Via Afrika History

Grade 11 Study Guide

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Sue Grové

Study Guide

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Grade 11

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Introduction to History Grade 11

Who are you? Why are you here?

Where are you going? How will you get there?

These are some of the questions that History can help you to answer.

From studying the past, we can learn how to live in the present. We can see what mistakes were made and we can avoid repeating them in the future. By studying these mistakes made in the past, as well as many correct and courageous decisions, we can understand why our world is like it is today.

History is the study of people: famous people, notorious people and ordinary people, and how their decisions and actions shaped the future. Studying these people can inspire us to take a more active role in shaping our world and striving to achieve our individual potential. History is an exciting and dynamic subject. Studying History can help you to understand and speak intelligently about what is happening in the world.

History is full of details, such as events, dates and names of people and places. However, when you study History, don't worry about getting overwhelmed by all the details. Try to see the importance of the bigger picture.

To do well in History, here are some strategies that you can use:

- Listen carefully in class.
- Ask your teacher questions until you understand what is going on.
- Go over the work you did in class that day.
- Do your own extra research on the topic you are studying.
- Never leave your studying to the day before a test or exam.
- Make your own mind-maps and summaries.
- Never study without talking to yourself and giving yourself short tests.

In Grade 11 the key question you must investigate and answers is: How do the concepts imperialism, capitalism, communism, racism and nationalism define the century 1850 to 1950?

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Topic 1

Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940

Key question for Topic 1: How was communism applied in Russia under Lenin and Stalin?

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Communism in Russia 1900 to 1940

UNIT 1 Page 3
Issues and events leading to the 1917 Revolutions

- What is communism?
- The writings of Karl Marx
- What led to the 1905 Revolution?
- What was the link between the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions?

UNIT 2 Page 9
The February and October 1917 Revolutions

- The causes and outcomes of the February and October 1917 Revolutions
- Failure of the Provisional Government
- Lenin's return

UNIT 3 Page 22
Civil war and War Communism

- Civil war and War Communism
- Lenin's seizure of control
- Lenin's interpretation of Marxism
- Why was the New Economic Policy introduced?
- Women in the Russian Revolution
- Lenin's death

UNIT 4 Page 29
Russia under Stalin

- Stalin's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism
- Collectivisation and industrialisation in the USSR
- Political terror in Russia in the 1930s
- The effect of Stalin's policies on the Soviet people
- Women in the USSR under Stalin
- The Second World War

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Unit 1

Issues and events leading to the 1917 Revolutions

Key question: What were the issues and events that led to the 1917 Revolutions?

1 What is communism?

After the industrialisation of societies in Europe by the 19th century, ideas about equality among people became known as socialism or communism. They are based on two main principles:

- goods and services produced in an economy should be owned publicly
- goods and services should be controlled and planned by a centralised organisation.

Socialism

- economic and political system where the use of property and capital (money) is used for the common good
- the wealth of a society should be shared, and everyone in it must have everything they need
- socialists believe that the collective interests of the whole society are more important than individual interests
- the word socialism was first used in Britain in the 1820s

Communism

- kind of socialism
- there should not be social classes or states
- all people should own all tools, factories and farms that are used to produce goods and food
- known as common or collective ownership
- no private property
- in principle, workers take control of factories and businesses and manage the economy democratically
- acquired a modern meaning only in 1918 after Lenin named his party as Communist

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2 The writings of Karl Marx

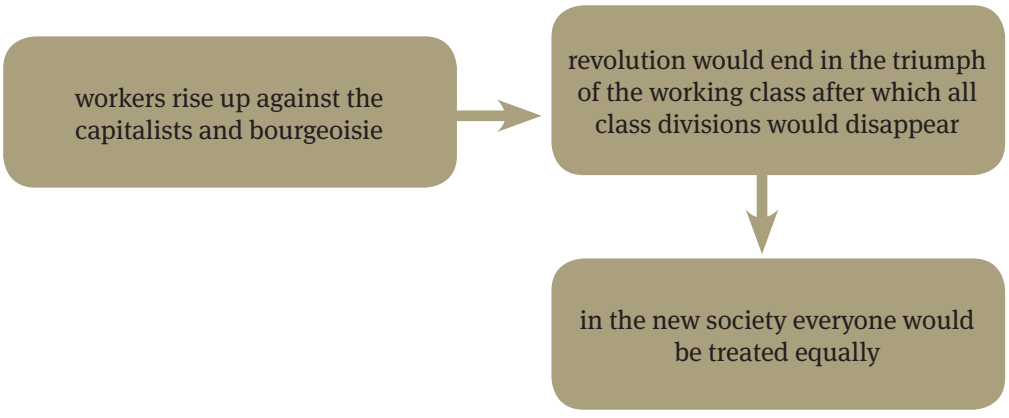
Communist Manifesto (1848)

- outlined a number of steps that they believed a society would experience as workers rose up against the capitalist system
- this would come gradually through the 'law of history'

Das Kapital (*Capital*) (1867)

- critical analysis of capitalism
- minority of people who are wealthy and a majority who are poor
  - → constant class conflict and struggle
    - middle class or bourgeoisie own 'the means of production' (the land and the factories)
    - working class (the proletariat) sell their labour
    - bourgeoisie exploit the proletariat by underpaying them → bourgeoisie thereby increase own wealth

Karl Marx was born in Germany (then known as the Kingdom of Prussia in the German Confederation) in 1818. Marx's theory was that societies would inevitably move from a democracy towards socialism, and then to a further, final stage of communism. This would involve a constant class struggle in which:



However, some socialists were impatient and believed that capitalism would only be overthrown by violent revolution.

- Lenin was one of those who believed in violent revolution led by a small group of trained revolutionaries.
- In October 1917 Russia became the first country to set up a state based on Marxist principles.

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3 What were the issues that led to the 1905 Revolution?

19th century → Russia = empire led by an autocratic ruler called a Tsar:

- multi-national empire
- ethnic Russians only about 45% of the population
- largely agricultural society
- majority of people, the peasants and serfs, living in the countryside in poor conditions.
  - Until 1861, serfs:
    - did not have freedom of movement
    - were forced to work on the lands of the great landowners
    - had the status of peasants.

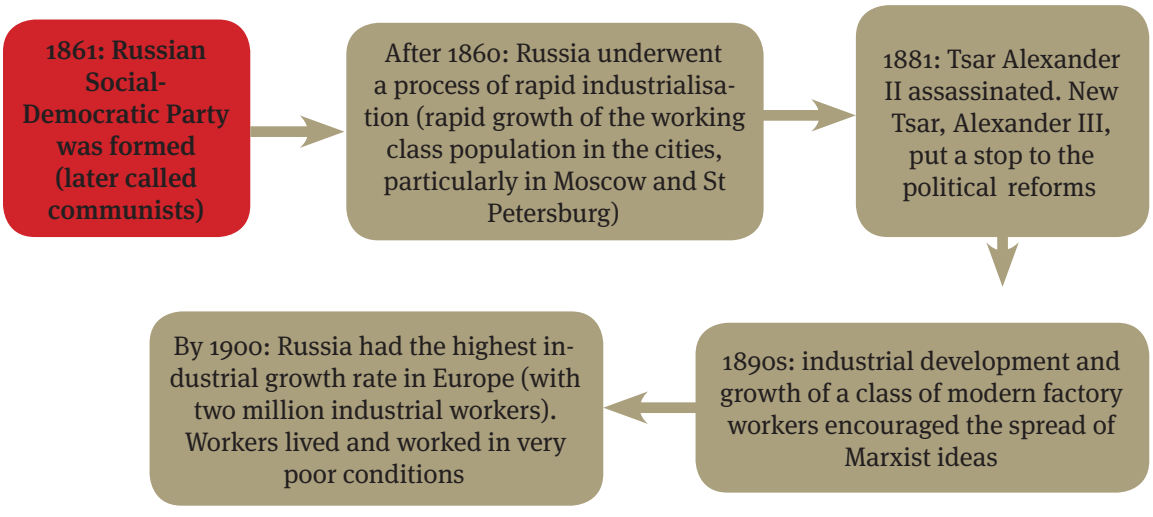
In 1861, Tsar Alexander II emancipated (freed) the serfs on private estates as well as the domestic serfs and they were granted the full rights of free citizens.

- The landowners were forced to give their serfs a piece of land.
  - The emancipation of the serfs enabled them to travel to towns and cities and to sell their labour in the growing industrial sector.
    - However: still little political representation of the people:

Zemstvo – local government

- elected by townspeople, peasant villagers and noble landowners
- dealt with local problems
- dominated by traditional bureaucracy and the local nobility
- ordinary people had very little power

Under Tsar Alexander II political activity increased with people demanding the introduction of a constitution and a parliament:



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Russia was determined to expand its territory.

- By 1903, had managed to establish a sphere of influence in Chinese Manchuria.
- Next target was Korea.
  - Japan did not want any further Russian expansion in the region and protested:
    - Russia ignored the Japanese protests
    - Japan launched a surprise attack in February 1904
    - Russians suffered a humiliating defeat by the Japanese
    - Military defeat led to political unrest in Russia.

Business and professional classes wanted political reforms, which would turn Russia into a liberal democracy

- factory workers felt economically exploited and had become unionised
- peasants had not gained much from the economic reforms and continued to live in poverty
- by 1900, intellectuals among the subject nationalities, in particular Poland and the Ukraine, were calling for self-rule.

1903

- Lenin's demands for a small, disciplined, elitist party split the group
- Lenin's supporters = Bolsheviks (minority)
- Opposers = Mensheviks (majority)
- Social Democrats now began organising unions and strikes and demanding democratic reforms

October 1905

- Strikes and peasant uprisings
- revolts among the minority nationalities and
- mutinies amongst troops in the army
  - = had spread throughout the country

Summer of 1905

- General strike paralysed the country
  - → government was forced to give in to the people

Discontent broke out into revolution in February 1905 (army fighting Japan in Manchuria):

Revolution

- massive demonstration of workers moved peacefully towards the Winter Palace in St Petersburg to present a petition to the Tsar (Nicholas II)

Protest

- trade unionist priest, Father Georgii Gapon, who was actually working for the secret police, led the workers – but Tsar Nicholas had fled the city

Massacre

- as they drew closer to the palace, the troops opened fire, killing and wounding hundreds of workers

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This day became known as Bloody Sunday.

- The massacre turned workers against the Tsar → anger spread throughout Russia.
- The Russian Marxists formed the Social-Democratic Labour Party.
- The Tsar issued the October Manifesto, granting civil rights and promising to set up a Duma (parliament) elected by the people.
  - promised that the Duma would have real power to pass laws
  - October Manifesto accepted by liberals (Octoberists) but rejected by Social Democrats → Social Democrats wanted socialist revolution.

December 1905 – Social Democrats led a workers' uprising in Moscow. This frightened the middle class, which helped the government to suppress the uprising.

Duma

- held its first meeting in May 1906
- great disappointment to those who had expected real political change
- government issued a new constitution, the Fundamental Laws
- Tsar continued to have most of the power
- Duma and an appointed upper house could debate and pass laws, but Tsar had an absolute veto on all laws passed
- Tsar appointed the government ministers

Twice the Tsar dismissed the Duma – and twice more radical representatives were elected to the Duma.

- The Tsar then rewrote the electoral laws to ensure the propertied classes dominated the Duma.
  - This ensured greater support for the Tsar and his ministers.

4 What was the link between the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions?

- 1905 Revolution helped Marxist revolutionaries develop their political theory and improve their organising skills.
- Lenin, one of the leaders in 1917, was in exile in 1905
  - watched the events and adapted his own revolutionary theory.
- Leon Trotsky – a Menshevik, who with Lenin was to lead the 1917 revolution
  - = took an active part in the events of 1905.

Leon Trotsky

- helped set up the Soviet of Workers Deputies in St Petersburg
- was elected onto its executive council
- later elected the chairperson
- after uprising he was arrested and sentenced to internal exile
- eventually escaped to Vienna, Austria

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Soviet of Workers' Deputies

- made the day-to-day decisions for the Soviet
- end of October 1905, the St Petersburg Soviet had taken over many of the functions of local government
- soviets were set up

Although the St Petersburg Soviet was to play an important role in the events of 1917, the 1905 uprising was eventually suppressed in December 1905.

- Trotsky and the other leaders of the Soviet were arrested, imprisoned and brought to trial on 19 September 1906.

4.1 What had the Social Democrats learned from the events of 1905?

- Importance of mass strikes and workers' councils (Soviets) as representative of the workers as a whole, rather than of political groupings.
- Revised their theory of revolution: a socialist revolution would be possible in a backward country such as Russia, which did not have a large urbanised working class.
- Trotsky: theory of Permanent Revolution.

Before and after 1905

Before 1905	After 1905
• Most Marxist revolutionaries in Russia believed that they were fighting for a democratic government under a capitalist economy	• Recognition that they could go straight to a workers' revolution. • Once in power, the workers would carry out the democratic measures to free all peasants. ◦ → Introduce socialist, anti-capitalist measures to meet the needs of the workers

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Unit 2

February and October Revolutions of 1917

Key question: What were the causes of the February and October Revolutions of 1917?

Note on dates

- Russia was using the old Julian calendar in 1917, whereas the West was using the newer Gregorian calendar.
- The two calendars differed by several days.
- This is why you will often see two months given for the 1917 Revolutions: February/March and October/November.
- Russia's dates were behind the West.
- Russia changed in 1918. When Soviet Russia undertook its calendar reform in February 1918, they moved from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian.
  - This move resulted in a loss of 13 days, so that 31 January 1918 was immediately followed by 14 February 1918.

1 What were the causes of the February and October Revolutions of 1917?

Overview

- 1917 revolution ended Russian monarchy and brought first socialist state.
- February/March revolution was not planned
  - → it developed out of violent riots on the streets of St Petersburg
  - it removed Tsar Nicholas from power
    - = democratic revolution which introduced democratic reforms.
- October/November revolution (Bolshevik revolution)
  - = was planned and executed by a group of revolutionaries.
    - In 1918 they abandoned democracy
    - → declared themselves the representatives of a dictatorship of the proletariat.
- 1914 → First World War broke out
  - Tsar Nicholas II vowed to fight the enemy
    - = surge of patriotism.
  - St Petersburg renamed Petrograd
    - despite this, Russian army = poorly equipped
    - → suffered greatly in battle.

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1.1 What were the political causes of the February and October Revolutions of 1917?

After the 1905 Revolution

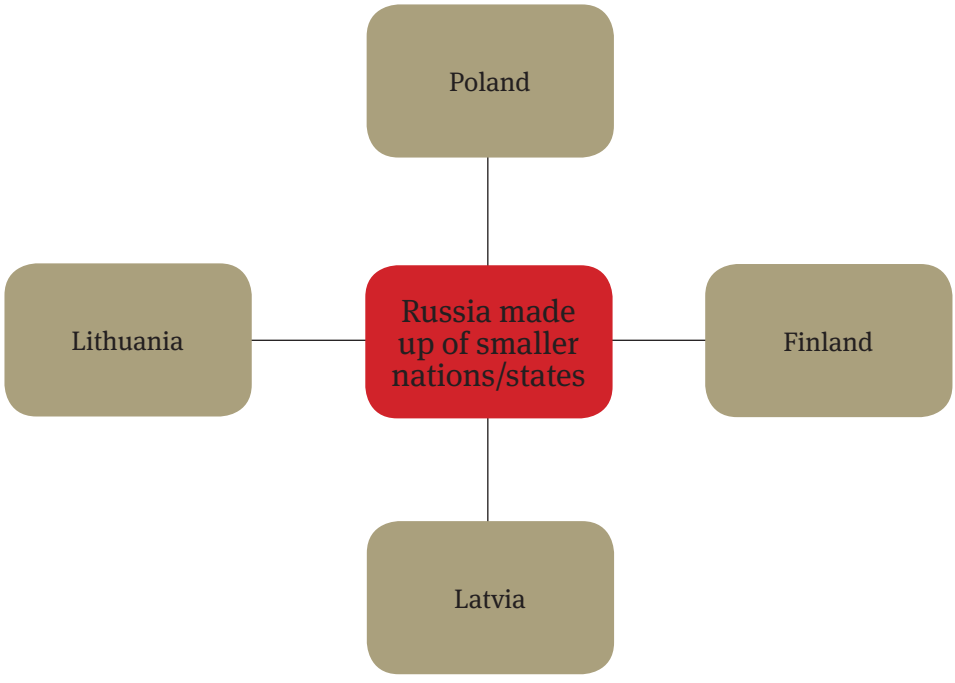
- Tsar (Nicholas II) was reluctant to introduce any real political reforms
- Stolypin = the Prime Minister from 1906 to 1911:
  - he was repressive

Stolypin persecuted Jews, treated protesters harshly and exiled political activists, such as Lenin.

- Growing discontent among workers.
- Crowding in working class areas made spread of revolutionary ideas easier.
- Strikes illegal
  - secret meetings organised.
- Protests grew more violent as people grew more dissatisfied.

Prime minister Stolypin assassinated in September 1911.

1.1.1 Political causes



Result:

- growing discontent
- rise of nationalism
- nationalists demanded change in government
- → but brutally put down by the Tsar.

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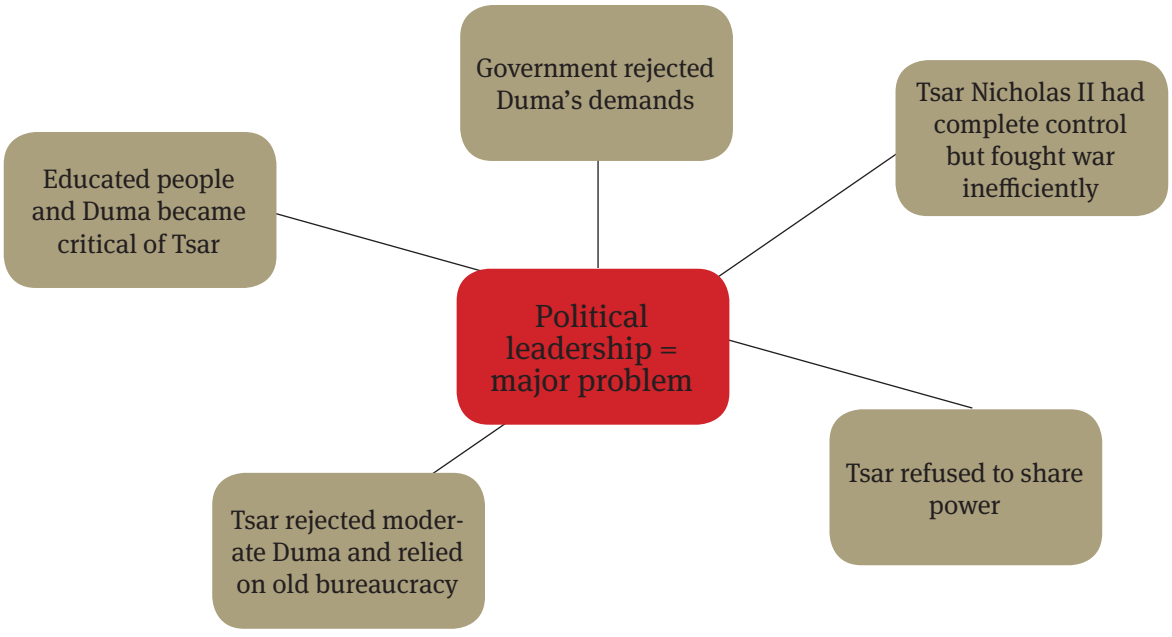

In September 1915 a number of political parties formed the Progressive Bloc

- → called for a completely new government responsible to the Duma instead of the Tsar.

BUT

- Tsar temporarily suspended the Duma:
  - announced that he was going to the lead the Russian armies himself.
    - = A fatal decision that would lead to the fall of the Tsar.

1.1.2 What role did Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin play?

Tsar Nicholas II joined the Russian troops and his wife, Tsarina Alexandra, took over control.

- strong-willed
- hated parliaments
- unpopular with Russian people
- had urged husband to rule absolutely
- tried to do the same in his absence

BUT

- unable to rule effectively
- dismissed or reappointed prime ministers, angering the Duma
- was under the influence of Rasputin, a peasant/monk
- Rasputin pretended to be able to control Alexei Ramanov's haemophilia (Alexei was the Tsarina's son)
- as a result, Rasputin gained political power and influenced appointments.
  - The Tsar had Rasputin killed in 1916 after learning of his damaging influence.

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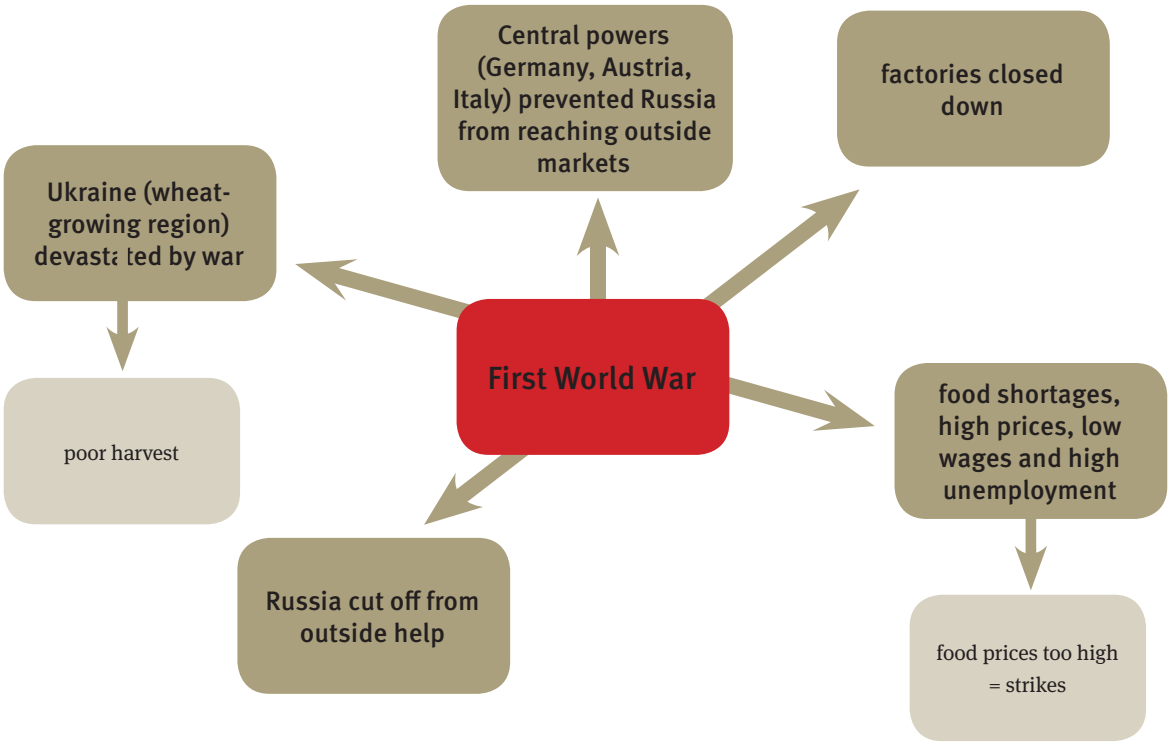
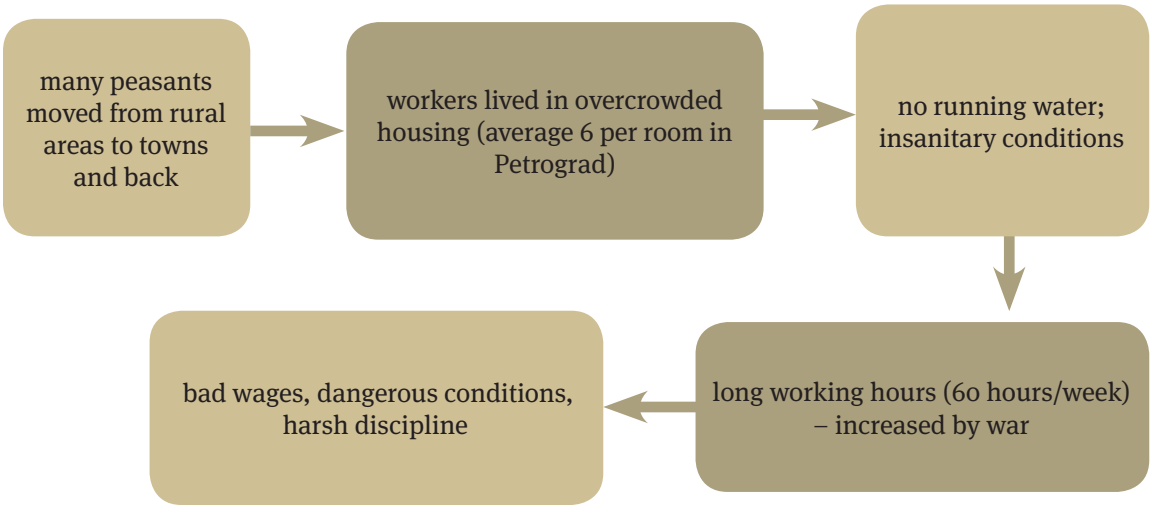
1.2 What were the economic causes of the February and October Revolutions of 1917?



Factories were also being used to meet the army's demands, and the transport system was inadequate.

1.3 What were the social causes of the February and October Revolutions of 1917?



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2 Why was the February 1917 Revolution successful?

- At the start of WWI, all political parties were in favour of participation.
- Russia allied with Britain and France
- 1915 = series of crushing defeats
  - → after defeats = full mobilisation (organising soldiers for war).

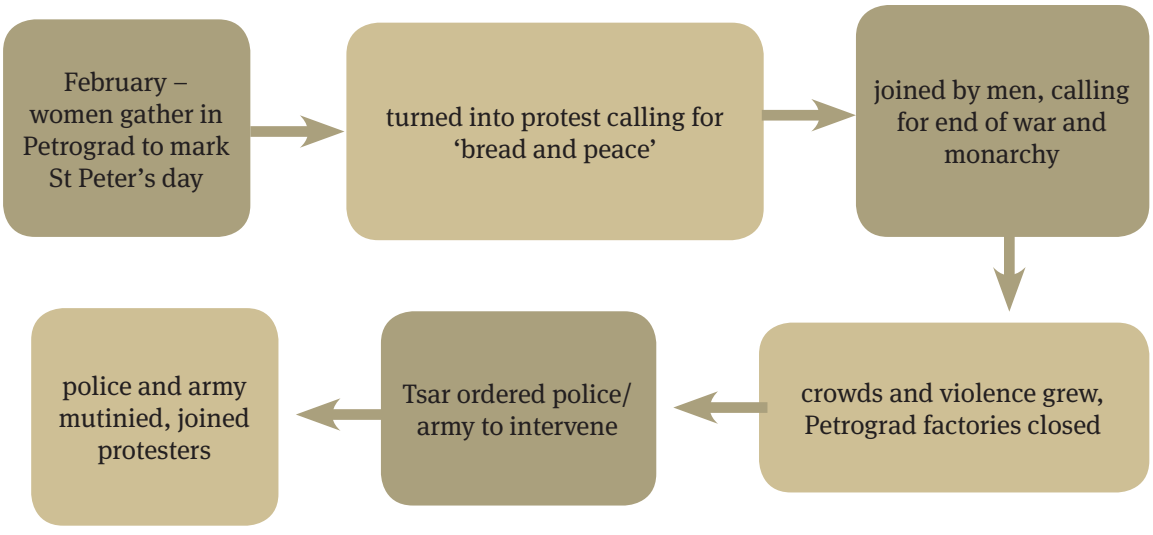
1 Duma set up special committees to co-ordinate war effort (defence, industry, transportation and agriculture).
2 Russian factories doubled the production of armaments (weapons).

BUT, this resulted in:
- 1916: severe food shortages
- 1916–17: strikes, public violence.

The situation in Petrograd was extremely bad for most of the population. As a result of the war, food supplies were low, unemployment was high, and inflation was out of control, with wages not keeping up. Foodstuffs were scarce and famine was looming.

The February Revolution was the result of an unplanned uprising of hungry, angry people in Petrograd.

=



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By October 28th 1917:

- over 80000 troops mutinied
- rioting widespread
- police powerless to control crowds
- workers captured police stations, destroyed buildings and seized arms.

Prime Minister Mikhail Rodzianko: telegram to Tsar Nicholas II:

'The situation is serious. The capital is in a state of anarchy. The Government is paralyzed. Transport service and the supply of food and fuel have become completely disrupted. General discontent is growing ... There must be no delay. Any procrastination is tantamount to death.'

The Tsar ignored the warning and underestimated the situation.

- Duma continued to meet secretly
- agreed that unrest would continue while Tsar was in power

Tsar ordered Duma to disband

Petrograd Soviet (dominated by Mensheviks)

- began to call for revolution and end to monarchy

- soldiers ignored orders and joined revolutionaries
- Duma declared a provisional government

Tsar ordered soldiers to restore order

14 March 1917 – Tsar Nicholas II abdicated.

The Tsar's brother did not want leadership, so Russia was left leaderless.

- Tsar and family banished to Siberia in 1918 and eventually murdered.

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3 Why did the Provisional Government fail?

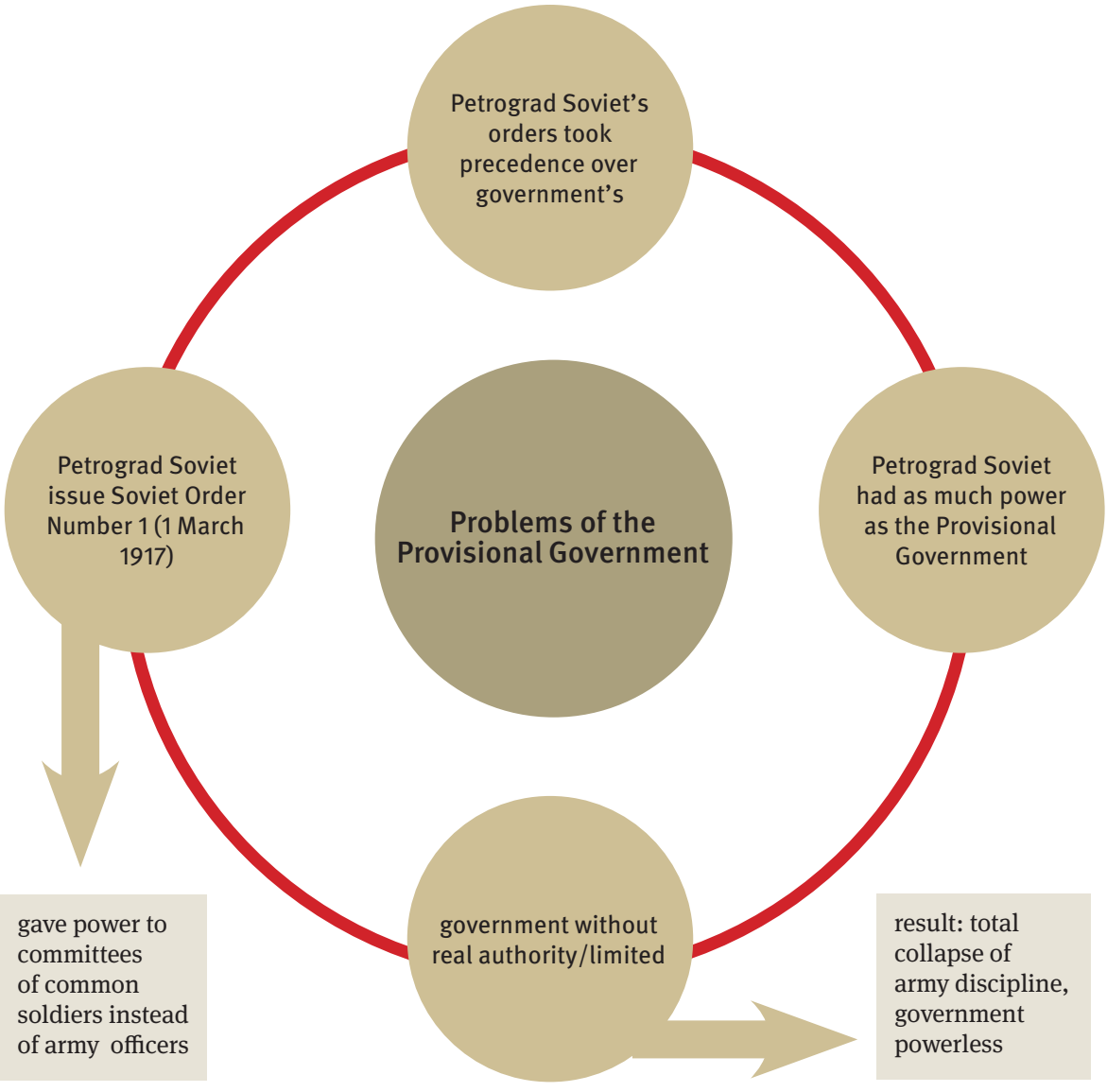
Provisional Government

- under the leadership of Alexander Kerensky
- consisted of mostly wealthy middle-class ex-Duma ministers
- to govern temporarily until a Constituent Assembly could be elected

Constituent Assembly

- would decide on the future of the country

In the beginning the new government was popular. The Petrograd Soviet stated that they would support it as long as it looked after the interests of the people.



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Provisional Government's reforms

- equality before the law
- freedom of religion, speech and assembly
- the right of unions to organise and strike (important to communists/socialists)
- an eight-hour day for the workers
- the release of political prisoners
- political exiles were allowed to return to Russia

Provisional Government's failures

- failure to take peasant demands into account
- failed to end war
- did not redistribute land (workers remained landless as under monarchy
- postponed elections – made them unpopular

Clash of Provisional Government and Soviets

- disagreed over land distribution
- Soviets: huge estates owned by the Tsar and nobility must be confiscated and divided amongst the peasants
- Provisional Government did not want to risk losing the nobility's support

After 1914

- railway system for transporting food to cities broke down
- traders became increasingly corrupt
- food prices rose but peasants did not benefit from it
- therefore no incentive to produce more crops
- peasants began to reclaim the land they had farmed for centuries
- many soldiers (sons of peasants) returned from the war to assist the land grab.

4 How did the return of Lenin contribute to the October 1917 Revolution?

April 1917: political amnesty for exiles:

- Lenin returned to Russia from exile (Switzerland).
  - It was hoped that he would help Russia to end its participation in WWI.

'April Thesis' – Lenin

- called for the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government
- transfer all power to soviets
- hand over all factories and land to peasants (Marxist ideal)

Lenin's beliefs

- success in a revolution lay in the leadership of a dedicated band of revolutionaries
- the push for a revolution should be immediate
- slogans: 'Peace! Land! Bread!'

Trotsky – important colleague of Lenin → played a major role in 1917 revolution.

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June 1917:

- first All-Russia Congress of Soviets was held in Petrograd
- Bolsheviks (supporters of Lenin) were in the minority
- Lenin's leadership helped them to influence the delegates
- Bolsheviks openly called for civilians and soldiers to come out onto the street of Petrograd, to condemn the Provisional Government and demand an immediate end to the war
- Minister of War, Alexander Kerensky, ordered a renewed offensive along the Austrian front:
  - This military operation failed completely and weakened Kerensky.

4.1 July Days

- Series of anti-government demonstrations in Russian cities
- Riots inspired by Bolshevik slogans and response to failed war effort
- Riots caught Bolshevik leaders by surprise
- Provisional Government blamed Bolsheviks (falsely)

→

- Bolsheviks banned, Lenin exiled, Trotsky imprisoned

Many saw this as the end of the Bolshevik influence over the events of 1917 because they were now enemies of the state. Bolshevik headquarters was at Kshesinsky Palace.

4.2 The Kornilov affair

Kerensky's government did nothing to improve the deteriorating economic situation → Conditions worsened because of war → Bolshevik influence increased → July 1917: Kerensky appointed General Kornilov as the Commander-in-Chief of the army

BUT

relationship between Kerensky and Kornilov became strained → Kerensky feared that Kornilov was plotting against him to set up a military dictatorship → a member of the Provisional Government, Vladimir L'vov, deliberately caused trouble between them → Kornilov was also dissatisfied with the influence of the Soviets over the Provisional Government → end of August, General Kornilov ordered his troops to march on Petrograd and declared martial law →

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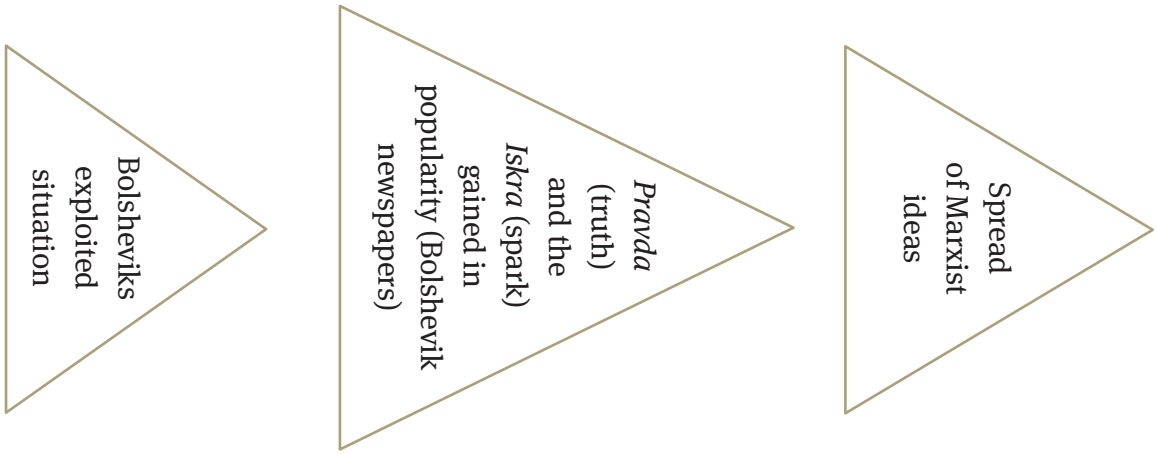
The Provisional Government called on the Petrograd Soviet for help.

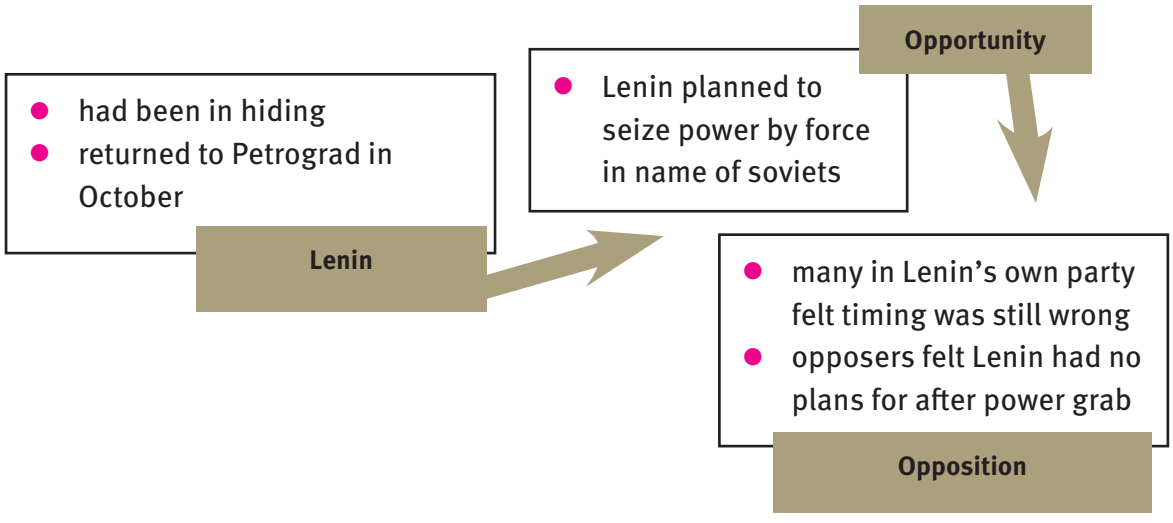
- They responded:
  - by calling a general strike and arming the workers in order to stop Kornilov's advance
  - railway workers refused to move some of Kornilov's trains
  - trains were redirected
  - workers took control of factories, electing committees to run them
  - peasants seized land
  - soldiers deserted to join land grab.



After Kornilov revolt:

- Kerensky still in government
  - but government increasingly unpopular
  - Bolsheviks became more popular (they had stopped Kornilov).

Popularity of Bolsheviks gave Lenin opportunity → by September 1917 they dominated the Petrograd and Moscow soviets.



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However, Lenin convinced the majority of the Bolshevik Central Committee to accept an armed uprising in principle. Plans were worked out during the next two weeks.

- Bolsheviks had put together an army, but they knew that their soldiers were unreliable
- Trotsky had support in the national army
- Trotsky able to win the Petrograd garrison over to the Petrograd Soviet
- Provisional Government deprived of main military support in Petrograd.

5 Reasons for success of October 1917 Revolution

Kerensky and the Provisional Government were aware of the rumours of an intended takeover by the Bolsheviks

Provisional Government brought in junkers – the cadets from local military academies – to guard the government buildings

Bolshevik troops made their way to the positions allocated to them and began occupying critical points and buildings in Petrograd

main telephone and telegraph offices, banks, railway stations, post offices and major bridges

junkers did little to protect the buildings – either fled or were disarmed without resistance

Success:

- by morning of 25 October, Bolsheviks had every building except Winter Palace
- Kerensky fled city
- Bolsheviks brought the warship, Aurora, up the Neva River – near Winter Palace
- Winter Palace surrounded and captured by 26 October

Provisional Government overthrown

- The Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies issued the following proclamation:
- 'The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies – the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and the garrison. The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power – this cause has been secured. Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!'

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5.1 The role of Trotsky

- Very important in 1917 revolution.
- Planned and carried out the Bolshevik seizure of power.
- Convinced the Petrograd Soviet to form a special Military-Revolutionary Committee in October and make him its leader.
- Caused military power in Petrograd to fall into Bolshevik hands.
- Insisted that in order to have less opposition, they should carry out the revolution in the name of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets (rather than in the name of the Bolsheviks).
- Militants from Trotsky's committee joined with the Bolshevik soldiers to seize the government buildings and then to take over the Congress of Soviets.
- Trotsky became Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Joseph Stalin became the Commissar of Nationalities.

5.2 Bolsheviks in power

January 1918:

- planned gathering of the Constituent Assembly
- met only once

Meeting of Constituent Assembly	Bolsheviks	Bolsheviks in power
• assembly refused to give up its authority • did nothing to challenge the Bolsheviks	• watched over the meeting with loaded guns • declared the assembly permanently dissolved and accused its members of being 'slaves to the American dollar' (capitalism)	• issued a series of decrees • confirmed the peasants' seizure of land and the workers' control of industries • abolished class privileges, nationalised banks and set up revolutionary tribunals in place of the courts

5.2.1 Lenin's beliefs

- Western-style democracies were irrelevant
- in favour of 'dictatorship of Proletariat'
- single-party Bolshevik rule.

5.2.2 Cheka

- new secret police agency of government

5.2.3 World War I

- debate in the Bolshevik Central Committee (March 1918)
- Lenin withdrew Russia from the war
- treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed with Germany
  - → Russia lost valuable land and resources

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5.2.4 Why were the Bolsheviks able to take power?

By late 1917 there was anarchy in the country and power was there for those who were able to take it

→

Lenin and Trotsky were brilliant and determined leaders for Bolsheviks

→

Bolsheviks succeeded in appealing to many soldiers and workers who were exhausted by the war

←

Failing to end World War I or address the demands of the peasants, the Provisional Government lost any hope of support

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Unit 3

Civil war and War Communism

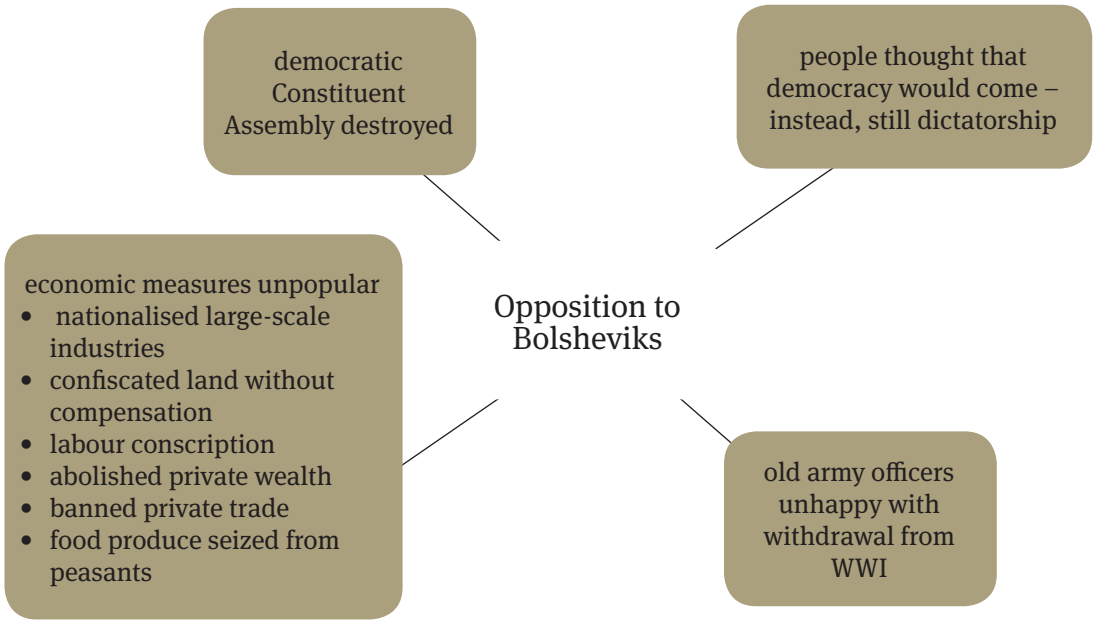
Key question: How were the Bolsheviks able to win the civil war and take control of Russia?

1 Why was there civil war and what was War Communism?

- After October 1917, Bolsheviks
  - increasingly repressive against opponents inside Russia
  - tried to maintain economic control by harsh measures/laws known as War Communism.

1.1 Civil war

- despite being in power Bolsheviks still faced opposition
- March 1918 → discontent increasing
  - led to civil war.



Result of discontent: In August 1918 Lenin was shot three times by a Socialist Revolutionary agent, but miraculously escaped death.

Civil war

- Bolsheviks = Red Army – led by Trotsky
- Opposers = White Army – supported by Britain, France, USA
  - → Western countries worried that communism would spread to their shores.
- Between 1918 and 1921 → western Russia controlled by Bolsheviks:
  - rest controlled by Social Revolutionary Party.

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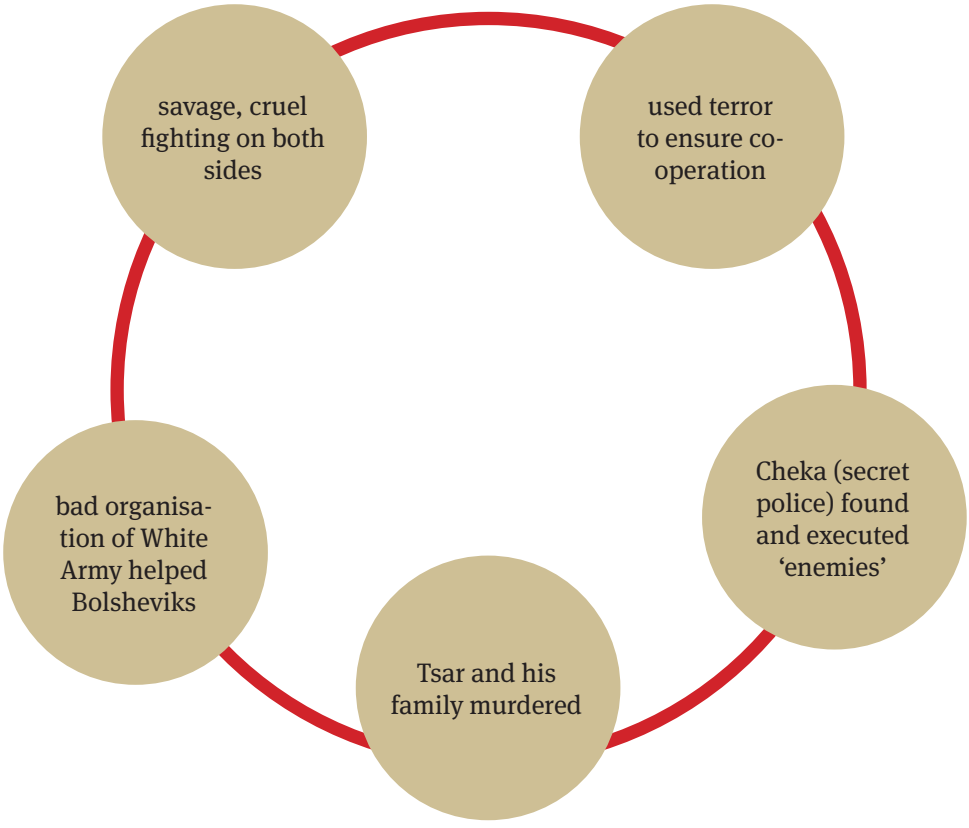
- Czech Legion = core of resistance
- seized control of large section of Trans-Siberian railway
- total of four armies marched on Bolshevik-controlled territory.

Bolsheviks ruthless:

- held families of army officers hostage to ensure their loyalty
- strict discipline
- deserters and traitors executed
- this harsh leadership of Trotsky ensured the success of the Bolsheviks.



1.2 War Communism

Aim → ensure the towns and armies were fed

- economy was centralised and controlled by the Supreme Economic Council
- Supreme Economic Council had right to confiscate food
- banks nationalised
- peasants had to hand over food; food rationed
- those who resisted could be executed
- food became scarcer – nothing to plant
- industry reorganised – large factories nationalised
- workers conscripted – harsh discipline, strikes illegal
- bartering – shortage of money

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War Communism outcomes	Agriculture – impact	Kronstadt mutiny
• destroyed the Russian economy • opposition to Lenin grew • 'Workers' Opposition' formed • demands grew for higher wages, food, return of workers' control	• ruined by the war • 1921 – drought and famine • five million people died of starvation • cannibalism common amongst survivors • law and order broke down	• opposition to the Bolshevik government reached a climax in March 1921 • loyal sailors from the Kronstadt naval base mutinied • demanded an end to requisitioning and to communist rule • 20 000 soldiers from the Red Army put down the uprising • Those sailors from the naval base who had surrendered were executed

2 How did Lenin seize control of the state?

2.1 Vanguard of the proletariat

- highly centralised dedicated body of revolutionaries.

2.1.1 'Vanguard'

- political party that is at the forefront of any mass action, political movement or revolution.

After 1919:

- Bolsheviks called themselves Communists
- 1923: Russia renamed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
- Communist Party became only legal political party
- religion banned – seen as distraction from loyalty to Party
- all citizens given right to vote, but meaningless because Communist Party the only choice.

3 What was Lenin's interpretation of Marxism?

Capitalism	
	• could only be destroyed by violent revolution • rejected all theories of a peaceful evolution to socialism – "betraying Marx's message" • instead: unending class conflict expressed by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto

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Revolution	• belief differed to that of Marx • Lenin believed that revolution was possible even in a relatively backward country like Russia • capitalism not fully developed in Russia • majority of the population were peasants not workers
Leadership	• for revolution to succeed, there needed to be a highly disciplined workers' party • elite of intellectuals and full-time revolutionaries in control • human leadership was more important than historical forces

Lenin took Marx's idea of an unending class struggle a step further.

- the ultimate goal of the class struggle was to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat (workers)
  - dictatorship of the proletariat = a government representing the majority of the population
    - but prepared to use force to control the minority that still opposed it

The main base of Bolshevik support was the Communist Party structures and membership

- it was not very popular.

3.1 Why was the New Economic Policy introduced?

After Kronstadt uprising:

- Lenin realised that a compromise was needed in order to save the Bolshevik Revolution

→ Some form of capitalism needed to remain, if at least temporarily, even though it seemed to be a betrayal of true Marxist principles.

Many Bolsheviks saw no middle ground between Communism and Capitalism → Opposed to Lenin's decision to compromise → Lenin argued that Russia had moved to communism too fast → If they wished to maintain control they needed to compromise → New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced = adaptation of Marxism

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NEP to replace War Communism

New Economic Policy

- had aspects of capitalism
- began to transform agriculture
- estates divided up into millions of farms
- brought back the incentive to farm productively

Aims

- to restore failing economy
- to increase production
- reduce extremes of poverty and wealth

Agriculture

- peasants were allowed to sell their surplus grain for profit, which brought back the incentive to produce more
- peasants could pay tax in money on what they produced rather than giving part of their crop to the state

Some results

- The growth of a wealthy class of peasants (the kulaks).
- Production increased (by 1926 grain production reached the same level as in 1913).
- Successful in aim:
  - restore agricultural production to pre-war levels.

Aspects of New Economic Policy

- In towns, small factories were handed back into private ownership (capitalism).
- Factories employing fewer than 20 workers were denationalised (capitalism).
- Private trading of small goods was allowed (capitalism).
  - led to the growth of a class of private traders known as the Nepmen
    - → they soon controlled most of the trade in Russia.
- State kept control of banking (socialism/Marxism).

Stages of NEP

- In 1921, 7% of the wages was paid in money and the rest in goods.
- In 1923, rationing was stopped.
- In 1924, all wages were paid in money.
- Surplus staff was retrenched.
- Incentives were also introduced.
- No factories forced to supply the state.

The Soviet government worked with Western capitalist governments in order to encourage investment and foreign aid.

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3.2 The impact of the New Economic Policy

- improved Russian economy
- but did not totally solve problems.

Improvements	Failures
• factories produced goods	• people had no money to buy goods
• working conditions improved	• unemployment grew with surplus workers dismissed
• Russia's exports increased; aid received	• road system still very bad
• rail transport was improved	• horse and cart still used

4 What was the role of women in the Russian Revolution?

World War I

- Millions of Russian men joined army.
  - women began taking over the jobs of men in industry
  - peasant workers also took on new roles
    - → ran farms in the absence of their husbands
  - some women fought in the war (joined army, often disguised as men)
  - many became nurses.

Provisional Government

- gave women right to vote
- right to serve as attorneys
- equal rights in civil service.

1917 Revolutions

- Mass women's protest sparked off February Revolution (call for political rights on International Women's Day) changed idea that feminism = a middle class movement
- Bolsheviks thought men and women should work together
  - → no divide in working class
- Between 50 000 and 70 000 women joined the Red Army
  - → not required to fight, but many did.

Women under the Bolsheviks

- Policy = liberation of women and transformation of the family
- Provided equal legal status to women by reformed laws such as the Code on Marriage, the Family and Guardianship
  - allowed husband and wife the right to their own property and earnings
  - gave children born outside and inside of marriage the same rights
  - divorce was made available on request
  - equal pay for equal work
- women got the vote long before other European women
- government department set up to ensure that women were treated equally

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Zhenotdel – women's movement set up by Bolsheviks
- political education and literacy classes for working-class and peasant women
- fought against prostitution.

5 How did the death of Lenin affect Russia?

Power struggle:
- Trotsky was close to Lenin → Trotsky seemed to hold the most powerful position in the Central Committee and Politburo
- Josef Stalin emerging as opposition to Trotsky
  - Stalin was General Secretary of the Communist Party and Commissar of Nationalities
    - Stalin therefore in strong position in Party
- Lenin, however, warned against giving Stalin power
  - Lenin considered Trotsky more able

Ideological struggle:

Nationalism (Stalin)
- An independent socialist state could exist = 'Socialism in One Country'.
  - Made every effort to associate himself with Lenin.
  - Built up power within the Communist Party.
  - → General Secretary and Commissar for Nationalities.
  - Placed his supporters in important posts.

Internationalism (Trotsky)
- It was only through the successful socialist or communist revolutions in other countries that the Russian socialist revolution could be successful (world revolution must break out or Russian socialism was doomed to failure).
  - However, made little effort to build up power.

PLUS:
- Kamenev and Zinoviev joined Stalin to keep Trotsky out of power: formed what was known as the troika, or triumvirate.
  - launched a series of attacks on Trotsky in party meetings
  - used his history as a Menshevik against him.

BUT
- 1924 – Stalin elected new Party leader at Congress:
  - removed all of his main political opponents, including Zinoviev and Kamenev
  - Trotsky driven out of party and eventually exiled and murdered.

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Unit 4

Russia under Stalin

Key question: What was Stalin's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism?

1 What was Stalin's interpretation of Marxism-Leninism?

- Socialism internally (Socialism in One Country; nationalism) rather than spreading revolution worldwide (internationalism)
  - = very different from the Bolshevik theory that the survival of the Russian Revolution depended on proletarian revolutions in countries across Europe.

BUT

- Socialism in One Country did not mean that the goal of world revolution should be abandoned
  - the one socialist state (Russia) would inspire and assist communist movements in other countries
  - Russia could still exist and expand within the region as the only socialist state
  - economic development (of Russia) needed to come before international revolution.

So, Socialism in One Country

- allowed USSR to co-exist peacefully with capitalist states
- reflected nationalist beliefs of Stalin.

Another aspect of Stalinism was a strong bureaucracy, which began to look after its own interests above those of the working class.

2 How successful were collectivisation and industrialisation in the USSR?

Stalin carried out his plans for economic development through a series of Five-Year Plans for industry and agriculture.

- What were the specific aims of economic reorganisation under Stalin?
  - mechanise and collectivise agriculture to support industrialisation
  - move away from private enterprise towards state control of industry (from the capitalist aspects of the NEP to a socialist programme)
  - introduce new and more advanced technology in order to rebuild the economy
  - build the industrial strength of the USSR in order to become self-sufficient.

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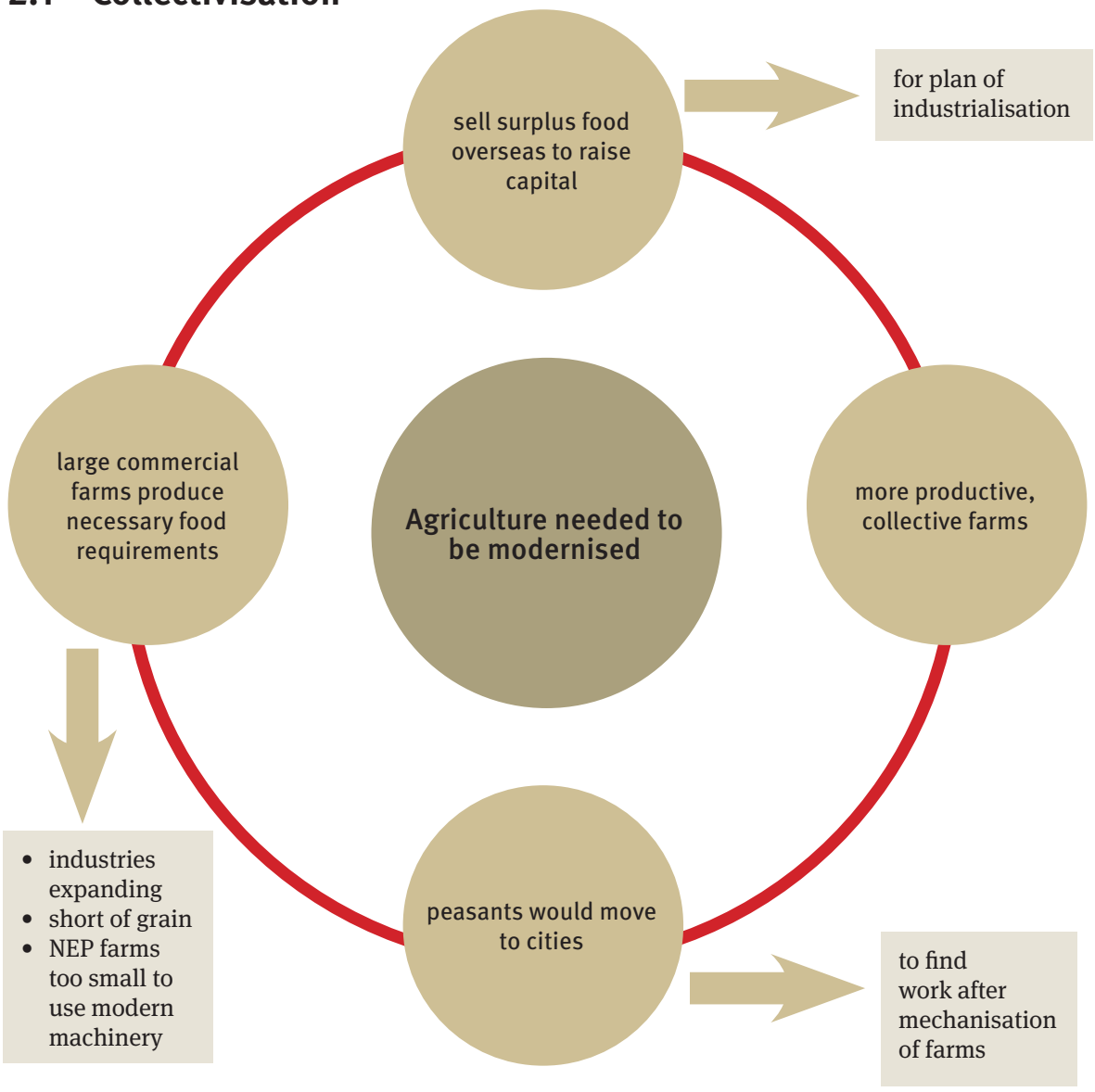
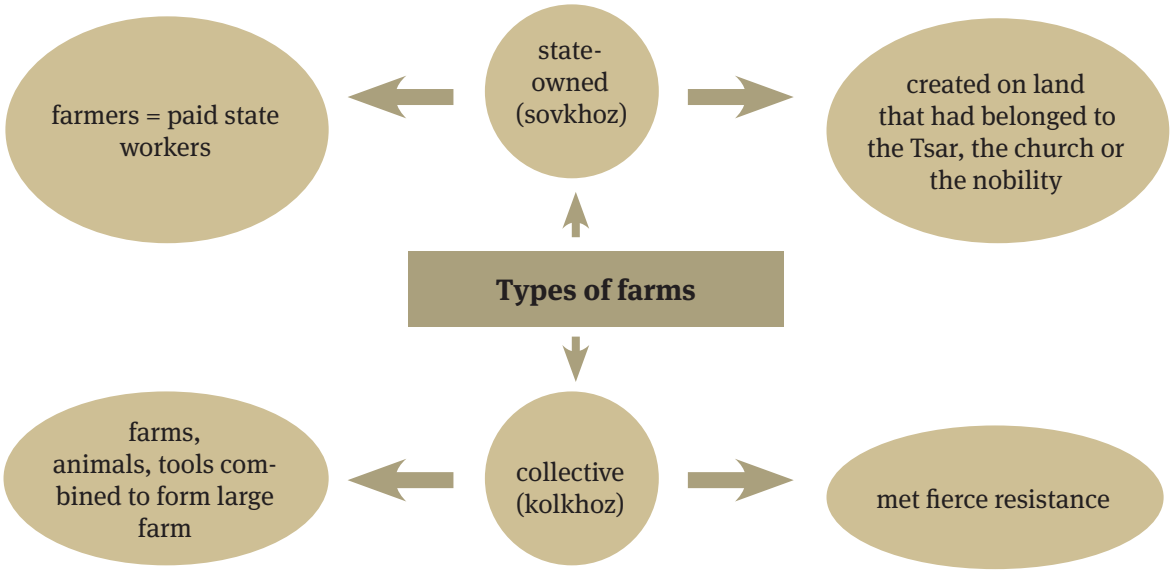
2.1 Collectivisation



1929: Stalin introduced Collectivisation – programme for agriculture:



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Collective farms (kolkhoz)

- peasants could keep small plot on collective for personal use
- animals and equipment would be jointly owned
- Motor Tractor Stations (MTS) run by the government would provide the kolkhoz with tractors when necessary
- 90% of the food produced on a kolkhoz would be sold to the state and 10% kept to feed the families on the kolkhoz.
  - Incentives:
    - Stalin first offered free seed so that peasants would form collectives
    - some poorer peasants accepted.
  - Opposition:
    - Kulaks refused to hand over land and produce
  - Retaliation:
    - Stalin sent requisition parties to seize food
    - Kulaks arrested and sent to labour camps (gulags)
    - eventually millions of peasants unjustly murdered.
  - Outcomes:
    - Kulaks: burnt crops and slaughtered animals so Communists could not have them

State farms (sovkhoz)

- not successful
- far away from towns and farmers did not want to work there
- farmers couldn't work for personal profit
- did not own the land

→ In the Ukraine, an area of strong resistance by the peasants, the state seized grain on a massive scale. This resulted in countrywide food shortages and food rationing. Agricultural production fell dramatically.

- = 1930 & 1932–1933: huge famines in which 6 million died.

Famines – causes

- Stalin's policies
- natural causes

Natural causes

- harvests of 1931 and 1932 poor because of drought and floods

Stalin's contribution

- refused to release large grain reserves to alleviate the famine
- to force peasants to give up their grain reserves he introduced harsh collective-farm theft laws

Consequently:

- 1934 – as a result of Stalin forcing collectivisation:
  - almost no kulaks left
- 1941
  - → almost all Russian land collectivised.

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2.2 The Five-Year Plans in industry

- Aimed = revolutionise industry through centralised economy and Five-Year Plans:
  - production targets set for each five year period
  - plan to transform Russia into industrial superpower
  - become equal to leading world industrial powers
  - Stalin: State Planning Commission = Gosplan → set targets for production in each region – coal, iron, oil and electricity
    - regions set production targets for mines and industries within the region
    - → managers set targets for each foreman
    - → foremen set targets for each shift and even for individual workers.
- Propaganda: Stalin warned people that unless five-year plans were followed Russia would be crushed by other countries.
- Workers suffered greatly but accepted the need to follow the plans - to achieve a communist economy.

2.2.1 The First Five-Year Plan: 1928–1933 (completed 1932)

- Emphasis on quantity and heavy industry: coal, iron, steel.
- Major targets not met BUT outputs in industries = staggering:
  - new cities built in places with natural resources
  - workers moved to new cities
  - new factories; existing factories increased production
  - dams and hydroelectric power stations
  - new steel mills
  - motor, tractor, truck factories
  - technicians from Western countries helped
  - infrastructure extended; existing roads improved.

2.2.2 The Second Five-Year Plan: 1933–1937

- Built on achievements of first five-year plan.
- Heavy industry → also focused on quality: USSR became one of world's major steel producers
- Transport, communications improved (new railways, canals built)
  - propaganda increased to motivate workers
    - workers fined if targets not met
    - productive workers = 'heroes'

BUT

- Deterioration of living standard
  - more consumer goods became available → but quality = poor
  - World War II came closer → planners moved up production of military goods
  - increase in military goods = decrease in quality and quantity of consumer goods
  - more housing provided and attempt to increase workers' standard of living → but many industries moved east to protect them from threat of war in Europe.

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Other aspects

- childcare made available to encourage mothers to work
- made use of both incentives and punishments to meet targets
- targets eased slightly = reward for first five-year plan finished before deadline
- food production increased, rationing ended – but production in areas such as coal and oil not so good

2.2.3 The Third Five-Year Plan: 1938–1941

- Was intended to focus on consumer goods:
  - first two years disappointing → goals not met
  - only until 1941 → Germany declared war on USSR during World War II
    - meant focus shifted to military goods/equipment
    - railways extended → special attention to transportation of weapons.

2.3 Were the Five-Year Plans a success?

- centralisation of economy brought some success
- steady industrial growth outstripped Western countries
- by WWII USSR = powerful industrial country, could resist German hostility
- success and growth helped USSR recover from war

- weakness: focus on heavy industry, quantity over quality
- led to shortage of consumer goods
- poor quality goods
- rapid urbanisation = shortage of housing (workers to industrial centres)
- cost many lives

Labour
- although some worked voluntarily, many were forced
- political opponents arrested and sent to gulags - forced to work
- conditions harsh, millions died.

Overall
- Centralisation successfully turned USSR into industrial superpower.
- Living conditions, however, still terrible for many citizens.
- Success → came at cost of human lives.

3 Nature of political terror in Russia in the 1930s

- By mid-1932 Stalin faced more opposition to policies:
  - people criticised him publicly → urged Trotsky to be brought back
  - Stalin demanded arrest and execution of opponents at Politburo meeting
  - Stalin outvoted → led by friend and colleague Sergey Kirov
    - 1934: Kirov shot dead = beginning of terror.

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Purges

- began with murder of Kirov (probably planned by Stalin) murder blamed on Trotsky (conspiracy theory)
- 93 of the 139 Central Committee members were executed: 1934–1939

Red Army purge (1937 →):

- Stalin was suspicious of high-ranking officials → thought they were plotting against him with Germany
  - may or may not have been true
- Stalin also obsessed with destroying threats to his power
  - → Commander-in-Chief and seven generals were shot
  - 1938–39: all the admirals and half of the Army's officers had been executed or imprisoned
  - 30 000 members of armed forces executed by end of purges

Show trials: 1934–1938

- most of Communist Party leaders who had taken part in 1917 revolutions → accused of treason, executed or sent to gulags
- 1936: Kamenev, Zinoviev and fourteen other party members put on trial, found guilty and executed

Communist Secret Police (NKVD)

- 1936: Nikolai Yezhov was appointed the head
  - arranged the arrest of all the leading political figures in the Soviet Union
  - tortured people to get false confessions

Purges and show trials placed Soviet Union in a weak position at the beginning of World War II.

After purges, Stalin was paranoid:
→ and wanted to get rid of NKVD because they knew too much.

- → Appointed new head of NKVD
  - to weed out 'fascist forces' that had tortured innocents.
  - had senior NKVD officials executed.

4 Effect of Stalin's policies on the Soviet people

- People lived in fear:
  - political purges/show trials removed any perceived threat to Stalin
  - people terrified of being falsely accused/tried/killed
  - 1920s/30s: 2 000 writers/intellectuals/artists imprisoned → 3/4 died
  - forced removals to Siberia just before/during WWII
    - 20 million sent to gulags: 1/2 died.
- Censorship → cult of obedience/worship
  - names of executed leaders wiped out of history books

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- Propaganda → Stalin demanded praise
  - = posters, sculptures, pictures of Stalin everywhere
  - History books changed to portray him as 'Hero of the Revolution'.
- Apparatchiks:
  - loyal to Stalin
    - got houses, jobs, holidays.

5 What was the position of women in the Soviet Union under Stalin?

Positive changes	Negative changes	In general

• First Russian generation to have prenatal care:
  ◦ hospital births.
• Equal education for girls.
• Equal employment rights.
• More work because of labour shortage:
  ◦ childcare set up to allow them to work
  ◦ in 1927 the percentage of women working in industry was 28% → ten years later, in 1937 it was 40%
	• Laws of 1920s changed in order to strengthen family:
	  ◦ divorce more difficult
	  ◦ child support if unmarried more difficult to obtain
	  ◦ abortion illegal
	  ◦ women lost rights within family.
	• Still discriminated against in workplace → lower positions
		• Higher illiteracy amongst women
		• Women could be sentenced just for being wives of 'enemies' of state = 'Wives of enemies of the people':
		  ◦ despite few women being sentenced themselves, wives had hard time supporting themselves

6 The coming of the Second World War

- Stalin wanted USSR to remain neutral:
  - planned for other countries to become financially/politically exhausted by war
    - → make USSR the biggest power.

- BUT: Hitler's aggression, however, too strong to ignore.

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1938:
- German troops occupied Austria
  - incorporated it into 3rd Reich

1938–1939:
- Czechoslovakia invaded and divided

1939:
- USSR signed non-aggression pact with Germany (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact)
  - agreed to divide Poland between them.
- 1 September → Poland invaded
  - = WWII began

6.1 Relationships during WWII:

- Germany and USSR = reasonably strong diplomatic relations, important economic relationship.
  - BUT: also had competing ideologies, mutual hostility
- Germany: Axis Pact with Japan and Italy:
  - tried to negotiate for USSR to join Axis Pact
  - USSR made counteroffer, which was ignored by Germany
  - open hostilities began:
    - 22 June 1941, Hitler sent three million soldiers and 3 500 tanks to attack Russia in an invasion called Operation Barbarossa
    - → because of non-aggression pact, Russians taken by surprise
    - = Russians joined side of Britain and France.

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Topic 1

Summary and questions

Summary of Topic 1

Unit 1: What led to the 1917 Revolutions

Communism = economic and political system:

- Aim = create classless and stateless society:
  - workers establish government in their interests
  - all means of production brought under government control.

Karl Marx	Bolsheviks	1917 Revolutions

• *Communist Manifesto* (1848, with Friedrich Engels) and *Das Kapital* (1867):
  • put forward his ideas on capitalism and communism
  • believed that societies would inevitably move from a democracy towards socialism
  • finally towards next stage of communism: all people equal, own means of production
	• Lenin = leader
	• Bolsheviks instigated 1905 revolution:
	  • used dissatisfaction with social order in Russia, rule of the Tsars, and rapid urbanisation due to industrialisation
		• 1905 experience helped Marxists plan it.
		  • developed political theory, organisation:
		  • = successful

Unit 2: The February and October 1917 Revolutions

The 1917 February and October Revolutions had political, economic, social causes:

Political	Economic	Social
• discontent against repression • rising nationalism	• food shortages • high prices • low wages • high unemployment	• living conditions of workers • worsened by economic problems

Success of February 1917 Revolution

- Widespread strikes:
  - military sided with striking people
  - military disobeyed Tsar's orders to put down strikers.

Provisional Government

- Set up after February 1917 Revolution = failure
  - consisted mostly of wealthy middle-class ex-Duma ministers
  - Petrograd Soviet had power equal to that of government
  - delayed set up of Constituent Assembly
  - did not address concerns of people.

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Summary and questions

October 1917 Revolution

- After Lenin's return:
  - he called for immediate overthrow of Provisional Government
    - inspired peasants, workers to rise up.
- Was also successful
  - = well-planned
    - took over all critical facilities.

Unit 3: Civil war and War Communism

Lenin's beliefs:

- Highly disciplined workers' party, strictly controlled by dedicated elite of intellectuals and full-time revolutionaries, was needed.
  - resulted in unpopular policies such as: nationalisation, labour conscription and land confiscation
    - = Opposition to Bolsheviks
    - unpopularity caused unrest = civil war between White and Red Armies

War Communism

- System of direct control over economy:
  - applied in areas under Bolshevik control
  - aim = ensure towns and armies were fed.
- BUT compromises needed to ensure Bolsheviks retained control:
  - introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in 1921 to replace War Communism
    - NEP → elements of capitalism (compromise).

Role of women:

- played a central role in the Russian Revolution
- demonstrations sparked off February 1917 Revolution
- worked in industries, ran farms and fought in wars

Lenin in power

- Lenin's interpretation of Marxism:
  - capitalism could only be destroyed by violent revolution
    - helped by Trotsky.
    - highly disciplined group of revolutionaries overthrew Tsar, Provisional Government in 1921

Death of Lenin

- Led to power struggle between Trotsky and Stalin:
  - Trotsky = internationalism
  - Stalin = nationalism.
- Stalin triumphed over Trotsky:
  - = new policy: Socialism in One Country.

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Summary and questions

Unit 4: Russia under Stalin

Socialism in One Country	Collectivisation	Political terror

• not spreading revolution worldwide
• would allow Russia to focus on implementing Communism
• could maintain peace with non-communist countries.
	• Five-year plans = mixed results
	  • → economic development but hardship for people, e.g.
	  • purges, food shortages, only heavy industry developed
		• To ensure control:
		  • purges, show trials
		  • = thousands executed for perceived opposition

In short

- standard of living did improve in some aspects
- outweighed by suffering of people: gulags, torture, wrongful arrests, and so on
- women: some rights improved but other rights taken away to protect family as a unit
- Stalin broke pact with Nazi Germany in 1942 and went to war with them.

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Topic 1

Summary and questions

Questions for Topic 1

1 Match the items in Column B with the people in Column A.

Column A	Column B
1.1 Nicholas II	**a** Russian Prime Minster under the Tsar
1.2 Kornilov	**b** First leader of the Provisional Government
1.3 Lenin	**c** Monk who influenced the Tsarina and meddled in the government in St Petersburg
1.4 Kerensky	**d** Conservative general who tried to overthrow the Provisional Government
1.5 Trotsky	**e** Leader of the Provisional government at the time of the October 1917 revolution
1.6 Alexei Romanov	**f** Haemophiliac son of Nicholas II
1.7 Rasputin	**g** The Tsar's brother
1.8 Stolypin	**h** Bolshevik Party leader
1.9 Kamenev	**i** Last Tsar of the Russian Empire
1.10 Prince Lvov	**j** A Bolshevik who was head of state briefly after the 1917 Revolution
	k Leader of the Red Army

2 Explain what each of the following are in the context of the Russian Revolution and the events that followed.

2.1 zemstvo
2.2 Duma
2.3 Zhenotdel
2.4 Soviets
2.5 proletariat
2.6 Iskra
2.7 Cheka
2.8 Pravda
2.9 kulaks
2.10 nepmen

3 Complete the following sentences by filling in the correct place names.

3.1 The Winter Palace is situated in _____.
3.2 Karl Marx was born in _____.
3.3 The 1905 Revolution or Bloody Sunday occurred in _____.
3.4 The ceasefire between Germany and Russia to end World War I was signed in _____.
3.5 The Romanovs were murdered in _____.
3.6 The revolutionary name for St Petersburg in 1917 was _____.
3.7 The Bolshevik headquarters in St Petersburg is the _____.

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3.8 Sailors mutinied against Bolshevik rule in 1921 in _____.
3.9 Political opponents of Stalin were sent to gulags in _____ as punishment.
3.10 When Russia became the USSR, the capital city became _____.

4 How did Lenin propose to deal with these problems in Russia?
4.1 Food shortages
4.2 Feudal privileges
4.3 Land
4.4 Classes in Russian society
4.5 World War I
4.6 Workers' rights
4.7 Capitalism

5 How did Stalin's modernisation of the USSR between 1927 and 1941 affect Russia and Russian society? Use the following headings to guide your reasoning.
5.1 Industry
5.2 Agriculture
5.3 Education and literacy
5.4 Women and family life
5.5 Infrastructure
5.6 Life of workers
5.7 Life of peasants

6 Complete the table to compare Lenin and Stalin's economic policies.

Aspects to compare and contrast	War communism	New economic policy	Five-year plans
Aims			
Why was this policy introduced?			
What changes were brought about?			
What were the economic results?			
How did the policy deviate from capitalism?			
What were the consequences for the Russian people?			

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Summary and questions

7 Analyse the propaganda poster below in the context of Stalin's Five-Year plans. Refer to each of the clues numbered 7.1 – 7.4.

7.1 Idyllic background

7.2 Group around tractor

7.3 Group in the centre

7.4 Picture in the background

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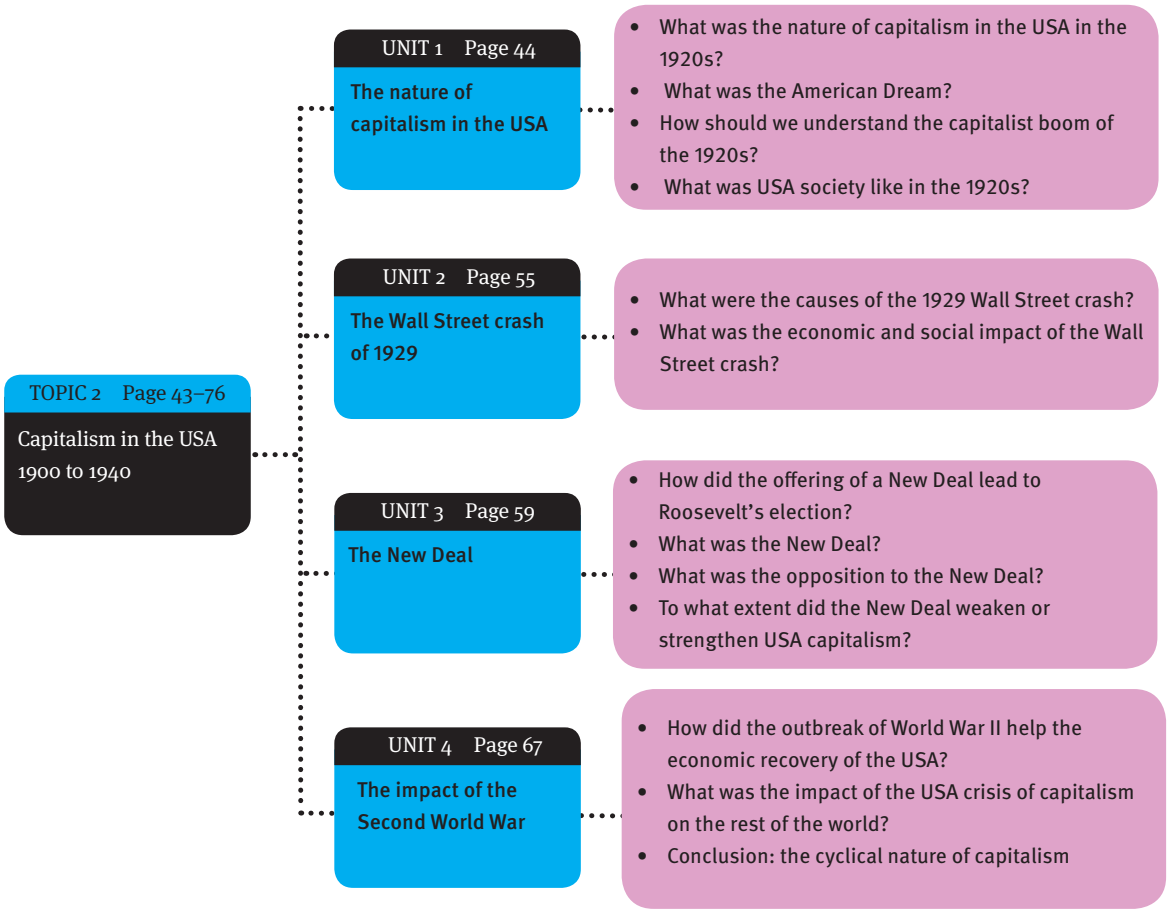
Topic 2

Capitalism in the USA 1900 to 1940

Key question for Topic 2: How did the Great Depression in the USA bring about a crisis of capitalism?



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Unit 1

The nature of capitalism in the USA

Key question: What was the nature of capitalism in the USA in the early 20th century?

Introduction

How did the United States of America (USA) become the world's leading industrial and manufacturing country in the early 1900s?

- Foundations of economic strength:
  - = raw materials, skilled labour force, growing market for manufactured goods.
    - → Early 20th century, USA overtook Britain and Germany in industrial output.

World War I

- USA did not enter war in 1914:
  - → supported Allies (Britain and France) = main supplier of weapons and food.
  - ALSO became debtor nation = lent money to Allies to help in the war effort:
    - → WWI boosted USA economy.

1917

- Germany said it would wage unrestricted submarine warfare:
  - all vessels in the war zone would be sunk without warning.
    - → German submarines sank five USA merchant vessels in the north Atlantic
    - → President Wilson's cabinet voted in favour of a declaration of war against Germany.
  - Lenin withdrew Russia from the War.

Economic mobilisation

- result of WWI
- → traditionally US government did not interfere in business
  - = change: industries regulated to gear production towards war effort

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War Industries Board (WIB)

- set up in 1917
- set priorities and plan production in key industries
- allocate raw materials
- tell manufacturers what to produce
- order construction of new factories
- with President's approval → fix prices

Labour

- War and arms factories = rapid increase in demand for labour.
  - Results:
    - improved employment and wages
    - membership of labour unions grew
    - laws passed = favourable to labour.

End of WWI

- helped by entry of USA into war
- 1918: Germany began to try to end war
  - → advanced, but fresh troops from USA in Europe = counterattack
    - 1919: Treaty of Versailles formally ended war.

1 What was the nature of capitalism in the USA in the 1920s?

President Wilson

- 1913–1921
  - played key role in drawing up the Treaty of Versailles
  - included in the Treaty a plan to set up a League of Nations = organisation to ensure peace
    - decision not to ratify Treaty of Versailles → end of President Wilson's political career

USA after WWI

- US never ratified the Treaty of Versailles
  - → never became part of the League of Nations
  - way opened for Republican president

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PLUS

- Implementation of a policy of isolation
  - USA withdrew from direct involvement in European affairs

Warren Harding elected president

- 1920
- Republican
- conservative
  - called for a 'return to normalcy' → election campaign focused on political isolationism
  - → aim = reduce government involvement in business.
  - After initial economic slump, capitalism took root:
    - in 1922 GNP (gross national product) started increasing
    - tariffs imposed → protect against revival of German industries.
  - Died in 1923.

Calvin Coolidge became president (1924):

- Capitalism
  - = 'The business of the American people is business'
  - So → welcomed by big business.
  - He focused on industrial expansion at the expense of agriculture.
    - He worked to remove government controls over industry and reduce labour laws:
    - = rapid expansion of industry → economic boom of the 1920s.
- Isolationism
  - = withdrawal from European affairs
  - = country's immigration policies
    - first immigrants to America had been mostly of northern and western European heritage.
    - After World War 1 thousands of refugees were arriving in the USA daily = alarmed many Americans
    - → 1924: Immigration Act = limited total immigration to 165 000 per year, about 15–20% of peak years. Restricted immigration from southern and eastern Europe and Japan to only 9% of the total.
- Free market:
  - No interference with free competition by price or wage control –
    - → economy would run itself
    - → government – not its job to interfere in economy.

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2 What was the American Dream?

Why did so many people from other countries want to immigrate to America?

- 'Rags to riches' stories of immigrants.
- 'Rugged individualism', hard work and entrepreneurship = people made their fortunes.
- Gave optimism to Americans, as well as to immigrants to America:
  - suggested all people could succeed through hard work
  - potential for successful, happy lives.
- = American Dream → 1600s, first settlers
  - → dreams: owning land, prosperous businesses
  - → religious freedoms.

BUT, American reality =

- Inequalities based on class, race and ethnic origin:
  - → kept many people poor and unsuccessful.

3 How should we understand the capitalist boom of the 1920s?

Boom of 1920s:

- Revealed USA's strengths and weaknesses.
- 'We in America are nearer the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of mankind.' (Herbert Hoover, USA president)

3.1 Republican impact on the US economy in the 1920s

Pro-capitalist actions	• laws introduced that favoured capitalism against labour
	  • federal law that protected children against child labour removed
	  • law that stipulated minimum wages for women removed
	  • harsh actions taken against striking labour unions
	  • powers of the federal government agencies were limited

Taxes and tariffs	• tax deductions introduced that favoured the rich • American businessmen invested capital in factories that produced new inventions = radios, cars, refrigerators, etc. • entrepreneurs knew they would be able to keep most of what they invested • high import tariffs introduced → protect American producers

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3.2 Impact of technology on the US economy in the 1920s

Advertising:

- Old consumer values = thrift and saving.
- BUT, advertising contributed to the dramatic increase in the sales of consumer goods on the hire purchase and credit system.
  - → new values = spending
  - → credit, instalment plans introduced
    - → people buy luxury goods.

Mass production:

- lowered costs → more people could afford goods (e.g. model T Ford = first car mass-produced by Ford; nickname = Tin Lizzie)

3.3 Impact of the Stock Exchange on US economy in the 1920s

New York Stock Exchange – Wall Street

- flourished
- industries' prosperity led to rising share values
- investors made money by speculating

Stock exchange →

- buying on credit → extended to shares
- borrow money to buy shares in companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange
  - = buying on the margin
    - → investors: pay 10% of the value of the share and could borrow the rest from a bank
    - share prices rose, they would sell their shares at a profit
  - = trading on the margin
    - if share prices continue to rise, profit is made; if they fall, people lose a lot of money.

3.4 Other impacts on the US economy in the 1920s

In addition to Republican government, technology and the Stock Exchange

3.4.1 The impact of trade tariffs

- To encourage local production, tariffs placed on imported goods:
  - → made imported goods too expensive for ordinary Americans to buy
  - → aimed at forcing Americans to buy American-produced goods.
- Retaliation: European countries put tariffs on US goods
  - → result: US could not expand imports in those countries
  - → local market (US) could no longer absorb goods produced because:
    - most people who could afford goods already owned them = no need to buy any more.

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3.4.2 The impact of wages and monopolies

Wages	Monopolies	Labour unions and Communism
• rise in the real wages of most workers • wages of miners and textile workers dropped • technological advances + new methods = created jobs, also destroyed them • 'old' industries became automated → need fewer workers	• became powerful • led to labour exploitation • one huge company dominated steel industry • US Steel – no choice but to work for them • banned trade unions, low wages = high prices for consumer	• labour unions suffered a setback after WWI • fear of the spread of communism after the Russian Revolution • strikes in 1919 made industry owners + government think that unions were socialist • result: strong action against unions + strikers

3.4.3 The impact of agricultural overproduction

Poverty	• wealth during 1920s not evenly spread • two 'separate' Americas • farmers + farm workers not prosperous • after WWI income for farmers fell because of European agriculture revival
Agriculture	• inventions: machinery, tractors, combine harvesters • caused farm production to increase just as prices were falling • overproduction of goods = reduction of price of farm produce
Prices	• 1920 = surplus of wheat, which farmers couldn't sell • cost farmers more to harvest/transport produce than they were paid for it • overseas markets closed to imports (tariffs) • value of farmland dropped

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In addition, the introduction of synthetic fibres had an impact on the cotton plantations. However, farmers who grew luxury produce were less affected by the overproduction. Wealthy Americans wanted fresh vegetables and fruit throughout the year and supply to the cities rose steadily.

- 1920s: farming = one of largest sectors of US economy:
  - approximately half of Americans lived in rural areas
  - either lived on farms or worked in businesses supplying farm machinery
  - → result: problems affected millions
  - worst affected = farm labourers + share croppers
    - → nearly 6 million forced off farms
    - unskilled workers migrated to cities
    - = largescale unemployment.

Many workers from the Midwest moved to California = hoped to find work as farm labourers.

3.5 The overall impact of the US boom in the 1920s

Economic expansion	Problems	Inequality

• based on the principle:
  ◦ factories
  ▪ would keep producing
  ◦ consumers
  ▪ would keep buying
	• wages of the workers (consumers) not keeping up with income of employers
	  ◦ by end of 1920s workers = unable to afford goods produced by economy
	• export markets closed by tariffs
	• overproduction
		• Huge profits by big business + industry:
		  ◦ top 5% of wealthy Americans received one-third of all personal income in the country
		  ◦ 60% earned just enough for bare essentials
		• = unemployment
		• → poverty in all race/ethnic groups

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4 What was USA society like in the 1920s?

Roaring twenties:

- Europe still suffering after WWI BUT America thriving =
  - jazz, wild parties
  - growth of entertainment industry
  - more leisure time, more money
  - radio → music widely available
  - African Americans moved from rural areas to cities → brought jazz + new dances.

4.1 How did the position and role of women change in the 1920s?

Vote	• women got vote
	  ◦ BUT, no real access to political power
	  ◦ → only handful elected to office.
	  ◦ Therefore: women explored ways to become politically/ socially active
	  ▪ → succeeded in joining together to reform society

New ideas	• freed women from traditional roles, old ideas about how they should behave
	• progressive young women = 'flappers'
	  ◦ wore short dresses or trousers, cut their hair, wore make-up, smoked in public
	  ◦ movie stars = sex symbols

Societal change	• divorce rate doubled → women left unhappy marriages
	  ◦ joined organisations supporting women's liberation
	  ◦ worked for equal gender status
	• advertising targeted women
	  ◦ → made decisions about what to buy for homes/ families

Women and jobs:

- WWI changed labour patterns:
  - women take on more challenging jobs
  - not eager to return to pre-war roles.
- Driving → brought freedom of movement.
- Society's rules changed: women went to bars without men as 'protectors'.
- Especially middle-class women competed with men in job market.

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Wages:

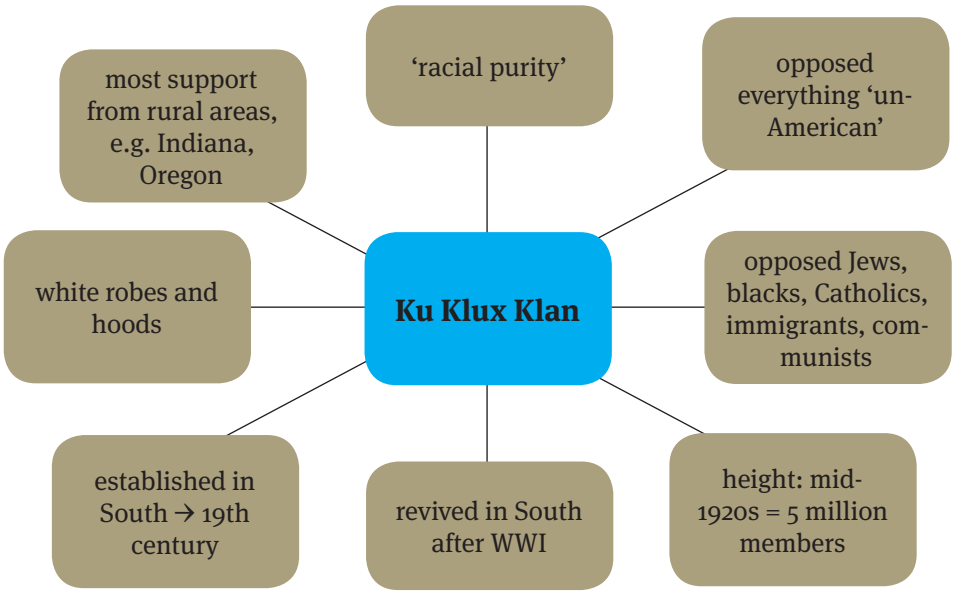
- Women still paid less than men:
  - women = cheaper labour
    - → employment of women increased.

4.2 What were race relations like in the 1920s?

Racial tensions	• Southern states originally seen as 'racist' states
	• many poor African Americans moved from rural areas to cities → led to:
	  ◦ racial tension
	  ◦ discrimination
	  ◦ unfair treatment of blacks

Riots	• At first whites rioted against blacks
	  ◦ → retaliation: blacks rioted against the way whites had treated them.
	• Services to predominently black areas = poor, e.g.
	  ◦ Harlem, Manhattan, New York = became ghetto → only black Americans lived there
	  ◦ → by 1929 = crime-ridden, slum = no services at all.

'Jim Crow' laws	• still in place in Southern States
	• enforced segregation
	• denied African Americans the right to vote, attend 'white' schools or take certain jobs = reserved for whites
	  ◦ no such laws in Northern States but African Americans still = badly paid, e.g.
	  ◦ doorkeepers, railway labourers, etc.



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Ku Klux Klan tactics

- terrorisation and violence
- force
- rituals
- forced Catholics and Jews to sell property
- extreme violence against blacks = beating, lynching

Prejudice

- 13 million immigrants arrived (south/Eastern Europe) between 1900–1914
- despite most white US-born Americans = descendents of immigrants, they were alarmed at people from 'undesirable' countries
- → acts passed limiting immigration

4.3 What was social life like in the USA in the 1920s?

4.3.1 Prohibition

- not very successful
- ban on sale of alcohol → 1920s
- supporters: 'sober' society, hard work, less crime
- enforced by federal government.

Failure of Prohibition laws

- Alcohol = scarce, therefore expensive:
  - people prepared to take risks to make money by smuggling alcohol
  - easy for smugglers to bring liquor into the country illegally
  - brought over Mexico border.
  - → Bootlegging = making/importing alcohol illegally
  - → Moonshining = transporting illegal alcohol (at night)
    - liquor brought from neighbouring countries - trucks/boat
    - people set up own whisky stills
    - cost $10 million a year to police Prohibition
    - many arrested every year for breaking law (50 000).

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Prohibition and crime	• big increase in especially violent crime • bootlegging = great profit → people willing to protect this income by any means, including violence • armed gangs employed to protect illicit liquor in trucks → gun battles between rivals
Al Capone	• most notorious, most powerful in Chicago • forced bootlegging operation owners to pay for 'protection' • otherwise threaten to destroy shops • bribed people, including police, to leave him alone • killed anyone who defied him

End of Prohibition	• speakeasies = places where illegal liquor could be bought
	• crime extended to armed robbery, prostitution:
	  ◦ more and more called for end of Prohibition
	  ◦ 1931: end of Depression, states realised liquor tax would bring much needed revenue
	  ◦ Roosevelt (Democrat) won 1932 election: Democrats opposed Prohibition
	  ◦ → 1933: ended

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Unit 2

The Wall Street crash of 1929

Key question: What were the reasons for the 1929 Wall Street crash and what was its economic and social impact?

1 What were the causes of the 1929 Wall Street crash?

- New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) = Wall Street (its location).
- 1929: Thursday October 24th → first indication of something wrong:
  - share prices dropped
  - panic selling
  - 13 million shares sold.

After that, stock market stable for a few days.

- 1929: Tuesday October 29th = Black Tuesday:
  - share prices crashed again
  - millions of investors lost wealth, unable to repay loans
  - forced to declare bankruptcy
    - = beginning of terrible economic depression.

1.1 Immediate causes of the Wall Street crash

Role of banks →

- People who could not afford loans were given loans:
  - crash: people had no money to repay the loans
  - banks repossessed homes → people homeless
  - economic decline → banks could not resell repossessed houses → lost money
  - banks used clients' money to speculate on stock market
    - savings of people were lost
    - banks and people lost money: both faced ruin

1.2 Other causes of the Wall Street crash

The Depression was made worse by factors other than Stock Market speculation.

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Inbalance of wealth	• businesses kept prices high, made huge profits, but kept wages low • uneven wealth; division between productivity and spending power • banks giving too many loans hid this imbalance in wealth for a while
Govern-ment policies	• tax reductions favoured rich: fuelled fever of speculation • lack of governement intervention: monopolies and high prices • hostility towards labour unions, no bargaining, kept wages low • trade tariffs had opposite effect to that intended → stopped flow of trade between US and rest of world
Agriculture	• after WWI high demand for agricultural products declined • result: surplus of produce → drove prices down • farmers left farms → farmworkers unemployed

2 What was the economic and social impact of the Wall Street crash?

USA entered a period of economic downturn = Great Depression: had enormous economic and social impact.

2.1 The economic impact of the Great Depression

USA totally unprepared for major economic slump BUT lack of government action deepened economic crisis:

- By March 1933:
  - production output had dropped 30% below 1929 levels
  - prices were 25% down
  - national income had declined by 50%.
- Small speculators:
  - lost everything they had.
- Big businesses
  - financiers, bank managers
  - lent money for business → went bankrupt
    - 1929: 650 banks went bankrupt
    - 1933: 4 000 banks went bankrupt
    - = unable to recover what was lost in crash.

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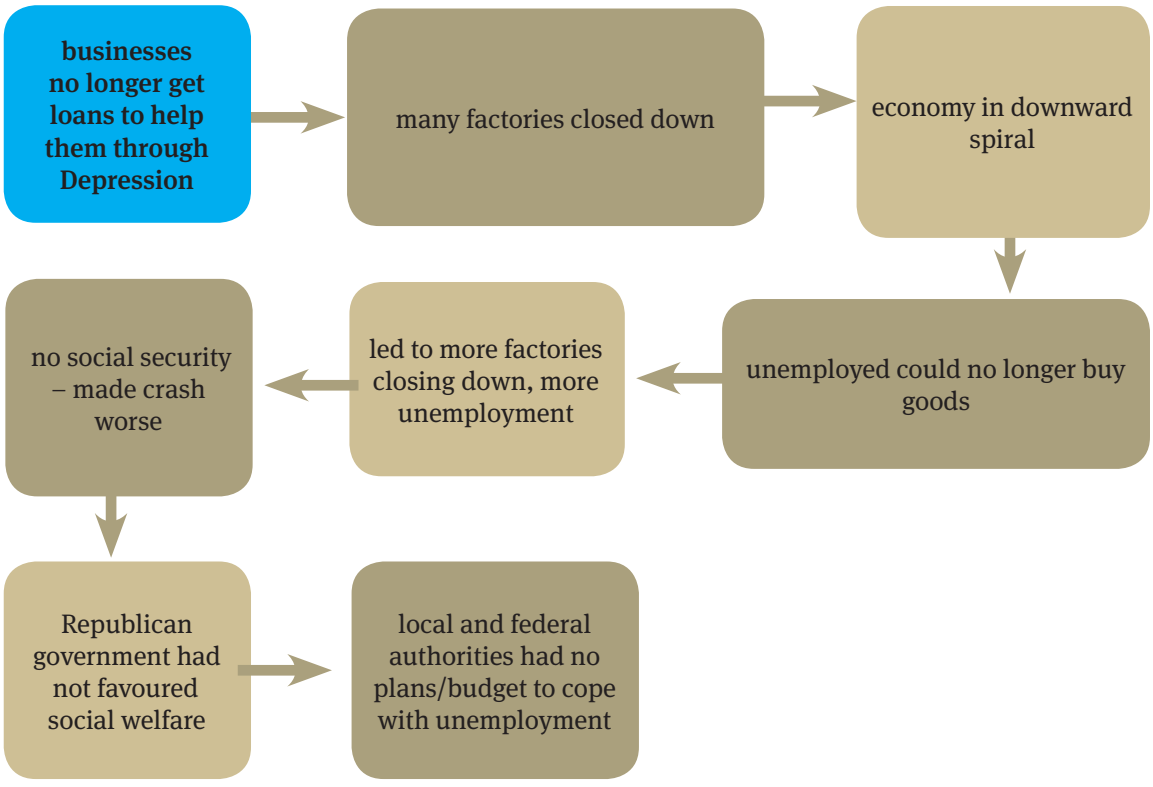
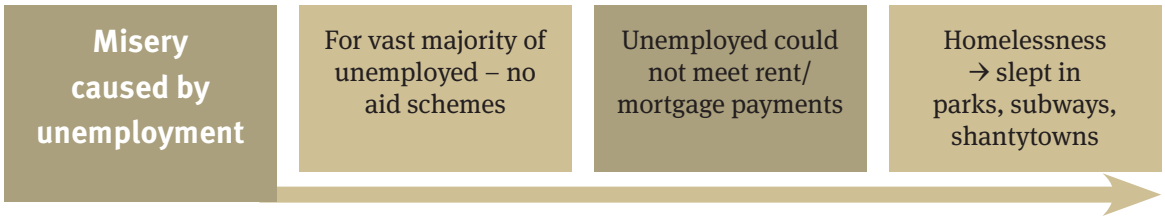


Also:

- Decline in international trade
- → exports dropped because of closures of factories
  - = loss of income for US businesses + government:
    - worsened crisis.

2.2 The social consequences of the Great Depression



Shantytowns

- Informal settlements on edges of cities/towns
  - shacks of tin/sacking/ material from rubbish dumps
  - 'Hoovervilles' → mocking Hoover
  - food from dustbins, charity shops or breadlines

Rioting

- Food riots broke out in two small towns, Henryetta (Oklahoma) and England (Arkansas)
  - people threatened relief agencies and food shops
  - Bonus Marchers = small group of WWI veterans and their families → demand the payment of post-War bonuses promised by the government
  - protesters violently dispersed by army

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Growth of unemployment:

- In some areas, 1/4 of people unemployed and same number under-employed.
- Relief payments average = $7 to $8 a week.
- No food → malnutrition and anaemia
- Families broken up:
  - → men to men's shelters, women to women's shelters, children in orphanages
  - → suicide rates rose.

Poverty carried stigma of laziness and dishonesty

Poverty and aid

- authorities considered relatives to be first source of aid
- could only apply for help when completely destitute
- at first, all aid organised by private charities/individuals
- states forced to take on some responsibility when private aid organisations ran out of funds

Governement acknowledgment

- few public leaders acknowledged crisis
- Hoover encouraged public to keep up hope
- eventually Hoover introduced some measures to help poor
  - increased public works programmes to provide jobs, increased federal government spending and introduced some tax relief
    - = too little too late

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Unit 3

The New Deal

Key question: To what extent did Roosevelt's new deal weaken or strengthen capitalism in the USA?

1 How offering of a New Deal led to Roosevelt's election

Political consequence of Wall Street crash for Hoover:

- Mood of voters favoured Democrats (angry with Rebublicans; despondant).
- Hoover: defeated in 1932 Presidential elections.
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt (also known as FDR) won landslide victory:
  - promised 'New Deal for forgotten man'
  - recognised that capitalism was under threat
  - aimed at reforms to save capitalism and economy.

2 What was the New Deal?

Goals	• Relief for needy
	  • = immediate assistance to worst hit of Depression.
	• Recovery (economic)
	  • = make industries productive; create employment.
	• Reform (financial)
	  • = changes to economic system (eg: stock market, banks) to prevent future crash

Change from Hoover	• challenged two basic ideals of Republican America: laissez-faire capitalism and individualism
	• wanted to ensure 'better deal' for American people
	• rejected socialism and government ownership, but recognised need for some intervention, e.g.
	  • WWI → US economy had been planned, regulated
	  • Roosevelt aimed for similar intervention to restore prosperity, reduce social + economic inequality
	  • → set up Brains Trust

Brains trust

- Roosevelt + small group of advisers
- → formulated new policies
- = 15 major legislations enacted during Roosevelt's 1st 100 days in office

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2.1 What were the two phases of the New Deal?

New Deal = two main phases:

- First New Deal (1933 to mid-1935)
  - → focused on relief and recovery, with some immediate reform measures.
- Second New Deal (1935–1940)
  - → reform measures.

Roosevelt given special powers to fast-track changes.

- He knew he had to restore people's confidence:
  - → 'We have nothing to fear but fear itself' = inaugural address.
  - Fireside Chats = speeches broadcast to nation on radio (1933–1940). Aims:
    - calm the economic fears of Americans
    - develop policies to lessen the problems of the Great Depression
    - gain the support of the American people for his programmes.

2.1.1 The First New Deal

Banking

- 1000s of banks had closed → people had no faith in banking system
- temporarily closed all banks to pass new legislation
- 1933: Emergency Banking Relief Act
  - → gave Roosevelt power to regulate banking transactions and foreign exchange
  - banks had to be inspected and found 'healthy' to be reopened
  - encouraged people to trust banks: government guaranteed deposits of small investors
  - protection helped people deposit hoarded cash; gave confidence, hope

Relief

- most immediate concern = direct relief of extreme poverty → set up Federal Emergency Relief Administration
  - = provided state governments with money for emergency relief
    - soup kitchens
    - temporary housing for homeless

Recovery

- way of getting economy moving again
  - → reduce unemployment:
  - so people could support themselves and so that goods could be bought again
  - government-sponsored programmes introduced = Alphabet Agencies

Immediate reform measures

- change capitalist system = ensure no 2nd crash:
  - reforms to social security system
  - legislation to change stock market, e.g.
    - → buying on the margin, manipulation of prices = illegal
  - reform role of government in economy, code of business conduct

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Acts passed for reform

- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in 1933 = recovery and public works
  - = established codes of fair practice for individual industries
  - → promote industrial growth
- Public Works Administration (PWA) = part of the NIRA
  - = created jobs on public buildings, highways and flood control
- National Recovery Administration (NRA) = part of the NIRA
  - = one of most controversial New Deal measures

National Recovery Administration (NRA)

- aimed to stabilise business, generate more purchasing power and provide jobs
  - → codes of 'fair' competitive practice
    - defining labour standards
    - raising wages
    - establish maximum working hours
    - require government, employers, labour to negotiate regulations
  - businesses in agreement had blue eagle attached to products
  - consumers encouraged to 'buy blue eagle'
    - → broke American tradition of free competition
    - resulted in conflict among businessmen, consumers and bureaucrats

↓

declared unconstitutional in 1935

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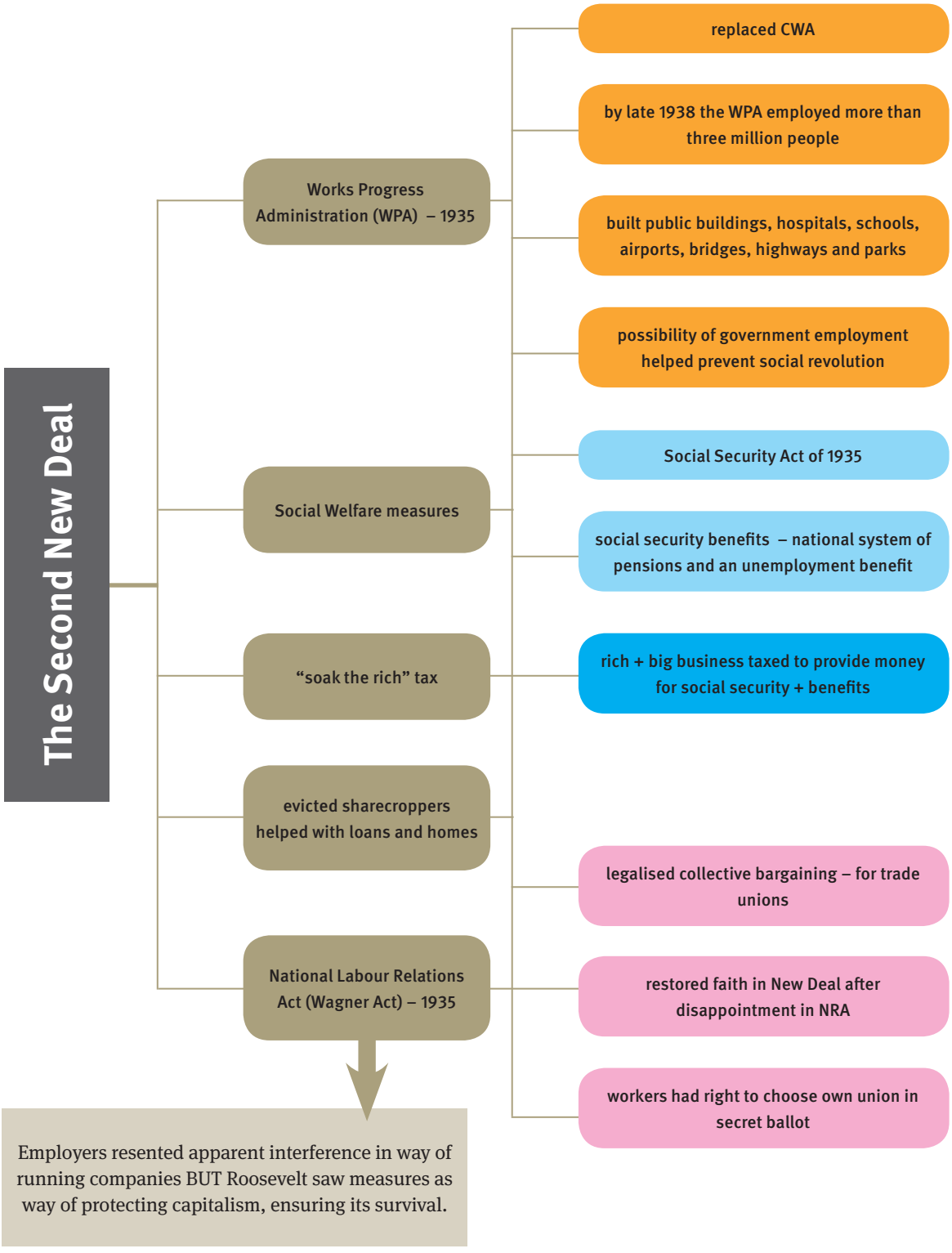
2.1.2 The Second New Deal

Tackled key problem of mass unemployment directly.

- Long-term measures of protection:
  - protect people in event of another Depression
  - federal government had to accept direct responsibility for employing as many people as financially possible (Hoover had rejected this idea).



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Some of these measures meant a significant change in the role of the state. From non-intervention under the Republican administration, under Roosevelt the state played a meaningful role in providing relief and setting up recovery mechanisms.

- He recognised that hungry and jobless people would have little to lose and could threaten the state with revolution.
- He also accepted that the government had a duty to provide safety nets for the old and poor.

3 What was the opposition to the New Deal?

Although there was some opposition to Roosevelt's New Deal policies, these were limited primarily to the wealthy and to business owners. Ordinary people largely supported him and his policies.

3.1 Opposition from the wealthy and conservative

Wealthy/Business

- felt Roosevelt was going too far in interfering in business:
  - resented –
    - paying social security contributions = reduced profits
    - the power that the Wagner Act (1935) gave to unions
  - believed the New Deal weakened capitalist principles
  - felt union activities (e.g. collective bargaining) threatened individualism associated with capitalism

'Soak the rich' tax

- used to pay for the work of the New Deal:
  - wealthy –
    - considered Roosevelt to be a traitor to his class
    - felt New Deal was moving US towards socialism

Nevertheless: Republican Party had suffered huge defeats in the 1932 and 1936 elections

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Republicans	• regarded New Deal as top-heavy federal centralisation and believed:
	  ◦ New Deal programmes and policies were dangerous
	  ◦ would result in high government spending, increased taxes, and a significant growth in bureaucracy
	  ◦ it would end

Hoover	• believed that New Deal experimentation would actually deepen the effects of the Depression • it would hold back recovery

NRA (in New Deal)	• Supreme Court, with its conservative majority until 1936, ruled several of Roosevelt's programmes of the First New Deal unconstitutional:
	  ◦ 1935: the Court declared the NRA to be unconstitutional (although focus of the NRA was already changing)
	  ◦ 1935: court declared a railway pension law to be invalid
	  ◦ 1936: Supreme Court ruled against the AAA and high court ruled against a New York state minimum wage law

By 1937, however, the courts began ruling in favour of the New Deal legislation as conservative judges left the Supreme Court and Roosevelt was able to appoint judges who were more sympathetic to his measures.

3.2 Criticisms from the left

Main criticism = New Deal did not go far enough in solving economic problems/social inequalities.

- Huey Long, ex-Governor and Senator from Louisiana = most outspoken of Roosevelt's critics:
  - argued for the redistribution of wealth and the introduction of a minimum wage across the country
  - assassinated in 1935.
- Communists:
  - criticised the New Deal as 'social fascism'
  - Roosevelt = 'dictator'
  - but also careful to disassociate themselves from Russian revolutions.
- 'Christ's Deal':
  - prominent Catholic priest, Charles Coughlin = supporter who later turned against Roosevelt –
    - at first supported New Deal = 'Christ's Deal'
    - → BUT became increasingly upset at the slow pace of reform
    - strongly criticised the destruction of crops and farm animals under the AAA.

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3.3 Opposition within the Democrats

3.3.1 Southern States

- local power elites within Democrats → felt New Deal jeopardised position
- uncomfortable with organised labour
- uncomfortable with move to make African Americans their equals

3.3.2 Racism

- group of delegates from the South at the Democratic convention in 1936 walked out of the convention
- would not support any party that viewed African Americans as their political and social equals

4 To what extent did the New Deal weaken or strengthen USA capitalism?

Resoration of confidence	Regulation of economy	Further economic problems

• Depression had placed US free market system – liberal democratic system of government – under severe threat
• Roosevelt: 'hungry and jobless people are the stuff of which revolutions are made.'
  ◦ restored the confidence of Americans in the free market system and liberal democracy
  ▪ American way had been preserved
	• New Deal not a revolution
	  ◦ did not bring about radical change
	  ◦ did not abandon capitalist principles
	  ◦ reformed and strengthened the capitalist system in America
	  ◦ removing abuses of unregulated economy
	  ◦ gave the state a role in the economy that benefited the economy
	  ◦ state involvement actually strengthened USA capitalism
		• New Deal did not end the Great Depression
		  ◦ 1937: Roosevelt began cutting government spending to balance the federal budget
		  ◦ = threw the country into a new phase of the Depression
		  ▪ 5 million lost jobs
		  ▪ 1938: again in deep Depression
		• Move towards World War II brought Depression nearer to end

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4.2 To what extent did the New Deal weaken USA capitalism?

For the first time people expected the federal government to play a role in the nation's social welfare. BUT

- Capitalists believed this = weakening of capitalism
  - → said: government had no role to play in providing security or relief for the unemployed, elderly or sick.

4.2.1 Rise of the corporate state

- Republican US: big business had a virtual monopoly on political power.
- BUT: New Deal regulation = created two new players at the political table: big labour and big government
- PLUS: New Deal + WWII = drew business, government and labour closely together.

4.2.2 Co-operation of business and government

- Labour: provided steady workforce
- Government: regulate and stabilise the market to avoid high–low cycles in the economy
  - → some businesses made some concessions to labour and government
    - conservative capitalists saw this as a further weakening of capitalist principles

4.3 What is the legacy of the New Deal as a whole?

Although the New Deal (interrupted by World War II) went some way to alleviating problems of Depression, it did not solve them entirely.

- Legacy:
  - brought back dignity to many ordinary Americans.
- Failures:
  - 'Ordinary Americans' did not include most African Americans:
    - tenant farmers, farm labourers, domestic workers = occupations mostly of black Americans → did not qualify for unemployment benefits, minimum wages or farm subsidies
  - Segregation policies continued to apply in the Southern states
    - segregation was applied in the armed forces and the CCC
    - no vote for many blacks in Southern States.
  - 'Last hired = first fired'.
  - Women discriminated against in workplace, e.g
    - → paid less than men.

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Unit 4

The impact of the Second World War

Key question: What was the impact of, and responses to, the crisis of capitalism in the USA in other parts of the world?

1 How did the outbreak of World War II help the economic recovery of the USA?

Roosevelt won the 1936 elections and seemed to be doing very well.

- 1937: he believed US economy had almost recovered:
  - → tried to balance federal budget by cutting back on New Deal spending –
    - result = new phase of Depression: economy would not recover from 2nd phase until US entered WWII.

Mid 1930s

- Clear that Hitler = heading towards causing war
- Roosevelt had followed Wilson's ideas of internationalism → recognised USSR:
  - → hoped diplomatic relations with USSR would open up trade between them = unsuccessful.
- American public were firmly isolationist and did not want to become involved in Europe.
- BUT: Roosevelt = certain USA involvement in a European war was inevitable
  - → unable to push through policies that acknowledged this
  - BUT: 1938/39 – USA began to make the changes in industry and military to be ready:
    - = increased industrial production = increased employment = contributed to economic recovery of USA.

1.1 Neutrality Acts

Neutrality Act of 1935	Neutrality Act of 1936	Neutrality Act of 1937
• prohibited shipment of US weapons to any belligerent country (country at war)	• renewed the provisions of the 1935 act for another 14 months	• two previous laws a permanent part of US national policy, without expiration date
• declared that American citizens travelling on war-ring ships travelled at their own risk	• forbade all loans or credits to belligerents	• US ships were prohibited from transporting any passengers or articles to belligerents and US citizens were forbidden from travelling on ships of belligerent nations
		• allowed the President to draw up a list of non-military goods, such as grain, which the US could sell to countries at war

Even trade that was permitted was strictly regulated: countries had to pay cash and transport any goods bought from the US on their own ships.

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1.2 World War II

- 1939: Germany invaded Poland.
- US started to provide the Allies with war materials
  - = increased production in the USA → more employment
  - 1940: US started drafting men into the armed forces = reduced unemployment
- 1941: Japan bombed the US base at Pearl Harbour
  - → US declared war on Japan
  - Germany recognised its alliance with Japan
  - → declared war on US
  - Result: US economy geared towards the production of war goods
    - increased government spending = much more that during New Deal
    - → economy revived = America achieved pre-Depression levels of employment and prosperity.

2 What was the impact of the USA crisis of capitalism on the rest of the world?

- Great Depression spread throughout the world:
  - Economic recovery of Europe after the WWI = dependent upon United States loans.
  - Many businesses and industries in Europe, as in US, existed due to speculation instead of on real production power:
    - → stock markets crashed, the rest of the economy collapsed.
- 1931: banks in the United States started to withdraw funds from Europe:
  - = selling of European currencies and collapse of many European banks
    - → investment funds dried up as creditors = bankrupt or tried to cut back on production.

2.1 Reactions of countries

USSR

- escaped the Depression
- 1930s: Stalin = Socialism in One Country: building an industrial society under communist control
  - → cut economic ties with most other countries
    - = rapid industrial growth without outside capital → prevented Depression
    - = lack of serious unemployment
    - = production rate rose steadily

Latin America

- depended on export of primary products
- already experiencing Depression in 1920s: supply of agricultural products was rising faster than demand (more efficient farming methods, technology)
  - consequence: prices falling → governments of the producer countries stockpiled their products
    - BUT: depended on loans from the USA and Europe
    - → loans recalled: stockpiles released = income falls drastically.

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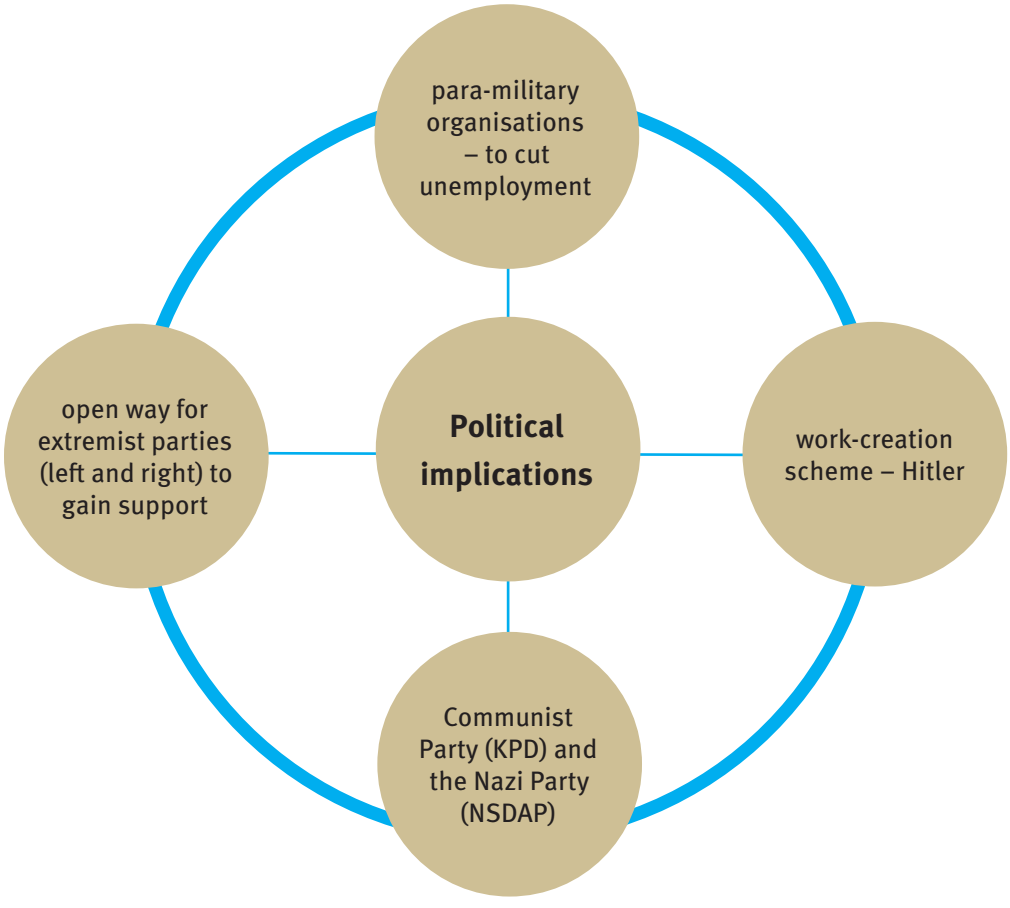
Germany/Japan	USA/Britain
• the rise to power of militarist governments • = adopted regressive foreign policies ◦ → led to WWII.	• resulted in government intervention in the economy • = creation of welfare systems • = managed economies

2.2 The impact of, and responses to, the USA crisis of capitalism in Germany

Germany's Weimar Republic = hit hard by the depression:

- Reparations at end of WWI to victors: European powers (Treaty of Versailles, 1919):
- → forced to borrow to pay reparations + for industrial reconstruction.
- Depended on loans from USA for both:
  - American economy = depression, US banks recalled their loans
  - = German banking system collapsed
  - = businesses, industries collapsed, unemployment soared
  - → had political implications.



PLUS

- Hitler → rearmament programmes:
  - = reduced unemployment
  - increased industrial growth.
- Rationing + trade controls = keep consumption down → inflation low.

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2.3 The impact of, and responses to, the USA crisis of capitalism in Japan

Industries	• new industrial country • heavily dependent upon export earnings for financing its imports of essential fuel and raw materials • silk industry, an export staple, was already suffering from the development of artificial silk-like fibres produced by Western chemical giants.
Collapse	• luxury purchases collapsed • severe unemployment, crucial political crisis • 1929 –1931: value of Japanese exports dropped by 50% • workers' income dropped • bad harvests = rural begging, near starvation.
Measures for recovery	• more successful than those of the New Deal • policy of deficit spending to stimulate the economy • devalued the currency • → industrial production doubled.

2.3.1 Deficit spending

- stimulated business activity
- created jobs
- encouraged consumer spending
- resulted in money for government (taxes)
  - → but: this money went to
    - buying of munitions for the armed forces
    - = support an increasingly nationalistic and militarising country.
  - 1934: reduce deficit spending – cut back on armaments and munitions.

2.3.2 Reaction to end of deficit spending:

- Nationalists reacted with anger, particularly those in army:
  - → finance minister = assassinated
  - → civilians in governments
    - = came increasingly under the control of the military
    - WWII: Japan = military dictatorship.

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2.4 The impact of and responses to the USA crisis of capitalism in South Africa

Gold

- SA currency = backed by gold standard → made price of SA goods high
- 1932: decision made to go off gold standard = began process of economic expansion.
  - SA saved from a complete collapse by the gold mining industry:
    - gold shares rose rapidly as investors took their money from the securities (stock) market and bought up gold shares
    - growing gold exports compensated to a certain extent for the loss of other trade revenue.

Agriculture & minerals

- Demand for South African agricultural and mineral exports dropped (world trade slumped), e.g.
  - price of wool fell 75% between 1925–1933.
    - → farmers unable to pay mortgages = were forced off their farms
    - bywoners (sharecroppers) – did not own any land – particularly hard hit.

Carnegie Commission on Poor Whites (1931)

- Most rural white South Africans = Afrikaners = concern for government:
  - nearly one third of Afrikaners lived in deep poverty.

Serious drought:

- Made situation worse:
  - BUT: SA government used the plight of Afrikaner farmers who were in financial difficulty to foster Afrikaner nationalism.

Financial plight of Afrikaner farmers

To an extent, the financial plight of the Afrikaner farmers had been brought on by the worldwide economic depression that had its roots in the USA Great Depression that started in 1929 with the Wall Street crash.

  - → helped Nationalist Party into power in 1948
    - = entrenchment of apartheid.

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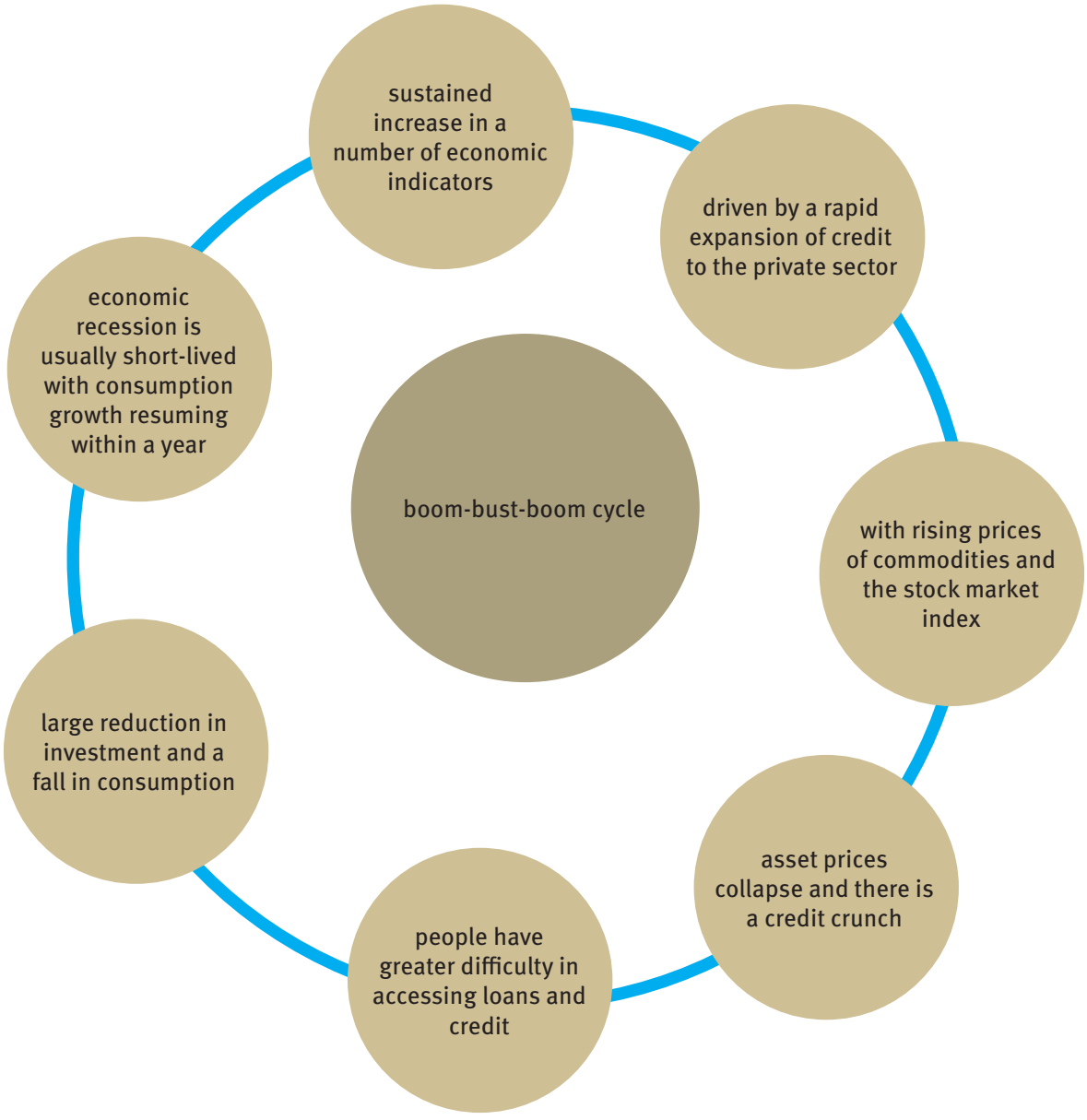
3 Conclusion: the cyclical nature of capitalism



- Depression caused complete turnaround in economic theory + government policy
  - 1920s:
    - governments and business people believed that prosperity resulted from least possible government intervention in domestic economy
    - from open international trade
    - from currencies fixed in value and readily convertible
  - After 1930s:
    - change in beliefs = some government regulation of economy → necessary.

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Topic 2

Summary and questions

Summary of Topic 2

Unit 1: The nature of capitalism in the USA

Early 1900s → driven by American values and policies: = rugged individualism, *laissez-faire* and free market.

- American Dream: anyone could become prosperous in the USA. BUT: inequalities based on class, race and ethnic origin limited many from pursuing prosperity.
- 1920s boom → driven by government non-intervention in economy = many dubious practices: credit and instalment plans, buying shares on the margins
- + trade tariffs, low wages and monopolies also drove boom
  - → Gave rise to 'roaring twenties' = economic prosperity/women's liberation/ prohibition.

Unit 2: 1929 Wall Street Crash

- Mainly due to lack of government control over the economy, e.g.
  - failure to regulate the stock exchange.
- Monopolies, low wages, low agricultural production and high import tariffs also contributed to Crash.

Unit 3: The New Deal

- Roosevelt succeeded Hoover: promise of new deal for ordinary Americans
  - = direct government intervention in the economy
  - focused on relief for the needy, economic recovery and reform of the financial sector
    - → provided work for millions, helped prevent total economic collapse
    - many business owners and wealthy people were against = they were more heavily taxed
    - resented government interference in their affairs, e.g. unions = power of collective bargaining.

Unit 4:: Impact of WWII

- Despite New Deal, US slipped into 2nd recession in 1937.
  - BUT: onset of WWII = USA industries started producing war machinery
  - = increased production + employment
  - → helped US recover from Depression
- Great Depression = international impact = contributed to World War II, e.g.
  - German poverty helped Hitler + nationalism to become popular
- Intensity and duration of the Great Depression = economists rethink the economic boom-bust-boom cycle.

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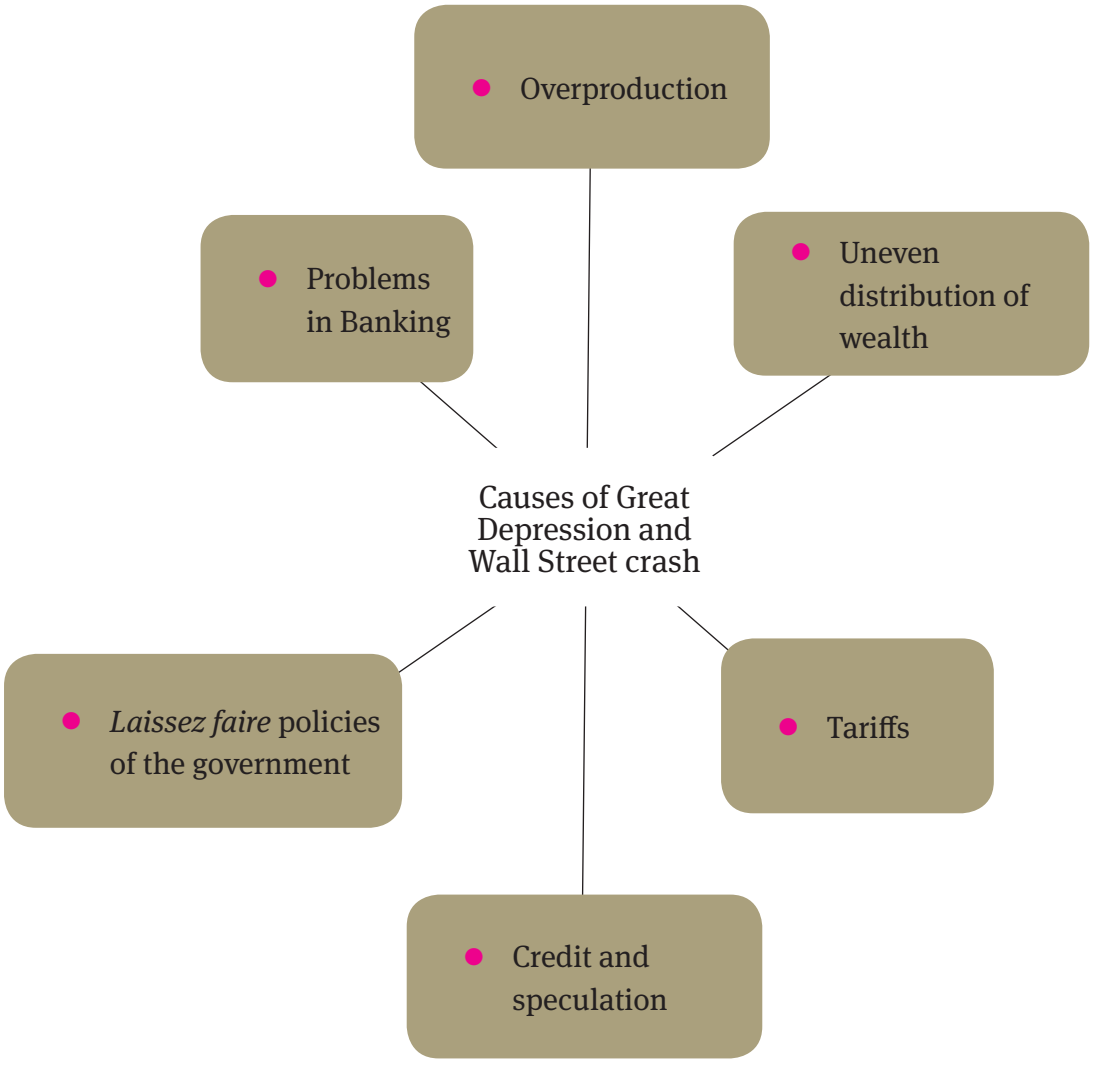
Topic 2

Summary and questions

Questions for Topic 2

1 Did everybody benefit from the boom years during the 1920s in the USA? Draw a mind map to illustrate what effect the boom years had on:
   a Sharecroppers – especially in the Midwest
   b The unemployed
   c Black Americans (in inner cities and the South)
   d Immigrants
   e Working-class women
   f Middle class.

2 What were the causes of the Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression in the USA in 1929? Use these headings to draw a mind map of the causes of the Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression in the USA in 1929. You can add other causes if you want to. Your mind map must expand on ALL the causes.



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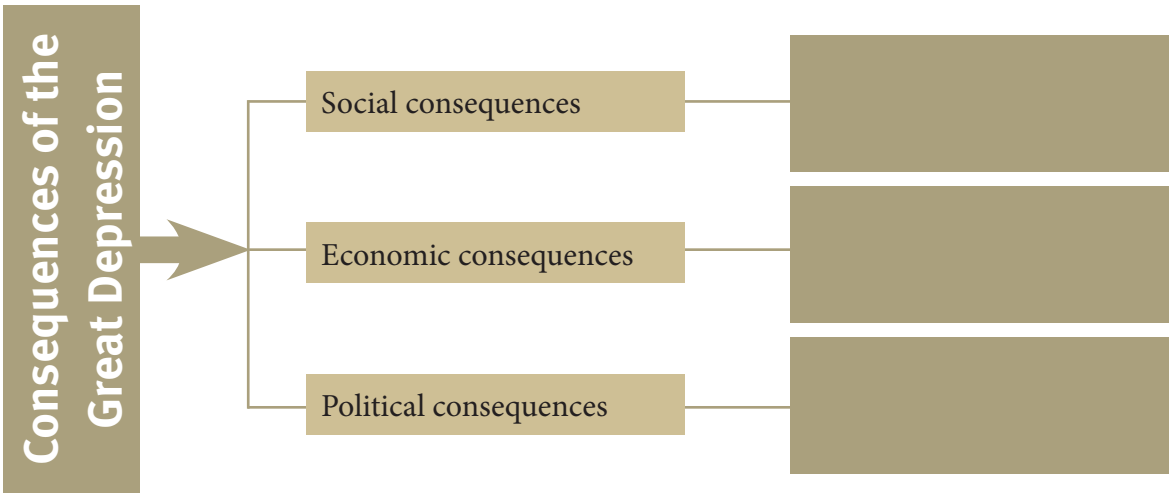
Summary and questions

3 What were the consequences of the Great Depression? Copy and complete the following mindmap:



4 Explain the meaning of the following phrases or terms in the context of the economic and social history of the USA from 1920 to 1941:

a boom years
b protective tariffs
c America Dream
d laissez faire policy
e Tin Lizzie
f Policy of isolation
g mass production
h Jim Crow laws
i trading on the margins
j rugged Individualism.

Your explanation of phrase or term should be in paragraph form and include the following:

- start and end dates, if applicable
- relevant background information, if relevant (e.g. for 'boom years' you should outline what gave rise to them)
- any outcomes or results, if relevant
- an outline of the meaning of the term or phrase itself.

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Summary and questions

5 Complete the graphic summary of Roosevelt's New Deal by filling in the agencies and the focus of their work in the open spaces:

Relief for the unemployed

Agencies	Focus of agency's work

Recovery of the economy

Agencies	Focus of agency's work

Reform the economy to prevent another Depression

Agencies	Focus of agency's work

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Topic 3

Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries

Key question for Topic 3: What were the consequences when pseudo- scientific ideas of race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?

TOPIC 3 Page 77–100
Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th century

UNIT 1 Page 78
Theories and practice of race

- What were the ideas about racial hierarchies in the 19th century? What was eugenics?
- What is the modern understanding of race?
- Practices of race and eugenics

CASE STUDY 1 Page 83
Australia and the indigenous Australians

- Background: the colonisation of Australia
- What were the race theories in Australia in the early 20th century?
- What were Australia's immigration policies?
- Who were the stolen generation?

CASE STUDY 2 Page 87
Nazi Germany and the Holocaust

- How did Hitler consolidate his power in Germany?
- How did the Nazis develop their racial ideology?
- How did Germany create a racial state?
- Which groups were targeted by the Nazis?
- Choices that people made

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Unit 1

Theories and practice of race

Key question: What were the theories and practice of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries?

1 What were the ideas about racial hierarchies in the 19th century?

'Science of race'

1730s: Carolus Linnaeus (Swedish naturalist) developed a system to show relationships between living things. Classified humans into 4 groups: European, Asiatic, American, African. Believed there are more similarities than differences among them.

Racial classification

1795: Johann Blumenbach classified humans into 5 groups: Negro (African), Mongolian (Asian), Malay (Southeast Asia), American Indian (American), Caucasian (European). He believed Caucasians were the best and most beautiful of the 5 'races' and that other races degenerated from the Caucasian race.

Ranking on physical appearance

Petrus Camper (Dutch scientist: 1790s) studied skeletal remains of humans and animals. Thought all humans came from a common ancestor but that some had drifted further away from the biblical ideal than others. Believed the ancient Greeks and Romans to be the closest to human perfection and used Greek statues to set standards for human beauty.

Each race is different

Mid-1800s: Stanley Morton (American anthropologist) indicated that each race was created differently and separately. Ranked races according to the size of the brain. Believed whites were the superior race and Africans inferior.

Questioned Morton's theories

Mid-1800s: Friedrich Tiedemann (German professor) investigated the link between race, intelligence and brain size. His findings did not support Morton's findings.

A table of races

In 1854 Josiah Nott and George Gliddon claimed that each race had developed separately and organised races into a table showing a ranking order.

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1.1 The origin of species according to Charles Darwin

- Darwin's theory of natural selection classified humans as another form of animal:
  - → this went against the contemporary beliefs of the Church.
- He believed that all plants and animals evolved from a few common ancestors by means of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest'.
  - The 'fittest' = species that had adapted to the environment
    - → pass more of their genes on to future generations.

1.1.1 Social Darwinism

- People in the mid-19th to early 20th centuries = obsessed with issues of race:
  - → tried to find a 'scientific' basis for physical differences between individuals, social classes and races.

Herbert Spencer	• developed the theory that became known as Social Darwinism • first used the word 'evolution' and the phrase 'survival of the fittest'
Social Darwinists	• believed that physical and social differences indicated relative worth • for them life was a 'struggle for existence'.

1.2 The impact of industrialisation and progression

The effects of industrialisation and technological advancement of America, Britain and Germany were used to justify:

- the theory that white 'races' = superior and more advanced than other 'races'
- European domination of other 'races (colonisation and empire building) especially in Africa in the late 19th century:
  - = 'burden' of the European nations to 'civilise' the peoples of 'darkest Africa.'
- The belief spread that if people were too weak to defend their territory, then they deserved to lose it.
- Exhibitions and fairs held in European cities in the late 19th century to celebrate achievements and to share 'new' knowledge:
  - racial hierarchies and rankings from highest to lowest = part of these exhibitions
  - → entrenched the idea that white Americans and Europeans were superior to Africans, Asians and Native Americans.
    - People (e.g. Saartjie Baartman) were put on show at fairs to encourage debate about racial inferiority.

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2 Another branch of race science: Eugenics

- Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton, invented the word eugenics = from the Greek word eugenes or well-born.
  - = the science of the improvement of the human 'race' by breeding the 'best of the best' and through this, controlling inherited human traits.
- Galton believed that an enlightened society should 'weed out' its unfit and allow them to die off to strengthen the racial stock.
  - → aim was to ensure that only the 'fittest' should be encouraged to have children
  - = so that there would be an improvement of the 'human stock'.
  - provided a 'scientific' framework for concepts about race.
- Eugenicists believed that there were genetic distinctions amongst races and individuals.
- Wealthy American businessmen financed research and the development of eugenics as a legitimate science.
- Charles Davenport set up a Eugenics Record Office
  - → claimed that 'races' inherited genetic traits.
- He published traits related to specific groups of immigrants that he studied.

Positive eugenics	Negative eugenics
• In some USA states 'superior' couples were encouraged to have more children • Nationwide contests were held to determine the ' Fittest Family' or 'Better Babies' • Many family planning clinics were opened as a result of these ideas	• The belief and practice that discouraging or preventing reproduction of individuals deemed genetically unfit could eradicate many social problems • In public policy this became sterilisation programmes: 30 US states passed sterilisation laws and about 65 000 persons were involuntarily sterilised.

3 What is the modern understanding of race?

Archaeology, palaeontology and genetic research currently support the view that all humans are members of the same race. Fossil and genetic records and evidence support the idea of evolution.

- The Human Genome Project (2008) aimed to sequence and map all the genes (known as the genome) of humans. It showed:
  - in 2003 that the idea of 'race' is a false one
  - all humans are 99,9% the same
    - → the idea of race has no scientific foundations
    - supports the view that humans originated in Africa
    - and that only a small group of related people of African origin left Africa and populated the world.

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4 Practices of race and eugenics

4.1 USA

- Eugenics influenced laws and public policy in the USA in the early 1900s, e.g.
  - state laws banned marriages if one partner was an alcoholic, feebleminded, insane or suffered from diseases such as syphilis and tuberculosis.
- Eugenicists recommended that budgets should not be 'wasted' on those declared 'feebleminded' or those too weak to survive.
  - → IQ tests developed to determine intelligence in order to identify those who were feebleminded. Tests were weighted in favour of white, Western culture.
- Immigration laws favoured northern Europeans:
  - → discouraged immigrants viewed as biologically inferior.
- Actions against Native Americans in the early 1900s → justified:
  - = the 'struggle for existence'.

4.2 Australia

Diseases and colonial policies that began in the late 1800s decimated the population of about 1 million Aboriginal Australians.

- Eugenics influenced colonial practices of social assimilation, extermination and 'breeding out' aboriginal blood.
- European immigration was encouraged to increase the white population.

4.3 Germany and the Third Reich

Extreme nationalists regarded a nation as a single race with the same language, ancestry, culture and physical and mental characteristics. Many believed that these traits were transferred genetically = racial:

- So, races had be kept separate and pure
- weak races or individuals had to be exterminated
  - = example of how eugenics stimulated the rise of fascism and nationalism.

4.4 South Africa

After World War I eugenics influenced social and public policies:

- Many believed that cultural differences between whites and blacks in SA could be as a result of physiological differences in the brain.
- So, eugenicists in SA promoted white racial superiority, racial segregation and anti-miscegenation.
  - The Great Depression and resulting economic competition (e.g. for jobs) between blacks and whites
    - = encouragement of eugenicist ideas → keep blacks oppressed and provide white with jobs
    - the SA National Maternal and Family Welfare started a system of birth control that was aimed at the maintenance of white supremacy in the early 1930s

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    - in 1960s white women were encouraged to have babies in celebration of the founding of the republic
    - immigration policy encouraged white immigration.
- Family planning programme was implemented in the 1970s to distribute contraceptives freely to black women.
  - some black women were threatened with job loss if they fell pregnant
  - some were sterilised without their knowledge or consent and there was also some sterilisation of the mentally ill.

4.5 Namibia (German South West Africa: GSWA)

In 1904 German authorities carried out a campaign to exterminate the Herero from GSWA = genocide. The German general, von Trotha, called the genocide a 'race war'.

- Dr Eugen Fischer from Germany Eugenics carried out research on the Nama and Herero who were in concentration and labour camps that were established.
  - = Studied children called the 'Rehoboth Bastards' – children of Rehoboth women and German or Boer fathers.
    - After experiments were carried out on them he concluded that these children were mentally inferior to their fathers. As a result mixed marriages were banned in GSWA.
  - His policies, set out in his book *The Principles of Human Heredity and Race Hygiene*, influenced the racial policies of the Nazis in the Third Reich.

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Case study 1

Australia and the indigenous Australians

Key question: What were the consequences for indigenous Australians when pseudo-scientific ideas of race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?

1 Background: Esablishing Australian colony

Willem Janszoon (Dutch navigator) = first European to record first sight of Australia.

After 1606 English sailors and explorers began landing on continent.

Britain became interested in establishing a colony there.

Once Britain lost the American War of Independence and the colonies there = shifted attention to Australia.

On 26 January 1788 a British colony was established at Botany Bay = start of New South Wales.

162 000 male and female convicts from England and Ireland were sent to Australia between 1788 to 1867. Many were pardoned and given land.

Plan of first governor of New South Wales (Captain Arthur Phillip) = to establish friendly relations with the Australian Aborigines and to try to reform the convicts.

Conditions for farming were extremely harsh and difficult. Many convicts lacked the required skills to farm.

By 1791 trade was established and conditions showed an improvement.

Stonemasons were in high demand. Many female convicts became domestic servants to the free settlers, but some were forced into prostitution. Many men were handed to the free settlers to work on farms and extend infrastructure.

Settlers viewed the indigenous people as less than human. First century of colonisation = conflict and land dispossession.

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The deterioration of colonial relations in Australia as a result of dispossession and oppression:

A smallpox epidemic decimated the Aboriginal population living around Botany Bay, Broken Bay and Port Jackson.

In 1790 conflict arose as settlers displaced the Aborigines off their land. Guerrilla attacks were launched against the white settlers.

In 1835 two treaties were signed with a clan to 'buy' 600 000 acres of land near Melbourne.

Later the treaties were overridden as though the land had been 'empty' when the British arrived.

Aborigines raided farms or attacked sheep and cattle until the late 1880s in an attempt to stop settlers from taking their land.

By 1888 only about 80 000 of the 1 million Aborigines survived.

Further developments:

- The continent was colonised progressively by the British and new colonies were established:
  - Van Diemen's Land 1803, Western Australia in 1827, South Australia in 1936, Victoria in 1859 and the Northern Territories in 1912.
- In 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia was formed with a federal government.
- Australia Day is celebrated on 26 January.
  - Aborigines consider this day one of mourning and protest.
    - Attempts by indigenous Australians to have their story and heritage recognised were ignored until 1967 when attitudes began to change.

2 What were the race theories in Australia in the early 20th century?

- Colonists viewed the indigenous Australians as inferior and scarcely human. Their way of life was seen as 'primitive and uncivilised', and colonialists believed that their culture would eventually die out.
  - This view justified colonial conquest of the Aboriginal people. Social anthropologists from universities who 'studied' the way of life of the Aborigines reinforced this view:
    - → added some 'scientific' credibility to observations about this 'primitive' society with the lowest level of kinship and the most 'primitive' form of religion.
    - also added to the views of Australian eugenicists without deeply analysing the complexities of Aboriginal life.

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Eugenics associations were established in many states, e.g. New South Wales and Victoria. In 1960 the Racial Hygiene Association, based in Sydney, became the Family Planning Association.

- A prominent eugenicist in Melbourne was Prof Richard Berry who believed the Aborigines to be the most primitive form of humans.
  - Berry studied and measured people's heads to prove his theory that white, educated people were the smartest, while the poor, criminals and Aboriginal Australian were the least so.
  - Berry proposed a euthanasia chamber for so-called mental defectives.

Ideas of racial decay and racial suicide were aimed at strengthening the number of whites in society, especially in the north where Asian populations were expanding.

- In 1901 the Immigration Restriction Act was passed (known as the White Australia Policy). White racial unity was promoted as a form of racial purity.
- Immigration was encouraged from the UK in 1922 to swell European numbers and thousands of children were sent to keep Australia white.
- 1912: white mothers offered £5 childbirth bounty in order to grow the size of wealthy middle class families, which tended to have fewer children than poorer, pauper families in society. This was partly in response to the debate around 'racial suicide'
  - → it was thought that the middle class would die out because they were not having enough children.
- Decrease in number of middle-class whites led to notions of 'racial decay'.
  - Felt that 'racial poisons' (e.g. TB, venereal disease, prostitution, alcoholism and criminality) would decimate whites with good stock (middle class).
    - Plans were made to deal with 'racially contaminated' and misfits to keep middle class 'pure'.

3 What were Australia's immigration policies?

The White Australian policy of 1901 aimed at cohesion among the white population in the country. It enshrined discrimination and white superiority.

- Between 1920 and 1967 thousands of British children between the ages of 3 and 14 were sent to Australia and Canada to boost the size of the white population.
  - These children came from poor backgrounds and were mostly in social care.
  - Many of these children were cut off from their families and were often told they were orphans.
  - Many of these children stayed in orphanages in Australia or became unpaid cheap labour on farms + in some instances were physically and sexually abused.
    - The children who were forcibly migrated under the system became known as the Lost Generation.
- Catholic Church → established homes to accommodate and assist migrant children.
- In 1987 the Child Migrant Trust under the leadership of Margaret Humphreys began to publicise the abuse of child migrants.

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4 Who were the Stolen Generation?

Children of mixed race were either viewed as inferior by some or as slightly more superior than other Aborigines. BUT, at the beginning of the 20th century, these 'half-caste' children were viewed as a threat to the future of the white race in Australia.

- In 1913, W. Baldwin Spencer set up 13 proposals to manage the half-caste populations in and around the towns, mining housing and other sites of contact between 'races'. These included:
  - segregated living areas in certain towns, limits set on the employment of indigenous population by white Australians, the removal of Aboriginal people to a compound, the construction of a half-caste home in one area, a ban on inter-racial contact and authority given to protectors in some areas to remove 'half-caste' children from their families and place them in homes.
- By 1930s the number of part-Aboriginal population increased. Dr Cecil Cook and A.O. Neville believed that the white race was headed for extinction. They were responsible for assimilation programmes for 'breeding blackness out.'
  - About 100 000 'mixed-race' children were taken from their parents between 1910 and 1970 to breed out Aboriginal blood.
  - Cook encouraged lighter-skinned women to marry white men and in this way 'breed out their colour'.
- In 1951, the new Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, claimed that assimilation would be the new policy to deal with the indigenous people and motivated this on the grounds of looking after the child's welfare. Policemen or government officials often took children from their sobbing mothers → they were raised as orphans. Many of these children experienced abuse and neglect.
  - Labels were used, e.g. quadroon, octaroon, to indicate how much 'white' blood they had.
  - This policy only ended in 1971.
    - → These children are known today as the Stolen Generation.

4.1 Apologies to the stolen and lost generations

The practice of removing Aboriginal children from their families was not spoken about until 1997.

- An official enquiry revealed consistent abuse, exploitation in the labour market, social dislocation that led to alcoholism, violence and early death.
  - In 2009 Prime Minister Kevin Rudd apologised in parliament for the laws and policies that inflicted grief, suffering and loss on them. He particularly mentioned the 'Stolen Generation' who had been removed from their families.
  - In 2010 Rudd apologised to the 'Lost Generation' of children who were held in orphanages and other institutions between 1930 and 1970.

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Case study 2

Nazi Germany and the Holocaust

Key question: What were the consequences in Nazi Germany when pseudo- scientific ideas of race became integral to government policies and legislation in the 19th and 20th centuries?

1 How did Hitler consolidate his power in Germany from 1933–1934?

The economic effects of the Great Depression led to increased support for the extremist political parties such as

- the Communist Party on the left and
- the NSDAP (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* = National Socialist German Workers' Party, commonly known in English as the Nazi Party) on the right.

President Von Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor in 1933.

As head of government, Hitler used his position to consolidate Nazi control.

- The Nazis dominated the police:
- → broke up any opposition meetings
- + outlawed public meetings on the basis of these being a threat to public safety.
- After the Reichstag Fire
- → Hitler got Von Hindenburg to pass a decree
- = suspending all articles in the constitution that guaranteed personal liberty and key freedoms.
  - → Political opponents were arrested and sent to concentration camps.
- In the elections the Nazis still did not have a clear majority, despite the intimidation and propaganda.
- So, Hitler:
  - banned the Communists from the Reichstag.
  - got the support of the Centre Party.
  - arranged to get the Reichstag to agree to the passing of the Enabling Act that allowed him to make laws by decree
  - centralised the government by taking away the powers of the state governments
  - destroyed the free trade union movement
  - banned the Social Democrats and Communist Party.
- BUT, by early 1934 more left-wing elements within the Nazi Party began to oppose Hitler's authority
- = SA (Stormtroopers) led by Ernst Rohm. They were interested in the socialistic elements of Nazism
- → wanted full socialistic state in Germany.

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- BUT, German Wehrmacht (Army) did not favour the SA.
  - → So, on 30 June 1934 Hitler's SS purged the ranks of the SA (Night of the Long Knives) = 400 SA members were murdered including Rohm.
  - → SS = the new elite force and the Army aligned itself with the Nazi Party.

When von Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler merged the positions of president and chancellor → took title of 'Führer'.

- Total loyalty was demanded of all Germans.
- Germany = police state.
  - SS under Heinrich Himmler = ruthless and brutal.
  - Ran the concentration and labour camps.
  - Himmler also controlled the Gestapo.
    - Most Germans understood that resistance to the Nazis would be futile.

2 How did the Nazis develop their racial ideology?

Hitler's ideas were built on his concept of race.

He drew his ideas from scientific racism and eugenics of the time. In addition, three German scientists (Erwin Bauer, Eugen Fischer and Fritz Lentz) influenced Hitler.

For example, 'research' done by Fischer German South West Africa (Namibia) 'proved' that Africans were inferior to Europeans and that Europeans should exploit Africans as long as they were useful.

This 'logic' was the basis of Hitler's belief in a hierarchy of races and Social Darwinism.

The Aryan race (blonde, blue-eyed German who was physically well built and strong) was at the top of the hierarchy of races = the *herrenvolk* or master race

All other 'races' were regarded as inferior.

At the bottom of his hierarchy were Africans, Slavs, Roma and Sinti gypsies and Jews.

Hitler especially hated the Jews (violent and irrational anti-Semitism).

He wanted the Aryans to dominate and subjugate the inferior races.

Nazis under Hitler began radically reshaping German society to conform to the ideas of the master race → aimed to create a racially homogenous Aryan national community in Germany.

- One of the ways they did this was by defining everyone who was not German as the 'other'.

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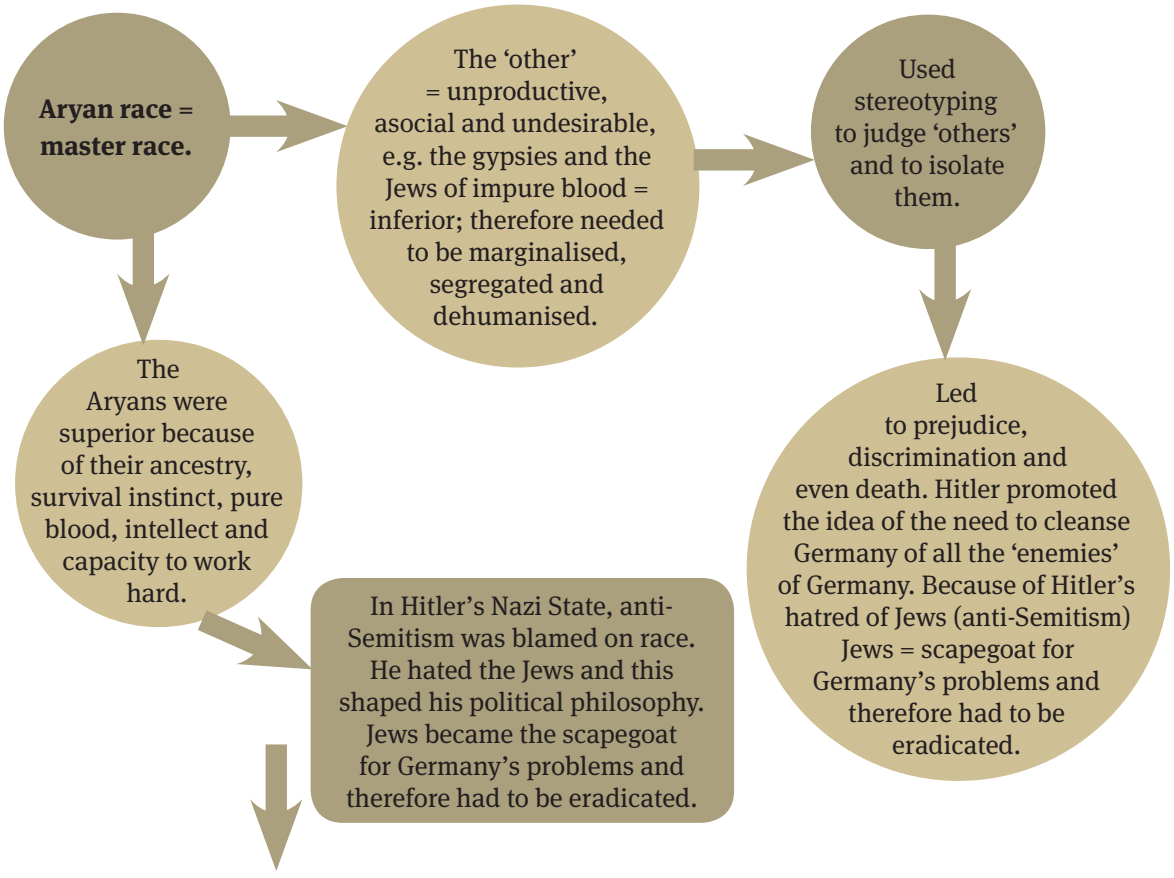
2.1 How was the German nation defined in relation to the 'other'?



Hitler and Nazis used racial and eugenics laws and policies to 'purify' the German 'nation'.

2.1.1 Positive eugenics

Nazi programmes encouraged the breeding of pure Aryans.

- Women were central in the programme to create the pure nation.
  - Breeding programmes between 'Aryan' women and genetically suitable 'Aryan' men (e.g. the SS) were encouraged.
- In 1936 Himmler founded the Lebensborn programme:
  - → help SS couples who were 'racially, biologically and hereditarily valuable families' select and adopt suitable Aryan children.

2.1.2 Negative eugenics

Programmes and laws were introduced to eliminate 'contaminating' elements from German society.

- Sterilisation programmes:
  - In July 1933 the Sterilisation Law was passed → empowered Nazis to sterilise any persons who suffered from diseases or conditions considered hereditary (e.g. feeblemindedness, schizophrenia, alcoholism, homelessness).
    - = 300 000 to 400 000 persons were sterilised. Teenagers of mixed race were also sterilised.

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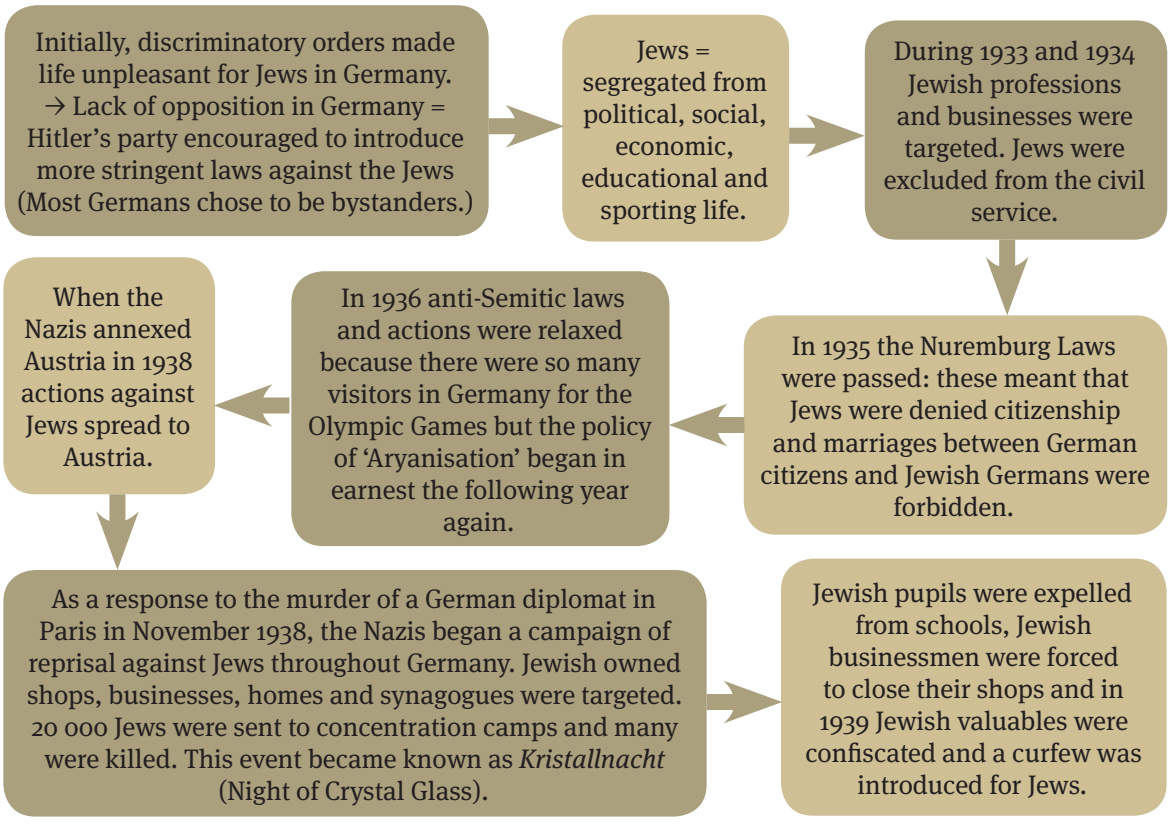
- Department of Gene and Race Care established in 1933. Genetic health courts helped to enforce the law.
- Concentration camps:
  - By 1936 homeless people, beggars, alcoholics, prostitutes, homosexuals and juvenile delinquents = sent to concentration camps.
    - About 11 000 people = sent to the camps in 1938.
- Euthanasia programme:
- Immediately after start of WWII Hitler signed a decree = allowed for systematic killing (euthanasia) in institutions of handicapped patients considered incurable. Code name for this programme was Operation T4.
  - Killings carried out in secret to prevent a reaction from the Catholic Church. Special committees of doctors decided who would be killed:
    - at first → done by lethal injection
    - later = used carbon monoxide gas.
  - Nazi records = 70 273 deaths by gassing at six euthanasia centres.
  - The euthanasia programme was the testing ground for Jewish extermination later on.

3 Which groups were targeted by the Nazis?

3.1 Jews

Policies in Germany under Hitler = based on anti-Semitism. He regarded Jews as a separate race not created by God. Jews = un-Godly, inhuman and evil.



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3.2 Sinti and Roma

- Gypsies in Germany = targeted for = extermination like the Jews.
  - Many were initially deported as 'undesirable aliens'.
  - Sterilisation laws were used against gypsies.
  - A new law (Fight against the Gypsy Menace) required gypsies to register with police.
    - They were forced into ghettos and to concentration camps.
    - Thousands of gypsy women and children = killed in campaigns across Europe.
    - Separate 'Gypsy family camp' = established at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Most inmates died from disease, malnutrition, exhaustion from hard labour or gassing and the experiments Dr Mengele did on children.
- Hungarian journalist (Alex Bandy) termed this campaign the 'forgotten holocaust'.

3.3 Other groups targeted by the Nazis

Political opponents	Religious opponents	Those accused of 'asocial' crimes
• Communists • Social Democrats • Trade union leaders	• Jehovah's Witnesses • Dissident priests (e.g. Bonhoeffer, Niemöller and Scheider)	• criminals • homosexuals

4 Choices that people made

This period in history highlights choices that people made in response to Nazi policy and practices.

- People = perpetrators, rescuers, bystanders or resisters.

Most people also = victims, e.g.
- Millions of Jews = displaced, suffered or murdered
- Many Germans = victims of Nazi propaganda → they became dehumanised

4.1 Perpetrators

- Some were train drivers, secretaries, bureaucrats while others took part in the killings.
- Some were in the *Einsatzgruppen* (extermination squad)
  - others ran the camps.
- Many Nazi Party officials denied complicity
  - → said they were merely following orders.
    - → Perpetrators were negatively affected by their violent actions.

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4.2 Bystanders

Bystanders = vast majority of people in Germany and the world. → By choosing to be indifferent and passive witnesses, bystanders affirm the perpetrators. → Some chose to become perpetrators and others became resisters or rescuers.

4.3 Resisters

Bystanders who became resisters acted on their conviction and sense of duty to rescue other human beings.

Jewish Fighting Organisation

Some victims became resisters, e.g. Jews belonging to the Jewish Fighting Organisation rose up against Nazis in the Warsaw Ghetto in April 1943

- → ruthlessly suppressed by Nazi troops.

4.4 Rescuers

In past genocides some people chose to courageously speak out or rescue victims.

- Most of these said they acted on their conviction and morality to resist evil.
- → These rescuers are brave and courageous
  - many act as a result of their faith.
  - → Many hid Jews or smuggled them out of occupied areas, e.g.
    - Le Chambon in France.

5 Responses of the persecuted: exile, accommodation, defiance

Acts of defiance and resistance →

A variety of forms:

- Partisan activities, e.g. smuggling of messages, food and weapons, sabotage.
- Military engagement.
- Victims continued to practise religious and cultural traditions, creating music and art, writing poetry inside ghettos and concentration camps.
- Some managed to flee or go into exile.
- Underground resistance movements were started and anti-Nazi propaganda was used.
- The determination to survive also = a form of resistance.

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6 From persecution to mass murder: The Final Solution

The Holocaust took place in the context of the WWII. Hitler carried out the Final Solution under the cover of war.

- The *Einsatzgruppen* followed the troops invading the territories:
  - arrested resisters
  - killed whoever they thought could resist.
- Nazis carried out forced removals and mass murders of those they considered 'sub-human'
  - Thousands of Poles = sent to concentration or labour camps.
  - Many Jews = forced into overcrowded ghettos → many died from starvation, disease, etc.

6.1 Labour and extermination camps

In 1941 the *Einsatzgruppen* moved into Russia behind invading troops.

- Thousands of Jews
  - = rounded up and sent to camps.
- At Chelmo 700 Jews were gassed in vans.
  - → Reinforced Hitler's desire for a 'Final Solution' for the Jewish question
  - = gassing Jews.
    - Death camps under the SS = established for this.
  - Extermination centre sites chosen that were close to railway lines = efficient transportation (e.g. Auschwitz, Chelmo, Majdanek and Treblinka).
    - Mass deportations of Jews from ghettos began in 1942.
    - Many victims died en route due to the heat, lack of food and unhygienic conditions.
    - Gas chambers were designed and constructed for the mass gassing of Jews using Zyklon-B pellets.
    - Bodies of Jewish victims = cremated. Ashes and bones were intended for fertiliser.
- Around 6 million Jews were killed during the Holocaust.

6.2 Liberation of Auschwitz and Bergen Belsen in 1945

By the end of 1944 = obvious that Germany was losing the war.

- As Nazis retreated to the original German state, they forced camp inmates to go on death marches.
  - Weak victims were shot and left to die.
- Russian troops attacking from the East
  - = first to discover the Nazi atrocities.
    - In January 1945 the Russians liberated Auschwitz-Birkenau.
- British forces liberated Bergen Belsen.

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7 Forms of justice: The Nuremburg Trials

Allied forces decided to put the main perpetrators on trial. International military tribunal was set up at Nuremburg.

Some top Nazis escaped trial through death, e.g. Hitler and Goebbels both committed suicide. Adolf Eichmann managed to disappear in the chaos that ensued at the end of the war.

- 22 Nazi leaders were put on trial for crimes against humanity and other war crimes.
- Nazi records provided much evidence and detail of the crimes committed.
  - The accused did not deny having committed the crimes but did not feel that these were crimes against humanity.
  - Some argued that they were merely following orders.
- 13 separate trials were held in Nuremburg between 1945 and 1950 and 12 defendants were sentenced to death. 199 Nazis were put on trial.
  - This punitive type of justice = retributive justice. It means that the Nazi perpetrators were punished for their crimes.

7.1 Shortcomings of the process

- Thousands of small perpetrators were not called to account for their actions → could deny complicity for what had happened.
- Victorious Allies carried out the trials. Germany and German people never faced what they had done.
  - → For many years = a culture of silence → could be seen as a denial of responsibility.

7.2 Positive outcomes of these trials

- Led to new ways of thinking about how to deal with gross human rights violations
  - mechanisms such as restorative justice and truth and reconciliation commissions. Two such commissions =
    - Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission
    - Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in SA.

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Topic 3

Summary and questions

Summary of Topic 3

Unit 1: Theories and practice of race

- Scientists in the 19th century (e.g. Samuel Morton) made three claims about race:
  - races are separate biological entities, with each race being unique
  - there is a strong relationship between biological races and other human qualities, such as moral character and intelligence
  - race is therefore a valid scientific category that can be used to explain and predict individual and group behaviour.
- Spencer formulated a theory called Social Darwinism, which later formed the basis for Hitler's plans for a master race.
  - This type of thinking was part of the eugenics movement, which had as its aim the creation of human beings with better qualities by breeding out negative traits.
- Human genome project has shown decisively that ideas of differences between 'races' have no biological basis:
  - all human beings belong to the same 'race': the human race.

Case study 1: Australia and the indigenous Australians

- After the British colonised Australia in the 18th century, the first one hundred and forty years of Australian colonial history was marked by conflict and dispossession.
- In the early 20th century Australia drew on eugenics to develop their own race theories that involved a plan to 'breed out' Aborigines by assimilation, resulting in the 'stolen generation'.
  - To achieve this, they established organisations such as the New South Wales Racial Improvement Society and the Eugenics Society of Victoria.
- White Australians were fearful of becoming wiped out as a people, which led to racist immigration laws (to keep people of other 'races' out of Australia) and the importation of white children from England.

Case study 2: Nazi Germany and the Holocaust

- Hitler, through his desire to create a master Aryan race, developed laws, policies and programmes to destroy all opposition to his plans and all groups he thought would contaminate his master race.
  - Through political cunning and intimidation tactics (e.g. the Night of the Long Knives on 30 June 1934) Hitler rose to power and merged the positions of Chancellor and President to became Führer in 1934.
  - Hitler, drawing on the work of eugenics in the USA, and German anthropologists researching in the German colonies, developed his plans for a *Herrenvolk* (master race).

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Summary and questions

- He used propaganda to cast those he saw as a threat to his master race as the 'other', making it possible to enact laws and implement programmes that led to the mass killing of Jews and others seem as opposition or as contaminating the master race.
  - This led to the Final Solution (mass extermination of mainly Jews).
- People made choices in this period that defined them as belonging to one of four categories: perpetrators, bystanders, resisters and rescuers.
- Major perpetrators (except for some like Hitler, who committed suicide) went on trial in Nuremburg Trials.

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Topic 3

Summary and questions

Questions for Topic 3

1 Use the study guide and your own knowledge to answer the questions below:
   a What was the Nazi symbol called?
   b Who did the Nazis blame for the Reichstag fire?
   c Which political squad in Germany carried out the killing of the SA leaders during the Night of the Long Knives?
   d What event is known as 'The Night of Broken Glass'?
   e The German phrase 'Arbeit Macht Frei' means '_____ will set you free'.
   f The name the Holocaust is derived from the Greek words *hólos* meaning 'whole' and *kaustós* meaning '_____'.
   g In which ghetto was the famous uprising in 1944?
   h Which people were considered the superior race in Nazi Germany?
   i What symbol was pinned on Jewish people as identification?
   j What was the name of the secret police?

2 Interpretation:
   2.1 Just as a dove descended on Christ when he was baptised by John the Baptist, so what looks to be an eagle hovers against the light of heaven over an idealised Hitler, with the text: 'Long live Germany!'

(Courtesy of Dr Robert D. Brooks)

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2.1.1 What symbol is used repeatedly in this picture?
2.1.2 What is the relevance of Hitler having his fist clinched?
2.1.3 What is portrayed in the background?
2.1.4 Why was this specific font and frame chosen by the artist?
2.1.5 Why has an eagle substituted a dove? Refer to the hidden reference to the baptism of Jesus.

2.2 This flyer was issued after regulations were introduced requiring all Jews still in Germany to wear a visible yellow star. The caption says: 'He who wears this symbol is an enemy of our people.'

2.2.1 Why were Jews forced to wear a visible yellow star?
2.2.2 Why was this measure especially discriminatory towards the Jewish people?
2.2.3 In what way does the wording and message on the flyer reinforce nationalistic and race ideology?

3 An illustration from *Der Stürmer*, an anti-Semitic magazine (March 1929), titled 'Fatherland!' is shown on the next page. In the top panel, a German family is forced to emigrate because of economic conditions. In the bottom panel, the shop signs all have Jewish names.

3.1 How has the artist of this illustration advanced the cause of anti-Semitism and the master race idea?
3.2 Who would this advertisement be aimed at?
3.3 Comment on the title of the illustration.

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Topic 3

Summary and questions

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Summary and questions

4 An illustration from *Der Stürmer* (November 1931) captioned: 'Where something is rotten, the Jew is the cause'. The names in the background are those of Jews involved in major financial scandals. The apple is named 'the German economy'. The worm is named 'Jewish scandals'.

Explanation:

4.1 Who is represented by the knife and who is represented by the worm?
4.2 What features (on the worm) represent the Jewish people in a negative manner?
4.3 What is the relevance of the knife cutting the worm?
4.4 What message is portrayed in this illustration?

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Topic 4

Nationalisms – South Africa, the Middle East and Africa

Key question for Topic 4: When is nationalism beneficial and when is it destructive?

TOPIC 4 101–164
Nationalisms – South Africa, the Middle East and Africa

UNIT 1 Page 102
What is nationalism?

- What is nationalism?
- Modern origins of nationalism in Europe
- What was the link between nationalism and the Industrial Revolution?
- How did the rise of the middle class contribute to nationalism?
- Theory of nationalism as an imagined community

CASE STUDY 1a Page 109
South Africa – The rise of African nationalism

- How did African organisations lead to the rise of African nationalism?
- How did World War II influence the rise of African nationalism
- Different types of African nationalism

CASE STUDY 1b Page 123
South Africa – The rise of Afrikaner nationalism

- How did Afrikaner nationalism begin to rise?
- Afrikaans language, social, cultural and economic movements
- How did Afrikaner leaders use the idea of Volk to promote Afrikaner nationalism?
- Afrikaner nationalism in power – towards apartheid

CASE STUDY 2 Page 135
The Middle East

- What are the origins of Arab and Jewish nationalism?
- The Balfour Declaration
- Origins and establishment of the state of Israel after World War II
- How do the Palestinian and Israeli perspectives on the 1948 war differ?
- Broader Arab nationalism in the region
- The question of Palestine
- The Arab-Israeli conflict

CASE STUDY 3 Page 149
From 'Gold Coast' to Ghana

- Early nationalism in the 'Gold Coast'
- World War II: Influence on nationalism
- Mass-based movements after World War II Kwame Nkrumah, pan-Africanism and African socialism
- The Convention People's Party and independence
- Ghana's beginning as an independent nation

UNIT 2 Page 156
The positive and negative features of nationalism

- Debates about nationalism
- Positive faces of nationalism
- Negative face of nationalism

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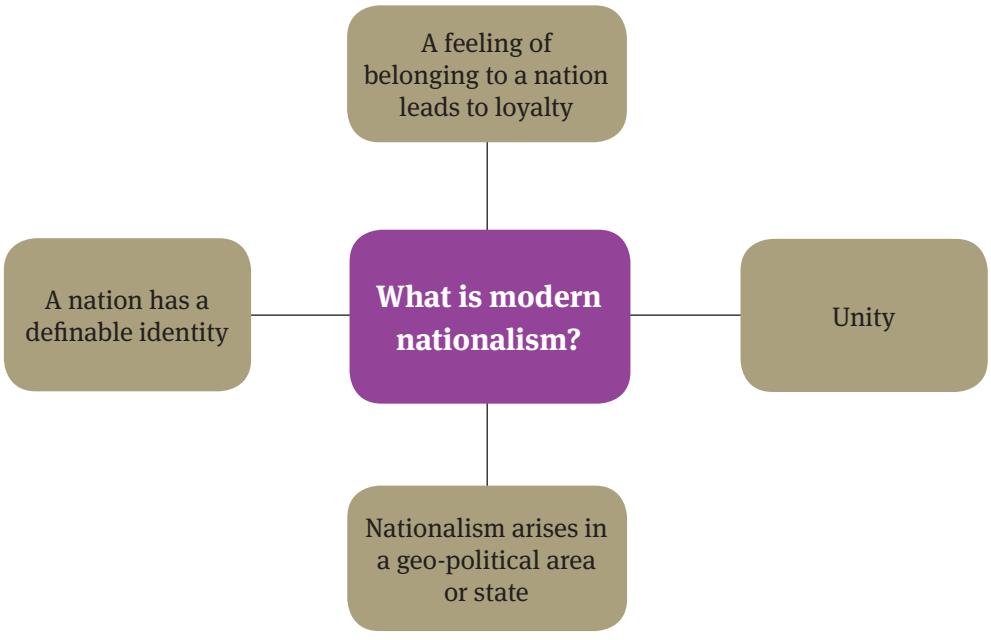
Unit 1

What is nationalism?

Key question: What is nationalism and how did it originate and spread?

1 What is modern nationalism?



2 How did nationalism originate?

Before nationalism societies were mainly feudal:

- Ordinary people = subjects of king who ruled by divine plan.
- Churches (ie: powerful institutions) reinforced authority of lineages
  - = princes, kings, chiefs
    - this idea was sustained all over the world for 1000s of years.

Modern idea of nations/nationalism:

- First emerged in Western Europe during 1700s and 1800s
  - new social classes challenging rule of old feudal kingdoms/empires
  - philosophers (e.g. Jean Jacques Rousseau) alerted French people to 'will of the majority'.
    - Aim: achieve 'national sovereignty' of the people rather than accept absolutist rule of French kings
    - = French Revolution in 1789.

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2.1 The impact of the French Revolution: 1789–1795

Nationalism arose in Western Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. → New social classes were challenging old feudal kingdoms and empires. → The French Revolution introduced the concept of the will of the majority. → When France was threatened by invasion, a feeling of unity and loyalty arose.

2.2 The impact of Napoleonic rule: 1795–1815

He built a strong, united French Empire. → Extended French rule across Europe. → Believed in strict rule and control with little liberalism. → Napoleon's defeated subjects rose up against French rule due to the rise of nationalism against Napoleon.

2.3 The impact of the decisions made at the Congress of Vienna, 1815

↓

An attempt to revert to the Old Order stimulates nationalism in Europe.

Conservative rulers: Try to suppress democracy, liberalism and nationalism to reclaim their thrones.

Liberal and national revolutions occur in 1830 and 1848: Greece, the Netherlands and Belgium became independent.

→

3 How did nationalism spread?

- 19th century Europe = set of civil wars
- signalled awakening of European nations
- = major revolutions in 1830 + 1848
  - 1830 revolutions: occurred across Europe:
    - France → July Revolution = overthrow of King Charles X of France, creation of constitutional monarchy

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    - United Kingdom of the Netherlands: Belgian Revolution = Belgian independence from the Netherlands in 1832
    - Greece: establishment of independent Greece after decade-long struggle against Ottoman Empire
    - Poland: November Uprising against Russian Empire – though crushed by Russia, helped to forge Polish nationalism
  - 1848 revolutions = series of political upheavals throughout Europe:
    - began: France, February
    - spread to: parts of Europe + Latin America
    - over 50 countries affected.

Upshot

→ establishment of nation states = helped shape Europe along nationalist lines

3.1 Significance of the 1830 and 1848 Revolutions on the development of nationalism

In some countries the conservative rulers relied on force to stay in control and many civil wars broke out as the people wanted nationalist movements to be recognised.

- In France in 1830 → King Charles X was overthrown and a constitutional monarchy was established.
- In Poland in 1830 → the Poles rose against the Russian Empire:
  - → although the revolution was crushed, Polish nationalism grew.
- In 1848 → nationalist revolutions broke out in France, the German states, the Italian states and Austria:
  - → but the hold by the aristocracy and military in these countries was still too strong to bring about true reform.

3.2 Germany and Italy

- Zollverein (toll union) in the north German states stimulated unity under Prussian leadership.
  - Bismarck, the Prussian nationalist, took the lead, and after three wars, united the Germans into a 'new' nationalist German state:
    - created a strong power in central Europe for first time in European history
    - by the end of the century, became greatest power in Europe: industrious people + great resources in coal + iron
    - nationalism really took root in Europe
- Revolts in the 8 Italian states stimulated Italian nationalism against mainly foreign rule:
  - under the nationalists, Cavour and Garibaldi, Italy was liberated and united under an Italian king.

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By 1900:

- Newly unified nation Germany + newly reunified USA (after Civil War) had begun to overtake Britain as world's leading industrial powers
- Industrialisation: provided USA + Europe with financial, organisational, technological resources to expand power
  - → also: could expand influence throughout world
  - + their aims made easier:
    - pursuit of new markets for products
    - search for cheap resources/raw materials for industries,
    - new opportunities for capital investments,
    - new agricultural lands for food for growing populations.

New Imperialism	Berlin Conference 1884–85	Scramble for Africa
• non-industrial societies unable to thwart economic encroachment, military domination, political colonisation • India, Southeast Asia, most of Africa under European/US control by 1900	• initiated domination of Africa • regulated European colonisation + trade in Africa during New Imperialism period • coincided with Germany's sudden emergence as an imperial power • called for by Portugal, organised by Bismarck • started period of increased colonial activity by European powers • destroyed most existing forms of African autonomy, self-governance	• outcome of Berlin Conference: General Act of the Berlin Conference – formalisation of Scramble for Africa • colonisation laid seeds for nationalism in Africa • colonised countries tried to unite people in effort to regain independence • middle class tended to initiate nationalist movements – although at times they benefited most from colonialism through education + economic opportunities

4 Link between the Industrial Revolution, rise of middle class and nationalism

Political revolutions and industrial growth led to changes in society. Industrialisation in Europe strengthened and entrenched nationalism in Europe by 1900 and in Africa during the first half of the 20th century.

- New Imperialism
  - Because of Industrial Revolution, new products were developed and exported to new buyers in new markets.
  - Rivalry and competition added to conflict and tension in Africa among the European colonisers.

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- In 1885 Bismarck from Germany called together the Congress of Berlin to solve disputes and Africa's political, colonial boundaries were entrenched
  - nation states were introduced in Africa without consultation with the Africans.
  - → colonisation that had its roots in the economic prosperity of the Industrial Revolution laid the foundations for nationalism in Africa
  - = colonised countries began to unite their people in an effort to regain their independence.
- Economic prosperity from Industrial Revolution –
  - = a new middle class arose that supported nationalism and the ideas of unity, development and wealth:
    - middle classes began to have more of a say in governments and the policies they made
    - promoted the ideas of a national identity, unity and cohesion in society.
- In colonised countries
  - middle-class leaders stimulated the rise of popular nationalist movements against conservative rule
  - World War II (WWII) stimulated the rise of African and Asian nationalism against colonial rule.
    - → The colonies began to pressurise the colonisers for freedom and decolonization began.

5 The theory of nationalism as an imagined community

This idea is based on the book *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson (1983). He promotes the idea that a nation is a socially constructed community that relies mostly on perceptions and feelings.

- Members that make up a nation are bound by a mental image or affinity rather than an actual one, e.g.
  - → claim to be a united force based on a proud shared heritage and history, language, culture, customs, literature, etc.
- These feelings of belonging and other nationalist ideas were spread through Europe by the invention of printing.
- Powerful symbols were adopted to express national identity.
- Patriotism, militarism and nationalism made for a very powerful and dangerous combination of forces
  - → often destructively deployed to expand territory and power
  - BUT = also to defend the imagined community.

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Case study 1

South Africa

Key question: How did African nationalism and Afrikaner nationalism develop in South Africa?

1 Background: context for the rise of African and Afrikaner nationalism

British colonies in SA	• no South Africa before 1910
	• Britain defeated Boer Republics in South African War (1899–1903)
	• four separate colonies: Cape, Natal, Orange River, Transvaal colonies
	  ◦ → ruled by Britain
	  ◦ needed support of white settlers in colonies to retain power

Union of South Africa	• 1908 → 33 white delegates met behind closed doors to negotiate independence for Union of South Africa • views of 85% of country's future citizens (black people) not even considered • British wanted investments protected, labour supplies assured: agreed to give political/economic power to white settlers • Union Constitution of 1910 placed political power in hands of white citizens
Cape Province (old Cape Colony)	• small number of educated black, coloured citizens allowed to elect few representatives to Union parliament • only whites had vote
New nation	• 'settler nation' = no room for blacks with rights • white citizens called selves 'Europeans' • all symbols of new nation = European, e.g. ◦ language, religion, school history • African languages, histories, culture seen as inferior

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Racism in the new nation:

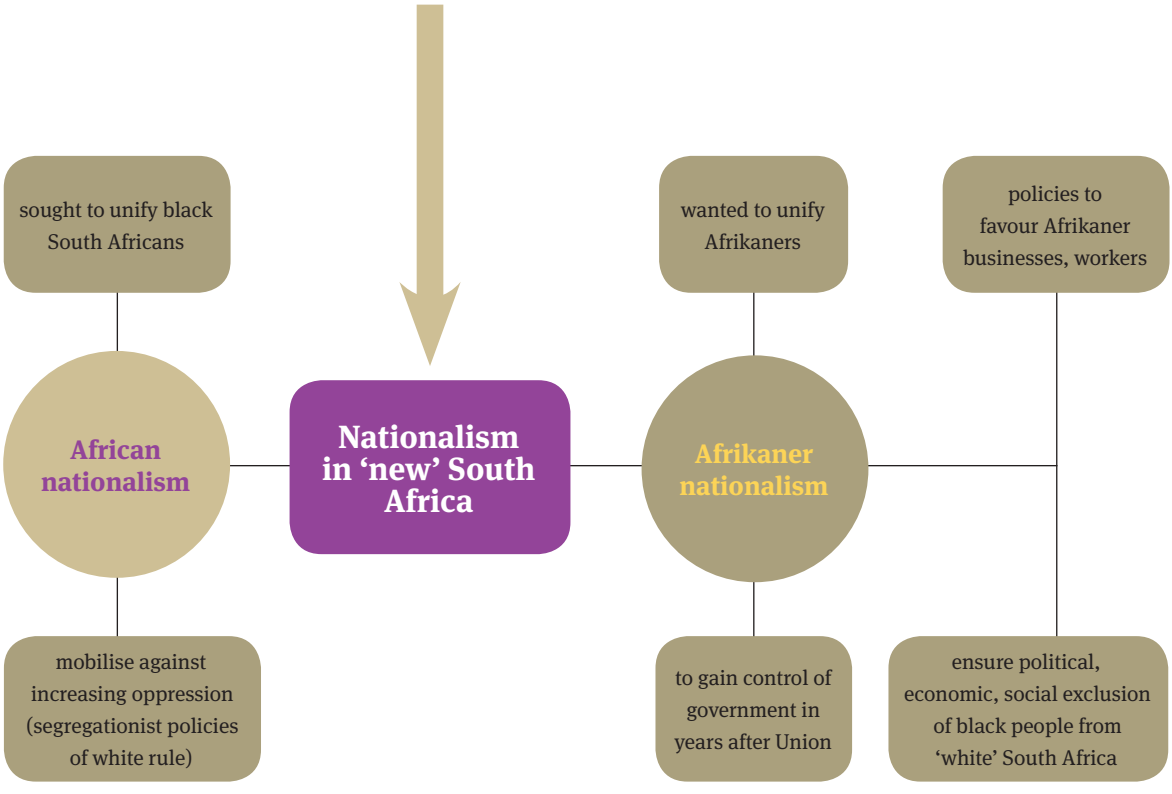
- Africans seen as members of inferior 'tribes'
  - could practise traditions in 'native' reserves
  - in settler (white) nation = required only as workers in farms, mines, factories owned by whites
  - black people denied political rights, cultural recognition, economic opportunities

1910 → large numbers of black South African men forced to become migrant workers on mines, factories, expanding commercial farms.

- 1913 Natives Land Act → worsened situation:
  - land allocated to black people by Act = largely infertile, unsuitable for agriculture.

Land Act, segregation policies (including in work and economy) and World economic depressions (Great Depression that started in USA) resulted in forced migration of people (blacks and white) in South Africa in the 1920s, 30s, 40s:

- 1 000s of poor white + black tenant farmers forced off land, into cities
  - some = domestic workers/worked in industry
  - did not have such strong ties to old rural/ethnic identities
  - → two forms of nationalism emerged in SA:



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Case study 1a

The rise of African nationalism

Key question: How did the rise of African nationalism lead to democracy in South Africa?

1 Late 19th and early 20th centuries

19th century:

- Western-educated African, coloured, Indian middle class grew up mainly in Cape + Natal
  - = mostly professional men (doctors, lawyers, teachers, newspaper editors)
  - proud of their African, Muslim, Indian heritage
  - embraced idea of progressive 'colour-blind' western civilisation that could benefit all people.

South African War (Boer War)

- Many African, coloured, Indian men + women had supported British forces
  - → result: suffered death + destruction of property
  - so, expected British government to:
    - restore property
    - defend their rights to land
    - provide education
    - + provide opportunity after war.

But this did not happen:

Instead:

- Years before Union:
  - black leaders horrified to see how British government –
    - was prepared to hand over all power in new Union to whites
    - accept that black citizens remained a racially oppressed + exploited population.
- So, black leaders formed organisations
  - = to protest against intensifying racial laws + racial nature of new Union and laws.

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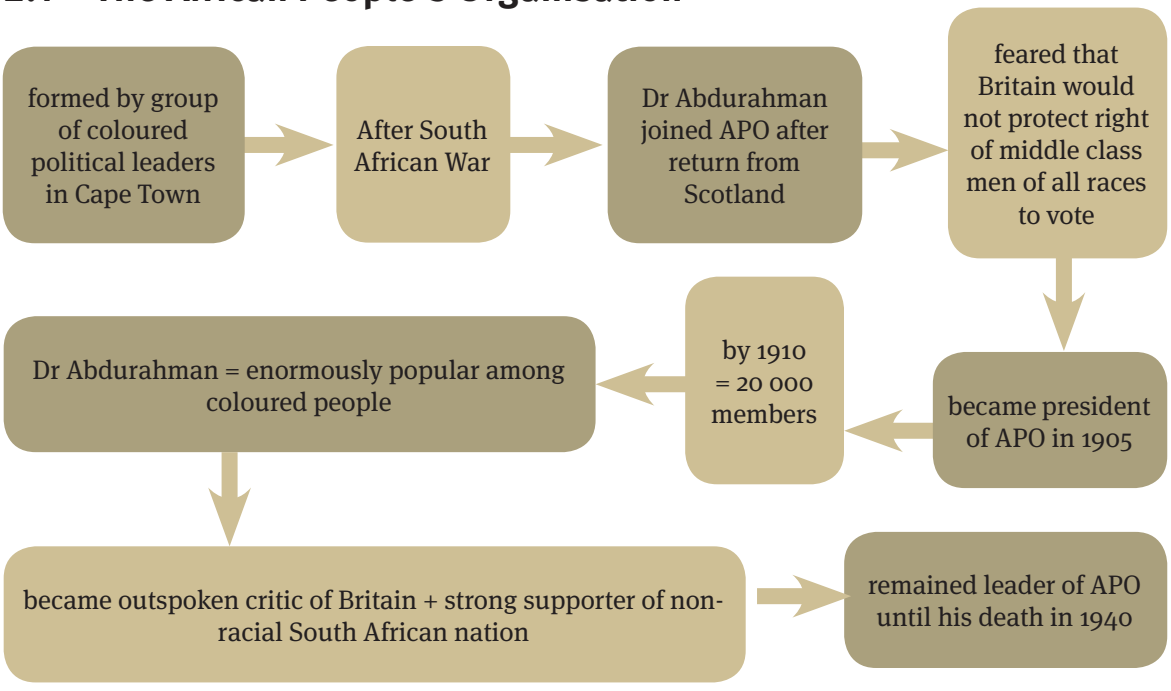
2 African organisations that led to the rise of African nationalism

2.1 The African People's Organisation



- At first: APO did not concern itself with rights of black South Africans:
  - realisation → oppressed racial groups must work together to achieve anything.
  - So, delegation sent to London in 1909 to get rights for coloured ('coloured' then = 'everyone who was a British subject in South Africa and who was not a European') → failed.

2.2 Natal Indian Congress

Natal Indian Congress (NIC)

- = important influence in development of non-racial African nationalism in South Africa.
- possibly first organisation in South Africa to use word 'congress'
- formed in 1894 to mobilise Indian opposition to racial discrimination in Colony
- founder: MK Gandhi → would later lead massive peaceful resistance (*Satyagraha*) to colonial rule: forced Britain to grant independence to India, 1947
- NIC organised many protests = campaigned for Indian rights
- 1908: hundreds of Indians gathered outside Johannesburg mosque in protest against law that forced Indians to carry passes
  - passive resistance campaigns of Gandhi + NIC succeeded in Indians not having to carry passes
  - BUT failed to win full citizenship rights
    - NIC did not join united national movement for rights of all citizens until 1930s, 1940s

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2.3 The South African Native National Congress to 1920

In response to Union in 1910, young African leaders (Pixley ka Isaka Seme, Richard Msimang, George Montsioa, Alfred Mangena) worked with established leaders of South African Native Convention to promote formation of a national organization:

- Aim: form national organisation to unify various African groups
  - 8 January 1912: first African nationalist movement formed at a meeting in Bloemfontein
  - = South African National Natives Congress (SANNC)
    - attended by traditional chiefs, teachers, writers, intellectuals, businessmen
    - most delegates had received missionary education
    - strongly believed in 19th century values of 'improvement' and 'progress' of Africans into a global European 'civilisation' + culture.
  - 1924 → SANNC changed name to African National Congress (ANC)
    - = assert African identity.

in those days Africans called 'natives' by white government

2.3.1 SANNC / ANC tactics

- Avoided mass mobilisation, although some leaders active in worker strikes, anti-pass protests in early 1920s:
  - instead: persuade white government to reform by writing letters, organising petitions, sending delegations to meet British + South African politicians
  - May 1912: SANNC launched own newspaper Abantu Batho (The People) published in five languages
  - 1914: organised delegation to Britain → ask British government to put pressure on Union government to withdraw Land Act
    - activities = 'the politics of petition'.
- ANC until 1940s:
  - mostly did not seek to mobilise mass resistance
  - partly due to poor organisation + lack of funds
  - partly due to middle-class nature of ANC leadership
  - preferred using persuasion, petitions, delegations instead of mobilisation
    - → contrasted sharply with popular organisations: Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)
    - most rural black South Africans → not attracted by nationalism it presented.

However, there were events that contributed to growing unity among black people, e.g.

- the Bambatha uprising in 1906
- mass resistance campaigns in the Orange Free State in 1913, when women demonstrated against being forced to carry passes
- in 1918 Charlotte Maxeke and the Bantu Women's League launched an anti-pass campaign to end the use of passes for black women completely
- illegal occupation of government land near Bulhoek in 1921 resulting in the Bulhoek Massacre.

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2.4 The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union

African protest movements that helped foster growing African nationalism:

- 1920s: biggest = Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU)
- formed in 1919
- leader = Clements Kadalie, Malawian worker
- had led successful strike of dockworkers in Cape Town
- mostly active among farmers + migrant workers
  - BUT, only temporarily away from their farms = very difficult to organise.

Protest action	ICU's successes	ICU's failings

• ICU activists held mass protest meetings
• organised local actions = strikes, demonstrations over grievances, e.g.
  ◦ low wages, evictions, brutality of police + employers.
	• gave mostly rural people voice to demand restoration of their land, e.g.
	  ◦ Durban City Council's practice of dipping, disinfecting migrant workers like cattle
	• branches all over SA.
		• ICU unable to deliver dream of 'Moses' saving people from oppression
		• leaders arrested, meetings + campaigns banned, prohibited from organising on mine compounds
		  ◦ by 1930 → virtually disappeared.

2.4.1 The influence of working class struggles in the towns 1920–1940

Most ANC leaders showed little interest in mobilising growing numbers of African workers in towns

result: African workers also showed little interest in nationalist movement until 1940s

- but: resistance of ordinary black workers took other forms
  - hidden struggles of individual workers:
  - pretending to be ill, deserting jobs if things became too hard, theft or breaking equipment.

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After First World War:

- Worker militancy became increasingly organised = trade unions + by South African Communist Party (SACP)

One of first trade unions = Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA)

- appealed for militant working class unity that was different from middle-class nationalism of ANC
- led campaigns against pass laws
- leaders active in organising number of strikes in 1920s

Slogans of IWA:

- There is only one way to freedom, black workers
- Unite as workers, unite! Forget the things that divide you
- Let there no longer be any talk of Basutu, Zulu or Shangaan
- You are all labourers. Let labour be your common bond!

There were divisions among ANC leaders – some younger members, mainly from Johannesburg, wanting to support worker action, while older more middle class leaders e.g. Sol Plaatjie, wanted moderation, and saw younger members as being socialist.

February 1920: over 70 000 black miners went on strike → 21 mines forced to close down:

1918: Sol Plaatje: "I had to attend the Native Congress at Bloemfontein to prevent the spread among our people of the Johannesburg socialist propaganda... The ten Transvaal delegates came to the Congress... with a determination that was perfectly astounding to our customary native demeanour at conferences. They spoke almost in unison, in short sentences, nearly all of which began and ended with the word 'strike'." (Source: Cited in Bundy, C. *Remaking the Past: New perspectives in South African History*, UCT Press, Cape Town, 1986)

- government called in police + army
- workers surrounded in their compounds, beaten, driven back to work at gunpoint
- biggest strike in South Africa's history until great strikes of 1980s.

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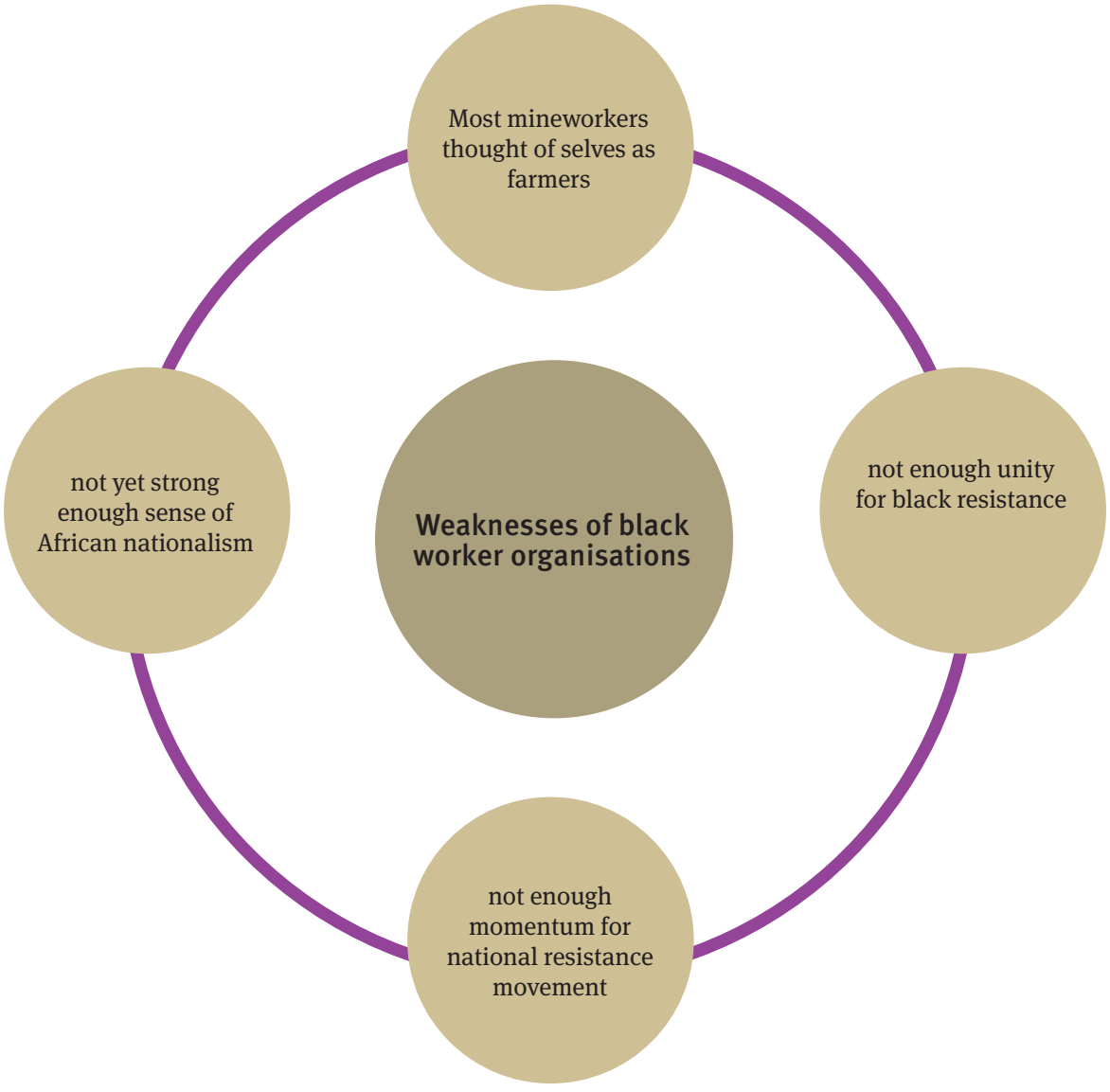
Suppression of 1920 revealed weakness of black worker organisation in early period of South Africa's industrialisation:



1930s:

- black workers began to find effective way of organising
- enabled them to challenge employers
- win improvements in wages + working conditions.

Growth of manufacturing industry: 1930s and 40s:

- growing urban working class permanently settled in towns
- focus of black resistance shifting to cities
- workers in specific industries formed industrial trade unions
- many union leaders = members of SACP
  - → SACP had white and black leaders
  - SACP worked mainly in black unions because white workers often sided with employers.

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Worker militancy in cities = important factor in:
- bringing about the changes in ANC
- driving rise of African nationalism.

It was clear that two kinds of black African nationalism were developing.

2.5 Two kinds of nationalism

ANC in 1930s	Communist leaders	Africanist leaders
• divided organisation • established leaders supported workers' demands for better wages + equal laws • did not support confrontation/ socialist ideas of communists	• ZK Mathews, JB Marks, John Nkadimeng, Govan Mbeki • joined ANC, called for more active leadership of mass demands • promoted non-racial, inclusive form of South African nationalism • ie: first stage on way to establishing socialist state	• young black activists also called for more active leadership of mass resistance • suspicious of involvement of whites with both established leadership and socialists • Anton Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu

Basic division = between non-racial South African nationalism and Africanist kind of nationalism:
- → present in ANC for most of its history.

Showed in election of Dr AB Xuma:
- 1940: elected president of ANC
  - medical doctor educated in USA + Europe
  - had respect of both old and young leaders
  - rebuilt ANC structures
  - presided over transition into mass nationalist movement.
- BUT, 2nd half of 1940s:
  - left wing began to dominate ANC
    - Xuma too conservative
    - → lost leadership in 2nd half of 1940s.

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3 How did World War II influence the rise of African nationalism?

There were three main ways that WW II influenced the rise of African nationalism:

- through the Atlantic Charter
- AB Xuma's African claims in relation to this Charter
- influence of soldiers returning from War.

3.1 The Atlantic Charter and AB Xuma's African claims

Churchill and Roosevelt issued the Atlanatic Charter in 1941, describing the world they would like to see after WWII:

- Charter: '... desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.'
- '... respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live'

To the ANC and African nationlists generally, the Atlantic Charter → amounted to promise for freedom in Africa once war was over.

Gave rise to Xuma's African claims issued by ANC in 1943:

- End to all facism demanded
- Self-government expected as a right
- Right to choose own form of government expected.

3.2 Influence of returning soldiers

- Britain recruited thousands of African soldiers to fight in its armies (nearly two million Africans recruited as soldiers, porters, scouts for Allies during war):
  - persuade Africans to sign up: Britain called it 'a war for freedom'
  - soldiers returning home expected Britain to honour their sacrifice
    - → recognition they expected did not arrive
    - became bitter, discontented – had fought to protect interests of colonial powers only to return to exploitation + indignities of colonial rule.

4 1945: Pan-African Manchester Congress, England

Arising from discontent of not having expectations of frredom fulfilled after WWII, this conference = turning point in its attempt to address needs of all black people.

- → Pan-Africanism began to stress common experiences of blackness
  - sought liberation of all black people around world.

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Pan-Africanism

- proved very popular among nationalist African leaders
- offered way to overcome both regionalism + ethnic divides
- stressed commonalities + common oppression
  - by 1950s, Pan-Africanism influenced almost every African nationalist leader
    - in SA: resulted in increased militancy of ANC Youth League (helped oust Xuma as president, 1949)
    - precipitated PAC split from ANC, 1959

5 Different types of African nationalism

The different types of African nationialism (more inlcusive vs. more radical) that emerged before and after WWII resulted from the situation in the country:

Government commission: 1948	• estimated almost one third of people in African reserves had no land and/or no cattle at all • 60% of families = less than five cattle
People forced into towns	• through poverty • black population in cities almost doubled in size (i.e. 1930–1946) • towns: not enough housing in locations • towns: food prices rising rapidly
Shanty towns	• number of homeless people's movements: people invaded land around Johannesburg • built informal settlements • biggest = 'Sofasonke' (we will all die together) – led by James Mpanza

Increased militancy of black trade unions:

- 1945 = 119 industrial trade unions: paid up membership of 158 000 workers
  - 1940–1945: more than 52 000 workers in strike action of longer than five days
  - many strikes succeeded in winning benefits for workers: gave them confidence
- 1946: second great mineworkers' strike:
  - over 60 000 black miners went on strike for better wages and replacement of compound system with family housing
  - retaliation: police, army surrounded miners in compounds + forced them back to work at gunpoint → 12 miners killed; over 1000 injured.

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ANC leadership realised that unless they changed to reflect political + economic demands of new social forces, someone else soon would.

5.1 The influence of ANC Youth League on types of nationalism

Formation	Leadership changes	Self-reliance/racial pride
• 1944: younger ANC leaders: Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela • adopted 'Programme of Action' that was statement of increasingly militant + Africanist form of African nationalism	• 1949: Dr Xuma replaced as President by Dr James Moroka - had support of Youth League • Walter Sisulu elected Secretary General • Nelson Mandela + Oliver Tambo elected to National Executive Committee	• Youth League's Programme of Action adopted by ANC as whole • more Africanist Youth League – Anton Lembede – rejected political cooperation with white, Indian activists • need for black self-reliance, racial pride

Sisulu, Mandela, Tambo:
- influenced by Africanist ideals of self-reliance
- realised that united front was needed against apartheid government

Division + tension → resulted in disgruntled members of ANC breaking away to form PAC.

5.2 Influence of the Congress of the People on nationalism

The Congress of the People directly impacted on African nationalism, and was a key catalyst in the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC).

Kliptown, 1955:
- Congress of the People consisted of: representatives from ANC, Coloured People's Congress, SA Indian Congress + white Congress of Democrats:
  - → Freedom Charter affirmed non-racial African nationalist tradition:

aim: widening definition of nation and thus of nationalism → proclaimed: 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it'

Africanists rejected this: called for even more militant political actions

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Africanists:

- 1959: tried to get ANC to repudiate Freedom Charter + Congress Alliance (did not succeed in this)
  - Aim: become exclusively African nationalist movement

Formation of PAC	• 1959: led by Robert Sobukwe, Africanists left ANC • PAC slogans: 'Africa for the Africans' – 'Amafrika Poqo' ('Africans standing alone')
Increased militancy	• PAC appeared more militant than ANC • called for national anti-pass campaign: → led to massacres at Sharpeville, Langa
Banning of PAC	• never able to attract large following • virtually fell apart when banned

5.3 Influence of the revival of Africanist tradition inside South Africa

- 1970s: leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement (eg: Steve Biko) revived tradition:
  - black consciousness = very influential in shaping people's ideas BUT has not had mass support as political movement.

Standing in contrast to radical, exclusive nationalism of Africanists was the non-racialism of the ANC.

5.4 Non-racialism and the United Democratic Front

Morogoro conference: Tanzania – 1969

- ANC in exile re-affirmed inclusive non-racial African nationalism
- ANC went beyond only cooperating with South Africans of other races
- welcomed whites, Indians, coloureds as full members.

↓ Foreshadowed the broadbased co-operation typified by the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the 1980s, after Soweto uprising.

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1976: watershed year inside SA – ANC:

- Soweto: protests against apartheid government's discriminatory education policies
- aftermath: established leading role of ANC in liberation struggle
- ANC: organisation best able to channel, organise students seeking overthrow of apartheid
- ANC's non-racialism that came to dominate the form of liberation amongst blacks that was unfolding
- Soweto uprising:
  - = turning point in the struggle against apartheid
    - → shifted the focus of struggle to within SA.

Post-Soweto period

- Government suppression
- growing curiosity among urban black people and growing political awareness
  - → study groups develop in townships across SA
    - study, discuss Charterist ideals, read ANC literature.

Late 1970s

- Initially study groups had little/no contact with one another
- black consciousness + student organisations + trade unions = attempts to create united movement within SA
  - aim: co-ordinate liberation struggle
- ANC realised need for broad organisation based inside SA.

PLUS

United Democratic Front (UDF)

- Momentum resulted in formation, launch of United Democratic Front (UDF)
  - → 20 August 1983 community hall in Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain
  - slogan: 'UDF Unites, Apartheid Divides'
    - mobilisation of South Africans to form united resistance against apartheid.

Move towards broad-based national movement:

- UDF: throughout 1980s = commitment to non-racial, democratic South Africa
- people of South Africa organised selves into hundreds of democratic community based bodies - state could not destroy by arresting a few leaders
- by time Mandela was released: very broad-based national movement in place - defined nationalism in non-racial, non-ethnic terms
- 'nationalism' = all South Africans
- inclusive nationalism – foundation for national reconciliation and nation-building.

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5.5 National reconciliation and nation-building

5.5.1 Nation-building

In 1989: FW de Klerk elected leader of National Party

- September 1989 - elected State President
  - replaced PW Botha
    - had led South Africa since 1984
    - had imposed State of Emergency in 1985, which as repeatedly renewed.

Nelson Mandela:

- 11 February 1990 (27 years of incarceration) Nelson Mandela released from Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl
- greeted at gates with wife (Winnie Madikizela-Mandela) by 1 000s of supporters.

Difficulties ahead:

- after bitter division between black + white - much animosity to overcome
- many who did not want new, non-racial South Arica, e.g.
  - right-wing Afrikaners (e.g. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, known as AWB) + more militant PAC
    - wanted to see narrow nationalism in place: South Africa for whites only (AWB)/for blacks only (PAC).
- → Vital for success:
  - find ways to reconcile different 'racial' groups → for nation-building.

Characteristics of negotiations

- inclusive
- led to former sworn enemies sitting down, discussing issues that affected country as a whole
- reconciliation between former enemies started
- worked together to lay foundations for new SA nation → would be built on principles of human rights, non-racial national inclusivity.

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Mandela's efforts to bring about reconciliation:

- appointed FW de Klerk as one of deputy presidents when he formed Government of National Unity (GNU) in 1994
- made a point of meeting with Besty Verwoerd = wife of main architect of apartheid, HF Verwoerd
- became staunch supporter of Springboks
  - → SA hosted, won Rugby World Cup in 1995.

5.5.2 Reconciliation

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)	• set up in terms of Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995 under leadership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu • Witnesses identified as victims of gross human rights violations during apartheid invited to give statements about experiences
TRC process	• some witnesses selected for public hearings • perpetrators of violence could also give testimony, request amnesty from both civil + criminal prosecution
Purpose	• for people on two sides of divide created by apartheid – through confession + forgiveness – to reconcile with one another • commit to living in unity as South Africans

5.5.3 Nation-building and reconcilliation

Constitution of South Africa

- South African Constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, No. 108 of 1996)
  - = another step in process of national reconciliation + nation-building because:
    - writing of Constitution was inclusive process
    - content entrenched in law rights of all South Africans (in Bill of Rights)
    - protect rights of cultural minorities too
    - celebrates cultural diversity within single South African nation.

Nation-building requires government to rule consistently with policies – requires citizens to imagine selves as part of nation and contribute towards it.

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Case study 1b

The rise of Afrikaner nationalism

Key question: How did Afrikaner nationalism evolve in South Africa between 1900 and 1994?

1 How did Afrikaner nationalism begin to rise?

Afrikaner nationalism (*Volkseenheid*) was a political ideology born in the late 19th century, but with its roots in the Great Trek (1835–1846) and the Boer Republics:

Great Trek	• Movement of Dutch-speaking colonists, primarily from Cape, up into interior of southern Africa
	  ◦ in search of land
	  ▪ → wanted to establish own homeland, independent of British rule
	• Great Trek came to symbolise determination and courage of Boers
	  ◦ → yearning for independence and freedom

Boer republics	• Great Trek helped to establish Boer Republics in 19th century • Boers defined themselves against British and Africans ◦ gave rise to notion that Afrikaners in South Africa were 'chosen people'

This notion of Afrikaners as the 'chosen people' was influenced by:

- Afrikaner Bond (late 1800s to 1910)
- anti-British sentiments = strong among Afrikaners, especially because of Boer Wars (South African War)
- desire to keep themselves a distinct group, separate from English and Africans.

→ Gave rise to

a narrow Afrikaner nationalism (wanted nothing to do with other groups)	↔	a moderate nationalism (open to collaborate with others)

- first champion = Stephanus du Toit, minister of Dutch Reformed Church
  - played leading role in establishment of Society of True Afrikaners (Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners, GRA): Paarl, 14 August 1875
    - published first Afrikaans-language newspaper, Die Afrikaanse Patriot
    - widely read → became powerful means of promoting Afrikaans language + Afrikaner nationalism.

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Du Toit
• put forward notion that Afrikaners = distinct nationality with fatherland (South Africa) + own language (Afrikaans) • Afrikaner Volk's (nation) destiny to rule South Africa • most important achievement in fostering Afrikaner nationalism = establishment of Afrikaner Bond – 1880: played prominent role in SA politics

Du Toit's notion of Afrikaners led to a political split between narrow and more moderate Afrikaner nationalists:

Split between narrow nationalists and moderates	• 1934
	  • group of narrow Afrikaner nationalists (Dr DF Malan, 19 Afrikaner MPs) split from moderate Afrikaner leaders Barry Hertzog, Jan Smuts
	  • just after merging to form United Party (for 'broader white ruling alliance')

Purified National Party	• formed by DF Malan + breakaway group
	  • did not have support of all Afrikaners – only few accepted party's imagined vision of 'pure' Afrikaner nation
	  • emphasised unity of all Afrikaans speaking white people, Volk, against 'foreign' elements – blacks, Jews, English-speaking South Africans

1948	• Purified National Party (PNP) had mobilised enough support – majority of Afrikaans speakers • won elections; ruled SA until 1994

How did this narrow group of Afrikaner leaders create the idea of an Afrikaner nation that appealed so strongly to so many different groups of Afrikaners?

- Economic
  - Many Afrikaner farmers, businessmen felt that economy was too heavily dominated by English-speaking, foreign companies
  - felt that government economic policies favoured these (English/foreign) business interests
  - made it difficult for Afrikaner businessmen to advance
    - → THEREFORE, desired to see Afrikaners in control of government = economic driver of Afrikaner nationalism.

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- Great Depression
  - Poor whites (bywooners) and black workers driven off farms
  - forced to move to cities to look for work = competing with blacks for employment
  - PNP promised to keep blacks out and employ Afrikaners (blacks were 'painted' as causing – to some extent – suffering of poor Afrikaner whites)
    - → THEREFORE, promise to help poor Afrikaner whites = another driver of Afrikaner nationalism (roots in USA Great Depression).
- Cultural
  - Movements founded to advance Afrikaner language, culture and religion
  - portrayed Afrikaners as an exclusive nation
    - → THEREFORE, culture = driver of Afrikaner nationalism.

2 Afrikaans movements: language, social, cultural and economic

Economic and cultural issues drove Afrikaner nationalism to unite Afrikaners.

- AIM: political victory to rule over English and blacks.
  - Use movements to do this, e.g.
    - Language Movement; Broederbond.
  - Used economic and labour policy to do this, e.g.
    - affirmative action
    - colour bar in employment.
  - Used media to this, e.g.
    - Afrikaans newspapers and magazines spread Afrikaner nationalist ideology (type of propaganda).

2.1 The Afrikaans language movements

In the 19th century, there was no single Afrikaner language. In order to develop one Afrikaner language (Afrikaans), language movement was established.

- Important aim:
  - → Create single cultural and national identity = unite all Afrikaners.

2.1.1 First Afrikaans Language Movement 1875–1900

- Beginning: establishment of *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA): Paarl, 1875
    - term 'Afrikaner' began to take on narrower association with white Afrikaans speakers → despite people of different races/ethnicities speaking it
    - GRA's aim: create Afrikaans language for white Afrikaners, distinct from Dutch
- First Afrikaans Language Movement:
  - lacked wide appeal: functioned mainly in Paarl area; only one mouthpiece, *Die Patriot*
    - towards close of 19th century, began to collapse
  - Afrikaans movement would only gain momentum again after South African War.

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2.1.2 Second Language Movement (1900–1930)

Peace of Vereeniging (31 May 1902): ended South African War. Lord Milner gave undertaking to Boers that Dutch would be upheld as official language:

- BUT, he reneged on undertaking: government instead began to pursue policy of anglicisation
  - anglicising process also continued in former Boer Republics
  - force all Afrikaners to speak English – Milner's regime – schools targeted
  - English also became official language in Transvaal, Natal
  - legislation provided for Dutch language rights in administration, justice, education
- → Resumption of struggle for establishment of Afrikaans:
  - no longer restricted to Cape Colony as had been the case with First Movement
  - Parents, teachers = aid from Netherlands = started setting up private schools: curriculum could have Christian Afrikaner nationalism focus
  - Union of SA formation (1910): helped in advocating establishment of Afrikaans as alternative written medium.

→ Recognition of Afrikaans:

- Act of Parliament: 1925 → Afrikaans obtained official recognition
  - Bible translated into Afrikaans: 1933
  - Afrikaans developed rapidly as both literary medium + medium of science, technology
  - = establishment of four Afrikaans-speaking universities

The language movement combined with a re-writing of South African history, which was seen in terms of the struggle of the Afrikaner to find his natural identity in a hostile world filled with enemies: black and the British.

- expressed in new cultural symbols: powder horn, ox-wagon, laager and Bible.

2.2 The Afrikaner Broederbond

Jong Zuid Afrika (Young South Africa)	Afrikaner Broederbond	Goals of Broederbond
• 1918: formed by small group of Afrikaner intellectuals • dedicated to advancement of Afrikaner interests • 1919 – became Afrikaner Broederbond	• secret society of carefully selected Afrikaner men • aim: further Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa • gain control of South African government	• build united Afrikaner Volk based on conservative, puritanical religion • develop, promote Afrikaans language • keep Afrikaner workers out of clutches of socialist trade unions • promote Afrikaner business

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Growth of Broederbond:

- 1930s: grew quickly
- developed exclusive Afrikaner nationalist ideology – would appeal to interests of all Afrikaners
- designed to appeal to those (businessmen, professionals, farmers, workers) who were in some way excluded/exploited under current political system under Smuts
- almost every Afrikaans-speaking leader became member
- tried at every opportunity to influence thinking/policies with ideas

2.3 The Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associations

Broederbond set up separate Afrikaner institutions to help them realise their aims:

- separate cultural institutions alongside existing ones
  - Boy Scouts = Voortrekkers
  - Red Cross = Noodhulpliga
  - National Union of South African Students = Afrikaner Studentebond
    - → nearly every aspect of social life had separate Afrikaner organisation.

Cultural activity co-ordinated by Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associations (FAK) → ensured that Afrikaner nationalist ideology, and the creation of a distinct Afrikaner identity, was fostered and encouraged at every level of society.

2.4 Affirmative action in the 1920s and 30s

Government: Barry Hertzog –

- 1930s: adopted affirmative action policies
- → to uplift poorest whites (mainly Afrikaans-speaking)
  - = Public Service + state-owned South African Railways, Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR). Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM): adopted racial employment policies
    - got rid of black/coloured workers/employed whites
    - by 1942: almost 10% of Afrikaans-speaking men employed on railways.

PLUS: Christian National Trade Unions

- Poor white railway, mineworkers organised into these unions
  - appealed to white worker interests: opposed employer's attempts to employ cheaper black workers + enter agreements with black trade unions
- Sentiments of Trade Unions:
  - reflected conservative religion of many recently urbanised Afrikaners
    - fascist, anti-black, anti-Jewish sentiments

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2.4.1 Volkskapitalisme

Broederbond	Reddingsdaadbond

• not anti-capitalist
  ◦ but: strongly against foreign capital
	• formed by Afrikaner businessmen
	  ◦ called on Afrikaner workers to save in Afrikaner banks, shop in Afrikaner shops, buy insurance from Afrikaner insurance companies

PLUS

1939 Afrikaner Vokskongres (Afrikaner Peoples' Congress)

- new Afrikaner economic movement should not 'tolerate the destruction of the Afrikaner nation by adapting to a foreign capitalist system'
- 'capture this foreign system and adapt it to our national character.'

2.5 The media

Spread of Afrikaner nationalism

- new emerging Afrikaner print media
- Broederbond started nationalistic Afrikaans language newspapers: *Die Burger* (DF Malan – first editor), *Die Transvaler*
- Afrikaner nationalists constructed 'imagined community'

Afrikaner 'imagined community'

- Afrikaners depicted through stories as homogenous nation with heroic past, moral purpose, place among other nations
- ideas spread through print media: Christian-nationalistic journal *Koers* (Direction), *Inspan*, books published by Burger Boekhandel publishing house

Die Huisgenoot

- 'A foreign culture is protected by powerful fortresses and citadels. With every new delivery by sea, thousands of cheap English books are distributed throughout the country... Our biggest daily papers, the cinemas, the school system, the language of our courts, the shops with their fashion... the furniture in our houses are all bastions and agents of a foreign culture which claims for itself the right to overrun and conquer the world.'

- Exclusive type of nationalism: regarded only Afrikaners as belonging to nation (or Volk)
  - designed to keep economic, political power in hands of Afrikaners
    - keep black people excluded from all aspects of life in South Africa.

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3 How did Afrikaner leaders use the idea of Volk to promote Afrikaner nationalism?

Much of Volk notion in SA based on ideas of Abraham Kuyper:

- Dutch politician, journalist, statesman, theologian
- believed in God's authority over separate spheres of creation
- 'spheres' had to be preserved, protected from ideas such as equality, fraternity, freedom of French Revolution
  - → all these ideas challenged God's authority.

3.1 Definition of Volk

Paul Kruger

- president of Transvaal Republic, founding member of Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church, DRC)
- referred to history of Afrikaners in SA as 'sacred history' with Volk as chosen people
- Great Trek seen as Exodus from British rule in Cape to Promised Land of Boer Republics
- used Kuyper's ideas

'God-ordained' nations

- Afrikaner theologians later also used Kuyper's ideas as justification for Afrikaners refusing 'British-designed' SA
- did not wish to co-exist with other ethnic groups as minority
- God had created nations: these nations had God-ordained right to exist as separate entities

PLUS

'Volk' defined

- Afrikaner nationalism defined Volk as meaning only white South African Afrikaners – had right to land of SA
- black people regarded as other nations who had to live in own tribal areas

3.2 Volk and its relation to class and race

Aim of Afrikaner nationalism = foster of nationhood among Afrikaners

- Afrikaners – God-ordained right to establish exclusive Volk
- only white Afrikaans-speakers regarded as legitimate citizens
  - → implications in terms of class, race issues – education, labour, religion.

3.2.1 Volk and its relation to class and race in labour and education

Afrikaner nationalism used education both to define + create class in SA

- Volk defined as race distinct from other races
  - → Afrikaners became middle, upper classes
  - → black people relegated to lower classes.

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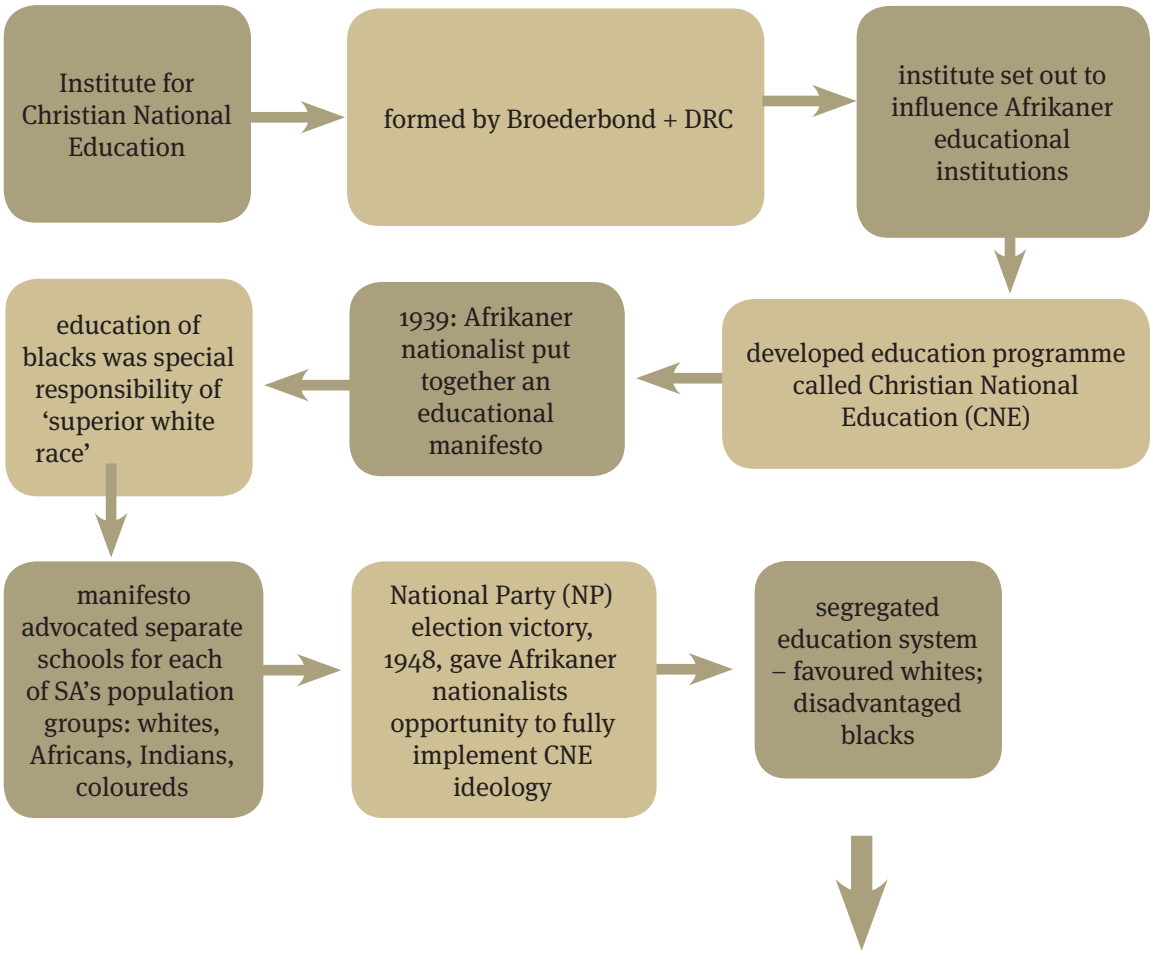
This exclusive defining of *Volk* resulted from:

- Missionary education of blacks → compete with poor white Afrikaners for jobs
- Economic depression → white Afrikaner unemployment grew = increased competition for jobs
  - Affirmative action policies → excluded blacks (educated or not) from white Afrikaner labour market
    - promote white (especially Afrikaner) employment opportunities
    - affirmative action legislation = e.g. 1911 Mines and Works Act, established 'Colour Bar' in employment.

Relegation of blacks to lower working class (labourers) through labour policies was reinforced through educational policies.



Bantu education:

- name for education for black people
- made clear that it was designed to teach blacks to be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for white-run economy, society
- disregarded individual's abilities/aspirations.

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3.2.2 Volk and religion

Dutch Reformed Church (DRC)

- initially during 19th century – held pragmatic rather than ideological view of racial segregation, e.g.
  - regarded racial segregation as harmonious method of governing heterogeneous country

After 20th century economic depression

- changed attitude (also towards education, labour)
- new group of poor (mostly Afrikaner) whites emerged

Church involvement (1939)

- 'The policy of segregation as advocated by the Afrikaner and his church is the holy calling of the Church to see to the thousands of poor whites in the cities who fight a losing battle in the present economic world...The application of segregation will furthermore lead to the creation of separate healthy cities for the non-whites where they will be in a position to develop along their own lines, establish their own institutions and later on govern themselves under the guardianship of the whites.'

Afrikaner state = Christian civilisation

- thus had 'divine right' to stay separate, rule surrounding black nations (who were not part of Volk)
- DRC = important institution in creating Afrikaner nationalist identity
- DRC had provided moral, social security to remote Afrikaner farmers throughout 19th century
- later: recreated communities for many thousands of displaced poor Afrikaners entering city
- Church reinforced family values – inculcated idea of women as volksmoeders (mothers of the nation): duty to have many Afrikaner children, bring them up as nationalists.

All these influences and factors drove Afrikaners towards an exclusive nationalism = provided Afrikaner nationalist leaders (Malan) with enough white support to win the 1948 election.

BUT, an important event took place in 1938 to catalyse emerging Afrikaner nationalism into a powerful united force: 'Eeufees' Centenary Celebration of the Great Trek.

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'Eeufees' Centenary Celebration of the Great Trek

- largest, most powerful cultural event that forged the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism = 'centenary celebration of Great Trek', 1938
- 9 wagons built, named after Voortrekker heroes, travelled from Cape Town to Pretoria by different routes
- men grew beards, women wore Voortrekker dresses, towns renamed streets after leaders, wagons became social centre of town's activity
- monuments built all along route
- 16 December 1838, 100th anniversary of Battle of Blood River, wagons arrived at gathering of 100 000 people on Monument koppie in Pretoria
- laid foundation stone of Voortrekker Monument
- media followed events and created new version of historical event
- made to appear as divinely-blessed united movement of chosen people from foreign oppression to freedom across dangerous interior
- seen by nationalists as 'awakening' of long oppressed Afrikaner nation on path towards freedom

4 Afrikaner nationalism in power – towards apartheid

4.1 1940s

- 1948: National Party (NP) of DF Malan had won over support of many middle class Afrikaners, poor Afrikaner workers, small-scale + commercial farmers
- these groups felt threatened by developments in 1940s, especially growth of large, increasingly organised black working class.

4.2 Racist rhetoric

- NP used emotional racist rhetoric: 'swart gevaar' + 'oorstroming' (black danger + flooding) into cities
- appealed to all groups: white workers (feared competition from black workers), white farmers (lost much labour as Africans moved to cities), white businessmen.

4.3 New policy: Apartheid

- National Party's policy
- promised to defend interests of all these groups – suppressing black resistance
- also intensify control, exploitation of black labour.

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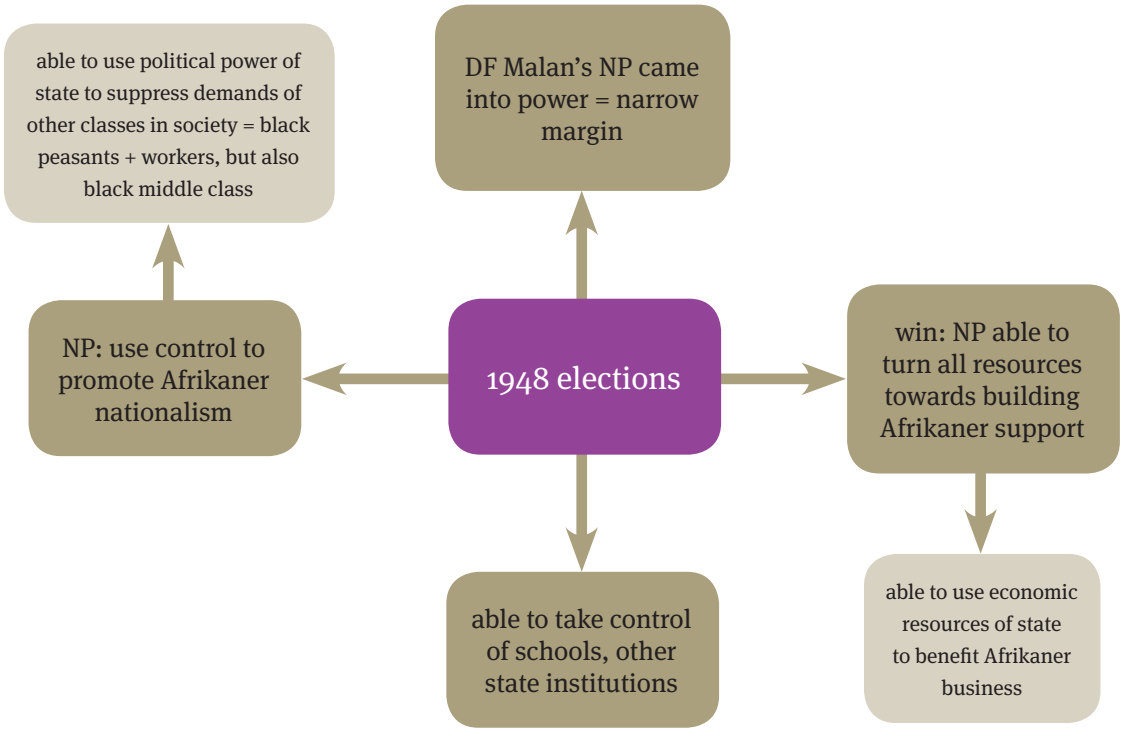
In the 1948 election, the United Party's policies were attacked by the National Party mainly through use of scare tactics (racist rhetoric).

United Party (Prime minister Smuts)	National Party (Malan)
• aimed at neutralising African resistance (accommodate some more moderate demands)	• attacked policies of United Party
• rational appeal: some type of sharing of land/ cities that would allow whites and blacks to live in peace (but blacks still subjugated)	• emotional appeal: made white Afrikaners believe they would be murdered by blacks or driven out of the country if they did not vote the NP into power
• United Party's appeals to common 'South Africanism' not strong enough to counter emotional appeal of Afrikaner nationalism to Afrikaner voters	



As the oppressive policies of apartheid were seen to be successful in crushing black resistance and creating opportunities for making huge profits for all white businesses and a high standard of living for all white workers, so other whites also threw their support behind the apartheid government.

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5 Afrikaner nationalism today

40 years of nationalist rule:

- Afrikaner capitalists, professionals achieved goal of equality with foreign capital
- established their culture + language.

Today:

- Ideology of separate Afrikaner nationalism offers little to Afrikaners in democratic, non-racial SA BUT → still small pockets of extreme, exclusive Afrikaner nationalism today – e.g. Orania.
- Afrikaans literature + art has broken free of old nationalistic controls.

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Case study 2

The Middle East

Key question: What are the consequences of the conflict of nationalist aspirations between Palestine and Israel?

1 What are the origins of Arab and Jewish nationalism?

Early history of Jews in Palestine and the diaspora:

Jews	Arabs
The Jewish nation, in the modern sense of a nation, did not exist until the 19th century. Early herding and farming communities in Palestine practised Judaism as a religion. When the Romans occupied Palestine, the Jews rose in revolt. The Romans quelled the rebellion and persecuted the Jews. Many Jews fled all over the world during the diaspora and settled far afield. As capitalism spread, some Jews in Western Europe became wealthy merchants or manufacturers. Others in Eastern Europe remained poor. Jews tended to live together in communities where their traditions, culture and beliefs helped them to maintain their own identity. Anti-Semitism was rife in Europe and many Jews were persecuted.	Most Arab people in North Africa and the Middle East were converted to Islam from the seventh century onwards. As the Arabs conquered territories, the religion spread from being an Arab one to a religion practised by many people over a vast area. Arabic became the dominant language and Arabic customs and traditions spread. By the 1500s, the Ottoman Empire was set up by the Turks. Due to discrimination and persecution the Arabs rose in local rebellions against the Turks. These were unsuccessful in bringing about change.

1.1 Arab nationalism

The first signs of Arab cohesion and unity against a common enemy (the Turks) began to manifest itself in a new national identity. Arabs who spoke Arabic and shared a similar culture united against the Turks (who were also Islam).

Due to the founding of the Zionist movement in Europe, many Jews began returning to Palestine and demanded a national homeland. These settlers or Yishuv wanted the land that was settled by the Arabs.

These conflicting goals amongst the Palestinians and the Jews led to potential conflict in the region. Britain and France were also interested in establishing spheres of influence in the Middle East region to stabilise and develop economic interests in the region e.g. trade and the Suez Canal.

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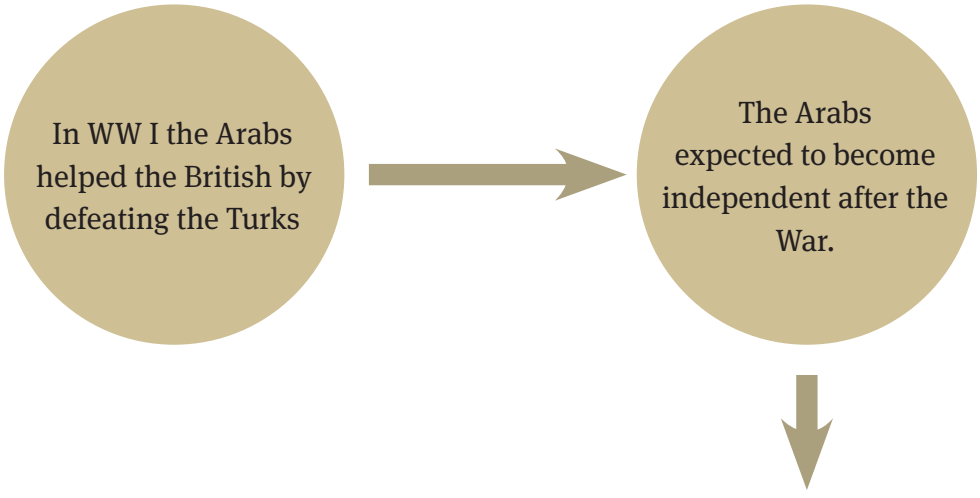
- Due to competition between the two colonial powers, Britain colonised Egypt to gain control of the Suez Canal in 1882, but Palestine remained part of Syria under Turkish rule.
  - In 1913 these factors gave rise to the First Arab National Congress in 1913 and the publication of the Arab Nationalist Manifesto in 1914, which spelled out the Arabs plans for autonomy.
    - → From this Congress emerged a loose Arab nationalist movement that wanted to create a single, united Arab nation that was independent from Turkish rule.
- BUT, it was not yet strong enough to challenge Turkey's control over the Middle East and the First World War undermined its development.



But Britain, France and Russia had other plans:

- They signed the Sykes-Picot Treaty that agreed to split the Turkish territories among themselves.
- Arab nationalism began to focus on anti-Western sentiments and actions as well as an anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish character.

Results

- Armed revolts broke out against Britain in Iraq in 1920.
- Egypt rebelled in 1919 and gained independence from Britain in 1922.
- Major armed revolts broke out against Syria in 1926.

1.2 Origins of Zionism: the Jewish nationalist movement

- Started in 1890s in Europe when nationalism was rife.
  - Many European countries experienced a growth of strong nationalistic, religious and racial sentiments and ideas.
    - → coincided with heightened Anti-Semitism in European societies.
- 1897: Jewish intellectuals and leaders met in Basle, Switzerland to discuss the possibility of a national homeland for the Jews:
  - leader was Theodor Herzl.

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- Accepted the Basle Plan:
  - to find a refuge or national refuge for the Jews in Israel according to a legal settlement.

- Zionists claimed the land of Israel for Jewish settlement on the basis of Biblical grounds.
- Two aspects to Zionist strategy:
  - encourage Jewish immigration to Israel
  - lobby for support for a Jewish national homeland in Israel among the governments of Europe and the USA.
- Many poor and persecuted Jews in Europe, as well as Jewish refugees, joined the Zionist movement.

- Not all Jews in Europe saw themselves as belonging to this nationalist movement back to Zion in Jerusalem.
- Due to the diaspora, many Jews had settled and become a part of new nationalities; they spoke new languages and had assimilated into their new communities.

2 Establishment of Israel in the Middle East

A number of critical events took place in the first half of the 20th century leading to the establishment of Israel as a state in 1948.

2.1 The Balfour Declaration

- In 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Arthur James Balfour wrote to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the British Jewish community, promising to help Jews establish a Jewish state in Palestine after World War 1.
  - This letter became known as the Balfour Declaration of 1917.
- The Zionists used this Declaration to put pressure on later British governments to support a Jewish state in Palestine.
- Britain was mobilising support of Jews in the USA while at the same time trying to win Arab support for its war against Turkey.
- The Balfour Declaration clashed with Britain's promise to Arabs that Britain would support Arab independence in the Middle East.
- The Zionists saw the Balfour Declaration as clear recognition of Jewish claims.

Palestinian Arabs reactions

Palestinian Arabs say that from that time Britain planned to create a Jewish state in Palestine as a way of securing its imperial ambitions in the Middle East.

2.2 League of Nations mandate

- After World War I, Britain and France, were given mandates by the League of Nations to rule over most of the Middle East, except for Saudi Arabia, which became an independent Arab kingdom.
- In 1922 Britain granted independence to Egypt, Trans-Jordan and Iraq.

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- Britain's mandate over Palestine stated that Britain should implement the terms of the Balfour declaration.
- Zionists interpreted the mandate of the League of Nations as a sign that the international community supported the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine.

2.3 The UN partition plan

- The Un Partition Plan was based on British proposals and was supported by the USA, the Soviet Union and other Western powers. More than half of Palestine was allocated to the Jewish state.
- Palestinians and their Arab allies rejected the UN partition plan. Civil war erupted.
- Palestinian units attacked British and Jewish installations in protest. The Haganah attacked and destroyed over 300 Palestinian villages in retaliation.
- Britain had lost control of the situation and began to pull out its 100 000 troops from Palestine in May 1948.
- 14 May 1948: David Ben-Gurion declared the state of Israel on the basis of UN plan.

Palestinian Arabs reactions

The Palestinian Arabs insisted that Palestine should remain part of Syria. They rejected the Balfour Declaration and the mandate.

Timeline: Origins and establishment of the state of Israel after World War I

Britain encouraged Jewish immigration and Jews bought land from Palestinians. Palestinian Arabs demanded an end to Jewish immigration.

- 1921 and 1929: Palestinian Arabs organised anti-British protests = violent clashes between Arab and armed Jewish groups and the police.
  - Britain suppressed the Arab protests and three Palestinian leaders were executed.
  - → are today remembered as martyrs in the Palestinian struggle for their self-determination.
- 1930s: Jewish immigration increased as Hitler began persecuting Jews in Germany.

Views on attacks

- Jews saw these attacks as a sign of Arab anti-Semitism
  - came to believe that Palestinian Arabs, supported by the other independent Arab states, were determined to drive them out of Palestine by force:
    - an armed 'self-defence' militia called the Haganah was formed
    - Jewish leaders promoted the idea that peaceful co-existence was impossible: that Jews had no choice – they would have to fight to win.
- Arab nationalists came to believe that armed resistance was the only way to preserve their right to live in an independent Palestine.
  - Arabs increasingly came to see Britain's actions as working together with Jewish militia to create a separate Jewish state in Palestine:
    - → based on fact that Britain did not act against the Haganah
    - = integrated Jewish settlers into the police and army.

With both groups adopting increasingly polarised positions, there was little possibility for co-existence.

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- 1936: another Palestinian uprising and general strike
  - co-ordinated by a Palestinian movement called the Arab Higher Committee (AHC).
    - British and Jewish targets were attacked.
    - → Jewish groups responded by attacking Arab communities.
- 1937: Britain proposed that Palestine be partitioned into a Jewish state and an Arab state:
  - Palestinian Arabs opposed partition.
  - Jews supported it in principle – but not with the borders proposed by Britain.
    - British tried to put pressure on Jews and Arabs to accept their partition plan. also tried to limit Jewish immigration
    - → faced strong protests from Jews.
- Outbreak of WWII = matters on hold in Palestine
  - End of WWII → world was a very different place:
  - = Holocaust and Nazi murder of 6 million Jews:
    - → increased determination of the Zionists to force Britain to give independent land in Middle East
    - → greatly increased the West to the Zionist cause.
- 1946: Irgun (Jewish armed group) led by Menachem Begin blew up the British military headquarters in Jerusalem = over 100 killed.
  - Britain handed the problem UN
- April 1947: UN considers Palestinian question:
  - → UN Partition Plan (early 1948)
    - = more than half of Palestine given to Jewish state.

Palestinians and their Arab allies rejected the UN partition plan. Civil war erupted.

- 14 May 1948: David Ben-Gurion declared the state of Israel on the basis of the UN plan.
  - recognised by the Western countries and the Soviet Union
  - a military coalition of seven Arab states declared war on Israel
    - → 1948 War.

3 The 1948 War

The civil war became a war between sovereign (independent) states.

- In an official cablegram the League of Arab States (the Arab League) proclaimed their aim:
  - = create a 'United State of Palestine', in place of the Jewish and Arab, two-state, UN Plan.
- Fighting = mostly on the former territory of the British mandate, Sinai Peninsula and southern Lebanon:

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- = Arab forces (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, Jordan) + Arab volunteers (Saudi Arabia, Libya, Yemen) against Israeli army and resistance from numerous kibbutzim.
  - Strength of Israeli army = increased by daily arrival of 1 000s Jewish people from the diaspora.
- 1949: war ended
  - → Israel signed separate armistices with Egypt (24 February), Lebanon (23 March), Jordan (3 April) and Syria (20 July).
    - Geographical size of Israel increased by about one-third more than was allocated to the Jewish state under the UN partition proposal.

United Nations Commissions	UN General Assembly

• established to monitor ceasefires
• supervise the armistice agreements
• prevent isolated incidents from escalating
• assist other UN peacekeeping operations in the region
	• passed Resolution 194 in December 1948
	  • → declared that as part of the peace agreement 'refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so.'
	  • BUT: parts of the resolution were never implemented
	  • = Palestinian refugee crisis.

4 How do the Palestinian and Israeli perspectives on the 1948 war differ?

The Israeli account	The Arab account
Palestinian attacks led to self-defence strategies e.g. Haganah	Britain is largely to blame for the Arab marginalisation in Palestine.
The war began in November 1947 when Palestinians attacked British installations and Jewish settlers.	Britain supported Jewish immigration and the Haganah; also trained Jewish militants.
There was international support for the state of Israel after the UN Partition Plan failed.	UN Resolution completely unjust; most of the land allocated to the Jews.
Israel fought for her independence after defeating the Arab coalition.	Jewish tactics during the war amounted to ethnic cleansing.
Israel had no choice: Fight to win.	Villages were destroyed and Palestinians driven out and displaced → no compensation.
Some atrocities were committed by extremists but this was the exception.	Palestinians treated as second-rate citizens; became refugees.
Israeli attacks were retaliatory as Arabs attacked and killed Jews.	Called An-Nakba: the catastrophe.

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5 Broader Arab nationalism in the region

Jewish nationalism
became more cohesive and determined to survive any Palestinian efforts to take over Israel. Security became the key focus and militarists retaliated swiftly to contain Palestinian threats.

Broader Arab nationalism
did not develop: Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Jordan all became independent: most Arab states experienced conflict, corruption and factionalism. Governance was based on authoritarianism.

5.1 Role of Egypt

1952

- Genl Nasser overthrew King Farouk
- Coup d' etat

1952–1956

- Policy of non-alignment
- Modernise Egypt

1956

- sought loan from USSR to build Aswan Dam
- nationalised the Suez Canal

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5.1.1 Reaction of the West to Suez Canal crisis

- Britain, France and Israel worked together
  - → invaded Egypt.
- The USSR demanded the end of occupation
  - → threatened cooperation with Egypt.
- The UN put pressure on Israel, Britain and France
  - → Nasser emerged the victor.

5.2 Role of Syria and Jordan

- 1946: Syria gained independence from France but ethnic and religious factions threatened the peace.
- 1947: Jordan became independent of Britain.

- 1958–1961: Syria and Egypt formed the United Arab Republic
  - but the union failed:
    - a military coup in 1961
    - → reclaimed independence.

- 1963: radical Arab nationalists, the Ba'ath Party was elected to power
  - supported by the USSR
  - was anti-Israel
- Jordan remained pro-Western.

- 1967: Syria lost the Golan Heights to Israel
  - but managed to extend its military influence in the region.
- Jordan played a moderate role in the region.

Syria was sympathetic to the Palestinian Liberation organisation and allowed them to attack Israel from bases in Syria.

5.3 Pan-Arabism

Pan-Arabism arose after WWII as opposition to the state of Israel. → Nasser and Gaddaffi saw themselves as leaders of the Pan-Arab movement. → March 1945: Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon, Saudi -Arabia and Syria formed the Arab League. → The Arab League aims to promote Arab unity and safeguard their independence.

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5.4 Problems facing the Arab League

- An authoritarian ruling elite focused more on their own selfish aims rather than the needs of the people.
- Arab unity was not the aim of the Arab League per se.
- Political alignments complicated unity, e.g. Saudi-Arabia = generally pro-Western.
- Syria and Iraq became militantly socialist.
  - In 1964 the Arab League facilitated the establishment of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation: Yasser Arafat was the first PLO leader
    - PLO joined the Arab League as the representatives of the Palestinians.

6 The question of Palestine

- Palestine was handed to the League of Nations to administer as a mandate.
- Britain had to administer Palestine.
- In 1945 the matter was handed over to the UN who proposed a Partition Plan.

- Both groups rejected the partition plan and were intolerant of the other.
- The UN was only able to halt the conflict sporadically and intermittently.
- The Palestinian State was never recognised as fully independent.

- Exclusive nationalisms clashed as they both claimed legitimacy and occupation rights of the land in Palestine. The Palestinians want self-determination and full autonomy. The Israelis claim the right to self-defence.

- Neither nation wants to concede to the claims of the other; both view their religions, language, history and culture as being exclusive.

The Palestine Question developed into regional wars that involved many Arab countries too. There were a series of conflicts between the states in the region throughout the 20th century. Many Palestinians were displaced, which increased the demands on the UN Commission for Refugees. In recent times more people have become sympathisers of the Palestinians, recognising the necessity for national self-determination to be granted to the Palestinians. If the Palestine Question is not solved, it could lead to a world conflict.

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7 The Arab-Israeli conflict

The granting of statehood to Israel in 1948 plunged the Middle East into an ongoing Arab–Israeli conflict that has caused much suffering and damage, and has the potential to act as a catalyst for a major war in the area that would have international repercussions.

7.1 Refugees

The 1948 war created a refugee population of over a million Palestinian people in refugee camps in the countries around Israel.

- Conditions in the refugee camps = terrible, but
  - most people believed that they would not be there long, and that they would soon be allowed to return home.
    - As the Israeli state entrenched itself, it became clear that this would not happen.
    - Some families migrated on to other countries, but thousands remained.
- Host countries did not have the resources to cope with the needs, and poverty and suffering grew.
- Militant armed groups developed out of this refugee crisis and began to mount guerrilla attacks on Israeli targets.
  - Main one = Al Fatah (founded in 1958 by Yasser Arafat)
  - aim = establishment of a Palestinian state.

- Clashes between rival Palestinian groups that threatened security of host nations.
  - → Consequently, for example, in 1970, the Jordanian army attacked PLO camps in Jordan killing 30 000 refugees.
    - Many fled to Lebanon
    - = became the centre of Palestinian resistance.

7.2 The war of 1967

After the Suez crisis, Israel and the Arab nations built up their armed forces with support from the USA and Soviet Union respectively.

- President Nasser spoke about war with Israel to destroy the Zionist state.
- The US 6th Naval Fleet permanently patrolled the Eastern Mediterranean to protect the conservative Arab kingdoms and Israel.
  - Tensions = high.
- 1967: Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Iraq signed a military alliance:
  - → began to build up their forces along the Israeli borders
  - → Al Fatah attacks = increased.
    - Israelis convinced this = sign of an invasion plan → decided to attack first.
- 5 June: Israelis launched a surprise air attack on Egypt, Jordan and Syria
  - → destroyed the air forces of each country (Egypt lost 286 of its 340 warplanes).
    - Without air support, the Arab armies were vulnerable.

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7.2.1 Outcome of the war of 1967

In six days the Israeli army had smashed the Arab armed forces and occupied Arab land on the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the entire Sinai Peninsula.

- This increased the territory that Israel now occupied.
- Israeli leaders felt assured of US support but refused to return occupied land. Arab anger grew, and when Israel refused to return the occupied lands, Arab countries won the support of many newly independent countries.
- The UN passed Resolution 242
  - → demanded that Israel return all occupied territories
  - in return, that Arab states should recognise Israel.
    - Israel supported this on condition that the Arabs did as well.
    - → But the Arab countries and many UN member states insisted on an unconditional withdrawal.

- Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan especially, were flooded with 400 000 more refugees
  - conditions = even more desperate.
- The PLO and al-Fatah turned to more desperate terrorist methods
  - hijacking aircraft
  - attacking ordinary Jewish people
  - Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games were assassinated.

At the end of the 1967 war an uneasy truce followed.

7.3 Yom Kippur war of 1973

After 1967 war, Egypt and Syria began to acquire more sophisticated weapons and rebuilt their air forces.

- 1973: surprise attack on the Jewish religious holiday (Yom Kippur)
  - = Egyptian troops re-occupied the Sinai Peninsula and Syrian troops re-occupied the Golan Heights.

7.3.1 Outcome of Yom Kippur war of 1973

After three weeks of bitter fighting (used high-tech missiles), and with the help of the US army and air force, the Israelis pushed the invading forces back.

- Heavy Israeli losses.
- Arab oil-producing countries threatened to cut off supplies to countries that supported Israel.
- The USA and the UN hastily organised a cease-fire.
  - = Last full-scale war between Israel and its Arab neighbours. The cost of another war on this scale was now too high for both sides.

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7.4 Intifada

The years 1967–1987 were tense and difficult years. Israel had occupied the last remaining parts of Palestine, including large Arab populations living in the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights.

- Militant Palestinian armed groups = set up to infiltrate Israel and launch guerrilla attacks inside Israel and missile attacks from outside.
  - → Israeli army responded = more and more violent reprisals, including bombing of refugee camps and assassinations of Palestinian leaders.
- Israeli rule in the occupied areas brought some benefits at first, e.g.
  - access to jobs
  - university built.
    - → This policy ended after the Yom Kippur war.
    - Israeli rule came to be deeply resented by the Palestinians.
- Israeli government started confiscating Palestinian land and building Jewish settlements as a way of ensuring that they would never have to return the land to Palestinians.
- It diverted water supplies to the new Israeli settlements.
- Palestinian Arabs were herded into their own communities, surrounded by fences and military checkpoints where they were humiliated every time they moved.
  - → There was little development in Palestinian areas.
  - Unemployment and suffering in the Palestinian towns and villages increased.
- December 1987: frustration of the Palestinians in the occupied areas exploded = uprising known as the first intifada:
  - Israeli soldier drove his vehicle into a Palestinian car → killed the occupants
  - = spark for first intifada.
  - Within weeks, popular protests broke out in all the occupied areas.
    - → Youth, women and children fought with stones and bottles against the Israeli guns.
    - Images of violence embarrassed the Israelis → soldiers were issued with batons.
    - → Brutal beatings took place, resulting in thousands suffering broken bones and even death.
  - Soon the Intifada took on a more planned and revolutionary character:
    - → hundreds of 'popular committees' were set up = a kind of alternative government in the occupied areas.
    - boycotted Israeli taxes and shops
    - stopped working in Israeli businesses.
    - some made contact with al-Fatah and other nationalist-aligned revolutionary groups for military training and arms.
    - new armed groups emerged (e.g. Hamas = armed wing of Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine).
- Armed attacks took place against Israeli soldiers and settlers.
- Israel responded with iron-fisted suppression.

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By 1993, the first Intifada had come to an end. Israeli forces had killed an estimated 1 100 Palestinians and Palestinians killed 164 Israelis. Palestinians also killed an estimated 1 000 other Palestinians as alleged collaborators.

As a result of the Intifada, Palestinian confidence and pride in their own efforts increased. They were no longer dependent on neighbouring Arab states.

- International condemnation of Israeli brutality put new pressure on Israel to try to reach a peace settlement.
- There was a new opportunity and urgency on both sides to explore dialogue.

8 Peace processes to 2000

In 1979 Israel and Egypt signed a peace treaty known as the Camp David Accords. This treaty contained two important agreements.

- Egypt agreed to recognise the state of Israel, and the Sinai Peninsula was returned to Egypt.
- A political settlement of the Palestinian issue which was based on an autonomous Palestinian State alongside Israel in Palestine.

↓

- The PLO and its allies rejected this agreement outright.
  - → But in both Israel and in the PLO, divisions began to emerge between:
    - those who wanted to continue with violence
    - those who were prepared to make some sacrifices to try to bring about peace.
- The Intifada disrupted the peace process, but after it subsided, leaders on both sides saw the possibility for negotiation.
  - → 1988: the PLO recognised the right of Israel to exist.
  - → In 1993 after years of delicate negotiation, the PLO and Israeli leaders met in Oslo, Sweden to sign the Oslo Accords.

The Oslo Accords

- a framework for the future relations between the two parties
- = agreed on the creation of a Palestinian National Authority (PNA) over parts of the West Bank and Gaza strip. In these areas:
  - Israeli army = withdraw
  - PNA = responsible for the administration of the areas.
- The accords anticipated that this would be a temporary arrangement lasting about five years, during which the real difficult issues could be resolved.

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8.1 After the Oslo Accords

- All subsequent negotiations have failed.
  - In Israel, a frightened electorate has elected conservative hardliner nationalist governments to power.
    - → Israeli's have insisted on terms that the Palestinians could not possibly accept.
  - Palestinian nationalism has also hardened.
    - → As a consequence, since 2000 there has been a second Intifada, followed by intensified conflict, including devastating Israeli air strikes.

↓

NO PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SIGHT.

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Case study 3

From 'Gold Coast' to Ghana

Key question: How did the rise in nationalism in Ghana lead to independence?

1 Early nationalism in the 'Gold Coast'

1.1 Impact of colonialism on the Gold Coast

By 1901 the Gold Coast was a British colony, with its kingdoms and tribes considered a single unit and under a single authority. There were three early impacts:

- Wealthy and educated class of African lawyers, doctors, teachers and merchants lived along the coast in a series of commercial towns:
  - spoke English
  - at first welcomed colonial rule, hoping that it would enable them to build a modern economy and society in Gold Coast.
- Gold Coast was not a settler colony
  - → its economy was based on a few gold mines and large numbers of traditional cocoa farmers who lived on land that remained under the control of traditional chiefs.
- In order to get labour for the gold mines and to make farmers grow cocoa, the British depended on the co-operation of the powerful traditional chiefs.

These three impacts (wealthy elite; large number of rural farmers; establishment of powerful chiefs) had three consequences that helped to lay the foundations for nationalism and eventual independence:

- The colonial government ignored the aspirations of the educated elite in favour of policies that strengthened the traditional chiefs.
  - → The elite came to see themselves as members of a new Gold Coast elite as distinct from their traditional identities.
  - They wanted rights and privileges of British → drove them towards nationalism.
- Except in the towns, the vast majority of people still thought of themselves as belonging to traditional societies, not any kind of 'nation'.
- Changes were taking place, and the chiefs and other large cocoa farmers were forcing many poor farmers off the land and into the mining villages and towns where they became a poor landless urban working class that was open to new African nationalist ideas.

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1.1.1 Early nationalism among the educated elite

By the end of the 19th century, educated Africans found colonialism unacceptable. They rejected the concentration of power in the hands of the governor.

National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)

- 1912: JE Casley-Hayford and Dr Akiwande Savage wanted to show solidarity and union between Gambia, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Nigeria, which were all under British colonial rule as a United British West Africa.
- In 1919 they founded the NCBWA:
  - had its first conference at Accra in March 1920 with delegates from the four colonies.

Delegation to London

- 1920: Africans in Ghana sent a delegation to London to request elected representation. They claimed to represent a cohesive group of African nationalists and intellectuals in British West Africa:
  - were inspired by Marcus Garvey's Back-to-Africa movement
    - called for emancipation of Negroes across the world and for them to take charge of their own destiny
    - his ideas = a blend of nationalism and religion:
    - he advocated unity of black people, pride in black culture and heritage and autonomy.
- The Colonial Office would not meet with the delegation (British authorities said that it represented only the interests of a small group of urbanised Africans):
  - → but its actions resulted in much support among the African elite at home.

Elitist bias

- The delegation insisted that they were loyal to the British Crown even though they wanted elected representation on the Legislative Council (the body that governed the Gold Coast) as opposed to a system in which the governor appointed council members.
- These intellectual leaders gave the nationalist movement a definite elitist bias that was to last until the late 1940s.
- It is important to note that the NCBWA did not associate themselves with the plight of the landless and the urban poor in Ghana at this stage.

In the 1930s, a new spirit developed in the nationalist movement of West Africa as the working classes began to become more radical and the elite and the intellectuals began shifting their nationalist aspirations towards socialism.

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- The Great Depression that had started in the USA and spread globally sped up political development in the Gold Coast:
  - loss of jobs and poverty made people ready for action
  - trade unionism spread among the city workers
- In addition, educated westernised coastal elite soon became more involved in the struggle:
  - → dominated the independence movement until the end of WWII.

1.2 Resistance tactics

British colonial control = ensure trading monopolies:

- African peasant farmers produced cocoa for the British:
  - controlled market at exploitative low prices.
- British capitalists oversaw the production of goods that were then sold back to the Africans at high prices.
- Price controls were introduced that further disadvantaged African farmers.

Boycotts of cocoa exporters and British goods:

- 1937–1938: wealthier farmers and traders along the coast started a boycott of mainly British-owned cocoa exporters (who paid very low prices) to attempt to break their hold on Britain cocoa exports (monopoly).
- A simultaneous boycott of British goods began. This action, which was quite militant, lasted eight months and showed great unity between the peasants and city workers.

1.3 Trade unionism

Solidarity was also developing among the workers in the Gold Coast:

Skilled workers on the mines, railways and in towns formed trade unions and organised strikes.

Strikes were a feature from 1910 to the 1930s:

- 1919 Dock workers in Lagos and railway workers in Sierra Leone
- 1924 miners strike on Asante goldfields in Gold Coast.

They began using socialist rhetoric in their protest action , but the intellectual elite and working class were still not united in resistance.

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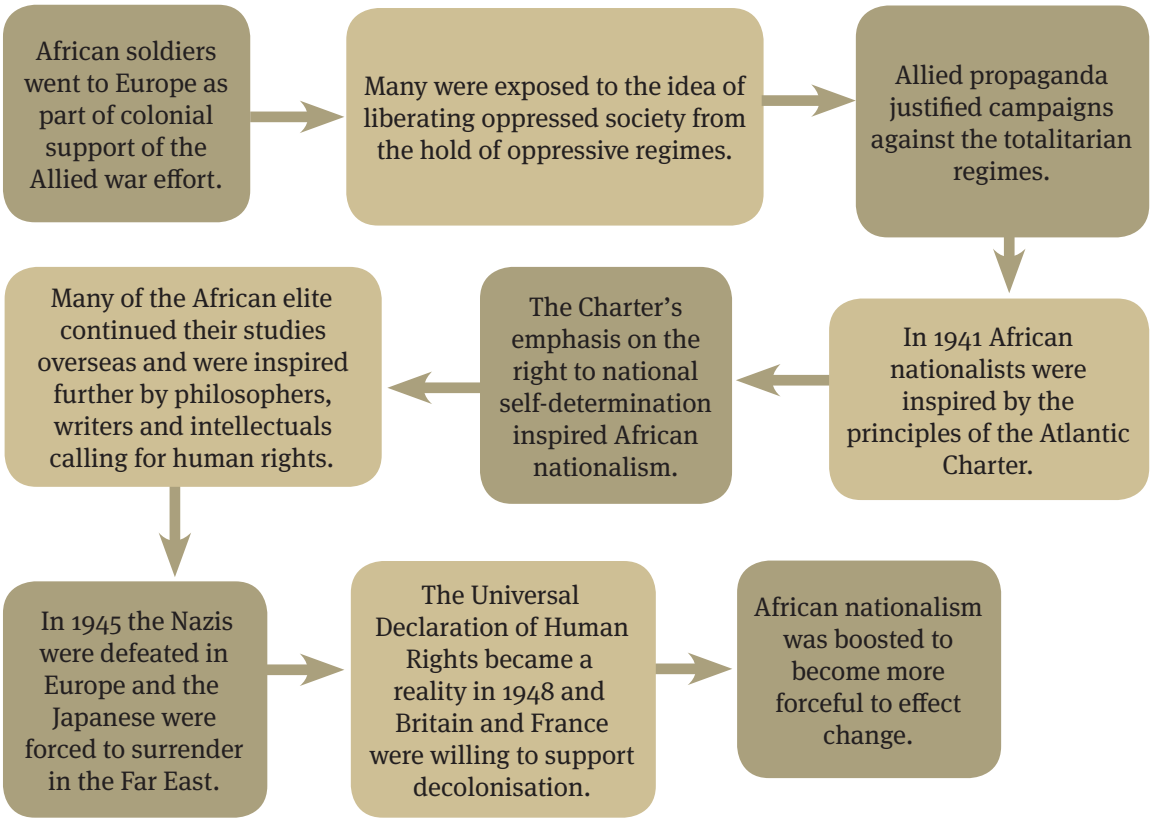
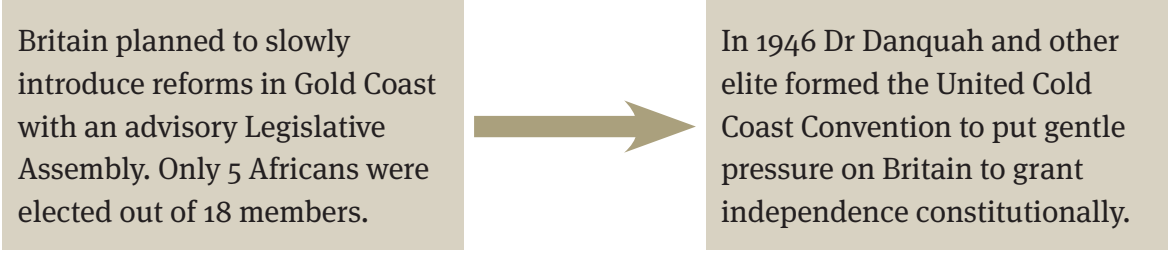
2 World War II: Influence on nationalism



Immediate events in Gold Coast:



3 Mass-based movements after World War II

The people of Ghana began to take action to achieve independence.

- 1945: workers in the larger industries e.g. dockworkers, postal workers and railway workers in many British colonies, including Gold Coast began militant strike action.
- 1948: a group of 2 000 ex-soldiers marched peacefully on the British Governor's residence in Accra to protest against low war pensions and the lack of jobs for returning servicemen.
  - → The British police commander panicked and shot two marchers. The crowd did not seek violence, and turned around.

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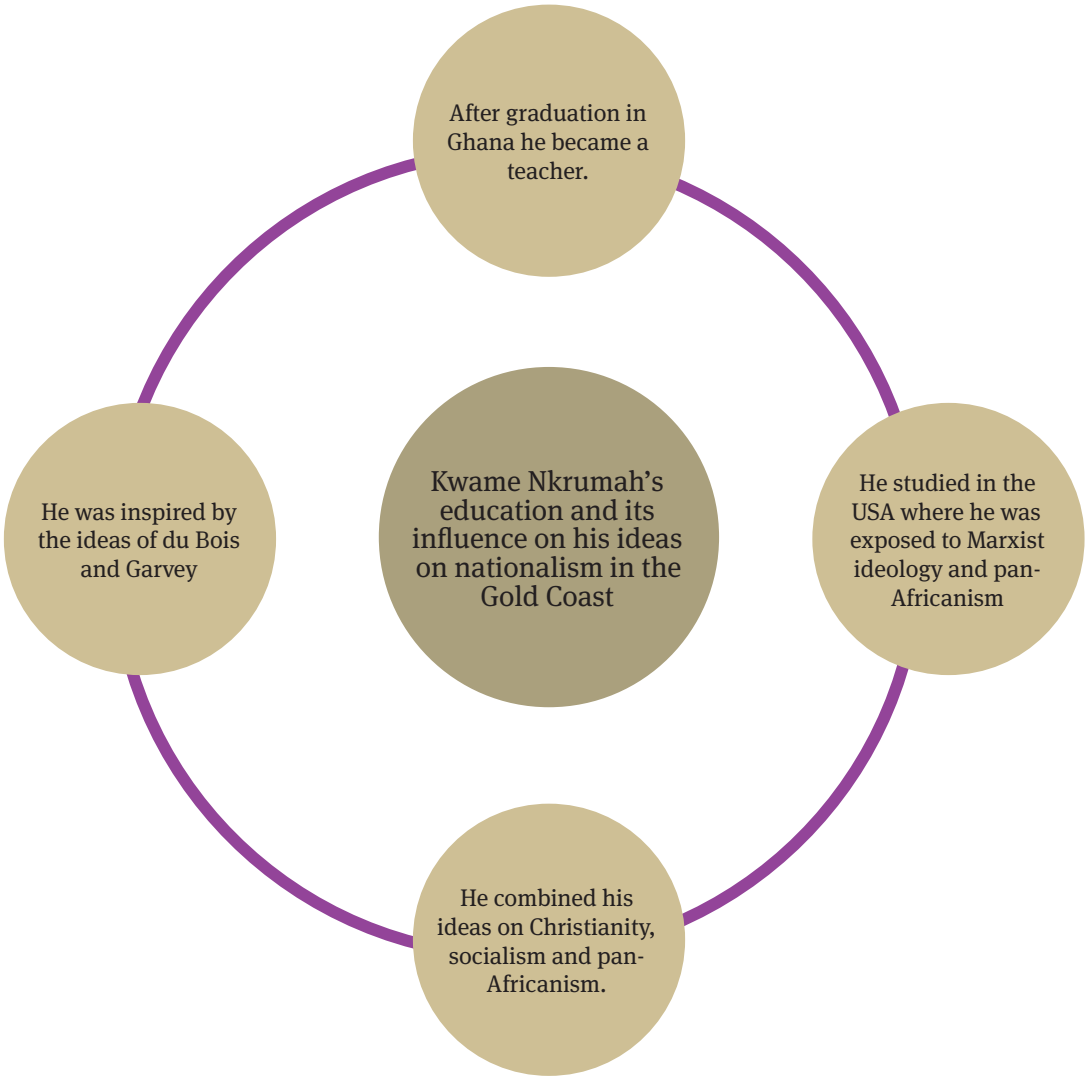
- Significance: It unleashed the pent up anger and frustration of the urban poor as well as the lower levels of government employees.
  - There were violent spontaneous riots in many Gold Coast towns that lasted for days.
  - Property belonging to foreign companies was looted. Twenty-nine people were killed and 237 wounded by gunfire.
  - The UGCC was wrongly blamed for instigating the riot:
    - Nkrumah (a young nationalist who had returned from overseas), Danquah and four others leaders were arrested.

Without organisation, the riots were eventually brought under control.

4 Kwame Nkrumah, pan-Africanism and African socialism



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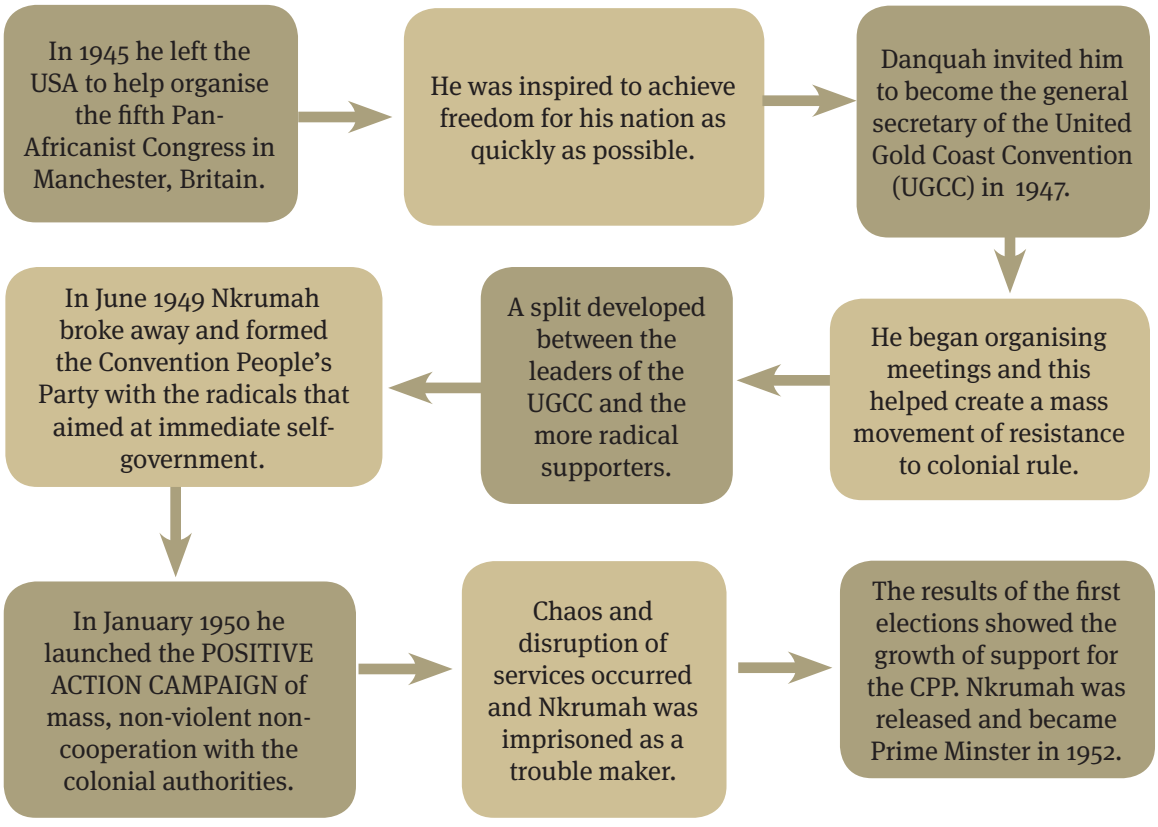
4.1 Kwame Nkrumah's role in the independence struggle of the people of Ghana



5 Kwame Nkrumah's Presidency: Successes and criticism

Successes:

- In March 1957 the Gold Coast and the British Trust territory Togoland became an independent state called Ghana.
- He built roads, schools and health facilities = improved the standard of living of the people.
- His policy of Africanisation = improved the career opportunities of many Ghanaians.
- In 1960, after a referendum was held, Ghana became a republic under a new constitution with Nkrumah as president.
  - He gained wide executive and legislative powers and also began to campaign for African independence throughout the continent and political solidarity among African states.

Criticism:

- In 1958 his government legalised detention without trial of those individuals who were considered to be a security risk for the state.
  - → showed his authoritarian style of leadership and governance and limited any criticism of his rule.

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- Within two years he lost touch with the economic reality of good governance and undertook many expensive and unsuccessful schemes.
  - → The foreign debt of his country increased and crippled economic development.
  - He had to abandon the 1959 Second Development Plan in 1961 due to financial deficits.
    - Labour unrest increased and a general strike took place in September 1961.

↓

- He adopted an even more rigorous policy of control in Ghana by censoring the press, television and radio.
- He turned increasingly to communist countries for support.
- After an attempted assassination in 1962, he became more secluded from public life.
  - → A cult developed around Nkrumah's personality:
    - despite his shortcomings, he was viewed by many as a saint or messiah.
- His government increased the size of the security forces in Ghana to maintain control.
  - → By 1964, Ghana = a one-party state
  - Nkrumah = declared as life president of the Ghana nation and party.
- Corruption was rife in Nkrumah's government, while he focused his attention on educating a new generation of African political activists.
  - → By 1966 his country was facing an economic crisis marked by chronic food shortages.

The end of Nkrumah's political career:

- In 1966 the army and police overthrew Nkrumah and his government in a coup d' etat while he was visiting China.
  - Nkrumah sought asylum in Guinea.
  - He died of cancer in Bucharest in 1972.

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Unit 2

The positive and negative features of nationalism

Key question: What are the positive and negative features of nationalism?

1 Debates about nationalism:

1.1 The positive and negative faces of nationalism: Nationalism and freedom struggles vs. nationalism and oppression

Case studies have shown how nationalism can be used to:

- unite fractured and fragmented societies
  - → African nationalism in South Africa up to 1994
  - → Ghana before independence
- exclude others and discriminate against or victimise them
  - → Nazism
  - → Afrikaner nationalism
- perpetuate conflict through an unwillingness to compromise on national identity
  - → Palestine–Israel.

Inclusive nationalism	Exclusive nationalism

• Nationalism and freedom struggles against oppression resulted in democracy, human rights and freedom, e.g.
  ◦ SA and Ghana.
• Aim was to create a common sense of national community among people of diverse ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds.
• Respected diversity and human rights in the state.
• New symbols were adopted for the 'new' nation
  ◦ + previous oppressors were invited to be part of new nation.
	• Nationalism and freedom struggles unite a specific group only and dominates other groups, e.g.
	  ◦ Afrikaner nationalism and Zionism.
	• It can lead to injustice when one group controls an area for exclusive habitation, e.g.
	  ◦ the conflict between the two rival nationalisms in Israel.
	• Human rights are denied to the dominated group.
	• Exclusive symbols are maintained to symbolise exclusive identity.
	• Concentration of power at the expense of other groups.

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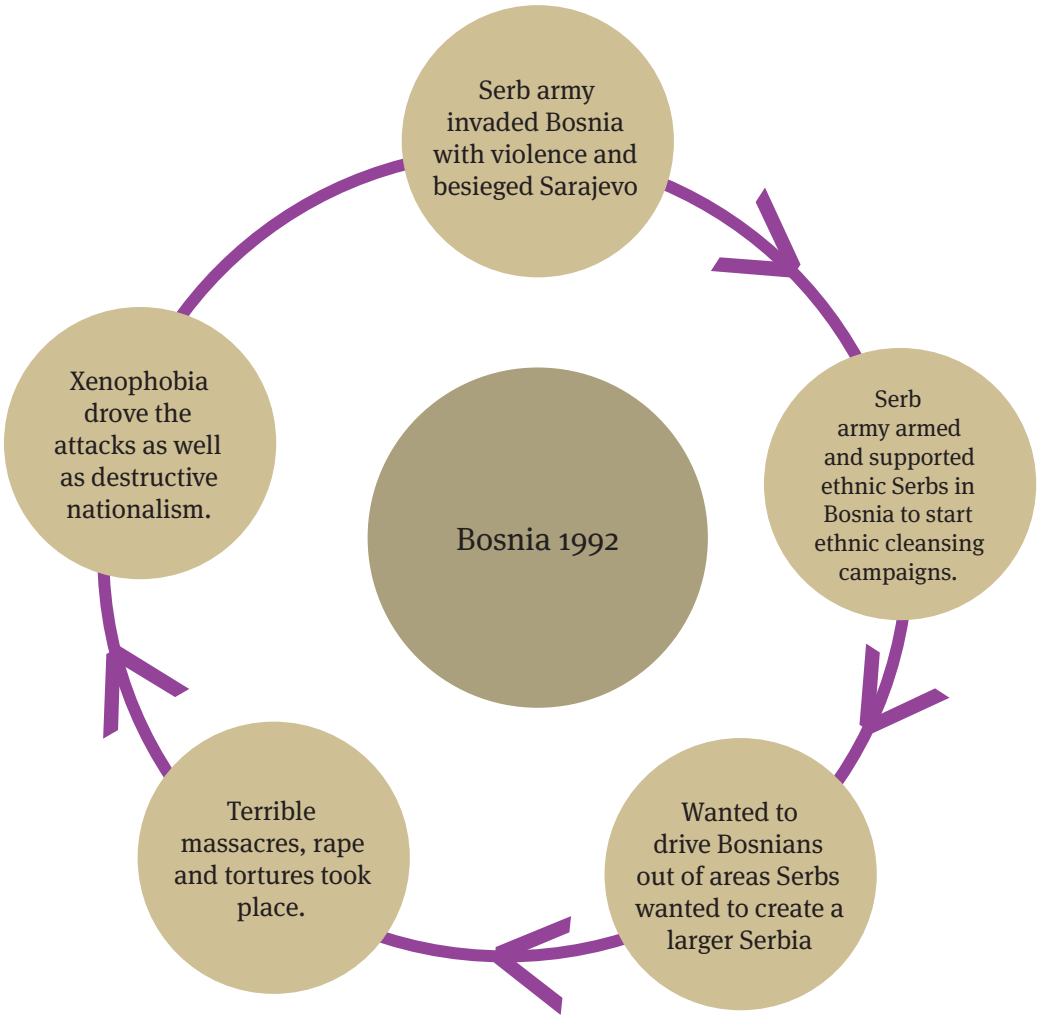
2 Exclusion, xenophobia, war and ethnic cleansing (post-1990 Eastern Europe)

- Collapse of Communism in the USSR in 1990 led to nationalist struggles throughout Eastern Europe.
- Many new independent states were formed where the citizens could participate in the government.
- But it also had a negative side to it, e.g.
  - → in Bosnia in 1992.



Eventually, with the help of international air and ground forces authorised by the United Nations, the Bosnians were able to drive the invaders out of Bosnia.

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Topic 4

Summary and questions

Summary of Topic 4

Unit 1: What is nationalism?

- Nationalism is the feeling of belonging to a nation. Nationalism developed over centuries, from the earliest communities (lineages, tribes, etc.) through to the establishment of kingdoms and on to people rising up against these in order to create nations in which they had rights and could own property.
- The turning point in the rise of nationalism and the development of nations took place in Europe with the 1830 and 1848 Revolutions and the unification of Germany and Italy.

Case study 1: South Africa

- In the case study on South Africa, you studied the rise of two forms of nationalism:
  - African nationalism – which was inclusive in the way that it united people from different social and cultural backgrounds to rise up against apartheid
  - Afrikaner nationalism – which was exclusive as it tried to unite Afrikaans-speaking whites into a Volk and kept black people subjugated.
- In order to understand the rise of African nationalism you learned about:
  - different organisations that were founded (e.g. the APO and the SANNC / ANC)
  - factors that influenced African nationalism (e.g. the Atlantic Charter)
  - events that united especially black people under the banner of African nationalism (e.g. the Defiance Campaign and the Sharpeville massacre).
- When studying the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, you saw that it was driven by:
  - a belief that the Afrikaners were God's chosen people to rule in their promised land – South Africa.
  - language, social, cultural and economic movements that helped to foster Afrikaner nationalism, resulting in the National Party election victory in 1948 and the entrenchment of apartheid.
- Finally, you examined how – through nurturing an inclusive type of nationalism – national reconciliation and nation-building were possible after 1990 and the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994.

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Summary and questions

Case study 2: The Middle East

- In this case study you traced the rise of Arab (Palestinian) and Jewish nationalism.
  - You saw how Turkish (Ottoman) oppression of the Arabs, the Holocaust, the Balfour Declaration and the UN Partition Plan all played roles in fostering a divisive nationalism in the Middle East.
    - This divisiveness has resulted in on-going Arab-Israeli conflict as both nations want exclusive 'ownership' of and political autonomy over the same geographical territory.

Case study: 3 From 'Gold Coast' to Ghana

- This case study illustrated the uniting power of nationalism that develops around an ideal, such as liberty or equality.
- It also illustrated how such nationalism, if not kept in check by balancing forces (such as a strong opposition party) can become tyrannical and corrupt.
  - In order to reach this understanding you traced the rise of nationalism from the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries when organisations such as the ARPS and NCBWA were founded.
  - You looked at the influence of pan-Africanism on the rise of nationalism in 'Gold Coast' and how this underpinned the ideology of Nkrumah's CPP.
  - You saw how powerful this type of uniting nationalism can be, which swept Nkrumah into power in 1957, but also saw how quickly it can oppress and corrupt, resulting in the overthrow of the CPP in 1966.

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Topic 4

Summary and questions

Questions for Topic 4

CASE STUDY 1: Rival nationalisms in South Africa

Question 1:
Define the following terms and concepts in the context of the theme on nationalism:

a colonialism
b nationalism
c pan-Africanism
d Africanisation
e self-determination
f Garveyism
g Neo-colonialism
h Africanists
i Uhuru
j assimilation

Question 2:
Explain the difference between inclusive and exclusive nationalism. State which one is more destructive and why.

Question 3:
Explain why it was difficult for South Africans to develop inclusive nationalism before 1994. Refer to the impact of each of the following aspects as part of your answer:

- colonialism
- segregation
- discriminatory legislation
- 1910 self-government for whites
- industrialisation
- apartheid (enforced segregation)
- repressive legislation
- actions of the SAP and SADF
- total strategy
- reconciliation.

Question 4:
Compare Afrikaner and African nationalism in South Africa during the 20th century up to 1994 and indicate which of the two was more excusive.

Question 5:
Explain why African nationalism in South Africa took nearly forty years to become a mass movement.

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Summary and questions

CASE STUDY 2: Rival nationalisms in the Middle East

Question 6:

Match the items in Column B with those in Column A:

Column A		Column B	
1	Zionism	A	Britain gained Palestine as such in 1920 due to the defeat of the Turks
2	Genocide	B	A self-defence unit in Lebanon
3	fedayeen	C	Zionists in Palestine
4	diaspora	D	The Jewish military wing during the mandate period of rule
5	Irgun	E	A nationalist and political movement formed in 1897 to establish a national homeland for Jews
6	Haganah	F	An armed radical Israeli group who attacked British installations in the 1930s
7	mandate	G	Palestinian soldiers who launch attacks on Israel from the refugee settlements and camps
8	Yishuv	H	The spreading out of Jews all over the world
9	Hamas	I	An Islamic resistance movement
10	Intifada	J	The mass extermination of a group
		K	An armed uprising of Palestinians against Israeli control

Question 7:

Re-arrange the items in Column B to match the dates in Column A.

Column A		Column B	
1	1897	A	League sets up mandate in Palestine
2	1917	B	Israel declared its independence
3	1920	C	UN Partition Plan rejected by Arabs and Jews
4	1931	D	Suez Crisis
5	1947	E	Irgun established
6	1948	F	Yom Kippur War
7	1949	G	First Zionist conference in Switzerland
8	1956	H	Six-day War
9	1967	I	Balfour Declaration
10	1973	J	Jerusalem declared an Israeli controlled city
		K	Israel admitted to the UNO as the 59th member state

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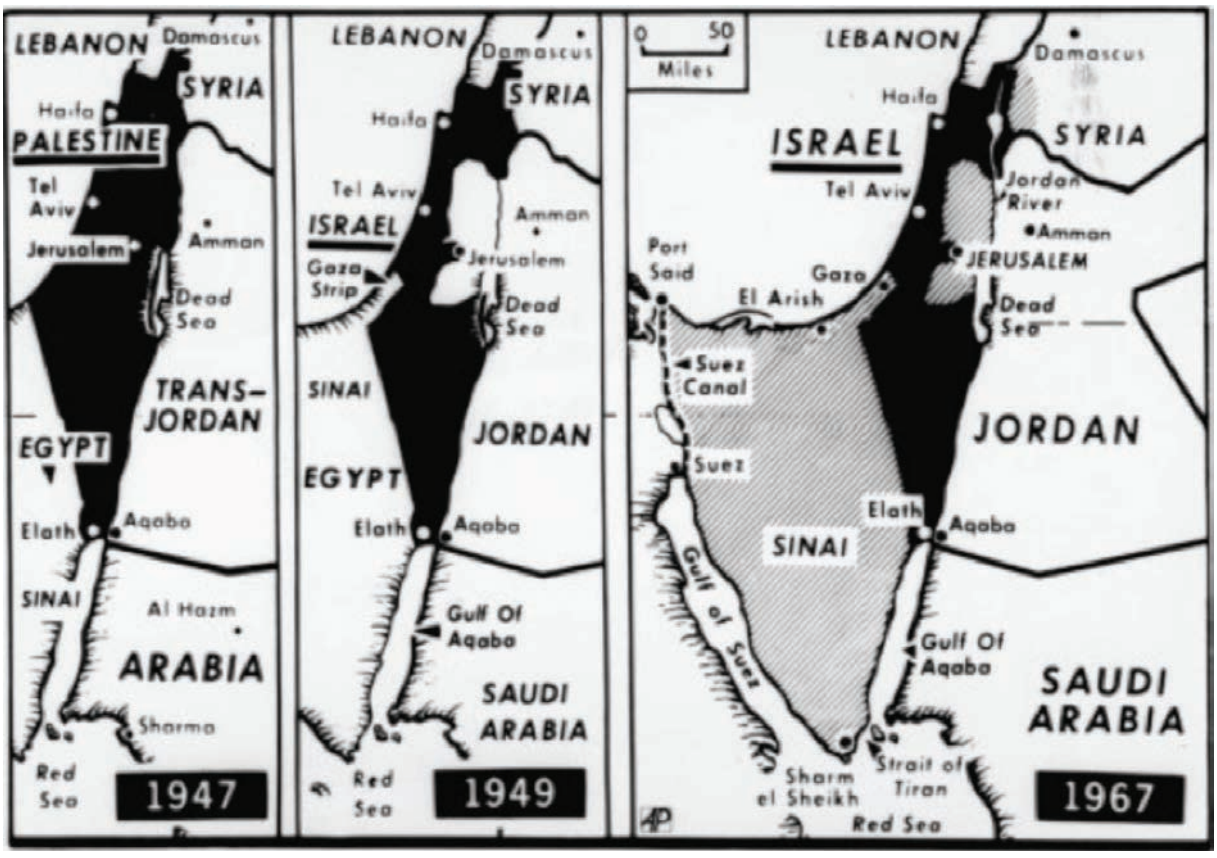
Summary and questions

Question 8:

Refer to the three maps on the following page and answer the questions below:



8.1 Briefly explain how the War of Independence and the Six-day War led to the territorial changes as reflected on the maps.

8.2 Explain the significance of the following places on the maps:

- 8.2.1 Jerusalem
- 8.2.2 West Bank of the Jordan
- 8.2.3 Gulf of Aqaba
- 8.2.4 Suez Canal and
- 8.2.5 Gaza.

8.3 How do the three maps reflect the conflicting nationalisms in the Middle East during this period?

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Summary and questions

Question 9:
The following quotes are concerned with nationalism. Read them carefully and then answer the questions that follow:

Quote 1:	Quote 2:
"The diaspora is ending and everyone is coming, this still does not make a nation but a mixed multitude and dust of man, without a language and education, without roots. To change dust of man to a cultured nation is not an easy job." – David Ben Gurion	"The essence of Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, is that Jews everywhere – regardless of where they live, regardless of their religious outlook, and regardless of their citizenship – are members of the Jewish 'people' or 'nation', to whom all Jews owe a primary loyalty and allegiance." – Mark Weber, Institute for Historical Review, April 2009

Quote 3:

3A
"We will act to realise Arab solidarity and the closing of the ranks that eventually put an end to Israel ... We will liquidate her ..."

– President Nasser of Egypt, April 1964

3B
"We swear to God that we shall not rest until we restore Arab nationalism to Palestine and Palestine to the Arab nation. There is no room for imperialism and there is no room for Britain in our country, just as there is no room for Israel within the Arab nation."

– Speech by Nasser at San'a, 17 August 1961

9.1 How do these quotes help to understand why it is so difficult to achieve peace in the Middle East?

9.2 Is there any positive aspect to the nationalist attitudes reflected here? Refer to the clues in the quotes in your answer.

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Summary and questions

Question 10:
Read through the following passage written by Rabbi Menachem Mendle.

> Intolerance lies at the core of evil.
> Not the intolerance that results
> from any threat or danger.
> But intolerance of another being who dares to exist.
> Intolerance without cause. It is so deep within us,
> because every human being secretly desires
> the entire universe to himself.
> Our only way out is to learn
> compassion without cause. To care for each other
> simple because that 'other' exists.

In what ways does Rabbi Mendle propose to end the destructive nationalisms in the Middle East?

CASE STUDY 3: Nationalism in the Gold Coast

Question 11:
The following quotes are by Nkrumah, the first president of an independent Ghana:

- "We prefer self-government with danger than servitude in tranquillity."
- "We have the right to live as men."
- "We have the right to govern ourselves."
- "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all else will be given unto you."
- "Economic unity to be effective must be accompanied by political unity. The two are inseparable, each necessary for the future greatness of our continent, and the development of our resources."

11.1 Using these quotes by Nkrumah, explain his nationalistic vision for Ghana.
11.2 What was Nkrumah's legacy? Did he keep to these goals? Why, or why not?

Question 12:
Why do you think so many people in Africa still honour Nkrumah, despite his misrule and destructive nationalism?

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Topic 5

Apartheid South Africa: 1940s to 1960s

Key question for Topic 5: How unique was apartheid between the 1940s and the 1960s?

TOPIC 5 Page 165–194
Apartheid South Africa: 1940s to 1960s

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Racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s
- What are racism and segregation?
- How pervasive were racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s?

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Segregation after the formation of the Union
- How did segregation in the 1920s and 1930s lay the foundations for apartheid?
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- How was the Sharpeville massacre linked to African nationalism?
- What was the impact of the Sharpeville massacre?
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- What was the Rivonia Trial?
- What were the consequences of the Rivonia Trial?

Unit 10 Page 190
Apartheid becomes an international word
- How did apartheid become an international word?
- How did the uniqueness of apartheid position South Africa globally?

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Unit 1

Racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s

Key question: How prevalent were racism and segregation globally in the 1920s and 1930s?

1 What are racism and segregation?

Racism	Segregation

• = ideology → all humans are divided into separate and exclusive biological races.
  ◦ + belief that race determines personality, intellect, morality and cultural behaviour
  ◦ + some races = superior to others.
	• = the enforced separation of humans into racial groups in daily life.
	  ◦ → actions that forcibly keep different races separated in activities, e.g. visiting theatres, restaurants, school, etc.

2 Racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s

- End 19th century: ideas about race and superiority of the 'white' race → entrenched.
- European conquests and colonialism = foundation for the polarisation of races in most countries.

2.1 Racism and segregation in North America

The nature and development of racism in North America:

Slavery	• racism was a key element of colonisation and slavery • people of European origin emphasised difference between them and descendants of slaves especially in the South → Jim Crow laws.
Eugenics	• popularised through film in the 1920s and 1930s • racism of Southern states shifted north • discrimination towards Native Americans, Latin Americans and European immigrants grew.
Klu Klux Klan	• racist organisation → increased membership by the 1920s • racial segregation and lynching → especially in the South.

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- Asian immigrants not allowed into the USA
- racism = entrenched, especially in Southern states
- division grew between political parties after the Democrats invited African Americans to join the party.
  - BUT despite political disputes, anti-lynching resolution = passed: April 1937.

2.2 Racism and segregation in Europe

- Eugenics Movement resulted in the notion to sterilise so-called 'defective' persons.
  - → By 1935 sterilisation laws in Denmark, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, Sweden.

2.3 Racism and segregation in Germany

- During the 19th century racism = 'Scientific racism'.
  - → attempted to provide a racial classification of humanity, e.g.
    - → the Nazis in the 1930s classified Jews, Poles, Roma and Sinti Gypsies and other Slavic people = non-Aryans and subhuman (*Untermensch*).
    - BUT, Germans, as Aryans = *Ubermenschlich* or superhuman.

Justified Nazis belief = pure Germans or Aryans had the biological right to displace, eliminate and enslave 'inferior' races:

- → Nazi practice to eliminate 6 million Jews in Holocaust.

2.4 Racism and segregation in Australia

In 1901, 98% population = white. Australia wanted to be racially 'pure' white country that lived by British customs.

- → Eugenic ideas (e.g. fear of miscegenation; maintenance of white racial purity) = commonplace.
  - Northern European civilisation (from which the white Australians descended) = viewed as superior to that of Aborigines.
  - Children of mixed-descent ('half-castes' / 'crossbreeds') viewed as a threat to stability and nature of white Australian civilisation.
    - → white Australians = a policy of assimilation ('breeding out blackness').
    - → 1920s and 1930s = scarred with racism towards Aborigines. Half-caste children = taken from their parents and placed in white training institutions called missions.
    - = Now known as the Stolen Generation.

PLUS, trade unions wanted to protect Australia from labour competition from Chinese and Pacific Islanders.

- → Migration of these groups to 'white' Australia = limited according to the Immigration Restriction Act.

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Unit 2

Segregation after the formation of the Union

Key question: How did segregation in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s lay the foundations for apartheid?

1 How did segregation in South Africa in the 1920s and the 1930s lay the foundations for apartheid?

- Establishment of the Union of SA in 1910 brought four 'colonies' together under a centralised self-government.
  - = Four different 'native policies' needed to be replaced with a uniform one.
  - Key issues for new policy to solve =
    - black land tenure
    - blacks in rural and urban areas
    - political rights for blacks.
- → A system of segregation was implemented:
  - certain areas = reserved for blacks
  - others = designated for whites.
- First Union parliament = President Louis Botha (and Jan Smuts) → introduced Land Act (1913) to address the problem of black land tenure in the rural areas.
  - = cornerstone of apartheid that was introduced in 1948 until 1990.
- 1923: Native Urban Areas Act curbed the migration of black people into urban areas
  - urban areas in SA = viewed as 'white'
  - blacks in urban areas = viewed as temporary residents who lived in separate locations under control of municipalities. Black men had to carry permits (passes) or face arrest → sent back to the rural areas.

Only a few coloured people and certain qualifying black people were on the voters roll = black people were denied the right to vote and to participate in politics.

When JBM Hertzog became Prime Minister in 1924, the moderate 'native' policies of Botha were replaced and segregation was entrenched even further:

- = New legislation to protect the privileged position of white labour:
  - 1924: Industrial Conciliation Act legalised white trade unions.
  - 1925: Wages Act enabled minister of labour to force employers to give preference to hiring white workers.
  - 1926: Mines and Works Amendment Act reinforced colour bar in mining industry.
- Hertzog's government also provided greater opportunities to whites by:
  - instituting higher protective tariffs to encourage local manufacturing
  - opening up new trade relations overseas and
  - the establishment of the state-owned ISCOR and the SA Railways and Harbours.

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2 What were the segregation policies in SA in the 1930s and 1940s?

Hertzog's takeover in 1924 = a turning point. He believed

- in 'SA First'
  - that SA was made up of white people only, especially Afrikaners.
- His segregation policies = aimed at protecting whites economically and politically.

Effects of the Great Depression after 1929 → increased migration of people into the urban areas seeking employment = viewed as a threat.

- → 1932: Hertzog set up Native Economic Commission → recommended that blacks should live separately in reserves where they could be assisted to be more productive through modern farming methods.
- = Hertzog's government passed laws → direct influence on apartheid legislation later:
  - Representation of Natives Act (No. 12 of 1936) → blacks and whites should not be politically integrated.
  - Native Trust and Land Act (No. 27 of 1936) extended territorial segregation in the Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913)
    - → 13% of the country was allocated to black people
    - → entrenched unequal segregation of SA according to race
    - PLUS black people had to stay in rural areas
    - their movement to urban areas was controlled to protect whites from labour competition.
  - Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 entrenched segregation by applying the pass laws more strictly.
  - Factories, Machinery and Building Works Act of 1941 = factory owners to allocate racially segregated work, recreation and eating areas for workers.
  - Electoral Laws Amendment Act of 1940 = compulsory registration of white voters only.

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Unit 3

The National Party victory in 1948

Key question: What were the implications of the 1948 victory of the National Party?

1 What was apartheid?

Although Smuts first used the word apartheid, Afrikaner thinkers who led the Afrikaner nationalist revival in the 1930s used the term more frequently.

- The main message in the 1930s = different races could not live together because this would cause conflict:
  - → so, segregation and separate development was the only way forward.

When the Herenigde National Party under DF Malan defeated the United Party under Smuts in 1948, SA was already a very racially divided country.

- The policy of apartheid (which literally means 'apartness') institutionalised and extended segregation already in place to the detriment of the black majority.
- It was entrenched by many laws that covered all areas of life:
  - restricted all power to whites
  - segregated education
  - protected whites in the labour market
  - through strictly applied influx control, restricted migration of blacks into urban areas.
  - set aside reserves African residency (these were based on the reserves that existed during colonial times).
    - → White supremacy was secured by apartheid.

2 How did apartheid differ from segregation?

2.1 Differences between segregation and apartheid

segregation →

- colonial policy
- Europeans felt superior to 'natives' or indigenous people.
- the racist ideal of Europeans to subjugate the indigenous people and to live separately from them.

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apartheid →

- it was unique to South Africa.
- it was legally and politically enforced by the National Party in 1948.
- policies both rigidly and ruthlessly enforced through many laws.
- it disenfranchised and oppressed the black majority to keep a white minority government in power.

2.2 Similarities between segregation and apartheid

- Both practised racism.
- Both continued economic exploitation of black people that began in colonial times.
- Both were based on a general fear the whites had of violent, large-scale and nationwide uprisings of the black majority in SA.

3 Why did the National Party adopt the policy of apartheid?

WHY →

- The history of segregation in SA entrenched racist attitudes.
- The impact of World War II (WWII) on Africans increased the call for political power and independence.
  - This led to increased resistance against segregation and calls for change.
  - The global post-war trend was to move away from racial discrimination.
- Many Afrikaners rejected the findings of the Fagan Report that recommended the acceptance of races living side by side.

→ **FEAR OF A BLACK UPRISING AND LOSS OF WHITE CONTROL**

3.1 What commissions led to the National Party adoption of the policy of apartheid?

United and National Party set up commissions to suggest strategies to deal with SA's racial problems.

- Fagan Commission (set up by the UP in 1946/7):
  - → recommended the acceptance of whites and other races existing side by side as the only feasible option.

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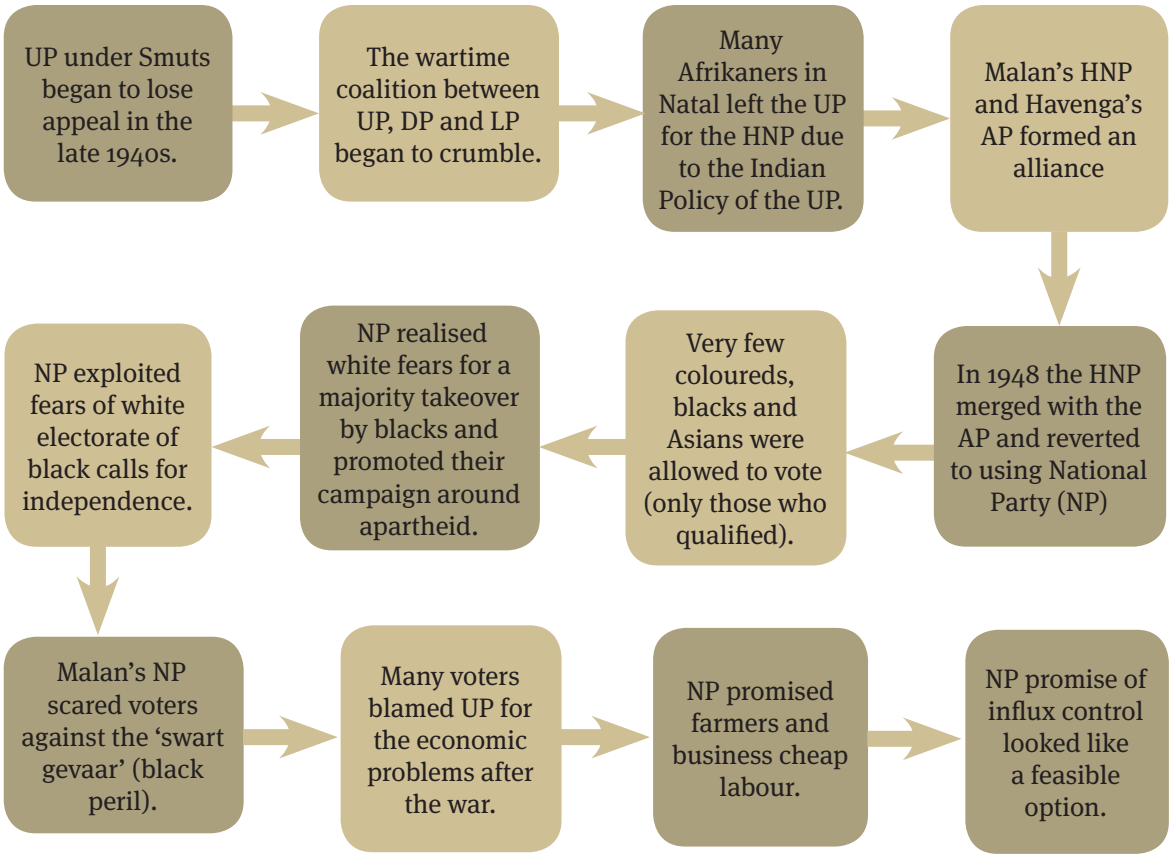
- Sauer Commission (set up by the HNP in 1947 in response to Fagan Commission):
  - → recommended that entrenched and formalised segregation of the races was the only way to ensure the future of each race. All races should receive equal opportunities to develop separately to gain self-determination. It strongly recommended apartheid as a policy.

3.2 How did the HNP win the 1948 elections?

The number of seats won by different parties in the 1943 and 1948 elections:

Party	1943 elections (No of seats)	1948 elections* (No of seats)
Herenigde National Party (HNP)	43	70
Afrikaner party (AP)	0	9
United Party (UP)	89	65
Labour Party (LP)	9	6
Dominion Party (DP)	7	N/A
Independents	2	3

*The NP formed the new government under the leadership of DF Malan while the United Party became the Official Opposition. This is how the NP came to power:



UP underestimated NP and showed complacency. NP election campaign was more focussed. The alliance between HNP and AP = majority. Electoral boundaries gave NP a majority of seats despite the party not getting the majority of votes in the election.

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Unit 4

Legalising apartheid

Key question: What was the impact of legalising apartheid?

1 Major apartheid legislation

Segregation policies were turned into legalised apartheid after 1948. Every community = affected in social, residential, cultural (including education), economic and political spheres.

Law	Date	Contents	Implications and significance
Social apartheid: These laws affected the social cohesion within SA due to enforced segregation. Communities were destroyed and freedom of movement and association were curtailed. The government attempted to 'protect' white communities from other races by means of influx control. Blacks lived in reserves and homelands in the rural areas and locations outside towns and cities. Many informal settlements arose due to the rapid influx of migrant workers looking for employment. These workers were not allowed to bring their families with them and many migrant workers were housed in hostels and compounds. The passing of many laws led to social engineering that alienated South Africans from each other.			
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act	1949	Marriages between whites and other races prohibited.	Multiracial marriages had to be arranged outside SA. Police harassed mixed couples.
Immorality Amendment Act	1950	Sexual intercourse between whites and members of another races was outlawed.	This law was difficult to enforce but led to dissension, bitterness and unhappiness. The State intervened in personal relationships, neighbours spied on each other and reported offenders and it led to police harassment.
Population Registration Act	1950	South Africans would be classified and categorised according to their particular population group in a central population register.	Coloureds and blacks were divided further into ethnic groups. Coloureds were divided into 7 categories and Blacks into 12 subgroups. Many families suffered heartache and confusion as siblings were categorised in different racial groups with different privileges and rights, e.g. Sandra Laing.
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act	1953	All public places had to have separate facilities for whites and non-whites (e.g. hospitals, restaurants, sports facilities and government offices).	Separate facilities were not equal. Discrimination led to feelings of inferiority and freedom of movement became difficult.

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Law	Date	Contents	Implications and significance
Residential apartheid: The government used legislation to ensure that racial groups lived in segregated communities. Certain residential areas were reserved for certain groups. Blacks, coloured and Indians were forcibly removed to 'new' townships or areas designated for their racial group. In some areas business owners and homeowners lost their property and livelihood with little or no compensation. Separate townships were constructed to house urbanising blacks, e.g. South Western Townships (SOWETO) near Johannesburg.			
Group Areas Act	1950	Specific residential areas were designated for different races.	Only races, which had been allocated to an area, were allowed to live in or own property in the area. The best areas were designated for whites. Other races were forced to move from areas into townships or reserves (homelands) for their race.
Native Resettlement Act	1954	It supplemented the Group Areas Act by enforcing residential apartheid. 'Black spots' or people in overcrowded townships were forced to resettle.	Many blacks lost their right to own land or businesses; they were not consulted or compensated. The properties in the new townships could only be rented and not owned.
Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act	1955	It aimed to deal with blacks in urban areas; only 5 black people could live in a flat in the cities.	This often split families and led to uncertainty and clashes with the authorities.
Cultural and educational apartheid: According to the racial policies of the NP, the cultural identity of each group had to be kept separate to retain the unique identity of each. Cultural festivals reflected unique cultural practices and customs of groups and races rather than a multi-cultural focus. Education was segregated according to race and proportionately less was spent on black pupils than on the other races. This led to feelings of inferiority due to discriminatory policies and practices.			
Bantu Education Act	1953	All black education came under the Department of Bantu Education.	Education was segregated according to race and spending on white children was much higher than the other races. In 'black education', the focus was on subjects that would prepare black pupils for manual labour. Education was very inferior for black pupils.
Extension of University Education Act	1959	It created separate institutions of higher learning for separate races.	Not only were white and black students forcibly segregated by this law, but even within groups there was differentiation (i.e. each black 'nation' – Xhosa, Zulu, etc. – had its own university). This was a serious infringement of academic freedom.

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Law	Date	Contents	Implications and significance
Political apartheid: After the Union of SA was established in 1910, very few people of colour had any say in political affairs. Even the few coloured people who had qualified to vote could not vote. Elected white Members of Parliament would represent them. After 1948, the NP moved to remove these voters from the common voters' roll. Under Verwoerd's government apartheid was referred to as separate development and the NP chose to cushion the concept with the idea of development and progress of each group in separate areas with segregated facilities. Opponents used slogans such as 'separate but not equal' to resist these policies. Non-whites only received the franchise in 1994 when the democratic constitution was accepted.			
Asiatic Land Amendment Act	1948	It replaced the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act of 1946. Indians would not be regarded as true citizens of SA no matter how long they had resided in the country.	Asians were treated as second rate SA 'citizens' who were here only temporarily. This changed after 1961 under Verwoerd's government when Indians were viewed as a permanent part of the SA population. A SA Indian Council was established in 1964 to improve relations between the Indians and the SA government.
Appellate Division Quorum Act	1955	It increased the number of appellate judges from 5 to 11.	This shows a breach of the principle of separation of powers. The government hoped that the newly appointed judges would be sympathetic to their policies.
Senate Act	1955	It changed the composition of the Senate.	It ensured that the NP would get a two-thirds majority decision when implementing policies.
Separate Representation of Voters Act	1956	Cape Coloureds who were on the common voters' roll were removed and placed on a separate roll. It made provision for a Coloured Affairs Council to discuss matters relating to the Cape Coloureds with the SA government.	When the official opposition and certain higher courts opposed the introduction of this law, Premier JG Strijdom had legislation passed that enlarged both the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court as well as the Senate (see below) to get the law passed.
SA Amendment Act	1956	Due to the SA government's manipulation of the size of the Senate and the Appellate Division, coloureds were removed and placed on a separate voters' roll.	This law was supported with a clear two-thirds majority.

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Law	Date	Contents	Implications and significance
Economic apartheid: The aim of the apartheid government was to segregate the work place and to ensure that the interests of white-owned capitalistic business were served. Strike activity and the growth of trade unions were controlled. Non-whites were trained for certain types of labour, while job reservation ensured that white workers were given preferential treatment. The spread of communism was viewed as a threat to the future of capitalism in SA and therefore was outlawed.			
Suppression of Communism Act	1950	The Communist Party was banned and the Governor-General could ban any other organisation that promoted the aims of communism.	Communists could not be members of other political organisations, e.g. the ANC or trade unions. Communists who were members of the Senate, House of Assembly and Provincial Councils lost their seats. Communist propaganda was banned.
Native (Bantu) Labour Act (Settlement of Disputes Act)	1953	No black trade unions could exist. Blacks could not join existing trade unions and striking by black workers was forbidden.	This made it difficult for black workers to air grievances, declare disputes with employers or to have their grievances addressed.
Industrial Conciliations Act	1956	'Mixed' racial membership of trade unions was outlawed. Such trade unions were desegregated and separate unions for whites and blacks established. Certain types of labour were reserved for white workers only.	It led to the founding of the SA Council of Trade Unions, which rejected the notion that industrial relations could be separated from politics.

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Unit 5

Overcoming apartheid

Key question: What was the nature of internal resistance to apartheid before 1960?

1 Early forms of resistance to segregation and racial discrimination

MK Gandhi came to SA in 1893 as a lawyer to fight for the rights of Indians and blacks.

→ Promoted satyagraha or devotion to the truth, a policy of non-violent (passive) resistance.

→ Encouraged his supporters to defy unjust legislation by refusing to register, burn registration cards and protest marches.

→ Although segregation continued Gandhi laid the foundation for non-violent resistance and started the Natal Indian Congress to fight for rights for Indians in Natal.

1.1 Internal resistance to discrimination and segregation, 1910 to 1939

SANNC started non-violent protests against the implementation of the Land Act in 1913.

→ Tactics were more persuasive rather then militant.

→ In 1914 and 1919 deputations were sent to discuss their frustrations with the British government, but not successful

→ Protest marches in 1919 and SANNC supported 1920 strike but no real change during the 1920s and 1939s.

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1.2 An overview of resistance during the early 1940s

Revival

- call for democratic reform by the Workers' Party of SA after 1935
- emphasised non-collaboration and boycotts until demands were met.

AAC

- resistance grew against racist policies and attitudes
- convened the All African Convention to discuss the way forward.

Other catalysts

- 1937: Natives' Representative Council (NRC) formed
- 1940: Dr Xuma became the new president of the ANC
- 1943: Non-European Unity Movement = launched; publication of Atlantic Charter → called for self-determination of peoples to be recognised. Convened the All African Convention to discuss the way forward.

ANC

- 1944: ANCYL established
- Dr Xuma called for mass support until rights were recognised for blacks.

Examples of resistance

- 1942: Marabastad riots = black municipal workers rioted about poor wage increases
- 1943 and 1944: Alexandra bus boycotts to reject increased fees; anti-pass campaigns
- 1946: mineworkers' strike = massive stay-aways from work.

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2 The Programme of Action and the formation of alliances

1943: AB Xuma (ANC president) adopted expectations in Atlantic Charter of 1941.

DEMANDS →

"The African Claims of SA"

- Full citizenship rights
- Unqualified franchise for black men and women
- Abolition of the NRC
- Unrestricted land ownership for blacks
- Abolition of the pass laws
- Free compulsory education
- Equal pay for equal work
- Adequate housing
- Absolute equality under the law.

2.1 Changes in the resistance movement by the early 1950s

ANC, AAC, IC, APO and CP formed alliances. + ANC changed from a moderate organisation run by middle class liberals → a more militant one. = A mass liberation movement that became more impatient with the slow pace of reform and restrictive apartheid legislation.

↓

Under Dr JS Moroka ANC launched a Programme of Action in 1949 → encouraged black workers to embark on mass action, civil disobedience campaign, strikes, stayaways, boycotts and other forms of non-violent resistance.

↓

March 1950: ANC held a Freedom of Speech Convention → announced that 1 May 1950 = Freedom Day → called for a national stayaway from work.

1 May: strikers clashed with police = 18 people killed. In reaction ANC, SAIC, Communist Party and APO declared 26 June a National Day of Mourning → called for a mass stayaway from work.

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3 The Congress Alliance and Defiance Campaign

Programme of Action led to the Defiance Campaign.

Anti- apartheid coalition of the early 1950s planned the Defiance Campaign.

1952: younger members of the ANC, led by Sisulu, Tambo and Mandela and other alliance members launched the Campaign.

Was the first major non-violent resistance campaign by black communities and a small group of white left-wing activists.

Mandela, as the elected volunteer-in-chief of the campaign, travelled the country organising resistance.

Despite Malan's warning that ANC should not incite blacks to disobey laws, planning went ahead.

Joint Planning Council appointed and recommended that the six main unjust laws of apartheid should be abolished before Feb 1952 or face mass action.

After banning of the Communist Party and its newspaper, ANC, Indian Congress and Franchise Action Council met in July 1951 to plan a campaign against the unjust laws.

26 June 1952: protestors defied pass laws, ignored curfews, entered waiting rooms and railway coaches reserved for whites, entered locations without permits and sat on benches reserved for whites only.

Resistors sang liberation songs, offered no resistance and pleaded not guilty. Refused to pay fines and preferred to go to prison.

Violence broke out in Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and East London as protestors clashed with police. Some people criticised the leaders.

Many leaders were tried and given suspended sentences. Campaign ended in Jan 1953.

3.1 What were the consequences of the Defiance Campaign?

Negative results

- The banning of the Communist Party.
- Resisters had to operate underground.
- Apartheid state's crackdown on those against apartheid, e.g.
  - → became more repressive
  - → harassed resisters
  - → surveillance of resisters
- Violence increased in certain areas.

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Positive results

- ANC membership increased markedly.
- Solidarity arose between resisters despite race.
- A number of leftist organisations arose to fight discrimination. Many of these had communist members.
- In July 1953 the Liberal Party was established.
- The Coloured People's Congress was formed to support the protestors.
- The Congress of Democrats was formed by whites who wanted universal suffrage to be extended to all South Africans.

4 How did the Freedom Charter challenge the apartheid government?

- Despite government restrictions against organising publicly, ANC and SAIC leaders went ahead and planned resistance.
  - Prof ZK Matthews, the Cape leader of the ANC, proposed a Freedom Charter.
  - → Meetings were held to plan the launch and a National Action Council for the Congress of the People was founded. This Council called for a Congress of the People to be held on 26 and 27 June 1955 at Kliptown near Soweto.
    - → Pieter Beyleveld, a white member of the Congress of Democrats, acted as chairman of the meeting of 2 844 delegates from all over the country.

A Freedom Charter based on the principles of a socialist democracy with equal rights for all races was adopted. It also called for democracy and human rights, land reform, labour rights and nationalisation.

- The Freedom Charter was viewed as a blueprint for a democratic SA and opposed the constitution of the apartheid State.
  - → Some Africanist members of the ANC opposed the document and broke away to form the PAC in 1959.

5 The role of women in mass mobilisation

FEDSAW was launched in Johannesburg in 1954 to establish a broad-based women's organisation. A Women's Charter was written at this conference.

- Openly supported the campaigns of the Congress Alliance and its demands were included in the Freedom Charter.
  - → It called for full equality of opportunity for women and the enfranchisement of all men and women in SA.
  - It organised campaigns against the extension of the pass laws to women.
    - First national protest = 27 October 1955.

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- 9 August 1956: 20 000 SA women marched to Union Buildings = deliver petitions to Strijdom, the Premier.
  - → Women gathered on the lawns of the Union Buildings as a sign of solidarity as Strijdom did not meet with them.
    - FEDSAW as an organisation gained support due to this event and women became recognised within the ranks of the resistance movement.

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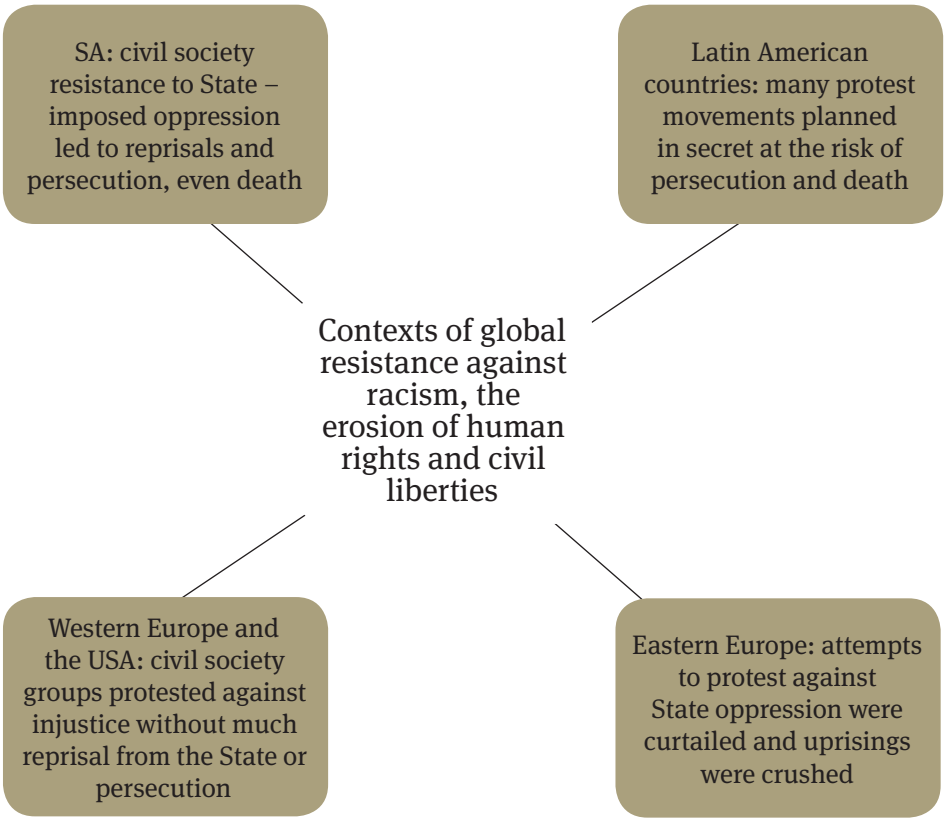
Unit 6

Global resistance to racism and oppression

Key question: In what ways was the resistance against apartheid part of a wider global resistance against racism, the erosion of human rights and civil liberties?

1 Contexts of global resistance



1.2 Resistance and protests in the West

Some examples:

- The Civil Rights Movement: Protested against discrimination against blacks in the USA in the 1960s: segregated facilities, unequal educational and economic opportunities and brutality against blacks was often condoned by the police.
  - → Activists such as Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks supported bus boycotts and civil disobedience to draw attention to the racism and inequality. Bus segregation was declared unconstitutional and illegal in 1956.
  - → August 1963 250 000 people joined a march to the Lincoln Memorial in Washington to show support for the new Civil Rights Bill that would advance equal rights for all in the USA.

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- Anti-war movement: By 1967 television and the mass media exposed the warfare in Vietnam. Public opinion turned against the continued presence of US troops in Vietnam.
  - → Resistance to US participation in wars across the globe spread among students and other pacifists.
- Women's movement: By the 1960s a second wave of women's protests in the USA called for equal rights for women.
  - → The feminist movement challenged many entrenched values and attitudes in US society against women.
- French student protests: Erupted in 1968 calling for more democratic management of schools and universities. Marches, strikes and demonstrations followed in France and other European cities.
- Mexico City: In 1968 students and workers went on a march to call for democratic reforms and the release of political prisoners. The police and military opened fire on protestors, killing hundreds.
- Tokyo, Japan: In 1968 more than 100 demonstration marches took place at universities, calling for reforms.

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Unit 7

The apartheid state's response to resistance against apartheid

Key question: How did the apartheid state respond to resistance against apartheid in the 1950s?

1 The apartheid state's response to resistance against apartheid in the 1950s

The response of the apartheid state to resistance against apartheid in the 1950s is summarised in the table below.

Event / Resistance	Reaction to resistance	Consequences / significance
Defiance Campaign Trial, June 1952	• Mass arrests and the leaders Mandela, Sisulu and 18 others were tried under the Suppression of Communism Act for leading the Campaign.	• The accused received nine month prison sentences suspended for two years. • Mandela was confined to Jhb for six months by an additional banning order. • Despite mass arrests the NP government had to temporarily relax its apartheid legislation.
On-going protests and defiance	Two further repressive laws passed by the Minister of Justice, CR Swart: • Public Safety Act (1953) enabled the State to call a state of emergency when the public safety was threatened. • Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) prescribed harsh penalties for those who used protests to contravene laws.	• It became increasingly difficult for resisters to hold public meetings and many went underground. • The State gained wide powers of arrest and aimed to break up resistance.
Black resistance in rural areas	Bantu Authorities Act, 1951	• This increased government control in the rural areas. • The government replaced troublesome chiefs with cooperative ones in the rural areas.
Black resistance against tribal divisions	Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, 1959	• Homeland areas were established to break up solidarity among blacks by promoting ethnic divisions homeland loyalty rather than African nationalism that called for independence • Tribal identities were maintained in the rural areas but many urbanised blacks resented the system of traditional leadership.

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Event / Resistance	Reaction to resistance	Consequences / significance
Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter	• 1956 Treason Trial • Using anti-communist legislation, the police arrested leaders of the ANC and the Congress of the People. Many documents were confiscated as proof of 'high treason'. Homes were searched and many arrests made, including Mandela, Slovo, Sisulu, Kathrada, Ngoyi and Joseph.	• After a long trial of five years, Justice Rumpff acquitted the accused due to a lack of evidence. The fact that the leaders were out of circulation weakened the resistance movement. It placed a financial burden on the Congress Alliance. It had a negative psychological impact on leaders of the resistance. The trial caused anxiety among white voters who gave the NP an increased majority in the 1958 elections. The SA government became more repressive, e.g. Cato Manor (1959) and Sharpeville (1960).

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Unit 8

Impact of the Sharpeville massacre

Key question: What was the impact of the Sharpeville massacre?

1 The link between nationalism and the Sharpeville massacre

Not everyone in the ANC agreed with the ANC's policy of non-racialism.

In November 1958 a group of disenchanted ANC members (Africanists) broke away from the ANC.

- → Founded the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in April 1959:
  - Robert Sobukwe = first leader. He said:
    - aim of the PAC = 'the government of the Africans, by the Africans for the Africans' and that their ideology should be black nationalism.
  - PAC grew rapidly within a year of its formation.

ANC and the PAC planned campaigns of resistance against the pass laws.

- PAC march = planned in Sharpeville on 21 March 1960.
  - About 10 000 black people congregated around the Sharpeville police station.
  - Later the police started firing, killing 69 people.

2 Impact of the Sharpeville massacre

Police action was condemned both in SA and abroad.

Blacks were outraged and protest action started around the country.

- December 1960:
  - black leaders held All Africa Conference (AAC)
  - = request the government to arrange a national convention to draft a new constitution.
    - Government refused and arrested AAC leaders.
    - Black leaders decided to start armed resistance.
  - → The government declared a state of emergency in 122 of the country's 265 districts.
    - Thousands detained, including many prominent resisters and activists.

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The table below summarises the main impacts of the Sharpeville massacre.

Event	Reaction to resistance	Consequences/ significance
The SA Government enforced the Unlawful Organisations Act (1960)	The ANC and PAC were banned.	• The resistance campaign was weakened. By May 1960 most of the detained leaders had been released. The state of emergency had helped to restore law and order. • Robert Sobukwe (PAC leader) was convicted for inciting uprisings and sentenced to three years imprisonment. Black resistance leaders were unable to coordinate a national campaign of resistance.
A national referendum was held among white voters in Oct 1960.	To decide whether SA should become a republic.	• On 31 May 1961, SA became a republic. Forced to leave the British Commonwealth due to racial policies.
International condemnation of SA at the UN	On 1 April 1960 the UN adopted Resolution 134: condemned Sharpeville massacre and called on the SA government to change its policies.	• SA became increasingly isolated internationally.
Armed conflict between African and Afrikaner nationalists increased after the SA government refused to hold a national convention or address black grievances.	The ANC and PAC leadership formed military wings: • Umkhonto we Sizwe (ANC) • Poqo (PAC).	• MK was under the command of Mandela and focused on acts of sabotage; it was not in favour of terrorism or unnecessary loss of life. • Poqo only allowed black membership and was not opposed to acts of terrorism in which whites would be killed. • MK damaged buildings in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg in December 1961. Mandela arranged training for MK cadres overseas and recruited assistance from overseas states against apartheid. He was arrested in Natal in August 1962 and was convicted to five years imprisonment. Between 1962 and 1963 Poqo engaged in many acts of sabotage. Sobukwe was arrested: led to leadership problems for the PAC.

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Unit 9

The Rivonia Trial and its consequences

Key question: What were the consequences of the Rivonia Trial?

1 The Rivonia Trial and its consequences

The Rivonia Trial and its consequences are summarised in the table below.

What was the Rivonia Trial?	What were the consequences of the Rivonia Trial?
• Began on 26 November 1963 and ended on 12 June 1964. • It followed the arrest of ANC leaders at the MK headquarters at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, north of Jhb on 11 July 1963. • 10 ANC leaders were tried for 221 acts of sabotage. • All 10 pleaded not guilty. • Documents were discovered that implicated Mandela and others about Operation Mayibuye, which the State believed to be aimed at overthrowing the SA government.	• 8 of the accused were found guilty and two were discharged. • 8 were sentenced to life imprisonment. • Oliver Tambo and other leaders fled SA into exile. • Other ANC members left to get military training overseas. • The ANC structures suffered disorganisation. • The ANC had to build new underground structures internally to promote mass struggle and an armed struggle. • A campaign was launched to win overseas support against the NP government. • The state of emergency was ended and SA experienced an economic boom. This led support for the NP to grow. • This economic growth made the NP government move forward with its ideas of separate development within the homelands system. Blacks would be relocated to these homelands.

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Unit 10

Apartheid becomes an international word

Key question: How did the uniqueness of apartheid position South Africa globally?

1 How did apartheid become an international word?

Segregationist policies were practised in many Western countries and colonies. Before 1948, SA's policy of segregation was moving with the stereotypes practised worldwide.

- 1948: SA's racial policies took a drastic turn when the NP won the election and implemented apartheid.
  - → Apartheid = legally enforced racism and separation of races: blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians.
  - Segregation was replaced with a system of laws to carry out apartheid.
    - = ironical as most of the world was supporting the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) and the Charter of the UN that focused on human rights.
  - After Sharpeville, most countries branded SA as the 'polecat of the world' due to its racial policies. Many countries woke up to the repressive policies of the SA government.
    - SA became more and more isolated internationally.
    - → Trade embargoes, cultural and sports boycotts as well as sanctions were imposed by the UN and the Anti-apartheid Movement to force SA to change its policies.

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Topic 5

Summary and questions

Summary of Topic 5

Unit 1: Racism and segregation in the 1920s and 1930s

- Racism and segregation, based on notions of white racial superiority and the 'scientific' work of the Eugenic Movement, were widespread in the 1920s and 1930s.
- Rife segregation against blacks in the USA and South Africa and against Aborigines in Australia. There was severe ethnic discrimination against Jews in Germany.

Unit 2: Segregation after the formation of the Union

- The 1913 Natives Land Act formed the basis for apartheid
- Influx laws, exclusion of blacks from political mainstream, Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 and the Wage Act of 1925 entrenched segregation in South Arica.
- Numerous pieces of legislation enacted (e.g. Representation of Natives Act) further entrenched segregation, while the Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913) confirmed the policy that the country should always be segregated unequally by race.

Unit 3: The National Party victory: 1948

- South Africa was already racially segregated when the National party came into power in 1948.
- However, the National Party used a wide range of laws to legalise and institutionalise segregation, which now became known as apartheid.
- The National Party adopted apartheid because it wanted to entrench white privilege and avoid black domination.
- There were numerous reasons for the victory of the National Party in 1948, such as the economic problems in South Africa, the promise of continued cheap (black) labour and gerrymandering.

Unit 4: Legalising apartheid

- The National Party government enacted a range of laws to legalise apartheid. Some of these laws were the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (No. 55 of 1949); the Immorality Amendment Act (No. 21 of 1950); the Population Registration Act (No. 30 of 1950); the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No 49 of 1953); the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950); and the Bantu Education Act (no. 47 of 1953).
- These laws affected all South African, but especially black people, politically, socially, economically, educationally, and culturally.

Unit 5: Overcoming apartheid

- During the 1940s black resistance to apartheid gained fresh momentum due to the establishment of organisations, such as the Workers' Party of South Africa, the Non-European Unity Movement and the ANC Youth League.

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Summary and questions

- This resulted in alliances, mass mobilization, a Programme of Action and the Congress Alliance, leading to the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and the Congress of the People (the Freedom Charter) in 1955.

Unit 6: The global resistance to racism and oppression

- Throughout the 1960s there was an international upsurge in demands for human rights that placed the struggle in South Africa in a wider context of resistance against oppression.
- Examples of these include the civil rights movement in the USA, the Women's Movement and student demonstrations throughout the world.

Unit 7: The apartheid state's response to resistance against apartheid

- The South African government responded to resistance against apartheid by using mass arrests, the enactment of legislation, court trials and brutal force.
- Examples of the above include the arrest of 8 000 people after the Defiance Campaign and the 1956 Treason Trial.

Unit 8: The impact of the Sharpeville massacre

- Radical members of the ANC broke away in 1958 and formed the PAC.
- The PAC organised a protest against the pass laws, which resulted in the Sharpeville massacre on 31 March 1960.
- After this massacre, the ANC and the PAC where banned and they then formed their military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and Poqo respectively.

Unit 9: The Rivonia Trial and its consequences

- On 11 July 1963, ANC leaders were arrested at Liliesleaf Farm, resulting in the Rivonia Trial. Eight of the 10 arrested leaders, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were found guilty of treason and sentenced to life imprisonment.
- Many ANC leaders fled South Africa and established the ANC as an exile movement.
- The trial had the impact of crippling the ANC within South Africa.

Unit 10: Apartheid becomes an international word

- Many countries around the world practised some form of informal segregation. For this reason, segregation in South Africa was not considered as something unique. However, after 1948, when South Africa legalised segregation, calling it apartheid, and used brutal means to enforce it, the world did take note of it and apartheid became a unique word.
- After 1948 South Africa's apartheid policy placed in the international spotlight. Many countries abhorred this policy and South Africa became increasingly isolated.

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Topic 5

Summary and questions

Questions for Topic 5

Question 1:

1.1 Explain how the following beliefs and ideologies led to the origins and formulation of the apartheid policy in 1948:
- 1.1.1 colonialism
- 1.1.2 segregation
- 1.1.3 eugenics
- 1.1.4 racism — 4 x 2 (8)

1.2 What was the key difference between segregation and apartheid? — 1 x 2 (2)

1.3 Would it be correct to say that apartheid originated in South Africa before 1948? Explain your reasoning. — 1 x 2 (2)

1.4 What were the main reasons why Afrikaner leaders opted for the apartheid policy in 1948 at a time when the world was adopting human rights? — 2 x 2 (4)

1.5 In what ways did the apartheid policy contradict the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR)? — 3 x 2 (6)

Question 2:

2.1 Explain how the Hertzog government applied a 'civilised labour policy' in the 1920s that favoured white workers. — 2 x 2 (4)

2.2 Explain how the effects of the Great Depression made labour and race relations in South Africa more complex. — 2 x 2 (4)

2.3 What influence did the findings of the Carnegie Commission have on official labour policy of the South African government? — 2 x 2 (4)

Question 3:

3.1 Explain why the issues of race became such an important factor in the context of South Africa by 1948. — 2 x 2 (4)

3.2 Explain how industrialisation and urbanisation underpinned the political decisions of the Afrikaner Party and the National Party in the 1940s. — 2 x 2 (4)

3.3 What influence did the recommendations of the Sauer and Fagan Commissions have on the decision of the NP to implement apartheid? — 2 x 2 (4)

Question 4:

4.1 How did DF Malan mobilise the white electorate support for his apartheid policy in the 1948 election? — 2 x 2 (4)

4.2 How did Malan's government create a racist state in South Africa between 1949 and 1953? Answer in paragraph format. — 5 x 2 (10)

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4.3 Explain the effects that apartheid legislation had on:
- 4.3.1 traditional authority
- 4.3.2 family life
- 4.3.3 educational standards of black school children and students
- 4.3.4 race relations
- 4.3.5 labour relations. 5 x 2 (10)

4.4 Choose any three apartheid laws that curtailed the political rights of individuals who were classified as non-white. Explain how these laws did that. 3 x 2 (6)

Question 5:

5.1 In Topic 5 reference is made to the Freedom Charter being based on the principles of a 'socialist democracy'. Using the contents of this document, explain why it is viewed in this way. 3 x 2 (6)

5.2 Part of the reason why the NP government banned the Freedom Charter was that it was viewed as a 'communist' document. What gave rise to this perception? 1 x 2 (2)

5.3 What was the significance of the Freedom Charter in the context of South Africa? 1 x 2 (2)

5.4 Why was the NP so vehemently opposed to the Freedom Charter in 1955? 1 x 2 (2)

Question 6:

6.1 Explain how the nature of resistance to apartheid changed between 1952 and 1960. 1 x 2 (2)

6.2 Comment on whether or not the Sharpeville massacre can be viewed as a turning point in the resistance movement? 1 x 2 (2)

6.3 Why did the international community react the way they did after the events at Sharpeville? 1 x 2 (2)

6.4 How did the South African government attempt to break up the resistance movement during the 1960s? 3 x 1 (3)

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Answers to questions

Topic 1

Question 1: Match the items in Column B with the people in Column A.

1.1 I
1.2 D
1.3 H
1.4 E
1.5 K
1.6 F
1.7 C
1.8 A
1.9 J
1.10 B.

Question 2: Explain what each of the following are in the context of the Russian Revolution and the events that followed:

2.1 A form of local government in Russia before the 1917 Revolutions.
2.2 An advisory council appointed by the Tsar according to the October Manifesto.
2.3 Women's movement / department set up by the Bolsheviks.
2.4 Worker's councils that challenged the duma and later the provisional government for power.
2.5 Marxist term for working class.
2.6 Lenin's underground Bolshevik mouthpiece; means the Spark.
2.7 Secret police under the Bolsheviks.
2.8 Communist Party newspaper; title means the Truth.
2.9 Wealthier, enterprising peasants who challenged communist control.
2.10 Wealthier, enterprising small factory owners who qualified for a tax concession under the NEP but lost the vote because of this.

Question 3: Complete the following sentences by filling in the correct place names.

3.1 St Petersburg
3.2 Germany (then known as the Kingdom of Prussia in the German Confederation)
3.3 St Petersburg
3.4 Brest-Litovsk
3.5 Ekaterinburg
3.6 Petrograd.
3.7 Kshesinsky Palace (former Smolny Institute)
3.8 Kronstadt
3.9 Siberia
3.10 Moscow

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Answers to questions

Question 4: How did Lenin propose to deal with these problems in Russia?

4.1 Food shortages: Initially make land available for peasants to grow food and to trade surplus with the towns.

4.2 Feudal privileges: Abolish them with immediate effect.

4.3 World War I: End the war at all costs.

4.4 Class distinction: Abolish classes by taking away privileges.

4.5 Capitalism: Replace it with communism.

4.6 Land: confiscate and redistribute the land.

4.7 Worker's rights: Extend these to institute equality and fairness according to Marxist privileges.

Question 5: How did Stalin's modernisation drive affect each of the following:

5.1 Industry:

- Electrification and mechanisation
- Centralisation and state control
- Set targets and forced production to meet them
- Organised and moved workers where the state needed them
- Abolished the Nepmen as a separate class
- Built new towns to house workers
- Forced workers to work harder and longer.

5.2 Agriculture:

- Forced collectivisation of land
- State farms introduced
- Mechanisation: provided the peasants with modern machinery and equipment to speed up production.
- Set targets and expected increased yield
- Electrification
- Liquidated kulaks as a class.

5.3 Education and literacy:

- Huge drive to solve illiteracy
- Schools were built and made accessible
- State provided education but taught propaganda.

5.4 Women and family life:

- Life was hard; virtually no consumer goods were produced
- Divorce and abortion became more difficult as it defied Stalin's projected propaganda of happy families
- Women initially had more freedom than under Lenin
- Equality in factories for women
- Rapidly built small apartments made housing difficult
- Women were the focus of much Stalinist propaganda.

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Answers to questions

5.5 Infrastructure:

- Railways and roads were extended to improve industry, agriculture and trade.

5.6 Life of workers (working class)

- Worker's councils were included in the decision making process
- Workers worked long hours for low pay
- Their living conditions were often difficult and rudimentary although the state did provide housing
- Rewards were given to the best workers and hard work was glorified e.g. Stakhanov
- Punishment was metered out for failing to produce enough or make targets.

5.7 Life of peasants:

- Land was confiscated and collectivised
- Peasants worked for the State
- The projected targets that had to be met, made life difficult
- Many were unskilled and illiterate – they struggled to operate machinery
- Harsh punishment for failure to conform.

Question 6:
Comparative table
See your notes and the answers to Question 5 above to assist you with this task

Question 7:
Propaganda poster: Interpret clues to determine the message:
This poster is an idyllic portrayal of Stalinist Russia and gives the viewer the idea that conditions for the people of Russia are close to perfect. It highlights electrification, mechanisation and modernisation around the group in the middle. The workers are also portrayed unrealistically as they all seem very young and strong. The portrayal of society is shown as a civilised and developed one where the transformation had progressed with huge benefits for the working class. The message is exaggerated for effect and to give the impression that Stalin's polices have been a huge success.

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Answers to questions

Topic 2

1 Include the following on your mind map to show who benefited from the boom years during the 1920s in the USA:

a Sharecroppers – especially in the Midwest
- They struggled after Roosevelt's Administration imposed targets; many ended up in the slums of cities.
- The Dust Bowl conditions left the area without top soil and farming was negatively affected.

b The unemployed
- Although much was done to solve unemployment, the problem was only solved when WW II absorbed many as soldiers after 1941.

c Black Americans (in inner cities and the South)
- Did benefit, but did not benefit equally to white Americans.
- Black sharecroppers were impoverished.
- They still suffered greatly due to the results of the Great Depression.
- Many remained unemployed and found it difficult to get out of the economic depression.
- Still had to deal with segregation, racism and prejudice.

d Immigrants
- Due to the economic woes, immigration from Europe was curtailed.
- Many were deported.

e Working-class women
- Some did benefit from employment schemes, but many still remained unskilled by the end of the Depression.
- Many schemes only looked after the interests of men.
- The Social Securities Act left domestic workers out (many of whom were women).
- Sexual discrimination in the workplace was not addressed.

f Middle class
- They felt that the socialist aid of the government was geared more to working class frustration.

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Answers to questions

Question 2: Causes of the Depression
Historians and economists differ on the main causes but use the ones provided on the mind map and then expand on these. These causes could form the basic framework for an essay question:

1 Overproduction:
   - Link to the boom and bust cycle of capitalism
   - Also the glut and overproduction after World War I
   - Oversupply affected farmers especially badly as products could not be stored
   - Mass production and consumerism of the 1920s led to an oversupply that the domestic market could not absorb
   - Tariffs limited overseas trade
   - Add in comment son how this led to the Great Depression.
2 Buying on credit and speculation:
   - The boom years led to speculation as more and more Americans began to buy on credit
   - Banks made loans available and hire purchase schemes allowed instant gratification and strategies to pay off the debt at a high interest rate
   - Many ordinary Americans with low savings in the bank and no safety net ran into trouble when things began to go wrong
   - A high degree of optimism prevailed, leading to expectations of making a quick buck
   - Greed and over speculation led to problems in the economy.
3 *Laissez faire* policies:
   - The Republican Administrations in the 1920s believed in the corrective power of capitalism – that the depression would correct itself in the boom-bust-boom cycle
   - It believed in big business and ignored the flaws in the economy
   - Avoided intervening in economy when it was necessary – this was government's hands-off policy
   - By time Hoover wanted to intervene, it was too late and the economy collapsed.
4 Tariffs:
   - Due to over-production and competition, the US decided to impose high tariffs on imported goods from Europe to protect the local producers
   - This did not have the desired effect as Europe retaliated by imposing counter tariffs
   - Soon American producers experienced a glut and had to cut back to produce less
   - This had a detrimental effect on the economy.

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5 Uneven distribution of wealth:
- Most of the wealth in the US was centred in the hands of 5% of the population
- The rich could sustain themselves during the hard times when other Americans couldn't who looked to the government for help
- When matters went wrong in 1929, the economic imbalance led to economic collapse.

6 Problems in banking:
- Many banks were not regulated
- Many gave credit too easily
- When there was a run on banks to withdraw savings in 1929, the banks couldn't meet the demand.

Question 3: Consequences of the Great Depression
Use the points below as a guideline to what should be included on your mind map.

- Social consequences:
  - Poverty, hardship, unemployment, malnutrition, evictions, family breakdown, suicides, migrations
  - Social security and pensions
  - Public works programmes improved services.
- Economic consequences:
  - Regulation of industry
  - Economic stagnation
  - Slump in trade.
- Political consequences:
  - The Republicans lost the 1932 election
  - Hoover lost to FD Roosevelt
  - The Democrats took office.

Question 4: Explaining terms
Use these basic guidelines as the basis for your answers:

a boom years: a period of economic growth
b protective tariffs: high import duties to protect local producers
c America Dream: the dream to own a home with a picket fence and to live comfortably
d *laissez faire* policy: leave to do – little or no government interference or regulation
e Tin Lizzie: Nickname for the Model T Ford
f Policy of isolation: withdrawal from international conflicts and affairs; neutrality
g mass production: used in factories to produce goods quicker and by machine
h Jim Crow laws: segregation laws in the American South

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i trading on the margins: speculators often only paid for a portion of a share's value hoping to sell it off for a profit and then pay the share's value in full. This risk did not always work and was a disaster when the economic collapse occurred because people could not pay the portions they still owed and the share values dropped as well, leaving these people with valueless shares and debts.

j rugged individualism: the phrase used often by Herbert Hoover during his time as president. It refers to the idea that each individual should be able to help themselves out, and that the government does not need to involve itself in people's economic lives nor in national economics in general. Hoover's idea of "rugged individualism" reflected his idea of how the federal government should not interfere with the American people during the Great Depression. Providing large-scale humanitarian efforts, Hoover feared, would injure "the initiative and enterprise of the American people." Rugged individualism may have come from an annoyance at the unprecedented government involvement with the economy during World War I. When the Great Depression started, Hoover tried to use rugged individualism to end it, insisting that the problem would fix itself and that the government didn't need to interfere. Unfortunately, it did not, and the economy continued to suffer.

Question 5: New Deal agencies
The following extract includes the Acts and agencies that made up the New Deal. You should categories these into the three categories.

The Acts

- Emergency Banking Act 1933
  - The Federal government insured people's deposits in banks against losses caused by public panic. This helped restore the public's confidence in the nation's banking system
- National Industrial Recovery Act 1933
  - This act had three parts to it. It set up the Public Works Administration (PWA) to manage public works projects; The PWA spent $7 billion and employed millions of men. It set up the National Recovery Administration to set up codes of practices for such things as hours worked, wages, unfair competition and outlawing child labour. 16 million workers were covered by these code and child labour was outlawed. Workers went on to a 8 hours week and a minimum wage of $1.25 was introduced. The third strand of the NIRA was to give trade unions the legal right to bargain with employers. Membership of trade unions increased after the introduction of this act. NIRA was declared unconstitutional in 1935.

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Answers to questions

- Agricultural Adjustment Act 1933
  - This act paid farmers to limit the amount of crops they grew or simply to dig back into the ground crops already grown. The federal government bought farm animals and then slaughtered then to raise the price of farm products. Between 1933 and 1937, farm prices doubled but in 1936 the AAA was declared unconstitutional.
- Tennessee Valley Development Act 1933
  - This set up the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Its sole task was to re-develop the Tennessee Valley which encompassed 7 states and 40,000 square miles. HEP stations were built, flood control was introduced as was soil conservation. The valley was regenerated.
- National Labour Relations Act 1935
  - This act forced employers to deal with trade unions. Workers were also given the right to form and join trade unions and to take part in collective bargaining. A board was set up to investigate and punish those companies' bosses who did not abide by the rules of the NLRA. In 1935 trade union membership stood at 3,6 million. By 1941 it was 8,6 million. In 1935 the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organisations) came into being.
- Social Security Act 1935
  - This act set up the first national old age pensions scheme. Workers and employers had to pay into a federal pension fund. Each state was also expected to work out a plan for unemployment insurance. This one act covered 35 million people despite opposition from Republicans who felt the whole idea smacked of socialism.
- Soil Conservation Act 1936
  - The federal government paid subsidies to farmers who agreed to leave land fallow or planted crops that put nitrogen back into the soil. The federal government also financed research into soil conservation.
- Fair Labour Standards Act 1938
  - The FLSA sort to cut the maximum hours someone could work and to raise the minimum wage for those who worked in inter-state trade. This act gave protection to over 13 million people. It introduced a 40 hour week and a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour.
- Agricultural Adjustment Act 1938
  - The act introduced the Federal government subsidising the price of many farm products. The aim was to gradually increase the subsidy until farm prices reached their pre-1914 figure to give all farmers a guaranteed minimum income.

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Answers to questions

The Agencies

- Civilian Conservation Corps of 1933
  - This employed jobless single men between the ages of 18 and 25. They worked for 6 months in mountains and forests where they were taught forestry, flood control and fire prevention. Nearly 3 million men took part in the scheme which ran from 1933 to 1941.
- Works Progress Administration of 1935
  - The WPA coordinated all public works schemes. It spent over US$10,5 billion of Federal money and employed 3,8 million men from 1935 to 1941. It had built 77 000 bridges, 24 000 miles of sewers, over one million kilometres of road, 285 airports, 122 000 public buildings and 11 000 schools.
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation
  - This agency loaned money to state and local governments to assist the poor. It also lent money to firms which were in debt or wanted to invest.
- Farm Credit Administration
  - This agency used Federal money to pay off farm creditors and save farmers from bankruptcy.
- Home Owners Loan Corporation 1933
  - This agency used Federal money to pay of mortgages so that home owners did not lose their homes.

(Source: www.historylearningsite.co.uk/new_deal.htm)

Topic 3

Question 1:

a Swastika
b The Communist Party
c The SS
d Kristallnacht
e Labour
f Burnt
g Warsaw
h Aryans
i Star of David
j Gestapo

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Answers to questions

Question 2:

2.1 Poster of an idealised Hitler

2.1.1 Swastika

2.1.2 Shows determination, preparedness to fight.

2.1.3 The Wehrmacht/ troops/ army.

2.1.4 Gothic/ traditional/ old style/ refers to heritage and German roots.

2.1.5 The eagle was the German and Nazi symbol for power. The reference and connection is made as Hitler is portrayed to be the saviour of Germany.

2.2 Flyer

2.2.1 To identify them as Jews, to humiliate them and to discriminate against them.

2.2.2. It refers to their religion, which is close to their hearts and it is very disrespectful and humiliating.

2.2.3 Jews were viewed as enemies of the German people or 'nation'. It refers to the loss of citizenship for the Jews. They are dehumanised and degraded in this flyer and portrayed as an inferior race.

Question 3:

3.1 The German family are drawn as ideal Aryans – their physical appearance states that. Jews, however, are portrayed using caricature as their physical features have been exaggerated. / They are portrayed as exploiters of the German people.

3.2 All non-Jewish Germans.

3.3 Another connection to Nazi ideology – reference is made to the German people and the 'Fatherland', showing Jews as being separate from that goal or connection.

Question 4:

4.1 The Nazi Party; the Jews

4.2 Yamulka, dark complexion and large nose, Jewish scandals.

4.3 Militarist ideals; fight for survival of the German nation, their tactics WILL 'kill' or remove Jews.

4.4 Jewish businessmen are portrayed as pests or as being bad for the German economy; they are a threat from the inside/ internal threat. The economy has problems because of Jewish greed and scandals. Therefore they will be destroyed by the Nazis to save the German economy.

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Answers to questions

Topic 4

CASE STUDY 1: Rival nationalisms in South Africa

Question 1:

a A system of domination of a larger, more powerful state of the economy, political system and society of another country. The dominating colonising power exploits the resources of the occupied territory.

b A strong movement that focuses on unity, independence and solidarity where the interests of the nation are viewed as being superior to any other nation.

c A movement that promoted unity across the African continent to achieve independence and freedom for all Africans.

d The practice to replace European officials and bureaucrats with Africans in the period of rapid transformation at the end of colonialism.

e A system where people rule themselves in all aspects, fully independent of foreign rule.

f The ideas of Marcus Garvey, a pan-Africanist, who promoted the idea of 'Africa for the Africans' and the return of all Africans to Africa.

g A view that the political control that colonising nations had over the colonies has been replaced by economic control, making the newly independent African countries economically dependent on their former colonisers.

h Africanists were extreme African nationalists in South Africa who promoted black pride and national exclusivity; they supported the pan-Africanist view of 'Africa for the Africans.'

i A Swahili word meaning freedom.

j This refers to the gradual merging of societies in such a way that they influence each other culturally; the smaller group usually adopts the culture of the larger group.

Question 2:

Inclusive nationalism is more positive and is a broader view of nationalism. It is aimed at including many cultures and groups into the nation.

Exclusive nationalism is destructive as it benefits one group over the others. It can be accompanied by negative behaviour, e.g. stereotyping, segregation polices, discrimination, etc.

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Answers to questions

Question 3:
A possible outline of an answer is provided below. In your answer, make sure you draw the concepts listed in the question into your argument.

- Colonialism laid the foundation for social, political and economic separation in SA. This led to separate identities based especially on racism and segregation.
- Discriminatory legislation in the British colonies and the Boer republics kept the non-whites in a position of servitude and social inferiority.
- In 1910 Britain granted self-government to white English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. Non-whites were excluded. It was difficult to forge a common white identity let alone a non-racial one. Nationalism developed along racial lines.
- Afrikaner nationalists broke away in protest against a broader SA nationalism in 1914 and formed the National Party.
- From the 1920s to the 1940s more and more political and social organisations were formed to promote Afrikaner culture, identity and nationalism.
- Industrialisation and capitalism in SA created social and economic classes that were also along racial lines.
- Migration and urbanisation internally posed a threat to white control and competition for jobs.
- External threats such as the perceived threat of communism (during the Cold War), pan-Africanism and African nationalism led to more repressive legislation under apartheid.
- There were signs of open defiance during the 1950s and 1960s which resulted in more repressive legislation and banning.
- Many resistance groups became more militant due to the repression and joined with other African nationalists in Africa and overseas to build solidarity to free Africans.
- SA resembled a police state as States of Emergency during the 1980s especially gave the SAP and the SADF wide powers of arrest.
- Due to economic sanctions, the rising instability in the country and the collapse of communism in the USSR, the Afrikaner government abolished apartheid and chose democracy.
- Reconciliation and moderate policies have promoted a more inclusive form of nationalism and nation-building since 1994.

Question 4:
Remember that in a comparison your focus is primarily on similarities (you show differences when asked to 'contrast').

- Both movements aimed at freedom for a specific group.
- Both groups had a moderate majority and an extremist minority.
- The extremist minority nationalists in both movements resorted to violence to achieve their goals.

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- African nationalism was more inclusive as it promoted a non-racial SA nationalism.
- Afrikaner nationalism was more exclusive as it focused on a nationalism that was based on separation and domination.

Question 5:
Your essay should contain the points outlined below:

- The movement was originally led by urban-based intellectuals and educated leaders who used passive resistance to draw attention to their aims.
- There was no national leadership that was strong and coordinated enough to make a countrywide impact.
- Police actions, e.g. harassment, made it difficult to communicate.
- Poor infrastructure and organisation hindered national development.
- The formation of the ANCYL led to a new approach of younger leaders who had a sense of urgency for reform. They encouraged a campaign of mass civil defiance and disobedience to grow nationalism in SA.
- Increasing industrialisation led to an increase in urban workers who showed solidarity in trade unions and political organisations.
- After Sharpeville the movement adopted a definite campaign to become a broader nationalist movement.
- Moderate ANC leaders joined with moderate Afrikaner nationalists to promote national reconciliation for the 1994 election.

CASE STUDY 2: Rival nationalisms in the Middle East

Question 6:

1	E	6	D
2	J	7	A
3	G	8	C
4	H	9	I
5	F	10	K

Question 7:

1	G	6	B
2	I	7	K
3	A	8	D
4	E	9	H
5	C	10	F

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Answers to questions

Question 8:

8.1 After the War of Independence in 1948 and the defeat of the Arab military coalition, Palestinian nationalists were stronger in Gaza, West Bank and Golan Heights. After the 1967 Six Days War, Israel had increased her territory six-fold. Israel pushed into the occupied territories and many refugees fled into neighbouring Arab states.

8.2

- 8.2.1 Jerusalem: significance in three major religions; strategically important, historical importance.
- 8.2.2 Westbank: It is a security risk as the enclave stretches way into Israeli territory; difficult to control.
- 8.2.3 Gulf of Aqaba (Straits of Tiran): easy to blockade this route and cut off Israeli trade.
- 8.2.4 The canal is vital to trade easily between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.
- 8.2.5 Situated on the coast; easy to launch attacks into Israel and the capital.

8.3 The establishment of the State of Israel by Jewish nationalists led to the 1948 war by retaliatory Arab nationalists. / The Jewish nationalists used military force to withstand an Arab attack. The forces of nationalism on both sides added cohesion to the destructive missions. / In 1967 the Jewish nationalists launched a surprise attack on their Arab neighbours. Israel was victorious and increased her territory markedly.

Question 9:

9.1 Both sides are intolerant. Greed, aggression and violence all influence decision making negatively. There is no room for reconciliation or concessions.

9.2 Unity and cohesion could be used positively to create a feeling of belonging.

Question 10:

The rabbi calls for more compassion, love, tolerance, acceptance, understanding and humane attitudes to solve the problems in the Middle East. People need to show they care.

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CASE STUDY 3: Nationalism in the Gold Coast

Question 11:

11.1 Nationalist aims:

- Unity and cohesion
- Human dignity and human rights
- National sovereignty
- Achieve political unity and then address other problems
- First achieve political unity and then establish economic unity
- Representative institutions are essential (self-government)
- Reject servitude to repressive system of colonialism.

11.2 In many ways, Nkrumah has become an iconic figure in the story of African nationalism. He achieved political freedom and unity for Ghana. Many other states and leaders were inspired by his leadership. He became a spokesperson for Africans in the decolonisation period. He undertook many socio-economic projects at the outset of independence that benefited his people but soon neglected his promises. / No, he did not keep to his original goals as he began to abuse his power and ruled as a dictator. The press and media were censored and all opposition to his rule was silenced. His government was inept and corrupt. / His failure to keep to his promises was driven by personal reasons as well: he was obsessed with his position of power, arrogant, lost contact with reality, and ignored the wishes of his people.

Question 12:

They honour him selectively; romanticising the good and remaining silent on the bad things he did. He, in many ways, is seen as an African pioneer who broke ground for many other nations to achieve liberation. His abuse of his people's trust and loyalty is ignored and he is still seen as an honourable African leader.

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Answers to questions

Topic 5

Question 1:

1.1

1.1.1 Colonialism was based on beliefs of a social hierarchy in which the Caucasian and European races were regarded superior to the indigenous ones. Colonial rule at the Cape led to different social attitudes where people of colour were viewed as inferior and classes arose based on colour. The whites were entitled and possessed power to rule over the other races.

1.1.2 Segregation in Cape society led to certain social attitudes and practices. Separation of slaves and slave owners laid the foundation of economic classes that tied in with the social hierarchy. Separate areas were designated for the separate races from the earliest times, e.g. indigenous groups and colonial society. As settlement progressed more of the indigenous peoples became displaced and were moved further away from towns.

1.1.3 Eugenics suggested that indigenous people were lower on the ladder of social hierarchy than whites. So-called scientific premises of eugenics suggested that the whites were superior in intellect and civilisation to the colonised peoples. Children from mixed marriages were viewed as inferior and impure. This led to stereotyping, prejudices and discrimination.

1.1.4 Racism was prevalent in colonial times as whites were viewed more favourably than non-whites. Fears of an uprising by indigenous peoples drove the racism, as did attitudes that arose in the colonial and imperialist period. European languages, customs, appearance, intellect, culture, etc. were viewed as being superior, leading to social attitudes that were based on discrimination. 4 x 2 (8)

1.2 They were different in that apartheid set up a legislative framework that was enforced by the state. 1 x 2 (2)

1.3 Yes: the foundations were laid during colonial rule and apartheid merely built on attitudes and practices that already existed. 1 x 3 (3)

1.4 The historic belief in segregation as the best policy to accommodate difference and cultural identity. / The increasing fear of a black uprising that would lead to a black majority government after the 1946 strike and other examples of unrest. / Afrikaner nationalists promoted apartheid as the best policy to maintain political control by the Afrikaner nation. / Other groups from ex- colonies overseas were calling for equality – this was seen as a threat. / The impact of WWII on many inhabitants in the colonies as they demanded independence (as a result of the Atlantic Charter and the UNHDR) threatened many Afrikaners. / The cultural

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identity of the Afrikaners had to be protected. Apartheid was thought to be the best option to deal with the challenges of urbanisation. Any two: 2 x 2 (4)

1.5 Its very premise of racism contradicted all the basic human rights in the charter of the UN as it denied certain South Africans basic rights, e.g. equality, freedom of choice, association, movement, etc. 3 x 2 (6)

Question 2:

2.1 His government introduced a 'civilised' vs 'uncivilised' labour policy – classified according to race and level of industrialisation. Skilled labour was reserved for whites and unskilled labour for blacks. These terms suggest prejudice and judgment based on racial classification. 2 x 2 (4)

2.2 The Great Depression increased competition for resources and employment. It also increased the need of many who looked to the government for assistance. The Pact Government (coalition government between the NP and Labour) sought to protect white labour above black labour. The migration into cities of people looking for employment added to the competition. The Pass Laws meant that blacks were in urban areas illegally unless they had a work permit. Workers spent time working together, but politically and socially, society was segregated. This made race and labour relations more complex. 2 x 2 (4)

2.3 It established that about 18% of the white population could be classified as poor whites. The Pact government then established projects and departments to create jobs for whites to alleviate poverty, e.g. ISCOR, SAR & H. Many Afrikaans churches also started schemes to alleviate the effects of poverty. 2 x 2 (4)

Question 3:

3.1 The effects of WWII led to many soldiers returning with new enthusiasm for independence and freedom. It led to the rise of pan-Africanism and African nationalism which would culminate in decolonisation. This alarmed Afrikaners who feared a loss of power and control if the black majority gained independence. Increasing mass action internally, e.g. the 1946 strike and other examples of labour unrest, caused concern as white labour called for government intervention to stop the spread of instability. Leftist elements in the labour movement alarmed the government. 2 x 2 (4)

3.2 Increasingly industrialisation needed large pools of cheap labour. This could be found in the reserves (later homelands) and locations near towns. Cheap labour was also needed on the farms. The effects of the global war and increasing urbanisation in the 1940s led to perceptions of a threat in the urban areas. Commissions were appointed to investigate the best way forward for SA. Racial policies were based on these recommendations. Some Afrikaners viewed the

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policies of the United Party, e.g. collapse of the colour bar in industry, to be a threat to white labour. 2 x 2 (4)

3.3 The Fagan Commission's recommendation to accept that blacks and whites would live side by side with legislation to assist development of all groups. The Sauer Commission recommended total segregation as the only solution to avoid conflict among races. The NP supported the findings of the Sauer Commission. 2 x 2 (4)

Question 4:

4.1 He organised an effective campaign to gather support by house-to-house visits and efficient use of the media. He played on the fears that the white electorate were experiencing at the time. The demarcation of constituencies (gerrymandering) favoured the NP. 2 x 2 (4)

4.2 Must be a paragraph containing points such as these:

- He immediately passed racist laws to set up the framework for social engineering.
- The Population Registration Act: classified all South Africans into racial classes. Privileges and rights were afforded to groups according to their racial classification.
- Group Areas Act: areas were demarcated according to race.
- Immorality Amendment Act: outlawed sexual relations across the colour bar.
- Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act: prevented marriage across the colour bar. 5 x 2 (10)

4.3

4.3.1 These were challenged by urbanising individual but the NP boosted their authority under the guise of self-development in the rural areas.

4.3.2 Migrant workers were only viewed as temporary residents of towns and cities. They were not allowed to bring their family along which led to the breakdown of the family unit.

4.3.3 The Bantu Education Act of 1953 created separate educational departments for each racial group. The education of white pupils gained preference and the educational standards of non-white pupils was inferior. Whites were educated to rule, while blacks were educated to be labourers

4.3.4 Race relations deteriorated as non-whites were dehumanised and treated with a lack of respect and dignity. Conflict between races increased as resistance increased.

4.3.5 Labour relations were strained as black workers resisted the restrictions and inequality. They were not allowed to join trade unions. It was difficult to segregate labour in the workplace despite all the other forms of segregation. 5 x 2 (10)

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Answers to questions

4.4 Learners choose any three apartheid laws that curtailed the political rights of individuals who were classified as non-white and then explain how these laws did that. [Refer to Unit 4 in Topic 5.] 3 x 2 (6)

Question 5:

5.1 The Freedom Charter promotes socialist principles, e.g. land should be nationalised and distributed to all who work on it, mining should be nationalised and wealth shared, promotion of equality, free housing, education and health services. 3 x 2 (6)

5.2 Many leftist organisations were part of the compilation and drafting process. The nationalisation clauses were communistic as well as the more generalised clauses that expected 'housing, education, etc.' 1 x 2 (2)

5.3 The Freedom Charter provided a blueprint for democracy and stipulated the demand for a free and democratic SA. 1 x 2 (2)

5.4 It contradicted all they stood for as they were against racial mixing and allowing their model of society to be undermined. 1 x 2 (2)

Question 6:

6.1 In the early 1950s the nature of the resistance was non-violent or passive. However, it was starting to become a mass movement. By the 1960s resistance was a mass movement and after Sharpeville the resistance became more militant. 1 x 2 (2)

6.2 Yes: due to the banning of the liberation organisations and the formation of two military wings, the resistance became more openly defiant and violent. Resistance gained support overseas and sanctions made matters more difficult for the SA government. 1 x 2 (2)

6.3 The international outcry was heard after peaceful protestors were killed at Sharpeville – most shot in the back. It shocked the world that the SA government was so brutal and so many resisters overseas felt that pressure needed to be placed on the SA government to change their policies. 1 x 2 (2)

6.4 Harsh reactionary force using the police and armed forces. Also declared a state of emergency and passed more restrictive legislation to curb resistance. 3 x 1 (3)

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History Grade 11 Examination Practice

Time: 3 hours **Marks: 150**

Instructions

- Candidates MUST answer three questions.
- Choose at least one source-based question and one essay question.
- All questions count 50 marks.
- Candidates may choose to do two questions on the same theme.

SOURCE-BASED QUESTIONS

Question 1: To what extent were Lenin's policies between 1918 and 1924 aimed at saving the Socialist revolution?

Refer to Sources 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D and 1E and then answer the following questions:

1.1 Refer to Source 1A and your own knowledge:

1.1.1 Explain each of the following in the context of the source:

a capitalist governments 1 x 2 (2)

b socialist revolutions 1 x 2 (2)

c armies of imperialism. 1 x 2 (2)

1.1.2 Using evidence from the source indicate why Russian industry and production were in a poor state by 1920. 2 x 2 (4)

1.1.3 The source mentions confiscation as a policy adopted by the Bolsheviks during War Communism. From your own knowledge, describe two other methods that were used to "achieve the socialist revolution". 2 x 3 (6)

1.1.4 Why, according to this source, was it necessary for Lenin to adopt a new policy in 1921 that would focus on agriculture and the peasantry? 2 x 2 (4)

1.2 Use the evidence in Source 1B and your own knowledge to write a paragraph in response to the following question:

1.2.1 Do you think the assessment of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee that "Russia had become a state governed by the bayonet and the barred window" rather than "a glorious workers' state" was accurate? Substantiate your argument with facts. (8)

This question will be assessed according to the following rubric:

Level	Criteria	Marks
1	• Evidence used is not in the source. • Argument is illogical. Limited understanding of the question. • Interpretation of source is weak. • Style is informal and communication is poor.	0–3
2	• Argument is structured. • Basic understanding evident. • Evidence is used in a competent way. • Sound interpretation. • Written communication is cohesively represented.	4–6
3	• Logical and cohesive argument. • Expert use of evidence. • Thorough understanding of the question. • Good interpretation. • Written skills are outstanding.	7–8

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1.3 Use your own knowledge and the evidence in Source 1C to answer the following questions:

1.3.1 What were the main aims of this poster? Refer to the caption and the visuals in your answer. 2 x 3 (6)

1.3.2 How reliable is this source to an historian studying the implementation of Lenin's NEP in 1921? Give TWO reasons for your answer. 2 x 2 (4)

1.4 Examine Source 1C, Source 1D and Source 1E:

1.4.1 How is the photo in Source 1D useful to an historian investigating the effects of the NEP? 2 x 2 (4)

1.4.2 In what way does Sources 1D contradict the message in the poster in Source 1C? 2 x 2 (4)

1.4.3 Refer to Source 1E. Why were so many Bolsheviks opposed to the NEP? 2 x 2 (4)

[50]

Question 2: What were the most important causes of the Great Depression in the USA by 1929?

Refer to Source 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D and 2E.

2.1 Examine the evidence in Source 2A and use your own knowledge:

2.1.1 What TWO deductions can you make about changes in American society in the 1920s from Source 2A? Explain your answer. 2 x 2 (4)

2.1.2 What do the two adverts in the source indicate about consumerism, mass production and marketing in the urbanised communities in the US in the 1920s? Use clues from both sources as part of your answer. 3 x 3 (9)

2.1.3 Choose ONE of the visuals or the statistics in Source 2A to justify that the economic policy of the US government was based on the *laissez-faire* principle. Explain your reasoning with evidence from the source you have chosen. Remember to indicate which source you have selected. 2 x 2 (4)

2.2 Refer to Source 2B AND 2C and use your own knowledge to answer the following question. Your response should be in the form of a paragraph.

2.2.1 Compare the impact of "technological change" on life in US cities and in the countryside during the 1920s. (8)

Your answer will be assessed using the following rubric:

Level	Criteria	Marks
1	• Evidence in the sources not used efficiently. • Comparison is illogical. • Interpretation of sources is weak. • Style is informal and communication is poor.	0–3
2	• Comparison is structured. • Evidence is used in a competent way. • Sound interpretation of sources. • Written communication is cohesively represented.	4–6
3	• Logical and cohesive writing. • Expert use of evidence and own knowledge. • Good interpretation. • Written skills are outstanding.	7–8

2.3 Refer to Source 2D and use your own knowledge:

2.3.1 What do you think is the message of this song? 2 x 2 (4)

2.3.2 How is a song like this one useful as an historical source? Use clues in the source to explain your reasoning. 2 x 2 (4)

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2.4 Refer to Source 2E and use your own knowledge:

2.4.1 Explain what is meant by per capita income. 1 x 2 (2)

2.4.2 Explain how the statistics corroborate (support) the evidence in the photograph. 3 x 2 (6)

2.4.3 Using this source and your own knowledge, indicate why farmers were especially vulnerable when the Great Depression set in after 1930. 3 x 2 (6)

[50]

Question 3: What impact did eugenics have on Nazi race policies?

Refer to Source 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D, 3E and use your own knowledge:

3.1 Refer to Source 3A and your own knowledge.

3.1.1. See Extract A. Would you agree that Francis Galton's definition promotes the idea of 'positive eugenics'? Explain your reasoning. 2 x 2 (4)

3.1.2 Do you agree with Galton's statement that 'morals' should be left out of the discussion about the improvement of 'race'? Substantiate your reasoning. 3 x 2 (6)

3.1.3 From your own knowledge and the evidence in Source 3A (Extract B), explain how the militaristic elements in German society in the 1930s helped the Nazis to spread their racial ideology. 2 x 2 (4)

3.1.4 Compare Extracts A and B to show how Nazi ideology was influenced by Galton's ideas on eugenics. 2 x 2 (4)

3.2 Refer to Source 3B and your own knowledge:

3.2.1 Using your own knowledge, describe what the German 'racial hygiene movement' was. 1 x 3 (3)

3.2.2 The laws described in Extract A and B were enforced and supported by learned and educated people. From your own knowledge, explain why you think this was the case. 2 x 2 (4)

3.2.3 What is the author of Source 3B suggesting about bystander behaviour in Germany at the time of the passing of the "Blood Protection Law" and events such as Kristallnacht? Refer to the consequences of this lack of action for German Jews. 2 x 2 (4)

3.3 Paragraph question: Refer to A, B and C in Source 3C and use your own knowledge:

3.3.1 Explain the rationale or thinking behind each of the Nazi practices portrayed in Sources A, B and C and indicate how they each helped to further the Nazi concept of the German master race. (7)

3.4 Refer to the two propaganda posters in Source 3D:

3.4.1 By referring to three clever propaganda techniques, explain how the artists are promoting Nazi racial ideology. Refer to clues in both the posters (A and B). 3 x 3 (9)

3.5 Refer to Source 3E and use your own knowledge:

3.5.1 Would you agree with the evidence in this source that suggests that the genocide in Nazi Germany would not have happened without the cooperation of government officials, bureaucrats and ordinary Germans? Explain your reasoning clearly. 1 x 5 (5)

[50]

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EXTENDED WRITING QUESTIONS

Instructions

- Candidates need to answer at least one essay question.

Topic 1: Challenges to capitalism:

Question 1:

Discuss Lenin's economic policies between 1918 and 1924 and indicate to what extent they were a deviation from Communist ideology. [50]

Topic 2: Crisis of capitalism:

Question 2:

Despite the growth and innovation of the 1920 era in the US, there were many weaknesses that were exposed when the New York Stock Exchange collapsed in 1929, ushering in the Great Depression. Discuss the most important weaknesses in the US economy by 1929 that caused the Great Depression. [50]

Topic 3: Ideas of race in the late 19th and 20th centuries:

Question 3:

Eugenics formed the ideological background that allowed anti-Semitism to flourish. The mass murders and extermination of the Jews during the Holocaust was simply the logical conclusion of this ideology. To what extent is this an accurate assessment of Nazi policies between 1938 and 1945? [50]

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Exam practice: Addendum of sources

Question 1:

SOURCE 1A
The following extract is adapted from http://sfr-21.org/war-communism.html. This website debates issues that relate to past revolutions in order to link these to modern revolutionary strategies in the 21st century and to promote Socialism:

> At the time of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin and others had hoped that workers throughout Europe would overthrow capitalist governments and achieve socialist revolutions. But when that did not take place, the Soviet Union found itself economically isolated and attacked on all sides by the invading armies of imperialism.
>
> While the Soviet Union fought back and defeated the invading armies by the end of 1920, the damage was done. Industry and machinery, already largely destroyed by the capitalists who fled during the revolution, were in shambles, many of the best workers had been killed or maimed at the front; agriculture, already hurt by war and demoralisation of the farmers, was further damaged by crop failure in 1920. The people in the cities were starving.
>
> To feed people in the cities, the Soviet government confiscated grain. As Lenin explained in his pamphlet, The Tax in Kind, "It was the war and the ruin that forced us into War Communism."
>
> At the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1921, Lenin called for a new policy: "Up to now we have been adapting ourselves to the tasks of war; we must now adapt ourselves to the conditions of peace."

SOURCE 1B
The following extract describes the reaction of the Bolsheviks to the Kronstadt Rebellion. It is from http://www.johnclare.net/Russ8Kronstadt.htm:

> On 1 March 1921 a crowd of 15 000 soldiers met in Anchor Square in Kronstadt and declared a revolution. The 'Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee' published its own newspaper, which complained about the 'constant fears of torture by the Cheka... the mass executions and a bloodletting which exceeds even the tsarist generals'...

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'The glorious emblem of the workers' state – the hammer and sickle – has been replaced by the bayonet and the barred window' it declared.

Trotsky was given the job of defeating the rebellion...In Petrograd, the Bolsheviks took the sailors' families as hostages ...On 5 March, Trotsky reached Kronstadt and called the sailors to surrender – or they would be 'shot like partridges'. He knew that he had to act quickly – soon the pack ice would be melting and the naval base would become impregnable ...But the first Bolshevik troops to attack Kronstadt were young and the Cheka with machine guns had to be placed behind them to stop them retreating. When they attacked on 7 March across the 5-mile stretch of open ice, the Kronstadt defenders mowed them down.

Trotsky continued to bombard the Kronstadt fortress with artillery, and gathered an army of 50 000 crack* troops. On 16 March they attacked. In an 18-hour battle, 10 000 Red Guards were killed, but Kronstadt was taken. Hundreds of mutineers were imprisoned. 500 were shot on the spot, and a further 2 000 were executed over the next few months. The rest were sent to Siberia.

* crack troops: expertly trained troops.

SOURCE 1C:
The Soviet poster, published in 1921, reads, 'From the NEP Russia will come Socialist Russia.' (Source: http://mises.org/story/3345)

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SOURCE 1D:
The photo alongside shows a market during the period of the NEP. It is from http://mail.esdnl.ca/~craig_halliday/NEP.bmp

SOURCE 1E:
The following extract is from a lecture by Professor Gerhard Rempel from Western New England College in which he comments on the success of the NEP. It is from http://mars.wnec.edu/~grempel/courses/stalin/lectures/NEP.html.

By 1923-1924 it was apparent that the regime was managing to stabilise itself, at least for the time being, as the economic revival made headway. The open, although limited, encouragement given to private enterprise led many in and out of Russia to conclude that "capitalism" had returned for good, and that the Communists had jettisoned their long-proclaimed ideological objectives, which might never have been seriously meant anyhow. No doubt many of the peasants expected the NEP to be permanent, and although the Nepmen had fewer such illusions, they too hoped the policy would last for some time. Many Communist Party members feared that NEP might be prolonged and fought to end it before it got out of hand. Perhaps indeed it might have lasted somewhat longer than it did, if it had not been for certain developments which restricted political freedom, in and out of the Party, at the very time when the regime was experimenting rather boldly with economic freedom.

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Question 2

SOURCE 2A
The statistics and advertisements below are from http://newman.baruch.cuny.edu/digital/redscare/IMAGES

The spending on advertising by US companies in 1927:

- Newspapers: $690 million
- Direct Mail: $400 million
- Magazines: $210 million
- Billboards: $75 million
- Radio: $7 million

Advert A

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Advert B

This advert from www.tahg.org was published in the 1920s. The text in the advert reads:

The Ford Runabout is a predictable partner and a happy companion for the boy who is making his mark in business and at school. It reduces distance from a matter of miles to a matter of minutes. By saving time and effort, it makes larger earnings possible. And costing little to buy and keep going, it quickly pays for itself. When vacation times rolls round the Runabout enables the young businessman to reduce by hours the time between work and play. Let us tell you how easy it is to buy a Ford on the Weekly Purchase Plan. (Source: Ford Motor Company, Detroit, Michigan)

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SOURCE 2B
This extract describes changes in American society during the 1920s. It is adapted from eh.net/encyclopaedia/article/Smiley:

> The 1920s [was] a period of vigorous, vital economic growth...There is a rapid adoption of the automobile to the detriment of passenger rail travel. Though suburbs had been growing since the late nineteenth century their growth had been tied to rail or trolley access and this was limited to the largest cities. The flexibility of car access changed this and the growth of suburbs began to accelerate. The demands of trucks and cars led to a rapid growth in the construction of all-weather surfaced roads to facilitate their movement. The rapidly expanding electric utility networks led to new consumer appliances and new types of lighting and heating for homes and businesses. The introduction of the radio, radio stations, and commercial radio networks began to break up rural isolation, as did the expansion of local and long-distance telephone communications. Recreational activities such as travelling, going to movies, and professional sports became major businesses. The period saw major innovations in business organisation and manufacturing technology.

SOURCE 2C
This extract is from Nebraska: An Illustrated History, by Frederick Luebke, University of Nebraska, 1995, Lincoln, London. It deals with the impact of the economic growth on the quality of life in the US.

> 'The character and quality of life changed dramatically in Nebraska during the 1920s ... The effects of technological change were most obvious in the cities. By the 1920s most small cities had paved streets, municipal electricity and water systems, telephone systems, streetlights, and sewage systems...The homes of most urban Nebraskans had running water and indoor plumbing...Electricity appeared in homes on a grand scale during the 1920s, at first for illumination but by the end of the decade for washing and sewing machines, irons, toasters, mixers and vacuum cleaners...Refrigerators began to replace ice-boxes for short-term food preservation, and electricity fans began to cool hot summer days...Change came more slowly for country people, who would wait for another decade or two for electric appliances. Their lives were more profoundly transformed by the gasoline-powered automobile and truck, where effects were especially acute in sparsely populated agricultural states such as Nebraska.'

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SOURCE 2D

These lyrics (words of a song) were written by James Langston Hughes, an American poet who is known for his insightful portrayals of the experiences of black Americans from Harlem to Chicago. He was influenced by the Blues that originated in the South.

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.
They send me to eat in the kitchen
When company comes,
But I laugh,
And eat well,
And grow strong.

Tomorrow,
I'll be at the table
When company comes.
Nobody'll dare
Say to me,
"Eat in the kitchen,"
Then.

Besides,
They'll see how
beautiful I am
And be ashamed –

I, too, am America.

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SOURCE 2E

The following sources show the situation in the USA by 1930. The photo is from http://history1900s.about.com.

A photo showing a farm foreclosure

The statistics are from www.newman.baruch.cuny.edu/

- Rise in per capita income for top 1% of the population 1920–1929: 75%
- Rise in per capita income for nation as a whole 1920–1929: 9%
- Percentage of US families with no savings in 1929: 80%
- Farm Production in 1919: $21 billion and 1929: $11.8 billion
- Percentage of national income held by farmers in 1919: 16% and in 1929: 9%
- Number of farmers forced off the land in 1929: 435 000

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Question 3:

SOURCE 3A
Extract A: In 1904 Francis Galton, the father of Eugenics, explained how eugenics could be applied to improve the human race:

> 'Eugenics is the science which deals with all influences that improve and develop the inborn qualities of a race. But what is meant by "improvement"? We must leave morals as far as possible out of the discussion, on account of the almost hopeless difficulties they raise as to whether a character as a whole is good or bad ... All would agree that it is better to be healthy than sick, vigorous than weak, well fitted than ill fitted for their part in life. In short, that it was better to be good than bad specimens of their kind, whatever that kind may be ...The aim of eugenics is to represent each class or sect by its best specimens, causing them to contribute more than their proportion to the next generation ... Eugenics cooperates with the workings of nature by ensuring that humanity shall be represented by the fittest races.'

Extract B: The following is an extract from Hitler's comments on the Nazi ideology:

> 'Hitler believed that ethnic and linguistic diversity weakened a nation and that democracy is a destabilising force because it placed power in the hands of ethnic minorities. The Nazi rationale was heavily invested in the militarist belief that great nations grow from military power, which in turn grows "naturally" from "rational, civilized cultures".
>
> Hitler's Nazi theory also claimed that the Aryan race is a master race, superior to all other races, that a nation is the highest creation of a race, and great nations (literally large nations) were the creation of great races. These nations developed cultures that naturally grew from races with "natural good health, and aggressive, intelligent, courageous traits." The weakest nations, Hitler said were those of impure or mongrel races, because they have divided, quarrelling, and therefore weak cultures.
>
> "Races without homelands," Hitler claimed, were "parasitic races," and the richer the members of a "parasitic race" are, the more "virulent" the parasitism was thought to be. A "master race" could therefore, according to the Nazi doctrine, easily strengthen itself by eliminating "parasitic races" from its homeland.'

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SOURCE 3B
The commentaries below are from an online exhibition on Eugenics in Nazi Germany from www.ushmm.org/museum/exhibit/online/deadlymedicine

Extract A: This extract is from a Nazi law that promoted sterilisation:

> 'On July 14, 1933, the Nazi dictatorship promulgated the Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring. This Nazi law was co-authored by Falk Ruttke, a lawyer, Arthur Gütt, a physician and director of public health affairs, and Ernst Rüdin, a psychiatrist and early leader of the German racial hygiene movement. Individuals who were subject to the law were those men and women who "suffered" from any of nine conditions assumed to be hereditary: feeblemindedness, schizophrenia, manic-depressive disorder, genetic epilepsy, Huntington's chorea (a fatal form of dementia), genetic blindness, genetic deafness, severe physical deformity, and chronic alcoholism.'

Extract B: This source refers to some Nazi laws that promoted racial superiority in Germany at the time:

> 'The "Blood Protection Law," announced in Nuremberg on September 15, 1935, criminalised marriage or sexual relations between Jews and non-Jewish Germans. Soon after, Nazi leaders began privately discussing the "complete emigration" of all Jews as a goal. After the incorporation of Austria in March 1938 (the Anschluss), SS officer Adolf Eichmann coordinated the forced emigration of tens of thousands of Austrian Jews. The Nazi-organised attacks on German and Austrian Jews and Jewish property of November 9–10, 1938—Kristallnacht—convinced many Jews remaining in the Reich that leaving was their only option for survival.'

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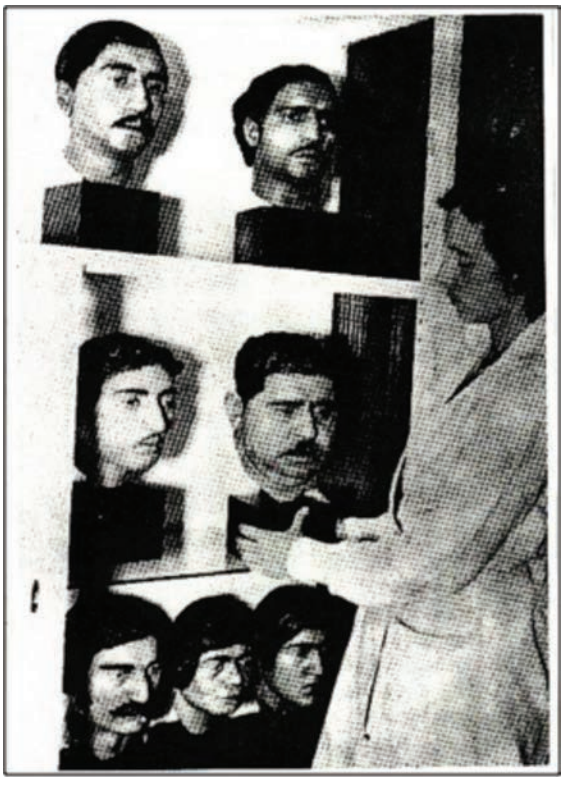
SOURCE 3C
The Nazis went to great lengths to develop their concept of the 'master race' or herrenvolk:

A Wax casts of Roma-Sinti faces at a Racial Hygiene Centre.



B The 'Honor Cross for German Mothers'
Starting in 1938, this cross was handed out to especially prolific mothers. Those who had four or five children got bronze. Six or seven children would get you a silver. Those who gave birth to eight or more children would get a gold medal. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C.)

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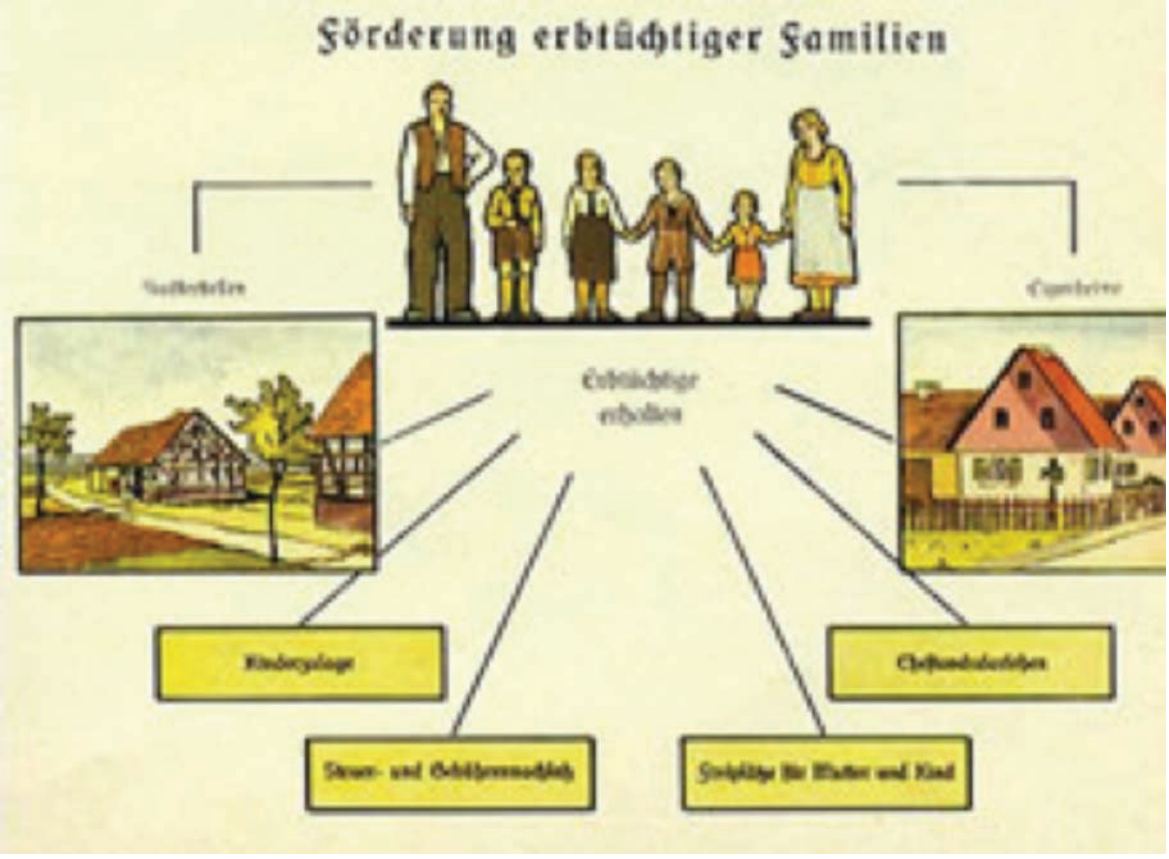
C The following illustration entitled 'Encouragement of Genetically Healthy Families' listed financial and social privileges such as housing, tax rebates, marriage allowances, single-family homes, etc.



SOURCE 3D

The Nazis made use of posters to promote their race policies:

Poster A

Neues Volk was a Eugenics magazine. The text says: 'This genetically ill person will cost our people's community 60 000 marks over his lifetime. Citizens, that is your money. Read *Neuss Volk*, the monthly of the racial policy office of the NSDAP.'

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Poster B
A Nazi poster advertising the 1936 Berlin Olympics.

SOURCE 3E
Heydrich and Himmler were part of the team at the Wannsee Conference in January 1942 whose decisions became known as the 'Final Solution to the Jewish Problem'.

'Wannsee allowed the SS officials to finalise more of their planned emigration of Jews. Adequate transportation came in the form of rail lines and railcars. Concentration camps required more employers. The actual murder process needed greater precision and more resources. Himmler and Heydrich found that it would have been impossible to run a programme dedicated to the genocide of a mass of people without the cooperation of government officials.

The Jewish population in the Reich was reduced by 3.1 million from the beginning of the emigration in 1933 to its conclusion in 1942. The gruesome realities of the time period were masked under the title of 'The Final Solution'. Alarming the population was something that they hoped to avoid at all costs. As Himmler commented, "We had the moral right, we had the duty with regard to our people, to kill this race that wanted to kill us." In the minds of the Germans, this belief justified all their actions and provided them with the validation they needed to continue doing it until they were victorious.'

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Answers to Exam Papers

Proposed marking guidelines

Source-based questions

Question 1

1.1 Refer to Source 1A and your own knowledge

1.1.1 Explanations

a capitalistic governments: democratic countries in Europe as well as the USA which have market related economies and freedom of choice, capital is invested to make a profit. 1 x 2 (2)

b socialistic revolutions: rebellion and revolutions aimed at instituting radical change, these would challenge capitalist systems to impose equality and communal ownership, some even nationalisation. 1 x 2 (2)

c armies of imperialism: socialistic view of the White (Allied) armies in the civil war, the Allies were portrayed as being expansionist and aggressive. 1 x 2 (2)

1.1.2 Using evidence

- Damage of war and invasion of White armies.
- Destruction of machinery and equipment by fleeing capitalists.
- Crop failure and starvation. (Use discretion – any two) 2 x 2 (4)

1.1.3 Describing methods

- Requisitioning of surpluses to keep the army supplied
- Nationalisation of businesses
- Abolition of private trade
- No inheritance. (Must describe any two) 2 x 3 (6)

1.1.4 Explanation

- Starvation in the cities.
- Industry and machinery in a shambles.
- Peasant farmers demoralised. 2 x 2 (4)

1.2 Paragraph: Level marking (use the rubric on page 214)

1.2.1 Yes the statement is accurate: mass executions, hostage taking, cruelty, coercion, arrests, hanging, repression, actions of the Cheka.
The Communists had not delivered on their promises, poverty still prevalent.
Any other relevant facts. (8)

1.3 Own knowledge and evidence

1.3.1 Providing aims

- Propaganda by Communists to win support for the NEP; caption is reassuring the population that the end result will be socialistic although the NEP isn't.
- Visual of Lenin represents him as visionary hero who is industrialising Russia and working towards a workers' state (illustration of construction workers in poster). 2 x 3 (6)

1.3.2 Not reliable
Why? Two reasons: propaganda to distort the truth, use of exaggeration.
Aimed at winning support for the NEP. 2 x 2 (4)

1.4 Examine sources

1.4.1 The photo in Source 2C shows a market and trading taking place. This means that freedom of choice and some capitalistic measures have stimulated the economy, capital changing hands. 2 x 2 (4)

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1.4.2 Source 2D contradicts the message in the poster (2C) as it shows a capitalistic result of the NEP and not a socialistic one; money, trade, market. He is promising to achieve a socialist revolution yet the photo shows capitalism. (Any one) 2 x 2 (4)

1.4.3 It negated the mechanisms of socialism by including capitalistic measures. It, in essence, is indicating that socialism has failed in its mission and has to be 'rescued' by capitalism.
It appeared that the Communists had not kept to their original Socialistic ideals. (Any two) 2 x 2 (4)

[50]

Question 2

2.1 Examine evidence

2.1.1 Make deductions

- Big business had free reins to make tremendous profits and increased spending.
- New inventions were introduced e.g. radio
- Communications had improved and advertising became a new sector.
- Billboards – travelling by motor car beyond cities.
- Leisure activities would change; new products could be advertised in magazines, on radio and in the printed media. (Any two) 2 x 2 (4)

2.1.2 **Advertising**

- capitalism based on demand and supply
- due to positive impact of WW1 many more Americans became consumers
- consumption increased demand
- advert: Coca Cola – metropolitan context of urbanised Americans, leisure industry.
- Model T Ford – attracting young and upcoming businessmen
- advertising a new industry = lucrative; shows purchasing power and intro of HP buying. (Any three facts)

Mass production:

- demand exceeded supply
- increased demand due to buying power
- introduced mass assembly line, e.g. Coca cola: secondary industries e.g. glass, transport, etc.
- Ford: first mass assembly line: speed and expansion.
- capitalist expansion (Any three relevant facts)

Marketing:

- sales and advertising
- buying and selling part of capitalistic cycle
- led to progression in communications industry
- competition increased
- financing schemes to afford products. (Any three relevant facts) 3 x 3 (9)

2.1.3 Justify and explain reasoning

Laissez faire policy: leave to do, little government regulation and interference, big business pays taxes and is given much freedom to dominate business and make a profit. Competition is rife.
Apply these principles to any TWO of the following:

Statistics:

- Spending on advertising shows freedom to invest and advertise a range of items.

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- This shows a confident manufacturing sector where production was sped up due to the mass production line. They also reflect leisure activities which show signs of improved lifestyles.

Visuals:

- Advert A: Skyscrapers, city metropolis, advertising, professional dress, shipping, development, wealth.
- Visual B: American dream, improved standard of living, larger wages and salaries, stay at home wife, happy, car introduced as a convenience, easier lifestyle. 2 x 3 (6)

2.2 Paragraph

2.2.1 Deductions

Content

- Cities:
  - Growth of suburbs as people could live further from work
  - Roads developed due to introduction of cars
  - Electrification: new consumer appliances, lighting and heating for homes and businesses communications expanded
  - Recreational activities became major businesses – businesses had to reorganise.
- Countryside:
  - Lighting, sewage, roads, telephone systems, new appliances, food preservation, etc.
  - Contact and mobility for population which was sparse at the time.

Presentation

- Paragraph – structure must be evident.
- Mark presentation on rubric levels.

2.3 Source and own knowledge

2.3.1 Message of the song: Black Americans are marginalised as they are not deemed as important citizens in US societies. Their dignity is compromised by discrimination and racism in US society, but this will shortly change due to action and it will end. 1 x 5 (5)

2.3.2 The writer expresses his feelings of loneliness and shame but also his resilience and hope that things will change soon (stanza 1 and 3)
It shows tenacity of many to change matters around to be included and to take up their rightful place (stanza 3 and 4) (Any other relevant point) 2 x 2 (4)

2.4 Source and own knowledge

2.4.1 per capita income: the earnings of each person in a country, on average 1 x 2 (2)

2.4.2 Farm production decreased from US$21 billion to US$11.8 billion; therefore many farmers sold their farms- couldn't sustain a living.
435 000 farmers forced off their land – can be seen in photo.
No savings for 80% of US families: therefore no safety net for difficult times. 3 x 2 (6)

2.4.3 Vulnerability of farmers in 1929:

- prices for their goods fell by 50 percent between 1929 and 1932 – surplus crops couldn't be sold for a profit
- severe drought 1930 – across plains, dust bowl, top soil destroyed
- many migrated due to loss of farmers. (Any other relevant facts) 3 x 2 (6)

[50]

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Question 3

3.1 Source and own knowledge

3.1.1 Opinion and reasons

Yes

- Study used to improve the characteristics and qualities of race.
- Controlled selective breeding to improve the human race.
- Science which deals with all influences that improve and develop the inborn quality of race. 2 x 2 (4)

3.1.2 Credit reasoning

No

- Morals have to be taken into account when making decisions about human beings and the ending or prolonging of life.
- There is no justification for ending human life to sustain the other.
- Individuals who are born disabled or deformed will be targeted and treated in an inhumane way as they do not 'make any contribution' to society.
- It could lead to othering and discrimination; based on subjectivity; weak will be marginalised.
- It could lead to systematic extermination of a minority or the weak. 3 x 2 (6)

3.1.3 Explanation

- The Nazis believed in principles such as 'might is right' and 'survival of the fittest'. Hitler promoted the idea that to survive attacks from other nations or from within, Germany should have a strong military force to defend itself and if necessary launch the offensive e.g. to subject the Slavs, lebensraum, etc.
- These aims bore resonance with groups such as the Freikorps, SA, Gestapo, and fascists in German society who were right-wing and anti the left. 2 x 2 (4)

3.1.4 Use discretion: 2 x 2 (4)

Eugenics – Galton	Nazi ideology
Preserve the best specimens of a race	Great nations develop from great specimens
Improve and develop the inborn qualities of race.	Master race could strengthen itself by eliminating weak elements of the race
Good specimens will contribute more than their proportion to the next generation.	Great powers grow from military strength.

3.2 Source and own knowledge

3.2.1 Describe

- Racial hygiene = part of Nazi policy – to cleanse or purify the German/Aryan race through sterilisation
- Nine conditions identified that were assumed to be hereditary
- Introduction of forced sterilisation to get rid of weaknesses in order to strengthen the Aryan race in the end. 1 x 3 (3)

3.2.2 Use discretion and credit reasonable answers.

- Power of education and indoctrination led perpetrators to believe in the cause of building a master race.
- They earnestly believed that they were using their skills to build a better race.
- Maybe they stood to gain when action was taken against others, e.g. promotion. 2 x 2 (4)

3.2.3 Explanation

- Blood Marriage Law outlawed marriage between Jews and non-Jews
- Led to forced emigration

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- Eventual programme of final solution.
- Bystander behaviour of not taking a stand in fact encouraged the Nazi perpetrators to go further and to become more brutal and more ruthless.
- The lack of reaction to the intervention of the State in the sexual relations and marriages of Germans and German Jews was the first small step towards more drastic measures that would lead to Kristallnacht and eventual murder of Jews (genocide). 2 x 2 (4)

3.3 Paragraph

3.3.1 Explain rationale

Content

- A – wax casts of Roma–Sinti faces to study outward signs as difference between races.
- Gypsies were outcasts and studies were made in order to 'prove' that they made no contribution to German culture or civilisation.
- B – medal for more births – German women were rewarded for increasing the birth rate of Germany and adding individuals to the Aryan master race.
- C – Propaganda to encourage genetically fit individuals by promoting many rewards or gains.
- These instances show the idea of selectivity and choice to improve the stock/race in order to create a master race.

Level	Criteria	Marks
1 Not achieved	• Is unable to, or only partially able to, link the visuals to the master race idea of the Nazis. • Poor insight, confused and lacking insight. • Knowledge very basic and interpretation immature.	1–2
2 Achieved	• Is able to select relevant knowledge to link the visuals to the master race idea of the Nazis. • Sporadic to solid glimpses of insight. • Knowledge solid and interpretation good.	3–5
3 Achieved with excellence	• Is able to use the evidence well to link the visuals to master race idea of the Nazis. • Expert reasoning and exceptional insight displayed. • Knowledge comprehensive and interpretation mature.	6–7

3.4 Propaganda posters

3.4.1 Explanation

Three techniques: Fonts, slogans, captions, visual effects.

Poster A:

- Selective breeding so that only the fittest will survive, discrimination against 'genetically ill'. Attitudes dominated by racial policy where Jews are viewed as a hindrance to achieving the master race.
- Visual: mentally ill.
- Font: refers to old Germanic empire, refers to traditions and heritage.
- Viewer internalises appeal and is drawn in to make the personal decision; emotion/ 'your money'.

Poster B:

- Association of the portrayal of the perfect human form from ancient/classical civilisations, promotes the idea of competition and victory of the strongest, only the fittest will survive. Perfect image of human being. Brandenburg Gate in Berlin bears historic connection to German history. 3 x 3 (9)

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3.5 Source and own knowledge

3.5.1 Opinion and reasons

- Genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction of a particular religious racial, national or cultural group.
- It would not have been possible to carry out the Nazi policy of extermination if the skilled bureaucrats and government officials were not part of the process.
- The programme of the Final Solution depended on a large number of officials to ensure that the large numbers of Jews were rounded up and transported to the extermination camps.
- It was seen as the duty of all members of the Nazi government and bureaucracy to kill the Jews as they were defending themselves. They are as much to blame If resistance had been offered the genocide might not have happened. 1 x 5 (5)

[50]

Extended writing questions

Topic 1: Question 4

Synopsis

Candidates need to indicate that his primary ambition was to save the revolution at all costs in 1918, but by 1921 he pragmatically changed and adapted his economic policies to achieve this aim. It is noticeable that he hadn't fully achieved this aim by 1924.

Introduction:

- It is important to indicate a line of argument in relation to the question – focus is essential.
  For example:
  Lenin had to deliver on his promises in 1918 despite being faced by civil war and socio-economic problems. This was his main aim but he had to postpone it when he introduced the NEP in 1921. Many hardliners felt that he abandoned communist principles in 1921 and reverted to more stringent measures after Lenin's death.

Elaboration

Main points:

- 1918 Decrees
- Elections: precarious situation – cannot introduce socialism gradually
- Civil War and War Communism: desperate to win the war to save the socialist revolution and to fight the counter-revolution.
- Discuss essence of War Communism and methods used by Red Army to win.
- War Communism showed his intention to enforce communism to hand on to power.
- Consequences of War Communism and threat of counter-revolution.
- Introduced NEP and compromises with capitalism – include details to show his compromise with capitalism..
- Assess degree of success with the implementation of socialism.

Conclusion:

- Refer back to question and close argument. For example:
  NEP only temporary measure to generate wealth for Russia to become socialistic. But by 1924 most of the socialist demands of the Russian citizens were still not met War Communism closer to true communism than NEP. [50]

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Topic 2: Question 5

Synopsis

Candidates need to discuss the most important weaknesses in the US economy that caused the Great Depression in 1929.

Introduction:

- It is important to indicate a line of argument in relation to the question – focus is essential.
  For example:
  The 1920s is known as the Roaring Twenties yet the opulence, decadence and progression was a veneer that covered the real weaknesses of the economy. It was a combination of factors that led to the depression.

Elaboration

Main points:

- Low prices for agricultural products
- Low wages for workers
- Unequally distributed wealth
- Protective tariffs: Fordney-McCumber Tariff and Smoot-Hawley Acts; trade declined.
- European nations defaulted on debts and withdrew investments in the United States.
- Unregulated stock speculation led to Stock Market Crash in 1929; lost more than $40 billion dollars after the Crash.
- Bank failures: bank deposits were uninsured, people lost savings, not readily giving loans to buyers, therefore less expenditure.

Conclusion:

- Draw the argument to a close. Do NOT provide any new information. Show, for example:
  There were many weaknesses that led to problems for the USA when the NYSE collapsed in Oct 1929.

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Topic 3: Question 6 [50]

Synopsis

Candidates need to present an independent line of argument in which they propose a view supporting or refuting the statement. They need to indicate whether there is a link between eugenics and anti-Semitism as well, and then link their ideas to the Holocaust.

Introduction:

- It is important to indicate a line of argument in relation to the question – focus is essential.
  For example:
  - anti-Semitism existed in European society even in medieval times
  - eugenics and anti-Semitism fanned on the nationalism and racism that the Nazis proposed
  - segregationist and racist attitudes combined with eugenics to create a new dimension known as racial anti-Semitism
  - it became acceptable to remover the weak and poor from society

Elaboration

Main points:

- discussion of anti-Semitism, eugenics and holocaust
- problems of Germany in 1930s blamed on Jews
- fragility of democracy characterised by tension
- Nazi Party ideology: race, lebensraum, herrenvolk, dictatorship, etc
- propaganda to create the 'prefect Aryan race'
- indoctrination of the youth
- attitudes and policies towards the Jews – Nuremberg Laws
- boycott of Jewish businesses

Concentrate on period 1938 to 1945:

- *Kristallnacht*
- Ghettoes and pogroms
- Deportations to camps
- Mass murder, genocide and the final solution.

Conclusion:

Draw argument together in a way to show whether eugenics and anti-Semitism were the main reasons for the mass extermination of the Jews.

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