



BEN WALSH

AQA

**GCSE Modern World
History**

Third Edition

BEN WALSH

AQA

**GCSE Modern World
History**

Third Edition

The Publishers would like to thank the following for permission to reproduce copyright material:

Photo credits: Please see pages 373–74 – Acknowledgements.

Acknowledgements: **Victoria J. Barnett:** extract from 'The Role of the Churches: Compliance and Confrontation' from *Dimensions*, Vol. 12, No 2 (1998); **Laszlo Beke:** extracts from *A Student's Diary: Budapest October 16–November 1, 1956* (Hutchinson, 1957); **Viscount Cecil of Chelwood:** extract from a letter by Robert Cecil from *The Times* (March, 1911); **Chris Corin and Terry Fiehn:** extract from *Communist Russia Under Lenin and Stalin* (Hodder Murray, 2002); **Countee Cullen:** 'For A Lady I Know' from *On These I Stand: An Anthology of the Best Poems of Countee Cullen* (Harper and Bros., 1947); **Arthur Divine:** extract from *The Nine Days of Dunkirk* (W.W. Norton, 1959); **Ben Elton and Richard Curtis:** extract from *Blackadder Goes Forth* (BBC One, 1989); **Adolf Hitler:** extracts from *Mein Kampf*, translated by Ralph Manheim (Hutchinson, 1969); **Richard Holmes:** extract from *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front* (HarperCollins, 2004); **Victor Klemperer:** diary entries from *I Shall Bear Witness: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1931–41*, Vol. 1 (Phoenix, 1999); **Tom Lehrer:** 'Gather 'round while I sing you of Wernher von Braun ...'; **Margaret Macmillan:** extracts from *Peacemakers: Six Months That Changed the World* (John Murray, 2003); **Craig Mair:** extract from *Britain at War* (John Murray, 1982); **Henrik Metelmann:** extracts from *Through Hell for Hitler* (Spellmount Publishers, 2002); **Clara Milburn:** extracts from *Mrs Milburn's Diaries: An Englishwoman's Day to Day Reflections 1939–45* (HarperCollins, 1981); **Bao Ninh:** extract from *The Sorrow of War* (Vintage, 1994); **Robert Service:** extracts from *A History of Modern Russia: From Nicholas II to Putin* (Penguin Books, 2003); **Alexander Solzhenitsyn:** extract from *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (Penguin Modern Classics, 2000); **The Daily Mirror:** extract from an article on Cuba from the *Daily Mirror* (23 October 1962); **The Independent:** report on Afghanistan from the *Independent* (February 1987); **Anne Valery:** extracts from *Talking About the War* (Michael Joseph, 1991).

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the Publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

Although every effort has been made to ensure that website addresses are correct at time of going to press, Hodder Education cannot be held responsible for the content of any website mentioned in this book. It is sometimes possible to find a relocated web page by typing in the address of the home page for a website in the URL window of your browser.

Hachette UK's policy is to use papers that are natural, renewable and recyclable products and made from wood grown in sustainable forests. The logging and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

Orders: please contact Bookpoint Ltd, 130 Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4SB. Telephone: (44) 01235 827720. Fax: (44) 01235 400454. Lines are open 9.00–5.00, Monday to Saturday, with a 24-hour message answering service. Visit our website at www.hoddereducation.co.uk

© Ben Walsh 1996, 2001, 2009

First published in 1996 by
Hodder Education,
An Hachette UK Company
338 Euston Road
London NW1 3BH

Second edition published in 2001

This third edition published in 2009

Impression number 5 4 3 2 1

Year 2013 2012 2011 2010 2009

All rights reserved. Apart from any use permitted under UK copyright law, no part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or held within any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher or under licence from the Copyright Licensing Agency Limited. Further details of such licences (for reprographic reproduction) may be obtained from the Copyright Licensing Agency Limited, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Cover photo *Front cover:* President Nixon with helmeted soldiers, 1969, © Bettmann/Corbis; *Back cover:* Helmeted British soldiers in France practice their attack as they hurdle a trench, May 1916, © Paul Popper/Popperfoto/Getty Images; World War II air raid shelter, a tent like structure made of reinforced steel, July 1940, © Popperfoto/Getty Images; Russian leader, Josef Stalin, circa 1945, © Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

Illustrations by Oxford Designers and Illustrators Ltd

Typeset in Garamond Light Condensed 10.5pt by 2idesign Ltd

Printed in Italy

A catalogue record for this title is available from the British Library.

ISBN: 978 0340 981818

Other titles in the series:

- *AQA GCSE Modern World History Teacher's Resource Book* (with CD) 978 0340 986691
- *GCSE Modern World History CD-ROM 1 International Relations 1900–2005 Dynamic Learning Network Edition* 978 0340 990490
- *GCSE Modern World History CD-ROM 2 Modern World Depth Studies Dynamic Learning Network Edition* 978 0340 990506
- *GCSE Modern World History CD-ROM 3 Twentieth Century British History Dynamic Learning Network Edition* 978 0340 990513
- A new edition of the *GCSE Modern World History Revision Guide* will also be available.

Some figures in the printed version of this book are not available for inclusion in the eBook for copyright reasons.

Contents

Exam focus: How this book helps you with your exam

iv

Unit 1

International Relations: Conflict and Peace in the Twentieth Century

i

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | The origins of the First World War | 2 |
| 2 | Peacemaking, 1918–1919, and the League of Nations | 14 |
| 3 | Hitler's foreign policy and the origins of the Second World War | 39 |
| 4 | The origins of the Cold War, 1945–1955 | 62 |
| 5 | Development of the Cold War, 1955–1970 | 90 |
| 6 | Failure of Détente and the collapse of Communism, 1970–1991 | 114 |
| | Exam focus for Unit 1 | 132 |

Unit 2

Twentieth-Century Depth Studies

135

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 7 | Russia and the USSR, 1914–1941 | 136 |
| 7.1 | How did the Bolsheviks take control and keep power? | 136 |
| 7.2 | Stalin's dictatorship in the USSR, 1924–1941 | 162 |
| 8 | Germany, 1918–1939 | 174 |
| 8.1 | The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis | 174 |
| 8.2 | Hitler's Germany, 1929–1939 | 191 |
| 9 | The USA, 1914–1941 | 215 |
| 9.1 | The USA in the 1920s | 215 |
| 9.2 | The Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1941 | 240 |
| 10 | The USA and Vietnam: Failure abroad and at home, 1964–1975 | 254 |
| | Exam focus for Unit 2 | 272 |

Unit 3

Historical Enquiry

275

- | | | |
|----|---|-----|
| 11 | The British people at war | 276 |
| 12 | Britain at war | 310 |
| 13 | The changing role and status of women in Britain since 1900 | 340 |
| | Exam focus for Unit 3 | 370 |

Acknowledgements

373

Index

375

How this book helps you with your exam

What worries most candidates when they take the AQA Modern World History exam?

I'm worried that I will forget everything in the exam and dry up.

The author text helps you to **understand and investigate** issues and to establish important links and relationships between events. This is important in the AQA exams which don't only ask you to describe or explain events. They also ask you to make connections, express your own opinions, to investigate issues and to draw your own conclusions from the history you study.

We try to make it memorable.

Wherever we can we tell the story through the actions or views of real people. We try to describe and explain big concepts and ideas in terms of what they might have meant to individuals living through those events at the time.

There are lots of brilliant sources.

History is at its best when you can see what people said, did, wrote, sang, watched on film, laughed about, cried over and got upset about (and a few other things as well!). You'll see a lot of cartoons like this one, but many other types of sources as well. AQA exam questions usually ask you to analyse historical sources, so we give you lots of help to do that effectively.

The book is packed with **hard facts and examples** which support the points that are made – no vague generalisations. In AQA papers the examiners like this. For example, in a question on the Versailles Treaty a statement like 'French leader Clemenceau hoped to cripple Germany' is correct but it's vague – it's a low level answer (probably a D grade). Add some facts and figures like these in the Factfile and you'll go up a grade or two.

We use lots of **diagrams**. AQA candidates over many years have told us that they like the way these diagrams help them to understand important events.

Candidates most worry about not knowing enough, and it's true that the AQA Modern World History course has a lot of history to take in. To tackle the questions in the AQA exam you need to have a good knowledge of the main events and you also need to use facts and figures to show the examiner you know your stuff. So you will be glad this book is written by an experienced teacher and examiner who knows what you need and also what you find hard.

This book tells you *what you need to know*

It thoroughly covers the AQA Modern World History specification – the key issues are all addressed. But we don't just cover it by droning on about one event after another.

If you had been a 16-year-old Aryan living in Nazi Germany you would probably have been a strong supporter of Adolf Hitler. The Nazis had reorganised every aspect of the school curriculum to make children loyal to them.

At school you would have learned about . . .

SOURCE 3

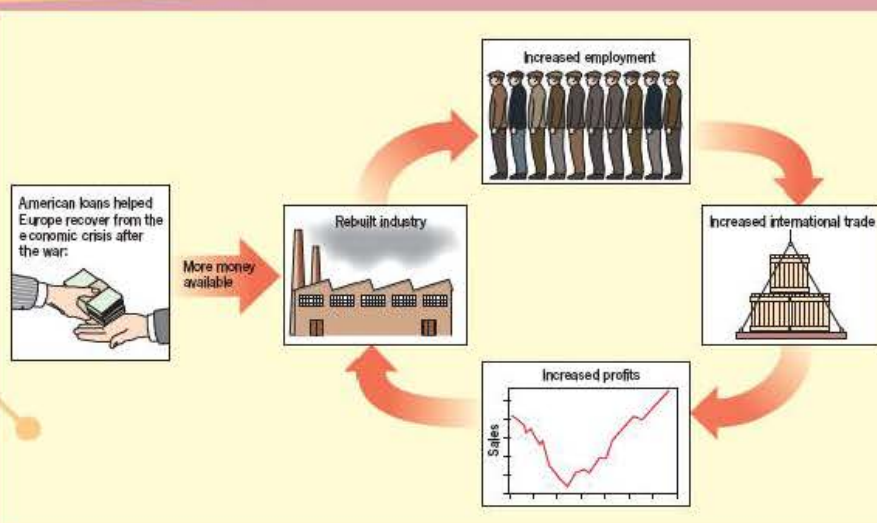


A cartoon by David Low from the *London Evening Standard*, 1936. This was a popular newspaper with a large readership in Britain.

Factfile

The terms of the Treaty were announced on 7 May to a horrified German nation. Germany was to lose:

- 10 per cent of its land.
- All of its overseas colonies.
- 12.5 per cent of its population.
- 16 per cent of its coalfields and almost half of its iron and steel industry.
- Its army was reduced to 100,000 men. It could have no air force, and only a tiny navy.



What worries **most examiners** when they read your answers?

While candidates most worry about drying up, examiners have a different worry. They regularly comment that most candidates know enough, they just don't know how to use it! They often wander off the point of the question and drift into irrelevant answers. We help you with this too.

This person clearly knows enough but they aren't using it!

This book also tells you **how to use what you know**

The main way is the Focus Tasks which you will find throughout this book. These help you to focus your writing on the issues the examiner is interested in. This is not easy – it is not a skill that you will suddenly develop during the examination. You have to practice. The Focus Tasks give you the practice you need. If you have tackled the Focus Tasks you will find your mind is already thinking along the same lines as the examiner. You will be using what you know to consider issues, not just 'learning stuff'. The Focus Tasks either directly tackle each key issue in the specification or they help you break down each key issue into manageable sections.

In the AQA specification one of the specified key historical issues is 'How far did the Weimar Republic recover under Stresemann?'

An example from the Unit 2 study on Weimar Germany, 1919–29 (see page 186)

Focus Task

How far did the Weimar Republic recover after 1923?

Look back to the Focus Tasks on pages 176 and 181 which examined the state of the Weimar Republic in 1918 and 1924. You are now going to look at the state of the republic in 1928.

You have to write or present another report, this time to discuss the view: 'How far has the Weimar Republic recovered?' You will find the information you need on pages 182–86.

You could use the same headings as you used in your 1924 report:

- ◆ Political opposition to Weimar
- ◆ Popular support
- ◆ Economic problems
- ◆ Germany and the wider world

You could also add an additional section about the cultural achievements of the Weimar Republic. Mention failings and achievements in your report. You could give Weimar a mark out of ten for each heading.

Finally, you need to decide on an overall judgement: in your opinion, how far had the Weimar Republic recovered? In your answer, do remember that, in the view of many historians, it was probably a major achievement for the Weimar Republic just to have survived at all.

Summing up German history across this period is not easy. This Focus Task is made easier because in earlier Focus Tasks you have built up the knowledge and understanding you need in manageable sections.

The key skill in this task is selecting and deploying information. First you select information from the text and sources and then you deploy it. AQA Examiners' Reports often say this is a weakness in candidate's answers so we help you:

- The bullet points guide you to the broad areas of content which the examiner wants to see in an answer.
- You then have to decide which points belong under which of the headings – this will force you to get your thinking and your writing organised.

You then have to use the information you have gathered for a purpose. In this case you have to argue how far the Weimar Republic had recovered. This is the kind of thinking which will help you in the examination. There are usually extra marks available for candidates who set out their case clearly and reach a convincing conclusion.

So all the Focus Tasks will be useful preparation for your exam because:

- they tackle the **key issues** on which the exam questions are based
- they develop your ability to **think** about those issues
- they get you **writing** about those issues (and in the AQA exam you can really boost your grade if you write clearly using correct grammar, spelling and punctuation)
- they help you **connect** the different elements of a topic together

Building on that foundation we then give you some more specific advice at the end of each section on the precise exam skills required for each style of question in the AQA examination:

- Paper 1 (pages 132–34)
- Paper 2 (pages 272–74) and
- Controlled Assessment (pages 370–72).

We pull apart some questions to see what the examiner is after and we analyse some good answers which show how to use your Focus Task learning in an examination.

Now on with the course!

Unit 1

International Relations: Conflict and Peace in the Twentieth Century



The origins of the First World War

Focus

The First World War killed millions of people. Ever since 1914 historians have been debating the causes of the war and who was responsible for it.

In Topic 2.1 of this chapter you will:

- ◆ find out why Europe was divided into two armed camps by 1914
- ◆ investigate how and why each country in Europe built up its armies and navies.

In Topic 2.2 you will:

- ◆ study the impact of key individuals and events in the years before 1914
- ◆ make up your mind whether Germany caused the war or whether other countries should share the responsibility.

Murder in Sarajevo

SOURCE 1

Sunday 28 June 1914 was a bright and sunny day in Sarajevo. Sarajevo in Bosnia was preparing for a royal visit from Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria [see Source 2]. Crowds lined the streets and waited for the procession of cars to appear. Hidden among the crowds, however, were six teenage [Bosnian Serb] terrorists sworn to kill the Archduke. They hated him and they hated Austria. They were stationed at intervals along the riverside route which the cars would follow on their way to the Town Hall. They all had bombs and pistols in their pockets, and phials of poison which they had promised to swallow if they were caught, so that they would not give the others away. It seemed as if the plan could not fail. Finally, the cavalcade of four large cars came into sight. The Archduke was in a green open-topped car. He looked every inch a duke, wearing a pale blue uniform, a row of glittering medals and a military hat decorated with green ostrich feathers. Beside him sat his wife Sophie, looking beautiful in a white dress and a broad hat and waving politely to the crowd.

At 10.15 the cars passed Mehmedbasic, the first in line of the waiting killers. He took fright, did nothing, and then escaped. The next assassin, Cabriovic, also lost his nerve and did nothing. But then as the cars passed the Cumurja Bridge, Cabrinovic threw his bomb, swallowed his poison, and jumped into the river. The Archduke saw the bomb coming and threw it off his car, but it exploded under the car behind, injuring several people. Now there was total confusion as the procession accelerated away, fearing more bombs. Meanwhile the police dragged Cabrinovic out of the river. His cyanide was old and had not worked. The Archduke was driven to the Town Hall, where he demanded to be taken to visit the bomb victims in hospital. Fearing more terrorists, the officials decided to take a new route to avoid the crowds, but this was not properly explained to the driver of the Archduke's car. Moreover, no police guard went with the procession.

Meanwhile the other assassins, on hearing the bomb explode, assumed the Archduke was dead and left – all except Princip, who soon discovered the truth. Miserably he wandered across the street towards Schiller's delicatessen and café.

Princip was standing outside the café when, at 10.45, the Archduke's car suddenly appeared beside him and turned into Franz Josef Street. This was a mistake, for according to the new plan the procession should have continued straight along the Appel Quay. As the driver realised he had taken a wrong turn he stopped and started to reverse. Princip could hardly believe his luck. Pulling an automatic pistol from the right-hand pocket of his coat, he fired two shots at a range of just 3 or 4 metres. He could not miss. One bullet pierced the Archduke's neck and the other ricocheted off the car into Sophie's stomach. Fifteen minutes later she died and the Archduke followed soon after.

Princip was immediately seized. He managed to swallow his poison, but it did not work and he was taken off to prison. All the plotters except Mehmedbasic were eventually caught, but only the organiser, Ilic, was hanged, for the others were too young for the death penalty. Princip died in an Austrian jail, however, in April 1918, aged twenty-three.

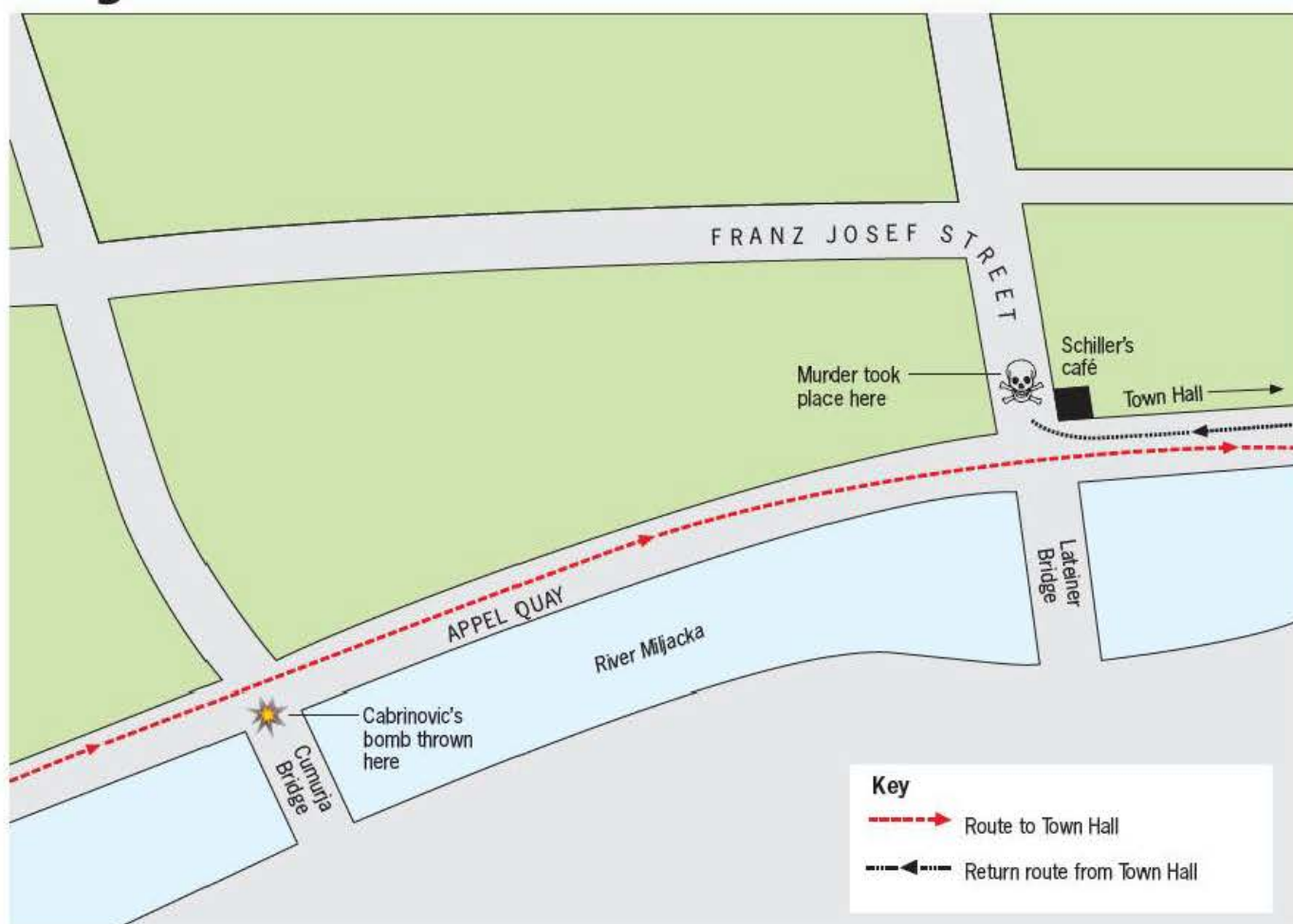
Adapted from *Britain at War* by Craig Mair, 1982.

SOURCE 2



The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie arrive in Sarajevo. The Archduke was heir to the throne of Austria, whose powerful empire covered much of central Europe (see page 4).

SOURCE 3



The route taken by Archduke Franz Ferdinand's car in Sarajevo, 28 June 1914.

At his trial, Princip said: 'I am not a criminal, for I destroyed a bad man. I thought I was right.' Two years later he said that if he had known what was to follow he would never have fired the two fatal shots – but his regret was too late. Within six weeks of the Archduke's assassination, almost all of Europe had been dragged into the bloodiest war in history.

On 23 July: Austria blamed Serbia for the death of Franz Ferdinand and sent it an ultimatum.

On 28 July: Austria declared war on Serbia and shelled its capital, Belgrade.

On 29 July: The Russian army got ready to help Serbia defend itself against the Austrian attack. Germany warned Russia not to help the Serbs.

On 1 August: Germany declared war on Russia. It also began to move its army towards France and Belgium.

On 2 August: The French army was put on a war footing ready to fight any German invasion.

On 3 August: Germany declared war on France and invaded Belgium. Britain ordered Germany to withdraw from Belgium.

On 4 August: With the Germans still in Belgium, Britain declared war on Germany.

On 6 August: Austria declared war on Russia.

To understand **why** the murders in Sarajevo led so quickly to an all-out war involving all the main European powers, we need to find out more about what Europe was like in 1914.

1 There were many moments during 28 June 1914 when events could have turned out differently. Study the account of the murders in Source 1 and list any moments at which a different decision might have saved the lives of the Archduke and his wife.

2 Do you think that if the Archduke had not been shot, the war would not have started? Give your reasons. (These are only your first thoughts. You can revise your opinion later.)

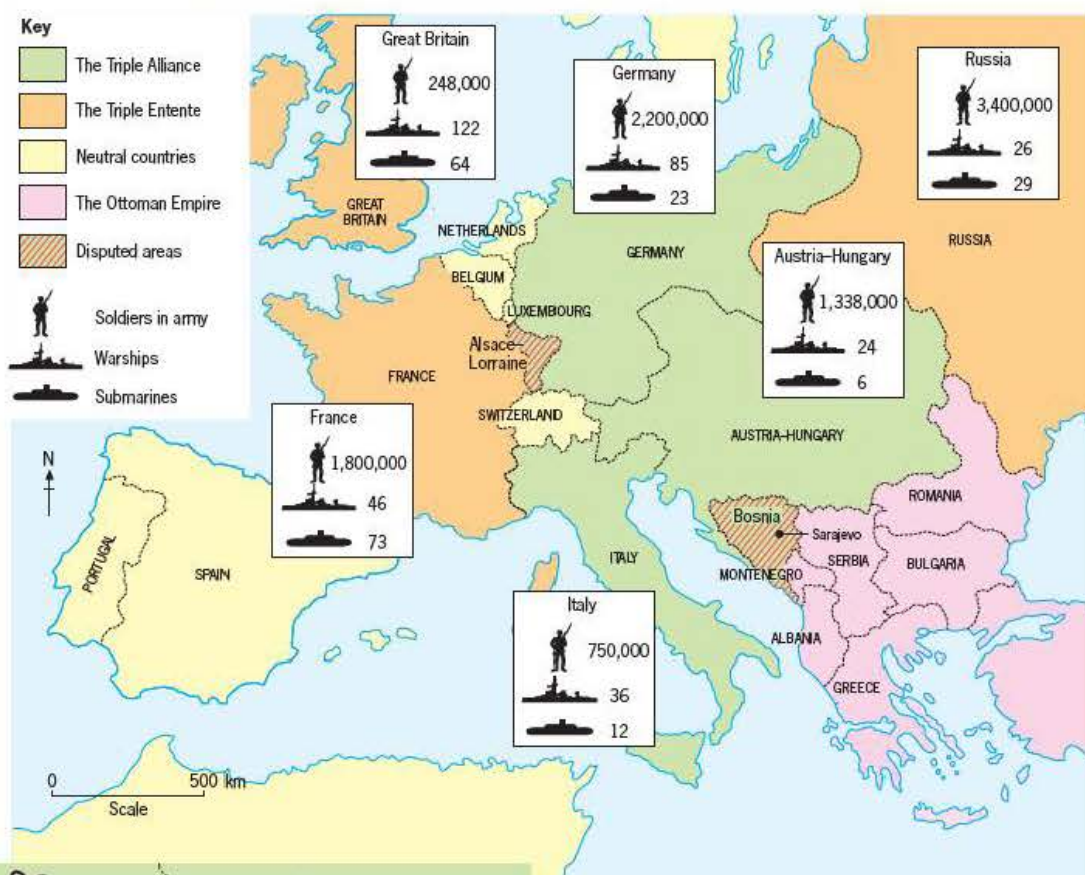
1.1

Why were there two armed camps in Europe in 1914?

Europe, 1914: Two armed camps

In 1914 the six most powerful countries in Europe were divided into two opposing alliances: the Central Powers or Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria–Hungary and Italy), formed in 1882, and the Triple Entente (Britain, France and Russia), formed in 1907. Each country was heavily armed, and each one had reasons for distrusting other countries in Europe.

SOURCE 4



The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, 1914.



SOURCE 5

Austria–Hungary's empire, showing the many different nationalities it contained. The thick dotted line shows the division between the lands administered by the Austrians and those by the Hungarians.



European alliances in 1914.

The Central Powers (or Triple Alliance)

Germany

Before 1870 Germany was a collection of small independent states of which Prussia was the most powerful. In 1870 the Prussian statesman Bismarck won a war against France, after which he united the many German states into a new and powerful German empire. Germany took from France the important industrial area of Alsace–Lorraine and, to guard against a revenge attack from the French, formed an alliance with Austria–Hungary and Italy.

The new Germany was especially successful in industry. By 1914 German industry had overtaken Britain's and was second in the world only to that of the USA.

However, Germany's leaders had greater ambitions, as well as concerns.

- The German Kaiser felt that Germany should be a world power and should have overseas colonies and an empire like France and Britain had (see Source 7). The Germans had established two colonies in Africa, but they wanted more.
- In the 1890s the Kaiser ordered the building of a large navy, which soon became the world's second most powerful fleet. Britain's was the largest and most powerful.
- German leaders were very worried by what they called 'encirclement'. Friendship between Russia to the east and France to the west was seen as an attempt to 'surround' and threaten Germany.
- Germany was also concerned by the huge build-up of arms, especially in Russia, and was itself building up a vast army.

Austria–Hungary

Austria–Hungary was a sprawling empire in central Europe. It was made up of people of different ethnic groups: Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs and many others. Each group had its own customs and language. Many of these groups wanted independence from Austria–Hungary.

- In the north the Czech people wanted to rule themselves.
- The Slav people in the south-west (especially the Croats) wanted their own state.
- The Serbs living in the south wanted to be joined to the neighbouring state of Serbia.

By 1914 the main concern of the Emperor of Austria–Hungary was how to keep this fragmented empire together.

Austria–Hungary also faced problems from neighbouring states:

- Its newly independent neighbour Serbia was becoming a powerful force in the Balkans. Austria was very anxious that it should not become any stronger.
- Another neighbour, Russia, supported the Serbs, and had a very strong army.

Italy

Like some of the other European powers, Italy wanted to set up colonies and build up an overseas empire. With this aim in mind, Italy joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. However, there is some evidence that Germany and Austria did not entirely trust their ally. In any case, Italy was not a strong industrial or military power.

The most important aspect of the Triple Alliance was an agreement that each member of the Alliance would support any other member if it was attacked. Although this agreement was secret, it seems likely that Britain, France and Russia knew about it by 1914.

The Triple Entente

Britain

In the nineteenth century Britain had tried not to get involved in European politics. Its attitude became known as 'splendid isolation' as it concentrated on its huge overseas empire (see Source 7). For most of the nineteenth century, Britain had regarded France and Russia as its two most dangerous rivals. However, by the early 1900s the picture had begun to change.

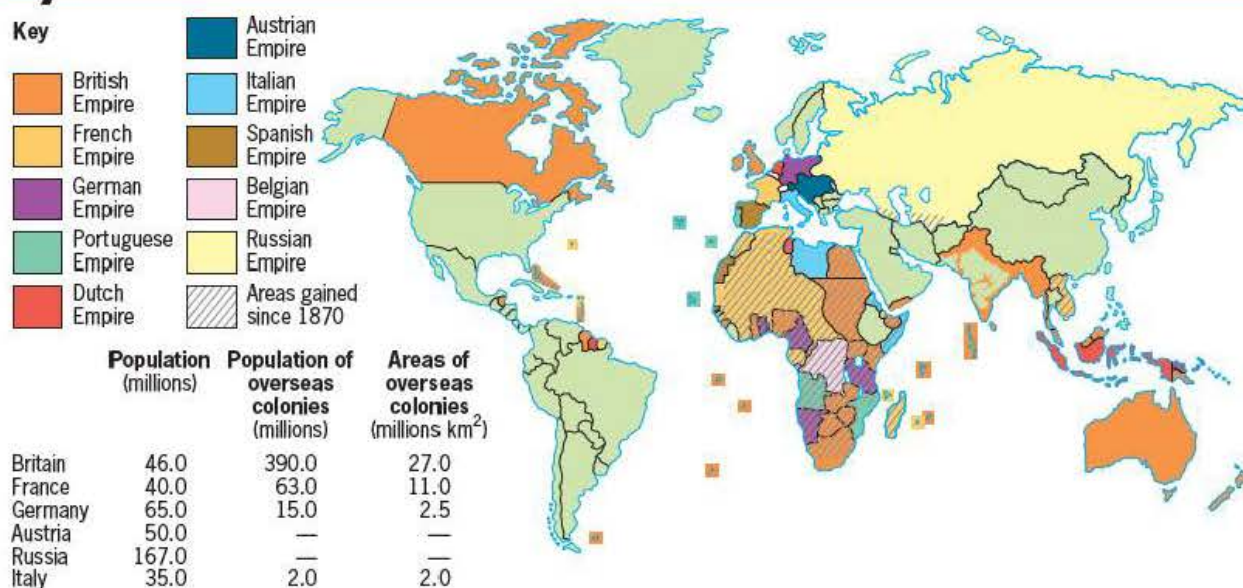
1 Do you think that preserving peace was a priority for Germany, Austria–Hungary or Italy?

There were three main reasons why Britain changed its attitude to Europe:

- France and Britain had reached a number of agreements about colonies in North Africa in 1904.
- Russia was defeated in a war against Japan in 1904. This weakened Russia so that Britain was less concerned about it.
- Above all, Britain was very worried about Germany. The German Kaiser had made it clear that he wanted Germany to have an empire and a strong navy, which Britain saw as a serious threat to its own empire and navy.

Britain began to co-operate more with France and signed an agreement with it in 1904. Britain signed another agreement with Russia in 1907. These agreements did not commit Britain to joining France and Russia if war broke out but it seemed unlikely that Britain would stay out of a war if it did happen.

SOURCE 7



The overseas empires of the European powers in 1914.

France

France had been defeated by Germany in a short war in 1870. Since then, Germany had built up a powerful army and strong industries. It had an ambitious leader in Kaiser Wilhelm. France was worried about the growing power of Germany, so the French had also built up their industries and armies. France had also developed a strong and close friendship with Russia. As far back as 1892 Russia and France had established a secret military alliance. Each side promised to help the other if it was attacked by Germany. The main concerns of France were:

- to protect itself against attack by Germany
- to get back the rich industrial region of Alsace–Lorraine which Germany had taken from it in 1870.

Russia

Russia was by far the largest of all the six powers, but was also the most backward. The country was almost entirely agricultural, although loans from France had helped Russia to develop some industries.

Russia shared France's worries about the growing power of Germany.

It also had a long history of rivalry with Austria–Hungary. This was one reason why Russia was so friendly with Serbia. Another reason was that both Russians and Serbs were Slavs. Many other Slavs lived in Austria–Hungary's empire. Russia felt it should have influence over them.

Russia lost a war with Japan in 1905. There was then a revolution against the ruler, Tsar Nicholas II. He survived, but he knew Russia could not afford to lose in any other conflict. The Russians began to build up a large army in case of emergencies in the future.

1 Do you think that preserving peace was a priority for Britain, France or Russia?

The balance of power?

Was the Alliance system a stupid mistake? The writers of Source 8 thought so. As Europe slid towards war in July 1914 the American commentator in Source 9 also thought so.

SOURCE 8

Captain Blackadder: You see, Baldrick, in order to prevent war in Europe, two superblocs developed: us, the French and the Russians on one side, and the Germans and Austro-Hungary on the other. The idea was to have two vast opposing armies, each acting as the other's deterrent. That way there could never be a war.

Private Baldrick: But, this is a sort of a war, isn't it, sir?

Captain Blackadder: Yes, that's right. You see, there was a tiny flaw in the plan.

Private Baldrick: What was that, sir?

Captain Blackadder: It was garbage.

Extract from the 1989 BBC comedy *Blackadder Goes Forth* in which Captain Blackadder explains why the war began in 1914. We have edited the extract slightly!

SOURCE 9



A modern redrawing of an American cartoon published in the *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 1914. The cartoon was called 'The Chain of Friendship'.

However, Sources 8 and 9 were produced with the benefit of hindsight. At the time it seemed that the Alliances were a logical answer to the issues facing Europe and to some of the tensions between the Great Powers. The system was often described as the 'Balance of Power', and many politicians believed that the size and power of the two Alliances would prevent the other side from starting a war.

- 2 Study Source 9 carefully. The American cartoonist thought the Alliances made war more likely. Explain how he put across this message, referring to details in the source.

Focus Task

Why was Europe divided into two armed camps by 1914?

Imagine it is 1914. An American visitor is staying with you. On the boat across the Atlantic he has been reading in the newspapers about the various Alliances between the European powers. He is struggling to understand the Alliances and generally thinks they are a bad idea. Your task is to explain to him how and why the Alliances have come about and what they were trying to achieve. Work in stages:

- 1 Use the table below to gather your thoughts and ideas.

The Triple Alliance		
Members	Main concerns	Why it made sense to be in this Alliance
Germany		
Austria-Hungary		
Italy		
Triple Entente		
Members	Main concerns	Why it made sense to be in this Alliance
Britain		
France		
Russia		

- 2 Now try and explain the Alliances to your American visitor without looking at your table.

1.2 Why did war break out in 1914?

Profile

Kaiser Wilhelm II



- Born 1861, with a badly withered left arm. Historians also think he suffered slight brain damage at birth, which affected both his hearing and his attention span.
- He did not have a loving family.
- He became Kaiser at the age of 27 when German industry was growing fast and Germany was becoming a world power.
- He was famous for his energy and enthusiasm, but he was also very unpredictable.
- He was keen on military parades and liked to be photographed wearing his military uniform. He appointed military people to most of the important positions in his government.
- He was very ambitious for Germany. He wanted Germany to be recognised as the greatest power in Europe by the older European states.
- He liked physical exercise and practical jokes.
- He was very closely involved in Germany's plans for war.
- When Germany was defeated in 1918 he fled into exile. He died in 1941.

- 1 Why was Britain concerned by Germany's naval plans?
- 2 How did Germany react to Britain's concerns?
- 3 Do you think that either country was acting unreasonably? Give your reasons.

The tension builds, 1900–1914

Kaiser Wilhelm II

You have already seen on page 5 that Germany's leader, Kaiser Wilhelm II, was determined that Germany should play an increasingly important role on the world stage. In the 1960s the German historian Fritz Fischer studied the Kaiser's letters and documents and concluded that he had wanted to replace Britain as the leading power in Europe and hoped to dominate Russia by building up a powerful alliance of countries in central Europe. Not all historians accept this view. Other historians point to the fact that the Kaiser felt Germany was encircled by enemies. However, most historians do agree that the Kaiser's unstable personality (see Profile) and actions increased tension in Europe in the period 1900–14.

SOURCE 1

Germany's foreign policy was based on a desire for growth. Sometimes it was friendly and based on reaching an agreement, at other times it was aggressive, but the final aim was always the expansion of German power and land.

Extract from *Germany's War Aims in the First World War* by the German historian Fritz Fischer, published in 1966.

Anglo-German naval rivalry

One of the Kaiser's most significant actions was to announce his intention to build a powerful navy for Germany.

Britain felt very threatened by this. Germany's navy was much smaller than Britain's but the British navy was spread all over the world, protecting the British Empire. Germany didn't have much of an empire. Why did it need a navy? What was Germany going to do with all of these warships concentrated in the North Sea?

Not surprisingly, Germany did not see things the same way. The Kaiser and his admirals felt that Germany needed a navy to protect its growing trade. They felt that the British were over-reacting to the German naval plans.

Britain was not convinced by what the Germans said. In fact, in 1906 Britain raised the stakes in the naval race by launching HMS *Dreadnought*, the first of a new class of warships. Germany responded by building its own 'Dreadnoughts'. The naval race was well and truly on and both Britain and Germany spent millions on their new ships.

SOURCE 2

There is no comparison between the importance of the German navy to Germany, and the importance of our navy to us. Our navy is to us what their army is to them. To have a strong navy would increase Germany's prestige and influence, but it is not a matter of life and death to them as it is to us.

Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, in a speech to Parliament in 1909.

SOURCE 3

You English are like mad bulls; you see red everywhere! What on earth has come over you, that you should heap on such suspicion? What can I do more? I have always stood up as a friend of England.

Kaiser Wilhelm, speaking in an interview with the *Daily Telegraph* in 1908. The Kaiser liked England and had friends there. He was a cousin of King George V of Britain.

SOURCE 4



HMS Barham, a British 'Dreadnought', with the British fleet in Scapa Flow.

SOURCE 5

The arms race in which all the major powers were involved contributed to the sense that war was bound to come, and soon. Financing it caused serious financial difficulties for all the governments involved in the race; and yet they were convinced there was no way of stopping it.

Although publicly the arms race was justified to prevent war, no government had in fact been deterred from arming by the programmes of their rivals, but rather increased the pace of their own armament production.

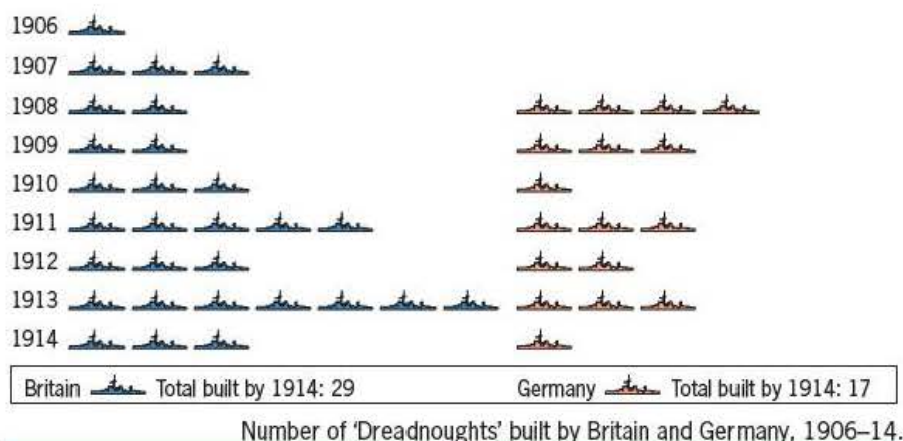
James Joll, *Origins of the First World War*, 1992. Joll is a well-respected British historian with an expert knowledge of this topic.

SOURCE 7

General von Moltke said: I believe war is unavoidable; war the sooner the better. But we ought to do more through the press to prepare the population for a war against Russia . . . the enemies are arming more strongly than we are.

From the diary of Admiral von Muller, head of the Kaiser's naval cabinet, December 1912.

SOURCE 6



Number of 'Dreadnoughts' built by Britain and Germany, 1906–14.

In Germany, in particular, war and militarism were glorified. The Kaiser surrounded himself with military advisers. He staged military rallies and processions. He loved to be photographed in military uniforms. He involved himself closely in Germany's military planning.

Plans for war

Many countries felt so sure that war was 'bound to come' sooner or later that they began to make very detailed plans for what to do if and when it did.

Germany

Germany's army was not the biggest army in Europe but most people agreed it was the best trained and the most powerful.

The problem facing the German commanders was that if a war broke out they would probably have to fight against Russia and France at the same time. The Germans came up with the Schlieffen Plan. Under this plan they would quickly attack and defeat France, then turn their forces on Russia which (the Germans were sure) would be slow to get its troops ready for war.

Austria-Hungary

Austria-Hungary knew it needed the help of Germany to hold back Russia. It too relied on the success of the Schlieffen Plan so that Germany could help it to defeat Russia.

SOURCE 8

	1900	1910	1914
France	0.7m	0.8m	0.9m
Britain	0.6m	0.55m	0.5m
Russia	1.1m	1.3m	0.8m
Austria-Hungary	0.25m	0.3m	0.35m
Germany	0.5m	0.7m	1.5m
Italy	0.25m	0.3m	0.35m

Military personnel of the powers, 1900–14 (excluding reserves). While Britain and Germany built up their navies, the major powers on mainland Europe were also building up their armies.

- 1 Read Source 9. What do you think the writer means by 'preventive war'?
- 2 Does either Source 7 or 9 suggest that people in Germany wanted a war?

SOURCE 10

The remark 'England and Germany are bound to fight' makes war a little more likely each time it is made, and is therefore made more often by the gutter press of each nation.

From *Howard's End*, a widely read novel by EM Forster, published in 1910.

- 3 Source 10 comes from a novel. In what ways is it useful as evidence about the mood in Britain before the First World War?
- 4 How did the actions of the Kaiser in the Moroccan crises affect the policies of Britain, France and Russia?
- 5 How did the actions of Britain, France and Russia over Morocco affect the Kaiser?

Russia

The Russian army was badly equipped, but it was huge. Given enough time, Russia could eventually put millions of soldiers into the field. The Russian plan was to overwhelm Germany's and Austria's armies by sheer weight of numbers.

France

France had a large and well-equipped army. Its main plan of attack was known as Plan 17. French troops would charge across the frontier and attack deep into Germany, forcing surrender.

Britain

Britain's military planners had been closely but secretly involved in collaboration with French commanders. This led to Britain setting up the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), consisting of 150,000 highly trained and well-equipped professional soldiers. The BEF could go to France and fight alongside the French at short notice.

What unites all of these plans was the assumption that a war, if it came, would be quick. No one planned for the war dragging on. It was assumed that none of the powers would be able to keep up a long-drawn-out war. The sheer cost of a war would lead to economic collapse (of the enemy only, of course) and so the war would be over in a matter of weeks or months.

With so much talk of war, you might think, as many at the time did, that war was inevitable.

SOURCE 9

In Moltke's opinion there was no alternative to making preventive war in order to defeat the enemy while we still had a chance of victory . . . I pointed out that the Kaiser . . . would only agree to fight if our enemies forced war upon us . . .

Written by Gottlieb von Jagow, the German Foreign Secretary, May 1914. He was writing this from memory, soon after the end of the war.

Morocco, 1905 and 1911

In 1905 and 1911, two crises in Morocco raised the temperature in Europe.

In 1905 the Kaiser visited Morocco in North Africa. Germany was building up its own African empire and had colonies in central and southern Africa (see Source 7 on page 6). The Kaiser was now keen to show that Germany was an important power in North Africa as well. The French had plans to take control of Morocco so the Kaiser made a speech saying he supported independence for Morocco. The French were furious at his interfering in their affairs. An international conference was held in Algiers in 1906. But the conference did not cool things down. In fact, it did the opposite: at the conference the Kaiser was humiliated. He had wanted to be seen as a major power in Africa. Instead his views were rejected. He was treated as if he had no right to speak on such matters. This made him bitter. He was also alarmed by the way that Britain and France stuck together at the conference to oppose him. These old rivals now seemed very close.

In 1907, in the wake of the Moroccan crisis, Britain and France formed an alliance with Russia, the Triple Entente. The Entente powers saw their alliance as security against German aggression. The Kaiser saw a threatening policy of encirclement, with hostile powers surrounding Germany.

In 1911 Morocco saw another crisis. The French tried to take over Morocco again. They said they were prepared to compensate Germany if its trade suffered as a result. However, the Kaiser's response was to send a gunboat (the *Panther*) to Agadir. The British feared that the Kaiser wanted to set up a naval base in Agadir, and they did not want German ships in the Mediterranean. Another conference was called. The British and French again stood firm against Germany. France took control of Morocco. Germany was given land in central Africa as compensation. Behind the scenes, Britain and France reached an agreement that the French should patrol the Mediterranean and the Royal Navy should defend France's Atlantic and North Sea coasts.

The final steps to war

The Balkans: Bosnia, 1908

The Balkans were a very unstable area. The area had been ruled by Turkey for many centuries, with many different nationalities mixed together. Turkish power was now in decline. The new governments which had been set up in place of Turkish rule were regularly in dispute with each other. To make matters more serious, Russia and Austria bordered the countries in this region. Both wanted to control the area because it gave them access to the Mediterranean.

The first Balkan crisis came in 1908. Austria took over the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia and Serbia protested, but they backed down when Germany made it clear that it supported Austria. Neither Russia nor Serbia was prepared to risk war with Germany over this issue. However, there were some serious consequences. Austria now felt confident that Germany would support it in future disputes. Some historians think that this made Austria too confident, and encouraged Austria to make trouble with Serbia and Russia. Russia resented being faced down in 1909. It quickened its arms build-up. It was determined not to back down again. From 1912 to 1913 there was a series of local wars. Serbia emerged from these as the most powerful country in the Balkans. This was very serious for Austria. Serbia had a strong army and it was a close ally of Russia. Austria decided that Serbia would have to be dealt with. By 1914 Austria was looking for a good excuse to crush Serbia.

- 6 How did the Bosnian crisis affect the policies of Austria?
- 7 How did the Bosnian crisis affect the policies of Russia?

Sarajevo murder and war, 1914

Austria's opportunity came with the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo (see pages 2–3). Although there was no hard evidence that Princip was acting under orders from the Serbian government, Austria blamed Serbia. Frantic diplomatic effort gave Austria a guarantee of German backing (see Witness 9 on page 13). With this support Austria now felt secure enough to deal with the Serbian problem once and for all. It gave Serbia a ten-point ultimatum that would effectively have made Serbia part of the Austrian Empire. The Serbs could not possibly accept it. When the Serbs asked for time to consider, Austria refused and declared war on 28 July 1914. The slide to all-out war had begun.

- 8 Look back at your answer to question 2 on page 3. Would you like to change your answer now?



Focus Task

Why did war break out in 1914?

The atmosphere in Europe between 1900 and 1914 has been likened to a bonfire waiting to be lit.

- 1 Make your own simple copy of this bonfire diagram. Don't worry about the detail! Add labels to suggest factors that made war possible.
- 2 Put major factors on big sticks, less important factors on smaller sticks.
- 3 Add more sticks to the fire if you wish to show more factors.
- 4 Why do you think the Sarajevo murders 'lit the fire' when previous events such as the Moroccan crisis in 1905 had not? Mention these points in your answer:
 - a) Austria's worries about Serbia
 - b) the build-up of international problems
 - c) the way the alliances worked.



Was Germany responsible for the war?

SOURCE 11

The Allied governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied governments and their peoples have been subjected as a result of the war.

The 'war guilt' clause from the Treaty of Versailles, 1919.

After the war, the victorious Allies forced the defeated Germany to sign the 'war guilt' clause (Source 11). Germany had to accept that it was responsible both for starting the war and for all the damage caused by it. However, as the state 'on trial', Germany refused to accept the sole blame. Historians have argued about this issue ever since. Some have continued to blame Germany. Others have reached different verdicts.

Focus Task

Was Germany to blame for the war?

What do you think? Was Germany to blame?

Your task is to look over the evidence and hold your own retrial, looking back from today.

You will study evidence and hear from witnesses. You must then reach one of four verdicts:

Verdict 1: Germany was rightly blamed for starting the war.

Verdict 2: Germany was mainly responsible for starting the war, but the other powers should accept some of the blame.

Verdict 3: All of the major powers helped to start the war. They should share the blame.

Verdict 4: No one was to blame. The powers were swept along towards an inevitable war. It could not be stopped.

This is how to run the trial. You can work on your own, or in groups.

1 Draw up a table like the one below:

Witness	Which verdict does the witness support?	What evidence does the witness give to support the viewpoint?	Can I trust the witness?

2 Read all the witnesses' statements on page 13. Complete columns 1 and 2.

3 In column 3, note what evidence the witness gives to support his/her viewpoint.

4 In column 4, note what might make the witness reliable or unreliable.

Think about:

- ◆ the date and origin of each source
- ◆ whether the witness was involved in the events of the time
- ◆ the value and reliability of each witness.

5 Look through the other information in this chapter to see if there are other witnesses you should consider.

6 Choose your verdict from verdicts 1–4.

7 Once you have chosen a verdict, you should sum up the evidence for it in a short explanation.

Remember to explain why you have chosen your verdict, but also explain why you have rejected the others.

8 Use your table and explanation for a class debate.

WITNESS 1

German militarism, which is the crime of the last fifty years, had been working for this for twenty-five years. It is the logical result of their doctrine. It had to come.

Walter Hines Page, US Ambassador in London, 1914. The USA was an ally of Britain and France during the war, and fought against Germany from 1917 to 1918.

WITNESS 2

Bethmann stood in the centre of the room . . . There was a look of anguish in his eyes . . . For an instant neither of us spoke. At last I said to him: 'Well, tell me, at least, how it all happened.' He raised his arms to heaven and answered, 'Oh – if only I knew!'

Prince von Bülow, speaking in 1918, remembers calling on the German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg in August 1914.

WITNESS 3

None of the rulers of the Great Powers really knew what they were fighting about in August 1914 . . . the crisis gathered pace and the calculations of statesmen were overwhelmed by the rapid succession of events, the tide of emotion in the various capitals, and the demands of military planning.

The Origins of the First World War by British historian LCF Turner, 1983.

WITNESS 4

The Schlieffen Plan must rank as one of the supreme idiocies of modern times . . . It restricted the actions of the German government disastrously. In July 1914 they had just two choices; either to abandon the only plan they had to win the next war, or to go to war immediately.

Historian DE Marshall in The Great War: Myth and Reality, 1988.

WITNESS 5

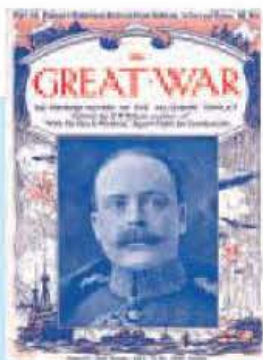
The World War was directly started by certain officials of the Russian General Staff. But their conduct was caused by the criminal activity of an Austrian Foreign Minister, and this in turn was aided by criminal negligence at Berlin . . . But they would have been quite unable to start any war, had they not been equally with millions of common people . . . willing agents of forces moving the world towards war . . .

From the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1926.

WITNESS 6

We are being forced to admit that we alone are to blame for the war: such an admission on my lips would be a lie. We are not seeking to absolve [pardon] Germany from all responsibility for this World War, and for the way in which it was fought. However, we do strongly deny that Germany, whose people felt they were fighting a war of defence, should be forced to accept sole responsibility.

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegates at Versailles, 1919.



WITNESS 7

The greatest war of modern times, and perhaps in the whole history of the human race, was begun by Germany using the crime of a schoolboy as an excuse . . . Austria had regarded the growing power of Serbia with concern for many years . . . The situation in Europe seemed to encourage the German peoples in

this adventure. England, it was thought, could do nothing . . . with the threats of civil war in Ireland. Russia was in the midst of the reorganisation of her army . . . As for France, Germany believed herself quite competent to deal with her, and sought an opportunity of doing so.

From The Great War: The Standard History of the All-Europe Conflict, 1914 (Vol IV). This was a patriotic weekly journal written and published in Britain, describing the war 'as it happened'.

WITNESS 9

. . . the Kaiser authorised me to inform our gracious majesty that we might, in this case as in all others, rely upon Germany's full support . . . it was the Kaiser's opinion that this action must not be delayed . . . Russia was in no way prepared for war and would think twice before it appealed to arms . . . If we had really recognised the necessity of warlike action against Serbia, the Kaiser would regret if we did not make use of the present moment which is all in our favour.

Count Szogyeny, the Austrian ambassador in Berlin, reporting a famous conversation with the Kaiser, July 1914. Historians are divided as to whether the Kaiser was making a planned policy statement or was simply giving reassurance on the spur of the moment.

WITNESS 8

German: I wonder what history will make of all of this?

Clemenceau: History will not say that Belgium invaded Germany!

From a conversation between French Prime Minister Clemenceau and a German representative at the peace conference after the war. Clemenceau was a hard-line anti-German.

2

Peacemaking, 1918–1919, and the League of Nations

2.1

How did the Treaty of Versailles establish peace?

Focus

In 1919 the leaders of the victorious powers met in Paris to decide how to deal with Germany and its allies. The leaders of Britain, France and the USA found it very hard to agree on what to do. In Topic 2.1 of this chapter you will examine reasons for, and the results of, this disagreement. You will:

- ◆ compare the different aims of the Allied leaders Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Wilson
- ◆ investigate the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and their impact on Germany
- ◆ evaluate reactions to the Treaty of Versailles.

At the end of the First World War there was a determination that a war like this would never happen again. The best hope of achieving this seemed to be by promoting international co-operation through the League of Nations. However, by 1939 the League was an irrelevance and the world was once again on the edge of war. In Topic 2.2 you will:

- ◆ examine the membership of the League
- ◆ investigate its organisation and power
- ◆ consider why it failed in its two most important tests: Manchuria in 1931–33 and Abyssinia in 1935–36
- ◆ evaluate the reasons for the failure of the League.

The Paris Peace Conference

SOURCE 1



Allied soldiers and officials watch the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

Source 1 was taken at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles at the Paris Peace Conference. It was a spectacular occasion and a momentous event. Months of hard negotiation, argument and compromise ended when the two German representatives who had been summoned to sign the Treaty did so on 28 June 1919.

When the treaty terms were announced the Germans complained that it was unfair. Many historians have criticised it since. To understand this, we need to look at the mood in 1919.

The mood in 1919

When the leaders of Britain (Lloyd George), France (Clemenceau) and the USA (Wilson) arrived in Paris in January 1919 to draw up a treaty, they were already under pressure to deal severely with Germany. The people of the victorious countries, particularly in France and Britain, felt strongly that Germany was responsible for the war and should be punished.

There was also a strong feeling that Germany should pay for all the damage and destruction caused by the war. Apart from the USA, all of the countries that had fought in the war were exhausted. Their economies and their industries were in a bad state. Millions of young men had been killed or injured on both sides. Total British and French casualties, killed or injured, probably amounted to over 9 million. Ordinary civilians had faced shortages of food and medicine. Villages and towns in large areas of Belgium and France had been devastated.

SOURCE 2

Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well that is the way I know I am an American . . . America is the only idealist nation in the world.

President Wilson in 1918.

- 1 If you had been there to advise the Big Three, in what order of priority would you put the four aims described on the right?

Profile

Georges Clemenceau
(Prime Minister of France)



Background

- Born 1841 (he was aged 77 when the Paris Conference began).
- First entered French politics in 1871.
- Was Prime Minister from 1906 to 1909. From 1914 to 1917 he was very critical of the French war leaders. In November 1917 he was himself elected to lead France through the last years of the war.

Character

A hard, tough politician with a reputation for being uncompromising. He had seen his country invaded twice by the Germans, in 1870 and in 1914. He was determined not to allow such devastation ever again.

Factfile

The Paris Peace Conference, 1919–20

- The Conference took place in the Palace of Versailles (a short distance from Paris).
- It lasted for twelve months.
- Thirty-two nations were supposed to be represented, but no one from the defeated countries was invited.
- Five treaties were drawn up at the Conference. The main one was the Treaty of Versailles which dealt with Germany. The other treaties dealt with Germany's allies.
- The important decisions on Germany's fate were taken by the 'Big Three': Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson.
- The Big Three were supported by many diplomats and expert advisers, but they often ignored their advice.
- The Big Three got on badly from the start and relations between them got worse throughout the Conference.

The aims of the leaders at the Paris Peace Conference

As soon as the Paris Peace Conference began, there was disagreement about what the Conference was aiming to do:

- Some felt that the aim was to punish Germany.
- Others felt that the aim was to cripple Germany so that it could not start another war.
- Many felt that the point of the Conference was to reward the winning countries.
- Others believed that the aim of the Conference should be to establish a just and lasting peace.

Focus Task

What were the aims of the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference?

Using the information and sources on pages 14–16, draw up a chart like the one below summarising the aims of the three leaders at the Paris Peace Conference. N.B. Leave the fifth column blank. You will need it for a later task.

Leader	Country	Attitude towards Germany	Main aim	

Georges Clemenceau (France)

France had suffered enormous damage to its land, industry, people – and self-confidence. Over two-thirds of the men who had served in the French army had been killed or injured. The war affected almost an entire generation. By comparison, Germany seemed to many French people as powerful and threatening as ever.

Ever since 1870, France had felt threatened by its increasingly powerful neighbour, Germany. The war increased this feeling. German land and industry had not been as badly damaged as France's. France's population (around 40 million) was in decline compared to Germany's (around 75 million). Clemenceau and other French leaders saw the Treaty as an opportunity to cripple Germany so that it could not attack France again. The French President (Poincaré) even wanted Germany broken up into a collection of smaller states, but Clemenceau knew that the British and Americans would not agree to this. Clemenceau was a realist and knew he would probably be forced to compromise on some issues. However, he had to show he was aware of public opinion in France. He demanded a treaty that would weaken Germany as much as possible.

Woodrow Wilson (USA)

Wilson has often been seen as an idealist whose aim was to build a better and more peaceful world from the ruins of the Great War. This is partially true, but Wilson was not a politician who could be pushed around. He refused to cancel the debts owed to the USA by Britain and its Allies so that he could put pressure on them to accept his ideas. Wilson did believe that Germany should be punished. However, he also believed that the treaty with Germany should not be too harsh. His view was that if Germany was treated harshly, some day it would recover and want revenge. Wilson's main aim was to strengthen democracy in the defeated nation so that its people would not let its leaders cause another war.

He believed that nations should co-operate to achieve world peace. In January 1918 he published his Fourteen Points to help achieve this. The most important for Wilson was the fourteenth. In this he proposed the setting up of an international body called the League of Nations.

He also believed in self-determination (the idea that nations should rule themselves rather than be ruled by others). He wanted the different peoples of eastern Europe (for example, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks) to rule themselves rather than be part of Austria–Hungary's empire.

Profile

Woodrow Wilson (President of the USA)



Background

- Born 1856.
- Became a university professor.
- First entered politics in 1910.
- Became President in 1912 and was re-elected in 1916.

Character

An idealist, and a reformer. As President, he had campaigned against corruption in politics and business. However, he had a poor record with regard to the rights of African Americans. He concentrated on keeping the USA out of the war. Once the USA had joined the war, he drew up the Fourteen Points as the basis for ending the war fairly, so that future wars could be avoided. Once he made up his mind on an issue he was almost impossible to shift. This irritated Clemenceau and Lloyd George. So did the fact that Wilson felt the USA was morally superior to the European powers.

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

- 1 No secret treaties.
- 2 Free access to the seas in peacetime or wartime.
- 3 Free trade between countries.
- 4 All countries to work towards disarmament.
- 5 Colonies to have a say in their own future.
- 6 German troops to leave Russia.
- 7 Independence for Belgium.
- 8 France to regain Alsace–Lorraine.
- 9 Frontier between Austria and Italy to be adjusted.
- 10 Self-determination for the peoples of eastern Europe (they should rule themselves).
- 11 Serbia to have access to the sea.
- 12 Self-determination for the people in the Turkish Empire.
- 13 Poland to become an independent state with access to the sea.
- 14 League of Nations to be set up.

Many people in France and Britain did not agree with the ideas contained in Wilson's Fourteen Points. They seemed impractical. Take self-determination, for example. It would be very difficult to give the peoples of eastern Europe the chance to rule themselves because they were scattered across many countries. For example, 25 per cent of the population of the new state of Czechoslovakia were neither Czechs nor Slovaks. Some people were bound to end up being ruled by people from another group with different customs and a different language. Some historians have pointed out that, while Wilson talked a great deal about eastern and central Europe, he did not actually know very much about the area.

Profile

David Lloyd George (Prime Minister of Britain)



Background

- Born 1863.
- First entered politics in 1890. A very able politician who became Prime Minister in 1916 and remained in power until 1922.

Character

A realist. As an experienced politician, he knew there would have to be compromise. Thus he occupied the middle ground between the views of Wilson and those of Clemenceau.

David Lloyd George (Great Britain)

At the peace talks Lloyd George was often in the middle ground between Clemenceau and Wilson. He wanted Germany to be justly punished but not too harshly. He wanted Germany to lose its navy and its colonies because Britain thought they threatened the British Empire. However, like Wilson, he did not want Germany to seek revenge in the future and possibly start another war. He was also keen for Britain and Germany to begin trading with each other again. Before the war, Germany had been Britain's second largest trading partner. British people might not like it, but the fact was that trade with Germany meant jobs for them.

SOURCE 3

We want a peace which will be just, but not vindictive. We want a stern peace because the occasion demands it, but the severity must be designed, not for vengeance, but for justice. Above all, we want to protect the future against a repetition of the horrors of this war.

Lloyd George speaking to the House of Commons, before the Peace Conference.

Like Clemenceau, Lloyd George had real problems with public pressures at home for a harsh treaty. Even his own MPs did not always agree with him and he had just won the 1918 election in Britain by promising to 'make Germany pay', even though he realised the dangers of this course of action.

SOURCE 4



A cartoon from *Punch* magazine, 1919. The original title was, 'Giving him rope?', with the caption: 'German criminal (to Allied police): "Here, I say, stop! You're hurting me!" [Aside] "If I only whine enough I may be able to wriggle out of this yet."'

SOURCE 5



A cartoon from *Punch* magazine, 1919.

- 1 Look at Sources 4 and 5. Both cartoons are commenting on the Peace Conference. How do you think each of the Big Three might have reacted to each cartoon?

Disagreements and compromises

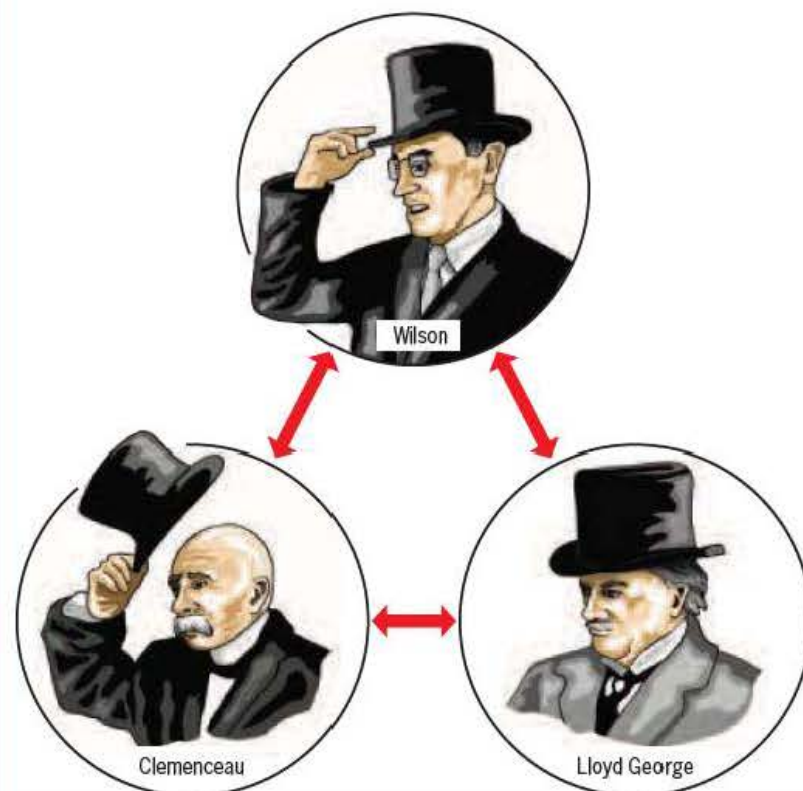
As the talks at Versailles went on, it became clear that the very different objectives of the three leaders could not all be met. Clemenceau clashed with Wilson over many issues. The USA had not suffered nearly as badly as France in the war. Clemenceau resented Wilson's more generous attitude to Germany. They disagreed over what to do about Germany's Rhineland and coalfields in the Saar. In the end, Wilson had to give way on these issues. In return, Clemenceau and Lloyd George did give Wilson what he wanted in eastern Europe, despite their reservations about his idea of self-determination. However, this mainly affected the other four treaties, not the Treaty of Versailles.

Clemenceau also clashed with Lloyd George, particularly over Lloyd George's desire not to treat Germany too harshly. For example, Clemenceau said: '... if the British are so anxious to appease Germany they should look overseas and make colonial, naval or commercial concessions.' Clemenceau felt that the British were quite happy to treat Germany fairly in Europe, where France rather than Britain was most under threat. However, they were less happy to allow Germany to keep its navy and colonies, which would be more of a threat to Britain.

Wilson and Lloyd George did not always agree either. Lloyd George was particularly unhappy with point 2 of the Fourteen Points, allowing all nations access to the seas. Similarly, Wilson's views on people ruling themselves were somewhat threatening to the British government, for the British Empire ruled millions of people all across the world from London.

Activity

- 1 Work in groups. Draw up a table to show what views:
a) Clemenceau
b) Lloyd George
would have expressed on points 2, 4, 5, 8, 10 and 14 of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. You can find them on page 16.
- 2 On your own, write a letter from one of the two leaders to Wilson summarising your view of the Fourteen Points.
- 3 Copy the following diagram and use it to summarise the attitudes of the three leaders to each other.



The Treaty of Versailles

None of the Big Three was happy with the eventual terms of the Treaty. After months of negotiation, all of them had to compromise on some of their aims, otherwise there would never have been a treaty.

The main terms can be divided into five areas.

The terms of the treaty

Focus Task

What were the aims of the Big Three at the Paris Peace Conference?

- 1 Work in threes. Look back at the profiles of Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George on pages 15–16. Choose one each. Study the terms of the Treaty on these two pages. Think about:
 - ◆ which terms of the Treaty would please your chosen person and why
 - ◆ which terms would displease him and why
 - ◆ how far he seemed to have achieved his aims.
 Report your findings to your partners.
- 2 Look back at the chart you compiled on page 15. There should be a blank fifth column. Put the heading 'How they felt about the Treaty' and fill it in for each leader with a one-sentence summary.
- 3 a) Choose one of the following phrases to finish off this sentence: The Big Three did not all get the treaty they wanted because . . .
 - ◆ Clemenceau bullied Wilson and Lloyd George into agreeing to a harsh treaty
 - ◆ the leaders' aims were too different – they could not all have got what they wanted and someone was bound to be disappointed
 - ◆ public opinion in their home countries affected the leaders' decisions.
 b) Write a paragraph to explain why you chose that sentence.
 c) Write two more paragraphs to explain whether there is evidence to support the other two.

1 War guilt

This clause was simple but was seen by the Germans as extremely harsh. Germany had to accept the blame for starting the war (see Source 11 on page 12).

2 Reparations

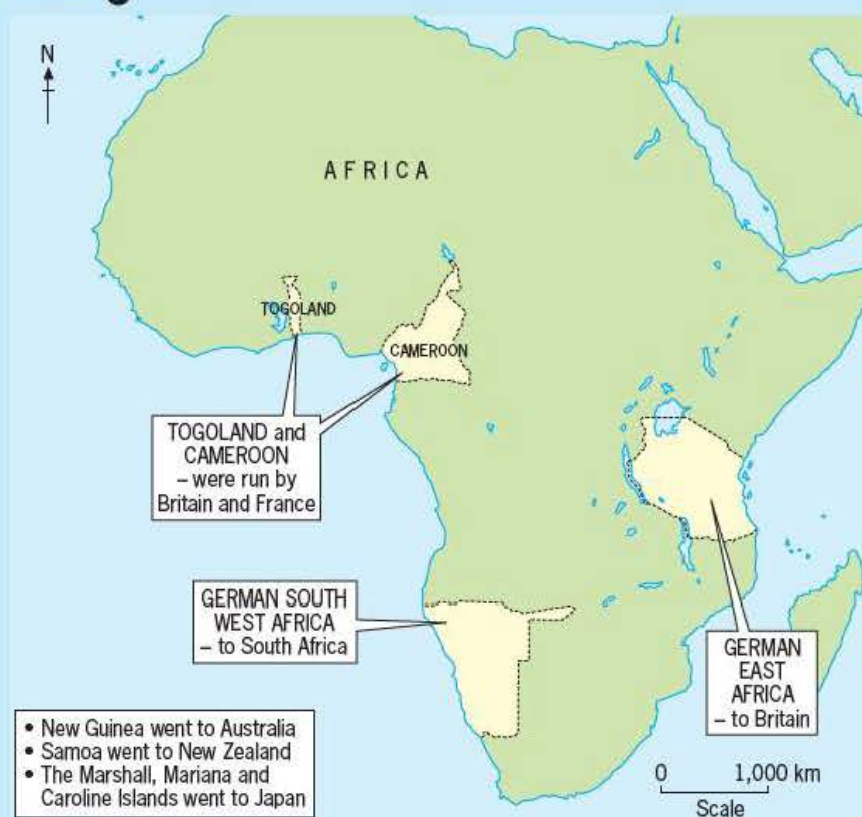
The major powers agreed, without consulting Germany, that Germany had to pay reparations to the Allies for the damage caused by the war. The exact figure was not agreed until 1921 when it was set at £6,600 million – an enormous figure. If the terms of the payments had not later been changed under the Young Plan in 1929 (see page 182), Germany would not have finished paying this bill until 1984.

3 German territories and colonies

Germany's overseas empire was taken away (see Source 6). It had been one of the causes of bad relations between Britain and Germany before the war. Former German colonies became mandates controlled by the League of Nations, which effectively meant that France and Britain controlled them.

Germany's European borders were very extensive, and the section dealing with former German territories was a complicated part of the Treaty (see Source 7). In addition to these changes, the Treaty also forbade Germany to join together with its former ally Austria.

SOURCE 6



Germany's overseas empire.

4 Germany's armed forces

The size and power of the German army was a major concern of all the powers, especially France. The Treaty therefore restricted German armed forces to a level well below what they had been before the war.

- The army was limited to 100,000 men.
- Conscription was banned – soldiers had to be volunteers.
- Germany was not allowed armoured vehicles, submarines or aircraft.
- The navy could build only six battleships.
- The Rhineland became a demilitarised zone. This meant that no German troops were allowed into that area. The Rhineland was important because it was the border area between Germany and France (see Source 7).

SOURCE 7



The impact of the Treaty of Versailles on the borders of Europe.

5 League of Nations

Previous methods of keeping peace had failed and so the League of Nations was set up as an international 'police force'. You will study the League in detail in Chapter 2.2. Germany was not invited to join the League until it had shown that it was a peace-loving country.

SOURCE 8

Today in the Hall of Mirrors the disgraceful Treaty is being signed. Do not forget it! The German people will, with unceasing labour, press forward to reconquer the place among the nations to which it is entitled.

From *Deutsche Zeitung* (German News), on the day the Treaty was signed.

SOURCE 9

The mistake the Allies made, and it did not become clear until much later, was that, as a result of the armistice terms, the great majority of Germans never experienced their country's defeat at first hand. Except in the Rhineland, they did not see occupying troops. The Allies did not march in triumph to Berlin, as the Germans had done in Paris in 1871. In 1918 German soldiers marched home in good order, with crowds cheering their way; in Berlin, Friedrich Ebert, the new president, greeted them with 'No enemy has conquered you'!

From *Peacemakers*, by Professor Margaret Macmillan of the University of Toronto, published in 2001.

- 1 How would you describe the tone of Source 8?
- 2 How does Source 9 help to explain the attitude shown in Source 8?

Activity

You are organising a march to protest against the Treaty of Versailles. You want some placards to be carried by the marchers.

- 1 As a pair or small group, write one placard for each of Germany's main complaints about the Treaty. The headings on these two pages will help you.
- 2 You think that some of the placard holders may be interviewed by foreign newspapers about their complaints. Provide the person carrying the placard with a bullet-point summary of why you think each particular measure is unreasonable.

German reactions to the Treaty of Versailles

The terms of the Treaty were announced on 7 May to a horrified German nation. Germany was to lose:

- ten per cent of its land
- all of its overseas colonies
- 12.5 per cent of its population
- sixteen per cent of its coalfields and almost half of its iron and steel industry.

Its army was reduced to 100,000 men. It could have no air force, and only a tiny navy.

Worst of all, Germany had to accept the blame for starting the war and should therefore pay reparations.

The overall reaction of Germans was horror and outrage. They certainly did not feel they had started the war. They did not even feel they had lost the war. In 1919 many Germans did not really understand how bad Germany's military situation had been at the end of the war. They believed that the German government had simply agreed to a ceasefire, and that therefore Germany should have been at the Paris Peace Conference to negotiate peace. It should not have been treated as a defeated state. They were angry that their government was not represented at the talks and that they were being forced to accept a harsh treaty without any choice or even a comment.

At first, the new government refused to sign the Treaty and the German navy sank its own ships in protest. At one point, it looked as though war might break out again. But what could the German leader Ebert do? He consulted the army commander, Hindenburg, who made it clear that Germany could not possibly win, but indicated that as a soldier he would prefer to die fighting.

Ebert was in an impossible position. How could he inflict war and certain defeat on his people? Reluctantly, he agreed to accept the terms of the Treaty and it was signed on 28 June 1919.

War guilt and reparations

The 'war guilt' clause was particularly hated. Germans felt at the very least that blame should be shared (see Witness 6, page 13). What made matters worse, however, was that because Germany was forced to accept blame for the war, it was also expected to pay for all the damage caused by it. The German economy was already in tatters. People had very little food. They feared that the reparations payments would cripple them. As Source 10 shows, there was little sympathy for them among their former enemies.

When Germany failed to pay its reparations in 1922–23 French and Belgian troops took over the Ruhr, Germany's main industrial area. This was completely legal under the Treaty (see pages 18–20 for more details).

SOURCE 10

ALLIES STERN REPLY TO HUNS.

Terms of Peace Treaty Better Than Germany Deserves.

WAR-MAKERS MUST BE MADE TO SUFFER

The Allies have made a stern and uncompromising reply to Rantzau's pleas that German industry will be ruined and her population rendered destitute by the economic terms of the Peace Treaty.

The reply points out that the terms have been determined by Germany's capacity to pay, not by her guilt; and the Huns are reminded that as they were responsible for the war they must suffer the consequences as well as other nations.

The German Delegation has left for Spa to consult with their Government, probably with the idea of arranging a means for 'saving their face', as it is now believed they will sign the Treaty.

Headlines and article from the British newspaper the *People*, 25 May 1919.

SOURCE 11



A German cartoon published in 1919. The German mother is saying to her starving child: 'When we have paid one hundred billion marks then I can give you something to eat.'

SOURCE 12



THE RECKONING.

FAN-GERMAN: "MONSTROUS, I CALL IT. WHY, IT'S FULLY A QUARTER OF WHAT WE SHOULD HAVE MADE THEM PAY, IF WE'D WON."

A cartoon from *Punch* magazine, 1919.

SOURCE 13

The Allies could have done anything with the German people had they made the slightest move toward reconciliation. People were prepared to make reparations for the wrong done by their leaders . . . Over and over I hear the same refrain, 'We shall hate our conquerors with a hatred that will only cease when the day of our revenge comes.'

Princess Bleucher, writing in 1920. She was an Englishwoman married to a member of the German royal family.

Focus Task

Why did Germans react so angrily to the Treaty of Versailles?

Imagine you are in an exam and you have to answer this question. You only have time to explain two points below to answer the question of why Germany reacted so angrily to the Treaty. Decide which two you would choose and then hold a class vote to see if the rest of your group agrees with you.

- 1 Germans were not aware of the situation in 1919
- 2 War guilt and reparations
- 3 Disarmament
- 4 German territories
- 5 Fourteen Points and League
- 6 Double standards?

Disarmament

The disarmament terms upset Germans. An army of 100,000 was very small for a country of Germany's size and the army was a symbol of German pride. Despite Wilson's Fourteen Points calling for disarmament, none of the Allies disarmed to the extent that Germany was disarmed in the 1920s. It is no great surprise that Adolf Hitler received widespread approval for his actions when he rebuilt Germany's armed forces in 1935.

German territories

Germany certainly lost a lot of territory. This was a major blow to German pride, and to its economy. Both the Saar and Upper Silesia were important industrial areas. Meanwhile, as Germany was losing land, the British and French were increasing their empires by taking control of German and Turkish territories in Africa and the Middle East.

The Fourteen Points and the League of Nations

To most Germans, the treatment of Germany was not in keeping with Wilson's Fourteen Points. For example, while self-determination was given to countries such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, German-speaking peoples were being divided by the terms forbidding *Anschluss* with Austria or hived off into new countries such as Czechoslovakia to be ruled by non-Germans.

Germany felt further insulted by not being invited to join the League of Nations.

'Double standards'?

German complaints about the Treaty fell on deaf ears. In particular, many people felt that the Germans were themselves operating a double standard. Their call for fairer treatment did not square with the harsh way they had treated Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Versailles was much less harsh a treaty than Brest-Litovsk.

There was also the fact that Germany's economic problems, although real, were partly self-inflicted. Other states had raised taxes to pay for the war. The Kaiser's government planned to pay war debts by extracting reparations from the defeated states.

Strengths and weaknesses of the Treaty of Versailles

The Treaty of Versailles is one of history's most controversial events. As you have seen, it was bitterly criticised by most Germans in 1919. As Source 15 shows, this attitude had not changed by the mid 1920s. Indeed, the Treaty was blamed for all of the major problems that Germany faced over the next few years: a revolution; strikes; an invasion; hyperinflation, you name it!

SOURCE 14



A cartoon from the British newspaper the *Daily Herald*, 30 June 1919.

SOURCE 15



A cartoon from the German magazine *Simplicissimus*. It was published in February 1924 just after the death of Woodrow Wilson. It shows Wilson being judged and sent to Hell.

- 1 Did German dislike of the Treaty fade over time? How does Source 15 help you answer this question? (Hint: mention the dislike bit as well as the time bit!)
- 2 Explain the following features in Source 14: the figure with wings; the stance of the Big Three; the iron ball; the people in the bottom left corner.

But it was not just the Germans who disliked the Treaty. There were plenty of critics in Britain as well (see Source 16 for example). Even the Big Three who drew up the Treaty were not satisfied with it:

- Clemenceau's problem was that it was not harsh enough to satisfy many French people, and in 1920 he was voted out in a general election.
- Lloyd George received a hero's welcome when he returned to Britain. However, at a later date he described the Treaty as 'a great pity' and indicated that he believed another war would happen because of it.
- Wilson was very disappointed with the Treaty. He said that if he were a German he would not have signed it. In a letter to his wife he said 'Well, it is finished, and, as no one is satisfied, it makes me hope that we have made a just peace; but it is all in the lap of the gods'. The American Congress later refused to approve the Treaty.

SOURCE 16

The historian, with every justification, will come to the conclusion that we were very stupid men . . . We arrived determined that a peace of justice and wisdom should be negotiated; we left the conference conscious that the treaties imposed upon our enemies were neither just nor wise.

Harold Nicolson, British diplomat, 1919. He was one of the leading British officials at the Conference.

So . . . could the Treaty be justified?

It's a very difficult question and one of the difficulties is to distinguish between criticisms from the time and criticisms made with hindsight. History has shown how the Treaty helped to create a cruel regime in Germany (the Nazis) and eventually a second world war. This will always affect modern attitudes to the Treaty. It has certainly affected historians' judgements. They have tended to side with critics of the Treaty. At the time, however, the majority of people outside of Germany thought that it was fair. Some indeed thought that it was not harsh enough. A more generous treaty would have been totally unacceptable to public opinion in Britain or France. Today historians are more likely to point out how hard a task it was to agree the peace settlement. They suggest that the Treaty was the best that could be hoped for in the circumstances. Study Sources 16–21 and see what you think.

SOURCE 17

Severe as the Treaty seemed to many Germans, it should be remembered that Germany might easily have fared much worse. If Clemenceau had had his way . . . the Rhineland would have become an independent state, the Saar would have been annexed [joined] to France and Danzig would have become a part of Poland . . .

British historian W Carr, *A History of Germany*, 1972.

SOURCE 20

. . . a fair judgment upon the settlement, a simple explanation of how it arose, cannot leave the authors of the new map of Europe under serious reproach. To an overwhelming extent the wishes of the various populations prevailed.

Winston Churchill, speaking in 1919. He had been a member of the government and a serving officer during the war.

SOURCE 21

Looking at the conference in retrospect there is much to approve and much to regret. It is easy to say what should have been done, but more difficult to have found a way for doing it.

To those who are saying that the Treaty is bad and should never have been made and that it will involve Europe in infinite difficulties in its enforcement, I feel like admitting it. But I would also say in reply that empires cannot be shattered and new states raised upon their ruins without disturbance. To create new boundaries is always to create new troubles. The one follows the other. While I should have preferred a different peace, I doubt whether it could have been made, for the ingredients for such a peace as I would have had were lacking at Paris.

An extract from the diary of Edward House, one of Wilson's top officials, 29 June 1919.

SOURCE 18

The peacemakers of 1919 made mistakes, of course. By their offhand treatment of the non-European world they stirred up resentments for which the West is still paying today. They took pains over the borders in Europe, even if they did not draw them to everyone's satisfaction, but in Africa they carried on the old practice of handing out territory to suit the imperialist powers. In the Middle East they threw together peoples, in Iraq most notably, who still have not managed to cohere into a civil society. If they could have done better, they certainly could have done much worse. They tried, even cynical old Clemenceau, to build a better order. They could not foresee the future and they certainly could not control it. That was up to their successors. When war came in 1939, it was a result of twenty years of decisions taken or not taken, not of arrangements made in 1919.

Extract from *Peacemakers* by Professor Margaret Macmillan of the University of Toronto, published in 2001.

SOURCE 19



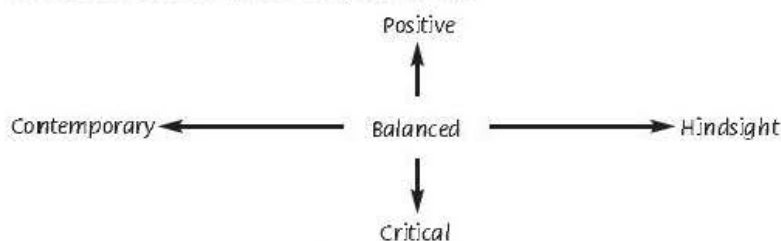
BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © MIRRORPIX

A cartoon by the artist Will Dyson, first published in the *Daily Herald*, 13 May 1919. The '1940 class' represents the children born in the 1920s who might die in a future war resulting from the Treaty.

Focus Task

Was the Treaty of Versailles a success or a failure?

- Study Sources 14–21 carefully. For each source, decide whether you think it is:
 - ◆ a contemporary view (from the time) or a view in hindsight
 - ◆ a critical, positive or balanced view of the Treaty.
 Then put the sources on to a diagram like this.



- Compare your diagram with others in your class. Then write a paragraph explaining whether you agree with this statement: 'The views of the Treaty with hindsight are generally kinder than the views expressed at the time.'

2.2

Why did the League of Nations fail in its aim to keep peace?

The birth of the League

SOURCE 1



The front page of the *Daily Express*, 27 December 1918. Following the Allied victory in the First World War, President Woodrow Wilson was given a rapturous reception by ordinary people wherever he went in Europe.

- Which of the three kinds of League proposed by the Allies would be best at keeping the peace?
- From what you found out in Chapter 1, do you agree with Wilson's comment in Source 2B?

SOURCE 2A

Merely to win the war was not enough. It must be won in such a way as to ensure the future peace of the world.

President Woodrow Wilson, 1918.

SOURCE 2B

[If the European powers] had dared to discuss their problems for a single fortnight in 1914 the First World War would never have happened. If they had been forced to discuss them for a whole year, war would have been inconceivable.

President Wilson speaking in 1918.

After the First World War everyone wanted to avoid repeating the mass slaughter of the war that had just ended. They also agreed that a League of Nations – an organisation that could solve international problems without resorting to war – would help achieve this. However, there was disagreement about what kind of organisation it should be. President Wilson wanted the League of Nations to be like a world parliament where representatives of all nations could meet together regularly to decide on any matters that affected them all. Many British leaders thought the best League would be a simple organisation that would just get together in emergencies. France proposed a strong League with its own army.

It was President Wilson who won. He insisted that discussions about a League should be a major part of the peace treaties and in 1919 he took personal charge of drawing up plans for the League. By February he had drafted a very ambitious plan:

- All the major nations would join the League.
- They would disarm.
- If they had a dispute with another country, they would take it to the League. They promised to accept the decision made by the League.
- They also promised to protect one another if they were invaded.
- If any member did break the Covenant and go to war, other members promised to stop trading with it and to send troops if necessary to force it to stop fighting.

Wilson's hope was that citizens of all countries would be so much against another conflict that this would prevent their leaders from going to war. Many politicians had grave doubts about Wilson's plans, and Wilson's own arrogant style did not help matters. He acted as if only he knew the solutions to Europe's problems.

Even so, most people in Europe were prepared to give Wilson's plans a try. They hoped that no country would dare invade another if they knew that the USA and other powerful nations of the world would stop trading with them or send their armies to stop them. In 1919 hopes were high that the League, with the United States in the driving seat, could be a powerful peacemaker.

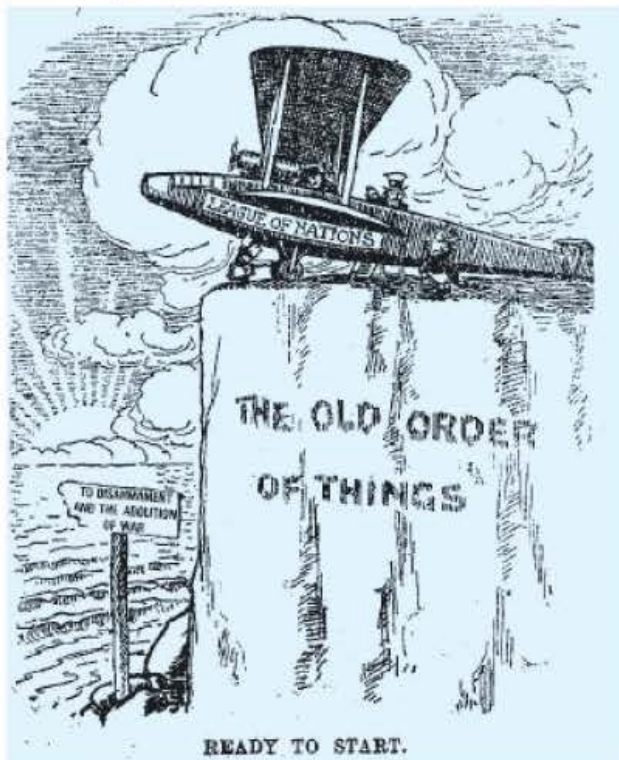
SOURCE 3

The Covenant set out the aims of the League of Nations:

- to discourage aggression from any nation
- to encourage countries to co-operate, especially in business and trade
- to encourage nations to disarm
- to improve the living and working conditions of people in all parts of the world.

A summary of the Covenant of the League of Nations set out in the Treaty of Versailles, 1918.

SOURCE 4



A British cartoon from 1919.

SOURCE 5



OVERWEIGHTED.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "HERE'S YOUR OLIVE BRANCH. NOW GET BUSY."
DOVE OF PEACE: "OF COURSE I WANT TO PLEASE EVERYBODY, BUT ISN'T THIS A BIT THICK?"

A cartoon from the magazine *Punch*, March 1919. *Punch* was famous for its political cartoons.

3 Source 4 is an optimistic view of the future of the League. Explain how the details in the source put across this optimistic message. Take care to spot the little details, such as the pilot of the plane.

4 Source 5 is more doubtful about the future prospects of the League. Explain how the cartoonist uses details to get this message across.

Membership of the League

- Study Source 6. Write a ten-word slogan summarising each reason for opposing the USA's membership of the League.

A body blow to the League

Of course the USA could only be in the driving seat of the League if it belonged to it. Back in the USA, Wilson was facing major problems. He needed the approval of Congress to join the League and in the USA this idea was not popular as you can see from Source 6.

SOURCE 6



Reasons for opposition to the League in the USA.

Together, the groups in Source 6 put up powerful opposition to the League. Wilson toured the USA to put his arguments to the people, but when Congress voted in 1919 he was defeated. Despite serious illness he continued to press for the USA to join the League. He took the proposal back to Congress again in March 1920 but was defeated again. When the League opened for business in January 1920 the American chair was empty. The USA never joined. It was a bitter disappointment to Wilson and a body blow to the League.

SOURCE 7

- Look at Source 7. Explain what the cartoonist was trying to say:
 - about the USA
 - about the League of Nations.
- Look back at Sources 4 and 5 on page 25. After studying the events on this page, which cartoon looks like a more realistic prediction about the success of the League?



A Punch cartoon from 10 December 1919. The figure in the white top hat represents the USA.

Factfile

The League of Nations

- The League's home was in Geneva in Switzerland.
- Despite being the brainchild of the US President, the USA was never a member of the League.
- The League was based on a Covenant. This was a set of 26 Articles or rules which all members of the League agreed to follow.
- Probably the most important Article was Article 10. 'The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council [of the League] shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.'
- Article 10 really meant collective security. By acting together (collectively), the members of the League could prevent war by defending the lands and interests of all nations, large or small.
- One of the jobs of the League was to uphold and enforce the Treaty of Versailles.
- Forty-two countries joined the League at the start. By the 1930s it had 59 members.

- 4 List the strengths and weaknesses of Britain and France as leaders of the League of Nations.
- 5 France proposed that the League should have an army of its own. Why do you think most people opposed this?
- 6 Think back to Wilson's ideas for the League. What problems would be caused by the fact that
 - a) the USA
 - b) Germany
 were not members of the League?

Who was in the League and how was the League supposed to work?

In the absence of the USA, Britain and France were the most powerful countries in the League. Italy and Japan were also permanent members of the Council, but throughout the 1920s and 1930s it was Britain and France who usually guided policy. Any action by the League needed their support.

However, both countries were poorly placed to take on this role. Both had been weakened by the First World War. Neither country was quite the major power it had once been. Neither of them had the resources to fill the gap left by the USA. Indeed, some British politicians said that if they had foreseen the American decision, they would not have voted to join the League either. They felt that the Americans were the only nation with the resources or influence to make the League work. In particular, they felt that trade sanctions would only work if the Americans applied them.

For the leaders of Britain and France the League posed a real problem. They were the ones who had to make it work, yet even at the start they doubted how effective it could be.

SOURCE 8

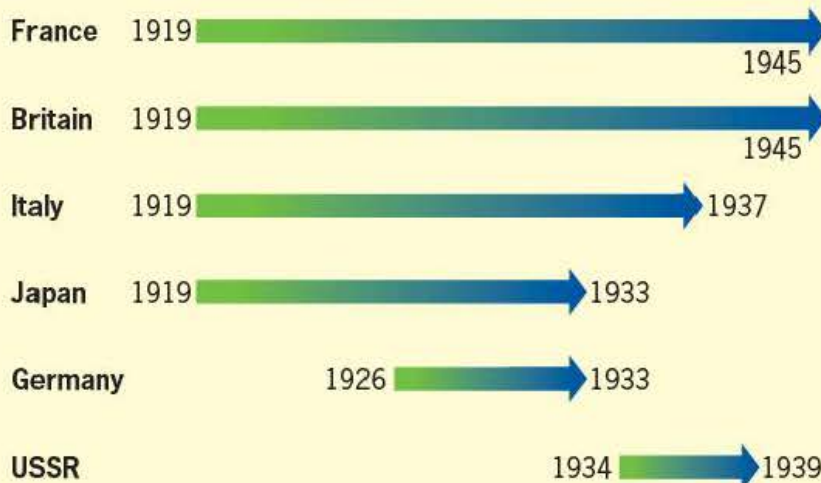
The League of Nations is not set up to deal with a world in chaos, or with any part of the world which is in chaos. The League of Nations may give assistance but it is not, and cannot be, a complete instrument for bringing order out of chaos.

Arthur Balfour, chief British representative at the League of Nations, speaking in 1920.

Both countries had other priorities. British politicians, for example, were more interested in rebuilding British trade and looking after the British Empire than in being an international police force.

France's main concern was still Germany. It was worried that without an army of its own the League was too weak to protect France from its powerful neighbour. It did not think Britain was likely to send an army to help it. This made France quite prepared to bypass the League if necessary in order to strengthen its position against Germany.

SOURCE 9



USA never joined

Membership of the League of Nations. This chart shows only the most powerful nations. More than 50 other countries were also members.

The structure of the League of Nations

The Covenant laid out the League's structure and the rules for each of the bodies within it – see Source 11 below.

SOURCE 10

1 Study Source 11. Which part of the League would deal with the following problems:

- an outbreak of a new infectious disease
- a border dispute between two countries
- accidents caused by dangerous machinery in factories
- complaints from people in Palestine that the British were not running the mandated territory properly?

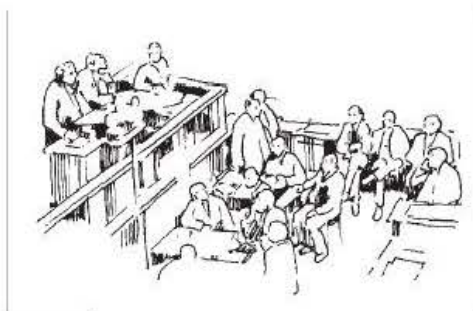
A



B



SOURCE 11



The Assembly

The Assembly was the League's Parliament. Every country in the League sent a representative to the Assembly. The Assembly could recommend action to the Council and could vote on:

- admitting new members to the League
- appointing temporary members of the Council
- the budget of the League
- other ideas put forward by the Council.

The Assembly only met once a year. Decisions made by the Assembly had to be unanimous – they had to be agreed by all members of the Assembly.



The Permanent Court of International Justice

This was meant to be a key part of the League's job of settling disputes between countries peacefully. The Court was based at the Hague in the Netherlands and was made up of judges from the member countries.

If it was asked, the Court would give a decision on a border dispute between two countries. It also gave legal advice to the Assembly or Council.

However, the Court was not like the courts which carried out the law within member countries. It had no way of making sure that countries followed its rulings.

The Council

The Council was a smaller group which met more often, usually about five times a year and in case of emergency. It included:

- permanent members. In 1920 these were Britain, France, Italy and Japan.
- temporary members. They were elected by the Assembly for three-year periods. The number of temporary members varied between four and nine at different times in the League's history.

Each of the permanent members of the Council had a veto. This meant that one permanent member could stop the Council acting even if all other members agreed. The main idea behind the Council was that if any disputes arose between members, the members brought the problem to the Council and it was sorted out through discussion before matters got out of hand. However, if this did not work, the Council could use a range of powers:

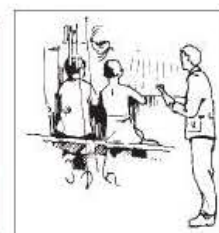
- Moral condemnation: they could decide which country was 'the aggressor', i.e. which country was to blame for the trouble. They could condemn the aggressor's action and tell it to stop what it was doing.
- Economic and financial sanctions: members of the League could refuse to trade with the aggressor.
- Military force: the armed forces of member countries could be used against an aggressor.

The Secretariat

The Secretariat was a sort of civil service. It kept records of League meetings and prepared reports for the different agencies of the League. The Secretariat had specialist sections covering areas such as health, disarmament and economic matters.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO)

The ILO brought together employers, governments and workers' representatives once a year. Its aim was to improve the conditions of working people throughout the world. It collected statistics and information about working conditions and it tried to persuade member countries to adopt its suggestions.





Activity

- 1 Look at Source 10. These murals symbolise the work of the League. Prepare an entry for the League of Nations visitors' guidebook explaining what aspects of the League's work they represent.
- 2 Go back to question 3 from page 26 and see if you want to change your view.

Details of the murals painted on the walls of the Assembly Room of the League of Nations in Geneva by José Maria Sert in the 1930s.

The League of Nations Commissions

As well as dealing with disputes between its members, the League also attempted to tackle other major problems. This was done through commissions or committees such as:

The Mandates Commission

The First World War had led to many former colonies of Germany and her allies ending up as League of Nations mandates ruled by Britain and France on behalf of the League. The Mandates Commission made sure that Britain or France acted in the interests of the people of that territory, not in its own interests.



The Refugees Committee

This helped to return refugees to their original homes after the end of the First World War.



The Slavery Commission

This worked to abolish slavery around the world.



The Health Committee

The Health Committee attempted to deal with the problem of dangerous diseases and to educate people about health and sanitation.



Focus Task

Were there weaknesses in the League's organisation?

Here is a conversation which might have taken place between two diplomats in 1920.



Work in pairs.

Choose one statement each and write out the reasons each diplomat might give for his opinion.

In your answer make sure you refer to:

- ◆ the membership of the League
- ◆ what the main bodies within the League can do
- ◆ how each body will make decisions
- ◆ how the League will enforce its decisions.

The organisation of the League of Nations.

Why did the League fail in the 1930s?

The League in the 1920s

- 1 Look back at the Focus Task on page 29 (two diplomats). Select one example from the League's actions in the 1920s which each diplomat would have used to show that his view was correct.

Throughout the 1920s the League of Nations was called upon to help sort out international disputes. In 1921, for example, the League helped to sort out a dispute between Poland and Germany over the territory of Upper Silesia. League troops took temporary control of the area and the League organised a vote of the people who lived there to decide which state they wanted to be part of. Both Poland and Germany accepted the final result of the vote. Some of the League's agencies also did extremely important humanitarian work. Hundreds of thousands of refugees and former prisoners of war were returned to their homes. The League helped to improve working conditions and health care in many countries.

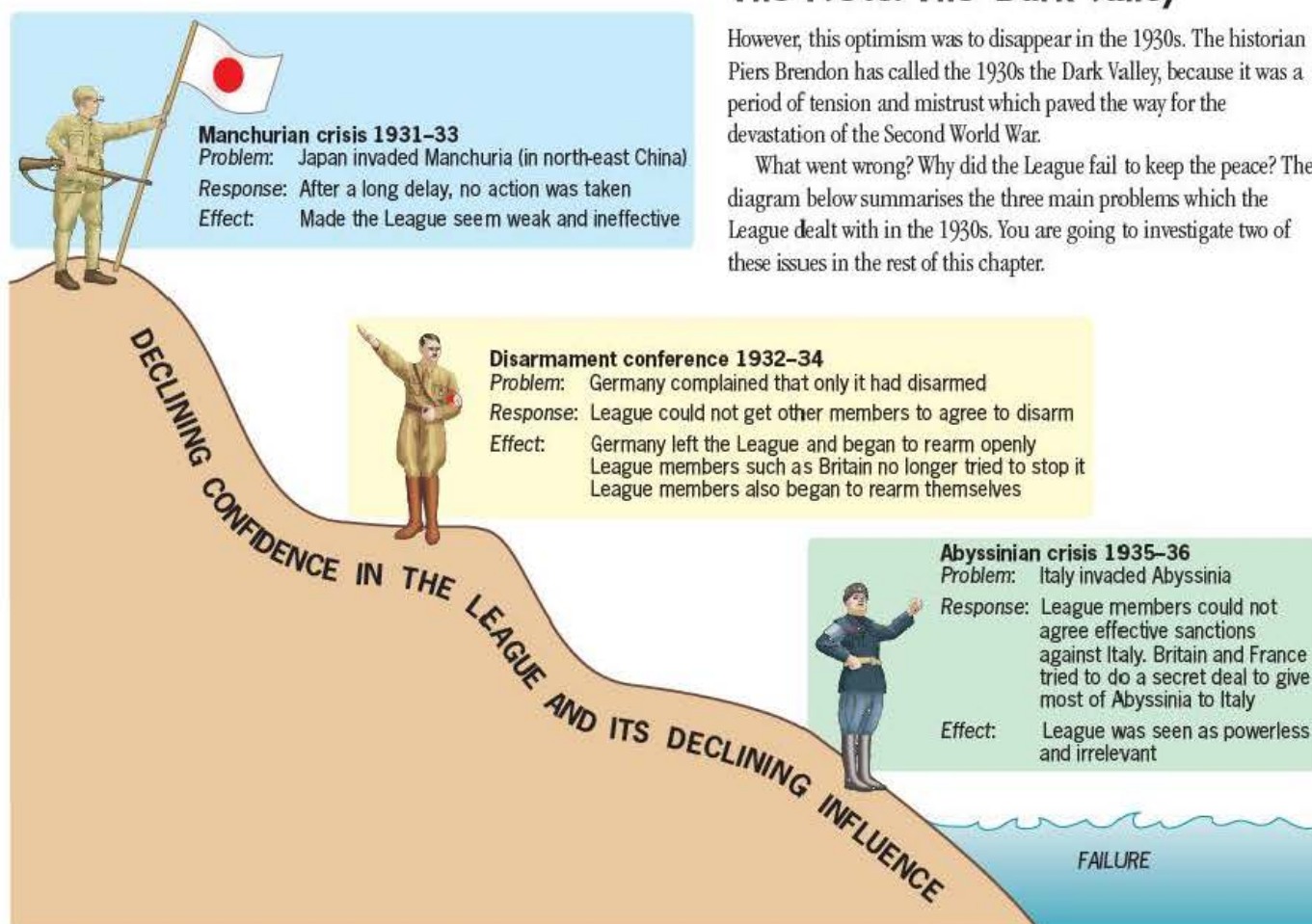
However, the success of the League was always going to be measured by how well it stood up to a major power acting aggressively. In 1923 Benito Mussolini, the leader of Italy, invaded the Greek island of Corfu as part of a dispute with Greece. Mussolini was clearly the aggressor, but the League sided with him. The Greeks even had to pay Italy compensation.

Despite this setback, the later 1920s seemed a time of promise in world affairs. In 1925 Germany signed the Locarno Treaties and appeared to accept the Treaty of Versailles (the Locarno agreements sought to clarify the European borders and gave France some guarantee of border security). Germany was invited to join the League of Nations in 1926. In 1928 most of the world's major powers signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, agreeing not to use force as a way of settling international disputes. There was much to be optimistic about.

The 1930s: The 'Dark Valley'

However, this optimism was to disappear in the 1930s. The historian Piers Brendon has called the 1930s the Dark Valley, because it was a period of tension and mistrust which paved the way for the devastation of the Second World War.

What went wrong? Why did the League fail to keep the peace? The diagram below summarises the three main problems which the League dealt with in the 1930s. You are going to investigate two of these issues in the rest of this chapter.

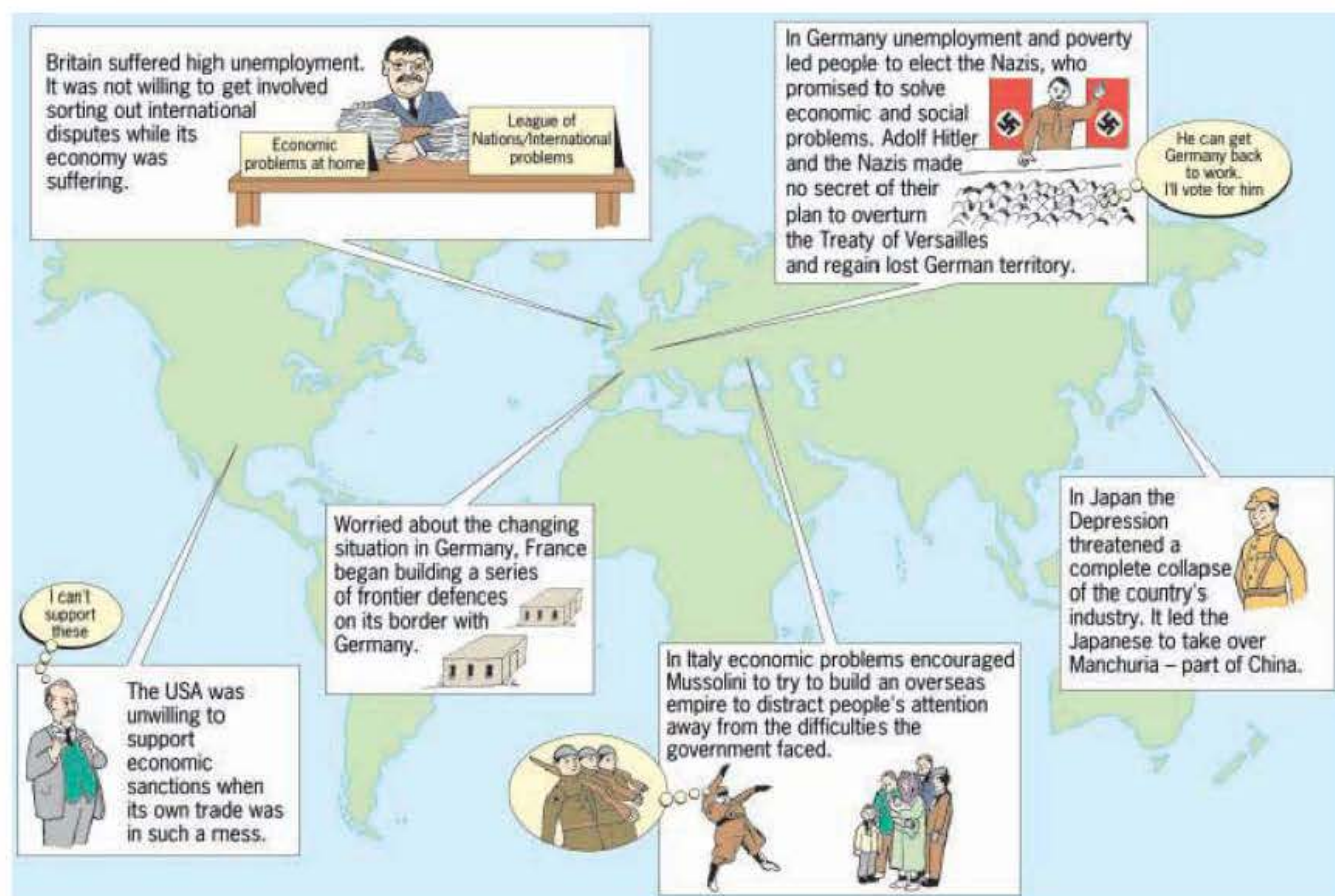


The failure of the League of Nations in the 1930s.

How did the Depression affect international relations?

As the diagram on page 30 shows, the 1930s saw a steady decline in the influence of the League. Historians are still debating exactly why this happened. Some argue that the key factor was the effect of the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s. The Depression began when the US economy crashed in 1929. Everyone traded with the USA. Most countries also borrowed money from American banks. As a result of this trade, most countries were getting richer in the 1920s and this reduced international tension. When the US economy crashed it led to poverty, unemployment and misery in many other countries. This in turn created major political problems, as you can see in Source 12. So the question historians discuss is how far the economic depression and the problems it caused were responsible for the failure of the League. In the rest of this chapter you are going to examine two of the developments shown in the diagram and judge for yourself.

SOURCE 12



The effects of the Depression within various countries.

Activity

Imagine you are the pessimistic cartoonist from Source 5 on page 25 or the pessimistic diplomat from the Focus Task on page 29. Design your own cartoon or write a short article explaining how economic depression is going to make the work of the League of Nations difficult in the 1930s.

Focus Task

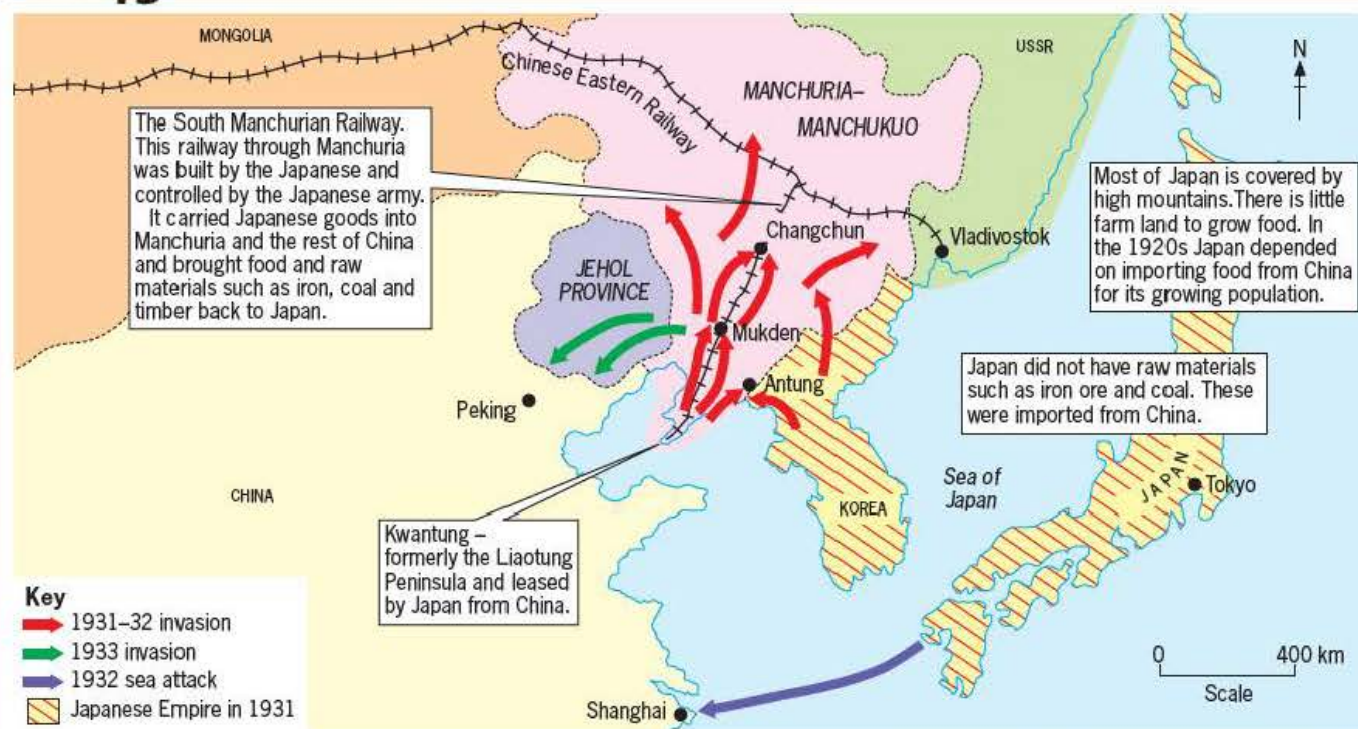
The decline of the League

Study the diagram of the League's declining influence on page 30. Some teachers and students have told us that the shape of the decline is wrong. They think the slope should be softer in some places and steeper in others. As you work through the rest of the chapter, see if you agree. You could use your own copy of the diagram to suggest the right shape for the slope.

Why did the Manchurian Crisis weaken the League?

The first major test for the League came when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931.

SOURCE 13



The railways and natural resources of Manchuria.

SOURCE 14



Japanese troops in action in Manchuria.

Since 1900 Japan's economy and population had been growing rapidly. By the 1920s Japan was a major power:

- It had a very powerful army and navy – army leaders often dictated government policy.
- It had a strong industry, exporting goods to the USA and China in particular.
- It had a growing empire which included the Korean peninsula (see Source 13).

The Depression hit Japan badly. Both China and the USA put up tariffs (trade barriers) against Japanese goods. The collapse of the American market put the Japanese economy in crisis. Without this trade Japan could not feed its people. Army leaders in Japan were in no doubt about the solution to Japan's problems – they wanted to build up a Japanese empire by force.

In 1931 an incident in Manchuria gave them the opportunity they had been looking for to expand the Japanese Empire. As you can see from Source 13, the Japanese army controlled the South Manchurian Railway. In September 1931 they claimed that Chinese soldiers had sabotaged the railway. In retaliation they overran Manchuria and threw out all Chinese forces. In February 1932 they set up a puppet government in Manchuria – or Manchukuo, as they called it – which did exactly what the Japanese army told it to do. Later in 1932 Japanese aeroplanes and gunships bombed Shanghai. The civilian government in Japan told the Japanese army to withdraw, but its instructions were ignored. It was clear that it was the army and not the government that was in control of Japanese foreign policy.

China appealed to the League. Japan claimed it was not invading as an aggressor, but simply settling a local difficulty. The Japanese argued that China was in such a state of anarchy that they had to invade in self-defence to keep peace in the area. For the League of Nations this was a serious test. Japan was a leading member of the League. It needed careful handling. What should the League do?

There was now a long and frustrating delay. The League's officials sailed round the world to assess the situation in Manchuria for themselves. It was September 1932 – a full year after the invasion – before they presented their report. It was detailed and balanced, but the judgement was very clear. Japan had acted unlawfully. Manchuria should be returned to the Chinese.

However, in February 1933, instead of withdrawing from Manchuria the Japanese announced that they intended to invade more of China. They still argued that this was necessary in self-defence. On 24 February 1933 the report from the League's officials was approved by 42 votes to one in the Assembly. Only Japan voted against. Smarting at the insult, Japan resigned from the League on 27 March 1933. The next week it invaded Jehol (see Source 13).

The League was powerless. It discussed economic sanctions, but, without the USA, Japan's main trading partner, they would be meaningless. Besides, Britain seemed more interested in keeping up good relationships with Japan than in agreeing to sanctions. The League also discussed banning arms sales to Japan, but the member countries could not even agree about that. They were worried that Japan would retaliate and the war would escalate.

There was no prospect at all of Britain and France risking their navies or armies in a war with Japan. Only the USA and the USSR would have had the resources to remove the Japanese from Manchuria by force and they were not even members of the League.

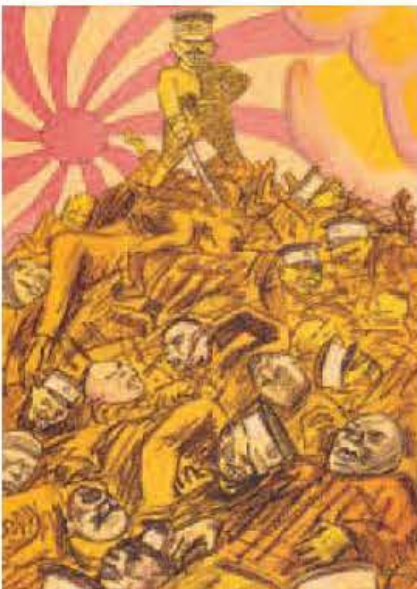
- 1 Why did it take so long for the League to make a decision over Manchuria?
- 2 Look at Sources 15 and 16. What criticisms are the cartoonists making of:
a) Japan
b) the League?
- 3 Did the League fail in this incident because of the way it worked or because of the attitude of its members?

SOURCE 15



A cartoon by David Low, 1933. Low was one of the most famous cartoonists of the 1930s. He regularly criticised both the actions of dictators around the world and the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations.

SOURCE 16



A French poster of 1932.

SOURCE 17

I was sad to find everyone [at the League] so dejected. The Assembly was a dead thing. The Council was without confidence in itself. Beneš [the Czechoslovak leader], who is not given to hysterics, said [about the people at the League] 'They are too frightened. I tell them we are not going to have war now; we have five years before us, perhaps six. We must make the most of them.'

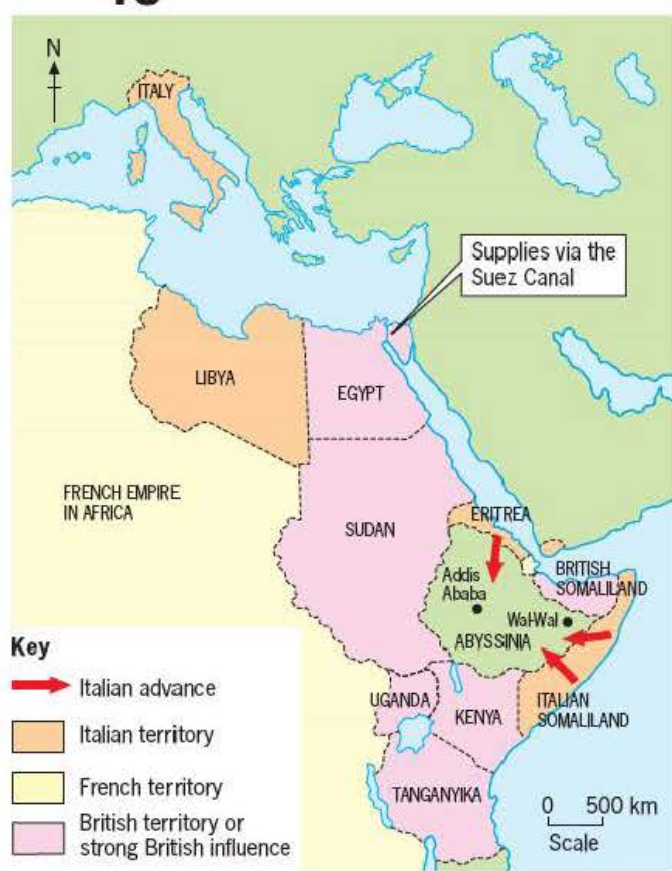
The British elder statesman Sir Austen Chamberlain visited the League of Nations late in 1932 in the middle of the Manchurian crisis. This is an adapted extract from his letters.

All sorts of excuses were offered for the failure of the League. Japan was so far away. Japan was a special case. Japan did have a point when it said that China was itself in the grip of anarchy. However, the significance of the Manchurian crisis was obvious. As many of its critics had predicted, the League was powerless if a strong nation decided to pursue an aggressive policy and invade its neighbours. Japan had committed blatant aggression and got away with it. Back in Europe, both Hitler and Mussolini looked on with interest. Within three years they would both follow Japan's example.

How did Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia damage the League?

The fatal blow to the League came when the Italian dictator Mussolini invaded Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) in 1935. There were both similarities with and differences from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Like Japan, Italy was a leading member of the League. Like Japan, Italy wanted to expand its empire by invading another country. However, unlike Manchuria, this dispute was on the League's doorstep. Italy was a European power. It even had a border with France. Abyssinia bordered on the Anglo-Egyptian territory of Sudan and the British colonies of Kenya and British Somaliland. Unlike events in Manchuria, the League could not claim that this problem was in an inaccessible part of the world. Some argued that Manchuria had been a special case. Would the League do any better in this Abyssinian crisis?

SOURCE 18



British, French and Italian possessions in eastern Africa.

SOURCE 19



A cartoon from *Punch*, 1935. *Punch* was usually very patriotic towards Britain. It seldom criticised British politicians over foreign policy.

Background

The origins of this crisis lay back in the previous century. In 1896 Italian troops had tried to invade Abyssinia but had been defeated by a poorly equipped army of tribesmen. Mussolini wanted revenge for this humiliating defeat. He also had his eye on the fertile lands and mineral wealth of Abyssinia. However, most importantly, he wanted glory and conquest. His style of leadership needed military victories and he had often talked of restoring the glory of the Roman Empire.

In December 1934 there was a dispute between Italian and Ethiopian soldiers at the Wal-Wal oasis – 80 km inside Abyssinia. Mussolini took this as his cue and claimed this was actually Italian territory. He demanded an apology and began preparing the Italian army for an invasion of Abyssinia. The Abyssinian emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League for help.

Activity

Draw a timeline, from December 1934 to May 1936, down the middle of a piece of paper and use the text to mark the key events on it. On one side put the actions of Mussolini or Hitler, on the other the actions of Britain, France and the League.

Phase 1 – January 1935 to October 1935: the League plays for time

In this period Mussolini was supposedly negotiating with the League to settle the dispute, while at the same time he was shipping his vast army to Africa and whipping up war fever among the Italian people — he was preparing for a full-scale invasion of Abyssinia.

To start with, the British and the French failed to take the situation seriously. They played for time. They were desperate to keep good relations with Mussolini, who seemed to be their strongest ally against Hitler. They signed an agreement with him early in 1935 known as the Stresa Pact which formalised a protest at German rearmament and a commitment to stand united against Germany. At the meeting to discuss this, they did not even raise the question of Abyssinia. Some historians suggest that Mussolini believed that Britain and France had promised to turn a blind eye to his exploits in Abyssinia in return for his joining them in the Stresa Pact.

However, as the year wore on, there was a public outcry against Italy's behaviour. A ballot was taken by the League of Nations Union in Britain in 1934–35. It showed that a majority of British people supported the use of military force to defend Abyssinia if necessary. Facing an autumn election at home, British politicians now began to 'get tough'. At an assembly of the League, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, made a grand speech about the value of collective security, to the delight of the League's members and all the smaller nations. There was much talking and negotiating. However, the League never actually did anything to discourage Mussolini.

On 4 September, after eight months' deliberation, a committee reported to the League that neither side could be held responsible for the Wal-Wal incident. The League put forward a plan that would give Mussolini some of Abyssinia. Mussolini rejected it.

Phase 2 – October 1935 to March 1936: sanctions or not?

In October 1935 Mussolini's army was ready. He launched a full-scale invasion of Abyssinia. Despite brave resistance, the Abyssinians were no match for the modern Italian army equipped with tanks, aeroplanes and poison gas.

This was a clear-cut case of a large, powerful state attacking a smaller one. The League was designed for just such disputes and, unlike in the Manchurian crisis, it was ideally placed to act.

There was no doubting the seriousness of the issue either. Source 20 shows the view of one cartoonist at the time. The Covenant (see Factfile, page 27) made it clear that sanctions must be introduced against the aggressor. A committee was immediately set up to agree what sanctions to impose.

Sanctions would only work if they were imposed quickly and decisively. Each week a decision was delayed would allow Mussolini to build up his stockpile of raw materials. The League imposed an immediate ban on arms sales to Italy while allowing them to Abyssinia. It banned all loans to Italy. It banned all imports from Italy. It banned the export to Italy of rubber, tin and metals.

However, the League delayed a decision for two months over whether to ban oil exports to Italy. It feared the Americans would not support the sanctions. It also feared that its members' economic interests would be further damaged. In Britain, the Cabinet was informed that 30,000 British coal miners were about to lose their jobs because of the ban on coal exports to Italy.

1 Look at Source 20. What has Mussolini let out?

SOURCE 20



A cartoon by David Low published in October 1935. The figure taking off the lid is Mussolini.

SOURCE 21

Yes, we know that World War began in Manchuria fifteen years ago. We know that four years later we could easily have stopped Mussolini if we had taken the sanctions against Mussolini that were obviously required, if we had closed the Suez Canal to the aggressor and stopped his oil.

British statesman Philip Noel Baker speaking at the very last session of the League in April 1946.

- 1 Explain in your own words:
 - a) why the Hoare–Laval deal caused such outrage
 - b) how it affected attitudes to the League
 - c) how the USA undermined the League.
- 2 Look at Source 22. What event is the cartoonist referring to in 'the matter has been settled elsewhere'?

More important still, the Suez Canal, which was owned by Britain and France, was not closed to Mussolini's supply ships. The canal was the Italians' main supply route to Abyssinia and closing it could have ended the Abyssinian campaign very quickly. Both Britain and France were afraid that closing the canal could have resulted in war with Italy. This failure was fatal for Abyssinia.

Equally damaging to the League was the secret dealing between the British and the French that was going on behind the scenes. In December 1935, while sanctions discussions were still taking place, the British and French Foreign Ministers, Hoare and Laval, were hatching a plan. This aimed to give Mussolini two-thirds of Abyssinia in return for his calling off his invasion! Laval even proposed to put the plan to Mussolini before they showed it to either the League of Nations or Haile Selassie. Laval told the British that if they did not agree to the plan, then the French would no longer support sanctions against Italy.

However, details of the plan were leaked to the French press. It proved quite disastrous for the League. Haile Selassie demanded an immediate League debate about it. In both Britain and France it was seen as a blatant act of treachery against the League. Hoare and Laval were both sacked. But the real damage was to the sanctions discussions. They lost all momentum. The question about whether to ban oil sales was further delayed. In February 1936 the committee concluded that if they did stop oil sales to Italy, the Italians' supplies would be exhausted in two months, even if the Americans kept on selling oil to them. But by then it was all too late. Mussolini had already taken over large parts of Abyssinia. And the Americans were even more disgusted with the ditherings of the French and the British than they had been before and so blocked a move to support the League's sanctions. American oil producers actually stepped up their exports to Italy.

Mussolini 'obtains' Abyssinia

On 7 March 1936 the fatal blow was delivered. Hitler, timing his move to perfection, marched his troops into the Rhineland, an act prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles (see page 19). If there had been any hope of getting the French to support sanctions against Italy, it was now dead. The French were desperate to gain the support of Italy and were now prepared to pay the price of giving Abyssinia to Mussolini.

Italy continued to defy the League's orders and by May 1936 had taken the capital of Abyssinia, Addis Ababa. On 2 May, Haile Selassie was forced into exile. On 9 May, Mussolini formally annexed the entire country. The League watched helplessly. Collective security had been shown up as an empty promise. The League of Nations had failed.

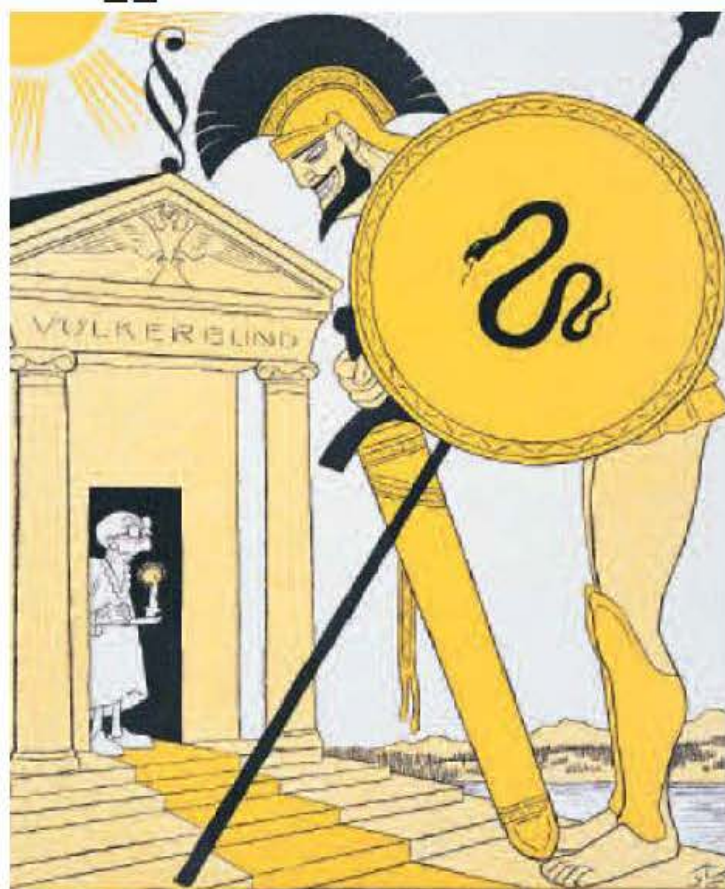
If the British and French had hoped that their handling of the Abyssinian crisis would help strengthen their position against Hitler, they were soon proved very wrong. In November 1936 Mussolini and Hitler signed an agreement of their own called the Rome–Berlin Axis.

SOURCE 23

Could the League survive the failure of sanctions to rescue Abyssinia? Could it ever impose sanctions again? Probably there had never been such a clear-cut case for sanctions. If the League had failed in this case there could probably be no confidence that it could succeed again in the future.

Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, expressing his

SOURCE 22



A German cartoon from the front cover of the pro-Nazi magazine *Simplicissimus*, 1936. The warrior is delivering a message to the League of Nations: 'I am sorry to disturb your sleep but I just wanted to tell you that you should no longer bother yourselves about this Abyssinian business. The matter has been settled elsewhere.'

- 3 From Sources 24–28 make a list of ways in which the Abyssinian crisis damaged the League.

A disaster for the League and for the world

Historians often disagree about how to interpret important events. However, one of the most striking things about the events of 1935 and 1936 is that most historians seem to agree about the Abyssinian crisis: it was a disaster for the League of Nations and had serious consequences for world peace.

SOURCE 24

The crises of 1935–6 were fatal to the League, which was not taken seriously again . . . it was too late to save the League. Instead, it began the emotional preparation among the democracies for the Second World War . . .

Written by historian JR Western in 1971.

SOURCE 25

The implications of the conquest of Abyssinia were not confined to East Africa. Although victory cemented Mussolini's personal prestige at home, Italy gained little or nothing from it in material terms. The damage done, meanwhile, to the prestige of Britain, France and the League of Nations was irreversible. The only winner in the whole sorry episode was Adolf Hitler.

Written by historian TA Morris in 1995.

SOURCE 26

After seeing what happened first in Manchuria then in Abyssinia, most people drew the conclusion that it was no longer much use placing their hopes in the League . . .

Written by historian James Joll in 1976.

SOURCE 27

The real death of the League was in 1935. One day it was a powerful body imposing sanctions, the next day it was an empty sham, everyone scuttling from it as quickly as possible. Hitler watched.

Written by historian AJP Taylor in 1966.

SOURCE 28

If new accounts by historians show that statesmen were able to use the League to ease tension and win time in the 1920s, no such case appears possible for the 1930s. Indeed, the League's processes may have played a role in that deterioration. Diplomacy requires leaders who can speak for their states; it requires secrecy; and it requires the ability to make the credible threats. The Covenant's security arrangements met none of those criteria.

An extract from 'Back to the League of Nations' by Susan Pederson, Professor of History at Columbia University.

Activity

Work in pairs. Write a caption for one of the two cartoons in Source 29, showing people's feelings about the League after the Abyssinian crisis.

SOURCE 29



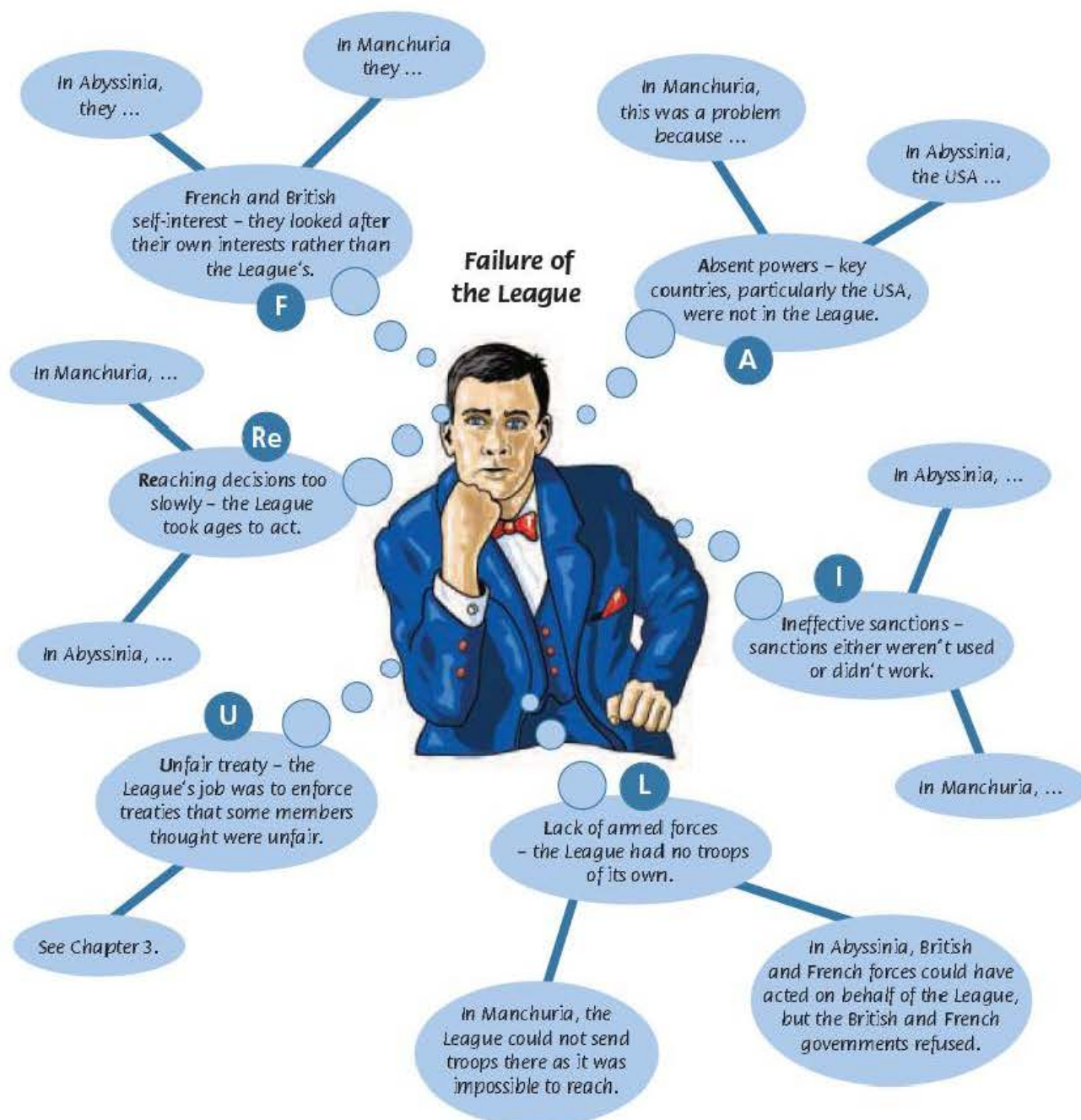
Two cartoons from Punch, 1938. The doctors in A represent Britain and France.

Focus Task

Why did the League of Nations fail in the 1930s?

Here is a diagram summarising the failure of the League of Nations. Complete the diagram to explain how each weakness affected the way the League acted over the invasion of Manchuria and Abyssinia. We have filled in one point for you. There is one weakness that you will not be able to write about yet – you can do that after you have studied Chapter 3.

Note: The memory aid FAILURE should help you remember this for an exam.



3

Hitler's foreign policy and the origins of the Second World War

3.1

How did Hitler challenge and exploit the Treaty of Versailles, 1933–1938?

Focus

International tension rose dramatically in the 1930s. The single biggest cause of this rising tension was the new German leader, Adolf Hitler, who came to power in 1933. In Topic 3.1 you will consider how and why he caused such tension in the years 1933–38. You will:

- ◆ examine Hitler's foreign policy aims
- ◆ consider how Hitler was able to get away with breaking the terms of the Treaty of Versailles by rearming Germany
- ◆ investigate how Hitler also managed to revise the terms of the Treaty of Versailles which affected German territory and union with Austria.

The years 1938–39 saw desperate attempts by European leaders to prevent the rising tension leading to another war in Europe, but these efforts proved unsuccessful and war broke out in September 1939. In Topic 3.2 you will:

- ◆ investigate why Britain and France followed a policy of appeasing Hitler
- ◆ examine the role of key players such as Chamberlain, Hitler and the Soviet leader Stalin
- ◆ consider who was responsible for the outbreak of war.

SOURCE 3

Any account of the origins and course of the Second World War must give Hitler the leading part. Without him a major war in the early 1940s between all the world's great powers was unthinkable.

British historian Professor Richard Overy, writing in 1996.

SOURCE 1



Adolf Hitler (right) during the First World War.

SOURCE 2



Adolf Hitler is welcomed by a crowd of Nazi supporters in 1933.

Less than twenty years separate Sources 1 and 2. Between 1918 and 1933 Adolf Hitler rose from being an obscure and demoralised member of the defeated German army to become the all-powerful Führer, dictator of Germany, with almost unlimited power and an overwhelming ambition to make Germany great once again. His is an astonishing story which you can read about in detail on pages 187–97. Here you will be concentrating on just one intriguing and controversial question: how far was Hitler responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War? Is Source 3 right?

Hitler's plans

Hitler was never secretive about his plans for Germany. As early as 1924 he had laid out in his book *Mein Kampf* what he would do if the Nazis ever achieved power in Germany. His three main aims are described below.

SOURCE 4

We demand equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St Germain.

From Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, 1923–24. The Treaty of St Germain was Austria's equivalent of the Treaty of Versailles.

Abolish the Treaty of Versailles!

Like many Germans, Hitler believed that the Treaty of Versailles was unjust.

He hated the Treaty and called the German leaders who had signed it 'The November Criminals'. The Treaty was a constant reminder to Germans of their defeat in the First World War and their humiliation by the Allies. Hitler promised that if he became leader of Germany he would reverse it.

By the time he came to power in Germany, some of the terms had already been changed. For example, Germany had stopped making reparations payments altogether. However, most points were still in place. The table in the Focus Task on page 41 shows the terms of the Treaty that most angered Hitler.

Expand German territory!

The Treaty of Versailles had taken away territory from Germany. Hitler wanted to get that territory back. He wanted Germany to unite with Austria. He wanted German minorities in other countries such as Czechoslovakia to rejoin Germany. But he also wanted to carve out an empire in eastern Europe to give extra *Lebensraum* or 'living space' for Germans.

SOURCE 5

We turn our eyes towards the lands of the east . . . When we speak of new territory in Europe today, we must principally think of Russia and the border states subject to her. Destiny itself seems to wish to point out the way for us here.

Colonisation of the eastern frontiers is of extreme importance. It will be the duty of Germany's foreign policy to provide large spaces for the nourishment and settlement of the growing population of Germany.

From Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Activity

It is 1933. Write a briefing paper for the British government on Hitler's plans for Germany. Use Sources 4–6 to help you. Conclude with your own assessment on whether the government should be worried about Hitler and his plans.

In your conclusion, remember these facts about the British government:

- Britain is a leading member of the League of Nations and is supposed to uphold the Treaty of Versailles, by force if necessary.
- The British government does not trust the Communists and thinks that a strong Germany could help to stop the Communist threat.

Defeat Communism!

A German empire carved out of the Soviet Union would also help Hitler in one of his other objectives – the defeat of Communism or Bolshevism. Hitler was anti-Communist. He believed that Bolsheviks had helped to bring about the defeat of Germany in the First World War. He also believed that the Bolsheviks wanted to take over Germany.

SOURCE 6


We must not forget that the Bolsheviks are blood-stained. That they overran a great state [Russia], and in a fury of massacre wiped out millions of their most intelligent fellow-countrymen and now for ten years have been conducting the most tyrannous regime of all time. We must not forget that many of them belong to a race which combines a rare mixture of bestial cruelty and vast skill in lies, and considers itself specially called now to gather the whole world under its bloody oppression.

The menace which Russia suffered under is one which perpetually hangs over Germany. Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism. All our strength is needed to raise up our nation once more and rescue it from the embrace of the international python . . . The first essential is the expulsion of the Marxist poison from the body of our nation.

From Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Hitler's actions

This timeline shows how, between 1933 and 1939, Hitler turned his plans into actions.

 <p>1933</p> <p>1939 WAR</p>	DATE	ACTION
	1933	Took Germany out of the League of Nations Began rearming Germany
	1934	Tried to take over Austria but was prevented by Mussolini
	1935	Held massive rearmament rally in Germany
	1936	Reintroduced conscription in Germany Sent German troops into the Rhineland Made an anti-Communist alliance with Japan
	1937	Tried out Germany's new weapons in the Spanish Civil War Made an anti-Communist alliance with Italy
	1938	Took over Austria Took over the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia
	1939	Invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia Invaded Poland

When you see events leading up to the war laid out this way, it makes it seem as if Hitler planned it all step by step. In fact, this view of events was widely accepted by historians until the 1960s. In the 1960s, however, the British historian AJP Taylor came up with a new interpretation. His view was that Hitler was a gambler rather than a planner. Hitler simply took the logical next step to see what he could get away with. He was bold. He kept his nerve. As other countries gave into him and allowed him to get away with each gamble, so he became bolder and risked more. In Taylor's interpretation it is Britain, the Allies and the League of Nations who are to blame for letting Hitler get away with it – by not standing up to him. As you examine Hitler's actions in more detail, you will see that both interpretations are possible. You can make up your own mind which you agree with.

Focus Task

Hitler and the Treaty of Versailles

- 1 Draw up a table like this one to show some of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that affected Germany.
- 2 As you work through this chapter, fill out the other columns of this 'Versailles chart'.

Terms of the Treaty of Versailles	What Hitler did and when	The reasons he gave for his action	The response from Britain and France
Germany's armed forces to be severely limited			
Saar to be run by the League of Nations for 15 years			
The Rhineland to be a demilitarised zone			
Germany forbidden to unite with Austria			
The Sudetenland taken into the new state of Czechoslovakia			
The Polish Corridor given to Poland			

SOURCE 7

I am convinced that Hitler does not want war . . . what the Germans are after is a strong army which will enable them to deal with Russia.

British politician Lord Lothian,
January 1935.

- 1 Design a Nazi poster to present the information in Source 11 to the German people.
- 2 Fill out the first row of your 'Versailles chart' on page 41.
- 3 What factors allowed Hitler to get away with rearming Germany?

Rearmament

Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933. One of his first steps was to increase Germany's armed forces. Thousands of unemployed workers were drafted into the army. This helped him to reduce unemployment, which was one of the biggest problems he faced in Germany. But it also helped him to deliver on his promise to make Germany strong again and to challenge the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Hitler knew that German people supported rearmament and bitterly resented the limits on German forces which the Treaty of Versailles had put on Germany (see page 19). But Hitler also knew rearmament would cause alarm in other countries. He handled it cleverly. His first step was to make a clear statement at the League of Nations Disarmament Conference in Geneva, which ran from 1932 to 1934. He pointed out that no other countries had disarmed during the 1920s and made the other states as uncomfortable as possible on this issue. In May 1933 Hitler promised not to rearm Germany if 'in five years all other nations destroyed their arms'. In June 1933 Britain produced an ambitious disarmament plan but it was rejected by the Conference. In October 1933 Hitler withdrew from the Disarmament Conference, and soon after took Germany out of the League altogether.

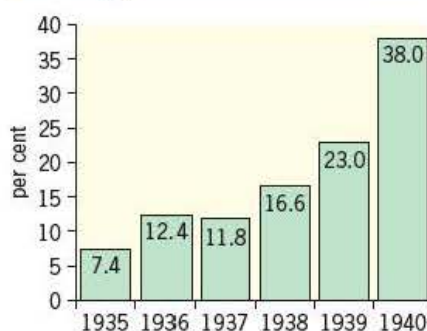
SOURCE 8

March 7, 1935: I learn from a perfectly trustworthy source that the German 'disarmament' expert in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives the following details regarding the German rearmament position. Within a month Germany expects to be stronger in the air than France. Within a year she should be stronger on land than France. She will not be content with the same military strength as the French but will demand a strength proportionate to her population . . . The German expert expressed intense surprise that France had allowed Germany to get so strong.

March 16, 1935: Chancellor [Hitler] who returned here last night, has just summoned me and informed me that the German Government has decided, in reply to the two years period of service voted yesterday by the French Parliament, to bring in universal military conscription in Germany at once. The peace army will consist of about 500,000 men . . . A proclamation to this effect has been issued to the German nation.

Reports from the British Ambassador in Germany to the British government, 1935.

SOURCE 9



The proportion of German spending that went into armaments, 1935–40.

SOURCE 10

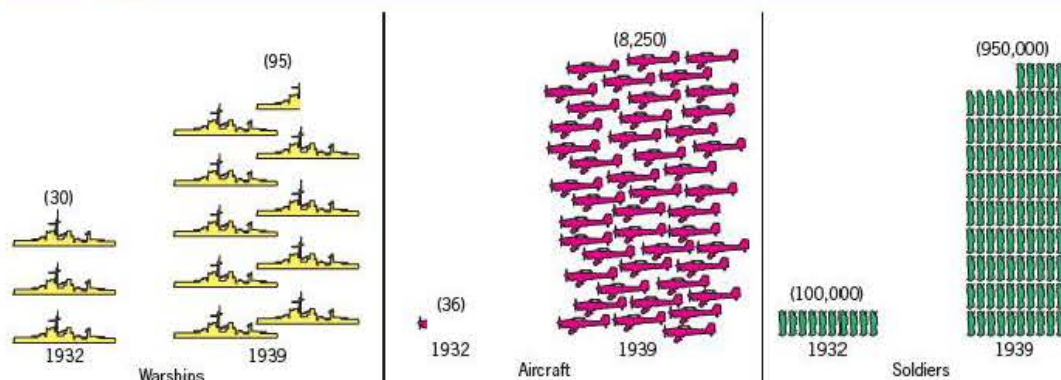


German soldiers and armaments on show at the Proclamation of Freedom to Rearm Rally in 1935.

Rearmament began in secret at first. In 1934 Hitler signed a Non-Aggression Pact with his eastern neighbour Poland. Each side agreed not to use force in settling disputes. This agreement strengthened Hitler's position because it gave him time and space to rearm and it also weakened the alliance between Poland and Germany's enemy France.

Hitler reintroduced conscription to the army in March 1935 (see Source 8). He was breaking the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, but he guessed correctly that he would get away with rearmament. In 1935 many other countries were using rearmament as a way to fight unemployment. The final collapse of the League of Nations Disarmament Conference in 1934 had shown that other nations were not prepared to disarm. He even staged a massive military rally celebrating the German armed forces (see Source 10).

SOURCE 11



German armed forces in 1932 and 1939.

Rearmament was a very popular move in Germany. It boosted Nazi support. Hitler also knew that Britain had some sympathy with Germany on this issue. Britain believed that the limits put on Germany's armed forces by the Treaty of Versailles were too tight. The permitted forces were not enough to defend Germany from attack. Britain also thought that a strong Germany would be a good buffer against Communism.

Britain had already helped to dismantle the Treaty by signing a naval agreement with Hitler in 1935, allowing Germany to increase its navy to up to 35 per cent of the size of the British navy. The French were angry with Britain about this, but there was little they could do.

The return of the Saar, 1935

4 Fill out row 2 of your 'Versailles chart' (see page 41).

The Saar region of Germany had been run by the League of Nations since 1919. In 1935 the League of Nations held the promised plebiscite for people to vote on whether their region should return to German rule. The vote was an overwhelming success for Hitler. Around 90 per cent of the population voted to return to German rule. This was entirely legal and within the terms of the Treaty. It was also a real morale booster for Hitler.

SOURCE 12



Following the plebiscite in 1935, people and police express their joy at returning to the German Reich by giving the Nazi salute.

SOURCE 13



The Rhineland.

- 1 Does Source 15 support or contradict Hitler's argument that Germany was under threat? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 15



An American cartoon published in March 1936 showing the encirclement of Germany by France and the USSR.

Remilitarisation of the Rhineland

In March 1936, Hitler took his first really big risk by moving troops into the Rhineland area of Germany.

The demilitarisation of the Rhineland was one of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. It had also been accepted by Germany in the Locarno Treaties of 1925. Hitler was taking a huge gamble. If he had been forced to withdraw, he would have faced humiliation and would have lost the support of the German army (many of the generals were unsure about him, anyway). Hitler knew the risks, but he had chosen the time and place well.

France had just signed a treaty with the USSR to protect each other against attack from Germany (see Source 15). Hitler used the agreement to claim that Germany was under threat. He argued that in the face of such a threat he should be allowed to place troops on his own frontier.

Hitler knew that many people in Britain felt that he had a right to station his troops in the Rhineland and he was fairly confident that Britain would not intervene. His gamble was over France. Would France let him get away with it?

SOURCE 14

At that time we had no army worth mentioning . . . If the French had taken any action we would have been easily defeated; our resistance would have been over in a few days. And the Air Force we had then was ridiculous – a few Junkers 52s from Luft Hansa and not even enough bombs for them . . .

Hitler looks back on his gamble over the Rhineland some years after the event.

SOURCE 16



German troops marching through the city of Cologne in March 1936. This style of marching with high steps was known as goose-stepping.

SOURCE 17

Hitler has got away with it. France is not marching. No wonder the faces of Göring and Blomberg [Nazi leaders] were all smiles.

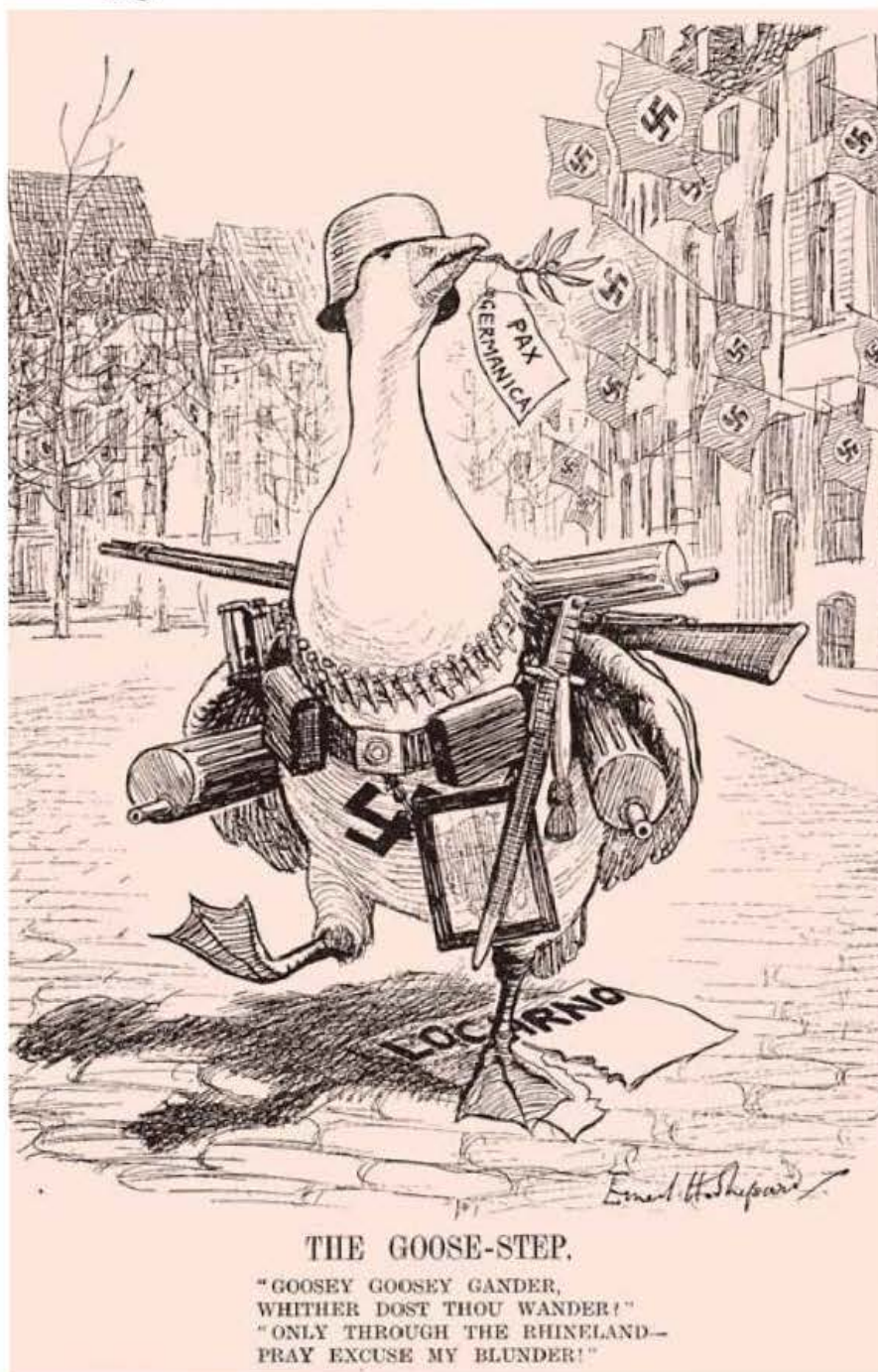
Oh, the stupidity (or is it the paralysis?) of the French. I learnt today that the German troops had orders to beat a hasty retreat if the French army opposed them in any way.

Written by William Shirer in 1936. He was an American journalist in Germany during the 1930s. He was a critic of the Nazi regime and had to flee from Germany in 1940.

As the troops moved into the Rhineland, Hitler and his generals sweated nervously. They had orders to pull out if the French acted against them. Despite the rearmament programme, Germany's army was no match for the French army. It lacked essential equipment and air support. In the end, however, Hitler's luck held.

The attention of the League of Nations was on the Abyssinian crisis which was happening at exactly the same time (see pages 34–37). The League condemned Hitler's action but had no power to do anything else. Even the French, who were most directly threatened by the move, were divided over what to do. They were about to hold an election and none of the French leaders was prepared to take responsibility for plunging France into a war. Of course, they did not know how weak the German army was. In the end, France refused to act without British support and so Hitler's big gamble paid off. Maybe next time he would risk more!

SOURCE 18



A British cartoon about the reoccupation of the Rhineland, 1936. Pax Germanica is Latin and means 'Peace, German style'.

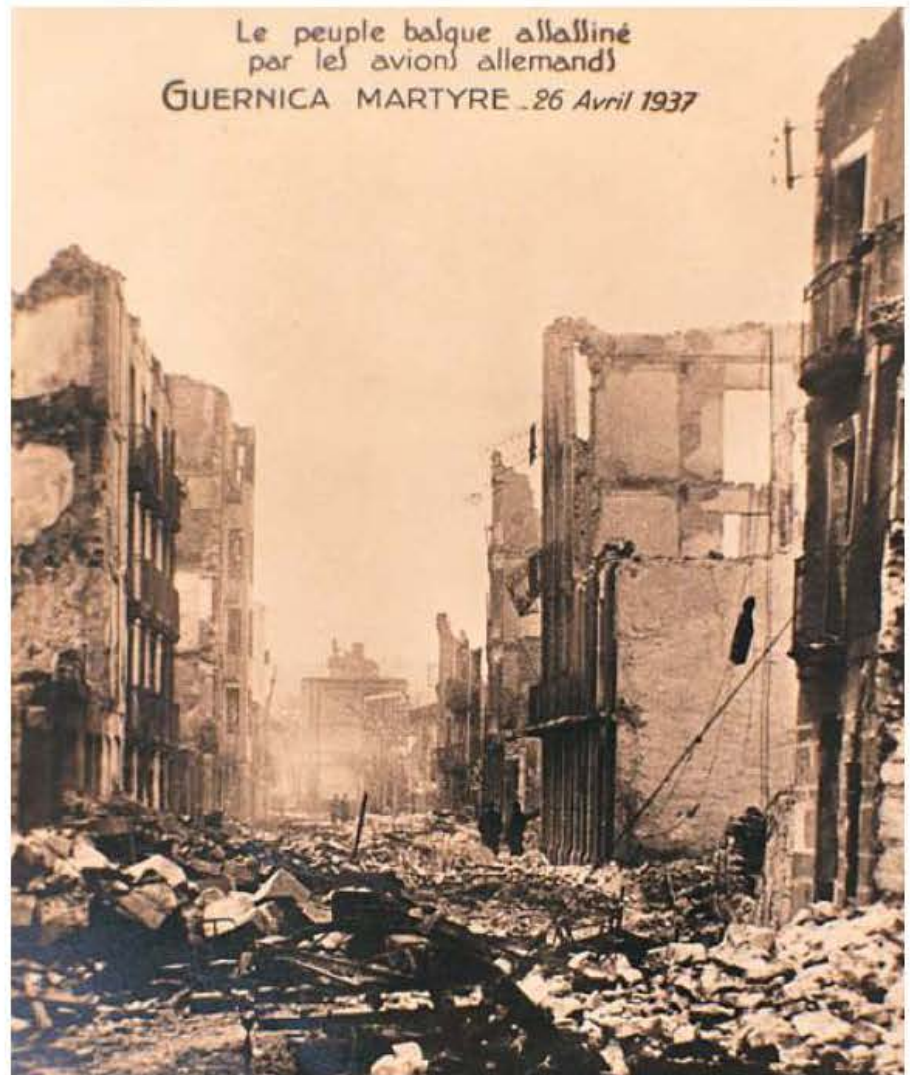
- 2 What do Sources 14 and 17 disagree about? Why might they disagree about it?
- 3 Fill out row 3 of your 'Versailles chart' on page 41.
- 4 Would you regard reoccupation of the Rhineland as a success for Hitler or as a failure for the French and the British? Explain your answer by referring to the sources.
- 5 Why has the cartoonist in Source 18 shown Germany as a goose?
- 6 Look at the equipment being carried by the goose. What does this tell you about how the cartoonist saw the new Germany?

The Spanish Civil War

These early successes seemed to give Hitler confidence. In 1936 a civil war broke out in Spain between Communists, who were supporters of the Republican government, and right-wing rebels under General Franco. Hitler saw this as an opportunity to fight against Communism and at the same time to try out his new armed forces.

In 1937, as the League of Nations looked on helplessly, German aircraft made devastating bombing raids on civilian populations in various Spanish cities. The destruction at Guernica was terrible. The world looked on in horror at the suffering that modern weapons could cause.

SOURCE 19



A postcard published in France to mark the bombing of Guernica in 1937. The text reads 'The Basque people murdered by German planes. Guernica martyred 26 April 1937'.

The Anti-Comintern Pact, 1936–37

The Italian leader Mussolini was also heavily involved in the Spanish Civil War. Hitler and Mussolini saw that they had much in common also with the military dictatorship in Japan. In 1936, Germany and Japan signed an Anti-Comintern Pact. In 1937, Italy also signed it. Anti-Comintern means 'Anti-Communist International'. The aim of the pact was to limit Communist influence around the world. It was particularly aimed at the USSR. The new alliance was called the Axis alliance.

Anschluss with Austria, 1938

With the successes of 1936 and 1937 to boost him, Hitler turned his attention to his homeland of Austria. The Austrian people were mainly German, and in *Mein Kampf* Hitler had made it clear that he felt that the two states belonged together as one German nation. Many in Austria supported the idea of union with Germany, since their country was so economically weak. Hitler was confident that he could bring them together into a 'greater Germany'. In fact, he had tried to take over Austria in 1934, but on that occasion Mussolini had stopped him. Four years later, in 1938, the situation was different. Hitler and Mussolini were now allies.

There was a strong Nazi Party in Austria. Hitler encouraged the Nazis to stir up trouble for the government. They staged demonstrations calling for union with Germany. They caused riots. Hitler then told the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg that only *Anschluss* (political union) could sort out these problems. He pressurised Schuschnigg to agree to *Anschluss*. Schuschnigg asked for help from France and Britain but was refused it. So he called a plebiscite (a referendum), to see what the Austrian people wanted. Hitler was not prepared to risk this – he might lose! He simply sent his troops into Austria in March 1938, supposedly to guarantee a trouble-free plebiscite. Under the watchful eye of the Nazi troops, 99.75 per cent voted for *Anschluss*. *Anschluss* was completed without any military confrontation with France and Britain. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, felt that Austrians and Germans had a right to be united and that the Treaty of Versailles was wrong to separate them. Britain's Lord Halifax had even suggested to Hitler before the *Anschluss* that Britain would not resist Germany uniting with Austria.

- 1 Explain what each of the cartoons in Source 20 is saying about the *Anschluss*.
- 2 Complete row 4 of your 'Versailles chart' on page 41.

SOURCE 20



Two cartoons commenting on the *Anschluss*, 1938. A is from *Punch*. B is a Soviet cartoon showing Hitler catching Austria.

Once again, Hitler's risky but decisive action had reaped a rich reward – Austria's soldiers, weapons and its rich deposits of gold and iron ore were added to Germany's increasingly strong army and industry. Hitler was breaking yet another condition of the Treaty of Versailles, but the pattern was becoming clear. The Treaty itself was seen as suspect. Britain and France were not prepared to go to war to defend a flawed treaty. Where would Hitler go next and how would Britain and France react?

3.2

Why did Chamberlain's policy of Appeasement fail to prevent the outbreak of war in 1939?

Why Appeasement?

Britain signed a naval agreement with Germany in 1935. For the next three years, Britain followed a policy of giving Hitler what he wanted – a policy that became known as Appeasement. Neville Chamberlain is the man most associated with this policy (see Profile, page 51), although he did not become Prime Minister until 1937. Many other British people, including many politicians, were also in favour of this policy. See Source 1 for their reasons.

SOURCE 1

At least Hitler is standing up to Communism

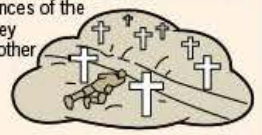
Hitler was not the only concern of Britain and its allies. He was not even their main worry. They were more concerned about the spread of Communism and particularly about the dangers to world peace posed by Stalin, the new leader in the USSR. Many saw Hitler as the buffer to the threat of spreading Communism.

**The attitude of Britain's Empire**

It was not at all certain that British Empire and Commonwealth states (e.g. Canada) would support a war against Germany.

**We must not repeat the horrors of the Great War**

Both British and French leaders vividly remembered the horrific experiences of the First World War. They wished to avoid another war at almost any cost.

**The USA will not support us if we stand up to Hitler**

American leaders were determined not to be dragged into another war. Could Britain and her allies face up to Germany without the guarantee of American support?

**Arguments for Appeasement****Hitler is right – the Treaty of Versailles is unfair**

Many felt that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair to Germany. They assumed that once these wrongs were put right then Germany would become a peaceful nation again.

**Britain is not ready for war**

The British government believed that the armed forces were not ready for war against Hitler.

**Our own economic problems are a higher priority**

Britain and France were still suffering from the effects of the Depression. They had large debts and huge unemployment.



What was wrong with Appeasement?

Britain's leaders may have felt that they had no option but to appease Hitler, but there were obvious risks to such a policy. Some of these were stated at the time (see Sources 3–5). Others became obvious with hindsight (Source 2). You will return to these criticisms in the Focus Task on page 61. You may even be able to add to this list from what you have already studied.

SOURCE 2

It encouraged Hitler to be aggressive

With hindsight, you can see that each gamble he got away with encouraged him to take a bigger risk.

**Arguments against appeasement****It allowed Germany to grow too strong**

With hindsight, you can see that Germany was not only recovering lost ground: it was also becoming much more powerful than Britain or France.

It put too much trust in Hitler's promises

With hindsight, you can see that Hitler often went back on his promises. Appeasement was based on the mistaken idea that Hitler was trustworthy.

**It scared the USSR**

With hindsight, you can see how the policy alarmed the USSR. Hitler made no secret of his plans to expand eastwards. Appeasement sent the message to the Soviet Union that Britain and France would not stand in Hitler's way.



- 1 Look at Source 3. What does the cartoonist think Appeasement will lead to?
- 2 Most people in Britain supported Appeasement. Write a letter to the *London Evening Standard* justifying Appeasement and pointing out why the cartoonist in Source 3 is mistaken. Use the points given in Source 1.

SOURCE 3



A cartoon by David Low from the *London Evening Standard*, 1936. This was a popular newspaper with a large readership in Britain.

SOURCE 4



A cartoon from *Punch*, November 1937. *Punch* was deeply critical of the British government's policies that allowed Hitler to achieve what he wanted in the 1930s. The magazine was an important influence on public opinion, particularly among educated and influential people. It had a circulation of about 120,000 copies per week during the 1930s.

SOURCE 5



David Low cartoon commenting on the *Anschluss*, 1938.

Activity

Why Appeasement?

- 1 Read the explanations in Source 1 of why Britain followed a policy of Appeasement.
- 2 Make notes under the following headings to summarise why Britain followed a policy of Appeasement:
 - Military reasons
 - Economic reasons
 - Fear
 - Public opinion
 - Other.
- 3 Use your notes to help you to write a short paragraph to explain in your own words how each of these reasons influenced the policy of Appeasement.

The Sudetenland, 1938

After the Austrian *Anschluss*, Hitler was beginning to feel that he could not put a foot wrong. But his growing confidence was putting the peace of Europe in increasing danger.

SOURCE 6



Central Europe after the *Anschluss*.

SOURCE 7

I give you my word of honour that Czechoslovakia has nothing to fear from the Reich.

Hitler speaking to Chamberlain in 1938.

Unlike the leaders of Britain and France, Edward Beneš, the leader of Czechoslovakia, was horrified by the *Anschluss*. He realised that Czechoslovakia would be the next country on Hitler's list for takeover. It seemed that Britain and France were not prepared to stand up to Hitler. Beneš sought guarantees from the British and French that they would honour their commitment to defend Czechoslovakia if Hitler invaded. The French were bound by a treaty and reluctantly said they would. The British felt bound to support the French. However, Chamberlain asked Hitler whether he had designs on Czechoslovakia and was reassured by Hitler's promise (Source 7).

Despite what he said to Chamberlain, Hitler did have designs on Czechoslovakia. This new state, created by the Treaty of Versailles, included a large number of Germans – former subjects of Austria–Hungary's empire – in the Sudetenland area. Henlein, who was the leader of the Nazis in the Sudetenland, stirred up trouble among the Sudetenland Germans and they demanded to be part of Germany. In May 1938, Hitler made it clear that he intended to fight Czechoslovakia if necessary. Historians disagree as to whether Hitler really meant what he said. There is considerable evidence that the German army was not at all ready for war. Even so the news put Europe on full war alert.

Unlike Austria, Czechoslovakia would be no walk-over for Hitler. Britain, France and the USSR had all promised to support Czechoslovakia if it came to war. The Czechs themselves had a modern army. The Czechoslovak leader, Beneš, was prepared to fight. He knew that without the Sudetenland and its forts, railways and industries, Czechoslovakia would be defenceless.

All through the summer the tension rose in Europe. If there was a war, people expected that it would bring heavy bombing of civilians as had happened in the Spanish Civil War, and in cities around Britain councils began digging air raid shelters. Magazines carried advertisements for air raid protection and gas masks.

SOURCE 8

How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a far away country between people of whom we know nothing. I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul.

From a radio broadcast by Neville Chamberlain, September 1938.

Profile

Neville Chamberlain



- Born 1869.
- He was the son of the famous radical politician Joseph Chamberlain.
- He was a successful businessman in the Midlands before entering politics.
- During the First World War he served in the Cabinet as Director General of National Service. During this time he saw the full horrors of war.
- After the war he was Health Minister and then Chancellor. He was noted for his careful work and his attention to detail. However, he was not good at listening to advice.
- He was part of the government throughout the 1920s and supported the policy of Appeasement towards Hitler. He became Prime Minister in 1937, although he had little experience of foreign affairs.
- He believed that Germany had real grievances – this was the basis for his policy of Appeasement.
- He became a national hero after the Munich Conference of 1938 averted war.
- In 1940 Chamberlain resigned as Prime Minister and Winston Churchill took over.

SOURCE 9



Digging air raid defences in London, September 1938.

In September the problem reached crisis point. In a last-ditch effort to avert war, Chamberlain flew to meet Hitler on 15 September. The meeting appeared to go well. Hitler moderated his demands, saying he was only interested in parts of the Sudetenland – and then only if a plebiscite showed that the Sudeten Germans wanted to join Germany. Chamberlain thought this was reasonable. He felt it was yet another of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that needed to be addressed. Chamberlain seemed convinced that, if Hitler got what he wanted, he would at last be satisfied.

On 19 September Chamberlain and the French leader Edward Daladier put to the Czechs their plans to give Hitler the parts of the Sudetenland that he wanted. However, three days later at a second meeting, Hitler increased his demands. He said he 'regretted' that the previously arranged terms were not enough. He wanted all the Sudetenland.

SOURCE 10

The Sudetenland is the last problem that must be solved and it will be solved. It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe.

The aims of our foreign policy are not unlimited . . . They are grounded on the determination to save the German people alone . . . Ten million Germans found themselves beyond the frontiers of the Reich . . . Germans who wished to return to the Reich as their homeland.

Hitler speaking in Berlin, September 1938.

To justify his demands, he claimed that the Czech government was mistreating the Germans in the Sudetenland and that he intended to 'rescue' them by 1 October. Chamberlain told Hitler that his demands were unreasonable. The British navy was mobilised. War seemed imminent.

With Mussolini's help, a final meeting was held in Munich on 29 September. While Europe held its breath, the leaders of Britain, Germany, France and Italy decided on the fate of Czechoslovakia. On 29 September they decided to give Hitler what he wanted. They announced that Czechoslovakia was to lose the Sudetenland. They did not consult the Czechs, nor did they consult the USSR. This is known as the Munich Agreement. The following morning Chamberlain and Hitler published a joint declaration (Source 12) which Chamberlain said would bring 'peace for our time'.

SOURCE 11

People of Britain, your children are safe. Your husbands and your sons will not march to war. Peace is a victory for all mankind. If we must have a victor, let us choose Chamberlain, for the Prime Minister's conquests are mighty and enduring – millions of happy homes and hearts relieved of their burden.

The Daily Express comments on the Munich Agreement, 30 September 1938.

SOURCE 12

We regard the Agreement signed last night ... as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again. We are resolved that we shall use consultation to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to assure the peace of Europe.

The joint declaration of Chamberlain and Hitler, 30 September 1938.

- 1 Study Sources 11–17. Sort them into the following categories:
 - a) those that support the Munich Agreement
 - b) those that criticise the Munich Agreement.
- 2 List the reasons why each source supports or criticises the agreement.

Activity

Write extracts from the diaries of some of the main parties affected by the Sudetenland crisis, e.g. Chamberlain, Hitler, Beneš or one of the diplomats who was involved in making the agreement, or of an ordinary Briton or an ordinary Czech.

Hitler had gambled that the British would not risk war. He spoke of the Munich Agreement as 'an undreamt-of triumph, so great that you can scarcely imagine it'. The prize of the Sudetenland had been given to him without a shot being fired. On 1 October German troops marched into the Sudetenland. At the same time, Hungary and Poland helped themselves to Czech territory where Hungarians and Poles were living.

The Czechs had been betrayed. Beneš resigned. But the rest of Europe breathed a sigh of relief. Chamberlain received a hero's welcome back in Britain, when he returned with the 'piece of paper' – the Agreement – signed by Hitler (see Profile, page 51).

SOURCE 13



Two British cartoons commenting on the Sudetenland crisis of 1938.

A triumph or a sell-out?

What do you think of the Munich Agreement? Was it a good move or a poor one? Most people in Britain were relieved that it had averted war, but many were now openly questioning the whole policy of Appeasement. Even the public relief may have been overstated. Opinion polls in September 1938 show that the British people did not think Appeasement would stop Hitler. It simply delayed a war, rather than preventing it. Even while Chamberlain was signing the Munich Agreement, he was approving a massive increase in arms spending in preparation for war.

SOURCE 14

By repeatedly surrendering to force, Chamberlain has encouraged aggression . . . our central contention, therefore, is that Mr Chamberlain's policy has throughout been based on a fatal misunderstanding of the psychology of dictatorship.

The Yorkshire Post, December 1938.

SOURCE 15

We have suffered a total defeat . . . I think you will find that in a period of time Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime. We have passed an awful milestone in our history. This is only the beginning of the reckoning.

Winston Churchill speaking in October 1938. He felt that Britain should resist the demands of Hitler. However, he was an isolated figure in the 1930s.

SOURCE 16



A British cartoon from 1938.

SOURCE 17

CELEBRATE in the best of spirits **SEAGERS GIN** 100% PURE 100% BRILLIANT

DAILY SKETCH No. 9,177 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1938 ONE PENNY

PEACE SOUVENIR ISSUE WIRELESS: P. 19

PREMIER SAYS 'PEACE FOR OUR TIME' - P. 3

Give Thanks In Church To-morrow

TO-MORROW is Peace Sunday. Hardly more than a few hours ago it seemed as if it would have been the first Sunday of the most senseless and savage war in history.

The "Daily Sketch" suggests that the Nation should attend church to-morrow and give thanks.

THE fathers and mothers who might have lost their sons, the young people who would have paid the cost of war with their lives, the children who have been spared the horror of modern warfare — let them all attend Divine Service and kneel in humility and thankfulness.

To-morrow should not be allowed to pass without a sincere and reverent recognition of its significance.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN shows the paper that reports his great triumph for European peace to the thousands who gave him such a thunderous welcome at Heston yesterday. It is the historic Anglo-German Pact signed by himself and the Fuehrer, Herr Hitler.

'Determined To Ensure Peace'

WHEN Mr. Chamberlain arrived at Heston last night he said:

"This morning I had another talk with the German Chancellor, Herr Hitler. Here is a paper which bears his name as well as mine. I would like to read it to you:

"We, the German Fuehrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting to-day and are agreed in recognising that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe."

"We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to war with one another again."

"We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to the assurance of peace in Europe."

The front page of the Daily Sketch, 1 October 1938.

Activity

Write a selection of newspaper headlines for 30 September – the day after the Munich Agreement. Your selection might include headlines for:

- different British newspapers
- a neutral American newspaper
- a German newspaper
- a Czech newspaper
- a Polish newspaper.

For each newspaper decide whether the Agreement would be seen as a triumph or a sell-out.

For one of the headlines write a short article describing the Agreement. You can use quotations from Sources 11, 12 and 15.

3 Complete row 5 of your 'Versailles chart' on page 41.

The end of Appeasement

Czechoslovakia, 1939

Although the British people welcomed the Munich Agreement, they did not trust Hitler. In an opinion poll in October 1938, 93 per cent said they did not believe him when he said he had no more territorial ambitions in Europe. In March 1939 they were proved right. On 15 March, with Czechoslovakia in chaos, German troops took over the rest of the country.

SOURCE 18

- Key**
- October 1938
Teschen taken by Poland
 - November 1938 to March 1939
Slovak border areas and Ruthenia taken by Hungary
 - October 1938
Sudetenland region given to Germany in the Munich Agreement
 - March 1939
Remainder of Czechoslovakia taken under German control
 - German border in 1939



The takeover of Czechoslovakia by 1939.

SOURCE 19



German troops entering Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, in March 1939.

There was no resistance from the Czechs. Nor did Britain and France do anything about the situation. However, it was now clear that Hitler could not be trusted. For Chamberlain it was a step too far. Unlike the Sudeten Germans, the Czechs were not separated from their homeland by the Treaty of Versailles. This was an invasion. If Hitler continued unchecked, his next target was likely to be Poland. Britain and France told Hitler that if he invaded Poland they would declare war on Germany. The policy of Appeasement was ended. However, after years of Appeasement, Hitler did not actually believe that Britain and France would risk war by resisting him.

- 1 Choose five words to describe the attitude of the crowd in Source 19.

The Nazi–Soviet Pact

Look at your 'Versailles chart' from page 41. You should have only one item left. As Hitler was gradually retaking land lost at Versailles, you can see from Source 18 that logically his next target was the strip of former German land in Poland known as the Polish Corridor. He had convinced himself that Britain and France would not risk war over this, but he was less sure about Stalin and the USSR. Let's see why.

Background

Stalin had been very worried about the German threat to the Soviet Union ever since Hitler came to power in 1933. Hitler had openly stated his interest in conquering Russian land. He had denounced Communism and imprisoned and killed Communists in Germany. Even so, Stalin could not reach any kind of lasting agreement with Britain and France in the 1930s. From Stalin's point of view, it was not for want of trying. In 1934 he had joined the League of Nations, hoping the League would guarantee his security against the threat from Germany. However, all he saw at the League was its powerlessness when Mussolini successfully invaded Abyssinia, and when both Mussolini and Hitler intervened in the Spanish Civil War. Politicians in Britain and France had not resisted German rearmament in the 1930s. Indeed, some in Britain seemed even to welcome a stronger Germany as a force to fight Communism, which they saw as a bigger threat to British interests than Hitler (see page 48).

Stalin's fears and suspicions grew in the mid 1930s. He signed a treaty with France in 1935 that said that France would help the USSR if Germany invaded the Soviet Union. But Stalin was not sure he could trust the French to stick to it, particularly when they failed even to stop Hitler moving into the Rhineland, which was right on their own border.

The Munich Agreement in 1938 increased Stalin's concerns. He was not consulted about it. Stalin concluded from the agreement that France and Britain were powerless to stop Hitler or, even worse, that they were happy for Hitler to take over eastern Europe and then the USSR.

SOURCE 20

It will be asked how it was possible that the Soviet government signed a non-aggression pact with so deceitful a nation, with such criminals as Hitler and Ribbentrop . . . We secured peace for our country for eighteen months, which enabled us to make military preparations.

Stalin, in a speech in 1941.

SOURCE 21



A British cartoon from 1937. The figures on the left represent Britain and France. The figure on the right is Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister.

- 2 What does Source 22 reveal about Soviet attitudes to Britain and France?
- 3 How might a British politician justify the Munich Agreement to Stalin?

SOURCE 22



A Soviet cartoon from 1939. СССР is Russian for USSR. Daladier (France) and Chamberlain (Britain) are directing Hitler away from western Europe and towards the USSR.

- 1 Look at Source 25. What point is the cartoonist making about the Nazi–Soviet Pact?
- 2 Do you agree with his view of the Pact?

SOURCE 23

Hitler regarded the Pact as his master stroke. Although he had promised the Russians eastern Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia, he never intended to allow them to keep these territories.

Stalin did not expect Hitler to keep his word either. He was sure he could only gain from a long war in which Britain, France and Germany exhausted themselves. Seldom have two countries entered an alliance so dishonestly.

From *The Modern World since 1870*, a school textbook by LE Snellgrove, published in 1980.

SOURCE 24

Why did Britain and France help Hitler to achieve his aims? By rejecting the idea of a united front proposed by the USSR, they played into the hands of Germany. They hoped to appease Hitler by giving him some Czech territory. They wanted to direct German aggression eastward against the USSR and the disgraceful Munich deal achieved this.

[In 1939] the USSR stood alone in the face of the growing Fascist threat. The USSR had to make a treaty of non-aggression with Germany. Some British historians tried to prove that this treaty helped to start the Second World War. The truth is it gave the USSR time to strengthen its defences.

Soviet historian Kukushkin, writing in 1981.

- 3 What do Sources 20, 23 and 24 agree about?
- 4 What do they disagree about?

SOURCE 25



A British cartoon from 1939.

Despite his misgivings, Stalin was still prepared to talk with Britain and France about an alliance against Hitler. The three countries met in March 1939, but Chamberlain was reluctant to commit Britain. From Stalin's point of view, France and Britain then made things worse by giving Poland a guarantee that they would defend it if it was invaded. Chamberlain meant the guarantee as a warning to Hitler. Stalin saw it as support for one of the USSR's potential enemies.

Negotiations between Britain, France and the USSR continued through the spring and summer of 1939. However, Stalin also received visits from the Nazi foreign minister Ribbentrop. They discussed a rather different deal, a Nazi–Soviet Pact.

In August, Stalin made his decision. On 24 August 1939, Hitler and Stalin, the two arch enemies, signed the Nazi–Soviet Pact and announced the terms to the world. They agreed not to attack one another. Privately, they also agreed to divide Poland between them.

Why did Stalin sign? It was probably a combination of factors that led to the Pact.

- Stalin was not convinced that Britain and France would be strong and reliable enough as allies against Hitler.
- He also had designs on large sections of eastern Poland and wanted to take over the Baltic states, which had been part of Russia in the Tsar's day.
- He did not believe Hitler would keep his word, but he hoped for time to build up his forces against the attack he knew would come.

Invasion of Poland and war

The Pact was perhaps the pinnacle of Hitler's triumphs. It cleared the way for Germany's invasion of Poland.

On 1 September 1939 the German army invaded Poland from the west. On 17 September Soviet forces invaded Poland from the east. Poland soon fell.

If Hitler was planning ahead at all, then in his mind the next move would surely be an attack against his temporary ally, the USSR. He was certain that Britain and France would not go to war over Poland. But Hitler's triumph was spoilt by a nasty surprise. Britain and France did keep their pledge. On 2 September they declared war on Germany.

Hitler had started a war, but it was not the war he had in mind. It was too soon and against the wrong opponents. Hitler had taken one gamble too many.

Responsibility for the Second World War

On page 60 you will read about the views of the historian AJP Taylor in the 1960s. He argued that at least some of the responsibility for the war belonged to leaders like Chamberlain who encouraged Hitler. Today, most historians believe that the primary responsibility for the outbreak of the Second World War was Hitler's (see Source 26). On the other hand, historians continue to debate how far other factors contributed to the outbreak of war and the policy of Appeasement is still one of the most controversial.

Activity

Study Source 26 carefully. Look back over pages 40–56 and find three or four examples which support Dr Henig's view that Hitler's policies were based on 'race' and 'space'.

SOURCE 26

There is now general agreement amongst historians that the chief responsibility for unleashing war in Europe, in 1939, rests on Hitler and the Nazis ... Taylor's argument that the outbreak of war owed as much to 'the faults and failures of European statesmen' as it did to Hitler's ambitions, has been firmly rejected. The consensus now is that it was Hitler's determination to transform the basis of European society which brought war to Europe in 1939. It was not necessarily the war he was planning for; the evidence suggests that Hitler was aiming to prepare Germany for a massive conflict with Russia in the early 1940s. Unquestionably, however, it was a war provoked by his relentless pursuit of policies based on 'race' and on 'space'.

Dr Ruth Henig of Lancaster University, 1997.

Did Chamberlain follow the wrong policy?

Chamberlain certainly believed in Appeasement. In June 1938 he wrote in a letter to his sister: 'I am completely convinced that the course I am taking is right and therefore cannot be influenced by the attacks of my critics.' He was not a coward or a weakling. When it became obvious that he had no choice in 1939 he did declare war.

On page 48 you studied the main reasons why Chamberlain followed this policy and the reasons why people opposed him. However, remember that Chamberlain was not on his own. There were many more politicians who supported him in 1938 than opposed him. It looked pretty clear to them in 1938 that the balance fell in favour of Appeasement.

Yet when Hitler broke his promises and the policy did not stop war, the supporters of Appeasement quickly turned against the policy, some claiming they had been opposed to it all along. And historians since then have judged Chamberlain very harshly. Appeasers are portrayed as naïve, foolish or weak – Source 28 (on page 58) is one of hundreds of examples one could choose which parody the policy and the people who pursued it. Chamberlain's 'Peace for our time' speech is presented as self-deception and a betrayal. Chamberlain and his cabinet are seen as 'second rate politicians', who were out of their depth as events unfolded before them.

On the other hand the opponents of Appeasement such as Winston Churchill are portrayed as realists who were far sighted and brave. This has not been helped by the fact that the most influential writer about this period is Winston Churchill himself (see Source 27). Churchill himself once remarked to President Roosevelt 'History will judge us kindly because I shall write the history.'

SOURCE 27

The Gathering Storm has been one of the most influential books of our time. It is no exaggeration to claim that it has strongly influenced the behaviour of Western politicians from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush.

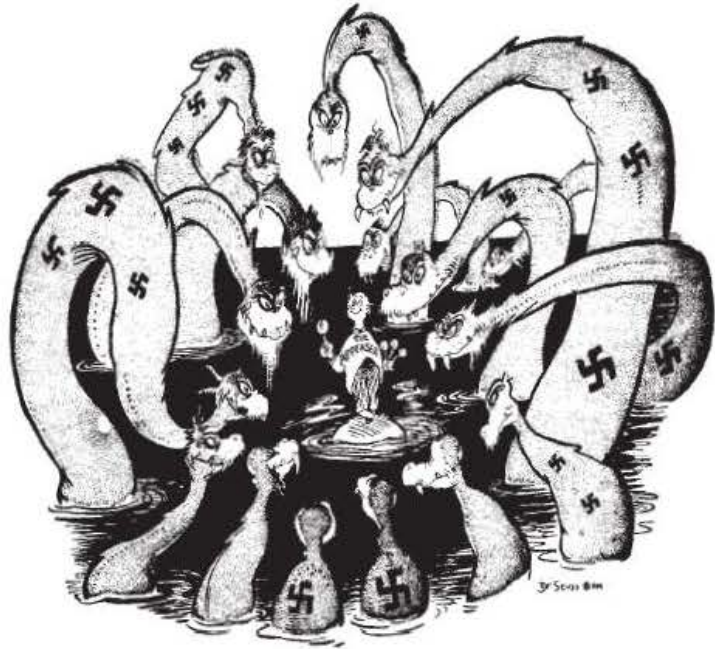
... It is a good tale, told by a master story-teller, who did, after all, win the Nobel Prize for Literature; but would a prize for fiction have been more appropriate?

Professor John Charmley of the University of East Anglia writing about Churchill's account of the 1930s called *The Gathering Storm*.

- 1 What is Source 28 trying to say about the supporters of Appeasement?
- 2 Make a list of the reasons why Appeasement has generally been seen in negative terms.

SOURCE 28

'Remember . . . One More Lollypop. and Then You All Go Home!'



A cartoon by the American artist Dr Seuss published on 13 August 1941 (before the USA entered the Second World War).

It really has been a very one-sided debate. Yet this debate matters because the failure of Appeasement to stop Hitler has had a profound influence on British and American foreign policy ever since. It is now seen as the 'right thing' to stand up to dictators. It influenced the USA and Britain in their policy towards Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq. This is a lesson people have learned from history – and that is why people study history isn't it – to avoid making the same mistakes again! But before we leap so quickly to judgement let's run this argument through two different checks:

Check 1

If Chamberlain had stood up to Hitler in 1938 what would have happened?

The historian Professor Niall Ferguson of Harvard University has set out some 'counter-factual' scenarios – suggesting what might have happened if particular policies were followed. In particular, he has argued that confronting Hitler in 1938 instead of appeasing him 'would have paid handsome dividends. Even if it had come to war over Czechoslovakia, Germany would not have won. Germany's defences were not yet ready for a two-front war.'

Professor Ferguson then had the chance to test his scenario by playing a computer game! *The Calm and the Storm* is a powerful simulation which allows users to make decisions and then computes the possible impact of those decisions.

SOURCE 29

So how did my pre-emptive strategy stand up to a computer stress test? Not as well as I had hoped, I have to confess. The Calm & the Storm made it clear that lining up an anti-German coalition in 1938 might have been harder than I'd assumed. To my horror, the French turned down the alliance I proposed to them. It also turned out that, when I did go to war with Germany, my own position was pretty weak. The nadir [low point] was a successful German invasion of England, a scenario my book rules out as militarily too risky.

Professor Niall Ferguson in an article for the New York Magazine, 16 October 2006.



Screen Shots from the computer simulation mentioned in Source 29, *The Calm and the Storm*. In this instance the player is taking the role of Czechoslovakia.

The Calm and the Storm is a computer-based strategy game which can be played by individuals or in a multiplayer scenario. The game was originally developed by professional historians in American universities as a way to help university students to understand the complexities of events and the decisions which leaders had to make in the 1930s. It covers the causes and consequences of the Second World War. The game puts you in the role of a head of state, leading a struggling nation through challenges. The challenges are based on genuine events and the decisions you make are based on the most accurate historical data available.

Everything flows from your decisions as a leader. Each action you take has consequences. The game's sophisticated Artificial Intelligence (AI) and dynamic world models react accurately to events and decisions in the game. The possible consequences of your actions are based on data which have been fed into the game by top historians in the field.

Professor Ferguson believes that using computer simulations could help leaders of the future make key decisions in times of crisis. Maybe you don't trust a computer game to teach you anything about history! But you might trust some hard statistics. So try Check 2.

Check 2

Did Appeasement buy time for Chamberlain to rearm Britain?

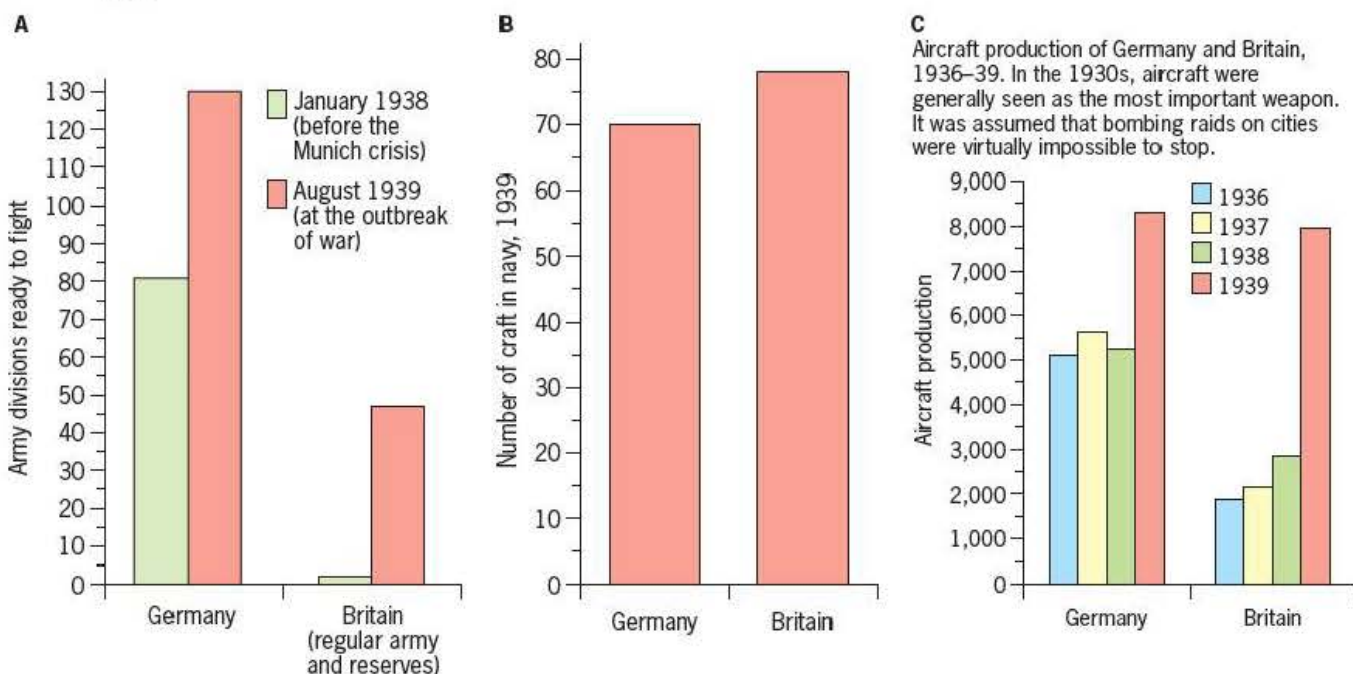
One of the strongest arguments for Appeasement was that in 1938 Britain simply was not equipped to fight a war with Germany. So did Appeasement allow Britain to catch up?

In the 1960s British historian AJP Taylor argued that Chamberlain had an exaggerated view of Germany's strength. Taylor believed that German forces were only 45 per cent of what British intelligence reports said they were.

But Taylor was writing in 1965 – not much help to Chamberlain in the 1930s. Britain had run down its forces in the peaceful years of the 1920s. The government had talked about rearmament since 1935 but Britain only really started rearming when Chamberlain became Prime Minister in 1937. Chamberlain certainly thought that Britain's armed forces were not ready for war in 1938. His own military advisers and his intelligence services told him this.

So did Appeasement allow Britain the time it needed to rearm? Source 31 will help you to decide.

SOURCE 31



The armaments build-up in the 1930s.

1 Study carefully graphs A–C in Source 31.

- a) What evidence do they provide to support the view that Britain's armed forces caught up with Germany's between 1938 and 1939?
- b) What evidence do they provide to oppose this view?

Activity

Views on Appeasement

- The right policy at the right time.
- The wrong policy, but only with hindsight.
- A betrayal of the people of Czechoslovakia.
- A risky policy that purchased valuable time.

1 Work in pairs or groups. Collect evidence from pages 48–59 to support each of the above views.

2 Choose one viewpoint that you most agree with and write some well-argued paragraphs to explain your choice:

- what the viewpoint means – in your own words
- what evidence there is to support it
- what evidence there is against it and why you have rejected that evidence
- your conclusion as to why this is a good verdict.

Focus Task

Who or what was responsible for the outbreak of war in 1939?

Work in groups of five.

- 1 Each of you take one of the following topics. Write it large at the top of a blank sheet of paper.

- ◆ Hitler's actions
- ◆ The policy of Appeasement
- ◆ The problems caused by the peace treaties
- ◆ The Nazi-Soviet Pact
- ◆ The failures of the League of Nations

- 2 On your sheet, summarise the ways in which this factor helped lead to war in 1939.

- 3 Stick the five sheets on to a larger sheet of paper. Draw lines between the causes to show how they are connected to one another.

- 4 Discuss with your group whether, if you took any of these causes away, there would have been a war.

- 5 Now, on your own, write an essay on the topic 'Why had international peace collapsed by 1939?' You can use the structure below.

Paragraph 1:

(Explain how and why Hitler was pledged to reverse the Treaty of Versailles and to increase German territory.)

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 ...

Paragraph 2:

(Explain how the failure of the League of Nations in Manchuria and in Abyssinia made it easier for Hitler to achieve his objectives.)

In the 1930s there were two incidents that really tested the League of Nations ...

Paragraph 3:

(Explain how the policy of Appeasement allowed Hitler to get away with this. Explain also why Britain and France followed this policy of Appeasement.)

In 1936 Hitler began his policy of reclaiming lost German territory ...

Paragraph 4:

(Explain how the Nazi-Soviet Pact helped Hitler and Stalin.)

In 1939 Hitler made an agreement with Stalin ...

Paragraph 5:

(Explain how the invasion of Poland led to war in Europe.)

When Hitler invaded Poland in 1939, Britain and France ...

Paragraph 6:

(Reach your own conclusion about the importance of the various causes.)

Although it was Hitler's actions which led to war, many other factors were important in making the war happen ...

4

The origins of the Cold War, 1945–1955

4.1

Why did the USA and the USSR become rivals in the years 1945–1949?

Focus

In May 1945 American troops entered Berlin from the west, as Russian troops moved in from the east. They met and celebrated victory together. Yet three years later these former allies were arguing over Berlin and war between them seemed a real possibility. What had gone wrong? In Topic 4.1 you will:

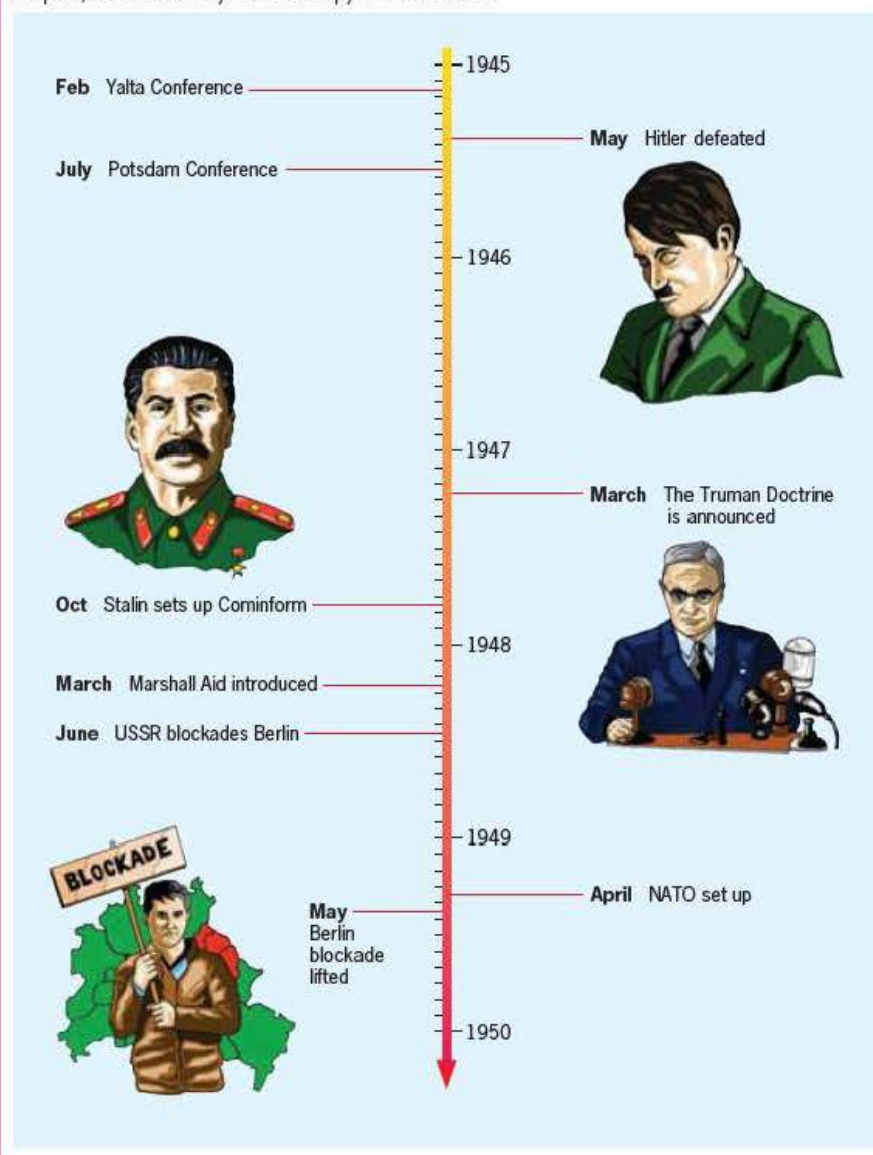
- ◆ consider why the wartime alliance between the USA and the USSR broke down
- ◆ think about the significance of the development of atomic weapons
- ◆ investigate how the Soviet Union gained control over eastern Europe and how the USA responded
- ◆ weigh up the importance of the Berlin Blockade in 1948
- ◆ finally, make up your own mind as to whether the USA or the USSR was more to blame for the outbreak of the Cold War.

By 1949 the wartime alliance between the USA and the USSR had turned into the Cold War. The rivalry between the superpowers was to dominate world affairs for the next 40 years. In Topic 4.2 you will:

- ◆ examine the NATO and Warsaw Pact alliances
- ◆ consider the importance of the nuclear arms race
- ◆ evaluate the causes and consequences of the Korean War
- ◆ investigate the impact of the death of Stalin in 1953.

Activity

This timeline summarises the key events you will be looking at in this chapter. As you study the chapter, add details to your own copy of the timeline.



Factfile

The USA: a capitalist society

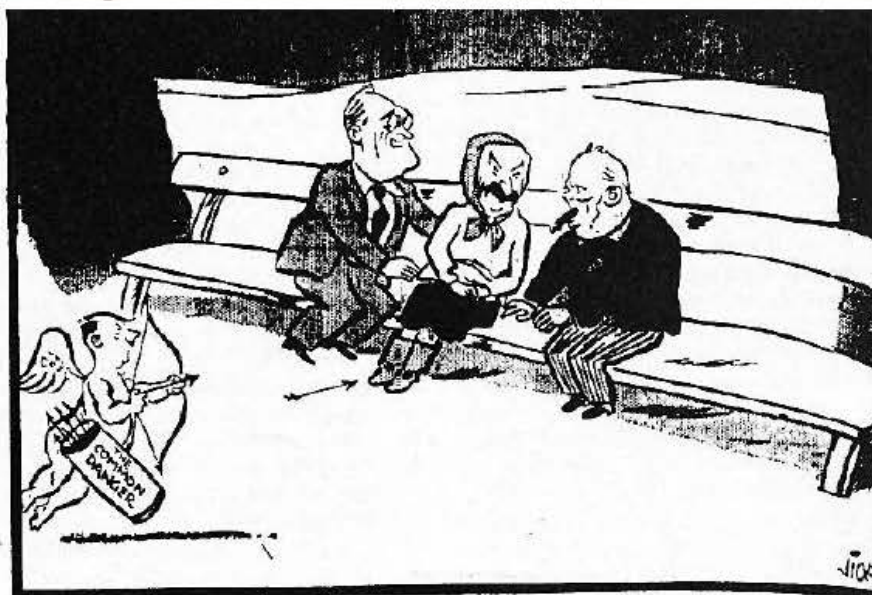
- American society was based on two key ideas: democracy and capitalism.
- Democracy meant that the American President and Congress were elected in free elections and they could be voted out.
- Capitalism meant that property and businesses were owned by private individuals and companies.
- The USA was the world's richest country, but there were extremes of wealth and poverty.
- For Americans, the rights and freedoms of individual Americans (for example, free speech) were more important than everyone being equal.
- The majority of Americans believed passionately in the American way. They felt that Communism threatened their way of life.

Why did the wartime alliance begin to break down in 1945?

An unlikely alliance

The alliance which held together Britain, the USA and the USSR was not a strong bond of brotherhood as Source 1 shows. It was based purely on the fact that all three countries had a common enemy — Hitler's Germany. Before the war brought them together relations between the USA and the USSR had long been hostile and suspicious. The Soviet leader Stalin was leader of the Communist Party which ruled the USSR. Soon after the Communists took power in 1917 they faced a Civil War. During this Civil War troops from Britain and the USA helped the enemies of the Communists. In the 1920s the US government deported thousands of suspected Communists from their country (see page 231) and in the 1930s Britain's policy of Appeasement (see page 48) convinced Stalin that Britain was happy to see Germany grow in power so that Hitler could attack him. So in many ways it is not that surprising that the wartime alliance broke down when the war ended. Perhaps it is more surprising that this did not happen before.

SOURCE 1



A British cartoon from 1941, with the caption 'Love conquers all'.

Factfile

The USSR: a Communist society

- Soviet society was based on Communist ideas. It was a one-party state. There were elections, but Soviet people could only elect Communists.
- Industry was organised and run by the state. Unemployment and extreme poverty were rare, but the standard of living for most Soviet citizens was lower than for the average American.
- Communists believed that the rights of individuals were less important than the good of society as a whole. As a result, there were many restrictions on the individual's freedom.
- The state kept close control over the press, radio, film and art. Communism was also hostile to organised religion.
- Soviet leaders believed that other countries should be run in the Communist way.
- Many people in the USSR were bitterly opposed to capitalism.

Conflicting ideologies

What lay behind these fears and suspicions? The simple answer is that there was a clash of ideologies. The USSR was a Communist state, and the majority of important politicians, business leaders and other important figures in Britain and the USA hated and feared Communist ideas. You can see a summary of the two ideologies in the Factfiles on the left.

The differing beliefs of the USA and the USSR go some way to explain why the Cold War developed, but not all the way. After all, the two countries had the same ideologies in the 1930s, but they had largely ignored each other then. There were some important differences between the 1930s and the 1940s. The USA and the USSR had emerged from the war as the two 'superpowers'. In the 1930s, other countries such as Britain and France had been as important in international affairs. However, the war had finally demoted Britain and France to a second division. They were not big enough, rich enough or strong enough to exercise real international leadership. Only the USA and the USSR were able to do this. They were the superpowers, and each superpower was determined that it would not be pushed around by the other one. In the next few years this would become very clear.

Activity

Work in small groups. You have been asked to write a script or storyboard for a propaganda film.

- Half of you create a film to be shown in the USSR to show why Communism is such a good system and US capitalism is bad.
- The other half create a film for a US audience. You can find examples on the internet of this type of film, such as the 1948 US film *Make Mine Freedom*. This should give you some good ideas.

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

The general public in 1945 would have seen few signs of the tensions which you have just read about. In February 1945 the Allied leaders met at Yalta in the Ukraine to plan what would happen to Europe after the war ended. The Yalta Conference went well. Despite their differences, the Big Three – Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill – agreed on some important matters:

- Stalin agreed to enter the war against Japan once Germany had surrendered.
- They agreed that Germany would be divided into four zones: American, French, British and Soviet. Since the German capital, Berlin, was deep in the Soviet zone, it was agreed that Berlin itself would also be divided into four zones.
- As Allied soldiers advanced through Germany, they were revealing the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps. The Big Three agreed to hunt down and punish war criminals who were responsible for the genocide.
- They agreed that, as countries were liberated from occupation by the German army, they would be allowed to hold free elections to choose the government they wanted.
- The Big Three all agreed to join the new United Nations Organisation, which would aim to keep peace after the war.
- The Soviet Union had suffered terribly in the war. An estimated 20 million Soviet people had died. Stalin was therefore concerned about the future security of the USSR. The Big Three agreed that eastern Europe should be seen as 'a Soviet sphere of influence'.
- The only real disagreement was about Poland. Stalin wanted the border of the USSR to move westwards into Poland (see Source 18 on page 68). Stalin argued that Poland, in turn, could move its border westwards into German territory. Churchill did not approve of Stalin's plans for Poland, but he also knew that there was not very much that he could do about it because Stalin's Red Army was in total control of both Poland and eastern Germany. Roosevelt was also unhappy about Stalin's plan, but Churchill persuaded Roosevelt to accept it, as long as the USSR agreed not to interfere in Greece where the British were attempting to prevent the Communists taking over. Stalin accepted this.

It seemed that, although they could not all agree, they were still able to negotiate and do business with one another. But was this a misleading impression?

SOURCE 2

I have always worked for friendship with Russia but, like you, I feel deep anxiety because of their misinterpretation of the Yalta decisions, their attitude towards Poland, their overwhelming influence in the Balkans excepting Greece, the difficulties they make about Vienna, the combination of Russian power and the territories under their control or occupied, coupled with the Communist technique in so many other countries, and above all their power to maintain very large armies in the field for a long time. What will be the position in a year or two?

An extract from a telegram sent by Prime Minister Churchill to President Roosevelt in May 1945.

SOURCE 3

We argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end on every point unanimous agreement was reached . . . We know, of course, that it was Hitler's hope and the German war lords' hope that we would not agree – that some slight crack might appear in the solid wall of allied unity . . . But Hitler has failed. Never before have the major allies been more closely united – not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims.

An extract from President Roosevelt's report to the US Congress on the Yalta Conference.



A publicity photograph of the Big Three at the Yalta Conference, February 1945.

Activity

- 1 Imagine you were describing the scene in Source 4 for a radio audience in 1945. You can use the internet to find examples of radio broadcasts from the period. Describe for the listeners:
 - the obvious points (such as the people that you can see)
 - the less obvious points (such as the mood of the scene).
- 2 Source 4 presents a friendly, positive scene. Look through the information on the Yalta Conference and list facts, points and evidence which supports this view of the Conference.
- 3 Now list any facts, points and evidence which supports the view that the Conference was not as friendly and positive as it first appears.
- 4 Suggest a new caption for Source 4 which tells readers a little more about Yalta.

Focus Task

What was going on behind the scenes at Yalta?

The war against Hitler had united Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill and at the Yalta Conference they appeared to get on well. Source 5 illustrates the 'public' face of Yalta. But what was going on behind the scenes? Sources 6–15 will help you decide.

1 Use a table like this to analyse the sources.

Evidence for disagreement	Evidence for agreement	Reasons why the source is reliable or unreliable

SOURCE 5

I want to drink to our alliance, that it should not lose its . . . intimacy, its free expression of views . . . I know of no such close alliance of three Great Powers as this . . . May it be strong and stable, may we be as frank as possible.

Stalin, proposing a toast at a dinner at the Yalta Conference, 1945.

SOURCE 6

Perhaps you think that just because we are the allies of the English we have forgotten who they are and who Churchill is. There's nothing they like better than to trick their allies. During the First World War they constantly tricked the Russians and the French. And Churchill? Churchill is the kind of man who will pick your pocket of a kopeck! [A kopeck is a low value Soviet coin.] And Roosevelt? Roosevelt is not like that. He dips in his hand only for bigger coins. But Churchill? He will do it for a kopeck.

Stalin speaking to a fellow Communist, Milovan Djilas, in 1945. Djilas was a supporter of Stalin.

SOURCE 7

In the hallway [at Yalta] we stopped before a map of the world on which the Soviet Union was coloured in red. Stalin waved his hand over the Soviet Union and exclaimed, 'They [Roosevelt and Churchill] will never accept the idea that so great a space should be red, never, never!'

Milovan Djilas writing about Yalta in 1948.

SOURCE 8

Once, Churchill asked Stalin to send him the music of the new Soviet Russian anthem so that it could be broadcast before the summary of the news from the Soviet German front. Stalin sent the words [as well] and expressed the hope that Churchill would set about learning the new tune and whistling it to members of the Conservative Party. While Stalin behaved with relative discretion with Roosevelt, he continually teased Churchill throughout the war.

Written by Soviet historian Sergei Kudryashov after the war.

SOURCE 9

The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world. A new front must be created against her onward sweep. This front should be as far east as possible. A settlement must be reached on all major issues between West and East in Europe before the armies of democracy melt.

Churchill writing to Roosevelt shortly after the Yalta Conference.

SOURCE 10



SOURCE 11

[At Yalta] Churchill feared that Roosevelt was too pro-Russian. He pressed for a French zone to be added to the other three to add another anti-Russian voice to the armies of occupation.

Written by Christopher Culpin in a school textbook, *The Modern World*, 1984.

A Soviet cartoon. Churchill is shown with two flags, the first proclaiming that 'Anglo-Saxons must rule the world' and the other threatening an 'iron curtain'.

SOURCE 12

OPERATION UNTHINKABLE

REPORT BY THE JOINT PLANNING STAFF

We have examined Operation Unthinkable. As instructed, we have taken the following assumptions on which to base our examination:

Great Britain and the United States have full assistance from the Polish armed forces and can count upon the use of German manpower and what remains of German industrial capacity . . .

Owing to the special need for secrecy, the normal staff in Service Ministries have not been consulted.

OBJECT

The overall or political object is to impose upon Russia the will of the United States and British Empire. The only way we can achieve our object with certainty and lasting results is by victory in a total war.

Extract from a top secret document called Operation Unthinkable. It was presented by the Army Chiefs to Churchill in May 1945 but the research and planning had been taking place during the Yalta Conference. Churchill rejected the idea.

SOURCE 13

One could see that Churchill had left a deep impression on the Soviet leaders as a farsighted and dangerous statesman – although they did not like him.

Milovan Djilas comments, in 1948, on Stalin's assessment of Churchill.

SOURCE 14

[In May 1945] Churchill ordered Montgomery to keep the German arms intact, in case they had to be used against the Russians.

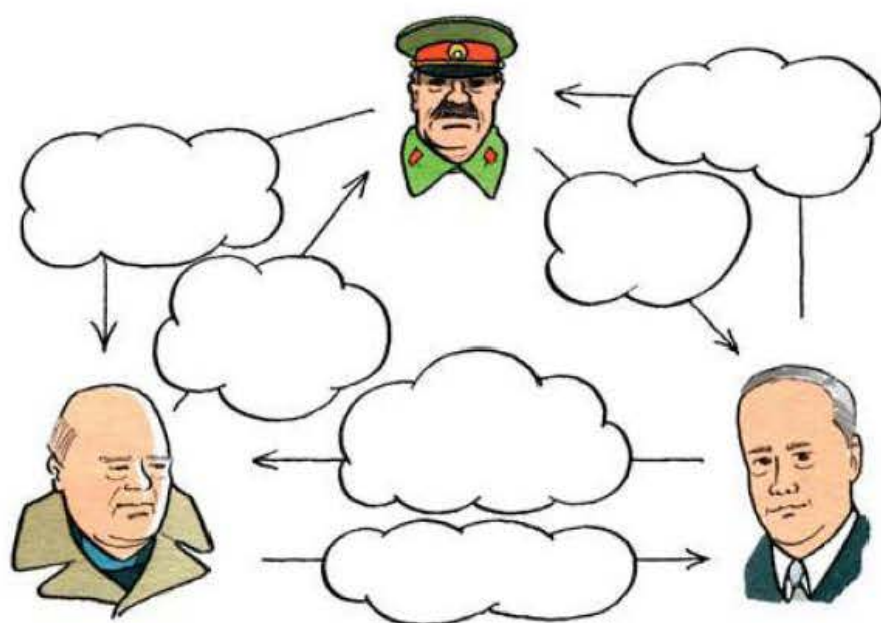
Written by historian Hugh Higgins in *The Cold War*, 1974.

SOURCE 15

One night Stalin stung Churchill when proposing a toast by reminding Churchill of his failures at Gallipoli in the First World War.

Another night Churchill declared (whilst slightly drunk) that he deserved a medal for teaching the Soviet army to fight so well through the intervention at Archangel.

The Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov writing about Yalta. In 1915 Churchill had been responsible for a failed attack at Gallipoli. In 1918 Churchill had supported the British decision to send troops to Archangel to help in the fight against the Communists in the Russian Civil War (see page 154).



- 2 Draw a diagram like this and use Sources 6–15 to summarise what each of the leaders thought of the other.
- 3 Is it possible to tell from these extracts what Stalin and Churchill really felt about each other? Explain your answer.
- 4 How do Sources 5–15 affect your impression of the Yalta Conference?
- 5 Write three sentences to sum up the main concerns of each of the Big Three at Yalta. Use the text and Sources 5–15.

- 1 Source 16 is to be used in a newspaper in April 1945. Write a caption to go with it.

SOURCE 16



American and Soviet soldiers shake hands in April 1945.

SOURCE 18

Poland has borders with the Soviet Union which is not the case with Great Britain or the USA. I do not know whether a truly representative government has been established in Greece. The Soviet Union was not consulted when this government was being formed, nor did it claim the right to interfere because it realises how important Greece is to the security of Great Britain.

Stalin, replying to Allied leaders about his plans for Poland in April 1945. Britain had helped to prop up an anti-Communist government in Greece (see page 72).

The Potsdam Conference, July–August 1945

In May 1945, three months after the Yalta Conference, Allied troops reached Berlin. Hitler committed suicide. Germany surrendered. The war in Europe was won.

A second conference of the Allied leaders was arranged for July 1945 in the Berlin suburb of Potsdam. However, in the five months since Yalta a number of changes had taken place which would greatly affect relationships between the leaders.

1 Stalin's armies were occupying most of eastern Europe

Soviet troops had liberated country after country in eastern Europe, but instead of withdrawing his troops Stalin had left them there. By July, Stalin's troops effectively controlled the Baltic states, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, and refugees were fleeing out of these countries fearing a Communist takeover. Stalin had set up a Communist government in Poland, ignoring the wishes of the majority of Poles. Britain and the USA protested, but Stalin defended his action (see Source 17). He insisted that his control of eastern Europe was a defensive measure against possible future attacks.

SOURCE 17

This war is not as in the past; whoever occupies a territory also imposes on it his own social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army has power to do so. It cannot be otherwise.

Stalin speaking, soon after the end of the Second World War, about the takeover of eastern Europe.

2 America had a new president

On 12 April 1945, President Roosevelt died. He was replaced by his Vice-President, Harry Truman. Truman was a very different man from Roosevelt. He was much more anti-Communist than Roosevelt and was very suspicious of Stalin. Truman and his advisers saw Soviet actions in eastern Europe as preparations for a Soviet takeover of the rest of Europe.

3 The USA had developed an atomic bomb

The Americans had developed and successfully tested a new weapon of awesome power, and it would affect the future of relations between the superpowers (see next page).

Disagreements at Potsdam

The Potsdam Conference finally got under way on 17 July 1945. Not surprisingly, it did not go as smoothly as Yalta. In July there was an election in Britain. Churchill was defeated, so halfway through the conference he was replaced by a new Prime Minister, Clement Attlee. In the absence of Churchill, the conference was dominated by rivalry and suspicion between Stalin and Truman. A number of issues arose on which neither side seemed able to appreciate the other's point of view:

- **They disagreed over what to do about Germany.** Stalin wanted to cripple Germany completely to protect the USSR against future threats. Truman did not want to repeat the mistake of the Treaty of Versailles.
- **They disagreed over reparations.** Twenty million Russians had died in the war and the Soviet Union had been devastated. Stalin demanded \$10 billion compensation from Germany. Truman, however, was once again determined not to repeat the mistakes at the end of the First World War and create a bitter, unstable Germany. He resisted this demand.
- **They disagreed over Soviet policy in eastern Europe.** At Yalta, Stalin had won agreement from the Allies that he could set up pro-Soviet governments in eastern Europe. He said, 'If the Slav [the majority of east European] people are united, no one will dare move a finger against them.' Stalin saw this as a way to protect the USSR from future attack. Truman saw it as evidence that Stalin wanted to build up a Soviet empire in Europe. He adopted a 'get tough' attitude towards Stalin.

- 2 Read Source 17. At Yalta, Churchill and Roosevelt had agreed with Stalin that eastern Europe would be a Soviet 'sphere of influence'. Do you think Source 17 is what they had in mind?
- 3 Would they agree with Stalin's views expressed in Sources 17 and 18? Explain your answer.
- 4 Explain how each of the three developments described in the text might affect relationships at Potsdam.

SOURCE 19

A

This is the place I told Stalin about the Atom Bomb, which was tested on July 16, 1945 in New Mexico. He did not realise what I was talking about!

B

Truman decided to surprise us at Potsdam ... He took Stalin and me aside and informed us they had an extraordinary new weapon ... It's difficult to say what he was thinking but it seemed to me he wanted to alarm us. Stalin reacted quite calmly and Truman decided he hadn't understood. The words 'atom bomb' were not spoken, but we immediately guessed what he meant.

A is from notes written by Truman on the back of a photo of himself and Stalin at the Potsdam Conference. B is Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's memories of the same event.

Activity

Read Sources 19A and B, then decide which of the following statements you agree with.

- Truman was trying to scare Stalin.
- Stalin didn't understand about the bomb.
- Stalin knew about the bomb, but he was not going to let Truman see he was worried.
- Truman and Stalin clearly did not trust each other.

Use evidence from the sources to support your answer.

Focus Task

Why did the Allies begin to fall out in 1945?

Under the following headings, make notes to summarise why the Allies began to fall out in 1945:

- ◆ Personalities
- ◆ Actions by the USA
- ◆ Actions by the USSR
- ◆ Misunderstandings

The atomic bomb: Hiroshima, Nagasaki and a new age

As the Potsdam Conference approached, the USA was close to developing an effective atomic bomb. In fact, the first successful test took place on 16 July, the day before the Conference officially opened. The story of the bomb shows the mistrust which was developing between the two sides. The atom bomb had been developed in complete secrecy. However, once Truman knew he had a weapon which worked, he took Stalin to one side and told him about it, as you can see in Source 19.

In fact, Stalin knew about the project to develop the atom bomb all along – his spies had been keeping him informed since 1942! The A-bomb continued to be a source of tension after Truman's announcement. On 6 August 1945 the US dropped the first weapon on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, followed by a second atomic attack on Nagasaki on 9 August. The devastation showed the horrific power of this new weapon (see Source 20).

SOURCE 20



The aftermath of the Hiroshima bomb, August 1945. At least 75,000 were killed instantly. Thousands more died from radiation poisoning in the years that followed.

Some historians believe that Truman authorised the use of the bomb as a warning to Stalin. When debate took place over whether to share scientific information about the bomb, Truman received conflicting advice about this but you will not be surprised to learn that he followed Churchill's advice (Source 21) rather than Stimson's (Source 22).

SOURCE 21

You may be quite sure that any power that gets hold of the secret will try to make the article and that this touches the existence of human society. The matter is out of all relation to anything else that exists in the world, and I could not think of participating in any disclosure to third or fourth parties at the present time.

A memo written by Winston Churchill, 25 March 1945.

SOURCE 22

The chief lesson I have learned in a long life is that the only way you can make a man trustworthy is to trust him; and the surest way to make him untrustworthy is to distrust him. I suggest an approach to the Soviets that we would be prepared in effect to enter an agreement with the Russians, the general purpose of which would be to control and limit the use of the atomic bomb as an instrument of war.

A letter written by Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, to President Truman on 11 September 1945.

- 1 How do Sources 24 and 25 differ in their interpretation of Stalin's actions?
- 2 Explain why they see things so differently.

SOURCE 24

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. From Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended. Behind that line lie all the states of central and eastern Europe. The Communist parties have been raised to power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. This is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build. Nor is it one which allows permanent peace.

Winston Churchill speaking in the USA, in the presence of President Truman, March 1946.

SOURCE 25

The following circumstances should not be forgotten. The Germans made their invasion of the USSR through Finland, Poland and Romania. The Germans were able to make their invasion through these countries because, at the time, governments hostile to the Soviet Union existed in these countries. What can there be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see to it that governments loyal in their attitude to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries?

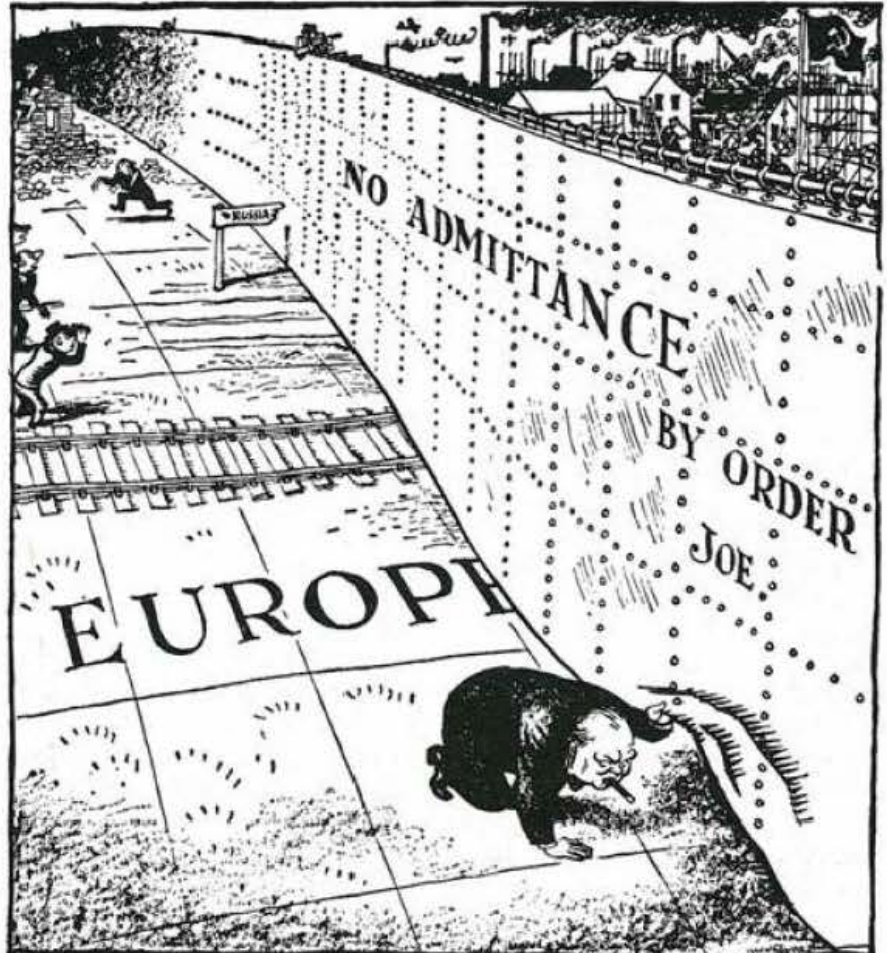
Stalin, replying to Churchill's speech (Source 24).

- 3 What is your overall impression of Source 26:
 - a reasonable assessment of Stalin's aims based on the facts
 - an overreaction to Stalin's actions based on fear of and prejudice towards the USSR?
 Use extracts from the source to support your view.
- 4 Source 26 is a British source. Does it seem likely that similar documents were being produced by the American government?

The 'iron curtain'

The Potsdam Conference ended without complete agreement on major issues like eastern Europe, but Stalin did not wait to implement his plans. Over the next nine months, Stalin achieved the domination of eastern Europe that he was seeking. By 1946 Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania all had Communist governments which owed their loyalty to Stalin. Churchill described the border between Soviet-controlled countries and the West as an iron curtain (see Source 24). The name stuck, and so did Stalin's control (see page 71).

SOURCE 23

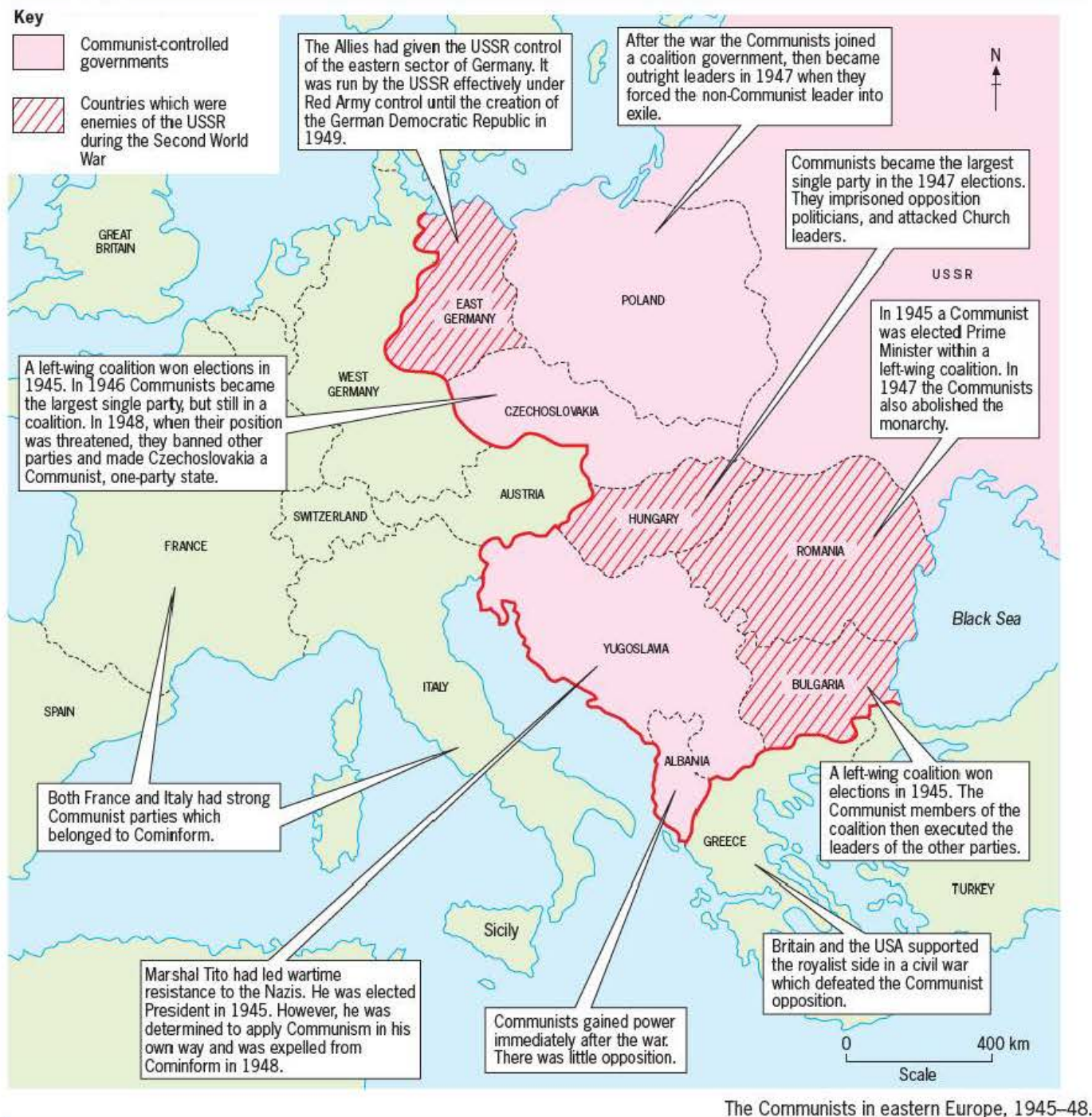


A British cartoon commenting on Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech, in the Daily Mail, 6 March 1946.

SOURCE 26

After all the efforts that have been made and the appeasement that we followed to try and get a real friendly settlement, not only is the Soviet Government not prepared to co-operate with any non-Communist controlled government in eastern Europe, but it is actively preparing to extend its hold over the remaining part of continental Europe and, subsequently, over the Middle East and no doubt the Far East as well. In other words, physical control of Europe and Asia and eventual control of the whole World is what Stalin is aiming at – no less a thing than that. The immensity of the aim should not betray us into believing that it cannot be achieved.

An extract from a report by the British Foreign Secretary to the British Cabinet in March 1948. The title of the report was 'The Threat to Civilisation'.



Stalin tightens his control

With Communist governments established throughout eastern Europe, Stalin gradually tightened his control in each country. The secret police imprisoned anyone who opposed Communist rule, or might oppose it at a later date.

In October 1947, Stalin set up the Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform, to co-ordinate the work of the Communist Parties of eastern Europe. Cominform regularly brought the leaders of each Communist Party to Moscow to be briefed by Stalin and his ministers. This also allowed Stalin to keep a close eye on them. He spotted independent-minded leaders and replaced them with people who were completely loyal to him. The only Communist leader who escaped this close control was Tito in Yugoslavia. He resented being controlled by Cominform and was expelled for his hostility in 1948.

- Study Source 27 and make a list of the actions that Communists took to achieve power in eastern Europe.
- Explain how each factor helped.

SOURCE 28

Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand – 'bow many [army] divisions have you got?' . . . I'm tired of babying the Soviets.

President Truman, writing to his Secretary of State in January 1946.

The reaction of the West

The Western powers were alarmed by Stalin's takeover of eastern Europe. Roosevelt, Churchill and their successors had accepted that Soviet security needed friendly governments in eastern Europe. They had agreed that eastern Europe would be a Soviet 'sphere of influence' and that Stalin would heavily influence this region. However, they had not expected such complete Communist domination. They felt it should have been possible to have governments in eastern Europe that were both democratic and friendly to the USSR. Stalin saw his policy in eastern Europe as making himself secure, but Truman could only see the spread of Communism.

SOURCE 29

I am more than ever convinced that Communism is on the march on a worldwide scale, and only the USA can stop it.

Senator Arthur Vandenberg of the US Senate's International Relations Committee, April 1946.

SOURCE 30



A French cartoon commenting on Stalin's takeover of eastern Europe. The dancing figure is Stalin.

SOURCE 31



An American cartoon commenting on Stalin's takeover of eastern Europe. The bear represents the USSR.

By 1948, Greece and Czechoslovakia were the only eastern European countries not controlled by Communist governments. It seemed to the Americans that not only Greece and Czechoslovakia but even Italy and France were vulnerable to a Communist takeover. Events in two of these countries were to have a decisive effect on America's policy towards Europe.

Activity

- 1 Do Sources 30 and 31 have the same message?
- 2 Design or describe a Soviet cartoon or poster commenting on the USSR's actions. It could either:
 - attack the attitudes of the West, or
 - justify and explain Soviet actions.

Greece and Turkey

Truman's first concerns were with Greece and Turkey.

- **Greece:** When the Nazis were driven out of Greece in 1944 two rival groups wanted to rule the country. The Communists wanted Greece to be a Soviet republic. The monarchists wanted the return of the king of Greece. Churchill sent British troops to Greece in 1945 supposedly to help restore order and supervise free elections. In fact, the British supported the monarchists and the king was returned to power. In 1946 a civil war broke out between the two sides. The British did not have the resources to control the situation and announced their withdrawal on 24 February 1947. Truman faced the prospect of yet another European country falling to Communism.

- 1 Explain why Truman acted the way he did over Greece and Turkey.

SOURCE 32

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures . . . The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining those freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world.

President Truman speaking on
12 March 1947, explaining his decision
to help Greece.

Activity

Make a poster summarising the Truman Doctrine in Source 32. Include a short caption.

- 2 Which of the problems shown in Source 33 do you think would be the most urgent for Marshall Aid to tackle? Explain your choice.

- **Turkey:** Stalin was trying to gain influence in Turkey. He wanted to get access to the Mediterranean for Soviet ships through the Black Sea Straits. Truman was concerned that if Turkey became an ally of the USSR then Stalin might use Turkey as a stepping stone to spread Communist influence into the Middle East. This area was important to the USA because of its oil reserves.

Truman wanted to resist what he saw as the Communist threat. His problem was that he still had to convince the American public and the US Congress. They did not entirely accept Truman's belief that the USA had to take a role in world affairs and they were also concerned about what this role might cost. To convince them, Truman talked up the scale of the threat in Greece and Turkey to a greater level than it actually was. Congress agreed to pass the Greece and Turkey Aid Bill in March 1947. This was a package of \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey. It secured Turkey as a US ally and propped up the monarchist government in Greece. On the other hand, by talking up the threat of the USSR Truman probably made relations between himself and Stalin even worse. Stalin had actually kept his promise to Churchill in 1945 that he would not help the Communists in Greece.

The Truman Doctrine

American intervention in Greece and Turkey marked a new era in the USA's attitude to world politics, which became known as 'the Truman Doctrine'.

Under the Truman Doctrine, the USA was prepared to send money, equipment and advice to any country which was, in the American view, threatened by a Communist takeover. Truman accepted that eastern Europe was now Communist. His aim was to stop Communism from spreading any further. This policy became known as containment.

Others thought containment should mean something firmer. They said that it must be made clear to the Soviet Union that expansion beyond a given limit would be met with military force.

Marshall Aid

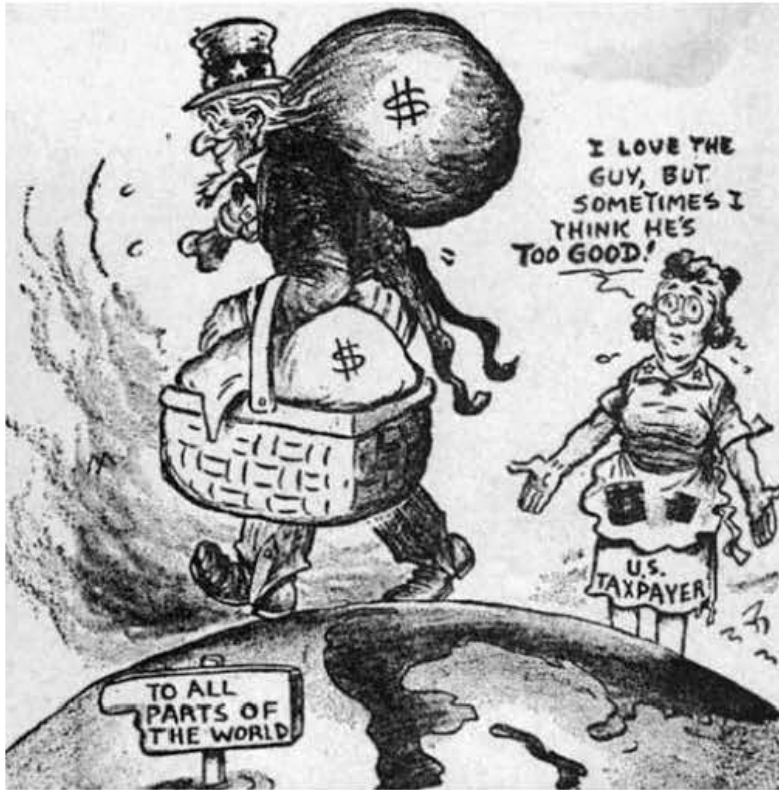
Truman believed that Communism succeeded when people faced poverty and hardship. He sent the American General George Marshall to assess the economic state of Europe. What he found was a ruined economy. The countries of Europe owed \$11.5 billion to the USA. There were extreme shortages of all goods. Most countries were still rationing bread. There was such a coal shortage in the hard winter of 1947 that in Britain all electricity was turned off for a period each day. Churchill described Europe as 'a rubble heap, a breeding ground of hate'.

SOURCE 33



Problems in post-war Europe.

SOURCE 34



An American cartoon from 1949.

- 1 Explain how events in Czechoslovakia affected American policy in Europe.
- 2 Does Source 34 support or criticise the Marshall Plan?

Factfile

Comecon

- Comecon stands for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.
- It was set up in 1949 to co-ordinate the industries and trade of eastern European countries.
- The idea was that members of Comecon traded mostly with one another, rather than trading with the West.
- Comecon favoured the USSR far more than any of its other members. It provided the USSR with a market to sell its goods. It also guaranteed it a cheap supply of raw materials. For example, Poland was forced to sell its coal to the USSR at one-tenth of the price that it could have got selling it on the open market.
- It set up a bank for socialist countries in 1964.

Marshall suggested that about \$17 billion would be needed to rebuild Europe's prosperity. 'Our policy', he said, 'is directed against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.'

In December 1947, Truman put his plan to Congress. For a short time, the American Congress refused to grant this money. Many Americans were becoming concerned by Truman's involvement in foreign affairs. Besides, \$17 billion was a lot of money!

Czechoslovakia

American attitudes changed when the Communists took over the government of Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia had been ruled by a coalition government which, although it included Communists, had been trying to pursue policies independent of Moscow. The Communists came down hard in March 1948. Anti-Soviet leaders were purged. One pro-American Minister, Jan Masaryk, was found dead below his open window. The Communists said he had jumped. The Americans suspected he'd been pushed. Immediately, Congress accepted the Marshall Plan and made \$17 billion available over a period of four years.

On the one hand, Marshall Aid was an extremely generous act by the American people. On the other hand, it was also motivated by American self-interest. They wanted to create new markets for American goods. The Americans remembered the disastrous effects of the Depression of the 1930s and Truman wanted to do all he could to prevent another worldwide slump.

How did the USSR respond to the Marshall Plan?

Stalin viewed Marshall Aid with suspicion. After expressing some initial interest, he refused to have anything more to do with it. He forbade any of the eastern European states to apply for Marshall Aid. He also tightened his grip on the eastern European states by setting up two new organisations, Comecon and Cominform (see Factfiles). Stalin's view was that the anti-Communist aims behind Marshall Aid would weaken his hold on eastern Europe. He also felt that the USA was trying to dominate as many states as possible by making them dependent on dollars. All of the Communist governments in eastern Europe followed Stalin's directions except Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. In this and other areas, Yugoslavia was the only Communist state to resist domination by Stalin. The Soviet Union kept up a propaganda battle against Tito. Despite the Cold War, there were more cartoons in the official Communist newspapers attacking Tito than cartoons criticising the USA.

Focus Task

How did the USSR react to US policy?

You are an adviser to Stalin. Write a briefing paper on the USA's plans for Europe. Your report should mention:

- ◆ President Truman's plans for Europe
- ◆ the methods being used by Truman to resist the spread of Communism
- ◆ how the USSR has reacted to these plans
- ◆ whether you think the USSR should be worried.

Factfile

Cominform

- Cominform stands for the Communist Information Bureau.
- Stalin set up Cominform in 1947 as an organisation to co-ordinate the various Communist governments in eastern Europe.
- The office was originally based in Belgrade in Yugoslavia but moved to Bucharest in Romania in 1948 after Yugoslavia was expelled by Stalin because it would not do what the Soviet Union told it to do.
- Cominform ran meetings and sent out instructions to Communist governments about what the Soviet Union wanted them to do.

SOURCE 35



A cartoon by David Low, June 1947. The figure on the left is Marshall. The figure nearer to him is Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister. Marshall is asking 'Which hand will you have, Comrade?'

SOURCE 36



A Soviet cartoon commenting on Marshall Aid. The rope is the 'Marshall Plan' and the lifebelt is 'Aid to Europe'.

SOURCE 37



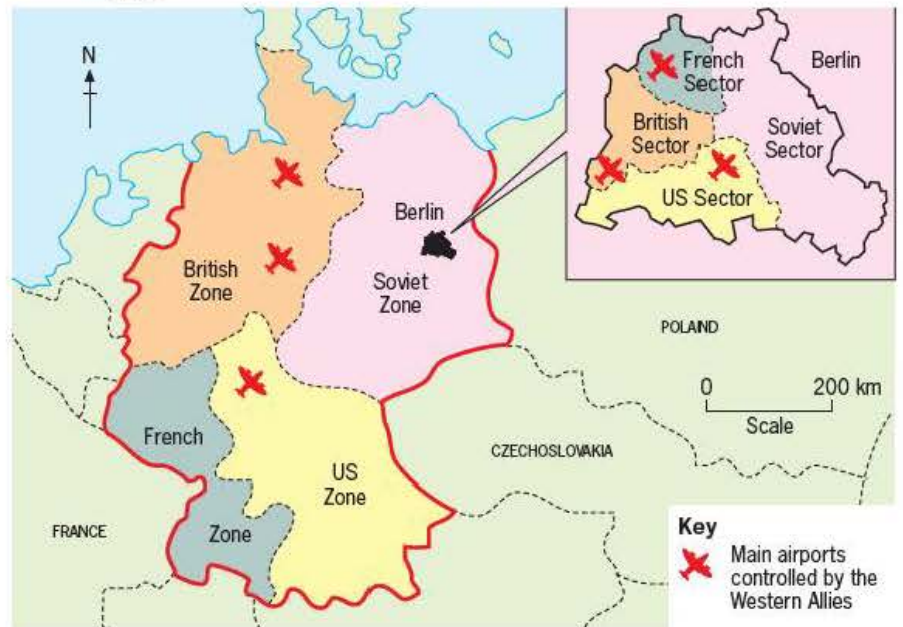
A 1949 Soviet cartoon. Marshal Tito, leader of Yugoslavia, is shown accepting money from the Americans. His cloak is labelled 'Judas' – 'the betrayer'.

- 3 What are Sources 35 and 36 trying to say about Marshall Aid?
- 4 What is Source 37 saying about Tito?
- 5 Why do you think Stalin was so hostile to Tito?
- 6 Look back at the map in Source 27 on page 71. How does the geographical position of Yugoslavia help to explain why Stalin did not take any direct action (such as sending in troops) against Tito?

Why did the Soviet Union blockade Berlin?

Despite all the threatening talk of the early years of the Cold War, the two sides had never actually fired on one another. But in 1948 they came dangerously close to war.

SOURCE 38



Germany in 1948.

- 1 Look at the cartoons in Source 39. Do they make the same point?

Germany had become a real headache for the Western Allies. After the destruction of war, their zones were in economic chaos. Stalin feared a recovering Germany and wanted to keep it crippled. But it was clear to the Allies that Germany would not be able to feed its people if it was not allowed to rebuild its industries. Although they themselves were wary of rebuilding Germany too quickly, Britain, France and the USA combined their zones in 1946 to form one zone (which became known in 1949 as West Germany; see page 78). In 1948 they reformed the currency and within months there were signs that Germany was recovering.

SOURCE 39



Two cartoons from 1949. **A** is Soviet and **B** is British. In **A**, the documents on the ground are headed 'Occupation statutes' and 'Bonn constitution'. The caption to **B** is: 'If we don't let him work, who's going to keep him?'

SOURCE 40

On 23 June the Soviet authorities suspended all traffic into Berlin because of alleged technical difficulties . . . They also stopped barge traffic on similar grounds. Shortly before midnight, the Soviet authorities issued orders to . . . disrupt electric power from Soviet power plants to the Western sectors. Shortage of coal was given as a reason for this measure.

US Government report, June 1948.

SOURCE 41

The Berlin air-lift was a considerable achievement but neither side gained anything from the confrontation. The USSR had not gained control of Berlin. The West had no guarantees that land communications would not be cut again. Above all confrontation made both sides even more stubborn.

Historian Jack Watson writing in 1984.

SOURCE 43

The crisis was planned in Washington, behind a smokescreen of anti-Soviet propaganda. In 1948 there was danger of war. The conduct of the Western powers risked bloody incidents. The self-blockade of the Western powers hit the West Berlin population with harshness. The people were freezing and starving. In the Spring of 1949 the USA was forced to yield . . . their war plans had come to nothing, because of the conduct of the USSR.

A Soviet commentary on the crisis, quoted in P Fisher, *The Great Power Conflict*, a textbook published in 1985.

- 2 Read Source 40. What reasons did the Soviet Union give for cutting off West Berlin?
- 3 Why do you think the USA did not believe these were genuine reasons?
- 4 How do Sources 41–43 differ in their interpretation of the blockade?
- 5 Which do you think is the most useful source for a historian studying the Berlin Blockade?
- 6 Which source do you think gives the most reliable view of the blockade?

Stalin felt that the USA's handling of western Germany was provocative. He could do nothing about the reorganisation of the western zones, or the new currency, but he felt that he could stamp his authority on Berlin. It was deep in the Soviet zone and was linked to the western zones of Germany by vital roads, railways and canals. In June 1948, Stalin blocked all these supply lines, cutting off the two-million strong population of West Berlin from western help. Stalin believed that this would force the Allies out of Berlin and make Berlin entirely dependent on the USSR.

It was a clever plan. If US tanks did try to ram the road blocks or railway blocks, Stalin would see it as an act of war. However, the Americans were not prepared to give up. They saw West Berlin as a test case. If they gave in to Stalin on this issue, the western zones of Germany might be next. Truman wanted to show that he was serious about his policy of containment. He wanted Berlin to be a symbol of freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

The only way into Berlin was by air. So in June 1948 the Allies decided to air-lift supplies. As the first planes took off from their bases in western Germany, everyone feared that the Soviets would shoot them down, which would have been an act of war. People waited anxiously as the planes flew over Soviet territory, but no shots were fired. The planes got through and for the next ten months West Berlin was supplied by a constant stream of aeroplanes bringing in everything from food and clothing to oil and building materials, although there were enormous shortages and many Berliners decided to leave the city altogether. By May 1949, however, it was clear that the blockade of Berlin would not make the Western Allies give up Berlin, so Stalin reopened communications.

SOURCE 42

We refused to be forced out of the city of Berlin. We demonstrated to the people of Europe that we would act and act resolutely, when their freedom was threatened. Politically it brought the people of Western Europe closer to us. The Berlin blockade was a move to test our ability and our will to resist.

President Truman, speaking in 1949.

SOURCE 44

Coal being unloaded from a plane at Berlin airport, 1948. For ten months, planes landed every three minutes throughout the day and night.

A divided Germany

As a result of the Berlin Blockade, Germany was firmly divided into two nations. In May 1949, the British, French and American zones became the Federal Republic of Germany (known as West Germany). The Communist eastern zone was formed into the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany) in October 1949.

A powerful symbol

Germany would stay a divided country for 41 years. Throughout that time Berlin would remain a powerful symbol of Cold War tensions – from the American point of view, an oasis of democratic freedom in the middle of Communist repression; from the Soviet point of view, an invasive cancer growing in the workers' paradise of East Germany.

SOURCE **45**



A 1958 Soviet cartoon. A Soviet doctor is injecting the cancer (the 'Occupation regime' of the Western Allies) with a medicine called 'Free City Status for West Berlin'.

Activity

Why did the Cold War start?

It is difficult to give an exact date for when the Cold War actually started. Some might say that it was at Yalta, as Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt argued over Poland, others that it started in 1948 with the Berlin Blockade. There are other possible starting dates as well between 1945 and 1948.

What do you think? As a class, list all the possible starting dates you can think of. Then choose three to compare. Whatever your choice, support it with evidence from this chapter.

A flashpoint

Berlin was more than a symbol, however. It was also a potential flashpoint. As you study the story of the Cold War, you will find that the USA's and the USSR's worries about what might happen in Berlin affected their policies in other areas of the world. You will pick up the story of Berlin again in Chapter 5.

A pattern for the Cold War

Most importantly, the Berlin Blockade set out a pattern for Cold War confrontations. On the one hand, the two superpowers and their allies had shown how suspicious they were of each other; how they would obstruct each other in almost any way they could; how they would bombard each other with propaganda. On the other hand, each had shown that it was not willing to go to war with the other. The Berlin Blockade established a sort of tense balance between the superpowers that was to characterise much of the Cold War period.

Focus Task

Who was to blame for the Cold War?



Work in small groups. Five people per group would be ideal. You are going to investigate who was to blame for the Cold War. The possible verdicts you might reach are:

- A The USA was most to blame.
- B The USSR was most to blame.
- C Both sides were equally to blame.
- D No one was to blame. The Cold War was inevitable.

This is our suggested way of working.

- 1 Start by discussing the verdicts together. Is one more popular than another in your group?
- 2 a) Each member of the group should research how one of the following factors helped to lead to the Cold War. You can start with the page numbers given. You can introduce your own research from other books or the internet if you wish.
 - ◆ The situation before the Second World War (page 63).
 - ◆ The personal relationships between the various leaders (pages 62–71).
 - ◆ The conflicting beliefs of the superpowers (pages 62–63).
 - ◆ The war damage suffered by the USSR (pages 64 and 68).
 - ◆ Stalin's takeover of eastern Europe (pages 70–71).
 - ◆ Marshall Aid for Europe (pages 73–74).
 - ◆ Stalin's response to Marshall Aid (pages 74–75).
- b) Present your evidence to your group and explain which, if any, of the verdicts A–D your evidence most supports.
- 3 As a group, discuss which of the verdicts now seems most sensible.
- 4 Write a balanced essay on who was to blame, explaining why each verdict is a possibility but reaching your own conclusion about which is best.

4.2

How did the Cold War develop in the years 1949–1955?

The development of the Cold War

As you read in Topic 4.1, the Berlin Airlift set out a sort of template for the Cold War. The two superpowers were anxious not to go to war directly with each other. On the other hand, every other kind of controversy or conflict seemed to be acceptable. Throughout the Cold War the superpowers:

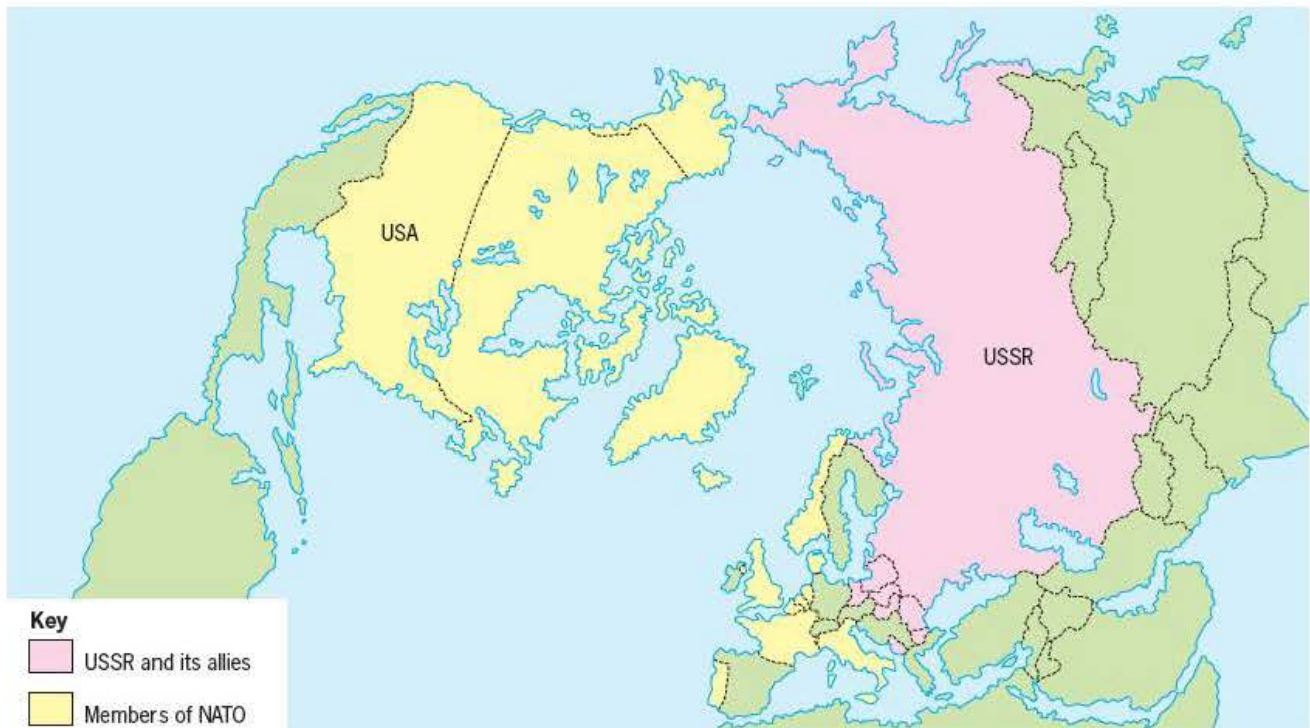
- regularly argued with each other in the United Nations Assembly, where each side openly criticised the actions of the other
- sometimes criticised each other through their television programmes, newspapers, art and films
- sometimes threatened military confrontation with each other, although it never came to war
- commonly sent troops or advisers to help other states or groups to disrupt the aims and plans of their opponents.

The Cold War was also fought through other methods. There was enormous rivalry between the USA and USSR in sport. There was rivalry in science and technology, particularly the new technology of rockets and the race to put machines and even men into space. The media in each country played its role in fanning the flames of mistrust and tension between the two sides. The superpowers were also not too proud to try and find allies against their enemies. The Americans and their allies in western Europe formed NATO in 1949. The USSR formed the Warsaw Pact in 1955.

The formation of NATO, 1949

During the Berlin Blockade, war between the USSR and the USA seemed a real possibility. At the height of the crisis, the Western powers met in Washington and signed an agreement to work together. The new organisation they formed in April 1949 was known as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation).

SOURCE 1



NATO and the Soviet satellites of eastern Europe. With the establishment of NATO, Europe was once again home to two hostile armed camps, just as it had been in 1914.

SOURCE 2

Article 3: To achieve the aims of this Treaty, the Parties will keep up their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 5: The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all.

Extracts from the NATO Charter.

SOURCE 3

The Soviet government did everything it could to prevent the world from being split into two military blocks. The Soviet Union issued a special statement analysing the grave consequences affecting the entire international situation that would follow from the establishment of a military alliance of the Western powers. All these warnings failed, however, and the North Atlantic Alliance came into being.

Stalin commenting on the formation of NATO, 1949.

You can see the main terms of the NATO alliance in Source 2. The main motive for the alliance for President Truman was that NATO countries could provide US forces with secure bases in Europe. Truman was aware that Stalin's forces were well positioned to invade western Europe if he chose to. US forces would have to cross the Atlantic before they could meet the Soviets. With the signing of the NATO treaty, US forces could resist any advance which Stalin might make. US allies such as Britain were happy to have US forces in western Europe as it guaranteed their protection from a possible Soviet attack. Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union did not see the Alliance in the same way. Sources 3 and 5 show how NATO was viewed from the Soviet side of the Iron Curtain.

SOURCE 4



A cartoon by David Low, 1949, entitled 'Your play, Joe'. Western leaders wait to see how Stalin will react to the formation of NATO.

SOURCE 5

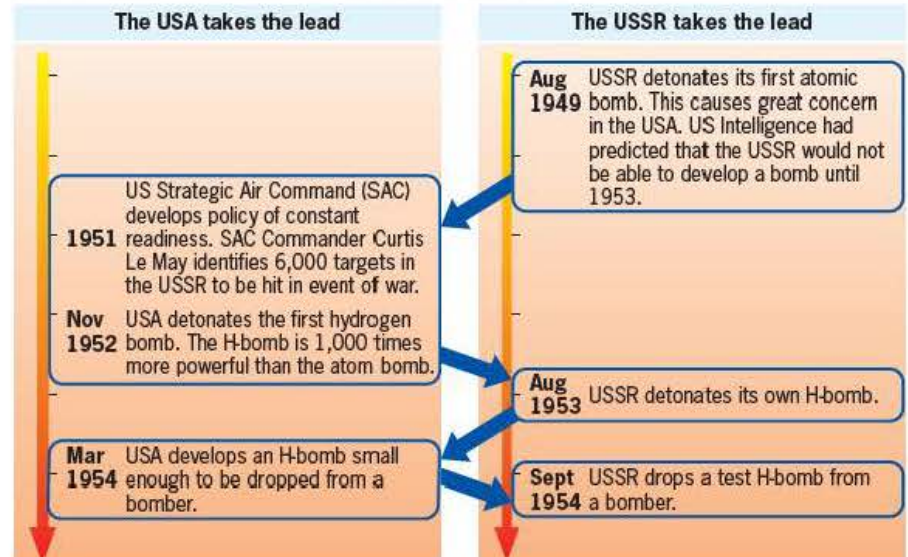


A 1963 Soviet cartoon. The dog's teeth are labelled NATO. He is about to attack the German Democratic Republic (East Germany; see page 78).

- 1 Look at Source 2. What did NATO members agree to do?
- 2 The members of NATO argued that this was a defensive alliance. Explain why Stalin was not convinced about this.
- 3 Study the cartoon in Source 4. Does the cartoon give the impression that Stalin feels threatened by NATO?
- 4 Explain how Sources 4 and 5 present NATO in different ways.
- 5 Now explain why they present NATO in different ways.

The nuclear arms race

Another area of superpower rivalry was in science and technology, particularly the deadly technology of nuclear weapons. When the USA dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan in August 1945 (see page 69) Stalin realised the USSR had to catch up with its rivals. He made atomic research his top priority. Massive amounts of money were poured into research and development. Entire towns like Arzamas-16 were created to house the scientists and engineers. The hard work paid off and by 1949 the Soviets had their own atomic bomb. It was the beginning of a deadly arms race.



Activity

You are a young cartoonist struggling to get your work published in the USA in the early 1950s. Design a cartoon responding to Source 6 for an American newspaper. You can either draw it or describe your ideas. You should also explain the message of the cartoon. Source 7 should give you some ideas about how to present the USSR as a threat.

The USA allocated 40 per cent of its defence spending to its Air Force, particularly the Strategic Air Command bombing force. This level of funding continued throughout the Cold War. Money was also pumped into developing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. There was a further concern in the US when the Soviets developed the Bison jet bomber and the long range TU-95 bomber. These aircraft could hit American cities with nuclear weapons and this triggered off a panic known as a 'Bomber Gap'. The new US President Eisenhower ordered new B-52 bombers to close the gap with the USSR. In reality, there never was a bomber gap – the USA always had more nuclear bombers than the USSR but, in the paranoid atmosphere of the time, threats were exaggerated rather than investigated.

SOURCE 6



A Soviet cartoon from 1949. The text on the bomb-shaped balloon reads 'US atomic monopoly'. The balloon is burst by a communiqué from the Soviet news agency TASS on 25 September, announcing that the USSR now has an atomic bomb.

There was debate in the USA about the nuclear build up. In December 1953 Eisenhower put forward a plan to the United Nations to share nuclear research and technology, but this was strongly opposed by many of his own supporters and the US military. Despite having been a General in the US army in the Second World War, Eisenhower had misgivings about what was called the military–industrial complex. Some commentators claimed that American industries and the top US military commanders were in league. The military wanted huge spending on weapons and other developments, while big business benefited from huge government contracts for the military. It is a debate which still continues today, and it was deeply controversial then. As you saw from Source 6, the arms race also became part of the propaganda war.

SOURCE 7

A MILITARY EVALUATION OF US AND USSR ATOMIC CAPABILITIES

1. *The United States now has an atomic capability, including both numbers and deliverability, estimated to be adequate, if effectively utilised, to deliver a serious blow against the war-making capacity of the USSR. It is doubted whether such a blow, even if it resulted in the complete destruction of the contemplated target systems, would cause the USSR to sue for terms or prevent Soviet forces from occupying western Europe ...*
2. *As the atomic capability of the USSR increases, it will have an increased ability to hit at our atomic bases and installations and thus seriously hamper the ability of the United States to carry out an attack such as that outlined above. It is quite possible that in the near future the USSR will have a sufficient number of atomic bombs and a sufficient deliverability to raise a question whether Britain with its present inadequate air defence could be relied upon as an advance base from which a major portion of the US attack could be launched.*

It is estimated that, within the next four years, the USSR will attain the capability of seriously damaging vital centres of the United States, provided it strikes a surprise blow and provided further that the blow is opposed by no more effective opposition than we now have programmed. Such a blow could so seriously damage the United States as to greatly reduce its superiority in economic potential.

Effective opposition to this Soviet capability will require among other measures greatly increased air warning systems, air defences, and vigorous development and implementation of a civilian defence program which has been thoroughly integrated with the military defence systems.

In time the atomic capability of the USSR can be expected to grow to a point where, given surprise and no more effective opposition than we now have programmed, the possibility of a decisive initial attack cannot be excluded.

An extract from an American National Security Council Report from April 1950 which is often referred to as 'NSC-68'. This document was an analysis by government officials of the threat posed by the USSR to the USA. This section looked at nuclear weapons.

SOURCE 8

Paul Nitze, the principal author of the 1950 NSC report, intentionally exaggerated Soviet nuclear capacities and minimized those of the US in order to 'bludgeon the mass mind of "government"'—as Nitze's superior, Secretary of State Dean Acheson, admitted years later. Although the Soviet Union had lost at least 25 million people and half its industry in World War II, Nitze portrayed the USSR as a fanatical enemy that, within a few years, would threaten America with an estimated two hundred nuclear weapons. According to his report, the then American stockpile of 1,400 weapons would be insufficient to counter such a threat. Nitze's report came at a time when international events, including the Korean War, seemed to validate this dark vision. In response, Truman quadrupled the defence budget and began a strategic program that would increase the US nuclear arsenal to some 20,000 thermonuclear bombs by 1960 and 32,000 by 1966.

An extract from *Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race* by American journalist and historian Richard Rhodes, published in 2008.

- 1 Study Source 7. According to this source, how serious was the Soviet nuclear threat?
- 2 What measures is Source 7 calling for?
- 3 How would you describe the tone of Source 7? Use examples of words and phrases in the text to support your answer.
- 4 Study Source 8. What criticisms are made of Source 7?
- 5 Do you think the author of Source 7 wanted to increase tension and the risk of war? If not, what were his motives?
- 6 Do the criticisms in Source 8 mean that Source 7 is not a useful historical source? Explain your answer.

The Korean War

Against the background of this developing nuclear rivalry, both superpowers were anxious not to get involved in a head-to-head confrontation. However, they were happy to recruit allies and to support states which came into conflict with their enemies. A good example of this is the Korean War which lasted from 1950 to 1953. Compared with the Vietnam War (see Chapter 10) the Korean War is relatively unknown, despite the fact that it was an extremely brutal and destructive war with very high casualty rates. In fact, in the Korean War the rate (rather than the total number) of American casualties was actually higher than in Vietnam.

Background

Soon after the Soviet takeover of eastern Europe, China became Communist in 1949. The Americans had always regarded China as their ally in the Far East. Between 1946 and 1949 they pumped \$2 billion in aid into China largely to support the Nationalists. Now suddenly a massive new Communist state had appeared on the map.

Furthermore, American spies reported to President Truman that Stalin was using the Cominform to help Communists win power in Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, the Philippines and Korea. Truman and other Americans watched with increasing anxiety. They saw a conspiracy. They thought that Communist countries were acting together to spread Communism. They had visions of the Communists overrunning all of Asia, with country after country being toppled like a row of dominoes. When South Korea was invaded in 1950, it was time for action!

The roots of the Korean War

Korea had been ruled by Japan until 1945. At the end of the Second World War the northern half was liberated by Soviet troops and the southern half by Americans (see Source 11). When the war ended, the North remained Communist-controlled, with a Communist leader who had been trained in the USSR, and with a Soviet-style one-party system. The South was anti-Communist. It was not very democratic, but the fact that it was anti-Communist was enough to win it the support of the USA. There was bitter hostility between the North's Communist leader, Kim Il Sung, and Syngman Rhee, President of South Korea. Reunification did not seem likely.

SOURCE 9

If the UN is ever going to do anything, this is the time, and if the UN cannot bring the crisis in Korea to an end then we might as well just wash up the United Nations and forget it.

American Senator Tom Connally speaking in 1950. He was a Republican and strongly anti-Communist.

SOURCE 10

Korea is a symbol to the watching world. If we allow Korea to fall within the Soviet orbit, the world will feel we have lost another round in our match with the Soviet Union, and our prestige and the hopes of those who place their faith in us will suffer accordingly.

The US State Department, 1950.

In 1950 this hostility spilled over into open warfare. North Korean troops overwhelmed the South's forces. By September 1950 all except a small corner of south-east Korea was under Communist control.

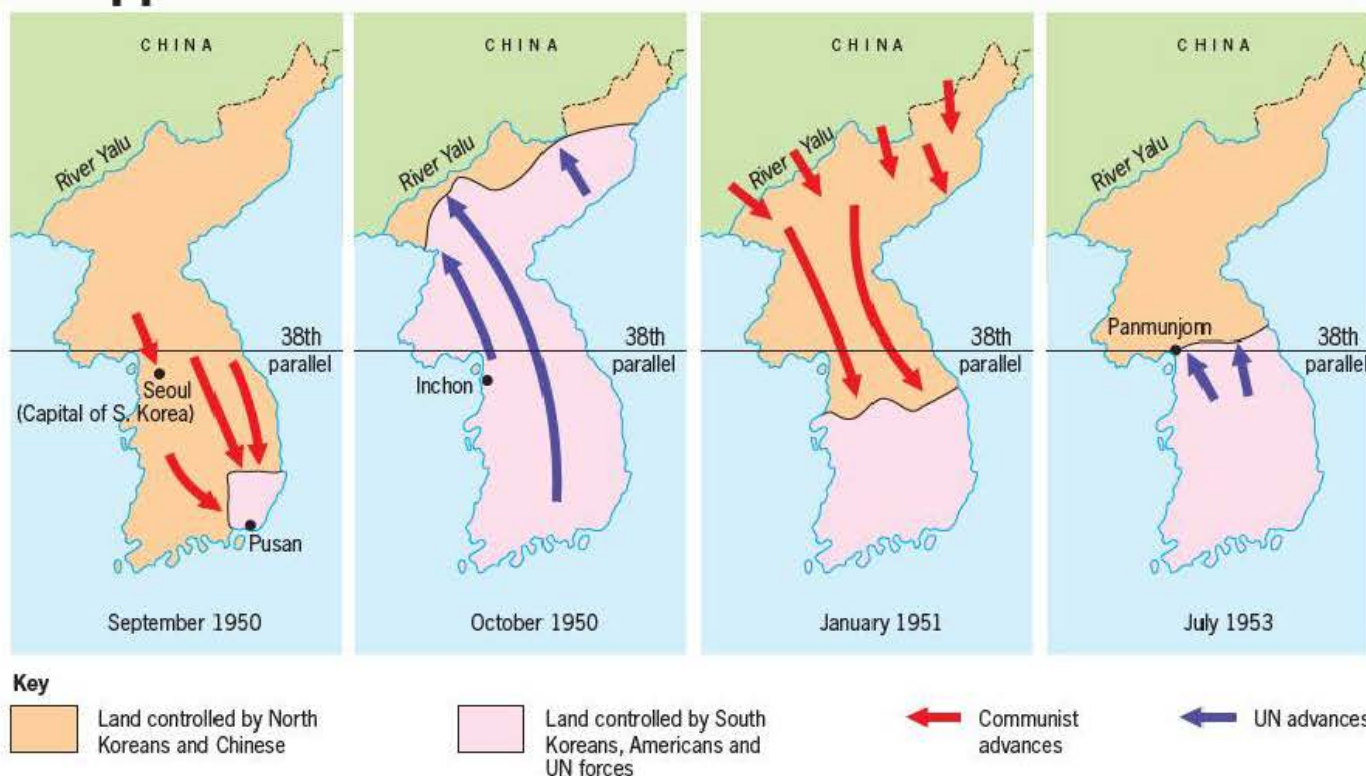
President Truman immediately sent advisers, supplies and warships to the waters around Korea. At the same time, he put enormous pressure on the UN Security Council to condemn the actions of the North Koreans and to call on them to withdraw their troops.

In the Cold War atmosphere of 1950, each superpower always denounced and opposed any action by the other. So normally, in a dispute such as this, the Soviet Union would have used its right of veto to block the call for action by the UN. However, the USSR was boycotting the UN at this time. When China became Communist in 1949, the USA had blocked its entry to the United Nations, since it regarded the Nationalists (Chiang Kai-shek and his followers) as the rightful government of China. The USSR had walked out of the UN in protest. So when the resolution was passed (see Source 12), the USSR was not even at the meeting to use its veto. The USA was the single biggest contributor to the UN budget and was therefore in a powerful position to influence the UN decision.

The UN was now committed to using member forces to drive North Korean troops out of South Korea.

- 1 The situation in Korea has sometimes been compared to the situation in Germany in 1945 (which you studied in Chapter 4.1). Explain:
 - a) how these situations were similar
 - b) how they were different.
- 2 Explain how the Communist victory in China helped the USA to get the UN to intervene in North Korea.

SOURCE 11



The Korean War, 1950–53.

SOURCE 12

The UN will render such assistance to the republic of Korea as may be necessary to restore international peace and security to the area.

The resolution passed by the United Nations in 1950.

UN or USA?

Eighteen states (including Britain) provided troops or support of some kind, but the overwhelming part of the UN force that was sent to Korea was American. The commander, General MacArthur, was also an American.

SOURCE 13

Even the reports to the UN were censored by [American] state and defense departments. I had no connection with the United Nations whatsoever.

From General MacArthur's memoirs.

SOURCE 14



A cartoon by David Low, 1950.

- 3 During the Korean War, critics said that the USA simply pulled the strings of the UN like a puppet. How do Sources 13 and 14 support this view?

Profile

General Douglas MacArthur



- Born 1880. His father was a successful army leader.
- Trained at West Point, the top American military academy.
- Fought in the First World War. He got thirteen medals for bravery. Became the youngest commander in the American army in France.
- Became chief of staff in the army in 1930.
- During the Second World War he was the commander of the war against the Japanese. He devised the successful island-hopping strategy that allowed the Americans to drive out the Japanese from their island strongholds.
- In 1945 he personally accepted the Japanese surrender, and from 1945 to 1951 he virtually controlled Japan, helping the shattered country get back on its feet.
- His bullying, no-nonsense style enabled him to get things done, but he sometimes annoyed political leaders back in Washington by following his own policies.
- In 1950, at the age of 70, he was given command of the UN forces in Korea.
- He was relieved of his duties in Korea in 1951. He tried unsuccessfully to be elected as a presidential candidate in 1952.
- He died in 1964.

SOURCE 15

I have received your announcement of your appointment of me as United Nations Commander. I can only repeat the pledge of my complete personal loyalty to you as well as an absolute devotion to your monumental struggle for peace and goodwill throughout the world. I hope I will not fail you.

General MacArthur writing to President Truman in 1950.

United Nations forces stormed ashore at Inchon in September 1950. At the same time, other UN forces and South Korean troops advanced from Pusan. The North Koreans were driven back beyond their original border (the 38th parallel) within weeks. MacArthur had quickly achieved the original UN objective of removing North Korean troops from South Korea. But the Americans did not stop. Despite warnings from China's leader, Mao Zedong, that pressing on would mean China's joining the war, the UN approved a plan to advance into North Korea. By October, US forces had reached the Yalu river and the border with China (see Source 11). The nature of the war had now changed. It was clear that MacArthur and Truman were striving for a bigger prize – to remove Communism from Korea entirely.

SOURCE 16

Had they [the Chinese] intervened in the first or second months it would have been decisive, [but] we are no longer fearful of their intervention. Now that we have bases for our Air Force in Korea, there would be the greatest slaughter.

General MacArthur speaking in October 1950.

MacArthur underestimated the power of the Chinese. Late in October 1950, 200,000 Chinese troops (calling themselves 'People's Volunteers') joined the North Koreans. They launched a blistering attack. They had soldiers who were strongly committed to Communism and had been taught by their leader to hate the Americans. They had modern tanks and planes supplied by the Soviet Union. The United Nations forces were pushed back into South Korea. The UN troops then recovered and the fighting finally reached stalemate around the 38th parallel.

At this point, Truman and MacArthur fell out. MacArthur wanted to carry on the war, invading China and even using nuclear weapons if necessary. Truman felt that saving South Korea was good enough. His allies in the UN force convinced him that the risks of attacking China and of starting a war that might bring in the USSR were too great, and so an attack on China was ruled out. However, in March 1951 MacArthur blatantly ignored the UN instruction and openly threatened an attack on China. In April Truman removed MacArthur from his position as commander and brought him back home. He rejected MacArthur's aggressive policy towards Communism. Containment was underlined as the American policy. One of the American army leaders, General Omar Bradley, said that MacArthur's approach would have 'involved America in the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy'.

Peace talks between North and South Korea began in June 1951, but bitter fighting continued until 1952 when Truman was replaced by President Eisenhower who wanted to end the war. Stalin's death in March 1953 made the Chinese and North Koreans less confident. An armistice was finally signed in July 1953.

Activity

Source 15 is MacArthur's letter accepting command of the UN troops. Write a letter from him to Truman, following his removal from that position in April 1951, explaining his actions in the Korean War.

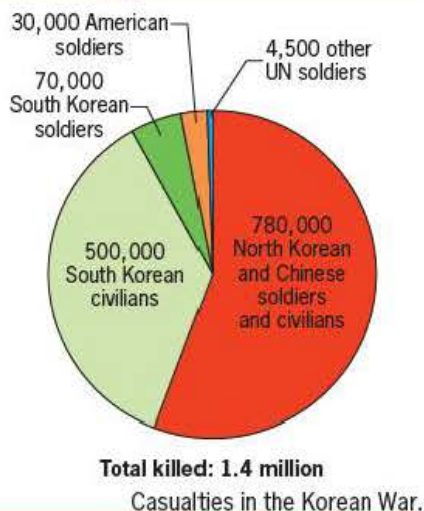
- 1 Use Source 15 to write an extra sentence for the profile of General MacArthur describing his personality and beliefs.
- 2 Why did the Americans not support MacArthur in continuing the war and attacking China?

SOURCE 17



Photographs from the Korean War. Conditions were some of the worst the American forces had known, with treacherous cold and blinding snow-storms in the winter of 1950–51. The Chinese forces were more familiar with fighting in the jagged mountains, forested ravines and treacherous swamps – as the landscape was similar to many areas of China. Many civilians suffered as a result of the war and there were also reports of prisoners of war being treated very badly.

SOURCE 18



Focus Task

Korea 1950–53: The Cold War reaches a new level

The Korean War is over. You have been asked to write a newspaper article assessing the significance of the Korean War. Your aim is to explain to readers how the Korean War took the Cold War to a new level of intensity. Your article should refer to:

- ◆ the USA's concerns about developments in Asia
- ◆ how the UN became involved and whether you think a similar event might happen again
- ◆ how and why the conflict escalated to involve China
- ◆ whether you think there was a real danger that the conflict might have spread further
- ◆ the military and civilian cost of the war.

Finally, add a conclusion to your article which:

- ◆ argues EITHER that the Korean War shows the need for the USA to continue its aggressive stance towards Communism OR that the USA should try to improve relations with the USSR and China
- ◆ AND states whether you think the new US President Eisenhower will follow your advice.

Profile

Nikita Khrushchev



- Born 1894, the son of a coal miner.
- Fought in the Red Army during the Civil War, 1922–23.
- Afterwards worked for the Communist Party in Moscow. Was awarded the Order of Lenin for his work building the Moscow underground railway.
- In 1949 he was appointed by the Communist Party to run Soviet agriculture.
- There was a power struggle after Stalin's death over who would succeed him. Khrushchev had come out on top by 1955 and by 1956 he felt secure enough in his position to attack Stalin's reputation.
- Became Prime Minister in 1958.
- Took his country close to nuclear war with the USA during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 (see pages 102–10).
- Was forced into retirement in 1964.
- Died in 1971.

Death of Stalin

The Korean War inevitably raised tensions between the superpowers, but the temperature of the Cold War was about to change. In March 1953 Stalin died. Stalin was a hero to millions of people in the USSR. He had defeated Hitler and given the USSR an empire in eastern Europe. He made the USSR a nuclear superpower. When he died in 1953, amid the grief and mourning, many minds turned to the question of who would succeed Stalin as Soviet leader. The man who had emerged by 1955 was Nikita Khrushchev.

Khrushchev and 'The Thaw'

Khrushchev seemed very different from Stalin. He ended the USSR's long feuds with China and with Yugoslavia. His new approach also seemed to bring about a thaw in the frosty Cold War relations between the superpowers. He talked of peaceful co-existence with the West. He made plans to reduce expenditure on arms. He attended the first post-war summit between the USSR, the USA, France and Britain in July 1955.

Khrushchev also relaxed the iron control of the Soviet Union on eastern Europe. He closed down Cominform. He released thousands of political prisoners. He agreed to pull Soviet troops out of Austria (they had been posted there since the end of the Second World War). He seemed to be signalling to the countries of eastern Europe that they would be allowed much greater independence to control their own affairs.

De-Stalinisation

At the Communist Party International Conference in 1956, Khrushchev made an astonishing attack on Stalin. He dredged up the gory evidence of Stalin's purges (Chapter 7, pages 164–66) and denounced him as a wicked tyrant who was an enemy of the people and kept all power to himself. Khrushchev went on to say much worse things about Stalin and began a programme of 'de-Stalinisation':

- He released more political prisoners.
- He closed down Cominform as part of his policy of reconciliation with Yugoslavia.
- He invited Marshal Tito to Moscow.
- He dismissed Stalin's former Foreign Minister, Molotov.

Khrushchev also said that he wanted to improve the living standards of ordinary Soviet citizens and those of eastern Europe (see Source 20).

SOURCE 20

We must produce more grain. The more grain there is, the more meat, lard and fruit there will be. Our tables will be better covered. Marxist theory helped us win power and consolidate it. Having done this we must help the people eat well, dress well and live well. 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.

Nikita Khrushchev speaking in 1955.

SOURCE 19



A 1959 Soviet cartoon. The writing on the snowman's hat reads 'cold war'. Khrushchev is drilling through the cold war using what the caption calls 'miners' methods'.

- 1 Make a list of the features of the cartoon which show Khrushchev as a new type of leader.
- 2 Explain:
 - a) why he is shown destroying the snowman
 - b) what this is supposed to suggest about his attitude to the Cold War.

Activity

Write your own definition of 'de-Stalinisation'. Make sure you include:

- at least two examples
- an explanation of why it was radical.

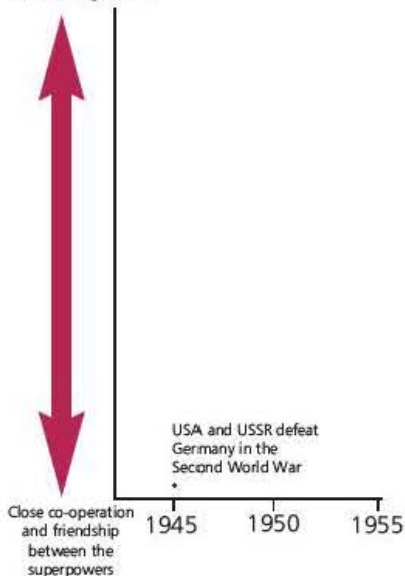
- 3 What point is the cartoonist making in Source 21?
- 4 What does the cartoon imply about Khrushchev's motives?
- 5 Is the cartoon more or less sympathetic towards Khrushchev than Source 19? Explain your answer.
- 6 According to Source 22, why have the peace-loving states come together to sign the Warsaw Pact?
- 7 According to the articles, what will the Warsaw Pact countries do?
- 8 In what ways was this agreement similar and/or different to NATO?

Focus Task

How did the Cold War develop in 1945–55?

It's time to look back at some of the key developments you have studied in the last two chapters. Create your own copy of the tension graph shown below. In pairs or small groups, decide where the main events and developments you have studied belong on the graph. Make sure you can explain your decisions.

Very bad relations
between superpowers
— on the edge of war



Events and developments

- ◆ Yalta, 1945
- ◆ Potsdam, 1945
- ◆ Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs
- ◆ Soviet expansion into eastern Europe
- ◆ Truman Doctrine
- ◆ Marshall Plan
- ◆ Berlin Blockade
- ◆ Formation of NATO
- ◆ Nuclear arms race
- ◆ Korean War
- ◆ Death of Stalin
- ◆ Khrushchev and Peaceful Co-existence
- ◆ West Germany joins NATO
- ◆ Formation of Warsaw Pact

SOURCE 21



A British cartoon from January 1959. The figure on the left is the US President Eisenhower. Khrushchev is on the right.

Khrushchev and the Warsaw Pact

Despite the new approach he brought, Khrushchev still believed in Communism and wanted the USSR to be a great Communist power in the world. In some respects he was simply using different methods to achieve the same aims as Stalin. For example, he wanted to improve living standards in order to benefit the Soviet people but also to show that Communism could deliver the same benefits for its people as the USA could deliver for its people (see Source 21).

One aspect of Stalin's policy did not change. His aim in eastern Europe had always been to create a buffer against attack from the West. Khrushchev continued this policy. In May 1955 the Western Allies signed a series of agreements in Paris which made West Germany a member of NATO and allowed the country to have its own armed forces again. There were strict limits on the new German army, but to the Soviet Union the sight of the USA rearming the enemy which had caused so much misery during the Second World War was worrying. In response, Khrushchev created the Warsaw Pact. This was a military alliance similar to NATO (see pages 80–81). The members would defend each other if one was attacked. The Warsaw Pact included all the Communist countries of Eastern Europe except Yugoslavia, but it was dominated by the Soviet Union.

SOURCE 22

Because the recent Paris agreements have created a remilitarised Western Germany and entered it into the North Atlantic bloc, which increases the threat of another war and creates a menace to the national security of the peace-loving states and ... Convinced that, under these circumstances, the peace-loving states of Europe should take the necessary measures for safeguarding their security ... The peace-loving states of Europe have resolved to conclude this Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, ...

Article 1. The contracting parties undertake ... to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, and to settle their international disputes by peaceful means so as not to endanger international peace and security.

Article 2. The contracting parties declare their readiness to take part ... in all international undertakings intended to safeguard international peace and security and they shall use all their energies for the realisation of these aims.

Moreover, the contracting parties shall work for the adoption ... of effective measures towards a general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction ...

Article 4. In the event of an armed attack in Europe on one or several states that are signatories of the treaty by any state or group of states, each state that is a party to this treaty shall ... render the state or states so attacked immediate assistance.

Extracts from the Warsaw Pact Treaty, 1955.

5 Development of the Cold War, 1955–1970

5.1

How peaceful was Peaceful Co-existence?

Focus

In 1955 the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev declared his view that the USA and the USSR could live in 'Peaceful Co-existence'. In 1956–61 that claim was put to the test. In

Topic 5.1 you will:

- ◆ investigate the causes and consequences of events in Hungary in 1956
- ◆ examine the key developments in technology in the period
- ◆ consider the importance of the U2 Crisis of 1960
- ◆ evaluate the significance of the Berlin Wall.

In Topic 5.2 you will:

- ◆ examine the importance of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962
- ◆ investigate the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The first test of Peaceful Co-existence: Hungary, 1956

Why was there opposition in Hungary?

Hungary was led by a hard-line Communist called Mátyás Rákosi. Hungarians hated the restrictions which Rákosi's Communism imposed on them. Most Hungarians felt bitter about losing their freedom of speech. They lived in fear of the secret police. They resented the presence of thousands of Soviet troops and officials in their country. Some areas of Hungary even had Russian street signs, Russian schools and shops. Worst of all, Hungarians had to pay for Soviet forces to be in Hungary.

In June 1956 a group within the Communist Party in Hungary opposed Rákosi. He appealed to Moscow for help. He wanted to arrest 400 leading opponents. Moscow would not back him. Rákosi's assistant said sarcastically: 'Might I suggest that mass arrests are not reconcilable with our new brand of socialist legality.' The Kremlin ordered Rákosi to be retired 'for health reasons'.

However, the new leader, Ernő Gerő, was no more acceptable to the Hungarian people. Discontent came to a head with a huge student demonstration on 23 October, when the giant statue of Stalin in Budapest was pulled down. The USSR allowed a new government to be formed under the well-respected Imre Nagy. Soviet troops and tanks stationed in Hungary since the war began to withdraw. Hungarians created thousands of local councils to replace Soviet power. Several thousand Hungarian soldiers defected from the army to the rebel cause, taking their weapons with them.

Nagy's government began to make plans. It would hold free elections, create impartial courts, restore farmland to private ownership. It wanted the total withdrawal of the Soviet army from Hungary. It also planned to leave the Warsaw Pact and declare Hungary neutral in the Cold War struggle between East and West. There was widespread optimism that the new American President Eisenhower, who had been the wartime supreme commander of all Allied Forces in western Europe, would support the new independent Hungary.

SOURCE 1

Living standards were declining and yet the papers and radio kept saying that we had never had it so good. Why? Why these lies? Everybody knew the state was spending the money on armaments. Why could they not admit that we were worse off because of the war effort and the need to build new factories? . . . I finally arrived at the realisation that the system was wrong and stupid.

A Hungarian student describes the mood in 1953.

SOURCE 2

Wearing western clothes was considered dangerous. To cite a small example: my colleague John showed up at lectures one day in a new suit, a striped shirt and necktie from the United States. His shoes were smooth suede and would have cost one month's wages in Hungary. After classes John was summoned by the party officer. He received a tongue-lashing and was expelled.

Written by László Beke, a student who helped lead the Hungarian uprising in 1956.

- 1 Use the text and Sources 1 and 2 to give reasons why the Hungarians disliked Communist control.
- 2 Which of their demands do you think would be most threatening to the USSR?

SOURCE 3

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?

A telex message sent by the Hungarian rebels fighting the Communists. Quoted in George Mikes, *The Hungarian Revolution*, 1957.

SOURCE 4

In Hungary thousands of people have obtained arms by disarming soldiers and militia men . . . Soldiers have been making friends with the embittered and dissatisfied masses . . . The authorities are paralysed, unable to stop the bloody events.

From a report in a Yugoslav newspaper. Yugoslavia, although Communist, did not approve of Soviet policies.

- 3 How do Sources 3 and 4 differ in the impression they give of the Hungarian uprising?
- 4 Why do you think they differ?
- 5 Does the photo in Source 6 give the same impression as either Source 3 or Source 4?
- 6 Write a paragraph explaining the nature of the fighting in Budapest using Sources 3–6.

Activity

Explain which of these statements you most agree with:

- 'The severity of the Red Army in dealing with Hungary in 1956 shows how fragile the Soviet hold on Hungary really was.'
- 'The speed at which the Red Army crushed resistance in Hungary shows how completely the Soviet Union controlled Hungary.'

How did the Soviet Union respond?

Khrushchev at first seemed ready to accept some of the reforms. However, he could not accept Hungary's leaving the Warsaw Pact. In November 1956 thousands of Soviet troops and tanks moved into Budapest. Unlike in Poland, the Hungarians did not give in. Two weeks of bitter fighting followed. Some estimates put the number of Hungarians killed at 30,000. However, the latest research suggests about 3,000 Hungarians and 7,000–8,000 Russians were killed. Another 200,000 Hungarians fled across the border into Austria to escape the Communist forces. Imre Nagy and his fellow leaders were imprisoned and then executed.

SOURCE 5

October 27, 1956. On my way home I saw a little girl propped up against the doorway of a building with a machine gun clutched in her hands. When I tried to move her, I saw she was dead. She could not have been more than eleven or twelve years old. There was a neatly folded note in her pocket she had evidently meant to pass on to her parents. In childish scrawl it read: 'Dear Mama, Brother is dead. He asked me to take care of his gun. I am all right, and I'm going with friends now. I kiss you. Kati.'

Written by László Beke, a Hungarian student.

SOURCE 6



The effects of the uprising in Budapest, showing the scene of destruction outside the Kilian Barracks, where heavy fighting was experienced.

The Hungarian resistance was crushed in two weeks. The Western powers protested to the USSR but sent no help; they were too preoccupied with the Suez crisis in the Middle East.

Khrushchev put János Kádár in place as leader. Kádár took several months to crush all resistance. Around 35,000 anti-Communist activists were arrested and 300 were executed. Kádár cautiously introduced some of the reforms being demanded by the Hungarian people. However, he did not waver on the central issue – membership of the Warsaw Pact.

- 1 Look back at Source 1. Why do you think Hungary's membership of the Warsaw Pact was so important to the Soviet Union?
- 2 Why do you think the Hungarians received no support from the West?

How did events in Hungary affect Cold War relations?

The Soviet actions in Hungary led to bitter condemnation from the USA and its allies but the only serious action against the USSR came in the form of harsh words in the United Nations and in the newspapers and TV programmes of Western states. There were two main reasons why the West did little to help:

- At almost exactly the same time as the Hungarian revolt, the USA, Britain and France were deeply distracted by a crisis concerning the Suez Canal in Egypt. The British and French invaded Egypt to take back the Canal without consulting the Americans. The USA and the USSR both condemned British actions and there was furious debate in the United Nations, eventually forcing the British to pull out. In these circumstances it was almost impossible to react to events in Hungary.
- Hungary was simply too close to the USSR. It would have been impossible for the West to help the rebels without sending massive forces across Europe and this would have run the risk of triggering off a major war. The American President Eisenhower was simply not prepared to do this.

SOURCE 7



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE UNIVERSITY OF KENT © MIRRORPIX

"SORRY, THAT WAS ANOTHER MISTAKE OF THE PAST..."

A British cartoon by Vicky (Victor Weisz) published in the *Daily Mirror* on 30 October 1956.

- 3 Explain what the cartoon is saying about Khrushchev in Source 7. Refer to the details of the cartoon and also what you have learned about Khrushchev from your work on pages 88–89.
- 4 Search the internet for other cartoons on the Hungarian revolt of 1956. See if you can find other perspectives, especially cartoons, which link the Suez crisis with events in Hungary.

The lesson which emerged from the Hungarian revolt was that Khrushchev was simply not going to let Hungary pull out of the Warsaw Pact. It is possible that he would have allowed some of the reforms to take place but total independence was out of the question. In the months which followed, the Soviet invasion resulted in a new government which disbanded most of the Hungarian army and began a programme of political education in the remaining units to ensure their loyalty to the USSR. In addition, Khrushchev increased the number of Soviet divisions in Hungary from two to four and made the Hungarian government accept the presence of these troops for the protection of Hungary. Hungary also had to pay for these troops to be stationed there. It was clear that Communist control in Hungary could only be maintained if it was propped up by the presence of the Red Army, and Khrushchev was quite prepared to do that.

The second test of Peaceful Co-existence: The Space Race 1955–1969

You have already seen in Chapters 4.1 and 4.2 that the Cold War took many different forms. One of the ways in which the USA and USSR competed with each other was in science and technology, and the most spectacular form of this rivalry was the Space Race.

During the Second World War, German scientists had developed powerful rockets like the V-2 (see page 301). The Soviets and the Americans used this technology and developed it to see if they could break free of earth and reach space. US President Eisenhower announced a programme in 1955 to develop a man-made satellite. However, in October 1957 the Soviets shocked the Americans by sending one of their rockets into space and launching the first ever man-made satellite, called Sputnik. They rubbed salt in the wound in November 1957 when they launched Sputnik II. This satellite was larger than Sputnik I and it carried a dog called Laika.

The Americans responded by pouring money into space research. The government funded existing programmes, and set up new ones. The government also set up a new project called Explorer. It was run by the US army and headed by Wernher von Braun. This caused some discomfort in the USA as Braun had been part of the German V-2 programme. By 1958 the US investment was beginning to pay off. In January the Americans launched the Explorer I satellite. In July the US Congress approved the formation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

SOURCE 8

*Gather 'round while I sing you of Wernher von Braun,
A man whose allegiance
Is ruled by expedience.
Call him a Nazi, he won't even frown,
'Ha, Nazi, Schmazi,' says Wernher von Braun.*

*Don't say that he's hypocritical,
Say rather that he's apolitical.
'Once the rockets are up, who cares where they come down?
That's not my department,' says Wernher von Braun.*

*Some have harsh words for this man of renown,
But some think our attitude
Should be one of gratitude,
Like the widows and cripples in old London town,
Who owe their large pensions to Wernher von Braun.*

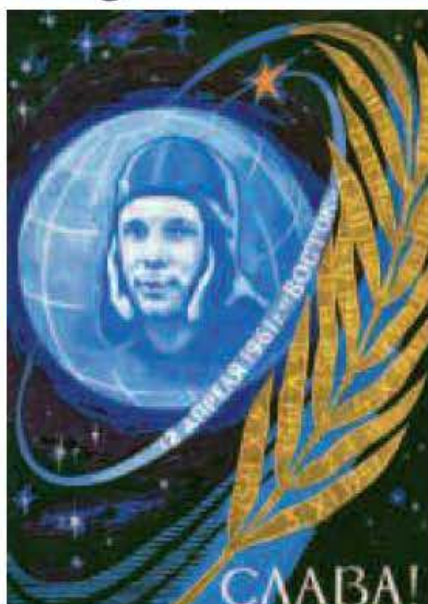
*You too may be a big hero,
Once you've learned to count backwards to zero.
'In German oder English I know how to count down,
Und I'm learning Chinese!' says Wernher von Braun.*

5 The main point of this song is that it accuses the US government and Wernher von Braun of being hypocritical. Explain which words and phrases make this point.

The lyrics of a satirical song about Wernher von Braun, by the American comedian and songwriter Tom Lehrer.

- 1 Sources 9 and 10 both celebrate achievements in the Space Race. Explain the message of each one.
- 2 Sources 9 and 10 are both partly political posters. Explain what political points they make and how these points are conveyed.
- 3 Read Source 11 carefully. Does Kennedy explain all of his motives for supporting the Apollo programme in this extract? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 9



A poster celebrating Yuri Gagarin and the Vostok Space Programme in 1961. The dates on the leaves of the branch are important stages in the Soviet space programme.

SOURCE 10



The logo of the US Apollo 11 mission.

SOURCE 11

First, I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to the Earth. No single space project in this period will be more impressive to mankind, or more important in the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish.

Extracts from a speech by US President John F Kennedy. Kennedy became President in January 1961.

SOURCE 12

Sputnik came as a shock overseas. The American military and others realised that the period when they were out of reach had ended. A new era had begun when instead of a Sputnik, a nuclear weapon could not merely circle the earth, but land where it was ordered to.

Boris Chertok, a Soviet rocket designer, interviewed in 1998.

SOURCE 13

Khrushchev, around that period, came to the conclusion that missiles were the weapons of the future, and that warships were getting obsolete, bombers were getting obsolete. That we should concentrate everything on missiles, and as he said somewhere that, 'We are on the point of producing missiles like sausages'.

Oleg Troyanovski, an adviser to Khrushchev in the 1950s.

SOURCE 14

We were kept in such strict secrecy that we couldn't mention the word 'missile' even between ourselves. It was called 'the mechanism', 'the product'. We called it 'our dear one'. That romanticism – it helped us to live, to keep going...

Khionia Kraskina, Soviet rocket technician who worked on the Soviet ICBM project.

SOURCE 15

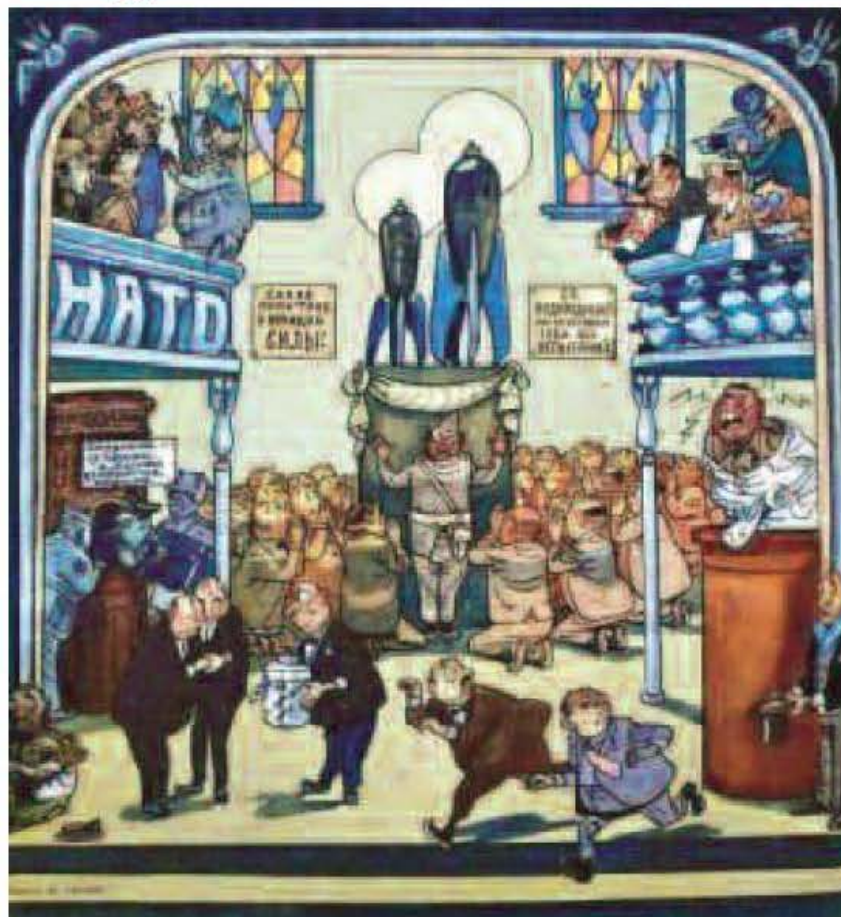


A Polaris missile launch in 1960.

Technology and tensions: The nuclear arms race continues

You have already seen on pages 82–83 how the USA and USSR built up stockpiles of nuclear bombs in the early 1950s. This was serious enough when these weapons would be dropped by bombers, but Soviet leader Khrushchev was quick to recognise that space technology would soon make missiles the most important weapons. Engineers from all over the Soviet Union were brought together in a remote location in Kazakhstan to build the top-secret rocket base of Baykonur. On 15 May 1957, they began testing the world's first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, an ICBM. This technology allowed the Soviets to launch a missile into space and then bring it down on a target in the USA.

SOURCE 16



A Soviet cartoon from 1957 called 'The Church of NATO'. It depicts war as the religion of the West. The poster on the left reads 'Glory to the policy of force!', the one on the right, 'St Madonna of the Hydrogen! We won't stop the tests!'. The box on the left is marked 'Confessional'. The poster on it plays on a Russian word which means both 'forgive' and 'sell'. It says 'We forgive/sell: 1) sins, 2) atomic weapons'. The man with the gun is collecting 'for armaments'.

It was not long before the USA caught up again. In 1959 the Americans developed their own ICBM systems. Atlas and Minuteman missiles would be able to reach the USSR as quickly and as accurately as Soviet missiles could reach the USA. A further American technological development was the introduction of Polaris missiles. These could be fired from submarines which were virtually undetectable.

As the 1950s ended and the 1960s began America was beginning to pull ahead in the nuclear arms race. However, if you had lived in the USA at the time you probably would not have believed this. The US public was alarmed by the fear that the USSR had many more nuclear missiles than the USA. US President Eisenhower knew this was not the case. He began to worry about the spiralling cost of US defence spending and called for 'reasonable control'. He also criticised what he saw as hysterical reporting in some of the media, such as the *Life* Magazine article in 1959 which talked of the threat of the missile gap between the USA and the USSR. Part of Eisenhower's problem was that he knew there was no missile gap, but he could not really tell the world how he knew...

Activity

Look back at the arms race timeline on page 82. Make your own copy of that timeline and then extend it to add the developments described on this page.

The U-2 crisis and the Paris Summit

Eisenhower knew about Soviet nuclear capability because for some years the USA had been illegally flying spying missions over the USSR. In 1950, without permission from President Truman, US Strategic Air Command began spy flights over the USSR. When he found out, Truman banned them because they violated Soviet air space.

In 1956 the flights began again, with the agreement of President Eisenhower. This time they used a brand new spy plane called the U-2. This flew so high that it could not be shot down by Soviet fighters or by anti-aircraft missiles, but it carried sophisticated listening devices and such powerful cameras that it could read a newspaper on the ground from 23,000 metres. U-2 spying flights kept the Americans fully informed about Soviet weapons technology through the late 1950s.

Khrushchev was furious about the flights. He said that each flight 'spat in the face of the Soviet people'. His problem was that he could not complain about the flights because he had no proof and he did not want to have to admit that the Soviets did not have the technology to shoot down the U-2s.

In May 1960 events suddenly turned in his favour. He was preparing for the Four Power Summit with France, Britain and the USA, which was to be held in Paris. On 1 May he received the news that the USSR's new S-75 anti-aircraft missiles had shot down a U-2. The pilot, Gary Powers, parachuted to safety but was arrested by Soviet soldiers. The USSR paraded Powers on television and accused the USA of spying. The USA at first denied Powers was on a spying mission, but then admitted he was. However, President Eisenhower refused to apologise or to promise there would be no more flights. Without an apology, Khrushchev refused to attend the summit and pulled out.

SOURCE 17



A 1960 Soviet cartoon commenting on the uses of the U-2 spy plane.

SOURCE 18

As is generally known, a provocative act by the American air force against the Soviet Union has recently taken place. It consisted in the fact that on 1 May of this year a US military reconnaissance plane intruded into the USSR on a definite espionage mission of gathering intelligence about military and industrial installations on Soviet territory. After the aggressive purpose of the plane's flight became clear, it was shot down by a Soviet rocket unit. Unfortunately, this is not the only instance of aggressive and espionage actions by the US air force against the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the Soviet government was obliged to describe these actions by their proper name and show their perfidious character, inconsistent with the elementary requirements of normal peacetime relations between states, to say nothing of their conflicting grossly with the aim of reducing international tension and creating the conditions needed for fruitful work at the Summit conference ...

How can agreement be reached on this or that issue needing to be settled in order to lessen tension and remove suspicion and distrust between states, when the government of one of the Great Powers says outright that it is its policy to intrude into the confines of another Great Power for spying and subversive purposes, and consequently to heighten tension in the relations between the powers? Obviously, the proclamation of such a policy, which can only be adopted when nations are at war, dooms the Summit conference in advance to total failure ...

Nikita Khrushchev: Summit Conference Statement, 16 May 1960.

- 1 Look at Source 17. What is the Soviet cartoon saying about the U-2 plane?
- 2 Read Source 18. Explain why the USSR was so angry about the US spy flights.
- 3 How would the USA justify this violation of Soviet territory?
- 4 If the USSR had had U-2 planes, do you think it would have used them?
- 5 Explain how Kennedy exploited the U-2 crisis of 1960.

Gary Powers was sentenced to ten years in a Soviet prison, but was exchanged for a captured Soviet spy (Rudolf Abel) in February 1962. Eisenhower and his Republican Party were criticised abroad for the U-2 flights. At home, they were criticised for being too soft with the Soviets. The rival Democratic Party had a young and brilliant new leader, called John F Kennedy, who exploited this feeling very effectively. In the Presidential elections of 1960 he talked up the threat of the missile gap between the USSR and the USA even though he almost certainly knew there was no such gap. Kennedy won the elections and became President in January 1961. Soon afterwards he admitted that there was a missile gap, but in fact the Americans were far ahead of the Soviets! This did not create much of a stir in the USA, because by that time the world's attention had shifted to Berlin ...

SOURCE 19



A 1959 Soviet cartoon – the caption was: 'The socialist stallion far outclasses the capitalist donkey'.

- 6 Look at Source 19. What is the aim of this cartoon?
- 7 Why might someone living in a Communist country like it or dislike it?

SOURCE 21

West Berlin . . . has many roles. It is more than a showcase of liberty, an island of freedom in a Communist sea. It is more than a link with the free world, a beacon of hope behind the iron curtain, an escape hatch for refugees. Above all, it has become the resting place of Western courage and will . . . We cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin.

President Kennedy speaking in 1960, before he became President.

- 8 Which photograph in Source 20 do you think shows East Berlin and which shows West Berlin? Explain your choice and write a detailed description of the differences between the two areas based on the sources and the text.

The third test of Peaceful Co-existence: The Berlin Wall, 1961

You have already seen how important Berlin was as a battleground of the Cold War (see pages 76–77). In 1961 it also became the focus of the Soviet Union's latest attempt to maintain control of its eastern European satellites.

The crushing of the Hungarian uprising had confirmed for many people in eastern Europe that it was impossible to fight the Communists. For many, it seemed that the only way of escaping the repression was to leave altogether. Some wished to leave eastern Europe for political reasons – they hated the Communists – while many more wished to leave for economic reasons. As standards of living in eastern Europe fell further and further behind the West, the attraction of going to live in a capitalist state was very great.

The contrast was particularly great in the divided city of Berlin. Living standards were tolerable in the East, but just a few hundred metres away in West Berlin, East Germans could see some of the prize exhibits of capitalist West Germany – shops full of goods, great freedom, great wealth and great variety. This had been deliberately done by the Western powers. They had poured massive investment into Berlin. East Germans could also watch West German television.

SOURCE 20



Berlin in the 1950s.

SOURCE 22



Stages in the building of the Berlin Wall. On the sign in **B**, which has been superimposed by a photographer wanting to make a point, Ulbricht assures the world that 'no one has any intention of building a wall'.

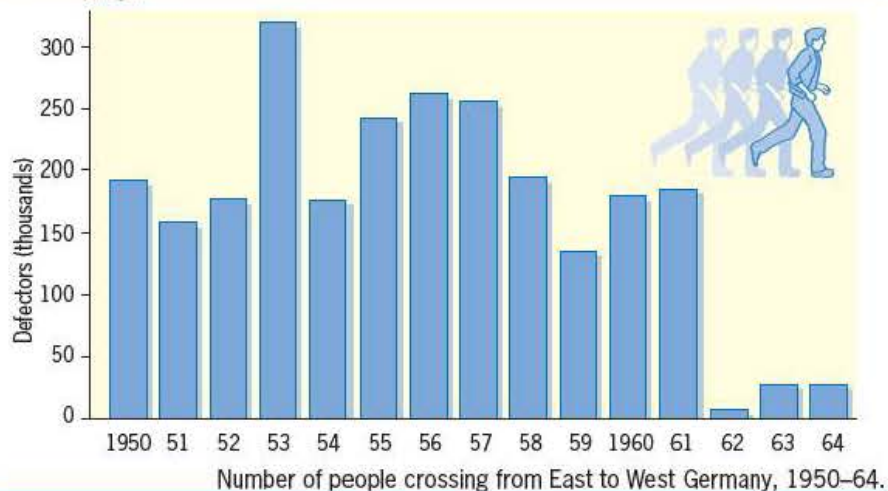
SOURCE 24



East German security guards recover the body of a man shot attempting to cross the wall in 1962.

In the 1950s East Germans were still able to travel freely into West Berlin (see Source 23). From there they could travel on into West Germany. It was very tempting to leave East Germany, with its harsh Communist regime and its hardline leader, Walter Ulbricht. By the late 1950s thousands were leaving and never coming back.

SOURCE 23



Those who were defecting were very often highly skilled workers or well-qualified managers. The Communist government could not afford to lose these high-quality people. More importantly, from Khrushchev's point of view, the sight of thousands of Germans fleeing Communist rule for a better life under capitalism undermined Communism generally.

In 1961 the USA had a new President, the young and inexperienced John F Kennedy. Khrushchev thought he could bully Kennedy and chose to pick a fight over Berlin. He insisted that Kennedy withdraw US troops from the city. He was certain that Kennedy would back down. Kennedy refused. However, all eyes were now on Berlin. What would happen next?

At two o'clock in the morning on Sunday 13 August 1961, East German soldiers erected a barbed-wire barrier along the entire frontier between East and West Berlin, ending all free movement from East to West. It was quickly replaced by a concrete wall. All the crossing points from East to West Berlin were sealed to foreigners and allied soldiers, except for one. This became known as Checkpoint Charlie.

Families were divided. Berliners were unable to go to work, chaos and confusion followed. Border guards kept a constant look-out for anyone trying to cross the wall. They had orders to shoot people trying to defect. Hundreds were killed over the next three decades.

SOURCE 25

Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner'.

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Let them come to Berlin. Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.

Extracts from a speech by President Kennedy in June 1963, soon after visiting Berlin.

SOURCE 27

Instructions were given to our tank commander that he was to roll up and confront the Soviet tank, which was at the identical distance across from Checkpoint Charlie. The tension escalated very rapidly for the one reason that this was Americans confronting Russians. It wasn't East Germans. There was live ammunition in both tanks of the Russians and the Americans. It was an unexpected, sudden confrontation that in my opinion was the closest that the Russians and the Allies came to going to war in the entire Cold War period.

Colonel Jim Atwood, who was part of the US Military Mission in Berlin in 1961.

Activity

Why was the Berlin Wall built in 1961?

Work in pairs. Make a poster or notice to be stuck on the Berlin Wall explaining the purpose of the wall. One of you do a poster for the East German side and the other do a poster for the West German side. You can use pictures and quotations from the sources in this chapter or use your own research.

Make sure you explain in your poster the reasons why the wall was built and what the results of building the wall will be.

SOURCE 26

The Western powers in Berlin use it as a centre of subversive activity against the GDR [the initial letters of the German name for East Germany]. In no other part of the world are so many espionage centres to be found. These centres smuggle their agents into the GDR for all kinds of subversion: recruiting spies; sabotage; provoking disturbances.

The government presents all working people of the GDR with a proposal that will securely block subversive activity so that reliable safeguards and effective control will be established around West Berlin, including its border with democratic Berlin.

A Soviet explanation for the building of the wall, 1961.

The West's reaction to the Berlin Wall

For a while, the wall created a major crisis. Access to East Berlin had been guaranteed to the Allies since 1945. In October 1961 US diplomats and troops crossed regularly into East Berlin to find out how the Soviets would react.

On 27 October Soviet tanks pulled up to Checkpoint Charlie and refused to allow any further access to the East. All day, US and Soviet tanks, fully armed, faced each other in a tense stand-off. Then, after eighteen hours, one by one, five metres at a time, the tanks pulled back. Another crisis, another retreat.

The international reaction was relief. Khrushchev ordered Ulbricht to avoid any actions that would increase tension. Kennedy said, 'It's not a very nice solution, but a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war.' So the wall stayed, and over the following years became the symbol of division – the division of Germany, the division of Europe, the division of Communist East and democratic West. The Communists presented the wall as a protective shell around East Berlin. The West presented it as a prison wall.

SOURCE 28



A Soviet cartoon from the 1960s. The sign reads: 'The border of the GDR (East Germany) is closed to all enemies.' Notice the shape of the dog's tail.

Focus Task

How did the Cold War develop: 1955–61?

Look back at the Cold War tension graph which you drew in the Focus Task on page 89. Continue the graph to 1961 and add in what you think are the key events and developments you have studied on pages 90–99.

5.2

How close to war was the world in the 1960s?

Living in the shadow of the bomb

Deterrence and MAD

By 1961, both of the superpowers had hundreds of missiles pointed at each other. The USA had more than the USSR, but the advantage did not really matter because both sides had enough to destroy each other many times over. On each side the theory was that such weapons made them more secure. The enemy would not dare attack first, because it knew that, if it did, the other would strike back before its bombs had even landed and it too would be destroyed. It would be suicidal. So having nuclear weapons deterred the other side from attacking first. This policy also became known as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction). Surely no side would dare strike first when it knew the attack would destroy itself too!

SOURCE 2

A
Tom Denchy, member of the crew of a US Titan nuclear missile: The Cold War was a war that went on 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. We felt that they were trying to take over the ... world and actually we were one of their largest stumbling blocks in that effort and therefore we were one of their primary enemies, and their primary target was to take over our country.

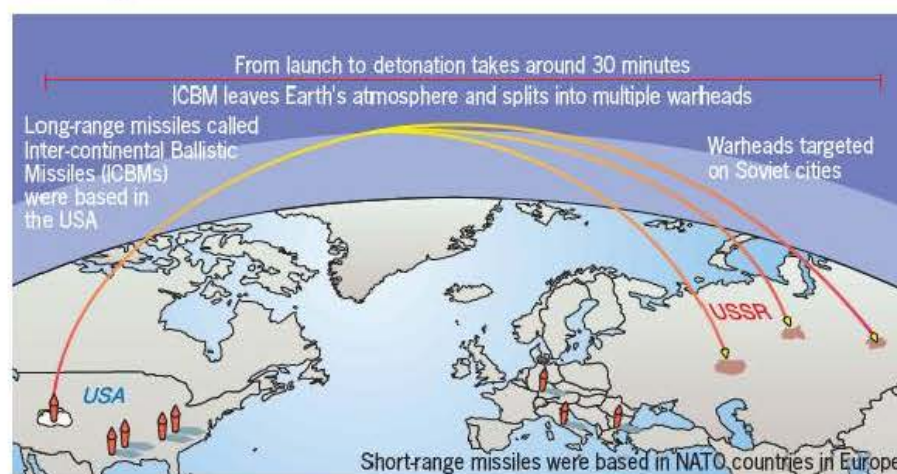
B
General Mikhail Mokrinski, Soviet bomber pilot: They were banging it into our heads and we couldn't have imagined otherwise: the Americans were aggressors who wanted to conquer the whole world, and we had to protect the world.

C
Harold Brown, Head of US weapons technology: The term 'massive retaliation', as it was understood at the end of the 1950s, and the beginning of the 1960s, was a policy of responding to major Soviet conventional attacks – for example, in Western Europe, should that have occurred – with a massive nuclear response.

D
General Valentin Larionov, Soviet military strategist: There was a syndrome to catch up and overtake, to try and show everyone that we weren't far behind the Americans, that we too had nuclear weapons. There were those who said that we can only prevent a nuclear war if we oppose world imperialism with a force of similar strength.

Extract from interviews in 1998 with people who were on the front line of the Cold War.

SOURCE 1



The location of American missiles trained on the USSR. Short-range missiles could hit the USSR in minutes. Long-range ones from the USA would take 30 minutes.

'Duck and Cover'

Leaders might regard their nuclear weapons as a deterrent, but others worried that the world was moving into a very dangerous time. Both sides developed their weapons and prepared their pilots and missile crews. Interviews for a TV series in 1998 showed just how wellorganised each side was and how far it was prepared to go (see Source 2).

The situation was not eased in October 1961 when the USSR carried out a test explosion of the largest bomb ever exploded. The single blast exceeded the power of all the explosives used in the Second World War. The Americans responded with their own programme of nuclear tests until even the two superpowers began to have some concerns about the environmental damage the tests were causing.

All of these developments were taking place against a long-term background of concern which had been going on since the 1950s. Fear of 'the bomb' was a common feature of life in 1950s and 1960s USA. The arms race was a topic of everyday conversation. Throughout the 1950s Americans had been warned of the terrible dangers of nuclear attack. Bert the Turtle had warned children to 'Duck and Cover'. Americans, young and old, had also been through drills like the one in Source 5. On a slightly less serious note, films like *The War of the Worlds* painted a picture of a world where America and all it stood for were under attack.

SOURCE 3

It became obvious that the Russians just . . . there was no containing them, they were shooting not just this big bomb, but lots and lots of them and we essentially did the same thing. We went and, you know, we got bombs from wherever we could find 'em and took 'em to Nevada and shot them just in order to respond to these Russian tests. It was a crazy period.

Herbert York, US nuclear physicist.

SOURCE 5

*There was a turtle by the name of Bert
And Bert the Turtle was very alert
When danger threatened him he never got hurt
He knew just what to do.
He'd Duck and Cover, Duck and Cover
He did what we all must learn to do
Me and you and you and you –
Duck and Cover.*

A The opening song from the film.



B Bert The Turtle.

SOURCE 4



A notice of an air raid drill in New York, November 1951.



C Children following Bert's advice to 'Duck and Cover'.

Extracts from *Duck and Cover*, a very well-known and widely broadcast information programme designed to warn children about what to do in a possible nuclear attack.

Activity

- 1 On the right is a fearometer:
Use Sources 1–5 and your own internet research to decide where on this fearometer you would place the people of the USA in the 1950s. For your internet research you could use search words like 'Duck and Cover', 'Reds under the bed' and 'Hollywood B-Movies'.
- 2 Historians find sources like these very useful in studying how people felt in past situations. However, they often find it difficult to decide whether the sources reflect the fear that people had or whether the sources actually created those fears in the first place. What do you think? Discuss this question in your class.

Very afraid



Relaxed

SOURCE 6



A postcard from Cuba in the 1950s.

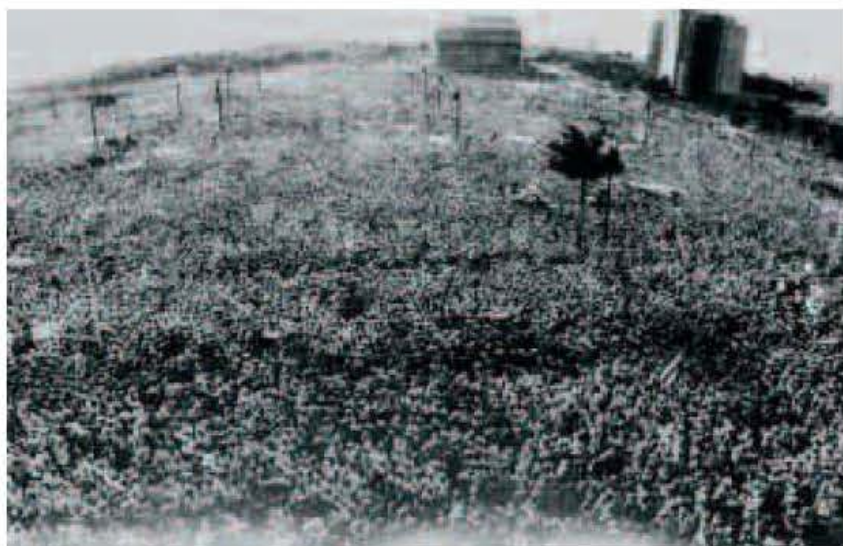
SOURCE 7

I believe there is no country in the world... whose economic colonisation, humiliation and exploitation were worse than in Cuba, partly as a consequence of US policy during the Batista regime. I believe that, without being aware of it, we conceived and created the Castro movement, starting from scratch.

President Kennedy speaking in 1963.

- 1 Does Source 8 confirm the view that Castro had support in Cuba? Explain your answer.
- 2 Apart from the caption in Russian, how else can you tell that the cartoon in Source 9 is a Soviet cartoon?

SOURCE 8



A rally in the Cuban capital of Havana celebrating the successful Cuban Revolution of January 1959.

How did the USA react to the Cuban Revolution?

The Batista regime

Cuba is a large island just 160 km from Florida in the southern USA. It had long been a playground for the benefit of wealthy Americans who enjoyed its sun and bars in the midst of the poverty of its people. Americans owned most of the businesses on the island and they had a huge naval base there (see Source 14 on page 104). The Americans also provided the Cuban ruler, General Batista, with economic and military support. Batista was a dictator. His rule was corrupt and unpopular. The Americans supported Batista primarily because he was just as opposed to Communism as they were.

Enter Fidel Castro

There was plenty of opposition to Batista in Cuba itself. In 1959, after a three-year guerrilla campaign, Fidel Castro overthrew Batista. Castro was charming, clever and also ruthless. He quickly killed, arrested or exiled many political opponents. Castro was also a clever propagandist. He was very charismatic, and he had a vision for a better Cuba which won over the majority of Cubans.

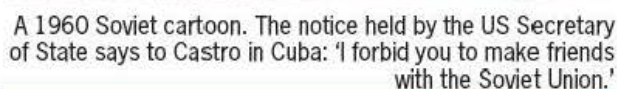
The USA responds

The USA was taken by surprise at first and decided to recognise Castro as the new leader of Cuba. However, within a short period of time relations between the two countries grew worse. There were several important reasons:

- There were thousands of Cuban exiles in the USA who had fled from Castro's rule. They formed powerful pressure groups demanding action against Castro.
- Castro took over some American-owned businesses in Cuba, particularly the agricultural businesses. He took their land and distributed it to his supporters among Cuba's peasant farmer population.

As early as June 1960, US President Eisenhower authorised the US Central Intelligence Agency to investigate ways of overthrowing Castro. The CIA provided support and funds to Cuban exiles. They also investigated ways to disrupt the Cuban economy, such as damaging sugar plantations. American companies working in Cuba refused to co-operate with any Cuban businesses which used oil or other materials which had been imported from the USSR. The American media also broadcast a relentless stream of criticism of Castro and his regime (see Source 10 for example).

Castro responded to US hostility with a mixed approach. He assured Americans living in Cuba that they were safe and he allowed the USA to keep its naval base. He said he simply wanted to run Cuba without interference. However, by the summer of 1960 he had allied Cuba with the Soviet Union. Soviet leader Khrushchev signed a trade agreement giving Cuba \$100 million in economic aid. Castro also began receiving arms from the Soviet Union and American spies knew this.



In January 1961 the USA's new President, John F Kennedy, broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba. Castro thought that the USA was preparing to invade his country. It did not, or not directly, but the leaders of the USA were no longer prepared to tolerate a Soviet satellite in their own 'sphere of influence' and the plans to overthrow Castro which were begun under Eisenhower began to take shape.

By October 1962 the historic friendship between Cuba and the USA was gone. Behind this change was the story of the betrayal of the Cuban people. It began with Fidel Castro triumphantly entering Havana in 1959. Castro promised democracy and freedom and for a time it appeared to most Cubans that they were liberated. But it soon became apparent that Castro had sold out to Premier Khrushchev of the Communists. By 1961 Castro's policy had led to a formal break between the United States and Cuba.

Commentary from an American TV programme made in 1962. This section was read out over film footage of the rally shown in Source 8.

I think he [Khrushchev] did it [was so aggressive] because of the Bay of Pigs. He thought that anyone who was so young and inexperienced as to get into that mess could be beaten; and anyone who got into it and didn't see it through had no guts. So he just beat the bell out of me.

If he thinks I'm inexperienced and have no guts, until we remove those ideas we won't get anywhere with him.

Kennedy speaking after a meeting with Khrushchev in 1961 in which Khrushchev had been very aggressive towards Kennedy.

Rather than a direct invasion President Kennedy instead supplied arms, equipment and transport for 1,400 anti-Castro exiles to invade Cuba and overthrow him. In April 1961 the exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs. They were met by 20,000 Cuban troops armed with tanks and modern weapons. The invasion failed disastrously. Castro captured or killed them all within days.

The impact of the invasion

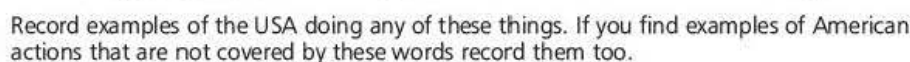
The half-hearted invasion suggested to Cuba and the Soviet Union that, despite its opposition to Communism in Cuba, the USA was unwilling to get directly involved in Cuba. The Soviet leader Khrushchev was scornful of Kennedy's pathetic attempt to oust Communism from Cuba.

Historians also argue that the Bay of Pigs fiasco further encouraged the spread of Communism. On the one hand, it suggested to the USSR that Kennedy was weak. On the other hand, it made Castro and Khrushchev very suspicious of US policy.

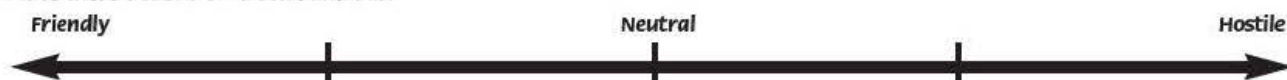
Focus Task

How did the USA respond to the Cuban revolution?

1 Here are some possible ways that the USA could have dealt with Cuba:



2 Place these actions on a scale like this:



Why did Khrushchev put nuclear missiles on Cuba?

After the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Soviet arms flooded into Cuba. In May 1962 the Soviet Union announced publicly for the first time that it was supplying Cuba with arms. By July 1962 Cuba had the best-equipped army in Latin America. By September it had thousands of Soviet missiles, plus patrol boats, tanks, radar vans, missile erectors, jet bombers, jet fighters and 5,000 Soviet technicians to help to maintain the weapons.

The Americans watched all this with great alarm. They seemed ready to tolerate conventional arms being supplied to Cuba, but the big question was whether the Soviet Union would dare to put nuclear missiles on Cuba. In September Kennedy's own Intelligence Department said that it did not believe the USSR would send nuclear weapons to Cuba. The USSR had not taken this step with any of its satellite states before and the US Intelligence Department believed that the USSR would consider it too risky to do it in Cuba. On 11 September, Kennedy warned the USSR that he would prevent 'by whatever means might be necessary' Cuba's becoming an offensive military base – by which, everyone knew, he meant a nuclear missile base. The same day the USSR assured the USA that it had no need to put nuclear missiles on Cuba and no intention of doing so.

The October crisis

On Sunday, 14 October 1962, an American spy plane flew over Cuba. It took amazingly detailed photographs of missile sites in Cuba. To the military experts two things were obvious – that these were nuclear missile sites, and that they were being built by the USSR.

More photo reconnaissance followed over the next two days. This confirmed that some sites were nearly finished but others were still being built. Some were already supplied with missiles, others were awaiting them. The experts said that the most developed of the sites could be ready to launch missiles in just seven days. American spy planes also reported that twenty Soviet ships were currently on the way to Cuba carrying missiles.

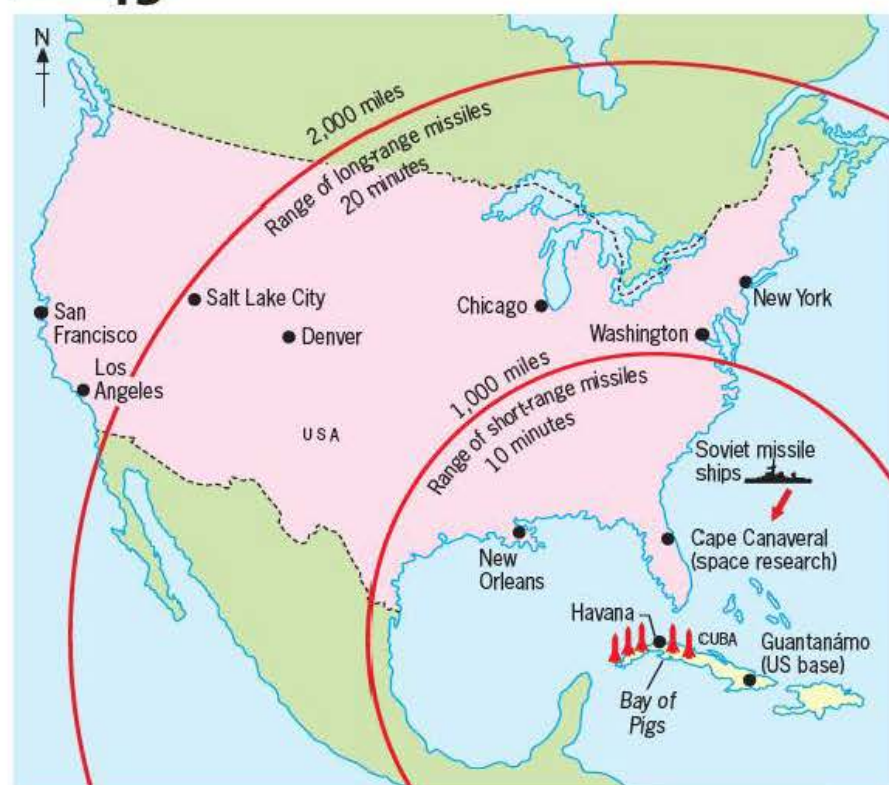
SOURCE 12

[Estimates were that the] missiles had an atomic warhead [power] of about half the current missile capacity of the entire Soviet Union. The photographs indicated that missiles were directed at certain American cities. The estimate was that within a few minutes of their being fired 80 million Americans would be dead.

President Kennedy's brother, Robert Kennedy, describing events on Thursday 18 October in the book he wrote about the crisis, *Thirteen Days*.

- 1 Compare Source 1 on page 100 with Source 13. Describe how the Soviet missiles on Cuba changed the Cold War balance of power.

SOURCE 13



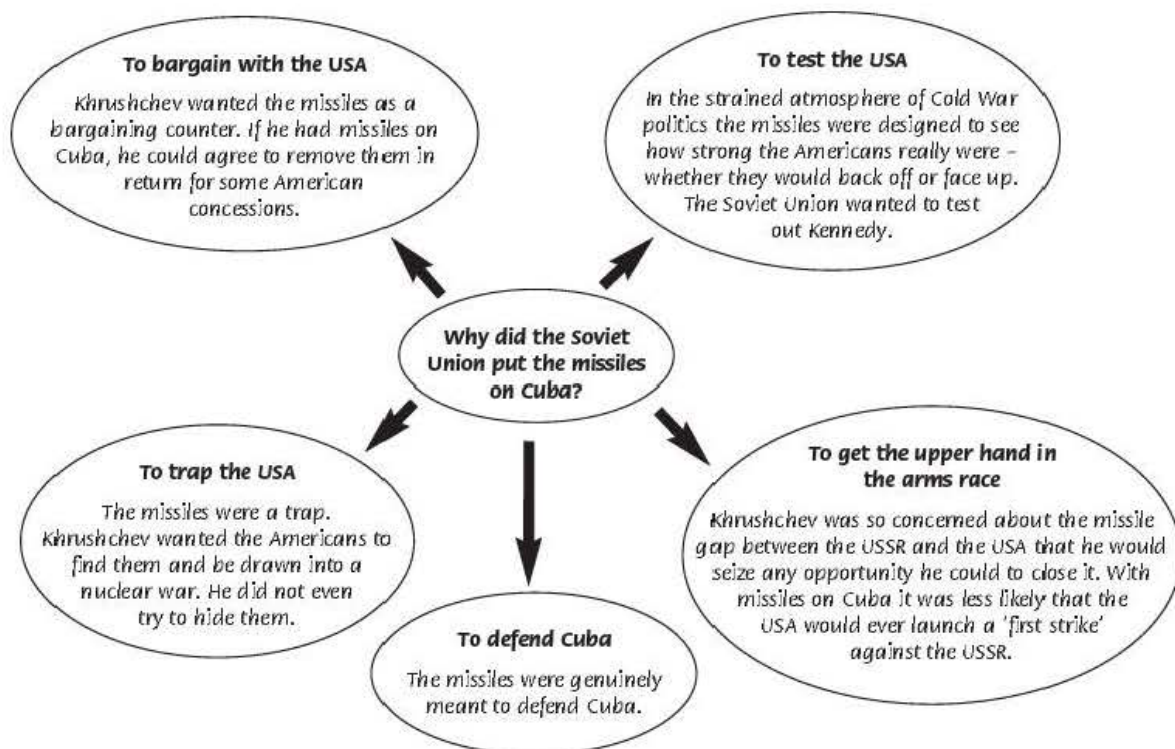
Map showing the location of Cuba and the range of the Cuban missiles.

Aerial photograph of a coastal area, likely a military installation or port. The image shows a beach, palm trees, and several large buildings or vehicle parks. Labels indicate various areas: AIRSIDE SECTOR, CAMP, AIRSIDE SUPPORT AREA, VEHICLE ENTRY MONITOR, and FOREIGN TANK TRUCKS. The image is a black and white photograph with white text labels overlaid.

Focus Task

It was an incredibly risky strategy. Khrushchev was an experienced leader and an intelligent politician so he must have known that it would cause a crisis. What's more, the USSR made no attempt at all to camouflage the sites, and even allowed the missiles to travel on open deck. This has caused much debate as to what Khrushchev was really doing. Historians have suggested five possible explanations.

Working with a partner, list any evidence you can find for and against each of the explanations in the diagram below. Choose the explanation(s) that you think best fit(s) what you have found out about the crisis. Explain your choice.



How did President Kennedy deal with the crisis?

On Tuesday 16 October, President Kennedy was informed of the discovery. He formed a special team of advisers called Ex Comm. They came up with several choices.

Activity

Work in groups. You are advisers to the President. You have to reduce the five options to just two for the President to choose between.

When you have made your decision explain why you have rejected the other three.

1 Do nothing?

For: The Americans still had a vastly greater nuclear power than the Soviet Union. The USA could still destroy the Soviet Union, so – the argument went – the USSR would never use these missiles. The biggest danger to world peace would be to overreact to this discovery.

Against: The USSR had lied about Cuban missiles. Kennedy had already issued his solemn warning to the USSR. To do nothing would be another sign of weakness.

2 Surgical air attack?

An immediate selected air attack to destroy the nuclear bases themselves.

For: It would destroy the missiles before they were ready to use.

Against:

- 1 Destruction of all sites could not be guaranteed. Even one left undamaged could launch a counter-attack against the USA.
- 2 The attack would inevitably kill Soviet soldiers. The Soviet Union might retaliate at once.
- 3 To attack without advance warning was seen as immoral.



Kennedy's options



3 Invasion?

All-out invasion of Cuba by air and sea.

For: An invasion would not only get rid of the missiles but Castro as well. The American forces were already trained and available to do it.

Against: It would almost certainly guarantee an equivalent Soviet response, either to protect Cuba, or within the Soviet sphere of influence – for example, a takeover of Berlin.



4 Diplomatic pressures?

To get the United Nations or other body to intervene and negotiate.

For: It would avoid conflict.

Against: If the USA was forced to back down, it would be a sign of weakness.



5 Blockade?

A ban on the Soviet Union bringing in any further military supplies to Cuba, enforced by the US navy who would stop and search Soviet ships. And a call for the Soviet Union to withdraw what was already there.

For: It would show that the USA was serious, but it would not be a direct act of war. It would put the burden on Khrushchev to decide what to do next. The USA had a strong navy and could still take the other options if this one did not work.

Against: It would not solve the main problem – the missiles were already on Cuba. They could be used within one week. The Soviet Union might retaliate by blockading Berlin as it had done in 1948.



What happened next?

Tue 16 October President Kennedy is informed of the missile build-up. Ex Comm formed.

Sat 20 October Kennedy decides on a blockade of Cuba.

Mon 22 October Kennedy announces the blockade (see Source 15) and calls on the Soviet Union to withdraw its missiles. 'I call on Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this reckless and provocative threat to world peace . . . He has the opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction . . . withdrawing these weapons from Cuba.'

SOURCE 15

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 purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere . . .

Acting, therefore, in the defence of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive build-up, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba . . .

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military build-up. . . . I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities . . .

Third: 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 on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Extract from President Kennedy's TV broadcast to the American people on
22 October 1962.

Tue 23 October Kennedy receives a letter from Khrushchev saying that Soviet ships will not observe the blockade. Khrushchev does not admit the presence of nuclear missiles on Cuba.

SOURCE 16

WHY CUBA HAS TOUCHED AMERICA ON THE RAW

SUDDENLY ON THEIR DOORSTEP, A COMMUNIST THREAT WHERE THEY SAW IDEALISM . . .

Cuba exerts a powerful tug at American nerves and emotions. Astounding as it may be to British minds tonight, Americans regard it as a natural, desirable thing to have a showdown with Castro.

I have not met a single American who was not itching to 'get it over with' — to attack Cuba and demolish the 'commie' regime and restore a republic friendly to the United States . . .

You might think it ridiculous that little Cuba should present such a threat to so huge and strong a nation as the United States. But it is not ridiculous to Americans. Conditioned for a very long time to the idea that the Soviets want world conquest, they see the threat of these missile bases on nearby Cuban soil.

And they see Russia enjoying the tactical advantage and contemplating attack — with Cuban rockets as the immediate weapon to fall on their heads. They read that other clever electronic Russian installations in Cuba can detect and even sabotage all American launching operations from Cape Canaveral.

Almost any American you meet tonight will say that Castro has become a stain on US honour and should be removed by military means. This may seem very odd but it is true.

Extract from an article in the Daily Mirror, 23 October 1962.

- 1 What words and phrases in Source 15 reveal how serious Kennedy believed the situation was in October 1962?
- 2 Kennedy was renowned as a skilled communicator. How does he convince his audience that he is in the right?
- 3 President Kennedy knows the risks of nuclear war but he also knows the strength of public opinion. Before you turn to the next page work in pairs to discuss what you think Kennedy should do next.

Wed 24 October

The blockade begins. The first missile-carrying ships, accompanied by a Soviet submarine, approach the 500-mile (800 km) blockade zone. Then suddenly, at 10.32 a.m., the twenty Soviet ships which are closest to the zone stop or turn around.

SOURCE 17



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © SOLO SYNDICATION/ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS LTD.

A cartoon by Vicky (Victor Weisz) from the *London Evening Standard*, 24 October 1962.

Thu 25 October

Despite this, intensive aerial photography reveals that work on the missile bases in Cuba is proceeding rapidly.

Fri 26 October

Kennedy receives a long personal letter from Khrushchev. The letter claims that the missiles on Cuba are purely defensive, but goes on: 'If assurances were given that the USA would not participate in an attack on Cuba and the blockade was lifted, then the question of the removal or the destruction of the missile sites would be an entirely different question.' This is the first time Khrushchev has admitted the presence of the missiles.

Sat 27 October a.m.

Khrushchev sends a second letter – revising his proposals – saying that the condition for removing the missiles from Cuba is that the USA withdraw its missiles from Turkey.

An American U-2 plane is shot down over Cuba. The pilot is killed. The President is advised to launch an immediate reprisal attack on Cuba.

Sat 27 October p.m.

Kennedy decides to delay an attack. He also decides to ignore the second Khrushchev letter, but accepts the terms suggested by Khrushchev on 26 October. He says that if the Soviet Union does not withdraw, an attack will follow.

SOURCE 18

It was a beautiful autumn evening, the height of the crisis, and I went up to the open air to smell it, because I thought it was the last Saturday I would ever see.

Robert McNamara talking about the evening of 27 October 1962. McNamara was one of Kennedy's closest advisers during the Cuban Crisis.

Sun 28 October

Khrushchev replies to Kennedy: 'In order to eliminate as rapidly as possible the conflict which endangers the cause of peace . . . the Soviet Government has given a new order to dismantle the arms which you described as offensive and to crate and return them to the Soviet Union.'

- 3 Study Source 19. What is the single most important announcement made by Kennedy in this broadcast? Would you agree that he tries to hide it in among other statements?
- 4 On which day in the crisis between 16 and 28 October do you think Source 20 was published? Give your reasons – based on the detail in the source and what you know about the crisis. Your teacher can tell you the correct date.

SOURCE 19

I have been informed by Chairman Khrushchev that all of the Soviet nuclear bombs in Cuba will be withdrawn within 30 days. Inasmuch as this goes a long way towards reducing the danger which faced this hemisphere four weeks ago, I have this afternoon instructed the Secretary of Defense to lift our naval quarantine. We will not abandon the political, economic and other efforts of this hemisphere to halt subversion from Cuba. It is our purpose and hope that the Cuban people shall someday be truly free. But these policies are very different from any intent to launch an invasion of Cuba.

Kennedy announces the end of the Cuban Crisis.

SOURCE 20



A cartoon from the Daily Mail.

SOURCE 21

Much of the evidence tends to support the view that, despite the many unpredictable elements in the decision making process, in crucial instances the leaders on both sides chose courses of action which were both non-provocative and allowed room for retreat from exposed positions ...

Richard Crockatt, Senior Lecturer in American History at the University of East Anglia, writing in 2000.

Focus Task

How close did they get to war?

- 1 Think like a historian: Probably the biggest question which historians ask about the Cuban Crisis is 'Was it ever really a possibility that either side would launch a nuclear attack?' Bearing in mind all that you know about nuclear weapons, take a vote to reveal how close you think the world got to nuclear war during this crisis. (See the box on the right for how to score.)
- 2 You have the benefit of hindsight. Looking back you know nuclear war did not happen. Now try to think like an ordinary person at the time.
 - ◆ The headline in the *New York Times* of 24 October read: *Soviet Challenges US Right to Blockade Cuba and Says Move Risks Atomic War.*
 - ◆ In Britain the *Daily Mirror* urged the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan to fly to Washington to talk President Kennedy into reducing the pressure on Khrushchev.
 - ◆ The *Guardian* newspaper of 25 October had a cartoon on its front page showing Khrushchev and Kennedy as devils in Hell for what they had done.
 - ◆ The *New York Times* of 25 October reported that: *Homeowners Get Fallout Advice.* Fallout is the deadly radioactive dust which is left behind after a nuclear explosion. Now vote again as someone at the time.
- 3 Finally, think like Presidents Kennedy or Khrushchev. For each leader, taking into account the way they acted through the crisis – did they think war was likely? Now vote again as:
 - a) Kennedy
 - b) Khrushchev.

Was nuclear war:

- a certainty (100%)
- very likely (75%)
- a possibility (50%)
- very unlikely (25%)
- impossible? (0%)

- 1 Source 22 is a source written by Khrushchev praising Khrushchev! What words and phrases make you doubtful about its value as a source?
- 2 Is there anything in Source 19 (on page 109) which backs up Khrushchev's views in Source 23?

SOURCE 23

Even after it was all over [the President] made no statement attempting to take credit for himself or for his administration for what had occurred. He instructed all [his staff] that no interview should be given, no statement made, which would claim any kind of victory. He respected Khrushchev for properly determining what was in his own country's interests and in the interests of mankind. If it was a triumph, it was a triumph for the next generation and not for any particular government or people.

Written by Robert Kennedy in *Thirteen Days*.

Who won the Cuban Missile Crisis?

SOURCE 22

[In 1961] we increased our military aid to Cuba. We were sure the Americans would never agree to the existence of Castro's Cuba. They feared, and we hoped, that a Socialist Cuba might become a magnet that would attract other Latin American countries to socialism. We had to find an effective deterrent to American interference in the Caribbean.

The Caribbean Crisis was a triumph of Soviet foreign policy and a personal triumph in my own career. Today Cuba exists as an independent socialist country right in front of America. Cuba's very existence is good propaganda.

We behaved with dignity and forced the United States to demobilise and to recognise Cuba.

Khrushchev was forced from power in 1964. This extract comes from his memoirs written in 1971.

The outcome

- Cuba stayed Communist and highly armed. However, the nuclear missiles were withdrawn under United Nations supervision.
- Both leaders emerged with something from the crisis. Kennedy came out of the crisis with a greatly improved reputation in his own country and throughout the West. He had stood up to Khrushchev and had made him back down.
- Khrushchev was also able to claim a personal triumph. Cuba remained a useful ally in 'Uncle Sam's backyard'. The fact that Khrushchev had been forced to back down was quickly forgotten in Soviet circles. Instead, his role as a responsible peacemaker, willing to take the first move towards compromise, was highlighted.
- Historians agree that the Cuban Missile Crisis helped to thaw Cold War relations between the USA and the USSR. Both leaders had seen how their game of brinkmanship had nearly ended in nuclear war. Now they were more prepared to take steps to reduce the risk of nuclear war. A permanent 'hot line' phone link direct from the White House to the Kremlin was set up. The following year, in 1963, they signed a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It did not stop the development of weapons, but it limited tests and was an important step forward.
- Within the USA, the crisis had an effect on anti-Communist opinion. Hardliners had wanted the USA to invade Cuba – to turn back Communism. However, the Cuban Crisis highlighted the weakness of their case. Such intervention was not worth the high risk. A Communist Cuba was an inconvenience to the USA. A nuclear war would be the end of civilisation.

SOURCE 24

President Kennedy will be remembered as the President who helped to bring the thaw in the Cold War. This was always his aim but only after Cuba did he really act. That crisis left its mark on him; he recognised how frightening were the consequences of misunderstandings between East and West.

President Kennedy was shot dead by a gunman in Texas in November 1963. This is from his obituary in the British newspaper, the *Guardian*.

Focus Task

Who won the Cuban Missile Crisis?

Here are three contestants, Kennedy, Castro and Khrushchev, and a podium. Who are you going to put in each position and why? Make sure you include evidence from the sources in this section in your explanation.



Czechoslovakia and the Prague Spring, 1968

SOURCE 25

In Czechoslovakia the people who were trusted [by the Communist government] were the obedient ones, those who did not cause any trouble, who didn't ask questions. It was the mediocre man who came off best.

In twenty years not one human problem has been solved in our country, from primary needs like flats, schools, to the more subtle needs such as fulfilling oneself . . . the need for people to trust one another . . . development of education.

I feel that our Republic has lost its good reputation.

From a speech given by Ludvík Vaculík, a leading figure in the reform movement, in March 1968.

SOURCE 26

The Director told them they would produce 400 locomotives a year. They are making seventy.

And go look at the scrapyard, at all the work that has been thrown out. They built a railway and then took it down again. Who's responsible for all this? The Communist Party set up the system.

We were robbed of our output, our wages . . . How can I believe that in five years' time it won't be worse?

Ludvík Vaculík quotes from an interview he had with the workers in a locomotive factory run by the Communists.

Twelve years after the brutal suppression of the Hungarians (see pages 90–92), Czechoslovakia posed a similar challenge to Soviet domination of eastern Europe. Khrushchev had by now been ousted from power in the USSR. A new leader, Leonid Brezhnev, had replaced him.

Why was there opposition in Czechoslovakia?

In the 1960s a new mood developed in Czechoslovakia. People examined what had been happening in twenty years of Communist control and they did not like what they saw. In 1967 the old Stalinist leader was forced to resign. Alexander Dubček became the leader of the Czech Communist Party. He proposed a policy of 'socialism with a human face': less censorship, more freedom of speech and a reduction in the activities of the secret police. Dubček was a committed Communist, but he believed that Communism did not have to be as restrictive as it had been before he came to power. He had learned the lessons of the Hungarian uprising and reassured Brezhnev that Czechoslovakia had no plans to pull out of the Warsaw Pact or Comecon.

The Czech opposition was led by intellectuals who felt that the Communists had failed to lead the country forward. As censorship had been eased, they were able to launch attacks on the Communist leadership, pointing out how corrupt and useless they were. Communist government ministers were 'grilled' on live television and radio about how they were running the country and about events before 1968. This period became known as the 'Prague Spring' because of all the new ideas that seemed to be appearing everywhere.

By the summer even more radical ideas were emerging. There was even talk of allowing another political party, the Social Democratic Party, to be set up as a rival to the Communist Party.

SOURCE 27

All the different kinds of state in which the Communist Party has taken power have gone through rigged trials . . . There must be a fault other than just the wrong people were chosen. There must be a fault in the theory [of Communism] itself.

Written by Luboš Dubrovský, a Czech writer, in May 1968.

How did the Soviet Union respond?

The Soviet Union was very suspicious of the changes taking place in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovakia was one of the most important countries in the Warsaw Pact. It was centrally placed, and had the strongest industry. The Soviets were worried that the new ideas in Czechoslovakia might spread to other countries in eastern Europe. Brezhnev came under pressure from the East German leader, Walter Ulbricht, and the Polish leader, Gomułka, to restrain reform in Czechoslovakia.

The USSR tried various methods in response. To start with, it tried to slow Dubček down. It argued with him. Soviet, Polish and East German troops performed very public training exercises right on the Czech border. It thought about imposing economic sanctions – for example, cancelling wheat exports to Czechoslovakia – but didn't because it thought that the Czechs would ask for help from the West.

In July the USSR had a summit conference with the Czechs. Dubček agreed not to allow a new Social Democratic Party. However, he insisted on keeping most of his reforms. The tension seemed to ease. Early in August, a conference of all the other Warsaw Pact countries produced a vague declaration simply calling on Czechoslovakia to maintain political stability.

Then seventeen days later, on 20 August 1968, to the stunned amazement of the Czechs and the outside world, Soviet tanks moved into Czechoslovakia.

- 3 According to Sources 25–27, what are the worries of the Czech people?
- 4 How are they similar to and different from the concerns of the Hungarian rebels (see Sources 1 and 2 on pages 90–91)?

SOURCE 28



Czechs burning Soviet tanks in Prague, August 1968.

1 Explain how and why Sources 29 and 31 differ in their interpretation of the Soviet intervention.

SOURCE 29

Yesterday troops from the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria crossed the frontier of Czechoslovakia . . . The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee regard this act as contrary to the basic principles of good relations between socialist states.

A Prague radio report, 21 August 1968.

SOURCE 31

The party and government leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have asked the Soviet Union and other allies to give the Czechoslovak people urgent assistance, including assistance with armed forces. This request was brought about . . . by the threat from counter revolutionary forces . . . working with foreign forces hostile to socialism.

A Soviet news agency report,
21 August 1968.

SOURCE 30



A street cartoon in Prague.

There was little violent resistance, although many Czechs refused to co-operate with the Soviet troops. Dubček was removed from power. His experiment in socialism with a human face had not failed; it had simply proved unacceptable to the other Communist countries.

Dubček always expressed loyalty to Communism and the Warsaw Pact, but Brezhnev was very worried that the new ideas coming out of Czechoslovakia would spread. He was under pressure from the leaders of other Communist countries in eastern Europe, particularly Ulbricht in East Germany. These leaders feared that their own people would demand the same freedom that Dubček had allowed in Czechoslovakia. Indeed, in 1968 Albania resigned from the Warsaw Pact because it thought that the Soviet Union itself had become too liberal since Stalin had died! Brezhnev made no attempt to force Albania back into the Pact because he did not consider it an important country.

SOURCE 32

When internal and external forces hostile to socialism attempt to turn the development of any socialist country in the direction of the capitalist system, when a threat arises to the cause of socialism in that country, a threat to the socialist commonwealth as a whole – it becomes not only a problem for the people of that country but also a general problem, the concern of all socialist countries.

The Brezhnev Doctrine.

Brezhnev Doctrine

The Czechoslovak episode gave rise to the Brezhnev Doctrine. The essentials of Communism were defined as:

- a one-party system
- to remain a member of the Warsaw Pact.

Unlike Nagy in Hungary, Dubček was not executed. But he was gradually downgraded. First he was sent to be ambassador to Turkey, then expelled from the Communist Party altogether. Photographs showing him as leader were 'censored'.

SOURCE 33



These two photographs show the same scene. In **A**, Dubček is shown by the arrow. How has he been dealt with in photograph **B**?

Focus Task A

Compare the two rebellions in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

For each rebellion consider:

- ◆ the aims of the rebels
- ◆ attitude towards Communism
- ◆ attitude towards democracy
- ◆ attitude to the USSR
- ◆ attitude to the West
- ◆ why the Soviet Union intervened
- ◆ how each state responded to Soviet intervention.

Now discuss:

- a) Which is the biggest difference?
- b) Which is the biggest similarity?

Focus Task B

How did the Cold War develop: 1961–68?

Look back at the Cold War tension graph which you drew in the Focus Tasks on pages 89 and 99. Add in what you think are the key events and developments you have studied on pages 100–113.

Before the Soviet invasion, Czechoslovakia's mood had been one of optimism. After, it was despair. A country that had been pro-Soviet now became resentful of the Soviet connection. Ideas that could have reformed Communism were silenced.

Twenty years later, Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the USSR, questioned the invasion, and was himself spreading the ideas of the Prague Spring that the Soviet Union had crushed in 1968.

6

Failure of Détente and the collapse of Communism, 1970–1991

Focus

By the later 1960s both the USA and the USSR were anxious to reduce their spending on arms and improve relations with their Cold War rivals. The improvement in relations which followed was known as Détente. In Topic 6.1 you will investigate why Détente gave way to Cold War tension and confrontation once again, focusing in particular on:

- ◆ the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
- ◆ the election of President Reagan in the USA
- ◆ the emergence of the Solidarity trade union in Poland.

In the mid-1980s the Cold War was in what some historians see as its most dangerous period, but by the later 1980s the situation had changed completely and by 1989 it was all over. What brought about this turnaround? In Topic 6.2 you will:

- ◆ investigate the impact on the USSR of the war in Afghanistan
- ◆ examine the role and importance of the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev
- ◆ examine how and why Soviet control of eastern Europe collapsed.

Activity

The 1970s are generally regarded as a period of Détente (meaning a relaxation of tension). Using the information in the boxes below, draw a diagram to show what you think were the key features of Détente.

1970

Economic problems for the USA and its allies peaked in 1970 when high unemployment and high inflation caused a depression. In such a climate the arms race was very costly. Both superpowers saw this as money that could be spent more wisely on foreign aid to poor countries or improving the conditions of their own people at home.

1976

The biggest ever anti-nuclear protest march took place in Bilbao, Spain. There were anti-nuclear movements in many Western countries.

1977

The USA elected a new president Jimmy Carter who criticised the Soviet Union for its abuses of human rights.

1972

SALT Treaty. Brezhnev and Nixon signed an arms limitation treaty, SALT 1.

1972

The Americans withdraw from Vietnam (see Chapter 10).

1975 July

High hand shake! American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts met up and shook hands in space. This was quite literally the high point of Détente.

1975 August

Helsinki conference. All countries recognised the borders set out after the Second World War, including the division of Germany. They agreed to respect human rights – e.g. freedom of speech, freedom to move from one country to another.

1977–79

New nuclear weapons – In 1977 the USSR began replacing out-of-date missiles in eastern Europe with new SS-20 nuclear missiles. The West saw these missiles as a new type of battlefield weapon that could be used in a limited nuclear war confined only to Europe. In response, President Carter allowed the US military to develop the Cruise missile. By 1979 the USA had stationed Pershing missiles in western Europe as an answer to the SS-20s.

1977–79

Collapse of SALT II – The main terms of the SALT II agreement had been set out as early as 1974. It was not until June 1979 that SALT II was finally signed. By that time, relations between the USA and the USSR had deteriorated so much that the US Congress refused to ratify SALT II.

1979

Revolution in Iran (See page 115).

6.1

Why did Détente collapse in the 1970s and 1980s?

From the late 1970s there was once again increasing distrust and hostility between the superpowers.

Revolution in Iran

The Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1979. The USA had supported the Shah because it needed Iran's oil. The new government was strongly anti-American but also strongly anti-Communist. It wanted a society based on Islamic values. The Iranian revolution changed the balance of power in the Middle East and increased tension between the superpowers, who were both worried about how the other would react.

Civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Angola

Communist rebels (supported by Cuban and Soviet money and expertise) tried to overthrow the governments of these states in Central America and Africa. The USA funded the governments against the rebels. In Angola, the USA and the USSR helped to fund a long-running civil war.

Human rights

Jimmy Carter (US President, 1977–81) openly criticised the USSR's suppression of dissidents – people who spoke out against the government in both the USSR and eastern Europe.

SOURCE 2

SOURCE 1

The Carter administration has come to its own variety of a selective, half-hearted conception of détente. It is seen as important and necessary regarding problems associated with nuclear weapons, issues of war and peace (limitation of strategic weapons, a total ban on nuclear tests, certain other disarmament-related issues) – in other words, in areas where détente supports the national interests of the United States itself and affects public opinion towards the government. As far as the majority of other questions is concerned, it is applied subject to the 'behaviour' of the Soviet Union in Africa, in the Middle East, in relation to 'human rights', and so on.

Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin reporting on Soviet–US relations in July 1978.

Dear Mr. General Secretary,

I am very pleased to note that our first exchange of letters has brought us at once to consideration of the central questions of universal peace ...

I hope that we can consider not only the question of possible sharp reductions of the total quantity of nuclear weapons but also the possibility of a ban on all mobile missiles, of refusal to take any long-term preparatory measures in the field of civil defence, and also of such additional confidence-building measures as preliminary warning of all missile tests and achieving an agreement on the non-arming of satellites and an agreement to reject development of capability to destroy observation satellites. We also have to study practical means to satisfy our mutual desire that our agreements be observed and inspected ...

We expect co-operation in the realisation of further steps toward the fulfilment of the agreements reached in Helsinki relating to human rights. As I said to Ambassador Dobrynin, we hope that all aspects of these agreements can be realised. It is not our intention to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. We do not wish to create problems with the Soviet Union, but it will be necessary for our Administration from time to time to publicly express the sincere and deep feelings which our people and I feel ...

Permit me to say a few words about our efforts to improve the situation in other areas, where there exists disagreements and potential conflicts ... In southern Africa, we believe that the Africans should solve their problems without outside interference.

US President Jimmy Carter writing to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev in 1977.

SOURCE 3

We had all sorts of counters in Europe to the SS-20s. We ourselves had thousands of nuclear weapons in Europe: Cruise missiles, tactical aircraft. We could have responded at any level. But it was almost impossible to make that case successfully, because everyone was so nervous about being accused of not being tough enough on the Soviet Union. The Soviets never really gained military superiority over us. It was just part of the psychodrama . . . to galvanise Americans about this larger legitimate question of the strategic competition between our two countries and two philosophies.

Leslie H Gelb, US Assistant Secretary of State under President Carter.

SOURCE 4

SALT II is not strategic arms limitation. It is a strategic arms build-up with the Soviet Union authorised to add more nuclear warheads to their already massive inventory. The Carter administration's principal argument for ratifying SALT II was that no one will like us if we don't. You know, isn't it time that we made him understand we don't really care whether they like us or not. We want to be respected.

Republican Party leader Ronald Reagan commenting on SALT II in 1981.

- 1 What does Source 3 reveal about Carter's political problems at home?
- 2 The view in Source 5 was expressed in 1998. Explain why it would not have been made public in 1979.
- 3 What does Source 4 tell historians about the attitude of Ronald Reagan towards the Democrat President Jimmy Carter? Use words and phrases from the source to explain your answer.
- 4 What does Source 4 tell historians about the attitude of Ronald Reagan towards the USSR? Use words and phrases from the source to explain your answer.
- 5 How do you think each of these contributed to the failure of SALT II:
 - political tension between the USA and the USSR
 - political tension between rival political parties in the USA?

SALT II ends in failure

The SALT I talks did bring about reductions in the number of arms but when Jimmy Carter became President in 1977 he was eager for further reductions. He pushed ahead with talks which he hoped would lead to a SALT II Treaty. It turned out to be a long and difficult process. There was a long history of mutual mistrust and suspicion and events in the later 1970s did not help. In 1977 the USSR began replacing out-of-date missiles in eastern Europe with new SS-20 nuclear missiles. The Soviets saw the SS-20s as simply an updating of old weapons. The West saw these missiles as a new type of weapon that could be used in a limited nuclear war confined only to Europe. Leaders of European states, especially the West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, feared that the USA might be prepared to see Europe devastated by these weapons since they could not reach the USA. He pressed for the SS-20s to be discussed in the SALT II talks. This presented Carter with a difficult problem. If he did press for the SS-20s to be discussed in SALT II then he would alarm the Soviets. If he didn't, his European allies and his political enemies back in the USA would accuse him of weakness.

In the end, Carter opted for a twin-track approach. He did not insist on SS-20s being included in SALT II talks. On the other hand he proposed the introduction of the new Pershing II missile into Europe as an answer to the SS-20. He also allowed the US military to develop a new weapon called the Cruise missile. This was a very fast missile which hugged the ground rather than flying high. This made it very difficult to detect with radar and so gave little or no warning. This made it a potentially powerful weapon for a first strike against the USSR. European leaders met in 1978 to debate whether they wanted these new weapons based on their soil. They decided that the benefits outweighed the risks and by early 1979 the USA had stationed Pershing II missiles in western Europe with Cruise missiles to follow.

While SALT II talks had been going on, the Carter administration had also been working on improving its relations with Communist China. Both the USA and China wanted to put pressure on the USSR – Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping told Carter in January 1979 that 'if we really want to place curbs on the Russian bear the only realistic thing is for us to unite'. Feeling isolated by this move, the Soviet leader Brezhnev agreed to try and turn the SALT II talks into a reality. The superpowers met in Vienna on 15–17 June 1979 and emerged with the SALT II Treaty. Both sides agreed to:

- an upper limit of 2,500 nuclear missiles and promised to cut this to 2,250 by 1981
- limits on other weapons such as bombers and missile launchers
- testing and inspections to make sure each side was complying.

SOURCE 5

The SALT II agreement made it possible to limit the arms race. This was very important to the Soviet Union, because at that time our expenditure on all weapons had begun to have a negative effect. It was affecting the growth of production. It was affecting the living standards of the population.

Lt. Gen. Nikolai Detinov of the Soviet Defence Ministry commenting on SALT II in 1998.

Carter tried to present SALT II to the American people as a major achievement. However, his rivals back home were not impressed. The new leading figure in the Republican Party, Ronald Reagan, accused the President of being soft on the Soviets. The US Senate refused to ratify the Treaty. The Soviets watched these events with alarm. Alliance with China, Pershing and Cruise in Europe and now this – they decided that SALT II was pointless and that the Americans had abandoned Détente. By the end of 1979, they also had events to worry about which were even closer to home.

Focus Task

Why did Salt II fail?

You are a journalist working for a British newspaper in 1981. You have been asked to write an article with the following title: Why did SALT II fail?

Your word limit is 150 words. You should try and cover at least some of the following areas:

- ♦ why the USA wanted SALT II
- ♦ why the USSR wanted SALT II
- ♦ why the USA ended up rejecting it
- ♦ why the USSR ended up rejecting it.

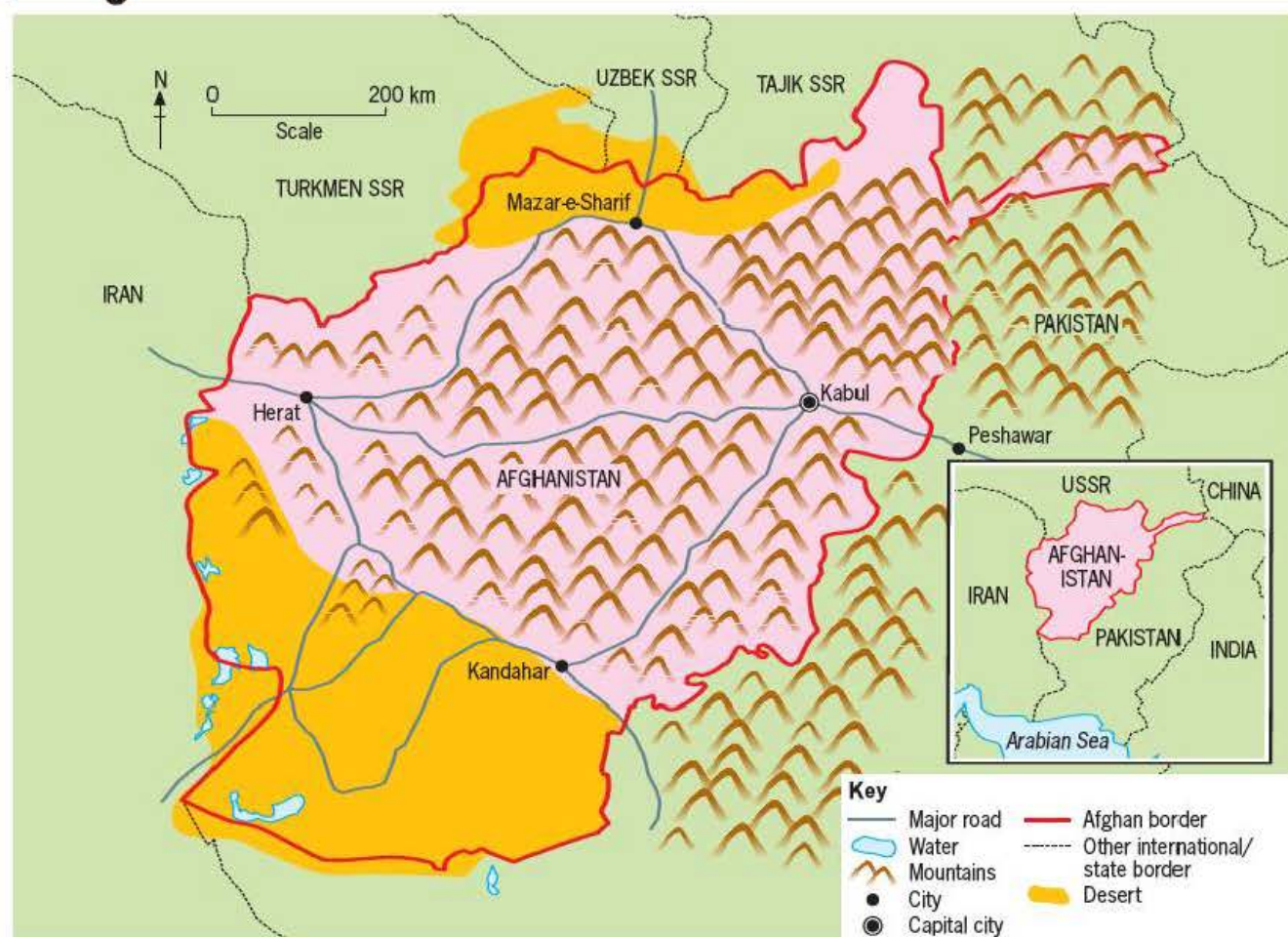
The Cold War intensifies: The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

In December 1979 Leonid Brezhnev met with senior members of the Politburo, the USSR's equivalent of the British Cabinet. There was only one item to discuss – the situation in Afghanistan.

The background

It was a really difficult issue. Throughout the 1970s the USA and the USSR had tried to gain influence in Afghanistan because it was in such an important geographical position. In 1978 some pro-Soviet Afghan army officers overthrew the existing ruler and established a Communist government there. The new government wanted to modernise Afghanistan. It brought in reforms to land ownership and also brought in social changes such as education and other freedoms for women. These policies were generally accepted in the cities but in the countryside traditional Islamic views were much stronger. They also saw Communism as a godless belief and this offended their faith. Some of the powerful tribal warlords who ruled Afghanistan outside the cities began to threaten the government. The situation became more serious in 1979 when a revolution took place in neighbouring Iran. The Shah of Iran was overthrown by a militant Islamic revolution led by a Muslim cleric Ayatollah Khomeini. The revolution sent shockwaves around the world, not least in the USSR. The Soviet leaders had always been concerned about their Muslim Republics such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. They did not want the radical Islamic views of Iran spreading to Afghanistan and then to the USSR itself.

SOURCE 6



Maps showing the terrain and location of Afghanistan.

SOURCE 7

Our major concern was the security of the southern borders of the Soviet Union. We also feared the spread of Islamic fundamentalism into Afghanistan from Iran.

Vasily Safronchuk, Soviet Foreign Ministry.

- 1 Study Sources 7 and 8. What were the USSR's main concerns?
- 2 Do you find Source 8 a surprising source? Explain your answer.
- 3 In what ways are Sources 10 and 11 similar?

SOURCE 9

The US belief that the Soviet invasion was part of an orchestrated plan to dominate the region as far as the Persian Gulf was wide of the mark. The decision to intervene was the act of a divided and leaderless clique that was already beginning to lose its grip on power.

An extract from *Cold War* by Jeremy Isaacs and Taylor Downing, published in 1998.

- 4 Source 9 is not very complimentary about the US or the Soviet governments. Do you accept this viewpoint?
- 5 How does Source 12 help to explain why the USSR was so reluctant to intervene in Afghanistan.

Ayatollah Khomeini gave support to the Afghan warlords, who became known as mujahidin or Soldiers of God. They were extremely tough fighters who knew how to use the rough Afghan countryside to fight a hit and run campaign against the government. They also received support from neighbouring Muslim Pakistan. The USA secretly supported Pakistan's actions even though President Carter had previously broken off trade links with Pakistan because of the country's poor human rights record and Pakistan's attempts to develop a nuclear bomb.

SOURCE 8

I think we had a double standard with respect to the Pakistanis. And we knew that there were big problems with drugs, and that there were big problems with Nukes and we were prepared in various ways, in any way that we had to, to turn Nelson's eye to those problems as long as the Afghan resistance was being supported via the government of Pakistan – and that's what we did.

Charles Dunbar, from the US State Department, interviewed in 1998.

By March 1979 the Communist government in Kabul was in serious trouble and appealed to Moscow for help. The Politburo, which ran the USSR, was divided. Yuri Andropov, head of the KGB (the Russian 'Committee for State Security'), argued in favour of helping the Afghan government but not sending in troops. He believed that the fall of a Communist regime would be humiliating and politically damaging. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko argued that a Soviet intervention would be even worse for the reputation of the USSR around the world. In the end, they decided to send advisers and equipment to help the Afghan government, along with helicopter gunships and paratroopers disguised as technicians.

The Politburo decides

By September 1979 the situation was getting even worse. However, Dmitri Ustinov, the Soviet Defence Minister, was still opposed to Soviet intervention. His commanders had told him that invading Afghanistan would be the USSR's equivalent of America's Vietnam War (see Chapter 10). The Afghan leader Hafizullah Amin began to lose patience with Moscow. KGB reports from the time show that the Soviets feared Amin would switch sides and ally Afghanistan to the USA, Pakistan and China in order to help him defeat his enemies in Afghanistan.

SOURCE 10

We were faced with the possibility that one way or another, before too long, we may have either a hostile Iran on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf facing us, or we might even have the Soviets there.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, US national security adviser.

SOURCE 11

Andropov, the head of the KGB, became very concerned about Amin flirting with the Americans. Andropov felt that if we didn't introduce Soviet troops, Amin would claim that Moscow hadn't fulfilled its obligations. He would then turn to the Americans for help and they would put their own troops in.

General Valentin Varennikov, commander of Soviet forces, Afghanistan.

By December 1979 the Politburo leaders were feeling the pressure. The leading figures were all old men, several of them ill. Brezhnev was too ill to take any kind of lead. His colleagues were alarmed by developments over SALT II, President Carter's introduction of Pershing II missiles into Europe and the USA's improving relations with China. Intervention in Afghanistan was potentially risky and the military advised against it, but the risks of Afghanistan becoming either pro-USA or becoming a militant Islamic state were also great. On 12 December they made the decision to invade Afghanistan, depose Amin and set up their own pro-Soviet government. On 25 December Soviet tanks rolled over the border into Afghanistan.

SOURCE 12



Soviet forces move into the Afghan capital of Kabul, January 1980.

SOURCE 13

The implications of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan could pose the most serious threat to the peace since the Second World War. The vast majority of nations on Earth have condemned this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others . . . An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force.

President Jimmy Carter speaking on 23 January 1980.

The American reaction

President Carter reacted quickly and furiously to the Soviet invasion.

- He called Brezhnev on the Hot Line and gave him a stark warning that the invasion was a clear threat to world peace.
- He also introduced trade sanctions, cancelling grain exports from the USA to the USSR.
- Carter also began to channel economic aid and military supplies to the mujahidin through Pakistan. Carter completely abandoned any interest in SALT II and began a rapid increase in spending on weapons. He created a Rapid Deployment Force of ships, aircraft and troops which could be moved to trouble spots. He also instructed the US Navy to look at establishing a permanent presence in the Indian Ocean.
- The Olympic Games were due to take place in Moscow in August 1980. The USSR wanted the games to be a worldwide showcase for the greatness of the USSR and Communism. Carter called for a boycott of the games. Canada, West Germany, China, Japan and a few other states did boycott but the majority of nations, including Britain, did take part. The USSR and its allies then boycotted the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.

SOURCE 14



The opening ceremony of the Moscow Olympics in 1980. The majority of countries did not follow the US call for a boycott of the games.

Focus Task

Why did the USSR invade Afghanistan in 1979?

Many of the sources on pages 118–19 come from interviews for a TV documentary on the Cold War in 1998. By that time Brezhnev, Andropov, Gromyko, Ustinov and most of the other leading Politburo members were dead. Your task is to imagine what they might have said about the invasion of Afghanistan if they had still been alive. What do you think they would say about:

- ♦ the reasons they invaded Afghanistan
- ♦ how the USA reacted
- ♦ how they felt about the decision: was it a mistake or a good move?

Ronald Reagan: The Cold War reaches new levels

In January 1981 a new US President took office, Ronald Reagan. Sources 15–19 should help you to get a picture of this key figure in the history of the Cold War.

SOURCE 15

Ronald Reagan had the ability to convey whatever he was thinking of in terms that everybody understood. He just seemed to have a warmth about him that the people felt.

Florence Galing, a Reagan supporter.

SOURCE 17

I urge you to beware the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an Evil Empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.

Ronald Reagan, 8 March 1983.

SOURCE 18

The president viewed the concept of deterrence between us and the Soviet Union as no different from holding a loaded gun at each other's heads. It was very clear to me from the beginning that he was, to say the least, extremely uncomfortable and, as I began to understand later on, he was fundamentally opposed to the concept of mutual assured destruction and deterrence as we know it.

GA Keyworth II, scientific adviser to President Reagan.

Activity

Study Sources 15–19 before you read any more of this section. What do you learn about Reagan from them? Write up what you find out in a short profile. This should cover:

- his qualities as a politician
- his attitude towards the USSR
- his views on nuclear weapons
- whether you think he plans to revive Détente.

You could aim your profile at different audiences such as a British newspaper or the Politburo of the USSR.

SOURCE 16



Ronald Reagan with his Cabinet in 1981. Reagan is sitting on the desk on the left as we look. On the right is Vice President George Bush Senior.

SOURCE 19

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant US retaliation to deter a Soviet attack? That we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies? I know this is a formidable technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace – to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

Ronald Reagan, 23 March 1983.

Reagan was a new type of leader. In one respect he had a very simplistic and aggressive view on politics – essentially the USSR were the bad guys and the USA were the good guys. Reagan was not a great political thinker. The majority of his views were shaped by a think tank of hardline anti-Communist thinkers called the Committee on the Present Danger. This Committee believed in taking a tough line with the USSR wherever possible and increasing American defence spending.

Reagan followed this advice closely. He supported anti-Communist forces in Afghanistan and Nicaragua. More importantly he increased the US Defence budget massively (by \$32.6 billion in his first two weeks in office). New weapons systems were introduced (such as the B-1 nuclear bomber) and plans were made to target Soviet political and military leaders if war broke out. Deterrence was rejected as an option and the key phrase in Reagan's government was that in a nuclear war the USA 'must prevail'.

Reagan's boldest plan (see Sources 18–19) was to escalate the arms race into space. In 1982, he gave the go-ahead for the Strategic Defense Initiative (popularly known as Star Wars). This was a multi-billion dollar project to create a system using satellites and lasers that could destroy missiles before they hit their targets. (Look back at the diagram on page 100 – the missiles would be blown-up in space.) Clearly, a weapon such as this could change the whole nature of nuclear war.

SOURCE 20



A Soviet cartoon from 1983 criticising Reagan. The building having its lid lifted is the Capitol building in Washington, where the US Congress meets. The caption reads, 'Under the roof of the Capitol!'

SOURCE 21

Q: What has forty teeth and four legs?

A: A Crocodile

Q: What has four teeth and forty legs?

A: The Politburo

A joke circulating in the early 1980s in the USSR.

- 1 Make a list of Soviet leader Andropov's concerns in Source 22.
- 2 What actions does he think the USSR should take?
- 3 How would you describe the general tone of this source – aggressive, confident, worried or some other term?
- 4 How useful is this source in showing the impact which Reagan's actions had on the Soviet leadership?

Not surprisingly, these plans were highly controversial. Supporters of Reagan have always said his primary aim was to escalate the arms race in order to end it. He knew that the USSR simply could not compete with American spending on nuclear technology and would have to admit defeat. Reagan's critics suggested that his policies were about money rather than politics. They pointed out that defence companies had supported Reagan's election campaign with huge donations. Was Reagan really challenging the USSR or was he paying back his friends in the defence industry?

There is no doubt that Reagan had a huge impact on the development of the Cold War in the 1980s. His determination and charisma were vital assets. So was his willingness to spend huge amounts on weapons and leave the USA \$4 trillion in debt by the end of the 1980s. Other factors helped him as well. Many of Europe's leaders at this time (including Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Helmut Kohl) supported his tough line against the USSR. Reagan was also able to count on support from other important states such as Japan and Canada. Perhaps the most important factor was that the USSR itself was in crisis. As you have already seen, the Politburo was made up of ageing politicians, many of whom were unwell. Brezhnev died in 1982 but he was succeeded by Yuri Andropov who was only to live until early 1984. These men had no real answer to Reagan's policies or his charisma other than to criticise him as a warmonger who was recklessly advancing the arms race. They could have attacked his links with the US defence industry or they could have pointed out that it was extremely doubtful whether SDI was possible, but they were no match for Reagan in terms of getting a message across to the world. The Politburo members were also aware that the USSR's economy was gradually falling apart under the pressure of the war in Afghanistan and supporting allies in Vietnam and Cuba. A challenge to Communism was also emerging closer to home in Poland ...

SOURCE 22

If you look at the events that are taking place in the Western countries, you can say that an anti-Soviet coalition is being formed out there. ...

The actions of President Reagan, the bearer and creator of all anti-Soviet ideas, creator of all untrue insinuations regarding our country and the other countries of the Socialist Community, deserve very critical and harsh reactions from our side, [but] in the press, these actions do not find the full coverage and answers that they deserve. This, of course, is incorrect. The imperialist countries of the West want to put together a bloc against the USSR. They act together and, as you saw, Reagan managed, though with some pressure, to convince his partners to sign the resolution and express their opinions against the policies of the USSR. ...

We have to open up a wider network to win public opinion, to mobilise public opinion in the western countries of Europe and America against the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe and against a new arms race, that is being forced [upon us] by the American administration. The behaviour of Japan, and especially of the President [Yasuhiro] Nakasone worries me. He completely took the side of the more aggressive part of the western countries, and he completely supports Reagan's actions. Because of that we should consider some sort of compromise in our relations with Japan. ... The next point concerns China. I think that the Chinese aren't going to move any further on their positions. But all our information shows that they could increase their trade with the USSR.

Soviet leader Yuri Andropov speaking to the Politburo on 31 May 1983. Andropov took over from Brezhnev in 1982 but was not well and died later in February 1984.

Activity

The publisher of this book needs to save some space. He is trying to decide whether we really need Sources 15–19 or whether the rest of the information and sources on these two pages tells you all you need to know about Reagan. Write the publisher an email giving him your advice. You should think about:

- the information in each source and how useful it is
- any weaknesses which the sources may have
- any strengths the sources have
- whether some of them could go but some are essential (with an explanation).

Profile

Lech Walesa



- Pronounced Lek Fowensa.
- Born 1943. His father was a farmer.
- Like many of his fellow pupils at school he went to work in the shipyards at Gdansk. He became an electrician.
- In 1970 he led shipyard workers who joined the strike against price rises.
- In 1976 he was sacked from the shipyard for making 'malicious' statements about the organisation and working climate.
- In 1978 he helped organise a union at another factory. He was dismissed – officially because of the recession, unofficially because of pressure from above.
- In 1979 he worked for Eltromontage. He was said to be the best automotive electrician in the business. He was sacked.
- He led strikes in Gdansk shipyard in the summer of 1980.
- With others, he set up Solidarity in August 1980 and became its leader soon after.
- He was a committed Catholic and had massive support from the Polish people and from overseas.
- He was imprisoned by the Polish government in 1982.
- In prison, he became a symbol of eastern Europe's struggle against Communist repression. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983.
- In 1989 he became the leader of Poland's first non-Communist government since the Second World War.

SOURCE 24

More pay.

End to censorship.

Workers to get same benefits as police and party workers.

Broadcasting of Catholic church services.

Election of factory managers.

Some of the 21 demands made by workers led by Walesa.

Solidarity in Poland

While Ronald Reagan was preparing his election campaign in the USA some important developments were taking place in eastern Europe. You may remember that the last time you looked at eastern Europe was 1968, when Soviet tanks moved into Czechoslovakia to crush the 'Prague Spring' (see page 111). After that time, eastern Europe had remained firmly under the control of Communist governments which were backed by the USSR. However, this did not mean that the peoples of eastern Europe were content under Communist rule. In the early 1980s it was Poland's turn to challenge the Communists.

SOURCE 23

Is it any wonder that people are in despair? They must begin queuing outside the butcher's early in the morning and they may still find there is no meat to buy. We want to achieve a free trade union movement which will allow workers to manage the economy through joint control with the government.

Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, speaking in 1980.

In the late 1970s the Polish economy hit a crisis: 1976 was a bad year and 1979 was the worst year for Polish industry since Communism had been introduced. The government seemed to have no new ideas about how to solve Poland's problems. In the late 1970s Polish workers became involved in setting up small, independent trade unions. In the summer of 1980, strikes broke out all over the country. Over the next six months Solidarity, a new trade union, went from strength to strength.

- July 1980: The government announced increases in the price of meat. Strikes followed.
- August 1980: Workers at the Gdansk shipyard, led by Lech Walesa, put forward 21 demands to the government, including free trade unions and the right to strike (see Source 24). They also started a free trade union called Solidarity.
- 30 August 1980: The government agreed to all 21 of Solidarity's demands.
- September 1980: Solidarity's membership grew to 3.5 million.
- October 1980: Solidarity's membership was 7 million. Solidarity was officially recognised by the government.
- January 1981: Membership of Solidarity reached its peak at 9.4 million – more than a third of all the workers in Poland.

Why was Solidarity important?

These developments focused the attention of the world on Poland. They demonstrated that a well-organised mass movement could force even a Communist government backed by the USSR to listen to the people. It also demonstrated clearly how little faith Polish people had in the Communist Party (see Source 25). Solidarity was also important because it caught the imagination of people in the West in a way that neither the Hungarian nor the Czech rising had. Walesa was regularly interviewed and photographed for the Western media. Solidarity logos were bought in their millions as posters, postcards and even car stickers throughout the capitalist world. The scale of the movement and the charismatic appeal of Lech Walesa ensured that the Soviet Union treated the Polish crisis cautiously.

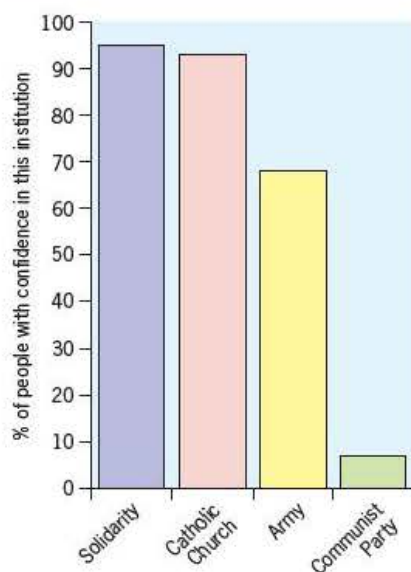
Focus Task A

How did solidarity affect the Cold War?

President Reagan was famous for being a politician who did not want to get involved in details – he just wanted the broad picture. He preferred his briefing papers to be about 1.5 sides double spaced (about 200 words). Put yourself in the position of the US official who has to try and summarise the situation in Poland in 1986 in this short space. Think about what your paper will cover and then try and write the paper for Reagan. You could mention:

- ◆ living standards in eastern Europe
- ◆ why Solidarity emerged as a force
- ◆ why it grew in importance
- ◆ why it was crushed
- ◆ how Solidarity affected developments in the Cold War.

SOURCE 25



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 eleven per cent of those polled were Communist Party members.

- 1 Reagan had a reputation as an excellent communicator. Does Source 26 support this view?

Clampdown

It all looked so positive, but it was not to last. The Polish government had been playing for time and in December 1981 the Polish army commander General Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland. Soviet leader Brezhnev ordered Red Army tanks to the borders of Poland 'on training exercises'. Around 150,000 Solidarity members were arrested and early in 1982 the union was declared illegal. Two lessons emerged from this event:

- Any claims by the Communist Party that it represented the majority of working people in the country seemed hollow and empty.
- The only thing that kept the Communists in power was force or the threat of force. If military force was not used, then Communist control seemed very shaky indeed.

The aftermath

In the short term the West condemned Jaruzelski's actions in Poland. US President Ronald Reagan was as blunt as ever as he led the criticisms.

SOURCE 26

My fellow Americans:

Yesterday the Polish Government, a military dictatorship, took another far-reaching step in their persecution of their own people. They declared Solidarity, the organisation of the working men and women of Poland, their free union, illegal. Yes, I know Poland is a faraway country in eastern Europe. Still, this action is a matter of profound concern to all the American people and to the free world.

... The Polish military leaders and their Soviet backers have shown that they will continue to trample upon the hopes and aspirations of the majority of the Polish people. America cannot stand idly by in the face of these latest threats of repression and acts of repression by the Polish Government.

I am, therefore, today introducing economic sanctions against Poland. ... The Polish regime should understand that we're prepared to take further steps as a result of this further repression in Poland. We are also consulting urgently with our allies on steps we might take jointly in response to this latest outrage.

There are those who will argue that the Polish Government's action marks the death of Solidarity. I don't believe this for a moment. Those who know Poland well understand that as long as the flame of freedom burns as brightly and intensely in the hearts of Polish men and women as it does today, the spirit of Solidarity will remain a vital force in Poland.

Ronald Reagan's response to events in Poland in December 1981.

In the longer term, Solidarity continued to play an important role in Poland, despite being officially outlawed and the fact that members were harassed by the security forces. It never again became a mass organisation, but it was operating almost openly. It threatened to call a nationwide strike against price rises in 1986 and the government backed down. Solidarity co-operated closely with the Catholic Church. It openly broadcast Radio Solidarity from 1986, spreading its views about the government. It organised a boycott of Polish elections in 1988. Officials from foreign governments visited Lech Walesa almost as if he were the leader of a government-in-waiting and consulted him on whether to ease sanctions against Poland. Solidarity continued to be a thorn in the side of the Communists, but in 1986 the focus of international attention was drawn away from Solidarity on to a new threat to Soviet domination of eastern Europe. This time it came from within the Soviet Union itself – it was Mikhail Gorbachev, the new supreme leader of the Soviet Union, and he had a problem on his hands, namely Afghanistan.

Focus Task B

How did the Cold War develop: 1970–86?

Look back at the Cold War tension graph which you drew in the Focus Tasks on pages 89, 99 and 113. Add in what you think are the key events and developments you have studied on pages 119–23.

6.2

Why did Communism collapse in central and eastern Europe?

Profile

Mikhail Gorbachev



- ▶ Born 1931. One grandfather was a kulak – a landowning peasant – who had been sent to a prison camp by Stalin because he resisted Stalin's policy of collectivisation. The other grandfather was a loyal Communist Party member.
- ▶ His elder brother was killed in the Second World War.
- ▶ Studied law at Moscow University in the 1950s. Became a persuasive speaker.
- ▶ Worked as a local Communist Party official in his home area. By 1978 he was a member of the Central Committee of the party and in charge of agriculture.
- ▶ In 1980 he joined the Politburo.
- ▶ He was a close friend of Andropov, who became Soviet leader in 1983. He shared many of Andropov's ideas about reforming the USSR. When Andropov was leader, he was effectively second in command.
- ▶ In 1985 he became leader of the USSR.
- ▶ In October 1990 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Sources 1–5 are all letters written to Gorbachev in the late 1980s by people from different parts of the world. In 1985 the USSR had a new leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. By studying these letters carefully we can build up a picture of the man, his ideas and the influence he had on the Cold War and world affairs in the later 1980s.

Activity

Work in groups. Using only the letters on this page, work out as much as you can about Gorbachev. For example:

- What kind of person was Gorbachev?
- What changes did he introduce to the Soviet Union?
- What was his policy on eastern Europe?
- What was his attitude to nuclear disarmament?

When you have finished researching, discuss with the rest of the class one last question: How do you think Gorbachev would have reacted if he had been the Soviet leader in 1956, 1968 or 1980–82?

SOURCE 3

We are nine-year-old Italian children, pupils at the Pero elementary school in the province of Milan.

We saw on television and read in the papers about your meeting, during which you came to an important decision: to begin to destroy a small part of your nuclear weapons. We want you to know that we all heaved a sigh of relief, because we think that all the weapons are dangerous, useless, damaging and producers of violence, death, fear and destruction and that their only purpose is to do evil.

Children from Pero (Milan), Italy, 16 December 1987.

SOURCE 1

I want to thank you for all you have done. It is marvellous that . . . the people in eastern Europe have been granted freedom. It is unbelievable how fast all these wonderful things are happening. We were delighted when the news reached our ears that the people in Russia now have the freedom to practise their faith.

School children from Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, Ireland, December 1989.

SOURCE 2

I would like to express my deeply felt thanks for this, for, . . . it was you, with your policy of perestroika who set the heavy stone of politics in motion.

You can have no idea how many people in Germany revere you and consider you to be one of the greatest politicians of the present age.

Roman von Kalckreuth, Berlin, West Germany, 14 February 1990.

SOURCE 4

I, a citizen of India, very heartily congratulate you on the giant step you have initiated towards a more human and presidential form of government in the USSR.

The sapling which you have sown will become a tree for others to climb.

Naren R Bhuta, Bombay, India,
1 July 1988.

SOURCE 5

I followed the events of the recent Soviet–American summit with a mixture of uneasy feelings. My one clear feeling was admiration of you – of your intellectual energy, personal strength, and dignity.

Hearing our President's well-intended but often condescending lectures to the Soviet Union's people and political leadership, I was embarrassed for my country . . . Your term of office, General Secretary Gorbachev, has been marked by a straightforward commitment to address the world we really live in, and to improve it. I admire your combination of pragmatism and idealism.

David Bittinger, Wisconsin, USA, 6 June 1988.

SOURCE 6

At 11.55 am local time yesterday General Boris Gromov walked out of Afghanistan across Friendship Bridge on the Oxus river into Soviet Uzbekistan. The final soldier had left and, after nine years and 50 days, Moscow's unwinnable Afghan war was over – at least on the battlefield. To the end, withdrawal was a model of military precision. Sixty armoured personnel carriers bearing the remaining 200 of what was once a 100,000-strong 'limited contingent' drove slowly across the bridge into the frontier town of Termez. Their commanding officer stepped down from the last vehicle and completed the passage on foot. On the Soviet side, 3,000 people were waiting for him. The familiar flowers were offered. Red flags fluttered and music played from loudspeakers in the chilly sunshine. 'As I left Afghanistan, I did not look back,' said the general, moved and close to tears. 'But I had many thoughts: above all for men who died in this war.' He leaves behind him not only 15,000 Soviet dead, but a raging civil war.

A report from the British newspaper the *Independent*, February 1987.

SOURCE 7



Soviet troops returning home from Afghanistan in 1987.

Why did the USSR leave Afghanistan?

As you saw in Chapter 6.1, the Soviet military commanders had been very reluctant to move their troops into Afghanistan and, as the war continued, their reluctance proved to be very sensible. Afghanistan was a country of mountains and deserts. There were few major roads, airports, rail links or other transport available. As a result it was difficult to move and supply a large army. The countryside also meant that Afghan society was very localised – life revolved around ties of family and tribe. This meant that the Afghan people knew their countryside very well and this in turn meant that they could turn this knowledge against an invading enemy.

And the Soviets were soon seen as an invading enemy. The majority of Afghan society outside of the towns was very conservative and strictly Muslim. They disliked Communism because it was a belief which was atheist (did not believe in God) and they hated the Communist government in Afghanistan for the modernising reforms it brought in which challenged traditional views. They disliked the Soviets because they were seen as an invading army of foreigners. It was not difficult to get recruits for the mujahidin, or Fighters of God, to resist them.

In these nightmare conditions the Soviet forces had little hope of victory. Their tanks were hopelessly vulnerable to attack on narrow roads in high mountain passes. They had overwhelming air power but their targets were almost impossible to locate. They killed thousands of innocent people and destroyed villages and homes attempting to hit mujahidin targets. They could not keep control of any territory they captured because the local people would not co-operate with them. Their fear and frustration often exploded into atrocities against civilians and this alienated the Afghans further.

The Soviets were not just up against the mujahidin. The mujahidin were backed by huge amounts of money from Saudi Arabia and the USA. The Saudis contributed something in the region of \$600 million per year in the course of the war. The USA also contributed similar sums and supplies of weapons to the mujahidin through Pakistan. Pakistan itself received \$3.2 billion in military and economic aid.

By the end of 1982 the Soviets had lost around 5,000 troops and airmen and were keen to reach a peace deal. They offered to withdraw if the US and Saudis stopped supplying the mujahidin. However, Reagan and the other hardliners in the US saw this as an opportunity to weaken the Soviets and refused. By the mid 1980s the strain of this conflict was beginning to tell on the USSR. The Soviet press and TV showed images of Soviet troops helping elderly Afghan villagers with food and medicine. The reality was very different. Graveyards began to fill with graves of young men killed on active service. On the ground, the mujahidin were being supplied with American Stinger anti-aircraft missiles which could destroy Soviet helicopters. Helicopters were the most important weapon the Soviets had against their enemies and now these were vulnerable. This was a clear indication that the USA would do whatever it took to defeat the Soviets in Afghanistan.

Under Gorbachev's leadership conditions were changing inside the USSR. There was less restriction on the media and the war was being reported more accurately. The government began to receive letters from families demanding a withdrawal from Afghanistan. Early in 1987 the USSR pulled out its forces. It had been a long and futile war with a terrible cost:

- 15,000 Soviet soldiers died and around 37,000 were wounded
- the financial cost to the USSR was estimated at around \$20 billion
- over 1 million Afghans were killed and around 5 million displaced.

It was a humiliating defeat for the USSR but it was an example of how Gorbachev was prepared to change Soviet policies. More would soon follow.

Activity

You work for a picture library – a company which specialises in supplying pictures for the media. A publishing company has asked you to recommend an image to go on the front cover of a book about the Afghanistan war. Use the websites of picture libraries on the internet, or do a Google™ image search, to look for some suitable images, such as the one in Source 7. You need to explain:

- what each image shows
- how it tells at least part of the story of the war
- your personal recommendation.

SOURCE 8

The state of the Soviet Union and its society could be described very simply with a phrase used by people across the country, 'We can't go on living like this any longer!' That applied to everything. The economy was stagnating, there were shortages and the quality of goods was very poor.

Mikhail Gorbachev speaking in 1998.

SOURCE 9

A
The Soviet Union would remain a one-party state even if the Communists allowed an opposition party to exist because everyone would join the opposition party.

B
When American college students are asked what they want to do after graduation, they reply: 'I don't know, I haven't decided.' Russian students answer the same question by saying: 'I don't know, they haven't told me.'

Anti-Communist jokes told by US President Reagan to Mikhail Gorbachev at their summit meetings in the late 1980s.

- 1 Why do you think President Reagan was so fond of jokes like Source 9A and B?
- 2 Do you think it is strange that Gorbachev was upset by these jokes? Explain your answer.

Activity

Use the information and sources on this page to add two or three new bullet points to the Profile of Mikhail Gorbachev on page 124.

Why did Gorbachev try to change the Soviet Union?

Gorbachev was an unusual mix of idealist, optimist and realist. When he became leader of the Soviet Union in 1985:

- The realist in him could see that the USSR was in a terrible state. Its economy was very weak. It was spending far too much money on the arms race. It was locked into a costly and unwinnable war in Afghanistan. There had been almost no new thinking about how to run the Soviet economy since the days of Stalin. Each leader had followed the same policies and had ignored the warning signals that things were going wrong.
- The idealist in Gorbachev believed that Communist rule should make life better for the people of the USSR and other Communist states. In the 1970s he had travelled in western Europe and had seen that there were higher standards of living there than in the USSR. As a loyal Communist and a proud Russian it offended him that goods made in Soviet factories were shoddy and that many Soviet citizens had no loyalty to the government, did not believe what the government said, and resented the way the government controlled their lives. Gorbachev hated the fact that the USSR was the butt of jokes and this was made worse by the fact that US President Reagan was a great collector of anti-Soviet jokes (Source 9).
- Another problem which concerned Gorbachev was the epidemic of alcoholism in the country. The USSR was one of the few places in the world where the life expectancy was dropping. Gorbachev brought in advisers who told him that alcoholism was one reason for the problems in Soviet industry.
- The optimist in Gorbachev believed that a reformed Communist system of government could give people pride and belief in their country. He definitely did not intend to dismantle Communism in the USSR and eastern Europe, but he did want to reform it radically.

He had to be cautious, because he faced great opposition from hardliners in his own government, but gradually he declared his policies. The two key ideas were *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). He called for open debate on government policy and honesty in facing up to problems. It was not a detailed set of policies but it did mean radical change. In 1987 his *perestroika* programme allowed market forces to be introduced into the Soviet economy. For the first time in 60 years it was no longer illegal to buy and sell for profit. *Glasnost* reduced some of the state control of the media and for the first time the Soviet people began to get realistic reporting about issues such as the economy and the war in Afghanistan. In addition to these policies Gorbachev launched a campaign against corruption in the USSR and began to attack the privileges which party and police officials had over ordinary citizens.

SOURCE 10



US President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev at their first summit meeting in Geneva, November 1985.

SOURCE 11

I remember very clearly what Gorbachev said at that time. He said, 'There are two roads we can take. We can either tighten our belts very, very tightly and reduce consumption – which the people will no longer tolerate – or we can try to defuse international tension and overcome the disagreement between East and West. And so free up the gigantic sums that are spent on armaments in the Soviet Union.'

Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Ministry.

SOURCE 12

Gorbachev said 'OK, let's not even leave a hundred missiles, let's abolish them completely and go for the zero option!' This came as a shock! Everyone was surprised.

Reagan hit the table and said, 'Well, why didn't you say so in the first place! That's exactly what I wanna do and if you wanna do away with all the weapons, I'll agree to do away with all the weapons!' 'All weapons? Of course, we'll do away with all weapons!' 'Good! That's great! Now, now we have an agreement!'

Gorbachev then replied 'Yes! But you must confine SDI to the laboratory!' 'No, I won't!' said Reagan. 'No way! SDI continues! I told you that! I am never going to give up SDI!'

Donald Regan, the White House Chief of Staff, recalls an exchange from the 1986 Reykjavik Summit.

Gorbachev and Reagan Summits

Of course Gorbachev's job of reforming the Soviet Union would have been a lot easier if he had had more money available (see Source 11). He began to cut spending on defence. After almost 50 years on a constant war footing, the Red Army began to shrink. The arms race was an enormous drain on the Soviet economy at a time when it was in trouble anyway. Gorbachev was realistic enough to recognise that his country could never hope to outspend the USA on nuclear weapons. He took the initiative. He announced cuts in armament expenditure.

At the same time, Gorbachev brought a new attitude to the USSR's relations with the wider world. Not only did he withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but in speech after speech, he talked about international trust and co-operation as the way forward for the USSR, rather than confrontation. At first the West was cautiously optimistic about Gorbachev. The British Prime Minister described Gorbachev as 'a man they could do business with'. Gorbachev continued to make offers to President Reagan to meet him face to face and discuss their differences. Reagan was particularly keen to discuss nuclear disarmament. He had been shocked to discover that the Soviets had almost launched a nuclear strike against the USA in 1983. After the Soviets shot down a Korean airliner travelling out of New York the Soviets thought Reagan was going to use this event as an excuse to launch a first strike against them. The Americans had no idea that the Soviets thought this, but it brought home to Reagan the dangers of a world in which mistrust and paranoia were mixed with nuclear weapons.

After endless meetings between their officials the two leaders met at their first summit on 19 November 1985 in Geneva. The two leaders got on extremely well with each other. They held three more summits in Reykjavik (October 1986), Washington (December 1987) and Moscow (June 1988). There were many tough negotiations and many frustrations. Source 14 gives a sense of the atmosphere at these summits.

The real breakthrough came at the Washington Summit in December 1987 when both leaders signed the INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) Treaty. The Soviets removed their SS-20 missiles and the Americans removed their Pershing IIs from Europe. Just as importantly, both sides agreed to co-operate fully with an inspection regime which would ensure they kept to the terms of the Treaty. There were still many nuclear weapons not covered by the Treaty but it was an important demonstration of trust between the superpowers.

The final summit took place in Moscow in June 1988. It was mainly symbolic – it was the first time Reagan had ever been to the USSR and the first time he had met Soviet people. On the visit a British journalist, Jon Snow, asked Reagan whether he felt he was in an evil empire. Reagan said he wanted to take back his reference to the Soviet Union as the 'Evil Empire'. He said that he was doing it, not because he was wrong when he initially said it, but because by 1988 the Soviet Union had come a long way under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev. It had become a different country.

SOURCE 13

Focus Task

How did the relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev change the Cold War?

Study Source 13 carefully. On your own copy of the source, put the four images in a horizontal line like a cartoon strip.

- 1 Decide on a date for each and then add captions to each of the four images to describe how the relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev developed. You may be able to do this using presentation or other types of software.
- 2 You could also search the internet for other images to help tell the story.

**This figure is not available
online for copyright reasons**

A cartoon from the British newspaper the *Daily Telegraph*, 10 December 1987.

SOURCE 14

This meeting was not a sign that Gorbachev thought that communism was doomed in the USSR and eastern Europe. The exact opposite was true. Gorbachev was still at that time a Marxist-Leninist believer: he contended that the Soviet communist order was in many ways already superior to capitalism; he was unshaken in his opinion that the Soviet type of state provided its citizens with better health care, education and transport. The task in the USSR and eastern Europe was consequently to renovate communism so as to match capitalism in other areas of public life. Gorbachev assumed that he would be able to persuade fellow communist leaders in eastern Europe to follow his example. There was to be no repetition of the invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. Renovation had to occur voluntarily. Despite Gorbachev's eloquence, however, the Warsaw Pact leaders did not take him seriously and treated his speech as ceremonial rhetoric [clever speech making].

An extract from *History of Modern Russia* by historian Robert Service, published 2003. He is commenting on the meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders in March 1985.

- 1 Read Source 14. Why do you think the Warsaw Pact leaders did not believe Gorbachev?
- 2 Read Source 15. Can jokes really be useful as historical sources? Explain your answer.
- 3 If you think jokes are useful sources, do you think Sources 9 or 15 are more useful? Explain your answer.

How did Gorbachev's reforms affect eastern Europe?

In March 1985 Gorbachev called the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries together (see Source 14). This meeting should have been a turning point in the history of eastern Europe. Gorbachev explained to the leaders that he was committed to non-intervention in the affairs of their countries. He made it very clear that they were responsible for their own fates. However, most of the Warsaw Pact leaders were old style, hardline Communists like Erich Honecker of East Germany or Nikolai Ceaucescu of Romania. To them, Gorbachev's ideas were insane and they simply did not believe he would abandon them.

In the next few years these leaders would realise they had made a serious error of judgement. As Gorbachev introduced his reforms in the USSR the demand rose for reforms in eastern European states as well. Most people in these states were sick of the poor economic conditions and the harsh restrictions which Communism imposed.

SOURCE 15

A

Polish, Hungarian and Romanian dogs get to talking. 'What's life like in your country?' the Polish dog asks the Hungarian dog.

'Well, we have meat to eat but we can't bark. What are things like where you are from?' says the Hungarian dog to the Polish dog.

'With us, there's no meat, but at least we can bark,' says the Polish dog.

'What's meat? What's barking?' asks the Romanian dog.

B

East German leader Erich Honecker is touring East German towns. He is shown a run-down kindergarten. The staff ask for funds to renovate the institution. Honecker refuses. Next he visits a hospital, where the doctors petition him for a grant to buy new surgical equipment. Honecker refuses. The third place on Honecker's itinerary is a prison. This is pretty dilapidated, and here too the governor asks for money to refurbish it. This time Honecker immediately pulls out his cheque book and insists that not only should the cells be repainted but that they should be fitted with new mattresses, colour televisions and sofas. Afterwards an aide asks him why he said no to a school and a hospital, but yes to a prison. Honecker says, 'Where do you think we will be living in a few months' time?'

Examples of anti-Communist jokes collected by researchers in eastern Europe in the 1980s.

Gorbachev's policies gave the ordinary citizens some hope for reform. In July 1988 he made a speech to the Warsaw Pact summit meeting stating his intention to withdraw large numbers of Soviet troops, tanks and aircraft from eastern Europe. He restated these intentions in public in a speech to the Polish Parliament soon afterwards. Hungary was particularly eager to see the back of Soviet troops and when the Hungarians pressed Gorbachev he seemed to confirm that troops would withdraw if Hungary wished. Gorbachev followed up this intention in March 1989. He again made clear to the Warsaw Pact leaders that they would no longer be propped up by the Red Army and that they would have to listen to their people. The following months saw an extraordinary turn-about, as you can see from Source 16, which led to the collapse of Communism in eastern Europe.

START HERE**May 1989**

Hungarians begin dismantling the barbed-wire fence between Hungary and non-Communist Austria.

June

In Poland, free elections are held for the first time since the Second World War. Solidarity wins almost all the seats it contests. Eastern Europe gets its first non-Communist leader President Lech Walesa.

The cracks in the Soviet domination of eastern Europe begin to appear and the complete collapse of the Red Empire begins with the people of East Germany.

March 1990

Latvia leads the Baltic republics in declaring independence from the USSR.

December

In Romania there is a short but very bloody revolution that ends with the execution of the Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

The Communist Party in Hungary renames itself the Socialist Party and declares that free elections will be held in 1990. In Bulgaria, there are huge demonstrations against the Communist government.

November

There are huge demonstrations in Czechoslovakia. The Czech government opens its borders with the West, and allows the formation of other parties.

September

Thousands of East Germans on holiday in Hungary and Czechoslovakia refuse to go home. They escape through Austria into West Germany.

October

There are enormous demonstrations in East German cities when Gorbachev visits. He tells the East German leader Erich Honecker to reform. Honecker orders troops to fire on demonstrators but they refuse.

Gorbachev makes it clear that Soviet tanks will not move in to 'restore order'.

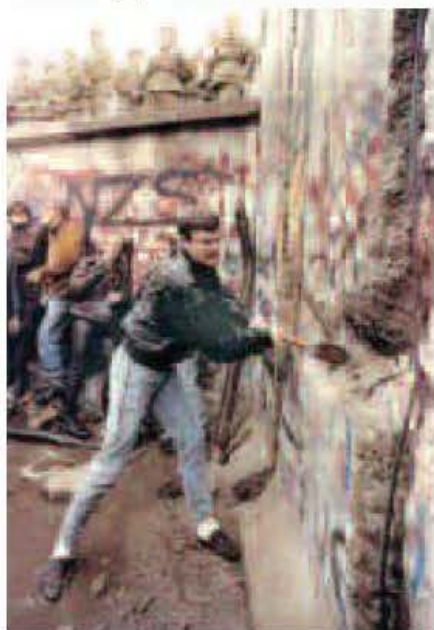
November

East Germans march in their thousands to the checkpoints at the Berlin Wall. The guards throw down their weapons and join the crowds. The Berlin Wall is dismantled.



The collapse of Communism in eastern Europe.

SOURCE 17



A demonstrator pounds away at the Berlin Wall as East German border guards look on from above, 4 November 1989. The wall was dismantled five days later.

SOURCE 18

For most west Europeans now alive, the world has always ended at the East German border and the Wall; beyond lay darkness . . . The opening of the frontiers declares that the world has no edge any more. Europe is becoming once more round and whole.

The Independent, November 1989.

Reunification of Germany

With the Berlin Wall down, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposed a speedy reunification of Germany. Germans in both countries embraced the idea enthusiastically.

Despite his idealism, Gorbachev was less enthusiastic. He expected that a new united Germany would be more friendly to the West than to the East. But after many months of hard negotiations, not all of them friendly, Gorbachev accepted German reunification and even accepted that the new Germany could become a member of NATO. This was no small thing for Gorbachev to accept. Like all Russians, he lived with the memory that it was German aggression in the Second World War that had cost the lives of 20 million Soviet citizens.

On 3 October 1990, Germany became a united country once again.

The collapse of the USSR

1990 Even more dramatic events were to follow in the Soviet Union itself.

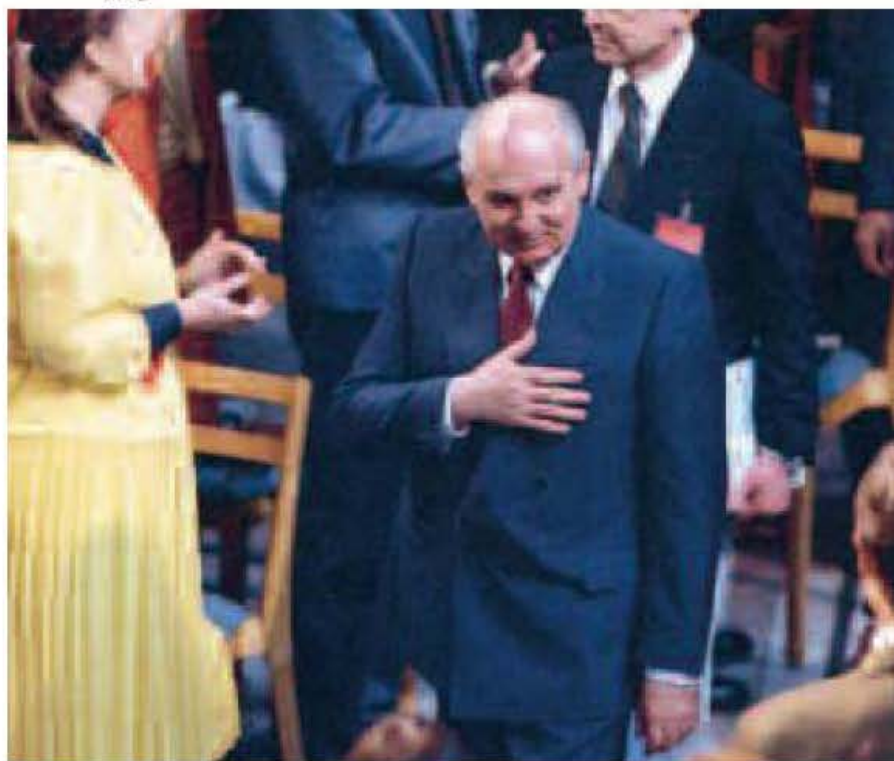
Early in 1990 Gorbachev visited the Baltic state of Lithuania – part of the Soviet Union. Its leaders put their views to him. They were very clear. They wanted independence. They did not want to be part of the USSR. Gorbachev was for once uncompromising. He would not allow this. But in March they did it anyway. Almost as soon as he returned to Moscow from Lithuania, Gorbachev received a similar demand from the Muslim Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

What should Gorbachev do now? He sent troops to Azerbaijan to end rioting there. He sent troops to Lithuania. But as the summer approached, the crisis situation got worse.

In May 1990 the Russian Republic, the largest within the USSR, elected Boris Yeltsin as its President. Yeltsin made it clear that he saw no future in a Soviet Union. He said that the many republics that made up the USSR should become independent states.

In July 1990 the Ukraine declared its independence. Other republics followed. By the end of 1990 nobody was quite sure what the USSR meant any longer. Meanwhile Gorbachev was an international superstar and in October 1990 he received the Nobel Peace Prize.

SOURCE 19



Mikhail Gorbachev after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, 15 October 1990.

SOURCE 20



Russian President Boris Yeltsin addressing supporters from the top of a tank after the attempted coup of August 1991.

Back in the USSR, however, he was struggling. The USSR was disintegrating. In January 1991 events in Lithuania turned to bloodshed as Soviet troops fired on protesters.

In April 1991 the Republic of Georgia declared its independence.

Reformers within the USSR itself demanded an end to the Communist Party's domination of government. Gorbachev was struggling to hold it together, but members of the Communist elite had had enough. In August 1991 hardline Communist Party members and leading military officers attempted a coup to take over the USSR. The plotters included Gorbachev's Prime Minister, Pavlov, and the head of the armed forces, Dimitry Yazov. They held Gorbachev prisoner in his holiday home in the Crimea. They sent tanks and troops onto the streets of Moscow. This was the old Soviet way to keep control. Would it work this time?

Huge crowds gathered in Moscow. They strongly opposed this military coup. The Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, emerged as the leader of the popular opposition. Faced by this resistance, the conspirators lost faith in themselves and the coup collapsed.

This last-ditch attempt by the Communist Party to save the USSR had failed. A few days later, Gorbachev returned to Moscow. He might have survived the coup, but it had not strengthened his position as Soviet leader. He had to admit that the USSR was finished and he with it.

In a televised speech on 25 December 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union (see Source 21).

SOURCE 21

A sense of failure and regret came through his [Gorbachev's] Christmas Day abdication speech — especially in his sorrow over his people 'ceasing to be citizens of a great power'. Certainly, if man-in-the-street interviews can be believed, the former Soviet peoples consider him a failure.

History will be kinder. The Nobel Prize he received for ending the Cold War was well deserved. Every man, woman and child in this country should be eternally grateful.

His statue should stand in the centre of every east European capital; for it was Gorbachev who allowed them their independence. The same is true for the newly independent countries further east and in Central Asia. No Russian has done more to free his people from bondage since Alexander II who freed the serfs.

From a report on Gorbachev's speech, 25 December 1991, in the US newspaper the *Boston Globe*.

- 1 Read Source 21 carefully. Here are three statements from the source:

- 'the former Soviet peoples consider him a failure'
- 'History will be kinder'
- 'His statue should stand in the centre of every east European capital'.

For each statement:

- a) explain what it means, and
- b) express your own view on it.

SOURCE 22

He had no grand plan and no predetermined policies; but if Gorbachev had not been Party General Secretary, the decisions of the late 1980s would have been different. The USSR's long-lasting order would have endured for many more years, and almost certainly the eventual collapse of the order would have been much bloodier than it was to be in 1991. The irony was that Gorbachev, in trying to prevent the descent of the system into general crisis, proved instrumental in bringing forward that crisis and destroying the USSR.

An extract from *History of Modern Russia* by historian Robert Service, published in 2003. In this extract he is commenting on the meeting in March 1985.

Focus Task

How far was Gorbachev responsible for the collapse of Soviet control over eastern Europe?

You are making a documentary film to explain 'The Collapse of the Red Empire in eastern Europe'. The film will be 90 minutes long.

- 1 Decide what proportion of this time should concentrate on:
 - ◆ Solidarity in Poland
 - ◆ Gorbachev
 - ◆ actions of people in eastern Europe
 - ◆ actions of governments in eastern Europe
 - ◆ other factors.
- 2 Choose one of these aspects and summarise the important points, stories, pictures or sources that your film should cover under that heading.

You may be able to use presentation software to organise and present your ideas.

Paper 1: International Relations

Our chapters 1–6 correspond exactly with the six topics in Paper 1. There will be one question on each chapter.

- Plan your time. The exam is 1 hour 45 minutes and you have to answer three questions so that gives you 35 minutes for each question.

- If you have 35 minutes for each question take 5 of those minutes to read through all three parts of the question so you can see where it is heading. Then divide the rest of the time according to the marks available.

One of the most important rules to remember is not to over answer this question! Every year candidates write far too much on this type of low mark question and then run out of time on more valuable later questions. It is only worth 4 marks so should only take you 5 or 6 minutes.

This answer gets straight to the point – not wasting any time. This answer covers:

- who was in the alliances
- the reasons why they were formed.

It could have mentioned:

- that the exact terms of the alliances were secret
- that the alliances caused increasing tension because people worried about what their enemies were secretly planning together.

DO

- Focus on the question.

DON'T

- Don't describe the situation in Europe in the early 1900s in great detail.
- Don't list all the various crises which caused tension in Europe in this period, unless they help you to describe an alliance effectively.

Another kind of word is a 'signpost' word. A command word e.g. 'explain' tells you what to do. A signpost word e.g. 'main' tells you how to do it.

AQA Paper 1 is mainly designed to assess how well you can select and deploy information and how well you understand International Relations in the twentieth century. In the exam you will be given six questions and you will have to answer three of them. Your course will probably have covered **either** questions 1–3 (on the period 1900–1939) **or** questions 4–6 (which cover the period 1945–1991).

Each question is divided up into three parts. The pattern is usually a written or picture source followed by:

- A 'describe ...' question worth 4 marks.
- A 'do you agree ...' question, which asks you to look at the source and then 'explain' how far you agree with the view expressed in the source. This will usually be worth 6 marks.
- A more challenging 'which was ...' question, which asks you to compare two events or developments or factors and say which was more important. This is worth 10 marks.

One very important thing you can do to prepare for your exam is to learn to spot these key words (e.g. 'describe' or 'explain') which examiners call 'command words'. They tell you what they are expecting you to do.

Example of a type (a) question

On Chapter 1: The origins of the First World War

- In 1914 Europe was divided into two rival Alliances, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Describe the main features of these alliances. [4]

A good answer to question (a)

The Triple Alliance was an alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy although the most important partners were Germany and Austria-Hungary. The members of the Alliance agreed to go to war if one of them was attacked.

The Triple Entente was an alliance between Russia, France and Britain. It was less formal than the Triple Alliance – the three countries did not have a definite agreement on what they would do in particular situations. The Entente came about because international tension rose after Germany, France and Britain disagreed over Morocco in 1905.

Always use your best written English and clear presentation. Don't use bullet points, use continuous prose. The quality of your grammar, spelling and punctuation will be marked in all your answers so you can really boost your grade by good use of written English.

Example of a type (b) question

On Chapter 3: Hitler's foreign policy and the origins of the Second World War

- Source A suggests particular reasons why Britain and France signed the Munich Agreement with Adolf Hitler in 1938. Do you agree that this interpretation shows the main reasons for the actions of Britain and France? Explain your answer by referring to the purpose of the source, its content and your own knowledge. [6]

SOURCE A



A Soviet view of the Munich Agreement which was signed in 1938. The two policemen are British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and French leader Daladier. 'СССР' on the signpost means 'USSR'.

Example answers to question (b)

Candidate 1

Source A suggests that Chamberlain and Daladier signed the Munich Agreement in 1938 because they wanted Hitler to attack the USSR rather than attacking them. Whilst there is some truth in this view I do not accept it completely.

It is true that France and Britain were concerned about being attacked by Hitler. Germany had been rearming since 1935 and had built up its forces so Chamberlain forged the Munich Agreement in 1938 partly to buy time for Britain to prepare for war. It is also true that Britain had always been suspicious of the USSR's Communist system of government and feared that Stalin wanted to spread Communism. Stalin tried to build alliances with Britain and France during the 1930s but had not succeeded. Stalin was dismayed when he was not involved in the Munich talks which led to the Agreement. He blamed Britain and France even though the talks were organised by the Italian leader Mussolini, an ally of Hitler.

On the other hand, there were other reasons why Britain and France signed the Munich Agreement. To begin with, Chamberlain and many others were desperate to avoid war because they were haunted by the memories of the First World War. Chamberlain also thought many of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were unfair. The Munich Agreement brought German-speaking people in the Sudetenland into Germany, which seemed right.

Candidate 2

We have to question the purpose of the source. It was a Soviet view of the Munich Agreement and was designed to criticise the Germans, French and British. We can see this from the way that Britain and France are shown, holding on to each other and looking feeble. We can also see that Hitler and the Nazis are shown as bloodthirsty and vicious (for example, with the axe) and eager for war. So the purpose of the cartoon is to attack the agreement. This means the historian should be very careful about simply accepting what it says.

DO

- The question asks you if you agree or disagree but first of all the examiner wants you to make it clear that you understand what the source is saying.
- it is not enough just to state you agree or disagree. The question is asking you to 'explain' your view which means you have to use either your background knowledge or your evaluation of the source to back up your view.

DON'T

- Don't tell the whole story of appeasement in the 1930s.
- Don't describe all the details in the cartoon.

This is a good start. Successful candidates often start their answers 'Source A suggests that ...' or 'Source A claims that ...' to make sure they start by summarising what the source is saying.

This answer scores well because:

- it takes a balanced approach
- the candidate has explained his/her view clearly
- the candidate has used background knowledge to evaluate the message of the cartoon
- he/she has shown that the view has some justification but there is more to the story than this one view.

This would gain a good mark – 4–5 out of 6.

This candidate has focused on evaluating the source. He/she has done that well but then not used background knowledge at all.

Put these two answers together (Candidate 1 and Candidate 2) and you would definitely get top marks!

Paper 1: International Relations

This is a more detailed question than (a) or (b). It requires an argument. For these higher value questions it is a good idea to have a structure in mind before you start. In other words, finish thinking before you start writing!

Although it is a longer question, there are still only 10 marks available so it does not need to be endless pages.

You don't have to start with an introduction but, if you do, keep it simple, for example:

'Many different factors contributed to the development of the Cold War in the years 1948–55. Two important factors were the Berlin Blockade and the Korean War.'

Notice how this answer:

- explains the Blockade and its results very clearly
- and includes specific details e.g. the new **German currency**, Stalin cutting **road and rail** links to Berlin.

DO

- Cover both of the points raised in the question. If you only cover one then you can only get a maximum of half marks.
- Explain how each one contributed to the development of the Cold War.

DON'T

- Don't tell the whole story of the Cold War.
- Don't go into detail about any other events unless this somehow shows how important the events in the question are.

Just because a question asks you 'which was most important' that does not mean you have to choose one or the other. You might feel they both contributed equally. Only choose one over the other if you have a genuine argument to back up your choice.

Example of a type (c) question

On Chapter 4: The origins of the Cold War, 1945–1955

- c Which was more important as a reason for the development of the Cold War, 1948–55?
- The Berlin Blockade, 1948–49
 - The Korean War, 1950–53 [10]

A suggested approach to answering this question

- Paragraph 1: the Berlin Blockade
- Paragraph 2: the Korean War
- Paragraph 3: a conclusion

A model paragraph 1

In 1948 France, USA and Britain united their three zones of West Germany into a single zone. They introduced a new currency and their parts of Germany began to recover from the damage of the war. Stalin claimed they were building up West Germany so they could attack him. So he blocked all the roads and rail links from the West into Berlin which was deep inside the Soviet zone. The Allies could have responded by removing the blocks with tanks but they decided that was too dangerous. So for nine months they flew food and supplies into Berlin. This was the first real confrontation of the Cold War. It was very tense because people feared that the Soviet army would shoot down Allied planes which would start a war. This event set a pattern for the Cold War. It was very tense but both sides avoided attacking each other. Instead they watched each other closely and bombarded the other side with propaganda.

Now try writing your own similar paragraph about the Korean War and a conclusion using the advice below.

Paragraph 2: The Korean War

- Explain briefly: why the Korean War began and how the USA got involved. Mention the role of the UNO and the fact that the USSR was boycotting the UN at the time.
- Explain how the Korean War heightened tension: by bringing the USA into conflict with China directly, while the USSR was involved indirectly supplying China and North Korea.
- Include specific details like the dispute between Truman and MacArthur over whether to continue the war into an attack on China.

Paragraph 3: A brief conclusion

- Explain how the two developments worked in similar ways (each one increased mistrust between the two sides) and whether there were any links between the developments.
- If you think one was more important, say so and explain why.

Unit 2

Twentieth-Century Depth Studies



7

Russia and the USSR, 1914–1941

7.1

How did the Bolsheviks take control and keep power?

Focus Task

Timeline

This timeline shows the period you will be covering in this chapter. Some of the key dates are filled in already. Make your own copy and add other details to it as you work through the chapter.



Focus

In 1900 Russia was a vast, backward country. By 1941 it was beginning to develop into a modern industrial power. In this chapter you will examine how war and revolution brought about these changes, as well as the terrible cost of these changes.

In Section 7.1 you will examine:

- ◆ Russian society and government in 1914
- ◆ the impact of the First World War on Russia
- ◆ the revolutions of 1917 and the establishment of Communist rule in Russia.

In Section 7.2 you will investigate

- ◆ how Stalin became the leader of the USSR
- ◆ the impact and significance of Stalin's policies.

The new Tsar

When Nicholas II was crowned Tsar of Russia in 1894, the crowds flocked to St Petersburg to cheer. There were so many people that a police report said 1,200 people were crushed to death as the crowd surged forward to see the new Tsar, whom they called 'the Little Father of Russia'.

Twenty-three years later, he had been removed from power and he and his family were prisoners. They were held under armed guard in a lonely house at Ekaterinburg, far from the Tsar's luxurious palaces. Perhaps the Tsar might have asked himself how this had happened, but commentators were predicting collapse long before 1917.

SOURCE 1



The coronation of Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia.

Profile

Tsar Nicholas II



- Born 1868.
- Crowned as Tsar in 1896.
- Married to Alexandra of Hesse (a granddaughter of Queen Victoria).
- Both the Tsar and his wife were totally committed to the idea of the Tsar as autocrat – absolute ruler of Russia.
- Nicholas regularly rejected requests for reform.
- He was interested in the Far East. This got him into a disastrous war with Japan in 1905.
- He was not very effective as a ruler, unable to concentrate on the business of being Tsar.
- He was a kind, loving family man but did not really understand the changes Russia was going through.
- By 1917 he had lost control of Russia and abdicated.
- In 1918 he and his family were shot by Bolsheviks during the Russian Civil War.

The Tsar's empire

Russia was a vast empire rather than a single country, and the Tsar was its supreme ruler. It was not an easy job.

Nationalities

The Tsar's empire included many different nationalities. Only 40 per cent of the Tsar's subjects spoke Russian as their first language. Some subjects, for example the Cossacks, were loyal to the Tsar. Others, for example the Poles and Finns, hated Russian rule. Jews often suffered racial prejudice and even vicious attacks, called pogroms, sponsored by the government.

Activity

Look at the profile of Tsar Nicholas II. Read through the information and sources on pages 138–40 and add four more points to the profile. You could work in pairs to draw up a list of points, then narrow them down to just four.

SOURCE 2

Population of the Russian Empire, according to a census in 1897

Russians	55,650,000	Letts	1,400,000
Ukrainians	22,400,000	Georgians	1,350,000
Poles	7,900,000	Armenians	1,150,000
Byelorussians	5,900,000	Romanians	1,110,000
Jews	5,000,000	Caucasians	1,000,000
Kirghiz	4,000,000	Estonians	1,000,000
Tartars	3,700,000	Iranians	1,000,000
Finns	2,500,000	Other Asiatic peoples	5,750,000
Germans	1,800,000	Mongols	500,000
Lithuanians	1,650,000	Others	200,000



Russia and its population in 1900.

Russian society in 1914

Peasants and the countryside

Around 80 per cent of Russia's population were peasants who lived in communes. There were some prosperous peasant farmers called kulaks, but living and working conditions for most peasants were dreadful. Famine and starvation were common and in some regions the life expectancy of a peasant farmer was only 40 years of age.

Much of Russia's land was unsuitable for farming. As a result, land was in very short supply because, by the early 1900s, the population was growing rapidly. (It increased by 50 per cent between 1860 and 1897.) Russian peasants were still using ancient farming techniques. In most villages, the land was divided into large fields. Each family was allotted a strip of land in one of the fields. This subdivision of the fields was organised by peasant councils called mir. When a peasant had sons, the family plot was subdivided and shared between them.

There was no basic education in Russia and very few peasants could read or write. But, despite all their hardships, many peasants were loyal to the Tsar. This was partly because they were also religious. Every week, they would hear the priest say how wonderful the Tsar was and how they, as peasants, should be loyal subjects. However, not all peasants were loyal or religious. Many supported the opposition, the Socialist Revolutionaries (see page 141). Their main discontent was over land – they resented the amount of land owned by the aristocracy, the Church and the Tsar.

1 Use Sources 3A and 3B to write a description of peasants' living conditions. Make sure you highlight the contrast with the conditions described in Source 4.

SOURCE 3A



The interior of a Russian peasant's cottage.

SOURCE 3B



A typical village in northern Russia.

SOURCE 4

In the big house the two women hardly manage to wash up all the crockery for the gentlefolk who have just had a meal; and two peasants in dress coats are running up or down stairs serving tea, coffee, wine and water. Upstairs the table is laid; they have just finished one meal and will soon start another that will go on till at least midnight. There are some fifteen healthy men and women here and some thirty able-bodied men and women servants working for them.

Count Leo Tolstoy, writer and improving landlord.

The aristocracy

The peasants' living conditions contrasted sharply with those of the aristocracy, who had vast estates, town and country houses and elegant lifestyles.

The aristocracy were about 1.5 per cent of society but owned about 25 per cent of the land. They were a key part of the Tsar's government, often acting as local officials. In the countryside they dominated the local assemblies or zemstva. Most were loyal to the Tsar and wanted to keep Russian society as it was.

Many of the richer aristocrats lived not on their estates but in the glamorous cities. Some landlords were in financial trouble and had to sell their lands, a piece at a time. Perhaps the greatest fear of the aristocracy was that the peasants would rise up and take their lands.

- 2 Look at Sources 3 and 5. Were workers in the town any better off than their cousins in the countryside? Explain your answer.

New industries, cities and the working class

From the later nineteenth century, the Tsars had been keen to see Russia become an industrial power. The senior minister Sergei Witte introduced policies that led to rapid industrial growth. Oil and coal production trebled, while iron production quadrupled (see Source 11 on page 142). Some peasants left the land to work in these newly developing industries. However, their living conditions hardly improved.

SOURCE 5A



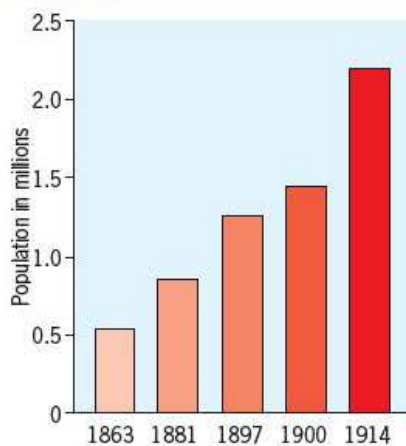
SOURCE 5B



Workers' living conditions: **A** shows a dormitory and **B** shows a canteen in Moscow. Urban workers made up about four per cent of the population in 1900.

The greatest concentrations of these workers were in the capital, St Petersburg, and in Moscow. Here the population was growing fast as peasants arrived looking for a new way of life, or simply trying to earn some extra cash before returning for the harvest. Only a short walk away from the fabulous wealth of the Tsar's Winter Palace in St Petersburg, his subjects lived in filth and squalor. Overcrowding, terrible food, disease and alcoholism were everyday facts of life. The wretchedness of their living conditions was matched by the atrocious working conditions. Unlike every other European power, there were no government regulations on child labour, hours, safety or education. Trade unions were illegal. Low pay, twelve to fifteen-hour days, unguarded machinery and brutal discipline soon made the peasants realise that working in the factories was no better than working on the land.

SOURCE 6



Graph showing the growth of St Petersburg.

The middle classes

As a result of industrialisation, a new class began to emerge in Russia – the capitalists. They were landowners, industrialists, bankers, traders and businessmen. Until this time, Russia had had only a small middle class which included people such as shopkeepers, lawyers and university lecturers. The capitalists increased the size of Russia's middle class, particularly in the towns. Their main concerns were the management of the economy, although the capitalists were also concerned about controlling their workforce. Clashes between workers and capitalists were to play an important role in Russia's history in the years up to 1917.

SOURCE 7

I am informed that recently in some zemstva, voices have made themselves heard from people carried away by senseless dreams about participation by members of the zemstva in the affairs of internal government: let all know that I, devoting all my strength to the welfare of the people, will uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and as unflinchingly as my late unforgettable father.

Part of Tsar Nicholas II's coronation speech in 1894. Zemstva were local assemblies dominated by the nobility in the countryside and professionals in the towns.

SOURCE 8

We talked for two solid hours. He shook my hand. He wished me all the luck in the world. I went home beside myself with happiness and found a written order for dismissal lying on my desk.

Count Witte, Russian Prime Minister, 1906.

- 1 Draw up your own chart to summarise the Tsarist system of government.
- 2 Look at Sources 7 and 8. What do they suggest about:
 - a) the loyalty of the Tsar's ministers
 - b) the Tsar as a leader?
- 3 Describe and explain at least two ways in which Nicholas II made Russia's government weak.
- 4 Look carefully at Source 9. Would you interpret the contents of this source as:
 - a) evidence of the strength of the Tsar's regime
 - b) evidence of the weakness of the regime?
 Explain your answer and refer to the information in the text as well.

The Tsar and his government

The huge and diverse empire was ruled by an autocracy. One man, the Tsar, had absolute power to rule Russia. The Tsar believed that God had placed him in that position. The Russian Church supported him in this view. The Tsar could appoint or sack ministers or make any other decisions without consulting anyone else. By the early twentieth century most of the Great Powers had given their people at least some say in how they were run, but Nicholas was utterly committed to the idea of autocracy and seemed to be obsessed with the great past of his family, the Romanovs (see Source 7). He had many good qualities, such as his loyalty to his family, his willingness to work hard and his attention to detail. However, he was not an able, forceful and imaginative monarch like his predecessors.

Nicholas tended to avoid making important decisions. He did not delegate day-to-day tasks. In a country as vast as Russia, where tasks had to be delegated to officials, this was a major problem. He insisted on getting involved in the tiniest details of government. He personally answered letters from peasants and appointed provincial midwives. He even wrote out the instructions for the royal car to be brought round!

Nicholas also managed his officials poorly. He felt threatened by able and talented ministers, such as Count Witte and Peter Stolypin. He dismissed Witte (see Source 8) in 1906 and was about to sack Stolypin (see page 143) when Stolypin was murdered in 1911. Nicholas refused to chair the Council of Ministers because he disliked confrontation. He insisted on seeing ministers in one-to-one meetings. He encouraged rivalry between them. This caused chaos, as different government departments refused to co-operate with each other.

He also appointed family members and friends from the court to important positions. Many of them were incompetent or even corrupt, making huge fortunes from bribes.

Control

Despite everything you have read so far, it is important to remember that the Tsar's regime was very strong in some ways. Resistance was limited. At the local level, most peasants had their lives controlled by the mir. The mir could be overruled by land captains. Land captains were usually minor landlords appointed by the Tsar as his officials in local areas. The zemstva, or local assemblies, also helped to control Russia. They were dominated by the landlords in the countryside and by professional people in the towns. Then there were local governors, appointed by the Tsar from the ranks of the aristocracy. In some areas, Russia was a police state, controlled by local governors. There were special emergency laws that allowed the local governors to:

- order the police to arrest suspected opponents of the regime
- ban individuals from serving in the zemstva, courts or any government organisation
- make suspects pay heavy fines
- introduce censorship of books or leaflets or newspapers.

Local governors controlled the police. The police had a special force with 10,000 officers whose job was to concentrate on political opponents of the regime. There was also the Okhrana, the Tsar's secret police. Finally, if outright rebellion did erupt, there was the army, particularly the Tsar's loyal and terrifying Cossack regiments.

SOURCE 9

A third of Russia lives under emergency legislation. The numbers of the regular police and of the secret police are continually growing. The prisons are overcrowded with convicts and political prisoners. At no time have religious persecutions [of Jews] been so cruel as they are today. In all cities and industrial centres soldiers are employed and equipped with live ammunition to be sent out against the people. Autocracy is an outdated form of government that may suit the needs of a central African tribe but not those of the Russian people who are increasingly aware of the culture of the rest of the world.

Part of a letter from the landowner and writer Leo Tolstoy to the Tsar in 1902. The letter was an open letter – it was published openly as well as being sent to the Tsar.

Factfile

Marxist theory

- Karl Marx was a German writer and political thinker. He believed that history was dominated by class struggle – conflict between the different classes in society.
- In Marxist theory the first change brought about by the class struggle would be the middle classes taking control from the monarchy and aristocracy.
- There would then be a revolution in which the workers (the proletariat) would overthrow the middle classes.
- For a short while the Communist Party would rule on behalf of the people, but as selfish desires disappeared there would be no need for any government.
- All would live in a peaceful, Communist society.

Focus Task

Russian society and government in 1914

Look carefully at Source 10. It was drawn by opponents of the Tsar's regime who had been forced to live in Switzerland to avoid the Tsar's secret police. It is a representation of life in Russia under the rule of the Tsar. Discuss how far you think it is an accurate view of Russian society. Think about:

- ◆ ways in which its claims are supported by the information and sources in the text
- ◆ ways in which its claims are not supported by the information and sources in the text
- ◆ aspects of life in Russia that are not covered by the drawing.

- 5 Read the section headed 'Opposition to the Tsar'. Is there anything the Cadets, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and the Social Democratic Party might agree on?
- 6 Look again at Source 7. Do you think the Tsar would listen to the ideas of the Cadets?

Opposition to the Tsar

Despite the power of the Tsar's government he did face opposition. In 1905 Russia was almost overwhelmed by a wave of strikes and rebellions which turned into a full-scale revolution. The Tsar survived by offering concessions to the middle classes in the form of a Duma (an elected Parliament), the right to free speech and the right to form political parties. These concessions divided his opponents and he was then able to crush the peasant rebellions in the countryside and the working-class rebels in the cities. For a short while it seemed that Russia was at peace, but this did not last. By 1914 there was still a great deal of discontent and unrest in Russia.

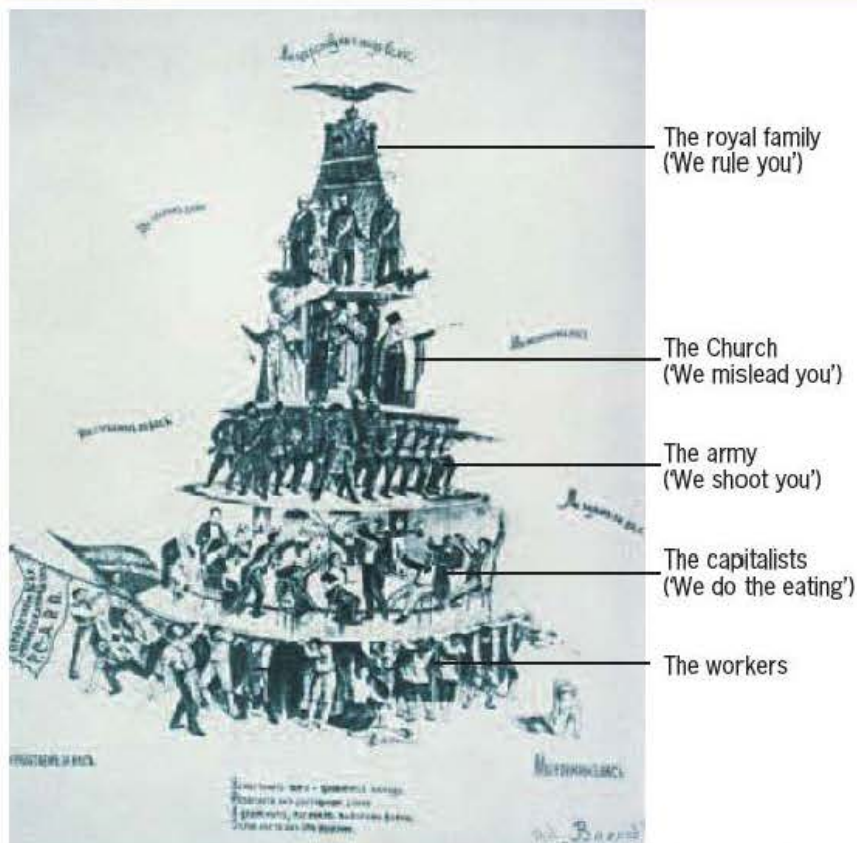
The opposition came from three important groups.

- Middle-class reformers in the Duma. Many middle-class people wanted greater democracy in Russia and pointed out that Britain still had a king but also a powerful parliament. These people were called liberals or 'Cadets'.

Two other groups were more violently opposed to the Tsar. They believed that revolution was the answer to the people's troubles.

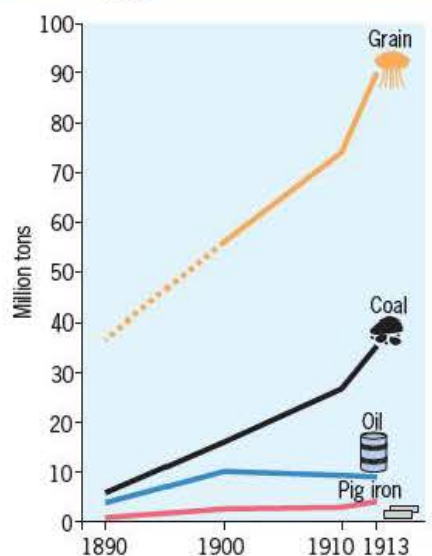
- The Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) were a radical movement. Their main aim was to carve up the huge estates of the nobility and hand them over to the peasants. They believed in a violent struggle and were responsible for the assassination of two government officials, as well as the murder of a large number of Okhrana (police) agents and spies. They had wide support in the towns and the countryside.
- The Social Democratic Party was a smaller but more disciplined party which followed the ideas of Karl Marx. In 1903 the party split itself into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The Bolsheviks (led by Lenin) believed it was the job of the party to create a revolution whereas the Mensheviks believed Russia was not ready for revolution. Both of these organisations were illegal and many of their members had been executed or sent in exile to Siberia. Many of the leading Social Democrat leaders were forced to live abroad.

SOURCE 10



Cartoon showing the Tsarist system. This was published in Switzerland by exiled opponents of the Tsar.

SOURCE 11



Agricultural and industrial production, 1890–1913.

- 1 What does Source 12 suggest about the attitude of the Tsar and the members of his court to the idea of the 'people' being more involved in running the country?
- 2 What does Source 13 suggest about working people's attitudes to the Tsar's regime?

SOURCE 13

Year	Strikes	Strikers
1905	13,995	2,863,173
1906	6,114	1,108,406
1907	3,573	740,074
1908	892	176,101
1909	340	64,166
1910	222	46,623
1911	466	105,110
1912	2,032	725,491
1913	2,404	887,096
1914	3,534	1,337,458

These figures were compiled by the Tsar's Ministry of Trade and Industry.

SOURCE 14

Let those in power make no mistake about the mood of the people . . . never were the Russian people . . . so profoundly revolutionised by the actions of the government, for day by day, faith in the government is steadily waning . . .

Guchkov, a Russian conservative in the Duma, 1913. By 1913, even staunch supporters of the Tsar were beginning to want change.

How secure was the Tsar's government by 1914?

The Tsar survived the 1905 revolution, but some serious questions remained. The most serious was the possibility of another revolution. If he was to prevent this, Nicholas needed to reform Russia and satisfy at least some of the discontented groups that had joined the revolution in 1905. The Duma deputies who gathered for its first meeting in 1906 were hopeful that they could help to steer Russia on a new course. They were soon disappointed (see Source 12). The Tsar continued to rule without taking any serious notice of them. The first and second Dumas were very critical of the Tsar. They lasted less than a year before Nicholas sent them home. In 1907 Tsar Nicholas changed the voting rules so that his opponents were not elected to the Duma. This third Duma lasted until 1912, mainly because it was much less critical of the Tsar than the previous two. But by 1912 even this 'loyal' Duma was becoming critical of the Tsar's ministers and policies. However, it had no power to change the Tsar's policies and criticism alone was not a serious threat to the regime so the Tsar's rule continued.

SOURCE 12

The two hostile sides stood confronting each other. The old and grey court dignitaries, keepers of etiquette and tradition, looked across in a haughty manner, though not without fear and confusion, at 'the people of the street', whom the revolution had swept into the palace, and quietly whispered to one another. The other side looked across at them with no less disdain or contempt.

The court side of the ball resounded with orchestrated cheers as the Tsar approached the throne. But the Duma deputies remained completely silent. It was a natural expression of our feelings towards the monarch, who in the twelve years of his reign had managed to destroy all the prestige of his predecessors. The feeling was mutual: not once did the Tsar glance towards the Duma side of the ball. Sitting on the throne he delivered a short, perfunctory speech in which he promised to uphold the principles of autocracy 'with unwavering firmness' and, in a tone of obvious insincerity, greeted the Duma deputies as 'the best people' of his Empire. With that he got up to leave.

As the royal procession filed out of the ball, tears could be seen on the face of the Tsar's mother, the Dowager Empress. It had been a 'terrible ceremony' she later confided to the Minister of Finance. For several days she had been unable to calm herself from the shock of seeing so many commoners inside the palace.

From the memoirs of Duma deputy Obolensky, published in 1925. He is describing the first session of the Duma in April 1906.

Stolypin

In 1906 the Tsar appointed a tough new Prime Minister – Peter Stolypin. Stolypin used a 'carrot and stick' approach to the problems of Russia.

The stick: He came down hard on strikers, protesters and revolutionaries. Over 20,000 were exiled and over 1,000 hanged (the noose came to be known as 'Stolypin's necktie'). This brutal suppression effectively killed off opposition to the regime in the countryside until after 1914.

The carrot: Stolypin also tried to win over the peasants with the 'carrot' they had always wanted – land. He allowed wealthier peasants, the kulaks, to opt out of the mir communes and buy up land. These kulaks prospered and in the process created larger and more efficient farms. Production did increase significantly (see Source 11). On the other hand, 90 per cent of land in the fertile west of Russia was still run by inefficient communes in 1916. Farm sizes remained small even in Ukraine, Russia's best farmland. Most peasants still lived in the conditions you saw in the sources on page 138.

Stolypin also tried to boost Russia's industries. There was impressive economic growth between 1908 and 1911. But Russia was still far behind modern industrial powers such as Britain, Germany and the USA. Urban workers' wages stayed low and the cost of food and housing stayed high. Living and working conditions remained appalling (see page 139).

- 3 Make two lists:
- a) Stolypin's achievements
 - b) Stolypin's failings.
- 4 If you were a senior adviser to the Tsar, which of Sources 11–15 would worry you most? Explain your answer.

The profits being made by industry were going to the capitalists, or they were being paid back to banks in France which had loaned the money to pay for much of Russia's industrial growth.

Stolypin was assassinated in 1911, but the Tsar was about to sack him anyway. He worried that Stolypin was trying to change Russia too much. Nicholas had already blocked some of Stolypin's plans for basic education for the people and regulations to protect factory workers. The Tsar was influenced by the landlords and members of the court. They saw Stolypin's reforms as a threat to the traditional Russian society in which everyone knew their place.

Relations between the Tsar and his people became steadily worse. The economy took a downturn in 1912, causing unemployment and hunger. The year 1913 saw huge celebrations for the three hundredth anniversary of the Romanovs' rule in Russia. The celebrations were meant to bring the country together, but enthusiasm was limited.

Focus Task

How well was Russia governed in 1914?

- 1 Here are five characteristics that you might expect of a good government:
- ◆ trying to improve the lives of all its people
 - ◆ building up its agriculture and industry
 - ◆ listening to and responding to its population
 - ◆ running the country efficiently
 - ◆ defending the country from enemies.
- On a scale of 1–5, say how well you think the Tsarist government did on each one up to 1914. Explain your reason for giving that score. Your teacher can give you a worksheet to help you.
- 2 Now make a list of the successes and failures of the Tsarist government up to 1914.
- 3 Which of the following assessments do you most agree with? By 1913 the government was:
- ◆ in crisis
 - ◆ strong but with some serious weaknesses
 - ◆ secure with only minor weaknesses.

SOURCE 15



Tsar Nicholas at the 1913 celebrations of 300 years of Romanov rule. This was the first time since 1905 that the Tsar had appeared in public.

SOURCE 16



A Russian cartoon. The caption reads: 'The Russian Tsars at home.'

The government tried other measures to get the people behind them, such as discrimination and even violence against Jews, Muslims and other minorities. This had little effect, and discontent grew, especially among the growing industrial working class in the cities. Strikes were on the rise (see Source 13), including the highly publicised Lena gold field strike where troops opened fire on striking miners. However, the army and police dealt with these problems and so, to its opponents, the government must have seemed firmly in control.

Strangely, some of the government's supporters were less sure about the government (see Source 14). Industrialists were concerned by the way in which the Tsar preferred to appoint loyal but unimaginative ministers such as Goremykin.

Rasputin

Some of the Tsar's supporters were particularly alarmed about the influence of a strange and dangerous figure — Gregory Yefimovich, generally known as Rasputin. The Tsar's son Alexis was very ill with a blood disease called haemophilia. Through hypnosis, it appeared that Rasputin could control the disease. He was greeted as a miracle worker by the Tsarina (the Tsar's wife). Before long, Rasputin was also giving her and the Tsar advice on how to run the country. People in Russia were very suspicious of Rasputin. He was said to be a drinker and a womaniser. His name means 'disreputable'. The Tsar's opponents seized on Rasputin as a sign of the Tsar's weakness and unfitness to rule Russia. The fact that the Tsar either didn't notice their concern or, worse still, didn't care showed just how out of touch he was.

- 5 Look at Source 16. How does the cartoonist suggest that Rasputin is an evil influence on the Tsar and Tsarina?

Focus Task

How did the First World War weaken the Tsar's government?

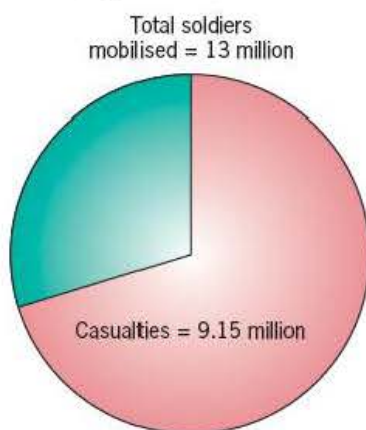
The First World War had a massive impact on Russia. Your task is to use the material on pages 144–46 to present an overview of how the war affected four different groups of people in Russian society. The groups are:

- ◆ the army
- ◆ the workers
- ◆ the middle classes
- ◆ the aristocracy.

- 1 As you read through pages 144–46 you will find out about the impact of the war on each group. Write a paragraph or series of notes summarising the impact of war on each group.
- 2 Organise your work as a presentation. You could use OHT acetates or computer presentation software. Do some research to locate pictures that support your presentation.

- 1 Was the Tsar's decision to take command of the army evidence that he was out of touch with the situation? Explain your answer.
- 2 Why were the Bolsheviks successful at gaining recruits in the army?

SOURCE 18



Russian casualties in the First World War.

War and revolution

In August 1914 Russia entered the First World War. Tensions in the country seemed to disappear. The Tsar seemed genuinely popular with his people and there was an instant display of patriotism. The Tsar's action was applauded. Workers, peasants and aristocrats all joined in the patriotic enthusiasm. Anti-government strikes and demonstrations were abandoned. The good feeling, however, was very short-lived. As the war continued, the Tsar began to lose the support of key sectors of Russian society.

The army

The Russian army was a huge army of conscripts. At first, the soldiers were enthusiastic, as was the rest of society. Even so, many peasants felt that they were fighting to defend their country against the Germans rather than showing any loyalty to the Tsar. Russian soldiers fought bravely, but they stood little chance against the German army. They were badly led and treated appallingly by their aristocrat officers. They were also poorly supported by the industries at home. They were short of rifles, ammunition, artillery and shells. Many did not even have boots.

The Tsar took personal command of the armed forces in September 1915. This made little difference to the war, since Nicholas was not a particularly able commander. However, it did mean that people held Nicholas personally responsible for the defeats and the blunders. The defeats and huge losses continued throughout 1916. It is not surprising that by 1917 there was deep discontent in the army and that many soldiers were supporters of the revolutionary Bolshevik Party.

SOURCE 17

The army had neither wagons nor horses nor first aid supplies . . . We visited the Warsaw station where there were about 17,000 men wounded in battle. At the station we found a terrible scene: on the platform in dirt, filth and cold, on the ground, even without straw, wounded men, who filled the air with heart-rending cries, dolefully asked: 'For God's sake order them to dress our wounds. For five days we have not been attended to.'

From a report by Michael Rodzianko, President of the Duma.

SOURCE 19

Again that cursed question of shortage of artillery and rifle ammunition stands in the way of an energetic advance. If we should have three days of serious fighting, we might run out of ammunition altogether. Without new rifles, it is impossible to fill up the gaps.

Tsar Nicholas to his wife Alexandra, July 1915.

Peasants, workers and the ethnic minorities

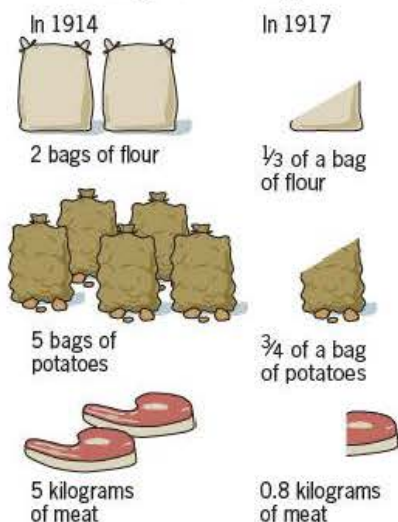
It did not take long for the strain of war to alienate the peasants and the workers. The huge casualty figures took their toll. In August 1916, the local governor of the village of Grushevka reported that the war had killed thirteen per cent of the population of the village. This left many widows and orphans needing state war pensions which they did not always receive.

Despite the losses, food production remained high until 1916. By then, the government could not always be relied on to pay for the food produced. The government planned to take food by force but abandoned the idea because it feared it might spark a widespread revolt. There actually was a revolt in central Asian Russia when the Tsar tried to conscript Muslims into the army. It was brutally suppressed by the army.

By 1916 there was much discontent in the cities. War contracts created an extra 3.5 million industrial jobs between 1914 and 1916. The workers got little in the way of extra wages. They also had to cope with even worse overcrowding than before the war. There were fuel shortages. There were also food shortages. What made it worse was that there was enough food and fuel, but it could not be transported to the cities. The rail network could not cope with the needs of the army, industry and the populations of the cities. As 1916 turned into 1917, many working men and women stood and shivered in bread queues and cursed the Tsar.

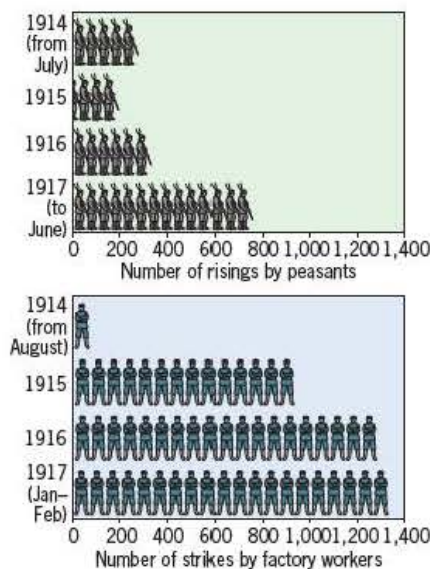
SOURCE 20

The average worker's wage in 1917 was 5 roubles a day. This would buy you:



Prices in Russia, 1914–17.

SOURCE 21



Peasant risings and strikes, 1914–17.

SOURCE 22

Everybody was fed up with the Tsar because they felt he was weak. When he abdicated, there was great rejoicing. Everybody thought things would be much better.

Margot Tracey, the daughter of wealthy Russian capitalists, describing feelings towards the Tsar in 1917.

- 3 Imagine you are an adviser to the Tsar in 1916. Which of the sources on pages 144–45 would give you most concern? Explain your answer.

The middle classes

The middle classes did not suffer in the same way as the peasants and workers, but they too were unhappy with the Tsar by the end of 1916. Many middle-class activists in the zemstva were appalled by reports such as Source 17. They set up their own medical organisations along the lines of the modern Red Cross, or joined war committees to send other supplies to the troops. These organisations were generally far more effective than the government agencies. By 1916 many industrialists were complaining that they could not fulfil their war contracts because of a shortage of raw materials (especially metals) and fuel. In 1915 an alliance of Duma politicians, the Progressive Bloc, had urged the Tsar to work with them in a more representative style of government that would unite the people. The Tsar dismissed the Duma a month later.

The aristocracy

The situation was so bad by late 1916 that the Council of the United Nobility was calling for the Tsar to step down. The junior officers in the army had suffered devastating losses in the war. Many of these officers were the future of the aristocrat class. The conscription of 13 million peasants also threatened aristocrats' livelihoods, because they had no workers for their estates. Most of all, many of the leading aristocrats were appalled by the influence of Rasputin over the government of Russia. When the Tsar left Petrograd (the new Russian version of the Germanic name St Petersburg) to take charge of the army, he left his wife in control of the country. The fact that she was German started rumours flying in the capital. There were also rumours of an affair between her and Rasputin. Ministers were dismissed and then replaced. The concerns were so serious that a group of leading aristocrats murdered Rasputin in December 1916.

SOURCE 23

I asked for an audience and was received by him [the Tsar] on March 8th. 'I must tell Your Majesty that this cannot continue much longer. No one opens your eyes to the true role which this man is playing. His presence in Your Majesty's court undermines confidence in the Supreme Power and may have an evil effect on the fate of the dynasty and turn the hearts of the people from their Emperor'. . . My report did some good. On March 11th an order was issued sending Rasputin to Tobolsk; but a few days later, at the demand of the Empress, this order was cancelled.

M Rodzianko, President of the Duma, March 1916.

The March revolution

As 1917 dawned, few people had great hopes for the survival of the Tsar's regime. In January strikes broke out all over Russia. In February the strikes spread. They were supported and even joined by members of the army. The Tsar's best troops lay dead on the battlefields. These soldiers were recent conscripts and had more in common with the strikers than their officers. On 7 March workers at the Putilov steelworks in Petrograd went on strike. They joined with thousands of women – it was International Women's Day – and other discontented workers demanding that the government provide bread. From 7 to 10 March the number of striking workers rose to 250,000. Industry came to a standstill. The Duma set up a Provisional Committee to take over the government. The Tsar ordered them to disband. They refused. On 12 March the Tsar ordered his army to put down the revolt by force. They refused. This was the decisive moment. Some soldiers even shot their own officers and joined the demonstrators. They marched to the Duma demanding that they take over the government. Reluctantly, the Duma leaders accepted – they had always wanted reform rather than revolution, but now there seemed no choice.

On the same day, revolutionaries set up the Petrograd Soviet again, and began taking control of food supplies to the city. They set up soldiers' committees, undermining the authority of the officers. It was not clear who was in charge of Russia, but it was obvious that the Tsar was not! On 15 March he issued a statement that he was abdicating. There was an initial plan for his brother Michael to take over, but Michael refused: Russia had finished with Tsars.

Focus Task A

How important was the war in the collapse of the Tsarist regime?

Historians have furiously debated this question since the revolution took place. There are two main views:

View 1

The Tsar's regime was basically stable up to 1914, even if it had some important problems to deal with. It was making steady progress towards becoming a modern state, but this progress was destroyed by the coming of war. Don't forget that this war was so severe that it also brought Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey to their knees as well.



View 2

The regime in Russia was cursed with a weak Tsar, a backward economy and a class of aristocrats who were not prepared to share their power and privileges with the millions of ordinary Russians. Revolution was only a matter of time. The war did not cause it, although it may have speeded up the process.

Divide the class into two groups.

One group has to find evidence and arguments to support View 1, the other to support View 2.

You could compare notes in a class discussion or organise a formal debate. You may even be able to compare your views with students in other schools using email conferencing.

SOURCE 24

One company of the Pavlovsky Regiment's reserve battalion had declared on 26 February that it would not fire on people . . . We have just received a telegram from the Minister of War stating that the rebels have seized the most important buildings in all parts of the city. Due to fatigue and propaganda the troops have laid down their arms, passed to the side of the rebels or become neutral . . .

General Alekseyev, February 1917.

Focus Task B

Why was the March 1917 revolution successful?

The Tsar faced a major revolution in 1905 but he survived. Why was 1917 different? Why was he not able to survive in 1917?



Failures in the war



The mutiny in the army



Duma setting up alternative parliament



Discontent in the countryside



Formation of soviets



Strikes



Food shortages



The Tsarina and Rasputin

Stage 1

- 1 Copy the headings in this diagram. They show eight reasons why the Tsar was forced to abdicate in March 1917.
- 2 For each of the factors, write one or two sentences explaining how it contributed to the fall of the Tsar.
- 3 Draw lines between any of the factors that seem to be connected. Label your line explaining what the link is.

Stage 2

- 4 In pairs or small groups, discuss the following points:
 - a) Which factors were present in 1905?
 - b) Were these same factors more or less serious than in 1905?
 - c) Which factors were not present in 1905?
 - d) Were the new factors decisive in making the March 1917 revolution successful?

The Provisional Government

Russia's problems were not solved by the abdication of the Tsar. The Duma's Provisional Committee took over government. It faced three overwhelmingly urgent decisions:

- to continue the war or make peace
- to distribute land to the peasants (who had already started taking it) or ask them to wait until elections had been held
- how best to get food to the starving workers in the cities.

The Provisional Government was a mixed group. While it included men such as the lawyer Alexander Kerensky – Justice Minister in the Provisional Government but also a respected member of the Petrograd Soviet – it also included angry revolutionaries who had no experience of government at all. The Provisional Government promised Russia's allies that it would continue the war, while trying to settle the situation in Russia. It also urged the peasants to be restrained and wait for elections before taking any land. The idea was that the Provisional Government could then stand down and allow free elections to take place to elect a new Constituent Assembly that would fairly and democratically represent the people of Russia. It was a very cautious message for a people who had just gone through a revolution.

SOURCE 25

The Provisional Government should do nothing now which would break our ties with the allies. The worst thing that could happen to us would be separate peace. It would be ruinous for the Russian revolution, ruinous for international democracy . . .

As to the land question, we regard it as our duty at the present to prepare the ground for a just solution of the problem by the Constituent Assembly.

A Provisional Government Minister explains why Russia should stay in the war, 1917.

However, the Provisional Government was not the only possible government. Most workers also paid close attention to the Petrograd Soviet. The Soviet had the support of workers in key industries such as coal mining and water, and the support of much of the army. During the crisis months of spring 1917, the Soviet and Provisional Government worked together.

One man was determined to push the revolution further. He was Lenin, leader of the Bolsheviks (see page 151). When he heard of the March revolution he immediately returned to Russia from exile in Europe. The Germans even provided him with a special train, hoping that he might cause more chaos in Russia!

When Lenin arrived at Petrograd station, he set out the Bolshevik programme in his April Theses. He urged the people to support the Bolsheviks in a second revolution. Lenin's slogans 'Peace, Land and Bread' and 'All power to the soviets' contrasted sharply with the cautious message of the Provisional Government. Support for the Bolsheviks increased quickly (see Sources 26 and 27), particularly in the soviets and in the army.

SOURCE 27

The Bolshevik speaker would ask the crowd 'Do you need more land?

'Do you have as much land as the landlords do?

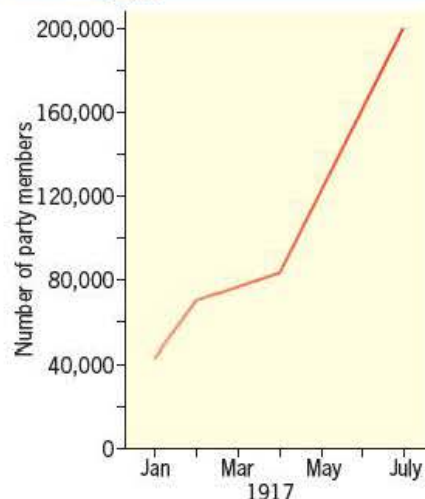
'But will the Kerensky government give you land? No, never. It protects the interests of the landlords. Only our party, the Bolsheviks, will immediately give you land . . .'

Several times I tried to take the floor and explain that the Bolsheviks make promises which they can never fulfil. I used figures from farming statistics to prove my point; but I saw that the crowded square was unsuitable for this kind of discussion.

A Menshevik writer, summer 1917.

1 Read Source 25. How popular do you think the Provisional Government's policies on
a) the war
b) land
would be with the peasants and the soldiers?

SOURCE 26



Growth of Bolshevik support, 1917.

SOURCE 28

The German offensive, which began on 6 July, is turning into an immense catastrophe which may threaten revolutionary Russia with ruin. A sudden and disastrous change has occurred in the attitude of the troops . . . Authority and obedience no longer exist . . . for hundreds of miles one can see deserters, armed and unarmed, in good health and in high spirits, certain they will not be punished.

A Russian officer reporting back to the Provisional Government, 1917.

In the second half of 1917, the Provisional Government's authority steadily collapsed.

- The war effort was failing. Soldiers had been deserting in thousands from the army. Kerensky became Minister for War and rallied the army for a great offensive in June. It was a disaster. The army began to fall apart in the face of a German counter-attack (see Source 28). The deserters decided to come home.
- Desertions were made worse because another element of the Provisional Government's policy had failed. The peasants ignored the orders of the government to wait. They were simply taking control of the countryside. The soldiers, who were mostly peasants, did not want to miss their turn when the land was shared out.

The Provisional Government's problems got worse in the summer. In July (the 'July Days'), Bolshevik-led protests against the war turned into a rebellion. However, when Kerensky produced evidence that Lenin had been helped by the Germans, support for the rebellion fell. Lenin, in disguise, fled to Finland. Kerensky used troops to crush the rebellion and took over the government.

SOURCE 29

The Provisional Government possesses no real power and its orders are executed only in so far as this is permitted by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which holds in its hands the most important elements of actual power, such as troops, railroads, postal and telegraph service . . .

A letter from Guchkov, Minister for War in the Provisional Government, to General Alekseyev, 22 March 1917.

SOURCE 30



Troops loyal to the Provisional Government fire on Bolshevik demonstrators during the July Days.

Kerensky was in a very difficult situation. The upper and middle classes expected him to restore order. By this time, however, real power lay with the soviets, especially the Petrograd Soviet. It had a Bolshevik majority and a Bolshevik chairman – Leon Trotsky. It also had the support of much of the army and all industrial workers.

Meanwhile, there was little reason for the ordinary people of Russia to be grateful to the Provisional Government (see Sources 31 and 32).

SOURCE 31

Cabs and horse-drawn carriages began to disappear. Street-car service was erratic. The railway stations filled with tramps and deserting soldiers, often drunk, sometimes threatening. The police force had vanished in the first days of the Revolution. Now 'revolutionary order' was over. Hold-ups and robberies became the order of the day. Politically, signs of chaos were everywhere.

HE Salisbury, Russia in Revolution.

SOURCE 32

Week by week food became scarcer . . . one had to queue for long hours in the chill rain . . . Think of the poorly clad people standing on the streets of Petrograd for whole days in the Russian winter! I have listened in the bread-lines, bearing the bitter discontent which from time to time burst through the miraculous good nature of the Russian crowd.

John Reed, an American writer who lived in Petrograd in 1917.

Others were also fed up with the Provisional Government. In September 1917, the army leader Kornilov marched his troops towards Moscow, intending to get rid of the Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government, and restore order. Kerensky was in an impossible situation. He had some troops who supported him but they were no match for Kornilov's. Kerensky turned to the only group which could save him: his Bolshevik opponents, who dominated the Petrograd Soviet. The Bolsheviks organised themselves into an army which they called the Red Guards. Kornilov's troops refused to fight members of the Soviet so Kornilov's plans collapsed.

But it was hardly a victory for Kerensky. In fact, by October Kerensky's government was doomed. It had tried to carry on the war and failed. It had therefore lost the army's support. It had tried to stop the peasants from taking over the land and so lost their support too. Without peasant support it had failed to bring food into the towns and food prices had spiralled upwards. This had lost the government any support it had from the urban workers.

In contrast, the Bolsheviks were promising what the people wanted most (bread, peace, land). It was the Bolsheviks who had removed the threat of Kornilov. By the end of September 1917, there were Bolshevik majorities in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, and in most of Russia's other major towns and cities.

What do you think happened next?

Focus Task

How effective was the Provisional Government?

- 1 Here is a list of some decisions that faced the Provisional Government when it took over in March 1917:
 - a) what to do about the war
 - b) what to do about land
 - c) what to do about food.
 For each one, say how the government dealt with it, and what the result of the action was.
- 2 Based on your answers to question 1, how effective do you think the Provisional Government was? Give it a mark out of ten.
- 3 Read through pages 147–49 again. Look for evidence of how the actions of these opponents harmed the Provisional Government:
 - ◆ members of the soviets
 - ◆ Bolsheviks
 - ◆ General Kornilov.
- 4 Based on your answers to question 3, would you revise the score you gave the government in question 2?
- 5 Now reach an overview score. Out of ten, how effective was the Provisional Government? Write a paragraph to explain your score.

The Bolshevik Revolution

SOURCE 33

The Provisional Government has been overthrown. The cause for which the people have fought has been made safe: the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the end of land owners' rights, workers' control over production, the creation of a Soviet government. Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants.

Proclamation of the Petrograd Soviet,
8 November 1917.

You have seen how Bolshevik support increased throughout 1917. By the end of October 1917, Lenin was convinced that the time was right for the Bolsheviks to seize power. Lenin convinced the other Bolsheviks to act swiftly. It was not easy — leading Bolsheviks like Bukharin felt that Russia was not ready, but neither he nor any other Bolshevik could match Lenin in an argument.

During the night of 6 November, the Red Guards led by Leon Trotsky took control of post offices, bridges and the State Bank. On 7 November, Kerensky awoke to find the Bolsheviks were in control of most of Petrograd. Through the day, with almost no opposition, the Red Guards continued to take over railway stations and other important targets. On the evening of 7 November, they stormed the Winter Palace (again, without much opposition) and arrested the ministers of the Provisional Government. Kerensky managed to escape and tried to rally loyal troops. When this failed, he fled into exile. On 8 November an announcement was made to the Russian people (see Source 33).

SOURCE 34



The Bolsheviks storm the Winter Palace. A painting from 1937.

- 1 When the Bolsheviks stormed the Winter Palace, they actually faced very little resistance. Why do you think the artist who painted Source 34 suggests that they did?

An analysis of the Bolshevik Revolution

Despite what they claimed, the Bolsheviks did not have the support of the majority of the Russian people. So how were they able to carry out their takeover in November 1917? The unpopularity of the Provisional Government was a critical factor — there were no massive demonstrations demanding the return of Kerensky!

A second factor was that the Bolsheviks were a disciplined party dedicated to revolution, even though not all the Bolshevik leaders believed this was the right way to change Russia. The Bolsheviks had some 800,000 members, and their supporters were also in the right places. At least half of the army supported them, as did the sailors at the important naval base at Kronstadt near Petrograd. (The Bolsheviks were still the only party demanding that Russia should pull out of the war.) The major industrial centres, and the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets especially, were also pro-Bolshevik. The Bolsheviks also had some outstanding personalities in their ranks, particularly Trotsky and their leader Lenin.

Activity

Lenin and Trotsky

Work individually or in pairs, taking one personality each.

- 1 Using Sources 35–37, add extra details to the profile of Lenin:
 - why Lenin appealed to people
 - his personal qualities
 - his strengths as a leader.
- 2 Now do the same for Trotsky (see page 152).
- 3 Finally, write a short report on the contribution of each individual to the Bolsheviks' success in 1917.

Profile

Vladimir Ilich Lenin



- Born 1870 into a respectable Russian family.
- Brother hanged in 1887 for plotting against the Tsar.
- Graduated from St Petersburg University after being thrown out of Kazan University for his political beliefs.
- One of the largest Okhrana files was about him!
- Exiled to Siberia 1897–1900.
- 1900–1905 lived in various countries writing the revolutionary newspaper 'Iskra' ('The Spark').
- Took part in the 1905 revolution but was forced to flee.
- Returned to Russia after the first revolution in 1917.
- Led the Bolsheviks to power in November 1917.

SOURCE 35

This extraordinary figure was first and foremost a professional revolutionary. He had no other occupation. A man of iron will and inflexible ambition, he was absolutely ruthless and used human beings as mere material for his purpose. Short and sturdy with a bald head, small beard and deep set eyes, Lenin looked like a small tradesman. When he spoke at meetings his ill-fitting suit, his crooked tie, his ordinary appearance disposed the crowd in his favour. 'He is not one of the gentlefolk, he is one of us,' they would say.

The Times, writing about Lenin after his death, 1924.

SOURCE 36

Lenin . . . was the overall planner of the revolution: he also dealt with internal divisions within the party and provided tight control, and a degree of discipline and unity which the other parties lacked.

SJ Lee, *The European Dictatorships*, 1987.

SOURCE 37

The struggle was headed by Lenin who guided the Party's Central Committee, the editorial board of Pravda, and who kept in touch with the Party organisations in the provinces . . . He frequently addressed mass rallies and meetings. Lenin's appearance on the platform inevitably triggered off the cheers of the audience. Lenin's brilliant speeches inspired the workers and soldiers to a determined struggle.

Soviet historian Y Kukushkin, *History of the USSR*, 1981.

Profile

Leon Trotsky



- Born 1879 into a respectable and prosperous Jewish farming family.
- Exceptionally bright at school and brilliant at university.
- Politically active – arrested in 1900 and deported to Siberia.
- Escaped to London in 1902 and met Lenin there.
- Joined the Social Democratic Party, but supported the Menshevik wing rather than the Bolsheviks.
- Played an important role in organising strikes in the 1905 revolution – imprisoned for his activities.
- Escaped in 1907 and became a Bolshevik activist in the years before the First World War.
- Published two Bolshevik newspapers, including 'Pravda'.
- In 1917 he returned to Russia and played a key role in the Bolshevik Revolution.
- In 1918 he became the Commissar for War and led the Bolsheviks to victory in the Civil War which broke out in 1918.

SOURCE 38

The Bolshevik party was greatly strengthened by Trotsky's entry into the party. No one else in the leadership came anywhere near him as a public speaker, and for much of the revolutionary period it was this that made Trotsky, perhaps even more so than Lenin, the best known Bolshevik leader in the country. Whereas Lenin remained the master strategist of the party, working mainly behind the scenes, Trotsky became its principal source of public inspiration. During the weeks leading up to the seizure of power he spoke almost every night before a packed house . . .

He was careful always to use examples and comparisons from the real life of the audience. This gave his speeches a familiarity and earned Trotsky the popular reputation of being 'one of us'. It was this that gave him the power to master the crowd, even sometimes when it was extremely hostile.

Historian Orlando Figes, a leading international expert on the Russian Revolution, writing in 1996.

SOURCE 39

Now that the great revolution has come, one feels that however intelligent Lenin may be he begins to fade beside the genius of Trotsky.

Mikhail Uritsky, 1917. Uritsky was a Bolshevik activist and went on to play an important role in Bolshevik governments after 1917.

SOURCE 40

Under the influence of his tremendous activity and blinding success, certain people close to Trotsky were even inclined to see in him the real leader of the Russian revolution . . . It is true that during that period, after the thunderous success of his arrival in Russia and before the July days, Lenin did keep rather in the background, not speaking often, not writing much, but largely engaged in directing organisational work in the Bolshevik camp, whilst Trotsky thundered forth at meetings in Petrograd. Trotsky's most obvious gifts were his talents as an orator and as a writer. I regard Trotsky as probably the greatest orator of our age. In my time I have heard all the greatest parliamentarians and popular tribunes of socialism and very many famous orators of the bourgeois world and I would find it difficult to name any of them whom I could put in the same class as Trotsky.

From *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, by Anatoly Lunacharsky, published in 1918. The book was a series of portraits of leading revolutionaries. The author was a Bolshevik activist and knew Lenin and Trotsky well.

Focus Task

Why were the Bolsheviks successful?

- 1 Read Source 41.

SOURCE 41

The [November] Revolution has often and widely been held to have been mainly Lenin's revolution. But was it? Certainly Lenin had a heavier impact on the course [of events] than anyone else. The point is, however, that great historical changes are brought about not only by individuals. There were other mighty factors at work as well in Russia in 1917 . . . Lenin simply could not have done or even co-ordinated everything.

Historian Robert Service, writing in 1990.

- 2 What do you think the writer had in mind when he said there were 'other mighty factors at work'? Make your own list of these factors.
- 3 Write two or more paragraphs to explain the importance of these factors.

Factfile

Bolshevik decrees, 1917

8 November

- Land belonging to Tsar, Church and nobles handed over to peasants.
- Russia asked for peace with Germany.

12 November

- Working day limited to eight hours; 48-hour week; rules made about overtime and holidays.

14 November

- Workers to be insured against illness or accident.

1 December

- All non-Bolshevik newspapers banned.

11 December

- The opposition Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets) banned; its leaders arrested.

20 December

- Cheka (secret police) set up to deal with 'spies and counter-revolutionaries'.

27 December

- Factories put under control of workers' committees.
- Banks put under Bolshevik government control.

31 December

- Marriages could take place without a priest if desired.
- Divorce made easier.

- 1 Study the Factfile. Which of the Bolshevik decrees would you say aimed to
- keep the peasants happy
 - keep the workers happy
 - increase Bolshevik control
 - improve personal freedom in Russia?

Lenin in power

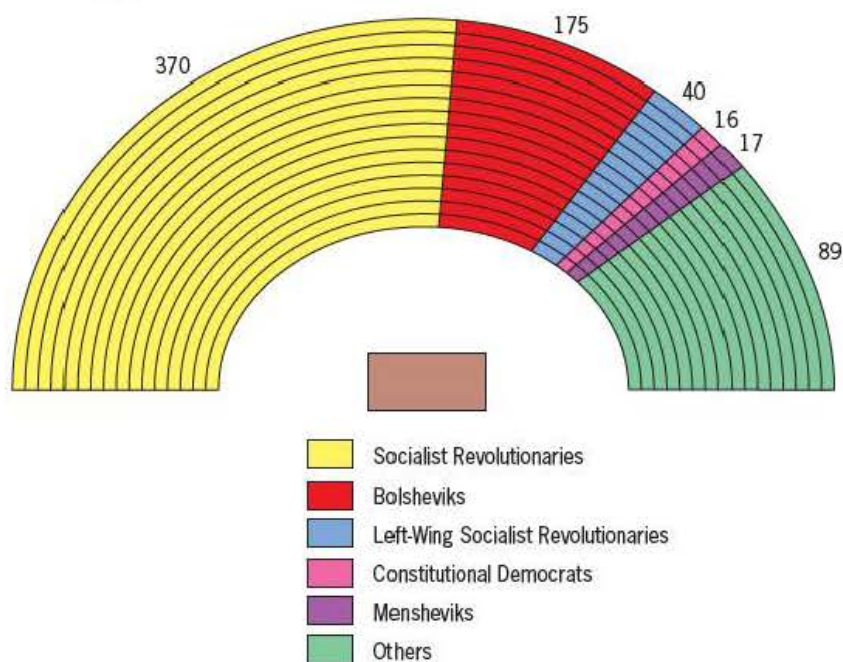
Lenin and the Bolsheviks had promised the people bread, peace and land. Lenin knew that if he failed to deliver, he and the Bolsheviks would suffer the same fate as Kerensky and the Provisional Government.

Lenin immediately set up the Council of People's Commissars (the Sovnarkom). It issued its first decree on 8 November, announcing that Russia was asking for peace with Germany. There followed an enormous number of decrees from the new government that aimed to strengthen the Bolsheviks' hold on power (see Factfile). The peasants were given the Tsar's and the Church's lands. The factories and industries were put into the hands of the workers. The Bolsheviks were given power to deal ruthlessly with their opponents – and they did (see page 155).

The Bolshevik dictatorship

Lenin had also promised free elections to the new Constituent Assembly. Elections were held in late 1917. As Lenin had feared, the Bolsheviks did not gain a majority in the elections. Their rivals, the peasant-based Socialist Revolutionaries, were the biggest party when the Assembly opened on 18 January 1918.

SOURCE 42



The results of the Constituent Assembly elections, 1917.

Lenin solved this problem in his typically direct style. He sent the Red Guards to close down the Assembly. After brief protests (again put down by the Red Guards) the Assembly was forgotten. Lenin instead used the Congress of Soviets to pass his laws as it did contain a Bolshevik majority.

Russia's democratic experiment therefore lasted less than 24 hours, but this did not trouble Lenin's conscience. He believed he was establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat which in time would give way to true Communism.

SOURCE 43



The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918.

SOURCE 44

The bourgeoisie, landholders, and all wealthy classes are making desperate efforts to undermine the revolution which is aiming to safeguard the interests of the toiling and exploited masses . . . The partisans of the bourgeoisie, especially the higher officials, bank clerks, etc., are sabotaging and organising strikes in order to block the government's efforts to reconstruct the state on a socialistic basis. Sabotage has spread even to the food-supply organisations and millions of people are threatened with famine. Special measures must be taken to fight counter-revolution and sabotage.

From a letter written by Lenin in December 1917.

Factfile

The Whites

'Whites' was a very broad term and was applied to any anti-Bolshevik group(s). Whites were made up of:

- Socialist Revolutionaries
- Mensheviks
- supporters of the Tsar
- landlords and capitalists who had lost land or money in the revolution
- the Czech Legion (former prisoners of war).

The Whites were also supported for part of the Civil War by foreign troops from the USA, Japan, France and Britain. They were sent by their governments to force Russia back into war against Germany.

Making peace

The next promise that Lenin had to make good was for peace. He put Trotsky in charge of negotiating a peace treaty. He told Trotsky to try to spin out the peace negotiations as long as possible. He hoped that very soon a socialist revolution would break out in Germany as it had in Russia. By February of 1918, however, there was no revolution and the Germans began to advance again. Lenin had to accept their terms in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918.

The Treaty was a severe blow to Russia. You can see how much land was lost in Source 43, but this was not the whole story. Russia's losses included 34 per cent of its population, 32 per cent of its agricultural land, 54 per cent of its industry, 26 per cent of its railways and 89 per cent of its coalmines. A final blow was the imposition of a fine of 300 million gold roubles. It was another example of Lenin's single-minded leadership. If this much had to be sacrificed to safeguard his revolution, then so be it. He may also have had the foresight to know that he would get it back when Germany lost.

Opposition and Civil War

Lenin's activities in 1917–18 were bound to make him enemies. In fact, in August 1918 he was shot three times by a Socialist Revolutionary agent but had a miraculous escape. In December he set up a secret police force called the Cheka to crush his opponents.

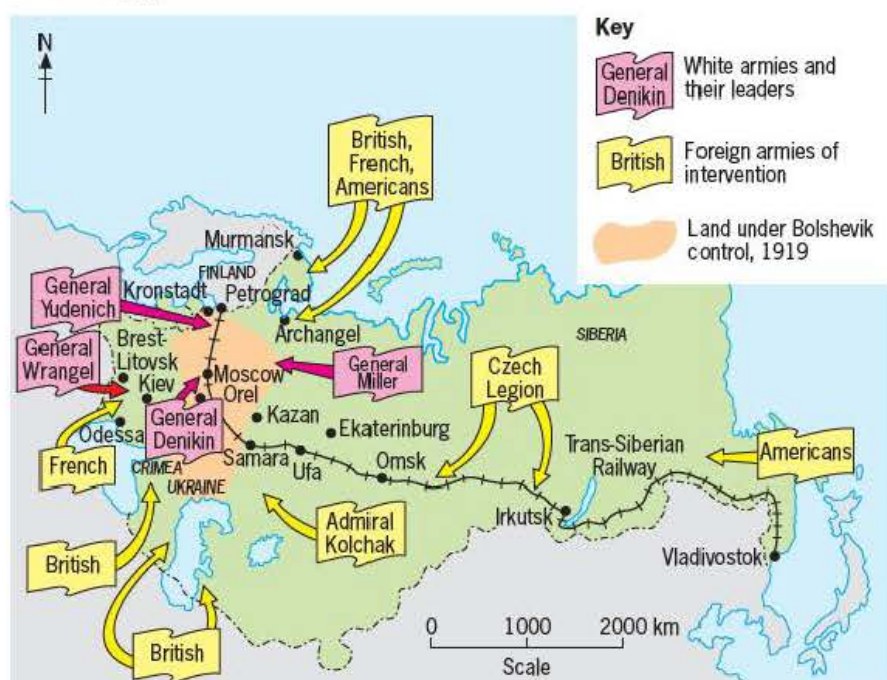
By the end of 1918 an unlikely collection of anti-Bolshevik elements had united in an attempt to crush the Bolsheviks. They became known as the Whites (in contrast to the Bolshevik Reds) and consisted of enemies of the Bolsheviks from inside and outside Russia (see Factfile).

The Bolsheviks' stronghold was in western Russia. Much of the rest of the country was more sympathetic to the Socialist Revolutionary Party.

In March 1918 the Czech Legion seized control of a large section of the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Soon three separate White armies were marching on Bolshevik-controlled western Russia. Generals Yudenich and Denikin marched towards Petrograd and Moscow, while Admiral Kolchak marched on Moscow from central southern Russia.

SOURCE 45



The main developments of the Civil War.

- 1 Read Source 44. What evidence does it provide of Lenin's
- a) political skill
 - b) ruthlessness?

The reaction of the Bolsheviks was ruthless and determined. In an amazingly short time, Leon Trotsky created a new Red Army of over 300,000 men. They were led by former Tsarist officers. Trotsky made sure of their loyalty by holding their families hostage and by appointing political commissars to watch over them. The Cheka (secret police) made sure that nobody in Bolshevik territories co-operated with the Whites. There were many beatings, hangings and shootings of opponents or even suspects in what became known as the Red Terror.

Not even the Tsar escaped. In July 1918, White forces were approaching Ekaterinburg where the Tsar was being held. The Bolshevik commander ordered the execution of the Tsar and his family. Lenin could not risk the Tsar's being rescued and returned as leader of the Whites.

The fighting was savage with both sides committing terrible acts of cruelty. The people who suffered most were the ordinary workers and above all the peasants in the areas where the fighting took place.

SOURCE 46

In the villages the peasant will not give grain to the Bolsheviks because he hates them. Armed companies are sent to take grain from the peasant and every day, all over Russia, fights for grain are fought to a finish.

In the Red Army, for any military offence, there is only one punishment, death. If a regiment retreats against orders, machine guns are turned on them. The position of the bourgeoisie [middle class] defies all description. Payments by the banks have been stopped. It is forbidden to sell furniture. All owners and managers of works, offices and shops have been called up for compulsory labour. In Petrograd hundreds of people are dying from hunger. People are arrested daily and kept in prison for months without trial.

The Red Terror, observed by a British businessman in Russia in 1918.

SOURCE 47

SOURCE 48

Having surrounded the village [the Whites] fired a couple of volleys in the direction of the village and everyone took cover. Then the mounted soldiers entered the village, met the Bolshevik committee and put the members to death . . . After the execution the houses of the culprits were burned and the male population under forty-five whipped . . . Then the population was ordered to deliver without pay the best cattle, pigs, fowl, forage and bread for the soldiers as well as the best horses.

Diary of Colonel Drozdovsky, from his memoirs written in 1923. He was a White commander during the Civil War.



Members of the Red Guard requisition grain from peasants during the Civil War.

- 2 Use Sources 46 and 47 to describe how the Civil War affected ordinary people.
- 3 Do you think Source 47 was painted by opponents or supporters of the Bolsheviks?

Through harsh discipline and brilliant leadership, Trotsky's Red Army began to turn back the White forces. Admiral Kolchak's forces were destroyed towards the end of 1919 and at the same time the foreign 'armies of intervention' withdrew. The Whites were not really a strong alliance, and their armies were unable to work together. Trotsky defeated them one by one. The last major White army was defeated in the Crimea in November 1920. Although scattered outbreaks of fighting continued, by 1921 the Bolsheviks were securely in control of Russia.

Why did the Bolsheviks win the Civil War?

The advantages of the Reds

The Red Army was no match for the armies that were still fighting on the Western Front in 1918. However, compared to the Whites, the Red Army was united and disciplined. It was also brilliantly led by Trotsky.

SOURCE 49



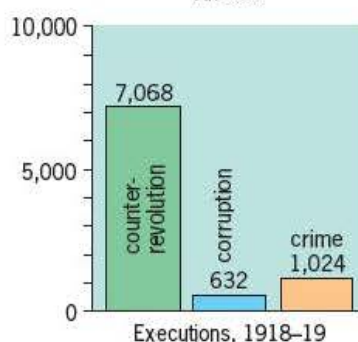
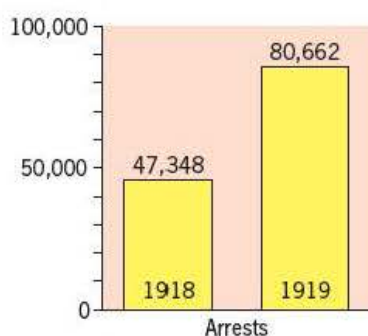
Trotsky's war train. For most of the campaign he travelled on an enormous train, giving orders, rallying the troops or transporting essential supplies.

SOURCE 50



An armoured train in the Civil War. The ability to move troops and supplies securely gave the Bolsheviks a huge advantage.

SOURCE 51



The Red Terror.

SOURCE 52

We were constructing an army all over again and under fire at that . . . What was needed for this? It needed good commanders – a few dozen experienced fighters, a dozen or so Communists ready to make any sacrifice; boots for the bare-footed, a bath house, propaganda, food, underwear, tobacco, matches.

Trotsky writing about the making of the Red Army.

SOURCE 54

For the first time in history the working people have got control of their country. The workers of all countries are striving to achieve this objective. We in Russia have succeeded. We have thrown off the rule of the Tsar, of landlords and of capitalists. But we still have tremendous difficulties to overcome. We cannot build a new society in a day. We ask you, are you going to crush us? To help give Russia back to the landlords, the capitalists and the Tsar?

Red propaganda leaflet, *Why Have You Come to Murmansk?*

SOURCE 53

- 1 Every food requisition detachment is to consist of not less than 75 men and two or three machine guns.
- 2 The food requisition troop detachments shall be deployed in such a manner as to allow two or three detachments to link up quickly.

Instructions to Red Army units for requisitioning grain from the peasants.

The Bolsheviks also kept strict control over their heartlands in western Russia.

- They made sure that the towns and armies were fed, by forcing peasants to hand over food and by rationing supplies.
- They took over the factories of Moscow and Petrograd so that they were able to supply their armies with equipment and ammunition.
- The Red Terror made sure that the population was kept under strict control (see Source 51).
- The Bolsheviks raised fears about the intentions of the foreign armies in league with the Whites (Source 55). Effective propaganda also made good use of atrocities committed by the Whites and raised fears about the possible return of the Tsar and landlords (see Sources 54–57).

SOURCE 55



Bolshevik propaganda cartoon, 1919. The dogs represent the White generals Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich.

- 1 Look at Source 55. Who is controlling the White forces?
- 2 Who do you think Source 54 is talking to?

Finally, the Reds had important territorial advantages. Their enemies were spread around the edge of Russia while they had internal lines of communication. This enabled them to move troops quickly and effectively by rail, while their enemies used less efficient methods.

SOURCE **56**



A Red Army propaganda train in the early 1920s. This is the cinema carriage. The Red Army spread Communist ideas across Russia.

The disadvantages of the Whites

The Whites, in contrast with the Bolsheviks, were not united. They were made up of many different groups, all with different aims. They were also widely spread so they were unable to co-ordinate their campaigns against the Reds. Trotsky was able to defeat them one by one.

They had limited support from the Russian population. Russian peasants did not especially like the Bolsheviks, but they preferred them to the Whites. If the Whites won, the peasants knew the landlords would return.

Both sides were guilty of atrocities, but the Whites in general caused more suffering to the peasants than the Reds.

SOURCE **57**

The Civil War, 1918–1920, was a time of great chaos and estimates of Cheka executions vary from twelve to fifty thousands. But even the biggest figure does not compare to the ferocity of the White Terror . . . for instance, in Finland alone, the number of workers executed by the Whites approaches 100,000.

R Appignanesi, *Lenin for Beginners*, 1977.

Focus Task

Why did the Bolsheviks win the Civil War?

Imagine it is the end of the war and you have been asked to make a poster for the Bolsheviks celebrating the victory and showing the main reasons for success.

Design your poster using the information in the text, then write an explanation of your poster to send to Lenin.

- 1 'Most Russians saw the Bolsheviks as the lesser of two evils.' With reference to Sources 46, 48, 54 and 57 explain whether you agree with this statement or not.

SOURCE 58

The nature of the Bolsheviks' radical economic policies is a matter of controversy. The name usually given them, 'War Communism', is wrong on several counts . . . the term 'War Communism' was first used – in Lenin's notes – only in 1921. It suggests that the policy was a wartime stopgap . . . My view is that while the civil war deepened an existing crisis, the economic policies later called War Communism – food detachments, nationalisation of industry, restrictions of trade – had been developing . . . since the early winter of 1917–1918. There was no 'normal' period followed by a crisis.

Historian Evan Mawdsley's views on War Communism.

SOURCE 59



Bolshevik poster, 1920. The sailor is welcoming the dawn of the revolution. The Kronstadt sailors played a key role in the Bolsheviks' original success in 1917–20.

- 2 Read Source 61. What aspects of War Communism are the sailors most angry about?
- 3 Would you expect peasants in Russia to feel the same?
- 4 Why do you think Lenin was more worried about the revolt of the sailors than about starvation among the peasants?

The New Economic Policy

War Communism

War Communism was the name given to the harsh economic measures the Bolsheviks adopted during the Civil War, although the name is misleading in some ways (see Source 58). It had two main aims. The first aim was to put Communist theories into practice by redistributing (sharing out) wealth among the Russian people. The second aim was to help with the Civil War by keeping the towns and the Red Army supplied with food and weapons.

- All large factories were taken over by the government.
- Production was planned and organised by the government.
- Discipline for workers was strict and strikers could be shot.
- Peasants had to hand over surplus food to the government. If they didn't, they could be shot.
- Food was rationed.
- Free enterprise became illegal – all production and trade was controlled by the state.

War Communism achieved its aim of winning the war, but in doing so it caused terrible hardship. (Some historians believe that Lenin's ruthless determination to create a Communist society actually caused the war in the first place.) Peasants refused to co-operate in producing more food because the government simply took it away. This led to food shortages which, along with the bad weather in 1920 and 1921, caused a terrible famine. Some estimates suggest that 7 million Russian people died in this famine. There were even reports of cannibalism.

SOURCE 60



Children starving during the Russian famine of 1921.

In February 1921 Bolshevik policies sparked a mutiny at Kronstadt naval base.

SOURCE 61

After carrying out the October Revolution, the working classes hoped for freedom. But the result has been greater slavery. The bayonets, bullets and harsh commands of the Cheka – these are what the working man of Soviet Russia has won. The glorious emblem of the workers' state – the hammer and sickle – has been replaced by the Communist authorities with the bayonet and the barred window. Here in Kronstadt we are making a third revolution which will free the workers and the Soviets from the Communists.

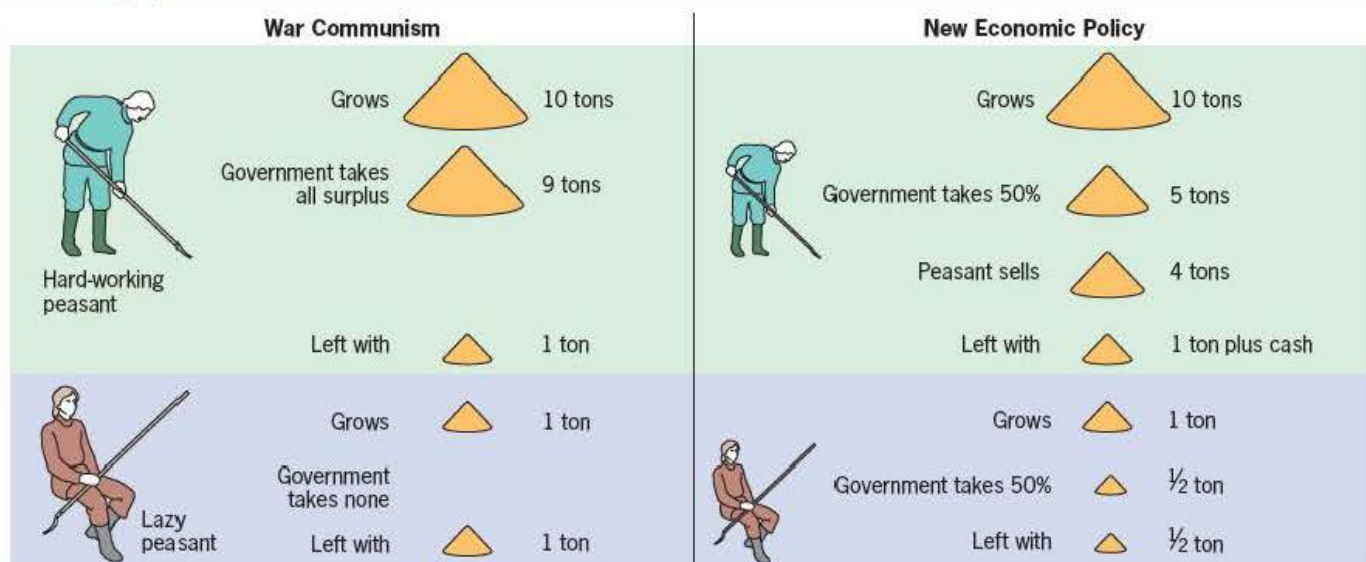
Official statement from the Kronstadt sailors.

Trotsky's troops put down the uprising, but soon afterwards Lenin abandoned the emergency policies of War Communism. Considering the chaos of the Civil War years, it may seem strange that this particular revolt had such a startling effect on Lenin. It did so because the Kronstadt sailors had been among the strongest supporters of Lenin and Bolshevism.

The New Economic Policy

Many thousands of the Kronstadt sailors were killed. The mutiny was crushed. But Lenin recognised that changes were necessary. In March 1921, at the Party Congress, Lenin announced some startling new policies which he called the New Economic Policy (NEP). The NEP effectively brought back capitalism for some sections of Russian society. Peasants were allowed to sell surplus grain for profit and would pay tax on what they produced rather than giving some of it up to the government.

SOURCE 62



How the NEP differed from War Communism.

SOURCE 63

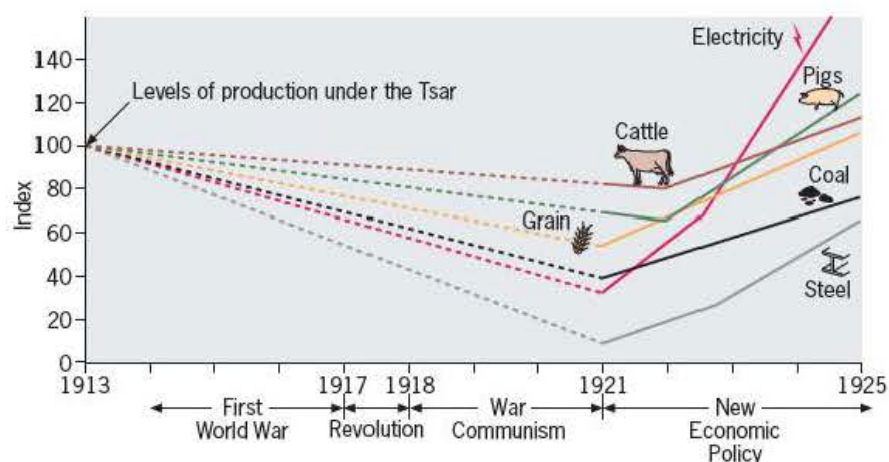
Our poverty and ruin are so great that we cannot at one stroke restore large-scale socialist production . . . we must try to satisfy the demands of the peasants who are dissatisfied, discontented and cannot be otherwise . . . there must be a certain amount of freedom to trade, freedom for the small private owner. We are now retreating, but we are doing this so as to then run and leap forward more vigorously.

Lenin, introducing the NEP at the Party Congress, 1921.

In the towns, small factories were handed back into private ownership and private trading of small goods was allowed.

Lenin made it clear that the NEP was temporary and that the vital heavy industries (coal, oil, iron and steel) would remain in state hands. Nevertheless, many Bolsheviks were horrified when the NEP was announced, seeing it as a betrayal of Communism. As always, Lenin won the argument and the NEP went into operation from 1921 onwards. By 1925 there seemed to be strong evidence that it was working, as food production in particular rose steeply. However, as Source 66 suggests, increases in production did not necessarily improve the situation of industrial workers.

SOURCE 64



Production under the New Economic Policy, 1921–25.

- 1 Does the evidence of Source 64 prove that the NEP was a success? Explain your answer with reference to Sources 63, 65 and 66.
- 2 From all you have found out about Lenin, do you agree with Source 68? (Don't forget to look at Source 67.)

SOURCE 65

Poor, starving old Russia, Russia of primitive lighting and the meal of a crust of black bread, is going to be covered by a network of electric power stations. The NEP will transform the Russian economy and rebuild a broken nation. The future is endless and beautiful.

Bukharin, speaking in 1922. He was a leading Bolshevik and a strong supporter of the NEP.

SOURCE 66

In 1925 the Soviet Commissar for Finance admitted that the pay of miners, metal workers and engine drivers was still lower than it had been before 1914. This in turn meant that workers' housing and food were poor. The factory committee of a cement works in Smolensk reported, for example, in 1929: 'Every day there are many complaints about apartments: many workers have families of six and seven people, and live in one room.'

Some problems identified by Soviet observers in the 1920s.

SOURCE 67

Lenin had a strong streak of ruthlessness and cruelty. In the late 1980s and 1990s, Soviet archives were opened up as the Communist regime came to an end. These revealed a much harder, more ruthless Lenin than the 'softer' image he had enjoyed amongst left-wing historians and groups. For instance, a memorandum, first published in 1990, reveals his ordering the extermination of the clergy in a place called Shuya after people there fought off officials who had come to raid the church. The Politburo voted to stop further raids on churches but Lenin countermanded them. Similarly, he was vitriolic about the peasants, ordering the hanging of hundreds of kulaks as a lesson to others.

Lenin believed that revolutionaries had to be hard to carry out their role, which would inevitably involve spilling the blood of their opponents. Although hard and tough on others, it seems that Lenin was not personally brave. He was not a revolutionary who rushed to the barricades. He left the fighting to others. According to Valentinov, a revolutionary who knew him well, Lenin's rule was to 'get away while the going was good'.

An extract from *Communist Russia under Lenin and Stalin*. This was an A level History textbook published in 2002.

SOURCE 68

Lenin did more than any other political leader to change the face of the twentieth-century world. The creation of Soviet Russia and its survival were due to him. He was a very great man and even, despite his faults, a very good man.

The British historian AJP Taylor writing in the 1960s.

We will never know what policies Lenin would have pursued if he had lived longer — he certainly left no clear plans about how long he wanted the NEP to last. He also left another big unanswered question behind him: who was to be the next leader of the USSR?

Focus Task

How did the Bolsheviks consolidate their rule?

It is January 1924. Lenin is dead. Your task is to look back at the measures he used to consolidate Bolshevik rule.

- 1 Draw a timeline from 1917 to 1924, and mark on it the events of that period mentioned in the text.
- 2 Mark on the timeline
 - a) one moment at which you think Bolshevik rule was most threatened
 - b) one moment at which you think it was most secure.
- 3 Write an explanation of how the Bolsheviks made their rule more secure. Mention the following:
 - ◆ the power of the Red Army
 - ◆ treatment of opposition
 - ◆ War Communism
 - ◆ the New Economic Policy
 - ◆ the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk
 - ◆ the victory in the Civil War
 - ◆ the promise of a new society
 - ◆ propaganda.
- 4 Is any one of these factors more important than any of the others? Explain your answer.

7.2

Stalin's dictatorship in the USSR, 1924–1941

Stalin or Trotsky?

When Lenin died in 1924 there were several leading Communists who were possible candidates to take his place. There would not be leadership elections. The Communist Party did not work that way. The leader would be the one who showed he had most power within the party. Among the contenders were Kamenev and Zinoviev, leading Bolsheviks who had played important parts in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Bukharin was a more moderate member of the party who favoured the NEP and wanted to introduce Communism gradually to the USSR.

However, the real struggle to succeed Lenin was between two leading figures and bitter rivals in the Communist Party, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky. The struggle between these two was long and hard and it was not until 1929 that Stalin made himself completely secure as the supreme leader of the USSR. Stalin achieved this through a combination of political scheming, the mistakes of his opponents and the clever way in which he built up his power base.

- 1 Draw up a campaign poster or flier listing Trotsky's qualities for the leadership of the party. Make use of Lenin's Testament (Source 1).
- 2 Make a list of Trotsky's weaknesses.
- 3 Draw up a campaign leaflet for Stalin. Remember to mention his strengths and the weaknesses of his opponent.

Factfile

Stalin's steps to power

- 1923 Stalin the outsider – Lenin calls for him to be replaced. Trotsky calls him 'the party's most eminent mediocrity'.
- 1924 Lenin's death. Stalin attends funeral as chief mourner. Trotsky does not turn up (tricked by Stalin).
- 1924 Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev form the triumvirate that dominates the Politburo, the policy-making committee of the Communist Party. Working together, these three cut off their opponents (Trotsky and Bukharin) because between them they control the important posts in the party.
- 1925 Trotsky sacked as War Commissar. Stalin introduces his idea of Socialism in One Country.
- 1926 Stalin turns against Kamenev and Zinoviev and allies himself with Bukharin.
- 1927 Kamenev, Zinoviev and Trotsky all expelled from the Communist Party.
- 1928 Trotsky exiled to Siberia. Stalin begins attacking Bukharin.
- 1929 Trotsky expelled from USSR and Bukharin expelled from the Communist Party.

Why did Stalin win the leadership contest?

SOURCE 1

Comrade Stalin, having become Secretary General, has unlimited authority in his hands and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution.

Comrade Trotsky, on the other hand, is distinguished not only by his outstanding ability. He is personally probably the most capable man in the present Central Committee, but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and preoccupation with the purely administrative side of the work.

Lenin's Testament. This is often used as evidence that Stalin was an outsider. However, the document contained many remarks critical of other leading Communists as well. It was never published in Russia, although, if it had been, it would certainly have damaged Stalin.

Source 1 shows Lenin's opinions of Trotsky and Stalin. As Lenin lay dying in late 1923 few people in the USSR had any doubts that Trotsky would win. Trotsky was a brilliant speaker and writer, as well as the party's best political thinker, after Lenin. He was also the man who had organised the Bolshevik Revolution and was the hero of the Civil War as leader of the Red Army (see page 155). Finally, he was the man who negotiated peace for Russia with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

So how did Trotsky lose this contest? Much of the blame lies with Trotsky himself. He was brilliant, but also arrogant. He often offended other senior party members. More importantly, he failed to take the opposition seriously. He made little effort to build up any support in the ranks of the party. And he seriously underestimated Stalin.

SOURCE 2

Trotsky refrained from attacking Stalin because he felt secure. No contemporary, and be least of all, saw in the Stalin of 1923 the menacing and towering figure he was to become. It seemed to Trotsky almost a joke that Stalin, the wilful and sly but shabby and inarticulate man in the background, should be his rival.

Historian I Deutscher in *The Prophet Unarmed, Trotsky 1921–1929*, published in 1959.

Trotsky also frightened many people in the USSR. Trotsky argued that the future security of the USSR lay in trying to spread permanent revolution across the globe until the whole world was Communist. Many people were worried that Trotsky would involve the USSR in new conflicts.



Lenin and Stalin. Stalin made the most of any opportunity to appear close to Lenin. This photograph is a suspected fake.

Profile

Stalin



- Born 1879 in Georgia. His father was a shoemaker and an alcoholic. He abandoned the family while Stalin was still a young child.
- Original name was Iosif Dzhugashvili but changed his name to Stalin (man of steel).
- Twice exiled to Siberia by the Tsarist secret police, he escaped each time.
- Made his name in violent bank raids to raise party funds.
- He was slow and steady, but very hardworking.
- He also held grudges and generally made his enemies suffer.
- Became a leading Communist after playing an important role in defending the Bolshevik city of Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad) during the Civil War.
- Had become undisputed party leader by 1929.

As it often does in history, chance also played a part. Trotsky was unfortunate in falling ill late in 1923 with a malaria-like infection – just when Lenin was dying, and Trotsky needed to be at his most active.

He was also the victim of a trick by Stalin. Stalin cabled Trotsky to tell him that Lenin's funeral was to be on 26 January, when it was in fact going to be on the 27th. Trotsky was away in the south of Russia and would not have had time to get back for the 26th, although he could have got back for the 27th. As a result, Trotsky did not appear at the funeral whereas Stalin appeared as chief mourner and Lenin's closest friend.

How did Stalin win?

We have already seen that Stalin was a clever politician and he planned his bid for power carefully. He made great efforts to associate himself with Lenin wherever possible and got off to an excellent start at Lenin's funeral.

He was also extremely clever in using his power within the Communist Party. He took on many boring but important jobs such as Commissar for Nationalities and, of course, General Secretary. He used these positions to put his own supporters into important posts and even to transfer supporters of his opponents to remote postings. He was also absolutely ruthless in picking off his rivals one by one. For example, he took Bukharin's side in the debate on the NEP in order to help get rid of Trotsky. Once he had got rid

of Trotsky, he opposed Bukharin using exactly the same arguments as Trotsky had used before (see Factfile on Stalin's steps to power opposite).

Stalin's policies also met with greater favour than Trotsky's. Stalin proposed that in future the party should try to establish 'Socialism in One Country' rather than try to spread revolution worldwide. Finally, Stalin appeared to be a straightforward Georgian peasant – much more a man of the people than his intellectual rivals. To a Soviet people weary of years of war and revolution, Stalin seemed to be the man who understood their feelings.

Activity

In groups, look at the following statements and decide on a scale of 1–5 how far you agree with them.

- Stalin was a dull and unimaginative politician.
- Stalin appeared to be a dull and unimaginative politician.
- Trotsky lost the contest because of his mistakes.
- Stalin trusted to luck rather than careful planning.
- Stalin was ruthless and devious.

Try to find evidence to back up your judgements.

Focus Task

Why did Stalin win?

Imagine you have to prepare a radio news feature on the reasons why Stalin, not Trotsky, became Lenin's successor.

Your feature should include:

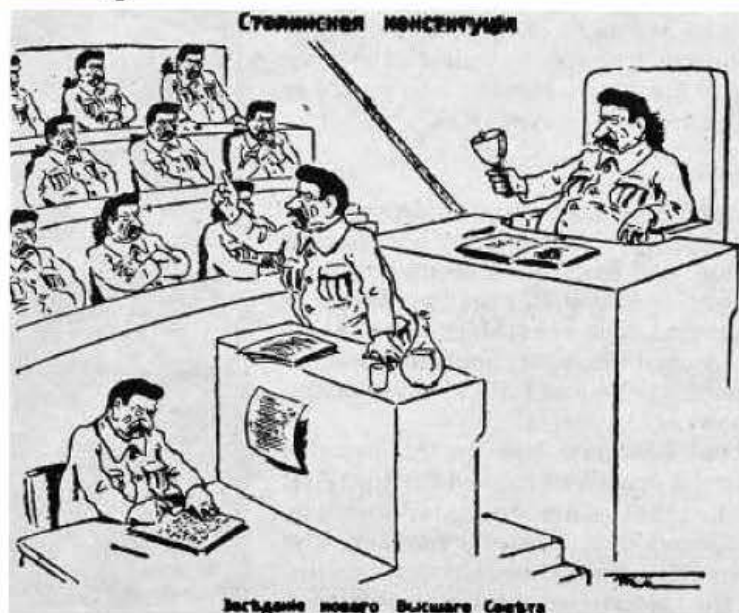
- ◆ a brief introduction on Lenin's death
- ◆ profiles of the two main contenders – these could be done as descriptions by people who knew them
- ◆ an interview with the contenders asking them to state what their aims would be as leader of the USSR – you could also summarise these aims as a slogan
- ◆ a summary of the key events in their struggle (see Factfile)
- ◆ a conclusion on the reasons for Stalin's success.

You could work in groups of five and each be responsible for one part of the feature.

- 1 Look at Source 4. Summarise the message of the cartoon in your own words. Refer to details from the cartoon to explain your answer.

How did Stalin reinforce his dictatorship in the 1930s?

SOURCE 4



A cartoon published by Russian exiles in Paris in 1936. The title of the cartoon is 'The Stalinist Constitution' and the text at the bottom reads 'New seating arrangements in the Supreme Soviet'.

The Constitution of 1936

Once he had established himself as leader of the USSR Stalin was determined to make sure that he could not be challenged. With this in mind he set about introducing a new constitution. At one level, the Constitution seemed to promise everything which the Soviet people could want:

- free elections and free voting
- freedom of speech and other cultural activity
- the right to work, rest and leisure
- the right to health care, housing and care in old age.

Of course, the detail of the Constitution was the important feature. There were free elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The Supreme Soviet was divided into two chambers: the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. The Supreme Soviet set up commissions to carry out research and formulate laws. At face value, the system was very similar to the USA's democratic system. However, the candidates in elections could only come from the Communist Party. When we remember that it was a common saying that each party member was only a telephone call away from Stalin we can see how the Constitution strengthened his power. Stalin was also quite open about the fact that he saw the freedoms in the Constitution as aims to be achieved one day in the future, rather than rights which Soviet citizens could demand in 1936.

SOURCE 5

A tribute to Comrade Stalin was called for. Of course, everyone stood up . . . for three minutes, four minutes, the 'stormy applause, rising to an ovation' continued . . . Who would dare to be the first to stop? After all, NKVD men were standing in the hall waiting to see who quit first! After eleven minutes the director [of the factory] . . . sat down . . . To a man, everyone else stopped dead and sat down. They had been saved! . . . That, however, was how they discovered who the independent people were. And that was how they eliminated them. The same night the factory director was arrested.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *Gulag Archipelago*, published in 1973. Solzhenitsyn lost his Soviet citizenship as a result of this book.

- 2 According to Source 5, what sort of people did Stalin want in the USSR?

Stalin also had a close group of associates who had supported him through his battles for the leadership and continued to serve him throughout his rule. He could rely on their support in any debates in the Politburo (the Soviet equivalent of Britain's Cabinet). Molotov became the Soviet Foreign Minister while Lazar Kaganovich was governor of Ukraine and a key figure in the policy of collectivisation (see pages 172–73). Stalin also promoted young Communists such as Nikita Khrushchev and Lavrenti Beria to senior government posts. By the time of Stalin's death Beria was Stalin's right-hand man and head of the Secret Police.

Stalin's purges

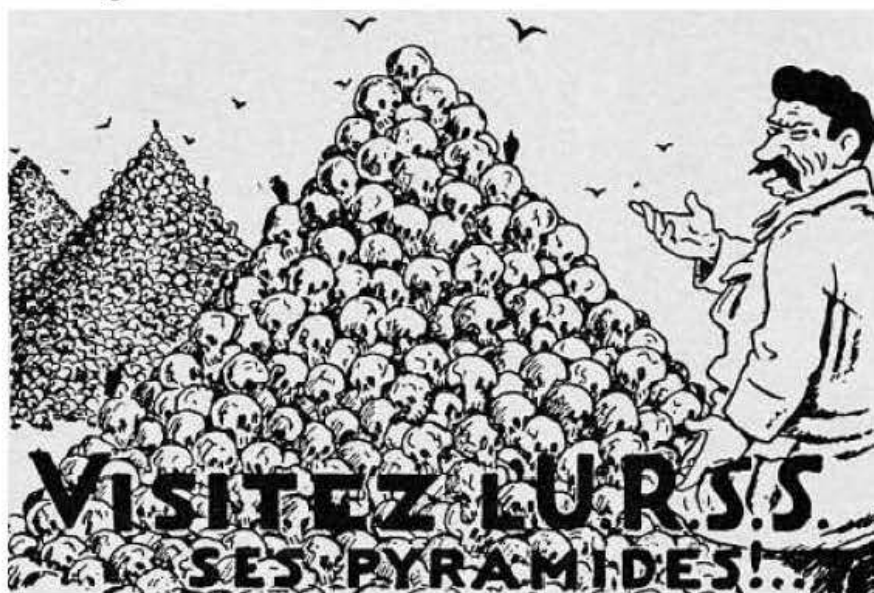
For Stalin, it was not enough to be in power. He was also determined to crush anyone who opposed him or who might oppose him. He had seen how Lenin had used terror and force against potential opponents and he learned this lesson well. The first signs of the terror which was to come appeared in 1928 when Stalin accused a number of engineers in the important Donbass mining region of sabotage. He had little evidence. Then, in 1931 a number of former Mensheviks (see page 141) were put on trial on charges that were obviously made up.

However, the really terrifying period in Stalin's rule, known as the purges, began in 1934 when Kirov, the leader of the Leningrad (the new name for Petrograd from 1924) Communist Party, was murdered. Stalin used this murder as an excuse to 'purge' or clear out his opponents in the party. Historians strongly suspect that Stalin arranged for Kirov's murder to give him this excuse. In great 'show trials', loyal Bolsheviks, such as Kamenev (1936), Bukharin (1938) and Zinoviev (1936), confessed to being traitors to the state. It was not only leading figures who were purged. Estimates suggest that around 500,000 party members were arrested on charges of anti-Soviet activities and either executed or sent to labour camps (gulags). In 1940, Trotsky, who was in exile in Mexico, was murdered by Stalin's agents.

The Great Terror

Even as the show trials were progressing, the purges began to hit other areas of the Communist Party. There are still mass graves all over the USSR today which mark the victims of the Great Terror, which lasted from 1936–38 but peaked in 1937. Stalin first turned his attention to the army, particularly the officers. Approximately 25,000 officers (around one in five) were removed, including the Supreme Commander of the Red Army, Marshal Tukhachevsky.

SOURCE 6



Russian exiles in France made this mock travel poster in the late 1930s. The text says: 'Visit the USSR's pyramids!'

As the purges were extended, university lecturers and teachers, miners and engineers, factory managers and ordinary workers all disappeared. It is said that every family in the USSR lost someone in the purges. One of the most frightening aspects was the unpredictability. Arrests would take place in the middle of the night and victims were rarely told what they were accused of. Days of physical and psychological torture would gradually break the victims and they would confess to anything. If the torture failed, the NKVD would threaten the families of those arrested.

By 1937 an estimated 18 million people had been transported to labour camps. Ten million died. Stalin seriously weakened the USSR by removing so many able individuals. The army purges were nearly fatal to the USSR. When Hitler invaded the USSR in 1941, one of the key problems of the Red Army was a lack of good-quality, experienced officers. Stalin had also succeeded in destroying any sense of independent thinking. Everyone who was spared knew that their lives depended on thinking exactly as Stalin did. In the population as a whole, the long-term impact of living with terror and distrust haunted the USSR for a generation.

SOURCE 7



Stalin shown holding a young child, Gelya Markizova, in 1936. Stalin had both of her parents killed. This did not stop him using this image on propaganda leaflets to show him as a kind, fatherly figure.

SOURCE 8



One of Stalin's opponents deleted from a photograph, 1935. Techniques of doctoring pictures became far more sophisticated in the 1930s. This allowed Stalin to create the impression that his enemies had never existed.

SOURCE 9



Prisoners at work building the Belomor Canal in 1933. This was drawn by a political prisoner, Sergie Korolkoff, and was published in 1953. It shows one prisoner being punished for working slowly by being forced to stand on a tree stump in freezing weather.

- 1 What does Source 9 reveal about work in the camps?
- 2 Does Source 9 support the impression of the camps given in Source 10? Explain your answer.
- 3 What reasons might historians have to be concerned about the reliability of each of Sources 9 and 10?

What happened to the victims? The labour camps

A key part of Stalin's Terror was the network of labour camps which could be found all over the USSR but were mostly in remote, inaccessible regions. The regime in the labour camps was harsh – very hard physical labour in extremely cold conditions. By 1939 there were around 3 million people in the camps, or gulags as they were called. The prisoners produced most of the gold from the USSR's mines as well as timber and other resources. Prisoners also played an important role in the building of roads, railways and projects like the Belomor Canal. In fact some historians believe that one motive of the purges was to find labourers for the camps.

SOURCE 10

Reveille was sounded, as always, at five a.m. – a hammer pounding on a rail outside camp HQ . . . Shukbov never slept through reveille but always got up at once. That gave him about an hour and a half to himself before the morning roll call, a time when anyone who knew what was what in the camps could always scrounge a little something on the side. He could sew someone a cover for his mittens out of a piece of old lining. He could bring one of the big gang bosses his dry felt boots while he was still in his bunk, to save him the trouble of hanging around the pile of boots in his bare feet and trying to find his own. Or he could run around to one of the supply rooms where there

might be a little job, sweeping or carrying something. Or he could go to the mess hall to pick up bowls from the tables and take piles of them to the dishwashers. That was another way of getting food, but there were always too many other people with the same idea. And the worst thing was that if there was something left in a bowl you started to lick it. You couldn't help it.

. . . Today was the big day for them. They'd heard a lot of talk of switching their gang (104) from putting up workshops to a new job, building a new 'Socialist Community Development'. But so far it was nothing more than bare fields covered with snowdrifts, and before anything could be done there, holes had to be dug, posts put in, and barbed wire put up – by the prisoners for the prisoners, so they couldn't get out. And then they could start building.

Extract from *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. This was a novel by the writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn who spent many years in a gulag.

SOURCE 11

These men lifted their villainous hands against Comrade Stalin. By lifting their hands against Comrade Stalin, they lifted them against all of us, against the working class . . . against the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin . . . Stalin is our hope, Stalin is the beacon which guides all progressive mankind. Stalin is our banner. Stalin is our will. Stalin is our victory.

From a speech made by Communist leader Nikita Khrushchev in 1937, at the height of the Purges. (Khrushchev later became leader of the USSR and in 1956 announced a 'de-Stalinisation' programme – see page 88).

Why did people still admire Stalin?

The Cult of the Personality

Today, Stalin's rule is looked back on as a time of great terror and oppression. However, if you had visited the USSR in the 1930s, you would have found that the average Soviet citizen admired Stalin. Ask about the purges and people would probably say that they were nothing to do with Stalin himself. For most Soviet citizens, Stalin was not a tyrant dominating an oppressed country. He and his style of government were popular. The Communist Party saw him as a winner and Soviet citizens saw him as a 'dictator of the people'. The Soviet people sincerely believed in Stalin and this belief was built up quite deliberately by Communist leaders and by Stalin himself. It developed into what is known as the Cult of the Personality. The history of the Soviet Union was rewritten so that Lenin and Stalin were the only real heroes of the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviet education system was geared to Stalinist propaganda and not to independent thinking. Schoolchildren were also expected to join the Young Pioneers (see Source 13).

SOURCE 12

This figure is not available
online for copyright reasons

A painting showing Soviet officials blowing
up a monastery in 1930.

SOURCE 13

*The teacher showed us her school textbooks
where the portraits of Party leaders had
thick pieces of paper pasted over them as one
by one they fell into disgrace – this the
children had to do on instructions from
their teacher . . . with every new arrest,
people went through their books and
burned the works of disgraced leaders in
their stoves.*

A Soviet writer describes how children in
Soviet schools had to revise their school
history books during the 1930s.

SOURCE 14

*I, a Young Pioneer of the Soviet Union, in
the presence of my comrades, solemnly
promise to love my Soviet motherland
passionately, and to live, learn and struggle
as the great Lenin bade us and the
Communist Party teaches us.*

The promise made by each member of the
Young Pioneers.

- 4 Why did Stalin try to reduce the influence of religion?
- 5 What changes would ordinary Soviet citizens have noticed as they walked round their towns and cities?
- 6 What does the story of Shostakovich tell historians about life for musicians under Stalin? Try using the internet to look up other artists or writers such as Maxim Gorky.
- 7 Stalin wanted Socialist Realist art to send out very simple messages which everyone could understand. Do you think Source 12 achieves this aim?

Propaganda and censorship

- Religious worship was banned. By 1939 only one in 40 churches were holding regular services and only seven bishops were active in the USSR. Monasteries were demolished (see Source 12). Muslim worship was also attacked. In 1917 there were 26,000 mosques in Russia but by 1939 there were 1,300.
- Stalin wanted to be a part of people's daily lives. The Soviet people were deluged with portraits, photographs and statues of Stalin. Comrade Stalin appeared everywhere. Every Russian town had a Stalin Square or a Stalin Avenue and a large Stalin statue in the centre. In Moscow and other big cities huge building projects were undertaken, including the Palace of the Soviets (which was never finished because of war in 1941) and the awesome Moscow metro. Regular processions were organised through the streets of Russian towns and cities praising Stalin and all that he had achieved.
- There were also smaller-scale projects. Around 70,000 libraries were built across the country and many towns gained excellent sports and leisure facilities.

All music and other arts in the USSR were carefully monitored by the NKVD. Poets and playwrights praised Stalin either directly or indirectly. Composers wrote music praising him. One of the most famous was Dmitri Shostakovich. He became a star of the Soviet system, but in 1936 an opera by Shostakovich met with disapproval from Stalin. He was attacked by the Soviet press and criticised by the Soviet Composers Union. Shostakovich scrapped his next piece of work and wrote another symphony called 'A Soviet Artist's Practical Creative Reply to Just Criticism'. Soviet artists and writers developed a style of art which became known as Socialist Realism. The aim of this style of art was to praise Stalin's rule. It usually involved heroic figures working hard in fields or factories.

Living standards

The loyalty to Stalin was strong despite the relatively low living standards. For example, the average worker in 1930s Moscow ate only twenty per cent of the meat and fish he ate in 1900 under the Tsar. Many items were hard to find in the shops and queuing became part of life. On the other hand, there were some positives. Health care improved enormously. Literacy became a high priority so education improved and public libraries became available. Most towns and cities got good sports facilities.

For some in society, life was even better. If you were ambitious, you could become one of the new class of foremen, supervisors, technicians or managers. We know of one manager who employed a servant on eighteen roubles a week, while his wife earned 30 roubles a week as a typist. The manager could also get items like clothing and luxuries in the official Party shops.

Focus Task

How did Stalin control the USSR?

- 1 Draw up a table like this one and fill it out as completely as you can. You may wish to add other subjects in the first column.

Method	Example(s)
Propaganda	
Show trials	
Education	
Purges	
Control of the Communist Party	
The Constitution	
Loyal followers	
Cult of Personality	
Improving living standards	

- 2 Discuss with a partner: which of the methods was most important? Reorder your table so the methods are in order of importance.
- 3 Now use your table to create a presentation or a piece of extended writing on the question 'How did Stalin control the USSR?' Select the most important methods as headings for slides or paragraphs in your work.

SOURCE 15

Throughout history Russia has been beaten again and again because she was backward . . . All have beaten her because of her military, industrial and agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because people have been able to get away with it. If you are backward and weak, then you are in the wrong and may be beaten and enslaved. But if you are powerful, people must beware of you.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down industrialisation a bit. No, comrades, it is not possible . . . To slacken would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten . . . That is why Lenin said during the October Revolution: 'Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries.' We are 50 to 100 years behind the advanced countries. Either we make good the difference in ten years or they crush us.

Stalin speaking in 1931.

SOURCE 16



The location of the new industrial centres.

Focus Task

Why did Stalin introduce the Five-Year Plans?

Study Source 15 carefully. In a paragraph, explain whether you think it provides all the reasons why Stalin introduced the Five-Year Plans.

How did Stalin try to make the USSR a great economic power?

Once in power, Stalin was determined to modernise the USSR as quickly as possible, and he had some powerful reasons.

- **To increase the USSR's military strength:** The First World War had shown that a country could only fight a modern war if it had the industries to produce the weapons and other equipment which were needed (see Source 15).
- **To rival the economies of the USA and other capitalist countries:** When Stalin took power much of Russia's industrial equipment had to be imported. Stalin wanted to make the USSR self-sufficient so that it could make everything it needed for itself. He also wanted to improve standards of living in Russia so that people would value Communist rule.
- **To increase food supplies:** Stalin wanted more workers in industries, town and cities. He also wanted to sell grain abroad to raise cash and to buy industrial equipment. This meant fewer peasants had to produce more food. This meant that farming would have to be reorganised.
- **To create a Communist society:** Communist theory said that most of the population had to be workers if Communism was going to work. In 1928 only about one in five Russians were industrial workers.
- **To establish his reputation:** Lenin had made big changes to Russia/the USSR. Stalin wanted to prove himself as a great leader by bringing about even greater changes.

Modernising industry: the Five-Year Plans

Stalin ended Lenin's NEP and set about achieving modernisation through a series of Five-Year Plans. These plans were drawn up by GOSPLAN, the state planning organisation that Lenin set up in 1921. They set ambitious targets for production in the vital heavy industries (coal, iron, oil, electricity). The plans were very complex but they were set out in such a way that by 1929 every worker knew what he or she had to achieve.

GOSPLAN set overall targets for an industry.

Each region was told its targets.

The region set targets for each mine, factory, etc.

The manager of each mine, factory, etc. set targets for each foreman.

The foremen set targets for each shift and even for individual workers.

The first Five-Year Plan focused on the major industries and although most targets were not met, the achievements were still staggering. The USSR increased production and created a foundation on which to build the next Five-Year Plans. The USSR was rich in natural resources, but many of them were in remote places such as Siberia. So whole cities were built from nothing and workers taken out to the new industrial centres. Foreign observers marvelled as huge new steel mills appeared at Magnitogorsk in the Urals and Sverdlovsk in central Siberia. New dams and hydro-electric power fed industry's energy requirements. Russian 'experts' flooded into the Muslim republics of central Asia such as Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, creating industry from scratch in previously undeveloped areas.

The second Five-Year Plan (1933–37) built on the achievements of the first. Heavy industry was still a priority, but other areas were also developed. Mining for lead, tin, zinc and other minerals intensified as Stalin further exploited Siberia's rich mineral resources. Transport and communications were also boosted, and new railways and canals were built. The most spectacular showpiece project was the Moscow underground railway.

Stalin also wanted industrialisation to help improve Russia's agriculture. The production of tractors and other farm machinery increased dramatically. In the third Five-Year Plan, which was begun in 1938, some factories were to switch to the production of consumer goods. However, this plan was disrupted by the Second World War.

SOURCE 17

What are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years?

- We did not have an iron and steel industry. Now we have one.
- We did not have a machine tool industry. Now we have one.
- We did not have a modern chemicals industry. Now we have one.
- We did not have a big industry for producing agricultural machinery. Now we have one.

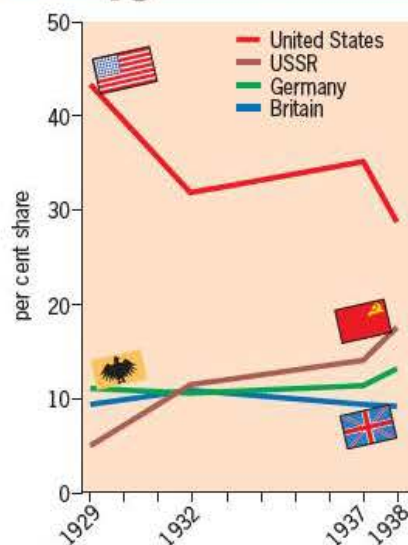
Stalin speaking about the first Five-Year Plan in 1932.

SOURCE 18

	1913	1928	1940
Gas (billion m ³)	0.02	0.3	3.4
Fertilisers (million tons)	0.07	0.1	3.2
Plastics (million tons)	—	—	10.9
Tractors (thousand)	—	1.3	31.6

The growth in the output of the USSR, 1913–40.

SOURCE 19

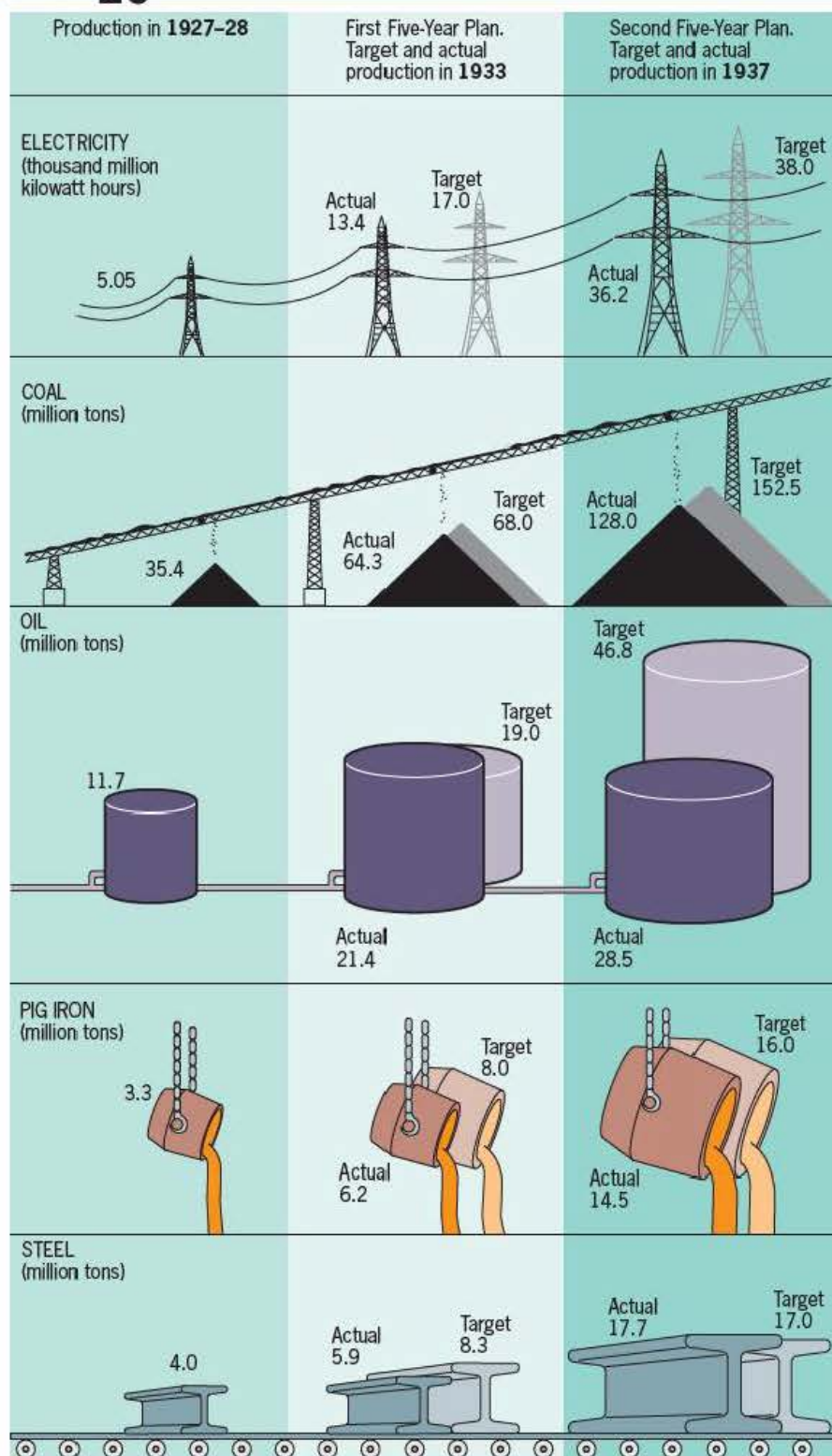


Graph showing share of world manufacturing output, 1929–38.

Were the Five-Year Plans a success?

There is much that could be and was criticised in the Five-Year Plans. Certainly there was a great deal of inefficiency, duplication of effort and waste, although the evidence shows that the Soviets did learn from their mistakes in the second and third Five-Year Plans. There was also an enormous human cost, as you will see on pages 171–73. But the fact remains that by 1937 the USSR was a modern state and it was this that saved it from defeat when Hitler invaded in 1941.

SOURCE 20



The achievements of the Five-Year Plans.

SOURCE 21

There is evidence that he [Stalin] exaggerated Russia's industrial deficiency in 1929. The Tsars had developed a considerable industrial capacity . . . in a sense the spadework had already been done and it is not altogether surprising that Stalin should have achieved such rapid results.

Historian SJ Lee, *The European Dictatorships, 1918–1945*, published in 1987.

- 1 What is the message of Source 22?
- 2 How could Stalin use Sources 18 and 19 to support the claims of Source 22?
- 3 Compare Sources 17 and 21. Do they agree or disagree about the Five-Year Plans? Explain your answer.
- 4 Which of Sources 17 or 21 do Sources 18, 19 and 20 most support?

The Five-Year Plans were used very effectively for propaganda purposes. Stalin had wanted the Soviet Union to be a beacon of socialism and his publicity machine used the successes of industrialisation to further that objective.

SOURCE 22



Soviet propaganda poster, 1933. In the top half, the hand is holding the first Five-Year Plan. The capitalist is saying (in 1928), 'Fantasy, Lies, Utopia.' The bottom half shows 1933.

SOURCE 23



A propaganda painting showing Stalin at the Dnieprostroi Dam completed in 1932.

- 5 Look at Source 23. Stalin felt this project was not a good use of resources when it was begun in 1926. Why do you think he wanted to be shown alongside it when it opened six years later?

How was industrialisation achieved?

Any programme as extreme as Stalin's Five-Year Plans was bound to carry a cost. In the USSR this cost was paid by the workers. Many foreign experts and engineers were called in by Stalin to supervise the work and in their letters and reports they marvel at the toughness of the Russian people. The workers were constantly bombarded with propaganda, posters, slogans and radio broadcasts. They all had strict targets to meet and were fined if they did not meet them.

The most famous worker was Alexei Stakhanov. In 1935 with two helpers and an easy coal seam to work on, he managed to cut an amazing 102 tons of coal in one shift. This was fourteen times the average for a shift. Stakhanov became a 'Hero of Socialist Labour' and the propaganda machine encouraged all Soviet workers to be Stakhanovites.

The first Five-Year Plan revealed a shortage of workers, so from 1930 the government concentrated on drafting more women into industry. It set up thousands of new crèches and day-care centres so that mothers could work. By 1937 women were 40 per cent of industrial workers (compared to 28 per cent in 1927), 21 per cent of building workers and 72 per cent of health workers. Four out of five new workers recruited between 1932 and 1937 were women.

SOURCE 25

We got so dirty and we were such young things, small, slender, fragile. But we had our orders to build the metro and we wanted to do it more than anything else. We wore our miners' overalls with such style. My feet were size four and the boots were elevens. But there was such enthusiasm.

Tatyana Fyodorova, interviewed as an old lady in 1990, remembers building the Moscow underground.

SOURCE 26

Nothing strikes the visitor to the Soviet Union more forcibly than the lack of fear. No fear of not having enough money at the birth of a child. No fear for doctor's fees, school fees or university fees. No fear of underwork, no fear of overwork. No fear of wage reduction in a land where none are unemployed.

Dr Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, visiting the USSR in 1939.

6 Read Source 26. How can you tell that Dr Johnson was impressed by Stalin's USSR?

SOURCE 24



Propaganda poster showing Stalin as a comrade side by side with Soviet workers. The text means 'It is our workers who make our programme achievable.'

By the late 1930s many Soviet workers had improved their conditions by acquiring well-paid skilled jobs and earning bonuses for meeting targets. Unemployment was almost non-existent. In 1940 the USSR had more doctors per head of population than Britain. Education became free and compulsory for all and Stalin invested huge sums in training schemes based in colleges and in the workplace.

But, on the other hand, life was very harsh under Stalin. Factory discipline was strict and punishments were severe. Lateness or absences were punished by sacking, and that often meant losing your flat or house as well. To escape the hard work and hard discipline, some workers tried to move to other jobs, so the secret police introduced internal passports which prevented free movement of workers inside the USSR.

On the great engineering projects, such as dams and canals, many of the workers were prisoners who had been sentenced to hard labour for being political opponents, or suspected opponents, of Stalin, or for being kulaks (rich peasants) or Jews. Many other prisoners were simply unfortunate workers who had had accidents or made mistakes in their work but had been found guilty of 'sabotage'.

SOURCE 27

Half a billion cubic feet of excavation work . . . 25,000 tons of structural steel . . . without sufficient labour; without necessary quantities of the most rudimentary materials. Brigades of young enthusiasts arrived in the summer of 1930 and did the groundwork of railroad and dam . . . Later groups of peasants came . . . Many were completely unfamiliar with industrial tools and processes . . .

J Scott, *Behind the Urals*, 1943.

SOURCE 28

We were led down to the communal kitchen in the basement . . . 'My' section consisted of a packing case and two reeking kerosene stoves. On these I was expected to cook, boil up washing and heat water for an occasional bath taken in a basin in the room above . . . The room was good for Moscow we were assured. At least we would not have to share with another family.

Betty Rowland, *Caviar for Breakfast*. The novelist describes her experiences of Russia in the 1930s.

Activity

'The Five-Year Plans brought glory to Stalin and misery to his people.' Is that a fair view of Stalin's industrialisation programme?

In pairs or small groups, discuss this question. Make sure you look at all the evidence and information before you make up your mind. You could then write up your conclusions in the form of a letter to Dr Hewlett Johnson, the writer of Source 26. The aim of your letter could be:

- to set him right
- to agree with him.

On these major projects conditions were appalling and there were many deaths and accidents. It is estimated that 100,000 workers died in the construction of the Belomor Canal (see Source 9 on page 166).

At the same time, the concentration on heavy industry meant that there were few consumer goods (such as clothes or radios) which ordinary people wanted to buy. In the towns and cities, most housing was provided by the state, but overcrowding was a problem. Most families lived in flats and were crowded into two rooms which were used for living, sleeping and eating. What's more, wages actually fell between 1928 and 1937. In 1932 a husband and wife who both worked earned only as much as one man or woman had in 1928.

Stalin was also quite prepared to destroy the way of life of the Soviet people to help industrialisation. For example, in the republics of central Asia the influence of Islam was thought to hold back industrialisation, so between 1928 and 1932 it was repressed. Many Muslim leaders were imprisoned or deported, mosques were closed and pilgrimages to Mecca were forbidden.

Modernising agriculture: collectivisation

For the enormous changes of the Five-Year Plan to be successful, Stalin needed to modernise the USSR's agriculture. This was vital because the population of the industrial centres was growing rapidly and yet as early as 1928 the country was already 2 million tons short of the grain it needed to feed its workers. Stalin also wanted to try to raise money for his industrialisation programme by selling exports of surplus food abroad.

The problem was that farming was not organised to do this. Under the NEP, most peasants were either agricultural labourers (with no land) or kulaks – prosperous peasants who owned small farms. These farms were too small to make efficient use of tractors, fertilisers and other modern methods. In addition, most peasants had enough to eat and could see little point in increasing production to feed the towns. To get round these problems, Stalin set out his ideas for collectivisation in 1929.

The government tried hard to sell these ideas to the peasants, offering free seed and other perks, but there were soon problems. The peasants, who had always been suspicious of government, whether it was the Tsar, Lenin or Stalin, were concerned about the speed of collectivisation. They disliked the fact that the farms were under the control of the local Communist leader. They were being asked to grow crops such as flax for Russia's industry rather than grain to feed themselves. In short, Stalin was asking the peasants to abandon a way of life that they and their ancestors had led for centuries.

Stalin had a difficult time convincing the peasants about collectivisation, but this was slight compared to the opposition of the kulaks who owned their own land. The kulaks simply refused outright to hand over their land and produce. Within a short time, collectivisation became a grim and bitter struggle. Soviet propaganda tried to turn the people against the kulaks. The war of words soon turned into violence. Requisition parties came and took the food required by the government, often leaving the peasants to starve. Kulaks were arrested and sent by the thousand to labour camps or were forced on to poor-quality land. In revenge, many kulaks burned their crops and slaughtered their animals so that the Communists could not have them.

SOURCE 29

What is the way out [of the food problem]? The way out is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms, gradually but surely, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the land. There is no other way out.

Stalin in a speech in 1927.

Factfile

Collectivisation

- Peasants were to put their lands together to form large joint farms (kolkhoz) but could keep small plots for personal use.
- Animals and tools were to be pooled together.
- Motor Tractor Stations (MTS), provided by the government, made tractors available.
- Ninety per cent of kolkhoz produce would be sold to the state and the profits shared out.
- The remaining ten per cent of produce was to be used to feed the kolkhoz.

- 1 Explain why Stalin needed to change farming in the USSR.
- 2 Why did the peasants resist?

SOURCE 31

In order to turn a peasant society into an industrialised country, countless material and human sacrifices were necessary. The people had to accept this, but it would not be achieved by enthusiasm alone . . . If a few million people had to perish in the process, history would forgive Comrade Stalin . . . The great aim demanded great energy that could be drawn from a backward people only by great harshness.

Anatoli Rybakov, *Children of the Arbat*, 1988. A Russian writer presents Stalin's viewpoint on the modernisation of Russia.

- 3 Look at Source 30. Why do you think this was painted in 1937?
- 4 Read Source 32. Why do you think the only reports of the famine came from Western journalists?

SOURCE 33

Stalin, ignoring the great cost in human life and misery, claimed that collectivisation was a success; for, after the great famines caused at the time . . . no more famines came to haunt the Russian people. The collective farms, despite their inefficiencies, did grow more food than the tiny, privately owned holdings had done. For example, 30 to 40 million tons of grain were produced every year. Collectivisation also meant the introduction of machines into the countryside. Now two million previously backward peasants learned how to drive a tractor. New methods of farming were taught by agricultural experts. The countryside was transformed.

Historian E Roberts, *Stalin, Man of Steel*, published in 1986.

- 5 According to Source 33, what advantages did collectivisation bring?
- 6 Do you agree that these advantages outweighed the human cost?

The countryside was in chaos. Even where collectivisation had been introduced successfully, peasants were unfamiliar with new ideas and methods. There was much bitterness as starving peasants watched Communist officials sending food for export.

Not surprisingly, food production fell under these conditions and there was a famine in 1932–33. Millions died in Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, Russia's richest agricultural region. When the Germans invaded the Ukraine in 1941, they were at first made welcome for driving out the Communists.

SOURCE 30

This figure is not available online for copyright reasons

A painting from 1937 called *A Collective Farm Feast*, by Alexander Gerasimov.

SOURCE 32

'How are things with you?' I asked one old man. He looked around anxiously to see that no soldiers were about. 'We have nothing, absolutely nothing. They have taken everything away.' It was true. The famine is an organised one. Some of the food that has been taken away from them is being exported to foreign countries. It is literally true that whole villages have been exiled. I saw myself a group of some twenty peasants being marched off under escort. This is so common a sight that it no longer arouses even curiosity.

The Manchester Guardian, 1933.

Despite the famine, Stalin did not ease off. By 1934 there were no kulaks left. By 1941 almost all agricultural land was organised under the collective system. Stalin had achieved his aim of collectivisation.

Focus Task

Stalin's economic policies: success or failure?

- 1 Draw up a chart like this:

	Industrialisation	Collectivisation
Reasons the policy was adopted		
Measures taken to enforce the policy		
Successes of the policy		
Failures of the policy		
The human cost of the policy		

- 2 Working with a partner, fill it out as fully as you can with details from pages 168–73.
- 3 Then use the chart to write an essay comparing the success of the two policies.

8

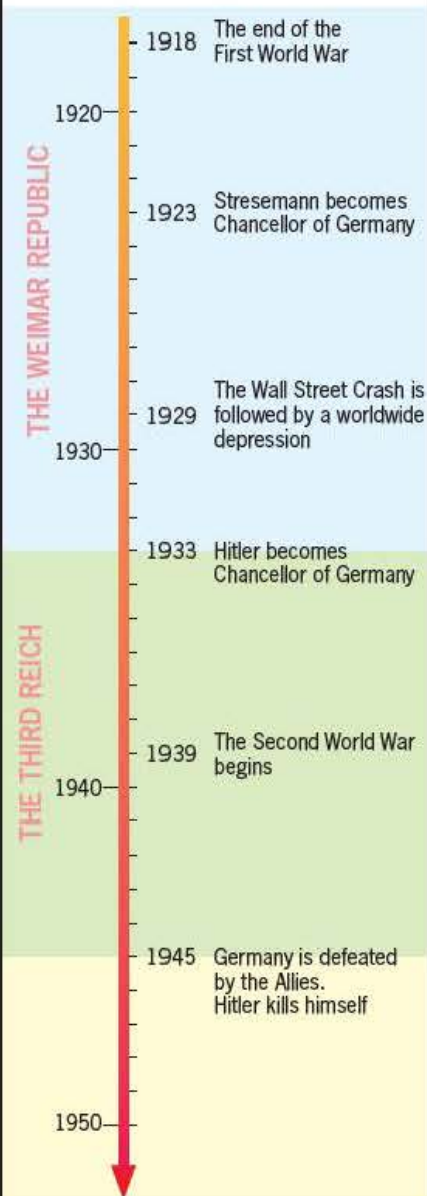
Germany, 1918–1939

8.1

The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis

Timeline

This timeline shows the period you will be covering in this chapter. Some of the key dates are filled in already. To help you get a complete picture of the period, you can make your own copy and add other details to it as you work through the chapter.



Focus

At the end of the First World War Germany's old regime collapsed and was replaced by a new democratic government. This government faced many problems and was eventually overthrown by Adolf Hitler and the Nazis.

In Section 8.1 of this chapter you will investigate the challenges which faced the new Weimar Republic, 1919–29, including:

- ◆ the attempts to overthrow the democratic government
- ◆ problems caused by the Treaty of Versailles
- ◆ economic and political challenges from extreme groups.

In Section 8.2 you will investigate:

- ◆ how economic problems helped Hitler come to power
- ◆ how the Nazis ruled Germany
- ◆ the impact of Nazism on German society.

The impact of the First World War

In 1914 the Germans were a proud people. Their Kaiser – virtually a dictator – was celebrated for his achievements. Their army was probably the finest in the world. A journey through the streets of Berlin in 1914 would have revealed prospering businesses and a well-educated and well-fed workforce. There was great optimism about the power and strength of Germany.

Four years later a similar journey would have revealed a very different picture. Although little fighting had taken place in Germany itself, the war had still destroyed much of the old Germany. The proud German army was defeated. The German people were surviving on turnips and bread. A flu epidemic was sweeping the country, killing thousands of people already weakened by rations.

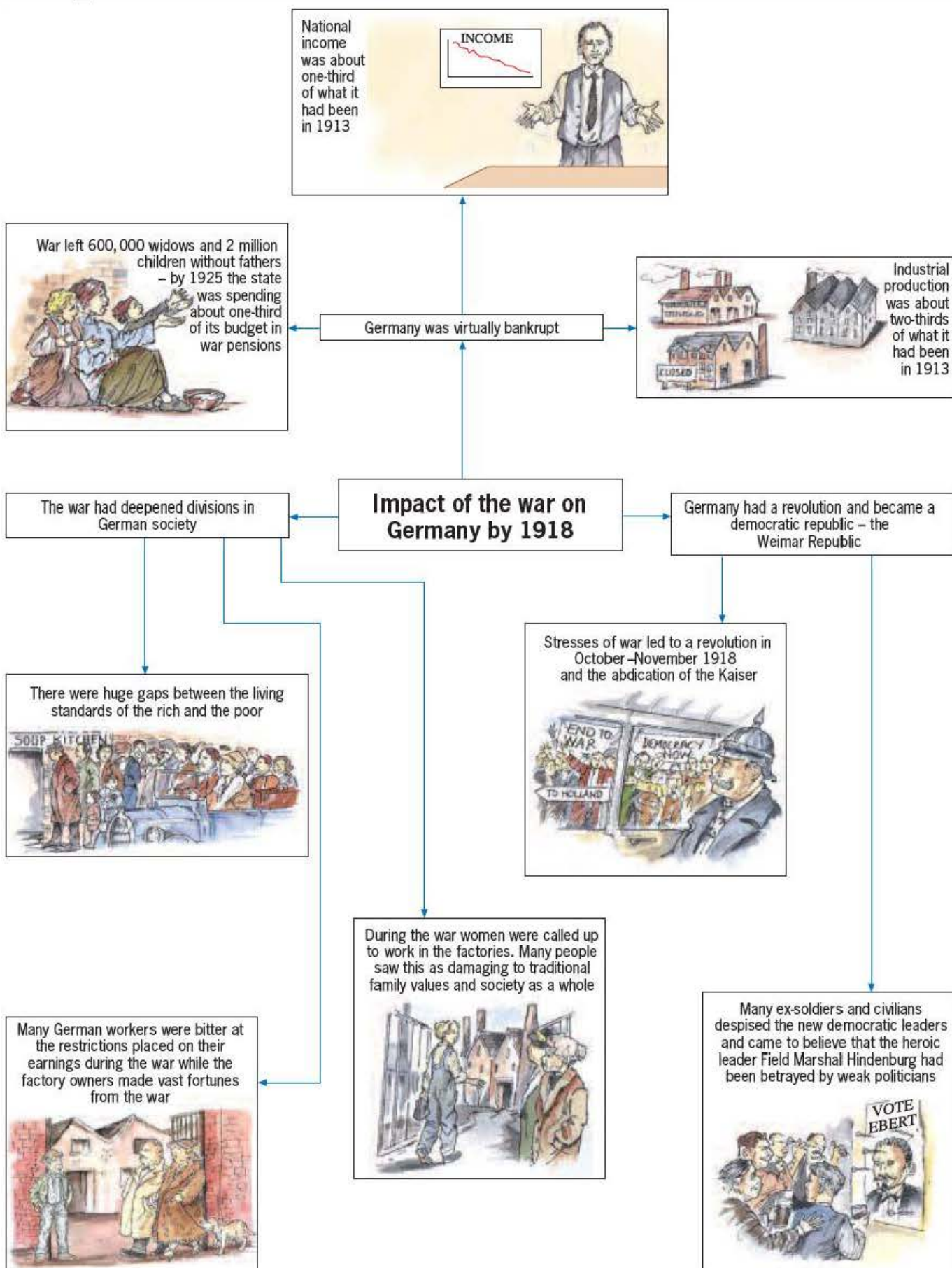
This may not surprise you, given the suffering of the First World War. What might surprise you is that five years later the situation for many people in Germany was still very grim indeed.

Whatever had gone wrong in Germany? To find out, you are going to look back at the final stages of the First World War.

SOURCE 1



German women sell their possessions to buy food in 1922.



The impact of war on Germany by 1918.

Focus Task

How did Germany emerge from defeat in the First World War?

- 1 Use Source 2 on page 175 and the information on this page to make a list of the challenges facing Ebert when he took over in Germany in 1918. You could organise the list into sections:
 - ◆ Political challenges
 - ◆ Social challenges
 - ◆ Economic challenges
 - ◆ The impact of the war
- 2 Imagine you are advising Ebert. Explain what you think are the three most serious challenges that need tackling urgently.
- 3 Take a class vote and see if you all agree on which are the most serious challenges.

The birth of the Weimar Republic

In autumn 1918 the Allies had clearly won the war. Germany was in a state of chaos, as you have seen in Source 2. The Allies offered Germany peace, but under strict conditions. One condition was that Germany should become more democratic. When the Kaiser refused, sailors in northern Germany mutinied and took over the town of Kiel. This triggered other revolts. The Kaiser's old enemies, the Socialists, led uprisings of workers and soldiers in other German ports. Soon, other German cities followed. In Bavaria an independent Socialist Republic was declared. On 9 November 1918 the Kaiser abdicated his throne and left Germany for the Netherlands.

The following day, the Socialist leader Friedrich Ebert became the new leader of the Republic of Germany. He immediately signed an armistice with the Allies. The war was over. He also announced to the German people that the new Republic was giving them freedom of speech, freedom of worship and better working conditions. A new constitution was drawn up (see Factfile).

The success of the new government depended on the German people accepting an almost instant change from the traditional, autocratic German system of government to this new democratic system. The prospects for this did not look good.

The reaction of politicians in Germany was unenthusiastic. Ebert had opposition from both right and left. On the right wing, nearly all the Kaiser's former advisers remained in their positions in the army, judiciary, civil service and industry. They restricted what the new government could do. Many still hoped for a return to rule by the Kaiser. A powerful myth developed that men such as Ebert had stabbed Germany in the back and caused the defeat in the war (see page 177). On the left wing there were many Communists who believed that at this stage what Germany actually needed was a Communist revolution just like Russia's in 1917.

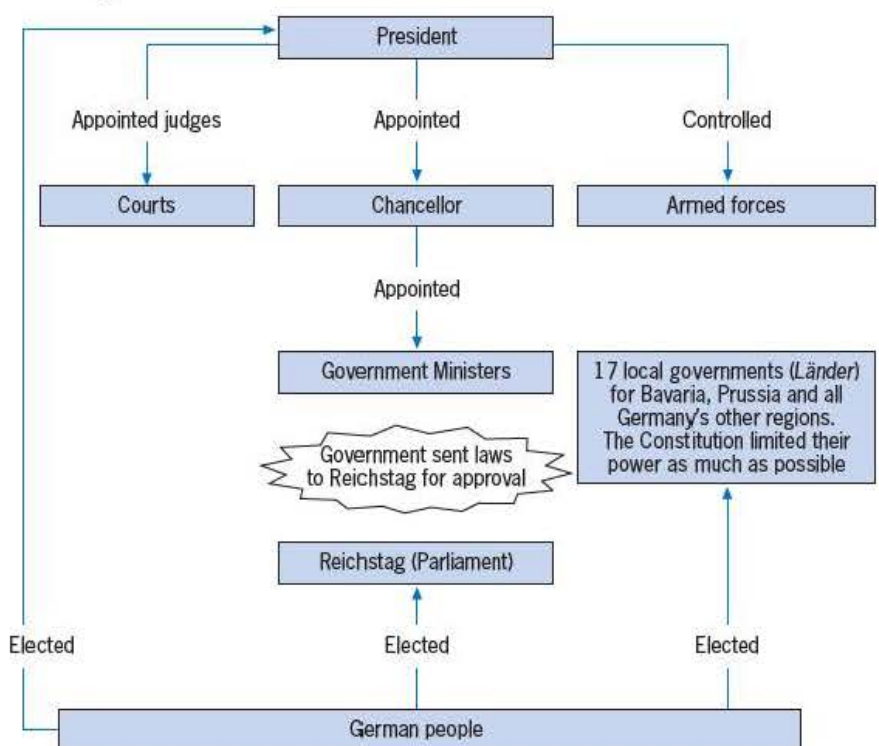
Despite this opposition, in January 1919 free elections took place for the first time in Germany's history. Ebert's party won a majority and he became the President of the Weimar Republic. It was called this because, to start with, the new government met in the small town of Weimar (see Source 6) rather than in the German capital, Berlin. Even in February 1919, Berlin was thought to be too violent and unstable.

SOURCE 3

Factfile

The Weimar Constitution

- Before the war Germany had had no real democracy. The Kaiser was virtually a dictator.
- The Weimar Constitution, on the other hand, attempted to set up probably the most democratic system in the world where no individual could gain too much power.
- All Germans over the age of twenty could vote.
- There was a system of proportional representation – if a party gained twenty per cent of the votes, they gained twenty per cent of the seats in the Parliament (Reichstag).
- The Chancellor was responsible for day-to-day government, but he needed the support of half the Reichstag.
- The Head of State was the President. The President stayed out of day-to-day government. In a crisis he could rule the country directly through Article 48 of the Constitution. This gave him emergency powers, which meant he did not have to consult the Reichstag.



The Weimar Constitution.

SOURCE 4



Spartacists – the Communists who felt that Germany was ready to follow Russia's example of Communist revolution.

SOURCE 5



The Freikorps – ex-servicemen who were totally opposed to Communism.

SOURCE 6



Problems for the Weimar Republic, 1919–24.

Challenges to the Weimar Republic, 1919–23

From the start, Ebert's government faced violent opposition from both left-wing and right-wing opponents.

The threat from the Left

One left-wing group was a Communist party known as the Spartacists. They were led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Their party was much like Lenin's Bolsheviks, who had just taken power in Russia. They argued strongly against Ebert's plans for a democratic Germany (see Factfile). They wanted a Germany ruled by workers' councils or soviets.

Early in 1919 the Spartacists launched their bid for power. Joined by rebel soldiers and sailors, they set up soviets in many towns. Not all soldiers were on the side of the Spartacists, however. Some anti-Communist ex-soldiers had formed themselves into vigilante groups called Freikorps. Ebert made an agreement with the commanders of the army and the Freikorps to put down the rebellion. Bitter street fighting followed between the Spartacists and Freikorps. Both sides were heavily armed. Casualties were high. The Freikorps won. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were murdered and this Communist revolution had failed. However, another one was soon to follow.

It emerged in Bavaria in the south of Germany. Bavaria was still an independent Socialist state led by Kurt Eisner, who was Ebert's ally. In February 1919 he was murdered by political opponents. The Communists in Bavaria seized the opportunity to declare a soviet republic in Bavaria. Ebert used the same tactics as he had against the Spartacists. The Freikorps moved in to crush the revolt in May 1919. Around 600 Communists were killed.

In 1920 there was more Communist agitation in the Ruhr industrial area. Again police, army and Freikorps clashed with Communists. There were 2,000 casualties.

Ebert's ruthless measures against the Communists created lasting bitterness between them and his Socialist Party. However, it gained approval from many in Germany. Ebert was terrified that Germany might go the same way as Russia (at that time rocked by bloody civil war). Many Germans shared his fears. Even so, despite these defeats, the Communists remained a powerful anti-government force in Germany throughout the 1920s.

The Treaty of Versailles

The next crisis to hit the new Republic came in May 1919 when the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were announced. You can read more about this on pages 18–23, but here is a summary. Germany lost:

- 10 per cent of its land
- all of its overseas colonies
- 12.5 per cent of its population
- 16 per cent of its coal and 48 per cent of its iron industry.

In addition:

- its army was reduced to 100,000; it was not allowed to have an air force; its navy was reduced
- Germany had to accept blame for starting the war and was forced to pay reparations.

Most Germans were appalled. Supporters of the Weimar government felt betrayed by the Allies. The Kaiser was gone – why should they be punished for his war and aggression? Opponents of the regime turned their fury on Ebert.

As you read on page 20, Ebert himself was very reluctant to sign the Treaty, but he had no choice. Germany could not go back to war. However, in the minds of many Germans, Ebert and his Weimar Republic were forever to blame for the Treaty. The injustice of the Treaty became a rallying point for all Ebert's opponents. They believed that the German army had been 'stabbed in the back' by the Socialist and Liberal politicians who agreed an armistice in November 1918. They believed not that Germany had been beaten on the battlefield, but that it had been betrayed by its civilian politicians who didn't dare continue the war. The Treaty was still a source of bitterness in Germany when Hitler came to power in 1933. You can read about German reactions to the Treaty on pages 20–21.

- 1 Why might the Right dislike the Weimar Constitution (see Factfile, page 176)?
- 2 For each aspect of the Treaty of Versailles, explain why it would anger Ebert's right-wing opponents.

The threat from the Right

Ebert's government faced violent opposition from the Right. His right-wing opponents were largely people who had grown up in the successful days of the Kaiser's Germany. They had liked the Kaiser's dictatorial style of government. They liked Germany having a strong army. They wanted Germany to expand its territory, and to have an empire. They had been proud of Germany's powerful industry.

In March 1920 Dr Wolfgang Kapp led 5,000 Freikorps into Berlin in a rebellion known as the Kapp Putsch (Putsch means rebellion). The army refused to fire on the Freikorps and it looked as if Ebert's government was doomed. However, it was saved by the German people, especially the industrial workers of Berlin. They declared a general strike which brought the capital to a halt with no transport, power or water (see Source 7). After a few days Kapp realised he could not succeed and left the country. He was hunted down and died while awaiting trial. It seemed that Weimar had support and power after all. Even so, the rest of the rebels went unpunished by the courts and judges.

SOURCE 7



Workers being bussed to work privately during the 1920 general strike.

- 3 From reading pages 177–78, what differences can you see between the treatment of left-wing and right-wing extremists? Can you explain this?

Ebert's government struggled to deal with the political violence in Germany. Political assassinations were frequent. In the summer of 1922 Ebert's Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau was murdered by extremists. Then in November 1923 Adolf Hitler led an attempted rebellion in Munich, known as the **Munich Putsch** (see page 188). Both Hitler and the murderers of Rathenau received short prison sentences. Strangely, Hitler's judge at the trial was the same judge who had tried him two years earlier for disorder. Both times he got off very lightly. It seemed that Weimar's right-wing opponents had friends in high places.

SOURCE 8

There was a lot of official harassment. There was widespread hunger, squalor and poverty and – what really affected us – there was humiliation. The French ruled with an iron hand. If they disliked you walking on the pavement, for instance, they'd come along with their riding crops and you'd have to walk in the road.

The memories of Jutta Rudiger, a German woman living in the Ruhr during the French occupation.

- 4 For each of Sources 9 and 10 write an explanation of its message.
- 5 Is it possible to answer the question 'Could Germany afford the reparations payments?' with a simple yes or no? Explain your answer.

Economic disaster

The Treaty of Versailles destabilised Germany politically, but Germans also blamed it for another problem – economic chaos. See if you agree that the Treaty of Versailles was responsible for economic problems in Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles forced Germany to pay reparations to the Allies. The reparations bill was announced in April 1921. It was set at £6,600 million, to be paid in annual instalments. This was two per cent of Germany's annual output. The Germans protested that this was an intolerable strain on the economy which they were struggling to rebuild after the war, but their protests were ignored.

The invasion of the Ruhr

The first instalment of £50 million was paid in 1921, but in 1922 nothing was paid. Ebert did his best to play for time and to negotiate concessions from the Allies, but the French in particular ran out of patience. They too had war debts to pay to the USA. So in January 1923 French and Belgian troops entered the Ruhr (quite legally under the Treaty of Versailles) and began to take what was owed to them in the form of raw materials and goods.

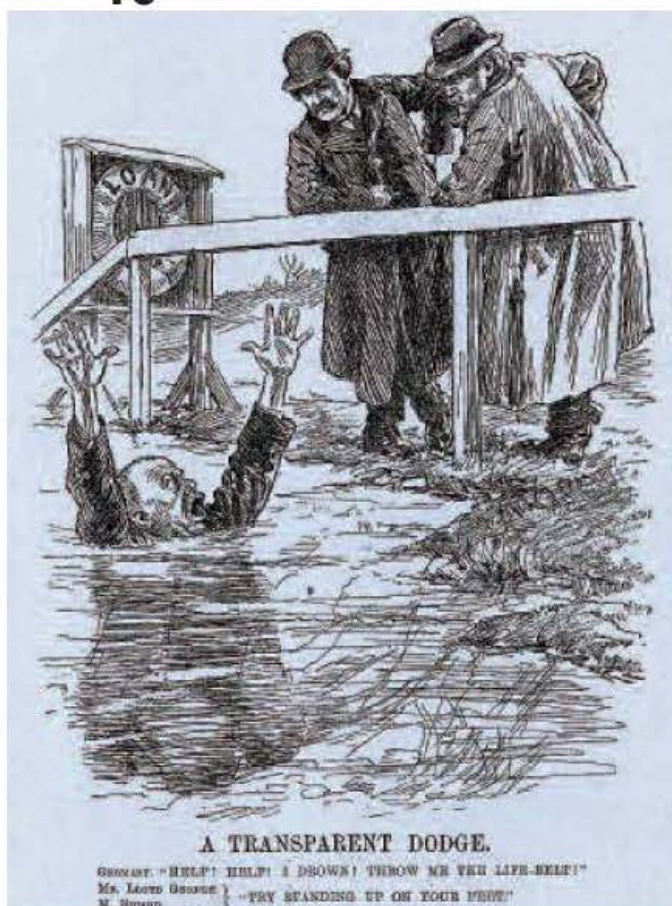
The results of the occupation of the Ruhr were disastrous for Germany. The government ordered the workers to carry out passive resistance, which meant to go on strike. That way, there would be nothing for the French to take away. The French reacted harshly, killing over 100 workers and expelling over 100,000 protesters from the region. More importantly, the halt in industrial production in Germany's most important region caused the collapse of the German currency.

SOURCE 9



A 1923 German poster discouraging people from buying French and Belgian goods, as long as Germany is under occupation.

SOURCE 10



A British cartoon from 1921.

SOURCE 11



A photograph taken in 1923 showing a woman using banknotes to start her fire.

Hyperinflation

Because it had no goods to trade, the government simply printed money. For the government this seemed an attractive solution. It paid off its debts in worthless marks, including war loans of over £2,200 million. The great industrialists were able to pay off all their debts as well.

This set off a chain reaction. With so much money in circulation, prices and wages rocketed, but people soon realised that this money was worthless. Workers needed wheelbarrows to carry home their wages. Wages began to be paid daily instead of weekly. The price of goods could rise between joining the back of a queue in a shop and reaching the front!

Poor people suffered, but the greatest casualties were the richer Germans – those with savings. A prosperous middle-class family would find that their savings in the bank, which might have bought them a house in 1921, by 1923 would not even buy a loaf of bread. Pensioners found that their previously ample monthly pension would not even buy a cup of coffee.

SOURCE 12

	1918	0.63 marks
	1922	163 marks
January	1923	250 marks
July	1923	3465 marks
September	1923	1,512,000 marks
November	1923	201,000,000,000 marks

The rising cost of a loaf of bread in Berlin.

SOURCE 13

	1921	£1 = 500 marks
Nov	1923	£1 = 14,000,000,000,000 marks

The exchange rate value of the mark in pounds.

SOURCE 14



A German banknote of 1923.

SOURCE 15

Billion mark notes were quickly handed on as though they burned one's fingers, for tomorrow one would no longer pay in notes but in bundles of notes . . . One afternoon I rang Aunt Louise's bell. The door was opened merely a crack. From the dark came an odd broken voice: 'I've used 60 billion marks' worth of gas. My milk bill is 1 million. But all I have left is 2000 marks. I don't understand any more.'

E Dobert, *Convert to Freedom*, 1941.

- 1 Look at Source 14. Use Source 12 to work out how much bread this banknote could buy in July 1923 and November 1923.
- 2 Use Sources 11–15 to describe in your own words how ordinary Germans were affected by the collapse of the mark.

- 3 Read Source 16. Choose two of Sources 11–16 to illustrate a leaflet containing a published version of Hitler's speech. Explain your choice.
- 4 Explain why people might agree with Hitler that a dictatorship would solve Germany's problems.

SOURCE 16

Believe me, our misery will increase. The State itself has become the biggest swindler . . . Horrified people notice that they can starve on millions . . . we will no longer submit . . . we want a dictatorship!

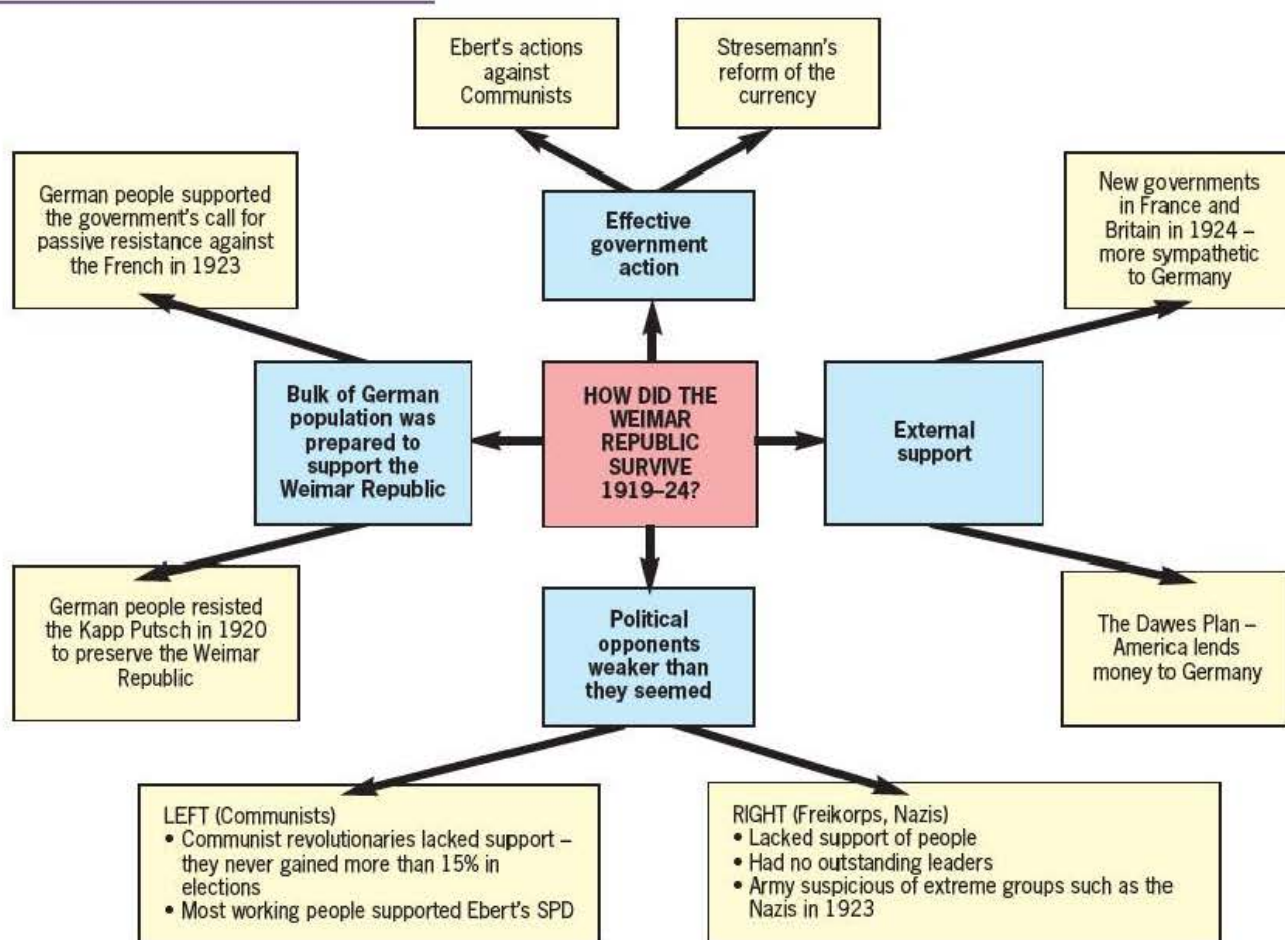
Adolf Hitler attacks the Weimar government in a speech, 1924.

It was clear to all, both inside and outside Germany, that the situation needed urgent action. In August 1923 a new government under Gustav Stresemann took over. He called off the passive resistance in the Ruhr. He called in the worthless marks and burned them, replacing them with a new currency called the Rentenmark. He negotiated to receive American loans under the Dawes Plan. He even renegotiated the reparations payments (see page 182). The economic crisis was solved very quickly. Some historians suggest that this is evidence that Germany's problems were not as severe as its politicians had made out.

It was also increasingly clear, however, that the hyperinflation had done great political damage to the Weimar government. Their right-wing opponents had yet another problem to blame them for, and the government had lost the support of the middle classes.

Focus Task

REVIEW: What was the state of the Weimar Republic in 1924?



This diagram summarises how the Weimar Republic survived its problems between 1919 and 1924. On its own it presents quite a positive image of the Republic. Is it too positive, or is it about right?

Your task is to write a status report on the Weimar Republic in 1924. You could write your report as though you are advising Ebert or as a modern historian with the benefit of hindsight.

You could divide your report into sections:

a) Political opposition to Weimar

Explain whether you think all of the regime's political opponents had been completely defeated by 1924.

b) Economic problems

Explain whether you think all of the economic problems had been completely solved by 1924.

c) Popular support

Explain whether you think the regime had the complete support of all of the people of Germany.

d) Germany and the wider world

Explain

- ◆ whether you think Germany's relations with other countries had improved in 1924
- ◆ whether the problems created by the Treaty of Versailles had been resolved by 1924.

The Weimar Republic under Stresemann

Achievements

The economy

Although Chancellor for only a few months, Stresemann was a leading member of every government from 1923 to 1929. He was a more skilful politician than Ebert, and, as a right-winger, he had wider support. He was also helped by the fact that through the 1920s the rest of Europe was gradually coming out of its post-war depression. Slowly but surely, he built up Germany's prosperity again.

Under the Dawes Plan (see page 181), reparations payments were spread over a longer period, and 800 million marks in loans from the USA poured into Germany. Some of the money went into German industry, replacing old equipment with the latest technology. Some of the money went into public works like swimming pools, sports stadia and apartment blocks. As well as providing facilities, these projects created jobs.

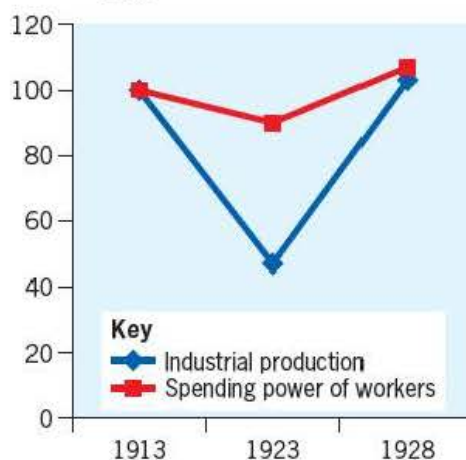
By 1927 German industry seemed to have recovered very well. In 1928 Germany finally achieved the same levels of production as before the war and regained its place as the world's second greatest industrial power (behind the USA). Wages for industrial workers rose and for many Germans there was a higher standard of living. Reparations were being paid and exports were on the increase. The government was even able to increase welfare benefits and wages for state employees.

SOURCE 17

Since the whole of German industry was being renovated technologically, since new manufacturing plants were being installed and the old reorganised, and new machines were being put to work, the demand for building materials, machines, tools, and steel was very high ... Since they employed more workers at better wages, the market for industries producing consumer goods also expanded. Thus the economic crisis following the collapse of the mark was overcome by 1926. The years 1926 to 1928 were the great boom ...

Otto Bauer, a German Marxist writer, commenting on the impact of American investment.

SOURCE 18



Comparison of aspects of the German economy in 1913, 1923 and 1928.

- 1 What factors helped Germany's economy to recover?
- 2 In what ways did economic recovery affect the lives of ordinary Germans?

Foreign policy

Stresemann's greatest triumphs were in foreign policy. In 1925 he signed the Locarno Treaties (see page 30), guaranteeing not to try to change Germany's western borders with France and Belgium. As a result, in 1926 Germany was accepted into the League of Nations. Here Stresemann began to work, quietly but steadily, on reversing some of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, particularly those concerning reparations and Germany's eastern frontiers. By the time he died in 1929, Stresemann had negotiated the Young Plan, which further lightened the reparations burden on Germany and led to the final removal of British, French and Belgian troops from the Rhineland.

Activity

Prepare a presentation based on Sources 19 and 20. Make sure you explain the points each image is making and the ways in which the points are made.

Culture

There was also a cultural revival in Germany. In the Kaiser's time there had been strict censorship, but the Weimar constitution allowed free expression of ideas. Writers and poets flourished, especially in Berlin. Artists in Weimar Germany turned their back on old styles of painting and tried to represent the reality of everyday life, even when that reality was sometimes harsh and shocking. Artists like George Grosz produced powerful paintings like Source 20, which criticised the politicians of the Weimar period. Other paintings of Grosz showed how many soldiers had been traumatised by their experiences in the war. Otto Dix produced paintings like Source 19 which highlighted the gaps between the rich and poor in Germany at the time.

SOURCE 19



Parts of Big City, painted by Otto Dix, 1927–28.

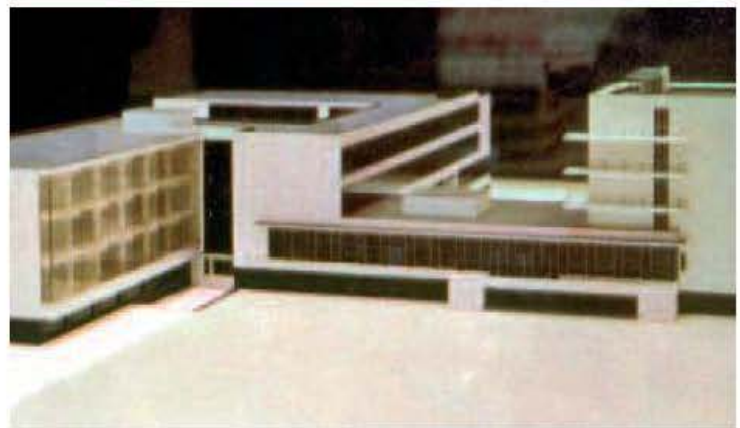
SOURCE 19



Pillars of Society by George Grosz, 1926. Grosz criticised Weimar Germany because he felt too many leading figures in society still believed in the ideals of the Kaiser's Germany (in this painting you can see the civilians still dream of military glory).

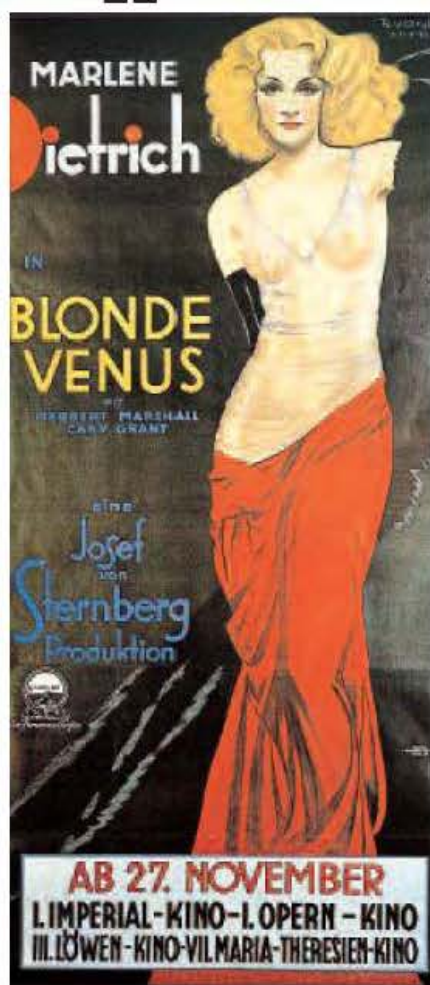
The famous Bauhaus style of design and architecture developed. Artists such as Walter Gropius, Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky taught at the Bauhaus design college in Dessau. The Bauhaus architects rejected traditional styles to create new and exciting buildings. They produced designs for anything from houses and shops to art galleries and factories. The first Bauhaus exhibition attracted 15,000 visitors.

SOURCE 21



The Bauhaus design college in Dessau, built 1925–26.

SOURCE 22



Poster for one of Marlene Dietrich's films.

Activity

Imagine you are interviewing people in the streets of a large German city in 1928 about what they know of the achievements of Weimar Germany and which achievements make them proud. You give them five achievements to look at:

- The success of **German industry** – that Germany is back to number two in the world.
- That Berlin has plenty of clubs and 900 **dance bands**.
- That Germany has joined the international **League of Nations**.
- The **Bauhaus** movement are producing inspired modern designs.
- Otto Dix and George Grosz are world-famous **artists**.

- a) Which of these achievements do you think would be **most well-known** by ordinary Germans living in the city?
- b) Which of these achievements would ordinary, city-living Germans be **most proud of**? Choose a top three and suggest a rank order with reasons. If you think there is something else we have not mentioned that would make them more proud add it to the list.

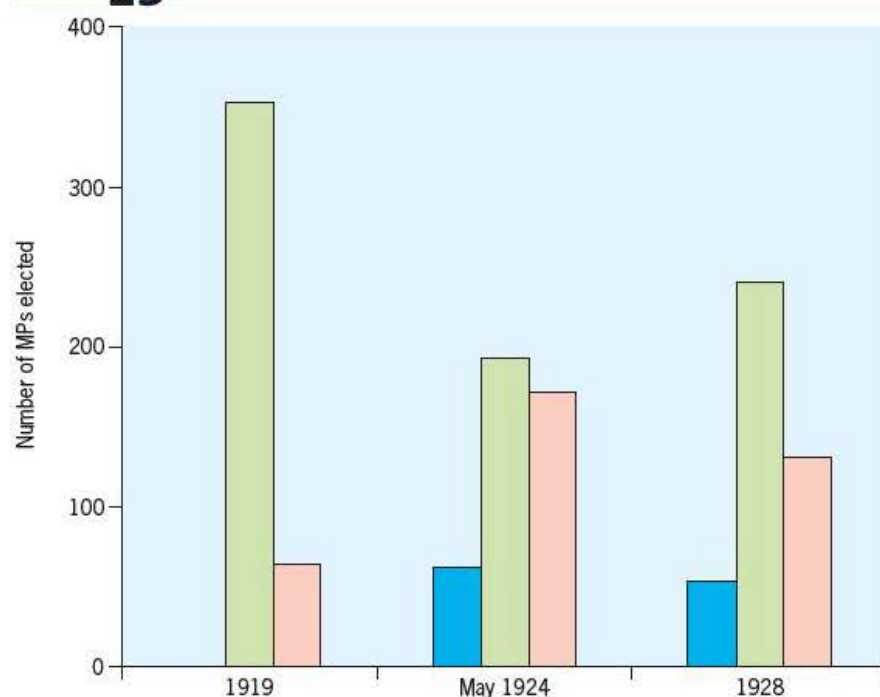
The 1920s were a golden age for German cinema, producing one of its greatest ever international stars, Marlene Dietrich, and one of its most celebrated directors, Fritz Lang.

Berlin was famous for its daring and liberated night life. Going to clubs was a major pastime. In 1927 there were 900 dance bands in Berlin alone. Cabaret artists performed songs criticising political leaders that would have been banned in the Kaiser's days. These included songs about sex that would have shocked an earlier generation of Germans.

Politics

Even politics became more stable. To begin with, there were no more attempted revolutions after 1923 (see page 178). One politician who had been a leading opponent of Ebert in 1923 said that 'the Republic is beginning to settle and the German people are becoming reconciled to the way things are'. Source 23 shows that the parties that supported Weimar democracy did well in these years. By 1928 the moderate parties had 136 more seats in the Reichstag than the radical parties. Hitler's Nazis gained less than three per cent of the vote in the 1928 election. Just as important, some of the parties who had co-operated in the revolution of 1918 began to co-operate again. The Socialists (SPD), Catholic Centre Party, German Democratic Party (DDP) and the German People's Party (DVP) generally worked well together in the years 1924–29.

SOURCE 23



Key

- Left wing opposed to the Republic
- Left wing supporting the Republic
- Right wing opposed to the Republic

Support for the main political parties in Germany, 1919–28.

SOURCE 25



A Wandervogel camp in the 1920s.

Culture

The Weimar culture was colourful and exciting to many. However, in many of Germany's villages and country towns, the culture of the cities seemed to represent a moral decline, made worse by American immigrants and Jewish artists and musicians. As you have read, the Bauhaus design college was in Dessau. What you were not told is that it was in Dessau because it was forced out of Weimar by hostile town officials.

Organisations such as the Wandervogel movement were a reaction to Weimar's culture. The Wandervogel wanted a return to simple country values and wanted to see more help for the countryside and less decadence in the towns. It was a powerful feeling which the Nazis successfully harnessed in later years.

Politics

Despite the relative stability of Weimar politics in this period, both the Nazis and Communists were building up their party organisations. Even during these stable years there were four different chancellors and it was only the influence of party leaders which held the party coalitions together (see Source 26).

SOURCE 26

What we have today is a coalition of ministers, not a coalition of parties. There are no government parties, only opposition parties. This state of things is a greater danger to the democratic system than ministers and parliamentarians realise.

Gustav Stolper, a Reichstag member for the DDP in 1929.

More worrying for the Republic was that around 30 per cent of the vote regularly went to parties opposed to the Republic. Most serious of all, the right-wing organisations which posed the greatest threat to the Republic were quiet rather than destroyed. The right-wing Nationalist Party (DNVP) and the Nazis began to collaborate closely and make themselves appear more respectable. Another event which would turn out to be very significant was that the German people elected Hindenburg as President in 1926. He was opposed to democracy and wrote to the Kaiser in exile for approval before he took up the post! It was clear that the Weimar Republic had not won the loyalty of all sections of German society.

Focus Task

How far did the Weimar Republic recover after 1923?

Look back to the Focus Tasks on pages 176 and 181 which examined the state of the Weimar Republic in 1918 and 1924. You are now going to look at the state of the Republic in 1928. You have to write or present another report, this time to discuss the view: 'How far has the Weimar Republic recovered?' You will find the information you need in pages 182–86.

You could use the same headings as you used in your 1924 report:

- ◆ Political opposition to Weimar
- ◆ Economic problems
- ◆ Popular support
- ◆ Germany and the wider world

You could also add an additional section about the cultural achievements of the Weimar Republic. Mention failings and achievements in your report. You could give Weimar a mark out of ten for each heading.

Finally, you need to decide on an overall judgement: in your opinion, how far had the Weimar Republic recovered? In your answer, do remember that, in the view of many historians, it was probably a major achievement for the Weimar Republic just to have survived at all.

Factfile

The Twenty-Five Point Programme

The most important points of the Programme were:

- the abolition of the Treaty of Versailles
- union of Germany and Austria
- only 'true' Germans to be allowed to live in Germany. Jews in particular were to be excluded
- large industries and businesses to be nationalised
- generous provision for old age pensioners
- a strong central government in Germany.

Profile

Adolf Hitler – the early years, 1889–1919



- Born in Austria in 1889.
- He got on badly with his father but was fond of his mother.
- At the age of sixteen he left school and went to Vienna to pursue his ambition of becoming a painter. However, things went wrong for him and between 1909 and 1914 he was virtually a 'down and out' on the streets of Vienna.
- During this period he developed his hatred of foreigners and Jews.
- When war broke out in 1914, Hitler joined the German army and served with distinction, winning the Iron Cross.
- Hitler found it very hard to accept the armistice and was completely unable to accept the Treaty of Versailles.
- He despised the Weimar democracy and like many Germans looked back to the 'glorious days' of the Kaiser.
- Hitler stayed in the army after the war, working in Munich for the intelligence services. It was in this job that he came across the DAP or German Workers' Party led by Anton Drexler. He liked the ideas of the party and joined in 1919.

Hitler and the Nazis up to 1929

Stresemann's government succeeded in stabilising Germany. However, as you have already seen, the extremist opponents of the Weimar government had not disappeared. Through the 1920s they were organising and regrouping, waiting for their chance to win power.

One of the most important of these extremist groups was the Nazi Party. You are now going to look back at what it had been doing since 1919.

The Nazis began as the German Workers' Party, led by Anton Drexler. In 1919 Adolf Hitler joined the party. Drexler soon realised that Hitler had great talent and within months he had put him in charge of propaganda and the political ideas of the party. In 1920 the party announced its Twenty-Five Point Programme (see Factfile), and renamed itself the National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazis for short.

SOURCE 27



Hitler's renewed membership card of the German Workers' Party, issued 1 January 1920.

In 1921 Hitler removed Drexler as leader. Hitler's energy, commitment and above all his power as a speaker were soon attracting attention.

SOURCE 28

The most active political force in Bavaria at the present time is the National Socialist Party . . . It has recently acquired a political influence quite disproportionate to its actual numerical strength . . . Adolf Hitler from the very first has been the dominating force in the movement and the personality of this man has undoubtedly been one of the most important factors contributing to its success . . . His ability to influence a popular assembly is uncanny.

American intelligence report on political activities in Germany, 1922.

SOURCE 29

Hitler knew how to whip up those crowds jammed closely in a dense cloud of cigarette smoke – not by argument, but by his manner: the roaring and especially the power of his repetitions delivered in a certain infectious rhythm . . . He would draw up a list of existing evils and imaginary abuses and after listing them, in higher and higher crescendo, he screamed: 'And whose fault is it? It's all . . . the fault . . . of the Jews!'

A person who went to Nazi meetings describes the impact of Hitler's speeches.
From *A Part of Myself: Portrait of an Epoch*, by C Zuckmayer.

SOURCE 30

'Power!' screamed Adolf. 'We must have power!' 'Before we gain it,' I replied firmly, 'let us decide what we propose to do with it.'

Hitler, who even then could hardly bear contradiction, thumped the table and barked: 'Power first – afterwards we can act as circumstances dictate.'

Leading Nazi Otto Strasser recalls a conversation with Hitler in the early 1920s.

SOURCE 31

The Bavarian Ministry is removed. I propose that a Bavarian government be formed consisting of a Regent and a Prime Minister invested with dictatorial powers . . . The government of the November Criminals and the Reich president are declared to be removed . . . I propose that, until accounts have been finally settled with the November Criminals, the direction of policy in the National Government be taken over by me . . .

Hitler declares the revolution,
8 November 1923.

- 1 Read Source 31. What was Hitler trying to achieve through the Munich Putsch?

SOURCE 32

I alone bear the responsibility but I am not a criminal because of that . . . There is no such thing as high treason against the traitors of 1918 . . . I feel myself the best of Germans who wanted the best for the German people.

Hitler at his trial.

Hitler had a clear and simple appeal. He stirred nationalist passions in his audiences. He gave them scapegoats to blame for Germany's problems: the Allies, the Versailles Treaty, the 'November Criminals' (the Socialist politicians who signed the Treaty), the Communists and the Jews.

His meetings were so successful that his opponents tried to disrupt them. To counter this, he set up the SA, also known as storm troopers or brownshirts, in 1921. These hired thugs protected Hitler's meetings but also disrupted those of other parties.

By 1923 the Nazis were still very much a minority party, but Hitler had given them a high profile.

Activity

It is 1923. Use the information and sources on pages 187–88 to write a newspaper article about the rise of Hitler and the Nazi Party. Your opening sentences could be:

'In recent months, a new force seems to be arising in German politics. Adolf Hitler and the Nazis have hit the headlines with their meetings, banners and radical ideas. What makes this man successful? . . .'

Your article should tell readers about:

- Hitler's background
- his qualities
- what he and the Nazis believe.

The Munich Putsch, 1923

By November 1923 Hitler believed that the moment had come for him to topple the Weimar government. The government was preoccupied with the economic crisis. Stresemann had just called off Germany's passive resistance in the Ruhr (see pages 179–81). On 8 November, Hitler hijacked a local government meeting and announced he was taking over the government of Bavaria. He was joined by the old war hero Ludendorff.

Nazi storm troopers began taking over official buildings. The next day, however, the Weimar government forces hit back. Police rounded up the storm troopers and in a brief exchange of shots sixteen Nazis were killed by the police. The rebellion broke up in chaos. Hitler escaped in a car, while Ludendorff and others stayed to face the armed police.

Hitler had miscalculated the mood of the German people. In the short term, the Munich Putsch was a disaster for him. People did not rise up to support him. He and other leading Nazis were arrested and charged with treason. At the trial, however, Hitler gained enormous publicity for himself and his ideas, as his every word was reported in the newspapers.

In fact, Hitler so impressed the judges that he and his accomplices got off very lightly. Ludendorff was freed altogether and Hitler was given only five years in prison, even though the legal guidelines said that high treason should carry a life sentence. In the end, Hitler only served nine months of the sentence and did so in great comfort in Landsberg castle.

This last point is very significant. It was clear that Hitler had some sympathy and support from important figures in the legal system. Because of his links with Ludendorff, Hitler probably gained the attention of important figures in the army. Time would show that Hitler was down, but not out.

Focus Task

What did the Nazis stand for in the 1920s?

Imagine the judge at Hitler's trial has asked Hitler the question: 'What do the Nazis really stand for?' Write a reply that Hitler might have given to the judge.

Use sources, the Profile and Factfile as well as the text. Mention:

- ◆ the Weimar Constitution
 - ◆ the Treaty of Versailles
 - ◆ the German people
- and anything else that you think Hitler might consider important.

SOURCE 33

When I resume active work, it will be necessary to pursue a new policy. Instead of working to achieve power by armed conspiracy we shall have to take hold of our noses and enter the Reichstag against the Catholic and Marxist deputies. If out-voting them takes longer than out-shooting them, at least the results will be guaranteed by their own constitution. Any lawful process is slow. Sooner or later we shall have a majority and after that we shall have Germany.

Hitler, writing while in prison in 1923.

Factfile

Hitler's views

In 'Mein Kampf' and his later writings, Hitler set out the main Nazi beliefs:

- National Socialism: This stood for loyalty to Germany, racial purity, equality and state control of the economy.
- Racism: The Aryans (white Europeans) were the Master Race. All other races and especially the Jews were inferior.
- Armed force: Hitler believed that war and struggle were an essential part of the development of a healthy Aryan race.
- Living space ('Lebensraum'): Germany needed to expand as its people were hemmed in. This expansion would be mainly at the expense of Russia and Poland.
- The Führer: Debate and democratic discussion produced weakness. Strength lay in total loyalty to the leader (the Führer).

- 2 Read Source 34. List the five demands made by Goebbels.
- 3 Would you say this source appeals more to the hearts of German people than to their minds? Support your answer with evidence from the source.

The Nazis in the wilderness, 1924–29

Hitler used his time in prison to write a book, *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle), which clarified and presented his ideas about Germany's future. It was also while in prison that he came to the conclusion that the Nazis would not be able to seize power by force. They would have to work within the democratic system to achieve power but, once in power, they could destroy that system.

As soon as he was released from prison, Hitler set about rebuilding the Nazi Party so that it could take power through democratic means. He saw the Communists building up their strength through youth organisations and recruitment drives. Soon the Nazis were doing the same.

They fought the Reichstag elections for the first time in May 1924 and won 32 seats. Encouraged by this, Hitler created a network of local Nazi parties which in turn set up the Hitler Youth, the Nazi Students' League and similar organisations.

SOURCE 34

The German people is an enslaved people. We have had all our sovereign rights taken from us. We are just good enough that international capital allows us to fill its money sacks with interest payments. That and only that is the result of a centuries-long history of boroism. Have we deserved it? No, and no again! Therefore we demand that a struggle against this condition of shame and misery begin, and that the men in whose hands we put our fate must use every means to break the chain of slavery.

Three million people lack work and sustenance. The officials, it is true, work to conceal the misery. They speak of measures and silver linings. Things are getting steadily better for them, and steadily worse for us. The illusion of freedom, peace and prosperity that we were promised when we wanted to take our fate in our own hands is vanishing. Only complete collapse of our people can follow from these irresponsible policies.

Thus we demand the right of work and a decent living for every working German.

While the front soldier was fighting in the trenches to defend his Fatherland, some Eastern Jewish profiteer robbed him of hearth and home. The Jew lives in palaces and the proletarian, the front soldier, lives in holes that do not deserve to be called 'homes'. That is neither necessary nor unavoidable, rather an injustice that cries out to the heavens. A government that does nothing is useless and must vanish, the sooner the better.

Therefore we demand homes for German soldiers and workers. If there is not enough money to build them, drive the foreigners out so that Germans can live on German soil.

Our people is growing, others diminishing. It will mean the end of our history if a cowardly and lazy policy takes from us the posterity that will one day be called upon to fulfil our historical mission.

Therefore we demand land on which to grow the grain that will feed our children.

While we dreamed and chased strange and unreachably fantasies, others stole our property. Today some say this was an act of God. Not so. Money was transferred from the pockets of the poor to the pockets of the rich. That is cheating, shameless, vile cheating!

A government presides over this misery that in the interests of peace and order one cannot really discuss. We leave it to others to judge whether it represents Germany's interests or those of our capitalist tormentors.

We, however, demand a government of national labour, statesmen who are men and whose aim is the creation of a German state.

These days anyone has the right to speak in Germany – the Jew, the Frenchman, the Englishman, the League of Nations, the conscience of the world and the Devil knows who else. Everyone but the German worker. He has to shut up and work. Every four years he elects a new set of torturers, and everything stays the same. That is unjust and treasonous. We need tolerate it no longer. We have the right to demand that only Germans who build this state may speak, those whose fate is bound to the fate of their Fatherland.

Therefore we demand the annihilation of the system of exploitation! Up with the German worker's state! Germany for the Germans!

A pamphlet called 'We demand', written in 1927 by Nazi propaganda expert Joseph Goebbels.

Focus Task

A. Why did the Nazis have little success before 1930?

Here are some factors which explain the Nazis' lack of success:

- ◆ disastrous Putsch of 1923
- ◆ disruption of meetings by political enemies
- ◆ lack of support in police and army
- ◆ most industrial workers supported left-wing parties
- ◆ Nazi aims were irrelevant to most Germans
- ◆ successes of Weimar governments (e.g. economy, foreign policy).

At the moment these factors are organised in alphabetical order. Work in groups to rearrange these factors into what you think is their order of importance.

B. Had the Nazis achieved anything up to 1930?

Despite their lack of success, here are some possible strengths of the Nazi party:

- ◆ Hitler's performances as a speaker
- ◆ the SA and SS
- ◆ there was some support in high places
- ◆ reorganisation of party branches and youth wing
- ◆ understanding the power of propaganda
- ◆ shifting focus away from industrial workers.

At the moment these factors are organised in no particular order. Work in groups to rearrange these factors into what you think is their order of importance.

As you can see from Source 34, by 1927 the Nazis were still trying to appeal to German workers, as they had when the party was first founded. The results of the 1928 elections convinced the Nazis that they had to look elsewhere for support. The Nazis gained only twelve Reichstag seats and only a quarter of the Communist vote. Although their anti-semitic policies gained them some support, they had failed to win over the workers. Workers with radical political views were more likely to support the Communists. The great majority of workers supported the socialist Social Democratic Party (SPD), as they had done in every election since 1919. Indeed, despite the Nazis' arguments that workers were exploited, urban industrial workers actually felt that they were doing rather well in Weimar Germany in the years up to 1929.

Other groups in society were doing less well. The Nazis found that they gained more support from groups such as the peasant farmers in northern Germany and middle-class shopkeepers and small business people in country towns. Unlike Britain, Germany still had a large rural population who lived and worked on the land – probably about 35 per cent of the entire population. They were not sharing in Weimar Germany's economic prosperity. The Nazis highlighted the importance of the peasants in their plans for Germany, promising to help agriculture if they came to power. They praised the peasants as racially pure Germans. Nazi propaganda also contrasted the supposedly clean and simple life of the peasants with that of the allegedly corrupt, immoral crime-ridden cities (for which they blamed the Jews). The fact that the Nazis despised Weimar culture also gained them support among some conservative people in the towns, who saw Weimar's flourishing art, literature and film achievements as immoral.

SOURCE 35

At one of the early congresses I was sitting surrounded by thousands of SA men. As Hitler spoke I was most interested at the shouts and more often the muttered exclamations of the men around me, who were mainly workmen or lower-middle-class types. 'He speaks for me . . . Ach, Gott, he knows how I feel' . . . One man in particular struck me as he leant forward with his head in his hands, and with a sort of convulsive sob said: 'Gott sei Dank [God be thanked], he understands.'

E Amy Buller, *Darkness over Germany*, published in 1943. Buller was an anti-Nazi German teacher.

In 1925 Hitler enlarged the SA. About 55 per cent of the SA came from the ranks of the unemployed. Many were ex-servicemen from the war. He also set up a new group called the SS. The SS were similar to the SA but were fanatically loyal to Hitler personally. Membership of the party rose to over 100,000 by 1928.

Hitler appointed Joseph Goebbels to take charge of Nazi propaganda. Goebbels was highly efficient at spreading the Nazi message. He and Hitler believed that the best way to reach what they called 'the masses' was by appealing to their feelings rather than by rational argument. Goebbels produced posters, leaflets, films and radio broadcasts; he organised rallies; he set up 'photo opportunities'.

Despite these shifting policies and priorities, there was no electoral breakthrough for the Nazis. Even after all their hard work, in 1928 they were still a fringe minority party who had the support of less than three per cent of the population. They were the smallest party with fewer seats than the Communists. The prosperity of the Stresemann years and Stresemann's success in foreign policy made Germans uninterested in extreme politics.

SOURCE 36



A Nazi election poster from 1928, saying 'Work, freedom and bread! Vote for the National Socialists.'

Activity

- 1 Look back at your answer to the Focus Task on page 188. If Hitler had been asked the same question, 'What do the Nazis really stand for?', in 1928, what would have changed?
- 2 Do you think Hitler would have liked your asking him this question? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 1



Upper Silesia in 1932: unemployed miners and their families moved into shacks in a shanty town because they had no money to pay their rent.

The Depression and the rise of the Nazis

In 1929 the American stock market crashed and sent the USA into a disastrous economic depression. In a very short time, countries around the world began to feel the effects of this depression. Germany was particularly badly affected. American bankers and businessmen lost huge amounts of money in the crash. To pay off their debts they asked German banks to repay the money they had borrowed. The result was economic collapse in Germany. Businesses went bankrupt, workers were laid off and unemployment rocketed.

The Depression was a worldwide problem. It was not just Germany that suffered. Nor was the Weimar government the only government having difficulties in solving the problem of unemployment. However, because Germany had been so dependent on American loans, and because it still had to pay reparations to the Allies, the problems were most acute in Germany.

In addition, it seemed that the Weimar Constitution, with its careful balance of power, made firm and decisive action by the government very difficult indeed (see Factfile, page 176).

SOURCE 2

No one knew how many there were of them. They completely filled the streets. They stood or lay about in the streets as if they had taken root there. They sat or lay on the pavements or in the roadway and gravely shared out scraps of newspapers among themselves.

An eyewitness describes the unemployed vagrants in Germany in 1932.

- 1 Draw a diagram to show how the Wall Street Crash in New York could lead to miners losing their jobs in Silesia.

Enter the Nazis!

Hitler's ideas now had a special relevance:

- Is the Weimar government indecisive? Then Germany needs a strong leader!
- Are reparations adding to Germany's problems? Then kick out the Treaty of Versailles!
- Is unemployment a problem? Let the unemployed join the army, build Germany's armaments and be used for public works like road building!

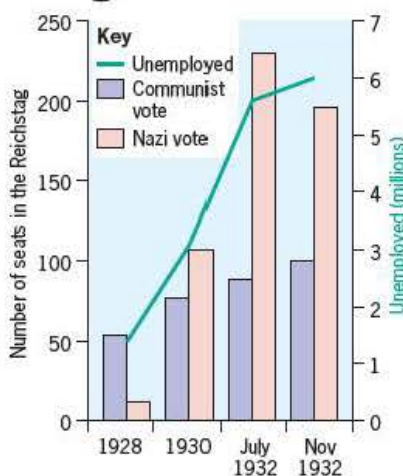
The Nazis' Twenty-Five Points (see page 187) were very attractive to those most vulnerable to the Depression: the unemployed, the elderly and the middle classes. Hitler offered them culprits to blame for Germany's troubles – the Allies, the 'November Criminals' and the Jews. None of these messages was new and they had not won support for the Nazis in the Stresemann years. The difference now was that the democratic parties simply could not get Germany back to work.

In the 1930 elections the Nazis got 107 seats. In November 1932 they got nearly 200. They did not yet have an overall majority, but they were the biggest single party.

Why did the Nazis succeed in elections?

When the Nazis were well established in power in Germany in the 1930s, their propaganda chief, Goebbels, created his own version of the events of 1929–33 that brought Hitler to power. In this version, it was Hitler's destiny to become Germany's leader, and the German people finally came to recognise this. How valid was this view? On pages 192–94 you are going to see if you agree with Goebbels.

SOURCE 3



Support for the Nazis and Communists, and unemployment, 1928–32.

SOURCE 4

My mother saw a storm trooper parade in the streets of Heidelberg. The sight of discipline in a time of chaos, the impression of energy in an atmosphere of universal hopelessness seems to have won her over.

Albert Speer, writing in 1931. Later, he was to become an important and powerful Nazi leader.

SOURCE 5



A poster for a 1931 midsummer festival organised by the Nazi Party. The poster proclaims 'Against Versailles'.

SOURCE 6



A Nazi Party rally in Frankfurt in 1932.

Nazi campaigning

There is no doubt that Nazi campaign methods were modern and effective. They relied on generalised slogans rather than detailed policies. They talked about uniting the people of Germany behind one leader. They also talked about going back to traditional values, though they *were* never very clear about what this meant in terms of policies. This made it hard to criticise them. When they were criticised for a specific policy, they were quite likely to drop it. (For example, when industrialists expressed concern about Nazi plans to nationalise industry, they simply dropped the policy.) The Nazis repeated at every opportunity that they believed Jews, Communists, Weimar politicians and the Treaty of Versailles were the causes of Germany's problems. They expressed contempt for Weimar's democratic system and said that it was unable to solve Germany's economic problems.

Their posters and pamphlets could be found everywhere. Their rallies impressed people with their energy, enthusiasm and sheer size.

At this time, there were frequent street battles between Communist gangs and the police. Everywhere large unruly groups of unemployed workers gathered on street corners. In contrast, the SA and SS gave an impression of discipline and order. Many people felt the country needed this kind of order. They welcomed the fact that the SA were prepared to fight the Communists (page 194). The SA were better organised and usually had the support of the police and army when they beat up opponents and disrupted meetings and rallies.

The Nazis also organised soup kitchens and provided shelter in hostels for the unemployed.

SOURCE 7

The Duties of German Communist Party



Unselfishly they help the farmers



Particular detachments are responsible for improving



They work nights and overtime getting together



They increase their fitness for the fatherland with target

An English translation of a 1931 Nazi election poster.

SOURCE 8

Our opponents accuse us National Socialists, and me in particular, of being intolerant and quarrelsome. They say that we don't want to work with other parties. They say the National Socialists are not German at all, because they refuse to work with other political parties. So is it typically German to have thirty political parties? I have to admit one thing – these gentlemen are quite right. We are intolerant. I have given myself this one goal – to sweep these thirty political parties out of Germany.

Hitler speaking at an election rally,
July 1932.

Activity

On page 188 you wrote an article about Hitler and the Nazis in 1923. It is now late 1932, almost ten years on. Write a follow-up article explaining what has changed in that time.

The Nazis' greatest campaigning asset was Hitler. He was a powerful speaker. He was years ahead of his time as a communicator. Hitler ran for president in 1932. He got 13 million votes to Hindenburg's 19 million. Despite Hitler's defeat, the campaign raised his profile hugely. Using films, radio and records he brought his message to millions. He travelled by plane on a hectic tour of rallies all over Germany. He appeared as a dynamic man of the moment, the leader of a modern party with modern ideas. At the same time, he was able to appear to be a man of the people, someone who knew and understood the people and their problems.

Nazi support rocketed. For example, in Neidenburg in East Prussia Nazi support rose from 2.3 per cent in 1928 to over 25 per cent in 1931, even though the town had no local Nazi Party and Hitler never went there.

SOURCE 9



A Nazi election poster from July 1932. The Nazis proclaim 'We build!' and promise to provide work, freedom and bread. They accuse the opposing parties of planning to use terror, corruption, lies and other strategies as the basis for their government.

SOURCE 10

He began to speak and I immediately disliked him. I didn't know then what he would later become. I found him rather comical, with his funny moustache. He had a scratchy voice and a rather strange appearance, and he shouted so much. He was shouting in this small room, and what he was saying was very simplistic. I thought he wasn't quite normal. I found him spooky.

An eyewitness account of one of Hitler's meetings.

'Negative cohesion'

As Source 10 shows, not everyone was taken in by Nazi campaigning methods and Hitler's magnetism. But even some of the sceptics supported the Nazis. The historian Gordon Craig believed that this was because of something he called 'negative cohesion'. This meant that people supported the Nazis not because they shared Nazi views (that would be positive cohesion) but because they shared Nazi fears and dislikes. They cohered (joined together) over negatives not positives: if you hate what I hate, then you can't be all bad!

The failure of Weimar

Perhaps the biggest negative factor was a shared dislike of democracy in Weimar Germany. Politicians seemed unable to tackle the problems of the Depression. When the Depression began to bite in 1930 the Chancellor, Heinrich Brüning, pursued a tough economic policy. He cut government spending and welfare benefits. He urged Germans to make sacrifices. Some historians think that he was deliberately making the situation worse in order to get the international community to cancel reparations payments. Other historians think that he was afraid of hyperinflation recurring as in 1923. In protest, the SPD (still the main party in the Reichstag) pulled out of the government. To get his measures passed, Brüning relied on President Hindenburg to use his powers under Article 48 (see Factfile, page 176) to bypass the Reichstag.

Brüning and Hindenburg decided to call new elections in 1930. This was a disastrous decision, as it gave the Nazis the opportunity to exploit the fear and discontent in Germany and make the gains you have seen in Source 3 on page 191. The new elections resulted in another divided Reichstag, and the problems continued into 1931 and 1932. The impression was that democracy involved politicians squabbling over which job they would get in the Cabinet. Meanwhile, they did nothing about the real world, where unemployment was heading towards 6 million and the average German's income had fallen by 40 per cent since 1929. The Reichstag met fewer and fewer times (for only five days in 1932). Brüning had to continue to rely on Hindenburg's using his emergency powers, bypassing the democratic process altogether.

Focus Task

Why did people support the Nazis?

Do you agree with Goebbels' view that people rallied to support Hitler for positive reasons – or do you think that Gordon Craig was right that people supported the Nazis out of fear and disillusionment?

Work through questions 1–4 to help you make up your mind.

- 1 Look carefully at Sources 3–7 and 9. For each source, write two sentences explaining whether you think it is evidence that:
 - ◆ supports the view of Goebbels
 - ◆ supports the view of Craig
 - ◆ could be used to support either interpretation.
- 2 Now work through the text and other sources on pages 191–94. Make a list of examples and evidence that seem to support either viewpoint.
- 3 Decide how far you agree with each of the following statements and give them a score on a scale of 1–5.
 - ◆ Very few people fully supported the Nazis.
 - ◆ The key factor was the economic depression. Without it, the Nazis would have remained a minority fringe party.
 - ◆ The politicians of the Weimar Republic were mainly responsible for the rise of the Nazis.
- 4 Write a short paragraph explaining your score for each statement.

The Communist threat

As the crisis deepened, Communist support was rising too. The Nazis turned this to their advantage. 'Fear of Communism' was another shared negative. The Communist Red Fighting League broke up opposition party meetings, just like the SA. They fought street battles with police. So, out on the streets, the Nazi SA storm troopers met Communist violence with their own violence.

Many middle-class business owners had read about how the Communists in the USSR had discriminated against people like them. The owners of the big industries feared the Communists because of their plans to introduce state control of businesses. The industrialists were also concerned about the growing strength of Germany's trade unions. They felt the Nazis would combat these threats and some began to put money into Nazi campaign funds.

All farmers were alarmed by the Communists. They had read about Communist farming policies in the USSR where the Soviet government had taken over all of the land. Millions of peasants had been killed or imprisoned in the process. In contrast, the Nazis promised to help Germany's desperately struggling small farmers.

Decadence

As for modern decadent Weimar culture – the Nazis could count on all those who felt traditional German values were under threat. The Nazis talked about restoring these old-fashioned values.

The Social Democratic Party made a grave mistake in thinking that German people would not fall for these vague promises and accusations. They underestimated the fear and anger that German people felt towards the Weimar Republic.

SOURCE 11

The so-called race of poets and thinkers is hurrying with flags flying towards dictatorship ... the radicalism of the Right [Nazis] has unleashed a strong radicalism on the Left [Communists]. The Communists have made gains almost everywhere. The situation is such that half the German people have declared themselves against the present state.

The Reich Interior Minister commenting on the rise of the Nazis and the Communists in 1932.

SOURCE 12

The majority of Germans never voted for the Nazis.

The Nazis made it clear they would destroy democracy and all who stood in their way. Why then didn't their enemies join together to stop Hitler? . . . Had the Communists and Socialists joined forces they would probably have been strong enough both in the Reichstag and on the streets to have blocked the Nazis. The fact was that by 1932–3 there were simply not enough Germans who believed in democracy and individual freedom to save the Weimar Republic.

S Williams, in *The Rise and Fall of Hitler's Germany*, published in 1986, assesses the reasons for Hitler's success.

Focus Task

How did Hitler become Chancellor in 1933?

Here is a list of factors that helped Hitler come to power.

Nazi strengths

- ◆ Hitler's speaking skills
- ◆ Propaganda campaigns
- ◆ Violent treatment of their opponents
- ◆ Their criticisms of the Weimar system of government
- ◆ Nazi policies
- ◆ Support from big business

Opponents' weaknesses

- ◆ Failure to deal with the Depression
- ◆ Failure to co-operate with one another
- ◆ Attitudes of Germans to the democratic parties

Other factors

- ◆ Weaknesses of the Weimar Republic
- ◆ Scheming of Hindenburg and von Papen
- ◆ The impact of the Depression
- ◆ The Treaty of Versailles
- ◆ Memories of the problems of 1923

- 1 For each factor, write down one example of how it helped Hitler.
- 2 Give each factor a mark out of ten for its importance in bringing Hitler to power.
- 3 Choose what you think are the five most important factors and write a short paragraph on each, explaining why you have chosen it.
- 4 If you took away any of those factors, would Hitler still have become Chancellor?
- 5 Were any of those five factors also present in the 1920s?
- 6 If so, explain why the Nazis were not successful in the 1920s.

How did Hitler become Chancellor in 1933?

After the Reichstag elections of July 1932 the Nazis were the largest single party (with 230 seats) but not a majority party. Hitler demanded the post of Chancellor from the President, the old war hero Hindenburg. However, Hindenburg was suspicious of Hitler and refused. He allowed the current Chancellor Franz von Papen (an old friend of Hindenburg) to carry on as Chancellor. He then used his emergency powers to pass the measures that von Papen had hoped would solve the unemployment problem.

However, von Papen was soon in trouble. He had virtually no support at all in the Reichstag and so called yet another election in November 1932. The Nazis again came out as the largest party, although their share of the vote fell.

Hitler regarded the election as a disaster for the Nazis. He had lost more than 2 million votes along with 38 seats in the Reichstag. The signs were that the Hitler flood tide had finally turned. The Nazis started to run out of funds. Hitler is said to have threatened suicide.

Hindenburg again refused to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. In December 1932 he chose Kurt von Schleicher, one of his own advisers and a bitter rival of von Papen. Von Papen remained as an adviser to Hindenburg.

Within a month, however, von Schleicher too was forced to resign. By this time it was clear that the Weimar system of government was not working. In one sense, Hindenburg had already overthrown the principles of democracy by running Germany with emergency powers. If he was to rescue the democratic system, he needed a Chancellor who actually had support in the Reichstag.

Through January 1933 Hindenburg and von Papen met secretly with industrialists, army leaders and politicians. And on 30 January, to everyone's great surprise, they offered Hitler the post of Chancellor. Why did they do this? With only a few Nazis in the Cabinet and von Papen as Vice Chancellor, they were confident that they could limit Hitler's influence and resist his extremist demands. The idea was that the policies would be made by the Cabinet, which was filled with conservatives like von Papen. Hitler would be there to get support in the Reichstag for those policies and to control the Communists. So Hitler ended up as Chancellor not because of the will of the German people, but through a behind-the-scenes deal by some German aristocrats. Both Hindenburg and von Papen were sure that they could control Hitler. Both were very wrong.

SOURCE 13



A British cartoonist comments on Hitler's ambitions.

- 1 Look at Source 13. Do you think Hitler would be pleased by this portrayal of him? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 14



THE TEMPORARY TRIANGLE.

A British cartoon from early 1933. Hitler, as Chancellor, is being supported by Hindenburg and Von Papen. He needed their support and, although they were not happy with the idea, they needed his popularity with the masses.

SOURCE 16

The defeat in 1918 did not depress me as greatly as the present state of affairs. It is shocking how day after day naked acts of violence, breaches of the law, barbaric opinions appear quite undisguised as official decree. The Socialist papers are permanently banned. The 'Liberals' tremble. The Berliner Tageblatt was recently banned for two days; that can't happen to the Dresdener Neueste Nachrichten, it is completely devoted to the government. . . . I can no longer get rid of the feeling of disgust and shame. And no one stirs; everyone trembles, keeps out of sight.

An extract for 17 March 1933 from the diary of Victor Klemperer, a Jew who lived in Dresden and recorded his experiences from 1933 to 1941.

1 Some people suggest that the Nazis burnt down the Reichstag themselves. Explain why the Nazis might have wanted to do this.

From democracy to dictatorship

It is easy to forget, but when Hitler became Chancellor in January 1933 he was in a very precarious position (see Source 14). Few people thought he would hold on to power for long. Even fewer thought that by the summer of 1934 he would be the supreme dictator of Germany. He achieved this through a clever combination of methods – some legal, others dubious. He also managed to defeat or reach agreements with those who could have stopped him.

The Reichstag Fire and the March 1933 election

Once he was Chancellor, Hitler took steps to complete a Nazi takeover of Germany. He called another election for March 1933 to try to get an overall Nazi majority in the Reichstag. Germany's cities again witnessed speeches, rallies, processions and street fighting. Hitler was using the same tactics as in previous elections, but now he had the resources of state media and control of the streets. Even so, success was in the balance. Then on 27 February there was a dramatic development; the Reichstag building burned down. Hitler blamed the Communists and declared that the fire was the beginning of a Communist uprising. He demanded special emergency powers to deal with the situation and was given them by President Hindenburg. The Nazis used these powers to arrest Communists, break up meetings and frighten voters (see Source 16).

There have been many theories about what caused the fire, including that it was an accident, the work of a madman, or a Communist plot. Many Germans at the time thought that the Nazis might have started the fire themselves.

SOURCE 15



Nazi storm troopers arrest suspected Communists, 1933.

SOURCE 17

Nazi Party	288 seats
Social Democrats (SPD)	120 seats
Communist Party	81 seats
Catholic Centre Party	73 seats
Others	85 seats

Election results, March 1933.

In the election, the Nazis won their largest-ever share of the votes and, with the support of the smaller Nationalist Party, Hitler had an overall majority.

Factfile

Hitler's consolidation of power

1933

- **30 January** Hitler appointed Chancellor; Goering Minister of Interior.
- **17 February** Goering ordered local police forces to co-operate with the SA and SS.
- **27 February** Reichstag fire. Arrest of 4,000 Communists and other Nazi opponents on the same night.
- **28 February** Emergency Decree issued by Hindenburg at Hitler's request. The decree allowed
 - police to arrest suspects and hold them without trial
 - Hitler to take over regional governments (most were taken over by mid March).
- **5 March** Reichstag elections: government used control of radio and police to intimidate opponents. Nazis attracted many new voters with election slogan 'The battle against Marxism'. Won 52 per cent of vote.
- **13 March** Goebbels appointed head of new Ministry for Propaganda. Took control of all media.
- **24 March** The Enabling Act
 - allowed Hitler to pass decrees without the President's involvement
 - made Hitler a legal dictator.
- **7 April** Civil Service administration, courts, and education purged of 'alien elements', i.e. Jews and other opponents of the Nazis.
- **1 May** Workers granted May Day holiday.
- **2 May** Trade unions banned; all workers to belong to new German Labour Front (DAF).
- **9 June** Employment Law: major programme of public works (e.g. road building) to create jobs.
- **14 July** Law against the Formation of New Parties: Germany became a one-party state.
- **20 July** Concordat (agreement) between the state and the Roman Catholic Church: government protected religious freedom; Church banned from political activity.

1934

- **January** All state governments taken over.
- **30 June** Night of the Long Knives.
- **August** On death of Hindenburg, Hitler became Führer. German armed forces swore oath of loyalty to him.

- 2 Explain why the Enabling Act was so important to Hitler.
- 3 Why might Hitler have executed people such as von Schleicher who were nothing to do with the SA?
- 4 Why do you think Hitler chose the support of the army over the support of the SA?

Using the SA and SS, he then intimidated the Reichstag into passing the Enabling Act which allowed him to make laws without consulting the Reichstag. Only the SPD voted against him. Following the election, the Communists had been banned. The Catholic Centre Party decided to co-operate with the Nazis rather than be treated like the Communists. In return, they retained control of Catholic schools. The Enabling Act made Hitler a virtual dictator. For the next four years if he wanted a new law he could just pass it. There was nothing President Hindenburg or anyone else could do.

Even now, Hitler was not secure. He had seen how the Civil Service, the judiciary, the army and other important groups had undermined the Weimar Republic. He was not yet strong enough to remove his opponents, so he set about a clever policy that mixed force, concessions and compromise (see Factfile).

The Night of the Long Knives

Hitler acted quickly. Within a year any opponents (or potential opponents) of the Nazis had either left Germany or been taken to special concentration camps run by the SS. Other political parties were banned.

Hitler was still not entirely secure, however. The leading officers in the army were not impressed by him and were particularly suspicious of Hitler's SA and its leader Ernst Röhm. The SA was a badly disciplined force and, what's more, Röhm talked of making the SA into a second German army. Hitler himself was also suspicious of Röhm. Hitler feared that Röhm's control over the 4 million SA men made him a potentially dangerous rival.

Hitler had to choose between the army and the SA. He made his choice and acted ruthlessly. On the weekend of 29–30 June squads of SS men broke into the homes of Röhm and other leading figures in the SA and arrested them. Hitler accused Röhm of plotting to overthrow and murder him. Over the weekend Röhm and possibly as many as 400 others were executed. These included the former Chancellor von Schleicher, a fierce critic of Hitler, and others who actually had no connection with Röhm. Although the killings took place over the whole weekend, this purge came to be known as the Night of the Long Knives.

Hindenburg thanked Hitler for his 'determined action which has nipped treason in the bud'. The army said it was well satisfied with the events of the weekend.

The SA was not disbanded afterwards. It remained as a Nazi paramilitary organisation, but was very much subordinate to the SS and never regained the influence of 1933. Many of its members were absorbed by the army and the SS.

Der Führer

Soon after the Night of the Long Knives, Hindenburg died and Hitler took over as Supreme Leader (Führer) of Germany. On 2 August 1934 the entire army swore an oath of personal loyalty to Adolf Hitler as Führer of Germany. The army agreed to stay out of politics and to serve Hitler. In return, Hitler spent vast sums on rearmament, brought back conscription and made plans to make Germany a great military power again.

Focus Task

How did Hitler establish his dictatorship 1933–34?

Study the Factfile and the other information and sources on pages 196–97. Make a list of examples of:

- ◆ Nazis using force against their opponents
- ◆ Nazis making deals with their opponents
- ◆ Nazis combining these two methods.

Repression and control in Nazi Germany

There was supposed to be no room for opposition of any kind in Nazi Germany. The aim was to create a totalitarian state. In a totalitarian state there can be no rival parties, no political debate. Ordinary citizens must divert their whole energy into serving the state and to doing what its leader wants.

The Nazis had a powerful range of organisations and weapons that they used to control Germany and terrorise Germans into submission.

The SS

SOURCE 18



SS guards after taking over the Berlin broadcasting station in 1933.

SOURCE 19



The elements of the SS during wartime.

The SS was formed in 1925 from fanatics loyal to Hitler. After virtually destroying the SA in 1934, it grew into a huge organisation with many different responsibilities. It was led by Heinrich Himmler. SS men were of course Aryans, very highly trained and totally loyal to Hitler. Under Himmler, the SS had primary responsibility for destroying opposition to Nazism and carrying out the racial policies of the Nazis.

Two important sub-divisions of the SS were the Death's Head units and the Waffen-SS. The Death's Head units were responsible for the concentration camps and the slaughter of the Jews. The Waffen-SS were special SS armoured regiments which fought alongside the regular army.

The Gestapo

SOURCE 20



The Gestapo, the German secret state police, in action.

The Gestapo (secret state police) was the force which was perhaps most feared by the ordinary German citizen. Under the command of Reinhard Heydrich, Gestapo agents had sweeping powers. They could arrest citizens on suspicion and send them to concentration camps without trial or even explanation.

Modern research has shown that Germans thought the Gestapo were much more powerful than they actually were. As a result, many ordinary Germans informed on each other because they thought the Gestapo would find out anyway.

The boxes on pages 198–199 gives the impression that Nazi Germany was run like a well-oiled machine: there to do the will of the Führer! Modern research suggests otherwise.

It was, in fact, somewhat chaotic and disorganised. Hitler was not hardworking. He disliked paperwork and decision making. He thought that most things sorted themselves out in time without his intervention. Officials competed with each other to get his approval for particular policies.

The result was often a jumble of different government departments competing with each other and getting in each other's way.

The police and the courts

The police and courts also helped to prop up the Nazi dictatorship. Top jobs in local police forces were given to high-ranking Nazis reporting to Himmler. As a result, the police added political 'snooping' to their normal law and order role. They were, of course, under strict instructions to ignore crimes committed by Nazi agents. Similarly, the Nazis controlled magistrates, judges and the courts, which meant that opponents of Nazism rarely received a fair trial.

SOURCE 21



German judges swearing their loyalty at the criminal courts in Berlin.

Concentration camps

SOURCE 22



Political prisoners at the Oranienburg concentration camp near Berlin.

Focus Task

Summarise the information on these two pages in a table with the following headings:

- ◆ Organisation
- ◆ Duties
- ◆ How it helped Hitler to make his position secure

Concentration camps were the Nazis' ultimate sanction against their own people. They were set up almost as soon as Hitler took power. The first concentration camps in 1933 were simply makeshift prisons in disused factories and warehouses. Soon these were purpose-built. These camps were usually in isolated rural areas, and run by SS Death's Head units. Prisoners were forced to do hard labour. Food was very limited and prisoners suffered harsh discipline, beatings and random executions. By the late 1930s, deaths in the camps became increasingly common and very few people emerged alive from them. Jews, Socialists, Communists, trade unionists, churchmen and anyone else brave enough to criticise the Nazis ended up there.

SOURCE 23

The Nazis gained 52 per cent of the vote in the March 1933 elections. This government will not be content with 52 per cent behind it and with terrorising the remaining 48 per cent, but will see its most immediate task as winning over that remaining 48 per cent . . . It is not enough for people to be more or less reconciled to the regime.

Goebbels at his first press conference on becoming Minister for Propaganda, March 1933.

- 1 Look at Source 24. How does the rally:
 - a) make it clear who the leader is
 - b) give people a sense of belonging
 - c) provide colour and excitement
 - d) show the power of the state
 - e) show the Nazis' ability to create order out of chaos?

Propaganda, culture and mass media in Nazi Germany

One reason why opposition to Hitler was so limited was the work of Dr Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Enlightenment and Propaganda. Goebbels passionately believed in Hitler as the saviour of Germany. His mission was to make sure that others believed this too. Throughout the twelve years of Nazi rule Goebbels constantly kept his finger on the pulse of public opinion and decided what the German public should and should not hear. He aimed to use every resource available to him to make people loyal to Hitler and the Nazis.

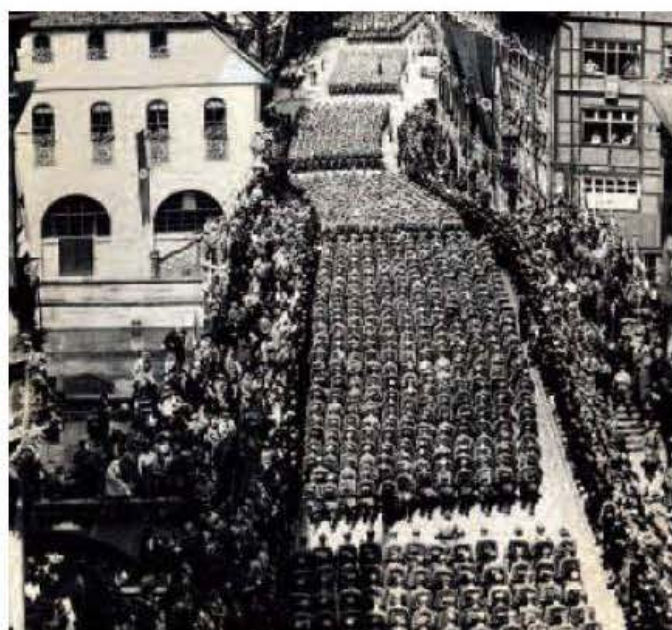
The Nuremberg rallies

Goebbels organised huge rallies, marches, torchlit processions and meetings. Probably the best example was the Nuremberg rally which took place in the summer each year. There were bands, marches, flying displays and Hitler's brilliant speeches. The rallies brought some colour and excitement into people's lives. They gave them a sense of belonging to a great movement. The rallies also showed the German people the power of the state and convinced them that 'every other German' fully supported the Nazis. Goebbels also recognised that one of the Nazis' main attractions was that they created order out of chaos and so the whole rally was organised to emphasise order.

SOURCE 24



A Hitler speaks to the assembled Germans.



B A parade through the streets.



C German youth marching with spades.

The annual rally at Nuremberg. The whole town was taken over and the rally dominated radio broadcasts and newsreels.

Focus Task

Terror or propaganda – which was more important?

In groups, discuss which of the following statements you most agree with.

- A** Goebbels' work was more important to Nazi success than that of Himmler (head of the SS).
- B** Himmler's work was more important to Nazi success than Goebbels'.
- C** The techniques of repression and propaganda go hand in hand – neither would work without the other.

- 2 Look at Source 25 and explain why Goebbels wanted every German household to have a radio set.
- 3 Write your own ten-word definition of propaganda.
- 4 What does Source 26 tell you about the effectiveness of Nazi propaganda?

The media

Less spectacular than the rallies but possibly more important was Goebbels' control of the media. In contrast with the free expression of Weimar Germany, the Nazis controlled the media strictly. No books could be published without Goebbels' permission (not surprisingly the best seller in Nazi Germany was *Mein Kampf*). In 1933 he organised a high-profile 'book-burning'. Nazi students came together publicly to burn any books that included ideas unacceptable to the Nazis.

Artists suffered the same kinds of restriction as writers. Only Nazi-approved painters could show their works. These were usually paintings or sculptures of heroic-looking Aryans, military figures or images of the ideal Aryan family.

Goebbels also controlled the newspapers closely. They were not allowed to print anti-Nazi ideas. Within months of the Nazi takeover, Jewish editors and journalists found themselves out of work and anti-Nazi newspapers were closed down. The German newspapers became very dull reading and Germans bought fewer newspapers as a result – circulation fell by about ten per cent.

The cinema was also closely controlled. All films – factual or fictional, thrillers or comedies – had to carry a pro-Nazi message. The newsreels which preceded feature films were full of the greatness of Hitler and the massive achievements of Nazi Germany. There is evidence that Germans avoided these productions by arriving late! Goebbels censored all foreign films coming into Germany.

Goebbels plastered Germany with posters proclaiming the successes of Hitler and the Nazis and attacking their opponents.

He banned jazz music, which had been popular in Germany as elsewhere around Europe. He banned it because it was 'Black' music and black people were considered an inferior race.

Goebbels loved new technology and quickly saw the potential of radio broadcasting for spreading the Nazi message. He made cheap radios available so all Germans could buy one and he controlled all the radio stations. Listening to broadcasts from the BBC was punishable by death. Just in case people did not have a radio Goebbels placed loudspeakers in the streets and public bars. Hitler's speeches and those of other Nazi leaders were repeated on the radio over and over again until the ideas expressed in them – German expansion into eastern Europe, the inferiority of the Jews – came to be believed by the German people.

Throughout this period Goebbels was supported in his work by the SS and the Gestapo. When he wanted to close down an anti-Nazi newspaper, silence an anti-Nazi writer, or catch someone listening to a foreign radio station, they were there to do that work for him.

SOURCE 25



Poster advertising cheap Nazi-produced radios. The text reads 'All Germany hears the Führer on the People's Radio.' The radios had only a short range and were unable to pick up foreign stations.

SOURCE 26

There are cinema evenings to be caught up with, very enjoyable ones – if only there were not each time the bitterness of the Third Reich's self-adulation and triumphalism. The renewal of German art – recent German history as reflected in postage stamps, youth camp, enthusiastic welcome for the Führer in X or Y. Goebbels' speech on culture to the Germanised theatre people, the biggest lecture theatre in the world, the biggest autobahn in the world, etc. etc. – the biggest lie in the world, the biggest disgrace in the world. It can't be helped . . .

From the diary of Victor Klemperer for 8 August 1937.

SOURCE 27



Poster for an anti-Jewish exhibition, 1937. The caption reads 'The Eternal Jew'.

SOURCE 28

Our state is an educational state . . . It does not let a man go free from the cradle to the grave. We begin with the child when he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think, he is made to carry a little flag. Then follows school, the Hitler Youth, the storm troopers and military training. We don't let him go; and when all that is done, comes the Labour Front, which takes possession of him again, and does not let him go till he dies, even if he does not like it.

Dr Robert Ley, who was Chief of the Labour Front and in charge of making 'good citizens' out of the German people.

SOURCE 29

The Jews are aliens in Germany. In 1933 there were 66,060,000 inhabitants of the German Reich of whom 499,862 were Jews. What is the percentage of aliens in Germany?

A question from a Nazi maths textbook, 1933.

SOURCE 30

8.00 German (every day)
8.50 Geography, History or Singing (alternate days)
9.40 Race Studies and Ideology (every day)
10.25 Recess, Sports and Special Announcements (every day)
11.00 Domestic Science or Maths (alternate days)
12.10 Eugenics or Health Biology (alternate days)
1.00–6.00 Sport
Evenings Sex education, Ideology or Domestic Science (one evening each)

The daily timetable for a girls' school in Nazi Germany.

- 1 Read Source 28. Do you think that the speaker is proud of what he is saying?
- 2 Do you think the real aim of the question in Source 29 is to improve mathematical skills?
- 3 Read Source 30. Eugenics is the study of how to produce perfect offspring by choosing ideal qualities in the parents. How would this help the Nazis?

The Nazis and young people

It was Hitler's aim to control every aspect of life in Germany, including the daily life of ordinary people. If you had been a sixteen-year-old Aryan living in Nazi Germany you would probably have been a strong supporter of Adolf Hitler. The Nazis had reorganised every aspect of the school curriculum to make children loyal to them.

SOURCE 31

It is my great educative work I am beginning with the young. We older ones are used up . . . We are bearing the burden of a humiliating past . . . But my magnificent youngsters! Are there finer ones in the world? Look at these young men and boys! What material! With them I can make a new world.

Hitler, speaking in 1939.

At school you would have learned about the history of Germany. You would have been outraged to find out how the German army was 'stabbed in the back' by the weak politicians who had made peace. You might well remember the hardships of the 1920s for yourself, but at school you would have been told how these were caused by Jews squeezing profits out of honest Germans. By the time you were a senior pupil, your studies in history would have made you confident that loyalty to the Führer was right and good. Your biology lessons would have informed you that you were special, as one of the Aryan race which was so superior in intelligence and strength to the *Untermenschen* or sub-human Jews and Slavs of eastern Europe. In maths you would have been set questions like the one in Source 29.

SOURCE 32

All subjects – German language, History, Geography, Chemistry and Mathematics – must concentrate on military subjects, the glorification of military service and of German heroes and leaders and the strength of a rebuilt Germany. Chemistry will develop a knowledge of chemical warfare, explosives, etc, while Mathematics will help the young to understand artillery, calculations, ballistics.

A German newspaper, heavily controlled by the Nazis, approves of the curriculum in 1939.

As a member of the Hitler Youth or League of German Maidens, you would have marched in exciting parades with loud bands. You would probably be physically fit. Your leisure time would also be devoted to Hitler and the Nazis. You would be a strong cross-country runner, and confident at reading maps. After years of summer camps, you would be comfortable camping out of doors and if you were a boy you would know how to clean a rifle and keep it in good condition.

SOURCE 33

Typical day at a labour camp for 18- to 25-year-olds

6.00	Get up (5.00 in summer)	3.00–4.00	Rest
6.05–6.20	Exercises	4.00–5.00	Sport
6.20–6.40	Washing; bed making	5.00–6.00	Political studies
6.40–6.55	Breakfast	6.00–7.00	Allocation of jobs to be done the next day
7.00–7.30	Flag parade; speech by camp leader	7.00–8.00	Supper
7.30–2.30	March to work; six hours' farm work	8.00–9.00	Songs and dancing; speeches
2.30–3.00	Midday meal	10.00	Lights out

A young person's day in Nazi Germany.

SOURCE 34

Hitler looked over the stand, and I know he looked into my eyes, and he said: 'You my boys are the standard bearers, you will inherit what we have created.' From that moment there was not any doubt I was bound to Adolf Hitler until long after our defeat. Afterwards I told my friends how Hitler had looked into my eyes, but they all said: 'No! It was my eyes he was looking into.'

A young German describes his feelings after a Hitler Youth rally.

SOURCE 35

Children have been deliberately taken away from parents who refused to acknowledge their belief in National Socialism . . . The refusal of parents to allow their young children to join the youth organisation is regarded as an adequate reason for taking the children away.

A German teacher writing in 1938.

SOURCE 36

It was a great feeling. You felt you belonged to a great nation again. Germany was in safe hands and I was going to help to build a strong Germany. But my father of course felt differently about it. [He warned] 'Now Henrik, don't say to them what I am saying to you.' I always argued with my father as I was very much in favour of the Hitler regime which was against his background as a working man.

Henrik Metelmann describes what it was like being a member of the Hitler Youth in the 1930s.

- 4 Make a list of the main differences between your life and the life of a sixteen-year-old in Nazi Germany.
- 5 Totalitarian regimes through history have used children as a way of influencing parents. Why do you think they do this?
- 6 Read Source 36. Why do you think Henrik's father asks Henrik not to repeat what he says to him?

SOURCE 37



Members of the Hitler Youth in the 1930s. From a very early age children were encouraged to join the Nazi youth organisations. It was not compulsory, but most young people did join.

As a child in Nazi Germany, you might well feel slightly alienated (estranged) from your parents because they are not as keen on the Nazis as you are. They expect your first loyalty to be to your family, whereas your Hitler Youth leader makes it clear that your first loyalty is to Adolf Hitler. You find it hard to understand why your father grumbles about Nazi regulation of his working practices – surely the Führer (Hitler) is protecting him? Your parents find the idea of Nazi inspectors checking up on the teachers rather strange. For you it is normal.

SOURCE 38



Illustration from a Nazi children's book. The children are being taught to distrust Jews.

Activity

Draw up two posters summarising the aims and objectives of Nazi youth policy. One poster should be for the young people themselves. The other should be for the parents.

SOURCE 39

The formation of cliques, i.e. groupings of young people outside the Hitler Youth, has been on the increase before and particularly during the war to such a degree that one must speak of a serious risk of political, moral and criminal subversion of our youth.

From a report by the Nazi youth leadership, 1942.

SOURCE 40



The public hanging of twelve Edelweiss Pirates in Cologne in 1944.

Activity

Study Sources 39 and 40 and the information on the impact of the war on young people. Then decide which of these two statements you agree with more strongly:

- The information on the impact of war is not relevant to the historian studying the attitudes of young people in Germany in the period 1933–39.
- The information on the impact of war is relevant to the historian studying the period 1933–39 because it shows that all the Nazis' efforts in the 1930s failed to win over many young people.

Did all young people support the Nazis?

This is a difficult question to answer because it depends on many factors. It depended on whether you were a young person from a working-class or middle-class background. It depended on you as a person of course. It also depended on when we ask that question. Levels of support for the Nazis differed at different times. Many young people were attracted to the Nazi youth movements by the leisure opportunities they offered. There were really no alternatives. All other youth organisations had been either absorbed or made illegal. Even so, only half of all German boys were members in 1933 and only fifteen per cent of girls. As with all other sections of society, young people were monitored closely and the reports of the security services threw up some interesting groups, such as the 'Swing' movement and the Edelweiss Pirates. Neither of these groups had strong political views. They were not political opponents of the Nazis. But they resented and resisted Nazi control of their lives.

The 'Swing' movement

This was made up mainly of middle-class teenagers. They went to parties where they listened to English and American music and sang English songs. They danced American dances such as the 'jitterbug' to jazz music which the Nazis had banned. They accepted Jews at their clubs. They talked about and enjoyed sex. They were deliberately 'slovenly'. The Nazis issued a handbook helping the authorities to identify these degenerate types. Some were shown with unkempt, long hair; others with exaggeratedly English clothes.

The Edelweiss Pirates

The Edelweiss Pirates were working-class teenagers. They were not an organised movement, and groups in various cities took different names: 'The Roving Dudes' (Essen); the 'Kittelbach Pirates' (Düsseldorf); the 'Navajos' (Cologne). The Nazis, however, classified all the groups under the single name 'Edelweiss Pirates' and the groups did have a lot in common. The Pirates were mainly aged between fourteen and seventeen (Germans could leave school at fourteen, but they did not have to sign on for military service until they were seventeen). At the weekends, the Pirates went camping. They sang songs, just like the Hitler Youth, but they changed the lyrics of songs to mock Germany and when they spotted bands of Hitler Youth they taunted and sometimes attacked them. In contrast with the Hitler Youth, the Pirates included boys and girls. The Pirates were also much freer in their attitude towards sex, which was officially frowned upon by the Hitler Youth.

The impact of the war

In 1939 membership of a Nazi youth movement was made compulsory. But by this time the youth movements were going through a crisis. Many of the experienced leaders had been drafted into the German army. Others – particularly those who had been leaders in the pre-Nazi days – had been replaced by keener Nazis. Many of the movements were now run by older teenagers who rigidly enforced Nazi rules. They even forbade other teenagers to meet informally with their friends.

As the war progressed, the activities of the youth movements focused increasingly on the war effort and military drill. The popularity of the movements decreased and indeed the popularity of anti-Hitler Youth movements increased. The Pirates' activities became increasingly serious during the war. In Cologne, for example, Pirates helped to shelter army deserters and escaped prisoners. They stole armaments and took part in an attack on the Gestapo during which its chief was killed. The Nazi response was to round up the so called 'ringleaders'. Twelve were publicly hanged in November 1944.

Focus Task

How did young people react to the Nazi regime?

- 1 Young people were among the most fanatical supporters of the Nazi regime. Use pages 202–04 to write three paragraphs to explain why the Nazis were successful in winning them over. Include the following points:
 - ◆ why the Nazis wanted to control young people
 - ◆ how they set about doing it
 - ◆ what the attractions of the youth movements were.
- 2 The Nazi regime was not successful in keeping the loyalty of all young people. Add a fourth paragraph to your essay to explain why some young people rejected the Nazi youth movements.

SOURCE 41



A parade organised by the German Faith Movement. This movement was a non-Christian movement based on worship of the sun.

SOURCE 42

Most postwar accounts have concentrated on the few German clerics who did behave bravely . . . But these were few. Most German church leaders were shamefully silent. As late as January 1945, the Catholic bishop of Würzburg was urging his flock to fight on for the Fatherland, saying that 'salvation lies in sacrifice'.

British historian and journalist Charles Wheeler, writing in 1996.

SOURCE 43

Reflecting on the failure of the Churches to challenge the Nazis should prompt us to ponder all the others – individuals, governments and institutions – that passively acquiesced to the Third Reich's tyranny. Even the wisest and most perceptive of them, it seems, failed to develop adequate moral and political responses to Nazi genocide, failed to recognise that something new was demanded of them by the barbarism of Hitler's regime. Moreover, it has become abundantly clear that their failure to respond to the horrid events in Europe in the thirties and forties was not due to ignorance; they knew what was happening.

Ultimately, the Churches' lapses during the Nazi era were lapses of vision and determination. Protestant and Catholic religious leaders loyal to creeds professing that love can withstand and conquer evil, were unable or unwilling to defy one of the great evils in human history. And so the Holocaust will continue to haunt the Christian Churches for a very, very long time to come.

An extract from 'The Role of the Churches: Compliance and Confrontation', an article written by Victoria J Barnett in 1998. The author is a researcher who specialises in the role of the Churches in Nazi Germany.

The Nazis and the Churches

The relationship between the Churches and the Nazis was complicated. In the early stages of the Nazi regime, there was some co-operation between the Nazis and the Churches. Hitler signed a Concordat with the Catholic Church in 1933. This meant that Hitler agreed to leave the Catholic Church alone and allowed it to keep control of its schools. In return, the Church agreed to stay out of politics.

Hitler tried to get all of the Protestant Churches to come together in one official Reich Church. The Reich Church was headed by the Protestant Bishop Ludwig Müller. However, many Germans still felt that their true loyalties lay with their original Churches in their local areas rather than with this state-approved Church.

Hitler even encouraged an alternative religion to the Churches, the pagan German Faith Movement (see Source 41).

Many churchgoers either supported the Nazis or did little to oppose them. However, there were some very important exceptions. The Catholic Bishop Galen criticised the Nazis throughout the 1930s. In 1941 he led a popular protest against the Nazi policies of killing mentally ill and physically disabled people, forcing the Nazis temporarily to stop. He had such strong support among his followers that the Nazis decided it was too risky to try to silence him because they did not want trouble while Germany was at war.

Protestant ministers also resisted the Nazis. Pastor Martin Niemöller was one of the most high-profile critics of the regime in the 1930s. Along with Dietrich Bonhoeffer, he formed an alternative Protestant Church to the official Reich Church. Niemöller spent the years 1938–45 in a concentration camp for resisting the Nazis. Dietrich Bonhoeffer preached against the Nazis until the Gestapo stopped him in 1937. He then became involved with members of the army's intelligence services who were secretly opposed to Hitler. He helped Jews to escape from Germany. Gradually he increased his activity. In 1942 he contacted the Allied commanders and asked what peace terms they would offer Germany if Hitler were overthrown. He was arrested in October 1942 and hanged shortly before the end of the war in April 1945.

Focus Task

How did the Churches respond to the Nazis?

Sources 42 and 43 are very harsh judgements about the role of the Churches in Nazi Germany.

- 1 Make a list of the most serious accusations which the authors make against the Churches.
- 2 Now find evidence and examples which support or contradict those accusations.
- 3 Now make a list of examples which either explain or justify the actions of the Churches. Remember there may be a big difference between something which explains and something which justifies the actions of the Churches.
- 4 There were other groups in Germany (with a few exceptional individuals) which either co-operated with the Nazis or failed to resist them, such as:
 - ◆ political parties
 - ◆ army commanders
 - ◆ judges and lawyers

Do you think it is fair that Sources 42 and 43 criticise the Churches more harshly than these other groups? Explain your answer in a paragraph.

Economic recovery and rearmament

Hitler and the Nazis came to power because they promised to use radical methods to solve the country's two main problems – desperate unemployment and a crisis in German farming. In return for work and other benefits, the majority of the German people gave up their political freedom. Was it worth it?

At first, many Germans felt it was, particularly the 5 million who were unemployed in 1933. Hitler was fortunate in that by 1933 the worst of the Depression was over. Even so, there is no doubt that the Nazis acted with energy and commitment to solve some of the main problems. The brilliant economist **Dr Hjalmar Schacht** organised Germany's finances to fund a huge programme of work creation. The National Labour Service sent men on **public works projects** and conservation programmes, in particular to build a network of motorways or **autobahns**. Railways were extended or built from scratch. There were major house-building programmes and grandiose new public building projects such as the Reich Chancellery in Berlin.

Other measures brought increasing prosperity. One of Hitler's most cherished plans was **rearmament**. In 1935 he reintroduced **conscription** for the German army. In 1936 he announced a **Four-Year Plan** under the control of **Goering** to get the German economy ready for war (it was one of the very few clear policy documents that Hitler ever wrote).

Activity

As you read through pages 206–09, you will come across a number of individuals, organisations and terms in bold type in the text, like **this**. You could add more of your own if you wish. Draw up a table containing definitions of the words, or explanations of their importance to the Nazis' economic policies. The completed table will help you with your revision. You could organise your table like this:

Key word/term/person	Definition/explanation

SOURCE 45



A completed autobahn.

SOURCE 44



Previously unemployed men assemble for the building of the first autobahn, September 1933.

SOURCE 47

Early one morning, a neighbour of ours, a trade-union secretary, was taken away in a car by the SS and police. His wife had great difficulty finding out what had happened to him. My mother was too scared to be seen talking to her and Father became very quiet and alarmed and begged me not to repeat what he had said within our four walls about the whole Nazi set-up . . .

I loved it when we went on our frequent marches, feeling important when the police had to stop the traffic to give us right of way and passing pedestrians had to raise their arm in the Nazi salute. Whenever we were led out on a march, it was always into the working-class quarters. We were told that this was to remind the workers, but I sometimes wondered what we wanted to remind them of, after all most of our fathers were workers . . .

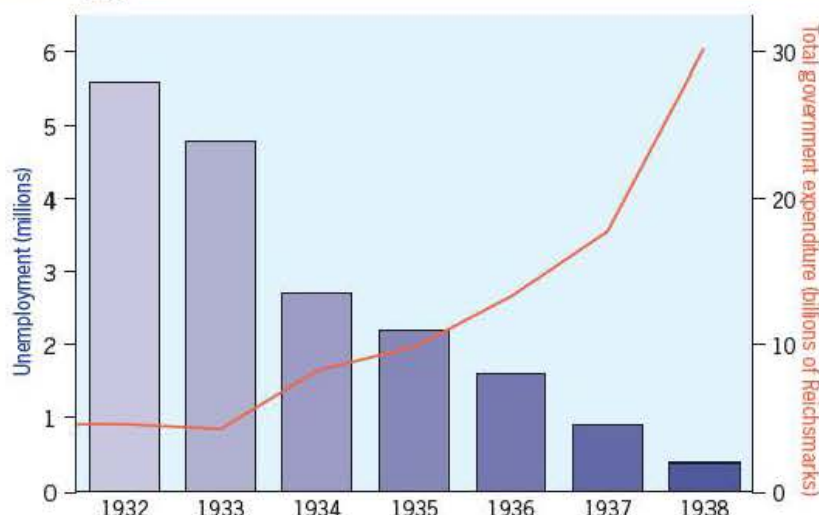
When war broke out and I was about to be called up, Father fell ill and never recovered. Just before he died, he made one final effort to bring me to my senses. Now that his life was coming to an end, he was no longer frightened of the 'brown pest'. He had been a soldier in the 1914–18 war and like so many of the working people of his generation in Hamburg he hated the Nazis like poison.

From *Through Hell for Hitler*, the memoirs of Henrik Metelmann, published in 1970.

Metelmann came from a working-class family in Hamburg but was an enthusiastic member of the Hitler Youth and served in the German army in the Second World War.

Conscription reduced unemployment. The need for weapons, equipment and uniforms created jobs in the coal mines, steel and textile mills. Engineers and designers gained new opportunities, particularly when Hitler decreed that Germany would have a world-class air force (the Luftwaffe). As well as bringing economic recovery, these measures boosted Hitler's popularity because they boosted **national pride**. Germans began to feel that their country was finally emerging from the humiliation of the Great War and the Treaty of Versailles, and putting itself on an equal footing with the other Great Powers.

SOURCE 46



Unemployment and government expenditure in Germany, 1932–38. Economic recovery was almost entirely funded by the state rather than from Germans investing their own savings. Despite this, unemployment fell steadily and Germany was actually running short of workers by 1939.

The Nazis and the workers

Hitler promised (and delivered) lower unemployment which helped to ensure popularity among **industrial workers**. These workers were important to the Nazis: Hitler needed good workers to create the industries that would help to make Germany great and establish a new German empire in eastern Europe. He won the loyalty of industrial workers by a variety of initiatives.

- Propaganda praised the workers and tried to associate them with Hitler.
- Schemes such as **Strength Through Joy (KDF)** gave them cheap theatre and cinema tickets, and organised courses and trips and sports events. Workers were offered cut-price cruises on the latest luxury liners.
- Many thousands of workers saved five marks a week in the state scheme to buy the **Volkswagen Beetle**, the 'people's car'. It was designed by Ferdinand Porsche and became a symbol of the prosperous new Germany, even though no workers ever received a car because all car production was halted by the war in 1939.
- Another important scheme was the **Beauty of Labour** movement. This improved working conditions in factories. It introduced features not seen in many workplaces before, such as washing facilities and low-cost canteens.

What was the price of these advances? Workers lost their main political party, the SPD. They lost their trade unions and for many workers this remained a source of bitter resentment. All workers had to join the **DAF (General Labour Front)** run by **Dr Robert Ley**. This organisation kept strict control of workers. They could not strike for better pay and conditions. In some areas, they were prevented from moving to better-paid jobs. Wages remained comparatively low, although prices were also strictly controlled. Even so, by the late 1930s, many workers were grumbling that their standard of living was still lower than it had been before the Depression (see Source 46).

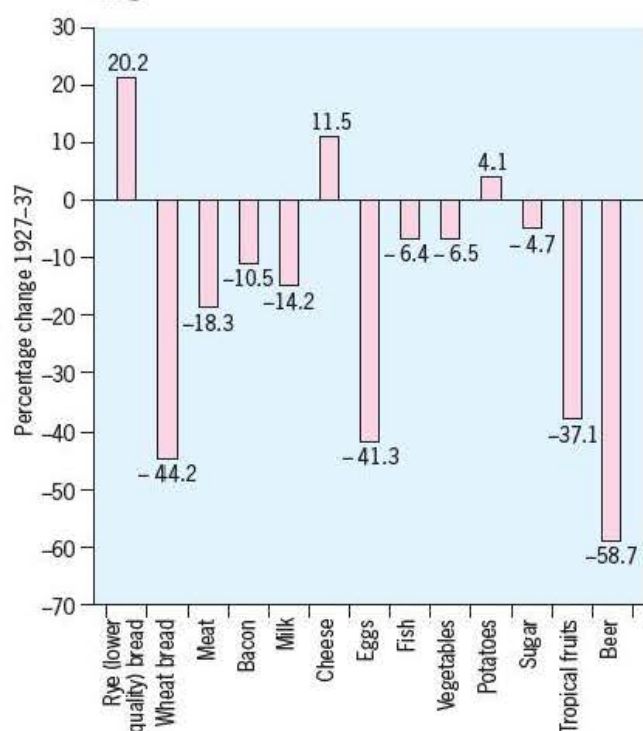
The Nazis and the farming communities

The **farmers** had been an important factor in the Nazis' rise to power. Hitler did not forget this and introduced a series of measures to help them. In September 1933 he introduced the **Reich Food Estate** under **Richard Darre**. This set up central boards to buy agricultural produce from the farmers and distribute it to markets across Germany. It gave the peasant farmers a guaranteed market for their goods at guaranteed prices. The second main measure was the **Reich Entailed Farm Law**. It gave peasants state protection for their farms: banks could not seize their land if they could not pay loans or mortgages. This ensured that peasants' farms stayed in their hands.

The Reich Entailed Farm Law also had a racial aim. Part of the Nazi philosophy was '**Blood and Soil**', the belief that the peasant farmers were the basis of Germany's master race. They would be the backbone of the new German empire in the east. As a result, their way of life had to be protected. As Source 49 shows, the measures were widely appreciated.

However, rather like the industrial workers, some peasants were not thrilled with the regime's measures. The Reich Food Estate meant that efficient, go-ahead farmers were held back by having to work through the same processes as less efficient farmers. Because of the Reich Entailed Farm Law, banks were unwilling to lend money to farmers. It also meant that only the eldest child inherited the farm. As a result, many children of farmers left the land to work for better pay in Germany's industries. **Rural depopulation** ran at about three per cent per year in the 1930s – the exact opposite of the Nazis' aims!

SOURCE 48



Annual food consumption in working-class families, 1927–37 (% change).

SOURCE 49

Thousands of people came from all over Germany to the Harvest Festival celebrations . . . We all felt the same happiness and joy. Harvest festival was the thank you for us farmers having a future again. I believe no statesman has ever been as well loved as Adolf Hitler was at that time. Those were happy times.

Lusse Essig's memories of harvest festivals in the 1930s. Lusse was a farm worker who went on to work for the Agriculture Ministry between 1937 and 1945.

Big business and the middle classes

The record of the Nazis with the **middle classes** was also mixed. Certainly many middle-class business people were grateful to the Nazis for eliminating the Communist threat to their businesses and properties. They also liked the way in which the Nazis seemed to be bringing order to Germany. For the owners of small businesses it was a mixed picture. If you owned a small engineering firm, you were likely to do well from government orders as rearmament spending grew in the 1930s. However, if you produced consumer goods or ran a small shop, you might well struggle. Despite Hitler's promises, the large department stores which were taking business away from local shops were not closed.

It was **big business** that really benefited from Nazi rule. The big companies no longer had to worry about troublesome trade unions and strikes. Companies such as the chemicals giant IG Farben gained huge government contracts to make explosives, fertilisers and even artificial oil from coal. Other household names today, such as Mercedes and Volkswagen, prospered from Nazi policies.

- 1 On your own copy of Source 50 label the features that are attempting to comment on life in Nazi Germany.

SOURCE 50



A Nazi propaganda poster from the 1930s encouraging people to turn to Nazi-led community groups for help and advice.

Focus Task

Did most people in Germany benefit from Nazi rule?

Here are some claims that the Nazi propaganda machine made about how life in Germany had been changed for the better:

- ◆ 'Germans now have economic security.'
- ◆ 'Germans no longer need to feel inferior to other states. They can be proud of their country.'
- ◆ 'The Nazi state looks after its workers very well indeed.'
- ◆ 'The Nazis are on the side of the farmers and have rescued Germany's farmers from disaster.'
- ◆ 'The Nazis have made Germany safe from communism.'

You are now going to decide how truthful these claims actually are.

- 1 Look back over pages 198–209. Gather evidence that supports or opposes each claim. You could work in groups taking one claim each.
- 2 For each claim, decide whether, overall, it is totally untrue; a little bit true; mostly true; or totally true.
- 3 Discuss:
 - a) Which of these groups do you think benefited most from Nazi rule: the workers, the farmers, big business or the middle classes?
 - b) Who did not benefit from Nazi rule?

The 'national community' – Volksgemeinschaft

We have divided this section by social group, but the Nazis would not want Germans to see their society that way. Hitler wanted all Germans to think of themselves as part of a **national community**, or *Volksgemeinschaft*. Under Nazi rule, workers, farmers, and so on, would no longer see themselves primarily as workers or farmers; they would see themselves as Germans. Their first loyalty would not be to their own social group but to Germany and the Führer. They would be so proud to belong to a great nation that was racially and culturally superior to other nations that they would put the interests of Germany before their own. Hitler's policies towards each group were designed to help win this kind of loyalty to the Nazi state.

The evidence suggests that the Nazis never quite succeeded in this: Germans in the 1930s certainly did not lose their self-interest, nor did they embrace the national community wholeheartedly. However, the Nazis did not totally fail either! In the 1930s Germans did have a strong sense of national pride and loyalty towards Hitler. For the majority of Germans, the benefits of Nazi rule made them willing – on the surface at least – to accept some central control in the interests of making Germany great again.

SOURCE 51



A painting showing the Nazis' view of an ideal German family.

SOURCE 52



Girls from the German Maidens' League camping. The League offered excitement and escape from boring duties in the home.

Women in Nazi Germany

All the Nazi leaders were men. The Nazis were a very male-dominated organisation. Hitler had a very traditional view of the role of the German woman as wife and mother. It is worth remembering that many *women* agreed with him. In the traditional rural areas and small towns, many women felt that the proper role of a woman was to support her husband. There was also resentment towards working women in the early 1930s, since they were seen as keeping men out of jobs. It all created a lot of pressure on women to conform to what the Nazis called 'the traditional balance' between men and women. 'No true German woman wears trousers' said a Nazi newspaper headline when the film star Marlene Dietrich appeared wearing trousers in public.

Alarmed at the falling birth rate, Hitler offered tempting financial incentives for married couples to have at least four children. You got a 'Gold Cross' for having eight children, and were given a privileged seat at Nazi meetings. Posters, radio broadcasts and newsreels all celebrated the ideas of motherhood and homebuilding. The German Maidens' League reinforced these ideas, focusing on a combination of good physical health and housekeeping skills. This was reinforced at school (see Source 30 on page 202).

With all these encouragements the birth rate did increase from fifteen per thousand in 1933 to twenty per thousand in 1939. There was also an increase in pregnancies outside marriage. These girls were looked after in state maternity hostels.

SOURCE 53



Leni Riefenstahl directing the shooting of her film of the 1936 Olympics.

SOURCE 54



Gertrude Scholz-Klink, head of the Nazi Women's Bureau.

SOURCE 55



A German woman and her Jewish boyfriend being publicly humiliated by the SA in 1933.

There were some prominent women in Nazi Germany. Leni Riefenstahl was a high-profile film producer. Gertrude Scholz-Klink was head of the Nazi Women's Bureau, although she was excluded from any important discussions (such as the one to conscript female labour in 1942). Many working-class girls and women gained the chance to travel and meet new people through the Nazi women's organisation. Overall, however, opportunities for women were limited. Married professional women were forced to give up their jobs and stay at home with their families, which many resented as a restriction on their freedom. Discrimination against women applicants for jobs was actually encouraged.

In the late 1930s the Nazis had to do an about-turn as they suddenly needed more women workers because the supply of unemployed men was drying up. Many women had to struggle with both family and work responsibilities. However, even during the crisis years of 1942–45 when German industry was struggling to cope with the demand for war supplies, Nazi policy on women was still torn between their traditional stereotype of the mother and the actual needs of the workplace. For example, there was no chance for German women to serve in the armed forces, as there was in Allied countries.

SOURCE 56

I went to Sauckel [the Nazi minister in charge of labour] with the proposition that we should recruit our labour from the ranks of German women. He replied brusquely that where to obtain which workers was his business. Moreover, he said, as Gauleiter [a regional governor] he was Hitler's subordinate and responsible to the Führer alone . . . Sauckel offered to put the question to Goering as Commissioner of the Four-Year Plan . . . but I was scarcely allowed to advance my arguments. Sauckel and Goering continually interrupted me. Sauckel laid great weight on the danger that factory work might inflict moral harm on German womanhood; not only might their 'psychic and emotional life' be affected but also their ability to bear children.

Goering totally concurred. But just to be absolutely sure, Sauckel went immediately to Hitler and had him confirm the decision. All my good arguments were therefore blown to the winds.

Albert Speer, *Inside The Third Reich*, 1970. Speer was Minister of Armaments and War Production.

Focus Task

How successful were the Nazi policies for women?

Read these two statements:

- ◆ 'Nazi policy for women was confused.'
 - ◆ 'Nazi policy for women was a failure.'
- For each statement explain whether you agree or disagree with it and use examples from the text to support your explanation.

The persecution of minorities

The Nazis believed in the superiority of the Aryan race. Through their twelve years in power they persecuted members of other races, and many minority groups such as gypsies, homosexuals and mentally handicapped people. They persecuted any group that they thought challenged Nazi ideas. Homosexuals were a threat to Nazi ideas about family life; the mentally handicapped were a threat to Nazi ideas about Germans being a perfect master race; gypsies were thought to be an inferior people.

The persecution of such minorities varied. In families where there were hereditary illnesses, sterilisation was enforced. Over 300,000 men and women were compulsorily sterilised between 1934 and 1945. A so-called 'euthanasia programme' was begun in 1939. At least 5,000 severely mentally handicapped babies and children were killed between 1939 and 1945 either by injection or by starvation. Between 1939 and 1941, 72,000 mentally ill patients were gassed before a public outcry in Germany itself ended the extermination. The extermination of the gypsies, on the other hand, did not cause an outcry. Five out of six gypsies living in Germany in 1939 were killed by the Nazis. Similarly, there was little or no complaint about the treatment of so-called 'asocials' – homosexuals, alcoholics, the homeless, prostitutes, habitual criminals and beggars – who were rounded up off the streets and sent to concentration camps.

You are going to investigate this most disturbing aspect of Nazi Germany by tracing the story of Nazi treatment of the Jewish population in which anti-semitism culminated in the dreadful slaughter of the 'Final Solution'.

SOURCE 57



A poster published in 1920, directed at 'All German mothers'. It explains that over 12,000 German Jews were killed fighting for their country in the First World War and was produced by a Jewish soldiers' organisation.

SOURCE 58



SA and SS men enforcing the boycott of Jewish shops, April 1933.

SOURCE 59

To read the pages [of Hitler's Mein Kampf] is to enter a world of the insane, a world peopled by hideous and distorted shadows. The Jew is no longer a human being, he has become a mythical figure, a grimacing leering devil invested with infernal powers, the incarnation of evil.

A Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, published in 1990.

Hitler and the Jews

Anti-semitism means hatred of Jews. Throughout Europe, Jews had experienced discrimination for hundreds of years. They were often treated unjustly in courts or forced to live in ghettos. One reason for this persecution was religious, in that Jews were blamed for the death of Jesus Christ! Another reason was that they tended to be well educated and therefore held well-paid professional jobs or ran successful stores and businesses.

Hitler hated Jews insanely. In his years of poverty in Vienna, he became obsessed by the fact that Jews ran many of the most successful businesses, particularly the large department stores. This offended his idea of the superiority of Aryans. Hitler also blamed Jewish businessmen and bankers for Germany's defeat in the First World War. He thought they had forced the surrender of the German army.

As soon as Hitler took power in 1933 he began to mobilise the full powers of the state against the Jews. They were immediately banned from the Civil Service and a variety of public services such as broadcasting and teaching. At the same time, SA and later SS troopers organised boycotts of Jewish shops and businesses, which were marked with a star of David.

- 1 What does Source 57 suggest about attitudes to Jews in 1920?
- 2 Why did Hitler hate the Jews?

SOURCE 63



A cartoon from the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, 1935. Jews owned many shops and businesses. These were a constant target for Nazi attacks.

SOURCE 64

[The day after Kristallnacht] the teachers told us: don't worry about what you see, even if you see some nasty things which you may not understand. Hitler wants a better Germany, a clean Germany. Don't worry, everything will work out fine in the end.

Henrik Metelmann, member of the Hitler Youth, in 1938.

SOURCE 65

Until Kristallnacht, many Germans believed Hitler was not engaged in mass murder. [The treatment of the Jews] seemed to be a minor form of harassment of a disliked minority. But after Kristallnacht no German could any longer be under any illusion. I believe it was the day that we lost our innocence. But it would be fair to point out that I myself never met even the most fanatic Nazi who wanted the extermination [mass murder] of the Jews. Certainly we wanted the Jews out of Germany, but we did not want them to be killed.

Alfons Heck, member of the Hitler Youth in 1938, interviewed for a television programme in 1989.

- 1 Read Sources 64–66. How useful is each source to a historian looking at the German reaction to *Kristallnacht*?
- 2 Taken together, do they provide a clear picture of how Germans felt about *Kristallnacht*?
- 3 Could Germans have protested effectively about *Kristallnacht*? Explain your answer with reference to pages 198–201.

In 1936 the pressure on Jews and other minorities relaxed a little. Some Jews saw this as a positive sign, and believed that the regime had gone as far as it was going to go to persecute them. The reality was that the persecution lapsed, primarily because Germany was trying to present itself to the world in a positive light while the Olympics were being held in Berlin. During this respite many Jews took the opportunity to emigrate from Germany to any country which would take them.

Kristallnacht

In November 1938 a young Jew killed a German diplomat in Paris. The Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels turned this event into an opportunity for himself. He had recently fallen out of favour with Hitler and was desperate to regain Hitler's favoured status. Goebbels urged a wide-scale and brutal response to the event in Paris. Plain-clothes SS troopers were issued with pickaxes and hammers and the addresses of Jewish businesses. They ran riot, smashing up Jewish shops and workplaces. Ninety-one Jews were murdered. Hundreds of synagogues were burned. Twenty thousand Jews were taken to concentration camps. Thousands more left the country. This event became known as *Kristallnacht* or 'The Night of Broken Glass'. Many Germans watched the events of *Kristallnacht* with alarm and concern. The Nazi-controlled press presented *Kristallnacht* as the spontaneous reaction of ordinary Germans against the Jews. Most Germans did not believe this. However, hardly anyone protested. The few who did were brutally murdered.

SOURCE 66

I feel the urge to present to you a true report of the recent riots, plundering and destruction of Jewish property. Despite what the official Nazi account says, the German people have nothing whatever to do with these riots and burnings. The police supplied SS men with axes, bouse-breaking tools and ladders. A list of the addresses of all Jewish shops and flats was provided and the mob worked under the leadership of the SS men. The police had strict orders to remain neutral.

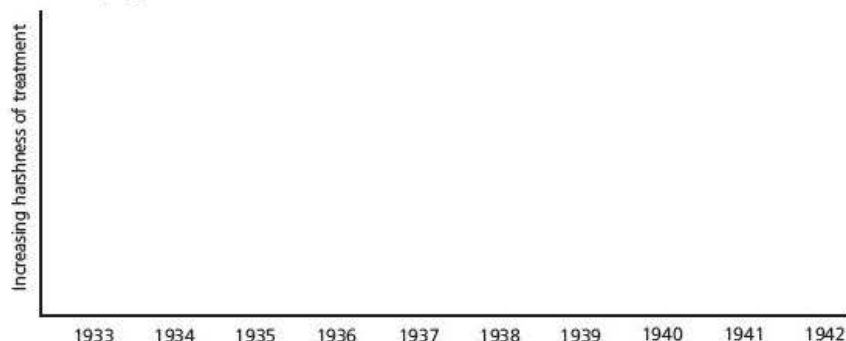
Anonymous letter from a German civil servant to the British consul, 1938.

Ghettos to mass murder

The persecution developed in intensity after the outbreak of war in 1939. After defeating Poland in 1939, the Nazis set about 'Germanising' western Poland. This meant transporting Poles from their homes and replacing them with German settlers. Almost one in five Poles died in the fighting and as a result of racial policies of 1939–45. Polish Jews were rounded up and transported to the major cities. Here they were herded into sealed areas, called ghettos. The able-bodied Jews were used for slave labour but the young, the old and the sick were simply left to die from hunger and disease. It was the beginning of a programme of mass murder which would end in the Final Solution – the industrial scale murder of Jews and other minorities in death camps in Poland such as Auschwitz or Treblinka.

Focus Task

Draw your own copy of the graph below. The aim is to show how Nazi policies towards minorities developed during the 1930s and beyond. Use the information and sources in this section, but refer to other sections of this chapter as well, especially the Factfile on page 197.



SOURCE 64

November 1933

Millions of Germans are indeed won over by Hitler and the power and the glory are really his. I hear of some actions by the Communists . . . But what good do such pinpricks do? Less than none, because all Germany prefers Hitler to the Communists.

April 1935

Frau Wilbrandt told us that people complain in Munich when Hitler or Goebbels appear on film but even she (an economist close to the Social Democrats) says: 'Will there not be something even worse, if Hitler is overthrown, Bolshevism?' (That fear keeps Hitler where he is again and again.)

September 1937

On the festival of Yom Kippur the Jews did not attend class. Kufahl, the mathematician, had said to the reduced class: 'Today it's just us.' In my memory these words took on a quite horrible significance: to me it confirms the claim of the Nazis to express the true opinion of the German people. And I believe ever more strongly that Hitler really does embody the soul of the German people, that he really stands for Germany and that he will consequently keep his position. I have not only lost my Fatherland. Even if the government should change one day, my sense of belonging to Germany has gone.

Extracts from the diaries of Victor Klemperer, a Jewish university lecturer in Germany.

Focus Task

Why was there so little opposition in Nazi Germany?

Use the following four factors to write your own answer to this question.

- ◆ Terror
- ◆ Nazi successes
- ◆ Economic fears
- ◆ Propaganda

Support your answer with evidence you have studied through pages 191–214.

Why was there little opposition?

The Nazis faced relatively little open opposition during their twelve years in power. In private, Germans complained about the regime and its actions. Some might refuse to give the Nazi salute. They might pass on anti-Nazi jokes and rude stories about senior Nazis. However, serious criticism was always in private, never in public. Historians have debated why this was so. The main answer they have come up with may seem obvious to you if you've read pages 198–99. It was terror! All the Nazis' main opponents had been killed, exiled or put in prison. The rest had been scared into submission. However, it won't surprise you to learn that historians think the answer is not quite as simple as that. Here is a summary of the important factors.

Nazi successes – 'It's all for the good of Germany'

Many Germans admired and trusted Hitler. They were prepared to tolerate rule by terror and to trade their rights in political freedom and free speech in return for work, foreign policy success and what they thought was strong government.

- Economic recovery was deeply appreciated.
- Many felt that the Nazis were bringing some much needed discipline back to Germany by restoring traditional values and clamping down on rowdy Communists.
- Between 1933 and 1938 Hitler's success in foreign affairs made Germans feel that their country was a great power again after the humiliations of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles. For many Germans, the dubious methods of the Nazis may have been regrettable but necessary for the greater good of the country.

Economic fears – 'I don't want to lose my job'

German workers feared losing their jobs if they did express opposition (see Source 65). Germany had been hit so hard by the Depression that many were terrified by the prospect of being out of work again. It was a similar situation for the bosses. Businesses that did not contribute to Nazi Party funds risked losing Nazi business and going bankrupt, and so in self-defence they conformed as well. If you asked no questions and kept your head down, life in Nazi Germany could be comfortable 'Keeping your head down' became a national obsession. The SS and its special security service the SD went to great lengths to find out what people were saying about the regime, often by listening in on conversations in cafés and bars. Your job could depend on silence.

SOURCE 65

The average worker is primarily interested in work and not in democracy. People who previously enthusiastically supported democracy showed no interest at all in politics. One must be clear about the fact that in the first instance men are fathers of families and have jobs, and that for them politics takes second place and even then only when they expect to get something out of it.

A report by a Socialist activist in Germany, February 1936.

Propaganda – 'Have you heard the good news?'

Underlying the whole regime was the propaganda machine. This ensured that many Germans found out very little about the bad things that were happening, or if they did they only heard them with a positive, pro-Nazi slant. You have studied the Nazi use of propaganda in detail on pages 200–01. Propaganda was particularly important in maintaining the image of Hitler. The evidence suggests that personal support for Hitler remained high throughout the 1930s and he was still widely respected even as Germany was losing the war in 1944.

9

The USA, 1914–1941

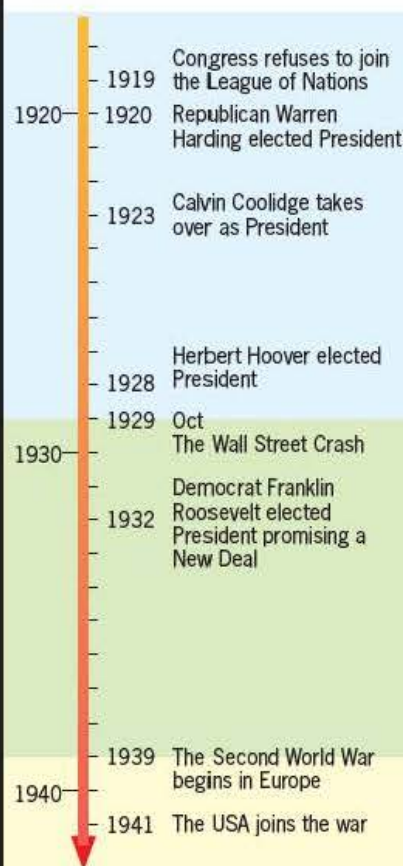
9.1

The USA in the 1920s

Timeline

This timeline shows the period you will be covering in this chapter. Some of the key dates are filled in already.

To help you get a complete picture of the period, you can make your own copy and add other details to it as you work through the chapter.



Focus

In the 1920s the USA was the richest and most powerful country in the world. Then in 1929 disaster struck. The Wall Street Crash plunged the USA into a deep economic depression.

In Section 9.1 you will study:

- ◆ the reasons for the prosperity in the USA in the 1920s
- ◆ which groups of Americans lost out in the 1920s
- ◆ the weaknesses in the US economy.

In Section 9.2 you will investigate:

- ◆ the effects of the Depression on the American people
- ◆ attempts by the US government to tackle the Depression.

Isolationist USA

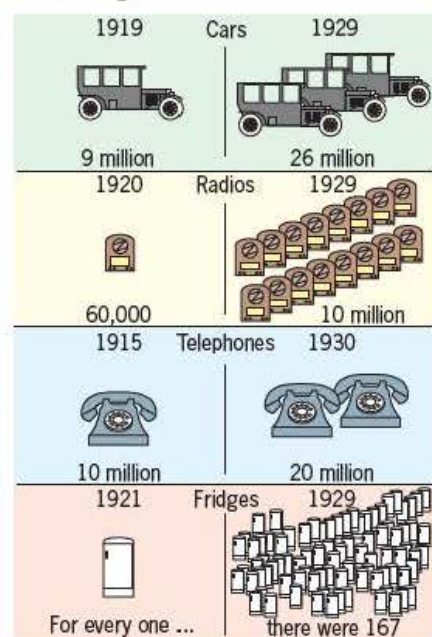
As you have seen in Chapter 1, President Wilson took the USA into the First World War in 1917. It was a controversial decision. For decades, the USA had deliberately isolated itself from the squabbles of Europe and most Americans thought that was the right policy. But despite their opposition, Wilson took the USA into war. It was German submarine warfare against US ships that finally forced the USA into the war, but Wilson presented the war to the American people as a struggle to preserve freedom and democracy.

When the war ended in 1918, the divisions in the USA about what its role in the world should be resurfaced. Wilson got hopelessly bogged down in the squabbles of the European states after the war. Some Americans believed, as Wilson did, that the time had come for the USA to take a leading role in world affairs – that there was more chance of peace, if they were involved than if they stayed out. Others felt that Wilson had gone too far already. Thousands of American soldiers had been killed or wounded in a war that they felt was not their concern. US troops were even now involved in a civil war in Russia (see page 154). Now Wilson wanted the USA to take the lead in a League of Nations. Would this mean the USA supplying the troops and resources for this new international police force?

President Wilson travelled the country in 1919 to get the American people – and Congress – to accept the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. The President needed to have the support of Congress (see the Factfile on page 219 to see how the US system of government works). Wilson had many political enemies and eventually they brought him down. In the end, the isolationists in the USA won the debate. You can read more about this on pages 24–26.

The USA then turned its back on Europe for much of the next twenty years. A new Republican President, Warren Harding, was elected in 1920 promising a return to ‘normalcy’ – normal life as it had been before the war. Americans turned their energies to what they did best – making money! Over the next ten years the USA, already the richest country in the world, became richer as its economy boomed. The next two pages will give you an idea of what this economic boom was like.

SOURCE 1



Sales of consumer goods, 1915–30. Overall, the output of American industry doubled in the 1920s.

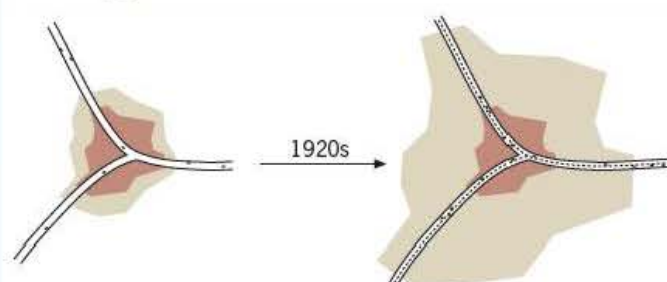
What was the 'boom'?

SOURCE 2



Skyscrapers being built in New York City. There was more building being done in the boom years of the 1920s than at any time in the history of the USA.

SOURCE 3



The car made it possible for more Americans to live in their own houses in the suburbs on the edge of towns. For example, Queens outside New York doubled in size in the 1920s. Grosse Point Park outside Detroit grew by 700 per cent.

SOURCE 4



Workers on the government's road-building programme. The Federal Road Act of 1916 began a period of intense road building all over the country. Road building employed more people than any other industry in the USA for the next ten years. During the 1920s the total extent of roads in the USA doubled.

SOURCE 5



For 1927 the most complete line of 4 and 6-cylinder Speed Trucks

THE HARVESTER CORPORATION presents a complete line of Improved Speed Trucks of six distinct chassis designs to meet every requirement for loads up to 15 tons.

MODEL 8 is built to carry a 15-ton load. It comes equipped with a 4 or 6-cylinder power plant and with an optional body for hauling and delivery.

MODEL 11—a safe and low machine to work with—has 15-ton chassis with either a 4 or 6-cylinder engine and has a wheelbase of 160 inches. The top of the frame is only 24 inches from the ground.

MODEL 40 is a heavy-duty truck with a chassis with a wheelbase of 130 inches, designed for heavy work. It is built for general hauling, road building, and more.

Every International Speed Truck is a result from the ground up—not a simple passenger car. Engines of 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 16 cylinders are the result of 25 years of study and experience.

Whether you need extra load or weight, whether your business calls for style and distinction or plain utility in its hauling equipment—there is a 4 or 6-cylinder Speed Truck to meet a 15 or 16-ton chassis made to meet your needs.

The line also includes (from left) Trucking, Motor Trucking, and the McCormick-Sherman Industrial Truck.

INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER COMPANY
OF AMERICA
100 CHICAGO ROAD, CHICAGO, ILL.
100 CHICAGO ROAD, CHICAGO, ILL.

INTERNATIONAL TRUCKS

The new roads gave rise to a new truck industry. In 1919 there were 1 million trucks in the USA. By 1929 there were 3.5 million.

SOURCE 6



Silk stockings had once been a luxury item reserved for the rich. In 1900 only 12,000 pairs had been sold. In the 1920s rayon was invented which was a cheaper substitute for silk. In 1930, 300 million pairs of stockings were sold to a female population of around 100 million.

SOURCE 7



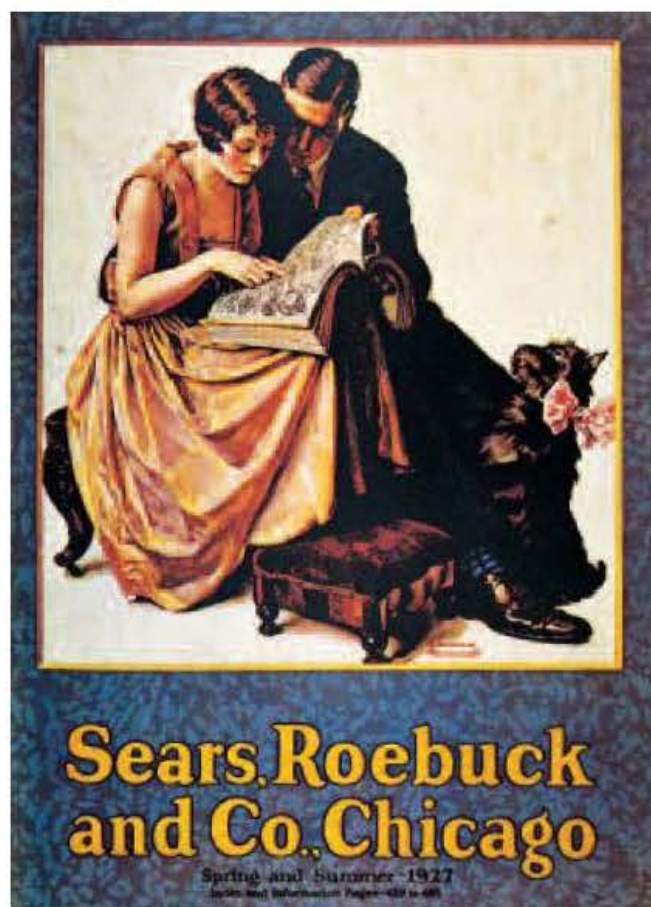
A passenger aircraft in 1927. There were virtually no civilian airlines in 1918. By 1930 the new aircraft companies flew 162,000 flights a year.

SOURCE 8



Workers erecting electricity pylons. In 1918 only a few homes had electricity. By 1929 almost all urban homes had it, although not many farms were on the electricity supply grid.

SOURCE 9



The front cover of a mail order catalogue from 1927.

- 1 Use Sources 1–9 to make a list of features of the economic boom of the 1920s under the following headings:
 - Industry
 - Transport
 - Home life
 - Cities
- 2 Draw a chart to show connections between any of the features shown in the sources.
- 3 Using these sources, write a 20-word definition of 'the economic boom of the 1920s'.

Why was there an economic boom in the 1920s?

As you can see from Sources 1–9, it seemed that everything in the USA was booming in the 1920s. You are now going to investigate the various reasons for that boom.

Industrial strength

The USA was a vast country, rich in natural resources. It had a growing population (123 million by 1923). Most of this population was living in towns and cities. They were working in industry and commerce, usually earning higher wages than in farming. So these new town dwellers became an important market for the USA's new industries. Most US companies had no need to export outside the USA, and most US companies had access to the raw materials they needed in the USA.

**This figure is not available
online for copyright reasons**

Ever since the 1860s and 1870s, American industry had been growing vigorously. By the time of the First World War, the USA led the world in most areas of industry. It had massive steel, coal and textile industries. It was the leading oil producer. It was foremost in developing new technology such as motor cars, telephones and electric lighting. In fact, electricity and electrical goods were a key factor in the USA's economic boom. Other new industries such as chemicals were also growing fast. The USA's new film industry already led the world.

- 1 List the benefits that the First World War brought to the US economy.

Factfile

US system of government

- **The federal system:** The USA's federal system means that all the individual states look after their own internal affairs (such as education). Questions that concern all of the states (such as making treaties with other countries) are dealt with by Congress.
- **The Constitution:** The Constitution lays out how the government is supposed to operate and what it is allowed to do.
- **The President:** He is the single most important politician in the USA. He is elected every four years. However, the Constitution of the USA is designed to stop one individual from becoming too powerful. Congress and the Supreme Court both act as 'watchdogs' checking how the President behaves.
- **Congress:** Congress is made up of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Congress and the President run the country.
- **The Supreme Court:** This is made up of judges, who are usually very experienced lawyers. Their main task is to make sure that American governments do not misuse their power or pass unfair laws. They have the power to say that a law is unconstitutional (against the Constitution), which usually means that they feel the law would harm American citizens.
- **Parties:** There are two main political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Republicans were stronger in the industrial north of the USA while the Democrats had more support in the south. On the whole, Republicans in the 1920s and 1930s preferred government to stay out of people's lives if possible. The Democrats were more prepared to intervene in everyday life.

The managers of these industries were increasingly skilled and professional, and they were selling more and more of their products not just in the USA but in Europe, Latin America and the Far East.

American agriculture had become the most efficient and productive in the world. In fact, farmers had become so successful that they were producing more than they could sell, which was a very serious problem (see page 227). In 1914, however, most Americans would have confidently stated that American agriculture and industry were going from strength to strength.

The First World War

The Americans tried hard to stay out of the fighting in the First World War. But throughout the war they lent money to the Allies, and sold arms and munitions to Britain and France. They sold massive amounts of foodstuffs as well. This one-way trade gave American industry a real boost. In addition, while the European powers slugged it out in France, the Americans were able to take over Europe's trade around the world. American exports to the areas controlled by European colonial powers increased during the war.

There were other benefits as well. Before the war Germany had had one of the world's most successful chemicals industries. The war stopped it in its tracks. By the end of the war the USA had far outstripped Germany in the supply of chemical products. Explosives manufacture during the war also stimulated a range of by-products which became new American industries in their own right. Plastics and other new materials were produced.

Historians have called the growth and change at this time the USA's second industrial revolution. The war actually helped rather than hindered the 'revolution'.

When the USA joined the fighting it was not in the war long enough for the war to drain American resources in the way it drained Europe's. There was a downturn in the USA when war industries readjusted to peacetime, but it was only a blip. By 1922 the American economy was growing fast once again.

Republican policies

A third factor behind the boom was the policies of the Republican Party. From 1920 to 1932 all the US presidents were Republican, and Republicans also dominated Congress. Here are some of their beliefs.

1 Laissez-faire

Republicans believed that government should interfere as little as possible in the everyday lives of the people. This attitude is called 'laissez-faire'. In their view, the job of the President was to leave the businessman alone – to do his job. That was where prosperity came from.

2 Tariffs

The Republicans believed in import tariffs which made it expensive to import foreign goods. For example, in 1922 Harding introduced the Fordney–McCumber tariff which made imported food expensive in the USA. These tariffs protected businesses against foreign competition and allowed American companies to grow even more rapidly. The USA also began closing its borders to foreign immigrants (see page 231).

3 Low taxation

The Republicans kept taxation as low as possible. This brought some benefits to ordinary working people, but it brought even more to the very wealthy. The Republican thinking was that if people kept their own money, they would spend it on American goods and wealthy people would reinvest their money in industries.

4 Trusts

The Republicans also allowed the development of trusts. These were huge super-corporations, which dominated industry. Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats had fought against trusts because they believed it was unhealthy for men such as Carnegie (steel) and Rockefeller (oil) to have almost complete control of one vital sector of industry. The Republicans allowed the trusts to do what they wanted, believing that the 'captains of industry' knew better than politicians did what was good for the USA.

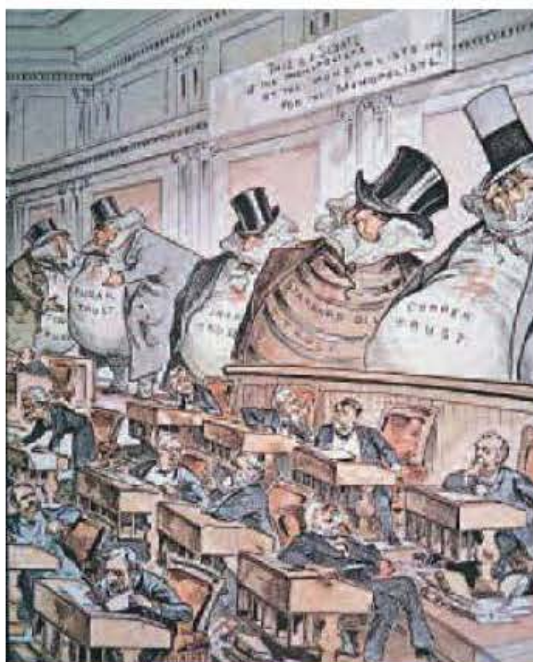
SOURCE 11

Average annual industrial wages	1919: \$1,158
	1927: \$1,304
Number of millionaires	1914: 7,000
	1928: 35,000

Wealth in the USA.

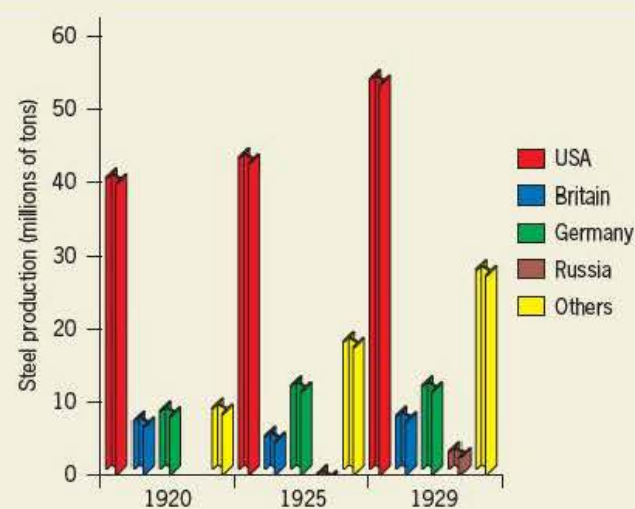
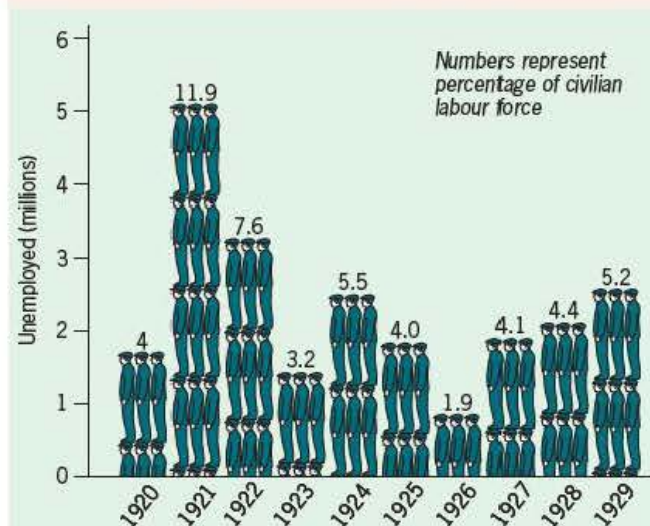
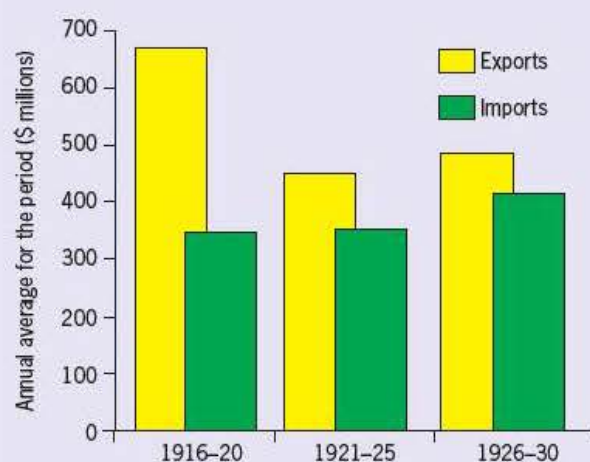
- 1 How could the Republicans use Sources 11 and 13 to justify their policies?
- 2 How could critics of Republican policies use Sources 11 and 13 to attack the Republicans?

SOURCE 12



A pre-war anti-trust cartoon. Although there was opposition to trusts, they were so successful and influential that it was difficult to limit their power.

SOURCE 13



The growth of the US economy in the 1920s.

SOURCE 14

We are quick to adopt the latest time and labour saving devices in business. The modern woman has an equal right to employ in her home the most popular electric cleaner: The Frantz Premier. Over 250,000 are in use. We have branches and dealers everywhere. Our price is modest – time payments if desired.

Advertisement for the Frantz Premier vacuum cleaner.

Activity

Imagine that you are making a radio programme about industry in the USA. Describe the scene in Source 15 for your listeners. Remember you are trying to bring it to life. You could mention:

- the size of the building
- what the workers are doing (you could even interview them)
- the equipment you can see
- how the car develops during the process
- noises and smells
- how and why scenes like this are making the USA rich.

You could present your work as a script, or you may be able to record your work as a podcast.

New industries, new methods

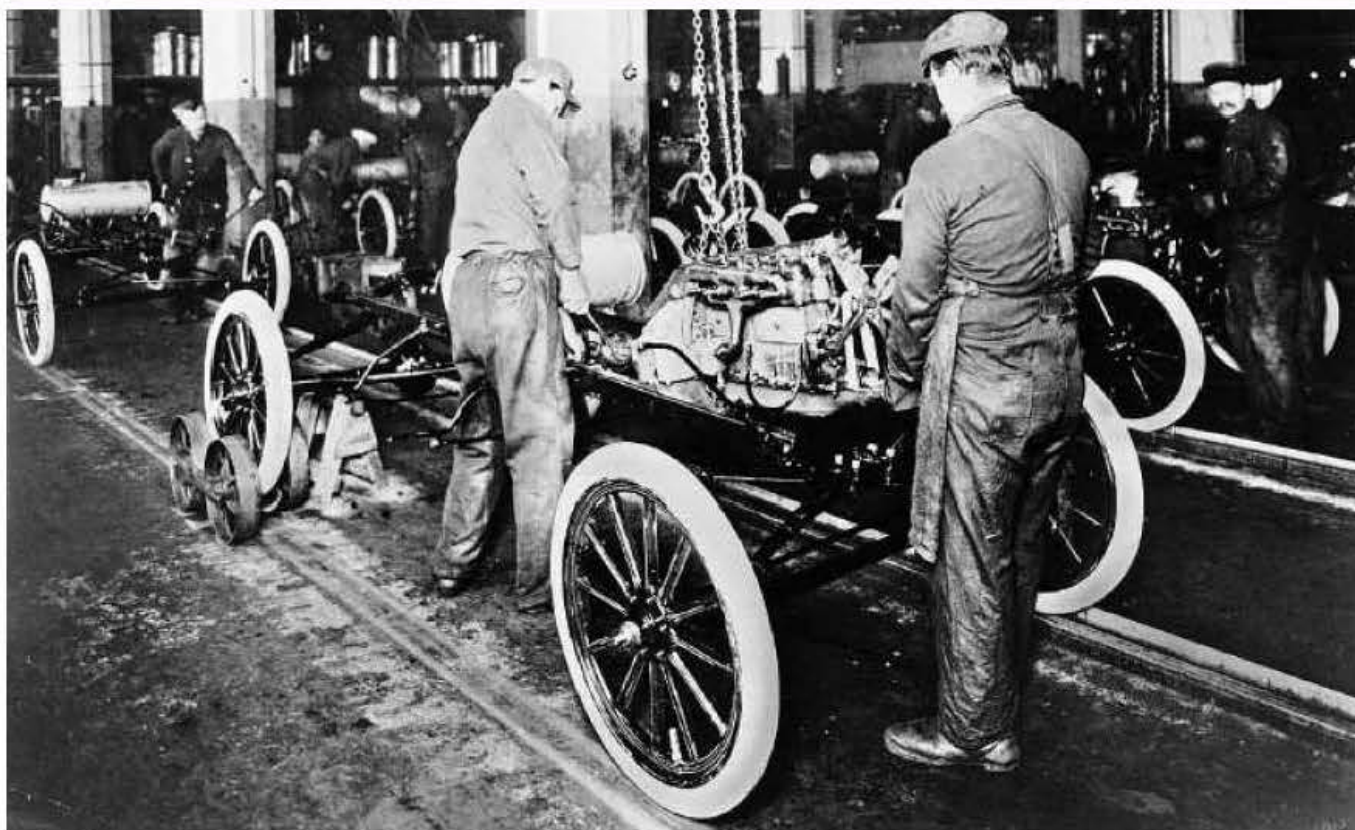
Through the 1920s new industries and new methods of production were developed in the USA. The country was able to exploit its vast resources of raw materials to produce steel, chemicals, glass and machinery.

These products became the foundation of an enormous boom in consumer goods. Telephones, radios, vacuum cleaners and washing machines were mass-produced on a vast scale, making them cheaper so more people could buy them. New electrical companies such as Hoover became household names. They used the latest, most efficient techniques proposed by the 'Industrial Efficiency Movement'.

At the same time, the big industries used sophisticated sales and marketing techniques to get people to buy their goods. Mass nationwide advertising had been used for the first time in the USA during the war to get Americans to support the war effort. Many of the advertisers who had learned their skills in wartime propaganda now set up agencies to sell cars, cigarettes, clothing and other consumer items. Poster advertisements, radio advertisements and travelling salesmen encouraged Americans to spend. Even if they did not have the money, people could borrow it easily. Or they could take advantage of the new 'Buy now, pay later' hire purchase schemes. Eight out of ten radios and six out of ten cars were bought on credit.

The most important of these new booming industries was the motor-car industry. The motor car had only been developed in the 1890s. The first cars were built by blacksmiths and other skilled craftsmen. They took a long time to make and were very expensive. In 1900 only 4,000 cars were made. Car production was revolutionised by Henry Ford. In 1913 he set up the first moving production line in the world, in a giant shed in Detroit. Each worker on the line had one or two small jobs to do as the skeleton of the car moved past him. At the beginning of the line, a skeleton car went in; at the end of the line was a new car. The most famous of these was the Model T. More than 15 million were produced between 1908 and 1925. In 1927 they came off the production line at a rate of one every ten seconds. In 1929, 4.8 million cars were made.

SOURCE 15

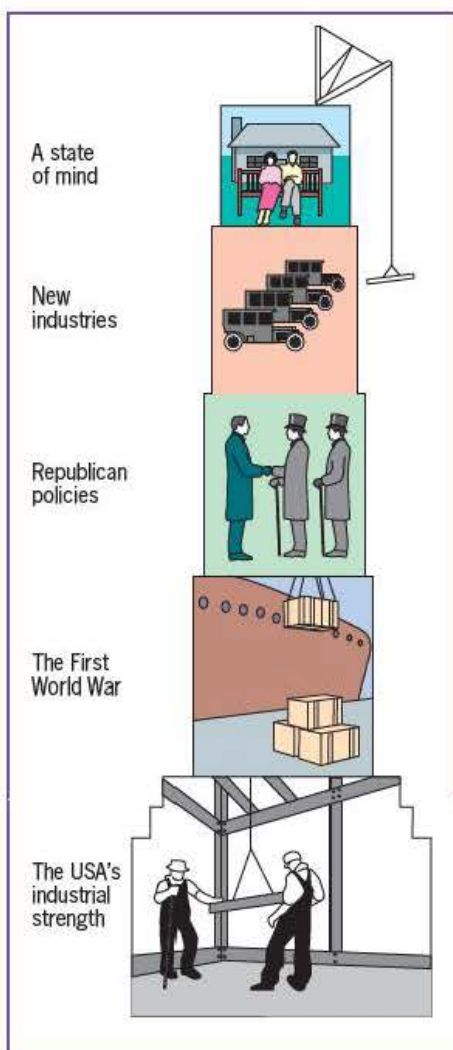


Ford's production line in 1913.

SOURCE 16



Model Ts in an American high street. In 1925 a Model T cost \$290. This was almost three months' wages for an American factory worker.



By the end of the 1920s the motor industry was the USA's biggest industry. As well as employing hundreds of thousands of workers directly, it also kept workers in other industries in employment. Glass, leather, steel and rubber were all required to build the new vehicles. Automobiles used up 75 per cent of US glass production in the 1920s! Petrol was needed to run them. And a massive army of labourers was busily building roads throughout the country for these cars to drive on. In fact, road construction was the biggest single employer in the 1920s.

Owning a car was not just a rich person's privilege, as it was in Europe. There was one car to five people in the USA compared with one to 43 in Britain, and one to 7,000 in Russia. The car made it possible for people to buy a house in the suburbs, which further boosted house building. It also stimulated the growth of hundreds of other smaller businesses, ranging from hot dog stands and advertising bill boards to petrol stations and holiday resorts.

A state of mind

One thing that runs through all the factors you have looked at so far is an attitude or a state of mind. Most Americans believed that they had a right to 'prosperity'. For many it was a main aim in life to have a nice house, a good job and plenty to eat, and for their home to be filled with the latest consumer goods. Consuming more and more was seen as part of being American.

In earlier decades, thrift (being careful with money and saving 'for a rainy day') had been seen as a good quality. In the 1920s this was replaced by a belief that spending money was a better quality.

Focus Task

What factors caused the economic boom?

- 1 Make a copy of this diagram. Complete it by adding notes at the right-hand side for each heading. You will need to refer to the information and sources on pages 219–23.
- 2 One historian has said: 'Without the new automobile industry, the prosperity of the 1920s would scarcely have been possible.'
Explain whether you agree or disagree with this statement. Support your explanation by referring to the sources and information on pages 219–23.

SOURCE 17



King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, 1920.
Louis Armstrong is kneeling at the front.

SOURCE 18

- (i) *Jazz employs primitive rhythms which excite the baser human instincts.*
- (ii) *Jazz music causes drunkenness. Reason and reflection are lost and the actions of the persons are directed by the stronger animal passions.*

Comments on jazz music in articles in the 1920s.

- 1 What do you think the writers in Source 18 mean by 'the baser human instincts' and 'the stronger animal passions'?

SOURCE 19



Crowds queuing for cinema tickets in Chicago. In 1920, 40 million tickets were sold per week and in 1929, 100 million.

The Twenties: Entertaining America

The 1920s in the USA are often called the Roaring Twenties. The name suggests a time of riotous fun, loud music and wild enjoyment when everyone was having a good time. Perhaps this was not true for all Americans, but it certainly seemed to be true for a lot of them. Important social changes, especially the growth of cities, changed the way many Americans lived. The growing prosperity gave many of them the spare time and money to go out and enjoy themselves. One of the most obvious examples of this new attitude was the growth of the entertainment industry.

During the 1920s the entertainment industry blossomed. The average working week dropped from 47.4 to 44.2 hours so people had more leisure time. Average wages rose by eleven per cent (in real terms) so workers also had more disposable income. A lot of this spare time and money was channelled into entertainment.

It was also in this period that the more independent, adventurous young women known as flappers became prominent. You can find out more about them on pages 226–27.

Radio

Almost everyone in the USA listened to the radio. Most households had their own set. People who could not afford to buy one outright, could purchase one in instalments. The choice of programmes grew quickly. In August 1921 there was only one licensed radio station in America. By the end of 1922 there were 508 of them. By 1929 the new network NBC was making \$150 million a year.

Jazz

The radio gave much greater access to new music. Jazz music became an obsession among young people. African Americans who moved from the country to the cities had brought jazz and blues music with them. Blues music was particularly popular among the African American population, while jazz captured the imagination of young white and African Americans.

Such was the power of jazz music that the 1920s became known as the Jazz Age. Along with jazz went new dances such as the Charleston, and new styles of behaviour which were summed up in the image of the flapper, a woman who wore short dresses and make-up and who smoked in public. One writer said that the ideal flapper was 'expensive and about nineteen'.

The older generation saw jazz and everything associated with it as a corrupting influence on the young. Newspapers and magazines printed articles analysing the influence of jazz (see Source 18).

Sport

Sport was another boom area. Baseball became a big money sport with legendary teams like the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox. Prominent figures such as Al Capone (see page 237) were baseball fans. Boxing was also a very popular sport, with heroes like world heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey.

Cinema

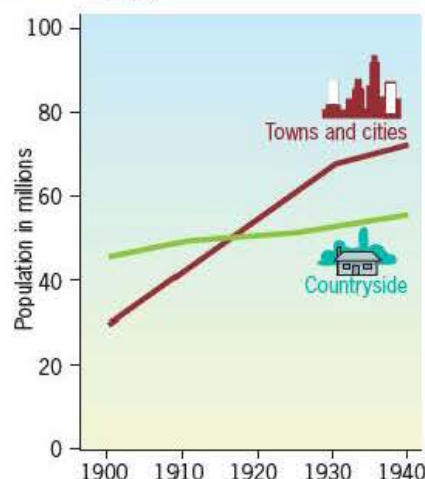
In a small suburb outside Los Angeles, called Hollywood, a major film industry was developing. All-year-round sunshine meant that the studios could produce large numbers of films or 'movies'. New stars like Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton made audiences roar with laughter, while Douglas Fairbanks thrilled them in daring adventure films. Until 1927 all movies were silent. In 1927 the first 'talkie' was made.

During the 1920s movies became a multi-billion dollar business and it was estimated that, by the end of the decade, a hundred million cinema tickets were being sold each week. That's as many as are sold in a year in Britain today.

The car

The motor car was one of the major factors leading to change and made these other features possible. Cars helped the cities to grow by opening up the suburbs. They carried their owners to and from their entertainments and to an increasing range of sporting events, beach holidays, shopping trips, picnics in the country, or simply on visits to their family and friends, and boyfriends and girlfriends beyond the moral gaze of their parents.

SOURCE 20



The change in the USA's urban and rural populations, 1900–40.

SOURCE 21



The Builder, painted by Gertrude Abernethy in the 1920s.

- 1 Write an advertising slogan to go with Source 21, inviting workers to come to New York City.

Focus Task

The Roaring Twenties

Draw a diagram to summarise the features of the Roaring Twenties. You can get lots of ideas from the text on these two pages, but remember that other factors may also be relevant: for example, material on the economy (pages 216–22) or on women (pages 225–26). You could also use the internet.

The Twenties: Dividing America

For those who joined in 'the party' in the Roaring Twenties it was a time of liberation and rebellion against traditional values. For those who did not, it was a time of anxiety and worry. For them, the changes taking place were proof that the USA was going down the drain and needed rescuing. All this combined to make the 1920s a decade of division and deeply contrasting viewpoints and experiences.

Divided America: City vs country

In 1920, for the first time in American history, more Americans lived in towns and cities than in the country. As you can see from Source 20, throughout the 1920s cities were growing fast. People flocked to them from all over the USA. The growing city with its imposing skyline of skyscrapers was one of the most powerful symbols of 1920s USA. In New York, the skyscrapers were built because there was no more land available. But even small cities, where land was not in short supply, wanted skyscrapers to announce to the country that they were sharing in the boom.

Throughout the 1920s there was tension between rural USA and urban USA. Many people in the country thought that their traditional values, which emphasised religion and family life, were under threat from the growing cities, which they thought were full of atheists, drunks and criminals. Certain rural states, particularly in the south, fought a rearguard action against the 'evil' effects of the city throughout the 1920s.

Divided America: Young vs old

SOURCE 22

There was never a time in American history when youth had such a special sense of importance as in the years after the First World War. There was a gulf between the generations like a geological fault. Young men who had fought in the trenches felt that they knew a reality their elders could not even imagine. Young girls no longer consciously modelled themselves on their mothers, whose experience seemed unusable in the 1920s.

William E Leuchtenberg, *The Perils of Prosperity*, 1958.

Source 22 is one historian's description of this period. He refers to new attitudes among young Americans. The gulf he mentions was most obvious in sexual morals. In the generation before the war, sex had still been a taboo subject. After the war it became a major concern of tabloid newspapers, Hollywood films, and everyday conversation. Scott Fitzgerald, one of a celebrated new group of young American writers who had served in the First World War, said: 'None of the mothers had any idea how casually their daughters were accustomed to be kissed.'

The cinema quickly discovered the selling power of sex. The first cinema star to be sold on sex appeal was Theda Bara who, without any acting talent, made a string of wildly successful films with titles like *Forbidden Path* and *When a Woman Sins*. Clara Bow was sold as the 'It' girl. Everybody knew that 'It' meant 'sex'. Hollywood turned out dozens of films a month about 'It', such as *Up in Mabel's Room*, *Her Purchase Price* and *A Shocking Night*. Male stars too, such as Rudolph Valentino, were presented as sex symbols. Women were said to faint at the very sight of him as a half-naked Arab prince in *The Sheik* (1921).

Today these films would be considered very tame indeed, but at the time they were considered very daring. The more conservative rural states were worried by the deluge of sex-obsessed films, and 36 states threatened to introduce censorship legislation. Hollywood responded with its own censorship code which ensured that, while films might still be full of sex, at least the sinful characters were not allowed to get away with it!

Meanwhile, in the real world, contraceptive advice was openly available for the first time. Sex outside marriage was much more common than in the past, although probably more people talked about it and went to films about it than actually did it!

SOURCE 23



A school teacher in 1905.

Divided America: Women in 1920s

Women formed half of the population of the USA and their lives were as varied as those of men. It is therefore difficult to generalise. However, before the First World War middle-class women in the USA, like those in Britain, were expected to lead restricted lives. They had to wear very restrictive clothes and behave politely. They were expected not to wear make-up. Their relationships with men were strictly controlled. They had to have a chaperone with them when they went out with a boyfriend. They were expected not to take part in sport or to smoke in public. In most states they could not vote. Most women were expected to be housewives. Very few paid jobs were open to women. Most working women were in lower-paid jobs such as cleaning, dressmaking and secretarial work.

In rural USA there were particularly tight restrictions owing to the Churches' traditional attitude to the role of women. In the 1920s, many of these things began to change, especially for urban women and middle-class women. When the USA joined the war in 1917, some women were taken into the war industries, giving them experience of skilled factory work for the first time. In 1920 they got the vote in all states. Through the 1920s they shared the liberating effects of the car, and their domestic work was made easier (in theory) by new electrical goods such as vacuum cleaners and washing machines.

For younger urban women many of the traditional rules of behaviour were eased as well. Women wore more daring clothes. They smoked in public and drank with men, in public. They went out with men, in cars, without a chaperone. They kissed in public.

In urban areas more women took on jobs — particularly middle-class women. They typically took on jobs created by the new industries. There were 10 million women in jobs in 1929, 24 per cent more than in 1920. With money of their own, working women became the particular target of advertising. Even women who did not earn their own money were increasingly seen as the ones who took decisions about whether to buy new items for the home. There is evidence that women's role in choosing cars triggered Ford, in 1925, to make them available in colours other than black.

Women were less likely to stay in unhappy marriages. In 1914 there were 100,000 divorces; in 1929 there were twice as many.

Films and novels also exposed women to a much wider range of role models. Millions of women a week saw films with sexy or daring heroines as well as other films that showed women in a more traditional role. The newspaper, magazine and film industries found that sex sold much better than anything else.

SOURCE 24



Young flappers in the 1920s

Limitations

It might seem to you as if everything was changing, and for young, middle-class women living in cities a lot was changing in the 1920s. However, this is only part of the story. Take work, for example. Women were still paid less than men, even when they did the same job. One of the reasons women's employment increased when men's did not was that women were cheaper employees. In politics as well, women in no way achieved equality with men. They may have been given the vote but it did not give them access to political power. Political parties wanted women's votes, but they didn't particularly want women as political candidates as they considered them 'unelectable'. Although many women, such as Eleanor Roosevelt (see Profile on page 226), had a high public standing, there was only a handful of women elected by 1929.

- 2 Compare the clothes of the women in Sources 23 and 24. Write a detailed description of the differences between them.
- 3 Flappers were controversial figures in the 1920s. List as many reasons as possible for this.

SOURCE 25



Gloria Swanson in *The Trespasser* (1929). Gloria Swanson was one of the most successful film stars of the 1920s and *The Trespasser* was her first 'talkie'.

Were the lives of American women changing?

From films such as Source 25 you would think that all American women were living passionate lives full of steamy romance. However, novels and films of the period can be misleading.

Women certainly did watch such films, in great numbers. But there is no evidence that the majority of women began to copy what they saw in the 1920s. In fact the evidence suggests that the reaction of many women was one of opposition and outrage. There was a strong conservative element in American society. A combination of traditional religion and old country values kept most American women in a much more restricted role than young urban women enjoyed.

SOURCE 26

It is wholly confusing to read the advertisements in the magazines that feature the enticing qualities of vacuum cleaners, mechanical refrigerators and hundreds of other devices which should lighten the chores of women in the home. On the whole these large middle classes do their own housework with few of the mechanical aids . . .

Women who live on farms – and they form the largest group in the United States – do a great deal of work besides the labour of caring for their children, washing the clothes, caring for the home and cooking. . . thousands still labour in the fields . . . help milk the cows . . .

The other largest group of American women comprise the families of the labourers . . . of the miners, the steel workers . . . the vast army of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers. The wages of these men are on the whole so small [that] wives must do double duty – that is, caring for the children and the home and toil on the outside as wage earners.

Doris E Fleischman, *America as Americans See It*, F J Ringel (ed.), 1932.

Profile

Eleanor Roosevelt



- Born 1884 into a wealthy family.
- Married Franklin D Roosevelt in 1905.
- Heavily involved in:
 - League of Women Voters
 - Women's Trade Union League
 - Women's City Club (New York)
 - New York State Democratic Party (Women's Division).
- Work concentrated on:
 - bringing New York Democrats together
 - public housing for low-income workers
 - birth control information
 - better conditions for women workers.

SOURCE 27

Though a few young upper middle-class women in the cities talked about throwing off the older conventions – they were the flappers – most women stuck to more traditional attitudes concerning 'their place' . . . most middle-class women concentrated on managing the home . . . Their daughters, far from taking to the streets against sexual discrimination, were more likely to prepare for careers as mothers and housewives. Millions of immigrant women and their daughters . . . also clung to traditions that placed men firmly in control of the family . . . Most American women concentrated on making ends meet or setting aside money to purchase the new gadgets that offered some release from household drudgery.

J T Patterson, *America in the Twentieth Century*, 1999.

Focus Task

Did the role of women change in the 1920s?



Work in pairs. Write a script for a story strip to complete this conversation. You will need at least seven more scenes with speech bubbles.

- 1 How does Source 27 contrast with the image of women given by Sources 24 and 25?

SOURCE 28



A cartoon showing the situation faced by American farmers in the 1920s.

2 Explain the message of Source 28.

Divided America: Problems in the farming industry

There were other ways in which the USA was a divided society in the 1920s. While so many Americans were enjoying the boom, farmers most definitely were not. Total US farm income dropped from \$22 billion in 1919 to just \$13 billion in 1928. There were a number of reasons why farming had such problems.

After the war, Europe imported far less food from the USA. This was partly because Europe was poor, and it was partly a response to US tariffs which stopped Europe from exporting to the USA (see page 219).

Farmers were also struggling against competition from the highly efficient Canadian wheat producers. All of this came at a time when the population of the USA was actually falling and there were fewer mouths to feed.

Underlying all these problems was overproduction. From 1900 to 1920, while farming was doing well, more and more land was being farmed. Improved machinery, especially the combine harvester, and improved fertilisers made US agriculture extremely efficient. The result was that by 1920 it was producing surpluses of wheat which nobody wanted.

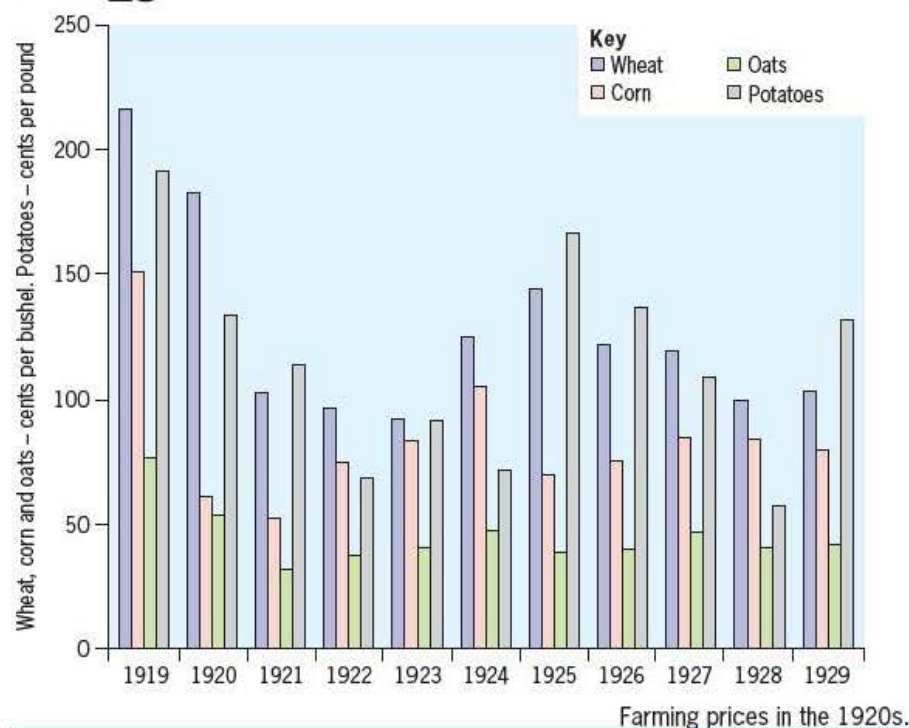
In the 1920s the average US farmer was each year growing enough to feed his family and fourteen others. Prices plummeted as desperate farmers tried to sell their produce. In 1921 alone, most farm prices fell by 50 per cent (see Source 29). Hundreds of rural banks collapsed in the 1920s and there were five times as many farm bankruptcies as there had been in the 1900s and 1910s.

Not all farmers were affected by these problems. Rich Americans wanted fresh vegetables and fruit throughout the year. Shipments of lettuce to the cities, for example, rose from 14,000 crates in 1920 to 52,000 in 1928. But for most farmers the 1920s were a time of hardship.

This was a serious issue. About half of all Americans lived in rural areas, mostly working on farms or in businesses that sold goods to farmers. Problems in farming therefore directly affected more than 60 million Americans.

Six million rural Americans, mainly farm labourers, were forced off the land in the 1920s. Many of these were unskilled workers who migrated to the cities, where there was little demand for their labour. The African American population was particularly badly hit. They had always done the least skilled jobs in the rural areas. As they lost their jobs on the farms, three-quarters of a million of them became unemployed.

SOURCE 29



Focus Task

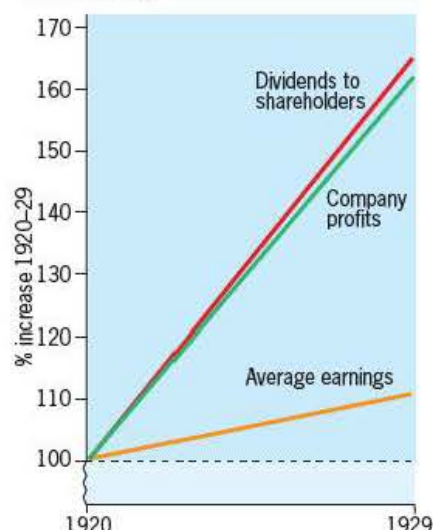
Why did agriculture not share in the prosperity?

Farmers became the fiercest critics of the policies of the Republican Party.

Write a letter from the farmer in Source 28 to the Republican President, Calvin Coolidge, to complain about Republican policies.

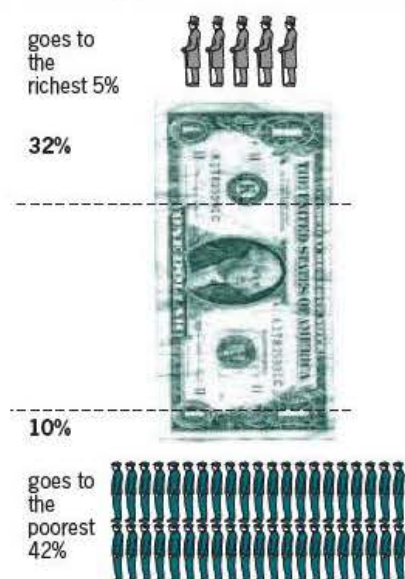
Explain to the President why farming is in the state it's in and why his government should do something about it.

SOURCE 30



A comparison of the growth of profits and the growth of average earnings.

SOURCE 31



The distribution of income in 1925.

- 1 Use the text and sources on this page to explain:
 - a) why the government should have been concerned about poverty
 - b) why, in the event, it did very little to help the poor.

Divided America: Problems in old industries

You have already seen how the farmers — a very large group in American society — did not share in the prosperity of the 1920s. But they were not alone. Workers in many older industries, such as coal, leather and textiles, did not benefit much either. Coal suffered from competition from new industries such as oil and electricity. Leather and textiles were protected from foreign competition, but not from domestic competition. They suffered from the development of new man-made materials. They also struggled to compete with cheap labour in the southern states. Even if workers in these industries did get a pay rise, their wages did not increase on the same scale as company profits or dividends paid to shareholders (see Source 30).

In 1928 there was a strike in the coal industry in North Carolina, where the male workers were paid only \$18 and women \$9 for a 70-hour week, at a time when \$48 per week was considered to be the minimum required for a decent life. In fact, for the majority of Americans wages remained well below that figure. It has been estimated that 42 per cent of Americans lived below the poverty line — they did not have the money needed to pay for essentials such as food, clothing, housing and heating for their families.

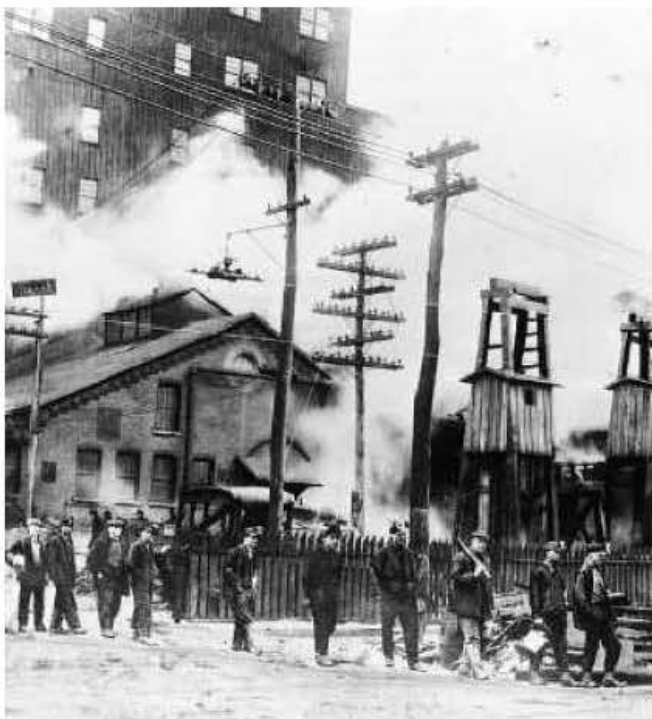
What's more, throughout this period unemployment remained a problem. The growth in industry in the 1920s did not create many new jobs. Industries were growing by electrifying or mechanising production. The same number of people (around five per cent) were unemployed at the peak of the boom in 1929 as in 1920. Yet the amount of goods produced had doubled. These millions of unemployed Americans were not sharing in the boom. They included many poor whites, but an even greater proportion of African American and Hispanic people and other members of the USA's large immigrant communities.

The plight of the poor was desperate for the individuals concerned. But it was also damaging to American industry. The boom of the 1920s was a consumer-led boom, which means that it was led by ordinary families buying things for their home. But with so many families too poor to buy such goods, the demand for them was likely to begin to tail off. However, Republican policy remained not to interfere, and this included doing nothing about unemployment or poverty.

SOURCE 32



A hunger march staged by workers in Washington in the 1920s.



The 1922 coal strike.



A doctor visiting a poor American family in the 1920s. Doctors' fees were very expensive. They would only be called out if someone was seriously ill.

Focus Task

Did all Americans share in the boom?

In 1928 a new Republican President, Herbert Hoover, was elected. He said:

SOURCE 35

One of the oldest and perhaps the noblest of human activities [aims] has been the abolition of poverty . . . we in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land.

Herbert Hoover.

Your task is to focus on the state of the USA in the 1920s, to assess Hoover's claim.

- 1 Work in pairs. One of you gather evidence from pages 220–22 to support Hoover's claim. The other gather evidence from pages 227–29 to oppose it.
- 2 Now, working together as advisers to Hoover, try to use this evidence to present him with a balanced picture. Think carefully about:
 - ♦ what evidence you will send him
 - ♦ what you will say to put the evidence into context for the President.
 Compile the evidence and your explanation as a portfolio for the President's urgent attention.

Chicago in the 1920s

You can find out more about a period by looking at particular places or people. Historians have found out a lot about Chicago in the 1920s. Chicago was one of America's biggest cities. It was the centre of the steel, meat and clothing industries, which employed many unskilled workers. Such industries had busy and slack periods. In slack periods the workers would be 'seasonally unemployed'. Many of these workers were Polish or Italian immigrants, or African American migrants from the southern United States. How far did they share in the prosperity of the 1920s?

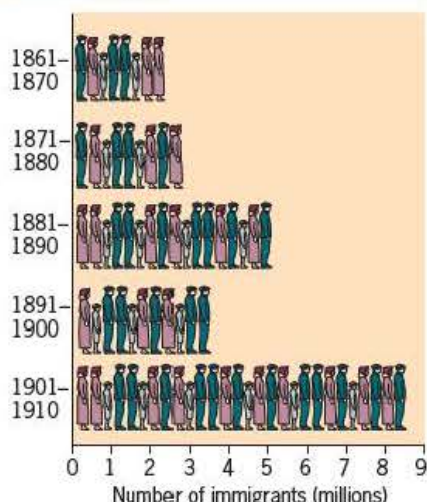
Only three per cent of semi-skilled workers owned a car. Compare that with richer areas where 29 per cent owned a car. It was the middle classes, not the workers in industry, who bought cars. On the whole, workers in Chicago didn't like to buy large items on credit. They preferred to save for when they might not have a job. Many of them bought smaller items on credit, such as phonographs (record players) and radios. Chicago became the centre of a growing record industry specialising in Polish and Italian records for the immigrant communities.

The poor whites did not benefit much from the new chain stores which had revolutionised shopping in the 1920s. These stores sold the same standard goods all across the country but they mostly served the middle classes. Nearly all of them were in middle-class districts. Poorer white industrial workers preferred to shop at the local grocer's where the owner was more flexible and gave them credit, even though they could have saved money by going to the chain stores.

However, the poor did join the movie craze. There were hundreds of cinemas in Chicago with four performances a day. Working people in Chicago spent more than half of their leisure budget on movies. Even those who were so poor that they were getting Mothers' Aid Assistance went often. It only cost 10 or 20 cents to see a movie. Yet even in cinema-going the poor were separated from the rich. They went to the local cinema because they couldn't afford the \$1 admission, plus the bus fare, to the more luxurious town-centre cinemas.

By 1930 there was one radio for every two to three households in the poorer districts of Chicago. Those who didn't own a radio set went to shops or to neighbours to listen. It was a communal activity – most families listened to the radio together.

SOURCE 36



Immigration to the USA, 1861-1910.

Divided America: Prejudice and intolerance

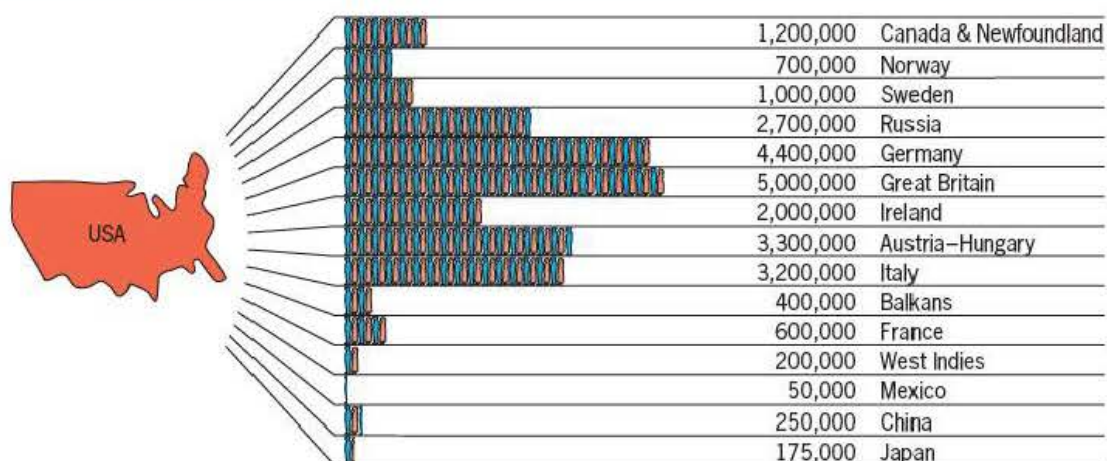
At the same time as some young Americans were experiencing liberation, others were facing intolerance and racism.

The vast majority of Americans were either immigrants or descendants of recent immigrants. Source 37 shows you the ethnic background of the main groups.

As you can see from Source 36, immigration to the USA was at an all-time high from 1901 to 1910. Immigrants were flooding in, particularly Jews from eastern Europe and Russia who were fleeing persecution, and people from Italy who were fleeing poverty. Many Italian immigrants did not intend to settle in the USA, but hoped to make money to take back to their families in Italy.

The United States had always prided itself on being a 'melting pot'. In theory, individual groups lost their ethnic identity and blended together with other groups to become just 'Americans'. In practice, however, this wasn't always the case. In the USA's big cities the more established immigrant groups – Irish Americans, French Canadians and German Americans – competed for the best jobs and the best available housing. These groups tended to look down on the more recent eastern European and Italian immigrants. These in turn had nothing but contempt for African Americans and Mexicans, who were almost at the bottom of the scale.

SOURCE 37



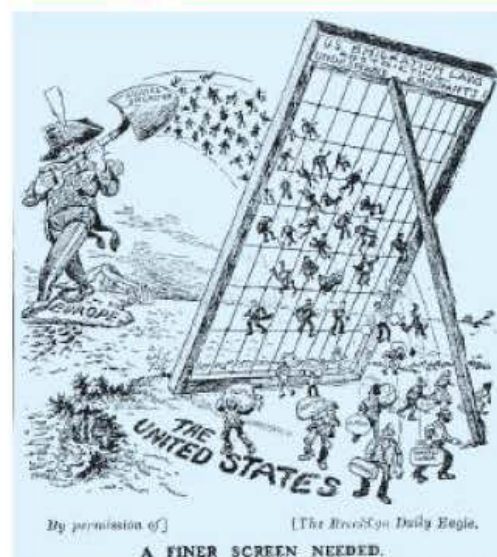
The ethnic background of Americans.

SOURCE 38

Italians were reluctant to live alongside people with darker skins and tended to class Mexicans with Negroes. A social worker noted, however, that newly arrived Italians got on well with Mexicans; only after they had been in the United States for some time did they refuse to associate with them. 'In Italy', he said to one Italian, 'you would not be prejudiced against the Mexicans because of their colour.' The reply was 'No, but we are becoming Americanised.'

Maldwyn Jones argues in *Destination America* (published in 1985) that in many ways racist attitudes were more firmly entrenched in America than they had been in Europe.

SOURCE 39



A cartoon from 1904.

SOURCE 40

The blaze of revolution is eating its way into the homes of the American workman, licking at the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school house, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace the marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.

Mitchell Palmer, US Attorney General, speaking in 1920.

SOURCE 41



A 1924 cartoon showing attitudes to Communism in the USA.

Activity

Work in pairs.

- 1 One of you collect evidence to show that the Red Scare was the result of fear of Communism.
- 2 The other collect evidence to show that the Red Scare was the result of prejudice and intolerance.
- 3 Now try to come up with a definition of the Red Scare that combines both of your views.

- 1 Look at Sources 40–42. Do they tell historians more about Communists or the enemies of Communism? Explain your answer.

Focus Task

Put yourself in the position of a newspaper journalist from Italy or another state whose immigration quota has been reduced. Write an article to people back home explaining:

- ◆ why the USA has brought in these measures
- ◆ why you think people might have been disappointed if they had decided to emigrate to the USA.

The Red Scare

In the 1920s these racist attitudes towards immigrants were made worse by an increased fear of Bolshevism or Communism. The USA watched with alarm as Russia became Communist after the Russian Revolution of 1917 (see pages 150–52). In 1919 America was hit by a wave of strikes and riots. The main cause was economic hardship after men were laid off because wartime production levels fell. However, many Americans saw these disturbances as the work of Communists or other radical political groups such as anarchists. They feared that many of the more recent immigrants from eastern Europe and Russia were bringing similar radical ideas with them to the USA. This reaction was called the Red Scare.

Fear of Communism combined with prejudice against immigrants was a powerful mix, and the fears were not totally unjustified. Many immigrants in the USA did hold radical political beliefs. Anarchists published pamphlets and distributed them widely in American cities, calling for the overthrow of the government. In April 1919 a bomb planted in a church in Milwaukee killed ten people. In May, bombs were posted to 36 prominent Americans. In June more bombs went off in seven US cities, and one almost succeeded in killing Mitchell Palmer, the US Attorney General. The government reaction was quick and harsh. A young clerk called J Edgar Hoover was appointed by Palmer and built up files on 60,000 suspects. In 1919–20 around 10,000 individuals were informed that they were to be deported from the USA. It later emerged that only 556 out of the thousands of cases brought by Hoover had any basis in fact.

All those known to have radical political beliefs were rounded up. They were generally immigrants and the evidence against them was often flimsy. One particular pair, Niccolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti became a long running and notorious case. The case against them was very shaky. After the trial, the judge referred to the two as 'those anarchist bastards'. Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted on flimsy evidence. Explaining the verdict, a leading lawyer of the time said: 'Judge Thayer is narrow minded . . . unintelligent . . . full of prejudice. He has been carried away by fear of Reds which has captured about 90 per cent of the American people.' After six years of legal appeals, Sacco and Vanzetti were eventually executed in 1927, to a storm of protest around the world from both radicals and moderates who saw how unjust the trial had been conducted.

Immigration quotas

SOURCE 42

The steamship companies baul them over to America and as soon as they step off the ships the problem of the steamship companies is settled, but our problem has only begun – Bolshevism, red anarchy, black-handers and kidnappers, challenging the authority and integrity of our flag . . . Thousands come here who will never take the oath to support our constitution and become citizens of the USA. They pay allegiance to some other country while they live upon the substance of our own. They fill places that belong to the wage earning citizens of America . . . They are of no service whatever to our people . . . They constitute a menace and a danger to us every day.

Republican Senator Heflin speaking in 1921 in a debate over whether to limit immigration.

By the time of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti government measures on immigration were already in place. In 1921 the government brought in a system of immigration quotas. The maximum number of immigrants from a country was three per cent of the total from that country who were in the USA in 1910. In 1924, in direct response to its fear of radicals, the government took further action with the Immigration Act. This was made up of two new laws:

- The National Origins Act reduced the immigrant quota further, to two per cent of the population from a country who had been living in the USA in 1890.
- The Asian Exclusion Act prevented further immigration to the USA and ruled that Asians could not become US citizens.

The measures meant that from a high point of more than a million immigrants a year between 1901 and 1910, by 1929 the number arriving in the USA had fallen to 150,000 per year. The 1921 and 1924 Acts also ensured that the largest proportion of immigrants was from north-west Europe (mainly British, Irish and German) and limited immigration from southern and eastern Europe and Asia.

Factfile

The Ku Klux Klan



- Formed in the 1850s by former soldiers after the American Civil War with the aim of keeping whites in control.
- It used parades, beatings, lynchings and other violent methods to intimidate African Americans. It also attacked Jews, Catholics and foreign immigrants.
- It was strongest in the midwest and rural south, where working-class whites competed with African Americans for unskilled jobs.
- It declined in the late nineteenth century but was started up again in 1915. It spread rapidly in the early 1920s, managing to get Klansmen elected into positions of political power.
- By 1924 it had 4.5 million members.
- Oregon and Oklahoma had governors who belonged to the Klan. The Klan was especially dominant in Indiana.
- The Klan declined after 1925. One of its leaders, Grand Wizard David Stephenson, was convicted of a vicious sexually motivated murder. He turned informer and the corruption of the Klan became common knowledge.

Divided America: The experience of African Americans

African Americans had long been part of America's history. The first Africans had been brought to the USA as slaves by white settlers in the seventeenth century. By the time slavery was ended in the nineteenth century, there were more African Americans than white people in the southern United States. White governments, fearing the power of African Americans, introduced many laws to control their freedom. They could not vote. They were denied access to good jobs and to worthwhile education, and well into the twentieth century they suffered great poverty.

The Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan was a white supremacy movement. It used violence to intimidate African Americans. It had been in decline, but was revived after the release of the film *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915. The film was set in the 1860s, just after the Civil War. It glorified the Klan as defenders of decent American values against renegade African Americans and corrupt white businessmen. President Wilson had it shown in the White House. He said: 'It is like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true.' With such support from prominent figures, the Klan became a powerful political force in the early 1920s and subjected African Americans to vicious racist attacks.

Thousands of African Americans were murdered by lynching in this period. Many reports describe appalling atrocities at which whole families, including young children, clapped and cheered. It is one of the most shameful aspects of the USA at this time.

Faced by such intimidation, discrimination and poverty, many African Americans moved north. Through the 1920s the African American population of both Chicago and New York doubled: New York's from 150,000 to 330,000 and Chicago's from 110,000 to 230,000.

Improvements

In the north, African Americans had a better chance of getting good jobs and a good education. For example, Howard University was an exclusively African American institution for higher education.

In both Chicago and New York, there was a small but growing African American middle class. There was a successful 'African American capitalist' movement, encouraging African Americans to set up businesses. In Chicago they ran a successful boycott of the city's chain stores, protesting that they would not shop there unless African American staff were employed. By 1930 almost all the shops in the South Side belt where African Americans lived had African American employees.

There were internationally famous African Americans, such as the singer and actor Paul Robeson (see Profile on page 233). The popularity of jazz made many African American musicians into high-profile media figures. Harlem in New York became the centre of the Harlem Renaissance as its musicians and singers made it a centre of creativity and a magnet for white customers. African American artists and writers flourished in this atmosphere. The poet Langston Hughes wrote about the lives of ordinary working-class African Americans and the problems they suffered. Countee Cullen was another prominent poet who tried to tackle racism and poverty. In one famous poem ('For A Lady I Know') he tried to sum up attitudes of wealthy white employees to their African American servants:

She even thinks that up in heaven
Her class lies late and snores
While poor black cherubs rise at seven
To do celestial chores.

African Americans also entered politics. WEB DuBois founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1919 it had 300 branches and around 90,000 members. It campaigned to end racial segregation laws and to get laws passed against lynching. It did not make much headway at the time, but the numbers of lynchings did fall.

Another important figure was Marcus Garvey. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Garvey urged African Americans to be proud of their race and colour. He instituted an honours system for African Americans (like the British Empire's honours system of knighthoods). The UNIA helped African Americans to set up their own businesses. By the mid 1920s there were UNIA grocery stores, laundries, restaurants and even a printing workshop.

Profile

Paul Robeson



- Born 1898, son of a church minister who had been a former slave.
- Went to Columbia University and passed his law exams with honours in 1923.
- As an African American lawyer, it was almost impossible for him to find work, so he became an actor – his big break was in the hit musical 'Showboat'.
- Visited Moscow in 1934 on a world tour and declared his approval of Communism saying 'Here, for the first time in my life, I walk in dignity.'
- As a Communist sympathiser, Robeson suffered in the USA – he was banned from performing, suffered death threats and had his passport confiscated.
- He left the USA in 1958 to live in Europe, but returned in 1963.

Activity

Read the profile of Paul Robeson. Imagine you are interviewing him on the radio. Write three questions you'd like to ask him.

Garvey set up a shipping line to support both the UNIA businesses and also his scheme of helping African Americans to emigrate to Africa away from white racism. Eventually, his businesses collapsed, partly because he was prosecuted for exaggerating the value of his shares. He was one of very few businessmen to be charged for this offence, and some historians believe that J Edgar Hoover was behind the prosecution. Garvey's movement attracted over 1 million members at its height in 1921. One of these was the Reverend Earl Little. He was beaten to death by Klan thugs in the late 1920s, but his son went on to be the civil rights leader Malcolm X.

SOURCE 43

If I die in Atlanta my work shall only then begin . . . Look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for, with God's grace, I shall come and bring with me countless millions of black slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for Liberty, Freedom and Life.

Marcus Garvey's last words before going to jail in 1925.

Problems

Although important, these movements failed to change the USA dramatically. Life expectancy for African Americans increased from 45 to 48 between 1900 and 1930, but they were still a long way behind the whites, whose life expectancy increased from 54 to 59 over the same period. Many African Americans in the northern cities lived in great poverty. In Harlem in New York they lived in poorer housing than whites, yet paid higher rents. They had poorer education and health services than whites.

In Chicago African Americans suffered great prejudice from longer-established white residents. If they attempted to move out of the African American belt to adjacent neighbourhoods, they got a hostile reception (see Source 44).

SOURCE 44

There is nothing in the make up of a negro, physically or mentally, that should induce anyone to welcome him as a neighbour. The best of them are unsanitary . . . ruin follows in their path. They are as proud as peacocks, but have nothing of the peacock's beauty . . . Niggers are undesirable neighbours and entirely irresponsible and vicious.

From the Chicago Property Owners' Journal, 1920.

They got a similarly hostile reception from poor whites. In Chicago when African Americans attempted to use parks, playgrounds and beaches in the Irish and Polish districts, they were set upon by gangs of whites calling themselves 'athletic clubs'. The result was that African American communities in northern areas often became isolated ghettos.

Within the African American communities prejudice was also evident. Middle-class African Americans who were restless in the ghettos tended to blame newly arrived migrants from the south for intensifying white racism. In Harlem, the presence of some 50,000 West Indians was a source of inter-racial tension. Many of them were better educated, more militant and prouder of their colour than the newly arrived African Americans from the south.

Activity

America's Black Holocaust Museum records the suffering of African Americans through American history.

Write a 100-word summary for the museum handbook of the ways in which the 1920s were a time of change for African Americans.

Activity

Why was prohibition introduced in 1920?

This page gives you a range of reasons why prohibition was introduced in 1920. Source 45 tells one part of this story.

Imagine that the examiner for your course is intending to use this source in your exam.

Advise the examiner on:

- what questions to set on this source
- what to expect students to be able to write about the source.

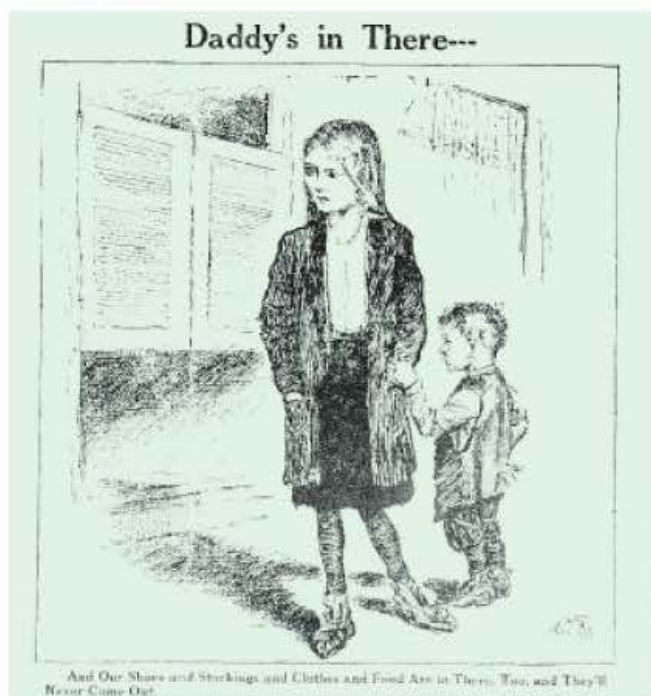
Prohibition – did the Americans make a mistake?

Why was prohibition introduced?

In the nineteenth century, in rural areas of the USA there was a very strong 'temperance' movement. Members of temperance movements agreed not to drink alcohol and also campaigned to get others to give up alcohol. Most members of these movements were devout Christians who saw what damage alcohol did to family life. They wanted to stop that damage.

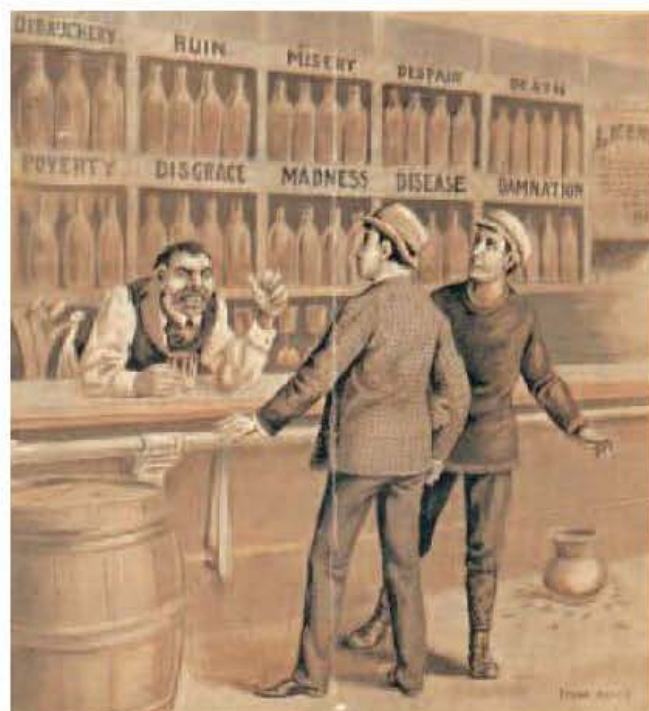
In the nineteenth century the two main movements were the Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (see Sources 45 and 46).

SOURCE 45



A poster issued by the Anti-Saloon League in 1915.

SOURCE 46



A poster issued by the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

SOURCE 47

Our nation can only be saved by turning the pure stream of country sentiment and township morals to flush out the cesspools of cities and so save civilisation from pollution.

A temperance campaigner speaking in 1917.

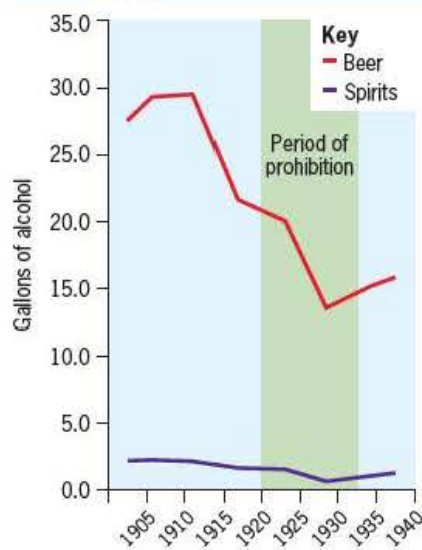
The temperance movements were so strong in some of the rural areas that they persuaded their state governments to prohibit the sale of alcohol within the state. Through the early twentieth century the campaign gathered pace. It became a national campaign to prohibit (ban) alcohol throughout the country. It acquired some very powerful supporters. Leading industrialists backed the movement, believing that workers would be more reliable if they did not drink. Politicians backed it because it got them votes in rural areas. By 1916, 21 states had banned saloons.

Supporters of prohibition became known as 'dries'. The dries brought some powerful arguments to their case. They claimed that '3,000 infants are smothered yearly in bed, by drunken parents.' The USA's entry into the First World War in 1917 boosted the dries. Drinkers were accused of being unpatriotic cowards. Most of the big breweries were run by German immigrants who were portrayed as the enemy. Drink was linked to other evils as well. After the Russian Revolution, the dries claimed that Bolshevism thrived on drink and that alcohol led to lawlessness in the cities, particularly in immigrant communities. Saloons were seen as dens of vice that destroyed family life. The campaign became one of country values against city values.

In 1917 the movement had enough states on its side to propose the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This 'prohibited the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors'. It became law in January 1920 and is known as the Volstead Act.

- 1 Look at Sources 45 and 46. What do you think the aim of each one is?
- 2 What is wrong with alcohol according to these sources?
- 3 Prohibition did not actually make it illegal to drink alcohol. Why not?
- 4 List all the reasons why prohibition was introduced.
- 5 Do you think prohibition sounds like a good idea?

SOURCE 48



Average alcohol consumption (in US gallons) per year of Americans, 1905–40.

SOURCE 50

Statistics in the Detroit police court of 1924 show 7391 arrests for violations of the prohibition law, but only 458 convictions. Ten years ago a dishonest policeman was a rarity . . . Now the honest ones are pointed out as rarities . . . Their relationship with the bootleggers is perfectly friendly. They have to pinch two out of five once in a while, but they choose the ones who are least willing to pay bribes.

E Mandeville, in *Outlook* magazine, 1925.

- 6 Read Source 50. How has prohibition affected the police in Detroit?
- 7 Which of sources 48–50 is the most useful to the historian investigating prohibition?

SOURCE 51



'The National Gesture': a cartoon from the prohibition era.

How was prohibition enforced?

SOURCE 49

	1921	1925	1929
<i>Illegal distilleries seized</i>	9,746	12,023	15,794
<i>Gallons (US) of spirit seized</i>	414,000	11,030,000	11,860,000
<i>Arrests</i>	34,175	62,747	66,878

Activities of federal prohibition agents.

Prohibition lasted from 1920 until 1933. It is often said that prohibition was a total failure. This is not entirely correct. Levels of alcohol consumption fell by about 30 per cent in the early 1920s (see Source 48). Prohibition gained widespread approval in some states, particularly the rural areas in the Midwest, although in urban states it was not popular (Maryland never even introduced prohibition). The government ran information campaigns and prohibition agents arrested offenders (see Source 49). Two of the most famous agents were Isadore Einstein and his deputy Moe Smith. They made 4,392 arrests. Their raids were always low key. They would enter speakeasies (illegal bars) and simply order a drink. Einstein had a special flask hidden inside his waistcoat with a funnel attached. He preserved the evidence by pouring his drink down the funnel and the criminals were caught!

What were the effects of prohibition?

Despite the work of the agents, prohibition proved impossible to enforce effectively in the cities. Enforcement was underfinanced. There were not enough agents – each agent was poorly paid and was responsible for a huge area. By far the biggest drawback was that millions of Americans, particularly in urban areas, were simply not prepared to obey this law. So bootleggers (suppliers of illegal alcohol) made vast fortunes. Al Capone (see page 236) made around \$60 million a year from his speakeasies. His view was that 'Prohibition is a business. All I do is supply a public demand.' And the demand was huge. By 1925 there were more speakeasies in American cities than there had been saloons in 1919. Izzy Einstein filed a report to his superiors on how easy it was to find alcohol after arriving in a new city. Here are the results:

- Chicago: 21 minutes
- Atlanta: 17 minutes
- Pittsburg: 11 minutes
- New Orleans: 35 seconds (he was offered a bottle of whisky by his taxi driver when he asked where he could get a drink!)

Illegal stills (short for distilleries) sprang up all over the USA as people made their own illegal whisky – moonshine. The stills were a major fire hazard and the alcohol they produced was frequently poisonous. Agents seized over 280,000 of these stills, but we have no clear way of knowing how many were not seized. Most Americans had no need for their own still. They simply went to their favourite speakeasy. The speakeasies were well supplied by bootleggers. About two-thirds of the illegal alcohol came from Canada. The vast border between the USA and Canada was virtually impossible to patrol. Other bootleggers brought in alcohol by sea. They would simply wait in the waters outside US control until an opportunity to land their cargo presented itself. One of the most famous was Captain McCoy, who specialised in the finest Scotch whisky. This is where the phrase 'the real McCoy' comes from.

Corruption

Prohibition led to massive corruption. Many of the law enforcement officers were themselves involved with the liquor trade. Big breweries stayed in business throughout the prohibition era. This is not an easy business to hide! But the breweries stayed in operation by bribing local government officials, prohibition agents and the police to leave them alone.

In some cities, police officers were quite prepared to direct people to speakeasies. Even when arrests were made, it was difficult to get convictions because more senior officers or even judges were in the pay of the criminals. One in twelve prohibition agents was dismissed for corruption. The New York FBI boss, Don Chaplin, once ordered his 200 agents: 'Put your hands on the table, both of them. Every son of a bitch wearing a diamond is fired.'

SOURCE 52



Al Capone in 1930. Everyone knew of his activities, but it was impossible to convict him because of his control of the police.

Activity

In other chapters of this book, you have seen profiles of important historical figures.

Use the information and sources to produce two different profiles of Al Capone.

- The first profile is the kind of profile that might appear in this book.
- The second profile is one that might have appeared inside *Time* magazine in 1930 (Source 52).

Make sure you can explain to your teacher why the two profiles are different. These points might be useful to you:

- born in 1889 in New York
- arrived in Chicago in 1919
- took over from Johnny Torio in 1925
- jailed in 1931 for not paying taxes
- released in January 1939
- died in 1947 from syphilis.

Focus Task

Why was prohibition introduced in 1920 and then abolished in 1933?

Many people who were convinced of the case for prohibition before 1920 were equally convinced that it should be abolished in 1933.

Write two letters.

The first should be from a supporter of prohibition to his or her Congressman in 1919 explaining why the Congressman should vote for prohibition. In your letter, explain how prohibition could help to solve problems in America.

The second should be from the same person to the Congressman in 1933 explaining why the Congressman should vote against prohibition. In your letter, explain why prohibition has failed.

Chicago and the gangsters

The most common image people have of the prohibition era is the gangster. Estimates suggest that organised gangs made about \$2 billion out of the sale of illegal alcohol. The bootlegger George Remus certainly did well from the trade. He had a huge network of paid officials that allowed him to escape charge after charge against him. At one party he gave a car to each of the women guests, while all the men received diamond cuff links worth \$25,000.

The gangs fought viciously with each other to control the liquor trade and also the prostitution, gambling and protection rackets that were centred on the speakeasies. They made use of new technology, especially automobiles and the Thompson sub-machine gun, which was devastatingly powerful but could be carried around and hidden under an overcoat. In Chicago alone, there were 130 gangland murders in 1926 and 1927 and not one arrest. By the late 1920s fear and bribery made law enforcement ineffective.

The gangsters operated all over the USA, but they were most closely associated with Chicago. Perhaps the best example of the power of the gangsters is Chicago gangster boss Al Capone. He arrived in Chicago in 1919, on the run from a murder investigation in New York. He ran a drinking club for his boss Johnny Torio. In 1925 Torio retired after an assassination attempt by one of his rivals, Bugsy Moran. Capone took over and proved to be a formidable gangland boss. He built up a huge network of corrupt officials among Chicago's police, local government workers, judges, lawyers and prohibition agents. He even controlled Chicago's mayor, William Hale Thompson. Surprisingly, he was a high-profile and even popular figure in the city. He was a regular at baseball and American football games and was cheered by the crowd when he took his seat. He was well known for giving generous tips (over \$100) to waiters and shop girls and spent \$30,000 on a soup kitchen for the unemployed.

Capone was supported by a ruthless gang, hand picked for their loyalty to him. He killed two of his own men whom he suspected of plotting against him by beating their brains out with a baseball bat. By 1929 he had destroyed the power of the other Chicago gangs, committing at least 300 murders in the process. The peak of his violent reign came with the St Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929. Capone's men murdered seven of his rival Bugsy Moran's gang, using a false police car and two gangsters in police uniform to put Moran's men off their guard.

Why was prohibition ended?

The St Valentine's Day Massacre was a turning point. The papers screamed that the gangsters had graduated from murder to massacre. It seemed that prohibition, often called 'The Noble Experiment', had failed. It had made the USA lawless, the police corrupt and the gangsters rich and powerful. When the Wall Street Crash was followed by the Depression in the early 1930s, there were sound economic arguments for getting rid of it. Legalising alcohol would create jobs, raise tax revenue and free up resources tied up in the impossible task of enforcing prohibition. The Democrat President Franklin D Roosevelt was elected in 1932 and prohibition was repealed in December 1933.

Activity

Why did prohibition fail?

In the end prohibition failed. Here are four groups who could be blamed for the failure of prohibition:

- a) the American people who carried on going to illegal speakeasies
- b) the law enforcers who were corrupt and ignored the law breakers
- c) the bootleggers who continued supplying and selling alcohol
- d) the gangsters who controlled the trade through violence.

- 1 For each of the above groups find evidence on pages 234–36 to show that it contributed to the failure of prohibition.
- 2 Say which group you think played the most important role in the failure. Explain your choice.
- 3 Draw a diagram to show links between the groups.

Factfile

Investment and the stock market

- To set up a company you need money to pay staff, rent premises, buy equipment, etc.
- Most companies raise this money from investors. In return, these investors own a share in the company. They become 'shareholders'.
- These shareholders can get a return on their money in two ways:
 - a) by receiving a dividend – a share of the profits made by the company
 - b) by selling their shares.
- If the company is successful, the value of the shares is usually higher than the price originally paid for them.
- Investors buy and sell their shares on the stock market. The American stock market was known as Wall Street.
- The price of shares varies from day to day. If more people are buying than selling, then the price goes up. If more are selling than buying, the price goes down.
- For much of the 1920s the price of shares on the Wall Street stock market went steadily upwards.

The Wall Street Crash

In 1928 there was a presidential election. Herbert Hoover was the Republican candidate. Nobody doubted that the Republicans would win again. The US economy was still booming. After so much success, how could they lose? His opponent Al Smith was an Irish Catholic and a 'wet' – an opponent of prohibition – although he was a highly successful governor of New York.

Hoover did win, by a landslide, and all seemed well. One of his earliest statements as President was: 'We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before ... The poor man is vanishing from among us.' (See Source 35 on page 229.) When Hoover formally moved into the White House in March 1929 the mood of confidence was still there. He pointed out that Americans had more bathtubs, oil furnaces, silk stockings and bank accounts than any other country.

Six months later it was a very different picture. In October 1929 the Wall Street stock market crashed, the American economy collapsed, and the USA entered a long depression that destroyed much of the prosperity of the 1920s.

You are going to investigate what went wrong. Some say that Hoover and the Republicans should have seen what was coming and done something about it. (You have already studied some of the USA's economic weaknesses.) Others say that at the time no one could really have known how great the problem was or what to do about it. See what you think.

What caused the Wall Street Crash?

To understand the Wall Street Crash you first need to understand how the stock market is supposed to work (see Factfile).

Speculation

You can see that investment on the stock market would be quite attractive during an economic boom. The American economy was doing well throughout the 1920s. Because the economy kept doing well, there were more share buyers than sellers and the value of shares rose (see Source 53).

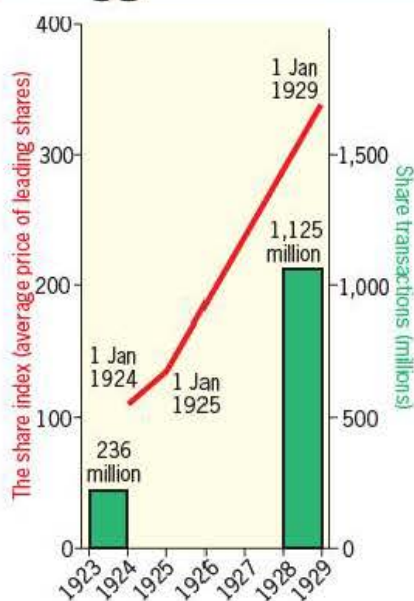
It seemed to many Americans that the stock market was an easy and quick way to get rich. Anyone could buy shares, watch their value rise and then sell the shares later at a higher price. Many Americans decided to join the stock market. In 1920 there had been only 4 million share owners in America. By 1929 there were 20 million, out of a population of 120 million (although only about 1.5 million were big investors).

Around 600,000 new investors were speculators. Speculation is a form of gambling. Speculators don't intend to keep their shares for long. They borrow money to buy some shares, then sell them again as soon as the price has risen. They pay off their loan and still have a quick profit to show for it. In the 1920s speculators didn't even have to pay the full value of the shares. They could buy 'on the margin', which meant they only had to put down ten per cent of the cash needed to buy shares and could borrow the rest. Women became heavily involved in speculation. Women speculators owned over 50 per cent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which became known as the 'petticoat line'. It was not only individuals who speculated. Banks themselves got involved in speculation. And certainly they did nothing to hold it back. American banks lent \$9 billion for speculating in 1929.

Through most of the 1920s the rise in share prices was quite steady. There were even some downturns. But in 1928 speculation really took hold. Demand for shares was at an all-time high, and prices were rising at an unheard-of rate. In March, Union Carbide shares stood at \$145. By September 1928 they had risen to \$413.

One vital ingredient in all this is confidence. If people are confident that prices will keep rising, there will be more buyers than sellers. However, if they think prices might stop rising, all of a sudden there will be more sellers and ... crash, the whole structure will come down. This is exactly what happened in 1929.

SOURCE 53



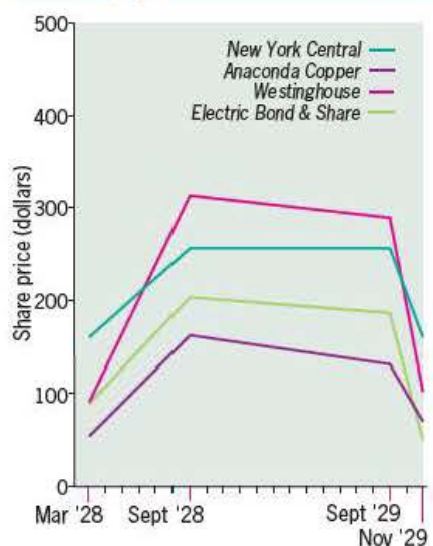
The average price (dollars) of leading shares, and share transactions, 1923–29.

SOURCE 54

The stock market hysteria reached its apex that year [1929] . . . Everyone was playing the market . . . On my last day in New York, I went down to the barber. As he removed the sheet he said softly, 'Buy Standard Gas. I've doubled . . . It's good for another double.' As I walked upstairs, I reflected that if the hysteria had reached the barber level, something must soon happen.

Cecil Roberts, *The Bright Twenties*, 1938.

SOURCE 55



Selected share prices, 1928–29.

Factfile

The Wall Street Crash, 1929

- **June** Factory output starts declining. Steel production starts declining.
- **3 Sept** The hottest day of the year. The last day of rising prices.
- **5 Sept** 'The Babson Break': Roger Babson, economic forecaster, says 'Sooner or later a crash is coming and it may be terrific.' The index of share prices drops ten points.
- **6 Sept** Market recovers.
- **Mon 21 Oct** Busy trading. Much selling. So much trading that the 'ticker' which tells people of changes in price falls behind by 1½ hours. Some people don't know they are ruined until after the exchange closes. By then it is too late to do anything about it.
- **Thu 24 Oct** Busiest trading yet. Big falls. Banks intervene to buy stock. Confidence returns. Prices stabilise.
- **Mon 28 Oct** Massive fall. Index loses 43 points. It is clear that the banks have stopped supporting share prices.
- **Tue 29 Oct** Massive fall. People sell for whatever they can get.

Weaknesses in the US economy

The construction industry (one of the leading signs of health in any economy) had actually started its downturn as far back as 1926. You have already seen how farming was in trouble in the 1920s. You have also seen the decline in coal, textile and other traditional trades. There were other concerns, such as the unequal distribution of wealth and the precarious state of some banks. In the decade before the Crash, over 500 banks had failed each year. These were mainly small banks who lent too much.

By 1929 other sectors of the economy were showing signs of strain after the boom years of the 1920s. The boom was based on the increased sale of consumer goods such as cars and electrical appliances. There were signs that American industries were producing more of these goods than they could sell. The market for these goods was largely the rich and the middle classes. By 1929 those who could afford consumer goods had already bought them. The majority of Americans who were poor could not afford to buy them, even on the generous hire purchase and credit schemes on offer.

Companies tried high-pressure advertising. In 1929 American industry spent a staggering \$3 billion on magazine advertising. But with workers' wages not rising and prices not falling, demand decreased.

In the past, American industry would have tried to export its surplus goods. But people in Europe could not afford American goods either. In addition, after nine years of American tariffs, Europe had put up its own tariffs to protect its industries.

By the summer of 1929 these weaknesses were beginning to show. Even car sales were slowing, and in June 1929 the official figures for industrial output showed a fall for the first time for four years. Speculators on the American stock exchange became nervous about the value of their shares and began to sell.

As you can see from the Factfile, the slide in share values started slowly. But throughout September and October it gathered pace. Many investors had borrowed money to buy their shares and could not afford to be stuck with shares worth less than the value of their loan. Soon other investors sold their shares and within days panic set in. On Tuesday 29 October 1929 it became clear to the speculators that the banks were not going to intervene to support the price of shares, and so Wall Street had its busiest and its worst day in history as speculators desperately tried to dump 13 million shares at a fraction of the price they had paid for them.

Focus Task

How far was speculation responsible for the Wall Street Crash?

Work in groups.

- 1 Here are five factors that led to the Wall Street Crash. For each one explain how it helped to cause the crash:
 - ◆ poor distribution of income between rich and poor
 - ◆ overproduction by American industries
 - ◆ the actions of speculators
 - ◆ no export market for US goods
 - ◆ decision by the banks not to support share prices.
- 2 If you think other factors are also important, add them to your list and explain why they helped to cause the crash.
- 3 Decide whether there is one factor that is more important than any of the others. Explain your choice.

SOURCE 56

- The Vanderbilt family lost \$40 million.
- Rockefeller lost 80 per cent of his wealth – but he still had \$40 million left.
- The British politician Winston Churchill lost \$500,000.
- The singer Fanny Brice lost \$500,000.
- Groucho and Harpo Marx (two of the Marx Brothers comedy team) lost \$240,000 each.

Major losers in the crash.

- 1 Look at Source 57. Do you think the cartoonist is sympathetic or critical of the man on the bench? Explain your opinion.

SOURCE 57



A cartoon by American cartoonist John McCutcheon, 1932. The man on the bench has lost all his savings because of a bank failure.

Focus Task

What impact did the Crash have on the American economy?

- 1 Draw a diagram to show how the following were connected to each other:
- ◆ the Wall Street Crash
 - ◆ the banking crisis
 - ◆ reduced spending
 - ◆ unemployment.

Research Task

- 2 On page 222 you investigated various features of the boom. Try to find out from your own research what happened between 1929 and 1933 to at least two of the industries or activities covered on pages 221–22.

The consequences of the Wall Street Crash

At first, it was not clear what the impact of the Crash would be. In the short term, the large speculators were ruined. The rich lost most because they had invested most (see Source 56). They had always been the main buyers of American goods, so there was an immediate downturn in spending. Many others had borrowed money in order to buy shares that were now worthless. They were unable to pay back their loans to the banks and insurance companies, so they went bankrupt. Some banks themselves also went bankrupt.

At first, however, these seemed like tragic but isolated incidents. President Hoover reassured the nation that prosperity was 'just around the corner'. He cut taxes to help to stimulate people to buy more goods and by mid 1931 production was rising again slightly and there was hope that the situation was more settled.

SOURCE 58



An attempt to make some cash after the Wall Street Crash, 1929.

In fact, it was the worst of the Depression that was 'just around the corner', because the Crash had destroyed the one thing that was crucial to the prosperity of the 1920s: confidence.

This was most marked in the banking crisis. In 1929, 659 banks failed. As banks failed people stopped trusting them and many withdrew their savings. In 1930 another 1,352 went bankrupt. The biggest of these was the Bank of the United States in New York, which went bankrupt in December 1930. It had 400,000 depositors – many of them recent immigrants. Almost one-third of New Yorkers saved with it. This was the worst failure in American history. To make matters worse, 1931 saw escalating problems in European banks, which had a knock-on effect in the USA. Panic set in. Around the country a billion dollars was withdrawn from banks and put in safe deposit boxes, or stored at home. People felt that hard currency was the only security. Another 2,294 banks went under in 1931.

So while Hoover talked optimistically about the return of prosperity, Americans were showing their true feelings. They now kept their money instead of buying new goods or shares. The downward spiral was firmly established. Businesses cut production further and laid off more workers. They reduced the wages of those who still worked for them. Between 1928 and 1933 both industrial and farm production fell by 40 per cent, and average wages by 60 per cent.

As workers were laid off or were paid less, they bought even less. By 1932 the USA was in the grip of the most serious economic depression the world had ever seen. By 1933 there were 14 million unemployed, and 5,000 banks had gone bankrupt. Farm prices had fallen so low that the cost of transporting animals to market was higher than the price of the animals themselves. Total farm income had slipped to just \$5 billion. The USA's international trade had also been drastically reduced, falling from \$10 billion in 1929 to \$3 billion in 1932.

9.2

The Depression and the New Deal, 1929–1941

SOURCE 1

During the last three months I have visited ... some 20 states of this wonderfully rich and beautiful country. A number of Montana citizens told me of thousands of bushels of wheat left in the fields uncut on account of its low price that hardly paid for the harvesting.

... I saw men picking for meat scraps in the garbage cans of the cities of New York and Chicago. One man said that he had killed 3,000 sheep this fall and thrown them down the canyon because it cost \$1.10 to ship a sheep and then he would get less than a dollar for it.

The farmers are being pauperised [made poor] by the poverty of industrial populations and the industrial populations are being pauperised by the poverty of the farmers. Neither has the money to buy the product of the other ...

Evidence of Oscar Ameringer to a US government committee in 1932.

SOURCE 2



Unemployed workers queuing for a cheap meal. For Americans used to prosperity and believing in self-help, needing charity was a hard blow to their pride.

How serious were the effects of the Depression?

People in agricultural areas were hardest hit by the Depression, because the 1920s had not been kind to them anyway. Huge numbers of farmers were unable to pay their mortgages. Some farmers organised themselves to resist banks seizing their homes. When sheriffs came to seize their property, bands of farmers holding pitch forks and hangman's nooses persuaded the sheriffs to retreat. Others barricaded highways. Most farmers, however, had no choice but to pack their belongings into their trucks and live on the road. They picked up work where they could.

To make matters worse for farmers, overfarming and drought in the central southern states turned millions of acres into a dust bowl and drove farmers off their land. Many of these ruined farmers headed to California looking for labouring work.

SOURCE 3



A dust bowl farm. Overfarming, drought and poor conservation turned farmland into desert.

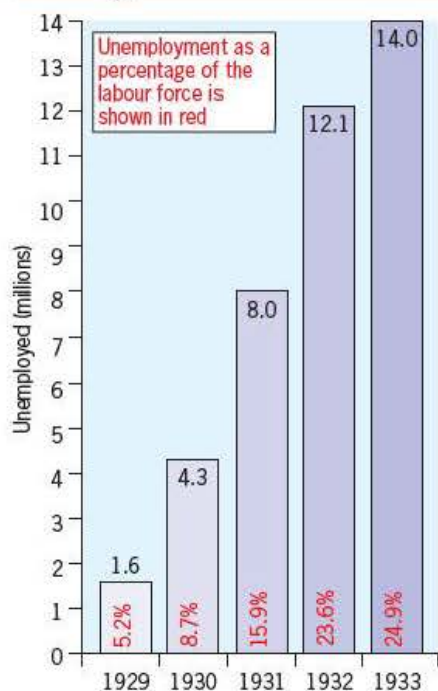
In the towns, the story was not much better. For example, in 1932 in the steel city of Cleveland, 50 per cent of workers were now unemployed and in Toledo 80 per cent. At night the parks were full of the homeless and unemployed. In every city, workers who had contributed to the prosperity of the 1920s now queued for bread and soup dished out by charity workers. Every town had a so-called Hooverville. This was a shanty town of ramshackle huts where the migrants lived, while they searched for work. The rubbish tips were crowded with families hoping to scrape a meal from the leftovers of more fortunate people. Through 1931, 238 people were admitted to hospital in New York suffering from malnutrition or starvation. Forty-five of them died.

SOURCE 4

Last summer, in the hot weather, when the smell was sickening and the flies were thick, there were a hundred people a day coming to the dumps ... a widow who used to do housework and laundry, but now had no work at all, fed herself and her fourteen-year-old son on garbage. Before she picked up the meat she would always take off her glasses so that she couldn't see the maggots.

From New Republic magazine, February 1933.

SOURCE 5



Unemployment in the USA, 1929–33.

SOURCE 7

There is not an unemployed man in the country that hasn't contributed to the wealth of every millionaire in America. The working classes didn't bring this on, it was the big boys . . . We've got more wheat, more corn, more food, more cotton, more money in the banks, more everything in the world than any nation that ever lived ever bad, yet we are starving to death. We are the first nation in the history of the world to go to the poorhouse in an automobile.

Will Rogers, an American writer, 1931. Rogers had a regular humorous column in an American magazine which was popular with ordinary people.

SOURCE 6



A Hooverville shanty town on wasteland in Seattle, Washington.

SOURCE 8



A migrant family.

Focus Task

What were the human consequences of the Depression?

You have been asked to prepare an exhibition of photos which compares the life of Americans during the boom times of the 1920s with the depressed years of the 1930s. Choose two pictures from the 1920s and two from the 1930s which you think present the greatest contrast.

Explain your choice.

Do you think everyone suffered equally from the Depression? Explain your answer by referring to Sources 1–8.

- 1 Read Source 7. What do you think Will Rogers means by 'the big boys'?
- 2 Explain how a writer such as Rogers can be useful to a historian studying the impact of the Depression in the 1930s.

SOURCE 9



A 1932 Democrat election poster.

- 1 Source 9 had a very powerful effect on Americans. Explain why (refer to Source 13).
- 2 From Sources 10, 11 and 13 make a list of criticisms of Hoover and his government.

SOURCE 12

In 1929 the Democratic Party hired former newspaperman Charles Michaelson to attack Hoover's image. Backed by a million dollar budget, Michaelson wrote speeches for Democrats on Capitol Hill and distributed a newspaper column . . . Comedian Will Rogers summed up the mood of a nation: 'If someone bit an apple and found a worm in it,' he joked, 'Hoover would get the blame.' Desperate encampments of tin and cardboard shacks were dubbed 'Hoovervilles'. There were 'Hoover hogs' (armadillos [small mammals – that were hunted for their meat]), 'Hoover flags' (empty pockets turned inside out), 'Hoover blankets' (newspapers barely covering the destitute forced to sleep outdoors) and 'Hoover Pullmans' (empty box cars used by an army of vagabonds escaping from their roots).

An extract from *From Hero to Scapegoat*, the official biography of Hoover by the Hoover Presidential Library and Museum.

How did President Hoover try to tackle the Depression?

In the 1932 election President Hoover paid the price for being unable to solve the problems of the Depression. It was partly his own fault. Until 1932 he refused to accept that there was a major problem. He insisted that 'prosperity is just around the corner'. This left him open to bitter criticisms such as Source 11. A famous banner carried in a demonstration of Iowa farmers said: 'In Hoover we trusted and now we are busted.'

SOURCE 10

Never before in this country has a government fallen to so low a place in popular estimation or been so universally an object of cynical contempt. Never before has [a President] given his name so freely to latrines and offal dumps, or had his face banished from the [cinema] screen to avoid the boots and jeers of children.

Written by a political commentator after the event.

SOURCE 11

Farmers are just ready to do anything to get even with the situation. I almost hate to express it, but I honestly believe that if some of them could buy airplanes they would come down here to Washington to blow you fellows up . . . The farmer is a naturally conservative individual, but you cannot find a conservative farmer today. Any economic system that has in its power to set me and my wife in the streets, at my age what can I see but red?

President of the Farmers' Union of Wisconsin, AN Young, speaking to a Senate committee in 1932.

SOURCE 13

When I think of what has been happening in this country since unemployment began, and when I see the futility of the leaders, I wish we might double the number of Communists in this country, to put the fear, if not of God, then the fear of something else, into the hearts of our leaders.

Written by a Catholic priest, Father J Ryan.

Hoover was regarded as a 'do nothing' President. This was not entirely fair on Hoover. He tried to restart the economy in 1930 and 1931 by tax cuts. He tried to persuade business leaders not to cut wages. He set up the Reconstruction Finance Company, which propped up banks to stop them going bankrupt. He tried to protect US industries by introducing tariffs, but this simply strangled international trade and made the Depression worse.

To most observers these measures looked like mere tinkering. Hoover and most Republicans were very reluctant to change their basic policies. They believed that the main cause of the Depression had been economic problems in Europe, not weaknesses in the USA's economy. They said that business should be left alone to bring back prosperity. Government help was not needed. They argued that business went in cycles of boom and bust, and therefore prosperity would soon return. In 1932 Hoover blocked the Garner–Wagner Relief Bill, which would have allowed Congress to provide \$2.1 billion to create jobs.

Even more damaging to Hoover's personal reputation, however, was how little he tried to help people who were suffering because of the Depression. He believed that social security was not the responsibility of the government. Relief should be provided by local government or charities. The Republicans were afraid that if the government helped individuals, they would become less independent and less willing to work.

Profile

Franklin D Roosevelt

- Born in 1882 into a rich New York family.
- In 1910 he entered politics as a Democratic senator for New York.
- In 1921 he was paralysed by polio and spent the rest of his life in a wheelchair.
- He became President in 1933.
- He was an excellent public speaker and a firm believer in the 'American dream' – that anyone who worked hard enough could become rich.
- His policies of providing benefit for the unemployed, and employing men to work on massive state building projects (known as the 'New Deal' – see pages 245–52), made him extremely popular.
- He was elected President four times.
- He led the USA through the Second World War until his death in 1945.

SOURCE 15

Millions of our citizens cherish the hope that their old standards of living have not gone forever. Those millions shall not hope in vain. I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a New Deal for the American people. This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win this crusade to restore America . . . I am waging a war against Destruction, Delay, Deceit and Despair . . .

Roosevelt's pre-election speech, 1932.

SOURCE 16

Roosevelt, the only American President to win four terms in office . . . saw the Democratic Party for what it was: an amorphous association representing a wide variety of competing interests. To win the Presidential nomination, he needed to keep on board an improbable mix of eastern liberals, western reformers, labour leaders, internationalists, Wall Street financiers and southern states' rights conservatives and white supremacists. So evasive was he that one columnist dubbed him 'the cork screw candidate'.

Professor James Macgregor Burns, writing in November 2007. Burns is an expert on the methods used by political leaders.

- 3 Make a list of the differences between the views of Hoover and Roosevelt.
- 4 Explain why Hoover disliked Roosevelt's ideas.

Roosevelt and the 1932 Presidential election

Hoover's reputation was particularly damaged by an event in June 1932. Thousands of servicemen who had fought in the First World War marched on Washington asking for their war bonuses (a kind of pension) to be paid early. The marchers camped peacefully outside the White House and sang patriotic songs. Hoover refused to meet them. He appointed General Douglas MacArthur to handle the situation. MacArthur convinced himself (with little or no evidence) that they were Communist agitators. He ignored Hoover's instructions to treat the marchers with respect. Troops and police used tear gas and burned the marchers' camps. Hoover would not admit he had failed to control MacArthur. He publicly thanked God that the USA still knew how to deal with a mob.

SOURCE 14



Police attacking the war bonus marchers.

There could be no greater contrast to Hoover than his opponent in the 1932 election, the Democrat candidate, Franklin D Roosevelt. Roosevelt's main characteristics as a politician were:

- He was not a radical but believed in 'active government' to improve the lives of ordinary people, although only as a last resort if self help and charity had failed.
- He had plans to spend public money on getting people back to work. As Governor of New York, he had already started doing this in his own state.
- He was not afraid to ask for advice on important issues from a wide range of experts, such as factory owners, union leaders and economists.

The campaign

With such ill-feeling towards Hoover being expressed throughout the country, Roosevelt was confident of victory, but he took no chances. He went on a grand train tour of the USA in the weeks before the election and mercilessly attacked the attitude of Hoover and the Republicans.

Roosevelt's own plans were rather vague and general (see Source 16). But he realised people wanted action, whatever that action was. In a 20,800 km campaign trip he made sixteen major speeches and another 60 from the back of his train. He promised the American people a 'New Deal'.

The election was a landslide victory for Roosevelt. He won by 7 million votes and the Democrats won a majority of seats in Congress. It was the worst defeat the Republicans had ever suffered.

Focus Task

Why did Roosevelt win the 1932 election?

In many ways Roosevelt's victory needs no explanation. Indeed, it would have been very surprising if any President could have been re-elected after the sufferings of 1929–32. But it is important to recognise the range of factors that helped Roosevelt and damaged Hoover.

Write your own account of Roosevelt's success under the following headings:

- ◆ The experiences of ordinary people
- ◆ Actions taken by the Republicans
- ◆ The policies of the Republicans
- ◆ Roosevelt's election campaign

How did Roosevelt deal with the Depression?

During his election campaign Roosevelt had promised the American people a New Deal. It was not entirely clear what measures that might include. What was clear was that Franklin D Roosevelt planned to use the full power of the government to get the USA out of depression. His priorities were: (1) getting Americans back to work; (2) protecting their savings and property; (3) providing relief for the sick, old and unemployed and (4) getting American industry and agriculture back on their feet.

SOURCE 17

This is the time to speak the truth frankly and boldly . . . So let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyses efforts to convert retreat into advance . . . This nation calls for action and action now . . . Our greatest primary task is to put people to work . . . We must act and act quickly.

Roosevelt's inauguration speech, 1933.

- 1 Read Source 17. What do you think Roosevelt means by 'the only thing we have to fear is fear itself'?

SOURCE 18

The bank rescue of 1933 was probably the turning point of the Depression. When people were able to survive the shock of having all the banks closed, and then see the banks open up again, with their money protected, there began to be confidence. Good times were coming. It marked the revival of hope.

Raymond Moley, one of Roosevelt's advisers during the Hundred Days Congress session.

Factfile

The Hundred Days

- 4 March Roosevelt inaugurated.
- 5 March Closed banks.
- 9 March Selected banks reopened.
- 12 March Roosevelt's first radio 'fireside chat'. Encouraged Americans to put their money back into the banks. Many did so.
- 31 March The Civilian Conservation Corps set up.
- 12 May The Agricultural Adjustment Act passed.
- 18 May The Tennessee Valley Authority created.
- June Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) founded.
- 18 June The National Industrial Recovery Act passed.

The Hundred Days

In the first hundred days of his presidency, Roosevelt worked round the clock with his advisers (who became known as the 'Brains Trust') to produce an enormous range of sweeping measures.

From his first day, Roosevelt went straight into action. One of the many problems affecting the USA was its loss of confidence in the banks. He immediately tackled this banking crisis.

The day after his inauguration Roosevelt ordered all of the banks to close and to remain closed until government officials had checked them over. A few days later 5,000 trustworthy banks were allowed to reopen. They were even supported by government money if necessary. At the same time, Roosevelt's advisers had come up with a set of rules and regulations which would prevent the reckless speculation that had contributed to the Wall Street Crash.

These two measures, the **Emergency Banking Act** and the **Securities Exchange Commission**, gave the American people a taste of what the New Deal was to look like, but there was a lot more to come. One of Roosevelt's advisers at this time said, 'During the whole Hundred Days Congress, people didn't know what was going on, but they knew something was happening, something good for them.' In the Hundred Days, Roosevelt sent fifteen proposals to Congress and all fifteen were adopted. Just as importantly, he took time to explain to the American people what he was doing and why he was doing it. Every Sunday he would broadcast on radio to the nation. An estimated 60 million Americans tuned in to these '**fireside chats**'. Nowadays, we are used to politicians doing this. At that time it was a new development.

The **Federal Emergency Relief Administration** set about meeting the urgent needs of the poor. A sum of \$500 million was spent on soup kitchens, blankets, employment schemes and nursery schools.

The **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC) was aimed at unemployed young men in particular. They could sign on for periods of six months, which could be renewed if they could still not find work. Most of the work done by the CCC was on environmental projects in national parks. The money earned generally went back to the men's families. Around 2.5 million young men were helped.

The **Agricultural Adjustment Administration** (AAA) tried to take a long-term view of the problems facing farmers. It set quotas to reduce farm production in order to force prices gradually upwards. At the same time, the AAA helped farmers to modernise and to use farming methods that would conserve and protect the soil. In cases of extreme hardship, farmers could also receive help with their mortgages. The AAA certainly helped farmers, although modernisation had the unfortunate effect of putting more farm labourers out of work.

The **National Industrial Recovery Act** (NIRA) set up two important organisations:

- The **Public Works Administration** (PWA), which used government money to build schools, roads, dams, bridges and airports. These would be vital once the USA had recovered, and in the short term they created millions of jobs.
- The **National Recovery Administration** (NRA), which improved working conditions in industry and outlawed child labour. It also set out fair wages and sensible levels of production. The idea was to stimulate the economy by giving workers money to spend, without overproducing and causing a slump. It was voluntary, but firms which joined used the blue eagle as a symbol of presidential approval. Over 2 million employers joined the scheme.

The **Home Owners Loan Corporation** was established in June and began trading in August. It effectively took over the mortgages of many middle-income Americans who were struggling to pay their mortgages so that the banks did not repossess their homes. HOLC took over around 1 million mortgages at more favourable interest rates than banks were offering. Between 1933 and 1936 HOLC 'rescued' around twenty per cent of American homeowners and over 80 per cent of these successfully repaid the HOLC mortgage.

SOURCE 19

A



B



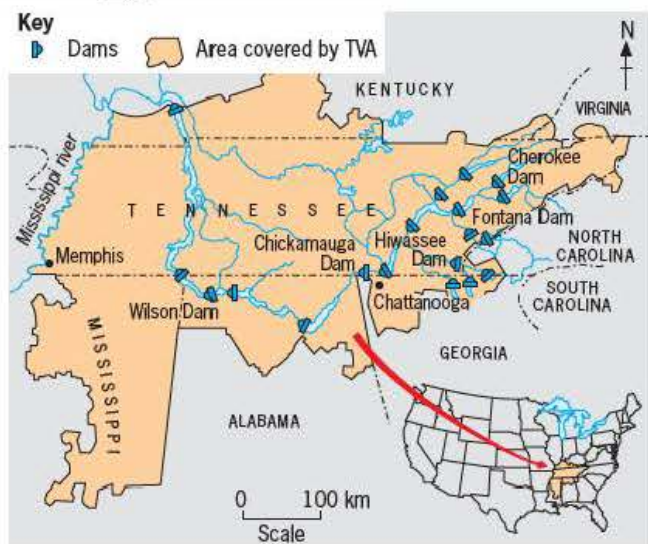
Two 1933 American cartoons.

The Tennessee Valley Authority

2 Look carefully at Source 19. Put the message of each cartoon into your own words.

As you can see from Source 20, the Tennessee Valley was a huge area that cut across seven states. The area had great physical problems. In the wet season, the Tennessee river would flood. In the dry it would reduce to a trickle. The farming land around the river was a dust bowl. The soil was eroding and turning the land into desert. The area also had great social problems. Within the valley people lived in poverty. The majority of households had no electricity. The problems of the Tennessee Valley were far too large for one state to deal with and it was very difficult for states to co-operate.

SOURCE 20



The Tennessee Valley and the work of the TVA.

SOURCE 21



Effects of erosion in the Tennessee Valley.

Roosevelt therefore set up an independent organisation called the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**, which cut across the powers of the local state governments. The main focus of the TVA's work was to build a series of dams on the Tennessee river. They transformed the region. The dams made it possible to irrigate the dried-out lands. They also provided electricity for this underdeveloped area. Above all, building the dams created thousands of jobs in an area badly hit by the Depression.

Factfile

Achievements of the Hundred Days

- Above all, it restored confidence and stopped investors pulling money out of the banks.
- Banking measures saved twenty per cent of home owners and farmers from repossession.
- Farmers were 50 per cent better off under AAA by 1936.
- TVA brought electrical power to underdeveloped areas.
- Public Works Administration created 600,000 jobs and built landmarks like San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge.

1 After reading pages 244–46, add three more bullet points to this Factfile.

SOURCE 23

Wandering around the country with one of New York's baseball teams, I find that [what was] the national road to ruin is now a thriving thoroughfare. It has been redecorated. People have come out of the shell holes. They are working and playing and seem content to let a tribe of professional worriers do their worrying for them.

Rudd Rennie, an American journalist, describes what he saw around the USA in the early days of the New Deal. From *Changing the Tune from Gloom to Cheer*, 1934.

SOURCE 24

The CCC, the PWA, and similar government bodies (the alphabet agencies as Americans called them) made work for millions of people. The money they earned began to bring back life to the nation's trade and businesses. More customers appeared in the shops . . . As people started to buy again, shopkeepers, farmers and manufacturers began to benefit from the money the government was spending on work for the unemployed. This process was described by Roosevelt as 'priming the pump'. By this he meant that the money the Federal Government was spending was like a fuel, flowing into the nation's economic machinery and starting it moving again.

DB O'Callaghan, *Roosevelt and the USA*, published in 1966.

SOURCE 22



The Fontana Dam, one of the TVA's later projects. Dams such as these revitalised farmland, provided jobs and brought electric power to the area.

The measures introduced during the Hundred Days had an immediate effect. They restored confidence in government. Reporters who travelled the country brought back reports of the new spirit to be seen around the USA.

Historians too agree that Roosevelt's bold and decisive action did have a marked effect on the American people.

SOURCE 25

As Roosevelt described it, the 'New Deal' meant that the forgotten man, the little man, the man nobody knew much about, was going to be dealt better cards to play with . . . He understood that the suffering of the Depression had fallen with terrific impact upon the people least able to bear it. He knew that the rich had been hit hard too, but at least they had something left. But the little merchant, the small householder and home owner, the farmer, the man who worked for himself – these people were desperate. And Roosevelt saw them as principal citizens of the United States, numerically and in their importance to the maintenance of the ideals of American democracy.

Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew*, 1947. Perkins was Labour Secretary under Roosevelt from 1933.

Focus Task

What was the New Deal of 1933?

Look back over pages 244–46 and complete your own copy of this table.

New Deal measure/agency	Issue/problem it aimed to tackle	Action taken/powers of agency	Evidence it was/was not effective

SOURCE 26



Workers widening a road under the Works Progress Administration.

SOURCE 27



Migrant Mother (number 6) by Dorothea Lange, taken in Nipomo, California, March 1936. Many farmers migrated to California where farming had been less badly hit by the Depression.

- 2 What impression of the New Deal does Source 28 attempt to convey?
- 3 Why do you think Roosevelt wanted artists and photographers to be employed under the New Deal?

Focus Task

Draw up two spider diagrams to compare the objectives and measures of the New Deal and the Second New Deal.

The Second New Deal

Despite his achievements, by May 1935 Roosevelt was facing a barrage of criticism. Some critics (like Senator Huey Long, see page 248) complained that he was doing too little, others (mainly the wealthy business sector) too much. The USA was recovering less quickly than Europe from Depression. Business was losing its enthusiasm for the NRA (for example, Henry Ford had cut wages). Roosevelt was unsure what to do. He had hoped to transform the USA, but it didn't seem to be working.

Tuesday, 14 May 1935 turned out to be a key date. Roosevelt met with a group of senators and close advisers who shared his views and aims. They persuaded him to take radical steps to achieve his vision and make the USA a fairer place for all Americans (see Source 25). One month later, on 14 June, he summoned the leaders of Congress and presented them with a huge range of laws that he wanted passed. This became known as the Second New Deal. The most significant aspects were:

- The **Wagner Act** which forced all employers to allow trade unions to operate in their companies and to let them negotiate with employers for better pay and conditions. The new Act made it illegal to sack workers for being in a union.
- The **Social Security Act** which provided state pensions for the elderly and for widows. It also allowed state governments to work with the federal government to provide help for the sick and the disabled. Most importantly, the Act set up a scheme for unemployment insurance. This meant that employers and workers made a small contribution to a special fund each week. If workers became unemployed, they would receive a small amount of benefit to help them out until they could find work.
- The **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**, later renamed the Works Project Administration, which brought together all the organisations whose aim was to create jobs. It also extended this work beyond building projects to create jobs for office workers and even unemployed actors, artists and photographers. The photograph in Source 27 was taken by a photographer working for the New Deal's Farm Security Administration Photographic Project. This project took 80,000 photos of farming areas during the New Deal. Source 28 was produced by an artist working for the Federal Arts Project. The government paid artists to paint pictures to be displayed in the city or town they featured.
- The **Resettlement Administration (RA)** which helped smallholders and tenant farmers who had not been helped by the AAA. This organisation moved over 500,000 families to better-quality land and housing. The **Farm Security Administration (FSA)** replaced the RA in 1937. It gave special loans to small farmers to help them buy their land. It also built camps to provide decent living conditions and work for migrant workers.

SOURCE 28



Steel Industry by Howard Cook, painted under the Federal Arts Project for the steel-making town of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Opposition to the New Deal

- 1 Make a list of the main complaints and suggestions of those who felt the New Deal did not do enough.

A programme such as Roosevelt's New Deal was unheard of in American history. It was bound to attract opposition and it did.

SOURCE 29



A cartoon attacking the New Deal in the mid 1930s. Most newspaper owners were hostile to Roosevelt.

The New Deal isn't doing enough!

A number of high-profile figures raised the complaint that the New Deal was not doing enough to help the poor. Despite the New Deal measures, many Americans remained desperately poor. The hardest hit were African Americans and the poor in farming areas.

A key figure in arguing on behalf of these people was Huey Long. Long was a remarkable character. He became Governor of Louisiana in 1928 and a senator in 1932. His methods of gaining power were unusual and sometimes illegal (they included intimidation and bribery). However, once he had power he used it to help the poor. He relentlessly taxed big corporations and businesses in Louisiana and used the money to build roads, schools and hospitals. He employed African Americans on the same terms as whites and clashed with the Ku Klux Klan. He supported the New Deal at first, but by 1934 he was criticising it for being too complicated and not doing enough. He put forward a scheme called Share Our Wealth. All personal fortunes would be reduced to \$3 million maximum, and maximum income would be \$1 million a year. Government taxes would be shared between all Americans. He also proposed pensions for everyone over 60, and free washing machines and radios. Long was an aggressive and forceful character with many friends and many enemies. Roosevelt regarded him as one of the two most dangerous men in the USA until Long was assassinated in 1935.

Others also criticised the New Deal for not doing enough. Dr Francis Townsend founded a number of Townsend Clubs to campaign for a pension of \$200 per month for people over 60, providing that they spent it that month, stimulating the economy in the process. A Catholic priest, Father Coughlin, used his own radio programme to attack Roosevelt. He set up the National Union for Social Justice and it had a large membership. However, by the early 1940s the movement had faded in importance.

SOURCE 30

The New Deal is nothing more or less than an effort to take away from the thrifty what the thrifty and their ancestors have accumulated, or may accumulate, and give it to others who have not earned it and never will earn it, and thus indirectly to destroy the incentive for all future accumulation. Such a purpose is in defiance of all the ideas upon which our civilisation has been founded.

A Republican opponent of the New Deal speaking in 1935.

The New Deal is doing too much!

The New Deal soon came under fire from sections of the business community and from Republicans for doing too much. There was a long list of criticisms:

- The New Deal was complicated and there were too many codes and regulations.
- Government should not support trade unions and it should not support calls for higher wages – the market should deal with these issues.
- Schemes such as the TVA created unfair competition for private companies.
- The New Deal schemes were like the economic plans being carried out in the Communist USSR and unsuitable for the democratic, free-market USA.
- Roosevelt was behaving like a dictator.
- The wealthy were wealthy because they had worked hard and used their abilities. High taxes discouraged people from working hard and gave money to people for doing nothing or doing unnecessary jobs (see Source 30).

Roosevelt was upset by the criticisms, but also by the tactics used against him by big business and the Republicans. They used a smear campaign against him and all connected to him. They said that he was disabled because of a sexually transmitted disease rather than polio. Employers put messages into their workers' pay packets saying that New Deal schemes would never happen. Roosevelt turned on these enemies bitterly (see Source 32). And it seemed the American people were with him. In the 1936 election, he won 27 million votes – with the highest margin of victory ever achieved by a US president. He was then able to joke triumphantly, 'Everyone is against the New Deal except the voters.'

- 2 Look at the criticisms of the New Deal (right). Roosevelt's opponents were often accused of being selfish. How far do the criticisms support or contradict that view?
- 3 What do Sources 29 and 30 suggest about Roosevelt's New Deal?

SOURCE 31



A 1930s cartoon attacking critics of the New Deal.

Opposition from the Supreme Court

Roosevelt's problems were not over with the 1936 election. In fact, he now faced the most powerful opponent of the New Deal – the American Supreme Court. This Court was dominated by Republicans who were opposed to the New Deal. It could overturn laws if those laws were against the terms of the Constitution. In May 1935 a strange case had come before the US Supreme Court. The Schechter Poultry Corporation had been found guilty of breaking NRA regulations because it had:

- sold diseased chickens for human consumption
- filed false sales claims (to make the company worth more)
- exploited workers
- threatened government inspectors.

It appealed to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the government had no right to prosecute the company. This was because the NRA was unconstitutional. It undermined too much of the power of the local states.

Roosevelt was angry that this group of old Republicans should deny democracy by throwing out laws that he had been elected to pass. He asked Congress to give him the power to appoint six more Supreme Court judges who were more sympathetic to the New Deal. But Roosevelt misjudged the mood of the American public. They were alarmed at what they saw as Roosevelt's attacking the American system of government. Roosevelt had to back down and his plan was rejected. Even so his actions were not completely pointless. The Supreme Court had been shaken by Roosevelt's actions and was less obstructive in the future. Most of the main measures in Roosevelt's Second New Deal were approved by the Court from 1937 onwards.

SOURCE 32

For twelve years this nation was afflicted with bear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government. The nation looked to government but government looked away. Nine crazy years at the stock market and three long years in the bread-lines! Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! Powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that government is best which is most indifferent . . . We know now that government by organised money is just as dangerous as government by organised mob. Never before in all our history have these forces been so united against one candidate – me – as they stand today. They are unanimous in their hate of me – and I welcome their hatred.

A speech by Roosevelt in the 1936 presidential election campaign.

SOURCE 33



A Punch cartoon, June 1935, attacking the decisions of the Supreme Court.

SOURCE 34



A cartoon from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, February 1937, attacking Roosevelt's attempts to 'pack' the Supreme Court.

- 4 What do Sources 31 and 32 suggest about the critics of the New Deal?

Focus Task

What were the motives of the opponents of the New Deal?

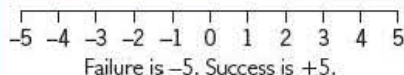
The thought bubbles below show some of the reasons why people opposed the New Deal. Use the text and sources on pages 248–49 to find examples of individuals who held each belief. Try to find two more reasons why people opposed the New Deal.

It won't work

It'll harm me.

It'll harm the USA.

Activity



Pages 250–51 summarise the impact of the New Deal on various groups.

- 1 For each of the six aspects of the New Deal, decide where you would place it on the scale. Explain your score and support it with evidence from pages 244–51.
- 2 Compare your six 'marks' on the scale with those of someone else in your class.
- 3 Working together, try to come up with an agreed mark for the whole of the New Deal. You will have to think about the relative importance of different issues. For example, you might give more weight to a low mark in an important area than to a high mark in a less important area.

Was the New Deal a success?

The events of 1936 took their toll on Roosevelt and he became more cautious after that. Early in 1937 prosperity seemed to be returning and Roosevelt did what all conservatives had wanted: he cut the New Deal budget. He laid off many workers who had been employed by the New Deal's own organisations and the cut in spending triggered other cuts throughout the economy. This meant that unemployment spiralled upwards once more.

The 1937 recession damaged Roosevelt badly. Middle-class voters lost some confidence in him. As a result, in 1938 the Republicans once again did well in the congressional elections. Now it was much harder for Roosevelt to push his reforms through Congress. However, he was still enormously popular with most ordinary Americans (he was elected again with a big majority in 1940). The problem was that the USA was no longer as united behind his New Deal as it had been in 1933. Indeed, by 1940 Roosevelt and most Americans were focusing more on the outbreak of war in Europe and on Japan's exploits in the Far East (see Chapter 2).

So was the New Deal a success? One of the reasons why this question is hard to answer is that you need to decide what Roosevelt was trying to achieve. We know that by 1940 unemployment was still high and the economy was certainly not booming. On the other hand, economic recovery was not Roosevelt's only aim. In fact it may not have been his main aim. Roosevelt and many of his advisers wanted to reform the USA's economy and society. So when you decide whether the New Deal was a success or not, you will have to decide what you think the aims of the New Deal were, as well as whether you think the aims were achieved.

Aspect 1: A new society?

SOURCE **35**



A 1937 cartoon from the *Portland Press Herald* showing Harold Ickes in conflict with big business.

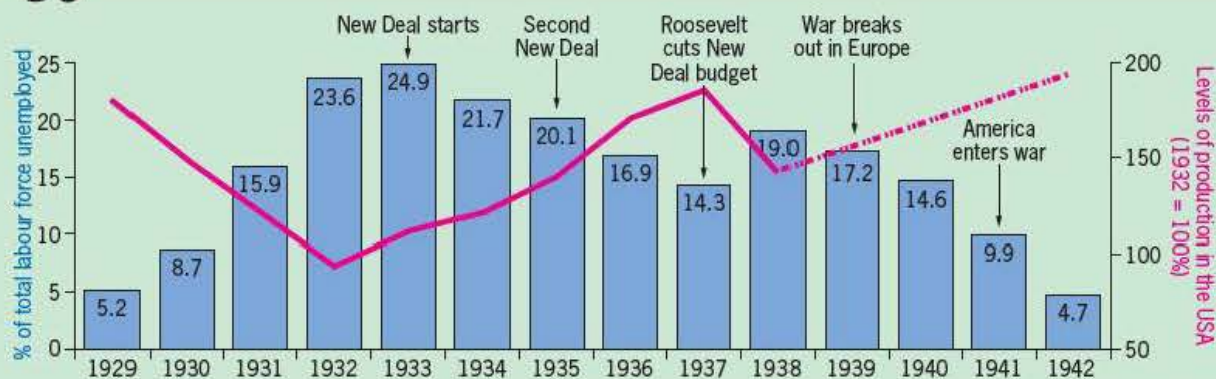
- The New Deal restored the faith of the American people in their government.
- The New Deal was a huge social and economic programme. Government help on this scale would never have been possible before Roosevelt's time. It set the tone for future policies for government to help people.
- The New Deal handled billions of dollars of public money, but there were no corruption scandals. For example, the head of the Civil Works Administration, Harold Hopkins, distributed \$10 billion in schemes and programmes, but never earned more than his salary of \$15,000. The Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, actually tapped the phones of his own employees to ensure there was no corruption. He also employed African Americans, campaigned against anti-semitism and supported the cause of native Americans.
- The New Deal divided the USA. Roosevelt and his officials were often accused of being Communists and of undermining American values. Ickes and Hopkins were both accused of being anti-business because they supported trade unions.
- The New Deal undermined local government.

Aspect 2: Industrial workers

- The NRA and Second New Deal measures strengthened the position of labour unions against the large American industrial giants.
- Roosevelt's government generally tried to support unions and make large corporations negotiate with them.
- Some labour unions combined forces to form the Committee for Industrial Organisation (CIO) in 1935. This union was large enough to be able to bargain with big corporations.
- The Union of Automobile Workers (UAW) was recognised by the two most anti-union corporations: General Motors (after a major sit-in strike in 1936) and Ford (after a ballot in 1941).
- Big business remained immensely powerful in the USA despite being challenged by the government.
- Unions were treated with suspicion by employers.
- Many strikes were broken up with brutal violence in the 1930s.
- Companies such as Ford, Republic Steel and Chrysler employed their own thugs or controlled local police forces.

Aspect 3: Unemployment and the economy

SOURCE **36**



Unemployment, and the performance of the US economy during the 1930s.

- The New Deal created millions of jobs.
- It stabilised the American banking system.
- It cut the number of business failures.
- Projects such as the TVA brought work and an improved standard of living to deprived parts of the USA.
- New Deal projects provided the USA with valuable resources such as schools, roads and power stations.
- The New Deal never solved the underlying economic problems.
- The US economy took longer to recover than that of most European countries.
- Confidence remained low – throughout the 1930s Americans only spent and invested about 75 per cent of what they had before 1929.
- When Roosevelt cut the New Deal budget in 1937, the country went back into recession. Manufacturing production fell by 67 per cent between May 1937 and May 1938.
- There were 6 million unemployed in 1941.
- Only the USA's entry into the war brought an end to unemployment (see pages 252–53).

Aspect 4: African Americans

- Around 200,000 African Americans gained benefits from the Civilian Conservation Corps and other New Deal agencies.
- Many African Americans benefited from New Deal slum clearance and housing projects.
- Many New Deal agencies discriminated against African Americans. They either got no work or received worse treatment or lower wages.
- Roosevelt failed to pass laws against the lynching of African Americans. He feared that Democrat senators in the southern states would not support him.

SOURCE **37**



African Americans queuing for government relief in 1937 in front of a famous government poster.

Aspect 5: Women

- The New Deal saw some women achieve prominent positions. Eleanor Roosevelt became an important campaigner on social issues.
- Mary Macleod Bethune, an African American woman, headed the National Youth Administration.
- Frances Perkins was the Secretary of Labor. She removed 59 corrupt officials from the Labor Department and was a key figure in making the Second New Deal work in practice.
- Most of the New Deal programmes were aimed to help male manual workers rather than women (only about 8,000 women were involved in the CCC).
- Local governments tried to avoid paying out social security payments to women by introducing special qualifications and conditions.
- Frances Perkins was viciously attacked in the press as a Jew and a Soviet spy. Even her cabinet colleagues tended to ignore her at social gatherings.

Aspect 6: Native Americans

- The Indian Reorganisation Act 1934 provided money to help native Americans to buy and improve land.
- The Indian Reservation Act 1934 helped native Americans to preserve and practise their traditions, laws and culture.
- Native Americans remained a poor and excluded section of society.

War and recovery

As you have seen, despite all the efforts of Roosevelt the New Deal was unable to bring complete economic recovery to America. What did bring it was war. When the Second World War broke out in Europe in 1939 the USA was not involved. Most Americans wanted to keep it that way. However, Roosevelt was worried by the rising power of Germany and Japan. For political reasons he determined to support Hitler's main opponent, Britain. When Germany attacked the USSR in June 1941 Roosevelt supported Stalin's war effort as well.

Lend Lease

The main form of support was a programme called Lend Lease. It began in March 1941 with support to Britain, but by the end of the war, Lend Lease was sending arms, food, medicine and other equipment to the USSR, China, France and many other nations fighting against Japan or Germany. The basic principle of the Lend Lease programme was that the USA loaned war material to its allies on the understanding that it would be returned at the end of the war, but that it would not be charged for if it was destroyed. A total of \$50.1 billion worth of materials were shipped. Although the USA received no payment for these materials during wartime, the vast majority of contracts for the materials were placed with US firms and as a result the programme stimulated the economy. When the USA entered the war itself in December 1941 the impact was even greater.

Wartime production

The achievements of the American war economy were staggering. By 1944, the USA was producing almost half of the weapons being made in the world – more than twice the production of Germany and Japan combined. How was this done?

Willing industrialists

The simple answer was that the will was there to do this. Throughout the New Deal years, many leading industrialists had opposed or mistrusted Roosevelt and his New Deal policies. Now, in the face of war, the industrialists rallied behind Roosevelt and co-operated fully with him. At the same time Roosevelt could effectively raise taxes and spend money at any level he wanted in order to win the war. This made for a powerful combination.

In January 1942, President Roosevelt set up the War Production Board under the industrialist William Knudsen. He called in the USA's leading industrialists. He asked their advice about how to meet war production needs. Around 80 per cent of American contracts went to only 100 firms, although the work ended up with thousands of smaller firms which were subcontracted to supply tools, materials and equipment. These large firms wanted to help the war effort, but they also stood to make a lot of money out of it.

Extra workers

The large-scale production required workers. Fourteen million worked in the factories. General Motors alone took on an extra 0.75 million workers during the war. Most of the manufacturing jobs were in the industrial north or on the Pacific coast. Around 4 million workers migrated from the rural south to these areas. This included a very significant number of African Americans. Nearly 0.75 million African Americans found work in the war industries. California saw an influx of 1.5 million new workers.

All available women

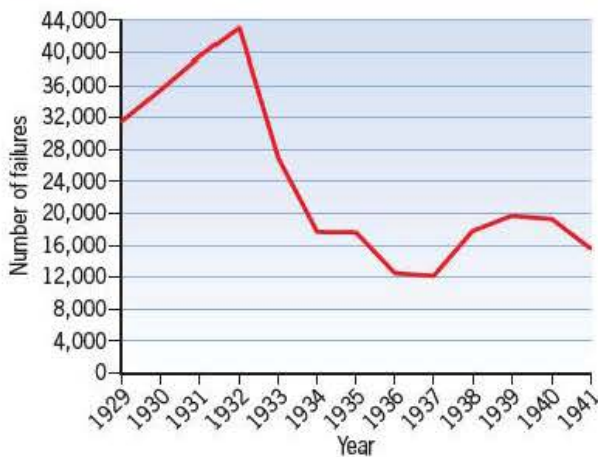
Before the war, there were already 12 million working women. During the war, 300,000 women joined the armed forces and another 7 million joined the workforce. One in three aircraft workers were women. Women were often given difficult welding jobs in awkward parts of aircraft bodies because they were smaller and more agile. In the munitions and electronics industries, one in two workers was a woman. Most fuses were made by women, because they generally had nimbler fingers than men. In a government survey, 60 per cent of American plant managers said that women were their best workers. The media created a poster campaign featuring Rosie the Riveter. Hollywood even made a movie about Rosie.

War and the economy

Of all the countries involved in fighting the Second World War, the USA was the only one that emerged economically stronger as a result.

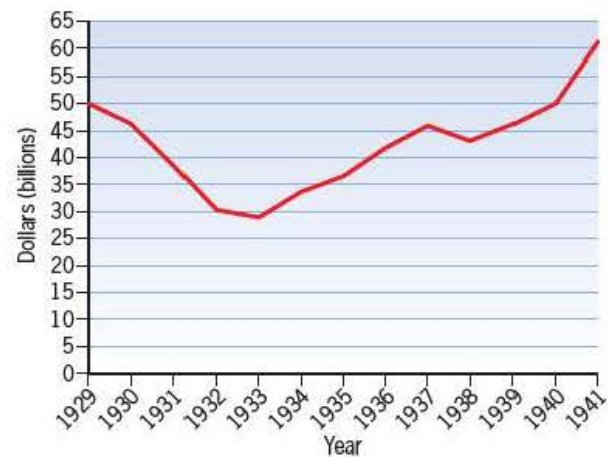
- More than half a million new businesses started up during the war. Many became rich as a result of war contracts. Coca-Cola set up plants to follow the troops around the world (in the process, making Coca-Cola the most successful soft drink in the world). Wrigley took on the role of packaging rations for US forces (adding Wrigley's chewing gum to the rations, of course).
- The war effort ended unemployment – something that Roosevelt's New Deal had failed to do.
- Even American farmers, after almost twenty years of depressed prices and economic crisis, began to enjoy better times as the USA exported food to help its allies.
- As demand for workers increased so did wages, and the buying power of American workers stimulated new industries to meet their demands. It was similar to the boom of the 1920s, only this time the stimulus was war production, and spending was less extravagant. Many Americans invested their income in bonds. They effectively lent money to the government by buying war bonds, with a promise that the bonds would be paid back with interest at the end of the war. In the course of the war, Americans contributed \$129 billion to the war effort by buying bonds. This gave the government money to spend on wartime production which continued to boost the economy.

SOURCE 38



Business failures in the USA, 1929–41.

SOURCE 39



Wages paid to American workers, 1929–41.

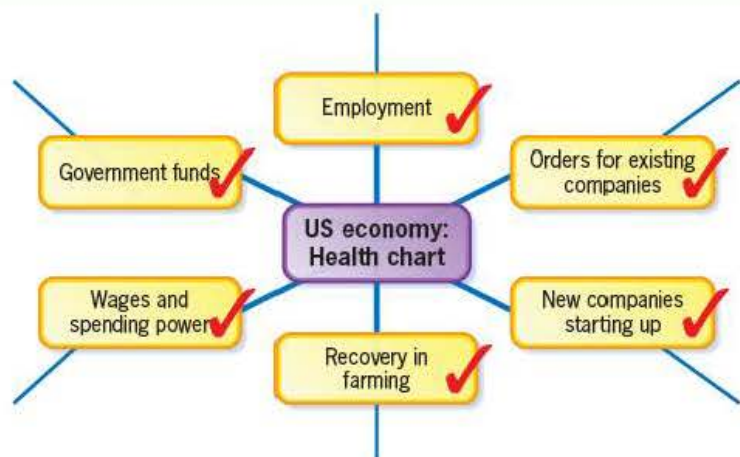
Focus Task

What was the impact of the war on the US economy?

- 1 Make your own copy of the diagram on the right and use the information on pages 252–53 to show how war led to economic recovery.

EXTENSION

- 2 Discuss the following question with a partner: Why did war achieve complete recovery when the New Deal could not?
- 3 Try to come up with at least two possible explanations.
- 4 Discuss the possible explanations as a class and take a vote on which explanation you think is the most likely.



The USA and Vietnam: Failure abroad and at home, 1964–1975

Focus

The Vietnam War casts a huge shadow over American history in the twentieth century. It was a war which involved a huge financial and human cost and it ultimately ended in failure for the USA. In this chapter you will study how and why Vietnam became a nightmare for the American military and the American people. You will investigate:

- ◆ the effectiveness of the tactics used by the USA and its enemies in the war
- ◆ the importance of media coverage in influencing attitudes towards the war
- ◆ the factors which led the USA to withdraw from Vietnam.

Vietnam: a long history of fighting outsiders

Fighting the Japanese

Before the Second World War Vietnam (or Indochina as it was called then) was ruled by France. During the war the region was conquered by the Japanese. They ruled the area brutally and treated the Vietnamese people savagely. As a result, a strong anti-Japanese resistance movement (the Viet Minh) emerged under the leadership of Communist Ho Chi Minh. Ho was a remarkable individual. He had lived in the USA, Britain and France. In the 1920s he had studied Communism in the USSR. In 1930 he had founded the Indochinese Communist Party. He inspired the Vietnamese people to fight for an independent Vietnam. When the Second World War ended, the Viet Minh controlled the north of the country and were determined to take control of the whole country. The Viet Minh entered the city of Hanoi in 1945 and declared Vietnamese independence.

SOURCE 1



Fighting the French

The French had other ideas. In 1945 they wanted to rule Vietnam again but Ho was not prepared to let this happen. Another nine years of war followed between the Viet Minh and the French. Ho was supported by China, which became a Communist state in 1949 under Mao Zedong. The Americans saw the Viet Minh as the puppets of Mao and the Chinese Communists so they helped the French by pouring \$500 million a year into the French war effort. Despite this the French were unable to hold on to the country and pulled out of Vietnam in 1954.

Domino Theory

The USA was not prepared to see Vietnam fall to Communism. President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State JF Dulles were convinced that China and the USSR were planning to spread Communism throughout Asia. The idea was often referred to as the Domino Theory. If Vietnam fell to Communism, then Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and possibly even India might also fall – just like a row of dominoes. In 1955 the Americans helped Ngo Dinh Diem to set up the Republic of South Vietnam. They supported him because he was bitterly anti-Communist and was prepared to imprison or exile Communists. Diem turned out to be a harsh and corrupt ruler who was hated by the Vietnamese people. He was overthrown by his own army leaders in November 1963 but the governments that followed were equally corrupt.



Vietnam.

Focus Task

Now we can actually get to grips with the enemy directly. The USA has well-trained troops, excellent equipment, superior air and sea power. This war will be over very quickly.

This speaker is optimistic about what is going to happen in Vietnam in 1965. Your task is to play the role of the pessimist. Study the information and sources on these two pages carefully and look for points which you think Colonel Oliver should be concerned about. You may want to consider:

- the military 'track record' of the Viet Minh/Viet Cong
- the importance of winning over the Vietnamese people.

Send your concerns to Colonel Oliver in a short letter (about 100–150 words).

Fighting Diem

The actions of these anti-Communist governments increased support among the ordinary peasants for the Communist-led National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, set up in December 1960. This movement was usually referred to as the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong also started a guerrilla war against the South Vietnamese government. Using the Ho Chi Minh trail (see Source 1), the Viet Cong sent reinforcements and ferried supplies to guerrilla fighters. These fighters attacked South Vietnamese government forces, officials and buildings, gradually making the countryside unsafe for government forces. In 1961 alone they killed around 4,000 of Diem's troops and officials. They also attacked American air force and supply bases.

Fighting the Americans

By 1962 President Kennedy was sending military personnel (he always called them 'advisers') to fight the Viet Cong (11,500 troops by the end of 1962; 23,000 by the end of 1964). His successor, Lyndon Johnson, was more prepared than Kennedy to commit the USA to a full-scale conflict in Vietnam to prevent the spread of Communism. In August 1964, North Vietnamese patrol boats opened fire on US ships in the Gulf of Tonkin. In a furious reaction, the US Congress passed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The Resolution gave Lyndon Johnson the power to 'take all necessary measures to prevent further aggression and achieve peace and security'. It effectively meant that he could take the USA into a full-scale war if he felt it was necessary, and very soon that was the case. After more Viet Cong attacks in 1965 Johnson approved a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam called Operation Rolling Thunder (see page 256) in February. On 8 March 1965, 3,500 US marines, combat troops rather than advisers, came ashore at Da Nang. It was an end to the policy of supplying other forces with money or equipment. America was at war in Vietnam and intended to use its own troops to defeat the Communists.

SOURCE 2

We were all kind of bot to go, bot to get into something, do something that was other than train and drill and, um, there was a kind of a feeling, I don't know if anybody ever said this – a sort of feeling that being US Marines, our mere presence in Vietnam was going to terrify the enemy into quitting.

Philip Caputo, a US Marine in Vietnam.

SOURCE 3

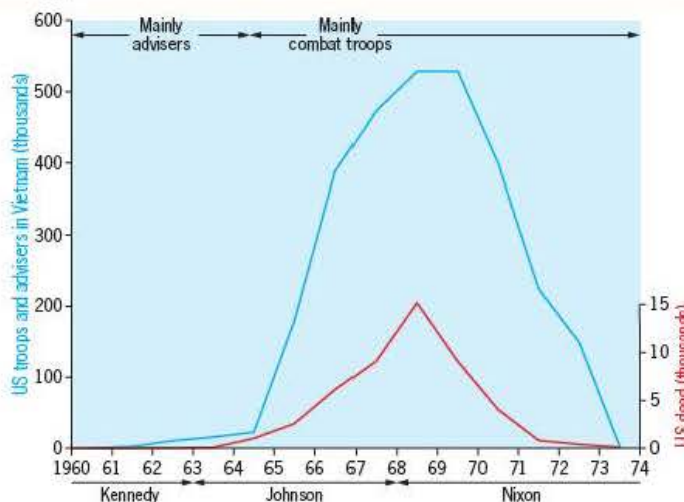
In reality, the strategic hamlet programme often converted peasants into Vietcong sympathisers. In many places they resented working without pay to dig moats, plant bamboo stakes and erect fences against an enemy that did not threaten them. Many were angered by corrupt officials, who pocketed the money which was meant for seed, fertiliser and irrigation, as well as medical care, education and other social benefits.

An extract from *Vietnam – A History* by S Kamow, published in 1994.

American involvement in Vietnam

With hindsight we can see that the Americans became involved in Vietnam without clear aims or a clear plan. American firepower and technology were superior but winning over hearts and minds was just as important. Most US servicemen were unaware that the government they were supporting had lost the support of the majority of Vietnamese people. For example, since 1962 the South Vietnam government had been pursuing a programme called the Strategic Hamlets programme. This basically moved peasant villages from Viet Cong controlled areas to areas controlled by the South Vietnam government. The Americans supplied building materials, money, food and equipment for the villagers to build new improved farms and homes but as you can see in Source 3 this put the US troops in a difficult position.

SOURCE 4



US troops and deaths in Vietnam, 1960–74. US troops were not the only foreign soldiers in the war. About 46,000 Australian and New Zealand troops fought too.

Timeline: Vietnam War

DATE	ACTION
1954	Vietnam is divided into North and South Vietnam.
1959	The North Vietnamese army creates the Ho Chi Minh Trail to carry supplies down to South Vietnam.
1960	North Vietnam creates the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (usually called the Viet Cong).
1961	Around 16,000 American 'advisers' help to organise the South Vietnamese army.
1962–63	The Viet Cong use guerrilla tactics against South Vietnam's army and government. More American advisers and equipment arrive.
1964	North Vietnamese patrol boats fire on American warships in the Gulf of Tonkin. The American Congress gives President Johnson the authority to do whatever he thinks is necessary.
1965 February	Operation Rolling Thunder – a gigantic bombing campaign against North Vietnam. Factories and army bases are bombed, as well as the Ho Chi Minh Trail and the capital of North Vietnam, Hanoi.
March	The first American combat troops (3,500 marines) come ashore at Da Nang.
June–September	A major Viet Cong offensive.
November	Battle in La Dreng Valley. The Communists suffer heavy losses.
1966	American forces build heavily armed camps. They control towns. The Viet Cong largely control the countryside.
1967	Continual running battles between American and Communist forces around the North–South Vietnam border. The Communists are unable to force out American troops.
1968 January	The Tet Offensive: a large-scale Communist attack on over 100 major towns and cities in South Vietnam. Even the American embassy in Saigon is attacked. Some of the fiercest fighting of the war takes place. The city of Hue is almost flattened by intense fighting. Tet is a defeat for the Communists but is also a major shock to the American military and public who thought the war was almost won. Intense fighting continues throughout 1968. Casualties on both sides mount.
October	Operation Rolling Thunder finishes after three and a half years. More bombs have been dropped on North Vietnam than all the bombs dropped on Germany and Japan during the Second World War.
1969	The USA begins its policy of 'Vietnamisation'. This means building up the South Vietnamese army and withdrawing American combat troops. American air power continues to bomb North Vietnam. Intense fighting continues throughout the year. This includes the Battle for Hamburger Hill in May.
1970–71	The fighting spreads to Cambodia. US Secretary of State Kissinger and North Vietnam leader Le Duc begin secret peace talks.
1972	Most American forces are now out of Vietnam. A major Communist offensive in March captures much ground. Most land is recaptured by the South Vietnam army by the end of the year. American heavy bombers bomb Hanoi and Haiphong.
1973	Ceasefire signed in Paris and end of draft in the USA. The last US troops leave Vietnam.
1974	Major North Vietnamese army offensive against South Vietnam.
1975	South Vietnam capital Saigon falls to Communists; US officials are evacuated by helicopter.

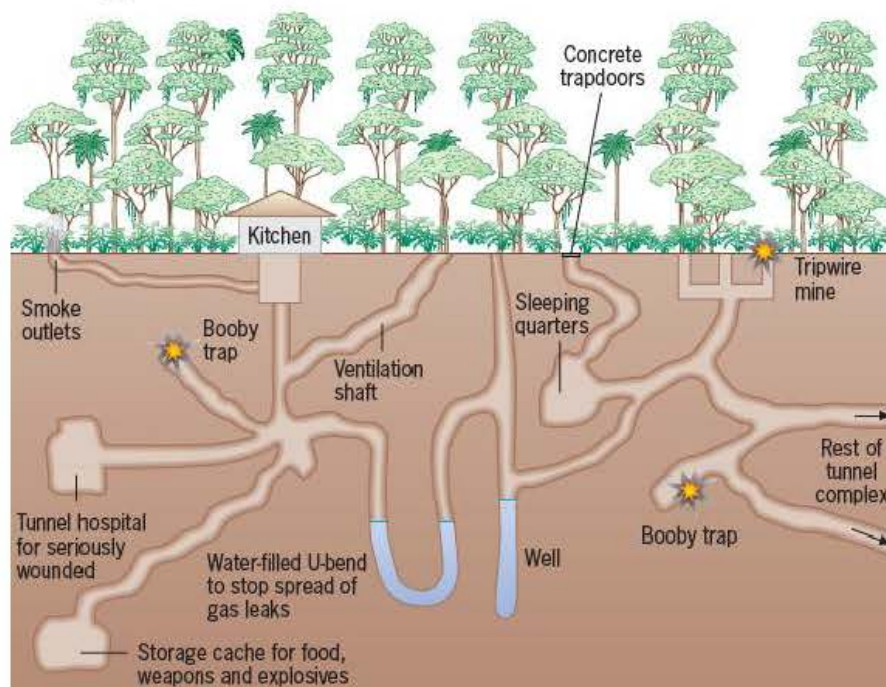
Viet Cong tactics, 1964–68

In early 1965 the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese army (NVA) had about 170,000 soldiers. They were well supplied with weapons and equipment from China and the USSR, but they were heavily outnumbered and outgunned by the South Vietnamese forces and their US allies. The Communist forces were no match for the US and South Vietnamese forces in open warfare. In November 1965 in the La Dreng Valley, US forces killed 2,000 Viet Cong for the loss of 300 troops. This did not daunt Ho Chi Minh. He believed that superior forces could be defeated by guerrilla tactics. He had been in China and seen Mao Zedong use guerrilla warfare to achieve a Communist victory there. Ho had also used these guerrilla tactics himself against the Japanese and the French. The principles were simple: retreat when the enemy attacks; raid while the enemy camps; attack when the enemy tires; pursue when the enemy retreats.

Guerrilla warfare was a nightmare for the US army. Guerrillas did not wear uniform. They had no known base camp or headquarters. They worked in small groups with limited weapons. They were hard to tell apart from the peasants in the villages. They attacked and then disappeared into the jungle, into the villages or into their tunnels (see Source 5).

The aim of guerrilla attacks was to wear down the enemy soldiers and wreck their morale. This was very effective. US soldiers lived in constant fear of ambushes or booby traps. Booby traps could be simple devices such as tripwires or pits filled with sharpened bamboo staves. Weapons like these were cheap and easy to make and very effective in disrupting US patrols. One of the most unpopular duties in a patrol was going 'on point'. This meant leading the patrol, checking for traps. There were other more sophisticated traps such as the Bouncing Betty land mine. This would be thrown into the air when triggered and would then explode causing terrible injuries to the stomach or groin. Booby traps caused about eleven per cent of US casualties. Another 51 per cent were caused by small arms fire in ambushes or 'firefights'. The Viet Cong and NVA quickly learned to fear American air power, so when they did attack they tried to make sure it was close quarter fighting. This meant that US air power or artillery could not be used because of the danger of hitting their own troops. This tactic was sometimes known as 'hanging on to American belts'.

SOURCE 5



1 One Viet Cong leader said: 'The people are the water. Our armies are the fish.' What do you think he meant?

A Viet Cong tunnel complex. To avoid the worst effects of American air power, the Viet Cong used a vast network of underground tunnels, probably around 240 km of them.

Ho knew how important it was to keep the population on his side. The Viet Cong fighters were expected to be courteous and respectful to the Vietnamese peasants. They often helped the peasants in the fields during busy periods. However, the Viet Cong could be ruthless — they were quite prepared to kill peasants who opposed them or who co-operated with their enemies. They also conducted a campaign of terror against the police, tax collectors, teachers and any other employees of the South Vietnamese government. Between 1966 and 1971 the Viet Cong killed an estimated 27,000 civilians.

The greatest strength of the Viet Cong fighters was that they simply refused to give in. The Viet Cong depended on supplies from North Vietnam that came along the Ho Chi Minh trail. US and South Vietnamese planes bombed this constantly, but 40,000 Vietnamese worked to keep it open whatever the cost. The total of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese dead in the war has been estimated at 1 million — far higher than US losses. However, this was a price that Ho Chi Minh was prepared to pay. Whatever the casualties, there were replacement troops available.

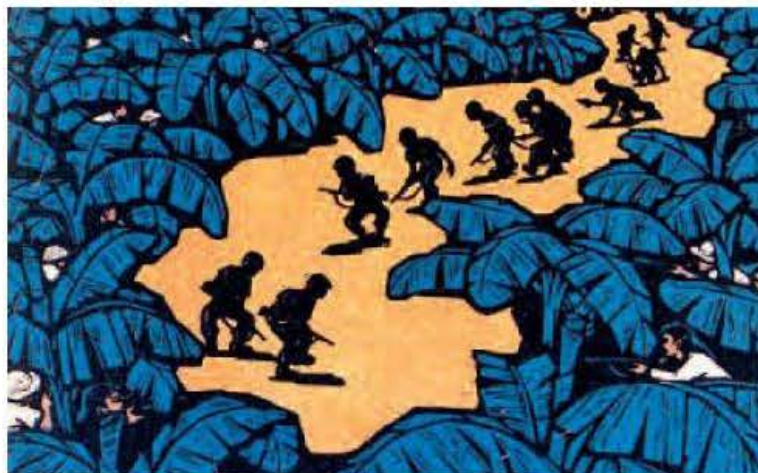
SOURCE 6

A Spike Trap Pit



A diagram showing one type of booby trap. A trap pit is a large trap box with a bamboo top. Stakes are made of sharpened bamboo or barbed spikes and used to line the box. When a man steps on the trap he will fall into the pit. The top turns on an axle; therefore, the trap does not need to be reset to work again. The pit is often prepared as a defensive obstacle and then made safe by locking it in place with a crossbeam (so it can be crossed safely by the enemy) until the desired time of use.

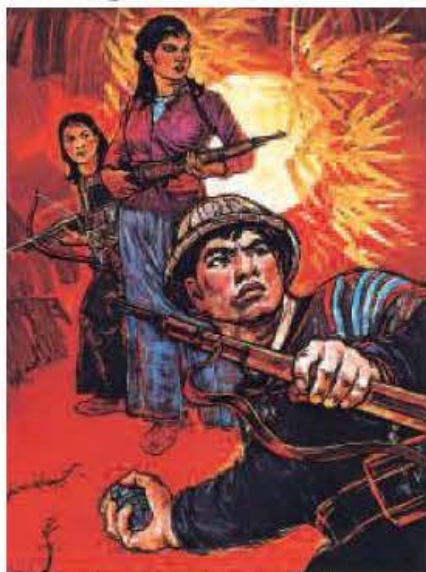
SOURCE 7



A Viet Cong poster.

- 1 Choose one piece of evidence from pages 258–59 to show that the Viet Cong had the support of the Vietnamese people.
- 2 Choose one piece of evidence from pages 258–59 that suggests that they did not.

SOURCE 8



U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!
L'imperialisme américain hors du Sud-Vietnam!
¡Fuera el imperialismo norteamericano del Sur de Vietnam!

A Chinese poster commenting on the Vietnam War. The caption says 'U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of South Viet Nam!'

SOURCE 9

We need to use the methods most suited for destroying the American troops – guerrilla forces encircling the American troops' bases . . .

This upcoming spring and summer, we are aiming for killing about 10,000 Americans as already planned and for the next few years, we should at least kill 40,000 to 50,000 Americans. This is a new goal which will determine our victory. Along with trying to lessen the Americans' strength, we should try to cause great loss of American aircraft, at the same time, curb their activities.

We must not neglect the political war. Even though the US brings in more troops to Vietnam, they will fail to weaken our political power. In fact, our political power is likely to be enhanced and the US will be isolated and fail miserably . . . The more troops the US brings in, the more military bases it builds, the larger area it occupies, the more sophisticated weapons it uses, the more B52 bombs it drops, the more chemical poisons it uses, the worse the conflict between our people and them becomes, the more our people hate them.

Extracts from a letter written in 1965 by Le Duan, Secretary of the North Vietnamese Communist Party and one of Ho Chi Minh's closest associates. The letter was explaining how North Vietnam was planning to react to the large-scale arrival of US forces in 1965.

SOURCE 10

That was the dry season when the sun burned harshly, the wind blew fiercely, and the enemy sent napalm spraying through the jungle and a sea of fire enveloped them, spreading like the fires of hell. Troops in the fragmented companies tried to regroup, only to be blown out of their shelters again as they went mad, became disoriented and threw themselves into nets of bullets, dying in the flaming inferno. Above them the helicopters flew at tree-top height and shot them almost one by one, the blood spreading out, spraying from their backs, flowing like red mud.

The diamond-shaped grass clearing was piled high with bodies killed by helicopter gunships. Broken bodies, bodies blown apart, bodies vaporised. No jungle grew again in this clearing. No grass. No plants.

'Better to die than surrender my brothers! Better to die!' the Battalion Commander yelled insanely; waving his pistol in front of Kien he blew his own brains out through his ear. Kien screamed soundlessly in his throat at the sight, as the Americans attacked with sub-machine-guns, sending bullets buzzing like deadly bees around him. Then Kien lowered his machine-gun, grasped his side and fell, rolling slowly down the bank of a shallow stream, hot blood trailing down the slope after him.

An extract from *The Sorrow of War*. This was a novel by Bao Ninh, a North Vietnamese soldier who fought the Americans in Vietnam in 1969. The novel was based on his experiences.

Focus Task

How effective were the Viet Cong as a fighting force?

The table on the right sets out some of the qualities of an effective army. Use the information and sources on pages 258–59 to complete the table for the Viet Cong. Keep your work carefully.

Qualities of a successful army	Did this apply for the Viet Cong?
Well-trained soldiers	
The right technology	
Reliable supplies and equipment	
Effective tactics	
Support from the Vietnamese population	
Motivated and committed soldiers	
Other	

The impact of Viet Cong warfare

SOURCE 11

I remember sitting at this wretched little outpost one day with a couple of my sergeants. We'd been manning this thing for three weeks and running patrols off it. We were grungy and sore with jungle rot and we'd suffered about nine or ten casualties on a recent patrol. This one sergeant of mine said, 'You know, Lieutenant, I don't see how we're ever going to win this.' And I said, 'Well, Sarge, I'm not supposed to say this to you as your officer – but I don't either.' So there was this sense that we just couldn't see what could be done to defeat these people.

Philip Caputo, a lieutenant in the Marine Corps in Vietnam in 1965–66, speaking in 1997.

SOURCE 12

The attitude of the enemy was not comparable to what our attitude would have been under the circumstances. He was ready, willing and able to pay a far greater price than I would say we would.

General William Westmoreland, commander, US forces, Vietnam.

SOURCE 13

My casualties in my company were relatively light and I say relatively light. I lost seventeen killed and about 43 wounded so the unit was almost combat ineffective with those kind of casualties, but fortunately we were able to weather that particular piece of the battle.

Lieutenant George Forrest, US army, commenting on one battle with Viet Cong fighters.

SOURCE 14

How do you distinguish a civilian from a Viet Cong? Well of course he shoots at you or he's armed. But how about what happens after a firefight and you find bodies out there, but no weapons? And we were told this . . . well, if it's dead and Vietnamese, it's VC. Those were the exact words.

Philip Caputo, US Marine.

Activity: Discussion

Sources 11–14 are all American sources which reveal something about Viet Cong tactics. Do you think they are more or less useful than Sources 5–10 on pages 257–59? You might want to consider:

- what each source reveals about Viet Cong tactics
- what each source reveals about the impact of Viet Cong tactics.

Focus Task

Look back at your work from the Focus Task on page 259. Add any extra points or examples to the table which have emerged from Sources 11–14.



People in the South Vietnamese city of Hue sort through the wreckage of their homes after a US bombing raid in 1968. Two-thirds of US bombs were dropped on targets in South Vietnam.

- 1 'Mixed results.' Is this a fair summary of the effectiveness of bombing in the Vietnam War? Explain your answer.
- 2 Would you say the US ground forces in Vietnam were more or less effective than the air forces? Explain your answer.

US tactics in Vietnam, 1965–72

Bombing

On 7 February 1965 the USA launched Operation Rolling Thunder. Rolling Thunder involved extensive bombing raids on military and industrial targets in North Vietnam. It was the beginning of an air offensive that was to last until 1972. The list of targets was soon expanded to include towns and cities in North and South Vietnam. The list also included sites in Laos and Cambodia along the Ho Chi Minh trail. More bombs were dropped on North Vietnam than were dropped in the whole of the Second World War on Germany and Japan.

To some extent bombing was effective.

- It certainly damaged North Vietnam's war effort and it disrupted supply routes.
- It enabled the USA to strike at Communist forces even when it was reducing US ground forces in Vietnam after 1969.
- From 1970 to 1972, intense bombing campaigns against Hanoi (North Vietnam's capital) and the port of Haiphong forced the North Vietnamese to the negotiating table.

However, US air power could not defeat the Communists — it could only slow them down. The Viet Cong continued to operate its supply lines. Even after major air raids on North Vietnam in 1972, the Communists were still able to launch a major assault on the South.

The cost of the air war was horrendous. The Communists shot down 14,000 US and South Vietnamese aircraft. In 1967 the American *Life* magazine calculated that it cost the USA \$400,000 to kill one Viet Cong fighter, a figure that included 75 bombs and 400 artillery shells.

Chemical weapons

The USA developed a powerful chemical weapon called Agent Orange. It was a sort of highly toxic 'weedkiller'. It was used to destroy the jungle where the Viet Cong hid. The Americans used 82 million litres of Agent Orange. They dropped a total of 100 million pounds of defoliants in 30,000 missions. This wiped out 4 million acres of forests and farms and affected 1.3 million people. Napalm was another widely used chemical weapon. It destroyed jungles where guerrillas might hide. It also burned through skin to the bone. Around 20,000 tons of napalm were dropped between 1965 and 1973. Many civilians and soldiers were also killed by these chemical weapons.



A ten-year-old Vietnamese girl runs naked after tearing her burning clothes from her body following a napalm attack. This photograph became one of the most enduring images of the war.

SOURCE 17

You would go out, you would secure a piece of terrain during the daylight hours and you'd surrender that – and I mean literally surrender, not be forced off, well maybe surrender's probably not a good word, but ... but you'd give it up, because you ... the helicopters would come in and pick you up at night and fly you back to the security of your base camp.

Lieutenant Colonel George Forrest,
US army.

SOURCE 19

An increasing number of recruits scored so low on the standardised intelligence tests that they would have been excluded from the normal peacetime army. The tour of duty in Vietnam was one year. Soldiers were most likely to die in their first month. The large majority of deaths took place in the first six months. Just as a soldier began gaining experience, he was sent home. A rookie army which constantly rotated inexperienced men was pitted against experienced guerrillas on their home ground.

From *Four Hours in My Lai* by Michael Bilton, 1992. The average age of US combat troops in Vietnam was only nineteen. Many recruits had just left school. This was their first experience of war.

Search and destroy

Bombing could not defeat a guerrilla army. The US commander General Westmoreland developed a policy of search and destroy. He established secure and heavily defended US bases in the south of the country and near to the coasts. From here, US and South Vietnamese forces launched search-and-destroy raids from helicopters. They would descend on a village and destroy any Viet Cong forces they found. Soldiers had to send back reports of body counts.

Search-and-destroy missions did kill Viet Cong soldiers, but there were problems.

- The raids were often based on inadequate information.
- Inexperienced US troops often walked into traps.
- Innocent villages were mistaken for Viet Cong strongholds.
- Civilian casualties were extremely high in these raids. For every Viet Cong weapon captured by search and destroy, there was a body count of six. Many of these were innocent civilians.
- Search-and-destroy tactics made the US and South Vietnamese forces very unpopular with the peasants. It pushed them towards supporting the Viet Cong.

SOURCE 18



US troops on a search-and-destroy mission in Vietnam. These were sometimes called Zippo raids, named after the Zippo cigarette lighters they used to set fire to villages.

Problems facing the Americans

Political problems

Although the Americans had huge advantages in technology and firepower, they were limited in one respect. Political considerations meant that they could not send their forces into North Vietnam or neighbouring Cambodia and Laos. This gave the NVA and Viet Cong a huge advantage. They were able to retreat to these other countries and reinforce their losses and get new equipment, ammunition, etc. As you have seen in Source 1 on page 255, they also used these states to supply their forces along the Ho Chi Minh trail. In fact, the Americans did send unofficial missions into these neighbouring countries and did bomb the Ho Chi Minh Trail and other targets. However, they were never able to officially enter these states with their full force.

- 1 How do Sources 19 and 20 help to explain the poor morale among US troops?

SOURCE 20



A first aid station in Vietnam in 1966.

Troops and their officers

In the early stages of the war the majority of US troops were professional soldiers who had volunteered for the forces as a career. Generally their morale was good and they stood up well to the conditions.

However, after 1967 an increasing number of troops in Vietnam had been drafted. Many of these were very young men who had never been in the military before. They often cared little for democracy or Communism and just wanted to get home alive. In theory, they came from all walks of life. In reality, the majority of the infantry who fought on the ground were from poor and immigrant backgrounds because those privileged enough to be going to university could delay the draft and many were able to use their influence to avoid the draft altogether.

As the war went on the quality of recruits declined further (see Source 19). There were widespread attempts to dodge the draft. There were over 500,000 incidents of desertion (although this figure included a single individual who might desert several times). When we realise that 60 per cent of the 56,000 Americans killed in Vietnam were aged 17–21 it is easy to see why they felt a limited commitment to the cause they were fighting for. There were also tensions between officers and troops. Many officers were professional soldiers. They wanted to gain promotion. In Vietnam this meant gaining as many kills as possible. Most soldiers just wanted to stay alive and there is some evidence of ‘fragging’ – troops killing their own officers.

Focus Task

- Use the information and sources on pages 261–63 to complete the table for the American forces and their allies.
- Now use the third column in the table to say whether you think the Vietcong or the Americans had the advantage in this particular area.
- Now think about the overall picture – how the strengths and weaknesses work together.
 - Were the armies finely balanced or was the balance strongly weighted to one side or the other?
 - Which quality was most important in determining who won the war? Was one feature so important that being ahead in that area meant that other advantages or disadvantages did not matter?
- Now write up your answer. You could use this structure:
 - Describe how the failure of the US army was a combination of its own weaknesses and Viet Cong strengths.
 - Give balanced examples of US successes and failures.
 - Give balanced examples of Viet Cong successes and failures.
 - Choose one American weakness and one Viet Cong strength that you think were absolutely vital in preventing the USA from beating the Viet Cong and explain the significance of the points you have chosen.

Hearts and minds

Poor quality troops, low morale and Viet Cong tactics could create situations which could sometimes result in atrocities against civilians. From a relatively early stage in the war President Johnson began to speak of the importance of winning hearts and minds in Vietnam. He first mentioned the phrase in 1964 and between 1964 and 1968 he mentioned the importance of winning hearts and minds in 28 speeches. The trouble was that US tactics were based on attrition – killing large numbers of the enemy. This inevitably led to large numbers of civilian casualties. This in turn led to the Vietnamese people supporting the Viet Cong and began to cause concern to many people back in the USA. This issue came to a head with one particularly famous and gruesome event – the My Lai Massacre of 1968. American soldiers on a search-and-destroy mission killed nearly 400 civilians in the village of My Lai. Most were women, children and old men. The trial and conviction of one of these officers who led the raid, Lieutenant William Calley, deeply shocked the American public. It was the clearest evidence that the war had gone wrong. In November 1969, almost 700,000 anti-war protestors demonstrated in Washington DC. It was the largest political protest in American history.

Qualities of a successful army	Did this apply to the US army?
Well-trained soldiers	
The right technology	
Reliable supplies and equipment	
Effective tactics	
Support from the Vietnamese population	
Motivated and committed soldiers	
Other	

The Vietnam War and the media

The Vietnam War was covered extensively by the American and world media, probably in more detail than any other war. Of course, newspaper and radio journalists were there on the scene, but as the war went on it was television which really brought the war into American homes and made the American public aware of what was happening.

In the early stages of the war the newspapers, radio and TV journalists largely followed the official line of policy. There were some small disagreements such as when one US army spokesman snapped 'Get on team!' to an American journalist when several US helicopters were shot down at Ap Bac in 1963. However, even when the war escalated and US forces were directly involved the relationship between the US military and government and the media was relatively good. The US army created MACV (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam) to liaise with journalists. Journalists could be accredited by MACV and they would then get transport to war areas, interviews and briefings with commanders and regular reports. In return they were expected not to reveal any information which would help the enemy. Between 1964 and 1968 only three journalists had their accreditation removed. Back in the USA editors rarely wanted to publish bad news stories about Vietnam. On the one hand they did not want to be accused of undermining the war effort. For example, Seymour Hersh, the journalist who broke the story of the My Lai Massacre, had to try several newspapers before he could find one willing to publish the story. There were also commercial considerations. TV networks were reluctant to broadcast off-putting scenes of violence and destruction during peak viewing times because they were worried viewers would switch channels.

SOURCE 21

The Marines who carry out patrols like this in the Mekong Delta are convinced they are winning their war against the VC. They point out as evidence of their success the number of VC dead and the number of VC defectors. But to do this they have needed the support of thousands of well trained troops, of barrack ships, helicopter gunships, air support and the river marine force to contain and destroy what amounts to scattered handfuls of Viet Cong in these parts.

Text of a TV report by a journalist on patrol with US Marines in the Mekong Delta in 1969.

SOURCE 22



A Viet Cong suspect is executed in the street by South Vietnamese police chief Colonel Nguyen Ngoc Loan in February 1968. Televisions beamed this scene into the living rooms of the USA. It deeply shocked the American people.

- 1 Would you regard the tone of Source 21 as controversial or critical, or fairly neutral? Explain your answer.
- 2 Do you think the scene in Source 22 would have been more shocking as a photograph or shown as it happened on TV? Explain your answer.

By 1967–68, however, the tone of reporting on Vietnam was beginning to change. At the same time, television was taking over as the most important source of news for most Americans. As early as 1965 the US TV network CBS showed US Marines using Zippo lighters to set fire to Vietnamese villagers' homes. During the Tet Offensive of 1968 (see page 268) TV viewers saw South Vietnamese police chief Colonel Nguyen Ngoc Loan executing a Vietcong suspect (see Source 22). Improving technology meant that TV crews could bring lightweight cameras very close to the conflict zones. One of the most famous reporters was CBS's Walter Cronkite. He reported throughout the Tet Offensive as US forces devastated large areas of the South Vietnam city of Hue in their efforts to destroy Viet Cong and NVA fighters. It was during the Tet Offensive that Cronkite declared that he thought the war was unwinnable. As the war progressed the media continued to report on the conflict, with journalists reporting from the front line and powerful images beamed into American living rooms.

SOURCE 23

A



B



CBS News journalist Walter Cronkite broadcasting from Vietnam in February 1968. He was regarded as the most trusted man in America.

- 3 Study Source 25. Do you agree that veterans are the people most qualified to comment on the impact of the media?

Focus Task

Why is the role of the media in Vietnam a controversial issue?

Study the information and sources on these pages and prepare a presentation on this question. You will need to explain:

- ◆ how the attitude of the reporting changed
- ◆ the importance and influence of television
- ◆ the case that the media did undermine the war effort
- ◆ the case against this view.

If you are feeling very brave you could decide which side of the debate you stand on! You could also research this issue on the internet, as there is a great deal of debate still going on.

What was the impact of the media coverage?

The issue of media coverage has been the subject of intense debate, as you can see from Source 24.

SOURCE 24

What was the effect of television on the development and outcome of the war? The conventional wisdom has generally been that for better or for worse it was an anti-war influence. It brought the 'horror of war' night after night into people's living rooms and eventually inspired revulsion and exhaustion. The argument has often been made that any war reported in an unrestricted way by television would eventually lose public support. Researchers, however, have quite consistently told another story.

Daniel Hallin, Professor of Communications at the University of California, writing on the Museum of TV website.

SOURCE 25

The horrors of war entered the living rooms of Americans for the first time during the Vietnam War. For almost a decade in between school, work, and dinners, the American public could watch villages being destroyed, Vietnamese children burning to death, and American body bags being sent home. Though initial coverage generally supported US involvement in the war, television news dramatically changed its frame of the war after the Tet Offensive. Images of the US led massacre at My Lai dominated the television, yet the daily atrocities committed by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong rarely made the evening news. Moreover, the anti-war movement at home gained increasing media attention while the US soldier was forgotten in Vietnam. Coverage of the war and its resulting impact on public opinion has been debated for decades by many intelligent media scholars and journalists, yet they are not the most qualified individuals to do so: the veterans are.

An extract from a blog called the 'Warbird's Forum'. The author was the daughter of a Vietnam veteran.

President Johnson remarked that if he had lost the support of Cronkite he had lost the support of Middle America. US Admiral Grant Sharp and General Westmoreland both claimed the media undermined the war effort. Plenty of other commentators have put forward the view that the media crippled the war effort in Vietnam. Opponents of this view have also put forward their arguments:

- American attitudes were turning against the Vietnam War by 1967 anyway. The media reflected the changing views rather than creating them.
- Casualties (see Source 4 on page 256) and war weariness were the reasons why support for the war dropped – not the media.
- Shocking scenes were very rare on the TV screens. Less than 25 per cent of reports showed dead or wounded, and usually not in any detail.
- Research shows that from 1965 to 1970 only 76 out of 2,300 TV reports showed heavy fighting. In a sample of almost 800 broadcasts of the time, only sixteen per cent of criticisms of government policy came from journalists. The majority of critical comments came from officials or the general public.
- If the journalists were lying, why was Walter Cronkite regarded as the most trustworthy man in America?

SOURCE 26

"There's Money Enough To Support Both Of You — Now, Doesn't That Make You Feel Better?"



An American cartoon from 1967.

The Anti-Vietnam Protest Movement in the USA

For many Americans, 1968 meant more than the war in Vietnam. The year 1968 saw protests in the USA on a wide range of issues such as the right to free speech in universities, civil rights for African Americans and the condition of the poorest people in the USA.

These factors were all connected of course. When President Johnson was elected in 1964 he promised to create a 'Great Society'. By this he meant better living standards, health care and other benefits for all Americans. He did manage to deliver on some of his promises but the horrendous cost of the Vietnam War undermined his most ambitious plans. So in this respect the Vietnam War became linked to the issue of poverty and welfare. In 1968 the African American civil rights leader Martin Luther King began to widen his campaigning for civil rights to include issues of poverty. He also criticised the war itself and the way it was being fought.

SOURCE 27

This confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the great society have been shot down on the battlefields of Vietnam. The pursuit of this widened war has narrowed the promised dimensions of the domestic welfare programs, making the poor — white and Negro — bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

The war has put us in the position of protecting a corrupt government that is stacked against the poor. We are spending \$500,000 to kill every Viet Cong soldier while we spend only \$53 for every person considered to be in poverty in the USA. It has put us in a position of appearing to the world as an arrogant nation. Here we are 10,000 miles away from home fighting for the so-called freedom of the Vietnamese people when we have so much to do in our own country.

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King speaking in the USA in April 1968.

SOURCE 28

One does not use napalm on villages and hamlets sheltering civilians if one is attempting to persuade these people of the rightness of one's cause. One does not defoliate [destroy the vegetation of] the country and deform its people with chemicals if one is attempting to persuade them of the foe's evil nature.

An American comments on US policy failure in Vietnam.

- 1 Explain what Source 26 is trying to say.
- 2 Which do you think is more effective as a criticism of the government — Source 26 or Source 27?

Vietnam also became linked to the issue of race. There were relatively few African Americans in college in the USA which meant that fewer of them could escape the draft. As a result, 30 per cent of African Americans were drafted compared to only nineteen per cent of white Americans. African Americans also pointed out that 22 per cent of US casualties were African Americans, even though this group made up only eleven per cent of the total US forces. One high profile African American athlete, the boxer Muhammad Ali, made his own stand by refusing to obey the draft on the grounds of his Muslim faith. He was stripped of his world title and had his passport taken. Ali was a follower of the radical Black Power group, Nation of Islam. These groups all opposed the draft when African Americans were discriminated against at home. As some of them pointed out 'the Vietcong never called us nigger'.

One of the most powerful sources of opposition to the war was the American student movement. Many of these young people did not want to be drafted to fight in a war they did not believe in, or even thought was morally wrong. They had seen the media reports from the front line, especially the massacre at My Lai in 1968. Instead of Vietnam being a symbol of a US crusade against Communism, to these students Vietnam had become a symbol of defeat, confusion and moral corruption (see Source 28). Students taunted the American President Lyndon B Johnson with the chant 'Hey, Hey LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?' Thousands began to 'draft dodge' — refusing to serve in Vietnam when they were called up. The anti-war protests reached their height during 1968 to 1970.

In the first half of 1968, there were over 100 demonstrations against the Vietnam War involving 40,000 students. Frequently, the protest would involve burning the American flag – a criminal offence in the USA and a powerful symbol of the students' rejection of American values.

Anti-war demonstrations often ended in violent clashes with the police. At Berkeley, Yale and Stanford universities, bombs were set off. The worst incident by far came in 1970. At Kent State University in Ohio, students organised a demonstration against President Nixon's decision to invade Vietnam's neighbour, Cambodia. Panicked National Guard troopers opened fire on the demonstrators. Four students were killed and eleven others were injured. The press in the USA and abroad were horrified. Some 400 colleges were closed as 2 million students went on strike in protest at the action.

SOURCE 29



The Kent State University demonstrations in Ohio, 4 May 1970.

SOURCE 30

Focus Task

Source 30 is one of a series of cartoons which is to be presented in an online exhibition. Your task is to write a caption for the cartoon which explains the point being made in it. Your caption needs to be in two sections:

- ◆ a brief 20-word caption explaining the cartoon
- ◆ a more detailed caption which internet users can select if they want to know more. This should be about 150 words.

You can refer to later events even though this cartoon was published in 1967.



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © DAILY TELEGRAPH

"... AND IN VIETNAM MY PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO WIN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE—OF THE U.S.A."

A cartoon by Garland from the British newspaper the *Daily Telegraph*, 11 January 1967.

Focus Task

Why was the Tet Offensive a turning point in the Vietnam War?

In one sense the Tet Offensive was a defeat for the Viet Cong and NVA. Your task is to create a presentation to explain why this defeat is generally seen as the reason the USA decided the war was unwinnable. Use the information and sources on pages 268–69 and further research on the internet if you need to. Your slides should cover:

- ◆ what the Vietcong did
- ◆ the outcome of the offensive in military terms
- ◆ how it affected the media
- ◆ how it affected American public opinion
- ◆ how it affected American politicians.

SOURCE 31

The Tet offensive was the decisive battle of the Vietnam War because of its profound impact on American attitudes about involvement in Southeast Asia. In the aftermath of Tet, many Americans became disillusioned . . . To the American public and even to members of the administration, the offensive demonstrated that US intervention . . . had produced a negligible effect on the will and capability of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese.

An extract from *The Tet Offensive: Intelligence Failure in War* by James Wirtz.

SOURCE 32



US Marines pinned down by Viet Cong snipers in the city of Huế during the Tet Offensive, January 1968.

SOURCE 33



Wounded US Marines in Saigon during the Tet Offensive.

The USA looks for a way out of the war

The Tet Offensive

From 1965 to 1967 the official view of the war was that it was going reasonably well. The US and South Vietnamese forces were killing large numbers of Vietcong. Although they were struggling against guerrilla tactics (see pages 258–60) they were confident that the enemy was being worn down.

This confidence was shattered early in 1968. During the Tet New Year holiday, Viet Cong fighters attacked over 100 cities and other military targets. One Viet Cong commando unit tried to capture the US embassy in Saigon. US forces had to fight to regain control room by room. Around 4,500 fighters tied down a much larger US and South Vietnamese force in Saigon for two days.

In many ways the Tet Offensive was a disaster for the Communists. They hoped that the people of South Vietnam would rise up and join them. They didn't. The Viet Cong lost around 10,000 experienced fighters and were badly weakened by it. However, the Tet Offensive proved to be a turning point in the war because it raised hard questions about the war in the USA.

- There were nearly 500,000 troops in Vietnam and the USA was spending \$20 billion a year on the war. So why had the Communists been able to launch a major offensive that took US forces completely by surprise?
- US and South Vietnamese forces quickly retook the towns captured in the offensive, but in the process they used enormous amounts of artillery and air power. Many civilians were killed. The ancient city of Huế was destroyed. Was this right?
- Until this point media coverage of the war was generally positive, although some journalists were beginning to ask difficult questions in 1967. During the Tet Offensive the gloves came off. CBS journalist Walter Cronkite asked 'What the hell is going on? I thought we were winning this war'. Don Oberdorfer of the *Washington Post* later wrote (in 1971) that as a result of the Tet Offensive 'the American people and most of their leaders reached the conclusion that the Vietnam War would require greater effort over a far longer period of time than it was worth'.

Activity

Study Sources 32–34 carefully. Choose two sources which you think would improve your presentation in the Focus Task on page 265. Write a short paragraph explaining this choice.

SOURCE 35

- 1 *Immediate cease-fire.*
- 2 *Release of all prisoners of war within 60 days.*
- 3 *Withdrawal of all US forces and bases.*
- 4 *Full accounting of missing in action.*
- 5 *Self-determination for South Vietnam.*

The main points of the peace agreement of January 1973.

SOURCE 36

For Whom the Bell Tolls

... The nation began at last to extricate itself from a quicksandy war that had plagued four Presidents and driven one from office, that had sundered the country more deeply than any event since the Civil War, that in the end came to be seen by a great majority of Americans as having been a tragic mistake.

... but its more grievous toll was paid at home – a wound to the spirit so sore that news of peace stirred only the relief that comes with an end to pain. A war that produced no famous victories, no national heroes and no strong patriotic songs, produced no memorable armistice day celebrations either. America was too exhausted by the war and too chary of peace to celebrate.

Reaction to the agreement of January 1973 in the American magazine *Newsweek*, 5 February 1973.

SOURCE 37

History of Viet Conflict – Murky start, Uncertain End

A headline in the *Los Angeles Times*, 24 January 1973.

SOURCE 34

Devastation in Saigon towards the end of the Tet Offensive, 1968. Most of the damage was caused by US artillery or aircraft.

Ending the war in Vietnam

In November 1968 Richard Nixon was elected President. From 1969 to 1973 he and his National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger worked tirelessly to end US involvement in Vietnam. This was not easy because the bigger question of how to contain world Communism – the one that had got the USA into Vietnam in the first place – had not gone away. They did not want to appear simply to hand Vietnam to the Communists. They used a range of strategies.

In 1972, the North Vietnamese launched a major offensive but were unable to conquer South Vietnam. In Paris in January 1973, Le Duc Tho, Nixon and the South Vietnamese President Thieu signed a peace agreement (see Source 35). Nixon was jubilant. He described the agreement as 'peace with honour'. Others disagreed, but the door was now open for Nixon to pull out all US troops. By 29 March 1973, the last American forces had left Vietnam.

SOURCE 38**Pressure on the USSR and China**

In 1969 the USSR and China fell out. Indeed, late in 1969, it seemed possible that there would even be a war between these two powerful Communist countries. As a result, both the USSR and China tried to improve relations with the USA.

Peace negotiations with North Vietnam

From early 1969, Kissinger had regular meetings with the Chief Vietnamese peace negotiator, Le Duc Tho.

'Vietnamisation' of the war effort

In Vietnam Nixon began the process of Vietnamisation – building up South Vietnamese forces and withdrawing US troops. Between April 1969 and the end of 1971 almost 400,000 US troops left Vietnam.

Bombing

Nixon increased bombing campaigns against North Vietnam to show he was not weak. He also invaded Viet Cong bases in Cambodia, causing outrage across the world, and even in the USA.

US strategies to extricate US troops from involvement in Vietnam.

SOURCE **39**

The fall of South Vietnam, 1973–75

It is not clear whether Nixon really believed he had secured a lasting peace settlement. But within two years it was meaningless and South Vietnam had fallen to the Communists.

Nixon had promised continuing financial aid and military support to Vietnam, but Congress refused to allow it. They did not want to waste American money. The evidence was that the South Vietnamese regime was corrupt and lacked the support of the majority of the population. Even more important, Nixon himself was in big political trouble with the Watergate Scandal. In 1974 Nixon was forced to resign over Watergate, but the new President, Gerald Ford, also failed to get the backing of Congress over Vietnam.

Without US air power or military back-up and without the support of the majority of the population, the South Vietnamese government could not survive for long. In December 1974 the North Vietnamese launched a major military offensive against South Vietnam. The capital, Saigon, fell to Communist forces in April 1975.

One of the bleakest symbols of American failure in Vietnam was the televised news images of desperate Vietnamese men, women and children trying to clamber aboard American helicopters taking off from the US embassy. All around them Communist forces swarmed through Saigon. After 30 years of constant conflict, the struggle for control of Vietnam had finally been settled and the Communists had won.

This figure is not available online for copyright reasons

SOURCE **40**



A scene from the American embassy in Saigon, April 1975. An embassy official is punching a man in the face to make him let go of the helicopter.

SOURCE **41**

The American military was not defeated in Vietnam – The American military did not lose a battle of any consequence. From a military standpoint, it was almost an unprecedented performance. This included Tet 68, which was a major military defeat for the VC and NVA.

The United States did not lose the war in Vietnam, the South Vietnamese did – The fall of Saigon happened 30 April 1975, two years after the American military left Vietnam. The last American troops departed in their entirety 29 March 1973. How could we lose a war we had already stopped fighting? We fought to an agreed stalemate.

The fall of Saigon – The 140,000 evacuees in April 1975 during the fall of Saigon consisted almost entirely of civilians and Vietnamese military, not American military running for their lives. There were almost twice as many casualties in Southeast Asia (primarily Cambodia) the first two years after the fall of Saigon in 1975 than there were during the ten years the US was involved in Vietnam.

An American cartoon from 1975 commenting on the Vietnam War.

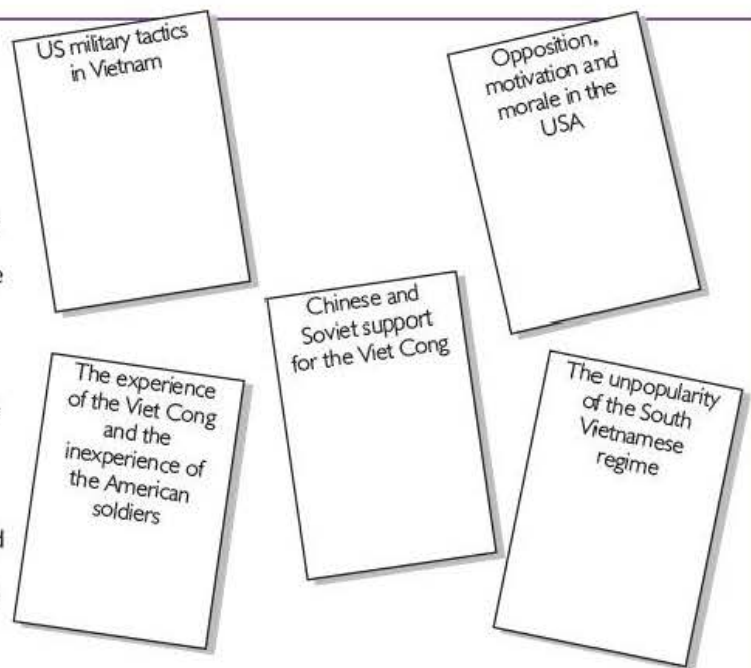
Focus Task

Why did the USA lose the Vietnam War?

Look back at your answers to the Focus Tasks on pages 259 and 263. You will find them very useful for this summary activity.

The Americans did not lose purely for military reasons. There were other factors as well.

- 1 In the centre of a large sheet of paper put the question: 'Why did the USA lose the Vietnam War?'
- 2 Around the question, draw six boxes. In five boxes write an explanation or paste a source which shows the importance of the following factors:
 - ◆ US military tactics in Vietnam
 - ◆ the unpopularity of the South Vietnamese regime
 - ◆ the experience of the Viet Cong and the inexperience of the American soldiers
 - ◆ opposition to the war in the USA
 - ◆ Chinese and Soviet support for the Viet Cong.
- 3 In the sixth box write: 'But did they really lose?' and summarise the argument put forward in Source 41, and your view on it.
- 4 Add other boxes if you think there are other factors you should consider.
- 5 Add lines to connect the factors and write an explanation of the connection.



SOURCE 42

Listen to this comment from a high ranking American official:

'It became clear that if we were prepared to stay the course we could lay the cornerstone for a diverse and independent region. If we falter the forces of chaos would smell victory and decades of strife and chaos would stretch endlessly before us. The choice is clear: we shall stay the course.'

That's not President Bush speaking, it's Lyndon Johnson speaking forty years ago, ordering 100,000 more American soldiers to Vietnam. Here's another quotation:

'The big problem is to get territory and to keep it. That is the big problem. You can get territory today and lose it next week. You have to have enough people to clear it and preserve what you have done.'

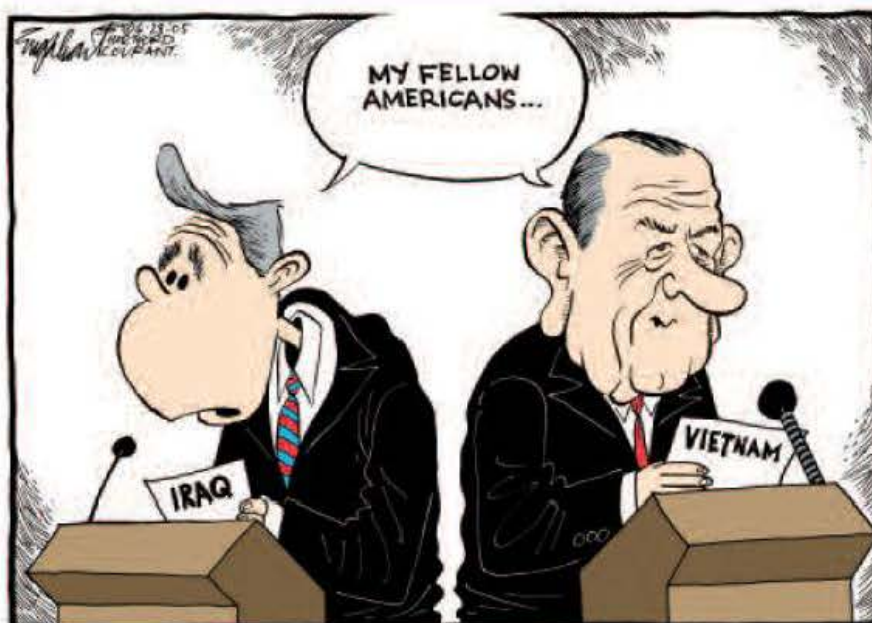
That is not President Bush on the need for more forces in Iraq. It is President Johnson in 1966 as he doubled our presence in Vietnam ... There was no military solution to that war but we kept trying to find one anyway. And in the end 58,000 Americans died in the search for it. Echoes of that disaster are all around us today. Iraq is George Bush's Vietnam.

US Senator Edward Kennedy speaking on 9 January 2007. He was commenting on President Bush's increase in troop levels in Iraq in 2007, known as 'the surge'.

The lessons of Vietnam

In 2003 US and allied forces went into war in Iraq. Five years later they were still there and many commentators were making comparisons with Vietnam. Study Sources 42 and 43 and see whether you think the US should have learned lessons from Vietnam.

SOURCE 43



Cartoon in the US newspaper the Hartford Courant, 27 June 2005. The figure on the left is George Bush. The one on the right is Lyndon Johnson, US President from 1963–68.

In Unit 2 the exam requires you to answer three questions: one on each depth study you have tackled. Chapters 7–10 cover all the main Depth Studies in the course.

Plan your time. As for Paper 1 the exam is 1 hour 45 minutes and you have to answer three questions so that gives you 35 minutes for each question. But allow time to read through the question before you start so you know where it is heading. Otherwise you might find you include in your answer to questions (a) and (b) things that you wished you'd kept for question (c).

Remember always to look at the marks available and plan your time to spend more time on the high mark questions.

Look for command words and signpost words – such as 'explain', 'how useful', 'suggest', 'reliable'. These tell you what the examiner wants you to do. Sometimes there is a command word lurking out of sight. When the exam asks you 'how useful' it means 'explain how useful'.

Take careful note of the signpost word 'suggest'. This question wants more than a simple 'what does Source A say?' The examiner wants you to 'infer' i.e. look beyond what you can see on the surface to the other things the source tells you.

- In this answer the candidate has made good inferences. For example he/she has inferred that the Bolsheviks did not have mass support.
- He/she has also supported each point by extracts from the source.

This is a straightforward knowledge question. Make six relevant points about the Tsar's reputation during the First World War and you get six marks! So you could mention:

- the military defeats
- badly equipped soldiers
- that the Tsar took personal command
- casualties
- fuel and food shortages
- the influence of Rasputin
- putting his wife in charge.

But remember: don't use bullet points, use continuous prose.

AQA Paper 2 assesses your understanding of the twentieth-century depth studies. Like Paper 1 it is designed to assess what you know and how well you can select and deploy what you know. However, there is a slightly stronger element of source evaluation in Paper 2 than there was in Paper 1.

The paper is in two sections:

- Section A contains three questions and you choose one of them.
- Section B contains seven questions and you choose two of them.

Section A questions

Each question will give you some sources and then three sub-questions:

- A simple **source-based question** worth 4 marks and usually to the pattern, 'What does Source A suggest ...?' This question is to see if you can comprehend (understand) the source.
- A **knowledge-based question** worth 6 marks. This will usually ask you, from your background knowledge, to 'explain' an event: what happened or why it happened. This may make no reference to the sources but it will be on a topic related to the sources.
- A **source 'evaluation' question** worth 10 marks. This might ask you how 'useful' or 'reliable' a source is.

A Section A type (a) question

From the Depth Study: 7.1 Russia, 1914–1924

- What does Source A suggest about why the Bolsheviks were successful in taking power in October–November 1917? [4]

SOURCE A

Although later Communist propaganda said differently, the Bolshevik revolution was quite a small-scale affair. Although Lenin was in charge, Trotsky did most of the planning. There was little fighting, much less than there had been in March. Success was achieved by a small group of dedicated revolutionaries.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October–November 1917.

A good answer to question (a)

Source A suggests that Communist propaganda rewrote the history of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 to make it seem much bigger and more important than it was. It also suggests that Trotsky was more important than Lenin in the revolution, even though Lenin was the leader. For example, it says Trotsky did most of the planning. It also suggests that the Bolsheviks did not have much support from ordinary Russian people because it calls the Bolsheviks a 'small group of dedicated revolutionaries' and it makes the point that there was much less fighting than there had been in the March Revolution.

A Section A type (b) question

From the Depth Study: 7.1 Russia, 1914–1924

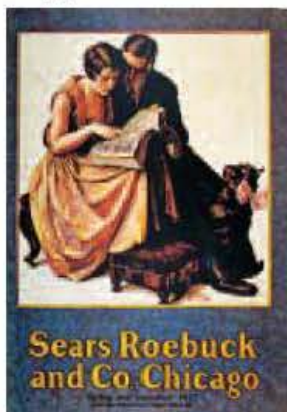
- In August 1914 Russia became involved in the First World War. Explain why Nicholas II became increasingly unpopular as Tsar during the war. [6]

Paper 2: Twentieth-Century Depth Studies

A Section A type (c) question

From the Depth Study: The Roaring 20s: USA, 1919–1929

SOURCE B



The front of a mail order catalogue published in 1927.

Answer based on your knowledge

The source is useful for studying the reasons for America's prosperity in the 1920s because it shows an example of how American businesses developed new techniques for selling goods. As well as mail order they also came up with ideas like hire purchase and travelling salesmen. These methods helped make the USA prosperous. On the other hand the source does not show other developments which were important to the boom like automation and production lines in the car industry which made things cheaper to buy.

- c How useful is Source B for studying foreign support for the Whites in the Russian Civil War of 1918–21? Use Source B and your knowledge to explain your answer. [10]

Answers to question (c)

Answer based on the content and nature of the source

The source is useful because it shows one of the techniques American businesses used to sell goods. The man and the woman are looking at a catalogue of things they can buy without leaving their home. It also tells you something about how advertisers got people to want things. It is obviously not a typical scene. The man and the woman are well-dressed and rich. They seem to have a nice home with some nice furniture. But the picture works by suggesting that buying things makes you happy. You can imagine even a poor person getting this catalogue and thinking 'I want to be like that' and spending more money. It was a clever selling technique and clever selling was one of the features of the 1920s boom.

- Note the phrase 'how useful'. The examiner is not going to choose a source which is completely useless! What AQA examiners are looking for is for you to show that you can see both the uses and the limitations of a source for a particular enquiry.

- Note too that a source is never useful or not useful in itself. It is only useful for something. So always read the question carefully to see what it is being used for.

There are two ways to answer this question and reach 6–8 marks.

DO

Focus on what the examiner wants you to do – assess the usefulness of a source.

DON'T

Don't describe the source in detail or write a long history of the 1920s economic boom.

Notice how both answers start by picking up the wording of the question. It helps to get started on the right track.

To be sure of getting top marks you need to use both your background knowledge and your source evaluation skills.

Put both of these approaches together and you should reach the top level, 9–10 marks.

- (a) is worth 8 marks
- (b) is worth 12 marks.

One of the ways that candidates regularly lose marks in Section B is by not using the photograph that starts this question. You are supposed to be using background knowledge too but the examiner wants you to look closely at the photo and see what it tells you and what you can infer from it about the topic, and to cross-reference the photo to your own knowledge. You should practice this skill regularly in your revision to make sure you can get the most out of a photograph.

Section B questions

Questions in Section B will give you one source (usually a photograph) and then two sub-questions:

A Section B type (a) question

- a A 'describe ...' question which combines the use of the source and your own knowledge.
- b A 'do you agree ...' question which requires to use your knowledge to write a short essay.

- a Using Source C (see page 274) and your own knowledge, describe how Hitler gained much support among young people in the 1930s in Germany. [8]

Paper 2: Twentieth-Century Depth Studies

SOURCE C



A Hitler Youth meeting in the 1930s.

Start with a simple introduction which makes it clear you know what the question is about.

Now move to the Source – candidates often forget to refer to it, but the examiners want you to use it in your answer.

Now go on to describe what the Hitler Youth offered, e.g.

As well as saying what the Nazis did, impress the examiner by indicating how you know it was successful, e.g.

Now mention other ways the Nazis tried to get support from young people, e.g.

Note the signpost word 'main'. This is inviting you to compare this reason with other reasons.

In this type of question the AQA examiners are looking for reasons. Don't make the mistake of just listing reasons. That will only get you half marks maximum. You need to explain the reasons. For example this paragraph not only identifies the Depression as a factor, it also explains how this factor helped the Nazis.

Another really good aspect of this answer is the way the writer constantly compares the importance of Nazi threats and violence with other factors. He/she has kept the question in mind at all times.

This is an effective conclusion. It sets out clearly that the candidate does not believe threats and violence was the key factor and it provides an alternative view.

A top level answer to (a) question (see page 273)

One of Hitler's main aims was to win over young Germans to the Nazi cause. He did this with a combination of propaganda, education and the Hitler Youth movement.

The photograph shows the flags, drums and uniforms which most boys of that age found very exciting. The Hitler Youth also provided boys with a 'gang' to belong to. We can see from the photograph how the boys belong to the same movement. This would also have increased support for the Nazis.

The Hitler Youth provided young Germans with activities such as ...
Mention hiking, sports, parades, challenges

We know some young Germans were won over by the Hitler Youth ...
Mention that some even informed on parents

As well as the Hitler Youth the Nazis also ...
Mention education, textbooks, teachers, Jews taught separately, chosen race

A Section B type (b) question

- b 'The Nazis' use of threats and violence was the main reason why Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933.' Do you agree? Explain your answer. [12]

A top level answer to (b) question

There is no doubt that Nazi use of threats and violence played an important role in Hitler becoming Chancellor in Germany in January 1933. The Nazis had their own private army of storm troopers – the SA. The SA disrupted the meetings of political opponents. They tore down election posters of opposition parties. The SA also took on the Communists in street fights and as a result they gained support from Germans who were afraid of the Communists.

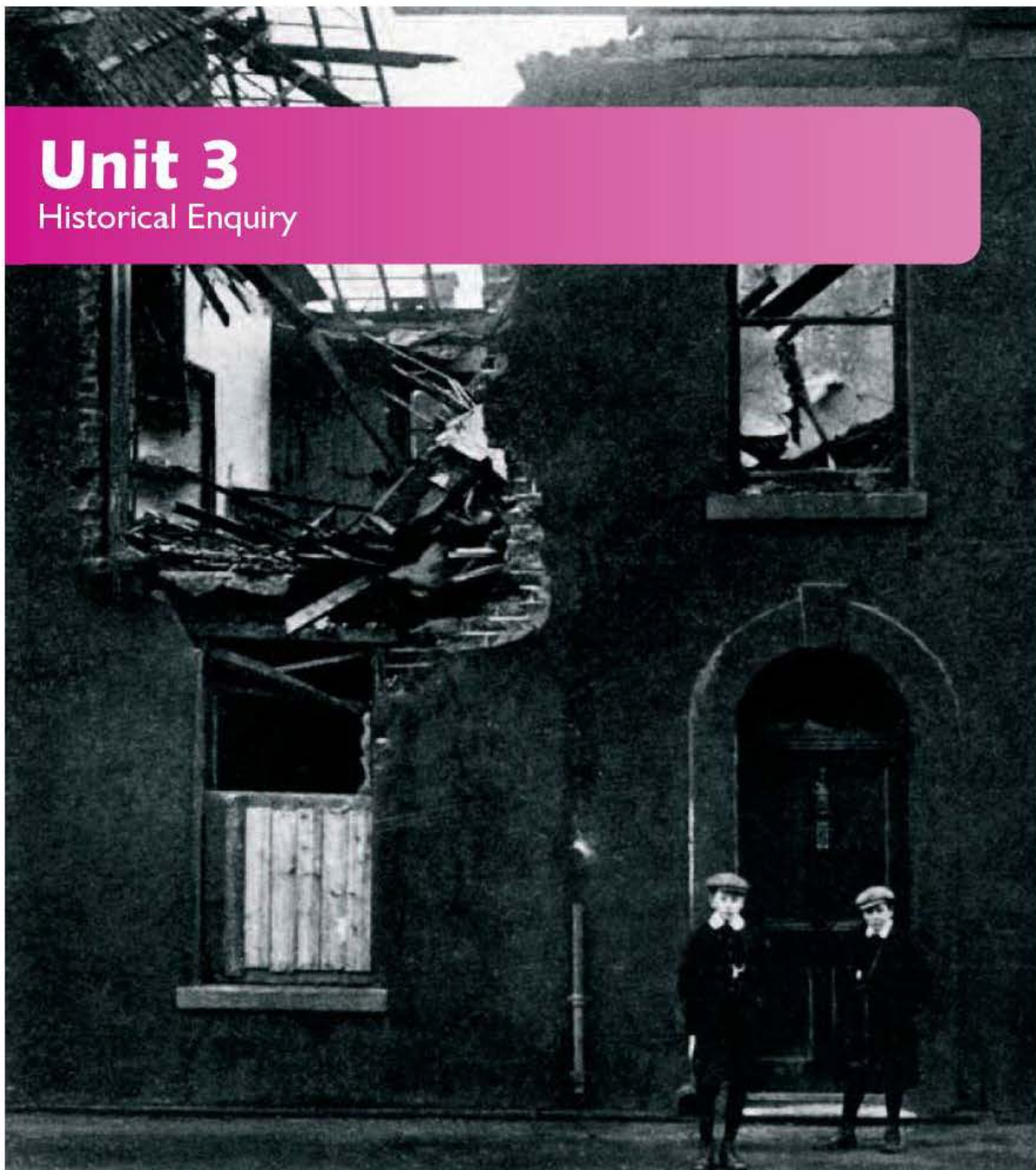
On the other hand, there were several other factors which helped Hitler to power. For example, the Nazi party benefited from the worldwide economic Depression which hit Germany very badly and sent unemployment soaring to over six million. This left many Germans disillusioned with democracy and so they started to listen to extremist parties like the Nazis. Without this factor Nazi threats and intimidation would have had little impact.

As well as using threats and violence the Nazi party was also well-organised. It had an effective propaganda machine run by Joseph Goebbels. The Nazis' leader, Adolf Hitler, was a brilliant speaker and made effective use of press, radio and film. In the 1932 presidential election he gained the votes of thirteen million Germans. This factor was probably the Nazis' biggest asset, far more important than Nazi threats and violence.

Another important factor was the rivalry between the parties which opposed the Nazis. The Social Democrats and the Communists could have defeated the Nazis in the Reichstag and fought the SA on the streets if they had worked together, but they refused to cooperate with each other. This factor made Nazi threats and violence more effective than it would have been otherwise.

Unit 3

Historical Enquiry



11

The British people at war

Focus

The two world wars had an enormous influence on world history and also a huge impact on people in Britain who lived through them. In this chapter you are going to examine how the wars changed life for people in Britain and compare the impact of each war. You will be looking at how the wars affected:

- ◆ censorship and propaganda
- ◆ recruitment and conscription
- ◆ rationing
- ◆ home defence
- ◆ air raids
- ◆ roles of women
- ◆ attitudes to war.

The Home Front in two world wars: An outline view

The First World War was the first example of what historians now call a total war. A total war involves or affects all of society – not just the armed forces. It was the first war to deeply affect most people back home in Britain. Previous wars had been remote from everyday life for most ordinary people. They were usually fought far away by small professional armies. All that ordinary people knew about the fighting was what they read in the newspapers or heard from soldiers who had taken part.

In the two world wars this situation changed. War touched almost everybody's life in one way or another, whether they were soldiers or civilians, men or women, adults or children. Both wars brought changes to everyday life. Government control of news, information and even movement changed the way people lived. So did the demands of the war effort and the actions of the enemy. War also brought about important changes in the role of women in society.

In this chapter you are going to look at the changes which took place in the two world wars and try and reach your own conclusion on how similar or different the wartime experience was in the two wars. We are going to start with the big picture – actually two big pictures! Sources 1 and 2 were posters commissioned by the British government's Ministry of Information during the two world wars. These images provide a fascinating glimpse into the way in which war affected daily life, and also the way in which the government hoped people would react to and feel about the war. Study them carefully and then tackle the Focus Task.

Focus Task

The British people at war: an overview

- 1 Work in small groups. Half of you take Source 1 and the other half take Source 2. Study each one and then explain to your partner or group members:
- 2 As a group or a whole class, come up with a list of similarities and differences between the sources. Make sure you are clear about whether the points you spot are observations or inferences.
- 3 Now come back together as a group and make a list of facts, figures or other points which you think would help you to understand Sources 1 and 2 better. You could do this by drawing up a list of questions.
- 4 As a class, take a vote on these statements:
 - ◆ War brought tremendous change to the lives of British people.
 - ◆ The Second World War brought greater change than the First World War.

What each source says (observation)

Who each character in the source represents

What each character is doing

Why these actions are shown

Anything else you observe

What each source tells you (inference)

The message and/or purpose of the poster

How the government wanted people to feel about the war

How war affected the lives of British people

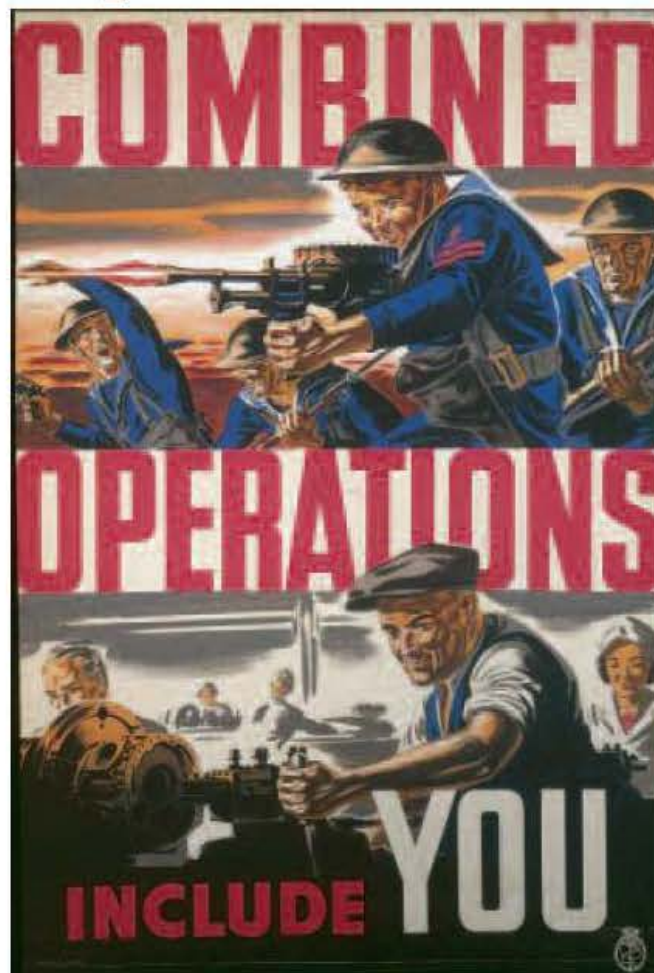
Anything else you infer

SOURCE 1



A government poster from the First World War.

SOURCE 2



A government poster from the Second World War. The term 'combined operations' usually referred to actions involving different branches of the military (such as the army working with the navy to land an invasion force).

The British people at war: a detailed view

Sources 1 and 2 can only give you an outline of the effects of the war on British people. The Factfiles on the next two pages and the information and sources through the rest of this chapter will give you a detailed view. As you work through the chapter you are going to build up a bank of notes which will help you to create a presentation. The title of the presentation is:

Happy times or Horrible History? The impact of the World Wars on the British people

A good way to tackle this task is to work in pairs, with one of you responsible for the First World War and one of you responsible for the Second World War. You will be prompted to collect your notes for the presentation with an icon like this:

PROMPT 1

After you have each researched your topic(s) compare your notes and discuss; in what ways was the impact of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- a) similar to
 - b) different from
- the impact of the First World War?

Factfile

The Home Front in the First World War

1914

- 2 August War declared on Germany. Britain needed an army quickly. The government launched a massive recruitment campaign. Half a million joined the army in one month.
- 8 August The Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) was introduced. It gave the government special powers such as the right to take over industries and land which were needed for the war effort, or to censor newspapers.
- Autumn From August to September many different women's organisations were set up, including the Women's Hospital Corps and the Women's Police Volunteers.
- 16 December The first bombing of British civilians. German warships shelled the east coast of Britain. In Scarborough 119 people were killed.

1915

- 19 January First air raids by German Zeppelin airships, dropping bombs on East Anglian towns.
- May It was recognised that the war needed much more careful organisation of all aspects of British life, so a coalition government with politicians from all parties was formed to handle the growing crisis in Britain.
- 31 May The first Zeppelin air raids on London. Air raids by Zeppelins and later by aircraft were a regular feature of the rest of the war.
- July The munitions crisis: British troops were facing a severe shortage of shells and bullets. The government set up the Ministry of Munitions under David Lloyd George to reorganise Britain's munitions supply. Lloyd George and Mrs Pankhurst, a suffragette leader, organised a 'women's march for jobs' to recruit women to work in factories.
- Autumn Many employers refused to take on women, and trade unions refused to allow women workers. The government had to come to an agreement with the trade unions that women would be paid the same as men and would only work 'until sufficient male labour should again be available'. The government also set up its own munitions factories, employing largely women.

1916

- 25 January First Military Service Bill introduced conscription of all single men aged 18–40.
- 16 May Second Military Service Bill extended conscription to married men.

➤ 1 July

The Battle of the Somme began. More British soldiers were killed in this battle than in any previous battle.

➤ August

The British public flocked to cinemas to see the government's new feature film 'The Battle of the Somme', which the 'Evening News' called 'the greatest moving picture in the world'.

➤ 18 November

The Battle of the Somme was called off – with very little gain to show for the half a million British casualties.

➤ November

For the first time there was public criticism of the way the war was being run by the generals.

➤ 7 December

Lloyd George, a critic of the army leadership, became Prime Minister in place of Herbert Asquith. He immediately reorganised the British government to focus all effort on the war. He set up the Ministry of Labour to deal with the labour supply in British industry. He set up the Ministry of Food to deal with the food supply.

1917

➤ February

Germany began its third and most devastating campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare against British merchant ships. The Women's Land Army was formed to recruit women as farm labourers.

➤ April

German U-boats sank one in four British merchant ships in the Atlantic. The food supply was running very low. Under DORA (see page 288) the government took over two and a half million acres of new farming land to help to feed Britain.

➤ November

A voluntary rationing scheme was introduced. It was a failure. Food prices continued to rise. Food queues got longer.

➤ December

Parliament agreed a law to give all women over 30 the right to vote in general elections.

1918

➤ 25 February

Compulsory rationing scheme introduced in London and southern Britain with stiff penalties for offenders.

➤ April

Rationing of meat, butter and cheese extended to the entire country.

➤ 11 November

At the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918 the Armistice was signed. The war was officially over.

➤ 14 December

A general election was held in Britain. Women over 30 voted for the first time.

Factfile

The Home Front in the Second World War

1938

- March Military conscription introduced in Britain.

1939

- June Women's Land Army set up.
- August Government passes laws giving itself Emergency Powers in case war starts.
- September Blackout introduced; evacuation begins; petrol rationing; all men aged 27–41 conscripted for armed forces.
- October Government launches Dig for Victory Campaign.
- December Government announces 100 per cent increase in road deaths due to blackout.

1940

- January Government introduces food rationing; people encouraged to keep chickens and rabbits in garden for food.
- February 20 mph speed limit in towns.
- April Lord Woolton becomes Minister of Food.
- May Home Guard formed; road signs taken down to confuse Germans if they invade.
- June Government distributes leaflets telling people what to do if the Germans invade.
- July Tea ration falls to two ounces per week; half of men aged 20–25 now in armed forces.
- August Government bans cakes with icing due to sugar shortage; London bombed.
- September London Blitz begins.
- October Government estimates 25,000 Londoners homeless as a result of bombing.
- November Coventry flattened in Blitz.
- December Manchester bombed.

1941

- January–March Worst period of food shortages of the war.
- March Labour Minister Ernest Bevin introduces Essential Work Order – everyone must work.
- April Plymouth blitzed.
- May End of London Blitz after heaviest air raid of all.
- June Clothing rationed.
- July Coal ration reduced.
- November Government introduces controls on milk.
- December Conscription of men aged eighteen.

1942

- January Fuel shortages in Britain; first US troops arrive.
- February Soap rationed.
- March Petrol rationed to essential users only; food imports half of peacetime levels; government introduces new wheat meal loaf.
- Sweets rationed.
- Government issues prefabricated furniture.
- Sweet ration goes up; road signs put back up.
- Housing shortage due to bombing – approx 2.5 million homeless.

1943

- January Government announces that over 1 million over-65s are in work.
- July Battle against U-boats turns in favour of Allies (see page 332).

1944

- January More air raids on London.
- Government announces plans for a National Health Service.
- June V-1 Flying bombs hit towns in England; over one million evacuated from South East England; one-third of working population now in armed forces.
- September First V-2 rockets hit London; blackout restrictions eased to 'dim out'.
- Oct–November More V-2 rockets hit London.

1945

- January Britain's armed forces at height of 4.68 million, including 437,000 women.
- March Last V-2 rocket attack.
- April Blackout ends.
- May End of war in Europe.

PROMPT 1

Read the Factfiles and list as many examples as you can find of how each war affected people's lives.

How was the impact of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- similar to
 - different from
- the impact of the First World War?

Activity

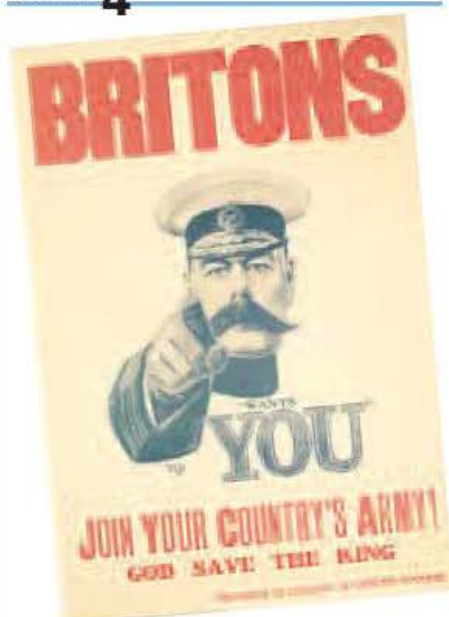
On your own copy of Sources 1 and 2 note down aspects of life on the Home Front mentioned in the Factfiles which the two posters did not show. As a class discuss why these features might have been left out.

PROMPT 2

Make notes for your presentation about how recruitment to the army affected civilians in the First World War.

- 1 Look at Sources 4–6. Describe the method each poster uses to encourage men to join up.
- 2 Draw up a list of arguments for and against this statement: 'Conscription was fairer than voluntary recruitment.'

SOURCE 4



A 1914 recruitment poster. It features Lord Kitchener, a former successful general who became Secretary of State for War and the figurehead of the recruitment campaign.

SOURCE 7



A cartoon published in the socialist newspaper the *Workers' Dreadnought* in 1916.

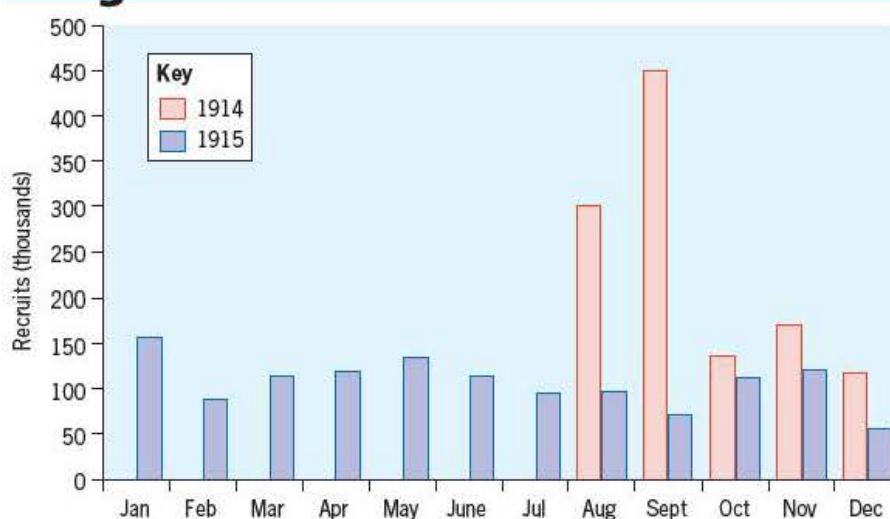
Recruitment and conscription: The First World War

When the First World War broke out Britain had only a small professional army. It needed a large one very quickly. The government began a massive recruitment drive, with posters, leaflets, recruitment offices in every town and stirring speeches by government ministers.

There was already a strong anti-German feeling in the country. The press strengthened it further with regular stories of German atrocities — babies butchered in Belgium, nurses murdered and, most famously of all, the German factory where they supposedly made soap out of boiled-up corpses.

The recruitment campaign was highly successful. Half a million signed up in the first month. By 1916 over 2 million had been enlisted (see Source 3).

SOURCE 3



Recruitment of volunteers to the army, 1914–15.

SOURCE 5



A 1915 recruitment poster.

SOURCE 6



A 1915 recruitment poster.

SOURCE 8

THE HARDEST QUESTION OF ALL

'Then you are willing to see your country defeated?'

That's the question that stops the mouths of many of us when we are trying to explain our position as 'conscientious objectors' . . . There is, I believe, hardly one of us who would, or could, say 'Yes'; but, if we say 'No', we are at once open to the crushing reply, 'Then you are willing to let other men fight and die for you, while you stay quietly and safely at home.'

From the Friend, published by the Quakers, a religious group who believed in non-violence, 21 January 1916.

SOURCE 9

*Sir,
What right have 'conscientious objectors' to live in this country whose existence is only maintained by the fighting men of our Army and Navy?*

*G Moor,
3 Silverfields,
Harrogate*

From the Daily Mail, 10 January 1916.

SOURCE 10



Conscientious objectors, 1916. Four of these men, including Mr HHC Marten, second from left in the front row, had been sentenced to death as conchies, but had their sentence reduced to ten years' hard labour. This picture was taken at a granite quarry in Scotland where they were sent to serve their sentence.

In 1916 the government decided to introduce conscription for the first time. All men aged between eighteen and 40 had to register for active service. They could be called up at any time to fight.

The government did this for various reasons. The number of volunteers was falling. As you can see from Source 3, recruitment in December 1915 was the lowest for any month since the start of the war. But the demand for troops was increasing. The dead and wounded needed replacing. Another problem was that the volunteer system was damaging Britain's agriculture and industry. For example, so many miners joined up that there were reports of their having to be sent back to provide essential supplies of coal. The volunteer system was also seen as unfair. Not all parts of society took an equal share of the burden. There was a feeling that some groups avoided the war altogether. Some of the fittest and most able men were not volunteering at all. In the end, many welcomed the government's taking control of the situation and introducing conscription.

SOURCE 11

1 May 1915

William Milton, foreman of Lyons Hall Farm, does not approve of all the recruiting posters on the tree trunks and walls. 'If the government want more men let them take idlers not workmen. Unless the war is over before August there will not be enough men for the harvest.'

The men say 'We will go when we like, or when we are ordered.' Conscription, being just, would be welcome.

The Diary of Rev Andrew Clark, an Essex clergyman.

Not everyone welcomed conscription, however. Fifty MPs, including leading Liberals, voted against it in Parliament. Another group who did not welcome it were those who were opposed to the war for religious or political reasons. It would be against their conscience to fight so they were called conscientious objectors or 'conchies'. Conchies had to appear before a tribunal and prove they had a genuine reason for objecting to war and were not just cowards. Some conchies were sent to prison, where they were often badly treated. Others actually went to the front and worked in field hospitals or as stretcher bearers.

Controlling war work and war workers

The government's priority was to get troops for the front, but it also needed workers on the Home Front to produce food, equipment and above all, munitions. The government immediately took control of the coal industry so that the mines could be run to support the war effort rather than for the private profit of the owners. David Lloyd George was made Minister of Munitions in 1915. Lloyd George tried to force skilled workers to stay where the government needed them, instead of moving to where they could get the best pay. The trade unions protested. Many of the bosses of the firms supplying the government were making huge profits out of the war, so the unions wondered why workers could not do so as well.

One other key element of Lloyd George's programme was to bring women into the workforce (see pages 302–03). Trade unions again resisted this. In 1915, 100,000 women registered for work in industry, yet to start with, only 5,000 were given jobs. The trade unions were worried about the effect of women workers on their members' wages. They argued that women worked for lower pay than men, so they 'diluted' men's wages. They refused to co-operate until the government gave a clear promise that women would be paid the same as men and would not be kept on when the men came back. Lloyd George gave them this promise. At the same time he also opened the government's own munitions factories, which employed a large number of women. By the end of 1915 the situation had improved.

PROMPT 3

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways in which recruitment and conscription affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- a) similar to
 - b) different from
- the impact of the First World War?

SOURCE 12

How did the war affect the family?

I spent a lot of hours on my own, because dad went long distance, and I never knew where he was going, when he was coming back.

He worked for the government, didn't he?

Yes, he took bombs and he had to have special passes to get through. He saw a lot more than I did with going to Liverpool. And he went down to London and Fleet Street was blown up so he set to and helped to clear it. Of course it was all round the village, he was missing.

So after that, did he just used to turn up at home?

Yes, he never announced it.

You never knew when he was coming home or anything?

No. It was a very hard life.

Extract from an interview in 1995 with a woman who lived in Hebden Bridge, near Halifax. Her father was a demolition worker who helped to clear bomb damage safely.

Recruitment and conscription: The Second World War

When the Second World War began in 1939 there was no debate about military service. From the start of the war all men aged 18–41 had to either join up or sign up for war work. In fact the government had already brought in a registration system in December 1938 so that no time would be wasted if a war did break out.

Civilian conscription

Most men were eligible for conscription into the armed forces, but they were not all called up. Men in reserved occupations – that is, doing essential jobs where the government needed workers – were not conscripted. Reserved occupations included anything from medical work to coal mining, electronics to demolition (see Source 12).

From 1940, the political parties formed a coalition government under the leadership of Winston Churchill. The Labour Minister Ernest Bevin worked closely with employers and with the trade unions to make Britain's wartime production as efficient as possible. Wages were strictly controlled, but so were prices. Workers could be moved around. For example, when coal stocks fell dangerously low in 1940, some 30,000 miners had to leave the army and return to their old jobs. Coal supplies remained a problem throughout the war. After 1942 men could opt for the mines rather than the army, but few did. Conditions for men and women were often difficult and all workers in essential industries faced long hours – 80-hour weeks were not uncommon. There were strikes, but they were usually short and news about them was strictly censored.

By the summer of 1941 over half the population was employed by the government or on government schemes. It was not enough, however, and in late 1941 women were also conscripted. You can find out more about their contribution on pages 304–05.

The trade unions were heavily involved in the war effort. Many of the Labour ministers in Winston Churchill's wartime government came from a trade union background, including Ernest Bevin – the Minister of Labour. Although the trade unions fully supported the war effort they also stood up for the rights, working conditions and pay of their members. One of the most large-scale examples of co-operation between government and trade unions was the conscription of young men aged as young as sixteen into the coal mines. They were known as Bevin Boys, and played a vital role in the war effort. In fact in 2008 the surviving Bevin Boys were awarded a medal from the state recognising the importance of their wartime services.

SOURCE 13



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © SOLO SYNDICATION/ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS LTD.

- 1 What is Source 13 saying about the contribution of the Labour movement to the war effort?

A cartoon by David Low from the *Evening Standard*, 24 May 1940. In this instance 'Labour' meant the trade union movement as well as the Labour Party.

SOURCE 14

'BEVIN BOYS' WILL BE WELL CARED FOR IN PITS

Bevin's Boys when they are called up to work in the pits will be well looked after. They will not be herded into the mines 'like a gang of young convicts.' Everything that can possibly be done to protect their interests and make their work as easy and safe for them as possible will be done.

This was made quite clear when the Mineworkers' Conference was resumed here today by Mr John Armstrong of the Ministry of Fuel and Power. Mr Armstrong said they had also reached agreement with the Departments of Health and Education for setting up an educational scheme for the pit lads.

An extract from the *News Chronicle*,
22 July 1943.

- 2 Does Source 14 reveal anything about conditions in coal mines?
- 3 Why did so few men want to work in coal mines?

Military conscription

Military conscription was introduced in April 1939 – before war had even begun. The government wanted to avoid the mistakes of the last war. Conscription was fairer than in the First World War, in that rich and poor alike were called up. There were few complaints about conscription. In fact, the main complaints were that the pace of conscription was too slow. By the end of 1940, 200,000 men had deferred their call-up for the armed forces because of the importance of their occupation (this was often a result of a request from their employer). However, in the same period, over 1 million men either volunteered for the forces or asked for their call-up to be speeded up.

SOURCE 15



Bevin Boys start their training at Markham Colliery near Doncaster in September 1943.

Military conscription was much more controversial in Northern Ireland. Eire ('Southern' Ireland) never accepted that Northern Ireland was part of Britain and many Catholics who lived in Northern Ireland felt the same way. The British government in London decided that trying to introduce conscription in Northern Ireland would do more harm than good. Another reason was that Northern Ireland's shipyards, aircraft factories and other industries were doing such important war work that the province was often short of workers. Conscription would have made the problem worse, so it was never introduced.

SOURCE 16



Volunteers for recruitment into the Royal Navy, London 1939.

SOURCE 17

It is extremely doubtful if conscription has the whole-hearted support of either section of the population . . . It will fall more heavily upon the Roman Catholic section than the Protestant because a greater proportion of the latter are in reserved occupations . . . active organisation to resist it will commence at once in every parish . . . Many will cross the Border but from those who remain wide resistance to the enforcement of the Act may be expected . . . conscription will give new life to the IRA . . . It will . . . increase the risk of Protestants adopting the attitude that they go only if the Roman Catholics are taken . . .

The views of Colonel Wickham, head of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), on conscription in 1941.

PROMPT 4

Make notes for your presentation about how propaganda was used to keep civilian support for the war.

SOURCE 18

If the people really knew [the truth about the war] the war would be stopped tomorrow.

But of course they don't – and can't – know. The correspondents don't write, and the censors would not pass, the truth.

Prime Minister Lloyd George in a private conversation with the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* in December 1917.

SOURCE 19

It is a domestic tragedy of the war that the country which went out to defend liberty is losing its own liberties one by one, and that the government which began by relying on public opinion as a great help has now come to fear and curtail it.

The *Nation*, May 1916. (This journal was later suppressed under DORA.)

- 1 Effective wartime propaganda aims to:
 - a) keep up morale
 - b) encourage civilians to support the war effort
 - c) create hatred and suspicion of the enemy.
 Choose one example of each from pages 284–85.
- 2 How do Sources 18 and 19 differ in their view of censorship and propaganda?

Propaganda and censorship: The First World War

During the First World War, the government regarded it as essential that civilians should support the war effort. So DORA also gave the government the right to control the newspapers and other mass media that might influence people's opinions towards the war. On many occasions the government even kept Parliament in the dark about events on the front line.

Good news only

From the start of the war all news, especially bad news, was strictly controlled. Despite the problems of the first few months on the Western Front, the British people were told only of great British victories or heroic resistance. When the British battleship HMS *Audacious* was sunk in October 1914, it was simply not reported.

It was not until November 1916 that the government allowed journalists (and then only approved ones, of course) to be at the front. Reports focused on good news. The newspaper owners and editors themselves were the keenest supporters of the war effort. For example, Lord Beaverbrook, the *Daily Express* owner, was a cabinet minister from 1916, and became Minister for Information in 1918. He and other newspaper barons (as they are known) became an integral part of Britain's war effort. After the war, twelve leading members of the newspaper industry were given knighthoods in recognition of their wartime service.

The government also censored information from the soldiers at the front. The soldiers even censored themselves. There is much evidence that soldiers home on leave chose not to tell relatives the truth about what was going on at the front because they did not want to worry them.

Forced censorship

Some independent papers did publish more balanced news or even anti-war articles. Initially, they were tolerated. However, as the war dragged on papers like the pacifist newspaper *Tribunal* were closed down. Socialist newspapers such as the *Daily Herald* were monitored carefully by the censors.

The censors were also concerned with stopping sensitive information from leaking out to the enemy. In 1916 alone, the government Press Bureau and the Intelligence services examined 38,000 articles, 25,000 photographs and 300,000 private telegrams. Even magazines for railway enthusiasts found themselves in trouble for revealing too much about Britain's transport network.

Books and other publications

Leading authors – HG Wells, Arthur Conan Doyle, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling – all signed a Declaration by Authors in support of the war. Most of them produced patriotic publications for no fee. The history department at the University of Oxford produced a five-volume explanation of why Britain was justified in going to war (it became known as the Red Book because of its cover). The Red Book sold 50,000 copies.

Propaganda for children

Propaganda was aimed at children too. Toys were made that were intended to encourage support of the war effort, and there were many patriotic books and comics. Needless to say, the German enemy was always cowardly and treacherous and the British Tommy was always modest, brave and successful. We know that these books and magazines sold well because they were regularly reprinted. In fact, many of them were still being reprinted in the 1920s and 1930s and given as school prizes.

- 3 Most historians think that propaganda had more effect on children than any other group in society. Why do you think the toys in Source 20 might be effective?

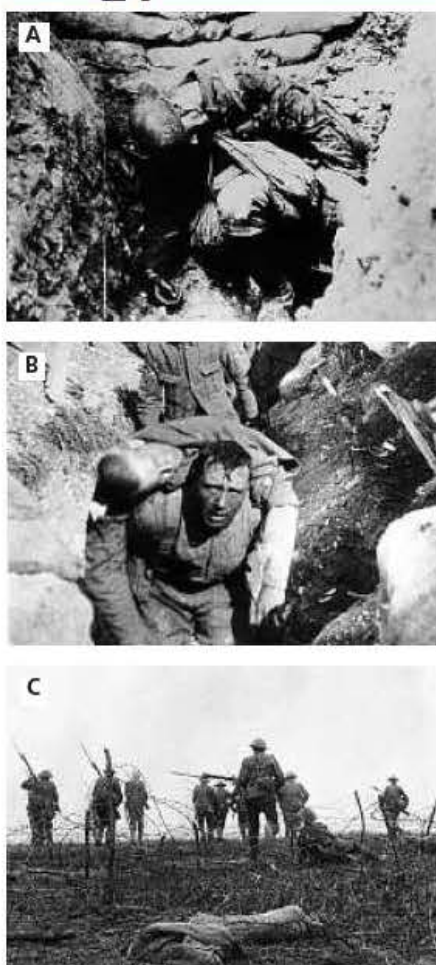
SOURCE 20



A selection of toys and games from 1914 to 1918.

Films

SOURCE 21



Some scenes from the film *The Battle of the Somme*. A and B were real. C was filmed at a training ground.

The government did not even have to make its own propaganda films. British film makers produced 240 war films between 1915 and 1918, very few of which were actually commissioned by the War Department.

The British Topical Committee for War Films was a group of film companies who got together to make and sell films to the War Department. Their patriotic film *For the Empire* reached an estimated audience of 9 million by the end of 1916. The Committee made some of the most famous films of the war, including *The Battle of the Somme*.

The Battle of the Somme has generally been seen by historians as a propaganda triumph. It showed real scenes from the battle, including real casualties (thirteen per cent of its running time showed dead or wounded soldiers). It also included 'fake' scenes. The film did not tell its audience which was which.

It was released in August 1916 and was a huge commercial success. Many people talked of it as their first chance to see what conditions were really like in the war – to get closer to the truth. By October 1916 it had been shown in over 2,000 cinemas (out of 4,500 in the country). Some anti-war campaigners approved of the film because it showed the horrors more truly than any previous film. But some people were shocked by its realism. The Dean of Durham Cathedral thought that it was wrong to exploit death and suffering to provide entertainment.

Did the propaganda work?

It is very hard to measure how effective the propaganda was. The ultimate test of the propaganda is whether it helped support for the war to stay firm (and, as you can see on page 306, it mostly did stay firm, despite immense casualties). However, it is almost impossible to judge how far the propaganda was responsible for this.

We can look at numbers: 9 million people saw the film *For the Empire*. Over half the population read a daily newspaper and newspaper circulation increased during the war. The circulation of the *Daily Express* went up from 295,000 in 1914 to 579,000 in 1918. The patriotic weekly journal *John Bull* was selling 2 million copies in 1918 and the *News of the World* was selling even more. These figures give the impression that the ordinary citizen was surrounded by what the government wanted them to hear and see.

In many ways the government did not have to resort to extreme propaganda measures. There is a lot of evidence to suggest that most people mobilised themselves to support the war of their own accord. Many ordinary citizens joined patriotic organisations such as the Fight for Right Movement, the Council of Loyal British Subjects or the Victoria League.

PROMPT 5

Make notes for your presentation on the main ways in which censorship and propaganda affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- similar to
 - different from
- the impact of the First World War?

- Look at the aims of the government's information policy. Read pages 286–87 and identify one source that is designed to help achieve each aim.
- Which of Sources 22 and 26 is more useful to historians in finding out how effective propaganda was? Explain your answer.

Propaganda and censorship: The Second World War

Just as it had in the First World War, in the Second World War government used its emergency powers to control information. It aimed to:

- boost morale and support for the war effort
- provide important information and instructions
- make sure the press did not publish and the BBC did not broadcast anything that might be helpful to the enemy.

The press

Newspapers were closely controlled. Journalists had to submit their articles to the censor before they were printed or transmitted. However, most papers happily complied with the regulations, so the censor did not have to force the issue. Most newspapers censored themselves. They reported bad news such as bomb damage or military defeats, but they did so with encouragement not to be downhearted. Victories were celebrated enthusiastically, of course.

Some newspapers were officially censored. For example, the *Daily Worker* was banned in 1941 for claiming that bosses were gaining from the war while workers were making all the sacrifices. But in contrast with Germany, newspaper circulation increased during the war, despite the fact that newspapers became smaller and thinner.

SOURCE 22



A wartime poster warning that careless talk can be dangerous.

Radio

The BBC was not controlled by the government. It censored itself and played a key role in informing the public and helping to keep up morale. The transformation of Dunkirk from a military disaster into a morale-boosting triumph was a good example of the BBC's power. By the end of the war, an estimated 25 million people tuned into BBC radio programmes. Most of the great film, radio and stage stars made programmes to boost the morale of civilians and the troops. People took comfort from comedians like Tommy Trinder, who made jokes about wartime hardships but also made fun of Hitler and the Nazis.

Propaganda

The government also produced propaganda, although it was not the same type of propaganda as used by the Nazis. If you had walked around a wartime town, you would have noticed posters encouraging you to conserve food or fuel or to beware of enemy spies. You might also have noticed that many of the film posters showed films relating to the war. Films generally sent a patriotic message, and the newsreels which were shown before the main film also did their bit to boost morale.

Wartime propaganda also made good use of the image of the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill (see Sources 23 and 24). There is no doubt that he was a great wartime leader. However, the way in which newspapers, newsreels and the BBC reported him made him an almost legendary figure.

Observation

The government also monitored the mood of the people by using what became known as Mass Observation reports. Essentially, this involved volunteers (and sometimes police and intelligence agents) listening in on conversations in bars, shops, post offices and other places and then writing up reports of what they had heard. These reports were collected and analysed by the government.

SOURCE 23



A cartoon produced by the Ministry of Information in 1940.

SOURCE 24



Winston Churchill, in a cartoon by David Low from the Evening Standard, 14 May 1940.

SOURCE 25

Tuesday 13 August 1940

The Battle of Britain has begun in earnest. We hear on the news of airmen's experiences during these exciting fights, usually told very calmly, quickly and tersely. Tonight we hear that in fighting round our south-east and south coasts, as well as over Berkshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire, the Germans have lost 57 planes and our losses are nine here and 14 on the Continent. A scrap or two had also taken place between torpedo boats and E-boats [German torpedo boats], with no loss of men to us and only one damaged boat, which got home safely.

Wednesday 14 August 1940

Yesterday's 'bag' of Nazi planes was 78 to 13 of ours. And everybody was tired today because we have all been up the best part of the night. The Nazi planes came over about 11.15 p.m. and so we dressed and went out to the dug-out, taking two rugs and a few oddments in a suitcase.

Extract from Mrs Milburn's Diaries. Mrs Clara Milburn was a Warwickshire lady who kept diaries throughout the war.

SOURCE 26

Film propaganda should come under one of three themes:

- *What Britain is fighting for: British ideas and institutions. Ideas such as freedom, and institutions such as parliamentary government can be made the main subject of a drama or be treated historically.*
- *How Britain fights: A long series should be undertaken to show this country, France and the neutrals the extent of our war effort. There should be, in the first place, full and carefully worked out films of each of the fighting services ...*
- *The need for sacrifice if the fight is to be won.*

The film, being a popular medium, must be good entertainment if it is to be good propaganda. A film which induces [causes] boredom antagonises [annoys] the audience to the cause which it advocates [supports]. For this reason, an amusing American film with a few hints at the Nazi regime is probably better propaganda than any number of documentaries showing the making of bullets, etc.

...
Film propaganda will be most effective when it is least recognisable as propaganda. Only in a few rare prestige films should the government's participation be announced. The influence brought to bear by the Ministry on the producers of feature films, and encouragement given to foreign distributors, must be kept secret.

Extracts from a British government document called 'The Programme for Film Propaganda' produced in January 1940.

Activity

On the web site of the National Archives you can find a collection of wartime films in a resource called 'The Art of War'. Choose two films from this site and see if they match up to the instructions set out in Source 26.

- 3 Does Source 26 prove that the British government took propaganda very seriously? Explain your answer.

SOURCE 27



A government poster issued in 1917.

- 1 Why do you think the government was so concerned about flour and bread?
- 2 Why was the government reluctant to make rationing compulsory in 1917?
- 3 Look at Source 28. Why do you think the government published this leaflet?

U-boats and rationing: Feeding the country in the First World War

The government also needed to ensure that Britain was fed. Under DORA it was able to take over land and turn it over to farm production. In February 1917 it set up the Women's Land Army to recruit women as farm workers.

By then, however, the food supply in Britain had become quite desperate. In April 1917 German U-boats were sinking one in every four British merchant ships. Britain had only six weeks' supply of wheat left. As food supplies ran short, so prices rose. Wages had hardly risen during the war because people were mostly prepared to sacrifice better pay to support the war effort, but prices were now almost double what they had been in 1914. Richer people bought more than they needed and hoarded it. Poorer people could not afford even basic supplies such as bread. Shops closed early each afternoon as they had run out of goods to sell. In important industrial areas such as South Wales there were serious strikes over poverty-level wages.

The government again responded with a range of measures. Following strikes in 1917, it agreed to raise the wages of industrial workers. In May it started a system of voluntary rationing. The royal family led the way by announcing they were aiming to reduce their consumption of bread by one-quarter, and 'to abstain from the use of flour in pastry and moreover carefully to restrict or wherever possible to abandon the use of flour in all articles other than bread'. They called on all people in Britain to do the same. In November the government introduced laws to control the price of bread – 'The Ninepenny Loaf'. It published many posters encouraging people to be economical with bread. It circulated recipe books with recipes which used less flour.

However, none of these measures was effective in reducing food shortages, so in early 1918 the government introduced compulsory rationing of sugar, butter, meat and beer. Every person had a book of coupons which had to be handed to the shopkeeper when rationed food was bought. There were stiff penalties facing anyone who broke the rationing rules.

On the whole, rationing was widely welcomed as a fairer system of sharing out the available food. By the end of the war, as a result of rationing, the diet and health of many poorer people had actually improved in comparison with pre-war days.

SOURCE 28

DEFENCE OF THE REALM. E.P. 6.

MINISTRY OF FOOD.

BREACHES OF THE RATIONING ORDER

The undermentioned convictions have been recently obtained:—

Court	Date	Nature of Offence	Result
HENDON - -	29th Aug., 1918	Unlawfully obtaining and using ration books -	3 Months' Imprisonment
WEST HAM -	29th Aug., 1918	Being a retailer & failing to detach proper number of coupons	Fined £20
SMETHWICK -	22nd July, 1918	Obtaining meat in excess quantities - - -	Fined £50 & £5 5s. costs
OLD STREET -	4th Sept., 1918	Being a retailer selling to unregistered customer	Fined £72 & £5 5s. costs
OLD STREET -	4th Sept., 1918	Not detaching sufficient coupons for meat sold -	Fined £25 & £2 2s. costs
CHESTER-LE-STREET	4th Sept., 1918	Being a retailer returning number of registered customers in excess of counterfoils deposited - - -	Fined £50 & £3 3s. costs
HIGH WYCOMBE	7th Sept., 1918	Making false statement on application for and using Ration Books unlawfully - - -	Fined £40 & £6 4s. costs

Enforcement Branch, Local Authorities Division,
MINISTRY OF FOOD.
September, 1918.

A leaflet produced by the government in 1918.

SOURCE 29

To the Chancellor of the Exchequer

Dear Sir,

I have been instructed by the Members of the above Branch to forward you the following resolution:

That we the members of the Gateshead 5th Branch ask the Government to grant the extra 2/6 per week Old Age Pension to all Old Age Pensioners without any further investigations as we are firmly convinced that even with the extra 2/6 per week the position of the said Old Age Pensioners is a very precarious one owing to the extremely inflated cost of the necessities of life.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

R. Anderson.

A letter from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, September 1916.

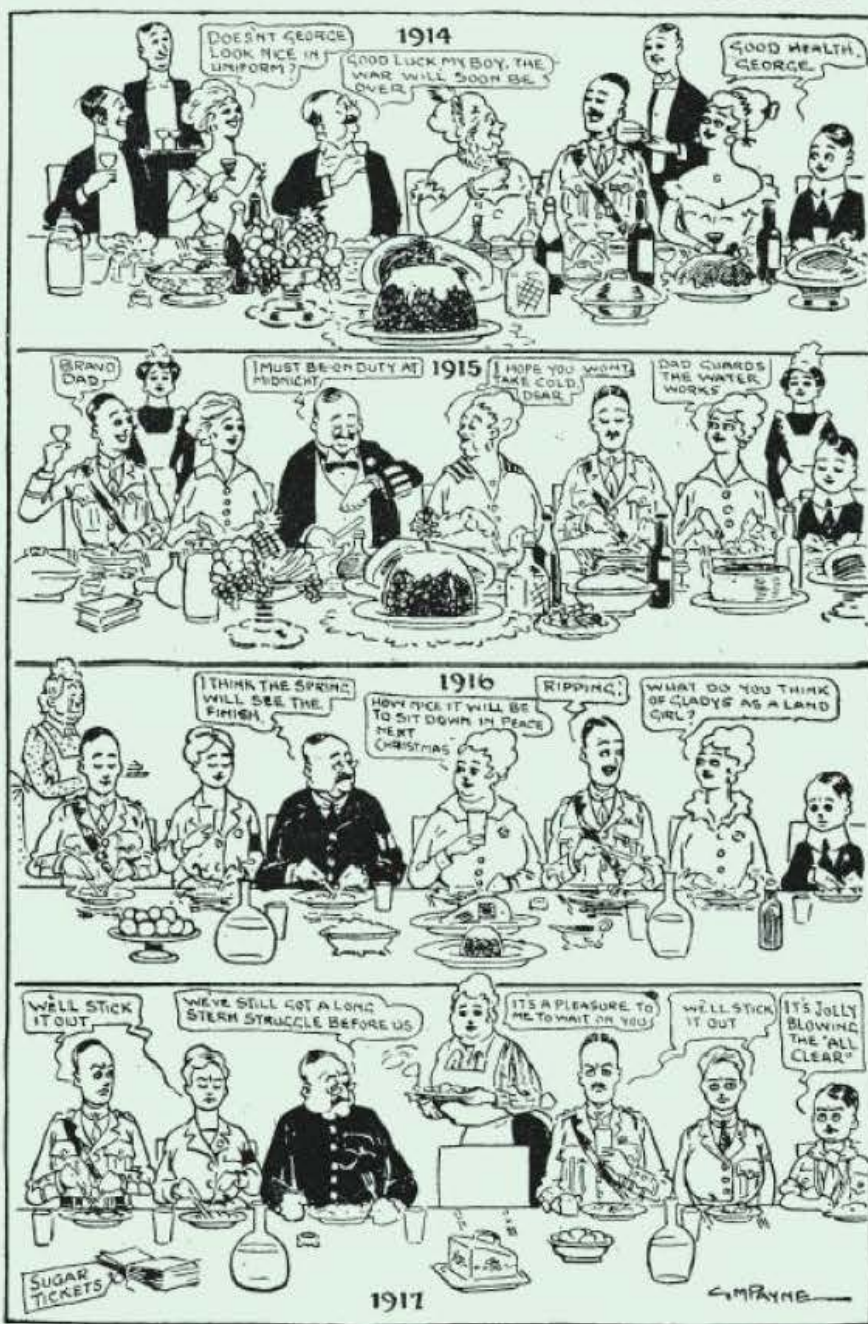
- 4 According to Source 29, how did the war affect pensioners?
- 5 Does this source help to explain why rationing was introduced in 1918?

PROMPT 6

Make some notes for your presentation about how shortages and rationing affected life in Britain during the First World War.

SOURCE 30

THE BROWN FAMILY'S FOUR WAR CHRISTMASSES.



'The Brown Family's Four War Christmasmas' – a cartoon from 1917.

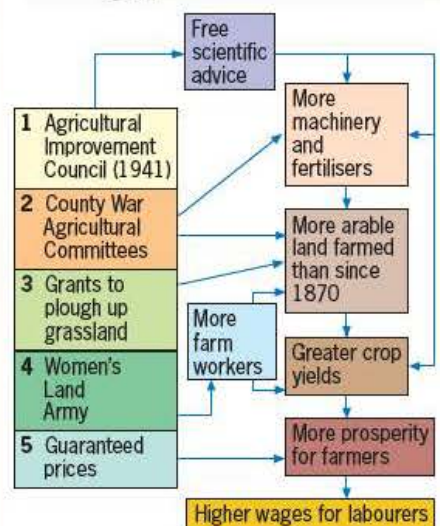
Activity

Between 1914 and 1918 the war reached into every corner of people's lives. Family members were killed. Food was rationed. Freedom was restricted. Civilians faced danger. Source 30 shows one cartoonist's view of the impact of the war on a British family.

- 1 Write a detailed description of what each frame shows. Emphasise anything that has changed since the last frame.
- 2 From what you have found out about life on the Home Front, explain why these changes have taken place.

- 3 Write a phrase to sum up the family's attitude to the war in each year. You could choose from the following phrases or write your own: Grim determination, War enthusiasm, Let's get organised, Hard times.
- 4 Do you think this cartoon is an accurate representation of the attitudes of British people during the war? Explain your answer fully.
- 5 Based on what you have read on pages 288–89, write a description or draw a picture of what the cartoonist might have drawn at the end of 1918.

SOURCE 31



Government help for farmers.

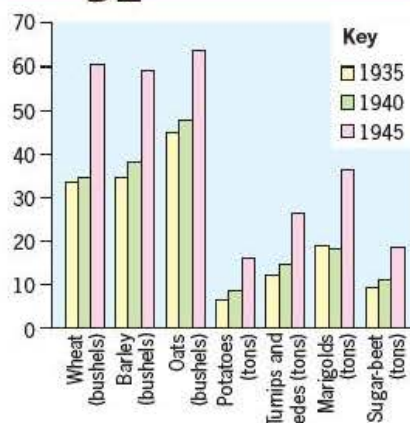
U-boats and rationing: Feeding the country in the Second World War

Food production

In the First World War, German U-boats tried to cut off Britain's food supplies. In 1917 Britain came within days of running out of food. With this in mind, the government had plans for increased food production from the beginning of the war. It was just as well. The U-boat campaigns against Britain in the Second World War were also very effective (see page 333).

The more food that could be home-grown, the more space there was in merchant ships for vital war supplies. Throughout the war, the government encouraged people to grow vegetables, and to keep chickens and pigs. Private gardens were also turned over to vegetables. Even window boxes were used to grow lettuces. Playing fields, railway embankments and the grounds of major public buildings were ploughed up. Golf clubs had to plant wheat on their fairways! The number of tractors in use quadrupled during the war. Avoiding waste was essential. Boy scouts and girl guides collected scraps for pigs. Source 31 gives some idea of the measures taken and their success, but even at its most successful Britain only grew 80 per cent of the food it needed.

SOURCE 32



Note: 1 bushel = 8 gallons (36.4 litres)

Increased yields of food, 1935–45.

SOURCE 33



People working on allotments in the moat of the Tower of London.

SOURCE 34



A wartime advertisement for soap. It was common for advertisements to contain useful information like this.

SOURCE 35



'We want your Kitchen Waste': during the war, more than 6,900 pig clubs were formed. The government took a share of the pig when it was slaughtered, but the pig keeper kept the rest.

SOURCE 36











Utility clothing.

Rationing and shortages

Much of this good work would have been wasted without rationing. Under Lord Woolton, the Ministry of Food worked out fair rations, gave advice on recipes and looked after the health of the nation. 'Potato Pete' and 'Doctor Carrot' advised on healthy and tasty recipes. Rationing soon went beyond food. Almost every other essential article could only be bought with coupons. In other words, even if you had the money to buy something, you couldn't unless you had the coupons to do so. It was a tremendous force for equality in society, as rich and poor were treated the same. Even the royal family had their own ration books. Since wages rose during the war and prices were controlled, many of Britain's poor got their first glimpse of a better standard of living. For these people, their diet and health actually improved. They were also able to rely on the quality of clothes or other goods, as long as they had the government's utility mark (see Source 36).

SOURCE 37

	Meat	1 shilling to two shillings and a pennyworth		Tea	2oz–4oz
	Bacon	4oz–8oz		Sugar	8oz–16oz + 2 lbs for jam-making
	Cheese	1oz–8oz		Sweets	3oz–4oz (including chocolate)
	Fat	1oz–8oz		Dried milk	1 tin
	Eggs	1–2		Dried eggs	8th of a packet

The weekly ration allowed during the war per adult. Rations of particular foods changed from month to month depending on the supplies available.

SOURCE 38



'Dig for Victory'. This campaign was launched in 1939. By the middle of the war there were 1.4 million allotments in Britain, mostly converted from private gardens or parks.

PROMPT 7

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways in which shortages and rationing affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- similar to
 - different from
- the impact of the First World War?

The effects of rationing and shortages were different in different areas, and even for different families. Very large families with a large number of ration books did not suffer from shortages in the same way as smaller families or families with no children. In rural areas, vegetables were usually relatively easy to come by.

In Northern Ireland, bacon and pork were not rationed. Northern Ireland had enough milk to ship 77,000 litres every day to mainland Britain during the winter of 1940. The abundance of food was one of several reasons why such large numbers of US troops were stationed there from 1942. Some foods were in short supply, however, particularly sugar, tea and fruit from overseas.

Fuel was always desperately short. This affected people in the country more than the towns. Milk roundsmen went back to the horse and cart. Most people walked or cycled. Some people who owned cars never used them for the entire war because it was so hard to get petrol.

Luxury foods and goods such as chocolate and perfume were scarce. Goods such as whisky and tobacco were heavily taxed. Although the government did not like to admit it, there was a flourishing black market. This grew considerably when US troops arrived in Britain bringing these goods with them.

SOURCE 39

A month after rationing began, meat was added, and of all the wielders of power, the butcher became paramount ... For the lucky few that he chose to favour, an unknown 'something' in a plain wrapper was surreptitiously slipped into the shopping basket, and not until the customer was well clear of the prying eyes of the queue was the content examined, and oh, the triumph if it was liver!

From *Talking About the War* by Anne Valery, written in 1991.

SOURCE 40



A house in Hartlepool wrecked by a shell in the raid of 16 December 1914.

SOURCE 41



A British recruitment poster from 1914.

- 1 Does Source 42 reveal anything about whether Hartlepool was expecting a raid?
- 2 Why do you think Source 40 was created?
- 3 Is Source 40 or 41 more useful to a historian trying to assess the scale of the damage done by the raids? Explain your answer.
- 4 What was the purpose of Source 41?

PROMPT 8

Use the information and sources in this section to make notes about how the threat of invasion and attack affected the lives of British people in the First World War.

Home defence: The threat of attack or invasion in the First World War

When war broke out in 1914 there was an initial concern about the threat of an invasion. The Committee of Imperial Defence had been set up in 1904 to plan against a possible invasion, and these plans were now brought out for consideration. Within a short time, however, it was clear that there was little or no chance of Britain being invaded. On the other hand, this did not mean that Britain was not threatened. Its seaports, harbours and vital shipyards were all potential targets for German naval ships or submarines. On the west coast, for example, the Napoleonic era (early 1800s) fort of Perch Rock in New Brighton was armed to protect the approaches to Liverpool and Birkenhead.

The main threat to the British mainland was not from invasion but from attack by sea or air. The Royal Navy was the largest and most powerful navy in the world, but even it could not protect every mile of Britain's coastline. The most vulnerable areas were on the east coast. Fast German warships like the *Blücher* could slip out of their ports at night or in fog and select a target on a coastline of 600 miles and then flee before the Royal Navy could locate them.

This is exactly what happened on 3 November 1914. Eight German cruisers opened fire on the town of Yarmouth. They were too far away to fire accurately and the town was untouched. People even came down to the quay to watch! Five weeks later, a much more serious raid was launched against Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool on the north east coast. The raid caused heavy casualties, a great deal of damage and also led to widespread panic that a German invasion would soon follow. Sources 40, 42 and 43 give some sense of the shock which this raid caused.

SOURCE 42

I was still eating when a terrific explosion rocked the house. We had two shore batteries sited nearby and during normal firing practice we received prior warning to open our windows to avoid the glass being shattered by the guns' blast. This was no normal firing practice, for following the inferno of noise there came a reek of high explosive. I didn't know what had happened so I rushed outside. Clouds of brick dust and smoke eddied around me before I ran towards the promenade, which was only fifty yards away. On the seafront, half left, were three huge grey German ships, blazing away, and in the dull light of a winter's morning it was like looking into a furnace. At first I didn't understand the screeching noise that passed over my head, and then I realised they were shells.

William Roberts describing the raid on Hartlepool, 16 December 1914.

SOURCE 43

I wondered if the Germans were going to land, so I turned away and retraced my steps to my home in Rowell Street and turned left towards the Baptist chapel. A great hole appeared in its stone facade as I approached it, yet I had no feeling of panic whatsoever. Just as I turned the corner into Lumley Street, I saw the body of Sammy Woods, aged nineteen, a school and Sunday school friend of mine; he was lying half in and half out of his doorway, dead of course. He had been caught by a shell that had fallen to my left, into the rectory that belonged to St Hilda's Church. A shell had burst just as he stepped out, a second before I turned the corner.

Norman Collins describing the raid on Hartlepool, 16 December 1914.

The final death toll was 137 dead and 592 wounded. At first the authorities claimed the death toll was much lower and tried to play down the attack, but this upset those who had been affected by it. There was some criticism of the Royal Navy for not preventing the raid as well. However, the main consequence of the raid was outrage against the Germans, providing a propaganda gift for the British government and media. As a result of the raid the Royal Navy changed its tactics to protect the east coast. There were no more naval raids on British soil, but the same areas (and others) were attacked by air later in the war (see page 296).

Home defence: The threat of attack or invasion in the Second World War

Invasion was not really a major threat during the First World War, but it seemed to be a much more serious threat in the Second World War. Civilians were put in no doubt that an invasion was a possibility. The government produced leaflets containing detailed information (see Source 44).

Activity

Study Source 44 carefully. Then, working in pairs use your own copy of the table below to decide how useful Source 44 is to a historian trying to answer questions like these. Mark on a scale of 1–10 where 10 is extremely useful.

SOURCE 44

Issued by the Ministry of Information  In co-operation with the War Office and the Ministry of Home Security.

If the INVADER comes

WHAT TO DO — AND HOW TO DO IT

I

THE German threat to invade Great Britain. If they do so they will be driven out by our Navy, our Army and our Air Force. Yet the ordinary men and women of the civilian population will also have their part to play. Hitler's invasions of Poland, Holland and Belgium were greatly helped by the fact that the civilian population was taken by surprise. They did not know what to do when the national crisis came. You must not be taken by surprise. This leaflet tells you what general line you should take. More detailed instructions will be given you when the danger comes nearer. Meanwhile, read these instructions carefully and be prepared to carry them out.

When Holland and Belgium were invaded, the civilian population fled from their homes. They crowded on the roads, in cars, in cars, on bicycles and on foot, and so helped the enemy by preventing their own armies from advancing against the invaders. You must not allow that to happen here. You have only one chance, it is —

(a) IF THE GERMANS COME, BY PARACHUTE, AIRBORNE OR SHIP, YOU MUST REMAIN WHERE YOU ARE. THE ORDER IS "STAY PUT".

If the Commander in Chief decides that the place where you live must be evacuated, he will tell you when and how to leave. Until you receive such orders you must remain where you are. If you run away, you will be exposed to the greater danger because you will be machine-gunned from the air as were civilians in Holland and Belgium, and you will also block the roads by which our own armies will advance to meet the Germans.

II

There is another method which the Germans adopt in their invasion. They make use of the civilian population in order to create confusion and panic. They spread false rumours and issue false instructions. In order to prevent this, you should obey the second rule, which is as follows:—

(a) DO NOT BELIEVE RUMOURS AND DO NOT SPREAD THEM. WHEN YOU RECEIVE AN ORDER, MAKE QUITE SURE THAT IT IS A TRUE ORDER AND NOT A FAKED ORDER. MOST OF YOU KNOW YOUR POLICEMEN AND YOUR A.R.P. WARDENS BY SIGHT. YOU CAN TRUST THEM. IF YOU KEEP YOUR HEADS, YOU CAN ALSO TELL WHETHER A MILITARY OFFICER IS REALLY BRITISH OR ONLY PRETENDING TO BE SO. IF IN DOUBT ASK THE POLICEMAN OR THE A.R.P. WARDEN. USE YOUR COMMON SENSE.

A government notice instructing people what to do in the event of an invasion.

Questions	Useful? (Mark out of 10)	Reason for mark
What actions did the government take to prepare for invasion?		
Did the government want people to be prepared for an invasion?		
What did the government want people to do if there was an invasion?		
Did the government learn lessons from the early stages of the war in Europe?		
What kind of tone and approach did the government use in its information leaflets?		
Did government advice seem sensible?		
Was the government concerned about rumours?		
Did the government really think there would be an invasion?		

Activity

Go back to your work from the Activity on page 293.

- 1 Which questions from that Activity could be answered by Sources 48 and/or 49?
- 2 Do you think Sources 48–49 are more useful than Source 44 for answering these questions?
- 3 What questions could Sources 48–49 help to investigate which Source 44 cannot help with?
- 4 Study all the sources in this section. Select the four sources which you think are most useful for tackling the question of whether the government really thought there would be an invasion. Explain your choices.

SOURCE 45



Barbed wire on the beaches of Kent in 1940.

SOURCE 46



Road signs being dismantled in 1939.

SOURCE 47

All the outings were always in the park. In those days you didn't go down to the coast, when the war was on, as it was all barbed wire.

Francis Scott, interviewed in the 1990s. Francis grew up in the North East during the war.

SOURCE 48

SECRET

INSTRUCTIONS TO BE GIVEN TO THE PUBLIC THROUGH THE BBC ON 'ACTION STATIONS'. This is a message for everyone who lives or works in London or may find himself there in the near future. By London is meant the Metropolitan Police District or the City of London.

If invasion comes, London itself might be attacked, perhaps quite suddenly, by air-borne troops landing on open spaces in or near London. If this should happen it might be necessary for a short time to stop all vehicles over a wide area in order that the Military Command, after getting some idea of how the attack was likely to develop, might have the roads clear to deal with it. The signal for this traffic stop will be the sirens, which will sound their steady note for five minutes, instead of for one minute as they do for the 'All Clear'. On this signal all vehicles must stop, except civil defence and public utility vehicles on vitally urgent service. These must be ready to obey whatever orders the police give.

If you hear this signal when you are driving a vehicle you must drive up on to the pavement, or, if there is no pavement, to the edge of the road, and wait until the police tell you what to do. Stay with your car or as near as you can with safety. Do not immobilise it unless told to do so.

Buses and trains will stop as soon as they get to the nearest collecting point, where they will await orders. Trains will go on running.

Pedestrians and cyclists need not stop, but should go on to their destinations. Passengers by train who have reached their stations and passengers by bus whose buses have stopped should also go on to their destinations. If they cannot do this, they should ask permission to wait in a house or other building nearby – and in any case they should not wait in crowds at stations or bus stops.

If you are at home or at work, stay there; obey the 'Stand firm' orders.

Information to be broadcast by the BBC if German forces landed in London.

SOURCE 49

The Chiefs of Staff consider that the Germans could not mount a full scale invasion without giving a number of indications of their final preparations. Starting from the position at the present moment, they think we shall obtain these indications during a period of about two or three weeks prior to the earliest date at which the expeditions could be launched. It must be emphasised, however, that the fact that all preparations have been made does not necessarily signify that invasion will be launched immediately, or even at all. It might be kept mounted for a considerable period, during which it could start at any time and at a few hours' notice. We cannot be sure of getting information of the start of the expeditions.

The Chiefs of Staff are anxious that a voluntary flow of evacuation from the coastal areas should begin from about the 1 April, as weather conditions after this are favourable for invasion. They recommend that the public should have been made 'invasion conscious' by this date and that they should also be made to realise that the danger period for invasion may well last throughout the summer months.

... Invasion, when and if it comes, may be launched suddenly, once the final preparations have been made. The public must therefore clearly understand that no last minute evacuation will be possible. The motto from the 1 April should be 'Go now or stay put'.

British government plans relating to a possible invasion, March 1941.

- 1 What is the main issue being raised in this extract (Source 50)?
- 2 What is being done about the issue?
- 3 How can you tell from this source that the British government was very concerned about the situation?
- 4 What inferences can you make about what the government thought of the Home Guard?

Activity

If you have never seen the TV series *Dad's Army*, research it on the internet and prepare a short presentation which contains:

- one or two slides explaining the series and its popularity
- the impression it gave of the Home Guard
- one or two slides which contain sources which support this view
- some slides with sources or information which challenge this view.

EXTENSION

Discuss this question:

Is it more important that TV programmes are historically accurate, or is it more important that people are well informed about history so that they know when TV programmes are not accurate (and the reasons why)?

PROMPT 9

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways the threat of invasion affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- a) similar to
 - b) different from
- the impact of the First World War?

SOURCE 51



Home Guard troops training to stop enemy tanks in 1941.

There were carefully worked out plans for stopping the invader, or slowing them down if they did invade. Britain's coastlines were patrolled and fortified. Many of the likely landing points were reinforced with barbed wire and tank traps (huge metal or concrete obstacles which tanks could not push aside or crush). The beaches were mined and fortifications established inland. In many rural areas today you can see pill boxes — concrete mini-forts designed to slow up an enemy advance.

The Home Guard

The government was particularly concerned about German paratroopers, who had proved extremely effective in the campaigns of 1939 and 1940 by landing behind enemy lines and disrupting communications, for example by wrecking bridges and railway lines. To support the regular forces the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, called for volunteers in May 1940 to join the LDV (Local Defence Volunteers), later known as the Home Guard. Recruits could be aged anywhere between seventeen and 75, as long as they were able bodied. Around 250,000 joined up in the first week. According to the Home Guard Handbook, their main duties were: guarding important points; prompt and precise observation and recording of enemy actions; immediate attack against small, lightly armed enemy parties; and the defence of vital roads, villages, factories and important points in town, to block enemy movements. In reality, the Home Guard never did have to fight an invader but they did help in important areas like civil defence, supporting anti-aircraft units and clearing up after air raids.

SOURCE 50

There had been a good deal of criticism in the press and among MPs over the lack of organisation and discipline among the LDVs. It was no doubt difficult to reach a very high standard with men who were part time. On the other hand the LDVs were now 500,000 strong and most of them were very keen. The Secretary of State for War said that the LDVs were at the moment largely a 'broomstick' Army. Rifles were being provided for them as quickly as possible. We had a supply of rifles which had been kept in store since the last war and which were now being reconditioned. Another 500,000 rifles were being imported from the United States.

Extracts from the minutes of a meeting of the British Cabinet in July 1940.

The TV series *Dad's Army* which ran from 1961 until 1977 has given the Home Guard a comical reputation. In fact, many of the Home Guard members were former soldiers from the First World War. Many were also fit, mature men rather than the young boys and old men shown in the comedy series. They were often men with reserved occupations. This meant they were exempt from joining up because they had jobs or specialist skills which were better used at home (a good example would be an aircraft designer, who would be more useful in a factory than as a soldier). Within a relatively short time it was as well equipped and trained as a part-time force could be. The Home Guard was given the responsibility of guarding the royal family at Buckingham Palace on a number of occasions. There were even Special Forces Units within the Home Guard (Source 52). These turned out to be rather more efficient than anticipated. In one exercise, working against full-time soldiers, they brought the town of Tiverton to a halt by cutting telephone lines and other acts for which they had been trained! By the end of the war over 1 million men belonged to the Home Guard.

SOURCE 52

Francis Stott: We were in the HG for about twelve months before we were asked to join this auxiliary unit ... We had to sign the Official Secrets Act and none of our families knew what we were doing.

John Sealey: We were to be a resistance movement to work behind enemy lines when the Germans invaded. We were trained in sabotage and how to use explosives ...

Francis Stott: Nobody knew anything about what we were doing, not even the other units.

Francis Stott and John Healey belonged to the LDV special units in the South West of England.

Air raids in the First World War

When war broke out in 1914 there was relatively little concern about the danger of air raids. This attitude soon changed when a German airship, or Zeppelin, dropped bombs on the Belgian city of Antwerp towards the end of August 1914. Under the Defence of the Realm Act the government began to enforce protective measures such as the blackout.

SOURCE 53

The Order under the Defence of the Realm Act, which regulates sky signs and other of the brighter illuminations in London with a view of guarding against hostile aircraft, has been extended to the rest of the country, and in Manchester we are preparing to lower such of our lights as offend against it. At the central station an edict is published requiring the blinds in all railway carriages to be drawn between dusk and daylight.

Passengers on one or two of the railway lines serving Manchester were surprised on Monday night to find all the window blinds of their trains drawn down. Questions were met with the information that it was due to 'government orders'. In one train, a passenger who ventured to flout these orders by releasing the blinds shortly after the train left the station was promptly taken to task by a military officer in the same compartment, who, with dire threats of what would happen if the offence were repeated, again drew the blinds.

An extract from the Guardian newspaper, 4 November 1914.

- 1 Were the authorities aware of the danger of enemy aircraft from an early stage in the war? Explain your answer.
- 2 Is Source 54 a useful source for finding out about the impact of Zeppelin raids?

SOURCE 54



A photograph showing the effects of a Zeppelin raid on Hull in June 1915.

The first Zeppelin raid was on 15 January 1915 when Zeppelins L3 and L4 attacked Great Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolk. They dropped incendiary (fire) bombs and explosives, killing nine people and damaging some buildings. Further raids continued through 1915 and 1916, a total of 52 raids in all which killed more than 500 people. The government brought in a range of measures to combat the new menace. Eight Warning Control Centres were built in major cities to receive reports on Zeppelin movements. A string of searchlight stations were built along the whole of the east coast and in many towns and cities. These were supported by anti-aircraft guns. Over 17,000 men were involved in anti-aircraft duties of one kind or another. Most historians think that these efforts were out of proportion to the threat the raids posed. Within a short time the Zeppelins were more often the hunted than the hunters. The British government pulled back the most up-to-date fighter planes from the front line to defend Britain from these attacks. Fighters were armed with incendiary bullets which had a devastating effect on the Zeppelins. Once air defences improved, it was clear that Zeppelins were very vulnerable. By 1918 speedy, powerful fighter planes and accurate anti-aircraft fire took a heavy toll of these giant aircraft, as these statistics show:

- 130 Zeppelins in service
- 7 lost to bad weather
- 38 lost in accidents
- 39 lost in enemy action.

SOURCE 55



A Zeppelin caught in searchlights and under fire from defences on the ground.

By the autumn of 1916 the Germans had switched their efforts to aeroplanes rather than Zeppelins. Large Gotha bombers were based in occupied Belgium and from here they launched attacks on the south east of England. In May 1917 they bombed Folkestone and in June they attacked London in broad daylight. In September 1917 the Germans developed the enormous *Riesenflugzeug* or 'Giant' bomber. These monsters were the same size as the American B-29s which dropped the atom bombs in 1945. These bombers again proved impossible to stop at first but when the latest Sopwith Camel fighters were deployed against them they began to suffer losses. They switched to night attacks which proved successful at first but by early 1918 anti-aircraft guns were becoming increasingly powerful and accurate and the government had created a 50-mile barricade of barrage balloons which severely restricted the movements of the bombers.

In many ways the psychological impact of the air raids was greater than the actual damage they caused. Zeppelins arrived silently and without warning and there was no system of shelters or of early warning. In fact there was not even an agreed siren sound as there was in the Second World War. Above all, this was the first time that civilians had been targeted from the air and had very much become part of the war. There were relatively few Zeppelin raids and yet thousands of people claimed to have been affected by them, which again provides some indication of their psychological impact. The situation was probably made worse by hysterical reports in the newspapers. The papers were anxious to portray the Germans as murdering savages, and they were also struggling to write interesting articles about the Western Front because of the restrictions on them. As a result, they probably unintentionally added to the panic which air raids created. It is no coincidence that the government put a great deal of effort into issuing information and instructions which were designed to calm fears and also stop unnecessary panics, often caused by people thinking British aircraft were German raiders. German raids on Britain caused 1,413 deaths and 3,409 injuries. Obviously all deaths and injuries were serious and so was the destruction of property, but compared to what was happening on the Western Front the bombing campaign was small scale.

- 3 Do you agree that the main impact of air raids was psychological?
- 4 Does the final paragraph of this section affect your views on how useful Source 55 was for investigating the impact of air raids?

SOURCE 56



Government information poster advising about air raids and telling British and German aircraft apart.

PROMPT 10

Use the information and sources in this section to make notes about how air raids affected the lives of British people in the First World War.

SOURCE 57

AIR RAID. 13th June, 1917.

Summary of Reports received from the Police up to 5 p.m. on 13th June 1917.

Time	Place	Boats Dropped	Casualties						Damage
			Killed			Injured			
			Boys	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children
about 10.30 a.m.	Canary Wharf	4	-	-	-	0	1	0	Flight to about 100 houses - chiefly glass. Telephone wires.
11.15 a.m.	Canary Wharf	4	-	-	-	1	1	0	Glass (100).
	Canary Wharf	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	G.I.
	Canary Wharf	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	G.I.
11.40 - 11.45 a.m.	City	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	1000 pounds in cash. 1000 pounds in gold. 1000 pounds in silver. 1000 pounds in copper. 1000 pounds in tin. 1000 pounds in iron. 1000 pounds in steel. 1000 pounds in wood. 1000 pounds in paper. 1000 pounds in cloth. 1000 pounds in food. 1000 pounds in drink. 1000 pounds in fuel. 1000 pounds in other goods.
	Canary Wharf	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	Particulars of damage in City to follow.
Total		22	2	0	0	1	1	0	

NOTES:

Casualties below approximately equal, but actual figures may be following in the course of the day. (1000 pounds in gold, 1000 pounds in silver, 1000 pounds in copper, 1000 pounds in tin, 1000 pounds in iron, 1000 pounds in steel, 1000 pounds in wood, 1000 pounds in paper, 1000 pounds in cloth, 1000 pounds in food, 1000 pounds in drink, 1000 pounds in fuel, 1000 pounds in other goods.)

(10) 1000-1000 1000 1000 1000 1000

Report of casualties from an air raid on London, 13 June 1917. The figures were provisional, and the final toll was 162 dead and 426 injured.

SOURCE 58



A wartime poster: 'Britain shall not burn'.

Air raids and precautions in the Second World War

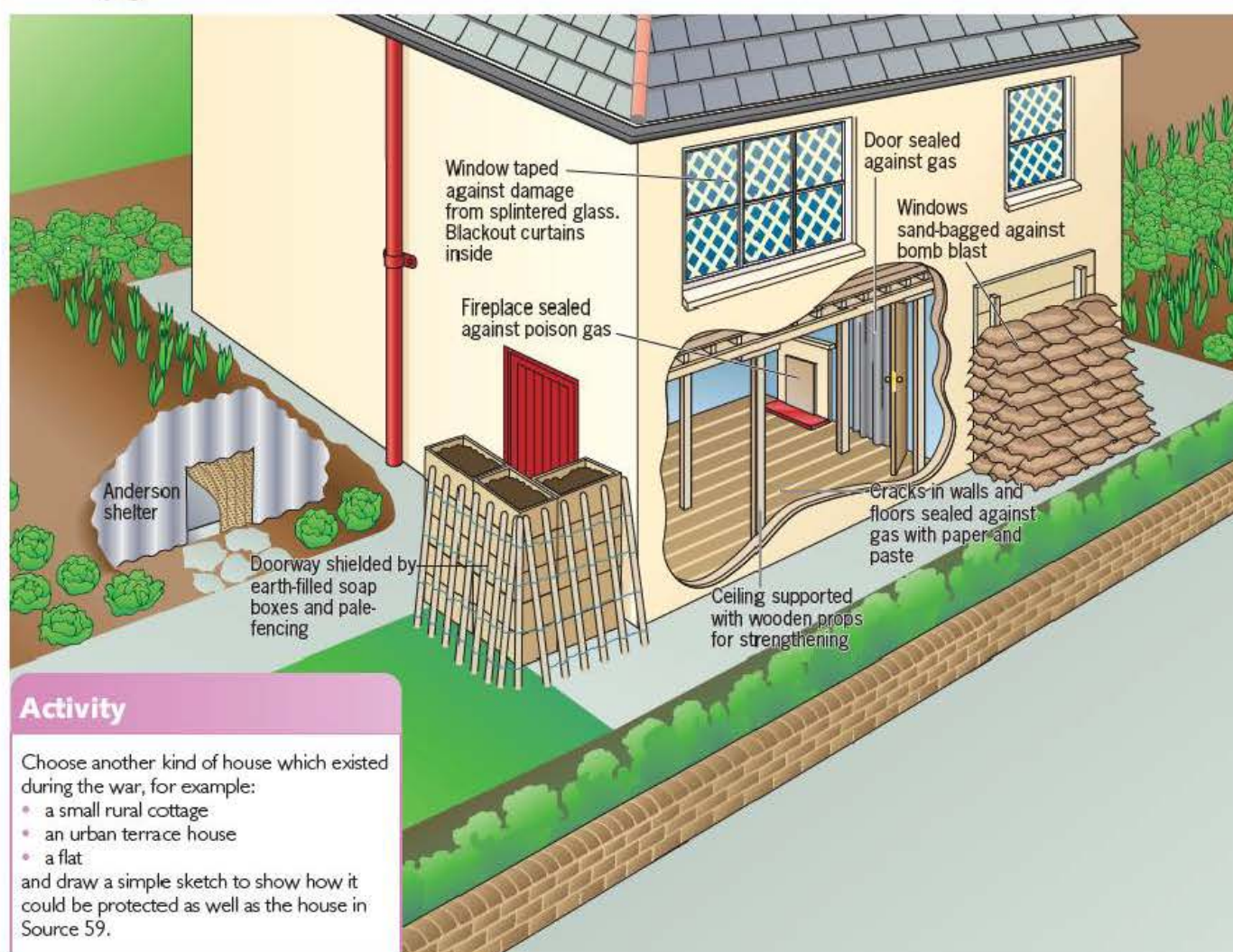
Apart from invasion, the greatest threat to British people in the Second World War was the air raid. The early fears were as much of poison gas attacks as explosive bombs. Almost from day one of the war, civilians were issued with gas masks and instructions on how to use them. About 1.5 million volunteers worked in various civil defence agencies.

ARP wardens

Governments had been considering the threat since the 1920s. In 1924 a new organisation, Air Raid Precaution, was set up. By 1939 it had about 500,000 members. The ARP wardens supervised the blackout. Householders had to make sure no light was visible from their windows after dark and ARP wardens could fine people for showing a light. They also organised patrols during raids to check for incendiary bombs (firebombs). ARP wardens often organised teams of local people, with buckets of sand, to fire-watch for these bombs during raids. Factories and large buildings were especially vulnerable.

The government produced a great deal of advice about air raids. Source 59 gives an idea of how the ideal wartime household might look.

SOURCE 59



Activity

Choose another kind of house which existed during the war, for example:

- a small rural cottage
- an urban terrace house
- a flat

and draw a simple sketch to show how it could be protected as well as the house in Source 59.

A wartime house well prepared for air raids.

- 1 As a general rule, people in Britain resented ARP wardens, but they did not resent rationing. Why do you think this was?

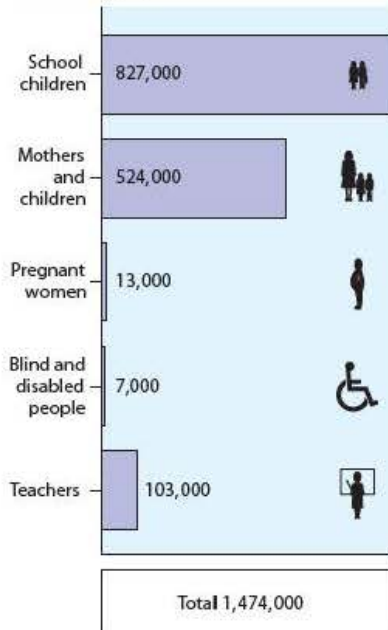
SOURCE 60

Thursday, 7 September 1939

During the week we were called up by the air-raid warden, who found our black-out insufficient, and still more curtains had to be made . . . A very definite black-out was obtained at the bay windows by covering the whole bay . . . with a great black pall . . . The lack of ventilation was stifling in hot weather, but it is wonderful how one can conform to an order when it is absolutely necessary to do so.

From Mrs Milburn's Diaries.

SOURCE 61



Numbers of evacuees September 1939.

PROMPT 11

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways in which the **threat** of air raids affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- similar to
- different from the impact of the First World War?

Shelters

A major problem was the provision of effective air-raid shelters. The government had provided some public shelters, but not enough of them. Part of the problem was that the government most feared high-explosive bombs and gas attacks (nobody realised that the most destructive weapon would be the incendiary bomb). The government was against deep shelters because of the risk if the shelters were hit. It also feared that the population would simply hide in them and not get on with the war effort. Critics also pointed out that deep shelters were costly, and that the main people to benefit would be the poor in the densely packed areas of the cities (who would not have contributed as much as others to the cost).

Two million Anderson shelters (see Source 59) were provided, along with a government grant to encourage people to build them. The Anderson shelters undoubtedly saved thousands of lives by protecting people from shrapnel and flying glass. However, they had serious weaknesses and were not much protection from falling masonry. In 1939 Stepney Councillor Phil Piratin set up an Anderson shelter outside the War Department in London and got a boxer to punch a hole in the shelter to make his point.

Many poorer people had no gardens in which to build Anderson shelters. The government provided 500,000 Morrison shelters from 1941. These could be set up indoors, usually under the stairs.

Blackout

Another feature of the air defence measures was the blackout. Homes had to black out, but so did shops, businesses and even trains and cars. The number of road accidents doubled in September 1939, but in time people got used to operating in the blackout.

Evacuation

Another key element in trying to protect people from air raids was evacuation. As soon as war was declared in September 1939, around 1.5 million people, mainly school children, were moved from areas at high risk of bombing: big cities, industrial areas, ports and villages and towns near to airfields. There were no air raids during the first six months of the war and so many evacuees returned home. But once the Blitz started in 1940 there was a new wave of evacuation and then again in 1944 when Germany was using V-1 flying bombs and V-2 missiles to bomb Britain. The evacuation programme was well planned but there were lots of problems, as you would expect with such a huge migration.

SOURCE 62



Kerbs, trees and even cows were painted so that drivers and pedestrians could see them in the blackout!

Effects of evacuation

Evacuation saved many lives, but it had other important effects. It freed up many mothers to take on vital war work. On a personal level, evacuation had a huge impact on many of the children who were evacuated. Some of these experiences were positive and others were negative. One of the most powerful ways in which evacuation affected children was the shock they felt when they came home. Some had been away for six years and felt they had less in common with their home families than they did with the families who had been looking after them. Others were glad to return home but the experience of evacuation left them with psychological scars which lasted for the rest of their lives.

Factfile

Bombing

- Bombing was supposedly targeted at military or industrial targets. Civilian areas were often hit by accident. However, there was also terror bombing of civilian populations by both sides.
- German bombers used three main types of bombs: high explosives (HE), parachute mines and incendiaries.
- High-explosive bombs exploded on impact or more usually with a timed fuse.
- Parachute mines floated down by parachute. Designed to tear apart concrete and steel buildings (e.g. workshops), they caused great destruction. The government did not acknowledge that they existed until 1944.
- Incendiary bombs were a bit like fireworks. They were dropped in huge numbers to start fires.

- 1 Write your own definition of 'Blitz'.
- 2 Why did politicians think civilians would give in under attack? Do you think this was a case of lack of experience or lack of respect for their own people?

SOURCE 64

	Killed	Injured
Aug 1940	37	73
Sept	221	357
Oct	106	90
Nov	305	192
Dec	412	382
Jan 1941	43	23
Feb	2	7
Mar	101	99
Apr	36	105
May	1453	1065

Casualties in Liverpool, 1940–41.

The city's port, docks and warehouses made it an obvious target for bombs. The nearby chemical factories in Widnes and Runcorn were also attacked.

- 3 Do the raids appear to have been against civilian or military targets?
- 4 Why is it difficult to answer question 3?
- 5 Why do you think that so many newspapers used Source 68 when covering the London Blitz?

The Blitz in the Second World War

What was the Blitz?

All of the air raid precautions you studied on the previous pages were designed to protect people from what became known as the Blitz. 'Blitz' means a heavy bombing attack from the air. (The word is a shortened form of the German *Blitzkrieg* – lightning war.) Sometimes people use the word specifically to describe the German air raids on London in 1940, but many other British cities were also blitzed. Even after Hitler had called off his invasion plans, he still thought that Britain could be bombed into submission.

SOURCE 63

7 Oct 1940

We must continue to attack England on all fronts.

11 Oct 1940

We shall be able to force England to her knees during the next few weeks.

12 Oct 1940

Horrific reports from London. A metropolis on the slide. An international drama without parallel, but we must see it through.

23 Oct 1940

We shall battle on remorselessly to destroy their last hope.

1 Nov 1940

The Führer intends to keep hammering the English until they break.

5 Dec 1940

Things must continue until England falls to her knees and begs for peace.

Extracts from the diary of Joseph Goebbels, one of the most senior Nazis.

In fact, this view was widely held by most politicians. It was thought that civilian populations would not be able to withstand the onslaught of aerial attack and would demand peace. Britain's major cities suffered heavy bombing from the autumn of 1940 to May 1941. Military and industrial centres were usually the targets, but all too often civilians were the victims. As it turned out, theories about civilian bombing proved to be completely wrong in both Britain and Germany. If anything, bombing seemed to increase determination to resist.

The Blitz began on 7 September 1940, with a large raid on London. London suffered far more attacks than any other city. The bombers returned every night until 2 November, and then occasional raids hit London up to June 1941. The target for the first raids was the East End, with its docks and factories. This was also a densely populated area. As the Blitz went on, the rest of London was hit, including Buckingham Palace and St Paul's Cathedral.

London was not the only target. Towns in the south – Bristol, Southampton, Portsmouth – were attacked because of their dockyards. Coventry was devastated in November 1940 and other targets in the midlands were hit. The north-west, and Manchester in particular, was attacked in December 1940. Liverpool was attacked regularly and in May 1941 suffered the biggest single raid on a mainland city. Belfast was also hit, with shattering consequences, in 1941.

The impact of the Blitz

The impact of the Blitz should not be underestimated. In the Blitz, Britain suffered more civilian than military casualties. In each week of September 1940, 40,000 to 50,000 people lost their homes. In November, 4,500 people were killed and thousands more injured. In London alone, 12,500 died in December. In Liverpool the biggest raid, on 3 May 1941, involved 500 bombers. Fires burnt out of control because water mains were hit. The city lost some of its finest buildings. A freighter, the SS *Malakand*, carrying 1,000 tons of explosives, received a direct hit and the noise was heard over 30 km away. The docks around the ship were devastated, as were the tightly packed terraced homes of the people who lived and worked around the docks.

SOURCE 65

After a heavy raid there was the task of piecing the bodies together in preparation for burial. The stench was the worst thing about it – that, and having to realise that these frightful pieces of flesh had once been living, breathing people. It became a grim and ghastly satisfaction when a body was reconstructed – but if one was too lavish in making one body almost whole, then one would have sad gaps. There were always odd limbs which did not fit, and there were too many legs. Unless we kept a very firm grip on ourselves nausea was inevitable.

A member of a first-aid post,
14 September 1940.

SOURCE 67



The devastation after the fire-bombing of residential areas in Coventry, November 1940.

PROMPT 12

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways in which the **experience** of air raids affected life in Britain during the Second World War.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- a) similar to
- b) different from the impact of the First World War?

Activity

In most of this chapter we have tried to give the First and Second World War equal coverage. However, in the section on the threat of invasion (pages 292–95) and the section on air raids (pages 296–301) the part dealing with the Second World War is longer than the First World War. Do you think this is justified? Discuss this question as a class and then take a vote.

There were similar stories elsewhere. In September 1940 there was a firestorm in London just as devastating as those that would hit Hamburg, Dresden and other German cities in 1943–45 (see page 338). Coventry was hit by 30,000 incendiary bombs on one November night and the city centre was almost destroyed (see Source 67). People were so terrified that they fled the city each night, sleeping with relatives or in farmers' barns or just camping in open fields. Glasgow and the Clyde shipyard towns were hit hard in the spring of 1941. Belfast was devastated in April and May 1941. At least 1,000 people were killed and 150,000 made homeless. Shipbuilding took six months to recover, and German pilots observing the raid described the whole city as a sea of flame.

Other smaller towns and cities were hit in 1941–42 in the so-called Baedeker raids. (The targets were chosen by the Germans from the Baedeker tourist guide book.) The cathedral cities of Canterbury and Norwich were among those hit.

There were further air attacks in 1944–45 from the V-1 and V-2 missiles. Six thousand V-1 bombs actually reached targets in Britain, causing 20,000 casualties and considerable damage to houses (which were in short supply). The V-2 was a more fearsome weapon than the V-1. Because it was so fast, it could not be shot down or even seen. Around 500 V-2s hit London between September 1944 and March 1945, causing 9,000 casualties.

SOURCE 66



A school playground in Catford, London, hit by a bomb.

SOURCE 68



St Paul's Cathedral during the Blitz, December 1940. This is one of the most famous pictures of the war.

SOURCE 69

At this hour of England's grave peril and desperate need, I do hereby pledge myself most solemnly in the name of the King and Country to persuade every man I know to offer his services to the country, and I also pledge myself never to be seen in public with any man who, being in every way fit and free for service, has refused to respond to his country's call.

Part of the oath of the Active Service League.

SOURCE 70

[The work women are doing] . . . is not of the repetitious type, demanding little or no manipulative ability . . . it taxes the intelligence of the operatives to a high degree. Yet the work turned out has reached a high pitch of excellence.

From the trade journal the *Engineer*,
20 August 1915.

The role of women in the First World War

As soon as the war broke out in 1914, both the suffragists and the suffragettes suspended their campaigns for the vote. The suffragists, with their formidable publicity machine, worked to persuade the men of Britain to join the army. Meanwhile, Mrs Pankhurst staged a huge demonstration demanding that women be allowed to work in munitions factories. Early in August, all suffragettes were released from prison. Other women's organisations also tried to boost recruitment. The Order of the White Feather encouraged women to give white feathers to young men not in the armed forces. The white feather was a symbol of a coward. The Mothers' Union published posters urging mothers to get their sons to join up. Women members of the Active Service League took an oath to promise to encourage young men to join up (see Source 69).

From an early stage in the war, British industry began to suffer a desperate shortage of labour. By early 1916, Britain had up to 2 million workers fewer than were necessary to keep the country going.

In offices the absence of men did not pose a particular problem. Women were soon employed in place of the male clerks who joined up, and by the end of the war half a million women had replaced men in office jobs. Government departments employed a further 200,000 female clerks.

In manufacturing, however, it was a different story, at least to start with. Employers were very reluctant to take on women to fill men's jobs. They thought that women would not learn the necessary skills, and also feared trouble from the unions. In fact, the unions did resist the employment of women workers, fearing that women would be paid less and that this would be a threat to men's wages. Most unions did not even accept female members.

By 1916, the shortage of engineering workers was desperate, especially as more and more munitions and supplies, and increasing numbers of men, were needed at the front. For practical reasons, employers were persuaded to take on women workers. The government set an example to private industry by employing women almost exclusively in its own munitions factories. By the end of the war, almost 800,000 women had taken up work in engineering industries. The evidence soon showed that even with very little training they were as skilled as men.

Munitions work was tiring and dangerous. As the war went on, shifts got longer and longer. There were disastrous accidents, such as the explosion at Silvertown in the East End of London, in January 1917. In August 1916, medical reports publicised the effects on women of handling TNT explosives. These included breathing difficulties, rashes and yellowing of the skin, digestion problems, blood poisoning and even brain damage.

SOURCE 71



An official war painting of women at work in a munitions factory.

SOURCE 72



A photograph taken in a munitions factory in 1917.

SOURCE 73



Women delivering coal in 1917.

As the war took its terrible toll on the male population, more and more women stepped in to fill the gaps. A kind of revolution was taking place. Women gained access to a whole range of jobs that had previously been the preserve of men. They worked as bus conductors, postal workers and farm labourers, and delivered coal. Some 1.6 million extra women workers took part in war work. They became grave diggers, road layers, welders, steel workers and bus drivers. There was a Women's Volunteer Police Service in most of the major cities. Some 260,000 women served in the Women's Land Army. In 1918, the first women's army unit (the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, or WAAC) was founded, although members were never involved in front-line fighting. There were women nurses in medical stations near the front line. The Salvation Army sent female volunteers as nurses, cooks and helpers to aid soldiers and civilians in France. Women even kept the factory football teams going!

Women workers came from many different backgrounds. Some married women took on their husbands' jobs, but it was mostly unmarried women who took jobs in factories. The government called on middle-class families to do without their servants; with higher wages and preferable conditions in factories, many servants did not need much persuading.

SOURCE 74

<i>Area of work</i>	<i>Women in 1914</i>	<i>Women in 1918</i>	<i>Women replacing men</i>
<i>Metals</i>	170,000	594,000	195,000
<i>Chemicals</i>	40,000	104,000	35,000
<i>Food and drink</i>	196,000	235,000	60,000
<i>Timber</i>	44,000	79,000	23,000
<i>Transport</i>	18,000	117,000	42,000
<i>Government</i>	2,000	225,000	197,000

Women at work, 1914–18.

SOURCE 75



'Palmer's Munitionettes': a women's football team made up of workers from Palmer's Shipbuilding Company.

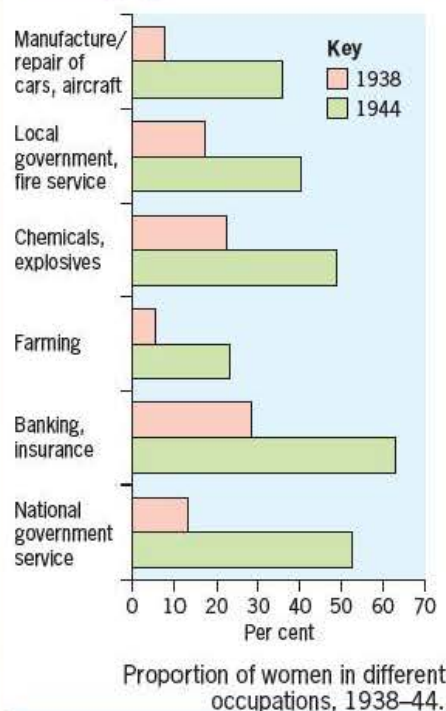
PROMPT 13

Make notes for your presentation on how the First World War affected women civilians.

How did the Second World War affect women?

In the First World War it had taken some time to mobilise the full workforce. This time as soon as war broke out the government lost little time. By the summer of 1941, over half of the working population was either employed by the government or was on government schemes related to the war effort. It was not enough, however, and in late 1941 women were conscripted.

SOURCE 76



‘Do your bit for the war effort . . .’

All women aged twenty or older had to register for war work at a labour exchange. Unless they were ill, pregnant or had small children, they were sent to work in industry or the auxiliary armed forces. By 1945 80 per cent of married women and 90 per cent of single women were either working in industry or in the forces. Some women were reported as working 80–90 hours per week on aeroplane assembly lines. There were 7.5 million women working in 1939, out of a total population of 40 million. Of these, 260,000 women were working in the munitions industry in 1944.

Women took the key role in evacuation. During the war there were 60 million changes of address registered. On the whole it was women who had to administer and cope with this enormous movement of people. It was largely women in the countryside who looked after the young evacuees.

Many became involved in the war effort in other ways, as air raid wardens, fire officers and so on. Large numbers of women joined the armed services and many served overseas. By 1943 over 443,000 women were in the auxiliary branches of the armed forces (the ATS, WAAF and WRNS). They were involved in a huge range of military activities, including anti-aircraft work (see Source 78).

The mobilisation was so vast that unlike the First World War the novelty of women working in ‘men’s jobs’ quickly wore off. Eight times as many women took on war work in the Second World War as in the First. For example, during the First World War the Women’s Land Army had employed only 33,000 women as rural labourers; in 1943, it employed around 2 million.

The trade unions accepted women workers much more readily than they had done in the previous war. The TUC campaigned to make sure that women were treated the same as men. For example, the TUC successfully complained against the fact that women were paid 25 per cent less and received lower accident compensation than men in the Rolls-Royce armament factories.

SOURCE 77



A woman making hand grenades in a munitions factory.

SOURCE 78



Women of the ATS (Auxiliary Territorial Service) on duty as anti-aircraft observers. Their job was to spot enemy aircraft and then track them, relaying information about their movements. They were often targeted by enemy aircraft.

SOURCE 79



Women's Land Army workers in 1942.

SOURCE 82



Women pilots from the Air Transport Auxiliary Service. Women pilots moved aircraft from one location to another. They were often the first to fly aircraft.

SOURCE 80

British women officers often give orders to men. The men obey smartly and know it is no shame. For British women have proved themselves in this war. They have stuck to their posts near burning ammunition dumps, delivered messages on foot after their motorcycles have been blasted from under them. They have pulled aviators from burning planes . . . There isn't a single record of any British woman in uniformed service quitting her post, or failing in her duty under fire. When you see a girl in uniform with a bit of [medal] ribbon on her tunic, remember she didn't get it for knitting more socks than anyone else in Ipswich.

A US War Department booklet for American soldiers coming to Britain in 1942.

SOURCE 81

A woman's life is at least as valuable as a man's and her physical and mental well being are just as important. We do not accept that injured women and girls should receive lower wages than men and boys at government re-training centres.

A statement by the General Council of the TUC relating to compensation for workers killed or injured.

‘. . . but still look after the children!’

One of the biggest challenges for women was juggling work and home. The majority of women had to find time to do their war work AND continue to look after their families as they had always done. Cooking, washing, cleaning, shopping and child care took up enormous amounts of time on top of their long hours at work. Government and employers began to introduce flexible working arrangements to help women workers. Women who had to juggle family and work commitments were allowed shift work and job shares. Nurseries were provided by the government and employers for married workers with babies. This was a major change, considering that before the war women had surrendered their right to work simply by getting married.

SOURCE 83



Women in London in 1942 protesting about a shortage of nursery facilities.

Activity

After the First World War, a leading British politician praised the work of British women in the war. He asked: 'How could we have carried on without them?'

Do you think this comment would have been appropriate at the end of the Second World War? Find evidence to support your view and put your case to the rest of the class in a presentation.

PROMPT 14

Make notes for your presentation about the main ways in which the Second World War affected the lives of women.

How was the impact of this aspect of the Second World War on life in Britain:

- similar to
 - different from
- the impact of the First World War?

PROMPT 15

Use the information and sources on these two pages to make notes for your presentation about attitudes to war during the First World War.

Attitudes to war: Did people support the war effort in the First World War?

In the early years of the war the government faced very little opposition to the war. Some Socialists and pacifists protested against the war but they were drowned out by the surge of patriotic feeling. George Bernard Shaw's anti-war pamphlet 'Common Sense About the War' (1914) sold 25,000 copies, but he became the target of much criticism. Ramsay MacDonald had to resign as leader of the Labour Party because he did not support the war while his party did. The headmaster of Eton – an influential figure at the time – was hounded by the press because he simply called on Britain to fight a 'Christian and moral' war. He was eventually forced to take early retirement.

It was a similar story when conscription was introduced in 1916. Fifty MPs, including Liberal leaders, voted against it. The Socialist and pacifist critics of conscription found little sympathy among the general public. Conchies were mostly treated as cowards and shirkers by the press despite considerable evidence that many of them were brave individuals. Perhaps it is not surprising that there were not many conchies. Only 16,000 out of a possible 8 million affected by conscription actually refused to enlist.

From 1914 to 1916, then, the British people were remarkably consistent in their support for the war. However, many historians argue that the Battle of the Somme was a turning point. As the battle dragged on from July to November 1916, half a million soldiers died for just a few square kilometres of gained territory.

In the weeks after the end of the battle, the government faced some serious criticisms as politicians and soldiers questioned publicly for the first time the way the war was being fought. Source 87 is an extract from a letter that Lord Lansdowne, an ex-Cabinet minister, sent to the newspapers. It was debated in Parliament a few days later.

Many people in Britain echoed his feelings. The Battle of the Somme did seem to change the mood in Britain. If you had interviewed a British person about the war in late 1916, you would probably still have found a grim determination to finish the job that had been started, but very little sense of excitement about the war.

Criticism of the war effort left its mark on the government as well. In December the Prime Minister, Asquith, stood down in favour of Lloyd George, who was one of the critics of the army leadership and who was felt to be the only man with the energy and imagination to get Britain through the mounting crisis.

Even so, criticism of the war leadership continued into 1917, as you can see from Source 89 by Siegfried Sassoon. Sassoon was a celebrated war poet. He had been an officer on the Western Front for three years, twice wounded, and decorated for his bravery. In 1917 he wrote a number of poems which accused the generals of being out of touch and incompetent. In July 1917 he went further when he wrote his 'soldier's declaration', which was read out in the House of Commons and published in the *Daily Mail* and *The Times*.

The government's response was to send Sassoon for psychiatric treatment in a hospital for victims of shell-shock. Sassoon later withdrew his criticism, putting it all down to a nervous breakdown. He returned to France to fight in 1918.

Sassoon was not a lone critic. Many Socialists had criticised the war from the very start, and unions wondered why workers could not do so as well. In fact they often called strikes. During the course of 1916, for example, 235,000 workers went on strike at various times and 2.5 million working days were lost. The engineers won big concessions from the government in May 1917. In 1918 over 900,000 workers went on strike at some stage and over 6 million working days were lost. In many cases the government simply agreed to the demands of the strikers. But Sassoon and the Socialists were in the minority. Even in 1917, when people were prepared to question the war leadership, there was still very little doubt in people's minds that the war against Germany should be pursued to a final victory.

The end of the war in November 1918 was greeted as much with relief as with a sense of triumph. People were all too well aware by then of the human and financial cost of the war in Britain and in other countries, and were desperate to rebuild their lives and their country.

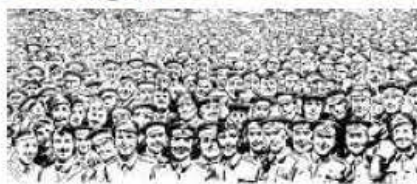
Focus Task

Did people support the war effort in the First World War?

On this page you have a selection of facts and points written by the author of this book. On the next page you have a range of sources from the First World War.

- Now imagine that only one page or the other is available to you to investigate this question. Work in pairs or small groups and study each page. Your task is to decide your views on these questions:
 - What are the strengths and weaknesses of each page?
 - Why is it difficult to say which page is more useful?
 - If you had to choose one page, which would it be and why?
 - Why are these two pages so much more useful together than separately?
- Based on both pages, do you think that the support for the war outweighed the opposition? Write up your answer to this question in three paragraphs:
 - a paragraph which sets out the evidence that support was greater than opposition
 - a paragraph showing the evidence for the opposite view
 - your overall judgement and the reasons why you reached that judgement.

SOURCE 84



DUNLOP CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE WAR—MEN.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.

One thousand, five hundred
Dunlop men have enlisted.

The rest, in shifts, are loyally
working day and night and
week-ends in order to meet the
demands created by the war.

Are you buying Dunlop Tyres?

DUNLOP RUBBER CO., LD.,

Founders of the Pneumatic Tyre

Industry throughout the World.

Adson Cross, Birmingham.

LONDON: 14, Regent St., S.W.1.

PARIS: 4, Rue du Colonel Maig.



An advertisement for the Dunlop Company
in early 1915.

SOURCE 85

In Nottingham there was a store called Penny Coben and they used to sell all bits and bobs for a penny. About four or five of us kids were in there one night, a Friday night. It would have been about seven in the evening and the lights went out because an air raid was coming, so they shouted, 'Air raid, Zeppelins, air raid.' Everybody was running around, there was a lot of commotion and all the staff in the shop got under the counters. So we were in this store looking around and of course we lifted our jerseys up and put as much under as we could, off the counter, and ran out with all this stuff into the street. As we left the shop I looked up and out of my right eye I could just see this big black cloud, a big black shape going past. I was instantly very frightened, so I ran the other way. I've always wished I'd stopped and had a good look.

Bert Smith, an eight-year-old boy in 1916, describes one air raid.

SOURCE 86

PACIFISTS ROUTED IN SOUTH WALES.

CONFERENCE BROKEN UP.

STORMING OF CORY HALL.

HOME SECRETARY'S ATTITUDE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

CARDIFF, Sunday.

The battle of Cory Hall has yielded a famous victory for practical patriotism over disloyal and renegade pacifism. It was won in fair fight by the working people of Cardiff, with, for the most part, the police — civil and military — looking on as more or less passive spectators; and Cardiff is very proud of the result. The city by one decisive stroke put to flight yesterday afternoon the peacemongers assembled together to pass resolutions antagonistic to the vital interests of their country, and at the same time vindicated its own fair fame as the great industrial and loyal capital of Wales.

An extract from an article in the Morning Post newspaper, November 1916.

SOURCE 87

We are slowly but surely killing off the best of the male population of these islands. Can we afford to go on paying the same price for the same sort of gain?

From Lord Lansdowne's letter to the press,
29 November 1917.

SOURCE 89

I believe that the war is being prolonged by those who have the power to end it. I believe that this war upon which I entered as a war of defence and liberation has now become a war of conquest and aggression. I have seen and endured the sufferings of the troops and I can no longer be a party to prolonging these sufferings for ends which I believe to be evil and unjust.

'A soldier's declaration' by Siegfried
Sassoon, July 1917.

SOURCE 88

REGULATION OF THE COAL SUPPLY

I. General view of the problem. . . .

(a) Production — *The first problem was that of maintaining production with as little diminution as possible under war conditions. Difficulties arose primarily from the enlistment of coal miners which was only in part compensated by the influx into the industry. . . .*

A third point on which difficulty was anticipated is absenteeism. Owing to the arduous character of their labour miners do not work six full days in the week. There are regular 'idle days', and in addition to these many miners absent themselves from work at irregular times. Part of the absenteeism, which before the war amounted to between ten and eleven per cent of the working days of the miners employed, is due to unavoidable causes such as accident or sickness. . . .

Absenteeism generally tends to increase when wages rise, miners taking the benefit in the form of a curtailment of work, and early in the war we found the view frequently expressed by coal owners that this would occur so that the consequence of increased wages would be a further reduction of output.

This apprehension, however, has not been borne out by the event. Appeals to the patriotism of miners have counteracted the tendency and though there is still a regrettable amount of absenteeism, there is nevertheless a reduction amounting to almost twenty per cent in the amount of absenteeism which may be taken to be avoidable. . . .

An extract from a report produced by the Mines Department, November 1916.

SOURCE 90

The presence of a common enemy must have helped Britons feel more united than ever before, but too much emphasis can be put on this. Class distinctions were certainly not totally eradicated: and, as George Orwell once noted, the hardships of rationing were 'to put it mildly, tempered for anyone with over £2000 a year'. He also noted that you could only get an important job if you talked with the right accent. Nor does the image of a united nation take account of the black market that flourished during the war or of looting or of the crime rate, which jumped in 1940 and remained high throughout the war.

Robert Pearce, *Contemporary Britain 1914–79*, published in 1996.

SOURCE 91

Imagine a typical suburban street, which had lived by the golden rule of 'keeping itself to itself', suddenly being plunged into forming warden and first aid posts, savings groups, fire watching teams, make-do-and-mend parties; and, when coal grew scarce, sharing the cooking and evening fires. No wonder that within weeks of continuous raids, communities were forged whose friendship and loyalty was so absolute that they not only survived the worst that the enemy could throw at them, but emerged with a faith in each other that was as unexpected as it was inspiring.

From *Talking About the War* by Anne Valery, 1991.



PROMPT 16

Make notes for your presentation about attitudes to war during the Second World War.

How were British attitudes to war during the Second World War:
a) similar to
b) different from
British attitudes during the First World War?

Attitudes to war: The Second World War and the Blitz Spirit

From the very start of the Second World War the government took control of almost every important aspect of the economy, media, transport and many other areas of life. There was relatively little opportunity to show dissent or oppose the war effort. Anyway, the majority of people did support the war effort, just as they had done in the First World War. In addition, as the war went on, the evils of the Nazi regime became increasingly clear (and were publicised) so the view that Britain was right to fight the war seemed obvious to most people.

This view was summed up by the spirit of the people during the Blitz (see pages 300–01). Newspapers and radio broadcasts covered the Blitz in depth. They lost no opportunity to stress the villainous nature of the Nazi attackers. They also talked about a Blitz Spirit. According to the 'Blitz Spirit', everyone was determined to resist Hitler. Everyone was cheerful in the face of adversity. The London Underground was full of jolly singing as people sheltered from the bombs. Everyone trusted the government and everyone was determined to defeat the enemy by continuing to do their bit for the war effort.

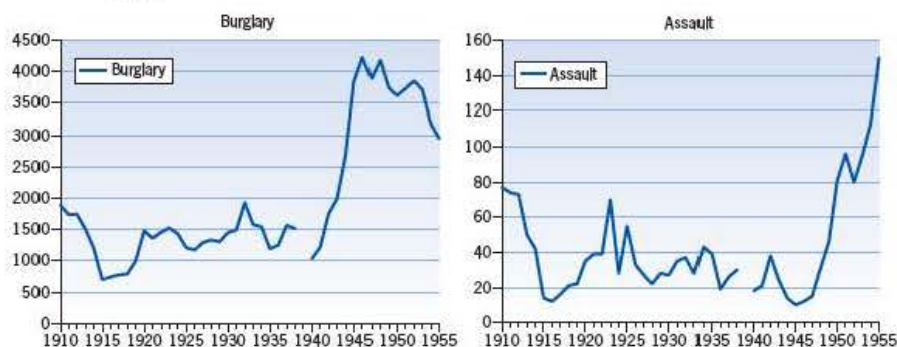
Today, we have learned to treat such stories with scepticism. How real was the Spirit of the Blitz? There is not much doubt that industrial production, even in Coventry factories, started again very quickly. In Clydebank, near Glasgow, the munitions factory began work again even though the town was uninhabitable. But how well did morale hold up?

SOURCE 92



King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visiting people sheltering in the Underground. When Buckingham Palace was bombed, the Queen said that she was glad: 'It makes me feel that I can look the East End in the face.' The royal family remained in London throughout the Blitz, although many other wealthy families moved out or left Britain altogether.

SOURCE 93



Crime rates for burglary and assault 1910–55. There are no figures for 1939 because the data was not available.

SOURCE 94

The press versions of life going on normally in the East End are grotesque. There was no bread, no electricity, no milk, no gas, no telephones. There was every excuse for people to be distressed. There was no understanding in the huge buildings of central London for the tiny crumbled streets of densely massed population.

A report from the East End of London, September 1940.

SOURCE 97

There can be no doubt that there has been a substantial increase in crime since the years before the war . . .

The figures for the years 1938 to 1945 show a growing increase until 1941, a slight decrease in 1942, a substantial further decrease in 1943, a substantial rise in 1944 and a large increase in 1945 to a figure showing a 68.9 per cent increase over 1938.

Many circumstances contributed to this result. The raids on the City left many premises very easy to break into . . .

Crimes on a large scale were often instigated by key operators on the black market and on many occasions a whole lorry load of goods was stolen . . .

Deserters from the Forces and Mercantile Marines were responsible for many offences and were not easy to catch as their visits were often of very short duration.

An extract from the report of the Chief Constable of a major city on crime during wartime.

SOURCE 99

During the last 18 months a large number of homing pigeons employed on message carrying in the United Kingdom have been shot with the result that important messages have not been delivered.

It is an offence under the current Defence Regulations to kill, wound or take any homing pigeons but the Police have seldom been able to prove knowledge on the part of the accused. Appeals to the public by broadcast and through the press have had little effect in reducing the number of casualties.

A memorandum from one official to another in the Air Ministry, January 1942.

SOURCE 95

Of the Blitz I shall write little. We in 'S' Division were luckier than many London police, but we still had our fill of its cruelty and horror, its sickening destructiveness, its white dusty filth, and its peculiar stink of fresh decay. Just these few words and it begins to depress me again.

From the autobiography of T Clarke, a special constable in the Blitz, published in 1974.

SOURCE 96

[A hotel in Donegal is] almost the last place in Europe where the lights are still alight . . . Last year it was only half-full and those wearing evening dress were in a minority. This year it is crowded out mainly with Belfast's wealthier citizens and about 75 per cent are in evening wear. In fact the display of jewellery and furs is terrific.

From the diary of Moya Woodside, 1941.

SOURCE 98

Will the Right Hon member come with me to the hills and to Divis mountain? Will he go to the barns and sheughs [ditches] throughout Northern Ireland to see the people of Belfast, some of them lying on damp ground? Will he come to Hannabstown and the Falls Road? The Catholics and Protestants are going up there mixed and they are talking to one another. They are sleeping in the same sheugh, below the same tree or in the same barn. They all say the same thing, that the government is no good.

Tommy Henderson, an enormously popular figure and Stormont MP for the Protestant Shankill area of Belfast, criticising the Northern Ireland Prime Minister John Andrews in a debate, 13 May 1941.

Focus Task

SOURCE 100

During the winter and spring of 1940–41 German bombers raided the industrial areas, towns and ports of Britain, day and night, and the awe-struck world wondered for how long the British people could take it. But the nation had something more than its stiff-upper-lip courage to keep it going. Britain had the most inspired war leader this country has ever produced, Winston Churchill. His commanding, bull-dog spirit, his brilliant gift of fiery eloquence and his superb skill in the strategy of war, time and again rallied the people and brought them through the terrifying experiences of this war.

From *History of the World for Young Readers*, 1965.

Source 100 is a classic example of the 'Blitz Spirit' interpretation of the Second World War. You are going to consider how far this view fits the sources you have studied on pages 308–09.

- On a copy of Source 100 underline or highlight all the words or phrases that
 - help build an impression of the 'Blitz Spirit'
 - help explain why spirits remained high.
- Around the edge of the source summarise any ideas from pages 300–09 which contradict this interpretation.
- Work in groups to discuss whether each of these statements is true or false:
 - 'Any one version of history is bound to miss out somebody's experience – we can't all have the same experience.'
 - 'The Spirit of the Blitz view is not wrong, just incomplete.'
 - 'Sources that don't support the Blitz Spirit view are just one-offs.'
 Be sure to support your opinions with evidence.

12

Britain at war

12.1

The First World War: The land war on the Western Front

Focus

The First and Second World Wars shaped the history of the twentieth century and their impact is still being felt around the world today. Britain played a key role in both wars, and in this chapter you are going to investigate some of the ways in which Britain was involved.

- ◆ In Section 12.1 you will look at one key element of the First World War: the Western Front
- ◆ In 12.2 you will look at some key campaigns on the Western Front in the Second World War and compare them with the First World War.
- ◆ In 12.3 you will study the war in the air in each of the World Wars.
- ◆ In 12.4 you will examine the war at sea in each of the world wars.

In each section you will be asked to consider three key questions:

- ◆ How was the fighting similar or different on each front in the First and Second World Wars?
- ◆ How did the technology of war change and what impact did it have?
- ◆ Why were Britain and her allies victorious?

As soon as war was declared the German army put its Schlieffen Plan into operation. The Schlieffen Plan was simple but risky. The idea was to send German forces through Belgium and to quickly knock France out of the war. The theory was that Russia would take a long time to mobilise (get its forces ready for war). It was an all-or-nothing gamble. The Germans had to try to get to Paris and defeat France within six weeks, so that they could then send all their troops to fight against Russia. However, as Source 1 shows, neither the Belgians nor the Russians did what the Schlieffen Plan expected them to do.

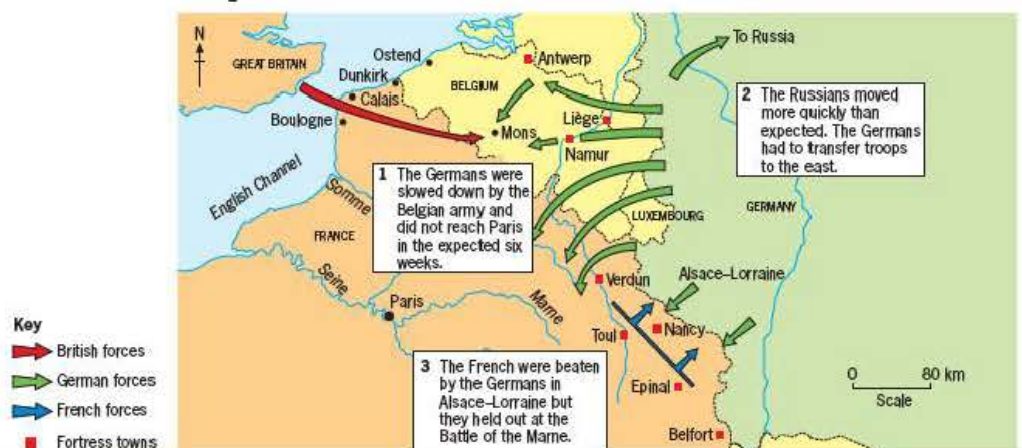
At first, it looked as though the Germans could succeed. The German army invaded Belgium on 4 August. The Belgians put up a heroic resistance from their frontier forts but it did not stop the crushing German advance. Massive German artillery bombardments destroyed the Belgian forts and soon enormous numbers of well-equipped and well-trained German infantry and cavalry were moving ominously towards the French border. Even so, the Belgian resistance won them many friends and bought time for British and French troops to mobilise.

The British Expeditionary Force, led by Sir John French, landed in France and met the advancing Germans at Mons on 23 August. This small but well-trained force of professional soldiers gave the Germans a nasty shock. The troops at Mons were well led by Lieutenant-General Douglas Haig – remember that name, you'll find out a lot more about him later – and were using Lee Enfield .303 bolt action rifles which could fire quickly and accurately. German reports from the time showed that they thought they were up against machine-gun fire.

Despite their early success, the British were hugely outnumbered. In fact, the best they could do was to organise an orderly retreat. They did slow the Germans down, but only the French had enough forces in the field to stop the German advance. However, the French were facing their own problems.

When war broke out, the French launched a direct attack on Germany through Alsace-Lorraine. The French lost over 200,000 men in twelve days. They now regrouped their forces to defend Paris from the advancing Germans.

SOURCE 1



Why the Schlieffen Plan failed.

SOURCE 2

That [French soldiers] who have retreated for ten days, sleeping on the ground and half dead with fatigue, should be able to take up their rifles when the bugle sounds is a thing which we never expected.

Written by General von Kluck, a German army commander, after the Battle of the Marne.

The Battle of the Marne

The French may have been on the defensive in September 1914, but by this stage things were not going entirely well for the Germans either. The German Supreme Commander Moltke had to pull 100,000 troops out of the army advancing on Paris because the Russians had mobilised far more quickly than expected and had already invaded Germany. The Germans were also struggling to keep their troops supplied with food and equipment.

Von Kluck, the German commander, decided he could not swing round Paris according to the original plan, so he advanced straight towards it. While the Germans advanced on foot, the French diverted troops to Paris by rail, and then on to the front, transporting some of them there by taxi! The German army was weary and overstretched. The French were fighting to save their country.

The combined British and French forces were able to stop the German advance along the line of the River Marne. They then counter-attacked and pushed the Germans back to the River Aisne. However, they could not drive them out of France entirely.

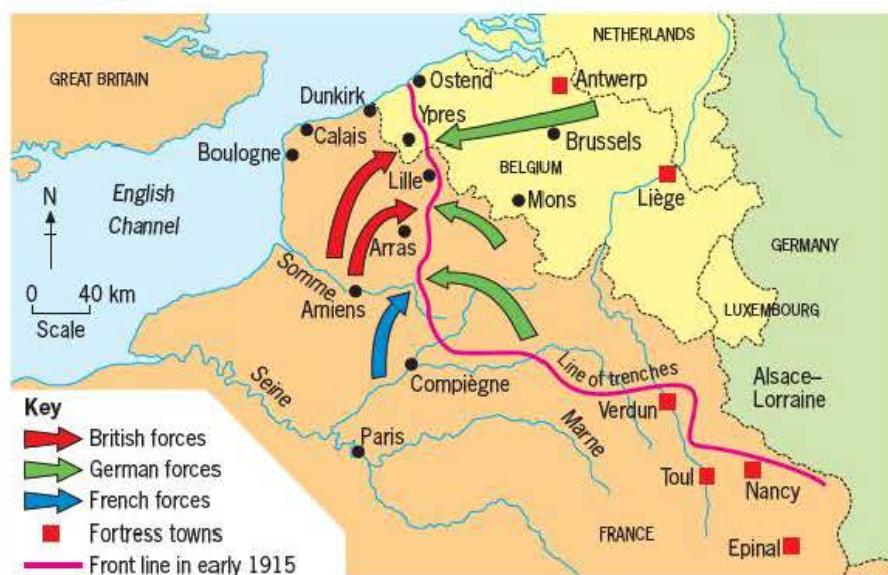
Neither side could make any progress and by 8 September troops on both sides were digging trenches to protect themselves from snipers and shell fire. Soon after, they added machine guns and barbed wire. Until now, it had been a war of movement, but these were the first signs of the stalemate that was to come.

SOURCE 3



The Battle of the Marne, 1914.

SOURCE 4



The race to the sea.

The race to the sea

The Battle of the Marne was a turning point. The German generals realised that they could not break through the enemy lines. They decided to try to outflank (get round the end of) the enemy's lines. The charge began on 12 October. It became known as 'the race to the sea'.

As the Germans charged west towards the sea, the British and French moved troops (usually by rail) to block them whenever it seemed that the Germans were about to break through.

The first Battle of Ypres in Belgium

By November 1914 it was a deadlock. The BEF had been decimated. The French had already suffered around 1 million dead or wounded in just ten weeks. Despite this, the French army tried to break through the German lines in Artois and Champagne in December, but they were beaten back with heavy losses. As 1914 ended, the fighting had reached a stalemate which was to last until 1918. Millions of troops were dug into a line of trenches that stretched from the sea in the west to the Alps in the east. It became known as the 'Western Front'. Over the next pages you will examine the war on the Western Front in detail.

Focus Task

It is late in 1914. You have been asked by a newspaper to write an article explaining why the war has become a stalemate. You could include some of these areas:

- ◆ why the German advance failed and how British forces contributed
- ◆ why the casualties are so high and what lessons are being learned
- ◆ what you think will happen in 1915.

Try to keep your article to around 200 words.

What was it like to fight in the trenches?

Activity

Study Source 5 carefully.

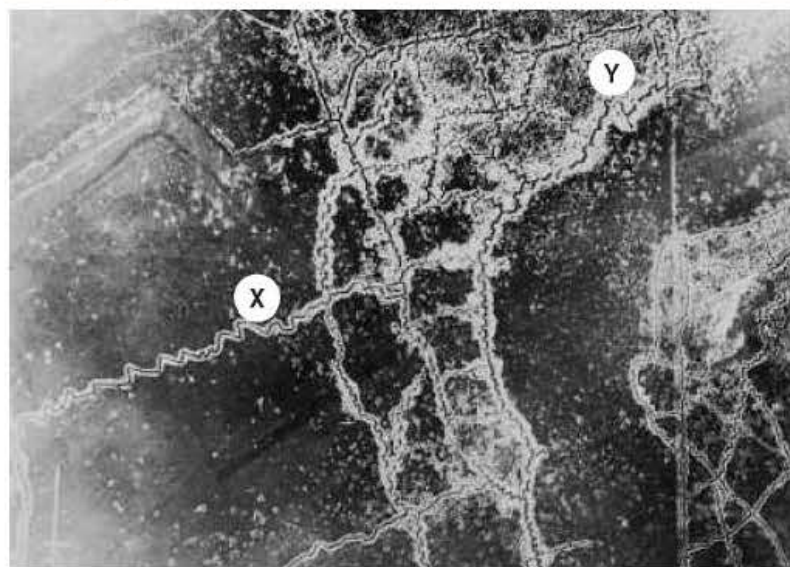
- 1 On your own copy of Source 5 label the following features:
 - front-line trenches
 - support trenches
 - no man's land (the area between front-line trenches).
- 2 Explain why you think the trenches are arranged as zig-zag lines, not straight lines.
- 3 How would you get from your headquarters behind the lines (marked X) to the front-line position (marked Y)?

- 1 Make a list of the differences between Sources 6A and 6B. What reasons can you think of to explain these differences?
- 2 Sources 5 and 6 are different types of evidence – aerial and ground photographs. Is it possible to say one is more useful than the other to a historian studying the trenches?

Trench warfare

As the war of movement ended late in 1914 the First World War developed into a stalemate based on trenches. Source 5 shows you a small section of the trench system and Sources 6A and B give a sense of what it was like to be in the different types of trenches at different times. Front-line trenches like 6B were supported by much stronger reserve trenches and linked by communication trenches.

SOURCE 5



The trench system. This is an aerial photograph taken by British planes. The British trenches are on the right. The main trench area is German.

SOURCE 6



A A reserve trench in the Somme area, July 1916 and B a front-line trench in Guedecourt, December 1916.

Trenches offered the best protection from snipers, shellfire, mines and other dangers for the soldiers who fought in them. But clearly the troops did not hide in the trenches for the whole length of the war. This was where the infantry came in. Before the war, the theory was that an attack on the enemy would be led by a cavalry charge. The infantry's job was to follow

the cavalry and take charge of the captured positions. They then had to defend the position against counter-attack. Trench warfare changed the role of the infantry dramatically. The cavalry charge was replaced by the 'infantry charge' which became the main tactic used in the war.

1 The attacking side's artillery bombarded the front-line trenches of the enemy. This was called a 'barrage'.

2 As soon as the barrage stopped, attacking troops would go 'over the top' – that is, climb out of their trenches. It was now a race between them and the defenders, who had to emerge from their shelters and set up their machine guns before the attackers got over the barbed wire of no man's land.

3 The defenders usually had the advantage. They swept the advancing attackers with machine-gun fire, sometimes setting up a cross-fire.

4 If the attackers did capture forward positions, they then had to hold them. This generally proved impossible and they were usually forced back to their original position.

'Over the top'

A major assault would usually proceed like the diagram on the left. The infantry charge was the only attacking strategy the generals had. They thought that if they did it often enough, with enough men, eventually it would wear down the enemy, and they could break through. However, the traditional view that the generals simply threw away lives is not supported by the evidence. As the war continued, the generals tried different ways to make the infantry charge more effective and they introduced new tactics, weapons and equipment. Steel helmets giving some protection against shrapnel from enemy shelling became standard equipment in 1916. New camouflage techniques were used to protect troops and guns. Artillery and infantry attacks were better synchronised. Troops were given gas masks.

In the front line

The soldiers did not spend all their time charging the enemy trenches. Far from it. Most of the infantry's work was more routine. Infantry soldiers spent much of their time digging new trenches or repairing old ones. They carted supplies and equipment up and down communications trenches. They spent long hours on sentry duty or in secret-listening posts near to enemy trenches. There were also specialist infantry called sappers. Sappers were usually ex-miners who dug tunnels below enemy trenches and placed huge mines there. The infantry also made patrols into no man's land or raided enemy trenches – to capture prisoners or particular positions. Prisoners provided priceless information. If a new enemy unit was in your sector, you could soon be facing an attack.

All of these activities, plus the possibility that death could arrive in the form of a shell at any moment, put inevitable strains on the troops and sometimes generated bitter feelings towards their commanders.

Millions of men and thousands of horses lived close together. In the summer the smell of the trenches was appalling owing to a combination of rotting corpses, sewage and unwashed soldiers. The soldiers were also infested with lice, or 'chats' as they called them.

In summer the trenches were hot, dusty and smelly. In wet weather soldiers spent much time up to their ankles or knees in water. Many thousands suffered from 'trench foot', caused by standing in water for hours or days. In winter the trenches offered little protection from the cold. Many soldiers got frostbite.

To add to all of these unpleasant problems the trenches were infested by rats. Many soldiers on all sides described the huge, fat 'corpse rats' which thrived on the dead bodies and the rubbish created by the armies. Some accounts even speak of cats and dogs killed by rats in overwhelming numbers.

So why did the soldiers put up with the conditions?

When people study the First World War they often wonder why British soldiers put up with the conditions they had to endure. Part of the reason for this is that most books and TV programmes only cover the worst aspects of life in the trenches. It probably will not surprise you to know that when we look at a bigger picture a different story emerges about life in the trenches. The diagram on page 314 summarises this bigger, less commonly told story.

SOURCE 7

It was just as dangerous to go back as it was to go on. There were machine gun bullets spraying to and fro all the time . . . When I reached our trenches I missed my footing and fell on the floor, stunned. When I got up I saw an officer standing on the fire step looking through binoculars at No Man's Land. As I walked down the trench towards the dressing station he stood in my way with a pistol in his hand. He never said a word, but then he just stepped aside and let me pass. When I got to the dressing station I asked someone 'What's that officer doing back there with the gun in his hand?', and they said that his job was to shoot anyone who came back not wounded. I thought to myself, what kind of a job is that? Anyone could have lost his nerve that day.

Memories of the Somme. A British soldier interviewed by the *Sunday Times* for an article published in 1986 – the 70th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme.

Focus Task

Work in pairs.

- 1 Each of you write a letter home from the trenches describing exactly what it is like in as much detail as you can. Use all of the information and sources on these two pages to help you. You could even include sketches.
- 2 Now swap your letters over. Each of you act as censor on the other one's letter and edit out anything which you think is too horrific or which reflects badly on the army.

You may be able to use word processing or email for this task. Make sure you keep a copy of the original.

Adventure

Travel: most soldiers were ordinary working-class men. They had not travelled much before the war. The fighting took them to France and Belgium, the Middle East and Africa – places they would not otherwise have visited.

Excitement: some men actually enjoyed the risk and the thrill of war.

Challenge: most people like a challenge. War was the ultimate challenge. In war-time, many soldiers achieved things they would never have dreamt possible. It may have been an act of bravery or simply putting up with pain or hardship.

A soldier's life

Discipline

Soldiers who disobeyed orders, fell asleep on sentry duty or deserted were court martialled and could be executed. A total of 3,080 British soldiers were condemned to death by the army and 346 actually had the sentence carried out.

Humour

We should not underestimate the importance of the British sense of humour in keeping up morale. Bairnsfather's cartoons were a good example but the soldiers produced many humorous news sheets and other publications, often poking fun at the commanders.

Respect

Soldiers had respect for their leaders. There is a widespread modern myth that the generals wine and dined in the officers' mess while the men lived and died in the squalor of the trenches. In fact officers went over the top with their men and suffered higher death rates (around seventeen per cent) than the ordinary troops (around twelve per cent). Among senior commanders 78 officers above the rank of brigadier-general from Britain and the British Empire died on active service and 146 were wounded. This is evidence that British generals were often close enough to the front line to be in danger of losing their lives.

Comforts

Care: Remember this was at a time when civilian life was very hard indeed. Life expectancy was the early 40s for a working-class man. Death and disease were common. So were poverty, hunger, illness and accidents at work. The army looked after its soldiers as well as it could. British forces suffered less from disease than any other army.

Rations: for British troops, food rations were generally good. Soldiers complained about always having tinned beef and jam, but they knew they were better off than French soldiers, and even French civilians, and they were much better fed than the Germans. In fact an average working-class soldier put on around 10 kilos in weight when he joined the army because he was better fed there!

Letters: soldiers received regular letters and parcels from home. The postal service was very efficient and this was a major factor in keeping morale high.

Luxuries: they also received lots of luxuries such as chocolate, cigarettes and alcohol.

**Leisure time**

The officers worked very hard to organise tours of duty so that the troops got a chance to rest and recuperate. On average a battalion could expect to spend around ten days a month in the trenches, but this included time in the reserve trenches which could be a mile from the front line. Troops would usually spend about three days in the most dangerous sections of the front line before being relieved. However, during a major assault, such as the Battle of the Somme, soldiers could be in the front line for much longer. We also need to remember that soldiers spent about 60 per cent of their time out of the trenches. Many of them took up correspondence courses. Many went sightseeing in France. There were football and other sports teams. There was usually a concert party every week.

Comradeship

Old friends: many battalions were made up of close friends who all joined the army together. Soldiers relied on each other totally. They did not want to let each other down. After the war, many soldiers said they greatly missed the sense of comradeship they had experienced during the war.

New friends: Allied soldiers came from all over the world. British soldiers met Canadian, Australian, South African, New Zealand, Indian, West African and Caribbean soldiers. They also met many other British people.

Patriotism

The soldiers on all sides were generally patriotic. Whatever the horrors of war, most believed they were there to do a job for their country and that the job was worth doing well.

How important were new developments in warfare?

You have seen how the war became bogged down in a stalemate of trench warfare by the end of 1914. There is a traditional view of the war which says that the stalemate continued because the commanders were too incompetent and inflexible to try out any new weapons, technology or ideas. In fact, this idea is quite wrong. All the armies on the Western Front constantly improvised new weapons and tried out new tactics, but these measures often cancelled each other out. In this section we are going to look at some of the main developments in warfare on the Western Front.

Artillery

The First World War was an artillery war. Many people think that machine guns caused the most casualties in the war but this is wrong. Artillery bombardments caused more casualties than any other weapon. The artillery had two main jobs – to destroy enemy positions and defences so they could be captured and to destroy enemy guns.

At the beginning of the war the guns were not very accurate. Firing from well behind their own lines, artillery often bombarded their own forward trenches before they got their range right. By the end of the war, artillery was much more powerful, and it was also more accurate. By 1918 artillery tactics were extremely sophisticated as well (see Source 14 on page 318, and page 320 – the Hundred Days). Artillery was the key weapon of the Great War. Throughout the war a vast part of European industry was given over to making shells for the artillery. British performance in the war became more effective after 1916 because British industry was supplying enough guns and shells and British forces were using these weapons effectively.

SOURCE 8

*We are the guns, and your masters! Saw ye
our flashes?
Heard ye the scream of our shells in the
night, and the shuddering crashes?
Saw ye our work by the roadside, the
shrouded things lying,
Moaning to God that He made them – the
maimed and the dying?
Husbands or sons,
Fathers or lovers, we break them. We are
the guns!*

An extract from the poem 'The Voice of the Guns' by Gilbert Frankau. Frankau was an officer in the Royal Artillery.

SOURCE 9



The bodies of two German soldiers in a trench hit by British artillery at the Battle of the Somme, July 1916.

Activity

A book publisher is producing a book of war poetry and is looking for an image to accompany Source 8. Write a short report explaining whether you think the image in Source 9 is suitable. If you think it is not you could try searching the websites of picture libraries for possible alternatives.

SOURCE 10



British machine gun crew in 1916.

- 1 How does Source 10 help to explain why the machine gun was primarily a defensive weapon?
- 2 Is Source 10 more useful as a source on how the machine gun was used or on how effective it was?

Machine guns

This weapon is the one which most people associate with the appalling casualties of the First World War. Once the war became a stalemate the infantryman became the backbone of the British army. The job of the infantry was to try and capture enemy positions (and hold on to them) or to defend positions they already held.

This is where the machine gun came into its own. Machine guns at the start of the war were very large and heavy so they were not very useful in an attack on an enemy trench. However, they were devastatingly effective as defensive weapons. A machine gun could fire eight bullets a second or more, and each trench would have a number of machine guns. During an infantry charge it could cut down a whole brigade in minutes. The machine gun made it inevitable that any charge on an enemy trench would cost many lives. Machine guns proved to be devastating against British forces in the Battle of the Somme (see page 319). After the war British commanders were often criticised for underestimating the machine gun, and Sir Douglas Haig is said to have believed that it was overrated. However, some officers did have faith in it. At the start of the war British troops had the same ratio of machine guns to troops as the Germans and the British army established its first dedicated Machine Gun Corps in 1915. By 1918 most platoons had their own machine guns and troops even had lightweight sub-machine guns. These guns proved very effective in actions like the capture of the St Quentin Canal in 1918 (see page 320 – the Hundred Days).

Poison gas

The first poison gas attack was in April 1915. The Germans released chlorine which wafted on the wind across no man's land into the British trenches. There was panic there as the soldiers coughed, retched and struggled to breathe.

From that time gas attacks by both sides became a regular feature of the war. To start with, the aim of a gas attack was to disable enemy troops so that your own infantry charge would be successful. Later, scientists on both sides began to perfect new and more lethal gases such as mustard gas, which had a perfumed smell but which burned, blinded or slowly killed the victims over four to five weeks.

However, scientists also developed very effective gas masks. Soldiers in the trenches would carry their gas masks with them all the time. At the alert they would put them on. As a result only 3,000 British troops died from gas in the whole war. The main significance of gas was its psychological impact. Soldiers who could bear a long bombardment by artillery often lived in fear of a gas attack.

SOURCE 11

*GAS! GAS! Quick, boys! – An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime . . .
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.
In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.
If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues, –
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori.*

'Dulce Et Decorum Est' (How right and good it is to die for your country), by Wilfred Owen. Owen was an officer in the British army. He was killed in 1918, not long before the end of the war.

SOURCE 12



A poster produced by the government to encourage people to support the building of tanks by buying war bonds and saving scrap metal.

Tanks

The tank was a British invention. Early in the war inventors took the idea of a tank to the army leaders but it was rejected as impractical. However, Winston Churchill, head of the navy, thought that the idea had potential and his department funded its development.

Two years later, the tanks were used for the first time at the Battle of the Somme. They advanced ahead of the infantry, crushing barbed-wire defences and spraying the enemy with machine-gun fire. They caused alarm among the Germans and raised the morale of the British troops. Surely this was the weapon that could achieve a breakthrough!

However, these first machines only moved at walking pace. They were not very manoeuvrable and were very unreliable – more than half of them broke down before they got to the German trenches. It was not until a year later, in November 1917 at Cambrai, that tanks actually achieved great success. Unfortunately they were too successful. They blasted through enemy lines so quickly that the infantry could not keep up.

By 1918, German forces were using armour-piercing machine-gun bullets to deadly effect. They had also learned how to adapt field guns to fire at tanks. Tanks were virtually impossible to miss because they were so large and slow. However, the tank offered a significant boost to British morale.

Aircraft

One of the few aspects of the fighting in the First World War which gained a glamorous reputation was the war in the air. All countries had brilliant pilots and the thrill of heroic flying in up-to-date machines is easy to understand. The newspapers and journals began to pick up on the story of 'flying aces' from an early stage in the war and moviemakers glamorised them after the war. But were they really important?

In 1914 aeroplanes were extremely primitive. They were also very unreliable and highly dangerous. Losses were very high indeed, especially among new pilots. At the start of the war, planes did the same job as observation balloons.

Soon their speed and mobility meant that commanders used them for detailed reconnaissance work over enemy trenches. The photographs they took were very valuable. At the Battle of the Marne they spotted a potential break in the Allied lines that could have been fatal for the Allies.

Enemy aircraft would be sent to shoot down reconnaissance flights and soon the 'dogfight' had emerged. In these early battles in the air, the pilots used pistols and rifles. It was not until April 1915 that planes were successfully fitted with machine guns. These guns were synchronised so that they did not shoot through their own propeller. By 1918 spectacular aerial battles were common over the Western Front. The rickety early planes had given way to sleek fighters such as the Sopwith Camel and the Fokker Triplane. Planes also played a part in slowing down the German advance in 1918 and in the Allied advances of the Hundred Days (see page 320).

In four years aircraft had changed from string bags to sophisticated machines. In four years the Royal Naval Air Service and Royal Flying Corps had gone from having 37 aeroplanes to 23,000. Even so, aircraft were really only a side show to the land war. Air power was, if anything, more valuable at sea where the aircraft could observe and attack shipping.

SOURCE 13



A still of a 'dogfight' (aerial combat). Such battles were often shown in films.

- 3 What do you think was the purpose of the poster in Source 12?
- 4 Does the existence of this poster prove that the tank was a significant weapon? Explain your answer.

Putting it all together

It is important to remember that all of these weapons and developments took place as the war was being fought. They were often the result of ordinary soldiers trying out ideas which officers then recommended for wider use. There was a constant exchange of information and discussion between troops, front-line officers and senior commanders. All of this meant that the British army became increasingly professional as the war went on and that between 1914 and 1918 the way it fought the war was transformed.

SOURCE 14

Look at a photograph of a group of British infantrymen in 1914 ... Then look at a photograph from October 1918. The shape and silhouette are different, for the infantryman now resembles not the gamekeeper but the industrial worker. The faces are different, for the average age of senior officers has dropped by about ten years ... Half the infantrymen in France are eighteen years old, although all too often young faces frame old eyes. They now wear steel helmet and leather jerkin. It is far more difficult to make out the officers. Even those who are wearing officer style uniforms have moved their badges of rank to their shoulders instead of their chests.

By 1918 some wholly new weapons are in evidence. Pouches bulge with hand grenades and respirators are always handy, for both sides now use gas as a matter of course.

... And the infantry now has its own artillery. Trench mortars are attached to each infantry brigade ... In 1914 most artillery was close behind the firing line ... In 1918 artillery was tucked into folds of ground behind the infantry, there were far more heavy guns, lurking unseen over the horizon, with a power and range that the men of 1914 could never have dreamt of. Forward observation parties abounded, along with signallers. There were wireless sets at all main headquarters. Even some aircraft were now fitted with wireless to enable them to control the fire of the heavy guns. ... By 1918 the air was very busy: one artillery officer reckoned that he could often see fifty aircraft in the sky at any one time.

An extract from *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front* by the British military historian Professor Richard Holmes (2004).

Focus Task

How important were new developments in warfare?

You have been approached by a company designing a new computer game which is set in the First World War. You have been asked to create profiles of some of the weapons and developments which emerged during the war which game players can use for reference. Take all of the developments on pages 315–18 and rate their significance in the following terms:

- ◆ why it was developed and how it was used
- ◆ examples of this weapon in action
- ◆ whether the weapon developed further during the course of the war
- ◆ the impact of the weapon (for example, the casualties caused, the psychological impact)
- ◆ the reputation of the weapon (think about different groups of people such as the general public, troops, commanders and also the reputation of the weapon at different times)
- ◆ how each weapon worked with other weapons
- ◆ your view of its overall significance on a scale of 1–10 (where 10 is high).

You could present these profiles as written reports, presentations or in a format such as Top Trumps cards. You may be able to research these developments further using the internet, or research other weapons and developments such as camouflage or transport.

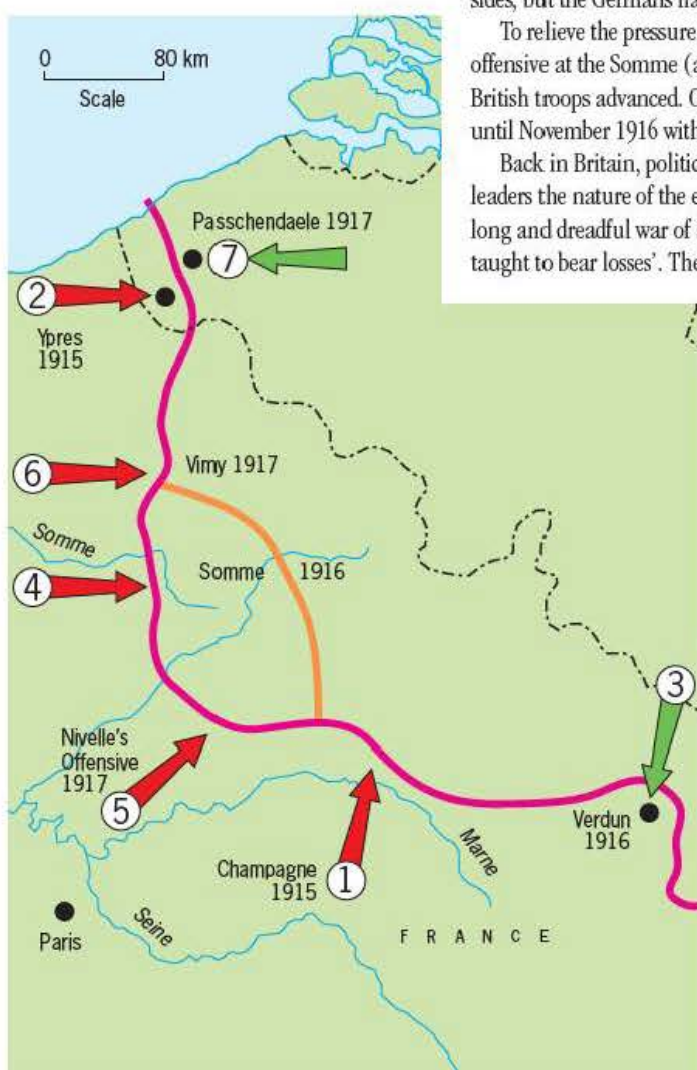
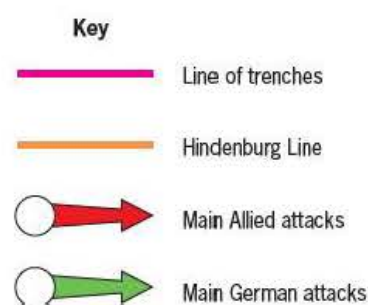
Why did Germany agree to an armistice in 1918?

The war remained a stalemate until the deadlock was finally broken in 1918. In this section you will see how this happened year by year.

1915: The stalemate continues

In 1915 the French, British and Germans all tried and failed to break the deadlock. Early in 1915 the French lost many thousands in an unsuccessful offensive in Champagne (arrow 1 in Source 15). The British gained some ground at Neuve Chapelle in March but at a heavy cost. The Germans were driven back from Ypres in April (arrow 2) with heavy losses.

SOURCE 15



Major battles on the Western Front, 1915-17.

1916: The year of attrition – Verdun and the Somme

In February 1916 the Germans began a determined battle to capture strategic French forts surrounding Verdun (arrow 3). The Germans recognised that the French were leading the Allied effort at this stage of the war. The German commander, Falkenhayn, came up with a strategy of attrition. His tactic was to 'bleed France white'. The tactic failed, in that both sides suffered roughly equal losses. For six months both sides poured men and resources into this battle. Attacks were followed by counter-attacks and by July 1916 some 700,000 men had fallen. The French, led by General Pétain, held out, but by the summer of 1916 they were close to breaking. The huge losses had weakened both sides, but the Germans had greater resources. The French army was near breaking point.

To relieve the pressure, the British led by Field Marshal Douglas Haig launched their long-planned offensive at the Somme (arrow 4). After a week-long artillery bombardment of German trenches, British troops advanced. On the first day there were 57,000 British casualties. The fighting continued until November 1916 with the loss of 1.25 million men.

Back in Britain, politicians and the general public were horrified at the losses. But to the military leaders the nature of the exercise was clear. The war was a contest to see which side could last out the long and dreadful war of attrition. Douglas Haig briefed the government that 'the nation must be taught to bear losses'. The nation did accept them and in doing so played a key role in victory.

1917: The USA in, Russia out

In 1917, the new French General, Nivelle, put forward a plan to break the deadlock. However, the Germans knew of his plans and retreated to their new, stronger positions, called the Hindenburg Line. Nivelle refused to change his plans. By previous standards the Nivelle Offensive (arrow 5) was quite successful, but again the casualties were huge. Nivelle had raised hopes which could not be met, and the French army mutinied. The crisis was resolved by Pétain. By a combination of ruthlessly punishing the leaders of the mutiny yet improving conditions for ordinary soldiers, he regained the confidence of the French troops.

The British and Canadians had some successes. The Canadians in particular enjoyed a spectacular victory, capturing the fortified Vimy Ridge in April 1917 (arrow 6). In July, the third Battle of Ypres began. The British detonated huge mines at Messines which destroyed the German artillery positions, and killed 10,000 German soldiers at a stroke. However, the infantry advance which followed this became hopelessly bogged down. Heavy rain created nightmare conditions, particularly around the ruined village of Passchendaele (arrow 7).

Some successes came at Cambrai in November. The British used over 350 tanks to good effect, but were unable to hold the ground that they had captured. It was the same old story. Elsewhere, away from the Western Front, other developments were taking place which had a more decisive effect on the Western Front.

The British blockade

The British blockaded German ports throughout the war. The blockade reduced German trade from \$5.9 billion in 1914 to just \$0.8 billion in 1917. By 1917 civilians in Germany were experiencing severe shortages (see page 331).

The German U-boat campaign

The Germans sank British ships supplying Britain. In 1917 they introduced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare against all ships carrying goods to Britain. This caused shortages in Britain but it also had another unintended effect. It helped to bring the USA into the war.

The USA joins the war

The USA was officially neutral but was supplying loans and equipment to the Allies. The Germans attacked and destroyed many American ships which they suspected of carrying supplies to the Allies. When the USA discovered that Germany hoped to ally with Mexico against them it was the final straw. The USA declared war on Germany on 1 April 1917.

The Russian Revolution

The Allies thought that the entry of the USA would turn the tide in their favour, but the Americans needed time to build up an army. Even worse, a revolution in Russia had brought in a Communist government and it had made peace with Germany. The Germans could now transfer hundreds of thousands of troops back to the Western Front. It looked as if 1918 could be decisive.

Activity

Historians have disagreed as to what were the turning points of the war on the Western Front.

- 1 Work in groups of three. One of you take 1916, one take 1917, the other take 1918. Each of you write a paragraph explaining why your year saw the turning point in the war. Use the information on pages 319–20 to help you.
- 2 Show your paragraph to the other members of the group, then take a vote on which year saw the most important turning point.

1918: The Hundred Days – the stalemate is broken

Things may have looked bad for the Allies but the German situation was also desperate in early 1918. Despite the good news of the Russian surrender, the Allies' blockade of German ports had starved the economy of raw materials and the population (including the soldiers) of food. Worse still, the USA was moving troops to France at a rate of 50,000 per month. Above all, the German army was not the quality fighting machine it had been. Germany needed a quick victory and the surrender of Russia gave the Germans one last opportunity to achieve a military breakthrough and end the stalemate.

In March 1918 the German Commander Ludendorff launched the great gamble to win the war. It started with the typical huge bombardment and gas attacks. However, instead of the usual 'wave' of infantry, he followed up with attacks by smaller bands of specially trained and lightly equipped 'storm troops' who struck during a heavy fog along the entire front line. The idea was to stop the Allies massing their defence in a single place. It was very effective. The Germans broke through the Allied lines in many places, advanced 64 kilometres and Paris was now in range of heavy gunfire.

The 'Ludendorff Offensive' had so far gone very well. A German victory seemed to be a real possibility. However, the German army lost 400,000 men in making this breakthrough and they had no reserves to call on. The troops of 1918 did not compare well with those of 1914. Their discipline was poor and they were badly fed and supplied. Many of the planned German advances were held up as troops stopped to loot food and supplies from captured trenches or villages. They also came up against well-led and well-equipped Allied forces. The blockades had prevented the Germans from making similar technological improvements.

Between May and August the Germans made no further progress and it was clear that they had run out of time and resources. The Germans had ended trench warfare but it was the Allies who eventually gained the benefit. By now, they had large numbers of well-fed and well-equipped troops. These troops were supported by tanks, aircraft and improved artillery. By 1918 the big guns were capable of hitting targets with impressive accuracy as well as laying down smokescreens or giving covering fire for attackers.

On 8 August the Allies counter-attacked along much of the Western Front. This later became known as the German army's 'Black Day'. It was now just a matter of time before the Allies defeated Germany. By late September they had reached the Hindenburg Line. By October the Germans were in full retreat. This period has become known as the 'Hundred Days'. Finally, on 11 November 1918 the Armistice (ceasefire) came into effect. The Great War was over.

Focus Task

Why did Germany ask for an armistice in 1918?

The following factors all played a role in forcing Germany to ask for an armistice in 1918. At the moment they are in alphabetical order. Rearrange them in order of importance, with an explanation of your decision:

- ◆ ability of British and American industry to supply the resources the Allied armies needed
- ◆ arrival of the USA into the war
- ◆ British naval blockade
- ◆ failure of Ludendorff Offensive
- ◆ German losses in 1916 and 1917
- ◆ increasing improvements in the effectiveness of the British army, 1917–18.

12.2

The Second World War:
The land war on the Western Front

Focus Task

Time traveller interactive task

A best-selling computer games company has developed a game called Combat Time Traveller. In this game the traveller is dropped into different war zones in history. Part of the game involves the player having the right knowledge and equipment so that he or she is not detected by the people in the computer game world. For example, a player would be detected if he talked about a Spitfire in the trenches in 1915.

Your task is to design a series of tests for the Combat Time Traveller game. To distinguish between the tactics, technology and other features of the first and Second World War, you will need to pick features which were used in one war and not the other and then suggest how to use them for a test..

Possible examples are:

- ◆ pictures of equipment where the Time Traveller has to say which war they come from
- ◆ some audio from the time where the Time Traveller has to respond to the person speaking in a way which will not give himself or herself away.

You can probably come up with plenty of ideas based on computer games you have played. But remember the aim: to be able to distinguish between features of the First and Second World Wars. You can use any of the information on pages 310–28 but you can continue to build up further questions through pages 329–39 as you continue your comparison of the two wars.

- 1 Explain why Poland was defeated so quickly.

Both world wars were large and complex, with fighting on land, sea and air taking place in western and eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. During the First World War, the fighting on the Western Front was one of the most important fronts, if not the most important. After all, it was here that Germany was defeated. The Western Front was also fought on a gigantic scale, with millions of soldiers slogging through four years of intense warfare, leaving devastation and millions of casualties.

In the Second World War, the picture was similar in some ways and different in others. Fighting on the Western Front was just as deadly as in the First World War, but it was not on anything like the same scale as in the First World War. The fighting on the Western Front was also generally more mobile in the second conflict than it had been in the first.

We should not forget that the really large-scale campaigns took place in eastern Europe between the Germans and the forces of the USSR. We should also remember that fighting took place all over the world and involved millions of soldiers and civilians. British and Empire forces took part in campaigns in North Africa, the Mediterranean, Italy and western Europe. Empire forces included Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders (including Maoris) and South Africans. Less well known were the Kenyans and other Africans who fought in Europe and against the Japanese in Burma. They were joined by West Indians and over 2.5 million men and women from Britain's largest colony, India. In the war years India spent up to 80 per cent of its wealth on the war effort.

We cannot possibly cover the whole of the war in detail, so the next few pages will focus on the two main campaigns which took place on the Western Front – the campaigns of 1940 and the D-Day campaign of 1944.

Blitzkrieg 1939–40

As you read on page 56, Hitler invaded Poland in September 1939. German forces used tactics which became known as Blitzkrieg, or lightning war. Hitler used these tactics for two reasons:

- Many people in Germany did not share Hitler's enthusiasm for war. Blitzkrieg would deliver quick easy victories which would get people behind the war effort.
- Germany's economy could not support a long, drawn out war. It lacked important resources like copper and rubber and, most of all, oil. Blitzkrieg allowed the army to grab territory quickly and get hold of the resources Germany needed.

Blitzkrieg involved a devastating use of the most up-to-date technology and clever military tactics. In many ways, the technology was the same as that at the end of the First World War – aeroplanes, motor vehicles, tanks. However, the equipment was faster, more reliable and more powerful. Also, radio communications enabled land, air and even sea forces to work more closely together than had ever been possible before. The tactics were devastatingly effective against the Polish forces. Closely co-ordinated use of motorised vehicles, tanks and air power pushed deep into enemy territory. Reinforcements would then follow the advance forces and take secure control of the territory captured. When Soviet forces attacked Poland on 17 September, Poland collapsed.

After this initial triumph, Hitler was confident that Britain and France would try to come to terms with him rather than continue the war. He took no action against them, but Britain and France also took little action. The period from September 1939 to March 1940 became known as the 'phoney war'. Although there was no direct action, Britain took the chance to send its forces, the British Expeditionary Force, to France, in the event of a possible invasion. In April 1940, the phoney war ended as Hitler invaded Denmark and Norway. Norway was especially important to Hitler as it would provide naval bases. He was determined that Germany would not be hemmed in by the Royal Navy as it had been in the 1914–18 war. This time Blitzkrieg tactics involved landing craft to put German forces on shore and paratroopers to disrupt the defenders before the main German force attacked. British attempts to help Norway failed and Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was replaced by a new leader, Winston Churchill.

SOURCE 1



German tanks and troops move through a wrecked French town in May 1940.

SOURCE 2



German paratroopers in Holland in May 1940 preparing to be dropped behind enemy lines in the invasion of France. The aircraft in the background are Junkers Ju52 transport aircraft. These aircraft were large and reliable. As well as dropping paratroopers, they could also pull gliders full of paratroopers.

The Germans invade France

In May 1940 the German army turned its power on France. The Germans attacked through Belgium and Holland. Once again, German Blitzkrieg tactics proved devastatingly effective. Commanders used radio to co-ordinate attacks. Military and civilian targets in Belgium and Holland were pounded by bombers. Modern artillery weapons like the 88 mm gun destroyed enemy vehicles, bombarded enemy forces and was then packed up onto lorries and moved to the next firing position. Fast moving columns of Panzers (the German for tank) linked up with airborne troops who parachuted from transport planes to attack enemy lines from behind. Belgium's Eben Emael fort on the Albert canal fell in less than a day as paratroopers on gliders landed on the roof of the fort and blew it up. Ground attack aircraft like the Stuka dive bomber destroyed important bridges and roads. Again, radio communication was crucial. When the Germans crossed the River Meuse from Belgium into France it was reported that the first troops landed on the French side before the dust had settled from the Stuka bombs.

SOURCE 3



The German Blitzkrieg in the West.

The BEF in France

The Dutch government surrendered on 15 May so British and French forces moved into Belgium to halt the German advance. However, there was to be no repeat of 1914 and the failed Schlieffen Plan. By the end of May the Allied forces were facing disastrous defeat. The problems were simple but overwhelming. The British forces were far too small. The French had large armed forces but their tactics were basically the same as they had been in the Great War. In the interwar years they had built a series of huge fortresses called the Maginot Line on the French–German border. It was thought that the Germans would never be able to fight their way through the Line. They didn't. While some German forces attacked Belgium through Holland, the German General von Kleist made a daring advance with motor vehicles and tanks through the Ardennes region of Belgium – *around and behind* the Maginot Line. The Allies thought this was impossible. The Allies were in danger of being surrounded, so they were forced to withdraw to Dunkirk.

Focus Task

Why was Blitzkrieg so successful in 1940?

Your task is to write a definition of Blitzkrieg for a military history encyclopaedia which explains why it was such a successful strategy. Your definition should mention:

- ◆ technology involved
- ◆ tactics
- ◆ the weaknesses of the Germans' opponents.

Dunkirk

On the beaches around Dunkirk the situation was very grim indeed. The Allied troops were trapped by the advancing German army. German Stuka dive bombers pounded Allied troops and equipment on the beaches. So did German artillery.

Then, for reasons that are not quite clear, Hitler ordered the advancing German forces to halt. It may be that he lost his nerve, or suspected a trap. He may have been hoping to make an alliance with Britain. It may be that German losses were very severe, especially of tanks. Whatever the reason, the BEF gained the time it needed for a remarkable evacuation that saved a large part of its army. Between 26 May and 4 June, 330,000 British and 10,000 French troops were evacuated by a fleet of large and small boats, many of them crewed by amateur sailors.

Dunkirk was celebrated in Britain as a great achievement. The evacuation certainly was. The Navy organised it superbly. The RAF outfought the Luftwaffe over Dunkirk. The small boats rescued around 80,000 troops. Just as important, the Dunkirk spirit was born. Civilians, government and media came together to create an extremely effective war effort which lasted until 1945. Very little was said about the fact that it was also a bitter and total military defeat. The BEF had been driven out of Europe. The evacuations had begun after only ten days of fighting. Around 300,000 troops were left behind to become prisoners. The French were left to fight the Germans alone. Although most troops had been rescued, the British forces had left most of their equipment behind. *All* of the heavy equipment, such as field guns, anti-aircraft guns, tanks and motor vehicles, was either destroyed or left for the Germans.

SOURCE 4

Dunkirk has been a miracle of deliverance, achieved by valour, by perseverance, by perfect discipline, and resourced by skill and unconquerable fidelity. But we must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations ...

Winston Churchill, 4 June 1940.

SOURCE 5

At the time, Dunkirk was a military disaster – and one that took the British public by surprise ... But almost at once, victory was being plucked from defeat and the newspapers began to manufacture the Dunkirk myth ... The Nazi papers taunted the British for abandoning their French allies ... But in Britain the Dunkirk spirit had taken root. The government encouraged it to flourish – and allowed nothing to be published which might damage morale. Dunkirk was a military defeat but a propaganda victory.

A BBC media correspondent commenting in 2000 on how the government and media handled Dunkirk.

SOURCE 6

The picture will always remain sharp-etched in my memory – the lines of men wearily and sleepily staggering across the beach from the dunes to the shallows, falling into little boats, great columns of men thrust out into the water among bomb and shell splashes.

The little boats that ferried from the beach to the big ships in deep water listed drunkenly with the weight of men. The big ships slowly took on lists of their own with the enormous numbers crowded aboard. And always down the dunes and across the beach came new borders of men, new columns, new lines.

There was always the red background, the red of Dunkirk burning. There was no water to check the fires and there were no men to be spared to fight them. Red, too, were the shell bursts, the flash of guns, the fountains of tracer bullets.

The din was infernal. The 5.9 batteries shelled ceaselessly and brilliantly. To the whistle of shells overhead was added the scream of falling bombs. Even the sky was full of noise – anti-aircraft shells, machine-gun fire, the snarl of falling planes, the angry borne noise of dive bombers.

Yet through all the noise I will always remember the voices of the young subalterns as they sent their men aboard, and I will remember, too, the astonishing discipline of the men. They had fought through three weeks of retreat, always falling back without orders, often without support. Transport had failed. They had gone sleepless. They had been without food and water. Yet they kept ranks as they came down the beaches, and they obeyed commands ...

The memories of Arthur Divine, who sailed on one of the small boats which took part in the Dunkirk evacuation.

- 1 Sources 8 and 9 give different impressions of the events at Dunkirk. Explain how their viewpoints differ.
- 2 Is it possible that both views are accurate? Explain your answer.
- 3 Look at Source 7. Explain why Hitler might be so pleased at the defeat of France. You may need to refer back to his own early life (see page 187).

SOURCE 7



Hitler's victory dance on the French surrender, 1940.

Focus Task

It is June 1940. You were in France and saw the defeat of the BEF and now you have news of the surrender of France. What would you advise the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, to do now? The choices are to:

- ◆ surrender
 - ◆ fight on
 - ◆ reach some kind of agreement or alliance with Hitler.
- 1 Present the pros and cons of each option. You will need to think about:
 - ◆ the power of the German army
 - ◆ the state of the British army
 - ◆ the resources available to Hitler from the territories he has conquered.
 - 2 Now say which option you recommend. Remember you are trying to think about this from the 1940 point of view.
 - 3 Churchill decided to fight on. This was not an easy decision. Several influential politicians and journalists were calling for a deal with Hitler. Churchill could not see ahead to 1945. In 1940 Hitler seemed unstoppable. Discuss with other students in your class: 'How was your decision for question 2 influenced by hindsight?'

SOURCE 8



The Withdrawal from Dunkirk, a painting from June 1940 by the official British war artist Charles Cundall.

SOURCE 9



British and French prisoners are marched away from the beach at Dunkirk in June 1940.

The fall of France

The new British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, encouraged France to fight on without the BEF. But France had lost 40 per cent of its army at Dunkirk and 80 per cent of its equipment. To make matters worse, on 12 June Italy also declared war on France. The French government surrendered on 21 June 1940.

Considering the scale of the French defeat, the German terms were relatively gentle. The south-east of France became a self-governing region with its capital in Vichy. It was run by Marshal Pétain, who had declared his intention of co-operating with the Nazis. The rest of France was occupied by and run by the German army. Some French leaders who escaped to Britain formed the Free French movement under Charles de Gaulle.

D-Day 1944 and the end of the Second World War

The British and their allies were driven out of France and humiliated in 1940. Four years later, they were back. In the intervening four years, a great deal had happened.

- Hitler had invaded the USSR in the summer of 1941. Although he achieved spectacular victories at first, the Soviet armed forces stopped the German advances and then drove them back. By 1944 the Red Army was moving towards Germany, backed up by extraordinary efforts from the Soviet people to produce the weapons and other equipment the Red Army needed.
- The USA had also entered the war at the end of 1941. American armed forces and American mass production of weapons and equipment made the USA the 'Arsenal of Democracy'.
- Faced with these immense opponents, the German war effort began to show the strain.

A second front?

As early as 1942, the US commander General Eisenhower put together plans for joint US–British attacks on occupied Europe. Stalin was demanding a second front in Europe – that is, for the USA and Britain to attack Hitler from the west, rather than leaving the USSR to bear the brunt of the German onslaught.

Despite these pressures, the British felt that the time was not right. The US army was not sufficiently large or well trained or equipped for such an invasion. Through 1942 and 1943, American forces built up steadily on the British mainland and in Northern Ireland.

Operation Overlord – D-Day

The main objective was still to liberate France. It was a formidable task. The Germans had been in France since 1940. They had strong fortifications. They had well-trained and experienced troops led by the very capable Field Marshal Erwin Rommel. It was undoubtedly a high-risk undertaking, but the start of Operation Overlord was nonetheless fixed for 6 June 1944.

Overlord began with a series of air attacks and decoy measures. Some 13,000 Allied aircraft (facing only 400 Luftwaffe aircraft) pounded radar installations, rail links and bridges, and effectively cut off the German defenders in Normandy from reinforcements. About two-thirds of the air attacks were actually away from the invasion area in order to confuse the defenders. Other measures such as false radio messages were also used to convince the Germans that attacks were taking place elsewhere.

The invasion took place from several beaches and was supported by paratroopers dropped from planes or landed in gliders. Casualties were only 11,000 – remarkable in an operation that had brought 130,000 men across the Channel by sea and 23,000 by air. But then the Allies had to break out of Normandy before the Germans could recover and trap them. They also needed armour, reinforcements and supplies, which were provided with great ingenuity. Giant floating harbours known as Mulberries were sailed across the Channel and huge floating piers were built. The Allies even built their own oil pipeline called PLUTO (Pipe Line Under The Ocean).

From this point, the Allies used their air superiority to devastating effect against the German forces. Heavy bombers destroyed factories. Fighter bombers such as the American P-47 Thunderbolt and the British Typhoon roamed the countryside attacking German vehicles and trains. Resistance fighters disrupted German communications and destroyed supplies being taken to German forces.

Resistance groups in other occupied territories such as Poland and the Balkans also began to attack the occupying German forces. At the same time, Allied forces were advancing in Italy and the Soviet army was advancing from the east.

Nevertheless, the breakout from Normandy into the rest of France was bloody and costly. Paris was not liberated until 25 August 1944. In December a major German counter-attack in the Ardennes region of Belgium caused tremendous casualties and disrupted the Allied advance.

Source Investigation

Why were the D-Day landings successful?

In most campaigns in the First and Second World Wars success was usually the result of a combination of:

- ◆ adequate resources
- ◆ good technology
- ◆ the right tactics.

- 1 Use Sources 10–17 on pages 326–28 to decide whether you think this was true of the D-Day landings. The questions which go with each source are designed to help you with the main investigation question.
- 2 Do some historical speculation! Do you think that an operation like D-Day could have been carried out during the First World War? What reasons would you give to support your decision?

SOURCE 10

Invasion-preparations by the Anglo-Americans in the English Motherland are completed. Despite the fact that visual and photo reconnaissance has not yet been able to include the whole of the English south coast, the observed concentrations of landing shipping space, especially in the area north of the Isle of Wight (Portsmouth-Southampton), nevertheless give a clear picture of a main concentration defining itself in that area. Tonnage of shipping space for landings which has so far been observed can be assumed to be sufficient for twelve to thirteen divisions (without heavy equipment and rear elements) for fairly short sea-routes.

An extract from a German intelligence report that was intercepted by British intelligence.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does the source tell you about what the Germans knew?
- The Germans did not know the British were intercepting their reports. Is that obvious from this source?

SOURCE 11



The Allied Supreme Commanders for D-Day, meeting in February 1944.

ASK YOURSELF

- Which different military services do you think are represented in this photograph?
- What countries do you think are represented?
- Do you get the impression from this photograph that the Allied commanders worked well together?

SOURCE 12

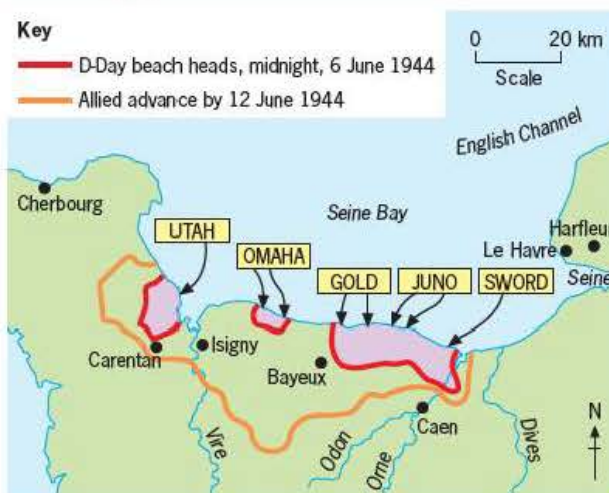


Dummy landing craft made of plywood in harbours in England in 1944. The Allies created almost a complete dummy army of fake equipment, including dummy trucks and tanks and even aircraft. These were designed to confuse and mislead German intelligence officers who would have looked at aerial pictures like these.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this tell you about Allied planning?
- What does it tell you about the Allies' resources?

SOURCE 13



The D-Day invasion plans.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this source tell you about the Allies' plans?
- Does this source help you to understand why the Germans found it difficult to stop the landings?

SOURCE 14

We were briefed to search for enemy armoured vehicles near Caen. F/L Dadson led the squadron unexpectedly over a large north bound armoured column just south of Caen, in France. The columns believed to be a part of the 21st Panzer Division en route to assemble near Caen. The squadron attacked the column with 500lb bombs and cannon inflicting heavy damage on a score of vehicles. Bombs were dropped over various parts of the column on individual attacks. None of our aircraft were damaged. All returned safely.

An extract from the log of an RAF squadron involved in D-Day.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this source tell you about the opposition the RAF faced?
- What role did air power play?

SOURCE 15

06.30

D-Day. Sighted BERNIERES and ST AUBIN. The landmarks which had been carefully memorised from air photos were clearly recognisable – the jetty at the harbour of COURSEULLES – the flat expanse of marsh land to the EAST – then the church steeple amid a profusion of trees, which marked BERNIERES and on down the coast to the cluster of buildings surrounding the next church which marked ST AUBIN SUR MER. As the coast drew nearer the wind increased and a heavy sea made it necessary to consider whether or not the Duplex Drive Tanks [amphibious tanks launched from landing craft] were to be launched or should the troops go in without their immediate assistance.

An extract from the War Diary of an officer in the Canadian 8th Brigade.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this source reveal about the preparations made for D-Day and the equipment available on D-Day?

SOURCE 16



One of the Allies' Mulberry Harbours off the Normandy coast, June 1944.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this source reveal about the resources available to the Allies in 1944?

Focus Task A

How did warfare change on the Western Front from the First World War to the Second World War?

- Work in pairs or small groups. Study the information and sources on pages 310–28 and list all of the similarities and differences between the Western Front in the First World War and the Second World War.
- Then organise your similarities and differences under these headings:
 - Plans and tactics
 - Scale
 - Technology
 - Movement
 - Resources
 - Weapons
- Finally, decide your own view on how much the nature of warfare changed between the two wars using this scale:
 - Huge change; Important change
 - Some change but also many similarities
 - Limited change
 - No change at all
 - Start by deciding your view on your own.
 - Then explain your view to a partner, and see if it changes.
 - Then take a whole class vote.

SOURCE 17

A sergeant, aged 28 said his 75mm guns were all destroyed by bombardment and his commander said it was more reasonable to surrender since they could not fight any more (captured 7 June near Caen). He said there were some native Germans in his unit.

A corporal, age 38, a Polish cobbler, tells the following story. 'At 2 o'clock one morning the Alarm was given and he was sent forward to Graye-sur-Mer to a gun section. He had been trained as an infantryman and had no anti-tank experience. When the Allies appeared off the beach his platoon commander, a very decent fellow in the prisoner's opinion, said "This is it, boys. We give up now" and the platoon never fired a shot.' Prisoner stated that his company was composed entirely of Germans, and that another company had about 80 Poles in a total strength of 150.

Statements made by captured German prisoners after D-Day. After Poland was occupied by the Germans large numbers of Polish men and women were forced to work in factories for the German war effort or made to join the German armed forces. The same was true for many other occupied countries.

ASK YOURSELF

- What does this source reveal about some units in the German army?

Victory in Europe

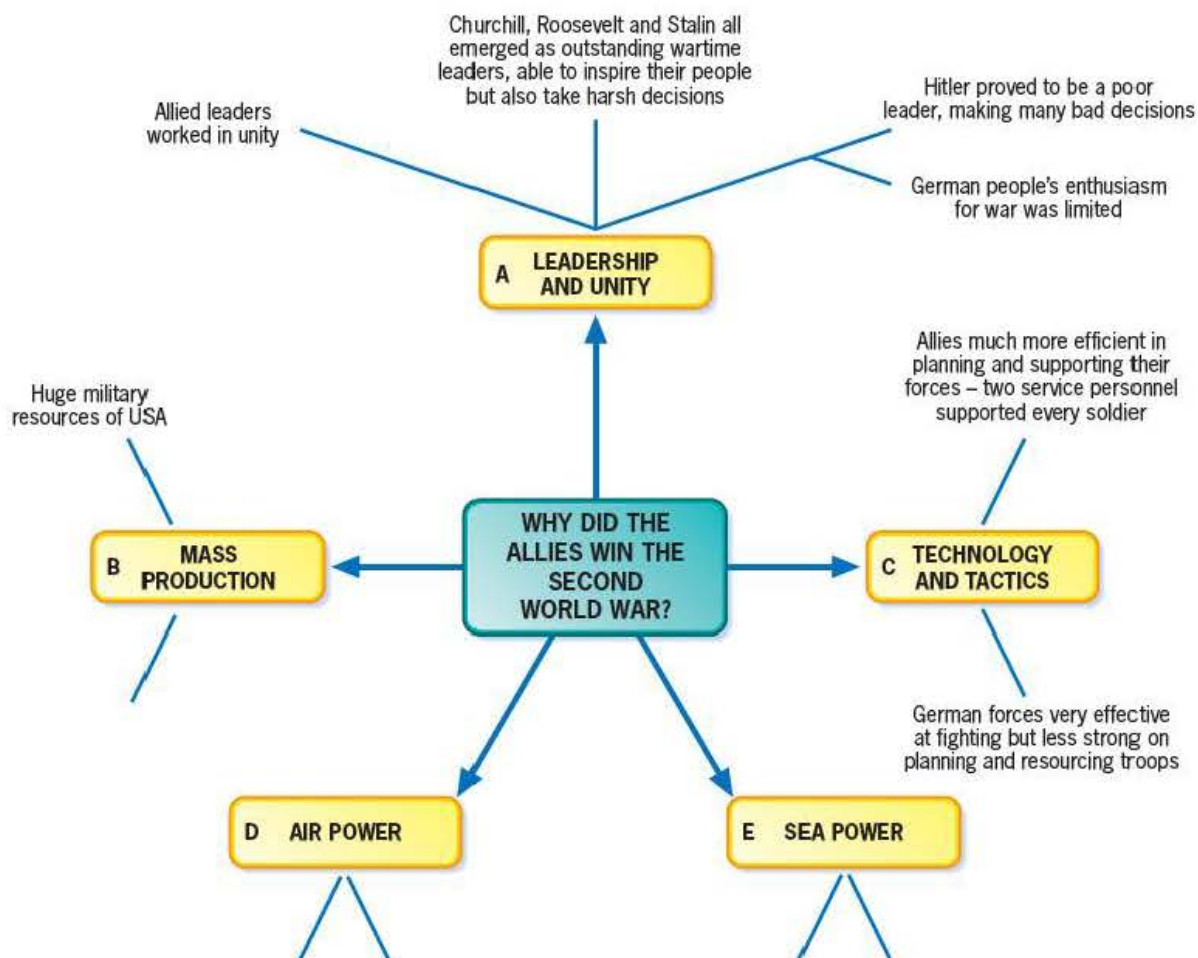
As the Allies advanced, the Germans put some remarkable new weapons into action. The most spectacular of these were the V-1 and V-2 missiles. The V-1 was a flying bomb powered by a rocket engine. It was extremely difficult to shoot down because it travelled so quickly. It flew towards a target area and then came down wherever it ran out of fuel. The V-2 was a genuine guided missile. It flew at supersonic speeds and was impossible to shoot down. Several of these weapons hit London and cities in Belgium and the Netherlands. Jet aircraft were also introduced.

However, none of the new weapons stopped the Allies' advance. There was much hard fighting. One daring Allied attack on the bridges over the Rhine, in the Netherlands in September 1944, was beaten back with heavy losses, but the Allies finally managed to cross the Rhine into Germany in March 1945.

In May 1945 US and British forces met up with Soviet forces and the war in Europe was over.

Focus Task B

Did the same factors lead to Allied victory in both World Wars?



In this chapter we do not attempt to cover every aspect of the two wars. However, we have tried to cover the decisive events in outline. The diagram above provides a summary of some of the main reasons why Britain and her allies won the Second World War. Your task is to use the information in this chapter to:

- ◆ complete your own copy of the diagram
- ◆ add examples of each factor to show that you understand each factor
- ◆ assess which of these factors were most important
- ◆ decide which of these factors were also important in the First World War.

Stage 1: Complete the diagram

- 1 Study each factor shown in the diagram. Look through pages 321–28 to find examples of each factor. Add them to your own copy of this diagram.
- 2 Some factors have not been completed yet. As you work through the next ten pages add factors and examples to summarise the importance of Air Power and Sea Power.

Stage 2: Evaluate the factors

- 3 When your diagram is complete, rate the importance of each factor to the Allied victory in the Second World War. Use a scale of 1–5 with five being very important. N.B. there is no right answer to this but make sure you can back up your score with evidence.
- 4 Now work through the factors again and decide which of these also applied to the Allied victory in the First World War. Highlight them on the diagram.
- 5 Rate those First World War factors out of five for their importance to the Allied victory.

Stage 3: Write about what you have found

- 6 'The same factors which led to Allied victory in the First World War also led to the Allied victory in the Second World War.' As a class, take a vote on how far you agree with this statement. Use a scale with one meaning strongly disagree and five meaning strongly agree.

12.3

War at sea in the First and Second World Wars

SOURCE 1



Supplying a warship – an illustration from *The Standard History*. If this much was required for a warship with around 2,000 men on board, try to imagine what the supplies needed for a city like London would look like.

Factfile

New weapons in the war at sea

- When the war began, most people expected the war at sea to be a confrontation between the new Dreadnought battleships. In fact, submarines became a key feature of the war at sea. Submarines were primitive and inefficient, but they were also very effective.
- It was a new weapon – the torpedo – which made submarine warfare so effective. Even the mightiest battleship was vulnerable to a torpedo from the smallest submarine.
- The mine also came into its own as a devastatingly effective weapon in the war at sea. Several ships were lost in the Gallipoli campaign to mines. In the North Sea and the Baltic, minefields were used to protect harbours by both the French and the British. Another tactic was for submarines to lay mines in harbours to catch enemy ships by surprise as they set out to sea.

The war at sea in the First World War

The sea campaigns of the First World War were unusual in that, although they were vitally important, relatively little fighting took place between the warships. The key objective was to control the seas to stop supplies getting to the enemy. The British blockade of German ports which stopped supplies reaching Germany was a crucial factor in the Allied victory over Germany. It was just as important as any military victory on land.

Both sides knew how important it was to control the sea, and the war at sea became a cautious war. The British Commander Admiral Jellicoe said that he 'could lose the war in an afternoon' if he rashly allowed his fleet to be put out of action.

There were some battles at sea. In August 1914 the Royal Navy scored a clever (but small) tactical victory in the North Sea at Heligoland, but generally the German navy remained in its ports. Early in 1914 German battle cruisers shelled some British east coast towns (see page 296). In the Mediterranean, the German cruiser *Goeben* evaded the Royal Navy to reach Constantinople. This was an important event, since it influenced the Turks, who were pro-German, to make the decision to enter the war – otherwise they would have had to force the *Goeben* to leave.

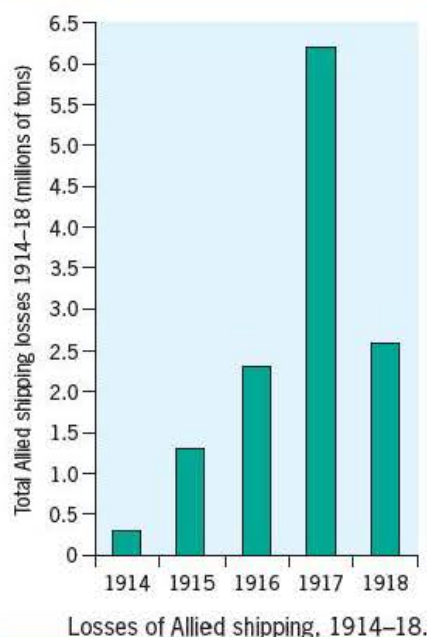
The Germans had few ships in the Pacific, but a small squadron gained an early victory in November 1914 off the coast of Chile. The Royal Navy set out to remove this threat and the German ships were destroyed around the Falkland Islands in December 1914.

By 1915 only the ships in German ports remained. The Germans tried to enforce their own blockade of Britain by using submarines to sink merchant ships. This was highly effective. In May 1915 a U-boat sank the liner *Lusitania*, with the loss of approximately 1,200 passengers.

The Battle of Jutland

The only major sea battle of the war was at Jutland in 1916. In the event, chaos and confusion reigned. The Germans had the best of the exchanges, but the British fleet was simply too large. The Germans sank fourteen British ships and lost eleven themselves but never left their harbours again. Both sides claimed to have won the battle. On the one hand, the Germans caused more damage than they received. On the other, the Battle of Jutland certainly failed to achieve the most important objective for Germany which was to remove the blockade.

SOURCE 2



The U-boat campaign

In the early stages of the war, German U-boats concentrated their attacks on Allied warships. When the Allies learned to protect their warships the U-boats attacked Allied merchant ships instead.

To start with, the attackers would warn a merchant ship that it was about to be sunk and allow the crew to abandon ship. This 'convention' was abandoned in February 1915 when the Germans began a campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare. All Allied ships were targeted. They could be torpedoed without warning. A notable early casualty of the new campaign was the liner *Lusitania*. British propaganda painted this action as a criminal act, but there was some evidence that the ship was carrying explosives for the war effort.

Over 100 American citizens were killed on the *Lusitania*, causing great tension between the US and German governments. Two years later, in 1917, the USA cited the U-boat campaign as one of its reasons for declaring war on Germany.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Germany called off unrestricted submarine warfare, but in 1916 started it again. The Germans' aim was to prevent essential supplies getting to Britain and they almost succeeded. By June 1917, Britain had lost 500,000 tons of shipping to the U-boats. At one point, it was estimated that London had only six weeks' supply of food remaining.

From 1916 the Allies improved their tactics for dealing with the U-boats (see Source 3). However, two other factors were significant in the fight against submarines: the dedication and heroism of the sailors of the merchant navy and the massive output of shipbuilders. By 1917 Britain and the USA were building so many ships that the U-boats could not possibly sink them all. The Germans simply did not have the resources to sustain their campaign and it was finally called off.

SOURCE 3



Q ships were decoy ships – merchant ships armed with disguised heavy guns. They were designed to fool U-boats into attacking well-defended targets. The immediate success of the Q ships was one reason why, in 1915, the U-boats stopped warning ships that they were about to be attacked.



Mines destroyed more U-boats than any other weapon. They were particularly effective in preventing U-boats from using the English Channel and sailing into British ports.



Depth charges (bombs set to go off underwater at certain depths) were introduced in 1916 and proved second only to mines as a weapon against the U-boats.



Convoys: From mid-1917 almost all merchant ships travelled in convoys. British and US warships escorted merchant ships in close formation. Allied shipping losses fell by about 20 per cent when the convoy system was introduced in mid-1917. Depth charges became even more effective when used together with the convoy system.



Long-range aircraft: By the end of the war, aircraft technology had developed so much that aircraft could protect convoys.

During the war, new tactics were developed to defend merchant ships against submarine attack.

The British blockade

The British blockade was a key factor in the defeat of Germany. Starved of supplies, the German army was weakened and the German people lost some of their will to support the war. The war at sea was therefore arguably as decisive as the war on land.

- 300,000 deaths related to malnutrition during 1914–18 among civilian population.
- In Germany, the government was forced to slaughter one-third of all pigs in 1915 because the naval blockade had cut off imports of fodder to feed them.
- The blockade cut supplies of nitrates to Germany – vital for explosives for the army and fertilisers for the farmers.
- In Germany in 1916, the adult meat ration for one week was the equivalent of two burgers in a modern fast-food restaurant.

Focus Task

Why did Britain win the war at sea in the First World War?

Write notes under these four headings to explain why Britain won the war at sea.

- ◆ Resources
- ◆ Weapons
- ◆ Politics
- ◆ Tactics

The war at sea in the Second World War

The war at sea in the Second World War was every bit as important as it was in the First World War. In fact, many historians believe it was more important. There were no huge sea battles like the ones fought against the Japanese in the Pacific, although there were dramatic engagements like the sinking of the German battleship *Bismarck* (see Source 5). *Bismarck* was the largest and most powerful battleship in the world. If it had escaped into the Atlantic and attacked British and American convoys it would have done terrible damage to the war effort. Source 5 provides an account of how the Royal Navy hunted down and sank *Bismarck*. It also gives us a sense of the range of other activities which the Royal Navy carried out. This is just one page of a document which was nineteen pages long – and that document was describing just one week!

- 1 What activities do we learn about from Source 5?
- 2 Explain why this is such a useful source to the historian.

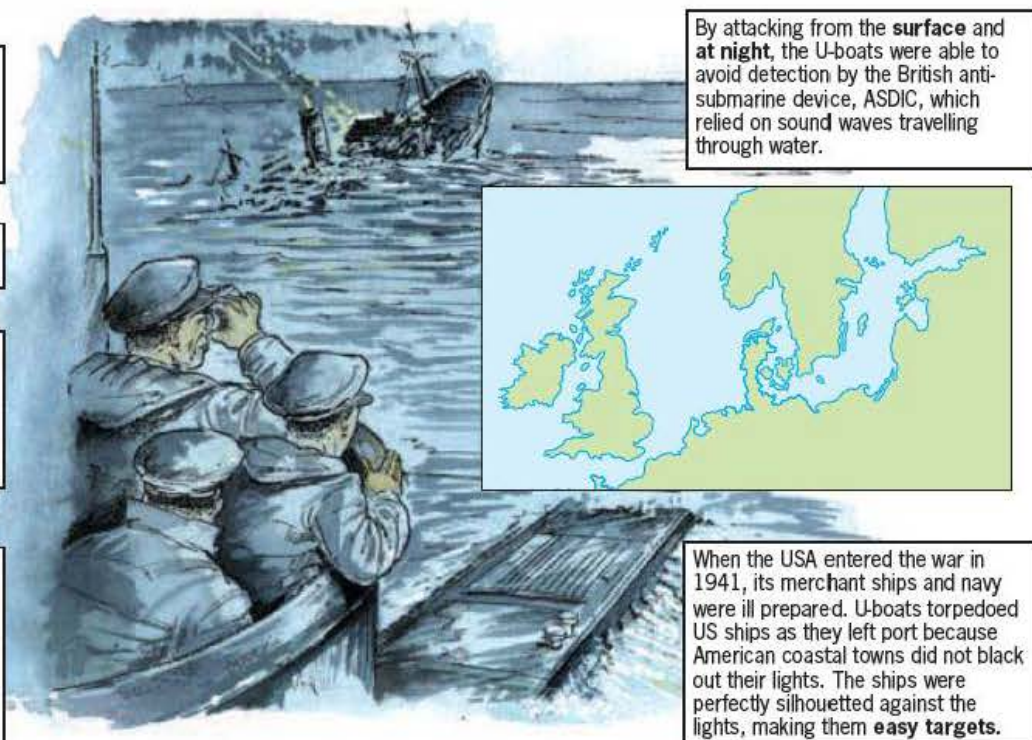
SOURCE 4

The capture of Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and France in 1940 gave the Germans **secure naval bases** from which their U-boats could operate.

The U-boats laid **mines** around Britain's coasts.

The Germans used converted airliners (Focke-Wulf Condors) as **long-range anti-shipping bombers**. In 1940 alone, these aircraft sank 58,000 tons of shipping.

German intelligence had **cracked** some of the **codes** used by British ships. **Wolf packs** of U-boats were able to lie in wait and **torpedo** the convoys in mid-Atlantic. The U-boats were hard to detect as they deliberately limited the use of their radios to avoid detection.



By attacking from the **surface** and **at night**, the U-boats were able to avoid detection by the British anti-submarine device, ASDIC, which relied on sound waves travelling through water.

When the USA entered the war in 1941, its merchant ships and navy were ill prepared. U-boats torpedoed US ships as they left port because American coastal towns did not black out their lights. The ships were perfectly silhouetted against the lights, making them **easy targets**.

The U-boat menace: how the Germans gained the upper hand.

The Battle of the Atlantic

The most important battleground in Britain's war at sea was the Atlantic. The Battle of the Atlantic is the name given to the battle for control of the North Atlantic Ocean. It lasted from 1939 until 1944.

Some idea of the scale and nature of the Battle of the Atlantic is given on the left. Around 50,000 merchant seamen died in the North Atlantic, often in appalling situations. Some were killed instantly when their ships were attacked. Many more were drowned or froze to death in the icy waters of the Atlantic when their ships were sunk.

The Battle of the Atlantic was not as spectacular as the dogfights and roaring engines of the Battle of Britain (see pages 336–37), but it was just as important. The North Atlantic Ocean was the vital link that brought supplies from Canada and the USA to Britain. Without this lifeline, Britain could not have carried on the war. It also could not have supplied vital equipment to the USSR for its campaign against Germany.

SOURCE 5

WAR CABINET WEEKLY SUMMARY of the NAVAL, MILITARY AND AIR SITUATION from 12 noon May 22nd, to 12 noon May 29th, 1941

General Review

1. *The Mediterranean Fleet continues to be engaged in the Cretan operations.*

The German battleship Bismarck has been sunk in the Atlantic.

Shipping losses have been light.

Home Waters and North Atlantic

2. *Following reports received from air reconnaissance, the German battleship Bismarck and cruiser Prinz Eugen were sighted on the 23rd May. They were engaged by H.M.S Hood and Prince of Wales. Hood was hit and blew up. Successful torpedo attacks were made by torpedo-aircraft during the night. Bismarck was engaged by our ships and finally sunk by torpedoes.*

3. *H.M.S. Edinburgh intercepted the German steamship Lech (3,290 tons) 400 miles north of the Azores on the 22nd. H.M. Trawler Cape Portland intercepted the Finnish s.s. Dagmar (2,149 tons) 190 miles west of the Faroes and escorted her in. H.M.S. Registan (Ocean Boarding Vessel) was bombed and set on fire off Land's End on the 27th. She is being towed into port. Four ex-U.S. coastguard-cutters have arrived in Great Britain.*

Mediterranean

4. *H.M. Submarine Upholder obtained a hit on a 4,000-ton laden tanker in the southern entrance to the Straits of Messina on the 20th, and torpedoed a 5,000-ton ship in the same vicinity on the 23rd. H.M. Submarine Usk is overdue and must be considered lost.*

Anti-Submarine Operations

5. *Only two attacks on U-boats have been carried out during the week one by an aircraft off La Rochelle and another by gunfire from HM Submarine Pandora to the westward of Oporto, both without visible result.*

An extract from the War Cabinet weekly summary, May 1941. You can access all of these reports and many other Cabinet Papers from the web site of the National Archives. HM means 'His Majesty's', i.e. Royal Navy ships.

Canada entered the war on Britain's side in September 1939. Thousands of Canadian troops crossed the Atlantic to defend Britain and fight in North Africa, Italy and the D-Day landings. Just as importantly, Canada supplied huge quantities of food and raw materials to Britain from the very beginning of the war.

The USA did not enter the war until December 1941, but it played an important role long before that. In November 1940 President Roosevelt introduced the Lend-Lease scheme. This scheme supplied vast amounts of food, fuel and equipment to help the British war effort against Hitler. Once the USA did join the war, it committed equipment and millions of US troops to the war in Europe. However, such military power was worthless if it could not cross the Atlantic to fight against the Axis. It was this which made the Atlantic such an important battleground.

The Germans knew from the start that they had to cut off British supplies from the USA. In the early stages of the Battle of the Atlantic, German submarines were very effective. In 1940 the Germans sank over 1,000 ships, a quarter of Britain's merchant fleet. The next two years were even worse for the Allies. In 1941 the Allies lost 1,300 ships. In 1942 they lost 1,661 ships. Britain was able to import only one-third of what it normally imported in peacetime. In January 1943 the navy had only two months' supply of oil left.

There is no doubt that in the early years the U-boats had the upper hand. A lot of Allied ships did get through, but it was often more by good luck than tactics. The Allies had no reliable methods for beating the U-boats. Winston Churchill wrote after the war that 'the only thing that ever really frightened me was the U-boat peril'. But these early years also taught Britain some harsh lessons and from 1941 Britain began to be more effective.

Churchill gave top priority to fighting the U-boat threat. In May 1943 the Allies sank 41 U-boats. In July 1943 over 1,600 ships crossed the Atlantic without being attacked. Between June and December 1943 the Allies sank 141 U-boats, losing only 57 ships themselves. U-boats were being sunk at a faster rate than they were sinking enemy ships. In March 1944, Admiral Dönitz called off the U-boat campaign. The Battle of the Atlantic had been won.

Focus Task

The Battle of the Atlantic

You have been asked to write questions for this year's history examination paper. You have been asked to include a question on the Battle of the Atlantic. You have two possible questions to choose between:

- ◆ Was the war at sea more important to Britain in the First World War or the Second World War?
 - ◆ Why did the Allies win the Battle of the Atlantic?
- 1 Discuss with other students
 - a) why each question is a worthwhile question
 - b) which you think is harder
 - c) which you think is more important.
 - 2 Write a recommendation to the examination board. You should write a few sentences on the strengths of each question and then make your final recommendation of which question it should choose.
 - 3 Draw up a list of key points that you think students should bring up in their answers to your chosen question.
 - 4 Finally, just in case the exam board does not follow your recommendation, do a list of key points that students should bring up in answer to the other question.

12.4

War in the air in the First and Second World Wars

The First World War in the air

One aspect of the fighting in the First World War which captured the public's imagination was the developing war in the air. This seemed to give people what they had been looking for in 1914, namely honourable one-to-one combat between gallant young men. The newspapers and journals began to pick up on the story of flying aces from an early stage in the war.

The Germans, French, Australians and other nations all had their own heroes. The most famous was probably the Baron von Richthofen (the Red Baron) and his squadron or 'flying circus'. He shot down 80 Allied planes. Not far behind this total was the Frenchman René Fonck with 75 kills.

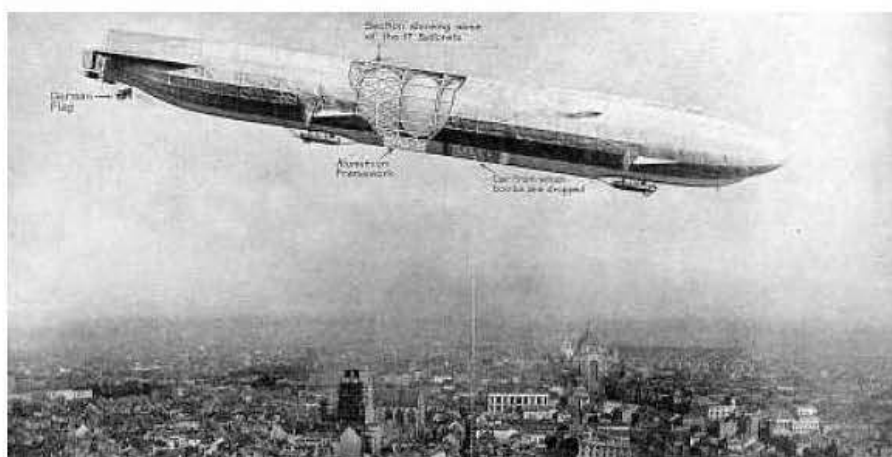
In the 1920s, it was this aspect of the war, rather than the horrors of the trenches or the waiting games at sea, that was the most popular subject for the new film industry in Hollywood. It is easy to see why, but was the war in the air really as important as it is made out to be?

SOURCE 1



Airships

In the early stages of the war the most important aircraft were airships. Airships were essentially huge bags of lighter-than-air hydrogen gas. They were powered by engines carried in 'cars' in a keel-like structure underneath. The cars also carried the crew.



A typical First World War airship (above) with a bomb being dropped from its bullet-proof cage (left).

The British used airships mainly for escorting ships and for hunting U-boats. They could spot U-boats on the surface and warn the escort warships by radio.

German airships were much more advanced and more widely used. Known as Zeppelins (after the designer Count Zeppelin) they were a key weapon in the early war at sea. They were able to fly higher and faster than many early planes and were used as observation decks for the German fleet.

It was not long before the Germans realised the potential of Zeppelins as bombers. The first raids hit British towns in early 1915. The Zeppelins could not carry enough bombs to do real damage, but what they did achieve was psychological damage – civilians in Britain no longer seemed safe.

The British government pulled back fighter planes to defend Britain from these attacks, but in fact such fears were exaggerated. Once air defences improved, it was clear that Zeppelins were very vulnerable. By 1918 speedy, powerful fighter planes and accurate anti-aircraft fire took a heavy toll of these giant aircraft, as these statistics show:

- 130 Zeppelins in service
- 7 lost to bad weather
- 38 lost in accidents
- 39 lost in enemy action.

SOURCE 2



A Sopwith Camel.

SOURCE 3

Two machines jump up before me. A couple of shots. Gun jammed. I feel defenceless and in my rage I try to ram an enemy's machine. The guns begin to fire again. I see the observer and pilot lurch forward. Their plane crashes in a shellhole. The other Englishman vanishes.

A German airman describes a dogfight.

SOURCE 4



A British heavy bomber. Bombs came out through a sliding hatch in the base of the plane. From 1917, German heavy bombers attacked towns on the English coast, causing an estimated 1,000 deaths as well as destroying property.

Aeroplanes

In 1914 aeroplanes were extremely primitive as described on page 317. By 1918 spectacular dogfights were common over the Western Front. The rickety early planes had given way to sleek fighters such as the Sopwith Camel (Source 2) and the Fokker Triplane. Planes also played a part in slowing down the German advance in 1918 and in the Allied advances of the Hundred Days (see page 320 and also 317).

SOURCE 5

Pilots are always to be armed with a revolver or pistol . . . binoculars, some safety device, either waistcoat, patent lifebelt, or petrol can . . . At all times the pilot should carry out independent observations and note down what he sees (noting the times). Nail a pad of paper to the instrument panel for this purpose . . . Pilots and observers are to familiarize themselves with the photographs of Turkish men-of-war described in The World's Fighting Ships. This book is in the office . . . Don't make wild statements; a small accurate report is worth pages of rhetoric giving no useful information. If an enemy aeroplane is sighted, attack it, reporting you are doing so. Don't try to do what is termed by some people as 'stunt flying'. This is not wanted for war and is not conduct required of an officer.

Instructions given to early aerial reconnaissance pilots fighting against Turkey.

SOURCE 6

Really I am having too much luck for a boy. I will start straight away, and tell you all. On August 22 I went up. Met twelve Huns. No. 1 fight. I attacked and fired two drums, bringing the machine down just outside the village. All crashed up. No. 2 fight. I attacked . . . putting in two drums. Hun went down in flames. No. 3 fight. I attacked and put in one drum. Machine went down and crashed on a house-top. All these fights were seen and reported by other machines that saw them go down. I only got hit eleven times, so I returned and got more ammunition. [Later Ball wrote:] I do not think anything bad about the Hun. Nothing makes me feel more rotten than seeing him go down . . . I am beginning to feel like a murderer . . .

Lieutenant Ball, a British airman, was only nineteen when he wrote this letter, dated 25 August 1916. He became famous for his daredevil exploits. He was killed on a raid in 1917.

By the end of the war, aeroplanes had been designed that could drop bombs. Air raids took place as early as 1914 but they were notoriously ineffective and inaccurate. Zeppelin hangars were a favourite target. They were so huge they were hard to miss. As the war came to a close, the Germans had developed the Gotha heavy bomber which carried out a few raids on Britain. Similarly, the British developed the huge Handley Page which was capable of bombing Berlin but never got the chance to do so.

The war speeded up the development of air technology. In four years the RAF had gone from having 37 aeroplanes to 23,000. Even so, aircraft were really only a side show to the land war. Air power was if anything more valuable at sea where the aircraft could observe and attack shipping.

Focus Task

Look back at Source 14 on page 318. In that source the historian tries to sum up the changes which were seen in the land war. Your task is to produce a similar piece of work which sums up the changes which took place in the air war. You could do this as:

- ◆ A series of diary entries from a pilot or ground crew member serving from 1914–18.
- ◆ A series of images with captions.
- ◆ A multimedia presentation.
- ◆ A script for a documentary film (or the film itself).

Whatever format you use, you should mention the following points:

- ◆ Changes in the aircraft used on each side.
- ◆ Important technical developments (e.g. engines, machine guns).
- ◆ Changes in the role and contribution of aircraft.
- ◆ The importance of air power during the First World War, and how it changed during the course of the war.

- 1 Why do you think the air war captured the imagination of the public more than the ground war?
- 2 Were airships more important than aeroplanes in the First World War?
- 3 'No one should underestimate the importance in war of the psychological impact of a new weapon, or of morale-boosting success.' Do you agree? Explain your answer by referring to the war in the air.

Focus Task

Why did Britain win the Battle of Britain?

- 1 Work in pairs to complete your own copy of this table. Do two rows each. You will find plenty of examples in the text on pages 336–37.

Factor	How it led to the British victory
Technology	
Weapons	
Tactics	
Leadership	

- 2 Discuss your completed table. Which factor played the most important role?

SOURCE 7

We were in Normandy, France . . . and from there we flew the Stukas to England. While I was based there we lost 85 planes shot down over England and the Channel. Later on the crews mutinied. They didn't want to fight any more because their planes could not compete with the Hurricanes and Spitfires.

Theodor Plotte was part of the ground crew of a Stuka dive bomber squadron. His main job was to arm the Stukas with bombs.

The Second World War in the air

By the time the Second World War began in 1939 all of the countries involved were aware of how far aircraft technology had developed since the First World War. They were all aware that air power would play a key role in deciding the outcome of the war. Air power proved to be a decisive factor in many campaigns, especially the war against Japanese forces in the Pacific. It also proved to be a key factor in the success of the D-Day landings in 1944 (see pages 325–27). In this section we are going to look at two campaigns in which air power was absolutely central.

Battle of Britain, 1940–41

How to deal with Britain was a puzzle for Hitler. For a start, he did not really want war with Britain. He felt that Britain was his natural ally not his enemy. Hitler's main aim was to defeat the USSR and carve out a German empire in the east. However, Britain's new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, made it clear that he would make no deal with Germany. Britain would fight to the finish.

Another problem for Hitler was that the Blitzkrieg tactics that had worked so well in Poland and France could not work across the Channel. Blitzkrieg was built around rapid and flexible movement of many land troops. To conquer Britain would require a sea and air invasion. Hitler's military advisers made it clear that no invasion could succeed if German forces were being attacked by the RAF and the British navy. The German navy was no match for the British navy. However, the Germans did believe that if the RAF could be wiped out, then the navy's dockyards could be destroyed by bombing. Without the protection of the RAF, British ships would be vulnerable to air attack by German planes.

Operation Sealion (the Germans' code name for the invasion of Britain) had therefore to begin with the destruction of the RAF. German bombers would bomb British air bases and cripple the RAF. On 1 July 1940 the first German aircraft crossed the Channel and the air war that became known as the Battle of Britain had begun.

Could the Luftwaffe succeed? Hermann Goering, head of the Luftwaffe, had every reason to be confident. He had many more high-quality aircraft than the British: the Messerschmitt 109 fighter, and the Heinkel III, the Junkers Ju 88 and the Dornier D.17 bombers. He also had more well-trained and experienced pilots. However, the RAF had its strengths and the Luftwaffe also had some weaknesses.

RAF strengths

- The RAF was led by Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding. He had been planning Britain's air defence system since 1936 and had brought in many important technical developments (e.g. bullet-proof windscreens for fighter planes). He also introduced command and communication systems which meant that fighters could be quickly and effectively directed to meet enemy attacks.
- Dowding was also a supporter of radar. Radar worked by transmitting radio waves that bounced back off approaching enemy aircraft. Experienced radar operators could accurately estimate the size and speed of approaching aircraft. In previous campaigns the Germans had been able to destroy most of their enemies' aircraft on the ground. Britain's investment in radar in the 1930s meant that RAF planes were not caught on the ground as the Luftwaffe approached.
- The main RAF fighter planes – Spitfires and Hurricanes – were more than a match for the Luftwaffe's aircraft. Only the Messerschmitt 109 could compare with the Spitfire.
- RAF fighters were organised into regions so that they could meet attacks quickly, even if they came from different directions.
- RAF pilots who baled out over Britain could return to duty.

Luftwaffe weaknesses

- Hermann Goering led the Luftwaffe. He was not good at tactics. He did not really understand how modern air warfare worked. He regularly shifted the focus of attacks, causing confusion among pilots.
- The Luftwaffe had a lot of aircraft but not enough of the right type of fighting aircraft. Aircraft like the Stuka dive bomber were geared towards supporting the army in battle, not to gaining air superiority over another air force (see Source 8).
- German fighters only had enough fuel on board to guarantee them 30 minutes' flying time over England.
- Luftwaffe bombers were too small. They did not cause enough damage to their targets to put them completely out of action. There were plans to build big long-range heavy bombers, but they were cancelled. Such bombers could have devastated airfields and aircraft factories.
- German intelligence was poor. The Germans did not realise how important radar was.
- Luftwaffe pilots who baled out over Britain became prisoners of war.

SOURCE 8

	British	German
1–15 Jul	51	108
16–31 Jul	69	117
1–15 Aug	156	259
16–31 Aug	249	332
1–15 Sept	268	323
16–30 Sept	133	213
1–15 Oct	100	147
16–31 Oct	90	161
Totals	1116	1660

British and German aircraft destroyed,
1 July–31 October 1940.

SOURCE 9



The Battle of Britain.

The Battle of Britain was not a single battle. It was a series of air battles, day after day, that lasted throughout the summer of 1940. Waves of German bombers escorted by fighter aircraft would attack targets in Britain. British fighters were sent to intercept them.

In the air, the RAF was consistently out-shooting the Luftwaffe, as you can see from Source 8. As pilots were killed, hundreds were recruited to fill the gap. As planes were destroyed, more planes were needed. Lord Beaverbrook took over aircraft production and focused on producing only fighter planes (not bombers). From July to September, Britain was making 563 planes per month – out-producing the Germans.

The Blitz

In September 1940, the Luftwaffe changed tactics. Instead of attacking the RAF, the Luftwaffe began to bomb London. This gave the RAF breathing space, although it started the most terrifying phase of the war for civilians.

British cities were intensively bombed for the next eight months. This is known as the Blitz – see pages 300–01. The Battle of Britain was effectively over once the Blitz began (although that was not immediately obvious at the time). It gradually became clear that if Hitler had given up on his plan to destroy the RAF, then he must also have given up his plans for invasion. On 19 August, Winston Churchill praised the RAF pilots in one of his most famous speeches, saying ‘Never before, in the field of human conflict, has so much been owed, by so many, to so few.’

Was the Battle of Britain a turning point in the war?

YES

- It was Hitler's first real defeat – a morale booster for the Allies.
- Britain's survival was vital to the Allies. Britain was the base for the American and RAF bombing campaigns throughout the war. Britain and Northern Ireland became staging posts for the retaking of western Europe in the D-Day landings of 1944.
- It showed that Germany's armed forces were effective in fast-moving warfare, but could not keep up long-drawn-out confrontations.
- If Britain had been defeated, the USA itself would have been vulnerable to a Nazi-dominated Europe and the might of Japan in Asia.

NO

- Even if the RAF had been defeated, the navy could have held off invasion. That was Britain's real strength.
- Britain only avoided defeat. It was hardly a victory. There was no counter-attack. Hitler was far from beaten.
- Even if Britain had been invaded, the British Empire and Commonwealth would have remained to launch a counter-attack.

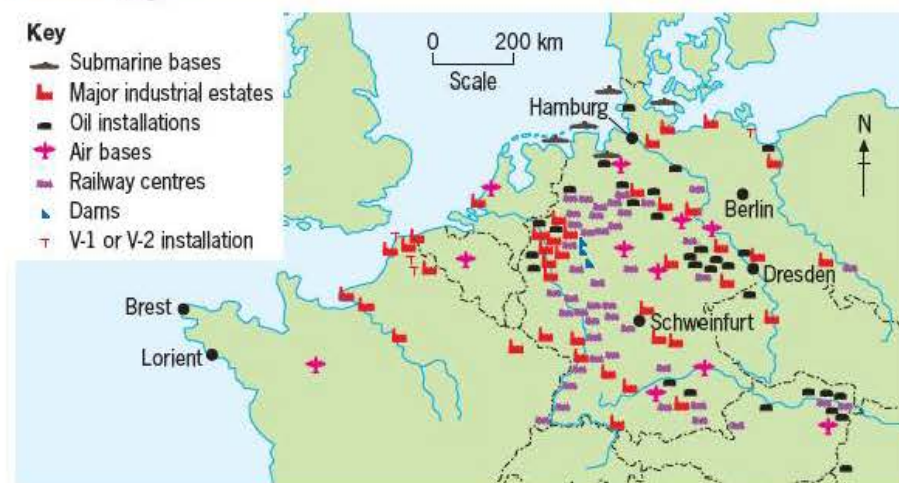
The Allied bombing campaign against Germany, 1942–45

One of the most controversial aspects of the war was the Allied bombing campaign against Germany from 1942 to 1945. There had been RAF bombing raids in 1940 and 1941, but the really intensive bombing of Germany was a policy developed by Sir Arthur Harris, head of RAF Bomber Command from 1942. Harris was committed to strategic bombing because he believed that it would work. Both he and Churchill thought that bombing would demoralise the German population as well as destroy vital industries, rail links and resources such as coal mines.

In 1942 the bombing campaigns were largely directed at targets in France. American B-17s and British Lancasters attacked the ports of Brest and Lorient, where the German submarine pens were. They flattened the towns but left the submarine facilities virtually untouched. When Roosevelt and Churchill met in January 1943, they agreed that their forces would not be ready to attack Europe until 1944. But they were very conscious that Stalin was pressurising them to equal the enormous efforts of the USSR against Germany. They decided that the bombing campaign would be intensified and that it would be focused on targets in Germany. Berlin was bombed regularly from 1943 to 1945. Other German cities were also heavily bombed.

- 1 Why do you think many people on the Allied side were sceptical about the plan for a major bombing campaign?
- 2 Choose an example of a technical measure taken by one side and a counter-measure adopted by the other side. Write a short paragraph explaining this process.

SOURCE 10



The bombing campaign.

Losses among bomber crews were extremely high, but the Allies constantly adapted their tactics and improved their technology to overcome German defences.

SOURCE 11



The effects of Allied bombing on Hamburg, 1943. RAF bombers dropped high explosive and incendiary bombs which caused fires to rage uncontrollably.

- Because bombers were extremely vulnerable to attack from German anti-aircraft guns and fighters, they switched to night raids.
- When the Germans developed a form of radar that enabled their night fighters to find and destroy the Allied bombers, the RAF came up with an ingenious solution. 'Window' consisted of thousands of small strips of metal foil. This produced a blizzard of confusing signals on enemy radar screens, making them virtually useless.
- The RAF developed Oboe – a device that sent out radio beams which bombers followed to help them find their target.
- Harris developed Pathfinder bombers. The Pathfinders used H₂S, a sophisticated ground-sensing radar that could identify targets on the ground even on dark cloudy nights. They then dropped flares to allow the following bombers to hit their targets. This combination of techniques was used to devastating effect against Hamburg in July 1943 (see Sources 11 and 12). In the firestorm, 40,000 people were killed. Almost 75 per cent of the city was destroyed and around 1 million people were made homeless.

SOURCE 12

We found this petrol station. It was situated in the middle of the flattened area but the whole workforce that belonged to it lay dead. We saw thousands of dead bodies, not hundreds but thousands. Some lay in great piles and I took some film and some photographs of these bodies, but I had to stop. I just couldn't take it all in. It was mainly women and children who had been killed in the firestorm, just lying there.

Hans Brunswick, a firefighter in Hamburg in 1943, interviewed for a schools TV programme in 1996.

SOURCE 13

We are outnumbered by about seven to one. The standard of the Americans is extraordinarily high. The day-fighters have lost more than 1,000 aircraft during the last four months, among them our best officers. These gaps cannot be filled. We are on the edge of collapse.

Report written by German air force Fighter Commander Adolf Galland, 1944.

Despite these developments, the bombing campaign took a terrible toll on bomber crews. During 1943–44, the RAF lost ten to fifteen per cent of its planes and crews. The US forces, which flew by day, suffered even higher losses. In October 1943, 300 B-17s attacked the Schweinfurt ball-bearing plant. As soon as their fighter escorts left them, the bombers were attacked by the Luftwaffe, using rockets and bombs dropped from above as well as the usual machine-gun fire. The Americans lost 60 planes, with 138 badly damaged. Losses were so high that the campaign was almost abandoned. However, a simple technical innovation transformed the bombing campaign – escort fighters were fitted with extra fuel tanks. By March 1944, the P-51 Mustang fighters were able to fly with the bombers all the way to Berlin and back. Other fighters soon adopted this innovation and the results for the German people were devastating.

SOURCE 14

Bombing forced Germany to divide the economy between too many competing claims . . . In the air over Germany, or on the fronts in Russia and France, German forces lacked the weapons to finish the job. German forces were denied approximately half their battle front weapons and equipment in 1944. It is difficult not to regard this margin as decisive.

Historian, Professor Richard Overy, writing in 1996.

The controversy over bombing

The bombing campaign had many opponents during and after the war. It also had equally convinced defenders.

The bombing was not justified

- The losses were too high – 140,000 airmen and 21,000 planes.
- The resources that went into bombing could have been used elsewhere.
- Intensive bombing seemed to have little effect on German industrial production (estimated to have fallen by only ten per cent in 1944).
- The bombing was immoral. The bombing of Dresden has become particularly controversial. Dresden was destroyed by a firestorm from Allied bombing in February 1945. The raid killed 40,000 people. However, Dresden was not a particularly important military or industrial target and at that stage the war was clearly coming to an end.
- Bombing seemed to strengthen the German people's support for the war rather than weakening it.

The bombing was justified

- Although bombing may have only slightly reduced German production, without it production would have expanded massively.
- Bombing absorbed only seven per cent of Britain's war resources.
- Bombing drew off huge numbers of German aircraft from the Russian Front.
- Bombing forced Germany to shift production into anti-aircraft guns rather than tanks.
- In surveys carried out after the war, 91 per cent of Germans said the hardest aspect of civilian life in the war was the bombing.
- Bombing shortened the war and so saved the lives of soldiers and civilians.

Focus Task

Was the bombing justified?

Work in pairs or small groups.

You are preparing for a debate on the above question. Some of you must prepare a speech arguing that:

- ◆ *Bombing was effective and therefore it was justified.*

The rest of you have to prepare a speech arguing that:

- ◆ *Bombing may have been effective but it cannot be justified.*

The panels above give you the main points for your speech. Add any other points you can think of after reading pages 338–39. How could Sources 10–14 be used in your speech to support your argument? You might also find pages 300–01 useful.

13

The changing role and status of women in Britain since 1900

13.1

Women in society around 1900

Focus

The twentieth century saw major changes in the role and status of women in Britain, but exactly how great were these changes? In this chapter you are going to examine two key questions:

- ◆ How did women achieve greater equality in the twentieth century?
- ◆ What impact did the world wars have on the status of women?

You will develop your own ideas on these questions in four sections of this chapter.

- ◆ In 13.1 you will look at the status of women in Britain around 1900 and the campaigns of the suffragists and suffragettes to achieve votes for women.
- ◆ In 13.2 you will look at how the world wars affected the role and status of women.
- ◆ In 13.3 you will examine changes in the role and status of women from 1950–75.
- ◆ In 13.4 you will consider how far women gained equality by the end of the twentieth century.

Activity

Look at all of the advances made in women's rights in the later 1800s. Now, in small groups, decide which of these two statements you agree with more:

- The advances of the later 1800s in women's rights show that the status of women in Britain was changing.
- The advances of the later 1800s in women's rights simply remind us of how many restrictions women faced and how many more restrictions still needed to be overcome.

By today's standards, women were most definitely second class citizens in Britain in 1900. Of course, people at that time did not see the world through our eyes. Most men and women probably thought that it was perfectly reasonable that women earned less than men, had fewer legal rights than men and lost even more of these rights when they got married. They did not question this situation. The majority of people probably did not even think about the issue.

On the other hand, some changes had taken place by 1900. Opportunities opened up for women in nursing and teaching. New laws regulating conditions in factories and other workplaces did bring benefits, but the majority of workers in Sweated Trades work, which was usually done at home with low pay and poor conditions, were still women.

There were improvements for women in the field of education as well, but again these largely benefited middle-class women from better-off homes. One key area was marriage, and the rights of women within marriage. This had been a battleground throughout the nineteenth century. It was far easier for men to divorce women than the other way around, for example, and when a marriage broke down it was assumed that the woman was at fault. In 1882 a Women's Property Act finally gave a married woman the right to own property on her own, rather than all her property belonging to her husband. In 1884 a married woman were finally recognised as individuals by the law, rather than being seen as possessions of their husbands.

Through the 1890s there were more important developments:

- 1891:** Free and compulsory education is introduced for all working-class children up to the age of twelve. Legal judgement confirms that a man cannot compel his wife to live in the matrimonial home.
- 1894:** Parish Councils Act permits propertied women and ratepayers to serve on urban and parish district councils.
- 1896:** Factory Act bans the employment of children under eleven in factories. Women are not to be employed for four weeks after having a child.
- 1897:** Non-militant National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) is formed by well-educated middle-class women frustrated with their lives.
- 1901:** Factory Act reduces by one hour the number of hours women work.

So, by 1900 women, particularly middle-class women, had gained important rights over their property and new opportunities for education. New jobs and careers were available.

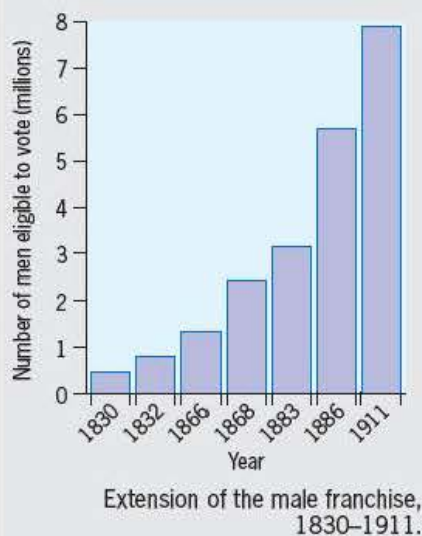
However, one should not overstate the progress made. Women were still very much the inferior partners in marriages. They were barred from most professions. They could not even vote. For many campaigners, this was the most basic injustice of all. To them, it seemed that gaining the right to vote would be a key to many other changes. But how would this be achieved?

The right to vote: suffragists and suffragettes, 1900–14

Factfile

Voting changes, 1800–1900

- In 1800 very few people could vote. To vote was not seen as a 'human right' for all citizens. Only the rich were allowed to vote.
- There was a property qualification for voting (that is, you had to own a certain amount of wealth or property before you were allowed to vote). It was thought that if you owned property then you were a respectable and responsible person who would use the vote properly.
- There was also a gender qualification – only men could vote in general elections.
- Electoral Reform Acts were passed in 1832, 1867 and 1884. Each of these reforms reduced the property qualification and so increased the number of men who could vote – as you can see from the graph below.
- By 1900, most working men could vote in general elections if they had a permanent address.

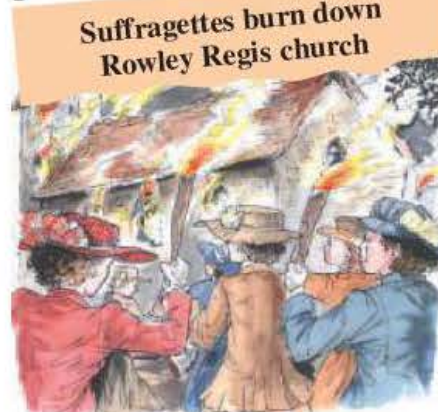


SOURCE 1

A



B



Newspaper headlines from 18 June 1913.

Compare Sources 1A and 1B. Both events happened on the same day. Both were part of the campaign to win the vote for women – or female suffrage (suffrage means the right to vote).

One protest was staged by the suffragists, who believed in peaceful, law-abiding protest, and the other by the suffragettes, who used violent methods to get their views across. Both groups had the same aim but different methods. Over the next eleven pages you will be exploring the reasons for these protests and comparing the effectiveness of the two campaigns.

Attitudes towards women

SOURCE 2

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said that nothing but a sense of duty caused him to call attention to the disgraceful condition of many of the streets of London at night time ... He had travelled in many countries, and he asserted that there was not a beaten country in which there were the open incentives to vice as were to be found in Piccadilly and neighbouring streets at night.

He would naturally be asked how this difficulty could be grappled with. In answer he would point to Liverpool, ... they formed a vigilance committee, worked upon public opinion, and at last elected a reforming watch committee to enforce the law; ... In the course of ten years the outward aspect of Liverpool was changed ... It made a great difference, and it was a great benefit that young men were not assailed on every side by temptation.

Mr SOUTTAR (Dumfriesshire) seconded the motion. He said it was especially on behalf of young men that he pleaded with the Home Secretary.

A discussion by MPs about prostitution and vice generally in British cities, July 1913.

One of the most serious obstacles which women had to face was one of attitudes. Look carefully at Source 2. According to the MPs, who needs protecting? Would we see the men who use prostitutes as people who need protection today? Source 2 shows us different standards being applied to men and women, and that view was at the heart of the campaign for female suffrage.

Focus Task

What were the arguments for women's suffrage?

Study the arguments in Source 3 carefully.

- 1 Reorganise them into categories, such as arguments based on:
 - ◆ the principle that men and women should be treated equally
 - ◆ the idea that female suffrage would improve everyday life
 - ◆ the idea that the country would be run better
 - ◆ any other categories you can think of.
- 2 Reorganise all the arguments again, putting what you think are the strongest arguments first and the weakest arguments last.
- 3 Finally, discuss whether your answer to question 2 would be the same from a 1906 perspective as it would be today.

What were the arguments in favour of votes for women?

In the nineteenth century, new job opportunities for women emerged as teachers, as shop workers or as clerks and secretaries in offices. Many able girls from working-class backgrounds achieved better-paid jobs with higher status than those of their parents. Women gained greater opportunities in education. A few middle-class women won the chance to go to university, to become doctors, for example. By 1900 women could vote in local elections and could take part in local government as councillors. They could also vote in elections for Poor Law Guardians and School Boards. By 1914 over 1,500 women were serving as Poor Law Guardians. Women were also active in national politics. The Labour Party had the Women's Labour League, the Conservatives had the Primrose League and the Liberals had the Women's Liberal Federation. Women activists shared the organisation of election campaigns and often spoke on the same platforms as men in elections. Working-class women were also heavily involved in trade union activities. By 1914 around twenty per cent of all women workers were in a union – a similar rate to male workers. To supporters of female suffrage all of these factors made the restrictions on women look absurd.

SOURCE 3

Parliament's decisions affect both men and women. So women should be able to vote for the MPs who pass those laws.

There are many single women and widows who bear the same responsibilities as men.

Women are the spiritual spine of the nation – they are the churchgoers. Give women the vote if you want MPs to show Christian leadership.

Women have increasing opportunities in education and work – the vote should come next.

LET THE WOMEN HELP!
Two heads are better than one.



A suffragette argues for female suffrage.

Women have special skills and expertise. They can help Parliament make better laws on issues such as education and the home where they are specialists.

Women pay taxes just like men.

Women should be able to influence MPs on how that money is spent.

Women can already vote in local elections. They serve on local government bodies, such as education committees and Poor Law boards. They have shown that they are able and can be trusted with a vote.

Women have been voting in Australia and New Zealand and many other countries for some years.

Women voters will pressure politicians to provide much needed measures to improve health and protect women and children.

Many uneducated working men can vote while well-educated, 'respectable' women can't.

What were the arguments against votes for women?

The opposition to women's suffrage was strong. Many men and women believed that the two sexes occupied different spheres in life, and that politics belonged in the men's sphere. Many of the strongest opponents were women, who felt that the vote was irrelevant to them or who believed that women getting the vote would upset the traditional balance of relationships in families. Many women felt that their views were represented by their husbands who did have the vote.

Focus Task

What were the arguments against women's suffrage?

Study the arguments in Source 4 carefully.

- 1 Reorganise them into categories, such as arguments based on:
 - ◆ the principle that men and women should be treated equally
 - ◆ the idea that female suffrage would improve everyday life
 - ◆ the idea that the country would be run better
 - ◆ any other categories you can think of.
- 2 Reorganise all the arguments again putting what you think are the strongest arguments first and the weakest arguments last.
- 3 Finally, discuss whether your answer to question 2 would be the same from a 1906 perspective as it would today.

SOURCE 4

Men and women have different interests and responsibilities. Women are home-makers and mothers. It is the role of men to debate and take difficult decisions.

With the vote, women would become the most hateful, heartless and disgusting of human beings. Where would be the protection which man was intended to give to the weaker sex?

Giving respectable women the vote will also encourage them to develop their careers and neglect their family duties. Only the undesirable classes will have children.

It is mainly middle-class women campaigning for the vote. They will have little interest in laws to help ordinary working people.



Queen Victoria commenting on female suffrage.

Giving the vote to women will mean giving it to all men - including layabouts and riffraff.

Women are not rational. They are too emotional to be trusted with the vote.

Women are pure and should be protected from the grubby world of politics.

Women do not fight in wars for their country. So they should not have a say in whether the country should go to war.

Why worry about the vote? There are much more pressing concerns such as Ireland and the trade unions.

Factfile

Bills for female suffrage, 1906–13

- **January 1906** A Liberal government is elected with a massive majority. Four hundred out of 650 MPs are in favour of women's suffrage, including the Prime Minister, Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
- **March 1907** A women's suffrage bill is introduced, but opponents delay it so long that it runs out of time.
- **February 1908** A new women's suffrage bill is introduced and is passed on a second reading but it gets no further.
- **March 1909** The Liberal government introduces a radical Suffrage Bill – giving votes to almost all adult men and women. It wins a majority of 34 on a second reading – but gets no further in Parliament.
- **November 1909** A general election is called and the suffrage bill is temporarily dropped.
- **June 1910** An all-party committee drafts a Conciliation Bill which gives women the vote and is acceptable to all parties. On a second reading, it is passed by a majority of 110.
- **18 November 1910** Prime Minister Asquith calls another general election and so the bill is abandoned.
- **May 1911** The Conciliation Bill is reintroduced. It gets a massive 167 majority. Asquith announces that the government will proceed with the bill in 1912.
- **November 1911** The Liberal government will not support the Conciliation Bill. Instead, it wants a male suffrage bill that would widen the vote for men! The bill would not mention women, but Asquith says MPs can amend the bill to include women if they want.
- **March 1912** Second reading of the Conciliation Bill. It is defeated by fourteen votes.
- **June 1912** Suffrage bill is introduced. Progress is postponed to the following year.
- **1913** Attempts are made to include women in the Male Suffrage Bill, but the Speaker announces that the amendments would change the very nature of the bill. As a result, the women's vote amendments are withdrawn.
- **May 1913** A new private member's bill to give women the vote is introduced but defeated by a majority of 48.

How were the suffragist and suffragette campaigns different?

Who were the suffragists?

The early campaigners for the vote were known as suffragists. They were mainly (though not all) middle-class women. When the MP John Stuart Mill had suggested giving votes to women in 1867, 73 MPs had supported the motion. After so many MPs voted in favour of women's suffrage in 1867, large numbers of local women's suffrage societies were formed. By the time they came together in 1897 to form the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), there were over 500 local branches. By 1902, the campaign had gained the support of working-class women as well. In 1901–02, Eva Gore-Booth gathered the signatures of 67,000 textile workers in northern England for a petition to Parliament.

The leader of the movement was Mrs Millicent Fawcett. She believed in constitutional campaigning. She argued her case with MPs, issued leaflets, presented petitions and organised meetings. She thought that it was crucial to keep the issue in the public eye: at every election, suffragists questioned the candidates on their attitudes to women's suffrage. She talked of the suffragist movement as being like a glacier, slow but unstoppable. By 1900 they had achieved some success, gaining the support of many Liberal MPs and some leading Conservative MPs, as well as the new but rather small Labour Party.

However, there was a rather curious situation in Parliament with regard to women's suffrage. Many backbench Liberal MPs were supporters of votes for women, but the Liberal leaders were opposed to it. This was because they feared that, if only better-off, property-owning women got the vote, these women would vote for their arch rivals, the Conservative Party.

On the other hand, some Conservative leaders, liking the prospect of more Conservative voters, were quite keen on women's suffrage. But they took no action because their backbench MPs were completely opposed, on principle, to changing the role of women.

In addition, both parties had bigger worries than female suffrage. Neither party was prepared to adopt female suffrage as party policy, so it never got priority in Parliament. It was left up to individual MPs to introduce private bills, which were never allowed the time they needed to get through. In the years up to 1900, fifteen times Parliament received a bill to give women the vote; fifteen times the bill failed.

Who were the suffragettes?

This lack of success frustrated many suffragists. As a result, in 1903, Mrs Emmeline Pankhurst founded a new campaigning organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Mrs Pankhurst thought that the movement had to become more radical and militant if it was to succeed. The *Daily Mail* called these new radicals 'suffragettes', and they soon made the headlines.

The suffragettes disrupted political meetings and harassed ministers. The Liberal Prime Minister, Asquith, who was firmly opposed to women's suffrage, came in for particularly heavy abuse.

1908: Direct action begins

After the latest in a long line of women's suffrage bills ran out of time in 1908, the suffragette campaign intensified and became more vocal. The suffragette Edith New began making speeches in Downing Street; to stop the police from moving her on, she chained herself to the railings and so was arrested. In the same year, some suffragettes threw stones through the windows of 10 Downing Street (the Prime Minister's house). In October, Mrs Pankhurst, her daughter Christabel and 'General' Flora Drummond were sent to prison for inciting a crowd to 'rush' the House of Commons.

SOURCE 5



THE SHRIEKING SISTER.

THE SENSIBLE WOMAN: "YOU HELP OUR CAUSE? WHY, YOU'RE ITS WORST ENEMY!"

A 1906 cartoon from *Punch* magazine.

SOURCE 6

Hampstead Women's Social and Political Union,
178, FINCHLEY ROAD, N.W.

WINDOW BREAKING AND INCITEMENT TO MUTINY.

For Breaking Windows as a Political protest, Women are now in H.M. Gaols serving sentences of Four and Six months imprisonment.

For Inciting Soldiers to Disobey Orders, a much more serious crime, known to the law as a felony, and punishable by penal servitude, the Publishers of the "*Syndicalist*," were sentenced to nine months hard labour, and the Printers of the paper to six months hard labour.

The Government under the pressure of men with votes reduced this sentence on the Publishers to Six months imprisonment without hard labour.

and the sentence on the Printers to One month without hard labour.

IS THIS JUSTICE TO VOTELESS WOMEN?

A suffragette handbill.

- 1 a) What is the attitude of the cartoonist in Source 5 to:
 - i) the suffragists
 - ii) the suffragettes?
- b) How can you tell?
- 2 Read Source 7 carefully. What point does it make?

SOURCE 7

Militancy is abhorred by me, and the majority of suffragists. None of the triumphs of the women's movement . . . have been won by physical force: they have been triumphs of moral and spiritual force. But militancy has been brought into existence by the blind blundering of politicians . . . If men had been treated by the House of Commons as women have been treated, there would have been bloody reprisals all over the country.

Millicent Fawcett on the events of 1908.

There was a logic to the suffragettes' actions. The suffragettes believed that the government did nothing about female suffrage because it did not think that it was a serious issue. The government had more pressing concerns. The suffragettes wanted to make women's suffrage a serious issue – one that the government could not ignore. That was the aim of their militancy: a woman getting arrested for her cause was news. It showed how important the vote was to her. Processions and petitions – however large – were easily ignored.

Reactions to direct action

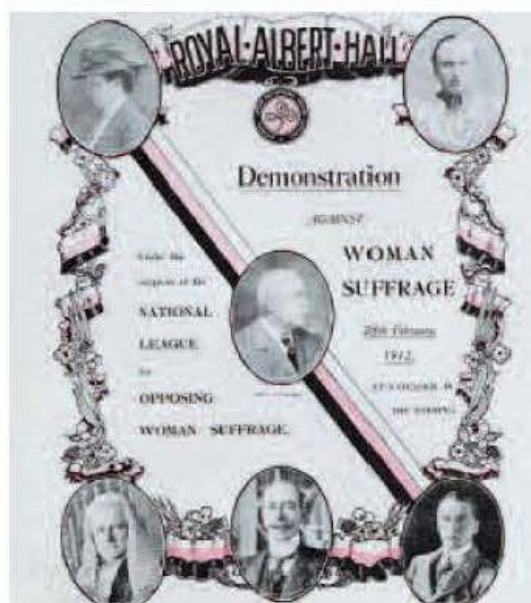
The reaction of the public was mixed. Some people were sympathetic. Some were worried. Others were scornful. The reaction of the suffragists was also mixed. Many suffragists admired the heroism of the suffragettes – particularly their readiness to go to prison. When the first suffragettes were arrested and imprisoned for staging a protest in Parliament, Mrs Fawcett put on a banquet for them when they were released. However, as the suffragette campaign became more violent, relationships between the suffragists and suffragettes became very strained. The suffragists believed that you could not claim a democratic right (to vote) by undemocratic methods (such as smashing windows). They also believed that militancy would put off the moderate MPs who might otherwise back their cause.

So the two campaigns moved further apart. Both knew that rivalry between the two groups did not help the cause, and Christabel Pankhurst called for the two wings of the movement to join forces. However, Mrs Fawcett did not want her movement to be identified with militancy and so she refused. Even so, her sternest criticism was directed not at the suffragettes but at the inept politicians who had helped to create militancy.

Opposition intensifies

The suffrage campaigners had always faced opposition, but as suffragette militancy escalated, so did the campaign of their opponents.

SOURCE 8



- 1 Do you regard Source 9 as effective propaganda? Explain your answer.
- 2 Why might a suffragette be more annoyed by Source 9 than Source 8?

A poster advertising an anti-suffrage demonstration.

SOURCE 9



An anti-suffragette poster, typical of the sort of attitude suffragettes faced.

SOURCE 10

VOTES FOR BABIES

Now that it is pretty well assured that women will vote, it is time to arouse public sentiment in favour of Votes for Babies. The awful state of our Government shouts aloud for the infant suffrage . . . Let the babies vote! For that matter let the cows vote.

From the Gentleman's Journal,
17 May 1913.

1911: A setback in Parliament

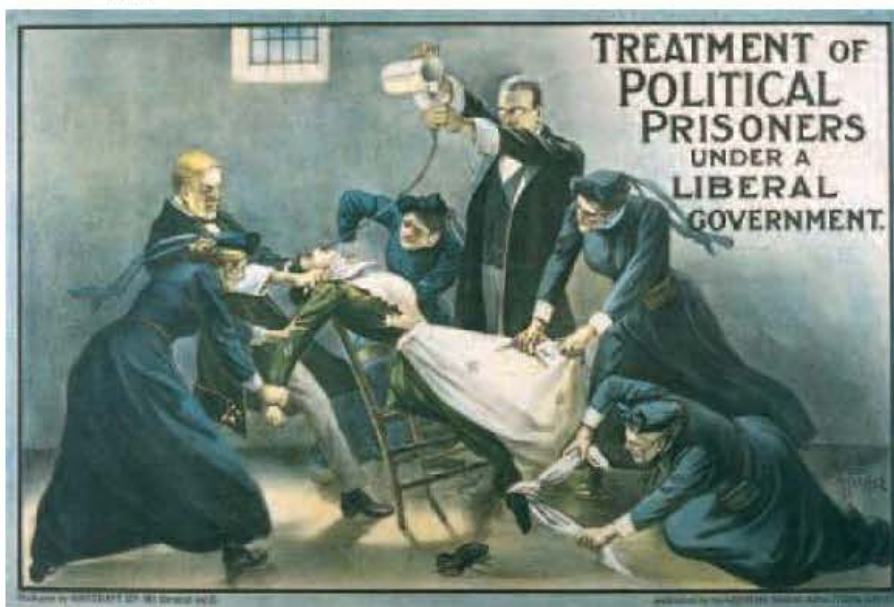
In 1911 the government promised a Conciliation Bill which won all-party support. The suffragettes suspended militant action. The suffragists held an incredible 4,000 meetings (30 per day) to support the bill. It got a majority of 167 – the biggest ever. It looked as if success was just around the corner. Then Asquith dropped the bill! Instead, he announced that he planned to introduce votes for all men, and that an extra clause about women's votes could be tacked on to the bill if MPs wished to add it. Both suffragists and suffragettes were furious.

- 3 Which of these sources is the most effective piece of propaganda for or against women's suffrage? Explain your choice.
- 4 Some people say that 'all publicity is good publicity'. Would the Pankhursts agree? Would Mrs Fawcett agree?

The suffragist response

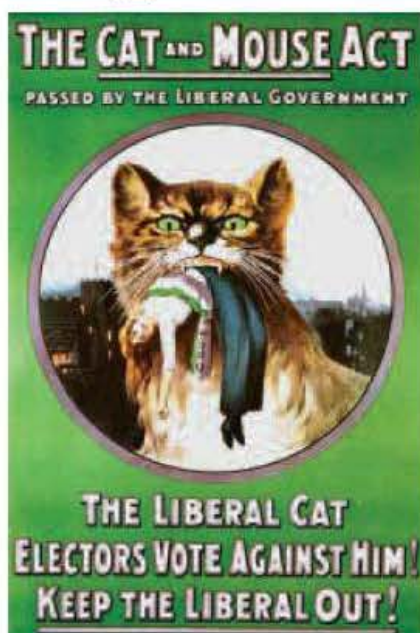
The suffragists' response was to lead a deputation to see the Prime Minister to persuade him to change his mind. They also decided to support the Labour Party at the next election, since it was the only party committed to female suffrage; they organised a peaceful pilgrimage from Carlisle to London involving thousands of suffragists (see Source 1A on page 341). They offered free membership to working women.

SOURCE 11



A suffragette poster from 1909, protesting about force feeding.

SOURCE 12



A suffragette postcard from 1913.

SOURCE 13



Police arresting a suffragette who has chained herself to the railings of Buckingham Palace, May 1914.

The suffragette response

By contrast, the suffragette response was to escalate their campaign of violence (although usually violence against property not people). They smashed windows, set fire to post boxes, bombed churches (see Source 1B on page 341) and damaged cricket pitches and golf courses. Bombs were placed in warehouses, and telephone wires were cut. Art galleries closed after suffragettes slashed valuable paintings. As a result, more and more suffragettes were sent to prison.

In prison, the suffragettes continued to protest by going on hunger strike. The government responded by ordering the force feeding of protesters. The WPSU made the most of this, with posters such as Source 11, but posters were hardly necessary. Force feeding was brutal and degrading, and it won a good deal of public sympathy for the suffragettes.

In 1913, the government passed a new Act which allowed hunger strikers to leave prison, recover a little and then return to finish their sentence. Campaigners called this the Cat and Mouse Act (see Source 12).

Then came the most publicised protest of all: the death of Emily Davison.

On 5 June 1913 the suffragette Emily Davison rushed out in front of the horses running in the world famous horse race, the Epsom Derby. She was hit and killed. At the time, some people thought that Emily Davison intended to kill herself in a most public arena to draw attention to the suffragette cause.

However, a different explanation later emerged. It appeared to be a publicity stunt that had gone terribly wrong. The King's horse, Anmer, was running in the race. Emily Davison thought it would be good publicity to attach a suffragette banner to it as it galloped by. Sadly, when it came to the real event she misjudged the speed and power of the onrushing racehorses. She was hit and killed.

Was this brave or foolish? Her funeral, ten days later, was attended by thousands of suffragettes. It became a major celebration of her ultimate sacrifice.

How effective were the suffragette and suffragist campaigns up to 1914?

Historians have found this a difficult question because it is so difficult to measure effectiveness – you cannot weigh it or use a tape measure! Despite this problem, historians have looked at the impact of the two wings of the movement on areas such as public opinion, the press, politicians. They have also considered the activities and the organisation of the suffragettes and suffragists.

The suffragettes

There is no doubt that in the first instance the suffragettes achieved their aim of gaining maximum publicity for the movement. They were extremely clever propagandists. The suffragette magazine *Votes For Women* had a circulation of around 40,000 in 1914. You will see many sources from *Votes for Women* in this chapter because their articles and illustrations were so clear and effective. The suffragettes also produced striking posters and pamphlets – this was at a time when such methods were relatively new. They even managed to get 'Votes For Women' printed on to the wrapper of one make of bread! One of their most imaginative publicity stunts came in 1908 when the suffragettes publicised a rally in Hyde Park in London by sailing a boat past Parliament flying flags and posters. The importance of this should not be underestimated. One of the greatest frustrations for the suffragists had always been that politicians and the press either ignored them or did not take them seriously.

Of course the aspect of the suffragettes which is generally better known is their violent action. Did this help the cause? At the very least, the campaigns of the suffragettes made it impossible to ignore the fact that female suffrage was an important issue. The bravery and commitment of the suffragettes gained them admiration. The fact that they were often roughly treated also generated sympathy for them. Force feeding created a great deal of sympathy. So did the violence they often suffered at meetings or rallies from male opponents (see Source 15) or even the police.

- 1 Explain how Source 14 tries to generate sympathy for the suffragettes.

SOURCE 14



The front page of a suffragette pamphlet from 1908.

SOURCE 15

Sir

At the request of some of those who took part in the women's deputation to the House of Commons on November 18 of last year, I have endeavoured to examine the allegations made against the conduct of the police on that occasion. With that object, I have carefully read upwards of one hundred statements made by eye-witnesses, and I have also seen and questioned 10 of the women who were there.

The following facts are either admitted or beyond reasonable dispute:-

1. The women taking part in the deputation collected partly at Caxton Hall and partly at Clement's Inn. They were instructed by their leaders to avoid violence. They were entirely unarmed, even umbrellas or parasols being forbidden. Among them were women of all ages up to 65 or 70.

2. Some of the women, including Mrs Pankhurst, were allowed to approach quite close to St Stephen's entrance. The rest were stopped some distance away. Very few arrests, if any, were made for several hours, and during that time the women suffered every species of indignity and violence.

Apart from the assaults above mentioned, complaints of indignities of a very gross kind have also been made by women, and some of these were repeated in my presence.

In conclusion, may I ask whether anyone thinks that if the deputation had consisted of unarmed men of the same character their demand for an inquiry would have been refused? Are we, then, to take it as officially admitted that in this country there is one law for male electors and another for voteless women?

Yours obediently

Robert Cecil

A letter to The Times, March 1911. The Times was generally opposed to the suffragettes. The writer, Robert Cecil, was one of the few Conservative MPs who supported women's suffrage.

- 2 According to Source 15, how were the women treated?
- 3 What are the main points made in the letter?
- 4 The writer of Source 15 was a supporter of women's suffrage. Does this mean his letter is worthless as evidence?
- 5 What does Source 16 reveal about attitudes towards the militants?

SOURCE 16

A hostile crowd gathered, and there were ugly rushes to get at the women speakers. The police had to intervene. Police-Constable Paul said the police had to protect the women as there was an effort on the part of the young men of Streatbam to put the militants in the pond. The magistrate said it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the behaviour of these women had created a strong feeling of resentment and disgust. He would not impose any penalty on that occasion, and in ordering the discharge of the defendants advised them to abstain from any interference in the future.

A Report from the Morning Post on the trial of three young men who attacked a suffragette meeting.

SOURCE 17

Haven't the suffragettes the sense to see that the very worst kind of campaigning for the vote is to try to intimidate or blackmail a man into giving them what he would otherwise gladly give?

A comment by Lloyd George, 1913.

Although their courage won them sympathy as individuals, it does appear that it did not win sympathy for their cause (see Source 17). The increasing violence of the suffragettes, especially after 1911, alienated support for the women's cause. Many supporters left the WSPU and transferred to the suffragists. The WSPU had always been a minority organisation anyway. At its peak it had about 2,000 members. It was also very middle class. Its origins lay in the Labour movement but it moved away from these roots and by 1914 it was effectively campaigning in favour of votes for some women – women with property. By 1914 the WSPU had become a smaller movement made up of the more radical elements in the women's suffrage movement. Many suffragettes were in prison, and the Pankhursts were co-ordinating the campaign from exile in Paris. The suffragettes damaged their own cause because they gave their opponents a reason for rejecting women's suffrage. If MPs gave in to violence on this matter, then what hope would they have when the Irish protested violently for home rule, or the dockers or mine workers rioted for higher wages? Even more disturbing was that the suffragettes had lost the goodwill of many of their leading supporters. From 1911 onwards, each time the issue was raised in Parliament there was a bigger majority against women's suffrage.

Focus Task

How effective were the suffragettes up to 1914?

Write a paragraph to explain your views on questions 1–4.

- 1 What do you think the suffragettes would have been most proud of by 1914?
- 2 What evidence is there that the suffragettes damaged the cause of votes for women?
- 3 What do you regard as the greatest single achievement of the suffragettes and what do you think was their greatest single failure?
- 4 Do you think the suffragette achievements outweighed their failures?

The suffragists

You have already seen in this chapter how the suffragists kept up a campaign of petitions, lobbying and campaigning from the later 1800s right through until some women gained the vote in 1918. However, some historians such as Harold Smith of the University of Houston-Victoria in the USA and Sandra Holton of the University of Adelaide (in Australia) now think that their efforts have been underestimated, mainly because the actions of the suffragettes were more exciting and controversial to study.

These historians argue that the NUWSS was much more important than the WSPU. By 1914 the NUWSS had developed into a very large organisation with over 500 branches and around 100,000 members. It was far larger than the WSPU. The NUWSS also benefited from its moderate approaches and its excellent organisation. Like the WSPU, the NUWSS understood how to use the media of the time. They used posters, pamphlets and the press in the same way as the WSPU. Many of their rallies were filmed. Early film cameras were difficult to set up and use, and suffragist processions were ideal subjects for film cameramen because of the way they filed past the camera. Film shows were very popular in the early 1900s and they would have given a lot of publicity to the movement. Suffragist processions were dignified, organised and impressive – crowds of 20,000 were not unusual. This must have impressed early film audiences. Showing suffragette outrages such as the burning of churches on film probably reflected well on the suffragists as well. In fact, we know from diaries and other evidence that many people supported the NUWSS because WSPU action made them aware of the issue but they did not like the militancy of the WSPU. So, in a strange way, the NUWSS benefited from the actions of the WSPU simply by not being the suffragettes!

SOURCE 18



A still image from a newsreel showing a suffragist procession 1910.

SOURCE 19



A still image from a newsreel from 1913 showing a church burned down by suffragettes.

SOURCE 20

The public militancy of the WSPU was complemented by the quieter lobbying of the moderates of the NUWSS, which continued the steady pressure upon politicians and the insertion of women into public life . . . For all the tension between the wings of the suffrage movements and the disagreements of historians about them, they are best seen as complementary, the tactics of each assisting achievement of the vote.

Professor Pat Thane of the University of Sussex, writing in 1994.

- 1 Compare the impression given of the suffragists and suffragettes in these two film stills.
- 2 Write a title to go before each clip as it would have been written at the time. You may be able to check the actual titles on the internet.

Focus Task

How effective were the suffragists up to 1914?

Write a paragraph to explain your views on questions 1–4.

- 1 What do you think the suffragists would have been most proud of by 1914?
- 2 What evidence is there that the suffragettes helped the suffragists?
- 3 What do you regard as the greatest single achievement of the suffragists?
- 4 Why do some historians think the suffragettes have received more attention than they deserved and are you convinced by this view?

Another key area of the NUWSS which had a huge impact was the work of their branches. In the early 1900s many of the people who belonged to local NUWSS branches were also interested in other issues such as trade unionism, improving working conditions, charitable work or education. Many activists belonged to more than one organisation. The NUWSS was very effective at meeting up with local activists and explaining their aims and ideas to them. Professor Sandra Holton believes that this work was possibly the single most important factor in achieving votes for women. As you can see from Source 21, the NUWSS were able to convince local branches of the Liberal Party to call on their own leaders to support votes for women. Even more worrying from Prime Minister Asquith's point of view was that the NUWSS were proving very effective at linking up with local Labour Party branches as well. In fact, the NUWSS was beginning to use its powerful campaigning machinery (meetings, rallies, leafleting) to support Labour candidates against Liberal candidates in some elections. Holton believes that this was a potentially serious threat to the Liberal Party. She believes that some measure of female suffrage would have happened if the First World War had not intervened in 1914.

You can find out more about women in the First World War and the eventual achievement of the vote on pages 352–53.

SOURCE 21

RESOLUTIONS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE have been passed by:—

County, City, Town, and Urban District Councils, etc.

Carnarvonshire County Council
(with no dissentients).

Liverpool City Council.

Chester Town Council.

Bangor Town Council.

Preston Town Council.

Warrington " " "

Southport " " "

Wallasey " " "

Widnes " " "

Holyhead " " "

Pwllheli " " "

Ormskirk Urban District Council.

Huyton " " "

Llandudno " " "

Penmaenmawr " " "

Llanfairfechan " " "

Llangollen " " "

Bethesda " " "

Portmadoc " " "

Dolgellsey " " "

Wrexham " " "

Lleyn Rural District Council.

Nevin Parish Council.

Political Associations.

County Liberal Association of North Carnarvonshire (twice).

County Liberal Association of South Carnarvonshire.

Merionethshire County Liberal Association.

Liverpool Liberal Federal Council.

Preston Men's Liberal Association.

Southport " " "

Widnes " " "

Bangor " " "

Carnarvon " " "

Pwllheli " " "

Towyn " " "

Bala " " "

Portmadoc Men's Liberal Association Executive Committee.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Liberal Association.

Liverpool (East Toxteth, West Toxteth, Wavertree) Women's Liberal Associations.

Bangor Women's Liberal Association.

Carnarvon Women's Liberal Association.

Penmaenmawr Women's Liberal Association.

Pwllheli Women's Liberal Association, and many others.

At many Conservative, Liberal, and Labour Party Clubs, and Branches of the Workingmen's Conservative Associations, favourable resolutions have been passed.

Other Bodies.

Liverpool Trades' Council.

Liverpool Federation of University Women.

Pwllheli Free Church Council.

Pwllheli Board of Guardians.

Women's Temperance Associations of Carnarvon

Pwllheli

Llanerch

Llithfaen

Llanachaiarn

} in Wales.

and many others.

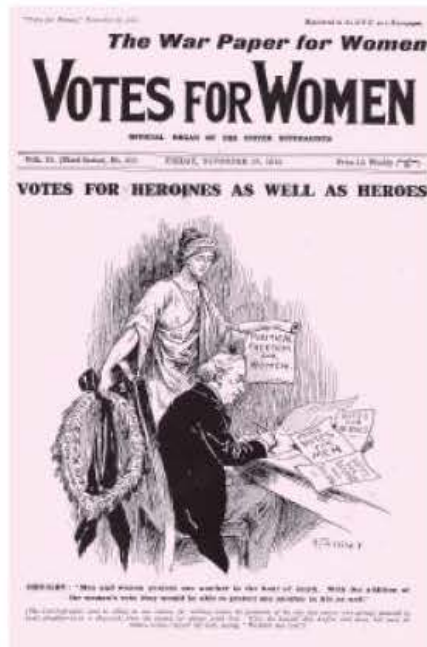
The Women's Liberal Federation, the British Women's Temperance Association, and the Women's Co-operative Guilds all work for Women's Suffrage, and pass frequent resolutions on the subject. At many Literary and Debating Societies, resolutions in favour have been passed, in most instances unanimously.

An information sheet published in 1912 by the West Lancashire, West Cheshire and North Wales Federation of the NUWSS.

13.2

The world wars and their impact on women in Britain

SOURCE 1



The front cover of the magazine *Votes for Women*, 26 November 1915.

SOURCE 2

Former opponents are now declaring themselves on our side, or at any rate withdrawing their opposition. The change of tone in the press is most marked . . . The view has been widely expressed in a great variety of the organs of public opinion that the continued exclusion of women from representation will . . . be an impossibility after the war.

Millicent Fawcett writing in the magazine *Common Cause*, 1916.

SOURCE 3

I'm against the extension of the franchise to women. I shall always be against the extension of the franchise to women . . . It was in the year 1918, after the war, that the disaster took place. Had it not been for the war, in my judgement we should have continued successfully to resist this measure for an indefinite period of time.

Lord Birkenhead, speaking just before all women gained the vote in 1928.

The role of women in the First World War

When the First World War broke out in 1914 both the suffragists and suffragettes suspended their campaign for the vote. The suffragists used their organisation to convince men to join the army and the suffragettes demanded that women be allowed to work in munitions factories. You can read about the contribution of women to the war effort on pages 302–03.

The impact of war work: Women get the vote

In 1915, the government began to consider changes to Britain's electoral system. Until then, citizens living outside Britain were not allowed to vote in elections. This was clearly unfair to soldiers who were serving abroad. They wanted to change the voting system to allow the 'hero' soldiers to vote. The campaigners jumped at this chance (see Source 29). The NUWSS had continued to pressure the government quietly and steadily throughout the war. Women had shown themselves to be capable and responsible under the strains of war. By 1916 women were even serving in the armed forces.

Other changes had also taken place. Asquith, one of the main opponents of female suffrage, was no longer Prime Minister. WSPU militancy was a distant memory, so MPs would not be accused of giving in to violence. The country was run by a coalition government of Liberal, Conservative and Labour ministers. This meant that no one party would be seen as the one who gave women the vote. On top of these factors, Millicent Fawcett and the NUWSS communicated closely with the government and agreed the compromise that not all women would get the vote even though all men over 21 would.

The House of Commons passed the Representation of the People Act in 1917 by a massive majority of seven to one. It was given a rougher ride in the Lords, but even so was passed by 63 votes. It became law in 1918. As a result of the Act, all males aged over 21 gained the right to vote. Women over the age of 30 who were householders or married to householders also gained the vote – a total of about 9 million women.

However, you can see from this that the old fears about women having the vote had not entirely disappeared. Although all men now had the vote, MPs were prepared to support votes only for older married women, or women who owned property and were therefore considered more responsible. One leading historian has pointed out that the young, single working-class women who had done most of the war work were the ones who did not gain the vote. MPs were reluctant to enfranchise this new group, whose ideas might be a little too radical.

Women could now also stand for Parliament and in 1919 Nancy Astor became the first woman MP to take her seat in the Commons. (The first woman MP to be elected was Countess Makiewicz, but as an Irish nationalist she refused to sit at Westminster.)

Full voting rights for women were not granted until 1928. Even so, for Millicent Fawcett, the 1918 Act was the fulfilment of a lifetime's work.

SOURCE 4

There were three stages in the emancipation of women. The first was the long campaign of propaganda and organisation at the centre of which, patient, unwearying and always hopeful, stood Dame Millicent Fawcett. The second was the campaign of the militants. The third was war.

Had there been no militancy and no war, the emancipation would have come, although more slowly. But without the faithful preparation of the ground over many years by Dame Millicent Fawcett and her colleagues, neither militancy nor the war could have produced the crop.

From the obituary to Millicent Fawcett in the *Manchester Guardian*, 6 August 1929.

What happened after the war?

Many women, especially working-class women, enjoyed the experience of war work. They escaped the restrictions of their homes, supported themselves financially, gained confidence and improved their social life. When interviewed soon after the war, 2,500 out of 3,000 women said they wanted to keep their jobs.

Of course, the number of jobs in the munitions industries declined once war ended, but in fact the other opportunities were lost as well. Women were expected to return to their low-paid jobs in domestic service, or to give up working altogether. People assumed that every woman could rely on a wage-earning man, and that any woman who went on working was doing so out of selfishness.

For many women, however, it was not that simple. They needed the money. The war had killed almost a million people, mostly men between the ages of 18 and 40. Inevitably, in that age group, many women would never find a husband: with three women to every two men, one woman in three had to be self-supporting. The war had also made many women poorer. In 1918, prices were double what they had been in 1914, while average wages had risen far less. Women who had lived on small allowances or fixed incomes could do so no more.

These facts were ignored. Women who had been praised as heroines were now seen as 'blacklegs', keeping men out of jobs. Employers were urged to turn them out. Trade unions were particularly strident in their criticism of women workers. The vast majority of women did leave their jobs. Some did so willingly, but others had no choice, particularly when severe unemployment hit Britain after the war. By 1920, there were fewer working women than there had been before the war.

The evidence so far would suggest that the war did not bring about great changes. However, there is other evidence. Some women workers – especially clerks – did stay on, largely because men did not particularly want their jobs. The First World War marked a decisive end to the era of the male clerk: the female shorthand typist took his place. The war also caused a steady decline in domestic service. After the war many had to go back to service as there was nothing else available, but young women who had enjoyed the independence and high wages of wartime work were, not surprisingly, reluctant to do this.

A government inquiry was set up specifically to investigate the shortage of domestic servants. It estimated the shortage at 400,000, and produced a report which recommended changes to domestic service, including fixed mealtimes, days off, paid holidays, a changed uniform, better food and the introduction of appliances to help with some household chores. The government shelved the report, but in any case it might have had little effect. The decline of domestic service was never reversed. As early as 1931 domestic work had disappeared as an occupational section in its own right, being included under 'personal work'. Perhaps this decline would have happened without the war, but it would certainly not have been so rapid.

Focus Task

How far did the First World War change the role and status of women in society?

No change at all

Complete transformation in position of women in society



- 1 Work with a partner. Look back over pages 302–03 and 352–53. Pick out what you think are the key points, facts and figures in these sections.
- 2 Now take each point and decide where it belongs on this scale. If the point is not very relevant to this particular question then ditch it (this is an important skill – many students write too much in exams because they don't drop irrelevant information).
- 3 You should now have a scale with various points scattered across it. Use your scale as a plan to write two paragraphs which start like this:
 - ◆ In some ways the First World War brought major changes to the position of women in society. For example . . .
 - ◆ On the other hand there is evidence that the changes brought by the First World War were not long lasting and that attitudes changed little as a result of the war. For example . . .

SOURCE 5



Recruitment poster for the Wrens (Women's Royal Naval Service).

Women in the Second World War: Did the war bring about real change?

When the Second World War broke out in 1939 the government was quick to mobilise women workers. Just as in the First World War, women workers played a key role. You can find out about this role on pages 304–05. In this section we are going to investigate the impact of this work on women in society.

Attitudes towards women workers during the war

There is a lot of debate about this between historians. Women clearly got more opportunities to work in a wider range of industries. However, the details of these new jobs are important and reveal much about the attitudes towards women at the time. For example:

- Many skilled jobs in the aircraft industry were broken down into several simpler jobs and allocated to several different women. Managers simply assumed that women could not do these jobs.
- Almost 40 per cent of women employed in 1943 worked in the munitions industry – jobs that were only available in wartime and not ‘new jobs’ which they could carry on after the war.
- Although government propaganda encouraged women to join the services, the vast majority of women served in the Auxiliary services – ‘helping’ men rather than replacing them or working as equals. ATS and WRNS women never flew aircraft or sailed on ships.
- The wartime recruitment posters emphasised glamour and being feminine.

SOURCE 6

1939, 7 September: Engaging of females

The following is a guide to the number of female trainees you are to engage for your branch:

Department	Number of female trainees
Cheese	1
Cooked meats	1
Eggs	1
Butter	1 for every two blocks
Bacon	1 or 2
Grocery	1 or 2
Poultry shop	1
Poultry block	1 but realise that rather a different type of women will be required for this work
Meat	None, but they can be very usefully employed assisting the men by wrapping

The women must be made capable to take the place of men, and that can only be done if they are put to work by the side of the men so that they can continually be told and learn.

1943, 22 March: additional duties which can be undertaken by female deputy managers

The Deputy Manager being a woman can obviously most easily assist the Manager, particularly if he is a male, by undertaking on his behalf certain control of the female employees in the following:

- *That each saleswoman seeks authority from the head of her department before leaving the counter: generally reporting to the Manager as to whether or not our instructions regarding leaving the counter are being carried out.*
- *That the female staff cloakroom is kept in proper order.*
- *That hand-bags are kept in the Office or, if there is no Office, in the place fixed by the Manager.*
- *Supervising the general appearance, tidiness, cleanliness, etc. of the female staff, with particular reference to the condition, repair and replacement of overalls, etc.*
- *Acting where necessary as liaison between the Manager and staff on welfare matters. (Managers must remember that in so many matters women will only talk properly to other women).*

Extracts from messages sent by the Head Office of the Sainsbury's chain to its branch managers during the war.

- 1 Study Source 5. What qualities do you think the poster is emphasising? Look at the caption and the way the Wren is represented.
- 2 Do you agree that the attitude of Source 6 towards women is patronising? Are there any other words you could use to describe its tone instead or as well?

SOURCE 7

A

When you get up in the morning you feel you go out with something in your bag, and something coming in at the end of the week, and it's nice. It's a taste of independence, and you feel a lot happier for it . . . I have everything to do at home, and so all I want is to get on to part-time. It's just what you can imagine nicely when you are middle-age.

B

Of course when we get married I shan't want to work; I shall want to stay at home and have some children. You can't look on anything you do during the war as what you really mean to do; it's just filling in time till you can live your own life again.

Extracts from responses to the Mass Observation Project which monitored the lives of British people from 1937 to the early 1950s.

After the war

Many women liked their war work. When the war did end in 1945 many women feared they would be forced out of work. This had happened in 1918 at the end of the First World War. In fact it was a different story in 1945. The task of rebuilding after the war required a huge labour force, which even the returning soldiers could not fill. The Labour Minister George Isaacs said that, 'in the battle for recovery there are still many front-line jobs for women to do'. Older married women responded quickly to the government's campaign. Their children tended to be at school, and so they were freer to take up part-time jobs. They generally worked in light industry (such as electrical appliances) or shops, or for local authorities. In 1947, eighteen per cent of married women were working, as compared with ten per cent in the 1930s.

In contrast younger married women were more reluctant to continue paid employment. Most women still saw their primary role as having children and raising a family and after the war young women were eager to get on with it. Women's magazines of this period were almost exclusively preoccupied with the image of women as housewives, bringing up children, cooking, washing and looking after the family. After the war, there was a boom in marriages, and women with young families were very unwilling to take jobs.

In response, the government persuaded employers to offer special incentives to attract women back to work. Part-time and shift work helped women cope with the demands of jobs and families. Laundries were installed at places of work. Shops were encouraged to deliver groceries to factories, which eased women's anxieties about not being able to queue for rations (food rationing continued for eight years after the war). The government allocated building materials to nurseries, and asked education authorities to keep schools open late and during holidays to look after the children of working mothers. Women with young children were encouraged to leave their children with relatives or babysitters.

SOURCE 8

The attitude of the housewife to gainful employment outside the home is not and should not be the same as that of a single woman. She has other duties . . . in the next thirty years housewives and mothers have vital work to do in ensuring the adequate continuance of the British race and of British ideals in the world.

Senior civil servant Sir William Beveridge, 1943.

Attitudes of women

There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that many women gained in confidence from their experiences during the war. The government ran a Mass Observation Project which collected a huge amount of data from ordinary people about their experiences during the war. They achieved things they would never have had the chance to do otherwise. The war also gave younger women a degree of freedom to travel and socialise which they would never have had in peacetime. The evidence is that war did change traditional attitudes, relationships and behaviour. Sex outside marriage became much more common, and so did infidelity within marriage. The divorce rate rose and even increased in the years immediately after the war.

So although after the war many women, probably most, wanted to return to a traditional role in which the husband was the breadwinner, they did not want to return to these roles on the same terms as before the war. War had changed their expectations. They expected their marriages to be more like equal partnerships rather than seeing their husband as superior.

Focus Task

The war had very little impact on attitudes. How far do you agree with this statement?

List points from this section and pages 304–05 on your own copy of the scale shown below. Then compare your scale with another student in your class and see if you can agree a new version of the scale which you both agree with.

No change at all

War changed attitudes completely

				Recruitment posters emphasised glamour	
--	--	--	--	--	--

13.3

How far did life change for women in Britain, 1950–75?

What was life like for most women in the 1950s?

It is 1950, the start of a new decade. The Second World War is five years past, and some of the difficult memories of that hard time have started to fade. What can a typical woman look forward to?

How does that sound?
Optimistic? Idealistic?
Let's look at this period through a different window.

It is 1950. Another woman is thinking about her future:

- She can work if she wants to. The war time experience has mostly ended the taboo against women working, and the shortage of workers means that women are welcome.
- She can look forward to a better home. So many houses were damaged or destroyed in war time that a massive house building programme has started. Smart new council houses and flats are being built. All these new homes have running water, and gas or electricity for fuel. Some even have central heating.
- Better health. Since the start of the National Health Service in 1948 she and her family get their medical care for free. It may not take the pain out of being ill but it takes away some of the anxiety.
- More varied food. Some staple items such as sugar and meat are still rationed but at least there is more food and supplies are reliable.
- If she is married there is free schooling for her children and if they do well enough it could be the grammar school – which is a passport to a better job and a better life.
- There will be lots of good films at the cinema. Hardly anyone has a television. They are still expensive and unreliable. But many women go to the cinema once every week.

- She can't do any job. There are still some areas of work that are regarded as exclusively men's work.
- Wherever she works she will be paid less than a man, even if she is doing similar work to a man.
- Say she gets married and say her husband turns out to have a violent temper and beats her up – she can only get a divorce if she can prove in court that he has been having an affair. And if they divorce he will keep their possessions.
- If she is a young black or Asian woman newly arrived in Britain she may face intimidation and racism and exploitation each time she walks out of the door. And she will be very low on the list of people to receive good housing.
- She wants to plan her life so she has fewer children. She does not want to spend her life as a mother. But there is still no reliable method of family planning.
- If she gets pregnant and does not want a baby she is in trouble. Abortion is illegal and dangerous to the mother.
- All her education to this point, the expectations of her parents, the ideas of her boyfriend or husband, have been pushing her in one direction: that the highest ambition of any woman should be to get married, build a home, raise children and look after the family.

SOURCE 1

- 1 Discuss the above scenarios. Could both be true? If so, how?
- 2 Write some extra bullet points for either side based on Sources 1–3 and 5–6.
- 3 Why is it difficult to generalise about what life was like for women in the 1950s?
- 4 Sources 1–6 include a survey, a census, a magazine cover, a book, a photograph and an interview. Which of these sources do you think is most reliable for explaining what women actually thought about their lives in the 1950s?

- *Have dinner ready. Plan ahead, even the night before, to have a delicious meal ready, on time for his return.*
- *Prepare yourself. Take fifteen minutes to rest so you'll be refreshed when he arrives. Touch up your make-up, put a ribbon in your hair and be fresh-looking.*
- *Be happy to see him. Greet him with a warm smile and show sincerity in your desire to please him.*
- *Your goal: Try to make sure your home is a place of peace, order and tranquillity where your husband can renew himself in body and spirit.*
- *Don't complain if he's late home for dinner or even if he stays out all night. Count this as minor compared to what he might have gone through that day.*
- *Catering for his comfort will provide you with immense personal satisfaction.*

Some extracts from *How To Be A Good Wife*, a book for women published in 1955.

SOURCE 2

The outstanding impression gained from this survey is that women's lives, today as much as ever, are dominated by their role – actual or expected – as wives and mothers. There is no trace of feminist demands for equality, nor do I find that women assume they have a right to work.

An extract from Britain's *Married Women Workers* published by the sociologist Viola Klein in 1957. This was a large-scale survey of the attitudes of women workers.

SOURCE 3

- In 1951 women made up 31 per cent of the labour force.
- In 1951 around 36 per cent of adult women were working.
- In 1951 only 26 per cent of married women worked.

Data gathered by the 1951 census. Note – these are the official figures. The numbers of women doing paid work was probably even higher. Many women tended to do casual work such as mending clothes or cleaning and in many cases jobs like these did not feature in the official figures.

SOURCE 4

I was the boss in my kitchen and that is how I liked it. I knew where everything was. My husband never came into the kitchen, so I did all the cooking, all the preparation, all the washing-up. He didn't know the first thing about the washing machine, he didn't know the first thing about ironing, and he didn't know the first thing about the cooker. It was my ambition to run the house to the best of my ability. Being a housewife was a twenty-four hour job so I allotted myself an additional two evenings a week to my home.

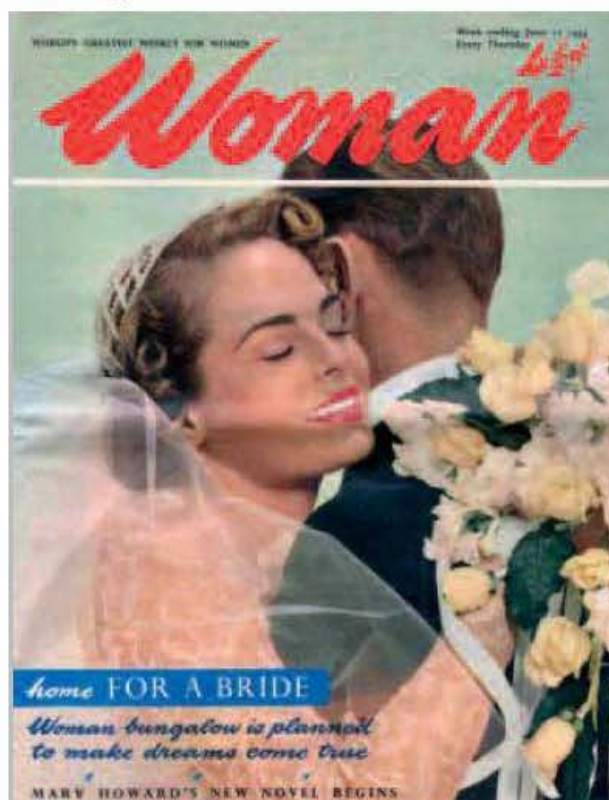
A woman teacher from Rotherham interviewed in 1960. This woman was unusual in that she did not give up work when she got married.

SOURCE 5



A typical kitchen in 1950.

SOURCE 6



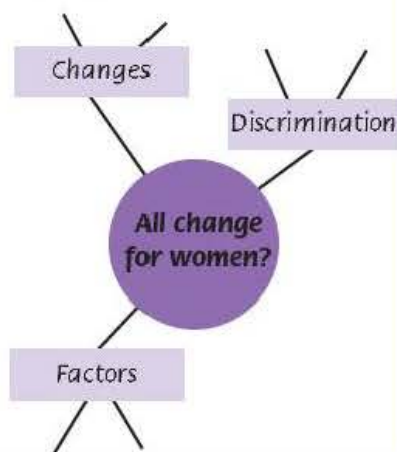
The front cover of *Woman* magazine from 1956. In the mid 1950s around 58 per cent of all women read weekly magazines and the sales of these magazines reached 11–12 million by about 1960.

Focus Task

All change for women?

Over the next eight pages take notes using a diagram like the one below. Draw it in the centre of a large sheet of paper. You will be using your notes for the focus tasks at the end of the section. Use it to record:

- ◆ the main changes taking place in the lives of women
- ◆ examples of discrimination against women
- ◆ the factors that caused change for women.



Factfile

Women's rights legislation, 1945–75

New measures and laws that affected women's role, rights and status:

- Family Allowances introduced in 1945. Mothers got a payment for every child they had.
- National Health Service in 1948 introduced free health care for all.
- Abortion Act 1967 made abortion legal.
- Family Planning Act 1967 allowed health authorities to give birth control advice regardless of marital status (the pill was available on the NHS from 1961).
- Divorce Reform Act 1969 made divorce easier.
- Matrimonial Property Act 1970 meant women kept some of the property if she got divorced.
- Equal Pay Act 1970 granting equal wages for women and men doing the same work.
- Women's Aid Federation 1974 provided support and refuge for women and children experiencing domestic violence.
- Employment Protection Act 1975 brought in limited paid maternity leave.
- Sex Discrimination Act 1975 outlawed sexual discrimination in the workplace.
- Domestic Violence Act 1976 enabled married or cohabiting women to obtain a court order aimed at preventing further violence and to exclude her violent partner from the home.

What changed, and why?

The period 1950–75 saw some great changes in the role of women. This affected their working lives, their home lives, their legal status, their education and many other aspects of life as well. It is a vast subject. The following eight pages look at these changes in overview and the reasons behind them.

Prosperity

From about 1955–56 Britain's economy finally began to recover from the war. This had two important direct results on women:

- They were more able to get a job if they wanted one. A shortage of workers increased demand for women workers.
- Wages increased faster than prices so there was more spending money available. For the married woman the wages of the main earner in the house could support the whole family.

Working opportunities

In the period 1950–75 more and more women joined the workforce. The official figures show that women made up 31 per cent of the labour force in 1951 but by 1971 it was 37 per cent. It is important to remember that the number of jobs in this period went up dramatically as well, and that many of the new jobs were taken up by women. Many employers liked employing women because they were paid less than men. In 1951 around 36 per cent of adult women were working but in 1971 it was 52 per cent.

The biggest change of all at work was the gradual collapse of the 'marriage bar'. This was the unwritten rule that women should give up their jobs when they got married. In 1951 only 26 per cent of married women worked, but by 1971 it was 49 per cent – almost one in two. This probably reflects the number of married women who returned to the workforce after having children.

So how were these working women treated? There is a lot of evidence to suggest that they were resented by their male colleagues. Working mothers were blamed for crime and unruly behaviour by juveniles, although there was no evidence to show that the children of working mothers behaved worse than non-working mothers. Male colleagues often felt that women were less committed to the job than men, or that they would simply collapse in tears if they faced pressure or confrontation. The result of such negative attitudes was that working women generally took lower paid and lower status jobs than men. In the 1950s eight out of ten women were secretaries, factory workers or shop workers. They rarely gained promotion or management positions. Even when they were doing the same jobs as men they were paid less.

Equal Pay

Some campaigning women's groups allied with trade unions to address the issue of unequal treatment of women in the workplace. The focus of attention was on equal pay. For the largely male-dominated trade unions a key reason for supporting this campaign was to ensure that low-paid women did not replace higher-paid men. For women campaigners themselves the campaign was also about equality and fairness.

In the public sector (i.e. people who were paid directly by the government, such as teachers or civil servants) the equal pay argument was quickly accepted. The government agreed to it in 1955. Equal pay in the public sector was phased in over the next six years. However, outside government, there was little progress. In the 1960s the campaign gathered pace.

There were several strikes for equal pay at some major sector companies, including the huge Ford motor car factory in Dagenham. Women machinists went on strike and car production fell because there were no seats to put in the cars.

SOURCE 7



A leaflet published by the Civil Service union NALGO in 1954. You can find more examples at the TUC History website www.tuchistory.org.uk The Union Makes Us Strong.

- 1 In what ways did women face discrimination at work?
- 2 What does Source 8 reveal about attitudes to women working?

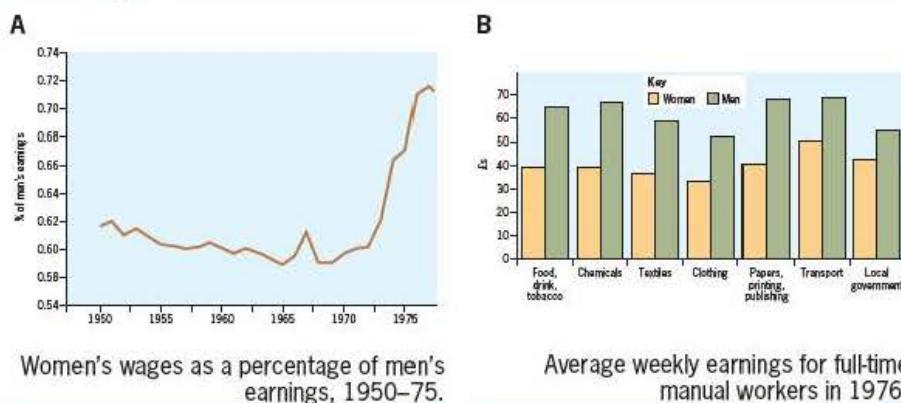
Equal Pay Act 1970

Women also voted for the Labour Party in greater numbers when it committed itself to getting rid of sex discrimination. Labour was elected in 1966 and set up a committee to investigate the issue. Significantly Labour appointed a woman, Barbara Castle, as their Minister of Labour. She tried to get employers and unions to negotiate a voluntary scheme for equal treatment but this failed. As a result the government brought in the Equal Pay Act in 1970.

In many ways the Equal Pay Act was a landmark. Under the Act, women and men had to receive the same pay if they were doing the same jobs. You can see from Source 8 the effect it had on wages for women. It also came at a time when women were campaigning on other issues as well, and therefore helped to create the atmosphere in which other advances towards equality could be made. However:

- The Act was not enforced until 1975 (firms could introduce equal pay voluntarily before then).
- The Act did nothing to stop employers paying men more on the grounds of greater experience or training, even if firms only made training available to men.
- The Act also did nothing to address the issue of women being passed over for promotion.

SOURCE 8



SOURCE 9

Law: 103 women practising barristers out of a total of 2,073 . . . Just over 400 women were practising solicitors out of a total of 20,250.

Accountants: 11,000 chartered accountants, 82 of them women.

BBC: When the survey was made, women held six of the 150 'top' jobs in the BBC . . .

Journalism: About 2,000 women among the 18,000 members of the National Union of Journalists. There had never been a woman editor of a daily newspaper and even among the magazines which cater especially for women the majority of editors had been male.

Medicine: 17 per cent of those on the Medical Register were women . . . Taking all medical students in all schools, just under 24 per cent were women and about 400 qualified each year . . .

Dentists: 1,446 women out of 16,279 on the Register.

Architects: About 700 women were working as architects, against 16,300 men.

Civil Service: In the Civil Service as a whole there were 189 women in the Administrative class out of a total of 2,482; in the Foreign Service there were 23 out of 750. In the Executive class there were 358 women in the grades of Senior Executive Officer and above, out of a total of 4,326 and 598 out of 19,003 of equivalent level in the Professional, Scientific and Upper Technical classes . . .

Finance and Commerce: Of 40,574 members of the Institute of Directors, only 850 were women.

- 3 Study Sources 8 and 9. How could these sources be used to show that the campaigns of the 1960s and early 1970s were:
 - a) successful
 - b) unsuccessful?

From a report on discrimination against women, by the National Council for Civil Liberties, 1964.

Home life

While the number of women workers was increasing so too was the number of women marrying. In the first half of the twentieth century around fourteen per cent of women never married and those who did tended to marry in their late twenties. However, in the 1950s and 1960s marriage actually became more common. Women were also marrying younger. As a result, in the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a baby boom. The peak year for births was 1965. What was life like for the married woman at home?

Technology

New technology made a big difference to women's lives in the home. By the 1960s most people lived in homes with gas, electricity and piped water. As a result, back-breaking jobs like bringing in the coal became less of a feature of women's lives. Electricity meant access to a range of labour saving devices which revolutionised housework. Refrigerators kept food fresh, reducing the need for shopping trips. Vacuum cleaners also made household cleaning easier and quicker. Above all, the washing machine removed the back-breaking toil of the weekly wash. In the 1970s these machines became increasingly sophisticated, spinning and drying as well as washing.

SOURCE 10



Washing day around 1900.

- 1 Why are Sources 10 and 11 useful to historians looking at women's domestic lives?

SOURCE 11



An advertisement for the Hoover Keymatic washing machine, 1962.

SOURCE 12

No one should waste her life on the treadmill of housework. So decide how much you're prepared to do and when. Four hours a day? One day a week? None? (A big aim, I feel, but good luck to you.) Decide how much mechanical help you want, how much it will cost, and how you're going to get the money to pay for it. Don't use that help to raise your housewifely standards. Use it to get more free time to get out and enjoy yourself. Remember that the whole point of housework is to keep the place functioning efficiently as a cheerful background for living – so live!

An extract from *Superwoman* by Shirley Conran, published 1975.

Choice

These machines gave women more time. The average number of minutes per day spent on housework fell from 500 in 1950 to 440 in 1960 to 345 in 1975. There was even some evidence that men were doing some housework (about twenty minutes!). Some women were fortunate enough to be able to use that time on leisure activities, socialising and shopping. Most women used the time to take on part-time work. The important change was not what women chose to do with that extra time, but the fact that the choice was there. It is unthinkable that Source 12 would have been written earlier in the century.

Expectations

The downside of Source 12 is probably clear to you. Superwoman! Many women have commented on how the bar was raised in the 1960s and 1970s. As choices broadened for women the expectations on them as to what they would achieve were also raised. Take childcare for example. Psychological studies suggested that children benefited from spending most of their first five years with their mothers. Traditionally this had been rare. Wealthy mothers usually left their children with nurses, while poorer mothers returned to work leaving the children with family. Some women felt torn between a desire to work and a desire to do right by their children.

SOURCE 13

Women are born to love, born to be partners to the opposite sex and that is the most important thing they can do. To be wives and mothers, to fix their hearts on one man and to love and care for him with all the bounteous unselfishness that love can inspire.

An extract from an article in *Woman's Own* magazine in 1961. The author was Monica Dickens. She was well known as a successful author and broadcaster.

- 2 Study Source 13. Do you think this view reflects what the writer actually thought or the image she thought women should conform to?

SOURCE 14



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © SOLO SYNDICATION/ASSOCIATED NEWSPAPERS LTD.

A cartoon published in the *Daily Mail*, 3 February 1960. The caption reads: 'Every morning when my husband goes to work I hate him . . . because he's going to do things and meet people all day . . . while I'm stuck here . . .'

- 3 How do the findings of Hannah Gavron help us to understand Source 14?
4 Does Source 16 support Hannah Gavron's conclusions?
5 It would be possible to express the findings of Hannah Gavron to convey a different message. For example: 'Four out of five middle-class women felt that they had married at just the right age.' Discuss with a partner the problems of using surveys like this as a historical source.

Magazines and TV

Women were keen magazine readers. More than half read a weekly magazine. In the 1960s the TV began to take over. In 1950 hardly any homes had one. By 1970 almost every home that wanted one had got one. Through magazines and TV women were presented with advice on every conceivable aspect of home life as well as how to look and how to behave. It seems that many women were happy to follow the advice and the pressures which magazines and advertising directed at them.

Magazines did change over the period. By the 1970s there was less emphasis on being a domestic goddess and more emphasis on film stars and celebrities and also on women as people in their own right rather than as wives and mothers.

How did women feel?

In this situation (increased work opportunities alongside more women becoming wives and mothers) researchers tried to find out what women were now feeling about their roles as mothers. As you would expect they found huge differences between women of different social groups. Women are individuals – think how hard it would be to generalise even about the attitudes of the students in a normal school classroom. They also faced another difficulty. Asking women about such personal and significant issues as their feelings about being a wife or mother was not common at that time. Women were not used to being honest. There was a strong taboo against speaking out about what you really felt. Many women tended to say 'the right thing' – what they thought they were expected to feel rather than what they actually felt.

In the early 1960s the sociologist Hannah Gavron interviewed a number of North London housewives alone, in their own homes. Away from the pressures of families and friends, the women seem to have answered honestly and openly. Here are some of Gavron's findings:

- Thirty-five per cent of working-class wives and 21 per cent of middle-class wives felt they had married too young. They claimed they got married in order to escape their families. Working-class wives also said they married in order to escape dull, low paid jobs.
- Both groups said they were full of regrets for things they had not done, particularly getting training and pursuing a career.
- The majority felt their marriages were more equal partnerships than their parents' marriages but 62 per cent of women did not know what their husband earned.
- Few of the women saw their main role in life as wife and mother.
- Most felt that education and work were totally geared towards men.

Another sociologist from the period, Nancy Sears, drawing on similar findings wondered why, if there was frustration at their role, more women did not 'protest' against such restrictions. She concluded that most women accepted the situation because they could not see any way that they could change it and were afraid to try to do so. Society expected women to be housewives and women who tried to do anything different faced opposition or even ridicule.

SOURCE 15

The biggest obstacle to women is that in subtle and not so subtle ways an atmosphere is created which still makes it appear peculiar or comical for women to be both feminine and use their abilities to the full.

An extract from a survey of women's attitudes by the sociologist Nancy Sears in 1962.

SOURCE 16

There are signs that some girls are tending towards more independence in their dealings with men, and that they will not be content to sign over their lives to their husbands on marriage . . . They are determined to remain smart and in control of events after they have married; they are not prepared to be bowed down with lots of children, and they will expect their husbands to take a fuller share than their fathers in the running of the home.

An extract from a report by a researcher in Sheffield in 1963.

The women's movement

In the 1950s the term 'feminism' had been virtually unknown. It was associated with old-fashioned ideas – e.g. the Suffragettes (see section 13.1). Very few people saw the idea of a militant movement to fight for women's rights as being worthwhile or relevant.

There were feminist writers. For example, in 1956 the sociologists Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein published a book called *Woman's Two Roles: Home and Work*. They argued that there should be a fairer distribution of work and leisure between the two sexes. In short they criticised the fact that while men worked and then came home to relaxation and leisure time, women often worked and then had to run the home as well. This book remained in print for ten years. However, the great majority of women were not influenced by such books, and may not even have heard of them.

On the other hand, the few women who did think this way turned out to be very influential. Two important organisations were the Fawcett Society and the Six Point Group (their six points were political, occupational, moral, social, economic and legal equality for women). Both these organisations had roots going back to the suffragist campaigns for the vote but by the 1960s they were active in campaigns for equal pay and equal treatment for women under the law. These two groups organised alliances with other organisations such as the National Council for Civil Liberties, trade unions and professional associations such as doctors and lawyers.

SOURCE 17

It seemed clear that emancipation had failed; the number of women in Parliament had settled at a low level; the number of professional women had stabilised as a tiny minority; the pattern of female employment had emerged as underpaid, menial and supportive. The cage door had been opened and the canary had refused to fly out. The conclusion was that the cage door ought never to have been opened because canaries are made for captivity; the suggestion of an alternative had only confused and saddened them.

The feminist Germaine Greer writing about the women's movement before 1970.

SOURCE 18

The highest value is placed on jobs like designing goods, writing adverts or books, and helping companies to think up new ideas. British trade depends on new ideas and men are no better at thinking up these than women.

Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, 1970.

Women's liberation

By the late 1960s there were signs that the women's movement was growing in strength and confidence and in some cases it was growing in radicalism. Some women members of organisations like CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) or even the main political parties began to form parallel women's versions of these movements because they felt they were dominated by men.

Local women's groups began to set up all over the country. Was this growing movement because an increasing number were dissatisfied with their role and status, or because an increasing number were feeling more powerful and able to change things? It was probably a combination of both. Certainly such groups made many women feel part of a new movement. The groups talked about liberation and empowerment – making women feel able to change things. They organised 'consciousness raising', which meant making women aware of:

- how discrimination affected them personally
- their own deep-seated ideas about themselves and the role of women
- their own skills and rights so they could seize opportunities which were offered to them.

By 1969 most major British towns had women's liberation groups. Inspired by writers like Germaine Greer (Sources 17 and 18), they questioned what they saw as traditional male assumptions that women were born to be homemakers, leave work when they married and give up their independence on the birth of children. They got involved in very varied issues. They raised awareness of domestic violence against women and gay rights. In Hull the wives of fishermen launched a women's campaign calling for better safety in the industry because accidents affected them as well as their husbands. Women bus conductors in London campaigned for the right to drive buses.

The women's groups came together at a national conference in 1970 to plan an overall programme of action for the women's liberation movement. They agreed four 'demands':

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1 equal pay | 3 24-hour nurseries |
| 2 equal education and opportunity | 4 free contraception and abortion on demand. |

SOURCE 19

What's the matter with women today? Why are they all demanding equal opportunities and equal pay? They do not deserve to be mothers if they cannot sacrifice five years for their children before their children go to school. They are missing the relationship between child and mother. It is no wonder there are so many child delinquents when that relationship is missing. Forget about the money and stay at home until the children go to school.

A delegate at the Labour Women's Conference in 1969.

- 1 How might the author of Sources 17 and 18 reply to the speech in Source 19?
- 2 What might the author think of the cartoon in Source 20?

SOURCE 20

A cartoon published in the *Daily Mail*, 21 June 1968.

SOURCE 21



A feminist car sticker from the 1970s.

SOURCE 23



Examples of feminist demonstrations in the early 1970s.

This 1970 Conference launched the women's liberation movement on the national scene. Opponents often shortened this to 'Women's Lib'. Over the next two decades its leaders campaigned against discrimination in work and civil rights. They had a major impact on public opinion through magazines, marches and public demonstrations. One of the most famous gestures of protest was the burning of bras, high heels and other clothing which women argued was worn for the benefit of men, not themselves. Sources 21–23 show other examples of their campaign methods.

SOURCE 22



Advertisement for a demonstration in 1970. Women protesters had disrupted the 1970 Miss World beauty competition by throwing flour bombs, claiming that the competition treated women like objects. They had been put on trial. This demonstration was in support of the women on trial.

Activity

Source 20 is an interesting commentary on how the women's movement was seen in 1968. It is mainly designed to amuse. However, cartoons often provide us with lots of useful information without intending to.

- Look at the different array of women who are protesting. They come from different walks of life.
- The banners show what issues campaigners believed important at this time.
- The women look serious and determined while the men seem dismayed.

Of course we cannot take this cartoon to be an accurate representation of what was happening at the time, but it is still extremely useful. On your own copy of Source 20 produce a detailed analysis which explains:

- the message of the source
- the methods used by the cartoonist to deliver his message
- the information in the cartoon which is useful to historians
- why historians need to be careful with sources like this.

SOURCE 24

At the beginning of this century a typical working-class mother devoted some fifteen years of her adult life to begetting and nursing her own children. She would expect to be preoccupied with raising her large family – and supervising her daughters' child-bearing – until she was nearing the end of her active life. Today, by the time a woman approaches forty, her youngest child is going to school; and at this stage she can expect to live for another thirty-six years. She is ready to start a new career . . .

GM Carstairs, *This Island Now*, 1962.

SOURCE 25

Working women were delaying or curtailing their capacity to bear children, marrying later or perhaps being reluctant to have children at all. The rise of child-minders and crèche facilities . . . was testimony to the wish of women to lead more relaxed, interesting child-free lives . . . The classic working-class mum, living at home to look after her numerous children with the man as the bread-winner . . . conformed less and less to the reality.

Professor Kenneth Morgan, *The People's Peace, British History 1945–1990*, 1992.

- 1 Make a list of the main changes described in Sources 24 and 25.
- 2 What is the cartoonist trying to say in Source 26?

Contraception

One central aim of the feminist agenda was free contraception for all women. If women were to be free to make choices then they needed to be free to decide how many children to have and when.

Family planning advice had been available since the 1920s, but thirty years later, methods of contraception were still unreliable and family planning was still something of a taboo subject. Many husbands and wives did not even discuss the subject before they got married. There was misinformation and misunderstanding.

Through the 1950s researchers were working hard on a radical new form of contraception – the combined oral contraceptive pill – which controlled the woman's hormone cycle to prevent conception. The first birth control pill was available in Britain in 1957. By 1961 it was approved for being dispensed under the National Health Service – although you still needed a doctor's prescription to have it. It was a massive breakthrough in contraception. If used properly it was almost 100 per cent effective and it was controlled by the woman. By 1968 there were 2 million women in Britain taking the pill.

It was also a massive step forward for women's rights. It is hard to overstate the importance of this development for women. There was the obvious consequence: parents could choose how many children to have. Most married couples now had families of two to three children rather than the much larger families of earlier generations. After the peak year of 1965 the birth rate fell dramatically. It also gave unmarried women more sexual freedom. But the most important consequence was that effective family planning increased women's opportunities in all other aspects of life.

SOURCE 26



'Of course my husband doesn't agree with Father MacMahon!'

A cartoon in the *Guardian* newspaper from 24 February 1965. The Catholic Church (represented by Father MacMahon in the cartoon) is opposed to artificial contraception such as the pill.

Abortion

The women's movement also led the campaign to legalise abortion. Before the arrival of the pill, and as a result of the sexual revolution there were an enormous number of unwanted pregnancies among both unmarried and married women. There were an estimated 200,000 illegal abortions performed each year in Britain in the early 1960s. These were in unregistered premises, often in very unhygienic conditions. The mother's life was at risk. Despite this many women were prepared to take the risk of an illegal, 'backstreet' abortion either because they were desperate not to have a child, or because they could not afford it, or because of the social stigma that still attached to being an unmarried mother.

In 1967 a concerted campaign led to Parliament passing the Abortion Act which became law in 1968. Abortions were available if two doctors agreed it was necessary, it was carried out on registered premises and if the baby was not yet capable of surviving independently.

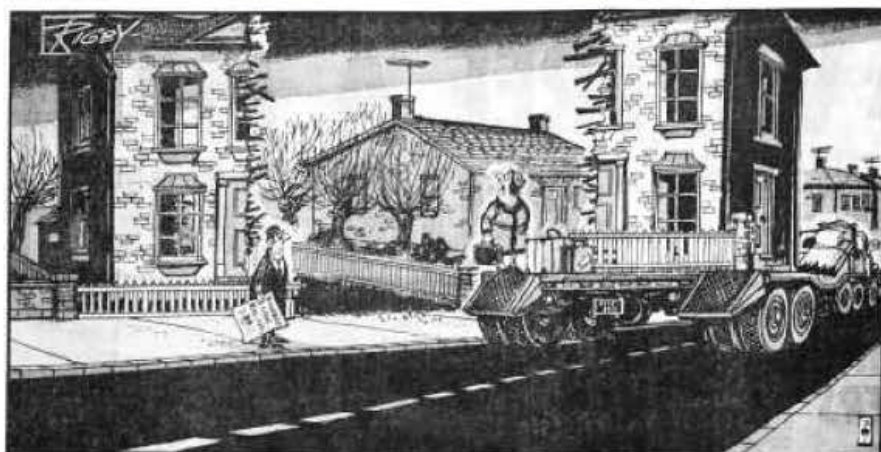
Divorce

A final key development was the Divorce Reform Act of 1969. Before this Act, a married couple could only get a divorce if there had been some 'matrimonial offence', such as adultery. It was usually seen as the woman's fault when a marriage broke down. The 1969 Act allowed divorce simply on the grounds that the relationship had broken down – it did not have to be the fault of husband or wife.

The Matrimonial Property Act of 1970 recognised that a wife's work was valuable and built up the wealth of the couple. This meant that women usually got a share of the family assets, such as the home, in a divorce. Until this Act many women were left in poverty as a result of a divorce but this was no longer the case.

The divorce rate rose by 3.5 times with over 100,000 divorces per year in the early 1970s.

SOURCE 27



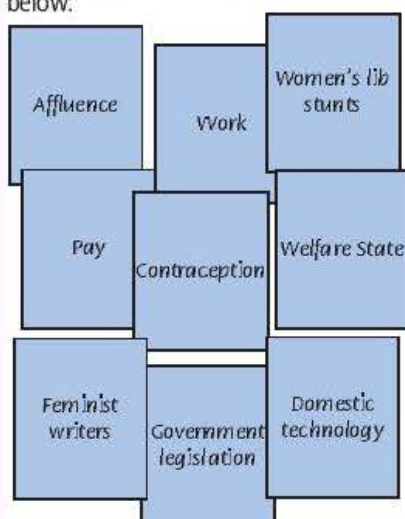
“Don't worry, I'm only taking what's legally mine!”

A cartoon from the *News of The World*, 11 February 1973.

Focus Task

1. What factors led to changes in the roles of women?

Over the past eight pages you have been gathering information on a diagram. Have a look at what you have got in the 'factors' for change branch of your diagram and compare it with our list below.



- 1 Write each of these factors, plus your own, on a separate card.
- 2 On the back of each card summarise how this factor led to changes in the role of women.
- 3 Now arrange the cards on a large sheet of paper with what you think were the most significant at the top and the least significant at the bottom.
- 4 Draw lines and annotations to show how the factors connect with each other.

2. How were women discriminated against in the 1960s and early 1970s?

The second strand of your diagram from page 358 should include aspects and examples of discrimination.

- 1 If you feel that the area of discrimination had been dealt with by 1975 then cross it out on your diagram and mark next to it the measure or action that was most influential in overcoming it.
- 2 Choose an area of discrimination you think was not yet overcome. Use all that you have found out about the women's movement tactics and message to design a leaflet highlighting what is wrong and what should be done about it.

3. How much change had taken place for women by 1975?

The final area of your diagram from page 358 should be a record of all the changes that took place. It will probably be a long list, but does that mean there is a lot of change? We need also to think about how deeply women were affected by the change; how widespread and lasting the changes were (did it affect all the social classes, or different racial groups equally?). Those will be the things you need to think about as you tackle these final tasks.

- 1 Look at the changes you have noted on your diagram. For each change decide where you think it should go on the scale below.
- 2 Compare your scale with a partner's and see if you can produce a new version of the scale which you both agree with.



13.4

The position and status of women in Britain, 1975–2000

From the mid 1970s the Women's Movement began to fragment. Women still campaigned, but the campaigns tended to be a case of women campaigning about issues they cared about rather than campaigning about women's rights. Good examples of this were the women's protest movement against nuclear weapons which was set up at the US nuclear base at Greenham Common from 1981–2000. There were also campaigns by women from various minorities against deportations and other aspects of immigration policy. During the miners' strike of 1984–85 women from the mining communities raised funds and organised other activities such as help with food and clothing for families affected by the strike.

SOURCE 1

The Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act could not, by themselves, create large scale social change. But their existence did help to create a climate in which women could make advances. The Sex Discrimination Act was treated as a joke in much of the popular media in the 1970s, but 20 years on, direct and open sex discrimination usually brought public disapproval.

An extract from *Women in Britain Since 1900* by Sue Bruley, published in 1999. Sue Bruley is a senior lecturer at the University of Portsmouth.

- 1 What is the cartoonist saying about women's attitude to work?
- 2 How has the cartoonist portrayed the women in this image? Can you see any similarities to Source 9 on page 346?
- 3 Does Source 2 support the views expressed in Source 1?

Women and the law

Although the women's movement changed in nature, there were still important changes which took place which affected women directly. As you have already seen, the Sex Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, but it took some years for the Act to have a measurable impact. The impact came from women who were prepared to use the Act to challenge discrimination when they faced it. One example was Belinda Price, a single mother who won a case against the Civil Service. At that time the Civil Service would not accept applications from anyone over the age of 28. Price claimed that this discriminated against women who wanted to stay at home with their children in their early years. As a result of this case the age limit was raised to 45. Perhaps the most important achievement of the Sex Discrimination Act has been a change in attitudes.

SOURCE 2



BRITISH CARTOON ARCHIVE, UNIVERSITY OF KENT © DAILY EXPRESS

A cartoon by Carl Giles from the *Daily Express*, 21 February 1977.

There have been other important changes as well. The Employment Protection Act of 1975 gave women workers the right to six weeks paid maternity leave when they had a baby and protected their jobs for up to 29 weeks if they wished to take longer before they returned to work. In the same year the state pension was changed to give equal rights to people (usually women) who had not worked because they were caring for family or running the home. The introduction of Child Benefit, paid directly to mothers also made a big difference to many women, especially those from low income households.

Britain's membership of the European Economic Community (now the European Union) also affected women. In 1984 a European Commission ruling strengthened the Equal Pay Act of 1970 and made equal pay a reality rather than a law which was often not enforced. In 1996 European laws again helped women by insisting that fathers should be eligible for paternity leave, allowing mothers to return to work without needing child minders. However, paternity leave was unpaid so on the whole it was not taken up except by better-off families.

Parliament and politics

In the world of politics there were significant changes too. In the election of 1987 the number of women MPs elected rose to over five per cent for the first time. In the 1990s the Labour Party introduced all-women shortlists for local parties to choose potential election candidates. This resulted in a massive leap in the number of women MPs (120 MPs in the 1997 election).

SOURCE 3



The then Prime Minister Tony Blair with the women MPs elected in 1997. The media dubbed them the 'Blair Babes'.

SOURCE 4

Though a Blair loyalist, Curtis-Thomas is frank when it comes to talking about the downside of working in parliament and, for her, there are plenty of downsides. When she first arrived at Westminster, she could not believe what she found . . . She was disgusted by the out-and-out sexism of colleagues. You could sense a fervent panic in the Serjeant at Arms office along the lines of "What if they all have periods at the same time?" I was always being told by the Tory men that it was nice to have a better class of totty around.'

She wasn't the only one. Beverley Hughes, MP for Stretford and

Urmston and a Minister of State in the Home Office, was also appalled by what she found. 'I'd been used to that kind of environment, having run a metropolitan council. The Tory benches shouted things across the chamber at you, about your appearance or your size. A lot of it came from the front bench, though it wouldn't be picked up by the microphones. It was shocking, but it was routine.'

According to Barbara Follett, who won Stevenage: 'The Tories made gestures . . . Even on our side, the men would stick their hands out, so you'd sit on them. It was like stepping back in time.'

An extract from an article in the Guardian newspaper, 22 April 2007. The article was looking at the 'Blair Babes' ten years on.

On the other hand the process of all-female shortlists caused bitter arguments and divisions within the Labour Party and all-women shortlists were dropped. Once elected, the women MPs faced a range of issues and problems which suggested that sexist attitudes were far from dead (see Source 4). The Conservatives had even more trouble getting their members to accept all-women shortlists and their MPs remain overwhelmingly male.

Even so, there were some important achievements. In 1992 Betty Boothroyd became the first ever female Speaker of the House of Commons (the official who controls the business of Parliament), although she retired in 2000 and was replaced by a man. Another interesting example of women challenging the system was Diana, Princess of Wales. She married Prince Charles in 1981 but the couple separated in 1993. In earlier times, a woman like Diana would have been expected to retire quietly from public life. Diana refused to do this and became a high profile campaigner for a range of charities and other causes. She also openly criticised Charles for continuing an affair with his mistress Camilla Parker Bowles. In past times royal wives were expected to simply accept the fact that male members of the royal family had mistresses.

Activity

In terms of women becoming equal with men:

- What would you regard as the three biggest advances described on pages 366–67?
- What would you describe as the three biggest disappointments?

Women and work

From 1975 to 2000 women became an increasingly important part of the workforce in Britain. In 1975 around 60 per cent of women worked and by 1996 it was over 70 per cent. It became increasingly accepted as normal for married women to work, even those with children. In fact by the end of the twentieth century women made up the majority of the workforce in several major cities including Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol and Sheffield. However, it should be pointed out that many of the jobs done by women were part-time, low wage and unskilled jobs. Working-class women in particular were usually fitting work around child care and they were often going out to work because their partners had lost a job in well-paid manufacturing industries which had relocated to other countries. So just as we have seen in other periods during the twentieth century, in some cases women were working because they had to, rather than because they wanted to.

Not all jobs done by women were part time or unskilled. By the end of the twentieth century it was no longer unusual to see women postal workers, fire fighters or police officers. Children's TV series like *Bob the Builder* or *Fireman Sam* have reflected this changing situation by including female characters. Over decades of broadcasting, the police drama series *The Bill* has shown women taking a much more hands-on role in policing (see Source 6). This has made an interesting contrast with the low-level role of women police officers in the drama *Life On Mars* which was set in 1973. However, we must remember that the entry of women into these jobs was bitterly resisted at first. We should also remember that the number of women doing these jobs is very small compared to the number doing jobs which have traditionally been associated with women, such as secretarial work, shop work, catering or hairdressing.

SOURCE 5

If you dare to return to work before your child is at school for reasons which appear self indulgent (such as furthering your own career) you are somehow regarded as an unfit parent.

Barbara Toner, *A Practical Guide for Working Mothers*, published in 1975.

SOURCE 7



Anita Roddick, founder and owner of The Body Shop, pictured in 1990.

SOURCE 6



Television reflects the change in the gender make-up of the workforce.

By 2000, women had broken into some of the top jobs in business. Anita Roddick, for example, founded The body Shop and showed that women could be very successful entrepreneurs. By 2000 there were more women doctors than ever before. On the other hand this figure was still only 29 per cent of the total, and the proportion of women in the most prestigious medical jobs (for example, as senior surgeons in hospitals) was even lower at seventeen per cent. An investigation into the banking industry in the 1990s found that while there were women managers they tended to be given control of very small, specialist areas. The investigation also found that women managers were often managing teams which mostly consisted of women.

- 1 One of the women's movement's aims was equality of education. Compare Source 9 with Source 4 on page 357. These are almost thirty years apart. Does this surprise you? Explain your answer.
- 2 Do you think it would be acceptable to ask such a question nowadays?

Women still faced discrimination towards the end of the twentieth century. A report by the Equal Opportunities Commission in 1994 found that in most industries women were less likely to be put forward for training or promotion. Formal discrimination was illegal by 2000 but women still faced discrimination in the form of sexual harassment and surveys of male managers showed that they still felt that women were not as committed to the workplace as men. On the other hand women have been more willing to take cases of discrimination to court (see Source 8). Also, the pay gap between men and women has narrowed, although men still earn on average twenty per cent more than women.

SOURCE 8

A high-flying woman banker is suing HBOS for £10m in the latest 'sexism in the City' case. Claire Bright, who runs asset and liability management for the country's biggest mortgage lender, has lodged a claim at Stratford employment tribunal in east London alleging sex discrimination and victimisation.

It is the latest in a string of such cases brought by female bankers against their employers.

Ms Bright claims HBOS suspended her wrongfully in October after a clash with Cliff Pattenden, a senior manager. She alleges he 'disrespected, demeaned, overruled, micromanaged and humiliated her' because she was a woman . . .

Last week, six women sued another investment bank for almost £800m. They alleged that the bank treated men better, while male colleagues hurled abuse at them, entertained clients at strip clubs and brought prostitutes back to the office. One of the claimants, Katherine Smith, who is based in London, alleged her boss referred to her as 'the Pamela Anderson of trading' and subjected her to humiliating sexual banter. The bank denies all allegations.

The latest legal claim came as new figures highlighted the yawning disparity between the sexes in the City, despite a series of high-profile campaigns to recruit more women. A survey of 30 financial institutions by the recruitment firm Alexander Mann Financial Markets found just 4 per cent of equity traders are women.

An article about sex discrimination in the City of London (the centre of Britain's finance industry) in the *Independent* newspaper, Tuesday 17 January 2006.

Focus Task

Did women enjoy equal status in society by 2000?

Look back at the start of Section 13.3. You read there about an optimistic and a pessimistic view of the position of women.

- 1 Now look back over Section 13.4 and prepare a short role play. One of you takes an optimistic view of the progress women have made. The other takes a pessimistic view. Select examples you would each use and then role play a conversation between the two characters.
- 2 Now in pairs or small groups decide which of these statements you think best describes the position and status of women in Britain at the end of the twentieth century:
 - ◆ Women are now equal.
 - ◆ Women are equal but different.
 - ◆ Great progress has been made and we are nearly there.
 - ◆ Great progress has been made but there is a long way to go.
 - ◆ There has been little change since 1900.

Education

One area where women had achieved equality and indeed overtook men by 2000 was in education. In 1970 boys outperformed girls in schoolwork and examinations. During the 1980s and 1990s there were major changes to the school curriculum, to teaching methods and resources and to the way in which work was assessed (for example, the introduction of coursework). All of these factors have helped girls and by 2000, 50 per cent of girls scored five or more A–C grades at GCSE. The figure for boys was 40 per cent. This picture was reflected at university level. During the 1980s and 1990s the number of women going to university increased by 100 per cent. For men the figure was about 30 per cent. These qualified women began to move into management roles and also into professional jobs such as the law, journalism or education.

SOURCE 9

Your brother and his friend are arriving home for breakfast after walking all night on a sponsored walk. Iron his shirt that you have previously washed, and press a pair of trousers ready for him to change into. Cook and serve a substantial breakfast for them including toast.

A task from a paper in *Practical Housecraft*, 1982.

AQA Unit 3 is examined by controlled assessment. This is a combination of coursework and examination. The AQA examiners want to see that you can carry out an enquiry or investigation into a big historical question. But they want you to do it in controlled conditions (i.e. under supervision from your teacher and with a time limit) so they can be sure it is all your own work.

Stage 1: The course

You will have been taught a course in the normal way, probably based on one of the chapters in Unit 3. It will give you a general overview of the content. At some point you will be told the main theme for your controlled assessment. It might, for example, be about:

- the role of women in the two World Wars
- the importance of technology in the two World Wars
- attempts to improve welfare in Britain in the twentieth century.

Your controlled assessment 'exam' will focus on that issue and the sources you used to pursue it.

- Question 1 will ask you to choose five sources you have used in your enquiry and explain how they have been useful in your enquiry.
- Question 2 will present you with an interpretation of history and ask you to explain how far the sources you have used support the interpretation.

- it is up to your teacher whether you tackle these two questions at the same time or at different times.
- Although the overall task is bigger in scale, the skills you need to use are similar to those you needed for Papers 1 and 2.

You will be given some sources to look at but you can also use reference books, the internet and resources such as TV programmes. We have packed the chapters in Unit 3 of this book with sources so you can also get a good collection of sources from there.

It is up to your teacher which of these sources you use when it comes to writing up your conclusions but even if you are told to base your answers only on the sources provided by your teacher, there is nothing wrong with referring to other sources you found during your research, especially if they support or contradict the sources in the booklet.

AQA examiners are looking for three main features to your answer:

- **Analysis** of the **content** of the sources. In other words, what useful things does each source tell you?
- **Evaluation** of the source – how far can you trust the inferences you have made?
- **Cross-reference** with others sources and with your background knowledge – does the content of the source tie in with known facts, dates, events, etc.?

Stage 2: Your research

Once you know the questions you will be given some sources (maybe a 'source booklet') to investigate. You will get around 8–10 hours to research the theme and prepare a **research diary**. This is a very important document. You will use it to collect and record the sources you use and the information you gained from them. And you can take it into your controlled assessment with you.

The research diary will **not** be assessed, but it will be your key resource when you write up your enquiry. It will also be used as proof that your assessment is your own work. At this stage you will be able to discuss your work with your teacher and with other students.

Stage 3: Writing up your enquiry

Once the research phase is over you will be on your own. You will have to write up your enquiry in exam-like conditions – i.e. without conferring with friends and without the internet and under supervision. You will be using only the sources that you used or found in your research phase. There won't be any new sources sprung on you in the controlled assessment. Your aim is to show that you have really thought through the value and usefulness and reliability of those sources.

Question 1

Question 1 will ask you to choose five sources you have used in your enquiry and explain how they have been useful in your enquiry.

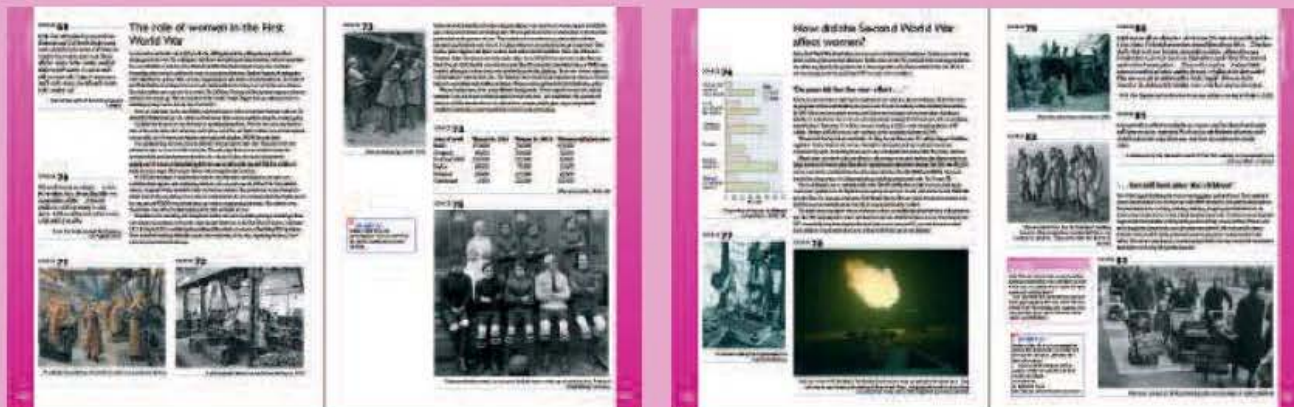
Advice on selecting your five sources

Consider these questions:

- Are your sources relevant to the question being asked? How and why?
- Do the sources give you the chance to show what you have learned? If so, don't forget to tell the examiner what you have learned!
- Do you have a combination of text and visual sources? Why is that useful?
- Do you have a combination of contemporary sources and sources written with hindsight? Why is that useful?
- Do your sources provide a range of viewpoints (e.g. men and women, people from different social groups, different political views, etc.)?
- Do you have an organising theme (e.g. the sources show change, continuity, mixture of both)?

Controlled Assessment: Historical enquiry

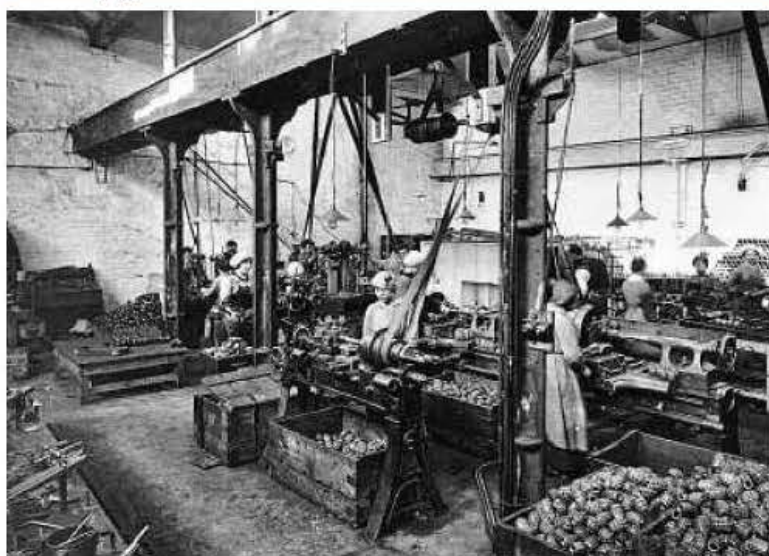
If you were looking at an issue like women's work in the First and Second World Wars then pages 302–05 of this book show you some of the sources you might be faced with.



Advice on writing about your sources

Say you have selected these two sources. How do you write about them?

SOURCE A



A photograph taken in a munitions factory in 1917.

SOURCE B

A woman's life is at least as valuable as a man's and her physical and mental well being are just as important. We do not accept that injured women and girls should receive lower wages than men and boys at government re-training centres.

A statement by the General Council of the TUC relating to compensation for workers killed or injured.

Analyse

This is different from simply accepting what it shows. For example, if you just accept what Source A shows then you only learn that women worked in munitions factories. However, a careful analysis of the source tells you that women worked in munitions factories in difficult conditions. The building itself looks dark and shabby. The machinery must have made a lot of noise. You can see the belts which drive the machines. They are not covered and so there must have been a risk of accidents. You can also see that the women are producing a lot of shell cases from the boxes full of cases stashed in the factory.

Evaluate

This means looking at its purpose and reliability. You have made inferences from the source about women's work in the First World War but is the source reliable enough for you to be confident that those inferences are valid?

Cross-reference

Finally, cross-reference this source against other sources in your selection, or your own knowledge. You know for example, that munitions work was unhealthy. There were many accidents. The worst was an explosion at Silvertown in 1917. You also know that in August 1916 a medical report publicised the fact that women working with explosives suffered breathing problems, yellowing of the skin and rashes.

Now apply these same steps to Source B. Analyse, evaluate, cross-reference.

DO

- Stay focused on how and why the source is useful.
- Use your own knowledge to support what you say.

DON'T

- Don't simply summarise the source.
- Don't accept what the source says without challenging it.

Controlled Assessment: Historical enquiry

This question is assessing your ability to work with sources, so the AQA examiners are looking for the same features as they were in Question 1:

- analysis of the content of the sources
- evaluation of the source
- cross-reference with the sources and with your background knowledge.

The main difference is that you have to keep focused on how they support or challenge the interpretation you have been given.

It is usually a good idea to group the sources rather than work through them one at a time.

Remember for each source or group of sources:

- Explain **how** it supports the statement.
- Include **quotes** from the source that show this.
- **Evaluate** them for reliability.
- **Cross-reference** the sources.

DO

- Stay focused on the interpretation.
- Show you understand that some sources have strengths and weaknesses.
- Cross-reference the source against your own knowledge.

DON'T

- Don't simply summarise the sources.
- Don't make a list of sources which agree or disagree without explaining how and why they disagree.

End with a conclusion.

Question 2

Question 2 will present with you an interpretation of history and ask you to explain how far the sources you have used support the interpretation. For example:

- 2 'Women played an extremely important role in the war effort in the Second World War, but a much less important role in the war effort in the First World War.' How far do the sources you have used support this statement?

The statement will usually be designed so that it is possible to both agree and disagree with it and it is important to consider both sides. In this case you will probably agree that women did play an important role in the Second World War but you may want to challenge the view that they played a limited role in the First World War.

Advice on answering question 2

Stage 1: First of all consider the sources that support the statement. For example Sources 79, 80, 82, 84, 85 from pages 302–307. Group the supporting sources into those that you trust and those that you feel are less reliable. Then write a paragraph about each group.

Sources A, B and C all support the view that women played an important role in World War Two.

Source A tells us that ...

This seems like a reliable source because ...

It is also supported by ...

The interpretation is also supported by Sources D and E, although they are less reliable than Sources A, B and C.

Source D tells us that ...

However, it may not ...

Stage 2: Now you can do the same for the sources which disagree. For example Sources 72, 74, 75, 76, 77.

Sources F, G and H disagree with the statement because they show that women's work in the First World War was important.

Source F tells us that ...

This seems like a reliable source because ...

It is also supported by ...

The interpretation is also supported by Sources I and J, although they are less reliable than Sources F, G and H.

Source I tells us that ...

However, it may not ...

Stage 3: This is the really ambitious bit – try to tackle the comparison between the two world wars. For this you could use Sources 81, 83, 84, 73, 76, 77.

It is very unwise to claim that women's work was more important in one war than another. In the Second World War, Sources K and L show us that ...

On the other hand, in the First World War Britain desperately needed soldiers.

Sources M and N show us that ...

So in conclusion, I think ...

Acknowledgements

The text acknowledgements are on page ii.

Photo Credits

p. iv © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 1 © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 2 © Time Life Pictures/Mansell/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images; p. 8 © Henry Guttmann/Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 9 SP 1661 © Imperial War Museum, London; p. 14 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 15 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 16 *t&b* © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 17 *t&b* © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 21 *l* © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo, *r* Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 22 *l* © British Library Board. All Rights reserved (Shelfmark *Daily Herald* 30/06/1919), *r* © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 23 Cartoon by Will Dyson published by *Daily Herald* on 13 May 1919, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Mirrorpix; p. 24 © Express Newspapers, London; pp. 25 *r* & 26 Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; pp. 28–29 © League of Nations Archives, UNOG Library; p. 32 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 33 *t* © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd., *b* © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 34 © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 35 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 36 © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz; p. 37 *l&r* © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 39 *t* © 2003 Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto, *b* © AKG London; p. 42 © Popperfoto/Getty Images; p. 43 © AKG London; p. 44 *r* © The Art Archive; p. 45 © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 46 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 47 *l* © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 49 *t&r* © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd., *l* © Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p. 51 *l* © Popperfoto/Getty Images, *r* © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 52 *t* © Gabriel, with kind permission by *Morning Star*, *b* © *News of the World*/NI Syndication; p. 53 *t* © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd., *b* © John Frost Historical Newspapers; p. 54 © 2006 Alinari/TopFoto; pp. 55 *l* & 56 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 59 © Muzzy Lane; p. 63 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 65 © The Art Archive/Imperial War Museum; p. 68 © Associated Press/Topham/TopFoto; p. 69 © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 70 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 72 *l* Caucasian Dance: Stalin, having stuck the knife in Hungary, Romania and China, turns to France, surrounded by the French Communists Duclos and Thorez, anti-Communist poster by the 'Paix et Liberté' movement, c.1950 (colour litho), French School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library; p. 74 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 75 *t* © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 76 *l* © UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, *r* © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 77 © Keystone/Hulton/Getty Images; pp. 81 *t* & 85 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 86 © Keystone/Getty Images; p. 87 *l* © Associated Press/Topham/TopFoto, *r* © Picture Post/Getty Images; p. 88 *t* © Al Fenn/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images; p. 89 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd. By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales; p. 91 © Jack Esten/Picture Post/Getty Images; p. 92 Cartoon by Vicky [Victor Weisz] published in the *Daily Mirror* on 30 October 1956. British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Mirrorpix; p. 94 *l* © Rykoff Collection/Corbis, *r* © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 95 *l* © US Air Force/Getty Images; p. 96 © UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies; p. 97 *m&b* © AP/PA Photos; p. 98 *t* © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto, *l* © Ullstein Bild/TopFoto, *r* © Popperfoto/Getty Images, *b* © Rolls Press/Popperfoto/Getty Images; p. 101 *l* © Yale Joel/Life Magazine/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images, *t* © Corbis, *b* © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 102 *t* © Cuban Postcard Collection, Cuban Heritage Collection, University of Miami Libraries, Coral Gables, Florida, *b* © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 105 © Rolls Press/Popperfoto/Getty Images; p. 108 Cartoon by Vicky [Victor Weisz] published in *Evening Standard*, 24 October 1962, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 112 *t* © Topham/AP/Topfoto, *b* © Josef Koudelka/Magnum Photos; p. 119 *t* © Bettmann/Corbis, *b* © Jean-Yves Ruzsniowski/TempSport/Corbis; p. 120 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 121 Poster Collection, RU/SU 2315.2, with kind permission by the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University; p. 122 © Getty Images; p. 124 © Paul

Popper/Popperfoto/Getty Images; p. 125 © RIA Novosti/TopFoto; p. 126 © 2000 Credit: Topham/AP/Topfoto; p. 127 © *Daily Telegraph*; p. 130 *t* © Popperfoto/Reuters/TopFoto, *b* © Novosti/Topham/TopFoto; p. 131 © Diane-Lu Howasse/AFP/Getty Images; p. 135 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 136 © 2005 Roger-Viollet/Topfoto; p. 137 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; pp. 138 *l&r* & 139 *l&r* © David King Collection; pp. 141 & 143 *t* © RIA Novosti/TopFoto, *b* © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 148 © RIA Novosti/TopFoto; p. 150 Detail from *The Storming of the Winter Palace*, 7 November 1917 (oil on canvas), Russian School, (20th century)/Private Collection, RIA Novosti/The Bridgeman Art Library; pp. 151–152 © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 155 © British Library Board. All Rights reserved (Shelfmark BL 063554); p. 156 *t* © David King Collection, *b* © RIA Novosti/TopFoto; pp. 157, 158 & 159 *l* © David King Collection, *r* © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 163 *t&b* © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 165 *l* © RIA Novosti/TopFoto, *r* © David King Collection; p. 166 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 167 © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 170 *t* © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto, *b* Stalin at the hydro-electric complex at Ryon in the Caucasus Mountains, 1935, reproduction of the original in 'Soviet Painting', 1939 (colour litho), Toizde, Irakli Moiseievich (1902–p.1941)/Private Collection, Archives Charmet/The Bridgeman Art Library; p. 171 © David King Collection; p. 173 *A Collective Farm Festival*, 1937 (oil on canvas), Gerasimov, Sergej Vasilevic (1885–1964)/Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia, © DACS 2008/Alinari/The Bridgeman Art Library; p. 174 © Ullstein Bild/Topfoto; p. 177 *t&b* © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 178 © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz; p. 179 *l* © Ullsteinbild/Topfoto, *r* © Punch Ltd.; p. 180 *t* © Bettmann/Corbis, *b* © AKG Images; p. 183 *t* 'Grossstadt' (urban debauchery) 1927–28 (triptych) (oil on canvas) by Dix, Otto (1891–1969) Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany/The Bridgeman Art Library © DACS 2011, *l* *The Pillars of Society*, 1926 (oil on canvas), Grosz, George (1893–1959)/Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Germany/The Bridgeman Art Library © DACS 2011, *r* © 2004 Credit:Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p. 184 © AKG London; p. 185 © Mary Evans Picture Library; p. 186 © Ullstein Bild/Topfoto; p. 187 *l* © Bettmann/Corbis, *r* © AKG London; p. 190 © David Crausby/Alamy; p. 191 © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo; p. 192 *t&r* © AKG London; p. 193 © AKG London; p. 195 © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p. 196 *l* © Punch Ltd., *r* © Bundesarchiv Koblenz; p. 198 *t* © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo, *b* © Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p. 199 *t&b* © Ullstein Bild/Topfoto; p. 200 *t&b* © Hulton Archive/Getty Images, *r* © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo; p. 201 *l* Nazi Poster publicising Hitler's radio broadcasts, 1936 (colour litho), German School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark Military Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, *r* © AKG London; p. 203 *t* © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo; p. 204 © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo; p. 205 © Wiener Library; p. 206 *l* © 2002 Feltz/Topham/Topfoto, *r* © Ullstein Bild/TopFoto; p. 209 © Bundesarchiv Koblenz; p. 210 *t* © Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *l* © AKG London, *r* © Ullstein Bild/TopFoto; p. 211 *l&r* © Ullstein Bild/Topfoto; p. 212 *l* © Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, *r* © Ullstein Bild/TopFoto; p. 216 *t* Courtesy George Eastman House, New York, *l* © Culver Pictures; p. 217 *#* 'Onyx' Silk Hosiery Advert, 1915 (colour litho) by American School, (20th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, *tr* © MPI/Getty Images, *bl* © Bettmann/Corbis, *br* Sears, Roebuck & Co. goods catalogue, 1927 (colour litho) by Rockwell, Norman (1894–1978) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, Reproduced by courtesy of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency, Inc.; p. 220 Anti-trust cartoon depicting giant corporations as 'the bosses of the Senate', 1889 (colour litho) by American School, (19th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p. 221 © Bettmann/Corbis; p. 222 © TopFoto; p. 223 *t* King Oliver's Creole Jazz band, 1920 (b/w photo), American Photographer, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, *b* © Chicago History Museum, Photographer: *Chicago Daily News* (DN-068755); p. 224 *The Builder* (colour litho) by Beneker, Gerrit Albertus (1882–1934) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p. 225 *t&b* ©

Bettmann/Corbis; p.226 t © Culver Pictures, b Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.227 Cartoon of the 1920s depicting the difficult times of the American Farmers (colour litho) by Fitzpatrick, Daniel Robert (1891–1969) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; pp.228 & 229 l © Bettmann/Corbis, r © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.230 'A Finer Screen Needed', cartoon of the US immigration policy printed in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 1904 (litho), American School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.231 © Communist Party of the United States Photographs Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University; p.232 © Mary Evans Picture Library; p.233 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p.234 l 'Wanted ... A father, A little boy's plea', c.1915 (engraving), American School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, r © Culver Pictures; p.236 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.239 l Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University Library, © John T. McCutcheon Jr., r © Popperfoto/Getty Images; p.240 l Cheap food line at Bryant Park, New York, during the Great Depression, 1931 (b/w photo) by American Photographer, (20th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, r Car and farm machinery buried by dust and sand, Dallas, South Dakota, 1936 (b/w photo) by American Photographer, (20th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.241 t © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto, b A Migratory Family from Amarillo, Texas, 1940 (b/w photo) by American Photographer, (20th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.242 'Smilette', Democrat Election Poster, 1932 (litho) by American School, (20th century) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.243 © Culver Pictures; pp.245 b & 246 Courtesy of Tennessee Valley Authority; p.247 t © Bettmann/Corbis, m © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.248 'What we need is another pump', Cartoon depicting Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945) 'Pump Priming Deficits', 1933 (colour litho), American School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.249 t © Weidenfeld archives, a division of The Orion Publishing Group, London, m Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p.251 'World's Highest Standard of Living ...', 1937 (litho), American School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library; p.258 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.259 © David King Collection; p.261 t © Rolls Press/Popperfoto/Getty Images, b © Nguyen Kong (Nick) Ut/Associated Press/PA Photos; p.262 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.263 © Larry Burrows/Time Magazine/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images; p.264 © Topham Picturepoint/TopFoto; p.265 t © CBS Photo Archive/Getty Images, b © CBS/Getty Images; p.266 © The Herbert Block Foundation; p.267 t © Popperfoto/Getty Images, b Cartoon by Garland published in the *Daily Telegraph* on 11 January 1967, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Daily Telegraph; p.268 l © Bettmann/Corbis, r © John Olson/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images; p.269 © Bettmann/Corbis; p.270 l © Jules Feiffer, r © Bettmann/Corbis; p.271 © 2005 Bob Englehart, *The Hartford Courant*, and PoliticalCartoons.com; p.273 Sears, Roebuck & Co. goods catalogue, 1927 (colour litho) by Rockwell, Norman (1894–1978) Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/The Bridgeman Art Library, Reproduced by courtesy of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency, Inc.; p.274 © Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo; p.275 Popperfoto/Getty Images; p.277 l 'Are You In This?', First World War poster (colour litho), English School, (20th century)/Private Collection, Barbara Singer/The Bridgeman Art Library, r © The National Archives/Heritage Images; p.280 t 'Your Country Needs You', First World War Recruitment Poster, with a Portrait of Field Marshall Earl Kitchener (1850–1916) (see also 65836)/© Imperial War Museum, London, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library, l © Mary Evans Picture Library/The Women, m © Ullsteinbild/TopFoto, r PST 5089, Imperial War Museum, London; p.281 Reproduced with the permission of the Library Committee of the Religious Society of Friends; p.282 Cartoon by David Low published in *Evening Standard* on 24 May 1940, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p.283 t Keystone/Getty Images, b © 2000 Credit:Topham/AP/TopFoto; p.285 t © The Robert Opie Collection, *Source* 21 A Q 79520, B Q 79501, C Q 70169, All Imperial War Museum, London; p.286 © The Granger Collection/TopFoto; p.287 l © Public Record Office Image Library, r Cartoon by David Low published in *Evening Standard* on 14 May 1940, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p.288 t 'The Kitchen Is The Key To Victory, Eat Less Bread', First World War poster, c.1917 (colour litho), English School, (20th century)/Private

Collection, Barbara Singer/The Bridgeman Art Library, b Q 56278, Imperial War Museum, London; p.289 © John Frost Historical Newspapers; p.290 t HU 63693, Imperial War Museum, London, l Imperial War Museum, London, r D 3609, Imperial War Museum, London; p.291 t © Fox Photos/Getty Images, b PST 0059, Imperial War Museum; p.292 t Popperfoto/Getty Images, b Mary Evans Picture Library; p.294 t Popperfoto/Getty Images, b Fox Photos/Getty Images; p.295 H 12081, Imperial War Museum, London; p.296 t © The National Archives, bl © Mary Evans Picture Library/Robert Hunt Collection, br © Mansell/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images; p.297 t © Bonhams, London, UK/ The Bridgeman Art Library, r © The National Archives; p.298 PST 0199, Imperial War Museum, London; p.299 HU 36167, Imperial War Museum, London; p.301 l KY 10636, Imperial War Museum, London, r © Popperfoto/Getty Images, b © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p.302 l ART 6513, Imperial War Museum. Gift of Her Majesty the Queen, 1979, r The Print Collector/HIP/TopFoto; p.303 t Q 30859 & b Q 110074, Imperial War Museum, London; p.304 l Paul Popper/Popperfoto/Getty Images, r TR 000451, Imperial War Museum, London; p.305 t © Popperfoto/Getty Images, m C 381, Imperial War Museum, London, b © FPG/Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p.307 © The National Archives; p.308 © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p.312 t Q 45786, Imperial War Museum, London, bl © Print Collector/HIP/TopFoto, br EAUS575, Imperial War Museum, London; p.315 CO 000219, Imperial War Museum, London; p.316 Q 003995, Imperial War Museum, London; p.317 t PST 13305, Imperial War Museum, London, b © Topham Picturepoint/Topfoto; p.322 t © Popperfoto/Getty Images, b © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis; p.324 t © Imperial War Museum/The Art Archive, m © Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images, b © Hulton Archive/Getty Images; p.326 © Popperfoto/Getty Images; p.327 H 42527, Imperial War Museum, London; p.328 BU 1021, Imperial War Museum, London; p.335 t © Hulton Archive/Getty Images, b Q 65970, Imperial War Museum, London; p.338 © Ullsteinbild/Topfoto; p.345 l Reproduced with permission of Punch Ltd., www.punch.co.uk; p.346 b © Mary Evans/Fawcett Library; p.347 t © Topham Picturepoint/Topfoto, tr © Mary Evans Picture Library, b © Popperfoto/Getty Images; p.348 © National Archives; p.350 l © Topical Press Agency/Getty Images, r © Museum of London/HIP/TopFoto; p.351 © National Archives; p.352 © Mary Evans Picture Library/The Women; p.354 PST 8286, Imperial War Museum; p.357 t © Museum of London/HIP/TopFoto, b © Land Lost Content/HIP/TopFoto, with kind permission by IPC Media; p.359 With kind permission by UNISON; p.360 l © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis, r © Advertising Archives; Cartoon by Emmwood [John Musgrave-Wood] published in *Daily Mail*, 3 February 1960 with the caption 'Every morning when my husband goes to work I hate him ... because he's going to do things and meet people all day ... while I'm stuck here ...', British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd.; p.363 t By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales © Solo Syndication/Associated Newspapers Ltd., mr © British Library Board. All Rights reserved (P.2000/1413), b © Rex Features; p.364 Cartoon by William Papas published in the *Guardian*, 24 February 1985, British Cartoon Archive, The University of Kent © The Guardian; p.365 © News of the World/NI Syndication; p.366 Cartoon by Carl Giles published in *Daily Express*, 21 February 1977, British Cartoon Archive, University of Kent © Daily Express; p.367 © 2004 UPP/TopFoto; p.368 l © Photo News/TopFoto, r © FremantleMedia Ltd; p.371 The Print Collector/HIP/TopFoto.

t = top, m = middle, b = bottom, l = left, r = right, c = centre

Every effort has been made to contact copyright holders, and the publishers apologise for any omissions which they will be pleased to rectify at the earliest opportunity.

Index

- abortion 365
 Abyssinian crisis 30, 34–6, 37, 38
 aerial warfare 334–9, 334–9
 Afghanistan, Soviet invasion of 117–19, 125, 127
 African Americans 232–3, 252, 266
 African colonies 18
 air raids 296–9
 airships 334
 Albania 112
 Andropov, Yuri 121
 Angola 115
 Anti-Comintern Pact 46
 Appeasement policy 48–9, 50, 56, 57–61
 Munich Agreement 51–3, 54, 55
 arts in the USSR 167
 Astor, Nancy 352
 Atlantic, Battle of the 332–3
 atomic bombs 62, 68, 69
 Austria
 Anschluss with Germany 47, 49
 Austria-Hungarian empire 4, 5
 First World War 3, 9, 11
 Axis alliance 46

 balance of power 7
 Balkans crisis 11
 Bauhaus design and architecture 183
 Beauty of Labour movement 207
 Belgium, First World War 3, 14
 Benes, Edward 50
 Berlin Blockade 62, 76–9, 80
 Berlin Wall 97–9, 130
 Bevin, Ernest 282
Bismarck sinking 332
 the Blitz 300–1, 308, 337
 Bolsheviks 141, 147, 149, 161
 Civil War 154–8
 dictatorship 153–4
 Revolution 150–2
 War Communism 159, 160
 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich 205
 Boothroyd, Betty 367
 Bosnian crisis 11
 Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of 145
 Brezhnev Doctrine 113
 Brezhnev, Leonid 115, 121
 and Czechoslovakia 111, 112
 Britain
 Anglo-German naval rivalry 8–9
 and the *Anschluss* with Austria 47
 Appeasement policy 48–9, 50, 56, 57–61
 Munich Agreement 51–3, 54, 55
 and the Cold War 63
 First World War 3, 10, 14, 310–20
 air raids 296–7
 attitudes to war 306–7
 censorship and propaganda 284–5
 home defence 292
 Home Front 276, 278
 rationing 288–9
 recruitment and conscription 280–1
 women 302–3
 League of Nations 27, 31, 33
 Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17
 Second World War
 air raids 298–9
 attitudes to war 308–9
 Battle of Britain 336–7
 the Blitz 300–1, 308, 337
 censorship and propaganda 285–6
 home defence 293–5
 Home Front 277, 279
 rationing 290–1
 reasons for victory 329
 recruitment and conscription 282–3
 women 304–5
 Suez crisis 92
 Triple Entente 5–6
 women in 340–69

The Calm and the Storm (computer game) 58–61
 Capone, Al 236
 Carter, Jimmy 114, 115, 116, 118, 119
 Castro, Fidel 102, 103
 censorship, Second World War 286–7
 Chamberlain, Neville 47, 56
 Appeasement policy 48–9, 51, 52, 53, 54, 57–8, 60
 Chicago 229, 233, 236
 children, First World War 284–5
 China
 Korean War 84, 86, 87
 Manchurian crisis 32–3
 Churches in Nazi Germany 205
 Churchill, Winston
 and Appeasement 53, 57
 Iron Curtain speech 70
 Potsdam Conference 68
 Second World War 282, 287, 323, 324, 336, 337, 338
 Treaty of Versailles 23
 Yalta Conference 64, 65, 66, 67
 cinema 223, 224
 Clemenceau, George
 Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
 Treaty of Versailles 22
 Cold War
 Afghanistan 117–19
 Berlin Blockade 62, 76–9, 80
 breakdown of wartime alliance 63
 Cuba 102–10
 Czechoslovakia 111–13
 Détente 114
 and Hungary 92
 NATO 62, 80–1
 nuclear arms race 82–3, 95–6, 100–1
 origins 62–89
 responsibility for 79
 Space Race 93–4
 Comecon 74
 Cominform 71, 74
 in Vietnam 270
 Communism
 and Afghanistan 125
 Anti-Comintern Pact 46
 Bolsheviks and War Communism 159, 160
 in eastern Europe 71
 collapse of 128–9
 in Germany 177, 181, 194
 and Gorbachev 126
 and Hitler 40, 43, 46, 48, 55
 in Hungary 90
 and the USA 63, 72, 231, 254
 and the USSR 63, 89, 131, 168
 conscientious objectors 281
 conscription
 First World War 281
 Second World War 282–3
 contraception 364
 Cuba 102–10
 Batista regime 102
 Bay of Pigs invasion 103
 Missile Crisis 104–10
 culture
 in the USA 223
 Weimar Republic 183–4, 186, 190, 194
 Czechoslovakia 16, 74, 129
 Nazi takeover of 54
 Prague Spring 111–13
 Sudentenland 50–2

 DAF (General Labour Front) 207
 Daladier, Edward 51
 Darre, Richard 208
 Davidson, Emily 347
 Dawes Plan 181, 182
 Diana, Princess of Wales 367
 divorce 365
 Dix, Otto 183
 domestic servants 353
 Domino Theory 254
 Drexler, Anton 187
 Dubček, Alexander 111, 112
Duck and Cover information programme 100, 101
 Dunkirk 323–4

 eastern Europe
 and Gorbachev 128–9, 130–1
 Stalin's policies in 68, 70, 71–2
 East Germany (German Democratic Republic) 78, 97–9, 129
 Ebert, Friedrich 176, 178
 economic Depression 31, 32, 174, 240–51
 effects 240–1
 and the Nazis 191–4
 New Deal 246–51, 252, 253
 Wall Street Crash 237–39
 Edelweiss Pirates 204
 education in Nazi Germany 202–3
 Eisenhower, Dwight D. 86, 92, 95, 96, 102, 325
 Eisner, Kurt 177
 El Salvador 115
 Equal Pay Act (1970) 359, 366
 European Union 366

 Fawcett, Millicent 344, 345, 352
 feminist movement 362–5

- First World War 2–13
 aerial warfare 334–5
 aircraft 317
 Alliance system 3–7, 10
 Anglo-German naval rivalry 8–9
 and Appeasement 48
 armistice 320
 artillery 315
 Bosnian crisis 11
 Britain 3, 10, 14, 310–20
 air raids 296–7
 attitudes to war 306–7
 food rationing 288–9
 home defence 292
 Home Front 276, 278
 propaganda and censorship 284–5
 recruitment and conscription 280–1
 women 302–3
 British blockade 331
 and Germany 3, 9, 12–13, 18, 20, 174–5, 319–20
 Hundred Days 320
 League of Nations 24
 machine guns 316
 Moroccan crises 10
 poison gas 316
 Russia 3, 10, 144–5, 148, 320
 Sarajevo murders 2–3, 11
 Schlieffen Plan 9, 310
 sea campaigns 330–1
 the Somme 319
 tanks 317
 trench warfare 312–14
 U-boat campaign 331
 and the USA 215, 218, 219, 320
 Verdun 319
 Western Front land war 310–18, 321
 women 281, 302–3, 352–3
 food rationing 288–91
 Fourteen Points 16, 17, 21
 France
 Appeasement 56
 First World War 3, 10, 14
 League of Nations 27, 31, 36
 Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17
 and the Rhineland 44–5, 55
 Ruhr occupation 179
 Second World War 321, 322–4
 Suez crisis 92
 Triple Entente 6, 10
 Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria 2–3, 11
 Freikops 177
 Garvey, Marcus 232, 233
 German Faith Movement 205
 Germany
 Allied bombing campaign against 338–9
 Anglo-German naval rivalry 8–9
 Anti-Comintern Pact 46
 Berlin Blockade 62, 76–7
 Berlin Wall 97–9
 division of 78–9
 First World War 3, 9, 174–5, 319–20
 responsibility for 12–13, 18, 20
 Zeppelins 296–7, 334
 League of Nations 27, 30
 Luftwaffe 336
 Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17, 20
 reunification 130
 Saar region 43
 Treaty of Versailles 18–23
 Triple Alliance 5
 Weimar Republic 176–86
 see also Hitler, Adolf; National Socialism (Nazis)
 Goebbels, Joseph 189, 190, 191, 200–1
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 123, 124–30
 and the collapse of the USSR 130–1
 and eastern Europe 128–9, 130–1
 and German reunification 130
 legacy 130–1
 letters to 124
 and nuclear weapons 127
 profile 124
 Greece 72
 Grosz, George 183
 Harding, Warren 215
 Harris, Sir Arthur 338
 Hindenburg, Paul von 175, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197
 Hitler, Adolf 39–61, 174, 187–214
 Anschluss with Austria 47, 49
 and Appeasement 48, 52, 54, 57
 and Communism 40, 43, 46, 48, 55
 early years 187
 invasion of Poland 56
 and the Jews 189, 190, 212–14
 and the League of Nations 33, 37, 41, 45
 Lebensraum policy 40, 189
 Mein Kampf 40, 47, 189
 Munich Agreement 51–3
 Munich Putsch 178, 188
 Nazi–Soviet Pact 55–6
 Night of the Long Knives 197
 rearmament policy 42–4
 Rhineland occupation 36, 44–5
 rise to power 39, 193, 195–6
 Rome–Berlin axis 36
 and the Second World War 39, 56
 and the Spanish Civil War 46
 and the Sudetenland 50–2
 and the Treaty of Versailles 40, 41, 43
 and women 210–11
 see also Germany; National Socialism (Nazis)
 Hitler Youth 105, 202, 203
 Hoare–Laval Pact 36
 Ho Chi Minh 254, 256, 258, 262
 Horne Guard 295
 Honecker, Erich 128, 129
 Hoover, Herbert 242, 243
 human rights 115
 Hungarian uprising (1956) 90–2, 97, 113
 ILO (International Labour Organisation) 28
 Indochina 254
 Iranian revolution 114, 115, 117
 Iraq 58
 Italy
 Abyssinian crisis 30, 34–6
 League of Nations 27, 31
 Triple Alliance 5
 Japan
 Anti-Comintern Pact 46
 atomic bombs 69
 and Indochina 254
 League of Nations 27, 31
 Manchurian crisis 30, 32–3, 34, 37
 Jews in Nazi Germany 189, 190, 212–14
 Johnson, Lyndon B. 255, 267, 271
 Jutland, battle of 330
 Kádár, János 91
 Kapp Putsch 178
 Kennedy, John F. 94, 97, 99
 and the Cuban crisis 102, 103, 104, 106–9, 110
 and Vietnam 255
 Kerensky, Alexander 147, 148, 149, 150
 Khomeini, Ayatollah 117, 118
 Khrushchev, Nikita 88–9, 90, 91, 92, 96, 111
 and the Cuban Crisis 102, 104, 105, 108, 109
 King, Martin Luther 266
 Kohl, Helmut 121, 130
 Korean War 62, 84–7, 88
 Ku Klux Klan 232
 League of Nations 14, 24–38, 215
 Abyssinian crisis 30, 34–6, 37, 38
 Article 10 27
 birth of 24–5
 Commissions 29
 Covenant 24, 27, 35
 Disarmament Conference 30, 43
 and economic depression 31, 32
 failure in the 1930s 30–1, 38
 and Germany 182, 185
 and Hitler 33, 37, 41, 45
 Manchurian crisis 30, 32–3, 34, 37, 38
 membership 26–7
 Spanish Civil War 46
 and Stalin 55
 structure and organisation 28–9
 and the Treaty of Versailles 19, 21, 27
 Lend Lease 252
 Lenin, V.I. 150, 151, 153–4
 April Theses 147
 character 161
 death 161
 New Economic Policy (NEP) 160–1, 163, 168
 and Stalin 163, 166
 Testament 162
 War Communism 159, 160
 Ley, Dr Robert 207
 Liebknecht, Karl 177
 Lloyd George, David
 First World War 281
 Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
 Treaty of Versailles 22
 Locarno Treaties 30, 182, 185
 Long, Huey 248
 Lusitania sinking 330, 331
 Luxembourg, Rosa 177
 MacArthur, General Douglas 85, 86
 MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) 100
 Manchurian crisis 30, 32–3, 34, 37, 38
 Marne, battle of the 311
 Marshall Aid 73–5
 Marxism 141
 Mass Observation reports 286, 355

- media
 in Nazi Germany 201
 and the Vietnam War 264–5
- Mensheviks 141
- Mill, John Stuart 344
- Moroccan crises 10
- motor cars, in the USA 216, 221–2, 223
- Muhammad Ali 266
- Müller, Ludwig 205
- Munich Agreement 51–3, 54, 55
- Munich Putsch 178, 188
- music 167, 201, 223
- Mussolini, Benito
 and Hitler 46, 47, 51
 invasion of Abyssinia 30, 34–6
 Rome–Berlin axis 36
- Nagy, Imre 90
- National Socialism (Nazis) 187–214
 and big business 208
 and the Churches 205
 concentration camps 199
 and economic depression 191–4
 economic recovery 206–7
 electoral success 191–4, 196–7
 Enabling Act 197
 and farming communities 208
 and the German Workers' Party 187
 the Gestapo 198, 201
 Jews 189, 190, 212–14
 Kristallnacht 213
 and the middle classes 208
 national community 209
 police and courts 199
 propaganda 190, 191, 200–201, 209, 213, 214
 rearmament 206
 Reichstag fire 196
 the SA (stormtroopers) 188, 190, 192, 194, 197
 the SS 197, 198, 201, 213, 214
 and the Weimar Republic 184, 186
 wilderness years 189–90
 and women 210–11
 and the workers 207, 214
 and young people 202–4
 see also Hitler, Adolf
- Native Americans 251
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) 62, 80–1, 89, 130
- naval rivalry, Anglo-German 8–9
- Nazi–Soviet Pact 55–6
- New Deal 246–51, 253
- Nicaragua 115
- Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia 136
 execution 155
 and the First World War 144
 government 140, 142–3
 and the March Revolution (1917) 145, 146
 opposition to 141
 profile 137
- Niemöller, Pastor Martin 205
- nuclear weapons
 anti-nuclear movements 114
 arms race 82–3, 95–6, 100–1, 120–1
 Cruise and Pershing missiles 114, 116, 118
 Cuban Missile Crisis 104–9
 Gorbachev and Reagan summits on 127
 SALT agreements 114, 116, 118
 Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) 120, 127
 Nuremberg rallies 200
- Pakistan 118
- Pankhurst, Emmeline 344
- Papen, Franz von 195
- Paris Peace Conference 14–17, 18, 20
- Paris Summit 96
- Poland
 and Hitler 43
 Jewish ghettos 213
 Nazi invasion of 54, 56
 Polish Corridor 55
 Solidarity 122–3, 129
 Yalta Conference 64
- Potsdam Conference 68–71
- Powers, Gary 96
- Prohibition 234–6
- propaganda
 First World War 284–5
 Second World War 286–7
- Rákosi, Mátyás 90
- Rasputin 143
- Rathenau, Walther 178
- Reagan, Ronald 116, 120–2, 123, 126, 127
- religion
 in Nazi Germany 205
 in the USSR 167
- Rhineland 19
- Riefenstahl, Leni 210, 211
- Robeson, Paul 232, 233
- Roddick, Anita 368
- Röhm, Ernst 197
- Romania 129
- Rommel, Field Marshal Erwin 325
- Roosevelt, Eleanor 226
- Roosevelt, Franklin D. 68, 72
 Hundred Days 244
 New Deal 246–51, 252, 253
 Presidential election (1932) 243
 Second World War bombing 338–9
 Tennessee Valley Authority 245–6
 Yalta Conference 64, 65, 66, 67
- Russia
 aristocracy 137, 145
 Bolshevik Revolution (1917) 150–2
 Civil War 154–8
 Duma 141, 142, 145
 ethnic minorities 144
 First World War 3, 10, 144–5, 148, 320
 industries 139, 142
 March Revolution (1917) 145–6
 middle classes 139, 145
 nationalities 137
 peasants 137, 142, 144, 149
 population of the Empire 137
 Provisional Government 147–9, 150, 151
 Revolution (1948) 141, 142
 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 145
 Triple Entente 6, 10
 Tsarist Empire 136–49
 wages and prices 145
 working class 139, 142, 144
 see also USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
- Saddam Hussein 58
- St Valentine's Day Massacre 236
- Sassoon, Siegfried 306
- Schacht, Dr Hjalmar 206
- Schleicher, Kurt von 195, 197
- Schmidt, Helmut 116
- Second World War
 Blitzkrieg 321
 Britain
 air raids and precautions 298–9
 attitudes to war 308–9
 Battle of Britain 336–7
 blackout 299
 the Blitz 300–1, 308, 336
 evacuation 299
 food rationing 290–1
 home defence 293–5
 Home Front 277, 279
 propaganda and censorship 286–7
 reasons for victory 329
 recruitment and conscription 282–3
 women 280, 304–5
 D-Day landings 325–8
 Dunkirk 323–4
 France 321, 322–4
 and Hitler 39, 56
 and Nazi youth movements 204
 responsibility for 39, 57–61
 sea campaigns 332–3
 and the USA 252–3
 Western Front land war 321–8
 women 280, 304–5, 354–5
 Serbia and First World War 3, 11
 sexual revolution 224
 Soviet Union see USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
 Space Race 93–4
 Spanish Civil War 46, 50, 55
 Spartacists 177
 SRs (Socialist Revolutionaries) 141, 153
 Stakhanov, Alexei 171
 Stalin, Josef
 collectivisation policy 172–3
 cult of personality 166
 death of 62, 88
 and eastern Europe 68, 70, 71–2
 economic policies 168–73
 the Great Terror 165–6
 leadership contest 162–3
 and NATO 81
 Nazi–Soviet Pact 55–6
 Potsdam Conference 68, 69, 70
 profile 163
 propaganda 167
 purges 164–5
 Socialism in One Country 163
 wartime alliance 63
 Yalta Conference 64, 65, 66, 67
 see also USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
 stock market, and the Wall Street Crash 238–9
 Stolypin, Peter 140, 142–3
 Strength Through Joy (KDF) 207
 Stresemann, Gustav 174, 181, 182, 185, 188, 190
 Suez Canal 36
 Suez crisis 92

- suffragettes 344–6, 347, 348–9, 352
- suffragists 344, 345, 346, 347, 350–1, 352
- superpowers 63
- 'Swing' movement 204
- Tennessee Valley Authority 245–6
- Thatcher, Margaret 121
- Tito, Marshal 71, 74, 75
- Townsend Clubs 248
- Triple Alliance 3, 4, 7
- Triple Entente 3, 5–6, 7, 10
- Trotsky, Leon 150, 152, 155, 156, 162–3
- Truman Doctrine 73
- Truman, Harry S. 68, 69, 72–3, 77, 81
 - and the Korean War 84, 86
- Turkey 73
- U-2 crisis 96
- unemployment
 - in the 1930s 31
 - in the USA 228, 250, 251, 253
- United Nations 64
 - and the Korean War 86
- United States 215–53
 - and Afghanistan 119
 - African Americans 232–3, 251, 266
 - and Appeasement 48
 - Berlin airlift 77
 - Chicago 229, 233, 236
 - Cold War 62, 63
 - and Communism 63, 72, 231
 - Constitution 219
 - and Cuba 102–10
 - economic boom 217–22
 - economic depression 240–51
 - farming industry 227
 - film industry 223
 - and the First World War 215, 219
 - First World War 215, 219, 320
 - immigrants 229, 230–1
 - industrial workers 250
 - industries 218–19, 221–2
 - isolationist policy 215
 - Korean War 62, 84–7, 88
 - League of Nations 24–5, 26, 31, 215
 - Lend Lease 252
 - Marshall Aid 73–5
 - Native Americans 251
 - New Deal 246–51, 252, 253
 - nuclear arms race 82–3, 95–6
 - Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17
 - population and resources 218
 - poverty 228
 - Prohibition 234–6
 - Republican policies 219–20
 - Second World War 252–3
 - Space Race 93–4
 - Supreme Court 219, 249
 - system of government 219
 - Truman Doctrine 73
 - unemployment 228, 250, 251, 253
 - Vietnam War 254–71
 - Wall Street Crash 237–39
 - women 225–6, 251, 252
- USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)
 - and Afghanistan 117–19, 125, 127
 - and Appeasement 48, 63
 - Berlin Blockade 62, 76–7
 - censorship 167
 - Cold War 62, 63
 - collapse 130–1
 - collectivisation of agriculture 172–3
 - Constitution (1936) 164
 - creation of 161
 - Cuban Missile Crisis 104–10
 - and Czechoslovakia 111–13
 - de-Stalinisation 88
 - Five-Year Plans 168–70, 171, 172
 - and Gorbachev 126
 - Hitler and Bolshevism 40
 - and Hungary 90–2, 113
 - industrialisation 168, 171–2
 - labour camps 166
 - League of Nations 27, 55
 - living standards 167
 - and Marshall Aid 74, 75
 - Moscow Olympics 119
 - Nazi–Soviet Pact 55–6
 - nuclear arms race 82–3, 95–6, 101, 121
 - Space Race 93–4
 - Stalinist dictatorship 164–7
 - Young Pioneers 166
 - see also* Russia; Stalin, Josef
- Versailles, Treaty of 14, 18–23, 27, 50
 - German reactions to 20–1, 177
 - German reparations 18, 20, 179
 - German territories and colonies 18
 - and Hitler 40, 41, 43, 187
 - strengths and weaknesses 22–3
 - war guilt clause 12, 18, 20
- Viet Cong 255, 258–60, 262, 263
- Vietnam War 254–71
 - anti-Vietnam protest movement 266–7
 - bombing 261, 269
 - chemical weapons 261
 - ending 269
 - fall of South Vietnam 270
 - guerrilla (Viet Cong) tactics 258–60
 - lessons of 271
 - media reports 264–5
 - political problems 262
 - search and destroy 262
 - tactics 261–2
 - Tet Offensive 268–9
 - timeline 257
 - troops and officers 263
 - winning hearts and minds 263
- voting rights for women 341–51, 352
- Walesa, Lech 122, 129
- Wall Street Crash 238–40
- Warsaw Pact 62, 89, 91, 112
- Washington Summit 127
- Weimar Republic 176–86
 - Constitution 176
 - culture 183–4, 186, 190, 194
 - economic problems 179–81, 182, 185
 - foreign policy 182, 185
 - Kapp Putsch 178
 - Munich Putsch 178, 188
 - and the Nazis 191–4
 - politics 184, 186
 - Ruhr invasion 179
 - and the Treaty of Versailles 177
- West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) 76, 78, 97–9
- Wilhelm II, German Kaiser 5, 8, 10, 176, 178
- Wilson, Woodrow 215, 219
 - Fourteen Points 16, 17, 21
 - League of Nations 24–5, 26
 - Paris Peace Conference 14, 15, 16, 17, 18
 - Treaty of Versailles 5, 8, 10
- Witte, Count 140
- women 340–69
 - in the 1950s 356–7
 - education 369
 - employment 353, 354, 355, 356, 358–9, 368–9
 - Equal Pay Act (1970) 359, 366
 - feminist movement 362–5
 - First World War 281, 302–3, 352–3
 - home life 360–1
 - and the law 366
 - Nazi Germany 210–11
 - Parliament and politics 367
 - Second World War 280, 304–5, 354–5
 - technology 360
 - trade unions and women workers 342, 358
 - in the USA 225–6, 251, 252
 - votes for 341–51, 352
 - women's rights around 1900 340
- Yalta Conference 64–7, 68
- Yeltsin, Boris 131
- young people
 - in Nazi Germany 202–4
 - in the USSR 166
- Young Plan 182
- Ypres, battle of 311
- Yugoslavia 71, 74, 75
- Zeppelins 296–7, 334