INTRODUCTION

British writer George Orwell first referred to the term 'Cold War' only months after atomic bombs were dropped on Japan. It seems his words foreshadowed a new form of battle and rivalry that shaped the second half of the twentieth century. The word 'cold' accurately describes the atmosphere that developed between the USA and the Soviet Union after the 1945 post-war negotiations about Europe. Unlike a hot war, which involves direct action in the form of

battle, the two nations began to compete with each other on the world stage economically, socially, technologically and politically, in order to prove that one's ideology and way of life was more powerful than the other. What it really meant for society was a heightened sense of fear and division, as the looming threat of 'weapons of mass destruction' only tarnished the quest for peace; a pursuit that was desperately needed after World War II.





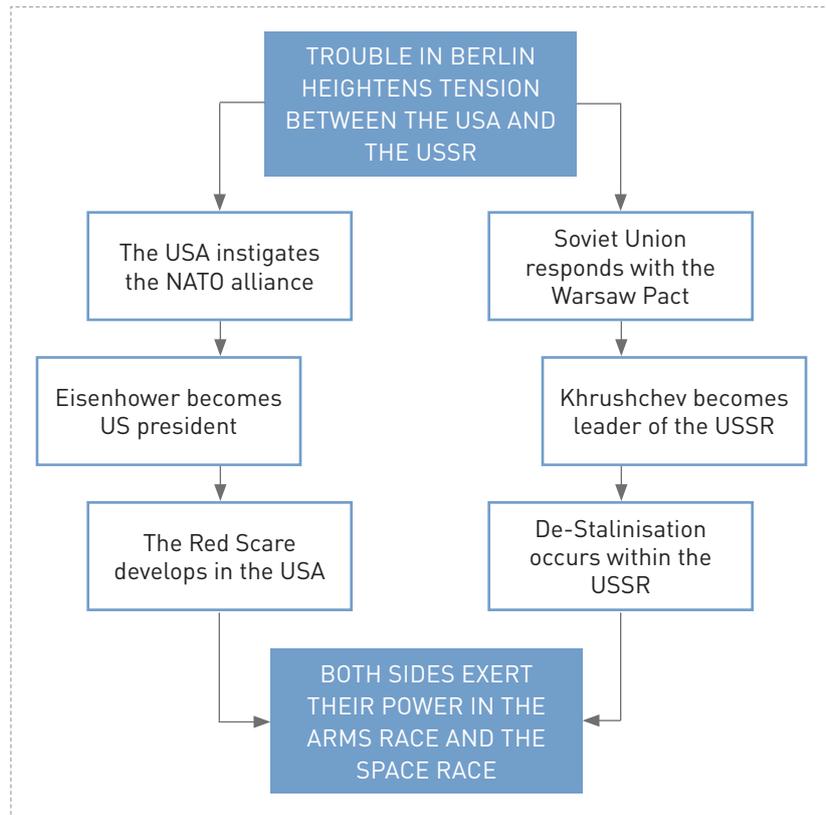
Berliners watch a US aircraft coming in to land at Tempelhof Airport, Berlin, 1948.

OVERVIEW

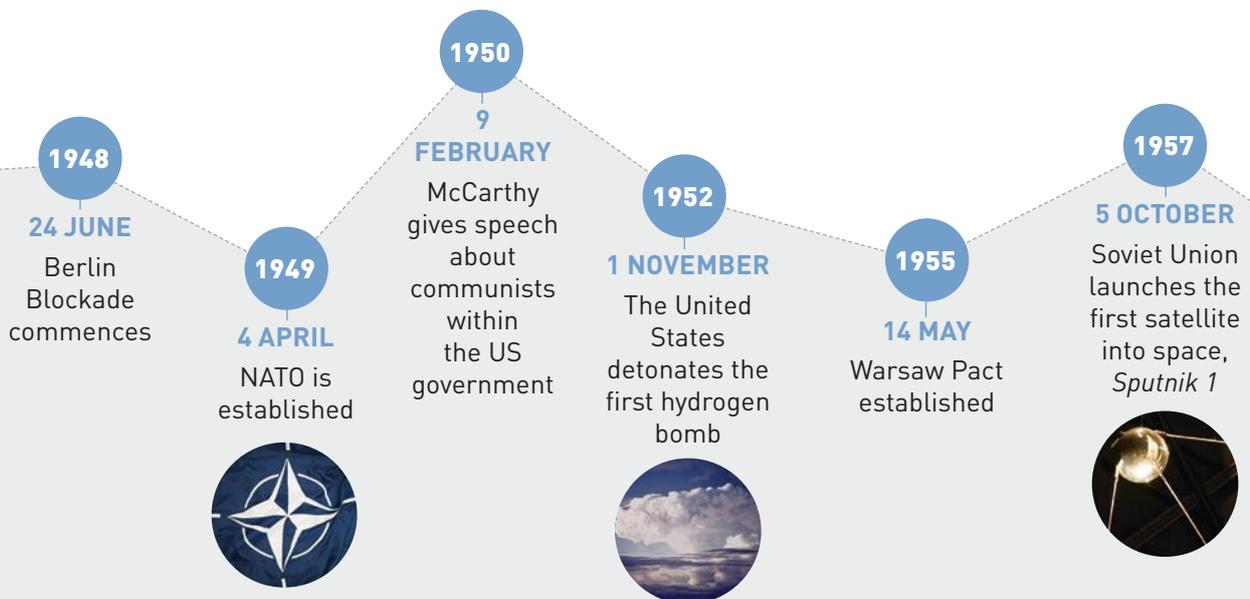
KEY QUESTIONS

- What caused a Cold War to develop between the Soviet Union and the United States?
- What were the significant features of the tension brought on by the Cold War?
- How did the Soviet Union and the United States exert their power towards each other?
- How did this rivalry affect domestic life within each country?
- Why are the events of the early Cold War interpreted differently by historians?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

- Rose to presidency in 1953 after gaining prestige for his role as a commanding general in the US Army during World War II
- Was supreme commander during the 1944 D-Day landings in France; assumed a similar role in 1951 with the newly formed NATO forces
- During his two terms as US president, Eisenhower negotiated the end of the Korean War and worked on a peace treaty with the Soviet Union
- Despite this, he still invested in the creation of nuclear weapons in order to maintain military strength and power, and reduce the cost of military expenditure for the United States
- Domestically, Eisenhower ensured the compliance of desegregation in schools and the army during the US civil rights campaign.



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

- Joined the Communist Party during his twenties and fought for the Red Army during the Russian Revolution
- Quickly rose through the party; in 1934 he became a member of the Central Committee, and was later elected to join the Politburo
- During World War II he worked with the military to further Soviet control over Poland and the Ukraine
- After Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev took part in a power struggle with the expected leader of the Soviet Union, Malenkov, and had him replaced
- His position was secured by 1956, when he gave a four-hour speech at the Twentieth Communist Party Congress condemning Stalin's leadership
- His personality kept the world guessing; he could waiver from charming and humanistic to combative and confrontational
- During his leadership, he encouraged both the Arms Race and the Space Race, and excelled at brinkmanship during the Cuban Missile Crisis.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The George Orwell quote on the opening spread grapples with the idea that society was becoming as stable as life within a slave empire. As you work through this chapter, consider Orwell's argument. Use the material and ideas you have developed to answer **one** of the following questions:

1. To what extent were the rights and freedoms of people removed or limited during the Cold War?
2. How were people's lives improved by the competition of the Cold War?

SKILLS FOCUS

KEY TERMS

COLD WAR

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

SUPERPOWER

An extremely dominant and powerful nation, holding unparalleled military, economic and diplomatic strength. A superpower is capable of influencing international events and the actions of other nations.

BRINKMANSHIP

The practice of pushing dangerous events or situations close to disaster in order to achieve the most advantageous outcome.

MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION (MAD)

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

ESPIONAGE

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

MCCARTHYISM

A public fear campaign led by Senator McCarthy against alleged communists and their sympathisers in the United States during the 1950s. Accusations were based upon limited evidence and led to blacklists and witch hunts.

DE-STALINISATION

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

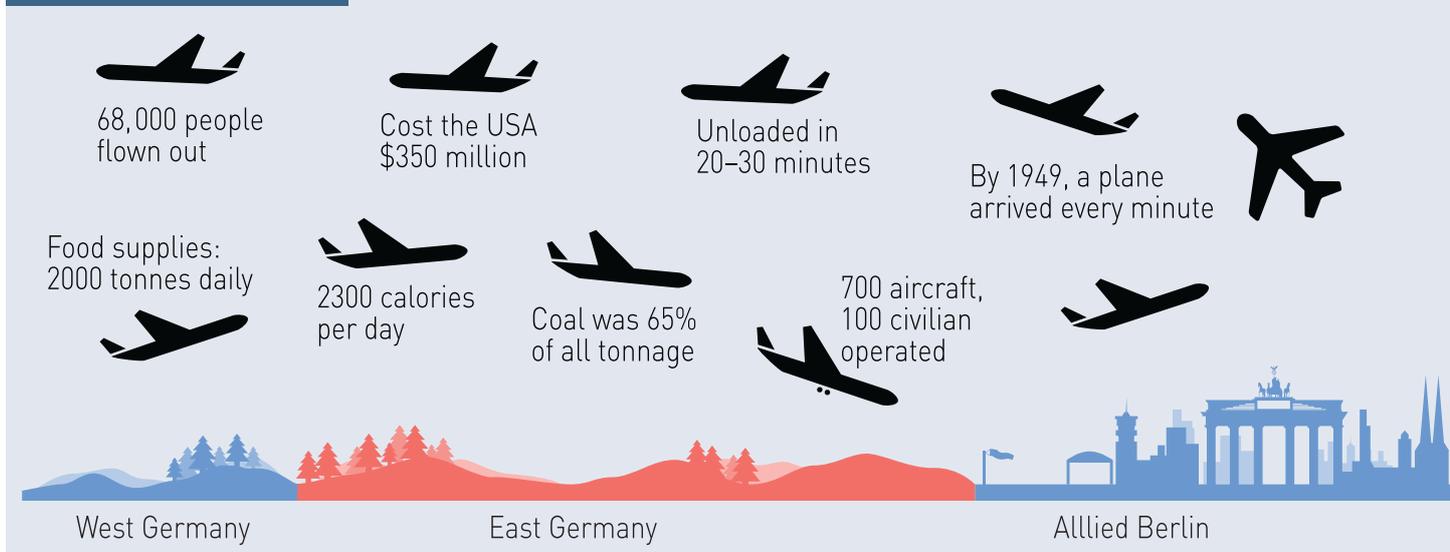
BERLIN BLOCKADE

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

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

Fearing that Germany would become strong again and threaten the Soviet Union, on 24 June 1948 Stalin ordered the blockage of all roads, trainlines and canals between East and West Germany. He hoped to seize control of West Berlin, which was contained within the Soviet zone of East Germany. While interruptions and restrictions to cargo travel had been occurring since April 1948, the Soviets had now also severed all connections between the Soviet zone of Berlin and the Western zones. They stopped supplying food to the population living in non-Soviet zones of the city and cut off the electricity supplies to Berlin, using their own

BERLIN AIRLIFT STATISTICS



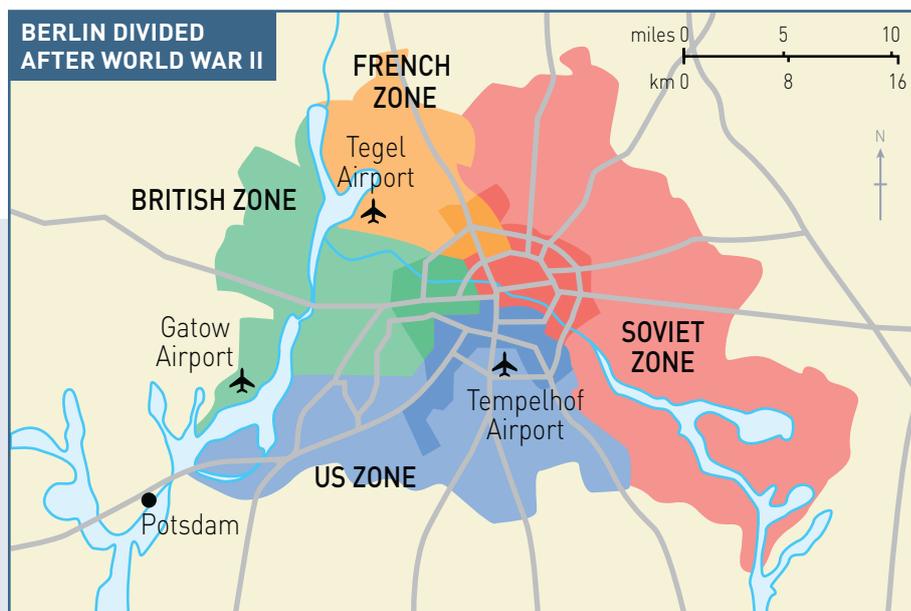
generating plants in the Soviet zone. The Soviets rejected all legal claims to the use of supply routes from West Germany into West Berlin, arguing that no agreement was ever formalised and that the Soviet Union had demonstrated goodwill by allowing access for the past three years. As a result, people living in West Berlin had thirty-six days worth of food and forty-five days worth of coal remaining. Historians have suggested that Soviet authorities believed Westerners would decide that maintaining a democratic presence in the heart of communist East Germany was too difficult and simply give in.

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



SOURCE 2.01

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



BERLIN AIRLIFT

SOURCE 2.02

MAP OF BERLIN SHOWING SOVIET AND ALLIED ZONES AFTER WORLD WAR II

Soviet Berlin

East Germany

THE CHOCOLATE FLIER

On 17 July 1948, an airlift pilot, Gail Halvorsen, met with many curious children, who watched the aircraft land at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, and gave them some chewing gum. As long as they did not fight over it, he told them he would drop off more when he next returned. One child asked how they would know if it was him flying. Halvorsen replied, 'I'll wiggle my wings.' The following day Halvorsen dropped chocolate bars

attached to a handkerchief parachute to children below. With the crowd of children increasing daily, mail started to appear at the operation base addressed to 'Uncle Wiggly Wings' or the 'Chocolate Flier'. Soon the gesture expanded into an operation and as the news spread, US children also began sending their own candy to help the mission. Such publicity resulted in an estimated 150 000 Chocolate Flier parachute drops.

➔ SOURCE 2.03

Children in Berlin watching one of the airlift planes.



ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

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

ALLIANCES ESTABLISHED

LORD ISMAY: 'Keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Yanks in.'

The Berlin Blockade heightened the spheres of influence within Europe and placed pressure on both the United States and the Soviet Union to confirm their superpower status by creating military alliances. Following national developments, such as the Defence Department in the Pentagon and the CIA, the USA now wished to influence the security of Europe. In line with Truman's containment policy, it became essential for the USA to maintain its position in Berlin. Berlin was considered as a listening post; it was the only access the West had to life behind the Iron Curtain, and it provided vital intelligence. Events that occurred in Berlin affected international policy-making. This was made evident when China fell to communism in 1949. The spread of communism to a country with the world's largest population was seen as a huge threat to the United States. If the



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the two leaders represented in this image.
2. Identify the two features that suggest both sides are prepared to attack.
3. Using the source and your own knowledge, explain why this event exemplifies the definition of a Cold War.

SOURCE 2.04

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

DID YOU KNOW?

The label 'Third World' originally referred to a country that was not aligned with either the United States (First World) or the Soviet Union (Second World).

Soviet Union were to share its technology and military power with China, then communism could spread throughout Asia. It was already known that China's communist leader, Mao Zedong, had prioritised military action against nations such as Taiwan, Laos, Tibet and Burma. It seemed that the Cold War was leading towards conflict on a global scale.

NATO

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

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

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

THE DIVISION OF GERMANY

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

WARSAW PACT

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

DEATH OF STALIN

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

Ironically, soon after this order was made, Stalin suffered a massive stroke. Treatment was delayed at first because people were afraid to enter his room. After waiting an entire day, a guard finally entered Stalin's room but struggled to find a

doctor because of the purge. Stalin eventually died on 5 March 1953—and a week later the doctors were released from prison when the alleged conspiracy was revealed to be a fraud.



↑ A bust of Joseph Stalin.

NEW LEADERS, BIG SPEECHES

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

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

EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower wanted to build domestic economic strength, rather than devote expenditure to military operations. He developed the New Look policy, which relied upon relatively inexpensive nuclear weapons as the main form of security because of the pressure they placed on the Soviet Union. Through the New Look policy, Eisenhower hoped to reduce budget deficits by cutting land and naval forces and create a situation of mutual deterrence for both superpowers. In his 'Chance for Peace' speech, Eisenhower highlighted the costs of rivalry for humanity. Additionally, his 'Atoms for Peace' speech was a propaganda campaign to quell the public's fears about a nuclear future, as atomic energy reactors had only recently been created. Furthermore, Eisenhower's 'Open Skies' speech in 1955 proposed the exchange of maps between the US and the USSR, showing military bases within their nation and allowing surveillance to occur to ensure both sides were compliant with any arms agreements formed. Khrushchev rejected the idea, believing it to be an espionage plot.

The 1950s was a time of economic prosperity in the USA, and US goods were exported to the Western world. New companies emerged providing modern technology, and household names such as IBM, General Electric, Holiday Inn, Hush Puppies, Tupperware and Pizza Hut were established. As cities grew and new suburbs were formed, consumerism skyrocketed, with Americans buying cars, refrigerators, toasters, vacuum cleaners and stoves. There were over 5 million televisions sold each year during the 1950s. With so many new appliances, domestic life in the USA became an important propaganda tool to spread internationally, as it promoted their high standard of living.



EISENHOWER'S
SPEECHES

SOURCE 2.05

An advertisement from the 1950s, depicting a happy housewife with her new washing machine.

FAMED GENERAL ELECTRIC ACTIVATOR® WASHING ACTION—No other washer washes your clothes so gently—yet so thoroughly.

FAMED GENERAL ELECTRIC HIGH-SPEED SPIN—Spins at 1100 r.p.m.—no other washer rotates so much water, spins clothes so fluffy-ly. Many pieces ready to iron at once.

5-YEAR PROTECTION PLAN IN WRITING—Includes 1-year warranty on the entire washer—plus additional 4-year protection on "major mechanical" non-labor-on-washer used for household use.

SMALL-LOAD SELECTOR—A flip of the finger, and you save gallons of water on small loads.

OVERFLOW RINSE—Flows soap and dirt UP and OUT of clothes, and down drain.

Completely Automatic—Fast and fully Stated Unit over built . . . No Dying . . . Water Temp. Control . . . Automatic Soap Dispenser . . . Portable . . . No Holding Doors . . . Cleverest . . . Washable . . . Baked Enamel Finish . . . Best Top Opening . . . Baked Enamel Finish . . . and 27 other great features. *See G. & P. Co.



KHRUSHCHEV

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

📌 SOURCE 2.06

An anti-capitalism propaganda poster from the Soviet Union.



Under de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev decentralised the economy. This did not bring the results hoped for, as wages stagnated and expectations grew. However, the population was allowed to enjoy a little more freedom as the power of the secret police was reduced, the death penalty was abolished, and greater freedom of speech was allowed, sparking a literary renaissance. One significant change was the release of thousands of political prisoners from the labour camps in the Gulags. De-Stalinisation even ensured the relocation of Stalin’s body from the Red Square to the Kremlin, and statues of Stalin were removed. Apart from the domestic policy of

➔ SOURCE 2.07

The Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum, and Boyhood Home, http://www.eisenhower.archives.gov/all_about_ike/speeches/chance_for_peace.pdf

EISENHOWER’S SPEECH: THE CHANCE FOR PEACE, 16 APRIL 1953

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

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

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

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

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

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

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8 000 people.

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

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

DID YOU KNOW?

During the Cold War, Nikita Khrushchev said to Mao Zedong: ‘Berlin is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to make the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin.’

de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev also attempted to demonstrate a theory of peaceful co-existence by travelling internationally and attending peace conferences such as the Geneva Summit. When visiting Britain in 1956, he stated ‘You do not like communism. We do not like capitalism. There is only one way out—peaceful co-existence.’

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Assess how Eisenhower and Khrushchev impacted upon the dynamics of the Cold War. Structure your response in two paragraphs, focusing on what has continued from the previous leadership and what has changed.

SKILLS: ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

1. Historians have argued that Eisenhower’s New Look policy created a dilemma with international repercussions. Discuss how the policy of increasing nuclear weapon supplies for security may have actually led to the further endangerment of society.
2. Evaluate which leader was acting more ethically at this time.

ACTIVITIES

FEATURE

COLD WAR: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

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

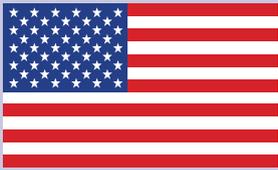
have the benefit of hindsight when assessing the Cold War, prefer to look at individual events and the complicated nature of international relations 1945–1991. Before you read the perspectives on the following pages, think about whether you would blame one superpower more than the other, or whether there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

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Read the interpretations on the next two pages then answer these questions.

1. Despite placing the blame on different countries, what similarities exist between the arguments for each interpretation?
2. What is overlooked or omitted in each interpretation?
3. Which views do you believe most strongly relate to the reasons for creating alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact?
4. Which historical interpretation do you find most convincing? Support your response with reference to evidence.
5. Explain how those interpretations that have arisen since the end of the Cold War may provide more useful and reliable arguments.

ACTIVITY

INTERPRETATION	ARGUMENTS	
<p>The Soviet Union was responsible.</p>  <p>This was the conventional view up until 1960s. Commonly held by US historians.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Western writers believe Stalin’s expansionist policy was ruthless. • The Soviet Union wanted an international revolution. • The United States had no choice but to meet the challenges posed by Soviet actions. • Perhaps US presidents were too accepting of Soviet demands for a sphere of influence. 	
<p>The US was responsible.</p>  <p>This approach reached its height during the Vietnam War.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Cold War was caused by the USA’s desperation to continually build its capitalist trade markets. • The USA was expansionist by trying to create ‘dollar imperialism’. • The USA adopted atomic diplomacy due to their monopoly over nuclear weapons in the years following World War II. • Stalin’s creation of buffer states was defending the Soviet Union’s national interest. • Stalin could not risk another invasion of his country. 	
<p>A shared responsibility.</p> <p>This view emerged in the later years of the Cold War.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was mutual self-interest, misperception, suspicion and reaction. • Not who was to blame but what was to blame, e.g. the mentality of the leaders. • Believe tension arose due to each superpower’s determination to uphold their national security, which influenced policy-making. • The superpowers misperceived each other’s ideology and way of life. 	
<p>Actions were circumstantial.</p> <p>This view was developed within the field of political science.</p> <p>It emerged after the end of the Cold War.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A power conflict between two geopolitically dominant nations wanting to secure more land. • Competition over practical capabilities, not related to ideologies. • Focus on international relations, economic power and agreements between superpowers. 	



SUPPORTING QUOTES FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Winston Churchill:

'The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world.'

Herbert Feis:

The Soviet Union 'were trying not only to extend their boundaries and their control over neighbouring states but also beginning to revert to their revolutionary effort throughout the world.'³

Arthur Schlesinger Jr:

'The Cold War could have been avoided only if the Soviet Union had not been possessed by convictions both of the infallibility of the Communist word and of the inevitability of a Communist world.'⁴

'The Cold War was the brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression'⁵

Stalin:

'The imperialistic powers will wring your necks like chickens.'

William Appleman Williams:

On the US: 'One of the most unnerving features was the extensive elitism that had become ingrained in the policy-making process.'⁶

'Even the American public came more and more ... manipulated and controlled in the effort to establish and maintain the American Way as the global status quo.'⁷

'Firm conviction, even dogmatic belief, that America's domestic well-being depends upon such sustained, ever-increasing overseas economic expansion.'⁸

Walter LaFeber:

'The Cold War has dominated American life since 1945. It has cost Americans \$4 trillion in defense expenditures, taken the lives of nearly 100,000 of their young men, ruined the careers of many others during the McCarthyite witch hunts ... It has not been the most satisfying chapter in American diplomatic history.'⁹

Gar Alperovitz:

'American officials calculated that using the atomic bomb would enormously bolster U.S. diplomacy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in negotiations over postwar Europe'¹⁰

Joyce and Gabriel Kolko:

'Basic source of the world crisis was an expansive American foreign policy.'¹¹

'To contain and reconstruct the world according to its own needs, the United States was prepared to destroy itself—morally, socially, and economically—in a deepening trauma whose effects began to weaken American capitalism.'¹²

John Lewis Gaddis:

'Both the United States and the Soviet Union had been born in revolution. Both embraced ideologies with global aspirations: what worked at home, their leaders assumed, would also do so for the rest of the world.'¹³

Melvyn P. Leffler:

'It was not so much the actions of the Kremlin as it was fears about socioeconomic dislocation, revolutionary nationalism ... and Eurasian vacuums of power that triggered US initiatives to mold an international system to comport with its concept of security.'¹⁴

Ernest May:

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

Kenneth Waltz:

'So long as the world was bipolar ... the United States and the Soviet Union held each other in check.'¹⁵

Marc Trachtenberg:

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

It seems that both sides' leaders were more "power politics" oriented than originally perceived. Ideology did not provide an overly tight constraint on their freedom of action.'¹⁶

INCORPORATING HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS INTO SOURCE ANALYSIS

When analysing the usefulness and reliability of a source, it is important to consider how various historians may interpret it. By acknowledging differing opinions you are discussing the

contestability of the source. In such a response you should always support each view with historical evidence or events. Here are some questions to think about when looking at a source.

How is it reliable and useful?

- Which interpretations or perspectives would fully support the view depicted or written in this source?
- What key events or Cold War developments would they use to support their argument? Give dates, places, names, quotes and terms to make your evidence specific.

Why might it be unreliable and not useful?

- Explain the perspectives that would consider this source to be an unreliable representation of the Cold War.
- Outline an event or development that they could use to support their viewpoint. Give dates, places, names, quotes and terms to make your evidence specific.

Who might consider it partially reliable?

- Are there any other perspectives that would argue that the source shows some accuracy?

As structuring a response can be difficult, creating a note-taking table might help you to form a structure.

Table comparing historical interpretations

Historical interpretations that support the source. Can include a quote.	Features or words from source that align with this historical interpretation.	Outside evidence or knowledge that further supports this interpretation.
1	1	1
2	2	2
Interpretations questioning the accuracy of the source.	Why do they question it?	Outside evidence or knowledge that is missing or refutes the source's main argument.
1	1	1

SOURCE 2.08

'Vigilance is our weapon', Soviet poster 1953.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Evaluate to what extent the representation is an accurate depiction of the importance of ideology in spreading a Cold War throughout the world. Firstly, create a table as suggested at left to organise your response. Then use the template for 'Evaluating the Reliability of a Source' to transform your notes into an extended response with clear paragraphs.



EVALUATING THE RELIABILITY OF A SOURCE

THE RED SCARE

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

J. Edgar Hoover was the first director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) when it was established in 1935, and he remained in that position until his death in 1972. He was able to gather enormous amounts of information and only after his death did his abuse of power become known. Collecting secret files on political leaders, harassing dissenters and illegally gathering evidence meant that Hoover was so powerful that even US presidents were intimidated, allowing him to continue as director well past retirement. In 1947, President Truman signed Executive Order 9835, which established the Federal Employee Loyalty Program. This order authorised the FBI to identify any communist sympathisers working for the government, and led to the investigation of approximately 3 million federal government employees. Of these people, three hundred were dismissed as security risks. While no one was accused of spying, many employees were considered communist sympathisers (called 'pinkies' or 'fellow travellers').

The loyalty program soon spread to other institutions such as schools, and whole organisations could be considered subversive. By 1948, almost eighty organisations were viewed as suspicious and many migrants were deported, even if they had become US citizens. This era in the USA became known as 'the purges'. Individuals who admitted their guilt and begged forgiveness were still required to



RED SCARE
PROPAGANDA

▼ SOURCE 2.09

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



SOURCE 2.10

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.



DID YOU KNOW?

In order to spy on communist activity, the CIA launched an operation codenamed Acoustic Kitty, which involved implanting cats with bugging devices so they could eavesdrop on Soviet conversations. Unfortunately the US\$15 million mission ended after a cat was run over.

implicate others who were thought to be communists. People suspected of sharing secrets with the Soviet Union paid the ultimate price. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for espionage in 1951. They were accused of leading a spy ring that passed secrets about the atomic bomb to the USSR. While there was much debate over the penalty chosen, President Eisenhower refused to give clemency, stating, 'I can only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world. The execution of two human beings is a grave matter. But even graver is the thought of the millions of dead whose deaths may be directly attributable to what these spies have done.'¹⁷

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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

The most prominent example of a HUAC witch hunt was the 'Hollywood Ten' in October 1947. HUAC believed that the film industry housed many communists,



📌 SOURCE 2.11

Hollywood actors protest against HUAC.

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



📌 SOURCE 2.12

Actor Lionel Stander testifies before the House of Un-American Activities Committee.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

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

Possible research topics:

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

ACTIVITY

MCCARTHYISM



PRIMARY SOURCES
ON MCCARTHY



PERSPECTIVES ON
MCCARTHYISM:
ROLE PLAY

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

McCarthy attacked both President Roosevelt and President Truman for being soft towards communism and led a smear campaign against General George C. Marshall, the man who had established the Marshall Plan to prevent the spread

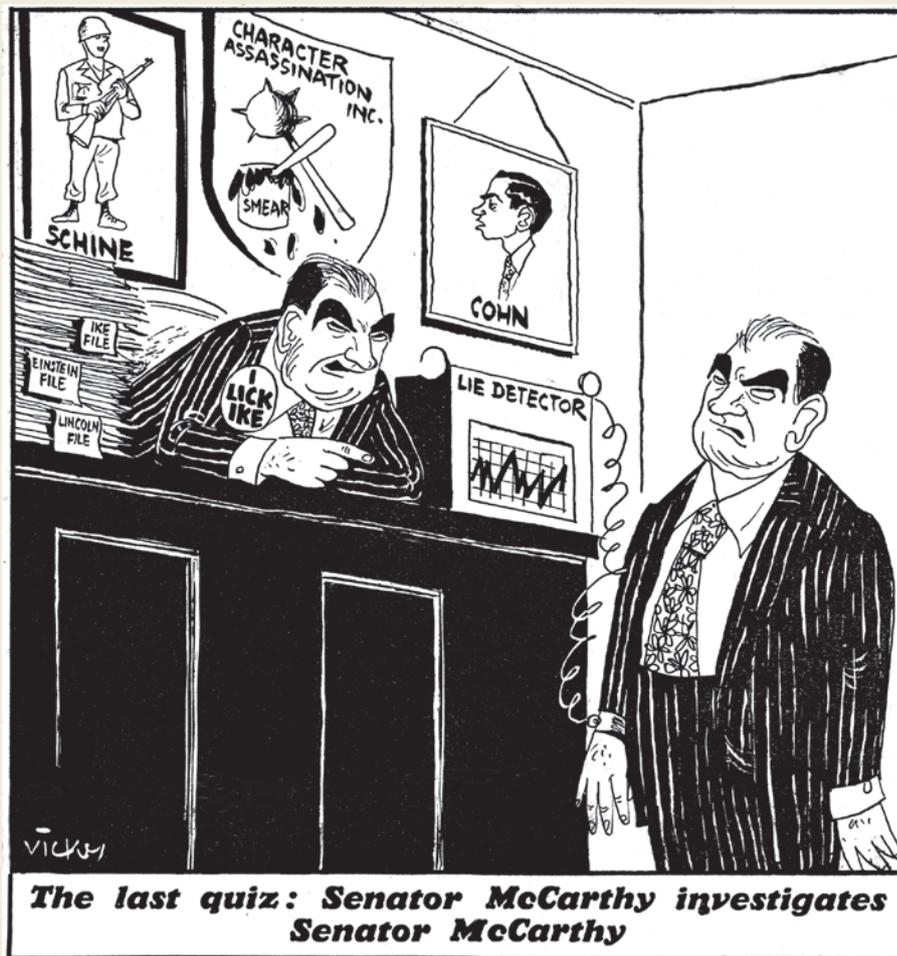
of communism in Europe. In 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. This was a committee that normally dealt with waste and corruption in government. But as chair of the committee, McCarthy decided to focus on subversion instead, especially communism. McCarthy promoted the use of HUAC and led investigations with the intent to bully and terrify others, often targeting high profile figures both in and outside government. His actions against creative expression were exemplified by the removal of thousands of books from libraries, pressuring universities to fire over 100 lecturers and encouraging the blacklisting of 324 Hollywood personalities.

However, McCarthy’s provocative accusations ultimately led to his political demise during 1954, especially his claims about disloyalty in the US military. Many newspapers expressed their concerns about McCarthy’s unsubstantiated claims. A television journalist, Ed Murrow, exposed the investigations undertaken by the US Air Force into its own servicemen. On 9 March 1954 Murrow broadcast an episode of his show *See It Now* that allowed the public to see McCarthy’s underhanded tactics for the first time—and allowed McCarthy to condemn himself with his own words. The US Army then accused McCarthy of trying to get favourable treatment for a soldier who had been his aide. This led to a three-month televised hearing known as the Army-McCarthy hearings.

▼ SOURCE 2.13

Senator Joseph McCarthy.





The last quiz: Senator McCarthy investigates Senator McCarthy

SOURCE 2.14

'The last quiz: Senator McCarthy investigates Senator McCarthy' by Vicky. Published in the *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1945.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two items depicted in the image that make light of the tactics used by McCarthy.
2. Identify two features of McCarthy's appearance that suggest he was paranoid or crazy.
3. Using the source and your own knowledge, explain the actions of McCarthy.
4. Evaluate to what extent this is an accurate depiction of the media's view towards McCarthy during his political career. Refer to various historical interpretations in your answer.

These hearings used the same trial techniques that McCarthy had used on people he accused of being communists. McCarthy's support from the public—and even from his own party—evaporated, and it was the end of his life as a major public figure. He died three years later.

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



GOOD NIGHT AND GOOD LUCK: FILM STUDY



UNMASKING MCCARTHY

ARMS RACE

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



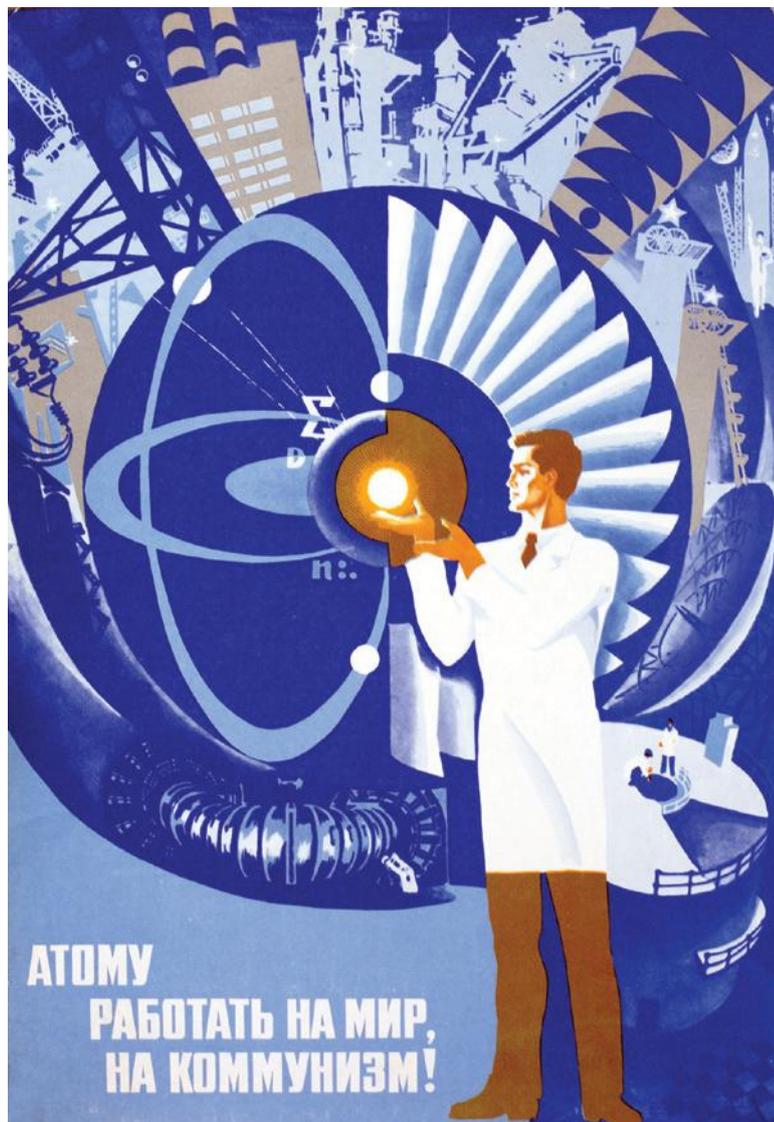
After the impact of the atomic bomb in Japan was assessed—especially its ability to end a war within a week—it became apparent to both the USA and the USSR that atomic bombs would significantly alter future warfare. America's monopoly of atomic weaponry ended in 1949, and the 1950s marked the beginning of the 'arms race' as both sides competed to create more powerful bombs. This race led to the creation of the hydrogen bomb: a bomb that was a thousand times more powerful than the atomic bomb. Instead of a fission occurring where the atom's nucleus is split, nuclear fusion would occur causing the subatomic particles to join together, creating more energy.

▼ SOURCE 2.15

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

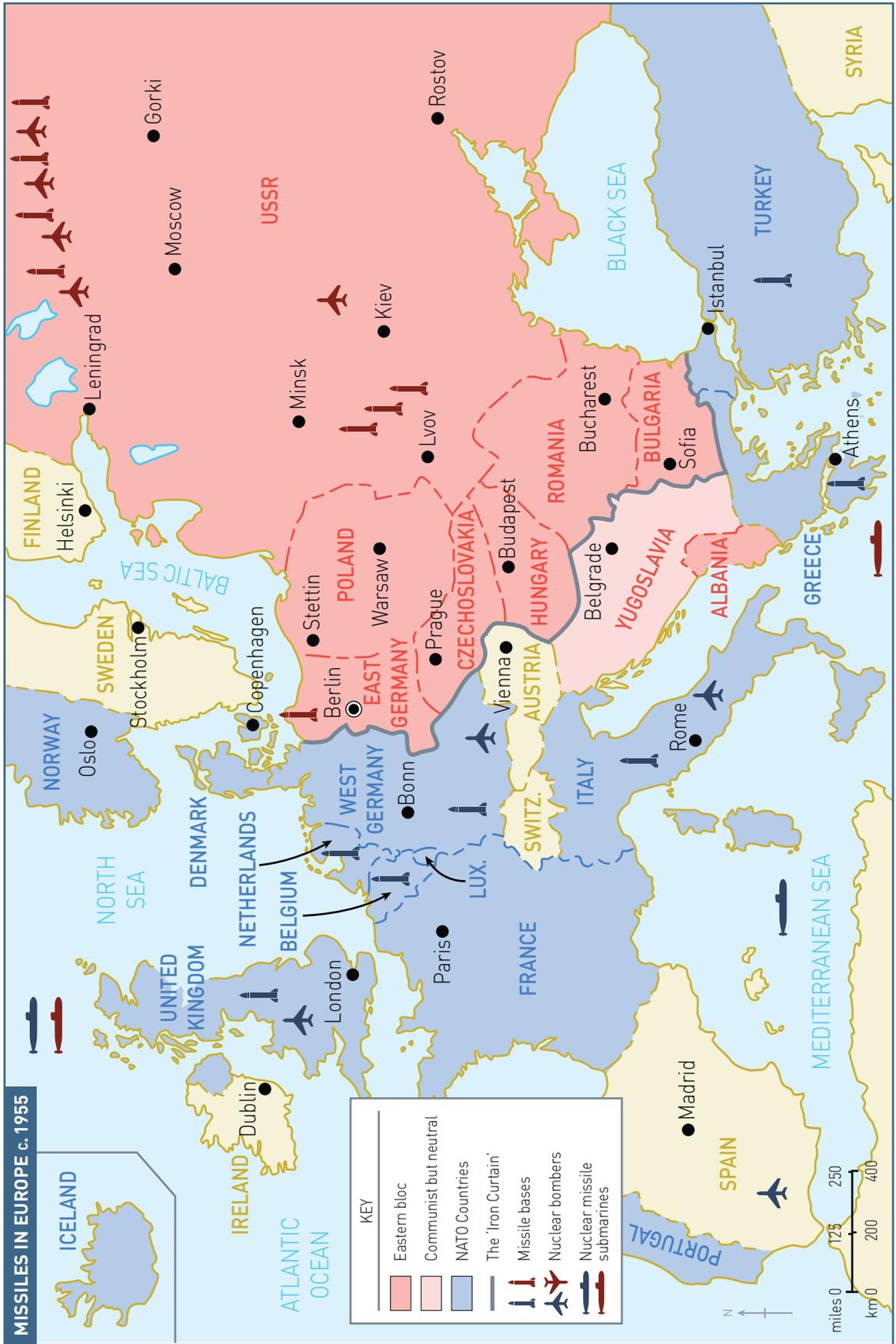
The arms race reached new heights in 1954 when the US Secretary of State, John Dulles, announced a policy of 'massive retaliation' should the Soviet Union launch an attack. Both superpowers spent billions of dollars producing nuclear

weapons that could destroy all of humanity. However, once both sides had nuclear weapons, if one attacked and the other retaliated, they would both be destroyed. This theory became known as 'mutual assured destruction' (MAD), and prevented nuclear war from occurring. By the late 1950s, it was realised that such bombs had no strategic military value and that a better delivery system was required instead of a plane that could easily be shot down. This led to the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), which required satellites to direct their path as they exited the atmosphere and then returned. By 1960, both sides had nuclear fleets patrolling the Earth and missile bases placed in strategic locations. Dulles considered this to be brinkmanship; the act of pushing a competitor to the brink of war, in order to achieve the most advantageous outcome, such as forcing a side to back down or offer concessions. The USA had short-range missiles situated throughout Western Europe and Turkey that could strike the Soviet Union within minutes. These were backed up with US-based long-range missiles that could reach the USSR in 30 minutes.

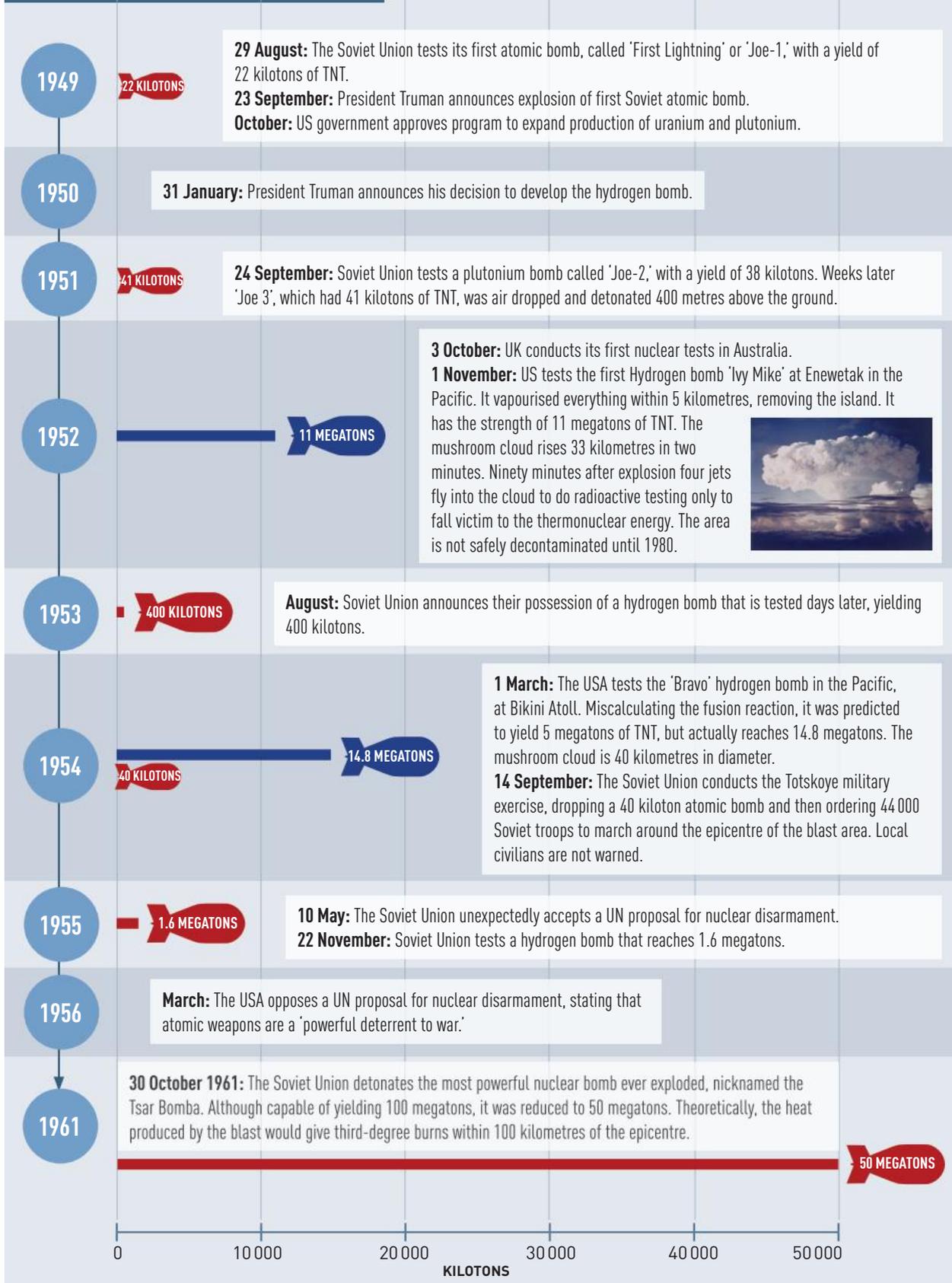


SOURCE 2.16

MAP SHOWING MISSILES IN EUROPE c. 1955



TIMELINE OF ARMS RACE DEVELOPMENTS



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

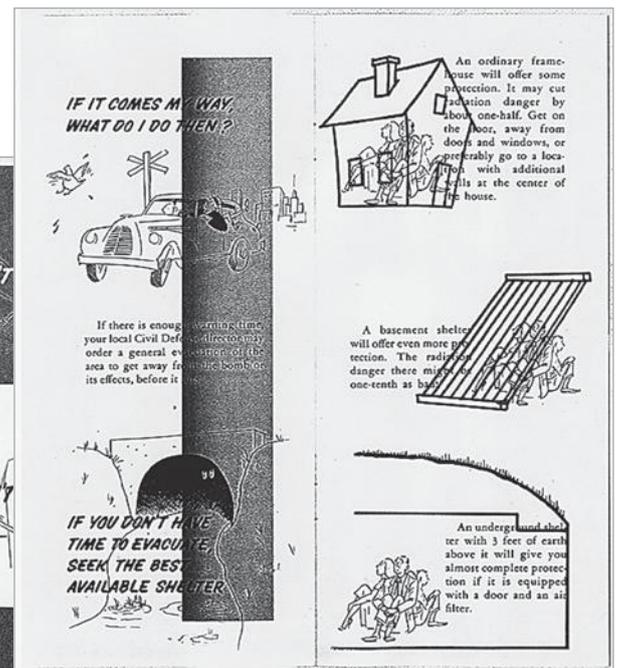
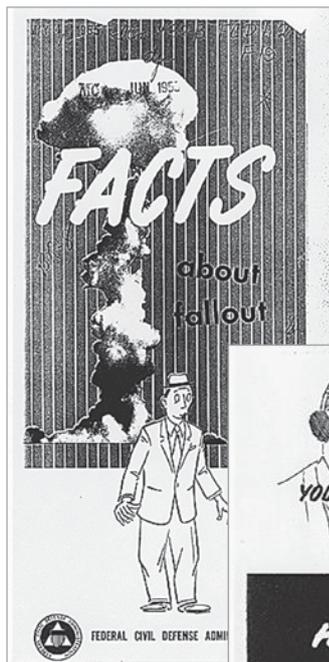
During the 1960s an international peace movement challenged the use of arms. In response, the two superpowers began to negotiate disarmament. In 1963, a Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty was agreed to in Moscow, banning detonation of all bombs in the atmosphere or in the ocean. This meant that all future tests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

DID YOU KNOW?

It is believed that the Soviet Union thought that the routine heavy traffic received by a building in the centre courtyard of the Pentagon was a top-secret meeting room or bunker. Therefore they always had at least two missiles pointing at it during the Cold War. It turned out it was a hot dog stand.

DUCK AND COVER

While Americans were experiencing prosperity in the 1950s, they were also experiencing an extreme sense of anxiety over the fear of a nuclear war. In response, the US government reassured the population that they could survive a nuclear explosion. A pamphlet called 'Facts about Fallout' played down any concerns about radioactivity, suggesting that it would all be gone within a few days. This propaganda led to many families building underground fallout shelters in their backyards. Architectural designs included cubes, domes, cylinders and



SOURCE 2.17

A pamphlet detailing the facts about fallout.

DID YOU KNOW?

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

➤ SOURCE 2.18

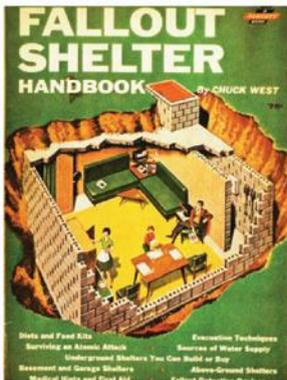
Fallout Shelter with provisions, circa 1957.



Pods, made from either steel, concrete, wood or fibreglass. Millions of dollars were dedicated to such shelters, with 200 000 fallout shelters built by 1965. Prices were in the range \$US100–\$5000, with investors predicting the business to gross at \$US20 billion. In Las Vegas, wealth could even buy you a fallout shelter with a putting green, swimming pool, bathtubs, kitchen and formal dining room. Washington DC opened its first fallout shelter in 1962; three years later it had 1000 of them spread over every corner of the city. Shelters in government buildings could provide for 36 000 people. In one fallout shelter, twenty tonnes of wheat crackers were stored for food. Today, the fallout shelter signs in the capital are preserved as monuments of this frightening time in US history.

▼ SOURCE 2.19

The Fallout Shelter Handbook.



Another form of nuclear war propaganda took place within schools. Teachers were encouraged to perform air raid drills where students were expected to hide beneath their desks, clutching their heads. In some cases, schools even distributed dog tags to help identify children after an attack. From this, the government developed an educational film called *Duck and Cover*, where an animated turtle named Bert would duck his head into his shell when a monkey set off a firecracker nearby. A convoy toured America during 1952 to spread the message with posters and a film theatre that reached over 1 million people. However, it was its distribution into schools and to television stations that increased its audience to tens of millions. Hollywood also took advantage of the arms race, producing nuclear war doomsday films such as *On The Beach*, *The Last Man On Earth*, *The Day the World Ended*, *The Atomic Kid* and *Dr. Strangelove*. The documentary film *The Atomic Cafe* is a satire of life during the 1950s, emphasising the extensive propaganda used to keep the US population optimistic about surviving possible nuclear warfare.

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

It is important to understand how historical actors understood their world, as well as the mindset of people in that era.

1. Choose one of the following perspectives and write a creative piece exploring their thoughts about the threat of nuclear weapons on life within the USA.
 - A US government official.
 - A scientist.
 - A primary school child.
 - A mother or father living in the suburbs.
 - An architect.
2. Do you believe that governments still have an impact on perspectives held within society today? Discuss as a class, and think of present-day examples to support your arguments.

ACTIVITY

DUCK AND COVER



THE ATOMIC CAFE

GEOFFREY ROBERTS ANALYSES THE SECRECY OF THE ARMS RACE

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

← SOURCE 2.20

Geoffrey Roberts, Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War 1939–1953 (Great Britain: Yale University Press, 2006).



EVALUATING THE RELIABILITY OF A SOURCE

ACTIVITY**SOURCE ANALYSIS**

1. How did the Soviet Union justify the use of nuclear weapons? Why do you think that this explanation was offered?
2. How does this illustrate the differences in policy and culture between the two main leaders during the Cold War?
3. Using the source and your own knowledge, explain the significance of the media during the arms race.
4. To what extent is this extract useful in understanding the reasons why the USA and the USSR developed nuclear weapons? Refer to various historical interpretations in your answer. Remember to use the note-taking table provided earlier in this chapter and the template for 'Evaluating the Reliability of a Source' to transform your notes into an extended response with clear paragraphs.



SPACE RACE

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

DID YOU KNOW?

During the Cold War, the USA developed a top-secret plan to detonate a nuclear bomb on the Moon to demonstrate their military strength. They also used bears to test their ejector seats in supersonic jets in the 1960s.

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

SOURCE 2.21

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



The competition between the two powers intensified on 25 May 1961 when the new US president, John F. Kennedy, pledged to land a man on the Moon by the end of the 1960s. To move things along, Kennedy even suggested a joint program between the USSR and USA. This was rejected by Khrushchev, who believed that the USA was trying to steal Russian space technology. From 1961 to

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



CONCLUSION

When George Orwell first referred to the idea of a Cold War, he suggested the world may be entering a time which was 'horribly stable'. In some respects, life during the 1950s may have been restrictive and personal liberties limited as both superpowers were determined to oversee the successful implementation of their ideology within their sphere of influence. Yet, if anything, life for most people only became more unpredictable. Politically, neither the USA nor the USSR could anticipate each other's actions or responses, as leaders constantly contradicted themselves. Historian Fred Halliday has suggested this was a time of 'oscillatory antagonism', meaning that diplomatic relations were always changing.

Eisenhower wanted to improve the lives of ordinary Americans by cutting military spending, but at the same time he made the public more anxious by provoking an arms race. Khrushchev suggested 'peaceful co-existence' and accepted proposals for nuclear disarmament, but years later detonated the world's largest bomb. As each country desperately tried to build its national security and power, people around the world became more uncertain about what the future would bring. The Cold War soon spread throughout the world as this atmosphere of uncertainty, propped up by intensive propaganda campaigns, elevated into protests, uprisings, hot wars—and even the threat of nuclear war.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Create a concept map that displays the key tensions of the Cold War. Try to categorise different types of tensions.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

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

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- Discuss how the Cold War affected each superpower. Choose a range of factors for your body paragraphs, such as socially, politically, technologically, economically or culturally.
- Evaluate how both countries displayed power during this era. Refer to different events and topics within each body paragraph to argue your point.

EXTENSION

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

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

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 2

FURTHER READING

Von Hardesty and Gene Eisman, *Epic Rivalry: The Inside Story of the Soviet and American Space Race* (Washington DC: National Geographic Society, 2008).

This book tells the story of the space race from the points of view of both the US and USSR. It explains how both superpowers stimulated each other and includes rare photographs that capture the tense moments of the era.

John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Early Cold War Spies: The Espionage Trials That Shaped American Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

The authors review major espionage cases of the early Cold War era and the difficulties faced trying to convict Soviet spies under the US judicial system.

Trials look at how the secrets behind the atomic bomb were stolen and how spies infiltrated US government and the White House.

Ronald and Allis Radosh, *Red Star Over Hollywood* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2006).

This book uncovers the stories behind Hollywood movie stars, directors and writers, focusing on those who were possibly aligned with the Communist Party. The authors reveal how being investigated by HUAC often led to further mistreatment by their former communist allies.

William Taubman, *Khrushchev, the Man and His Era* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004).

This biography investigates the complexities of Khrushchev's character, referring to a wide range of sources that became available after the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union. Taubman writes an historical narrative that discusses the division over Khrushchev's legacy within Russia.

LIFE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1946

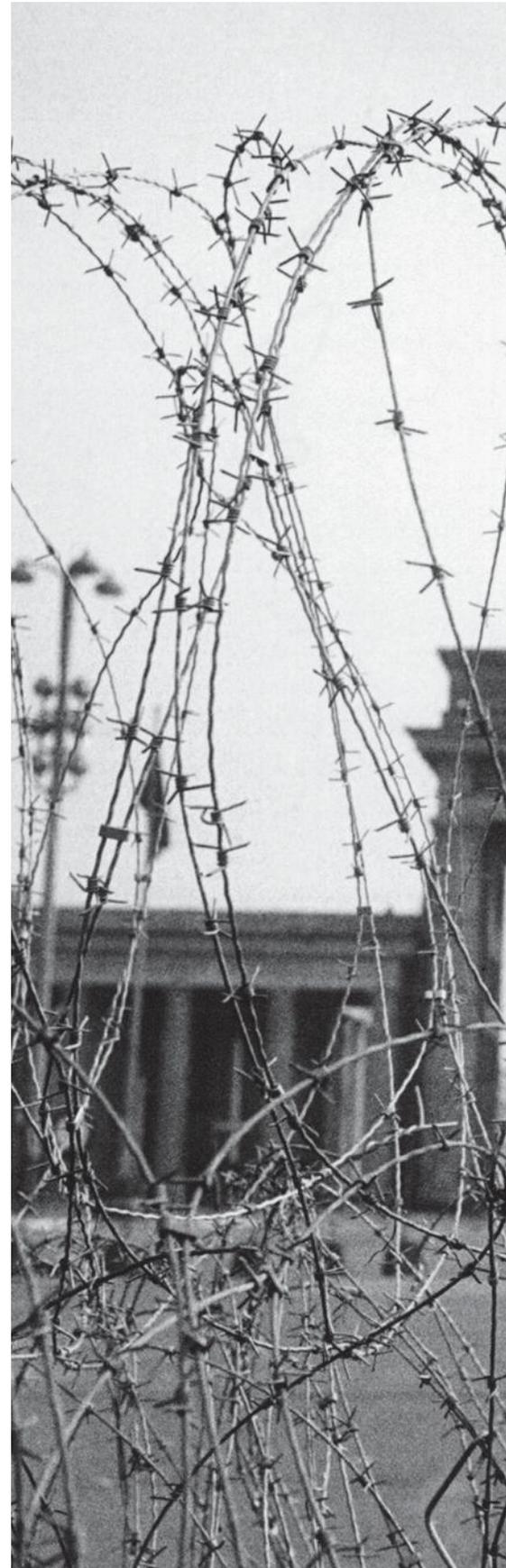
INTRODUCTION

With these words during his famous 'Sinews of Peace' address, only one year after the conclusion of World War II, former British prime minister Winston Churchill sounded the alarm to his Western allies. The power of the Soviet Union was increasing, and with the war's devastation so fresh, the West seemed unwilling to respond to the danger lurking. One by one, countries that had been so recently liberated from the Nazis—Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania—had communism imposed on them.

Along with East Germany, these 'Soviet satellites' (collectively known as the Eastern Bloc) experienced the full effects of

communist government. Daily life became a struggle for the ordinary person. Working hours were long, wages were low and living quarters cramped. Intimidation, fear and the use of secret police forced compliance with the wishes of communist leaders. Control of the media and tight censorship led to a culture dominated by party-approved art, music and literature reinforcing communist ideology. Religion was repressed, often brutally, with clergymen killed or imprisoned.

However, the rule of communism was not accepted by all those living under Soviet control. The desire for change and reform resulted in uprisings in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.





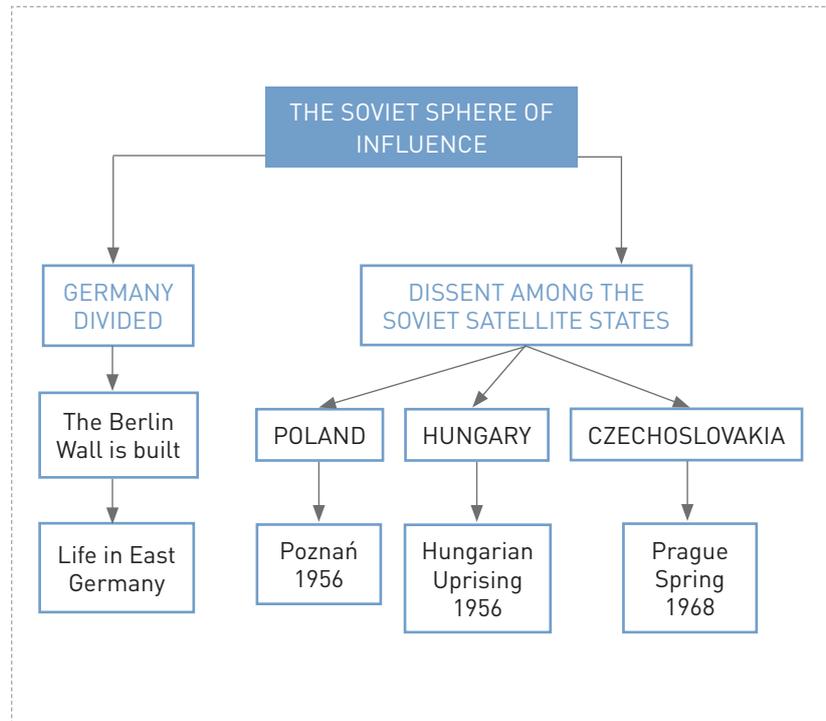
The Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. The barbed wire is on the Western side, set up by Berlin's British military command.

OVERVIEW

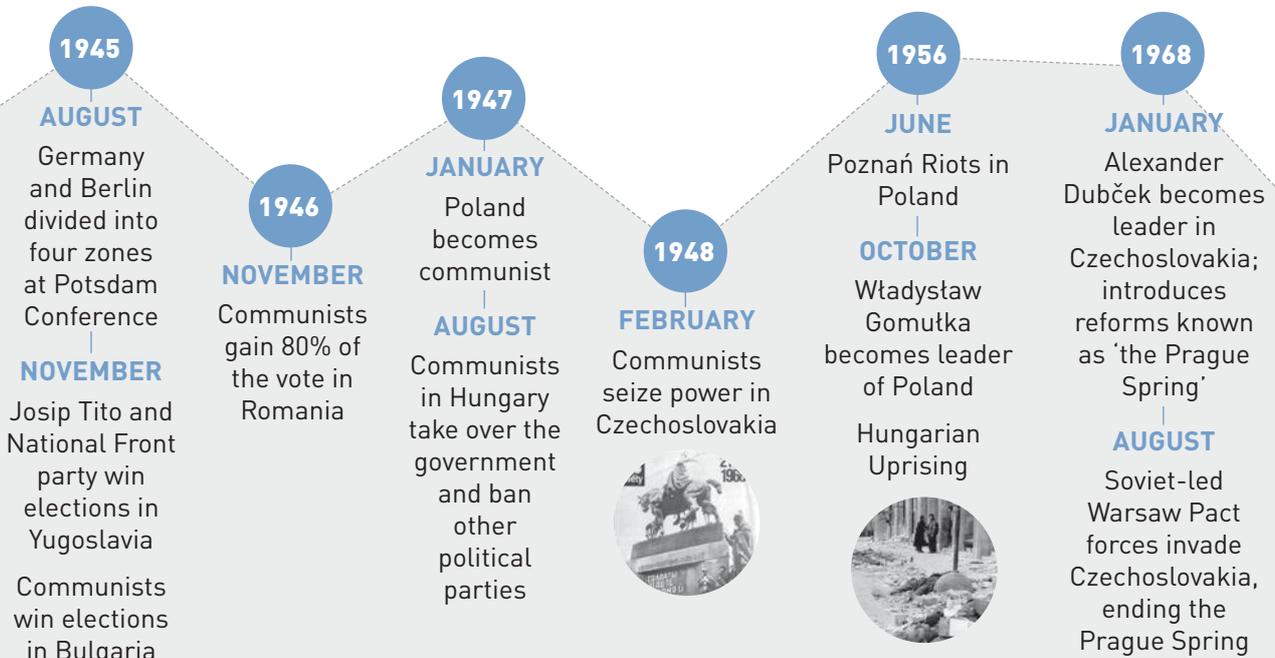
KEY QUESTIONS

- What was life like for those living behind the Iron Curtain?
- What led to dissent among people living in countries that had become Soviet satellites?
- How did the Soviets respond to threats against communist regimes?
- What were the consequences of building the Berlin Wall?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

- Leader of the Soviet Union from 1958
- His January 1956 speech condemning Stalin's rule contributed to the Hungarian Uprising
- Referred to Berlin as a 'fish bone stuck in his throat.'



JOHN F. KENNEDY

- Became the youngest US president when he was elected to office in January 1961
- During his presidency, tensions between the US and the USSR reached an all-time high
- Embarrassed by the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961
- Made Khrushchev back down over the Cuban Missile Crisis.



WALTER ULBRICHT

- Helped create the German Communist Party (KPD) but lived in exile during the Nazi regime; returned to Germany at the end of World War II
- Became leader of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) in 1950
- In 1960 became Head of State in East Germany, removing all opposition to de-Stalinisation
- Approved the building of the Berlin Wall.



MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI

- Leader of the Hungarian Communist Party from 1945; became a virtual dictator from 1947
- Used the brutal secret police (AVH) to control Hungary
- Unpopular due to failed Five Year Plan and religious suppression
- Forced from power by Moscow in July 1956.

ALEXANDER DUBČEK

- Appointed First Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party in 1968
- Sought to liberalise the communist government with reforms that became known as the 'Prague Spring'
- Reforms overturned after his arrest by Soviet forces.

KEY TERMS

COMECON

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

COMINFORM

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

GDR

The German Democratic Republic (East Germany). In German it was *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* or DDR.

STASI

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

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Churchill declared in 1946 that central and eastern Europe had fallen under the Soviet sphere of influence and that they were increasingly under the control of Moscow.

As you work through this chapter looking at life behind the Iron Curtain, you should use the materials and ideas that you have developed to answer **one** of the following questions:

1. How did ideological divisions impact on the lives of people living under communism?
2. Why was there resistance to Soviet control and the changes that resulted from it?

LIVING UNDER COMMUNISM



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

➔ SOURCE 3.01

LIFE IN EAST GERMANY

East Germans queuing in the city of Jena, 1987. The sign above the door reads 'The Stronger Socialism is, the Stronger the Peace.'



LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM



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



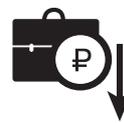
Everyone had a home, often in prefabricated high-rise apartment blocks.



Media controlled by the government.



Lack of consumer goods.



Lower wages.



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



Lack of personal freedom and individual liberties.



Forced collectivisation of agriculture.



Low standards of living.



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



Free education for all.



No trade unions: workers unable to improve work conditions.

GROWING UP IN HUNGARY

It was discontent with the conditions of the early years of communism that led to the Hungarian uprising in 1956. The shock waves brought home to the communist leadership that they could consolidate their position only by making our lives more tolerable. Stalinism was out and ‘goulash communism’—a unique brand of liberal communism—was in. Janos Kadar, the country’s new leader, transformed Hungary into the ‘happiest barracks’ in Eastern Europe. We probably had more freedoms than in any other communist country. The government understood the value of education and culture. Many in the West believed it was a crude attempt to indoctrinate the young with communist ideology, but being a Pioneer taught us valuable life skills such as building friendships and the importance of working for the benefit of the community. ‘Together for each other’ was our slogan, and that was how we were encouraged to think. Culture was regarded as extremely important by the government. The communists did not want to restrict the finer things of life to the upper and middle classes—the very best of music, literature and dance were for all to enjoy. This meant lavish subsidies were given to institutions including orchestras, opera houses, theatres and cinemas. Ticket prices were subsidised by the State, making visits to the opera and theatre affordable.

A COMMUNIST ‘HOUSE OF CULTURE’ IN PRAGUE

It’s stuck in the middle of almost every housing estate. It’s the maximum one-story-high, grey house of culture. Sometimes it has an attached pub. In it are a couple of people who endure its dehumanized space. In the assembly hall is a course on sewing, English, or yoga. At the strike of 8 o’clock in the evening the building empties. On the occasion when a concert is to be held a ticket-taker stands before the entrance and waits for those who come. That is when someone comes at all. [...]

The program director of a house of culture out in the suburbs doesn’t have it easy. He has to show a profit. But how, when other than the Saturday showing of children’s films (daddies lead their offspring here, then hurry to the adjacent pub), not even a leg turns up? [...]

We find two types of consequences. A vicious circle—no spectator, no money, nothing invites us, no spectator, etc. Not only is the dead social life of the housing estate damaged. At the same time opportunities for less known, but often very interesting artists are destroyed. In many cases professional groups quickly break up, because without records or television no one would come to a housing estate to hear them. [...]

It’s peculiar that, despite it all, a lot of young people can be found who go to work in these facilities with the image that they will waken the heights of the housing estates. Generally they last a year before another idealist replaces them, who then soon is also cured of the illusion that something of quality will attract at least a couple of visitors to the dear concrete churches of our age.

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

How do these perspectives of life behind the Iron Curtain differ? How are they the same?

DIARY ENTRIES

Investigate what life was like in the 1950s for a teenager living in the West, compared to life for a teenager living at the same time in a Soviet satellite state. Write a diary entry for each teenager, describing what a typical day might be like.

ACTIVITIES

🔍 SOURCE 3.02

Extract from an article published by Zsuzsanna Clark in the Daily Mail, 18 October 2009.

🔍 SOURCE 3.03

Michal Sedloň, ‘Samizdat, Houses of Culture and Entertainment,’ Making the History of 1989, Item #276, <https://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/276>

📍 SOURCE 3.04

LIFE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Communist-era apartments in Poland.



GERMANY DIVIDED

STEVE PHILLIPS (AUTHOR): 'West Berlin had become an island of prosperous capitalism in a sea of communism.'¹

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

By the mid-1950s the recovery of West Germany and its entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) caused concern in the Soviet Union. In 1958, Khrushchev suggested that Berlin become a neutral city and that the occupying powers should leave, but then a US spy plane was shot down in Soviet air space just before the May 1960 Paris summit conference, and relations between the two superpowers grew decidedly frosty. When Kennedy became US president in 1961, Khrushchev decided to try and push the young, inexperienced new leader who had already suffered an embarrassing international incident (the failed Bay of Pigs invasion; see Chapter 4) and demanded that the West recognise East Germany, that they withdraw their troops from West Berlin and hand over access routes to the East German government. At the Vienna summit conference in June 1961, Kennedy refused Khrushchev's demands, and followed up in July by announcing increased arms spending.

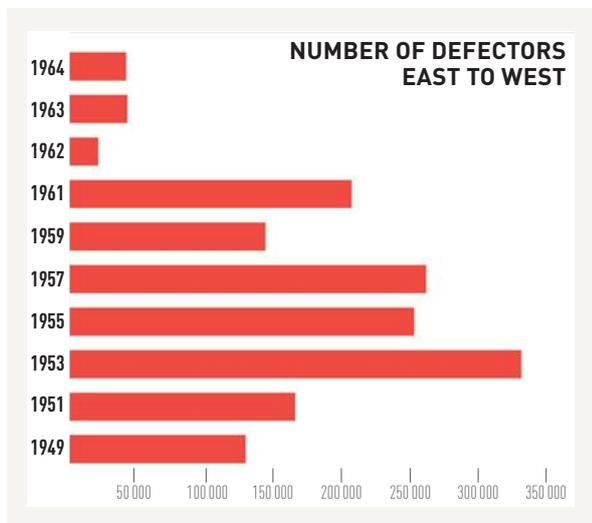
DID YOU KNOW?

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

THE WALL

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, 1963: 'Berlin is the testicles of the West. When I want the West to scream, I squeeze on Berlin.'

SOURCE 3.05



During the 1950s, Walter Ulbricht, the First Secretary of East Germany, introduced two Five Year Plans that saw heavy industry production double. However, the benefits to industry came at a cost, as there was a shortage of consumer goods and East Germans continued to suffer from low wages and food shortages. The shortage of food was exacerbated under the second Five Year Plan (1955–1959) when many farmers walked away from their farms rather than enter a state-run farm under forced collectivisation. Food production fell and rationing was reintroduced in 1961. Many people were disillusioned with life under communism and left for West Germany. So many East Germans were defecting to West Germany that the population drain was beginning to threaten the East German economy.



🔍 SOURCE 3.06

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

📌 DID YOU KNOW?

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

🔍 SOURCE 3.07

East Berliners escaped through houses adjacent to the wall before they were boarded up.

Many of the people who were fleeing to the West were young professionals and skilled workers. Konrad Adenauer, the Chancellor of West Germany, called this the 'Magnet Theory' as people sought freedom and higher wages in the West. In April 1961, 30 000 East Germans fled via West Berlin amid rumours that the border between East and West Berlin was about to close.

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

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



➔ SOURCE 3.08

US president John F. Kennedy, visiting Berlin in 1963. He is famous for declaring *Ich bin ein Berliner* during his speech: 'I am a citizen of Berlin'.



CITY OF BERLIN:
RESEARCH AND
SYNTHESIS



PHOTO ESSAY: RISE
AND FALL OF THE
BERLIN WALL



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

➔ SOURCE 3.09

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

ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Draw up a table to identify the differences between East and West Berlin.
2. Why was the Berlin Wall built?
3. Do you think the Berlin Wall was a good or bad thing?

SUMMARY

Create a diagram to show the causes and effects of defections to West Germany.

CREATIVE

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





SOURCE 3.10

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

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the two leaders represented in the cartoon.
2. Identify two reasons why the Berlin Wall was built.
3. Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain the events leading up to the construction of the Berlin Wall.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of the cartoon in understanding the impact on relations between East and West due to the building of the Berlin Wall. In your response, refer to the cartoon and different views of the Berlin Wall.

THE STASI

The 'Stasi' was the common name for *Staatssicherheit*, or state security. The secret service and secret police of the Stasi used fear and intimidation to control the population of East Germany and ensure that any perceived dangers to the regime were eliminated. It was founded in 1950 and was answerable only to the government of East Germany, which was the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). The aim of the Stasi was to prevent the development of non-conformist or dissident ideas and behaviour. The Stasi employed 91 015 people full time, and also had a network of unofficial collaborators who gathered information on people from all areas of society and reported back. Suspects could be arrested on suspicion, without having committed any offence. Just having hair that was too long was enough for someone to appear suspicious. The Stasi used a range of methods to stamp out non-conformist ideas, from physical violence, arrests, kidnappings and show trials to rumours and manipulation. They tailed suspects, bugged telephones, installed video cameras in buildings, searched apartments, and destroyed friendships and careers in the name of ensuring the security of GDR.

SOURCE 3.11

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

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two goals of the Stasi.
2. Identify two ways the Stasi monitored people.
3. Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain why the SED used the Stasi to maintain control.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this source in understanding why terror was used in communist states. In your response, refer to Source 3.11 and different views of life under communism.

EXTRACT FROM *STASILAND* BY ANNA FUNDER

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

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

CENSORSHIP

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

CONTROL OF SPORT

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

ACTIVITY

RESEARCH

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

THE STASI FILES

ANNA FUNDER: ‘The thoroughness of the regime was horrifying: it accumulated, in the 40 years of its existence, more written records than in all of German history since the Middle Ages. East Germany was run on fear and betrayal: at least one in 50 people—by CIA estimates, one in seven—were informing on their relatives, friends, neighbours and colleagues.’²

After the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, Stasi officers were ordered to destroy the files they kept on East German citizens. They were interrupted by citizen groups who occupied the Stasi headquarters. What was discovered was approximately 16 000

bags full of shredded or torn files, plus partially destroyed photos, slides and recordings.

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

Between 1991–2012 the Stasi Records Agency had over 6.75 million requests to view files. In January 2015, they made some files available online for the first time.



ONLINE STASI
MEDIA CENTRE



RECONSTRUCTION OF
TORN DOCUMENTS

← SOURCE 3.12

Reconstructing the Stasi files, 1996.

↓ SOURCE 3.13

Stasi Records Agency brochure (p.7), http://www.bstu.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/brochure_stasi_records_agency_engl.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the Stasi?
2. Why were the Stasi necessary?
3. How would your life have been affected if you had lived in East Germany under communist rule?

SUMMARY

1. Create a concept map to show the type of activities the Stasi might consider a threat to the GDR.
2. Create a board game to reflect Stasi policies, where players are punished for certain activities and rewarded for others.

STASI FILES IN NUMBERS

Documents: 111 shelf kilometres
 Filmed documents: the equivalent of 47 shelf kilometres
 File cards: 39 million
 Photos, film negatives, slides: 1.8 million
 Film, video and audio recordings: 30 300
 Fragmented material: 15 500 bags

DISSENT AMONG THE SOVIET SATELLITES

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

POLAND

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



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

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

POZNAŃ PROTESTS

By 1956, workers in the Polish city of Poznań had seen a decline in living and working standards since the 1950 introduction of the Six Year Plan. They had submitted over 4000 requests for improvements in work organisation since 1953. In 1956, their frustration reached breaking point when they lost promised bonus payments because their work quotas were increased. On 28 June 1956 workers from the Cegielski engineering plant walked off the job and started marching toward the city centre. Their march was joined by over 100 000 other people. The marchers did not call for any political change; although they wanted the Russians to go home, their demands were mainly about economic reform. But the march turned into a riot: the marchers attacked the Ministry of Public Security office, where they were shot at; they attacked the prison, released prisoners and armed themselves with weapons from the prison armoury. The following day



SOURCE 3.14

Protesters at Poznań,
1956.

10 000 troops and 350 tanks from the Polish Army were sent to restore order. The workers of Poznań attacked, using petrol bombs and disarming some tanks. It took three days for the Polish forces to subdue the rebels. Fifty-eight Poznań residents were killed—the youngest just thirteen years old—and over 600 people were injured.

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

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Identify the causes of the Poznań Riots.
2. Describe the events that took place in Poznań in June.
3. What was the significance of the Poznań protests for the Polish workers?

ACTIVITIES

EXTENSION

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

HUNGARY

Hungary had fought on Germany's side during the World War II and was invaded by the Red Army in September 1944. Elections were held at the end of the war, but the Communist Party only won 17 per cent of the vote. Despite this, a coalition government was formed with members of the Hungarian Communist Party taking key political roles. By 1947 a new constitution had been introduced and Mátyás Rákosi became the Hungarian prime minister. Rákosi

used terror and brutality to assert his control. He supported Stalin, and ensured that Hungary became a member of both Cominform and Comecon. In 1950 the Államvédelmi Hatóság (AVH) or State Protection Authority was established and Hungary became a police state. Over 200 000 political opponents were imprisoned and thousands were killed in Stalin-style purges. The Communist Party banned religion in Hungary and imprisoned the leader of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Mindszenty. Under Rákosi, the Hungarian economy focused upon heavy industry and there was a fall in agricultural production. This led to a fall in living standards and an increase in poverty. Food shortages occurred and there were fewer consumer goods, as Hungarian manufactured goods were sent to the Soviet Union. Having had communism imposed upon them, the Hungarians were far from happy with the situation. In 1953, Rákosi was replaced by Imre Nagy, a reformist prime minister. However, Nagy was too much of a reformist for the Soviets, and he was replaced by Rákosi less than two years later, then expelled from the Communist Party. When Khrushchev's 'secret speech' was made public in February 1956, denouncing Stalin's tactics, it was interpreted by some Hungarians as a sign that reform might be possible.

THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING

↓ SOURCE 3.15

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



The beginnings of the Hungarian uprising began among the students of Budapest, who had been subjected to state-approved syllabuses that were biased towards communist ideology. They resented the Soviet Union's influence over

Hungary. On 23 October 1956, students demonstrated, demanding change, and setting out their demands for political reform in a sixteen-point plan. These protests escalated and riots broke out, with workers and soldiers joining the students, attacking the AVH and Russian troops and destroying symbols of Soviet control.

Khrushchev sent troops and tanks into Budapest on 25 October 1956 to restore order. The Soviets opened fire, killing and wounding Hungarians. Imre Nagy was reinstated as the Hungarian prime minister and, after negotiations, Khrushchev agreed to withdraw Soviet troops. Believing he had the support of the United States, Nagy set about de-Stalinising Hungary. Between 28 October and 3 November, he released political prisoners (including Cardinal Mindszenty), announced freedom of speech and religion, and formed a coalition government that included some non-communists. On 3 November, Nagy announced that Hungary would be leaving the Warsaw Pact, and appealed to the United Nations for help in establishing Hungary's neutrality. For Khrushchev, this was a step too far.



🔍 SOURCE 3.16

A statue of Stalin is demolished by protesters in Budapest, 1956.

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

Despite appeals to the West for help, the Hungarians were left to fight against the Soviet troops. Britain and France had been distracted by the Suez Canal Crisis and America's President Eisenhower was not willing to go to war over Hungary. The United Nations proposed an investigation, but the decision was vetoed by the USSR and the new Hungarian government under Kádár refused to co-operate.



HUNGARIAN REVOLT
1956

PUBLISHED IN *PRAVDA*, THE SOVIET STATE
NEWSPAPER ON 31 OCTOBER 1956

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

🔍 SOURCE 3.17

Pravda, 31 October 1956.

PUBLISHED IN *PRAVDA*, THE SOVIET STATE
NEWSPAPER ON 23 NOVEMBER 1956

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

🔍 SOURCE 3.18

Pravda, 23 November 1956.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Study the two extracts from *Pravda* on the previous page, and answer the following questions:

1. What does Source 3.17 tell you about the Soviet attitude towards Hungary?
2. What does Source 3.18 view as the cause of rebellion in Hungary?
3. Why do you think opinion has changed despite the articles being published in the same newspaper?

SOURCE 3.19

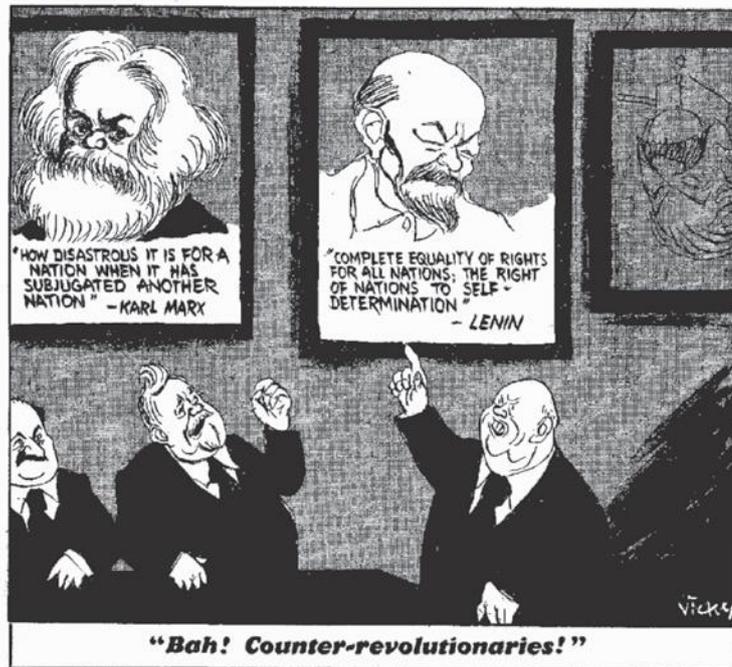
Cited in George Mikes, *The Hungarian Revolution* (London: A. Deutsch, 1957).

A TELEX MESSAGE SENT IN OCTOBER 1956 BY HUNGARIAN REBELS

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

SOURCE 3.20

'Bah! Counter-revolutionaries!' by Victor Weisz, published in the *Daily Mirror*, 15 November 1956.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

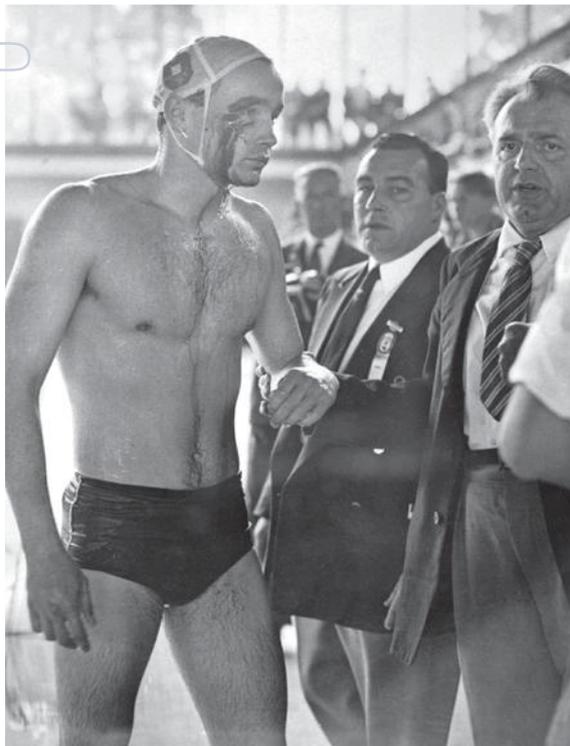
1. Explain the context for this cartoon. What was the background? What had happened to give rise to the cartoon?
2. Identify two leaders in the cartoon.
3. Identify two ways the cartoon suggests that Khrushchev's actions were contrary to Marxist ideals.
4. Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain why the Soviets crushed the Hungarian uprising.
5. Evaluate the usefulness of the cartoon in understanding why the Hungarian uprising took place. In your response, refer to the cartoon and different views of the Hungarian uprising.

MELBOURNE OLYMPICS, 1956

When Hungary and the USSR met in the water polo semi-finals during the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games, it became known as the 'blood in the water' match. Melbourne had a large

▼ SOURCE 3.21

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



Hungarian community, many of whom had escaped Hungary and migrated to Melbourne following the communist takeover after World War II. Their resentment and hostility lent vocal support to the Hungarian players and contributed to the charged atmosphere.

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

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

At the end of the Olympic Games, nearly half the Hungarian team remained in Australia. Some of them later went to the United States.



'BLOOD IN THE WATER' FOOTAGE

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Identify why the Hungarians were unhappy.
2. What was the turning point in pushing Hungarians towards reform?
3. What do you think was the most important factor in causing the Hungarian uprising?

SUMMARY

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

CREATIVE

Write a speech or a newspaper article from the Soviet point of view, justifying the invasion of Hungary.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MICHAEL KAUFMAN, NEW YORK TIMES REPORTER: 'There are some years that stand out more clearly than the rest, when in our memory it seems that the world spun faster and important and unexpected things occurred almost on a daily basis. 1968 was that kind of a year.'

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

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

▼ SOURCE 3.22

Antonín Novotný.



DID YOU KNOW?

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

THE PRAGUE SPRING

Dubček called his reforms 'socialism with a human face', as they would give greater freedom to the people of Czechoslovakia:

- Freedom of speech and the end of censorship.
- Freedom of assembly, so that people could meet and discuss politics.
- Political freedom: the election of a new National Assembly to create democratic socialism.
- Powers of the Secret Police were restricted: they could no longer imprison without trial.
- Freedom of movement: travel restrictions with the West would be lifted.
- Economic freedom: an increase in privately owned businesses.
- Trade unions would be allowed to improve work conditions.
- Freedom of religion.
- Release of political prisoners.

Although Dubček's reforms had the support of two other Warsaw Pact nations (Yugoslavia and Romania), the USSR was deeply unhappy and tried to persuade



PRAGUE SPRING:
DOCUMENTS AND
PHOTOGRAPHS

him to abandon them. The Soviet position hardened in June, when the Czechoslovakian Social Democrats formed a separate political party and increased calls for extreme reform.

Despite Dubček's reassurances to the Soviets that Czechoslovakia would not leave the Warsaw Pact, Soviet leaders feared that Czechoslovakia would leave a hole in the border with the West. They also feared the impact that Dubček's reforms might have on other communist countries. Walter Ulbricht, leader of East Germany, put pressure on Brezhnev when Czechoslovakia appeared to be developing tighter trade links with West Germany.

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

THE OFFICIAL SOVIET VERSION GIVEN BY TASS, THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY, 21 AUGUST 1968.

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

SOURCE 3.23

Tass, 21 August 1968.

SOURCE 3.24

Street signs defaced to confuse Soviet troops.

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





📌 SOURCE 3.25

A tank on fire during the Prague protests.

📌 SOURCE 3.26

Cover of *Květy* magazine , 21 August 1968. The graffiti in Wenceslas Square says, in Russian, 'Soldiers go home'.



📌 SOURCE 3.27

Pravda, 13 November 1968.

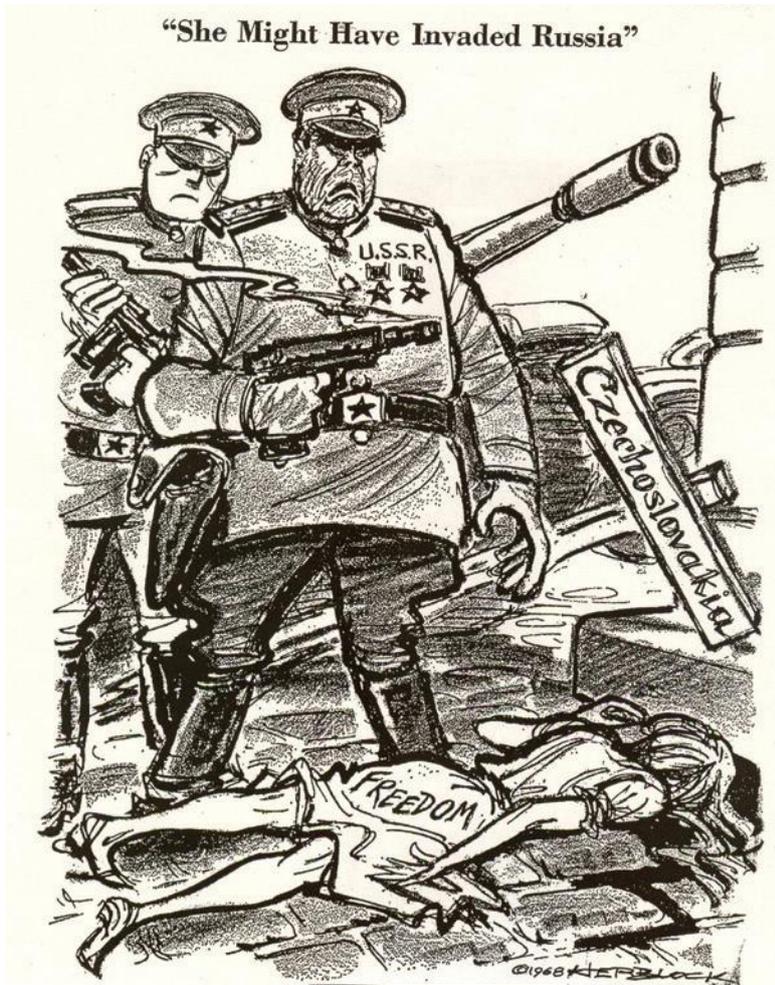
Demonstrations continued against the Soviet invasion until April 1969, when Gustav Husak took over as leader. There followed a purge of the Czech Communist Party, with the removal of liberal members and anyone who disagreed with Soviet policy. Dubček was sent as an ambassador to Turkey. The reforms of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

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

Relations between East and West temporarily worsened by the international denunciation of Soviet actions but had no lasting effect and détente continued. The USA was more concerned with events in Vietnam than Czechoslovakia. Ultimately the Soviet Union had moved into Czechoslovakia with impunity, knowing the world's attention was engaged elsewhere.

THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, 1968

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



SOURCE 3.28

‘She might have invaded Russia’, by Herb Block. Published in the *Washington Post*, 3 September 1968.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two countries represented in the cartoon.
2. Identify two reasons why the Soviet Union was concerned about reforms in Czechoslovakia.
3. Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain the events leading up to the Soviet invasion.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of the source to your understanding of the impact of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In your response, refer to Source 3.28 and different views of the Prague Spring.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Identify the reforms introduced by Dubček.
2. Why do you think the Soviet Union used troops from other communist states?
3. Why was the Soviet Union so threatened by the Czech reforms?

COMPARISON

Use a Venn diagram to compare the events of the Hungarian Uprising with the Prague Spring; consider the causes, the events and the consequences.

CREATIVE

Re-write the Brezhnev Doctrine as though it was written by US President Johnson, in 1968. Use the same structure but write it from the democratic/capitalist point of view. (Remember: 1968 was the height of the Vietnam War.)

INQUIRY

Investigate what the term *détente* means, and how it affected relations between East and West.

ACTIVITIES



CONCLUSION

Life behind the Iron Curtain was, for the ordinary person, a life of curtailed personal freedom and liberties as the Soviet Union controlled those countries under their sphere of influence. The communist regimes of central and eastern Europe were characterized by fear of the brutality that could be dispensed by secret police in order to maintain control. Religion was discouraged and suppressed. Censorship and propaganda controlled the media and culture, with only party-approved programming that reinforced ideology allowed. The standard of living declined as industries were developed to meet the demands of the USSR. Food shortages were common but queues to obtain what little was available were guaranteed. The poor selection of foods available

led to an increase in health problems in some Iron Curtain countries. Consumer goods were scarce and difficult to obtain with the low wages that were paid. Although everyone had a home, they were often cramped. Thin walls made it easy for the communist regimes to monitor those who expressed dissatisfaction with life in the East. The long hours that people worked in unsuitable conditions led to apathy and people became increasingly inactive. The consumption of alcohol and cigarettes increased dramatically. Attempts at reform were brief, short lived and brutally suppressed by the Soviets who were determined to maintain a buffer zone between themselves and the West.

CHAPTER REVIEW

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

Country	Reasons for uprising	Soviet response

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

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Construct a living graph to show the significance of events described in this chapter upon relations between the Soviet Union and its satellite states. Plot the events along the horizontal axis and use adjectives to describe relations on the vertical axis. Annotate the graph with different colours to show the reactions of different countries.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

1. Explain why the Poznań Protests occurred in Poland in 1956. Provide evidence to support your answer.

2. Explain why relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia changed in the late 1960s. Provide evidence to support your answer.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

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

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 3

FURTHER READING

Anna Funder, *Stasiland* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003)

Explores life in former East Germany where the mantra was: 'Either you are for us or an enemy!' Includes interviews with those who were subjected to the regime and those who collaborated. The stories are by turn compelling, horrific and amusing.

The Lives of Others, directed by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck (2006).

This film, set in East Berlin in 1984, centers around the character of Gerd Wiesler, a faithful Stasi officer. Tasked with surveilling a playwright and his actress lover, he becomes entranced by their lives. Winner of the 2007 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film, *The Lives of Others* offers students a glimpse of life in a totalitarian state.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

'Within the past week unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on [Cuba]. The purposes of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capacity against the Western hemisphere ... It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.'

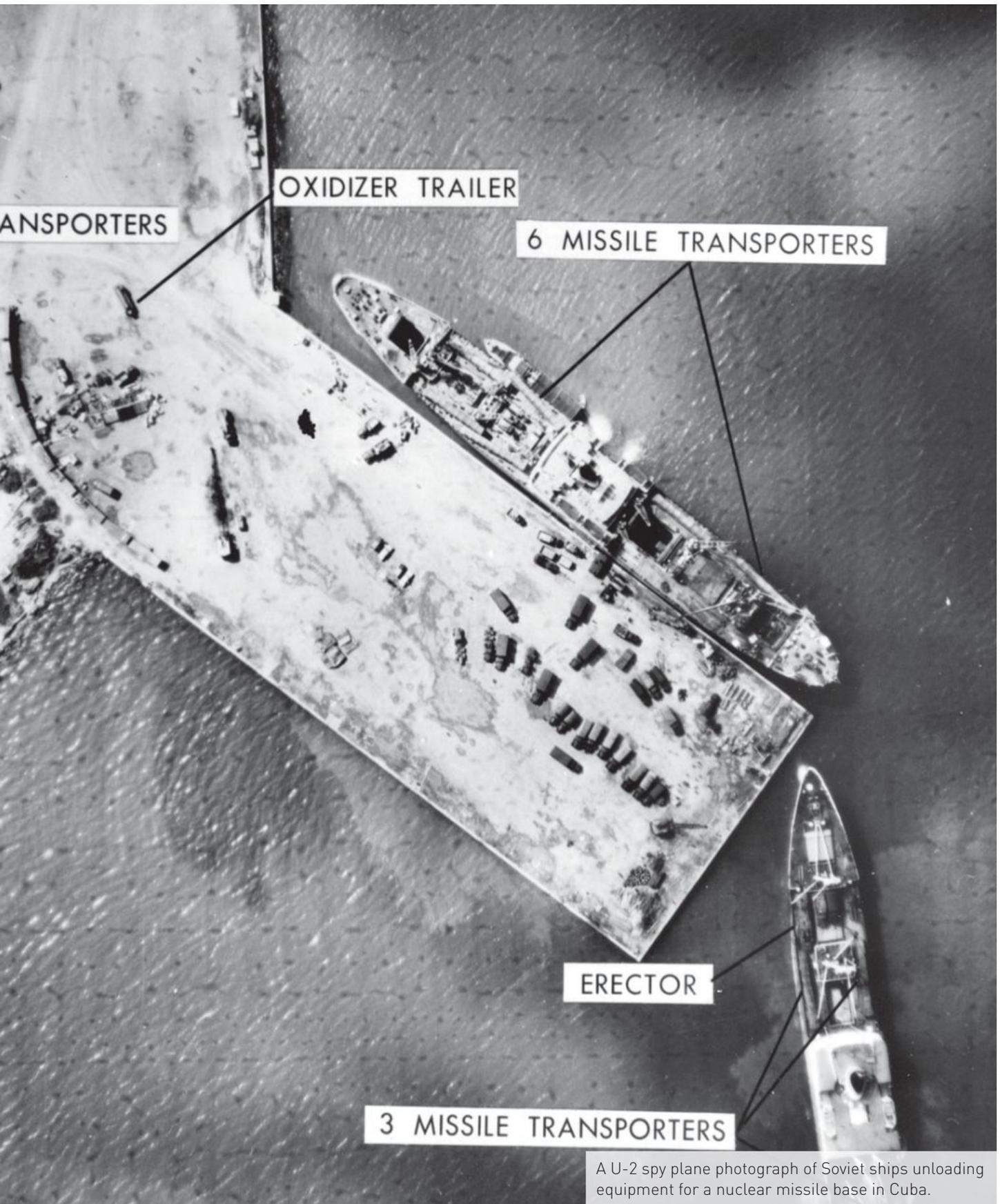
PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, 22 OCTOBER 1962¹

INTRODUCTION

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

The Cuban Missile Crisis was an escalation in the tensions between the two superpowers, which one historian called the 'most dangerous crisis of the Cold War.'² Only by standing on the edge of the abyss could the USA and USSR see that their rivalry had taken humanity to the brink of extinction. A period of détente followed, which saw greater communication between the two superpowers, and a tentative step towards placing limits on the most dangerous weapon mankind has ever devised.





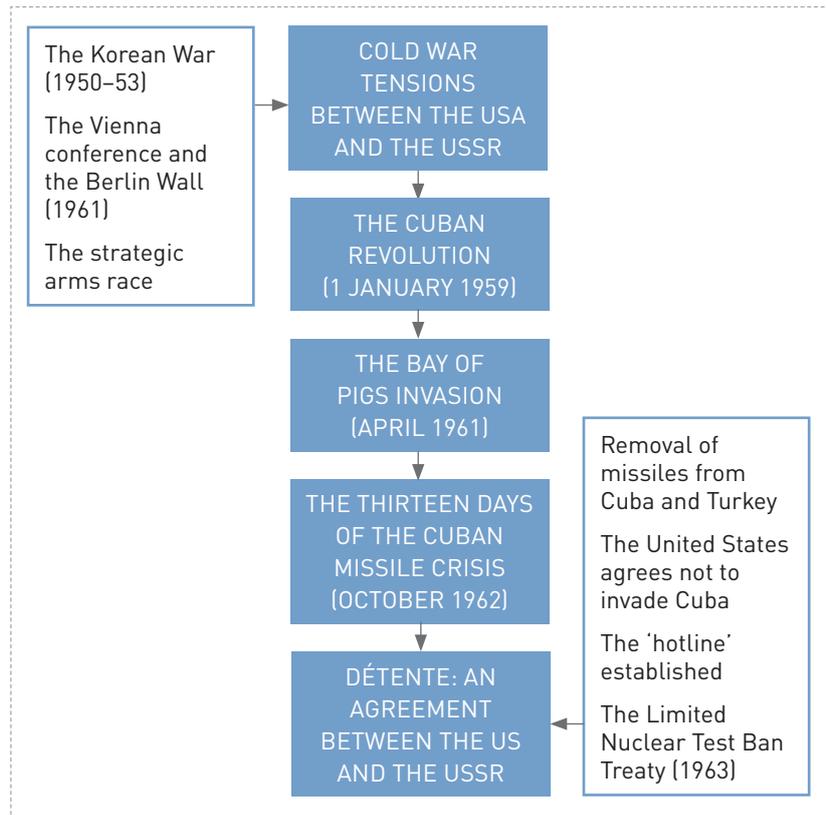
A U-2 spy plane photograph of Soviet ships unloading equipment for a nuclear missile base in Cuba.

OVERVIEW

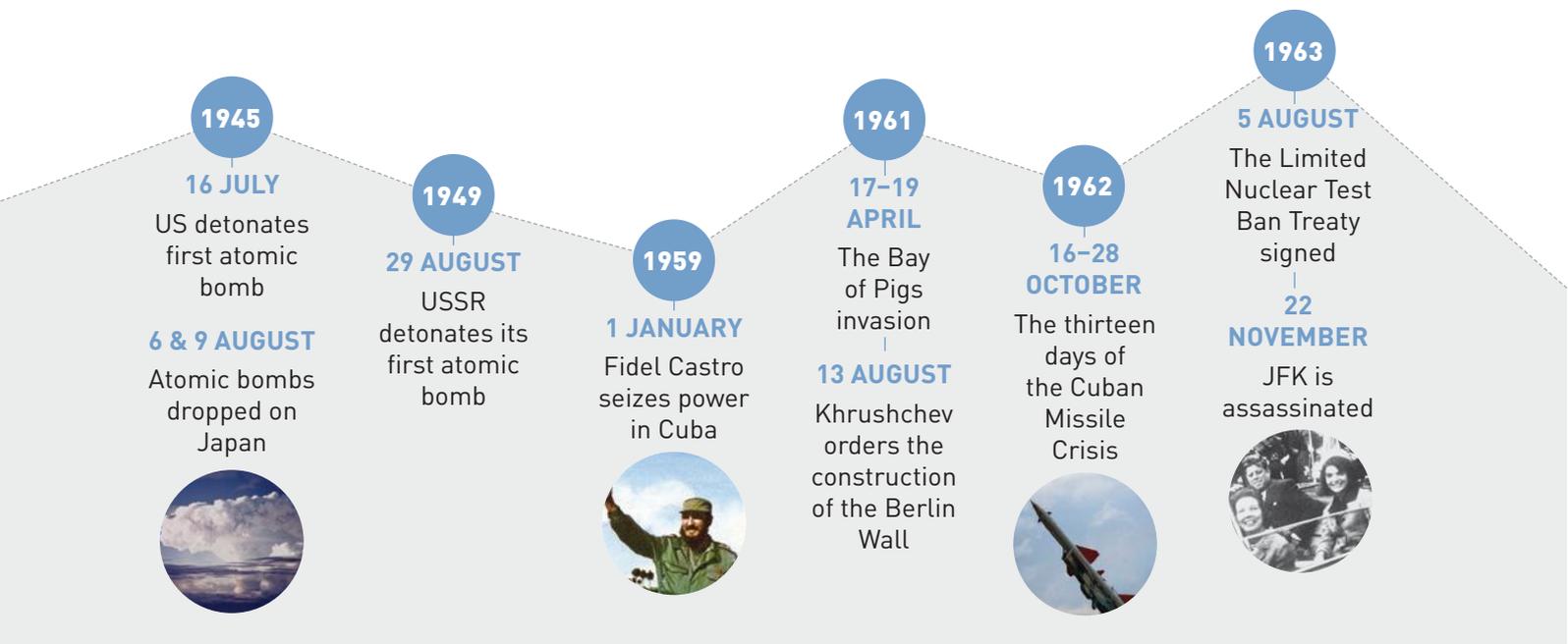
KEY QUESTIONS

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

IN THIS CHAPTER / KEY EVENTS



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

FIDEL CASTRO

- Leader of Cuba during the Crisis
- Born in 1926; became involved in radical student politics while studying law at university
- Jailed after leading a raid on an army barracks on 26 July 1953
- Released two years later, he organised a small army to take control of Cuba. In 1959 his small group of rebels seized Havana from the corrupt Batista regime
- Castro's left-wing policies incensed the United States and forced him to establish closer links with the Soviet Union
- Agreed to let the Russians install nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962
- Castro continued to rule Cuba after the Crisis until poor health forced him to step down from office in 2008.



JOHN F. KENNEDY

- Kennedy—also called Jack or JFK—was president of the United States during the Crisis
- Born in 1917; served in the US Navy during World War II and then entered politics
- He won an extremely narrow election victory in 1960 to become America's thirty-fifth president
- During his term in office he faced a number of international crises: the Bay of Pigs invasion, the construction of the Berlin Wall and the Cuban Missile Crisis
- He was assassinated on 22 November 1963 in Dallas, Texas.



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

- Premier of the Soviet Union during the Crisis
- Pursued a policy of brinkmanship with the United States over the Cold War hotspots of West Berlin and Cuba
- Perceived as having backed down during the Crisis, Khrushchev was forced to resign in 1964
- Died of a heart attack in 1971.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY

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

1. How did the US react to Castro's policies and actions in Cuba?
2. Why did Khrushchev deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba?
3. What were the outcomes of the Crisis for the key leaders and nations involved?

SKILLS FOCUS

KEY TERMS

EXCOMM

Short for 'executive committee.' The government body set up by President Kennedy to advise him on how to respond to the deployment of Russian nuclear missiles in Cuba.

DEFCON

Short for 'defence condition,' DEFCON refers to the five levels of readiness for war for US military forces. DEFCON 1 means 'nuclear war imminent'. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, the US Air Force was placed at DEFCON 2.

ICBM

Abbreviation for 'intercontinental ballistic missile.' A missile with a nuclear warhead that can be fired at targets on the other side of the globe.

BRINKMANSHIP

The strategy of bringing your opponent to the point of actual conflict, such as a nuclear war, and forcing them to back down in order to gain an advantage.

DETERENCE

The idea that a nation possesses enough weapons, and the willingness to use them, to convince other nations not to attack them.

DÉTENTE

The reduction in tension between two nations, taken from the French word for 'release' or 'relaxation'.

MAD

Acronym for 'mutual assured destruction.' The idea that in the event of a nuclear attack, the target nation will have enough nuclear weapons remaining to destroy its opponent. This theoretically makes nuclear war impossible, as neither side can win.

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

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

TROUBLE IN THE TROPICS



THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR



THE PLATT AMENDMENT



FULGENCIO BATISTA

Cuba had been a Spanish colony until the Spanish–American War of 1898. While Cuba technically then became an independent nation, it quickly came under the economic and political dominance of the United States. Under the Platt Amendment, the United States reserved the right to intervene in Cuban affairs, with troops if necessary, and supported several corrupt regimes. The United States also maintained a military base at Guantánamo Bay. In 1933, Colonel Fulgencio Batista overthrew the existing government and, as head of the army, effectively controlled the five-man presidential committee. Batista was president of Cuba 1940–44 and, after a long stay in the United States, seized control of Cuba in 1952 through a military coup. This occurred three months before an election Batista feared he would lose. He suspended individual liberties and favoured wealthy landowners over the poor. Batista's regime also brutally suppressed political opponents. In a speech in October 1960, Senator John F Kennedy claimed that 'Batista murdered 20 000 Cubans in seven years'.³ Batista allowed American businesses to control the Cuban economy and reap enormous profits. He also encouraged the Mafia to establish casinos in the capital city, Havana.

While Batista had the support of a small group of wealthy businessmen and plantation owners, most Cuban people detested the corruption of his regime and by the mid-1950s resistance groups had emerged. One was led by a middle-class law student named Fidel Castro. On 26 July 1953, Castro and a group of his followers attacked an army barracks. The raid was unsuccessful and Castro was captured. After two years in prison, Castro was released and fled to Mexico. He founded a revolutionary group named after the date of the attack on the barracks—the 26th of July Movement—and started planning another attempt to overthrow the Batista regime.⁴ He returned to Cuba in 1956 with a small group of followers. Unable to defeat Batista's forces, however, Castro fled to the Sierra Maestra mountains in the south-east of the island.

➔ SOURCE 4.01

Fulgencio Batista visiting the United States, 1938.



BATISTA'S GOLDEN TELEPHONE

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

CREATIVE WRITING

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

ACTIVITY



SOURCE 4.02

Batista's gold-plated telephone.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ISLAND OF CUBA



SOURCE 4.03

MAP SHOWING CUBA'S PROXIMITY TO THE UNITED STATES

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Explain why events in Cuba would be carefully watched by the US government.
2. How would the development of nuclear weapons increase the importance of Cuba in America's strategic thinking?

CASTRO'S LEFT TURN

Castro's forces waited in the mountains and gathered support while Batista's regime grew more unpopular with the Cuban people. During this time Castro was helped by the Argentinian revolutionary Ernesto 'Che' Guevara. Batista launched a few half-hearted attacks on Castro's positions in May 1958 but they were unsuccessful. In fact, many of Batista's soldiers went over to Castro's side!⁵ By late 1958 Castro's forces were ready to advance on Havana. Support for Batista's regime collapsed and the dictator fled to Portugal. There was widespread support in Cuba for Castro when he took control of the country on 1 January 1959, and even some sectors of the US government approved of the new government in Cuba.⁶

Initially Castro's ideology was vague, as he had never made a clear statement on whether or not he supported Marxism. As American journalist Drew Pearson wondered at the time, 'Where does Castro stand regarding Russia?'⁷ Without doubt, Castro was a nationalist who deeply resented the United States' influence over his country. US interests owned about 80 per cent of Cuba's utilities (water, electricity and telephone services), 40 per cent of its sugar production and 90 per cent of its mining industry.⁸ Profits from these industries made US businesses very wealthy while the majority of the Cubans lived in poverty.

ERNESTO 'CHE' GUEVARA



Born in Argentina in 1928, Guevara studied medicine but became better known as a Latin American revolutionary who supported left-wing movements and uprisings all over South America. He helped Castro train his guerrilla army in the Sierra Maestra mountains and was Castro's Minister of Industry (1961–1965). Guevara left Cuba to foment revolution in Bolivia, but was captured and killed by the Bolivian Army in 1967. He is now an icon as a revolutionary and as someone who challenged the status quo. Guevara earned his nickname 'Che' when he and a friend rode motorcycles around South America. Argentinians were known by other Latin Americans to frequently use the word *che*, colloquially meaning 'friend' or 'mate', when they talk.

SOURCE 4.04

Ernesto 'Che' Guevara
(1928–1967).



📌 SOURCE 4.05

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

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two elements of the image that suggest Castro is a revolutionary leader.
2. By referring directly to the image and using your own knowledge, explain why there was widespread opposition to Batista's regime.
3. Evaluate how useful this image is in explaining why Castro's revolution was ultimately successful. Refer to other ideas and information in your response.

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

The breakdown in the US–Cuba relationship came in July 1960, when Castro demanded that Soviet oil be refined in Cuban-based, American-owned refineries. When Shell, Texaco and Esso refused, the Cuban government seized their facilities. Eisenhower retaliated by ‘suspending the sugar quota, some 80 per cent of Cuban exports to the United States’.⁹ The Soviet Union agreed to purchase the sugar and also, in the wake of a US trade embargo, supply all of Cuba's fuel needs. Castro had wrested Cuba's economy from the grasp of the United States but, as historian Donald Kagan notes, by turning to the Soviet Union ‘they had only traded one [form of] subordination for another.’¹⁰



📌 Dwight Eisenhower, US president 1953–1961.

MISSILES TO CUBA

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV: 'What about putting one of our hedgehogs down the Americans' trousers?'¹¹

Having a communist nation with close ties to the Soviet Union so close to home was an unpleasant experience for the United States. Ever since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, Americans had considered Central and South America, including the Caribbean, to be within their exclusive sphere of influence. In his address to Congress on 2 December 1823, president James Monroe maintained that America would 'consider any attempt on their [Europe's] part to extend their [political or economic] system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and security.'¹² In line with this, in 1960 Eisenhower emphatically stated that the United States would not 'permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international communism in the Western hemisphere.'¹³

DID YOU KNOW?

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



THE BAY OF PIGS
INVASION

➔ SOURCE 4.06

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



THE BAY OF PIGS

When President Kennedy was inaugurated in January 1961, he inherited a variety of schemes designed to depose Castro. Perhaps the most ambitious was a CIA plan to support an invasion of Cuba by 1400 anti-Castro Cuban exiles. Kennedy supported the idea but did not want any evidence of US involvement. On 17 April, an invasion was launched from Guatemala, which landed at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. Kennedy withdrew US air support at the last minute and refused to let the US Navy protect the invasion with gunfire. Castro's tanks and artillery pounded the exiles on the landing beach and easily defeated them. Of the invaders, some 114 were killed and over 1100 were taken prisoner. In December 1962, a prisoner exchange was arranged. Over 1100 prisoners were released and returned to the United States in exchange for basic necessities including food and medical supplies.¹⁴

If the invasion was a catastrophe for the exiles, it was a political disaster for Kennedy. He felt personally responsible for the failure of the landing and admitted US involvement at a media conference on 20 April. Kennedy stated that the invasion was not 'the final episode in the eternal struggle of liberty against tyranny,

anywhere on the face of the globe, including Cuba itself ...¹⁵ In spite of his resolve and promises of future action, Kennedy felt humiliated and reasoned that he had appeared weak and indecisive on the world stage. Eisenhower told Kennedy that 'the failure of the Bay of Pigs will embolden the Soviets to do something that they would not otherwise do.'¹⁶ Unfortunately for Kennedy, Eisenhower was right.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INQUIRY

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

1. What were the origins of the event?
2. Why did Kennedy appear weak and indecisive?
3. What were the consequences of the event for the leaders involved, and for relations between the USA and the USSR?

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

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

OPERATION MONGOOSE



↑ SOURCE 4.07

Castro laughing in the face of danger.



OPERATION
MONGOOSE

Objective: Assassinate Castro!

Before the Bay of Pigs invasion and Kennedy's presidency, the CIA hatched an array of schemes designed to either oust the Castro regime or assassinate Castro. In September 1960, the CIA met with members of the Mafia to organise a 'hit' on the Cuban leader.¹⁷ The Mafia despised Castro as he had shut down their lucrative night clubs and casinos in Havana. When this came to nothing, the CIA concocted other schemes. One involved coating a cigar in poison (as Castro was a prolific smoker), while another suggested placing exploding seashells in locations where Castro (a keen scuba diver) was known to swim.¹⁸ In January 1962, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy initiated Operation Mongoose. The goal of this CIA-run scheme was to clandestinely send US agents and anti-Castro Cubans to Cuba to engage in acts of sabotage against targets like docks, crops, shipping and oil refineries. President Kennedy hoped that Operation Mongoose would eventually lead to an uprising by the Cuban people that would topple the Castro regime. In spite of a lavish budget and large numbers of agents and equipment, Operation Mongoose had achieved very little by the start of the Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁹

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Which country controlled Cuba prior to 1898?
2. What was the central idea of the Monroe Doctrine?
3. What were the outcomes of the Bay of Pigs invasion?

DISCUSSION

1. With a partner, debate the following topic: 'America pushed Fidel Castro into the arms of the Soviet Union.' Share your ideas and opinions with the rest of the class.
2. Read the information contained in the textbox and weblink on the previous page, and then consider the following premise: 'For a liberal, democratic nation such as the United States, Operation Mongoose and the schemes to assassinate Castro were morally indefensible.' Share your opinion with the class.

DIAGRAM

Make a flow chart explaining the key events from the Spanish–American War to the Bay of Pigs invasion.

A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY

By 1962, Cold War tensions had reached their height. The USA and the USSR were competing in several fields to demonstrate their dominance to the rest of the world. In a way, each success seemed to vindicate the political and economic systems of each side and 'prove' that their way of life was intrinsically superior. Just prior to the Cuban Missile Crisis, it appeared that the Soviet Union was winning. They appeared to be in front of the USA in a number of important areas.

SOURCE 4.08

A TIMELINE OF KEY
COLD WAR EVENTS

DATE	EVENT
16 July 1945	The US detonates the world's first atomic bomb
August 1945	The US drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima (6 August) and Nagasaki (9 August)
29 August 1949	The USSR detonates their first atomic bomb
1 November 1952	The US detonates the first hydrogen bomb
12 August 1953	The USSR detonates its first hydrogen bomb
21 August 1957	The USSR tests the R-7, the world's first ICBM
4 October 1957	The USSR sends the world's first satellite into space, <i>Sputnik 1</i> . The delivery rocket is an R-7
3 November 1957	The USSR sends <i>Sputnik 2</i> into orbit; it carries the first animal launched into space, a dog named Laika
28 November 1958	The US tests its first successful ICBM, the Atlas missile
1 September 1959	The US deploys the first Atlas missile with a nuclear warhead
1 May 1960	An American U-2 spy plane is shot down over the USSR. The pilot, Gary Powers, is captured
20 July 1960	The US tests the first submarine-launched ICBM
10 September 1960	The USSR tests its own submarine-launched ICBM
12 April 1961	Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space
17–19 April 1961	The Bay of Pigs invasion
5 May 1961	First American, Alan Shepard, in space
June 1961	Kennedy and Khrushchev meet in Vienna; Kennedy felt he had been bullied by Khrushchev
13 August 1961	The USSR erects the Berlin Wall
30 October 1961	The USSR detonates the Tsar Bomba, the most powerful weapon ever devised

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Draw up and complete a table like the one below and put each event from Source 4.08 in the most appropriate column.

Space Race	Military	Political

Discuss your decisions with a partner, then share your thoughts with the rest of the class.

2. In your opinion, which side was 'winning' the Cold War by the end of 1961? Justify your response.
3. By referring to the key events in the timeline, explain how advances in military technology contributed to the growing tension between the US and the USSR.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this table in understanding the balance of power between the USA and USSR up to and including 1961. Refer to other events and opinions in your response.
5. How useful is the table in explaining the origins of the Cuban Missile Crisis?

By 1960, the United States believed that the Soviet Union was far ahead of them in a number of important fields—and Soviet leader Premier Khrushchev was keen to perpetuate this notion. In 1957, the CIA released the Gaither Report, which expressed deep concerns over a 'missile gap' with the Soviets possessing 100 ICBMs to America's thirty.²⁰ Khrushchev played up to American fears. In November 1959 he boasted that Russian factories 'were turning out missiles like sausages.'²¹ However, photographs taken during U-2 spy plane flights over Soviet territory revealed that while a missile gap did exist, it was greatly in favour of the United States.²² US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara announced this at a press conference in February 1961. In September, the CIA assessed the number of Soviet ICBMs as ten to twenty-five.²³ The Americans led the Soviet Union in terms of deliverable nuclear warheads by a factor of seventeen to one.²⁴ The following month, Kennedy ordered Deputy Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatric, to make a statement declaring America's nuclear superiority:

DEPUTY SECRETARY GILPATRIC ON THE ARMS RACE

The total number of our delivery vehicles [ICBMs, aircraft and submarines] ... is in the tens of thousands, and, of course, we have more than one warhead for each vehicle ... The destructive power which the United States could bring to bear even after a Soviet surprise attack upon our forces would be as great as, perhaps even greater than, the total undamaged force which the enemy can threaten to launch against the United States in a first strike.



DID YOU KNOW?

The Tsar Bomba had a yield of 50 megatons, making it roughly 1500 times more powerful than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki combined.

SOURCE 4.09

Cited in Donald Kagan, On the Origins of War (London: Pimlico Books, 1995), 491.

SOURCE 4.10

A U-2 spy plane. The U-2 flew at over 20 000 metres and could take incredibly detailed photographs.

Through this announcement, Kennedy was communicating to the world—and to the USSR specifically—that even if America were attacked first in a nuclear war, they possessed enough nuclear weapons to deliver a devastating counter-strike. This was an enormous blow to Khrushchev’s personal prestige as the leader of the socialist world. He knew that the Soviet Union did not have the resources to keep up with the United States in an arms race and it would take too long for the USSR to develop and deploy enough ICBMs to catch up. Khrushchev responded in the short term, in October 1961, by authorising the detonation of the Tsar Bomba (see Source 4.08). Despite its power, the Tsar Bomba was not a practical weapon—regardless of where it was dropped, the nuclear fallout would eventually reach the USSR. Khrushchev needed a more realistic means of establishing a balance of power with the United States. Castro’s revolution in Cuba provided Khrushchev with the perfect opportunity.

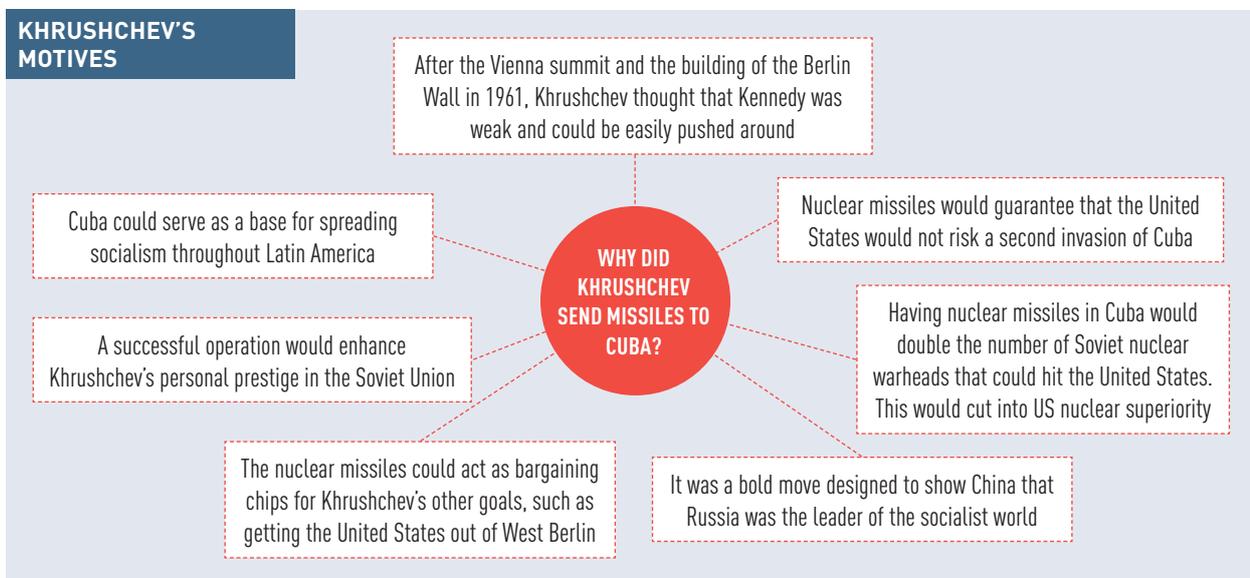


NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Fearing a repeat of the Bay of Pigs invasion with more direct involvement from the United States, in September 1961 Castro requested that Khrushchev send military equipment and soldiers to help defend Cuba. Khrushchev initially agreed to the request but soon decided to give Castro more than he had requested. On a state visit to Bulgaria in May 1962, Khrushchev looked across the Black Sea to Turkey where the United States had installed seventeen Jupiter missiles—each carrying a 1.4 megaton warhead—that were aimed at targets in the Soviet Union. The United States had established a precedent for using nuclear missiles to defend geographically vulnerable allies. ‘Now they would learn,’ Khrushchev wrote in his memoir, ‘just what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointed at you.’²⁵ On 30 May 1962, Castro gratefully accepted Khrushchev’s offer.²⁶ The stage was now set for the deadliest showdown of the Cold War.

KHRUSHCHEV’S MOTIVES

It wasn’t just the presence of US nuclear missiles in Turkey that convinced Khrushchev to consider placing Soviet missiles in Cuba. A number of Khrushchev’s concerns, desires and fears intersected in mid-1962, prompting him to embark upon a strategy that risked destabilising the extraordinarily delicate relationship between the USA and the USSR.



OPERATION ANADYR

Defending socialism in the New World

The Soviet nuclear missiles, along with other military equipment, were shipped to Cuba under the codename 'Operation Anadyr'. Overall, the Soviet Union sent:

- four motorised regiments, with 2500 men each
- two tank battalions equipped with new T-55 tanks
- a MiG-21 fighter squadron
- forty-two Il-28 bombers (each of which could carry six nuclear bombs with eight to twelve kiloton warheads)
- anti-aircraft guns
- 144 SA-2 anti-aircraft missile launchers
- Twelve short-range 'Luna' missiles (each with a range of forty-five kilometres and a two-kiloton warhead)
- Eighty R-11m (FKR) cruise missiles (each with a twelve-kiloton warhead)
- Twenty-four R-12 missiles (a medium-range ballistic missile, or MRBM, with a range of 1600 kilometres)
- Twenty-four R-14 missiles (an intermediate-range ballistic missile, or IRBM, with a range of 3200 kilometres).

The Il-28 bomber, called 'Beagle' by NATO, flew at over 900 km/h and had a range of over 2000 km. Thus it could easily attack US military bases in Florida.

Each R-12 and R-14 missile carried a one-megaton warhead, equivalent to one million tons of TNT. The bomb that destroyed Nagasaki had a yield of twenty kilotons (equivalent to twenty thousand tons of TNT). The Luna rockets (codenamed 'Frogs' by the US military) would be used against a US invasion force on the beaches. This equipment represented a serious commitment to defend Cuba from any future US invasion.²⁷

DID YOU KNOW?

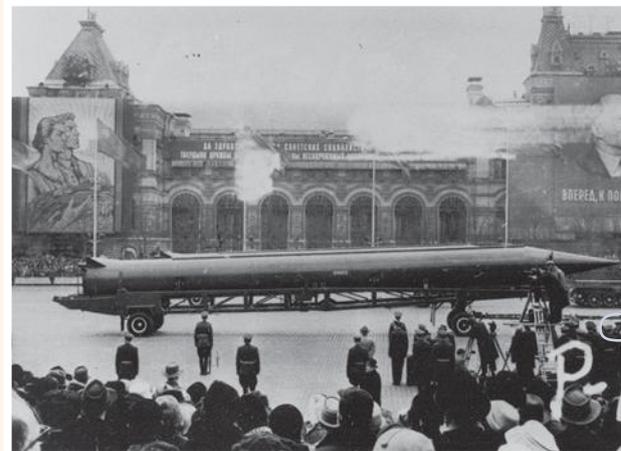
Anadyr is the name of a river in far eastern Siberia. A Russian bomber base was located nearby. The Soviets used this codename in an attempt to mislead any Western spies about the ultimate destination of the missiles.



OPERATION ANADYR

SOURCE 4.11

An R-12 missile on display in Moscow in the early 1960s.



DISCUSSION

Carefully review Khrushchev's motives for placing missiles in Cuba and answer the following questions:

1. With a partner, rank Khrushchev's motives from 1 to 7, from most likely (1) to least likely (7). Discuss your reasoning for each decision.
2. Share your thoughts with the rest of the class and compare your responses with other groups.

ACTIVITY



DECEPTION AND DISCOVERY

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV: 'This may end in a big war.'²⁸

Khrushchev was well aware that placing missiles in Cuba was a provocative act. He hoped—with misplaced optimism—that the United States would not notice the Soviet military build-up in Cuba. Once the missiles were in place and fully operational, Khrushchev's plan was to announce their existence during a speech at the United Nations. Kennedy would find it extremely difficult to dislodge the missiles once they were in place—he would just have to learn to live with them, as Khrushchev was forced to live with US missiles in Turkey.

Unfortunately, from Khrushchev's perspective, the United States was keeping a close eye on Cuba. US intelligence sources detected the arrival of the MiGs, the Il-28s and SA-2s in August 1962. The CIA suspected that the Soviets were also sending nuclear missiles to Cuba and urged Kennedy to act. President Kennedy ordered U-2 flights over Cuba to get more information. Deeply concerned by the Soviet military build-up on an island only 140 kilometres off the coast of Florida, Kennedy sent a clear warning to the Soviet Union in a speech at a press conference on 13 September:

↑ SOURCE 4.12

Khrushchev and Castro meet for the first time, 1960.

➔ SOURCE 4.13

'The President's News Conference of September 13, 1962,' JFK Link, http://www.jfklink.com/speeches/jfk/publicpapers/1962/jfk378_62.html

DID YOU KNOW?

One Soviet freighter, the *Indigirka*, was tasked with carrying the warheads for the nuclear missiles to be based on Cuba. It has been estimated that the total TNT equivalent on board that one ship was twenty times greater than all the bombs dropped by Allied aircraft on Germany during World War II.

KENNEDY'S SPEECH OF 13 SEPTEMBER 1962

Ever since communism moved into Cuba ... Soviet technical and military personnel have moved steadily onto the island in increasing numbers at the invitation of the Cuban Government. Now that movement has been increased. It is under our most careful surveillance. But I will repeat the conclusion that I reported last week: that these new shipments do not constitute a serious threat to any other part of this hemisphere ... But let me make this clear once again: If at any time the Communist buildup were to endanger or interfere with our security in any way ... or the lives of American citizens in this country, or if Cuba should ... become an offensive military base of significant capacity for the Soviet Union, then this country will do whatever must be done to protect its own security and that of its allies.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What do you think Kennedy means by the phrase 'an offensive military base of significant capacity'?
2. What might Kennedy mean when he states 'this country will do whatever must be done'?
3. By referring to the document, and using your own knowledge, explain why Khrushchev decided to send nuclear missiles to Cuba.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this source in accounting for the extent of military support sent to Cuba by the Soviet Union. Refer to other views in your response.

THE MISSILES DISCOVERED

On 14 October a U-2 aircraft flew over the western end of Cuba and took a series of photographs. Developed and analysed by the CIA the next day, the photos revealed the presence of two Soviet nuclear missiles. On the morning of Tuesday 16 October, the presidential adviser on national security matters, McGeorge Bundy, informed President Kennedy. President Kennedy immediately alerted his brother, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, at 9.30 am. This meeting was kept brief, so that the public would not be alerted to a problem, but an 'off the record' meeting was held later that evening. Kennedy had an advantage, as Khrushchev didn't know that the Americans knew about the missiles in Cuba. The question for Kennedy was what to do about them.



PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE



KENNEDY'S 'OFF THE RECORD' MEETING

THIRTEEN DAYS

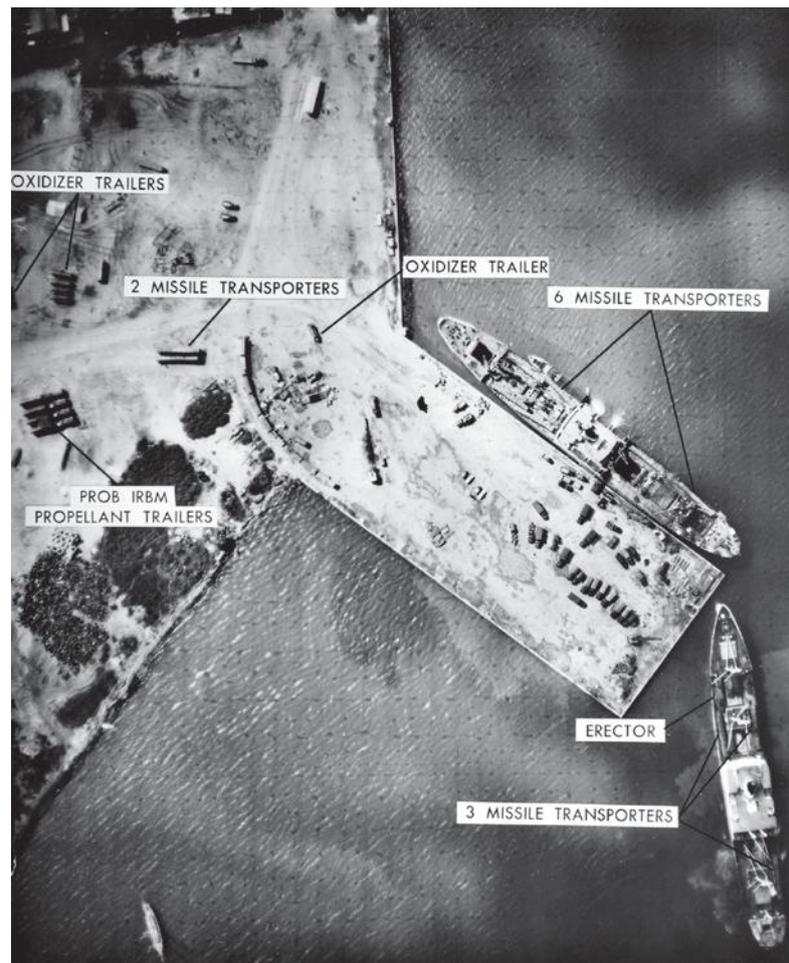
DEAN RUSK, SECRETARY OF STATE: 'We are eyeball to eyeball and the other fellow just blinked.'²⁹

One of Kennedy's options was to do nothing about the missiles. As Secretary of Defense McNamara noted, the missiles did not meaningfully reduce America's lead in the nuclear missile race. However, they did double or even triple the number of Soviet warheads that could hit targets in the United States. In addition, it was estimated that approximately 80 million people would be killed within six minutes of the rockets being launched. Several US strategic bomber and ICBM bases were also within range of the missiles in Cuba. The Soviet Union could now initiate a devastating first strike against the United States (see Source 4.15). While the United States possessed enough nuclear weapons to obliterate the Soviet Union in a counterstrike, the prospect of living under the threat of nuclear destruction was not one that Kennedy could consider. In the wake of the Bay of Pigs fiasco, the meeting with Khrushchev in Vienna (which Kennedy admitted was the 'roughest thing in my life.'³⁰) and the building of the Berlin Wall, Kennedy felt the need to appear tough in front of the Soviets. As Attorney-General Robert Kennedy noted, 'The US could not accept what the Russians had done.'³¹ There were also mid-term Congressional elections coming up in November, and Kennedy knew that backing down in front of the Soviets would be disastrous for the Democratic Party and for his own chances of re-election in 1964.

Almost immediately President Kennedy set up a special group called ExComm (short for 'Executive Committee of the National Security Council'). The composition of the group changed over the

▼ SOURCE 4.14

One of the U-2 aerial reconnaissance photos shown to President Kennedy by the CIA on 16 October 1962.



DID YOU KNOW?

On 15 October 1962, the CIA told McGeorge Bundy about their discovery of Soviet missiles. Bundy opted not to tell President Kennedy until the next day, reasoning that Kennedy should be given one more good night's sleep. It was the last sleep anybody in the White House would have for two weeks.

thirteen days of the crisis, but its key members included Robert Kennedy, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, director of the CIA John McCone, McGeorge Bundy, presidential counsel Ted Sorensen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Maxwell Taylor, and vice president Lyndon Johnson. The members of ExComm represented very different personalities and ideas on how to deal with the Soviet Union. President Kennedy rarely sat in ExComm's meetings, as it was felt that his presence might make its participants reluctant to speak their minds. This was a well-considered move by JFK, as ExComm needed to come up with a plan that would resolve the looming showdown with the USSR without destroying the world. The Cuban Missile Crisis had begun.

THE PRESIDENT'S CHOICES

By mid-afternoon on 16 October, ExComm presented Kennedy with a number of options, ranging from aggressive to diplomatic. In the end it would be up to the president to decide on the course of action that he hoped would get the missiles removed without resorting to a nuclear war.

KENNEDY'S OPTIONS



Do nothing. McNamara argued that the missiles in Cuba did not significantly reduce America's lead in the missile race



A blockade, or quarantine, of Cuba to prevent more missiles from arriving



A limited air strike targeting only the nuclear missiles and their launch sites



A larger air strike targeting the missiles, sites of anti-aircraft weapons and other military targets



Full air strikes, followed by an invasion of Cuba designed to get rid of Castro and his regime



Work through the United Nations to arrive at a negotiated solution to the crisis



Trade the missiles in Cuba for the US missiles in Turkey

DID YOU KNOW?

Throughout the Cold War, those in the US government who called for an aggressive attitude when dealing with the Soviet Union were called 'hawks', while those who advocated diplomacy and discussion to avoid crises were called 'doves'.

ACTIVITY

CLASS DISCUSSION

Look over the information presented on Kennedy's options during the crisis. With a partner, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of each option. Write down your ideas in a table like that below and share them with the rest of the class.

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages
Nothing		
Blockade Cuba with US warships to prevent more missiles arriving		
Limited air strike		
Full air strike		
Full air strike with invasion		
Negotiate through the UN		
Trade 'missiles for missiles'		



SOURCE 4.15

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two cities in the United States that the Soviet missiles in Cuba could reach.
2. Identify two other important targets, not in the USA, that the Soviet missiles could reach.
3. By referring to the map, and using your own knowledge, explain why President Kennedy felt that he had to force the Soviets to withdraw their missiles from Cuba.
4. Evaluate the extent to which this map helps you understand why Khrushchev decided to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. Refer to other ideas and information in your response.

THE RANGE OF THE SOVIET NUCLEAR MISSILES ON CUBA

The two types of missiles stationed on Cuba ensured that almost every part of the continental United States could come under nuclear attack.

THE THIRTEEN DAYS

The key events of the critical days in October

<p>DAY 1 TUESDAY 16 OCTOBER</p>	<p>Early morning: President Kennedy is informed that the Soviet Union is constructing nuclear missile bases on the island of Cuba.</p> <p>11.45 am: ExComm meets for the first time to discuss how the US government should respond. Kennedy concludes the meeting by stating that 'we're going to take out these missiles.'³²</p> <p>6.30 pm: ExComm meets again. No decision is reached on how to respond, but a rapid air strike is the most favoured option at this stage; Robert McNamara presents the idea of a blockade.</p>	
<p>DAY 2 WEDNESDAY 17 OCTOBER</p>	<p>ExComm meets throughout the day to consider the best response; the air strike option still has the most support.</p>	<p>SOURCE 4.16</p> <p>Examining a reconnaissance photo at a US State Department discussion about Cuba.</p>
<p>DAY 3 THURSDAY 18 OCTOBER</p>	<p>New U-2 reconnaissance photographs now show that there are at least thirty-two nuclear missiles on Cuba (including IRBMs with a range of over 3200 kilometres) that are capable of striking most cities in the United States (see Source 4.15).</p> <p>5.00 pm: Kennedy meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Kennedy does not mention that he is aware of the missiles. Gromyko reiterates the Soviet government's statement that no missiles are, or will be, installed on Cuba.</p> <p>9.15 pm: ExComm gives its recommendations to President Kennedy. Dissatisfied with the lack of consensus within the group, Kennedy tells them to reconvene and present a response they all agree with.</p>	
<p>DAY 4 FRIDAY 19 OCTOBER</p>	<p>Morning: Kennedy meets with top military officers and they exert considerable pressure on him to launch air strikes in preparation for an invasion of Cuba to destroy the missiles and oust Castro.</p> <p>Late morning: Kennedy leaves Washington for a scheduled congressional election campaign trip to Chicago.</p> <p>ExComm meets throughout the day and into the evening. Robert Kennedy pushes hard for the blockade option but the group remains divided.</p>	
<p>DAY 5 SATURDAY 20 OCTOBER</p>	<p>US armed forces around the world are put on high alert.</p> <p>ExComm meetings continue throughout the morning.</p> <p>Kennedy cuts short his trip to Chicago and returns to Washington.</p> <p>The CIA informs Kennedy that the missiles are probably now operational and can be launched at a few minutes' notice; this makes an air strike extremely risky.</p> <p>2.30 pm: After a meeting in the Oval Office, Kennedy decides in favour of a blockade of Cuba to prevent more missiles arriving; the word 'quarantine' is used to reduce the military connotations of the action.</p>	

DID YOU KNOW?

On 20 October President Kennedy falsely informed the press that he had a cold, so that his return to Washington on Saturday would not seem too suspicious. However, many journalists were not fooled, and suspected that something big was brewing in Washington DC.

DAY 6 SUNDAY 21 OCTOBER	The Soviet government receives reports of the US military build-up in Florida and the Caribbean; Russian military forces in Cuba are put on a state of high alert.
DAY 7 MONDAY 22 OCTOBER	6.00 pm: Kennedy meets the leaders of Congress to inform them of the crisis and his decision to initiate a quarantine of Cuba; Congress demands a tougher military response. 7.00 pm: Kennedy announces to the American people the presence of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, and his intention to quarantine the island, via a live, televised speech; Khrushchev receives a copy of the speech soon afterwards (see Source 4.18).
DAY 8 TUESDAY 23 OCTOBER	Kennedy authorises low-level reconnaissance flights over the missile sites in Cuba; the chance that one or more flights might be shot down (thus sparking a war) is high. 3.00 pm: The Organisation of American States (OAS) votes unanimously to condemn the placement of missiles in Cuba and approves of the quarantine. 7.00 pm: Kennedy signs the proclamation for the quarantine to come into effect. 9.30 pm: Robert Kennedy meets with Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, to express the US government's anger over the placement of the missiles in Cuba.
DAY 9 WEDNESDAY 24 OCTOBER	Reconnaissance photographs reveal that the missiles will be operational within a few days. 10.00 am: The US quarantine of Cuba comes into effect; two Russian ships, the <i>Gagarin</i> and the <i>Komiles</i> , are very close to the quarantine line. 10.30–11.00 am: ExComm learns that twenty Russian ships have either stopped short of the quarantine line or are turning around; Dean Rusk makes his 'eyeball to eyeball' remark. ³³ 10.00 pm: Strategic Air Command (SAC) is placed at DEFCON 2; US bombers are ready to launch a full nuclear attack on the Soviet Union.
DAY 10 THURSDAY 25 OCTOBER	Reconnaissance photographs reveal that the Il-28s are being rapidly assembled in Cuba. US Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson confronts Soviet Ambassador Valerian Zorin over the presence of missiles in Cuba during a televised session of the General Assembly.



SOURCE 4.17

Photographers and film cameramen swarm around President Kennedy at his desk in the Oval Office upon signing the Cuba Quarantine Order, 23 October 1962.

DAY 11

FRIDAY
26 OCTOBER

8.00 am: The first ship, the *Marucla*, is stopped by US navy vessels and boarded; the ship is carrying no weapons and is allowed to continue its journey.

10.00 am: ExComm discusses a possible military response if the quarantine fails; air strikes and invasion are offered as likely options.

9.00 pm: The White House receives a letter composed personally by Khrushchev that opens up the possibility of withdrawing the missiles in return for an American promise not to invade Cuba (see Source 4.19).

DAY 12

SATURDAY
27 OCTOBER

10.00 am: Kennedy receives Khrushchev's second, much sterner letter, which demands that the United States also remove the Jupiter missiles stationed in Turkey in return for a withdrawal of the Russian missiles in Cuba (see Source 4.20).

4.00 pm: ExComm meets to discuss their response to Khrushchev's second letter; they learn during the meeting that a U-2 has been shot down over Cuba and that the pilot, Major Rudolf Anderson, has been killed. The question now is whether the United States should retaliate by bombing anti-aircraft sites in Cuba; Kennedy delays his decision until the following morning.

Late afternoon: ExComm ignores the demand to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey and responds to Khrushchev's first letter, agreeing not to invade Cuba in return for the withdrawal of the Soviet missiles.

7.45 pm: Robert Kennedy meets Dobrynin and reiterates the US government's acceptance of the terms of Khrushchev's first letter; he also indicates that the missiles in Turkey would be removed in four to five months, but that this must be kept absolutely secret; Robert Kennedy hints at the possibility of military action to take out the missiles if Khrushchev does not respond quickly.

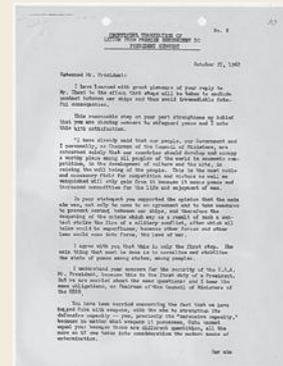
DAY 13

SUNDAY
28 OCTOBER

Preparations for a US invasion of Cuba continue; ExComm expects that it will take place on either Monday or Tuesday if Khrushchev does not agree to withdraw the missiles.

10.00 am: The US government receives a message from Khrushchev indicating that he accepts the US government's terms; the missiles will be removed from Cuba in return for a public US guarantee not to invade and the eventual, albeit secret, withdrawal of the Jupiter missiles from Turkey.

A potential third world war has been averted by less than twenty-four hours.



↑ Khrushchev's second letter.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Jupiter missiles in Turkey were obsolete by October 1962 and had already been scheduled for removal. They would be replaced by US submarines armed with nuclear missiles, which would patrol the eastern Mediterranean Ocean. However, the United States demanded that the removal of the Jupiters be kept secret to avoid giving the impression that they traded missiles under duress. The Jupiter missiles were finally removed in March 1963.



THIRTEEN DAYS IN OCTOBER



THIRTEEN DAYS: FILM TASK



LEVELS OF TENSION: GRAPHING EXERCISE

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

With a partner, script and present a conversation between two ordinary Americans at the height of the crisis, one supporting an invasion of Cuba and the other opposed. Make reference to some of the key events of the crisis (such as Kennedy's Address to the Nation or the shooting down of the U-2 spy plane).

CLOSER THAN ANYONE KNEW

There were many more nuclear-tipped weapons in Cuba and the Caribbean than the US government realised. While ExComm was aware of the ballistic missiles and Il-28 bombers, they knew nothing of the R-11m cruise missiles and the Lunas. More importantly, they had no idea that the Soviet commander in charge of all the Russian forces in Cuba, General Pliyev, had been given permission to use these relatively 'small' nuclear devices in the event of a US invasion. One of the cruise missiles could take out a US aircraft carrier and its support vessels. The Lunas were so powerful that, hypothetically, only ten of them would have been needed to completely destroy all the Allied forces landing on the Normandy beaches on D-Day, 6 June 1944.³⁴ In addition, the four Soviet Foxtrot submarines guarding the freighter ships en route to Cuba each carried one nuclear-tipped torpedo. Like the cruise missiles, each torpedo was capable of destroying an aircraft carrier.³⁵ If



↑ An Il-28 bomber on display at an aviation museum.

the US had invaded Cuba, it is highly likely these tactical nuclear weapons would have been fired. Kennedy would have felt compelled to respond with a full nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. The MRBMs and IRBMs on Cuba would have been fired at their targets in the US, along with the ICBMs based in Russia. Tens of millions of people would have died within a few hours. This was the essence of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD).



THE MAN WHO SAVED
THE WORLD

As the Crisis intensified and a nuclear war, starting with a US invasion of Cuba, seemed increasingly likely, Khrushchev began to wonder if he had pushed Kennedy too far. The quarantine around Cuba, Kennedy's address to the nation on 22 October (see Source 4.18) and reports of a huge US troop deployment to Florida suggested to Khrushchev that the United States was prepared to spark a third world war.³⁶ He now sought to resolve the matter diplomatically. Khrushchev sent two letters to President Kennedy, one on 26 October (see Source 4.19) and another the next day (see Source 4.20). In the first letter, Khrushchev promised to withdraw the Russian missiles from Cuba in return for a US guarantee that they would not attempt to invade Cuba again. However, the second letter was more demanding. Khrushchev insisted that the United States must also withdraw its nuclear missiles from Turkey. The reasoning behind Khrushchev's harsher stance in the second letter can only be guessed at. It may have been the result of an article by journalist Walter Lippmann, which suggested that a missile trade-off was one way of ending the Crisis. Khrushchev was known to think that Lippmann's views reflected the views of the White House. That Kennedy failed to publicly reject Lippmann's proposal might have suggested to Khrushchev that the US government was prepared to trade. In addition, Robert Kennedy met with the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, on the night of 26 October and suggested that the United States was prepared to trade missiles in Turkey for those in Cuba.³⁷ Khrushchev had raised the stakes of the game considerably and the Kennedys were now in an extremely awkward position. If the US offer—along with Khrushchev's demand—to remove the missiles from Turkey was made public, it would seem as though the United States had relented under pressure while the Soviets had scored a great diplomatic triumph.

DID YOU KNOW?

CIA reconnaissance photo analysts became expert at deciphering the type of Soviet military equipment being shipped by studying the dimensions of the crates the equipment was in. This technique was dubbed 'cratology.'

KEY DOCUMENTS FROM THE CRISIS

➔ SOURCE 4.18

Cited in Robert F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 149–53.



KENNEDY'S ADDRESS
TO THE NATION

ACTIVITY

SPEECH WRITING

Imagine you are a secondary school principal at the time of this crisis. You are aware of student fear about the Crisis and decide to address the matter in your weekly assembly address. Prepare a 300–500 word speech in which you attempt to tell the truth without raising student anxiety.

➔ SOURCE 4.19

'Letter from Chairman Khrushchev to President Kennedy,' JFK Library, <http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/cm/oct26/doc4.html>



FULL TEXT OF THE
FIRST LETTER

EXTRACT FROM KENNEDY'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION, MONDAY 22 OCTOBER 1962

Good evening, my fellow citizens. This government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military build-up on the island of Cuba. Within the past week unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purposes of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capacity against the Western hemisphere ... Our unwavering objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western hemisphere ... To halt this offensive build-up, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated ... It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. According to President Kennedy, what is the purpose of the Soviet missile bases in Cuba?
2. What will be the US government's response?
3. What do you think Kennedy means when he refers to 'a full retaliatory response'?

EXTRACT FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S FIRST LETTER TO KENNEDY, FRIDAY 26 OCTOBER 1962

If people do not show wisdom, then in the final analysis they will come to a clash, like blind moles, and then reciprocal extermination will begin. Let us therefore show statesmanlike wisdom. I propose: We, for our part, will declare that our ships, bound for Cuba, will not carry any kind of armaments. You would declare that the United States will not invade Cuba with its forces ... Then the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear ... [W]e and you ought not now pull on the ends of the rope in which you have tied the knots of war, because the more the two of us pull, the tighter the knot will be tied.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Outline the details of Khrushchev's proposal to Kennedy.
2. What might Khrushchev be referring to when he notes that 'the necessity for the presence of our military specialists in Cuba would disappear'?
3. What do you think Khrushchev means by the phrase 'the knots of war'?
4. Who does Khrushchev blame for precipitating the crisis? How does he come to this conclusion? Is this a reasonable evaluation of the causes of the Crisis? Explain your answer.

EXTRACT FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S SECOND LETTER TO KENNEDY, SATURDAY 27 OCTOBER 1962

We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet state, will evacuate its analogous [equivalent] weapons from Turkey... the United States will [also] respect the integrity of the frontiers of Cuba, its sovereignty, [and] undertake not to invade...

SOURCE 4.20

Cited in Robert F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) 159–60.



FULL TEXT OF THE SECOND LETTER

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Compare the tone used in this letter with that of the first letter. Is it different? If so, how? What would account for any difference?
2. What demands does the Soviet government make in the second letter?
3. Using your own knowledge, explain why it would be so difficult for the United States to meet the new demands.

On Saturday 27 October, a U-2 spy plane on a photographic reconnaissance mission over Cuba was shot down by Soviet anti-aircraft missiles. Some members of ExComm demanded that President Kennedy respond by bombing all anti-aircraft sites on the island on Monday morning, along with other military targets such as the nuclear missiles. As the Crisis escalated, Kennedy found it harder to withstand ExComm's demands for decisive military action. Not wanting to spark World War III, that night Kennedy called a small group of his advisers into the Oval Office to discuss their options. They decided that Robert Kennedy would meet with Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin and respond to Khrushchev's first letter: a promise not to invade if the Russian missiles were removed. In addition to this, Robert Kennedy indicated that the United States would withdraw their missiles from Turkey after the Crisis was over—but that this had to remain strictly confidential. Dobrynin passed this message onto Khrushchev, and the Soviet leader accepted the US offer the following morning.³⁸ A possible nuclear war had possibly been averted by less than twenty-four hours.

President Kennedy's offer to remove the missiles from Turkey was kept from the public for over twenty-five years. Robert Kennedy did not mention it in his own account of the Crisis. Even though the Jupiter missiles in Turkey were obsolete and scheduled for removal anyway, the Kennedys could not risk giving the impression that they had been removed under pressure from the Soviets. In his memoir, Khrushchev claimed that he had won a great victory as the Soviet Union had 'forced the United States to demobilize and to recognize Cuba.'³⁹ However, he had been forced to remove his missiles from Cuba and tacitly accept that his gamble had not paid off. While President Kennedy had been compelled to promise that Cuba would not be invaded again, he was seen as a tough yet calm leader who could defend the 'free world' from communist aggression.

DID YOU KNOW?

The hotline was not a phone line, as is often suggested in popular culture. Initially the link was between two teletype machines, and from 1986 a fax machine was used. As of 2008, a secure email connection is used when the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States need to communicate quickly.

DÉTENTE, DISMISSAL AND DEATH

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: 'We are all mortal.'

During the Cuban Missile Crisis, humanity came closer than any other point in history to destroying itself. It forced the leaders of the US and the USSR to abandon their game of brinkmanship. They realised the importance of communicating clearly and establishing a shared agreement on peaceful coexistence. The years after the Crisis saw a significant relaxation in the tension between the two superpowers. The French word *détente* is used to describe this period that lasted, largely uninterrupted, until the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

President Kennedy summed up the new spirit of *détente* in a speech he delivered during the Commencement Ceremony at the American University on 10 July 1963. Kennedy, and his speechwriters, had a gift for producing memorable lines, which is evident in this extract.

➔ SOURCE 4.21

'Commencement Week at American University, 10 June 1963,' JFK Library, <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/BWC714C9QUmLG9J618oy8w.aspx>



KENNEDY'S
'AMERICAN
UNIVERSITY' SPEECH

KENNEDY'S 'AMERICAN UNIVERSITY' SPEECH

What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children ... Let us not be blind to our differences—but let us also direct attention to our common interests and the means by which those differences can be resolved ... For, in the final analysis, our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this same small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.

➔ SOURCE 4.22

'Over the garden wall'
by Norman Mansbridge,
from *Punch* magazine,
17 October 1963.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the two individuals depicted in this cartoon.
2. Explain the meaning of the phrase 'Hints on pruning.'
3. By referring directly to the cartoon, and using your own knowledge, explain the role played by Attorney-General Robert Kennedy in defusing the stand-off over the Cuban missiles.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this cartoon in helping us understand the causes of the tension between the US and USSR in 1962. Refer to other views and ideas in your response.



OVER THE GARDEN WALL

OUTCOMES OF THE CRISIS

A general period of détente between the two superpowers

A hotline was established between the Pentagon and the Kremlin

A nuclear test-ban treaty was signed, which prohibited testing nuclear weapons above the ground or under water

Khrushchev withdrew nuclear missiles from Cuba

Khrushchev discouraged Castro from exporting socialism to other Latin American countries

Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba

In a secret deal, Kennedy agreed that the Jupiter missiles would be withdrawn from Turkey

THE FATE OF LEADERS**KENNEDY**

After the events of October, Kennedy turned his mind to other pressing issues such as civil rights, the looming crisis in Vietnam and his own presidential re-election campaign. Kennedy's full potential as a world leader, however, would never be realised. On 22 November 1963 Kennedy was in Dallas, Texas, on a political trip to shore up support in the southern states (where his civil rights bill was deeply unpopular) for his re-election campaign in 1964. He was killed by an assassin while riding in a limousine in the presidential motorcade. There has been a great deal of controversy about who killed Kennedy, and how many assassins were involved, ever since.

DID YOU KNOW?

Robert Kennedy was also killed by an assassin. On 6 June 1968, while campaigning for his own bid to become president, Kennedy was shot and killed as he left a hotel in Los Angeles.

KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev remained leader of the Soviet Union until he was ousted by the Presidium (the ruling council of the Soviet Communist Party) in October 1964. His political opponents criticised the state of the economy, agriculture and education under Khrushchev's rule. They also accused him of increasingly directing policy without input from the Presidium. The inherent riskiness of Operation Anadyr—and his decision to back down in the face of US firmness during the Cuban Missile Crisis—also fatally wounded Khrushchev's political and personal reputation.⁴⁰ Khrushchev offered his resignation and pointed out just how much the USSR had changed under his leadership: 'Could anyone have dreamed of telling Stalin that he didn't suit us anymore and suggesting he retire?' Khrushchev asked a colleague, 'Not even a wet spot would have remained where we had been standing.'⁴¹ Khrushchev lived in quiet retirement until his death from a heart attack in 1971.

CASTRO

Castro had not been part of the negotiations to remove the missiles and he felt deeply betrayed by Khrushchev's decision. The Cuban leader also thought that they had missed the perfect opportunity to force the United States out of their military base at Guantánamo Bay. For Castro, the nuclear missiles had been placed in Cuba to defend it from another US invasion. Without a nuclear deterrent, Castro believed that his country was vulnerable. No attack materialised but the US trade embargo of Cuba continued. Castro remained president of Cuba until poor health forced him to step down in 2008. He was succeeded by his brother Raúl.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY:
GUANTÁNAMO BAY



CONCLUSION

All national revolutions have repercussions beyond their own borders. Only one, however, almost resulted in the end of human civilisation. Castro's revolution in Cuba, his subsequent adoption of socialism and his appeals to the Soviet Union for economic and military assistance took place within the broader context of the Cold War. The United States was unwilling to accept that a foreign power had such influence over a nation in what America considered to be its own backyard. Socialism now had a bridgehead in Latin America, and the United States feared that Cuba would be used as a base to foment revolution in other nations in the Western hemisphere. Even worse, Cuba could be used as a base for the installation

of Soviet nuclear weapons that could directly threaten the security of the United States.

This is exactly what a U-2 spy plane discovered on 14 October 1962. Two days later President Kennedy was informed—and the Cuban Missile Crisis began. For thirteen days the world held its breath as the leaders of the two superpowers tested the limits of their courage. Courage during the crisis took two forms: the courage to stand firm and the courage to concede. Fortunately, the US and the USSR put reason and compassion before fear and aggression. They came to an agreement at the last minute that prevented the outbreak of a third world war and ushered in a period of détente between the two superpowers.

CHAPTER REVIEW

The year is 1963 and you are a journalist in either the US or the USSR. Your editor has tasked you with writing a feature-length article on the causes and consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Write from the perspective of a journalist from your chosen nation in a report of about 500 words.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three to four points:

1. Explain why President Kennedy reacted so swiftly and forcefully to remove the Soviet missiles from Cuba.
2. Critically analyse how Kennedy and the members of ExComm dealt with the problem of Soviet missiles in Cuba.
3. Explain how the outcomes of the Cuban Missile Crisis contributed to the general climate of détente that existed between the US and USSR during the 1960s and 70s.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the following topics, using evidence.

- Historian Donald Kagan argues that Kennedy's inability to demonstrate America's strength during the early 1960s encouraged Khrushchev to place nuclear missiles in Cuba. To what extent do you agree with this argument? Use evidence to support your answer.
- Historian John Lewis Gaddis argues that the reason behind Khrushchev's decision to place nuclear missiles in Cuba was to extend socialism throughout Latin America. To what extent do you agree with this argument? Use evidence to support your answer.
- 'Kennedy only made the risky decision to force the Russian missiles out of Cuba in an effort to protect his own political reputation in the United States.' Do you think this is a fair assessment of Kennedy's actions during the Crisis? Use evidence to support your answer.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 4

FURTHER READING

Fog of War. Directed by Errol Morris (New York: Sony Pictures Classics, 2003).

This brilliant documentary focuses on the life of Robert McNamara, a man who, as US Secretary of Defense, was at the heart the Cold War for seven years. His comments and revelations carry the weight of someone who was a key participant in the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Thirteen Days. Directed by Roger Donaldson (Los Angeles: New Line Cinema, 2000).

This gripping film tells the story of the Cuban Missile Crisis from the perspective of the White House. While it goes to great lengths to get the 'look and feel' of the early 1960s right, it does sacrifice some historical accuracy for the purposes of drama and entertainment.

Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *One Hell of a Gamble: The Secret History of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 1997).

These two authors had access to never-before-seen Soviet and Cuban documents. This makes their book one of the most original and insightful on the topic, particularly when covering events in Moscow and Havana.

Donald Kagan, *On the Origins of War* (London, 1995).

One long chapter in this fascinating book is dedicated to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Kagan argues that wars break out when powerful nations are unwilling to stand up to aggression and provocation.

Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 1999).

A must-read for anyone learning about the Crisis. While we now know more about these events than Robert Kennedy presents in his book, this is an invaluable resource written by one of the key participants. Analytical essays and key documents are also included.

Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 2002).

We know so much about what happened during the Crisis because President Kennedy ordered the installation of recording devices in the White House early in his presidency. The transcripts of many discussions and meetings have been edited and presented in this highly useful resource.

THE KOREAN WAR

General Douglas MacArthur (1948): 'In my generation, this was not the first occasion when the strong had attacked the weak ... Communism was acting in Korea just as Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had acted ten, fifteen, and twenty years earlier. I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores.'



KEY POINTS

- North Korean invasion of South Korea prompts the UN to request a coalition force led by the United States
- China became involved and demonstrated its power and influence in international politics
- First significant test of UN resolve as an international organisation
- After three years of war, the border remained unchanged and there was little impact on the politics of the region

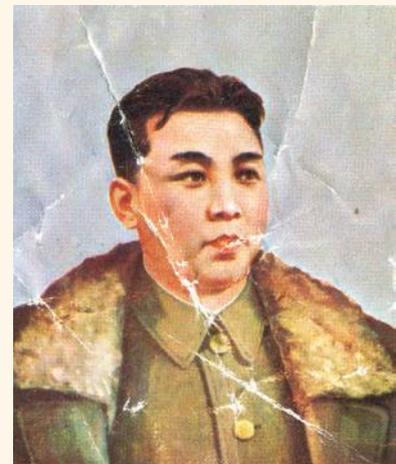
◀ Invasion of Inchon during the Korean War, 15 September 1950.

KEY PLAYER

Kim Il-Sung (born Kim Song-ju)

Communist leader of North Korea from 1948 until his death in 1994. Educated in Manchuria when his parents fled Japanese-occupied Korea, Kim later fought with the Korean resistance against the Japanese. He then served as a major with the Soviet military forces during World War II. In 1945 Kim returned to Korea as an adherent of Stalin to establish a communist provisional government. He became leader of the Workers' Party of Korea (which had been founded in 1946) and remained in this position until his death. Kim was responsible for persuading

Stalin to support the invasion of South Korea. Kim established an authoritarian dictatorship which had elements of a personality cult. He introduced *juche* (self-reliance) during the 1960s to ensure that North Korea would be more than simply a satellite state of the USSR. In December 1972, a new constitution resulted in Kim holding the position of president, as opposed to prime minister. He became increasingly reliant on his son, Kim Jong Il, whom he groomed to become his successor.



↑ Kim Il-Sung, c. 1974.

INTRODUCTION

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

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

STAGES OF THE WAR

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

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

- The Soviets had successfully detonated an atomic bomb in April 1949, ending the US nuclear monopoly and potentially making the USA more cautious about retaliating.
- Stalin believed that South Korea was not of vital interest to the United States.

- In October 1949, the People's Republic of China was established. In February 1950, Mao and Stalin formed an alliance, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance.

NORTH KOREA INVADES

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

THE UN INTERVENES

In response to the North Korean assault, the United States sent troops and battleships to South Korea, and called upon the UN Security Council for action. The United Nations passed Resolution 83.

SOURCE 1

UN SECURITY COUNCIL, RESOLUTION 83 (1950)

The Security Council,

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities,

Having called upon the authorities in North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the 38th parallel,

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission on Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the 38th parallel, and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security,

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security,

Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.

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

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

SNAPSHOT

The USSR—one of five member states to have veto power in the United Nations—was unable to veto Resolution 83 as they were boycotting meetings, in protest against the UN's refusal to recognise the People's Republic of China. As a result of Resolution 83, a United Nations Command Force (UNC) was created and twenty-one countries offered personnel, military and medical equipment. Sixteen countries, including Australia, sent troops to assist South Korea.

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

US FORCES LAND AT INCHON

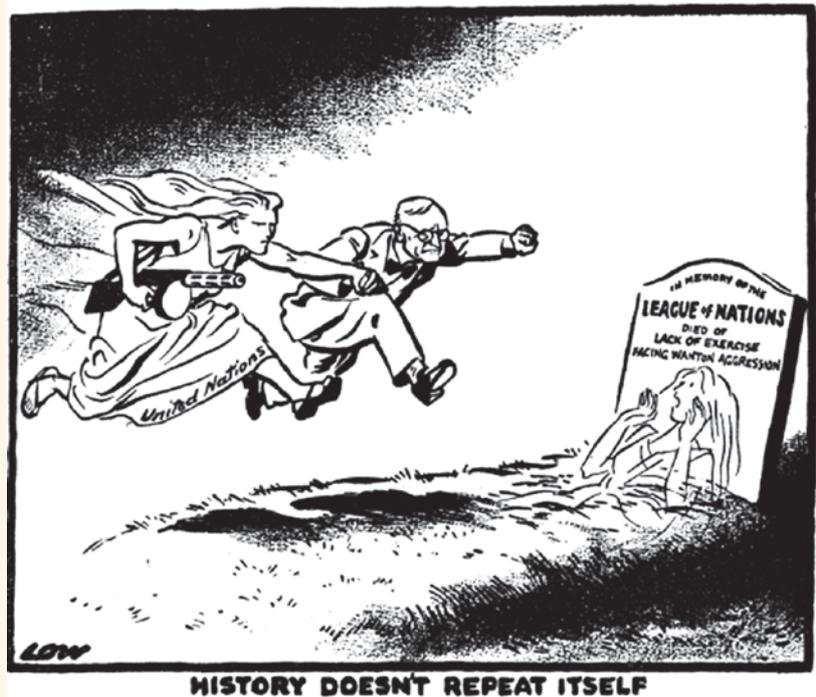
In September 1950, an American-led force launched an offensive 320 kilometres behind the front line at the port of Inchon. The NKPA was forced to retreat or risk being surrounded. By the end of September 1950, the South Korean government had been re-established in Seoul. By October, the NKPA had been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

CHINA INTERVENES

China responded by sending 400 000 troops into Korea. The United States was forced to retreat following the defeat of UNC and Republic of Korea units. By December, Seoul had been lost for a second time and the occupation line was pushed to eighty kilometres

SOURCE 2

David Low, *History doesn't repeat itself*. Published in the *Daily Herald*, 30 June 1950.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two groups represented in the cartoon
2. Identify two reasons why it was important that the UN become involved in Korea.
3. Using the extract and your own knowledge, explain the events leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War.
4. Evaluate the usefulness in understanding why the Americans became involved in Korea.

south of Seoul. Bitter fighting followed, with high numbers of casualties on both sides.

STALEMATE

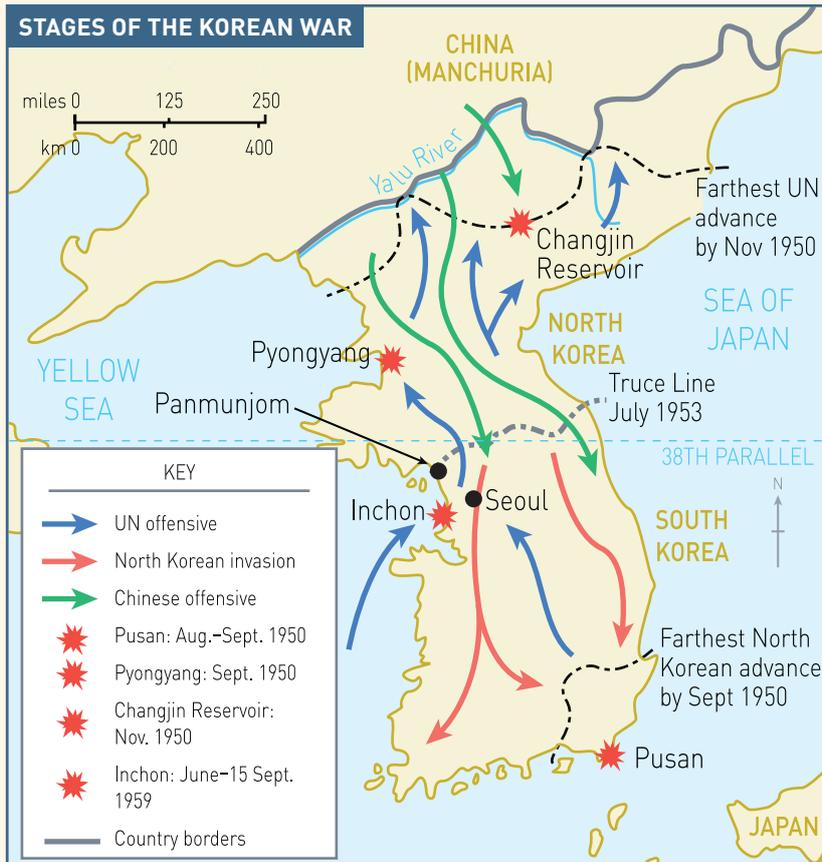
Despite an increase in American troops and a concerted bombing campaign, a stalemate occurred from July 1951 until July 1953. However, although peace talks were taking place, fighting continued.

ARMISTICE

The election of Eisenhower as US president in November 1952 and the death of Stalin in March 1953 contributed to the end of the Korean War. Eisenhower had won the election on promises that he would end the Korean conflict; when Stalin died, the USSR stopped supplying weapons and withdrew their support for China and North Korea. An armistice was

SOURCE 3

MAP OF KOREA SHOWING STAGES OF WAR



signed on 27 July 1953—fighting was brought to an end with the border being drawn as the 38th parallel. After three years of fighting, North Korea was still communist and South Korea was still capitalist, which is still the case today.

THE IMPACT ON THE COLD WAR

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

South Korean soldiers.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How were North and South Korea formed?
2. Why did the Korean War start?
3. Why was it so important for America to intervene in the war?

EXAM PRACTICE

1. Using three or four points, explain how the context of the Cold War contributed to the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950.
2. Using three or four points, explain how Stalin contributed to the outbreak of war in Korea in 1950.
3. How do you explain the outbreak of the Korean War from June 1950, and the involvement of the various combatants? What do you see as the main reason for the conflict?

ACTIVITIES

THE VIETNAM WAR

'You have a row of dominoes set up; you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is that it will go over very quickly.'

US PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER, APRIL 1954

INTRODUCTION

The Vietnam War had its roots in the French colonisation of South-East Asia in the nineteenth century. French Indochina, which included the modern nations of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was under French colonial rule. During World War II, the French were ousted and Indochina was occupied by the Japanese. After the defeat of the Japanese, young Vietnamese nationalists and communists sought independence from the French. Led by Ho Chi Minh, the Viet Minh launched skirmishes against the French, which escalated into open conflict between 1945 and 1954, culminating in the defeat of the French in the battle of Dien Bien Phu. The 1954 Geneva Agreements saw the French withdraw from Indochina. Vietnam was granted independence, but was split along the 17th northern parallel line: 'democratic' South Vietnam and communist North Vietnam.

Fuelled by the perceived oppression of Ngo Dinh Diem,

tensions lingered and communist sympathisers in the South became more vocal. As concerns about communism increased abroad, particularly following Diem's assassination in 1963, the United States committed to supporting the South. This was an attempt to prevent the spread of communism in a domino-style movement.

The subsequent conflict drew in other nations, including Australia. Guerrilla warfare was commonplace, as were US bombing raids. The tough psychological conditions proved difficult for soldiers on both sides, and the war was littered with regrettable incidents that gained extensive media coverage. By 1975, following the US withdrawal, Vietnam was united as a communist republic. The Vietnam War rattled US and Australian societies, particularly in the context of shifting global socio-political movements.





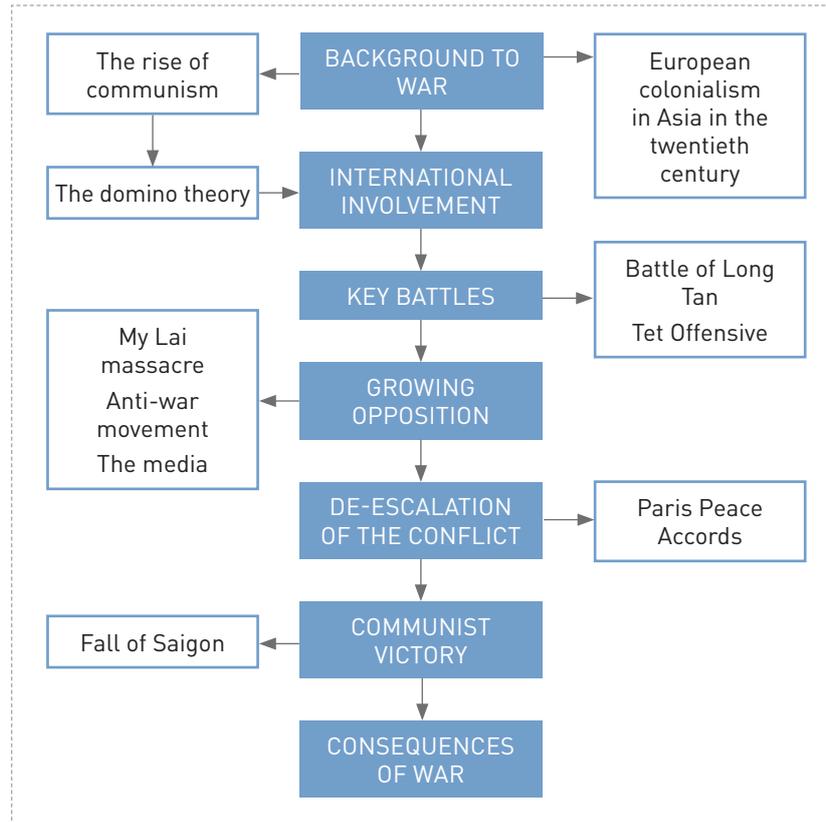
An interpreter questions the family of a Viet Cong suspect, 1966.

OVERVIEW

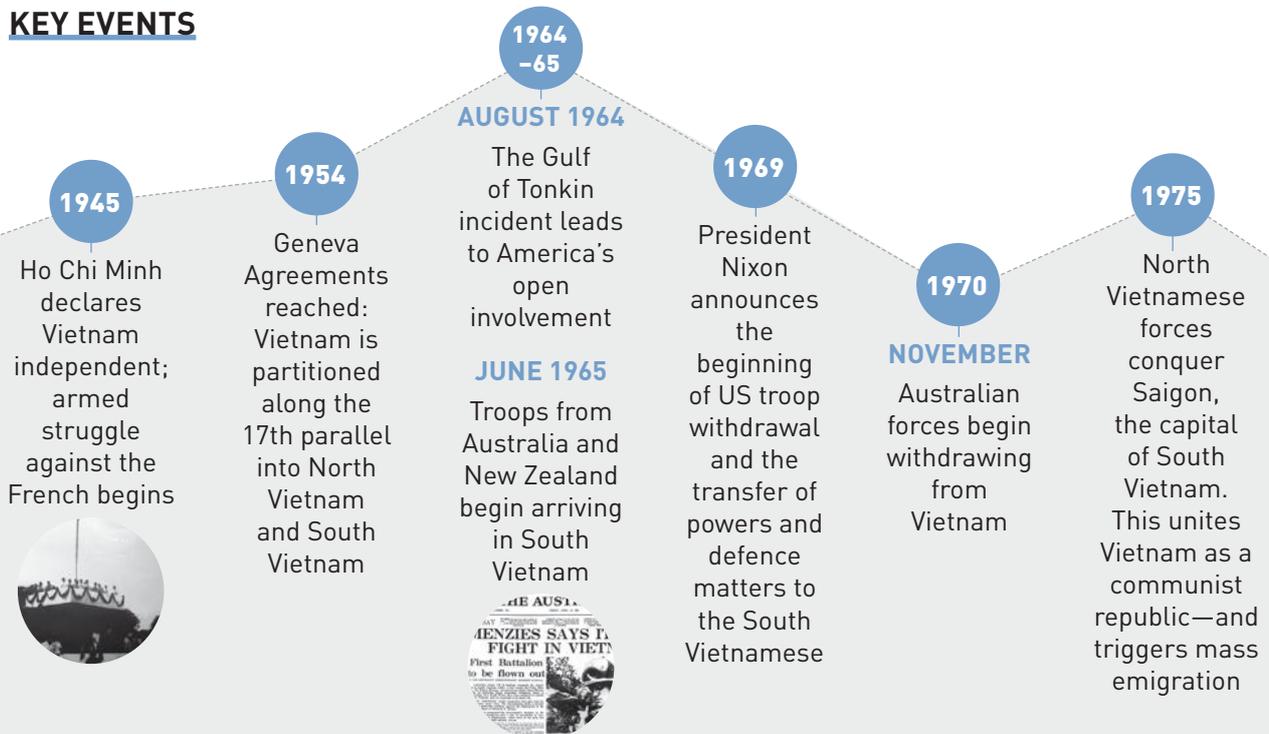
KEY QUESTIONS

- What was the background to tension and division in Vietnam before 1954?
- How did the United States (and Australia) become involved in the Vietnam War?
- How was the Vietnam War fought?
- How and why did attitudes towards the war change in the late 1960s?
- What was the impact of the war on Vietnam and the Vietnamese? What was the impact on the US and Australian soldiers who fought there?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

HO CHI MINH

- Became a political activist in France and the Soviet Union
- Returned to Vietnam in 1940 and became a key leader in the independence movement and subsequent conflicts between North and South Vietnam.



NGO DINH DIEM

- His staunch anti-communist position won him US favour after the 1954 Geneva Agreements
- Became the first prime minister of South Vietnam, under emperor Bao Dai; proposed free elections
- Cancelled the elections a year later and declared South Vietnam a republic, with himself as president
- Rule marked by corruption, nepotism and religious discrimination—he consistently favoured Catholics over Buddhists
- Assassinated in 1963 by members of his own guard during a coup.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

- Nicknamed 'LBJ', was US president 1963–1969
- Escalated US involvement in Vietnam; firmly believed in the domino theory, and felt that military intervention was essential to contain the threat of communism
- As the war dragged on and casualties rose, anti-war protesters heckled Johnson at every turn; his flagging support eventually saw him replaced by Richard Nixon.

RICHARD NIXON

- US president 1969–1974, sweeping into office on the back of rising anti-war sentiment; promised to bring home the troops
- Involvement in sending US bombers into Cambodia put him firmly in the protesters' sights
- Pioneering visits to China and the Soviet Union in 1972 were seen as crucial in undermining proxy support for the communists.



KEY TERMS/CONCEPTS

GUERRILLA WARFARE

Rather than two armies facing each other across open fields, guerrilla warfare takes place in terrain such as thick jungle, swamps or mountains. Encounters are sudden, swift and sporadic. The conventional 'rules of war' are not taken into account, making guerrilla warfare unpredictable and often brutal.

THE VIET CONG

Following partition, many communists and sympathisers lived in the South. They openly supported the push to unify Vietnam as one communist nation and this later evolved into military action. These groups of southern communists were known as the Viet Cong (VC).

DOMINO THEORY

Throughout the 1950s and '60s, people believed in the 'domino theory'—that if one country became communist, the neighbouring countries would soon follow.

PROXY WAR

The Cold War involved the USA and the USSR being at war indirectly, without overt conflict. Both superpowers involved themselves on opposing sides of other conflicts, creating 'proxy wars'. In Vietnam, the democratic South was supported by the USA, and the communist North was backed by China and the USSR.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

North Vietnam and South Vietnam had very different political ideologies in the 1950s. The involvement of foreign powers in Vietnam—notably France and the United States—shaped the conflict between the North and the South. Some historians suggest that the presence of foreign powers exacerbated tensions; others cite the domino theory as necessary justification for the international involvement.

As you work through this chapter, consider both arguments. Use the material and ideas that you have developed to answer **one** of the following questions:

1. To what extent did foreign powers create division in Vietnam?
2. To what extent was the Vietnam War a proxy war of the Cold War?

BACKGROUND TO THE WAR: A LAND DIVIDED

HO CHI MINH (VIETNAMESE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE): 'For more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow citizens ... They have enforced inhumane laws ... in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.'¹

Ancient Vietnam was known as Annam. It held strong cultural links with the Chinese to the north and was essentially a Chinese satellite state for many centuries. By the 1880s, French forces had seized control of Vietnam, instilling a distinct French influence across the nation and creating Indochina, a vast territory encompassing modern-day Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

SOURCE 5.01

MAP OF COLONIAL VIETNAM DURING THE FRENCH PERIOD



By the beginning of World War II, Vietnam had been divided into three administrative regions under French colonial rule: Cochinchina in the south,

Tonkin in the north and Annam across the central regions. These regions were led by Emperor Bao Dai, over whom the French held great influence. After war erupted in Europe in 1939, German advances saw France come under increasing pressure, and some troops were withdrawn from Indochina to fight in Europe. Seizing this opportunity, Japanese forces 'requested' permission to station their forces in Indochina. With the occupying French in no position to negotiate, Japanese forces took over a key position in South-East Asia.

THE VIET MINH

Officially known as the *Việt Nam Độc Lập Đồng Minh Hội* (League for the Independence of Vietnam), the Viet Minh was formed in 1941 by Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh was a revolutionary who had just returned from the Soviet Union, a graduate of the 'Communist University of the Toilers of the East.'

Dislike among the Vietnamese for both the French and the Japanese colonial powers saw membership of the Viet Minh flourish, drawing in disenchanted Vietnamese people from all corners of the country and all parts of the political spectrum. Under the tutelage of General Vo Nguyen Giap—a former schoolteacher and renowned

strategist—the Viet Minh began a campaign of guerrilla warfare against the Japanese, using covert tactics such as wading through streams to cover their tracks, and moving during rainstorms to deter pursuit, as well as executing informers, suspects and spies.

In August 1945, the US bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima forced Japanese forces to surrender and, with the remaining French forces ill-equipped and low on morale, the Viet Minh was able to establish control over Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh declared independence for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on 2 September 1945 and actively sought the support of the United States, which had previously encouraged other nations to become independent. However, to Ho Chi Minh's dismay, the United States instead chose to support the French return to Vietnam, seeing them as valuable allies against the communist forces now appearing in Eastern Europe and other parts of the world. The Cold War had begun.

THE WAR IN INDOCHINA

Despite the Vietnamese declaration of independence, the French were reluctant to relinquish control of their colonial territory. Skirmishes continued in the post-independence period—but a major incident in the northern city of Haiphong soured relations further. On 20 November 1946, an incident on the harbour led to Vietnamese soldiers firing on a French patrol ship, killing 29 French soldiers. The French retaliated by bombarding Haiphong from the warship *Suffren*, stationed in the harbour. More than 6000 Viet Minh and Vietnamese civilians were killed, and a new wave of anti-colonial hatred was triggered. Viet Minh retribution was swift; just three weeks later, French civilians in Hanoi were kidnapped and killed.

NEWSPAPER REPORT

Towards 8 pm on 10 December 1946, the lights in Hanoi went out. The Annamites (Viet Minh) attacked in many parts of the town. A number of French civilians were killed, some with revolting cruelty, and many more were kidnapped. It was a night of terror. Cries for help, the frenzied screaming of the Annamites, grenades exploding and small arms fire were heard on all sides.

Conflict between the Viet Minh and French colonial forces continued for eight years. General Giap's guerrilla tactics, combined with difficult jungle terrain and strong popular support, ensured that large swathes of country areas remained under Vietnamese control. French convoys and outposts were easily ambushed and isolated. The French maintained greater control in the urban areas. This was partly because there were more middle class Vietnamese in the cities; they were more likely to speak French, work in administrative positions and practise Catholicism. Their lifestyles were in stark contrast to those of many rural Vietnamese, whose traditional agrarian way of life had been undermined by the French.

In 1949, in order to re-establish some semblance of control, French authorities reinstated Emperor Bao Dai. He was widely seen as a puppet of the colonialists. In the same year, Mao Zedong's communists established power in neighbouring China and started to support the Viet Minh with military training and reliable modern weapons.

SOURCE 5.02

The Times, 7 February 1947.



Emperor Bao Dai.



China's actions drew the United States into the conflict. In a dramatic change in policy (they had previously remained neutral), the USA supported the French both financially and morally—a colonial Vietnam was seen as less of an evil than a communist Vietnam.

Between 1946 and 1954, the French attempted to re-instate their colonial control over Vietnam. Their rule came to an abrupt end in May 1954 when they were defeated in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.

THE BATTLE OF DIEN BIEN PHU

Buoyed by US backing, the French sought to gain the upper hand in the conflict with the Viet Minh. In 1954, General Navarre planned a decisive trap, aimed at breaking the morale of the guerrillas. Because conflicts in rural areas were difficult for the French, Navarre aimed to draw General Giap's forces into a frontal attack on French positions, one that would allow the French to apply the full force of their aerial superiority and firepower. Dien Bien Phu, a key town in north-west Vietnam on the road to Laos and Cambodia, was chosen as the perfect site for such a trap. On a plateau surrounded by hills, the French established a number of key fortified positions, supported by isolated strongpoints in the lower valleys—positions Navarre felt were relatively defensible and suitably tempting targets for the Viet Minh.

On 13 March 1954, the siege of Dien Bien Phu began—but not in the manner the French had anticipated. Navarre had

wrongly assumed that the Viet Minh wouldn't be able to move heavy artillery equipment into the surrounding hills, but the Viet Minh proved him wrong. The Viet Minh was able to pound the exposed French positions to devastating effect. As the siege wore on, the isolated French outposts were quickly overrun and wave after wave of Viet Minh advances wore down the remaining key strongpoints. On the afternoon of 7 May 1954, the French positions were finally broken and the Viet Minh claimed a historic and morale-lifting victory. The humiliated French—who felt that US forces should have come to their aid—found their hold on Indochina no longer tenable. It left them in a difficult position going in to the subsequent Geneva peace discussions.



➔ SOURCE 5.03

A Vietnamese soldier waves a flag at a captured French command post. Battle of Dien Bien Phu, 1954.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Compare the confidence and organisation of the Viet Minh before and after the Battle of Dien Bien Phu.

THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS

The Geneva Agreements of 1954 signalled the end of the Indochina conflict with the French, but marked the beginning of circumstances that would lead Vietnam into another war. Following their defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French knew that their hold on the region was slipping away. They made heavy concessions at the negotiating table, conceding independence to Laos and Cambodia, as well as partitioning Vietnam along the 17th Parallel. The partitioning of Vietnam disappointed the Americans, who—increasingly concerned at the growing popularity of communism in Vietnam—mockingly labelled the French prime minister, Pierre Mendès-France, a ‘peace-at-any-price man’. Many of the South Vietnamese and Catholic people who had fought alongside the French were also disillusioned.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE TELEGRAM SENT TO SAIGON FROM GENEVA

We fought desperately against partition and for a neutral zone in the Catholic area of North Vietnam. Absolutely impossible to overcome the hostility of our enemies and the treachery of our false friends.

NORTH VIETNAMESE SPEECH AT GENEVA

We will win the unity of Vietnam as we have won the peace. No force in the world will deter us ... People of Vietnam, compatriots of the South, victory is ours.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. What central point is being made in each of these reports from Geneva?
2. Compare the tone of the two reports. How do you explain the difference?

The outcomes of the Geneva Agreements were a pleasant surprise for Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and would lead to a new phase in Vietnamese history. It would draw the United States into much greater involvement, along with a host of other nations, including Australia and New Zealand. Vietnam now lay across two lands, the communist North, led by Ho Chi Minh, and the predominantly Buddhist South, under the control of Emperor Bao Dai. Partition also triggered significant movement of people across the 17th Parallel, with hundreds of thousands of Catholic refugees fleeing into the South and around 80 000 communists heading into the North.

With free elections looming in 1956 after the 1954 partition, Emperor Bao Dai realised he stood little chance of winning. His association with the French had undermined his political position and, eager to stave off the challenge of Ho Chi Minh, he appointed a passionate nationalist, Ngo Dinh Diem, as prime minister. A year later, in 1955, with the support of the US government, Diem declared South Vietnam a republic with himself as president. Although free elections under the supervision of an International Control Commission had been mandated under the Geneva Agreements, Diem refused to hold elections, wanting to allow no chance for the communists to take power. He argued that free elections in the North would not be possible, and therefore they should not be conducted in the South.

◀ SOURCE 5.04

Sent by Tran Van Do, representative of President Diem at the Geneva Conference. Cited in Time Magazine, 2 August 1954

◀ SOURCE 5.05

Pham Van Dong, cited in Arthur J. Dommen, The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002) 250.

DID YOU KNOW?

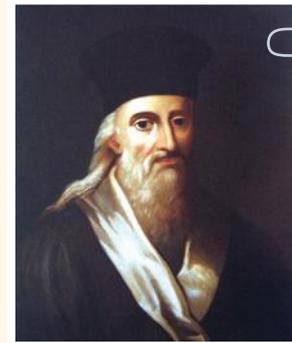
The CIA commenced ‘black operations’ in Vietnam following the Geneva Agreements, dropping leaflets in Hanoi to undermine the Viet Minh and encourage emigration to the South.

CATHOLICISM IN VIETNAM

Catholicism in Vietnam began with the arrival of Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century. By the seventeenth century, French missionaries had converted over 6000 Vietnamese people to the Catholic faith. One missionary, Alexandre de Rhodes, adapted an alphabet created by Portuguese missionaries, adding accents and tones (called diacritical marks). De Rhodes' alphabet is still in use today. By the late eighteenth century, Catholic priests had befriended Nguyen Anh, later known as Emperor Gia Long—ruler of all Vietnam. Gia Long tolerated Catholicism and allowed its numbers to flourish. However, divisions among Gia Long's successors saw the Catholics fall out of favour, and rebellions ensued. During

the French colonial period (1887–1954), Catholics were given key positions of responsibility and preferential treatment. Following the partition of Vietnam in 1954, Catholicism again came under the microscope—particularly as President Ngo Dinh Diem was a Catholic. This fuelled tensions between Catholics and Buddhists, eventually leading to Diem's assassination in 1963. Catholics in modern Vietnam represent almost 10 per cent of the population, but the percentage is much higher among Vietnamese expatriate communities, many of whom fled the country after the 1975

withdrawal of US forces.



Alexandre de Rhodes.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

To what extent was faith a factor in political tensions in Vietnam?

Diem instituted a range of measures designed to crush opposition. In May 1959 he introduced Law 10/59.

SOURCE 5.06

Cited in M. E. Gettleman (ed.), *Vietnam: History, Documents, and Opinions on a Major World Crisis* (Greenwich: Fawcett Premier Book, 1965), 256–260.

EXCERPTS FROM LAW 10/59

Article 1

Sentence of death, and confiscation of the whole or part of his property ... will be imposed on whoever commits or attempts to commit one of the following crimes with the aim of sabotage, or upon infringing upon the security of the State, or injuring the lives or property of the people:

1. Deliberate murder, food poisoning, or kidnapping.
2. Destruction, or total or partial damaging, of ... by means of explosives, fire, or other means ...

Article 3

Whoever belongs to an organization designed to help to prepare or to perpetuate crimes enumerated in Article 1 ... or takes pledges to do so, will be subject to the sentences provided for ...

Article 16

The decisions of the special military court are not subject to appeal ...

Article 20

All legal provisions which are contrary to the present law are hereby repealed ...

Ngô Đình Diem, Saigon, 6 May 1959.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

What does Law 10/59 suggest about the Diem government's concern about communist opposition?

INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Fear of communism spreading through South-East Asia was strengthened following the establishment of a communist government in North Vietnam. The success of communism in China, and the Korean War, added to anxiety among Western powers. The US and its allies were to spend the following twenty years attempting to crush the Viet Minh and establish a democratic republic in a united Vietnam.

THE DOMINO THEORY

One of the most important influences on the decision of Western countries to become involved in Vietnam was the domino theory. This was the belief that communism could spread from country to country through South-East Asia, in the same way that a line of dominoes would fall. This theory was strengthened by memories of World War II, when the Japanese had managed to ‘island hop’ down through China and South-East Asia, to threaten Australia.

THE DOMINO THEORY



RICHARD NIXON, 1953

If Indochina falls, Thailand is put in an almost impossible position. The same is true of Malaya with its rubber and tin. The same is true of Indonesia. If this whole part of South East Asia goes under Communist domination or Communist influence, Japan, who trades and must trade with this area in order to exist must inevitably be oriented towards the Communist regime.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER, 1954

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the ‘falling domino’ principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

left SOURCE 5.07

Richard Nixon in Robert Barro, ‘Democracy and Growth’, *Journal of Economic Growth*, 1 (1996): 1–27.

right SOURCE 5.08

Dwight D. Eisenhower: ‘The President’s News Conference’, 7 April 1954 in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/pp/pptopus/>

A CHALLENGE TO THE DOMINO THEORY

We do not believe that the loss of South Vietnam and Laos would be followed by the rapid, successive communization of the other states of the Far East. Instead of a shock wave passing from one nation to the next, there would be a simultaneous, direct effect on all Far Eastern countries. With the possible exception of Cambodia, it is likely that no nation in the area would quickly succumb to communism as a result of the fall of Laos and South Vietnam. Furthermore, a continuation of the spread of communism in the area would not be inexorable and any spread which did occur would take time—time in which the total situation might change in any of a number of ways unfavorable to the Communist cause.

SOURCE 5.09

Memorandum From the Board of National Estimates to the Director of Central Intelligence. Washington, 9 June 1964, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v01/d209>

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. Briefly explain the point that each source is making about the domino theory.
2. What explanation can you offer for the different theories?
3. Which do you believe to be the most convincing argument? Give reasons.



THE DOMINO THEORY: HISTORICAL INQUIRY

US president Lyndon B. Johnson (right) with Dwight Eisenhower.



SOURCE 5.10

Yale Law School, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/tonkin-g.asp

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Identify the meaning and purpose of SEATO.
2. Explain the factors that led to the US becoming involved in the Vietnam War.
3. Which factor do you believe was the most significant in the US decision?

SEATO AND MILITARY ADVISERS

In 1954—the same year as the Geneva Agreements—the United States formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), along with Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand and the United Kingdom. SEATO's aim was to protect the countries of South-East Asia from communism. This was indicative of a broader anti-communist sentiment across the United States, especially after the 1950–53 Korean War, in which 30 000 US soldiers died supporting South Korea against communist North Korea.

In November 1954, US President Eisenhower approved the appointment of military advisers to Saigon, in order to train the new Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) and supplement the economic aid and military technology that poured into the new nation. He was determined to ensure that South Vietnam would remain both pro-Western and anti-communist. This US involvement, driven by the domino theory, continued to grow over time. By 1960, when Eisenhower left office, the number of US military advisers had grown to 685.

THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

In November 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson became US president at a crucial moment in the Vietnam conflict. Faced with a number of options, including withdrawal and escalation, Johnson initially chose to maintain the advisory support-role policy of presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. This approach changed in August 1964 after two US destroyers allegedly came under attack from Viet Minh forces in the Gulf of Tonkin. The Gulf of Tonkin incident—as it became known—was used by Johnson for political leverage. On 7 August, he was able to convince Congress to ratify his 'Gulf of Tonkin Resolution', giving the USA the authority to become actively involved in Vietnam.

Even with the support of Congress, Johnson still felt public opinion wouldn't support open military involvement in Vietnam. Yet there was little public outcry

JOINT RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, 7 AUGUST 1964

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

Section 1: That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Section 2: The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Section 3: This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

when US warplanes bombed the Ho Chi Minh Trail in neighbouring Laos, which was the main supply line between North Vietnam and South Vietnam. In response, in February 1965, the Viet Cong attacked the US base at Pleiku, in north-central Vietnam, killing eight US advisers and injuring scores more. This incident was well covered in the US press and Johnson finally had the overwhelming public support he needed to escalate the war.

▼ The bombing of North Vietnam.



OPERATION ROLLING THUNDER

Following the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Johnson authorised selected bombing raids on Viet Cong targets, building up to Operation Rolling Thunder. Operation Rolling Thunder was a sustained bombing campaign on North Vietnamese targets—including military and transport infrastructure. It began on 2 March 1965 and continued until 1967. Rolling Thunder aimed to bring the Viet Cong back to potential peace talks by undermining their supply lines and demonstrating US aerial superiority. On 8 March 1965, only days after the start of Operation Rolling Thunder, 3500 US Marines arrived in Vietnam. Despite the presence of US military advisers since 1954, the marines became the first actual US combat troops to serve in Vietnam. By the end of 1965, the US numbers had been bolstered by troops from Australia and New Zealand.

▼ SOURCE 5.11

Liberal Party poster from 1966, asking Australians where they will draw the line against communism.



AUSTRALIA'S INVOLVEMENT

In Australia, the shifting political climate regarding Vietnam saw the introduction of a national service scheme, known as 'conscription'. Rolled out in November 1964 by the Menzies government, conscription was introduced in an era of concern about the broader regional stability of Malaya and Indonesia, not just Vietnam. Over eight years, almost 800 000 young men registered for service in the Australian armed forces and just over 15 000 went on to serve in Vietnam. The scheme itself was met by much opposition, notably from the Save Our Sons (SOS) movement, whose members protested outside army barracks and distributed anti-conscription flyers.

On 29 April 1965, through fear of communism, belief in the domino theory and loyalty to our allies, Australian prime minister Robert Menzies announced that two battalions of the Australian army would be sent to Vietnam. Menzies' announcement indicated that the Australian government had been asked by the government of South Vietnam to send military assistance. The first battalion departed in June 1965.



► SOURCE 5.12

Front page of *The Australian* newspaper, 30 April 1965.

SOURCE 5.13

Australia, House of Representatives, Debates, 29 April 1965, http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650429_reps_25_hor45/

ANNOUNCEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MENZIES IN PARLIAMENT, 29 APRIL 1965

The Australian Government is now in receipt of a request from the Government of South Vietnam for further military assistance. We have decided ... to provide an infantry battalion for service in South Vietnam. In case there is any misunderstanding, I think I should say, Sir, that we decided in principle some time ago—weeks and weeks ago—that we would be willing to do this if we received the necessary request from the Government of South Vietnam and the necessary collaboration with the United States. This is not to be regarded as something that has suddenly arisen out of more recent events.

... There is ample evidence to show that with the support of the North Vietnamese regime and other Communist powers, the Vietcong has been preparing on a more substantial scale than hitherto insurgency action designed to destroy South Vietnamese Government control, and to disrupt by violence the life of the local people.

... We have not of course come to this decision without the closest attention to the question of defence priorities. We do not and must not overlook the point that our alliances, as well as providing guarantees and assurances for our security, make demands upon us.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

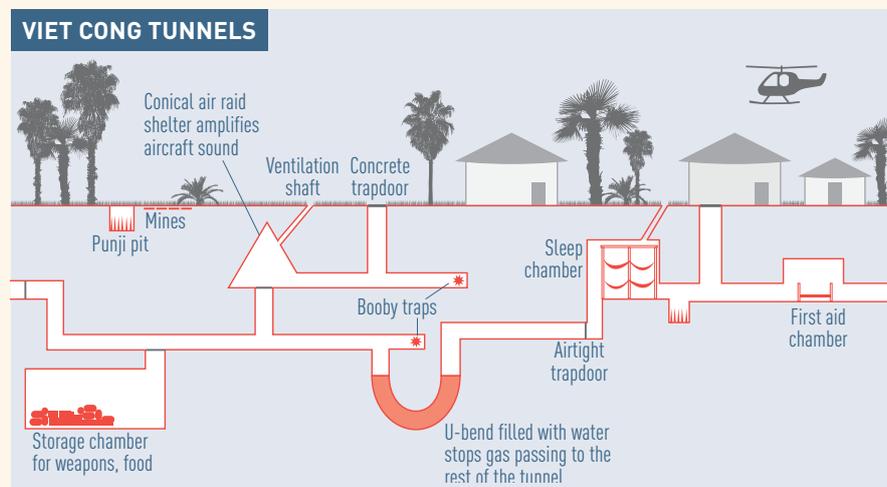
1. What reasons does Menzies give for his decision to commit troops to Vietnam?
2. Why do you think that Menzies repeatedly suggests that the decision is not a sudden one?
3. Examine the front page of *The Australian* (Source 5.12). What can you learn from this document about the significance of the decision to commit troops to Vietnam?

AN UNCONVENTIONAL WAR

Effectively fighting against both the North Vietnamese Army (NVA) and the Viet Cong, the Allied servicemen found themselves in an unconventional war. Tanks and armoured

personnel carriers were useless in the swamps, jungles and paddy fields of much of Vietnam. Moreover, guerrilla tactics used by the Viet Cong furthered hampered their efforts. The enemy was

difficult to identify, as many Vietnamese were farmers by day and soldiers by night. The Viet Cong used booby traps and hidden mines to attack unsuspecting US and Australian soldiers. Because the Viet Cong had an extensive network of tunnels, they were able to launch an attack and then disappear swiftly.



KEY BATTLES

Small gains were made by the Westerners in the first two years of war. Key battles, such as at Da Nang under Operation Starlite in August 1965, and the battles of Ia Drang and Plei Me in October 1965, helped to boost morale and public support for the war effort.

THE BATTLE OF LONG TAN

One of the most significant engagements for Australian troops occurred in August 1966 with the Battle of Long Tan. The battle was provoked by a Viet Cong mortar shell attack on the Australian base at Nui Dat. In retaliation, about 100 members of D Company spread out into the neighbouring rubber plantation of Long Tan, attempting to find the source of the mortar attacks. In the battle that followed, 18 Australians were killed. Despite this loss of life, the battle was hailed as a victory, with somewhere between 245 and 800 Viet Cong killed. However, news and images of the battle caused some who had previously supported the war to have doubts about its morality.

DID YOU KNOW?

The 50-year anniversary of the Battle of Long Tan attracted large crowds across major Australian cities, as well as at the battle site itself, underlining its importance in Australian military history.

RECOLLECTION OF A SOLDIER INVOLVED IN THE BATTLE OF LONG TAN

A solid line of them [Viet Cong] —it looked like hundreds—would suddenly rush us. The artillery would burst right in the middle of them and there would be bodies all over the place. The survivors would dive for cover beside these bodies, wait for the next attacking line, get up and leap over the dead to resume the rush. They were inching forward all the time over their piles of dead.

🔍 SOURCE 5.14

Australian War Memorial,
<https://www.awm.gov.au/wartime/55/long-tan/>

RADIO MESSAGES FROM D COMPANY, 18 AUGUST 1966

4.26 pm "Being mortared . . . Want all artillery possible."
4.31 pm "Enemy [on] left flank. Could be serious."
5.01 pm "Enemy ... penetrating both flanks and to north and south."
5.02 pm "Running short of ammo. Require drop through trees."

🔍 SOURCE 5.15

Australian War Memorial,
<https://www.awm.gov.au/wartime/55/long-tan/>



🔍 left SOURCE 5.16

Australian troops at Long Tan fire a mounted mortar.

🔍 right SOURCE 5.17

A battlefield memorial to the Australians who died in the Battle of Long Tan.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE?

Using the text, and Sources 5.14 to 5.17, write a letter to the editor of a fictitious Australian newspaper arguing for or against the view that the Battle of Long Tan should be commemorated by a public holiday.

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

Tet, the most important celebration in Vietnam, signifies the New Year. Traditional beliefs hold that making noise will drive away evil spirits. The Viet Cong took advantage of the noise of firecrackers, gongs, drums and bells to launch the Tet Offensive.

THE TET OFFENSIVE

By the beginning of 1968, more than a half a million US servicemen were stationed in South Vietnam. The communists had lost over 100,000 men the previous year and free elections in the South had brought increased political and social stability. Given the victories in prior battles and skirmishes with the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese Army, US morale was high, with many believing that victory was on the horizon.

Such beliefs were quickly dispelled on 31 January 1968 during celebrations for the lunar New Year, the Tet festival. Attacking at night during the peak festival period, the Viet Cong launched a series of coordinated strikes across key cities in South Vietnam, catching their opponents off-guard. The fighting was no longer confined to guerrilla tactics—the Viet Cong had taken a calculated risk in revealing themselves to gain advantage, and it had worked.

The Tet Offensive stunned the United States, especially as Viet Cong soldiers were able to blast a hole in the wall of the US embassy in Saigon and gain entry. It took several hours before troop reinforcements, flown by helicopter to the embassy roof, were able to restore order.

➔ SOURCE 5.18

American military police protecting the US consulate in Saigon against a Viet Cong attack on the compound during the Tet Offensive, February 1968.



➔ SOURCE 5.19

Harold Ford, CIA and the Vietnam Policymakers: Three Episodes 1962–1968 [Central Intelligence Agency Study, 1998], www.cia.gov

A SURPRISE ATTACK

A prime reflection of surprise is this incident related by CIA's George Allen. At CIA Headquarters he was in the process of giving a Vietnam briefing to State's Phil Habib ... a CIA officer rushed in to tell them that the Embassy in Saigon was under attack. "Habib chuckled, suggesting that I have my troops knock off their horsing around ... The officer earnestly persisted, exclaiming in his best 'Pearl Harbor' tones, 'This is no drill, sir; the wire tickers report that the embassy is under attack and the VC have penetrated the compound' ... Habib's jaw fell, and he turned ashen gray; he realized immediately the significance of this development; that the wind had been taken out of the administration's sails, the 'light at the end of the tunnel' had been turned off, the administration's policies had been derailed from 'the right track.'"

[George Allen, *The Indochina Wars* (unpublished manuscript), 323–324]

The North Vietnamese themselves saw the Tet Offensive as a failure, not so much because of the heavy toll of Viet Cong soldiers, but because they had failed to achieve their primary objective: to inspire the South Vietnamese to rise up against the Americans.

NORTH VIETNAMESE GENERAL TRAN DO

In all honesty, we didn't achieve our main objective, which was to spur uprisings throughout the South. Still, we inflicted heavy casualties on the Americans and their puppets and that was a big gain for us. As for making an impact on the United States, it had not been our intention—but it turned out to be a fortunate result.

HISTORIAN AND VIETNAM VETERAN DOUGLAS WELSH

Many observers believed it was their last massive effort, and, having been repulsed, their losses were so great that they would never again be able to mount an offensive on such a scale. The lack of civilian support for the NVA/VC during Tet strengthened the South Vietnamese government's claim that the war and the hearts of the people were both being won.

GENERAL WESTMORELAND

Despite the fact that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong incurred a military defeat of such proportions it took them four years to recover, reporting of the Tet Offensive by press and television of the United States gave an impression if not of American and South Vietnamese defeat, then of an endless war that could never be won.

SOURCE 5.20

Cited in Stanley Karnow, Vietnam: A History (New York: Penguin, 1991), 536.

SOURCE 5.21

Douglas Welsh, The Complete Military History of the Vietnam War (Greenwich: Brompton Books, 1990).

SOURCE 5.22

General William Westmoreland in Bernard C. Nalty (ed.), The Vietnam War: The History of America's Conflict in Southeast Asia (London: Salamander, 1996).

GROWING OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

Although the attack on the US embassy and similar uprisings were eventually quelled, the Tet Offensive proved to be a public relations nightmare for the United States and its allies. It became obvious that the war was not being won. It was not only that the Tet Offensive had shown the US campaign to be vulnerable. The ruthless manner in which the US and ARVN forces crushed the Tet Offensive also caused disquiet. Just over 4000 US and South Vietnamese died as a result of the Tet Offensive, however, nearly 60 000 Viet Cong and civilians lost their lives in the retaliation.

The American people, who had been given the impression that victory was on the horizon, now began to see the conflict as a quagmire with no immediate solution. Serious questions began to arise about how long the United States could continue to be involved. The conflict saw the political end of US President Johnson; Richard Nixon's promise to end the war was a key factor in his victory of November 1968.

THE MY LAI MASSACRE

By 1966, US forces began an intensive campaign aimed at hunting down and eliminating NVA and Viet Cong forces and infrastructure through 'search and destroy' missions. Helicopters ferried troops inland from the larger coastal supply bases at places like Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. Missions included Operation Junction City, which took place north of Saigon, from February 1967.

Hunting the Viet Cong in this fashion was physically and mentally difficult. Allied forces often found it very difficult to differentiate friend from foe. In March 1968,

ACTIVITY**SKILLS:
HISTORICAL
SIGNIFICANCE**

Using the text and sources on these pages, write a paragraph explaining why the Tet Offensive could be seen as a turning point in the Vietnam war.



➔ SOURCE 5.23

Part of the My Lai Massacre Memorial Museum in Son My, Vietnam.

between 300 and 507 elderly men, women and children were killed in the village of My Lai. Charlie Company, led by Lieutenant William Calley, raided the village having been told that it was a Viet Cong stronghold. Although they found no evidence of Viet Cong, the US soldiers launched a brutal attack on the villagers, in some cases torturing and raping victims before they were killed.

The horror of the massacre was compounded by the fact that high-ranking US officers decided to cover up the events at My Lai. The public only became aware of

the event through an article by Seymour Hersh, published in the *St Louis Post* in November 1969. Initially 28 soldiers were charged but eventually only one, Lieutenant Calley, was found guilty. He served about five years of a 20-year sentence.

Like the news of the crushing of the Tet Offensive, public awareness of the My Lai Massacre added to the sense of disillusionment that increasing numbers of Americans were feeling about the war. The massacre and its aftermath divided America. Many saw it as an atrocity, but others argued that the soldiers were ‘just following orders.’

➔ SOURCE 5.24

Report of the Department of the Army Review of the Preliminary Investigations into the My Lai Incident, *Volume I*, 14 March 1970. Section 11-7, Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/RDAR-Vol-I.pdf

ARMY REVIEW OF THE PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE MY LAI INCIDENT

An appreciation of the misleading and deceptive nature of LTC [Lieutenant Colonel] Barker's report can be gained from the following extract:

‘Commander's Analysis: This operation was well planned, well executed, and successful. Friendly casualties were light and the enemy suffered heavily. On this operation the civilian population supporting the VC in the area numbered approximately 200. This created a problem in population control and medical care of those civilians caught in fires of the opposing forces. However, the infantry unit on the ground and helicopters were able to assist civilians in leaving the area and in caring for and/or evacuating the wounded.’

The Combat Action Report can only be considered an effort by LTC Barker deliberately to suppress the true facts and to mislead higher headquarters into believing that there had been a combat operation in Son My Village on 16 March [1968] involving a hotly contested action with a sizable enemy force.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Why was there an investigation into the events at My Lai?
2. Why does the report say that LTC Barker's account was deceptive?
3. What actually occurred at My Lai on 16 March 1968?

WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

As search and destroy missions continued, Allied servicemen found it increasingly difficult to detect their enemies. The Viet Cong soldiers were exceptionally good at blending in, and had plenty of sympathisers among the local populations. To help develop the support of civilians in these areas, the United States began a policy of ‘pacification’, designed to win over the ‘hearts and minds’ of the Vietnamese



PLATOON:
FILM STUDY

THE SHOOTING OF NGUYEN VAN LEM

One of the most significant images of the Vietnam War was the public shooting of Viet Cong officer Nguyen Van Lem in a Saigon street. He was executed without trial, by South Vietnamese Chief of Police General Nguyen Ngoc Loan on 1 February 1968. Footage of the event was shown on evening television in the USA, causing even many staunch supporters of the war to be horrified.

SOURCE 5.25

The public execution of Nguyen Van Lem.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What is your immediate reaction to this image?
2. Outline what is depicted in the image.
3. Why might the photograph have affected public opinion in the US about the war?

villagers. US forces worked with locals to develop rural infrastructure, provide basic medical and educational services, and assist in running elections. These efforts may not have swayed all the Viet Cong sympathisers, but did go some way towards promoting democracy and reducing the enthusiasm for communism.

Australian soldiers also played a role in the 'hearts and minds' campaign. In Bien Hoa Province, Australian personnel dug wells, re-roofed houses and built windmills. Doctors and dentists attended to the health of villagers and provided civil aid. The US government claimed that the policy was working, but its effectiveness has been questioned.

SOURCE 5.26

Adrian Bishop, cited in Stuart Rintoul, Ashes of Vietnam (Melbourne: William Heinemann/ABC, 1987), 81.

SOURCE 5.27

An Australian soldier teaches English to Vietnamese children, 1966.

RECOLLECTIONS OF AN AUSTRALIAN SOLDIER

There was such a massive cultural difference between a Vietnamese and a white guy that even if you went in and built a windmill and did their dentistry, they would just smile and bow ... They didn't have any idea where Australia was. You were just another person stuffing up their lives ...



ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why was it difficult for soldiers to tell friend from foe?
2. What were the aims of 'pacification' for the United States?
3. To what extent was pacification successful?

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

From the start of US involvement in Vietnam, there had been questions about the wisdom and morality of the war. Events such as the Tet Offensive and the My Lai Massacre contributed to a sense of unease about the war. The exposure of the war on nightly television added to anxiety and concern. From 1968 onwards, the anti-war movement began to gather strength. Protesters used street marches, sit-ins, letters to newspapers, seminars and speeches to express their disapproval of the war. Popular songs such as 'Give Peace a Chance' by John Lennon and 'The Eve of Destruction' by Barry McGuire expressed the views of a generation and were sung at marches and protests. In 1967, Dr Martin Luther King Jr delivered a famous speech outlining many of the key reasons why the war should be ended—regardless of the outcome (see Source 5.28). Pressure was also placed on politicians to rethink America's and, later, Australia's commitment to what seemed to be an unwinnable war.



PROTEST SONGS

➔ SOURCE 5.28

*Dr Martin Luther King,
4 April 1967.*



MARTIN LUTHER
KING'S SPEECH



↑ Dr Martin Luther King Jr.

BEYOND VIETNAM: A TIME TO BREAK SILENCE

When Diem was overthrown they [the Vietnamese] may have been happy, but the long line of military dictators seemed to offer no real change, especially in terms of their need for land and peace.

The only change came from America, as we increased our troop commitments in support of governments which were singularly corrupt, inept, and without popular support. All the while the people read our leaflets and received the regular promises of peace and democracy and land reform. Now they languish under our bombs and consider us, not their fellow Vietnamese, the real enemy. They move sadly and apathetically as we herd them off the land of their fathers into concentration camps where minimal social needs are rarely met. They know they must move on or be destroyed by our bombs.

So they go, primarily women and children and the aged. They watch as we poison their water, as we kill a million acres of their crops. They must weep as the bulldozers roar through their areas preparing to destroy the precious trees. They wander into the hospitals with at least twenty casualties from American firepower for one Vietcong-inflicted injury. So far we may have killed a million of them, mostly children. They wander into the towns and see thousands of the children, homeless, without clothes, running in packs on the streets like animals. They see the children degraded by our soldiers as they beg for food. They see the children selling their sisters to our soldiers, soliciting for their mothers.

...

We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only noncommunist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.

Now there is little left to build on, save bitterness ... The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Summarise the negative consequences of the US presence in Vietnam that Martin Luther King identifies.
2. Explain King's statement that America has become 'the real enemy' to the Vietnamese people.
3. Write a response to this speech, from the perspective of someone who wants the United States to continue the war.

Anti-war protests were often unruly, and as the war dragged on, a number of tragic incidents occurred. At Kent State University in Ohio, a large protest group burned one of the campus buildings to the ground on 2 May 1970. Two days later, as demonstrations continued, National Guardsmen used teargas to disperse the hundreds of protesters. After protesters threw rocks in return, the Guardsmen opened fire, killing four students and injuring nine. This tragedy triggered further protests at universities across the United States and increased anti-war sentiment to new levels. On 15 May at Jackson State University in Mississippi, two students were shot dead by National Guardsmen.

Protests by students gained extensive media coverage. A new element in protests during 1970 and 1971 was the presence of returned servicemen, many of them wounded, disabled or disfigured. In 1971, over 300 000 people, up to a third of them veterans, marched in Washington, many in wheelchairs and on crutches. With camera crews watching on, they took their service medals, ribbons and honours and threw them away. As veterans discarded—and even burnt—their decorations in the nation's capital, the powerful symbolism strongly affected the level of support for the war. Here were young men who had served their nation—not students, hippies or draft-dodgers—and they no longer wished to be recognised as having done so.

In Australia, anti-war protests drew huge crowds across the capital cities, particularly in Melbourne and Sydney. An estimated 200 000 people marched in Australian cities on 8 May 1970, including 100 000 in Melbourne (see Chapter 8).



VIETNAM
PROTESTERS:
SOURCE ANALYSIS

▼ SOURCE 5.29

A young man wearing a helmet with a peace sign, up to a helmet with a peace sign, burns his draft card at an anti-draft demonstration.



THE MEDIA AND THE VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam War coincided with the global rise of television and international reporting. At no prior point in human history had a war been so easily brought into people's living rooms than during the 1960s and 1970s. The Vietnam War became known as the 'television war'.

Arguably, images from the conflict did more to sway public opinion than politicians' statements.

Time magazine was one of the most famous news outlets covering the war, with millions of readers keeping up with events through the magazine. Significant *Time* articles can be accessed through the magazine's archives.



▲ SOURCE 5.30

US citizens watching television coverage of the war.



TIME MAGAZINE
ARCHIVES

DE-ESCALATION OF THE CONFLICT

Partly because of the growing protest movement and partly because of the failure of the US and its allies to make any progress in Vietnam, political leaders began to rethink their commitment to the war. As waves of Vietnam War protests swept the United States, Richard Nixon was elected president in January 1969 on a ticket of peace; his promise to end the war would see him play a key role in subsequent peace talks. President Nixon began withdrawing troops from Vietnam in the middle of 1969; an initial 25 000 soldiers were repatriated in August and 35 000 in September. In December 1969, Australia's prime minister, John Gorton, announced that withdrawal of troops would begin in the new year.

The plan was for a gradual withdrawal of troops and a corresponding handover of responsibility to the army of South Vietnam. This policy was known as 'Vietnamisation'. Billions of US dollars were poured into training and equipping the South Vietnamese army to carry on the fight against communism single-handedly.

In April 1970, Nixon declared that, after extensive consultation, a further 150 000 troops would be withdrawn. However, the public was unaware that Nixon had re-instituted bombing raids on North Vietnam—and that he had also launched an invasion of Cambodia.

PEACE TALKS WITH NORTH VIETNAM

The idea of peace talks was mooted as early as 1964. However, the North Vietnamese felt that the United States should leave Vietnam before negotiating, and the United States wanted a suspension of conflict first. In 1967, North Vietnam began to signal that if US bombing was to cease, they might be open to discussions. Formal peace talks began in May 1968 in Paris, but the talks soon stalled.

A further attempt was made in Paris in January 1969. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his chief foreign adviser and negotiator, were under pressure from US public opinion to end the war. For North Vietnam, represented by Le Duc Tho, a complete US withdrawal remained the key objective. High on the agenda was also the possibility of future reunification with South Vietnam, but only without US (or other 'foreign') interference. The United States wanted South Vietnam to be left to determine its own future without communist influence. Reunification would only be possible if it was supported by all Vietnamese—a most unlikely outcome.

Five years of drawn-out peace talks ensued, influenced by world events. The Cold War continued, although relations between the United States and China improved following Nixon's visit to China in February 1972. This came at a time when the two great communist powers—the Soviet Union and China—had increasingly strained relations. With its two primary backers at loggerheads, North Vietnam found itself increasingly isolated, and this weakened its position at the peace talks.

FURTHER DE-ESCALATION

As the peace talks wore on and Vietnamisation continued, more and more foreign troops left Vietnam. By the end of 1971, only 140 000 US soldiers remained in the country. The South Vietnamese government was confident that the ARVN had developed to the point where it could manage its own defence.



📌 SOURCE 5.31

Henry Kissinger and President Nixon meet at Camp David to discuss the Vietnam situation.

South Vietnam's ability to defend itself was put under the microscope on 20 March 1972. A surprise campaign was launched by North Vietnam, with the intention of invading the South. This attack, spearheaded by a hundred Soviet tanks, startled the inexperienced South Vietnamese forces, many of whom abandoned their posts and fled.

REPORT FROM THE TIMES

Thousands of South Vietnamese soldiers of the Third Infantry Division, most of whom did not appear to have seen much combat with the advancing North Vietnamese troops, today fled in a confused stream down Highway 1 from Quang Tri province. They commandeered civilian vehicles at rifle point, carried away rations but not ammunition, and threw stones at Western news photographers taking pictures of them. No one tried to control the troops. Their officers were fleeing too.

SOURCE 5.32

The Times, 3 May 1972.

With only a skeletal ground force remaining, US forces responded with a series of intense bombing raids, codenamed Operation Linebacker. Although earlier bombing runs had deliberately avoided civilian targets, Linebacker had no such limitations: transport infrastructure, bridges, storage areas and railway lines were reduced to rubble with the aid of laser-guided smart bombs dropped by scores of B-52 bombers. As well as devastating North Vietnam's communications and access routes, the bombings brought North Vietnam back to the peace conference table, in August 1972.

Barely three months after bombing runs began, Le Duc Tho, North Vietnam's chief negotiator in Paris, proposed a ceasefire. It was the first such concession initiated by the North and one warmly welcomed by Henry Kissinger, the American representative at the talks.

However, talks stalled again and, over Christmas 1972, the United States piled further pressure on North Vietnam, with one of the biggest aerial attacks in history. Over several days, more than 36 000 tonnes of bombs were dropped on cities, villages, roads, fuel dumps and infrastructure. The harbour at Haiphong, the main northern port, was laid with mines, making it extremely difficult for Soviet and Chinese ships to resupply the communists. Le Duc Tho returned to the negotiating table and, in January 1973, the Paris Peace Accords were signed by both parties. Later that year, Le and Kissinger were each awarded a Nobel Prize for their efforts in pursuing peace.

Reactions to the Accords were mixed (see Sources 5.34–5.37), but crucial elements were initially upheld by both parties. North Vietnam released over 600 US prisoners of war, mostly airmen who had been shot down. US Navy minesweepers cleared North Vietnamese waters of mines by mid-1973 and US forces finally withdrew, leaving only a handful of advisers. South Vietnam, led by President Nguyen Van Thieu, struggled initially, fighting rising inflation, unemployment and widespread unrest at the perceived corruption of the incumbent government. Furthermore, northern troops remained in southern areas and resentment between people from the two regions continued for some time.



SOURCE 5.33

The bombing of Hai Duong railway and highway bridge in North Vietnam during Operation Linebacker.

THE PARIS PEACE ACCORDS, 1973

Ceasefire to take effect from 28 January 1973

US armed forces to withdraw completely

The North Vietnamese Army to remain in areas of South Vietnam they control at the time of the ceasefire

All foreign forces to leave Cambodia and Laos

Elections aimed at reuniting Vietnam to be held

All US prisoners of war to be returned by North Vietnam

US mines off the coast of North Vietnam to be cleared by US minesweepers

North Vietnam to recognise the South Vietnamese government

An International Commission for Control and Supervision—comprising Hungary, Poland, Indonesia and Canada—to monitor the ceasefire

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PARIS PEACE ACCORDS

THE UNITED STATES MILITARY

The cease-fire agreement was theoretically workable—if the threat (and reality) of American airpower remained. By adopting the Amendment which prohibited 'any funds whatsoever to finance directly or indirectly combat activities by the United States military forces in, over, or from off the shore of North Vietnam, South Vietnam or Cambodia', the United States Senate took away that threat.

← SOURCE 5.34

General William Westmoreland, cited in Bernard C. Nalty (ed.), The Vietnam War (New York: Salamander Books, 1996).

SOUTH VIETNAM

Let me say frankly of the Peace Accord that I consider it only a cease-fire agreement. As to whether or not we will have real peace, we must wait and see.

← SOURCE 5.35

South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu, The New York Times, 24 January 1975.

THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

One sure fact emerges amidst the confusion and the uncertainties. The United States has laid down its policeman's club, at least for this generation. The people simply will not stand for it. Never again can American armed forces be committed to combat without the full and whole-hearted support of the American people.

← SOURCE 5.36

The New York Daily News, January 1973.

THE BRITISH MILITARY

The Americans were out and, as for the agreement, the members of the [communist] politburo knew that at the right moment they could drive tanks right through it.

← SOURCE 5.37

Sir Robert Thompson, War in Peace (London: Orbis, 1981).

ACTIVITIES

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. Read the perspectives on the Paris Peace Accords and summarise the main point that each is making.
2. How does a ceasefire differ to a peace agreement?
3. Which group or groups would have been relatively pleased with the peace agreement? Outline why.
4. Which of these four perspectives most closely reflected reality? Support your answer with evidence.

COMMUNIST VICTORY: THE FALL OF SAIGON

Despite the Peace Accords in 1973, unrest in Vietnam continued. As South Vietnamese military bases were abandoned in 1974, North Vietnamese Army units travelled south and became more confident. As well as the departure of foreign forces, the South faced the drying up of financial aid. In 1975, the NVA renewed its march towards Saigon, easily overcoming weak resistance and making further gains. Those in the South who had fought the communists, as well as those who had openly criticised them, held fears for their lives and those of their families. This panic descended into chaos as the North reached the capital, rolling into Saigon in tanks on 30 April 1975.



Getting out of Vietnam now became the sole priority for many. The remaining US military advisers and staff were airlifted by helicopter from the US Embassy. Outside the embassy, large crowds of desperate Vietnamese had gathered. Searching for a way to escape the advancing communists, many people rushed forwards to board the helicopters, only to be beaten away; others held up small children, begging the Americans to take them to safety. Hundreds of small boats—many barely seaworthy—sailed out of the main Southern ports, towards neighbouring countries.

The punitive policies of the new Vietnamese government, many of which aimed to 're-educate' the people of the formerly democratic South, triggered a further exodus of citizens, who piled onto boats in huge numbers in search of freedom. The Hoa—Vietnamese of ethnic Chinese background—were a particular focus of the new government, and they formed a significant portion of the mass emigration movement. Many people settled in refugee camps in Thailand and Malaysia, while others made lengthy journeys. Conditions on the boats were ghastly: overcrowding and disease, combined with the hot sun and lack of food and water, made sea travel extremely risky. The passage was further complicated by the risk of pirate attacks and the poor condition of many of the boats. More than 700 000 people fled Vietnam in boats, and it is estimated that up to another 400 000 people lost their lives in the attempt.



IMPACT OF KEY EVENTS

SOURCE 5.38

South Vietnamese people desperately flee the advancing NVA.



MORE INFO: OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE

SOURCE 5.39

A US Marine helicopter sets down on a baseball field on the northern section of Saigon to pick up waiting evacuees on 29 April 1975.



CONSEQUENCES OF THE VIETNAM WAR



COMMUNIST
SUCCESS: RESEARCH
AND SYNTHESIS

After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Vietnam was united under one flag and one government as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. State-controlled food production and communist collectives were established and many private enterprises and homes were confiscated by the government and redistributed. Re-education camps, particularly in the former South Vietnam, were aimed at establishing support for the government and ensuring loyalty to ‘Uncle Ho’ (Ho Chi Minh) and the communist collective ideal. In reality, these were little more than forced labour camps. Food shortages threatened to undermine the newly unified nation, but financial support from the Soviet Union provided some semblance of stability. At the same time, wherever they could, refugees continued to pour out of the country, sometimes by using false documents or offering bribes.

RESPONSES IN THE WEST



PERSPECTIVES ON
THE VIETNAM WAR

In the United States, political soul-searching became commonplace after the Vietnam War, with many people wrestling with the deaths of the 57 000 young men and their 300 000 injured compatriots—particularly in the context of a military loss. The communists had not been defeated, so what had been achieved? The enormous cost of the war effort, which ran into billions of dollars, angered many people and the social ramifications of the war saw veterans struggling to re-adjust to civilian life. The war left a cultural legacy too, with new cinema and music, and a generation of youth who felt less inclined to obey traditional authority.



DEPARTMENT OF
VETERANS' AFFAIRS

The impact of the Vietnam War on Australia was also politically and socially significant. The arrival of Vietnamese refugees and migrants from the 1970s ushered in a new chapter for modern multicultural Australia. The stigma and re-adjustment for Vietnam veterans proved especially challenging. Soldiers suffered from sleepless nights and psychological stresses, and in some cases, suicide. Even the RSL was not, initially, welcoming to those who had fought in Vietnam. It was not until 1987 that an official welcome parade was held to acknowledge Vietnam Veterans.

➔ SOURCE 5.40

The Vietnam Women's Memorial in Washington DC, honoring women's military service.



SONGS AND FILMS:
RESEARCH TASK



KEY SITES:
HISTORICAL
SIGNIFICANCE

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES FOR VIETNAM

The war would continue to haunt the Vietnamese for decades afterwards. Napalm and Agent Orange, initially used to kill jungle foliage, rendered much of the soil unproductive. More seriously, they led to skin rashes, cancers and severe birth defects. In addition, land mines and a missing generation of young men were stark reminders of the horrors of the war. American bombing runs destroyed much of the infrastructure in northern Vietnam, and events such as the My Lai Massacre left deep distrust among many people.

▼ SOURCE 5.42

A boy born with protruding eyes and deformed limbs looks out the window in Peace Village at Tu Du hospital. The hospital in Ho Chi Minh City is home for children with disabilities believed to be caused by Agent Orange.



PRIME MINISTER PHAM VAN DONG

Yes, we defeated the United States. But now we are plagued by problems. We do not have enough to eat. We are a poor, underdeveloped nation. Waging a war is simple, but running a country is very difficult.

▼ SOURCE 5.41

Napalm bombs explode on Viet Cong structures.



▶ SOURCE 5.43

Agent Orange is sprayed on dense jungle in the Mekong Delta.



ANOTHER VIETNAM:
UNSEEN IMAGES

◀ SOURCE 5.44

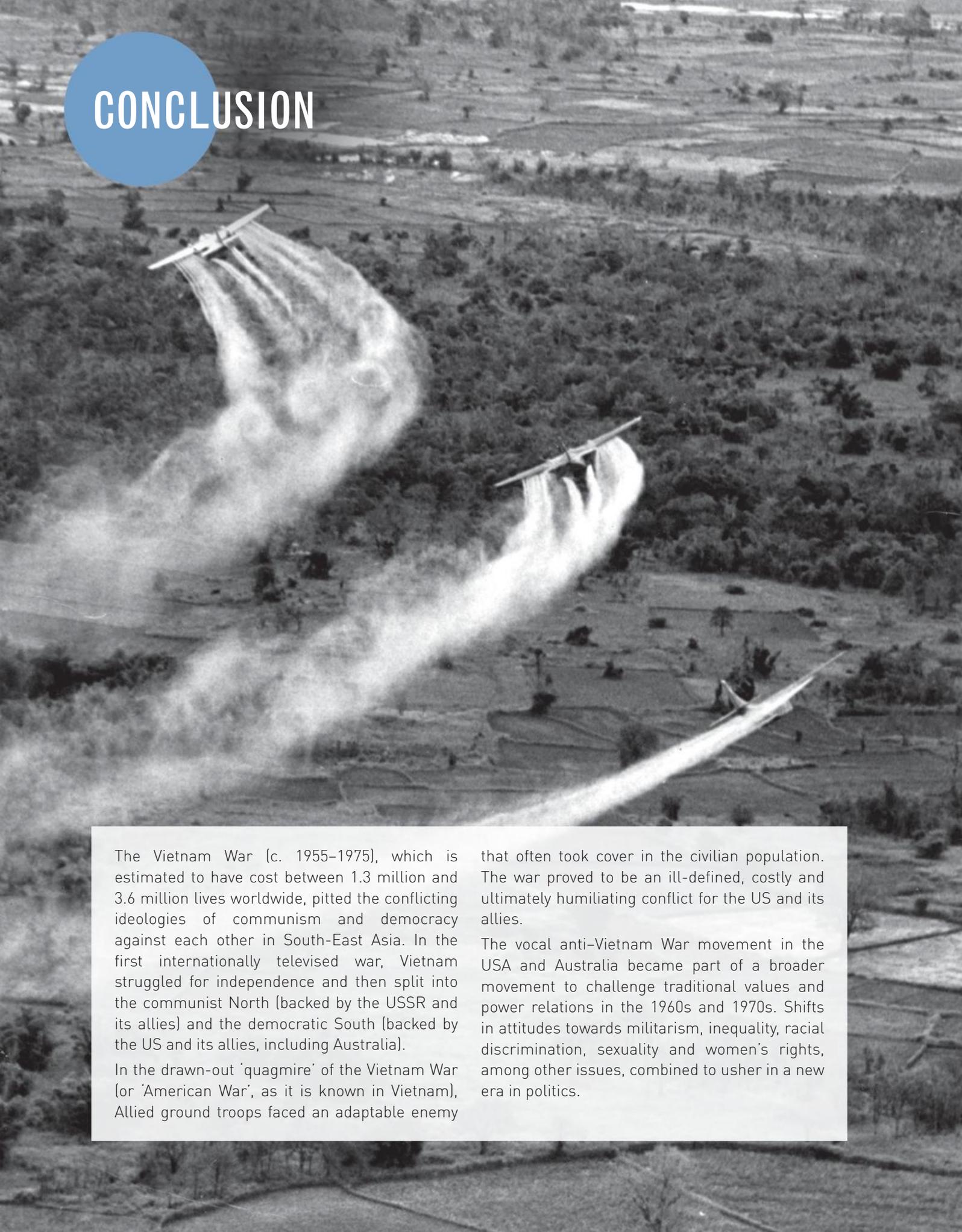
Stanley Kurnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1991).

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did support for the war effort continue to wane as the war progressed?
2. Why did some Vietnam veterans face isolation and even hostility after they returned home?
3. What psychological problems did many veterans face upon their return?

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

1. Why were people increasingly opposed to the war in Vietnam? How was this opposition expressed in popular culture?
2. How did beliefs about militarism change in the West after the Vietnam War? To what extent were people more critical of involvement in international conflicts?



CONCLUSION

The Vietnam War (c. 1955–1975), which is estimated to have cost between 1.3 million and 3.6 million lives worldwide, pitted the conflicting ideologies of communism and democracy against each other in South-East Asia. In the first internationally televised war, Vietnam struggled for independence and then split into the communist North (backed by the USSR and its allies) and the democratic South (backed by the US and its allies, including Australia).

In the drawn-out 'quagmire' of the Vietnam War (or 'American War', as it is known in Vietnam), Allied ground troops faced an adaptable enemy

that often took cover in the civilian population. The war proved to be an ill-defined, costly and ultimately humiliating conflict for the US and its allies.

The vocal anti-Vietnam War movement in the USA and Australia became part of a broader movement to challenge traditional values and power relations in the 1960s and 1970s. Shifts in attitudes towards militarism, inequality, racial discrimination, sexuality and women's rights, among other issues, combined to usher in a new era in politics.

CHAPTER REVIEW

- Using the information presented in this chapter, create a mind-map or flowchart that visually demonstrates the sequence of key events that led from the 1945 declaration of independence to the Fall of Saigon in 1975. Include primary source quotations and images or diagrams for two or three key events and references to the US, China and the USSR.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

- Explain why the United States became involved in the Vietnam War.
- Critically analyse why public opinion in the United States and Australia turned against the war, including the role of the media.
- Explain the consequences of war for Vietnam.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- 'The domino theory was used as justification for US and Allied support for a weak South Vietnamese government.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your answer.
- 'For the US, the Vietnam War was more about exerting political control than defeating communism.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your answer.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 5

FURTHER READING

Tim O'Brien, *If I Die in a Combat Zone* (New York: Random House, 1973).

This memoir of Vietnam service covers the author's time in Vietnam as a combat infantryman around My Lai, from 1969–70. It is one of the earliest books about Vietnam by a combatant. It is a clear-eyed, gripping account of O'Brien's war.

Stanley Karnow, *Vietnam: A History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997).

This is an outstanding and comprehensive picture of Vietnam over a twenty-five year period, stretching from French Indochina to a unified socialist state. Karnow worked as a journalist and had access to records from North Vietnam and South Vietnam, as well as France and the United States.

Gabriel Kolko, *Vietnam: Anatomy of Peace* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

Kolko explores the 'peace' that followed the 1975 reunification, discussing the shape of the new nation and the influences of the war and communism on its future direction.

Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2010).

This book is a comprehensive insight into the Vietnam War and Australia's involvement, particularly at the Battle of Long Tan. Ham uses a range of primary and secondary sources to flesh out the historical narrative.

Peter Edwards, *Australia and the Vietnam War* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2014).

In this fascinating book, Edwards explores the context of the Vietnam War and Australia's commitment to it. He skilfully highlights the divisions the war created within Australian society and controversy surrounding conscription.

Peggy Hanna, *Patriotism, Peace and Vietnam: A Memoir* (Ohio: Left to Write, 2003).

The author traces her memoirs of raising a young family during the late '60s and '70s in the United States. From a position of supporting the war effort, Hanna is eventually convinced that peace is the only way forward and she becomes a leading figure in the peace protests that swept the United States.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

'In the Communist World, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself.

... General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: come here to this gate! Mr Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

RONALD REAGAN, SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE,
WEST BERLIN, GERMANY, 12 JUNE 1987

INTRODUCTION

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the break-up of the Soviet Union into fifteen independent states in December 1991, the Cold War came to a sudden and dramatic end. The contest between communism and capitalism that had shaped world events for the previous 45 years was over. An end to confrontation and a willingness to negotiate on a range of issues marked an improvement in relations between

the Soviet Union and the United States that set the tone for events in Eastern Europe to take their course. The Eastern Bloc nations, propelled by the policies of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to allow greater freedom and autonomy, broke away from the strict control of Moscow. But did America 'win' the Cold War? Or did the Soviet Union—as some historians have argued—self-destruct?





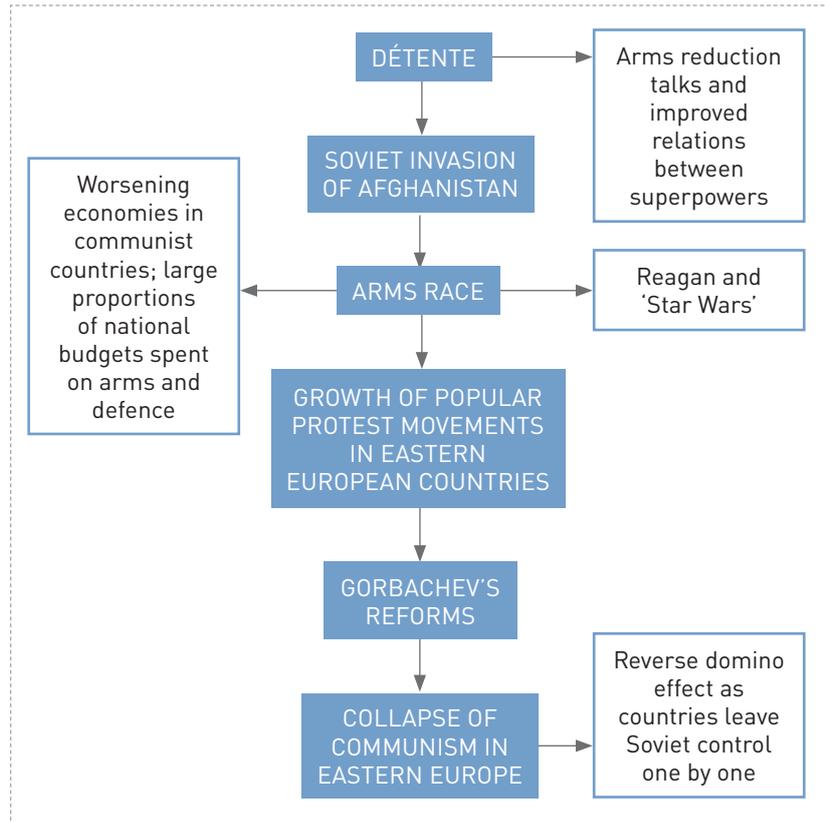
Fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989.

OVERVIEW

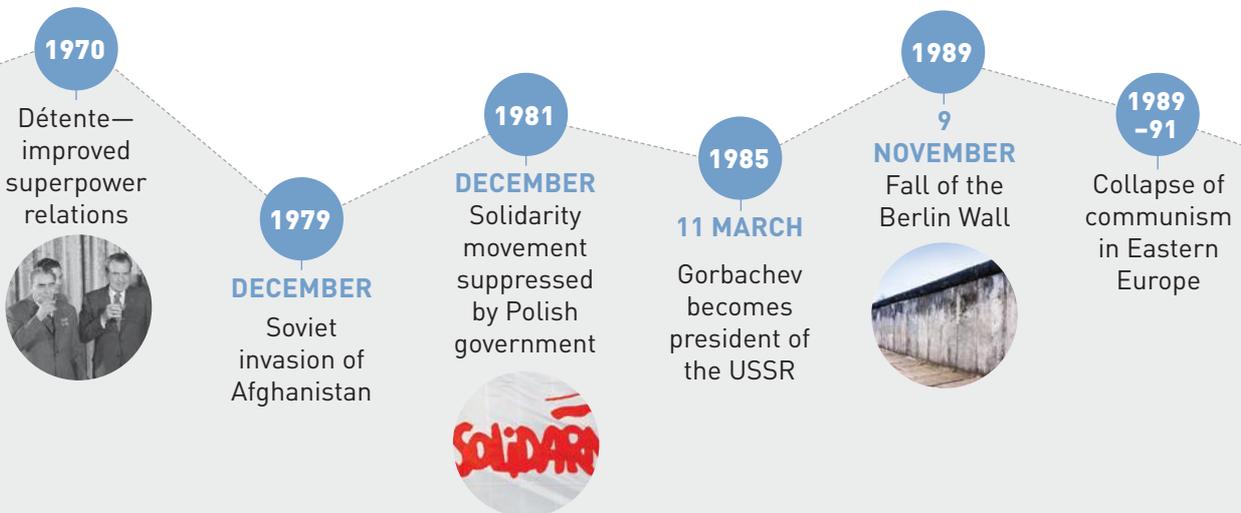
KEY QUESTIONS

- How and why did superpower rivalry change between 1970 and 1991?
- How did the political and economic situation in the Soviet Union in the 1980s affect its ability to compete with the United States?
- Did the arms race help to prolong the Cold War, or could it be argued that it helped bring the Cold War to an end?
- To what extent did the policies of Reagan and Gorbachev contribute to the end of the Cold War?

IN THIS CHAPTER / KEY EVENTS



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

- President of the Soviet Union 1985–91 and General Secretary of the Communist Party 1985–91
- Led efforts to democratise the Soviet political system and modernise and restructure (*perestroika*) the Soviet economy
- Allowed greater autonomy to Eastern European satellite states in the spirit of openness (*glasnost*).



RONALD REAGAN

- US president 1981–89 and former Hollywood actor
- Described the Soviet Union as the 'evil empire' and believed that increasing military spending would guarantee US supremacy and Cold War 'victory'.

GEORGE BUSH SR

- Vice-president to Reagan
- US president 1988–93 during the period that saw the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact, ending the Cold War.



LEONID BREZHNEV

- Leader of the USSR 1964–82
- Hardline communist who oversaw Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, but also began to ease relations with the West through détente.

MARGARET THATCHER

- Prime minister of Great Britain 1979–90
- A staunch ally of Reagan, with whom she shared a right-wing political and economic philosophy.

LECH WALESA

- Leader of the Polish independent trade union Solidarity 1980–90
- Imprisoned by Poland's communist government, became leader of millions of workers demanding greater democracy in Poland.



KEY TERMS

DÉTENTE

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

GLASNOST

Gorbachev's policy of 'openness', allowing greater freedom and democracy in Eastern Bloc nations. This included the ability to criticise and question the communist system, put forward new ideas and show initiative.

PERESTROIKA

Gorbachev's policy of restructuring the economy, which involved allowing some private enterprise and individual ownership of businesses in order to promote production, efficiency and higher-quality goods.

SOLIDARITY

Polish trade union movement. Initially illegal, it was free from the control of the Polish state.

STAR WARS

Name given to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a US proposal to use satellites and lasers to target enemy missiles from space.

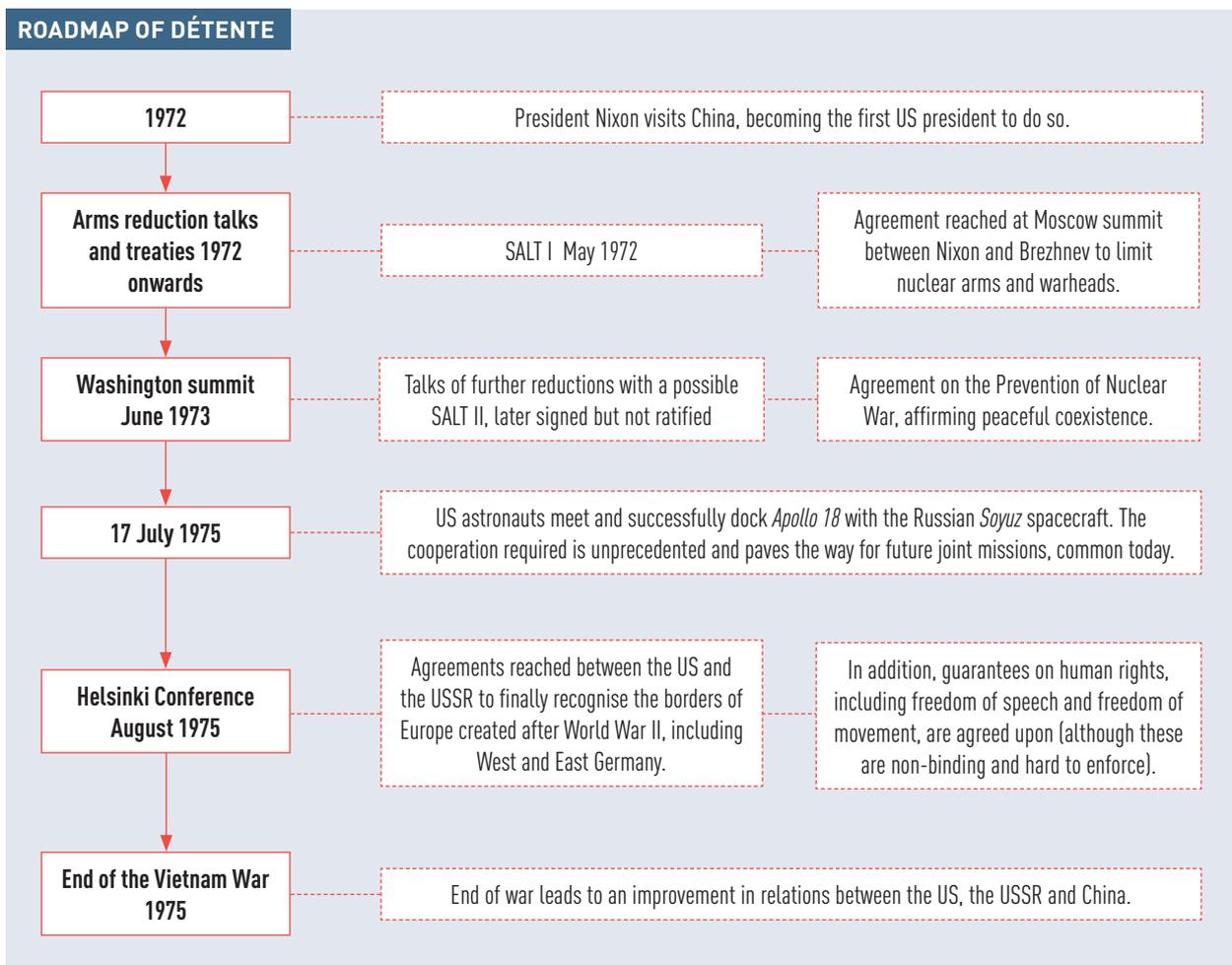
HISTORICAL INQUIRY

As you work through this chapter looking at the reasons for the end of the Cold War, you should use materials and ideas that you have developed to answer one of the following questions:

1. What role did the relative economic strengths and weaknesses of the superpowers play in the ending of the Cold War?
2. What was the impact of individuals and leaders in the ending of the Cold War?

WHY DÉTENTE?

For much of the 1970s, tensions between the US and the USSR eased. International meetings or summits were held regularly to discuss arms control and human rights issues. But why did détente occur at all? What had changed from previous decades?



ACTIVITY

MIND-MAP

Create a mind-map to show all the reasons why there was a thaw in the Cold War during the 1970s. (You could also add in some of your previous knowledge from effects of the Vietnam War on US society.)

The economic crises of the 1970s—with oil shortages and rising US debt—made détente and a reduction in US military spending necessary. Spending by the US military had peaked at US\$209 billion in 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War, but during the 1970s this dropped as far as US\$148bn. This was roughly 5 per cent of GDP. (The 1948–87 average was US\$162bn.)¹

However, at the same time, the Soviet Union was spending a far greater proportion of its national budget on military development and arms. It is estimated that military spending consumed as much as 20 per cent of GDP, usually at the expense of consumer goods.²

Soviet spending on the arms race contributed to a decade of economic stagnation under Brezhnev; this was later described by Gorbachev as the ‘Zombie Apocalypse’.³

US PRESIDENT GERALD FORD'S ADDRESS TO THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE, 1 AUGUST 1975

We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to mangle for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

In recent years, nations represented here have sought to ease potential conflicts. But much more remains to be done before we can congratulate ourselves.

Military competition must be controlled.

Economic competition must be restrained.

SOURCE 6.01

Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library & Museum, <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/speeches/750459.asp>

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What does President Ford mean when he refers to 'a safer world'?
2. What do you think he means by his comment 'or allow others to shirk'?
3. How does this source help us identify the motives of the United States in reducing the stockpiling of atomic weapons?
4. Research the attitudes of the Soviet Union at the Helsinki Conference. Were they similar or different to those of the United States?
5. The Helsinki Conference is often seen as the highpoint of détente. Evaluate to what extent Source 6.01 is useful in understanding the spirit of cooperation and better relations that existed at this time. Use the structure outlined in Chapter 1 (page 22) to help answer this question.

THE 1979 SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

During late 1978 and early 1979, the pro-Soviet regime in Afghanistan began to come under increasing pressure and face growing hostility from anti-communist Muslims who made up a guerilla force, collectively known as the *mujahideen*. To protect the Afghan regime, Brezhnev ordered Soviet forces to invade Afghanistan and the 40th Army entered the country on Christmas Day 1979.

Afghanistan was viewed as an important buffer state by the USSR, and they were anxious to avoid any expansion of Muslim fundamentalism into Soviet satellite states in the region. The overthrow of the Shah of Iran earlier in 1979 had demonstrated to Moscow the dangers of fundamentalism to Soviet stability and influence in central Asia.

The Soviet Union sent over 100 000 troops into Afghanistan to ensure the survival of their puppet government and

SOURCE 6.02

An Afghan mujahideen firing a handheld surface-to-air missile.



it is estimated between 1 and 1.5 million civilians died during this conflict. The justification of the invasion was the Brezhnev Doctrine (see Source 6.03), that was first outlined in a 1968 article in *Pravda* during the Czechoslovakia crisis:

➔ SOURCE 6.03

Sergei Kovalev, 'The Sovereignty and the International Obligations of Socialist Countries', from *Pravda*, 26 September 1968.

BREZHNEV DOCTRINE

When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries.



BREZHNEV
DOCTRINE: SOURCE
ANALYSIS

The United States reacted to the Soviet invasion by sending aid and arms through Pakistan to the mujahideen forces. Billions of dollars in cash and weapons were provided to the Afghan rebels by the United States and its Middle Eastern allies.⁴

Ironically, one of the Saudi Arabian fighters supporting the anti-Soviet Afghans was Osama bin Laden, later the architect of al-Qaeda and the 2001 'September 11' attacks on New York City and Washington DC using hijacked aeroplanes.

The Soviets had planned for an eighteen-month campaign to put down the Afghan uprising. Ten years later, when the last Soviet troops withdrew, over 13 000 Soviet troops were dead and almost 50 000 more were injured. The war had proved to be a moral, social and military disaster for the Soviet Union. What they left behind was a mess of warring factions and tribes who continued to struggle for dominance and control of Afghanistan, and who were now heavily armed with US weapons. One of these groups evolved in the early 1990s into the Taliban, an Islamic fundamentalist group who took control of the country and became a sanctuary for al-Qaeda. As a consequence of the 2001 al-Qaeda 9/11 attacks, a US-led NATO coalition invaded Afghanistan in 1991 and attempted to overthrow the Taliban, in a conflict that is still unresolved.

The events in Afghanistan marked an end to détente, and plunged the world into the New Cold War (or Second Cold War, as it is sometimes called).

Relations between the US and the USSR deteriorated quickly to the levels of the early 1960s. Boycotts of successive Olympic Games (see 'Sport in the Cold War') were the most obvious example of this but, in addition, more serious consequences were an end to most arms reduction talks and a new arms race.

ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were the reasons for the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan?
2. Afghanistan could be described as the 'Soviet Union's Vietnam'. What are the similarities between the two conflicts that give rise to this comparison?
3. How could the Brezhnev Doctrine in Source 6.03 be applied to Afghanistan?

SKILLS: CASE AND CONSEQUENCE

Create a table outlining the causes and effects of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

EXTENSION

Construct a graph to show the changing strength of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union 1968–1979.

SPORT IN THE COLD WAR

With the advent of the New Cold War from 1979, sport once again became a way in which the Cold War could be fought. Both superpowers saw sporting victory over their nemesis as a demonstration of the superiority of their way of life. The fact that their athletes, basketballers, ice-hockey players, volleyballers, boxers and gymnasts

were better was proof that the Soviet way, or the American way, was better. Sport became a propaganda tool that was easily understood by people on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Topping the medal table at the Summer Olympics or Winter Olympics became hugely important to both sides.

▼ SOURCE 6.04

THEOFILO STEVENSON



The Cuban heavyweight boxer won three Olympic gold medals: Munich 1972, Montreal 1976 and Moscow 1980.

▼ SOURCE 6.05

NADIA COMANECI



Romanian gymnast Comaneci won gold medals at the Montreal and Moscow Olympic Games. She was the first female gymnast to score a perfect 10.

▼ SOURCE 6.06

MARITA KOCH



Koch was an East German sprinter who won a gold medal at the Moscow Olympics, and once held ten world records.

▼ SOURCE 6.07

EDWIN MOSES



Moses won gold medals for the 400 m hurdles at the Montreal and Los Angeles Olympic Games.

Prior to 1988, US National Hockey League players were not allowed to compete at the Winter Olympics, which were strictly amateur. In the 1980 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid, New York, the US team, made up of 20 amateur players, defeated the USSR in the semi-final 4–3.

SOURCE 6.08

FAMOUS COMMENTATOR'S CALL ON AMERICAN NETWORK ABC

11 seconds, you've got 10 seconds, the countdown going on right now! Tomorrow, up to Silk, five seconds left in the game. Do you believe in miracles?! Yes!!!



FINAL MINUTES OF THE 'MIRACLE ON ICE'

Because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, US President Carter ordered the US team not to participate at the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games—and 65 other countries followed the boycott. Unsurprisingly, the Soviet Union topped the medal table with 80 gold medals.

SOURCE 6.09

1980 MOSCOW OLYMPICS

	COUNTRY	G	S	B	TOTAL
1	USSR	80	69	46	195
2	Democratic Republic of Germany	47	37	42	126
3	Bulgaria	8	16	17	41
4	Cuba	8	7	5	20
5	Italy	8	3	4	15
6	Hungary	7	10	15	32
7	Romania	6	6	13	25
8	France	6	5	3	14
9	Great Britain	5	7	9	21
10	Poland	3	14	15	32
15	Australia	2	2	5	9

Source: http://www.olympic.it/english/game/id_S1980

In retaliation for the Moscow boycott, fourteen Eastern Bloc nations, plus Cuba, refused to attend the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games. This time, the United States topped the medal table with 83 gold medals. The only Warsaw Pact country to take part, Romania, came second in the gold-medal tally with 20 gold medals.

SOURCE 6.10

1984 LOS ANGELES OLYMPICS

	COUNTRY	G	S	B	TOTAL
1	United States	83	61	30	174
2	Romania	20	16	17	53
3	West Germany	17	19	23	59
4	China	15	8	9	32
5	Italy	14	6	12	32
6	Canada	10	18	16	44
7	Japan	10	8	14	32
8	New Zealand	8	1	2	11
9	Yugoslavia	7	4	7	18
10	South Korea	6	6	7	19
15	Australia	4	8	12	24

Source: <http://www.databaseolympics.com/games/gamesyear.htm?g=21>

DID YOU KNOW?

Athletes from New Zealand won eight gold medals at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, and finished eighth on the medal table. This is New Zealand's most successful Olympic Games to date.

ACTIVITY

SPORT AND THE COLD WAR

1. Why was sport an important method of waging the Cold War?
2. Investigate the career of one athlete/sportsperson from both East and West and describe how these people became propaganda tools of their respective side of the Cold War.

REAGAN AND THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE (SDI) – STAR WARS

The election of Ronald Reagan as US president in November 1980 saw a return to the hardline anti-Soviet policies of earlier decades, and the advent of what many historians call the ‘New Cold War’. The early years of Reagan’s two-term presidency in particular saw great hostility and reignited tension between East and West. In March 1983, Reagan famously called the Soviet Union ‘the Evil Empire’.⁵

However, Reagan later arguably did more than any previous US president to ease tension and improve relations between the two sides. The fact that three Soviet leaders had died within three years—Brezhnev in 1982, Andropov in 1984 and Chernenko in 1985—made it very difficult for both sides to build a relationship or gain an understanding of each other.

In 1984, while waiting for a soundcheck before a broadcast on National Public Radio, Reagan made a joke to radio technicians. Although not meant for broadcast, the remark was later leaked to the general populace, leading the Soviet news agency TASS to declare that ‘The USSR condemns this unprecedented and hostile attack by the US president.’⁶



SOURCE 6.11

Ronald Reagan.

PRESIDENT REAGAN’S JOKE, 11 AUGUST 1984

My fellow Americans, I’m pleased to tell you today that I’ve signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

How do Reagan’s remarks and the Soviet response indicate the start of a New Cold War?

SOURCE 6.12

‘Storm as Reagan Bombing Joke Misfires’, *The Guardian*, 14 August 1984.



REAGAN’S JOKE

Before he was elected US president in 1980, Reagan had been vehemently opposed to détente and the SALT II treaty, as he believed they weakened the United States and benefitted the Soviet Union. The theory of ‘mutual deterrence’ or Mutual Assured Destruction (see Chapter 4) had only fuelled the nuclear arms race as both sides tried to gain an advantage. In March 1983 Reagan and his advisers announced the biggest military build-up in US history. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), dubbed ‘Star Wars’ by the media, was designed to give

the United States a military advantage but also, it was hoped, force the Soviets to increase their military budget and bankrupt their already fragile economy. The USSR's ongoing travails in Afghanistan and growing problems in Poland were already proving problematic, and Reagan and his advisers wanted to increase the pressure on diminishing Soviet resources—a tactic McMahan (1984) called 'economic warfare with the Soviet Union'.⁷

➔ SOURCE 6.13

Speech to the British Parliament, 8 June 1982, Ronald Reagan Library & Museum, <https://reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1982/60882a.htm>

RONALD REAGAN ON THE SOVIET ECONOMY

The Soviet Union ... is ... in deep economic difficulty... [A] country which employs one-fifth of its population in agriculture is unable to feed its own people ... The Soviet system pours its best resources into making instruments of destruction. The constant shrinkage of economic growth ... [and the] growth of military production is putting a heavy strain on the Soviet people.

➔ SOURCE 6.14

Jeff McMahan, Reagan and the World (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 3–4.

PHILOSOPHER JEFF MCMAHAN ON THE SOVIET ECONOMY

... Forcing the Russians to divert resources... to the production of arms will ... help to cripple the less robust Soviet economy, ultimately bringing about the collapse of the Soviet economy from within.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. According to Reagan and McMahan, how would the US development of Star Wars help them 'win' the Cold War?
2. Many historians have argued that, although Star Wars was never a realistic technological innovation (as it is still not operational today), that wasn't the point. Explain this perspective on this period of the Cold War.
3. How did the SDI (or Star Wars) affect US–Soviet relations up until 1985?

At the time there were many critics of Reagan, and of SDI in particular. Some questioned the cost but many experts doubted whether the system would even work.

➔ SOURCE 6.15

Wiesner, J. Scientific adviser to Kennedy and President of MIT, Boston, Interview in the New York Times with Anthony Lewis, 27 March 1983.

JEROME WIESNER, FORMER PRESIDENTIAL SCIENTIFIC ADVISER

There are ten thousand or more nuclear warheads on each side. A defense system that would knock out ninety or ninety-five per cent would be a miracle, and the remaining five or ten per cent would be enough to totally destroy civilization.

The increase in military spending on both sides and the re-escalation of the arms race were key characteristics of the New Cold War. New weapons had been developed by the United States, and Soviet forces responded with similar innovations.

The new arms race led to increasing fear in Western Europe, particularly during the early 1980s, that there would be a nuclear war and it would be fought mainly in Europe. There was an increase in protests against nuclear weapons and movements were set up to try to persuade governments to abolish nuclear



left SOURCE 6.16

The SS-20 Saber, also known as the RSD-10 Pioneer. This was an intermediate-range ballistic missile with a nuclear warhead, utilised by the Soviet Union between 1976 and 1988. It could reach targets in Europe and the Middle East.

weapons. In Britain, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which had begun in 1958, achieved a renaissance with a membership of over 250 000 people in 1983.⁸ In other European countries, protest marches against the proliferation of nuclear weapons were common events. In Holland in October 1983, a mass demonstration against the deployment of US nuclear warheads in the Netherlands drew a record crowd of over 500 000 people. In West Germany, the anti-nuclear movement morphed into a fully fledged political party, the Greens, which won 27 seats in the German Parliament in March 1983.

right SOURCE 6.17

The Pershing II, an intermediate-range ballistic missile with a nuclear warhead. These were deployed by the US Army at American bases in West Germany.



SOURCE 6.18

Anti-nuclear protesters outside the Greenham Common airfield in the UK, 1982.

SOURCE 6.19

An American flag is burned on the perimeter fence of the Rhein-Main Air Base in Germany, in protest at NATO's decision to deploy Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the purpose of 'Star Wars'?
2. What were the consequences of the proposal and development of Star Wars (SDI):
 - between the USA and USSR
 - for Europe.
3. Why were peace camps set up at places such as Greenham Common?

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points, explain what the main features of the New Cold War were. Use evidence to support your answer.

ACTIVITIES



NEW ARMS RACE:
CREATIVE RESPONSE



↑ Lech Walesa.

POLAND IN THE 1980s

By 1980, the Polish economy was in serious crisis. Workers went on strike in protest at high prices, low wages, and food and fuel shortages. At the Gdansk shipyards some of the militant workers also demanded the right to form free trade unions that could negotiate their rights and conditions with the government. Bowing to public pressure—and wishing to end the strike—the Polish Government gave in to demands. The new union, called Solidarity, quickly grew to 10 million members; it was led by a shipyard electrician named Lech Walesa.

REACTION FROM THE USSR

Why didn't the USSR send troops and tanks into Poland? In 1956 in Hungary and 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union dealt with any possible threat to communist authority with quick and forceful repression (see Chapter 3).

This time, the reaction towards Poland was different. This was due to a combination of factors:

- Preoccupation with, and worldwide criticism of, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- The US threat to sell weapons to China.
- The influence of Pope John Paul II, the first Polish Pope (see Source 6.20).

But Soviet leaders were worried and ordered a Polish crackdown on protests and the Solidarity movement. Poland was in danger of sinking into chaos. Due to continuing strikes, food supplies were running low and rationing was introduced in April 1981. National income, industrial production and foreign trade were all declining.

Anxious to avoid having Soviet forces invade to restore order, the Polish Army took over the government in December 1981 and declared martial law. General Wojciech Jaruzelski became leader of Poland. Riot police were ordered to use water cannons to break up meetings, and troops used tear gas. Solidarity leaders and up to 10000 Solidarity members were put in prison. In 1982, Solidarity was banned.

Partly because of the influence of Pope John Paul II (see Source 6.20), Jaruzelski began to introduce reforms to improve the economy and to work more closely with the Catholic Church. Although it took more than six years before the underground existence of Solidarity blossomed into the full-blown collapse of the communist system in Poland, perhaps the rise of Solidarity and the election of a Polish Pope heralded the beginning of the end.



↓ Gdansk Shipyard, the so-called 'cradle of Solidarity', where Polish workers went on strike in August 1980 under the leadership of Lech Walesa.



ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Soviet policy was consistent in 1956 and 1968, but different in 1980–81. Why did the Soviets react differently, and what was this course of action?

WAS SOLIDARITY ENOUGH TO BRING ABOUT A LASTING CHANGE?

There are those who argue that the election of a Polish Pope in 1978 was ‘the beginning of the end of Communism’ or, alternatively, that this accolade should be accorded to the emergence of Solidarity in Poland in 1980. These events may well have been the beginning of the end of communism in Poland, but even there a Communist system did not give way to a pluralist democracy until well into the Gorbachev era. Solidarity may have been much admired, but, itself it could lead only an underground existence from the imposition of martial law in December 1981 until 1988–9.

THE RESULTS OF AN OPINION POLL IN POLAND, NOVEMBER 1981

The people polled were asked whether they had confidence in key institutions in Poland. It is known that 11 per cent of those polled were Communist Party members.

Percentage of people with confidence in this institution



By December 1981, two clear conclusions could be drawn from events in Poland:

- The Polish people no longer trusted their communist government. Supporting Solidarity became the best way that Polish people could show that they no longer accepted the legitimacy of their government. The Communist Party no longer represented the majority of working people in Poland—its existence was fundamentally flawed.
- The only thing keeping the communists in power was the threat of force or the use of force. Once Jaruzelski decided to stop Solidarity, the trade union was easily crushed. However, in Jaruzelski’s wavering before making that decision, communist control appeared very shaky. A clear lesson was well absorbed by the Polish people—if force were not used, things could change.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were the main grievances of the Polish people at this time?
2. Why might these events in Poland 1978–82 have been described as the ‘beginning of the end’ for communism in Poland?
3. Other Eastern European communist states faced similar economic problems to Poland. What do you think made the Polish situation unusual or unique so that Solidarity wasn’t immediately followed by similar movements in other Soviet satellite states?

CLASS DISCUSSION

Why are the two conclusions explained in the dot points above significant for the future of Poland from 1981 onwards?

SOURCE 6.20

A. Brown, ‘Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War’, in R. Herrmann and R. Lebow (eds), *Ending the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004), 50. For a fuller elaboration of these arguments, see A. Brown, ‘Transnational Influences in the Transition from Communism’, in *Post Soviet Affairs* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 177–200.

SOURCE 6.21

Polish National Opinion Poll, November 1981



↑ Pope John Paul II.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY:
END OF COMMUNISM
IN POLAND



TIMELINE TASK

DID YOU KNOW?

As well as winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev also won a Grammy award in 2004. He shared the award with former US president Bill Clinton and actress Sophia Loren, for a children's spoken word album (based on the popular 'Peter and the Wolf' story) that they worked on together.



REAGAN AND GORBACHEV: GENEVA SUMMIT 1985

➔ SOURCE 6.22

A. Brown, 'Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War', in R. Herrmann and R. Lebow (eds), *Ending the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004), 33.

➔ SOURCE 6.23

Reagan Ronald, *An American Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 635.



SOURCE 6.25

General Secretary Gorbachev and Prime Minister Thatcher.

GORBACHEV AND REFORM OF THE SOVIET UNION

KJELL GOLDMANN: '[International Relations] scholarship from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s may be characterized as the accumulation of explanations of the Cold War's persistence ... The sum was a powerful theory of international non-change.'⁹

After four decades of Cold War tension and mutual antagonism beginning in 1945, most observers and political scholars expected most of the same to continue.

The selection of Mikhael Gorbachev as General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985 was decisive in breaking the cycle of East–West hostility, and bringing a new way of thinking to international relations.

The deaths in rapid succession of the previous Soviet leaders—Brezhnev (November 1982), Yuri Andropov (February 1984), and Konstantin Chernenko (March 1985)—had brought an end to the dominance of the Soviet 'old guard'. Gorbachev's comparative youth—he was only fifty-four when he was made leader—was a distinct advantage. Andropov had given Gorbachev extensive responsibilities during his fifteen months in power and wanted him to be his successor.

Gorbachev's 'new thinking' was a surprise to many in the Kremlin—as well as to many in the West. President Reagan's advisers persuaded him to deal with Gorbachev, as did his close ally British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

ANDROPOV ON GORBACHEV

'... he saw Gorbachev as the most capable and intelligent member of a new generation of party leaders, the one best equipped to carry on his own efforts to get the country moving again.'

REAGAN ON GORBACHEV

As we shook hands for the first time, I had to admit ... there was something likable about Gorbachev. There was warmth in his face and his style, not the coldness bordering on hatred I'd seen in most senior Soviet officials I'd met until then.

➔ SOURCE 6.24

Margaret Thatcher in interview with the BBC at Downing St, London, 17 December 1984 (in front of Soviet leader Gorbachev)

THATCHER ON GORBACHEV

'I like Mr. Gorbachev. We can do business together.'

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

How do these sources convey the idea that Gorbachev was different to his predecessors? Include examples in your answer.

GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA

Glasnost and *perestroika* were actually only half of a four-part plan designed and implemented by Gorbachev and his foreign policy adviser Eduard Shevardnadze (1985–90) to overcome the problems and inefficiencies of Soviet society. The failures of the communist system made reform and a new political and economic philosophy not just desirable but essential. Among those failures were low economic productivity; goods of sub-standard quality; queues and shortages of essential items; few incentives to make progress or work hard; increasing alcoholism.

The points of Gorbachev's four-point plan:

- **Glasnost:** cultural freedom and reduced censorship leading to greater *openness* in society, stimulating an environment for reform.
- **Perestroika:** *restructuring* and reform of the economy.
- **Democratizatsiya:** the spreading of *democratic* processes throughout the Soviet system.
- **Novomyshlenie:** an end to hostility with the West and promotion of new foreign relations.

These policies led to a more critical approach towards communism, and this encouraged reformers to push for further liberalisation. In particular, glasnost allowed Soviet citizens to criticise their leaders and Soviet history, something that had been forbidden previously when debate on the nature of communism and how to reform it was stifled. There were striking changes in human rights. Between 1989 and 1990, nearly all political prisoners were released. Churches were allowed to reopen and workers allowed to take direct action. During 1989 and 1990, a series of strikes hit the Soviet economy. In addition, the Soviet Government surrendered total control of the media, enabling further criticism and also offering citizens unprecedented knowledge of the past and the outside world.

GORBACHEV ON GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA

We want openness about public affairs in every sphere of life. People should know what is good and what is bad ... to multiply the good and combat the bad ...

Today, glasnost is a vivid example of a normal and favourable spiritual and moral atmosphere in society, which makes it possible for people to understand better what happened to us in the past, what is taking place now, what we are striving for and what our plans are ... to participate in the restructuring effort consciously.

SOURCE 6.26

M. Gorbachev, Perestroika: New Thinking for our Country and the World (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 75.

It was Gorbachev's intention to use these new policies to reform the Soviet system and make it work. Stamping out corruption by being able to speak more openly, encouraging everyone to do their jobs properly would, he believed, make communism work.

Perestroika, or restructuring of the economy, was intended to renew the socialist system, promising greater efficiency and productivity. The budget for the armed forces was cut in an effort to provide more services for the poor, and the space budget was halved. However, basic living conditions in the USSR continued to fall and perestroika was unable to remedy all of the problems of the Soviet economy.

A black market economy flourished, inflation increased and there were still shortages of various goods. Strikes provided angry citizens with an opportunity to vent their frustrations.

The new thinking applied to foreign policy as well. *Novomyshlenie* was a radical change of direction for the Soviet Union. If the economic reforms were to work, the Soviets had to change the international political environment because the Cold War was a disaster for the Soviet economy.

➔ SOURCE 6.27

London, 30 March 1987.

GORBACHEV IN A SPEECH TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT, 1987

'... we need peace to concentrate on the development of our society and to tackle the tasks of improving the life of the people.'

ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. According to Gorbachev, what was the purpose of the policies of glasnost and perestroika?
2. In what way was there a link between foreign and domestic policies in Gorbachev's 'new thinking'?
3. Were all of these ideas successfully implemented?

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Create a table to show what the reaction to these new ideas might have been from people in:

- the USSR
- Eastern Europe
- the West.

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Draw a concept map to explain Gorbachev's ideas and their consequences.

THE IMPACT OF GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA ON EASTERN EUROPE

A key component of perestroika was a reduction in military spending. The cost of military aid and subsidies to Soviet satellite states was too high for the already struggling Soviet economy. So Gorbachev introduced a policy to limit Soviet interference in the affairs of the Soviet satellite states.

Gorbachev also encouraged reform in the governments of Eastern Europe. Glasnost encouraged people to criticise their communist leaders without fear of Soviet intervention or reprisals. Gorbachev promised a 'No Tanks' policy instead, urging the satellite states to speed up reforms to revitalise socialism.

➔ SOURCE 6.28

'Sinatra Doctrine At Work in Warsaw Pact, Soviet says' article in the LA Times, 25 October 1989.

SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GENNADI GERASIMOV IN THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, 1989

We now have the Frank Sinatra Doctrine. He has a song 'I Did it My Way', so, every country decides on which road to take.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What does Gerasimov mean by the term 'Sinatra Doctrine'?
2. How do you think this comment would be greeted in the Soviet satellite states? Which people would view it positively? Which people might see the negative side?

DISASTER AT CHERNOBYL

On 26 April 1986 a nuclear power plant in the Ukrainian town of Chernobyl was destroyed by a series of explosions, followed by a major fire.

The economic, environmental and human costs were astronomical. Agricultural land was contaminated and countless livestock destroyed. An estimated 31 people died, and an unknown number of people were exposed to radiation poisoning, which caused cancers at unprecedented rates, particularly in Ukraine and neighbouring Belarus.

Radioactive particles spread throughout the western USSR, as far north as Sweden and Finland and as far south as Italy and Greece. It is estimated that the total cost exceeded eighteen billion roubles¹⁰ (equivalent to US\$18 billion at that time), a price that the Soviet Union could not afford.

Chernobyl came to symbolise all of the problems of the backward Soviet economy and highlight the apparent differences between the inefficient East and the modern and forward-looking West.



SOURCE 6.29

Mikhail Gorbachev, Memoirs (New York: Doubleday, 1996)

GORBACHEV ON CHERNOBYL

... the Chernobyl catastrophe was an historic turning point: there was the era before the disaster, and there is the very different era that has followed ...

The Chernobyl disaster, more than anything else, opened the possibility of much greater freedom of expression, to the point that the system as we knew it could no longer continue.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What was the 'freedom of expression' Gorbachev refers to known as?
2. Why, according to Gorbachev, did Chernobyl make 'greater freedom of expression' necessary? Carry out some research on 'glasnost' to support your answer.

SOURCE 6.30

Abandoned amusement park in Pripyat, a town in the exclusion zone.

SOURCE 6.31

The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant.



ACTIVITIES

EXTENSION

Create a spider diagram to assess the consequences of Chernobyl.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Do you agree that Chernobyl was a turning point in the collapse of communism?

There were many reasons for growing popular dissent against the governments of the Eastern Bloc countries. Years of resentment and frustration with restrictions and lack of freedoms were a way of life, but it was the economic issues that were the biggest cause of discontent. The state-controlled industries of Eastern Europe were inefficient in the quantity and quality of goods they produced. By the 1980s, the technology used in the East was becoming obsolete. Eastern Europe, reliant on Soviet technology, was falling behind the West.

Soviet living standards were also far behind the West. In those Soviet states that bordered West Germany and Austria, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary and East Germany, the glaring differences of life under capitalism—with greater consumer choice and western music, cinema and fashion—only served to highlight the failures of the Soviet economies.

Some governments in the Soviet satellite states began to attempt some measure of reform in response to Gorbachev's initiatives. More importantly, there was increasing pressure for change from the public. The gathering momentum of these popular protests and the speed of events took many by surprise. Those governments that resisted change quickly became isolated—and could no longer rely on Soviet tanks to bolster their grip on power.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 1989, before he was president, Lech Walesa addressed a Joint Meeting of Congress in the US, the first non-head of state to do so.

THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE

Over the course of 1989, government after government in the Eastern Bloc fell to the forces of anti-communism and Western influence. The chain of events that resulted in the dismantling of the Soviet Union began in Poland in 1988.



↑ Lech Walesa, president of Poland.

POLAND

In mid-1988, a series of strikes by workers escalated, with demands for lifting the ban on the Solidarity trade union. In April 1989, the government finally backed down—Solidarity was allowed to reform, and free elections were allowed in June. Solidarity candidates won 99 per cent of the seats in the Polish Senate in the second round of voting.

By August, a non-communist prime minister was chosen, and in December 1990 Lech Walesa was elected Polish president.

↓ SOURCE 6.32

The flag of Solidarity.



HUNGARY

Around the same time as events were unfolding in Poland, long-time pro-communist Hungarian leader, János Kádár, resigned. Kádár's resignation coincided with a wave of demonstrations and public protests demanding political reform. Non-communist parties, which had been banned for many years, began to re-emerge and negotiate with the government, and Gorbachev accepted this decision by

the Hungarian authorities. In May 1989, the Hungarian government took the unprecedented step of opening its border to Austria, allowing free transit between the two countries.

Thousands of East Europeans began to use the open border with Austria to escape to the West. East Germans began to go ‘on holiday’ to Hungary—and were never seen in their homeland again until after the fall of communism.



◀ SOURCE 6.33

Abandoned GDR cars in a forest near the border of Hungary and Austria in summer 1989. Thousands of tourists from the GDR took advantage of the dismantling of the barbed wire fences on Hungary’s western border and fled to West Germany.

In May 1990, free elections were held in Hungary. A group of anti-communist parties, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, won and started to lay the foundations for parliamentary democracy and a free market economy.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Events in Czechoslovakia followed a familiar pattern. Glasnost had stimulated popular criticism of the government. Gorbachev visited Prague in April 1987 but disappointed many Czechs by not urging their government to make reforms. Czech people became bolder and more conspicuous in expressing their dissatisfaction throughout 1988–9. Student demonstrations in Prague turned into public rallies and labour strikes. This became known as the ‘Velvet Revolution’ as the government bowed to public pressure and in November 1989 allowed new parties to form, giving up its monopoly on political power. Liberal playwright and dissident, Václav Havel, was elected president in December 1989.



▶ Václav Havel.

COMPARE AND CONTRAST

Compare and contrast the events leading to the collapse of communism in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, identifying any similarities and differences between them.

ACTIVITY

EAST GERMANY

By early 1989, the wave of anti-communist feeling sweeping through the Warsaw Pact countries had reached East Germany. Once Hungary opened its border with Austria, the exodus of thousands of East Germans leaving the country led to attempts by the government, led by long-serving hardliner, Erich Honecker, to stop the flow of emigrants. This resulted in protests held every Monday evening in several cities. *Montagsdemonstrationen* ('Monday demonstrations'), started in Leipzig on 4 September 1989. Thousands of East Germans camped out in the grounds of the West German embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia, demanding asylum in West Germany. Eventually trains carrying these protesters were allowed free passage through East Germany to the West.

In October 1989, the public demonstrations grew in size and frequency each week. In Leipzig, 70 000 people (out of a population of 500 000) protested on 9 October. On 16 October, 120 000 people showed up, and the next week more than 320 000 people chanted slogans such as *Wir Wollen Raus!* ('We Want Out!') and *Wir Sind Das Volk!* ('We Are the People!'), a stark reminder that the government did not represent the majority of its citizens.

On 18 October Honecker resigned, having failed to attract support from Gorbachev, who said that Soviet troops would not intervene to stop demonstrations by East Germans. The new leader, Egon Krenz, decided to ease the flood of refugees leaving East Germany via Hungary or via the West German embassy in Prague by opening several crossing points between East and West Germany, including East and West Berlin. The decision was announced on West German television on 9 November 1989—which meant that all of East Germany would hear it, as most East Germans had tuned their televisions to West German channels.

➔ SOURCE 6.34

Broadcast on Tagesthemen (a program on West German television station SRD) cited in M. E. Sarotte, 'How it Went Down: The Little Accident that Toppled History', Washington Post, November 2009.

OPENING THE BORDER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BERLIN

This is a historic day. East Germany has announced that, starting immediately, its borders are open to everyone. The GDR is opening its borders ... the gates in the Berlin Wall stand open.



Huge crowds gathered immediately at the checkpoints between East and West Berlin. Later that night, the checkpoints were opened and people were freely allowed to cross from East to West amid scenes of great rejoicing and celebration.

Crowds of East and West Berliners danced on top of the Berlin Wall, and soon sledgehammers and pickaxes were used to begin the people's demolition of the most potent symbol of the Cold War.

In March 1990, East Germany held free elections and a non-communist government was formed. In July, the move towards a single currency was ratified; in August, a reunification treaty was agreed between East and West Germany. In December 1990, the first free, all-German election was held.



BBC NEWS: THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

ACTIVITIES

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. Explain why Poland became the first East European state to have a non-communist government.
2. Some historians have described these events as a 'reverse domino theory.' Explain what this means.
3. Assess the significance of Mikhail Gorbachev in the events that occurred in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in the period 1988–89.

EXTENSION

Create a front-page newspaper article from the perspective of *either* a pro-communist East German *or* an anti-communist West German. The article will be dated 11 November 1989, the day after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In your article include the following:

- A provocative title, and an image or cartoon that grabs the reader's attention.
- A feature article that explains the events that led up to this momentous change.
- An editorial that sets out your view of the changes.
- The thoughts of your country's leader and the general public. You could include some made-up quotes to add empathy.
- A profile of your country's leader.
- An interview with a member of the public.
- A quote from a primary source.



SOURCE 6.35

Fall of the Berlin wall, Brandenburg Gate, 10 November 1989.

DID YOU KNOW?

Although some pieces of the Berlin Wall were saved as mementos or sold as souvenirs, most of the rest, some 900 000 tonnes of concrete, was pulverised for use in road construction.

OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES

Romania and Bulgaria also experienced ‘people power’ revolutions against their communist governments. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall, Bulgarian crowds gathered in the Bulgarian capital, Sofia, demanding reforms and democracy. In February 1990, the Bulgarian Communist Party gave up its monopoly on power, and free elections were held four months later.

The Romanian revolution was bloodier than all the other revolts. The Ceausescu communist government resisted all demands for change and the regime

was brutally bolstered by the secret police force, the Securitate. However, demonstrations continued despite killings and mass arrests.¹¹

Between 21 and 24 December 1989, rebellions began in Timișoara, then spread to Bucharest and throughout the country. The Romanian army, rather than stopping the protests, joined them. Ceausescu and his wife attempted to flee the country but were stopped by the army and returned to Bucharest to face trial. After a farcical show trial, the Ceausescus were shot by firing squad on 25 December 1989. In May 1990, free elections were held and the National Salvation Front emerged victorious.

▼ SOURCE 6.36

The *Daily Telegraph*
27 December 1989
announcing the execution
of Romanian communist
leader Nicolae Ceausescu.



◀ SOURCE 6.37

The front cover of British magazine *Private Eye*, 5 January 1990, featuring Ceausescu with the Queen and Prince Phillip.

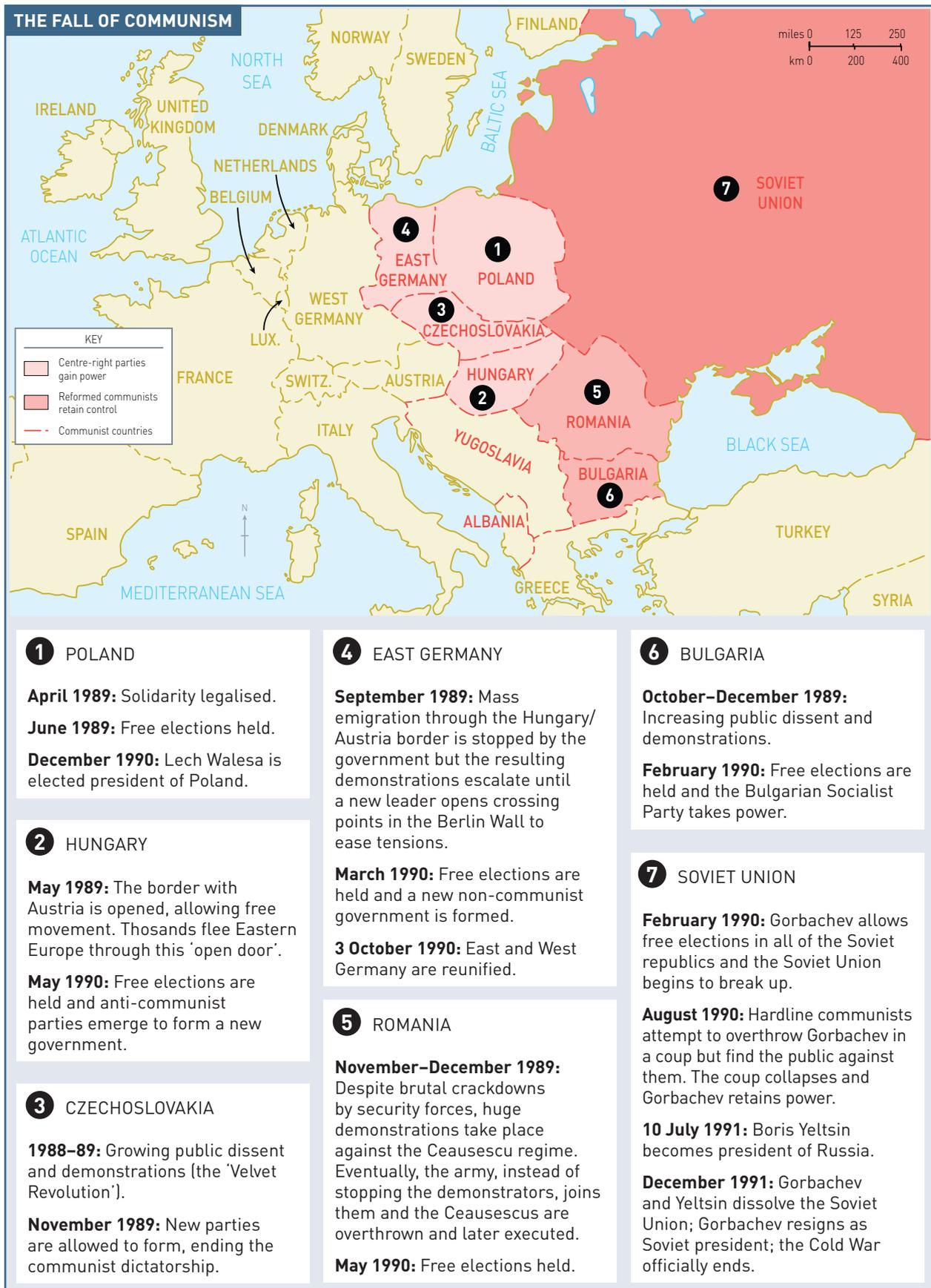
ACTIVITIES

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the people in the picture.
2. What is the significance of:
 - a) the title of the image
 - b) the border text ‘Memorial Issue’
 - c) the date?
3. How does the text in the speech bubbles capture the way that the Ceausescu regime was viewed by many in the West?

SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE

What were the similarities and differences between the downfall of communism in Romania and the other Soviet satellite states?





COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION SONG



END OF THE COLD WAR: TIMELINE TASK



EVALUATING THE COLD WAR: ESSAY TOPICS

DID YOU KNOW?

In May 2015, Ukraine president Petro Poroshenko signed 'de-communisation laws' banning communist symbols and monuments. This led to the removal of hundreds of Vladimir Lenin statues across the country.

SOURCE 6.38

Dismantling Ukraine's largest statue of communist leader Lenin, March 2016.

THE FALL OF THE SOVIET UNION

The tumultuous events of 1989–90 also affected the USSR. In February 1990, Gorbachev passed a law to allow free elections on secession and independence from the USSR for all fifteen Soviet states. One by one, the republics surrounding Russia declared their independence from the USSR. In March 1990, Lithuania became the first Soviet state to break away from the USSR entirely, followed closely by Estonia in March and Latvia in May.

Fearing the break-up of the USSR, Russian communist hardliners launched an attempt to overthrow Gorbachev in August 1991. They placed Gorbachev under house arrest in the Crimea (where he was on holiday).

Boris Yeltsin, prime minister of the recently created Russian Federation, condemned the coup and gained huge popular support. On 21 August, the coup collapsed, along with any possible return to totalitarianism and communism.

Perestroika and glasnost had given the people of Russia the confidence and ability to stand up for their right to democracy. The leaders of the coup were arrested and Gorbachev returned to Moscow to negotiate the ending of the Soviet Union and communist Russia. He resigned on 25 December 1991 and the Cold War officially ended.

ACTIVITIES

CREATIVE RESPONSE

Describe the events of the collapse of the Soviet Union in an annotated and illustrated timeline, covering the period 1985–91.

EXTENSION

Research what happened in Russia in the period December 1991–December 1999, when Boris Yeltsin was Russian president.



THE FALL OF THE USSR: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

The end of the Soviet Union in December 1991 left commentators and historians wondering how it had happened so quickly. How had this powerful, ideologically-driven, centrally-planned economy unravelled in six or so years? How did the USSR fall without significant armed conflict? To what extent did Mikhail Gorbachev succeed in changing society? And perhaps most importantly, what was the legacy of the 'world's great socialist experiment'?



CNN COLD WAR
SPECIAL

INTERPRETATION 1: ARCHIE BROWN

The USSR was first reformed, then transformed, and then disintegrated all within the space of six and a half years ... Seldom, if ever, has a highly authoritarian political system, deploying military means sufficient to destroy life on earth, been destroyed so peacefully.

← SOURCE 6.39

Archie Brown, *Reform, Coup and Collapse: The End of the Soviet State* (2011), http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/coldwar/soviet_end_01.shtml

INTERPRETATION 2: RICHARD SAKWA

He [Gorbachev] was certainly 'a magnificent failure', but he was also 'a tragic success'. His unstable mix of reform communism and communism of reform failed to achieve the aspirations of either, while his statecraft was unable to keep the country together; but he avoided civil war, oversaw the disintegration of the country without inter-state war, and achieved the end of the Cold War without international conflict.

← SOURCE 6.40

Richard Sakwa, 'The Soviet Collapse: Contradictions and Neo-Modernization', *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, vol. 4 (January 2013): 65–77.

INTERPRETATION 3: ROBERT SERVICE

Gorbachev's reforms themselves undermined some of the principle features of socialist rule in the USSR, e.g. atheism, mono-ideological control, one-party state, economic monopoly and the suspendability of law. Gorbachev's ideology itself—his focus on 'all-human values' instead of the class struggle, the rule of law, international peace and proper parliamentary representation have more resonance with John Stuart Mill than Karl Marx.

← SOURCE 6.41

Robert Service, *History of Modern Russia: From Nicholas II to Putin* (London: Penguin, 1997) 16.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

Answer the following questions in relation to Sources 6.39–6.41.

1. Referring to Source 6.39, which set of policies is Brown referring to as the reform of the Soviet Union?
2. How does Brown convey the sense of surprise that most observers felt at the speed of events that led to the end of the Soviet Union?
3. Referring to Source 6.40, in what ways was Gorbachev either 'a magnificent failure' or 'a tragic success'?
4. Using Source 6.41 and your own knowledge, explain how Gorbachev's reforms undermined the key principles of Soviet rule, as identified by Service.
5. To what extent do the three sources agree on their assessment of the role of Gorbachev in the ending of communism and the downfall of the Soviet Union?

CONCLUSION

The end of the Cold War occurred so rapidly that it took most observers by surprise. There is still ongoing debate about the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet system, but most historians would agree with Ball (1998) who argued that there is 'little doubt that the Cold War came to an end as the result of Soviet economic failure.'¹²

The speed of events behind the Iron Curtain meant that there was a political vacuum in terms of who would now have control of the vast stockpile of nuclear warheads in the former Soviet Union. Would the new Ukrainian Republic be in charge of the SS-20 missiles based in silos in their country, or would they belong to Russia? Some of these issues have been resolved, but the political and economic chaos created in this era is still having repercussions today.

It is estimated that the United States and the Soviet Union both spent trillions of dollars on defence during the Cold War era. They both paid a high price by diverting money from domestic social, educational and other programs into defence. President Johnson's plan for the Great Society died with the increasing cost of the Vietnam War. It is unknown how much of the Soviet budget was spent on the arms race, but it is estimated to have been between 12 and 20 per cent of GDP, money that could have been better spent elsewhere.

The Cold War was typified by censorship and restrictions on both sides. Propaganda and biased reporting created a mentality that was very hard to break down, and distrust of each other's motives exists between the United States and Russia to this day.

CHAPTER REVIEW

'Communism was dying from a lack of legitimacy, but its death came when it attempted to acquire democratic legitimacy.'

P. Hassner, 'Communism: A Coroner's Inquest', Journal of Democracy, vol. 1. no. 14 (1990): 3.

'In America there is a triumphalist discourse which suggests that the Soviet demise was a deliberate act plotted and executed by Ronald Reagan, notably through engineering lower oil prices and then by launching the Star Wars Initiative, accompanied by the arming of the mujahideen in Afghanistan with Stinger rockets.'

Richard Sakwa, 'The Soviet Collapse: Contradictions and Neo-Modernization', Journal of Eurasian Studies, vol. 4 (January 2013): 65-77.

Using the information in both of these sources and your own knowledge, explain why communism failed in the Soviet Union.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

1. Explain how US President Reagan was responsible for the end of the Cold War.
2. Explain how Soviet leader Gorbachev was responsible for the end of the Cold War.

3. Analyse the link between the economic problems of the Soviet Union and its ability to compete with the United States.
4. Explain the importance of the arms race in the end of the Cold War.
5. Explain the importance of 'people power' in the collapse of communism in the Soviet Bloc.

ESSAY

'While the Cold War came to an end as a result of a combination of factors, Gorbachev's policies were by far the most significant.'

To what extent do you agree?

In your response, analyse a wide range of causes behind the collapse of communism and assess their overall importance on the ending of the Soviet Union.



ESSAY POINTERS

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 6

FURTHER READING

David Remnick, *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Vintage, 1994).

Remnick won the Pulitzer Prize for this book about the fall of Communism. He writes, 'Once the regime eased up enough to permit a full-scale examination of the Soviet past, radical change was inevitable. Once the System showed itself for what it was and had been, it was doomed.'

Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009).

Brown, Emeritus Professor of Politics at Oxford University, has written a highly readable account of the origins, development and collapse of the communist system in the Soviet Union.

Jack Matlock, *Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended* (New York: Random House, 2005).

Reagan's former ambassador to the USSR and key adviser on Soviet and Eastern European affairs, Matlock gives an insider's account of how the Cold War ended.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

John Lewis Gaddis is one of the leading authorities on post-war American foreign policy. In these perceptive, highly readable essays, he provides a fresh assessment of the evolution of the ending of the Cold War.

Robert Service, *The End of the Cold War 1985-1991* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2015).

The most recent account of the ending of the Cold War. With a particular focus on four of the key figures: Reagan and Gorbachev, along with Schulz and Shevardnadze (the opposing foreign policy advisors who helped guide their leaders). Drawing on new archival research, Robert Service's investigation gives equal attention to the internal deliberations from both sides of the Iron Curtain.

👉 *Monument to the Malta Summit, held in 1990 and attended by US president George Bush and USSR leader Mikhail Gorbachev.*



CHALLENGE AND CHANGE

What were the significant causes of challenge to and change in existing political and social orders in the second half of the twentieth century?

How did the actions and ideas of popular movements and individuals contribute to change?

What impacts did challenge and change have on nations and people?

DECOLONISATION

Roland Burke: ‘In the global history of human rights in the twentieth century, decolonization is one of the most interesting fields to study. The independence of practically all of Africa’s and Asia’s nations, gained in the almost miraculously short span of the two decades after the Second World War, was one of the most dramatic processes of political emancipation in world history. The events and the consequences of decolonization were to profoundly shape international politics until at least the end of the century.’¹



↑ Australian prime minister Gough Whitlam in Papua New Guinea celebrating the country’s independence from Australia, 1975.

KEY POINTS

- The process of granting independence to colonial possessions shaped much of the late twentieth century
- The experience of decolonisation varied from country to country
- The twenty-first century world is, in some ways, still grappling with the fallout from decolonisation.

INTRODUCTION

Colonisation—when one country takes over and rules another—has been going on in various forms for thousands of years. Following the Age of Discovery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it became almost mandatory for European nations to develop colonial empires. Driven

KEY TERMS

Colonisation

The process where one country—usually a wealthy and powerful country—takes control of another country and rules it as a subordinate.

Colony

A territory taken over and ruled by another usually wealthier and more powerful country.

Imperialism

Process where one country imposes its control over a less developed country.

Empire

A large collection of overseas colonial territories.

Mandate

An arrangement under the League of Nations (and later the United Nations), whereby one country is asked to take responsibility for another, under specified terms and usually for a limited term.

Sphere of influence

When a country claims exclusive control over a foreign area or territory.

Decolonisation

Process where former colonies achieve independence and regain control over their political systems, economy and culture.

by the desire for raw materials, luxury goods, a cheap labour force and international prestige, European nations took ownership and control of large areas of the world. They established colonies in Africa, North and South America, Asia and the Pacific, showing little regard for the people, the culture or the independence of the nations they colonised. Competition

among European nations for colonial 'possessions' was very strong, and played a significant role in the rivalry that led up to World War I.

By 1914, Britain had the largest colonial empire in the world, controlling territory on almost every continent. The French colonial empire covered much of Northern Africa and parts of South-East Asia (notably Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia), and the Dutch had colonial possessions in the area now known as Indonesia. Italy controlled large parts of Northern Africa. Following World War I, Australia was granted a League of Nations mandate to rule New Guinea.

The unravelling of colonial empires began with the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, but the most significant period of decolonisation came in the decades after World War II. A bitter world war had been fought against territorial aggression and for the right to self-determination. In the post-war world, it seemed logical that these principles should be extended to the estimated 700 million people living under the colonial 'yoke.'

The process of decolonisation formed a backdrop to many world events in the mid- to late-twentieth century. Millions of people who had been under the control of European nations for decades gradually achieved their independence. The transition from colonial possession to independent nation was not always easy—and some nations are still grappling with the fallout from imperialism well into the twenty-first century.

DECOLONISATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

The years 1945 to 1975 saw one of the most significant periods of territorial change in recent history. Over one hundred countries that were formerly the colonies of European nations have gained their independence since 1945. Some of the impetus for decolonisation came from people within the colonial possessions themselves. In other countries, there was a realisation by the colonial overlords that the 'age of empires' was no longer appropriate. The newly formed United Nations showed its commitment to national self-determination in its 1948 Charter.

DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES

Self-government for former colonial possessions was achieved through a variety of methods, from peaceful negotiation to violent conflict. In some situations, such as the decolonisation of the Congo from Belgium, the handover of power was swift. In other situations, such as Kenya, independence from Britain followed an eleven-year battle that was initially violent but culminated in a peaceful transition.

VIETNAM

In the former French colonies of Indochina, independence movements were thwarted on two

SOURCE 1

CHAPTER XI, ARTICLE 73 OF THE 1948 UN CHARTER

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- a) to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- b) to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement. ...

Charter of the United Nations, Article 73.

<http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter11.shtml>

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Write in your own words what article 73 is actually saying about decolonisation.
2. Which of these aims or principles could be achieved relatively easily?
3. Which of these aims or principles could present the greatest difficulties? Why?

occasions. Following the Japanese defeat at the end of World War II, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos declared their independence from France. However, growing fears of communism led the United States and other European countries to support France's return as colonial overlord. An eight-year guerrilla war between the French and the forces of the Viet Minh followed. With the Vietnamese victory over French forces in the 1954 battle of Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese declared their independence for the second time.

Once again, European powers stepped in and Vietnam was divided along the 17th parallel. Both North and South Vietnam were technically independent countries, but Vietnam was not the united nation that most Vietnamese people wanted. A promised election that would unite the nation was never held and it was not until 1975—after another twenty years of war—that Vietnam could be said to be united, independent and free from outside influence.

INDONESIA

The Indonesian situation echoed that of Vietnam at the end of World War II. The Dutch had begun trading in the archipelago that became Indonesia as early as 1602, and the area had been part of the Dutch Empire since 1799. But the Indonesian nationalist movement had strengthened during the Japanese occupation of World War II, and there was an expectation that the Dutch would grant independence to the archipelago. On 17 August 1945, Sukarno, leader of the Nationalist

Party (PNI), declared Indonesia's independence. However, the Dutch were determined to return to colonial control of the country, as Indonesia was considered too important to the Dutch economy to be set free. A four-year struggle followed before the Independent Republic of Indonesia was recognised on 27 December 1949.

THE PHILIPPINES

Not all decolonisation movements involved bitter struggle. The Philippines had been a colony of the United States since 1898 and in the early years there were tensions between the US and Filipino independence activists. The colonisers began steps towards granting independence in the years prior to World War II, and on 4 July 1946 the USA recognised the sovereignty of the Republic of the Philippines.

ADJUSTMENT TO DECOLONISATION

Just as the movements towards decolonisation varied, so too did the experiences of the 700 million people and over one hundred newly independent nations. Many former colonial territories had lived under imperial control for decades—or even centuries. They had little experience of administration or managing their own affairs. Traditional culture and values had often been undermined, as the colonial powers had introduced their own religion, language, education systems and ways of living.



MORE INFO:
INDEPENDENCE
LEADERS

INDIA

Adjustment to decolonisation proved to be a difficult process for many new nations. India was a British colony from the 1850s, and it took nearly a century of independence movements before the people of India and Pakistan achieved independence in August 1947. Historians have suggested that, despite the long campaigns for independence, Britain agreed to hand over self-government too hastily and with little preparation for what was to follow.

One of the biggest issues facing British India was the presence of two significant religious groups—Hindus and Muslims. In a hastily developed plan, it was decided to create two countries: Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. The division only partly reflected the centres of population of the two religious groups and the result was significant bloodshed and mass migration of people between the two countries.

THE CONGO

Adjustment to decolonisation was also followed by instability and turmoil in the former Belgian Congo. The Kingdom of Belgium had ruled over the Congo, a large and bountiful territory in central Africa, since the late nineteenth century. A combination of violent aggression and passive resistance from the people of the Congo led to their independence in June 1960.

Initially, the Belgian government had considered a slow and gradual movement towards independence, but violent riots in Leopoldville in 1959 hastened progress. As a consequence of this haste and

the lack of real preparation for independence, the Congo (which was called Zaire 1971–1997, and Democratic Republic of the Congo since then) was to experience decades of chaos, characterised by assassinations, uprisings and mutinies, as well as the loss of many thousands of lives.

The new nation became a battleground during the Cold War, where communists and anti-communists fought for ascendancy. The first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, was regarded as too left wing by US President Eisenhower and by many Western European

leaders. Lumumba's 1961 assassination and his replacement by the conservative and pro-Western Joseph Mobutu set the scene for further instability.

SINGAPORE

A different experience of independence followed the decolonisation of Singapore in 1959. A British colony since 1819, the island of Singapore had been granted permission to plan for a transition towards independence in 1953. In 1959, after elections were held to create an independent state, the People's

Action Party (PAP), under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, took control of Singapore. Lee was to remain prime minister until 1990 and the PAP remains in power in Singapore today.

However, the transition was not as smooth as it appeared at first. Various forces within Singapore and the neighbouring British colony of Malaya believed that the union of the two countries would be beneficial for both. An attempt at unity, through establishing the new nation of Malaysia, was made in 1963, but it lasted only two years. Ethnic tensions and power struggles led to considerable tensions and, in August 1965, Singapore was expelled from Malaysia. For Lee Kuan Yew, this event was initially disappointing. But within several years, Singapore was proving that it could stand alone and flourish as a separate nation.

↓ SOURCE 2

The front page of the *Times of India*, 15 August 1947—the day that India was declared independent and British colonialism came to an end.



↓ SOURCE 3

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH MR LEE KUAN YEW, PRIME MINISTER OF SINGAPORE (TRANSCRIPT)

For me it is a moment of anguish because all my life ... I have believed in merger and the unity of these two territories. You know, it's a people, connected by geography, economics, and ties of kinship. Would you mind if we stop for a while? [pause for Mr Lee to regain his composure]

[Several paragraphs later] There is nothing to be worried about it. Many things will go on just as usual. But be firm, be calm. We are going to have a multi-racial nation in Singapore ... Everybody will have his place: equal; language, culture, religion.

*Transcript of an emotional press conference on 9 August 1965,
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31582842>*

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Even today, in the post-colonial world, remains of colonial regimes can be found in former colonies, especially in their legal and political systems, language, food and building styles. Research one aspect of life that reflects an adaptation of colonial and traditional influence in a country that was once part of the British, French, Dutch or Portuguese empires. Prepare a newspaper article, poster or class presentation to demonstrate your findings.



THE TIMES OF INDIA:
SOURCE ANALYSIS



PRESS CONFERENCE:
SOURCE ANALYSIS



SKILLS: CONTINUITY
AND CHANGE

CHAPTER
7

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.’

UNITED STATES DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776

‘There are those who say to you – we are rushing this issue of civil rights. I say we are 172 years late.’

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, JULY 1948.

INTRODUCTION

In the mid-twentieth century, men and women of the United States set out on a fight against the status quo. World War II had come to an end and African-American soldiers were good enough to die for their country, but not good enough to sit on a bus or drink at a water fountain with white Americans.

Armed with, as Barack Obama said in 2015, ‘a peaceful and determined insistence upon the ideals at the center of America’s founding’, activists challenged

the long-standing race issues prevalent in American society.¹ Events such as the Montgomery bus boycott, the Freedom Rides and the March on Washington highlighted the struggle for civil rights—and created a groundswell of support across the nation and overseas. Individuals such as Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Rosa Parks were fearless, and instilled in others the courage to stand up for racial equality in the face of suppression and violence.





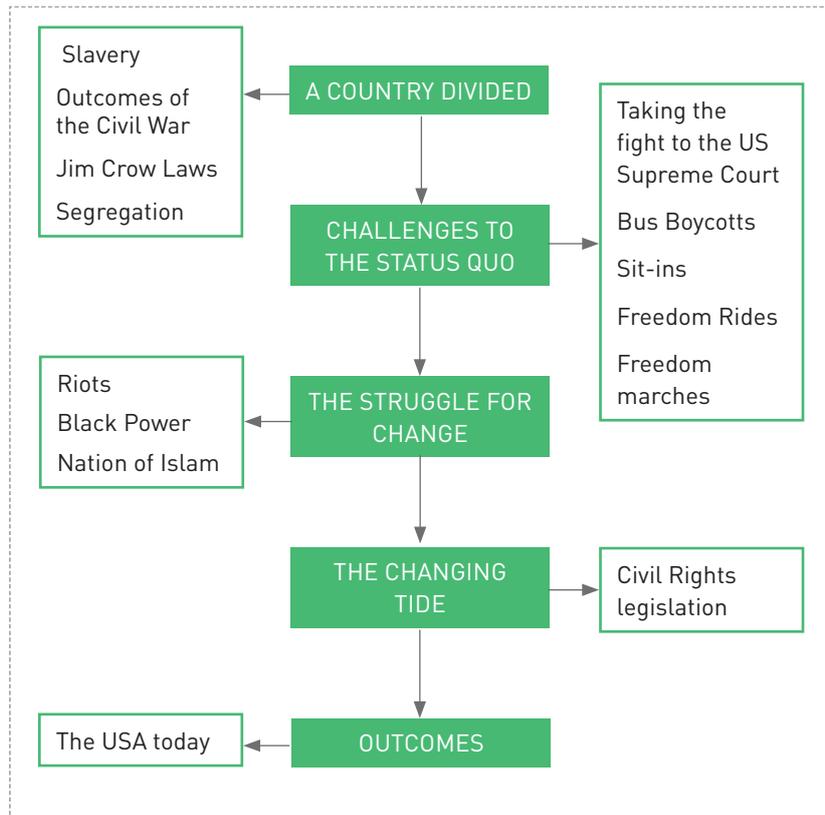
A civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, 1965.

OVERVIEW

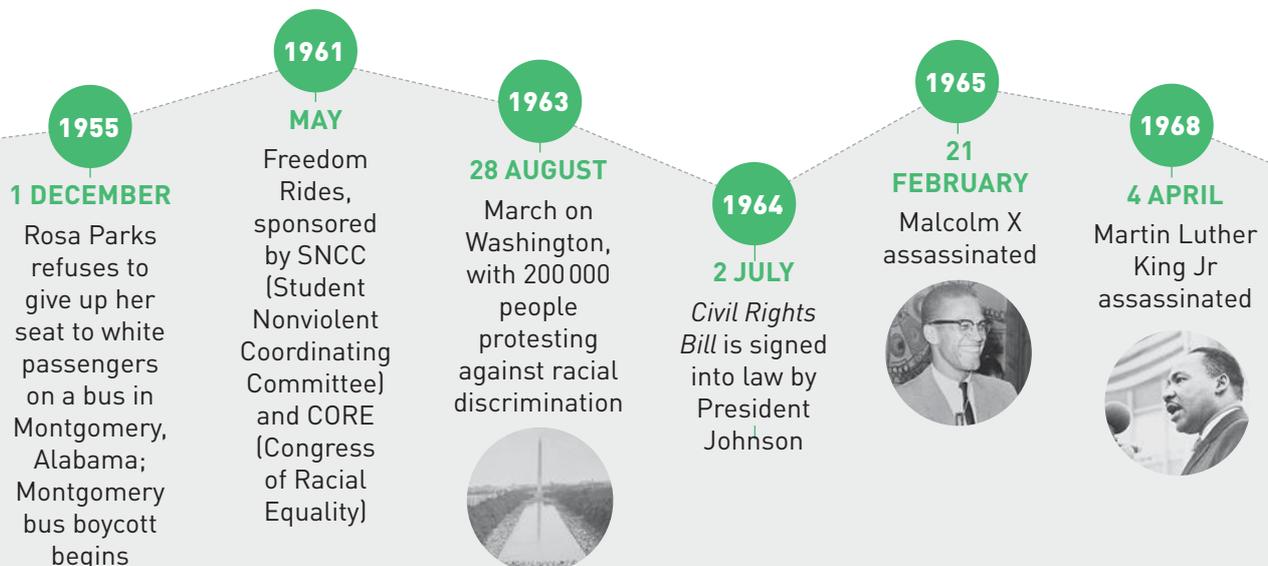
KEY QUESTIONS

- What conditions and key events gave rise to the push for racial equality in the United States?
- Which key individuals or groups were involved in the movement?
- To what extent were the goals of racial equality achieved, and where did change occur?
- How did the established political order respond to the demands for change?
- What were the short- and long-term consequences of the pursuit of racial equality in the United States?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR

- Baptist minister and civil rights activist
- His charisma and pursuit of equality created the climate for change in America during the 1950s and 60s, as he raised awareness of the plight of African Americans through his moving speeches
- Instrumental in creating the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968.



LYNDON B. JOHNSON

- US president 1963–1969
- Johnson's work in Congress as both senator and president led to the introduction of a variety of legislation supporting civil rights, equal employment opportunities, education, lifting people out of poverty and removing barriers to the right to vote.



MALCOLM X

- Born Malcolm Little, but adopted 'X' to symbolise his rejection of the slave name given to his ancestors
- Became a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI), which wanted African Americans to form separate nation
- Opposed Martin Luther King's non-violent approach, believing that African Americans should defend their rights 'by any means necessary'
- Broke away from NOI in 1964 and created the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)
- Assassinated by several NOI members on 21 February 1965.



KEY TERMS

CONGRESS

Federal parliament of the United States, which has two houses: the House of Representatives and the Senate. Representatives and senators vote on the formation of binding legislation. Once legislation receives a majority vote in the House of Representatives, it is passed on to the Senate to be finalised.

BLACK PANTHERS

Formed in 1966, the Black Panther Party was created to protect the black population of Oakland, California, from police brutality. Militant in their approach, the Black Panthers began with revolutionary aims but also created social outreach programs in their early years. They had supporters across the United States throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was formed in 1909 to seek the political, social, economic and educational equality of all people. The NAACP's agenda is to, in its own words, 'eliminate racial hatred and racial discrimination'. The financial strength of the NAACP allowed it to fight the cause of desegregation in the US court system.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Throughout the civil rights movement, the United States had to constantly confront the social, political and historical consequences of this radical change. As you work through this chapter, evaluate how the people of the United States dealt with the upheaval.

- Social: What were the major features of each significant civil rights law passed, and how did each affect the lives of ordinary people?
- Political: Established groups or groups born out of the civil rights movement served to support, reject or shift the direction of equality in the United States in the 1960s. What impact did these political groups have on the political landscape of America?
- Historical: Contentiously, some historians have claimed that the civil rights movement was an embarrassing contradiction for the US government given the lack of US foreign diplomacy applied to resolve the Cold War. Develop an argument that either supports or refutes this claim.

THE GREAT DIVIDE

As a country, the United States was divided from its beginning. When colonies created by white Europeans began sprouting up along the east coast of the United States in the seventeenth century, agricultural needs had to be tended to. Plantations in colonies as far north as Virginia and as far south as Texas, as well as the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana, grew commodities such as rice, sugar, cotton and tobacco. There was a huge demand for agricultural products, and plantation owners wanted a way to keep costs low and profits high. Their solution was to purchase African slaves from European slave traders. This solved the labour problem, but it created an entirely new problem—a humanitarian one. Many white Europeans thought themselves to be superior to Africans; their organised religion, formal education and armed capabilities provided justification for whites to buy and sell African slaves, forcing them to work without pay or freedom.

Not surprisingly, African-American slaves deeply resented the slave trade and those who profited from it. A social divide was created in the United States between the northern industrialised states and the southern agricultural states. Philosophically, politically and socially, the northern states of the United States were at odds with their southern counterparts. While slavery was abolished in the northern states early in the nineteenth century, it remained an important part of the economy of the southern states.

➔ SOURCE 7.01

MAP SHOWING
FREE STATES
AND SLAVE
STATES, 1861



During the 1861–1865 Civil War, which was fought to stop the southern states breaking away to form a separate nation, US president Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. Taking effect in January 1863, it proclaimed that all slaves should be freed from the bondage of their owners.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, 1863

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

After the North was victorious in defeating the South in the civil war, slavery ended. As part of the Reconstruction period after the Civil War, changes were made to the American Constitution: Amendments 13, 14 and 15, respectively, abolished slavery, granted birth right citizenship to freed slaves, and gave freed slaves the right to vote.

JIM CROW LAWS AND SEGREGATION

AUTHOR RICHARD WRIGHT: '[A]s you grow a little older, you begin to feel that you are under siege.'²

Despite the changes to the law, racism prevailed and many southerners would not accept that there could be equality between whites and blacks. Various codes and laws, known as the 'Jim Crow laws' were used to enforce segregation.

According to Salmon and Newell, 'Civil rights depend on the law, popular attitudes to the law and the interpretation of the law by the courts.'³ The strength of the Constitution's reach was put to the test in 1892 when Homer Plessy sat in a 'whites only' train carriage. The famous phrase 'separate but equal' emerged from the Plessy v. Ferguson case, as the US Supreme Court deemed it lawful to segregate races provided they enjoyed 'equal' access to public facilities.⁴ This precedent created a racially-based approach to rights in the US.

SOURCE 7.04

Plessy vs. Ferguson, Judgment, Decided May 18, 1896; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States; Record Group 267; Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, #15248, National Archives.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON *PLESSY V. FERGUSON*, DELIVERED BY JUSTICE BROWN

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it ... The argument also assumes that social prejudice may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured except by an enforced commingling of the two races ... If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

SOURCE 7.02

Abraham Lincoln, 1863.

SOURCE 7.03

'Jim Crow' was a character played onstage by a white performer in the 1830s and 40s. The song and dance routine was done in blackface, with the character of Jim Crow supposedly based on a dim-witted slave.



EXAMPLES OF JIM CROW LAWS



THE RISE AND FALL OF JIM CROW

EDUCATION

'Separate free schools shall be established for the education of children of African descent; and it shall be unlawful for any colored child to attend any white school, or any white child to attend a colored school.' (Missouri)

A school for 'colored children' in Georgia.



TRANSPORTATION



A 'colored waiting room' at a North Carolina bus station.

'All railroad companies and corporations, and all persons running or operating cars or coaches by steam on any railroad line or track in the State of Maryland, for the transportation of passengers, are hereby required to provide separate cars or coaches for the travel and transportation of the white and colored passengers.' (Maryland)

MARRIAGE

'All marriages between a white person and a Negro or person of Hispanic descent, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited.' (Florida)

'It shall be unlawful to conduct a restaurant or other place for the serving of food in the city, at which white and colored people are served in the same room, unless such white and colored persons are effectually separated by a solid partition extending from the floor upward to a distance of seven feet or higher, and unless a separate entrance from the street is provided.'
(Alabama)

ENTERTAINMENT



The 'colored' entrance to a theatre.

'It shall be unlawful for a negro and white person to play together or in company with each other in any game of cards or dice, dominoes or checkers.'
(Alabama)

HEALTH CARE

'No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse to nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals, either public or private, in which negro men are placed.' (Alabama)

THE KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK or 'the Klan'), is a secret, white supremacist group that still exists today. The Klan was formed in 1866; since then it has died out and been revived several times. At its peak in the 1920s, it was thought to have between 3 and 4 million members.

Members of the Klan disguised themselves (their horses too, in the early days) in intimidating robes and pointed hoods in order to commit acts of terror to further their goal: reversing the equality granted to African Americans. Klansmen raped and murdered African Americans or sympathetic whites, as well as committing acts

of arson; they would often put burning crosses in front yards and hold public lynchings.

The Klan was revived in the 1960s as a response to the progress made by the civil rights movement. Klansmen intimidated and used violence against African Americans and civil-rights activists—beatings, bombings, abductions and murder were commonplace. The 1963 Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, resulted in the deaths of four African-American girls.

However, the Klan's campaign of terror backfired. In 1965 US President Johnson publicly condemned

the Klan, and the FBI started investigating them. Appalled Americans threw their support behind the civil rights movement.

Today there are many different (and often opposing) groups operating in the United States under Klan banners, with membership totalling about 5000–8000 people.⁵



↑ SOURCE 7.05

Members of the Ku Klux Klan.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Using Source 7.03, explain how the fictional figure of Jim Crow was used to communicate a message about African Americans.
2. Give three examples of 'Jim Crow' laws.
3. Why was the Klan condemned by President Johnson in 1965, and how did this affect the civil rights movement?

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

Billie Holiday's song, 'Strange Fruit', released in 1939, was a song about the lynchings occurring in the South.

THE NAACP

Not only did African Americans in the South have to face the humiliation of having to sit in separate sections of restaurants or separate train carriages, attend separate schools or drink at separate water fountains—if they broke segregation laws, they could be fined or arrested. Lynchings, even public ones, were often overlooked by local law enforcement agencies.

In 1919, concerned about the lynchings of African Americans, and to secure the rights promised in the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the US Constitution, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was created. The NAACP was the vision of W.E.B. Du Bois, who hoped to reinstitute equality for all Americans, regardless of race. When World War II broke out in 1939, the conflict reminded Americans that they gave few rights to African Americans despite expecting them to fight for the US.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were some of the oppressive measures that whites living in the South took to keep blacks fearful and dependent?
2. What protections, if any, did the US government provide to the oppressed people?
3. Explain your understanding of the term 'separate but equal.' In practice, to what extent were blacks and whites treated as being 'equal'?

GET UP, STAND UP: CHALLENGES TO THE STATUS QUO

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, 1947: 'It is my deep conviction that we have reached a turning point in our country's efforts to guarantee freedom and equality to all our citizens. Recent events in the United States and abroad have made us realize that it is more important today than ever before to insure that all Americans enjoy these rights. When I say all Americans—I mean all Americans.'

The years after the end of World War II brought an awakening of the US civil rights movement. African Americans had just fought for the United States, yet they were still denied basic rights. The Cold War highlighted the hypocrisy of the claim that America was the 'land of the free'. The 1960s, often defined as the most socially revolutionary decade of the twentieth century, was alive with protest against the establishment, and against the status quo in general. Increased affluence, and the insights and articulation offered by increased participation in tertiary studies—for women, African Americans, and working-class people—meant that more people in the USA began to express their views more publicly.

In April 1945, Harry S. Truman became US president after the death of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman's views on race were shaped initially by his childhood in Missouri; his grandparents had slaves and uttering racist slurs was commonplace. But when he took public office—and, in particular, when he heard about the treatment of black soldiers on their return from World War II—he became one

of the first presidents to highlight race issues in the United States and to push for reform. In 1946 Truman established the President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR). The PCCR was charged with investigating the state of civil rights in the United States, and making recommendations to help protect them. Based on their recommendations, Truman issued Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, which outlawed segregation in the workforce and in the US armed forces.



TRUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS DOCUMENTS

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9980

REGULATIONS GOVERNING FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES WITHIN THE FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT

... 1. All personnel actions taken by Federal appointing officers shall be based solely on merit and fitness; and such officers are authorized and directed to take appropriate steps to insure that in all such actions there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin. ...

← SOURCE 7.06

Issued by Harry S. Truman, the White House, 26 July 1948. Harry S. Truman Executive Library & Museum, <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/executiveorders/index.php?pid=29&st=&st1=>

EXECUTIVE ORDER 9981

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED SERVICES

WHEREAS it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country's defense:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, and as Commander in Chief of the armed services, it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.

← SOURCE 7.07

Issued by Harry S. Truman, the White House, 26 July 1948. Harry S. Truman Executive Library & Museum, <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/executiveorders/index.php?pid=869&st=&st1=>

BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka was a landmark court case that went to the US Supreme Court. For the NAACP, getting rid of any legal form of segregation would be a victory in the push for equality and civil rights. An opportunity presented itself in 1954 in the state of Kansas, when a church minister named Oliver Brown sought action against segregation in high schools. Reverend Brown's daughter had to travel a long distance to attend an all-black high school, rather than the nearby all-white high school. With the support and financial backing of the NAACP, Brown was successful in overturning the decision on segregated schools. The judge in the case, Chief Justice Earl Warren, deemed that learning in a segregated environment was psychologically detrimental to African Americans. This was a landmark decision; the first non-violent movement for change had been successful. However, in what was to become known as the Southern Manifesto, politicians in states such as Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana committed to fighting the Supreme Court decision on *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, refusing to desegregate high schools in their states.



TWO REACTIONS TO BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

SOURCE 7.08

James T. Patterson, 'The troubled legacy of *Brown v. Board.*' Proceedings from Conference *Brown v. Board of Education: Did it make any difference?* (2002). <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/ACF236.pdf>

THE TROUBLED LEGACY OF *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA*

I would also point out that the case did have some impact. We tend to forget that in 1954 segregation was mandated not only in eleven southern states but in six others, and was optional in four more. It also existed in the District of Columbia. So there were twenty-one states where segregation was either mandated or possible, Kansas among them. Richard Kluger reports in his magisterial book, *Simple Justice*, that there were 11 500 000 white and black children, 40 per cent of all American school children, affected by segregation policies in the southern and border states in 1954. We tend to forget that *Brown* changed this relatively quickly in most of the Border States.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the statistics used in this passage. What picture do they paint of the challenge faced by those looking to end segregation?
2. Patterson refers to the 'border states'. Why would the *Brown* ruling be implemented quicker in these 'border states'?
3. Explain one or more effects the Supreme Court ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* would have had on states.
4. Using the timeline from this chapter, evaluate the impact of the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruling and the extent to which it influenced events over the next 15–20 years.

EMMETT TILL

In the state of Mississippi in August 1955, a fourteen-year-old African-American teenager named Emmett Till was said to have wolfwhistled at a white woman, Carolyn Bryant. The woman's husband, Roy Bryant, and his brother-in-law, J.W. Milam, kidnapped Till, tortured him, then killed him, tied a thirty-kilogram metal fan to his neck and dumped him in the Tallahatchie River. The torture included gouging out Till's eyes before shooting him in the head. At the trial that followed, Bryant and Milam were found not guilty of murder and kidnapping after an hour's worth of deliberation by an all-white jury. One of the reasons this event created such nationwide press coverage—apart from the judicial injustice of such a clear-cut case—was because Emmett's mother, Mamie Till-Mobley, chose to have her son's coffin open at his funeral. The brutality of the wounds on Till's face brought attention to the case when photos of Till's body were published in *Jet*

magazine, a nationally syndicated black publication. Months after the acquittal, Bryant admitted in his own magazine interview (*Look* magazine, January 1956) that he did, in fact, murder the teenager. With double jeopardy in effect—meaning he couldn't be tried twice on the same charges after a legitimate acquittal—Bryant's admission only stoked the fire of those who sought justice. Till's murder, and the perversion of justice that followed, prompted many people to become politicised and socially active, and brought into focus the fundamental problems of race relations in the United States.



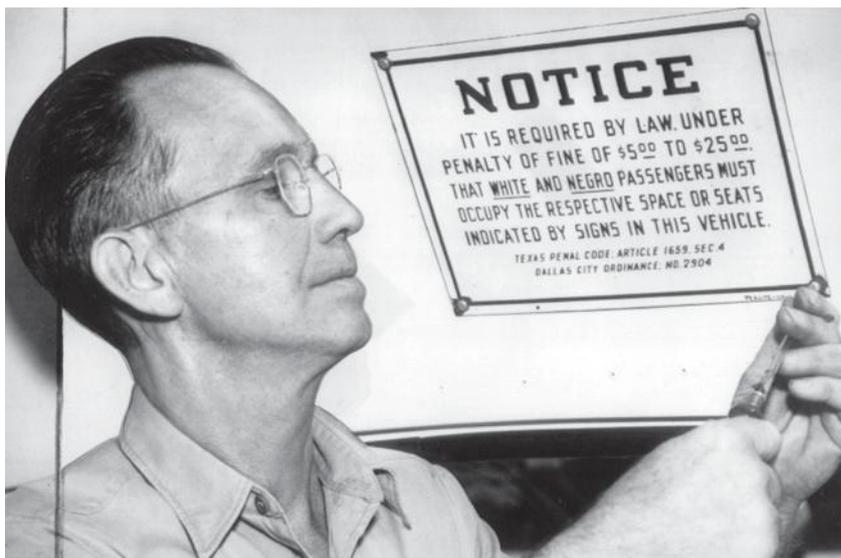
➔ Emmett Till.

ROSA PARKS AND THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

ROSA PARKS: 'People always say that I didn't give up my seat because I was tired ... the only tired I was, was tired of giving in.'⁶

The name Rosa Parks is synonymous with the civil rights movement. Rosa Parks was an African-American seamstress from Montgomery, Alabama. On 1 December 1955 she took the bus home from work, just as she always did. The bus was full and a white man was standing. In line with Montgomery City Bus Policy, the bus driver ordered the four black passengers to vacate their seats in order to make room for the white passengers. While the other three passengers complied, Mrs Parks refused to be moved. She was arrested and charged with a violation of Chapter 6, Section 11 segregation law of the Montgomery City code.

Rosa Parks' defiance sparked a reaction from the African-American community in Montgomery, with the Women's Political Council calling for a boycott of buses.



SOURCE 7.09

A segregation notice on a Dallas bus, 1941.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL COUNCIL PAMPHLET, 5 DECEMBER 1955

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down.

...

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

[Rosa Parks'] case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the busses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus.

You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses Monday.

Leaders of the African-American community met to plan the boycott at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery. Among them was Martin Luther King Jr, a Baptist pastor, who was chosen as the leader of the protest. Shortly afterwards, the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed and King was elected president.

SOURCE 7.10

Cited in David J. Garrow (ed.), The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989) 45-64.

DID YOU KNOW?

Black churches across the United States collected shoes to send to Montgomery, as the Montgomery Bus Boycott participants were wearing out their shoes by walking everywhere.



📍 SOURCE 7.11

Rosa Parks.

📰 SOURCE 7.12

Luther A. Huston, 'High Court Rules Bus Segregation Unconstitutional', *New York Times*, 13 November 1956.

DID YOU KNOW?

After her death in 2005, Rosa Parks became the first woman to lie in state in the US Capitol Rotunda. This was an honour normally reserved for presidents and military leaders.

The boycott was organised, thoughtful and deliberate. On the day of Rosa Parks' trial, African Americans in Montgomery did not take any buses. They also made a few demands. They wanted guarantees that bus drivers would be polite to black passengers, that those who purchased bus tickets first, regardless of skin colour, be allowed to sit wherever they pleased and that black bus drivers would be employed. Decision-makers in Montgomery rejected these demands; as a result, the black community continued to boycott the bus service until the buses were desegregated.

Churches within the community purchased vehicles and created their own transport system. A private taxi service was set up. African Americans walked, rode bikes, and even carpooled with whites—although this had consequences for the whites involved. The boycott became more than a political issue—it was an economic one. The bus line was facing bankruptcy because African Americans made up 75 per cent of their fares. Shops in Montgomery had lost their customers.

During the 381 days of the boycott, at least eighty-nine boycott participants were arrested, including Dr King.⁷ Dr King's home was bombed. But, remarkably, there was no violence from the protesters.

On 20 December 1956, a month after the Supreme Court ruling, Dr King led blacks back on to the buses where they could sit wherever they wanted. This landmark constitutional victory gave reason, purpose and confidence to the desegregation movement.

NEW YORK TIMES, 13 NOVEMBER 1956

An Alabama law and a city ordinance requiring segregation of races on intrastate buses were declared invalid by the Supreme Court today.

The Court affirmed a ruling by a three-judge Federal court that held the challenged statutes 'violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.'

The Fourteenth Amendment provides that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law nor deny to any citizen the equal protection of the laws.

In upholding the lower court's judgment, the Supreme Court cited its 1954 decision outlawing racial discrimination in public parks and on public golf courses.

[Officials of several Southern states indicated they would continue to enforce bus segregation laws despite the court's decision. Segregationist leaders were bitter in their denunciations of the court and its ruling.]

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

What implication do you think the above ruling (Source 7.12) would have had for the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case?

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR

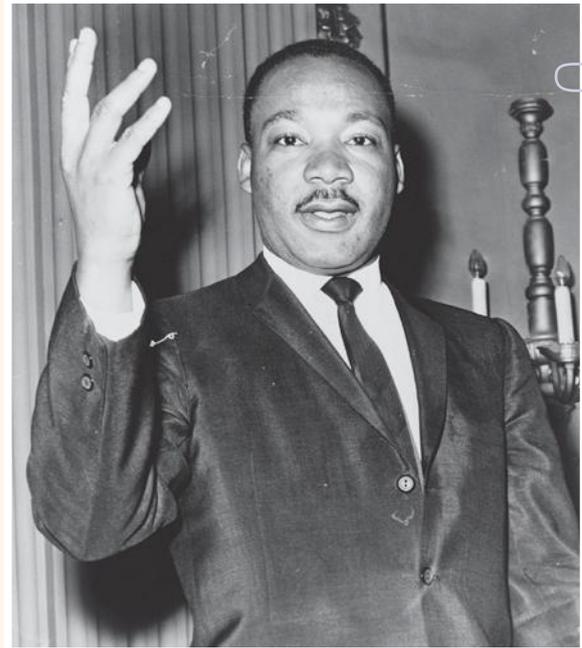
Martin Luther King Jr (1929–68) was born in Atlanta, Georgia. His father, 'Daddy King', was a Baptist preacher who had suffered under the Jim Crow laws, but had a reputation as a fiery defender of African-American rights. From a young age, King proved to be a studious young man and excelled at school. After attending a theological seminary, he was ordained to the Baptist ministry in 1948.

In 1953 King was appointed pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. This was the most prestigious black church in Montgomery and it was a tribute to King's already glowing reputation that such a young man would be invited to fill this prominent position of leadership in the African-American community. Naturally, this appointment placed King right at the heart of the civil rights struggle. In 1955 King received his PhD from Boston University.

King was a convert to Gandhi's ideas of non-violent civil resistance. More than any other person, he was responsible for establishing this as the fundamental philosophical basis of the American civil rights movement. In 1957 King became president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), perhaps the single most important organisation in the civil rights movement. Very soon King was travelling widely and making speeches that inspired a generation of people. He was leading peaceful marches across the South and was arrested on several occasions. By 1961 his phone was being wiretapped by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the direction of its anti-communist head, J. Edgar Hoover.

In April 1963, during a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama, King was arrested. He used his time in prison to write an open response to Christian critics. The 'Letter from Birmingham City Jail' is so powerful that some scholars have compared it in importance to the prison writings of Paul in the New Testament.

In 1964 King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. With the passage of the *Civil Rights Act* in 1964, King's focus began to shift from civil and legal rights to issues of economic equality. The SCLC began to get directly involved in various labour disputes, particularly confronting entrenched inequalities in northern cities such as Chicago.



↑ Martin Luther King Jr.



THE KING CENTER
ARCHIVE

King was also growing very concerned at the escalation of the Vietnam War. These were controversial issues that divided loyalties even within the civil rights movement. At the famous Riverside Church in New York on 4 April 1967, King gave his bravest speech, 'A Time to Break Silence'. King showed that he was prepared to confront former allies in the civil rights cause and shift his focus to international peace. Attacking US policy in Vietnam became a new moral imperative, as so many young black men were dying in South-East Asia.

On 3 April 1968, King arrived in Memphis, Tennessee, to address a demonstration the next day in support of striking garbage collectors. At a local church he delivered what was to be his final prophetic speech, 'I've Been to the Mountaintop'. The next day, on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, shots rang out. King was hit in the throat and died at the scene. America went into mourning. Two months later a white supremacist, James Earl Ray, was arrested and found guilty of the murder. He denied it and there are those who believe that a deeper conspiracy was at work in King's assassination.

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

▼ SOURCE 7.13

Two of the Little Rock Nine, 1957.



DID YOU KNOW?

Martin Luther King's name at birth was Michael. His father only changed both his and his son's names after learning more about the German Protestant trailblazer, Martin Luther.

The power of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision was put to the test in Arkansas, in September 1957. Nine black students enrolled in the recently desegregated Little Rock Central High School. The

Governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, banned their entry and attempted to call in the National Guard to block the nine students from entering the high school.

In what some regard as a political attempt to hasten the implementation of the Brown decision, the 'Little Rock Nine' were handpicked by the NAACP based on their academic aptitude and emotional resilience. Throughout their time at Little Rock Central High School, they were victims of physical and verbal abuse. The events at Little Rock highlighted the difficulties of putting in to practice decisions made in courtrooms, and the need for African Americans to remain active in the pursuit of civil rights and equality so that the issues remained in focus.

SIT-INS

On 1 February 1960, maintaining the non-violent approach to bring attention to civil rights issues, a group of black students entered a Woolworth's department store in Greensboro, North Carolina, and sat down in a whites-only area of the eatery. This created such a stir that protesters in more than fifty-five cities in thirteen states followed suit. Many participants, both black and white, had food poured over them—but they remained resolute. They were having an impact, made evident by the hordes of television crews and reporters that descended upon the cities where these sit-ins were taking place.

THE FREEDOM RIDES

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942, was an organisation aimed at ending discriminatory policies. In May 1961 it began the practice of 'Freedom Rides'. The Freedom Rides aimed to test two Supreme Court rulings in the State of Virginia: *Morgan v. Virginia* (1946) and *Boynnton v. Virginia* (1960). These rulings overturned segregation and allowed whites and blacks to be integrated on transport if the travel was between states.

The freedom riders toured the southern states by bus to see if these rulings were being enforced. Along the way they attempted to use whites-only bathrooms and facilities. When the integrated bus rolled into the terminal in Montgomery, Alabama, John Lewis, a black activist, and Jim Zwerg, a white civil-rights activist, were both brutally beaten. Police officers who arrived on the scene did little to halt proceedings. When the riders reached Mississippi, they were jailed for 'breach of the peace'.



MISSISSIPPI
BURNING:
FILM STUDY

The much publicised attacks and arrests of protesters garnered support for the desegregation movement, and the number of freedom riders grew. In response, US Attorney General Robert Kennedy activated the Supreme Court decisions in November 1961; they included the requirement for each bus to display a certificate that stated, ‘seating aboard this vehicle is without regard to race, colour, creed, or national origin, by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission’.



FREEDOM RIDERS
INTERACTIVE MAP

SOURCE 7.14

Freedom riders outside the remains of their burnt-out bus, Alabama, 1961.

FREEDOM MARCH ON WASHINGTON

BARACK OBAMA, 2013: ‘And then, on a hot summer day, they assembled here, in our nation’s capital, under the shadow of the great emancipator, to offer testimony of injustice, to petition their government for redress and to awaken America’s long-slumbering conscience.’⁸

On 28 August 1963, approximately 250 000 supporters of the civil rights movement took part in what was officially called ‘The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.’ Organised by leaders of six different civil rights organisations (all with different agendas), the aim of the march was to draw attention to issues relating to African-American employment and civil rights in general. Marchers gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC and listened to songs and speeches; afterwards organisers met with President Kennedy to discuss his proposed civil rights bill.

One of the most memorable parts of the march—and what has become one of the most significant events in the entire civil rights campaign—was Martin Luther King’s ‘I have a Dream’ speech. Televised live around the United States, and replayed throughout the world and still relevant today, King’s speech put into words the hopes and dreams of all of those who were misrepresented or discriminated against.

DID YOU KNOW?

The March on Washington cost \$US29 563. A breakdown of other costs reveals that \$US18 838 was spent on sound equipment, while bills of \$US16 626 for printing leaflets and bulletins and \$US11 277 for printing buttons and pennants were extra expenses.

➔ SOURCE 7.15

Martin Luther King Jr (speech given in Washington, 28 August 1963), cited in James Melvin (ed.), *I Have A Dream: Writings and Speeches that Changed the World*, (San Francisco: Harper, 1986), 102–106.



KING'S 'I HAVE A DREAM' SPEECH IN FULL



FULL TEXT OF KING'S SPEECH



⬆ SOURCE 7.16

Aerial view of the 1963 March on Washington.

EXCERPT FROM KING'S 'I HAVE A DREAM' SPEECH

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protests to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvellous new militancy, which has engulfed the Negro community, must not lead us to a distrust of all white people. For many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of Civil Rights, 'When will you be satisfied?' We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality; we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one; we can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating 'For Whites Only'; we cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro in Mississippi cannot vote, and the Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No! No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until 'justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.'

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify language used by King to motivate those present at the speech and to create solidarity among people of all races.
2. Identify the demands King places on those who are part of the civil rights movement.
3. Explain what needs to change, according to King, before civil rights activists will be 'satisfied.'
4. Read the entire transcript of King's speech and evaluate its historical significance. To what extent did the speech lead to long-term change in the United States and beyond? Use evidence to support your response.



🔍 SOURCE 7.17

Protesters during the March on Washington, 28 August 1963.



🔍 SOURCE 7.18

Martin Luther King leads the March on Washington.

SELMA

In 1965, the civil rights movement turned its attention to the lack of registered voters in the black community. There were three marches in Selma in March 1965, each one about voting rights for African-Americans. Given Selma's history of violence and intolerance towards African American townspeople, the marches were intended to stir up racial hatred—and draw national attention to Alabama.

On 7 March, state troopers were waiting for the 600 marchers on the Pettus Bridge, and attacked them with clubs and tear gas when they did not disperse. The beatings were shown on national television. On 9 March, Martin Luther King led 3000 protesters towards the bridge, but turned around when they were met by 500 state troopers.

As a result of the violence on 7 March, US president Lyndon Johnson directed state law enforcement to fall under the control of federal agencies. On 21 March, Martin Luther King led 25 000 people and peacefully marched from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, protected by army troops and the 'newly federal' national guard.

The publicity resulting from the violence on Pettus Bridge helped make African-American voting rights an issue for Congress. These events in Selma led to the 1965 *Voting Rights Act*, which guaranteed the vote for all African Americans—a small victory in the ongoing battle for racial equality.



DID YOU KNOW?

Martin Luther King Jr was jailed twenty-nine times, mostly for acts of civil disobedience.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What similarities do the protests above share?
2. Boycotts, marches and sit-ins are all examples of challenging authority or the status quo. What makes them so effective? Use examples.
3. The protests above are examples of civil disobedience. Explain how this differs from armed struggle.

ACTIVITY

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE

The civil rights campaign was a struggle defined by resistance and adversity. The established political order presented many obstacles to change. Furthermore, even within the civil rights movement itself, there were varying philosophies on the best ways to achieve equality—at times these differences threatened to derail the entire movement. Perceived excessive responses by law enforcement agencies to civil rights protests and political demonstrations on occasion prompted further violence from activists, which, according to some in the movement, compromised the groundwork laid by early campaigners. Over time, key players in the movement, in particular Malcolm X and the Black Panthers, became more militant, contrasting with the civil-disobedience approach of Martin Luther King Jr and others. Thus, the civil rights movement showed strain as divergent approaches to political action struggled for dominance.

THE RIOTS OF THE 1960s

Many members of the white population were incensed with the small victories being won by the civil rights movement and the attention that civil rights was receiving nationwide. This sparked further confrontations.

BIRMINGHAM, 1963

After five weeks of picketing, sit-ins, ‘kneel-ins’, demonstrations and marches in Birmingham by African Americans, a truce was reached on 10 May 1963. A timetable was set out for desegregation of change rooms and lunch counters, the removal of ‘whites only’ and ‘blacks only’ signs, and the beginning of a program to give employment to African Americans.

On 11 May 1963, the home of King’s brother, Reverend A.D. King, was bombed, as was the A.G. Gaston Motel, where King stayed when he was in Birmingham.

African Americans rioted, suspecting that the police had played a part in the bombing. Local police units and state troopers—including 100 mounted troopers—fired tear gas into the crowd of 2500 that had gathered in the town centre.⁹ Fifty people were injured in the riots.

The Birmingham riots received national attention—but they also ushered in a new approach to the fight for civil rights. Those wanting rapid change were growing tired of the patient and non-violent approach of Dr King and his followers. Many people feared that the civil rights cause would be lost if violence wasn’t met with violence.

In a much-criticised decision, President Kennedy deployed Operation Oak Tree, using 18 000 mobilised troops to deal with civil unrest. Because military protection had not been provided when the violence had been against African Americans, many believed that the Kennedy government had done nothing proactive to avoid the confrontations in the first place. Vocal black leaders such as Malcolm X and Adam Clayton Powell Jr made the point that the events in Birmingham would only be the beginning of rioting against racial inequalities.



SOURCE 7.19

Firemen hose demonstrators as they lie on the footpath. Birmingham, 1963.

HARLEM, 1964

When a 15-year-old African American, James Powell, was shot by a white New York police officer in July 1964, the riots lasted for six days. About 4000 rioters destroyed cars, threw Molotov cocktails and looted businesses. When the rioting had subsided, reported casualties included one fatality, 118 people injured—and 465 rioters arrested.¹⁰ That the the officer responsible for James Powell's death, Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan, was found not guilty of all charges only inflamed an already volatile situation.

PHILADELPHIA, 1964

The neighbourhood of North Philadelphia rioted over three days in August 1964 after months of alleged cases of police brutality. The catalyst for the riots in Philadelphia was an incident at a busy street intersection. An African-American woman, Odessa Bradford, stopped her car in the middle of the road. Whether this was because of car trouble or an argument with her husband is unclear, but when requested to move along by a police officer, Bradford was unable to do so. As a result she was forcibly removed from her vehicle.

Things got out of hand quickly as the neighbourhood reacted to false reports that a police officer had beaten to death a pregnant black woman. As a result of the riot, 225 predominantly white-owned businesses were looted or destroyed in the North Philadelphia area. In all, 341 people were injured and 774 people were arrested.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why were there race riots in the 1960s in the USA?
2. What was Operation Oak Tree, and why was it controversial?
3. To what extent do tensions between African Americans and police remain today?

ACTIVITY

BLACK POWER

MARTIN LUTHER KING: 'Black Power is a nihilistic philosophy born out of the conviction that the Negro can't win ... the view that American society is so hopelessly corrupt and enmeshed in evil that there is no possibility of salvation from within.'

THE NATION OF ISLAM

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican who organised a black nationalist movement in New York in the 1910s and 1920s. Garvey's view was that all African Americans should return to Africa and create an empire. Although Garvey's beliefs didn't take hold, he sowed the seeds for future generations, who would adapt his ideas and redefine the idea of black power.

DID YOU KNOW?

Marcus Garvey died on 10 June 1940 in London, without having ever set foot in Africa.

The Nation of Islam (NOI) was founded as the Allah Temple of Islam in Detroit, in 1930. Making the NOI a prominent player in the political landscape of the civil rights movement was Elijah Poole—better known as Elijah Muhammad. While the NOI's approach was Islamic in principle, its leader, Elijah Muhammad, took liberties to shift and mold his ideas which, at times, contradicted traditional Islamic belief. His views centred on the premise that originally all people created by Allah were black and that an evil being called Yakub created all other races, including the evil whites. The NOI appealed to many African Americans on a social level, as it sought to improve their lives spiritually, politically and economically. NOI believed in segregation, but only if it strengthened the black community rather than hindered it.

Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam had an 'eye for an eye' approach to activism—a contrast to Martin Luther King's non-violent approach to achieving equality. This ideological split was highlighted in May 1959 when the leader of NOI suggested that because King was not reacting to the injustices inflicted on blacks, he was simply maintaining all aspects of slavery that blacks were trying to move forward from.

🔊 SOURCE 7.20

Prophet Elijah Muhammad speaks to the followers of the Nation of Islam. Boxing legend Muhammad Ali looks on.

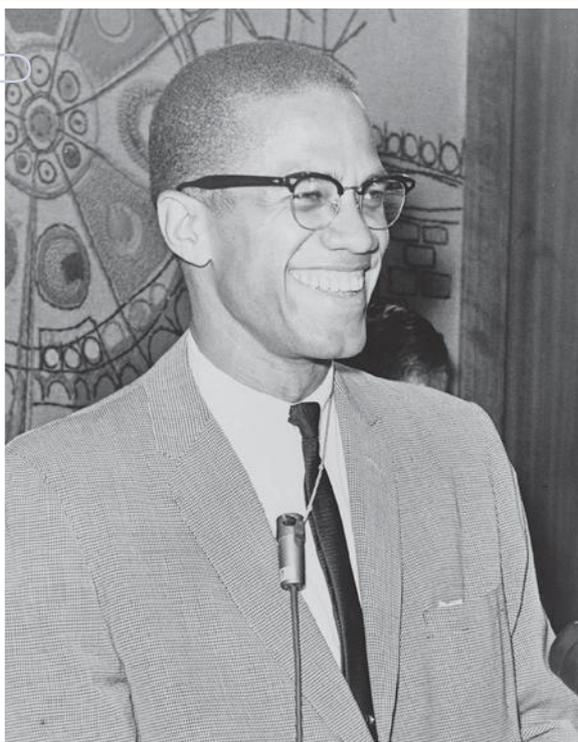


The Nation of Islam was responsible for a number of positive outcomes. It raised hopes and self-esteem in impoverished black communities and its publication, *Muhammad Speaks*, was literature that enabled and informed many African Americans. Assisting in the NOI's platform was star recruit, boxer Muhammad Ali. However, one man's departure from the ranks of the Nation of Islam would greatly affect its stature. That man was Malcolm X.

MALCOLM X

Malcolm X was one of the most polarising figures of the twentieth century, let alone the civil rights movement. Born Malcolm Little, he changed his family name to 'X', as he considered 'Little' his slave name, imposed on his ancestors by their slave owners. X lost his parents when he was young, and he moved from town to town, through a number of foster homes.

X spent six years in prison for burglary and theft. There he read extensively and was convinced to join the Nation of Islam. Upon his release from prison in 1952, he threw himself into his work, converting many African Americans to the NOI in key cities such as New York and Philadelphia. As his popularity grew, so did X's views and beliefs. He became disillusioned with the leadership of the NOI and in 1964 distanced himself from the organisation. In that same year he began the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which based itself on five principles (see Source 7.21).



Malcolm X.

SOURCE 7.21

Cited in William L. Van Deburg (ed.), Modern Black Nationalism: From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan (New York: New York University Press, 1997) 110–113.

PROGRAM OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY

I. Restoration

... In order to free ourselves from the oppression of our enslavers then, it is absolutely necessary for the Afro-American to restore communications with Africa. ...

II. Reorientation

... We can learn much about Africa by reading informative books and by listening to the experiences of those who have traveled there, but many of us can travel to the land of our choice and experience for ourselves. ...

III. Education

... The Organization of Afro-American Unity will devise original educational methods and procedures which will liberate the minds of our children from the vicious lies and distortions that are fed to us from the cradle to keep us mentally enslaved. ...

IV. Economic security

After the Emancipation Proclamation ... it was realized that the Afro-American constituted the largest homogeneous ethnic group with a common origin and common group experience in the United States and, if allowed to exercise economic or political freedom, would in a short period of time own this country.

V. Self-defense

... Over five thousand Afro-Americans have been lynched since the Emancipation Proclamation and not one murderer has been brought to justice! ...

In areas where the United States government has shown itself unable and/or unwilling to bring to justice the racist oppressors, murderers, who kill innocent children and adults, the Organization of Afro-American Unity advocates that the Afro-American people insure ourselves that justice is done — whatever the price and by any means necessary.

Malcolm X hoped to improve standards for the black community. But his attempts to turn OAAU's principles into action were cut short—he was assassinated on 21 February 1965 by members of NOI. Only days prior to his death, Malcolm X claimed that NOI was trying to kill him. He was shot by three assassins—the first, Thomas Hagan, shooting him from close range with a sawn-off shotgun, followed by Norman

Butler and Thomas Johnson using semi-automatic pistols to ensure X's death. Twenty-one gunshot wounds were found on X's body.

As dramatic and tragic as his assassination was, X's life still captivates people today. In assessing his own political life, X commented on the difference between his approach and that of Martin Luther King. He said: 'I want Dr. King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult. I really did come thinking I could make it easier. If the white people realize what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King.'¹¹

↓ SOURCE 7.22

'Obituary for Malcolm X', New York Times, 22 February 1965.



MALCOLM X
WEBSITE

OBITUARY FOR MALCOLM X

The life and death of Malcolm X provides a discordant but typical theme for the times in which we live. He was a case history, as well as an extraordinary and twisted man, turning many true gifts to evil purpose.

At 4 he had seen his family home burned down by the Ku Klux Klan. He believed his father, a Baptist minister, was murdered. In Harlem he was a young racketeer in drugs, liquor and gambling, and a successful one until police caught up with him. In prison he converted to the Black Muslims, who preach hatred of the white man, Negro superiority and a reverse segregationism. He became known as Malcolm X, because he was sure that his family name of Little 'had been taken from former white masters.'

Malcolm X had the ingredients for leadership, but his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence not only set him apart from the responsible leaders of the civil rights movement and the overwhelming majority of Negroes, it also marked him for notoriety, and for a violent end.

It stood to good reason that he could remain Number 2 to Elijah Muhammad's Number 1 among the Black Muslims. So, last year, he broke away and started his own extremist movement, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, some of those members saw him being gunned down yesterday in Manhattan.

Malcolm X's life was strangely and pitifully wasted. But this was because he did not seek to fit into society or into the life of his own people. He could not even come to terms with his fellow black extremists. The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism.

Yesterday someone came out of the darkness that he spawned, and killed him. The murder of Malcolm X demands an investigation even if it was a fanatic's act, and the fringe of fanatics has no trouble acquiring weapons for violence. But this murder could easily touch off a war of vengeance of the kind he himself fomented. It will take alertness and vigilance on the part of the police, especially in view of the ease with which lethal weapons are available, to make sure that violence is avoided.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify two words in the obituary that the author uses to describe Malcolm X.
2. Identify two reasons why the writer of the obituary believes that Malcolm X's life was wasted.
3. By quoting directly from the obituary and using your own knowledge, explain what life was like growing up black in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century.
4. Evaluate the extent to which this document provides reliable evidence of Malcolm X's motives and his impact on the civil rights movement. In your response, quote directly from the document and refer to different views of the civil rights movement.

BLACK PANTHERS

In every historical conflict, the actions of those challenging an established power tend to escalate from ideological thought, to professing and publicising their plight, sometimes ending in violent outcomes. While this was not the case for King and his followers, others in the black community became impatient with the lack of change and the lack of protection for the rights of impoverished blacks. Some African Americans believed that militant action was required in order to receive what was rightly theirs. In 1966, the Black Panthers Party was formed, with their own demands about opportunities for black communities in civil rights, employment, education and housing. Their Ten Point Program consisted of the following demands.

THE TEN POINT PROGRAM

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black community.
4. We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

The Black Panthers Party was short lived, as its militant approach affected its ability to be taken seriously as a voice for social change. It was closely linked to criminal activity, was overtly violent—and even encouraged killing police officers if necessary. The Black Panther's place in the political landscape of civil rights lasted from 1966 until 1969, largely because it attracted the attention of the police and the FBI. As a result of this, arrests, infiltration and constant surveillance crippled the Black Panthers, causing them to lose their public appeal.



📌 SOURCE 7.23

US athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos gave the black power salute at the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games after taking, respectively, gold and bronze in the 200-metre sprint. Australian athlete Peter Norman took the silver medal.

📖 SOURCE 7.24

Cited in Huey P. Newton, War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America (Santa Cruz: University of California, 1980) 141.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Using their Ten Point Program, what did the Black Panthers stand for?
2. Compare the views of the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity. What similarities exist, and where do they differ?
3. Do you think the Black Power movements helped or hindered the civil rights movement?

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

US athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos were pallbearers at the funeral of Australian runner, Peter Norman, in 2006.

THE CHANGING TIDE

Despite the sit-ins, protests, boycotts and education about civil rights, the most significant changes in the United States occurred as a result of legislation and its enforcement. Following are examples of the laws passed by US Congress to enact civil rights and equality.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

The key element of this legislation was that discrimination on the basis of race became illegal in public places. Job discrimination was also outlawed as the Act established the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. To compel states to comply with the legislation, the federal government had the right to withhold funds from any state unwilling to support the Act, and the Attorney General had the power to take federal court action against all of those who broke the law.¹²

➔ SOURCE 7.25

Rosa Parks and Congressman Walter Fauntroy holding a framed picture of president Lyndon Johnson signing the *Civil Rights Act 1964*.



VOTING RIGHTS ACT 1965

Another significant shift in the civil rights movement, the *Voting Rights Act 1965* abolished literacy tests for voter registration—giving all citizens the opportunity to sign up to vote in elections. To remove any bias in voter registrations, it also legislated that federal examiners be put in place in areas where less than 50 per cent of the non-white population had not registered to vote.¹³

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT 1968

The Civil Rights Act 1968 gave equal housing opportunities to all US citizens. This meant that landlords could no longer refuse to sell or rent a dwelling just because they didn't like someone's origin, race or creed. The Act included a provision relating to hate crimes: anyone found guilty of causing harm to another person because of their race, religion, colour or national origin could be sentenced to up to a year in prison.¹⁴

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

'The US civil rights movement had little impact on the lives of African Americans.'

To what extent do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer.

WE SHALL OVERCOME: THE USA TODAY

As this chapter has demonstrated, civil rights in the United States took quite a leap in the 1950s and 1960s. While a feat such as the 2009 inauguration of President Obama is arguably an indication of progress—as well as the greater employment opportunities available for African Americans—the struggle is ever present in the United States. Riots in response to police brutality have occurred throughout recent decades, with the most significant being the 1992 Los Angeles riots as a result of the beating of taxi driver Rodney King. More recently, the 2012 shooting of a teenage boy, Trayvon Martin, prompted a similar response and reminded many Americans of what had transpired during the 1960s and the 1990s. When Hurricane Katrina hit Louisiana in 2005, it was a natural disaster with political implications, as it highlighted the gulf in the quality of life between black and white Americans living in the South in the twenty-first century.



🔍 SOURCE 7.26

Michelle and Barack Obama, 2009.

The events and reactions to these moments in history have put into focus the continued social, economic and educational inequalities that exist in the United States today. Affirmative action, where people are employed *because of* their race, is said to have improved employment opportunities for minorities; however it has also created some controversy. A study published in 2014 in *USA Today* found that the median family income for African Americans rose from US\$22 000 in 1963 to more than US\$40 000 today. However, black unemployment remains twice the level of white unemployment, similar to where it was in 1972. The black poverty rate has dropped from more than 40 per cent in the 1960s to about 27 per cent today; child poverty similarly has dipped from 67 per cent to about 40 per cent. But the gap in overall wealth between whites and blacks is more than 5:1. The average white household had nearly US\$800 000 in assets in 2011, compared with US\$154 000 for blacks. In 1964, one in four blacks above age 25 had graduated from high school; today, the number is 85 per cent. The percentage of blacks with a college degree has risen from 4 per cent to more than 21 per cent. In comparison, the rate for whites is 34 per cent.¹⁵ As has been the case over the past sixty years, the quest for equality will continue to unfold in the decades to come.

DID YOU KNOW?

Rodney King was awarded nothing in punitive damages in a civil trial against the police officers who had beaten him. He had asked for US\$15 million.



CIVIL RIGHTS
CHRONOLOGY



HISTORICAL
INTERPRETATIONS

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What positive developments have there been for African Americans in recent times?
2. The events involving Rodney King and Trayvon Martin prompted similar public reactions even though they were twenty years apart. Looking at the development of the civil rights movement over the last sixty years, how would you describe the rate of change in US race relations?
3. What do the statistics about standards of living suggest about the social, political and economic situation of African Americans since the 1950s?

ACTIVITY



CONCLUSION

Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat on a bus marked a turning point in the US civil rights movement. Not only did the year-long bus boycott that followed help to overturn segregation laws, a new leader emerged—Martin Luther King Jr. King was a Baptist minister who believed in non-violent social change, and who would have an extraordinary influence in the years to come. Peaceful protests such as sit-ins, the Freedom Rides and the Selma marches all highlighted the struggle for equality, although they were also met with violence. But Americans were listening, and two landmark Acts were passed—*The Civil Rights Act 1964* and *The Voting Rights Act 1965*.

On 4 April 1968 Martin Luther King was assassinated, the day after telling followers he had been to the 'mountaintop' and seen the 'promised land'. 'The nation is sick', he said.

'Trouble is in the land. Confusion all around ... But I know, somehow, that only when it is dark enough, can you see the stars ... something is happening in our world. The masses of people are rising up. And wherever they are assembled today ... the cry is always the same—"We want to be free."'16

Much has been accomplished by the civil rights movement since the 1960s, culminating in the election of the first African-American president, Barack Obama. But there is still significant disparity between white and black Americans in terms of unemployment, poverty, education, voting rights and criminality. Civil rights leader Julian Bond said, 'The civil rights movement didn't begin in Montgomery and it didn't end in the 1960s. It continues on to this very minute.'

CHAPTER REVIEW

Create a table that demonstrates the changes and continuities for African Americans through the 1950s and 1960s.

Situation	Event or legislation requiring change	Political outcome of protest	Social outcome of protest	Success or failure?	Why?
Segregation					
Employment					
Education					
Wages					
Voting					
Housing					

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three to four points:

1. Explain the significance of individuals such as Martin Luther King, Elijah Muhammad and President Johnson to the civil rights movement.
2. Evaluate which events in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s were the most effective in bringing about change, and why.
3. Explain the role different ideologies played in creating the political and social landscape of the United States between 1940 and 1970. (You could consider non-violent protest, Black Power, and the Ku Klux Klan.)

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- The civil rights movement would not have happened if it weren't for the *Brown v. Education Board of Topeka* ruling. Discuss.
- The social and political situation for African Americans did not change, regardless of the civil rights movement. Discuss.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 7

FURTHER READING

Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin History of the United States* (London: Penguin, 2001).

Provides historiographical debate on the civil rights movement.

Joanne De Pennington, *Modern America: The USA, 1865 to the Present* (London: Hodder Murray, 2005).

A great resource, with a number of primary sources designed to stir up opinions and provide context.

Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992).

A great biography. A very accurate portrayal of Malcolm X and his philosophies.

Kerrie Newell and John Salmond, *The Civil Rights Movement in the American South 1945–1968 and Beyond* (Melbourne: History Program La Trobe University, 2009).

A very useful source for classroom activities, this book spans over six 'investigations', inviting its readers to look into the civil rights movement, breaking it up into sections.

Vivienne Sanders, *Civil Rights in the USA 1945–1968* (London: Hodder Education, 2008).

An extremely comprehensive look at the period with clearly marked chapters and useful diagrams.

Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2005).

A very readable narrative with incisive perspective on the movement.



TELEVISION AND
FILM RESOURCES

← Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X meeting briefly for the first and only time, 26 March 1964, outside the room where the Civil Rights Bill is being debated.

CHAPTER

8

POPULAR MOVEMENTS IN AUSTRALIA

'Never depend upon institutions or government to solve any problem. All social movements are founded by, guided by, motivated and seen through by the passion of individuals.'

MARGARET MEAD

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the twentieth century was fuelled by social change. After World War II, movements that focused on women's rights, peace and environmental issues flourished as old traditions, sexist views and the worshipping of capitalism were questioned throughout the Western world. Although Australia was often seen as something of a backwater, an eager follower of the United States or the United Kingdom, the social changes in Australia were just as important and significant as those in other Western countries.

These movements all required key groups and significant individuals to take on issues as personal missions, and fight hard to make changes. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was an outpouring of popular enthusiasm and energy for feminism, peace and environmental rights. Activists used mass protests, legal challenges and influential writings to make the world a more equal, harmonious and green place. However, although these movements promised much, the battle was not won in the twentieth century and many groups continue to agitate for change in the twenty-first century.





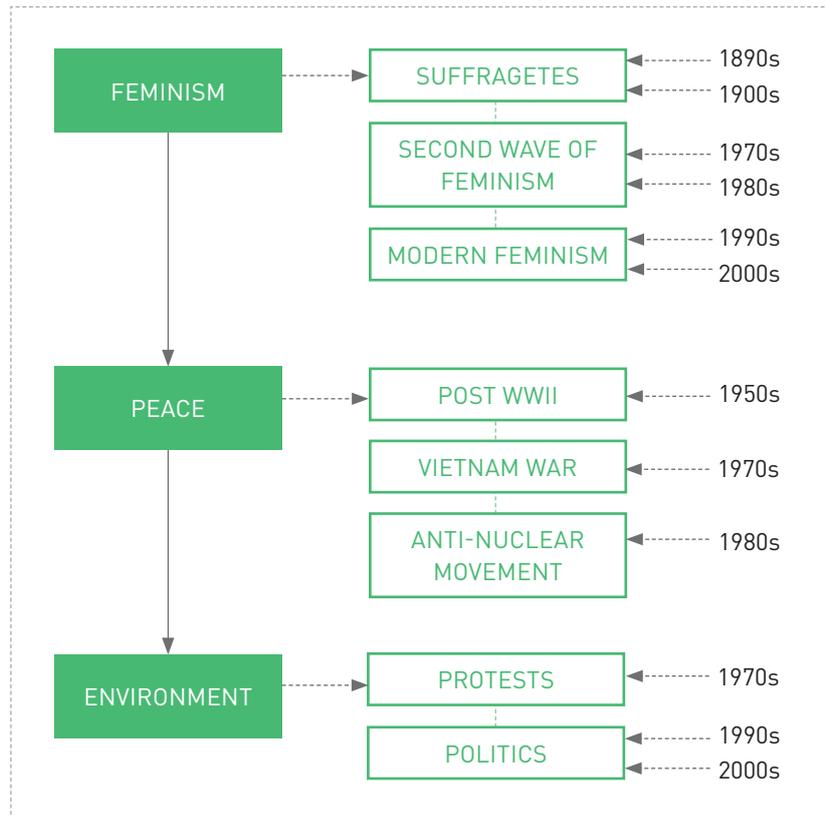
The Union of Australian Women protest against the war in Vietnam, 1965.

OVERVIEW

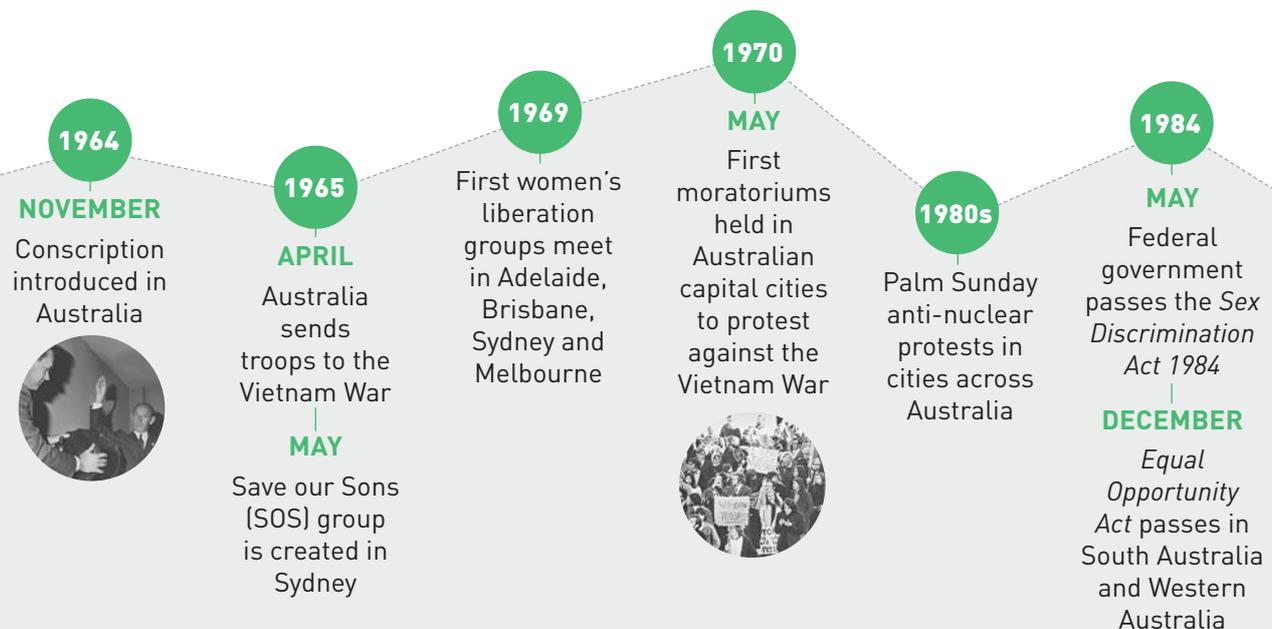
KEY QUESTIONS

- How did feminists struggle for legal, social and economic rights?
- How did the sexual revolution and greater reproductive freedom for women change the domestic landscape?
- How was the media used as a tool of protest?
- How did peace movements develop in response to the end of World War II and the Vietnam War?
- How was personal responsibility for change an impetus to protest?
- What role was played by green groups in altering views and protecting the environment?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

GERMAINE GREER

- Born in Melbourne in 1939
- Became a key figure in the women's liberation movement after writing *The Female Eunuch*
- Condemned the restriction of women's roles and focused on liberating women rather than necessarily making them 'equal' with men; she felt that equality only led to women assimilating masculine attitudes and styles
- Over the years, Greer has continued to work in the women's departments of a number of universities, and written a series of feminist texts
- Her views have often caused controversy.



JIM CAIRNS

- Born in Melbourne in 1914
- Became a leader of the Victorian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign
- As a Labor minister, Cairns was vocal in his opposition to conscription and to the Vietnam War, but it was only after 1968—when the Vietnam War lost popular support—that he was able to make more of an impact
- Was a key figure in the moratorium planning and spoke at the Melbourne Moratorium in support of ending the war
- Became deputy prime minister when the Labor Whitlam government was elected on the back of the anti-war sentiment.



KEY TERMS

FEMINISM

The belief that men and women should be equal. Feminist groups protested in order to obtain basic civil rights, such as equal pay for equal work.

PATRIARCHY

A male-dominated society in which males are perceived to be superior to women.

SUFFRAGE

The right to vote. Universal suffrage means that all are allowed to vote.

MORATORIUM

An economic term referring to a temporary halt in debt payments. It also means a pause to take stock or reassess a situation. The term was originally used in the United States in 1969 referring to the Vietnam War. A moratorium involves marches, sit-in protests, boycotts and other acts where people refuse to work or to do other tasks in order to make change.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: SIGNIFICANCE

Key events in the first half of the twentieth century—such as World War I, the Great Depression and World War II—are often seen as having led the way towards the women's liberation movement of the 1970s. Use the material and ideas that you have developed to answer **one** of the following questions:

1. Which event was the most significant in developing the women's liberation movement: World War I, the Great Depression or World War II? How did these events differ in how they contributed to the women's movement?
2. How significant was the women's liberation movement in developing change, and what impact did it have on later events in the second half of the twentieth century?

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

The difficulties and problems of World War II led directly to the development of early peace movements; however, it was only with the Vietnam War that these protest groups and peace movements became more mainstream. As you work through this chapter, consider the following questions:

1. How have the problems of war led directly to the desires for peace? Consider why there were different reactions to World War II than to the Vietnam War.
2. To what extent did the introduction of a wider and less censored media presence change attitudes about war?

PART 1: FEMINISM



FEMINIST MOVEMENT
IN AUSTRALIA:
TIMELINE

DID YOU KNOW?

South Australia allowed women to vote in state elections as early as 1895. In 1908, Victoria became the last state to allow women to vote in state elections—this was seven years after women were allowed to vote in federal elections.

EARLY FEMINISM: SUFFRAGETTES AND WOMEN WARRIORS

ENID LYONS (FIRST WOMAN ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT IN 1945): 'Two months before the new baby was born I was asked to speak at the opening of the Federal election campaign [1922] ... I had had a particularly trying day ... I was tired to death. The baby on my knee was crying with fatigue, the other children were quarrelling noisily. Suddenly I burst into tears. This was not fair. No man was expected to endure such things.'¹

VOTING VALKYRIES

The fight for women's rights is not a modern issue. The first women's movement started in Australia in the 1880s and 1890s, with groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Victorian Women's Suffrage Society, both formed in 1884. Their aims were to get votes for women and to protect women and children. These protectionist aims led many suffragettes to support prohibition (restriction of alcohol) and to raise the age of consent (from twelve to sixteen) to protect women and children from domestic and sexual abuse. Women had to fight against several arguments about why they did not deserve the right to vote. Arguments included their supposedly lower intelligence, their inability to fight in war, and the belief that they already had political influence through their husbands or brothers. All of these arguments were refuted by the suffragettes, and white women were given the vote under the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*. However, at the same time the right of Indigenous people to vote was withdrawn in the states where they had the franchise—NSW, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania—and Aboriginal women (and men) had to wait until 1962 for the right to vote.

➔ SOURCE 8.01

The Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union.



WOMAN'S WORLD

The implementation of universal white suffrage in 1902 meant that Australians believed they were more democratic than the United States (where universal white suffrage was only achieved in 1920) and Britain (who partially allowed suffrage in 1918 and fully allowed it in 1928). However, the Australian government continued to relegate women to the domestic sphere and only created programs that supported traditional gender roles: maternal and infant welfare clinics, women's hospitals, child endowment and maternity allowance.

WAR WORK AND WORKING LIVES

The early twentieth century led to some improvements in women's ability to access education and a range of occupations. Women's roles began to change during World War I. War led to women serving overseas as nurses and to the development of many women-led charity groups to support the soldiers overseas. Women's contributions were celebrated, although they largely remained in the domestic domain. After the war, in the 1920s, the large number of male casualties meant that there were new openings in the workplaces that could be filled by women, creating a newly independent woman, epitomised by the 'flappers'. The prosperity of the 1920s soon faded with the Great Depression of the 1930s, when many businesses were bankrupted and families ruined. This was a problematic time—many women were abandoned by their husbands, left to raise families by themselves. Although some women remained working, they were seen as cheap unskilled labour and were often scapegoated for the loss of the male breadwinner. World War II changed the working women's experience yet again as with the increased war needs women were allowed to join not only the traditionally female-orientated positions of nurses, but also the Australian Women's Army Service and the Australian Women's Land Army, as well as working in the factories. However, when the war ended, many women were forced out of these new workplaces, their jobs going to returned soldiers. Suddenly, women who had previously felt comfortable in the role of housewife began to question that role after tasting the freedom of working for wages. It was also towards the end of World War II, in 1943, that the first women were elected into Australian parliament: Enid Lyons to the House of Representatives and Dorothy Tangney to the Senate.



📌 SOURCE 8.02

Royal Australian Air Force World War II recruiting poster.

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. Explain how women's rights changed and developed throughout the early twentieth century. Consider in what ways women's position and rights remained the same.
2. Explore propaganda images of women in World War I and World War II. Compare different representations and consider how images and perceptions about women changed over time.

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

1975 was declared International Women's Year by the United Nations.

WOMEN'S WORDS AND WOMEN'S ACTIONS

FEMINIST CHANT AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MARCH, SYDNEY, 8 MARCH 1972:

'Men like birds; birds live in cages,
They have done for ages; on second-class wages;
Women's Liberation's going to smash that cage,
Come join us now and rage, rage, rage.'



INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN'S DAY
DOCUMENTS

↻ SOURCE 8.03

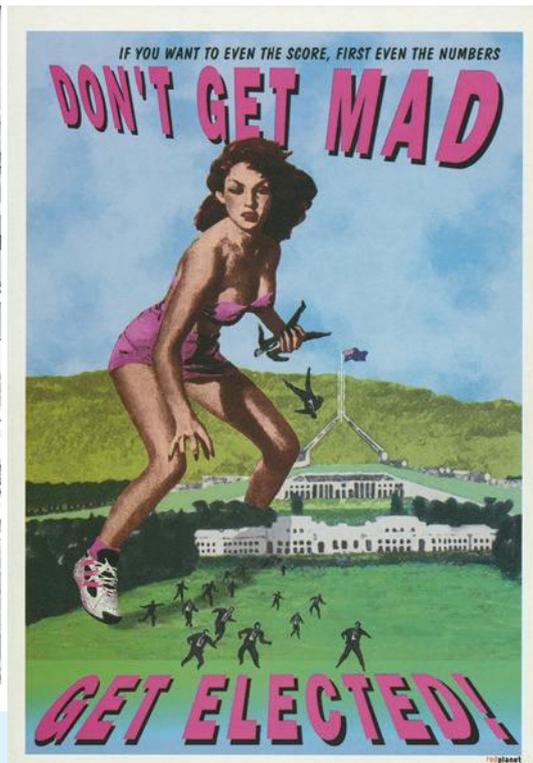
Poster for women's rights in the 1990s, by Carol Porter.

↻ SOURCE 8.04

International Women's Day March, 1975.

FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO CHALLENGE PATRIARCHY

In the 1950s and 1960s, the idealisation of the 'perfect' home with the 'perfect' housewife meant that many women felt trapped by their domestic roles—but also unable to move away from their supposedly utopian existence. It was only in the late 1960s and 1970s with increased protests over the Vietnam War, the development of hippy culture, improved media access (with televisions and radios in most homes) and improved educational opportunities (including free tertiary education) that this dissatisfaction was given a more mainstream voice. The first women's liberation groups in Australia were formed in Adelaide and Sydney in 1969, giving women a sense of community and a place to air concerns and complaints. These groups led to the Australian International Women's Day March on 8 March 1972, with marches continuing through much of the 1970s and 1980s. These marches were an opportunity to let the hidden conversations out; no longer were abortions, rape, premarital sex and family violence hidden in the private sphere. These conversations led to calls for new rights for women.



ACTIVITY

SKILLS: BELIEFS AND VALUES

Source 8.03 is a poster by Carol Porter for women's rights. It was inspired by the poster for the 1958 film *Attack of the 50 Foot Woman*. Explain what beliefs and values are being expressed in this feminist poster. Discuss reasons why Carol Porter has made this choice to connect the film *Attack of the 50 Foot Woman* to the idea of women getting elected.



ATTACK OF THE
50 FOOT WOMAN
TRAILER

ONE VOICE OR ALL VOICES?

The women's liberation movement was a powerful force for change, creating rape crisis centres, women's refuges, women's health centres, and actively campaigning to improve the legal and economic position of women. However, the movement of the 1970s was not completely progressive, as the voices of the feminist women were largely from the white middle and upper class. Although some women's liberationists fought to improve the position of women from different social and ethnic groups, not all were as welcoming. Migrant women often found themselves excluded by language and accessibility; Aboriginal women struggled under a burden of racism and sexism; while many lesbians found their struggles hidden by those of mainstream heterosexual members.

DID YOU KNOW?

During International Women's Day marches, women were sometimes challenged by critics who disagreed with their views on equality and reproductive rights. In 1972 Germaine Greer was egged by opponents.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why might women have felt unable to challenge patriarchal views in the 1950s?
2. Create a table listing the positives and the negatives of the 1970s women's liberation movement.
3. Write a paragraph discussing why the women's liberation movement was largely made up of white middle- and upper-class women.

ACTIVITY

FEMALE EUNUCHS AND FEMINIST JOURNALS

One of the key elements for change came from increased access to feminist literature, allowing more women to both read and write about feminist issues. In the 1970s and 1980s the number of feminist journals grew to around twenty—some lasted for only one or two issues, while others are still published today. Some key feminist journals include *Refractory Girl* started in 1972, *Hecate* started in 1975, and *Australian Feminist Studies* started in 1985. These journals were complemented by increased access to feminist texts including Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in 1949 (France), Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 (USA), and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* in 1970 (USA). One of the most significant books for Australian feminists was *The Female Eunuch*, written by Australian author Germaine Greer in 1970.



INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN'S DAY:
SIGNIFICANCE

THE FRUSTRATION OF THE 1970s WOMAN

... I am sick of the masquerade. I'm sick of pretending eternal youth. I'm sick of belying my own intelligence ... I'm sick of pretending that some fatuous male's self-important pronouncements are the objects of my undivided attention, I'm sick of going to films and plays when someone else wants to, and sick of having no opinions of my own about either.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify what beliefs and attitudes about women Greer is attempting to change.
2. Identify language used by Greer to convey exhaustion with the expectations and limitations placed on women.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s succeeded in addressing the problems identified by Greer. In your response, refer to the source and to historical interpretations.

← SOURCE 8.05

Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (*Pymble: HarperCollins, 2008*), 70.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 2011 Fair Work Australia decided to raise the wages of workers in the community services sector (social workers and counsellors), reasoning that their lower wages were because the sector was perceived as a female industry.⁴

MONEY, MONEY, MONEY

PAMELA BONE, AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST: 'When as a young mother I took a Saturday job at the local TAB ... I was paid less than the man working alongside me, even though I could add faster than he could. I don't remember feeling terribly resentful about this. It was just the way things were.'³

WAGES AND WORK

Women's ability to be employed and earn a fair wage was often hampered by perceptions of them as mothers and wives, rather than as workers or employees. In 1907, the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration reinforced the stereotype of men as the breadwinners and women's earnings as simply a supplementary wage with Justice Higgins's decision that the minimum male wage was in reality 'a "family wage" [and] should provide for a married man with three dependents' while the female wage was set at a lower rate for 'women were not usually legally responsible for the maintenance of a family.'⁵ Women were usually paid about half of what men earned. During World War II the rate of female pay rose, but the average female wage was still only about 60 per cent of the average male wage. After the war, women's wages remained reasonably static until the 1970s. This meant that women who could not rely on a male wage struggled economically, making marriage, for many women, a necessity for survival.

➔ SOURCE 8.06

Women working in a textiles factory during the 1950s.



EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

In 1969, after much campaigning by the women's movement, the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission chose to support the idea of 'equal pay for equal work'—but this applied only to a small number of occupations. It was not until 1974 and a new Labor government that it was decided that 'the male minimum wage should be extended to women to become an "adult" minimum wage.'⁶ The *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986* helped to remove barriers that prevented women entering and remaining in the workforce. However, there is still

a significant difference between the average wage for women and men today, with women's wages lagging far behind. This is due to a number of factors, including 'historically, female-dominated industries and jobs have attracted lower wages'⁷, 'skill differentials'⁸, choosing part-time over full-time work to support dependents; and discrimination in the workforce, suggesting that economic reform still has a long way to go. Women are also far more likely than men to interrupt their careers to have and raise children.



GENDER LABOUR
STATISTICS

SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT 1984

...

(b) to eliminate, so far as is possible, discrimination against persons on the ground of sex, marital status, pregnancy or potential pregnancy or breastfeeding in the areas of work, accommodation, education ...

(d) to promote recognition and acceptance within the community of the principle of the equality of men and women.

...

SOURCE 8.07

Australian Government
ComLaw, Sex Discrimination
Act 1984, http://www.comlaw.gov.au/Details/C2013C00012/Html/Text#_Toc345321013

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Explain the significance of the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*. Suggest three ways in which this act could lead to important changes in women's lives.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why were women paid less than men?
2. Why was a lower wage for women so problematic?
3. How are women still affected by discrimination in the work force? Consider some reasons for the current inequality.

ACTIVITY

I DO AND I DON'T

WOMEN'S LIBERATION SLOGAN IN THE 1970s: 'Better dead than wed.'⁹

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND CHILDREN

In the past, marriage was often talked about as the pinnacle of a woman's existence; however, the reality was sometimes very different, with domestic hardship, multiple pregnancies and physical or sexual abuse. Divorce laws had only been created in the United Kingdom in 1857 with the *Matrimonial Causes Act*, which finally allowed the possibility of a legal separation (although prior to that, people could pay to have their marriages annulled). This law was subsequently introduced in various forms in the states of Australia; however, these laws only gave limited causes for divorce, which made it hard for couples to legally separate. Some states, such as Victoria, seemed to have 'one law for the husband, another law for the wife', punishing women for a single case of adultery while men

DID YOU KNOW?

In Australia, rape within marriage was not defined as rape until the 1970s.

were only in trouble if they committed ‘aggravated’ adultery.¹⁰ It was only with the *Commonwealth Matrimonial Causes Act 1959*, which identified fourteen causes for divorce, that divorce law became universal throughout Australia. However, the biggest change came with the *Family Law Act 1975*, which had only one cause for divorce—the ‘irretrievable breakdown of marriage.’¹¹ This effectively created a no-fault divorce law, helping to create a more positive relationship between divorcing partners and their children as they no longer had to prove that one partner had caused the marriage breakdown.

DID YOU KNOW?

Before the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*, female teachers often had to resign or take long-service leave to have or raise children.

➔ SOURCE 8.08

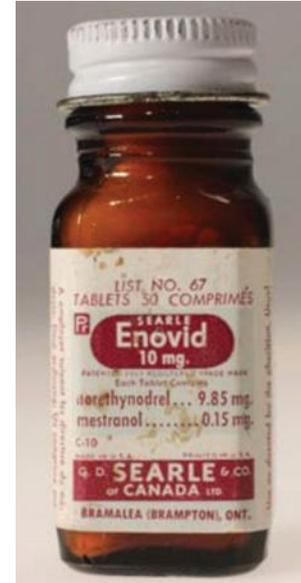
The first oral contraceptive pill (Enovid) was approved for use in the US in 1960 and released in Australia in 1961 (as Anovlar).

➔ SOURCE 8.09

Alleyne Jukes (ed.),
Woman's World (Melbourne,
M.A White and Staff, 1960), 354.

SEXUAL REVOLUTION

The 1970s women’s liberation movement was also described as a sexual revolution for the changes it promoted in sexual relationships. Women wanted to change the double standard in society that forgave men their sexual interactions (premarital and adulterous) but which punished women for the same actions. Before the 1960s, women who engaged in extramarital relations, whether by choice or force, suffered not only through social stigmas, but also through the fear of STDs and unwanted pregnancy (with the associated concerns of backyard abortions and forced adoptions). The development and availability of the birth control pill and the increase in popularity of condoms helped reduce these concerns, allowing women to engage in sexual relations with men on a more equal footing. Attitudes began to change and marriage was no longer seen as the only option.



‘FIRST CATCH YOUR MAN’

Let's face it, every healthy, well balanced woman always wants to have a man in her life ... Men, particularly need to feel your attention when they speak to you. Your eyes are your most expressive feature—show your interest in him by looking into his eyes when he speaks to you. Your eyes will often say more than your words. Use them.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Imagine that you are a 21-year-old woman studying medicine. How would you view this advice? What positives and negatives would you take from this?

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why was birth control so important?
2. How did divorce laws in Australia change from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century?
3. Why might the women’s liberation movement use slogans such as ‘better dead than wed’? What does this indicate about marital relationships both before and after the sexual revolution?

HIDDEN WOMEN IN HISTORY

JOCELYNNE SCUTT, FEMINIST ACADEMIC: 'Who are the women who have disappeared or have been kept from us, and from our daughters? ... The mediocrity of women has been emphasized throughout history, in the rare times that attention has been paid to the female members of society.'¹³

📖 SOURCE 8.12

Australian swimmers Fanny Durack and Mina Wylie with British swimmer Jenny Fletcher. Durack and Wylie were the first Australian female Olympians, winning, respectively, gold and silver at the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games.

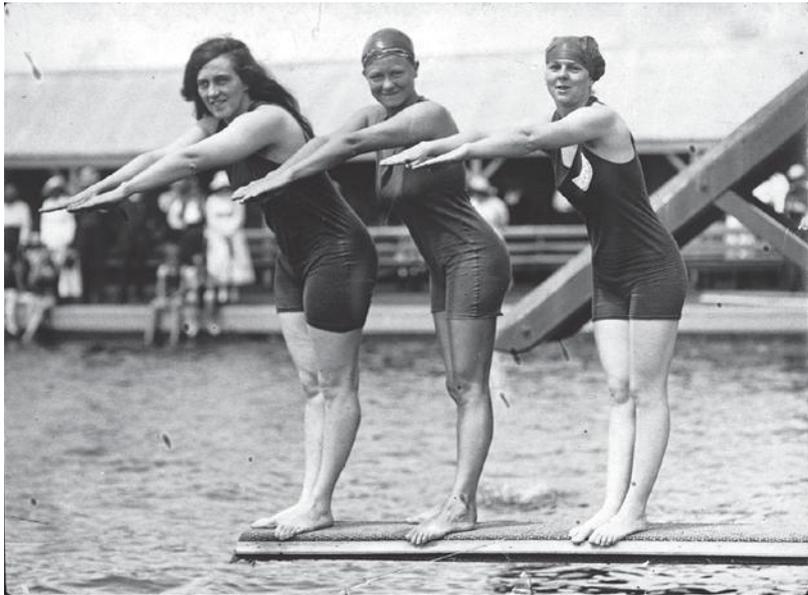
📖 SOURCE 8.13

Portrait of Truganini, the last full-blooded Tasmanian Aboriginal woman. Photograph taken in the 1870s.



ABSENCE MAKES THE HEART GROW FONDER

One of the major concerns for early feminists in the women's liberation movement was women in history. Even though women often made significant contributions to society, science, culture, politics and events, their actions and lives were often silenced, their history unrecorded. The absence of women in most history books was connected to prevailing attitudes that devalued women and their actions, but was also linked to prevalent academic contemporary views that only valued political histories, the stories of kings and battles. Beverley Kingston's *My wife, my daughter, and poor Mary Ann: Women and work in Australia* (1975), Anne Summers' *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (1975) and Miriam Dixson's *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia—1788 to the Present* (1976) were key texts to address the absence of women in traditional histories. These and other books led to changes in the way history was written, including more reference to influential women and a greater focus on social history.



FEMINIST HISTORIANS

📖 SOURCE 8.14

Beverley Kingston, *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Ann*, (*West Melbourne: Thomas Nelson Australia*, 1975), 137.

BEVERLEY KINGSTON ON AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

Australian women had a very important part to play in building a modern and progressive society in a new land far from its origins. They bore the children and they nourished them. Later they became the major agents of civilization ... So important were these functions—child rearing and the care of homes and maintenance of family influences—that women were given no choice.

MIRIAM DIXON ON AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

Yet the overall standing of women in Australia comes close to the *lowest* among the Western industrial democracies ... Australian woman's sense of personhood is among the thinnest ... the Australian woman ... is to be tip-toe, dull, dolly-bird, blank-faced, 'don't crowd me love, I've got my mates.'

ANNE SUMMERS ON AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

To be a Mother of Two would seem to be a more important status for an Australian woman than any other conceivable accolade ... The traditional mother/wife role has been structured around an unequal social and economic relationship between men and women, with the 'separate but equal' ideology cloaking a multitude of legally sanctioned and *de facto* inequalities.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. Compare the three feminist historians' views of women in Australian history. Discuss how they are similar and how they are different.
2. These three historians were all writing in the 1970s. In what ways had the situation for women changed by the 2000s? Support your views with reference to occupations, wages and social gender equality.

FEMINISM IN THE 2000S

RASHMERE BHATTI, INDIAN-AUSTRALIAN WELFARE WORKER ON AUSTRALIAN AND INDIAN WOMEN: 'It is a difference as stark as black and white, a difference of east and west: in one, women have gained rights to speech and employment, while in the other, a woman's life revolves around her acceptance of the puritan female role, submissive and owned.'¹⁴

POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM

The women's liberation movement of the 1970s and 1980s slowly moved from solely supporting white middle- to upper-class women to becoming more inclusive of other women and their needs. There is more awareness and inclusion of migrant, Indigenous, third-world and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transexual (LGBT) feminism, and their specific needs from being doubly or trebly oppressed. For these women are not only discriminated against as women, but also as members of their specific group.

ABORIGINAL WOMEN

Not only are Aboriginal women victims of male chauvinism, but also of racism ... [I]n a male dominated white society black men pose a greater threat ... and it is for that reasons that black men have been so enslaved, caught in the 'pub-to-gaol' phenomenon. That Aboriginal women pose no threat to white men is very clearly seen by the fact that they have so often been ... considered easy game for the racist rapist.

SOURCE 8.15

Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda*, (Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1976), 21.

SOURCE 8.16

Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, (Ringwood, Penguin Books, 1975), 32, 62.

ACTIVITY

RESEARCH

Identify three or four women who have been emphasised in history and try to determine why they have been singled out when many others have been ignored.

DID YOU KNOW?

In 2015, the gender pay gap was 18.8 per cent, meaning that on average a full-time male worker will earn \$300 more each week than an average full-time female worker.¹⁵

SOURCE 8.17

Pat O'Shane, 'Aboriginal Women and the Women's Movement,' *Refractory Girl*, 12 (1976) republished in *Refractory Girl*, 44-45 (1993), 73.

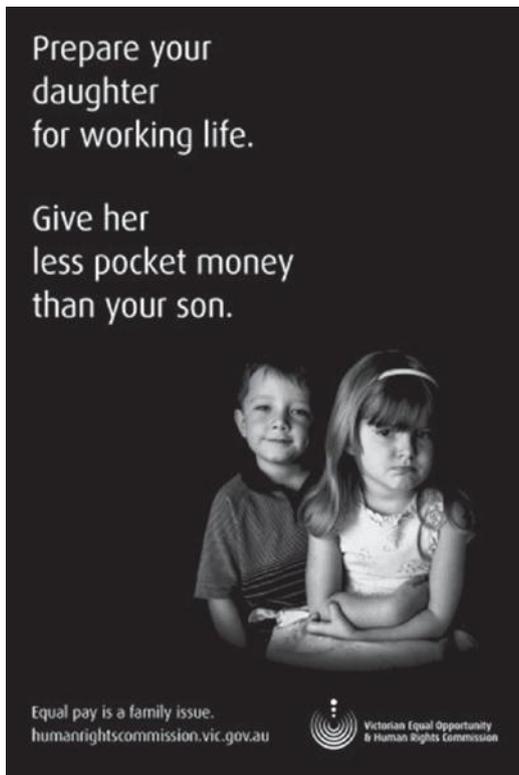


↑ SOURCE 8.18

Australia's first female prime minister, Julia Gillard.

↓ SOURCE 8.19

Gender gap postcard by the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission in the 2000s.



CHANGES

There are many ways in which women are more equal in our modern society. There are many feminist groups that use the internet to share their ideas on gender equality and female empowerment. Our sex discrimination and equal opportunity laws prevent overt discrimination in women's working lives, while new marriage and divorce laws provide more protection to women. In addition, women are slowly becoming more powerful in businesses and politics, with female politicians such as Penny Wong and the first female prime minister, Julia Gillard, playing a more significant role in our political landscape.

#I DON'T NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE... #I DO NEED FEMINISM BECAUSE...

The word *feminist* has now become problematic as it is often defined as 'man-hater', rather than someone

who seeks equality. There have been social media campaigns such as #WomenAgainstFeminism where women post images of themselves saying 'I don't need feminism because ...' ironically often stating their reasons for not being feminist because they have the very same rights that feminists fight for. This negative attitude to feminism has even been held by prominent female politicians such as Julie Bishop, who claimed, 'I'm no feminist.'¹⁶ Some commentators have suggested that feminism is not necessary, that women are already equal. But there are many ways in which women are still not equal: we need only look at victim blaming, rape, domestic violence, the glass ceiling in the workforce, maternity leave for women but not for men, insidious stereotypes and the gender pay gap, all of which reinforce women's subservient role in society.

ACTIVITIES

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Consider how different backgrounds (migrant, Aboriginal, LGBT, white, developing world) might have an impact on the specific women's rights that the group is looking for. Identify what might be important to certain groups, and what might not be.

MEDIA TASKS

1. Watch contemporary music video clips (one female performer and one male performer). Compare and contrast how they are represented. Consider what this tells us about women and men's roles in society today.
2. Watch advertisements targeted towards women and advertisements targeted towards men. Is each gender represented positively or negatively? Does it differ depending on the target audience? Are gender stereotypes used or broken in these advertisements?

PART 2: PEACE

BAN THE BOMB

SADAKO OKUDA, *A DIMLY BURNING WICK: MEMOIR FROM THE RUINS OF HIROSHIMA*: 'The sunset was beautiful, and I thought how wonderful it would be if there was not such sorrow in the world—if there were peace now! I imagined how, if there were no such violence and fear, these two would be with their mother right now.'¹⁷

DAYS OF DARKNESS, DAYS OF WAR

World War II was a war like no other. Although it shared the direct fighting involving soldiers from many countries like World War I, no previous war had such an impact on civilian lives. In the lands invaded and controlled by Nazi Germany, there was the usual brutality of a conqueror towards a conquered nation, but there was also the specific genocide-driven persecution and murder of Jews, Gypsies, black people, homosexuals, Slavs, as well as the mentally and physically disabled. The horror of these actions led many in the world to reconsider their own treatment of many of these groups and ensured the development of the *1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights* by the United Nations. This declaration of human rights and newly changed post-war attitudes helped to kick-start campaigns for the civil rights of African Americans, Indigenous Australians, women and homosexuals, as well as leading to decolonisation movements in a number of Asian, Middle Eastern and African countries.

Some historians have argued that the brutality of US forces in ending World War II was almost as significant as that of the Nazis—in their desire to finally end the war, US forces dropped atomic bombs on two of Japan's major cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in August 1945. The atomic bombs hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki with devastating force, and shook the world with the new destructive capabilities of nuclear weapons. The fear of such weapons led to a nuclear arms race between



SOURCE 8.20

Ceremonial arch (torii) standing in the flattened and smoking landscape of Hiroshima, 1945.

➔ SOURCE 8.21

Dead and injured people lying in the street in Hiroshima, 1945.



HIROSHIMA
SURVIVOR
TESTIMONY



BACKS TO THE BLAST

➔ SOURCE 8.22

Robert Jay Lifton, Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima (University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 27.

the USSR and the USA. It also resulted in a Cold War between the two countries with their competing ideologies of communism and capitalism, which would last from 1945 to the 1990s. There were no direct wars between the two superpowers, but the fear of a nuclear war was an ever-present concern, especially when other countries began their own nuclear programs. Although there had always been peace movements, it was only after the horror of Hiroshima that these movements gained more power. Sometimes these groups labelled themselves as peace campaigners, while others described themselves as anti-nuclear or anti-war—but their main aim was always peace.



SURVIVOR TESTIMONY FROM A SEVERELY BURNED GROCER

The appearance of people was ... well, they all had skin blackened by burns ... They had no hair because their hair had been burned, and at a glance you couldn't tell whether you were looking at them from in front or in back ... Many of them died along the road—I can still picture them in my mind—like walking ghosts ... They didn't look like people of this world ... I myself was one of them.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Use your knowledge of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to create and then answer two questions: one simple question and one complex question.

DID YOU KNOW?

Nuclear testing took place in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s at Maralinga, a remote area of South Australia. The British Army undertook numerous tests there and left at least twenty-three kilograms of plutonium buried in the area when they finally stopped the testing.¹⁸

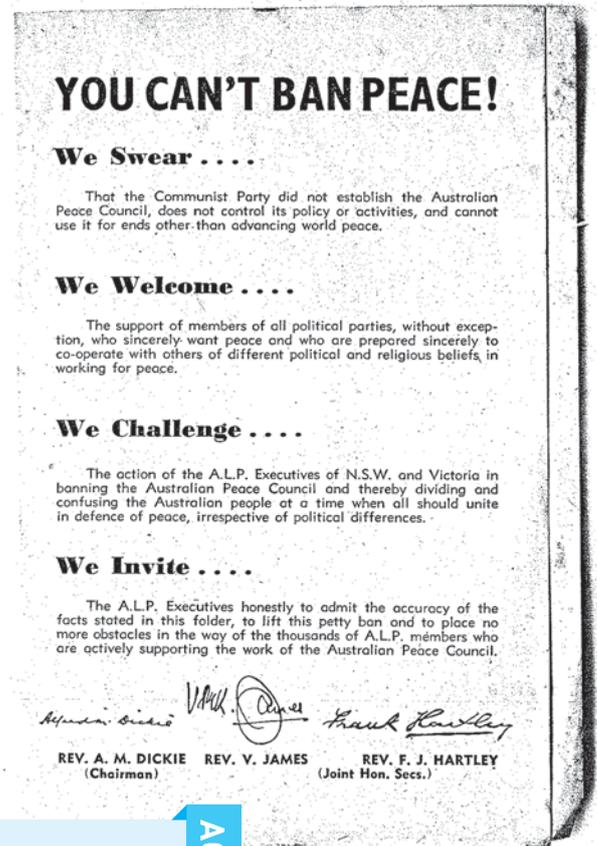
POST-WAR PEACE

After the end of World War II, the world seemed to give a sigh of relief as it turned from the horrors of the war towards the hope of peace. The desire for peace became more mainstream and placards celebrating such wishes were included in a number of different arenas, including May Day marches in the 1950s.¹⁹ Although many people were against the idea of war and supported the idea of peace, few actually became involved in specific peace groups. Some felt that it was unpatriotic to become involved in peace groups; that it disrespected the memory of Australian fighters in World War I and World War II. Other people were concerned that peace movements were connected too closely with the communist movement—this meant that peace movements were viewed with suspicion during the Cold War, and their motives questioned.

PEACE MOVEMENTS

One of the earliest post–World War II peace groups was the Australian Peace Council, founded in Melbourne in 1949 by Reverend Francis John Hartley, Reverend Alf Dickie and Reverend Victor James. The three clergymen, all from different Christian faiths, worked together to share their passion for peace. They used this council to help organise the Australian Peace Congress in Melbourne in 1950. Also in 1950, the World Peace Council (WPC) was created, with Reverend Francis John Hartley sent to represent Australia at the WPC meeting in 1951.

Later, Hartley and Dickie helped create the Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament, which was held in Melbourne in 1959 and Sydney in 1964. Both events were well attended and discussed anti-war views, nuclear disarmament and the desire for peace. These peace leaders were so well regarded in the international peace community that in 1965 Hartley and Dickie were awarded the Joliot-Curie gold medal, a medal of peace, by the World Peace Council.²⁰



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why might the events that occurred in Nazi Germany and at Hiroshima and Nagasaki have led to the development of peace movements?
2. Why might the peace movements have been damaged by being associated with the communist party in the 1950s?
3. Why would it be necessary to create a pamphlet such as that shown in Source 8.23? Write a paragraph explaining this pamphlet in terms of its historical context.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 8.23

Pamphlet from the Australian Peace Council 1950 by Reverend Alf Dickie.

CONFLICT WITHOUT CENSORSHIP—VIETNAM WAR

TONY MCFARLAND (AN AUSTRALIAN CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR IN 1966): 'After reading every piece of literature I could get, both for and against, I decided that this was the most disgraceful thing the Australian Government had ever done. I am truly ashamed of our part in this disgusting affair.'²¹

VIETNAM WAR

The Vietnam War revolutionised the peace movement. Before the Vietnam War, many peace movements had focused on avoidance of war and involved small marginalised groups. During the 1960s, the fight for peace became an anti-war statement, where the morality of the war itself was challenged by large groups, beginning with students and radical protest groups before moving into the mainstream.

The Vietnam War came about because the Vietnamese wanted to rid themselves of French colonial rule. In 1954, after the Geneva Conference, Vietnam was partitioned into the communist North and the republican South. In the complicated Cold War era, the threat of communism ensured that the United States supported the South Vietnamese president Ngo Dinh Diem, to protect South Vietnam against communism. US political relations were motivated by their belief in the domino theory— that if one country became communist, the neighbouring countries would also become communist, like dominoes knocking each other over. The United States decided that it had to prevent countries from becoming communist, and provided economic assistance and advice to non-communist nations who were being threatened by communist rule. When President Ngo Dinh Diem was unable to prevent the attacks from North Vietnam, the US army moved in with advisers in 1955, and with combat troops in 1965.

Australia followed their recently adopted US ally into the war in 1962, also with Australian advisers and then with a combat presence in 1965. As a smaller ally to the greater superpower, Australian forces in Vietnam generally followed the lead of the United States.

➔ SOURCE 8.24

Australian soldiers make an assault landing from an American Chinook helicopter in Vietnam, 1967.



MASS MOVEMENT

The Vietnam War was initially relatively popular in Australia. A 1965 Morgan Gallup poll showed that 56 per cent of Australians supported involvement in the war. As Vietnam was so close, the threat of communism concerned many people. There was also support for the idea that the Vietnam War was a necessary war, a fight to support the democratic South Vietnamese against the communist North Vietnamese. However, by 1970 public support for the war had fallen to 42 per cent.

REASONS FOR LOSS OF SUPPORT BY 1970

Journalism

Journalists had unprecedented access to information and photo opportunities in the Vietnam War. The intensity of these images and the information obtained help to change peoples' attitudes towards the war. Most Australian newspapers were originally supportive of the



📌 SOURCE 8.25

Nine-year-old Kim Phuc Phan Thi running from her napalmed village, 1972. Photograph by Nick Ut.

Vietnam War and the Australian soldiers and, even near the end, tended to put the blame for the war more on the US forces than on the Australian soldiers. But the overwhelming quantity of confronting images swayed Australians towards a desire for peace.

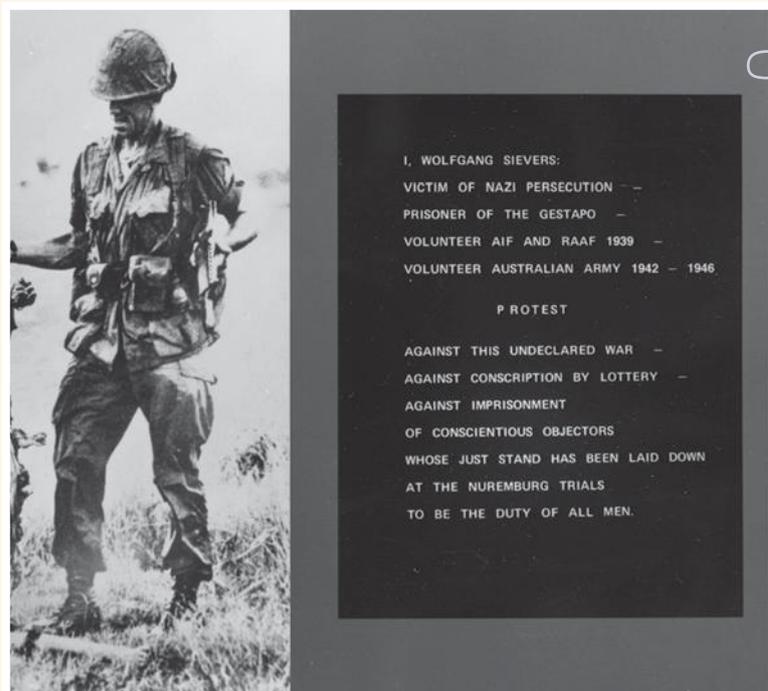
Conscription

In 1964 the National Service Act was introduced in Australia. Men were chosen from a draft lottery by their birthdate to serve as National Service conscripts for two years, and then a further three years in the Army Reserve. In 1965, the law was changed so that these National Service conscripts could be sent overseas and 15 300 conscripts were sent to fight in Vietnam. It has been suggested by some historians that a number of soldiers went over as unwilling recruits, although other historians have challenged this view.

📌 SOURCE 8.26

A photograph and text protesting against the Vietnam War, by Wolfgang Sievers, 1960s.

As this image may be distressing for some students, we have chosen not to publish the full image. To view the image in its entirety, please visit: <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/285279>

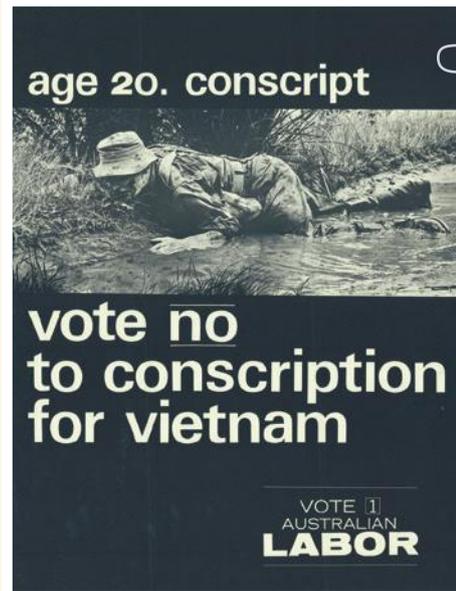


➔ **left SOURCE 8.27**

Former cricket test captain Lindsay Hassett drawing the National Service ballot in 1966.

➔ **right SOURCE 8.28**

Vote 'No Conscription' Labor Party poster, 1970.



Guerrilla War

The Vietnam War was largely a guerrilla war. It wasn't a series of battles where both sides wore uniforms and could clearly identify the members of the other side. Instead, attacks could take place at any time and often included unexpected combatants such as women and children. Making the war more stressful for US and Australian forces, they faced two armies fighting different kinds of wars: the North Vietnamese Army in the frontier areas and the guerrillas of the National Liberation Front in the countryside.

This constant uncertainty and paranoia, linked with racism and an emphasis on machismo, led to a number of atrocities being committed, such as the My Lai Massacre. Although these atrocities were committed by small groups of soldiers, all Vietnam veterans were tainted with the belief that they had engaged in massacres; they also faced community disapproval for taking part in an unpopular war, which led to many veterans developing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) after they returned.

ACTIVITIES

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCES

Explain some of the consequences of being involved in a guerrilla war, especially one that is easily reported on by the media.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Consider Source 8.27. What was the purpose of having a former cricket test captain drawing the ballot?
2. Compare Source 8.25, 8.26, 8.27 and 8.28 and discuss the impact that these images would have had on their audiences during the Vietnam War.
3. What emotions do these images elicit from the audience? How do they create this emotional response?

MORATORIUMS AND MOTHERS

DR JIM CAIRNS: 'Well the heart of it was to prove that Vietnam had not been an aggressor. Vietnam, the Vietnamese people, had been invaded by the French, then by the Americans, and they had defended themselves as anyone would, if they had the courage and the capacity, and the Vietnamese have a tremendous amount of courage and capacity to fight, to defend themselves.'²²

SAVE OUR SONS (SOS)

One of the earliest groups to protest in Australia against the Vietnam War was Save our Sons (SOS). SOS was created in Sydney in 1965 by women who had sons of conscription age. Their aim was to oppose conscription and prevent their sons being sent to a war that was not of their choosing. They protested by handing out pamphlets at the sign-in barracks or engaging in silent vigils at key areas such as the Shrine of Remembrance. SOS members often faced verbal abuse; they were called 'communists, rabblers, naive mothers and neglectful wives', and their actions were not viewed positively, particularly early on. In 1971, five women from the group (Joan Coxsedg, Jean McLean, Chris Cathie, Jo Maclaine-Cross and Irene Miller) were imprisoned for fourteen days for handing out fliers near a military barracks, under the charge of trespass. Their imprisonment gained publicity for the group and their desire to end to conscription.

MORATORIUMS

A moratorium is when people agree to suspend an activity. The first moratoriums were held in US cities in 1969, with thousands of people stopping work and closing down the cities to discuss and protest against the Vietnam War. Moratoriums were held across the United States on 15 October 1969, and a march on Washington was held on 15 November 1969.

MELBOURNE MORATORIUMS

The success of the US movement encouraged protest groups in Australia, and a Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (VMC) was created to coordinate similar activities in Australian capital cities. Many of the members came from the Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament (CICD), a peace movement. Originally the moratorium was planned for April 1970, but was changed to 8–10 May to align with moratoriums being held in the United States at the same time. The moratorium protests were largest in Melbourne, where 100 000 people joined the first march. This was followed by other moratoriums in September 1970 and June 1971.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: BELIEFS AND VALUES

1. Explain the beliefs and values held by the SOS. Compare and contrast the values of those who did not view them positively.
2. Most members of SOS were middle-aged women. Do you think that was an advantage or a disadvantage for their cause? Explain.



SOS

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What is a moratorium?
2. Why did the anti-Vietnam War protesters want to use this form of protest?
3. Write a paragraph discussing the idea of Australia following the US lead, both into the Vietnam War and then into peace protests.

PRIMARY SOURCES: MORATORIUMS

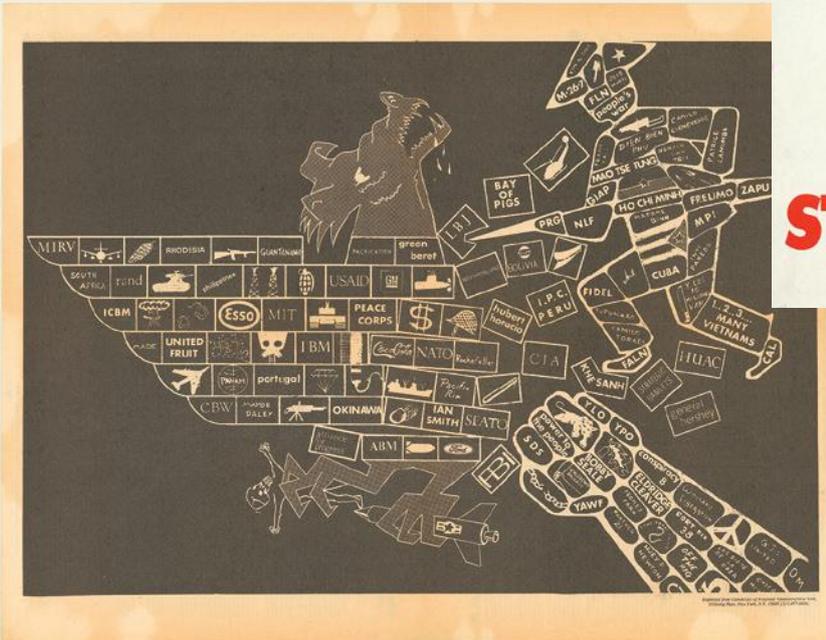
📌 SOURCE 8.29

An ASIO photo of the 1971 Canberra moratorium.



📌 SOURCE 8.30

'Vietnamization' poster made by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, 1970.



📌 SOURCE 8.31

Poster for the 1970 Brisbane moratorium.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: BELIEFS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Analyse the two posters in Sources 8.30 and 8.31 using CHIPS (Caption, Historical context, Interrogate the source, People, Symbols) or ADAMANT (Author, Date, Audience, Message, Agenda, Nature and Technique).

How do the two sources reflect differing beliefs, values or attitudes of the time?

JIM CAIRNS ON THE MELBOURNE MORATORIUM

The Vietnam Moratorium movement was a Melbourne movement. When action was taken by marching in the street in Adelaide and Sydney, a little in Perth and a little in Brisbane, there was no organisations like that, or no organisations like that underneath, to encourage people to come: 'Are you going? What about coming? Are you going? What about coming?' The result was that when we got our street marches in Melbourne they were two or three times as big as anywhere else. The Vietnam Moratorium movement was a Melbourne movement. It wasn't just because of me, it was because I was one of initially twenty or thirty, who emerged out of that South Melbourne Town Hall conference and worked together ... They were going to behave unaggressively because they were committed to unaggressive behaviour. I didn't make it peaceful. It was peaceful because it was peaceful itself. And so it was peaceful. I had another shot at them along those lines in the Flagstaff Gardens and again there's a photograph there of me standing in front of a monument talking to the thousands, only saying that, that's all.

SOURCE 8.32

Australian Biography:
Jim Cairns, <http://www.australianbiography.gov.au/subjects/cairns/interview5.html>



MORATORIUM
DOCUMENTARY



SOURCE 8.33

Jim Cairns sitting with other protesters during the 1970 Melbourne moratorium.

ACTIVITY

ESSAY

1. Using three or four points, discuss the key ideas and values expressed in the moratoriums, as shown in Sources 8.29– 8.33.
2. To what extent was the moratorium movement responsible for Australia's withdrawal from Vietnam, with the last Australian troops coming home in December 1972? In your answer, consider the moratorium movement in the light of other influences on withdrawal.

▼ SOURCE 8.34

'Smiley' was written by Johnny Young about Normie Rowe (pictured), a popular singer described as the 'King of Pop', who was conscripted in 1967 to fight in the Vietnam War. When he returned, Rowe was unable to regain his pre-war popularity.



 'SMILEY' PERFORMED BY RONNIE BURNS

 'KHE SANH' PERFORMED BY COLD CHISEL

 'I WAS ONLY 19' PERFORMED BY REDGUM

 'MASTERS OF WAR' PERFORMED BY BOB DYLAN

 'MASTERS OF WAR' LYRIC ANALYSIS

SONGS—PATRIOTIC PROPAGANDA AND PROTEST POWER

Songs have always been used in war, whether created by the soldiers themselves to mock and belittle the enemy, by the propaganda departments to ensure nationalistic fervour, or by the popular singers at the time to appeal to the patriotic masses. In World War I and World War II, songs were almost uniformly positive, identifying the war as a worthy goal and encouraging soldiers to sign up. With the Vietnam War, the attitudes expressed in songs began to change. Rather than patriotically supporting the idea that war was necessary, these songs questioned the waste of young life, whether the other side was really an enemy and whether the war needed to be fought at all. These songs included 'Smiley' by Ronnie Burns, performed in 1969 during the Vietnam War; 'Khe Sanh' by Cold Chisel in 1978, and 'I Was Only 19' by Redgum in 1983.

ACTIVITIES

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Research the background to the three songs below. What event or person was each song written about?
 - 'Smiley', performed by Ronnie Burns
 - 'Khe Sanh', performed by Cold Chisel
 - 'I Was Only 19', performed by Redgum
2. What are the common themes in these songs?
3. Songs about World War I and World War II were mostly positive. How do you think the songs listed above helped to change the way Australians felt about their men and women being sent away to fight in wars?

MEDIA RESPONSE

Watch the film clip for 'I Was Only 19'. Using three or four points, discuss what values are being explored in the film clip and song lyrics.

PEACE IN OUR TIME

THE PEOPLE FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT: 'PND's objective is to inspire, and mobilise public opinion in support of disarmament and peace with the necessary safeguards assured by international agreements.'²³

ANTI-NUCLEAR WORLD

During the Cold War, the proliferation of nuclear weaponry in the USA and USSR became a deep concern for many countries, particularly during the Cuban Missile Crisis. Peace groups increasingly turned anti-nuclear as the threat of nuclear power and nuclear weaponry threatened the whole world. In 1973, the Australian Peace Liaison Committee (APLC) focused its mission on conferences, disarmament marches and creating a nuclear-free Pacific. This was supported by other groups such as People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND)—a group active since 1960s—and the United Nations Association of Australia in the 1980s. The Cold War didn't end until the 1990s, making nuclear war a very real possibility for people in this era. In the 1980s, large peace and anti-nuclear rallies were held across Australia each Palm Sunday.

TODAY

There are a number of different peace groups still in existence today. Some groups are motivated by religious reasons, including the Religions for Peace group, while other groups, such as People for Nuclear Disarmament are fighting for the reduction of nuclear weapons. With the end of the Cold War, there is less fear of nuclear war, although there is still concern about some of the nations that have nuclear weapons, such as North Korea, and the threat of terrorist groups obtaining nuclear weapons.

The peace movement continues in a number of forms, as it did in the beginning, with different groups focusing on creating peace through anti-war or anti-nuclear protests as well as specific peace protests. The protest landscape has changed. Although peace marches still take place, they now tend to be organised through social media and petitions tend to be held online, allowing people to develop and express their social conscience from the comfort of their own home.



↑ SOURCE 8.35

Palm Sunday Rally,
East Melbourne, 1985.



CONTEMPORARY
PEACE GROUPS



← SOURCE 8.36

Protesters march
towards the US Capitol in
Washington DC, during a
2007 protest against the
Iraq War.

EXTENSION

Research a recent protest that is connected to the peace movement. Identify the tactics used and discuss how successful the protest was.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were some of the anti-nuclear groups?
2. Why were religious groups often connected to peace movements?
3. How has the peace movement changed over time?

ACTIVITY



50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE PEACE
SYMBOL

PART 3: ENVIRONMENTALISM

IT'S NOT EASY BEING GREEN

BOB BROWN, 1996: 'Here we are, some six billion people, on this finite, fragile living planet. We do not understand as a generally accepted wisdom why. We do not know where we have come from and, indeed, we cannot clearly chart the future ahead, but this much we do know: we are an amazing organism ...'²⁴

DID YOU KNOW?

Australia was the first country to have a 'green' political party, with the United Tasmania Group (UTG) founded in 1972. The UTG was established in response to the proposal to flood Lake Pedder and turn it into a dam.

The green movement was not comprised of one organisation, but was made up of different groups working in related areas to defend nature, protect endangered animals, prevent mining and remove nuclear power. The green crusade gained momentum in the 1960s as teenagers and young adults, with tertiary education and increased social concern, started to consider the impact that humans and big business were having on the world. Environmental groups were often created to fight against specific environmental threats. The Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland (WPSQ) developed in 1962 to protect the Great Barrier Reef. Over time several groups formed in Australia, including a local branch of Greenpeace, The Wilderness Society, World Wildlife Fund and the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF).



ENVIRONMENTAL
TIMELINE

ANTI-NUCLEAR PROTEST IN MELBOURNE

One of the biggest concerns from environmental and peace perspectives was the development of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy during the Cold War between the USA and the USSR, when both sides—as well as other countries—worked hard to develop their nuclear capabilities, fearing the consequences if they were left behind. In Australia between 1952 and 1963, nuclear testing was done by the British government at Maralinga in South Australia. The tests contaminated the land and left many Indigenous people sick. The damage was hidden by the Australian government for many years. Later, when the French government started testing nuclear weapons on Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls in French Polynesia in 1966, there were protests in Australia against these tests taking place. The contamination from the nuclear blasts damaged the atolls and concerned all those living in the Pacific region. The environmental group Greenpeace sailed into the exclusion zone around Mururoa atoll in an attempt to prevent these tests from continuing. The last French nuclear test in the South Pacific took place in 1996.

▼ SOURCE 8.37

Nuclear disarmament,
1984.



CHALLENGES

Environmentalists faced many challenges in changing public opinion and protecting locations or animal species. Initially, the general public was dismissive of people who chose to fight to protect forests from logging, to prevent lakes and rivers such as Franklin River in Tasmania from being dammed (1983) or to save national landmarks such as the Great Barrier Reef from being drilled (1975). These battles were considered insignificant in comparison to the

improvement in human lives, new developments in technology and industrial progress. The environmentalists' opponents believed that conservationists were ridiculous for caring so much about the environment, and often derided them as 'hippies' or 'tree-huggers' to reduce their political and protesting power. The green movement launched many legal challenges, created petitions and staged protests to gain support for their views. Sometimes they succeeded, but often their protests failed against government pressure or the economic power of big business.

TODAY

Over time, attitudes changed and environmental concerns became more mainstream. Many people now see the need for renewable energy and the necessity of preserving wildlife from extinction or destruction. The Australian Greens political party is increasing its percentage of the total vote in the Senate and becoming a stronger political force by offering a more socially conscious alternative to the two main political parties: Liberal and Labor. Many environmental campaigns are now conducted via the internet, bringing together large numbers of petitions and signatures in the hope of making change, although with the rise of one-click petitions where mass numbers of people can click and forget, the impact of these petitions may decline over time.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. When did the environmental movement gain momentum? Why might this have occurred then?
2. How did Australians protest environmental issues?
3. Consider the significance of the issues these environmentalists fought for. What were they focused on?

THE GREENS

Over time, many environmental groups realised that they needed to become involved in politics if they wanted to make wide-ranging changes. The first green political party, the United Tasmania Group, was formed in Tasmania in 1972 to protect wilderness areas. Over the next twenty years, each state in Australia developed its own Greens Party, and in 1992 these

groups joined together to make a federal political party—the Australian Greens. The initial aim of the Australian Greens was to support the protection of wildlife and natural areas, but gradually they moved towards humanitarian concerns as well, supporting those who are disadvantaged: children, refugees, the poor, immigrants and students.²⁵



Poster for the Greens.

MEDIA RESPONSE

Pick one of the following songs and listen to it, or watch the film clip. Then answer these questions:

1. Which environmental value is it discussing?
2. Is it focusing on a particular event or issue?
3. What perspective on the environment is it trying to bring to its audience?
4. To what extent do you believe songs can change attitudes? Use one of the following to discuss.
 - 'Blue Sky Mine' by Midnight Oil
 - 'Better People' by Xavier Rudd
 - 'When the River Runs Dry' by Hunters and Collectors
 - 'Rip Rip Woodchip' by John Williamson
 - 'No Longer There' by Cat Empire
 - 'Maralinga' by Paul Kelly.

ACTIVITY

CONCLUSION

LABOR DAY

UNION THE PRINTING TRADES LABEL 1

1950

DEMAND EQUAL PAY

As author Freda Adler writes, 'major social movements are spawned in obscurity at the periphery of public awareness, seem to burst suddenly and dramatically into public view, and eventually fade into the landscape not because they have diminished but because they have become a permanent part of our perceptions and experience.'²⁶

The excitement and passion of the 1970s and 1980s that moved many to join peace, environmental and women's rights' groups dissipated by the 1990s and 2000s, and numbers in many of these groups have dropped significantly.

People who continue to agitate for change often take up the fight on social media as much as they march in the streets. They are often belittled as

'femi-nazis', 'tree-huggers' and 'peace-loving hippies'. Although environmentalism is now a mainstream concern, environmental groups are often still disparaged for taking things 'too far'.

Certainly much has been achieved—there are more opportunities for women; recycling and solar programs are helping the environment; and Australia provides a peace-keeping presence in regional conflicts. But the wage disparity between men and women is still substantial, Australia is particularly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, and the nation is still involved in armed conflicts. Perhaps it is an indication of success, that what once was a radical idea is seen as 'common sense' by the next generation.²⁷ But there is also the danger of complacency when there is so much still to be done.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Write a summary on:

- The feminist movement and how it developed in Australia. (Consider the suffragettes/ and post-war attitudes, rise of second-wave feminism and how literature, history and films helped influence changes).
- The peace movement and how it developed in Australia. (Consider its links to World War II and the Vietnam War, use of songs as protest and its movement to large anti-nuclear protests).
- The environmental movement and how it developed in Australia. (Consider first actions, politicisation of activism and modern environmentalism).

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

1. Discuss the changes in women's rights 1945–2000.
2. Consider what impact legal changes have had on the path to gender equality. Provide evidence to support your answer.
3. Discuss the differences between the early peace movements immediately post-World War II and those during the Vietnam War.
4. Discuss how the Australian environmental movement has been viewed over time.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- 'The Melbourne Moratorium was influential in ending the Vietnam War'. To what extent do you agree with this assessment?
- Feminists made it one of their early goals to rewrite histories in order to include women. Consider their representations of Australian femininity and discuss the importance of this action.
- 'Environmental movements care more for bushes and leaves than for humans and lives.' Discuss.

EXTENSION

1. Create a research question for feminism, peace or environmentalism, and research the movement in one of the following countries: Japan, France, the USA, West Germany or Great Britain. Compare their movements to those in Australia.
2. Research the gender pay gap in Australia and construct a speech identifying reasons for the gap and arguing a solution to the problem.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 8

FURTHER READING

Barbara Caine (editor), *Australian Feminism: A Companion* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Caine's book looks at a wide range of issues in feminism in Australia. It includes a range of essays, encyclopedia-style entries and a chronology of major events in Australian feminism. It is a good general source for feminism from its beginnings with the suffragettes to the postmodern feminism of today.

Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, *History of the Australian Environmental Movement* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Hutton and Connors' text has a wide-ranging structure, looking at the environmental movement in the nineteenth century before looking at changes in the twentieth century. This is a good overview text for looking at the key environmental movements.

Verity Burgmann, *Power, Profit and Protest: Australian Social Movements and Globalisation* (Allen and Unwin, 2003).

Burgmann explores a number of different social groups and the changes they made in Australia. She also looks at the impact of globalisation. A good overview text, but sometimes academic in tone.

CHAPTER

9

THE ARAB—ISRAELI CONFLICT

'This is as intractable a problem as you get.'

US PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, 2010.

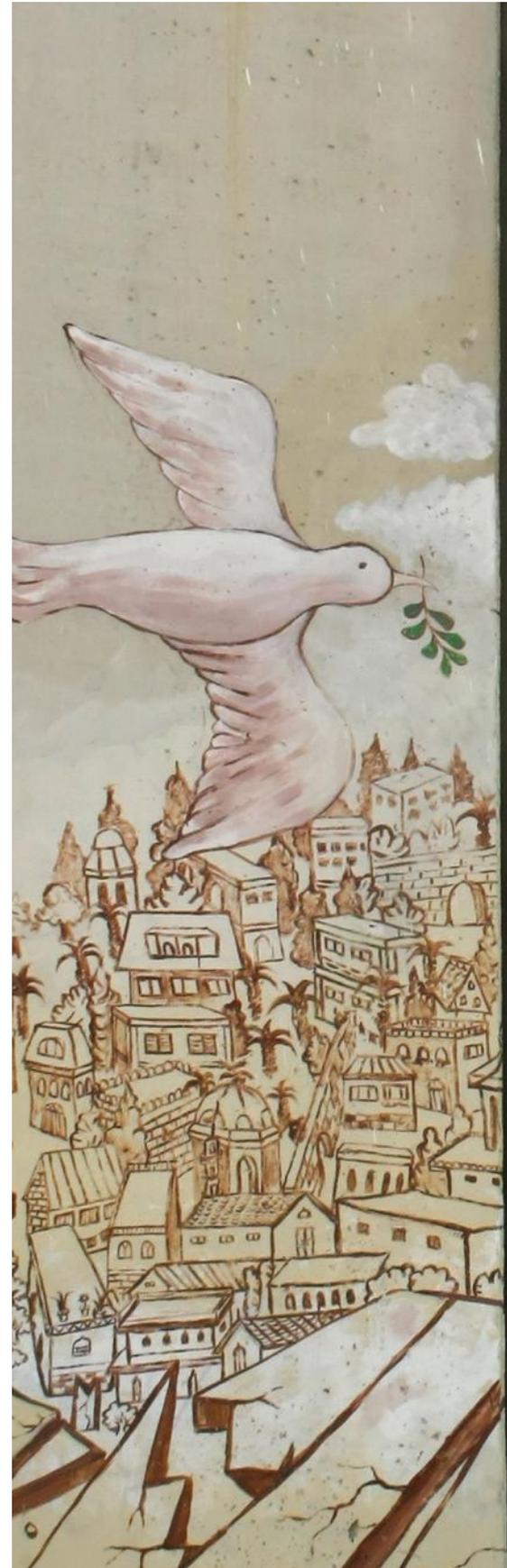
INTRODUCTION

The region known as the Middle East—covering Western Asia and Egypt—has long been a centre of conflict, and is one of the world's most troubled areas.

After World War II ended in 1945 and hundreds of thousands of Jewish people were displaced after the Holocaust, there were increasing calls for the creation of a Jewish nation-state in Palestine. By 1947, Britain, which had a mandate over Palestine since the early 1920s, faced calls for more Jewish migration to the region

and requested that the United Nations help to find a solution. In 1947, the UN passed the Partition Resolution recommending the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states in Palestine. The resolution was rejected by Arab states and the Arab—Israeli War broke out.

Four short wars were waged between Israel and the various Arab states in 1948–49, 1956, 1967 and 1973. However, the state of Israel endured.





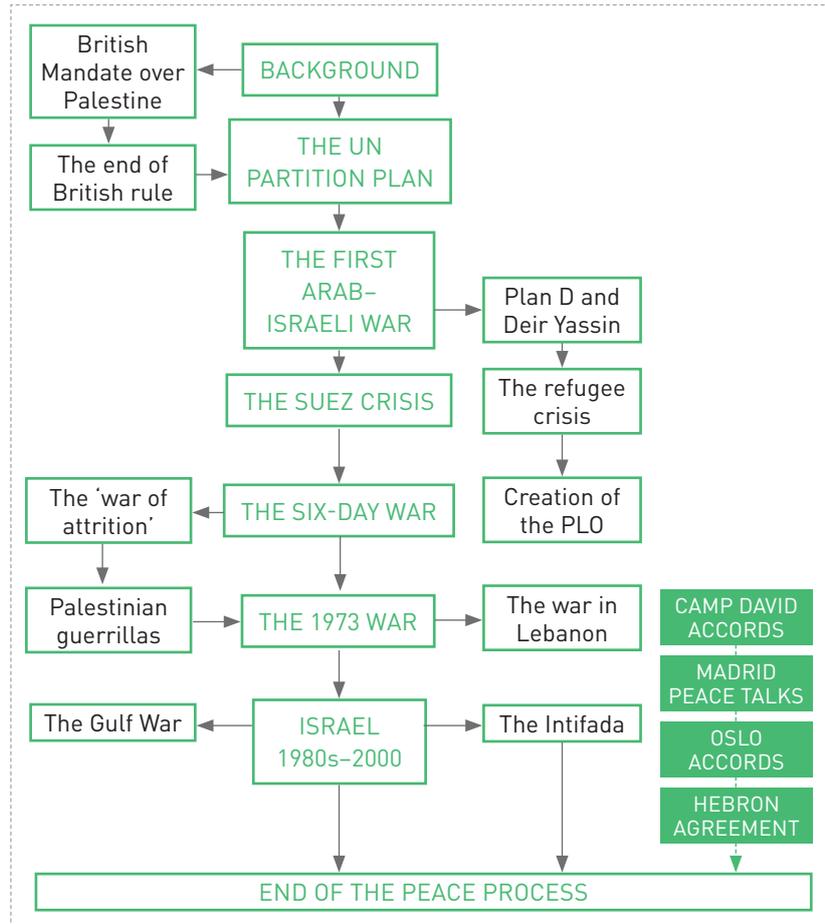
Peace Dove graffiti on Israeli Separation Wall, Bethlehem.

OVERVIEW

KEY QUESTIONS

- Why did Britain have a mandate over Palestine and why did it come to an end?
- Why were there calls to create a Jewish state in Palestine after World War II?
- Why did the UN propose partitioning Palestine, and why wasn't this proposal implemented?
- How and why did Israel come into conflict with its Arab neighbours?
- What attempts were made to resolve the Arab–Israeli conflict, and to what extent were they successful?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS

1917
-23

Britain's Balfour Declaration favours a Jewish state in Palestine

League of Nations gives Britain a mandate over Palestine

1945
-47

Holocaust in World War II prompts UN to propose Jewish/Arab partition of Palestine



Palestinians reject Partition Plan

1948

State of Israel declared, sparking First Arab-Israeli War

1967
&
1973

Arab-Israeli Wars (Six-Day War and 1973 War)



1987

First Intifada (Palestinian uprising) begins

1993-
2000

Failed Oslo Accords; Second Intifada begins



KEY PLAYERS

ANWAR SADAT

- Egyptian prime minister 1970–81
- Led Egypt in Arab–Israeli War (1973) and negotiated return of Sinai Peninsula from Israel
- Reached Camp David Accords with Israel's Menachem Begin (1978), brokered by US President Carter
- Jointly awarded (with Menachem Begin) the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize
- Assassinated by Islamic extremists.



YASSER ARAFAT

- Leading member of Fatah faction of Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and leader of PLO from 1969
- Renounced terrorism in 1988 and opened door for peace talks with Israelis
- While president of Palestinian National Authority (1994–2004), rejected Camp David peace settlement (2000).



MENACHEM BEGIN

- Leader of militant Zionist group Irgun, which fought against British Mandate in Palestine
- Signed peace treaty with Egypt at Camp David (1978) and shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Anwar Sadat
- Promoted building of Jewish settlements in Gaza and West Bank
- Authorised attacks on PLO in Lebanon from 1982; criticised for deaths at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.



YITZHAK RABIN

- Israeli prime minister 1974–77; 1992–95
- As minister of defence during first Intifada, ordered 'breaking bones' policy to deal with Palestinian protesters
- Reached Oslo Accords with PLO (1993, 1995)
- Assassinated by Orthodox Nationalist Jew, Yigal Amir.



HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Compile accounts and/or artworks from people who lived through the Arab–Israeli wars. Then respond to the following question:
How did conflict in Palestine/Israel affect ordinary people?

SKILLS FOCUS

KEY TERMS / CONCEPTS

FATAH

Arabic for 'conquest'; the Palestine (National) Liberation Movement.

HAMAS

Arabic for 'zeal'; the Islamic resistance movement in the Occupied Territories.

HEZBOLLAH

Arabic for 'party of God'; a collection of radical Shi'ite factions in Lebanon.

INTIFADA

Arabic for 'uprising'; Palestinian civil disobedience against Israel, centred on Gaza and the West Bank 1987–92.

IRGUN

The military arm of Zionism; Irgun carried out attacks on the British in Palestine. Merged with the Israeli Defence Force in 1948.

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Territories occupied by Israel during the Six-Day War of 1967.

PEACE ACCORDS

The Camp David Accords (1978) led to the 1979 Egypt – Israel Peace Treaty, while the Oslo Accords (1993, 1995) established a peace process.

PLO

Palestinian Liberation Organization; founded in 1964 for the 'liberation of Palestine' through armed struggle. Recognised Israel's right to exist in peace and security and rejected violence in 1992.

ZIONISM

Movement seeking a Jewish homeland. The first Zionist settlers arrived in Palestine in 1882, becoming the driving force behind the creation of the state of Israel.

BACKGROUND

SOURCE 9.01

City of Jerusalem and the Temple of the Dome of the Rock.



NOAM CHOMSKY: 'Any attempt to solve a conflict has to touch upon its very core; the core, more often than not, lies in its history.'

The 'Holy Land,' the area between the Jordan River and Mediterranean Sea, including the Eastern Bank of the Jordan River, has long been a contested region. The city of Jerusalem in particular, central to Judaism, Christianity and Islam, has been the site of many conflicts, including those of the Crusades of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries.

During World War I (1914–18), Britain called upon Arab help in the fight against the Ottoman Turks, offering in return an Arab homeland in Greater Syria. This undertaking was made in a letter from Sir Henry McMahon to Hussein bin Ali in 1915. However, only two years later, Britain offered Zionists support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine if they supported Britain's war effort, as shown by the Balfour Declaration of 1917.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

SOURCE 9.02

Arthur Balfour, Letter to Lord Rothschild, 2 November 1917.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, 1917

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The Balfour Declaration was a pledge from the British government to support Zionist aspirations for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The declaration was addressed to British Zionists, but also aimed to encourage American Jews to increase their support for Britain in World War I. However, the declaration negated the undertaking made to Arab leaders in 1915 that Britain would support a united Arab state in the region.

Arab leaders began a series of strikes and boycotts when the British Mandate over Palestine came into effect in 1923, and fought against the British until the outbreak of World War II.

THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER PALESTINE

In April 1920, the League of Nations decided that Palestine should fall under British control and administration in order to provide protection and guardianship to 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.'¹



THE BRITISH
MANDATE OVER
PALESTINE

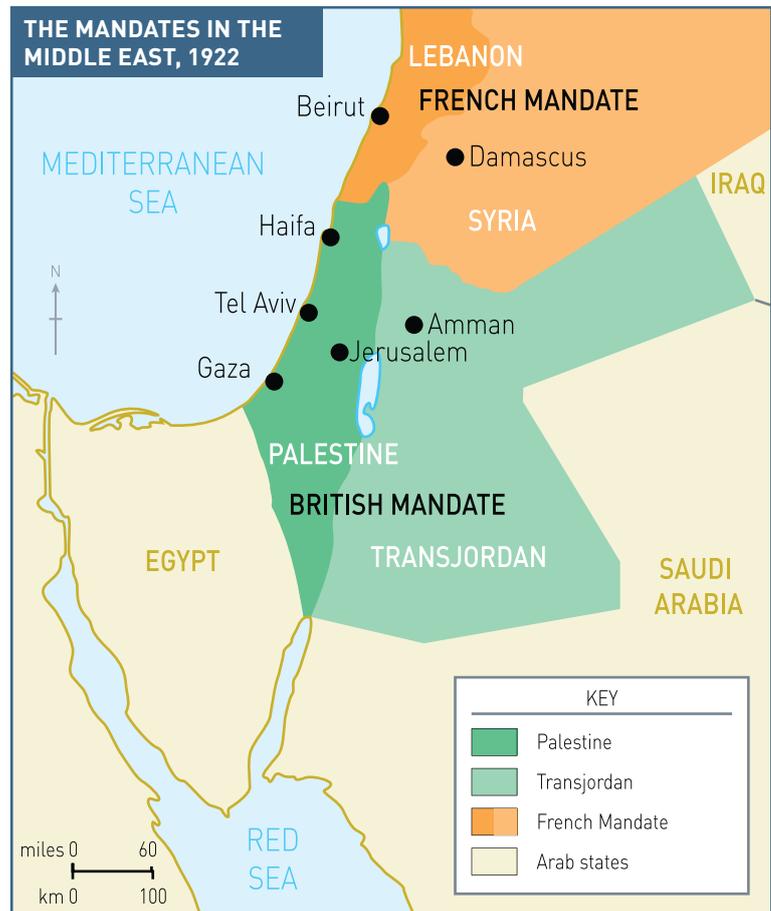
In 1922, Britain divided the territory in two, creating Palestine on the west side of the Jordan River and Transjordan to the east.

Britain's primary goal under the mandate over Palestine was to retain its access to the Suez Canal and access to oil in the Persian Gulf. Britain's task of building roads, schools and other infrastructure was made harder by the unwillingness of many Arabs to cooperate with British authorities. In the 1930s, hostility between Arabs and Jewish settlers intensified. This was exacerbated by the arrival of increasing numbers of Jewish migrants—over 130 000 arrived from Germany alone in 1933–35. Riots and demonstrations over Jewish immigration culminated in a six-month General Strike in 1936.

Palestinian Arabs mounted a full-scale rebellion against the mandate between 1937 and 1939. The British response resulted in the deaths of over 300 rebels.

In addition, to cope with Arab violence against the British and Jewish settlements, Britain trained and armed two Jewish armed groups, the *Haganah* (Defence Force) and the *Irgun Zvai Leumi* (National Military Organization).

After World War II, the Holocaust, in which approximately six million Jews died, aroused international sympathy for Jewish people. In America there was growing support for the creation of a Jewish state; in 1946, President Truman urged that 100 000 Jews from Europe be allowed into Palestine at once. Britain tried to limit the number of migrants and, as a consequence, faced opposition from moderate Jews and extreme Zionists. As violence against British officials and soldiers increased, British rule became increasingly difficult.



SOURCE 9.03

THE MANDATES IN THE MIDDLE-EAST, 1922

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- Define the following in your own words:
 - The Balfour Declaration
 - The British Mandate in Palestine.
- Outline the reasons why Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. Who was the intended audience for the declaration (both directly and indirectly)?
- Explain why you think Arabs in Palestine opposed increasing Jewish immigration in the 1920s and 1930s.

ACTIVITY



↑ SOURCE 9.04

Bombing of King David Hotel in Jerusalem by the Irgun, July 1946. The hotel was the headquarters of the British government in Palestine. Ninety-one people were killed.

THE END OF BRITISH RULE 1947

By 1947, the British in Palestine were under considerable pressure. Both moderate and extreme Zionists demanded further Jewish immigration, while Palestinians fiercely opposed it. As the clashes intensified, Britain's authority diminished and hopes for a solution faded. Thus, in April 1947, Britain asked the United Nations to take control of the region so that the future of Palestine could be decided.

THE UN PARTITION PLAN 1947

From May 1947, the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) toured the region gathering evidence from all sides on possible solutions. In November, the committee recommended the partition of Palestine. The resulting 'Partition Resolution' of 1947 (UN Resolution 181) was met with Arab protests which quickly descended into deaths on both sides of the conflict.

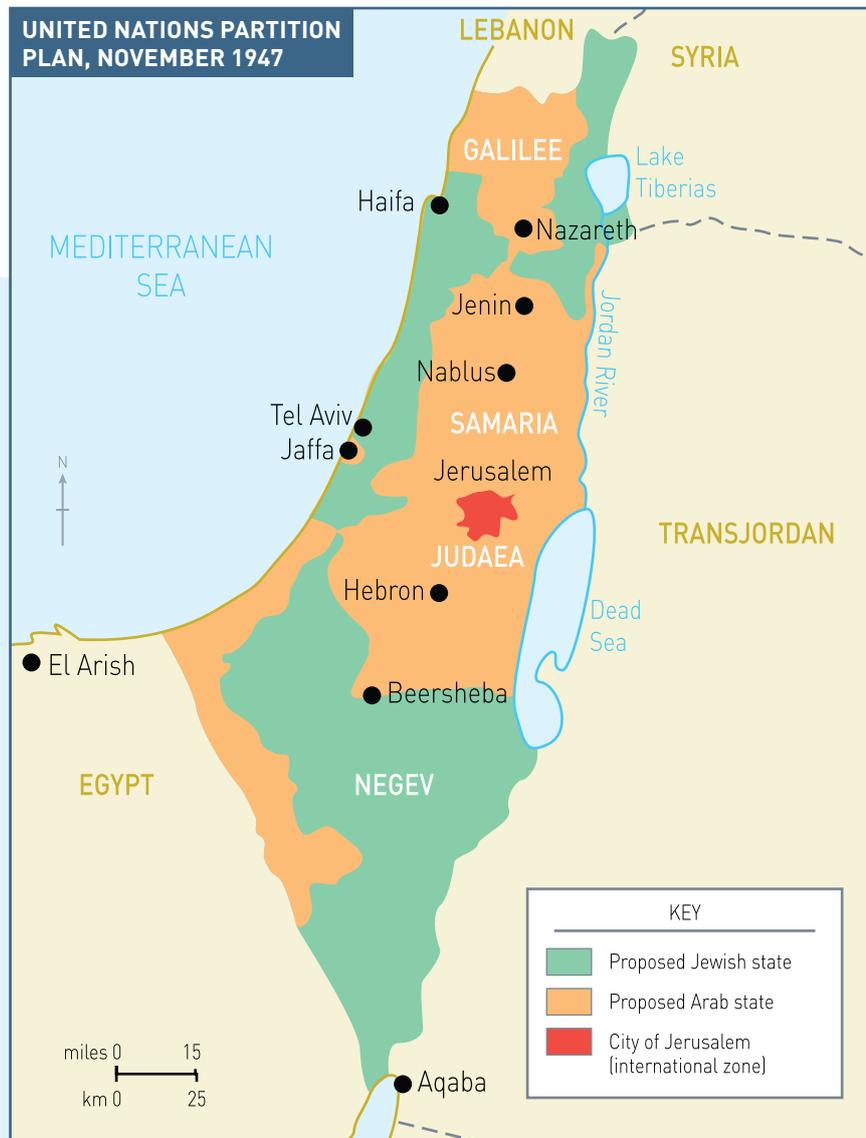
➔ SOURCE 9.05

UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN, NOVEMBER 1947

ACTIVITY

MAPPING EXERCISE

- Study the map of the UN Partition Plan. Explain what the plan proposes regarding:
 - the relative size of the Arab and Jewish states
 - territorial control over Jerusalem
 - access to sea routes for each state
 - the division of desert lands between the two states.
- Referring to your findings above and any other relevant information, evaluate the fairness and feasibility of the UN Partition Plan, from both an Arab and a Jewish perspective. What problems, if any, would you anticipate from the plan?



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT MEMORANDUM, 30 SEPTEMBER 1947

The position taken by the United States Delegation in the General Assembly [of the UN] should take full account of the following principal factors:

1. The [Middle] Eastern area is of high strategic importance in over-all American policy.
2. The policy of the United States toward Palestine over the span of the years since the First World War shows a consistent interest in the establishment of a Jewish National Home ...
- ...
5. It is a matter of urgency that the General Assembly should agree at this session upon a definitive solution of the Palestine problem ... thus promoting the whole stability in the whole [Middle] East ...

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What position was the US government instructing its UN representatives to take with regard to Palestine?
2. Why did the USA want a 'definitive solution of the Palestine problem'?

HISTORIAN JOHN QUIGLEY, 1990

By [November 1947] the United States had emerged as the most aggressive proponent of partition ... The United States got the General Assembly to delay a vote 'to gain time to bring certain Latin American republics into line with its own views'... Some delegates charged US officials with 'diplomatic intimidation.' Without 'terrific pressure from the United States ...,' said an anonymous editorial writer, the resolution 'would never have been passed.'

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. To what extent had the USA had become an 'aggressive proponent of partition' by November 1947?
2. What does John Quigley believe the USA did to ensure the UN Partition Resolution would pass?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN, 1947

I'm sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands [in the USA] who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. According to Source 9.08, what was President Truman's primary motive for supporting the UN Partition Plan?
2. Explain what Sources 9.06–9.08 collectively add to an understanding of the UN vote on partition in 1947.

SOURCE 9.06

T.G Fraser, The Middle East, 1914–1979 (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), 48–49.

SOURCE 9.07

John Quigley, Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), 60.

SOURCE 9.08

US President Harry Truman, cited in William A. Eddy, F.D.R. Meets Ibn Saud (New York: American Friends of the Middle East, Inc, 1954), 37.

THE FIRST ARAB–ISRAELI WAR

As the date of partition of Palestine drew closer, both Jews and Arabs armed themselves and recruited men to fight, and in April 1948, a full-scale war began. On 14 May 1948, the day before the British departed Palestine, World Zionist Organization Executive Head David Ben-Gurion read out a proclamation announcing the inaugurating the new state of Israel.

Both sides employed terrorist tactics in the war. The sporadic fighting intensified with the Haganah's 'Plan D' on 4 April. According to Dennet and Dixon, this 'saw the commencement of a deliberate policy of expelling the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.'²

PLAN D AND DEIR YASSIN

The key objective of Jewish forces during the First Arab–Israeli War was to capture the dozens of villages along the main road between Jaffa and Jerusalem, in order to stop the Arabs from taking control of Jerusalem and to effectively split the Arab state in two. Plan D (*Dalet* in Hebrew) involved taking land that the UN Partition had given to the Arab population; by terrorising villagers, Jewish forces aimed to drive them from their homes and seize the vacated land.

During the fighting for these villages, eighty Irgun soldiers killed the entire population of the Arab village of Deir Yassin. Two hundred and fifty men, women and children were massacred on 9 April 1948. In all, nearly 200 Palestinian villages were attacked and occupied by Jewish forces by 15 May 1948, the last day of the British Mandate. An unknown number of villagers were killed in these attacks and thousands of others fled.

➔ SOURCE 9.09

Benny Morris in interview with Ari Shavit Haaretz, *Survival of the Fittest* (January 2004), www.logosjournal.com

ISRAELI HISTORIAN BENNY MORRIS

It was necessary to uproot [the Palestinians] ... It was necessary to cleanse the hinterland and cleanse the border areas and cleanse the main roads. It was necessary to cleanse the villages from which our convoys and our settlements were fired upon.

Following the massacres, Palestinian villagers began to flee their homes in order to avoid the same fate that had befallen Deir Yassin. It is estimated that nearly a million Arabs fled or were forced to flee their homes and become refugees in Jordan, the Gaza Strip, Lebanon or Syria. Debate has raged ever since about what caused this great exodus, which Arabs call the 'Year of Catastrophe' (*Al Nakba*) and Israel calls the 'War of Liberation.'

➔ SOURCE 9.10

Menachem Begin, *The Revolt* (London: W. H. Allen, 1952), 17.

IRGUN LEADER MENACHEM BEGIN, 1951

Arabs throughout the country, induced to believe wild tales of 'Irgun butchery' were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overstated.

DEIR YASSIN REMEMBERED

The massacre of Palestinians at Deir Yassin is one of the most significant events in twentieth century Palestinian and Israeli history. This is not because of its size or brutality, but because it stands as the starkest early warning of a calculated depopulation of over four hundred Arab villages and cities and the expulsion of over two hundred thousand Palestinian inhabitants to make room for survivors of the Holocaust and other Jews from the rest of the world.

◀ SOURCE 9.11

Deir Yassin Remembered,
www.DeirYassin.org/mas.
html#item3

FRENCH RED CROSS WORKER, 1950

The affair of Deir Yassin had immense repercussions. The press and the radio spread the news everywhere among Arabs as well as the Jews. In this way a general terror was built up among the Arabs ... Driven by fear the Arabs left their homes to find shelter among their kindred; first isolated farms, then villages, and in the end whole towns were evacuated.

◀ SOURCE 9.12

Jacques de Reynier (a visitor to Deir Yassin the day after the massacre), cited in David R. Gilmour, *Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians 1917–80* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1980), 12.

SKILLS: USING SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

1. Using Sources 9.09–9.12, summarise the events at Deir Yassin on 9 April 1948.
2. Outline the different views on the causes of the Palestinian exodus of 1948, using the sources provided.
3. Explain what Begin (Source 9.10) means by the statement, 'The political and economic significance of [the Palestinian exodus] can hardly be overstated.'
4. Evaluate the significance of Deir Yassin and the Palestinian exodus of 1948 to the political situation in Palestine.

ACTIVITY

While there is disagreement about the causes of the exodus of Arabs from Palestine in 1948, there is little debate about its effects. The Arab state of Palestine effectively ceased to exist. Approximately 700 000 Palestinians became refugees, living in neighbouring states, while approximately 160 000 Palestinians remained in the new state of Israel.



DEIR YASSIN:
EXTENSION TASK



◀ SOURCE 9.13

Palestinian refugees during the first Arab-Israeli War, 1948.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE FIRST ARAB–ISRAELI WAR

The 1948 war between Jews and Arabs in Palestine ended with a series of armistices—but not a formal peace treaty. During 1949, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria signed armistices agreeing to a ceasefire with Israel but not a final peace settlement. Only Egypt later signed a peace treaty. The other countries refused to accept the existence of the state of Israel.

The refusal of Arab states to formally recognise the new state of Israel has led to four major wars between Israel and its Arab neighbours—in 1956, 1967, 1973 and 1982–85.

THE REFUGEE CRISIS AND GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

It rapidly became apparent that Israel was not going to allow the return of the Palestinians who had fled their homes in 1948. Israel argued that, as Arabs, the displaced people could easily find homes in neighbouring states. Israel pointed out that a large number of Jews had been expelled from Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa and had migrated to Israel (see Source 9.14). They argued, therefore, that Arab states had an obligation to take the Palestinian refugees in a kind of ‘refugee exchange’.

➔ SOURCE 9.14

Cited in Daniel Levy and Yfaat Weiss (eds.), *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Immigration* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 40.

NUMBER OF JEWS MIGRATING TO ISRAEL 1948–1951

ORIGIN	NUMBER
Europe	332 802
Iraq	123 371
North African countries	85 105
Yemen	48 315

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: ETHICAL DIMENSIONS

As a class, debate the following topic: ‘The new state of Israel had no responsibility to accept Palestinian refugees attempting to return after 1948.’

In 1950, the state of Israel passed its first law, the ‘Law of Return’, which deemed that Jews from any country could settle in Israel and become Israeli citizens. By the end of 1951, 687 000 Jewish immigrants had landed in Israel, bringing the population up to one and a half million. However, the Jewish returnees created an accommodation crisis, prompting the Israeli government to forbid the return of Arabs to property vacated in the 1948 war; by 1951, nearly all of this property was being used by Jewish immigrants. Of the 370 Jewish settlements founded between 1945 and 1953, 350 were on absentee property.

Many Palestinians living in refugees camps in surrounding Arab countries formed groups of *fedayeen* (self-sacrificers). These small bands of guerrilla fighters crossed the border into Israel and attacked isolated farms or frontier posts, blew up pipelines or power stations, or dug up roads or machine-gun bases. Between 1949 and 1955, over 1500 Israelis were killed in such attacks.

Israeli reprisals against the *fedayeen* were swift and used the full force of the highly trained Israeli forces. Palestinian casualties were usually high.

In 1953, after three Israelis were killed by a bomb, the Israeli army attacked and destroyed the whole village of Qibya in Jordan, killing sixty-six people. In

1955, the Israeli army mounted a reprisal raid on the Gaza Strip after a series of fedayeen attacks. In the Gaza Strip raid, thirty-eight Egyptians were killed. After a raid on Syria later that year, forty-four fedayeen were killed. Over the course of that year the fedayeen claimed 238 Israeli lives.

Around this time the leaders of neighbouring Arab states began to impose boycotts on Israel, attempting to weaken the new state through a denial of trade.

THE SUEZ CRISIS 1956

The new nationalist leader of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, became a key player in the Arab–Israeli conflict in the mid-1950s. Nasser had been angered by Britain and the United States withdrawing funding for the construction of the Aswan Dam on the River Nile. He devised a plan to fund the dam by gaining control of shipping dues in the Suez Canal, which was a vital link to Middle Eastern oil and British interests in Asia.

In July 1956, Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal, wresting control of the waterway from the Suez Canal Company, a private enterprise majority-owned by Britain and France. This, coupled with Nasser’s plans for Arab unity in the region and his developing ties with the Soviet Union—via an arms agreement made with Czechoslovakia in 1955—made Israel’s allies Britain and France increasingly nervous.



◀ SOURCE 9.15

Nasser on his return to Cairo after Egypt ‘grabbed’ the Suez Canal.

In a series of secret meetings in Sèvres, France, in October 1956, Israel, Britain and France agreed to make a joint attack on Egypt. Israel would attack first and seize the Suez Canal, then Britain and France would intervene and assume a peacekeeping role, regaining control of the canal.



THE OTHER SIDE
OF SUEZ

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Rank the factors below in order of their importance in causing the Suez Crisis of 1956. Explain your choice.

- Fedayeen attacks on Israel
- Nasser's anger at withdrawal of funds for the Aswan Dam
- Egypt's access to Soviet weaponry
- Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal
- British and French fears of Nasser's intentions.

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Referring to the text and Sources 9.16 and 9.17, identify positive outcomes of the 1956 Suez Crisis, from the perspectives of the Soviet Union, Israel and Egypt.

EXTENSION

Write a 250-word newspaper article on the Suez Crisis from the perspective of Egypt, Great Britain or the United States. Date the article 5 November 1956, and use language reflecting the mood of your chosen country at the time.

On 29 October 1956, Israel invaded Egypt and advanced deep into the Sinai Peninsula. This international conflict, involving British and French forces, became known as the Suez War. It was a further blow for the Palestinian people and changed the map of the region once again.

On 30 October 1956, Britain and France ordered Israel and Egypt to withdraw from the Suez Canal zone. Egypt refused. Britain and France bombarded Egyptian airfields and landed troops at Port Said, claiming they were there to protect lives and shipping.

Following the British and French attack on Egypt, Arab countries stopped supplying Britain with oil and the United States, under President Eisenhower, refused to support the invasion. Thus, British prime minister Anthony Eden agreed to a ceasefire only twenty-four hours after his forces had landed in Egypt. French and British troops left the Suez Canal zone, to be replaced by a United Nations force intended to keep the peace between Egypt and Israel.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SUEZ CRISIS

The Suez Crisis was a limited success for both Egypt and Israel. Nasser was perceived as having stood up to Western powers, while Israel gained the Sinai Peninsula. The presence of UN peacekeeping forces effectively ended fedayeen raids from Gaza. Once the naval blockade of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba ended, Israel enjoyed access to vital sea routes once again.

Britain was humiliated by the Suez Crisis and it was becoming clear that they were no longer a dominant world power. Prime Minister Eden resigned due to ill-health the following year. For its part, the United States had alienated Egypt and other Arab nations by refusing to supply arms or to fund the Aswan Dam.

The Soviet Union emerged from the crisis with an improved strategic position, having enhanced its reputation in the Arab world by supporting Egypt. The vacuum left by the USA and others allowed the USSR to gain a foothold in the Middle East.

▼ SOURCE 9.16

Moshe Dayan cited in M. Scott-Baumann, War and Peace in the Middle East (Hodder Education, 1998), 17.

MOSHE DAYAN ON THE SUEZ CRISIS

... The three main purposes were achieved: our ships could now use the Gulf of Aqaba; an end to fedayeen terrorism; and the prevention of a joint attack on Israel by the Egypt–Syria–Jordan military command. In addition, the victory in Sinai meant that Israel emerged as a state that would be welcomed as a friend and an ally. Further, Nasser learned to respect the power of Israel's army.

▼ SOURCE 9.17

Cited in M. Scott-Baumann, War and Peace in the Middle East (Hodder Education, 1998), 17.

PRESIDENT NASSER ON THE SUEZ CRISIS

We were able after Suez to take over all the foreign property in our country and therefore the Suez War regained the wealth of the Egyptian people to be used in the interests of the Egyptian people. Then, of course, it was clear for the Egyptian people that they could defend their country and secure the independence of their country.

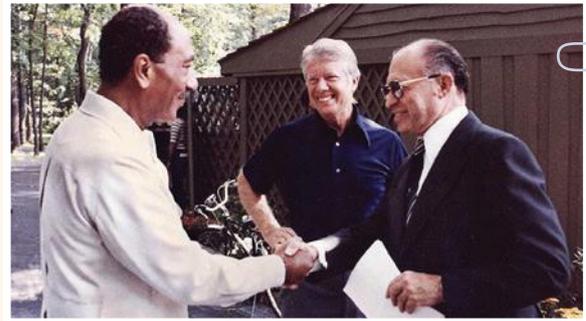
MIDDLE EASTERN TENSIONS AND THE COLD WAR

The Suez Crisis of 1956 and its aftermath became part of the wider Cold War between communist and democratic states. When Czechoslovakia (acting on behalf of the Soviet Union) supplied Egypt with arms from 1955, Britain and the United States saw this as an attempt by the Soviet Union to gain influence in the region. However, Western powers' cancellation of loans for the construction of the Aswan Dam in Egypt arguably added to Soviet influence. The Soviet Union cultivated further anti-Western feeling by encouraging Arab nationalism to a certain point.

In 1958, a pro-Soviet/pro-Egyptian regime seized power in Iraq. Later the same year, British troops went to Jordan to prevent revolutionaries from deposing King Hussein, perceived to be a friend of the West, while US marines were stationed in Lebanon to support a pro-Western government in that country.

The USA kept a low profile in the Middle East in the late 1950s, anxious to maintain good relations with oil-producing Arab nations. It did not adopt an openly pro-Israeli stance until later. While both the USA and USSR had 'client states' in the region, neither welcomed the prospect of an all-out war.

During the 1960s and 1970s, America largely avoided involvement in Middle Eastern affairs, being preoccupied in Vietnam. The principal suppliers of arms to Israel in that era were Britain and France, while the Soviets continued to supply some Arab states. The Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973 increased tensions between the superpowers and their supply of arms to the client states. However, by the late 1970s, the USA was attempting to broker peace in the Middle East, most directly through President Carter's Camp David Accords.



↑ SOURCE 9.18

Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (right) and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (left) with US president Jimmy Carter (centre) at Camp David, 1978.

CREATION OF THE PLO

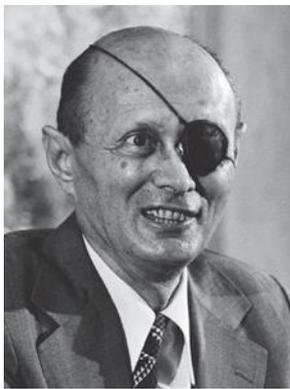
In the late 1950s and early 1960s, anti-Western feeling continued to spread in the Middle East. However, bursts of unity in the Arab world tended to be short-lived. President Nasser's dream of a united Arab state, begun when Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic in 1958, ended abruptly when Syria abandoned the idea in 1961 after a military coup.

At this time hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were still living in refugee camps. Those hoping for a united Arab nation, which would destroy Israel and return them to their homes, were bitterly disappointed. Thus, hundreds of young Palestinians formed their own groups to work for a return to Palestine. Fedayeen guerrilla groups, which continued raids on Israel's border settlements (now from Syria and the Gaza Strip, rather than Egypt), came together in 1964 as the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

From the inception of the PLO there was division between those who wished to use the power of words and propaganda to further their cause and those who believed in armed struggle. The faction advocating violence was Fatah.

DID YOU KNOW?

Fatah was the Arabic name for the Palestinian National Liberation Movement. Its Arabic initials in reverse made the name *Fatah* which means 'Conquest'. It was founded by Yasser Arafat in 1964.



↑ General Moshe Dayan.

BUILD UP TO WAR

Fatah launched raids on Israel from Syrian territory and were supplied with money, arms and equipment by Syria. By 1966, Fatah was also launching raids on Israel from Jordan.

Syrian troops were stationed in the Golan Heights on Israel's border and Syria's new left-wing Ba'athist leader General Jedid began an orchestrated propaganda campaign against Israel.

Israeli reprisals against Fatah were swift and forceful. However, it was difficult to attack the heavily defended Golan Heights, so Israeli raids were mostly on Jordanian, not Syrian, territory.

Events escalated quickly. When an Israeli tractor ploughed some Arab-owned land near the Syrian border, Syria opened fire on it. The Israeli air force destroyed the Syrian guns and shot down six Syrian air-force planes in April 1967.

When the USSR (erroneously) warned Syria and Egypt on 12 May 1967 that Israel was preparing an all-out attack on Syria, the Arab world rallied to help defend Syria. On 16 May, Nasser sent 100 000 troops to Syria and ordered the UN force that had been patrolling the Egypt–Israel border to leave. By 29 May, the Arab states of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Algeria had joined an alliance and were poised to attack. Israel's prospects for survival seemed bleak. Lined up against it were 100 000 Egyptian soldiers and 1000 tanks in Sinai, as well as 400 fighter planes and eighty bombers on Egypt's airfields. Israel's northern and eastern borders were threatened by around 320 000 men and 1000 aircraft from the other Arab allies.

In response, Israel formed a government of National Unity comprising all political parties. With General Moshe Dayan as minister of defence, the new government launched a pre-emptive strike against surrounding Arab states on 5 June 1967.

The resulting conflict became known as the Six-Day War.

THE SIX-DAY WAR

In reality, the outcome of the Six-Day War was decided on the first day of the conflict, 5 June 1967. The Israeli air force destroyed around 300 Egyptian aircraft while they were still on the ground. Later the same day, the Israelis destroyed almost the entire Syrian and Jordanian air forces. With control of the skies, land dominance soon followed. Egyptian troops were driven back out of Gaza and Sinai in total defeat. Approximately 3000 Egyptians were killed and 800 tanks and countless other vehicles were destroyed. Jordan suffered a similar catastrophe, losing control of all of the territory west of the Jordan River ('the West Bank') and East Jerusalem. Syria lost control of the Golan Heights. By 10 June 1967, the conflict was effectively over.

The Six-Day War was a triumph for Israel. It captured and, ignoring orders from the UN, retained Sinai, Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. Israel had gained substantial territory, and its border was now shorter and easier to defend.

For the allied Arab states, the war was a disaster. They lost around 15 000 men, 430 aircraft, 800 tanks and around 70 000 square kilometres of land. Less measurable was the damage to Arab pride and geopolitical power.

ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER ABBA EBAN, 1967

Egypt had dismissed the United Nations forces which symbolize the international interest in the maintenance of peace in our region. Nasser had provocatively brought five infantry divisions and two armoured divisions up to our very gates ... Syrian units, including artillery, overlooked Israeli villages in the Jordan Valley. Terrorist groups came regularly into our territory to kill, plunder and set off explosives ... I heard President Nasser's speech on 26 May. He said, 'We intend to open a general assault against Israel. This will be total war. Our basic aim is the destruction of Israel'.

NASSER ON THE SIX-DAY WAR

The armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon are poised on the borders of Israel ... Standing behind us are the armies of Iraq, Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan and the whole Arab nation ... The Arabs are arranged for battle ... We have reached the stage of serious action and not of mere declarations.

SOURCE 9.19

Speech to the UN Security Council on Israel's reasons for going to war in 1967, cited in T.G Fraser, The Middle East, 1914-1979 (London: Edward Arnold, 1980), 107-9.

SOURCE 9.20

Nasser, 30 May 1967, cited in Glenn Hastedt et. al., Cases in International Relations: Pathways to Conflict and Cooperation (USA: CQ Press, 2015).

ACTIVITY

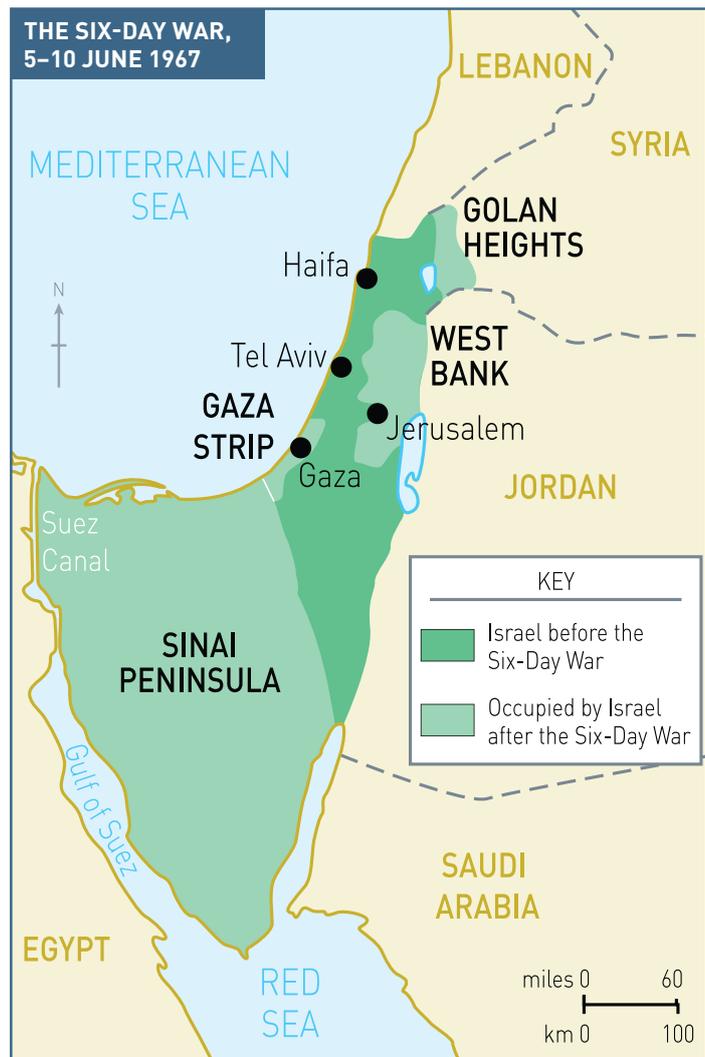
SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. According to Source 9.19, how did the Israeli government view the intentions of Egypt and its Arab allies in the Six-Day War?
2. To what extent does Source 9.20 support the Israeli view that Nasser wished to see the destruction of the state of Israel? Explain your answer.
3. Why is it important to read a range of different perspectives on a contested event such as the Six-Day War?

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SIX-DAY WAR

Following the Six-Day War, around a million Palestinians who had been living in the West Bank and Gaza found themselves in 'Occupied Territories' under Israeli rule. Approximately 250 000 Palestinians fled across the river to Jordan, into already bursting refugee camps. For those who stayed, Israeli rule meant severe restrictions on daily life; for example, travel and work permits were required and heavy surveillance was commonplace. Thousands of Palestinians had their homes destroyed after being deemed 'security risks' to the Israeli state. Increasingly, Palestinians lost faith in the ability of Arab states to defeat Israel and turned to Fatah and the PLO as their potential saviours.

SOURCE 9.21

THE SIX-DAY WAR
5-10 JUNE 1967



↑ SOURCE 9.22

Israeli troops on the Sinai Peninsula during the Six-Day War, 1967.

The diplomatic solution to the Six-Day War was the UN Security Council’s Resolution 242 of November 1967, which called for the ‘withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict [and the right of all countries in the Middle East to] live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.’⁷³ Israel pointed out that the resolution did not specify which occupied territories should be returned, and placed special emphasis on the second part of the phrase which implied a recognition of their right to exist.

The Arab nations of Egypt and Jordan accepted Resolution 242 but insisted on Israel’s withdrawal from all of the occupied territory, including East Jerusalem. Syria flatly refused to accept the existence of Israel as a state. As a consequence of the different interpretations of Resolution 242, the document failed to bring lasting peace to the Middle East.

Resolution 242 further highlighted to Palestinian leaders that they could not rely on the United Nations or other powers to regain their lost territory. Thus, Fatah and the active armed struggle began to gain more traction.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

1. Construct a table like the one below and fill it in, showing the effects of the 1967 war on each country.

CONSEQUENCES OF SIX-DAY WAR	Egypt	Syria	Jordan	Israel
Casualties suffered				
Military equipment lost				
Territory lost/gained				

2. The table omits the stateless Palestinian Arabs. Summarise the consequences of the Six-Day War for them.

THE WAR OF ATTRITION

Between 1968 and 1970, Egypt and Israel continued to come into conflict over Sinai, and on either side of the Suez Canal. Egypt was quickly resupplied with weapons by the USSR and hundreds of Soviet advisers helped to train and reorganise the Egyptian armed forces.

Frequent small-scale attacks on Israel's border defences were launched in the hope of wearing them down in what Nasser in 1969 called the 'war of attrition'.

Israel responded with raids on Nile Valley settlements and by bombing Egyptian towns and cities. The USSR provided Egypt with new and deadly weapons such as surface to air missiles to protect potential targets such as the Aswan Dam. Soon after, some 20 000 Soviet troops were manning eighty Egyptian missile bases and 100 Soviet fighter aircraft were re-installed on Egyptian soil. By 1970, both Israel and Egypt realised that neither of them could win the war of attrition—they agreed to a ceasefire later that year.

The ceasefire was engineered by US Secretary of State William Rogers. Nasser's fatal heart attack in 1970 opened a new chapter in Egyptian–Israeli diplomatic relations.

PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS

Under the leadership of Yasser Arafat from 1969, and after the humiliation of the Six-Day War, the PLO became more militant and committed to 'armed struggle ... as the only way to liberate Palestine.'⁴

However, this militancy created unrest within the Arab world. Primarily based in Jordan, the PLO operated in the domain of King Hussein, who became increasingly concerned at Israeli raids on Jordanian settlements in reprisal for PLO attacks.

King Hussein's dislike of Fatah and the PLO as they continued to threaten his authority hardened after two failed assassination attempts were made against him. He also resented that the Palestinians had virtually become a state within a state in Jordan. By September 1970, events came to a head when the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a new guerrilla group which evolved out of the PLO, hijacked four international aircraft, landed them in Jordan and demanded the release of Palestinian prisoners. The planes were blown up and many civilians died in full view of international media.



SOURCE 9.23

Four aircraft bound for New York City were hijacked by members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Three were landed at a remote airfield in Jordan. The planes were later blown up.

Hussein was finally provoked into action, expelling the PLO from Jordan in September 1970. The PLO dubbed this 'Black September', as the Jordanian army killed many guerrillas and forced the PLO to retreat into Syria and Lebanon. The PLO set up its new headquarters in the Lebanese capital, Beirut.

Although King Hussein succeeded in removing the PLO from Jordan, he could not stop small splinter cells from carrying out their campaign of terror. In 1971, a group calling itself the Black September Organisation assassinated the Jordanian prime minister. (See Chapter 10 for the Black September terrorist attack on the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.)

➔ SOURCE 9.24

Cited in David R. Gilmour, Dispossessed: The Ordeal of the Palestinians 1917–80 (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1980), 124.

DR GEORGE HABASH, LEADER OF PFLP, 1971

When we hijack a plane it has more effect than if we killed a hundred Israelis in battle. For decades world public opinion has been neither for nor against the Palestinians. It simply ignored us. At least the world is talking about us now.

➔ SOURCE 9.25

Unknown Palestinian teenager, speaking to British journalist Jonathan Dimbleby, cited in his book The Palestinians (London: Quartet Books, 1979), 77.

PALESTINIAN TEENAGER INTERVIEWED BY BRITISH JOURNALIST, 1978

We are not terrorists. We do not bomb women and children. The world should know this. We are against Israel and imperialism. Nor are we against the Jews. We do not understand anti-Semitism. That is European. We want our land back. When a commando goes into Israel he puts a bomb into a place defended by Israelis; he attacks offices and public places which are the centres of imperialism. The bombs are for the soldiers. If we place a bus bomb in a bus, it is a bus carrying soldiers, a military target. They are not civilians. If women and children are killed it is by mistake and we regret it, but we have no alternative.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. According to Source 9.24, what did the PFLP aim to achieve by hijacking aircraft?
2. Suggest why Source 9.23 appeared in most of the world's newspapers the day after the photo was taken?
3. Source 9.25 draws a distinction between being 'against Israel' and being 'against the Jews'. Explain what you think the speaker meant by this.
4. What perspective does the speaker in 9.25 have on the use of violence in the Palestinian struggle? Suggest a counter-argument to the views expressed.

THE RAID ON ENTEBBE 1976

On 27 June 1976, an Air France plane travelling from Tel Aviv to Paris with 248 passengers on board was hijacked by two members of the PFLP and diverted to Entebbe airfield in Uganda. Ugandan dictator Idi Amin welcomed the hijackers and, after moving the hostages into the terminal building, the non-Israeli passengers were separated from the Israelis and flown back to Paris. Ninety-four Israelis and twelve Air France crew remained as hostages and were threatened with execution.

In a daring rescue operation, Israeli Defence Force commandos raided the airport building where the hostages were being held and rescued all but three of them. All of the hijackers and thirty Ugandan troops were killed. The only Israeli killed was Captain Yonatan Netanyahu, older brother of Benjamin Netanyahu, who in 2009 would become Israel's ninth prime minister.

The film *Raid on Entebbe* (1977) provides an historical interpretation of the events.

THE 1973 WAR

Anwar Sadat, the president of Egypt following Nasser's death in 1970, wanted to regain possession of Sinai and reopen the Suez Canal in the interests of economic development. After his efforts to achieve these goals through diplomacy had failed, he began secretly planning with new Syrian leader Hafez-al-Assad to attack Israel.

It appeared that neither Sadat nor Assad believed that they could totally defeat Israel, but they hoped to regain some of the territory lost in the Six-Day War—Sinai and the Golan Heights—and then negotiate for the return of more territory in return for peace.

Syria and Egypt, rearmed with Soviet weapons, attacked across the Suez Canal and into the Golan Heights on Saturday, 6 October 1973. This was the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, when Jews ask God for forgiveness of their sins. The attack took Israel by surprise. Many of the Israeli defences were manned by only a skeleton force due to the holiday, and the Syrian and Egyptian troops made early advances.

Israel, however, fought back quickly, helped by US\$2.2 billion worth of new weapons rushed to Israel by the United States. In response, the USSR airlifted huge stocks of weapons to both Syria and Egypt. When, on 14 October, Soviet tanks were defeated in Sinai and Egypt looked to be in danger of total defeat, the USSR advised Egypt to arrange a ceasefire. For its part, the USA wanted Israel to stop its advance due to the so-called 'oil weapon'.

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THE OIL WEAPON

In 1973, the Organization of Arabic Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) announced that they would raise the price of oil by 70 per cent and reduce oil production by 5 per cent per month until Israel withdrew from Egypt, Syria and occupied Palestine. OAPEC also imposed a total ban on oil shipments to the United States and nations allied to Israel. In December 1973, OAPEC raised prices again by 128 per cent. The price of oil soared from US\$3 a barrel to US\$12 a barrel in under a

year. The result was an economic crisis for the USA and its European allies—it also had political ramifications when Britain stopped supplying arms to Israel, and when the European Economic Community (EEC) expressed its support for the Palestinians. The United States urged restraint on Israel and threatened to withdraw US support unless Israel agreed to a ceasefire. After eighteen days, the fighting in the 1973 War ended.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE 1973 WAR

Israel claimed victory in the 1973 War (also known as the Yom Kippur War, the Ramadan War or the October War). Twelve thousand Arabs were killed compared to 2000 Israelis. Israel also survived a surprise attack and a war on two fronts. It paid a high price for victory, however, losing about 120 planes and 350 tanks, heavy losses for such a small nation. The war also saw the end of the political careers of Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir and Defence Minister Moshe Dayan. Both were criticised for being caught by surprise attacks.

DID YOU KNOW?

Henry Kissinger was the US secretary of state in the Nixon and Ford administrations (September 1973 – January 1977) and during the 1973 War. He made numerous phone calls and visits to both sides of the conflict to arrange a 'disengagement' and then to negotiate an Israeli withdrawal from some parts of Sinai in return for more American aid. Kissinger's work as a go-between was called 'shuttle diplomacy'.



Henry Kissinger.



SOURCE 9.26

A destroyed Syrian tank from the 1973 War.

With the success of the arms embargo, Arab nations discovered a valuable new addition to their political armoury. Soldiers from Arab countries, although defeated, recovered some of the pride they lost in the 1967 War. Egypt was able to reopen the Suez Canal after Henry Kissinger's diplomacy and began to rebuild its damaged economy. However, relations between Egypt and Syria deteriorated after Assad deemed Egypt's compromise in calling a ceasefire a betrayal.

Following the 1973 War, the United States, which had previously been preoccupied by the Vietnam War, began to play a more active role in the Middle East and to consider Palestinian calls for recognition. The PLO emerged as the key representative of the Palestinian people and their interests; Israel would now have to negotiate directly with it, rather than Jordan.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Create a table like the one below and fill it in.

The Arab–Israeli Wars			
	1956	1967	1973
Key causes of war			
Start and end date			
Key territorial battles/ disputes			
Role of Arab states			
Involvement of foreign powers			
Involvement of UN			
Key military outcome			
Immediate political consequences			

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS 1978

On 17 September 1978, the Camp David Accords were signed by Egyptian president, Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin. The accords consisted of two key documents: 'A Framework for Peace in the Middle East' and 'A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel'. These historic agreements followed a period of intensive negotiations brokered by the USA.

US president Jimmy Carter brought Sadat and Begin together at Camp David, the US presidential holiday retreat in Maryland. At these meetings Carter negotiated the dismantling of Israeli settlements in Sinai and a framework for an Egyptian–Israeli peace treaty.

As a result of the second accord, Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty in March 1979. This caused fury in the Arab world, with the PLO in particular. Within Egypt there was also opposition to Sadat from pan-Arabists and Islamic fundamentalists.

In 1981, Sadat was assassinated by a group of Islamic officers from the Egyptian army. Debate continues over the legacy of the Camp David Accords.



SOURCE 9.27

Sadat, Carter and Begin shake hands at the White House, 26 March 1979.



THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS: KEY ELEMENTS

CAMP DAVID ACCORD 1: A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza will elect a council to govern themselves within five years

Israeli troops will gradually withdraw from these two areas, leaving only a small security force

Israeli, Egyptian, Jordanian and Palestinian representatives will decide how the West Bank and Gaza should be ruled at the end of five years

It is hoped that Israel will make peace treaties with all of its Arab neighbours

CAMP DAVID ACCORD 2: A FRAMEWORK FOR AN EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY

Egypt will regain all of Sinai within three years

Israeli forces will withdraw from Sinai

Israeli shipping will have free passage through the Suez Canal and Straits of Tiran

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How did the 1973 War affect the fortunes of Israel, compared to the fortunes of Arab nations?
2. In one sentence, summarise the aims of the Camp David Accords.
3. To what extent did the broader Arab world support Egypt's role in the Accords?

EXTENSION

Write an essay of 800 words on the following topic, using evidence to justify your response: 'In retrospect, The Camp David Accords were a major disappointment.' To what extent do you agree?

▼ SOURCE 9.28

Lebanon in prosperous times, 1960s.



THE WAR IN LEBANON 1970–1980

As large numbers of Palestinian refugees fled to Lebanon after the creation of Israel in 1948, the balance between the country's majority Christian population and its Muslim minority shifted. Specifically, the Maronite Christian community came to be outnumbered by a combination of Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims and Druze sects by the late 1960s. The arrival of the PLO in Lebanon in 1970 and its control of the refugee camps in southern Lebanon added to the tensions, making it difficult for the Christian-dominated Lebanese government to control the country.

The increasing frequency of PLO and Fatah attacks on Israel from bases in southern Lebanon brought Israeli retaliation. The situation escalated in March 1978, when the PLO attacked an Israeli bus near Tel Aviv, killing thirty-seven people. Soon afterwards, Israel invaded southern Lebanon with the intention of destroying the PLO bases there and creating a fifteen kilometre-wide 'buffer zone' to protect its northern border with Lebanon. In the process the Israelis killed over 1000 people and made as many as 200 000 homeless. After five days, the Israeli forces withdrew under pressure from the UN and the United States.

UN troops, sent to the border to supervise the Israeli withdrawal, were unable to prevent Palestinian fighters from infiltrating southern Lebanon and threatening Israeli settlements.

The Israeli-backed Christian militia army, led by Major Saad Haddad, was unable to prevent PLO attacks either, and PLO rocket attacks on northern Israeli towns continued. Consequently, Israel drew up plans to launch another full-scale invasion of Lebanon, citing as justification an attack on the Israeli ambassador in London by radical PLO splinter-group Abu Nidal.

▼ SOURCE 9.29

The Bombing of Beirut, 1982.



The Israeli defence minister, Ariel Sharon, sent the army and air force into Lebanon on 6 June 1982. Within four days, Israeli troops reached Beirut and began a bombardment of the city that continued for seventy-nine days in an

effort to drive out the PLO. The PLO, armed with tanks and anti-aircraft missiles, responded by occupying residential districts of Beirut and fired on the Israeli positions from there. Israeli aircraft bombed these areas and thousands of civilians died as apartment blocks, offices and hospitals were destroyed in bombing raids.

Eventually, under the supervision of US troops, 13 000 PLO fighters left Beirut on ships bound for Arab states as far away as Iraq and Algeria. Yasser Arafat relocated to Tunisia, along with other PLO officials.

SABRA AND SHATILA AND THE ISRAELI DEFEAT

In retaliation for the assassination of Lebanon's pro-Israel president, Bachir Gemayel, by Palestinians in September 1982, Christian militias entered the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila in southern Lebanon with the stated aim of searching for Palestinian guerrillas. The camps were located in Israel's area of control. The resulting massacre of over 300 people, including torture and mutilation of some, brought an international outcry. Even in Israel, some 400 000 people demonstrated against their government's decision not to intervene in the massacre. Defence Minister Ariel Sharon was forced to resign.

In 1985, most Israeli troops withdrew from Lebanon, apart from a 'security zone' in southern Lebanon. As they retreated they came under attack from Shi'ite forces and Druze militia.

Israel's withdrawal damaged its economy and reputation. Meanwhile, the PLO became stronger and new groups such as Hezbollah emerged to fight Israel.



ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONSTRUCTING ARGUMENTS

In an essay or presentation, respond to the following topic, using evidence to justify your response: 'The war in Lebanon marked a turning point in Arab-Israeli relations.' Discuss in relation to the period 1978–85.

◀ SOURCE 9.30

'Israel must disappear ... We need a multi-racial state ... Like the Lebanon' by Fritz Behrendt. Published in the *Evening Standard*, 16 June 1976.

◀ SOURCE 9.31

'Shalom' by David Langdon.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

In a small group, note down observations about Sources 9.30 and 9.31. What can you see in each cartoon, and what message does each attempt to convey about the civil war in Lebanon and the Sabra and Shatila massacres?

ACTIVITY

HEZBOLLAH

Hezbollah, a collection of Shi'ite paramilitary groups, is based primarily in the Shi'ite Bekaa Valley, near the Syrian border.

Hezbollah fought a guerrilla war against Israel until Israel withdrew from Lebanon in 2000. Hezbollah's tactics have been described as terrorist, particularly the taking of hostages (usually foreigners), suicide attacks, car bombings and rocket attacks on Israel.

In 2002, Jeffrey Goldberg wrote in the *New Yorker* that Hezbollah was 'the most successful terrorist organization in modern history, [serving] as a role model for terror groups around the world ... and virtually inventing the multi-pronged terror attack when early on the morning of 23 October 1983, it synchronized the suicide bombings in Beirut of the US marine barracks

and an apartment building housing a contingent of French peacekeepers. These attacks occurred just twenty seconds apart.'⁵ Over 300 US and French servicemen died in the attacks.

Between 1982 and 1992, Hezbollah kidnapped around thirty Westerners, many of whom were killed. Some of those released after years of captivity were US journalist Terry Anderson, British journalist John McCarthy, special envoy to the Archbishop of Canterbury Terry Waite, and Irish journalist Brian Keenan, all of whom later wrote books about their incarceration.

Many Lebanese people saw Hezbollah not as a terrorist organisation but as a national resistance movement. In a 2005 study, 74 per cent of Lebanese Christians stated that Hezbollah was a legitimate resistance organisation.⁶

ACTIVITY

BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Investigate the beliefs and attitudes underpinning Hezbollah. Since its inception in 1985, how has Hezbollah sought to change Lebanon?

ISRAEL IN THE 1980S

After the defeat in Lebanon in the early 1980s, there was disagreement among Israeli political parties about relations with Arab populations. Stalemates in the 1984 elections brought a power-sharing 'government of national unity', with Shimon Peres of the Labour Party and Yitzhak Shamir of the right-wing Likud Party alternating roles annually as prime minister and foreign minister.

The future of the West Bank and Gaza caused the most division in the unity government. Peres wanted to come to an agreement with King Hussein of Jordan over the West Bank, giving up some of the territory in return for peace and recognition by Jordan. Shamir and Likud wanted to annex the occupied land. Jewish settlements in the West Bank had expanded despite the agreement made at Camp David to halt the growth of these communities on 'Palestinian' land. The settlers in West Bank communities warned that they would oppose any attempts to dismantle their new homes, or to allow any West Bank Palestinian self-government, using violence or civil disobedience if necessary.

HAMAS

A Palestinian fundamentalist Sunni Islamic organisation founded in 1987, Hamas ('Zeal') emerged from a split in the PLO.

Hamas had four major policy planks:

- Refusal to negotiate
- Elimination of the state of Israel
- Islamic control of Palestine
- Replacement of the PLO.

Hamas attracted support from Iran in the early 1990s and developed a military wing in addition to its community building activities. The Gaza-based organisation has been a key combatant with Israel, and many of its leaders have been exiled.



↑ SOURCE 9.32

A Hamas fighter inspects a destroyed building in the Gaza Strip, 2007.

THE INTIFADA 1987–88

The Intifada was a Palestinian uprising that began in the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank and affected East Jerusalem and other towns. The PLO, Islamic Jihad, Hamas and other militant groups led the Intifada, which saw rioting and industrial strikes directed at Israel. Israel responded with an approach variously described as an 'Iron Fist' or a 'breaking bones' policy. Its measures included curfews, repression of activists and home demolitions.

THE PLO CHANGES TACTICS

Following the international condemnation of Israel's Iron Fist policy, the PLO decided to adopt a different approach; in November 1988, Arafat announced that the PLO would negotiate with Israel and would no longer use terrorism in pursuit of its aims. He said that the PLO would create an independent Palestinian 'state', with himself as president. Ninety countries responded by recognising Palestine; however, it was a state in name only, with no territory or borders.

Arafat aimed to capitalise on international sympathy for Palestinians, enlisting the support of Western powers including the United States. US policy since 1975 had been to refuse to talk to the PLO until it recognised the state of Israel and its right to exist, and no longer practised violence.

On 15 December 1988, Arafat stated that the PLO would 'totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism.'⁷ Israeli Prime Minister Shamir refused to open talks with the PLO.

Thus, the Intifada continued on its course of sporadic violent riots and demonstrations followed by reprisals. Within Israel there was growing opposition to the government's refusal to talk.

President Shamir remained steadfast and rejected all proposals from US Secretary of State James Baker for peace or negotiations with Arafat or the PLO.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Identify the aims and characteristics of groups that waged the Intifada.
2. Describe Israel's response to the Intifada, giving examples.
3. Analyse the Israeli government's refusal to talk to the PLO, even after it renounced violence. To what extent was this productive?

THE GULF WAR 1990—IRAQ INVADES KUWAIT



↑ SOURCE 9.33

Israel launches missiles to intercept Iraqi Scud missiles over Tel Aviv.

When Iraq under Saddam Hussein invaded the oil-rich state of Kuwait in August 1990, the USA responded with a forty-three day campaign involving 400 000 air and ground troops. Iraq was quickly defeated but not before Hussein had attempted to gain more Arab support by firing Scud missiles into Israel. Israel did not respond.

For many Palestinians, the rejoicing at Scud missiles hitting Israeli targets was short-lived. They were quickly disappointed by the defeat of Hussein and by Israel's continued refusal to enter negotiations.

The PLO, Hamas and Islamic Jihad

continued the Intifada, leading many Israelis to conclude that the only solution was the permanent separation of themselves and the Palestinians. However, there was debate over what form this separation should take. Some Israelis wanted Palestinians in the occupied territories to be relocated to Jordan; others favoured giving up some land in return for peace and security.

According to Bruce Dennett and Stephen Dixon, attempts to resolve the Arab–Israeli dispute were reignited for a number of reasons: the USA wished to support its Arab backers in the Gulf War; the Palestinians, who had supported Iraq, faced financial consequences from the Gulf states; and Syria softened its opposition to peace talks with Israel.⁸

MADRID AND FURTHER PEACE TALKS

From 30 October to 1 November 1991, peace talks were held in Madrid, Spain, between Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the USA. The conference paved the way for further peace talks in Washington and elsewhere, and later agreements such as the Oslo I Accord.

In June 1992, the Labour Party returned to power in Israel, under Yitzhak Rabin. Labour had campaigned on a promise to reach an agreement over Palestinian autonomy; Rabin, who had initiated the 'breaking bones' policy during the Intifada, had come to accept that the uprising could not be contained by force and that the PLO was more likely to negotiate than militant groups such as Hamas.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

1. Why did the Arab–Israeli conflict receive renewed attention after the 1990 Gulf War?
2. How did the outcome of the 1992 Israeli election affect the peace process?
3. To what extent were individuals on both sides critical to the peace process, in particular Rabin and Arafat?

THE OSLO ACCORDS 1993–95

From January 1993, secret meetings took place in Oslo, Norway, between the PLO and Israel. On 13 September, the first of what became known as the ‘Oslo Accords’ was announced by Rabin, Arafat and President Clinton on the White House lawn. The agreement stated that:

- Israel would withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho, retaining responsibility for external security of Jewish settlers only.
- The Palestinians would set up self-government and a police force.
- Both sides would work towards agreement in other areas, including the future of Jerusalem and Israeli settlements.⁹

REACTIONS TO THE OSLO ACCORDS

In Israel, one opinion poll showed 53 per cent in favour of the Accords and 45 per cent opposed.¹⁰

In the occupied territories, despite opposition from Hamas and the PFLP (on the grounds that Arafat had sold out their long-term goals), an estimated 65 per cent of Palestinians supported the Oslo Accords.¹¹ This support gradually increased as Israeli troops began to withdraw from Gaza, Jericho and the West Bank. By early 1996, Palestinian support for the peace process was around 80 per cent, with support for violence having dropped to 20 per cent.¹² Surveys also revealed a significant drop at this time in Palestinians’ support for nationalist and Islamist groups, from 50 to under 20 per cent.¹³

On 4 May 1994, Arafat and Rabin signed the Gaza–Jericho Agreement (part of the Oslo Accords), which set the terms for Palestinian self-rule. The departure of Israeli troops from the specified areas marked the end of the Intifada. On 1 July, Arafat returned to the Gaza Strip from Tunis.

Hard-line religious and nationalist elements in Israel were dismayed at the prospect of abandoning settlements to Palestinian control.

This anger was heightened by the actions of Hamas and other Islamic militants, who remained violently opposed to any dealings with Israel. Many Palestinians were concerned that Israel would never fully withdraw from the occupied territories. Under the Oslo Accords and other agreements, Israel would control over 73 per cent of the land, 80 per cent of the water and 97 per cent of the security arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza.

➤ SOURCE 9.35

Palestinian president Yasser Arafat (left) and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin (right) meet along the border of the Gaza Strip, 1994.



➤ SOURCE 9.34

Rabin, Clinton and Arafat at the signing of the Oslo Accords, Washington, 13 September 1993.

DID YOU KNOW?

On 26 October 1994, Jordan and Israel signed a historic peace treaty, making Jordan only the second Arab state to recognise Israel and its right to exist. King Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin signed the agreement, observed by President Clinton. It was one of Rabin’s last official acts as prime minister of Israel.



MORE INFO: THE
HEBRON MASSACRE

➔ SOURCE 9.36

Avi Shlaim, 'The Oslo Accord',
Journal of Palestine Studies,
22:3 (Spring 1994), 34.

AVI SHLAIM ON THE OSLO ACCORDS

On both sides of the Israeli–Palestinian divide, the Rabin–Arafat deal provoked strong ... opposition on the part of the hard-liners. Both leaders were accused of betrayal and a sell-out. Leaders of the Likud and the nationalistic parties further to the right attacked Rabin for his abrupt departure from the bipartisan policy of refusing to negotiate with the PLO, and charged him with abandoning the 120 000 settlers in the occupied territories to the tender mercies of the terrorists. The Gaza–Jericho plan they denounced as a bridgehead to a Palestinian state and the beginning of the end of Greater Israel. A Gallup poll, however, indicated considerable popular support for the prime minister. Of the 1000 Israelites polled, 65 per cent said they approved of the peace accord, with only 13 per cent describing themselves as 'very much against'.

➔ SOURCE 9.37

Edward Said, *The Politics of Dispossession* (London: Vintage, 1995), 413–417.

EDWARD SAID ON THE OSLO ACCORDS

[The Accords were] an interpreter's nightmare... The PLO accepted [them] on the grounds that Palestinian autonomy would somehow lead to independence ... When it came to negotiating the details ... we had neither the plans nor the actual facts ... Already the whole of the West Bank and Gaza has been divided into ten or eleven [divisions] by fifty-seven road barriers. Rabin's government is proceeding with a \$600 million road system for the Occupied Territories; it is to be controlled by Israel and will connect the settlements to one another, to Jerusalem and to Israel, by-passing Arab areas ... Meanwhile, land confiscation continues at a stunning pace, more than nine thousand acres in the West Bank were forcibly taken and declared Israeli military zones in December 1993 alone.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. What were the criticisms of the Oslo Accords, according to Source 9.36?
2. According to conservatives in the Likud Party, how had Rabin betrayed Israel?
3. Analyse what the Gallup poll results indicate about Israeli attitudes to the peace process and Rabin's actions.
4. Referring to Source 9.37, explain why Edward Said is critical of the Oslo Accords.
5. According to Said, what actions were being taken by Israel in the West Bank and why?
6. Compare the interpretations of the Oslo Accords presented in the two sources. What challenges did Rabin and Arafat face in attempting to bring peace to the region?

➔ SOURCE 9.38

The funeral of Yitzhak Rabin, attended by world leaders.

THE ASSASSINATION OF YITZHAK RABIN



As some West Bank towns and villages were handed over to the new Palestinian Authority in October 1995, some Israelis became more hostile and militant. On 4 November 1995, an Israeli extremist, Yigal Amir, assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin at a peace rally in Tel Aviv.

Shimon Peres, the new leader of the Labour Party, became prime minister while Benjamin Netanyahu, the new Likud leader, pledged his interim support until elections could be held. Peres continued with the withdrawal of Israeli defence forces from West Bank settlements and scheduled further pull-outs up to March 1996.

However, after Hamas bombed twenty-three people on a bus in Jerusalem, a suicide bomber in Tel Aviv killed thirteen, and Hezbollah increased its attacks on Israel's security zone in southern Lebanon, Peres ordered 'surgical strikes' against Hezbollah targets in Lebanon. 'Operation Grapes of Wrath' resulted in hundreds of Lebanese civilians being killed and over 400 000 others fleeing their homes.



OPERATION GRAPES
OF WRATH

THE ELECTION OF BENJAMIN NETANYAHU

MRS LEAH RABIN, WIDOW OF YITZHAK RABIN: 'We are the only democratic state that, after a political assassination, elected the side of the murderer, and not the side of the victim.'¹⁴

The violence of Hamas and Hezbollah was a constant backdrop to the Israeli election campaign of 1996. Benjamin Netanyahu, leader of the opposition Likud Party coalition, argued that terrorism should and could be countered by force.

Following the election, Netanyahu put together a coalition government that relied on support from Orthodox Jewish parties. These were in favour of expanding Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza and did not trust Arafat to deliver on his promises. As a result, Netanyahu's approach to the peace process was markedly different from that of Rabin and Peres.

In August 1996, Netanyahu announced that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories would expand and that more Palestinian land would be confiscated to construct 500 kilometres of new roads to Jewish settlements, by-passing Palestinian areas.

Arafat also faced difficulties on other fronts: the autonomous Palestinian area was in serious economic trouble, the Palestinian Authority security forces faced allegations of human rights abuses, and some of Arafat's closest associates faced charges of corruption. Some Palestinians even accused Arafat of being under Israeli control. His popularity waned.



SOURCE 9.39

Benjamin Netanyahu.



NETANYAHU AT WAR

SKILLS: CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

How did each of the following factors affect the outcome of the Israeli election of May 1996?

- Violence committed by extremists on both sides
- Shimon Peres' handling of the security situation
- Netanyahu's campaigning strategies.

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Discuss how the election result might have been viewed by:

- Arafat
- Hamas
- Jewish settlers in the occupied territories.

ACTIVITIES

THE HEBRON AGREEMENT 1997

According to the Oslo Accords, Israel was required to evacuate the city of Hebron in the West Bank; however, because of the presence of around 500 Jewish settlers there, the government was reluctant to do so. In negotiations, the issue became linked with withdrawals from settlements in other parts of the West Bank.

Through the intervention of King Hussein of Jordan, and persistent pressure and mediation from the USA, a breakthrough of sorts was reached. Israel agreed to a timetable for further withdrawals and Arafat accepted a delayed date for the withdrawals (mid-1998).

▼ SOURCE 9.40

The city of Hebron in the West Bank.



After the Hebron agreement was signed in January 1997, Israeli forces began leaving the city; 80 per cent of it was by then under Palestinian control but 1000 Israeli soldiers remained to protect the 500 Jewish settlers.

The agreement was particularly significant because it involved Netanyahu meeting with Arafat and accepting the Oslo approach. Arafat agreed to the presence of Jewish settlers in Hebron, after efforts by the United States and other Arab states. It appeared that, at long last, the majority of people from all sides were committed to the peace process and to co-existence.

By March 1997, however, this had changed.

THE END OF THE PEACE PROCESS 1997–2000



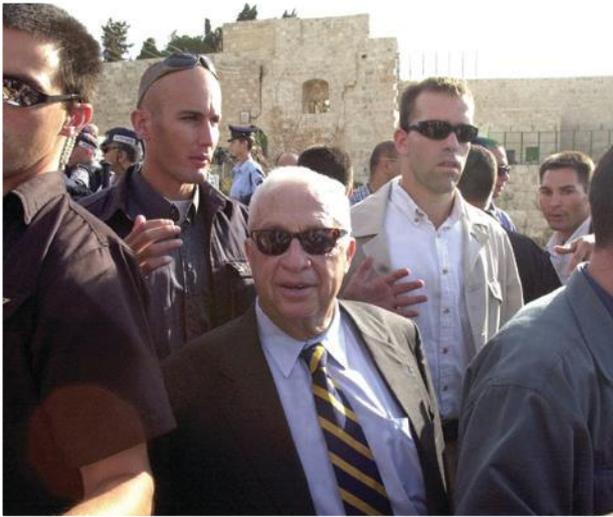
YASSER ARAFAT:
MIND MAP

It was the issue of Jerusalem that halted the peace process. Large Jewish settlements were being built on the outskirts of Jerusalem, separating Arab villages in East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. This brought violent protests from Palestinians, and Arafat suspended security arrangements with Israel. President Clinton attempted to keep the peace process intact and mediated negotiations between Netanyahu and Arafat that led to the signing of the Wye River Memorandum in October 1998. However, only a few of the steps were implemented.

When Netanyahu lost the election of May 1999, some believed that the promises of the new Labour leader, Ehud Barak, to renew peace negotiations played a part in the result.

Barak wanted a comprehensive agreement that included Syria. Syria's insistence that the pre-Six-Day War frontiers be re-established was a stumbling block to any talks, as Barak could not agree to this without alienating the majority of Israelis. While Barak withdrew Israeli troops from southern Lebanon in May 2000 (where they had been since 1985) and offered to share Jerusalem, Arafat refused, insisting on full Palestinian control of the Arabic quarters making up East Jerusalem.

ARIEL SHARON'S VISIT TO THE TEMPLE MOUNT



In September 2000, Ariel Sharon, the new Likud leader, went to Jerusalem to visit the Temple Mount, known to Muslims as the 'Noble Sanctuary'. It is a holy site for both Muslims and Jews.

Some believe Sharon's visit was intended to deliver a message of peace, while others believe it was a show of strength designed to provoke Arabs and end the peace process.

The visit sparked riots that soon became the Second Intifada. The unrest continued until 2008, at a cost of 3000 Palestinian and 1000 Israeli lives.

↑ SOURCE 9.41

Israeli security men guard Ariel Sharon, centre, as he leaves the Temple Mount compound, 28 September 2000.

Another summit at Camp David in July 2000 failed. President Clinton made a final effort to bring peace in December 2000, proposing:

- a complete Israeli withdrawal from Gaza
- a 95 per cent withdrawal from the West Bank
- an independent Palestinian state with a right of return for refugees
- division of Jerusalem into Palestinian and Israeli areas.

Despite hopes in a conference in Egypt in January 2001, the Oslo peace process was finished.

UNRESOLVED ISSUES

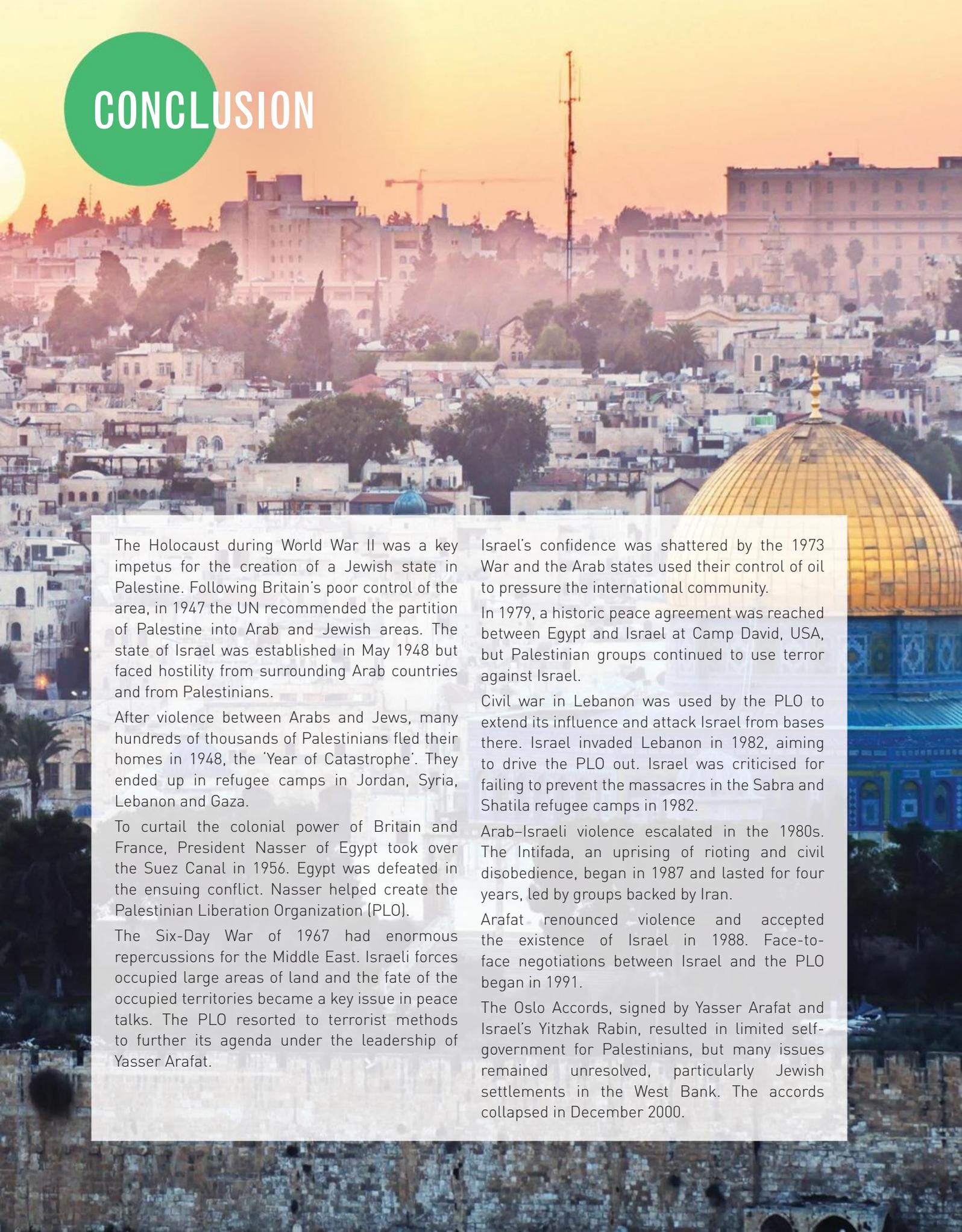
According to Dennett and Dixon,¹⁵ the six key issues left unresolved by the end of the twentieth century were as follows:

1. Security: Should Israel trade 'land for peace' or maintain military dominance?
2. Borders: Where should Israel's borders end?
3. Settlements: What would happen to residents in long-settled Jewish areas?
4. Refugees: Would the millions of Palestinians and their descendants living in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon be able to return to their homeland?
5. Jerusalem: Could the city be shared between both parties peacefully?
6. Statehood/autonomy: How would the creation of a separate Palestinian state affect Israel?



CRISIS GUIDE: THE
ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN
CONFLICT

CONCLUSION



The Holocaust during World War II was a key impetus for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Following Britain's poor control of the area, in 1947 the UN recommended the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish areas. The state of Israel was established in May 1948 but faced hostility from surrounding Arab countries and from Palestinians.

After violence between Arabs and Jews, many hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled their homes in 1948, the 'Year of Catastrophe'. They ended up in refugee camps in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Gaza.

To curtail the colonial power of Britain and France, President Nasser of Egypt took over the Suez Canal in 1956. Egypt was defeated in the ensuing conflict. Nasser helped create the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).

The Six-Day War of 1967 had enormous repercussions for the Middle East. Israeli forces occupied large areas of land and the fate of the occupied territories became a key issue in peace talks. The PLO resorted to terrorist methods to further its agenda under the leadership of Yasser Arafat.

Israel's confidence was shattered by the 1973 War and the Arab states used their control of oil to pressure the international community.

In 1979, a historic peace agreement was reached between Egypt and Israel at Camp David, USA, but Palestinian groups continued to use terror against Israel.

Civil war in Lebanon was used by the PLO to extend its influence and attack Israel from bases there. Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, aiming to drive the PLO out. Israel was criticised for failing to prevent the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in 1982.

Arab-Israeli violence escalated in the 1980s. The Intifada, an uprising of rioting and civil disobedience, began in 1987 and lasted for four years, led by groups backed by Iran.

Arafat renounced violence and accepted the existence of Israel in 1988. Face-to-face negotiations between Israel and the PLO began in 1991.

The Oslo Accords, signed by Yasser Arafat and Israel's Yitzhak Rabin, resulted in limited self-government for Palestinians, but many issues remained unresolved, particularly Jewish settlements in the West Bank. The accords collapsed in December 2000.

CHAPTER REVIEW

1. Identify methods that have been used by different groups involved in the Arab–Israeli conflict to bring about political change.
2. Analyse the role of two or more of the following key people in the Arab–Israeli conflict: Gamal Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Menachem Begin, Yasser Arafat, Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Benjamin Netanyahu, Saddam Hussein, King Hussein, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton.

EXAM PRACTICE

Write an extended answer on one of the topics below, citing evidence from primary and secondary sources:

1. Explain the role of extremists on both sides in derailing the Arab–Israeli peace process.
2. Evaluate the success of the Oslo Accords in bringing peace between Palestinians and Israelis.
3. Discuss the relevance of one of the following key concepts to the Arab–Israeli conflict: nationalism, self-determination, statehood, religious fundamentalism, terrorism, territorial expansion, militarism, international diplomacy.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the following topics, citing evidence from primary and secondary sources in support of your argument:

- To what extent had the goals of the Palestinian Liberation Organization been achieved by 2000?
- ‘The Six-Day War of 1967 was a key turning point in the Arab–Israeli conflict.’ To what extent do you agree?
- ‘Self-interest and fear triumphed over diplomacy at every stage of the peace process in Israel.’ To what extent do you agree?

EXTENSION

Discuss the consequences of the building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem for relations between Palestinians and Israelis.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 9

FURTHER READING

Ian Bickerton and Maria Hill, *Contested Spaces: The Arab–Israeli Conflict* (Sydney: McGraw Hill, 2003).

An excellent resource filled with an enormous range of primary and secondary sources.

J. Brooman, *Conflict in Palestine* (London: Longman, 1989).

A good introductory-level text with particular strength on the pre-1945 origins of the conflict.

Ron David, *Arabs and Israel for Beginners* (New York: Writers and Readers Publishing, 1993).

This is a very accessible book on the conflict with plenty of illustrations and clear explanations.

Jonathan Dibleby, *The Palestinians* (London: Quartet Books, 1993).

This book is particularly good on the complexities of the political intrigues and divisions between different groups in Palestine.

B. Dennett and S. Dixon, *Key Features of Modern History*, 2nd edn. (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2003).

A textbook aimed at senior students; the chapter on this topic is accessible and student-friendly.

Martin Gilbert, *Israel: A History* (Australia: Doubleday, 1998).

A very readable account tracing the history of the country and the people central to its evolution.

Michael Sprinkler (ed.), *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993).

A respected Palestinian historian, Said's perspective on the conflict is an essential read. This collection of essays is a good introduction to his ideas.

Avi Shlaim, 'The Oslo Accord', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22: 3 (Spring 1994).

An excellent analysis of the historic breakthrough that almost brought a lasting peace.

CHAPTER
10

TERRORISM

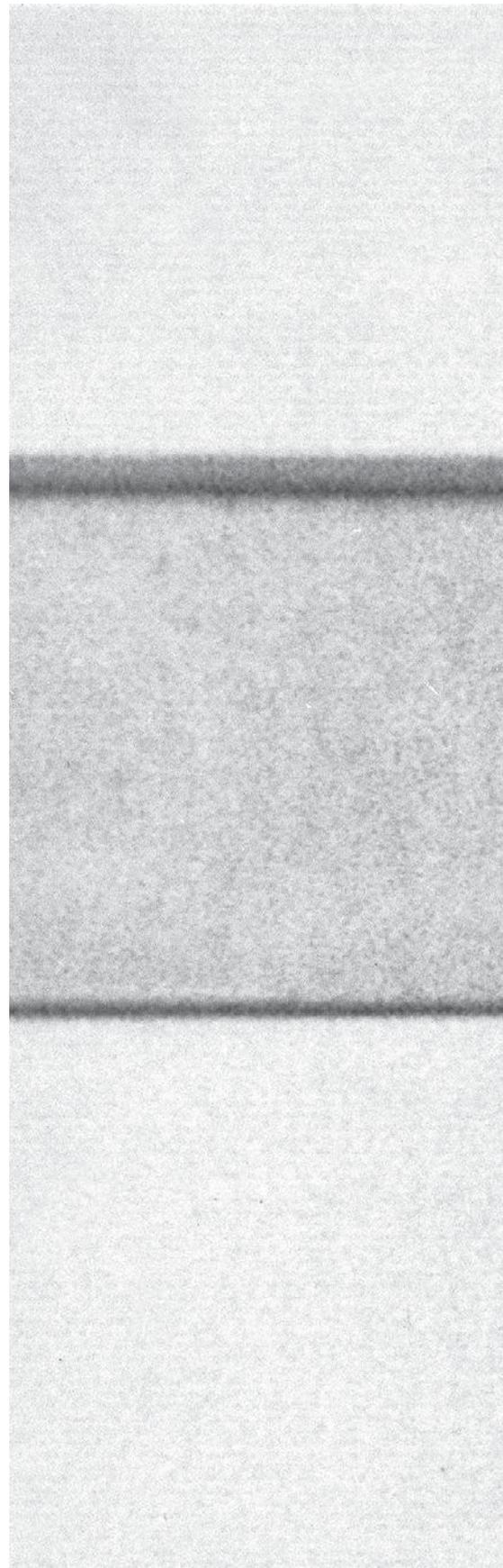
'In our assessment, and in light of the result, we have made one of the best achievements of Palestinian commando action. A bomb in the White House ... could not have echoed through to the consciousness of every man in the world like the operation at Munich. The Olympiad arouses the people's interest and attention more than anything else in the world. The choice of the Olympics, from a purely propagandistic viewpoint, was one hundred per cent successful. It was like painting the name of Palestine on a mountain that can be seen from the four corners of the earth.'

STATEMENT BY THE BLACK SEPTEMBER ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

On 5 September 1972, eight terrorists from the Black September Organization stormed the athletes' village at the Munich Olympic Games and took hostage nine members of the Israeli team. Images of the terrorists in balaclavas peering over the balcony were beamed around the world by the media that had gathered to cover the Olympic Games. An attempted rescue operation ended tragically and the terrorists scored a significant propaganda victory—the Palestinian cause was now at the forefront of the world's attention.

International terrorist acts became a brutal reality during the second half of the twentieth century. As terrorists sought to communicate their grievances and change the status quo, they engaged in increasingly violent and shocking acts in order to attract attention to their cause and to force governments to give in to their demands. Government reactions to terrorism ranged from complying with the terrorists' demands to taking military action against them. However, none of these responses eliminated the menace of terrorism, and terrorist attacks seem destined to remain a disturbing fact of life in the twenty-first century.





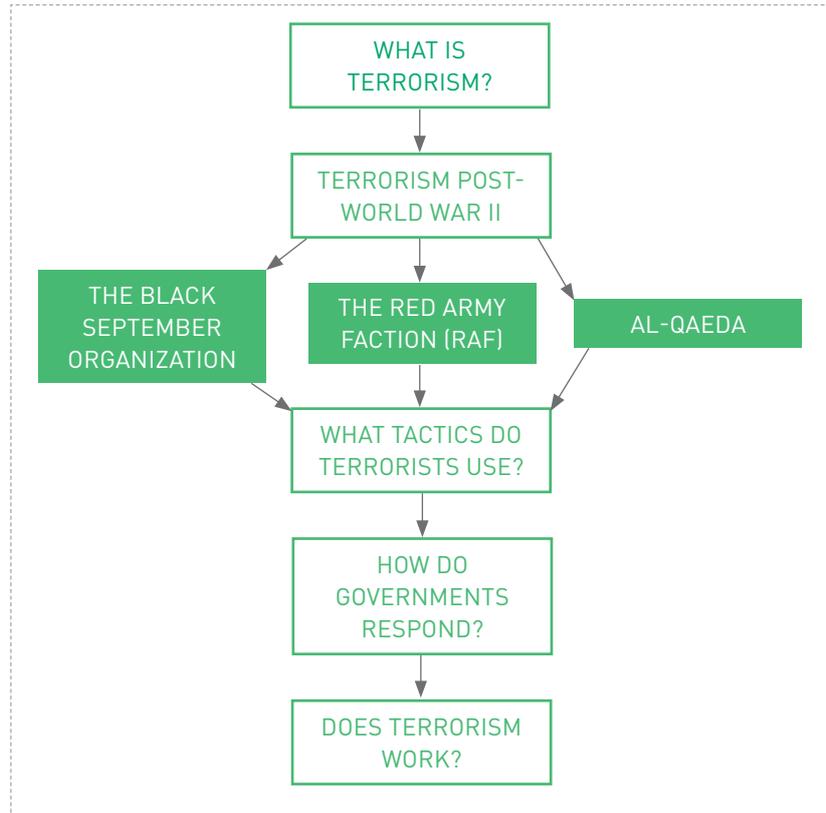
A member of the Black September terrorist group at the Munich Olympics, 1972.

OVERVIEW

KEY QUESTIONS

- What is terrorism?
- What are the aims and goals of terrorist groups?
- What methods and tactics do terrorists employ?
- How effective are government responses to terrorism?
- Do terrorists achieve their aims?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS

1968

2 APRIL

Red Army Faction firebomb a Frankfurt department store

1972

5

SEPTEMBER

Terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics



1977

Baader and Ensslin commit suicide in prison

1993

26

FEBRUARY

Bombing of the World Trade Centre, New York

1998

20 APRIL

Red Army Faction announces that it is disbanding

7 AUGUST

Bombing of US embassies in East Africa



2000

12 OCTOBER

Al-Qaeda attack on the USS Cole in Aden



KEY PLAYERS

ANDREAS BAADER

- Born in Munich in 1943
- One of the founders of the Red Army Faction
- Imprisoned for firebombing two Frankfurt department stores in April 1968 as a protest against the Vietnam War; he later escaped, aided by a journalist named Ulrike Meinhof
- After a spate of bombings, was arrested again in June 1972 and sentenced to life in prison
- After the failure of an aeroplane hijack intended to secure his release, he committed suicide in prison on 18 October 1977.



LUTTIF AFIF

- Born in 1937 in Nazareth (then in the British mandate of Palestine) to a Jewish mother and Arab Christian father
- Leader of the Black September group that took nine Israeli athletes hostage at the Olympic Village in Munich in 1972
- Communicated the group's demands and negotiated with German officials
- After police opened fire while the hostages were being transferred from helicopters to an aircraft, Afif killed the hostages using machine-gun fire and hand-grenades. He was then killed.

OSAMA BIN LADEN

- Born in Saudi Arabia in 1957 to a billionaire construction magnate from Yemen
- Organised resistance in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union's invasion
- During the war in Afghanistan, he set up an organisation called *al-Qaeda* (Arabic for 'the base' or 'the foundation') to carry out *jihād*, or holy war, against the enemies of Islam
- While not always directly commanding or ordering, bin Laden inspired, encouraged and facilitated terrorist attacks on Western targets all over the world
- He was tracked down and killed in Pakistan by US Special Forces on 2 May 2011.



KEY TERMS / CONCEPTS

FATAH

A political and military organisation co-founded by Yasser Arafat; prominent in the Palestinian Liberation Organization

AL-QAEDA

Arabic for 'the base' or 'the foundation'; the loosely organised terrorist group founded, guided and financed by Osama bin Laden

BLACK SEPTEMBER

The terrorist group that killed eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games; linked to Fatah and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

PLO

Palestinian Liberation Organization; an umbrella organisation that coordinates the various groups that seek a free and independent Palestinian nation

RAF

Red Army Faction (or *Rote Armee Fraktion* in German); the official name of the Baader-Meinhof Gang

TERRORISM

The use or threatened use of violence to coerce a government or organisation to make specific political changes

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

With a partner, generate eight to ten inquiry questions under the heading 'The causes, nature and consequences of terrorist attacks.' Keep these inquiry questions in mind as you read the information and work through the activities in this chapter. Select one question to explore in detail as part of an inquiry research project. Here are three examples to help you get started.

1. Why do certain individuals choose to become terrorists?
2. Do terrorists achieve their aims and goals?
3. Do counter-terrorist measures do more harm than good?



Vladimir Lenin.

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

VLADIMIR LENIN: 'The purpose of terrorism is to terrify.'

TERRORISM: A DEFINITION

Despite reading and hearing about terrorism in the news on a regular basis, it is a difficult concept to define. Lenin's typically blunt definition touches on one of the main elements of terrorism—it is designed to inspire fear in the targeted population. However, terrorism is much more complex than this, as other human activities—such as war and crime—can also create a climate of terror. The US Department of Defense defines terrorism as follows:

A DEFINITION OF TERRORISM

The unlawful use of violence or threat of violence, often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs, to instil fear and coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are usually political.

➔ SOURCE 10.01

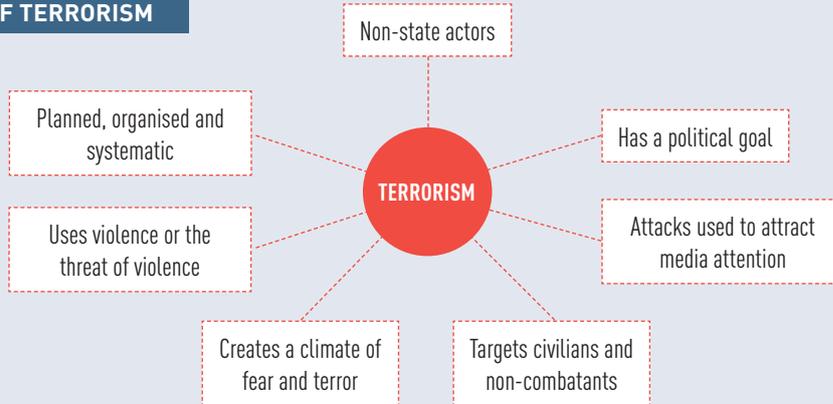
US Department of Defense,
Department of Defense
Dictionary of Military and
Associated Terms,
www.dtic.mil/doctrine/new_pubs/jp1_02.pdf

This is a useful starting point for working towards a definition of terrorism, as it covers most of the key elements. The US Department of Defense focuses on the use of violence, or the threat to use violence. All terrorist acts involve destructive attacks, or the realistic threats of such attacks, on people or installations in some way. These acts are considered unlawful as they deliberately target civilians, non-combatants (soldiers not directly engaged in combat) or neutral third parties. According to Bruce Hoffman, traditional military forces are at least theoretically bound by the rules of warfare that protect non-combat forces from deliberate attack.¹ Unlike criminal acts that are purely self-interested, terrorist acts have specific political goals—based on political, economic, social or religious ideologies—that they seek to realise. Such goals can include changing a government's domestic or foreign policy, achieving national liberation and self-determination, or replacing one political-economic system with another.

As terrorist groups are almost always numerically and militarily weaker than their targeted opponent, they rely on surprise, apparent randomness and fear as psychological weapons to bring about the change they desire. Striking at undefended or unprepared targets without warning or a logical pattern creates a feeling that the next attack could come anywhere, at any time and against anyone. The only way to prevent this, in the logic of terrorism, is to give in to the terrorist group's demands.

A key aspect of terrorism that the US Department of Defense does not refer to is that it is committed by non-state or sub-national actors. When perpetrated by state governments, such as the revolutionary government of France in the 1790s and Stalin's purges in the Soviet Union in the 1930s, it is usually referred to as 'terror.'² Al-Qaeda, which has bases, personnel and contacts in a number of countries around the world, exemplifies the typical non-state terrorist group.

ISIS (also called ISIL or *Daesh*) claims to have established a caliphate, or independent state based upon a fundamentalist interpretation of the Koran, in parts of Iraq and Syria. This is not recognised by other nation-states, however. ISIS claims to have many adherents around the world who wage *jihād* in the name of a free Islamist state.

KEY FEATURES
OF TERRORISM

➦ Maximilien de Robespierre, architect of the Terror in the French Revolution.

A HISTORY OF VIOLENCE

While terrorism is often thought of as a recent phenomenon, it has a history stretching back centuries. The Zealots were members of a Jewish sect that assassinated Roman soldiers and administrators in the province of Judea in the first century AD. A radical Shia Islamic sect called the Order of Assassins carried out surprise killings in the eleventh century. The French government under Maximilien de Robespierre instigated the 'Reign of Terror' in 1793–4 in order to defend the Republic against internal and external foes. In Russia, a revolutionary group called *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will) sought to end oppression by assassinating Tsar Alexander II in 1881.³ In the 1930s, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin unleashed a reign of terror on political opponents, social classes and ethnic minorities, killing and displacing millions of people.



DID YOU KNOW?

The word *assassin* is believed to come from the Arabic word *hashishin*, meaning 'hashish user', as the Order of Assassins reputedly smoked hashish before striking at their targets. However, many scholars dispute this.

DID YOU KNOW?

Lenin's brother, Alexander Ulyanov, was arrested and executed in 1887 for his part in a failed assassination attempt on Tsar Alexander III.

SOURCE 10.02

The assassination of Tsar Alexander II.

Attacks on innocent civilians, such as the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103, attract maximum media coverage. This magnifies the horror of the incident by exposing potentially millions of viewers to the deed and draws attention to the terrorist group, their cause and their political objectives. Attacks on civilians are also designed to make seemingly powerful nations appear helpless, vulnerable and unable to protect their own citizens or interests. In this sense, terrorism can be thought of as ‘propaganda by deed.’⁴ Terrorist groups deliberately select vulnerable targets to maximise media exposure and create terror for the purpose of generating political change. It is in this sense that they can justifiably be called ‘terrorists.’

➔ SOURCE 10.03

The wreckage of Pan Am flight 103, Lockerbie, 1988.



ACTIVITIES

CREATIVE WRITING

A government agency concerned with national security has asked you to devise a useful definition of terrorism. Using the information in this section, and any other resources you can locate, draft a short definition of terrorism (no more than 200 words) that encompasses all of its key aspects.

POSTER

There have been many terrorist attacks perpetrated since the end of World War II. Select one from the list below, or choose one of your own, and explain why it can be classified as a terrorist act. Present your findings as a poster with images of the attack and the perpetrators.

- The hijacking of El Al flight 462 (1968).
- The hijacking of Air France flight 139 (1976).
- The bombing of the US Marine Corps barracks in Lebanon (1983).
- The Lockerbie bombing (1988).
- The hijacking of Air France flight 8969 (1994).
- The Oklahoma City bombing (1995).

THE RED ARMY FACTION

GUDRUN ENSSLIN: 'They have weapons and we haven't any. We must arm ourselves too.'

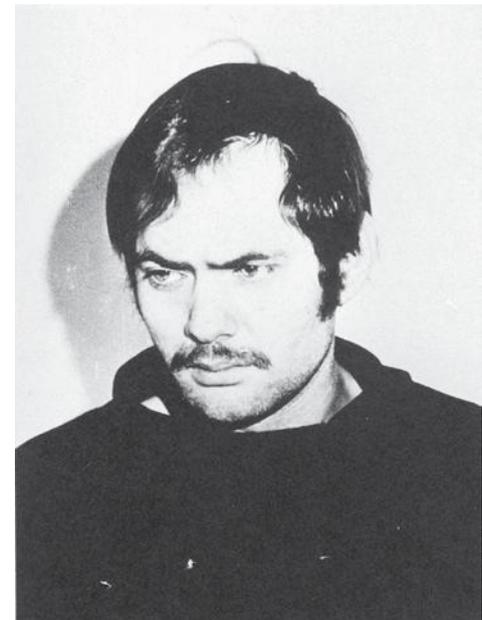
ORIGINS OF THE RAF

The Red Army Faction (RAF) emerged from the radical student politics that was common in Western society during the 1960s. At that time, the world was in the grip of the Cold War: the ideological struggle between capitalist USA and socialist USSR. In the wake of World War II, Germany symbolised this conflict as it was split in two—the Federal German Republic (West Germany) and the Democratic German Republic (East Germany). Berlin itself was also split between East and West. Some university students and other young people in West Germany and Berlin believed that capitalist societies, particularly the United States, were exploiting and oppressing poor workers in the Western world and people in the developing world for their own profit and gain. People who held such views were often called 'leftists' for their left-wing political views. The involvement of the United States in wars in Vietnam and the Middle East was a particular focus point for protest against government authorities.⁵

It was during one such protest that the RAF was born. Reza Pahlavi, the Shah (or king) of Iran, was in West Berlin on a state visit. Leftists viewed the Shah as a dictator who had seized total power in a CIA-backed coup and ruthlessly cracked down on political opponents.⁶ On 2 June 1967, the West Berlin police broke up a student protest with batons. One student, Benno Ohnesorg, was beaten by the police and shot to death. A week later, at a block of apartments, a group of students and youths met to discuss the shooting and how they should respond. It was here that Gudrun Ensslin and Andreas Baader met. Ensslin believed that 'we must organise resistance. Violence can only be answered with violence.'⁷ An accidental fire in a department store in Brussels, Belgium, which killed over 250 people, gave the nascent terrorists the inspiration for their first attack: firebombing two department stores in Frankfurt on 2 April 1968. As the timers were set for midnight, the stores were empty and no one was harmed. Ensslin, Baader and two accomplices were arrested two days later on arson charges but the leftist revolutionary terrorist campaign had only just begun.

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

The four Frankfurt arsonists were sentenced to four years in prison, but they were released after fourteen months as an appeal over the length of their sentences was being heard. The appeal failed but only one of them went back to jail; the others went into hiding. Ensslin and Baader went to France, Switzerland and Italy before returning to Berlin on 12 February 1970. They stayed in a flat rented by



SOURCE 10.04

Gudrun Ensslin (top) and Andreas Baader (bottom), founding members of the RAF.



THE BAADER-MEINHOF GANG



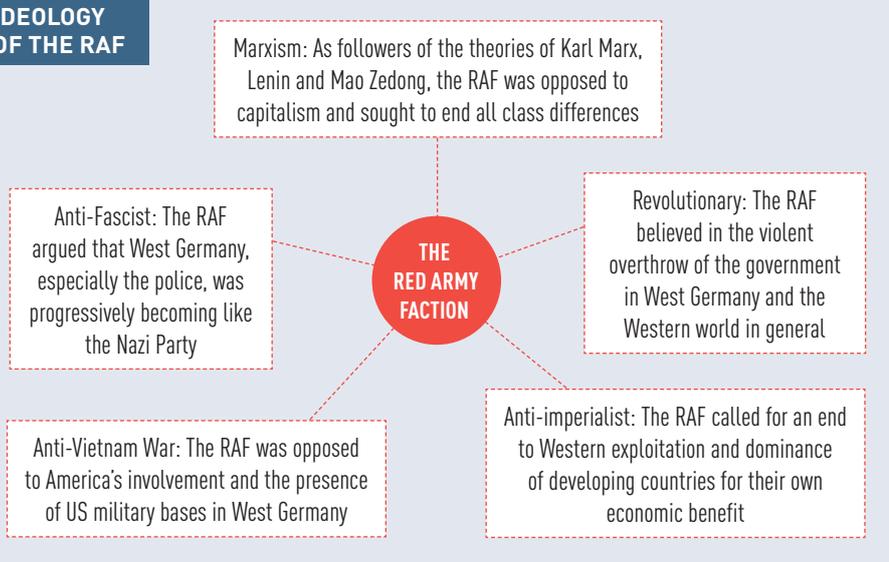
↑ SOURCE 10.05

Ulrike Meinhof, journalist turned revolutionary.

left-wing journalist Ulrike Meinhof. Meinhof had interviewed Ensslin in prison and gradually gravitated towards the group and their increasingly radical views. Baader was arrested again by the police on 2 April 1970 after being caught on his way to a hidden RAF weapons cache. He was to serve out the rest of his sentence. However, on 14 May 1970, Ensslin, Meinhof and two accomplices helped Baader escape from a library he had been permitted to visit under the pretence of conducting research for a book.

In 1971, Meinhof wrote a long essay called 'The Urban Guerrilla Concept', in which she explained the group's motives and overall aims. It was the first time the name 'Red Army Faction' had been used in the group's messages to the media. In this and other essays, letters and speeches during trials, the members of the RAF revealed their complex ideology.

IDEOLOGY OF THE RAF



THE URBAN GUERRILLA CONCEPT

ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Name three members of the Red Army Faction.
2. Look up and define the key terms in the mind-map of the ideology of the RAF.
3. Explain how the death of Benno Ohnesorg contributed to the founding of the RAF.

CREATIVE WRITING

Write a brief biography of one of the key leaders of the RAF. This could be written up in the style of a newspaper story or a police report.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INQUIRY

Research and write a report on the role played by West Germany in the Vietnam War, with a particular focus on the use of bases and airfields by the US Air Force.

DID YOU KNOW?

The RAF was more commonly known in the German media as the Baader-Meinhof Gang. This was because of Baader's position as leader of the group and because, before she joined, Meinhof was a well-known journalist.

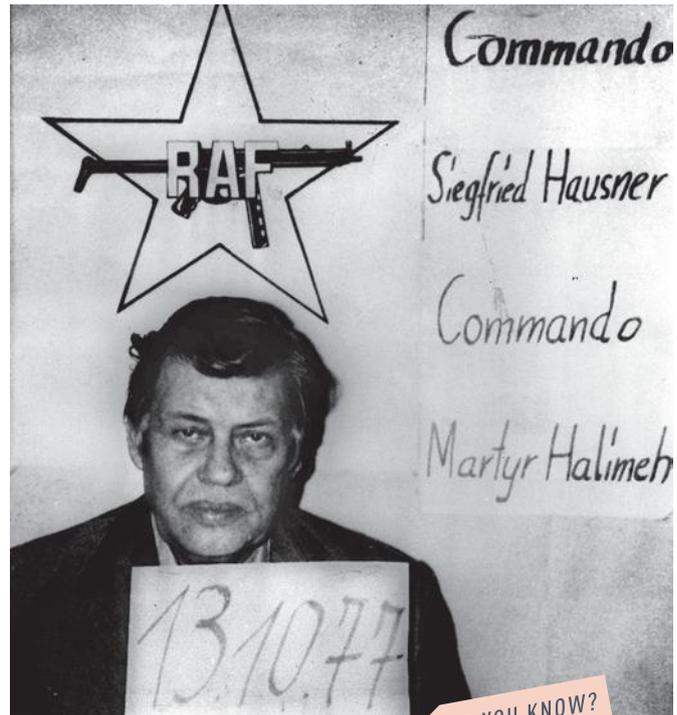
METHODS AND TACTICS

The RAF used a variety of tactics to draw attention to their cause and attain their goals. In September 1970, the RAF robbed three banks simultaneously to protest against the financial system—and also to secure funds for their living expenses. In May 1972, the group began what could be considered a genuine terrorist campaign when they bombed a US officers' club in Frankfurt. A few days later, three US soldiers were killed and five injured when a car bomb exploded outside a barracks in Heidelberg. Also in May, five policemen were injured by a pipe bomb in Augsburg, and the wife of a judge was badly hurt in another car bomb attack.

In June 1972, Baader, Ensslin, Meinhof and other members of the RAF were arrested on charges of murder and attempted murder. This did not stop the wave of terrorist attacks conducted by other members of the RAF. Meinhof committed suicide in prison on 8 May 1976, and Baader and Ensslin were found guilty of murder a year later and sentenced to life in prison. In an effort to free the original leaders of the group, other members of the RAF kidnapped Hanns Martin Schleyer, a wealthy businessman, on 5 September 1977. The following month, four Palestinians hijacked Lufthansa flight 181 and forced the pilot to land in Somalia. They demanded the release of the imprisoned RAF members but the West German anti-terrorism force, the GSG-9, stormed the plane and killed the hijackers. Upon receiving this news, Baader and Ensslin killed themselves using weapons that had been smuggled into the prison. Realising that the hostage was now useless, the RAF killed Schleyer and dumped his body in a forest.

▼ SOURCE 10.06

Hanns Martin Schleyer as a hostage of the RAF.



DID YOU KNOW?

Meinhof wasn't much of a bank robber. In one heist, she grabbed a box carrying 8155 deutsche marks but missed another box that held 97,000 deutsche marks.

BRANDING THE RED ARMY FACTION

Meinhof chose the name of the terrorist group as a sign of solidarity with the Japanese Red Army, another Marxist-revolutionary group.⁸ It was not well chosen, however, as it reminded Germans of the Soviet Red Army that had brutalised the population at the end of World War II. The initials also reminded them of the Royal Air Force, which had devastated German cities in night bombing raids.⁹

The Red Army Faction's initials appeared in their logo, which was prominent in the

background of photographs they released of Schleyer. The logo contained two other distinct elements: a star, which linked the RAF to other revolutionary groups and communist nations around the world, and a machinegun called the Heckler & Koch MP5. This was a West German-designed weapon used by both the RAF and the police who were trying to catch them.



THE JAPANESE RED
ARMY

REACTION AND RESPONSE

The West German police went to great lengths to capture the members of the RAF. Under federal police chief Horst Herold, the number of police dedicated to hunting down the terrorists rose from 1113 to 3536 over ten years. Herold also instituted an information revolution by entering the details of nearly five million Germans onto computer databases so that information could be retrieved and cross-checked easily.¹⁰ After the series of bombings in May 1972, the West German police launched 'Operation Punch in the Water'. This involved using temporary road-blocks and every helicopter in Germany to force the RAF terrorists into the open. Tens of thousands of 'Wanted' posters were printed and displayed all over Germany so that the faces of the group members were well known.¹¹ By early 1992, when the RAF was into its third generation of terrorists, the German government announced that it was prepared to release imprisoned members in return for a promise to renounce violence. The RAF accepted the government's offer.

➔ SOURCE 10.07

A wanted poster for the Baader-Meinhof Gang, from 1970–72.



TRANSLATION OF
A RAF 'WANTED'
POSTER

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Read the translation of the poster provided in the link on this page. Make a list of the words and phrases that signify the danger posed by the RAF terrorists.
2. Select one member of the RAF from this poster who hasn't been referred to in this chapter. Research and write a paragraph on their background and activities with the RAF.
3. Explain how this poster could help the West German police capture RAF members.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this poster in understanding how the government dealt with the Red Army Faction. Refer to other tactics and responses in your answer.

Anarchistische Gewalttäter

– Baader/Meinhof-Bande –

Wegen Beteiligung an Morden, Sprengstoffverbrechen, Banküberfällen und anderen Straftaten werden steckbrieflich gesucht:

				
Meinhof, Ulrike, 7. 10. 34 Oldenburg	Baader, Andreas Bernd, 6. 5. 43 München	Enella, Gudrun, 15. 8. 40 Bartholomae	Meins, Holger Klaus, 26. 10. 41 Hamburg	Raep, Jan-Carl, 24. 7. 44 Seydel
				
Schabert, Ina, 17. 5. 54 Frankfurt/M.	Jänschke, Klaus, 6. 9. 47 Mannheim	Augustin, Ronald, 20. 11. 41 Amsterdam	Braun, Bernhard, 25. 2. 46 Berlin	Reinders, Ralf, 27. 8. 48 Berlin
				
Barz, Ingeborg, 2. 7. 48 Berlin	Möller, Ingrid, 13. 5. 47 Hufeisdorf	Mohlbach, Brigitta, 24. 6. 49 Rheinsberg	Achterath, Axel, 15. 4. 35 Hannover	Hammermeißel, Katharina, 14. 12. 43 Ditzing
				
Kerner, Renate, 24. 6. 47 Rheinsberg	Hanneke, Siegfried, 24. 1. 52 Selb/Bayern	Brockmann, Heriott, 1. 3. 48 Gitterbach	Fichter, Albert, 18. 12. 44 Stuttgart	

Für Hinweise, die zur Ergreifung der Gesuchten führen, sind insgesamt **100 000 DM** Belohnung ausgesetzt, die nicht für Beamte bestimmt sind, zu deren Berufspflichten die Verfolgung strafbarer Handlungen gehört. Die Zuerkennung und die Verteilung erfolgen unter Ausschluss des Rechtsweges.

Mitteilungen, die auf Wunsch vertraulich behandelt werden, nehmen entgegen:

Bundeskriminalamt – Abteilung Sicherungsgruppe –
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Friedrich-Ebert-Straße 1 – Telefon: 02229 / 53001
oder jede Polizeidienststelle

Vorsicht! Diese Gewalttäter machen von der Schußwaffe rücksichtslos Gebrauch!



THE RAF: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

Ultimately, the RAF was a failure; they never came even remotely close to achieving their goal of a Marxist revolution. Arrest, imprisonment and deaths after shoot-outs with the police took a steady toll on the group's numbers. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc from 1989 also meant that the RAF's ideology seemed out of touch. On 20 April 1998, German media outlets received a letter from the RAF announcing that the group was disbanding.

THE FINAL MESSAGE FROM THE RAF

Almost 28 years ago, on May 14, 1970, the RAF was born from an act of liberation: Today we are ending this project. The urban guerrilla in the form of the RAF is now history. We, that is all of us who were organised in the RAF until the end, are taking this step jointly. From now on, we, like all others from this association, are former RAF militants. We stand by our history. The RAF was the revolutionary attempt by a minority of people to resist the tendencies in this society and contribute to the overthrow of capitalist conditions. We are proud to have been part of this attempt. The end of this project shows that we were not able to succeed on this path.

Horst Herold called this statement 'the tombstone erected by the RAF itself.'¹² The RAF wasn't quite finished yet, however. On 20 July 1999 an armoured truck was robbed by a handful of RAF members. Over one million deutsche marks was stolen from the truck, which was ferrying money from one bank to another. Since then, the police and media have heard nothing more of the group that terrorised Germany for three decades.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. List three terrorist attacks perpetrated by the RAF.
2. What measures did the West German police take to bring down the RAF?
3. Explain why the RAF announced its own dissolution in 1998.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 10.08

A mourner shows his fist at the funeral of RAF terrorists Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader and Jan Carl Raspe on 27 October 1977. On the left is Priest Helmut Ensslin, the father of Gudrun Ensslin. Raspe was tried with Ulrike Meinhof, Andreas Baader, and Gudrun Ensslin in a trial held on the grounds of Stuttgart's Stammheim prison. After the longest trial in German history, Raspe was convicted along with Baader and Ensslin (Meinhof committed suicide in 1976) of murder and other counts, and sentenced to life. In the morning of 18 October 1977 Baader, Raspe and Ensslin were found dead in their prison cells.

SOURCE 10.09

'The Urban Guerrilla Is History,' German Guerrilla, <http://germanguerrilla.com/1998/03/01/the-urban-guerrilla-is-history/>

ACTIVITY

DISCUSSION

In 1992 the German government decided to negotiate with the RAF. It agreed to release RAF prisoners in return for a promise from the RAF to renounce violence. With a partner, discuss the morality of making deals with terrorists. Share your ideas and opinions with the rest of the class.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Palestinians referred to their flight from the Israeli armies in 1948–9 as *al-Nakhba*—‘the catastrophe’.

BLACK SEPTEMBER

FUAD AL-SHAMALI: ‘We have to kill some of their most important and most famous people.’

THE ORIGINS OF BLACK SEPTEMBER

In the early hours of 5 September 1972, eight men crept into the Olympic athletes’ village and took nine Israeli athletes hostage. The eight men were part of a terrorist group called the Black September Organization (BSO). The militant wing of al-Fatah, the BSO emerged from the complex political situation in the Middle East. In 1947, one of the first items on the agenda of the United Nations was the creation of a Jewish homeland. At the end of World War II, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust called upon the United Nations to create a Jewish state. The land they chose was the British protectorate of Palestine, which the Jewish people called *Eretz Yisrael*, meaning ‘the land of Israel’.¹³

Until 1947, Palestine had been under British mandate. But in November 1947 the UN voted to partition Palestine into two states—with 60 per cent allocated for the Jewish population and 40 per cent for the Arab Palestinians.¹⁴ However, during the 1948–9 Arab-Israeli War, Israel seized most of the Palestinian territories. Jordan intervened and captured the West Bank (which it formally

annexed in 1950). More than 725 000 Palestinians fled to neighbouring countries, particularly Jordan. They lived in refugee camps, many of which had no electricity, sanitation or running water.¹⁵

Almost immediately, the displaced Palestinians formed guerrilla groups to take back their homeland. The soldiers were called *fedayeen*, meaning ‘those who sacrifice themselves’ or ‘freedom fighters’. One group that emerged in the 1950s was called *al-Fatah* or *Fatah*. Founded by Yasser Arafat, Fatah guerrillas launched raids into Israel from Egypt, Syria and Jordan. In 1964 the Arab League created the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in order to fight for a Palestinian state. In 1969 Fatah became the dominant group in the PLO. The King of Jordan, Hussein bin Talal, was deeply concerned about the Israeli response to Fatah raids launched from Jordanian soil, as well as the political instability the PLO was creating within Jordan. In September 1970, the Jordanian army attacked the Palestinian camps and forced the survivors to flee to Lebanon. Taking

SOURCE 10.10

ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBOURS, 1970



its name from the conflict with Jordan, Fatah formed a new group, the Black September Organization (BSO), to carry out revenge attacks on the Jordanian government and to draw attention to the plight of the Palestinian people.¹⁶

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

Essentially, the BSO, Fatah and the PLO held the same broad ideology and were striving for the same goals: the destruction of Israel and the creation of a free and independent Palestinian state. This was outlined in a document issued by the PLO that was first issued in June 1964 and issued in a revised version in 1968.

PALESTINIAN CHARTER OF 1964 (AND 1968)

1. Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people ...
2. Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.
3. The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland ...
9. Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine.
10. Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war.
15. The liberation of Palestine ... is a national duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggressions against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine.
19. The Partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal ... because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Look up and define the term 'Zionist'. Explain why Palestinians might object to the ideology of Zionism.
2. What might the phrase 'commando action' mean in Clause 10?
3. Why might 'armed struggle' be the only available option for achieving their goals, according to the PLO?
4. Explain how Jewish people in Israel might respond to the Palestinian Charter.
5. Evaluate the usefulness of this document in understanding the grievances of the Palestinian people 1945–1968. Refer to a range of potential factors in your response.

Perhaps the most urgent concern for the PLO and Fatah was to make an international issue out of the plight of the Palestinian people living in refugee camps. George Habash, founder of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)—an organisation similar to Fatah, founded in 1967—claimed that, 'For decades world opinion has been neither for nor against the Palestinians. It simply ignored us.'¹⁷ In order to increase international awareness of the Palestinian struggle, and draw sympathy and assistance for their cause, the BSO needed to do something dramatic.

DID YOU KNOW?

The name *Fatah* comes from the initials of the Palestinian Liberation Movement in Arabic—*Harakat al-Tahrir al-Filastin*. It takes the first letter from each word and reverses the order.

SOURCE 10.11

'The Palestinian National Charter,' cited in Yale Law School, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp

▼ Yasser Arafat, founder of Fatah.



THE PFLP

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who founded Fatah?
2. What are two of the aims of the PLO?
3. How had the world responded to the plight of the Palestinians up to 1968?

WORKING WITH MAPS

The history of the Arab–Israeli dispute is a very complicated one. It can be better understood, however, by working with maps that show the changing political borders in the region over time. Locate and print maps of the Middle East for the following years, and annotate them to explain why these changes occurred and their significance: 1914, 1920, 1947, 1949, 1967.

SKILLS: BELIEFS AND VALUES

The Palestinians outlined their grievances, desires and demands in the 1968 Palestinian Charter. As a creative task, write a speech that a member of the PLO might have delivered to the United Nations General Assembly in 1968, expanding upon the ideas of the Charter and explaining why the Palestinian people hold these beliefs and values.

DID YOU KNOW?

Not all Palestinians are Muslims. About 6 per cent, like Fuad al-Shamali (who was quoted earlier), are Christians. While there were a few Palestinian Jews, like Luttf Afif—who led the BSO raid on the Munich Olympic village—almost all Jewish people living in the Middle East today identify as Israeli.

METHODS AND TACTICS

The Black September Organization employed a wide range of terrorist tactics in its efforts to gain greater recognition for the plight of the Palestinians. These included assassination, hijacking, bombings, capturing embassies and posting letter bombs. The first act that the BSO claimed was the assassination of Jordanian prime minister Wasfi al-Tal in Cairo on 28 November 1971. Other terrorist acts included the following:

- February 1972: bombing oil storage tanks in the Netherlands
- May 1972: hijacking a Sabena flight from Brussels to Tel Aviv
- September–October 1972: dozens of letter bombs sent to Israeli officials and diplomats
- October 1972: hijacking a Lufthansa flight
- December 1972: storming the Israeli embassy in Bangkok
- January and March 1973: failed plots to kill Golda Meir, the prime minister of Israel
- March 1973: storming the Saudi embassy in Sudan
- September 1973: two gunmen firing on a crowd at Athens airport.

DID YOU KNOW?

The BSO called the attack on the 1972 Munich Olympics ‘Operation Ikrif and Birim’ after two Palestinian villages that were destroyed by the Israeli army in 1948.

THE MUNICH MASSACRE

By far the most infamous terrorist action undertaken by the Black September Organization was the kidnapping and murder of the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, Germany. The Olympic Games was a natural target for the terrorists—it would ensure maximum media exposure and serve as propaganda for the cause of Palestinian liberation. The athletes were also seen as an ‘easy’ target. As Fuad al-Shamali, one of the Fatah organisers of the attack, claimed: ‘Since we cannot come close to their [Israeli] statesmen, we have to kill artists and sportsmen.’¹⁸

Seeking to eradicate the memory of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, which Hitler had turned into a propaganda spectacle for the Third Reich, the 1972 Munich Olympics were called *Die Heiteren Spiele*, or 'The Cheerful Games'. As a result, security was minimal.¹⁹ At about 4:30am on 5 September 1972, eight BSO terrorists, dressed in tracksuits and carrying weapons in sports bags, jumped the wire fence surrounding the athletes' village and burst into the rooms occupied by the Israeli team. Two athletes were killed while trying to repel the terrorists and another nine were taken hostage. By 5:00am the Munich police had been notified and the hostage crisis had begun.



SOURCE 10.12

The world's media was on hand to cover the hostage crisis at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

The leader of the attack, Luttif Afif, presented the BSO's demands: the release of over 200 PLO prisoners held in Israeli prisons, as well as Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof of the RAF. The BSO also demanded an aircraft to fly the terrorists and their hostages to either Egypt or Morocco. If their demands weren't met, the BSO terrorists would start executing their hostages.²⁰

REACTION AND RESPONSE

There were two separate responses to the Munich Olympics massacre: the West German police during the hostage crisis, and the Israeli government and its security forces in the aftermath. West German officials agreed to the BSO's demands and two helicopters were flown to the Olympic Village to transport the terrorists and their hostages to nearby Fürstenfeldbruck military airfield, where a plane was waiting to take them to Cairo. As the terrorists were inspecting the plane, snipers from the West German police opened fire. The result was a catastrophe. Five terrorists were killed and the other three captured, but all nine hostages died when the terrorists turned their machine guns on them. A police officer was also killed.²¹ In response to this disaster, several Western European nations set up dedicated counter-terrorism teams, such as the GSG-9 in West Germany and GIGN in France, which engaged in several successful counter-terrorism operations over the next few decades.

Determined to avenge the deaths of their athletes, the Israeli government launched Operation Wrath of God. Members of the PLO around the world, whether they had a connection with the Munich Massacre or not, were targeted by agents of Mossad, the Israeli secret service, and assassinated. Mossad used letter bombs, explosives and guns to eliminate their targets. The Israeli army also sent commandos to southern Lebanon to kill senior members of the PLO and Fatah in Operation Spring of Youth.²² Realising that terrorism had not helped bring about the goal of Palestinian liberation, Arafat disbanded the BSO at the end of 1973.

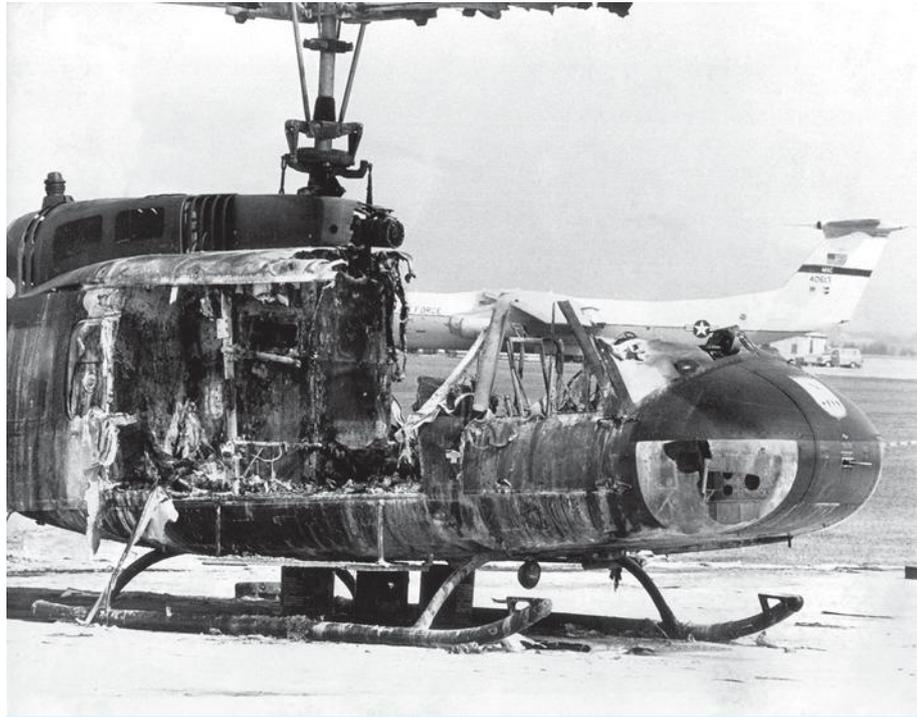


DID YOU KNOW?

The Black September terrorists initially captured thirteen members of the Israeli Olympic team in the early hours of 5 September 1972. In the confusion, however, two members of the team were killed and another two managed to escape—one fleeing through an open window.

➔ SOURCE 10.13

The twisted wreckage of one of the West German police helicopters.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. How many terrorists entered the Olympic village, and how many hostages did they take?
2. What were the demands made by the BSO during the hostage crisis?
3. By referring to Source 10.13, and using your own knowledge, explain the errors made by the West German security forces during the hostage crisis.
4. Evaluate how useful this image is in offering an explanation of the range of government responses to the hostage crisis during the 1972 Munich Olympic Games.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Write a brief report of 300–450 words on the extent to which the BSO and the 1972 Munich Olympic Games massacre generated significant change for the Palestinian people, and how governments dealt with the threat posed by terrorists.

BLACK SEPTEMBER: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

Tactically, the terrorist attack at the Munich Olympics was a complete failure for the BSO. None of the Palestinian prisoners were released, and all the members of the squad were either killed or captured. In addition, the massacre failed to elicit sympathy for the Palestinian cause. In fact, the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause had been irreparably damaged by the carnage and bloodshed on the airfield in Munich.²³

In a broader sense, however, the attack had been a spectacular success. The world could not ignore the grievances of the Palestinian people and their desire for freedom any longer. At least 900 million people around the world watched the hostage crisis unfold on their television screens.²⁴ Thousands of Palestinians rushed to join Fatah and similar groups. Eighteen months after the Munich Games, Arafat was invited to address the United Nations General Assembly and the PLO was granted observer status. While the operation itself might have failed, it gained the Palestinian people the international recognition they so desperately demanded.

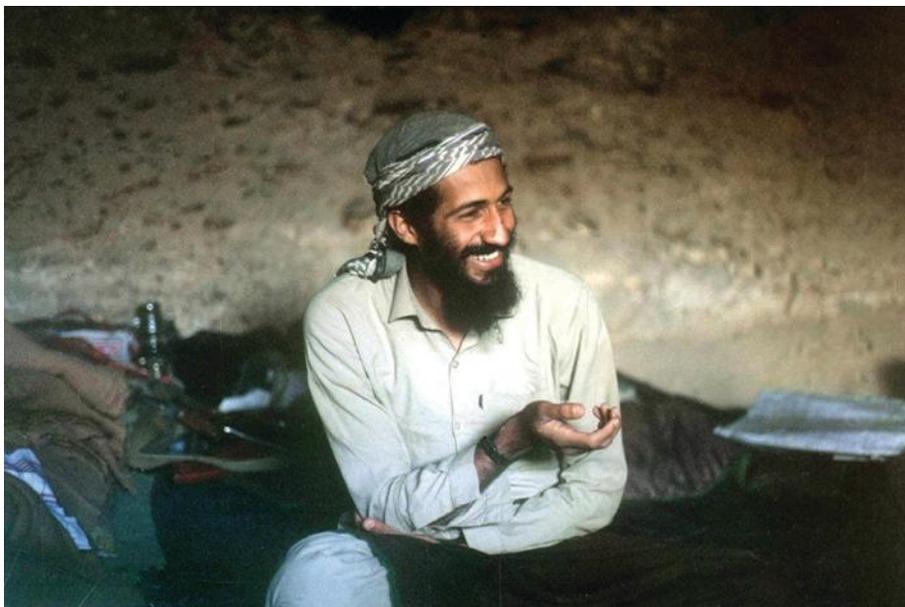
AL-QAEDA

OSAMA BIN LADEN: 'To kill the Americans and their allies ... is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it.'

THE ORIGINS OF AL-QAEDA

Al-Qaeda was founded in mid-1988 by Osama bin Laden. The son of a wealthy Yemeni construction magnate, bin Laden spent his early years in Saudi Arabia. He enjoyed a privileged childhood, with holidays to Europe and Beirut. He spent one summer learning English in a London language school. However, bin Laden started giving up this lifestyle from the mid-1970s. The Lebanese civil war, the Arab defeat in the 1973 Arab–Israeli War, the Arab oil embargo and the assassination of King Faisal, the ruler of Saudi Arabia, all had a profound effect upon bin Laden. The capture of the Grand Mosque of Mecca in November 1979 by 1500 armed radical Islamists impressed bin Laden greatly.²⁵ He started to believe that armed violence was the only way to protect his fundamentalist interpretation of Islam.

Bin Laden found a cause worthy of his religious fervour in December 1979. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in support of the Afghani communist government that was facing a widespread Islamist revolt. Two weeks after the Soviet invasion, bin Laden left Saudi Arabia for Pakistan to assist the *mujahideen* ('holy warriors') who were fighting against the Soviets. Bin Laden raised funds and recruited volunteers from the Arab nations. In 1984 he established a base called *Beit al-Ansar* ('the House of Supporters') in Pakistan where new recruits would come before being sent to training camps in Afghanistan. About 20 000 Arabs answered bin Laden's call for *jihād* ('holy war') against the Soviet Union.²⁶ From the flow of recruits, bin Laden would select individuals who had highly sought-after skills, such as computing, engineering or surgery, to join a new group called al-Qaeda for special training and operations against the Soviets. Its members came from Muslim countries all over the world and formed the nucleus of what would become a global, Islamist terrorist organisation.



DID YOU KNOW?

There is no consistent spelling in the transliteration of Arabic to English, so bin Laden's name has also been written as Usama bin Ladin. Al-Qaeda has been variously spelled as al Qaida and al Qa'ida.



AL-QAEDA

SOURCE 10.14

Saudi-born billionaire Osama bin Laden in a cave in the Jalalabad region of Afghanistan, 1988.



↑ Saddam Hussein.



THE IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

The Soviet Union withdrew its troops from Afghanistan in 1989. The war in Afghanistan had a profound impact on the Muslims who fought in it. They believed that the mujahideen had defeated one of the world's great superpowers. With no reason to stay in Afghanistan, bin Laden returned to Saudi Arabia in late 1989. When Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq, invaded Kuwait in August 1990, bin Laden offered to raise an Islamic army of 100 000 followers to protect Saudi Arabia and fight Hussein. When this was rejected by the Saudi government—which invited American troops into the country instead—bin Laden was incensed. According to bin Laden, it was an affront to all Muslims to have US troops on the same soil as the two holiest places in the Islamic religion: Mecca and Medina. His primary focus was now to defend all Muslims from the military might and cultural influence of the United States.²⁷ Another of al-Qaeda's goals was the destruction of Israel and the restoration of an Arabic–Palestinian state. Finally, bin Laden wanted to create a single state encompassing all Muslims who would live under strict *Sharia* law—that is, a society governed by the strictest, most literal interpretation of the Koran.²⁸

Bin Laden issued two *fatwas* (or religious rulings) in 1996 and 1998 which outlined his criticisms of the United States and their allies. He also called upon Muslims all over the world to do everything they could to destroy Americans and their allies. His second *fatwa* issued a call for jihad to expel their enemies from all countries with significant Muslim majorities.

➔ SOURCE 10.15

Osama bin Laden, 'Bin Laden's second fatwa,' in Vincent Burns and Kate Dempsey Peterson, *Terrorism: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2005), 923.



BIN LADEN'S FIRST FATWA

'BIN LADEN'S SECOND FATWA'

For over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorising its neighbours, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighbouring Muslim people ... All of these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger [Muhammad] and Muslims ... On that basis, and in compliance with Allah's orders, we issue the following *fatwa* to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it ... in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim ... We—with Allah's help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. According to bin Laden, what had the USA done to the lands of Islam?
2. In this fatwa, what does bin Laden order all Muslims to do?
3. By quoting from the source and using your own knowledge, explain the objectives of bin Laden and al-Qaeda.
4. Evaluate the usefulness of this document in helping us understand why Osama bin Laden and other fundamentalist Muslims are so opposed to US policy and culture.

METHODS AND TACTICS

In order to realise their ambitions, al-Qaeda inspired, funded or directly participated in a number of terrorist attacks during the 1990s, aimed at US targets around the world. The attacks typically involved extremely powerful, highly sophisticated explosive devices, many of which were delivered by suicide bombers.

WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING

In the early afternoon of 26 February 1993, a huge bomb exploded in the basement car park underneath the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. Six people were killed in the blast and more than 1000 people injured. While not directly perpetrated by al-Qaeda, the chief bomb-maker, Ramzi Yousef, had been through an al-Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. He received funds from bin Laden and hid in an al-Qaeda base in Pakistan prior to his arrest.²⁹ Osama bin Laden personally praised the terrorists, claiming that they were 'role models' for being determined to 'take the fight to America.'³⁰



DID YOU KNOW?

Fortunately, the terrorists failed to realise their ultimate goal in their 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. They had hoped that the explosion would topple one tower into the other and kill over 250 000 people.

🔍 SOURCE 10.16

First Responders evacuate workers, through snow and falling ice, after the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993.

THE BOMBING OF US EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA

A much deadlier attack was carried out by al-Qaeda agents on 7 August 1998. Bin Laden activated an African cell of al-Qaeda, which targeted the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, where security was minimal. The truck bomb that exploded at the embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, contained 2000 pounds (almost 1000 kg) of TNT and killed over two hundred people. More than 4500 people were wounded, mainly by shards of broken glass. Less than ten minutes later, another truck bomb exploded at the US embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. This second attack killed another eleven people and wounded eighty-five.³¹ The drivers of the two trucks were killed in the blasts while another terrorist, Mohamed Sadeek Odeh, was arrested by Kenyan police at the airport.

🔍 SOURCE 10.17

The US embassy in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, after the 1998 bombing.



THE BOMBING OF THE USS COLE

Suicide bombers were employed again by al-Qaeda in an attack on a US navy destroyer, USS *Cole*, on 12 October 2000. The *Cole* had docked in the Yemeni port of Aden to refuel. While this four-hour procedure was taking place, two al-Qaeda operatives, Hassan al Khamri and Ibrahim al Thawar, steered a small boat packed with explosives into the side of the *Cole*. In the resulting explosion, seventeen US sailors were killed and thirty-nine injured. Unlike the attacks on the World Trade Center in 1993 and the US embassies in 1998, the suicide bombing of the *Cole* was ordered, planned and supervised by bin Laden himself. He considered the attack a great success and ordered a reconstruction of the event be filmed for use in a propaganda and recruitment video to attract young Muslims to al-Qaeda.³²

➔ SOURCE 10.18

The USS *Cole* after the 1998 suicide attack.



ACTIVITIES

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. List the dates and places of three al-Qaeda terrorist attacks.
2. How many people were killed and wounded in the bombings?
3. Explain how al-Qaeda was involved, directly or indirectly, in these attacks.

REPORT WRITING

4. Using three or four points, explain the ideology and ultimate goals of al-Qaeda. Explain your ideas in 300–400 words.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Explain the importance of the war in Afghanistan in the radicalisation of Osama bin Laden and the formation of al-Qaeda as an international terrorist group. Present your ideas in a brief speech to your class.

REACTION AND RESPONSE

The US response to the various terrorist acts perpetrated by al-Qaeda varied in terms of scope, technique and effectiveness. Ramzi Yousef, the bomb-maker in the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center, was arrested by the FBI shortly afterwards when he tried to claim his \$400 deposit on the truck he rented to transport the bomb. When sifting through the rubble, FBI agents discovered a piece of the truck with the serial number. They traced the truck to a specific rental company, sent an undercover agent to work at the company and waited.³³ The response to the US embassy bombings was much more dramatic. President Bill Clinton ordered US naval vessels to fire long-range missiles at suspected al-Qaeda targets in Sudan and Afghanistan. Bin Laden had spent several years in Sudan (1992–1996) where, alongside construction and agricultural projects, he had also established terrorist training camps. In 1998, the USA targeted the al Shifa pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, which they suspected of manufacturing chemicals used in bombs. These strikes, codenamed Operation Infinite Reach, were a failure. Bin Laden was warned hours before the missile strikes and the camps were evacuated; only six al-Qaeda terrorists were killed. The factory in Khartoum was no longer owned by al-Qaeda—it manufactured medicines used in nearby hospitals.³⁴ The al-Qaeda organisation proved to be too well-informed, too flexible and too resilient for the United States to destroy with a few missiles. This might explain why the USA did not respond with military force after the bombing of the USS *Cole*.



↑ President Bill Clinton.



OPERATION INFINITE REACH

AL-QAEDA: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

By 2000, al-Qaeda had achieved some spectacular successes in individual terrorist operations; however, it had not attained its stated goals of creating a unified, fundamentalist Islamic state free from the political, military and cultural influence of the United States and the Western world. Nevertheless, al-Qaeda was playing the long game. Its operatives, bin Laden included, did not expect to realise their grand scheme within a few years—it would take generations.³⁵ Simply by surviving as it waged war against one of the most powerful nations in history meant that al-Qaeda was winning—and while they survived, they could plan and execute further terrorist attacks against the United States and its allies.



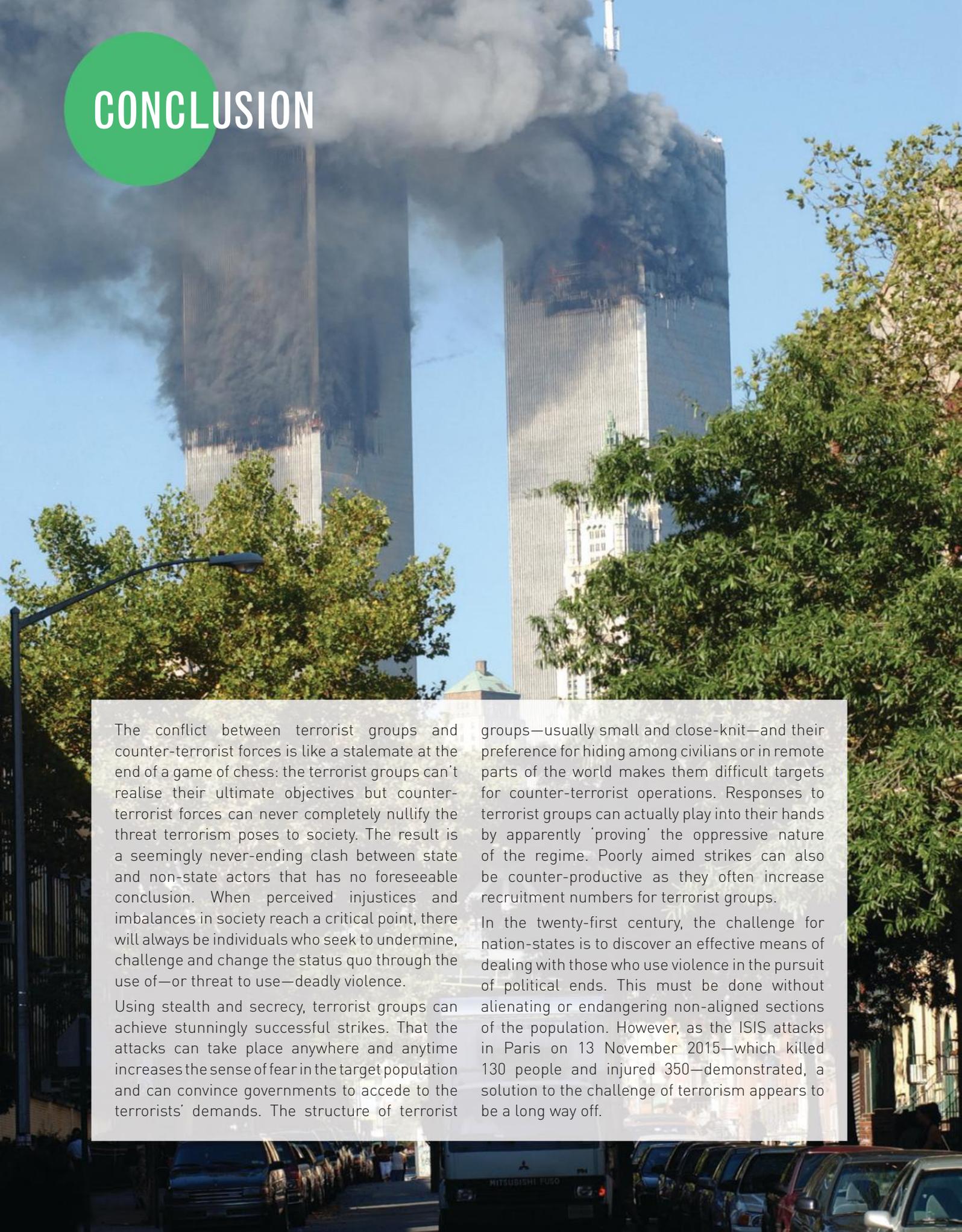
MAP OF THE WORLD

WORKING WITH MAPS

1. In this section on al-Qaeda, various places around the world are mentioned. Download a blank map of the world (see icon in margin) and mark all of the places referred to. For each point, write relevant information on the map such as the date of a significant event that occurred there and whether the place was the location of a terrorist attack, an al-Qaeda base or a US military strike.
2. Use your map, and knowledge gained from wider reading, to respond to the following question: 'In what sense was al-Qaeda a truly international terrorist organisation?' Your response should be 400–600 words in length.

CREATIVE WRITING

You are a press secretary working for the US government in 1998. After it has been revealed that the pharmaceuticals factory in Khartoum was making medicine rather than bombs, President Clinton has asked you to write a brief report for him to read to the media. Write a 200–300 word statement that explains why the United States bombed the factory.



CONCLUSION

The conflict between terrorist groups and counter-terrorist forces is like a stalemate at the end of a game of chess: the terrorist groups can't realise their ultimate objectives but counter-terrorist forces can never completely nullify the threat terrorism poses to society. The result is a seemingly never-ending clash between state and non-state actors that has no foreseeable conclusion. When perceived injustices and imbalances in society reach a critical point, there will always be individuals who seek to undermine, challenge and change the status quo through the use of—or threat to use—deadly violence.

Using stealth and secrecy, terrorist groups can achieve stunningly successful strikes. That the attacks can take place anywhere and anytime increases the sense of fear in the target population and can convince governments to accede to the terrorists' demands. The structure of terrorist

groups—usually small and close-knit—and their preference for hiding among civilians or in remote parts of the world makes them difficult targets for counter-terrorist operations. Responses to terrorist groups can actually play into their hands by apparently 'proving' the oppressive nature of the regime. Poorly aimed strikes can also be counter-productive as they often increase recruitment numbers for terrorist groups.

In the twenty-first century, the challenge for nation-states is to discover an effective means of dealing with those who use violence in the pursuit of political ends. This must be done without alienating or endangering non-aligned sections of the population. However, as the ISIS attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015—which killed 130 people and injured 350—demonstrated, a solution to the challenge of terrorism appears to be a long way off.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Using the information presented in this chapter, create a series of mind-maps or flow charts that visually demonstrate the origins, tactics and counter-terrorist operations employed by the RAF, the BSO and al-Qaeda. Include primary source quotes or images for each event.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

1. Explain how terrorism took on an international aspect in the second half of the twentieth century.
2. Explain how terrorist groups use acts of violence to communicate their cause.
3. Explain the measures employed by states in their attempts to deal with and defeat terrorist organisations.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- Terrorist groups chiefly arise because of the existence of injustice and inequalities in the world. To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your response.
- Terrorist groups rarely, if ever, achieve their ultimate goals. To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your response.
- Counter-terrorism operations are not only futile, they are counter-productive. We might as well just learn to live with terrorism. To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your response.

EXTENSION



FILM TASK

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 10

FURTHER READING

Stefan Aust, *The Baader-Meinhof Complex*, trans. Anthea Bell, (London: The Bodley Head, 2008).

This comprehensive book covers the formation, development and decline of the Red Army Faction. The author worked with Ulrike Meinhof as a journalist for *konkret* magazine in the 1960s so he brings a uniquely informed perspective. Aust focuses particularly on the widespread popularity that the terrorists enjoyed in West Germany during the 1970s due to their 'rock star' appeal. The book served as the basis for the 2008 film of the same name.

Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage* (London: HarperPress, 2008).

Burleigh takes the interesting approach of looking at terrorism and terrorist acts as a series of choices made by individuals in order to bring about 'transformative chaos.' He also analyses terrorism as a career, a culture and a way of life

adopted by outsiders. Burleigh seeks to deglamourise terrorists by portraying them as criminals who are both deadly and deeply flawed characters.

Cindy Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003).

This book explores the political aspects of the demands of terrorists. It then looks at a variety of case studies as it examines the origins and tactics of terrorist organisations, as well as the methods used by states as they struggle to nullify or destroy them. A particular focus is given to role played by the media as a tool to both propagandise and criticise terrorists and their actions.

Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Hoffman's rather academic but highly useful book on terrorism explores

the difficulties associated with defining the term. He also explains the development of the use of terror against states and governments over the centuries. Hoffman's discussions on the Palestinian issue and the motives behind religious terror and suicide bombers are particularly insightful and informative.

Simon Reeve, *One Day in September* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2006).

This is a gripping and detailed account of the terrorist attack on the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics and the Israeli government's determination to exact revenge. The author interviewed many of the surviving participants and quotes them extensively throughout his book. The ease with which the Black September terrorists entered the Olympic village is chillingly narrated in this book.



ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

Timelines

Endnotes

List of web resources

Index

[Access online: Glossary, Who's Who]

TIMELINE / 1945–2000

	BEFORE 1945	1945	1946	1947
EUROPE		<p>8 MAY Victory in Europe Day (VE Day)</p> <p>17 JULY–2 AUG Potsdam Conference divides Germany and Berlin into four zones</p> <p>11 NOVEMBER Josip Tito and his National Front party win elections in Yugoslavia</p>	<p>29 JULY– 15 OCT Paris Peace Conference drafts peace treaties with other European Axis Powers</p> <p>19 NOVEMBER Communists gain 80 per cent of the vote in Romania</p>	<p>19 JANUARY Poland becomes communist</p> <p>AUGUST Communists in Hungary take over the government and ban other political parties</p>
USSR		<p>18 NOVEMBER Communists win elections in Bulgaria</p> <p>4–11 FEBRUARY Yalta Conference</p> <p>26 JUNE United Nations Charter signed</p>	<p>9 FEBRUARY Stalin's 'Two Hostile Camps' speech</p> <p>22 FEBRUARY Kennan's 'Long Telegram'</p>	
USA		<p>12 APRIL Roosevelt dies</p> <p>Truman becomes US president </p>	<p>5 MARCH Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech</p>	<p>12 MARCH Truman Doctrine announced</p> <p>5 JUNE Marshall Plan announced</p>
ASIA / PACIFIC	<p>21 AUG 1943 Australia elects first women to federal parliament</p>	<p>FEBRUARY Yalta Agreement divides Korea along 38th parallel</p> <p>6 & 9 AUGUST Atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan</p> <p>14 AUGUST Victory in Japan Day (VJ Day)</p> <p>2 SEPTEMBER Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam independent and begins armed struggle against the French</p>	<p>23 NOVEMBER Vietnam: The Haiphong incident</p>	
OTHER	<p>LATE 1800s Zionists call for Jewish homeland, possibly in Palestine</p> <p>MAY 1916 Secret Sykes–Picot Agreement undermines promise of Arab homeland</p> <p>NOV 1917 Britain's Balfour Declaration favours Jewish state in Palestine</p> <p>1920–23 League of Nations gives Britain mandate over Palestine</p> <p>1939–45 Holocaust prompts further Zionist efforts</p>			<p>29 NOVEMBER UN partition of Palestine; Palestinians reject this</p>

25 FEBRUARY

Communists seize power in Czechoslovakia



24 JUNE 1948–12 MAY 1949

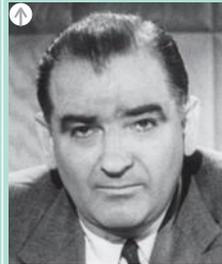
Berlin Blockade and Airlift

10 DECEMBER

United Nations General Assembly proclaims the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

9 FEBRUARY

McCarthy gives speech about communists within the US government



1 NOVEMBER

The United States detonates the first hydrogen bomb



4 NOVEMBER

Eisenhower elected president of the United States

4 APRIL

NATO established

1948

1949

1950

1951

1952

15 AUGUST

Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Republic of Korea (South Korea) established

SEPT/OCT

Mao Zedong's communists seize power and establish the People's Republic of China

France reinstates Emperor Bao Dai to placate the Viet Minh in Vietnam

Mao Zedong's Chinese forces begin training and supplying North Vietnamese forces

APRIL

Australian Peace Congress, Melbourne

MAY

US funding provided to support the French, to limit the spread of communism in Vietnam

25 JUNE

Communist North Korea invades South Korea, beginning Korean War

27 JUNE

UN passes resolution establishing a Joint Command Force in the Korean War

NOVEMBER

Chinese troops invade North Korea

9 APRIL

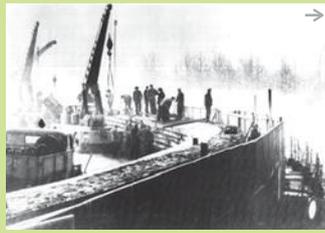
Deir Yassin massacre in the First Arab–Israeli War

15 MAY

State of Israel declared

TIMELINE / 1945–2000

EUROPE						<p>28 JUNE Poznań Riots in Poland</p> <p>OCTOBER Władysław Gomułka becomes leader of Poland</p> <p>Hungarian Uprising</p>	
USSR	 <p>5 MARCH Stalin dies</p>	<p>17 MAY <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka:</i> The Supreme Court unanimously rules that separate public schools for blacks and whites are unconstitutional</p>	<p>14 MAY Warsaw Pact established</p>	<p>25 FEBRUARY Khrushchev makes his 'secret speech' denouncing Stalin</p>	<p>5 OCTOBER Soviet Union launches <i>Sputnik 1</i></p> 		
USA							<p>14 FEBRUARY Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is founded, with Dr Martin Luther King Jr as its president</p>
<p>1953 1954 1955 1956 1957</p>							
ASIA / PACIFIC	<p>27 JULY Armistice signed and the border between North and South Korea is fixed close to 38th parallel</p>	<p>21 JULY Geneva Agreements reached: Vietnam is partitioned along the 17th parallel into North Vietnam and South Vietnam</p>	<p>JUNE Ngo Dinh Diem becomes prime minister of South Vietnam</p> 				
OTHER						<p>OCTOBER Suez Canal Crisis</p>	



AUGUST
Khrushchev orders the construction of the Berlin Wall

5 AUGUST
The Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty signed by the USA, USSR and UK

MARCH
The Jupiter missiles are removed from Turkey

12 APRIL
Yuri Gagarin becomes the first person in space

10 JUNE
Kennedy delivers his 'Peace' speech

20 JUNE
A 'hotline' established between the USA and the USSR

26 JUNE
Kennedy delivers his 'Ich bin ein Berliner' speech

28 AUGUST
200 000 people march on Washington protesting against racial discrimination

22 NOVEMBER
Kennedy assassinated

23 NOVEMBER
Lyndon B. Johnson becomes US president

1 FEBRUARY
Lunch counter protests begin

5 DECEMBER
Boynton v. Virginia finds racial segregation on public transport to be illegal

20 JANUARY
John F. Kennedy becomes US president

MAY
Freedom Rides, sponsored by SNCC and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)

1958

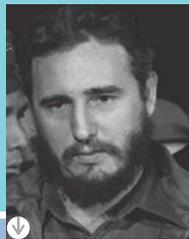
1959

1960

1961

1962

1963



1 JANUARY
Fidel Castro seizes power in Cuba

JULY
Castro demands that US petrol companies in Cuba refine Russian oil
Castro nationalises all US companies in Cuba

17-19 APRIL
The Bay of Pigs invasion

JULY
Australia enters the Vietnam War by sending military advisers to South Vietnam

6 SEPTEMBER
Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland is created to protect the Great Barrier Reef

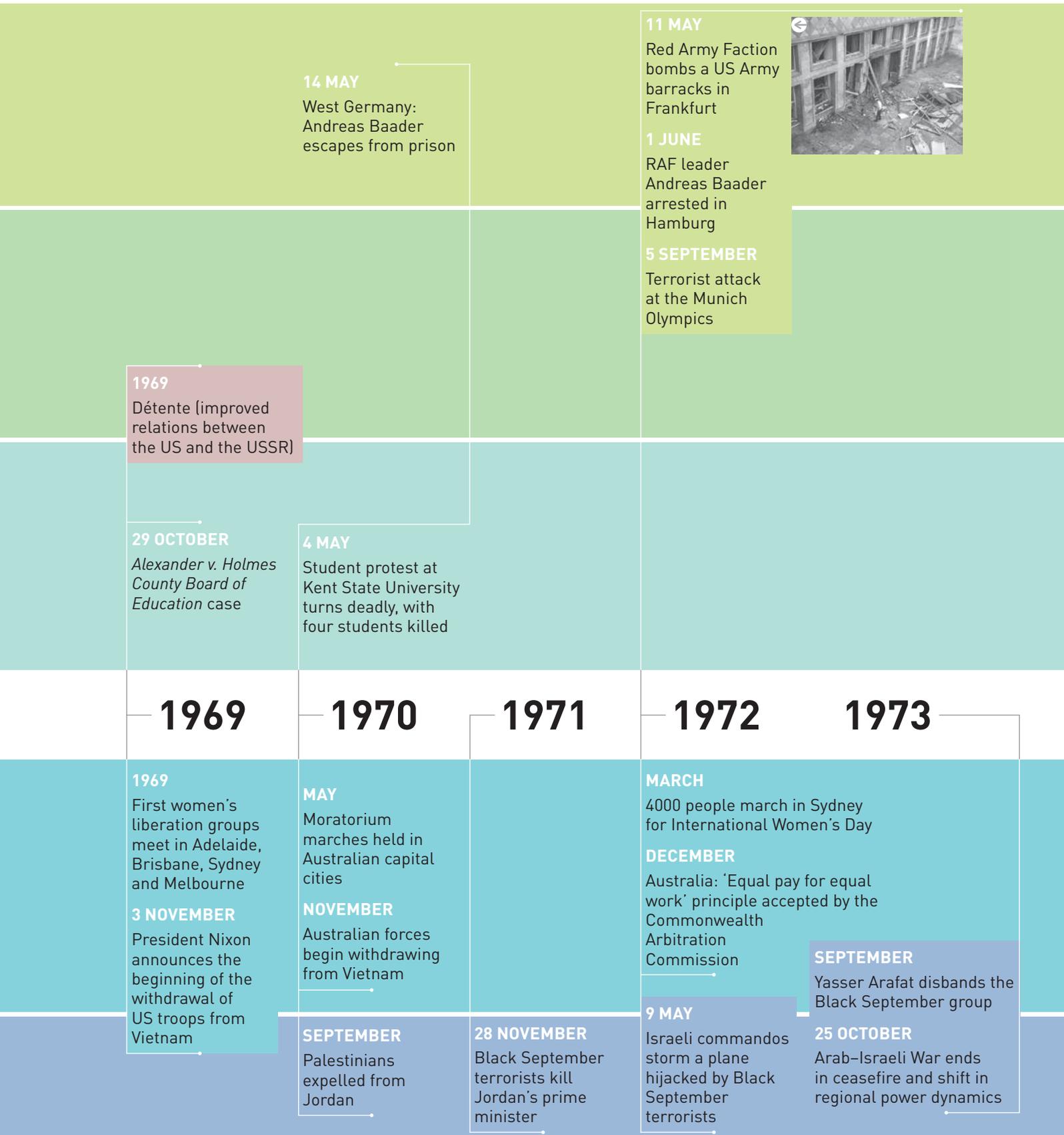
2 NOVEMBER
Diem assassinated



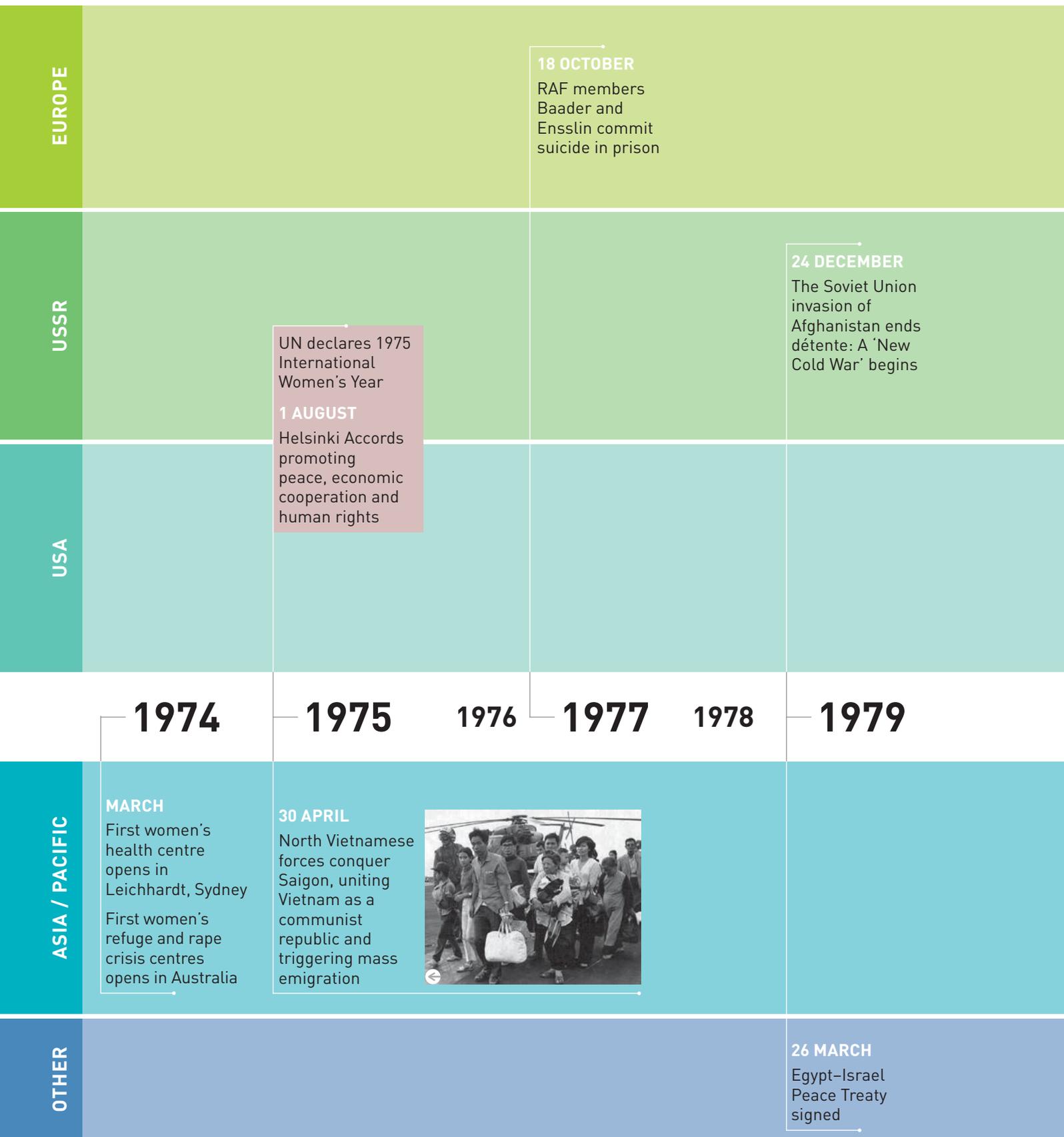
MAY
Khrushchev installs missiles in Cuba
14 OCTOBER
Russian missiles in Cuba discovered by the US
16-28 OCTOBER
Cuban Missile Crisis

TIMELINE / 1945–2000

EUROPE	<p>JANUARY Alexander Dubček becomes leader in Czechoslovakia and begins 'the Prague Spring'</p> <p>2 APRIL Red Army Faction firebomb a Frankfurt department store</p>					
USSR	<p>14 OCTOBER Khrushchev 'voluntarily' resigns Brezhnev becomes leader of the USSR</p>		<p>AUGUST Soviet-led Warsaw Pact forces invade Czechoslovakia, ending the Prague Spring</p>			
USA	<p>2 JULY <i>Civil Rights Bill</i> is signed into law</p>	<p>21 FEBRUARY Malcolm X assassinated</p>	<p>15 OCTOBER Black Panthers Party founded</p>	 <p>Anti-Vietnam War protests and marches across America</p> <p>4 APRIL Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated</p>		
<p>1964 1965 1966 1967 1968</p>						
ASIA / PACIFIC	<p>AUGUST The Gulf of Tonkin incident</p> <p>24 NOVEMBER Conscription introduced in Australia via <i>The National Service Act 1964</i></p>	<p>MARCH First US combat troops arrive in Vietnam</p> <p>29 APRIL Australia announces it will send troops to the Vietnam War</p> <p>MAY Save our Sons (SOS) group is created in Sydney, Australia</p>	<p>18 AUGUST Vietnam: Australian soldiers involved in the Battle of Long Tan</p> <p>29 OCTOBER Australia: Ban on married women being employed in the Commonwealth Public Service is abolished</p>	<p>Vietnam:</p> <p>31 JANUARY Vietcong forces launch the Tet Offensive</p> <p>16 MARCH My Lai Massacre</p> <p>10 MAY Peace talks begin</p>		
OTHER	<p>Founding of Palestine Liberation Organization</p> <p>JUNE Palestinian National Charter issued</p>		<p>5 JUNE Israel captures land in Arab–Israeli War (Six-Day War)</p>			



TIMELINE / 1945–2000



17 SEPTEMBER

Strikes in Poland force the government to allow the establishment of a free trade union, Solidarity



12 NOVEMBER

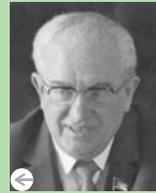
Poland's Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, is freed after eleven months in jail

10 NOVEMBER

Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev dies

12 NOVEMBER

Yuri Andropov becomes leader of the Soviet Union



9 FEBRUARY

Soviet leader Andropov dies in office and is replaced by Konstantin Chernenko

JULY

The United States and other Western nations boycott the Moscow Olympic Games

JULY

The USSR and Eastern Bloc countries boycott the Los Angeles Olympic Games

29 JUNE

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) talks begin between the USA and the USSR

23 MARCH

Reagan proposes the US Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), known as 'Star Wars'

4 NOVEMBER

Ronald Reagan elected US president

1980

1981

1982

1983

1984

1980s

Palm Sunday anti-nuclear protests in cities across Australia

MAY

Australian federal government passes the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984*

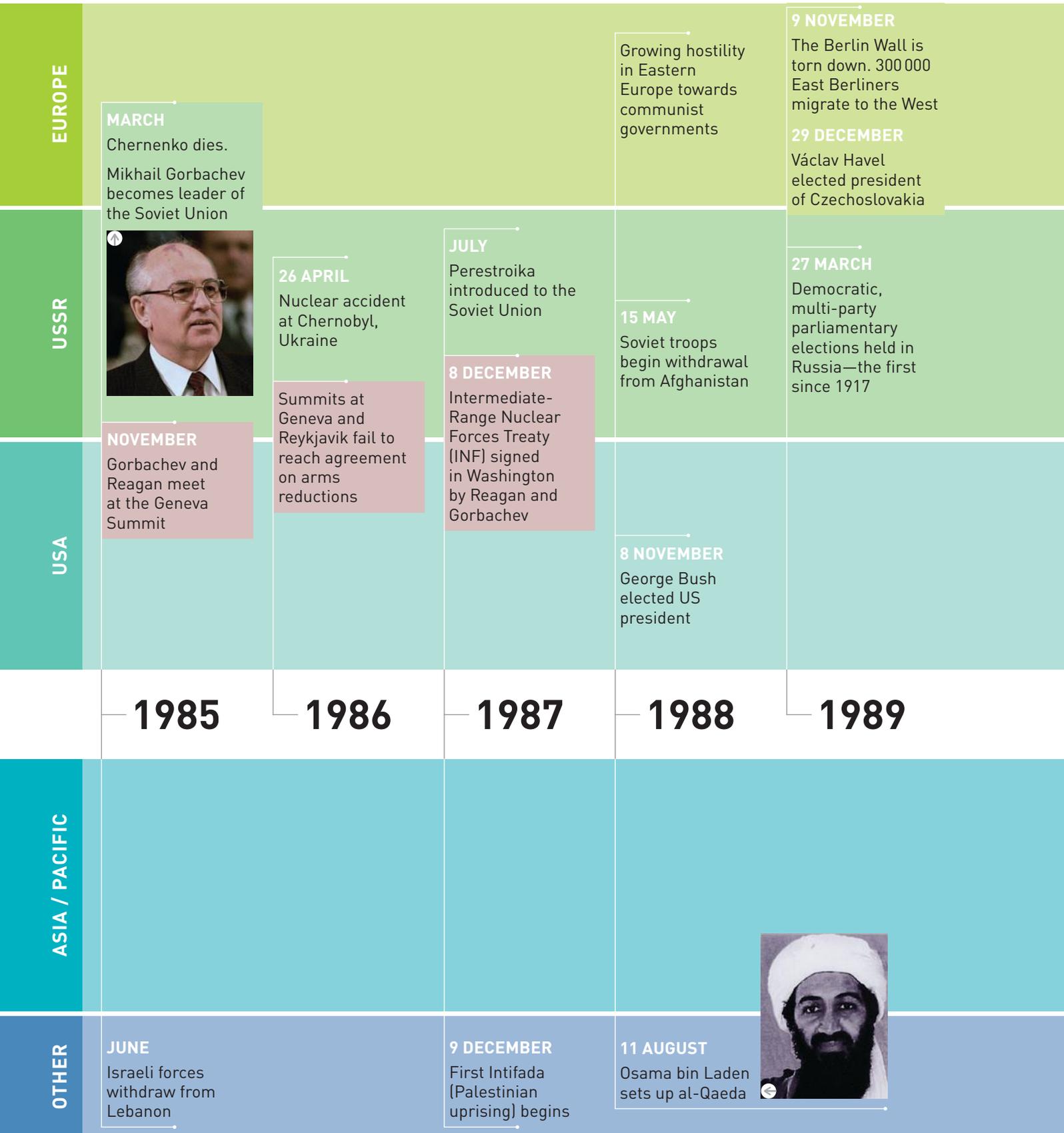
DECEMBER

Equal Opportunity Act passed in South Australia and Western Australia

13 JUNE

Seige of Beirut

TIMELINE / 1945–2000



JANUARY 1990

Romania bans the Communist Party

9 DECEMBER 1990

Lech Walesa becomes president of newly democratic Poland



20 APRIL 1998

Red Army Faction announces that it is disbanding

11 MARCH 1990

Lithuania declares itself independent from the USSR

1990

Soviet troops leave Czechoslovakia

1991

The Warsaw Pact ends. Collapse of the Soviet Union and the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

31 JULY 1991

Gorbachev and Bush sign the START Treaty

26 FEBRUARY 1993

Bombing of the World Trade Center, New York

1990-1995

1996-1999

2000



2 AUGUST 1990

Saddam Hussein invades Kuwait

1993, 1995

Oslo Accords: peace process based on Palestinian self-determination

AUGUST 1996

Osama bin Laden issues first fatwa

23 FEBRUARY 1998

Osama bin Laden issues second fatwa

7 AUGUST 1998

Bombing of US embassies in East Africa

28 SEPTEMBER

Second Intifada begins

12 OCTOBER

Al-Qaeda attack on the USS Cole in Aden

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